

HADRIAN AND THE ATHENIAN DIONYSIAC TECHNITAI

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Crucial to the history of the Dionysiac technitai at Athens under the Roman Empire is the series of letters and documents edited by J. Kirchner as *IG II² 1105*. Since that publication several new fragments have come to light. It is now a suitable time to reedit this inscription and to draw some further conclusions.* Currently eight pieces of the opisthographic Pentelic marble stele, now reduced to six by joins, have been identified. All preserved surfaces are smoothly dressed. The lettering uses lunate forms whenever possible and does not resemble that of the workshop ordinarily responsible for inscribing imperial letters to the Athenian state. The letter shapes of face A resemble those of face B, but they are slightly larger and less deeply cut, while those of face B are cut quite deeply. Kirchner could give the provenience of the five pieces he published merely as “in arce (?)” and one piece (EM 396) is known to have been transferred to the Epigraphical Museum ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικῆς Σχολῆς. The only piece whose provenience is certain is that found in the Athenian Agora. Kirchner’s edition, based on squeezes and on his own transcript (fragment *c*, the upper portion) and on the transcripts of Koehler (fragments *a*, *b* and *d*), is still the only attempt at a unified text. His readings, on the other hand, are not as dependable as those of Koehler (*IG III* 34–36 and *add.*

* Prof. J. H. Oliver has read this manuscript and the author wishes to acknowledge his many helpful suggestions. Mr. R. Laval Hunsucker has offered suggestions concerning the cult of Dionysus. Mrs. Dina Peppas-Delmousou and her staff at the Epigraphical Museum have extended their usual hospitality and assistance. Study of the text was carried out in Greece during 1970 under a fellowship granted by the ACLS. The need for a new text became apparent during the study of the Dionysiac technitai in connection with the Isthmian festival.

34 a,b). Both faces of fragment *e* have deteriorated since the readings of Koehler and Kirchner.

The fragments are as follows:

a. EM 3942 (= IG II² 4795, face A only) + EM 396. Two pieces preserving both faces and an edge: that to the left of face A and to the right of face B. Joined by M. Mitsos, *ArchEph* (1961) 198–201, with photographs (= SEG 21, no. 507).

Ht. 0.31 m.; w., 0.31 m.; th., 0.075 m.; l.h., (face A) 0.014–0.016 m.; (face B, lines 1–2) 0.018 m.; (lines 3–5) 0.014–0.016 m.; (line 6) 0.01 m.; (line 7) 0.007 m.

This fragment provides lines 1–6 of the text of face A and lines 1–7 of face B.

b. EM 8390 (= IG II² 1105 d). Fragment preserving a portion of both faces. Broken away on all sides.

Ht., 0.165 m.; w., 0.245 m.; th., 0.07 m.; l.h., (face A) 0.01–0.012 m.; (face B) 0.009–0.01 m.

This fragment provides lines 7–30 of the text of face A and lines 8–14 of face B.

c. EM 8391 (= IG II² 1105 c) + EM 13350 (= Agora I 397). Two pieces preserving portions of both faces. Broken away on all sides. Joined by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 40–41, no. 29, with sketch (= SEG 21, no. 507). The latter piece was found in a modern house west of the library of Pantainos (Q 14).

Ht., 0.46 m.; w., 0.21 m.; th., 0.08–0.085 m.; l.h. (face A) 0.009–0.01 m.; (face B) 0.01–0.012 m.

This fragment provides lines 14–33 of the text of face A and lines 15–42 of face B.

d. EM 8389 (= IG II² 1105 b). Fragment preserving portions of both faces, but broken away on all sides. J. H. Oliver has noted (*per litteras*) that the last five lines of face A align with the first five of face A of fragment *e*.

Ht., 0.35 m.; w., 0.26 m.; th., 0.075–0.08 m.; l.h., (face A) 0.01 m.; (face B) 0.009 (bottom) – 0.012 m.

This fragment provides lines 34–50 of the text of face A and lines 43–63 of face B.

e. EM 8388 (= IG II² 1105 a). Fragment preserving the left edge of face A and the right of face B together with the side between them. Broken away on all other sides. For the alignment with fragment *d* see above.

Ht., 0.295 m.; w., 0.14 m.; th., 0.08 m.; l.h., (face A) 0.011 m.; (face B) uncertain.

This fragment preserves lines 46–59 of face A and lines 59–63 (?) of face B.

f. EM 4649. Fragment preserving portions of both faces, but broken away on all sides. Published by P. Graindor, *BCH* 51 (1927) 248–249, no. 3 (= *SEG* 21, no. 507).

Ht., 0.27 m.; w., 0.22 m.; th., 0.082 m.; l.h., (face A) 0.01 m.; (face B) 0.008 m.

The placement of this fragment in the sequence is not certain, and a new series of line numbers is assigned to it.

Face A

a. 138–161 p.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 35 (lines 1–3)

ca. 60 (remaining lines)

Fragment a

δ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Χορείου [Διονύσου] ἱερεὺς τῆς -----
 Ὁμονο[ία]ς τῶν Ἑλ[λήνων] · Τιβ · Κλ · Ἀτταλος Ἄν[]
 [δ]ράγαθ[ος Σφ]ήττιος [-----]
 [. . .]κτη[. . .]του καὶ π[-----]
 5 [. . .]λο[-----]σπο[-----]
 [---]ρ[-----]

Fragment b

I [-----] . . [-----]
 [-----] vacat [-----]
 [-----] τοιούτων Ι[-----]
 10 [-----] τῆς σ[υνόδου] ἤρτηται πρω[τεύων] ? -----
 [-----] δον καὶ τινος τέχνης [-----]
 [-----] Αὐτοκ[ράτωρ] Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς [Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς -----]
 A small gap has been left between lines 12 and 13.
 [-----] ἔ]χρουσι τὴν σύν[οδον]-----

Fragment c

II [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ] θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ [Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς Τραιανὸς
 Ἀδρια]
 15 [νὸς Σεβαστὸς ἀρχ]ιερεὺς μέγιστος [δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ -- ὑπατος]
 [τὸ · Γ· συνόδω τῶν] περὶ τὸν Χο[ρ]εῖον τ[εχνειτῶν] χαίρειν. -----
 [-----] δ[]ποια ἢ πομπή εἰσα[-----]
 [-----] δέησθε ἔργω βεβα[ι-----]
 III [εὐτυχεῖτε. Ὁ Αὐτο]κράτωρ Καῖσαρ θε[οῦ] Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς
 Τραιανὸς]
 20 [Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστ]ὸς ἀρχιερεὺς μέγισ[τος] δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ --
 ὑπατος]
 [τὸ · Γ· συνόδω τῶν π]ερὶ τὸν Χορεῖον τ[εχνειτῶν] χαίρειν. -----
 [-----] ωτω αὐτοῦ φησ[-----]
 [-----] one line lost[-----]

- 25 [-----σ]υνο[δ-----]
 [-----]πατ[-----]
 [-----]νερο[-----]
 [-----το-----]ῦ χόρ[ου-----]
 [-----]έστιν [-----]
 IV [-----εὐτυχεῖτε. *Δ* Αὐτ[οκράτω]ρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
 υἱός]
 30 [Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβασ]τὸς ἀρχιερ[εὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς
 ἐξουσίας τὸ -- ὕπα]
 [τος τὸ ·Γ· πατήρ πατρ]ίδος συνόδῳ τῶν [περὶ τὸν Χορεῖον
 τεχνειτῶν· χαίρειν.--]
 [-----]σθη ὁ λόγος καὶ ὡς[-----]
 [-----] περιμενοντ[-----]

Fragment *d* and fragment *e*

- V [-----]οξ[-----]
 35 [-----στεφα]νειτῶν μο[υσικῶν-----]
 [-----]ην Κέλσου περ[ο-----]
 [-----]πεν ὑμῖν τῆς ἐπιστ[ολῆς-----]
 [-----] Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσα[ρ-----]
 [-----]ἐνταῦθα γραφῆναι ἐξ[-----]
 40 [-----]πα ἐν αὐτῷ εἰ δὲ τι λ[-----]
 [-----]α πράξει δικαίως ἰ[-----]
 VI [-----εὐτυχεῖτε. *Δ* Αὐτοκράτω]ρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιαν[οῦ
 Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς Τραία]
 [νὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς μέ]γιστος δημαρχικῆ[ς ἐξουσίας
 τὸ -- ὕπατος]
 [τὸ ·Γ· πατήρ πατρίδος συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ] τὸν Χορεῖον τεχνει[τῶν·
 χαίρειν.--]
 45 [----- ? "Ατταλο]ς ὁ κράτιστος φίλος μο[υ-----]
 [1-2]ατρ[. . .]ν[-----]α ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐ[τοῦ-----]
 καὶ τὰ [. . .]ριλ[-----]ῇ]γεμόνων μετέστω[-----]
 VII τοῖς [.]ρουλ[-----] εὐτυχεῖτε. *Δ* Αὐτοκ[ράτωρ
 Καῖσαρ]
 θεοῦ [Τ]ραία[νοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς Τραιαν]ὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστ[ὸς
 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος]
 50 δημ[αρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ -- ὕπατος] τὸ ·Γ· πατήρ πατρίδ[ος συνόδῳ
 τῶν περὶ]
 τὸν [Χο]ρεῖ[ον τεχνειτῶν· χαίρειν.-----]
 VIII ἱεροφαν[τ-----εὐτυχεῖτε. *Δ* Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ
 Τραία]
 νοῦ Παρθ[ικοῦ υἱὸς Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος
 δημαρχικῆς]
 ἐξουσία[ς τὸ -- ὕπατος τὸ ·Γ· πατήρ πατρίδος συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν
 Χορεῖον]
 55 τεχνειτ[ῶν· χαίρειν.-----]

ἀνδρῶν [-----]
 τὴν γεν[έθλιαν-----]
 παρασκ[ευ-----]

IX *Β* Αὐτοκ[ράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς Τραιασὸς
 Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς]

60 [ἀ]ρ[χιερεὺς μέγιστος κτλ.]

