The Appaleni of Corinth

Antony Spawforth

THE FOUR published inscriptions discussed below, three from Corinth and one from Tegea, together incorporate all the existing evidence for the Corinthian Appaleni, a colonial family flourishing in the second century, members of which have previously been recognized in only two of the texts. These two, nos. 1 and 2, are both lists of officials and victors in the Isthmian games at Corinth, and their examination by the writer has led to other restorations and comment, included below, not all of which are directly relevant to the Appaleni.

1=Kent no.223

The inscription is a fragment of a list of officials and victors in one of the Isthmian games.² The relevant part, Face A, is reproduced below.

¹ Fundamental references are: J. Kent, Corinth VIII.3: The Inscriptions 1926–1950 (Princeton 1966) [hereafter Kent, with his inscription numbers]; A. B. West, Corinth VIII.2: Latin Inscriptions 1896–1926 (Cambridge [Mass.] 1931), B. D. Meritt, Corinth VIII.1: Greek Inscriptions 1896–1927 (Cambridge [Mass.] 1931), and K. M. Edwards, Corinth VI: Coins 1896–1929 (Cambridge [Mass.] 1933), [hereafter cited as West, Meritt and Edwards respectively]. The four inscriptions discussed are cited in the text as nos. 1–4. The writer has seen all the inscriptions except no.1. I should like to thank Mr Charles K. Williams II, Director of the American Excavations at Corinth, for his invaluable assistance in the preparation of this article, in particular for his permission to publish or republish the Corinthian material, and for having kindly supplied the photographs of nos. 2 and 4. I am grateful to Dr J. J. Wilkes for his advice and encouragement, and to Miss J. M. Reynolds and Professor J. H. Oliver for their helpful corrections and suggestions.

² For the Isthmian games and their officials under the Empire, see D. J. Geagan, GRBS 9 (1968) 69ff.

```
10 ξιλάου, Γ. 'Αβιδίου Π[--, Τιβ.]

Κλαυδίου Μαξίμου [νεωτέρου,]
[Γ. 'Ηίου] 'Ικετίου π(ατρότ), Μ. [--]
[.....Σ]τ[α]τίου Ο[----]
[------]
```

The restorations in lines 2, 3, 8, 11 and 12 are the writer's; the rest are Kent's.³

Line 3. These letters, belonging to the name of one of the consuls who headed the list,⁴ were read by Kent as most probably being $\rho_i \alpha \nu$ or $\tau_i \alpha \nu$, and less probably $\gamma_i \alpha \nu$. He dated the stone from the middle of the second century, and accordingly listed those consuls, ordinarii and suffecti, of odd years between A.D. 131 and 153 (the biennial Isthmian games being held in odd years only) whose names might fit the requirements of the surviving letters. Since it seems certain, however, that the Isthmian games were dated by ordinarii only,⁵ the possible consuls can be narrowed down to two. The first is Ser. Octavius Laenas Pontianus, senior ordinarius in 131,⁶ and the second L. Tutilius Lupercus Pontianus, senior ordinarius in 135.⁷ In both cases the restoration $[--\Pi o\nu]|_{\tau_i \alpha \nu}$ $[\bar{\varphi}----]$ leaves sufficient space in the rest of the line for the name of the junior ordinarius of either year. The list may therefore be dated to either 131 or 135, either of which accords well with the fact that several hellanodikai listed here hold the same office in either 127 or 137 (see below).

