

A NEW LIST OF VICTORS IN THE CAESAREA AT ISTHMIA

(PLATES 17-18)

EXCAVATIONS in a Roman bath of Ancient Corinth have produced still another stele listing the victors in the games at Isthmia.¹ It was found on May 29, 1968, re-used in a sixth century latrine built above the ruined western colonnade of the brick courtyard of the bath (Pl. 18, a). A water channel cut into its face A apparently joined a similar one cut into the flat surface of a split column drum found near by. Other sections of similar water channel were found built into later Byzantine walls.

The stele of small grained white marble originally had three faces, each one inscribed. Slender fillets ran along the angles between the faces. One dowel hole, centered on the bottom surface of the stele, held it to its base. Another dowel hole, centered on the top surface, held in place the capping ornament. Each face tapered slightly bottom to top. When the stele was re-used a trough 0.095 m. wide was cut the length of face A to serve as the water channel (Pl. 17). The angle formed where face B met face C was cut away to permit face A to lie horizontally. Presently of face B only the left half is preserved and of face C the right half (Pl. 17).

Height, 1.90 m.; width (face A) 0.43-0.44 m., (face B) 0.20 m., (face C) 0.19 m.; thickness (measured perpendicular to face A) 0.17 m.

Height of letters, (face A) line 1, 0.03 m., lines 2-5, 0.023-0.027 m., lines 6-13, 0.02-0.025 m., lines 14-45, 0.017-0.02 m., (faces B and C) 0.018-0.02 m.

Inv. no. I 2740.

a. 127 p.

FACE A

ca. 24

vacat 0.07 m. from top

Ἀ[γαθ]ῇ Τύχῃ

Μ. Γαβίω [Σκουίλ]λα Γαλλικα-

νῶ, Τ. Ἀτ[ιλίω Ῥ]ούφω Τιτια-

νῶ ὑπά[τοις] ἐπὶ ἀγων<ο>θέτου

5 Ἀ. Γελλίο[ν Μενά]νδρον υἱοῦ

Αἰμ. Ἰούσ[του Ἐλ]ληνοδικῶν δ[ε]

Ἀ. Γελλίου [Ἰούστο]ν υἱ(οῦ), Μ. Φουλβίου

¹ C. K. Williams, II, "Excavations at Corinth, 1968," *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 36.

- Ἰουλιανῶ [ῥ Τιβ. Κ] λανδίου Μαξί-
 μου, Ἀ. Στα[τίου Π] οὐλχρου, Γ. Ἀβι-
 10 δίου Φλα[βίου, . .] ἡμιον Ἰκεσίου π(ατρός),
 Ἀ. Μαικίον [Φαυστί] νου, Γ. Κλωδίου
 Σεκού[δου, Μ. Ἀ] ντωνίου Τερ-
 τίου, Γ. Πο [.^{ca.} .⁵ . .] ου Σκέπτου
 οἱ νεική[σαντε]ς τὰ Καισάρεια
 15 [θυμελι]κόν
 σ[αλπιστ]άς
 Ὀλυμπιόδ[ωρος Ἰέ]ρωνος Νεικομ(ηδεύς)
 κ[ήρυκας]
 Χαρικλῆς Τ[. . .⁵⁻⁶ . .] ος Λαοδικεύς
 20 ἐγκωμι[γράφου]ς εἰς Ἀδριανόν
vacat [Καί]σαρα Σεβαστόν
 Κορνήλι[ο]ς [. . .⁴⁻⁵ . .] ων Κορίνθιος
 εἰς θεὸ [ν Τραια]νὸν Σεβαστόν
 καὶ εἰς θ[εὸν Νέ]ρουαν Σεβαστόν
 25 καὶ εἰς τὸ [ν οἶκον] τῶν Σεβαστῶν
 Κορνήλι[ο]ς [. . .^{ca.} .⁵ . .] ων Κορίνθιος
 π[οιητά]ς
 εἰς Ἀδρ[ιανὸν Κ]αίσαρα Σεβαστόν
 Μελίτων [. . .⁵⁻⁶ . .] ονς Καισαρεὺς
 30 *vacat* [ὁ καὶ] Τραλλιανός
 εἰς θεὸν [Τραιανὸ]ν Σεβαστόν καὶ
 εἰς θεὸν [Νέρονα]ν Σεβαστόν
 Μελίτων [. . .⁵⁻⁶ . .] ονς Καισαρεὺς
vacat [ὁ καὶ] Τραλλιανός
 35 εἰς θεὸ [ν Τραιαν]ὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν
vacat [οἶκ]ον τῶν Σεβαστῶν
 Εὐμένης [. ο] ν Ἀμαστριανός
 χ[οροκιθ]αρεῖς
 Οὐδεὶς ἀπ[επειράσ]ατο
 40 χ[οράν]λας
 Οὐδεὶς ἀπ[επειράσατ]ο
 π[αῖδας κ]ωμφιδούς
 Κορνήλι[ο]ς [.] Κορίνθιος
 πα[ῖδας κ]ι[θα]ριδούς
 45 Ἀ. Βάλλιος [.]ς Ἀγελιανός
vacat [ὁ καὶ] Κορίνθιος
vacat 0.47 m. to bottom

FACE B

ca. 24

vacat 0.08 m. from top

κωμφ[διῶν ποιητάς]

Ἀνουβίων Βασ[-----]

ζωγ[ράφους]

50 Δημόστρατος [-----]

κωμφ[δούς]

Οὔδεις ἀπεπ[ειράσατο]

τραγφ[δούς]

Ποντίκιος Ἀπ[-----]

55 κιθαρφ[δούς]

Τιβ. Κορνήλιος [-----]

λ[-----]

διὰ πά[ντων]

πρωτεῖον Κορν[ήλιος ...⁵⁻⁶...ων Κορ.]

