A Hadrianic Theater at Ilion (Troy): a Paradigm Shift for Roman Building Practice and Its Aesthetic Aftermath

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INTRODUCTION

After many years of excavation and study we now have a reliable reconstruction of the Odeion (**fig. 1**), or small theater, at Ilion, the ancient city better known for its Bronze Age predecessor: Troy. The computer model (**fig. 2, fig. 3**) of the ruined monument, primarily the *scenae frons*, or stage building, is based on the excavated foundation, knowledge of some 75 inventoried architectural blocks, the statues found in the collapse, and many uninventoried fragments of wall molding and veneer. The methodology of the reconstruction is the subject of a forthcoming article; this paper is an investigation of some implications for Roman imperial building practices arising from the detailed study of the Odeion. Also important for the discussion is the context of Ilion/Troy and its mythical past, and the role that the emperor Hadrian most likely played in the creation of the second century AD *scenae frons*. The ultimate thesis put forth and illustrated by the Odeion is that there is a noticeable shift in the early second century AD in design attitudes, resulting from new building practices. After this change the mode of thinking of Roman architects was closer to that under Diocletian and Constantine (with their use of *spolia* in particular) than to the classical past, despite an emphasis on Hellenistic precedent in Asia Minor promulgated by Hadrian.

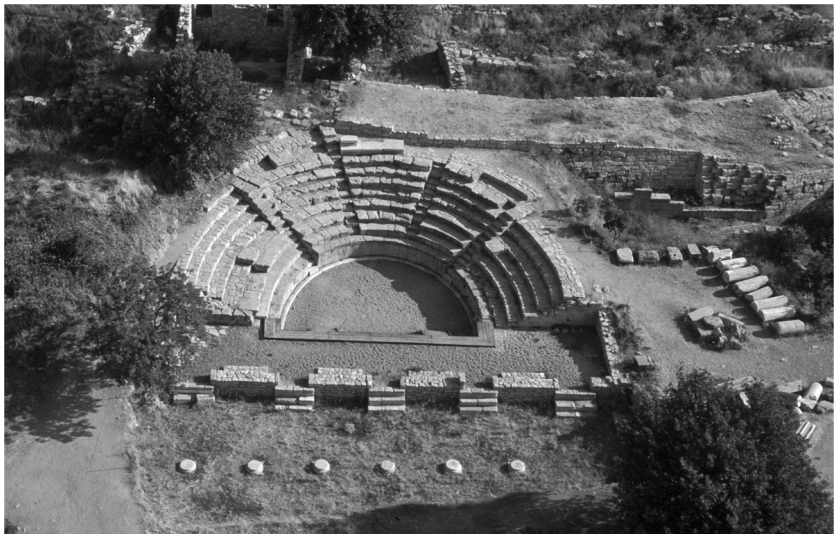

Figure 1. Aerial view of the Odeion of Ilion, ca. 1999 (Troy Project)

Figure 2. CAD model (rendered) of the reconstructed *scenae frons*

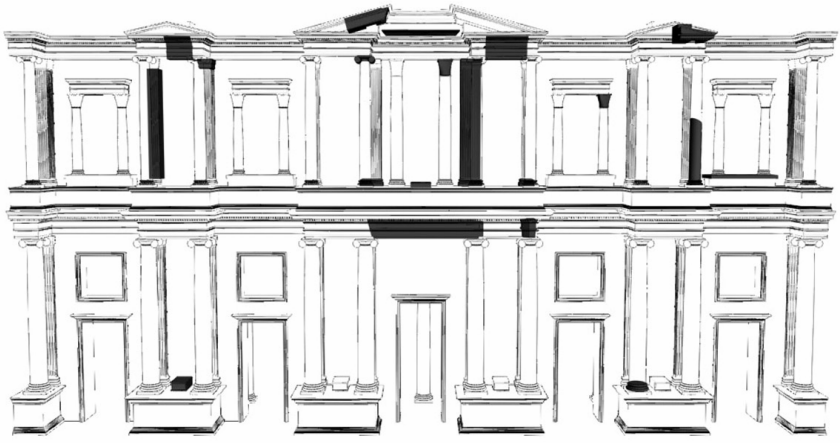

Figure 3. CAD model (wireframe) showing known blocks in dark tone

A SURPRISING NEW BUILDING AT ILION

In the early second century AD the provincial city of Ilion built a new theater unlike any architecture it had previously realized. At that time Roman Ilion was still best known for the large Hellenistic sanctuary of Athena (begun ca. 230 BC) with its imposing white marble temple complex bedecking the city's acropolis (Rose 2003). In contrast, the new theater was very small (perhaps the smallest in the whole Aegean area) and had an opulent *scenae frons*, or stage building. It was first

discovered by Heinrich Schliemann's architect and successor, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, in 1893, but received scant attention from archaeologists at Troy until recently (Aylward 2000, p. 138). Because of its diminutive size the current archaeologists from the University of Cincinnati name it an "odeion," place for recitation of odes.

