THE ALTARS OF HADRIAN IN ATHENS AND HADRIAN'S PANHELLENIC PROGRAM¹

(Plates 22-30)

THE 94 altars to Hadrian set up in Athens, some already reported, some published below, constitute a large body of evidence on the worship of Hadrian in Athens. Clearly, the altars are concrete testimony to the revival of the emperor cult under Hadrian.² The existence, however, of so many altars in Athens raises, among other questions, the following: (1) What is the significance of so large a number of similar altars? (2) What prompted their dedication? (3) Is the phenomenon unique to Athens, or common to the Greek world? The answers to these questions are to be found amid the evidence on Hadrian's Panhellenic program, for under Hadrian the cult of the emperor in the Greek world was closely associated with the emperor's program of Panhellenism. The connection between the imperial cult, a main instrument in the unification of the Roman Empire,³ and the emphasis on the unity of the Greek peoples is natural, and Hadrian's willingness to accept divine honors and his encouragement of Panhellenism have, among many complex motives, the common purpose of the consolidation of the empire.

The Panhellenic program with its many associations with the worship of the emperor developed over a period of years. Hadrian officially and explicitly formulated the Panhellenic ideal in A.D. 125 in his dealings with the Delphic Amphictyony, and his policy at Delphi is reflected in the divine honors that emphasized his role at the

¹ Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton where this study was completed during the second term of 1959-60 and to the University of Missouri Research Council which made possible the early phases of the study in the summer of 1959. I wish, as well, to thank Professor B. D. Meritt, Professor A. E. Raubitschek, and Mr. George A. Stamires for their helpfulness and kindness.

² In his emphasis on the imperial cult, Hadrian consciously followed the precedents set by Augustus (J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire*, Paris, 1955, pp. 126-127: *Hadrien, nouvel Auguste*), but reshaped the policies of the cult of the emperor into a design which was far broader than that of Augustus (cf. A. Benjamin and A. E. Raubitschek, "Arae Augusti," *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 83-85).

³ See M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion, II, Munich, 1950, pp. 366-376, esp. pp. 371-372.

⁴ E. Bourguet, De Rebus Delphicis Imperatoriae Aetatis, Paris, 1905, p. 79; cf. J. Beaujeu, op. cit., pp. 184-186; B. D'Orgeval, L'empereur Hadrien, oeuvre législative et administrative, Paris, 1950, pp. 244-247. For the Achaean League's offer of divine honors to Hadrian in A.D. 126—a league with Panhellenic pretensions (v. M. N. Tod, "Greek Inscriptions from Macedonia," J.H.S., XLII, 1922, pp. 174-175)—see the decree published by J. H. Oliver, "Documents Concerning Emperor Hadrian," Hesperia, X, 1941, p. 362.

head of the Greek League, for he is called Néos $\Pi \dot{\nu} \theta \iota os$ and $\Pi \dot{\nu} \theta \iota os$. In another Panhellenic enterprise, encouragement was given to the games and sacrifices to Zeus Eleutherios at Plataiai, center of another Έλληνικὸν συνέδριον which, as Plutarch describes (Arist. 20, 4), took its fire for the sacrifices at the bidding of the Pythian god and through the fatal energy of the Plataian athlete, Euchidas, "èκ $\Delta \epsilon \lambda \dot{\phi} \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi \hat{\sigma} \kappa \kappa \iota \nu \hat{\eta} s \dot{\kappa} \sigma \tau \dot{\iota} as$." The tie between Delphi as a Panhellenic center and the league at Plataiai is evidenced in the charisterion at Delphi dedicated by the synhedrion to Hadrian in gratitude (S.I.G., 835 A, No. 128 below). In Athens, there is no known instance of the identification of Hadrian with Zeus Eleutherios, but his statue as the son of Trajan, Zeus Eleutherios, and the position of his statue near the Royal Stoa associated him closely with the god. Again, the assimilation to the god bore with it Panhellenic implications.

It was in the year 131/2 that Hadrian's Panhellenic program reached its climax at the final dedication of the Olympieion and the foundation of the Panhellenion.⁸ At the Olympieion, cities from all over the Greek world dedicated statues of Hadrian Olympios.⁹ The passage in Pausanias (I, 18, 6) describing the host of Hadrian statues has given rise to much speculation,¹⁰ but as it stands, seems to imply the existence of bronze statues called $\mathring{a}\pi o\iota\kappa o\iota \pi \acute{o}\lambda \epsilon\iota s$ which stood $\pi\rho \acute{o} \tau \acute{o}\nu \kappa\iota \acute{o}\nu \omega\nu$ ¹¹ as well as statues of Hadrian around the peribolos which were outdone by the colossal statue erected by the

- ⁵ J. Beaujeu, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-186.
- ⁶ Plutarch, Aristeides, 20, 4; cf. E. Kirsten, R.E., s.v. Plataiai, cols. 2326-2328, section 14, 6; P. Graindor, Athènes sous Hadrien, Cairo, 1934, p. 108, note 8.
- ⁷ A. E. Raubitschek, "Hadrian as the Son of Zeus Eleutherios," A.J.A., XLIX, 1945, pp. 128-133; see also J. Beaujeu, op. cit., p. 204.
- ⁸ For the date, see P. Graindor, op. cit., pp. 39, 52-53; W. Weber, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus, Leipzig, 1907, p. 268; M. N. Tod, "Greek Inscriptions from Macedonia," J.H.S., XLII, 1922, p. 175, note 9.
- ⁹ The statue bases, I.G., II², 3289-3307, 3310 (posthumous), A.J.A., XLIX, 1945, pp. 131-132, are surely those mentioned by Pausanias (I, 18, 6; see P. Graindor, op. cit., pp. 50-51 and note 2). The statue base, I.G., II², 3289, dated to 132 by Hadrian's titulature, is the basis of dating the statues to the year of the dedication of the Olympieion. Its formula varies from that of the other statue bases in that the statue is dedicated in Latin to Hadrian (his name in the dative case) and the name of the colony which dedicated the statue is in the nominative, while in the last line is the mother city of the colony in Greek letters, in this case the people of Dion ($\Delta \iota \epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$). Omitted from the Greek Corpus are the similar inscriptions C.I.L., III, S, 7282 = Dessau 315 and the fragments C.I.L., III, S, 7283, 7284.
- 10 The looseness of the Greek has evoked several emendations: As early as 1841, Leake (Topography of Athens², Vol. I, p. 130, note 1) proposed the insertion of τως δινέθεσαν before τως 'Αθηναῖοι. In his dissertation of 1860, Gustav Krueger (Theologumena Pausanias, Leipzig) proposed as the eighth of his Sententiae Controversae the transposition of ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἐκάστης... ἄξιον after ἀποίκους πόλεις. C. Wachsmuth (Die Stadt Athen im Altertum, Leipzig, 1874, Vol. I, pp. 690-691, note 3) suggested the transposition of the phrase τως 'Αθηναῖοι ... to qualify the phrase ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἐκάστης. The MSS provide no basis for emendation.
- ¹¹ Frazer (Vol. II, p. 182) assumes that these are statues of personified colonies. In this he is followed by J. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 3.

Athenians. The context of the passage is a description of the statues of Hadrian at the Olympieion and where they stood, so that it is possible that the statues of bronze before the pillars were of Hadrian. A hint of the meaning of ἄποικοι πόλεις comes from the two Panhellenic inscriptions of later times 12 where the members of the Panhellenic synhedrion who were members by virtue of having been colonized by Greeks are referred to officially as ἄποικοι πόλεις. 13 In view of the fact that many of the dedications known are from Greek colonies, 14 it may be that Pausanias intended to say that in the Olympieion the statues of Hadrian were called colonies because they were set up by Greek colonies. Unless the text is changed, however, Pausanias seems to distinguish between two groups of statues (corresponding, perhaps, to the two types of statue bases, cf. above note 9): bronze statues called ἄποικοι which stood before the pillars and the statues of Hadrian around the peribolos of the Olympieion. The unqualified phrase πόλεως ἐκάστης remained unqualified because the writer had in mind the previously used phrase ἄποικοι πόλεις.

Whatever the interpretation of the passage in Pausanias, the statue bases of Hadrian Olympios ¹⁶ from all over the Greek world suggest the Panhellenic character of the Olympieion. ¹⁷ A glance at the list below of altars to Hadrian reveals that the most widely spread and popular epithet assumed by Hadrian was Olympios (sometimes Hadrian is Zeus Olympios) and not Panhellenios. In adopting the epithet Olympios, Hadrian was in fact emphasizing his Panhellenic program, for Zeus Olympios, chief deity of the Greek peoples, is truly the Panhellenic god. ¹⁸ The statue bases and the epithet Olympios, therefore, point to a connection between the Olympieion and the Panhellenion, though certainly their sanctuaries were separate at the time of Cassius Dio and of Pausanias. ¹⁹ Thus the interpretation of Beaujeu (op. cit.,

¹² I.G., II², 1091 and I.G., XIV, 829.

¹⁸ W. Weber, op. cit., p. 272, has pointed out this interpretation.

¹⁴ See the list of cities in P. Graindor, op. cit., pp. 50-51, note 2 and pp. 66-68.

¹⁵ In recent excavations, J. Travlos uncovered, at regular intervals around the Olympieion, the bases for the Hadrian statues; cf. A.J.A., LXIV, 1960, p. 268.

¹⁶ For Hadrian's title Olympios, prevalent from A.D. 129 on, see J. Beaujeu, op. cit., pp. 200-202. The evidence as to whether Hadrian was actually worshipped at the Olympieion is confused, though the wording of Spartianus (V. Hadr. 13, 6) implies an altar separate from the Olympieion; cf. A. D. Nock, Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil., XLI, 1930, pp. 32-33. J. Beaujeu, op. cit., p. 177, esp. note 3.

¹⁷ See J. Beaujeu, *op. cit.*, pp 176-178, on the Panhellenic character of the Olympicion; also W. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-180.

¹⁸ J. Beaujeu, op. cit., p. 203 for a summary of the influence of the cult of Hadrian/Zeus Olympios.

¹⁶ Cassius Dio, LXIX, 16, 2, writes of a σηκός of the emperor Hadrian called the Panhellenion, thus testifying to a separate Panhellenion with which the worship of the emperor was closely associated. Pausanias, I, 18, 9, in a passage called ambiguous by Beaujeu (op. cit., pp. 178-179, note 2) mentions a temple of Hera and Zeus Panhellenios; see M. N. Tod, J.H.S., XLII, 1922, p. 175, note 19. The altar mentioned by Spartianus (V. Hadr., 13, 6) and the Pantheon (Pausanias, I, 5, 5 and I, 18, 9) in which the record of Hadrian's acts was inscribed (either in the form of the honorary inscription I.G., II², 1075 + I.G., III, 55 = P. Graindor, R.E.G., XXXI, 1918, pp. 228 segg. or as Res Gestae, as assumed by Beaujeu, op. cit., p. 127, note 6) cannot be located.

p. 178) that Hadrian founded another sanctuary to serve both as the center of the Panhellenion and as a cult for himself, out of respect for the traditional character of the Olympieion into the temenos of which he hesitated to introduce his own worship, may be expanded to accord with the following observations (the first two of which have already been introduced): (1) cities from all over the Greek world placed their statues of Hadrian Olympios in the Olympieion; 20 (2) the formula of Hadrian Olympios is the most frequently used throughout the Greek World (see the list below); (3) a great number of altars were dedicated in Athens to Hadrian Olympios. Savior, and Founder; (4) there are almost no references in Athens to Hadrian Panhellenios while the emperor yet lived (see below, p. 72, note 47); (5) it is probable that the Panhellenic sanctuary was finished late (A.D. 137) in Hadrian's reign after the actual organization of the synhedrion.21 These observations point to the supposition that Zeus Olympios, the ruling god of the Greek world and a natural head of a Panhellenic program, was, in the first years of the organization of the Panhellenion, before its own sanctuary was completed, the deity of the Panhellenic league and that there was a connection (its nature is obscure) between the organization of the Panhellenion and the Olympieion.²² The details of the organization of the Panhellenion in its early years are not well known; most of the evidence concerns its later years, so that the connection can not be specifically defined.23

In the light of the above observations, it is possible to make the following summary in answer to the questions raised by the large number of altars dedicated in Athens to Hadrian: the regularity of the formula on the altars and the number of altars imply the official nature of the occasion on which the altars were dedicated to Hadrian Olympios, Savior, and Founder.²⁴ The official occasion was the foundation of the Panhellenion and the dedication (somehow connected) of the Olympieion which served to house the dedications of statues by members of the Panhellenion. "Founder," then, implies also Founder of the Panhellenion.²⁵

²⁰ Two of the cities which dedicated statue bases are known from other sources to be members of the Panhellenion (for the list, see M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, p. 177). They are Magnesia ad Maeandrum and Apollonia (Cyrenaica). It is reasonable to conjecture that the cities which dedicated these statues to Hadrian were somehow connected with the formation of the Panhellenion, probably members, perhaps applicants for membership.