60 δευτερεῖον Ε[ὕμένηςον]

v a c a t [Ἀμαστριανός]

τριτεῖον Ἀ. Βάλ[λιοςς Ἀγε-]

vacat [λιανὸς ὁ καὶ Κορ.]

ἱππ[ικόν]

65 πολε[μιστήριον]

Μ. Ἀντώνιος Ο[-----]

συνω[ρίδι πωλικῇ]

Κορνήλιος Δελ[-----]

κέλητ[ι πωλικῷ]

70 ἱερά *v a c a t*

συνω[ρίδι τελείᾳ]

Ἀλέξανδρος Ε[-----]

τεθρί[ππω πωλικῷ]

Π. Σέξιτιος Φοι[-----]

75 κέλη[τι τελείῳ]

Π. Βουλτήγιος [-----]

ἄρμ[ατι τελείῳ]

Ἀντώνιος Βα[-----]

ἐπι[βατήριον]

80 Μ. Τυλλήγιος Μ[-----]

v a c a t [-----]

γυμ[νικόν]

ἱερὰν [λαμπάδα]

- 85 Βαλέριος Νο[- - - - -]
 ἀποβ[ατικόν]
 κρίσι[ν α']
 Δουκρήτιος [- - - - -]
 κρίσιν [β']
 90 Κανείνιος Σο[- - - - -]
 κρίσιν [γ']
 Πακώνιος Θε[- - - - -]
 κρίσιν [δ']
 Κλώδιο<ς> Θαλλ[- - - - -]
vacat 0.52 m. to bottom

FACE C

ca. 25

- vacat* 0.15 m. from top
 [- - - - -] τουμος
 95 [ἀγενείους] δόλιχον
 [- - - - -] θουφ[. .] las Κυμαι(εύς)
 [ἄνδρας δ] όλι[χο]ν
 [- - - - -] Ἄντιοχεύς
 [παῖδας] στάδιον
 100 [- - - - -] ἐνης Ἀλεξανδρεύς
 [ἀγενείους] στάδιον
 [- - - - -] Σεκο ὕνδος Κορίνθιος
 [ἄνδρας σ] τᾶδιον
 [- - - - -] ράτου Πελλη-
 105 [νεὺ]ς ὁ καὶ Σικυνώνιος
 [παῖδας δι] αὐλον
 [- - - - -] ιωνος Μυρεύς
 [- - - δ] ίαυλον
 [- - - - -] ς Κλαζομένιος
 110 [παῖδας πε] ντάθλους
 [ιερὰ] *vacat*
 [ἀγενείους] πένταθλον
 [- - - - -] χος Κορίνθιος
 [ἄνδρας π] ἑνταθλον
 115 [- - - - -] ος Νεικοπολείτης
 [παῖδας π] ἄλην
 [- - - - -] ος Μειλήσιος
 [παῖδας π] υγμήν
 [ιερὰ] *vacat*

- 120 [παῖδας π]αγκράτιον
 [- - - - - P]οῦφος Ἐφέσιος
 [ἀγενεῖους] πάλην
 [- - - - -]τος Σαρδιανός
 [ἀγενεῖους] πνυγμήν
- 125 [- - - - -]λειον Ἀλεξανδρεύς
 [ἀγενεῖους] παγκράτιον
 [- - - - -]τος Σαρδιανός
 [ἄνδρας π]άλην
 [Οὐδεὶς ἀπεπειράσα]το
- 130 [ἄνδρας πνυ]γμήν
 [- - - - -]ς Ἀλεξανδρεύς
 [ἄνδρας πα]γκράτιον
 [- - - - -]νου <H>ρακλεώτης
 [ὁπλείτ]ην
- 135 [- - - - - ρ]άτου Πελληνεὺς
 [ὁ κα]ὶ Σικυνώνιος
vacat 0.58 m. to bottom

COMMENTARY

Lines 2-4: M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus and T. Atilius Rufus Titianus were consuls in A.D. 127.² This list then records the victors from the festival which occurred in the spring of that year. The Greek dative is used to reproduce the Latin ablative here.

Lines 4-6: At Isthmia the *agonothetes* was eponymous.³ For L. Gellius Justus, son of Menander, of the tribe Aemilia,⁴ see *P.I.R.*², IV, p. 27, no. 128 and J. H. Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, *The Inscriptions, 1926-1950*, Princeton, 1966, p. 58.

Line 6: This inscription reaffirms that at Isthmia as at Olympia there were ten *hellenodikai*.⁵

Line 7: Initially the abbreviation for *υἱός* is puzzling in this line. The name of the father certainly does not follow it, and to suggest that [Ἰούστο]υ represents the father's name would deprive this *hellenodikēs* of his rightful cognomen. One must conclude (as suggested by J. H. Oliver) that the first *hellenodikēs* is a homonymous

² Attilio Degraffi, *I Fasti Consolari dell' Impero Romano*, Rome, 1952, p. 37.

³ D. Geagan, *G.R.B.S.*, IX, 1968, p. 71.

