ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XXXVI

INDEX

EUGENIO AMATO	Note esegetiche e testuali alla Descriptio orbis di Dionisio d'Alessandria (I)	7
MIKA KAJAVA	Minimum Corinthium	19
UTA-MARIA LIERTZ	Kybele bei den Matronae Vacallinehae? Eine Fallstudie aus der Germania Inferior	31
Maria Niku	Aspects of the Taxation of Foreign Residents in Hellenistic Athens	41
MASSIMO PIERPAOLI	P. Volumnius Eutrapelus	59
ARI SAASTAMOINEN	On the Problem of Recognising African Building Inscriptions	79
OLLI SALOMIES	On the Origin of Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum No. 52	97
WERNER J. SCHNEIDER	Laetinus' Fieberkurve. Zur Textüberlieferung von Martial 12, 17, 9/10	103
HEIKKI SOLIN	Analecta epigraphica CIC–CCVI	107
HOLGER THESLEFF	Intertextual Relations between Xenophon and Plato?	143
De novis libris iudicia		159
Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum		216
Libri nobis missi		218
Index scriptorum		221

MINIMUM CORINTHIUM

MIKA KAJAVA

In 1997, an interesting "bilingual" inscription on a small stele of white marble was discovered in the American excavations at Corinth. Only the right-hand side of the stone remains except that there is a lacuna in the top right corner (0.272 x 0.223 x 0.10 m; height of the letters: 0.04-0.05 m [lines 1-3], 0.02 m [line 4], 0.015-0.022 m [lines 5-6]). Unfortunately, since the stone was unearthed in debris of Frankish date, its original location, Corinth or the Isthmus, cannot be determined with certainty. The text has been recently published by Michael Dixon as follows (line 7: $[\tau \hat{\omega} v \circ \varsigma sic)$:

Though Dixon's discussion is generally pertinent and trustworthy, there are some points in the inscription that need to be reconsidered. It may be convenient to start with the Latin text. First, attention should be given to the name of the *sacerdos* which, according to Dixon, would be found at the end of line 1. He argues, moreover, that the name may, but need not, have

^{*} For very useful comments on the archaeological evidence, I am most indebted to Elizabeth Gebhard, Director of the University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia.

¹ M. D. Dixon, "A New Latin and Greek Inscription from Corinth", *Hesperia* 69 (2000) 335-342 (with photograph on p. 336 fig. 1).

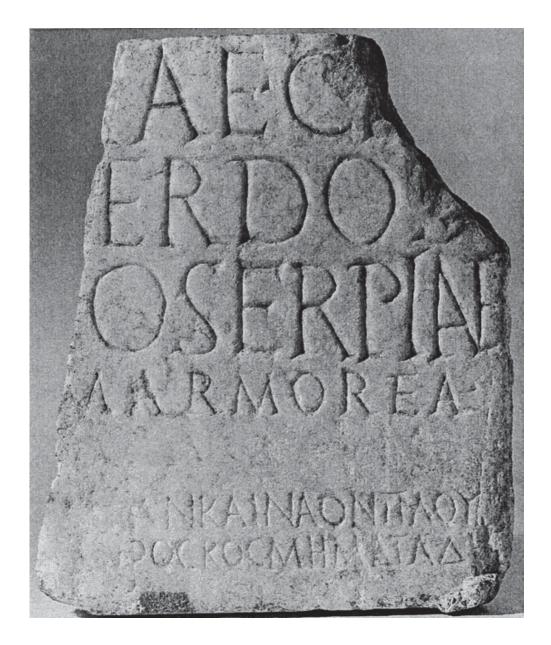


Fig. 1. From Dixon (cit. n. 1) p. 336. Photo by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti (courtesy T. Cullen, Editor of *Hesperia*).