Briefly described, the Odeion of Ilion had a two-storey *scenae* of very limited depth, even including the aediculated bays. The foundation tells us how limited in depth the whole construction was, and it also shows an irregular column spacing mirrored about the center. The center opening is slightly wider than the pairs of openings to either side, and the pairs of columns which frame each opening are spaced even closer together. This inflected spacing of the vertical elements tells us the projecting and receding sections of entablature repeat in the upper storey *in alignment* (or stacking) with the lower entablature. This is in noticeable contrast to the trend since the late first century BC in Miletus and Ephesos where the spacing of the vertical elements is uninflected, thus allowing the projecting entablatures to *alternate* (or offset) from storey to storey without gross distortion of proportions. A secondary effect of the "*in alignment*" type of scheme is a greater inflection toward and emphasis of the center; at Ilion the Odeion has a large broken pediment spanning the center three bays at the upper storey, and at the lower storey entablature level there is no concavity, as expected by the normal rules. The upper storey also confounds the rules by including three different orders: Ionic for the major columns, Pergamene for the center bay, and Corinthian for the secondary niches. The whole scheme was a carefully orchestrated composition in white marble elements juxtaposed to colored marbles (blue-grey, violet, pink, coral, red, beige, green and yellow), as is described in greater detail below.

The Athena sanctuary and the other important sacred precinct at Ilion, the so-called West sanctuary, appear to have used the Doric order exclusively. While imposing and well-proportioned, the architecture of Ilion prior to the Odeion was extremely conservative: no colored marble, no broken pediments and no Corinthian frilliness. Only the large Theater A with its three-storey stage building (early Roman period) used the Ionic and Corinthian orders in a public building. Thus the sudden appearance of a diametrically opposed architectural idiom makes one sit up and take notice. An outside influence of some persuasion is implicated in this choice of expression so much in contrast to local tradition.

The outside influence, perhaps the emperor himself, who brought the Odeion a new look did not succeed in changing things very much at Ilion. Subsequent large buildings (Baths, a Nymphaeum, a Portico) did use the Ionic and Corinthian but with little apparent innovation. However, this author will argue, the Odeion of Ilion had a very remarkable impact in other parts of Asia Minor, especially in Pamphylia.

Once we had proposed a likely reconstruction for the Odeion, we noted a strong resemblance to the theater of Aspendos, despite its being much larger (**fig. 4**). A close reading of Lanckoronski's 1890

account of his survey of the theater of Aspendos gives additional confirmation for the reconstruction (Lanckoronski 1890). One notes that at Aspendos, as at Ilion, the socles were revetments, not solid. He noted that the Aspendos Theater probably dates to the reign of Antoninus Pius (confirmed from an inscription), and he noticed a stylistic departure from Hadrianic architecture (as it was understood in 1890). As with the Odeion at Ilion there was a mix of granite columns in the upper storey amidst all the marble. The granite from Troy is very distinctive and comes from nearby Roman quarries (Ponti 1995). Lanckoronski also notes that the architraves and friezes are one piece and that the proportions are atypical, with the height of the architrave exaggerated compared to the compression of the frieze (this is a perfect description of the entablature blocks from the Odeion). He notes a 10 centimeter projection (in plan) of the paneled pilasters and corresponding wall-architrave (as at the Odeion). These are strikingly similar details. As a result, to fill in the gaps of our "best possible" reconstruction of the Odeion *scenae*, the Theater of Aspendos seems to provide a secure comparison, and we must conclude that the Odeion of Ilion is the likely model for the theater at Aspendos, which up till now seems to have emerged as an unexpected departure from the second century trends in façade design. We will discuss the further implications of this Ilion/Aspendos relationship below.

