

THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE



THE INSCRIPTIONS

CORINTH

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THE INSCRIPTIONS

BY
RONALD S. STROUD



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*This book is dedicated to my dear wife,
Helen Conrad Stroud*

PREFACE

THE PRESENT fascicle is the sixth in the series of *Corinth XVIII*, which is devoted to the publication of the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth from 1961 through 1975. *Corinth XVIII.1*, by Elizabeth Pemberton, presents the Greek pottery from Archaic through Hellenistic times. In *Corinth XVIII.2*, Kathleen Slane publishes pottery and lamps from the Early through the Late Roman periods. Nancy Bookidis and I discuss the ancient sources, the topography, and the architectural remains from the end of the Mycenaean age until the end of the Sanctuary as a religious center and its transformation into a hillside cemetery in *Corinth XVIII.3*. Gloria Merker studies the terracotta figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods in *Corinth XVIII.4*. The subject of *Corinth XVIII.5*, by Bookidis, is the terracotta sculpture. In *Corinth XVIII.7*, Bookidis and Pemberton will present the Greek lamps and offering trays. Later fascicles in the same series will publish the miscellaneous finds, the Archaic terracotta figurines, coins, marble sculpture, amphoras, and animal bones. Once these studies have been completed and the conclusions of the several authors published, Bookidis and I hope to present a synthetic analysis of the cult and rituals in the Sanctuary and to relate them to other shrines in the Corinthia and elsewhere.¹

The Mycenaean remains in the area of the later Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore are the topic of a study by Jeremy Rutter (1979); Christopher Pfaff (1999) has presented a detailed analysis of the Early Iron Age Pottery from these excavations, and Slane (2008) has refined her earlier conclusions about the latest pottery.

In *Corinth XVIII.3*, Bookidis and I presented an annotated account of the progress of excavation in the Sanctuary with full bibliography and numerous acknowledgments of assistance, which I shall not repeat here.² For specific aid with the preparation of the present fascicle, I am deeply indebted, as always, to my colleague on this project since 1965, Nancy Bookidis, whose counsel at every stage has been invaluable. She has saved me from many blunders and inconsistencies.

For their constant support, I wish to thank three successive Directors of the Corinth Excavations: the late Henry S. Robinson, who first assigned me to excavate in this marvelous site in 1961; Charles K. Williams II, who visited our excavation often, provided constant support, and has read in draft my previous publications on the Sanctuary; and Guy D. R. Sanders, who has generously made available to me all the superb facilities for research at the American School in Ancient Corinth.

I owe a debt, impossible to repay, to my wife, Helen Conrad Stroud, who in fact excavated many of the objects published here and spent countless hours on the site and in the Corinth Museum helping to launch them on their long journey toward final publication. She has also been a critical reader of an earlier draft of the manuscript of this book.

1. Bookidis has already explored many aspects of this topic (Bookidis 1969, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010; Bookidis

et al. 1999; *Corinth XVIII.5*).

2. *Corinth XVIII.3*, pp. xix–xxiii, 8–11.

I am also grateful to my friends and former students, Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst and James Herbst, for timely assistance in the Corinth Museum and with the photographs, plans, and drawings in this volume, as well as for many other kindnesses.

Almost all of the photographs in this book are the work of Ino Ioannidou and Lenio Bartzioti, artists beyond technicians. For an example of how their inspiration led to the recovery of an important inscription, see the discussion of **10** in Chapter 1.

Tina Ross's drawings in Chapters 2 and 3 have enhanced this book by their accuracy and elegance. I am the grateful beneficiary of the precision and insight of a superb copy editor, Karen Donohue, who has corrected many errors of fact and infelicities of style. Anna Pisarello also provided valuable editorial assistance. I owe a special debt to Mark Landon for his meticulous reading of the proofs of this book and his timely editorial expertise.

My editor in the Publications Office of the American School, Michael Fitzgerald, has been a constant source of encouragement and sound advice, as has the ever-helpful Carol Stein. It has been a pleasure and an honor to work with both of them. I thank also the Director of Publications, Andrew Reinhard, for his support.

In preparing Chapter 5, "The Magical Lead Tablets," I drew upon the expert assistance of many scholars; special acknowledgments of them are recorded there.

I thank the two anonymous referees of the manuscript for their valuable comments.

I am indebted for helpful advice and sometimes urgings of caution to Michael Ierardi, Ian McPhee, Elizabeth Milleker, Benjamin Millis, Nikolaos Papazarkadas, Elizabeth Pemberton, Kathleen W. Slane, and many others, to whom I apologize for not remembering to include here. Molly Richardson provided invaluable assistance with the autopsy of **87**.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS	xv
INTRODUCTION	1
1 INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE, METAL, BONE, AND IN MOSAIC	3
2 DIPINTI ON POTTERY	17
3 GRAFFITI ON POTTERY	39
4 INSCRIPTIONS ON CLAY PINAKES	71
5 MAGICAL LEAD TABLETS	81
CONCORDANCES	159
INDEXES	
GENERAL INDEX	165
INDEX OF ANCIENT SOURCES	169
INDEX OF GREEK AND LATIN NAMES	173
INDEX OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS	177

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

1. Inscribed poros base 1 in situ	5
2. Tracing of a squeeze of 1	5
3. Boundary stones 2–5	6
4. Incertum 6	8
5. Revetment with dedication(?) 7	9
6. Revetment with dedication(?) 8	10
7. Revetment with dedication(?) 9	10
8. Dedication on a marble vase 10	11
9. Bronze votive bull 11	12
10. Inscribed lead weight 12	13
11. Inscribed bone implement(?) 13	13
12. Mosaic inscription of the Neokoros Agathopous 14	15
13. Dedicatory ladle for Demeter 15	21
14. Dedicatory hydria for Demeter 16	22
15. Dedicatory lekane 17	23
16. Dedicatory amphorai or hydriai 18, 19	24
17. Dedicatory lekane 20 and dedicatory hydria 21	26
18. Pyxis with label of Hera 22 , pyxis with label of Perseus 23 , and label of Glaukos(?) 24	28
19. Uncertain labels 25–27	30
20. Kotyle with label of Persephone 28	31
21. Krater with various labels 29	32
22. Attic kylikes with <i>καλός</i> inscriptions 30, 31	33
23. Commercial inscriptions 32–36	35
24. Imitation inscription 37	36
25. Incerta 38, 39	37
26. Dedicatory tray(?) 40	38
27. Dedication to Demeter 41	40
28. Dedication of a perirrhanterion 42	40
29. Dedication to Demeter 43	41
30. Dedication to Demeter 44	41
31. Uncertain dedication 45	42
32. Dedication on a kotyle 46	42
33. Dedication on an Attic kylix 47	43
34. Dedication(?) 48	44
35. Dedication 49	44
36. Dedication 50	45
37. Choirasos's kotyle 51	46
38. Ownership graffiti 52, 53	48

39. Personal names 54, 55	49
40. Personal name 56	50
41. Personal name 57	51
42. Personal name 58	51
43. Personal name 59	52
44. Personal name 60	52
45. Personal name 61	53
46. Personal name 62	53
47. Personal names 63, 64	54
48. Personal name 65	55
49. Personal name 66	55
50. Personal names 67, 68	56
51. Personal name 69	56
52. Personal name 70	57
53. Personal names 71, 72	57
54. Imperative(?) 73	58
55. A hero 74	59
56. Vase name 75	60
57. Numeral or vase name(?) 76	60
58. Merchant's mark(?) 77	60
59. Merchant's mark(?) 78	61
60. Athena 79	61
61. Numeral or date(?) 80	62
62. Capacity 81 , ligature(?) 82 , date 83 , date(?) 84	63
63. Incerta 85–89	64
64. Incertum 90	65
65. Incertum 91	66
66. Incertum 92	66
67. Incerta 93, 94	67
68. Incertum 95	68
69. Incerta 96, 97	69
70. Intact pinakes 98–100 and complete pinax 101	73
71. Fragmentary pinakes 102–117	76
72. Love charm for Secunda Postumia 118 , text A	88
73. Love charm for Secunda Postumia 118 , texts B1 and B2	90
74. Tablet with a Maskelli spell(?) 119	93
75. Fragmentary tablet 120	93
76. Tablet with uncertain text 121	94
77. Curse against opponents at law 122	96
78. Curse on a lead receptacle 123	100
79. Curse tablet against Karpime Babbia 124	102
80. Double curse tablet against Karpime Babbia 125/126 , as found	104
81. Curse tablet against Karpime Babbia 125	106
82. Curse tablet against Karpime Babbia 126	107
83. Appeal to the Theoi Katachthonioi 127	116
84. Uncertain curse on a lead receptacle 128	118
85. Uncertain curse 129	120
86. Curses against Maxima Pontia 130, 131	122
87. Tablet with a list of women(?) 132	124
88. Appeal to Kyria Demetra 133	125
89. Uncertain curse 134	128
90. Uncertain curse 134	131
91. Latin curse tablet 135 , text A	134

ILLUSTRATIONS

xiii

92. Latin curse tablet 135 , text B	135
93. Plan of the Sanctuary in the Roman period, showing the findspots of the lead tablets	140
94. Actual state plan of Building K–L:21–22, Roman phases	141
95. Plans of Building K–L:21–22, Room 7, showing the findspots of tablets 121–126	141
96. Broneer type XVI lamp L-1969-409	144
97. Clay thymiaterion C-1971-182	144
98. Chartres, thymiaterion with Latin magical prayers	145
99. Thin-walled vessels C-1985-6 and C-1990-76	145

PLANS

1. Plan of the Sanctuary, ca. 500 B.C.
2. Plan of the Sanctuary, ca. 400 B.C.
3. Plan of the Sanctuary, ca. 275 B.C.
4. Plan of the Sanctuary in the Roman period

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ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS AND REFERENCE WORKS

- AÉ* = *L'année épigraphique*
AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP = *American Journal of Philology*
AM = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung*
AnnPisa = *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa*
ANRW = H. Temporini and W. Hasse, eds. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin 1972–
AntCl = *L'antiquité classique*
ArchCl = *Archeologia classica*
ArchDelt = *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*
BASP = *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BCH = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BÉFAR = *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*
BjB = *Bonner Jahrbücher des rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*
BSA = *Annual of the British School at Athens*
BullÉp = "Bulletin épigraphique," in *Revue des études grecques*
CCEC = *Cahiers du Centre d'études chypriotes*
CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
ClAnt = *Classical Antiquity*
CP = *Classical Philology*
CQ = *Classical Quarterly*
DarSag = C. V. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, 10 vols., Paris 1873–1919
EchCl = *Echos du monde classique: Classical Views*
GöttNachr = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*
GRBM = *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Monographs*
GRBS = *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
ICS = *Illinois Classical Studies*
IG = *Inscriptiones graecae*
JAC = *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JANER = *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRA = *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JWarb = *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
LIMC = *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*
MemLinc = *Memorie. Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*
MEP = *Minima epigraphica et papyrologica*
MH = *Museum helveticum*
MHNH = *Revista internacional de investigación sobre magia y astrología antiguas*
PhilWoch = *Philologische Wochenschrift*
PP = *La parola del passato*
RA = *Revue archéologique*
RAC = *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RE = *Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RÉG = *Revue des études grecques*
RendLinc = *Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti*
RhM = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
Roscher, Lex. = W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1897–1902.
SBBerl = *Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur, und Kunst*
SEG = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*
SIMA = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*
SymbOslo = *Symbolae osloenses*
TAPA = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
ThesCRA = *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, Los Angeles, 2004–.
TLS = *The Times Literary Supplement*
YCS = *Yale Classical Studies*
ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

INTRODUCTION

EXCAVATIONS conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, 1961–1975, produced more than 170 inscribed objects. Those published in this volume fall into the following categories: Chapter 1: inscriptions on stone, metal, bone, and in mosaic (**1–14**); Chapter 2: dipinti on pottery (**15–40**); Chapter 3: graffiti on pottery (**41–97**); Chapter 4: inscribed clay pinakes, (**98–117**); Chapter 5: magical lead tablets (**118–135**). Published separately are the inscriptions on stamped architectural terracottas and the Roman lamp signatures and potter’s stamps.¹ Later fascicles of *Corinth XVIII* will include 28 stamped amphora handles and 21 stamped loomweights.

I have personally examined and transcribed the texts on all of the objects published in this volume except for **87**, for which E. Pemberton and M. B. Richardson have provided information based on autopsy in the Corinth Museum. All are now in the Corinth Museum and are available for study, except for the stone inscriptions **1** (I-2767), **2** (I-2766), **3** (I-2768), and **4** (I-1971-84), which remain in situ in the Sanctuary.

After introductory remarks concerning the category of inscriptions included, each of the five chapters contains a detailed catalogue of a portion of the 135 objects published herein. Inscriptions are numbered serially in **bold**. Each entry carries a figure number that refers to a photograph and often a drawing. Also included are the Corinth inventory number; measurements; physical description; findspot with grid-reference and the context “lot” number, if available; references to relevant previous publications and unpublished works; date; Greek text; and translations of the better-preserved texts—all of which are my own unless noted otherwise. A section called “Notes on Readings” provides essential descriptions of the lettering, especially letters that are worn, incomplete, or broken; all such uncertain letters are dotted in the text and described in this section. The “Commentary” section offers speculation on such topics as the category of the inscription; its purpose; the significance of its findspot; parallels with similar objects from the Sanctuary or elsewhere; its possible role in cult ritual at the site; and other pertinent subjects. Notation of the findspots of the inscriptions in this study follows the division of the site into Lower, Middle, and Upper Terraces and into 5-meter grid squares (Plans 1–4).² For most of the objects it has been possible to include a reference to the context lot number, through which one can determine the date and the nature of the pottery and associated finds by reference to the massive lot index housed in the Corinth Museum. Excerpts from this archive appear as indexes of lots in all fascicles of *Corinth XVIII* published to date.³

1. Stamped architectural terracottas FP 171–173, 188, 195, 219, 264, 273, 374, 388, 389, and FA 532: *Corinth XVIII.3*, pp. 448–473. Roman lamp signatures and potter’s stamps: *Corinth XVIII.2*, p. 158.

2. See *Corinth XVIII.3*, pp. xix–xx. Large-scale plans of the excavated area showing the site divisions are also published in *Corinth XVIII.3*, plans 1–8, 11.

3. Cf. *Corinth XVIII.1*, pp. 213–225; *XVIII.2*, pp. 131–143; *XVIII.3*, pp. 493–497; *XVIII.4*, pp. 353–368; *XVIII.5*, pp. 277–294. The system of serially numbered lots for storage pottery and associated finds at Corinth was established by H. S. Robinson in 1958. Slane (*Corinth XVIII.2*, p. xv) has lucidly explained the potentially confusing systems of numbering pottery used in the Corinth Museum.

I repeat here the warning, issued in all previous fascicles of *Corinth XVIII*, that we rarely found closed deposits on this site, and that stratigraphy on such a steeply sloping hillside was seldom preserved and often contaminated.⁴ Firm inferences about chronology of context should, therefore, be treated with caution.⁵ A striking exception may be found in the 10 lead tablets excavated in the Building of the Tablets, as described in Chapter 5.

4. This is laid out in full in *Corinth XVIII.3*, pp. xx–xxii.

of the terracotta figurines, see Merker's comments in *Corinth XVIII.4*, pp. 1–2, 5–8.

5. For the impact of these conditions on the chronology



INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE, METAL, BONE, AND IN MOSAIC

IN KEEPING with other sanctuaries in the Corinthia, except Isthmia, the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth produced very few inscriptions on stone from the Greek period and only one probable dedication (1).¹ In contrast to the hundreds of dedications on stone from sanctuaries in places such as Athens, Eleusis, Delphi, and Olympia, this form of monument seems not to have been popular in Corinth in the Greek period. Inferences about the level of literacy or an alleged aversion to public writing are effectively refuted by the large numbers of inscriptions, dipinti and graffiti, on Corinthian pottery. The city on the Isthmos stands second only to Athens in the number of surviving inscriptions on vases. Clearly, the Corinthians of the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods were not illiterate or backward. It is, in my view, more plausible that the relative paucity of dedications on stone from Greek Corinth represents a conscious local preference, for whatever reason.

Corinthian dedications on stone are in general far more numerous in the Roman period, and this genre is represented by our three fragments of inscribed revetments (7, 8, 9), which probably recorded benefactions to the Sanctuary, perhaps associated with the construction of buildings.

Our four stone boundary markers (2–5) form the largest concentration of such monuments in Corinth, and are the first actually to carry the word ὄρος, albeit in abbreviation. They help to strengthen the conjecture of the excavators that some individual sectors of the Sanctuary were carefully delimited.

The incised dedication on the marble vase (10) closely resembles several of our dipinti in form, but appears on one of the most elegant and costly such objects we have found. The bronze votive bull (11) and the lead weight (12) will both receive more detailed presentation in a later fascicle on the miscellaneous objects.

Although Bookdis and I have already discussed the mosaic inscription in the central Roman temple on the Upper Terrace (14),² I return to it here in the light of the important new evidence for the goddess Νεωτέρα provided by the tiny fragment of an inscribed bone object (13) and one of our inscribed clay pinakes (108).

1. Compare the Corinthian Sanctuary of Asklepios, where only four inscriptions on stone were found, excluding the 65 epitaphs from the Christian cemetery in Lerna hollow (*Corinth* XIV). Excavation of the Sanctuary at the Sacred Spring and the small stelai shrines in the Potters' Quarter turned up only about five inscriptions on stone (*Corinth* I.6 and XV.1). From the two Sanctuaries of Hera at Perachora the British excavators published only four stone inscriptions (Wade-Gery in *Pera-*

chora I, pp. 256–267). Verdelis found no stone inscriptions at the Sanctuary at Solygeia (Lorandou-Papantoniou 1999). Not comparable in any respect is the large panhellenic Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, which has produced to date more than 150 inventoried stone inscriptions. I am indebted to E. R. Gebhard and T. E. Gregory for these approximate totals as of March 2010.

2. *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 338–359, 362–370.

INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE (1–10)

1 Inscribed poros base

Figs. 1, 2

I-2767. H. 0.23, W. 1.50, Th. 0.47, L.H. 0.055 m. Intact, long, low poros base with projecting fascia 0.04 m in height at top above the inscribed surface, continuing around the right side (possibly also on the left side and back). Lower Terrace, reused in the retaining wall of the north half of the west couch in the 4th-century B.C. phase of Building M–N:19 and now in situ, M:18. There are no cuttings on any surfaces.

Bookidis and Stroud, *Corinth XVIII.3*, p. 144, pls. 23:b, 24:a, b.

James Herbst prepared the drawing on the basis of a tracing of a squeeze; our efforts to produce a legible photograph of the lettering have failed.

Archaic–Early Classical

[- -]ΣΟΚΡΑΤΕΩ[.]Α[- -]

Notes on Readings

Of the first letter the left, slightly sloping “vertical” is completely preserved with the beginning of an apex at the top. Similar traces survive of the right half of the letter, except that the right stroke, slightly diagonal, is not completely preserved. In the Corinthian epichoric alphabet these traces are compatible only with san. Dotted omicron in the eighth preserved space is represented by more than half of the circumference, but the surface of the stone in the center is not well enough preserved to exclude the dot of a theta. The last letter of which I can see any trace consists of only two diagonal strokes meeting at the top to form an apex; alpha, delta, lambda, mu, nu, and san are possible.

Commentary

A single line of text survives across the width of this block ca. 0.07 m below the bottom of the fascia and the same distance above the bottom of the stone. Although they carried slight traces of red paint at the time of discovery, the letters are now very faint, represented only by shallow scratches in the rough surface of the poros. It seems likely, as C. K. Williams II suggested to me, that the front face of this base was originally covered with a thin coat of stucco through which the letters were cut, although no trace of such a finish now survives. When the presumed stucco disappeared with time, only dim traces of the letters remained etched on the rough front surface of the base, making this inscription now very difficult to read. The front surface of the stone, both before and after the preserved letters, is now too damaged to reveal whether the single line of text began at the left edge or was centered, with equal amounts of uninscribed space before and after it.

The monument must once have been quite imposing, with its large red letters, ca. 0.055 m high, standing out against the smooth white stucco. Clearly, however, the cutter made little attempt to arrange the letters so that they were evenly spaced, for the distance between the first omicron and the adjacent kappa is 0.03 m, and that between the kappa and the rho, ca. 0.04 m, whereas the intervals between the following four letters narrow down to ca. 0.013, 0.01, 0.025, and ca. 0.02 m, respectively.

The sharply angular rho, alpha with slanting crossbar, san, and the prominent Corinthian epsilon all indicate a text in the epichoric alphabet, and the sequence ΣΟΚΡΑΤΕΩ- probably belongs to a name in the genitive case.

A genitive in a single line of large letters on an Archaic poros monument at Corinth calls to mind the formulations on the massive poros grave monuments from Krommyon (Πατροκλέος ἱμί)³ and from Patema on the western border of the Corinthia ([- - genitive - - - τ]ό[δε] ᾠμα).⁴ Indeed, Bookidis and I (prematurely) identified this block as “presumably a sarcophagus lid.”⁵ It is perhaps unlikely, however, that an Archaic grave-stone of this size would have found its way so far up the slope of Acrocorinth into the Demeter Sanctuary, even as reused material.⁶ The shape and size of the block also are better suited to a dedicatory purpose as a base possibly for a statue or some other votive, possibly a perirrhanterion, although the absence of cuttings may pose a problem for this interpretation.

3. *Corinth VIII.3*, no. 1; *LSAG*², p. 131, no. 23, now in the Corinth Museum.

4. *SEG XLVI* 355.

5. For a persuasive demonstration that these two monuments and other comparanda that I erroneously identified as “sarcophagus lids” are in fact grave trapezai, see Millis 2007 (*SEG LVII* 316).

6. The only recorded cemetery on the north slope consists of the 12 small and poor graves of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. excavated by H. S. Robinson beside the modern road up Acrocorinth, high above Ayioi Anargyroi and west of the great north ravine; see Robinson 1962, pp. 118–120; *Corinth VII.3*, p. 123, deposit 58; *Corinth XVIII.1*, p. 55.



FIGURE 1. Inscribed poros base 1 in situ (arrow)



FIGURE 2. Tracing of a squeeze of 1. Scale 1:5

Accordingly, a more plausible reconstruction of the text might be [name in nominative] followed by a genitive of the patronymic: [- - - -]σοκράτεος ἄ[νέθεκε - - - ?]. There is ample space both before (ca. 0.47 m) and after (ca. 0.58 m) the preserved letters to support such a restoration. The patronymic is likely to have been Σοκράτεος or [Ι]σοκράτεος. Both are attested at Corinth, the latter in 429 B.C. as a *strategos* (Thuc. 2.83.4), the former as possibly the father of the orator Deinarchos, who is said to have come from Corinth (Plut. *Mor.* 850B),⁷ and on a gravestone of the 3rd century B.C. found at Praisos on Crete.⁸ We have no evidence for the identity of the dedicator whose name was undoubtedly inscribed to the left of the patronymic, nor for the deity to whom the monument was dedicated, assuming that the verb is correctly restored after the patronymic.

Other than the archaeological context, which provides a *terminus ante quem* of the late 5th century B.C., the only basis for dating this inscription is the unsatisfactory criterion of the letter forms, which appear to belong uniformly to the Corinthian epichoric alphabet of Archaic or perhaps Early Classical times.

For limestone statue bases found in the Demeter Sanctuary, see *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 198, n. 54, 294, n. 71, 374, n. 130; *Corinth* XVIII.5, p. 62. For discussion of the shape and design of the supports for the numerous statues in terracotta dedicated in the Sanctuary in Archaic and Classical times, see *Corinth* XVIII.5, pp. 61–63, 146–147, 210.

2 Boundary stone

Fig. 3

I-2766. H. 0.76, W. 0.38, Th. 0.23, L.H. 0.13 m. Intact stele of gray poros. Lower Terrace, on the west side of the stone stairway in L:19, facing east onto the stairs, ca. 10 m north of 3. Still in situ.

Bookidis and Stroud, *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 21, 140, 200–201, pl. 34:d, e.

Ca. 300 B.C.?

OPF

7. Not listed in *LGNP* IIIA.

8. *SEG* XXIII 583; *LGNP* IIIA, s.v., no. 51; cf. also no. 52, 6th century A.D.



2



4



3



5

FIGURE 3. Boundary stones 2–5. *Not to scale**Commentary*

This deeply cut text is complete; see 3 for a related *horos*, and Commentary on 3 and 5 for discussions of *horoi* in general.

3 Boundary stone

Fig. 3

I-2768. H. 0.80, W. 0.36, Th. 0.26, L.H. 0.11 m. Intact stele of gray poros. Lower Terrace, facing east on the west side of the stone stairway in N:19, ca. 10 m south of 2 and 2.20 m north of the northwest corner of the Hellenistic Propylon in O–P:19–20. Still in situ.

Stroud 1968, p. 330 (*SEG XXV 333*); Bookidis and Stroud, *Corinth XVIII.3*, pp. 21, 45, 200–201, 210, fig. 7, pl. 23:a, b.

Ca. 300 B.C.?

OPF

Commentary

The deeply cut letters form a complete text identical to that of **2**, and were probably inscribed by the same cutter.

Bookidis and I have presented the evidence for associating **2** and **3** with a wholesale remodeling of the western side of the stone stairway in the Lower Terrace at the same time as the construction of the Hellenistic Propylon in O–P:19–20 in the early years of the 3rd century B.C.

Of interest in these two *horoi* is the use of the digamma in the spelling of ὄρφ(ος), for it has been suggested that etymologically the word can be traced back to the Mycenaean *wo-wo*.⁹ Since the spelling with digamma, unabbreviated, is attested at Kerkyra,¹⁰ it is not surprising to find it now for the first time on *horoi* in the mother city, where digamma survived in other documents down into the 4th century B.C.¹¹ Since to contemporaries it was apparent what boundaries the stones defined in the Demeter Sanctuary, officials probably felt no need to add a defining word such as ἱεροῦ, τεμένους, ὁδοῦ, vel sim. to these laconic texts. This practice can be paralleled at a number of other sites.¹² See Commentary on **5** for a discussion of *horoi* in general.

4 Boundary stone

Fig. 3

I-1971-84.¹³ H. 0.97, W. 0.32, Th. 0.27, L.H. 0.14 m. Intact gray limestone stele with a large round hole midway up the front surface. Lower Terrace, lying face up, reused in a wall of a building of the second half of the 4th century B.C. in H:19, on the north side of the ancient road up Acrocorinth, ca. 20 m northwest of the main entrance to the Sanctuary. Still in situ.

Bookidis and Stroud, *Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 21, pl. 6:d; Bookidis, forthcoming.

Before ca. 300 B.C.?

OP

Commentary

The deeply cut letters, bearing slight traces of red paint at discovery, form a complete text. Although lacking their digamma, this boundary marker closely resembles **2** and **3** in its form, material, and dimensions. Bookidis and I speculated that it may once have marked the main entrance to the Sanctuary, but this view probably has to be revised in the light of Bookidis's forthcoming discussion of the extensive remains of more dining rooms lower down on the north face of Acrocorinth, below the findspot of this inscription. See the Commentary under **5** for a discussion of *horoi* in general.

5 Fragment of a boundary stone

Fig. 3

I-2541. P.H. 0.225, W. 0.21, Th. 0.24, L.H. 0.10 m. Fragment of a friable brown poros stele, broken at the bottom; preserved on all other sides. Found in 1960 on the Middle Terrace on the surface in Q:25 before excavation began.

Stroud 1965, p. 1 (*SEG* XXV 334); Bookidis and Stroud, *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 9, 21.

Archaic? Classical?

OP[- - - ?]

9. Chadwick and Baumbach 1963, p. 228; cf. Engelmann and Merkelbach 1971.

10. *IG* IX².1 862, [ὄρφος ἱερὸς] τῆς Ἀκρίας (5th century B.C.); 863, [ὄρφος Πυθαῖος] (5th century B.C.); 864, ὄρφ(ος) ἱεροῦ κλαῖ ὁσίου (date? now lost, ὄρβος, from a copy of Cyriacus of Ancona). See also Dubois 1986, pp. 60–61.

11. For the use of digamma at Corinth, see Kretschmer 1894, pp. 41–49; Buck 1955, pp. 46–52; *LSAG*², pp. 115, 132, no. 39; Arena 1967, pp. 132–135; *NAGVI*, pp. 235–237. Koehler (1978, pp. 66, 337, no. 719) notes an unpublished Corinthian type B transport amphora of the late 4th century B.C. from Nemea (P 69) bearing a painted digamma on the neck, probably a number.

12. E.g., at Athens, where markers having only the single

word ὄρος are common: *IG* II² 2505–2524. On this practice, see also Lalonde 2006, pp. 9–11. Cf., e.g., *IG* VII 549 (Tanagra); 1791 (Thespiai). For a general description of Greek boundary markers with illustrations and bibliography, see Guarducci II, pp. 430–443; III, pp. 227–245; IV, pp. 46–73; Horster 2004, pp. 23–33; and the comprehensive Ritchie 1984. In the light of all this evidence, it is difficult to follow Moret (1979, p. 9, n. 18): “Sur les bornes sacrées le mot ὄρος est toujours suivi du nom de la divinité honorée dans le sanctuaire.”

13. In 1969 the system used at Corinth for inventorying inscriptions was changed from a serial number preceded by “I” (e.g., I-2541), to “I” plus the year of discovery, followed by the serial number of the individual inscription within the year.

Commentary

The very deeply cut letters bear traces of red paint and there is a dot in the center of the omicron. This fragment, unlike 2, 3, and 4, belonged to a tall, thin pillar on which the word ὄρος or its abbreviation was inscribed vertically from top to bottom. Although probably serving a similar function, this pillar differed in size, type of stone, and lettering from the horizontally inscribed 2, 3, and 4. Since it is a surface find, we have no firm evidence for its date or original position, but the dot in the center of omicron could indicate an Archaic or Classical date.¹⁴

Remarkably, after more than a century of excavations, 2–5 are apparently the only boundary markers labeled as such to be found in Corinth. Other possible *horoi* from Corinth include the stone that stood outside the Archaic Sacred Spring proclaiming a fine of eight drachmai for trespassers,¹⁵ and three stone markers each bearing a (tribal?) abbreviation and a cardinal number.¹⁶ But on none of these stones is the word ὄρος or its abbreviation actually preserved.

Abbreviated *horos* inscriptions are not very numerous in the Greek world, and most of those surviving are cut on rough surfaces of exposed bedrock in very large letters.¹⁷ The use of abbreviations such as OP and OPF on four stelai in the Demeter Sanctuary may reflect a taste for this kind of shorthand on publicly displayed documents in the Greek period at Corinth, seen also on the (tribal?) boundary markers mentioned above and on a casualty list where the same kinds of abbreviations are used as headings.¹⁸

6 Incertum

Fig. 4

I-1971-2. P.H. 0.096, p.W. 0.146, Th. 0.038, L.H. 0.045 m. Fragment of brown poros with part of the original top preserved; broken on all other sides and back. Lower Terrace in Late Roman disturbed fill in Room 1 of Building M:21–22 (no lot no.).

Classical?

[- -]AP[- -]



FIGURE 4. Incertum 6. Scale 1:3

Commentary

The large and deeply cut letters contain traces of red paint. Not enough of this small fragment is preserved to determine its date or character, although the large letters may suggest that it comes from a dedication. The crossbar of alpha is horizontal.

7 Revetment with dedication?

Fig. 5

I-2589 + I-2623. P.H. 0.19, p.W. 0.175, Th. 0.03, L.H. 0.038, interlinear space 0.02, H. of margin at bottom 0.048 m. Two joining fragments of a thin plaque of fine-crystalline white marble; original bottom and rough-picked back preserved; broken on all other sides. I-2589, the small left piece, was picked up on the surface in 1960 before excavations began; and the joining I-2623 was excavated on the Middle Terrace, 4.50 m due east of the Roman well in Q:20, 0.10 m below the surface in completely mixed to Late Roman fill (lot 2087).

Roman

[- -]K.[- - - - -]
 [- -]λλιο.[- - - - -]
 [- -]αλλιοϋ[- - ? - -]

14. No examples of omicron with a central dot are listed in *LSAG*² nor in the alphabetic charts in Guarducci I, p. 170, nor in *CorVP*, p. 549, table 1. It does, however, appear in the Archaic *lex sacra* from Temple Hill, *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 1; the Corinthian epigram from the Battle of Salamis, *IG*¹³ 1143; and the dedicatory inscription on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, *IoO* 253 = *GHI*, no. 36.

15. *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 22, restored as [ὄρος | ἡσπρὸς] | ἄσπυ-
 λος (lines 1–3) by the first editor, K. K. Smith (1919, p. 353, no. 70), and as [ὄρος] by Guarducci (IV, pp. 69–70). See also Horster 2004, pp. 26–27; Sanders 2010, p. 369, n. 11; cf. *Corinth* I.6, pp. 143–144; *SEG* XI 65.

16. *SEG* XXV 331–332. For other theories on the interpretation of these abbreviated texts, see *SEG* XLVIII 384, with earlier bibliography. For a putative boundary stone from the Anaploga area of Corinth bearing only a single letter, see Robinson 1969, pp. 7–9; Guarducci III, pp. 230–231.

17. In Attica there are several good examples cut into the rock near the church of the Panagia at Thiti, HO and OPϚIIM; cf. Eliot 1962, pp. 56, 63–64; *SEG* XLVI 216, with earlier bibliography. For two possible abbreviated *horos* stones from Rhannous, see *SEG* XLIV 76; XLIX 182. There is a rupestrial HOP in Skyros, *IG* XII.8 678; OP in Mytilene, *IG* XII.2 271, and Priene, *IPriene*, no. 151; cf. also Amorgos, *IG* XII.7 281. Among the best-known rock-cut abbreviated boundary markers are those described several times in *IG* V.1 1431, a document of A.D. 78 that defines the border between Lakonia and Messenia in terms of ἐπὶ πέτραν ἐπιγραφ[ῆ] Ο καὶ ἐν μέσῳ Ρ· σημαίνει ὄρος, lines 8, 14, 19, 22, et al., of which several examples have been discovered on Mt. Taygetos, *IG* V.1 1371; *SEG* XIII 269; XLI 329; XLV 2261.

18. *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 11. For other (tribal?) abbreviations at Corinth, see *SEG* XXX 345 and 990, with Jones's discussion cited in *SEG* XLVIII 384.

Notes on Readings

Line 1: The slope of the single surviving diagonal stroke of the first letter is such as to exclude any other reading. Of the last preserved letter, only the freestanding end of a diagonal stroke can be seen in the bottom left corner of the letter space.

Line 2: Although the top of the iota is broken away, its vertical stroke stands too close to the letters on both sides to permit another reading. Of the last preserved letter only the bottom half of a vertical stroke survives very close to the omicron.

Line 3: In the break at the left edge of the stone there is what appears to be part of a diagonal stroke; delta, lambda, and mu are the only other epigraphic possibilities, but since a vowel is required before the first lambda, alpha is the best reading. At the end of the line there is the tip of a vertical stroke in the top, left corner of the letter space, but the surface to the right of this stroke is lost. The photograph may give the misleading impression that the end of this stroke is freestanding.

Commentary

This text was inscribed on a thin marble revetment that probably decorated the interior of one of the buildings in the Sanctuary in the Roman period. Its findspot, just below the steeply rising bedrock of the Upper Terrace, might suggest that it tumbled down from one of the three temples at the top of the site, or possibly it came from the Roman rebuilding of the nearby Propylon in O–P:19–20. I have not found any close, dated parallels for the letter forms among the previously published Greek inscriptions from Corinth, but since there are only five different letters preserved, this often untrustworthy dating criterion becomes in this case useless. It might be argued that since this is a Greek text of the Roman Imperial period, it is more likely to be Hadrianic or later than from the period 44 B.C.–A.D. 117, but there are exceptions to the “rule” that Latin was the preferred language in official inscriptions of the first century and a half of the new Roman colony.¹⁹ We should not be surprised to find that Greek is used at this time in a sanctuary where, with only one exception, no other Latin texts have been found.²⁰

The names in lines 2–3 do not provide much of a clue as to the date and purpose of the plaque, although they could record the gift of a building or part of a building in which the revetment was mounted. In line 3 the only previously attested name from Corinth that fits the traces on the stone seems to be [T]όλλιοϿ, and its presence here makes the restoration [Tό]λλιοϿ more plausible in line 2.²¹ Other possibilities might be ἌλλιοϿ and ΚόλλιοϿ, although to my knowledge these names have not yet been found at Corinth. Other names such as ΒέλλιοϿ, ΓέλλιοϿ, or ΠόλλιοϿ would seem to be excluded by the triangle of uninscribed surface surviving before the initial lambda; it ought to have carried some trace of epsilon or omicron. It appears, then, that the same name occurs in lines 2 and 3, perhaps to record two relatives whose identity remains a mystery.²²

A possible origin in the Demeter Sanctuary might be postulated for I-1720 (*Corinth* VIII.3, no. 263), “a fragment of a white marble revetment slab, found on the north slope of Acrocorinth near the spring of Hadji Moustapha in April 1936,” which records in Greek honors or a benefaction of possibly two members of the famous Corinthian family of the Gellii, Menander and Ioustos. Attribution to the Sanctuary of Demeter, rather than to one of the other shrines seen here by Pausanias, becomes more attractive if Bookidis is right in suggesting that the dining rooms recently excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service on the lower slopes of Acrocorinth above the Fountain of Hadji Mustafa belong to this religious complex.²³ Among the numerous benefactions of the Gellii at Corinth, primarily during the reign of Hadrian, there seems not to be any explicit reference to Demeter or Persephone, but it would not be surprising if such an active and generous family supported the two goddesses on the slopes of Acrocorinth.

19. See *Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 18–19. On the nuance of the argument that the Latin language dominated the public epigraphic record until Hadrian, and the dangers of drawing ethnic or cultural inferences therefrom, see Millis 2010, pp. 23–30; Thomas 2010, pp. 117–123. St. Paul’s Epistles to the Corinthians, in the second half of the 1st century A.D., were written in Greek, not Latin or Aramaic or Hebrew. Most of the known members of his following in Corinth had Greek names.

20. With the exception of the Roman lamp and pottery signatures and Latin stamps on roof tiles, the only Latin text from the sanctuary is lead tablet 135.

21. For the name ΤόλλιοϿ/Tallius at Corinth, see *Corinth*

VIII.2, p. 41; Rizakis and Zoumbaki 2001, COR 91, 580. The date range of this name at Corinth has recently been greatly extended by the publication of an Archaic inscribed Corinthian amphora from Caere (probably in the Aiginetan alphabet), SEG LIV 871.

22. The temptation to insert into this text the famous Iunius Annaeus Gallio, Governor of Achaia, who conducted the interrogation of St. Paul (Acts 18:12–18), should probably be resisted, since the Greek spelling of his name ought to be Γαλλίων, -ίωναϿ; see *PIR*² I 757, Iunius; Oliver 1971.

23. Rizakis and Zoumbaki 2001, COR 290 [4], 292 [5]. Bookidis 2008, pp. 102–103, and forthcoming.



FIGURE 5. Revetment with dedication(?) 7. Scale 1:3

8 Revetment with dedication?

Fig. 6

I-2618. P.H. 0.155, p.W. 0.202, Th. 0.03, L.H. 0.044, interlinear space 0.02 m. Fragment of a thin plaque of fine-crystalline white marble with reddish streaks, very heavily encrusted; original smooth back and left side preserved; broken on all other sides. East of the Middle Terrace in Q:27–28 in a deep layer of mixed to Late Roman fill (lot 2038).

Ca. A.D. 150–200?

Σέξ·Α[---]
Εὐτυχ[---]

Notes on Readings

Line 2: Of the last preserved letter two freestanding diagonal strokes survive at the top of the letter space.

Commentary

Like 7, this piece probably also served as a marble revetment decorating one of the Roman buildings in the Sanctuary. The person named in the text may have been a donor whose gift was acknowledged publicly in this way. The distinctively rounded epsilons and sigma on this fragment find their closest parallels at Corinth in a handful of texts probably inscribed in the second half of the 2nd century A.D., such as *Corinth* VIII.3, nos. 223, 269, 306.²⁴

Sextus/Sextia A[---] Eutyech[---] seems not to be attested at Corinth. One or both of them may have been related in some way to Aurelius Eutyechianos, who succeeded his brother as proconsul of Achaia and who erected a monument at Corinth for Parnasius of Patrai, ca. A.D. 337.²⁵



FIGURE 6. Revetment with dedication(?) 8.

Scale 1:3

9 Revetment with dedication?

Fig. 7

I-1969-27. P.H. 0.043, p.W. 0.03, Th. 0.022, L.H. 0.015, interlinear space 0.003 m. Tiny fragment of fine-crystalline white marble; original top preserved; broken on all other sides and back. Lower Terrace in earth from Building K–L:21–22 (no lot no.).

Roman

[---]ΝΙΑ[---]
[---]Ο.[---]

Notes on Readings

Line 2: The upper left “corner” of the second letter survives: beta, gamma, epsilon, pi, or rho.

Commentary

This fragment is too small to indicate the kind of monument to which it once belonged, although again a marble revetment of the Roman period remains a possibility. Its first line is the opening line of the text.



FIGURE 7. Revetment with dedication(?) 9. Scale 1:2

10 Dedication on a marble vase

Fig. 8

MF-12889. P.H. 0.058, Diam. 0.115, L.H. 0.01–0.015 m. Four joining fragments from possibly the convex lid of a vessel of fine-crystalline white marble bearing possible traces of two opposing handles and a rectangular lug or projection of uncertain identity at the lower, outer circumference. In the center of the top is a hollow vertical projection, circular in section, resembling the neck of a closed vessel or stem of a tall knob; broken at top. There is a flange around the circumference of what seems to have been the bottom, possibly indicating that another separate vessel or lower part stood below it. The exterior is polished; the hollow interior is smoothly finished but not polished. It is possible that this vase resembles some of those marble vessels attributed by Zaphiropoulou (1973) to a Parian workshop of the 5th century B.C. More will be said about its shape, form, and date in a later fascicle of *Corinth* XVIII.

Stroud 1968, p. 303, pl. 87:g (*SEG* XXV 339); Lazzarini 1976, p. 189, no. 67 (*SEG* XXVI 400); Wiseman 1978, p. 14, n. 8 (*SEG* XXVIII 379); *LGPN* IIIA, s.v. Ἰαλλίς, no. 1; Οἶνεα.

24. Cf. also *Corinth* VIII.1, nos. 121, 125; VIII.3, nos. 303, 309, all undated.

25. *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 89; VIII.3, no. 502; Rizakis and Zoumbaki 2001, COR 102, 363.

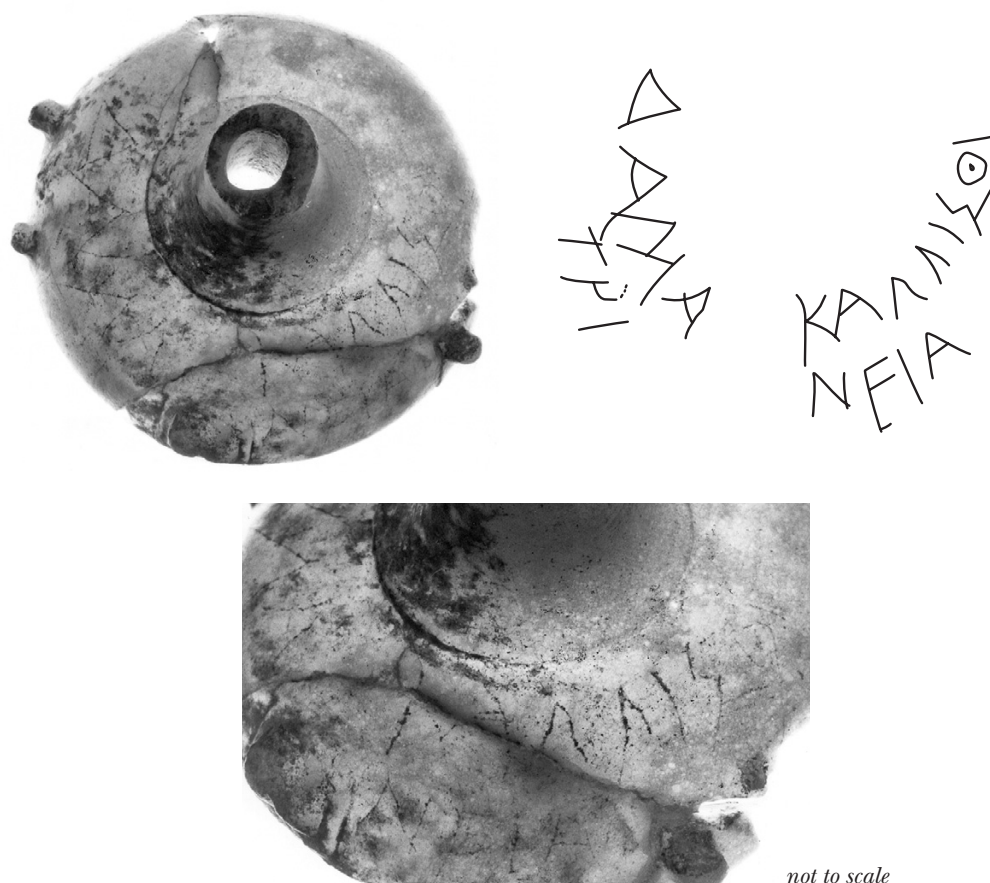


FIGURE 8. Dedication on a marble vase 10. Scale 1:2, except where indicated

5th century B.C.?

Δάμα-	Καλλισθέ-
τρι	νεια

Notes on Readings

Of the dotted epsilon only the vertical is still visible. In my *editio princeps*, followed in all subsequent publications, I read the feminine name of the dedicator as Ἰαλλίς Οἰνεΐα. More detailed study of the original in the Corinth Museum, and especially two excellent new photographs illuminated from below,²⁶ have brought out clearly the three strokes of an initial kappa and a small circle in the center of the seventh letter, i.e., a certain theta. The vertical of the second epsilon extends all the way to the lower circumference of the vase where there is a short horizontal return completing the letter. Iallis Oineia and the discussion she generated in the above bibliography must now be abandoned.

Commentary

The exterior surface carries the very lightly incised inscription on its shoulder in the standard alphabet, ortho-grade. The letters face outward and seem to have been designed to be read in the position in which the vase is placed in the photograph.

This inscription is not the work of a craftsman; the letters have been scratched into the surface of the shoulder of the vase rather amateurishly, perhaps by the dedicator. The interpretation of this text would seem to be straightforward: Demeter in the dative case establishes it as a dedication, followed by the name of the female dedicator, Kallistheneia. Although so far the latter does not seem to be attested at Corinth, Καλλισθένης is found in *LGPN* IIIA, s.v., nos. 22, 23.

26. I am deeply indebted to the expert photographic team of I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti for responding so eagerly and productively to the challenge of bringing out the faintly incised letters on this vase. I am also grateful to my colleague

N. Papazarkadas for helpful discussion of these readings, now confirmed in November 2009 by reexamination of the vase in the Corinth Museum.



FIGURE 9. Bronze votive bull 11. Scale 1:1

INSCRIPTIONS ON METAL (11, 12)

11 Bronze votive bull

Fig. 9

MF-10785. H. 0.043, L. 0.064, L.H. ca. 0.004 m. Intact bronze votive bull inscribed on the left shoulder in pointillé technique. Middle Terrace in a burnt layer in R:24–25: Area H (lot 1966).

Stroud 1965, pp. 18–19; Bookidis and Stroud, *Corinth XVIII*.3, pp. 232–233; Merker, *Corinth XVIII*.4, p. 267.

5th–4th century B.C.

ἰαρός

Commentary

The neatly written and perfectly preserved inscription establishes the votive nature of the object; rendering of the genitals and the masculine gender of the adjective establish the sex of the animal.

Further discussion of the date and style of this small figure will appear in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. Along with lions, boars, rams, stags, and other animals, bulls are ubiquitous in Corinthian art beginning at least as early as the Protocorinthian period. They are represented among the terracotta votives from the Demeter Sanctuary from the Archaic through the Hellenistic eras.²⁷ Remarkably, we found no fewer than three miniature bulls in bronze at this site;²⁸ only 11 is inscribed. Bronze votive bulls are also attested in this region from Corinth itself,²⁹ from Isthmia,³⁰ and especially a splendid inscribed example in the Sikyonian epichoric alphabet from Perachora.³¹ Bookidis and Stroud discuss bulls and Demeter; see also *Anth. Pal.* 6.40. Bulls, of course, were also dear to Dionysos, who was present in the Sanctuary.³²

12 Inscribed lead weight

Fig. 10

MF-11825. L. and W. 0.04, Th. 0.01, L.H. 0.005 m, weight 113.05 g. Intact, square, flat weight of blue-gray lead; round shield in relief on the upper surface with incised outer rim and small boss; three lightly incised letters below the shield. One large, deeply cut letter on the flat bottom. Middle Terrace directly over bedrock in mixed to Late Roman fill in the area of the Roman stoa, P–Q:20–25 (lot 2088).

Classical–Hellenistic?

Obverse: ΛQII

Reverse: F

Notes on Readings

I cannot see any trace of a crossbar that would qualify the first letter as an alpha, nor does there seem to be preserved a horizontal along the bottom to make it a delta. The left diagonal extends slightly above its junc-

27. *Corinth XVIII*.4, pp. 267, 277.

28. In addition to 11, there are also MF-12170, *Corinth XVIII*.3, pp. 232–233, n. 1; and MF-10653, unpublished.

29. *Corinth XII*, pp. 65–66, nos. 497, 498, pl. 47 (uninscribed).

30. *Isthmia VII*, pp. 1, 4–5, nos. 1–7, pls. 1–2 (uninscribed). Raubitschek found that our 11 was the “closest parallel” for

her no. 7.

31. *Perachora I*, p. 136, pl. 43:5–7; *SEG XI* 226; *LSAG*², p. 143, no. 7.

32. For Dionysos in the Demeter Sanctuary, see Commentary on 98. For bulls, Dionysos, and the dithyramb, see, e.g., *Pind. Ol.* 13.18; *Corinth XVIII*.4, p. 267.



FIGURE 10. Inscribed lead weight 12: obverse (left), reverse (right). Scale 1:1

tion with the right diagonal. Only the upper arc of a circular letter survives in the next letter space, probably restricting readings to theta(?), omicron, or omega.

Commentary

This is the only inscribed weight discovered in our excavations of the Demeter Sanctuary. Its date and metrology will be discussed against the background of other weights from Corinth in a future fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. The three-letter inscription on the obverse does not seem to conform to either an ethnic, a denomination, or an official guarantee such as ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΝ, vel sim., which are the customary legends on lead weights.³³ Nor does the abbreviation λον- evoke a suitable Greek word or name, human or divine, in this context.

It may not, then, be too far-fetched to turn for a parallel to the puzzling set of three-letter abbreviations found in a number of other inscriptions from Corinth and briefly mentioned above, p. 8 with n. 16. As we have seen, these consist of a two-letter abbreviation, followed by, or sometimes connected by a horizontal line or dash to, either epsilon, digamma, or pi. Already attested as the first part of the combination are ΑΣ, ΚΥ, ΑΕ, ΣΑ, ΣΙ, and ΣΥ, so that, if relevant, ΛΟ, with its complementary pi, would be an addition to the known abbreviations. There has been considerable discussion about the exact civic divisions in the Corinthian constitution to which these abbreviations might refer: tribes or tribal subdivisions, or the like. As far as I can see, the potential new evidence provided by this inscribed weight has not yet brought us closer to a satisfactory interpretation,³⁴ although if the abbreviation designates a civic body or component of the Corinthian citizenry, perhaps it may have served as the issuing body or guarantor of the official weight.

The well-preserved digamma on the reverse might be a numeral, or perhaps it is related to the use of this letter as the second component in some of the abbreviations under discussion, such as ΑΣ-Φ, ΚΥ-Φ, ΣΑ-Φ, ΣΥ-Φ.

INSCRIPTION ON BONE (13)

13 Inscribed bone implement?

MF-10495. H. 0.014, p.W. 0.028, Th. 0.002, L.H. 0.005 m. Small, thin, oblong object of bone; left side, top, and back preserved; broken at bottom and right. Horizontal incised guideline above the letters; lightly incised crisscross pattern on back. Middle Terrace in Pit B in P:24–25 (lot 880).

For Pit B, see Stroud 1965, pp. 8–11; Edwards, *Corinth VII.3*, p. 211, deposit 45; Pemberton, *Corinth XVIII.1*, pp. 96–100, group 7; Bookidis and Stroud, *Corinth XVIII.3*, pp. 243–245; Merker, *Corinth XVIII.4*, p. 119.³⁵

Probably before ca. 300–250 B.C.

ΝΕΩΤ[- -]

Fig. 11



FIGURE 11. Inscribed bone implement(?) 13. Scale 1:1

33. See, e.g., *Corinth XII*, pp. 204–205, 208, nos. 1580–1582; *Agora X*, pp. 6–13; Hitzl 1996, pp. 77–83, 123–125.

34. For a summary of the present state of research, with earlier bibliography, see *SEG XLVIII* 384.

35. Bookidis and I followed Pemberton’s chronology of the pottery in preference to that proposed in *Corinth VII.3*, and we still do.

Notes on Readings

Of the last letter only the tip of a horizontal is visible in the top left corner of the letter space; epigraphically zeta would seem to be the only alternative reading.³⁶

Commentary

The findspot of this inscription may be significant, for it was among the miscellaneous objects excavated from the sacrificial Pit B at the east end of the Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace. These objects included pottery, miniature votives, assorted terracotta figurines, animal bones, and ca. 1 m of ash probably from sacrificial debris. After meticulous analysis of the pottery, Pemberton concluded that the latest objects in the filling of Pit B did not extend beyond about 250 B.C. This date accords with the chronology of the terracotta figurines found in the pit as determined independently by Merker³⁷ and is not contradicted by the letter forms on **13**, although this criterion is of little precise value.

The sacrificial context may help to identify this object, which is a thin panel of bone without any preserved traces of attachment. The crisscross incisions on the back probably indicate that this surface was not visible; it is possible that they were designed to aid the fastening of the bone panel to another object. Since **13** is so thin, it could be that it was mounted on a box or similar object by being slotted into a groove rather than being fastened by a pin, clasp, or other device. Another possibility is that the bone object served as part of a handle for a knife.³⁸

This very fragmentary inscription is extremely important since the preserved left edge of the object ensures that we have the beginning of the text. Only a few Greek words or names begin Νεωτ[- -]. Conceivably, we might interpret this as a personal name, perhaps that of a dedicator, such as the very rare Νεωτ[ις],³⁹ or Νεωτ[ερος ἀνέθηκε], vel sim.

In this Sanctuary, however, a more attractive suggestion lies at hand, for we know from the mosaic inscription **14** in the central temple on the Upper Terrace that in the Roman Sanctuary at least there was a priestess of Νεωτέρα. The name of this goddess is, therefore, a candidate for restoration on the bone object—possibly in the genitive, as owner of the object, or in the dative, as the recipient of a dedication.

The interpretation of Νεωτέρα in the mosaic inscription has been controversial. Bookidis and I interpreted it as an epithet of Persephone as the younger of the divine mother-daughter duo, and others have been attracted to the view that it is the Greek name of Nephthys, the younger sister of the Egyptian goddess Isis.⁴⁰ If the latter interpretation is correct, we should now be prepared to find a strong Egyptian presence in the Sanctuary at least as early as the 3rd century B.C. This would not be impossible, for the nearby shrines of Isis and Sarapis noted by Pausanias at the beginning of his ascent of Acrocorinth seem to have been in operation in Hellenistic times.⁴¹ In the absence of significant contemporary evidence of “Egyptianizing” influence, however, among the other finds from this era in the Demeter Sanctuary itself—pottery, terracotta figurines, terracotta and marble sculpture, coins, lamps, etc.—I would prefer to interpret **13** as an object demonstrating that this epithet of Persephone can be traced back in this Sanctuary at least to the 3rd century B.C.⁴²

The name probably recurs on one of the inscribed clay pinakes discussed in Chapter 4 (**108**), providing further evidence for the presence of Neotera in this Sanctuary in the Greek period. The likelihood that **108** refers to the Egyptian deity seems to me quite remote; see Commentary on **14**.

INSCRIPTION IN MOSAIC (14)

14 Mosaic inscription of the Neokoros Agathopous

Fig. 12

Mosaic 1973-1. A panel in the form of a *tabula ansata* in blue stone tesserae with the letters of a three-line inscription rendered in strips of white marble, set on the Upper Terrace at the entrance to Building T-U:19, the central Roman temple. The inscription is placed so as to be legible to persons entering the building.

Bookidis and Fisher 1974, pp. 278–285; Dunbabin 1990, pp. 85, 87, fig. 1 (*SEG* XL 303); Stroud 1993, pp. 73–74; Bookidis and Stroud, *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 338–359, 362–370 (*SEG* XLVI 335); Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, pp. 171–173; Rizakis and Zoumbaki 2001, p. 358, COR 442; Økland 2004, pp. 82–83 (*SEG* LIV 419); Malaise 2005, pp. 74–78; Økland 2010, pp. 209–220. Not in Bricault 2005.

36. Unfortunately, in *Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 244, n. 19, we give the text incorrectly as [- -]NEY[- -].

37. *Corinth* XVIII.4, pp. 119, 130.

38. Stored with the pottery lot 880 are two or three tiny pieces of iron that could possibly have been knife blades.

39. *LGNP* IIIA, p. 314, s.v. This gravestone from Leukas of the 3rd century B.C. preserves the only example of the name

in *LGNP*, Pape-Benseler, and Bechtel 1917.

40. *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 362–366. See Commentary on **14**.

41. For brief discussion see *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 5–6.

42. For the use of νεωτέρα for Kore in Eleusis at least as early as 329/8 B.C., see, e.g., *IG* II² 1672, lines 300–302, quoted in *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 365–366, with other epigraphic examples and passages in literature.



FIGURE 12. Mosaic inscription of the Neokoros Agathopous 14

Late 2nd–early 3rd century A.D.

Ὀκτάβιος Ἀγαθόπους
νεωκόρος ἐψηφοθέτησε
ἐπὶ Χαράς ἱερείας Νεωτέρας

Octavius Agathopous,
neokoros, had the mosaic installed
when Chara was priestess of Neotera.

Commentary

Bookidis and I have provided a detailed publication of this inscription with text, photographs, measurements, a drawing, and extended commentary. Happily, it continues to stimulate discussion, some of which can be followed in *SEG* XL 303; XLVI 335, 2249; and LIV 419. The benefactor in this inscription, Octavius Agathopous, has unfortunately not surfaced in other known texts. No further examples of his official title, νεωκόρος, in the Demeter Sanctuary and in Corinthian religious life can yet be added to those Bookidis and I adduced,⁴³ nor are there grounds for associating Agathopous with the Imperial cult.⁴⁴

To the discussion of ἐψηφοθέτησε in *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 363–364, add now the general remarks of Dunabin (1999, pp. 269–278), with the comments in *SEG* XLIX 2443.

Our interpretation of the word Νεωτέρας with the name of the priestess Chara in line 3 as an epithet of Kore/Persephone has remained controversial. We adduced epigraphic and literary parallels from Eleusis and Athens in support of the epithets νεωτέρα for Kore/Persephone and πρεσβυτέρα for Demeter.⁴⁵ In two recent discussions of the problem, Økland (2004, 2010) has more or less followed our views. Several Egyptologists and other scholars, however, continue to support the view that Neotera in this inscription is Nephthys, the younger sister of Isis.⁴⁶

43. Our observation in *Corinth* XVIII.3 (p. 363) that the religious official *neokoros* is found especially in Egyptian cults, repeated by Økland (2010, p. 211), is not borne out by the evidence, for in addition to Demeter, *neokoroi* are often associated with Aphrodite, Apollo, Asklepios, and numerous other deities.

44. On this, see now *SEG* LIV 1885.

45. See above, n. 42.

46. To be ruled out is Queen Kleopatra VII, θεὰ Νεωτέρα, as in *SEG* XLVII 1866, from Cyprus. For Neotera in Gerasa, Bricault (2005, vol. 2, pp. 512–513, no. 404/0401) prints καὶ νεωτέρας τ[ῶ]ν συννάων θεῶν and translates, “et de la plus jeune des divinités qui partagent le même temple.” He rejects the equation of Neotera with Nephthys. Gatier (*BullÉp* 2006

437), citing our mosaic inscription, proposed that this Neotera at Gerasa might be Kore. For Νεωτέρας in *IG* XIV 576, from Centurippe, there is no textual evidence on the stone that associates her with Isis and Sarapis; Bricault (2005, vol. 2, p. 664, no. 518/0401) suggests that she may be Aphrodite-Hathor. Nephthys (not Neotera) appears with Osiris as a recipient of offerings at the time of the Eleusinian Mysteries in the Hadrianic calendar of sacrifices of a private association at Athens: *IG* II² 1367, lines 4–6; *LSCG*, no. 52; Bricault 2005, vol. 1, pp. 18–19, no. 101/0225.

Zunino (1997, pp. 124–128, 343) has suggested that Demeter’s epithet πρεσβυτέρα, attested also at Eleusis and Athens with Persephone νεωτέρα (see above, n. 42), may go back to the Linear B *per-re-sa*.

If our interpretation of the label on **13**, the inscribed bone object bearing her name, is correct, there is now explicit evidence for Neotera in the Demeter Sanctuary on Acrocorinth not only in the 2nd-century A.D. mosaic but also much earlier, in the Hellenistic period, when other evidence for the presence of an Egyptian goddess at the site is apparently lacking.

Less decisive, but still suggestive, is the possible presence of this (divine?) name in the genitive case on at least one of the inscribed clay pinakes (**108**) published below in Chapter 4. All the other names on these objects, which probably date to the 4th century B.C., appear to be associated with Greek deities, legendary figures, and personifications, and do not suggest any connection with Egypt.

Until new evidence emerges, I believe that the parallel nomenclature of their sanctuary at Eleusis offers us the best clue as to the identity of the occupant of the central temple in the trio identified by Pausanias as the Moirai, Demeter, and Kore.⁴⁷ The primary reference in the mosaic inscription, then, would be to the “younger” goddess who had been present on the site at least from the Hellenistic period and probably much earlier.

At the same time, as Bookidis and I have discussed, several other symbols in the mosaic and finds from the central temple itself suggest the possible presence of Egyptianizing elements in this building in the Roman period.⁴⁸ Some of these will be discussed in detail by E. Milleker in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. It is not impossible, therefore, that to some visitors in the late 2nd century A.D. the name Neotera in the mosaic inscription could have conjured up associations of the goddess Nephthys, the younger sister of Isis, with whom she formed a divine pair.⁴⁹

47. Paus. 2.4.6. See the discussion in *Corinth XVIII*.3, pp. 3–5.

48. *Corinth XVIII*.3, pp. 362–370. These include the representations of footprints and sacred baskets with snakes in the mosaic, marble horn-shaped objects, and terracotta antefixes with representations of palm branches. On the footprints see Takács 2005 and Commentary on **125/126**, line 16.

49. Among the numerous representations of Isis on Corinthian bronze coinage, meticulously analyzed by Bricault and Veymiers (2007), there is nothing to suggest any connection to Demeter on Acrocorinth. Missing also is any suggestion of Neotera/Nephthys. I am indebted to L. Bricault for fruitful discussion of this question.