⁴ The Roman colony of Corinth belonged to the tribe Aemilia. See A. B. West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, *Latin Inscriptions, 1896-1926*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 88.

⁵ For the *hellenodikai* see Geagan, *op. cit.*, p. 76; L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXXIX, 1966, p. 749, note 1, and *Hellenica*, V, 1948, pp. 59-63.

son of L. Gellius Justus the *agonothetes* and that $\nu(\iota\omicron\upsilon)$ is used in the same way as $\nu\epsilon(\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma)$ in Athenian documents. A parallel occurs in another Isthmian list of victors⁶ and apparently in line 10, below. This is the first certain appearance of the younger L. Gellius Justus, and he can be added to the list of known members of that distinguished Corinthian family.⁷

Lines 7-8: [- - - ο]ν Ἰουλιανοῦ appears among the *hellenodikai* of the victor catalogue Meritt, no. 15, line 8 and the name Julianus appears on a fragmentary plaque, *ibid.*, no. 117. M. Fulvi[us] may be a *hellenodikes* in *ibid.*, no. 18, and may be the same man as M. Fulvius of West, no. 164.

Lines 8-9: Two *hellenodikai* named Tiberius Claudius Maximus are cited in Kent, no. 223, and one of them in Meritt, no. 15. The name is common enough to make risky any attempts to connect the Corinthians with others attested elsewhere.

Lines 9-10: G. Avidius Flavius may be related to G. Avidius P[- - -], a *hellenodikes* in Kent, no. 223.

Line 10: A man bearing the cognomen Hicesius was listed as an *hellenodikes* also in Kent, no. 223. In both documents the cognomen is followed by the single letter pi. A double praenomen would be out of place, and, even if the abbreviation *Pa* were possible, the stonecutter would not have violated syllabic word division. The resolution $\pi(\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\varsigma})$ is suggested by analogy with L. Gellius Justus the son (above, line 7) or Traianus Pater.

Line 11: The name of A. Maecius Faustinus is restored from Kent, no. 264, where the praenomen Lucius is restored, but Kent remarks "the stone is preserved in such a way as to show that the *praenomen* was either Aulus or Lucius."

Lines 11-12: G. Clodius Secundus put a proposal for honors for Hadrian to a vote of the Achaian league.⁸

Line 14: The Caesarea seem to have been a separate set of games from the Isthmia,⁹ although they probably occurred at the same festival.¹⁰

Line 15: For this restoration see L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris, 1938, pp. 264-265, note 3. [μουσι]κόν is also possible. For the technical distinction see J. Frei, *De Certaminibus Thymelicis*, Diss. Basel, 1900,

⁶ B. D. Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII, i, *Greek Inscriptions, 1896-1927*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, no. 15, line 4.

⁷ Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 96, to which add G. W. Bowersock, "A New Inscription of Arrian," *G.R.B.S.*, VIII, 1967, pp. 279-280.

⁸ *I. Olympia*, 57, line 56.

⁹ Geagan, *op. cit.*, p. 71, note 11, who overlooked the discussion of and questions raised by L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Méridionale*, Paris, 1966, p. 105, as well as the evidence there cited. Most interesting is *I.G.*, VII, 1856, from Thespieae honoring a man victorious in "the Isthmia, the Nemea, and four times the Caesarea in Corinth."

¹⁰ See Kent, no. 154 and West, no. 81, where the change in sequence makes better sense if the two sets of games were held together.

pp. 5 ff. According to Frei the games listed here would technically be *μουσικοί*. In a catalogue of victors from A.D. 3 the gymnastic games were in the most prominent position on the stone, but by the time of a celebration under Claudius the artistic had taken the first position.¹¹

Line 16: See Meritt, no. 14, line 78, and no. 15, line 18. For this contest see Frei, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67.

Line 17: Ὀλυμπιόδ[οτος – –] is a conceivable restoration, but is not attested either in Bechtel or Pape. Ἰέ]ρωνος is not certain, but it does fit the spacing perfectly.

Line 18: See Meritt, no. 14, line 81, and no. 15, line 21. On this contest see Frei, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

Line 19: Either the same man or a descendant won this contest a few years later.¹² By this time the family had gained Roman citizenship. The trace of an upper horizontal stroke makes either tau or pi likely initial letters for the patronymic.

Lines 20-21, 23-25: Between A.D. 3 and some festival celebrated under Claudius the number of encomia had increased to two.¹³

Lines 22, 26: The same man was victorious in both encomia, as well as in the *διὰ πάντων*, below, line 59. The cognomen Cornelius was very common at Corinth, but the remains on this inscription do not correspond with the names of the attested Corneli.

Lines 27-28, 31-32, 35-36: Only a single poetic encomium occurred in the games of A.D. 3. There may have been more in the games under Claudius, but the stone is broken away.¹⁴

Lines 29-30, 33-34. Again the same man was victorious in two contests. It would seem unlikely that this is the same man as the *μελοποιητής* mocked by *Λουκίλλιος*, since this Lucillius seems to have been active under Nero.¹⁵

Line 37: Possibly the winner also of the second prize *διὰ πάντων*. See below, line 60.

Line 38: See Frei, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

Lines 39, 41, 52, 129: The first three letters and the lower portion of the left vertical stroke of the pi are all supplied from line 52. The verb was selected as most

¹¹ Meritt, no. 14, of A.D. 3 lists the athletic first and the artistic on the side to the right of the herm on which the list is inscribed. Meritt, no. 19 belongs to the reign of Claudius.