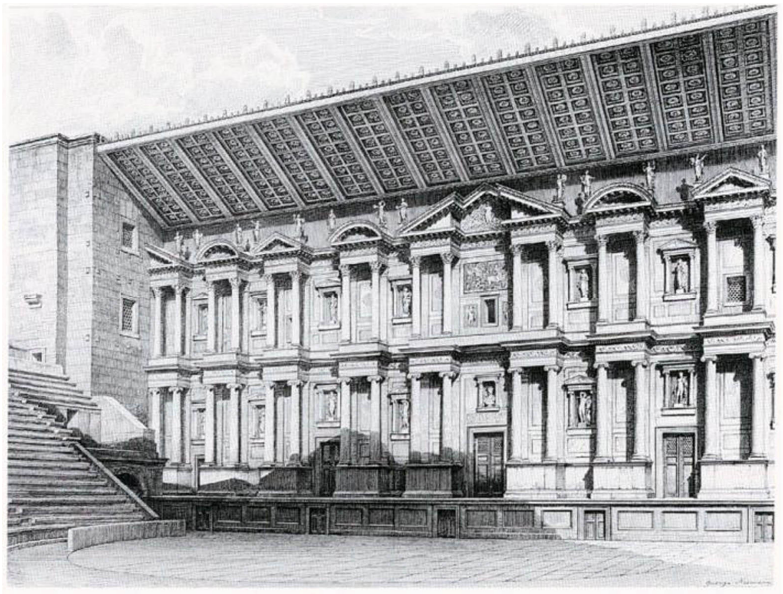

Figure 4. Reconstructed view of the theater at Aspendos (Lanckoronski 1890, table XXVII)

At first glance, the notion that an architect in Aspendos would choose as exemplar a tiny building, hundreds of miles away, seems unlikely. But reading into the literature of Roman imperial practices tells us that a connection existed, for which we now have another piece of evidence. J. B. Ward-Perkins has traced the involvement of quarry suppliers and marble workshops, passing from the

Proconnesian quarries of the Sea of Marmaris, through Mysia (Ilion) and on to Pamphylia (Aspendos) in particular (Ward-Perkins 1992, pp. 117-122; Aylward 2000, pp. 141-142). It is tempting to think that the design for the small Odeion at Ilion reaches the south via these same marble trade routes, but in particular is taken as a model because of the illustrious Trojan pedigree; the Romans had a special interest in Ilion because of the Aeneus legend (Erskine 2001. pp.42-43, 226-229). The fact that the major columns of the second storey of Ilion's Odeion *scenae* are grey Proconnesian marble might have made it a natural advertisement for the Marmaris quarries, exploiting the Homeric associations of Troy/Ilion in order to sell Proconnesian marble to Perge, Side, and the other cities of Pamphylia. After the flamboyancy of the Miletus nymphaeium, a three-storey Flavian alternating-aedicula scheme, the sudden appearance of a rather new and strict form of baroque at the Aspendos theater is remarkable, as noted by Strocka: suddenly excessive curvature is avoided; strong, clean lines appear; and the strong tabernacle forms accentuate the center (Strocka 1981, p 40). Why Aspendos? The existence of Ilion's Odeion as the model helps explain what happened at Aspendos. The architect at Aspendos, Zeno, then had the opportunity to "correct" some of the flaws inherent in his model (such as increasing the depth of the aediculae) and to adapt it to a larger building by adding the extra bays, which allowed more alternation of forms from bay to bay. And if we accept that Ilion's Odeion was the model for the theater at Aspendos, than to it goes the high praise of Margaret Lyttelton, who says the "design of the façade of the stage building [at Aspendos] is one of the outstandingly successful baroque architectural compositions which survive from antiquity" (Lyttelton 1974, p 264). Clearly, some of Ilion's architecture is owed a bit of attention at last.

The second century AD in Asia Minor was one of relative peace and prosperity. There is the possibility that Ilion wished to compete, in architectural terms, with its more affluent neighbors to the south, cities such as Pergamon and Ephesos. But when we look to the context of Ilion itself, we see few such attempts either before or after the construction of the Odeion. Once again, it appears that someone, possibly the emperor himself, provided the impetus for the creation of the Odeion's *scenae frons*. When a statue of Hadrian was excavated from the collapse of the *scenae* in 1993, exactly 100 years after Dörpfeld first discovered the Odeion, we received a clue to an imperial relationship (**fig. 5, fig.6**).