- ³ Abbreviations are marked on the stone, here and in no.2, by superscript signs.
- ⁴ Under the Empire the names of the two consuls, the agonothetes and the hellanodikai of the year normally headed the Isthmian lists in that order, followed by the catalogue of victors. Cf. Meritt nos. 14 and 16, and Hesperia 39 (1970) 79ff.
- ⁵ This is certainly the case with the three lists whose consular dating has survived: Meritt no.14 (A.D. 3), no.16 (A.D. 181) and Hesperia, loc.cit. (A.D. 127). In those of A.D. 3 and 127, years when suffecti are known to have taken office in the Kalends of July and April respectively (see A. Degrassi, I Fasti consolari dell' Impero Romano [Rome 1952] 6 and 27), it is possible to argue that ordinarii were used to date the lists because they, rather than suffecti, were actually holding office at the time of the games. These were held in the spring, although the exact month is unknown, and certainly in A.D. 3, and perhaps in 127, the ordinarii would have been in office on the days of the games. It seems much more likely, however, that the evidence should be taken at its face value, and that for convenience the lists were always dated by ordinarii.
 - 6 Degrassi, op.cit. (supra n.5) 37.
- ⁷ Degrassi, op.cit. 38. The next ordinarius to fit the requirements is C. Fulvius Plautianus in 203 (Degrassi, op.cit. 57), who is too late for consideration. P. Iuventius Celsus T. Aufidius Hoenius Severianus, senior ordinarius in 129 (Degrassi, op.cit. 37) would be possible, were it not that his name almost invariably appears—the one exception is not epigraphical—in abbreviated form, limited to all or part of his first three names (cf. PIR² I 882). He therefore seems excluded also. Although Antoninus Pius was senior ordinarius in both 139 and 145, $[--'A\delta]|\rho_i\alpha\nu[\hat{\omega}----]$ is impossible, since at least one other Imperial name would then follow, leaving insufficient space for the names of the junior ordinarius.

LINES 5-6. In the light of J. H. Oliver's recent article⁸ on the distinguished Corinthian family of the Gellii, the agonothetes L. Gellius Mysticus son of Menander can be either a brother of L. Gellius Iustus, Isthmian agonothetes in 127,⁹ or his grandson. The former is perhaps more probable, as otherwise the agonothesiai of grandfather and grandson would be separated by only eight years at most.¹⁰

Lines 7–8. Ti. Claudius Maximus was hellanodikes previously in 127¹¹ and again in 137.¹²

LINES 8–9. Kent restored [v Koρνηλίον] in line 8, and identified Pulcher with Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, who served twice as Isthmian agonothetes, once of the Isthmia and Caesarea, and once of the Imperial games in honour of Trajan. It seems doubtful, however, whether Pulcher at a later date would serve on the subordinate board of the hellanodikai, having already twice held the most senior and prestigious office in the Isthmian hierarchy. A. Statius Pulcher was hellanodikes a few years previously in 127, 14 and 12 A. 14 are 12 A. 14 and 12 A. 14 and 12 A. 14 are probable restoration here.

Lines 9-10. Ti. Appalenus Anaxilaus was hellanodikes again in 137.15

LINE 12. Kent read [.....] 'Ineclov, Π . M. [----]. C. Heius Hicesius $\pi(\alpha r \acute{\eta} \rho)$ was hellanodikes in 127,16 and the same name should clearly be restored here. Although Kent allowed for six missing letters at the beginning of the line, the photograph of the stone17 suggests that there is space for no more than five. Kent's [$\nu \epsilon \omega \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho o \nu$, --] in the previous line should now read [$\nu \epsilon \omega \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho o \nu$,].

2=Meritt nos. 15 and 18 (Plate 8)

Meritt nos. 15 and 18, published separately by their editor, in fact belong to the same stone, no.18 being part of the missing left side of Face A of no.15. The latter is a badly preserved list of officials and victors in one of the Isthmian games, and was securely dated by Kent to A.D. 137.18 The additional fragment contains most of the missing

⁸ GRBS 11 (1970) 335-37, with stemma p.337.

⁹ Hesperia, loc.cit. (supra n.4) 79, lines 4-6.

 $^{^{10}}$ It was not unknown, however, for adolescent or even infant scions of distinguished family to hold high office: *cf.* Cn. Cornelius Pulcher of Epidauros, *agoranomos* and gymnasiarch at the age of four (*IG* IV² 653).

¹¹ Hesperia, loc.cit. (supra n.4) 80, lines 8-9.

¹² See infra no.2, line 5.

¹³ PIR2 C 1424; Kent no.138.

¹⁴ Hesperia, loc.cit. (supra n.4) 80, line 9.

¹⁵ See infra no.2, line 7.

¹⁶ Hesperia, loc.cit. (supra n.4) 80, line 10. For D. J. Geagan's recovery of the gentilicium see J. H. Oliver, op.cit. (supra n.8) 335.

¹⁷ Kent plate 20, 223a.