Fragment *f*

[-----]ρσ[-----]
 [-----]λοστ. λ[-----]
 [-----]ιοστ[-----]ισ[-----]
 [-----]εστηθ[-----]νου[-----]
 5 [-----]λ[. .]λιπσ[-----]τσ[-----]
 [-----]σθετο[-----]
 [-----]λεμ. εσ[-----]
 [-----]π. ι. ι. [-----]
 [-----]της [-----]

Face B

a. 138–161 p.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 32 (lines 1–4)

ca. 70 (remainder)

Fragment *a*

['Ο ἱερεὺς τοῦ Χορείου Διονύσου] *Β* ἰε[ρεὺς] τῆς
 ['Ομονοίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων · Τιβ ·] Κλ · "Ατταλος [Αν]
 [δράγαθος Σφήττιος-----]τω τοῖς περὶ τὸν
 [Χορεῖον Διόνυσον μουσι]κοῖς τεχνέταις
 5 [-----]γας *vacat*
 I [---]αισ[-----]ων
 [-----]ος

Fragment *b*

II [-----]μις[-----]
 [-----]οιτο καὶ ὑμεῖν αὐτ[-----]
 10 [-----]τῷ μὴ προσποιήτον τ[-----]
 [-----] ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ἄλλα γεινώσκω
 III [---]μου]σικοῖς τεχνέταις^{vv}χαίρει[ιν-----]
 [-----]ιστα ἐπρέσβευσεν Σαλ[-----]
 [-----]ρσιρτι[-----]

Fragment *c*

IV 15 [-----]Θεὸν Ἀδρι]ανὸν καὶ Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορ[α Τίτον Αἴλιον Ἀντωνῖνον
 Εὐσεβῆ]

V [-----]τάτοις^{vv}χαίρειν^{vv}εισ[-----]
 [-----]τηλ]ικούτων· ἦν ἃν οὖν ἐθεμ[-----]
 [-----]ο]ῦτως αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀνάξια κα[ι-----]
 [-----]γας μισθοῦ καὶ ἔγωγε οὐκ ἄν-----
 20 [-----]γένοιτο ὁ δημοσίᾳ τοιουτ[-----]

- VI
25
[-----] διαβο<λ>ήν ἡ σύνοδος λαμβαν[-----]
[-----] νων οὖν τὰ ἡμῖν τῆς συν[όδου -----]
[-----] ἐπαινέσεται ὑμᾶς καὶ συμπ[-----]
[--ἐρρῶσθα]ι εὐχομαι. vacat παρὰ Ἀτ[τάλον -----]
[-----] μην φέρουσαν πολλήν [-----]
[-----] ἀρ πρὸς τὸν ἀδικεῖν [-----]
[-----] κ[α]λὸν μὲν οὖν [-----]
[-----] ληγ[-----]
[-----] ν δὲ ἅπαξ τρ[-----]
30 [-----] ? γράψαντα ὑμᾶς εἰ[-----]
[-----] αι ἄξιον ἂ ἄλωντρ[-----]
[-----] ξ[ό]ανον· ἐγὼ δ' ὁ στρ[ατηγὸς ?-----]
[-----] δο[κ]εῖ δ' ἐμοὶ πονηρὸν[-----]
[-----] σας καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς εἰτ[-----]
35 [-----] θε ὑμ<ε>ῖς^ν καὶ γὰρ τὸ μ[-----]
[-----] τῆς παρούσης διαιτῆ[ς-----]
[-----] εἰδην ἐμαντοῦ κρα[τιστ-----]
[-----] πολλάκις ἄλλοις με[-----]
[-----] μὲν τούτοις ἑαυτοῦς [-----]
40 [στρατηγ- ἐπὶ] τὰ ὄπλα μετὰ ταύτην[-----]
[-----] πεπ[ο]ίηκά τε μακρότερον[-----]
[-----] ἔτερον χορὸν[-----]

Fragment *d* and fragment *e*

- VIII
45
[-----] μὲν οὖν ἐπεῖ [-----]
[-----] εἰς γινόμενοι καὶ [-----]
[-----] ε τῷ καλῶς ἔχοντι καὶ[ρῶ-----]
[-----] ν^ν τὸ μὲν οὖν πρέπον ἐνκώ[μιον-----]
[-----] τοῖς εὐ[φ]ρονοῦσιν πᾶς καιρὸς εὐ[-----]
[-----] ν οὗτοις ἁρμονίαν τε καὶ συ[μφωνίαν ?-----]
[-----] ων οὐδ' ἂν Ἀτταλὸς μοι δοκεῖ ? -----]
50 [-----] αι τῶν δικαίων ἀκριβεῖς π[-----]
[-----] ον ἐξεννόχατε Μουσῶν[-----]
[-----] πατρίδι πάντα μὲν μέλη λ[-----]
[-----] πολ[λ]ῶν μὲν δειθυράμβ[ων-----]
[-----] ος ἄξιον νομίσαντες [-----]
55 [-----] ων καὶ πονηρῶν κ[-----]
[-----] αι πανταχοῦ ταῦτὸ [-----]
[-----] εὐερ[γ]έτην θεὸν Ἀδρια[νὸν-----]
IX [-----] μουσικ[οῖς] τεχνίταις^{νν} [χαίρειν -----]
[-----] τ]ήν τοῦ ἱερέως ηπ[-----]]ΙΘ[-----]
60 [-----] Ἀτ]ταλον δὲ ἐπαινεῖ μ[-----]
[-----] αμεν καὶ παραχρῆ[μα-----]]εωφ[-----]
[-----] τὸν νοῦν πρόθυ[μον -----] καὶ
[-----] ατου καὶ κορυφ[-----]]ς
[-----] vacat to bottom

Fragment *f*

XI	[-----]ομ[-----]	
	[-----]Ι δίκης ἄξιον ἀλλὰ σ[-----]	
	[-----]νοι π[ά]ντας δὲ ρύθμου[ς-----]	
	[-----]ατων τὸ τὴν γνώμην [-----]	
	5	[-----? στή]λην παρ' ἐνὸς ὑμῶν τόσα[-----]
		[-----] καὶ ἀποπομπὴν ἐκ τῆ[ς-----]
		[-----]ν νῦν πρῶτον ὥφθη να[-----]
		[-----] Τίτον Αἴλιον [Α]δριανὸν Α[ντωνῖνον Σεβαστὸν
		Εὐσεβῆ]
	[-----]ντες φαίνεσθε οἷς Κλα[ύδιος Ἀτταλος-----]	
10	[-----]τος τὸν ὀρθότ[-----]	
	[-----]το]ῦς με. το[-----]	
	[-----]εν ὑμ[ῖν-----]	
	[-----]σ[-----]	

APPARATUS CRITICUS

The following critical apparatus does not cite fuller readings by the current editor unless the wording of the text is affected. In many instances these fuller readings attest to the soundness of the restorations of previous editors. As the basis for comparison of readings the sketches of Koehler, Graindor and Meritt have been preferred to their transcribed texts. The restorations of the last previous editor have been retained except for those items cited below and the restorations of lines 35, 57 and 58 of face A and lines 30, 32 (στρ[ατηγός]), 33, 37, 40, 48, 49 and fragment *f* lines 5, 8, 9, 12 of face B.

Face 1. Line 1: Mitsos [τ]οῦ Χορείου [Ἀντινόου. Lines 2-3: Mitsos [Ἀν]δ[ρα]γάθ[ου. Line 5: Mitsos - -]σπο[- -. Line 7: not read by Kirchner. Koehler (*IG* III 35) ρς. Line 8: noted by Koehler, but not Kirchner. Line 10: Koehler and Kirchner πρῶ[τον. Line 11: Koehler and Kirchner σύνο]δον καὶ. Line 12: Kirchner was able to read the dotted rho clearly. Lines 12 and 13: Koehler, who interpreted this as the beginning of a new letter, [Αὐτοκρ]άτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραια[νοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς τοῖς ἔχου]σι? τὴν σύν[οδον τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσσον τεχνειτῶν. In his drawing the nu and a portion of the omicron of Τραια[νοῦ as well as $\vee \wedge \iota \rho$ of ἔχου]σι. Line 13: Kirchner τοῖς ἔ]χουσι τὴν σύν[οδον.

Line 14: Kirchner read all of the dotted letters clearly. Line 16: Kirchner πατὴρ πατρίδος τοῖς π[ερὶ τὸν Χορείον [τεχνεῖταις. Line 19: Kirchner [Παρθικοῦ ----- υἱὸς] because of his longer estimated length of line. Line 21: Kirchner πατὴρ πατρίδος τοῖς π[ερὶ τὸν Χορείον

τ[εχνεύ]ταις. Line 28: Meritt -- ἐστι μ --. Line 29: Meritt -- Ἀντ]ο(κ)ράτω[ρ].

Line 34 has not previously been read. Lines 38–39: Koehler (*IG III add.* 34b) and Kirchner ἀντίγραφον, ἦν] Ἀντοκράτωρ Καῖσ[αρ - -] - ἔγραψεν· ὁ ἐ]νταῦθα γραφῆναι ἀξ[ιω?]. Line 42: Kirchner Τραιαν[οῦ υἱὸς to fit his shorter estimated length of line. Line 44: Koehler and Kirchner τοῖς περὶ] τὸν Χορεῖον τεχνεύ[ταις. Line 45: Mitsos ὁ κράτιστος φί[λο]ς μ[ου Τιβ. Κλ. "Ατταλος Ἀνδραγάθου Σφήττιος - -]. Line 46: Koehler (*IG III* 34) and Kirchner . . . τ -- -. Kirchner πατρίδι μ[ου, corrected by Mitsos. Koehler had recorded a triangular letter form for the alpha. Line 47: Kirchner was able to read the eta. Line 48: Koehler τοῖς ε -- οὐλ. Kirchner τοῖς ε[- -. Lines 49–51: restorations and line divisions are based on Oliver's alignment of fragments *d* and *e* (*per litteras*). Line 49: Koehler θεοῦ Τραλία (*sic*), corrected by Kirchner. Kirchner read the dotted omicron clearly. Line 50: Koehler and Kirchner δημ[α]ρχ[ικῆς. Kirchner read the dotted letters clearly. Line 51: Koehler and Kirchner τον . . ορε --. Lines 54 and 55: Kirchner, following Koehler τοῖς περὶ τὸν Χορεῖον] τεχ[ν]εύ[ταις. Koehler was able to read τεχ[ν]εύ[ταις. Kirchner's restoration resulted in a line shorter than those preceding it. Line 57: Koehler τῇν γεν[ομένην ?]. Line 59: Kirchner αὐτοῖ --, without the leaf. Koehler recorded the leaf, but Mitsos first noted the beginning of a new document.

Fragment *f*, line 1: Graindor read both letters clearly as well as the horizontal stroke of the base of a third. Line 2: omitted by Graindor. Line 3: Graindor λιοστ. Line 4: Graindor εοτ and νο. Line 5: Graindor read A for the initial dotted lambda. Line 6: Graindor οθετο. Line 7: Graindor εμ ω. Line 9: Graindor ∩ ∪ ∩.

Face B. Line 1: Mitsos [ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Χορείου Ἀντινό]ου. Lines 3–4: Mitsos [Ἀν]δραγάθου. Line 4: Mitsos [Χορεῖον καὶ τοῖς Διονυσι?]κοῖς τεχνεύ[ταις. Woodhead (*SEG* 21, no. 507) Διονυσια(?)]κοῖς. Line 5: Mitsos --]ιας. Line 6, beginning, and line 7: not previously read.

Line 9: Koehler (*IG III* 36) ὑμῶν ΑΙΥ. Kirchner ὑμῶν --. Line 11: Koehler γεινώσκω. Kirchner γεινώσκ[ω. Koehler and Kirchner would have a new letter begin here with Ἀντοκράτωρ -- -]. Line 12: restored by Oliver (*per litteras*). Koehler Διονυ]σι<α>κοῖς. Kirchner Διονυ]σικοῖς. Line 13: Koehler and Kirchner -- κράτ]ιστα ἐπρέσβευεν Σάλ[ουιος (*vel* Σαλ[λοῦστιος]?). Line 14: Koehler '∩'. Kirchner -- -ισ --.

Line 15: Kirchner --ον καὶ αὐτοκράτ --. Line 16: Mitsos ∞ εἰω[θα - -] Line 23: Kirchner read the initial pi clearly. Line 24: Mitsos first recognized παρὰ Ἀτ[τάλου. Line 27: Kirchner τ]ὸν μὲν οὖν --. Mitsos first made the correct reading. Line 28: not previously read. Line 29: Meritt --]ν δέ. Line 30: Meritt εἰ[- -. Line 31: Meritt --αι ἄξιον

ἄλλων π- -. Woodhead restored -- κ]αὶ ἄξιον. Line 34: Meritt ἐορτὰς εἰπ- -. Line 36: Meritt διαιτί[ας --. Line 38: Meritt μο[- -.

Line 43: Kirchner ἐπεὶ [- -. Line 44: Koehler and Kirchner καὶ [- -. Line 45: Kirchner καί[ρῳ. Line 46: The uninscribed half-space, used as punctuation, has not previously been noted. Line 47: Koehler read the phi, but not Kirchner. Line 48: Kirchner -- τ]οῦτοις ἀρμονία τε καὶ σν- -. Koehler and Mitsos had the correct reading. Line 49: Koehler --]ον οὐδ'. Line 50: Koehler and Kirchner -- ἐξέταστ]αὶ τῶν. Line 51: Koehler --]ον (*fort.* δν) ἐξενήνόχαστε Μουσω[νίου (*an* Μουσῶ[ν ?). Kirchner --]ν, corrected by Mitsos. Line 52: Koehler saw the lower half of a vertical stroke after μέλη, but not Kirchner. Line 53: Kirchner read the beta clearly. Line 57: Koehler and Kirchner ἀγωνο]θέτην, corrected by Mitsos. Line 58: Kirchner overlooked the uninscribed space, although Koehler had noted it. Koehler Διονυσιακ]οῖς. Kirchner τ]οῖς. Line 59: Koehler and Kirchner ἱερέως ἐπ[- -, corrected by Mitsos. Koehler and Kirchner --]ΙΟ[- -. Line 60: Koehler δὲ ΕΑΙΝ (= ἐᾶν[?]) εἰμ... Kirchner δὲ ἐπαινέιν [- -. Mitsos δὲ ἐπαινεί μ[- -. Line 61: Koehler and Kirchner --]εωσ[- -. Line 62: Koehler καμ. Kirchner without dotted letters. Line 63: Koehler ... τοῦ καὶ κο... Kirchner -- τοῦ καὶ το[- -. Mitsos πρῶ]του καὶ κορυφ[αίου --. At the end of the line both Koehler and Kirchner were able to read νοῦς...s.

Fragment *f*, line 1: Graindor saw both letters clearly. Line 2: Graindor saw the lower half of the iota of ᾗ[ξι]ον. Line 7: Graindor did not record the uninscribed space used as punctuation. Line 11: Graindor --]με.πο[-. Line 13: Graindor --]ρ- -.

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

The letters cited or described below should be understood as those dotted in the text. Epigraphical considerations alone, and not linguistic, govern this commentary.

Face A. Line 1, tau: the tip of each end of the cross-bar. Line 5, omicron: theta is also possible. Line 6, rho: the upper portion only of the vertical is definite; the trace of the top of the loop might also be a scratch; if it is a scratch, a circular letter may follow, although the trace of its upper right hand edge is uncertain because of the corroded condition of the stone at this point. Line 10, the second (undotted) eta: right hand vertical and a trace of the cross-bar. Line 12, rho: the loop is visible at the edge of the stone. Line 13: only the upper portions of the dotted letters.

Line 14: the lower portions only of all the letters. Line 16, pi and tau: the tip of the cross-bar in each case. Line 17, alpha: lambda is also possible. Line 24, omicron: lower forward quarter of the circumference of a circle.

Line 26, omicron: on the break the outer edge of about one third of the circumference. Line 27, upsilon: chi or kappa is also possible. An alternate restoration might be $\tau\omicron]\psi \chi\omicron\rho[\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$. Line 28, nu: full height of the left edge of a vertical stroke. Rho: a trace only of a vertical stroke on the break. Line 31, iota: the lower tip of a vertical line. Nu: the full height of a vertical line on the break. Line 32, sigma: the left half of the circumference of a circle. Line 33, tau: complete length of the horizontal bar.

Line 34, omicron: the bottom third of the circumference. Xi: the horizontal bar at the base. Line 36, omicron: the left half of the perimeter. Line 37, pi: the lower end of the final vertical stroke; the spacing suggests pi. Tau: the end of the cross-bar. Line 38, alpha: the lower tip of the rising bar. Line 40, pi: the end of the cross-bar; a downward curve resembles that of the bar of pi elsewhere. Line 41, iota: a complete free-standing vertical bar; but since the right angle corner of kappas elsewhere often do not touch the vertical bar, the reading cannot be certain. Line 45, lambda: the bottom edge of the rising stroke. Omicron (first): intermittent clear traces of a large portion of the circumference through corrosion. Omicron (final): the edge of a third of the circumference on the break. Line 46, alpha: the lower end of the descending stroke. At the beginning of the corrosion following the $\alpha\tau\rho$ is a small trace possibly of a circular letter, possibly from a scratch. Upsilon: the lower portion of a vertical bar. Line 47, rho: the upper portion of the vertical is sure; the rest of the shape is visible through corrosion; beta is also possible. Sigma: the two ends of the lunate shape are clear and the trace of the rest is visible beneath corrosion; epsilon is also possible. Line 48, rho: a trace of the edge of the curve of the loop, although flaking makes the trace suspect. Line 49, omicron: about half the circumference of a round letter. Line 50, alpha and delta: in both cases the peak of a triangular letter. Line 51, nu and iota: a free standing lower end of a vertical bar in each case. Line 55, nu: the outline of a letter whose external shape is rectangular; the center is flaked. Tau: the tip of the cross-bar. Line 60, rho: about two thirds of the loop; beta is also a possible reading.

Fragment *f* is very badly worn. Traces of many letters can be seen, but because they are fleeting and confused with scratches or flaking, it is impossible to suggest readings. Line 1: faint traces of two circular letter forms. Line 2, lambda (initial): flaking within a triangular area. Lambda (final): traces which may represent the two legs of a lambda or which may be scratches. Line 3, iota (initial): a faint vertical stroke, probably free standing. Iota (final) and omicron: intermittent traces of a vertical line and a circle, with no clear indication of the absence of other connected lines or, in the case of the circle, of the presence or absence of a break in its

circumference. Line 4, epsilon: any circular or lunate letter is possible. Eta: two vertical lines, with the area between them obscured. Theta: a circular shape which might belong to any circular letter, including omega. Line 5, each lambda could be either of the other triangular letters. Each sigma might be any other circular or lunate letter. Line 7, lambda: the faint trace of the full height of the descending bar. Sigma: faint traces of a circular or lunate letter. Line 9, tau: one half the cross bar. Sigma: a quarter the circumference of a circular or lunate letter.

Face B. Line 1: the bottom portions only of the dotted letters are preserved. Line 4, kappa: the forward tips of two converging diagonal lines. Nu: the final vertical bar. Epsilon: a lunate shape beneath flaking. Line 5, nu: the final vertical bar. Line 6: the upper tips only of the dotted letters are visible above the break.

Line 8, sigma: the lower forward quarter of a circular or lunate letter. Line 9, epsilon: the lower forward quarter of a circular or lunate letter. Upsilon and tau: the lower ends of the vertical bars. Another possible restoration would be "A77[αλος --. Line 14: only the uppermost portions of all letters are preserved.

Line 15, alpha: the lower end of the descending bar. Only the lowest portions of the remaining dotted letters are preserved. Line 16, sigma: the forward third of the circumference of a circular or lunate letter. Line 20, gamma: the end of the horizontal bar. Line 21, lambda: alpha on the stone. Line 22, nu: the full height of the forward vertical with the upper half free-standing. Line 23, epsilon: the upper end of the luna; not enough is preserved to guarantee that it is not the end of a horizontal bar. Line 24, iota: the upper two-thirds standing free. Line 26, alpha: the descending stroke along a break. Line 28: the upper and lower tips of the letters can be seen on the breaks. Line 29, nu: final vertical on the break. Omicron: the forward lower quarter of a circular or lunate letter. Line 30, epsilon: a lunate shape. Iota: the lower tip. Line 31, omicron: the forward side of a curved letter form on the break. Line 35, epsilon (bracketed): sigma on the stone. Line 36, tau: the end of the cross-bar. Eta: the initial vertical. Line 38, epsilon: a lunate form with the lower tip obscured; there is pitting where the cross bar ought to be. Line 39, sigma: the line of the curve is visible on the break. Line 41, omicron: the center is pitted. Line 42, each epsilon might also be sigma. Omicron: a quarter of the curve of a lunate or circular letter on the break.

Line 43, iota: the lower half. Line 44, iota: the bottom tip. Line 45, iota: the lower third. Line 52, lambda: the bottom of the rising bar; the slope is less than one would expect, so that a letter beginning with a vertical stroke is also possible. Line 53, beta: rho is also possible. Line 54, omicron: about half the circumference of a circular letter. Lines 59-63: the

letters read on fragment *e* represent shapes often vague which survive despite serious corrosion. Line 59: the clear remains of a vertical stroke closely followed by a circular shape. Line 61, epsilon: a lunate shape. Omega: a circular stroke, believed to belong to an omega because of the narrowness of the loop and the resolution of the end of the stroke into a line apparently straight and at a slight slant. Omicron: any letter whose initial edge is curved is possible. Line 62, kappa: a certain reading if the traces truly belong to a letter and are not merely scratches or corrosion. Alpha: a triangular shape. Iota: the traces might be corrosion, but seem more likely to represent the remains of a letter. Line 63, alpha: the descending bar of a triangular letter on the break. Rho: the upper half, but somewhat corroded. Upsilon: the upper-most portions.

Fragment *f*. Line 1, mu: lower edge of a circular letter distinguished by a mark which is probably the tail of a mu, but which could be a scratch. Line 2, iota: full height of vertical bar; possible contiguous bars are obscured by corrosion. Alpha: lambda is also possible. Line 5, lambda: the peak of a triangular letter. Line 7: the outlines of nu and pi are barely visible beneath the corrosion. Theta: the central dot is obscured. Line 9, nu: the upper half of the final vertical bar. Epsilon: the curve of the base of a circular or lunate letter. Line 10, tau: half the cross-bar. Line 11, upsilon: the line of the vertical and one slanting bar, but unclear because of corrosion. Sigma and epsilon: lunate letter shapes. Line 12, epsilon: a lunate letter shape.

SEQUENCE OF THE FRAGMENTS

Face A contains a series of letters from the emperor Hadrian to the synod of Dionysiac technitai at Athens. The uniformity of lettering suggests that the whole series was inscribed on one occasion. Parts of at least seven letters are preserved. Similarly face B contains a series of documents, but if one judges from the brevity of the headings, apparently not imperial letters. The uniformity of lettering on this side also suggests that it was inscribed on a single occasion, although not necessarily at the same time as face A.

Fragment *a* preserves the heading of both faces of the stele. An uninscribed area at the top of fragment *b* on face A probably represents the transition from this heading to the actual text, especially in the light of the minimal indication of the separation between the individual letters below. The text of face A of fragment *b* (document I) seems to be an introductory paragraph rather than an actual letter. The

meaning of the somewhat greater interlineation between lines 12 and 13 is not immediately clear.

The restorations on face A of the imperial titles and of the name of the synod caused problems for Kirchner when it came to balancing out the length of the lines.¹ The joining of the two pieces of fragment *c* by Meritt has permitted a more accurate estimate of the length of the lines in the headings of the individual letters and has pointed up the necessity of omitting *pater patriae* from the imperial titles in two of them (documents II and III). This indicates that these must be the two earliest of the preserved headings of letters. J. H. Oliver's observation of the relationship of fragment *d* to fragment *e* guarantees that these are to be placed lowest among the preserved fragments, since fragment *e* contains the final line on face B, and therefore must be the lowest preserved fragment. The placement of any fragment on face A (or face B), of course, determines the relative position of the text on the opposite face.

The placement of fragment *f* is not clear, since the text of face A is too badly corroded to permit the necessary restorations; while face B gives no clear indications. Certainly it belongs above the lower part of fragment *e*.

DIONYSUS CHOREIOS AND ANTINOUS

Mitsos has restored the title of the priesthood as that of Antinous Choreios on the basis of an inscribed seat in the theater of Dionysus.² The epithet technically belongs to Dionysus and so it was used in the letters on face A. Plutarch applies it to Dionysus.³ In non-literary sources it occurs only at Athens, where it would be natural in the light of the city's dramatic tradition; but it does not occur beyond the few documents cited here. In considering this cult of Dionysus and especially the application of the epithet to Antinous, two principles must be considered: first that it was not unusual for the technitai to

¹ See apparatus criticus, notes to lines 19 and 42.

² IG II² 5062, *ἱερέως Ἀντινόου Χορείου ἐκ τεχνειτῶν*. G. Blum, *JIAN* 16 (1914) 61-64, comments on the prestige of those on whom functions in Antinous' cult were conferred.

³ *Quaest. conviv.* 5 (680B) and *de coh. ira* 13 (462B); in both instances it is coupled with *Lyaios*, and in the latter the two epithets are opposed to *Ômêstês* and *Mainolês*.

bestow the epithet "new Dionysus" and the associated cult on those persons whom they wished to honor; second that at Athens we are dealing with a mystic synod, that is an organization of *technitai* specifically devoted to the maintenance and performance of rites related to a specific localized cult.

At Athens it is said that Alexander was decreed to be Dionysus,⁴ and various Ptolemies were among those venerated by the Dionysiac *technitai* elsewhere.⁵ At Athens the most striking exercise of this prerogative was the case of Mithridates of Pontus.⁶ Mark Anthony and Caligula also bore the title "new Dionysus," the former certainly at Athens, but there is no specific connection of the epithet with the *technitai*.⁷ Although Trajan is called the "new Dionysus" by the oecumenical synod,⁸ the emperor who is most attested in this manner is his Philhellene successor.⁹ Antoninus inherited the honor, but it

⁴ For references see W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911) 11–12.

⁵ *OGIS* 50, 51 (= F. Poland, *RE* 5 [1934] Nachtrage, s.v. *Technitai*, 2473–2558, nos. 34, 33); *OGIS* 164 (= Poland, no. 39), 166 (= Poland, no. 38), and probably *SEG* 13, no. 586; Ptolemy Auletes had "new Dionysus" as part of his official titles, *SEG* 8, no. 468. On ruler cults generally see Poland 2515, 2524.

⁶ Athenaeus 5.49 (212DE); Poland (above, note 5) 2500 believes that the result of the role played by the *technitai* was the exile of the Athenian Synod to Eleusis. *IG* II² 1338, which honors Philemon for his services in the Eleusinian functions of the Synod in the years 78/7 and 77/6 B.C., was indeed found at Eleusis. But the Athenian *technitai* did have functions in the mysteries (see below), and another decree, *IG* II² 1340, apparently of the same *technitai* and dated to the mid-first century before Christ, was found on the Acropolis. The Eleusinian decree does indicate that the resources of the Athenian *technitai* were diminished, a fact which is borne out by the lack of source material until Hadrianic times and the generally poor economic state of Athens until Hadrianic times (e.g. see Paus. 1.20.7).

⁷ Athen. 4.29 (148CD). For Antony, see also Plut. *Ant.* 60; Seneca *Suas.* 1.6; Zonar. 10.23; *IG* II² 1043, line 23; but Athen. 4.29(148C) relates *λειτουργούντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας μεταπεμφθέντων ἀκροαμάτων*. Whether the Athenian *technitai* had ceased in that city, or Athens had not deigned to provide them, or whether Antony preferred his own company, is not clear.

