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PAUSANIAS AND HADRIAN, MANTINEA AND BITHYNION*

Abstract: Building on the work of Pretzler this article seeks to refine and strengthen the view that the version of Mantinean history given by Pausanias is derived from the Mantinean élite of his day, and was accepted and reinforced by Hadrian when he founded a cult of Antinoos at Mantinea, but it also introduces the new argument that the tradition making the Mantineans the ancestors of Bithynion, birthplace of Antinoos, was created by Hadrian himself.

Keywords: Pausanias, Hadrian, Antinoos, Mantinea, Bithynion, invention of tradition

1. Introduction

When in 130 CE Hadrian's favourite Antinoos drowned in the Nile in Egypt, near where Antinoos had died Hadrian founded a new city, Antinoopolis, and in it a cult of Antinoos.[1] He also founded an Antinoos-cult at Bithynion, Antinoos' home polis in Bithynia, and a third at Mantinea in Arkadia. The choices of Antinoopolis, where Antinoos died, and Bithynion, where he was born, are easy to understand, but the case of Mantinea is different. Hadrian evidently wanted to establish a cult of Antinoos also in mainland Greece, but it is not immediately obvious why he chose to locate the cult at Mantinea. By Hadrian's time it was a relatively minor place, much less important than the major Peloponnesian centres (Patrai, Corinth, Argos, Sparta, and Messene), even if it remained, with Tegea and Megalopolis, one of the leading cities of Arkadia.[2] Since other cities in Greece showed that they were willing to play host to a cult of Antinoos—in the Peloponnese, for instance, Corinth and Argos set up cults[3]—there had to be a particular reason for choosing Mantinea to receive the imperial foundation, and that reason is given by Pausanias. He tells us (8.9.7–8) that Hadrian founded a cult of Antinoos there because the ancestors of the Bithynieis (i.e. specifically the inhabitants of Bithynion, as opposed to Bithyn-

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[1] There is a very large modern literature on Antinoos: see e.g. Lambert (1984), Meyer (1991), Vout (2005) and (2007), Pudill (2014).

[2] Rizakis (2010), Roy (2010).

[3] Lambert (1984) 184–5.

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ians in general) were Mantineans. Such an ancestral link between Mantinea and Bithynion is not attested before Pausanias, and so the questions arise of when and how such a belief developed. In addition, Hadrian made various other benefactions to Mantinea, and they can be related to events in Pausanias' version of Mantinea's history, which in turn has been shown to reflect the views on the city's history held by the Mantinean élite of Pausanias' day.

In 2005 Maria Pretzler published two articles on Pausanias. In one (2005a) she argued that a significant source of information for Pausanias was what he learned from conversations with leading members of the communities that he visited. From them he would hear the version of local history that they accepted, and promoted, in his day. Such a version would have developed over time to suit local interests, particularly the interests of the élite themselves.[4] In the second article (2005b) she analysed Pausanias' account of Mantinean history in the light of the arguments set out in the first. This present paper seeks to build on her main conclusions, with some modifications intended to clarify Hadrian's favourable reaction to the Mantineans' view of their past. It will then be argued that, while Hadrian's benefactions show a willingness to accept the Mantinean élite's version of their city's history, the supposed ancestral link between Mantinea and Bithynion was created by Hadrian himself.

II. Mantinea and Antigonea

In the shaping of Mantinean history the destruction of the city in 223 was of central importance. In 223 Mantinea was captured by forces led by Antigonos Doson and Aratos and destroyed. The Mantinean citizen body was eliminated: the men were killed, sold into slavery, or taken in chains to Macedonia, and the women and children enslaved (Plut. *Arat.* 45.4–6; cf. Pol. 2.58.12). Aratos as oikist then founded a new polis with the name Antigonea (Plut. *Arat.* 45.6), evidently bringing in new settlers. Bölte suggested that some pro-Achaian members of the original population would have been allowed to remain,[5] but nothing in the sources supports this view: indeed, given Polybius' evident desire (2.56.1–58.15) to justify the treatment inflicted on the Mantineans by Antigonos Doson and the Achaians, the fact that he makes no reference to any original Mantineans' being allowed to remain strongly suggests that nothing of the kind happened.[6] From 223 onwards there was no polis

[4] A comparable local version of history reported by Pausanias—the Argive account of the battle of Hysiai—is analysed by Franchi (2012).

[5] Bölte (1930) 1328–9.

[6] On Polybius' desire 'to excuse the Achaian role in Mantinea's demise' see Pretzler (2005b) 22. The date of the destruction is uncertain: Pretzler (2005b) 21 dates it to 222; cf. Will (1979) 396–9.

Mantinea. Occasionally the term 'Mantinean' was used even while the polis Mantinea did not exist, for instance on the tombstone of a woman at Athens in the second or first century BCE (*IG* II².9279), but officially there was no Mantinea and the name does not appear on coins or official inscriptions.[7] Hadrian then allowed the citizens of Antigonea to resume the name Mantinea (Paus. 8.8.12).