HADRIAN'S INVOLVEMENT WITH ILION AND THE ODEION

There are many arguments to support a direct Hadrianic involvement in Ilion's Odeion. The only argument against it is that there is no specific documentation to support it and that Hadrian is not the donor. Typical of Hadrian's enterprises while traveling in the East, however, was the pattern of patronage of civic projects. The local aristocrats were encouraged to donate projects, often in honor of Hadrian. The emperor himself was seldom the donor of record, the exception being the huge temple at Cyzicus (Lyttelton 1974, p. 271). Boatwright is skeptical (as she ought to be) of Hadrianic attributions based on stylistic features, yet she herself notes that the surviving evidence for the

period is as little as 5% of what may have existed (Boatwright 2000, pp 18-19). The arguments in favor of a Hadrianic involvement with the Odeion overwhelm the arguments against it, and are listed below.

Figure 5. The statue of Hadrian as it was found (Troy Project)

The first argument is the emperor's known presence at Ilion, in 124 AD (Boatwright 2000, pp. 140-142; Rose 1994, p. 90). During this visit we know that the historically-minded, poetic emperor restored the so-called Tomb of Ajax, and composed an epigram for the so-called Tomb of Hector (showing that as a Roman emperor with close ties to the Hellenic world, he honored the heroes of *both* sides of the Trojan war). Such a synthesis of opposites is typical for Hadrian. We know that in 129 AD Hadrian was at Ephesos, and Wolfgang Radt does not rule out a side visit to Pergamon, for the dedication of the Trajaneium (Radt 1999, pp. 210-212; Jones 1998, p.74). But a journey to Ilion at that time is unlikely. At any rate, like many tourists to Troy/Ilion, Hadrian arrived in search of associations with the myths and legends, but in seeing with disappointment the relatively modest settlement, and after initiating a new project or two, perhaps never returned.

The Odeion would have been the kind of project Hadrian especially liked (Boatwright 2000, pp. 127-128, 134). He saw the value in renovating existing buildings, and the Odeion was in fact an Augustan building (Aylward 2000, p.139). The emperor apparently could not resist making design changes to projects already underway, even to his own projects; Pergamon presents good evidence

for this phenomenon (Radt 1999, pp. 218-219; Hoffman 1998, pp. 41-43, 54). It is highly possible that a *scenae* renovation was underway at Ilion in 124. For the modest inhabitants of Ilion, the new imperial scheme would have appeared lavish and sophisticated. There is no building at Ilion prior to 124 with the palette of rich materials and articulated design elements found in the *scenae*. Left to their own devices, would the inhabitants of Ilion have commenced such a project? It seems unlikely, from what we know of building programs at Ilion.

Other aspects of the design correspond to our knowledge of Hadrianic building sites: the compression in depth may be due to existing physical constraints (Bieber 1939, p. 221), suggesting a design change made under time pressure (for example, to be ready for an imperial visit); as mentioned above, certain blocks are "fast-track" carved, which was the practice of the imperial building yards or, as some propose, due to imperial quarry standardizations (Davies, Hemsoll, Wilson Jones 1987, p.146). It is possible that Hadrian donated ready-made columns and other elements for use in the *scenae*, and that some of the odd dimensional relationships resulted.

Figure 6. The statue of Hadrian after cleaning and repair (Troy Project)

The Ionic capitals from the Odeion provide more evidence for Hadrian's intervention at Ilion. We have one preserved capital (**fig.7**) which is unusual for two reasons: first, it is very finely carved, perhaps finer than most pieces; and second, the lateral side of the volute is decorated with an acanthus leaf curling up as if from under the capital itself. Usually the acanthus leaves are arranged at a ninety-degree angle, springing from a fillet at the center of the volute side and stretching towards the volute faces, front and back. The only other place where the author has seen such a capital is at the Zeus Temple at Aizonoi, considered a Hadrianic building (Burrell 2004, pp. 116-118). Also at Aizonoi can be seen an innovative horizontal molding: acanthus leaves springing from an egg-and-dart. The pilaster capitals at the Odeion (**fig. 8**) employ such a motif, as do the Hadrianic pilaster capitals at the Asklepieion of Pergamon.