¹² Meritt, no. 15, line 22.

¹³ Meritt, no. 14, line 87, and no. 19, lines 1-3 and 5-7. On such encomia see L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.*, 1964, no. 227, p. 181; *Hellenica*, XI-XII, Paris, 1960, p. 449; but especially *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, pp. 21-30, where the evidence for the Isthmia, among others, is collected; and Frei, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-41.

¹⁴ Meritt, no. 14, line 84, and no. 19, lines 9-10. L. Robert discusses the *ἐγκώμια ἐπικά*, as they were often called, in the same places cited in note 13. See also Frei, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

¹⁵ *Anth. Pal.*, XI, 143. In another poem Lucillius calls his "Niobe" a *δράμα σαπρόν* (XI, 246). For Lucillius see J. Geffcken, *R.E.*, XIII, 1927, cols. 1777-1785.

likely by reason of meaning and number of letters through perusal of L. S. J., *Greek-English Lexicon*.

Lines 38, 40: Meritt, no. 14, lines 89, 91 has in these positions ἀλληγάς and καθαριστάς. See Frei, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-69.

Line 42: Most recently on the παῖς κωμῳδός at Corinth see E. J. Jory, "A παῖς κωμῳδός and the διὰ πάντων," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*, XIV, 1967, pp. 84-90, and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXXIX, 1966, pp. 752-753; *Bull. Ép.*, 1967, no. 249, p. 488.

Line 44: See Frei, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-57.

Lines 47, 51: One line is probably to be restored as comic actors and the other as comic poets, although there is no evidence of the corresponding contest for tragic poets.¹⁶ There is no clear indication of which restoration ought to be made in which line. The κωμῳδοί and τραγωδοί (line 53) at Isthmia probably competed in ancient comedy and tragedy. Alternative restorations in line 47 might be κωμῳ[δοποιούς]¹⁷ or κωμῳ[δοποιητάς].¹⁸

Line 48: Anoubion is a common Egyptian name.¹⁹ Its Neronian dating argues against identifying this man with the author of an elegiac didactic poem on astronomy.²⁰

Line 49: The position of the painter in the catalogue suggests that his art concerned itself with theatrical materials. For this contest see Lippold, *R.E.*, XIV, 1928, col. 896; Woodward, *B.S.A.*, XXVI, no. 12, pp. 213-219; P. J. Meier, *R.E.*, I, 1894, col. 837.

Line 54: The tragic actor may be one of the Corinthian Puticii.²¹

Line 55: See Meritt, no. 14, line 92, and no. 15, line 25. See also Frei, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-57.

Line 57: This line probably continues the name of the victor by listing an honorary citizenship.

Line 58: This is the first occurrence of victors διὰ πάντων in Isthmian catalogues

¹⁶ The distinctions are made clear by the large number of catalogues of victors from Boeotia, although the terminology is apt to differ and the dates are somewhat earlier. The most elaborate (*I.G.*, VII, 416 of the Amphiareia at Oropos; 3197 of the Charitesia at Orchomenos) included τραγωδός, κωμῳδός, ποιητὴς τραγωδίας and ὑποκριτής, ποιητὴς κωμῳδίας and ὑποκριτής. *I.G.*, VII, 420, from the Amphiareia at Oropos uses τραγωδίας παλαιᾶς ὑποκριτής and κωμῳδίας παλαιᾶς ὑποκριτής for τραγωδός and κωμῳδός. Briefer lists may include only the τραγωδός, κωμῳδός, ποιητὴς τραγωδιῶν, and ποιητὴς κωμῳδιῶν (*I.G.*, VII, 2727, of the biennial Sotereia at Akraiphia), where the τραγωδός and κωμῳδός probably competed in ancient tragedy and comedy.

¹⁷ *I.G.*, XI, 115; Parian Marble, entries for the years [377/6], 328/7, and 316/5.

¹⁸ L.S.J., *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1018.

¹⁹ *E.g.*, the index of D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum*, Milan, 1967 or of F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg, 1922 contains many examples.

²⁰ See Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, II^a, Munich, 1920, p. 331.

²¹ Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 91 and Geagan, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

of victors. Meritt, no. 15, clearly did not include one. For the most recent discussion of the contest see Jory, *loc. cit.* and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.*, 1968, no. 254, pp. 462-463. Since the majority of attested victors *διὰ πάντων* were winners also in another artistic contest, restorations of names from among the other victors have been suggested. The award of three prizes is a remarkable feature of this document.

Line 59: See lines 22 and 26 above. Assuming a length of line about equal to that of face A, one is forced either to abbreviate the citizenship or to omit it. The latter is done commonly on similar catalogues elsewhere when the victor is a native son, but it is not done elsewhere on this catalogue.

Lines 60-61: See line 37 above.

Lines 62-63: See lines 45-46 above.

Line 65: See Meritt, no. 14, line 72, no. 15, line 30 and no. 16, line 34 (of A.D. 181); both nos. 14 and 15 include the *ἀποβάτην* or *ἀποβατικόν* as the second equestrian contest.

Line 67: See Meritt, no. 14, line 77; no. 15, line 36; no. 16, line 36.

Line 69: See Meritt, no. 15, line 38, and no. 16, line 39 (partially restored). No. 14 clearly does not list this event, nor any of the remaining equestrian contests.

Line 70: On *ἱεραὶ* (*νίκαι*) see L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, XLI, 1967, pp. 43-44; *Bull. Ép.*, 1962, p. 136, no. 58, and the bibliography there cited.