III. Pausanias' Account of the History of Mantinea

Pausanias developed the practice of introducing both regions and individual communities with a brief survey of their history; there is no such survey in his first book, on Attika, but they appear in the other books (Hutton (2005) 295–303). Thus for Arkadia in Book 8 he gives a largely mythical account of the Arkadian kings (8.1–5), and goes on to a historical survey of events affecting the Arkadians as a whole (8.6.1–3: see Hutton (2005) 62–3), and then later gives similar surveys for Mantinea (8.8.4–12), Megalopolis (8.27.1–16), and Tegea (8.45.1–3). Events in the survey of common Arkadian history, such as the war against Xerxes and the Peloponnesian War, would obviously have affected Mantinea, but in that—brief—survey Pausanias does not single out any Arkadian city for mention. The survey of Mantinean history mentions, after the foundation of the city, events from the fifth century to the restoration of the name Mantinea under Hadrian, without repeating the topics mentioned in the Arkadian survey. Then in his description of Mantinea and its territory Pausanias frequently refers again to historical events, among which three get much more attention than the others: the battle at Mantinea in 362, the third-century defeat of Agis IV of Sparta at Mantinea by the Mantineans and their allies, and the benefactions of Hadrian. The references to these three events are linked to mentions of relevant monuments: Pretzler rightly notes that such monuments 'were probably central to the reconstruction of local history' (Pretzler (2005b) 24).

After examining the local Mantinean tradition Pretzler suggests various conclusions about how Pausanias presents the history of Mantinea (Pretzler

[7] Cohen (1995) 123–4. The name Mantinea appears in the long list of *theorodokoi* found at Delphi (Plassart (1921): the reference is at Col. II.113) and cited by Cohen, and the inscription was originally dated to the earlier second century BCE. However it now appears that the main body of the text (which includes the reference to Mantinea) was composed c. 230–20: see Hatzopoulos (1991). A Mantinean appears (line 24) in a list of decrees appointing *proxenoi* and *theorodokoi* at Epidaurus: when presenting the list Perlman (2000) 192–4 dates it c. 220–200, and elsewhere (p. 88) gives as the date 'the last quarter of the third century BCE'. Since the decrees will have been passed some time before the list was compiled from their contents, the Mantinean could well have been honoured before his polis was destroyed, and even the list could have been drawn up before the destruction.

(2005b) 31). One is that Pausanias needed to supply his own summary of Mantinean history because local tradition passed over archaic and classical events with the exception of the battle of 362 'which had left some lasting traces in the landscape': Hellenistic history, it is suggested, had thus become central to the local tradition. However it was Pausanias' normal practice to present such a summary, and it does not seem to be the case that local tradition gave more attention to the Hellenistic period since Hellenistic events other than the battle against Agis receive little or no attention. Pretzler also suggests that Pausanias' brief outline of Mantinean history is probably drawn from literary sources; it is certainly likely that, for instance, the mention of Mantineans fighting with Athens in Sicily is taken from Thucydides (6.43), but other features of the account, such as the presentation of Epaminondas (see below), are more likely to have come from a Mantinean version of Mantinea's past. Finally, Pretzler suggests that, since the archaic and classical history of Mantinea was unattractive and shows the Mantineans in a bad light, later Mantineans will have preferred to make events of the Hellenistic period central to their account of Mantinea's past. However, since little of the Hellenistic period appears in Pausanias' account of Mantinean history, it does not seem that Hellenistic events were central. As for Mantinea's earlier history being unattractive, the only judgement that Pausanias offers on Mantinean actions is that in the 360s, when the Mantineans acted against the policy of the then Arkadian confederacy by breaking with the Theban alliance and instead aligning themselves with Sparta, they were 'not altogether just' (8.8.10): yet the events of the 360s leading up to the battle of 362 are nonetheless very prominent in Pausanias' account of Mantinea. It seems better to suppose that Pausanias' brief summary of Mantinean history simply follows his normal practice, but is occasionally—notably on Epaminondas—coloured by local tradition, and that the local tradition is most clearly shown when, in his subsequent description of Mantinea, he gives great attention to three historical topics, the battle of 362 (classical), the battle against Agis IV (Hellenistic), and Hadrian's benefactions. However, despite these criticisms of Pretzler's arguments, it must be recognised that her fundamental point, that Pausanias took from the Mantinean élite of his day the version of Mantinean history that they had elaborated, is valid.

IV. Anomalies in Pausanias' History of Mantinea

As Pretzler noted, the history of Mantinea as presented by Pausanias has some very odd features, for which he has frequently been criticised. In particular she examined two reports. The first concerns a battle at Mantinea reported only by Pausanias in which, supposedly, the Mantineans and their allies defeated the Spartans led by King Agis IV, who died in the battle (Paus.

8.10.5–10; also 6.2.4–5; 8.8.11, 27.14). For reasons clearly set out by Pretzler, and not least because Plutarch's long account (*Agis* 16–21) of how Agis was executed in a political coup at Sparta is generally accepted by historians, it has long been recognised that Pausanias' report of a battle against Agis cannot be accurate and may even be an invention. Secondly, although Mantinea was destroyed in 223 and replaced by a new city Antigonea, with new citizens, Pausanias (8.10.11) says simply that, among other honours accorded to Antigonos Doson, the Mantineans decided to change the name of their polis to Antigonea. Pretzler shows that in both of these cases the remarkable version of events presented by Pausanias suited the Mantinean élite of his day, in particular allowing them to claim for their city, despite the violent rupture of 223, continuity with the original Mantinea: its history became their history, shaped to suit them. This process of creating continuity was completed when Hadrian allowed the Antigoneans to resume the name Mantinea.