²¹ Judeich, Topogr. von Athen², p. 101, note 5.

²² For the Panhellenic implications of the statue base of Hadrian which was dedicated by Aigina, see W. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 178 ff.

²⁸ See J. H. Oliver, "New Evidence on the Attic Panhellenion," *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 31-33, for the bibliography on the Panhellenion.

²⁴ For a similar interpretation based on the large number of similar altars to the emperor Antoninus Pius in Sparta, see *I.G.*, V, 1, 407-445 which the *Cambridge Ancient History* refers to as if the official decree authorizing the dedication of the altars were known (Vol. XI, p. 561).

²⁵ Cf. the wording of I.G., IV^2 , 384:... έτους γ' τῆς καθιερώσεος τοῦ Δ ιὸ[s] | τοῦ Ὁλυμπίου καὶ τῆς κτίσεος | τοῦ Πανελληνίου . . . For the bibliography of the cult of Zeus Ktisios see L. Robert, Hellenica, VI, 1948, p. 52, note 4.

The following list of dedications to Hadrian throughout the Greek world (Figs. 1, 2) attests the size and importance of the emperor cult and bears witness both to the effectiveness of Hadrian's vigorous program of travel and his Panhellenic interest. Of those which we could find to include in the list, many are described as altars, many are inadequately described. The order in which they are presented is geographical.²⁶

ATHENS

1 (Plate 22). Fragment of a cylindrical base of Hymettian marble, broken all around. Found at the surface on Kolonos Agoraios, southwest of the Hephaisteion (C 8), February 26, 1936.

Preserved height, 0.275 m.; preserved width, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.02-0.023 m. Inv. No. I 3620.

a. 131/2 p.

[Σωτῆρι καὶ Κτί]στ [ηι Αὐτοκράτορι] 'Αδρια [νῶι 'Ολυμπ]ίωι. Ο

The restoration of the most commonly used formula on the Hadrian altars retains the symmetry of the inscription, although the division of the word *Ktistei* is unusual.²⁷

2 (Plate 22). Fragment of revetment of Pentelic marble. The back has been finished with a claw chisel while the inscribed face is smoothly polished. The stone was found in the marble pile in the area of the western part of the Odeion, March 30, 1936.

Preserved height, 0.17 m.; preserved width, 0.082 m.; thickness, 0.033 m. Height of letters, 0.024 m. Inv. No. I 3929.

a. 131/2 p.

vacat 0.093 m. Σωτ[ῆρι καὶ] [Κ]τίσ[τη Αὐτο] [κράτορι 'Αδρι] [ανῷ 'Ολυμπίῳ].

The restoration of this carefully, even elaborately, lettered revetment for an altar accords with the usual formula, although the spacing is uncertain.

3 (Plate 22). Fragment of Pentelic marble of which only the inscribed face, badly damaged, is preserved. Found on January 17, 1937, in a modern house wall over the southern part of the Eleusinion (T 19-20).

Preserved height, 0.161 m.; preserved width, 0.10 m.; preserved thickness, 0.079 m. Height of letters, 0.022 m.; Inv. No. I 4391.

a. 131/2 p.

[Αὐτοκράτορι]
[Καίσα] ρι [Τραϊ]
[ανῷ] 'Αδρ[ιανῷ]
[Κτί] στη ['Όλυμ]
[πίῳ].

Though little remains of the inscription that can be read with certainty, the size and general form of the letters suggest the restoration of the formula found in No. 13.

4 (Plate 22). Fragment of a plaque of Hymettian marble with part of the roughly worked back and bottom preserved. Found in a marble pile in the area west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, February 14, 1938.

²⁶ In the case of already published inscriptions on which comment is made, we have, in general, avoided duplication of details in the corpus or original publication.

²⁷ In the series of Athenian altars, the word is divided as follows: kti-stei, Nos. 13, 40, 58, 59,

60; ktis-tei, Nos. 30, 41, 52; k-tistei (?), No. 70.

Preserved height, 0.257 m.; preserved width, 0.179 m.; thickness, 0.049 m. Height of letters, 0.028 m. Inv. No. I 5236.

Though little remains of the inscription, the form of the letters (cf. No. 32) and of the plaque suggests that this is the last line of a dedication to Hadrian.

5 (Plate 22). Fragment of a plaque of Pentelic marble with part of the right edge and back preserved. The inscription is cut on the bottom of a roof tile. Found in the excavations for the cellar of a house at 110 Hermes Street, March 1940.

Preserved height, 0.12 m.; preserved width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.054 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5888.

Guide lines were cut at the bottom of each of the four preserved lines. The re-use of materials for the Hadrian dedications in Athens is found also in No. 9 (a herm).

6 (Plate 22). Fragment of Hymettian marble which has been broken above, below, and at the left. The right side is dressed with a toothed chisel while the back is smooth. There are traces of a rough-picked cutting in the top as well as in the back. Found in modern fill east of the Stoa of Attalos on June 7, 1949.

Preserved height, 0. 22m.; preserved width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Height of letters, 0.018-0.021 m.

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Inv. No. 6198.

a. 131/2 p.

[Σω] τῆρι

[καὶ Κτί] στηι

[Αὐτοκρ] άτορι

['Αδριαν] ῷι

['Ολυμπίωι].
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7 (Plate 22). Poros altar, broken at the bottom and at the upper left in front. Moulding at the top in front and on the left side at the top. The back is smooth. At $0.26 \, \mathrm{m}$. from the the top of each side is a rectangular cutting $(0.055 \, \mathrm{m}$. long $\times 0.015 \, \mathrm{m}$. wide $\times 0.01 \, \mathrm{m}$. deep) which indicates that the altar stood as part of a group. There are traces of red paint in the letters. Found in a marble pile in the area of the southeastern part of the Odeion, March 17, 1952.

Preserved height, 0.445 m.; width at bottom, 0.235 m.; width at the top, 0.23 m.; thickness at bottom, 0.24 m.; thickness at the top. 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.015-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6438.

8 (Plate 23). Fragment of a plaque of Pentelic marble, broken all around. There are traces of a simple moulding on top. Found in late Roman context north of the Church of the Holy Apostles (P 15) on April 15, 1952.

Preserved height, 0.24 m.; preserved width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.045 m. Height of letters, 0.028-0.031 m. Inv. No. I 6510.

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[κράτορ]ι 'Αδρια
[νῷ 'Ολυμπίῳ]
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For the division of the words, cf. No. 42.

9 (Plate 23). Fragment of a block of Pentelic marble with part of the originally inscribed surface and rough-picked back preserved. The left side is broken off and the right side, while smooth, 28 is not original. The top has been worn smooth. The stone was found in the demolition of a house north of the South Stoa II at its east end (N 14), February 1953. The later inscription on Face B is on the bottom of the original dedication.

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Preserved height, 0.165 m.; preserved width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.275 m.

Height of letters: Face A, 0.008-0.01 m.; Face B, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 6577.
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A. med. saec. I a.

[. ca. 6...] μος Γαΐο [υ...]

[. ca. 5... δ κ] αὶ Φυλα [...]

[. λαμπα] δαρχήσ [ας]

[ἐν τῶι ἐπὶ] Λευκίου [...]

5 [. ca. 6...] Νεωτέρου [ἄρ]

[χοντος ἐ] νιαυτῶ [ι Ἑρ]

[μῆι· παιδο] τριβοῦν [τος]

[. ca. 5... ο] υ Κολω [νῆ]

[θεν ὑποπαιδο] τρ [ι] βο [ῦν]

10 [τος .ca. 5...] Μελιτ [έως]
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B. a.
$$131/2 \ p$$
.
$$[\Sigma \omega \tau] \hat{\eta} \rho \iota \kappa [a \iota]$$

$$[K \tau \ell] \sigma \tau \eta \ [vacat]$$

The original width of Face A may be accurately estimated from the certain restoration of the inscription on the Hadrian altar. It is a dedication erected probably to Hermes.²⁹ The exact date of the inscription cannot be determined, for the archon has not hitherto been attested: Λεύκιος - - - Νεώτερος. The addition of Νεώτερος distinguishes him from the archon of 59/8 B.C., Λεύκιος.30 It is tempting to restore the name of the paidotribes as Meniskos, a prominent figure in the first century who is known from numerous inscriptions.31 A paidotribes, however, of the same deme, Kolone, also occurs in the archonship of Kallikratides (37/6 B.C.) whom Wilhelm restores as Antiochos.³² The inscription under discussion, then, could be restored either Meniskou or Antiochou.

The dedication was taken down and re-used in less than two centuries for an altar to Hadrian inscribed with the common formula. For another instance of the re-use of material, see No. 5, above.

10 (Plate 23). Fragment of a thin slab of Pentelic marble of which the top and back only are preserved. The back is smooth-finished. Found in late Roman context north of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O-P 15) on July 7, 1954.

Preserved height, 0.11 m.; preserved width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.026 m.

²⁸ The excavator thought the right side sawn, but it probably is not.

²⁹ For a discussion of similar monuments, see A. E. Raubitschek, "Sylleia," *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 49-57; *I.G.*, II², 2995, is especially similar in handwriting. They are small stone herms set up by epheboi.

³⁰ See W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, p. 280. For the interpretation of the use of *neoteros*, cf. P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes Athéniens*, p. 69, note 3. For some of the leading families bearing the name Leukios, see G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 51-52. The name is very common at this period.

⁸¹ See A. E. Raubitschek, op. cit., p. 53, note 14; Meniskos is mentioned also in *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 270, no. 100 as paidotribes in the archonship of Leukios.

³² Beiträge, p. 86; I.G., II², 2995; see the photograph published by Wilhelm.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 6683.

a. 131/2 p.

[Σωτ] ῆρι καὶ Κτ[ίστη]

[Αὐτοκρά] τορι 'Α [δριανῷ]

['Ολ]υμπ[ίῳ]

The restoration made according to the usual formula preserves symmetrical spacing.

11 (Plate 23). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides. Guide lines have been drawn for the carver and traces of red paint appear in the letters. Found among marbles from the southeast corner of the square.

Preserved height, 0.17 m.; preserved width, 0.11 m.; preserved thickness, 0.06 m. Height of letters, 0.025-0.030 m. Inv. No. I 6728.

α. 131/2 p.
 [Σω] τῆ [ρι]
 [καὶ] Κτίσ [τη]
 [Αὐ] τοκρ [άτορι]
 ['Αδρ] ιαν [φ̂]
 ['Ολυμπίφ]

On the first line are traces of a graffito: TPI

12 33 (Plate 23). Two adjoining fragments of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom, back and right. Part of a moulding is preserved at the top. The top surface is smooth except for a narrow pour-channel which has been chiseled out and runs diagonally from the right front. The face of the inscription has been smoothed with a rasp.

Preserved height, 0.25 m.; preserved width, 0.45 m.; preserved thickness, 0.16 m. Height of letters, 0.028-0.03 m. E.M. 12428 + 1843.

a. 131/2 ρ.
 Σωτῆρ[ι] καὶ Κτίστ[η]
 Αὐτοκρ[ά]τορι 'Αδριανῷ ['Ολ]υμπί[ῳ]

13 (Plate 24). Rectangular altar of white marble, broken off at the top which preserves, however, traces of a moulding on the left side. At the bottom the moulding extends all around except at the back. The sides and face are smoothed with a claw chisel.

Preserved height, 0.53 m.; width of shaft, 0.275 m.; width at moulding, 0.335 m.; thickness at shaft, 0.28 m.; thickness at moulding, 0.32 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m. E. M. 1845.

a. 131/2 p.
 Αὐτοκ [ράτο]
 [ρι] Καίσαρ [ι]
 [Τρ] αϊανῷ
 ['Αδ] ριανῷ
 Κτίστη
 'Ολυμπίῳ

For the formula, cf. Nos. 3 as restored and 28.

14 (Plate 24). Fragment of a round altar of white marble, broken all around except for part of the smooth top. The face has been finished with a claw chisel.

Preserved height, 0.46 m. Height of letters, 0.03-0.035 m. E. M. 1847.

a. 131/2 p.
 [Σωτῆρ]ι καὶ Κτί
 [στη Α]ὖτοκρά
 [τορι 'Α]δριαν [ῷ]
 ['Ολυμ]πίῳ

³³ The inscriptions published below from the Epigraphical Museum are published with the permission of Dr. Mitsos to whom I owe grateful acknowledgment for making available to me the facilities of the museum in Athens during my stay there in the winter of 1959/60.

15 (Plate 24). Part of a rectangular block of Pentelic marble, broken off at the bottom and right. The top, preserved in part, has a cutting $0.055 \,\mathrm{m}$. long $\times 0.05 \,\mathrm{m}$. $\times 0.015 \,\mathrm{m}$. deep. The left side has been picked smooth. The inscribed faces are smoothed with a claw chisel and the moulding, which went all around, has been finished with a rasp. The later text of Face B is on the reverse.

Preserved height, 0.32 m.; preserved width, 0.116 m.; thickness, 0.172 m.