Line 71: See Meritt, no. 15, line 40; *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 324, no. 4, face B, line 1.

Line 73: See Meritt, no. 15, line 42, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 324, no. 4, face B, line 5 calls this contest the *ἄρματι πολικῷ*. See note to line 77 below.

Line 75: See Meritt, no. 15, line 44; *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 324, no. 4, face B, line 3.

Line 77: For the chariot races the word *τεθρίππων* occurs in line 73 and *ἄρματι* here. In the Isthmian lists of victors both words seem to be used indiscriminately. See the note to line 73 above and Meritt, no. 15, line 47, which refers to this contest as *τεθρίππων*. It is tempting to believe that chariots of more than one type or using more than one type of hitch competed in the same race, and that the catalogue of victors specified the type used by the victor.

Line 79: See Meritt, no. 15, line 49. This contest must not be confused with festivals of the same name in honor of divinities or emperors.²² At Isthmia the *ἐπιβατήριον* is an equestrian contest. Similar contests do not seem to be attested outside of Corinth. The noun *ἐπιβάτης* can refer to any person "who mounts or embarks," whether on a ship, a chariot, or a horse.²³

²² See L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, Paris, 1937, p. 20; *Hellenica*, V, Paris, 1948, pp. 74-76, G. E. Bean, *Side Kitabeleri, The Inscriptions of Side*, Ankara, 1965, pp. 44-45.

²³ See L.S.J., *Greek English Lexicon*, p. 625, A. Krebs in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, II, A, Paris, 1892, pp. 654-655, and Stephanos, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, IV, cols.

Lines 80-81: A long name, probably involving an honorary citizenship.

Line 82: See the note to line 15, above.

Line 83: For two reasons the word *ιεράν* must be considered as part of the name of the contest: first, the next line contains the name of a victor, and second, the word is centered in the column, unlike the case of those contests where the prize was dedicated to a divinity (see line 70). The use of the adjective *ιεράν* to modify *λαμπάδα* has a direct parallel in *I.G.*, VII, 2871, where the contingent of the Thespians was victorious. Here also it was the first listed among the gymnastic contests. Plutarch, *Solon*, I, 7, 79 B refers to *τὴν ἱεράν λαμπάδα* in Athens. For further discussion of the Isthmian torch race, see below, pp. 91-93.

Line 85: In other Corinthian catalogues of victors the *ἀποβάτην* or *ἀποβατικόν* occurs among the equestrian events.²⁴ As in the case of the *ἐπιβατήριον*, at Corinth we have an actual contest,²⁵ which involved dismounting and remounting horses in the course of a race. Its ambiguous nature (*i.e.* was it equestrian or gymnastic) is reflected elsewhere. Thessalian victor lists include it among skills performed from horseback, and not among the purely equestrian events (*I.G.*, IX, 2, 527 and 531). The winner was likely to have been an athlete.²⁶ At Corinth the contest seems to have enjoyed a special position. In both documents where it occurs among the equestrian events it is listed second after the *ἐπιβατήριον*, and in one it was performed in honor of L. Caesar. In the new catalogue it follows immediately the sacred torch race and is the only contest involving four special classes of competitor.

Lines 86, 88, 90, 92: *Κρίσις* in this context means a class of competitor.²⁷ The numbers *α'*, *β'*, *γ'* and *δ'* are restored on the basis of Meritt, no. 16, face B.²⁸

Line 93: For the name *Θάλλος* or *Θαλλίων*, see L. Robert, *Noms Indigènes*, Paris, 1963, p. 273.

1532-1533. Fiebigler, *R.E.*, VI, 1909, col. 28, neglects equestrian *ἐπιβάται*, but does include those on camelback. A. N. in *Kleine Pauly*, II, 1967, cols. 301-302 omits any meaning related to equestrian *ἐπιβάται*.

²⁴ See Meritt, no. 14, line 75 and no. 15, lines 32-33. Meritt reads the latter: *ἀποβατικὸν ἐπὶ Δ. Καίσαρις | Σεβαστοῦ ν[ιῶν]*. A check of the stone suggests rather *ἀποβατικὸν ἐπὶ Δ. Καίσαρι | Σεβαστοῦ ν(ιῶ)*. L.S.J., *Greek-English Lexicon* recognizes the use of *ἐπὶ* with the dative meaning "in honor of."

²⁵ See above, to line 79.

²⁶ *I.G.R.R.*, IV, 1263, but see L. Robert, *Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études*, IV Sect., 1964-65, p. 180, from Thyatira which honors a victor in the pentathlon and *ἀποβάτην*. Robert reports discussion of "le concours de l'apobate; les exercices des cavaliers thessaliens." *I.G.*, IX, 614 B honors a runner also victorious in the *ἀποβα[τικῶν]*.

²⁷ L. Robert, *Anatolian Studies* Buckler, Manchester, 1939, pp. 239-244, and subsequently L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Rome, 1953, p. 208; L. Robert, *Gnomon*, XXXI, 1959, p. 664, to no. 183; *Hellenica*, XI-XII, Paris, 1960, p. 444.

²⁸ See the readings of W. Peek, *Gnomon*, IX, 1933, p. 416 and Robert, *Anat. Stud.* Buckler, p. 240. A check of the stone confirms the following readings: line 13, [*ν κ*]ρίσεως *α' vacat*; line 21, *κρίσι[ε]ως* [number], as Peek recognized, but which escaped the attention of Robert; line 23 *κρίσεως*. For the lost number Peek suggested *ι'*, Robert *β'*. Probably *γ'* is a more likely suggestion.

Line 94: If *παῖδας δόλιχον* had been inscribed above line 94, at least the major portion of the word *δόλιχον* would be preserved on the stone. It seems that line 94 must be the first inscribed on this face, but it also must be concerned with the result of the *παῖδας δόλιχον*.

Line 95: Either *παῖδας* or *ἀγενεῖους* might be restored. The only other catalogue of victors from Isthmia containing the opening lines of the gymnastic contests is poorly preserved, but the contests for both boys and youths seem to be mentioned.²⁹ On the *δόλιχος* most recently see J. Jüthner, *Die Athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen*, II, 1, Vienna, 1968, pp. 106-112.

Line 96: The *theta* is restored on the basis of the right half of a circular letter. The *phi* is a vertical stroke through a small diamond shape. There follow 2½ letter spaces; the final letter among them ends in a vertical stroke.

Line 97: See Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 416, no. 14, line 30.

Line 99: See *ibid.*, line 32. On the *στάδιον*, see Jüthner, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-102.

Line 101: See Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 416, no. 14, line 34.

Line 103: See *ibid.*, line 36.

Lines 104-105: The same man also won the race in armor, see below, lines 135-136.

Line 106: See Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 416, no. 14, line 38. For the *διάνλος* see Jüthner, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-105.

Line 108: Either *ἀγενεῖους* or *ἄνδρας* must be restored. See Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 416, no. 14, lines 40, 41. The restoration of Kent, no. 223, face B, line 1 ought to be [*ἀγενεῖων πεντάθ*]λους, and not [*διαύ*]λους. On this document see also L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXXIX, 1966, p. 749.

Lines 110-111: The reason for using the form *πε]ντάθλους* here and *πένταθλον* in lines 112 and 114 is unexplained. It cannot be a generic heading followed by [*παῖδας ἱερόν*] in line 111 because its position relative to the center of the stone demands a word in front of it. Line 111 would seem to be too short to have contained a name or any other formula used in this inscription. See also Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 416, no. 14, line 43. On the pentathlon see J. Ebert, "Zum Pentathlon der Antike," *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., LVI, 1, 1963, pp. 1-34.

Line 112: Peek, *loc. cit.*, line 45; Meritt, no. 15, face C, as re-edited by W. Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 417, no. 15, line 3; Kent, no. 223, face B, line 1 and comment to line 108, above.

Line 114: Peek, *op. cit.*, no. 14, line 47; no. 15, line 5; Kent, no. 223, face B, line 3, which should be restored [*ἄνδρας πεντ*]άθλους.³⁰

Line 115: The last three letters form a ligature.

²⁹ See Meritt, no. 14, face A as re-edited by W. Peek, *Gnomon*, IX, 1933, pp. 416-417.

³⁰ See L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXXIX, 1966, pp. 749-750.

Line 116: See Peek, *op. cit.*, no. 14, line 49; no. 15, line 7; Kent, no. 223, Face B, line 5, which ought to be read [παῖδας πάλη<ν>].⁸⁰ On the πάλην see W. Rudolph, *Olympischer Kampfsport in der Antike* (= Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion fuer Altertumswissenschaft XLIX, 1965), pp. 29-62.

Line 118: See Peek, *op. cit.*, no. 14, line 57; no. 15, line 9; Kent, no. 223, face b, line 7, which ought to read [παῖδας πυ]γμῆν. Kent, no. 228, face a (which ought to be labelled face c), line 1, has been corrected by Robert⁸⁰ to read παῖδας [πύ]κτας. On the fist-fight see Rudolph, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-28 and J. Jüthner—E. Mehl, *R.E.*, Supplement IX, 1962, cols. 1306-1352.

Line 119: The short length of the lost portion would exclude other possibilities.

Line 120: See Peek, *op. cit.*, no. 14, line 63; no. 15, line 11; Kent, no. 223, face b, line 9, which ought to be restored [παῖδας πανκρά]τιον;⁸⁰ and no. 228, face a, line 3, corrected by Robert to πα[ίδας πα]γκ[ρατιστάς].⁸⁰ On the pankration see Rudolph, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-77.

Line 122: See Peek, *op. cit.*, no. 14, line 52; no. 15, line 13.

Line 124: See *ibid.*, no. 14, line 59; no. 15, line 16.

Line 126: See *ibid.*, no. 14, line 64; no. 15, line 18.

Line 128: See *ibid.*, no. 14, line 55; no. 15, line 20.

Line 129: See lines 39, 41, 52 and comment to line 39 above.

Line 130: See Peek, *op. cit.*, no. 14, line 61; no. 15, line 23.

Line 132: See *ibid.*, no. 14, line 65; no. 15, line 25.

Line 133: The stonecutter neglected the cross bar of the eta. The tau and eta at the end of the line form a ligature.

Line 134: See Peek, *op. cit.*, no. 14, line 67; no. 15, line 27. For this event see Jüthner, *Die Athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen*, II, 1, pp. 112-134.

DISCUSSION

This document is the eleventh published catalogue of victors from Isthmia, but only the second which is complete.⁸¹ B. D. Meritt⁸² has reconstructed the sequence of contests, and any significant variations are cited in the commentary above.

⁸¹ The others are Meritt, no. 14, pp. 14-17, but for face A see the re-edition of W. Peek, *op. cit.*, pp. 416-417, dated securely to A.D. 3; Meritt, no. 19, pp. 28-29, from the reign of Claudius; *ibid.*, no. 18, pp. 27-28, which is probably a victor list and probably belongs under the early empire; Kent, no. 223, pp. 95-96, with the comments of L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXXIX, 1966, pp. 748-749, from around the middle of the second century (unfortunately not quite enough of his name is preserved to identify one of the consuls); Meritt, no. 15, pp. 18-21, but for face C the re-edition of W. Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 417, from the latter part of the second century; Kent, no. 228, p. 98, with the comments of Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 749-750, of about the same date; Meritt, no. 16, pp. 21-25 with the comments of W. Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 416, securely dated to A.D. 181; *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, no. 4, p. 324 from Roman Imperial times; and Meritt, no. 17, pp. 25-27; no. 20, p. 29, undated.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

Probably the most significant contribution of this new stele is the citation of an *ἱερὸν* [λαμπάδα] at Isthmia. Several other indications are already known. In the Later Stadium, O. Broneer found the white marble flame of a torch³³ (Pl. 18, b), which he immediately connected with the torch race. Corinthian coins issued under Domitian picture a torch racer alone³⁴ (Pl. 18, c, d), and types issued under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus show the dead Melikertes on a dolphin beneath a pine tree while a torch racer proceeds left³⁵ (Pl. 18, e, f). Numerous Corinthian coins from a wider chronological range picture a simple torch, but these may be connected also with the cult of Artemis, who appears running with a torch or with a torch and bow. Despite its inclusion in catalogues of victors, the torch race maintained a primarily religious purpose, that of transferring fire from a source to an altar as quickly as possible,³⁶ probably to assure the greatest possible efficacy for the flame. Sacrifice could not be made properly with contaminated flame.³⁷ Most of the testimonia regarding torch races are concerned with festivals of deities who had fire somehow or other as an attribute,³⁸ but these would not seem pertinent to the Isthmia, since the coins clearly connect the racer with the cult of Melikertes.

A second important category of torch races consisted of those run at hero cults, or at cults of the dead.³⁹ At Athens such cults would include the Theseia, the Aianteia,

³³ *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, p. 19, no. 3.

³⁴ *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Corinth, Copenhagen, 1944, plate 6, no. 278; G. Mac Donald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Glasgow, 1901, vol. II, p. 103, no. 132. Photographs courtesy of the Danish National Museum and the Hunterian Collection in Glasgow.

³⁵ *Sylloge*, pl. 7, no. 327, pl. 8, no. 351; *B.M.C.*, Corinth, p. 78, no. 613. See also F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, London, 1885, pp. 10-11, to Pausanias II, 1, 3, and G. Roux, *Pausanias en Corinthie*, Paris, 1958, p. 87, fig. 11. Photographs courtesy of the Danish National Museum.

³⁶ Most recently Jüthner, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-156 has treated the torch race as an athletic event, although recognizing its religious character. For its religious character see N. Wecklein, "Der Fackelwettlauf," *Hermes*, VII, 1873, pp. 437-452, but especially p. 444; O. Gottwald, "Zum Fackellauf," *Mitteilungen des Vereins Klassischer Philologen in Wien*, V, 1928, pp. 46-74, but especially pp. 49-50. For the Athenian torch races see also L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932, p. 211; G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden, 1951, p. 33-34.

³⁷ Plutarch, *Aristides*, 20, 331, c-e, relates how a runner brought uncontaminated fire from Delphi to those areas of Greece where Persian occupation had caused contamination. This appears still the primary passage, but other indications are cited in the various bibliographical references.

³⁸ The earlier studies of torch racing overemphasized this aspect to the point of making the race a celebration of the fire attribute of the god, e.g., Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, I, Berlin, 1894, pp. 180 f. for Hephaistos, pp. 194, 205-206 for Athena, p. 313, n. 1 for Artemis, pp. 740-741 for Pan; J. R. Sitlington Sterrett, "The Torch-Race," *A.J.P.*, XXII, 1901, p. 394 and *passim*.

³⁹ The hero cult seems basically to have a funerary nature. See M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, I⁸, Munich, 1967, pp. 186-191. S. Eitrem, *Opferitus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, Kristiania, 1915, p. 146, was so impressed with this aspect of the torch race that he postulated its origin among funerary rites.

the Epitaphia and the Anthesteria, at all of which torch races occurred. At Corinth a torch race was involved in the Helloteia.⁴⁰ Elsewhere they were held in connection with the cult of the heroized Aleximachos at Aigiale (*I.G.*, XII, 7, 515), at the Parthenopeia at Naples,⁴¹ and a festival of Herakles on Thasos.⁴² The cult of Melikertes at Corinth was a hero cult with very strong funerary overtones.⁴³ Broneer⁴⁴ believed that the fire in a torch race had a purifying effect similar to the carrying of torches in underworld or orgiastic cults,⁴⁵ but in such the fire should have more an apotropaic than purifying nature, and the carrying of torches should not be confused with torch racing. Death was closely associated with the extinction of fire in a house.⁴⁶ Plutarch⁴⁷ relates how the Argives, upon a death in the house, extinguished fire *ὡς μεμιασμένον* and brought in new fire. A related practice was that of the women of Lemnos who periodically extinguished all fire on the island for eight days and had uncontaminated fire fetched by boat from Delos in expiation for the slaughter of their husbands.⁴⁸ Probably the Isthmian torch race finds its origin in such funerary practices. The source of the uncontaminated fire for the Isthmian cult is not clear.

The question arises whether the Isthmian event was the traditional relay torch race, or was the whole distance run by a single runner. Jüthner⁴⁹ defends the position that every true *lampadedromia* remained a relay, while Gottwald⁵⁰ is still the principal collector of evidence for the development of an individual contest. With the possible exception of Pausanias I, 30, 2 the literary evidence is practically unanimous in

⁴⁰ Pindar, *Olympics*, XIII, line 40 and the scholia to line 56. See also O. Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 128-161. There is also from Corinth a pitcher decorated with a picture of a bearded man, wearing an ivy wreath and carrying a kantharos in one hand and a torch in the other as he runs beside a whiskered youth carrying an oinochoe. See van Hoorn, *op. cit.*, p. 125, no. 501 and Broneer, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153.

⁴¹ Scholion to Lykophron, line 732; cf. Strabo, V, 246.

⁴² J. Pouilloux, "Lampadédromies Thasiennes," *Rev. Arch.*, XXXI-XXXII (= *Mélanges Picard*, II), 1948, pp. 847-857.

⁴³ Philostratos, *Heroica*, Kayser, II, p. 307.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 149, note 61.

⁴⁵ On such cults see Nilsson, *Geschichte*, *passim*; Eitrem, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff., 161-192; Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 101 f., 214, 233.

⁴⁶ Eitrem, *op. cit.*, p. 137, connected fire with the life principle, Nilsson, *Geschichte*, I³, p. 97 with a purification after the contamination of death.

⁴⁷ *Quaest. Gr.*, 24, p. 297 A, but see the comments of Eitrem, *loc. cit.*, and Nilsson, *Classical Review*, XLIII, 1929, pp. 122-123, who introduces further evidence.

⁴⁸ Philostratos, *Heroica*, Kayser, II, pp. 207-208; cf. Apollonios, *Argonautica*, I, 609-615. See also A. Wilhelm, "Die Pyrphorie der Lemnier," *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., X-XVI, 1939, pp. 41-46.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 150-153 and *R.E.*, XII, 1924, cols. 573-576.

⁵⁰ "Der Fackellauf als Einzellauf," *Mitteilungen des Vereins Klassischer Philologen in Wien*, VIII, 1931, pp. 61-74, who is more or less accepted by more recent scholars, e.g. J. Tréheux, "Études d'épigraphie Délienne," *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1952, pp. 558-590; A. Rhem-R. Harder, *Didyma*, II, *Die Inschriften*, Berlin, 1958, pp. 148-149.

attesting the contest as a relay, even to using this aspect metaphorically whether for the continuity of life from generation to generation,⁵¹ or of knowledge,⁵² for the freshness of a new general,⁵³ or for the communication of the proper monastic spirit.⁴⁴ The passage from Pausanias does not require an interpretation based upon individual contestants, as Jüthner shows, and a modern inability to reconcile individual honors with team effort ought not to override the evidence. Particularly telling is the necessity of postulating the co-existence of both types of contest.⁵⁵ It would seem that in some way or another one man was designated for the final leg, since the man who actually lit the altar was the nominal victor,⁵⁶ and the team which supported him was the victorious team.⁵⁷ The sacred law for the Eumeneia at Delphi explicitly specifies that each tribe is to supply ten *lampadistai*, but *ὁ δὲ νικέων ὑφαπτέτω τὰ ἱερά*.⁵⁸ The precise organization at Isthmia must remain a problem, since the teams cannot have been based upon local tribes.

The coins consistently show the torch racer carrying a palm branch in his free hand. Pouilloux⁵⁹ has recognized the iconographic significance of items worn or carried by torch racers, and that each festival or cult had its peculiar attributes. The palm branch is related to the Isthmia in other sources.⁶⁰ There is also evidence for a *pyrphoros*⁶¹ at the Isthmia whose function must be related to those of the victorious torch racer, but specific details are not clear.

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⁵¹ Aristotle, *Physics*, V, 4, p. 228a, 28; Lucretius, II, 78-79; Cassius Dio, LVI, 2, 3.

⁵² Varro, *R.R.*, III, 16, 9.

⁵³ Auctor ad Herennium, IV, 46.

⁵⁴ Eustathius, XXIV, 99 (ed. Tafel, p. 237, 71).

⁵⁵ For Delos, see Tréheux, *loc. cit.*, and for Athens there are any number of inscriptions, *e.g.* I.G., II², 2311 and 3019 or 956 and 957.

⁵⁶ Scholiast to Plato, *Phaedrus*, 231e. Jüthner, *Leibesübungen*, II, 1, p. 151, has already suggested that the lampadarch, who undertook the expense of training the team, was allowed this honor.

⁵⁷ Scholion to Demosthenes from Patmos, *B.C.H.*, I, 1877, p. 11, although the obvious indiscriminate conflation of information hardly inspires confidence.

⁵⁸ *Sylloge*³, 671, A lines 10-11, 16.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 849-853.

⁶⁰ Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, VIII, 4, 724 B; Pausanias, VIII, 48, 2; see K. Schneider, *R.E.*, IX, 1916, col. 2253.

⁶¹ See Geagan, *op. cit.*, p. 76 and Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXXIX, 1966, pp. 746-748.



Face A



Face B



Face C



a. Inscription as Found in Roman Bath



b. Isthmian Torch



c-f. Torch Racers on Corinthian Coins