There is a further anomaly, not noted as such by Pretzler, namely the role of Epaminondas, which is problematic for the following reasons. In 385 the Spartans captured Mantinea and ended its existence as a polis, splitting the citizens into separate demes, or possibly separate poleis,[8] and then, in the aftermath of the battle of Leuktra in 371, the Mantineans reunited into a single polis (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.5). In his account of Mantinea Pausanias (8.8.10) says that the Mantineans were reunited in their *patris* by the Thebans, and in his biography of Epaminondas in Book 9 he gives the credit for the reunification to Epaminondas himself (9.14.4). However Pausanias' reports that the reunification was due to Epaminondas and the Thebans cannot be reconciled with the detailed account of events at Mantinea in 371–0 given in the *Hellenica* (6.5.1–23) by Xenophon, according to whom the Mantineans were already reunited and their city rebuilt and fortified before the Boiotians arrived in Arkadia. Most historians who have written on the topic recently have rejected Pausanias' account: Moggi alone has defended it, but without suggesting how it could be reconciled with what Xenophon says or how the difference can be explained.[9] Pausanias' account of Epaminondas at Mantinea is anomalous, but it allows him to present Epaminondas as a glorious hero in Mantinea's past, particularly when writing of the battle of Mantinea in 362 BCE, in which Epaminondas fought and died as commander of Mantinea's enemies. In the battle the pro-Boiotian side at first had the better of the fighting, but the Theban leader Epaminondas received a fatal wound and the battle had no decisive outcome. Both sides erected a trophy.[10] Mantinea therefore did not suffer a defeat, nor did the battle have unfavourable conse-

[8] Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7; D.S. 15.12; Paus. 8.8.9: Roy (2000) 308–9.

[9] Roy (2014) 125–7, with references to earlier work.

[10] On the battle see especially Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.1–27.

quences in the longer term. The battle could thus become, without embarrassment, a major feature of Mantinea's history, and both the battle and related monuments, including Epaminondas' tomb (Paus. 8.11.7–8), get considerable attention in Pausanias' description of Mantinea.

Pausanias' version of events leading up to the destruction in 223 is remarkable (8.8.11). He mentions that the Mantineans fought with the Achaians against the Spartan king Kleomenes, but does not mention that the Mantineans switched sides and joined Kleomenes: thus what was for Polybius (2.58.3–11) a very clear instance of gross treachery by the Mantineans simply disappears. Likewise Pausanias does not mention that Antigonos Doson and the Achaians captured and destroyed Mantinea, and that Aratos then founded a wholly new polis Antigonea on the site. Instead Pausanias simply says that in order to honour Antigonos the Mantineans changed the name of their polis to Antigonea. Here, as Pretzler (2005b) convincingly argues, Pausanias must be offering a version of Mantinean history that he heard from leading Mantineans of his day, a version that had allowed Antigoneans to claim continuity with the Mantinean past. Naturally he does not dwell on the change of name, nor mention any monument commemorating it, since in his version the adoption of the new name was a minor event that did not interrupt the history of the community.

However the two battles of 362 and against Agis IV get a great deal of attention. The two have several features in common. Both are presented as glorious moments in Mantinea's history, both involved leading men from the Greek world of the day, both were recalled by monuments visible in Pausanias' day, both involved a Mantinean called Podares, and both attracted the attention of Hadrian who added to the monuments. Hadrian's activities at Mantinea will be discussed later, and the name Podares deserves closer attention.

V. The Name Podares

The name Podares is important because it was famous in classical Mantinea and was then adopted by citizens of Antigonea: in fact it offers objective proof that Antigoneans claimed the history of Mantinea as their own. Pretzler drew attention to the importance of the name (Pretzler (2005b) 28–9), but it is possible to add to her arguments by stressing the fact that the name is found only at Mantinea.[11]

[11] The Mantinean occurrences of the name are listed at *LGPN* 3.A.365. It never occurs elsewhere in the volumes of *LGPN* so far published, and does not appear in any volume of *SEG*. Pape-Benseler cites it only from Paus. 8.9.9, 8.9.9–10, and 8.10.5 (Pape (1911) 1215), and Bechtel (1917) adds nothing.

The name first appears in connection with the battle of 362. After the battle the Athenian Grylos, son of Xenophon, was held to have been the bravest man on the pro-Mantinean side, and the second was the Athenian cavalry-commander Kephisodoros.[12] The third was a Mantinean called Podares, who received a *heroön* (Paus. 8.9.9–10).[13] The next known Podares commanded the Mantinean forces in the third-century battle against Agis IV; he was a descendant in the third generation of the Podares of 362 (Paus. 8.10.5). A third Podares appears among other names, without father's name or other identification, inscribed by various hands at various times between the late fourth century and the early second BCE on a stone basin later recut to serve as the lid of a sarcophagus.[14] The fourth appears on an inscription of the first century BCE (*IG* V.2.309) as the father of a woman called Polykrateia who was honoured by the polis along with Poleios son of Philonikos, probably her husband: the honours granted by the city suggest that this Podares belonged to a prominent family in Antigonea. A fifth Podares, the last known, lived three generations before Pausanias (8.9.9), and so no doubt in the latter part of the first century CE he was able to obtain Roman citizenship, and the inscription on the Podareion was altered to refer to him rather than to the Podares of 362, although in Pausanias' day the original Podares was still honoured by the Mantineans.[15] A sixth occurrence of the name is provided by inscribed roof-tiles referring to Podares (*IG* V.2.321 A and B) and probably of Roman date; they will refer to the first Podares, or possibly to the Podares of the first century CE who took over the Podareion.