Height of letters: Face A, 0.03-0.032 m.; Face B, 0.013-0.02 m. E.M. 1848.

A. a. 131/2 p.
Σωτη̂[ρι]
καὶ Κτ[ίστη]
Αὐτο[κρά]
τορι ['Αδρι]
5 [ανῷ 'Ολυμ]
[πίῳ]

The certain restoration of the common formula on Hadrian's altars makes possible an accurate estimate of the width of the inscribed faces. The crossbar was omitted from the alpha in line 2.

Dedications to private individuals are not frequent. There are, however, several set up to philosophers and teachers ³⁴ so that it is likely that Horarius is here being honored as a teacher by his son. The name Horarius is known in Athens from a gymnasiarch of the first century after Christ (*I.G.*, II², 1996 16: 'Oράριος), a father and son who were made citizens of Delphi in the 2nd century after Christ (*F.D.*, III/2,

100)⁸⁵ and a grave stele of the Roman period (B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 282-283, No. 178). The first name in all known occurences of the name Horarius is Gaius, which is probably to be restored here.

In the second line, the vertical stroke that remains of the first preserved letter could be part of a nu, eta, perhaps iota. Athenian names of the imperial period which end this way are Φηστιανός (I.G., II², 2197 14) and ἀΑλκηνστιανός, (I. G., II², 2245 109).

16 (Plate 24). Small altar of Pentelic marble with a simple moulding at the top and bottom. The inscribed surface (0.155 m. wide \times 0.16 m. high) is raised and surrounded by a margin (0.016 m.) in imitation of a plaque. The sides and back are badly worn.

Preserved height, 0.31 m.; preserved width, 0.25 m.; preserved thickness, 0.24 m. Height of letters: lines 1-5, 0.025 m.; line 6 (in margin), 0.012 m. E.M. 2879.

17 (Plate 24). Fragment of a plaque of Pentelic marble, broken all around. The inscribed face is very smoothly polished.

Preserved height, 0.082 m.; preserved width, 0.17 m.; preserved thickness, 0.035 m. Height of letters, 0.031 m. E.M. 3242.

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    a. 131/2 p.
    [Σω] τῆρι καὶ
    [Κτίστη Αὐτο]
    [κράτορι 'Αδριανῷ . . .]
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³⁴ *I.G.*, II², 3797, 3807, 3820/1.

³⁵ Cf. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 50-51, no. 18, line 17; *I.G.*, II², 1775 45, as emended by Oliver, *loc. cit*.

Although little remains of the plaque, the size and form of the letters (similar to No. 63 = I.G., II², 3348) suggest restoration according to the common formula of the Hadrian dedications.

18 (Plate 24). Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken all around except for the inscribed face and rough-picked back.

Preserved height, 0.101 m.; preserved width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.025 m. Height of letters, 0.026-0.03 m. E.M. 3328.

a. 131/2 φ.
 [Aὐ] τοκ [ράτο]
 [ρι] 'Αδρι [α]
 [νῷ] 'Ολυ [μπίῳ]

The size and form of the letters and the spacing are most similar to that employed on the Hadrian dedications so that the dative case has been restored here instead of the accusative used on statue bases.

19 (Plate 24). Fragment of a base of white marble, broken all around except for the inscribed face. The roughly hewn back is probably not original.

Preserved height, 0.09 m.; preserved width, 0.21 m.; preserved thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, line 1: 0.023 m.; line 2: 0.04 m.

E.M. 3496.

a. 131/2 p.
--['Αδριανῷ]
'Όλυμπ[ίῳ]
[Σ]ωτῆρι κ[αὶ ...]

The last line is oriented differently and added in a different hand. The scale, letter forms, and the term *Olympios* suggest restoration as a dedication to Hadrian as Olympios to which the terms "Savior and Founder" were then added. 20 (Plate 24). Fragment of a plaque of Pentelic marble broken all around except for the inscribed face.

Maximum preserved height, 0.10 m.; maximum preserved width, 0.18 m.; preserved thickness, 0.032 m.

Height of letters, 0.033-0.036 m. E.M. 3479.

a. 131/2 p.
 [Σωτῆρι καὶ]
 [Κτί]στ[η]ι Αὐ[το]
 [κρά]τορι 'Α [δριανῶι]
 ['Ολυμπίωι]

A guide line for the carver can be seen under the second preserved line.

21 (Plate 24). Fragment of a plaque of Hymettian marble. A part of the back is preserved.

Preserved height, 0.052 m.; preserved width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

E.M. 3853.

a. 131/2 φ.Αὐτ [οκράτορι]['Αδ] ρια [νῷ]

The general form of the fragment makes the restoration as a dedication to Hadrian in the dative case more likely than restoration as a statue base in the accusative.

22 (Plate 24). Badly worn fragment of white marble, broken off at the bottom and left. A simple moulding (0.05 m. high) is preserved at the top. Where preserved, the top is smooth. The smooth-finished right side shows traces of a moulding along the back edge (0.05 m. wide) and the front edge (0.02 m. wide).

Preserved height, 0.20 m.; preserved width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.017-0.023 m.

E.M. 3971.

23 (Plate 24). Fragment of an altar of white marble, broken off all around except for part of the badly worn inscribed face and left side. Traces of a high moulding at the top front and left side.

Preserved height, 0.33 m.; width, at shaft, 0.15 m. Height of letters, 0.023-0.026 m. E.M. 4511.

a. 131/2 φ.
 Σωτῆ [ρι]
 [κ] αὶ Κτ [ίστηι]
 [Αὐτοκράτορι]
 ['Αδριανῶι]
 ['Ολυμπίωι]

The restoration as a dedication to Hadrian, Savior and Founder, is suggested by the general form of the stone and lettering.

24 (Plate 24). Fragment of a rectangular altar of Hymettian marble, broken off at the left and bottom. The part of the right side that is preserved is smooth-finished. The top is rough-picked. A band at the top (0.06 m. high) is decorated with a flower and rope pattern. The letters are carefully and deeply cut.

Preserved height, 0.42 m.; preserved width, 0.32 m.; preserved thickness, 0.17 m. Height of letters, 0.03 m. E.M. 4928.

a. 131/2 p.
 [Σωτῆρι καὶ Κτίσ]τη < κ΄
 [Αὐτοκράτορι 'Αδ]ριανῶι
 ['Ολυμπί]ωι κ΄

25 (Plate 24). Fragment of a plaque of Pentelic marble, broken off at the sides and bottom.

The back is rough-hewn. Part of the smooth surface of the top is preserved. Traces of a simple moulding at the top.

Preserved height, 0.195 m.; preserved width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.06 m. Height of letters, 0.021-0.026 m. E.M. 5764.

α. 131/2 φ.
 [Σ] ωτῆρι καὶ [Κτίστη]
 [Α] ὐτοκράτο [ρι 'Αδριανῷ]
 ['Ολυμπίω]

26 (Plate 24). Fragment of block of marble, broken off at the top, the top right corner, and the bottom left corner. Simple moulding preserved at the bottom; the back is smooth.

Preserved height, 0.22 m.; preserved width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.14 m. Height of letters, 0.02-0.025 m. E.M. 12548.

27. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 60, no. 24 (I 531).
The name in the filleted wreath recalls *I.G.*, II², 3329 (No. 44).

- **28**. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 250, no. 50 (I 2212).
- 29. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 369-370, no. 12, pl. 93 (I 2649).
- **30**. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 369, no. 11, pl. 92 (I 2698).
- **31.** S.E.G., XIV, 125; B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p. 258, no. 45, pl. 54 (I 3770).

- **32**. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 250-251, no. 52 (I 4198).
- **33**. S.E.G., XIV, no. 124; B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 257-258, no. 44 (I 4392).
- **34.** S.E.G., XIV, no. 123; B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p. 257, no. 43, pl. 54 (I 4406).
- **35**. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 250, no. 51 (I 5609).
- **36**. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 249, no. 49 (I 5862).
- **37**. E. M. 10357; *I.G.*, II², 3228; A. Benjamin & A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 81-82, no. 11, pl. 9; *S.E.G.*, XVIII, no. 80d.

This altar was used for the worship of Augustus, Tiberius and Hadrian; the inscription to Hadrian (Pl. 25) was added on the back of the Augustus-Tiberius altar.

- **38.** E.M. 10350; *I.G.*, II², 3230; for this altar used for Augustus and Hadrian, see *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 82-83, no. 13, pl. 9; *S.E.G.*, XVIII, no. 80 j.
- 39. E.M. 8271; I.G., II², 3324; Plate 24. Pittakys (L'Ancienne Athènes, p. 168) who first reports the altar writes that he found it (he calls it a statue base) "entre le Prytanée et le Linaeon" (p. 167). For an altar of similar type and dimensions and spacing, cf. No. 76.
- 40. E.M. 9566; I.G., II², 3325; Plate 24. This small altar without any traces of moulding was reported by S. A. Kumanudes ('Αθήναιον, V, 1876, pp. 197-198) to have been found in the Asklepieion.
- **41.** E.M. 10352; *I.G.*, II², 3326; Plate 25. Like No. **42** (of similar dimensions and

- form) this votive plaque was probably attached to something. The back is roughpicked. The small round hole at the middle of the top (about .01 m. in diameter and in depth) is found also in Nos. 55 (with rust stains), 56, 86. They may have been drilled in modern times to attach the stones for purposes of display. The letters of the inscription are not carefully carved, but care has been taken with the spacing of the lines.
- **42.** E.M. 10347; *I.G.*, II², 3327; Plate 26. Cf. the form of No. **41**. The back of this votive plaque is rough-picked.
- 43. E.M. 10349; *I.G.*, II², 3328; Plate 26. Pittakys (*Eph.*, 1838, p. 135, no. 88) may have seen this in the Library of Hadrian.³⁶ The moulding at the top and the leaf decoration under the inscription conform to the usual decorations of these small altars. The sides and back are smooth. The stone is broken at the top, though traces of the heavy moulding at the top are left. Note the varied types of alphas.
- 44. E.M. 10362; I.G., II², 3329; H. Heydemann, Die antiken Marmor-Bildwerke in der sog. Stoa des Hadrian, Berlin, 1874, p. 102, no. 269; Plate 25.

 This large altar seems to have been doweled into position for on the bottom is a dowel hole. The top was not visible because of the position of the stone. For other large altars to Hadrian of similar proportions in Athens, see Nos. 46 and 48.
- **45**. E.M. 10366; *I.G.*, II², 3330; Plate 25. The simple moulding at the top of this large altar continues around on both sides. The back has been hollowed out and roughly picked away in a re-use. The lettering of the inscription is very similar to Nos, **12**, **37**, **51**, **55**.

³⁶ See P. Graindor, Athènes sous Hadrien, pp. 241-242 and note 3 for the inscriptions found in the Library of Hadrian.

- 46. E.M. 10372; *I.G.*, II², 3331; Plate 27. The mouldings on this large altar (cf. Nos. 44 and 48) continue on both sides at the top and bottom. The sides are smoothly finished, like the face, with a claw chisel. As A. Brueckner has pointed out,³⁷ the lack of symmetry indicates that the altar was part of a group, or balanced by another similar base. The top is flat and roughpicked.
- 47. E.M. 1842; *I.G.*, II², 3332; Plate 27.

 Small altar of white marble the face of which is ornamented at the top with a moulding in the form of scrolls. A simple moulding at the bottom continues on both sides. The top is flat and rough-picked; the sides smoothly finished like the face. The back of the shaft of the altar has been broken away. Height, 0.56 m.; width at shaft, 0.20 m.; width at bottom, 0.29 m.; thickness at bottom, 0.16 m.; preserved thickness at shaft, 0.09 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m.
- 48. E.M. 1857; *I.G.*, II², 3333; Plate 27. Cf. the other large altars Nos. 44 and 46. The top of this altar seems to have been flat except for the groove (0.01 m. deep) that still appears on the left side and was probably also on the right. The sides are smooth-finished (with simple mouldings top and bottom) while the back is roughpicked.
- **49**. E.M. 4654; *I.G.*, II², 3334; Plate 26.
- **50.** E.M. 86; *I.G.*, II², 3335; Plate 26. The back of this small altar has been broken away. The top, as far as preserved, is smooth.
- **51.** E.M. 177; *I.G.*, II², 3336; Plate 26. The lettering of this plaque is very similar to that of the inscriptions No. **12**, **45**.