continued in line 2. In the latter case, the *sacerdos* would probably have been identified by a very short individual name, for at the end of line 1, after the C, there is space for only two or, possibly, three letters. Therefore, if there was a name beginning with C at the end of line 1, one wonders whether it was the gentilicium of the *sacerdos*, either a short one (of perhaps four letters) or a longer one which continued in line 2. Since the letter following the C is either E or L (thus also Dixon [cit. n. 1] 337), and because the *sacerdos* (not only of Proserpina but, probably, also of Ceres) would

have been a female, one could think of names such as Ceia, Claudia, etc. There is a further problem, however. What should we do with the letters AE in line 1, which are preceded by a trace belonging to I, N, or H? Of these only I or N seem possible, and so one would expect a dative in either -iae or -nae since what would be recorded at the beginning other than the deity to whom something (cf. marmorea in line 4) had been dedicated by the sacerdos. Of course, a priestess of Proserpina may have dedicated something to Proserpina (/---? Proserpi/nae), but if this goddess had been named at the beginning, it does not seem very likely that her name was repeated in the priestly title soon after. It is true that there are parallels for this practice (the type "Saturno Aug. NN, sacerdos Saturni, etc."), but such an expression might appear somewhat clumsy in a public inscription at Corinth. Even less likely is the possibility that, in line 1, the name of Proserpina was followed by that of Ceres in the dative (e.g., [Deae Proserpi]nae Ce[reri/que], divided between lines 1 and 2), despite the fact that the anonymous priestess may well have served the cult of both goddesses (sacerdos Cereris et Proserpinae).

One might rather imagine a deity like Victoria or Fortuna. Both are attested at Roman Corinth. It might be that one of them, or yet another female deity, recorded in the dative, was followed by the name of the priestess. On the other hand, Victoria, Fortuna and other similar, more or less abstract personifications, were often accompanied by epithets or any additional characterizations (Victoria/Fortuna Augusta, Fortuna followed by a genitive, etc.). Thus it would not be surprising that the letters AE were followed by such an addition. In the present case, however, having to be content with something beginning with either CE or CL, an easy solution is not available. In fact, the only reasonable alternative might be the abbreviated form of the name of the colony of Corinth, i.e., c(olonia) L(aus) I(ulia) C(orinthiensis) which would fit the lacuna perfectly. Such abbreviations are not rare, and in the extant public inscriptions from Corinth, at least Laus, Iulia and Corinthiensis are known to have been abbreviated with a single letter. However, should the hypothesis of CLIC work, this

² Corinth VIII,2, 4: [--- Apoll]inique Genio[que / coloniae et colono]rum L. I. C. sacrum, etc.; VIII,3, 130 (coloni[ae] L. / Iuliae / Corinthiensi, etc.). In VIII, 3, 193, [col. L. I.] is restored, but I am not sure whether this is correct. The abbreviation C. L. I. Cor. is also found on brick stamps (AE 1997, 1382-93; also Col. L. Iul. Cor., perhaps from the latter half of the second century A.D.). On the local coinage, CLIC (and CLI COR) is

would not recall Victoria, but a deity more naturally related to the colony and its welfare. A deity like Fortuna would sound much better. In any case, considering that, according to this hypothesis, the name of the priestess and that of Ceres should probably be restored in lines 2 and 3, respectively, one should find at least two words to fill up the gap that would remain before AE in line 1. Perhaps, then, something like [Fortunae or Tutelae Aeter]nae, [Bonae Fortu]nae, unless two deities were mentioned, e.g., [Genio et Fortu]nae, [Saluti et Fortu]nae, or [Deae Tutelae Fortu]nae.3 Whatever the wording, the deity would have been the recipient of the dedication made by the priestess, perhaps a [signum or statuam cum basi] marmorea, unless two deities had received two statues (e.g., [bases et signa] marmorea). Yet I repeat that if the hypothesis of CLIC is not correct, the beginning of the name of the sacerdos should most probably be found in the fragmentary top right corner. If so, many further possibilities for restoring the beginning would appear. For example, besides the name of a single divinity (type Dianae, well attested in Corinth), one could also see an expression like Genio domus divinae, etc.

documented from the Antonine period through the third century A.D. Otherwise, cf., e.g., c(olonia) C(laudia) A(ra) A(grippinensis); c(olonia) C(oncordia) I(ulia) K(arthago), etc. Abbreviations like c(vitas), m(unicipium) and r(es) p(ublica), followed by the city's name, are frequently attested in inscriptions.