Of the five known men called Podares the first two certainly fall before the destruction of Mantinea in 223, and the last two after it. The third Podares might belong either before or afterwards: before is more likely, since the range of dates for the names among which he appears begins in the late fourth century, long before the destruction, and ends about a generation after it. In any case this very rare name is clearly attested among the citizens of Mantinea/Antigonea before and after the destruction, and nowhere else. At the time of the destruction the Mantinean citizen body ceased to exist, and Aratos as oikist then founded a new polis with the name Antigonea (Plut. *Arat.* 45.6), evidently bringing in new settlers. Since Podares was a peculiarly

[12] Paus. 8.9.9. Grylos was commemorated at Mantinea (Paus. 8.9.5, 11.6).

[13] Paus. 8.9.9–10. In his excavations at Mantinea Fougères found a building which may well be the Podareion: it was of pre-Roman construction, but inscribed roof-tiles referring to Podares (*IG* V.2.321 A and B) are probably Roman, indicating continuing maintenance (Fougères (1898) 190–3).

[14] *IG* V.2.318: cf. Fougères (1896) 166 no. 36.

[15] Paus. 8.9.9–10. It was not rare in the Roman imperial period for a prominent man to seek to attach himself to a famous earlier figure: see Chausson (1998), Heller (2011). Pretzler (2005b) 28 n. 49 gives other examples.

Mantinean name, we can exclude the possibility that any of the new settlers of Antigonea bore the name when they came to the city. When it occurs after the foundation of Antigonea, it must therefore have been adopted by a family in the new polis as the name made famous by the Mantinean hero of 362, and also by the man who reputedly led the Mantineans to victory over Agis IV. Pretzler notes that the occurrence of the name Podares in the first century BCE 'may suggest that a need to assume a continuous history [sc. of Mantinea-Antigonea] occurred fairly early':[16] in fact it is clear evidence that a leading family of Antigonea already in the first century BCE saw the name of the Mantinean hero of 362 as prestigious, and suitable for one of its sons, which means that at least some aspects of the history of Mantinea before its destruction in 223 were already being adopted as their own by leading citizens of Antigonea, and the reshaping of a local version of Mantinean history had already begun.

The glory of the name Podares was enhanced by the victory of the Mantineans led by a Podares over Agis IV,[17] but Pausanias' account of the battle (8.10.5–10) cannot be correct. Pretzler sets out clearly the problems, and considers the battle 'fictitious',[18] and is probably right: at the very least much has been added to the account. Pausanias says that he saw beside the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios a trophy which commemorated this battle: it appears that the Mantineans had come to believe that a trophy set up for some other victory referred to the defeat of Agis IV.[19] Poseidon Hippios was the tutelary

[16] Pretzler (2005b) 29.

[17] *LGPN* 3.A.365 dates this second Podares to 331, which is wrong, and, besides the relevant passage at Paus. 8.10.5, cites also Paus. 8.9.9 which does not refer to this man.

[18] Pretzler (2005b) 21–2 and 25–6; cf. Will (1979) 322. Because of the multiple problems the battle cannot simply be moved to a slightly different date, supposing a different Spartan called Agis (as do e.g. Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 40, admittedly very tentatively).

[19] Since the trophy does indeed seem to have existed but the report of the battle against Agis is highly suspect, it has been suggested that the trophy had been erected to commemorate one of the other battles in the plain of Mantinea (on which see Pritchett (1969) 37–72). Trophies erected according to Greek custom on a battlefield immediately after a battle were ephemeral, and the trophy seen by Pausanias must have been a monumental trophy set up to replace a less durable original: on the ephemeral nature of battlefield trophies see Rabe (2008) 5–26 and 44–100, and Lissarague (2014). Fougères (1898) 487 and Pritchett (1969) 62 suggest that the trophy was that set up after Sparta defeated the Mantineans and their allies in 418 (Thuc. 5.74.2), but it is extremely unlikely that the Spartans replaced the original trophy on Mantinean territory with a more enduring monumental version; Bettalli (2009) 369–70 has shown that replacing short-lived trophies by more durable monuments was a complex process, especially for victories of Greeks over Greeks; and monumental trophies on battlefields (as opposed to trophies in sanctuaries) seem to have been fairly rare (Rabe (2008) 101–48). After the inconclusive battle of 362 both the pro-Mantinean forces and their opponents, the Thebans and their allies, set up trophies (Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.26; D.S. 15.87.2), but that battle was remembered by the Mantineans, and

deity of Mantinea, and his cult was of major importance to the Mantineans;[20] consequently the trophy stood in a very prominent position. Alongside Podares in the battle was a remarkable cluster of distinguished allies. Aratos, the most famous Peloponnesian statesman of the third century, commanded the Sikyonians and Achaians. Among the Arkadians the two Megalopolitan commanders were Lydiadas and Leokydes. Lydiadas was in his day almost as famous as Aratos since, after being tyrant at Megalopolis, he took Megalopolis into the Achaian confederacy, and rose to the highest office.[21] Leokydes' ancestor Arkesilaos nine generations earlier had lived at Lykosoura near Megalopolis, famous for its sanctuary of Despoina.[22] One day he saw the sacred doe of Despoina, enfeebled by old age and wearing a collar with a metrical inscription saying that it was captured as a fawn when Agapenor was setting out for Troy.[23] Thus, through Leokydes, his ancestor Arkesilaos, and the sacred doe, the battle against Agis IV is linked to the heroic age of the Trojan War. Also, the Iamid seer Thrasyboulos from Elis had predicted that the Mantineans would win and fought alongside them in the battle; his memory was preserved by a very striking statue of him at Olympia, seen by Pausanias.[24] The last figure helping the Mantineans was the god Poseidon Hippios himself: according to Pausanias (8.10.8), the Mantineans said that the trophy was erected as an offering to Poseidon because he appeared during the battle and protected them.[25] Consequently the sanctuary itself, like

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presumably also any trophy from it. No trophy is recorded after the resounding defeat of Machanidas and the Spartans by Philopoimen and the Achaians (including the Antigoneans, Pol. 11.10.9–11.4) in 207, but it was certainly a success worth commemorating. Jost (1998) 181, on Paus. 8.10.8, suggests that the trophy seen by Pausanias beside the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios will not have been inscribed, so that—whatever its original purpose—over time it could be related to a victory over Agis IV.