The use of the *marmor troadense* is another hint to Hadrian's influence on the project. Until the Odeion project, the Trojans never used this beautiful violet-toned granite, despite the quarry being located in the Troad, as far as excavations thus far have shown. Coincidently, at the same time the distinctive stone makes its first appearance in Rome, at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli (Ponti 1995, p 292, n. 6). It appears that the emperor/architect had an eye for the lovely stone; the major exploitation of this granite (technically not a granite, but a quartz monzonite) begins shortly afterwards, in the middle of the second century (Birkle, Satir 1994, pp 105-106). The effect of the pairs of violet-gray monolithic columns alternating with the pairs of white-gray Proconnesian columns on the second storey, above pairs of pink, yellow and gray columns on the first storey, must have been striking and novel, typical of Hadrianic projects.

Figure 7. The Ionic capital from the Odeion

Finally, the statue of Hadrian himself would appear to confirm the connection; at Pergamon there are several examples of statues of the emperor adorning the projects in which Hadrian also appears to have had a direct hand (Radt 1999, p. 212).

Figure 8. A pilaster capital from the Odeion (Troy Project)

ILION AND ITS MYTHICAL PAST

Hadrian's exact relationship to the Odeion cannot be known absolutely. Yet certainly one exists, and the documentation shows that the emperor had an interest in the Trojan story, and Ilion's continuing "Troy" tourism with his restoration of the Ajax tomb. The *scenae frons* of the Odeion was new, however, and could not be passed off as an authentic part of Ilion's past. But could it, as a backdrop architecture which every citizen might see at some time, convey special meaning?

The relationship between emperor, city, and cult was a complex one, as Beate Dignas makes clear, yet with Hadrian a pattern does emerge. He intervenes in Asia to restore certain Hellenistic institutions, including the sacred territory at Aizanoi (Dignas 2002, pp. 179-180). As we have seen there is already an Aizanoi connection at the Odeion. Zeus and an Anatolian mother goddess were both worshipped at the temple; these deities were also both very important to Ilion: Zeus as the father of the city's patron goddess Athena; and Meter, or Kybele, identified also as a goddess with close associations with Troy. We cannot rule out the possibility that some meaning now lost to us was embedded in the choice of architectural decoration. It is also difficult for us moderns, with a scientific approach to history, to understand the degree to which the ancients could conflate the past. Therefore Hadrian may restore Hellenistic institutions not only for the association with Alexander the Great, but also *through him* to Achilles; Alexander believed himself descended from Achilles through his mother, Olympias, a princess of Epirus (Erskine 2001, pp. 126-127). When we look at the architectural expression of the Odeion in the context of contemporary buildings of the same type, such as the Asklepius Odeion at Pergamon, we are struck by its relative "un-Roman" quality, and by a quality of being "old-fashioned" in the sense that it took Hellenistic and, at the latest, Augustan models such as the Bassus fountain at Ephesos. Ilion could promote its own identity through a building suggestive of remote and illustrious times, even if those times were only Hellenistic.

The two theaters in Asia Minor most closely associated with Hadrian (Pergamon's Asklepieion Odeion, and Ilion's Odeion) display the two widely different approaches to the aediculated façade which emerge in the Flavian period: the one at Pergamon is daring, offset, 3-storey and with even column spacing; that at Ilion is conservative, stacking, 2-storey and with the inflected column spacing its type of baroque facade required. Why were the different styles chosen for each locale? It can be argued that at self-confident Pergamon, the architecture of the *scenae* is an amalgamation of the new with the offset aediculae, and the very Roman with the 3-stories, a feature of late Republican theaters in Italy (Hoffmann 1998, p. 56). At modest and passé Ilion there is an attempt to speak of an illustrious past much attached to the Greek east, through the conservative stacking aediculae, but unified center, and a reflection back to the Alexandrian elements of the Hellenistic baroque, possibly considered "quaint" by 124 AD.

Another aspect of Ilion's exploitation of its own mythical past is discussed by Andrew Erskine, who demonstrates that rival cities often challenged Ilion's claim of Trojan heritage (Erskine 2001). It would have reinforced the city's claims if the emperor himself promoted the idea. During Hadrian's reign, the mint of Ilion struck coins with the image of the Trojan hero Hector, for the first time (Erskine 2001, p. 253). Brian Rose describes the ancient witnesses for the Hector and Achilles cults at Ilion, without being able to pinpoint exactly their locations (Rose 2003, p. 58). Nonetheless, it appears that Hadrian was active in helping Ilion fend off its rivals, and this begins to explain how the design of the Odeion could be disseminated to Aspendos, a city which sometimes claimed to have as founder Mopsus, a hero returning from the Trojan War.

Figure 9. The Odeion architrave block A075

THE EVIDENCE FOR A NEW MODE OF DESIGN AND BUILDING

The careful reconstruction of the Odeion allowed us to see certain tendencies in Roman architecture in action. For example, there are many individual stones with cuttings that can only be explained as

either mistakes, or as pre-fabricated pieces donated to the building project, but requiring modification (Boatwright 2000, p. 208). The pieces A075 (a lateral architrave section) and perhaps A628 (a raking cornice), could all be better explained if seen as "off the shelf" elements. A075 (**fig. 9**) has a finished profile on a part of the block which was undoubtedly built into the back wall, and therefore not visible. It makes sense only if one sees the block as a set of "yard goods" which are modified directly on the building site to suit the particular situation. The situation with A638 (**fig. 10**) is less clear. It appears that perhaps a standardized section of raking cornice was modified in the field to suit possible design modifications at the most critical place on the whole façade: directly above the statue of Hadrian at the center of the upper storey. In summary, the so-called mistakes do not seem to be the result of reuse (and they lack the multiple lewis holes etc. that speak of reuse), but of adaptation and ancient "fast-tracking". Ward-Perkins posited that in order to keep work flowing steadily at the Roman building site, that trainees would carve an excess of a certain type of block and then the master-builder(s) would adjust these to the actual conditions (Ward-Perkins 1992, p. 90). Such appears to be the case at Ilion.

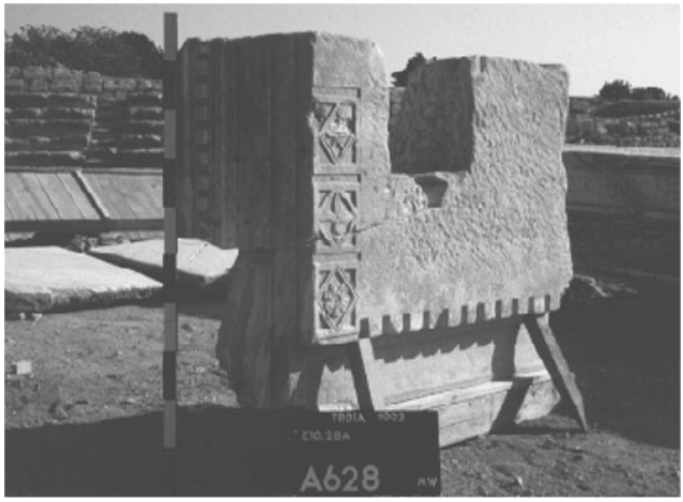

Figure 10. The Odeion cornice block A628 (Troy Project)

The style of carving of the entablature sections is of a consistent high quality; there are other elements, for example some of the pilaster capitals, where there is a variation in sculptural quality, yet they are such unusual shapes, that they must have been made for the building (**fig. 8**). The pilaster capitals are intended to follow the basic decorative schema of the beautiful Ionic capitals described above (**fig. 7**). The Ionic capitals are so similar to those at Aizanoi we can imagine that the same master hand is at work, traveling with Hadrian (Vandeput 1997, see Aizanoi figures). The pilaster capitals are then the local carvers creating a set to match the prestigious "Aizanoi" type. The entablatures are cut *en masse* by imperial quarry workers, and modified by the local builders. This arrangement would have allowed several things: first, a complex building may have gone up

quickly with the clear division of labor; second, certain items had great prestige through high quality but also through associations with the emperor, his quarries, and his building sites; third, there was a certain tolerance for fudging, especially if it did not detract from the general scenographic effect.

We have become quite accustomed to architectural interiors with the rich mix of marbles from the Roman imperial quarries; the Pantheon survived and inspired many Baroque architects of the seventeenth century, and the remnants of the empire provided and endless source of material for reuse throughout the medieval and Renaissance periods. Therefore it is hard to imagine how new such buildings appeared in the first and second centuries AD. Even if polychromy had been a feature of Hellenistic architecture, it could not have been well remembered outside of certain centers, perhaps Alexandria. A wall displaying marble from Bithynia, Mysia, the Peloponnese, Numidia and Thessaly would be a cognitive map of the Roman Empire. Marble takes on meaning outside of an innocent appreciation of its inherent qualities. Given the context of building at Ilion, this becomes very apparent. The preexisting monumental buildings, including the Theater A Roman *scenae frons*, were all made of a neutral white stone which was most likely a recipient of red and blue polychromy. In the Odeion, an optical pattern of stacked three-dimensional blocks, *opus sectile* inset into colored veneer, is an integral decoration, not intended for painting. It is also a direct expression of the power of the emperor.