³ Dedications to the Genius of a colony are well documented in the Roman world (at Corinth, cf. Corinth VIII,2, 4-5; cf. also Genius Augusti in VIII,3, 66-67; a priesthood of the Genius of the colony of Corinth is known from AE 1977, 770; moreover, the local Genius is represented on numerous coins). For the Fortuna of a colony or of some other community, cf. AE 1966, 597 (Auzia, Mauretania; together with the Genius of province), 1998, 724 (Salpensa, Baetica; Fortuna Aug. together with the Genius of municipium), 1999, 1047 (= Wuilleumier, ILTG 59, Fortuna of Lugdunum Convenarum), CIL IX 2597 (Terventum, Fortuna municipi), XII 656 (Fortuna Arelatensium), etc. At Corinth, cf. further Tutela (Corinth VIII,3, 193-194 Tutela Augusta - Tutela also in No. 317); Victoria (VIII,2, 11, 111; Victoria Britannica in Nos. 86-90); Salus (VIII,2, 110, priesthood of Providentia Aug. and of Salus Publica). As for Fortuna/Tyche, we know of a sanctuary of hers at Corinth (VIII,3, 128; A.D. 143-160, for the site, see C. M. Edwards, Hesperia 59 [1990] 537; M. Torelli, in: D. Knoepfler – M. Piérart (eds), Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000 [Univ. de Neuchâtel; Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines 49], Genève 2001, 143 ff.). — One may note that in a Roman city, a god like "Fortuna (or Tutela, etc.) Augusta" could be the tutelary goddess not only of the Emperor but also of the whole civic community, see I. Gradel, Emperor Worship and Roman Religion, Oxford 2002, 105 f., discussing the different connotations between the adjective Augusta and the genitive Augusti.

On the basis of these considerations, I would suggest that a *sacerdos* of (probably Ceres and of) Proserpina, who would have been a woman, had dedicated something made of marble to a female deity (possibly coupled with a *genius*). The possibility exists that the recipient was a divine personification related to the welfare and prosperity of Corinth. If this is so, the abbreviated form of the colony's name could be restored at the end of line 1. Among the many possibilities for restoration, I reproduce only one which is made with an eye on the photograph published by Dixon (note that, following this solution, the lines would be well centred):

```
[Genio et Fortu]nae c(oloniae) L(audis) [I(uliae) C(orinthiensis)]
[---, sac]erdos
[Cereris et Pr]oserpinâe
[bases et signa] marmorea
[dedit.]
```

This said, we may move to the Greek part of the inscription. In his article (p. 338), Dixon referred to the possibility "that the two texts are not contemporaneous, for the Greek may have been inscribed after the Latin", but he did not develop this idea any further. This is unfortunate because, in fact, the Greek text does seem to be a later addition. Observing that Greek inscriptions are very rare at Corinth before Hadrian's time, and that "the primacy of the Latin text suggests a date roughly around the time of Hadrian, or slightly earlier" (p. 338), and also because some palaeographical features of the Greek text could be dated between Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, Dixon suggested a Hadrianic date for the inscription, but did not exclude the possibility that it is post-Hadrianic.

Though the palaeographic argument is rather difficult in cases like this, it seems to me that there is a good probability that the Latin text is many decades earlier. While the Greek text is very likely to be post-Hadrianic, the Latin one might well date from the late first or the early second century A.D.⁴ Such a chronological relationship between the two

⁴ However, if the hypothesis of CLIC at the end of line 1 is correct, the Latin text should be later than Domitian, for under the Flavians, the name of the colony was *colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis*. The original name was restored some time after the death of Domitian. On the other hand, the Flavian element was probably an optional addition, for some coins of this period read COL IVL COR (and even COL COR), cf. now M. E.

texts would not only fit what we know about the percentual increase of Greek documents at Corinth from about Hadrian's time but it would also explain why the inscription is bilingual. If both texts had been inscribed contemporaneously, it would be difficult to see why two languages were used for two texts with different contents.⁵ If two building projects, or any enterprises, were mentioned in one and the same inscription, would there be any point to describe one in one language, one in another? This would be even more peculiar if the same person was responsible for both the dedication of something in marble (Latin text) and the construction or restoration of what is mentioned in the Greek text. This is not a "true" bilingual Greek and Latin inscription where the text is translated from one language to another. Therefore, it seems to me very likely that the Greek text was added in a later period, when the Greek language, along with the revival of Greek traditions, had become increasingly general at Corinth and when it was more widely used in such public contexts as this.