¹⁸ For this date, different from Meritt's, see Kent 29 n.26.

initial letters of lines 6-12, and supplements the names of seven of the ten *hellanodikai* listed in lines 3-13. These lines should now read as follows:

```
[ννν] 'Ελληνοδικῶν δὲ
[Γ. 'Ι]ουλίου Πολυαίνου υ(ἰοῦ),
5 [Τιβ. Κ]λαυδίου Μαξίμου,
Μ. 'Α[ν]τωνίου Κυιήτου,
Τιβ. 'Αππαληνοῦ 'Αναξιλάου,
Μ. Φουλβίου 'Ιουλιανοῦ,
Γ. 'Αςινίου 'νννν Γεμίνου,
10 Γ. 'Ιουλίο[υ] 'νννν Θρας έα,
Γ. Μους ςίου 'νν Κορίνθ[ου],
[.]Πομπηίου Κλαυδιαν[οῦ],
[......]εντίου [-----]
```

LINE 4. The use of the epithet $v(lo\hat{v})$ was probably intended to distinguish C. Iulius Polyaenus from a well-known and homonymous father.¹⁹ The only other C. Iulius Polyaenus known at present, however, is a *duovir* in the reign of Nero,²⁰ who is too early to have been the father of the *hellanodikes*; it is possible chronologically that he was his grandfather.

LINE 5. Meritt did not restore the *praenomen*, and dotted the second mu of $M\alpha\xi'\mu\nu\nu$, although the letter is clear on the stone. For Ti. Claudius Maximus, see above pp.295–97.

LINE 6. M. Antonius Quietus is otherwise unknown but may have been related to other M. Antonii who were hellanodikai at this time.²¹

LINE 7. The new fragment adds the *praenomen* Tiberius and confirms Kent's restoration²² of the *gentilicium*. A. M. Woodward²³ correctly reread Meritt's $^{2}A\nu\alpha\xii\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ as $^{2}A\nu\alpha\xii\lambda\omega\nu$: the bar of the *alpha* has been worn away. Ti. Appalenus Anaxilaus was *hellanodikes* previously, as has been shown, in either 131 or 135 (see above, p.296).

LINE 8. M. Fulvius Iulianus can probably be identified with the homonymous hellanodikes of 127.24

LINE 9. There is a space of four letters here and in line 10 between the gentilicium and the cognomen, and a smaller space of two letters in line 11. Although

¹⁹ See J. H. Oliver, op.cit. (supra n.8), on the use of filius or vióc in Corinthian inscriptions.

²⁰ Edwards nos. 61-62.

²¹ M. Antonius Tertius in 127 (*Hesperia*, *loc.cit*. [supra n.4] 80, lines 12–13), and M. Antonius Clementinus in either 131 or 135 (no.1, line 7).

²² Kent no.223, commentary.

²³ JHS 52 (1932) 144.

²⁴ Hesperia, loc.cit. (supra n.4) 79-80, lines 7-8.

the letter-cutter made no attempt to square off the ends of the lines or to space the letters consistently, he apparently left these spaces in order to redress the imbalance which he felt would arise from the shorter names in lines 9 and 10 and to a lesser extent in line 11. C. Asinius Geminus is otherwise unknown, as are any other C. Asinii from Corinth.²⁵

LINE 10. A. C. Iulius Thrasea is otherwise unknown.

LINE 11. Meritt restored $Movc[c\iota\delta lov]$ and $Ko\rho\iota\nu\theta[lov]$. I have preferred $Ko\rho l\nu\theta[ov]$ on the analogy of Kent no.345,²⁶ where Corint[hu]m is attested as a cognomen in line 2. C. Mussius Corinthus probably came from the same family as C. Mussius Priscus, Corinthian duovir in A.D. 4/5.27

LINE 12. There is space for only one letter before the gentilicium. As only Cn. Pompeii are otherwise known at Corinth, ²⁸ I have attempted no restoration. LINE 13. I was unable to see any trace of Meritt's Σ at the beginning of the line, or of any other letter before $\epsilon\nu\tau lov$. There is space for a restoration of four or five letters at the beginning of the line. Meritt restored [--'lov] $\epsilon\nu\tau lov$; but since Terentii are also known at Corinth²⁹ I have left the gentilicium unrestored.

3=Kent no.187

The text, in Latin, records part of a dedication, probably from a statue-base, to a man who was *praefectus iure dicundo*³⁰ and *duovir* at Corinth. Kent's text is reproduced below, with lines 1 and 2 as emended by the writer.