⁸ *SEG* 7, no. 825; on the meaning of portions of this document, see L. Robert, *Mélanges Syriens offerts à René Dussaud* (Paris 1939) 735–38, (= *Opera Minora Selecta* I [Amsterdam 1969] 607–10). He is also eponymous of the synod at Nîmes, *IGRR* 1, no. 18 (Poland [above, note 5] no. 53). For Trajan and this synod, see Poland (above note 5) 2517.

⁹ E.g., *SEG* 6, no. 58; 59 (Poland [above, note 5] no. 74); *IGRR* 3, no. 211 (Poland, no. 73); *Sardis* 7(1), no. 13 (Poland, no. 21); 14 (Poland, no. 22); Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique* (Paris 1847–70) no. 1619 (Poland, no. 64). On Chios he is so entitled on a dedication of the demos, *SEG* 15, no. 530, and the synod at Nîmes, *IGRR* 1, no. 17 (Poland, no. 52) was named after him. See Poland, 2517–18.

seems not to have passed to succeeding emperors.¹⁰ Under the empire the use of the name of the emperor beside that of Dionysus in the title of a synod, with a single exception,¹¹ appears to have been the prerogative of the oecumenical synod of technitai. The name of the emperor does not appear coupled with that of Dionysus in the titles of the mystic synods.

For a given group of technitai to be organized into a mystic synod, that is to devote themselves to a given cult and to take the name of the synod from that cult, is attested elsewhere than at Athens.¹² The independent status of the synod around Dionysus Kathêgemôn was maintained in the official title of the organization of the technitai even during the period when the synod was joined with the synod of Ionia and the Hellespont.¹³ Likewise inscriptions make clear that mystai and technitai were not to be confused.¹⁴ The principle indication that a synod was a mystic synod is the use of the specific epithet of the god honored in its title. Under the empire when the official title of guilds came to include *hieronikai* and *stephaneitai*, the mystic organizations remained the preserve of technitai and mystai only. Thus in a recently published letter of Hadrian the title of the synod to which it was addressed ought not to be restored *peri ton Choreion* (see Appendix 1). The Athenian technitai did participate in the mysteries at Eleusis.¹⁵

¹⁰ E.g., *BCH* 9 (1885) 124-31 (Poland [above, note 5] no. 69); *IG* II² 1348 can be restored with the name either of Hadrian or of Antoninus; the name of Antoninus as "new Dionysus" can be restored in *CIG* 3476 + 347B (= *IGRR* 4, no. 1361) (Poland [above, note 5] no. 46). On Antoninus and later emperors, see Poland, 2518-19.

¹¹ I.e., the Synod at Nîmes, see notes 7 and 8.

¹² For references see H. W. Pleket, "An Aspect of the Emperor Cult: Imperial Mysteries," *HTR* 58 (1965) 335-36; Poland (above, note 5) 2526, 2522.

¹³ E.g., *IG* XI 4, nos. 1061 + 1136 (Poland [above, note 5] no. 11); C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (Brussels 1900) no. 1014 (Poland, no. 17), and see L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 198 (= *Opera Minora Selecta* [above, note 8] 266); Michel, no. 1016 (Poland, no. 12); R. K. Sherck, *Roman Documents From The Greek East* (Baltimore 1969) no. 44 (Poland, no. 24) and no. 49. See especially, Sherck 264-65.

¹⁴ E.g., in the cult of Dionysus Briseis, Le Bas-Waddington (above, note 9) 3, no. 248 (Poland [above, note 5] no. 45A); *CIG* 3190 (= *IGRR* 4, no. 1433; Poland, no. 44); 3210 (Poland, no. 45); *SIG*³ 851 (Poland, no. 43); *BCH* 57 (1933) 308 (Poland, no. 23). M. P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (= *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen* 8°, 5, Lund 1957) 47-48 would confuse the actors with the mystai, but the inscriptions always specify their separate nature.

¹⁵ *IG* II² 1338, but see note 5 above. See P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris 1914) 245-46; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen in Altertum* (Leipzig 1898) 240-42. A parallel can be cited also in the law regulating the mysteries at Andania (F. Sokolowski,

When Antinous drowned in the Nile in the fall of A.D. 130, he was assimilated to the Egyptian god Osiris.¹⁶ As early as the time of Herodotus (2.42.2) and commonly by Hadrianic times it was believed that the Eleusinian cults and the Egyptian cult of Isis and Osiris honored the same divinities, and Dionysus had become associated with the mysteries in a role paralleling that of Osiris in Egypt.¹⁷ Antinous appears to have been assimilated to Dionysus at Eleusis. His statue has been found there with an omphalos, an attribute which is usually associated with Eleusinian Dionysus.¹⁸ The annual ephebic games in honor of Antinous were held not only at Athens, but also at Eleusis.¹⁹ Throughout the empire generally the most common assimilations of Antinous were to Dionysus and to Osiris.²⁰ The Eleusinian connection is particularly stressed in Hadrian's elaborate scheme of tribal and deme names at Antinoopolis.²¹ Graindor has seen in the reliefs reused in the stage front of the Theater of Dionysus at Athens, but originally taken from a Hadrianic building, a scene representing Antinous assimilated to Dionysus and the Eleusinian divinities.²² For Antinous to have

Lois Sacrées des Cités grecques [Paris 1969] no. 65), lines 73–75. For the participation of technitai in imperial mysteries see Pleket (above, note 12) 331–47; and for mystic drama as a part of Dionysiac rites, see M. P. Nilsson (above, note 14) 60.

¹⁶ See J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire* I (Paris, 1955) 250. On deification through drowning in the Nile, see W. den Boer, *Mnemosyne* 8 (1955) 137.

¹⁷ Foucart (above, note 15) 245–246. Of significant interest are Plut. frag. 24 Sandbach = Hippolytus, *Refutatio haeresium* 5.20.5) and 212 (Sandbach = Theodoretus, *Cur. Graec. Affect.* 1 468a). See also G. Blum (above, note 2) 67–70. G. E. Mylonas, "Ἐλευσίς καὶ Διόνυσος," *ArchEph* (1950) 68–118, has suggested that originally Dionysus was associated merely as one of the divine mystai, but the archaeological evidence does not support his thesis in Hellenistic and Roman times.

¹⁸ For the iconography, see Mylonas (above, note 17); P. Marconi, "Antinoo, saggio sull'arte dell'età adrianea," *MonAnt* 29 (1923) 202–3, recognized the attribute. See also P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo 1934) 266–67, 277–79. C. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous* (Bibl. Helvetica Romana 6, Rome and Bern 1966) 14, prefers to associate Antinous in this instance with Asclepius.

¹⁹ Graindor (above, note 18) 100–102 reviews the evidence for the very tenacious ephebic cult.

²⁰ Paus. 8.9.8. Beaujeu (above, note 16) 250–53, lists according to frequency Dionysus, Osiris, Adonis and Hermes, then Pan, Aristaeus, Ganymede, Vertumnus and Sylvanus. For a description of the spread of the cult see E. Holm, *Das Bildnis des Antinous* (Diss. Leipzig 1933).

²¹ See M. Guarducci, "Adriano e i Culti misterici della Grecia," *BMusImp* 12 (1941) 145–58; Beaujeu (above, note 16) 167–69.

²² Graindor (above, note 18) 277–79. For the date J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971) 538, and Mary Sturgeon in a paper presented to the

become the object of a mystery cult at Athens is consonant with literary testimonia and with his cults elsewhere.²³

THE DOCUMENTS OF FACE A

Under Hadrian the technitai at Athens make a startling reappearance after an obscurity of almost two centuries.²⁴ A letter from Hadrian addressed either to the remnants of the once great Athenian synod, or to members of the international synod at Athens has been found recently in the theater of Dionysus (see Appendix 1). Several other documents of later date are preserved²⁵ in addition to the documents of face B. This dramatic increase in documentation is a direct reflection of Hadrian's Philhellenism and his great benefactions aimed at restoring Greek cultural life.²⁶ But evidence can be introduced indicating even closer ties between Hadrian and the synod about Choreios.

Hadrian was the first emperor to gain the *epopteia*, or the second initiation into the highest mysteries at Eleusis, supposedly those of Dionysus.²⁷ This would have occurred during his second visit to Athens during late A.D. 128 and early 129.²⁸ Graindor would prolong his stay until March of 129, reasoning that in his new and fuller capacity as a participant in the mysteries he would have waited until after the

73rd General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America; see *AJA* 76 (1972) 221-222.

²³ Mysteries to Antinous are attested in the *Orac. Sib.* 8.56-58; Origenes *Cels.* 3.36; Clem. Al *protr.* 4.49. Mysteries were established at Bithynium-Claudiopolis, Antinous' birthplace (L. Robert, *RPh* 17 (1943) 184-85, note 9), and at that city's supposed mother city, Mantinea (Paus. 8.9.7-8).

²⁴ See above, note 6. There are some undated documents which probably belong to Hadrianic times or later, *IGRR* 3, no. 733, found at Rhodiapolis, and *IG* II² 2955.

²⁵ *IG* II² 3323 is an altar set up by the technitai honoring someone as "new Dionysus." The editors have restored Hadrian's name. See also *IG* II² 1348, and possibly *IG* II² 1349. *IG* II² 1350 may not be from Attica, and *IG* II² 1106 has been shown to be concerned with an athletic guild by J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius, Hesperia* Supplement 13 (1971) 108-9, no. 22.