At Ilion the local population must have been stunned to see the gorgeous marbles on display at the Odeion. Even the very local Troadense granite had never been used before at Ilion. Some of the other marbles which we can identify are Proconnesium, Verzirken, and Chium pink. All four colored marbles mentioned above were used only for columns. The only other places in the *scenae frons* where colored marbles appear are in the revetments and *opus sectile* panels (fragments of green, yellow and red were excavated but not inventoried). All other parts (moldings, bases, podia, pilasters, capitals, entablatures, jambs, and roof tiles) are a fine even-grained white marble, with no streaking. No quarry source for the white marble has been put forth yet. At the Odeion the Proconnesium was used for its own inherent coloration; clearly instructions went out to the quarry to select the blueish-greyish veins of the columns for Ilion. The grey-violet Troadense columns are very small, in contrast to later practice when very large monolithic columns came from the imperial quarry near Ilion (in fact seven large rough-cut Troadense columns can still be seen in the Yedi Taşlar [seven stones] quarry). At Ilion after the Hadrianic period small to medium sized Troadense columns appear. The Verzirken Breccia columns at the Odeion did not come in single pieces, but in two pieces, perhaps due to the very fragile nature of the stone (the surviving piece is very decayed). It is interesting to note that the marbles inventoried in 132 AD at the Ostia marble depot are from a limited range of quarries, including Chios (chium pink) and Proconnesos (Fant 1992, pp. 116).

Aside from the daring color scheme, the conservative composition of the Odeion's façade has been contrasted to the more daring offset aedicula schemes found at the nymphaeium of Miletus, or the

Asklepius Odeion at Pergamon. It is a design which evokes some earlier models, such as the Augustan Bassus fountain at Ephesos (**fig. 11**). If overall quite conservative (setting a new trend which emerges at Aspendos) some of the detailing at Ilion is quite innovative. For example, we can look at the horizontal stretching of the pilasters and their capitals. We see this at the Arch of Hadrian in Athens, and the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi. Wilson Jones and his two co-authors propose that when this happens at the Pantheon in Rome, it is the result of a mistake or adaptation forced by delivery of the wrong materials (Davies, Hemsoll, Wilson Jones 1987, p.135, fig. 1, pl. 7; p.138). The Hadrianic architecture of the Greek part of the Empire, despite the time pressure under which building occurred, seems to show that there was more intention and less haphazardness involved in these cases.