- Whether the rough-picked back is original is doubtful.
- **52.** E.M. 284; *I.G.*, II², 3337; Plate 26. The back of this thin plaque is roughly picked so that it appears to have been used as revetment.
- **53**. E.M. 325; *I.G.*, II², 3338; Plate 26.
- 54. E.M. 502; *I.G.*, II², 3339 = 3366. George Stamires pointed out that these are identical.
- 55. E.M. 1839; *I.G.*, II², 3340; Plate 26. Small altar of Pentelic marble with traces of a moulding at the top. For the small round hole in the top center, see No. 41. The back is very roughly picked and probably not original. Height, 0.50 m.; preserved width, 0.29 m.; preserved thickness, 0.10 m. Height of letters, 0.023 m.
- 56. E.M. 1840; I.G., II², 3341; Plate 26. This small altar of Pentelic marble (thickness, 0.11 m.) preserves a simple moulding both at the top and bottom. For the small round hole at the top center, cf. No. 41. The back, sides, and top are all roughhewn.
- 57. E.M. 1841; *I.G.*, II², 3342; Plate 27. On the top, a rough-picked circular cutting is preserved as is frequently found on imperial altars.
- 58. E.M. 1838; *I.G.*, II², 3343; Plate 28. Two adjoining pieces of a plaque of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom and top. The bottom fragment has on its face a pivot hole from later re-use. The asterisk at the end of the first line easily identified the inscription with that published as *I.G.*, II², 3343. Preserved height, 0.58 m.; width, 0.37 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Height of letters, 0.030 m.

³⁷ "Mitteilungen aus dem Kerameikos V," Ath. Mitt., LVI, 1931, p. 5, note 2.

The Epigraphical Museum number listed in the corpus for this inscription is incorrect and has been published above as part of No. 12.

- **59**. E.M. 1846; *I.G.*, II², 3344; Plate 26. The top of this altar is rough-picked, but flat. On the left side a rough cross has been picked out.
- 60. E.M. 3115; I.G., II², 3345; Plate 28. The inscription on this round altar is carved as if on a plaque attached to an altar. A fifth line, ending in omega, has not been reported in the corpus and though unparalleled in Athens, the restoration is probably [Σεβαστ] φ̂.
- **61.** E.M. 4798; *I.G.*, II², 3346; Plate 29. This round altar of Hymettian marble has been squared off in front and the inscription placed on the flattened surface in imitation of a plaque.
- 62. E.M. 5805; *I.G.*, II², 3347 = 3379. George Stamires pointed out that these are identical.
- **63**. E.M. 6120; *I.G.*, II², 3348; Plate 29.
- 64. I.G., II², 3349.
- 65. I.G., II², 3350.
- 66. I.G., II², 3351.
- 67. I.G., II², 3352.
- 68. I.G., II², 3353.
- 69. I.G., II², 3354.
- 70. I.G., II², 3355; C.I.G., 330.
- 71. *I.G.*, II², 3356.
- 72. I.G., II², 3357.
- 73. E.M. 1928; *I.G.*, II², 3358; Plate 28. This round altar of Hymettian marble with mouldings at the top and bottom is slightly

concave on the top. In the third century B.C. it served as an altar of Homonoia (I.G., II², 4985; Pl. 28; for an interpretation of this altar see F. Poland, Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 226 note 3 and 501 note 4.). In Hadrian's time the altar was inscribed on the opposite side. Hadrian's name has been written carelessly (see Pl. 28). The surface of the side on which the Hadrianic inscription is carved has been roughly chipped away in such a way as to suggest that the Hadrianic inscription is carved partly on an erasure.

- 74. I.G., II², 3359.
- 75. I.G., II², 3360.
- 76. E.M. 3106; I.G., II², 3361; Plate 28. Small altar of Pentelic marble very similar in type to No. 39. Part of the smooth top is preserved. Height, 0.28 m.; diameter, 0.34 m.; height of letters, 0.015-0.019 m. Pittakys (L'ancienne Athènes, p. 89) reported the inscription near the Theseum.
- 77. I.G., II², 3362.
- 78. I.G., II²., 3363.
- 79. I.G., II², 3364.
- **80**. *I.G.*, II², 3365.
- 81. E.M. 3415; *I.G.*, II², 3367; Plate 29.
- 82. I.G., II², 3367 a; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 75, no. 73 (I 326).
- 83. I.G., II², 3368.
- 84. I.G., II², 3369.
- **85**. *I.G.*, II², 3370.
- 86. E.M. 10344; *I.G.*, II², 3371; Plate 25. Plaque of white marble the thickness of which is 0.055 m. For the small round hole in the center top, cf. No. 41. The back

of the plaque is smooth. Above the inscription is the graffito: $E \tilde{\nu} \tau v \chi \dot{\eta} s$.

- 87. E.M. 4452; *I.G.*, II², 3372; Plate 28. The last line of this altar of Hymettian marble is in a different hand. Cf. the sigmas and the etas.
- 88. I.G., II², 3373.
- 89. I.G., II², 3374; W. Froehner, Musée impérial du Louvre: Les inscriptions grecques, Paris, 1865, p. 161, no. 75. See Plate 28.
- 90. I.G., II², 3375.
- 91. I.G., II², 3376.
- **92.** E.M. 2119; *I.G.*, II², 3377; S. A. Koumanoudes. Έφ. Άρχ., 1885, p. 208, no. 3.
- **93**. *I.G.*, II², 3378.

- **94.** *I.G.*, II², **33**80; A. S. Skias, Έπιγραφαὶ Έλευσῖνος, Έφ. Άρχ., 1894, pp. 201-202, no. 20, and the sketch on p. 202.
 - In the Hadrianic period (as in the time of Augustus, see A. Benjamin and A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 74-75) there are found "archaizing" inscriptions; cf. *I.G.*, II², 3194.
- 95 (Plate 29). Fragment of a plaque of white marble. The top right side and back are smooth as far as preserved. The stone is broken off on the left side and bottom. The inscription is reported as non-Attic.

Preserved height, 0.072 m.; preserved width, 0.092 m.; thickness, 0.038 m. Height of letters, 0.01-0.03 m. E.M. 6013.

a. 131/2 p.
 [Αὐτοκράτ]ορι 'A vacat
 [δριανῷ 'Ολυ]μπίῳ

THE LOCATION OF THE CULT OF HADRIAN IN ATHENS

The altars were most likely placed near the center of the worship of Hadrian,³⁸ but the fact that none of the altars found can be said to have been *in situ* makes it difficult to locate the cult center. Since 30 altars have been reported as found near the Agora and Theseum,³⁹ it may be that they were used there on festive occasions, but their convenient size for re-use in walls, doorways and under dripping water spouts makes it impossible to insist on this.

I.G., II², 3323, E.M. 3117 (Plate 30).

One altar published by Kirchner in the corpus has not been included in the list of Altars to Hadrian in Athens although it is restored as an altar to Hadrian as New Dionysos, the restoration made by Graindor.⁴⁰ The occurrence of the word $Te[\chi\nu\epsilon\hat{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota]$ alone is very unusual,⁴¹ so that consideration should be given the suggestion of S. A.

³⁸ See note 19 above for the temple of the emperor and the Panhellenion, the location of which is not known.

³⁹ Nos. 1-11, 27-36, 39, 45, 74, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 91, 92. For the four found in the Library of Hadrian, see the comment of P. Graindor, op. cit., pp. 241-242, note 3.

⁴⁰ P. Graindor, B.C.H., LI, 1927, p. 262, no. 25. In the addenda et corrigenda of Athènes sous Hadrian, p. 168, Graindor points out that the name of Antinoos could also be restored. For Hadrian as New Dionysos, see J. Beaujeu, op. cit., pp. 172-174.

⁴¹ For the most usual formula, cf. *I.G.*, II², 2955.

Koumanoudes in his publication of the inscription ⁴² that the $-\tau\epsilon$ may be the conjunction, and, if so, the inscription is metrical. Another altar with the same measurements and a similar circular hollowed place on the top (see the measurements in the corpus and our Pl. 30) and with an inscription in the same hand has been published in I.G., II², 4796. Lines two and three form an hexameter, so that there is no doubt that these altars were companion pieces and that I.G., II², 3323 is to be restored metrically.⁴³ The text of the inscription is as follows:

In line two, it is tempting to restore ['Hρακλη̂] $\ddot{\iota}^{44}$ instead of the metrically acceptible $\tau \dot{\omega} \pi \acute{o} \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \iota$ (less likely $\tau \eta \iota \Delta \acute{\eta} \mu \eta \tau \rho \iota$) because of the association that the Dioskouroi, Herakles, and Dionysos all have in common as non-Athenian initiates into the Eleusinian mysteries. Altars to these heroes are particularly appropriate to Hadrianic Athens because of the conscious imitation of Herakles and the Dioskouroi in Hadrian's initiation into the Mysteries at Eleusis.

In line three, the restoration of $\tau \delta \nu$, which makes an awkward spondaic line, is in keeping with the straight, vertical stroke which could be the stroke only of an eta, nu, mu or iota at the end of a word.

HADRIAN PANHELLENIOS

In the above list of Athenian altars and the remainder of the list of dedications to follow, instances of the use of the title Panhellenios for Hadrian do not occur.⁴⁷

⁴² " $A_{\rho\chi}$. ' $E\phi$., 1862, p. 80, no. 80.

⁴³ The deliberate spelling $\Delta \iota \omega \nu i \sigma \omega \iota$ almost guarantees it. The two inscriptions were not found near each other: I.G., II², 4796 was seen by Dodwell near the "Gymnasium of Ptolemy"; I.G., II², 3323 was found by Koumanoudes in the northwest part of the city of Athens.

⁴⁴ For the form see the summary of dative forms in R.E., s.v. Herakles, column 521, lines 20-28.

⁴⁵ See Preller-Robert, I, pp. 790-791, note 5.

⁴⁶ See P. Graindor, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

⁴⁷ There are no reported occurrences on altars. In Athens, the title is restored in I.G., II², 3297; Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσ [αρα 'Αδριανὸν] | Σεβαστὸν 'Ολύμ [πιον Πανελλήνιον] . . . but could be restored in other ways: see I.G., II², 3291, 3293, 3302, 3306. There is a record of a priest of Hadrian Panhellenios in I.G., II², 3626 (I.G., III, 681) and probably in I.G., II², 3623 (I.G., III, 724), but these are not within Hadrian's lifetime. In the decree I.G., II², 1088, the occurrence is quite certain, but it occurs in a quoted decree from Thyatira (J. H. Oliver, Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 32). At Eleusis, an inscription on a statue base (I.G., II², 3386) is restored with [Πav] ελλήνως by A. N. Skias (' $E\phi$. ' $\Lambda \rho \chi$., 1894, p. 212, no. 42) though not so accepted in the Corpus; cf. P. Graindor, op. cit., p. 127. This last is, again, not in Hadrian's lifetime. Throughout the rest of the Greek world (not including Egypt and Africa), the term is found on several statues of Hadrian: Megara (Olympios, Pythios, Panhellenios), I.G., VII, 70, [71], 72, 3491; Syros (Olympios and Panhellenios, A.D. 135), I.G., XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 118, no. 239; Chios (Neos Dionysos, Olympios,

The use of the title at all is very infrequent, so that the occurrence in Athens of the title on the fragment of a stele, inscribed on both sides, is quite unique:

I (Plate 30). Fragment from the top of an opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble with a pedimental moulding.

Preserved height, 0.34 m.; preserved width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

[Αὐτ]οκράτορα [Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν] ['Αδρι]ανὸν Σε[βαστὸν 'Ολύμπι] [ον καὶ Πα]νελλήν[ιον οἱ πρυτάνεις] [τῆς Αἰ]αντίδο[ς φυλῆς . . .]

The width of the stele, for purposes of the restoration, can be estimated from the pediment. The stele appears to be one of a series set up with lists of the prytany for a year in which the tribes paid special honor to Hadrian Olympios and Panhellenios. It is not usual to head a prytany list with a name in the accusative. The analogy of *I.G.*, II², 1763 (a herm) and *I.G.*, II², 1791 (a stele) suggests that the emperor's name stood first and was then followed by reference to the capacity in which he was honored; after which stood the date and customary formula which precede the lists. The fragment of the prytany list of 131/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1762), the year of the foundation of the Panhellenion and the dedication of the Olympieion, shows some variation from the common formula, for preceding the tribe and archonship and the formula τιμήσαντες έαυτοὺς... is the date in terms of the Hadrianic era.

The occasion for honoring Hadrian and in which capacity he is being honored 48

Panhellenios), S.E.G., XV, 530; Mysia (Olympios, Panhellenios), I.G.R., IV, 552, 519; Ephesos (Olympios, Panhellenios, Panionios), Inscr. Br. Mus., 501; Miletos (Olympios, Panhellenios, Panionios, A.D. 136), Milet, I, 2, pp. 119-120, no. 20; Stratonikeia (Olympios, Panhellenios), I.G.R., IV, 1157. An architrave at Aphrodisias bears a dedication to Hadrian Panhellenios and the people (C.R.A.I., 1906, p. 167 + 1914, p. 49.). There is a statue base which records a priest of Hadrian Panhellenios from Corinth, I.G., IV, 1600.