I imagine that the Greek text of the inscription reminds many readers familiar with Corinthian epigraphy of the remarkable building programme of P. Licinius Priscus Juventianus at the Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon. Dixon also duly discussed this evidence, but since it dates approximately to the second half of the second century A.D.,⁶ he considered it too late for the

H. Walbank, ZPE 139 (2002) 251 f.

⁵ Among the Corinthian epigraphic material, very few cases show both Greek and Latin on the same stone: *Corinth* VIII, 1, 71 (very fragmentary, but the Greek part might belong to a signature [of an artist?]), 130 (= Peek, *GVI* 1294; some personal names in Latin followed by three elegiac couplets in Greek); VIII, 3, 276 (a "true" bilingual text from the third century A.D.), 306 (governor's letter with concluding date in Latin; cf. below n. 12), 342 (very fragmentary). None of these cases is comparable with the new inscription which displays two different, and autonomous, texts in prose.

⁶ Juventianus's activity is usually dated after the mid-second century A.D. However, besides B. Puech, *REA* 85 (1983) 35 ff., who preferred the early second century A.D., note the view of M. Piérart, *Kernos* 11 (1998) 97 ff. In a discussion of the history of the cult of Palaemon at the Isthmian Sanctuary, he also opts for an earlier period (around A.D. 100), primarily because the Temple of Palaemon (which we know was built by Juventianus) is represented on a coin of Hadrianic date. However, there seems to be nothing in the archaeological evidence that militates against a later date. In fact, we know that the Palaemonium was remodelled several times during the second century A.D. and that the Hadrianic temple was either moved or rebuilt in a new precinct in the Antonine period (as shown by coins minted under Lucius Verus). Depending on how one wants to date Priscus's career and the inscriptions referring to him, he could have built either the Hadrianic temple or the Antonine one; for details, see E. Gebhard, in: T. E. Gregory

inscription (see also above). Moreover, he thought that, if the Greek text referred to Priscus, his name should be construed with the surviving letters in line 1. This is surely an erroneous inference, for under no circumstances should we expect Priscus to be mentioned in the Latin text. (Apart from the fact that the *sacerdos* would have been a female, one should note that Priscus's activity took place at a time when Greek was more widely used, as witnessed by the well-known inscriptions that refer to him [see below].) Dixon even adds that for Priscus, instead of the title of *sacerdos* in line 2, one would expect that of *archiereus* (we know that he was ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου). These arguments aside, I think that the Greek text may refer to Priscus Juventianus after all.

The key document is the well-known catalogue *IG* IV 203 (= Stele A, cf. below) from the Isthmus (now in the Museo Maffeiano in Verona), recording how Priscus Juventianus had contributed to the construction and restoration of a number of buildings and monuments at the Isthmian Sanctuary.⁷ Among the many items listed, we may cite those mentioned in lines 14-27:

τὸν τε

- 15 περίβολον τῆς ἱερᾶς νάπης καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῆ ναοὺς ^ν Δήμητρος ^ν καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διονύσου καὶ ᾿Αρτέμιδος σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλμασιν καὶ προσκοσμήμασιν καὶ προνάοις ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησεν ^ν καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς
- 20 τῆς Εὐετηρίας καὶ τῆς Κόρης ^ν καὶ τὸ Πλουτώνειον καὶ τὰς ἀναβάσεις καὶ τὰ ἀναλήμματα ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καὶ παλαιότητος διαλελυμένα ἐπεσκεύασεν ^{ννν} ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν στοὰν τὴν πρὸς τῷ σταδίῳ σὺν
- 25 τοῖς κεκαμαρωμένοις οἴκοις v καὶ προσ-

⁽ed.), *The Corinthia in the Roman Period* (JRA Suppl. 8), Ann Arbor 1993, 89-93; E. Gebhard – F. Hemans, *Hesperia* 67 (1998) 438-441.

⁷ An excellent treatment is provided by D. J. Geagan, "The Isthmian Dossier of P. Licinius Priscus Juventianus", *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 349-360. For a photograph, see T. Ritti, *Iscrizioni e rilievi greci nel Museo Maffeiano di Verona*, Rome 1981, 30. The reading, here reproduced after Geagan 350, should be sound, though some final letters in lines 17-20 may no longer survive (cf. Dixon [cit. n. 1] 340 n. 13). I have seen the stone many years ago, but unfortunately on that occasion I did not copy it in detail.