²⁶ For Hadrian's interest in the technitai, see Poland (above, note 5) 2517-2518. It is possible that he was concerned with some degree of reorganization of the technitai. See *BGU* 4, 1074, re-edited by P. Viereck, *Klio* 8 (1908) 415-17, line 3, which contains an excerpt *ἐκ διατάγματος Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ* given to the synod *ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης*.

²⁷ Foucart (above, note 15) 443-50.

²⁸ Graindor (above, note 18) 37-39.

celebration of the lesser mysteries in the spring. This conclusion is reinforced by various references to his having spent the winter at Athens²⁹ and by a letter dated to the 13th tribunician power³⁰ suggesting that his stay must have continued at least until 10 December 128. During the same tribunician year he was able to write to the people of Ephesus a letter recalling his arrival there from Eleusis (SIG³ 838). The celebration of the *mystikos agôn* by the oecumenical synod at Ancyra while the emperor was wintering at Athens may have been related to the *epopteia* which had occurred shortly before.³¹ The initial letters cannot have been written long before the incorporation of *pater patriae* into the official titles in A.D. 128, and there is a real likelihood that the series is directly connected with Hadrian's second visit. Possibly he was responsible for setting up the mystic synod resembling those of Smyrna, Pergamum or Ephesus in connection with his own *epopteia*. The fragmentary state of the letters conceals any verification of these conclusions, except for the reference to the *hierophantes* in line 27.³²

From Athens Hadrian proceeded on his tour of the east, and probably in October of A.D. 130 Antinous drowned in Egypt.³³ Although several scholars speculate that Antinous had received initiation together with Hadrian at Eleusis in the autumn of 128,³⁴ there is no direct evidence.

²⁹ Hieronym. Strid. *de vir. ill.* 19 (ed. Herding, p. 23); Eus. *Chronica* in Hieronym to the year 131.

³⁰ IG II² 1101. The first line of text, —]ν εἰς τ[ῆ]ν Ἀττικὴν, could be a reference to the emperor's arrival the previous autumn. For the date of the assumption of the tribunician power I follow M. Hammond, "The Tribunician Day during the Early Empire," *MAAR* 15 (1938) 43–45, dating the 13th tribunician power from 10 December 128 to 9 December 129.

³¹ Hadrian could not have been present physically at this celebration commemorated in a document dated December 6, A.D. 128: W. H. Buckler, *JRS* 16 (1926) 246–49 = *SEG* 6, no. 58, [ἐπὶ ὑπάρχων Ν]ωνίου Τορκ[ουά] του Ἀσπρή[να καὶ Μ. Ἀννίου Λίβωνο]ς πρὸς ζ' εἰδ(ων) Δεκεμβρίων. For the consuls see A. Degraffi, *I Fasti Consolari dell'impero Romano* (Rome 1952) 37; Beaujeu (above, note 16) 172 needs correction.

³² For hierophants in the mysteries of Dionysus in Asia Minor see G. Quandt, "De Baccho ab Alexandri Aetate in Asia Minore Culto," *DissPhilHal* 21 (1913) 249–50; of Dionysus Briseis at Smyrna see Poland (above, note 5) 2537; at Histria see D. M. Pippidi, *Histria* 1 (1954) 533–38, no. 17. For the position of the hierophant in imperial mysteries see Pleket (above, note 12) 337–39 and Nilsson (above, note 14) 52–53, 56–57.

³³ Blum (above, note 2) 59–60.

³⁴ E.g., Graindor (above, note 18) 14, Guarducci (above, note 21) 152.

The letters following A.D. 128 cannot be dated precisely. Hadrian returned through Athens from his trip to the east in A.D. 131/2³⁵ to initiate the Panhellenia, which he had founded, and to dedicate the Olympieum. Oliver shows that the first Panhellenic games occurred two years later in A.D. 133/4, probably because of the interval necessary for their organization. Blum³⁶ has seen that the coins commemorating Antinous were issued around A.D. 134, the penteteric anniversary of his apotheosis. It is conceivable that Hadrian carried his reform of the Athenian mystic synod a step further in 131/2 by causing the technitai to assimilate Antinous to Dionysus Choreios. The reference to a birthday (line 57) may reflect an aspect of this cult.

FACE B

Face A records the formation of the synod. Face B records a series of events in the history of the synod after the death of Hadrian. The letters, if the brevity of their headings is an indication, were not written by the emperor. The subject matter is not always clear, but several words are suggestive. Document III seems to be the reply to an embassy from the synod. Document V contains very strong language and would appear to be concerned with a dispute involving certain prerogatives of the synod. Document VI is a copy of a letter written by Attalus himself (line 24), and this too seems to be concerned with a dispute³⁷ regarding a festival, reflected in references to a ξ[όανον (line 32), τὰς ἑορτὰς (line 34) and ἔτερον χορὸν (line 42). If Attalus is writing as an Athenian magistrate,³⁸ the case probably is being taken before a Roman official. Document VIII may well be a reply of a Roman official to a proposal of honors for Attalus³⁹ for his benefactions to Athens and the technitai. Document IX takes up the same theme.

³⁵ Most recently see Oliver (above, note 25) 119–20, no. 38, and 132–33.

³⁶ (Above, note 2) 60.

³⁷ Especially line 38: τῆς παρούσης διαίτη[ς.

³⁸ If line 34 can be restored ἐγὼ δ' ὁ στρ[ατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. Cf. line 43. On the responsibility of this general for the conduct of festivals see D. J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*, *Hesperia* Supplement 13 (1967) 24 and 30.

³⁹ There are striking similarities to a series of documents discussed by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 8 (Paris 1950) 91–92.

The position of fragment *f* is not certain, but Document XI also may be concerned with honors for Attalus.⁴⁰

Face B seems to have been written during the reign of Antoninus. Beyond the fact that Attalus was active under Hadrian and Antoninus, references to various emperors can be cited. Line 15 has portions of two names. The former can be restored as that either of Trajan or Hadrian. Since Trajan was not concerned with the synod of technitai at Athens, the latter of these seems preferable. This permits the restoration of Antoninus' name as the living emperor. Although document VIII falls late in the series, it does refer to the deified Hadrian as benefactor. In line 8 of fragment *f* the name can be restored only as that of Antoninus.

Thus face B of the stele probably records documents associated with Attalus' services to the technitai and concludes with the correspondence regarding a decree in his honor. Attalus himself then undertook the expense of setting up the two sided stele, as the appearance of his name in the prologue of each side indicates.

THE PRIEST OF HOMONOIA OF THE HELLENES AT ATHENS

L. Robert indicates⁴¹ that the priest of Homonoia of the Hellenes served the cult of Zeus Eleutherius at Plataea which had been established after the Persians were expelled from Greece.⁴² The major portion of the epigraphical documentation for the priesthood comes from Athens, but the nature of this documentation supports the non-Athenian character of the cult. The names of the priests and the contexts in which the priesthood is cited indicate the importance of the cult, yet references to the priesthood are made only incidentally to the context in which the name of its holder was cited; that is, it occurs among others in lists of offices held or as a courtesy because of the prestige of the office (see Appendix 2 for the documents). Three of the priests attested were not Athenians by birth: Attalus (see below) was from Synnada; Mondo was Boeotian (Appendix 2, c). Most had obtained

⁴⁰ The *gnômê* of line 4 would be the proposal as presented for approval of the Roman official. Line 5 may be concerned with setting up the memorial.

⁴¹ (Above, note 39) 90-91; J. & L. Robert, *BullEp* (1966) no. 144.

⁴² Plut. *Arist.* 19-21. IG VII 2510 directly connects the cult of Homonoia with that of Zeus Eleutherius.

Athenian citizenship, and four of the six attested priests at some time held the eponymous archonship at Athens.⁴³ J. H. Oliver⁴⁴ has documented the changing concept of citizenship whereby men of eminent status could attain office and similar status in cities to which they were not native-born. The prestige of having held office at Athens, especially the archonship and the resulting membership in the *boulê* of the Areopagus, was particularly attractive, and both the Panhellenia and the elevation of Athens to predominance as a center of Hellenic culture under Hadrian would require frequent and extended visits by eminent non-Athenians. Of course Athens could expect financial assistance in return for these honors.⁴⁵

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS ATTALUS ANDRAGATHUS

The man responsible for setting up the stele was Tiberius Claudius Attalus. Enough of the demotic is preserved to guarantee his Athenian citizenship and to permit identification with the archon of A.D. 140/I.⁴⁶ The title "priest of Homonoia of the Hellenes" suggests the identification with a dedicator at Sparta⁴⁷ and the restoration of the second

⁴³ Attalus, Themisôn (Appendix 2, a), Mondô (Appendix 2, e) and an unidentified Athenian (Appendix 2, b). Mondô is the earliest attested archon to have served a second time.

⁴⁴ (Above, note 25) 44-57. For non-Athenian office holders see also Geagan (above, note 38) 3-4 and 6. For the case of sophists who undertook liturgies and office in various cities, see G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1963) 17-42 and *passim*.

⁴⁵ For the archonship as a liturgy see Geagan (above, note 38) 6; for the eponyms of a tribe (as no. c) 100, where the conclusions follow those of J. H. Oliver, "Patrons Providing Financial Aid to the Tribes of Roman Athens," *AJP* 70 (1949) 299-308, 403. Oliver (above, note 25) 44-57 discusses the financial considerations.

⁴⁶ *Inscr. Délos* 2538, *IG II²* 2047, 2048. For the date of his archonship see E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora, I Portrait Sculpture* (Princeton 1953) 37, note 6.