⁴⁸ In other inscriptions of this time, the tribes honor their agonothete (I.G., II², 1759: 'A $\gamma a\theta \hat{\eta}$

cannot be asserted with any certainty. It may be that Hadrian helped the prytanizing tribes financially after the death of Atticus ⁴⁹ which occurred sometime between 134 and 138 and brought to an end his tribal endowments. This speculation would mean that Hadrian in this inscription was being honored as the first eponymos,⁵⁰ but this can be only speculation. Hadrian's benefactions to Athens were manifold and more evidence is needed to narrow down this particular honor and the date of the stele.⁵¹

The restoration of the tribal name on the face is limited to three possibilities: Leontis IV, Akamantis VI, and Hippothontis X. The space seems to allow for more letters than the name Leontis, so that Hippothontis has been chosen to preserve the official tribal order, assuming that the lists were made in official order as follows: 1 & 2, 3 & 4, 5 & 6, 7 alone, 8 & 9, 10 & 11, 12 & 13.⁵²

PELOPONNESOS

Nauplia

96. *I.G.*, IV, 675.

Sparta

97. *I.G.*, V, 1, 381.

98. I.G., V, 1, 382.

The drawing by Caylus, *Rec. d'Ant.*, Vol. 1, pl. 20, no. 1 (cf. his commentary on p. 61) shows a support for a basin with the inscription on the mouldings.

99. *I.G.*, V, I, 383.

100. I.G., V, 1, 384; H. J. W. Tillyard, B.S.A., XII, 1905-1906, p. 457, no. 5. The patera on the top (Pl. 29) accords with the use of these altars for offerings to the emperor.

101-105. *I.G.*, V, 1, 385-389.

106. *I.G.*, V, 1, 390; Plate 29.

107. *I.G.*, V, 1, 391; Plate 29.

Note that the inscription is on the upper face of this altar.

108-109. *I.G.*, V, 1, 392-393.

τύχη ἀγω [νοθέτου K] λαυδίου . . .), their herald (I.G., II², 1763), and the Archon (I.G., II², 1791: [τὸν ἄρ] χοντα ἐπὶ τῆ εἰς [έ] αυτοὺ]ς εὐνοία).

⁴⁹ J. H. Oliver, "Financial Aid to Tribes of Roman Athens," A.J.P., LXX, 1949, p. 303

(cf., however, pp. 307-308).

⁵⁰ The inscription *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 40-43, no. 11, is important in the consideration of the foundation of the eponymos. It is an opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble. The dating is difficult since as it stands now the front face of the stele (Akamantis VI), so determined by the pediment with the sculptural relief, is dated 146-165 while the back (Antiochus XII) is dated by J. Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 13) 135/6. See A. Raubitschek, "Note on the Post-Hadrianic Boule," Γέρας ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου, Athens, 1953, pp. 242-243, for an evaluation of the evidence on the priest of the eponymos and the eponymos.

⁵¹ The use of the title Panhellenios might reflect a special association like the first Panhellenic games in A.D. 137: for the date, see P. Graindor, op. cit., pp. 53-54, note 3, and L. Ziehen, R.E., s.v., "Panhellenia," col. 593, for the interpretation of *Inschriften von Olympia*, p. 347, no. 237. The title Panhellenios was used in Megara when Hadrian was honored as nomothete for his revision of the tribes (I.G., VII, 70 ff.)

⁵² For opisthographic inscriptions, the texts of which are from different periods, see G. A. Stamires, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 258, where he points out that the stelai seem to have been stored and re-used later by the same tribe.

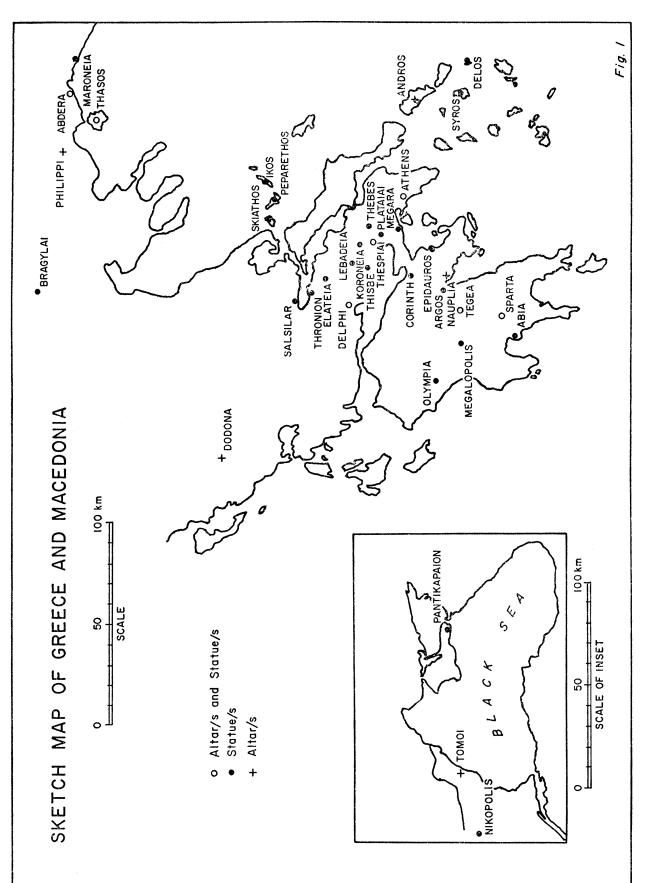


Fig. 1

110. I.G., V, 1, 394; Plate 29.

111. *I.G.*, V, 1, 395; H. J. W. Tillyard, *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905-1906, p. 458, no. 7.

112-113. *I.G.*, V, 1, 396-397.

114. I.G., V, 1, 398; Plate 29.
Again, the top is hollowed for offerings.

115-118. I.G., V, 1, 399-402.

119. *I.G.*, V, 1, 403.

An altar re-used as a dedication for Antoninus Pius.

120. *I.G.*, V, 1, 404

121. *I.G.*, V, 1, 406.

122. S.E.G., XI, 763.

123. S.E.G., XIII, 256; J. Bingen, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," B.C.H., LXXVII, 1953, pp. 642-646, no. 5, fig. 6; J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," R.E.G., LXVIII, 1955, p. 218, item 109. From this altar, Bingen is able to date the whole series of altars to Hadrian to the year A.D. 125 when P. Memmius Sidektas

was the eponymous patronome during the first visit of Hadrian to Sparta (cf. *I.G.*, V, I, 32a).

Many of the altars to Hadrian are inscribed in the genitive case as well as in the dative.53 The absence of the epithet Olympios (cf. however No. 121) accords with Bingen's dating of the altars to Hadrian's visit to Sparta. The popularity of Hadrian's cult in Sparta is a reflection of the new Panhellenic importance that Hadrian bestowed on that city. Sparta's prestige was considerably augmented when Hadrian revitalized the festival at Plataiai, the Eleutheria. Sparta also received new importance in the Greek world when Hadrian, in a reexamination of Augustus' settlement of the Amphiktyonic Council promised in a letter of 119/ 120,54 revised the council and allotted a voice to Sparta.55 The Mission of Aemilius Juneus to Sparta no doubt concerned cult affairs in as much as Juneus and the Emperor Hadrian ordered that Tiberius Claudius Harmonicus, a man prominent in the imperial cult, be honored (I.G., V, 1, 485). The date of the mission, however, probably postdates the dedication of the altars in Sparta and cannot be connected with their dedication.56

⁵³ See *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 68, note 20, for the bibliography on the use of these cases. ⁵⁴ E. Bourguet, *De Rebus Delphicis Imperatoriae Aetatis*, 1905, pp. 74-76.

⁵⁵ E. Bourguet, op. cit., pp. 78-81; B. D'Orgeval, L'empereur Hadrian, Paris, 1950, pp. 246-247. ⁵⁶ The details of the mission are vague. Claudius Harmonicus was prominent in the Imperial cult as is indicated by his honors philopatris (J. H. Oliver, The Athenian Expounders of Ancestral and Sacred Law, p. 89) and aristopoleitis (a general honor which probably was awarded to men who had served in the imperial cult and games to judge from the fact that many of the men so honored were gymnasiarchs like Harmonicus and/or priests of the imperial cult; cf. I.G., V, 1, 65, 335, 339, 467, 468, 485, 498, 504, 525, 536, 547, 553, 590, 679, 680, 681, 685, S.E.G., XI, 780, 845, 849). Juneus' capacity as δικαιοδότης is usually interpreted legatus iuridicus but a iuridicus is not known to have served in a senatorial province as was Achaia. On the other hand, since Sparta was a free city, an imperial legate may well have been sent there. Juncus served in Athens (I.G., II², 4210) as πρεσβευτής Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος, but the date of his mission there and its purpose are unknown, although the date is usually taken to be near his consulship in A.D. 127. For the bibliography on Juncus see P.I.R., I2, A, 355; E. Groag, Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diocletian (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Schriften der Balkankommission, IX), cols. 64-66; Phil. Woch., LIII, 1933, col. 1382 (in a review of W. Hüttl, Antoninus Pius); P. Graindor, Athènes sous Hadrien, pp. 21 ff.; C. S. Walton, "Oriental Senators in the Service of Rome," J.H.S., XIX, 1929, p. 49, note 1. Mommsen, Röm. Staat., II2, p. 858, note 2; J. Notopoulos, "The Date of the Creation of Hadrianis," T.A.P.A., LXXVII, 1946, p. 56, note 10; cf. I.G., II2, 3194 and the restoration by J. H. Oliver, A.J.P., LXXVIII, 1957, p. 35.

TEGEA

124. *I.G.*, V, 2, 128.

125. *I.G.*, V, 2, 129.

CENTRAL AND WEST GREECE

THESPIAI

126. *I.G.*, VII, 1840.

Mt. Helikon

127. I.G., VII, 2851.

DELPHI

128. S.I.G.3, 835 A. (Altar?)

The stone is described as a statue base, the inscription records a χαριστήριον to Hadrian set up by the Greeks who met at Plataiai. The date is A.D. 125 (cf. W. Weber, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus, p. 195).

DODONA

129. *C.I.G.*, 1822.

MACEDONIA, THRACE, MOESIA, EUROPEAN SIDE OF THE BLACK SEA

Perinthos

130. C.I.G., 2021 (altar? to Hadrian and Sabina).

Abdera

- **131.** Г. Μπακαλάκης, Θρακικά, VIII, 1937, pp. 25-26, no. 7, fig. 6; *R.A.*, X, 1937, p. 386, no. 170. (Altar?)
- **132**. G. Kazarow, *Arch. Anz.*, 1918, p. 48, fig. 52.

Lysimacheia

133. Γ. Λαμπουσιάδης, Θρακικά, ΙΧ, 1938, p. 42. no. 1; *R.A.*, XII, 1938, p. 349, no. 140. In Latin.

Рніцірі

- P. Collart, Philippes, ville de Macédoine,
 p. 314, note 1 (tab. LXII, no. 2). In Latin.
- **135**. P. Lemerle, *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 454-456, no. 2, fig. 1. In Latin, dated between Dec. 10, 130 and Dec. 9, 131.

Томог

- **136**. *I.G.R.*, I, 606; *C.I.L.*, III, 7539; G. Tocilescu, *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.*, XIV, 1891, p. 13, no. 22.
- **137**. G. Tocilescu, *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.*, XIV, 1891, p. 13, no. 21; in Latin, dated A.D. 133.
- **138.** *I.G.R.*, I, 607; G. Tocilescu, *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth.*, XIX, 1896, p. 97, no. 45.

AEGEAN ISLANDS

THASOS

- 139. Y. Béquignon et P. Devambez, B.C.H., LVI, 1932, pp. 284-286, fig. 28. Altar to Hadrian Olympios, Savior, Founder, and to Hera Sabina as New Hera.
- **140**. G. Daux, *B.C.H.*, LII, 1928, pp. 61-62, no. 14; an altar to Hadrian Olympios. Theos, Savior, and to Sabeina Sebaste. (Between A.D. 129 and 137).

Lesbos

- 141. I.G., XII, 2, 183; C.I.G., 2179; I.G.R., IV, no. 84.

 This charisterion is dedicated to Hadrian Eleutherios, Olympios, Oikistes.
- **142**. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 184; *I.G.R.*, IV, 85; Plate 29.
 - This small altar with mouldings top and bottom is dedicated to Hadrian as Zeus Olympios, Savior and Founder.

. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 185; Museum of Mytilene no. 173; Plate 29.

Small altar (charisterion) of yellowish marble with mouldings at the top (0.08 m.) and bottom (0.08 m.). The top moulding forms akroteria. Height, 0.42 m.; width, 0.37 m.; thickness, 0.14 m. Height of letters, 0.02-0.024 m. The back and sides are rough-hewn. The altar is dedicated to Hadrian Eleutherios, Olympios, Savior and Founder.

- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 186.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 187.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 188.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 189; *I.G.R.*, IV, 86; Plate 29.

Round columnar altar with simple mouldings top and bottom. The marble is grayblue in color. The top surface preserves two indentations (for offerings?). Here Hadrian is Olympios, Savior and Founder. Height, 0.66 m.; diameter, 0.44 m. Height of letters, 0.021 m.

- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 190; *I.G.R.*, IV, 87.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 191; Museum of Mytilene, no. 261; Plate 30.

Altar of white marble with mouldings at the top (in form of akroteria) and at the bottom. Right and left sides are roughhewn; the back appears to be broken off. Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.25 m.; preserved thickness, 0.11 m. Height of letters, 0.023 m. This charisterion is dedicated to Hadrian Eleutherios, Olympios, Savior.

- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 192.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 193.

- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 194.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 195.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 196.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 197.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 198.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 199.
- . *I.G.*, XII, 2, 200; *I.G.R.*, IV, 88.
- . *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 20, no. 53; Plate 30.

Though lines two and three are inscribed in rasura, the hand does not appear to differ from that of the other lines.

- **160.** *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 20, no. 54.
- . *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 20, no. 55; "Arae Augusti," *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 69, no. 40.

An altar to Augustus that was rededicated and re-used for Hadrian.

- 162. I.G., XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 20, no. 56;
 D. Evangelides, 'Aρχ. Δελτ., IX, 1924/5, Παράρτημα, pp. 46-47, fig. 10; Plates 27, 28.
 The inscription is on a block which was part of a larger monument (Pl. 28). The right side and top are rough-hewn while the left side is smooth. There is a simple moulding (0.03 m. thick) on the right side. Note the dowel in the bottom.
- . *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), pp. 20-21, no. 57.
- 164 (Plate 30).⁵⁷ Small altar of yellowish marble, with a moulding at the top in the form of akroteria. Traces of a simple moulding at the bottom which continued around both sides. Broken at the top left corner. The inscription is in the museum at Mytilene.
- ⁵⁷ Nos. **164** and **165** are published with the kind permission of Dr. S. Charitonides. I am very grateful to the American Philosophical Society which provided funds for the study of the altars at Mytilene.

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.34 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.018-0.025 m.

ca. a. 131/2 p. Αὐτοκρά τορι 'Αδρι ανῷ 'Ολυνπί φ Έτηφιλίφ Σ 5 ωτηρι κὲ Κτίστα τᾶς πόλιος.

This is the first known occurrence of the epithet Ἐτηφίλιος for Hadrian. Ἐτηφίλα which occurs quite often in Mytilene is a euphonic name for Persephone.⁵⁸ Epigraphical evidence ⁵⁹ indicates that the priestesses of her cult are connected with the family of Potamon and his descendants, the family that played such a prominent part in the imperial cult from the time of Augustus on. (See the inscriptions from the Monument of Potamon in I.G., XII, 2, 35 ff. and the Supplement, 1939).

The use of the epithet is the only evidence for the supposition that Hadrian was initiated into the mysteries of the cult.60

165 (Plate 30). Small altar of blue-gray marble with a moulding at the top and at the bottom. The moulding at the back of the top, the rectangular cuttings on the left side, the rough picking of the right side are indications that there were inscriptions on either side of this inscription. The top back has been gouged out. Lines were drawn for the carver.

Height, 0.28 m., width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.018-0.02 m. in lines 1-7, 0.01 m. in line 8 (on bottom moulding). ca. a. 131/2 p.

Αὐτοκράτο

ρι Καίσαρι 'Αδρι ανώ Διὶ 'Ολυμ πίω Σωτῆρι καὶ Κτίστη καὶ Σαβείνη Θεά Σε βαστή υ. Χαριστή v. plov. v.

The most common dedication to Hadrian at Mytilene is that of the small altar called charisterion.61 Of the twenty-five altars (of which two are shared with Sabeina and one re-used from Augustus) twelve refer to Hadrian as Eleutherios,62 sixteen as Olympios 63 and four as Zeus Olympios.64 He is also Savior Founder, and once (164) Έτηφίλιος.

ANAPHE

166. *I.G.*, XII, **3**, 265; *C.I.G.*, II, add. **2**480 i (altar? statue?)

Andros

167-172. *I.G.*, XII, 5, 741-746.

173. *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 130, no. 273. In all cases in Andros, Hadrian is Savior and Founder of the world and Olympios.

Samos

174. I.G.R., IV, 986. This altar is dedicated to Hadrian Δu

'Ολυμπίω ἐπι φαν [εί] σωτῆρι | καὶ Κτίστη.

175. *I.G.R.*, IV, 985.

176. S.E.G., I, 402.

The formula is that of No. 174.

CRETE

177. Insc. Cret., IV, pp. 317-318, no. 274. A plaque inscribed in Latin to be dated 123/4 by the mention of the 8th tribunician power.

⁵⁸ See Hiller v. Gärtringen, R.E., s.v. "Etephila" (VI, 1909, col. 712).

⁵⁹ I.G., XII, 2, 222, 239 (and Suppl. 1939, p. 22), Suppl. (1939), p. 10, no. 9.

⁶⁰ The evidence for the mysteries of $\mathbf{E}_{\tau\eta}\phi i\lambda\eta$ is found in *I.G.*, XII, 2, 484, line 12. ⁶¹ There are twelve so called: 141, 143, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 159, 162, 165.

^{62 141, 143, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159, 160.}

^{63 143-155, 159, 162, 164.}

^{64 141, 142, 163, 165.}

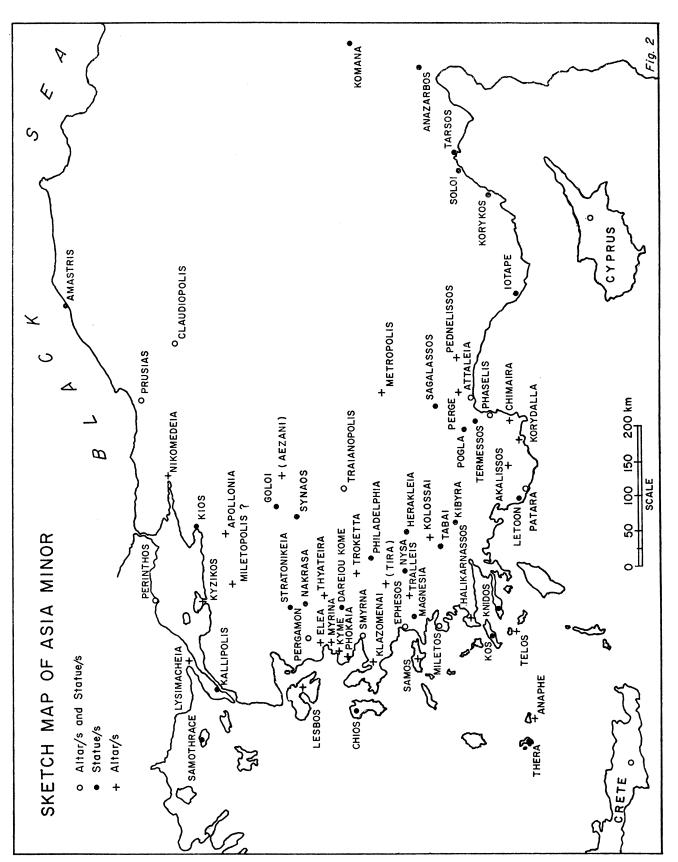


Fig. 2

ASIA MINOR

Kyzikos

178. *I.G.R.*, IV, 138; T. Reinach, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 540, no. 6.

179. *I.G.R.*, IV, 139; H. G. Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.*, IX, 1884, p. 20.

Apollonia in Mysia

180. *I.G.R.*, IV, 122; F. K. Dörner, *Jahreshefte*, XXXII, 1940, Beiblatt, pp. 125-126, no. 8, photo. 45.

181. *I.G.R.*, IV, 123; Th. Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, p. 310, no. 3.

Куме

182. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1301; D. Baltazzi, *B.C.H.*, XII, 1888, p. 365, no. 11.

Рнокаја

183. A. Salač, B.C.H., LI, 1927, p. 388, no. 10.

184. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1319.

185. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1320.

TRALLEIS

186. S. Sterritt, "Wolfe Expedition," Papers of the American School, II, p. 326, no. 381; A. B. Cook, Zeus, II, 2, p. 959.

A dedication to Hadrian $\Lambda a \rho a \sigma t | \varphi \Sigma \epsilon \beta a \sigma \tau \hat{\varphi} |$ | $E \hat{v} \mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon \hat{i}$. (For Zeus Larasios, cf. A. B. Cook, op. cit., pp. 958-960). J. Beaujeu, op. cit., pp. 204-205, note 7, points out that there is no reason to refer this altar to Hadrian.

MILETOPOLIS

187. *I.G.R.*, IV, 128.

188. *I.G.R.*, IV, 129.

PERGAMON

189-193. H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, pp. 308-310, no. 27 (*I.G.R.*, IV, 344), no. 28, no. 29, p. 310, no. 30, cor-

rected in Ath. Mitt., XXXV, 1910, p. 463; no. 31.

194. I.G.R., IV, 347.

195. *I.G.R.*, IV, 348.

196-198. H. v. Prott and W. Kolbe, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1902, pp. 97-98, nos. 91, 92, 93 (*I.G.R.*, IV, 345).

199. *I.G.R.*, IV, 343.

200-203. A. Conze and C. Schuchhardt, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, pp. 174-175, nos. 19, 20, 21, 22.

204. *I.G.R.*, IV, 346; M. Fränkel, *Alt. v. Perg.*, vol. 8, p. 514.

205-215. *Inschr. v. Perg.*, nos. 364 (*I.G.R.*, IV, 342*h*, 365 (*I.G.R.*, IV, 341), 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374.

216. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1685; H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 462-463, no. 44.

TRAIANOPOLIS

217. *I.G.R.*, IV, 623 = 624; A.D. 130/131.

ELEA

218. *I.G.R.*, IV, 268; cf. E. Pottier and Am. Hauvette-Besnault, *B.C.H.*, IV, 1880, p. 381, no. 10 and D. Baltazzi, *B.C.H.*, XII, 1888, p. 373, no. 26.

SMYRNA

219-220. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1394 (*C.I.G.*, 3174); *I.G.R.*, IV, 1395.

KLAZOMENAI

221. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1551.

Ephesos

222. *C.I.G.*, 2963 b.

223. A. Körte, *Inscriptiones Bureschianae*, pp. 8 ff., no. 6.

Dedication of a statue and an altar(?) to Hadrian.

224. S.E.G., IV, 531; E. Preuner, Ath. Mitt., XLIX, 1924, pp. 144-145, no. 30. Altar?

MILETOS

225-226. G. Cousin and G. Deschamps, B.C.H., XVIII, 1894, p. 18, no. 1 (= 'A. Παπα-δόπουλος Κεραμεύς, Ath. Mitt., V, 1880, p. 335, no. 3); no. 2.

227-229. *Milet*, I, 2, p. 96, no. 21; p. 120, no. 22; p. 121, no. 23.

230-239. *Milet*, I, 7, p. 350, no. 290 (= Lebas, no. 211); pp. 350-351, no. 291; p. 351, nos. 292-294; pp. 351-352, no. 295; p. 352, nos. 296-297; p. 353, nos. 301-302.

240-241. *C.I.G.*, 2863, 2877.

242. A. Rehm, *Didyma*, no. 119; *C.I.G.*, 2866.

THYATEIRA

243. I.G.R., IV, 1196; J. Keil and A. v. Premerstein, Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akad. der Wiss. in Wien; phil.-hist. Klasse, LIV, 1911, p. 19, no. 31.

244. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1197 = 1199; cf. J. Keil and A. v. Premerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

245. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1198.

TROKETTA—TMOLOS

246. J. Keil and E. Gschnitzer, Anz. Ak. Wien, XCIII, 1956, pp. 220-222, no. 2, pl. I; J. and L. Robert, R.E.G., LXXI, 1958, item 434, p. 310. An altar set up in A.D. 123/4.

TIRA

247. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1661.

HALIKARNASSOS

248. G. E. Bean and R. Cook, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 105, no. 29.

Telos

249. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1734.

CHIMAIRA

250. T.A.M., II, no. 1172; I.G.R., III, 752.

PATARA

251. *T.A.M.*, II, 409; *I.G.R.*, III, 662.

252. *T.A.M.*, II, 410; *I.G.R.*, III, 661.

253. *T.A.M.*, II, 411.

Kolossai

254. *I.G.R.*, IV, 869.

Akalissos

255. T.A.M., II, 1192; I.G.R., III, 756.

Korydalla

256. *T.A.M.*, II, 1193; *I.G.R.*, IV, 757.

PHASELIS

257. *T.A.M.*, II, 1194; *I.G.R.*, IV, 759.

258. *T.A.M.*, II, 1191; *S.E.G.*, VI, 773; J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXI, 1948, p. 198, item 229.

(AEZANI)

259. I.G.R., IV, 562,

Metropolis

260. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1594.

NIKOMEDEIA

261. F. Dörner, Inschr. und Denkmäler aus Bith., 1942, p. 64, no. 38 (Istanbuler Forschungen, XIV).

Prusias ad Hypsum

262. *I.G.R.*, III, 52.

CLAUDIOPOLIS

263. *I.G.R.*, III, 1424; G. Mendel, *B.C.H.*, XXVII, 1903, pp. 316-317, no. 5; dated A.D. 134.

Pednelissos

264. S.E.G., II, 718.

ATTALEIA

265. *I.G.R.*, III, 771; *C.I.G.*, 4339 (add. p. 1157).

Myrina (Caesarea) **266**. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1174.

Perge

267. S.E.G., II, 706. Altar? Cf. D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, note 38 on Chapter XXVI, p. 1482.

Cyprus

268. *I.G.R.*, III, 989; H. A. Tubbs, *J.H.S.*, XII, 1891, p. 180, no. 15; *Insc. Br. Mus.*, 983. Altar?

Locus Ignorus **269**. *C.I.G.*, 6829.

Summarizing the evidence in the list above, we find that the association of the cult of the emperor with a Panhellenic program is justified (cf. above p. 60) in view of the fact that the epithet Olympios is used more frequently than any other epithet by while the "Athenian" formula Savior and Founder is by far the most common. The geographic distribution of the altars and the parallel distribution of the 154 statue bases which I was able to find recorded for the area under consideration are represented in the two maps (Figs. 1, 2). The statue bases, like the altars, most often bear the epithet Olympios (sometimes Olympian Zeus and Panhellenios, cf. note 47) while the formula of Savior, Founder, and Benefactor (less often) is very common.

APPENDIX

List of Inscribed Statue Bases of Hadrian in the Greek World.

ATHENS

I.G., II², 3286 (A.D. 112/113).
 I.G., II², 3287 (A.D. 124/5).
 I.G., II², 3288.
 I.G., II², 3290-3309 (A.D. 131/2).
 I.G., II², 3310 (post mortem)
 I.G., II², 3311, 3312, 3314, 3321, 3322; cf. A. E. Raubitschek, A.J.A., LXIX, 1945, pp. 128-131.

29. *I.G.*, II², 3313. 30. *I.G.*, II², 3315. 31. *I.G.*, II², 3316. 32-35. *I.G.*, II², 3317-3320. 36. *I.G.*, II², 3381. 37-41. *I.G.*, II², 3382-3386. 42. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 352-353 (I 4188). 43. *I.G.*, II², 2041 (E.M. 10368). 44. *I.G.*, II², 3289. 45-47. *C.I.L.*, III, S, 7282-7284.

⁶⁵ Nauplia, **96**; Sparta, **121** (see comments on **123**); Tegea, **124**, **125**; Mt. Helikon, **127**; Dodona, **129** (Zeus Dodonaios); Perinthos, **131** (Olympios and Eleutherios); Abdera, **132**; Lysimacheia, **133**; Philippi, **134**; Tomoi, **138** (Olympios and Eleutherios); Thasos, **139-140**; Mytilene, see the summary on p. 79, notes 62-64; Andros, **167-173**; Samos, **174** (Zeus Olympios Epiphanes), **176**; Kyzikos, **178-179**; Apollonia in Mysia, **180-181**; Kyme, **182**; Phokaia, **183** (Zeus Olympios), **184-185**; Miletopolis, **187**; Pergamon, **189-191**, **193**, **194**, **195**, [**196**], **197**, **198-215**, **217**; Elea, **218**; Smyrna, **219**; Klazomenai, **221** (New Helios); Ephesos, **222**; Miletos, **225** (Zeus Olympios), **227**, **230** (Zeus Olympios), **238-239** (Zeus Olympios); **240**, **242**; Thyateira, **243** (Zeus Olympios), **244**, **245** (Zeus Olympios); (Tira), **247**; Halikarnassos, **248**; Patara, **251-253**; Kolossai, **254**; Akalissos, **255**; Korydalla, **256**; Phaselis, **257-258**; Metropolis, **260** (Zeus Olympios); Nikomedeia, **261** (Zeus Olympios); Prusias, **262**; Attaleia, **265**; Myrina, **266**; and **269**. Cf. D. Magie's list for the occurence of the epithet Olympios in Asia Minor, *op. cit.*, note 28 to Chapter XXVI, p. 1479.

CORINTH

48. Corinth, VIII, i, no. 84.

Argos

49. J. L. Caskey and P. Amandry, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 219-221 (A.D. 123).

EPIDAUROS

50-51. I.G., IV², 1, 606-607 (A.D. 123/124).

Sparta

52. I.G., V, 1, 405.

ABIA

53. I.G., V, 1, 1352.

TEGEA

54. I.G., V, 2, 302.

MEGALOPOLIS

55. I.G., V, 2, 533.

OLYMPIA

56. Inschr. v. Olympia, no. 380.

MEGARA

57-59. *I.G.*, VII, 70-72.

60. I.G., VII, 3491.

LEBADEIA

61. *I.G.*, VII, 1675.

PLATAIAI

62. L'Ann. Epigr., 1934-5, p. 15, no. 180.

THESPIAI

63. I.G., VII, 1839.

64. I.G., VII, 1841.

THISBE

65. I.G., VII, 2237.

THEBES

66. I.G., VII, 2497.

Koroneia

67. I.G., VII, 2879 (before A.D. 117).

68. *I.G.*, VII, 2880.

ELATEIA

69. I.G., IX, 1, 144 (A.D. 124).

Delphi

70. S.I.G., 835 B (A.D. 124/5).

71. *C.I.G.*, 1713.

THRONION

72. S.E.G., III, 425.

(Salsilar) (Thessaly)

73. I.G., IX, 2, 1028.

Peparethos

74. L. Ross, I.G. Ineditae, Vol. 2, p. 91.

Bragylai

75. S.E.G., XII, 349.

KALLIPOLIS

76. I.G.R., I, 814; C.I.G., 2013.

Perinthos

77. I.G.R., I, 784; C.I.G., 2020. (A.D. 126).

Abdera

78. Θρακικά, VIII, 1937, pp. 29-30.

MARONEIA

79. I.G.R., I, 830.

NIKOPOLIS AD ISTRUM

80. Ath. Mitt., XLVIII, 1923, p. 96, no. 1 (A.D. 136).

PANTIKAPAION

81. I.G.R., I, 877; C.I.G., 2108 f.

THASOS

82. C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, Études thasiennes, V, p. 87, no. 187.

83. R. Martin, *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-IX, 1944-45, p. 161, no. 5.

Delos

84. Inscr. Délos, 1598.

Syros

85. I.G., XII, 5, 674.

86. *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 118, no. 239. (A.D. 135).

CHIOS

87. S.E.G., XV, no. 530.

SAMOTHRACE

88. *I.G.*, XII, 8, 243; *I.G.R.*, I, 850. (A.D. 131/2).

SKIATHOS

89. I.G., XII, 8, 633; C.I.G., 2153.

IKOS

90. I.G., XII, 8, 661; C.I.G., 2154 c.

Kos

91-92. W. Weber, *Untersuchungen* . . . , Leipzig, 1907, p. 143, note 520.

THERA

93-94. I.G., XII, 3, 476-477.

CRETE

95. *I.C.*, II, xvi, no. 13 (p. 203). 96-98. *I.C.*, I, xviii, no. 40, 41, 42 (p. 201). 99. *I.C.*, IV, no. 275, pp. 318-319. (A.D. 129). 100. *I.C.*, IV, p. 319, no. 276.

Goloi, Mysia

101. I.G.R., IV, 552.

STRATONIKEIA (LYDIA)

102. I.G.R., IV, 1157 = I.G.R., IV, 519.

DAREIOU KOME

103. I.G.R., IV, 1353.

Pergamon

104. Th. Wiegand, Abh. Berl. Akad., Phil-Hist. Klasse, V, 1932, p. 51.
105. I.G.R., IV, 339 (A.D. 120).

TRAIANOPOLIS

106. C.I.G., 3865 B (Addenda p. 1095).

HERAKLEIA BY SALBAKOS

107. L. Robert, *Caria*, II, p. 168, no. 51; *M.A.M.A.*, VI, no. 92.

SMYRNA

108. Y. Béquignon, *B.C.H.*, LVII, 1933, p. 308 and fig. p. 307.

Ephesos

109. J. Keil, *Ephesos*, IV, 3, no. 33, p. 285; *S.E.G.*, IV, 532.

110. Ins. Br. Museum, 501.

111. C.I.G., 2963 c.

112. C.I.G., 2964.

Magnesia on the Maeander

113. O. Kern, *Ins. v. Magnesia*, p. 127, no. 173.

114. O. Kern, *Ins. v. Magnesia*, p. 127, no. 174 (A.D. 120/1).

115. O. Kern, *Ins. v. Magnesia*, p. 127, no. 175 (A.D. 120/1).

MILETOS

116. Milet, I, 2, pp. 119-120, no. 20.

117-119. *Milet*, I, 7, pp. 312-313, nos. 230-232.

120. A. Rehm, *Didyma*, pp. 296-297, no. 494.

Nysa (Karia)

121. S.E.G., I, 441 = S.E.G., IV, 417.

Nakrasa

122. I.G.R., IV, 1160; C.I.G., 3522.

PHILADELPHIA

123. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1617 (between A.D. 117 and 128).

TABAI

124. L. Robert, Caria, II, pp. 276-277, no. 151.

KNIDOS

125. Ins. Br. Museum, 798.

Termessos

126-129. T.A.M., III, 1, 37-40.

LETOON, LYKIA

130. I.G.R., III, 601.

Patara

131. T.A.M., II, 419; I.G.R., III, 660.

SAGALASSOS

132. *I.G.R.*, III, 347. 133. *I.G.R.*, III, 331.

PHASELIS

134. T.A.M., II, 3, 1195 (p. 420).

TCHATAL-TEPE (TOLOCAESAREA) (Not located on sketch map, Fig. 2) 135. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1607.

Prusias

136. F. Dörner, Denkschriften Akad. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 75, 1. "Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynia," no. 9.

137. S.E.G., XIV, 771.

Kios

138. I.G.R., III, 20; C.I.G., 3725.

CLAUDIOPOLIS (BITHYNIA)

139. I.G.R., III, 72; C.I.G., 3802.

140. *I.G.R.*, III, 71.

AMASTRIS

141. E. Kalinka, *Jahresh.*, XXVIII, 1933, pp. 62-63, no. 12.

KOMANA (KAPPADOKIA)

142. *I.G.R.*, III, 105.

143. I.G.R., III, 121.

University of Missouri

Pogla

144. *I.G.R.*, III, 403.

Kibyra

145. *C.I.G.*, 4380.

ATTALEIA (PAMPHYLIA)

E. Bosch, Belleten, XI, 1947, pp. 88-125,
 no. 4; J. and L. Robert, R.E.G., LXI,
 1948, p. 198, item 229.

147. *I.G.R.*, III, 770.

KORYKOS (KILIKIA)

148. I.G.R., III, 854.

Soloi (Kilikia)

149. I.G.R., III, 872.

TARSOS

150. I.G.R., III, 877.

Anazarbos

151. I.G.R., III, 896.

IOTAPE

152. Mon. Ant., XXIII, cols. 181-182, no. 128.

Synaos

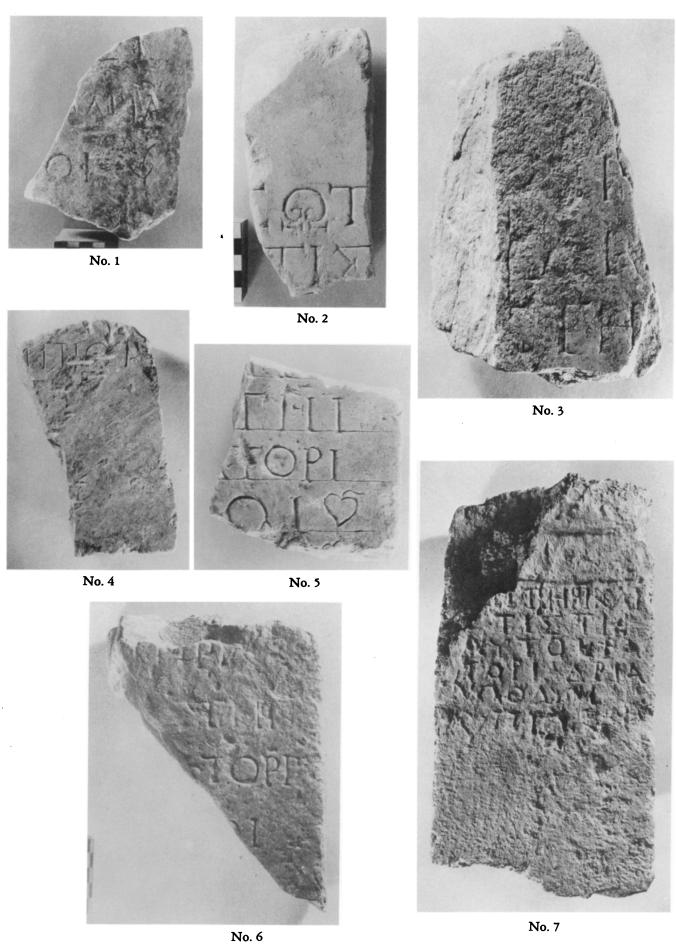
153. I.G.R., IV, 594.

Cyprus

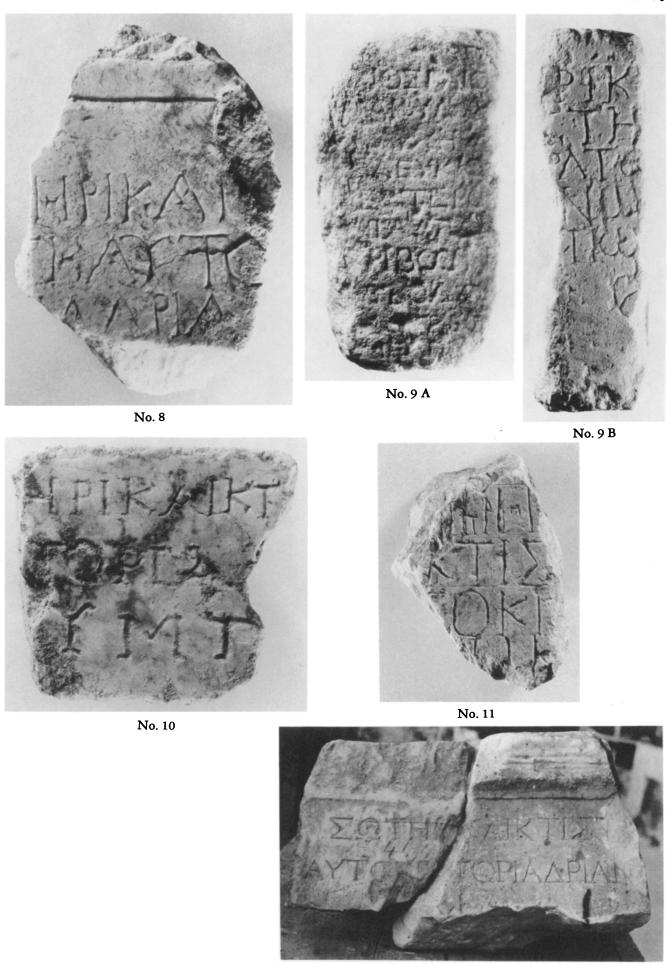
154. I.G.R., III, 934.

Anna S. Benjamin

PLATE 22



Anna S. Benjamin: The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program



No. 12

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No. 41



No. 44



No. 45



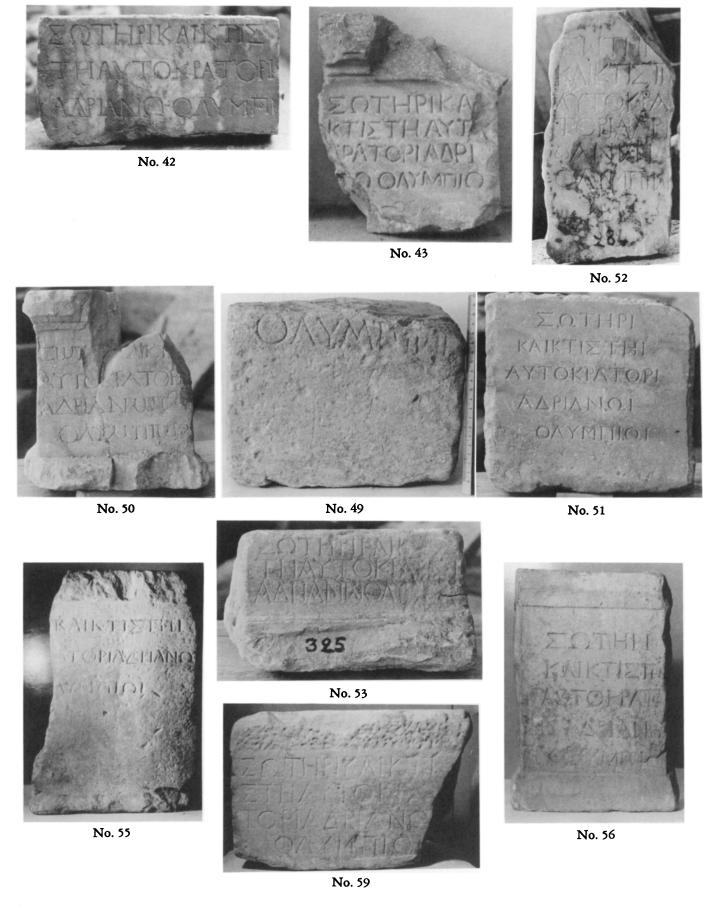
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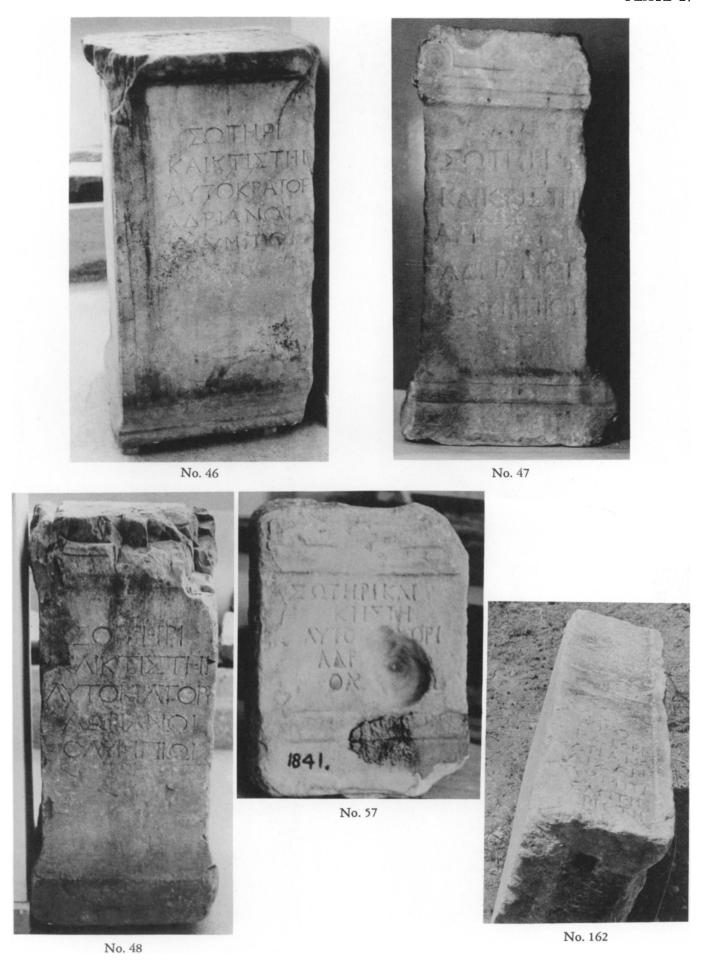
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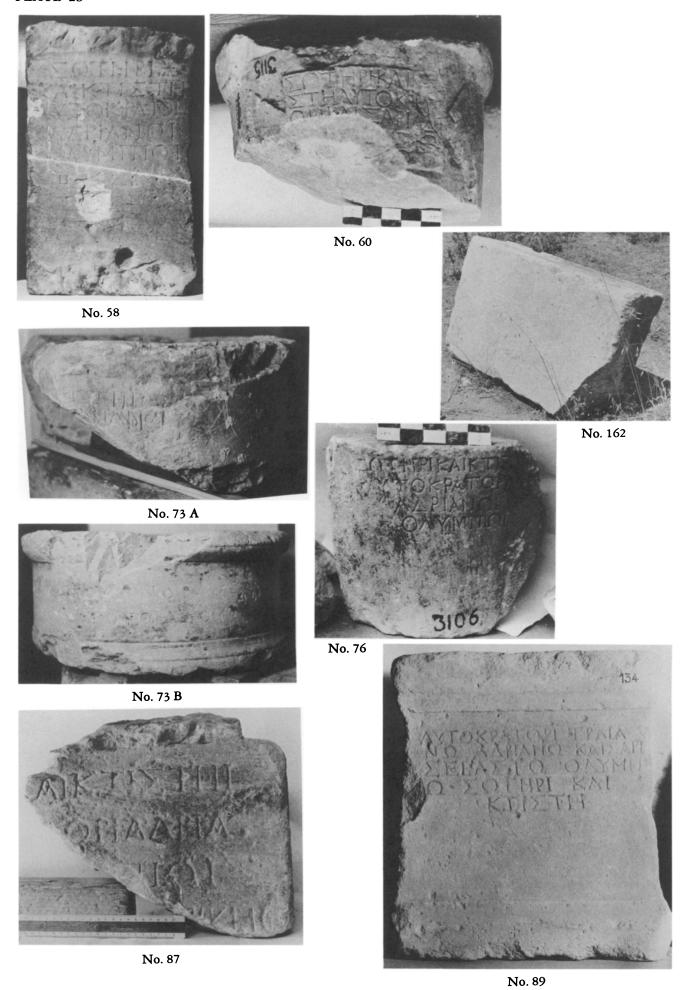
PLATE 26



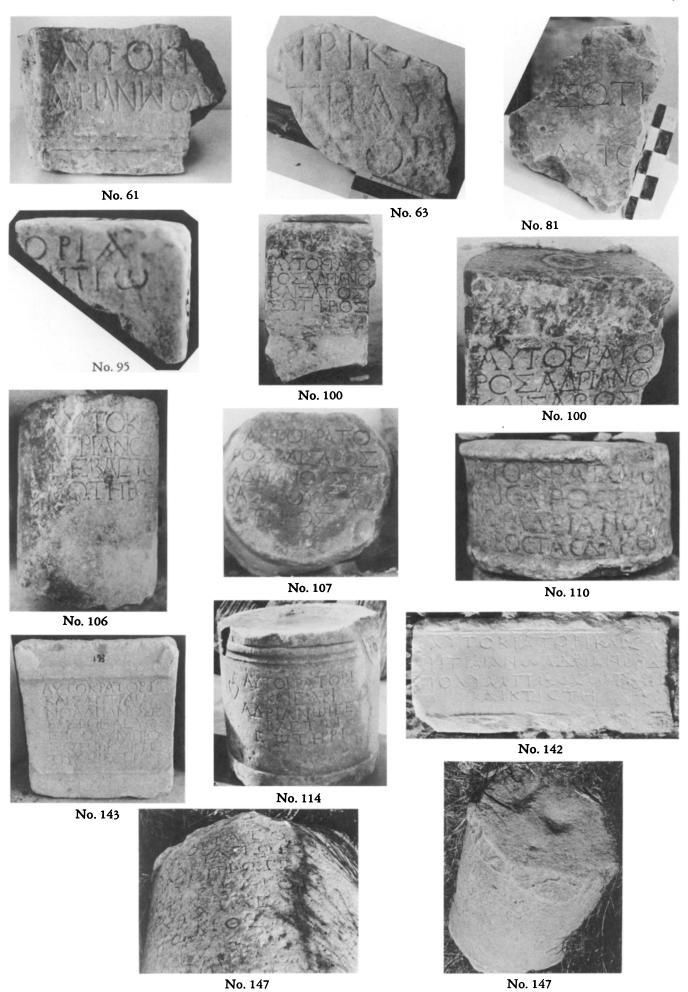
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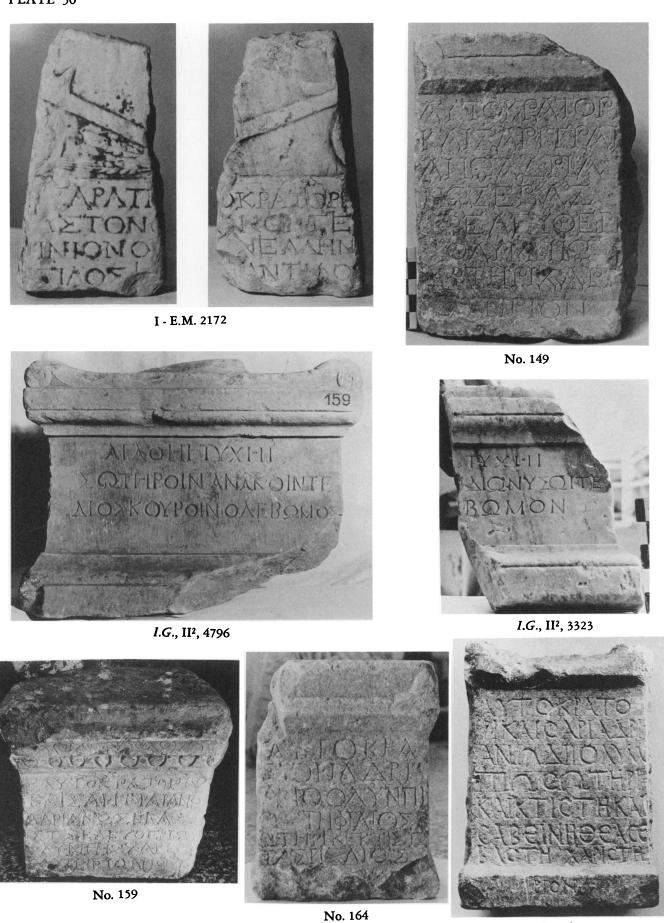
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