[20] On the sanctuary, including its location, and the cult see Jost (1985) 132–4 and 288–92, and Lo Monaco (2009) 378–80, with earlier references.

[21] Berve (1967) 401–2, Moggi and Osanna (2003) 422.

[22] On the sanctuary of Despoina see Jost (1985) 172–8 and 326–37.

[23] King Agapenor led all the Arkadians to the war against Troy: Homer *Iliad* 2.603–9; Paus. 8.5.2–4 and 53.7. The belief that does could live for the equivalent of many human generations is already found in Hesiod (fr. 304 Merkelbach-West).

[24] Paus. 6.2.4–5. This Thrasyboulos may have been the man of the same name who erected a statue of King Pyrrhos of Epeiros at Olympia (Paus. 6.14.9), but that is uncertain (Paschidis (2008) 280–1: see also Flower (2008) 130, noting Thrasyboulos' self-advertisement).

[25] It is of course possible that the reason that the trophy—whatever the occasion of its original erection—came to be seen as commemorating an epiphany of Poseidon in the battle against Agis IV was because it stood beside the sanctuary of Poseidon, the tutelary deity of Mantinea: that is what Pritchett (1979) 34–5 appears to suggest, in somewhat obscure terms.

the adjacent *tropaion*, could be seen as a monument commemorating the battle. Pausanias' extremely colourful account of the battle has understandably been attacked as artificial and unhistorical,[26] and such criticisms are obviously justified if the account is considered as evidence for a historical event. However, if it is considered, as Pretzler suggests, as part of Mantinean history adapted to suit the interests of the Mantinean élite in the Roman period, then it makes very good sense, and it serves in particular to enhance the status of Podares. It appears, in fact, that the Antigonean family (or families) that used the name Podares did not merely borrow it from earlier Mantinean history, but embellished that earlier history to enhance the prestige of the name, partly at least by pure invention. There is even the possibility that the third-century Podares who commanded the Mantineans against Agis IV is invented,[27] like other features of the battle; if that were so, he would nonetheless illustrate the strength of the desire to glorify the name Podares. The elaboration of the Podares-tradition would of course have occurred as part of the wider process, set out by Pretzler, by which the Roman élite of Antigonea claimed the past of Mantinea.[28]

VI. Hadrian at Mantinea

Pausanias tells us a good deal about what Hadrian did at Mantinea, both for the cult of Antinoos and in other respects. For Antinoos a temple was built (Paus. 8.9.7); mysteries were instituted to be held every year, and games to be held every four years (Paus. 8.9.8); in the gymnasium there was a building with statues of Antinoos and paintings, most of which showed Antinoos as Dionysos (Paus. 8.9.8); and outside the city a stadium was built for the games in honour of Antinoos (Paus. 8.10.1). In addition Hadrian restored to the citi-

[26] See e.g. Jost's comment, 'Tous ces éléments semblent agencés de manière artificielle et suspecte' (Jost (1998) 181 on 8.10.5–7).

[27] According to Pausanias (8.10.5) three generations separated the Podares of 362 from his third-century descendant, but three generations, counted inclusively, seem too short an interval. However Thomas, in her study of oral tradition and written record in classical Athens, has shown how time could be telescoped in the oral history of Athenian leading families (Thomas (1989) 130–44: see also the entry 'telescoping' in the Index (p. 320) for further treatment of the phenomenon). In the development of an oral tradition of a 'Podares-family' the period between the Podares of 362 and his descendant in the third century could have been telescoped in the same way, since the interval was of no importance for those whom the tradition concerned. The interval of three generations is thus not necessarily evidence that the third-century Podares is invented, but does suggest an oral tradition.

[28] The governing class of Antigonea could show a certain taste for intellectual sophistication: see the analysis of the highly elaborate style of an honorific decree from Antigonea by Papanikolaou (2012).