⁴⁷ *IG V 1*, no. 452, as re-edited *addendum*, 303; for additional letters see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* Supplement 8 (1949) 220. The inscription is usually restored as a dedication commemorating a concord between Synnada and Sparta, and the first line to read [⁴Υπέρ τ]ῆς ὁμονοίας τῶν [πόλεων (recently A. M. Woodward, "Sparta and Asia Minor under the Roman Empire," *Studies in Honor of David Moore Robinson* [St. Louis 1953] 2.868-83), but L. Robert has recognized that the inscription is concerned with the cult of Homonoia of the Hellenes and Zeus Eleutherius at Plataea: J. and L. Robert, *BullEp* (1954) no. 118; (1951) no. 104. Therefore the first line might be better restored [⁴Ιερεὺς τ]ῆς Ὀμονοίας τῶν [⁴Ελ]λήνων and the name of the dedicator Κλαύδιος Ἀτ[τα]λος Ἀνδ[ρά]γαθος. These restorations and those suggested on p. 303 of *IG V 1*

cognomen, rather than the patronymic which Mitsos restored, confirms this. At Sparta Attalus was acting as a representative of Synnada in Phrygia, setting up a statue of Athena Polias as a dedication to the hero Thynnarus.⁴⁸ A dedication of the demos of the Athenians at Synnada⁴⁹ mentions Attalus (Andragathus) as the uncle of the man honored, Claudius Attalus, and brother of Tiberius Claudius Piso Tertullinus. Attalus Andragathus must have been himself originally from Synnada.⁵⁰ The interconnections among the family and the three cities are clearly indicated in an honorary decree of the city of Synnada set up at Athens.⁵¹ The decree mentions by name the cities of the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians,⁵² Claudius Attalus, Tiberius Claudius Piso Tertullinus and possibly Claudius Attalus Andragathus.⁵³ The major

for the remaining lines do result in a balanced length of line, if one uses the text reported in *Expedition scientifique de Morée* (Paris 1832–1836) 2, no. 16 (but not on Pl. 42, fig. IV) and by Philippe Le Bas, *Inscriptions grecques et latines* (Paris 1936) 2.137, no. 37. The stone is now lost.

⁴⁸ For these cults at Synnada see L. Robert (above, note 39) 90. They will be treated in his forthcoming monograph, *Les origines légendaires de Synnada et les parentés de peuples*; see J. & L. Robert, *BullEp* (1951) no. 104; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (Paris 1965) 124, note 1. Synnada was believed to have been colonized by Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

⁴⁹ *MAMA* 6, no. 374. L. Robert has recognized that the *ἱερεὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων* is actually the *ἱερεὺς τῆς Ὀμονοίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διός*, *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society* (New York 1958) 582, note 27.

⁵⁰ As L. Robert will demonstrate; see *BullEp* (1966) no. 144.

⁵¹ Five fragments of this document can now be identified. P. Graindor, *REG* 31 (1918) 227–37 identified *IG* III 55 as fragment A and *IG* III 7 (= *IG* II² 1075) as fragment B. His edition is still the most reliable, and citations here will be made from it. *IG* II² 2291C may be designated fragment C, a non-joining fragment preserving the initial seven lines of a document. To these may be added Agora I 155 and 1267 as fragments D and E (see Appendix 3). Graindor believed the document to be an Athenian decree of honors for Hadrian, although Dittenberger had recognized an honorary decree in each of the fragments he published. L. Robert (see J. and L. Robert, *BullEp* 1966 no. 144) has recognized that these two fragments belong to a decree originating at Synnada, and he will discuss them in his forthcoming monograph (above, note 48). Copies (B, lines 15–19) were to be set up at Athens, at Synnada in a location related to the cult of Zeus Pandemus (see L. Robert [above, note 49] 582, note 27) and at Plataea in a spot related to the cult of Zeus Eleutherius, and probably also at Sparta.

⁵² B, line 12, recognized by J. and L. Robert, *BullEp* (1966) no. 144, and C, line 1. See also C, line 3.

⁵³ J. and L. Robert (above, note 52) recognized Claudius Attalos (B, line 15) as the man honored in *MAMA* 6, no. 374. His uncle and father are found in A, lines 13 and 14, if line 13 can be restored *τοὺς πολέ[ι]τας ἡμῶν Κλαυδίου τε Ἀττάλ[ο]ν Ἀγ[ο]ράγαθον*.

portion of the document would relate the benefactions of the persons honored to the city of Synnada.⁵⁴

APPENDIX I

A Letter From Hadrian To The Technitai At Athens.

N. Platon has recently published a letter from the Emperor Hadrian to the *technitai*, *hieronikai* and *stephaneitai* at Athens.⁵⁵ It was found in the area of the Theater of Dionysus, and probably had been set up there. George Daux first recognized the nature of the document; the suggested restoration of J. and L. Robert offers some difficulties.

The letter is inscribed on a slab of Pentelic marble with a smoothly dressed back. The decorated upper edge is damaged. The left side is preserved, but it is broken away at the right and below. The letters are rectilinear, resembling those usually identified with the workshop responsible for publishing imperial letters to the Athenian state.

Ht., 0.48 m.; w., 0.33 m.; th., 0.055 m.; l.h., (lines 1-8) 0.025-0.03 m.; (lines 9-10) 0.015 m.

ante a. 128 p.

ca. 29-30 (heading only)

Ἀυτοκρά[τωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ]
 Παρθικο[ῦ υἱὸς θεοῦ Νέρουα νῖωνος]
 Τραϊανὸς Ἀ[δριανὸς Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς]
 μέγιστος δ[ημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ - -]
 5 ὑπάτος τὸ τ[ρίτον πατὴρ πατρίδος τῇ]
 τῶν Ἀθῆνῃ[σιν συνόδῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν]
 Διόνυσον τε[χνειτῶν ἱερoneικῶν στε]
 φανειτῶν vac. [χαίρειν vacat]
 Σύνδοδον εἶναι μous[ικ- - - - -]
 10 [ἐ]τερον μετέχοντ[α - - - - -]
 [- - - - -]

The slightly greater length of line 3 is guaranteed by the slight crowding of the letters in the preserved portion. The Roberts have restored line 6 τῶν Ἀθῆνῃ[σι περὶ τὸν Χόρειον, but this falls about $5\frac{1}{2}$ letter spaces short of the estimated length of line. Further, if the synod *peri ton*

⁵⁴ See L. Robert (above, note 39) 90, where the contents of a forthcoming monograph are summarized (above, note 48).

⁵⁵ *Deltion* 19 (1964) 36, no. 3, with photograph, pl. 30; G. Daux, *BCH* 90 (1966) 731, with photograph, fig. 15; J. and L. Robert, *BullEp* (1967) no. 189. I am deeply indebted to Prof. Eugene Vanderpool who, with the kind permission of the Ephor of the Acropolis, Mr. George Dontas, obtained a squeeze and description of this stone.

Choreion is truly a mystic synod, the *hieronikai* and *stephaneitai* ought not to be included. The restoration of lines 5 and 6 was suggested by J. H. Oliver (*per litteras*). Lines 7 and 8 were first restored by J. and L. Robert.

APPENDIX 2

The Priest of Homonoia of the Hellenes.⁵⁶

a. (Plate 1) Portion of the inscribed face of a block of Pentelic marble found in the Athenian Agora (I 6928) in June of 1969 in the Post-Herulian Fortification north of the Eleusinion (S 17). It is broken away on all sides and behind. The right edge of the text is indicated by a change in the surface dressing of the face.

Ht., 0.16 m.; w., 0.21 m.; th., 0.10 m., l.h., 0.016 m. diminishing to 0.014 m. in the lower lines.

saec. II p.

ca. 14

[- - - - -]ν[τ]ος
 [ιέρεως τῆς] Ὀμονοί
 [ας τῶν Ἑλ]λήνων
 [καὶ τοῦ Ἑλ]ευθερίου
 5 [Διὸς Ἰουλ] Θεμίσω
 [νος τοῦ κ]αὶ Παμμέ
 [ρους Παια]νιέως ἄρ
 [ξαντος τ]ῆν ἐπώ
 [νυμον ἀρχήν - - -]

Line 1. Only the lower third of the omicron is preserved. Line 7. The line of the vertical stroke of the rho can be seen along the break. Line 8. The upper portion only of the omega survives.

For the restoration of the nomen see *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 31, no. 1, of A.D. 169/70 or somewhat later, and *Hesperia* Supplement 12 (1967) 166, line 90. The former text identified Themisôn as *eponymos* of the tribe [Pandionis?], while the latter lists him as an Areopagite of that same tribe. This is the first instance where his full name is given, since in the other documents he is listed merely as Iul. Themisôn. The demotic would exclude restoration of the name of Claudius Themison of the tribe Leontis and Munatius Themisôn of Azêê⁵⁷ but the attestation of the

⁵⁶ Permission to include this text and two unpublished texts in Appendix 3 has been generously granted by Professor B. D. Meritt. The excavation staff of the Athenian Agora has been most helpful in assisting in the preparation of these texts.