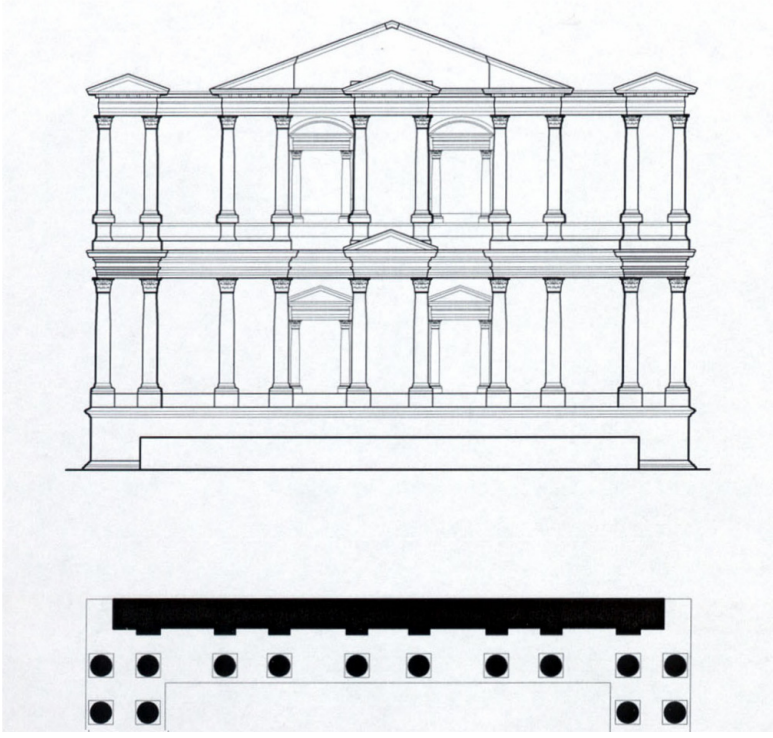

Figure 11. The author's reconstruction of the Bassus fountain, Ephesos

A final aspect of the Odeion design which is quite telling is the use of the orders. The major order for each storey is Ionic, with Pergamene appearing at the center of the upper level. The side niches of the upper storey are framed by the Corinthian. At first we think this combination of orders odd, but there are precedents for theater facades with two levels of Ionic, as indicated in a Hellenistic terracotta of a stage building (Lyttelton 1974, pp. 200ff.). The Hellenistic period is again our key for understanding the alternation of orders in the upper level of our façade. In discussing the use of

spolia in late Roman church architecture, Beat Brenk presents an excellent analysis of mixing the orders in Hellenistic buildings in Asia: the Heroon at Pergamon and the Gymnasium and Bouleuterion at Miletus (Brenk 1996, pp.51-53, figs. 1-3). Brenk then goes on with giving examples from the post-Hellenistic period, primarily the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi. Once again, therefore, we see the hand of Hadrian at work, promoting a Hellenistic look for myth-laden Ilion.

CONCLUSION: A PARADIGM SHIFT IN CLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE

The body of literature dealing with the origins of *spolia*-use in the Late Antique, and the continuation of the practice of reuse into the medieval and later periods, takes the discussion back to the period of Diocletian (Brenk 1996, p. 58). My thesis here is that the attitude and aesthetics involved in the Roman use of *spolia* has its roots in the early second century AD, and that my detailed study of the Odeion of Ilion shows how this came about.

Primarily, it is the development of the imperial marble trade to a new intensity under Hadrian which sets the new course. The peripatetic emperor and his entourage revolutionized the construction site in important ways. Hadrian's interest in renovating existing buildings (Boatwright 2000, pp. 127-128, 134) leads his team of architects to develop design agility, as they adapted innovative new designs to existing foundations. Design changes generated because of time pressures in this "fast-track" construction environment required an inversion of the classical norms as typified by the writings of Vitruvius and his Hellenistic sources. The emperor had unique resources and could command an array of quarry products, increasingly mass-produced or standardized building elements made from distinctive and recognizable marbles. The classical principle of design unity was inverted to make way for an aesthetic system of various parts. Each part of the classical ordering system became emblematic and no longer was subservient to the whole.

Under Hadrian, there were many reasons for looking back to Hellenistic models, especially in Asia Minor, where they were a real legacy. Design strategies such as a horizontal hierarchy of mixed orders seen in the Hellenistic buildings of Miletus were borrowed by the Romans; however, the master stone carvers were no longer exclusively local, but had heterogeneous associations. A certain kind of design control was relinquished once standardized quarry products were specified. What was gained from this abnegation of design standards, in addition to faster construction, was the display of a new set of emblems. Granites would always be associated with the emperor (Fant 1992, p.118). Certain colored marble monoliths would be associated with famous imperial donations, for example Hadrian's gift to Athens of hundreds of columns of Carystos and Phrygian for his library. The Orders could be used to tie together certain places in the empire; at the Odeion of Ilion we see references to important Zeus cult centers, Pergamon and Aizanoi, in the choice of Pergamene elements and the unusual Aizanoi Ionic capital. Boatwright points out that the expropriation of Zeus cults in Asia Minor was typical for Hadrian (Boatwright 2000, p. 160). At Ilion there was a strong association of Zeus with Athena in her sanctuary (Rose 2003, pp. 58-60).

The architectural elements are not neutral, but become laden with meaning. In this way the Roman approach after the early second century AD, although borrowing from Hellenistic precedents, was quite distinctive. The Hellenistic precedents, no matter how innovative, always retain the ideal of the unified whole.

The Roman architects working under these construction realities brought their design sensibilities into line with a system that was unlikely to support the original classical ideal of the unified whole. Thus when we look at the architecture of Diocletian's palace at Spalato we should not see a new approach making a sudden appearance without warning—the new ground rules were laid over a century and a half before and had not been violated under the Antonines, Severans and other emperors of the intervening years. The newly reconstructed Odeion of Ilion can stand as evidence for the notion that the true paradigm shift occurs in the time of Hadrian.

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