zens the right to call their polis Mantinea instead of Antigonea (Paus. 8.8.12); had a new temple for Poseidon Hippios built around the old one which was in ruins, with strict precautions that nobody should see anything of the old *abaton* or remove any of its debris (Paus. 8.10.2);[29] and added a new inscription, which the emperor composed himself, on the tomb of Epaminondas beside the old inscription in Boiotian dialect (Paus. 8.11.8). Also, in the building in the gymnasium which contained statues and paintings of Antinoos there was a copy of the painting in Athens by Euphranor of the battle of Mantinea in 362.[30] Palagia noted that, being part of the decoration of a building associated with the cult of Antinoos, the copy of the painting was presumably done shortly after Hadrian's visit;[31] and in fact, by including the building in the gymnasium and its contents in his list of the honours for Antinoos instituted by Hadrian at Mantinea, Pausanias strongly suggests that both were due to Hadrian himself. Altogether Hadrian had a great deal done at Mantinea, enough to suggest that he had a strong personal interest. In addition several of the things that he did point to a personal knowledge of the version of Mantinean history current at Mantinea in his day and reported a little later by Pausanias. The restoration of the name Mantinea matches the desire of the local élite for continuity with the Mantinean past. The interest in the tomb of Epaminondas reflects the peculiar Mantinean view of the battle of 362 with its respect for the enemy commander, and the copy of Euphranor's painting again shows an interest in the battle of 362. The restoration of the temple of Poseidon Hippios matches Pausanias' account of the third-century battle against Agis IV in which the god played a notable role, and which was believed to be commemorated by the *tropaion* beside the god's sanctuary. Altogether it appears that Hadrian was familiar with the version of Mantinean history that we find in Pausanias, and also that he was sufficiently sympathetic to that account to act on it. We can deduce considerable goodwill on the part of the emperor towards the Mantineans.

[29] The sanctuary of Hippios is known to have been raided by the Aitolians. Pol. 9.34.9–10; Walbank (1967) 174 dates the raid to 244 BCE, but Scholten (2000) 118 is less precise. It is nonetheless strange that when the emperor Hadrian visited Mantinea the sanctuary, despite the importance of the cult of Poseidon, was in ruins (Paus. 8.10.2). The reason may have been that access to the sanctuary was forbidden (except possibly for cult personnel): it was an *abaton*, the entrance being symbolically barred by a thread of wool, and a myth told how Aipytos cut the thread and entered the sanctuary, whereupon he was blinded by a wave of seawater which caused his death (Paus. 8.10.2–4), and a Mantinean coin of the Severan period seems to show Poseidon punishing Aipytos (Jost (2010) 239–40). In any case it is clear that, whatever the state of the sanctuary, the god continued to be important for the Mantineans, since manumissions both before and after Hadrian's visit are dated by the priest of Poseidon (*IG* V.2.274–5, 277).

[30] Paus. 8.9.8: on the painting see Palagia (1980) 50–4, Painesi (2012).

[31] Palagia (1980) 54.

That in turn makes it likely that Hadrian himself went to Mantinea (as is often assumed). Clearly a visit to set up a cult of Antinoos would fall after Antinooos' death in 130 CE, and presumably in 131/2, when Hadrian spent the winter in Athens.[32] Hadrian was also in Athens in 124/5 and 128/9, and on both occasions went to Sparta,[33] and so on either occasion might have visited Mantinea on the way. Indeed, Halfmann supposes that he went there in 124/5, but the passages in Pausanias that he cites are undated, and he makes no mention of the Antinoos-cult and its implication for dating.[34] Mantinea was not then a city of great importance, and Hadrian would have little reason to go there before the link between Mantinea and Antinoos' home city Bithynion was established. At what date that link was recognised is discussed below, with arguments that it probably happened soon after Antinoos' death. Altogether it is more likely that Hadrian visited Mantinea only once, in 131/2, as Pretzler supposes.[35]

Hadrian would have had other sources of information about Mantinea besides the Mantineans. He knew well two descendants of the former royal family of Commagene, C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus and his sister Iulia Balbilla, and also their relative by marriage, the leading Spartan C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius Pius.[36] Philopappus settled in Athens, and knew Arkadia since he made a dedication at Lykosoura, near Megalopolis (*IG* V.2.524), but he died before 118 CE.[37] Julia Balbilla however travelled with Hadrian and the court on the journey in Egypt in 130 CE, on which Antinoos died,[38] and remained sufficiently close to her Spartan relative Herculanus to undertake the expense for the *heroön* erected for Herculanus at Sparta after his death and to supervise personally its construction.[39] Herculanus died probably in 136/7,[40] and in his will donated a stoa with exedra to 'the Mantineans and the local god Antinoos' (*IG* V.2.281). Spawforth suggests, following Kahrstedt, that Herculanus' gift to Mantinea was made because he owned property there,[41] and that may be right, but the gift also showed very public support for the cult set up by the emperor, to whom Herculanus was close. In addition to such eminent personal friends with in-

[32] Halfmann (1986) 194, Pretzler (2005b) 30.

[33] Halfmann (1986) 191–2.

[34] Halfmann (1986) 191.

[35] Pretzler (2005b) 30.

[36] Spawforth (1978), Birley (1997).

[37] Baslez (1992) 99.

[38] Bowie (1990), Brennan (1998).

[39] Spawforth (1978) 249–54.

[40] Rizakis, Zoumbaki, and Lepenioti (2004) 289.

[41] Spawforth (1978) 255.

terests in the Peloponnese Hadrian would have been accompanied on his travels by a group of intellectuals, as emperors typically were, and so could also have turned to them for information about Mantinea and the Peloponnese.[42] Moreover, the visit to Mantinea must have been carefully planned well in advance: the study of Hadrian's visits to cities in Asia Minor by Dräger shows the elaborate preparations made there to receive not only the emperor but also the large retinue that travelled with him.[43] We can therefore presume, although there is no direct evidence, that over a period of several months before Hadrian came to Mantinea there will have been considerable contact between the Mantinean élite and representatives of the emperor.