⁵⁷ For Claudius see *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 314-21, no. 12 and commentary; for Munatius see *TAPA* 71 (1940) 308; *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 57, no. 44, as restored by Notopoulos, *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 56; *IG* II² 2203, lines 31, 33, 71 and 77.

tribal affiliation is the only reason for preferring this identification to that with Aelius Themisôn whose tribe is unknown.⁵⁸ The nature of the document is uncertain, but one might suggest a citation in the heading of a public document,⁵⁹ or a genealogy from a dedicatory monument like IG II² 3592.⁶⁰

b. IG II² 3522, found in the Theater of Dionysus, which probably can be restored as follows:

ca. med. s. II p.

ca. 39

[ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου] πάγου βο[υλή καὶ ἡ βουλή τῶν φ' καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
[ὁ Ἀθηναῖω]ν τὸν ἐε[ρέα τῆς Ὀμονοίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων]
[καὶ τοῦ Ἑλευθερίου] Διὸς καὶ κήρυκα τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πά[
γου βουλῆς κ]αὶ στρατ[ηγῆσαντα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα · · τὸν]
[ἐπώνυμον] ἄρχον[τα - - - - -]

The restorations are made on the basis of the tendency at Athens to list offices in a descending order of prestige. The heraldship of the Areopagus and hoplite generalship usually come first after the archonship, but in this restoration it is assumed that the archonship is the current office for which the honors are being voted.⁶¹

c. IG II² 3623, found near the Church of Haghia Triada (?).⁶² The text of Graindor, Dittenberger and Kirchner is reproduced here.

[...⁸...] καὶ ἀ[γωνοθέτης γενόμενος]
Ὀλυμπίων κοινῶν τῇ[s Ἀσίας ...^{ca. 10}...]
τῆς Ἀσίας, Συμυρναί[ων ...^{ca. 15}...]
ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριαν[οῦ Πανελληνίου καὶ]
Ὀμονοίας τῶν Ἑλ[λήνων καὶ ἐπώνυμος τῆς]
Ἱπποβοωντίδ[ος φυλῆς εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν]
τῆς εἰ[s ἑαυτόν.]

Repeated references to liturgies served in Asia Minor indicate birth and early career in that part of the empire. The Panhellenic priesthoods probably brought the dedicatee to the Greek mainland.

d. IG II² 1352, now in the Louvre. The readings of Kirchner are here

⁵⁸ J. H. Oliver (above, note 25) 4, line 1; 6, line 50; and 11.

⁵⁹ Concerning such citations see D. J. Geagan (above, note 38) 24–28, where the appearances of the hoplite general are considered.

⁶⁰ Re-edited by E. Kapetanopoulos, *REG* 83 (1970) 63–69.

⁶¹ For the sequence see D. J. Geagan (above, note 38) 7, 18, 57. The sequence given would be that used until about the mid-Second Century.

⁶² J. Travlos, "Χριστιανικαὶ Ἀθῆναι," *Θρησκευτικῆς καὶ Ἡθικῆς Ἑγκυκλοπαιδείας*, 30 (Athens 1962) 745–26, 755–58, lists two churches of that name; one, which no longer exists, was in the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, the other is north of the Acropolis.

reproduced. The underlined portions were read by Boeckh, *CIG* 524, but were not preserved on Kirchner's squeeze.

s. II–III p.

ca. 29

τοῦ κήρυκος [- - - - -]
 ἱερέως τῆς Ὀμ[ονοίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ]
 τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου [Διὸς - - - - -]
 ἐκδικήσαντος [- - - - -]
 5 κεφάλαιον τ[- - - - -]
 συνέδριον [- - - - -]
 Τιτιανοῦ τ[- - - - -]
 οἱ κατὰ τῇν [- - - - -]
 [- -]κησα[- - - - -]

Line 2 Boeckh ἱερέως τῆς Ὀμ[πνίας Δήμητρος - - τοῦ Διὸς]. To restore line 1 as herald of the Areopagus would require the repetition of ἱερέως at the end of line 2. The capacity under which the person cited rendered his judgement is not clear. Synhedrion can have a wide range of meanings.⁶³

e. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 71, no. 73, an ephebic catalogue from the latter half of the third century after Christ. The heading opens:

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τὸ β' τοῦ κρα' [ἱερέως Ἀθηνᾶς]
 Πολιάδος καὶ ἱερέως τῆς Ὀ[μονοίας τῶν]
 Ἑλλήνων τίτ' Φλ' Μόνδωνο[ς - - - - -]
 τοῦ Φιλείνου Φλυέως κτλ.

Line 2, originally Oliver, *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 505, no. 17, ἱερέως τῆς Ὀ[μπνίας τῶν Παν]|ελλήνων. It was corrected by Graindor (above, note 18) 289 and by Oliver in his second publication.

For the Boeotian origins of this family see Oliver, *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 510, and C. Dunant, *BCH* 76 (1952) 630.

APPENDIX 3

Additional Fragments of *IG* II² 1075 and III 55 (see note 51).

a. Fragment C, *IG* II² 2291 c.⁶⁴ This fragment, found on the north slope of the Acropolis, resembles the other fragments in thickness, surface

⁶³ For those attested for Athens see D. J. Geagan (above, note 38) 36–38.

⁶⁴ EM 9509a (not 2509a as Kirchner). First edited by Dittenberger, *IG* III Add. 52a, from the readings of Koehler. Both editors rightly use the words *argumentum obscurum* about the subject matter.

dressing and letter shape, and in the crowded quality of the lettering. The slightly larger size of the letters may be attributable to their position at the beginning of the document. The intervals between the bases of the lines coincide exactly with those of the other fragments. Below is the text of Koehler (*IG* III 52a) and Kirchner.

vac.

--] Λακεδαιμο[ν--
 -- ἀπο]ικίαν ἀγαγόν[ντ--
 --] γῆν Ἀττικὴν[ν--
 --] Ἀδριανὸς [- --
 --]ος μόνου [- --
 --] ἰδίαί προ[- --
 --]εῖν [- --

The uninscribed line at the top and the slightly higher letters suggest that this fragment comes from the top of the stele. The Spartan connections probably of Synnada are recalled in line 1. The reference to leading a colony recalls the dedication from Sparta (see above, note 47). The third line reflects an unpublished inscription from Miletus⁶⁵ apparently dealing with similar subject matter. The fourth line refers to the emperor Hadrian.

b. (Plate 2) Fragment D, Agora I 155. Fragment preserving portions only of the face and roughly picked back. Found on February 13, 1932 in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (I 16-17).

H., 0.165 m.; w., 0.26 m.; th. 0.195 m., l.h., 0.01 m.

3 [- -]εἰδη δε[- - - -]
 [- -] ἔχουσ[ι - - - -]
 [- - -] πόλεις ἐϋδ[- - -]
 [- - -] Ὀ]λυμπίου [- - -]
 [- - -] ἡ π]όλεις [- - -]

Line 1: The lower portions only of the last three letters are preserved. Line 3: Just the tip of the horizontal bar of the pi is visible. The upsilon could also be a tau. Of the delta only the horizontal stroke is certain. Line 4: The upper tip of the lambda is preserved. Line 5: The upper portions only are preserved.

c. (Plate 3) Fragment E, Agora I 1267. Fragment preserving the left hand margin of the text and a portion of the left hand moulding. Except for the face and the roughly picked back no other original surfaces are

⁶⁵ το[ῦ ἐ]ξ Ἀττικῆς ἐὺγενεία[ς] ἀξιώματος, cited by L. Robert (above, note 49) 582, note 27, in connection with legendary foundations of cities.

preserved. Found on February 1, 1934 in modern house walls outside the market square to the southwest.

Ht., 0.16 m.; w., 0.20 m.; th., 0.195 m. (to the inscribed surface), 0.21 m. (to the moulding); l.h., 0.01 m.

[...]ιν[- - - - -]
 [...]διδος Α[- - - - - Τραι]
 3 ἀνοῦ Ἀδριαν[οῦ Σεβαστοῦ - - - - -]
 ἀρι Ἀθήνησις[ιν - - - - -]

Line 1: Only the lowest portion of one side of the iota is visible along the break. Line 2: The first two letters are barely visible through heavy corrosion. Line 4: The spelling of the locative is highly irregular; see K. Meisterhans-E. Schwyzler, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*³ (Berlin 1900) 146.3. One might also read Ἀθηνῆσι Σ[- - -]. For the cult of Athena at Synnada see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (Paris 1965) 124, note 1; *Journal des Savants* (1962) 52, and elsewhere.

Only a lack of confirmatory restorations has prevented aligning the two pieces from the Agora so as to restore [Τραι]|ἀνοῦ Ἀδριαν[οῦ Σεβαστοῦ 'Ο]λυμπίου.



PLATE 1. Agora I 6928

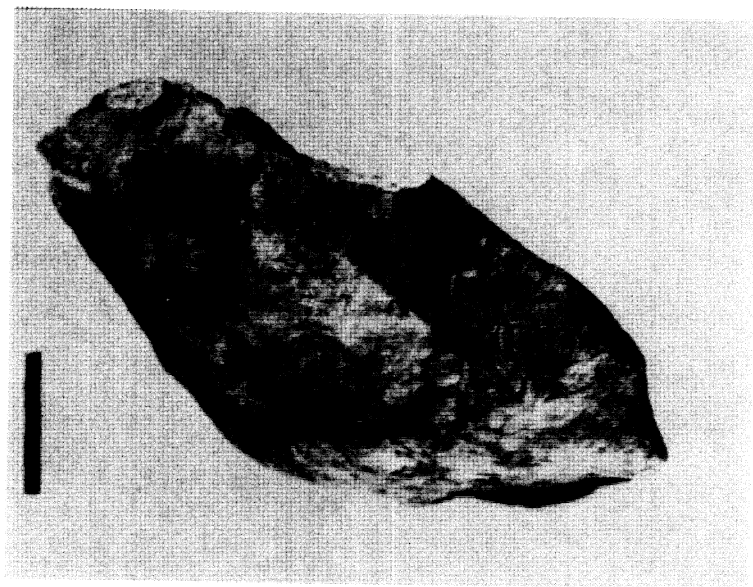


PLATE 2. Agora I 155



PLATE 3. Agora I 1267