²⁵ No C. Asinius can be connected with the provincial government of Achaea prior to the date of this inscription. However, there may once have been Italian negotiatores of that name with interests in the Peloponnese, from whom, or from a freedman of whom, Geminus may have descended: cf. C. Asinius Felix, buried and posthumously honoured at Tegea in Augustan times (IG V² 26): his cognomen suggests a servile and Latin-speaking origin, such as would suit the freedman agent of some commercial C. Asinii. Moreover, Roman negotiatores are known to have been active in the eastern Arcadian plain: there was a community of them at Mantinea in Augustan times (W. Dittenberger, SIG³ no.783), and the Q. Baebius Q. f. Romaios honoured by Tegea sometime in the first century B.C. was probably one also (IG V² 146. For other commercial Baebii in the eastern Mediterranean, see J. Hatzfeld, Les Trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique [Paris 1919] 163, 59 n.2 and 165 with n.5). It seems possible, therefore, that the C. Asinii Geminus and Felix had similar origins.

²⁶ Presumably from Korinthos, whom the Corinthians claimed as a son of Zeus and the founder of their city (Paus. 2.1.1).

- ²⁷ Edwards nos. 35-38; Kent 25 no.18.
- 28 SEG III 334; Kent no.69.
- ²⁹ West nos. 7 and 8, Kent nos. 288 and 294, and *Corinth Museum Epigraphic Inventory* I 2572 (unpublished). The only known Corinthian Iuventius is Iuventius Proclus, Isthmian agonothetes in the first century (Dittenberger, SIG³ no.802).
 - ³⁰ See RE 22 (1954) 1309-23 s.v. praefectus iure dicundo (W. Ensslin).

LINE 1. Kent was unable to restore the gentilicium. Of the six rare attested gentilicia ending in -alenus,³¹ only Appalenus is known at Corinth, where the family of that name also used the praenomen Marcus (no.4, line 1). The restoration therefore seems assured. The praenomen was restored by Kent on the basis of the preserved praenomen in line 2.

LINE 2. I have omitted Kent's dot under the second M. Although only the lower part of the last hasta is preserved, the identity of the letter seems certain: the only alternative, the letter A, is excluded, since the angle of the preserved hasta is much steeper than those of the three As in lines 1, 2 and 4. I have followed Kent's restoration, based on M(arci) here, of the two other praenomina, here and in line 1; in both cases there is space for a single letter only.

LINE 5. [d]e[cu]rioni is a possible restoration. Although Kent leaves space for two letters before e and three subsequently, the letters of the suggested restoration seem broad enough to fill the spaces. The exact significance of the word here, however, remains uncertain.

Kent³² tentatively dated Pulcher's two offices of *praef. i. d.* and *duovir* to the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius respectively. There is no precise evidence for the date of the text, although its letter forms would seem to suit a date in the middle of the second century. I have therefore tentatively followed Kent's dating.

The tribe of M. Appalenus M. f. M. n. Aem. Pulcher, the Aemilia, was that of the colony of Corinth.³³ Double and triple affiliations are rare in inscriptions from Roman Corinth, and the four known examples clearly denote men of distinguished birth.³⁴ While Pulcher's

³¹ Apart from Appalenus, W. Schulze, Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen (Berlin 1933), also lists Annalenus, Atalenus, Musalenus, Salenus and Talenus, all rare, with Talenus alone attested outside Italy (from Urso in Spain).

³² Kent 26, nos. 53 and 54.

³³ West 88-89.

³⁴ Members of the Imperial family apart, the other examples are Cn. Public[ius] M. f. M. n. M. pr[on]. Rust[icus] (Kent no.176), A. V[a]tro[ni]us A. f. Q. n. [.] [pro]n. [---un---] (Kent no.250), Q. Fulvius Q. f. [Q?.] n. Nob[ili]or (Kent no.120), and C. Iulius Laconis f. Euryclis n. Spartiaticus (West no.68). The first two both came from duoviral families, Nobilior was probably a descendant of the consular family of the same name, while the

own distinction was assured by his duovirate, his double affiliation suggests that his family had also been prominent in the previous two generations at least.

If the text is correctly dated, Pulcher was a contemporary of Ti. Appalenus Anaxilaus, hellanodikes in A.D. 131 or 135, and again in 137. Pulcher was the third of three generations of M. Appaleni, which suggests that Marcus was the praenomen regularly borne at this time by the direct male line of the family. The praenomen Tiberius seems to have been a departure, such as would suit the younger son of a M. Appalenus.³⁵ Although direct evidence is lacking, it is possible that Ti. Appalenus Anaxilaus was a younger brother of M. Appalenus Pulcher.