VII. Evidence from Antinoopolis

Antinoos died in Egypt in 130, and almost immediately Hadrian created in Egypt the city of Antinoopolis, commemorating his dead favourite.[44] The citizens of the new city were divided into ten tribes, and each tribe apparently into five demes, although for some tribes not all five demes are attested.[45] One tribe had the name Osirantinoos, associating Antinoos with Osiris, and four of its demes are known: Bithynieus, Kleitorios, Hermaieus, and Parrhasios. Bithynieus is the ethnic of Antinoos' birthplace Bithynion. The polis Kleitor and the district Parrhasia were both well known in Arkadia;[46] they may have been chosen for religious reasons, since in the second century CE Kleitor controlled the famous sanctuary of Artemis Hemerasia at Lousoi (Paus. 8.18.7–8), and the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios, whose cult was the most important in Arkadia, lay in Parrhasia.[47] The god Hermes was born in Arkadia and widely worshipped in the region, and Antinoos was identified with Hermes on coins of Bithynion (and elsewhere).[48] It has been suggested[49] that the missing fifth tribe of Osirantinoos may have been connected with Mantinea. In any case the known demes of Osirantinoos show that in Hadrian's

[42] Halfmann (1986) 109, Favreau-Linder (2012).

[43] Dräger (2000), see also Halfmann (1986) 90–110.

[44] Schubert (2013).

[45] The tribes and the known demes were listed by Beaujeu (1955) 167–9, and this list has been updated, with references to more recently discovered papyri, by Husson (in press). I am grateful to Geneviève Husson for allowing me to see her text in advance of publication.

[46] On Kleitor see Nielsen (2004) 515–16 and on Parrhasia Roy (2013)

[47] Jost (1985) 179–87, Roy (2013) 23–4 and 29–32.

[48] Hermes in Arkadia, Jost (1985) 439–56; Antinoos identified with Hermes on coins, von Mosch (2001), Nollé (2004), Pudill (2014) 54–60.

[49] Meyer (1991) 197, Marek (2002) 46, Husson (in press).

mind Antinoos, Bithynion and Arkadia were already closely linked when Antinoopolis was founded in 130, and it would be very strange if the link was not due to Mantinea, since we should then have to suppose some other connection—otherwise totally unknown and unexplained—between Bithynion and Arkadia, a connection that was then replaced in Hadrian's thinking by the Mantinean connection when Mantinea was chosen to receive the cult of Antinoos.

VIII. Mantinea, Bithynion, and Mantineion

The belief that the ancestors of the inhabitants of Bithynion were Mantineans is not recorded before Pausanias (8.9.7), though some scholars have suggested that the belief must have been well established before Antinoos' death.[50] That is in fact most unlikely, for the following reasons. Bithynion is generally believed to be a Hellenistic foundation, and there is no evidence of an earlier city on its territory.[51] The city is generally believed to be a foundation of the kings of Bithynia, but the territory in which Bithynion was situated was not under Bithynian control until 196 (or possibly 198) and it passed to the Attalids in 183,[52] and so the foundation probably fell between these dates. Bithynion may well have been founded by King Prousias I of Bithynia, but the only evidence to support this view comes from a restoration by Robert of the king's name in an inscription; if correct, the restoration would mean that Prousias received cult as the city's founder, but Cohen points out that the restoration is not certain.[53] Prousias came to the throne as an adult, probably in 230/29 and at latest in 227.[54] Clearly the belief that Bithynion had Mantinean ancestors could hardly have arisen before the Hellenistic period and, if the city was a Bithynian foundation, not before 198. Mantinea ceased to exist in 223, and resumed its existence only under Hadrian. Therefore, if Bithynion was founded by a king of Bithynia, the belief in Mantinean ancestors must date from the time of Hadrian. If, however, Bithynion was an earlier Hellenistic foundation, and the link between Mantinea and Bithynion arose before 223, the belief must then have been preserved over the three and half centuries during which there was no Mantinea, which is improbable

[50] Robert (1980) 138, Marek (2002) 47.

[51] Hellenistic foundation, Cohen (1995) 395–6; no evidence of an earlier city, Marek (2002) 31.

[52] Cohen (1995) 395.

[53] Robert (1980) 130, Cohen (1995) 395–6.

[54] Habicht (1957) 1086–7.

in the extreme since ancestry derived from a non-existent polis would have conferred no prestige. We can therefore deduce that the belief is Hadrianic.[55]

Strubbe examined the accounts of founders of cities in Asia Minor, and found that many of the stories are fiction, and that there was strong interest in foundation-myths in the second century CE, especially because of the Panhellenion founded by Hadrian.[56] Some cities prided themselves on being noble (*eugenēs*), because they had as founder a god, a hero, or a Greek or Greeks from a community with an ancient past.[57] Thus Aizanoi (also in northwestern Asia Minor) claimed to be noble, and was a member of the Panhellenion; according to one version (Steph. Byz. s.v. Azanoi) the founder of Aizanoi was Aizen son of Tantalos, but according to another (Paus. 8.4.3; cf. 10.32.3) he was Azan son of Arkas. The Arkadians were ancient, and an Arkadian founder guaranteed the status of Aizanoi.