κοσμήμασιν ^{νν} ὑπὲρ ἀγορανομίας ἀνέθηκεν.

It is recorded in these lines (in Geagan's translation, p. 353 [cit. n. 7]) that Priscus "with his own funds constructed the peribolos of the sacred grove and the temples in it of Demeter and of Kore and of Dionysos and of Artemis and the statues in them and the ornaments and pronaoi. He restored also the naoi of Eueteria and of Kore and the Plutoneion and the ramps and foundations undermined by earthquakes and age. The same man also set up when he was agoranomos the stoa next to the stadium with its vaulted rooms and furnishings". Thus four8 newly built sanctuaries are recorded within an area called the Sacred Glen (ἱερὰ νάπη), while the three restored by Priscus are not given any topographical context. None of these sanctuaries has been located by modern excavations.⁹ It also remains uncertain whether Eueteria ('good harvest', 'abundance', 'prosperity') should be taken as an independent goddess or simply as an attribute of Demeter. Just as Kore had at least two cult places at the Isthmus, so it is quite possible that Demeter was locally worshipped not only with her proper name but also with the epiklesis of Eueteria. 10

In any case, besides these undertakings, Priscus is referred to as having set up the stoa next to the stadium. Geagan (cit. n. 7) 354 seems to be right when he identifies this stoa with that of Regulus from the early Imperial period.¹¹ Another stele (= Stele B), found in 1934 and closely

⁸ However, if the vacant letter spaces used in the inscription (see Geagan [n. 7] 353) are taken to mark hierarchical divisions in the text, it may well be that the peribolos of the Hiera Nape contained only two temples, i.e., that of Demeter and another dedicated to Kore, Dionysos and Artemis.

⁹ Cf. O. Broneer, *Isthmia II: Topography and Architecture*, Princeton 1973, 113-116 (with Plan I), who argues that all the temples recorded in the inscription were located within the Sacred Glen. Moreover, he thinks that Demeter shared one temple with her daughter. However, such information is not provided by the inscription *IG* IV 203.

¹⁰ For Eueteria, see my article "Eueteria Sebasta in Mytilene", forthcoming in *Latomus*.

¹¹ For L. Castricius Regulus, the alleged constructor, and other Corinthian Reguli from the early Empire, see my observations in *CPh* 97 (2002) 168 ff. According to another hypothesis (D. R. Jordan, *Hesperia* 63 [1994] 115 f. n. 7), the Regulian Stoa could have been located northeast of the Temple of Poseidon, where a building with a series of rooms has been excavated. This is based on the discovery there of a fragmentary inscription which records the name of Priscus Juventianus (*SEG* XXVI 410). In Jordan's view, if the inscription, a revetment of white marble, was originally attached to the

related to Stele A, reveals that the remains of the old stoa were purchased and subsequently restored by Priscus to provide fifty oikoi available to athletes at the Isthmian Games.¹² Furthermore, one may observe with Geagan (cit. n. 7) 354 that "the ramps and foundations undermined by earthquakes and age", which are grouped together with the three restored temples, are perhaps referred to in Stele B (lines 10-12) as "what has been stripped away beneath the stadium by earthquakes as well as what has been plundered by age" (τὰ [μὲν κα/τ]ὰ στάδιον ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἐσκυλμένα τὰ δὲ $[\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\rho} \pi\alpha/\lambda]\alpha[\iota]\dot{\rho}$ τητος δ[ε]δαπανημένα). If this is so, the area close to and beneath the stadium would have been the object of considerable interventions on the part of Priscus. This makes me wonder whether at least the stoa and the Plutoneion are specified in the new Greek inscription because they had been restored by Priscus. As we have seen, he also restored the temples of Eueteria and Kore which might have been recorded in the lost part of the text. Whether the προσκοσμήματα of Demeter¹³ have to do with a restoration (of the sanctuary of Eueteria = Demeter?), or a new undertaking, remains unknown. Though we need not assume that every building restored by Priscus was listed in the text, it seems to me that the possibility should not be disregarded that the restored sanctuaries mentioned in Stele A could be sought somewhere in the vicinity of the stadium, presumably on the side facing the theatre and the precinct of Poseidon. Unfortunately, since the stadium area still remains unexcavated, this hypothesis cannot be verified.¹⁴

building, it could have marked one of the benefactions of Juventianus.