4=IG V² 155 (Plate 9)

The inscription was published briefly in 1885 by V. Bérard,³⁶ whom Hiller von Gaertringen followed in *IG*, and has not been republished since. The stone was found in the area of the agora of Tegea and is now one of a group of ancient stones assembled in the public park next to the restored Byzantine church of Panaghia in Episkopi, the village on the site of Tegea.

The monument consists of an octagonal, parallelepipedal statue base of common limestone,³⁷ complete, and measuring approximately 0.76m. in diameter by 1.37m. in height. The top surface has three sockets, two pediform and one circular, for the attachment of the statue. The inscription runs across two of the eight faces, henceforth referred to as Faces A (Plate 9³⁸) and B, just below the top surface. It consists of three lines, of which the third is uninscribed in Face B. In the latter, where the surface is badly worn, line 1 is almost

Euryclid Spartiaticus came from one of Roman Achaea's foremost families (cf. G. W. Bowersock, JRS 51 [1961] 112ff).

³⁵ The name Anaxilaus is otherwise attested at Corinth only once: Ti. Claudius Anaxilaus was *IIvir quinquennalis* under Nero (West no.54 and Kent no.212). Anaxilaus has both the *praenomen* and the *cognomen* of the *duovir*, and possibly was related to him through his mother.

³⁶ BCH 17 (1893) 11, no.14.

³⁷ Bérard, *op.cit*. (*supra* n.36) 8–10, alludes in some detail to this unusual type of base, several other examples of which he found at Tegea. He gave neither measurements nor a description, however, of this particular base.

³⁸ Owing to unfavourable conditions no overall photograph of the stone could be obtained, but only of Face A. I should like to thank the Greek Archaeological Service and Mr G. Steinhauer of Sparta Museum for permission to publish the photograph.

entirely missing, while many letters in line 2 are partly or wholly lost. The letters are irregularly cut; they measure approximately 0.02m. in height. The text may be transcribed as follows:

Μ. '
$$A$$
ππαληνὸν T ι $[β$. υἱὸν $----\frac{6-10}{2}$ $----]$ ι ρήτορα, καθαρὸν λο $[γιςτ]$ ήν, ή T εγεα T $[ν]$ πόλις. V νασα T V $(ηφίςματι)$ $β(ουλῆς)$ V νασα T

Line 1. Bérard saw no more letters after M. Annalyvòv, while Hiller restored M. Annalyvòv [τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον]. The honoured official is clearly a member of the Corinthian Appaleni. The family used the praenomina Marcus and Tiberius, as was shown above, and the last two letters in Face A seem to belong to an affiliation, to be restored $T\iota[\beta. \upsilon i \grave{o} \nu --]$. The rest of the line has space for between seven and eleven letters, of which only the lower part of a vertical hasta, belonging to the last letter, survives. These letters would have contained the cognomen of Appalenus, which unfortunately cannot be restored. 39

LINE 2. Here the writer's reading is the same as Bérard's, although several letters have suffered increased wear in the intervening period.

The irregular cutting of the letters and their forms—in particular the angulate *omikron* and *theta* and the quadrate *omega* and *sigma*⁴⁰—suggest a date in the last quarter of the second or the first quarter of the third century.

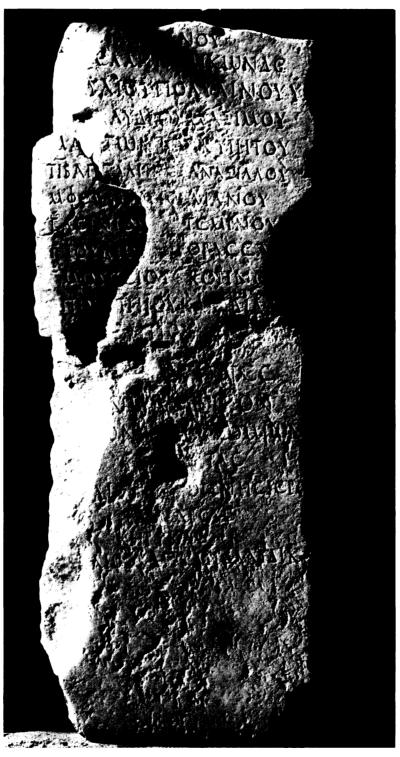
M. Appalenus Ti. [f. ---] is the latest known member of the Corinthian Appaleni. Given the date of the text and his affiliation, it is possible that he was a son, or more probably a grandson, of the hellanodikes Ti. Appalenus Anaxilaus. Appalenus was honoured by the city of Tegea as its logistes or curator. 41 It is unlikely that he was a

39 Of the two cognomina known to have been used by the Appaleni, either Ποῦλχρον or $^{\prime}$ Αναξίλαον could be restored here. Either is possible, but equally so is another, unknown, cognomen. It seems unlikely that ἱήτορα in line 2 was preceded by an epithet, since both epithet and cognomen would need to fit a space of only 7–11 letters.

⁴⁰ See M. Guarducci's brief discussion of these two letter forms, both characteristic of Greek epigraphy in the late second and third centuries, in *Epigrafia greca* (Rome 1967) 377–79. At Tegea quadrate forms recur in *IG* V² 152 (*infra* n.42) and 153, from the third and fourth centuries respectively, although I can find no other example there of angulate forms. For examples of the latter from elsewhere in Greece cf., e.g., *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 59 n.25, from Athens and dated 185–92, and *IG* IV² 451 and 553, both from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros, and both dated to the third century.

⁴¹ See RE 4 (1901) 1806–11 s.v. curatores reipublicae (E. Kornemann) and W. Liebenam in Philologus 56 (1897) 290–325; also C. Lucas, "The Curatores Rei Publicae of Roman Africa," JRS 30 (1940) 56–74.

SPAWFORTH PLATE 8



INSCRIPTION 2 (MERITT, Corinth VIII.I NOS. 15 + 18), FACE A RESTORED ISTHMIAN OFFICIALS AND VICTORS AT CORINTH, A.D. 137 (photograph by courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens)



INSCRIPTION **4** (IG V² 155), FACE A
STATUE BASE HONOURING M. APPALENUS AT TEGEA
(photograph by courtesy of the Sparta Museum)

citizen of Tegea, but probably held office as an outside appointee—in this case from Corinth, nearby and within the same province.⁴²

Appalenus also bears the title $\rho \dot{\eta} \tau \omega \rho$. Although the distinction between sophists and rhetors is ill-defined,⁴³ it is clear that the social background of both, with very few exceptions, was that of the rich and leisured aristocracies of the eastern provinces.⁴⁴ This accords well with what is known of the Appaleni, whose membership of the Corinthian upper class is clearly indicated by the offices they are known to have held.

Two new Appaleni, the *duovir* M. Appalenus Pulcher and the *logistes* M. Appalenus Ti. [f. ---], can now be added to the one already known, the *hellanodikes* Ti. Appalenus Anaxilaus. Of the genealogical relationship of the three little can be said with certainty; Pulcher and Anaxilaus may have been brothers, while the *logistes* may have been a son or grandson of Anaxilaus. The family was one of distinction at Corinth in the second century and was still flourishing at the beginning of the third century.⁴⁵

University of Birmingham May, 1974

⁴² In IG V² 152 P. Aelius Leoneides, a citizen of Tegea, is honoured by his city λογιστεύσαντα ἀκαταγν<ώ> λετως. The inscription, which I have seen in Tegea Museum, is crudely and irregularly cut, and seems certain to postdate no.4. It illustrates the final stage in the degradation of the curatorship from a senatorial and equestrian office, as originally it had been, to a purely local one.

⁴³ See G. W. Bowersock, Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire (Oxford 1969) 12-14.

⁴⁴ Bowersock, op.cit. (supra n.43) 21-29.

⁴⁵ The *gentilicium Appalenus* is otherwise attested only from Barium in Apulia, where two M. Appaleni, Aeliofon and Phoebus, and an Appalena Ammauru, are known from funerary inscriptions of uncertain date (*CIL* IX 288–90). All three *cognomina* suggest servile origins, and almost certainly these and the Corinthian Appaleni are connected in some way. Since the linguistic affiliations of *Appalenus* are Etruscan, however (see W. Schulze, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.31] 346 and 107 respectively), it is uncertain whether the origins of the Corinthian family should be sought in Barium; it is possible, for instance (I am grateful to Miss Reynolds for this suggestion), that the Appaleni at Barium were acting as agents for some commercial Appaleni who lived elsewhere—perhaps even the Corinthian family, itself.