It would therefore be understandable if Hadrian took the view that Arkadian founders were suitable to dignify Antinoos' birth-place Bithynion. Yet for Mantinea in particular to be chosen among the Arkadians as the community that created Bithynion there had to be some special indication of a Mantinean origin. No ancient source tells us what that might be, but modern scholars have made various proposals. The most persuasive was proposed by Robert (1980) 138–46, following Reinach; he showed that there was in the territory of Bithynion a place, or area, called Mantineion.[58] All the documents mentioning Mantineion (set out by Robert) date from much later than Hadrian (and Pausanias), but it is notable that these documents are all Christian, or at least have a mainly Christian interest, and there was a Christian monastery in the area: earlier, non-Christian, texts apparently found no reason to refer to Mantineion.[59] Robert argued that the connection between Mantinea and Mantineion must have been established before the death of Antinoos, and even that Antinoos will have been born at Mantineion: while some scholars have accepted Robert's suggestions in their entirety, even Antinoos' birth at Mantineion, others have been more sceptical.[60] However, while we need not believe that Antinoos was born at Mantineion, Hadrian might well have learnt from Antinoos that a place called Mantineion existed within the territory of Bithynion, and the striking resemblance of the names

[55] The name of Bithynion had been changed to Klaudioupolis, but had reverted to Bithynion by Hadrian's day; Hadriane was then added to the city's name. These changes would presumably have made no difference to any belief in the Mantinean ancestors of Bithynion. On the changes of name see Becker-Bertau (1986) 1–5.

[56] Strubbe (1984–6).

[57] Strubbe (1984–6) 257, Heller (2006).

[58] Robert (1980) 138–46.

[59] Robert (1980) 138–46.

[60] Accepting, e.g. Marek (2002) 47; more sceptical, e.g. Pretzler (2005b) 31 n. 61.

Mantinea and Mantineion would have justified the belief that the Mantineans were the ancestors of the Bithynieis. In the present state of the evidence the idea that Mantinea and Bithynion were associated because of the existence of Mantineion can only be conjecture, but it would explain very plausibly why Mantinea was chosen as the mother-city of Bithynion.

Another coincidence is that at Mantinea there was a mythical figure by the name of Antinoe (or Autonoe), who, guided by a snake, led the Mantineans from their original settlement at Ptolis to the site of the classical city, where she was said to be buried. The only evidence for her is in Pausanias (8.8.4–5 and 8.9.5), and, as Pretzler points out, at 8.8.4–5, where the name appears twice, manuscripts have Antinoe, whereas at 8.9.5 they have Autonoe: editors have generally preferred to amend Autonoe to Antinoe.[61] If Antinoe, a rare name, is the correct reading, then the resemblance to the name Antinoos is striking, and has been commented on.[62] However, since the myth of Antinoe does not appear to have been widely known outside Mantinea, this coincidence is unlikely to have been the main reason for supposing that the Mantineans were Bithynion's ancestors. If von Mosch is right to see on a coin struck at Bithynion in the third century CE a representation of Antinoe with a snake, then by that time knowledge of Antinoe's story had reached Bithynion, and was used to recall Bithynion's Mantinean ancestry; but that would not show that importance was attached to Antinoe in Hadrian's day. Von Mosch also interprets the obverses of a series of medallions struck at Bithynion towards the end of Hadrian's reign as showing successive scenes from the myth that Hermes, newly born on Mt. Kyllene in Arkadia, stole cattle from the sacred herd protected by Apollo: that would confirm that already in Hadrian's time Bithynion commemorated on coinage its association with Arkadia,[63] but the coin showing Antinoe (if von Mosch is right) is much later.

Robert also drew attention to the pastoral nature of the landscape in which Antinoos, he believed, grew up and to the pastoral traditions of Arkadia, and Goukowsky has followed him in stressing the supposed similarity of the two landscapes.[64] However, even if one discounts the fact that Mantinea was not dominated by pastoralism, and had a considerable extent of arable land,[65] similarity of landscape could only have been, at best, a secondary reason for linking Mantinea and Bithynion.

[61] Pretzler (2005b) 31.

[62] Goukowsky (2002) 233–4, Pretzler (2005b) 31, Scheer (2010) 284–5.

[63] von Mosch (2001) 111–21; see also Nollé (2004).

[64] Robert (1980) 134, Goukowsky (2002) 233.

[65] See e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.2 (surplus grain), 7.5.14 (harvest).

IX. Conclusions

Pretzler is right to see Pausanias' account of Mantinea's history as a version developed by the Mantinean élite. It glossed over the destruction of the city in 223, and its consequent replacement by the new foundation Antigonea, and presented the history of Mantinea/Antigonea as a continuum. Thus earlier events, and notably the battles in 362 and in the third century against Agis IV, were stressed as part of an uninterrupted past. The purpose of this version of the city's past was not to achieve factual accuracy, but to promote the prestige of the community and in particular of leading figures within it. Despite various anomalies that could readily have been identified by reading well-known writers like Xenophon and Plutarch, Pausanias accepted this account of the Mantinean past, and so too did Hadrian, who showed a notable interest in monuments of the two battles. Hadrian's goodwill towards Mantinea was due to his decision to establish the cult of Antinoos there, and that in turn was due to the belief that Mantinea was the mother-city of Antinoos' home city Bithynion. Given that from 223 BCE Mantinea did not exist until Hadrian restored the name, the belief must have arisen in Hadrian's day. Such a belief would not have been of great importance until Hadrian decided to commemorate the dead Antinoos by the foundation of Antinoopolis and the establishment of cult at Antinoopolis, Bithynion, and Mantinea. Then however it served Hadrian's purpose to increase the prestige of Bithynion by providing it with suitably ancient ancestors, and the belief in Mantinea as the mother-city of Bithynion made it the appropriate location for the cult in Greece, provided that its ancient name was restored. The Arkadian demes of the tribe Osiroantinoos at Antinoopolis show that the scheme to promote simultaneously Bithynion and Mantinea was put into effect by Hadrian soon after Antinoos' death.

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