¹² Corinth VIII,3, 306; pertinent discussion in Geagan (cit. n. 7) 351 ff. (= SEG XXXIX 340).

¹³ As an alternative explanation for the letters ΔH at the end of line 6, Dixon (cit. n. 1) 338 suggested an abbreviation for *denarii*. The evidence adduced in favour of this (*I.Ephesos* 27, lines 111 f., 324, 362 f., 530 f.) are not close parallels, however, for in these cases the word προσκόσμημα (or προσκόσμησις) is followed first by the name of Artemis and then by the abbreviation of ΔH. (The expression εἰς προσκόσμημα / -σιν, followed by the name of a deity, is fairly common in inscriptions.) Moreover, the present inscription does not look the sort of text that would display the amount of money spent.

¹⁴ However, as Elizabeth Gebhard informs me (December 10, 2002), there is nothing in the archaeology of the area that contradicts this suggestion. In fact, in her view, the area of the East Field towards the fortress would be an attractive place for the Stoa of Regulus and the temples restored by Juventianus. She also points out to me that "there are some long Roman walls in the NE area of the East Field, near the fortress, that might some day with further excavation turn out to be a stoa, but not enough has been uncovered at

But why would another text have been added to an earlier inscription? One possibility is that originally the inscription had been erected in the area of, or close to, a sanctuary of Ceres (Demeter) or of Proserpina (Kore), or both, where the anonymous priestess served. It would have been no problem that the original dedication went to, say, the Genius and Fortuna of the colony, for it was fairly common in antiquity that a statue of a god was set up in or by the temple of another. However, by the time of Priscus, the building(s) would have been in need of considerable repairs. The building programme and the benefactions of Priscus Juventianus are well attested in the above-mentioned inscriptions, but one may assume, as was the normal way, that every intervention, whether a construction e novo or a restoration, was also marked by an inscription in situ. Thus it may be that the present Greek text, or a similar one, was inscribed in many places at the Isthmus. It would have been in Priscus's interest that his generosity was recorded in words wherever it was concretely manifested. If an old inscription already stood close to a sanctuary of Demeter or of Kore, it could well have been reused for a new text. This was normal practice in antiquity. The mention of the stoa and of the Plutoneion suggests that these may not have been located far away.

As for the Greek text, it is difficult to restore it because we do not know how much wider the stone was originally. Yet I note that a short seventh line (of possibly two words) could be assumed. Who knows if the tenor of the text was similar to this (the last line would have been centred):¹⁵

[Ἰουβεντιανὸς ἱερεὺς τὴν Ὑρήγλου στ]οὰν καὶ ναὸν Πλού-[τωνος ἐπεσκεύασεν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ] προσκοσμήματα Δή-[μητρος ἀνέθηκεν.]

However, assuming that all the buildings restored by Priscus were recorded and that the stoa was identified topographically, without reference to Regulus, a solution might be proposed as follows:

present". For the site of the Isthmian Sanctuary, see Plan I in Broneer (cit. n. 9).

¹⁵ Priscus is styled Ἰουβεντιανὸς ἱερεύς in *Corinth* VIII,3, 201, provided that the text really refers to him. Cf. also *IG* IV 202 = XIV 2543 (now in Madrid), showing a P. Licinnius Priscus who was ἱερεὺς, possibly Juventianus himself, or a relative (father?).

[Ἰουβεντιανὸς ἱερεὺς τὴν πρὸς τῷ σταδίῳ στ]οὰν καὶ ναὸν Πλού-[τωνος καὶ ναὸν Κόρης ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ τὰ] προσκοσμήματα Δή-[μητρος ἀνέθηκεν.]

At the end of his article, Dixon (cit. n. 1) 341 discussed the original location of the inscription. He is right to point out that the findspot in Corinth is not proof of its original site. Of the three alternatives presented by Dixon, I would prefer the first one: "the stone refers to monuments at Isthmia and was originally set up there". But I also have the impression that the Greek text is a later addition, referring to the benefactions of Priscus Juventianus. The conspicuous building programme, which was evidently carried out in the aftermath of earthquakes and because of other damage, would have extended over a period of years, even decades, in the latter half of the second century A.D.

Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies