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THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE

TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

BY

NANCY BOOKIDIS AND RONALD S. STROUD



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This work is dedicated, with gratitude,

to

HELEN CONRAD STROUD

and

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ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS

- AA* = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
- AAA* = Ἀρχαιολογικά Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
- AJA* = *American Journal of Archaeology*
- AM* = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
- AntCl* = *L'Antiquité classique*
- AntK* = *Antike Kunst*
- AR* = *Archaeological Reports*
- ArchCl* = *Archeologia classica*
- ἈρχῒΕφ = Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς
- BCH* = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
- BIBR* = *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*
- BICS* = *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*
- BonnJbb* = *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*
- BSA* = *Annual of the British School at Athens*
- ClBull* = *Classical Bulletin*
- CQ* = *Classical Quarterly*
- CSCA* = *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
- Δελτ = Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτικόν
- EMC* = *Echoes du Monde Classique: Classical Views*
- EpigAnat* = *Epigraphica Anatolica*
- GRBS* = *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
- HThR* = *Harvard Theological Review*
- JdI* = *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
- JHS* = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JIAN* = *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*
- JRA* = *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
- JRS* = *Journal of Roman Studies*
- MAAR* = *Memoires of the American Academy in Rome*
- MBAH* = *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte*
- MEFR* = *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*
- MemLinc* = *Memorie: Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*
- MonAnt* = *Monumenti Antichi*
- Öjh* = *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
- OpAth* = *Opuscula Atheniensi*
- Prakt* = Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας
- RA* = *Revue archéologique*
- RBibl* = *Revue biblique*
- REA* = *Revue des études anciennes*
- REG* = *Revue des études grecques*
- RendLinc* = *Rendiconti: Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*
- RHR* = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*
- RendPont Acc* = *Rendiconti: Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*
- RM* = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
- RPhil* = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
- TAPA* = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
- TIAED* = *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*
- ZPE* = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

ABBREVIATIONS OF SERIES, REFERENCE WORKS, ETC.

ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*

BE = "Bulletin épigraphique," in *REG*

BMC = *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*

CSHB = *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*

EPRO = *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*

FGrHist = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, F. Jacoby, ed., 16 volumes, Berlin and Leiden 1923–1958

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*

LSAM = *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, F. Sokolowski, ed., Paris 1955

LSCG = *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, F. Sokolowski, ed., Paris 1969

LSCGS = *Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément*, F. Sokolowski, ed., Paris 1962

*LSJ*⁹ = *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, eds., Oxford 1940

RE = *Paulys Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Neue Bearbeitung*, revised by G. Wissowa, Stuttgart

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

*Syll*³ = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1915–1924

TAM = *Tituli Asiae Minoris*

PREFACE

The present volume is the third 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. *Corinth XVIII*, i by Elizabeth G. Pemberton presents the Greek pottery from Archaic through Hellenistic times. *Corinth XVIII*, ii by Kathleen W. Slane treats both pottery and lamps from the Early through the Late Roman periods. This third fascicle is given over to the ancient sources and to the architectural remains, beginning with the earliest, Mycenaean, walls and ending with the Late Roman cemetery. Later volumes will encompass the terracotta figurines, sculpture both marble and terracotta, coins, Greek lamps, miscellaneous finds, inscriptions, amphoras, and animal bones.¹ Once these studies have been completed and the conclusions of their respective authors published, we hope to present a synthetic analysis of the cult and the ritual of dining in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and to relate this Sanctuary to other ancient religious centers. Since our aim in the present fascicle is to report the results of the excavation of the Sanctuary in detail, speculation on cult ritual has been kept at a minimum. We urge a similar restraint on the part of our readers until all the evidence is available for analysis. Premature theorizing on the basis of partially published data has already led to errors, such as those mentioned on pages 333 (note 42), 428 (note 33), and 435 (notes 66 and 67).

More than thirty years have elapsed since these excavations began in 1961, and more than twenty since they ended in 1975. During that time several factors have delayed the completion of this volume. One was the sheer mass of the finds that had to be not only cleaned and processed but also studied and digested before even tentative conclusions could be drawn. Critical for our study was the analysis of the pottery, which provided the basis for the chronological sequence. With *Corinth XVIII*, i and ii now in print, the architecture and pottery can be closely related. A second factor was the fire of 1972, which destroyed one of the excavation houses at Corinth and with it many of the Sanctuary records stored therein. Thanks to microfilm, only three field notebooks were completely lost. All descriptions of the context material, however, had to be reconstituted, a task which took years to complete. We especially wish to thank Elizabeth G. Pemberton, who spent much valuable time assisting us in this endeavor.

Our primary aim in publishing the architecture has been to present everything, omitting from detailed description only isolated walls or those few structures that limitations of time prevented us from exploring fully. Furthermore, it has been our intention to describe these remains in as much detail as space permits in order to give readers the means by which to agree or disagree with our reconstructions and to spare them the necessity of scaling off plans to acquire critical dimensions. Detailed study and measurement of many of the surviving architectural remains on the ground in the Sanctuary are no longer practicable today, for it has been necessary to fill in most of this steep, sloping site to protect the walls and buildings from the almost constant threat of erosion.

The descriptions of the buildings are organized both topographically and historically according to the three sectors of the Sanctuary, the Lower, Middle, and Upper Terraces, and to four major phases of construction: the Archaic period, the 5th century B.C., ca. 400–146 B.C., and the

¹ Jeremy Rutter (1979) has published the Mycenaean remains in the area of the later Sanctuary. Christopher Pfaff is preparing a separate article on the Protogeometric and Geometric pottery for publication in *Hesperia*. Allaire Brumfield (1997) has discussed the votive clay *likna* as evidence for food in the Sanctuary; the *likna* themselves will also be published with the miscellaneous finds in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

Roman era. Thus the same building, remodeled, may appear in more than one chapter. To facilitate use of the book, we have tried to make each description self-sufficient, with cross-references where necessary to earlier or later discussion. Introductory material in Chapter 1 and discussion of the historical development of the Sanctuary in Chapter 15 will, we hope, provide a general summary for those not requiring complete coverage of the architectural details. Chapter 14 is a relatively self-contained discussion of the form and functions of the dining rooms in the Sanctuary, with relevant parallels from elsewhere.

To fix architectural and other remains on the plans of the Sanctuary, we have used an abbreviated system of grid coordinates. The overall grid plan of the site divides the excavated area into squares measuring five meters on each side. These are identified by coordinates consisting of arabic numerals (10 through 31) from west to east and by letters of the alphabet (A through V) from north to south. Thus, for instance, "J-M:17-20" designates a square area on the plans measuring twenty meters on each side, encompassing the sixteen grid squares ranging from J through M, north-south, and 17 through 20, east-west. Where appropriate, we have used more precise designations such as the "northwest corner of J:17." Faced with a large number of buildings to describe, some of them quite similar to others, we have also chosen to name buildings by the grid squares in which they are wholly or partially located, for instance, "Building J-L:21" or "Building M:16-17." Although we realize that this terminology may appear cumbersome, it offers, to our minds, the important advantage of making it possible for the reader quickly to locate the building in question on the large site plans.

Wherever possible, we have placed drawings of individual buildings or other features as Figures in the text to bring them into close contact with the architectural descriptions. Other, larger drawings covering a specific section or presenting a picture of the whole Sanctuary in its several different phases are printed at the end of the volume and labeled as Plans.

Given the numerous architectural remains to be discussed, we have tried to tailor the illustrative drawings to the most critical aspects. Therefore, because the site is not a stratigraphically complex one, we have omitted stratigraphical section drawings through the whole Sanctuary, replacing these with several long architectural sections and with individual stratigraphic sections through a selection of dining rooms, where accumulated fills were sufficiently deep.

A further problem facing us has been that of relating the architecture and the pottery to the other finds. It has proved impossible to fulfill our initial hope of presenting full descriptions of all context material for relevant strata at this point, since final studies of all the finds have not yet been completed. These objects are so numerous (over 24,000 terracotta figurines alone) and so varied as to require careful study by several different experts. To coordinate the research of these scholars on large bodies of material so that their studies would all be completed at roughly the same time is impossible. Moreover, to publish in detail all the relevant finds and architectural remains from each successive excavated area in a fully integrated manner would result in some chapters several hundred pages in length alternating with shorter descriptions. Such an arrangement would make it difficult both to understand the topography and architecture of the Sanctuary as a whole and to relate, for instance, the types of terracotta figurines from one period found in a specific sector to their contemporaries from another. We realize that to present this large and important Sanctuary to the public in a rather piecemeal manner is not ideal, but all of us engaged on this project have many other demands on our time. We have therefore rejected the option of delaying the present volume until it could achieve a greater pretension to completeness. We have tried, wherever possible, to give references to the pottery published in fascicles i and ii and to other selected inventoried objects to be published in later fascicles. In addition, we have selectively chosen to describe the finds from a few contexts in detail in the notes. Our intention in this has been to give readers some idea of the quantity, range of shapes, and, in some cases, the state of preservation

of the material, although it is difficult sometimes to convey this impression accurately in print. Because most of the pottery groups published in *Corinth XVIII*, i derive from the Middle Terrace, where votive pottery and figurines were not only much more abundant but also better preserved, we have here chosen several contexts from the Lower Terrace that typify the range of shapes found in this area.

The enormous quantity of pottery recovered from this site has forced us to present only a selection of contexts and only a summary description of the sherds found in them. Detailed description of individual sherds in context lots in the manner that has recently become customary in some excavation reports is out of the question here. Such reporting of the context pottery from our Sanctuary would fill several volumes larger than this one. We have 933 context lots of pottery, many of them consisting of large numbers of baskets. For instance, one tiny area (Area D) measuring only *ca.* 3.80 × 3.40 m. and a little over one meter deep produced more than 60 baskets of pottery in 10 different context lots (pp. 76–77, 153–154, 233–234 below). This was by no means the only such deposit; see also pages 211–212, 242–243, 250, 333 (note 42), and 380. We collected pottery in baskets that had a capacity of roughly 9.5 kg. of sherds from votive vessels. Unfortunately, the loss of records in the fire of 1972 has made it impossible for us to compile the total number of baskets of pottery from the excavation as a whole. For the total from 1964 and 1965, see page 10 below.

Excavation of a sanctuary site, especially one located on a steep hillside, has been instructive on several counts. It has taught us to be wary of drawing chronological inferences exclusively from stratigraphy and to place relatively little confidence in the evidence of a large number of individual findspots.

Distrust of chronology derived exclusively from stratigraphy arises from two local factors: first, the erosion of the hillside, especially after the winter rains, and second, the frequent reuse of earth fill. In many places erosion brought earlier levels down on top of later ones (see pp. 380, 387 below) and produced several contexts with a remarkably wide range of mixed, dated material, extending from the Archaic period into Late Roman times. The fact that the sloping bedrock of the hill lies, for the most part, so close to the ancient ground level has also resulted in frequent reuse of the shallow layer of earth fill that rests on top of it. Thus, earth bearing mainly sherds and votives of the 6th century B.C. may be reused in the construction fill of a building of the Classical or Hellenistic period (or both). Often this same earth was then dug up again and reused in an entirely new construction of the Roman period in a different part of the site.

The issue of findspots is important to our understanding of this Sanctuary, certainly, and probably to that of many shrines that experienced long periods of activity. In the present case we discovered very few primary deposits. Two prominent exceptions are the small votive pits A and E, in which the objects lay as they had been placed by their last votaries. Almost all other offerings had been moved at least once and undoubtedly many more times, as buildings rose and fell within the confines of the Sanctuary. Once these objects were broken, their respective parts could travel widely. A considerable amount of time had to be given to the mending of pottery, figurines, and terracotta sculpture. As *Corinth XVIII*, i and ii illustrate, joining fragments of the same object were often broadly distributed about the site, in terms of both area and chronology of context. For this reason it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine where many votives were originally dedicated or used. We suggest that this condition may typify most sanctuaries that were extensively used over a long period of time. More important than the findspot of individual pieces is the general pattern of concentrations of finds as an aid to understanding where they had been dedicated.

Finally, the votive character of much of the pottery has not always offered the precision in dating that larger vessels and everyday pottery permit. This is especially so with the miniature votive pottery that was abundant and ubiquitous in the Middle Terrace. Despite Pemberton's

substantial progress in refining the chronology of such vases in *Corinth XVIII*, i, these small vessels, which dominate our context pottery throughout the site, can still be dated only within broad general limits.

In what follows, Bookidis has been primarily responsible for Chapters 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 16, Stroud for Chapters 1, 4, 6, 8, 11, and 15, but we have worked closely together throughout, reaching agreement on all essential issues. We take joint responsibility for the book as a whole.

Excavation of this Sanctuary would have been impossible without the permission and thorough cooperation of the Greek Archaeological Service. We are grateful to Nikolaos M. Verdellis and Evangelia Deilaki, Ephors of Antiquities for the Corinthia and Argolid, for their support.

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We excavated this Sanctuary before the use of water flotation was introduced at Corinth. The results are, therefore, a reflection of the methods employed at that time. To test more thoroughly for potential faunal and floral remains, we excavated several dining complexes in the summer of 1994 using the techniques of water flotation and total dry-sieving. This project was undertaken in conjunction with the Wiener Laboratory of the American School. The results are to be published separately in a forthcoming issue of *Hesperia*.²

We regret that the important study by Arja Karivieri, *The Athenian Lamp Industry in Late Antiquity* [Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 5], Helsinki 1996, reached us too late to be taken into account, especially in our discussions of Roman lamps.

For timely and generous financial support during the long period of preparation of this volume, we both want to thank the American School of Classical Studies, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the American Philosophical Society. Bookidis is grateful also to The American Association of University Women, and Stroud to the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, the 1984 Foundation, and the Humanities Research Committee of the University of California, Berkeley.

Athens and Corinth, May 1997

² We wish to thank Sarah Vaughan for coordinating this project.

THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE
TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

SOURCES, LOCATION, EXCAVATION

Before describing the architectural remains excavated in the Sanctuary, we discuss the written and archaeological evidence for the worship of Demeter on Acrocorinth, the physical setting of the Sanctuary, and the progress of excavation at this site. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this chapter are by R. S. Stroud.

SOURCES

Our earliest literary source for the worship of Demeter and Kore at Corinth is provided by Diodoros 16.66.1–5, in his account of Timoleon’s expedition from Corinth to Sicily in 345/4 B.C.

Ἴδιον δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι τῷ Τιμολέοντι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν, τοῦ δαιμονίου συνεπιλαβομένου τῆς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ προσημαίνοντος τὴν ἐσομένην περὶ αὐτὸν εὐδοξίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα τῶν πράξεων· δι’ ὅλης γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς προηγείτο λαμπὰς καιομένη κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν μέχρι οὗ συνέβη τὸν στόλον εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καταπλεῦσαι· ὁ δὲ Τιμολέων προακηκοὺς ἦν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῶν τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἱερείων ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον αὐταῖς αἱ θεαὶ προήγγειλαν συμπλεύσεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Τιμολέοντα κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν αὐτῶν νῆσον. διόπερ ὁ Τιμολέων καὶ οἱ συμπλέοντες περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν, ὡς τῶν θεῶν συνεργουσῶν αὐτοῖς. τὴν δ’ ἀρίστην τῶν νεῶν καθιερώσας ταῖς θεαῖς ὁ Τιμολέων ὠνόμασεν αὐτὴν Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἱερὰν.

An unusual and peculiar thing happened to Timoleon during the voyage, since divine aid took the side of his enterprise and gave prior notice of his coming fame and the brilliance of his achievements. For all night long his guide was a torch flaming throughout the sky, until his fleet came to land in Italy. Timoleon had already heard in Corinth from the priestesses of Demeter and Kore that the goddesses had told them in their sleep that they would sail with Timoleon and his followers on his voyage to their sacred island. Accordingly, Timoleon and his companions rejoiced since the goddesses were their helpers. Timoleon consecrated his best ship to the goddesses and named it “Sacred to Demeter and Kore.”

In his *Life of Timoleon* 8, Plutarch has the following account of these same events:

Γενομένων δὲ τῶν νεῶν ἐτοιμῶν, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὧν ἔδει πορισθέντων, αἱ μὲν ἱέρειαι τῆς Κόρης ὄναρ ἔδοξαν ἰδεῖν τὰς θεὰς πρὸς ἀποδημίαν τινὰ στελλομένας καὶ λεγούσας ὡς Τιμολέοντι μέλλουσι συμπλεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν. διὸ καὶ τριήρη κατασκευάσαντες ἱερὰν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ταῖν θεαῖν ἐπωνόμασαν. . . . Ναῦς δὲ Κορινθίας μὲν ἔχων ἑπτὰ, Κερκυραίας δὲ δύο, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην Λευκαδίων προσπαρασχόντων, ἀνήχθη. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ πνεύματι καλῶ χρώμενος ἔδοξεν αἰφνιδίως ῥαγέντα τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς νεῶς ἐκχέαι πολὺ καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαμπὰς ἀρθεῖσα ταῖς μυστικαῖς ἐμφορῆς καὶ συμπαραθέουσα τὸν αὐτὸν δρόμον, ἧ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπεῖχον οἱ κυβερνήται, κατέσκηψεν. οἱ δὲ μάντιες τὸ φάσμα τοῖς ὄνειρασι τῶν ἱερείων μαρτυρεῖν ἀπεφάνοντο, καὶ τὰς θεὰς συναφαπτομένας τῆς στρατείας προφαίνειν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ σέλας· εἶναι γὰρ ἱερὰν τῆς Κόρης τὴν Σικελίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν αὐτόθι μυθολογοῦσι γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἀνακαλυπτήριον αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.

After the ships were ready and the soldiers provided with what they needed, the priestesses of Kore believed that in a dream they saw the goddesses preparing to go abroad and saying that they were about to sail with Timoleon to Sicily. Therefore, the Corinthians fitted out an additional trireme and called it “sacred to the two goddesses.” . . . With seven Corinthian ships, two from

Kerkyra, and a tenth provided by the Leukadians, he set sail. And at night, after he reached the open sea and was enjoying a favoring wind, suddenly the sky seemed to break open above his ship and to pour forth a huge and brilliant flame. And from this a torch was lifted up, similar to those used in the mysteries, which ran along with them on the same course and swooped down on exactly that part of Italy which was the pilots' destination. The seers pronounced the apparition as confirmation of the dreams of the priestesses, and that it was the goddesses, as they accompanied the expedition, who were showing forth the torch from the sky; for Sicily, they said, was sacred to Kore, since according to the storytellers it was there that her rape occurred, and the island had been granted to her as a wedding gift.

Although these two passages provide no evidence as to the location of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, they do indicate that at this shrine in the mid-4th century B.C. the goddesses were served by priestesses. The prominence in this story of the torch, a symbol Plutarch explicitly connects with the mysteries, may also suggest that the worship of Demeter and Kore at Corinth included nocturnal, mystic rites.¹

Two other later passages supply only limited information. Hesychios, *s.v.* ἐποικιδίη, applies this epithet to Δημήτηρ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, without further comment. The meaning of the adjective is obscure, although it is most often linked with Demeter's protection of the family and the household.² We suggest a slightly different meaning below (pp. 72, note 23; 411), while noting that Kurt Latte has questioned its suitability to Corinth. He proposed the following emendations: "Κηρινθῶ *vel* Περινθῶ propter η."³

The scholiast to Pindar, *O.* 13.74 records that while she lived in Corinth, Medea ended a famine by sacrificing to Demeter and the Lemnian nymphs: Μηδείας μέμνηται ὅτι ἐν Κορίνθῳ κατώκει καὶ ἔπαυσε Κορινθίους λιμῶ κατεχομένους θύσασα Δήμητρι καὶ νύμφαις Λημνίαις.

The four passages just considered could, but need not, be connected with the Sanctuary that is the subject of this book. The only other Sanctuary of Demeter on record in the Corinthia was at the Isthmos. It is attested by three inscriptions that range in date from the 4th century B.C. to the 2nd century after Christ. They tell us little about cult practices.⁴

¹ For an attempt to identify this prodigy with a comet that may have been visible in the Ionian Sea on March 21, 344 B.C., see P. J. Bicknell, "The Date of Timoleon's Crossing to Italy and the Comet of 361 B.C.," *CQ* 34, 1984, pp. 130–134.

E. Sjöqvist's suggestion that Timoleon's expedition may have inspired the building of sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore at Morgantina ("Timoleonte e Morgantina," *Kokalos* 4, 1958, pp. 107–118; cf. R. J. A. Talbert, *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily, 344–317 B.C.*, Cambridge 1974, pp. 152–153, 202–203, 222; W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War III*, Berkeley 1979, pp. 99–100) has been rejected by M. Bell III, *Morgantina Studies, I, The Terracottas*, Princeton 1981, pp. 25–26, on the grounds that the "oldest and largest of these cult centers . . . probably came into being after 325." See also his valuable essay on the cult of Demeter and Persephone at Morgantina, *ibid.*, pp. 98–111.

² *RE* VI, 1, 1907, col. 228, *s.v.* Epokidia (Jessen); *LSJ*⁹, *s.v.* ἐποικιδιος.

³ *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* II, Copenhagen 1966, p. 180, line 73, *ap. crit.*

⁴ *SEG* XVIII 138; *SEG* XXII 209; *IG* IV 203, lines 15–21 (*SEG* XI 51; *SEG* XXXIX 340). See *Isthmia* II, pp. 2–3, 113–116. Possibly connected with this Isthmian shrine is the *fabula* about the woman Melissa, to whom Ceres revealed her secret rites, preserved by Servius *ad* Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.430.

In *Corinthiaca*, p. 18, C. K. Williams II urges that the sanctuary at Solygeia is more likely to have been dedicated to Demeter than to Hera, as was suggested by the excavator, N. M. Verdels. For bibliography on this site, see R. S. Stroud, "Thucydides and the Battle of Solygeia," *CSCA* 4, 1971 [pp. 227–247], p. 237.

Representations of Demeter and Kore on objects from Corinth found outside the Sanctuary on Acrocorinth are not numerous. In vase painting the most famous example is the plate in the National Museum (NM 5825), which we discuss below (p. 71); see Callipolitis-Feytmans 1962, p. 163, no. 60; 1970, pp. 45–65. For possible representations in sculpture, see *Corinth* IX, pp. 9–12, no. 5; 14–15, no. 7; B. S. Ridgway, "Sculpture from Corinth," *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 437–440; C. K. Williams II and J. E. Fisher, "Corinth, 1974: Forum Southwest," *Hesperia* 44, 1975 [pp. 1–50], pp. 23–25, no. 28. Terracotta figurines from Corinth probably representing Demeter and Kore include *Corinth* XII, nos. 140, 247, and 394; R. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracotta Figurines in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*,

It is Pausanias, *ca.* A.D. 160,⁵ who provides the first and only explicit report regarding the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the slopes of Acrocorinth. After describing the monuments in the northwestern sector of Corinth below the theater,⁶ he turns to the ascent to Acrocorinth.

ἀνιοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀχροκόρινθον—ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ὄρους ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κορυφή, Βριάρεω μὲν Ἥλιφ δόντος αὐτὴν ὅτε ἐδίκαζεν, Ἥλιου δὲ ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοι φασιν Ἀφροδίτη παρέντος—ἐς δὴ τὸν Ἀχροκόρινθον τοῦτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἐστὶν Ἴσιδος τεμένη, ὣν τὴν μὲν Πελαγίαν, τὴν δὲ Αἰγυπτίαν αὐτῶν ἐπονομάζουσιν, καὶ δύο Σαράπιδος, ἐν Κανώβῳ καλουμένου τὸ ἕτερον. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὰ Ἥλιφ πεποιήνται βωμοί, καὶ Ἀνάγκης καὶ Βίας ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ἐσιέναι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐ νομίζουσιν. ὑπὲρ τοῦτο Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ στήλη καὶ θρόνος· λίθων καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ θρόνος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ (ὁ) Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης οὐ φανερὰ ἔχουσι τὰ ἀγάλματα. ταῦτη καὶ τὸ τῆς Βουναίας ἐστὶν Ἡρας ἱερόν ἰδρυσαμένου Βούνου τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἡ θεὸς καλεῖται Βουναία.

ὁ ante Δῆμητρος ins. Kayser.

As one goes up to Acrocorinth—this is the summit of a mountain above the city, which Briareus, as arbitrator, gave to Helios, but Helios, according to the Corinthians, ceded to Aphrodite—now, as one goes up to this Acrocorinth there are sacred enclosures of Isis, one of which they designate Isis Pelagia, the other, Egyptian Isis; and two of Sarapis, the second of which is called “in Kanopos.” After them, altars of Helios have been constructed, and there is a sanctuary of Ananke and Bia, which they are not in the custom of entering. Above this there is a temple of the Mother of the Gods with a stele and a throne; the goddess herself and the throne are both of stone. The temple of the Moirai and that of Demeter and Kore have statues that are not on public view. Here also is the sanctuary of Hera Bounaia founded by Bounos, son of Hermes, and for this reason the goddess is called Bounaia. (2.4.6–7)

There is a textual problem in the critical sentence concerning the Moirai, Demeter, and Kore. All editors since 1848 print Kayser’s emendation καὶ (ὁ) Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης in their texts.

British Museum I, London 1954, pp. 243, no. 897; p. 246, no. 904. An Archaic statue of Demeter, a poppy seedpod, and a flaming torch appear as symbols on the silver coins of Greek Corinth in O. Ravel’s Period V, which is probably to be dated *ca.* 350–307 B.C.; G. K. Jenkins, “A Note on Corinthian Coins in the West,” *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, H. Ingholt, ed., New York 1958, pp. 367–379. It is possible that some of these issues coincided in time with Timoleon’s expedition. See Calciati 1990, pp. 245, no. 366 (poppy); 246, no. 372 (torch); 271, no. 464 (Demeter). Demeter and Kore apparently do not appear among the deities depicted on the prolific series of Imperial bronze coins from Corinth, but the hero Triptolemos in his winged car drawn by serpents is found on the reverse of an autonomous Corinthian bronze coin (Hadrianic?) now in Paris; see H. B. E. Fox, “*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*,” *JIAN* 6, 1903, pp. 13–14, no. 32; F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, new ed., Chicago 1964, p. 27, no. 34, pl. G:138. There is another specimen in the numismatic study collection in the Corinth Museum: coin no. 13, May 10, 1933, Agora SE. The clasped hands holding ears of wheat and a poppy seedpod, which appear as the reverse type on *duoviri* coins struck under L. Caninius Agrippa in A.D. 68/9, have been explained by M. Amandry (1988, p. 76) as deriving from the mint at Rome.

John H. Kent’s restoration Δάμ[ατρος] in *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 42 has been invalidated by a later discovery; see *SEG* XXVI 402. G. R. Davidson’s suggestion, that for the stamp ΔΑΜ on a loomweight from a well at Corinth, “*Demeter* comes to mind as a probable restoration of the name,” is ill founded, for all the other letter stamps in her catalogue represent personal names (see *Corinth* XII, p. 60, no. 1182). Many personal names at Corinth began with Δαμ-. The restoration δαμ(όσιον) is not to be ruled out. In his excavations at the west end of the Forum near the Babbus Monument in 1968, C. K. Williams discovered a fragmentary thymiaterion bearing a dipinto, Δαματρ. [—], in a context of the 4th century B.C. (C-68-343, unpublished).

⁵ For the date of Pausanias’ visit to Corinth, see P. Puech, “Grands-prêtres et helladarques d’Achaïe,” *REA* 85, 1983 [pp. 15–43], pp. 35–41.

⁶ To reach these Pausanias left the Forum by means of the road to Sikyon (2.3.6) and followed it as far as the Sanctuary of Asklepios, i.e., to the edge of the city (2.4.5). He later took this road, in preference to the inland road (οὐκ ἐς μεσόγαίαν), when he left Corinth. The last Corinthian monument he described was the burnt temple to the left of this road; it lay outside the city (οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως; cf. *ἱερὰ τὰ ἔξω τείχους* [2.5.5]). For the beginning of the road to Sikyon, see Williams and Zervos 1984, pp. 101–104.

In their translations, Shilleto, Frazer, Jones, Roux, Levi, and Musti⁷ all bring out the force of the plural verb ἔχουσι by rendering the text to mean that there was more than one temple. We have followed this interpretation in our translation.

Ernst Meyer (*Pausanias Beschreibung Griechenlands*, Zürich 1967, p. 113), however, translates, without comment, “Im Tempel der Moiren und der Demeter und Kore sind die Kultbilder nicht sichtbar.” In the first edition of his Παισανίου Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις II (Athens 1963), Nikolaos Papahatzis prints Kayser’s emendation in his text, but, without comment, he follows Meyer’s translation *au pied de la lettre*, Στὸ ναὸ τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης τὰ ἀγάλματα δὲν εἶναι ὄρατά. Callipolitis-Feytmans (1970, pp. 45–46) endorsed this interpretation, quoting (p. 45, note 1) a personal communication from Papahatzis:

Les Moires étaient des divinités σύνναοι avec Déméter et Corè. Elles devaient être honorées dans une partie du même édifice. L’interpolation de l’article [ὁ] donne un caractère inhabituel au style de Pausanias, bien que cela se justifie au point de vue grammatical à cause de la forme plurielle du verbe. Ajoutons que l’article a été intercalé aussi dans le texte parce qu’on croyait qu’il était impossible que ces divinités puissent être réunies dans un même culte. Il fallait donc donner aux Moires un temple différent de celui de Déméter et Corè.

In his second edition of Παισανίου Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις II (Athens 1976, pp. 82, 466), Papahatzis explains that without the article the text permits the conjecture that the deities mentioned occupied different parts of the same temple. He posits as the original text: ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης οὐ φανερά ἔχει τὰ ἀγάλματα. The verb, he argues, was later changed by copyists to ἔχουσι because they thought that there were two temples. As such, the text stood until 1848 when Kayser recognized that ἔχουσι required the insertion of the article ὁ before Δήμητρος. This does not seem a more persuasive reconstruction of the textual tradition than the simple assumption that ἔχουσι is sound and an article before Δήμητρος had dropped out. Since the plural verb requires more than one temple, we conclude that Pausanias did not record the existence of a single temple shared by the Moirai, Demeter, and Kore.⁸

The discovery in our excavation of three Roman buildings in the upper part of the Sanctuary, which were probably standing at the time of Pausanias’ visit to Corinth, could now shed new light on this textual problem. We will return to a discussion of this passage after describing the remains of these structures and will then speculate on their identity (p. 371 below).

Pausanias does not explicitly mention the starting point of his ascent to the top of Acrocorinth, but he probably followed a road that set out from the Forum⁹ and eventually reached the

⁷ We are indebted to Peter Levi for confirming *per ep.* that “shrine . . . are” in his Penguin translation of Pausanias 2.4.7 is a misprint for “shrines . . . are.”

⁸ For Callipolitis-Feytmans’ attempt to identify one of the buildings excavated in the Demeter Sanctuary as the temple of the Mother of the Gods mentioned by Pausanias, see p. 371, note 124 below.

⁹ Broneer (*Corinth* X, pp. 6–10) suggested that instead of returning to the Forum from the region of the theater and the Asklepieion, Pausanias turned off the road to Sikyon in the direction of Acrocorinth on a road that was discovered by excavation on the east side of the Odeion. Roux (1958, p. 128) subscribes to this theory. In *Corinth* III, ii, p. 71, note 1, Carpenter attempted to dismiss this road. In Δελτ 19, 1964, B [1966], p. 100, however, Robinson reports the discovery of what may be a section of this road in the quarry south of the Odeion.

We favor the view that Pausanias returned to the Forum after following the road to Sikyon as far as the Asklepieion, just as he did after completing his description of the road to Lechaion. For the method in general, see C. Habicht, *Pausanias’ Guide to Ancient Greece*, Berkeley 1985, p. 20, with earlier bibliography. For Corinth in particular, see C. K. Williams II, “Corinth, 1974: Forum Southwest,” *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 25–29; Williams and Zervos 1984, p. 102. For the Roman road leaving the southwest corner of the Forum in the direction of Acrocorinth, see Williams and Fisher 1976, pp. 135–137; Williams 1978, pp. 23–33; 1980, pp. 131–134.

summit. The next section of his account begins ἀνελθοῦσιν δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ναὸς ἔστιν Ἀφροδίτης, “after climbing to the top of Acrocorinth, one finds a temple of Aphrodite” (2.5.1).¹⁰

The monuments described in 2.4.6–7, therefore, lay between the Forum and the summit of Acrocorinth. Except for the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, none of the other shrines has been located, but a good candidate has emerged for the probable position of the four *temene* of Isis and Sarapis.¹¹ Both of the deities worshiped there have epithets suggestive of water, Isis Pelagia¹² and the shrine of Sarapis in Kanopos.¹³ In fact, the latter might have required some kind of a pool or artificial canal similar to those built by Hadrian at Tibur¹⁴ and Herodes Atticus at Marathon.¹⁵

Above the rocky, cave-scarred cliffs that form the outer edge of Acrocorinth, the steep slopes of the hill are very dry. There are no springs on this northeastern slope. Water has always been in short supply here and was probably collected in antiquity only by means of cisterns or deep wells.¹⁶ At the base of the cliff, however, beside the modern footpath (probably also the mediaeval road), which begins to climb the north slope of Acrocorinth, lies the copious spring today known as Hadji Mustafa.¹⁷ This is the most likely source of the ample supply of water necessary to meet the special needs of at least two of the sanctuaries of Isis and Sarapis. Since it would have been impractical to pump this water up the hill to the south onto the steep slopes above the spring, we should look for the probable location of these four sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods in the relatively level fields that lie below and to the north of Hadji Mustafa.

¹⁰ O. Broneer's belief that Pausanias did not himself make the climb to the summit of Acrocorinth (*University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* I, ii, 1930, p. 67, note 12; *Gnomon* 32, 1960, p. 301) was shared by C. W. Blegen (*Corinth* III, i, pp. 20–21). We do not find their arguments compelling and prefer to guess that the periegete would not have passed up a visit to one of the most dramatic citadels in Greece. Roux (1958, p. 128) regards the precision of Pausanias' description of the sanctuaries in 2.4.6–7 as proof that he did climb Acrocorinth himself.

¹¹ In *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 28–29, Williams speculated that the Sanctuaries of Isis and Sarapis “might be found immediately beyond the Forum, and, as a result, that one of the sanctuaries of Sarapis or Isis could have been decorated with the three-figure relief base found this year.” But he quickly rejected this view in favor of associating the base with Zeus Chthonios. Milleker (1985, pp. 123–124) favors this location for the sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods, while observing that Sarapis was also probably worshiped in private shrines and houses and in the theater; see note 13 below. For the discovery of an Osiris Hydreios jar east of the theater, S-1984-2, see Williams and Zervos 1985, pp. 79–80.

In view of Pausanias' explicit use of the plural twice, Ἴσιδος τεμένη . . . καὶ δύο Σαράπιδος, we find it difficult to accept the theory of L. Castiglione, “Isis Pharia: Remarque sur la statue de Budapest,” *Bulletin de Musée hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 34–35, 1970, pp. 37–55: “Il est évident qu'on a affaire ici non à quatre différents sanctuaires égyptiens, mais à deux sanctuaires du couple divin égyptien. Nous ne saurions accoupler les deux paires de dieux autrement qu'en présumant que Sarapis et l'Isis égyptienne, ainsi que Isis Pelagia et le Sarapis de Canope (Osiris) aient constitué un couple” (pp. 47–48).

¹² The vast bibliography on Isis Pelagia in general and her worship at Corinth in particular is accessible through E. R. Williams, “Isis Pelagia and a Roman Marble Matrix from the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 54, 1985, pp. 109–119; cf. esp. P. Bruneau, “Existe-t-il des statues d'Isis Pélagia?” *BCH* 98, 1974, pp. 333–381. On the Egyptian gods at Corinth, see D. E. Smith, “The Egyptian Cults at Corinth,” *HTHR* 70, 1977, pp. 201–231; Engels 1990, pp. 102–107. We do not find persuasive Engels' view that the location of these sanctuaries, “far from the forum, may also indicate that the ruling aristocracy did not wish these cults to occupy a position of prominence within the city” (pp. 106–107).

¹³ Milleker (1985) conveniently collects the evidence for Sarapis at Corinth.

¹⁴ *Historia Augusta: Hadrian* 26.5. S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, Rome 1961, pp. 100–133; J.-C. Grenier, “La décoration statuaire du ‘Serapeum’ du ‘Canope’ de la Villa Adriana,” *MEFR* 101, 1989, pp. 925–1019.

¹⁵ Philostratos, *Vitae Soph.* 2.1.16. P. Graindor, *Herode Atticus*, Cairo 1930, pp. 158–159, 186–188; A. Vavritsas, «Εἰδησεις ἐκ Μαραθῶνος», *AAA* 1, 1968, pp. 230–234; P. G. Themelis, «Μαραθῶν: τὰ πρόσφατα ἀρχαιολογικά εὐρήματα σὲ σχέση μετὰ τὴ μάχη», *Δελτ* 29, 1974, A [pp. 226–244], pp. 239–241; S. Karusu, “Die antiken von Kloster Luku in der Thyreatis,” *RM* 76, 1969, pp. 253–265; C. C. Vermeule III, in *Corinthiaca*, p. 76, note 12; B. C. Petrakos, «Τὸ Ἱερὸ τοῦ Κανῶβου στὸν Μαραθῶνα», *Mentor* 27, 1993, p. 152. For the importance of water in the worship of Isis and Sarapis, see R. A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* [EPRO 87], Leiden 1981.

¹⁶ For cisterns and well discovered in the excavation of the Demeter Sanctuary, see the index *s.vv.*

¹⁷ *Corinth* I, vi, p. 10; P. A. MacKay, “The Fountain at Hadji Mustafa,” *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 193–195.

Excavations by Agnes Newhall in 1928 and 1929 and by Henry S. Robinson from 1962 to 1969 revealed ancient remains in a field only *ca.* 250 m. northwest of the fountain. These consisted of (1) part of a Hellenistic building with a pebble mosaic pavement and walls decorated with red and white painted stucco¹⁸ and (2) a very elaborate system of stuccoed tunnels and manholes to carry water off to the northwest in the direction of Anaploga.¹⁹ In 1964 Robinson also briefly explored a similar underground system of stuccoed tunnels *ca.* 72 m. to the northeast of the fountain.²⁰ In 1986 the Greek Archaeological Service partly cleared the remains of a large Roman brick building with mosaic floor on the east side of the modern road just beyond the southernmost houses of the settlement of Hadji Mustafa.²¹ Clearly, then, there were ancient buildings in the region north of Hadji Mustafa, and the spring produced enough water for large and farflung hydraulic installations.

Although new excavations are probably the only means of locating the Sanctuaries of Isis and Sarapis precisely, one discovery offers encouragement that we are looking in the right general area. In the dumped filling of manhole 13 in his Anaploga tunnel system, which lies *ca.* 380 m. northwest of the fountain of Hadji Mustafa, Robinson found a small marble tripod base inscribed with a dedication to Isis and Sarapis.²² This object was not unearthed *in situ*, nor do the names of the deities on the stone carry epithets, but this inscription strengthens the case for locating the *temene* of the Egyptian gods in the area north of and below the spring.

Since it is “after them” (μετὰ δὲ αὐτά) on the ascent that Pausanias records the altars of Helios and the Sanctuary of Ananke and Bia, the latter probably lay on the lower northern slope of Acrocorinth above the fountain of Hadji Mustafa. Higher up (ὑπὲρ τοῦτο) was the temple of the Mother of the Gods.²³ For the temple of the Moirai and that of Demeter and Kore, Pausanias provides no topographic indicator, so that all three may have stood in the same general area. Here also (ταύτη καί) was the Sanctuary of Hera Bounaia. Excavation has now fixed the exact position of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and given a good indication of its approximate extent. Neither the size nor the location of any of the other sanctuaries above those of the Egyptian gods is known.

This is not the place for a detailed study of the roads on the northern slopes of Acrocorinth, but a few observations may be helpful. If Pausanias left the Forum at its southwest corner and traveled to the general region of the *temene* of Isis and Sarapis, his route probably followed fairly closely that of the modern road that cuts through the settlement of Hadji Mustafa and leads up to the Turkish fountain. From here the modern paved road, built in the 1950's, makes a wide eastern loop away from the fountain before swinging back to carry automobiles up the north face of Acrocorinth. There are considerable traces, however, of a major route at and above the

¹⁸ The results of these excavations, which remain unpublished, are recorded in Corinth Notebook no. 97 (A. Newhall), where the building is called a Hellenistic villa. Among the finds are several terracotta figurines and an uninscribed triangular stone similar in shape to the tripod base mentioned below.

¹⁹ H. S. Robinson, Δελτ 21, 1966, B [1968], pp. 138–139; Robinson 1969, pp. 1–35, with a helpful map, p. 2. In 1968 and 1969 Robinson discovered northern and eastern extensions of this system beyond the limits recorded on his map, i.e., beyond manhole 14. The results of these (unpublished) investigations, which he has generously shared with us, are recorded in Corinth Notebook no. 355.

²⁰ Corinth Notebook no. 273, pp. 5–20 (unpublished).

²¹ As of May 1997 there is no published report on these excavations. The American School of Classical Studies purchased the building lot in 1987 with the intention of expanding this excavation in the future.

²² SEG XXVII 34, with earlier bibliography: Φλωτλις Φλωωνίδα Σαράπι: Ἴσις[ι].

²³ Despite the topographic designations in the text of Pausanias, D. Musti and M. Torelli inexplicably state, “Il santuario delle Moire è con tutta certezza identico allo *hieron* di Ananke e Bia” (Pausania, *Guida della Grecia* II, Venice 1986, pp. 232–233).

fountain. Today only a footpath survives, but remains of retaining walls and cobbled paving show that this was once a well-traveled road, perhaps wide enough and with a grade gentle enough to have carried carts. It can be traced across the northern slopes of Acrocorinth beyond the great ravine or Northwest Gully, until it swings southward to end near the dry moat at the First Gate of the mediaeval fortress. The kalderim paving preserved in parts of this road probably indicates a date in the Turkish period. Clearly, this road is to be distinguished from the ascents of Acrocorinth depicted on several surviving Venetian plans of Acrocorinth. These Venetian roads appear to have run from the “Borgo” of Corinth or from the shore of the Gulf of Corinth past the chapel of the Agioi Anargyroi to ascend Acrocorinth on a ridge to the west of the Northwest Gully. In discussing these Turkish and Venetian roads, Rhys Carpenter observed that “the problem of the ancient classical ascent to Acrocorinth remains unsolved . . . until some trace of the sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias on the way between city and mountain top has been discovered, the course of the ancient road must remain a matter of opinion.”²⁴

Having suggested a plausible location for the *temene* of Isis and Sarapis and established for certain the position of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, we can now propose that the principal route up to the summit of Acrocorinth in antiquity followed the line later used by the kalderim road of Turkish times. It is the most direct route from the Forum and remains today the best way to ascend the hill on foot from the village of Old Corinth.

This road, however, lies *ca.* 300 m. below the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and does not go anywhere near it. On the other hand we discovered in the excavations a long stretch of another road, wide enough for carts but without traces of wheel ruts, which extends along the north edge of the Sanctuary. The angle of its roughly northeast to southwest orientation suggests that it may not have continued up to the summit of Acrocorinth, and it may not have joined the lower road previously mentioned. We speculate on its purpose below (pp. 19–20). Here we note merely that in antiquity there were many more structures on the lower northern slope of Acrocorinth than at any other time in the subsequent history of the city. The Demeter Sanctuary alone occupied more than 7,000 square meters. To service the numerous shrines mentioned by Pausanias, and perhaps other less important buildings, a network of roads, footpaths, and stairways would have been required. Earlier conceptions of a single main road to the citadel with a number of small sanctuaries strung along it seem to have been oversimplified. The topography of the northern slope of Acrocorinth was clearly much more complex.

Except for E. D. Clarke, the early travelers to Corinth showed little interest in the sanctuaries recorded by Pausanias on the ascent to Acrocorinth. Few, in fact, had time for the strenuous climb or were able to secure permission from the Turkish authorities to enter the fortifications on the summit.²⁵ Consequently, their descriptions of the antiquities of Corinth and their drawings of Acrocorinth have been of little help in the search for these religious centers. As a curious example of how excavation has been able to correct preconceived ideas about these shrines, we quote the following passage from Clarke:

The whole of this ascent, in the time of Pausanias, was distinguished by Hiera stationed at certain intervals, after the manner in which little *shrines* and other *sanctuaries* now appear by the way side, in the passes and heights of mountains in *Catholic* countries. A person unacquainted with the nature of such an ascent, reading his catalogue of the different objects as they occurred, might suppose they

²⁴ For these later roads, see *Corinth* III, i, pp. 68–70, 162; K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, Princeton 1953, pls. XXXI and XXXII.

²⁵ E. Dodwell (*A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* II, London 1819, pp. 189–190) and F. C. H. L. Pouqueville (*Voyage de la Grèce* IV, Paris 1826, pp. 452–455) did complete the ascent without penetrating the fortifications. Their brief observations about the sanctuaries in Pausanias 2.4.6–7 are too general to be of any value.

were so many *temples*, instead of *niches*, *shrines*, and *votive receptacles*. . . . In all this list, there is mention made of *two* structures only which can properly be considered as temples . . . [Venus on top] and that of the *Mother of the Gods* at some resting-place where there was a *seat*, perhaps about halfway up.²⁶

LOCATION

The exact position of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is indicated on Plate 1 and Plan 12. It lies on the northern slope of Acrocorinth well to the east of the great north ravine. Clearly visible from almost any part of the ancient city, the site can be reached on foot in about a quarter of an hour from the Archaic temple and the Forum. The climb is an easy one except for the last *ca.* 300 m., which are fairly steep. Today the most prominent landmark in the vicinity of the Sanctuary is the Turkish fountain of Hadji Mustafa, which lies below it at the base of the rocky cliffs that mark the edge of the northern slopes of Acrocorinth. The Sanctuary is *ca.* 300 m. above the fountain to the southwest. It lies above the footpath that begins the ascent of Acrocorinth from the fountain and is slightly below the automobile road leading up to the western gates of the fortress.

In selecting this steep and lofty site for Demeter's Sanctuary, the ancient Corinthians gave further proof of the Greek talent for placing their shrines in dramatic settings.²⁷ From this spot one has a commanding view of the mountains to the west, Kyllene and Chelmos, and the territory of ancient Sikyon. To the north, across the Corinthian Gulf, are the mountains Giona, Parnassos, Helikon, the long peninsula of Perachora, and Mount Geraneia. At one's feet lie the excavated remains of the ancient city, hemmed in by the houses of the modern village, and the rich, green vineyards and orchards of Corinth stretching down to the sandy mounds of the ancient harbor of Lechaion. Eastward lie the chalky flats of the Isthmos of Corinth with a blue patch of the Saronic Gulf visible beyond them. To the south, behind the Sanctuary, the rocky cliffs of Acrocorinth rise steeply up to the summit, which is crowned by the walls of the ancient and mediaeval fortress. We speculate below (pp. 14–15, 423–425) on the choice of this site for the Sanctuary of Demeter.

EXCAVATION

Our first knowledge of the site came in the spring of 1960 when Charles H. Morgan pointed out large numbers of potsherds and terracotta figurine fragments lying on the surface of an open field above the fountain of Hadji Mustafa. In the course of many subsequent visits to this field in the summer and autumn of 1960, members of the American School collected several boxes full of miniature vases and terracotta figurine fragments. These surface finds were especially prominent after the field was ploughed in the autumn, for in 1960 most of this part of Acrocorinth was planted in wheat.

²⁶ E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe Asia and Africa*, 4th ed., VI, London 1818, pp. 568–570. He omits all mention of Demeter and Kore from his list of deities worshiped on Acrocorinth.

²⁷ For Demeter sanctuaries on hills, see Thompson 1936, p. 184; Y. Béquignon, "Déméter, déesse acropolitaine," *RA* 1958, pp. 149–177; I. E. M. Edlund, *The Gods and the Place: The Location and Function of Sanctuaries in the Countryside of Etruria and Magna Graecia (700–400 B.C.)* (*Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* XLIII), Stockholm 1987, pp. 36–37, 61; Metzger 1985, p. 44; *Pergamon* XIII, p. 6. F. de Polignac's speculations about the siting of sanctuaries in Archaic Greece, even those of Demeter Thesmophoros, are not specific enough to help us determine why her shrine at Corinth was built on Acrocorinth; see *La naissance de la cité grecque*, Paris 1984, esp. pp. 78–80. In our view, S. G. Cole errs in regarding the intramural Demeter Sanctuary on Acrocorinth as "remote" and preserving "the sense of isolation" from the rest of the city, in S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne, *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 1994, pp. 207, 213.

We later learned that Oscar Broneer had discovered a fragment of a large Archaic terracotta head in this field in 1925²⁸ and that a farmer who owned one of the fields in the area had gathered a box of sherds and figurine fragments, which he turned in to the Corinth Museum in 1939.

In one corner of the field there was visible the mouth of what proved to be an ancient well, with the shaft open to a depth of slightly over 9.00 m.²⁹ Projecting above the surface in the area later designated grid square Q:25, we found the top of a squared limestone block *in situ* with anathyrosis on its northern face.³⁰ Among the many roof tiles of classical and Roman types and votive pottery and figurines, a fragment of an inscribed boundary marker was picked up on the surface, I-2541.³¹ The outlines of two retaining walls, running across the field from east to west, could be distinguished; they formed two long, narrow terraces that appeared to be ancient.

The density and votive character of many of the surface finds indicated the presence of an ancient sanctuary, perhaps one of those mentioned by Pausanias (2.4.6–7), on the ascent to Acrocorinth. Accordingly, Henry S. Robinson, then Director of the Corinth Excavations, arranged to purchase the property in the name of the American School and assigned Ronald S. Stroud to conduct a brief trial excavation in the spring of 1961.

Although the first season of excavation lasted only four weeks (May 23 to June 21, 1961), the finds were numerous enough to justify further exploration of the site. As it turned out, this first season was aptly timed, for as we began to uncover part of Demeter's shrine, reapers from the village harvested the ripe wheat in the surrounding fields and gathered the sheaves for threshing. All the workers were women, and one of them sang a long dirge, or *moirologi*, about the death of one of her children.

In the spring of 1962 we excavated for another month, employing only a small crew, never more than ten workmen. Only a small area was exposed. Consequently, we had at that time only an imperfect picture of the size and topography of the Sanctuary. The remains uncovered in 1961 and 1962 lay primarily on what was later designated the Middle Terrace, grid squares O–R:23–25. On the basis of pig bones from a sacrificial pit, terracotta figurines of women holding pigs and torches, miniature “kernos”-type offering trays, model *likna*, and related votives, we tentatively suggested after the first two seasons that the Sanctuary belonged to Demeter and Kore.

At this point we began to publish in *Hesperia* a series of reports designed to present in preliminary form the main results of the excavation. For convenience, full references to these and other, briefer progress reports are here given in the notes in the order in which they were published. In the present volume we have tried to indicate those interpretations published in the preliminary reports that later study has led us to alter or abandon.³²

In 1964 Helen C. Stroud and Ronald S. Stroud resumed excavation for twelve weeks in the late summer and autumn and continued in the spring and early summer of 1965 for ten weeks. Nancy Bookidis then began her association with the project by joining the excavation for the last seven weeks of the 1965 season. Working with a crew that never exceeded twenty men, we uncovered the rest of the Middle Terrace, a section of the Upper Terrace containing the central theatral area, and the first of what were to be many dining room units on the Lower Terrace. Despite the increase in total area uncovered to *ca.* 3,000 square meters, the patterns of circulation

²⁸ MF-636. Nancy Bookidis excavated a joining fragment of this figure in 1969. She will publish it with the rest of the terracotta sculpture in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

²⁹ Well 1961-11 in Q:19, see pp. 332–336 below.

³⁰ The southeast corner block of Room A on the Middle Terrace (p. 309 below).

³¹ It may have served a purpose similar to those of the boundary stones on pp. 21, 200 below.

³² Stroud 1965. See also R. S. Stroud, “Das Heiligtum der Demeter und Persephone von Akrokorinth,” *Das Altertum* 11, 1965, pp. 8–24. Brief progress reports also appeared in *AR* [8], 1961–1962, p. 7; [9], 1962–1963, p. 11; *BCH* 86, 1962, pp. 693–694; 87, 1963, pp. 726–727; 88, 1964, p. 708; $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\tau$ 17, 1961–1962, B [1963], p. 62; 18, 1963, B [1965], p. 79; 19, 1964, B [1966], p. 102; H. Metzger, *REG* 81, 1968, p. 125.

among the excavated buildings on such a steep slope and the limits of the sacred precinct remained obscure. The votive objects and miniature pottery were remarkably abundant: 1,080 baskets of pottery from these two seasons alone and thousands of terracotta figurines. Certainty about the identification of the Sanctuary was reached by the end of the 1965 season with the discovery of several vase inscriptions recording dedications to the goddess Demeter.³³

After an interval of two years, excavation resumed in the Sanctuary under the direction of Nancy Bookidis, who dug for eight weeks in the summer and autumn of 1968 with a crew of six to ten men. More classical dining room units were uncovered on the Lower Terrace.³⁴

It was not until Bookidis' productive campaigns of the next two years that the general layout of the Sanctuary was revealed. The key to a proper understanding of the topography of the site was provided by her discovery of a stone stairway that led up through the Lower Terrace from the north, past many newly excavated dining room units, to the cult buildings on the Middle Terrace and above. Still employing a small crew of five to ten men, she excavated for thirteen weeks in the spring and autumn of 1969 and for fifteen weeks during the same seasons of 1970. In addition to clearing six more dining room units flanking the stairway, she excavated a rectangular rock-cut theatral area high up on the steep bedrock in the southern part of the site. In the western sector of the Upper Terrace she exposed remains of an important cult building of Roman times. It is probably here that a marble cult statue of Demeter of the second half of the 2nd century after Christ originally stood.³⁵ Evidence for activity at the site both earlier and later than previously attested also emerged with the excavation of a Late Mycenaean cist grave and several tile graves of the 5th century after Christ and perhaps later.³⁶

Bookidis excavated again for twelve weeks in the spring and summer of 1971, assisted by Cynthia Thompson. More dining room units on the Lower Terrace were cleared. They also uncovered a long stretch of ancient road along the north side of the Sanctuary, which solved the problem of the location of the shrine's principal entrance. Opening off this road to the south an entrance was found leading to the stone stairway.

More dining room units emerged on the Lower Terrace in the 1972 season, which was of thirteen weeks' duration, under the direction of Bookidis with the help of Michael Goldstein. The early history of the site was also explored through the excavation of a Protogeometric or Early Geometric grave and part of a small building of Late Mycenaean III C date on the Lower Terrace.

On the first of July, 1972, several of the field notebooks from the Demeter Sanctuary were destroyed in a fire that consumed the annex of the excavation house at Corinth. Only with difficulty, after considerable delay, has it been possible to recover most, but not all, of the original information those books contained.

By the end of the 1973 season the number of dining room units uncovered on the Lower Terrace had grown to forty as Bookidis continued to excavate for ten weeks in the spring and summer of this year. She was assisted by Elizabeth G. Pemberton, who has published in *Corinth XVIII*, i, the Demeter Sanctuary pottery from the Protocorinthian through the Hellenistic periods, and by David B. Peck, who has contributed to the present volume almost all the architectural plans and drawings. The most important discovery of this campaign was the Temple with the Mosaic Floor in T-U:19, high up on the bedrock at the southern edge of the site.

³³ Stroud 1968. See also *AR* [11], 1964–1965, pp. 8–9; 12, 1965–1966, p. 7; *BCH* 89, 1965, pp. 693–697; 90, 1966, pp. 756–761; *Δελτ* 20, 1965, B [1967], pp. 144–145; 21, 1966, B [1968], pp. 139–140; H. Metzger, *REG* 83, 1970, p. 123.

³⁴ Bookidis 1969. See also *AR* 15, 1968–1969, p. 10; *Δελτ* 24, 1969, B [1970], pp. 114–115.

³⁵ S-2668. For discussion of this statue, see p. 333 below, where we also discuss the attempt of G. I. Despinis to identify it as the Mother of the Gods, *Συμβολή στη Μελέτη τοῦ Ἔργου τοῦ Ἀγορακρίτου*, Athens 1971, p. 121.

³⁶ Bookidis and Fisher 1972. See also *AR* 16, 1969–1970, p. 11; 17, 1970–1971, p. 10; *BCH* 94, 1970, p. 953; 95, 1971, p. 858; *Δελτ* 25, 1970, B [1972], p. 161.

As a result of this and the previous two seasons of excavation, the articulation of the Sanctuary into three clearly defined levels became more apparent. In the lower, northern part of the site, above the ancient road, is the Lower Terrace: a long, broad slope, terraced in steps by rows of buildings running from east to west. In the Greek period all these belonged to dining room units. A large retaining wall and a Trapezoidal Building of Hellenistic date divide the Lower from the Middle Terrace, which rises above it to the south. The bedrock has been cut back and retaining walls constructed here to create a level surface stretching across the site. The Middle Terrace supported cult buildings, offering pits, sacrificial areas, and, later, a Roman stoa. Higher up the hill to the south is the Upper Terrace, where two theatral areas are cut into the steeply rising face of the bedrock. Above them, at the top of the site, the bedrock has also been cut back to form a level platform on which stood the three major cult buildings of the Roman Sanctuary. The link binding these three terraces together into an architectural unit is the stone stairway up which worshipers moved from the northern entrance, past the dining room units, through a Propylon into the Middle Terrace, and thence upward to the theatral areas and the three temples on the rock at the top of the site.³⁷

For two weeks in the autumn of 1975, Bookidis and Charles K. Williams II, Director of the Corinth Excavations, carried out a number of tests of the stratigraphy in various parts of the sanctuary in order to clarify the Mycenaean levels.

In June 1977, Jeremy Rutter conducted some minor cleaning operations in preparation for his detailed study of the Mycenaean remains in grid squares J–K:17–20.³⁸ We discuss the significance of this prehistoric evidence for activity on the site of the later Sanctuary of Demeter below (pp. 13–15).

In July 1994 Bookidis returned to the Sanctuary to excavate several dining units in grid squares L–N:30–32 and N:21–22 in collaboration with colleagues from the Wiener Laboratory of the American School; see page xxiii above.

³⁷ For a preliminary account of these discoveries, see Bookidis and Fisher 1974. See also *AR* 18, 1971–1972, p. 8; 19, 1972–1973, p. 11; 20, 1973–1974, p. 8; *BCH* 96, 1972, p. 636; 97, 1973, p. 293; 98, 1974, p. 601; *Δελτ* 26, 1971, B [1974], pp. 95–96; 27, 1972, B [1976], p. 220; 28, 1973, B [1977], pp. 142–143; 29, 1973–1974, B [1979], pp. 253–254.

³⁸ Rutter 1979.

MYCENAEAN AND GEOMETRIC REMAINS

(Plan 2)

The earliest remains (Late Helladic) on the hillslope apparently belong to a period well before the site had begun to function as a sanctuary. Although these architectural and ceramic finds have been described elsewhere in detail, a brief review of them will not be out of place here.¹

The first visitors or inhabitants to leave some mark on the site of the later Sanctuary were Mycenaean of the Late Helladic IIIB period (*ca.* 1340–1300 B.C.), who left behind them a scattering of sherds and possibly one small psi-type figurine.² Not until roughly 200 years later, however, were any permanent structures erected. Then, in the Late Helladic IIIC period, a building was constructed on the lower slopes of the hillside in J–K:18–19. Because of Classical and Roman activity in the same area, the Mycenaean remains are slight but nonetheless definite. In plan the building consists of at least one long room, oriented east–west, fronted by a porch or a second room on the east, and a courtyard on the west. The rubble-built south wall of the building is preserved for a length of nearly 5.00 m. (Pl. 3:a), as is the stump of the east crosswall; the east end of the building was destroyed by the processional stairway built in the late 5th century B.C. (Pl. 5). No corresponding crosswall was found at the west end, where the line of rubble continues in mud brick for at least 5.50 m. westward to form the courtyard. Although the north side of the building has completely disappeared, part of the interior floor and several postholes remain to give further shape and substance to the structure.

Both fine and coarse wares were found within the building but very little cooking ware. The period of occupation was brief (within the later years of LH IIIC, or *ca.* 1140–1125 B.C.) and ended when the building was destroyed by fire.³

Building J–K:18–19 stands on a terrace retained by a wall, a segment of which was uncovered in J:17–18. This wall very much resembles the later Archaic terrace wall for the road, which extends across the northern edge of the Sanctuary (pp. 19–20 below; Pls. 2, foreground, 3:b, and 4:a). Although this Archaic terrace wall incorporated the earlier Mycenaean wall, nevertheless a length of 9.55 m. of the earlier wall could be associated with a pure Mycenaean layer. Built with fieldstones and boulders, the wall averages 0.80–1.00 m. thick where best preserved but has no good faces. Pottery recovered from the fill associated with this wall seemed to Jeremy Rutter to be slightly later in date, *ca.* 1125–1100 B.C., than the building that stood on its terrace.⁴

In K:23, *ca.* 17.00 m. east of Building J–K:18–19, more Mycenaean pottery was recovered in tests made against the south wall of the Classical dining room K:23 (Fig. 1, stratum 8 on p. 25; Plan 2, shaded area). The pottery, which was contemporaneous with that from the period of use of the Mycenaean building, lay in earth without a visible architectural context. The area tested, however, was small. In general, Mycenaean and occasional Geometric sherds were not uncommon in later strata on the east side of the Sanctuary.

¹ Rutter 1979, pp. 348–392.

² Rutter 1979, p. 388, no. 156, MF-71-62.

³ LH IIIC phase 4; see Rutter 1979, p. 370.

⁴ Rutter 1979, p. 383, LH IIIC phase 5, which equals Lefkandi LH IIIC phase 3. As Rutter explains, the terrace wall fill includes material both synchronous with the building to the south and later than it. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the chronological problems and terminology of LH IIIC and Sub-Mycenaean. See P. A. Mountjoy and V. Hankey, “LH IIIC Late versus Submycenaean: The Kerameikos Pompeion Cemetery Reviewed,” *JdI* 103, 1988, pp. 1–37, esp. the comparative table, p. 27.

Beneath the Classical floor of Building M–N:19, roughly 12.00 m. south of the Mycenaean building J–K:18–19, lay a small cist grave cut into the stereo (Grave 1969-42). It is visible in Plate 23:b beneath the center of Building M–N:19; a stone of its south side is dotted in Figure 23 on page 146.⁵ At least 1.10 m. long and 0.51 m. wide, the grave was lined with stones on its three preserved sides. Despite the absence of bones, it is difficult to find another interpretation for this lined pit, for a nearly complete monochrome deep bowl (Rutter 1979, no. 74), synchronous with Building J–K:18–19, lay in its northwest corner. Such good preservation was not typical of the material recovered from the building.

In M:26, excavation of the Classical dining hall M–N:25–26 revealed a second burial (Grave 1964-3) that had been made sometime previous to the 5th century B.C. (Plan 1; Pl. 20:c).⁶ The circumstances are somewhat peculiar, for the building's north wall had been built directly on top of the body. No grave cutting was found; rather, a layer of light clayish earth covered the body. With it were sherds dating to the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. (lot 2022).⁷ The body lay on its back in a fully extended position, its head to the west and its left arm resting on its chest.⁸ No grave gifts accompanied it, nor were any early sherds discovered in the immediate vicinity. Since the dining hall's wall is preserved here to the height of several courses of fieldstones, there can be no doubt that the burial preceded it. If the sherds recovered from the clay layer do indeed represent the period when the body was covered, then this occurred some time before the building was constructed in the late 5th century B.C. It is unlikely that the burial was made at a time when the Sanctuary was being actively used, for fear of pollution would have been too great. But when we examine local burial customs in the periods prior to the 7th century B.C., we are forced to go back to the Mycenaean period to find comparable examples of extended burials.⁹ For this reason we have tentatively placed the grave in this period, despite the fact that nothing specifically Mycenaean was found with it.

In his study of the early material, Rutter (1979) was able to distinguish three distinct periods of Mycenaean settlement in the area of the Demeter Sanctuary: (1) a relatively small amount of pottery from the LH IIIB period, ca. 1340–1300 B.C., without architecture; (2) a large building that “was not an isolated construction but rather part of a small cluster of buildings” (p. 389) and a small cist grave, both dating to LH IIIC, ca. 1140–1125 B.C.; (3) the roughly built terrace wall of slightly later date, ca. 1125–1100 B.C. Insisting on the absence of figurines¹⁰ and of anything in the shape or decorative range of the pottery to suggest cult activity, Rutter interpreted the architectural remains as those of “a farming hamlet” (*ibid.*). The presence of the grave not far from the building lends support to this view.

It is possible that the site was chosen for the broad view it affords of the plain below, an attractive feature during unsettled times. On the other hand, this exposed north slope of Acrocorinth is buffeted by strong, cold winds during the autumn and winter months, making it a very uncomfortable place to live. It is true that the nearest source of water, the spring at

⁵ Photographs of the grave can be found in Rutter 1979, pl. 92:a, b.

⁶ The grave was not published by Rutter because it could not be dated.

⁷ The word “lot,” followed by a number, is the storage reference to uncatalogued, context material. Lots excavated before 1972 are designated by a single serial number; thereafter, by the last two digits of the year followed by a serial number.

⁸ Bone lots 64-24, 64-25. The skeleton was clearly that of an adult, ca. 1.65–1.70 m. tall.

⁹ For Geometric practices, see *Corinth XIII*, pp. 16–17, where Young states that the bodies were regularly in contracted position. This practice continued until the early 6th century B.C., when sporadic extended burials are encountered, but it is not until the second half of the 6th century B.C. that this practice is regularized; *ibid.*, p. 69. For an extended burial of Mycenaean date in an unlined cist, see C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, Boston 1921, p. 102, grave II.

¹⁰ The one fragmentary example of a psi-type figurine (Rutter 1979, p. 156) comes from a later stratum north of the stairway in I:20.

Hadji Mustafa, lies only about 200–300 m. downhill, but it requires a hard, steep climb to carry the water back up the hill to the site. Nor is it likely that the proximity of good farm land led to the construction of a hamlet on this steep and rocky slope, since the Mycenaean building itself rests only a few centimeters above the bedrock. If, then, there was a Mycenaean farming hamlet in the area of the later Sanctuary, it may be that its buildings were not used year-round but only during the warmer spring and summer months.

No buildings immediately succeeded the Mycenaean house and terrace wall. That some habitation continued in the area, however, is indicated by the discovery of a quantity of Protogeometric pottery from various parts of the site, and by a third grave (1972-8), uncovered in K:14 some 15.00 m. west of the Mycenaean house (Plan 2). The grave consisted of a shallow, unlined cist without a cover, measuring *ca.* 1.20 m. long and 0.40 m. wide. Within the cist was the strongly contracted skeleton of an adult, of roughly forty years of age, lying on its left side with its head to the south. Its arms were folded against its chest, and the lower legs were bent back under the body. Behind the head lay a small handmade oinochoe of the so-called Argive Monochrome class, datable to either the Protogeometric or the very early Early Geometric period.¹¹ The earth that covered the body was indistinguishable from that which had covered the grave. As a result, among the pottery recovered from the grave were a few intrusive sherds of the 5th century B.C., as well as two nondescript pieces of bronze, a folded and uninscribed square of lead, and three fragments of burnt bone. Just to the east and southeast of the grave was a shallow pit containing soft black earth. Although its exact relation to the grave is unclear, this pit contained pottery of similarly early date, mixed with four sherds of the 5th century B.C. and a few more tiny pieces of burnt bone, lot 72-114.

Despite the fact that no other tangible evidence of occupation was found on the Lower Terrace until the 6th century B.C., an unbroken ceramic sequence from the Protogeometric period down to the 7th century B.C. indicates that the site continued to be used throughout this time without interruption. The sherds were more abundant in the earlier phases of the Geometric period and declined in number in the later stages, reflecting perhaps the pattern of use of the site. It is not our purpose here to present a detailed catalogue of the pottery, all of which has now been studied by Christopher Pfaff.¹² This will appear as a separate publication, and we will therefore confine ourselves here to a few general comments regarding the archaeological context of this material.

Although sporadic Geometric sherds occurred in later levels over much of the site, the greatest concentration of them lay on the Lower Terrace at the base of the Classical stairway in I:20 and generally west of the stairway and south of the Archaic retaining wall for the road in I-K:14–19. Pure Geometric layers were rarely isolated, for in general the Geometric sherds were mixed either with Mycenaean or with one or more Classical pieces. No stratigraphic sequence of accumulated earth was found. In most cases the earth in which the pottery lay was simply the same red gravelly earth that is virgin soil across the entire hillside, in other words, the earth into which Grave 1972-8 was dug.¹³

¹¹ C-72-115, lot 72-113, bone lot 72-7. The grave is described in Bookidis and Fisher 1974, p. 286 and will be reconsidered in a separate study by Christopher Pfaff. Unfortunately, the bones were extremely friable and disintegrated largely during cleaning. The remaining teeth showed heavy wear. We thank Ethne Barnes for her analysis of the bones that do survive. Moreover, according to her, the isolated fragments of burnt bone do not appear to be human.

¹² We thank Christopher Pfaff for sharing the results of his study with us.

¹³ Although we experimented with a variety of methods for isolating these earlier fills, it was virtually impossible to separate them from subsequent depositions. Thus later sherds were generally present. Does this mean that this earth was, in fact, laid down in Late Archaic and Classical times? We believe not, for Mycenaean and Geometric pottery invariably predominated in the red gravelly stratum in this part of the Sanctuary.

Only in one area was this situation somewhat different. Tests made north of the stairway in I:20 exposed a series of tipped fills, which were deposited there at the time of the stairway's construction at the end of the 5th century B.C. These contained a substantial amount of early pottery. Directly over bedrock lay the usual gravelly red earth, together with pottery ranging in type from LH IIIC through Early to Late Geometric, Protocorinthian, and possibly later (lots 6936, 6941). This stratum, in turn, was covered by a thick layer of debris consisting of burnt mud brick and ash mixed with earth; again, a similar range of material was observed from LH IIIC through the Protocorinthian period, the latest sherds extending into the 5th century B.C. (lots 6937, 6940). Tempting as it is to attribute the mud brick to Geometric structures, we can draw no such conclusions with any certainty, since later sherds were always present.

The area west of the stairway and south of the road that formed the northern boundary of the Sanctuary was the only part of the site that was free of Classical and later structures at the time of excavation, because these had been almost wholly destroyed in antiquity (Plans 3–5). As a result, the earliest levels here could be investigated more extensively. These investigations have revealed evidence of a persistent and long use of the site. If the area was used initially as a place of habitation, as suggested by the graves, its function soon changed. In 1984 Kilian-Dirlmeier included in her study of bronze pins seven from the Sanctuary, then thought to be the earliest examples from the site.¹⁴ Although the types they represented continued in use down to the late 7th century B.C., these pins raised the possibility of dedications as early as the end of the 8th or early 7th century B.C. Through Christopher Pfaff's intensive examination of the Geometric material, more examples of early bronze jewelry have been found.¹⁵ The fifteen or sixteen bronze dress-pins,¹⁶ two finger rings,¹⁷ seven bow fibulae, and an eighth of Attico-Boiotian type¹⁸ may be the earliest tangible votive offerings on the site. While some of these jewelry types were long lived, at least seven of the Sanctuary pins and one finger ring find parallels in Corinthian graves in the Early and Middle Geometric periods;¹⁹ three pins are dated no later than the Middle

¹⁴ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, nos. 2190, 2193, 3389, 3455, 3472, 3518, 3522.

¹⁵ These will be discussed briefly by Pfaff in his forthcoming publication of the Geometric pottery, and they will be published more extensively in a future fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*, together with the other miscellaneous finds.

¹⁶ In accordance with the typology and chronology of Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, the pins are as follows: type IB, Early to Middle Geometric (pp. 90–92), MF-14212 and MF-14220 A–B, representing two pins; type IIE/III A2, Middle Geometric II to the Orientalizing period (pp. 107–113), MF-14209, MF-68-381, MF-70-269, MF-70-270, but attested at Corinth in Middle Geometric II; type XVII B, Late Geometric (pp. 139–145), MF-14213, MF-70-213; type A2, Late Geometric to the end of the 7th century B.C. (pp. 200–203), MF-71-266, MF-73-35 (published as Kilian-Dirlmeier nos. 2190, 2193); type with rolled head, Early Geometric to Classical periods (pp. 206–207), MF-13191 (Kilian-Dirlmeier no. 3389), MF-14215, MF-14216, MF-70-271, and possibly one more in lot 1985.

In addition, torrential rains in 1997 cut through the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore as well as the hillside below, washing up another bronze pin beside the Turkish fountain of Hadji Mustafa. This pin, MF-97-1, corresponds to Kilian-Dirlmeier type IB. While there is no way of knowing whether it could have come from the Sanctuary, such a provenance is certainly possible for, as yet, only late graves have been found on the lower slope of Acrocorinth, nor has any other sanctuary yet been located in the immediate region.

¹⁷ The first of these, MF-13199, is a broad band with angular profile. For parallels see *Corinth XII*, no. 1808, pp. 227, 233, fig. 40, pl. 102, and N. Verdalis, "Gräber in Tiryns," *AM* 78, 1963 [pp. 1–62], p. 7, type B. A second finger ring, MF-12051, consisting of a flat cast band, decorated with two incised lines, is less easily dated but is probably also early.

¹⁸ MF-13181, MF-14210, MF-14211, MF-14219, MF-68-380. A sixth example, MF-73-83, has a broader bow. A seventh, MF-69-405, consisting of an incised bow, is less certainly identified as a fibula, since both coil and catch plate are missing. Of interest is the fact that it is noticeably larger than the other fibulae. The Attico-Boiotian example is MF-70-210.

¹⁹ See the graves at Athikia, dated to Middle Geometric I, in P. Lawrence, "Five Grave Groups from the Corinthia," *Hesperia* 33, 1964 [pp. 89–107], pp. 91–93, A1–A16; at Klenia in S. Charitonides, "A Geometric Grave at Clenia in Corinthia," *AJA* 59, 1955, pp. 125–128, pl. 40; the Middle Geometric II graves around the Bema, C. H. Morgan II,

Geometric period by Kilian-Dirlmeier, and a bow fibula is attested at Corinth in a grave of the Sub-Mycenaean period.²⁰ Two more pins from the Sanctuary may be dated to the Late Geometric period, followed by a long series of eighty or more pins that extends from the late 8th down into the 5th century B.C.

These pieces, then, are early enough in date to permit the inference that they stand at the beginning of the practice of dedicating jewelry in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. In our view their frequency and variety indicate that dedications were being made on the site by the second half of the 8th century B.C. and quite possibly earlier yet. This conclusion gains further strength when the material is compared with that from Perachora. Although the number of pins, in particular, is far greater at Perachora, none of the bronzes there need be earlier than those from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.²¹

That worship in the beginning may have been restricted in scale, however, is suggested by the declining amount of pottery in the late 8th and very early 7th centuries B.C. While some of the Geometric pottery may have been votive, in particular, small broad-bottomed oinochoai of the Late Geometric or Early Protocorinthian period, the vocabulary of miniature ceramic dedications was not established until the third quarter of the 7th century B.C. To the same general period also belong the earliest terracotta figurines, a century or more after the earliest bronze dedications. The earliest deposit of votive miniatures contained thirty-nine kalathiskoi, eight kotyliskoi, and two small oinochoai.²² Although all three shapes remained extremely popular, the kalathiskos dominated the votive offerings until the end of the 4th century B.C. Despite these early votive offerings, however, no architectural remains can be attributed to this earliest phase of the Sanctuary, with the possible exception of a combination roof tile, which closely resembles the roof tiles of the earliest Temple of Apollo.²³

"Excavations at Corinth, 1936-37," *AJA* 41, 1937 [pp. 539-552], pp. 543-545, and *Corinth* XII, p. 233, nos. 1808, 1809, pp. 280-281, nos. 2258-2262; graves 16 and 17 of the North Cemetery, *Corinth* XIII, pp. 22-26; a grave in the Potters' Quarter of Corinth, *Corinth* XV, i, no. 40, p. 122, there dated to the Late Geometric period, but possibly Middle Geometric II; and an Early Geometric grave from Zygouries, C. W. Blegen, *Zygouries*, Cambridge, Mass. 1928, p. 208, fig. 199.

²⁰ C. K. Williams II, "Corinth, 1969: Forum Area," *Hesperia* 39, 1970 [pp. 1-39], nos. 10-13, pp. 14-15, pl. 5. These early examples, however, are larger than the typical Sanctuary type, excepting MF-69-405, for they measure 0.05-0.06 m. in length as compared with the more common 0.03 m. for Sanctuary fibulae. In addition, a fibula is mentioned from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth, *Corinth* III, i, p. 28.

²¹ Of interest here is Payne's statement (*Perachora* I, p. 169) regarding the paucity of bow fibulae in the Hera Limenaia deposits. He suggests that the form may have been almost superseded by the mid-8th century B.C., although it is attested elsewhere at a later date.

In addition to Perachora, useful parallels can also be found in other early sanctuaries. See, for example, C. W. Blegen, "Prosymna: Remains of Post-Mycenaean Date," *AJA* 43, 1939 [pp. 410-444], pp. 412-414, fig. 4, for bow fibulae, or C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, II, *Fouilles de l'Acropole, 1902-1914: Les petits objets*, Berlin 1931, nos. 93-94, p. 85, pl. 7, where 97 such fibulae are recorded.

²² *Corinth* XVIII, i, Group I, pp. 79-81.

²³ Chapter 16, 68.

THE LOWER TERRACE IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

(Plans 1, 3)

H-O:11-27

THE ROADWAY (Plans 1, 3-6)

The road that gave access to the Sanctuary from the lower slopes of Acrocorinth has been traced for a distance of some forty meters, beginning in H:21 and ending in K:12. Northeast of H:21 the road surface was close to the present ground level and has therefore been destroyed, while K:12 marks the western limits of our explorations.

A row of Classical buildings bounds the roadway on the north for most of its length, and a terrace wall limits it on the south (Pls. 2, 3:b, 4). Its surface consists of a thin layer of clay over a packing of red gravelly earth. The road so defined is 2.30-2.40 m. wide and ascends the hillside in a gradient of 1 in 10. Although the road was used enough that three successive road surfaces had to be laid, each of them was extremely soft, without evidence of wheel ruts or of packing from heavy traffic.¹ We conclude that this road was not the main approach to Acrocorinth but a subsidiary route servicing this Sanctuary and possibly others. The main road should be sought further down the hillside to the north.

The earliest road surface can be dated to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 5th century B.C. on the basis of pottery found in the lowest packing (lots 7158, 72-109).² Tests to bedrock produced neither signs of earlier surfaces nor marks of traffic on bedrock. If an earlier road did follow the line of the existing one, as seems likely, no traces of that earlier road have been found. The means of approach to the Sanctuary before *ca.* 500 B.C. therefore remains conjectural.

For nearly seventy-five years the late-6th-century B.C. road was used with little attested modification. Then 0.20 m. of fresh gravelly red earth and a new surface of clay was laid over the old one, probably in conjunction with the construction of several buildings along the north side of the road, such as Building I-J:15. Pottery from this road packing dates to the second half of the 5th century B.C. (lots 72-107, 72-108). To about this same period also belongs a major remodeling of the entrance system and laying of a monumental stairway, discussed below in Chapter 5.

The road was repaired again in the late 4th century B.C. when the construction of Building I-J:14 cut deeply into its surface. This building appears in the lower right corner of the photograph on Plate 4:a. At this time the main entrance to the Sanctuary was remodeled once more. After the late 4th century B.C. no evidence for subsequent repairs was noted. A Sikyonian bronze coin, 71-526, from the time of Demetrios Poliorketes, found on the road near the entrance, belongs to the last preserved use level. Above this level were surface fills of mixed date. Nevertheless, since nothing was built over it, the road probably continued to serve the Sanctuary throughout Hellenistic times. Whether it was also used in Roman times is unclear.

With the earliest, late-6th-century B.C. road surface we can associate the terrace wall to the south (Pl. 2). The wall exhibits a variety of masonry styles and was probably rebuilt several times.

¹ It is unlikely that wheel ruts and compressed road surfaces would have been softened with time or washed away by rains. In the city below, wheeled traffic created surfaces hard enough to break the points of modern pickaxes. For such roads, see Williams 1978, pp. 12-15.

² For the meaning of the word "lot," see p. 14, note 7 above.

Because we cannot, however, date these phases, we shall describe the wall as a whole, beginning at its northeast end and working to the west.

At its preserved northeast end in H:21 (Plan 1) the wall consists of a single row of large fieldstones packed with small stones and stands to a height of only one course. It curves up to and stops against a large threshold block in H–I:20 that formed the entrance to the Sanctuary in the 4th century B.C. The wall then breaks off for *ca.* 1.50 m. to resume further to the west in I:19 (Pl. 5, lower right). Here, large boulders 0.50–1.00 m. long form the north face; large fieldstones are packed behind them to give a total thickness of *ca.* 2.00 m. It is not clear, however, whether all of this packing belongs to the retaining wall, or whether the southern portion is a remnant of the Mycenaean terrace wall that was simply faced with stone in Archaic times. The latter possibility is suggested by the thinness of the wall further to the west (Pl. 4:b). This stretch of wall extends for a length of 8.25 m. and is 0.50–0.60 m. high. Further west in I–J:17 the wall diminishes in thickness to 1.30 m. (Pl. 4:c); occasional cut limestone slabs fill out the packing of smaller fieldstones, part of which belongs to the Mycenaean terrace wall (Chapter 2 above). The face is set back 0.30 m. in the southwest corner of J:15, the wall shrinking to a thickness of 0.68 m.; from there its otherwise irregular line becomes straight for a distance of 3.60 m. to K:14, presumably a later repair. In J–K:12 the terrace wall had been almost entirely destroyed.

Some damage was done to the terrace wall in the 4th century after Christ when a large pit in I:18–19 destroyed part of the wall and the 4th-century B.C. road surface in front of it (Pl. 2, foreground). This disturbance produced not only Late Roman pottery but also two bronze coins, one, 71-523, dated to A.D. 325–326, the second, 72-437, from the time of Constantius II (A.D. 341–346). It may also indicate that by this time, if not earlier, the road had ceased to function as the main access to the site. In mediaeval and modern times a road to Acrocorinth lay on the next terrace to the north, as attested by the Turkish *kalderim*, which was used into recent times until the cutting of a modern automobile road in 1954.³

ENTRANCES TO THE SANCTUARY

Although an entrance to the Sanctuary must have been built together with the road and terrace wall in the late 6th century B.C., it has disappeared without a trace. The earliest evidence for an entrance system belongs to the late 5th century B.C., when a monumental stairway was laid down on a north–south line in the center of the Sanctuary in J–O:20 (Pl. 5). North of its lowest step a clay surface continued the line of the stairway down to the roadway in H:20. While the entrance through the terrace wall is not preserved at this point, it probably resembled its 4th-century B.C. successor, which does exist, namely, an opening provided with a stone threshold block. Pottery from beneath the clay surface indicates that it was laid down no earlier than the end of the 5th century B.C. (lot 6935).

The extant entranceway, which can be associated with the raising of the road in the late 4th century B.C., consists of an opening in the terrace wall 1.31 m. wide. In the opening stands a large, irregularly shaped block, 1.31 m. long and 0.85 m. wide, visible in the foreground in Plate 5. Its upper surface lies *ca.* 0.20 m. above the contemporary road to the north of it. The absence of cuttings in the block for either a door sill or pivot hole and the lack of separate door shoes built against the block indicate that there never was a door leaf here but simply an opening in the wall.⁴

Against the west face of the threshold block a large boulder is separated by a gap of 1.50 m. from the continuation of the temenos wall in I:19 (Pl. 5). Because the boulder resembles the

³ See *Corinth III*, ii, p. 162, and pp. 6–7 above.

⁴ A circular cutting near the southeast corner of the threshold is of later date and cannot have served as a pivot hole.

kind of large stones used in the western extension of the temenos wall, we infer that the wall probably once ran up to the west side of the block.

Another feature appears in conjunction with the entranceway and the road. Set against the north face of the temenos wall, where it resumes in I:19, is a large limestone block, 0.85 m. square and 0.75 m. high as preserved. Its top is destroyed, and its two north corners are rounded (Pl. 5, lower right corner). Projecting conspicuously into the road, the block must have marked the main entrance into the Sanctuary and may once have been inscribed, although no letters were noted on the extant portions.

This marker may well have replaced an inscribed boundary stone found a short distance away in H:19 in a position of reuse on the north side of the roadway.⁵ Inscribed with the letters OP, the block lay lengthwise on the ground with its inscribed face up (Pl. 6:d). It was placed in this position in the second half of the 4th century B.C., when it was incorporated into a building on the north side of the road, now represented by two wall stubs.⁶ In its original use, however, the stone must have stood upright so that its inscription was clearly visible to those passing by. Two more such stones were found in their original positions within the Sanctuary in L:19 and N:19 (p. 200 below) and they illustrate the way in which these boundary markers were intended to be used. A similar stone marker bearing the abbreviated inscription OP was found on the surface before excavations began; see page 9, note 31 above (I-2541).

A smaller, secondary entrance also existed *ca.* 30.00 m. to the west of the main entrance, in the straight section of temenos wall mentioned earlier in K:14 (Pl. 6:e). Three steps, each 0.67 to 0.88 m. wide, 0.20 m. high, and *ca.* 0.30 m. deep, give direct access from the road to the lowest dining terraces within the western half of the temenos. The steps are built of single limestone slabs with cheek walls of additional limestone slabs and fieldstones. They are laid over a two-coursed foundation set 0.05 m. out from the face of the lowest tread. As in the main entrance, there is no door, no indication that the steps could be closed off or that entry was in any way restricted by the preserved architectural features. To facilitate access to the steps from the road, which lay *ca.* 0.30–0.40 m. below the first tread, a low bank of clay was built up in front of the steps to a height of *ca.* 0.10 m. below the lowest step. Excavation of this clay bank produced pottery of the middle of the 5th century B.C. Below the base of the foundation and just above bedrock lay the earliest road. From the time of its construction in the middle or second half of the 5th century B.C. the small entrance apparently provided access to the Lower Terrace as long as the road continued in use.

THE LOWER TERRACE: BEGINNINGS

Whereas the first dedications that can be associated with the Sanctuary go back, at least, to the late 8th century B.C., the earliest architectural remains on the Lower Terrace are later. Only one meager element records what might have been formal settings for cult practices before the Late Archaic period.⁷

A stretch of wall, 4.10–4.85 m. long and 0.50 m. thick, runs east–west through the middle of N:24–25 (Plan 1). Preserved to a height of one or two courses above stereo, the wall is a substantial one. Its north face consists of aligned fieldstones 0.30–0.35 m. long, while smaller stones are packed as filler along the south against the sloping bedrock. A large, roughly flattened

⁵ I-71-84: H. 0.97, W. 0.32, Th. 0.27 m. The inscriptions will be published separately.

⁶ For the pottery from the associated stratum, see lot 6942.

⁷ An antefix of the very late 7th or beginning of the 6th century B.C. was found in Late Roman debris in L–N:20. Since it is more in keeping with the kind of building that would have stood on the Middle Terrace, it will be discussed below (p. 54 and Chapter 16, 69).

stone, 0.50 m. square, forms the wall's western end. Although nothing more is preserved of the structure to which this wall belonged, it was undoubtedly designed to retain a considerable amount of fill to the south and may well have belonged to a predecessor of the dining room N-O:24-25 that succeeded it. When Building N-O:24-25 was constructed in the third or early fourth quarter of the 6th century B.C. (lot 73-135), the earlier wall was covered with a layer of red earth and was replaced by a new one further to the north. This layer also provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the wall.

This isolated wall in N:24-25 tells us very little about the earliest aspects of the Lower Terrace, and we can only hypothesize that the public dining attested there so extensively and uniformly by the end of the 6th century B.C. may have been practiced earlier but in a setting that remains undocumented. Also suggestive of this is the presence of cooking ware and bones with butchering marks in the construction fills of the earliest identifiable dining halls.⁸

A major building program in the second half of the 6th century B.C. transformed the Lower Terrace. From this time on, if not earlier, this portion of the Sanctuary was reserved for communal dining. Thus the history of the Lower Terrace is simultaneously a history of the dining hall on the site. It is also in the second half of the 6th century B.C. that the earliest attested road was laid together with the retaining wall to the south of it, and at least fifteen dining complexes were constructed on the sloping hillside to the south of the wall.⁹ These were organized in rows across the breadth of the hillside. Owing to the contours of the slope, these rows are not uniform across the site but break along the line of the later stairway.

DINING ROOMS

Although we will summarize the characteristics of the Sanctuary dining room in Chapter 14, a few introductory words may help the reader to understand the descriptions that follow. The dining room that is typical of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore differs considerably from the large public dining hall known from other sites such as Perachora or the Argive Heraion.¹⁰ It is small and encloses no more than nine couches, with seven to eight being most common. In the Archaic period these rooms can either stand alone, like Building N-O:25-26, or share party walls, like the six contiguous rooms that make up Building M-N:20-26. In either case the internal features remain the same.

The façades are simple: there are no colonnades or porches; one enters directly into the dining room by means of a door, which can be either off-center or approximately axial. In only a few cases does this main entrance occur in a room other than a dining room.¹¹

Throughout, we use the term "banquette" to indicate the continuous platform in contrast to "couch," which designates a portion of that banquette reserved for one diner. Each room then is furnished with a continuous banquette, built of fieldstone retaining walls, earth packing, and clay plaster, broken only by the main entrance. This banquette averages 0.30-0.45 m. in height and 0.75-1.00 m. in width. Upon it individual couches are always marked off by contoured armrests, composed of a single row of fieldstones plastered with clay. Two couches along each

⁸ See note 24 below for a description of lot 6830. The subject of ritual dining will be treated in detail in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. Preliminary discussions can be found in Bookidis 1990 and 1993.

⁹ More buildings probably existed than are shown on Plan 3, for, in many cases, standing structures restricted the areas that could be investigated in depth.

¹⁰ For Perachora, see Tomlinson 1969a. For the West Building at the Argive Heraion, see Waldstein 1902, pp. 131-134; Miller 1973; and Coulton 1976, pp. 103-105, there dated to the 6th century B.C.

¹¹ The main entrance to the Hellenistic Building L-M:28 and possibly also to N:28 opened into the kitchen. There are, however, no such examples before the late 4th century B.C.

wall are usual, but occasionally three occur. The couches vary considerably in length, not only from building to building but also within a given room. Because very few armrests are preserved in the Archaic buildings, the couch lengths must, in most cases, be estimated simply by dividing in two the length of a wall, less the width of one couch.¹²

That such a division into equal lengths was not necessarily the rule is indicated by the two complete couch lengths known for the east side of Building N–O:25–26. These are, respectively, 1.45 and 1.65 m. The difference between the two, *ca.* 0.20 m., is about equal to the thickness of one armrest. Such a difference in lengths of adjacent couches is also apparent in Hellenistic times when more armrests are preserved.¹³ It suggests that when two adjacent couches were created, the armrest for the second couch was cut into the foot of the preceding couch. Why such a system should have been devised is unclear, and no attempt has been made to reconstruct such dimensions when they are not actually preserved. We have distinguished between complete and restored dimensions both in the text and in tables summarizing those dimensions in Appendix I to Chapter 14 by marking those that are complete with an asterisk.

One of the peculiarities of the Sanctuary dining rooms is the frequent occurrence of a banquette of extremely short length to one side of the entrance. This odd unit is of varying dimensions but can be as short as 0.40 m., as in the 5th-century B.C. Building K:23. It is never set off by an armrest. While it may seem to be the result of careless planning, it occurs too often to be entirely random. For want of a proper term we have called such units a “half-couch,” and we discuss them more fully in Chapter 14. Because it is not divided in any way from the adjacent banquette, we have not marked it off in the restored drawings of each room.

Many of the Archaic buildings also feature a low podium or dais built out from the base of the banquette (Pls. 21:c, 23:a). Like the couches, they are built of earth retained by a single line of stones and are surfaced with clay. Averaging 0.10 m. high and 0.25–0.30 m. wide, they can reach as great a width as 0.40–0.80 m. Additional furniture, such as tables, must have been portable, for evidence for them was found in only one building of this period.¹⁴ Similarly, no trace of cooking was found in any of these early buildings, except possibly in Room 1 of Building M–N:20–26, where burning was noted in one corner of the floor.

The amount of pottery and miscellaneous finds recovered from the dining rooms was relatively slight, when compared with the masses of well-preserved material concentrated on the Middle and Upper Terraces. A persistent problem of interpretation is the relation between a specific building and the objects found within it. At first glance one might say that the pottery and other objects found within a building belong to its furnishings, for the pottery shapes found within the dining halls are those that were undoubtedly used for dining, namely, drinking cups, bowls, saucers, plates, coarse and cooking ware (Pl. 65). But more abundant than these, in the Archaic period, are the votive miniatures, and with them occasional fragments of terracotta figurines of the types that appear in overwhelming amounts on the Middle Terrace. Since it is clear, by sheer quantity, that both the votive miniatures and the figurines were offered on the Middle and perhaps also the Upper Terrace, it is unlikely that they were used in the dining rooms. The material found within the dining halls is also quite fragmentary, in contrast to that on the Middle and Upper Terraces, complete profiles being rare. We therefore assume that when a dining room was to be abandoned, the majority of its table wares was removed (at least, the whole vessels), and earth containing discarded sherds and votive debris was brought in as filling. Such an explanation better

¹² Miller (1978, Appendix B, pp. 219–224) formulates principles governing the restoration of dining couches in a given room.

¹³ See Building K–L:21–22, Room 7, in which all of the armrests are preserved (Chapter 7 below).

¹⁴ See Building N–O:25–26 below. Two are known from the 5th century B.C., namely, Buildings J–L:21 and L:26–27.

suits the considerable chronological range reflected in much of the debris within the buildings as well as the cross-joins found between widely separated sherds.

Because of the predominance of votive miniatures in these early levels, it is difficult to determine the chronological relation of one building to another. For this reason, the description of the buildings on the Lower Terrace has been organized topographically within each major period, rather than chronologically. We shall therefore begin our description at the north and, assuming that an entrance in the Archaic period stood somewhere near the later Classical one in H-I:20, proceed up the hillside from the road first to the east of that entrance and then to the west. Although no predecessor has been found to the monumental stairway that dominated the center of the Sanctuary in the late 5th century B.C., an earlier path of packed earth could have existed beneath the western half of it. This area, that is, the western half of J-O:20, seems to have been respected by buildings to east and west of it.

Finally, with regard to the nomenclature assigned to the individual buildings, we have used the grid coordinates in which part or all of a building is located, such as L:23. In the case of some large buildings of Hellenistic date, which extend across five and six grid squares, we have simplified the designation by picking out one or two grids that are wholly covered by that building only. Thus, N:28 is the name given to the structure that actually extends across some part of grid squares M-O:27-29 but all of N:28. A similar contraction has been given to Buildings L:28, K-L:21-22, and M:16-17. A further problem is caused by the long life of the Sanctuary, during which a number of the dining halls were rebuilt several times. Because of the way in which individual buildings lost or annexed rooms, it became impossible to use a single consistent name for certain buildings from their first construction to their final abandonment. For example, the long complex M-N:20-26 comprised six rooms in the late 6th century B.C. In the late 5th century B.C. Rooms 5 and 6 were covered by a separate, freestanding building, while the remaining four rooms were remodeled as a separate unit. Thus in the late 5th century B.C. we must speak of Building M-N:20-24, comprising Rooms 1 to 4, and Building M-N:25-26, which covered Rooms 5 and 6. Comparison of the various period plans should make these changes and relations clear.

BUILDING L:23 (INCOMPLETE) (Fig. 1; Plan 1)

Two walls forming the northeast corner of a building in L:23 on Row 1 are all that remain of the northernmost structure, or perhaps row of structures, known on the Lower Terrace. Despite its very poor state of preservation, its presence is important to our understanding of the size of the Archaic Sanctuary. Its eastern end can be seen in the center of the right edge of Plate 16:a, to the right of Building K-L:23-24.

The building is preserved for 1.10 m. along its north side and 1.30 m. along its east side. Its walls differ in construction from most of the Archaic structures examined, for they are about 0.55 m. thick and are built of densely packed, fist-sized stones. In these respects they resemble the north-south party wall of Building N-O:18-19 below. The north wall has only one good face (the north), for it is built into the sloping hillside. Whether both walls simply formed the socles for superstructures with two good faces is unknown.

Nothing was found within the building in the way of furnishings or floor, since so little of it was preserved. Its date of construction, in the second half of the 6th century B.C., is given by pottery recovered from a red gravelly construction fill retained by the two walls (Fig. 1, stratum 11). Its abandonment by the mid-5th century B.C. is shown by the layer of earth and gravel that covered the north wall (Fig. 1, stratum 10: lot 73-102). The layer over bedrock north of this building was Mycenaean in date (Fig. 1, stratum 8).¹⁵

¹⁵ Included with the Classical pottery of lot 73-102 were one fragment of an Early Roman lamp Broneer type XVI and two pieces of Roman blown glass. See Rutter 1979, pp. 386-388, for a description of the Mycenaean remains from this area.

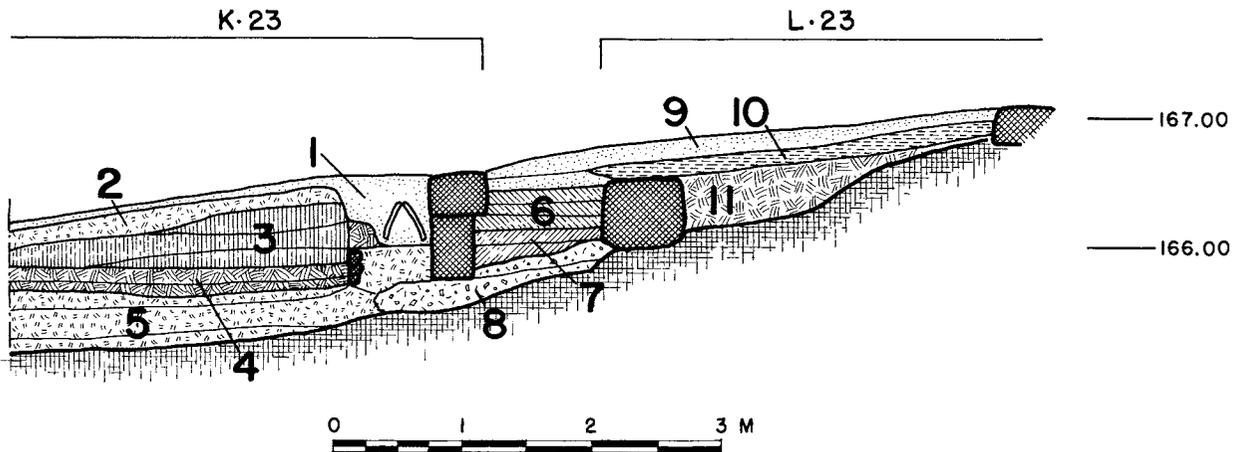


FIG. 1. Section: Buildings K:23 and L:23, looking east

[1] Grave 18; [2] Roman filling; [3] K:23: abandonment (lot 73-121); [4] K:23: phase 2, raising of floor, couch (lot 73-120); [5] K:23: phase 1, packing beneath floor (lot 73-119); [6] K:23: phase 2, construction packing (lot 73-124); [7] K:23: phase 1, construction packing (lot 73-123); [8] Mycenaean stratum (lot 73-122); [9] Roman filling; [10] L:23: abandonment (lot 73-102); [11] L:23: construction packing

BUILDING M-N:20-26: SIX DINING ROOMS (Figs. 2, 3)

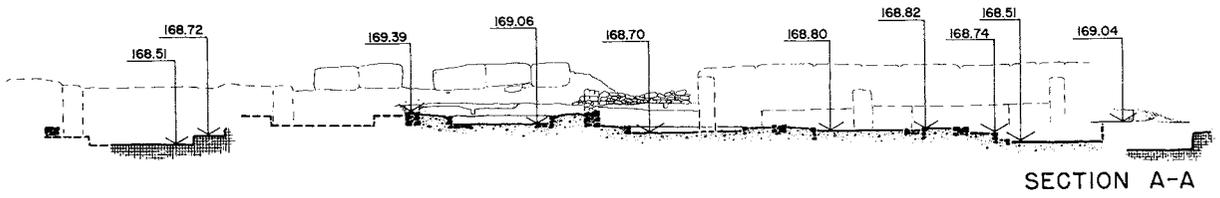
Row 2 to the south of Building L:23 is given over entirely to Building M-N:20-26, a long, narrow structure comprising six adjoining dining rooms drawn up in an east-west line. Equipped with its own entrance, each room opens onto a walkway, which extends the length of the building. Although the north side of this passage has been modified by later building, it was originally at least 0.80 m. wide, was surfaced with earth and clay, and had no provisions for the drainage of water from the neighboring roofs. A similar passage separates Rows 2 and 3 below.¹⁶

For convenience the dining rooms are numbered 1 to 6 from west to east. Because the 5th-century B.C. stairway and the 4th-century B.C. Building M:21-22 cover Rooms 1, 2, and part of 3, and Building M-N:25-26 covers Rooms 5 and 6, investigations of these areas were confined to tests beneath the later floors. Room 4 and the east half of 3 were unencumbered, however, and could therefore be fully excavated.¹⁷ Since the building is unusual in plan and important as an example of the earliest stage in the development of the Sanctuary dining room, it is described below in some detail.

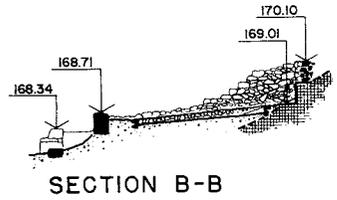
Building M-N:20-26 is approximately 29.40 m. long from east to west and 4.75-5.50 m. wide from north to south. Its orientation, just 12 degrees east of north, is that generally followed by all the buildings in the eastern half of the site. Like most of the Sanctuary structures, Building M-N:20-26 is cut deeply into the sloping hillside. As a result, a tall embankment protects its southern half, while the exposed northern half is eroded away. This condition is most evident in Room 3, the south wall of which stands to a height of 1.30 m. above floor level (Pl. 6:a), the north wall to a height of only 0.30 m. Because of the building's setting in the hillside, the bottom of the south wall and of the southern end of each crosswall consists of cut bedrock. Thus the location of these walls can be determined even where the superstructure has been lost. Such is not

¹⁶ The building was first published in Bookidis and Fisher 1974, p. 272, fig. 2. Its plan has been modified slightly since then. Unfortunately, some information about this building was lost in the fire that destroyed the excavation house.

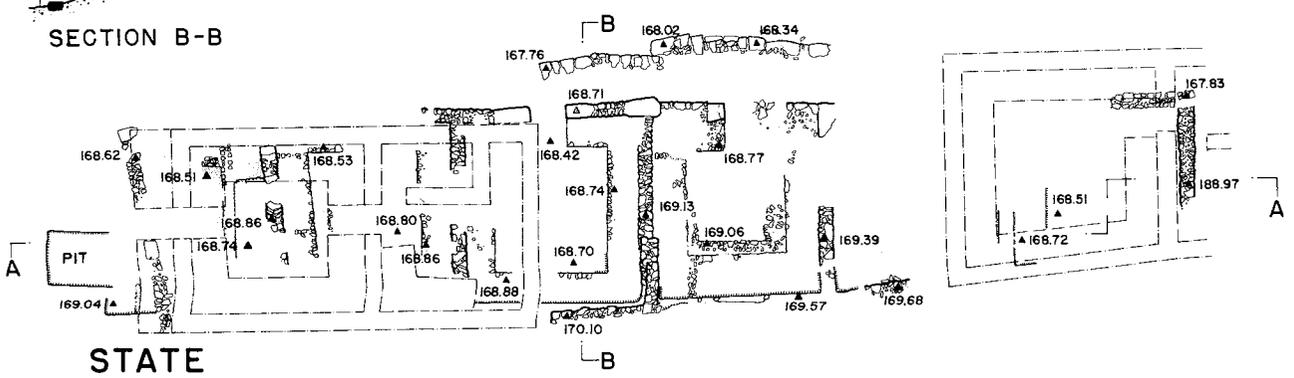
¹⁷ In the state plan, Figure 2, the outlines of the later buildings are dotted over the earlier remains. Because the rooms were uncovered, for the most part, by means of small tests beneath later buildings, no comprehensive photographs of the earlier building could be taken.



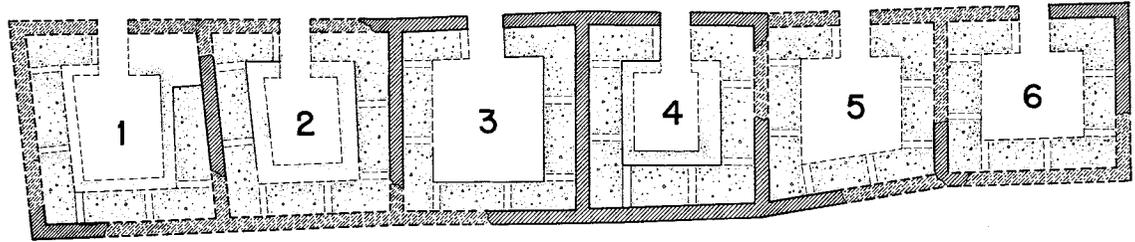
SECTION A-A



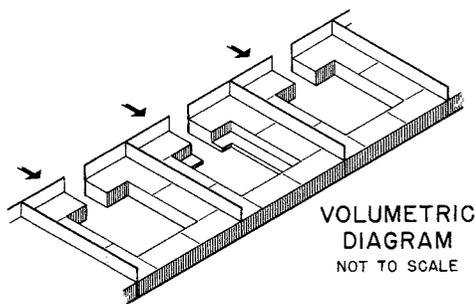
SECTION B-B



STATE



RESTORED



VOLUMETRIC DIAGRAM
NOT TO SCALE

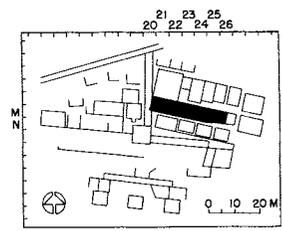


FIG. 2. Plan: Building M-N:20-26

the case on the north side, where the walls, which are built on deep rubble foundations, have suffered from erosion.

The plan of the building is further complicated by several remodelings made over the long period of its use. Since much of the exposed portion consists solely of the rock cuttings, it has not always been possible to sort out the phases. Of necessity, such cuttings have been described as part of the original construction unless positive evidence exists to the contrary. We describe the exterior walls from west to east, working counterclockwise (see state plan, Fig. 2), then describe the interior of each room in turn.

Nearly all traces of the west exterior wall of Building M-N:20-26 were removed when landing 4 of the late-5th-century B.C. stairway was built. Remains are confined to a rock-cut bedding belonging to the southernmost 0.47 m. of the wall; the line for its east face appears in Figure 2 beside the elevation mark +169.04 m. The cutting is also visible in Plate 6:b south of the landing block.

The bedding for the south wall extends *ca.* 1.60 m. east from this corner, then disappears beneath a rubble wall of late-5th-century B.C. date that is the west exterior wall of this building in phase 2 (pp. 122-123 below). Beyond that point the bedding is covered by the south wall of the Hellenistic Building M:21-22, which was built directly on it.¹⁸ East of the Hellenistic building part of the stone fabric of the 0.45 m.-thick Archaic wall survives for a distance of 4.40 m. Here at the back of Room 3 the rock-cut bedding, 0.40 m. high, supports large fieldstones and occasional pieces of cut limestone, laid in two rows, to a height of 1.30 m. above floor level (Pl. 6:a). Although the stone-built portion of the wall breaks off at the crosswall between Rooms 3 and 4, the bedding can be followed to the east for *ca.* 4.85 m., or to just beyond the southwest corner of Room 5. Thereafter, its course is obscured by fieldstones, which may or may not represent part of the fabric of the wall, and by the Hellenistic Building M-N:25-26, which covers part of Room 5 and all of Room 6. Nevertheless, tests beneath the southwest corner of that structure revealed part of the bedding for the crosswall between Rooms 5 and 6 and a small portion of the bedding for the south wall just east of it. The first bedding appears in Figures 2 and 18 and in Plate 8:a just in front of the later south couch of Building M-N:25-26.

The east wall of Building M-N:20-26 is 0.45 m. wide and 2.55 m. long as preserved. It is built of fieldstones averaging 0.15 to 0.20 m. long, laid in two rows. Its southern end was destroyed by the breccia wall that divides Rooms 1 and 2 of the later Building M-N:25-26. Both walls are visible in Plates 8:a and 8:b, the earlier one to the left of the breccia wall.¹⁹

The north wall is not preserved in its entirety, although its position is secure. It can be followed for 1.70 m. from the northeast corner of the building (Pl. 8:a, lower left corner), here standing to 0.70 m. below interior floor level. It resumes again 7.80 m. further west along the north side of Rooms 4 and 3. From that point the wall survives for 11.00 m., varying in height from floor level to 0.30 m. above the floor. The rubble construction of the south wall is reinforced here on the north with large, roughly squared blocks of limestone equal to the thickness of the wall. Such blocks form the lowest courses of the door jambs for Rooms 3 and 4. They also occur at junctures with the interior crosswalls between Rooms 3 and 4, 4 and 5, but not between Rooms 2 and 3. There the north wall continues the party wall construction of small, closely packed stones. Just beyond Room 2 the wall breaks off, the rest of it having been removed by later constructions.

The party walls that divide the rooms resemble the exterior walls just described except that they are slightly thinner (0.40 m. thick) and occasionally incorporate large, flat stones as headers.

¹⁸ The early socle is apparent behind the hearth in Room 2 of Building M:21-22 just south of the elevation mark +168.88 in Figure 2; only here is the base of the later wall not masked by dining couches.

¹⁹ In the later 5th century B.C. Room 6 was apparently detached from Building M-N:20-26 and, together with an additional room to the east, was made part of a separate structure, Building M-N:25-26 (Chapter 5 below).

This construction is best exemplified by the wall between Rooms 3 and 4, which is preserved for its entire length to a height that varies from 0.20 (north) to nearly 1.50 (south) m. above floor level (Pl. 6:a, c). For the most part, however, the party walls are preserved to just a few centimeters above floor level and are generally broken for some part of their lengths by later constructions; only the wall between Rooms 5 and 6 has been totally dismantled to its rock-cut bedding.

Dining Room 1

Room 1, the westernmost of the six, is *ca.* 4.50 m. east–west wide by *ca.* 5.00–5.10 m. long north–south. Its entrance is not preserved but has been restored on the north side on the analogy of Rooms 2, 3, and 4. That the door could not have been on the west side is shown by the fact that bedrock on that side is considerably higher than the interior floor. Within the room evidence for banquettes was found in the southwest corner and along the east side. In the southwest corner a strip of clay 0.15 m. thick extends 0.85 m. north from the inner face of the south wall. To either side of it is red earth packing (+169.04, top). Since its east face lies 0.90 m. from the west wall, the clay probably marks the armrest for the south couch no. 4 and also gives the approximate line of the west banquette face.

The east banquette is cut from bedrock and is *ca.* 0.92 m. wide. At a height of 0.23 m. above the lowest clay floor, its preserved surface (+168.74) still lies 0.30 m. below the banquette top in the southwest corner of the room; its bedrock core may therefore have been covered with earth and rubble, as in Room 2 to the east. The banquette does not run the entire length of the east wall but ends 3.55 m. from the south wall, or 1.45 m. from the restored north wall. A dais 0.26–0.32 m. wide, built of tiny stones and clay, lies at the base of the banquette; its original height is not preserved, but by analogy with those in other buildings this was probably no more than 0.10–0.20 m. The dais continues beyond the northern end of the banquette toward the north wall; another section turns west for 0.50 m. In this way it retains a broad surface of clay 1.05 m. wide that occupied the northeast corner of the room and was flush with the top of the dais. Although this surface would have been suitable for a hearth, no signs of burning were found on it; rather, evidence of burning was distinguished on the clay floor in the angle formed by the dais.

As the restoration in Figure 2 shows, six couches can be reconstructed. Beginning to the west of the entrance and working counterclockwise, their restored lengths are as follows:

| | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.85 m. |
| 2. West | 2.10 m. |
| 3. West | 2.10 m. |
| 4. South | 1.85 m. |
| 5. South | 1.85 m. |
| 6. East | 2.70 m. ²⁰ |

Two successive clay floors were noted, the earlier at +168.51 m., a second at +168.64 m. We could not expose enough of either floor, however, to determine its slope from south to north. The top of the south couch was preserved at an elevation of +169.04. This means that the couch would have been 0.53 m. high if used with the first floor. As Table 2, Appendix I in Chapter 14 shows, this would have been unusually high. It is possible that the clay armrest and red couch packing at that level belong with the later floor, for a total height of 0.40 m.

²⁰ Less likely are two very small couches of 1.35 m. each. When the exact dimensions of a couch are known, the number is marked by an asterisk, to distinguish it from those that are restored.

Dining Room 2

Better preserved, Room 2 underlies the eastern half of Room 1 and the western half of Room 2 of the later Building M:21–22. Two Late Roman graves, 23 and 24 on Plan 6, destroyed the northeast corner of the room as well as the floor in the northwest corner. Of about the same proportions as Room 1, Room 2 measures 4.40–4.65 m. wide east–west by an estimated 4.80–5.00 m. long north–south.

Despite the fact that the entrance was not found, it can be restored with some certainty at 1.75 m. from the northwest corner of the room, based on the disposition of the couches. The retaining wall for the banquette consists almost entirely of small stones except for one large stone 0.25 m. long, which lies 1.75 m. from the northwest corner of the room. This probably marks the head of the northwest couch 1 and presumably also the west side of the door passage leading to the missing door. Since the east and west walls of the room are sufficiently preserved to eliminate any possibility of doors on those sides, a north entrance is certain.

A test in the northwest corner of the room exposed the foundation of the retaining wall of the banquette to a depth of 0.34 m. below the first floor level, together with its packing of red, stereolike earth; its surface, however, was not preserved. As a result, although the banquette width of 0.76 m. survives, neither the heights nor the individual couch lengths are known except for couch 1 (marked by asterisk).²¹ We can restore seven and one-half couches with the following lengths, beginning to the west of the proposed entrance:

| | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.75 m.* |
| 2. West | 2.05 m. |
| 3. West | 2.05 m. |
| 4. South | 1.77 m. |
| 5. South | 1.77 m. |
| 6. East | 1.95 m. |
| 7. East | 1.95 m. |
| 8. Northeast | 1.20 m. (half) |

At the base of the west banquette are the foundations for a low dais 0.40 m. wide, similar in construction to that in Room 1. It has been restored around all sides of the room except for the door passage.

As in Room 1, two clay floors were noted here. The lower floor at +168.47 m., exposed only in the test in the northwest corner, is partially burned. The later floor slopes rather sharply from south (+168.80) to north (+168.56). Part of this difference may have been caused by settling of fills in the northern half where the floor fill is deeper, but some degree of sloping must have been intentional, as in Room 3, where a large part of the floor was uncovered.

Dining Room 3 (Pl. 6:a, c; Fig. 3)

Room 3 is 4.60 m. wide east–west by 4.80–4.95 m. long north–south. Its north entrance lies nearly on the axis of the room, or 1.90 m. from the interior northeast corner and 1.80 m. from the interior northwest corner of the room. The 0.87 m.-wide opening has no threshold block or pivot hole but is paved with clay, which is continuous with the clay floors both inside and outside the room. As we noted in our description of the north wall, both door jambs are made of large limestone blocks.

The retaining wall for the banquette is preserved throughout the room except in the northwestern quarter. Partly cut from bedrock and partly built with stones and red earth, the banquette

²¹ Several stones shown on the state plan may, in fact, mark the division between the two west couches. In the table an asterisk marks those dimensions that are preserved.

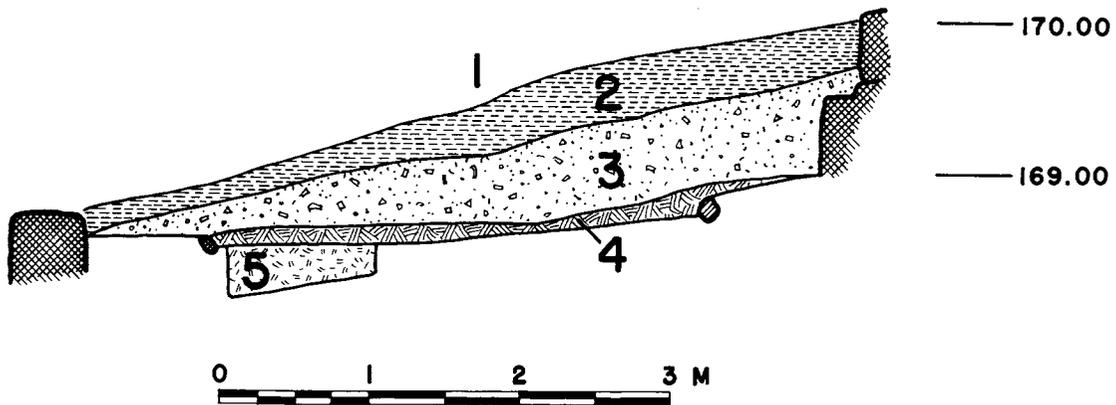


FIG. 3. Section: Building M-N:20-26, Room 3, looking east

[1] Surface; [2] Phase 2, abandonment (lot 6826); [3] Phase 2, abandonment (lot 6827); [4] Phase 2, raising of floor (lot 6828); [5] Packing beneath floor (lot 6830)

is 0.70 m. wide and at least 0.32 m. high. Since its upper surface was not preserved and armrests therefore were not found, the individual couch lengths must be estimated. As in Room 2 there are seven and one-half couches in all, counting counterclockwise from the entrance. Two lengths (marked by asterisks) are known, the remainder restored as follows:

| | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.80 m.* |
| 2. West | 2.08 m. |
| 3. West | 2.08 m. |
| 4. South | 1.90 m. |
| 5. South | 1.90 m. |
| 6. East | 2.08 m. |
| 7. East | 2.08 m. |
| 8. Northeast | 1.10 m.* (half) |

There was no dais.

Two successive clay floors were excavated. The lower of the two was exposed in a test in the northern end of the room (Fig. 3, stratum 5). The upper floor that covers it slopes at an angle of *ca.* 5 degrees from north to south.²²

Dining Room 4

Room 4 is somewhat narrower than Room 3, being 4.35 m. wide from east to west, but is about equal to it in length, measuring 4.75–4.80 m. from north to south. It is also somewhat less well preserved than its neighbor. Although the east jamb of the north entrance has disappeared, the limestone block of the west jamb is firmly in place and allows us to restore the door at 1.90 m. from the northwest corner of the room and 1.60 m. from the northeast, with an opening of *ca.* 0.85 m.

The banquette is built up of rubble and earth and varies in width from 0.85 m. (east) to 0.90 m. (north, west) to 1.10 m. (south). A stone and clay plastered dais 0.30 m. wide and 0.16 m. high lies at its base. A possible armrest, preserved in the southwest corner at the head of couch 4,

²² In the entrance the height of the later floor is +168.33 m., at the base of the north couches +168.42 m., against the south couch +168.70 m. Record of the absolute elevation of the earlier floor was lost in the burning of the excavation house.

does not help us with the individual lengths, which again must be restored, except for those of nos. 1 and 8 (marked by asterisk), which are known. We estimate seven and one-half couches as follows:

| | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.90 m.* |
| 2. West | 1.95 m. |
| 3. West | 1.95 m. |
| 4. South | 1.75 m. |
| 5. South | 1.75 m. |
| 6. East | 1.85 m. |
| 7. East | 1.85 m. |
| 8. Northeast | 0.75 m.* (half) |

A clay floor, corresponding to the upper floor in Room 3 but 0.10 to 0.20 m. higher than it, rises from +168.63 by the north dais to +168.80 m. by the south dais, again at about a 5 degree slope.

Dining Room 5

Room 5 is about 4.40 m. wide east–west by 4.05–4.65 m. long north–south. The 0.40 m. wide rock-cut bedding for the east party wall was exposed for a length of 1.45 m. from the south wall; thereafter, where bedrock dips, the wall must have continued in fieldstones. These have now completely disappeared. Although the eastern two-thirds of the room are not covered by later building, they have been left undug as a record of the stratigraphy within the structure. Accordingly, the reconstruction with seven and one-half couches shown in Figure 2 is hypothetical.

Dining Room 6

Because of the superposition of the later Building M–N:25–26, very little is known about Room 6, the easternmost room in the complex. It is *ca.* 4.40 m. long from east to west and 4.05 m. wide from north to south. In addition to the rock-cut bedding for its west wall and the exterior east wall described above, a short stretch of rock-cut banquette was uncovered against the southern half of the west wall. Both banquette and wall bedding appear in Plate 8:a as broad steps beneath the later banquette retaining walls. The banquette is 0.85 m. wide, 0.21 m. high as preserved, and extends from *ca.* 0.95 to 2.00 m. north of the room's south wall.²³ Except for these details, the reconstruction with seven and one-half couches is hypothetical.

We found no evidence for the roof of Building M–N:20–26. We assume, however, that it was pitched and probably continuous for the entire structure. Given the considerable length of the building, we also assume that the ridge beam ran down the central east–west axis, with gables (or hips) at eastern and western ends and slopes to north and south. The alternative, to break up the roof for each room, to run the axis of the roof north–south and to shed water down over the party walls and therefore at the juncture of each successive building and roof, seems highly impractical. Another possibility cannot be ignored, however, namely, a simple shed roof sloping from south to north.

We have estimated that Building M–N:20–26 as a whole would have housed forty-one full couches and five half-couches. On these, therefore, at least forty-one people could have reclined, or more, if the half-couches were also used somehow. There was no sign whatsoever of washing or cooking facilities within these rooms.

Evidence for the date of the construction of Building M–N:20–26 is based on the pottery recovered from beneath Rooms 2 and 3. A sounding in the northwest corner of Room 2 beneath

²³ The southern end of the west banquette and the face of the south banquette are covered by the retaining wall for the later south couches of Building M–N:25–26 (Pl. 8:a).

a small segment of clay floor produced pottery of the 6th century B.C. The absence of type 3 Conventionalizing kalathiskoi and other distinctly late-6th-century B.C. pieces suggests a date somewhat before the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. (lot 6837).

In Room 3 a considerable quantity of pottery was recovered in a test made to bedrock in the center of the room (Fig. 3, stratum 5: lot 6830). In addition to votive miniatures, there are fragments of coarse-ware vessels and some cooking ware, as well as fine ware cups, plates, pyxides, and lamps. For purposes of chronology, most informative are the Conventionalizing patterns on the votives and fine ware, and the kalathiskoi. As in Room 2, type 3 kalathiskoi are absent; however, two or three fragments are close enough to the form to suggest a date shortly before its introduction around the end of the 6th century B.C.²⁴ This date would agree with the kinds of patterns that appear on the fine wares. In addition, a handful of unidentified animal bones, several carbonized, came from some earlier sacrifice or feast, for at least three of the bones preserved oblique cutting marks near the joint (bone lot 71-33). It would be interesting to know where the coarse and cooking wares were first used: whether in one of the slightly earlier buildings to the south or in a setting no longer attested.

The building, then, was probably built near the end of the 6th century B.C. The chronological difference between the pottery from Rooms 2 and 3 is so slight that it would be difficult to conclude that the rooms were built at different times. Room 4 was not tested, 5 was not excavated, and 6 was stripped to bedrock in antiquity. We have therefore assumed on the basis of the continuous south socle and similar wall techniques that the entire complex was laid out at one time.

Modifications made to the plan in the 5th century B.C. will be discussed below in Chapter 5.

BUILDING N-O:24-25: SINGLE DINING ROOM (Pl. 22:b; Plan 1)

Building N-O:24-25 lies on Row 3 south of Room 5 of Building M-N:20-26, from which it is separated by an open passageway 0.60-0.80 m. wide. To the south lies the Middle Terrace. To its east is Building N-O:25-26, described below. More structures undoubtedly stood to the west

²⁴ So that the reader may have some idea of the kind of material recovered from dining rooms, we have selected several contexts for fuller description. Since kalathiskoi play a critical part in the chronology of the 6th century B.C., a review of their development as proposed in *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 19-25 may be useful. All numbers refer to fragments, unless otherwise specified. All the context pottery comprising lot 6830 was retained.

Lot 6830:

Total: 279 sherds, 1 terracotta figurine, and 2 terracotta objects.

Votive miniatures 89: 1 hydria(?); 2 kraters; 1 pitcher; 2 jars; 58 kalathiskoi: 10 pierced, 11 flaring, 1 type 1, 15 type 2, no type 3; 6 banded kotylai; 1 phiale; 1 kothon; 17 liknon-type offering trays.

Fine ware 117: 18 oinochoai: 2 small trefoil rims, 2 broad-bottomed, 1 Conventionalizing, 6 Late Corinthian(?) animal friezes, 2 feet; 43 kotylai: chiefly ray-based, Conventionalizing, and Late Corinthian animal friezes; 13 cups: 1 Attic Siana, 9 Attic with lotus-palmette chain, 1 Protocorinthian with offset rim; 6 large phialai; 7 kana; 16 plates: black glazed, Late Corinthian 1 or 2, with pinwheel, pomegranate net pattern; 14 pyxides: 4 Conventionalizing lids with rays, Z-pattern, 2 tripod pyxides, 7 Conventionalizing powder with hour-glass, vertical lines, 1 globular in black-white style.

Coarse ware 18: 1 Corinthian B amphora rim; 1 krater handle; 9 oinochoai; 1 cylindrical jar (join with lot 75-249 of Building N-O:25-26); 4 lekanai; 1 bowl; 1 stamped louterion.

Cooking ware 30: 6 flaring rims of stewpots, somewhat later than *Agora XII*, no. 1922, p. 371; 2 stewpot handles, rest bodies.

Lamps 25: 11 Broneer type I, 1 Broneer type II, 4 Broneer type III; 1 Attic Howland type 12B, 1 Attic (L-71-15) near Howland type 17, *Agora IV*, pp. 35-36.

Terracottas: 1 handmade figurine body; 1 flower; 1 tablelike object; 1 loomweight (MF-71-272).

Bone lot 71-33, to be published separately.

Date: 7th century to just before end of 6th century B.C.

Apart from the substantial amount of Late Corinthian material, among the latest pieces may be the small lamp, L-71-15, dated by similar, although not identical, types in the Athenian Agora to the end of the 6th or first two decades of the 5th century B.C.

of it beneath Buildings N–O:22–23 and N:21, but these could not be investigated because of the density of the overlying Classical remains.²⁵ Nor was the building that we are about to describe the first structure on this site. An earlier wall, described above (pp. 21–22), lying beneath the north side of this structure, was covered in the late 6th century B.C. when Building N–O:24–25 was constructed; these walls, in turn, were altered and covered in the late 5th century B.C. during yet a third phase of construction on the site. Those elements that can be assigned to the late-6th-century B.C. phase are the west and possibly the east walls, together with sections of the west and south banquettes.

In phase 2, Building N–O:24–25 is 6.50 m. long east–west by at least 3.85 m. wide north–south. Both east and west walls average 0.45–0.50 m. thick, 0.60 m. high as preserved, and are built of fieldstones laid in two rows. A single large limestone block 0.65 m. long, at least 0.25 m. high, and 0.20 m. thick forms the outer face of the west wall at its north end. Both walls break off at what must have been their juncture with the north wall.²⁶

We found no entrance to the building but restore it on the north side, following the example of Building N–O:25–26 to the east. Within, the single room is 5.60 m. long east–west by at least 3.40 m. wide north–south.

The banquettes built against the south and west sides of the room are constructed somewhat differently from each other. The south banquette is built in the customary fashion, that is, earth (here red) retained by a rubble wall. Although its retaining wall was dismantled and rebuilt in the late 5th century B.C., the form can be reconstructed from the original packing that survived. As a result, however, neither the original height nor width of the banquette is preserved. By contrast, the west banquette consists of a solid packing of small stones, 0.06–0.15 m. long, to a depth of 0.20 m. and a total width of 0.84 m. Large stones 0.24–0.45 m. long are laid in a row along the outer face of the packing to give an overall width of 1.15 m. for the banquette. The stone packing is preserved from *ca.* 1.00 m. to roughly 1.85 m. south of the proposed northwest corner of the room. At this point several large stones are placed across the width of the packing as if to separate one couch from another. It is unlikely that they do demarcate a couch, for if we subtract the width of the missing north banquette, or 0.85 m., from 1.85 m., we are left with a west couch 1.00 m. long.²⁷

A clay floor was located on the west side of the room at *ca.* 0.18 m. below the top of the stone packing. Beneath the floor to bedrock was a uniform fill of red pebbly earth, much like the packing for the south banquette. Pottery from this layer over bedrock dated to the mid- to third quarter of the 6th century B.C.,²⁸ as did the material recovered from the packing of the south banquette (lot 2097). The clay floor could not be so closely dated.

The building was remodeled in the second half of the 5th century B.C., at which time several of the walls were rebuilt and floors and couches were raised, but the general outline remained the same.

²⁵ A north–south wall, undoubtedly Archaic, cuts through the middle of the late-5th-century B.C. Building N:21, its preserved top lying just beneath the Classical floor. Unfortunately, there was not sufficient time to pursue it and, as a result, the wall does not appear on the general Plan 1. See p. 130 below. Results of excavations here in 1994 will appear in *Hesperia*.

²⁶ That the wall attributed to phase 1 of this building is, indeed, earlier and not the north wall for this phase, is shown by two facts. It does not meet the west wall, phase 2, but stops short of it; the base of the west wall rests on earth. Secondly, the early wall is covered by a layer of red earth that abuts the west wall.

²⁷ Half-couches only occur beside doors.

²⁸ Lots 2095, 73-135. Among the 435 sherds and 6 figurines comprising lot 2095 were 1 fragment of a late-5th-century B.C. kotyle and 1 late-5th-century B.C. terracotta figurine of a peplophoros. It is possible that these pieces came from earth associated with the later north wall. This same fill covered the earlier north wall mentioned above.

BUILDING N–O:25–26: SINGLE DINING ROOM (Pls. 7:c, 27:a, 33:a, upper right; Fig. 4)

Building N–O:25–26 is situated 1.15 m. east of Building N–O:24–25 and south of Room 6 in Building M–N:20–26, from which it is separated by a passageway *ca.* 0.80 m. wide. Together with its western neighbor it forms the southernmost row of dining rooms on the Lower Terrace; to the south lies the Middle Terrace. The building can be seen in Plate 7:c in its later 5th-century B.C. form just behind the Hellenistic ashlar walls of Building M–N:25–26.²⁹

First built in the 6th century B.C. and substantially remodeled in the later 5th century B.C., Building N–O:25–26 appears somewhat confusing because of the incomplete state of preservation of any one phase. Bedrock is extremely irregular here and drops from *ca.* +171.50 in the southern half to +170.03 m. beneath the north wall. Accordingly, floor levels that just cover bedrock on the south must be sustained by a high retaining wall with deep fill on the north side of the room. Because of the successive and thorough remodelings, the earlier phase of the south side has been lost. By contrast, the deep protected fills of the north side have preserved the features of the first period, while those of the later period (Chapter 5 below) have been completely eroded. Because of the difficulties in relating the two halves to each other and because of the lack of good dating evidence for the later period, it is not entirely clear whether Building N–O:25–26 was remodeled two or three times.

In its earliest phase Building N–O:25–26 is *ca.* 5.50–5.78 m. long from east to west and 4.50–4.60 m. wide from north to south. East, north, and west walls are preserved either in part or entirely, and only the south wall is wholly missing; we can estimate its position, however, by allowing an average width of *ca.* 0.75 m. for the width of the south banquette, the face of which is preserved at the southeast corner of the room.³⁰

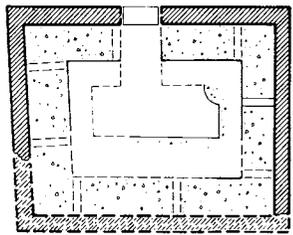
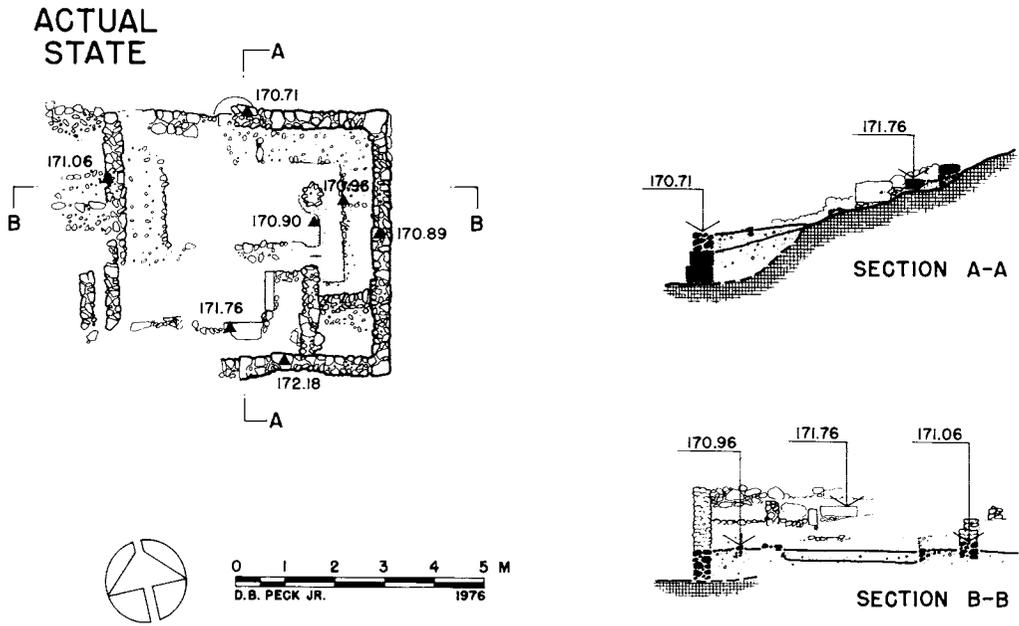
The east wall stands in its entirety to a maximum height of 0.60 m., or *ca.* 0.30 m. above the banquette top; at a later date its southern end was rebuilt and extended.³¹ About 0.38 m. wide, it is built with fieldstones and scattered pieces of limestone having one worked face. Similarly constructed, the west wall breaks off *ca.* 1.25 m. short of the southwest corner of the building. The north wall is preserved for its entire length to a height of 0.35 (west) to 1.00 (east) m. above the bedrock on which it is founded. The two ends of the wall are built with fieldstones, but at *ca.* 2.20 m. from the northwest corner a fragmentary column drum of limestone is incorporated into the lowest foundation course (Pl. 7:a).³² It supports a squared limestone block, which forms the threshold; to the east of the drum, bedrock steps up 0.27 m., and on it rests another block, perhaps for the east jamb, for the stones that appear to cover the blocks in Plate 7:a and Figure 4 belong to a later phase. Finally, a fragmentary mud brick that lay beyond the southwest corner of the building in a context of uncertain date may have derived from a mud-brick superstructure. Nothing of the roof survives.

²⁹ For previous publication, Stroud 1968, pp. 317–318, where it is designated Room J. Initially, all the remains were thought to belong to one period. Upon further testing, two phases were identified. The original restoration of the building appears in Bookidis and Fisher 1974, fig. 3; the present plan is the result of further study.

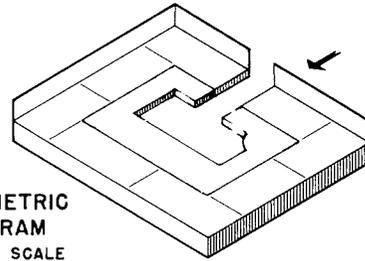
³⁰ The south wall must have stood along the line of what, in the last phase, became the south banquette; in the process of testing fills in the southeast corner of the building we observed a differentiation in the earth along this line.

³¹ The addition can be seen in the state plan, Figure 4, beginning at 3.40 m. from the northeast corner, where a single stone runs through the thickness of the wall. South of this stone the wall is thicker and more carelessly built.

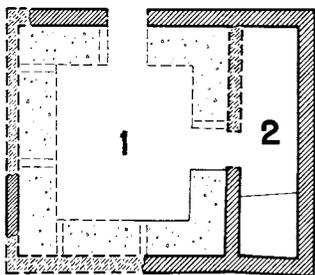
³² More than 0.85 m. in diameter and 0.27 m. high, the drum is unfluted and smoothly finished on sides and top. It projects 0.36 m. beyond the north face of the wall but breaks off flush with the wall's south face. We know of no structure in the Sanctuary to which it could have belonged. The drum is not unlike the one associated with the older temple at the Argive Heraion, Waldstein 1902, no. 4, p. 110, pl. XXIX:v. That drum is *ca.* 0.18 m. high and 0.78 m. in diameter. Pierre Amandry (1952, p. 225, note 14) cites two more beyond the northeast corner of the North Stoa that are somewhat larger and may belong to a circular monument. Perhaps more useful are the drums from the Archaic temple at Arkadian Orchomenos, which are 0.75 to 0.85 m. in diameter, "low," and both fluted and plain; cf. G. Blum and A. Plassart, "Orchomène d'Arcadie," *BCH* 38, 1914 [pp. 71–88], p. 82 and fig. 11.



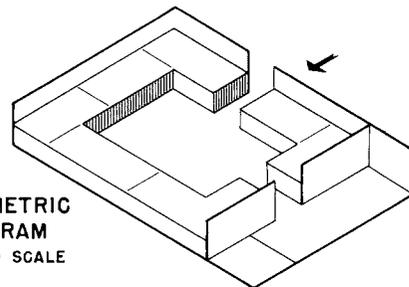
PHASE I RESTORED



**VOLUMETRIC
DIAGRAM
NOT TO SCALE**



PHASE 2 RESTORED



**VOLUMETRIC
DIAGRAM
NOT TO SCALE**

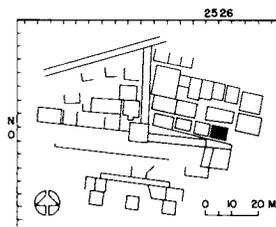


FIG. 4. Plan: Building N-O:25-26

Two short stretches of fieldstone walls remain to be mentioned. Although initially interpreted as party walls in a narrow side room of Building N-O:25-26, they probably just buttressed the 1.15 m.-wide passageway that separates this building from N-O:24-25 to the west. One wall continues the line of the north wall of Building N-O:25-26, while the second lies 1.75 m. south of it. To the south of the latter wall is a fill containing large quantities of pottery of the late 6th century B.C. (lots 2089, 2090); to the north is a rubble packing 0.55 m. wide.

The squared limestone threshold block mentioned above establishes the entrance to the building at 2.60 m. from the northeast corner and *ca.* 2.38 m. from the northwest corner. Measuring *ca.* 0.77 m. long and 0.30 m. high, its surface is about level with a sloping clay floor just within the building.

The building consists of a single room 4.80-5.00 m. east-west by *ca.* 3.70 m. north-south with a white clay floor and continuous banquettes on four sides. As exposed in the eastern half, the floor slopes considerably from south (+170.90) to north (+170.35, doorway). Since it is clearly one continuous surface, some of this difference must be attributed to settling of earth. Some, however, must have been intentional, as seen also in Building M-N:20-26.

The banquettes differ somewhat from those in all the other buildings except Building N-O:24-25. In place of the usual clay surface, we find a layer of very small stones set in clay, while the outer face is marked by a line of slightly larger stones set on edge. This stony surface is visible in the upper half of Plate 7:c and in the detail, Plate 7:b. Against the outer face of these stones is a wide bank of clay *ca.* 0.25 m. high. On the east side it is 0.46 m. wide, on the south side 0.76 m. wide. It is not preserved on the north side and was not investigated on the west side. Although this bank of clay resembles a dais, its surface is not close to floor level but is flush with the stone surface that is tentatively identified as the surface of the banquette.³³ The couch packing beneath the clay and gravel surface consists almost entirely of broken votive pottery together with small fragments of burnt animal bones, a little earth, and more gravel. Beneath the floor the fill was similar in composition but noticeably darker.

The width of the banquettes so formed varies from 0.68 m. (east), to 0.73 m. (north), to an estimated 0.75 m. (south), to 0.80 m. (west). In front of them is the clay bank or possible dais, adding 0.46 m. to the thickness of the east and 0.76 m. to the thickness of the south banquette. Although the floor is considerably uneven, the banquettes are approximately 0.25 m. high. Individual couch lengths (marked by asterisks) are known on the east and northeast sides, where divisions between the couches are marked by single lines of small stones, much like those employed along the outer face. Accordingly, eight couches can be restored with the following lengths:

- | | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.90-2.00 m. |
| 2. West | 1.50 m. |
| 3. West | 1.50 m. |
| 4. South | 2.00 m. |
| 5. South | 2.00 m. |
| 6. East | 1.45 m.* |
| 7. East | 1.65 m.* |
| 8. Northeast | 1.54 m.* ³⁴ |

³³ A small cut made through part of the bank reveals that it is a solid mass of clay for a height of *ca.* 0.12 m. Above this there is a flimsy wall of fieldstones laid in two rows and then covered with clay. Parts of this wall can be noted all across the south side, but it is best preserved from 1.30 to 2.00 m. from the east couch face to a height of two courses.

³⁴ The exact lengths of the west couches are unknown; they may have mirrored the east couches. A second but less attractive arrangement on the south side would call for three couches, each 1.33 m. long.

One final feature must be noted. In the angle formed by the north and east couches, a small, freestanding circular construction projects from the floor to couch height. Built of small stones laid in a ring, it measures *ca.* 0.40 m. in diameter and 0.11 m. high, and is plastered continuously with the floor and clay bank. The construction probably functioned as a small table or support for a tabletop. Since no other such foundations were found within the room, the very wide clay bank that retained the south banquette may also have served as a table. Certainly, a diner reclining there would have had great difficulty in reaching any table set beyond the bank on the floor. Unusual as this arrangement may seem, the wider south banquette also occurs in Room 4 of Building M–N:20–26 and in the later 5th-century B.C. Building N–O:22–23. Thus the repetition of this feature confirms the view that it was intentional.

Evidence for the date of construction of Building N–O:25–26 is furnished by the pottery recovered from the earliest packing for the north couch and from beneath the floor in a small test made in the center of the room. The pottery from beneath the floor consisted almost entirely of broken votives and can be dated to the third or early fourth quarter of the 6th century B.C. (lot 72-209). The pottery from the lowest stratum of couch packing is of the same period (lot 75-249).³⁵ The material from the packing differs considerably from that beneath the floor of Room 3, Building M–N:20–26 (above, lot 6830: note 24). Not only do votive miniatures predominate, but many of the fragments had been burned. Furthermore, moderate numbers of animal bones were recovered, many also burned.³⁶ In comparison to the pottery and other finds from Room 3 of Building M–N:20–26, the amount of votive material and animal bones found here is noticeably greater. We would attribute this concentration to the building's proximity to the Middle Terrace.

The pottery from the upper half of the north banquette packing is conspicuously later. Type 3 kalathiskoi of the red and black Conventionalizing style³⁷ and semi-glazed kotylai, both absent from the underlying darker earth, together with a fragmentary oinochoe of the Vrysoula type, indicate a date around the middle of the 5th century B.C. (lots 72-208, 75-248, 2074). This later date is reflected in the pottery found over the floor and may explain certain peculiarities observed in the course of excavations. First, the wide clay bank that limited the east and south banquettes was not found on the north side. Second, the neat line of slightly larger stones that demarcates the banquette edge was also missing along most of the north side. While the north banquette surface was composed of gravel and small stones, these were of a coarser variety and

³⁵ The earth comprising lot 75-249 was dry-sieved; thus the number of sherds recovered was great; moreover, everything was saved. The material is overwhelmingly votive; many of the fragments had been burned. The lot includes the following:

Lot 75-249:

Total: 2,522 sherds, of which only 1,711 are identifiable as to shape, 4 figurines.

Votive miniatures 1,386: 1 hydria(?); 2 krateriskoi; 1,105 kalathiskoi: 38 type 1, 203 type 2, 140 7th- to 6th-century B.C. types, and no type 3; 133 kotylai; 3 handmade cups; 60 phialai; 1 plate; 81 liknon-type offering trays.

Fine ware 179: 5 kraters(?); 38 oinochoai: Conventionalizing, black glazed; 103 kotylai: rayed, banded, Conventionalizing; 1 cup; 1 Conventionalizing phiale; 1 bowl; 21 plates; 8 pyxides; 1 protome.

Coarse ware 135: 1 probable Chian amphora toe; 14 oinochoai; 5 lekanai; 1 basin or hydria handle; 1 dinos; plain jar (join with lot 6830, Building M–N:20–26), rest bodies.

Cooking ware 5: 1 stewpot rim, 1 handle, 3 bodies.

Lamps 6: 4 Broneer type I; 1 Broneer type III; 1 Attic Howland type 12A.

Terracottas: 4 figurines: 2 handmade, 1 limb, 1 protome; 2 possible Corinthian pan-tile fragments.

Date: 7th century to third or early fourth quarter of 6th century B.C.

The material appears to be slightly earlier in date than lot 6830, to judge by the considerable number of early types of kalathiskoi, more limited numbers of Conventionalizing sherds, and no late types of lamps.

³⁶ Bone lots 75-68, 75-69, 72-109. The animal bones will be published in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

³⁷ For these, see *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 23–24.

were more loosely laid than in the other banquettes, and in the course of excavating the debris over the central floor we could find no real break between that fill and the so-called banquette packing. Finally, the “wall” that limits the western end of the northeast couch was not found at the surface of the couch but 0.20 m. beneath it. All these factors would suggest that what we initially thought was the intact north banquette fill was, in fact, disturbed at the time of a reconstruction of the building.

If this is correct, then the early fills cited above indicate the time when Building N–O:25–26 was first constructed, namely, the third to early fourth quarter of the 6th century B.C. Though the pottery from the construction fills is chiefly votive and therefore not as diagnostic as one would like, it is abundant. The absence of red and black Conventionalizing kalathiskoi is significant and suggests that Building N–O:25–26 may predate Building M–N:20–26, where some Conventionalizing fragments seem to anticipate the developed, type 3 kalathiskos. This chronological difference may also explain the variations in couch construction between the two structures.

In its original form the dining room lasted until approximately the middle of the 5th century B.C. At that time the door was blocked up, the floor was raised 0.20–0.30 m. to the level of the couch tops (lots 75-246, 75-247), and the north banquette was partially refilled, perhaps due to a collapse of the north wall (lots 2074, 75-248). At the same time, the west wall of the room was rebuilt. Its possible replacement appears in the state plan and in section B–B of Figure 4 as a short stretch of wall 1.20 m. long built on top of the preexisting wall but set 0.14 m. further west. Not long thereafter the building was rebuilt more extensively.

BUILDING O:26–27: SITTING ROOM (INCOMPLETE) (Plan 1)

Building N–O:25–26 was not the easternmost building in Row 3, for segments of two Late Archaic walls were found on bedrock to the east of it in O–P:26–27. Too poorly preserved to warrant more than a brief mention, these are an east–west wall, which just projects beneath the retaining wall for the later 5th-century B.C. Middle Terrace (p. 81 below), and a north–south wall, just 1.60 m. east of N–O:25–26. It is with this second wall that we are more concerned, for associated with it to the west is a single row of stones that must have retained a bench 0.60 m. wide. Although built like couches, benches differ from them in that they are narrow and are used for sitting rather than for reclining. They are rarely encountered in the Archaic Sanctuary and do not become a common feature of the dining halls until the late 5th century B.C. One other, better-preserved example appears in Building M:17–18, to be described next. To what building the wall and bench of O:26–27 belong is unknown; pottery also was too sparse to clarify its chronological relation to Building N–O:25–26.

Thus far we have confined our description to the eastern half of the Lower Terrace, using as a dividing line the hypothetical walkway that might have preceded the Classical stairway in J–O:20. Because of the configuration of the hill, the buildings on the western half of the Terrace are less regularly disposed. Their orientation is more truly north–south than the buildings described so far, but they are not all aligned along narrow walkways. As Plan 3 illustrates, Buildings M:17–18, L:16–17, L:14–15, and N:12–13 are staggered across the hillside in such a way that no one building blocks the entrance to another. Only behind Building M:17–18, where the hill flattens out, does some semblance of regularity reappear, and it is likely that a row of linked rooms extended from N:18 to N:14. Because this area was not well preserved, we did not investigate it in detail.

We therefore begin our description of this side of the Lower Terrace with Building M:17–18, a room that was designed for sitting, not dining, and from it we will progress across the hill to the west and south.

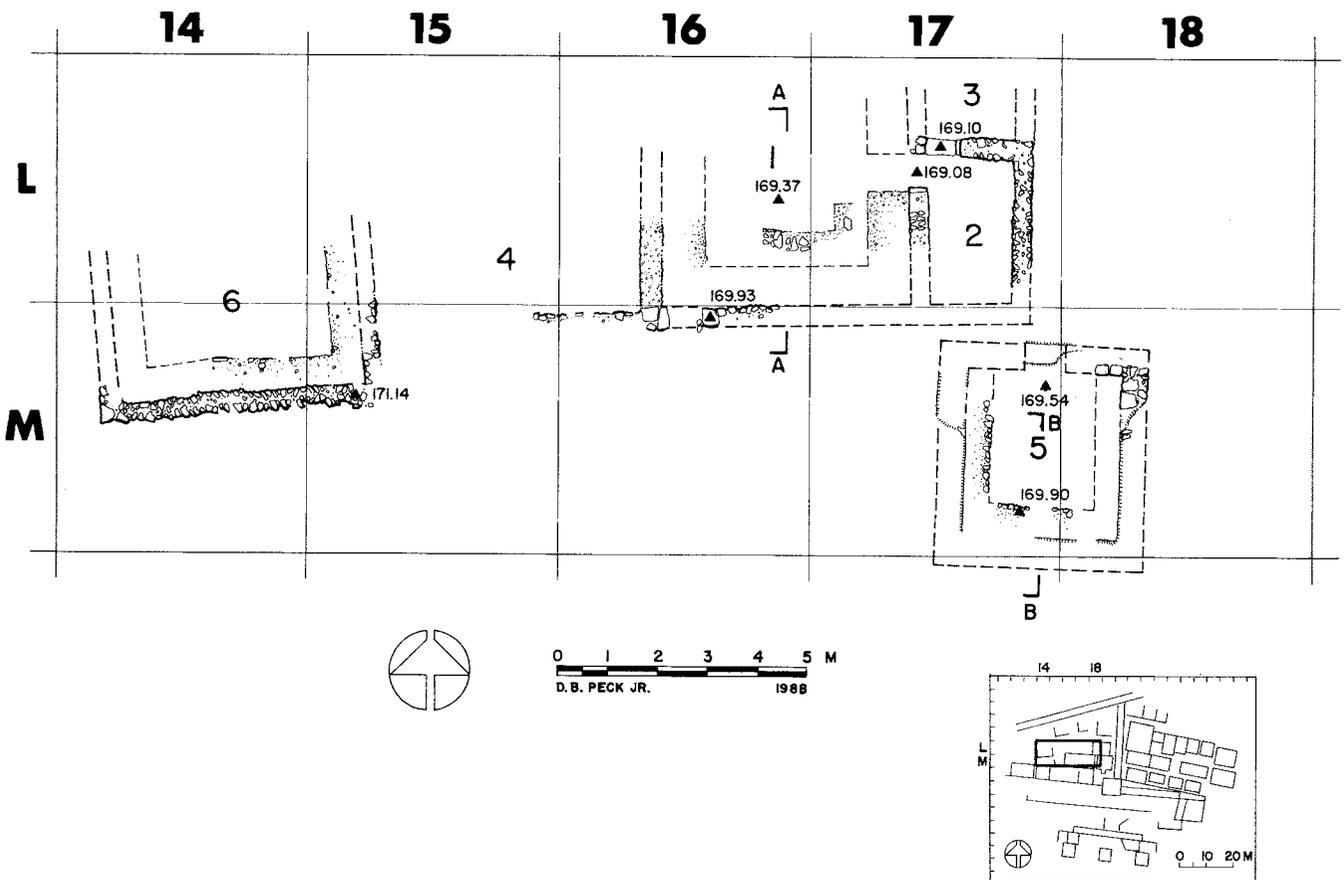


FIG. 5. Plan: L-M:14-18

BUILDING M:17-18: SINGLE SITTING ROOM (Figs. 5: Room 5, 6 B-B)

Building M:17-18 is covered by Rooms 1 and 2 of the Hellenistic Building M:16-17 (Chapter 7 below), for the construction of which it was thoroughly dismantled. As with the other early buildings in the Sanctuary, however, its plan could be recovered from soundings made beneath the later floor and within the later south and east banquettes. The positions of some of these soundings are visible in Plate 37:a.³⁸

Somewhat smaller than the other Sanctuary structures, Building M:17-18 is 4.80 m. long from north to south and only 4.30 m. wide from east to west. Virtually unique in plan, it consists of a single room lined with narrow benches in place of couches on at least three sides. Preserved are the beddings for all four walls, most of the east bench, and smaller segments of the south and west benches. We use the term "bench" here and throughout this volume to indicate a feature that resembles the banquette in construction but is narrower, suggesting it was used for sitting rather than reclining.³⁹ Curiously, while rooms with benches become a common addition to dining buildings in the late 5th century B.C., Archaic examples on the Lower Terrace are confined to this building and possibly the west room of Building O:26-27 mentioned above.

³⁸ The building was first discussed in Bookidis 1969, p. 305; there it appears in figure 3 as Room 7 and underlies Rooms 10 and 11, or Building M:16-17, in figure 1.

³⁹ For a discussion of the function of this type of room, see Chapter 14.

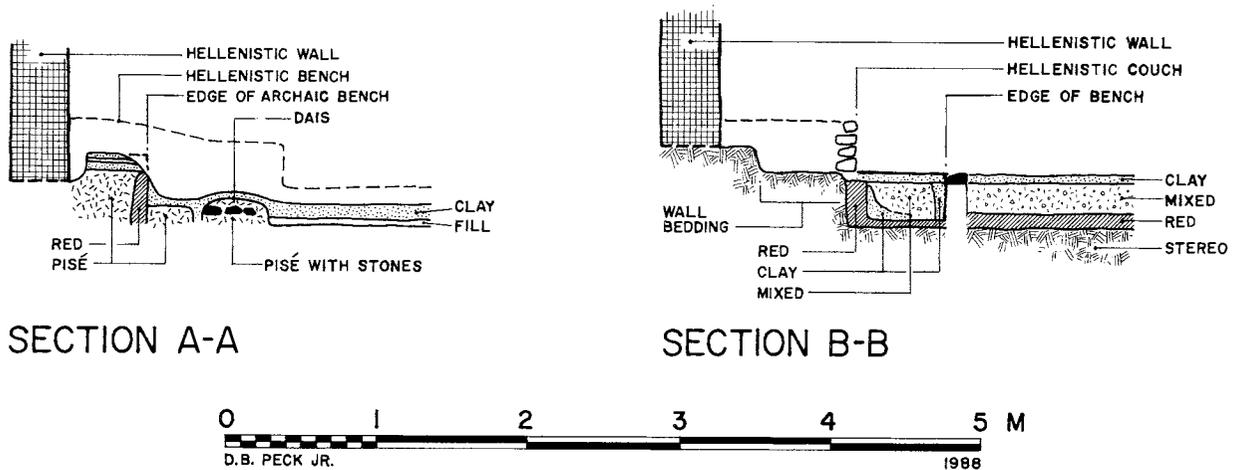


FIG. 6. Two sections: L-M:14-18

Building M:17-18 was constructed in the following way. Beddings for the walls 0.60-0.65 m. wide were cut into the stereo. Because of the hillslope the beddings were not all cut to a uniform depth. Instead, the east and west sides stepped up the slope from north to south. The stereo was then dug away to a depth of 0.28 m. for the room's floor, and benches were built against the stereo scarps thus created.

The bedding for the south wall lies just 0.15-0.25 m. north of the back wall of the Hellenistic Building M:16-17 (Fig. 30 on p. 203). It can be traced west from the party wall between Hellenistic Rooms 1 and 2 for 2.95 m., to the point where it makes a corner with the west wall. The west wall of Building M:17-18 runs beneath the middle of the Hellenistic Room 1; its juncture with the north wall is covered by the Hellenistic north banquette. Initially 0.45 m. wide, the bedding for the north wall narrows abruptly to 0.15 m. at 2.40 m. from the restored northwest corner of the building, perhaps to accommodate a door. At its east end the bedding is filled out with fieldstones. These continue for a short distance on the east side of the building, then give way to stereo for the remainder of the east wall. In Plate 37:a the left scarp of the deeper cut marks the inner face of the east wall, for the cut is excavated through the bench packing.

The walls that stood on these beddings were built of ground-up red stereo mixed with wet clay; the mixture was then laid in alternating layers in which either red earth or clay predominated, but individual mud bricks were not apparent. Both faces of this packing were undoubtedly protected by clay plaster; unfortunately, this has not survived. Similarly, no roofing material was recovered.

The room is approximately 3.10 m. wide from east to west by 3.55 m. long from north to south. Benches 0.28 m. high, and 0.45 (west) to 0.60 (south) m. wide lined at least three sides of it. These were built in the following manner (Fig. 6 B-B). Layers of clay and red stereolike earth, much like those used for the walls, were laid against the stereo scarps at the base of the south, east, and west walls, the striations here running vertically, not horizontally as in the walls. An occasional stone or mud brick filled out the packing, and clay plaster covered both the top and front faces. A slight variation was observed in the north half of the west side, where red earth and small stones were used without the bonding medium of clay. We found no evidence for benches on the north side and therefore have not restored any in Figure 5.

No distinct floor surface was detected. Over stereo was a 0.13 m. thick layer of ground-up stereo mixed with a little pottery and clay, overlaid by a layer 0.16 m. thick of clay mixed with red

earth and a little burning. Neither of these layers resembled a floor; and yet a slight chronological gap separates the two, suggesting that the lower layer of ground-up red stereo may have served as the first floor, the overlying mixed clay as a second one.

A further peculiarity remains to be described. On the west and south sides of the room the line of the bench is actually picked out with small fieldstones placed in a row along its top edge. They appear in Figure 5. Indeed, these stones, which lay just beneath the Hellenistic floor or in places projected through it, first alerted us to the possibility of an earlier phase. They are, however, only one course deep. Moreover, the clay facing for the south bench clearly went under the stones and did not incorporate them into its fabric. It would seem most logical to assign them to a later remodeling of the bench.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, we recovered little pottery from which to determine the period of this building's construction. Despite the number of cuts made through the packing for walls, through benches, and through "floor" fills, the pottery was sparse, in places nonexistent, and generally undistinctive.⁴¹ Nevertheless, in the absence of other evidence, these few sherds suggest a date in the late 6th century B.C. for the construction of the building. Pottery from the packing for the south bench (lot 5659) and sherds from the lowest layer of red earth over the stereo "floor" (lot 5654) all belong to this period. In addition to this scanty evidence, further corroboration of an Archaic date is provided by the similarities to Building L:16–17 (to be described next), in the construction of both walls and benches or couches.

Evidence of remodeling is limited to the thick mixed clay layer, tentatively identified as a later floor. This was perhaps deposited no earlier than the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. (lot 5655).⁴² Thereafter, Building M:17–18 continued in use until the late 4th century B.C., when Building M:16–17 was constructed on top of it (Chapter 7 below).

BUILDING L:16–17: DINING ROOM, TWO SERVICE ROOMS WITH BATH(?) (Figs. 5: Rooms 1–3, 6 A–A)

Building L:16–17 is a three-room complex situated immediately northwest of Building M:17–18 and roughly 13.00 m. west of Building M–N:20–26.⁴³ It is the earliest dining room in the Sanctuary to incorporate several interconnecting rooms. Although the building was not fully excavated, half of the dining room, 1, all of the service room, 2, and the south half of the bathing(?) room, 3, were investigated. A deep Roman intrusion that cut through Room 3 also continued west to destroy the northern part of Room 1, which was therefore left unexplored.

The whole dining complex is 7.75–7.85 m. long from east to west and at least 3.70 m. wide from north to south. Parts of three exterior walls were exposed, namely, the southernmost 1.50 m. of the west wall, the westernmost 2.80 m. of the south wall, and 3.25 m. of the east wall. The remainder of the south wall was destroyed when the north wall of the Hellenistic Building M:16–17 was put up. All three walls stand to a maximum height of 0.25–0.40 m.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ In one small test through the Hellenistic east couch, a clay surface overlay the stones. Pottery from this surface dated perhaps to the middle of the 5th century B.C. (lot 5650). Among the handful of sherds from this stratum are the rim of an ovoid kotyle and the foot of a Corinthian skyphos.

⁴¹ How precise a chronology can be derived from small sherds found in bricklike packing is questionable.

⁴² In Figure 6 B–B it is the stratum in the floor area marked "mixed," for the top clay layer marks the Hellenistic floor of Building M:16–17. The date of this layer hinges on two small fragments tentatively identified as parts of a semi-glazed kotyle and a blister ware oinochoe.

⁴³ Another structure may have lain between Buildings L:16–17 and M–N:20–26. A stretch of north–south wall located in the eastern half of L:19, together with a short return at the south, may belong to the 6th century B.C. The two walls, however, could not be dated. For the initial report of this building, see Bookidis 1969, pp. 307–308, pl. 75: Room 6.

⁴⁴ Because the south wall is founded on a higher bedding than the other walls, it is actually preserved to a height of 0.60–0.70 m. above floor level.

Both the east and the west walls are built in the same way. A stone socle several fieldstones high supports a superstructure 0.38–0.40 m. thick of a pisé of red earth mixed with some straw; no individual mud bricks were noted. Both faces of each wall were then plastered with white clay. The south wall was undoubtedly identical in construction to the east and west walls, but only its stone socle has survived. The entrance to Building L:16–17 was not found. It could have stood either on the north side of Room 1 or, less likely, on either the north or east sides of the much smaller Room 3.

Dining Room 1 is 4.90 m. long from east to west and at least 3.00 m. wide from north to south. Like the exterior walls, the east party wall is built of pisé. A banquette lines the west, south, and east sides of the room. At 2.25 m. from the restored southeast corner of the room the east banquette is interrupted by a door 0.65 m. wide, paved with clay (+169.08 m.), which opens into Room 2. Excavation stopped just beyond the north jamb of this door, but the party wall must have continued further north, since the exterior east wall does so.

The dining room is of interest for the way in which it was constructed. Figure 6, section A–A shows a cut through the southern half of the room at a point where the building's south wall has been removed by the Hellenistic wall. The banquette or couch, shown as it is, incompletely preserved, is 0.80 m. wide and stands *ca.* 0.45 m. above the floor. The packing for the banquette consists of pisé, made of red and brown earth, mixed with straw, clay, some pebbles, and bits of carbon. It is retained not by the customary stone wall but by a strip of clean red earth 0.12 m. thick (marked "red" in the section). A layer of white clay, as much as 0.20 m. thick, covers the packing and continues down over the red retaining "wall." In a few places where cuts were made through the construction, stones were found within the composition of the banquette but not everywhere.⁴⁵

In front of the banquette may be a broad dais *ca.* 0.80 m. wide, forming a low hump beneath the floor. It consists of two parallel bands of pisé separated from one another by a thin strip of clay; a certain number of fieldstones are incorporated in the front face. The whole is covered by the same clay plaster that covers the banquette and that continues onto the floor. The dais, if such it was, can be traced along much of the south side as well as along the east side. Its top lies *ca.* 0.23 m. below the banquette top (banquette +169.82 m.; dais +169.59 m.) and *ca.* 0.22 m. above the floor (+169.37 m.).

Because the position of the door to Room 2 is known, the length of the couch to the south of the door is secure, namely, 1.45–1.50 m. (marked by an asterisk in the table below). Furthermore, two couches of 2.05 m. each can be estimated for the south side.⁴⁶

We can only speculate on the plan for the remainder of the room. Since the east wall continues beyond the door to Room 2, we restore a couch at least 1.50 m. long and 0.80 m. wide north of this door. The north side of the room is 4.90 m. long. If we subtract the width of the east banquette, or 0.80 m., from this sum, we are left with 4.10 m. in which to fit the north couches. Within this length it is possible to restore either two couches each 2.05 m. long, as on the south side of the room, or a main entrance *ca.* 0.80 m. wide with a couch 1.65 m. long to either side. This arrangement of couches makes the room approximately 4.55 m. long from north to south. By again subtracting 0.80 m., or the width of the north banquette, from this length, we are left with *ca.* 3.75 m. for the west side, or two couches of 1.87 m. each. Although the very neatness of eight full couches is an anomaly in a sanctuary where irregularities abound, nevertheless we would summarize these restored lengths as follows, working counterclockwise from the hypothetical entrance:

⁴⁵ For example, a line of stones runs north from the south wall at a distance of *ca.* 2.25 m. from the southwest corner of the room. These, however, underlay the banquette packing as well as the clay facing and serve no obvious function. They do not seem to mark a division in couch lengths.

⁴⁶ Alternately, we can restore three couches of 1.37 m.

| | |
|--------------|---------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.65 m. |
| 2. West | 1.87 m. |
| 3. West | 1.87 m. |
| 4. South | 2.05 m. |
| 5. South | 2.05 m. |
| 6. East | 1.45–1.50 m.* |
| 7. East | 1.50 m. |
| 8. Northeast | 1.65 m. |

The service room, 2, to the east is 1.66–1.74 m. wide and an estimated 3.00 m. long. No furnishings were found within it that might reveal its function, but its identification as a service area is likely. Its two successive clay floors (+169.28, +169.08–.04) were equally devoid of features. The north crosswall that separates Room 2 from Room 3 to the north is built of pisé over a stone socle, as are all the other walls in the building. It is broken at its western end by a door to Room 3. Paved with a stone threshold (+169.10), the door is 0.60 m. wide. Its east jamb is revetted with a stone slab, as is the south jamb of the door to Room 1.

Only the southernmost 0.30 m. of Room 3 was exposed, enough to verify the continuation of the east exterior wall but not enough to reveal its use. If the hypothetical reconstruction of Room 1 is correct, then Room 3 would have been *ca.* 1.10 m. wide from north to south by 1.74 m. long from east to west. At that size it would have been substantially smaller than either of the other two rooms. In the late 5th century B.C. such a space is easily explained as an area set aside for lustrations.⁴⁷ An unusual feature of Room 3 is its stone threshold; more commonly, the door between adjacent rooms is surfaced with clay. A stone threshold may indicate that water was used within. If this identification is correct, Room 3, dating to the end of the 6th or very early 5th century B.C., becomes the earliest example of a bathing room in the Sanctuary.

Unfortunately, the pottery recovered from the excavation of Building L:16–17 is extremely fragmentary and is not an accurate gauge of the building's history. For the period of construction we must rely on twenty-two sherds recovered from the packing for the east couch 6; of these the latest piece, a Conventionalizing kalathiskos type 3, can be assigned to the late 6th century or possibly the beginning of the 5th century B.C. (lot 5698). The same date is reflected in the material recovered from a layer of clay overlying the south wall (lot 5697). Although it was assumed that this layer represented the dismantlement of the wall, it is possible that the clay formed part of the wall's superstructure, hence its contemporaneity with the construction packing of the couch.

The layer that covered the lower floor in Room 2 was deposited no earlier than the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. (lot 5700). Indicative of this date is a fragmentary semi-glazed kotyle. Pottery from the fill that covered the upper floor in this room as well as the floor in Room 1 was uninformative.⁴⁸

That the building was abandoned by the late 4th century B.C., however, is shown by the material recovered from the packing for the bench of the Hellenistic Building M:16–17 (pp. 202–204 below), which overlay the south couches of Room 1 (Fig. 6 A–A). While primarily containing material of early date, the packing also included pottery of the later 4th century B.C. (lot 5693) and a bronze coin of the Pegasos/Trident series.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ See Chapter 14, Appendix I, Table 2, for a list of these rooms with their dimensions. The earliest verifiable example occurs in the northwest corner of Building J–L:21, dated to the early 5th century B.C. (p. 88 below).

⁴⁸ Pottery covering the later floor in Room 2 was not precisely datable (lot 5699). Similarly, the fill that overlay the floor in Room 1 contained only early material of the late 6th or early 5th century B.C. (lot 5703).

⁴⁹ From this packing also comes part of an Attic red-figured krater, *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 73, p. 92 (C-68-244), dated to the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. Other fragments of this vase were found in the construction fill for

A space of 4.90 m. separates Building L:16–17 from Building L–M:14–15 to the west (Fig. 5: Room 6). Within this area another dining room probably existed, Building L:15–16 (Fig. 5: Room 4), one that shared east and west walls with its neighbors but had its own, north, entrance. Its existence is suggested by several factors. The distance of 4.90 m. is equal to the length of Room 1 of L:16–17. Moreover, a few stones may tentatively be assigned to its south wall.⁵⁰

BUILDING L–M:14–15: DINING ROOM (INCOMPLETE) (Fig. 5: Room 6)

The removal of surface layers exposed the southern portion of Building L–M:14–15 4.90 m. west of Building L:16–17. Regrettably, limitations of time prevented much from being done with this. Nevertheless, the removal of surface soil sufficed to reveal the outline of a single dining room 5.70 m. long east–west by at least 3.05 m. wide north–south, or 4.90–4.95 m. long inside. The construction of the walls is similar to that of Building L:16–17. Clay packing for a banquette at least 0.65–0.70 m. wide was uncovered along the south wall, but its retaining wall was not found. A small test made within this packing revealed that the filling was solidly of clay, but nothing of chronological significance was recovered. The room appears on the 6th-century B.C. plan (Plan 3) largely on the basis of its similarity to Building L:16–17 and on the likelihood that the two rooms were connected by a third, Building L:15–16.

BUILDING N–O:18–19: TWO DINING ROOMS (INCOMPLETE) (Fig. 7)

South of the buildings just described, the slope of the Lower Terrace flattens out, providing space for rooms that undoubtedly extended in a row from N–O:18–19 to N:12–13 at the west. Because of the poor state of preservation we did not explore this area in depth, confining our investigations to the eastern and western ends of the row.

The small area that, for the most part, falls within the eastern two-thirds of N:18 and the northeastern quarter of O:18 was one of the most densely occupied areas in the Sanctuary. It is defined on the south by a broad robbing trench that removed the Roman terrace Wall 11 for the Middle Terrace and on the east by the northwest corner of the Roman Propylon N–P:19–20, which successfully eliminated all evidence of earlier construction there. With walls built on or beside other walls and with little intervening fill to provide good chronological sequences, no complete plan could be recovered for any one period. Nevertheless, the remains are of interest—in the Archaic period for their mere existence, in the Classical and Hellenistic periods for their proximity to the central stairway—and for these reasons are described here.

In the Archaic period a broad wall running north–south in the eastern half of N:18 separated two contiguous dining rooms to the south and east of Building M:17–18. Exposed for a length of 3.00 m., the wall consists of a wide socle of fieldstones, 0.70 m. wide and 0.50 m. high, on which rests 0.15 m. of a pisé superstructure. Both ends of the wall were removed by later constructions. Nevertheless, a portion of the 0.60 m.-wide south wall of the east room could be followed for 1.70 m., up to the northwest corner of the Roman Propylon N–P:19–20. We estimate, however, that originally it must have extended at least 5.00 m. north to end in the eastern half of N:19, roughly on line with the east wall of the late-5th-century B.C. Building M–N:19 (see Plan 4).

Virtually no furnishings could be associated with this room, apart from a row of four or five stones, tentatively associated with a retaining wall for a south banquette 1.00 m. wide.⁵¹

the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace in O–P:23–26. For the coin, 68-1263, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, no. 10, p. 325.

⁵⁰ In Bookidis 1969, this room is labeled No. 2. A line of stones, visible in figure 1, p. 299, south of the numeral 2, may be part of the banquette wall or back wall, as suggested on p. 304, fig. 3.

⁵¹ The stones rest on bedrock between the base of the boundary stone visible in Plan 5 and the northwest corner of the Roman Propylon N–P:19–20. Thus, it is also possible that they are related to one of these two features. Between the boundary stone and the early south wall of this room we removed three successive clay layers that may have been resurfacings of the banquette top.

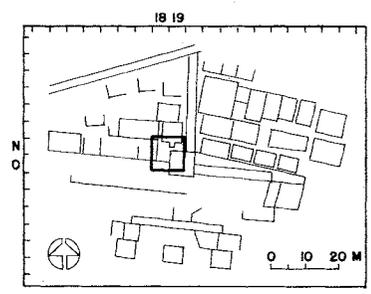
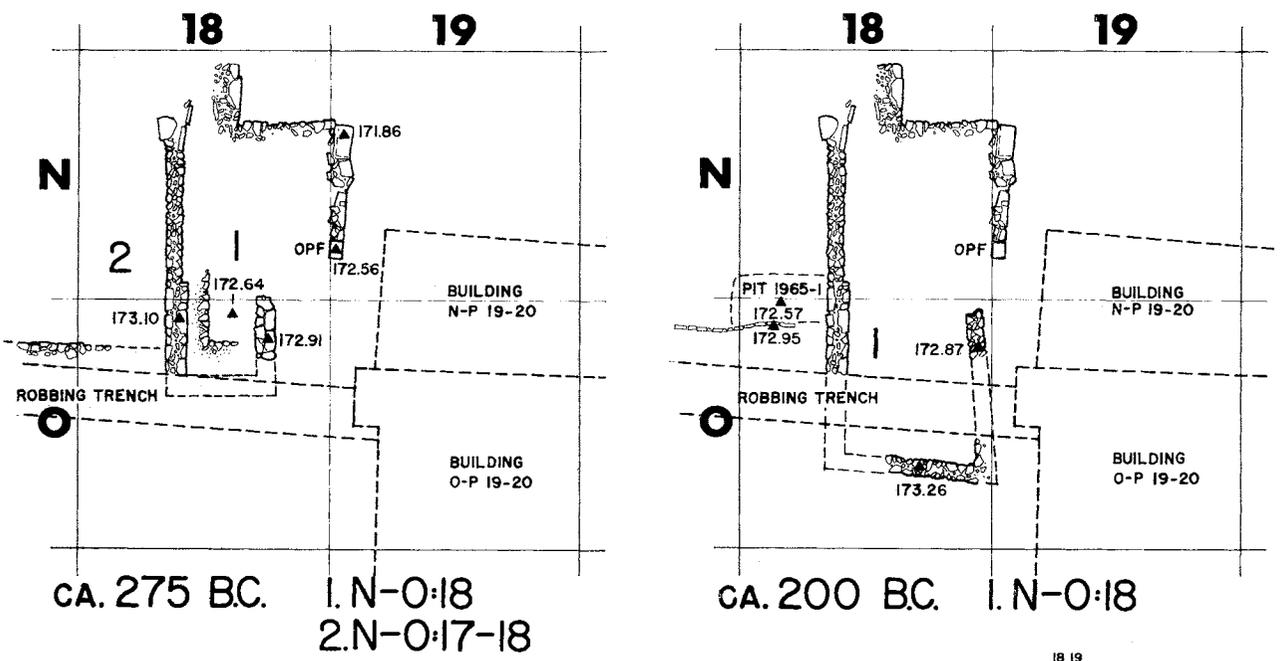
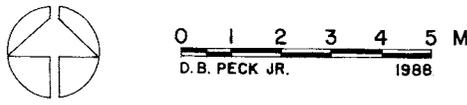
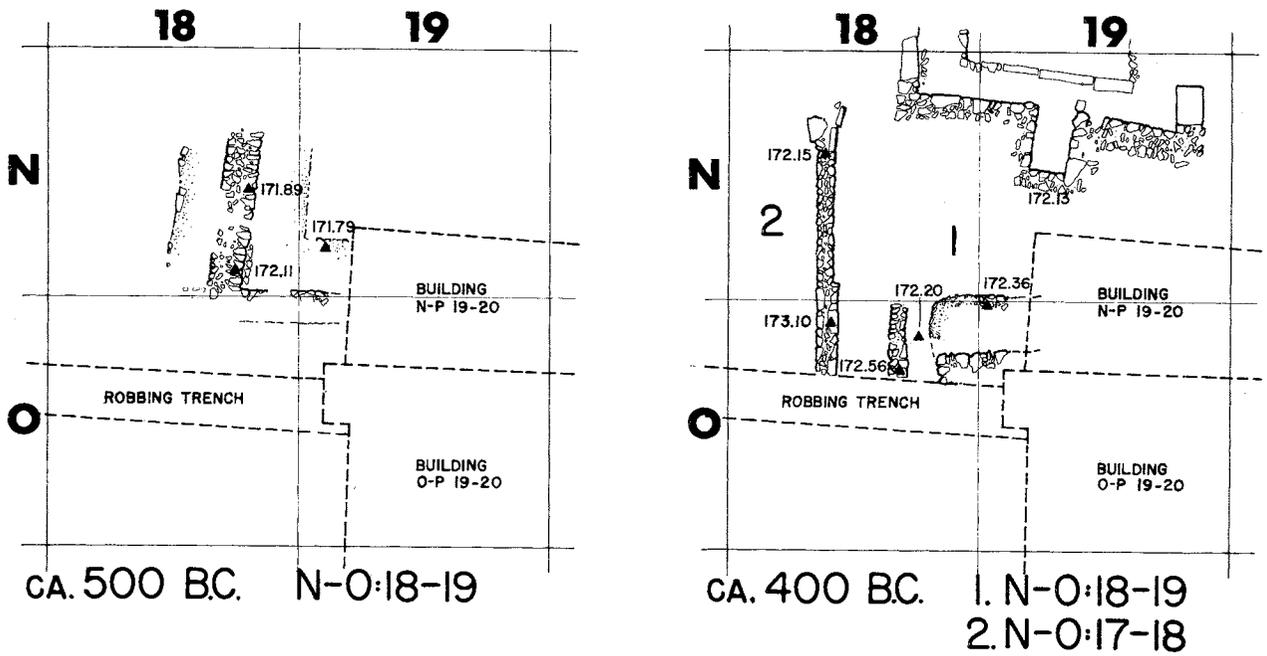


Fig. 7. Plan: Building N-O:18-19, four phases

For the west room the remains are equally sparse. A short, 0.50 m. stretch of the south wall was uncovered as well as a substantial segment of the retaining wall for the 0.80 m. wide east banquette. The clay surface of the banquette continued up onto the interior face of the room's east wall. If we are correct in our identification of the south wall, this west room cannot have been much more than 3.50 m. long from north to south, for it is limited on the north by Building M:17–18. Its western limits are unknown.

Evidence for the date of the east room's construction is provided by a handful of sherds, chiefly from coarse wares of the 6th century B.C., which were recovered in packing behind the south wall (lot 6195). A fragment, tentatively identified as a Conventionalizing kalathiskos type 3, may set the lower limit around the end of the 6th century B.C.

As for the west room, pottery from the couch packing (lot 3424) resembles lot 6195. A further criterion of the structure's Archaic date, however, is the building technique of the north–south wall, which closely resembles that of Building L:23, that is, densely packed, small stones making a wall somewhat broader than usual. Both rooms were dismantled in the late 5th century B.C. to make way for another complex just above them.

BUILDING N:12–13: TWO DINING ROOMS (Fig. 8)

If we continue 24.00 m. west from the party wall for Building N–O:18–19, passing over three to four unexplored rooms, we encounter Building N:12–13, the westernmost structure of Archaic date to have been excavated in the Sanctuary. It lies *ca.* 1.00 m. west and 2.00 m. south of Building L–M:14–15 and is now covered by its Hellenistic successor (Chapter 7). Despite the overbuilding, enough information can be reconstructed from tests beneath the Hellenistic floor to restore the original plan. This is a simple one, comprising two contiguous dining rooms of nearly equal size, both entered from the north. Their combined length is estimated to have been *ca.* 9.80–10.12 m. from east to west, their width *ca.* 4.40–5.00 m. from north to south.

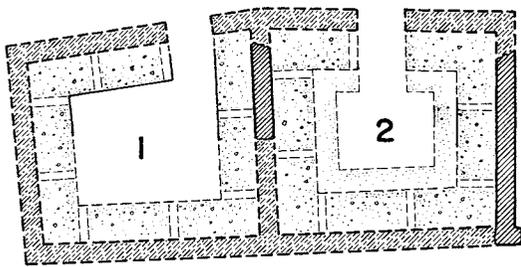
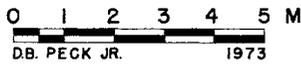
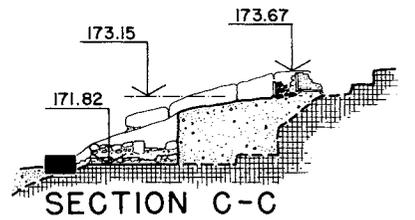
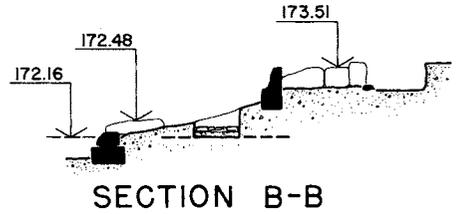
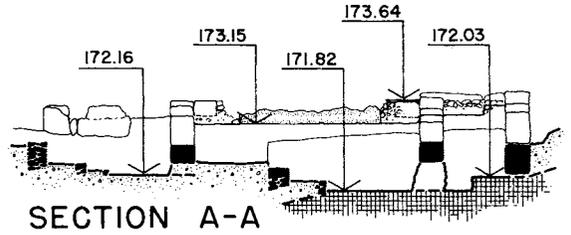
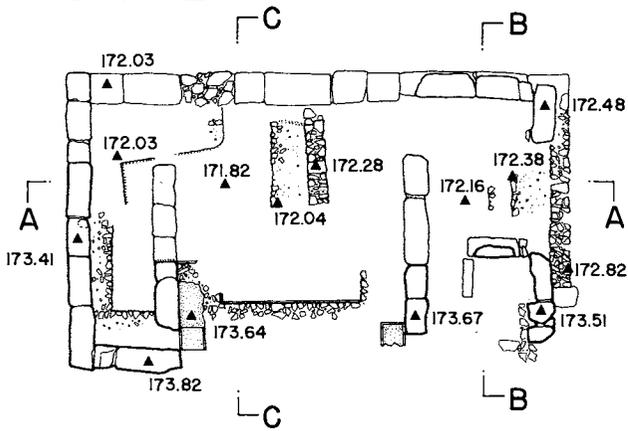
Preserved are virtually the entire east wall with its south corner (visible beneath the Hellenistic breccia wall in Pl. 38:c), the northern half of the party wall, parts of the north, west, and east banquettes in the western Room 1, and a small portion of the east banquette in the eastern Room 2. From these banquettes we can restore the missing exterior walls. To judge by the angle of the north banquette in Room 1, the exterior north wall did not follow a straight line but veered to the southwest in front of Room 1. Why this change in orientation should have occurred is not clear, unless some preexisting structure to the north, not investigated by us, blocked its way.

Both the east exterior wall and the party wall are constructed of sizable fieldstones laid in two rows with occasional larger headers, most notably at the southeast corner of the building. The walls, *ca.* 0.38–0.40 m. thick, stand to a maximum height of 0.48 m. above interior floor level. Given the large number of fieldstones found over the early building beneath the Hellenistic floor, the early walls may well have continued in stone to the roof. Nothing of the roof was found.

Of the two rooms the western dining Room 1 is the better preserved. Its entrance lay on the north side at 0.75 m. from the interior northeast corner, or *ca.* 3.25 m. from the restored northwest exterior corner of the building. Although the door was not found, the passage that leads from the door into the room was, allowing us to fix its position exactly and to restore its width at 0.80–0.90 m.

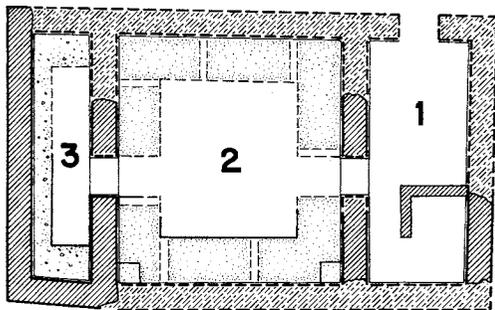
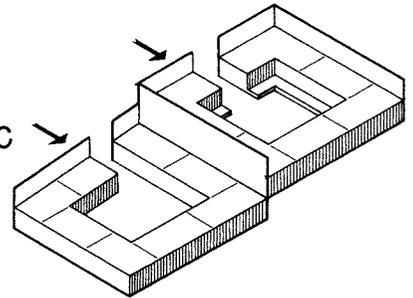
The room is an estimated 4.35–4.50 m. long east–west by 3.65–4.15 m. north–south. Banquettes 0.75 m. wide and at least 0.28 m. high line the east, north, and west walls of the room, and presumably also the unexplored south side. Cut from bedrock, they are filled out with small stones and earth where bedrock breaks off. Although no armrests survive and the individual couch lengths must therefore be restored, the disposition of the couches is clear, namely, two against each wall, or eight in all. Because of the strongly off-center door, two couches can be restored on the north side to the west of the door, while the east couch ends against the east

STATE



PHASE I RESTORED

VOLUMETRIC DIAGRAM
NOT TO SCALE



PHASE 2 RESTORED

VOLUMETRIC DIAGRAM
NOT TO SCALE

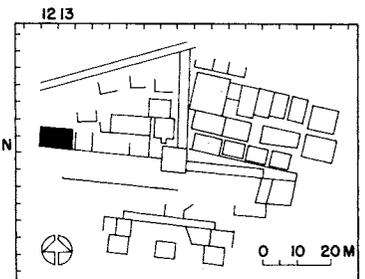
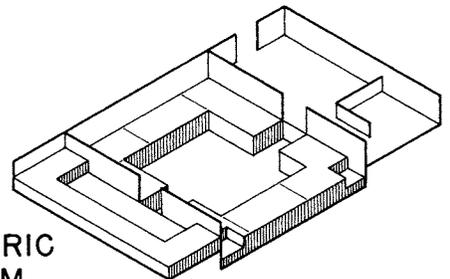


FIG. 8. Plan: Building N:12-13

door jamb without the customary half-couch flanking the door passage. The individual lengths for all eight couches are estimated as follows, beginning to the west of the door:

| | |
|----------|---------|
| 1. North | 1.45 m. |
| 2. North | 1.45 m. |
| 3. West | 1.47 m. |
| 4. West | 1.47 m. |
| 5. South | 1.77 m. |
| 6. South | 1.77 m. |
| 7. East | 1.65 m. |
| 8. East | 1.65 m. |

The floor consists of a thin layer of clay (+171.82 m.) overlying trimmed bedrock.

Only a small section of the eastern dining room, 2, was investigated, and its restored plan is therefore somewhat hypothetical. The room is 4.45 m. long from east to west by an estimated 3.95–4.20 m. from north to south. Since its east exterior wall is almost completely preserved, the entrance must have stood on the north side; we shall return to it shortly.

The small portion of the east banquette that was exposed is built entirely of rubble and earth. Preserved to a height of 0.12 m., it is somewhat wider than those in Room 1, or 0.80 m. In addition, a low dais lies at the base of the banquette. *Ca.* 0.40 m. wide and 0.10 m. high, the dais is built of a single row of stones and earth and is plastered with clay. The clay floor is 0.34 m. higher than that of Room 1 (+172.16 m.).

Both the wider couch and the dais require a slightly different reconstruction for Room 2. Their combined width of 1.20 m., when added to the estimated width of the entrance, *ca.* 0.85 m., leaves only 2.45 m. for couches on the north side of the room. For this reason we have followed the arrangement typical of the other Archaic rooms, namely, one couch *ca.* 1.80 m. long west of the door, two along each of the remaining walls, and a half-couch *ca.* 1.00 m. long to the east of the door, or seven and one-half couches in all. Because of the somewhat larger dimensions of Room 2, the estimated lengths of the couches differ somewhat from those in Room 1:

| | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.80 m. |
| 2. West | 1.65 m. |
| 3. West | 1.65 m. |
| 4. South | 1.65 m. |
| 5. South | 1.65 m. |
| 6. East | 1.55 m. |
| 7. East | 1.55 m. |
| 8. Northeast | 1.00 m. (half) |

Although evidence for the destruction of Building N:12–13 is well attested, there is very little for its construction. A small test against the outside of the southeast corner yielded a handmade seated figurine and a small number of sherds (chiefly votive, lot 72-103), dating no later than the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. To this evidence can be added the style of wall construction, that is, the use of occasional fieldstone “headers” such as are used in Building M–N:20–26, which was erected just before the end of the 6th century B.C.⁵²

The destruction of phase 1 of Building N:12–13 took the form of a systematic dismantling of the walls to make way for a more elaborate structure. The fieldstones from the walls were thrown into the deeper, west room, and a considerable amount of earth was spread over them.

⁵² Because the test in Room 2 went no deeper than the clay floor described above, we cannot reject the possibility that there was an earlier phase to this room with a floor level and banquette construction more nearly resembling those in Room 1.

Pottery from the rubble fill dated, for the most part, to the second half of the 5th century B.C. (lots 72-101 [Room 1], 72-102 [Room 2]). Five pieces, however, point to a lower date. These are a fragmentary lamp of a type that can span the late 5th to early 4th century B.C.,⁵³ a moldmade terracotta figurine head of the 4th century B.C. (MF-72-189), and three handles of Corinthian type A amphoras with palmette stamps, one of which has been dated to the mid-4th century B.C.⁵⁴ It therefore seems likely that the destruction of the building and the construction of its successor took place sometime in the second half of the 4th century B.C.

CONCLUSIONS

The earliest architectural remains on the Lower Terrace probably belong to the first half of the 6th century B.C. At that date they are perhaps 150 or more years later than the earliest votives offered in the Sanctuary. Although one could therefore argue that the Lower Terrace played no part in the early life of the Sanctuary, we believe that it did, for significantly, when buildings do begin to appear in numbers in the second half of the 6th century B.C., they are all devoted to a uniform function and follow a fairly uniform plan. This uniformity suggests either that there is a considerable organization of the cult at this time or that a preexisting tradition is given better form. Since collective consumption of the sacrifice is not a phenomenon exclusive to Late Archaic Greece but is attested as early as Homer, when sacrifices were eaten around an altar in the open air, there is the possibility that meals were enjoyed in the Sanctuary before the late 6th century B.C. The solitary wall in N:24–25, tentatively dated to the first half of the 6th century B.C., is sufficiently similar to the walls of the later dining rooms, both in building technique and in length, to suggest that it was part of a similar structure. We have also mentioned the presence of bones with butchering marks in the construction packing for Room 3, Building M–N:20–26 (above). But if there are unanswered questions about the use of the Lower Terrace from the 8th to the early 6th century B.C., there can be no doubt about its function by Late Archaic times. At least ten separate banquet halls, or fifteen dining rooms, are known to have existed then, covering an area measuring at least 75.00 m. east–west by 15.00 m. north–south. Moreover, there were others, not fully investigated, to the west of Building N–O:24–25, beneath the Classical Building N:21, west of N:18–19, and in L:18–19.⁵⁵ Thus within the Sanctuary as a whole evidence shows that the Lower Terrace was reserved exclusively for communal dining. No indications of such activity survived on the Middle Terrace.

By the end of the 6th century B.C. the boundaries of the Lower Terrace are established, on the north by the road and its retaining wall, on the south by the Middle Terrace; the limits to east and west have not been found. The Lower Terrace at this time is nearly as extensive as it becomes one hundred years later. Was the Lower Terrace enclosed by a temenos wall? It probably was not. We have intentionally used the term “retaining wall” for the wall that both retained the lowest row of buildings on the Lower Terrace and protected the road from downwash. How high this wall reached we cannot say. For most of its preserved length it is simply a single line of stones making one good, north face. It may not, therefore, have stood very high but simply followed the road without returns to the south. No evidence of a temenos wall was found along the east

⁵³ *Agora IV*, pp. 56–57, type 23A.

⁵⁴ C-72-50 to C-72-52. The stamped amphora handles will be published separately by Carolyn G. Koehler.

⁵⁵ A narrow test trench laid out to the north of Building L–M:28 cut through a clay-packed banquette of 6th- or 5th-century B.C. date. Moreover, limited tests made in the summer of 1994 revealed portions of four adjacent rooms in L–N:29–31, as well as a fifth room to the south in N:29–30; the dates of these rooms are uncertain, for they were very badly preserved, but wall technique suggests either late 6th or 5th century B.C. These will be published in a separate report in *Hesperia*.

side of the Middle Terrace in P-Q:27; quite possibly, however, the buildings now represented by fugitive walls in O:26-27 may have functioned as a sufficient barrier so as to make a temenos wall unnecessary. Moreover, in the next two periods, the main stairway that ran up the center of the Sanctuary and the later entranceway in H-I:20 were accessible to all who approached the site from the road; neither gateway nor door-leaf restricted movement from the road to the Lower Terrace. We believe, therefore, that the Lower Terrace was not enclosed, either at this time or later.

These Late Archaic buildings are important on several counts. From their form we know that banqueters ate in a reclining position. Their number tells us that ritual dining was engaged in by more than just the priestly officials of the cult. We estimate that at least 101 persons could be accommodated on the existing couches. For reasons that we will discuss in Chapter 14, we believe that only one person reclined on a couch. But whether one person or more, the minimum is clearly greater than the number of possible cult officials; therefore, more than the priestesses participated in the meal. On the other hand, such a number must represent only a portion of the populace. Who these participants might have been will be discussed in a later fascicle.⁵⁶

The architectural setting for dining that is attested in the 6th century B.C. continues with few changes until 146 B.C. Characteristic, as we have seen, are the built banquette and the small scale with its accompanying emphasis on intimacy. Seven couches per room are usual, although the number varies, and half-couches are common.

What we do not find, or only begin to find, in the 6th century B.C. are the service rooms that are a common feature of the banquet halls of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Thus evidence for cooking is limited to fragmentary cooking pots, found in and under the buildings, which indicate that some sort of food was prepared somewhere on the site. Similarly lacking in the remains of the period, but in evidence later, is the separate bath unit where votaries could thoroughly wash themselves. Room 3 of Building L:16-17 may have served such a purpose, but one small room could scarcely have served 101 people. Perhaps *louteria* provided the first means of lustration. A third facility frequently incorporated in the later buildings is the sitting or bench room. This has its source in the Archaic period, but again examples are few. Building M:17-18 is certainly such a room. Larger than the narrow rooms that characterize the Classical banquet halls, it could have seated at least sixteen people.⁵⁷ A second room with bench may have existed in the complex in O:26-27. Nevertheless, the space allotted for sitting in the Archaic Lower Terrace is extremely small. Possibly the ritual surrounding sitting in a separate room was not yet an integral part of dining but was practiced by a limited group of people. It is noteworthy that the buildings within L-M:16-18 are somewhat more elaborate than other contemporary buildings on the Lower Terrace, and though they are in no way separated from the others, they could have been reserved for cult officials.

As we have seen thus far and will continue to see, the buildings when excavated contained no sets of complete table wares that could have been used in them. On the contrary, the material from these rooms is extremely fragmentary. Segments of drinking cups, bowls, and plates are mixed with coarse wares, votive miniatures, and, occasionally, bits of figurines. Full profiles are rare. Also lacking is any evidence of roof collapse in the form of roof tiles, timbers, or reeds. Undoubtedly then, before a building was dismantled, its equipment, together with the doors, tables, and roof tiles, was taken elsewhere.

As for the votive miniatures and occasional fragments of figurines that occur in the debris in these rooms, we believe that they were neither used nor dedicated in the dining

⁵⁶ For a preliminary consideration of this question, see Bookidis 1990, pp. 86-94.

⁵⁷ This reconstruction is based on an allotment of 0.50 m. per person. The function of this room is discussed in Chapter 14.

room.⁵⁸ Within the Sanctuary as a whole, figurines are relatively rare on the Lower Terrace and never complete. Although fragments or, occasionally, even whole examples of miniature vessels are abundant on the Lower Terrace, especially in the Archaic period, their numbers cannot begin to compare with those found on the Middle Terrace. There, complete examples were found by the hundreds; beneath the northwest corner of Room E alone intact kalathiskoi were more abundant than earth (Pl. 64: lot 73-138).⁵⁹ So numerous were these offerings that they were used as packing beneath floors or behind walls and gradually permeated every shovelful of earth from one end of the site to the other. It is in this way, we believe, that they invaded the dining rooms.

We have said little about the means of circulation within the Archaic Sanctuary, largely because our evidence is slight. An entrance system for this period was never found, quite possibly because evidence for it may have been eradicated in later Classical times by subsequent remodelings. If the early entrance stood in the same place as the later one, in H-I:20, then we should also expect some predecessor to the Classical stairway in J-O:20. This need not have been a stone stairway but could have been an earth-topped walkway, much like those narrow passageways that separate one row of buildings from another. Unfortunately, nothing now exists except a suggestive space between buildings in that area.

Although it is difficult to determine the order in which buildings were erected on the Lower Terrace in the second half of the 6th century B.C., what evidence there is suggests that construction began at the top of the terrace next to the Middle Terrace, with Building N-O:25-26 and possibly also N-O:24-25, and progressed downhill.⁶⁰ The time span, however, was not great. If those two dining halls were constructed in the third or early fourth quarter of the century, the remaining buildings had been completed by the end of the 6th or beginning of the 5th century B.C. The speed with which these structures were built across the hillside carries several implications. Buildings may have gone up quickly because the practice of communal dining was already well established—either in the open air or under temporary shelters. The need to formalize that setting may have been motivated not only by a desire for protection from the natural elements but also by a desire to give greater structure to the ritual. That it was done reflects on the popularity of the cult in the late 6th century B.C. and on the considerable prosperity within the city as a whole.

⁵⁸ Compare Lower Terrace lots 6830 (note 24 above) and 75-249 (note 35 above) with lot 73-138 (described below in note 59), and with *Corinth* XVIII, i, Group 3, pp. 84-87, both from the Middle Terrace. Lot 1985 from the sacrificial Area D on the Middle Terrace contains 9,232 sherds, of which 7,713 are kalathiskoi.

⁵⁹ Lot 73-138 comes from a narrow strip of earth *ca.* 0.30 m. wide and 3.50 m. long that runs along the base of the east wall of Room A and partially underlies Room E (see Chapter 6). The lot contains the following:

Lot 73-138:

Total: 156 sherds, 4 figurines.

Votive miniatures 102: 1 pitcher; 98 kalathiskoi, of which 28 complete or merely chipped, 16 represented by more than half; 1 kotyle; 1 miniature kothon; 1 kernos-type offering tray.

Fine ware: 46 (chiefly small fragments): 7 oinochoai: 1 nearly complete small trefoil; 16 kotylai: ray based, semi-glazed examples; 1 Attic red figured kylix (*Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 364C, C-64-69C, p. 150); 4 5th-century one-handlers; 1 Attic saltcellar as *Agora* XII, no. 913, p. 301 (430-400 B.C.); 3 phialai; 1 plate.

Coarse ware 2: neck of Archaic trefoil oinochoe (*Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 638, C-73-358, p. 185), 1 lekane rim.

Cooking ware 3: all small body sherds.

Lamps 3 (all small fragments): 1 Howland type 20; 1 Howland type 21(?); 1 nozzle.

Figurines 4: 1 Archaic seated female; 1 male head (MF-73-74), and 1 banqueter, both 5th century B.C.; 1 unidentifiable fragment.

Date: second half of 5th century B.C.

⁶⁰ Two more dining rooms existed at the east end of this terrace in N:21. For the results of excavations made here in 1994, see forthcoming *Hesperia*.

THE MIDDLE TERRACE IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

(Plans 1, 3)

O-R:11-27

The central sector of the Sanctuary consists of a long strip of land extending across the full width of the excavated site from east to west. Its southern limit is the steeply rising bedrock that was extensively cut at the northern edge of the Upper Terrace to form a clear but irregular dividing line between these two parts of the Sanctuary (from P:13 to R:26). Below, to the north, the Lower Terrace extends along the full width of the Middle Terrace and was divided from it by a succession of retaining walls, which were necessary to create a relatively level surface on the steep slope of the hill to the south (from N:20 to P:27). It was on this artificially created surface or, in a few instances, on the sloping bedrock itself that the structures described in this section were built.

The eastern boundary of the Middle Terrace seems to have been formed, in the Late Archaic and Classical periods, by the north-south Wall 21 (P:27 to R:26), but the area outside this wall to the east also produced some interesting features that are included in this chapter. The western edge of the Middle Terrace was clearly marked in the Classical and Hellenistic periods by the stone stairway and the Propylon described on pages 94-98 and 214-227 (Building O-P:19-20). In Roman times, however, one long wall (Wall 11 in O:11-18) and a parallel rock cutting in P-Q:13-20 extended the limits of the Middle Terrace a distance of at least 35 meters to the west of the Propylon.

With the exception of a few baulks, intentionally left undug, the Middle Terrace has been excavated to bedrock. The relationship between the natural downward slope of the rock and the several walls built across it is clearly illustrated in Plate 2 and in the section drawings in Plan 9. Throughout the Middle Terrace the earth fill over bedrock never accumulated to a depth of more than 1.75 m., and in most of the area it was considerably less. Stratification was often minimal; dumped fills and disturbed layers were the rule.

Although the architectural remains on the Middle Terrace are complex and fragmentary, an outline of the appearance of the area in its several stages of development can be glimpsed if contemporary walls, cuttings, and deposits are considered together. The growth of this part of the Sanctuary will therefore be described in chronological sequence, but it must be borne in mind that we lack the full picture for any given stage in that sequence. The general character of the structures on the Middle Terrace, however, remains fairly consistent throughout the long life of the Sanctuary. These buildings differ sharply in both function and form from the architecture and finds of the Lower Terrace. In moving up from that part of the Sanctuary, where dining complexes and domestic pottery dominate, one encounters a striking change to more strictly religious facilities and to the overwhelming predominance and greater quantity of votive pottery. Furthermore, from at least the 6th century B.C. onward, the Middle Terrace formed a self-contained unit whose boundaries were clearly marked by retaining walls. It was to remain the center of worship in the Sanctuary throughout the Greek period despite radical changes in its form. Some of these alterations, especially those of Roman times, help to account for the fragmentary nature of the earlier remains.

MYCENAEAN TO *ca.* 600 B.C.

The earliest objects excavated on the Middle Terrace are a few sherds of the Mycenaean, Protogeometric, and Geometric periods. The Mycenaean sherds are undoubtedly from activity associated with the architectural remains of this period excavated on the Lower Terrace (see Chapter 2). The Protogeometric and Geometric pottery is without architectural context.¹ The same is true of four bronze pins of Geometric/Early Archaic date, two bow-type fibulae, and a finger ring, found on the Middle Terrace. If these pieces of jewelry were votive objects, and not from graves,² they might point to cult activity on the site as early as the second half of the 8th century B.C. Twenty-nine more bronze pins from the Sanctuary can be dated to the 7th or very early 6th century.³

Conclusive proof that construction had begun and that the Sanctuary was operating in the first half of the 7th century B.C. is supplied by a fragment of a combination pan and cover tile of terracotta (Chapter 16, **68**: Fig. 88). It was found in R:20–21 a few meters to the south of the southern border of the Middle Terrace. In size and form it closely resembles tiles from the Protocorinthian Temple of Apollo in the lower city and could only have stood on a building with sturdy walls. The most logical position for such a structure in this period is the Middle Terrace, although we have found no walls or foundations of such an early date here or elsewhere in the Sanctuary. The tile, however, is good evidence for the existence of a substantial building on the site, *ca.* 700–650 B.C. In view of the abundant contemporary votive pottery from the Sanctuary, we might suggest that this building served an important function in the cult.

Evidence for another early building in the Sanctuary with a smaller, but decorated, roof is provided by a fragmentary painted terracotta antefix (Chapter 16, **69**: Pl. 62). Belonging to the earliest type of antefix found in Corinth, this piece is probably still of 7th-century B.C. date, or perhaps early 6th. Despite its findspot on the Lower Terrace in surface earth above the stairway, the antefix probably decorated the roof of a building on the Middle Terrace. As far as we can tell, no building on the Lower Terrace, at least in the Archaic period, had a painted roof. Although again we cannot associate this antefix with any suitable architectural remains, its survival clearly establishes the presence of another substantial roofed structure in the Sanctuary by at least the end of the 7th or beginning of the 6th century B.C. Since a temple or sacred building is more likely to have had a decorated roof than a domestic structure, we might infer that the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore contained such a building by *ca.* 600 B.C., if not earlier.

Further evidence for activity in the Sanctuary at about this time consists of the earliest wall excavated on the Middle Terrace, several pockets of votive pottery, and the bronze jewelry mentioned above. We describe the architectural remains first.

In O:23 there is a short stretch of wall oriented east–west and preserved for a length of only *ca.* 1.90 m.; it rests directly on bedrock (Pl. 9:b; Fig. 45A to left of Wall 11 on p. 313). No traces of joining walls were discovered at its damaged eastern end, and the western extension of the wall was removed at least as early as *ca.* 300 B.C. when the large, squared blocks of a wall belonging to a trapezoidal Hellenistic building were laid across its path (pp. 235–243). Construction is of small fieldstones (several of football size) set in clay; the original thickness of *ca.* 0.35 m. is preserved, but today the wall stands only to a maximum height of *ca.* 0.23 m. The north face is slightly more regular than the south. To the north and east of this wall no clearly associated strata were found, but a *terminus ante quem* for its date of construction is provided by a small patch of hard-packed

¹ Christopher Pfaff will publish this material separately.

² For a Protogeometric or Early Geometric grave (1972-8) excavated on the Lower Terrace in K:14, see p. 15 above.

³ These and other bronze objects from the Sanctuary will be fully published in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. See above p. 16, note 14.

clay floor of the second half of the 4th century B.C. that covered it (lot 2234). Under this floor and directly over bedrock there was a stratum of earth *ca.* 0.12 m. deep that extended up to the south face of the wall for its full preserved length. The pottery from this layer is mainly Late Protocorinthian, but the latest sherds date the wall to *ca.* 600 B.C. or slightly later (lot 2235).⁴

The function and precise architectural setting of this short stretch of wall (Pl. 41:a, right) cannot be determined. With the exception of a few pieces of coarse ware, however, almost all the fragmentary pottery in the lowest layer adjacent to it is votive in character, that is, kalathiskoi, miniature kotylai, and oinochoai. This permits the suggestion that the wall may have had some religious purpose. As a foundation, the wall may have supported a superstructure in mud brick, but it is relatively thin and not of very substantial construction. If it did not form part of a building, perhaps this wall belonged to some other kind of construction, such as a pit with stone walls, similar to two later examples excavated on the Middle Terrace.⁵

Of possible significance for reconstructing the earliest phases of the Sanctuary is the roughly east–west orientation of this wall. It is in fact parallel to two structures of the 6th century B.C. that will be described in the next section. Both lie to the south. One of these is the building with a bench in P:20–22, whose north wall shares the same east–west orientation (pp. 56–57 below). The other is the retaining wall that extends across the Middle Terrace from P:21 to P:27 (Wall 2, pp. 57–63 below).

This east–west orientation of wall construction, established by at least the end of the 7th century B.C., is quite different from the line followed by several cuttings that survive in the bedrock to the south in P:18–19, 21–22, and 25. They can be seen on Plan 1. These shallow cuttings may have once served as beddings for walls or have been intended for some other unknown purpose, but no traces of construction or any other helpful evidence has been preserved with them. Although the cuttings are probably too widely separated to have formed part of a single building, it is difficult to believe that the southwest to northeast orientation they all share is fortuitous. They are much more likely to have been part of a single phase of construction in the Sanctuary.

Not only was the orientation of construction in this phase strikingly different from that of the roughly east–west line followed by the walls of *ca.* 600 B.C. and later, but the phase was probably earlier. For the date of the large L-shaped cutting in P:18–19 we have no evidence. The two parallel cuttings in P:20–21, however, were covered no later than *ca.* 550 B.C. by the west wall and the floor of the stone oikos in P–Q:21–22 (pp. 60–61 below). The northernmost of the two cuttings in P:25 was partly obliterated at the same time by the rock-cut footing trench for the terrace Wall 2 to be described (pp. 57–63 below). By this time, then, and probably even before *ca.* 600 B.C., these rock cuttings had ceased to serve any useful purpose and were covered over. They provide important, though meager, evidence that some kind of construction took place on the Middle Terrace in the 7th century B.C. or perhaps earlier. It may even have involved three separate structures. Naturally, without any associated walls or pottery we cannot determine their precise date or nature. We can perhaps conclude that the orientation followed by these buildings was abandoned by the time the first preserved wall in O:23 was constructed.

Two important deposits of votive pottery that demonstrate cult activity in the 7th century B.C. were found just to the south of the southern edge of the Middle Terrace (p. 255). On the Middle Terrace itself we excavated two pockets of earth containing miniatures and other votive pottery no later than *ca.* 600 B.C. Neither can be associated with any architectural remains, but they both show that the site was established as a religious center by this time. In the southern sector

⁴ The pottery in lot 2235 is discussed by Pemberton in *Corinth XVIII*, i, p. 1. With this pottery four animal bones were collected that cannot be identified (bone lot 65-32).

⁵ Pit A, pp. 161–162 below, and Pit E, pp. 163–164 below.

of O:22, north of the later oikos, there was an isolated pocket of earth directly over bedrock that yielded pottery lot 4353. A shallow layer of earth over bedrock in the southwest corner of O:21 produced pottery lot 4366. Each of these lots contained only a handful of assorted coarse ware and painted sherds, but all the pottery had been badly broken before finding its way into these two pockets of earth, and some pieces are considerably earlier than the terminal date of *ca.* 600 B.C. More Protocorinthian pottery turned up in this same sector of the Middle Terrace, that is, near the earliest preserved wall in O:23. Although they were mixed in with later material, the Protocorinthian sherds in at least two lots (2236 and 2238) from O–P:22–23 closely resemble those in the votive deposit of the 7th century B.C. published as Group I by Pemberton in *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 79–81. Scattered and fragmentary as they are, these sherds nevertheless help to demonstrate the existence of a shrine on the north slope of Acrocorinth somewhat earlier than the first preserved segment of an Archaic wall.

THE 6TH CENTURY B.C.

In the formative period of the 6th century B.C. the Middle Terrace reached the approximate shape and size that were to characterize it until the rebuilding of the Sanctuary in Roman times. Deeply bedded retaining walls now defined, possibly for the first time, an oblong area measuring *ca.* 32 m., east–west, by *ca.* 12 m., north–south, in P–R:21–26. On the relatively level surface these walls helped to create stood the major cult buildings of the Archaic Sanctuary: a stone oikos at the western end in P–Q:21–23; a broad platform cut back into the bedrock of the hill along the southern edge, where sacrifices were performed, R:23–26; a small room and oblong court against the east wall of the Terrace in P–Q:26. All of these helped frame what seems to have been an open courtyard in which little trace of contemporary construction has survived, P–Q:23–25. In its earliest phases, the entrance to the Archaic Middle Terrace was a narrow passageway leading up the hill from the north. As we shall see, access could have been carefully controlled. For a restored plan of the Middle Terrace in the 6th century B.C., see Plan 3.

Before describing each of these essential parts of the Sanctuary, we must consider the remains of another 6th-century B.C. building that preceded them on the Middle Terrace (Fig. 9 on p. 65). Only two poorly preserved segments of its walls survive in P:20–22. In P:22 there is a short stretch of north–south wall, built of fieldstones packed in clay, with a single row of small stones parallel to it *ca.* 0.50 m. to the west. The latter probably marks the outer edge of a low clay bench, *ca.* 0.60 m. wide, that was built against the west face of the wall. Since only a shallow layer of the clay filling of the bench remained in place, its original height cannot be determined. Adjacent to the bench on the west was a small patch of contemporary clay floor and packing over bedrock. The wall itself is thick enough, *ca.* 0.45 m., to have served as the outside wall of a room that had an interior clay bench along at least part of its east side. Only *ca.* 1.10 m. of this wall survives today, and it stands to a height of only 0.28 m. Over its broken southern end is a large patch of stone and concrete belonging to the foundations of a Roman stoa (pp. 310–314 below). Its northern end and the proposed clay bench were both destroyed when the deep foundation trench for the north wall of the 6th-century B.C. oikos was cut across them. They lie well below, and would have been covered by, the floor of this later structure (Pl. 9:c).

The second wall, which was also partly destroyed by the same rock-cut foundation trench, is oriented east–west and lies in the northern part of P:20–21. It is identical in thickness and in its fieldstone construction to the short stretch of wall with bench just described. It also shares with the latter a distinct thickening at the bottom directly over the bedrock on which both walls rest. At its western end in P:20 this east–west wall breaks off at the eastern side of the late-4th-century B.C. Propylon (see pp. 214–227 below); it would have been damaged, at the latest, when this building

was constructed. It is preserved for a length of *ca.* 4.15 m. No traces of joining walls have been found at either end, but this is hardly surprising in view of the larger, later structures that crowd in on this wall on all four sides (Pls. 9:e, 10:a).

Taken together, these two isolated walls could once have formed the northeast corner of a building that had a clay floor and a low interior bench along at least part of its east side. Unfortunately, the area within the northeast corner of the room so formed was the scene of too much later building activity to provide any evidence of its original function, except for the bench. Parallels from the dining units of the Lower Terrace suggest that the width of this construction is more appropriate for a bench than for a dining couch.⁶ It may also be significant that the long history of construction on the Middle Terrace has revealed no other evidence of dining facilities in this part of the Sanctuary. Another clue as to the purpose of the room with a bench may be its size. This can be only roughly estimated, for construction of the later stone oikos destroyed the actual corner formed by the room's two surviving walls, and we have no means of determining how far the room extended to the west. The building, however, had a minimum exterior, east–west dimension of 7.00 m., and the existence of the clay bench and floor indicates that it was roofed. Given the modest scale of construction on the Middle Terrace in the Archaic period, it is legitimate to infer that a building of these dimensions must have been of considerable importance.

A *terminus ante quem* for the building with a bench is fixed by the date of *ca.* 550 B.C., when the oikos was built over it. Helpful evidence is also provided by the pottery in the earth that lay on bedrock against the inner face of the building's north wall; none of these sherds appears to be later than *ca.* 550 B.C. or perhaps slightly earlier (lot 4370). North of this same wall, outside the building, a stratum that ran up to it and partly under the wall contained pottery of the first half of the 6th century B.C. (lot 4364), while below this, directly over bedrock, there was another layer in which the latest sherds are to be dated *ca.* 600 B.C. (lot 4366). A small amount of pottery of the 6th century B.C. and earlier was also recovered from the clay filling of the bench on the east side of the room (lot 73-131) and from below the clay floor (lot 73-132), but it has not yielded a more precise date.

Built against the outer face of this building's north wall in O–P:20 (Fig. 9), and perhaps contemporary with it, is part of the bottom of a poorly preserved stuccoed basin. Nowhere is its top preserved, so that its original depth cannot be determined (preserved depth, 0.39 m.), nor do we have evidence for its date of construction. It appears to have been cut through and almost totally destroyed when the eastern wall of the Propylon in O–P:19–20 was built in the late 4th century B.C. This basin may have been used for storing water collected from the roof of either the 6th-century B.C. building with a bench or some later unknown structure. The basin is visible in the upper left corner of Plate 40:a.

Sometime in the first half of the 6th century B.C., then, a substantial building was constructed on the western side of the Middle Terrace. Little of its plan can be recovered beyond the fact that it had a clay floor and a bench along the interior of at least its east wall. We do not know how it was approached or how exactly it was used. The evidence seems clear, however, that it was destroyed and filled in by *ca.* 550 B.C.⁷

RETAINING WALLS AND ENTRANCE

Near the middle of the 6th century B.C., the northern edge of the Middle Terrace was defined by the construction of a substantial wall running east–west for *ca.* 27.75 m., from the northeast

⁶ For dimensions of couches in the dining units of the Lower Terrace, see Chapter 14.

⁷ This building may be too late to be associated with the painted terracotta antefix Chapter 16, 69, mentioned above (p. 54). If so, it does, however, provide a useful example of the type of building this antefix could have helped to decorate.

corner of P:21 to the west edge of P:27. In addition to its function as a retaining wall for the fill on the terrace to the south, the western portion of the wall also served as the north wall of a contemporary building, the stone oikos described below (pp. 64–73). Only five contiguous and an isolated fragmentary sixth block of the retaining wall have survived *in situ* in P:22–23, but the line of the wall is marked by a footing trench neatly cut into the bedrock to provide a level surface *ca.* 0.75 m. wide for its lowest course. Although there is a gap in this cutting *ca.* 2.20 m. wide in P:23–24, the uniform width and the alignment of the cuttings for this trench on either side of the gap indicate that both eastern and western sections belonged to a single design. For an actual-state plan of the first phase of the retaining wall, see Plan 1 (also Pl. 10:a, b).

We shall describe the evidence for this retaining wall beginning at the west. No blocks remain in place at the far western end of the footing trench, but in P:21 the regular rock cutting along its southern edge returns for a few centimeters to the north. The rock-cut corner so formed was probably intended to accommodate the westernmost block of the wall. In any case, no trace of the footing trench was discovered beyond this point to the west. Another indication that this rock-cut setting bed was not continued to the west is the presence here of part of the north wall of the earlier room with a bench. The early building to which this wall belonged (see pp. 56–57 above) was destroyed and partly covered over when the rock-cut footing trench and the north wall of the oikos were constructed. The surviving portion of the earlier building's north wall lies in exactly the same line as the rock-cut footing trench, only *ca.* 0.30 m. beyond the latter's western end. Although the eastern end of the earlier wall was removed, clearly no similar attempt was made to demolish the rest of it to make room for a western extension of the footing trench. The latter, then, ended in P:21. The earlier wall was allowed to stand, perhaps because it helped now to retain the earth over the sloping bedrock to the south of it.

In P:22–23 five contiguous poros blocks from the lowest course of the wall remain *in situ* tightly wedged into the rock-cut footing trench (Pl. 10:a, b). Together they form a stretch of wall 4.60 m. long and 0.57 m. thick whose surviving blocks have been dressed and positioned with care and precision. We shall describe them in more detail below (pp. 64–65).

The rock-cut foundation trench continues to the east far beyond the easternmost of the five blocks in P:23. Only one other fragmentary poros block of the wall remains in place. This is a badly battered remnant in P:23. To the east of this, in P:23–24, there is a break in the foundation trench *ca.* 2.20 m. wide, which represents a gap intentionally left in the bedrock cutting (Pl. 9:a). It lies *ca.* 11.50 m. from the western end of the rock-cut trench and *ca.* 14 m. from what we presume to have been its eastern end in P:27.

The bedrock in this gap shows no trace of cuttings except for a narrow channel that carried off water to the north from a stuccoed conduit running along the north face of the retaining wall (Pl. 9:b; described further, pp. 68–69 below). We found no indication that either the conduit or the surrounding bedrock had ever been covered. On the west side of this gap in the rock-cut wall bedding, the bedrock ends in an irregular line. A possible explanation is that the bedrock here slopes to the north, dropping to a level below that of the floor of the rock-cut trench. Consequently, there was no need to cut the rock to support the lowest blocks of the wall.

To anchor them into position and to provide a level underpinning it probably would have been necessary to wedge some smaller stones under the blocks directly over bedrock. These smaller, uncut stones filling the gap between wall bedding and bedrock may have permitted the foundation to “weep” and naturally drain off to the north the groundwater from the Middle Terrace, here at this lowest point in the bedrock.⁸

On the east side of the gap in the bedrock wall bedding the position of the end of the retaining wall can be established with confidence. In P:24 the regular line of cut bedrock along the southern

⁸ We owe this suggestion to Charles K. Williams II.

edge of the footing trench returns for at least 0.25 m. to the north, here forming a firm corner. From this point eastward it was possible to follow the line of the rock-cut footing trench for *ca.* 7.00 m. until it disappeared under two later walls on the east side of P:25. In adjacent P:26 we have left two baulks of earth over the path of the foundation cutting, but enough of it has been excavated to prove that the foundation cutting extended across into P:27. Here it stops just short of a thick north-south wall that seems to have marked the eastern limit of the Middle Terrace, Wall 21 (see pp. 62-63 below). Since excavation to bedrock in P:27 clearly established that the rock-cut foundation trench did not continue to the east of this wall, its most likely terminus would have been the point at which Wall 21 cuts across it.

The cuttings and blocks just described belong to a large wall that was built across the northern edge of the Middle Terrace from P:21 to P:27. It probably consisted of squared blocks *ca.* 0.57 m. thick set into the rock-cut footing trench and built up to a considerable height. Since (apart from the Archaic oikos) no other contemporary walls or rock cuttings were found that can be associated with this foundation trench to form a recognizable building plan, the most logical function for this construction is that of a retaining wall for the area to the south. In addition to separating the Middle Terrace from the Lower Terrace to the north, it helped to form a level area to the south where the bedrock rises fairly abruptly. In fact, the construction problems created by the difference in levels that characterize this steep part of the site deserve brief comment.

The section drawings in Plan 9 and elevation numbers on Figure 9 (p. 65) clearly illustrate the general problem. The bedrock drops off so sharply from south to north throughout the Sanctuary that east-west retaining walls were necessary at frequent intervals in all periods to help create relatively level platforms for buildings. On the Middle Terrace the sloping contour of the rock is not consistent. South of the line that divides grid square P from Q, for instance, the surface of the rock is fairly flat. North of this same line, however, the slope downward is quite sharp. In the particular case of the retaining wall under discussion, we must examine the area labeled "Building P:Q 21-23" in Section A-A on Plan 9. Here the level of the top of the wall as now preserved is given as +173.29 m. Only *ca.* 6.00 m. to the south, the general level of the bedrock rises to *ca.* +175.00 m. To cope with such a discrepancy it was probably necessary to build up the large retaining wall to a minimum level of *ca.* 2.00 m. above its present height. This would have required at least six additional courses of squared blocks, if the height of the blocks in the lowest course (0.30 m.) was maintained. Even so, six or seven additional courses of blocks would only have brought the retaining wall up to roughly the level of bedrock *ca.* 6.00 m. to the south. If, as seems likely, the wall stood up above ground level within the Middle Terrace, helping to define it as well as retaining the earth to the south, then it probably consisted of at least ten courses and would have been *ca.* 3.00 m. high. A wall of such ambitious proportions may help to account for the depth (maximum *ca.* 0.25 m.) and precision of its rock-cut foundation trench.

Good evidence for the date of this earliest retaining wall on the Middle Terrace was recovered in the western sector, where the packing behind the easternmost block in P:23 and south of the five contiguous blocks in P:22-23 produced sherds that are no later than *ca.* 550 B.C. (lot 2238).

We found no evidence of a door or entrance in this earliest wall that would have given access to the Middle Terrace from the north.

Near the end of the 6th century B.C. this earliest north retaining wall was rebuilt, probably to accompany the construction of a long north-south wall in P-R:26-27, which marked the eastern boundary of the Middle Terrace. For convenience we have labeled the new north retaining wall "Wall 2," and the north-south wall "Wall 21."

For some unknown reason the squared blocks that had formed the fabric of the earliest retaining wall beyond the northeast corner of the oikos were removed. Fieldstones and several roughly trimmed poros blocks of assorted shapes and sizes now made up the fabric of the new north retaining wall, Wall 2 (Pl. 9:d). On its north side it has a regular face with a firm line.

The south, or inside, face, in contrast, is quite irregular, particularly in its lowest "courses." The broken and uneven top surface of the wall today shows that it is nowhere preserved to its original height. It now stands to a maximum height of only *ca.* 0.65 m., but it is thick enough, *ca.* 0.45 m., and of solid enough construction to have been carried up in antiquity to perhaps three times this height. It is impossible to tell whether the wall was completely built of stone or whether mud bricks were originally set above a stone socle. In view of the considerable exposure of the north face of the wall to the driving winter rains on this steep hillside and the amount of earth fill it had to retain, mud brick construction seems unlikely.

Wall 2 was built on exactly the same east–west line as its predecessor and was in fact set down into the same foundation trench that had been cut into the bedrock for the squared blocks of the latter. It probably began at the northeast corner of the oikos in P:23 and continued across the northern edge of the Middle Terrace (Pl. 27:b) all the way to P:27, where it forms a corner with the east temenos wall to be described presently, Wall 21. The total preserved length of the new north retaining wall is *ca.* 15.00 m., but, as we shall see, it probably extended to the west beyond its present broken western end in P:24.

As now preserved, there is only one break in this substantial wall. It lies in P:25, where an entrance into the Middle Terrace was constructed. At a later date, this entrance was blocked up in such a way that both on the site today and on the actual-state plan (Plan 1) the original design is obscured. It is possible, however, to reconstruct the basic original layout. A gap of *ca.* 1.30 m. in width was left in the lowest courses of the wall directly over bedrock. This gap can best be observed on the north face of the wall in P:25 (Pl. 12:b). Definition was given to this opening in the wall by means of large, roughly trimmed poros blocks that were set on its east and west sides directly over bedrock to form the jambs. Two courses of these blocks survive on each side of the opening.

On the south side of Wall 2 in P:25 this entrance was further defined by two short walls of fieldstones, which meet the new north retaining wall at right angles and extend from it to the south. The walls are parallel to each other. They are both *ca.* 0.40–0.45 m. wide. They both rest directly on bedrock without foundation trenches and share the same kind of construction of fieldstones laid roughly in two rows with clay packing. The western of these two walls is preserved for a length of *ca.* 1.30 m.; the eastern, for *ca.* 1.50 m. In each case it is unlikely that we have the original length of the wall preserved. Although independent pottery evidence for the construction date of these two walls is lacking, they so closely resemble each other in width, fabric, level, and orientation that they should be regarded as having been built at the same time along the two sides of the new entrance in Wall 2. Confirmation of this view comes from the fact that they are both tightly bonded into the fabric of Wall 2 (Pl. 25:c at left).

The purpose of the two short walls framing the entrance was to hold back the earth fill to either side of it. A great deal of earth had to be thrown in behind both of these walls and to the south of Wall 2 in order to overcome the problem of the steeply rising rock in this part of the Middle Terrace. This was a difficulty that continued to confront builders in the Sanctuary (p. 59 above). Anyone passing through the entrance from the north was faced with a sharp increase in the level of the bedrock as he moved to the south. At a point only 3.50 m. south of the new retaining wall, for instance, in Q:25, the rock is *ca.* 1.00 m. higher than it is at the entrance. Significantly, the steepest rise in the rock occurs in the first *ca.* 1.50–2.00 m. of this passageway moving from north to south. The slope begins to level off considerably just beyond the southern ends of the two short walls. These two short cheek walls were built to help create a level surface on the Middle Terrace and to prevent the earth filling behind them from washing down the sloping bedrock into the entrance.

There seem to have been two phases in the construction of the entrance into the Middle Terrace in P:25. The earliest doorway in the new north retaining wall probably consisted of

a simple opening in the wall with a bedrock passageway through it. The door jambs and the cheek walls were set directly on bedrock. At this level we found no trace of cuttings for a threshold block, door posts, or any kind of gate construction. Nor were any steps or beddings for steps cut into the bedrock to the south of Wall 2 within the passageway created by the two cheek walls. It is conceivable that some such evidence was destroyed when the east wall of Room A in P-Q:25 was built *ca.* 300 B.C. (pp. 248–251 below) or that something now lies hidden under this thick wall that occupies part of the passageway. We have argued that the oblique rock cuttings visible on the Plan 1 in P:25 to the south of Wall 2 are earlier than *ca.* 600 B.C. (p. 55 above).

In its second phase the entrance was indeed provided with a threshold block. Again, the evidence for this can best be studied by consulting Plate 12:b. When this block was set in place, the former entrance was full of earth to a height of *ca.* 0.40 m. over bedrock. Resting directly on the level surface of the earth filling we found a large, squared, flat slab of poros that is set flush with the north face of Wall 2. Since it is 0.475 m. wide, it occupies the full width of the wall. Traces of tooling with a flat chisel are visible on its top surface, which, however, does not seem to be very worn. The slab, 0.145 m. thick and 0.79 m. long, does not occupy the full length of the opening in Wall 2. It is roughly centered in the old doorway, however, and small fieldstones have been set to either side of it level with its top surface. In its second phase, therefore, the entrance was fitted out with a stone threshold. It is possible that this slab was used as a threshold in the earlier entrance. We simply cannot tell. Since the slab does not have much wear on its upper surface, it is also possible that it served as the underpinning for a superimposed slab that served as the threshold proper.

At its eastern end the new north retaining wall joins the contemporary Wall 21, which probably served as the eastern temenos wall of the Middle Terrace. In contrast, evidence for the original design of the western sector of Wall 2 is not very satisfactory. Beyond the broken western end of the wall as it is now preserved in P:24, we found only soft, disturbed fills of earth over its presumed line. Since these for the most part continued down to bedrock and contained a great mixture of pottery and other finds extending in date into Late Roman times, it is likely that Wall 2 was pillaged here for building materials. Certainly a wall stood in this position, however, at least as late as *ca.* 300 B.C., because two partition walls of the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building were built up to it (p. 239 below). Also, the north wall of the Archaic oikos was standing in P:22–23 at the time when Wall 2 was constructed. It is probable, therefore, that, like its predecessor, the new north retaining wall for the Middle Terrace was built as far west as, and perhaps abutted, the northeast corner of the oikos.

Not only was Wall 2 laid out on exactly the same east–west line as its predecessor, but it also sits in the level rock-cut foundation trench that was originally designed for the latter's squared poros blocks. This trench was carefully and laboriously cut into the rock to accommodate a wall of more ambitious form and proportions than the fieldstone and trimmed pieces of poros in Wall 2. The latter is *ca.* 0.45–0.50 m. wide, whereas the width of the rock-cut foundation trench is *ca.* 0.70–0.75 m. Greater support for the underpinnings of Wall 2 would have been achieved if its builders had followed the practice demonstrated elsewhere in the sanctuary of cutting foundation trenches only a few centimeters wider than the blocks or stones of the walls that were wedged into them. Also, great care was taken to make sure that the southern line of the rock-cut foundation trench was straight and true, while the south face of Wall 2 is extremely uneven and irregular. Next, although the rock-cut trench is over 27.00 m. in length, an attempt seems to have been made to keep its flat floor on approximately the same level. At its western end in P:21 the floor of the trench lies at +173.01 m.; at its eastern extremity in P:27 the floor level is *ca.* +172.81 m. Given the length of the wall, this is a small discrepancy, one that would have had little impact on the coursing of a wall of squared poros blocks. On the other hand, the type of fieldstone construction found in Wall 2 by no means requires that the floor of its foundation trench be kept

horizontal. Finally, the foundation cutting continues all the way across the opening intentionally left in Wall 2 for the entrance into the Middle Terrace in P:25. The most plausible explanation for the continuous cutting is that it was designed for an earlier wall. A cutting of this nature, in this position, contemporary with the construction of Wall 2 and its doorway, could have served no useful purpose.

Further evidence that Wall 2 was built to replace an earlier retaining wall of squared blocks for which the rock-cut foundation trench was originally designed comes from the pottery found in two separate sectors of the trench. As we have seen, the sherds from the earth in the trench behind the surviving blocks in the western end of the earliest north retaining wall in P:22–23 are not later than *ca.* 550 B.C. (lot 2238; p. 59 above). From the earth still packed into the trench along the south face of Wall 2, however, we were able to recover over one hundred sherds that extend in date down to *ca.* 500 B.C. (lots 876, 2040). We conclude, therefore, that Wall 2 and its entrance were built along the northern edge of the Middle Terrace roughly fifty years later than the first retaining wall of squared blocks.

We do not know why it was necessary to replace the earlier retaining wall with Wall 2, nor what happened to the squared blocks of the former. We have not found them reused anywhere else in the Sanctuary, unless perhaps some of them found their way into the walls of the Roman Buildings T–U:19 and T–U:22 on the Upper Terrace; see Chapter 16, **98–109**. Some of the blocks may have been broken and then roughly trimmed for reuse in Wall 2. Prior to the construction of the latter, however, it seems clear that all the blocks had been removed from the rock-cut footing trench to the east of the oikos and the trench cleaned out to receive the new retaining wall. Since the north retaining wall was such an essential element in the overall design of the Middle Terrace, it is unlikely that a long period of time separated the building of the two phases revealed in the excavations. The most plausible hypothesis is that the earlier wall remained in service for about half a century after it was built *ca.* 550 B.C. and that soon after its destruction, or demolition, it was replaced by Wall 2.

In P:24, to the west of the entrance into the Middle Terrace, a layer of earth *ca.* 0.45 m. deep was excavated directly over bedrock. It lay against the inner (south) face of the north retaining wall and extended to the south for *ca.* 2.50 m. Like fills in P:26 to the east of the entrance (discussed below, p. 79), this earth was probably thrown in when Wall 2 was built, to help raise the ground level along the northern side of the Middle Terrace up to that of the higher bedrock a few meters to the south. No walls were found in this earth. The only cutting in the bedrock that emerged after it was removed is a circular posthole in the southeast corner of P:24. No contemporary floor level was found above this fill. Pottery in this earth, however, was abundant. Part of a votive dump seems to have been the source of this earth, for several intact miniature vases were among the many painted sherds thrown in here. Most of this material is to be dated in the 6th century B.C., nothing later than *ca.* 525–500 B.C. (lot 898). It provides helpful evidence for the date of Wall 2, supplementing the pottery found in the wall's foundation trench.

Although the ceramic evidence for the construction date of Wall 2 and the earlier phase of the entranceway has thus turned out to be fairly consistent, it does not permit precise chronological conclusions about the second phase of the doorway with its threshold block. Only a small amount of pottery, including two intact miniature vases, was recovered from the earth fill over bedrock under the threshold block. It is difficult to assign an exact date to this handful of sherds, but nothing is clearly later than the end of the 6th century B.C. or perhaps the beginning of the 5th (lot 2007). The length of the interval between the two phases of the doorway may, therefore, have been short, but it cannot be precisely determined.

Contemporary with Wall 2, which marked the northern limit of the Middle Terrace after *ca.* 500 B.C., is the long north–south Wall 21, which now defined its eastern side. Wall 2 makes a solid, bonded corner with Wall 21, at considerably less than a right angle, in P:27, and then the

latter extends to the south for at least 10.00 m. (Pl. 12:d). At its preserved southern end in R:26, Wall 21 stops abruptly against a steep outcropping of bedrock. No joining walls have survived to east or west, and we found no certain evidence that the wall continued to the south beyond this point. *Ca.* 1.90 m. higher up the hill to the south there is a rectangular rock-cut bedding for the foundation of a wall that lies exactly in the line of Wall 21. It seems, however, to have been designed to hold a squared block, and not the more irregular fieldstone construction of Wall 21. Directly south of this cutting there is a rock-cut foundation trench in S:26 of almost identical width (*ca.* 0.65 m.), whose level floor steps up in four stages from north to south. It shares the same orientation as the cutting just described, but it lies *ca.* 0.25 m. farther to the east. This was certainly cut to receive the squared blocks of a substantial wall. Since only a shallow layer of surface earth covered bedrock here, it is impossible to date these cuttings on the basis of pottery. From their position and form, however, we conclude that these cuttings are related to each other, that they belong to another structure on the Upper Terrace, and that they have no bearing on the terminus of Wall 21. Since Wall 21 is firmly set against the bedrock outcropping in R:26, it is probable that the wall ended here.

Although it is contemporary with the north wall of the Middle Terrace of *ca.* 500 B.C. and of roughly similar thickness (*ca.* 0.45–0.50 m.), Wall 21 was built of smaller fieldstones packed in clay with fewer trimmed blocks of poros. It stands today to a maximum height of only 1.02 m., but at no point do we have the original top. Certainly in Q:26–27, where it formed the east wall of Room E (pp. 79–80 below), Wall 21 must have been at least twice its preserved height. It is possible that the stone construction of the wall served as the socle of a superstructure in mud brick, but more likely, we think, that the wall was stone all the way up to the original top.

Unlike Wall 2, the east wall of the Middle Terrace has no gaps or openings. One could not enter the temenos from this eastern side. Also, the wall does not sit in a rock-cut footing trench. Its underpinnings rest either directly on the unworked surface of the natural bedrock or on reddish stony stereo. In two places, on either side of the northern end of the wall in P:27, this layer of stereo has been cut into to form a shallow bedding for the bottom of the wall. The pottery in the softer earth that we were able to dig out of these two cuttings provides helpful evidence for the date of the wall. In the cutting along the east face of the wall were sherds, three fragments of terracotta figurines, and two iron nails; none of these objects is later than the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. (lot 2245). The pottery from the foundation cutting on the west face of the wall is of similar date (lot 75-244; p. 79 below).

Walls 2 and 21, then, are part of a construction project of *ca.* 500 B.C. that gave clear definition to the eastern half of the Middle Terrace. Along with its new entrance, which was also part of this project, the Terrace was to retain this arrangement for roughly the next one hundred years.

THE CENTRAL COURTYARD IN P–Q:23–25

We have seen that the entrance leading into the Middle Terrace in the Archaic period was located at the gap in the north retaining wall in P:25. After passing through this opening, one moved up to the south, having on one's right the stone oikos that filled the western side of the Terrace (pp. 64–73 below). Opposite this entrance, *ca.* 7.00 m. to the south, lay a rock-cut platform at the southern edge of the Middle Terrace containing Area D, which, as we shall see, was probably used for sacrifices (pp. 74–78 below). To the east of the entrance, built up against the east wall of the Middle Terrace (Wall 21), was Room E, which was in service at least as early as the 6th century B.C. (pp. 79–80 below). On the site today, and on the actual-state plan (Plan 1), it is difficult to reconstruct the appearance of the area bordered by the oikos on the west, Room E on the east, and Area D on the south in the 6th century B.C., P–Q:23–25. This is due to the presence here of deep, rock-cut foundation trenches for later structures and of the thick walls of a Roman stoa that later occupied much of the area (pp. 310–314 below). It is possible that

these later operations have totally obliterated structures that stood here in the Archaic period, but in order to solve the problem of access to the oikos, to Room E, and to Area D, we prefer to conclude that this part of the Middle Terrace was free of construction in the 6th century B.C.

The area in question is a fairly spacious sector of the Middle Terrace, measuring *ca.* 15.50 by *ca.* 7.00 m. Although we excavated to bedrock throughout this entire area, no architectural remains of the 6th century B.C. came to light. This absence of evidence from the Archaic period is in sharp contrast to the situation on the west where the oikos stood, on the south where Area D is located, and on the east side, which was partly occupied by Room E. All three of these areas yielded remains dated to the 6th century B.C.

Bearing in mind the need to reach these three parts of the Middle Terrace from the north entrance and to move across from one to the other, we have conjectured that the fairly large space in P-Q:23-25 was not occupied by buildings or roofed over in the 6th century B.C. It was probably open to the sky and formed a Central Courtyard. An open area of these dimensions would have been a convenient addition to this part of the Sanctuary, where ritual activities seem to have been concentrated. It provides a suitable setting for ceremony and permits easy access to the three areas that open onto it.

As exposed today throughout the area of the presumed Courtyard, the bedrock is in many places rough and uneven. Moreover, as we have seen, it rises steeply from north to south. Since in the northern part of the Courtyard the level of the bedrock is *ca.* 1.60 m. below that in its southern portion, it would have been necessary to fill in behind (i.e., south of) the north retaining wall to correct this anomaly. It is likely also that the uneven surface of the bedrock in the southern part of the Courtyard was covered with earth. Unfortunately, erosion and later construction have left no trace of what we assume was a fairly uniform and level floor surface in the Courtyard.

THE ARCHAIC OIKOS, P-Q:21-23 (Fig. 9; Plan 9 A-A)

In the Archaic period the largest structure on the Middle Terrace was a spacious rectangular building on its western side in P-Q:21-23. Merely for convenience, without implying any function or identity, we have used the multipurpose term "oikos." Erosion and later building activity in this part of the site, especially in the Roman period, have left only meager remains of what seems to have been an important structure. Enough survives, however, to suggest a plausible, if incomplete, restoration of its original plan. The interior has been so effectively gutted by later construction that no trace of the original floor is preserved, either in the southern part of the building, where the floor must have been close to bedrock, or in the northern part, where, since the rock drops off so sharply, considerable filling in was necessary to create a surface level with that in the rest of the structure. On the other hand, the line of the four outer walls can be established (see the partial-state plan in Fig. 9).

The north wall of the oikos was formed by the western portion of the earlier retaining wall described above (p. 58). A corner cutting at the western end of the foundation trench for this wall in P:21 marks the position of the northwest corner of the oikos. No blocks remain in the rock-cut trench for a distance of 3.07 m. to the east of this corner cutting; they appear to have been ripped out in Roman times (p. 73 below). In P:22-23, however, good evidence for the position and appearance of the north wall of the oikos is provided by the five contiguous poros blocks of its lowest course, which are *in situ* on the floor of the rock-cut footing trench. These five blocks are shown on Plates 10:a, b, 11:a, and 41:a.

All the blocks are of identical dimensions, 0.92 m. long, 0.57 m. wide, and 0.30 m. high. They are set neatly together without clamps to form a continuous stretch of wall 4.60 m. in length and 0.57 m. thick. With the exception of the second block from the west, which lacks its northeast corner, all were found in perfect condition. All visible surfaces are smoothly dressed. No trace of anathyrosis is evident on the two blocks at the extremities. The four preserved joints are very

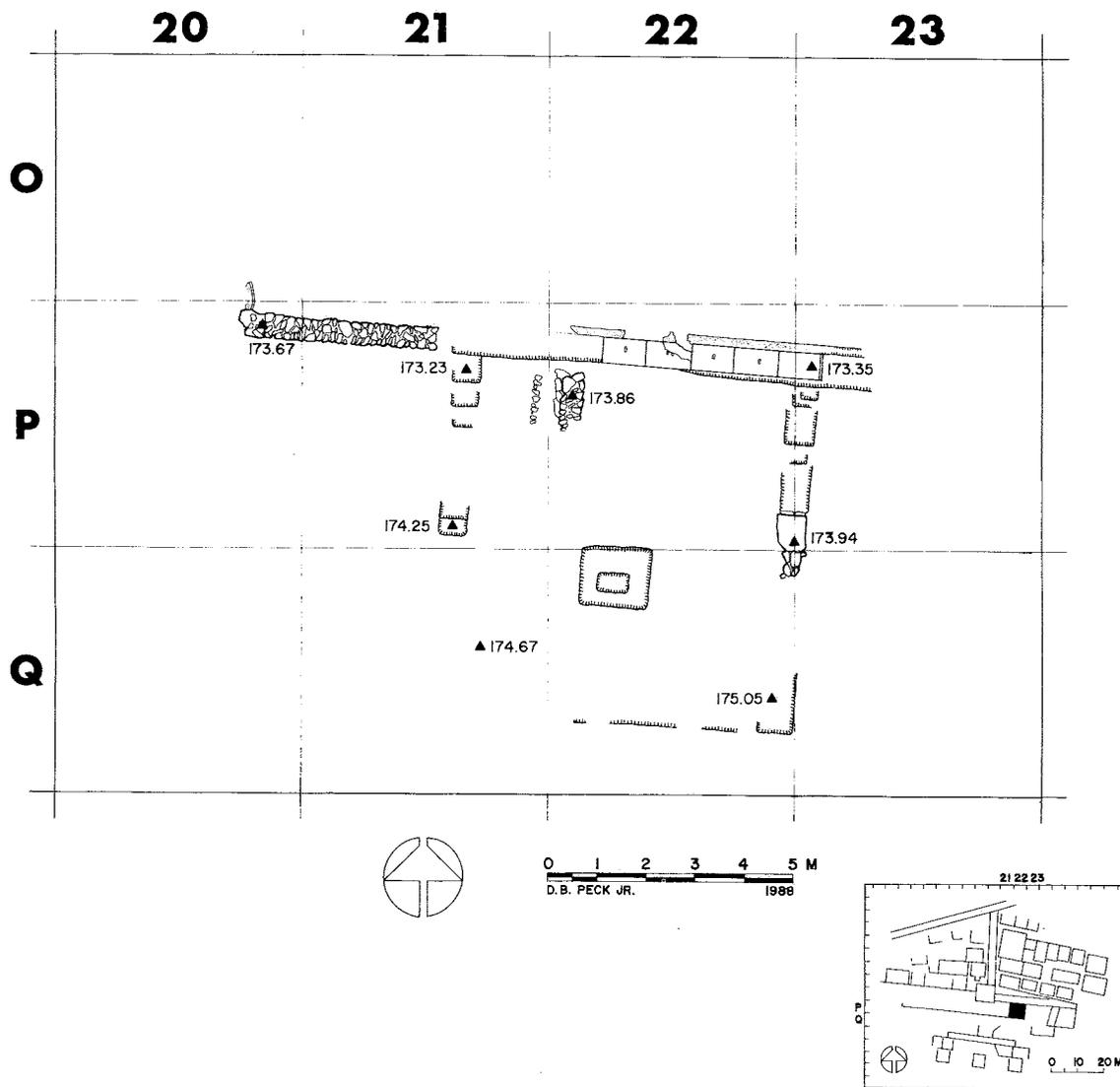


FIG. 9. Plan: Archaic Oikos, P-Q:21-23

tight. There are no incised setting lines on the level top surface of this lowest course of the wall, but, except for the easternmost block, each of the others has a pry hole to aid in moving the blocks of the course above into position.

These pry holes were cut roughly on the longitudinal axis of the wall, equidistant from the ends of each block. Since they are spaced at intervals of almost exactly 0.92 m., which equals the length of each of the surviving blocks, we may conclude that the blocks of the second course of the wall would also have been 0.92 m. long. Evidently the latter were centered directly over the joints between two blocks in the course below in orthogonal isodomic style. The absence of a setting line on the top surface of the five blocks and the position of the pry holes on their longitudinal axis also indicate that the second course, and perhaps all other courses, had the same thickness as the bottom course.

In its lowest course, however, the wall's regular construction of blocks each 0.92 m. long could not have been continued all the way to its west end, since this unit will not divide evenly into 3.07 m., which is the distance between the westernmost preserved block and the end of the rock-cut footing trench. Clearly an adjustment had to be made for the westernmost block of the wall, which also helped form the northwest corner of the oikos. The cuttings for the building's west wall meet the western end of the foundation trench at this point in P:21.⁹

The block at the eastern end of the row of five formed part of the northeast corner of the oikos. We can thus establish the length of the north wall of the oikos, and consequently the building's exterior width, as *ca.* 7.57 m. Unlike its four mates, this easternmost block lacks a pry hole on its upper surface, perhaps indicating that the block placed on top of it was set in a different line, that is, north-south. Along the east side of the upper surface of this surviving block there is a projection or lip that seems to have been left here to help support the superimposed northernmost block of the east wall of the oikos. To form a solid corner the latter would have been placed at right angles to the north wall. The northern end of the superimposed block would have been set flush with the outer face of the north wall, while on the south it would have projected beyond this wall's south face. If, in the lowest course of the east wall (which would have been at the level of the second course of the north wall), blocks of identical length to those in the north wall were employed (0.92 m.), the northernmost block would have fit neatly into a rock-cut bedding that lies on the line of the east wall of the oikos. The southern edge of this cutting lies almost exactly 0.92 m. from the north face of the north wall. That this bedding was cut in order to receive our hypothetical corner block is indicated by the fact that its floor is on the same level as the upper surface of the easternmost block of the north wall.

More rock-cut beddings for the east wall survive to the south in P:22-23. They too seem designed for squared blocks since they form a regular trench, *ca.* 0.65 m. in width, with a level floor that steps up in three stages from north to south as the bedrock rises. Their shapes, dimensions, and levels, however, show that the module of blocks 0.92 × 0.57 × 0.30 m. found in the north wall cannot have been maintained in the lowest course of the foundations in the rest of the east wall.

Ca. 2.65 m. south of the northeast corner of the building on this same line, two blocks of the east wall remain *in situ* in the southeast corner of P:22 (Pls. 10:a, center bottom, 51:b). Both are of the same brown poros stone as the five preserved blocks in the north wall, but they are not as smoothly dressed nor as regular in their proportions. One rests directly above the other, and together they stand to a height of *ca.* 0.58 m. The lower block was set directly on bedrock in the rock-cut footing trench. It is *ca.* 0.40 m. wide and *ca.* 0.22 m. high; packed in beside it to fill up the rest of the footing trench are a number of small stones. Sitting level, directly on top of this lower block, is a larger, roughly squared block of poros *ca.* 0.63 m. wide and 0.68 m. long. Unlike the preserved blocks in the north wall, it is very roughly hewn and not dressed. Since it does not sit in a footing trench but is supported by the lower block, it actually protrudes to the west to hide the line of the foundation trench and most of the block below. Its top surface is rough but flat and level enough to have supported another course of blocks above. The level of the bedrock to the east and south of these surviving blocks is such that both would probably never have been visible. Since they form the lowest foundation courses, their sides would have been covered with earth filling.

⁹ It is possible that the wall was built from both ends, using blocks 0.92 m. long, and that a smaller block was inserted near the middle, as in the north wall of the Archaic temenos excavated by C. K. Williams II in the Forum, "Corinth, 1972: The Forum Area," *Hesperia* 42, 1973 [pp. 1-44], pp. 6-12. For this practice, see *Isthmia* I, p. 14, no. Ar 12; p. 25, nos. Ar 39 and 40; Coulton 1974, pp. 5-7. Rhodes (1987, pp. 545-551) has offered a different interpretation of the rope channels on the poros blocks from the early temple of Poseidon at Isthmia.

Directly south of the large upper block there is an irregularly shaped piece of poros that almost fills the rock-cut footing trench. Its top surface has been dressed flat and set at the same level as the top of the large block next to it to the north. Clearly, both supported another course of the wall above. This portion of the foundation for the east wall of the oikos was later covered by five fieldstones that once formed part of some subsequent wall of uncertain date and purpose. They appear on the partial-state plan (Fig. 9) in the line of the east wall of the oikos, but in fact they rest on top of the earlier structure and never formed part of its original design.

South of this point there are no more rock-cut beddings and no remaining blocks on the relatively level bedrock for a distance of *ca.* 2.50 m. In the building's southeast corner, however, in Q:22, the foundation cutting resumes. No blocks survive, but the line of the footing trench is clearly a continuation of the rock-cut beddings to the north. The southern end of the trench, which is *ca.* 0.70 m. wide and preserved for a length of *ca.* 1.20 m., is well defined. Putting together these remnants of the east wall of the oikos, we can estimate the outer north-south dimension of the building at *ca.* 7.75 m.

Remains of the south and west walls are meager. Of the former only a cutting in the bedrock survives in Q:22, which extends in a broken line for *ca.* 3.75 m. west of the bedding for the southeast corner. Its original junction with the latter has been obliterated by the many later rock cuttings in this area. Sitting level above this cutting in the line of the south wall we found a long block of poros stone similar to that used in the north and east walls of the oikos. It was very badly weathered and only roughly dressed, *ca.* 1.54 m. long, 0.45 m. wide, and 0.23 m. high. It is possible that this block once formed part of the oikos, but we cannot draw any inferences about the construction and position of the south wall of that building from the present disposition of this block. It does not sit directly on bedrock in the footing trench for the south wall. Rather, it rests on earth that contains a few nondescript fragments of roof tiles. Despite its level top surface and suggestive orientation, then, this block is best regarded as part of a later structure, perhaps one of the retaining walls along the southern edge of the Middle Terrace.

Of the west wall of the oikos there are three rectangular rock-cut beddings that step up from north to south in the northwest corner of the building, P:21. These probably supported the first three squared blocks of the west wall, whose line, therefore, can be traced for at least *ca.* 1.45 m. to the south. Many other cuttings on the rock encroach on the presumed line of the west wall and may have removed or obscured the foundation trench that would seem necessary to have carried the wall farther up the slope to the south.¹⁰ No evidence has survived for the exact position of the building's southwest corner. Nothing prevents us, however, from extending the lines of the west and south walls to meet at a right angle in Q:21.

From these fragmentary remains of the outer walls we may reconstruct an almost square enclosure with estimated exterior dimensions of *ca.* 7.57 m. (east-west) by *ca.* 7.75 m. (north-south). The lowest foundation course consisted of squared poros blocks set, for the most part, into footing trenches cut into the bedrock. Although we have no certain evidence for the upper parts of the walls, it is possible that these foundations supported a superstructure of mud brick or timber. More plausible, perhaps, in view of the thickness and careful construction of the surviving north wall, is the suggestion that the walls of the structure were built up with squared poros blocks.

No trace of an entrance is preserved, but it must have been located in the east or west walls, or perhaps both, since the bedrock rises steeply enough behind the building to rule out a door in the south wall. An approach from the north would have required a stairway to reach the interior floor level, and no evidence for a construction of this sort has survived. The most logical position for a doorway in either of the lateral walls would have been in their southern halves where the

¹⁰ Since the twin rectangular cuttings at the southern edge of P:21 (see Fig. 9) are not aligned with those in the northwest corner of the building, it is best to disregard them in reconstructing the oikos.

bedrock is level. A door on the eastern side in Q:22 would have conveniently opened out onto the Central Courtyard in P–Q:23–25 (described above, pp. 63–64). This seems to be the most logical position.¹¹ The absence of any remains of the 6th century B.C. to the west of the oikos makes a door on this side unlikely.

The walls of this structure are thick enough to have supported a wooden roof with terracotta tiles. That contemporary tiles and terracotta revetments were not found in or near the oikos may not be significant,¹² for in the Roman period construction of a large building covering more than two-thirds of its area extended down to bedrock. On the other hand, no trace of internal supports for the roof has been found. Since the walls were set into relatively deep rock-cut beddings, similar indications, however slight, of cuttings for the bases of interior piers, columns, or merely for wooden posts might have been expected. The internal span of *ca.* 6.50 m., east–west, is not, of course, impossible for wooden roof beams supported only by exterior walls,¹³ but we must also consider the possibility that this structure was an open-air enclosure, a small walled temenos. Its four walls could easily have been carried up to a height sufficient to mark off a sacred area or even to conceal activities within the enclosure from public view. The walls could have been finished off with a stone coping.

Possible evidence for reconstructing the enclosure as a roofed building, however, is a carefully built stucco conduit that runs along the outer face of its north wall (Pl. 10:b). As now preserved, the broken western end of the conduit lies *ca.* 0.80 m. beyond the westernmost surviving block of the north wall in P:22. The width of the conduit is *ca.* 0.20–0.25 m., and it is constructed of smoothly finished brown stucco on the floor with small fieldstones and a few tile fragments set on edge to form the north, or outer, wall. This form of construction is preserved for the full length of the north wall of the oikos, except at the joint between its two westernmost blocks. Here the conduit is completely broken away. Since the second wall block from the west is also damaged, particularly in its northeast corner, it is likely that the conduit was broken away here at the same time. In order to secure the stucco floor of the conduit more tightly to the north face of the wall, a shallow channel was cut into the poros blocks and the stucco poured into this, so that, upon setting, it would bond the conduit closely enough to the wall to prevent leakage between the two. This channel can still be traced across the surface of the two blocks where the drain has not survived.

Beyond the easternmost block of the wall in P:23 the conduit slopes down to a level *ca.* 0.12 m. below the bottom of the wall until it becomes a simple rock-cut channel without stucco lining that no longer requires a built northern side. For the course of the conduit, see the actual-state plan in Plan 1, also Plates 9:b and 41:a. It is *ca.* 0.15 m. deep. In P:23 it turns sharply to the north and continues downhill. We have not been able to trace the line of the conduit beyond the northwest corner of P:24, where later walls of the Hellenistic and Roman periods were built over its course. After such elaborate measures had been taken to transport the water from west to east across the north side of the oikos, it seems reasonable to expect the conduit to have emptied into a cistern. The whereabouts of such a receptacle, however, remains unknown, thus making it difficult to suggest the probable use of the water. If, as seems certain, the cistern lay somewhere on the Lower Terrace, the water may have served cultic or utilitarian purposes in one or more of the contemporary dining buildings.

¹¹ The single door of the “anaktoron” in the Telesterion at Eleusis may also have been on one of its long sides (the north) near a corner (the northeast); see Mylonas 1961, pp. 83–88 with pls. 4, 25, 26, although both the plan and especially the terminology of this building have been contested; see Clinton 1992, pp. 126–132.

¹² For fragments of architectural terracotta antefixes roughly contemporary with the oikos, see Chapter 16, **70**, *ca.* 550–500 B.C., and **71**, early 5th century B.C.

¹³ See the evidence collected in Hodge 1960, pp. 38–40; Orlandos 1955, pp. 30–33.

The conduit, then, is clearly contemporary with the construction of the north wall of the building, and it carried water from west to east to an unknown destination, perhaps somewhere near O:24. More important for our present purpose is the origin of this water. The western end or the beginning of the conduit cannot be exactly determined, for it was destroyed when the westernmost blocks of the north wall of the oikos were ripped out. The conduit, however, could hardly have extended farther west than the northwest corner of the building with which it was contemporary, since some trace of it ought to have survived beyond the point where the pillaging of the wall ceased. The most likely point of origin for the conduit is at the exterior northwest corner of the oikos. This raises the possibility that it was originally built here in order to carry off rainwater from the building's roof.

The preserved conduit would seem to be too close to the wall, however, to have collected rainwater running directly off the north side of the roof, especially since it also lies on one of the short ends of the building. A possible inference from the nature and position of the conduit is that the building had a pitched roof with the ridgepole running north-south. Rainwater draining directly off the east and west eaves could then have been channeled to the two northern corners of the building and into the stuccoed conduit. It must be admitted, however, that no evidence has survived for such installations on the east or west sides of the structure. Downspouts at the two northern corners of the building are unlikely at this early date.

There is no certain evidence for the original appearance of the interior of the structure, for later disturbance was deep and extensive in this part of the Sanctuary. As now exposed inside the enclosure, the bedrock, the remains of the walls, and the rock-cut foundation trenches all lie below what must have been the level of the original floor. In the southern part only a shallow layer of packing over the bedrock would have been necessary to create a relatively even floor surface. But the rock drops off so sharply to the north that a deep filling of earth would have been required inside the north wall of the enclosure. As Plate 10:b and section drawing Plan 9 A-A show, merely to reach the level of the exposed bedrock in the southern half of the enclosure, a filling at least 2.00 m. deep would have been necessary. To retain this fill, the lower portion of the north wall must have consisted of at least seven courses of squared blocks identical in height (*ca.* 0.30 m.) to those of the lowest course. This would bring the north wall up only to minimum floor level within the structure. It is probably safe to conclude that the floor within the enclosure consisted of a layer of hard-packed clay, like those in all the other buildings in the Sanctuary of Archaic and Classical times.

Inside the enclosure, in Q:22, there is a deep, rectangular cutting in the bedrock (see Plates 10:a, 11:a, and 51:b and Plan 9 A-A). Since it contained merely disturbed earth with pottery extending in date from the Classical to the later Roman period (lot 4361), the date at which this cutting was made cannot be determined. There was so much later building activity in this part of the Middle Terrace that we must be prepared to regard an undated cutting of this form as having nothing to do with the Archaic oikos.

There remains the possibility, however, that the cutting is to be associated with the original design of the enclosure. Although no attempt was made to place the cutting exactly in the center of the longitudinal (north-south) axis of the oikos, it does lie almost equidistant from the east and west walls of the building. It is 2.10 m. from the west wall and 2.40 m. from the east. Such a roughly central position, near the most likely location for the main door of the oikos in its east wall, may not be fortuitous. The cutting measures 1.50 m. (east-west) by 1.15 m. (north-south) and has vertical walls descending to a depth of *ca.* 0.55 m., where there is a level rock-cut floor. Sunk into this floor to a depth of an additional *ca.* 0.20 m., but not centered in it, is a smaller, rectangular cutting with dimensions of 0.60 m. (east-west) by 0.40 m. (north-south). The size, form, and depth of this elaborate cutting-within-a-cutting would seem to rule out the theory that

it merely held something to support the roof. Without excluding other interpretations, we shall consider three possible functions of this cutting in the design of the oikos, in ascending order of probability.

First, it is possible that the cutting functioned as the rock-cut bedding for some kind of construction that was built up above the level of the floor of the oikos. Elsewhere on the Middle Terrace, particularly in the northern half of the oikos itself, bedrock cuttings served to anchor wall foundations. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find the builders of the Sanctuary cutting into the bedrock to support some kind of monument inside this building. The rectilinear form of the cutting and its vertical walls could indicate that it was intended to contain squared, stone blocks that formed part of such a construction. Since at floor level this construction would have had outside dimensions of *ca.* 1.50 m. by 1.15 m., we might consider the possibility that it formed a wall raised above the floor around the four sides of an open pit. Alternatively, the construction might have formed a solid, rectangular altar. While the normal position for an altar in Greek sanctuaries is in the open air and not inside a cult building, in the Archaic period especially there are several small temples with hearth altars set into the floor.¹⁴ An altar of almost any form, placed within the building and supported by this cutting, is not likely to have been much more than *ca.* 1.00–1.50 m. in height. This makes it difficult to imagine why the foundation cutting needed to be 0.55–0.75 m. deep. There is also perhaps an anomaly in the smaller, deeper cutting in the floor of the larger one, unless somehow it was meant to receive libations or blood from sacrificial animals poured down through an opening in the upper part of the altar.¹⁵

A second possibility is that the cutting was made for a statue base constructed of squared, stone blocks. Again, if a statue of about life-size or smaller had simply stood on a stone base set into the bedrock floor of the oikos, it is hard to account for the great depth of the cutting and the presence of the deeper inset in its floor. Both, however, might have been required if the statue and its base were in some respects unusual. The cutting, as we have seen, cannot be dated. If it is contemporary with the construction of the oikos, the hypothetical statue would have been made *ca.* 550 B.C.¹⁶ Moreover, in view of the importance of the oikos in the topography of the Middle Terrace and of the Archaic Sanctuary as a whole, a statue supported on a base set into this cutting would claim special attention. In fact, placed within a roofed structure of this size and date, such a sculptured figure would almost certainly have been a cult statue. The existence of at least two such statues in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is attested for the 2nd century after Christ by Pausanias (2.4.6). Also found in our excavations is a large contemporary marble head which, we shall argue, belonged to a cult statue that once stood in the westernmost Roman temple on the Upper Terrace (p. 362 below). Since religious practices may change over time, we cannot safely infer the existence of an Archaic cult statue from the fact that the Sanctuary had two or more in Roman times. If the later statues did have a predecessor, however, its most plausible location would have been in the oikos that was in the heart of the Archaic and Classical Sanctuary.

¹⁴ For a good Corinthian example, cf. the altar inside the Temple of Hera Limenia at Perachora, *Perachora I*, pp. 110–112 with pl. 140. (More recently, R. A. Tomlinson, "The Upper Terrace at Perachora," *BSA* 72, 1977, pp. 197–202, has tried to identify this building as a Hestiatorion.) See also, e.g., Yavis 1949, pp. 59–70; Drerup 1964; Corbett 1970; Kron 1976, pp. 37, 51–52; Biers and Boyd 1982, pp. 15–18; Guarducci 1984, pp. 12–13; Presicce 1984, p. 24.

¹⁵ For altars of this type, see Yavis 1949, pp. 91–95, 128–131, 215–221.

¹⁶ For the date of the oikos, see p. 73 below.

Parallels for Archaic cult statues are not abundant, and we are particularly poorly informed about their underpinnings.¹⁷ It is possible, however, that the deeper, smaller cutting was sunk into the rock to support a postlike, vertical shaft, perhaps of wood, that formed the core of the statue. Squared blocks of hard stone tightly wedged into the larger cutting all around such a mastlike projection or tenon would have solidly anchored it into position and formed a suitable base that could have also projected above floor level to the height of at least one course.¹⁸ For a standing wooden statue we might have expected the smaller cutting to lie in the center of the floor of the larger one. Since it is positioned so close to the south side of the latter, the smaller, deeper cutting might have been intended to support a seated statue with a throne extending forward to the north.¹⁹

Perhaps the most convincing representation of a cult statue of Demeter in Corinthian art is on a 5th-century B.C. plate said to have been found in Corinth and now in the National Museum in Athens. It belongs to the Sam Wide Group of vase painting in outline technique.²⁰ Demeter is seated on an elaborately decorated throne wearing a polos and holding a torch, two stalks of wheat, and two stemmed poppy seedpods. In front of her is a high rock altar with a fig on it and, behind, a flying bird. A possible link between this scene and the Sanctuary of Demeter on Acrocorinth was provided by the discovery in our excavations of two fragmentary plates of the Sam Wide Group on which strikingly similar representations of Demeter are painted.²¹

Another possible representation of a statue of Demeter at Corinth appears on the silver Pegasoi of Ravel's Period V, ca. 350–307 B.C., as a small symbol behind the head of Athena on the reverse. The tiny scale of the figure makes stylistic conclusions hazardous, but the goddess, holding a torch and cornucopia, stands in a stiff and erect posture, apparently, like several other deities in this same series, on a small base. See O. Ravel, *Les "Poulains" de Corinthe II*, Basel 1948, pp. 88–92, 268, no. 1088; Calciati 1990, I, pp. 118, no. 445; p. 271, no. 464, both of whom call the figure a "statuette." Ravel's discussion, however, clearly shows that some of these symbols represented large-scale statues.

As the hypothetical home of a cult statue, our building could hardly qualify as having the plan of a conventional temple, but this is not cause for concern in a sanctuary of Demeter.

¹⁷ The topic is treated in considerable detail by Jacob-Felsch (1969). A helpful list of "preserved cult statue bases from 800 B.C. to 500 B.C." is included in Romano's unpublished dissertation, 1980, pp. 451–454, see also p. 22.

¹⁸ For discussion of a rectangular, multiblock, stepped, Archaic statue base of the type we are suggesting, see Jacob-Felsch 1969, pp. 23–32, 47, 52. To compare great things to small, the most prominent example of a base with a rectangular cavity for the central timber or shaft of a cult statue is that of the chryselephantine statue of Athena in the Parthenon (Stevens 1955). But this construction was meant to support a statue of massive proportions. Another, smaller example, closer to ours in dimensions (1.08 × 1.08 m.), is the base to the south of Altar A in the cella of the 6th-century B.C. temple of Athena at Emporio on Chios, Boardman 1967, p. 13; cf. also the "elaborately socketed block . . . perhaps the base for a wooden cult image" at Kourno in Lakonia, Winter and Winter 1983, p. 5 (no dimensions given).

¹⁹ Without implying anything about crude or primitive appearance, we might envisage the kind of cult statue to which Pausanias often applied the term "xoanon": that is, a fully figural wooden statue of a deity, probably—but not necessarily—of fairly early date. For seated wooden statues (xoana), see Pausanias 2.37.2; 8.13.2; 8.42, Black Demeter at Phigaleia. See Bennett 1917; Donohue 1988, pp. 140–150. The latter has strenuously argued that Pausanias' use of the term is atypical, while conceding that he is "faithfully consistent." Donohue has a useful discussion of wooden statues on pp. 208–218.

²⁰ National Museum, Athens no. 5825. Bibliography and excellent, large photograph in Callipolitis-Feytmans 1962, pp. 142–143, 163, no. 60, pl. VI, who also proposes to identify two other representations of a female figure seated on a throne in Corinthian vase paintings as a cult statue of Demeter (Callipolitis-Feytmans 1970).

²¹ C-64-208 and C-64-225: Stroud 1968, pp. 302–303. These and other Sam Wide Group fragments from the Sanctuary have been published by Pemberton in *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 134–136, nos. 293–297.

Conventional prostyle or peristyle temples consecrated to this deity and her daughter are exceptions rather than the rule, especially in mainland Greece.²² If these conjectures are valid, we might think of the goddess as residing in a building that resembles a house with four solid walls and a doorway near its southeast corner.²³

Finally (and, in our view, most likely) is the possibility that the cutting was meant to remain open and empty of stone construction, just as it was after we excavated it, as a deep depression or pit in the middle of the floor of the oikos. As we shall see, there were in the Classical and early Hellenistic periods at least four other pits in the ground on the Middle Terrace. These served either as repositories for votive pottery and offerings that were buried inside them or, in one case, as a subterranean fire altar for burnt animal sacrifices. There is, then, plentiful evidence in this part of the Sanctuary for the cult practice, attested elsewhere, of using pits in the ground in the worship of Demeter and Kore.²⁴ We must note, however, that in form these four pits differ from the rock cutting in the oikos since they are smaller in dimensions, they were all dug into the earth (not rock-cut), their walls are built up with stone, and none contains the extra deep hole-within-a-hole in its floor.

If the rectangular cutting in the floor of the oikos was some kind of an offering pit, it might have had special importance. The careful workmanship in the surviving section of this building's north wall and the proportions of the oikos find no parallels among other structures on the Middle Terrace before the end of the 4th century B.C. Its prominent location also marks it off as a structure that probably played a key role in cult practices. A pit in the floor of this major building would be a likely candidate for offerings or sacrifices that formed part of a special ritual. Such rites are unlikely to have been accompanied by burning, since the bedrock inside and around the cutting is not calcined. Miniature vases, figurines, jewelry, perhaps even offering trays containing kernels of wheat could have been placed on the rock floor of the rectangular cutting. The pit might also have been used for some form of sacrifice of piglets that did not require fire. Appropriate to this interpretation is the cutting's considerable depth, which reaches a maximum of 0.75 m. into bedrock. This is what we might expect for worshipers seeking aid and support from chthonic deities and from the goddess who brings forth bountiful crops. In such rites the deeper, smaller cutting in the floor of the pit may have had some special purpose that now remains obscure. It could have collected libations poured into the ground or possibly have served as a receptacle for the blood of piglets whose throats were cut when they were offered to the goddesses.²⁵

Regardless of the true, original function of the bedrock cutting in the middle of its floor, the roughly square structure with solid walls centrally located in a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore might have been expected to play an important role in cult ritual. Only a few steps to the east is the rock-cut platform in R:23–26 with its deep deposits of ash, animal bones, and votive pottery, described below (pp. 74–78). In the absence of literary and epigraphic evidence we cannot hope to reach firm conclusions about the precise nature of the cult ceremonies of the goddesses on Acrocorinth. But the shape, if not the size, of the oikos perhaps qualifies it as a possible

²² Thompson 1936, p. 186, has remarked upon the rarity of canonical temples in sanctuaries of Demeter Thesmophoros; see also Metzger 1985, p. 49.

²³ If, in form, this building could have been called an "oikidion" or "little house," perhaps the epithet "epoikidie" attested for Demeter at Corinth meant "dwelling in her little house." The epithet is likely to be a diminutive (see p. 2 above).

²⁴ The three pits in the Sanctuary that served as repositories for small votive offerings are Pit A in Q:25 (pp. 161–162 below), Pit E in O–P:22 (pp. 163–165 below), and Pit F in O:21 (p. 216 below). The pit in which burnt sacrifices were made is Pit B in P:24–25 (pp. 243–245 below). Burkert (1983, pp. 256–264, and 1985, pp. 242–246) has collected and discussed helpful evidence for pits in Demeter sanctuaries; see also Clinton 1988.

²⁵ Clinton (1988) has a useful discussion of this type of offering with valuable bibliography. We hope to speculate on this and other aspects of the cult ritual in the Demeter Sanctuary on Acrocorinth in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

thesmophorion/telesterion type of building. It would have been possible to gather together as many as forty to fifty worshipers into this small hall: more, if wooden or clay benches were placed around the walls. Here it may be pertinent to recall that the building that was the immediate predecessor of the oikos had a permanent bench along at least one interior wall (pp. 56–59 above). Clearly, the small scale of the building rules out direct comparison with anything as elaborate or grand as the Anaktoron or Telesterion at Eleusis.²⁶ In the dining complexes of the Lower Terrace, however, and in the rock-cut theatral areas of the Upper Terrace there is strong evidence to suggest that the Acrocorinth Sanctuary was designed for ritual activity involving relatively small groups of worshipers who were gathered together. It may not be too fanciful, therefore, to suggest that the oikos was the scene of an important stage in the ritual involving a small group of worshipers of the goddesses.

Despite the ruined condition of this building and the problems of its identity and function, it is possible to establish its chronology with some precision. Packed into the rock-cut foundation trench along the inner face of the north wall was some of the original earth filling, which contained sherds roughly contemporary with the construction date of the wall (lot 2238). The latest pieces in this group do not seem to be much later than *ca.* 550 B.C., probably indicating a date early in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. for the construction of the north wall. For a contemporary terracotta antefix that could be associated with the original roof construction of the oikos, see Chapter 16, 70. The building of the oikos at this time was accompanied by construction of a large retaining wall across the northern edge of the Middle Terrace (see pp. 57–59 above).

Inside the oikos the clearest evidence for the date of its destruction is not earlier than the date of the south wall of a Roman stoa that was built across it from east to west (pp. 310–324 below). Indications on the outside to the north, however, point to a date in the late 4th century B.C., when at least part of the building seems no longer to have been in use. At this time the stuccoed conduit along the exterior face of the north wall was filled in, for the pottery in the earth removed from it was no later than *ca.* 350–300 B.C. (lots 4356, 4483). In P:23 the southernmost blocks of a large north–south wall belonging to a Trapezoidal Building of this date were laid over the conduit (pp. 239–240, 310–324 below). At the very least, then, the original drainage system on the north side of the oikos ceased to function by the end of the 4th century B.C. We argue below that part of the north wall of the oikos was at this time incorporated into the foundations of the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building.

Only five blocks of the lowest course of the foundations of the north wall of the oikos remained in place until the end of the life of the Sanctuary. We do not know when the rest of the blocks in this wall were removed. No stratigraphy and no evidence of a robbing trench could be detected over the line of the wall. Beyond the preserved western end of the wall, however, under a thick accumulation of disturbed earth containing pottery as late as the end of the 4th century after Christ (lot 4352), we were able to isolate a shallow layer of earth, *ca.* 0.16 m. deep, in the foundation cutting for the wall. A fragment of a terracotta Alpha globule lamp appears to be the latest object in this layer (lot 4357).²⁷ It seems, therefore, that the blocks from the western end of the wall at least, and probably from the remainder, were removed sometime before the end of the 2nd century after Christ. Although they were probably taken out for reuse elsewhere in the Sanctuary, we have not found any poros blocks of exactly these dimensions built into other structures on the site. For their possible reuse in the Roman temples on the Upper Terrace, see page 62 above.

²⁶ If the dimensions of the “Solonian” Telesterion at Eleusis were *ca.* 24 × 14 m., its capacity would have been more than five times that of the oikos; see Mylonas 1961, pp. 67–70.

²⁷ For the chronological span of these lamps (*ca.* A.D. 50–200), see *Agora VII*, pp. 15–17.

THE ROCK-CUT PLATFORM: AREA D IN R:23–24

This area produced the best-preserved strata of the 6th century B.C. on the Middle Terrace, especially at its western end in R:23–24. Since there is no evidence that this area was ever roofed, we here abandon the designation “Room D” used for convenience in earlier publications.²⁸ Rich votive deposits attest the importance of this spot in the Archaic Sanctuary.

Area D occupies the western portion of a broad, level platform created well before the middle of the 6th century B.C. by cutting deeply into the steeply rising bedrock of the hill. Its western side in R:23 is marked by a vertical wall of cut rock *ca.* 0.60 m. high and *ca.* 4.25 m. long, which at its southern end turns at a right angle to the east and continues for at least 13.50 m., creating a similar but much higher rock barrier on this side in R:23–26. The wall of rock here on the south side of the platform rises to a maximum height of *ca.* 2.50 m. above the level of the floor. An indication of the importance of this area in the life of the Sanctuary is the amount of labor required to cut down the rugged cliff of rock in order to create a level platform. This process must have produced a great mass of broken stone. Remarkably, there were no traces on the platform of the numerous small chips of rock that must have been a by-product of such an ambitious project. The platform, once created, seems to have been swept clean and all the stones removed. It is possible that the builders of the Sanctuary quarried some squared blocks out of the bedrock here, as they did later in other parts of the site (p. 78 below).

Throughout its long history this platform remained open to the sky, for there are no walls here in the right position or thick enough to support a roof, nor were roof tiles discovered in significant numbers in the several strata that had formed over the platform floor. We discuss the ancient remains in the eastern portion of the platform below (p. 78).

Area D, in the western end of the platform, is defined on its west and south sides by the vertical walls of cut bedrock in R:23–24 mentioned above. They make an approach to Area D impossible on these two sides. On its north side there must have been a wall dividing the platform from the large open area Q:23–24 that formed the Central Courtyard (pp. 63–64 above). Since the bedrock in the courtyard is 1.00–1.30 m. below the level of the rock floor of the platform, some kind of construction was required to prevent the deep accumulation of earth on the latter from washing downhill into the court. This same problem was solved in the 5th century B.C. for the areas occupying the eastern portion of the platform (Areas G and H) by building a heavy, stepped retaining wall along their northern edges in Q:25–26 (pp. 154–156 below). Since, in the 6th century B.C., Area D must have had a similar north wall, it is reasonable to suggest that it stood in a long rock-cut bedding in Q:23–24 that divides the lower bedrock of the courtyard from the higher level of the platform to the south (Pl. 11:b).

Care had been taken to cut the floor of this bedding level enough to have supported a wall. It is *ca.* 0.50 m. wide and *ca.* 0.45 m. deep along its south side. The regularity of the cutting suggests that it might have been designed for a wall constructed of squared stone blocks rather than of fieldstones. Except for one thin, porous slab that appeared to be *in situ* in the cutting, no trace of such a wall has survived. At its eastern end the limit of the cutting is clearly marked in Q:24 by the way the bedrock has been trimmed on a north–south line. Although this probably indicates the position of the easternmost block in the lowest course of the wall, it is possible that the wall may have extended farther to the east.

Later construction and weathering of the bedrock have partly destroyed the western end of the wall bedding and made its interpretation difficult. *Ca.* 2.80 m. from its eastern end, the north edge of the bedding is interrupted by an intrusive later cutting in the bedrock of roughly rectangular shape, *ca.* 1.20 m. wide. Crowding in on the north side, slightly to the west of this intrusion, is a deep, regular rock-cut foundation trench oriented north–south along the eastern

²⁸ E.g., Stroud 1965, pp. 11–12; Pemberton, *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 81–84 and other references listed on her p. 231.

side of Q:23. This also is part of a later construction. It is possible to trace the rock-cut bedding for the north wall of Area D only *ca.* 0.30 m. beyond the intrusive rectangular cutting, but the rock here is so soft and badly weathered that we cannot be sure where the wall ended. It may have extended as far as the vertical wall of cut bedrock that forms the west side of Area D; inside this wall, to the east in Q:23, there are two parallel rock cuttings *ca.* 0.70–0.80 m. apart, which may have been beddings for blocks at the western end of the wall.²⁹

We have no firm evidence for the original height of the north wall of Area D. The depth of the stratification of the fills on the platform to the south that this wall must have retained permits a conjecture, however, for in Archaic and Classical times these layers had accumulated to a depth of at least 0.45 m., or *ca.* +176.35 m. Since the floor of the bedding for the north wall of Area D lies at *ca.* +175.22 m., we can assume that at this time the wall must have reached a height of at least 1.13 m. To give definition to the western end of the platform and, perhaps, to permit a degree of privacy for activities that went on inside it, the wall may have risen to twice this height.

The eastern limit of Area D was marked, in its earliest phase, by a single row of small stones set out in a north–south line in R:24, only *ca.* 3.50 m. from its western side (Pl. 12:a). Projecting only a few centimeters above the reddish earth floor into which they were set, these stones were preserved for a length of *ca.* 1.67 m. This construction is too flimsy (only *ca.* 0.10–0.15 m. wide) to have supported a wall. Similar rows of stones served elsewhere in the Sanctuary to define the edge of a bench or a dining couch, but that purpose is ruled out here since there was no accompanying wall. No matter how this row of stones is interpreted structurally, it certainly served to define the limits of Area D for cult purposes, since the votive-bearing fill in the western part of the rock-cut platform to be described presently did not extend beyond it to the east. Neither the northern nor the southern end of the row of stones is preserved, so that we cannot be certain that it extended to either or both confines of Area D on those two sides.

As thus defined by this row of stones on the east, by the retaining wall we have restored on the north, and by the vertical rock walls on the west and south sides, Area D consisted of a small, roughly square area measuring *ca.* 3.80 × 3.50 m. It was apparently open to the sky. Its earliest stratum was a hard-packed floor of bright reddish earth, *ca.* 0.20 m. thick, which lay directly over the cut-bedrock floor of the platform and extended uniformly throughout the area. Set into this red floor, but not resting directly on bedrock, are the stones just described that marked the east side of the area. They represent the only construction found here contemporary with the floor.

In this layer of reddish earth were four fragments of Archaic terracotta figurines, several intact miniature vases, and about two baskets of painted and figured sherds spanning the period from late Protocorinthian to Late Corinthian.³⁰ Since nothing in this group of finds appears to be later than *ca.* 550 B.C., we may date the laying of the floor to approximately the same period. The project of cutting the platform out of the bedrock of the hill may thus be placed in the first half of the 6th century B.C. at the latest.

Resting directly on the red floor and sharply distinguished from it in both color and texture was a thick (*ca.* 0.20–0.25 m.), layer of dark earth full of carbon, ash, figurines, intact miniature vases, and animal bones. This consistent stratum extended throughout Area D, but only as far east as the north–south line of stones in R:24 mentioned above. The black earth covered these stones. The greatest concentration of votive objects was found around two poorly preserved walls in R:23–24 whose orientation is roughly west–northwest to east–southeast, that is, not parallel to any sides of the rock-cut platform. Both walls are of fieldstone and clay construction, and

²⁹ Subsequent excavation and study has led us to reject the theory of the two entrances into Area D proposed in Stroud 1965, p. 11.

³⁰ Lot 1990. The pottery in this lot has been published by Pemberton, *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 81–84, Group 2. Two of the figurines are inventoried, MF-11272 and MF-13530; they will be discussed in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

both rest on a thin cover of the black earth over the reddish surface of the floor. They are, then, later in date than the floor of *ca.* 550 B.C. The walls themselves, however, do not seem to be exactly contemporary, since the thicker, western structure lies a few centimeters above the thinner, eastern section, and the two do not bond. These two walls are shown on Plates 11:b and 12:a.

Only *ca.* 2.20 m. of the east wall has survived. It is only *ca.* 0.20 m. thick, one "course" high, and broken off at both ends. Its south face is not aligned with that of the thicker, western section. Like the row of stones marking the east side of Area D, this narrow wall seems too flimsy to have supported any very substantial superstructure. Nor again could it have defined the edge of a clay dining couch or bench, since the black fill covered and lay on both sides of it. This thin row of stones may originally have been intended to define an area, perhaps for cult purposes, in a manner we can no longer discern.

The shorter west wall is *ca.* 1.70 m. in length and of much more solid construction; it is thick enough (*ca.* 0.50 m.) to have served as a substantial foundation. It could have been longer, for, as now preserved, both ends of the wall are irregular and broken. It is perhaps significant, however, that in the thick black layer that surrounded the wall we found no trace of a continuation, no other joining walls, and no clear indication that this short piece of foundation had supported part of a roofed structure. Furthermore, the orientation of the wall seems not to take the outline of Area D into account. It lies *ca.* 0.60–0.80 m. from the vertical face of rock that forms the south side of the area, but it is not parallel to it or to any of the other sides of Area D. We must therefore consider the possibility that this foundation served some other purpose.

The votive pottery, animal bones, and other small dedications in the black layer were found in greatest concentration on all four sides of the foundation. The most likely interpretation of the objects in the black layer is that they represent either the residue of cult activity on this spot or a dumped fill brought into the platform from elsewhere. In favor of the former are the uniform thickness of the layer and the large number of intact votive vases found in it. Although there were several pieces of carbonized wood in this layer, no significant traces of burning were observed on the reddish floor when it was excavated. No firm basis for detailed reconstruction is provided by the surviving stone foundation, but it could have formed part of the stone core of a stuccoed or clay altar. This type of construction with stucco or clay facing on a core of fieldstones was used elsewhere in the Sanctuary, particularly on the Lower Terrace, for benches, bathroom curbs, and occasional dining couches. Nor is it unknown at Corinth and elsewhere in altars of the Classical period.³¹ If the stone foundation in Area D did once support a small oblong altar of this type of construction, the altar may not have been built up to any great height above the level of the floor, perhaps no more than *ca.* 0.30 m.

This layer of black earth contained one of the richest collections of votive objects excavated in the Sanctuary and the largest concentration of finds from the Archaic period. There were

³¹ At Corinth perhaps the closest parallel is the low mud altar in the temenos of the Sacred Spring, which did not, however, have a proper stone core, although gravel was used in the second of its four stages; C. K. Williams II, "Corinth, 1969: Forum Area," *Hesperia* 39, 1970 [pp. 1–39], pp. 23–25. For an Archaic rubble altar in the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinous, see Gabrici 1927, cols. 144–155, "l'altare primitivo." It is clear that only the core is preserved, but there does not seem to be conclusive evidence that it was originally faced with dressed stone (Yavis 1949, pp. 110–115) rather than stucco. For altars in the Thesmophorion on Delos that were periodically replastered, see the numerous passages in the accounts of the hieropoioi collected in Bruneau 1970, p. 275. For stucco on the altar of Pluto and the two goddesses at Eleusis, see *IG II²* 1672, lines 140–141. For a rubble altar in the Thesmophorion at Eretria, see K. Davaras, *Δελτ* 20, 1965 [1967], B' 2, p. 257, pl. 321; Metzger 1985, p. 9. For a possible rubble altar at the temple of Herakles at Kleonai, see the brief description by A. Frickenhaus in "Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1912: Griechenland," *AA*, 1913, pp. 114–116. Rubble altars coated with stucco are well attested on Cyprus in the Classical period: Yavis 1949, pp. 153–154, 169–170.

more ancient objects than earth in this layer. When we consider that it was only *ca.* 0.25 m. deep and extended over an area measuring only *ca.* 3.80 m. by 3.50 m., the volume of finds this stratum produced is remarkable. Its twenty-seven baskets of pottery included fragments of large coarse-ware hydriai, perirrhantaria, terracotta lamps, and numerous kotylai. Among the painted sherds there are a few in the Attic black-figure style, but those of local style predominate, with many Middle and Late Corinthian examples, several of them from plates. Terracotta figurines and especially model clay *likna* and small kernos-type offering trays were abundant. Among the many animal bones there were three iron knife blades. The most numerous finds, however, are the miniature votive vases, among which *kalathoi* and *phialai* are particularly prominent; of these more than 285 survived intact (lot 1985).³² This large collection of material, which gives a vivid cross-section of Archaic cult activity in the Sanctuary, is fairly uniformly of 6th-century B.C. date. It contains a few figurines and sherds from the 7th century B.C., but the bulk of the pottery does not seem to extend in date beyond *ca.* 500 B.C. This stratum, however, cannot be regarded as a closed or sealed deposit. No cover or overlying stratum protected it from later intrusions. There are, in fact, from this black layer four fragments of terracotta figurines and a moldmade tortoise (MF-11247) that are probably to be dated in the 5th century B.C. Two lamps (L-4303, L-4304) of the early 5th century B.C. and two sherds, one of which may even be Hellenistic, clearly demonstrate that the black layer is not a pure deposit of the 6th century B.C., even though proportionately the later pieces are very few in number. Consequently, we cannot establish the precise dates of the two walls associated with the black stratum of lot 1985. Although the longer, eastern portion appears to be earlier, since it lies at a level lower than the bottom of the thicker, western section, the black fill extended under both walls. Thus the absolute dates for the construction of the two walls can only share the broad chronological range of the objects in the black layer, that is, *ca.* 550 to late 5th century B.C. and possibly later.

In its earliest phase, then, no later than *ca.* 550 B.C., Area D consisted of the hard red floor and the thin north-south wall along its east side. At a later time, after some of the dark layer with votives had accumulated over this red layer, the easternmost and lower of the two walls was built. After this wall passed out of use, the thicker west wall, which we have tentatively interpreted as part of an altar, was dug into the black layer. From at least *ca.* 550 B.C., therefore, the rock-cut platform supported at its western end a small open area where ritual activity seems to have been fairly intense. It is very probable that the numerous votive objects were brought up here to be offered as gifts to the goddesses in this special part of the Sanctuary. No one would have expended the considerable funds and effort required to hew such a regular platform out of the steep bedrock merely to have it serve as a dumping area. The reddish layer of earth laid down over bedrock to form a level floor, the row of small stones neatly set along its eastern edge, the possible presence of a small rubble altar, and the retaining wall on the north side all represent deliberate efforts to equip the rock-cut platform for some specific function. Along the north side of the platform the wall we have restored in Q:24 not only retained the earth above it to the south but gave firm definition to Area D and could have concealed from view the activities of those within. Finally, the fairly uniform thickness and distribution of the black layer over the full extent of the area do not seem to be the result of dumping or mere discarding of objects.

Ritual acts in the confined space of Area D, whatever their nature, could only have been performed by a few worshipers at one time. We are not to think of elaborate mass-participatory procedures. Steps were clearly taken to keep what went on in Area D fairly personal, perhaps even individual. This inference is in keeping with the small size of the numerous votive objects

³² Although much of this pottery was discarded in 1965, after preliminary sorting, lot 1985 contains today 9,232 sherds (of which 7,713 are *kalathoi*), 116 terracotta figurines, and 26 miscellaneous votive objects. See p. xxi above. For the kernos-type offering trays, see Stroud 1965, p. 23; Bookidis and Stroud 1987, p. 24.

found here. They permit the suggestion that each worshiper climbed up onto the western end of the platform carrying a personal offering to the goddesses, such as a kalathos, a phiale, a model liknon, or a kernos-type tray.

The presence of ash, small pieces of carbonized wood, and iron knife blades in the black layer of Area D raises the possibility that some type of sacrifice was performed here. A potential focus for such activity may have been the structure we tentatively interpret as a small altar. The animal bones found in this same stratum might also be best explained as originating in sacrificial rites rather than as being domestic food debris. Although they are not numerous, the bones come, for the most part, from small animals like sheep and pigs, which could have been carried up into Area D for sacrifice.³³

Area D remained a very active part of the Sanctuary well beyond the end of the 6th century B.C. (pp. 153–154 below). But its modest dimensions were not later expanded. Room still remained in this corner of the rock-cut platform for only a few people to assemble around the altar. If, as seems likely, worshipers used this space for an important stage in the cult ritual, we can conclude that, like the ritual dining on the Lower Terrace, such a procedure restricted participants to only a few at a time.

Beyond Area D to the east, the rock-cut platform is not as level or as regular. Since this was a part of the Sanctuary that saw heavy use throughout the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., undisturbed earlier remains are not numerous or impressive. There are no walls or cuttings here that can be dated before *ca.* 500 B.C. In the lowest levels, however, a few isolated pockets of earth survived, containing mostly votive pottery of the 6th century B.C. They are our best evidence that the eastern portion of the rock-cut platform was in use at this time. These consist of: (1) a layer of red stony soil over bedrock immediately to the east of Area D, which was not as hard-packed as the floor within Area D; it contained votive pottery extending in date down to the end of the 6th century B.C. (lot 2001), (2) a shallow, isolated layer of clay resting directly on bedrock in R:24–25, which contained a small quantity of pottery of similar date (lots 1971, 2218, 4419); (3) an isolated pocket of dark earth at the eastern edge of R:24, *ca.* 1.85 m. north of the southern edge of the rock-cut platform. It produced two terracotta figurines (MF-11088, MF-11089), several intact kalathiskoi, and votive sherds all earlier than *ca.* 500 B.C. (lot 1968). Unfortunately, no architectural context could be established for these small groups of finds. Their votive contents, however, are in keeping with both the richer, contemporary deposits from Area D and the Classical votives that, as we shall see, were found in such abundance above them.

No evidence appears to have survived for establishing the position of the entrance into Area D in the 6th century B.C. Access on the north side seems to be precluded by the presence of the retaining wall at the southern edge of Q:23–24 described above (pp. 74–75). We have also seen that steep scarps of cut bedrock form barriers on the west and south sides. It is logical to suppose that one reached Area D, therefore, from the eastern sector of the rock-cut platform. This was certainly the case in later periods (p. 154 below). In the Archaic period after entering the Middle Terrace through the door in the north retaining wall in P:25, one could have moved to the south across the Central Courtyard before encountering in Q:24–25 a projecting spur of bedrock. Three long east–west cuttings are still preserved on this rock; they cannot be dated with certainty, but they may be the remnants of a stepped ascent into the eastern part of the rock-cut platform that lies to the south in R:25. To reach this platform from the Central Courtyard one had to climb up in any case, and an ascent in this position, roughly opposite the north entrance to the Middle Terrace, is plausible.

³³ Bone lots 62–56 and 57. These bones will be analyzed by David R. Reese in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. We note preliminarily that of the 69 animal bones from this layer, 56 are certainly from pigs.

ROOM E AND THE EAST SIDE OF THE TERRACE: P-Q:26 (Pl. 12:d)

Immediately to the left as one entered the Middle Terrace through the north doorway in P:25, there was a small, oblong-shaped area, which measures *ca.* 3.60 m. north-south by *ca.* 5.50 m. east-west. It connected directly with the Central Courtyard (pp. 63-64 above). The northern and eastern limits of this small area are marked by Walls 2 and 21, respectively, while to the south lay the small Room E, which we shall describe presently. Since here in this northeast corner of the Middle Terrace excavation to bedrock revealed no walls, rock cuttings, or other architectural features, it is probable that the area remained open to the sky as a small court.

We tested the stratigraphy in two separate parts of this area on two different occasions, in 1964 and 1975. While we have not been able to establish exact correlations between the strata recorded in both tests, the chronological results are uniform. A number of dumped fills were thrown in here behind Walls 2 and 21. Directly over bedrock on the eastern side of this area was a shallow layer of stony, reddish earth that had the appearance of stereo. It did, however, contain pottery and extended up to the foundation cutting on the west face of Wall 21. In fact, it was this layer that was cut into when the foundation trench was dug and Wall 21 constructed (pp. 62-63 above). The pottery from this earth was all of the 6th century B.C. or earlier (lot 75-243). It provides additional evidence for the date of the east wall of the Middle Terrace. Unfortunately, this earth did not extend far enough to the north that we could explore its relationship to the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace (Wall 2).

Above the reddish earth and lying against both Walls 2 and 21, covering their foundation trenches, was a deep filling of earth thrown in to create a level surface between the north retaining wall and the steeply rising bedrock to the south. The bottom levels of this filling contained an assortment of largely votive miniature pottery mixed in with a few fragments of lamps, terracotta figurines, and burnt animal bones. It was probably collected from an area where votives had been dedicated or discarded and may be related to the filling excavated to the west of the entrance in P:24 (p. 62 above). This material was fairly uniformly of 6th-century B.C. date, containing nothing that appears to be later than *ca.* 500 B.C. (lots 2039 and 75-242). This filling was probably thrown in as part of the process of constructing Walls 2 and 21. The same may be said of the earth above it, which produced pottery and lamps of identical date, including a fragment of a large Conventionalizing skyphos that joined a piece of the same vase found in the footing trench for Wall 2 (lot 2037).

South of this little court two poorly preserved walls came to light at a higher level in Q:26. With the east wall of the Middle Terrace they form a small rectangular area, *ca.* 3.50 m. east-west by *ca.* 2.75 m. north-south, which we have called Room E. It occupied the southeast corner of the Middle Terrace from the end of the 6th century B.C. onward. The north wall is too poorly preserved at the point where it made contact with Wall 21 to determine if it once bonded or merely abutted the latter. At its western end it does seem to form a right angle with the west wall of Room E, which extends to the south for *ca.* 2.75 m., where it stops at a rounded projection of bedrock that rises to block its path near the western edge of Q:26. Both walls are built of fieldstones and rest on bedrock, but they are preserved to a maximum height of only *ca.* 0.47 m., and their original thickness can only be estimated at *ca.* 0.40 m.

A construction date sometime in the second half of the 6th century B.C. can be postulated on the basis of the pottery in the earth packing within these walls and by the fact that the dumped fills of *ca.* 500 B.C. excavated to the north of them in the small court extend up to the north wall of the room and no farther (lots 2037, 2039, 75-242). Since no clear floor contemporary with the construction of these two walls could be distinguished within Room E, it is difficult to reconstruct the original appearance of the area they defined. Their rather flimsy construction suggests that the room was of modest proportions. A very large percentage of the pottery in the construction

packing within Room E consists of votive sherds. Since this fill was not sealed by a floor, it cannot certainly be associated with the use of Room E itself. If it comes from some earlier use of the area, however, we could tentatively suggest that the space later to be occupied by Room E had had some earlier religious significance. The room itself may also have served some cultic function if it was built to expand or elaborate on practices previously conducted here in which votive pottery was prominent. There is an apparently unbroken link between the 6th-century B.C. phase of Room E and its religiously active successors of the 5th century B.C. (pp. 159–161 below).

Although nothing resembling a doorway was found in the three preserved walls of Room E, the approach was almost certainly from the west side. North of Room E, in the small open area, the top of the 6th-century B.C. filling is *ca.* 0.35 m. lower than the preserved top of the room's north wall, while on the south the bedrock rises steeply enough to rule out direct access from this side. On the east the line of Wall 21 is unbroken. One probably reached Room E from the west either by coming up through the principal entrance to the Middle Terrace in P:25 and turning slightly to the east after passing the small court in P:26 or by moving directly across the larger Central Courtyard in P–Q:23–25.

An entrance into Room E could have been located to the north of the rounded bedrock projection that marks the southern end of the west wall. On the upper surface of this rock at the southern edge of Q:26 are three narrow cuttings that could be interpreted as steps leading up to the south into the long rock-cut platform that divides the Middle Terrace from the Upper Terrace (pp. 154–159 below). At any rate, this rocky projection is so irregular and the steps so much higher than the level of the west wall that they must lie outside the limits of Room E. It is also possible that the “steps” are in fact cuttings for the blocks of a wall that have since been removed, a wall whose date and function remain unknown (see p. 157 below).

Since the south side of Room E is so poorly defined and its north and west walls so poorly preserved, it is uncertain if this corner of the Middle Terrace was roofed in the late 6th century B.C. Mud-brick or stone walls could have been built up on three sides of the room to a suitable level for a roof, but the south side is a problem. It is also possible that the area was open to the sky and simply marked off from the rest of the Middle Terrace by low screen walls.

REMAINS ON THE EASTERN EDGE OF THE MIDDLE TERRACE

Outside the eastern temenos wall of the Middle Terrace (Wall 21) the architectural remains are meager and stratification was almost nonexistent. Parallel to this wall, oriented north–south *ca.* 1.25 m. to the east, we excavated a short stretch of wall (Wall 32) in Q:27. It is constructed of small fieldstones set in clay and is preserved for a length of 4.35 m. At its southern end the wall terminates at a projecting nose of bedrock; no trace of a connecting wall was discovered at this point. Similarly, at its north end the wall, as now preserved, ends abruptly in a large stone; no evidence for joining walls appeared here. East of Wall 32 there was an unstratified accumulation of earth extending from the modern surface all the way to bedrock in which the latest objects appear to belong to the late 4th century after Christ. Chronologically more helpful were two distinct strata between Walls 21 and 32; both extended up to the faces of the two walls and clearly postdate their construction. The latest identifiable sherds in the upper layer, which was *ca.* 0.20 m. deep, are of the early 5th century B.C. (lot 2061). A deeper layer, *ca.* 0.30 m., lying directly below this contained pottery of roughly similar date (lot 2060). Wall 32, which is preserved to a maximum height of *ca.* 0.50 m., is set into a third underlying layer of clean clay that extends to the east face of Wall 21 and continues below Wall 32 to bedrock. This stratum was *ca.* 0.50 m. deep. Pottery from the bottom clay layer does not seem to be any later than the second half of the 6th century B.C. (lot 2059). Wall 21 was clearly in existence at this time, and somewhat later, perhaps in the early 5th century B.C., the roughly parallel Wall 32 was constructed.

The purpose of Wall 32 and the narrow, corridorlike space between it and the east temenos wall of the Middle Terrace is not obvious. Steep, unworked bedrock protrudes enough at the southern end of this confined space to rule out heavy traffic through here, at least at the level of the early-5th-century B.C. strata. Nor was the space used for dumping discarded pottery and votives from adjacent areas, such as Room E, which was rich in such finds. It is possible that Wall 32 is the only surviving remnant of a structure originally extending farther to the east that was destroyed at the time of the quarrying operation to be described below (p. 252).

Ca. 3.70 m. north of Wall 32 in P:27 there are other scanty remains that perhaps belong to the 6th century B.C. These consist of a short stretch of thick wall of fieldstones and clay, *ca.* 2.25 m. long and *ca.* 0.70 m. wide, which is oriented east–west. This wall was built on bedrock without any rock-cut foundation trench. Preserved along its north face were the remains of a clay floor or perhaps the packing for a couch. Pottery from the fabric of this wall (lot 6655), from the earth accumulated against its south face over bedrock (lot 6654), and possibly from the clay layer was predominantly of the 6th century B.C., but there are a few Roman sherds in both of these lots. At its eastern end this wall breaks off close enough to a line of later quarrying in P:27 to suggest that the latter may have removed the surviving remains of the building to which the wall belonged. This quarrying operation is described below. A more precise terminal date for the thick wall and floor or couch is provided at its western end, where it is now covered by a north–south wall of 5th-century B.C. date in the northwest corner of P:27. By the time that the latter wall was constructed (pp. 168–169 below), the building to which the thick wall and floor belonged must have gone out of use.

Contemporary with the remains just described is another short stretch of wall in O–P:26–27. It is oriented roughly northwest to southeast and has on its well-preserved north face a pronounced, but shallow, setback that appears to be intentional. The wall rests directly on bedrock and is preserved to a height of *ca.* 0.54 m. Its full width cannot be determined, for most of the wall is covered by a large 5th-century B.C. retaining wall (described below, pp. 168–169). To the west, in O:26, the earlier wall crumbles into nothing, but its eastern end seems to consist of a neat corner in P:27. Although the fieldstones in the wall are fairly small, they are packed carefully and tightly together in clay to form a solid fabric. The purpose of this wall and its possible 6th-century B.C. neighbor to the southeast, which we have described in the previous paragraph, cannot be established on our present meager evidence, nor can any firm structural connection be made between the two. Enough pottery evidence for the use and destruction of the former, however, has survived to clarify both its chronology and that of its superimposed successor. Against the north face of the wall were: (1) a layer of coarse, reddish earth directly over bedrock containing pottery of the last half of the 6th century B.C. (lot 2202); (2) a clay floor, *ca.* 0.05 m. thick, resting on it in which the latest sherds do not postdate 500 B.C. (lot 2201); (3) above the floor, to a height of *ca.* 0.25 m., a third layer in which the pottery is primarily late 6th and early 5th century B.C. in date (lot 2199); (4) a stratum of earth that covered the preserved top of the wall and extended also to the south under the bottom of the large retaining wall that lies above it. This last layer represents part of a filling in of the area in the southern part of O:26–27. Like several similar fills in this part of the Sanctuary, it contained very large quantities of votive sherds, lamp fragments, some animal bones and pigs' tusks, terracotta figurines, and a number of intact miniature votive vessels. The survival of these last objects suggests that this presumed cult debris was not brought in from any great distance (lots 2058, 2196, 2198). This material was dumped in here in the second half of the 5th century B.C. By this time the wall with setback had gone out of use.

The wall with setback has a more pronounced southeast–northwest orientation than that of all other contemporary and earlier structures on the Middle Terrace to the south. When we turn to the north, however, we find in N–O:24–27 the remains of at least two dining rooms and a

room with a bench of the Lower Terrace that stood here *ca.* 500 B.C. (pp. 32–38 above). Both were entered only on their north sides. They are separated from this wall by only *ca.* 0.25 m., which clearly left no room for circulation. For our purposes, however, the significant feature of the two dining rooms is that their back (or south) walls run parallel to the orientation of the wall with setback. The latter appears, then, to have been laid out with respect to the southernmost row of dining rooms on the Lower Terrace in the Archaic period, and not to the Middle Terrace. Its original function must remain conjectural, but we might suggest that this wall with setback is the remnant of a 6th-century B.C. structure on the Lower Terrace, such as a dining room. Its proximity to the 6th-century B.C. unit in O:26–27, however, makes this unlikely. Alternatively, the wall with setback might be the surviving fragment of a wall that ran along the south, or back, side of the southernmost row of dining rooms on the Lower Terrace. If, as seems likely, there was a row of dining rooms stretching to the west beyond the two excavated examples, the wall might also have been carried across the southern side of the Lower Terrace in this direction, perhaps even as far as N:20. We must remember, however, that no trace of this hypothetical wall has been found to the west of O:26, and our conjecture is based upon a surviving fragment only *ca.* 3.00 m. in length.

CONCLUSIONS

Erosion, quarrying, and later building activity outside the eastern boundary wall of the Middle Terrace all make it impossible to reconstruct the appearance of this part of the Sanctuary in the 6th century B.C. Thanks to the preservation of its north and east walls, however, the form of the Terrace itself *ca.* 520–500 B.C. can be sketched with some confidence (Plan 3). Its west side was occupied by the oikos, which probably had a door in its east wall opening onto the Central Courtyard. On the south side of the Courtyard, close to the oikos, was the rock-cut platform containing the sacrificial Area D. On the opposite side of the Courtyard from the oikos, in the southeast corner of the Terrace, lay a little enclosure that contained many small votive offerings, Room E. Directly to its north was a small, oblong open court. Across the full width of this sacred area, from east to west, extended the long north retaining wall, which helped to create a level surface for the buildings on the Middle Terrace. At the same time this wall formed part of the oikos and marked the northern boundary of the Terrace, separating it from the dining rooms on the Lower Terrace below to the north. In the Archaic period the only entrance into the Middle Terrace, where the principal cult building was located, consisted of a doorway in this north wall at P:25.

Before leaving the 6th-century B.C. remains on the Middle Terrace, we must briefly consider how one reached this single entrance on its north side. Individual visitors or small groups may have simply hiked up to the Sanctuary directly on footpaths leading up over the lower slopes of Acrocorinth from the area around the fountain of Hadji Mustafa. Larger groups and processions, however, would almost certainly have ascended from the northeast along the road that skirts the Sanctuary on its north side. After turning in at the main entrance in I:20, a procession could have moved straight up the hill to the south, climbing past the dining rooms that occupied much of the Lower Terrace by *ca.* 500 B.C. We have seen that there is a fairly wide north–south strip of land here in J–O:20 that remained free of construction at this time (p. 24 above). In the Classical period processions certainly seem to have been expected, for it is in this wide strip that a broad stone stairway was constructed.

After passing the southernmost dining room on the Lower Terrace in N:21, one had the choice of either approaching the Middle Terrace or continuing directly up the hill to the south toward the Upper Terrace, having on one's left the west wall of the oikos. We have seen that this wall was probably solid and that there was on this side no means of entering the Middle Terrace. To do that one had to turn to the east beyond the southernmost dining room on the Lower Terrace

and enter what must have been an open corridor in N–O:20–27. This fairly narrow strip of land, oriented east–west, lay in front, that is, north, of the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace in which was located its only entrance. The slope of the hill is steep here, and we found no protected layers of the 6th century B.C. to help determine contemporary ground level. Although on the south side this strip of land is firmly defined by the oikos and the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace, it is more difficult to establish its northern limit *ca.* 500 B.C. Certainly, as we have seen, there were at least two dining rooms on the Lower Terrace to the east in N–O:24–26. These could have stood at the eastern end of a row of such buildings that stretched westward across the full width of the Lower Terrace at this time. It is even possible that a retaining wall may have been built behind, that is, south of, this hypothetical row of dining rooms on a line that followed the orientation of their back walls. Such a wall, then, would have defined the north side of the narrow strip of land that divided the Lower Terrace from the Middle. It was along this corridor that one had to move to the east to reach the entrance into the Middle Terrace. A wall defining this strip of land on the north side is not entirely in the realm of conjecture, for the short stretch of 6th-century B.C. wall with setback preserved in P:26–27 might have belonged to just this kind of construction (pp. 81–82 above).

A narrow strip of land, therefore, separated the Lower from the Middle Terrace in the Archaic period, providing access to the single entrance in the north wall of the latter. We shall see later that this remained the only way to approach the Middle Terrace until *ca.* 300 B.C. The presence of the dining room in N–O:25–26 and the walls in O–P:26–27 probably made access from the northeast impossible.

Already in the Archaic layout of the Middle Terrace we can observe a suggestive interplay of space and ritual. To reach this central sector of the Sanctuary, which housed the principal cult building, it was necessary to pass along a fairly narrow corridor, which seems to have been intentionally constructed to limit the flow of traffic. To enter the Middle Terrace itself one had to pass through a single small door in its north retaining wall at P:25 that was wide enough for only one person at a time. The dimensions of both the Central Courtyard, in which participants now found themselves, and the interior of the oikos on its western side, precluded assemblage of more than about forty persons at one time. Even more confined was the sacrificial space at the western end of the rock-cut platform (Area D), which appears deliberately to have been designed for cult ritual of a very personal, almost individual nature. This same emphasis on small groups, sometimes even on what seem to have been individual acts of ritual, is reflected also in the design of the eating arrangements and lustral areas in the dining units of the Lower Terrace. We shall see it at work again later in the small offering pits on the Middle Terrace and the rock-cut Theatral Areas of the Upper Terrace.

THE LOWER TERRACE IN THE 5th CENTURY B.C.

H-O:8-29

PART I: 500-450 B.C. (Fig. 10; Plan 1)

In the first half of the 5th century B.C. more buildings were added to the Lower Terrace, while the dining rooms that had been built in the 6th century B.C. continued in use without modification. These additions are most apparent on the slope just north of Building M-N:20-26 (Fig. 10).¹ Here a new row of rooms was added from J-L:20 to K-L:26. With the exception of the westernmost Building J-L:21, which comprised three rooms, the new units continue the 6th-century B.C. plan of single, self-contained rooms. It is possible that there were five such rooms, sharing party walls from J-K:22 to K-L:25-26. But because extensive changes and additions were subsequently made to all these rooms except Building K:23, only a few of them were investigated for this early-5th-century B.C. phase, namely, Buildings J-L:21, J-K:22, and K-L:25-26, as well as the unmodified K:23. Although Figure 10 shows only these buildings, it is more than likely that two more rooms lay between Buildings K:23 and K-L:25-26.²

BUILDING J-L:21: DINING ROOM, TWO SERVICE ROOMS, BATH STALL (Fig. 11 on p. 90)

Largely explored in tests beneath the floors of the later Building K-L:21-22, Building J-L:21 is chiefly distinguishable by its west exterior wall, which is preserved for most of its length. The complex lies near the entrance to the Sanctuary immediately to the east of the later stairway. Indeed, its southwesternmost corner underlies the stairway.

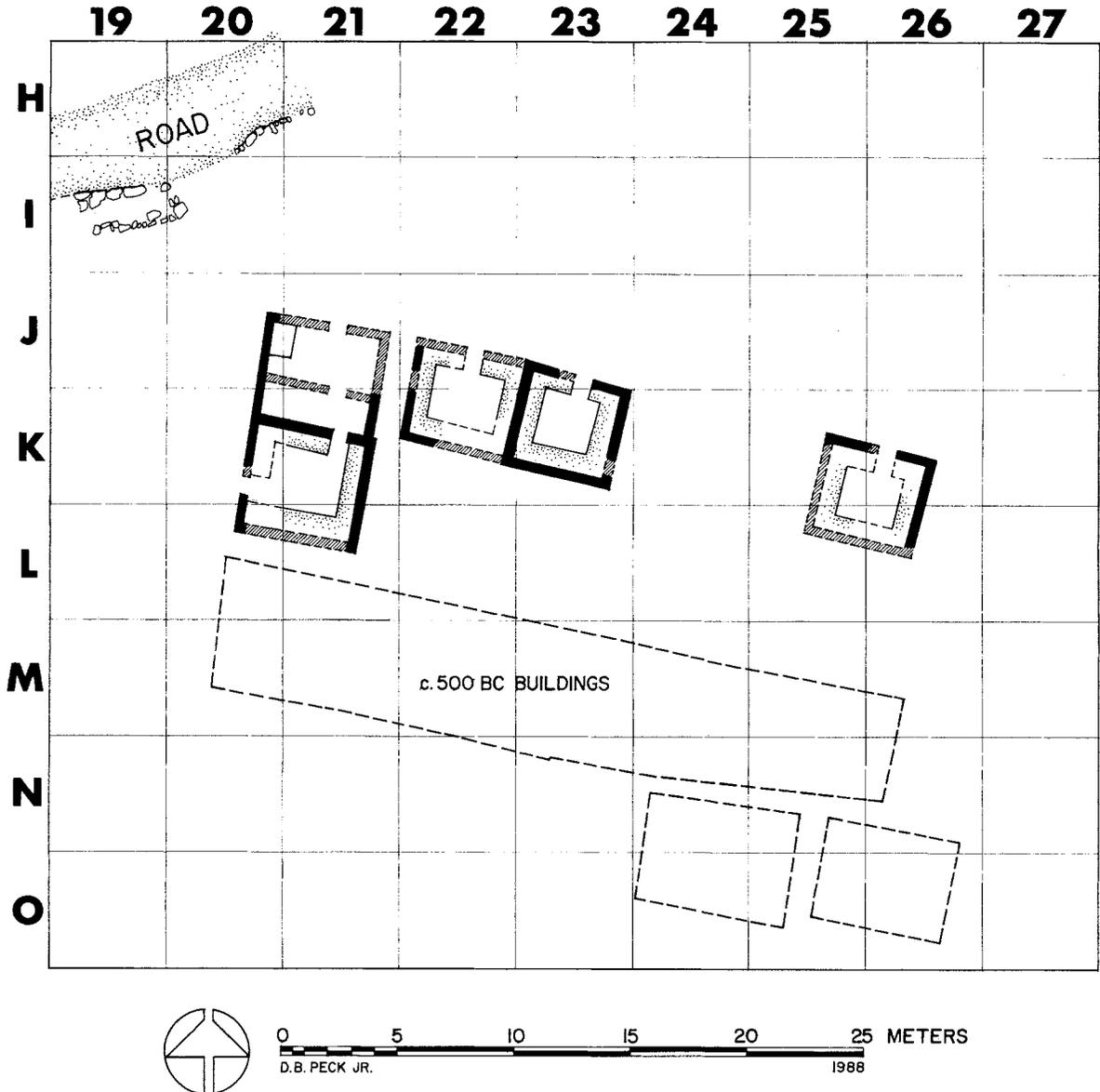
Only the southern half of the building was fully investigated. In addition, the narrow strip between its west wall and the later west wall of Building K-L:21-22 was tested. Examination of the north side, however, proved inconclusive, leaving us with an incomplete picture of this structure.

Apart from several short gaps, the west wall is preserved from the northwest corner of the building in J:20 to its estimated southwest corner in L:20, a total length of 9.50 m., and it stands in places to a height of *ca.* 0.54 m. It is built of large fieldstones laid in roughly two rows with larger stones along the interior face, smaller stones along the exterior face, for a total thickness of 0.45 m. Against the outer face of the northern half of the wall is a row of stones placed on end as if to protect the wall base from weathering. A single large poros slab, 0.70 m. by 0.60 m., trimmed slightly along the northernmost 0.20 m., forms the northwest corner of the building.

Although the north wall is not preserved, its position can be restored on the basis of the northwest corner block just mentioned. From this block we can establish that the wall stood just south of the later north wall of Building K-L:21-22. Because the east wall was retained in that later building as an interior party wall, it can be traced for much of its length except for the northernmost 3.20 m. Averaging 0.47 m. in width, it is built like the west wall described

¹ Figure 10 shows only the new structures added at this time. It should be understood that the Sanctuary otherwise continued to look as it had at the end of the 6th century B.C.

² When these new buildings were initially excavated in their fully developed late-5th-century B.C. forms, they were given individual building names, rather than room numbers within one large structure. For the sake of clarity these names have been retained. Thus, we shall refer to Building K-L:25-26 rather than to Room 5 of Building J-L:22-26.

FIG. 10. Plan: H-O:19-27, *ca.* 450 B.C.

above, with the difference that it is not completely straight but makes a slight jog to the east at 4.70 m. from the estimated northeast corner before continuing south. Its juncture with the south wall is missing, as is the entire south wall, for bedrock is quite high along that side of the building, and the wall was therefore less well protected from the depredations of later builders. Nevertheless, its position can be restored, and, therefore, the entire length of the building can be estimated to have been 9.50 m. from north to south, and its width 5.30 m.

Within this building certainly two, and probably three, rooms can be restored in a row from north to south; of them only the southern Room 1 is well preserved. This is a dining room occupying nearly half the length of the whole building. In addition to the east and west exterior walls, the north party wall survives, as do the east, south, and north banquettes; the missing west banquette is known from several tests made against the outer wall of the building. The approximate position of the south wall can also be determined if we assume that the south

banquette was *ca.* 0.75–0.80 m. wide. Thus, the room is an estimated 4.55 m. long from east to west by *ca.* 4.22 m. wide from north to south.

Despite the fact that an entrance is not actually preserved, we have tentatively restored one on the west side, approximately 1.50 m. from the southwest corner of the building. A test made near the point where the west wall breaks off exposed a small patch of clay floor, presumably part of the door passage. The remaining evidence for the door, indeed, for the entire southwest corner of the room, is obscured by an overlying banquette of Classical date. Based on the patch of floor, however, we restore a door here approximately 0.80–0.90 m. wide.

A second door is located in the northeast corner of the room, *ca.* 0.70 m. from the east wall, that leads into Room 2 to the north. In place of a threshold block, a row of small stones fills the 0.78 m.-wide opening to form a step, for the northern rooms are considerably lower than the southern one.

Retaining walls for the banquettes are preserved along the north, east, and easternmost 3.35 m. of the south side of the room; they have been restored along the remainder of the south side to end just south of the west entrance, and on the west side. They consist of fist-sized stones laid in one or two rows. In addition, the north banquette incorporates several larger stones along the passage for the north door. These walls rest on bedrock or on a thin layer of red sterile earth over bedrock but well below floor level. In their present state they vary in height from just a few centimeters (north) to 0.35 m. (south) above floor level, and the banquettes average 0.70 (east) to 0.75–0.80 m. (south) wide.

For the missing west banquette two restorations are possible. The first, and preferred, restoration would create a banquette 1.45–1.55 m. long, the southern end of which would fall beside the jamb of our hypothetical entrance. The second restoration would make use of two rows of very small stones that project into the room from the west wall at a distance of 3.00 m. from the southwest corner (Fig. 11, state plan). If we interpret these stones as foundations for the south end wall of the banquette, then the west banquette can be only 1.15 m. long, or half a couch. Since these stones are considerably smaller than those used elsewhere in the retaining walls, they may not be pertinent.

Individual couch lengths can be estimated as follows, beginning south of the door and moving counterclockwise:

1. South 1.515 m.
2. South 1.515 m.
3. South 1.515 m.³
4. East 1.65 m.
5. East 1.65 m.
6. North 1.52 m.
7. North 1.52 m.
8. West 1.45–1.55 m.

Thus, there could have been eight couches of remarkably uniform lengths.

In the southeast corner of the area framed by these couches we cleared an L-shaped rubble foundation, placed 0.23 m. from the south couch 3 and 0.28–0.35 m. from the east couch 4. The foundation is built of stones up to 0.15 m. long, laid in roughly two rows with small stone filler, the north arm being 0.43 m. thick and 0.85 m. long, the south 0.38 m. thick and 0.80 m. long. This was probably the support for a table, as in Building L:26–27. No such feature was discovered

³ Alternately, one could restore two couches of 2.275 m. each on the south side. Elsewhere we have generally favored two couches per wall rather than three; however, in the few cases where couches run straight to a door without a return, the length may be better suited to three. See Buildings I–J:21–22 and N:21 below.

in the other corners, but since, in general, the north and west sides of the room were considerably disturbed in Roman times, similar foundations could well have been removed.

As noted above, the banquette walls were founded on bedrock or on stereo. Above bedrock was a packing of small stones and red earth *ca.* 0.20 m. thick on which was built the table. A leveling stratum of *ca.* 0.07 m. was then laid down and over this, the first clay floor (+166.86–166.83 m.). Three successive clay floors were removed in all, each with some burning, which generally was heaviest in the inner angle of the table. Here a circular patch of the earliest floor had been baked red from heat, and burning was especially heavy, suggesting that the area had been used as a hearth.

Very little useful pottery was recovered by which to date the various phases of the room. Pottery from beneath the earliest floor (lot 73-127) belongs to the beginning or first quarter of the 5th century B.C. The pottery is slightly later than that which characterizes the construction fills of the 6th-century B.C. buildings. In addition to Conventionalizing kalathiskoi type 3, there is a round-mouthed oinochoe dated 500–480 B.C.⁴ Nothing characteristic of the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., however, was found. Tests within the couch packings were unhelpful. Removal of the successive floors was uninformative, although sherds of the mid- to second half of the 5th century B.C. did appear. In the fill that overlay the uppermost floor (lot 73-128) was one undecorated kalathiskos type 4, together with the more numerous Conventionalizing examples.⁵ From this piece we conclude that the room went out of use in the second half of the 5th century B.C.

The northern half of Building J–L:21, an area roughly 4.10 m. long north–south by 4.45 m. east–west, is largely unexplored. Where the two halves meet, the east wall makes a small jog of *ca.* 0.10 m. to the west before continuing north, as if the two segments of the building had been designed separately. No such difference, however, is apparent in the west wall, and we must assume that the whole structure was laid out at one time. In the northern half only one certain feature survives: a stuccoed bath stall situated in the northwest corner of Room 3. One factor, however, suggests that there may have been an intermediate room between this area and dining Room 1 to the south. A difference in height of 1.05–1.08 m. separates the lowest floor level in Room 1 (+166.86–166.83 m.) from the floor of the bath stall in the northwest corner of the building (+165.78 m.). Since there is no evidence for more than a single step in the north doorway of Room 1, we must insert another room with a crosswall to make the transition from one level to another. This same problem existed in the Classical and Hellenistic successors to the structure.⁶ The plan so restored, then, calls for an intermediate Room 2 measuring 1.40 by 4.45 m. and a northern Room 3 about 2.30 by 4.45–4.60 m.

For the hypothetical intermediate room little can be said. Although it is possible that a bench or banquette of mud brick and earth stood against the west wall, the area explored was too narrow to permit any firm conclusions.⁷

In the northern Room 3 the only identifiable feature of note is the lime-cement floor that stood in the northwest corner of the building. The floor is 1.38 m. long from north to south and at least 0.78 m. wide from east to west, its surface partially destroyed along the north. On the south side it is limited by an upright poros slab 0.27 m. high, 0.44 m. long, and 0.16 m. thick. This one slab did not close the entire south side; presumably there were more, although no traces were

⁴ *Corinth XIII*, p. 134, type A, Group i.

⁵ *Corinth XVIII*, i, p. 24 for the type.

⁶ In removing the later-5th-century B.C. fill that covered the northwest quarter of the building, we found that a break occurred in the layers roughly on a line with the Hellenistic party wall between the later Rooms 2 and 3 (Fig. 24). At this point a fugitive line of small stones was noted, extending eastward from the west outer wall. Perhaps this bore some relation to a crosswall not otherwise preserved.

⁷ In testing along the outer wall of the building in this area we found possible traces of mud-brick benches or banquettes in the form of a mud-brick retaining wall and striated fills of clay alternating with red earth.

noted. A similar slab in the middle of the east side may have served the same function, but this side was disturbed by the later, Hellenistic, west wall, which cut through the room just east of the upright slab. The remainder of the room was not explored. It could have been furnished with benches or banquettes or might even have had a kitchen.

Since nothing datable was recovered from the small probes along the west side of the two northern rooms to indicate when they were built, we have assumed that the three rooms were laid out at the same time.

If evidence for a construction date is missing in the northern half, the building's abandonment is clearly attested here in the second half of the 5th century B.C., perhaps as late as the early fourth quarter. A fill of clay mixed with red earth consistently covered not only the floor of Room 3 but also the exterior west wall, extending as far west as the stairway.⁸ Since the stairway impinges on the southwest corner of the building, it seems likely that the building was completely remodeled when the steps were laid down and that the west wall was abandoned for a new one further east.

The plan of Building J–L:21 is a complex one for the period in which it was built. At this date, early in the 5th century B.C., only one other building in the Sanctuary, Building L:16–17, was fitted with service rooms clearly not intended for dining. Furthermore, in Building J–L:21 is the earliest example of the cement-lined bath stall, a feature that becomes much more common in the dining buildings of the later 5th century B.C. Its first appearance in this building may not be fortuitous, for in all periods, Classical through Roman, this site was occupied by a prominent building, one that surpasses all others in size and complexity of plan.

BUILDING J–K:22: SINGLE DINING ROOM (Fig. 11)

A passage 1.00 m. wide separates Building J–L:21 from J–K:22 to the east. The latter is the first of what must have been five contiguous dining rooms that stretch across much of this row east of the stairway. It is the only one of the five to be covered by later construction. But tests beneath Rooms 4 to 6 of the overlying Hellenistic structure K–L:21–22 exposed enough to clarify the plan of a single dining room with its entrance on the north side; if a second room lay to the south of the first, on the analogy of Building J–L:21, all traces of it were removed in later times.

Nearly all of the west and east exterior walls were uncovered,⁹ as was enough of the south wall at its western end to verify its position but no more. The north wall and much of the north couch packing had been removed by the later Hellenistic north wall. The position, however, of the north wall can be restored from the surviving north couch face. The building thus measures 5.20 m. east–west by *ca.* 4.70 m. north–south.

The walls are built of fieldstones and average 0.35–0.45 m. in thickness; they stand to no more than 0.20–0.30 m. above floor level. Although not actually preserved, an axial door has been restored *ca.* 2.20 m. from either corner of the building on the basis of the disposition of the couches within the room.

The room is *ca.* 4.35 m. long from east to west by 4.00 m. wide north to south. Its floor is clay (+165.73 m.). Nearly all of the west banquette could be traced as well as parts of those on the remaining three sides. They average 0.75 m. in width. On all but the north side the red earth packing for the banquette was retained by a thin facing of clay and an occasional stone. On that side limestone slabs retained the packing. One such slab stands at the northwest corner of the room, while a second closes the end of one of the two north couches and simultaneously forms

⁸ Lot 6516, which overlay the stucco floor in Room 3, is the most revealing. Among the latest sherds are a Vrysoula oinochoe and an outturned skyphos rim of the early fourth quarter of the 5th century B.C. For Vrysoula pottery, see E. G. Pemberton, "The Vrysoula Classical Deposit from Ancient Corinth," *Hesperia* 39, 1970, pp. 265–307.

⁹ Both walls were cut by Late Roman tile graves. Grave 13 broke through the west wall, while Graves 14 and 17 cut through the east wall. For these, see Chapter 13 and Plan 6.

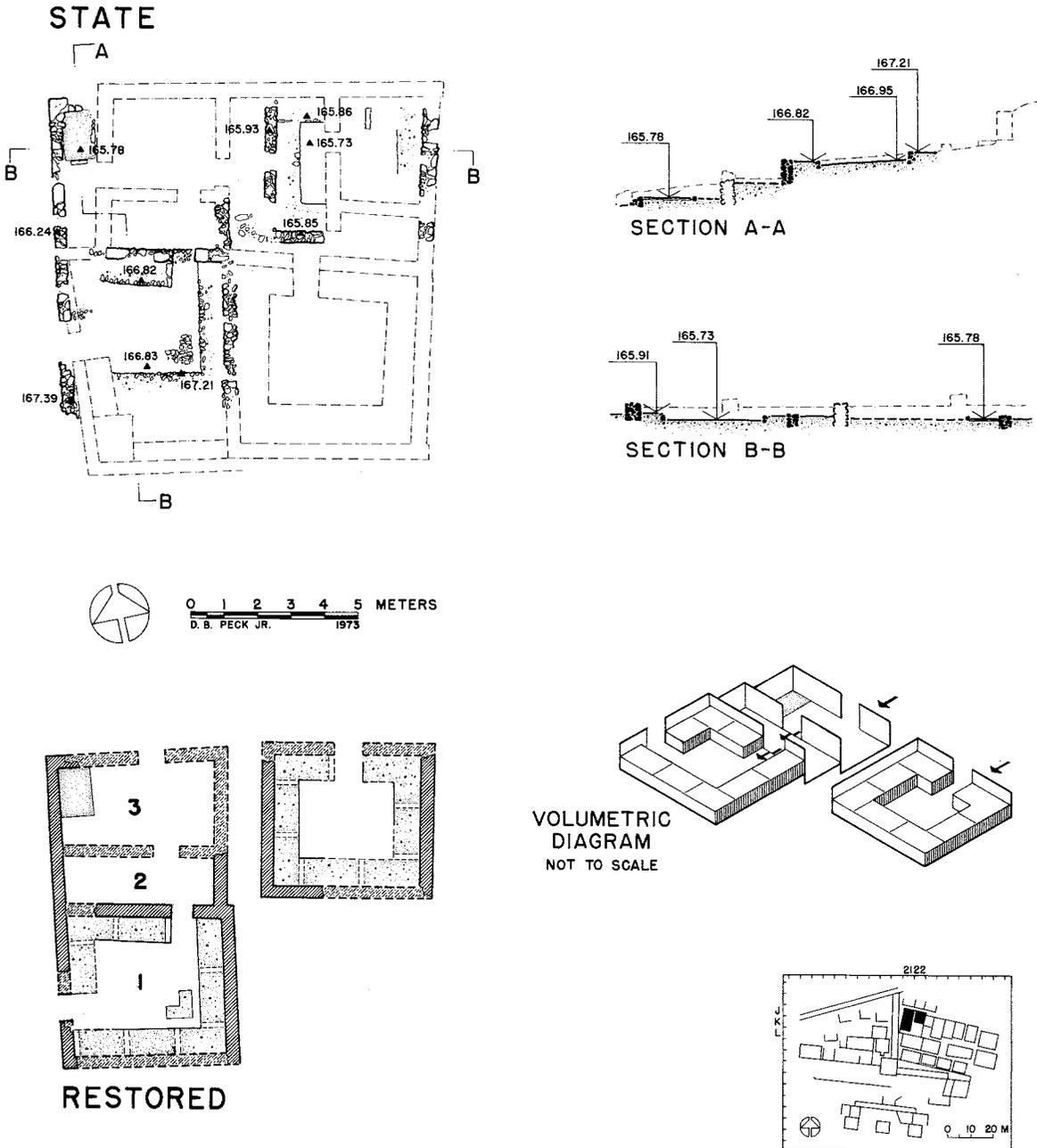


FIG. 11. Plan: Buildings J-L:21, J-K:22

one side of the passage that led to the entranceway. Since the floor is not preserved here, several restorations are possible. The slab falls 1.75 m. from the northeast corner of the room and 2.80 m. from the northwest corner. If we place it at the head of the northwest couch, then we must restore one long couch of 2.80 (or two short ones of 1.40) m. to the west of the door, with just the width of a couch to the east of it. Alternatively, by placing the slab at the foot of the east couch, we create a half-couch 1.00 m. long to the east of the door and one couch 1.80 m. long to the west of the door. Since this second arrangement is more in keeping with the plan of the contemporary

Building M–N:20–26 to the south, we have chosen it in our reconstruction. Seven and one-half couches can be restored in all, their lengths estimated as follows, working counterclockwise from the door:

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.80 m. |
| 2. West | 1.625 m. |
| 3. West | 1.625 m. |
| 4. South | 1.80 m. |
| 5. South | 1.80 m. |
| 6. East | 1.625 m. |
| 7. East | 1.625 m. |
| 8. Northeast | 1.00 m. (half) |

The reconstruction is based on the assumption that no room existed to the south of Building J–K:22.

No tests were made to determine when Building J–K:22 was built. Its eastern neighbor, however, was constructed in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., and since the two structures share a common wall, they may have been built at the same time. Evidence for its abandonment is clear; pottery over the floor and couches dated to the second half of the 5th century B.C. (lot 73-126). At that time, probably late in the century, both Buildings J–L:21 and J–K:22 were incorporated into one large structure, Building K–L:21–22.

BUILDING K:23: SINGLE DINING ROOM (Figs. 1 [p. 25], 11)

Immediately east of Building J–K:22 is a small, one-room structure, Building K:23, which survives in a moderately good state of preservation. It shares a wall with Building J–K:22 to the west and may have once adjoined another room to the east beneath the late-5th-century B.C. Building K–L:23–24.

As in Building J–K:22, Late Roman tile-built graves were abundant here. Three on the south side dug deeply into the south couch and destroyed the southeast corner of the building, while a fourth cut into the east couch.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the plan of the building is clear. All four walls are preserved, the south to a height of 0.84 m. above the earliest floor level, the west at about floor level, while the east and most of the north walls were robbed to foundation level. The building is 4.95 m. long east–west by 4.65 m. wide north–south.

The better-preserved, south wall is 0.45 m. thick and in this phase is built mostly of large fieldstones and at least one cut limestone slab. The remaining walls are slightly thinner and consist of fieldstones laid in two rows with small stone filler.

An entrance 0.90 m. wide lies on the north side at 1.85 m. from the northeast corner and 2.20 m. from the northwest corner. Although the north wall is not well preserved here, the position of the door is secure from the disposition of the interior couches. A threshold block was not found but only a clay floor that continued into the room.

Nearly square, the single room is 3.97 m. long east–west by 3.80 m. wide north–south with a banquette on all four sides. This measures 0.75 m. wide on south and west sides and *ca.* 0.85 m. on the east side. Because the face of the north banquette was less well preserved, the exact width of this side is less certain. It is perhaps as little as 0.65 m. or as much as the other sides. A full height is known only for the clay-topped south banquette, namely, 0.25 m.¹¹ No armrests are preserved; nevertheless, the individual couch lengths can be approximately restored. Beginning to the west of the door and working counterclockwise, they are as follows:

¹⁰ Chapter 13 and Plan 6, nos. 18, 19, 21, and 15.

¹¹ This description applies to the earliest phase. There were several remodelings with corresponding raisings of the floor and banquette levels. The later banquette appears to have stood 0.34–0.37 m. above floor level.

| | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.82 m.* |
| 2. West | 1.52 m. |
| 3. West | 1.52 m. |
| 4. South | 1.61 m. |
| 5. South | 1.61 m. |
| 6. East | 1.52 m. |
| 7. East | 1.52 m. |
| 8. Northeast | 0.40 m.* (half) |

There were thus seven full couches in all, the largest falling just to the right, or west, of the entrance, and a half-couch to the east of the door.

A low dais 0.30 m. wide, composed of a single line of small stones and white clay, lay at the base of the south banquette, from which it has been restored all around the room. The dais was covered over in subsequent phases of the room's history.

The most satisfying aspect of Building K:23 is the good historical sequence that can be recovered from the deep accumulation of earth that lay inside the building and against the back of its south wall. Tests within these fills have shown that the building was founded not on bedrock but on a thin stratum of earth overlying stereo, containing Mycenaean pottery (lot 73-122; Fig. 1, stratum 8).¹² If there was a structure here in the Archaic period, nothing of it has remained.

The building itself dates to the period of *ca.* 475–450 B.C., as is shown by the pottery recovered from the packing beneath the floor, from the packing for the south banquette (lot 73-119; Fig. 1, stratum 5), and, to a lesser degree, from the fill behind (south of) the back wall (lot 73-123; Fig. 1, stratum 7). The original floor level (+165.72 m.) was subsequently raised and the dais buried (+165.83 m.; Fig. 1, stratum 4, lower layer). When this occurred is not clear, for the pottery from this earth was sparse. The south wall was also rebuilt, for the upper 0.40 m. of the wall projects 0.10 m. beyond the back face of the lower section. Pottery recovered from the fill against this upper section dates to the late 5th century B.C. at the earliest (lot 73-124; Fig. 1, stratum 6). It is possible that the second floor also dates from this time. These modifications may correspond to the consolidation of Buildings J–L:21 and J–K:22 into one large complex, K–L:21–22.

In the debris that covered the second floor were sherds of the middle of the 4th century B.C. (lot 73-120), thereby giving a *terminus ante quem* for its laying. Floor and south couch appear to have been raised once again, the floor to +165.94 m., and the couch from +165.97 to +166.17 m. (Fig. 1, stratum 4, upper layer). This phase of the building's history appears to have been short-lived, for a thick stratum of debris, datable to the late 4th century B.C. (lot 73-121), covered this uppermost floor (Fig. 1, stratum 3). The dining room's abandonment appears to have coincided with the construction of Building K–L:21–22 to its west and, as we shall see, with the abandonment of all of the structures to the east of it. Above this debris lay fill of Late Roman date (Fig. 1, strata 1, 2).

BUILDING K–L:25–26: SINGLE DINING ROOM (Figs. 15, 16 on pp. 115, 116)¹³

Building K–L:25–26 lies *ca.* 8.60 m. east of Building K:23, and in its original form it closely resembled that structure. Initially a self-contained dining room, the building was modified in the later 5th century B.C., when the dining room was enlarged and a second room, furnished with benches and bath stall, was added to the south. Because of erosion both phases are visible in the center of Plate 17. The exposed northern half belongs to the earlier phase, the southern half to the later phase, while much of the superstructure of the later dining room has been lost.

¹² The trench is shown as a shaded area in Plan 2. For a discussion of the Mycenaean fills from this building and for a plan giving the location of the trench, Rutter 1979, pp. 386–388.

¹³ Figure 10 shows the restored plan of the building in this period, while Figure 15 presents the actual-state plan for the entire complex.

Limited tests beneath the later dining room floor further clarified details. As noted above, it is more than likely that two more dining rooms lay between this building and Building K:23. Time, however, did not permit us to investigate them.

The state of preservation of Building K–L:25–26 as it was first laid out is generally good. Both the north and east walls stand for their entire length, the former to a height of 0.80 m. from the foundation or to about interior floor level. The south wall is covered by the retaining wall for the later south banquette. Whether any stones of that later banquette wall, however, belong to the earlier exterior wall is unclear. Although the position of the west wall can be determined, the wall that now exists actually is the east wall of the later Building K–L:24–25. Here again it is not clear whether the party wall is early in date or whether it replaces a preexisting one. Not quite square, the building is 4.92 m. long east–west by 4.50 m. wide north–south.

Its walls are built with small fieldstones. These are laid in three rows to a total thickness of 0.48 m. on the east side, or somewhat less along the north. Above the socle was a superstructure of clay and pisé.

The north wall breaks for the entrance at *ca.* 1.75 m. from the northeast corner and *ca.* 2.50 m. from the northwest corner of the building. *Ca.* 0.82 m. wide, the door opening is surfaced with clay in place of a stone threshold. This surface extends both in front of the façade and into the room.

Within the room, which measures 4.05 m. from east to west by *ca.* 3.65 m. from north to south, the retaining walls for the banquettes are poorly preserved. Nevertheless, the packing could be isolated where the walls were not actually found. A single course of five stones is all that remains of the south banquette, together with the red fill of its packing;¹⁴ its eastern end was removed by a later drain. Similarly, the couch at the northeast corner of the room was completely destroyed.

The couches vary somewhat in width from 0.70 to 0.80 m. No complete heights are preserved nor are there any armrests. The couch lengths flanking the entrance are known (marked by asterisk), while the remainder can be reconstructed. Beginning to the right of the door and moving counterclockwise, the lengths are as follows:

1. Northwest 2.00 m.*
2. West 1.425 m.
3. West 1.425 m.
4. South 1.625 m.
5. South 1.625 m.
6. East 1.425 m.
7. East 1.425 m.
8. Northeast 0.50 m.* (half)

There were thus seven full couches in all and a short return of 0.50 m. to the east of the door. As is customary in these dining rooms, the clay floor slopes downward from south, +165.26, to north, or +165.08 m., in the doorway.

The date of the construction of this phase is based on the pottery in the foundation trench for the north wall. A handful of sherds recovered from this trench belongs to the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. at the earliest (lot 72-137; Fig. 16, stratum 6). Above this, a leveling fill of red earth could not be closely dated (lot 72-136; Fig. 16, stratum 5). The material, however, is approximately the same as that recovered from Building K:23, and it seems likely that in this row all the dining rooms that shared common walls were laid out at about the same time. In the

¹⁴ These are apparent in Figure 15 just 0.50 m. north of the later south banquette face in the western half of the room. They also appear in Plate 17 as a darker area of earth.

early 4th century B.C. the building was enlarged and a new floor was laid (Fig. 16, stratum 3; see pp. 114–118 below).

From these remains we can see that the general principles of construction practiced in the late 6th century B.C. continued into the first half of the 5th century B.C. Contiguous dining halls continued to be built in rows along the same lines and roughly to the same size as previously. The exception is Building J–L:21. Although several aspects of its plan are problematic, nevertheless it is clearly larger and more complex than the other structures and houses the first attested bathing stall.¹⁵ It is also the first in a series of monumental buildings to occupy that site until the end of the Sanctuary in the late 4th century after Christ.

PART II: 450–400 B.C. (Plans 1, 4)

In the second half of the 5th century B.C. the appearance of the Sanctuary changes drastically. Circulation is now formalized by means of a monumental stairway that leads up through the center of the Lower Terrace to the Middle and Upper Terraces. Dining rooms continue to proliferate but with more complex plans, including service rooms with facilities for washing and sitting. It may be at this time too that similar buildings begin to appear north of the road and therefore north of the temenos proper. We know more about this period than any other in the Sanctuary, counting as many as thirty dining halls in use south of the road.

To the east of the stairway a new row of buildings, designated Row 1, was introduced in I–J:21–23. South of Row 1, Buildings J–L:21 and J–K:22 were incorporated into one large building, K–L:21–22. Following this example, the contiguous rooms to the east were enlarged to the south, where space was available, in order to provide new facilities for washing, cooking, and sitting. In the succeeding two rows to the south, where space was limited, the buildings either maintained their preexisting shapes or threw out small additions to one side.

To the west of the stairway an additional row of buildings, the dating of which is imprecise, may have gone up at this time in K:15–19. Most of the structures to the south, however, remained the same. In addition, there was construction along the south side of Building M:17–18, but since these buildings were not fully excavated, they have not been discussed herein.

Changes also took place in the roadway, where the level of the road was raised some 0.20 m. Parts of the retaining wall for the road were rebuilt, and the short flight of steps was added in K:14 (Pl. 6:e).¹⁶ What arrangement existed at this time for an entrance from the road is not clear, but presumably it was not very different from the simple opening with stone threshold block that does survive from the late 4th century B.C. (Chapter 3 above).

STAIRWAY (Fig. 12; Plans 4, 10 E–E)

The monumental stairway begins 6.75 m. south of the roadway, with which it is connected by means of a sloping clay surface (Pls. 2, 5). It ascends the hillside on a straight north–south line. From the lowest preserved step in J:20 to the highest extant step in O:20 it is *ca.* 29.00 m. long and rises in height from +165.56 to +173.14 m., at an angle of *ca.* 26 degrees. The plan of the stairway is straightforward: short flights of three to four steps alternate with broad landings, each landing corresponding to an entrance into one of the flanking buildings. Although many of the stair blocks were pulled up in Roman times, there is sufficient evidence, provided by blocks left

¹⁵ For a discussion of this facility, see Chapter 14.

¹⁶ For the road at this time, see Chapter 3, pp. 19–20.

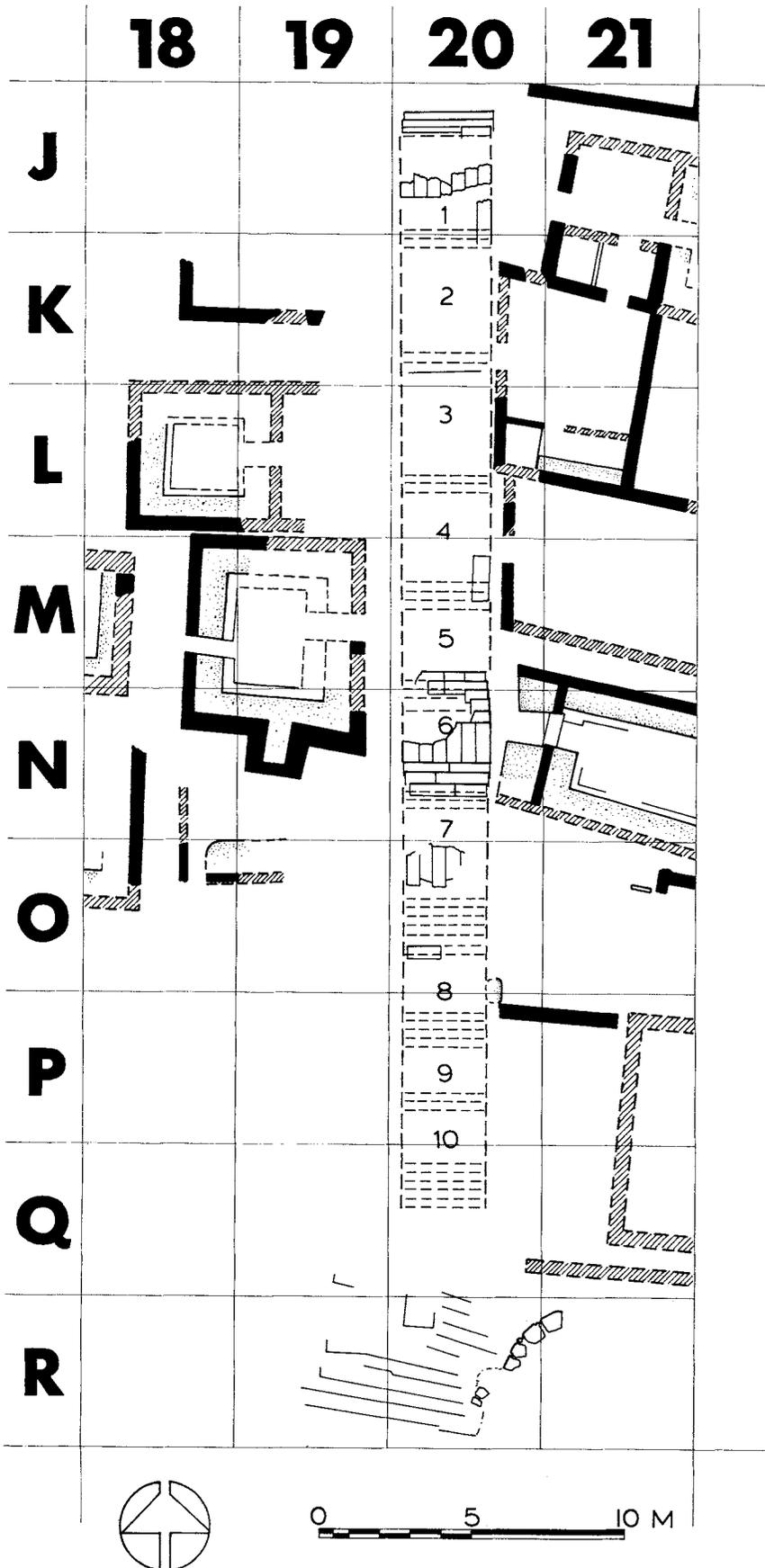


FIG. 12. Plan: Stairway with landings

in place and by cuttings, to indicate that there were at least seven landings and probably eight to ten.¹⁷

The stairway is built of limestone blocks averaging 0.14 m. high, 0.445 m. wide, and 1.00–1.60 m. long. Placed east–west, these blocks form steps; turned north–south, they become part of the landing paving. Treads are 0.30 m. deep, and the risers are 0.14 m. high. The stairway is not quite consistent in width but narrows from 3.07 m. at its base in J:20 to 2.80 m. in N:20. Cheek walls and gutters are lacking. A low retaining wall, however, was needed in M–N:20 to hold back the higher fills to the east, and one simply stepped over it to reach the threshold of Building N:21, which lay 0.50 m. above the surface of landing 6 (Pl. 20:e).

Because the relation between landings and buildings is important for an understanding of circulation on the Lower Terrace, we will describe the stairway in some detail, beginning at its base in J:20 (Fig. 12).

The first two steps are fully preserved, as well as a single east block of step 3. Above these, landing 1 extends 3.00–3.30 m. south to the northern edge of K:20 (Pls. 5, 13). The landing originally consisted of two rows of seven landing blocks each, fronted by a row of step blocks.¹⁸ Of these the southern half of Row 1 and a single, complete block of Row 2 still remain. A shallow cutting, apparent in Plate 13, Plan 1, and Section E–E of Plan 10 just south of this block, marks the limit of the landing. From this level one could enter the northern half of Building K–L:21–22 to the east or walk along the northernmost row of buildings to the west.

In the Roman period pillagers removed all blocks from landing 1 to the middle of landing 4 in M:20, a distance of 10.30 m.;¹⁹ however, cuttings in the earth slope, occasionally reinforced by a substructure of stones, permit us to restore two landings here, each preceded by two risers. Thus, landing 2 occupied most of K:20 and resembled landing 1 in both plan and dimensions. It opened onto the southern half of Building K–L:21–22 to the east and possibly also to K:18–19 to the west. A shallow rise near the southern edge of K:20, once masked by two steps, marks the transition to landing 3 in L:20. It too consisted of at least two rows of landing blocks. Landing 3 led to Building L:18–19 to the west and also to the south door of Building K–L:21–22.²⁰ Because the stairway is oriented more truly north–south than the buildings to the east of it, some problems were encountered at this point, for the stairway encroached on existing structures. Thus, the orthostates at the southwest corner of Building K–L:21–22 had to be cut back to make room for the landing blocks, while further south in M:20, the west façade of Building M–N:20–26 (or M–N:20–24, as it became in this phase) was pushed back to the east.

Two risers led up to landing 4 in L–M:20. Of the two rows that formed this landing, one block of Row 2 still remains *in situ* as it straddles a large rock-cut pit described below (pp. 123–124; Pl. 6:b). From this level one could enter the remodeled Building M–N:20–24 to the east.

A bedrock cutting just southwest of the extant landing block marks the southern edge of landing 4 and the beginning of a more abrupt rise in the hillslope.²¹ Four risers, now missing,

¹⁷ For a hypothetical restoration of the stairway with the buildings to the east of it, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, p. 287, fig. 2. This is, for the most part, still correct; slight changes are suggested here for landings 2, 3, and 7.

¹⁸ We will distinguish between “landing blocks,” i.e., those blocks that are oriented north–south to create broad surfaces, and “step blocks,” oriented east–west to form either a step or the width of a step. Step blocks were regularly placed along the front of a landing in order to give a uniform façade to the stairway; the surfaces of such blocks, however, were on an even plane with the rest of the landing.

¹⁹ Dislodged step blocks were found in the surface layers over Room 1 of Building K–L:21–22 and over Building M–N:19.

²⁰ The slope is extremely gentle here, and it is possible that an added row of step blocks filled out the south side of this landing, making it *ca.* 3.40 m. long. As Plan 4 shows, a problem exists with this landing and its relation to the restored south door of Building K–L:21–22, for the door largely overlaps the southern risers leading to landing 3 rather than landing 3 itself. Quite possibly, therefore, the position of that door should be shifted slightly to the north.

²¹ This cutting does not appear in Plan 10 E–E, for it lies west of that section line. The cutting that appears in that drawing belongs to the south wall of the Archaic Building M–N:20–26.

thus led from landing 4 to 5, which occupied the southern half of M:20. Much narrower than landings 1–4, or *ca.* 2.20 m. long, landing 5 consisted of a front step, one row of landing blocks, and a row of step blocks along the south side; this last still remains *in situ* (Pl. 23:b). From landing 5 one could enter Building M–N:19 to the west, but on the east a blocking wall closed off access to the passageway south of M–N:20–24.

Landing 6 lies four risers above landing 5 in N:20. Although the steps and landing are incomplete, their dimensions are clear. Landing 6 consists simply of one row of landing blocks fronted by a step and is 1.79 m. deep by 2.80 m. wide. As mentioned above, a low wall 0.35 m. high separates the stairway from the higher level of Building N:21 to the east (Pl. 20:e). In the absence of any steps through it, we assume that visitors simply stepped over the low wall to enter the dining room.

Three more steps are preserved south of landing 6. A gap of 1.65 m. then separates these from the extant portion of landing 7 in O:20, a gap now filled by a two-stepped foundation, forming the north foundation of the Roman Propylon N–P:19–20 (p. 294 below; Pls. 20:e, right, 23:b, 49:b, d). Before this intrusion, however, the stairway must have continued with two more steps, five in all, followed by landing 7, the north face of which lay just south of the present Roman foundation.

Landing 7 must have consisted of two rows of blocks behind the usual facing step. At present, most of the southern row still exists; however, there is reason to believe that the existing blocks are not in their original position. Several factors indicate this. At present, landing 7 is composed of cut and pieced segments of blocks, rather than the customary long units of *ca.* 1.50 m. The northern edge of the existing row lies only 1.10 m. from the estimated north face of the landing, a unit of measure that is not reflected in the other landings to the north. Furthermore, a satisfactory restoration cannot be worked out for the next flight of steps to the south, given the existing position of the landing blocks.

The last extant step block of the stairway is preserved in O:20 beneath the paved floor of the Hellenistic Propylon O–P:19–20 (Pl. 40:b, no. 5). It falls 1.95 m. south of landing 7 and 1.17 m. higher up the slope. Beneath it are cuttings for two more steps. With the addition of yet two more steps below these, or five in all, we descend to the level of landing 7.²² The bottom step of this restored flight, however, will fall 0.45 m. south of the present southern edge of landing 7. If we restore a landing 3.00 m. long, composed of one front step and two rows of long blocks, the resulting arrangement will be more in keeping with the rest of the stairway, and the south extension will fit. The entire area was undoubtedly modified when the Propylon was constructed at the end of the 4th century B.C. And it was undoubtedly at this time that the landing blocks were reset in order to make room for the north wall of this new building.

What purpose did landing 7 serve? It must have provided access to the last row of dining rooms to the west of the stairway. It also opened onto the long corridor that separated the dining rooms east of the stairway from the Middle Terrace to the south. But we shall return to this point.

A single block, then, from the western end of a step in O:20 represents the last tangible evidence of the original stairway. South of the block stereo extends horizontally on level with its upper surface. While this surface could have been leveled when the Hellenistic Propylon was constructed, it could also have been trimmed before that time to make landing 8 of the stairway. A landing here satisfies several needs. It provides a necessary break after five continuous steps. But more important, it provides a means of access to the Middle Terrace.

Although the approach to the Middle Terrace will be discussed more fully below, a few words here will help to clarify the restoration of the stairway that we propose. Between the dining rooms of Row 4 east of the stairway and the Middle Terrace lay a long open area, which we call the North Corridor, N–P:20–27 (Chapter 6 below). This corridor is broader at the west and narrows to the east to reach the principal entrance into the Middle Terrace in P:25 (pp. 60–61 above). Later

²² In absolute levels, the top of the top step lies at +173.14, while the southern edge of the landing is at +171.97 m.

building activity at the western end of this corridor has so badly damaged the earlier remains that it is now difficult to reconstruct their appearance and to establish original ground levels. In the second half of the 5th century B.C., however, when the stairway was built, it seems clear that a small structure partially filled this corridor in O:21–22. We suggest below (pp. 165–167) that this structure contained a votive pit that was used by worshipers entering the North Corridor. South of this construction a passageway across the Corridor lay open along the north side of the Archaic oikos. It appears, however, that the ground level in this passageway was probably *ca.* 1.40 m. higher than the contemporary landing 7 of the stairway.²³ This would have made access to the passageway difficult from landing 7, although the latter provided an easy and level approach to the small structure in O:21–22. Access from the stairway to the passageway that extended across the south side of the Corridor, however, becomes easier if we restore landing 8 in O:20.

Another feature becomes more comprehensible with the restoration of landing 8, namely, the deep stuccoed basin or reservoir partially preserved in O–P:20 (p. 57 above). Destroyed by the east wall of the Propylon, this reservoir must have existed when the stairway was in use. In fact, it lay just beyond the hypothetical southeast corner of landing 8 and could have been used by votaries approaching both Middle and Upper Terraces.²⁴

Like landings 5 and 6, landing 8 must have consisted of only one row of landing blocks and one or two step blocks, for 2.65 m. south of its restored northern edge, bedrock rises sharply in height.²⁵ Further south, a series of sloping surfaces can be traced to the base of the Upper Terrace and the theatral area in Q:19. These changes in level can be used to restore a flight of five steps from landing 8 south to another landing, 9, in the southern half of P:20, followed, perhaps, by sloping bedrock or by one last landing in P–Q:20 to the base of the Upper Terrace.

There is substantial evidence to show when the stairway was constructed. The large rectangular cutting in bedrock beneath landing 4 in M:20 was filled in (lot 6512), and covered over by a clay floor (lot 6513), before the landing blocks were laid. Vestiges of a second clay floor were exposed to the southeast of landing 4 (lot 6515). The latest pottery in both areas dates to about the middle of the 5th century B.C., thereby placing the stairway sometime after that date. Further north the stairway impinged on the west side of Building K–L:21–22, for the two southernmost limestone blocks of its west wall were trimmed back to give more space for the steps. As we shall see, the construction of Building K–L:21–22 took place early in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. Thus, the stairway was built later.

Finally, a test was made through the clay surface that connected the road entrance and lowest step. Several successive floors were identified, but the packing beneath the earliest one produced pottery of about the end of the 5th century B.C. (lot 6935). Therefore, the construction of the stairway can be placed no earlier than the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. and no later than about 400 B.C.

BUILDING I–J:21–22: SINGLE DINING ROOM

Just south of the proposed entrance to the Sanctuary and northeast of the stairway a new row of buildings was added in I–J:21–23. Three of these were investigated, the first of which is

²³ No surface was actually found, but we know that in the late 5th century B.C. the votive Pit E (pp. 163–165 below), which stood against the north side of the oikos in O:22, was covered over; its top lay at +173.37 m. The elevation of the southern edge of landing 7 is +171.97 m.; that of the front edge of landing 8 is estimated to have been *ca.* +173.28 m. How much it sloped to the south is unknown.

²⁴ The elevation of the exposed top of the reservoir is +173.12 m., but this surface is by no means a finished one. The bottom of the reservoir lies at +172.73 m. The provision for water here can be mirrored by a later cistern, 1964-1 in P:20–21 to the south, or even Well 1961-11 further south in Q:19.

²⁵ The rise in bedrock is apparent in Section B–B, Plan 9, immediately behind the south wall of Building N–P:19–20, the Roman Propylon.

Building I–J:21–22.²⁶ Placed on a level portion of the hillside, the building has been eroded and, as a result, only its southern half remains. The south wall stands for its entire length to a height of 0.40 m. above floor level; east and west walls are, respectively, 3.15 m. and 1.00 m. long. From east to west the building measures 5.80 m.; its original width is unknown but is estimated to have been between 4.50 and 5.00 m., since a sufficiently wide passage was needed between its northwest corner and the retaining wall of the road to permit access to the buildings further east.²⁷

Although initially Building I–J:21–22 was thought to consist of three rooms, it actually comprises only one, a dining room. A closer examination of wall construction and of relative levels has shown that the two eastern rooms are, in fact, part of a separate structure, Building I–J:22, built against Building I–J:21–22.

Buildings of this period reflect changes in wall construction from the simple fieldstone work of Archaic times. Thus, both the south and west walls of this structure, which are 0.40–0.45 m. thick, incorporate small limestone blocks with fieldstones in no regular pattern, while the slender east party wall, only 0.35 m. thick, is built in the customary fashion of fieldstones and clay.

The entrance lies on the narrow, west side, 1.00 m. from the southwest corner of the building (Pl. 5, lower left). A limestone threshold block, 0.83 m. long and 0.40 m. wide, projects only a few centimeters above exterior ground and interior floor levels. A stuccoed limestone block forms the south jamb; the north is not preserved. No evidence was found of a pivot hole or door socket.

The single dining room is 5.05 m. long east–west by roughly 3.65 to 4.15 m. wide north–south. Its floor is surfaced with a thin layer of clay over a packing of red earth (+165.05 m.). By following the floor and determining its limits, we can restore the otherwise badly damaged banquettes along the south and east walls. Approximately 0.80–0.85 m. wide, the south banquette begins just south of the door and makes a straight line across the room, turning north at 0.80 m. from the east wall.

Across this length of 5.05 m. three units of 1.68 m. can be restored on the south side of the room. The plan of the remainder of the room, however, is uncertain since its exact size is unknown. Possible restorations would allow for two couch units of 1.42–1.67 m. along the east side, two long couches of *ca.* 2.10 m. along the north, and either one full couch of 1.72 m. on the west to the north of the door or a half-couch of *ca.* 1.20 m. This would create either eight full couches in all, a plan that is attractive but not so typical of the Sanctuary, where regularity is the exception rather than the rule, or seven and one-half couches.²⁸

Although very little pottery was recovered from Building I–J:21–22, some distinctive sherds were excavated in the foundation trench for the south wall; these provide an approximate date for its construction (lot 6511). Most useful is a flanged pyxis, which by shape can be placed around the middle of the 5th century B.C.²⁹ If we date the building's construction to the early third quarter of the 5th century B.C., it will then antedate both the stairway and walkway onto which it opened. Since no earlier ground surface can be associated with the threshold, a date nearer the end of the century may be more correct.

The length of time the building continued in use cannot be determined. The remains lay immediately beneath the surface, and what little pottery was picked up over the floor derived from the early 5th century B.C., probably washed down from behind the building.

In Roman times the wall that formed the outer west wall of Building K–L:21–22 to the south covered the southern half of Building I–J:21–22 before breaking off. No Roman levels, however, could be associated with it here.

²⁶ Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 305–307, therein called Building U. The three buildings in this row are too poorly preserved to be intelligible in photographs.

²⁷ In Plan 4 the width of the building is estimated at 4.60 m., the interior width at 3.80 m.

²⁸ In Plan 4 the half-couch is restored to *ca.* 1.37 m., or nearly a full couch length.

²⁹ *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 485 (C-70-237), p. 166.

BUILDING I-J:22: DINING ROOM, KITCHEN WITH BATH STALL (Plan 10 D-D)

Building I-J:22 shares the east wall of Building I-J:21-22, thereby forming the second building in Row 1.³⁰ Its state of preservation is generally the same as that of its neighbor. From the small portion that still stands on the south side a plan with two rooms can be restored, that is, a dining room on the north and a second room with bath and kitchen along the south. The building is 4.16 m. wide from east to west, or 3.81 m. without the west party wall. Its original length from north to south is unknown but is estimated to have been roughly 6.00 m.³¹

Although the south wall of the structure continues the line of the south wall of Building I-J:21-22, it differs from that wall in construction. Limestone blocks of irregular shape form the inner face of the wall, and a well-squared block stands at either end. Behind these a packing of small fieldstones gives an uneven line to the outer face. The 0.45 m.-thick wall stands to a height of 0.68 m. above interior floor level and clearly abuts the southeast corner of Building I-J:21-22. Preserved for a length of 1.00 m. from its southeast corner, the 0.30 m.-thick east wall is built of small fieldstones laid in clay, as is also the party wall between Rooms 1 and 2.

The entrance has not survived but probably lay on the north side. Moreover, there is very little of the 3.51 m.-wide dining room into which it would have opened. Parts of two couches remain, namely, the southernmost one against the west wall and a single south couch, both separated by a door to Room 2, placed 0.75 m. from the west wall. Large limestone blocks averaging 0.20-0.30 m. thick and *ca.* 0.30 m. high retain couch packings. These blocks have been removed on the south side.

Despite the fact that nothing within the dining room can be restored with certainty except for one south couch 2.06 m. long and couches along the length of the west wall, nevertheless a restoration such as that shown in Plan 4 can be attempted. If we assume that two couches, each at least 1.50 m. long, stood against the west wall, then we can also place two similar couches to the east, another couch 1.60 m. long to the west of the proposed main entrance, and a small half-couch only 0.30 m. wide to the east of the door, in other words, six and one-half couches in all.³²

Although the floor was not found, its elevation of +164.40 m. can be determined from the base of the dining couch. At this level it lay *ca.* 0.65 m. below the floor in Building I-J:21-22, a further argument for separating the rooms into two buildings.

Ca. 3.51 m. long from east to west, and 1.00 m. wide, the floor of the south service room is 0.30 m. higher than the north room. Against its east wall is a cement-paved bathing stall 1.00 m. wide north-south by 1.15 m. long east-west (+164.74 m.). The west side of the stall was originally limited by two limestone slabs, which projected slightly above the floor. One of these still stands, measuring 0.50 m. long and 0.15 m. thick. No other furnishings were found within the room apart from a clay floor with burning that slopes from +164.77 m. by the stall to +164.85 m. by the west wall.

Finds within this room were limited to a handful of sherds, among which fragments of cooking ware were most prominent. The size and furnishing of the room, nevertheless, suggest that it functioned as both a bathing area and a kitchen, like Room 3 of Building K-L:24-25 (p. 112 below). Here, however, cooking was done directly on the floor, as in Room 2 of the late-4th-century B.C. Building M:21-22.

³⁰ For the initial interpretation of this building as part of Building I-J:21-22, or U, as it was called, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 306-307.

³¹ The restoration shown in Plan 4 is based purely on hypothetical couch lengths within the dining room, discussed below.

³² If, however, the main entrance were aligned with the door to Room 2, then the couch to the west of the entrance would move to the east and the lengths of the west couches would be enlarged.

Evidence for the chronological history of the building is lacking. Pottery recovered from the foundation trench of the south wall was indeterminate, as was that from within the structure. It was obviously built no earlier than I–J:21–22 and possibly not much later.

BUILDING J:23: SINGLE DINING ROOM

A narrow corridor 0.62 m. wide separates Building I–J:22 from its neighbor to the east, Building J:23. Like Building I–J:21–22 it consists simply of a single dining room of which only the southern 2.15 m. still remain. South and west walls stand to a maximum height of 0.75 m. above floor level, while the east wall has been reduced to a single foundation course. The building is 5.10 m. wide from east to west; its length from north to south is unknown.

The construction of the walls varies somewhat from that of the two western buildings, for blocks of breccia are used in the superstructure of the south wall and in the foundations for the east wall. Undoubtedly quarried on the site (p. 252 below), breccia makes its first appearance in the Sanctuary in this building. In the Hellenistic period, however, it is the material from which all walls on the Lower Terrace are built. Here, the blocks are 0.65 m. wide in the east foundation but only 0.45 m. wide in the superstructure of the south wall. By contrast, the west wall is built of fieldstones laid in clay and is only 0.30 m. thick.³³ Such an employment of both ashlar blocks and fieldstones in exterior walls can be noted in several other buildings of this same period in the Sanctuary, such as Buildings K–L:23–24, K–L:24–25, and M–N:19.

The building consists of a single dining room, 4.35 m. wide from east to west, and was presumably entered from the north. A well-preserved section of clay floor was uncovered in the southern half (+164.51 m.). Retaining walls for the banquettes consist of fieldstones. The south banquette is nearly intact, measuring 0.85 m. wide and 0.35–0.40 m. high. Because the two armrests are also preserved, the actual lengths of the two south couches are known, namely, 1.65 and 1.85 m. from west to east. Pieces of plaster found decomposed on the couch top but in better state on the faces indicate that the couches were originally surfaced with waterproof lime-cement.

The west banquette can be traced for a distance of 1.30 m. beyond the south banquette face, or 2.15 m. from the southwest corner of the room; the east banquette breaks off at 1.60 m. from the southeast corner, or 0.75 m. beyond the south banquette. Too little of the room is preserved, however, to permit more than a tentative restoration.

There is no good chronological evidence from which the history of Building J:23 can be reconstructed. The foundation trench for the south wall produced only a handful of negligible sherds, generally datable to the 5th century B.C. The trench cut through a clay stratum that could be associated with the north wall of the early-5th-century B.C. Building J–K:22 in Row 2. Over both the clay stratum and the foundation trench was a layer of earth that produced pottery of the middle to third quarter of the 5th century B.C. (lot 6650). This then may indicate the date of construction or at least of use of the dining room. Although similar pottery overlay the floor within the room, the sherds may simply have washed down from above and should not be used as evidence for the abandonment of the dining room. The building may have been filled in when the large complex K–L:21–22 to the south was modified at the end of the 4th century B.C., but it is equally possible that it stayed in use for a longer period of time.

BUILDING K:28

In 1965 an ashlar breccia wall running approximately east–west was uncovered in K:28, and a long test cut was made to the north of it. In the scarps of the trench immediately beneath the wall could be noted the outlines in clay of a dining couch. Time did not permit further

³³ A similar, thin exterior wall can be found in the west wall of Building N–O:25–26 in its 5th-century B.C. phase as well as in the neighboring Building I–J:22.

investigation of this room, the walls of which must have lain further south, nor was any useful pottery recovered that could have proved when it functioned. The employment of clay, however, suggests generally a date in either the 6th or the 5th century B.C. The position of the building approximately corresponds to the line of Row 1 and may be an indication that buildings continued all across the intervening hillside at this point.

BUILDING K-L:21-22: DINING ROOM, SITTING ROOM, FOUR SERVICE ROOMS

(Fig. 24 on p. 173; Plan 10 D-D)

Building K-L:21-22 is the first building in Row 2 to the east of the stairway. A passageway 1.00 m. or more wide separates this row from that just described. This new structure represents the partial dismantlement and reorganization of the two early-5th-century B.C. Buildings J-L:21 and J-K:22 into one large building, comprising at least six and probably seven rooms. Because the complex was modified again in the late 4th century B.C. and continued to be used throughout the Hellenistic period, it is difficult to sort out what parts actually belong to the late 5th century B.C. and what elements were added in the 4th century B.C. For that reason we will confine ourselves here to what is demonstrably late 5th century B.C. and will leave the fuller description of the entire building to the chapter on the 4th century B.C. Plates 13 and 28 show the building in its Hellenistic form.³⁴

It seems clear that Building J-L:21 was incorporated as a whole into the new, expanded building, with the difference that its old west wall was dismantled and replaced by a new one. The new west wall is, however, problematic in that it is not well preserved and may, in part, be confused with the 4th-century B.C. rebuilding (Fig. 24, state plan).

At its southern end the new west wall was positioned just inside the line of the previous wall and at an oblique angle to the new south wall. Three blocks of this section are preserved, namely, three large limestone orthostates averaging 0.66 m. high, 0.85-1.20 m. long, and 0.40 m. thick. The northernmost of the three blocks has been considerably cut back to accommodate the stairway so that only its inner face is intact. North of this point the wall is lost, but an extension of its line intersects a large limestone block oriented east-west at the northwest corner of Room 1. North of Room 1 the wall shifts *ca.* 0.85 m. to the east and changes orientation to a more easterly direction. For a length of *ca.* 2.00 m. this section of the wall is built in stacked masonry, using smaller upright limestone blocks in alternation with stacks of small, cut pieces of limestone. The wall is then broken by a threshold block, to be described below, north of which is a single breccia block belonging to the 4th century B.C.³⁵ The result is an irregular west façade, which was maintained until the 2nd or 3rd century after Christ.

The earlier north walls of both Buildings J-L:21 and J-K:22 were dismantled and replaced by one continuous wall. But whether the wall that now survives at foundation level is the replacement or a Hellenistic rebuilding is unclear.

On the other hand, the rubble-built east wall of Building J-K:22 continued in use both as the east wall of the new structure and as the west wall of Building K:23 to the east. The remainder of Building J-K:22 was covered. What is not clear is how far south the east wall extended, for the wall that now continues the line into L:22 was built in the late 4th century B.C. The southeast Room 7 of the Hellenistic phase of Building K-L:21-22 thoroughly removed any trace of earlier phases that might have existed. That a room probably did fill out the southeast corner of the building under discussion seems likely from the disposition of the south wall, however, and perhaps also from the interior arrangement of Room 4, to be described below.

³⁴ An account of this building in its Hellenistic phase occurs in Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 299-302, there called T. Because the plan of this building differs so little from that of the Hellenistic phase, no separate drawing was made of it. It appears on Plan 4; numbering of the rooms, however, follows the Hellenistic plan in Figure 24.

³⁵ All of the blocks south of this point to the southern end of the wall are founded on top of a late-5th-century B.C. leveling fill; only the breccia block cuts into it.

The new south wall stands *ca.* 1.90 m. south of its predecessor. It is visible in Plates 13 and 14:a and b. At its western end it is founded on a high, trimmed bedrock socle. Above this it is built of large limestone blocks, 0.85–0.90 m. high by 0.65 m. wide and 0.40 m. thick, in alternation with fairly regular stacks 0.78–0.82 m. wide of smaller cut blocks and partly worked fieldstones. One limestone block preserves anathyrosis on its upper face. The wall is preserved for *ca.* 6.50 m. from the southwest corner of the building, that is, *ca.* 2.00 m. beyond the southeast corner of Room 1. This suggests that the wall originally continued eastward to enclose another room.³⁶

At all times the largest structure in the Sanctuary, the new Building K–L:21–22 measures 11.70 m. north–south by 10.50 m. east–west. One entrance certainly exists on the west side 2.40 m. from the northwest corner of the building on line with landing 1 of the stairway.³⁷ It consists of a thin limestone threshold, 0.95 m. long, 0.45 m. wide, and 0.14 m. thick, set on earth fill (top +166.23 m.). The jambs are missing to either side, and no pivot hole was noted. No other entrances are preserved, although we have tentatively restored one further south in Room 1 on line with landing 2 just north of the third orthostate of the outer wall (Plan 4).

Dining Room 1

Retained from the earlier Building J–L:21, the southwest corner dining Room 1 was enlarged and considerably remodeled at this time. A thin partition subdivides it into two unequal parts, a smaller service area 1.40 m. wide north–south by 3.85 m. long east–west along the south side, and a larger space 4.35 m. north–south by 3.95–4.50 m. east–west to the north, suitable for dining (Pl. 14:a).

The partition consists of a thin limestone slab 1.14 m. long that projects slightly above the floor. Presumably a second block originally stood on top of it. To its east is a threshold block 1.15 m. long. To the east of the threshold the partition is destroyed, unless the scattered fieldstones encountered there were once part of it. Within this narrow area a bench 0.55 m. wide and 0.20 m. high, built solidly of rubble, stands against the south wall.³⁸ The bench is interrupted at the western end of the area by the cement floor of a bathing stall (+167.27 m.). The stall is 1.03–1.15 m. east–west by 1.32–1.40 m. north–south and is drained by a hole 0.07–0.13 m. wide in the middle of the west side beside the outer wall (Pl. 14:c). A single row of fragmentary roof tiles forms a 0.10 m.-high lip for the floor between the bench and the north partition. The remaining free space within the alcove, a strip 0.85 m. wide, is paved with clay. Two successive floors were noted; both preserved considerable remains of burning, as did the stucco floor.

Most of the room north of the partition was destroyed in Roman times, and, as a result, there are no tangible remains to testify to its function. Its size, however, and the presence of a couch against the west wall in its next, Hellenistic, phase argue for its identification as a dining room. In the absence of good evidence, we have not attempted to restore it.³⁹

³⁶ In the late 4th century B.C. a separate wall was built along the south side of the adjacent Room 7. This did not abut the preexisting south wall of Room 1 but lay just north of it. The result is a peculiar overlap. A further problem with the south wall is its relation to Room 1 of Building M–N:20–24 to the south. It is unlikely that both buildings shared the same wall, as now appears in Plan 4. It is possible that the north wall of this first room in Building M–N:20–24 should be shifted further south to make a space between the two structures; what happened, however, north of Room 3 of Building M–N:20–24 is by no means clear.

³⁷ The location of the door can be seen most clearly on the restored drawing of the Hellenistic phase of the building (Fig. 24), where it is distinguished by a different cross-hatching.

³⁸ Originally, the bench may have been higher. It formed the socle for a later wall in the second Roman phase and could have been cut down at that time. For a similar bench in the Hellenistic period, see Building M:16–17, Room 3.

³⁹ Since the northern part of Room 1 is only *ca.* 0.08 m. longer than its early-5th-century B.C. predecessor, the plan would probably not have differed too greatly. The major difference lies on the south side, where an opening must be left for the south alcove. The entrance to the room, however, should perhaps be moved a short distance to the north to facilitate access from landing 2.

Service Rooms 2, 3

Service Rooms 2 and 3 to the north are about the same size as their forerunners in Building J–L:21, only 0.85 m. narrower. Room 2 was not investigated,⁴⁰ while Room 3 preserved no clear traces of the late 5th century B.C. apart from leveling fills, which covered the earlier stucco floor. Only in Rooms 4 and 5 were some vestiges of furnishings uncovered from this phase.

Sitting Room 4

The sitting Room 4 is a large central space 4.50–4.80 m. long north–south by 2.83 m. wide east–west, which was entered from Room 3. Its west wall is the east wall of the earlier Building J–L:21, while its east wall is newly built of fieldstones.⁴¹ Because of its central location, Room 4 provided access to all of the eastern half of the building. As a result, it must have had numerous doors. On the Hellenistic plan of Building K–L:21–22 (Fig. 24) these number four. Of the four only one is actually preserved in the present phase, namely, the door that opens into Room 5. Approximately 0.70 m. wide, it lies 1.00 m. south of the northeast corner of Room 4.

The remainder of the room was furnished on three sides with benches or banquettes 0.68–0.70 m. wide. These were retained by roof tiles placed on edge and arranged in a single line. Two such tiles are preserved on the north side of the room, beginning at the door to Room 5 and extending 1.40 m. west. Another tile preserves the southern return along the west side for this retaining wall, and a fourth tile, on line with the third, continues the line near the southern end at 0.90 m. from the south wall. Along the south side no tiles were found, but a red fill 0.75 m. wide lined the south wall, undoubtedly the packing for a bench. Traces of two or three successive clay floors were cleared within the area framed by the tiles, the latest consisting of decomposed lime-cement (+166.10 m.). All of these continued up to the east wall of the room. In addition, one of these floors extended around the south red packing into the southeast corner of the room, as if leading to the hypothetical southeast corner Room 7.

Room 5

The northeast corner Room 5 is 3.03–3.30 m. long from north to south and *ca.* 2.50 m. wide from east to west. Its rubble-built south wall was largely destroyed by the Late Roman tile Grave 16 (Chapter 13, below), and Roman intrusions also cut through much of the north side of the room. Two features, nevertheless, are preserved. A rectangular foundation, perhaps for a cupboard or closet or even a small bath stall, stood in the southwest corner. *Ca.* 0.85 m. wide and 0.70 m. long, the foundation consists of a single line of small fieldstones projecting from either wall. Nothing was found within it. The second feature is a possible banquette or wide bench along the east and south sides of the room. A single limestone slab from a retaining wall stood 1.00 m. out from the wall in the middle of the east side. Although no more slabs were found, a clear distinction could be seen between the cleaner clay fills to the east and south of the extant slab and the mixed fills above the floor. On the south side the clean clay extended to the rectangular foundation. Although the floor in most of the room was of clay (+166.00 m.), some decomposed plaster was observed just north of the rectangular foundation.

⁴⁰ In Plan 4 we have tentatively restored a bathing stall in Room 2 on the analogy of its 4th-century B.C. successor. We must state, however, that there is no tangible proof for it.

⁴¹ The rubble wall was damaged by the Roman builders, especially the northern half, but its line is clear as far south as the party wall between Rooms 5 and 6. The rubble there gives way to a single breccia block, which forms the party wall between Rooms 4 and 6. This portion may be a late-4th-century B.C. repair, although we have seen with Building J:23 that breccia can be used as a building material in this period.

Room 6

Room 6 existed south of Room 5, measuring 2.45 m. east–west by 1.27–1.33 m. north–south, but since nothing within it can be assigned to the period under discussion, it will be described with the Hellenistic remains. Indeed, nothing more can be attributed to this phase of Building K–L:21–22.

If we are correct in assuming that a large room did occupy the southeast corner of the building, then we are also probably correct in thinking of two dining complexes united under one roof. Admittedly, the connection between the eastern and western halves of the structure is based on one restored door between Rooms 3 and 4, there being no other possibility of communication between the two parts. Without that tie, however, it becomes difficult to explain the plan of the eastern half and the purpose of Room 4. Absolutely no evidence was found in the eastern half for cooking and washing, and it may be that the facilities provided in the south alcove of Room 1 served the whole building. As for the purpose of Room 4, it provided access to Rooms 5, 6, and the hypothetical 7. As a major passageway, therefore, it must have served as a sitting room rather than a dining room, despite the couchlike width of the benches that lined the three walls. This function it lost in the next period.

Building K–L:21–22 was built sometime in the early fourth quarter of the 5th century B.C., based on the pottery found in the leveling strata in virtually every room (lots 6516, 73-126, 73-128). The only question remaining is whether the stonework of the south wall reflects this date. Its careful construction of uprights and neat stacks of smaller stone seems to be more sophisticated than the random style of stacked masonry that appears elsewhere in the Sanctuary in the late 5th century B.C. Examples of the latter style are found in Building L:18–19 and the Terracotta Factory in the Potters' Quarter.⁴² Parallels for the south wall, however, occur at Isthmia. One such example is the retaining wall NG3, which stood to the northwest of the temple of Poseidon. An even better one is the earlier south retaining wall of the West Foundation outside the temenos, an especially apt parallel since the preserved height of the wall, 0.75 m., is close to that of the south wall of Building K–L:21–22. Both retaining walls are dated by Broneer to the first half of the 4th century B.C.⁴³ The Sanctuary wall served a double function, as the south wall of Building K–L:21–22 and as a retaining wall for a high terrace to the south.⁴⁴ Undoubtedly for this reason it was given its special form, one that may have been developed for deep terrace fills. The wall may therefore date to the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. It certainly had to have preceded the rebuilding of Building K–L:21–22 in the late 4th century B.C., when the south wall behind Room 7 was rebuilt within the line of the earlier wall.

BUILDING K:23 (Fig. 1)

Although it was built in the early 5th century B.C., Building K:23 continued to function in this period with few modifications. As we described above in Part I, the upper part of the south wall was rebuilt and the floor of the dining room was raised so as to cover the earlier dais. When these

⁴² A good example is the west wall of the Factory court, for which see *Corinth XV*, i, p. 35, pl. 11.

⁴³ *Isthmia II*, p. 9, pl. 4:b; pp. 119, 120, pl. 46:a. Although he admits that the stacked retaining wall of the West Foundation is earlier than the outer walls, Broneer argues that the entire foundation was constructed within a restricted period of time around 350 B.C. Wall NG3 he dates after 390 B.C., based on the use within the wall of a discarded floor block belonging to the Classical temple. The floor block, he argues, must have been removed after the fire of 390 B.C.

⁴⁴ The floor level in Room 1 of Building M–N:20–24 to the south was about 1.50 m. higher than that of the southern end of Room 1 in Building K–L:21–22.

remodelings were carried out is not well attested, but perhaps it was in the late 5th century B.C., when Buildings J–L:21 and J–K:22 were amalgamated into one large building, K–L:21–22.

BUILDING K–L:23–24: DINING ROOM, SITTING ROOM WITH BATH, KITCHEN (Fig. 13)

Building K–L:23–24 is a long, narrow, three-room building, the third in the sequence of contiguous structures on Row 2 east of the stairway (Pl. 15, with building only half dug). It shares party walls with Building K:23 to the west and with Building K–L:24–25 to the east. The southern half was largely protected by the Roman Building L:23–24, but the northern half did not fare so well. A large disturbance removed the northeast corner, the Late Roman Grave 19 cut through the southwest corner of Room 1, and general surface erosion partially damaged the couches. Nevertheless, the plan and dimensions of the building are known. It is 9.80 m. long north–south by 4.95 m. wide east–west, including the party walls (Pl. 16:a).

The north wall of the building is largely destroyed except for short segments flanking the well-preserved main entrance. East and west long walls are preserved for most of their length. In the northern half of the building, however, they have been robbed to below floor level, while in the south, where protected by the hillside, they rise to nearly 1.20–1.50 m. above floor level. Best preserved of all is the south wall, which stands to 1.99 m. above floor level.

Because of its considerable length, the southern end of Building K–L:23–24 is cut into bedrock, while the northern end is built on earth fill. A considerable difference in absolute levels separates the main entrance (+165.61 m.) from the floor in Room 3 (+166.30 m.). The south wall stands on a bedrock socle 0.55 m. high. Above this the wall is built of large, roughly squared blocks of local breccia and fieldstones. The southern portions of the side walls are built in much this same way, but to the north of the division between Rooms 1 and 2, they consist of a socle of small fieldstones laid in two or three rows, over which lay mud or mud brick.

The building is entered from the north. The stone threshold stands 1.60 m. from the northeast corner and *ca.* 2.50 m. from the northwest corner. It is 0.88 m. wide and 0.405 m. thick (+165.61 m.).⁴⁵ No evidence of a pivot hole was found.

As is customary in the Sanctuary, one enters directly into the dining Room 1, which is 4.45 m. long north–south by 4.13 m. wide east–west. Its floor is of clay and rises markedly from north (+165.61 m.) to south (+165.81 m.). The banquettes are broken only by a south door to Room 2, which is placed 0.85 m., or a couch width, from the southwest corner of the room and measures 0.85 m. wide. Not everywhere extant, the retaining wall for the banquettes employs thin poros slabs, small fieldstones, and occasional roof tiles to create couches 0.72 (east), 0.80 (west), or 0.85 (north) m. wide, and 0.24 m. high.

Although much of the banquette surface and packing had been destroyed, a small patch of waterproof lime-cement is preserved on the top and face of the short, northeast projection (Pls. 14:d, 16:a). A narrow, squared lip projects 0.035 m. above the stuccoed surface in order to keep in place the pillows that must have covered them.⁴⁶

Because armrests are not preserved, the individual couch lengths must be estimated on the long east and west sides; those on the short north and south sides (marked by asterisks) are secure. There were six full couches in all and a tiny half-couch, beginning at the door and working counterclockwise:

⁴⁵ As is apparent in Figure 13, a narrow gap occurs to the west of the threshold. This can either be added to the width of the door, giving a total of 1.05 m., as in the restored drawing, or can be made into a door jamb, thereby reducing the width of the entrance to that of the threshold block.

⁴⁶ This same arrangement appears on the couches in both cult caves at Isthmia. See *Isthmia* II, pp. 34, 40. As we shall see below in Chapter 7, the banquettes in the Hellenistic Building L–M:28 are flat on top but have a torus molding along the front face.

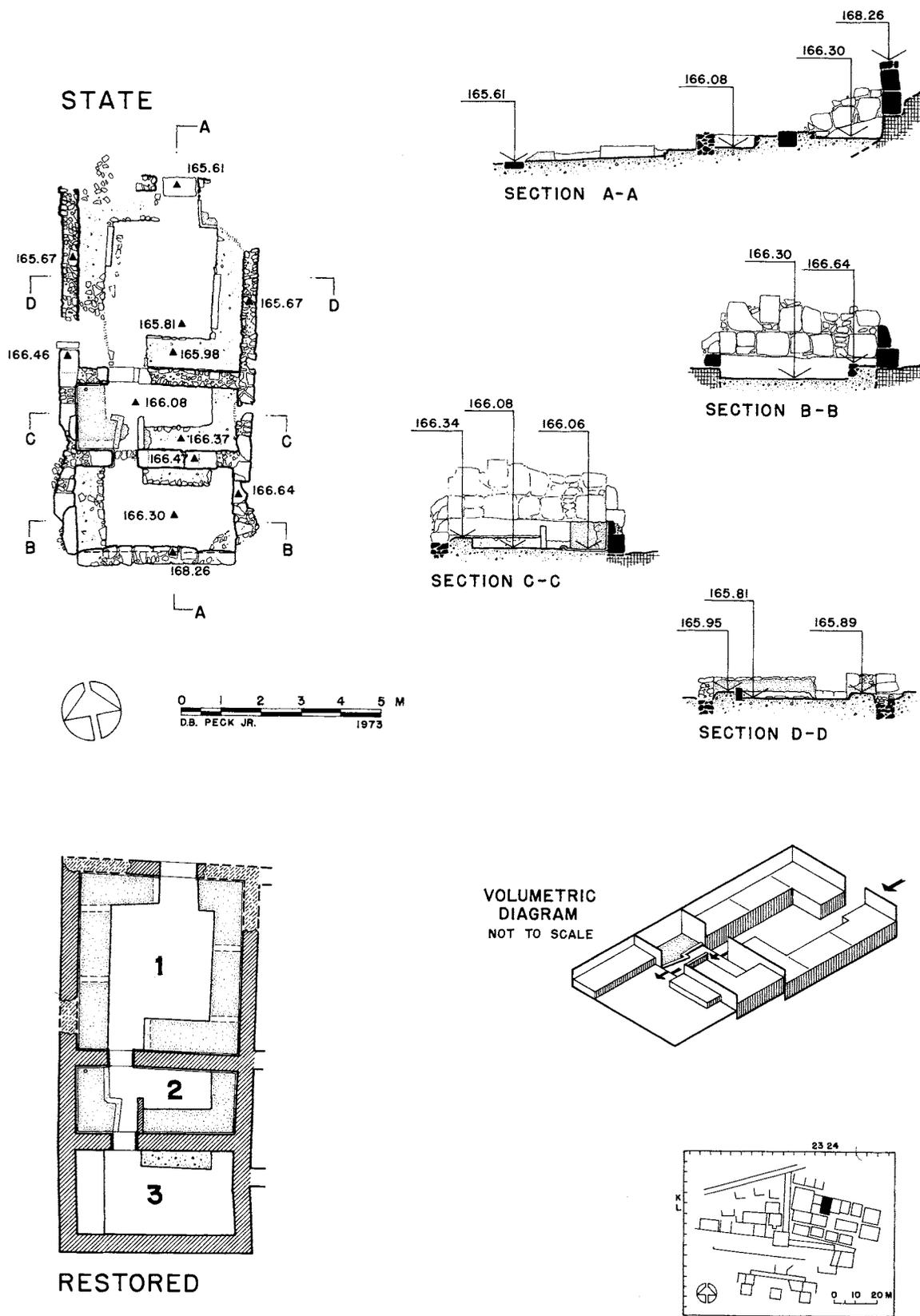


FIG. 13. Plan: Building K-L:23-24

| | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Northwest | 2.00 m.* |
| 2. West | 1.80 m. |
| 3. West | 1.80 m. |
| 4. Southeast | 2.35 m.* |
| 5. East | 1.80 m. |
| 6. East | 1.80 m. |
| 7. Northeast | 0.35 m.* (half) |

The service Room 2 is clearly visible in Plate 16:a south of Room 1. Although it occupies the full width of the building, or 4.13 m., Room 2 is only 1.60 m. deep. A second door, 0.64 m. wide, opposite the first, opens into Room 3 to the south. Because of the alignment of these two doors, the room is divided informally into two parts.

The western end of the room up to the doors is given over to a bathing stall, 1.60 m. long north-south and 0.85-0.98 m. wide east-west. Along the open east side a raised lip runs not quite parallel to the west wall but splays out slightly into the door passage before jogging in and north; the northern segment has been lost. Water was carried off through a small drain 0.12 m. in diameter in the north wall. Although the drain was not investigated, a row of tiles just projecting through the dining room floor at the base of the west couch probably belongs to its cover, like that in Building K-L:25-26 to the east.

In the eastern two-thirds of Room 2 is a bench that begins immediately east of the south door, extends 2.30 m. along the south wall, then turns north for 1.00 m. along the east wall. The bench is 0.60 m. wide and 0.30 m. high. At its western end beside the door to Room 3 a poros slab 0.55 m. high extends 0.28 m. above the top of the bench, perhaps to shield those sitting from the splashing of water in the bathing stall. The walls of the room, as well as the top and sides of the bench, originally were covered with waterproof cement. The floor is of clay (+166.08 m.).

The southernmost Room 3, the kitchen, measures 2.10 m. north-south by 4.13 m. east-west. Its clay floor lies 0.22 m. above that in Room 2 (+166.30 m.). Because of the deeper, protected fills that covered the southern end of the building, its furnishings are well preserved, and the room can be easily identified as a kitchen. A low bench 0.40 m. wide and at least 0.25 m. high stands against the north wall to the east of the door. Built in the customary fashion, it does not continue to the northeast corner but ends 0.50 m. from that point. In the southeast corner a small area of packed rubble projects just a few centimeters above the floor of the room. Measuring 0.70 m. long on its east side and 0.48 m. on the south, it resembles the modern village *gonia*, or fireplace. That it may have been so used is perhaps suggested by the small amount of carbon that was found on top of it. The remainder of the south side lay open. If the corner did function as a cooking area, however, it was not the main one, for a raised hearth occupied the entire west side of the room (Pl. 14:e). This feature is 0.65 m. wide and was built in two phases. Initially, it was confined to the northwest corner of the room only and was 0.90 m. long. Like the bench and couches, it consisted of earth filling retained by a rubble wall *ca.* 0.30 m. high. On top of this a distinctively hard layer of dry red earth seemed to have been burned, although ash was limited. At a later stage the retaining wall was lengthened to reach the south wall; stones and earth were packed behind it.

Time did not permit investigation of earlier levels and phases of Building K-L:23-24. Given, however, the different building styles apparent in the walls in the northern and southern halves of the building, it seems likely that Rooms 2 and 3 were added to the original dining room, as in Building K-L:25-26. Excavation of the foundation trench of the south wall brought to light abundant pottery of the mid- to third quarter of the 5th century B.C., thus giving an approximate

date for the three-room plan.⁴⁷ The original single room undoubtedly dated to the same time as Building K:23, with which it shared a wall, namely, the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.

Throughout the building, pottery was relatively sparse and extremely fragmentary, with shapes represented, for the most part, by small pieces. In Room 1 coarse-ware sherds were numerous, including fragments of a Corinthian type A amphora; fine wares were relatively few and only loosely datable to the 4th century B.C. The layer that covered the floor debris included a West Slope kotyle and a kantharos foot of the late 4th to early 3rd century B.C., together with two bronze coins, one Argive, the second possibly Arkadian.⁴⁸

In Room 2 the floor debris included a few votive miniatures, small fragments of black-glazed saucers, an echinos bowl, and a skyphos (all of the late 4th century B.C.) as well as a bronze coin of the Pegasus/Trident series.⁴⁹

On the floor of Room 3 were fragments of one Archaic and four 4th-century B.C. terracotta figurines, several pieces of a very large blister ware oinochoe, and, latest of all, part of a black-glazed saucer of the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.⁵⁰ Of interest is the fact that joining

⁴⁷ Lot 73-118. The packing contained much coarse ware, including Corinthian type A amphoras, the toe of a 5th-century B.C. Chian wine amphora, and one of the few brazier rims found in the Sanctuary. For the type, see *Agora XII*, no. 2030, fig. 19, p. 378.

⁴⁸ Lot 72-143. The coins appear in Bookidis and Fisher 1974, no. 61 (72-442) and no. 64 (72-443), p. 203.

⁴⁹ Lot 73-114. Bookidis and Fisher 1974, coin no. 22 (73-678), p. 300. Among the 147 sherds that comprise this lot, there are no complete profiles except that of one plain kalathiskos; the material is extremely fragmentary, and the pieces are small.

Lot 73-114:

Total: 147 sherds, of which 128 identifiable, 1 figurine, 1 bronze.

Votive miniatures 28: 22 kalathiskoi: 18 Conventionalizing type 3, 4 type 4, including one complete profile of 4th-century B.C. date; 1 cup; 5 others.

Fine ware 38: 1 Attic red-figure closed shape; 3 oinochoai: 1 round-mouthed, 2 ribbed blister ware; 20 kotylai: 2 semi-glazed 5th century B.C., 3 handles, rest black-glazed bodies; 2 skyphoi: 1 4th-century B.C. Corinthian, 1 Attic type A; 2 or 3 Geometric cup feet; 1 phiale; 2 bowls: 1 echinos, 1 other; 2 small saucers with incurving rim (profile similar to one in lot 72-143); 1 Late Corinthian plate; 1 Archaic alabastron; 1 Attic flange pyxis.

Coarse ware 59: 3 Corinthian type A 4th-century B.C. amphora bodies; 4–5 Thasian(?) amphora bodies; 1 narrow-necked pitcher as *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 393 (C-65-529), p. 155; 3 lekanai: 1 rim, 1 loop handle, 1 ring foot; 1 louterion.

Lamps: 3 nondescript fragments.

Figurine: 1 head of satyr.

Bronze: 1 nail head.

Date: Geometric to late 4th century B.C.

Among the latest pieces are the Corinthian skyphos, the echinos bowl, and appliqué, but the fragments are too small to be closely dated.

⁵⁰ The pottery from this level too was quite fragmentary.

Lot 73-115:

Total: 122 sherds, 5 figurines, 1 bronze.

Votive miniatures 11: 5 Conventionalizing kalathiskoi; 3 or 4 Conventionalizing phialai; 1 powder pyxis; 1 other.

Fine ware 34: 1 Mycenaean krater rim; 1 Mycenaean or Geometric deep bowl; 4 oinochoai: 1 small trefoil, 1 large blister ware (joins with lot 73-116, from hearth); 2 ribbed bodies; 15 kotylai: 2 Protocorinthian, 1 ray-based, 1 Conventionalizing, 11 black-glazed bodies; 1 early-4th-century B.C. skyphos; 3 Attic cups: 2 banded, 1 Rheneia as *Agora XII*, no. 462, p. 267; 1 flat-rim cup or bowl; 3 lekanides: 2 lids, 1 plain body; 3 saucers: 1 small Attic with rolled rim, 2 plain Corinthian (including *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 465 [C-73-116], p. 163); 2 aryballoi: 1 blister ware, 1 imitation blister ware.

Coarse ware 21: 19 amphora bodies, both Corinthian and imported; 1 Archaic pitcher; 1 plain small lekane; plain stand of louterion.

Cooking ware 54: 3 unflanged stewpots, with rim diameters of 0.09, 0.10–0.11 m.; 1 pitcher; 1 casserole; 1 bowl; 1 lid; rest bodies.

fragments of these pots were recovered from the packing for the addition to the hearth. The packing consisted largely of cooking wares. In addition to one casserole, part of a second was found together with half a stewpot and several rims (lot 73-116).⁵¹ It is clear, therefore, that the enlargement of the hearth must have been made late in the building's use, shortly before its abandonment in the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.⁵²

BUILDING K-L:24-25: DINING ROOM, SITTING ROOM, KITCHEN WITH BATH (Fig. 14)

Building K-L:24-25 continues the line of large, attached buildings on Row 2, sharing party walls with Building K-L:23-24 to the west and with Building K-L:25-26 to the east (Pls. 15, 17). Consisting of three rooms, it is somewhat shorter and more compact in plan than Building K-L:23-24, for the two service rooms lie side by side south of the dining Room 1. The building is generally well preserved except for the northern end of the west wall, the area around the entrance, and the north couches. The disturbance that removed much of the northeast corner of Building K-L:23-24 also took part of the northwest corner of Building K-L:24-25. While the south wall stands to *ca.* 1.00 m. above floor level, the north wall is at floor level or just below. The entire building is 7.92 m. long north-south by 5.05 m. wide east-west.⁵³

Wall construction varies from one part of the building to another. We have already described the west party wall in conjunction with Building K-L:23-24: its northern two-thirds is built of fieldstones, the southern third of breccia blocks and fieldstones. The east wall randomly incorporates occasional cut limestone blocks with fieldstones. The north wall, however, is peculiar. Built almost wholly of rubble with occasional roof tiles, it displays a leveling course of cut limestone blocks in its foundations at 0.44 m. above its base, or *ca.* 0.50 m. below floor level. But the leveling course only exists in the eastern half of the foundation (Pl. 16:b), for the western half is constructed entirely of fieldstones.⁵⁴ The south wall consists of bedrock superficially cut to resemble two courses of ashlar masonry. Above this the superstructure was of mud or pisé.

The off-center entrance lies on the north side *ca.* 1.50 m. from the northeast corner and *ca.* 2.50 m. from the northwest corner. Although the west jamb is partially destroyed, the width

Lamps 2: 1 4th-century B.C. disc foot; 1 Howland type 24C (late 5th to early 4th century B.C.).

Figurines: 1 Archaic moldmade seated woman with dove; 4 moldmade draped, possibly Argive.

Bronze: 1 small vessel handle.

Within the chronological span, much of the pottery belongs to the 5th century B.C. The latest material dates to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., with the exception of the saucer, which has been placed in the fourth quarter.

⁵¹ More specifically, the lot consists of the following:

Lot 73-116:

Total: 243 sherds.

Votive miniatures 5: 5 kalathiskoi: 1 Archaic perforated, 1 Conventionalizing type 3, 3 others.

Fine ware 81: 1 pelike or hydria rim; 54 fragments of 1 large blister ware oinochoe, 1 small oinochoe body; 3 cups: 1 semi-glazed, 1 4th-century B.C. one-handler, 1 loop handle; 1 saucer (*Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 465 [C-73-316], p. 163); 2 knobs of pyxis lids; 1 blister ware squat aryballos rim; rest bodies.

Coarse ware 32: 29 amphoras: 1 Corinthian type A body, 2 imported; body and shoulder of a closed shape; 2 lekanai (*Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 383 [C-73-305], p. 153); rest bodies.

Cooking ware 125: 2 flanged stewpots, rim diameters 0.095, 0.11 m.; 1 unflanged stewpot, rim diameter 0.13 m.; bodies of two more stewpots; 1 large pitcher body, somewhat larger than *Corinth VII*, iii, no. 722 (C-48-122), p. 141; 2 casseroles (*Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 659 [C-73-307], p. 188), second with rim diameter 0.20 m., complete profile; rest bodies.

Date: Archaic to fourth quarter 4th century B.C., based on saucer and narrow-necked pitcher.

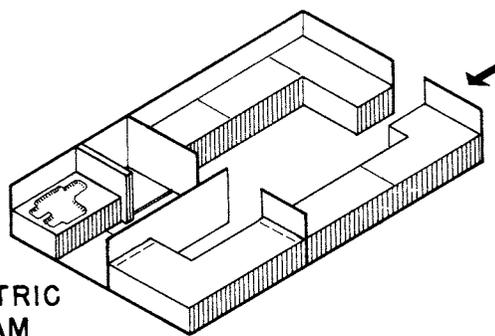
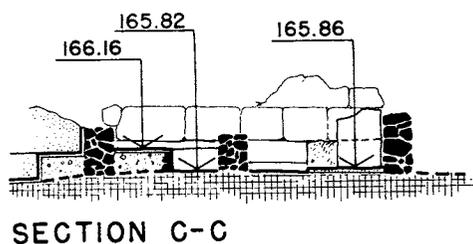
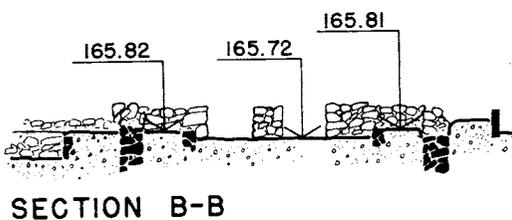
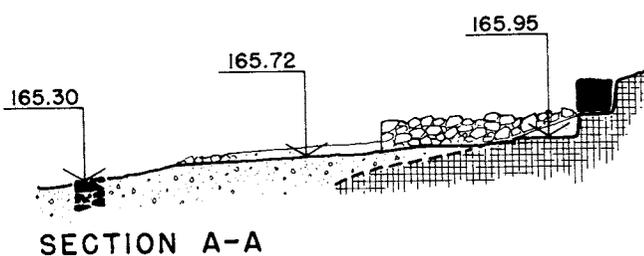
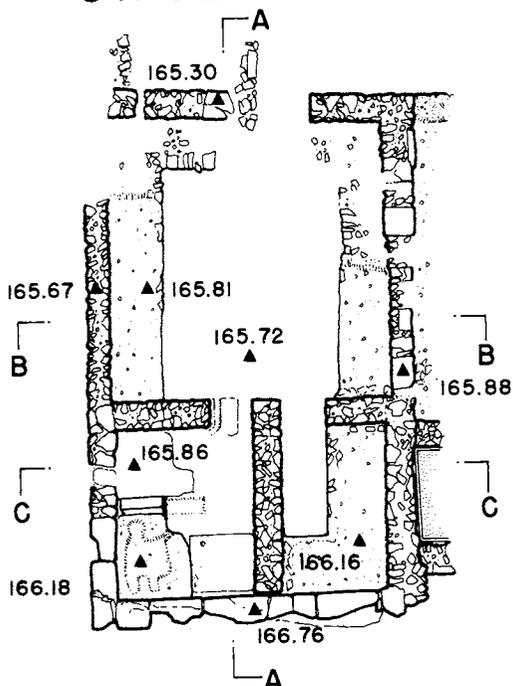
Joins were found with pottery from the debris over the kitchen's floor (lot 73-115).

⁵² A Boiotian bronze coin, found *ca.* 0.50-0.60 m. above the floor of Room 3 and traditionally dated *ca.* 315-288 B.C., may reflect this date. See Bookidis and Fisher 1974, no. 50 (73-683), p. 302.

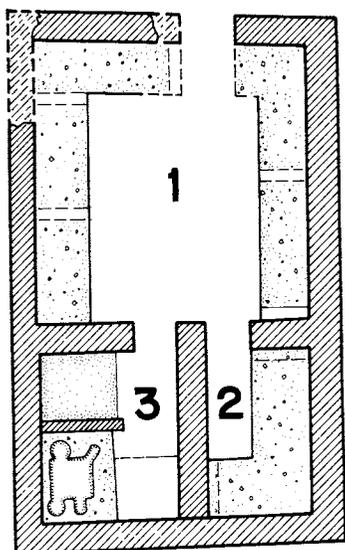
⁵³ For this building, see also Goldstein 1980, pp. 181-183. In *Corinth XVIII*, i, it is cited as Building Ka.

⁵⁴ Time did not permit investigation of possible earlier levels of Building K-L:24-25 in order to clarify how many different building phases may be represented by its walls or how many earlier floors there may have been.

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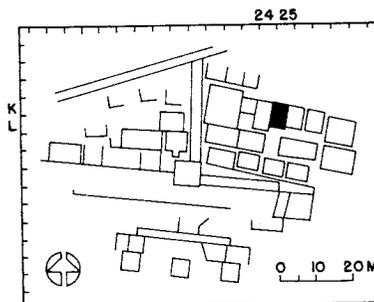


FIG. 14. Plan: Building K-L:24-25

of the opening can be estimated at *ca.* 0.80–0.85 m. No threshold block was preserved. In the earliest phase of the building's use a bench 2.25 m. long and 1.10 m. wide, built with mud and clay over a stone socle, stood against the façade to the west of the door (Pl. 16:c). It was subsequently covered.⁵⁵

The dining Room 1 is 3.99 (east)–4.19 (west) m. long north–south by 4.08 m. wide east–west. Because the south wall is broken by two doors to Rooms 2 and 3, banquettes are confined to both long walls and to the north side to the right (west) of the entrance. They are 0.78 m. wide, and their rubble retaining walls stand to 0.10–0.23 m. above floor level. Since the original surfaces of the banquettes are not preserved, all the couch lengths must be estimated. There were five full units in all and a short one at the northeast corner, as follows:

| | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Northwest | 2.00–2.15 m. |
| 2. West | 1.70 m. |
| 3. West | 1.70 m. |
| 4. East | 2.00 m. |
| 5. East | 2.00 m. |
| 6. Northeast | 0.35 m. (half) |

The clay floor rises from an elevation of +165.58 m. at the north to +165.72 m. at the south.

A door 0.58 m. wide, placed 1.00 m. from the east wall, opens into Room 2, a possible sitting room. Occupying the southeast corner of the building (Pl. 18:a), Room 2 is 1.52 m. wide east–west and 2.43 m. long north–south. A rubble partition 0.40 m. thick divides it from Room 3 to the west. It is furnished with a broad banquette along the east and south walls. Partially cut from bedrock and surfaced with clay, then lime-cement, the banquette is 0.39 m. high and 0.84 (south) to 0.875 (east) m. wide, and is therefore suitable for couches. A single line of stones placed at the western end of the south banquette could well have been an armrest for a couch 1.52 m. long; no such armrest occurs at the head of the 1.59 m.-long east banquette, only at its foot. Thus the identification of this feature is somewhat ambiguous. Do we have a couch along the south flanked by a broad bench to the east or a bench along both walls? We will see a variation on this problem in the neighboring Building K–L:25–26. The clay floor (+165.81 m.) preserved evidence of burning.⁵⁶

Room 3, both a bathing room and a kitchen, occupies a slightly larger area in the southwest corner of the building (Pl. 18:b). It measures 2.03 m. east–west by 2.43 m. north–south. It is entered from Room 1 by means of a door 0.58 m. wide, located 1.40 m. from the southwest corner of the room and partially fitted with a stone threshold. Immediately to the right (west) of the door is a bathing stall, measuring 1.01 m. north–south by an estimated 1.30 m. east–west; its east side is destroyed (floor +165.86 m.). A drain channel at the base of the west door jamb led water off to the north, from which point it probably continued beneath the dining room floor. The south wall of the bathing stall is composed of a stone partition, which was made of two juxtaposed limestone slabs, each 0.60–0.65 m. wide, 0.15 m. thick, and together, originally 1.65 m. high.⁵⁷ The lower half of one slab was found in place as well as the cutting for the second. The remaining fragments were recovered in the overlying debris. We shall return to these shortly.

Behind the partition in the southwest corner of Room 3 is a raised hearth, the construction of which is of considerable interest (Pl. 18:c). Built of red earth and clay, the hearth is 1.30 m. long

⁵⁵ The west retaining wall (all that was exposed of the bench) appears in the state plan in Figure 14. The bench, however, does not appear in the restored plan, which represents the building in its latest phase. For similar benches, see 5th-century Buildings N:21 and M–N:19 and, in the following period, Buildings M:21–22 and M:16–17 (Chapter 7 below).

⁵⁶ An extension of couches into the kitchen occurs in the Hellenistic Building M:21–22. See note 55 above.

⁵⁷ The slabs together were actually 1.80 m. high but were set into a cutting in the floor 0.15 m. deep.

north–south by 1.11 m. wide east–west. Its floor (+166.18 m.) lies 0.40 m. above the clay floor of the room (+165.78 m.). A thick rim, 0.09 m. high and built of stones and plastered with clay, encloses the hearth on four sides. Arms of clay and earth project from the rim into the center of the hearth to create four burners on which cooking pots could rest over a low fire. The two southern burners measure 0.10 and 0.15 m. in diameter, the northwestern one 0.20 m., while the northeastern burner could not be measured.⁵⁸

When the hearth was excavated, two plain mesomphalos phialai lay upside down on it, covering chunks of charcoal.⁵⁹ Since phialai were not customarily used in cooking, we can only suppose that they were used here to keep the embers warm or, less likely, for some sort of libation.

In front of the hearth in the southeast corner of the room is a low platform cut in bedrock. Nearly 1.00 m. square, it stands 0.16 m. above the clay floor to the north, or 0.31 m. below the top of the hearth. Here one could have sat or knelt while cooking on the hearth or used it as a resting surface.

There is very little evidence on which to base a date for the construction of Building K–L:24–25. Pottery recovered from the foundation trench of the north wall could not be dated more precisely than to the 5th century B.C. Somewhat more helpful was the packing for the north exterior bench, which was deposited no earlier than the middle of the 5th century B.C. (lot 72-142). Like its neighbors, Building K–L:24–25 was probably built in two phases, the first confined to the northern dining room, the second to the addition of the two southern rooms.⁶⁰

The fill that covered the building consisted of a thick layer of mud brick or pisé and stones, together with some roof tiles; indeed, over the southern rooms the debris was almost solidly of mud brick. Although one cannot be wholly certain, this deep stratum does not appear to represent the collapse of the walls so much as their intentional dismantlement. This is suggested by several factors: first, by its uniformity, that is, mud brick mixed with rubble and roof tiles, but not stratified one above the other; second, by the dispersal of the fragments of the stone partition that separated the hearth from the bathing stall in Room 3. As mentioned above, the lower part of the western slab was found in position with a cutting for a second one beside it. The upper portion of the western slab, however, was found further east in Room 2 of Building K–L:25–26, resting against a bench with its broken end up. The eastern slab lay in two pieces in Room 2 of Building K–L:24–25. The two pieces were surrounded by, and to some extent overlay, more of the mud brick debris. Finally, the pottery was extremely fragmentary with few whole profiles represented among the sherds.

From the debris covering both Rooms 2 and 3 (lot 72-139) came a limited amount of pottery of the third or possibly early fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C., as well as a bronze coin of the Pegasos/Trident series.⁶¹ In the stratum that overlay the floor of Room 2 was a second bronze coin, this one minted in Macedonia under Amyntas III (381–369 B.C.).⁶²

⁵⁸ For close parallels, see *Isthmia* II, pp. 38–39, pls. 18:d, 57, from the kitchens in the cult caves by the theater.

⁵⁹ *Corinth* XVIII, i, nos. 431, 432 (C-72-210, C-72-211), p. 159. Upon analysis the charcoal was identified as pine wood (*pinus* sp.). We wish to thank Julie Hansen of the Department of Archaeology, Boston University, who made the analysis for us.

⁶⁰ The somewhat peculiar arrangement of the dining couches is undoubtedly due to the fact that they were originally laid out according to a different plan, then subsequently cropped to fit a remodeling. If the south wall of the dining room always retained its original position, then the couches in the early phase could have been as follows: two of 1.70 m. each on the west, two of 1.80 m. each on the south, two of 1.61 m. each on the east, and one and a half on the north side.

⁶¹ For the latest pieces from this stratum, see *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 442 (C-72-219), p. 160, a one-handled cup dated to the third or early fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C., and p. 162, no. 457 (C-72-220), a beveled rim bowl. The Pegasos/Trident coin is 72-438.

⁶² For the coins, Bookidis and Fisher 1974, no. 19 (72-438), p. 300, and no. 47 (72-472), p. 301, respectively.

One of the two phialai found on the hearth has been dated to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. by E. G. Pemberton, the second, on stylistic grounds to the early 3rd century B.C. Since nothing else here appears to be this late, we would place both in the last quarter of the century. Among the latest objects in the debris, two small vases found in Room 3, namely, a one-handed cup and a beveled saucer, are of interest because they are quite close in shape to similar vases from the destruction debris of Building L:26–27.⁶³ Their similarity allows us to place the destruction or abandonment of these two buildings at the same time.

The material recovered from the dining room was much less useful.⁶⁴ For the most part earlier in date, that is, ranging from the 7th to 4th centuries B.C., the fill included pieces such as the draped toes of a 5th-century B.C. terracotta statue, SF-69-5, which surely did not stand in the dining room. Although some of the earlier sherds could have been incorporated into the mud brick, the consistently early appearance of this material and larger size of some of the pieces suggest that it was brought in as filling and was not what was in use in the last stage of the building's occupation.

Although we have not discussed the roofs of the dining rooms thus far, a few words should be said about the roof or roofs that covered the adjoining buildings just described, that is, from Building K–L:21–22 to K–L:24–25. All these buildings share party walls, like the rooms of Building M–N:20–26, but while their façades are approximately aligned, their south sides are definitely not. It is unlikely that each building had a pitched roof with its ridge running north–south, for then the water would have run down to the party wall and caused leaks. It is more likely that the ridge ran east–west, as a continuous roof from K–L:21–22 or K:23 to K–L:24–25. One possible reconstruction would place the ridge beam down the axis of each dining room, with south slopes of irregular lengths to fit each building. Another would use the same ridge beam but would cover the back room or rooms of each structure with a separate, slightly lower, shed roof. Here, however, we are hampered by our incomplete understanding of the chronological relationships between the various parts of this chain of buildings. As we have seen, Building K–L:24–25 originally consisted of one, somewhat smaller, dining room. When it was rebuilt in the early 4th century B.C. and its back wall moved back, the roof would have to have been rebuilt. Perhaps this would not have been such a problem since the building is at one end of the series. But such a rebuilding could have been problematic in the middle of the row. Furthermore, whether the much larger Building K–L:21–22 was, in fact, roofed together with the other smaller buildings is also not clear. If it had its own roof, its ridge presumably centered over the party wall between Rooms 1 and 2, then a separate roof would have been necessary for Building K:23, perhaps at a lower level on the shared east wall. Whatever the system, the result would surely have been irregular and rather untidy in appearance.⁶⁵

BUILDING K–L:25–26: DINING ROOM, SITTING ROOM WITH BATH (Figs. 15, 16)

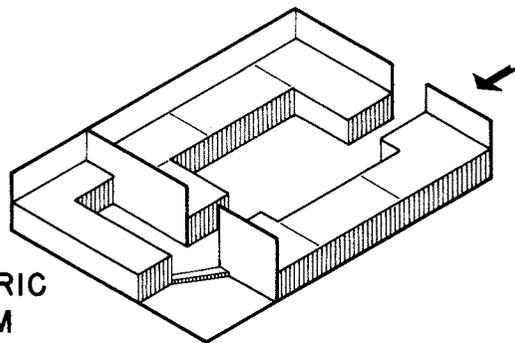
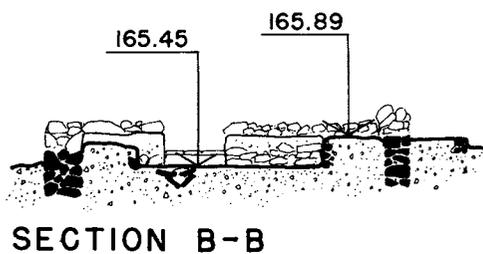
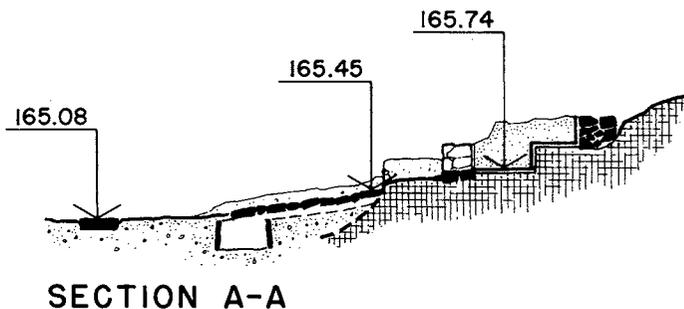
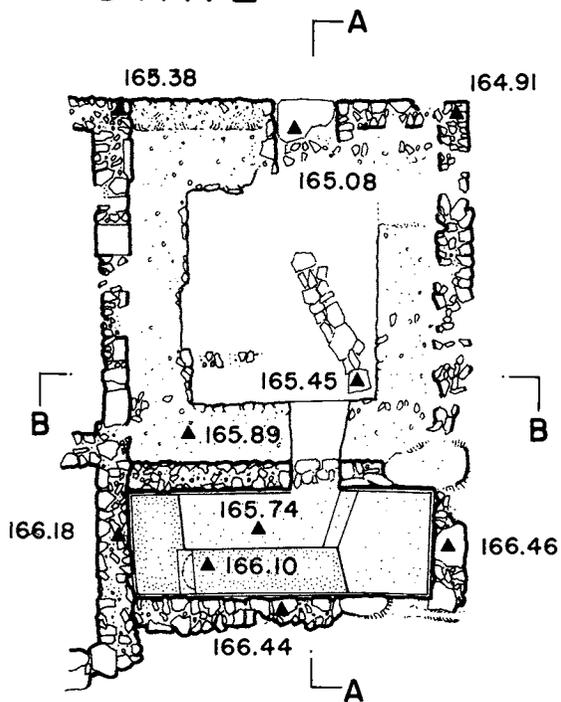
As discussed in the preceding section, Building K–L:25–26 was first constructed in the early 5th century B.C. as a single dining room, a form it maintained throughout the century. At the very beginning of the 4th century B.C. it was enlarged to include a smaller service room to the south (Pl. 17). This addition provided sitting and washing facilities and possibly a space for cooking. Because these are compressed into one room, the resulting plan is slightly different from those of the two buildings to the west, K–L:23–24 and K–L:24–25, and closer to that of its eastern neighbor, Building L:26–27. Although, technically speaking, the remodeling of this

⁶³ The cup, *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 442 (C-72-219), p. 160, is close to C-72-216, cited under no. 441; the example here, however, has a more contracted handle. The bowl, no. 457 (C-72-220), p. 162, may closely parallel C-72-222 (lot 72-128) from the debris over the south rooms of Building L:26–27.

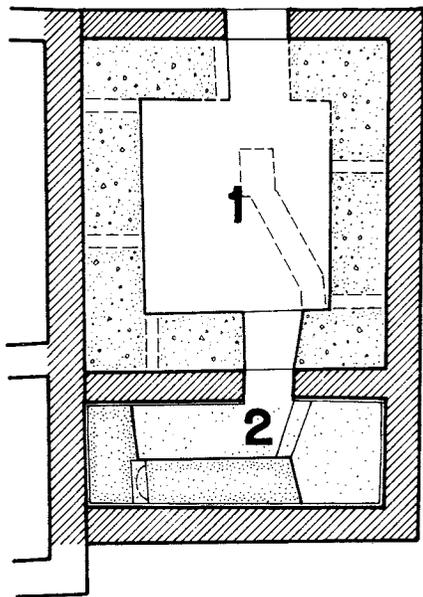
⁶⁴ Lot 72-140.

⁶⁵ We thank Robin Rhodes for his assistance with this reconstruction of the roof.

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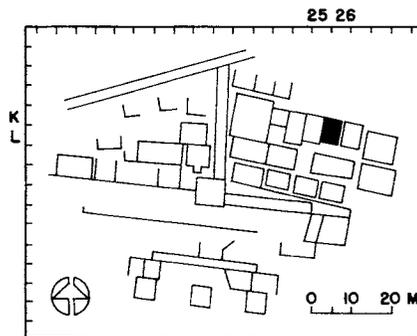


FIG. 15. Plan: Building K-L:25-26

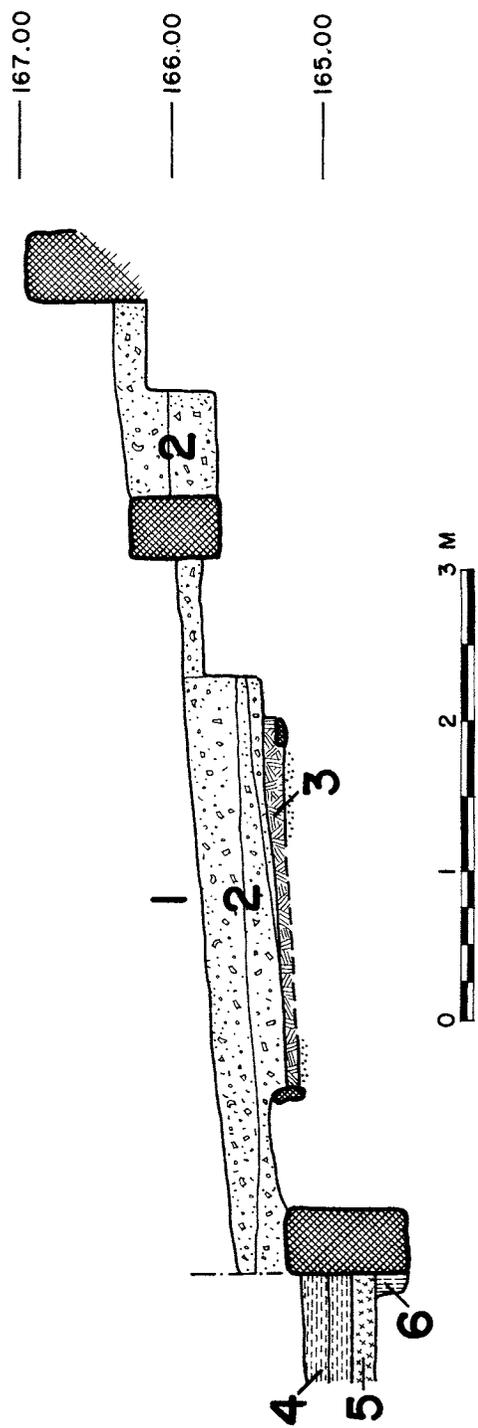


FIG. 16. Section: Building K-L:25-26, looking east

- [1] Surface; [2] Abandonment; [3] Floor 2 and underlying fill (lot 72-138); [4] Clay stratum outside building (lot 72-135); [5] Leveling stratum (lot 72-136); [6] Foundation trench for north wall (lot 72-137)

dining complex should be considered in the succeeding chapter, falling as it probably does just after 400 B.C., it fits in best with the buildings to either side of it, and for this reason has been included in the present chapter and appears in Plan 4.⁶⁶

For the remodeling, the exterior south wall was pushed back 2.57 m.; the original south wall was replaced by a retaining wall for the new south banquette, while a party wall to divide the two rooms was erected 0.74 m. south of the couch face. Very little else is preserved of the dining room from this second phase. For want of other evidence we assume that the north, east, and west walls continued to be used and that the main entrance stood in the same place. The new building thus measures 7.07 m. north–south by 4.92 m. east–west.

To make the extension the builders quarried bedrock extensively (Fig. 15 A–A), creating a 0.36 m.-high foundation for the new south wall as well as interior benches. The remainder of the 0.48 m.-thick wall is built with large and small fieldstones combined with blocks of limestone, and it stands to a height of 0.70 m. above floor level. The southern end of the east wall consists of small stones laid in two rows interspersed with large stone stretchers, while the new party wall between Rooms 1 and 2 incorporates small stones with cut bedrock.

The new dining room is 4.43 m. long north–south by 4.07 m. wide east–west. Its plan differs slightly from that of its predecessor because of the addition of a door to Room 2 to the south. This door lies 2.10 m. from the northwest corner and 1.19 m. from the northeast corner of the room, thereby dividing in two the south banquette, which had been continuous in the preceding period. Couches for this phase now exist only on the south side and on the southern ends of both east and west sides, but it seems likely that they followed the line of their predecessor in the northern half of the room. The fieldstone retaining walls are 0.40 m. high, while the new south banquette is 0.74 m. wide. With the new disposition, the individual couch lengths become as follows, working counterclockwise from the right of the main entrance. The lengths of couches 1, 4, 5, and 8 are known (marked by asterisks), while the remainder are restored.

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.94 m.* |
| 2. West | 1.81 m. |
| 3. West | 1.81–1.84 m. |
| 4. Southwest | 1.31 m.* |
| 5. Southeast | 1.19 m.* |
| 6. East | 1.81 m. |
| 7. East | 1.81 m. |
| 8. Northeast | 0.48 m.* (half) |

The dimensions are unusually varied, and only five of the eight couches are of a length suitable for adult reclining. A portion of the later clay floor was found along the south couch (+165.43 m.) and in the passage to the south door (+165.60 m.).

The door to service Room 2 is 0.66 m. wide. Its threshold consists of a single course of fieldstones 0.10 m. high; on either jamb is a shallow reveal (Pl. 19:b). Room 2 is 3.80–3.96 m. wide from east to west and 1.37 m. deep. The clay-plastered bedrock floor slopes slightly upward to the south (+165.74 m.) from the threshold. A long narrow banquette stands against the south wall (Pl. 19:a). Beginning *ca.* 1.00 m. from the southeast corner of the room, the banquette is 2.10–2.25 m. long, 0.60 m. wide, and 0.35 m. high. Its eastern end is not straight but oblique. Although its narrowness is more suited to a bench, a contoured armrest at its western end indicates that it was used for reclining rather than, or perhaps as well as, sitting. On the 0.77 m.-long west side, the banquette becomes 0.68 m. wide and 0.41 m. high. Since this portion has no armrest, we assume that it was used as a seat or bench. Waterproof lime-cement covers the walls and banquette.

⁶⁶ Goldstein 1980, pp. 178–181.

A large bath stall, 1.37 m. long north-south and 1.00–1.20 m. wide, surfaced with lime-cement, occupies the eastern end of the room. A raised lip 0.21–0.26 m. wide runs along its open west side from the northeast corner of the banquette to the east door jamb (Pl. 18:d). The floor of the stall (+165.65 m.) is sunken 0.055 m. into the floor of the room, so that the lip projects 0.075 m. above the stall floor but only 0.02 m. above the clay floor. It is drained by a wide hole let through the north wall beside the raised lip. The drain then continues beneath the southeast couch of Room 1 and under the floor, to end in the center of the room. This part of the drain channel is covered with fragmentary pan tiles laid flat. Although we did not remove the tile cover, the form of the channel is undoubtedly like that in Building L:26–27.

No evidence for a hearth was found within the small room. Nevertheless, the clay floor was heavily burnt, and some bits of charcoal lay upon it. Ash and burning, however, were not noticeable in the uniform red, stereolike fill that covered the floor for a depth of some 0.70 m. (Fig. 16, stratum 2), and our initial attempts to explain the charcoal and burnt floor as destruction debris were unconvincing. Installations for cooking in the Sanctuary dining rooms are varied, and it is apparent from buildings such as N–O:18–19 in the early and M:21–22 in the late 4th century B.C. that one could cook directly on the floor, though, in the former case, in very cramped quarters. We therefore suggest that in this building also one cooked directly on the floor of Room 2.

The enlargement of Building K–L:25–26 took place sometime in the early 4th century B.C. The very fragmentary sherds recovered from the later clay floor and from the sandy soil immediately beneath it (Fig. 16, stratum 3) extended from the late 5th into the 4th century B.C. (lot 72-138). Among the latest sherds were bits of an echinos bowl and a plate with rolled rim.

It was not too long after that the building was abandoned and filled in (Fig. 16, stratum 2). We spoke of the uniform red fill that covered both floor and furnishings in Room 2 as well as in Room 1. In it stones from the dismantled walls lay mixed with occasional fragmentary roof tiles. Part of the limestone partition, which originally had stood in Room 3 of Building K–L:24–25 next door, was propped against the couch. The pottery, again quite fragmentary, dated largely to the late 5th century B.C. and might have come from the foundation fill for the south wall. Above the floor, however, sherds of the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. were more abundant: chiefly table and kitchen ware, including the upper half of a plain pitcher, two late-4th-century B.C. skyphoi, and a black-glazed saucer.⁶⁷ A fragment of terracotta sculpture and a terracotta figurine (MF-72-67) show that the contents were not exclusively ceramic. Above this deep fill were layers with pottery of the 1st and 3rd centuries after Christ.

BUILDING L:26–27: DINING ROOM, SITTING ROOM WITH BATH (Fig. 17)

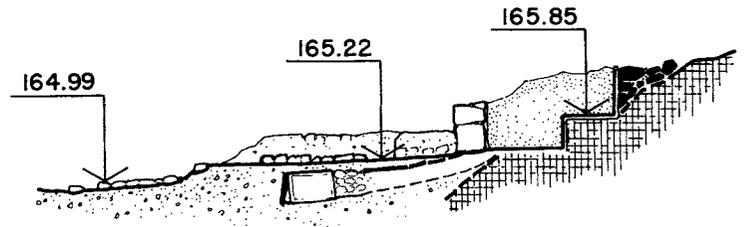
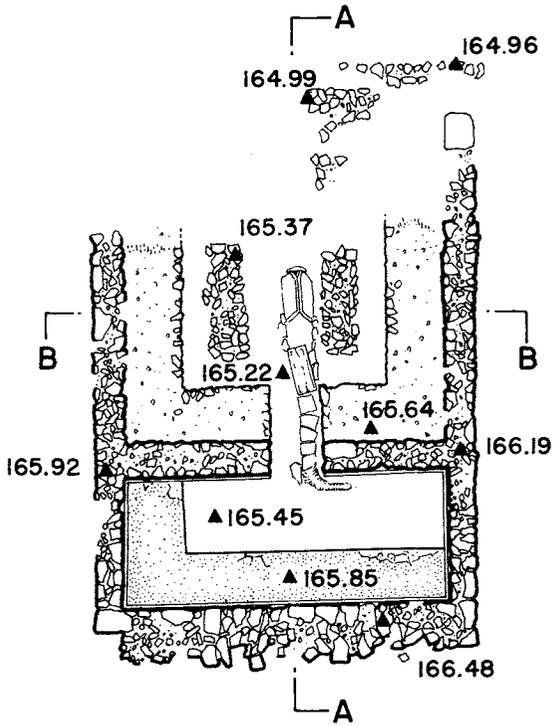
Building L:26–27 is a freestanding structure that bears many resemblances to Building K–L:25–26 to its west. A narrow alley 0.50 m. wide separates the two. Like the building we have just considered, Building L:26–27 consists of two rooms, that is, a sizable dining room on the north, 1, and a narrow service room, 2, with bench and bath stall to the south (Pls. 17, 19:c). Despite the fact that the north side is missing, the building's state of preservation is generally good, and in the surviving portions the details are clear.⁶⁸ The south wall stands to a height of 1.29 m. above floor level in Room 2, the partition between Rooms 1 and 2 to 0.81 m., while the east and west exterior walls are preserved to the level of the top of the couches. At least 7.06 m. long from north to south, the building is 5.21 m. wide from east to west.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Lot 72-134. For the pitcher, see *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 392 (C-72-215), p. 154, and for the saucer, C-72-221, see under no. 464, p. 163.

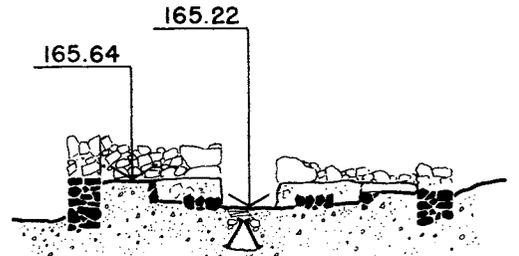
⁶⁸ Several rows of rubble, exposed along the north side, may bear some relation to the missing north wall but not in any way that is usefully intelligible.

⁶⁹ Goldstein 1980, pp. 176–178, therein called Building K–L:26–27.

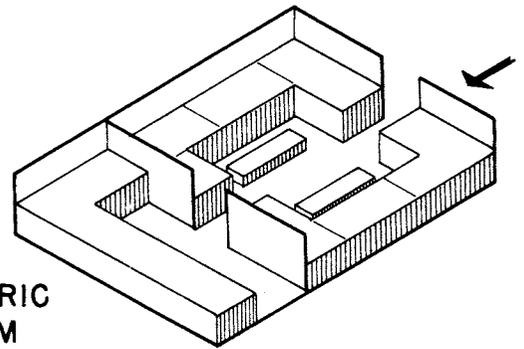
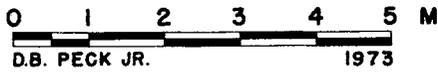
STATE



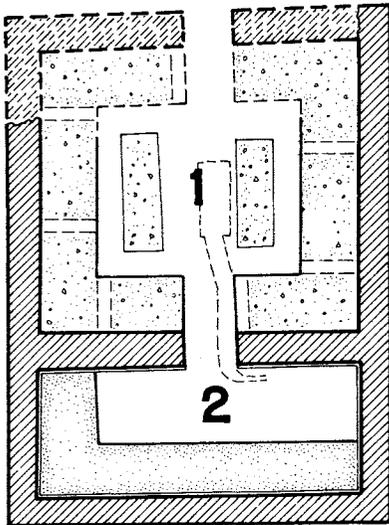
SECTION A-A



SECTION B-B



VOLUMETRIC
DIAGRAM
NOT TO SCALE



RESTORED

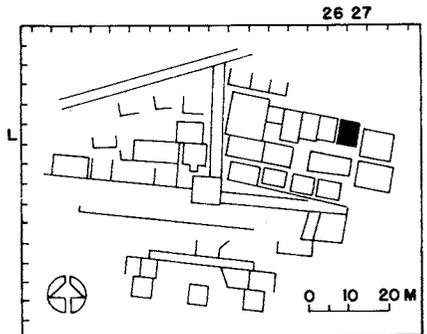


FIG. 17. Plan: Building L:26-27

The walls are built much like those in the neighboring buildings, of large and small fieldstones forming two good faces with smaller filling. A large, squared fieldstone at the present northern end of the east wall may, in fact, represent the northeast corner of the building, since fieldstones equal to the width of the wall do not otherwise occur here. With the exception of the south wall, which is 0.63 m. thick, the remaining walls average 0.41–0.45 m. thick.

As in the buildings to the west, the entrance to Building L:26–27 lay on the north side. Its exact position, however, is not known.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, it opened directly into the dining Room 1, which measures 4.30 m. east–west by an estimated 3.80–3.90 m. north–south. A partition wall 0.45 m. thick, built of fieldstones laid in clay, separates Room 1 from Room 2 to the south. The connecting door, 0.61 m. wide, falls 2.03 m. from the southwest corner and 1.62 m. from the southeast corner of the room.

The banquettes, of which the west, south, and east are partially preserved, but only the south to full height, follow the usual form. Fragments of Corinthian pan tiles are employed together with fieldstones in the construction of the retaining walls. Clay plastering is preserved on the south banquette tops as well as along the base of east and west banquette faces. The banquettes are 0.32 m. high and 0.73–0.76 m. wide. Because no armrests are preserved, the couch lengths must be restored for all but nos. 4 and 5 (marked by asterisk). If we are correct in our estimation of the original north–south length of the room, then seven and one-half couches can be restored as follows, beginning counterclockwise from the missing northwest couch to the right of the door:

| | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.80–1.90 m. |
| 2. West | 1.53–1.58 m. |
| 3. West | 1.53–1.58 m. |
| 4. Southwest | 1.30 m.* |
| 5. Southeast | 1.62 m.* |
| 6. East | 1.53–1.58 m. |
| 7. East | 1.53–1.58 m. |
| 8. Northeast | 0.90–1.00 m. (half) |

As the dimensions listed above show, couch 4 is not quite a full length, while a half-couch stood to the east of the main entrance.

Building L:26–27 is of special interest because it is one of the few dining halls in the Sanctuary to preserve evidence of tables. These consist of two long rectangular foundations, which are parallel to the east and west couches. They are built of densely packed fieldstones and some fragmentary roof tiles laid directly on the floor. The western foundation is 1.55 m. long, 0.59 m. wide, and one course, or *ca.* 0.15 m., high, as preserved (Pl. 19:e). It stands 0.38 m. away from the west couches and 0.30 m. from the southwest couch. The eastern table is 1.45 m. long, 0.53 m. wide, and also one course high (Pl. 19:d). It is placed 0.32 m. from the east couch and 0.40 m. from the southeast couch. Although the tops of the tables are not preserved, these must have been either planks of wood or slabs of stone, much like those found in the stoa at Brauron.⁷¹

At Brauron, as in most places, there was one table for each couch or, at most, for two, if at a corner. Each table here, however, served one-half of the room, or three to four couches. We have already described an L-shaped table in the early-5th-century B.C. Building J–L:21, and we have discussed the possibility of tables in conjunction with the Archaic Building N–O:25–26. Despite these examples, there is little reason to believe that such tables occurred in all the dining

⁷⁰ A section of clay floor found at +165.14 m. was initially thought to represent the threshold area of the door. Since it lies to the north of the probable line of the north wall and is 0.14 m. below floor level within the building, it more likely represents a floor surface outside the building and is of no use in the restoration of the door.

⁷¹ Bouras 1967, p. 92, fig. 67, pls. 16–17, for plan of one of the rooms.

rooms. The paucity of remains suggests that most were either portable or built of perishable materials.

Room 2 is 4.25 m. long east–west and 1.66 m. wide north–south. A rock-cut bench extends the full length of both south and west walls (Pl. 20:a). The 0.40 m.-high bench is 0.735 m. wide on the west and 0.66 m. wide on the south side. Walls and bench are plastered continuously with lime-cement. A good clay floor, laid over the bedrock, slopes up slightly from the doorway (+165.37 m.) to the west corner of the room (+165.45 m.). In the eastern half of the room, however, patches of lime-cement found at the base of the east wall suggest that the floor at that end of the room was stuccoed. This impression is reinforced by a shallow rock-cut drain, *ca.* 0.10 m. wide, that begins *ca.* 1.25 m. from the northeast corner of the room and runs around the east door jamb into the main Room 1. Lime-cement floor, drain, and the absence of a return of the bench along the east wall all suggest that an open shower stall once stood in this end of the room. This curiously crowded arrangement contrasts with the solution found in Building K–L:25–26, where the bench is interrupted to make room for a proper shower stall. It is also possible that some cooking was done in this area, for a layer of earth mixed with charcoal was removed from above the decomposed cement floor. Such a layer was not found in the western half of the room.

We may add a few more words about the drain. As we noted above, the drain begins at its southern end as a shallow cutting in bedrock. As it continues into the dining Room 1, it becomes a sizable channel 0.35 m. wide and 0.37 m. deep, dug into the earth packing beneath the floor of the room (Pl. 20:b). East and west sides are lined with walls of rubble and tile fragments four courses high, and the cover consists of overlapping fragments of Corinthian pan tiles laid flat. The drain channel ends *ca.* 1.65 m. north of the partition between Rooms 1 and 2. There the rubble walls and flat cover give way to a small vault formed by two large Corinthian pan tiles set on edge (Pl. 20:d). The tiles are 0.57 m. long and rest on a single course of stone. A large fieldstone rests against the top of the vault at the northern end to hold the tiles in place. Once channeled to this point, the water thereafter must have seeped slowly into the surrounding earth beneath the floor of the room. Undoubtedly, the drain in Building K–L:24–25, which we were unable to investigate fully, must have resembled this one.⁷²

The history of Building L:26–27 can be restored almost as satisfactorily as the plan. While pottery and related finds were not abundant, enough were recovered to substantiate the time of both construction and destruction of the building.

The date of construction is attested by the material from the foundation packing for the east exterior wall (lot 72-131), from the stratum immediately overlying it (lot 72-130), and from the fill beneath the floor of Room 1 (lot 72-132). The finds from all three contexts are roughly the same and point to a time in the second half of the 5th century B.C. or, more specifically, to around the third quarter of that century. Indicative of this date are fragments of semi-glazed kotylai, an imitation blister ware oinochoe, and a small, Vrysoula-type oinochoe. The pottery from the stratum overlying the eastern foundation trench may be somewhat later. A fragmentary Attic red-figured krater⁷³ and an Attic-imitating ovoid kotyle suggest a time closer to the end of the century. By then, however, the building had already been erected. Moreover, it appears to have been used without significant modification until its abandonment.

Its destruction is marked by a thick stratum of earth with numerous fieldstones, possibly from dismantled rubble walls, and some broken roof tiles. This fill was nearly a meter deep in Room 1, covering both floor and couches (lot 72-129). In Room 2 it was *ca.* 0.60 m. deep (lot 72-128),

⁷² A stretch of rubble wall plastered with waterproof lime-cement was found just north of the projected line of the missing north wall. This could have been either a second drain for the floor of the dining room or one side of an exterior bench.

⁷³ C-64-416B, unpublished.

and in addition to the pottery it produced a bronze coin of Sikyon, coin 72-283. Among the pottery shapes are the usual range of votives, fine, cooking, and coarse wares. The numbers of cooking- and coarse-ware sherds were more numerous in Room 2 than in Room 1, but all the material was extremely fragmentary. The latest pieces, namely, a one-handled cup, a small dish with beveled rim, and several Corinthian skyphoi with compound curve, can be dated to the third or perhaps even the fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C.⁷⁴ On the whole, this material appears to be later than that recovered from Building K-L:25-26 next door. Nevertheless, in neither room was the pottery abundant, nor did it mend into anything resembling whole pots. As in so many of the dining rooms, the general impression was not of a building destroyed while in use and abandoned but of a building that ceased to be used and was cleaned out and filled in.

BUILDING M-N:20-24: THREE DINING ROOMS (Figs. 2, 3 on pp. 26, 28)

On Row 3 the Archaic six-room Building M-N:20-26 underwent several changes in the 5th century B.C.⁷⁵ The most significant of these was its reduction in size through the elimination of the two eastern rooms and through the curtailment of its western end. Within the rooms that continued in use, several other minor modifications are attested.

More specifically, the eastern dining Rooms 5 and 6 were completely dismantled, and on their site a new, independent building was put up, Building M-N:25-26. Building M-N:20-24 was thus confined to dining Rooms 1 to 4, and a space of 3.20 m. separated it from the new structure to the east. At the western end of Building M-N:20-24 the preexisting west wall was dismantled, and a new wall was constructed 1.60 m. further to the east. The new, rubble-built wall shows a slightly different orientation, for it is turned somewhat more to the west than its

⁷⁴ The vases are, respectively, C-72-216, C-72-222, C-72-217. For the latter, cf. Williams 1977, p. 68 under no. 1, there dated to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. The contents of these lots are as follows:

Lot 72-129, Room 1:

Total: 156 sherds, all small, badly worn fragments, of which 149 identifiable, 2 figurines, 1 shell.

Votive miniatures 23: 21 kalathiskoi; 1 flaring, 1 pierced, 14 type 3 Conventionalizing, 3 plain; 1 cup; 1 possible liknon-type offering tray handle.

Fine ware 59: 1 column krater; 6 oinochoai, 1 Geometric(?), 1 Archaic broadbottomed, 3 blister ware; 23 kotylai: Conventionalizing, semi-glazed, plain; 5 skyphoi: 2 4th-century B.C. bodies; 6 cups: 1 Geometric(?), 2 flat-rimmed, 3 5th-century B.C. one-handlers, 2 4th-century B.C. one-handlers; 1 spur-handled kantharos; 4 bowls; 2 saucers: 1 incurving rim, 1 beveled; 3 plates; 1 Attic head vase; 1 pyxis lid.

Coarse ware 22: 1 Archaic Corinthian type A amphora; 4 pitchers, 4 lekanai, 3 mortars, 1 louterion.

Cooking ware 45: 3 stewpots, flanged and plain; 1 casserole.

Figurines 2: 1 doll, 1 moldmade kore (5th century B.C.).

Shell 1: *murex brandaris* (bone lot 72-112).

Date: Geometric to second half of the 4th century B.C., with a substantial amount from the 5th century B.C.

Lot 72-128, Room 2, all small fragments:

Total: 375 sherds, 7 figurines, 1 loomweight(?).

Votive miniatures 74: 8 hydriai; 58 kalathiskoi: 8 Archaic, 39 Conventionalizing; 11 type 4 of 4th century B.C.; 8 offering trays.

Fine ware 136: 6 kraters: 6th to 4th centuries B.C.; 17 closed vessels; 53 kotylai; 8 skyphoi, 5th to 4th centuries B.C.; 5 one-handlers(?); 1 large bowl; 5 small bowls or saucers; 4 Conventionalizing plates; 1 kothon; 1 baby feeder; 1 Attic head vase.

Coarse ware 78: 7 amphoras: Corinthian types A and B, Thasian; 9 closed shapes; 19 lekanai; 3 mortars; 1 louterion.

Cooking ware 79: 2 stewpots; 1 casserole; 1 mixing bowl; rest bodies.

Lamps 8: 2 Archaic; 1 complete Howland type 21; 1 Howland type 23C (first half 4th century B.C.).

Terracottas 8: 7 fragments of figurines; 1 loomweight(?).

Date: 6th to second half of 4th century B.C., with a considerable amount from 6th and 5th centuries B.C.

⁷⁵ The state plan for the entire complex appears in Figure 2; for the restored plan of the building in this phase, see the period Plan 4.

predecessor. Much disturbed by the later Building M:21–22 (the dotted wall outlined on the state plan of Fig. 2), the new wall now stands to only a course or two above floor level. The diminished building measures *ca.* 18.00 m. east–west by 5.75 m. north–south.

Although there is no indication that the existing north entrances to Rooms 3 and 4 were changed, it is likely that a new entrance was added at the western end of the building; off stair landing 4. Its position is suggested by a break of *ca.* 0.80 m. in the west wall at *ca.* 2.20 m. from the southwest corner of the building.

The interior disposition of Room 1 also changed at this time. Within the small area available for exploration beneath the floor of the later Building M:21–22, two successive burnt floors were exposed. These clearly covered the 6th-century B.C. party wall between Rooms 1 and 2, as well as the couches flanking it on either side.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, however, these floors lay just beneath the later Hellenistic floor, and no good plan of the 5th-century B.C. room could be recovered. It is unlikely that Room 1 extended without a break to the earlier party wall between Rooms 2 and 3, a distance of 7.80–8.30 m., but no sign of a crosswall or other interior feature was recovered.

The changes carried out in Rooms 3 and 4 were relatively slight. The party wall between the two rooms was rebuilt 0.10 m. to the east, making Room 3 *ca.* 4.75–4.85 m. wide and Room 4 *ca.* 4.25 m. wide. The floors in both rooms were raised, in Room 3 to +168.85 m., in Room 4 to +168.80–168.63 m., with the result that in Room 4 the dais was covered over and not replaced. Again, in Room 4 it is clear that the couch surface was also raised to correspond to the floor. While this must also have happened in Room 3, for the new floor was practically level with the Archaic couch top, there is no evidence for such a change.

These modifications are well documented. Sherds recovered from the removal of the lower burnt floor in Rooms 1–2 (lot 6835), from the packing for the new floor in Room 3 (lot 6828; Fig. 3, stratum 4), and from the packing for the higher couch in Room 4 date approximately to the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. The fill below the new floor in Room 4 (lot 6840) yielded material perhaps as late as the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., as did the removal of the upper burnt floor in Rooms 1–2 (lot 6834). The evidence for the construction of Building M–N:25–26 at this time is discussed in conjunction with that building.

One further piece of evidence for the modification to the west façade is the material recovered from a large pit cut into the bedrock in M:20.⁷⁷ As both Plan 1 and Figure 2 make clear, the pit begins to the west of the Archaic Building M–N:20–26 and continues east beneath the line of the building's original west wall (Pl. 6:b). Whether the cutting of the pit was the cause for the relocation of the wall or the pit was cut once the wall was shifted is not clear, for the latest material from the filling (lot 6512) is slightly earlier than the pottery from the floors.⁷⁸ Nor is the purpose of the cutting known unless it was to provide blocks for building. But whatever its function, it was soon covered by the blocks for landing 4 of the stairway. Possibly, the modifications to the building were contemporary with the laying of the stairway, that is, around the end of the century. Certainly the relocation of the west wall made it possible for the landing blocks of the stairway

⁷⁶ The level of the lower floor was +168.89–168.82 m., that of the upper floor +168.96–168.80 m. That these floors do not belong to the subsequent Hellenistic building is shown by the fact that they are cut by the foundation trench for the interior crosswall of that building.

⁷⁷ The pit is 1.50 m. wide from north to south, at least 1.80 m. long from east to west, and 0.40 m. deep. It is cut into the bedrock, the surface of which surrounding the pit is trimmed smoothly. The sides of the pit are vertical, but the bottom is quite uneven and cannot have been seen or used as a floor. No other earth or clay floor was found within it, only red earth mixed with dark earth and large quantities of pottery. See Plan 10 E–E.

⁷⁸ Virtually all the pottery from the filling spanned the 6th century B.C., most of it falling into the second half. Indicative of a 5th-century B.C. date, however, are a Conventionalizing plate with ivy leaf and a second plate that by profile is Late Corinthian III. For a similar plate, see Callipolitis-Feytmans 1962, p. 163, no. 63.

to be set in M:20, and the presence of the stairway is an added argument for a new entrance to the building on the west side.

The period Plan 4, however, exposes another problem with regard to this building. If we assume that the line of the north wall was straight for the entire length of all of the rooms, then the north wall of Rooms 1–2 would have to have been one and the same as the south wall of Building K–L:21–22 just to the north, as it appears on the plan. This seems unlikely, since the two buildings stand at considerably different levels. Moreover, it is difficult to understand how their respective roofs would have worked, unless the north wall of Building M–N:20–24 lay further south.

It is also not clear how one reached Rooms 3 and 4 if access was not possible from the west. A passage *ca.* 1.20 m. wide separated Room 4 from Building K–L:23–24 to the north. At the southwest corner of that building a retaining wall continued westward toward Building K–L:21–22, thereby extending the passageway in front of Room 3. The buildings to the north of Building M–N:20–24, however, form an unbroken wall from J:21 to K:26. Therefore, one either reached Rooms 3 and 4 from the eastern end of Row 3 or somehow skirted Rooms 1–2 at the west.

In the late 4th century B.C., Building M:21–22 was constructed over the western half of Building M–N:20–24. The evidence for its date will be discussed in conjunction with that building (Chapter 7 below). The eastern half of Room 3 was buried in rubble, discarded limestone slabs, and earth, together with pottery of the late 4th century B.C. (Fig. 3, strata 2, 3). Among the latest pieces are fragments of Corinthian type A amphoras, a stewpot, a beveled bowl, and a lamp in blister ware (lot 6826).⁷⁹ The debris from Room 4 was less informative. Nothing succeeded Rooms 3 and 4, and the area remained open in the late 4th century B.C.

BUILDING M–N:25–26: TWO DINING ROOMS (Fig. 18, Phase 1)

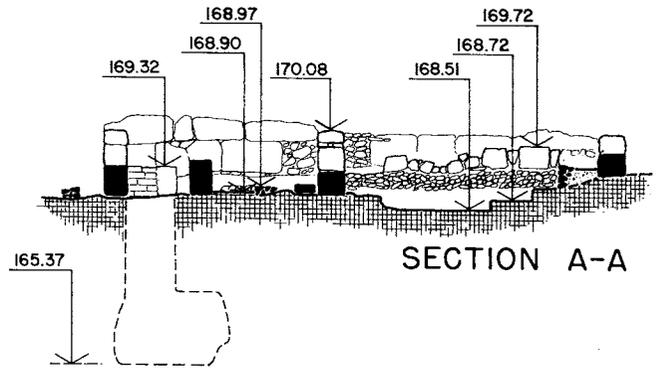
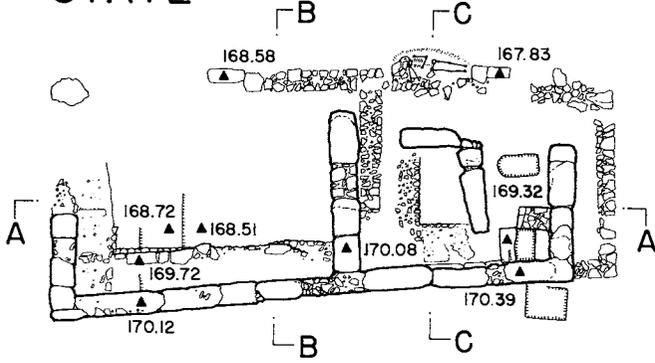
Building M–N:25–26 is situated 3.00 m. east of Building M–N:20–24 and is the last attested building in Row 3. To the east of it are quarry cuttings now covered by the skeleton of the Hellenistic Building N:28. Building M–N:25–26 consists of two adjacent dining rooms, the western of which overlies Rooms 5 and 6 of the Archaic complex M–N:20–26. As in that building, the two new rooms are juxtaposed without communication, and they are entirely lacking in the additional facilities typical of other buildings constructed at this time. They are built at a point on the hillside where the slope is extremely steep (Pl. 33:a). As a result, erosion has effected much damage. In addition, most of the Classical structure was dismantled to make way for a larger building in the late 4th century B.C. Nevertheless, enough elements remain for a restoration of its plan. The entire building is an estimated 11.45 m. long east–west and 4.25 (east)–4.80 (west) m. wide north–south.

The extant portions of the exterior walls are confined to the east wall, 0.80 m. of the south wall, and portions of the north wall, none of which stands to more than *ca.* 0.30 m. above bedrock.⁸⁰ Both south and west walls were removed by the later breccia walls, which were built along the same lines. The north wall, however, is somewhat problematic, for what appears in the state plan of Figure 18 actually represents two or three different phases. The fieldstones that extend east from the party wall between the two rooms probably belong to the late-5th-century B.C. phase (visible in the lower right foreground, Pl. 8:b), while the stretch that encloses the western room is

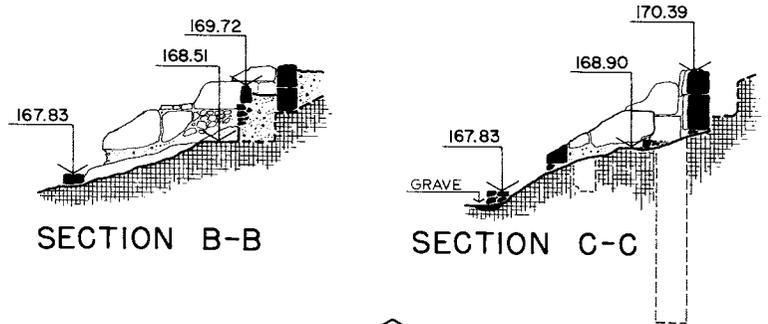
⁷⁹ These pots are, respectively, *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 653 (C-71-88), p. 187, and no. 456 (C-71-137), p. 162; the lamp is not catalogued.

⁸⁰ The east wall appears in both Figure 18 and Plate 8:b just east of the breccia wall of Building M–N:25–26 in its Hellenistic phase.

STATE

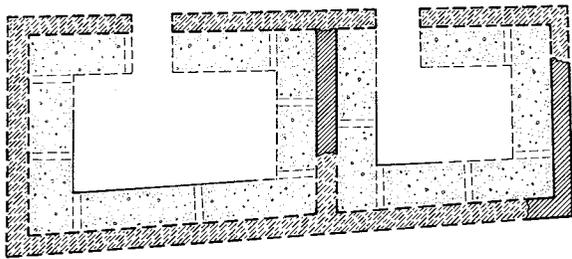


SECTION A-A

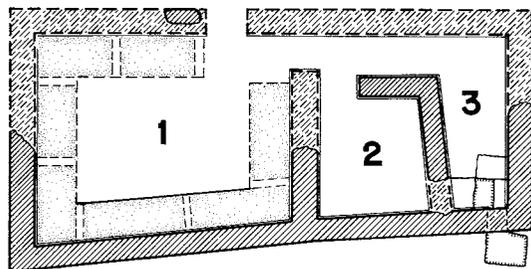
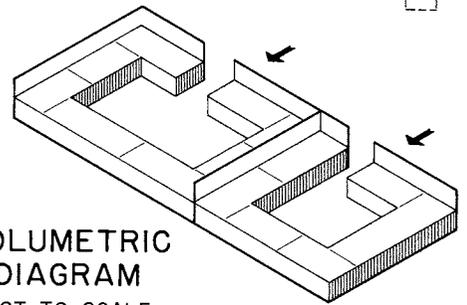


SECTION B-B

SECTION C-C



PHASE 1 RESTORED



PHASE 2 RESTORED

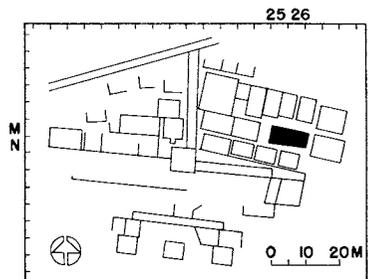
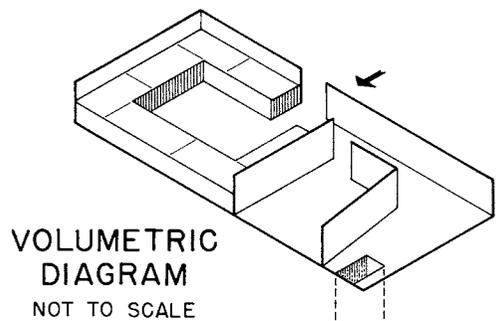


FIG. 18. Plan: Building M-N:25-26

Archaic in date (Pl. 8:a, lower left corner, p. 27 above).⁸¹ Finally, the party wall dividing the two rooms is preserved for most of its length, breaking off just 1.75 m. short of the south wall.⁸²

Both exterior and interior walls are built of fieldstones packed with mud and average 0.45 m. thick. The east wall consists of two rows of carefully fitted stones, larger ones for the outer face, slightly smaller stones for the inner face. Whether they continued in mud brick or stone is unknown. The walls are, for the most part, founded on bedrock, except for a section of the north wall immediately east of the crosswall. This rests, in part, on a human skeleton in extended position, head to the west (Pl. 20:c). The body must represent an earlier burial, quite possibly Mycenaean, discovered during construction of the wall (p. 14 above). It was left undisturbed but was covered by the wall. Unfortunately, nothing was found with the body that could in any way date its interment.⁸³

The smaller eastern dining room is 4.30 m. long east–west and *ca.* 3.45–3.65 m. wide north–south. Fieldstone retaining walls for the banquettes are preserved for 1.85 m. along the west and 0.95 m. along the south side of the room. They are visible in Plate 8:b in the western half of the room. The east banquette is covered by the east wall of the building's Hellenistic successor. Standing at present to no more than 0.32 m. above bedrock, or 0.07 m. above floor level, the banquettes are 0.78–0.80 m. wide. A section of clay floor (+168.90 m.) survives in the southwest corner of the room.

Since the main entrance to the room must have stood on the north, in keeping with the buildings further west, two restorations of the interior are possible, one perhaps more feasible than the other. As shown in Figure 18, placement of the door 0.80 m. from the northwest corner of the room, or on line with the west couch face, would permit the reconstruction of six couches, namely:

| | |
|--------------|---------|
| 1. West | 1.85 m. |
| 2. West | 1.85 m. |
| 3. South | 1.75 m. |
| 4. South | 1.75 m. |
| 5. East | 2.70 m. |
| 6. Northeast | 1.80 m. |

The east couch is excessively long and could possibly have been divided into two units of 1.35 m. each; these would have been somewhat short but not unparalleled. In such a case there would be seven couches in all. The second, less desirable, reconstruction would place the door 1.60 m. from the southeast corner. Accordingly, the single north couch would fall to the west of the door and a unit 0.80 m. long would lie to the east. The west couches would thereby be reduced to the length of 1.45 m. each.

The western dining room is larger, measuring 5.70 m. east–west by an estimated 3.70 (east)–4.05 (west) m. north–south. Evidence for couches is confined to the south and west sides. The better-preserved south banquette is 0.75 m. wide. Built of fieldstones and fragmentary roof tiles, its retaining wall is preserved to a height of 0.48 m., or 0.32 m. above the clay floor. In Plate 8:a it is visible beneath the slabs of the Hellenistic banquette. Its western end is founded on bedrock, while its eastern end rests on Archaic fill. The west banquette can be traced for 1.65 m. before it is lost. Exposed in the southwest corner of the room, the clay floor is *ca.* 0.10 m. higher than that in the eastern room and preserves some burning.

⁸¹ We are uncertain, however, whether the stones at the northeast corner of the building (Pl. 8:b) belong to the 5th-century B.C. structure or to the Archaic one, for they do not properly align with the Classical wall preserved further west.

⁸² The party wall was retained from the Archaic phase, when it formed the east wall of Building M–N:20–26.

⁸³ Grave 1964-3. Bone lots 64-24, 64-25.

Since neither doors nor armrests are preserved, the restoration of the room's plan is extremely tentative. Nevertheless, the arrangement suggested in Figure 18, Phase 1 calls for eight couches of the following dimensions, beginning to the west of the door:

| | |
|--------------|---------|
| 1. Northwest | 2.05 m. |
| 2. West | 1.55 m. |
| 3. West | 1.55 m. |
| 4. South | 2.40 m. |
| 5. South | 2.40 m. |
| 6. East | 1.50 m. |
| 7. East | 1.50 m. |
| 8. Northeast | 2.05 m. |

Alternatively, three couches of 1.60 m. are also possible on the south side, giving nine couches in all.

The evidence for the date of construction of Building M–N:25–26 derives largely from pottery in the floor and from the packing for the east couch in the eastern room and from the floor and underlying fill in the western room. The pottery from the couch packing is scant but includes red and black Conventionalizing kalathiskoi of the 5th century B.C. and a fragment of a large blister ware oinochoe to be dated at least in the middle of that century (lot 2206). The pottery from the removal of the floor is somewhat later in date. To the usual 5th-century B.C. shapes are added an oinochoe with floral palmettes of the second half of the 5th century and an early-4th-century B.C. Corinthian imitation of an Attic skyphos (lot 4427). The later piece, however, may also represent the period of the room's use.

In the western dining room the floor associated with the couches produced somewhat earlier material of the first half of the 5th century B.C. (lot 4435).⁸⁴ A clay stratum beneath this, however, perhaps the floor of the earliest phase of the room (or the period of use of the preceding period), may be slightly later in date, belonging to the middle or second half of the century (lot 4436). Finally, a layer of earth that covered the earliest phase of the north wall at the northeast corner of the western room contained pottery of the same date (lot 4440).

From this we may conclude that the building was constructed in the second half of the 5th century B.C. and was in use in the early 4th. In the second half of the 4th century B.C. it was dismantled and completely rebuilt along different lines. The evidence for this dismantlement is discussed below in conjunction with the later phase of that building.

BUILDING N:21: DINING ROOM, SERVICE ROOM (Figs. 19, 20; Plan 10 D–D)

The first dining room in Row 4 is Building N:21. A passageway 0.70–0.80 m. wide separates it from Row 3 to the north.⁸⁵ Accessible from stairway landing 6, Building N:21 is a small structure with its long axis running east–west. Its south exterior wall was removed by the north wall of the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace (Chapter 8 below).⁸⁶ Its west wall stands to couch height, while the north and east walls have been reduced to foundation level for the former and to floor level for the latter. There are two rooms, a larger western room with dining couches and a narrower service room to the east. The building is *ca.* 8.50 m. long and 4.90 m. wide (Pls. 20:e, 21:a).

⁸⁴ Included in this pottery were two Early Roman sherds, undoubtedly intrusive.

⁸⁵ At some point a rubble wall was erected at the western end of the passageway, thus effectively blocking off access to the buildings further east from the stairway. The building appears in Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 292–294, as Building R. The results of excavations here in 1994 will appear in *Hesperia*.

⁸⁶ There must also have been, however, a retaining wall for the Middle Terrace along this same line in the late 5th century B.C., unless the buildings of Row 4 formed the boundary between the two terraces. As we shall see with the next building to the east, N–O:22–23, this was unlikely.

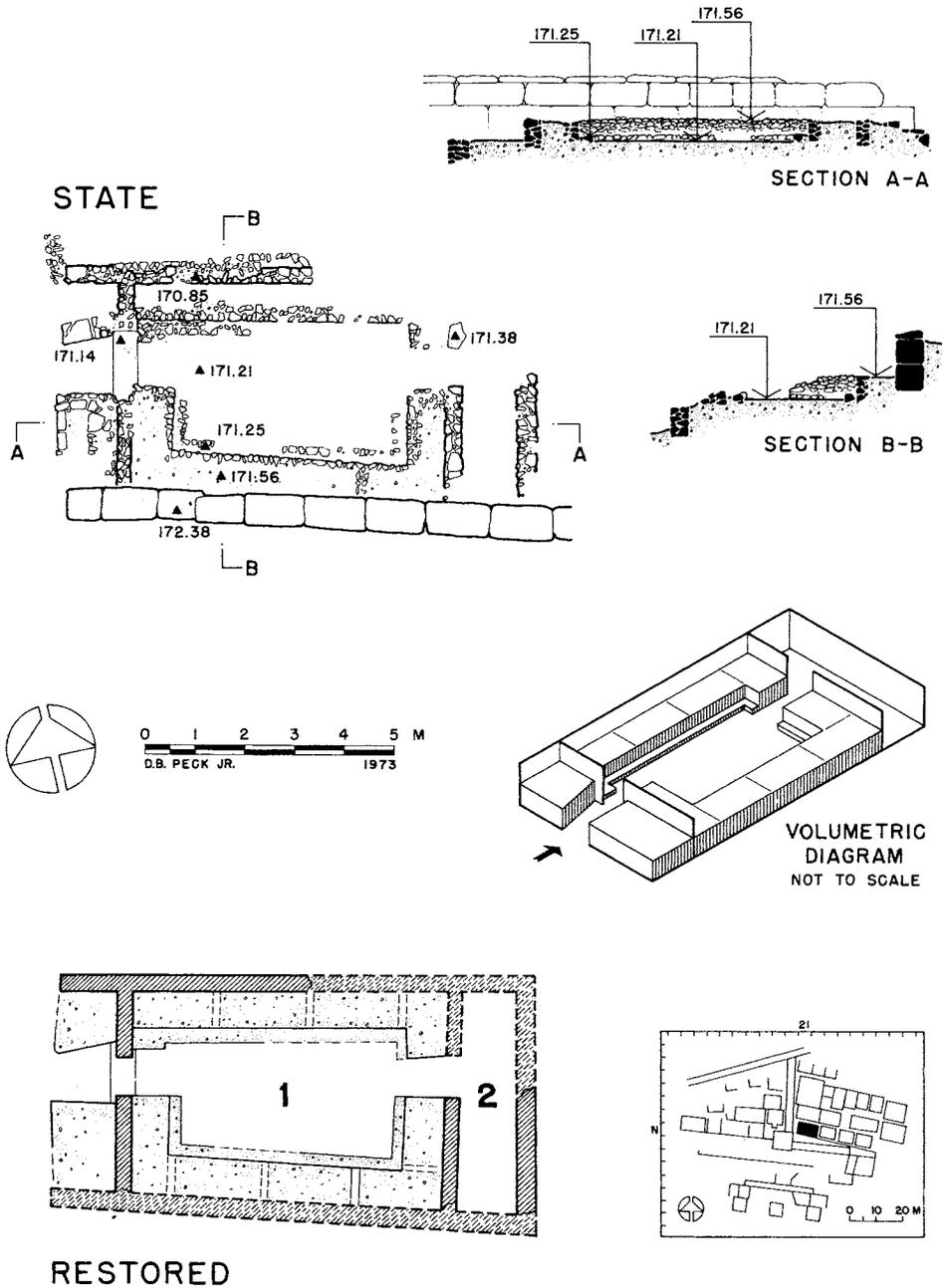


FIG. 19. Plan: Building N:21

All the buildings on Row 4, the last row on the Lower Terrace to the east of the stairway, have suffered extensive damage from erosion. Their poorer condition is in large measure due to the way in which their walls were built. The buildings to the north that we have considered thus far were cut into the hillside so that their back walls rested on leveled beddings of trimmed bedrock, and deep fills protected the southern half of each complex. The buildings on Row 4 were laid out on top of the sloping bedrock, in no way cutting into the rock. As a result, the fills that overlay these structures were shallow and the subsequent damage greater.

All the walls are built of fieldstones laid in clay and average 0.35–0.40 m. in thickness. Some variation appears in the construction of the west wall, which incorporates fragments of amphoras. Nothing of the superstructure survives.

The west entrance is enclosed in a porch 1.10 m. deep, the north side formed by an extension of the north exterior wall (Pl. 20:e). The porch stands on a terrace raised 0.17–0.23 m. (+171.11 m.) above landing 6; a space of 0.45–0.65 m. separates its rubble retaining wall from the blocks of the stairway. Within the porch are benches 0.40–0.50 m. wide and at least 0.35 m. high to either side of the entrance.⁸⁷

Situated on one narrow end, *ca.* 1.65 m. from the northwest corner and *ca.* 2.30 m. from the southwest corner of the building, the entrance to Building N:21 is one of the few to have a limestone threshold. The block (Pl. 21:b) is 1.35 m. long and 0.50 m. high and stands 0.09 m. above the porch floor (+171.20 m.) but 0.01–0.06 m. below the interior floor. Three small rectangular cuttings near the northern end of the block may have been for fitting the stone or wooden north door jamb, and a shallow channel cutting across the width of the block at an oblique angle served as a drain.

The dining Room 1 is 6.30 m. long and 4.15 m. wide (Pl. 21:a). A second door on the opposite side of the room on line with the entrance gives access to the service Room 2. Because of the alignment of the two doors the dining room is divided into two unequal parts. Preserved to its full height of 0.36 m., the south banquette wall is composed of fist-sized stones plastered with clay. The banquette itself is *ca.* 0.75 m. wide. Although the north banquette has been destroyed to one course above floor level, its outline is clear. At the eastern end it returns to the south for 0.45 m. to frame the east doorway, while at the west it ends against the west wall without a return.

Building N:21 is one of the few Classical buildings to have a dais.⁸⁸ This is best preserved in the southwest corner of the room (Pl. 21:c). Composed of small stones and earth packing, it is 0.25 m. wide and one course, or 0.05 m. high, above the clay floor (floor: +171.21–171.26 m.). It generally follows the line of the banquette except at the northwest corner of the room. There, the dais widens somewhat, although, as noted above, the banquette makes no return.

With regard to individual couch lengths, one armrest is preserved near the eastern end of the south banquette. This demarcates one unit 1.83 m. long couch 4. In addition, the lengths of nos. 1 and 5 are known from their position beside the doors. These are marked by asterisks. The remaining couches must be restored:

| | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Southwest | 2.00 m.* |
| 2. South | 1.83 m. |
| 3. South | 1.83 m. |
| 4. South | 1.83 m.* |
| 5. Southeast | 1.35 m.* |
| 6. Northeast | 1.25 m. (half) |
| 7. North | 1.85 m. |
| 8. North | 1.85 m. |
| 9. North | 1.85 m. ⁸⁹ |

⁸⁷ For similar exterior benches see note 55, p. 112 above.

⁸⁸ See also Buildings N–O:22–23, L:18–19, and M–N:19.

⁸⁹ The north couch lengths, which are less certain, are based on the assumption that a half-couch 1.25 m. long existed immediately north of the eastern door, thereby reducing the total length of the north side to 5.55 m. It seems unlikely that the first complete north couch would have begun in the northeast corner of the room, a couch's width from the nearest table.

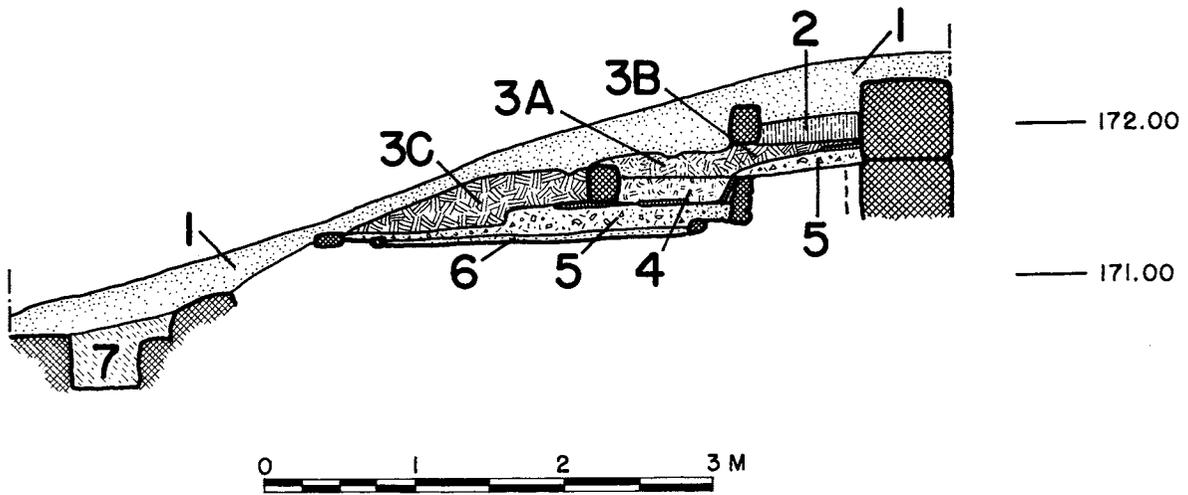


FIG. 20. Section: Building N:21, looking east

[1] Surface; [2] General fill (lot 4466); [3] Abandonment, phase 2 (lots 4450, 4448): A. Clay layer with wood pieces, B. Dark earth with tiles, C. Dark earth with carbon; [4] Filling for phase 2 (lot 4447); [5] Destruction debris, phase 1 (lots 6217, 4452, 6218); [6] Floor 2; [7] Foundation trench (lot 4401)

Thus, there were probably eight and one-half couches in all, one (5) being somewhat short but still functional. Here, the evidence is quite clear for three couches along both long walls, but that configuration is due to the room's long and narrow shape.

The door to the service Room 2 is 0.80 m. wide. There is no threshold block, but the clay floor of the one room runs without break into the second. Room 2 is 2.20 m. wide and 4.15 m. long. Its only existing feature is the clay floor that appears to extend from wall to wall, at least in the southern half of the room. Thus, there is no sign of a bench, shower stall, or hearth. The northern third of the room is largely missing.

The date of the construction of Building N:21 is not actually known. Although the present building was not the first on the site, time did not permit us to investigate the lower levels. The north wall, however, rests on an earlier rubble wall, and the top of a crosswall (not shown on plans) running north-south, can be noted below the clay floor of Room 1, 0.95 m. west of the east couch wall. Our assumption that the present phase must belong to the 5th century B.C., and late 5th at that, is based on the building's association with the stairway.

In the course of the 4th century B.C., precisely when cannot be determined, the floor of Room 1 was raised 0.06 m. by means of a layer of clay mixed with crushed stones (Fig. 20, stratum 6). No other modifications were noted.

The building's destruction is well attested, for a substantial amount of pottery was found in a 0.20 m.-thick stratum of clay that covered the floor (Fig. 20, stratum 5). Together with the pottery and clay were two and one-half to three baskets of fragmentary roof tiles and many small pieces of wood. More roof tiles, again incomplete, rested on top of this stratum and leaned against the south couch face. Although a few Laconian tiles were noted, the majority were Corinthian in type. Pottery from the debris was quite fragmentary and ranged in date from the 6th to 4th century B.C., including much from the 5th century B.C. Among the latest pieces are several beveled saucers, 4th-century B.C. skyphoi, two fragments of an imitation Cypriote amphoriskos, and a one-handled

cup, dating to the third or possibly early fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C.⁹⁰ Together with the pottery were four bronze coins of the Corinthian Pegasus/Trident series, twenty-seven terracotta figurines (largely peplophoroi), a bronze tack, a bronze handle, and possibly part of an iron knife.⁹¹

A similar stratum but with far fewer tiles covered the south banquette (Fig. 20, stratum 5). In this earth were twenty-five sherds only, roughly datable to the 4th century B.C., as well as two more Corinthian bronze coins.⁹² It is curious, however, that although a foundation trench for the Hellenistic north wall of the Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace cut into the south couch of this room (dotted in Fig. 20), it did not appear to cut through the overlying debris. Since this wall was not built until the end of the 4th or even early 3rd century B.C., it is possible that the debris over the floor was thrown there after that wall was constructed. The pottery, therefore, may not accurately reflect the time of the building's demolition. That we are not dealing with a proper destruction level combined with the collapse of the roof is made more likely by the relatively limited number of tiles recovered and by the occurrence of tiles not only in the debris but on top of it. These factors suggest that the building was dismantled and partially filled in for further use (Chapter 7 below).

The pottery from Room 2 was generally similar to that from Room 1, ranging from 5th to 4th century B.C. Although no cooking ware was found, a handful of animal bones, one tooth, and a 5th-century B.C. lamp were recovered from over the floor.⁹³ The stratum immediately above this, however, did contain a few cooking-ware fragments and a few more animal bones (pottery lot 4475, bone lot 65-23).

BUILDING N–O:22–23: SINGLE DINING ROOM

A narrow passage 0.45 m. wide separates Building N:21 from its eastern neighbor, N–O:22–23. Moreover, a space of 0.20–0.30 m. separates this second building from the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building to the south. Since the south wall of Building N–O:22–23 is clearly

⁹⁰ Lots 4452 and 6217. For a more detailed description of the catalogued finds, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 293–294 and *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 402 (C-69-270), p. 156, and no. 441 (C-69-271), p. 160. Like lots 72-128 and 72-129, described above on p. 122, note 74, lots 4452 and 6217 give a good idea of the typical shapes found in the filling of these rooms, as well as their chronological range. A sampling of these two lots, combined, is as follows:

Lots 4452 and 6217:

Total: 170 sherds; 27 figurines; 2 bronze; 2 iron.

Votive miniatures 26: 4 hydriai; 1 krater; 18 kalathiskoi: 6th- to 4th-century B.C. types; 1 cup; 1 liknon-type offering tray; 1 kernos-type offering tray.

Fine ware 83: 3 kraters: 1 Archaic foot, 1 Attic red figure; 22 oinochoai: 11 blister ware; 12 kotylai: 2 ray-based feet, 2 Conventionalizing; 3 plain; 2 semi-glazed, 1 Attic imitation; 11 skyphoi: 5 5th-century B.C., 6 4th-century B.C.; 11 cups: 3 one-handlers, 7 Attic; 1 spur-handled kantharos; 3 bowls; 8 lekanides; 2 plain saucers; 2 plates: 1 Conventionalizing; 2 lekythoi; 1 imitation Cypriote amphoriskos; 2 blister ware aryballoi; 1 alabastron; 1 baby feeder, 7 pyxides.

Coarse ware 5: 2 lekanai; 1 mortar.

Cooking ware 24: 6 stewpots: 3 flanged, 3 unflanged; 2 casseroles; 1 flat-rim bowl; rest bodies.

Lamps 32: 1 Howland type 12; 2 Howland type 16; 1 Archaic multiple lamp; 1 miniature Howland type 19; 4 Howland type 21.

Figurines 27: 3 jointed dolls; rest uncertain types.

Miscellaneous: 2 bronze: 1 small tack, 1 handle or hook; 2 iron: knife or flat bar.

Date: 6th to later 4th centuries B.C., chiefly 5th to 4th. The latest material from the stratum dates to the third or early fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C. An Early Roman thymiaterion and a 2nd-century after Christ lamp handle must be intrusive.

⁹¹ Coins 65-1055, 69-788, 69-798, 69-801. Bookidis and Fisher 1972, p. 294 and note 11; no. 29, p. 325. One catalogued finger ring, MF-69-335, will be published separately.

⁹² Lot 4466. Coins 65-1044, 65-1045, both of the Pegasus/Trident series.

⁹³ Pottery lot 4476, bone lot 65-24; see *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 440 (C-65-421), p. 160, one-handled cup.

freestanding, a separate terrace wall may once have preceded the north wall of the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building as a means of dividing the Lower from the Middle Terrace.⁹⁴

Consisting of one room only, Building N–O:22–23 is considerably longer than wide (Pl. 22:a). Its state of preservation is relatively poor. Although most of its four walls still stand, their chronological relationship to one another is not altogether secure. Many of the interior features are missing in the southwestern quarter of the building, and it is difficult to relate the remains in the eastern half with those in the west. As a result, the restoration suggested below must remain somewhat tentative.

Partially covered along the west by a later structure, the south wall is preserved to a height of *ca.* 0.45 m., or 0.90 m. above interior floor level. The north wall, by contrast, breaks off at a height of 0.36 m. below floor level. In addition, a broad opening, presumably the entrance, divides the north wall into two slightly different segments. As Plan 1 reveals, the western half of that wall lies further north than the eastern half. The side walls are in better condition, although here too we are not without problems. A later wall, running east–west through the middle of N:22, cuts through the west wall. North of this intrusion the west wall is *ca.* 0.20 m. thicker than the wall to the south, perhaps the result of a repair. Since the south and east walls bond at the southeast corner, and the west and north walls at the northwest corner of the building, we can associate these portions one to another. Thus, the building is *ca.* 6.60 m. long east–west by 4.05–4.35 m. wide north–south.

Like south walls in several dining rooms of this period, the 0.45–0.50 m.-thick south wall is built in stacked work. Slabs of limestone or larger squared blocks 0.40–0.60 m. long alternate with stacks of rubble of similar width. Similarly, the east wall employs occasional, roughly cut pieces of limestone together with the fieldstones.

As mentioned earlier, the entrance to the building lies on the north side, but some uncertainty exists as to its exact width. The east jamb falls *ca.* 2.80 m. from the northeast corner of the structure. At this point a rubble wall extends 0.70 m. into the room, presumably to form one side of the door passage. *Ca.* 1.00 m. west of the east jamb a few stones in a single row may represent the continuation of the north wall. The wall becomes thicker at 1.50 m. from the jamb, at which point a second wall projects 0.90 m. southward into the room. If the fugitive single line of stones is indeed part of the north wall, then the door was 1.00 m. wide or less, its west jamb lying 3.00 m. from the northwest corner, and the door passage was 1.50 m. wide. If the stones are not in place, then the door could have been as wide as 1.50 m., although this seems unusually large.

The room within is *ca.* 5.80 m. long and 3.20–3.50 m. wide. A clay floor was located along the west side of the door passage at +171.04 m. and in the southeastern quarter of the room at +171.06 m.⁹⁵

Remnants of banquettes partly obscured by later constructions are preserved along the south and east walls and probably also along the north side. The evidence for the north banquettes consists primarily of the two walls flanking the door passage, which must also have formed the ends of 0.70–0.90 m.-wide banquettes to east and west of the door. The western of the two walls stands *ca.* 0.14 m. above floor level; the eastern is less well preserved. No other substantial remains of either north banquette were found, with the possible exception of red packing for the northwest banquette that projected some 0.13 m. above floor level. The same applies for the west banquette. No retaining wall was found, but about 0.10 m. of red earth may have belonged to its packing.

⁹⁴ See above, Building N:21.

⁹⁵ Building N–O:22–23 was largely investigated by means of test trenches cut into the southeastern, southwestern, and northwestern quarters of the room. The clay floor has been assumed to be the one constant that links the various parts into a whole. We must admit, however, that it is unusually level for a dining room floor in the Sanctuary.

Remains on the south side are more substantial. Preserved to a maximum height of *ca.* 0.45 m. above floor level, the south banquette is 1.15 m. wide. Its retaining wall of fieldstones can be traced from 1.00 to 2.50 m. from the east wall; thereafter it breaks off. Clay surfacing on top continues up onto the back wall of the room as plaster. In front of the banquette is a dais of fieldstones laid in two to three courses and packed with clay, the whole measuring 0.20 m. wide and 0.16 m. high.⁹⁶ The dais apparently only existed on the south side of the room, for it could not be located along the east side.

The east banquette is only 0.65 m. wide. Its two-coursed retaining wall is 0.16 m. high. Between the retaining wall and the east wall is a second wall *ca.* 0.30 m. thick, consisting of two rows of sizable fieldstones laid alongside the east wall and presumably cutting through the banquette fill. The wall breaks off at the south on line with the south banquette but continues to the north wall at the other end. The purpose and date of this wall are unknown.

Why the east banquette should have been so narrow is also unclear. Because of the intervening wall just described it was not possible to determine the stratigraphic relation of the east wall to the retaining wall for the banquette. Our assumption that they go together may be incorrect.

Given these somewhat irregular arrangements, we can reconstruct at least six couches of widely varying and, for the most part, unusually large, dimensions. Of these, only no. 6 (marked by an asterisk) is secure.

| | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.90 m. |
| 2. West | 2.60 m. |
| 3. South | 2.50 m. |
| 4. South | 2.50 m. |
| 5. East | 2.05 m. |
| 6. Northeast | 1.80 m.* ⁹⁷ |

Evidence for the dating of Building N–O:22–23 as we have just described it is substantial. A packing was excavated behind the south wall of the building from the top of the wall to bedrock (lot 4400). Among the latest fragments are a blister ware oinochoe and unglazed kalathiskoi of the later 5th century B.C.; such a date would also agree with the stonework of this wall.⁹⁸

Pottery recovered from a test beneath the clay floor was no earlier than the middle of the 5th century B.C. (lot 4500), and of about the same date or very slightly later is the material recovered from the packing for the northwest couch (lot 2174). All these separate fills would thus suggest that the main phase of construction of Building N–O:22–23 took place in the second half of the 5th century B.C., perhaps around the third quarter.⁹⁹

There is some evidence, however, for both earlier and later phases. Traces of an earlier banquette were located in a small test against the west wall, but not enough was exposed to relate it to the other parts of the room. The packing against the exterior of the west wall was primarily 6th century B.C. in date but included some pieces of the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. (lot 4467), providing a possible date for both that part of the wall and the earlier banquette. By contrast, the material that lay up against the northern end of that wall was perhaps a

⁹⁶ The edge of the dais was actually traced along the whole of the south side.

⁹⁷ If we assume a width of *ca.* 0.90 m. for the northwest couch, then we arrive at either two short couches of 1.30 m. each for the west side or one very long one of 2.60 m., as above. For the east side we must subtract 1.15 m., that is, the width of the south couch, from the full length of the east wall in order to determine the length of the east couch.

⁹⁸ From this lot, a terracotta figurine of a mantled figure, MF-14099, is Early Hellenistic in date. In view of the evidence given by other fills in this room, however, for a 5th-century B.C. construction date, this piece must be considered intrusive. The proximity of the Hellenistic wall to the south may be the explanation for this contamination.

⁹⁹ Nothing, unfortunately, would permit a finer dating. The latest material is invariably the sort that is no earlier than the late second quarter of the 5th century B.C. but continues throughout the second half of the century. Even the handful of figurines and one piece of terracotta sculpture (SF-69-29) are ambiguous in date.

quarter century later (lot 2171). Again, pottery recovered from just within the north wall to the east of the door and beneath the north banquette was no later than the late 6th century B.C. (lot 4393), and it may well be that this portion of the wall was earlier than the remainder of the north wall. A short stretch of an earlier construction was noted beneath the western half of that wall, but it could not be connected with the eastern half.

As for later remains, at least one more clay surface was attested over the south couch. Above this later surface a short stretch of wall extended 0.86 m. from the south wall at a distance of 0.60 m. from the east wall of the room. Its function is not known. Finally, to either an earlier or later phase belongs the wall that interrupted the east banquette.

The fill over the floor abundantly attests the end of this phase. Thirty-one baskets of pottery ranged in date from the late 6th through the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. Together with numerous kalathiskoi and miniature offering trays were many fragments of table wares, red-figured vases, coarse and cooking wares, lamps, 114 terracotta figurines, several fragments of terracotta sculpture, and 5 loomweights (lot 2152).¹⁰⁰ Terracottas too present a wide range of handmade and moldmade animals and figures of about the same timespan as the pottery, the latest (MF-14037) being no earlier than the mid-4th century B.C.

The material probably does not represent what was used within the room but was a vast discarding of material from round about in order to fill in the Classical building in preparation for its Hellenistic successor, Building N-O:22-24. It is characteristic of the Sanctuary that the closer one is to the Middle Terrace, the greater the amount of discarded debris and the richer the contents. Pottery and figurines become noticeably fewer the further one descends the hillslope. Also characteristic of this debris is a higher incidence of animal bones, undoubtedly discarded material from sacrifices. A final observation is that a striking number of small fragments of burnt roof tiles were recovered from most of the construction fills in the building. These could have come from some structure(s) that was damaged by fire, but again the propinquity of this building to the altar areas on the Middle Terrace in R:24 (Area D) and P:24-25 (Pit B) suggests other sources for them.

BUILDING N-O:24-25: SINGLE DINING ROOM

Building N-O:24-25 underwent substantial remodeling in the later 5th century B.C. Although its plan did not change at all, and its dimensions only slightly, nevertheless south, west, and north walls were all rebuilt, while the east wall remained the same (Pl. 22:b).

The north wall is preserved for 3.00 m., beginning at the northeast corner of the building and moving westward; the remainder of the wall is missing. Because of the sloping bedrock, large stones were placed along the outer face and small stones were packed behind them for a total width of 0.50 m.¹⁰¹ Resting in part on its late-6th-century B.C. predecessor and in part on earth fill, the new west wall can be traced for 3.10 m. from the restored southwest corner of the building.¹⁰² Its rubble construction is fortified with occasional large fieldstones used as headers.

¹⁰⁰ A single bronze coin was found, 64-83, a Boiotian federal issue of ca. 197-144 B.C., but this occurred at a high level above the floor. For the objects published from this fill, see *Corinth* XVIII, i, p. 218, lot index.

¹⁰¹ In Plan 1 it is the northernmost of the two north walls that belongs to this period, the other one belongs to the early 6th century B.C. (pp. 21-22 above). In restoring the north wall we have drawn a straight line from the extant eastern portion. This means that in the western half of the building the passageway between this row and that to the north is only ca. 0.35 m. wide, whereas further west it is nearly 1.00 m. wide. It is therefore quite possible that the wall actually was not straight but bent back toward the southwest.

In Plate 22:b what appears to be a broad rubble foundation running north-south through the building is, in fact, a modern trench for a field wall.

¹⁰² Again in Plan 1 the west wall in the late-5th-century B.C. phase is the southern of the two west walls and was, in part, built on top of its Archaic predecessor.

The south wall is represented by a scatter of stones, for the depth of fill here over bedrock was very slight, but they suffice to restore its line. *Ca.* 0.20 m. longer than the Archaic structure, Building N–O:24–25 in this period measures *ca.* 6.70 m. from east to west by 5.20–5.30 m. from north to south.

Given the completeness of the east and west walls, the entrance can only have stood on the north side. Since it was still customary in this period to break wall foundations at doors, the door must have stood at least 3.10 m. from the northeast corner of the building and possibly even more.

The room within is 5.90 m. long and roughly 4.35 m. wide. Clear evidence for a banquette was limited to the south side, where the old rubble retaining wall and packing were kept but were covered with clay at this time. The banquette is *ca.* 1.00 m. wide and at least 0.25 m. high above the new clay floor. This, in turn, lay *ca.* 0.18–0.25 m. above the Archaic one. On the west side the Archaic rubble packing for the banquette was covered by a thin layer of clay. If this represents a new couch top, then it was flush with the floor and substantially lower than the south banquette, which seems unlikely.

Individual couch lengths were probably very little different from those in the 6th century B.C. Since so few of the couches are preserved and numerous dimensions such as couch and door widths must be estimated, we have not attempted to restore their lengths. Eight or nine couches could have fit.

Evidence for the dating of this phase of Building N–O:24–25 is derived from several factors. In the eastern half of the room one clay floor was observed and tested; in the western half two clay floors were investigated. Pottery recovered from these levels, that is, from the upper floor and the fill beneath it, dated no earlier than the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.¹⁰³ The clay layer that covered the south couch yielded pottery of the mid- to third quarter of the century (lot 2098). Characteristic of the latest shapes are fragments of blister ware aryballoi, semi-glazed kotylai, one skyphos, and early unglazed stepped lekanis lids. Nothing distinctive of the very late 5th century B.C. was found. A layer of clay 0.10 m. thick lined the inner face of the north wall at its base. Pottery from the clay was uniformly Late Archaic in date, around the third quarter of the 6th century B.C., but a large fragment of a terracotta peplophoros also in the fill brings down the date to at least the mid- to second half of the 5th century B.C. It would therefore seem that the modifications took place fairly early in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.

The interior of Building N–O:24–25 was so poorly preserved that it is not possible to speak of the period of its use. Certainly by the late 4th century B.C. the building had been dismantled to make way for a new building, N–O:22–24, which covered its western half. A large and very rich dump of pottery overlay the eastern half of the building (lot 2110). Seven baskets of pottery were recovered from it, containing large numbers of votive miniatures, fine table ware, and many fragments of utility wares. Among the fine wares were fragments of Corinthian outline style and Conventionalizing vases, Attic red-figure as well as black-glazed table ware.¹⁰⁴ The variety of coarse-ware shapes is a useful index to the kind of vases used in the Sanctuary, namely, perirrhanteria or louteria, lekanai, mortars, and amphoras, including Corinthian type A and one or two Thasian pieces. Cooking-ware stewpots, casseroles, a pitcher, and a brazier were also present, as well as two iron knife blades and a handful of figurines. The material ranged in date from the early 5th to the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. In both its contents and its broad chronological span, it is typical of the kind of large pottery dumps that covered Row 4 east of the stairway.

¹⁰³ Lots 2147, 2148 from the western half of the room, lot 2113 from the eastern half.

¹⁰⁴ *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 275 (C-64-476), p. 126; no. 280 (C-64-407), p. 127; no. 340 (C-64-399), p. 145; no. 354 (C-61-462), p. 147; no. 433 (C-72-245), p. 159, and p. 129, note 8.

BUILDING N-O:25-26: DINING ROOM, SERVICE ROOM WITH BATH (Fig. 4, Phase 2 on p. 35)

A passageway 0.50 m. wide separates Building N-O:24-25 from its eastern neighbor, N-O:25-26. Here too the Archaic structure was substantially rebuilt in the 5th century B.C. By expanding the south and west sides, the builders were able to accommodate a narrow service room along the east side of the structure, but the dining room became correspondingly narrower and deeper. The total dimensions of the new building are 6.25-6.40 m. east-west by 5.55 m. north-south. It is visible in the upper half of Plate 7:c and on the right in Plates 27:a, 33:a.

The new south wall lies an estimated 0.75 m. south of its predecessor. Built of rubble against a very steep outcropping of bedrock, it has only one good, northern face, averages 0.30-0.40 m. in thickness, and stands to a height of 0.45 m. The wall breaks off 3.40 m. from the southeast corner of the building. A narrow passage *ca.* 0.35-0.40 m. separates it from the retaining wall of the Middle Terrace to the south, the base of which lies a good 0.65 m. above that of the southern building wall.¹⁰⁵ Section A-A, Figure 4 makes clear the considerable differences in height that exist between the northern and southern halves of this building. The base of the new south wall is nearly 2.00 m. higher than the base of the north wall.

The new west wall falls *ca.* 0.60 m. west of the original west wall. Approximately 1.30 m. of it still stands, beginning at 1.00 m. north from the estimated position of the southwest corner of the building.¹⁰⁶ Flimsy in appearance, the rubble-built wall averages 0.35 m. thick and stands to *ca.* 0.40 m. high. Its base is on level with the preserved top of the earlier west wall, and it rests on a stratum containing much votive pottery, which extends from the earlier west wall to the east wall of the neighboring Building N-O:24-25 (lot 72-207).

Both east and north walls are reused from Phase 1; however, the entrance is blocked up. With the exception of the southern end of the east wall, both walls break off below floor level, the north wall ending as much as 0.75 m. below it. The rebuilt portion of the east wall is apparent on the plan as a slight swelling in the thickness of the wall.

The main entrance in Phase 2 is not preserved. Following the example of its Archaic predecessor, it probably stood on the north. But what effect its position has on the interior plan will be seen below.

Within the building are two rooms, that is, a larger dining Room 1 to the west, and a narrower service Room 2 to the east. The 0.35 m.-thick partition wall that separates the two is preserved for 1.75 m., beginning at the south wall. It appears in Plate 21:d, together with the walls of the southeast corner couch. The preserved end of this wall is actually the south jamb of a door connecting the two rooms, the rest of which is missing. By analogy with other examples, this door was probably 0.75-0.80 m. wide.

Room 1 is 4.15 m. wide east-west by *ca.* 4.40 m. long north-south. It is plastered with a clay floor. Banquettes are preserved only in the southeast corner, the retaining walls for which consist of two limestone blocks placed at right angles on rubble foundations (Pls. 7:c, 22:b, far left). Although most of the adjoining blocks are now missing, the rubble foundations continue across most of the south side to mark their position.¹⁰⁷ Fieldstones also fill out the end of the

¹⁰⁵ For the retaining wall, pp. 168-169 below. This factor, together with the narrowness of the passage and the steepness of the rock slope, makes it impossible to place a door here as originally posited in the preliminary report, Stroud 1968, p. 318. The building is called Room J therein.

¹⁰⁶ In the state plan, Figure 4, this wall is the westernmost of the west walls shown there.

¹⁰⁷ The eastern block is 0.76 m. long, 0.34 m. high, and 0.18 m. thick. The southern block is 0.81 m. long, 0.23 m. high, and 0.33 m. thick. Because the form of the Sanctuary dining couches was not yet clearly understood at the time of excavation, it was suggested that these two blocks composed two sides of a roasting pit, a feature not uncommon in dining rooms at other sites. It is, however, abundantly clear that these are couch walls, as it is similarly clear that Building N-O:25-26 as exposed represents more than one phase. For the earlier interpretation, Stroud 1968, p. 318.

southeast corner couch. The banquettes so defined are 0.75 m. wide and 0.25 m. high and were probably once plastered with clay.

The individual couch lengths can be restored as follows: two couches of 1.70 m. each on the south side, and a half-couch of 1.00 m. on the east to the south of the door leading to Room 2. Allowing 0.80–0.90 m. for this door, we can restore a couch 1.80 to 1.90 m. long to the north of it. The arrangement for the remainder of the room depends on the restoration of the main entrance.

Perhaps the most viable solution would place the door on the north side *ca.* 3.35 m. from the northeast corner of the building. Thus, a half-couch of 0.80–1.00 m. would fall to the east of the door and a full couch of 1.60 m. to 1.80 m. to the west. With two more couches 1.85 m. each along the west wall, the room would have had six full and two half-couches.¹⁰⁸ If, however, the main entrance to the building is placed in Room 2, a less common but not unparalleled solution, then two couches of 1.75 m. each can be restored on the north side, giving seven and one-half couches in all.¹⁰⁹

A tentative restoration would thus call for the following, moving counterclockwise:

1. Northwest 1.60–1.80 m.
2. West 1.85 m.
3. West 1.85 m.
4. South 1.70 m.
5. South 1.70 m.
6. East 1.80–1.90 m.
7. East 1.80–1.90 m.
8. Northeast 0.80–1.00 m. (half)

Room 2 is 1.10–1.15 m. wide and 4.45 m. long. The only preserved feature within it is a rubble crosswall that stands to just floor level near the southern end of the room (Pl. 21:d). The wall sets off a small area 1.15 m. wide from east to west and 1.25 m. long from north to south, measuring to the wall's north face. Although there is nothing to indicate exactly what function the area served, the dimensions are suitable for a bath stall, and such a feature has been tentatively restored. In the remainder of the room there may have been a bench and/or cooking facilities. The main entrance, if here, could have stood on either the east or the north side of the room.

The date of construction of this phase of Building N–O:25–26 is provided by pottery and finds recovered from three different fills, namely, the pottery that covered the floor of Phase 1 (lots 75-246, 75-247); the substantial deposit of discarded votive pottery recovered from behind the south wall of the building (lot 2026);¹¹⁰ the layer underlying the expanded west wall (lot 72-207). All indicate a date no earlier than 475 B.C. and perhaps into the second half of the century for its construction. Such a date is also in agreement with coin 65-926, a Corinthian silver hemidrachm (510–480 B.C.?), which was found in the packing for the south banquette.

To judge by the date of the debris that overlay the floor, the building went out of use in the late 4th century B.C. (lot 2067). About this time, moreover, Building M–N:25–26 to the north underwent a substantial rebuilding. In order to feed a large cistern that was cut in the bedrock under that structure's floor, a rectangular catch basin was built outside its southeast corner (in N:26). The basin completely blocked off the eastern end of the passageway along the north side of Row 4 (Plans 1, 5), suggesting that traffic no longer passed this way (Pl. 33:b).

¹⁰⁸ Retaining the position of the earlier entrance at a higher level would place it beside the east couch and would create two short couches of 1.25 m. or one long one of 2.50 m. to the west of the door.

¹⁰⁹ See the Hellenistic Buildings L–M:28 and N:28.

¹¹⁰ Lot 2026 included one figurine of the early 3rd century B.C., MF-11719, a probable contamination from the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building just to the south.

From Building N–O:25–26 we turn to the west side of the stairway where three buildings form an irregular row just south of the retaining wall for the road. Only a portion of the south and west walls is preserved for each, too little to permit any restoration of a plan. Nevertheless, the presence of buildings there is important and merits a brief description.

BUILDING K:18–19: SERVICE ROOM (INCOMPLETE)

The first of these, Building K:18–19, is situated close to the stairway by landings 1 and 2. Its west wall lies *ca.* 7.00 m. from the steps, and its south wall *ca.* 12.00 m. south of the road. Furthermore, the Classical building covers the Mycenaean complex in J–K:18–19 (p. 13 above) with just 0.30 m. of fill separating the Mycenaean wall from the later floor. It is visible just south of the early wall in Plate 3.¹¹¹

Preserved for a length of *ca.* 3.10 m., the south wall of Building K:18–19 stands to a height of *ca.* 0.30 m. above interior floor level. Large fieldstones are placed along the inner face of the wall with a small stone packing behind for a thickness of 0.50 m. In the 2.15 m.-long west wall occasional large stones are used as headers while smaller stones fill out the remainder of the wall.

Within this framework a clay floor extends the length of the south wall to at least 1.10 m. north of it. Two factors suggest that this surface was not a couch top but a floor: first, the shallowness of the fill above the Mycenaean remains scarcely permits a couch; second, the space that exists between the extant part of the building and the retaining wall for the road is enough for two rooms at least. It would therefore be possible to restore a larger dining room to the north and a smaller service area to the south.

Removal of the floor in this area and of part of the fill below produced a small amount of pottery of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., as well as one feeder spout of the 4th century B.C. (lot 72-115). Given the type of wall construction, it is unlikely that the building was built as late as the 4th century B.C.¹¹² If the spout reflects the period of use, we are left with a date in the 5th century B.C. for the building's construction. Exactly when, however, cannot be determined from the existing material. Neither is the date of its abandonment known.

BUILDING K:17: SINGLE DINING ROOM (INCOMPLETE)

Building K:17 lies 6.50–7.50 m. south of the road and *ca.* 7.15 m. west of Building K:18–19, measuring from west wall to west wall. Its walls can be seen in Plate 2 south of the retaining wall for the road and just north of the scarp in the middle ground. Its state of preservation resembles that of its neighbor, inasmuch as 3.70 m. of the south wall and 1.50 m. of the west wall still stand. All three surviving buildings on Row 1 display slightly different orientations because, to some extent, they follow the contour of the road. Thus, Building K:17 turns somewhat more to the northwest than its neighbor to the east. In view of the confined space in which Building K:17 stood, it probably consisted simply of a dining room. Its two walls differ somewhat in construction; the 0.45 m.-thick south wall is built with larger and smaller stones laid in two rows. Of similar thickness, the west wall consists of small stones laid in three rows.

A banquette 0.80 m. wide stands against the south wall. It is built of red earth plastered with 0.10 m. of clay, apparently without the aid of a stone retaining wall. In place of the west banquette we uncovered the Late Roman Grave 7, which had removed both the banquette and the west wall. Although the area to the north of the banquette was excavated, no good floor level was located.

¹¹¹ The interior face of the Classical south wall lies just 1.10 m. south of the Mycenaean wall.

¹¹² The excavation account of this building was lost in the fire that destroyed the excavation house. It is therefore not possible to verify whether the feeder came from the floor or from the fill beneath it.

Evidence for the construction of Building K:17 is confined to pottery recovered from the filling for the banquette. This belongs to the end of the 5th century B.C. (lot 72-104). In contrast, the fill against the back wall contained material ranging in date from Geometric to possibly the 5th century B.C., but the latest sherds were not large enough to be precisely dated (lot 75-250).

BUILDING K:15: KITCHEN (INCOMPLETE)

Of the three structures on Row 1, Building K:15 is the most tantalizing. Its south wall lies just 5.60 m. south of the retaining wall for the road; its west wall is 9.10 m. west of Building K:17. *Ca.* 2.20 m. of the south side of the building are preserved to a height of 0.50 m. and *ca.* 1.40 m. of the west side. The 0.50 m.-thick south wall is composed of small stones laid in two rows. Little can be said of the poorly preserved west wall.

Within this corner, *ca.* 0.15 m. from the west wall, we uncovered the only cistern (Cistern 1972-1) yet found on the west side of the stairway. The shadow cast by its open mouth is visible in the middle ground in Plate 4:a. Although the rim of the cistern was destroyed, a small section of the original stuccoed lip remained against the south wall, and a limestone block belonging to its rim was found inside the shaft.

Its oval mouth is 0.55 m. wide by 0.95 m. long; the cistern is 2.65 m. deep. Three footholes appear on either long side of the shaft. The upper 0.43 m. of the opening is cut through earth, the remainder through bedrock, and at a depth of 1.13 m. below the lip the chamber widens to the south for a total length of 1.50 m. At the bottom directly under the mouth is a shallow settling basin 0.10 m. deep. With an estimated capacity of approximately 1.80 cubic meters, the cistern could have held *ca.* 1,827 liters of water (see Chapter 14).

The filling within the cistern, however, was disappointing. Numerous fieldstones and limestone blocks belonging to the mouth were removed, together with four boxes of pottery of Classical to Roman date (lot 72-99). The latest piece, a lamp of Broneer type XXXI, datable to the 6th century after Christ,¹¹³ represents neither the use fill nor the time when the cistern was abandoned. Unfortunately, no other evidence for dating the building was found, and while the other cisterns in the Sanctuary were built no earlier than the 4th century B.C.,¹¹⁴ the wall construction here argues for a 5th-century B.C. date, as for Building K:17 to the east.

Since the cistern occupied the corner of the building, there were undoubtedly at least two rooms. Although space is limited to the north, there is more than enough space to the east to permit a dining room in addition to the service area. It is regrettable that more was not preserved.

BUILDING L:18–19: DINING ROOM, SERVICE ROOM(?) (Fig. 21)

Building L:18–19 is the first dining room in Row 2, just west of the stairway off landing 3. It lies approximately 2.00 m. south of Building K:18–19, and its west wall falls 9.00 m. from the stairs (Pl. 23:a).¹¹⁵ Although east and north sides of the building no longer exist, enough remains of the other two sides to restore the dining room with a considerable degree of certainty and to posit a service room in the space that remains between the dining room and the stairs.

The west wall is 0.70 m. high and 3.10 m. long, measured from the southwest corner of the building. While the south wall can be traced for 4.85 m., stones have been removed from it from 3.55 to 4.30 m. from the southwest corner. They were pulled out in the early 3rd century B.C. in

¹¹³ *Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 62 (L-72-13), p. 36.

¹¹⁴ See Hellenistic Buildings L–M:28, M–N:25–26 (Chapter 7), and possibly the cistern in P:20–21 on the Middle Terrace (Chapter 8).

¹¹⁵ This distance is measured from the outer face of the wall. For earlier accounts of this building, see Bookidis 1969, pp. 307–308, called therein Room 6.

order to make way for a boundary stone that faced onto the stairway.¹¹⁶ Both west and south walls are visible in Plates 23:a and 34:e. To the west of the boundary stone the south wall is 0.60 m. high; to the east of it only the lowest foundation course remains. The wall breaks off about where we would restore the missing east wall of the room. We shall return below to the question of its continuation further east. So restored, the building is approximately 5.00 m. east–west by 5.20 m. north–south.

Both walls are built in stacked masonry in a form that was also used in the Terracotta Factory in the Potters' Quarter.¹¹⁷ For that construction larger rectangular blocks of soft limestone alternate with irregularly cut pieces of the same. The larger blocks, which are equal to the full thickness of the wall, occur at irregular intervals. One is used at the southwest corner of the building, another at the present end of the west wall. They are more frequent on the south side. Smaller pieces of limestone, having one trimmed face, are used as filler along the interior face of the walls, while unworked fieldstones form the outer face. Because of this construction the two walls do not actually bond; on the other hand, there is some evidence that the south wall was partially tied in to the north wall of Building M–N:19, which lay directly to the south of it.

The entrance to the building is not preserved. It could, however, have stood only on the north or east sides, since the west wall is largely preserved to a height well above floor level, and the south abuts its southern neighbor. In view of the building's proximity to stair landing 3, the entrance undoubtedly stood on the east side, but we shall return to this below.

The dining room is estimated to have been roughly 4.25 m. square. Banquettes still stand against the south and west walls and can be restored with some measure of certainty in the remaining half of the room. The retaining wall for the west banquette incorporates both fist-sized fieldstones and slabs of limestone 0.10 m. thick. It extends 3.00 m. north from the south wall before breaking off. Only fieldstones are employed in the wall for the south banquette. This abuts the west banquette and ends 2.65 m. from that face. At the base of both couches is a dais 0.27–0.30 m. wide and 0.11–0.17 m. high. The two banquettes thus stand 0.37 m. above the dais, or 0.48 m. above the well-preserved clay floor; they average 0.77 (west) to 0.80 (east) m. wide.

Several stones belonging to the face of the north dais were found in their original position just 2.10 m. north of the south dais. From these, therefore, we can reconstruct not only the north banquette but the approximate position of the north wall by allowing a minimum of 0.77 m. for the width of that platform.

The positions of the east wall and banquette can also be estimated. A limit beyond which the east wall cannot go is provided by a square construction, to be described below, which must have been a feature of the service room. As described below, armrests exist for two couches: one each on west and south sides; using those dimensions, we can restore the east banquette about where the south banquette retaining wall breaks off. Furthermore, that the east banquette was not continuous but was interrupted by a door is shown by the clay floor. The floor can be traced for 4.00 m. as it slopes downward from west (+168.65 m.) to east (+168.43 m.). At this point it is confined to a narrow strip falling 1.80 to 2.10 m. from the south wall. Since this strip falls in the middle of our hypothetical east banquette, it surely marks the door passage that led to Room 2 to the east. This also means that a half-couch stood to the south of the door passage, and a full couch to the north.

¹¹⁶ I-2766, p. 200 below.

¹¹⁷ See note 42, p. 105 above.

Seven and one-half couches can be restored around the room. Individual couch lengths are known for the west couch on the south side and the south couch on the west side.¹¹⁸ The rest can be estimated as follows, beginning to the north of the door:

| | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. East | 1.75 m. |
| 2. Northeast | 1.73 m. |
| 3. Northwest | 1.73 m. |
| 4. West | 1.65 m. |
| 5. West | 1.75 m.* |
| 6. South | 1.77 m.* |
| 7. South | 1.70 m. |
| 8. East | 0.90–1.00 m. (half) |

The restored east wall of the dining room lies approximately 4.00 m. from the stairway. In this space a second room should be restored for additional services. As we observed above, the building's position with regard to the stairway suggests that, as in the other flanking dining rooms, the main entrance lay off the landing.¹¹⁹

Some furniture is preserved from this room. A rectangular construction composed of two limestone blocks, 0.10 and 0.20 m. thick, was exposed in the southwestern quarter of L:19. Placed at right angles to each other, the two blocks would have abutted the restored west and south walls, thereby enclosing an area 0.50 by 0.60 m., or 0.70 m. square if measured to the outer faces (Pl. 23:a, left). Smaller than the usual shower stalls, it lacks evidence of drainage, waterproof cement, plaster, burning, or any of the other features that characterize furnishings in service rooms.¹²⁰ Furthermore, another limestone slab, deeply embedded in the earth, lies 0.20 m. east of the square construction and runs parallel to that feature's east face. What functions these served are unclear.

Time did not permit testing of levels beneath the floor of Building L:18–19. Therefore, the date of its construction must derive entirely from building techniques. As we mentioned earlier, the general style of its stacked work appears in the Potters' Quarter in Corinth, there dated to the late 5th or possibly the early 4th century B.C. at the latest. A somewhat more regular type of stacked work can be seen in the Forum area in Corinth in the so-called Pentagonal Building, which underlies the south tower of the West Shops and which was built in the second or third quarter of the 5th century B.C.¹²¹

If the building was first constructed in the second half of the 5th century B.C., it underwent at least one remodeling before being completely rebuilt. Among the changes, which shall be described in detail in the following chapter, was the raising of its floor level by nearly 0.20 m. (Fig. 21, stratum 5). Pottery from the leveling fill provides us with the date (lot 5640). Apart from a large cooking-ware stewpot,¹²² the material is fragmentary. As usual, the chronological

¹¹⁸ The armrests reflect the retaining walls, in that the single armrest on the south side is constructed of fieldstones; that on the west side is constructed of a single limestone slab.

¹¹⁹ Parts of two walls appear in Plan 1 beside and parallel to the stairway. One is longer than the other. Either could, in theory, represent the east wall of both Room 2 and the building, but no useful evidence was found by which to date them. The slight evidence that does exist suggests that the eastern and longer of the two walls may have been built in the 6th century B.C.

¹²⁰ On the other hand, such elements are missing from the foundation interpreted as a shower stall in the 5th-century B.C. Building N–O:25–26. There, however, the dimensions of the construction are more in keeping with shower stalls in other buildings.

¹²¹ Williams and Fisher 1976, p. 108.

¹²² *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 650 (C-69-253), p. 186.

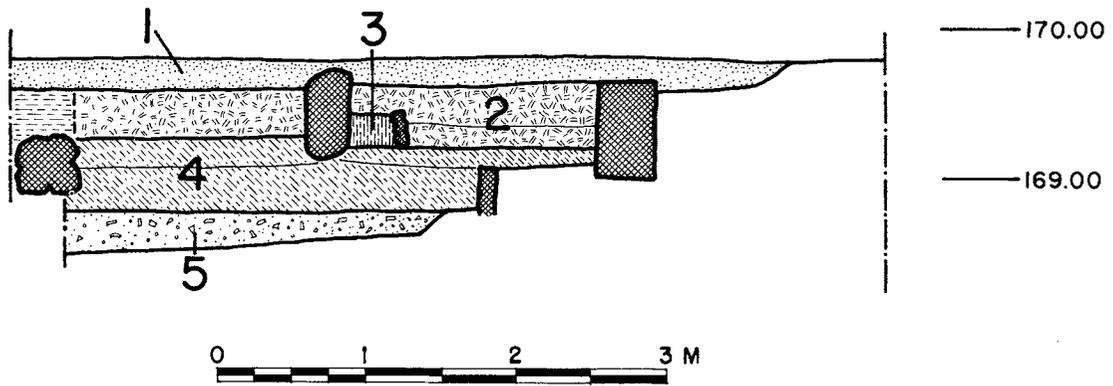


FIG. 21. Section: Building L:18-19, looking south

[1] Surface; [2] Roman filling (lot 5637); [3] Phase 3, bench packing (lot 5638); [4] Filling in of phase 2; [5] Raising of floor 1 (lot 5640)

range is considerable, with pieces spanning the 6th to 4th centuries B.C., the majority, in fact, belonging to the 5th century B.C. The latest material, however, namely, the large stewpot cited above, the rim of a Corinthian type A amphora of a type common in the second half of the 4th century B.C., and fragments of several moldmade draped figurines, places the modification to the building in the last quarter or end of the 4th century B.C. The chronologically diverse character of the material suggests that it was not what was being used in the building at the time of the remodeling¹²³ but that it was brought in for the raising of the floor. Some correlation can be found with Building M-N:19 to the south, since a stewpot with almost identical profile was found in the debris overlying its uppermost floor. The modifications, which continued through several different phases, are discussed below in Chapter 7.

To the west of Building L:18-19 and separated from it by a passage *ca.* 2.00 m. wide is Building L:16-17. Described in Chapter 3, it continued in use with little change throughout the 5th century B.C. The only modification was the raising of the floor level in Room 2 (discussed above, p. 43).

BUILDING M-N:19: SINGLE DINING ROOM WITH CLOSET (Figs. 22, 23)

Building M-N:19 is a large, single-room structure that lies just west of the stairway off landing 5 on Row 3 (Pl. 23:b).¹²⁴ It abuts Building L:18-19 to the north and is separated from M:17-18 to the west by a passageway 0.75 m. wide. A unique feature of its plan is the rectangular niche, which projects from the south wall. Because of the relatively good state of preservation of most of the building, those elements that are missing, namely, parts of the east and north walls with their associated couches, can be reconstructed with certainty. The building is thus 6.25 m. wide from east to west and 6.40 m. long from north to south. No earlier structure was found beneath it except for a single Mycenaean cist grave, described in Chapter 2.

¹²³ On the floor lay a small, non-joining fragment of the large tray, *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 642 (C-64-475), p. 185, most of which was found in N-O:24-26. In addition, a join was made with a vessel from the Hellenistic fill overlying the south couch of Building M-N:19 to the south.

¹²⁴ For previous publication, see Bookidis 1969, pp. 305-307, Room 13; Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 288-292, there called Room P.

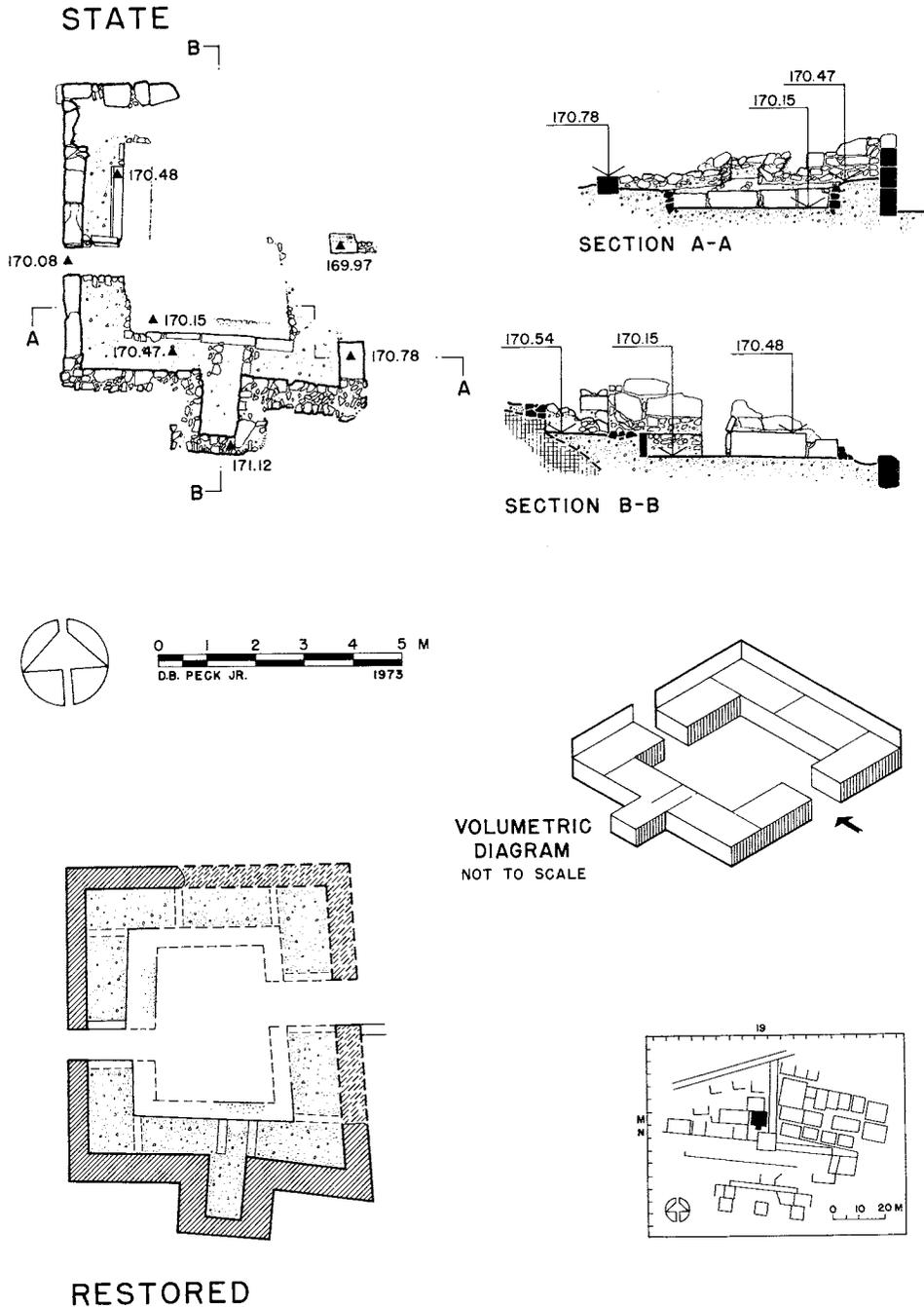


FIG. 22. Plan: Building M-N:19

All of the perimeter of the building is preserved except for the eastern half of the north wall and the northern two-thirds of the east wall. But while the south and west walls stand to 1.13 and 1.50 m. respectively above the floor, the north wall breaks off at floor level.

Wall construction varies somewhat from one side to another. Squared blocks of breccia, with fillers of fieldstones and pan tiles, are used for the west wall (Pl. 24:c); breccia and limestone blocks are both employed in the north foundation, while the south wall differs yet again. The lower portion of that wall is built with irregular pieces of limestone for the interior face; these are then

backed with fieldstones. The upper portion, which is visible in the southwest corner of the room (Pls. 24:a, b), consists of larger squared blocks of limestone, and only at this level do south and west walls bond. Two limestone blocks remain from the east wall, the first at the southern end, the second 3.25 m. from that corner. Because of the second block's position near landing 4, it probably formed the foundation for the south jamb of the missing east entrance. This supposition is further supported by a patch of clay floor just to the northwest, which must have belonged to the door passage through the couches, and a flimsy wall of fieldstones that extends east from the block for a short distance, probably a retaining wall for a bench against the façade of the building.¹²⁵ So restored, the entrance falls 3.65 m. from the southeast corner and *ca.* 2.45 m. from the northeast corner of the building.

The dining room is slightly longer from north to south, 5.50 m., than from east to west, 5.32 m. In addition to the east entrance, a second door in the west wall opens onto the west passageway (Pl. 24:b). Only 0.47–0.57 m. wide, it falls *ca.* 2.40 m. from the southwest and 3.30 m. from the northwest corners of the building. Because the two doors are staggered, the couches are disposed more successfully around the room than in other dining rooms where doors are aligned.

Retaining walls for the banquettes are virtually intact on the south and west sides, missing only their outer coat of plaster, and are sufficiently in evidence on east and north sides to be restored with certainty.

Two different methods of construction are employed for the banquette retaining walls. The walls for the east, north, and southern half of the west banquettes are built with small fieldstones (Pl. 24:a).¹²⁶ Limestone slabs 0.35–0.48 m. high, 0.52–1.10 m. long, and 0.12–0.20 m. thick retain the south banquette; an inscribed poros block with a fascia along its upper edge, presumably a reused sarcophagus lid, forms the wall for the northern half of the west one (Pl. 24:a).¹²⁷ The foot of this last banquette is also protected by a screen composed of two superimposed limestone slabs. These stand to a height of 0.80 m. above the floor or 0.24 m. above the couch top and helped to screen the banqueter from drafts from the west door.

The banquettes average 0.82–0.90 m. wide and 0.35–0.38 m. high. Remains of clay plastering, which covered the earth packing, were preserved in places. Because fieldstone armrests still exist on the south banquette, exact lengths are known for all but the north and east couches. There were eight couches in all. Beginning north of the east entrance and working counterclockwise, we find the following lengths. Those known are marked by asterisks:

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. East | 1.95 m. |
| 2. North | 2.00 m. |
| 3. North | 2.00 m. |
| 4. West | 2.00 m.* |
| 5. West | 1.95 m.* |
| 6. South | 2.00 m.* |
| 7. South | 2.00 m.* |
| 8. East | 1.90 m. |

Two features are striking: first, the couches are all full-length, and there are no half-couches; second, the lengths are remarkably uniform by Sanctuary standards.

¹²⁵ See note 55, p. 112 above, for other such benches.

¹²⁶ Initially, the west couch 5 may have been slightly narrower, for beneath the stones of the later couch wall, which stop at a somewhat higher level (+170.20 m.), were several stones in a line set further back to the west; these were either part of an earlier couch or an earlier dais.

¹²⁷ The block measures 1.50 m. long, 0.47 m. high, and 0.23 thick. The inscription, I-2767, will be published in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

At the base of the couches was a low dais, incompletely preserved, and a clay floor. Indeed, two successive daises and two, or possibly three, floors were exposed. The earliest dais, where preserved, consisted of red earth faced with clay, filled out in places with small stones. Its width varied from 0.40 m. (south, west) to perhaps as much as 0.70 m. (east). Its original height is unknown since it appears to have been cut down in the next period. Two fugitive floor surfaces could be associated with this first dais.¹²⁸

An unusual element in this building is the deep niche that projects beyond the outer face of the south wall. It is off-center, for it falls 2.45 m. from the interior southwest corner and 1.98 m. from the interior southeast corner (Pl. 24:a). The opening is *ca.* 0.75 m. wide and 1.28 m. deep. As is apparent in the cross-section B–B in Figure 22, the niche is cut into stereo; stone-built walls begin only at a height of 0.30 m. above its floor. Whatever plastering once covered this surface, clay or lime-cement, has not survived. The floor of the niche is level with the top of the south banquette and consists of a thin layer of clay over stereo. One reached the recess by climbing over the banquette. That many people did so is indicated by the considerable wear on the stones of the retaining wall there (Pl. 24:d). In addition, an opening 0.35 m. wide between the two south couches is marked off by armrests, one of which falls at the foot of couch 6.

The function that seems most suited for the recess, based on its considerable depth, its limited accessibility, and the absence of other rooms in the building, is that of a storage closet.¹²⁹ But despite the fact that much pottery was found in it (lot 6189), this was extremely fragmentary and probably cannot have been its final contents.¹³⁰

Since no evidence for cooking was found within the building, it is possible that this was done in a small room to the south in N–O:18–19, which was reached by means of the west corridor. This is described separately below.

The best evidence for determining when Building M–N:19 was first constructed is provided by the stairway, since this dining room is the only structure that would have been served by landing 5. Whether it was earlier than the stairway or coeval cannot be shown by stratigraphic results, however, for pottery recovered from couch packings and the foundation trench for the north wall was not sufficiently diagnostic.

The floor (floor 2) was subsequently raised 0.10–0.15 m. (+170.15–170.10 m.), and a new dais was built. This second dais was *ca.* 0.35 (south)–0.60 (west) m. wide and stood 0.25 m. above the floor (top: +170.35 m.). These modifications occurred sometime in the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. or soon thereafter (lots 6188, 6187, 5627; Fig 23, stratum 4).

A second raising of the floor (floor 3) took place in the late 4th or beginning of the 3rd century B.C. At this time too the retaining wall for the south couch was raised 0.08 m. by the addition of one or two courses of fieldstones. Pottery that lay beneath floor 3 was less informative than that recovered from the addition to the south couch (lot 6185). Among those

¹²⁸ The daises have been omitted from the sections in Figures 22 and 23 in order to simplify those drawings. Mention of daises does not appear in the preliminary excavation reports because they were not recognized at that time. See Bookidis 1969, pp. 303, 305–307 (Room 13); Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 288–292, fig. 3 (Room P). Once the feature had been found in better-preserved examples, it could be recognized in the notebook record.

The elevations of the two floors are +170.01–169.86 m. and +170.01–169.97 m. The preserved top of the first dais is +170.08 m.

¹²⁹ The niche is quite different from the stuccoed *kylikeion*, or sideboard, found in the dining room at Halieis, Jameson 1969, p. 329. At Halieis the *kylikeion* is a semicircular construction of rubble and plaster, with plaster feet, that stood against one wall; presumably within it were stored the drinking cups, as described by Athenaeus 11.460.d–e.

¹³⁰ The lot is dated to the late 4th century B.C. For published pieces from this fill, see *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 464 (C-69-297), p. 163, saucer; no. 382 (C-69-314), p. 153, lekane; no. 666 (C-69-315), p. 189, perirrhanterion foot; also from here are two fragmentary figurines of peplophoroi, MF-69-374, MF-69-384. Joins were found with the material from the floor (lots 5625 and 6182).

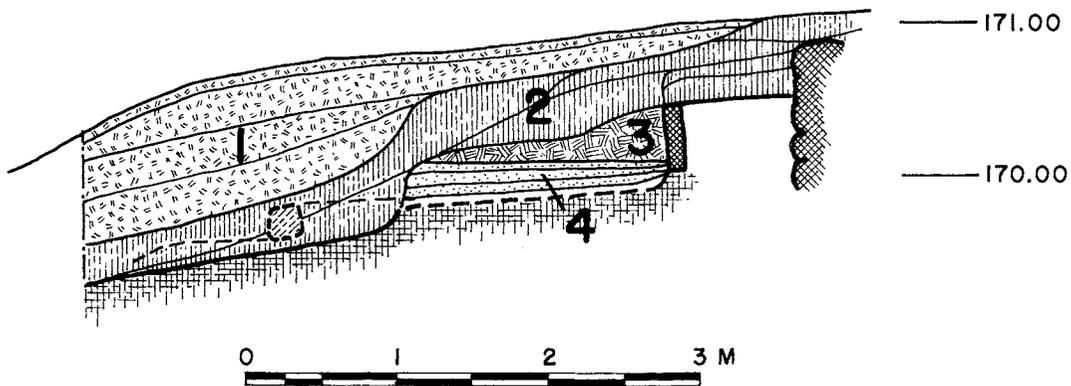


FIG. 23. Section: Building M-N:19, looking east

[1] Roman fill and wash; [2] Abandonment (lots 6181, 6183, 6184); [3] Debris over floor 3 (lots 5625, 6182); [4] Debris over floor 1 (lots 6187, 6188). Dotted, hatched circle marks south wall of Mycenaean grave.

sherds are the pedestal foot of a kantharos and a kalathiskos of the type typical of the end of the 4th century B.C.¹³¹

The building appears to have gone out of use not long after. Considerable amounts of pottery were found in the debris overlying the latest floor (lots 6182, 5625; Fig. 23, stratum 3) and in the closet (lot 6189; described above). Among the latest sherds are fragments of a blister ware oinochoe with incised ivy and an incised kantharos or possibly West Slope kotyle, bringing the date of the building's abandonment down into the first half of the 3rd century. In addition, one bronze coin of the Pegasos/Trident series was found in the debris.¹³² After its abandonment the building was filled in and the area was left open.

¹³¹ *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 99–100 for type 4 kalathiskoi from Pit B. In addition, a small fragment of a draped female figure, MF-68-374, from lot 5627, is no earlier than the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.

¹³² Bookidis and Fisher 1972, no. 4, coin 69-215, p. 325. A sampling of the two lots comprising this stratum, lots 6182 and 5625, consists of the following:

Lots 6182, 5625:

Total: 132 sherds, identifiable 121, 21 figurines, 1 terracotta and 1 iron object.

Votive miniatures 13: 1 amphoriskos; 2 hydriai, 1 nearly complete; 1 krater; 6 kalathiskoi: 2 late type 4; 1 phiale; 2 kernos-type offering trays.

Fine ware 62: 1 Mycenaean burnt sherd; 9 oinochoai: 8 blister ware including 1 with incised ivy leaf, 1 broad-bottomed; 5 kotylai: 1 Archaic, 2 plain, 1 ovoid, 1 West Slope; 6 4th-century B.C. skyphoi; 1 Attic black-figured cup; 5 kantharoi: 2 spur-handled; 7 bowls: 2 semi-glazed as *Corinth VII*, iii, pp. 28–29, 3 echinos; 2 lekanides: 1 stepped lid, 1 bowl; 4 plain saucers, 1 possibly Argive; 1 Attic black-figured lekythos; 1 incised blister ware aryballos; 1 baby feeder; 9 pyxides.

Coarse ware 11: 1 Corinthian type B amphoras (join with lot 5627); 6 lekanai: 2 shallow, 4 deep; 1 mortar; 2 perirrhanteria.

Cooking ware 35: 21 stewpot rims: 11 flanged, 10 unflanged including 1 with diameter of 0.06 m.; 4 stewpots or pitchers; 3 casseroles; 2 shallow saucepans as *Corinth VII*, iii, no. 687, p. 129; 3 vertical, 2 horizontal handles.

Figurines 21: 1 hydriaphoros; 5 heads; chiefly drapery; 1 round base as Stella G. Miller, "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43, 1974 [pp. 194–245], nos. 138, 139, p. 245, pl. 46; 1 miniature mask, MF-69-30.

Miscellaneous: 1 iron hoop; 1 terracotta astragalos.

Date: Mycenaean to late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

In *Corinth XVIII*, i, the date of lot 5625 is given as the later 3rd century B.C.; we would not place it so late.

For published pieces, see *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 382 (C-69-314), p. 153; no. 439 (C-69-264), p. 160; no. 464 (C-69-297), p. 163; no. 651 (C-69-298), p. 187; no. 658 (C-68-304), p. 187; no. 666 (C-69-315), p. 189.

The Corridor M–N:18

Two exterior doors are not customary in a Sanctuary dining hall, especially when that dining hall consists of one room. Since the east door communicated with the stairway and was the formal entrance to the building, the west door must have led somewhere else. The corridor onto which the west door opens is 0.75 m. wide. It is visible along the right margin of Plate 23:b. Its west side is now closed off by the blank east wall of the Hellenistic Building M:16–17 and in the late 5th century B.C. by Building M:17–18. At the northern end of the corridor stood the back wall of Building L:18–19, restricting egress or access from that way. Therefore, a person entering the corridor from Building M–N:19 probably turned to the south.

Excavations of the corridor revealed that the clay floor of the dining room extended into the passageway and continued south of the door for at least 1.25 m. as well as north for 0.80 m. The southern portion of the corridor, however, was blocked by three poros slabs stacked one on the other that were, in turn, covered with earth and rubble to a height of 1.00 m. above the floor. South of these slabs were two more shallow steps made of small stones and tiles, each *ca.* 0.30 m. high.

It is clear that the corridor was blocked up in the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. when Building M–N:19 went out of use, and it is possible that the three poros slabs were closely stacked at that time. What was their original position? We suggest that they initially functioned as steps to give access to the higher level at the south, specifically to Room N–O:18–19, of which only a small part survives. It is interesting to note that of the sherds recovered from the blocking of the passage, a good number were of cooking ware (lots 5630, 5635).

When the corridor was finally closed to circulation, however, the doorway to Building M–N:19 was filled with large breccia blocks; another block was placed across the width of the corridor, and at some point a rubble wall was built across its southern end.

The remaining buildings on this row have been described in Chapter 3. Building M:17–18 continued in use without apparent modification. With the construction, however, of both Buildings L:18–19 and M–N:19, access to it must have lain north of L:18–19, between that building and L:16–17 to the west of it. As for Building L–M:14–15, too little is known of its history to comment on its use at this time.

GRID SQUARES N–O:18–19: SERVICE ROOM WITH BENCHES, HEARTH (Fig. 7, *ca.* 400 B.C., p. 45)

The buildings in Row 4 west of landing 7 are at no time well preserved. Nevertheless, as the southernmost row of dining rooms on the west side of the Sanctuary, they are worthy of description. Their exact relation to the Middle Terrace is not clear, for while stereo rises abruptly *ca.* 0.60 m. in height behind them, a Late Roman pillaging trench for Roman terrace Wall 11 of the Middle Terrace has removed the transition between the two. It is therefore uncertain whether there was a wall to retain the higher embankment to the south or whether the buildings themselves formed that wall. Similarly, the Roman Propylon N–P:19–20 has removed any walls that stood between landing 7 and N–O:18–19, thereby making our understanding of that area incomplete. We know, for example, that a series of changes were made to these structures in the late 5th or early 4th century B.C., but whether we are dealing with one large complex, comprising at least three rooms, or two distinct buildings separated by a passage 1.05 m. wide is not known. Neither is their relation to the corridor and Building M–N:19 to the north more than hypothetical.

A new room was built on top of the Archaic building in N–O:18–19.¹³³ Roughly 2.50 m. of the room are preserved to the west of the Roman Propylon N–P:19–20 and *ca.* 2.00 m. north of

¹³³ The date of this reconstruction is somewhat uncertain, for a clay floor immediately west of the building overlay fill of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., according to the small amount of recovered pottery (lot 6198). Since the same fill a little further west may date into the early 4th century B.C. (lot 6199), a 5th-century B.C. date for the floor is questionable. Nevertheless, the description of these rooms has been kept with the buildings of the 5th century B.C. since it is with these that they are most closely associated.

the Roman pillaging trench. The new walls were lighter, especially the west wall, which was only 0.35 m. thick. An opening 0.55 m. wide in the southwest corner of the room separated the south wall from the west one.

Within Room N–O:18–19 a banquette or couchlike construction, 1.00 m. wide and at least 0.16 m., high stood against the south wall. It too ended 0.55 m. from the west wall. The retaining wall for this construction consisted of a pisé core strengthened with stones, measuring 0.07 m. thick; the outer face of this core was thickly plastered with 0.06 m. of clay and reinforced with fragments of roof tiles. A thinner surface of clay, applied to its inner face, continued down onto a thick clay floor that extended south from the retaining wall to the rear wall of the room. Banquettes built from pisé or mud brick do not customarily have interior floors or interior plastered faces,¹³⁴ and we initially considered the possibility that this construction might have been an oven or an open bin of some sort. At the same time, the earth that covered this inner floor resembled mud brick, being extremely clean with almost no sherds, and, as such, could better be called a packing than a secondary fill.

In the 0.55 m.-wide passage between this construction and the west wall of the room was a hearth set directly into the clay floor. The hearth consisted of a circular area, 0.45 m. in diameter, made of smooth, small pebbles, on which was standing a small stewpot of the late 4th century B.C.¹³⁵ The hearth stood directly before the opening in the southwest corner of the room. Between it and the opening was a 0.20 m.-thick strip of hard red earth, much like the earth banked around the hearth in Building K–L:24–25. The floor here was considerably burnt, as was some of the overlying pottery, and pieces of charcoal were found on it. North of the banquette, however, the floor was not burnt.¹³⁶

Excavations exposed three more burnt floors beneath the uppermost one, as well as an earlier pisé retaining wall for a banquette below the first. From the fabric of the earlier wall we recovered a bronze coin of the Pegasos/Trident series (69-284), probably datable to the 4th century B.C. The successive floors and second banquette were apparently short lived. Beneath floor 2 lay fragments of a 4th-century B.C. skyphos (lot 6196), while the pottery that covered the hearth could be dated to the late 4th century B.C. (lot 6193). At this time the room or building seems to have gone out of use, and then or slightly later a new west wall was built above the previous one (Chapter 7 below).

There is no evidence to show where the northern and eastern limits of Room N–O:18–19 lay. Building M–N:19 to the north with its projecting closet confined the room to a width of no more than 3.70 m. Such a confined space would have been unsuitable for a dining room in this period, and it seems more likely that we are dealing with a service area attached to Building N–O:17–18 to the west. On the other hand, the absence of any evidence for a door in the east wall of Building N–O:17–18 (Fig. 7) would seem to argue against a relation between it and Room N–O:18–19. The lack of cooking facilities in Building M–N:19 and the presence of a second, west door may, in fact, argue for a connection between that building and the small room to the south.

BUILDING N–O:17–18: DINING ROOM (Fig. 7, *ca.* 400 B.C., p. 45)

A space of 1.05 m. separates the room in N–O:18–19 from Building N–O:17–18 to the west. Whether, in fact, this space represents an intermediate room between the two structures or an open passageway is uncertain. A rectangular mass of mud brick and clay, which overlay the floor at the eastern end of this space, may have been part of a bench packing. In all periods, however, doors and circulation are a problem in this area.

¹³⁴ Compare these with the couches in Building L:16–17 or the benches in Building M:17–18 (Chapter 3 above).

¹³⁵ *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 654 (C-69-79), p. 187.

¹³⁶ The burnt floor and the interior clay surface of the banquette both lay at the same level. This may simply mean that the latter was built on top of the clay floor.

Building N–O:17–18, then, was a sizable structure 5.95 m. long east–west and at least 5.75 m. wide north–south. Only its east wall is relatively well preserved (Pl. 48:b, center), the existing remains representing two successive phases of construction. A short stretch of west wall still stands at its southern end, but both north and south walls have been lost. The approximate position of the south wall, however, can be restored from the existing south couch wall. On the north side it is assumed that a passageway separated the building from Building M:17–18 to the north.

The east wall preserves two different building phases. The earlier wall is 0.35 m. wide and is composed of small stones laid in two rows with smaller stone filler. Placed directly over the earlier wall, the later one is 0.45 m. thick and is built of cut poros slabs of irregular shape, combined with fieldstones. This wall remained a prominent feature in succeeding centuries.

A door must be restored on either the east or north side of the room. The room itself is *ca.* 5.10 m. long by at least 5.00 m. wide. The existing features are limited to the south banquette, apparent in Plate 48:b, and to the left of the robbing trench in Plate 50:c. Although thicker than many couch walls, the two lines of small fieldstones would have made a rather flimsy exterior wall. Its identification as a couch wall is strengthened by the fact that both east and west walls appear to continue beyond it to the south into the line of the later robbing trench. If, however, a banquette stood against the south wall, no evidence for others was found in the rest of the room. Indeed, a somewhat fugitive clay floor was traced from east to west walls without evidence of anything resting on top of it or interrupting it.

Two successive clay floors could be associated with the earlier east wall. Pottery found beneath the upper one places its laying in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. (lot 6200). A third floor belongs with the later phase of the east wall, the associated pottery here extending from the second quarter of the 5th to the early 4th century B.C. (lot 6199). In the third century B.C. Building N–O:17–18 was used as a dumping ground.

GRID SQUARES N–O:14–17

To the west of Building N–O:17–18 lay at least two more rooms, possibly three (Pl. 51:a, b, left foreground). Indeed, they may all have adjoined each other, much like those in J–L:21–26. Because they were not investigated except in the most superficial exposure, they have not been described here.

Only Building N:14 preserved a bit of its east banquette wall to permit its certain identification as a dining room. Measuring 5.35 m. by at least 5.05 m., for the north wall was not found, it contained couches *ca.* 0.80 m. wide. The rubble wall construction would suggest a late-6th- or 5th-century-B.C. date. A passage 0.55 m. wide separated it from the complex in N:12–13 to the west.

BUILDING N:12–13

Like many of the buildings erected in the late 6th century B.C., Building N:12–13 also continued in use without any visible evidence of repair. It was not until the late 4th century B.C. that major changes were made to it, for which see below (Chapter 7).

NORTH OF THE ROAD

Dining rooms were not confined to the area south of the ancient road, for walls can also be observed all along its northern limits. But because the fill over bedrock is extremely shallow here, most of the buildings were too poorly preserved to merit further exploration. Only two structures were investigated to any extent, one belonging to the 5th, the second to the late 4th century B.C. Since nothing could be assigned to the 6th century B.C., the buildings located here may belong to a Classical expansion of the Sanctuary facilities due to increasing demands for accommodations.

BUILDING I-J:15: DINING ROOM WITH CLOSET (INCOMPLETE)

Building I-J:15 is situated roughly 21.50 m. west of the entranceway, just northeast of the small flight of steps that breaks the retaining wall for the road in K:14 (p. 21 above). It is parallel to the road, which here is *ca.* 2.30 m. wide, and it can be seen in the foreground of Plate 4:a, to the left of the Hellenistic Building I-J:14.

Despite its poor state of preservation, Building I-J:15 is of interest not only because of its location outside the immediate bounds of the temenos but also because of its apparent resemblance to Building M-N:19. Repetitions of plans are very rare in the Sanctuary.

The remains of Building I-J:15 are limited to the southernmost 1.50 m. of the east wall and 3.00 m. of the south wall. Just before breaking off at its western end, the south wall makes a jog to enclose a niche 0.60 m. deep and at least 1.00 m. wide, measured externally. Apart from Building M-N:19, it is the only other dining complex in the Sanctuary to preserve this feature. The walls are built of fieldstones with occasional headers used in the otherwise small stone construction.

Within the room a banquette 0.90 m. wide extends across the south side, beginning at the east wall. Its earth packing is retained by a flimsy wall to a height of 0.28 m. At its base lies a clay floor.

No useful pottery was recovered by which to date the construction of Building I-J:15. Masonry techniques, however, can be paralleled in other buildings in the Sanctuary of 5th-century B.C. date. One box of pottery from the fill that covered both floor and couch was more informative about the building's end (lot 72-111). Together with a LH IIIC krater rim and a Protocorinthian skyphos, there were the usual kalathiskoi, a mortar of the mid-4th,¹³⁷ and a skyphos rim of the second half of the 4th century B.C. The dining room was therefore abandoned sometime after the middle of the century. Further corroboration of this date is provided by its neighbor, Building I-J:14, for it was the construction of that building that destroyed Building I-J:15. It is also interesting to note that the pottery, while not abundant, in no way differed from what was found to the south of the road.

CONCLUSIONS

The second half of the 5th century B.C. was a period of considerable growth on the Lower Terrace. At least fifteen new buildings were added to the ten that continued in use from the 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. Altogether the buildings provided diners with an estimated 182 couches within the Sanctuary proper. The Sanctuary expanded north to the road with the addition of a row of buildings to east and west of the walkway leading up from the entrance to the stairway. It covered an area at least 80.00 m. long from east to west by 35.00 m. wide from north to south. Perhaps at this time too buildings first began to appear north of the road, although our evidence here is incomplete. The eastern limits of the Lower Terrace remained as earlier;¹³⁸ for the western we have no information.

Characteristic of the later 5th century B.C. is the increasing complexity apparent in the new building plans. Although single-room dining halls continue to be built, as Buildings I-J:21-22, J:23, and M-N:19, they are now the exception rather than the rule. Facilities for sitting, washing, and cooking occur in a variety of ways and combinations. Clearly, there are no fixed arrangements for them, nor do all necessarily appear within one structure. Thus, in the service room of Building I-J:22 there was apparently no bench. In Buildings K-L:24-25 and L:26-27 the presence of hearths is questionable; moreover, in L:26-27 one may have washed while standing

¹³⁷ *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 640 (C-72-195), p. 185.

¹³⁸ See Chapter 3, note 55, p. 49 above for buildings in L-N:29-31 that are of either 6th- or 5th-century B.C. date.

on the clay floor. It is difficult to say whether these variations are owing to the way in which the buildings were constructed or are evidence that the ritual had not yet solidified. To this time too belongs the consolidation of the two early-5th-century B.C. structures, J-L:21 and J-K:22, into one large building K-L:21-22, comprising perhaps as many as seven rooms. From this time until the end of the Sanctuary in the late 4th century after Christ a large building—indeed, always the largest building in the Sanctuary—would continue to occupy this site.

As the building plans become more complex, the construction methods also improve. Thus, walls of stacked work are employed in addition to the usual fieldstones, and ashlar blocks of breccia begin to make their appearance: in the south and east walls of Building J:23 and in the west wall of Building M-N:19.

Most important, at this time circulation was regularized by the construction of the central stairway. This monumental approach not only facilitated access to the flanking dining rooms but also provided a formal setting for the processions that must have taken place at festival time.

THE MIDDLE TERRACE IN THE 5th CENTURY B.C.

(Plans 1, 4)

O-R:11-27

Although the busy years of the 5th century B.C. produced large numbers of votive offerings in the Sanctuary, they seem to have brought little change to the overall topography and architecture of the Middle Terrace. Most of the structures of the 6th century B.C. described in Chapter 4 remained standing and continued to function. The principal entrance to the Middle Terrace in P:25 seems still to have been employed. The north and east retaining walls (Walls 2 and 21) were intact. Room E in the southeast corner of the Terrace yielded rich deposits of miniature pottery, figurines, and other votives of the 5th century B.C. The *oikos* continued to dominate the western side of the Terrace, and the Central Courtyard appears to have stayed open and free of construction. Continuity is also attested in the southwest corner of the Middle Terrace, specifically in Area D at the western end of the rock-cut platform, where in the second half of the 6th century B.C. burnt animal sacrifices had probably been performed with considerable frequency (pp. 74–78 above). To the east of Area D the rock-cut platform was given clearer definition on its north side by the construction of a large retaining wall in Q:24–26, and this part of the platform itself was divided into two separate sections, which we have designated Areas G and H.

An important addition to the religious life of the Middle Terrace in the 5th century was the construction of an oblong, stone-lined pit (Pit A) in Q:25 at the west side of Room E. A similar pit (Pit E), also intended for small votive offerings, was now dug into the ground to the north of the *oikos* in O:22, near the western end of the corridor leading to the entrance into the Middle Terrace. This corridor itself took on greater prominence toward the end of the 5th century with the construction of the stone stairway that led up from the northern entrance into the Sanctuary past the dining rooms of the Lower Terrace (pp. 94–98 above). Two broad landings in the stairway now opened onto the west side of the corridor, and a new retaining wall was built over much of its length to mark the northern edge of the corridor.

THE ROCK-CUT PLATFORM: AREA D IN R:23–24

We have suggested that this rectangular area in the southwest corner of the rock-cut platform on the southern edge of the Middle Terrace had been used for animal sacrifices as early as the 6th century B.C. The evidence consisted of a thick deposit of ash, animal bones, pottery, and votives (lot 1985) and a stone foundation that might have formed the core of a small altar. The latter had been dug down into the layer of ash and votives at some time after it had begun to accumulate in Area D. The date of construction of the proposed altar cannot be accurately determined, for lot 1985 was not a closed deposit but contained a few objects as late as *ca.* 400 B.C. or possibly later (pp. 76–77 above).

Above this deposit we excavated an accumulation of earth *ca.* 0.30–0.40 m. deep, extending uniformly all over Area D and covering the remains of the altar. It was not associated with any architectural remains, nor did it exhibit any clearly defined stratigraphy. The dark earth in this layer was not uniform in color or texture but contained several scattered patches of clay. It was also full of pottery, terracotta figurines, lamp fragments, a few pieces of metal, assorted votive objects, and numerous animal bones, almost all of them from young pigs.¹ Most of the vases are

¹ Bone lot 62-63. The animal bones will be described in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

miniature; over 250 survived intact (lots 1989, 1991). The bulk of the pottery and other objects in these two lots is 6th century B.C. in date, but a few later sherds and figurines indicate that this layer of fill was still accumulating throughout the 5th century B.C. and probably later. On the basis of the animal bones and the numerous intact votives, we infer that Area D remained the scene of ritual activity during this time. For the end of this function, perhaps *ca.* 300 B.C., see page 234 below.

As the fill of sacrificial and votive debris accumulated in the western end of the rock-cut platform, the threat of erosion in Area D must have increased significantly. The platform was hewn out of a steep face of bedrock along its south side. Not only did this cutting result in a vertical wall of rock *ca.* 2.50 m. in height on the southern edge of Area D, but the exposed bedrock above this also rises very steeply to the south. Moreover, in R-S:23-24 there is a deep, natural fissure in the rock that tends to collect rainwater and funnel it down into Area D. Had precautions not been taken, heavy winter rains draining down from the south would have washed the earth fill in the rock-cut platform into the lower levels of the Central Courtyard along the northern edge of Area D. We have suggested that there may have been an attempt to cope with this problem in the 6th century B.C. by building a retaining wall on the north side of Area D (p. 74 above). Since the only evidence for such a wall is a rock-cut bedding for its lowest course, we cannot determine its original height. To retain the 6th-century B.C. levels as they have survived in Area D, this wall would have to have stood to a minimum height of *ca.* 1.13 m. To hold back effectively the accumulated fills in the 5th century B.C., this north wall must have been at least 1.75 m. high. If the builders of the Sanctuary in the 6th century B.C. had not originally constructed a wall of at least the latter height, it is likely that the wall was raised in the 5th or possibly the 4th century B.C. We have restored a retaining wall in this position, therefore, on the period plan of the Sanctuary *ca.* 400 B.C., in Q:23-24, Plan 4. We assume that in the 5th century B.C. one continued to approach Area D from the east as in the preceding century (see p. 78 above).

THE ROCK-CUT PLATFORM: AREAS G AND H IN Q-R:24-26

To the east of Area D the rock-cut platform is not as deeply cut into the steeply rising bedrock of the hill, nor is its floor a level and regular surface. Although we excavated to bedrock throughout this area, no evidence was found to indicate that this part of the platform shared with Area D a similar pattern of sacrificial activity in the 6th century B.C. or later (p. 67 above). In the 5th century B.C. the area of the platform to the east of Area D was given firmer definition on its north side by the construction of an east-west retaining wall (Wall 4) across the southern part of Q:24-26. Extending southward from it as far as the southern limit of the rock-cut platform, another contemporary wall (Wall 14) was built in Q-R:25. It divides this part of the platform into the two sectors we have labeled Area G to the east and Area H to the west. Construction of Walls 4 and 14, together with the finds described below, shows that in the 5th century B.C. this part of the Sanctuary assumed new importance. Since the evidence that this part of the rock-cut platform was ever roofed is not incontrovertible, we here abandon the terms "Room G" and "Room H," which we have used, for convenience, in earlier publications.²

Preserved now for a total length of *ca.* 7.00 m., the east-west retaining Wall 4 in Q:24-26 exhibits two very different types of construction, which clearly belong to different phases. In its western section, Wall 4 consists of two courses of squared poros blocks of assorted sizes set into a shallow foundation cutting in the bedrock, slight traces of which were found along the wall's south face. The blocks of the upper course, however, were not set directly above those of the lower, but the north face of the former is stepped back *ca.* 0.30 m. from the north face of the course below. The total thickness of the wall is now *ca.* 0.75 m. In both courses the blocks

² Stroud 1965, pp. 3-6.

were set closely together to form neat vertical joints without clamps or mortar. Each course is *ca.* 0.30 m. high. Later damage has seriously diminished the regularity of the upper course as it survives today, and at the eastern end of this sector a long breccia block and some packing of small fieldstones mark its limit but did not improve its appearance. Above this stepped sector of Wall 4 no other traces have survived, but its preserved top was found only a few centimeters below the modern surface. It is possible that the wall was originally only two courses high. Alternatively, the two preserved courses could have supported more squared blocks or perhaps another type of construction that could have reached a considerable height. The western end of the wall has not survived. Originally it probably extended as far as the wall built across the front, or north side, of Area D in Q:24. For the later reworking of the westernmost block of Wall 4, see page 310 below. The stepped western section can be seen on Plate 25:b, near the top, and Plate 25:d, right.

The eastern sector of this wall abuts, but is not bonded into, the western in the middle of Q:25 (see Pl. 25:a). It is built of badly weathered boulders of breccia, once roughly squared, which are loosely bonded together with a packing of clay and small stones. It survives to a height of only one course, *ca.* 0.85 m., and is *ca.* 0.55 m. thick. Again, the bedrock was cut into a rough foundation trench for this sector of the wall. Since the southern edges of both this trench and the wall are very irregular, they were not meant to be seen and would have been covered by the earth on the platform to the south. This accords with the normal practice at Corinth of employing breccia mainly in the foundations of walls. From the north, however, this sector of the wall stands out as clearly marking the northern edge of the rock-cut platform. We cannot determine the original height of this wall. It ends at the east in a large, corner block of breccia in Q:26, which was set along the western edge of the three narrow rock-cuttings discussed in Chapter 4 (p. 80 above). Immediately south of this block three stones resting on bedrock probably belong to a return of the wall to the south, also along the western edge of these cuttings.

Dating criteria for the western section of the retaining Wall 4 are not plentiful, but a few sherds recovered from the rock-cut footing trench along its south face can be placed generally in the late 5th century B.C. (lot 1980). In the eastern section we found a clay layer over bedrock against the south face of the wall; the pottery in it belongs to the second half of the 5th century B.C. (lot 1957; p. 157 below). More precise dating is impossible, and this pottery evidence does not indicate which section was built first. Clearly, however, the two sections of Wall 4 had been combined to form this barrier across the northern edge of the rock-cut platform in the period *ca.* 450–400 B.C.

While it is easy to imagine that this east–west wall was built to give definition to the northern edge of this part of the rock-cut platform and that it served to hold back the earth to the south, a wall here must have presented problems to anyone approaching the platform from the north. In discussing the topography of the Middle Terrace in the 6th century B.C. we proposed that after coming up through the entrance in P:25, one found oneself in an open Courtyard between the oikos on the west and Room E on the east. It has not been possible to establish the level of the floor of this Courtyard in the 5th century B.C. Erosion and later construction extending down as far as bedrock have removed the evidence. Nevertheless, anyone standing in this Courtyard to the west of Room E in Q:24–25 would have been confronted with a sharp rise in the level of the bedrock to the south. Plate 25:d (wall 4 at right) gives some idea of the problem. Along the full length of Wall 4 and extending *ca.* 1.20 m. to the north of it, there is a projection of bedrock that is at least *ca.* 1.00 m. higher than the level of the bedrock in the Courtyard below it to the north. It is on top of this projection of bedrock that the surviving blocks of Wall 4 have been set.

This steep face of rock surmounted by the two preserved courses of Wall 4, at least in its western sector, prevents any attempt today to move to the south from the Courtyard up into Areas G and H. These two areas were active in the 5th century B.C., however. People must have had

ready access to them, even though entrances can probably be excluded from both east and west and certainly from the steep scarp at the south of the platform.

In the absence of more conclusive evidence, we suggest that there may have been a short flight of stone steps leading up to the south, of which the western stepped section of Wall 4 is all that now remains in place. On the exposed face of the bedrock projection in Q:25 there are three long, east–west cuttings that run roughly parallel to the line of Wall 4 (Plan 1). These may have been designed for three courses of squared blocks, each one stepped back to the south from the course below in the manner of the two preserved courses of Wall 4. The cuttings are *ca.* 0.30–0.40 m. wide, which is approximately the measurement of the setback on the two surviving courses of Wall 4. Three or perhaps four courses of blocks of the same height as those in the western sector of Wall 4 (0.30 m.) would bring us up from the present level of the bedrock in the courtyard to that of the lowest preserved course of Wall 4. Steps such as those we are conjecturing would have provided access from the Courtyard up into the eastern, raised end of the rock-cut platform occupied by Areas G and H.³ An additional attraction to restoring a stepped approach to the rock-cut platform in this position is that it lies almost directly opposite the northern entrance into the Middle Terrace in P:25.

Brief note should be taken here of a short stretch of an isolated wall of fieldstones built directly on the bedrock in Q:25 to the south of this principal entrance.⁴ This is the area later occupied by Room A. The wall is oriented east–west and survives for a length of only *ca.* 1.80 m. Broken at both ends, it is *ca.* 0.52 m. wide and is preserved to a height of only one “course,” *ca.* 0.15–0.20 m. The wall can be seen at the right of Plate 25:c. Evidence for the date of this wall is not very satisfactory. Pottery and figurine fragments in the earth over bedrock on its north side are mostly of the 5th century B.C., with a few pieces extending into the 4th (lot 894). This was not, however, a clearly defined stratum that had accumulated against the face of the wall. A few sherds in similar earth over bedrock on the south side of the wall are dated in the late 5th century B.C. We cannot be certain of the chronology of this wall, but it is probably to be assigned to the Classical period. Too small a segment has survived to indicate its original purpose. Although its preserved eastern end roughly aligns with the western wing wall flanking the main entrance into the Middle Terrace in P:25, the temptation to combine the two in a reconstruction should be resisted, even though this may appear attractive on the actual-state plan. Not only are the two walls separated by a gap of *ca.* 2.50 m. with no surviving trace of a connection, but the east–west wall in Q:25 is at least 0.67 m. higher than the wing wall. More suggestive, perhaps, is the alignment the wall in Q:25 shares with the east–west cuttings that are preserved on the bedrock projection to the north of the stepped Wall 4 outside Area H in the rock-cut platform. Since these cuttings lie only *ca.* 1.20 m. south of the wall in Q:25, there might originally have been some functional connection between the two. Not enough has survived to permit a suitable reconstruction, but it is not impossible that the east–west wall in Q:25 formed part of foundations for the lowest and northernmost step in the stairway leading up into the rock-cut platform.

Contemporary with construction across the north side of the platform was the decision to divide its eastern sector into two separate areas by means of the north–south Wall 14 in Q–R:25. At its northern end this wall seems to have abutted the stepped section of the retaining Wall 4. To the south it terminates against a projection of the south bedrock wall of the platform. Construction in this wall, which is *ca.* 3.25 m. long and *ca.* 0.45 m. wide, is of fieldstones packed tightly in clay. The wall is now preserved to a height of only *ca.* 0.50 m. and rests partly on bedrock.

To the east of this dividing Wall 14 is Area G in Q–R:25–26, which occupies a space measuring *ca.* 4.25 m. (north–south) by *ca.* 3.50 m. (east–west). Its eastern limit is conjectural, but we suggest

³ Evidence for this low flight of steps is meager. The cuttings, poorly weathered, are visible on Plate 25:d.

⁴ This construction was erroneously identified as part of a floor in Stroud 1965, p. 7.

that it was originally marked by a wall that extended southward from the preserved eastern end of Wall 4 as far as the rock cutting that forms the southern edge of the platform in R:26. Although only three stones of this hypothetical wall remain in place at its northern end next to Wall 4, it is likely that the eastern extremity of Area G lay roughly along this line for two reasons. First, the bedrock cutting along the southern edge of the platform ends in R:26 directly opposite the eastern end of the north retaining Wall 4. A line joining these two points would run exactly along the course of the proposed east wall of Area G. Secondly, we found a very sharp division in the stratigraphy that followed this same line. To the east a dark brown layer of soft earth extending from the modern surface to bedrock contained pottery and other finds as late as the 4th century after Christ (lot 2035). To the west of the proposed line of Area G's east wall, however, were protected clay layers contemporary with the construction of Walls 4 and 14. Accordingly, we have restored an east wall for Area G in R:26. Like Wall 14 it may have been built with fieldstones laid directly on bedrock.

Outside the northeast corner of Area G are three parallel cuttings in the surface of the bedrock in Q:26, which we suggested in Chapter 4 might have been narrow steps (see p. 80 above). It is possible that one could have used these steps to climb up the bedrock from the north, either by skirting the southwest corner of Room E or perhaps even by going through the latter. Perhaps after moving southward along the line of the proposed east wall of Area G in R:26, one could have turned to the west to enter Area G through a hypothetical door in its east wall, but there is no surviving evidence to support this rather unattractive route. It is also possible that these "steps" are actually cuttings that served as the beddings for blocks of a wall whose date and function remain unknown.

An alternative means of access into Area G might have been through Area H to the west, after one climbed up into the latter by means of the proposed steps on its north side. A difficulty with this theory is that to reach Area G from Area H one would then have had to cross the solid north-south foundation (Wall 14) that divides the two of them. While it is true that only the foundations of this wall survive, there is preserved in them no break for a door, such as is customary in Sanctuary construction. There are, however, exceptions to this practice on the Lower Terrace (see p. 395 below). We candidly have to admit that the evidence for an entrance into Area G is very unsatisfactory. Had the ancient remains in the area occupied by the hypothetical southwest corner of Room E been better preserved, we might be in a position to offer a more plausible conjecture.

Within Area G we found no trace of occupation earlier than the 5th century B.C. Directly over bedrock there was a hard-packed layer of yellow clay, *ca.* 0.20 m. thick, which seems to have been a floor surface. It extended uniformly over the whole of Area G, lying in direct contact with the north and west walls. The pottery in this layer, consisting primarily of sherds from votive miniatures, belongs to the second half of the 5th century B.C. (lot 1957). A similar group of sherds, with a few fragments of terracotta figurines, was produced by a second clay layer above this, which may in fact have been part of the same floor (lot 1956). It was not always possible in excavation to separate these two layers, and our division may have been somewhat arbitrary. The figurines in lot 1956, however, are probably as late as the Hellenistic period. This would support the view that there were, in fact, two floors.

Unfortunately, nothing was found lying on the 5th-century B.C. clay floor in Area G to indicate what purpose the area served. Although there is no evidence for a south wall, the presence of clay floors and walls on three other sides suggests that Area G may at some time have had a roof. Two postholes cut into the bedrock could have anchored supports for a roof. Parallel to the south bedrock wall of the platform there is a cutting in R:25-26 (Plan 1), which creates a broad level surface to the south, but it is not clear that it served any structural purpose. Above the clay layers there was only a thick cover of soft fill *ca.* 0.40 m. deep extending to the modern

surface and containing pottery and other finds as late as the 4th century after Christ (lots 1953, 2013). This layer, which also covered Area H to the west, produced twenty-four baskets of broken pottery, numerous terracotta figurines, about two hundred intact miniature vases, many lamps, and eight coins. Although it was totally unstratified, this earth clearly contained a very large accumulation of small votive objects. Where they were originally dedicated and how and when they reached Area G are questions that the stratigraphy does not permit us to answer. Since there was some Roman activity in this part of the sanctuary (pp. 306–307 below), we may be dealing with a filling layer brought in to raise the level of the surface prior to some later construction. It is also possible, however, that the numerous votives, despite later contamination, are concentrated near the spot where they were originally dedicated. Since the walls and clay floors of Area G seem rather ambitious merely to have served as a dumping area, we might suggest that this corner of the rock-cut platform was used for some ritual purpose in the 5th century B.C.

In the center of the rock-cut platform in R:24–25, between Areas D and G, is the space we have designated Area H (Plans 1 and 4). It is *ca.* 5.25 m. (east–west) by *ca.* 4.10 m. (north–south). The north–south Wall 14 in R:25 divides it from Area G. Wall 4 forms its north side and may have been the principal means of access from the courtyard below to the north (pp. 155–156 above). Along the southern edge of Area H is the cut bedrock wall of the platform. The western limit has proved more difficult to establish. The east–west dimension of Area H given above, *ca.* 5.25 m., is merely the distance from its east wall to the single row of stones in R:24 (described in p. 75 above) that marked the eastern edge of Area D in the 6th century B.C. That this dimension is an arbitrary maximum is shown by the fact that none of the datable strata excavated in Area H actually extended as far west as this row of stones. Evidence for the use of Area H in the 5th century B.C. could be traced only for *ca.* 3.00 m. to the west of Wall 14. The layers of stone and clay simply gave out at about this point. We found here no defining wall, rock cuttings, pillaging trench, or any other architectural feature to help reconstruct the form and position of the west side of the area in the 5th century B.C.

Area H probably remained open to the sky. Within it there was no evidence for a roof or, indeed, for any other form of construction. We cannot, then, precisely identify the purpose of Area H in the topography of the Sanctuary and the operation of the cult of Demeter. Striking, however, is the predominantly votive character of the large amount of pottery and other objects excavated here. These finds suggest that in some way the area functioned as part of the ritual activities attested by other remains on the Middle Terrace, and not in some domestic capacity.

Evidence from the 6th century B.C. in Area H consists of the small pocket of dark earth in R:25 and the shallow clay layer directly over bedrock in R:24. It was in the 5th century B.C., however, that this part of the platform was most active. Over the clay, which possibly represents a floor, and in some places directly over bedrock, there was a layer of small fieldstones covering most of the area of the room. The stones appeared to have been laid down intentionally, probably as packing for a floor, and not to have fallen from a nearby wall, since the upper surface of the layer was relatively flat. From among the stones came a small quantity of sherds of the late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. (lot 1973). Where there were no stones, pockets of dark brown earth containing pottery of roughly similar date rested on the clay layer or on bedrock (lots 1969, 1970). Above the stones was a hard-packed clay floor that lay against the east wall of Area H and could be followed for *ca.* 3.00 m. to the west. This must represent the main floor level in the 5th century B.C., after the construction of the wall dividing Area G from Area H, for the sherds in this layer are not later than *ca.* 500–450 B.C. (lot 1967).

Like the neighboring Area G to the east, Area H produced no later floors, although there is evidence for activity here in the 4th century B.C. and in the Roman period (p. 310 below). Nor did we find any contemporary objects or debris resting on the clay floor of the 5th century B.C. that could help determine the purpose of Area H in this period. Above this floor lay the same

thick accumulation of soft earth full of pottery, terracotta figurines, and other votives as in Area G to the east. This is a mixed and disturbed layer that extended all the way to the modern surface and contained a few objects as late as the 4th century after Christ (lots 1953, 2013). Since most of the votive vases in these lots are from the Classical period, however, and large numbers of them are intact, Area H may be a good candidate for the place where they were originally deposited or subsequently stored.

ROOM E AND THE SMALL COURT, P-Q:26 (Pl. 12:d)

This room, built against the east wall of the Middle Terrace *ca.* 550–500 B.C. (pp. 79–80 above), continued to function well into the 5th century B.C. Although its walls are clearly much earlier, the first recognizable floor level in Room E contained pottery of *ca.* 475–450 B.C. (lot 73-137). This hard-packed clay stratum, *ca.* 0.19 m. thick, was found in direct contact with the three surviving walls of the room, but like all the other layers in this area, its southern limit was not clearly defined. The floor merely gave out along an irregular line *ca.* 3.00 m. to the south of the room's north wall, where the bedrock protrudes above the Classical levels.

Set into this floor in the northeast corner of the room was a rich deposit of Classical pottery, including a few fragments of terracotta figurines, Pit 1965-2 (see Pl. 27:c).⁵ Packed tightly together and occupying an area *ca.* 1.55 m. north–south by *ca.* 0.80 m. east–west, the vases reached a depth of *ca.* 0.18 m. below the level of the floor. A large Corinthian pan tile set on its narrow side parallel to the room's east wall marked the western limit of the deposit. Although there was no cover over this deposit, it was effectively sealed by a superimposed floor of *ca.* 425–400 B.C., and its contents form a homogeneous group of the first half of the 5th century B.C. or slightly later (lot 2260). The deposit contained thirty-eight complete vases, most of them kalathoi, lekythoi, and skyphoi. The numerous other sherds also belong mainly to these three shapes, although miniature phialai, oinochoai, and hydriai are also represented. In addition to the drinking vessels and votives, there were several pieces of coarse-ware amphoras, pitchers, and other shapes, plus a few fragments of cooking pots. Elizabeth Pemberton has analyzed the pottery in this deposit as her Group 3 in *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 84–87.

The excavated evidence does not give a clear indication as to why all this pottery was packed together in a shallow hole cut into the floor of Room E. Drinking cups and fragments of utility vessels show that the contents of the deposit are not exclusively votive. Miniature vases, however, do predominate, and enough of them are intact to raise the possibility that the deposit had some religious purpose. Was this the spot where these numerous votives—and their contents—were placed as offerings to the goddesses? Or had they been dedicated earlier in some other part of the Sanctuary and merely buried here after being replaced by subsequent offerings? In support of the second alternative is the large number of miscellaneous sherds and incomplete vases and figurines, which seem more appropriate to a dump. On the other hand, the compactness of this deposit, the many intact pots, and the definition given to them by the upright pan tile could mean that these vessels belong to the same type of ritual offering as the objects buried in the more elaborately constructed oblong Pits A (pp. 161–162), E (pp. 163–164), and perhaps F (p. 216 below). Pit A, of the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., lies only *ca.* 4.00 m. to the west of the deposit and formed part of the successor to the mid-5th-century B.C. phase of this small room. It remains a possibility that the pottery deposit represents the bottom of a pit for votive offerings whose upper part was destroyed.

Shortly after *ca.* 425 B.C. a new floor was put down that covered this pottery deposit and the original west wall of Room E. At this time the room was extended *ca.* 1.25 m. to the west, for the

⁵ With the exception of an intact female protome, MF-12057, the other small pieces of figurines are nondescript. In the deposit were also three knucklebones, bone lot 65-39.

uniform layer of hard-packed clay, which formed the new floor, reached as far as a north-south wall that survives at the east side of Q:25. This wall, which is *ca.* 0.30 m. thick and built of fieldstones with a few small slabs of poros, is preserved for a length of only *ca.* 2.50 m. At its southern end it appears to have been built up against the same projection of bedrock that marked the southern limit of the original west wall of Room E. *Ca.* 0.40 m. north of this rock there is a break in the fabric of the later wall, but its line is firm, and the position of the wall is beyond doubt. The fact that the new floor covered the original west wall of Room E and extended up to this later wall in Q:25 indicates that the latter now formed the western edge of an expanded Room E. The wall rests upon a layer of earth in which the latest pottery is to be dated *ca.* 450 B.C. (lot 73-140).

At the northern end of the new west wall of Room E, a short eastern return is preserved for a length of *ca.* 0.95 m. before it breaks off. Projected to the east for the full width of Q:26, this return could have formed a wall that marked the northern limit of Room E. No trace of wall construction has survived *in situ*. Immediately to the north and below the hypothetical line of this wall, however, was a great heap of fieldstones, with large amounts of votive pottery among them, that may represent the collapse of the room's north wall. The latest objects in this debris belong in date to the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. (lot 2011; p. 161 below). The only other evidence for the position of the north wall of the room is the fact that the clay floor of the late 5th century B.C. extended at least as far north as the hypothetical line of the room's northern limit.

On the east side, the east boundary wall of the Middle Terrace, Wall 21 in P:27-R:26, continued to define Room E. As in the case of its 6th-century B.C. predecessor, we have not found a satisfactory southern limit to Room E at the end of the 5th century B.C. The floors do not continue to the south beyond an irregular line where the bedrock protrudes roughly 3.50 m. to the south of the restored line of the north wall.

With so much of the north wall missing, we cannot hope to find certain evidence for the position of an entrance into Room E. Clearly, access from the east and south are ruled out. It is possible that in the late 5th century B.C. one could have entered from the north through the small court that lay between Room E and the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace. Perhaps more plausible would have been a door near the southwest corner of the room leading in from the large Central Courtyard. This was the probable location of the entrance in the 6th century B.C. (p. 80 above). It was also here that the builders of the Sanctuary placed, outside Room E, the votive Pit A (pp. 161-162 below). It is likely that this pit was near the entrance to Room E. There is today no gap in the west wall of the 5th-century B.C. phase of Room E wide enough to serve as a door. This may not be fatal to the suggestion that an entrance lay on this side since the preserved top of the wall barely projects above the level of the late-5th-century B.C. floor.⁶

Whatever its exact form in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., this corner of the Middle Terrace continued to attract votive offerings in large numbers. In the contemporary clay floor and its packing, which were *ca.* 0.25 m. deep, there were almost equal amounts of earth and ancient objects. In addition to the ubiquitous kalathoi and other miniature vases, we found fragments of large clay basins and perirhanteria, cooking vessels, lamps, loomweights, several knucklebones (including one of bronze), fragmentary terracotta figurines, and two dozen olive pits. Also present were numerous metal objects including small bronze pins, finger rings, a strigil, part of a bronze phiale, an iron knife, and a lead weight (lots 2065, 2230). One or possibly two of the pins, MF-14220A-B, are among the earliest from the Sanctuary, Middle Geometric II, 800-750 B.C.

This heavy concentration of votive objects clearly establishes the continuity of cult practices in Room E throughout the 5th century B.C. Animal bones and ash were not present in quantities

⁶ In the dining rooms of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. on the Lower Terrace, however, the foundations of fieldstone walls are never carried across the opening for a door (see pp. 174, 395 below).

significant enough to indicate burnt animal sacrifices here; it seems rather that votive pottery, jewelry, lamps, and other items formed the offerings. They may have been placed on wooden shelves or benches in the room or, more probably, buried in the ground, as were the dedications found in the pottery deposit inside Room E and in the adjacent Pit A. The several fragments of basins and perirrhanteria suggest that some form of lustration may have accompanied the ritual.

Although its area was enlarged slightly in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., Room E remained essentially small, *ca.* 5.00 m. by 3.50 m. Like so many other parts of the Sanctuary, this room seems to have been designed for a fairly private activity involving only a few worshippers.

The small court directly north of Room E in P:26 remained basically the same until the end of the 5th century B.C. (for the court, see Pl. 12:d, middle). In the early part of the century two more layers of earth were laid down over the 6th-century B.C. strata, which here covered the bedrock (p. 79 above). The earlier of the two was a layer of clay, *ca.* 0.10 m. deep, which contained pottery only as late as *ca.* 475 B.C. (lot 2036). Above this was a deeper (*ca.* 0.20–0.30 m.) accumulation of earth with pottery of similar date but including also a great deal of 6th-century B.C. material (lot 2012). Lying loosely in this fill were numerous terracotta figurines and intact miniature vases. The volume of pottery recovered from this layer (six baskets) may also suggest that it represents the refuse from a sacred area, perhaps from Room E immediately to the south.

That these two layers of the early 5th century B.C. in the small court did not extend to the north any farther than the line of the north wall of the Middle Terrace in P:26 shows that this section of Wall 2 was still standing until at least 475 B.C. In fact, we can be sure that Wall 2 survived until at least the end of the 5th century B.C. At that time the area of the court was covered by a layer of small fieldstones, among which were recovered large amounts (six baskets) of votive pottery (lot 2011). Nothing in this lot seems to be much later than the end of the 5th century B.C. The stones probably fell down here when the north wall of Room E to the south collapsed, for, far from creating a flat layer, the stones sloped down sharply to the north. Since we found no trace of these same stones north of Wall 2, although they projected higher than the preserved top of the wall, this section of the wall probably survived until the end of the 5th century B.C., at least to the level of the stone layer. Over the wall, however, and over the stone layer of the late 5th century B.C. only *ca.* 0.15 m. of earth remained at the surface. The mixed to Late Roman character of its pottery and finds provides no clue as to the history of the court and the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace after *ca.* 400 B.C. Erosion and modern ploughing have removed any trace of later stratification that might have accumulated in this area.

OFFERING PIT A, Q:25

This structure lies immediately outside Room E on the east side of the Central Courtyard of the Middle Terrace. It is built against the west wall of Room E in its 425–400 B.C. phase and may have been located near the entrance to that sacred area (p. 160 above). Oblong in plan and oriented north–south, the pit measures *ca.* 1.70 m. by 0.85 m. (outside dimensions) and resembles a grave. The east wall is wider and more solid than the other three since it also served as the west wall of Room E (described above, pp. 159–160). On the north and west sides thin poros slabs *ca.* 0.10 m. wide were set on edge to serve as the walls, while three fieldstones form the southern end. Unfortunately, the layer of soft earth above the pit, which contained mixed pottery dating from Archaic through Late Roman times (lot 886), extended down below the top of its walls on the outside, so that we could not accurately determine whether the pit had its top flush with the original ground level or projected above it. The former seems more likely. When discovered, the pit was carefully sealed by two superimposed layers of Classical Corinthian pan-tile fragments laid horizontally to form a cover resting on the tops of the four walls. Plate 26:a shows Pit A

before the tiles were removed. The knife points to a bronze coin (61-20) found directly above the tile cover.⁷ Plate 26:b shows Pit A after excavation.

Good evidence for the date of construction of the pit was supplied by the pottery and other votive objects in the surrounding earth. The east wall was built on a layer of earth that contained sherds no later than *ca.* 450 B.C. (lot 73-140), and against its eastern face lay a floor of *ca.* 425 B.C. (lots 2065, 2230). The earth lying against the north and west walls produced pottery of the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C. (lot 73-139), and below the base of the walls of the pit was a great dumped filling with large amounts of votive pottery of *ca.* 425–400 B.C. (lots 73-138, 73-141; see Pl. 64:f). Clearly, then, the pit was built in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. Above it was found only the thick layer of surface earth containing mixed to Late Roman pottery already mentioned (lot 886).

Inside the pit hard-packed earth reached the level of the tops of the walls; it had been thrown in to fill up the pit when it was covered by the lid of tile fragments. No traces of burning were observed in this earth or on the stone walls. Scattered throughout the earth filling were many sherds and fragments of terracotta figurines. Three intact miniature vases and a small lamp suggest that the earth was shoveled in from a nearby pile of votive debris.⁸ On the floor of the pit, which lay at a depth of 0.50 m., level with the bottoms of the slabs forming the north and west walls, were seven intact kalathiskoi (C-61-390–396). They were sitting upright in the northern end, where they had been buried in the ground as a simple offering. As far as we could determine, the vases contained nothing except earth when they were discovered. The absence of bones and ash in and around the pit probably indicates that it was designed for bloodless gifts to deities of a chthonic nature. Burial of votives in pits of this sort is attested by two other structures on the Middle Terrace, Pits E and probably F (pp. 163–164, 216 below). The practice was known at other sanctuaries of Demeter.⁹

The seven kalathiskoi seem to have been the last, and perhaps symbolic, dedications placed in the pit before it was sealed and covered. Since a structure of this size and depth was clearly meant to hold more than seven little pots, we might think in terms of a ritual in which numerous votive objects, perhaps kalathiskoi, were buried at one time. Periodically, it would have been necessary to clean out the pit, a practice that may help to explain the large proportion of votive sherds and intact miniature vases in the surrounding area. If Pit A was in fact located outside the door to Room E, as has been suggested, it is possible that worshipers deposited an offering in the ground as they passed into this sacred area. A similar offering may have been required before one moved to the south up the steps in Q:24–25 into the rock-cut platform where Areas D, G, and H are located. How long Pit A remained in service cannot be precisely determined since for the seven kalathiskoi and the latest objects in the filling no more exact a date than *ca.* 425–400 B.C. seems possible (lot 887). For a catalogue and discussion of the pottery from Pit A, see *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 89–90, Group 5.¹⁰

⁷ *Corinth*: Pegasos/Trident, *ca.* 303–287 B.C.

⁸ Inventoried figurines: MF-10537–10544, 10942, 10943. Red-figure skyphos fragments: C-61-227. Intact miniature vases: C-61-226, C-61-387, C-61-389. A bronze pin head in the shape of a pomegranate (MF-10941) was also found in the filling of Pit A.

⁹ For tile-covered pits containing buried offerings in the sanctuary of Demeter at Knidos, see C. T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* II, London 1863, pp. 378–380, 389–392, 412. For a rectangular pit near the steps leading up to the propylon of the Demeter sanctuary at Pergamon, see *Pergamon XIII*, p. 15, no. 43.

¹⁰ Iozzo (1987, pp. 378–379, no. 44) states that two joining fragments of a terracotta perirrhanterion bearing an incised inscription, C-70-596, were found “in the fill of Sacrificial Pit A of ‘Room E.’” This is incorrect, as are his further assertions that Pit A is inside Room E and that “the fill probably comes from destruction debris, with the beginning of the 4th century B.C. as its *terminus ante quem*. Significantly, however, the fragments were found in a context

PIT E AND THE NORTH CORRIDOR, N-P:20-27

Throughout the 5th century B.C. the principal entrance into the Middle Terrace remained the door in P:25. It had been established in the previous century to permit one to move up the hill from north to south, through the retaining wall, and into the Central Courtyard of the Middle Terrace. Outside this entrance, to the north, there was a narrow corridor in N-P:20-27 that stretched along the full length of the Middle Terrace, separating it from the southernmost row of dining rooms on the Lower Terrace. The northern edge of this corridor may have been marked in the 6th century B.C. by a retaining wall, slight traces of which survive in O-P:26-27 (pp. 81-82 above). Since this wall is not parallel to Wall 2, in which the doorway is located, the corridor has the outline of a long trapezoid that narrows down from its wider, western end to a confined space on the east. It was from this North Corridor that one approached the principal entrance into the Middle Terrace. Since the dining room in N-O:25-26 and some nearby walls probably made access to the corridor very difficult from its narrow eastern end, we have argued that in the Archaic period one reached the main entrance to the Middle Terrace by moving across the corridor from its west side (pp. 97-98 above).

In the 5th century B.C. one continued to enter the North Corridor on its wider, west side. During this time the corridor was the scene of considerable building activity. The earliest construction was that of Pit E in O-P:21-22.

This structure, which closely resembles Pit A inside the Middle Terrace (pp. 161-162 above), lies immediately outside the north wall of the oikos (see Pl. 10:b). It is oriented east-west, parallel to the oikos and separated by only *ca.* 0.15 m. from the stuccoed conduit that runs along this side of the building (see Pl. 26:c, before excavation). Pit E, which in outline resembles a grave, has outside dimensions of 1.95 m. by 0.90 m. (Plan 1). Its south wall, which is *ca.* 0.30-0.35 m. thick, is constructed of small fieldstones set in clay. Despite its thickness, this wall seems to have been built specifically to serve as a wall of the pit because it does not extend either to the east or to the west beyond the limits of this structure. Unlike the east wall of Pit A, it probably did not have any other architectural function. The east wall of Pit E consists of a single poros slab only *ca.* 0.10 m. thick, set vertically on its narrow edge. No trace of a wall was found on the short western end of the pit, but here it was easy to distinguish the softer earth within from the hard-packed layer into which the pit had been cut. Since some of the intact vases in the deposit recovered from the pit lay against the scarp that formed its western end, it is unlikely that a wall or even a thin slab ever marked the limit of Pit E on this side (Pl. 26:d, top). Along the north side is a wall of fieldstones *ca.* 0.45 m. thick, which clearly belonged to another, earlier structure because it extends beyond the confines of Pit E both to the east and to the west. The filling and deposit in the pit rested against the south face of this wall, also indicating that Pit E was built against a wall of another structure. Unfortunately, this wall is too poorly preserved—only *ca.* 3.05 m. long—to help us reconstruct the plan of the building to which it once belonged. Running along the full length of the wall's north face and probably destroying any trace of joining walls is a thick rubble and cement retaining wall of Roman date (pp. 304-306 below).

Four large fragments of Classical Corinthian pan tiles were found on top of Pit E, forming a cover, but they had been placed in such a way as to rest almost entirely on the earth filling of the pit. They neither overlapped onto the walls of the pit nor projected above the tops of

datable to the second half of the 5th century (Lots 73-141 and 73-2212)." In fact, Pit A is outside Room E; see Plan 4. Also, one fragment of the perirrhanterion was found in a layer of disturbed surface earth on the Lower Terrace in M-O:27-29 (lot 2210) dating as late as the 4th century after Christ (there is no such Corinthian lot as Iozzo's "73-2212"), while the other fragment came from lot 73-141 of *ca.* 450-425 B.C. fill to the north of and below the bottom of Pit A. The correct provenance of both fragments is given by E. Pemberton, *Corinth XVIII*, i, p. 190, no. 673. Finally, Iozzo's transcription of the text of the graffito is also inaccurate; the correct reading is [---] ἀνέθ(ε)χε[(ν)].

these walls. It is likely that, as in Pit A, two layers of tile fragments were used to cover the pit and that the upper layer has not survived. Here again, as with Pit A, it was difficult to establish the original contemporary ground level, but it appears that Pit E was cut down into the ground and did not project much above the surface. For a photograph of Pit E before excavation, see Plate 26:c.¹¹

Under the tile cover the earth filling contained a considerable amount of broken pottery, small stones, and tile fragments. At a depth of 0.17 m., in the northwest corner of the pit, a deposit of eleven whole votive pots was found. All the vases were lying together, some on their sides, others almost upside down. The lowest pots rested on the red earth floor of the pit, which is *ca.* 0.54 m. below the tops of the walls. The deposit consisted of six intact kalathoi, five of them with Conventionalizing designs in red and black (C-65-583–588); two miniature black-glazed krateriskoi (C-65-172 and 589); a miniature semi-glazed bowl (C-65-173); a black-glazed Corinthian lekythos (C-65-582); and an Attic black-figured oinochoe (C-65-174). The rims and handles of the last two vases are broken off and were not found anywhere in the filling of the pit. With the vases were a carnelian scaraboid amulet (MF-12156) and a fragmentary terracotta figurine. Nothing in this deposit (lot 4351), which has been studied in detail by Elizabeth Pemberton (*Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 87–88, Group 4), seems to be later than the middle of the 5th century B.C. For a photograph of the deposit in the western end of Pit E, see Plate 26:d, top.

A similar, or slightly later, date for sealing the pit is indicated by the latest sherds and terracotta figurine fragments found in its earth filling (lot 4358). We also dug down into the hard red soil that formed the floor of the pit and found there pottery no later than the end of the 6th century B.C., (lot 4359). For a photograph of Pit E after excavation, see Plate 26:e.

The amulet and the miniature vases seem clearly to have formed a small votive offering that was buried in the pit and carefully covered over. As in Pit A (pp. 161–162 above), the deposit is much smaller than we might expect to find in a structure of this size and depth. Probably Pit E was designed to contain larger deposits, perhaps made over a period of time. We might suggest that such larger accumulations of offerings were cleaned out of the pit from time to time and that what has survived is a smaller, symbolic dedication made on the occasion when the pit was sealed and abandoned.

With the exception of a single astragalos, we found no animal bones in Pit E, nor were there any traces of burning in the filling or on the vases. The inner faces of the walls also gave no evidence that fires had ever been lit inside the pit, and there was no burnt sacrificial debris scattered about in the vicinity. Pit E is unlikely, therefore, to have been used for burnt animal sacrifices. Like Pit A, it seems to have been designed to receive bloodless offerings, probably in the form of miniature vases, that were simply placed in the ground. Kalathiskoi were clearly the favored, though not exclusive, shape represented in the deposits when the two pits were abandoned. In the excavation we found no evidence that would help determine whether the miniature vases contained any substance when they were buried.

The good state of preservation of Pit E enables us to make some suggestions about the narrow corridor that lies between the southernmost row of dining rooms on the Lower Terrace and the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace with its principal entrance in P:25. As far as we know, this area had remained open until Pit E was built. It was into the floor of this corridor that Pit E was dug, probably not much later than the end of the 6th century B.C. The fact that Pit E was filled in and covered with tiles shortly after *ca.* 450 B.C. helps us to establish the approximate ground level in the corridor during the first half of the 5th century B.C. during the time that the pit probably

¹¹ All four tiles are broken and were reused as part of the cover of Pit E. They no doubt once formed part of the roof of a Sanctuary building that had by now been destroyed or rebuilt, FP-248–251. Only one of them preserves an original dimension; FP-248 is 0.575 m. wide.

remained in service. We are assuming that the top of Pit E at this time did not project much above ground level. The presence of the pit gives us some basis for suggesting that there was a fairly level surface here in the North Corridor during at least the first half of the 5th century B.C. This will also be helpful information when we come to deal with the later-5th-century B.C. walls in O:21–22.

It remains to consider the position of Pit E in the North Corridor. It lies near the corridor's western end, only *ca.* 5.00 m. from the point where a procession ascending the hill past the dining rooms of the Lower Terrace would have turned to the east to approach the principal entrance to the Middle Terrace. At the end of the 5th century B.C. this route was formalized by the construction of the central stone stairway through the Lower Terrace, but prior to this time processions could have ascended the hill on an open walkway (see p. 24 above). In moving across the North Corridor toward the entrance into the Middle Terrace, one had to pass on the north side of Pit E. Since the North Corridor is trapezoidal in outline, narrowing down from a much wider, western end to a very confined area on the east, the siting of Pit E may simply have been determined on the basis of available space. There is the possibility, however, that the position of Pit E was chosen because it served some ritual function. As suggested above, the vases found inside the pit probably represent only a token offering made when it went out of use. While it was open and functioning, Pit E could have held hundreds of miniature vases and other votives. We might suggest that an offering of this type was perhaps required for entrance into the Middle Terrace and that worshipers placed their gifts in Pit E upon turning single file into the North Corridor but before going through the principal entrance in P:25. Some support for this theory about the position and function of Pit E might be derived from Pit A, which probably stood outside the entrance to Room E and in front of the steps leading up to the rock-cut platform containing Areas D, G, and H (pp. 162–163 above). Also, the later Pit F was certainly located in a small entrance court in N–O:20–21, immediately outside the Hellenistic Propylon (p. 216 below). As we will see, it is very likely that Pit F received offerings that were made before one could move up the hill through this Propylon and into the Middle Terrace in the Hellenistic period.¹²

The rest of the North Corridor was the scene of so much later construction that it is difficult to reconstruct its appearance in the second half of the 5th century B.C. Crossing this area from north to south are the thick walls of a Trapezoidal Building of Hellenistic times in O–P:21, 23, 24, 25 (pp. 235–243 below). Bisecting the corridor in the opposite direction, east to west, is a substantial rubble and cement wall of the Roman period (pp. 304–306 below). The latter cut through whatever structure was formed by the north wall of Pit E; it also helped to destroy and obscure a complex of earlier walls in O:21–22, which we shall now examine. See Plan 1.

The easternmost of these walls lies in O:22. It is oriented north–south and is preserved for a length of only *ca.* 1.70 m. At both ends later walls have cut through it, leaving only this isolated fragment with no joining walls or associated floor surfaces. Constructed of fieldstones set in clay, the wall is *ca.* 0.45 m. thick and rests directly on bedrock. Since the east face shows a much more regular arrangement of stones than the less careful workmanship on the west, it probably was the exterior. Precise evidence for dating this wall is not available. To the east and over it lay a deep filling of the late 4th century B.C., which provides merely a *terminus ante quem* (lot 4369). It was impossible to excavate to the bottom of the wall on the west side because of the proximity of another parallel wall, but we were able to clear down as far as a layer containing pottery no later than the second half of the 5th century B.C. (lot 4374). Since this stratum lay against the west face of, or inside, the wall, the latter must have been in existence by at least this time.

¹² This may also have been the purpose of the pit outside the Propylon of the Demeter sanctuary at Pergamon; see note 9, p. 162 above.

Both the function of this wall and its chronological relationship to Pit E remain obscure. Depending on whether the wall was contemporary with, or later than, the pit, one can offer hypothetical reconstructions. If it was contemporary with Pit E, the wall might have been associated with the north wall of the pit to form a narrow entrance into the North Corridor with the pit located outside to the south. If, however, Pit E is earlier than the wall, the former may have been filled in and covered over with earth before the latter was built. In this case, one could have moved across the corridor over the area once occupied by the now buried pit. The pottery evidence found in association with the north-south wall—for what it is worth—favors the second hypothesis.

Immediately to the west of the wall just described are three more walls that form the northern portion of a small room in O:21-22. Across its south side, the thick rubble and cement wall of Roman times just mentioned has destroyed any possible extension of the room in this direction. Two later walls that belonged to the foundations of the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building crowd in on the room to the north and west. The deep filling thrown in between these foundations *ca.* 300 B.C. buried the little room. The three walls that form the room are built of fieldstones, a few fragments of Classical roof tiles, and a few roughly trimmed poros blocks, all packed in clay. They stand to a maximum height of only *ca.* 0.30 m. The east and north walls are *ca.* 0.40 m. thick, while the west wall has a thickness of *ca.* 0.55-0.60 m. They enclose an area measuring only *ca.* 1.55 m. by 1.45 m. Inside it is a well-preserved, hard-packed clay floor that uniformly covered the whole area and lay against all three interior faces of the walls. Several tests we were able to make around and under the walls of the room provided some helpful pottery evidence for dating.

First, the clay floor, which was *ca.* 0.08 m. thick, contained only a handful of nondescript sherds, but a test into the packing beneath it (*ca.* 0.17 m. deep) produced sherds that were no later than the 5th and possibly early 4th century B.C. (lot 4375). Second, lying against the outer face of the east wall was a layer of earth *ca.* 0.30 m. deep, which upon testing yielded sherds of the second half of the 5th century B.C. (lot 4373). Third, below this we tested, only to a depth of *ca.* 0.15 m., a stratum that extended under the east wall; pottery here was no later than the second half of the 5th century B.C. (lot 4374). This is the same layer found against the west face of the north-south wall described above (p. 165). Finally, in the interior northwest corner of the room, below the floor and its packing, we were able to recover some pottery from the layer on which the north wall was set. Again, the date was fairly consistently *ca.* 450-400 B.C.

This little room, then, was probably built in the second half of the 5th century B.C. and continued in use at least into the early 4th. Although it lies only *ca.* 1.00 m. north of Pit E in the North Corridor, the room could not have come into existence until after the pit was abandoned and covered over. This is an important point to establish, and it is one with which the pottery evidence is in agreement. If Pit E and the little room had been contemporary, they would have blocked access across the North Corridor from west to east leading to the principal entrance into the Middle Terrace in P:25. The pottery evidence, however, helps to establish a chronological sequence for these structures, showing that Pit E was earlier than the little room. In the first half of the 5th century B.C., while Pit E was open and in service as a repository for votive offerings, one passed across the North Corridor to the north of the pit. After the construction of the little room in the second half of the 5th century B.C., one moved across the corridor to the south of it on a level above the now buried and abandoned Pit E.

This sequence of construction and the position of the small room less than 5.00 m. from the western end of the North Corridor raise the possibility that the room may have functioned as some kind of successor to Pit E and whatever structure was partly formed by the latter's north wall. Could this room have been part of an entrance into the corridor in the second half of the 5th century B.C.?

One small, suggestive piece of evidence adds to the attraction of this theory. Projecting from the exterior west wall of the little room in O:21–22, but still part of the wall's fabric, is a large, thin slab of poros set vertically on its narrow edge. It barely escaped destruction when the foundations of the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building were laid, for the large blocks of one of its north–south partition walls in O:21 were set down only 0.07 m. to the west of this slab. It is likely, however, that the rest of the construction to which the slab belonged was demolished by the building's foundations and perhaps also by the rubble and cement wall of Roman times. No traces have remained, at any rate, and we are left with this single, upright poros slab on which to base a reconstruction.

Identical thin slabs of poros, however, set upright in or against exterior walls occur in only one specific type of context on the Middle Terrace—in Pits A and E. They also formed the walls of the later Pit F in the entrance court outside the Hellenistic Propylon in N–O:20–21 (p. 216 below). This permits the conjecture that on the exterior west wall of the little room in O:21–22 there may once have been an oblong pit dug down into the ground with at least one of its end walls partly formed by the poros slab. If this hypothetical pit was a successor of Pit E and shared the same purpose as the latter (and Pit A), it probably was intended to receive offerings of miniature pottery and other votives. Like these counterparts, it would have been conveniently placed near an entrance, in this case at the western end of the North Corridor leading to the doorway into the Middle Terrace.

Before leaving the North Corridor we must consider two other important building projects of the later 5th century B.C. that made an impact on this part of the Sanctuary. The first is the monumental stone stairway that ascends the hill in J–O:20. The second is a new retaining wall along the corridor's northern edge.

One of the most crucial steps taken in the topographic development of the Sanctuary of Demeter in the Classical period was the decision to build a stairway that helped to unify the Lower, Middle, and Upper Terraces. After coming into the main northern entrance of the temenos from the road, one could reach all parts of the Sanctuary by ascending the stone steps that led up to the south. The continuity of the stairway was broken by a number of landings. One could turn off from them to the east to reach various parts of the site. The significance of the stairway for the arrangement of the dining rooms on the Lower Terrace has already been discussed (Chapter 5 above). It has also been noted that since step blocks can be traced as far south as O:20, the ascent probably continued all the way to the rock-cut steps at the foot of the steeply rising bedrock of the Upper Terrace in Q–R:20.

For the topography of the Middle Terrace in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. the most significant section of the stairway contains the stone landings 7 and 8, which are still partly preserved in N–O:20 (pp. 97–98 above). All the other landings on the stairway below them were positioned opposite doorways leading into dining rooms. There are no dining rooms on the Middle Terrace. While landing 7 conceivably could have serviced dining rooms on the Lower Terrace to the west of the stairway, its location may also have been chosen with the Middle Terrace in mind. Since it lies at the western end of the North Corridor that separates the Lower and Middle Terraces, landing 7 would have enabled one to turn off the stairway and to reach the little room in O:21–22 with its hypothetical votive pit.

The deep foundations of the Hellenistic Propylon in O–P:19–20 and the walls of the contemporary entrance court containing Pit F now occupy the east side of landings 7 and 8 and the western end of the North Corridor in N–O:20–21. The heavy foundations of the Roman Propylon in N–P:19–20 also partly destroyed the landings and now cover much of their east sides. These later constructions make it difficult to determine the original appearance of the two landings and the western end of the North Corridor in the late 5th century B.C. We cannot tell if any structures stood next to the landings at the point where one turned off from them to the east

to enter the North Corridor. *Ca.* 5.00 m. to the east, Pit E occupied part of the corridor until *ca.* 450 B.C., but the pit was covered over by the time the stairway was built, leaving an open passageway across the North Corridor along its south side. In addition, the late-5th-century B.C. ground level in this part of the North Corridor is roughly the same as that of landing 8. This makes it likely that landing 8 gave the easiest level access to the North Corridor from this time onward.

The little room and the putative pit in O:21–22 just discussed were probably in existence in the North Corridor when the stairway was constructed. Contemporary ground level in this part of the North Corridor appears to have been *ca.* 1.40 m. lower than that in the southern part of the corridor, making it more likely that the little room and pit in O:21–22 were more easily approached from landing 7. We have no evidence to determine whether the ground level in the North Corridor simply sloped down sharply from south to north or whether the two different levels were defined by an east–west retaining wall running along the length of the corridor.

The second building project of the late 5th century B.C. in the North Corridor was the construction of a new retaining wall on its east and north sides. Work on this project may have been undertaken at about the same time as the stone stairway, although the pottery evidence is not precise enough to prove a definite connection between the two. When landings 7 and 8 in the stairway were built at the western end of the North Corridor, it might have been felt desirable to give the corridor itself firmer definition. In outline the corridor is a long trapezoid, *ca.* 33.00 m. in length, which narrows down from a maximum width of *ca.* 6.60 m. at the west side to the confined eastern end, which is only *ca.* 2.05 m. wide. It is at this narrow eastern end of the corridor, in O–P:25–27, that evidence for the new construction is preserved (Pl. 27:a). It was here also that we found, built directly over bedrock, a short stretch of east–west wall with setback that probably belonged to the north retaining wall of the corridor in the 6th century B.C. (pp. 81–82 above). The small surviving segment of this wall is now almost completely covered by its late-5th-century B.C. successor.

The short east wall of the North Corridor abuts the exterior northeast corner of the Middle Terrace in P:27. This corner had been formed in the 6th century B.C. by the juncture of the north and east boundary walls of the Middle Terrace (Walls 2 and 21). Now, about a century later, the east wall of the corridor extended the line of the east boundary wall of the Middle Terrace *ca.* 2.05 m. to the north. Construction here is of small fieldstones packed in clay with roughly trimmed poros blocks at the corners. The inner, or west, face of the wall is not well enough preserved to establish the wall's thickness, but it could have been as much as *ca.* 0.75 m. Two clear outer, or east, faces can be distinguished, and there are two separate cornerstones at the northern end of the wall. These indicate two distinct phases of construction. The pottery evidence found in association with the wall, however, was not precise enough to provide a separate date for each, although the inner line of wall and cornerstone clearly belong to the earlier of the two phases. Projecting to the east below this east wall of the corridor is a segment of a thick east–west wall, which may have formed part of a structure of the 6th century B.C. It is briefly described above (p. 81). Not enough of it is preserved to show whether it was destroyed by the construction of the east wall of the corridor or at some earlier date.

In the northwest corner of P:27, the east wall returns to the west and is preserved for a distance of *ca.* 10.10 m. (Pl. 27:b). The line of its north face is relatively firm, while on the inner, south, side the wall has suffered considerable damage. Its thickness can only be estimated at *ca.* 0.60 m. Small fieldstones packed in clay make up the fabric of the wall, but a large, irregular boulder, measuring more than 1.00 m. in length, has been incorporated into the wall in the southwest corner of O:26. Since nowhere is its original top preserved, we cannot determine the original height of the wall. From its highest preserved point at the northeast corner of the corridor, the wall dwindles down to a few stones resting on bedrock in O:25. Sticking out from under the north face of this wall at its eastern end is the short stretch of wall with setback that may represent the northern line of

the corridor in the 6th century B.C. Both walls share the same roughly southeast to northwest orientation.

Pottery evidence can help to establish when the North Corridor was provided with this new retaining wall along its east and north sides. In only a few places was the north wall grounded upon bedrock. For the most part it rests on a layer of earth that extended out from the north face of the wall. We were able to excavate part of this layer in O:26. It contained a large number of miniature vases, terracotta figurine fragments, and much assorted pottery (lots 2058, 2196, 2198). The latest objects probably belong to the late 5th century B.C.; they give an approximate *terminus post quem* for the wall. This dating is consistent with the stratification against the preserved south side of the wall in P:26. Directly over bedrock here was a clay layer reaching a maximum depth of *ca.* 0.35 m., which produced pottery and figurine fragments from the 6th to the late 5th centuries B.C. (lot 2042). Above this was a stratum of soft brown earth containing much votive pottery and several figurines of the same date (lot 2046). Both layers probably represent fill thrown in behind the north wall of the corridor, and the objects found in them help to date the construction of this wall near the end of the 5th century B.C.

The clay layer over bedrock just mentioned also lay against the east face of a short wall of fieldstones that was built on roughly a north-south line at the eastern edge of P:25 (Pl. 27:b, background). It is poorly preserved at its northern end, but seems to have joined the new north wall of the North Corridor to the north boundary wall of the Middle Terrace (Wall 2), which it abuts at its southern end. Its point of contact with the boundary wall of the Middle Terrace is probably significant, since this falls at the east side of the principal entrance into this part of the Sanctuary in P:25. Moreover, on the south side of the boundary wall, immediately opposite this point of contact, lies the wing wall that forms the east side of the entrance into the Middle Terrace. The purpose of the latter (p. 60 above) was to help define the late-6th-century B.C. entrance inside the Middle Terrace and to retain the earth fill to the east of it. Since the short north-south wall in P:25 extends to the north of Wall 2 on roughly the same line as the wing wall, it is likely that it was put in directly over bedrock when the new north wall was built across the corridor near the end of the 5th century B.C. Its purpose would have been to help retain the earth that now filled the eastern end of the corridor. For the level of the fill here and the threshold block of the principal entrance into the Middle Terrace, see page 61 above.

To the west of this short wall in the North Corridor in P:25, against the south side of the new north wall of the corridor, were two strata over bedrock that were probably contemporary with the late-5th-century B.C. construction project we have been examining. Although both the finds and the types of earth in these two layers resemble those in the fills to the east, there was no actual point of contact between the two. Also, some slight Roman contamination was present in the former strata. Directly over bedrock there was a shallow clay layer that produced votive pottery and figurines reaching into the late 5th century B.C., but also present were a few later fragments of figurines and Roman lamps (lot 873). Above this clay layer was a soft, dark fill containing numerous miniature vases and figurines of similar date (lots 872, 889), but with two Roman lamp fragments (L-4178, L-4839). Both these strata probably represent leveling fills that were thrown in behind the north wall of the corridor when it was built near the end of the 5th century B.C.

Although stratigraphy and the surviving walls at the eastern end of the North Corridor provide a fairly clear picture of the latter's appearance *ca.* 400 B.C., evidence for the corridor's north retaining wall gives out in O:25. Here the westernmost stones of the wall are cut across by a large, squared breccia block that rests directly on bedrock. No trace of the late-5th-century B.C. north wall of the corridor has survived to the west beyond this point. We do not have certain proof on the ground to determine whether this wall continued for the full length of the corridor all the way over to the stone stairway at its western end or whether it stopped somewhere short of this terminus. It is certain, however, that the large, squared breccia block in O:25 marks

the end of a substantial wall that is preserved for *ca.* 23.00 m. to the west. It follows the same orientation as both the preserved section of the north retaining wall of the corridor to its east and the southernmost row of dining rooms on the Lower Terrace to the north. This big wall formed part of a Trapezoidal Building of Hellenistic times (Chapter 8 below). When the latter was built, it destroyed the western part of the north retaining wall of the corridor. As its massive breccia blocks were laid down directly over the bedrock, all trace of the more modest fieldstone and clay construction of the 5th-century B.C. north retaining wall of the corridor seems to have been removed. It is a likely conjecture, however, that the line chosen for the Hellenistic building's north wall followed that of the north wall of the corridor. Since it was necessary also to retain the earth in the corridor in the sector where Pit E and the walls in O:21–22 are located, the north wall of the corridor probably continued to the west at least this far. We suggest, therefore, that as part of the building project in the North Corridor *ca.* 400 B.C., the latter's north retaining wall was carried all the way over to the stairway at the corridor's western end. In the process it may have been built on top of the south wall of Building N:21 on the Lower Terrace (see p. 127, note 86).

CONCLUSIONS

Construction on the Middle Terrace that can be dated to the 5th century B.C. demonstrates continued and intensive cult activity in this part of the Sanctuary. The growing volume of miniature vases, terracotta figurines, and other votives from the 5th century B.C. vividly illustrates patterns of worship at this time. Some idea of the popularity of this shrine and the frequency with which small offerings were dedicated on the Middle Terrace can be glimpsed from the thousands of these objects that have survived in the shallow accumulation of earth over bedrock on this part of the hill. Valuable new evidence for the destination of some of these votives emerges at this time in the form of at least two oblong, stone-lined pits dug down into the ground, Pits A and E. There may have been more. Finds and architecture of the 5th century B.C. continue to emphasize the sharp contrast with the situation on the Lower Terrace to the north. Communal meals consumed in the increasing number of dining rooms being built on the Lower Terrace at this time certainly continued to form an important element in the worship of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. Relatively few intact votives were found there, however, while evidence for dining on the Middle Terrace is totally lacking. It is clear that two different kinds of ritual procedure took place in these two parts of the Sanctuary.

Physically, however, the Lower and Middle Terraces were tied more closely together in the later 5th century B.C. by the new stone stairway, whose construction seems to have resulted also in alterations to the North Corridor leading to the principal entrance into the Middle Terrace. Within this Terrace itself the Archaic oikos continued to serve as the main cult building, while the rock-cut platform along the south side of the Central Courtyard and the small Room E were both still active. For the period described in this chapter the main outlines of the Middle Terrace and its principal structures remained fairly stable. It was not until *ca.* 300 B.C. that the substantial changes to be described in Chapter 8 were introduced.

THE LOWER TERRACE, *Ca.* 400–146 B.C.

(Plans 1, 5)

H–O:7–29

During the first half of the 4th century B.C. the Lower Terrace continued to function as it had in the late 5th century B.C., with only minor changes. Already described in Chapter 5, these modifications consisted of the addition of a room to the south side of Building K–L:25–26, the enlargement of the hearth in Building K–L:23–24, and the raising of floor levels in Buildings N:21, L:18–19, and N–O:17–18. Both phases of the *pisé couché* in the small service room N–O:18–19 also date to this period, although the room itself was probably first built in the late 5th century B.C. (pp. 147–148 above).

In the second half of the 4th century B.C., however, the appearance of the Lower Terrace changed dramatically. The reason for these changes is discussed below in Chapter 15. A large threshold block was added north of the stairway in H–I:20 to give the entrance to the Sanctuary a more formal appearance. Additional space was given to the stairway by the creation of a broad open area along its western side in order to facilitate the movement of worshipers at festival time. Two boundary stones and a retaining wall marked off this area from the dining rooms west of the stairs. Between the third quarter of the 4th and the early 3rd century B.C. all of the preexisting dining rooms were abandoned and filled in, to be replaced by a new series of buildings. No longer built of fieldstones, the new structures feature sturdy walls in ashlar masonry of soft breccia quarried on the site. Like their 5th-century B.C. predecessors these Hellenistic dining halls regularly consist of several rooms, three rooms being common but four not unprecedented.¹

The most significant changes, however, took place at the head of the stairway just south of the dining rooms. Whereas in the past visitors could turn off landings 7 and 8 and pass along the North Corridor behind the dining rooms to enter the eastern end of the Middle Terrace in P:25, that way was now closed. The corridor was replaced by the Trapezoidal Building N–P:20–25, and the entrance to the Middle Terrace was shifted to its western end, south of the stairway. One could still turn left (east) at landing 7, but now one entered an enclosed court, marked by two *stelai* and containing a votive pit in its floor. After perhaps placing a small offering in the pit, worshipers could return to the stairway and continue south to both Middle and Upper Terraces. To control circulation between the Lower and Upper Terraces a large building, identified as a *propylon*, was constructed across the stairway in O–P:19–20. For this purpose the topmost steps were removed together with landing 8; the blocks of landing 7 and the steps just to the south of it were reset. The new arrangement gave a more monumental appearance to the stairway and made clearer the distinction between the more public Lower Terrace and the sacred areas of the Middle and Upper Terraces.

The period Plan 5 for *ca.* 400–146 B.C. shows fewer buildings than in the previous period. The excavated total, however, may be misleading, for in many cases these dining rooms lay just beneath modern surface and were subject to erosion. This is apparent in K:28–29, L:14–15, and M:13, where only isolated walls now remain, and in N–O:20–25, where only the shells of one

¹ Building N:28 and Building M:16–17. The latter could even be called six-room, if bath stall and north corridor are counted separately.

or more structures survive.² Undoubtedly, therefore, more buildings originally existed than are now attested.

BUILDING K–L:21–22: TWO DINING ROOMS, BATH, FOUR SERVICE ROOMS (Fig. 24; Plan 10 D–D)

In the Hellenistic period the buildings that had stood on Row 1 to the east of the entrance to the Sanctuary in the late 5th century B.C. probably no longer existed³ and the area just within the temenos wall stood open. The first structure, therefore, to the east of the stairway was Building K–L:21–22, the largest in the Sanctuary (Pls. 13, 28). We have already seen how two smaller structures of the early 5th were incorporated into one large building in the late 5th century B.C. In the late 4th century B.C. further changes and refinements were made, which were then maintained throughout the Hellenistic period. The building comprised seven rooms, namely, two large ones along the south and four small ones grouped around a larger central room in the northern half.⁴ In size it was also equal to its predecessor, that is, *ca.* 11.70 m. long from north to south by 10.50 m. wide from east to west.

Considerable Roman overbuilding has done much to preserve the Greek walls. The south wall stands to a height of *ca.* 2.11 m. above floor level. All the remaining walls project at least one course above floor level, with the exception of the north wall. The single existing foundation course of this wall falls just below floor level.

Conversely, Roman activity removed most of the contents within the rooms. In most rooms the fill on top of the Hellenistic floors was Late Roman in date; Late Roman tile graves cut through Rooms 4, 5, and 6 and the south wall of Room 7. Only Room 7, where the furnishings were cut from bedrock, was protected by a deep layer of Late Hellenistic to Early Roman debris. Nevertheless, some evidence can be recovered about the use of the rooms.

The wall construction shows considerable variety, for the 4th-century B.C. additions were simply tacked on to preexisting walls. The exception is the north wall, which was entirely rebuilt at this time. New portions are easily distinguished from the 5th-century B.C. walls of fieldstone because they are constructed in ashlar masonry of local breccia, in blocks 0.50 m. thick, 0.45 m. high, and, in the north wall, *ca.* 1.20 m. long. Such an addition is apparent on the east side, where the early-5th-century B.C. wall was extended to the south in breccia to enclose Room 7. A similar arrangement occurs on the south side, but there the breccia eastern half does not abut the earlier western half, for the new portion of the south wall was built slightly north of the earlier line. As a result, the two segments overlap in the middle of the south side.

The interior walls also display a variety of building techniques, since some parts date back to the late and others to the early 5th century B.C. Here it is difficult to say what was added in the late 4th century B.C.—perhaps the single block of breccia that forms the party wall between Rooms 6 and 4 and those that divide Room 7 from Rooms 4 and 6. These variations, however, were not apparent, since all the interior walls were coated with a thick layer of lime-cement. The floor levels vary considerably from room to room because of the way in which earlier buildings were incorporated into a whole. Room 1 has the highest floor (+167.30–167.18 m.), Room 7, the lowest (+166.44–166.33 m.).

In the late 5th century B.C. an entrance to the building stood on the west side at 2.37 m. from the northwest corner (Room 3) on line with the first landing in the stairway. This entrance may have been blocked up in the late 4th century B.C.⁵ For this period we posit an entrance again

² Isolated walls have not been described since so little has been preserved.

³ That is, Buildings I–J:21–22, I–J:22, J:23, and K:28.

⁴ See pp. 102–103 above for the question of whether there were six or seven rooms in the late 5th century B.C.

⁵ Wall stucco was preserved on the interior face of the threshold block and continued several centimeters above it before breaking off. It is, of course, possible that the threshold level was simply raised another course, but no block was found to support such a reconstruction.

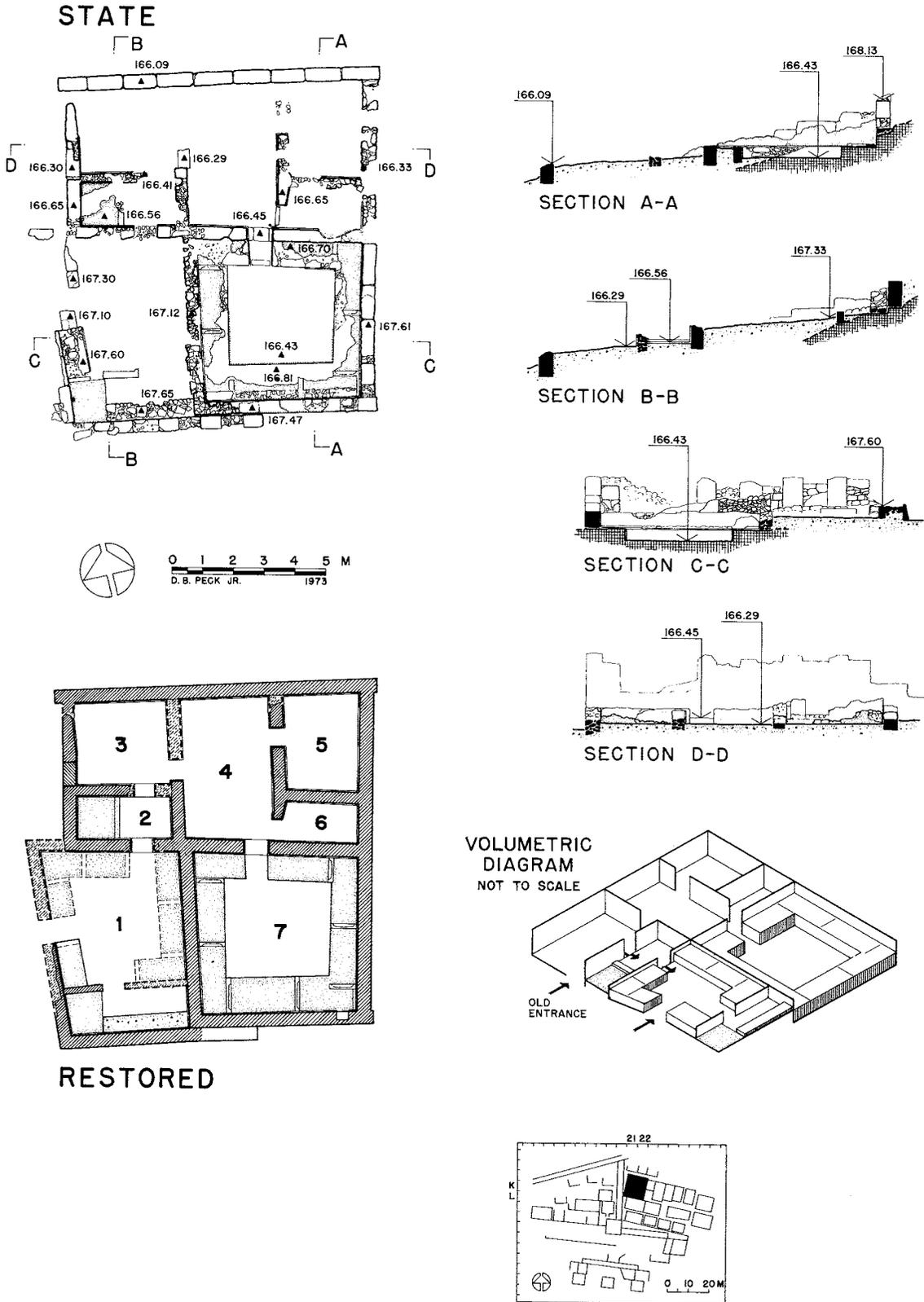


FIG. 24. Plan: Building K-L:21-22

on the west side but near the southern end of Building K–L:21–22, off landing 2. Although the door is not actually preserved, the south jamb would have stood *ca.* 3.00–3.10 m. from the southwest corner of the building where the large limestone orthostates of the exterior wall end. A door certainly stood here in the early 5th century B.C., and as we shall see in our description of Room 1, it may have continued in use in the late 4th century B.C. too. After the blocking up of the northern door in Room 3, this southern door presents the only other possibility for an entrance to the building off the stairway.

It would be logical to expect another door on the north side, opening directly into the central Room 4 and giving immediate access to the eastern half of the building. No traces of one, however, can be seen on the blocks of the continuous foundation wall. That the foundation is continuous is not in itself an argument against such a door. Although it was customary to interrupt wall foundations at doors rather than to continue them under the threshold blocks in the Archaic and Classical Sanctuary, both practices occur in the late 4th century B.C. For example, the north wall of Building M:16–17 breaks at the door while that of L–M:28 is continuous. Therefore, no conclusion can be drawn from the existing remains regarding the presence or absence of a door opening into Room 4.

Dining Room 1

The large, irregularly shaped dining Room 1, which occupies the southwestern quarter of Building K–L:21–22, was given its form in the late 5th century B.C. Because of extensive Roman intrusions, relatively little is preserved that can be assigned to the late 4th century B.C.

As in the late 5th century B.C., the narrow partition continued to divide the room into two parts, namely, a small alcove along the south 1.40 m. wide by 3.85 m. long (Pl. 14:a), and the main room to the north, which measured 4.35 m. north–south by 3.95–4.50 m. east–west. Moreover, in the alcove the 0.55 m.-wide rubble bench continued to stand against the south wall. Quite possibly, however, the lime-cement bath floor, which filled the western end of this area, was covered. Immediately above the cement floor lay a 0.03 m.-thick layer of ash containing virtually no pottery. Above this, in turn, lay a stratum of clay *ca.* 0.10 m. thick, which covered only the eastern half of the floor; over the western half was a layer of tile debris. The pottery from the clay dates to the 4th century B.C.⁶ If it accurately reflects the period when the clay was laid down, then the stall as such ceased to function and the area was covered with clay as an extension of the floor to the east. The tile debris must be regarded as a later intrusion that cuts into the floor. In all periods the predominant finds here consisted of cooking ware; therefore the small room undoubtedly always functioned as a kitchen.

In the northern part of Room 1 only two features survive from this phase, namely, a door in the northeast corner of the room leading to Room 2 and a couch, which stands against the west wall and abuts the south partition. A portion of the couch can be seen to the left of the shower stall in Plate 14:a. The presence of the couch together with the dimensions of the room strongly suggests that the area functioned as a dining room and that dining couches should be restored on all four sides. Although the top surface and northern end of the couch were largely destroyed when the Romans laid their new exterior wall through its center, its east face is sufficiently well preserved. The couch is 0.75 m. wide, 1.50 m. long, as preserved, and 0.40 m. high and is plastered with lime-cement, a finishing characteristic of the Hellenistic buildings. An exterior door probably stood just north of the couch in the late 4th, if not also in the late 5th, century B.C., for despite considerable damage by the Romans, nothing indicates that the furnishing originally continued beyond its existing end. Moreover, the preserved end coincides with a break in the

⁶ Lot 6228, dated to the late 4th century B.C., has one intrusive Roman fragment.

exterior orthostate wall, although it does not quite correspond to the second landing of the central stairway. We nevertheless restore an entrance here 0.80–1.00 m. wide.

For the remainder of the room the reconstruction is quite hypothetical, owing also to the fact that we do not know the exact width of the opening that led to the south alcove. Continuing north of the hypothetical west entrance, however, we may restore a half-couch of 1.10–1.20 m. north of the exterior door,⁷ two full couches along the north side, followed by the door to Room 2, then two full couches along the east. If we allow 0.70–0.80 m. for the door to the south alcove, then 2.40–2.50 m. remain between that door and the southeast corner of the room for one long couch. Couches may thus have been laid out along the following lines, beginning south of the main entrance and working counterclockwise. Only the length of no. 1 is known (marked by asterisk); the remainder are restored.

1. West 1.50 m.*
2. South 2.40–2.50 m.
3. East 1.80 m.
4. East 1.80 m.
5. North 1.50 m.
6. North 1.50 m.
7. West 1.10–1.30 (half)

At the base of the extant west couch a clay floor (+167.30–167.18 m.) extends south to the partition and 1.60 m. eastwards, before being cut by Roman intrusions.

As noted above (p. 88), a difference in height existed between the floor levels of Rooms 1 and 2. This difference continued in the Hellenistic period, reaching as much as 0.87 m., measured to the highest point in Room 1 in front of the partition. Although the floor of Room 1 slopes from south to north, one or two steps would still have been necessary to bridge the difference in levels between the two rooms. Unfortunately, much of the northeast door to Room 2 is destroyed, as is the floor in the northern half of Room 1.

Bathing Room 2

Room 2 measures 3.10–3.12 m. long east–west by 1.40–1.45 m. wide north–south. Just 0.44 m. west of the door a large shower stall occupies the western end of the room (Pl. 29:a). It is 1.18 m. wide east–west by 1.40 m. long north–south (+166.56 m.). Along its open, east side is a raised rim 0.20 m. wide with beveled edges, standing 0.02–0.03 m. above the bath floor and 0.13 m. above the clay floor in the rest of the room. A 0.09 m.-wide drain hole lies at the base of the west wall 0.18 m. north of the southwest corner. The waterproof cement that covers the floor and rim continues up the walls to a height of at least 0.60 m., above which the walls no longer exist.⁸

Room 2 is clearly a bathing room, perhaps intended to replace the older facilities in the southwest corner of Room 1. Though no larger than the earlier stall, the disposition of the second one in a separate room must have made it more convenient and more efficient.

⁷ It is possible that two blocks survive from the northwest couch face. On the state plan (Fig. 24), two breccia blocks appear roughly on line with the west exterior wall in the northern half of the building. Initially, we thought that they represented the continuation of that wall southward into Room 1. It then, however, becomes even more difficult to relate the northern and southern halves of Room 1 in a coherent plan, given the position of the exterior orthostates further south. Although the blocks fall somewhat east of the hypothetical face for the northwest couch, it may be better to regard them as couch walls rather than exterior wall blocks.

⁸ The north side of the bath floor was damaged by a Roman intrusion; thus, it was possible to examine the composition of the floor. Over a layer of earth was laid a bedding of fieldstones; this was then covered with a layer of cement mixed with small gray-black pebbles and finished with a cleaner surface of cement. The composition of the cement is generally the same as that on the walls, only coarser.

Service Room 3

From Room 2 one passed to service Room 3 by means of a northern door opposite that on the south (Pl. 28). Its position is indicated by the stone threshold that still stands in place. Room 3 measures 3.05 m. east–west by 2.65 m. north–south. Roman disturbances have removed the east party wall and whatever furnishings once existed, leaving the south wall to project 0.56 m. above floor level.

The exterior entrance originally stood on the west side and was subsequently blocked up and plastered (p. 172 and note 5). A continuation of this plaster was found on the floor along the south and west walls and must originally have extended throughout the room. The level of the floor (+166.20 m.) lies 0.09 m. below the threshold of the door to Room 2. Within the room there was little to note. Beside the former entrance, the lower edge of the plaster on the west wall steps up 0.10 m. just north of the door. The meaning of this is unclear. Since Room 2 offers no facility such as a bench for those waiting to bathe, as is customary in other Sanctuary buildings of this period, it is possible that Room 3 functioned as a waiting room.

The door leading from Room 3 to Room 4 stands in the southeast corner of Room 3 directly opposite the blocked entrance; its position is marked by a 0.65 m.-wide stone threshold.

Service Room 4

Room 4 is 4.53–4.80 m. long from north to south and 2.83 m. wide from east to west. In the preceding phase the room had been furnished with benches along three walls. These were now removed, for the room was redesigned as a large hall, giving access to all of the remaining rooms of the building. We have already discussed the problems of restoring an exterior entrance on the north. But even without such an entrance, there were still two doors in the east wall leading to Rooms 5 and 6, one on the south to Room 7, as well as the door from Room 3 on the west side.

Service Room 5

The door to Room 5 lies *ca.* 1.10 m. south of the northeast corner of Room 4 and is about 0.60 m. wide.⁹ Occupying the northeast corner of the building, Room 5 corresponds to Room 3 across the hall, both in position and in size. It measures 3.03–3.33 m. long east–west by 2.40 m. wide north–south. Here, too, on the floor were bits of plaster that may or may not have fallen from the walls, but no other furnishings were found within the room.

Service Room 6

Entrance to Room 6 is gained via Room 4 by means of a door that abuts the southeast corner of the hall. The 0.675 m.-wide opening is provided with a narrow stone threshold 0.08–0.13 m. wide and 0.04 m. high that is coarsely plastered. Cut into the southern end of the block is a pivot hole for a door leaf that opened inward to the east. A reveal 0.15 m. wide, made in plaster, marks off the north door jamb on its west face; two more such reveals, 0.22–0.30 m. wide, decorated the south jamb and south wall face within the room.

Room 6 measures 2.45 m. long by 1.27–1.33 m. wide, and is slightly smaller than its counterpart, Room 2. The Late Roman tile Grave 16 removed part of the south wall. The west and south walls, which stand to *ca.* 0.35 m. above floor level, are built of breccia blocks and are stuccoed. The floor may also originally have been stuccoed, for the wall plaster curves out at the base of the walls, while bits of plaster were found on the present earth surface. Nothing else was found within the room to indicate its function. Its similarity to Room 2 might suggest that it was a bathing room for the eastern half of the building. The complete absence, however, of any heavy-duty hydraulic cement or drainage facility makes this doubtful. A more likely interpretation is that it was a storage area for the dining equipment used next door.

⁹ The party wall between Rooms 4 and 5 is missing north of the door.

Dining Room 7 (Pls. 28, 29:c, d; Fig. 40)

Room 7, the largest and most important room in the building, occupies the southeast corner of the structure (Pls. 28, 29:c, d; Fig. 40). It can only have been reached by passing through Rooms 1 to 4, unless, of course, an outside entrance existed in the hall, 4. In size it is equal to half the north–south length of the building and slightly more than one-half the width. Although the walls are not quite parallel, the room is about square, measuring 5.05 (south)–5.45 (north) m. wide east–west by 5.08 (east)–5.35 (west) m. north–south. Here there is no question of the room's function because all of its dining couches are well preserved.

The door from Room 4 to Room 7 is located in the southeast corner of 4 just beside the door to Room 6. It is off-center in relation to 7, falling 2.95 m. from the northeast corner of the room and 1.70 m. from the northwest corner. The opening, 0.76 m. wide, is filled with a stone threshold (top +166.45 m.) composed of two blocks, that is, a single block 0.60 m. wide and 0.11 m. high, and a second, L-shaped one that also forms the lowest course of the west door jamb. Between the east jamb and the threshold is a drain 0.10 m. wide and 0.15 m. deep. Just beside the east jamb but still within Room 4 is a small pivot hole 0.05 m. in diameter, lined with small stones, and the threshold is cut back slightly to receive the door, which opened out and closed against it. A shallow reveal executed in plaster decorated the south corner of the east jamb.

Within the room on line with the couch faces a smaller block forms a second threshold 0.25 m. wide and 0.18 m. high. *Ca.* 0.75 m. long, it does not quite fill the opening. Between the two threshold blocks at the level of their bases a soft clay floor with traces of burning continues under the southern block. Apparently, then, this block was not part of the original design. Moreover, on the west wall of the door passage can be seen the outline of a low hump in the plaster *ca.* 0.30 m. long north–south and 0.03 m. to 0.04 m. high. Initially, therefore, there may have been simply a low ridge made in plaster that was subsequently replaced by the stone block.

Room 7 is the only Hellenistic dining room in the Sanctuary to have just one door, hence its more regular appearance. The eight couches are well preserved, the individual armrests intact, so all couch lengths (marked by asterisks) are securely attested. The southern half of the room is cut from bedrock, including wall beddings, banquettes, and two-thirds of the floor (Pl. 29:c). Where the rock slopes away, we find retaining walls of poros blocks and fieldstones. The armrests are either cut from bedrock or built of small stones laid in a row; *ca.* 0.15 m. thick and 0.07 m. high, they present one contoured face that was executed in lime-cement (Pl. 29:b). The same waterproof cement covered the banquettes, walls, and floor. Where the floor was cut from bedrock, the cement was applied directly to it, but in the northern half it was laid down over an earth fill. As usual, the floor sloped considerably, from +166.43 m. in the south to +166.33 m. in the north.

There are two couches per wall. Those on the north, east, and west sides are 0.77–0.85 m. wide, while those on the south are 1.15–1.19 m. wide; all are 0.40 m. high. Their lengths vary. Beginning to the right, or west, of the door and moving counterclockwise, we find the following lengths:

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Northwest | 1.77 m.* |
| 2. West | 2.12 m.* |
| 3. West | 2.42 m.* |
| 4. Southwest | 2.27 m.* |
| 5. Southeast | 1.80 m. (2.01 m.)* |
| 6. East | 1.99 m.* |
| 7. East | 2.33 m.* |
| 8. Northeast | 2.16 m.* |

Because the couches are so well preserved, one can see just what irregularities existed. Some differences in length can be explained by the uneven shape of the room. For example, the west side is 0.26 m. longer than the east; the west couches are, accordingly, longer than the east ones. At the same time, along a given wall the couches are not equal in length, and neither are the couches on the south and east sides similar although the walls are of about the same length. The variations in lengths between adjacent couches on a given side are as follows: on the north, 0.39 m.; west, 0.30 m.; south 0.26 m.; east, 0.34 m. These differences are roughly equal to twice the thickness of an armrest. It would thus seem as if the couches were laid out in the following manner. The space to be allotted to two couches (i.e., the full length of the wall minus the width of one couch) was divided in half, and the armrest was then laid out on the foot of the preceding couch; in this way *ca.* 0.15 m. was cut off the length of the one couch and added to the other. Such a system applies, at least, to the east and west sides.¹⁰ On the other hand, on the south side, the additional length was not given to the second couch (no. 5) but to the first (no. 4).

Although one can perhaps explain how the differences were reached, it is still difficult to understand why the couches were laid out in this way and why the varying lengths were desired. In general, the couches are long in comparison to those in other buildings. It is also interesting to see that two long couches along one wall are preferred to three short ones, and a total of eight rather than nine.

Two further points should be noted. First, the rock-cut south couches are considerably wider than those on the other sides of the room. Their armrests, however, do not extend across the entire width of the banquette but are only 0.70 m. long, that is, about the width of a couch. Furthermore, the armrest for the first couch on the east side, 6, is not aligned with the face of the south banquette but falls south of that face at 0.73 m. from the south wall (Pl. 29:b). Thus, if the south couches were in fact only 0.70 m. wide, it is conceivable that the remaining 0.45 m. along the outer edge of the south couch served as a table. Second, an armrest 0.20 m. wide lies at the foot of the southeast couch 5. It is built against the east wall and slopes down toward the couch (Pl. 29:b, upper right quarter). Although the armrest inspires images of left-handed diners reclining on their right elbows, the appearance of just one such facility tucked back in a deep corner makes such a reconstruction unlikely. Since no such armrest occurs elsewhere in the dining room, it must have been simply a space-filler. The couch, therefore, can be considered to be either 1.80 m. long (to the base of the armrest) or 2.01 m. (to the wall). No additional evidence for tables was noted, indicating that they were undoubtedly portable.

Just 0.20 m. west of the southeast corner traces of a niche were found in the south wall. The floor of the niche lies 1.38 m. above the couch top, or 1.78 m. above the floor. Unlike the niches in Room 1 of Building M:16–17, this does not run through the full thickness of the wall. Its sides are built of small stones set on top of a breccia wall block so that the south or back edge of the niche lies 0.12 m. in from the back face of the wall, the east side 0.15 m. in from the eastern edge of the block. Thus, the niche was only 0.16 m. deep; its length and height are unknown. Its function is suggested by the fact that no evidence for windows was found. Since the room was set back into the hillside, with its door opening not to the outside but onto an interior hall, it must have been very dark. Lamps were probably placed in niches like this one to provide artificial light.

¹⁰ In other words, the west wall is 5.31 m. long, less 0.77 m. for the width of couch 1, or 4.54 m. If it is divided in half, two couches, each 2.27 m. long, are created. When the armrest of couch 3 is laid out on the foot of couch 2, couch 2 becomes 2.12 m. long, or 2.27 minus 0.15 m., while couch 3 becomes 2.42 m. long, or 2.27 plus 0.15 m. The difference in length between the two couches is actually 0.30 m., since not only has 0.15 m. been added to the one, but 0.15 m. has been subtracted from the other.

Chronology

Three fills provide us with approximate dates for these modifications to Building K–L:21–22. The leveling stratum that lies beneath the floor and the extant couch in Room 1 dates no earlier than the early 4th century B.C. A second leveling fill in Room 4 covered the benches of the preceding phase and raised the floor to the 4th-century B.C. level (lot 6643). Again, pottery in this fill dated no earlier than the early 4th century B.C. But perhaps most useful was the material recovered from the foundation trench for the east wall of Room 7. A late example of a 4th-century B.C. Corinthian skyphos and an incised blister ware aryballos (lot 73-101) place the fill in the late 4th century B.C., and it is to this period that we would date the construction of the latest phase of the building. Nothing was found within the structure that could be assigned to the period of its use, however.

BUILDING L–M:28: DINING ROOM, KITCHEN WITH BATH, SITTING ROOM (Figs. 25, 26)

Building L–M:28 is located on Row 2 at the far northeast corner of the temenos.¹¹ It is undoubtedly the best-preserved structure in the Sanctuary (Pl. 30:a, b). Its orientation, like that of most of the buildings east of the stairway, is 12 degrees east of north. In plan it is a large, nearly square building 7.80 m. long and 8.05 m. wide, divided into three rooms, namely, a long kitchen or service room, 1, along the west side, a large dining room, 2, to the east of it, and a small sitting room, 3, to the south of Room 2. The south wall stands to a height of 1.50 m. above floor level, the partition dividing Rooms 2 and 3 to a height of 0.94 m., while the first two foundation courses of the north wall end just below floor level. The interior furnishings are nearly complete, and consequently, although the main entrance is not preserved, its position can be restored with certainty.

Building L–M:28 is partly founded on the breccia bedrock. This is trimmed down to form the bedding for both the south wall and bench in the sitting Room 3. The northern half of the building is built on earth fill retained by the foundations for the north wall. Both exterior and interior walls are constructed of local breccia blocks of uneven lengths, laid in a single row of stretchers. They average 0.45 to 0.50 m. thick. At southwest and southeast corners the west and south walls, respectively, project *ca.* 0.50 m. beyond the corner. Due to the excellent preservation of wall plaster on the interior faces of all the walls, however, it is not clear whether stacked rubble was employed as filler in conjunction with the breccia behind that plaster. In view of the considerable preserved height of the back walls, these clearly continued to the roof in stone. No destruction debris lay on the floor, thus nothing was found that could be associated with the roof.

The missing north entrance opened off a broad alley 2.00 m. wide, which separates L–M:28 from the next row of buildings to the north (Pl. 30:b). Its position is clear because south, west, and east walls are preserved to a sufficient height to show that the door was on none of those sides. Furthermore, since the entire north side of the dining Room 2 is lined with couches, the only free stretch of wall occurs in Room 1. An exception to the general Sanctuary practice, then, Building L–M:28 was entered not through the dining room but through the kitchen. The dimensions of the door are not known but can be estimated from other buildings to have been *ca.* 0.80 m.

Kitchen, Room 1

Room 1 is 2.00 m. wide and runs the entire length of the building from south to north, or 6.35 m. (Pl. 30:b). Its northern half has been destroyed to just below floor level (+165.94 m.)

¹¹ For previous publication, see Bookidis and Fisher 1974, pp. 275–278. The building actually lies on the lowest row that was excavated, but parts of two different ashlar walls exposed just to the north of it show that at this end of the Sanctuary there was at least one more row of dining rooms to the north.

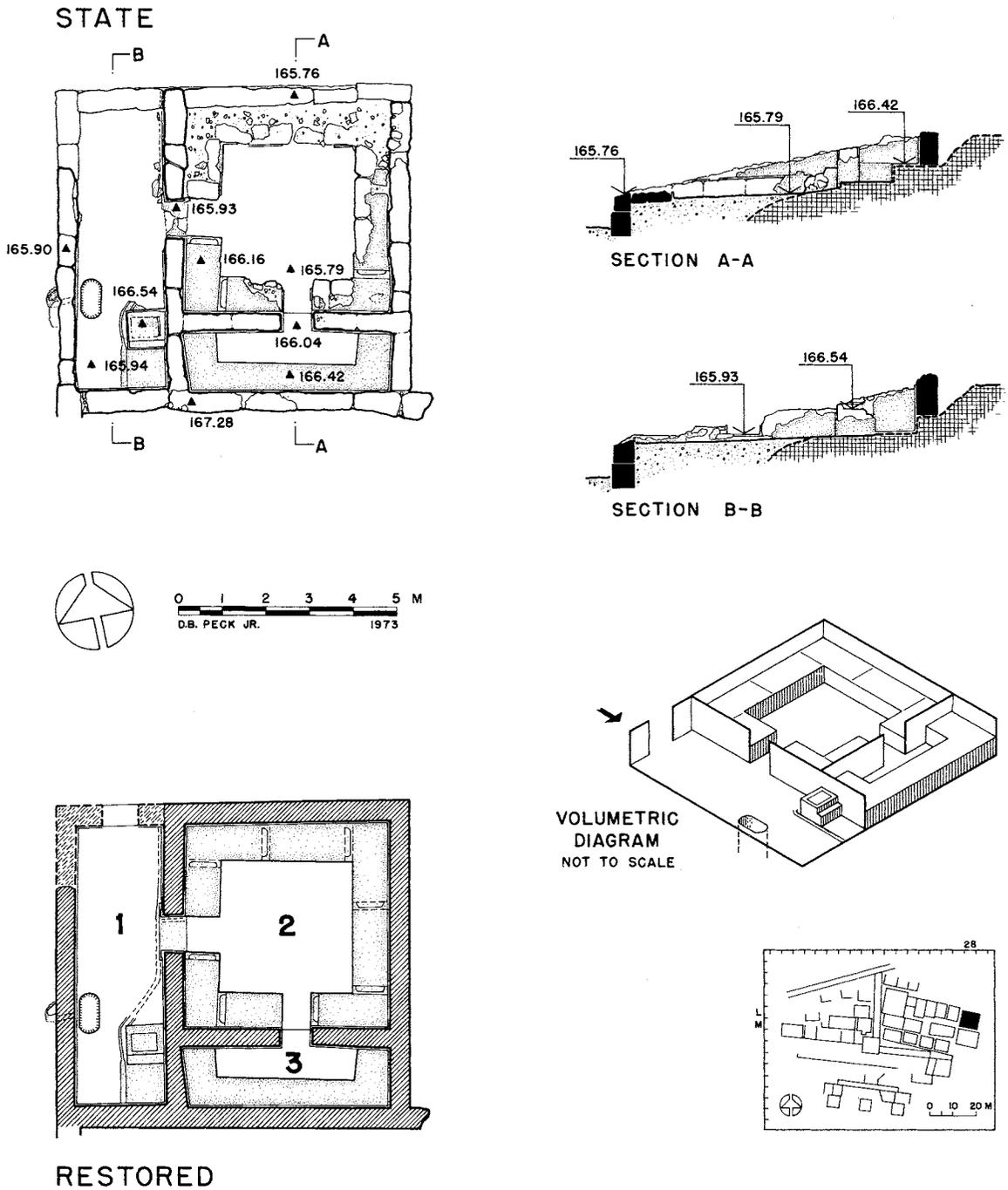


FIG. 25. Plan: Building L-M:28

and, therefore, retains no evidence of furnishings. The southern half is in much better condition, preserving a cistern, a tall sinklike construction, and a bathroom.

The cistern (Cistern 1971-1) lies at the base of the west wall 1.58 m. from the southwest corner of the room. It can be seen against the west wall in Plate 30:b. Its oval mouth is 0.85 m. long north-south and 0.50 m. wide east-west, and at present falls 0.07 to 0.08 m. below the floor level, which is indicated by a line of broken stucco on the west wall of the room (Pl. 31:a). Nothing was found that could be identified as a cover or protective head for the cistern. That one would

have been necessary, however, is clear from the plan, for there was little free walking space in this part of the room. Except for the upper 0.20 m. of the northern rim, which cuts through stereo, the cistern is hollowed out of bedrock. Its shaft descends vertically to a depth of 2.40 m. At this point north and south sides are cut back over a meter to give a total length of 3.05 m. East and west sides open only slightly so that at bottom, at 4.00 m. (+162.16 m.), the cistern is 0.70 m. wide. The interior is lined with waterproof lime-cement, and there are footholes in east and west sides every 0.30 to 0.35 m. A shallow, hemispherical depression in the center of the cistern floor facilitated cleaning. The volume of the cistern is approximately 3.50 cubic meters, and it could have held roughly 3,500 liters.

Just above the mouth of the cistern is an opening 0.10 m. in diameter, which passes through the exterior wall of the building. A broad, tongue-shaped ledge of lime-cement is situated just beneath this hole on the exterior and projects 0.30 m. from the wall. It is furled like a tongue to make a trough 0.17 m. wide with convex sides (Pl. 31:c). The western end and north side of the tongue simply break off without any careful finishing of the surface. When it was excavated, a fragmentary roof tile rested on the ledge and thereby blocked the opening into the wall. Our initial conjecture was that the tongue was somehow connected with a piping system, which funneled water from the roof into the cistern, and that the tile was put in place after the pipe was removed in order to keep earth from falling into the system. This idea gains support from the fact that the elevation of the tongue, +166.04 m., is higher than that of the opening above the cistern, +166.00 m. Therefore, the flow goes from outside in. Furthermore, the tongue or trough lay beneath ancient ground level and could only have been useful if it were connected to a pipe of some sort. This we did not find.¹²

A sink or table stands against the east wall just 0.42 m. east of the cistern (Pls. 30:b, 31:b). It consists of a single block of limestone 0.60 m. high, 0.93 m. long, and 0.86 m. wide. In its top is a rectangular cutting 0.50 m. by 0.60 m. wide and 0.13 m. deep (cutting floor +166.54 m.), surrounded on three sides by a rim 0.12 to 0.16 m. thick. On the fourth, or south, side the rim is a separately worked slab set into a cutting 0.20 m. wide and 0.27 m. deep. Although no longer preserved in place, the slab projected at least 0.30 m. above the floor of the cutting, as the break in the wall plaster to the east attests.¹³ It thus served to screen the sink from the bath stall to the south. The top and sides of the tall sink are covered with the same lime-cement that covers the walls of the room.

Beside the sink a small bathing stall, 0.85 m. square, fills the southeast corner of the room. It is paved with fine black and white pebbles laid in waterproof lime-cement (Pl. 30:b). Although the floor of the stall (+165.96 m.) is raised only 0.02 m. above the floor of the room, a rim 0.10 m. wide with beveled edges projects another 0.045 m. on the open west side. At the northwest corner of the stall a narrow channel connects with an open drain to the north. This skirts the sink (Pl. 31:b), then veers off to the northeast to follow the line of the east wall. It empties outside the building through a hole by the northeast corner of the room, presumably just east of the main entrance to the building.

Finally, a number of disordered fieldstones were exposed in the southwest corner of the room opposite the shower stall. Over these stones lay a stratum of soft black earth, extending as far as the stall to the east. The stones, in turn, rested on a hard burnt layer such as sometimes occurs where successive fires have been built, as in a hearth. There was, however, no associated cooking

¹² Bookidis and Fisher 1974, p. 277. Unfortunately, the excavation record of the area was lost in the fire of 1972. For tile gutters and drain pipes at Delos, see *Delos* VIII, pp. 341–342.

¹³ A limestone slab, found in the cistern, probably belongs here. A similar construction was found in the Theater caves at Isthmia, but because the top cutting is only 0.06 m. deep and its floor is unstuccoed, Broneer calls it a table. The Theater Court I does have a sink, according to Broneer, but this is a circular area of floor in the southeast corner that is furnished with a small catch basin and a drain; *Isthmia* II, pp. 38–39, pls. 57, 58.

ware, and when the original floor of the room was cleared just beneath this level, there was no evidence of fire scarring on it. Since the corner cannot have been a very convenient place for a hearth, crowded between the sink, the cistern, and the bath stall, we assume that this was a later intrusion and that the hearth lay further north. A second accumulation of ash and burnt material abutted the west wall roughly in the middle of the room and about at floor level. A single burnt animal bone lay within the debris (bone lot 71-36). Again, however, the floor was not noticeably discolored. With regard to the floor, in the southern end of the room a thin coat of lime-cement was observed on top of trimmed bedrock (+165.94 m.); north of the cistern it continued as clay.

Opposite the second burnt area, a door, located 2.10 m. from the northeast corner of the room, leads from the kitchen to the dining Room 2. Its 0.87 m.-wide threshold is raised 0.27 m. above floor level in both rooms. It is carefully stuccoed, the edges beveled, while the west face of each door jamb is thickened to give the impression of wood revetment. A circular drain cuts through the base of the threshold and connects with the open drain in Room 1 described above. In the area of the doorway the drain is covered with stucco.

Dining Room 2

Room 2 is 4.70 m. wide east–west and 4.65 to 4.88 m. long north–south (Pls. 30:b, 31:e). In addition to the door from the kitchen, Room 1, a second door, placed 2.27 m. from the southwest corner, leads to the sitting Room 3 to the south. The remaining free wall space in Room 2 is filled with banquettes, by far the best preserved in the Sanctuary. Retaining walls for the banquettes consist of irregular blocks of breccia, generally smaller than those used in the outer walls. These are covered with a thick coat of waterproof lime-cement; a half-round molding executed in the same material embellishes the edge of each couch top. The lime-cement then continues up the walls. The contoured armrests are 0.15 m. wide and slope on one side to conform better to the reclining figure (Pl. 31:d).

The couches vary in width from 0.75 to 0.82 m. and stand 0.37 m. above the floor. Couches 1 to 4 are sufficiently well preserved as to leave no doubt as to their dimensions; indeed 1 is nearly intact. Couch 5, while missing most of its surface, preserves the impression of its armrest, and its length is therefore also secure. Couches 6 and 7 are badly damaged. That they existed is shown by the retaining wall, which is continuous across the north side. Their exact lengths, however, cannot be determined with certainty. The surface of couch 8 is also completely destroyed but may have had no armrest. Beginning south of the door from Room 1 and moving counterclockwise, the lengths of the individual units are as follows; those complete are marked by an asterisk.

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| 1. Southwest | 1.75 m.* |
| 2. South | 1.45 m.* |
| 3. South | 1.80 m.* |
| 4. East | 1.90 m.* |
| 5. East | 2.10 m.* |
| 6. North | 1.95 m. |
| 7. North | 1.95 m. |
| 8. Northwest | 1.30 m.* |

What is clear from the above table is that the couches are quite definitely of different lengths. The longest couches are those opposite the door from the kitchen.¹⁴ In other Sanctuary buildings, however, this arrangement varies and cannot be regarded as significant. No good floor surface was found but only fugitive traces of clay and gravel, which sloped downward from south to north.

¹⁴ In Building K–L:21–22 the longest couches are to the right of the entrance. In Building M:16–17 they are again opposite the entrance.

Sitting Room 3

Room 3 lies immediately south of 2 and is equal to it in length (Pls. 30:b, 31:e). The door lies 2.27 m. from the southwest corner of Room 2 between couches 2 and 3. Raised 0.12 m. above floor level in Room 2,¹⁵ its threshold is 0.60 m. wide.

The sitting room is 1.26 m. wide and 4.55 to 4.80 m. long. South, east, and west walls are lined with a bench cut from bedrock and covered with lime-cement. The bench is 0.38 m. high, 0.60 m. wide on the south, 0.80 m. on east and west sides. Its outer edge is beveled to prevent chipping, and there were clearly no armrests.¹⁶ Nothing else was found within the room, however, that might explain the way in which it functioned. The floor consists of a thin layer of clay over trimmed bedrock and is at the same level as the threshold of the door (+166.04 m.).

Chronology

The date of the construction of Building L–M:28 is dependent, for the most part, on the history of the dining rooms immediately to the west of it. Excavation of the foundation trench for the west wall produced only a small fragment of a terracotta figurine of the 4th century B.C.¹⁷ More useful for our purposes is the evidence that Building L–M:28 was built after Building L:26–27 to the west was abandoned and filled in. This took place in the late 4th century B.C., and the construction of Building L–M:28 followed shortly thereafter.¹⁸

Like the majority of the Sanctuary dining rooms, L–M:28 contained few finds. No roof tiles were found on the floor, and there appears to have been no real destruction debris from the building. Whether the furniture and table ware within them were considered part of the Sanctuary inventories and therefore salvaged when the buildings were abandoned or whether they were simply pillaged is not clear. Nowhere, for example, did we find a neat stack of cooking pots such as filled the pit in the eastern service court of the Isthmia Theater caves.¹⁹ In the dining Room 2, a relatively small amount of sherds lay on the floor (Fig. 26, stratum 5), and little of this mended into well-preserved shapes. The material has been discussed by Pemberton.²⁰ Briefly, the majority of the fragments represent cups, bowls, and plates with some cooking and coarse wares (lot 6712). The chronological span is considerable, extending through the 5th, 4th, and 3rd centuries B.C., while the latest pieces can be assigned to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. Characteristic of this date are a conical bowl with West Slope decoration, a flat-rim plate, and a fish plate.²¹ How late into the century they extend, however, is unclear. In addition to the pottery, a bronze coin of Philip V (220–178 B.C.) was recovered from the floor.²²

While comprising more utility wares, as might be expected, the pottery over the floor of the kitchen was generally earlier in date than that from Room 2, descending no later than the early 3rd century B.C. (lot 6719). Only in the southeast corner was Late Hellenistic pottery recovered but again with a preponderance of 4th-century B.C. sherds (lot 6720).

This same concentration of early material was noticeable in the fill of the cistern. From top to bottom the pottery was consistently of Early Hellenistic date, that is, of the late 4th to early

¹⁵ Because of the sloping floor in Room 2 the difference in levels between the two rooms appears greater in the state plan (Fig. 25) than it is in actuality.

¹⁶ The narrower width of the banquette is not always a determining factor in its identification as a bench, as exemplified by the narrow couch in Room 2 of Building K–L:25–26 (p. 117 above). Here, however, the absence of armrests surely indicates that we are dealing with a bench.

¹⁷ MF-71-140, fragmentary semi-draped female figure; see Bookidis and Fisher 1974, p. 278 and note 17.

¹⁸ For a fuller discussion, see Building L:26–27 above in Chapter 5. Also of use is lot 6843, a leveling stratum that covered both the east wall of Building L:26–27 and the foundation trench for the west wall of L–M:28. This layer also dates to the later 4th century B.C.

¹⁹ *Isthmia* II, p. 38, pl. 17:e.

²⁰ *Corinth* XVIII, i, Group 10, pp. 105–106.

²¹ *Corinth* XVIII, i, nos. 187–189 (C-71-585, C-71-177, C-71-178), p. 106.

²² Bookidis and Fisher 1974, p. 277, no. 49 (71-222), p. 302.

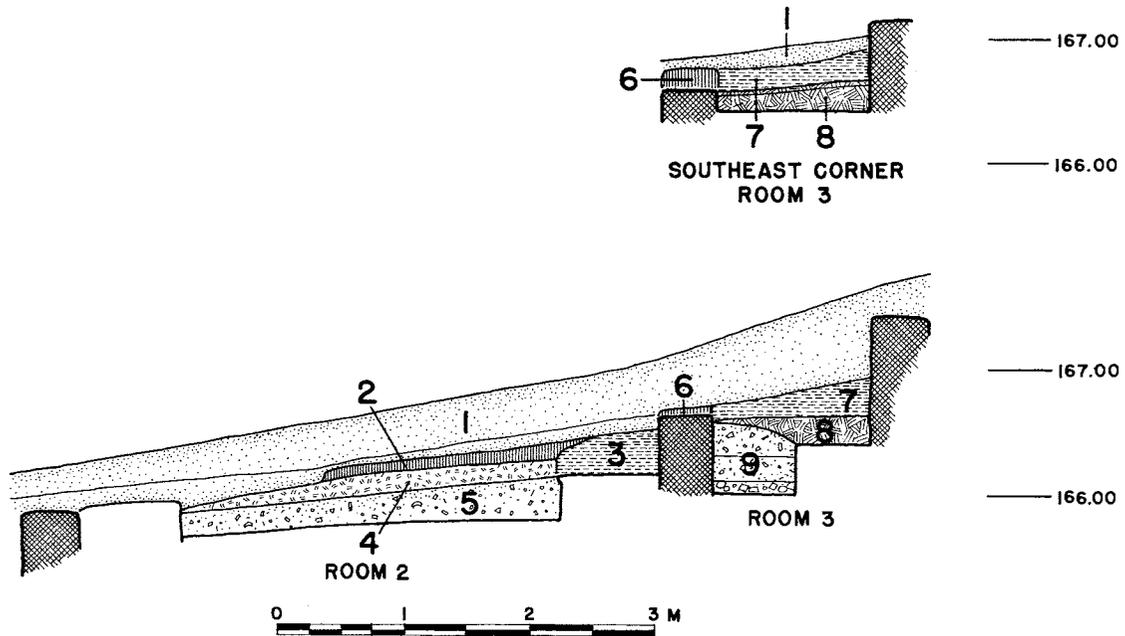


FIG. 26. Section: Building L–M:28, looking east

[1] Surface; [2] Abandonment (lot 6715); [3, 4] Early Roman filling, Room 2 (lots 6714, 6713); [5] Debris over floor, Room 2 (lot 6712); [6] Robbing trench over party wall; [7] Roman fill, Room 3 (lot 6721); [8] Fill over benches, Room 3 (lot 6717); [9] Fill over floor, Room 3 (lot 6716)

3rd centuries B.C. (lots 6722, 6723). This would imply that the cistern was filled in shortly after the building was constructed. That such was not the case is suggested by the discovery of dismantled couch blocks throughout the cistern fill, together with the slab that may have formed the south rim of the sink. It seems more likely that the cistern was filled with debris from the destroyed dining room. Joining fragments of a semi-glazed bowl, most of which was recovered in the dining room, occurred in the cistern to a depth of 1.00 m. below the mouth.²³

The deep fill that covered the floor of the southern Room 3 to the height of the bench contained a higher percentage of late material (lot 6716), including a Megarian bowl, a gray-ware bowl, and joining pieces of the West Slope conical bowl found in the dining room (Fig. 26, stratum 9). It is difficult to know how to explain this difference in chronology. On the one hand, these later sherds may represent the latest material in use in the building, thereby placing its abandonment in the 2nd century B.C., perhaps at the time of Mummius' invasion. On the other hand, they could represent accumulation in an abandoned building that went out of use in the 3rd century B.C. The good state of preservation of the walls argues against the destruction of the building by earthquake. Nevertheless, some agent caused the destruction of a few of the couches and the sink, and someone threw this debris into the cistern. The building was then filled in to the height of the couch tops. Again, nothing in this deep fill need be later than 146 B.C. and could potentially be somewhat earlier. The subsequent history of Building L–M:28 falls in Early Roman times. Because there is some question of reuse of the structure at that time, its later history is discussed in Chapter 10.

²³ *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 186 (C-71-181), p. 106. Fragments also came from the floor of Room 1 (lot 6719) and from Room 3 (lot 6716).

BUILDING M:21–22: DINING ROOM, KITCHEN, BATH(?) (Figs. 27, 28; Plan 10 D–D)

Situated on the third row just east of the stairway, Building M:21–22 opens off landing 4.²⁴ It is long and narrow, with its entrance to the west, and it is divided into three rooms of unequal size, namely, a larger dining room to the west, 1, and a smaller kitchen to the east, 2, one corner of which is closed off to form a very small third room, 3, perhaps for bathing (Pl. 32:a). These cover Rooms 1 to 3 of the earlier Building M–N:20–26. The building's overall dimensions are 9.70 m. east–west by 5.60 m. north–south.

The state of preservation of the southern half of the building is good. There, walls stand to a height of three courses, or 1.55 m. above the floor, while the furnishings are nearly intact. By contrast, the northern half has largely fallen away.²⁵ Western and eastern ends of the lowest foundation of the north wall remain, but the remainder has disappeared and with it couches and floors.

Both exterior and party walls are built in ashlar masonry of local breccia. They measure 0.50 m. thick and rest on foundations that are 0.65 m. thick. Stacked rubble is used at the southern end of the east wall and at the eastern end of the north wall to fill in the small spaces. Nothing of the superstructure was recovered.

The entrance lies on the west side, 2.07 m. from the southwest corner and 1.65 m. from the northwest corner of the building. Its opening is 0.82 m. wide. The threshold consists simply of the exposed underlying foundation course and is level with the floor inside. No sign of a door pivot was found.

Between the building and the stairway a bench 0.92 m. wide stands to either side of the entrance. Built of rubble and earth and covered with waterproof lime-cement, the two sections survive only in the area close to the entrance to a height of 0.06 to 0.10 m. The floor of the narrow passage these enclose is level with the stairway landing but 0.21 m. below the threshold.

Dining Room 1

The doorway opens directly into the dining Room 1. Occupying more than half of the building, the room is 4.50 m. east–west by 4.55 m. north–south, or nearly square (Pl. 32:b). It is divided into unequal halves by the alignment of the main west entrance with a second door 0.79 m. wide that leads to the kitchen, Room 2, to the east. This is an important factor that affects the disposition of the couches within the room. The well-preserved south banquette is 0.87 to 0.92 m. wide and 0.46 m. high. Tops and sides are coated with a thick layer of waterproof lime-cement, as are the walls above. Armrests 0.20 m. wide mark the divisions between individual couches. Although only the two ends of the north banquette are preserved where they frame the door passages, the remainder of the couches can be restored in plan. All lengths are known (marked by asterisks) except for nos. 6–8. Beginning to the south of the door and moving counterclockwise, the couches are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. Southwest | 2.03 m.* |
| 2. South | 1.85 m.* |
| 3. South | 1.85 m.* |
| 4. East | 1.10 m.* (half) |
| 5. East | 1.65 m.* |
| 6. North | 1.85 m. |
| 7. North | 1.85 m. |
| 8. Northwest | 0.80–0.90 m. (half) |

²⁴ Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 294–299, therein called Building S.

²⁵ Two Late Roman graves were cut into the building, no. 23 in Room 3 and no. 24 in Room 1.

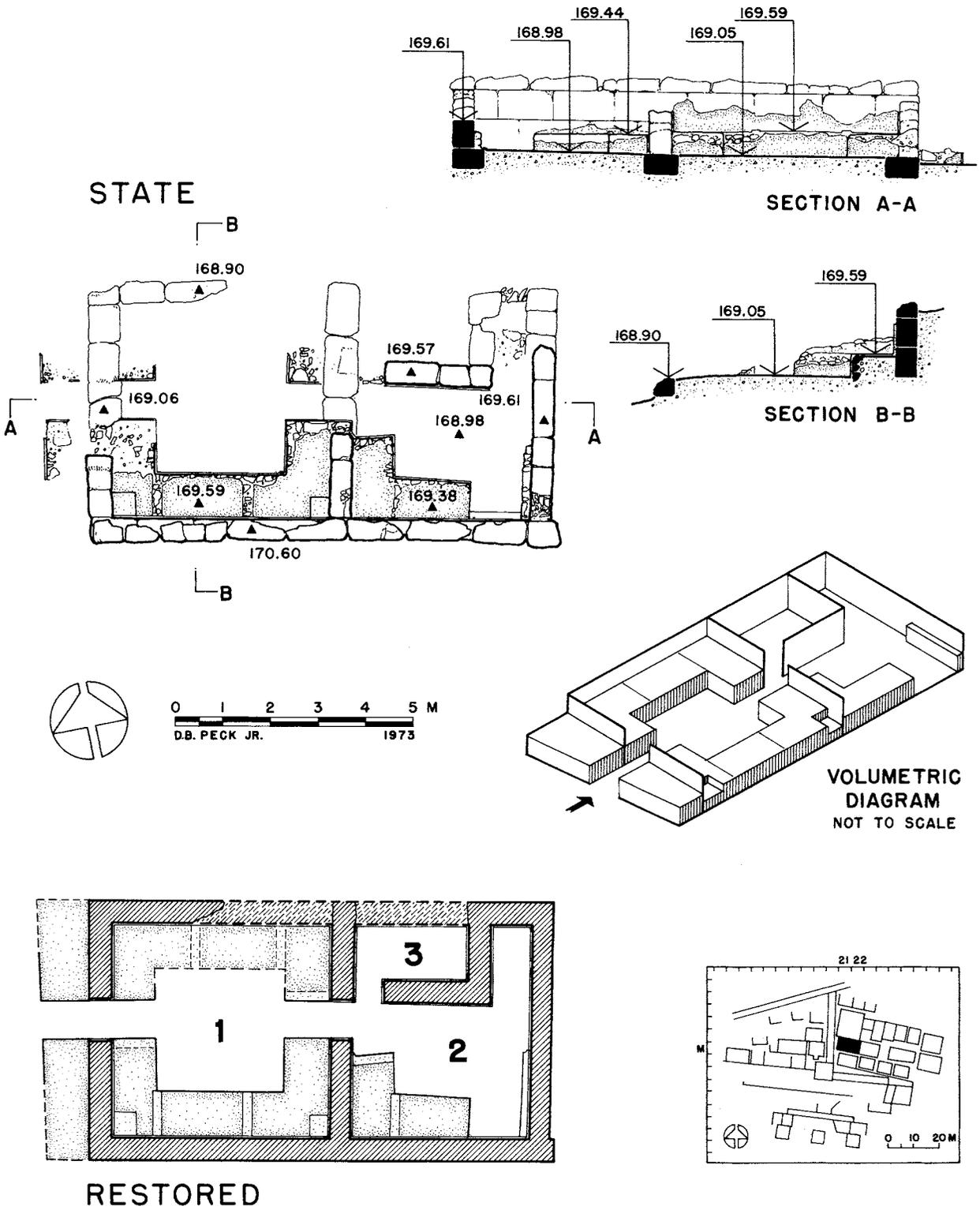


FIG. 27. Plan: Building M:21-22

There were thus six full couches; a half-couch flanked each door. It is noteworthy that here the two south couches are identical in size and not of different lengths as are couches 4 and 5 in Room 7 of Building K–L:21–22.

Among the more interesting aspects of the Sanctuary dining rooms are the variations that each one exhibits. Building M:21–22 is no exception. In the southern half of Room 1 two rectangular receptacles have been let into the couch tops in either corner of the room, one at the foot of couch 1 (Pl. 32:c) and a second at the foot of couch 3. Two more probably existed on the north side. The first measures 0.50 m. square and 0.30 m. deep, the second is 0.40 m. by 0.44 m. and 0.29 m. deep. Both are lined with waterproof lime-cement and are uncovered. Although there is a small break in the floor of both receptacles, there is no evidence of a drain. The pottery found in them was scanty and quite fragmentary (small bits of votive pottery mixed with body fragments of utility vessels), in no way indicative of their original contents (lots 6210, 6211). The receptacles are inconveniently placed for someone, standing in front of the couch, to perform some act over them. Furthermore, occurring as they do in the couch tops, they must have been covered by mats or pillows when the dining room was in use. Perhaps, therefore, they were used for storage of dining paraphernalia, if not of food. The receptacles are not unique to this dining room. They also occur in the Hellenistic Building N:12–13. They are, however, peculiar to the Hellenistic period.

Kitchen, Room 2

Room 2 is L-shaped in plan (Pl. 32:d). The main part of the room is 3.65 m. wide east–west by 2.80 m. north–south. In the southwest corner are two couches, built in the same manner as the couches in Room 1. These are 0.85 m. wide, *ca.* 0.45 m. high, and 1.71 (west) to 1.63 m. (south) long. Their identification as couches is shown not only by their width but by the underpinnings of an armrest visible at the head of the south couch. Because of it we have restored a second armrest at the missing head of the west one.²⁶

Between the foot of the south couch and the east wall of the room is a space of 1.25 m. Here the lowest course of the south wall projects 0.20 m. beyond the face of the wall. A row of small fieldstones 0.20 m. wide lines the base of the east wall to a height of 0.50 m. Beginning at the southeast corner of the room, it extends 1.58 m. and was probably once plastered with clay. Furthermore, the floor in this corner of the room preserved considerable traces of fire-scarring, and as much as 0.30 m. of ashes and burning was removed from over it. Clearly the hearth lay here,²⁷ and the projecting wall course was designed to protect the rest of the wall from calcination. Although cooking facilities vary from building to building in the Sanctuary, one constant feature is the placement of the hearth against an exterior wall, perhaps in order to allow smoke to escape. The extant remains in Building M:21–22 do not show us how this was done; however, two fragmentary opiaion tiles recovered from different parts of the Sanctuary may have been designed for such a purpose.²⁸

Directly north of the hearth, in the northeast corner of the building, a narrow space 0.79 m. wide and roughly 1.60 m. long exists between Room 3 and the outer east wall of the building. What purpose this served apart from that of possible storage or a passage to a side door is not known.

Service Room 3, Bathing(?)

Room 3 opens off the northwest corner of Room 2 by means of a door 0.60 m. wide (Pl. 32:d). It is a small space 2.36 m. long east–west by *ca.* 1.15 m. north–south. Because the room was

²⁶ The upper corner of this couch has been broken away.

²⁷ See Room 4 in the Hellenistic Building M:16–17 for a further example of cooking directly on the floor.

²⁸ Chapter 16, 79 and 80.

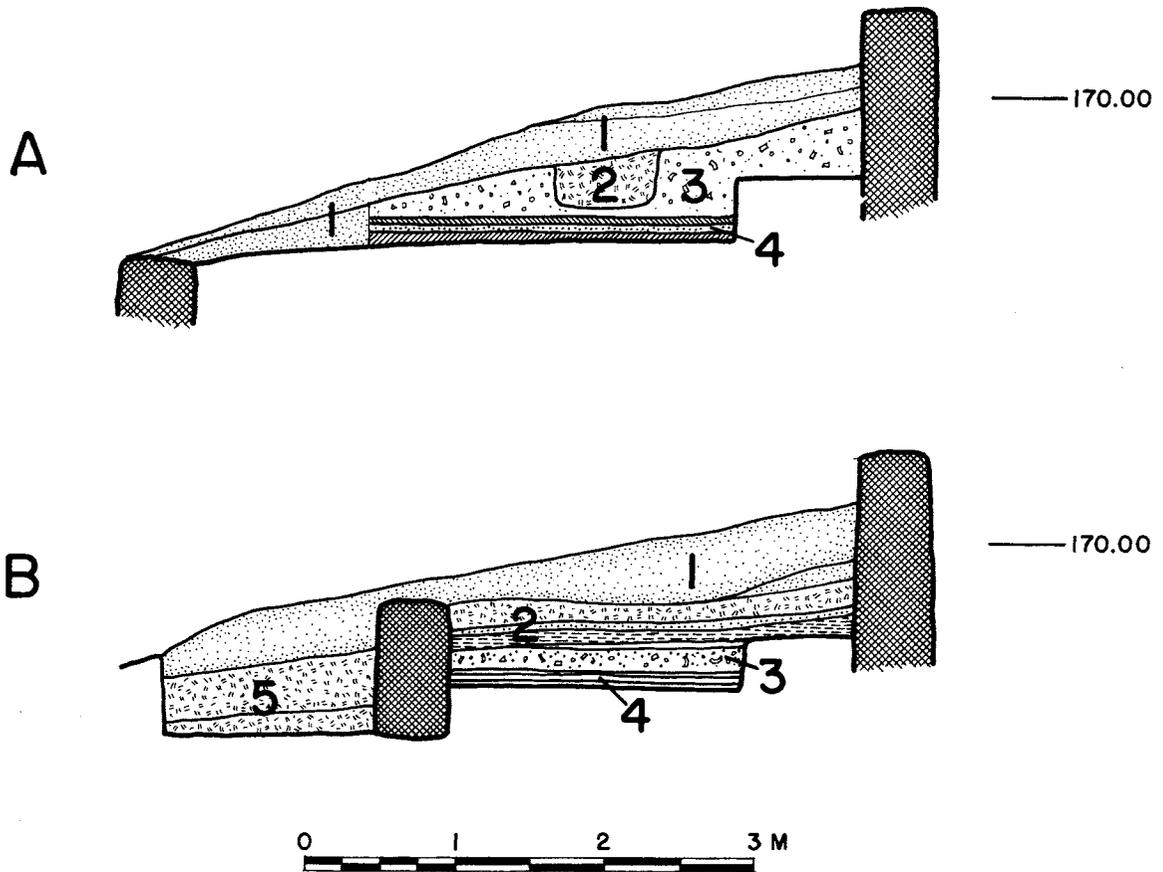


FIG. 28. Two sections: Building M:21–22, looking east

A. Room 1: [1] Surface, [2] Late pit, [3] Abandonment (lot 6206), [4] Successive floors (lot 6207)

B. Rooms 2, 3: [1] Surface, [2] Layer of clay with burning, [3] Burnt earth (lot 6208), [4] Successive floors (lot 6209), [5] Disturbance

entirely destroyed to below floor level, its function is not apparent. Its size, however, would not be unsuitable for a bathing room. Two restorations are possible. We can make a low curb on line with the east door jamb, thereby creating a bath stall 1.76 m. long with a narrow entrance to the west; alternatively, we can pave the whole room, building the curb in the doorway and using for this purpose a line of small stones that blocked the doorway when it was first excavated.

Chronology

The date of the construction of Building M:21–22 can be determined from several factors. One is the date of the pottery recovered from the deep foundation trench for the south wall; another is that of the pottery found between the floors in Rooms 1 and 2.

Large amounts of pottery were recovered from the foundation trench for the south wall, which was nearly 1.60 m. deep.²⁹ The bulk of this consists of votives and fine wares of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., but with it were an undecorated kalathiskos, a fragmentary Attic

²⁹ This is the foundation trench of Wall 36, cited in *Corinth XVIII*, i, p. 17, note 25; the pottery was placed in the following lots: 4401, 4454, 4457–4462, 4464, 4465. For material from lots 4458, 4460, and 4461, *ibid.*, pp. 221–222, lot index.

type A skyphos, and an unusual blister ware lamp, all of the late 4th century B.C.³⁰ This date is corroborated by the pottery found beneath the building's floors. Again, although primarily early, the pottery included fragments of at least four Attic type A skyphoi, a beveled-rim bowl, and a wheelmade lamp, datable to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. (lots 6827, 6831, 6833).³¹

Constructed around the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., the building was used with little apparent modification for the duration of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. and quite possibly until the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. Walls and couches were replastered at least once, and the floor level was raised at least once. When these modifications occurred is unknown, for the scant pottery recovered beneath the upper floor (lot 6207; Fig. 28, stratum 4) in no way differed from that found in construction fills for the building. A bronze coin of the Pegasus/Trident series was found over the lowest floor.³²

Similarly, there is very little evidence to show when the building went out of use. In Room 2 large amounts of pottery, chiefly cooking ware, were recovered from a thick stratum of ash and burning that overlay the later floor (lot 6208; Fig. 28, stratum 3). Dated, however, to the 4th century B.C., this material can scarcely represent what was in use—unless they were antiques—and could well be downwash from either the foundation trench or Building N:21 to the south. With this pottery were a few small fragments of animal bones (bone lot 69-52).³³ A second bronze Pegasus/Trident coin rested on the latest floor of Room 1. More useful, however, is a bronze coin of Antigonos Gonatas (277–239 B.C.), which lay on top of the east couch 4 of the same room. This coin, together with small fragments of a molded bowl and plate with offset rim (lot 6206; Fig. 28, stratum 3), indicates that the building was not abandoned before the late 3rd century B.C.³⁴

It is possible, though by no means certain, that the building was reused after this abandonment. A floorlike surface of clay was observed in Room 2 at the level of the couch tops (Fig. 28, stratum 2B). In this surface were considerable amounts of carbon and fragmentary roof tiles. Burning was especially concentrated above the area of the Early Hellenistic hearth. Removal of this layer, however, produced nondescript Classical sherds, while above it (Fig. 28, stratum 2A) were again sherds of the late 4th century B.C., together with the disc of an Early Roman lamp. No corresponding layer was noted in Room 1. At an unknown date a small pit was dug into the center of that room (Fig. 28, stratum 2), above which was Roman wash (Fig. 28, stratum 1, both rooms). If the building was reused, that use must have been confined to Room 2, and if the single lamp disc is indicative of a date, the reuse must have occurred in the Early Roman period.

BUILDING M–N:25–26: DINING ROOM, TWO SERVICE ROOMS (Fig. 18, Phase 2 on p. 125)

In the 4th century B.C. Building M–N:25–26 was completely rebuilt.³⁵ At that time the previous plan with two contiguous dining rooms was replaced by one with a single dining room and two service rooms (Pl. 8:a, b). The new building was somewhat reduced in length, measuring 10.40 m. to 10.52 m. from east to west by an estimated 4.40 to 5.30 m. from north to south. As Figure 18 illustrates, the plan was not rectangular. Following the orientation of the preceding

³⁰ Bookidis and Fisher 1972, no. 12 (L-4785), p. 298, pl. 58. The kalathiskos is of the type that occurs in the fill from Pit B on the Middle Terrace, lot 880, for which see *Corinth* XVIII, i, pp. 99–100, Group 7, nos. 141–149 (C-61-379, -441, -377, -445, -442, -433, -436, -440, -446).

³¹ Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 297–298, nos. 9–11 (C-71-87, C-71-137, L-71-8), pl. 58.

³² Bookidis and Fisher 1972, p. 322, no. 6 (69-339), p. 325.

³³ Bookidis and Fisher 1972, p. 322, no. 22 (69-340), p. 325 for a bronze coin of the Pegasus/Trident series found in this fill.

³⁴ Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 298–299, no. 58 (69-335), p. 327. The Pegasus/Trident coin no. 69-334 is unpublished.

³⁵ Stroud 1968, p. 318, for mention of the cistern and outside catch basin, there associated with Room J (now Building N–O:25–26). For descriptions of the earlier phases, see Chapters 3 and 5 above.

period, the south wall runs obliquely from southwest to northeast, and the building is accordingly wider at the western end than at the eastern. The crosswalls are all parallel to each other and were probably laid out at right angles to the north wall rather than to the south wall.

The north wall of this phase is almost completely destroyed. Its restoration is based on a single foundation block, which lies 3.30 m. from the restored northwest corner of the building.³⁶ The south wall stands to a height of two courses, or *ca.* 1.00 m. above its bedrock bedding and estimated floor level. East and west walls break off at 2.05 m. and 3.25 m., respectively, from southeast and southwest corners, and the interior features are preserved only along the south wall. This poor state of preservation is generally due to erosion caused by the excessive steepness of the natural rock slope at this point. Bedrock drops *ca.* 1.50 m. from south to north and continues to drop to the north of the building. This steepness is apparent in Plate 33:a, where both Building M–N:25–26 and its eastern neighbor N:28 appear after having been cleaned to bedrock. While Building N–O:25–26 on the next terrace to the south afforded some protection for the south side of M–N:25–26, the exposed north side has completely disappeared.

A further change can be seen in the method of construction. The rubble walls of the preceding period are replaced by walls of irregular ashlar masonry executed in local breccia. The blocks average 1.30 m. long, 0.60 m. high, and 0.45–0.50 m. thick. Occasional flat stones and fragmentary roof tiles are used to level the courses. One stretch of rubble occurs in the lowest course of the south wall at its junction with the party wall between service Rooms 2 and 3. From 0.54 m. east of the partition to 0.90 m. west, a length of 1.89 m., the wall is built with fieldstones and Corinthian pan tiles. The southern 0.25 m. of the partition is similarly constructed.³⁷ All irregularities would have been masked by wall plaster, no traces of which have remained. In view of the extant height of the south wall, the building was undoubtedly ashlar to the roof. No roof tiles could be assigned to the building with certainty. The layers within both rooms were disturbed to well below estimated floor level.

The entrance to the building is not preserved. It undoubtedly stood on the north side, but its position in the eastern or western half of the façade depends on the reconstruction of the interior and will be discussed below.

The building is divided into three rooms, namely, a large dining room, 1, occupying somewhat more than the western half; a small service room, 2, roughly rectangular, to the east of Room 1; an L-shaped service room, 3, which lies to the east and north of Room 2 and which housed a cistern.

Dining Room 1

The dining room is 5.20 m. long from east to west and 3.75–4.25 m. wide from north to south. Of the interior furniture only the retaining wall for the south banquette exists. Averaging 0.23 to 0.33 m. thick, this wall is constructed of irregular blocks of poros in alternation with stacks of rubble. It is laid directly on top of the retaining walls of the two preceding periods, as can be seen in Plate 8:a. The banquette so formed is 0.83 m. wide and 0.48 m. high. The retaining wall breaks off 0.90 m. short of the east wall, where, presumably, the east banquette once began. Although the east banquette is not preserved, we can assume that it extended north at least 0.80 m. from that juncture; north of that point the east wall is preserved just at foundation

³⁶ We must admit that the association of this block with the latest phase is by no means secure. As the plan reveals, the block is thinner than those used in the superstructure. In support of its association, however, is the fact that it stands well above the earlier rubble walls to the east. Tests to the north produced no evidence of any other wall or of disturbances caused by the removal of such a wall. The present block lay well below floor level, and, as the patch with rubble in the south wall, described below, illustrates, the construction of the latest walls was not uniform.

³⁷ The local stone is so soft that with brief exposure to air it begins to disintegrate, leaving the harder limestone matrix and thereby giving the fallacious impression of rubble. This can be noted on the state plan (Fig. 18), at the northern preserved end of the party wall between Rooms 2 and 3.

level, and the relation of the banquette to the east door leading to Rooms 2 and 3 therefore becomes problematic. The west banquette is also destroyed but can be restored on the line of its predecessor to a width of *ca.* 0.85 m. Roman disturbances have removed all traces of a floor, but it probably lay at the base of the banquette wall.

Service Room 2

Room 2 is roughly trapezoidal (Pl. 8:b). North and south walls are approximately parallel, while the east wall splays out at its southern end. The room is 2.33 m. long from north to south and 1.95 to 2.20 m. wide from east to west. Ashlar walls dividing it from Room 3 are preserved at foundation level except for the southern end of the east wall, which just projects above the estimated floor level. The north wall of the room is formed by a single block that ends 0.75 m. short of the west wall, undoubtedly for the door. A gap of 0.60 m. also separates east and south walls. This, however, was not for a door, for just to the east of it lay the cistern, to be described below. Undoubtedly, a stack of rubble masonry filled the space. The floor level must have lain just above the base of the south wall. With the floor's removal, however, all evidence for the room's use was lost. By analogy with other contemporary buildings, we can expect the room to have housed either a kitchen or a bath.

Service Room 3, with Cistern

Room 3 is an L-shaped space, enclosing Room 2 on east and north sides (Pl. 8:b) and recalling a somewhat similar arrangement in Building M:21–22. The eastern section is 3.40 m. long and 1.10–1.30 m. wide, while the northern dogleg is *ca.* 1.55 m. long by 0.85 m. wide. The entire southern end of the room is taken up by a cistern, which is built against the south wall. East and west sides of the cistern are framed by single limestone blocks 0.48 m. high, while the north side consists of small limestone blocks cut to resemble bricks and laid in alternating courses of headers and stretchers. Below the walls the shaft is cut into bedrock to a total depth of 3.95 m. The rectangular mouth is 0.37 m. east–west by 0.79 m. north–south; the rim of the west block has been rounded slightly.³⁸ The shaft widens slightly to 0.55 m. by 0.93 m. At a depth of 2.50 m. below the mouth the west side is cut back another 1.15 m. to form a tunnel into a side chamber, which opens off to the southwest. This chamber measures 0.70 m. wide by 1.49 m., and its ceiling is 1.48 m. high. The sides of the cistern are stuccoed with waterproof cement, and for purposes of cleaning, footholes are cut into the north and south sides of the shaft at intervals of *ca.* 0.50 m., beginning 1.00 m. below the mouth. The capacity of this cistern was roughly 4 m.³, and it would have held approximately 4,000 liters of water.

Water for the cistern was collected from the roof into an exterior rectangular basin constructed against the south wall by the southeast corner of the building (Pl. 33:b). The basin is 0.60 m. wide, 0.80 m. long, and 0.88 m. deep, its floor level with the cistern mouth within the building. Built of fieldstones, the walls end in a flat lip 0.20 m. wide, which surrounds the mouth, and the whole is lined with waterproof lime-cement. Water flowed from the basin into the cistern through an opening 0.33–0.45 m. wide and 0.61 m. high in its north side.

A plastered overflow channel, flush with the basin's lip, carried off excess water from the southeast corner of the basin for at least 0.40 m. to the southeast. If a cover was ever placed over the catch basin to protect the water in the cistern from falling earth or stones, it has left no trace.

³⁸ There is also a shallow cutting in the surface of this west block that may or may not serve some purpose with the cistern. It is V-shaped in section, 0.08 m. deep at the southern end, diminishing to the north for a total length of 0.27 m. The cutting is set in 0.18 m. from the outer edge of the block and runs north–south. It is visible in the actual-state plan in Figure 18.

The floor is not preserved within the room but must have lain level with or just below the built mouth of the cistern.³⁹ Additional furnishings, if more existed, are also missing. Narrow benches or a hearth may have stood against east or north walls. On the other hand, given the narrowness of the space, furnishings here might have hindered free circulation to and from the cistern.

These remains must be kept in mind when considering the reconstruction of the dining room and the position of the main entrance. A restoration of the dining room depends largely on the location of the door to Rooms 2 and 3. That door must have stood at least 1.60 m. north of the southeast corner of the room, since the east wall is preserved for at least this length above floor level. A door at that point, however, would only have opened into Room 2, allowing circulation to Room 3 only through Room 2. At foundation level the east party wall continues northward another 2.05 m., or 3.65 m. in all from the southeast corner; it breaks off just beyond the north side of Room 2. A door 0.70–0.75 m. wide at that point would give direct access to Room 3 and to the door to Room 2 immediately to the right. A similar arrangement can be noted in Building M:21–22. Only one viable location for the main entrance then remains, and that, as shown in Figure 18, is slightly west of the line of Room 1's east wall. Any other arrangement would create difficulties with the couches. The model for the present restoration is the Hellenistic Building M:16–17, and the resulting arrangement of couches is as follows, beginning west of the hypothetical door:

| | |
|--------------|---------|
| 1. North | 1.65 m. |
| 2. North | 1.65 m. |
| 3. West | 1.60 m. |
| 4. West | 1.60 m. |
| 5. South | 2.15 m. |
| 6. South | 2.15 m. |
| 7. Southeast | 2.10 m. |

Chronology

Relatively little useful pottery was found that could be assigned to this building phase. Sherds from foundation trenches were generally unhelpful. Four lots, however, provide an approximate *terminus post quem* for the building's construction.

The first represents a stratum that overlay the earlier east wall and abutted the exterior face of its successor (lot 2070). In this stratum were a few sherds of the early 4th century B.C., together with a bronze coin of the Corinthian Pegasos/Trident series (64-46).

The second, discussed with the preceding phase, represents the removal of part of the clay floor in the eastern room of that phase (p. 127 above). The contents of that stratum, which reflect the period of the floor's use, belong to the first half of the 4th century B.C., perhaps as late as the middle of the century (lot 4427).

The two remaining lots bring this date down somewhat. One derives from the packing for the south couch in Room 1. The pottery was generally poor but of the late 4th century B.C. and reinforced by another Corinthian bronze Pegasos/Trident coin (65-962). Finally, to the north of the cistern in Room 3 is an oval cutting in bedrock, 0.80 m. long, 0.50 m. wide, and 0.86 m. deep, with an uneven floor. Its rim lies ca. 1.00 m. below the mouth of the cistern and therefore well below the latest floor level. When found, the cutting had been carefully filled with stones and tiles, then covered by a stratum of soft, dark earth. Its original purpose is unclear. Perhaps it was begun as a cistern, abandoned, and filled. A similar feature appears in House Av5 at Olynthus

³⁹ See Building L–M:28 for a similar arrangement. At ca. 0.10 m. below the mouth of the cistern, the floor in this room would be about level with that in Room 1.

but is no more informative.⁴⁰ Though scanty, the pottery from the cutting can be dated to the late 4th century B.C. (lot 4428). Characteristic are one or two fragments of 4th-century B.C. Corinthian skyphoi and the handle of a Corinthian type A storage amphora with palmette stamp.⁴¹

The evidence for the destruction of the building is confined to the contents of the cistern. It was filled to most of its depth with loose earth, disintegrated stone, some carbon, and numerous roof tiles, nine baskets in all. This fill was uniform throughout, except for the lowest 0.30 m., which was harder with fewer stones. Pottery and miscellaneous finds were generally sparse, five and a half baskets in all. Of these two were recovered from the last 0.28 m.

The material from the bottom of the cistern appears to be slightly earlier in date than the rest of the filling and thus may reflect the period of its use. Fine wares were few, extending anywhere from the 6th to the 4th century B.C., while cooking wares predominated. Among these were fragments of at least four pitchers, a stewpot, and part of a clay table top.⁴²

The overlying fill contained material spanning the 5th to 3rd centuries B.C., one or two fragments descending into the 2nd, according to datable parallels at Corinth.⁴³ The presence of kalathiskoi, the neck of a late Panathenaic amphora, the knee of a marble statue, and several badly broken terracotta figurines suggests that not all the filling derived from the dining room.⁴⁴ Among the latest pieces are a mortar with flanged rim and a flanged stewpot, both of which have parallels in the 2nd century B.C.⁴⁵ Although it is tempting to place the filling in of the cistern ca. 146 B.C., the material cannot be so closely dated, and it is better, perhaps, to place both the filling in of the cistern and the abandonment of the building sometime in the 2nd century B.C.

BUILDING N:28: DINING ROOM, SITTING ROOM, TWO SERVICE ROOMS, INCLUDING BATH (Fig. 29)

Building N:28 is the last building on the third row to the east of the stairway.⁴⁶ It lies 0.80 m. immediately south of Building L–M:28 and 2.40 m. east of M–N:25–26. Although now almost entirely denuded, the building must once have been a large, imposing structure (Pl. 33:c). It is

⁴⁰ *Olynthus* VIII, p. 91.

⁴¹ C-65-575. To be published separately by Carolyn Koehler.

⁴² Lot 4482. *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 386 (C-65-476), p. 154, chous; no. 393 (C-65-529), p. 155, narrow-necked pitcher; nos. 646 and 647 (C-65-533, -475), p. 186, cooking-ware pitchers; nos. 652 and 656 (C-65-474, -531), p. 187, small cooking pots. No. 393 also joined with fragments from the overlying stratum.

Lot 4482:

Total: 839 sherds, 3 figurines (apart from inventoried material).

Votive miniatures 136: 3 hydriai, 6 cups, 116 kalathiskoi, 8 offering trays: 3 kernos-type, rest small fragments.

Fine ware 174: 7 closed shapes: 1 broad-bottomed oinochoe, 1 blister ware; 49 kotylai: 7 ray-based, 2 semi-glazed, 2 reserved with red wash, all 6th to 5th centuries B.C.; 5 Attic band cups; 113 nondescript small fragments.

Coarse ware 47: 1 Corinthian type B amphora; 1 jar handle; 2 lekanai feet; 1 table top or stand with central hole (join with lot 4479); 42 bodies.

Cooking ware 481: 1 flanged stewpot rim, D. 0.12; 2 unflanged stewpots, D. 0.10–0.11 m.; 4 strap handles; rest bodies.

Lamps 3: 1 Howland type 12, 1 Howland type 21.

Figurines 3: small fragments.

Animal bones 2.

Date: 6th to end of 4th century B.C.(?). Most of the sherds date to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., while the latest pieces are those better-preserved vessels that have been catalogued. It is interesting that one of the pitchers (no. 647) had buckled due to extreme heat, perhaps during use.

⁴³ Lots 4478–4481. The pottery from this part of the cistern is extremely fragmentary, with very few full profiles, while the chronological range is considerable, the majority of the pieces belonging to the 5th century B.C.

⁴⁴ For the Panathenaic amphora neck, see *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 306 (C-65-448), p. 139, and the figurine, MF-13147, both from lot 4478; the knee, S-2871, lot 4479, to be published separately.

⁴⁵ *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 641 (C-65-576), p. 185, mortar, lot 4478; no. 657 (C-65-530), p. 187, stewpot, lot 4480.

⁴⁶ Stroud (1968, p. 319) called it the Northeast Building.

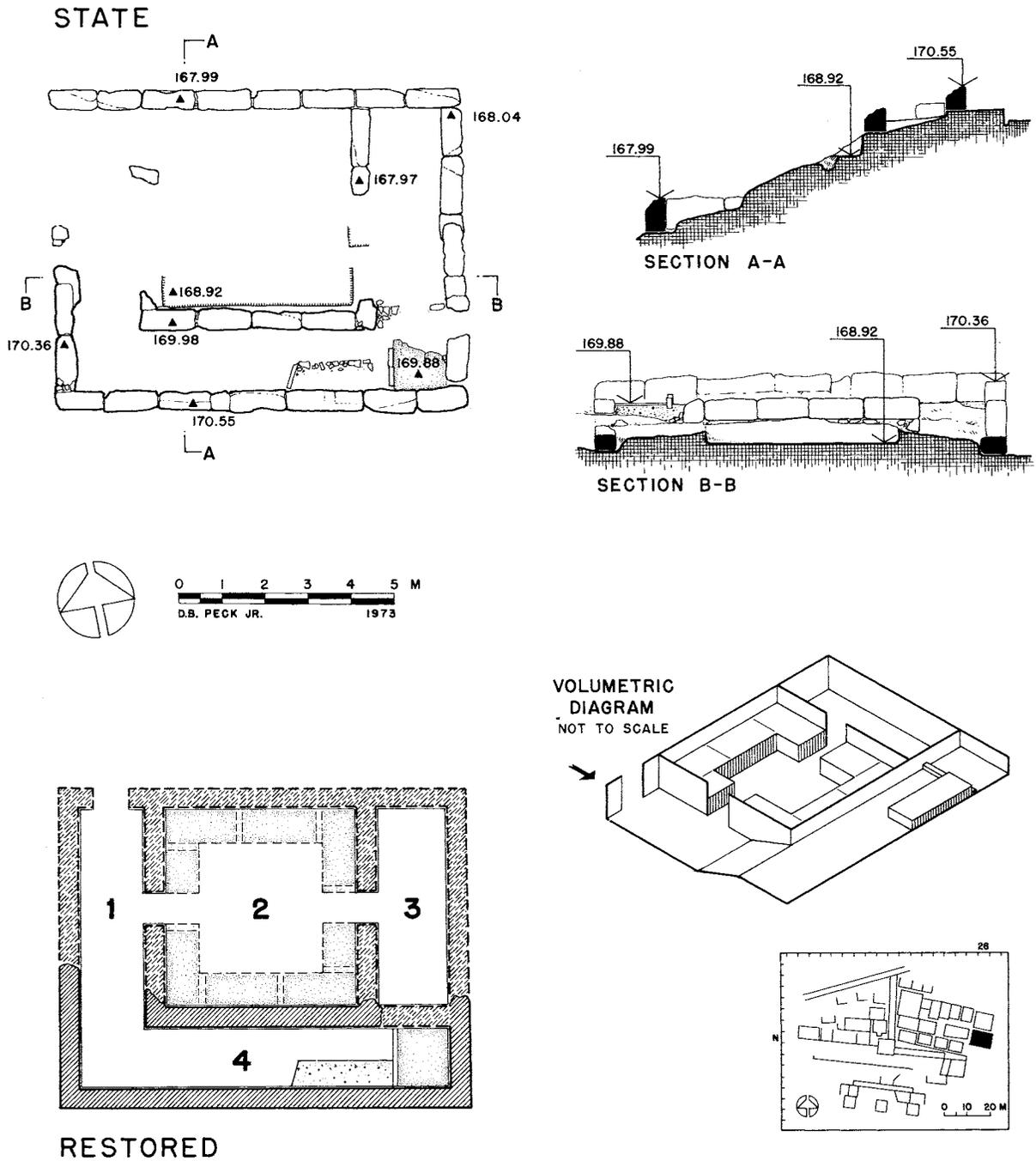


FIG. 29. Plan: Building N:28

9.50 m. wide from east to west, 7.50 m. long from north to south, and comprises four rooms, namely, a large central dining room, 2, surrounded to east, south, and west by single narrow rooms.

As in Building M–N:25–26 the hillslope is quite steep here, the difference in height between the bases of the north and the south walls being nearly 3.00 m. This is made clear by Plate 33:a, in which the building is visible behind Building M–N:25–26. The effects of erosion have been such that only the lowest course of the exterior walls is preserved. At this level, however, the outline of the structure is nearly complete, for only the northern half of the west wall is missing. The

interior furnishings and floors, moreover, are almost entirely gone, except along the south side of the building.

Both exterior and interior walls are built of local breccia blocks averaging 0.45 m. in thickness. Fieldstones and fragmentary roof tiles are used as filling between and beneath the blocks. This is especially noticeable at the southwest corner, where the blocks of the south and west walls do not meet. Flat stones have been packed vertically into the joint. There is, however, no stacked work such as occurs in other structures of this period.⁴⁷ All the walls are founded on bedrock with the exception of the northern one, which rests on a shallow layer of earth. In the northern two-thirds of the building a wider foundation course of *ca.* 0.65 m. is used. In the southern one-third, where bedrock is just below floor level, the heavier foundations were not needed. Although there is no evidence for the superstructure, we assume that the walls continued in stone to the level of the pitched roof. The roof was tiled with normal Corinthian pan and cover tiles, one of which is described below (Chapter 16, 77).

The entrance to the building is not preserved but must, logically, have stood on either the north or west sides, that is, those sides that were most visible to approaching visitors. As is common elsewhere in the Sanctuary, entrances generally fall on the north side, unless the building faces onto the stairway, for east and west walls could be blocked by neighbors. We should therefore expect a door on the north side of Building N:28. It is also common practice to enter directly into the dining room, and we could argue that the plan of our structure supports this practice, for the dining room has been placed up against the north wall as if to facilitate direct access; the smaller rooms have been relegated to the back and two sides. Several factors, however, lead us to restore the door in Room 1 to the west of the dining room. One reason is the close resemblance of this building to L–M:28 directly to the north.⁴⁸ A second is the fact that the dining Room 2 is already broken by two doors; the addition of a third would make the disposition of the couches extremely difficult. We have thus suggested that the door stood on the north side of Room 1.⁴⁹

Service Room 1

Room 1 is 1.48 m. wide and perhaps as much as 6.50 m. long. Except for possible traces of a clay floor at the southern end, nothing was found within the room to suggest the use to which it was put. A few fragmentary roof tiles rested on the clay surface at the southern end of the room; one lay just beside the southern end of the east party wall, indicating that no crosswall here separated Room 1 from Room 4 to the south. A floor was found to the south of the same wall, again indicating that this east wall did not continue south to the back wall of the building to separate the two areas. Rooms 1 and 4, therefore, were probably continuous, and the primary function of 1 may have been to facilitate circulation from one part of the building to the other.

Dining Room 2

Room 2 is 4.40 m. wide east–west and 4.60 m. long north–south. The physical remains are confined to the lowest course of its south wall together with the first block of east and west walls, the northern half of its east wall, and cuttings for the southern ends of both the west and east walls. All the couches have been restored.

The walls in the southern half of the room are laid on a rock-cut bedding, the vertical face of which varies in height from 0.58 m. in the center of the back wall to 0.30–0.34 m. at either end. North of this face the surface of bedrock has been trimmed level for *ca.* 1.00 m. (+168.92 m.),

⁴⁷ See Building M:16–17 (below.)

⁴⁸ The only major difference between the two is the addition of a third service room in Building N:28 along its east side.

⁴⁹ The foundations offer no help in the placement of the door, for the preserved top of the north wall lies nearly 1.00 m. beneath the estimated floor level in Room 2.

presumably as a bedding for the south banquettes (Pls. 33:c, 34:a); the bedrock then drops sharply away, as is apparent in Section A–A, Figure 29. We have assumed that the floor level within the room was flush with this bedding at +168.92 m.

Within this framework we must restore doors to the service Rooms 1 and 3 and dining couches in the intervening spaces. The disposition of the couches depends on whether these two doors were aligned. In the restored plan in Figure 29 we have followed the more customary Sanctuary practice of aligned doors, resulting in the following couch lengths, working south from the door to Room 1:

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Southwest | 1.80 m. |
| 2. South | 1.80 m. |
| 3. South | 1.80 m. |
| 4. East | 1.15 m. (half) |
| 5. East | 2.00 m. |
| 6. North | 1.80 m. |
| 7. North | 1.80 m. |
| 8. Northwest | 1.15 m. (half) |

With such an arrangement, six full and two half-couches stood within the room. For this restoration, door openings and couch widths are estimated to have been 0.80 m. If we reduce these openings to 0.60 m., then the half-couches can be enlarged to 1.35 m. each, still short but probably usable for reclining. Once, however, we take away the alignment of the two doors, then we are free to restore eight full couches.⁵⁰

Sitting Room 3

Immediately east of the dining Room 2 is a narrow area, 3, of roughly the same length as 2, or 4.60 m., but only 1.60 m. wide (Pl. 34:a). It is limited on the south by a rubble wall that continues eastward the line of the south wall of Room 2. A high outcropping of bedrock in the southern end drops abruptly at *ca.* 1.20 to 1.50 m. from the south wall. Its top is approximately 0.30 to 0.35 m. higher than the floor in Room 2. We therefore must restore a raised threshold in the door that gave access to 3. Although the interior of the room was gutted, we restore benches along north, east, and south sides, much like those in Room 3 of Building L–M:28 to the north.

Bathing Room 4

To the south of both Rooms 2 and 3 is a third narrow room, bathing room 4, which was accessible from Room 1 and, as we discussed above, was probably continuous with it. The room is 1.40 m. wide and 8.50 m. long, or equal to the entire south side of the building. It is the only room in this building to preserve any of its furnishings (Pl. 33:d).

A rectangular bath stall, of which most of the floor and part of the west rim survive, fills the eastern end of the room (Pl. 34:a, top). It is 1.20 m. wide from east to west and was originally 1.40 m. long. Its west side was defined by a screen wall of three limestone slabs, two of which still remain in place. They are 0.44 to 0.46 m. wide and 0.10 to 0.14 m. thick, and stand to a maximum height of 0.37 m., or 0.27 m. above the floor of the stall. The latter consists of fine gray, blue, and white pebbles laid in waterproof lime-cement *ca.* 0.03 m. thick over a bedding of fist-sized stones. Waterproof lime-cement of a finer quality continues up the walls to the south and east. In the southeast corner of the stall a narrow drain passes out of the corner of the building and runs off unchanneled to the northeast.

Against the south wall and immediately west of the bath stall is a bench 2.37 m. long, 0.72 m. wide, and 0.36 m. high, partially visible in Plate 33:c and d. It is carelessly constructed of

⁵⁰ The couches to either side of both doors then become 1.50 m. long.

fieldstones along the north and a badly spalled breccia slab to the west, with earth packing behind. Because of the proximity of the bench to the stall, the screen wall for the bath may have originally continued much higher to protect those seated.⁵¹

Vestiges of a clay floor were found to the north and west of the bench as far as the west wall for Room 2, and on it lay a number of fallen Corinthian roof tiles (Pl. 33:d). One complete pan tile was recovered (Chapter 16, 77). The clay floor was *ca.* 0.10 m. lower than the floor of the bath stall but *ca.* 0.90 m. higher than the proposed floor in Room 2. Although not enough of the floor in Room 1 was preserved to enable us to determine its exact level, it must have sloped upward from north to south to absorb some of the difference in levels between the northern and southern halves of the building. A step between Rooms 2 and 1 would also have helped. No evidence of cooking was found on this floor.

Chronology

Building N:28 is an extreme example of what may be considered a common problem in the Sanctuary, namely, a building with virtually no datable contents from which to reconstruct its history. According to the existing evidence, the building was destroyed as soon as it was built; indeed, by ceramic evidence, it could have been destroyed before it was built. Few undisturbed fills were preserved within the structure. Of importance for the date of construction are the strata that accumulated behind the south wall, the fill beneath the floor and within the bench in Room 4, and the packing behind the north wall.

The pottery recovered in tests below the floor of Room 4 is very sparse and can only tentatively be dated to the 5th century B.C. (lot 2256). The packing for the bench, while dating, for the most part, to the 5th century B.C., produced a plain kalathiskos with round bevel and blurred lines typical of the later 4th century B.C. (lot 2258).⁵² Similarly, the fill behind the north wall contains pottery generally of the later 5th century B.C. (lots 2253, 4423), but the lowest stratum, which continued north beneath the wall, contained not only a late type of plain kalathiskos but an Attic kotyle with careless net pattern, both of which bring the date of construction down into the first half of the 4th century B.C. (lot 2254).

More indicative, perhaps, of the time of the building's construction than the poor sherds cited above, is the fact that it was built in a quarry that produced blocks of breccia such as are used in all the dining halls of the 4th century B.C. Quarry cuttings are visible beneath the entire building. The quarry extends to the south of Building N:28 (Pls. 33:d, 34:b) and was a popular dumping ground throughout Greek and Roman times. There, one can still see channels 0.13–0.15 m. wide and 0.07 m. deep outlining unfinished blocks 0.90 m. long by 0.60 m. wide. Although the earliest strata of dumped material go back in places to the late 5th century B.C., large-scale filling did not begin until the later 4th century B.C., and it is to this time that Building N:28 may belong. Whether its construction, however, was as late as the last quarter of the century, a period of major rebuilding within the Sanctuary, cannot be shown.⁵³

The pottery recovered from beneath the fallen tiles and over the floor of Room 4 is of little value in establishing the date of destruction. A small number of sherds, largely from votive miniatures, is not closely datable and can only approximately be assigned to the late 5th or early

⁵¹ For a similar arrangement, see Room 3 in Building K–L:24–25, where the screen between the hearth and bath stall stood to a height of 1.65 m. On the other hand, there was no such protection in the alcove of Room 1, Building K–L:21–22; there the bench was fully exposed to the shower stall; perhaps for that reason it was solidly built of rubble. For both buildings, see Chapter 5.

⁵² For the type, see *Corinth* XVIII, i, Group 7, pp. 99–100, nos. 141–149 (C-61-379, -441, -377, -445, -442, -433, -436, -440, -446).

⁵³ This would substantially lower the date of construction originally published in Stroud 1968, p. 319, there given as the 5th century B.C.

4th century B.C. at the latest (lot 2255). Since this material therefore belongs to roughly the same time as that from the building's construction (lot 2254), it is useless in reconstructing the history of the building.

GRID SQUARE N:21

As discussed in Chapter 5, the couches and floors of Building N:21 were covered with *ca.* 0.20 m. of debris, marking the end of that phase of the building's use. The structure was not entirely abandoned, however, for slight evidence of rebuilding exists thereafter. A single row of fieldstones, of the sort generally used for banquette fronts, was laid down over that debris at a distance of 0.90 m. north of the earlier south banquette face. Preserved to a height of only one course, the stones ran in an east–west line for the entire length of Room 1, a distance of 5.25 m. In Plate 34:d it is the front row of stones. At the eastern end this light wall returned to the south, where it was covered by another wall projecting north from the Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace. This second wall was composed of two large blocks of breccia and a reused limestone statue base.⁵⁴ If the single line of stones is evidence for a banquette wall, the walls of the building that enclosed it were not found, unless the breccia blocks noted above formed its east wall. Therefore, we can do little more than suggest that a dining room did exist here in the Hellenistic period.

A packing of relatively clean clay, excavated to the south of the stones (Fig. 20, stratum 4 on p. 130), produced a small amount of 4th-century B.C. pottery (lot 4447). The abandonment of this phase, however, is clearly attested by a layer of earth, tiles, and pieces of burnt wood, which covered the row of stones (Fig. 20, stratum 3). Again, although the pottery was no later than perhaps the late 4th century B.C., a Corinthian bronze coin tentatively dated to the 3rd or early 2nd century B.C. indicates that this covering took place in later Hellenistic times.⁵⁵

Sometime later a second row of stones was built along the length of Room 1. These were placed some 0.25 m. above the line of the earlier south couch. Unlike the usual retaining wall for a banquette this was composed of larger, more irregular stones, and its function is thus unclear. The earth behind it (Fig. 20, stratum 2) again produced pottery of the 4th century B.C. (lot 4466); however, the sloping surface to the north of the stones was pitted with long narrow planting holes. Similar holes or pits were found over much of the site and may be mediaeval or modern in date. It is therefore possible that this last row of stones was not related to the Sanctuary but was laid down at a later date.

BUILDING N–O:22–24

Parts of the exterior walls of a building at least as large as Building M:21–22 lie to the south and east of that structure on Row 4 to the east of the stairway. The south side of Building N–O:22–24 abuts the Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace and overlies the two earlier dining rooms, Buildings N–O:24–25 and N–O:22–23.

Preserved are the east wall for nearly its entire length, the north wall for 7.65 m., and three blocks that may or may not belong to the south wall near its western end.⁵⁶ The exact western limits of the structure are not preserved, but because its north wall is approximately on line with

⁵⁴ The base preserves a cutting in one surface measuring 0.28 by 0.20 by 0.05 m. deep.

⁵⁵ Lots 4448, 4450. Coin 65-1046, an anonymous issue of Corinth, possibly late 3rd century B.C. In addition to this coin there were two more Corinthian bronzes in the Pegasos/Trident series, 65-1047 and 65-1049.

⁵⁶ These appear in the northeast corner of O:22. It is not clear whether these blocks are fallen from the north wall of the Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace or whether they represent an independent wall built up against that structure. For these three blocks, see Stroud 1968, pl. 96 and Bookidis and Fisher 1974, fig. 1. They were subsequently removed from the plan of the site.

the south wall of Building M:21–22, it must have ended somewhere east of that structure. Thus, the building was at least 7.65 to possibly 9.50 m. long east–west by 5.60 m. wide north–south.

Like the other dining rooms of this period Building N–O:22–24 employs wall blocks of breccia, of which at least two courses survive on the north. The only feature that could possibly be attributed to the building's interior is a section of wall oriented east–west and lying 1.70 m. south of the north wall. *Ca.* 4.10 m. long, the wall is somewhat carelessly built of fieldstones and occasional squared blocks. Its position, however, makes little sense in terms of dining hall plans, and we can suggest no purpose for it.

The period when this structure was constructed is amply represented by large quantities of dumped debris, which overlay the earlier dining rooms and filled the space enclosed by this later foundation (lots 2143, 2144, 2152, 73-134).⁵⁷ Material extended from the 5th to the late 4th century B.C. Since so much of the building was destroyed, however, nothing is known of the circumstances of its abandonment.

A single block, which continues the line of the north wall of Building N–O:22–24 to the east but is separated from it by a gap of 0.63 m., could be the sole remains of another structure.

BUILDINGS L:18–19, M–N:19

On the west side of the stairway the late-5th-century B.C. dining room Building L:18–19 underwent one remodeling in the late 4th century B.C., after which it was, for the most part, dismantled and the area reused for a different purpose. The remodeling is attested only on the south side (Pl. 34:e).

In the late 4th century B.C. a new south wall was constructed in front of the original south wall. Its somewhat irregular north face lies 0.30–0.45 m. north of the earlier wall, and its base is as much as 0.28 m. higher than that of the first wall. Like its predecessor, it is built of irregularly cut limestone blocks, both large and small, as well as some fieldstones. Stones and tiles are also packed between the two walls as filler. This new wall can be traced for *ca.* 2.80 m. from the southwest corner of the building; beyond that point it has been destroyed.

The retaining wall for the south couch was shifted *ca.* 0.30 m. north to overlap the earlier dais, and the surface of the couch as well as the floor to the north was raised nearly 0.20 m. Since the north side of the building is not preserved at this level, it is impossible to know how these changes were absorbed there. If the north wall remained unchanged, then the couches must have been shortened. It is possible, however, that the north wall was also rebuilt.

We have discussed already the evidence for the late-4th-century B.C. date of this change in conjunction with the earlier phase. The present modification appears to have been relatively short-lived, for in the early 3rd century B.C. the eastern two-thirds of this building were completely dismantled to make way for an open area along the west side of the stairway. The same process was carried out just to the south in Building M–N:19.

For the new project the west wall of Building L:18–19 was left standing. The earlier south wall also remained for a length of 3.55 m. from the southwest corner, the later south wall for 2.80 m. In L:18 a new east wall of breccia was built on line with the west wall of Building M–N:19 to the south. It extended north at least 2.00 m.; deep Roman pillaging removed the remainder. In the small space 1.70 m. wide thus formed between new east and old west walls the earlier couches were filled in and a narrow bench 0.40 m. wide of the usual construction was placed against the east wall.⁵⁸ Because of the Roman pillaging it is unknown whether this small area formed an

⁵⁷ For pottery published from these fills, consult *Corinth* XVIII, i, lot index, pp. 218–225.

⁵⁸ The later wall is visible in the lower left corner of Bookidis 1969, pl. 78:b; the associated bench had been removed. Similarly, the second phase of the south wall of Building L:18–19 can be seen in the middle ground.

enclosed roofed room or an open court. A clay floor at the base of the couch, however, may argue against the latter reconstruction.

As a further step in the reorganization of this area an inscribed boundary stone was placed in the newly created open space east of the contracted Building L:18–19. Because the stone stood in the line of the earlier south wall of the building, the remainder of both south walls had to be dismantled in order not to block the inscription. The block is visible at the eastern end of the south wall in Plate 23:a. An upright limestone block, the marker measures 0.76 m. high, 0.38 m. wide, and 0.23 m. thick. It is inscribed along the top of its east face with three letters, OPF (Pl. 34:d). The inscription is complete and represents an abbreviation for ὄρος, or boundary.⁵⁹

South of the boundary stone similar work was carried out in Building M–N:19. Following the last renovation in the late 4th century B.C., most of the building was demolished to the point where it could be covered with earth (Fig. 23, stratum 2 on p. 146). Here again, however, parts of the earlier building were left standing. The westernmost 1.80 m. of the south wall (Pl. 24:a, part to right) remained, as did the entire west wall.⁶⁰ The west door was blocked up, as was the corridor that separated Building M–N:19 from M:17–18 to the west. Aligned as the west wall of M–N:19 was with the new east wall in Building L:18–19, the two together formed a single wall at least 8.65 m. long that divided the open expanse along the stairway from the dining rooms further west. The southern limits were set by the extant portion of Building M–N:19's south wall. In addition, a bench 0.60 m. wide, made solidly of rubble, was built against the west wall above the earlier southwest couch. This new bench faced onto the open area, which here was 7.00 m. wide.

In N:19 another boundary wall was built onto the south wall of Building M–N:19. Lying 5.15 m. west of the stairway, the new wall extends 2.35 m. south. It is built of fieldstones and irregular limestone blocks that make only one good, east face. At its southern end stands a second boundary stone virtually identical to the first in size, bearing the same inscription on its east face.⁶¹ This boundary stone lies just 2.20 m. north of the northwest corner of Building O–P:19–20, the Hellenistic Propylon that gave access to the Middle and Upper Terraces.

Substantial evidence exists to show when this reorganization of the area took place. In Building L:18–19 pottery recovered both from a leveling stratum beneath the latest floor (lot 5639)⁶² and from the packing for the new bench (lot 5638) dates no earlier than the first half of the 3rd century B.C. In Chapter 5 we discussed the evidence for the destruction of Building M–N:19. Again, the latest material falls in the first part of the 3rd century B.C.⁶³ Similarly, the corridor beside Building M–N:19 was blocked up in the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. Further corroboration of this date is provided by a bowl with outturned rim that lay wedged at the base of the southern boundary stone.⁶⁴ Dated to the early 3rd century B.C., it should indicate the earliest time when the stone and, presumably, the whole wall could have been set in place.

⁵⁹ I-2766. The stone will be described more fully in a separate fascicle. A crudely built wall, visible in Plate 34:d to the right of the inscription but subsequently removed, ran north from the boundary stone. Its west face was roughly aligned with the east face of the marker. Constructed of fieldstones and reused blocks, the wall was at least 2.20 m. long and 0.50 m. thick. Its date is unknown, but it should, perhaps, be associated with a layer of Roman dumped fill that extended eastwards to the stairway. It did not abut the boundary stone or appear to be connected with it in any way. The wall appears in L:19 of Plan 1.

⁶⁰ Plates 23:b and 24:a show clearly the difference in height between the eastern and western halves of the south wall, i.e., the eastern part, which was covered over, and the western, which remained visible.

⁶¹ I-2768. To be published separately.

⁶² With the Hellenistic material from beneath the floor were a plastic vase in the shape of a ram, dated to the first half of the 6th century B.C., *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 597 (C-68-305), p. 178, and part of a terracotta statue of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., SF-64-13.

⁶³ Pottery from the removal of the bench (lot 5621) and the stratum below it (lot 5622) was less diagnostic. From the latter came two coins, 68-1676, a bronze of the Pegasus/Trident series, and 68-1677, illegible.

⁶⁴ *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 451 (C-69-269), p. 161.

Why was this large open area created in the early 3rd century B.C., and why were two prominent inscribed boundary markers set along its western side? A glance at the period Plan 5 will show how closely this new area is tied to the construction of the Propylon O–P:19–20, standing at the head of the stairs, for the combined width of the stairway and open area is equal to that of the façade of this building. By removing the dining rooms to the west of the stairway, the builders of the Sanctuary provided the visitor with an unobstructed view of that imposing entrance hall from the entrance to the Sanctuary in H–I:20.

It seems unlikely, however, that the buildings were dismantled solely for the view. One possibility is that the new arrangement offered more room for processing worshipers and for the sacrificial animals they must have brought with them. Another possibility is that space was reserved for temporary booths, where votives and wreaths could have been sold during festival days.

A series of postholes was found in the hillslope west of the steps (see Plans 1, 5, and Pls. 23–24:a, b). Although these were concentrated in L–M:19, they are attested as far north as I:19. They occur in a fairly confined strip no more than 2.00 m. wide, beginning ca. 1.50 m. west of the stairway. The holes average 0.30–0.50 m. wide, are generally oval in shape, and are reinforced with stones or fragmentary roof tiles. A few of the holes, found in the southern half of Building M–N:19, where they clearly cut through all floors, are no earlier than the 3rd century B.C. The majority of them, however, found further north, are undatable, for only their bottoms were preserved, cut into stereo and covered by Late Roman debris. If we are correct in assuming that they all belong to the same general period, then it also seems logical to assume that their presence is connected with the reservation of this area. The apparent lack of any observable groupings of holes may argue against their having been used for posts for booths. Similarly, the narrowness of the space in which the holes occur argues against the restoration of tents.⁶⁵ But they could have supported simple barriers or isolated objects set up in a more haphazard plan, such as torches for nocturnal ceremonies.

The boundary stones too make a distinction between the stairway and the buildings behind or to the west of them. Initially, we thought that they were set up in order to separate the western dining rooms from the rest of the Lower Terrace. But as it became clearer that the eastern and western dining halls were basically the same, we rejected this explanation. In his discussion of the two boundary stones still *in situ* along a road on the west side of the Athenian Agora, Gerald Lalonde recently made the plausible suggestion that these *horoi* marked off the neutral ground of the public road from that of the civic Agora. In this way those who were prohibited from entering the Agora could nevertheless move about the city.⁶⁶ As we have seen in the Sanctuary at Corinth, the stairway was essentially open to all who walked along the road on the north side of the site; it could therefore be likened to the public roads that crossed the Athenian Agora. Following Lalonde's suggestion, then, we propose that the *horoi* established the limits of unrestricted access by defining the boundaries of the sacred ground. This also means that the boundary stone that lay on its back to the north of the road (I-71-84; see p. 21 above), if originally from that area, also designated those buildings as sacred. No *horoi* were discovered to the east of the stairway, but this may not be a problem, for at least one more boundary stone is known from the site, a surface find from the first season of excavation.⁶⁷ It is possible, therefore, that the east side of the steps was also marked off.

⁶⁵ For similar postholes in a sanctuary, see those found in the Sacred Spring in Corinth, Williams 1969, pp. 46–48, pl. 15:c, and Goldstein 1980, pp. 56–58. Goldstein suggests that they supported posts for tents. There, however, the ground is level and not sloping, as in the Sanctuary.

⁶⁶ G. V. Lalonde, M. K. Langdon, and M. B. Walbank, *Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands (Agora XIX)*, Princeton 1991, pp. 10–11; H 25, H 26 (*IG I³* 1087–1088), p. 27.

⁶⁷ I-2541, to be published with the remaining inscriptions in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

BUILDING M:16–17: DINING ROOM, SITTING ROOM, BATH, KITCHEN (Figs. 30, 31)

This structure is situated to the west of the stairway well south of the road.⁶⁸ It is oriented nearly due east–west with a single entrance on the northern side. One of the larger and better-preserved structures on the site, it is divided internally into four rooms, namely, a dining room, 1, a sitting room, 2, a bath stall with associated waiting room, 3, and a kitchen, 4. Like so many of the Sanctuary structures, the building is not quite rectangular in plan, for the south wall jogs slightly near the southwest corner to avoid an earlier construction. It is 15.30 m. long east–west by 6.10 m. wide north–south.

The state of preservation of the structure is generally good (Pl. 35:a). Most of the exterior walls exist except for the western end of the south wall, the northern half of the west wall, and the western half of the north wall beyond the limits of Room 1. The south wall stands to a height of four courses, or 1.96 m. above the floor level, the north wall to one course above the floor. Moreover, the interior furnishings are sufficiently well preserved to permit reconstruction of the building with few questions.

Insofar as they are preserved, the walls are built of large blocks of breccia, averaging 0.50 m. high, 0.45 m. thick, and 1.10–1.20 m. long. In each wall a short section of stacked rubble occurs either just at the corners or at one block short of the corner. The sole exception to this rule is a section of the north wall that limits Room 3, for it is carelessly constructed of fieldstones and clay. This stretch can be seen north of the bath stall in Plate 37:b. Since Early Roman pottery was recovered down to its base, the wall may well have been built at a later time. There is, however, no evidence for any other wall along this line.

The original height of the walls can be roughly determined from the south wall, which, as noted above, stands 1.96 m. high. Three courses belonging to the upper part of this wall were found in the course of excavation as they had collapsed onto the floor of Room 1. When these are added to the portion still standing, they give a minimum height of 3.50 m. for the south wall. No roof beam cuttings were preserved in any of the fallen blocks; thus there was at least one more course, implying a height of 4.00 m. or more for the rooms. There is nothing to suggest that a second story existed. Apart from small fragments of Corinthian roof tiles, nothing could be assigned with certainty to the roof. In the debris that covered the floor were part of a Hellenistic terracotta sima with acanthus scroll, a palmette antefix, and a Doric raking geison.⁶⁹ Since the dining hall roofs do not customarily carry antefixes or simas, we assume that the sima, antefix, and geison derive from the superstructure of another building, perhaps from the Hellenistic Temple S–T:16–17 further south on the Upper Terrace.

Fine stucco is preserved on the front and outer faces of the west jamb of the main entrance, a sample of what undoubtedly covered the entire exterior. The local breccia is extremely soft and gradually disintegrates upon exposure to the air, thus necessitating some sort of protective cover.

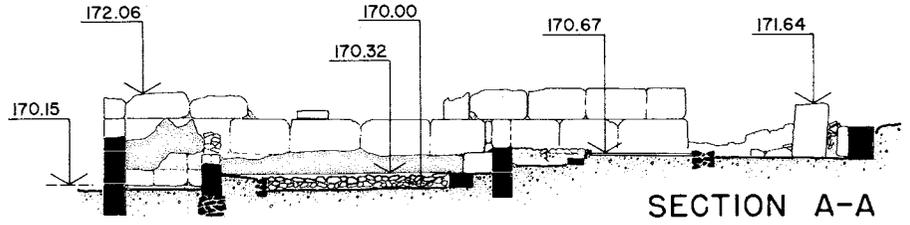
A limestone threshold 0.90 m. long establishes the main north entrance at 3.85 m. west of the northeast corner of the building (Pl. 35:b). Although the east jamb is not preserved, it undoubtedly resembled the extant west jamb, the interior face of which is cut with a shallow reveal 0.17 m. wide and 0.035 m. deep. No pivot hole or foot stop for the door was found.⁷⁰

An exterior bench 0.85 m. wide, ca. 0.30 m. high, and at least 4.00 m. long stood to the west of the north entrance. Its face appears at the bottom right of Plate 35:b. Built like the Sanctuary

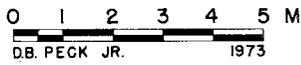
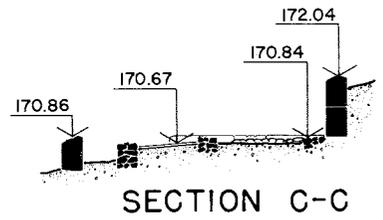
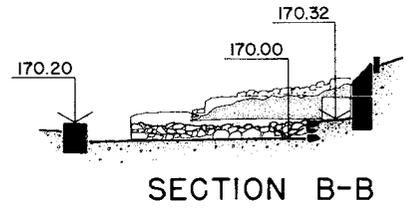
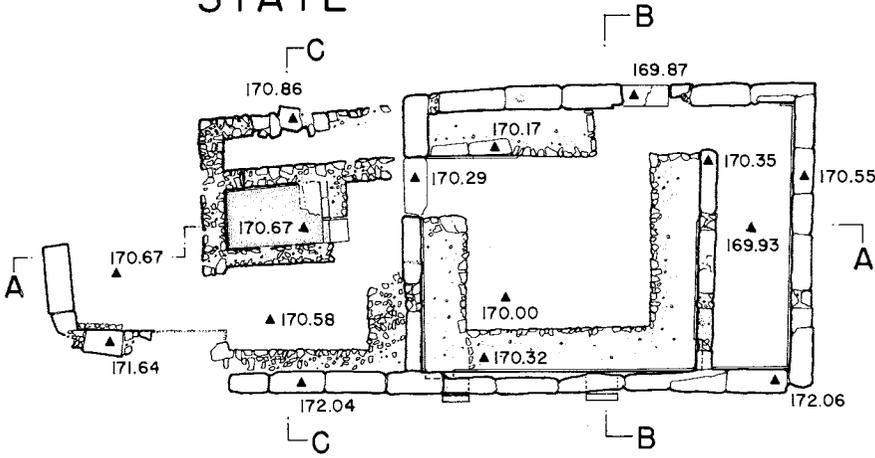
⁶⁸ The eastern half of this building was excavated in 1965 and published in Stroud 1968, pp. 315–317 as the “Banquet Hall”; the western half followed in 1968–1969, appearing in Bookidis 1969, pp. 300–303, as Rooms 8–11. For a view of the whole, see *ibid.*, pl. 75.

⁶⁹ FS-988 (Chapter 16, 73), FA-501 (Chapter 16 *sub* 75), and A-590 (Chapter 16, 61).

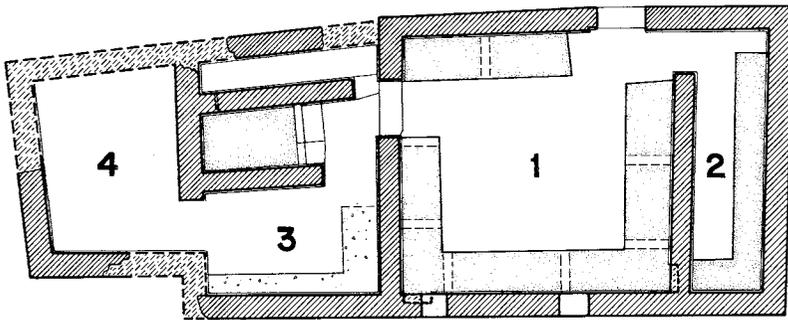
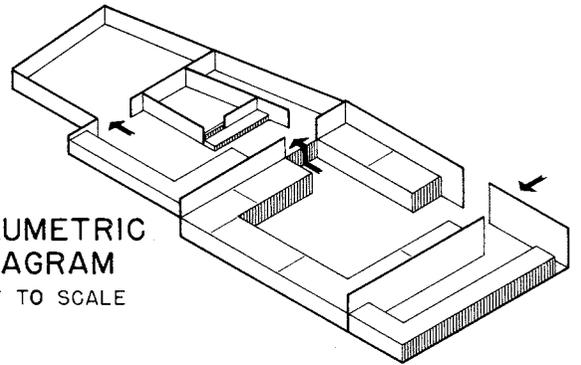
⁷⁰ In Stroud 1968, pp. 315–316, we suggested that there was no door leaf since we thought at that time that there might be a second room to the north. It is clear now that the existing north wall is the exterior face of the building; therefore, a closed door should be restored.



STATE



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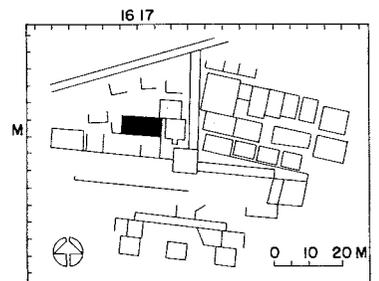


FIG. 30. Plan: Building M:16-17

couches, that is, with a retaining wall and earth packing, it too was undoubtedly stuccoed. No such bench lay to the east of the entrance, however, because of the small court that had been created over Building L:18–19.⁷¹

The building within is divided into four rooms of unequal sizes. The party wall that divides the two larger rooms (1 and 3) is constructed like the outer walls and bonds with them at the lowest course, while standing to two courses above the floor. The partition between Rooms 1 and 2 consists of ashlar blocks alternating with rubble stacks, to a preserved height of 1.02 m. (Pl. 35:a, b). A broad wall of fieldstones encloses the bath stall in Room 3 and simultaneously makes up part of the party wall separating Rooms 3 and 4 (Pl. 37:b). The southern half of this wall is missing, but impressions left in the clay floor indicate that this portion of the wall consisted of breccia blocks. All interior wall surfaces were originally stuccoed with a waterproof lime-cement, much of which was found at the time of excavations. All floors are of clay.

Dining Room 1

The main entrance opens into the northeast corner of the largest of the four rooms, the dining Room 1, measuring 5.35 m. east–west by 5.28 m. north–south (Pl. 35:b). Its banquettes are preserved to nearly their original height but are lacking the lime-cement that must have covered them and also the armrests, which divided the banquettes into individual couches. The banquettes are at present 0.30–0.33 m. high and 0.90–1.00 m. wide.⁷² Excepting the north banquette, the retaining walls are built of small fieldstones. For the north one, the western 1.60 m. consist of two blocks of breccia with stuccoed face, while the remaining 1.72 m. are composed of fieldstones. Pieces of stucco built into the eastern end of the wall and also found within the earth packing suggest that this banquette may have been rebuilt at some point in the building's history.

Beginning 0.60 m. west of the main entrance, the continuous banquette is interrupted at two points by doors to neighboring rooms. A passage 1.18 m. wide leading to Room 3 separates the north banquette from the one along the west wall; again, on the east side the east banquette ends 1.00 m. short of the north wall to permit access to Room 2.

Without armrests the individual couch lengths must be restored artificially by division into equal units of two or three per wall. Only on the north side is some slight help provided by a fine line incised in the stuccoed face of the breccia wall at 1.55 m. from its western end. While this line undoubtedly marked a division between couches, we do not know whether originally there were two equal couches of 1.55 m. each, replaced by two of 1.66 m. each, or whether one couch of 1.75 m. stood next to one of 1.55 m. in both periods. The resulting estimated lengths are given below:

1. North 1.75 m.
2. North 1.55 m.
3. West 1.55 m.
4. West 1.55 m.
5. South 2.215 m.⁷³
6. South 2.215 m.
7. East 1.685 m.
8. East 1.685 m.

Thus, eight, or possibly nine, couches of differing sizes stood within the room.

⁷¹ Ground level just outside the door to Building M:16–17 is +169.77 m.; to the north it slopes downward. Floor level in the new court just inside the west wall of Building L:18–19 is +169.37 m.

⁷² More specifically, the north banquette is 0.90–0.93 m. wide, the west and south are 0.90 m., while the east one is 0.95–1.00 m. wide.

⁷³ In Stroud 1968, p. 315, nine couches were restored, that is, three measuring 1.47 m. each along the south. The subsequent discovery of Building K–L:21–22, however, has suggested that couches 2.00 m. and more in length are not unusual and that odd numbers of diners in one room need not be the rule.

In addition to the couches two sets of niches are preserved in the southern half of the room. The first pair lie 1.35 m. above floor level, or 1.00 m. above the couches, and are set into the south wall (Pl. 36:a). They run through the thickness of the wall, being essentially gaps in the successive blocks of one course. Their backs are closed by thin poros or sandstone slabs set against the earth scarp of the hillside into which the building was built. The first and better preserved falls 0.45 m. from the southwest corner of the room and is 0.50 m. wide, 0.45 m. deep, and at least one course, or 0.50 m., high; its top is not preserved. Traces of lime-cement were found in its corners. The second niche is placed 2.26 m. further east, or 1.50 m. from the southeast corner, but because it is almost wholly destroyed except for part of its backer, its original dimensions are unknown. These niches approximately coincide with heads of couches, if there were, in fact, only two couches along the south side. They would have made useful shelves and could have held a variety of objects from lamps to pottery to perhaps even small images of deities, whose presence was desired during ritual banquets.

The second set of niches is flush with the couch tops. One niche is let into the south wall at the foot of the west couch, 4 (Pl. 36:a), while the second occurs in the east wall at the foot of the south couch (Pls. 35:a, 36:b). The first niche measures 0.60 m. wide, 0.33 m. high, and 0.22 m. deep at base, 0.14 m. at top. The second, similar in width and height, is only 0.115 m. deep. These lower recesses are too shallow and inconveniently placed for storage. Indeed, it is difficult to see what function they could have served except to provide a little additional foot space for the diners. The recess in the southwest corner would have given an extra 0.10 m. to each of the two west couches, the southeast niche only 0.11 m. in all. It is not clear whether such a niche also existed at the end of the north couch. Recesses in this position, however, are unattested in any other of the Sanctuary dining rooms.

Sitting Room 2

Just north of the east banquette an opening 0.83 m. wide leads into the sitting Room 2.⁷⁴ Occupying the entire eastern end of the building, Room 2 is 1.45 m. wide by 5.28 m. long (Pls. 35:b, 36:b). In its present form the room is quite bare of furnishings other than a clay floor, which slopes from the south side down to the north entrance (+170.08–169.84 m.). All four walls were originally covered with waterproof lime-cement, including the west wall, which is now plain. On the east and south sides of the room the plaster breaks off in an even line at *ca.* 0.30 m. above the floor. As the better-preserved Building L–M:28 shows us, a bench 0.30 m. high undoubtedly stood against these two walls. It ended 0.80 m. from the northeast corner of the room, opposite the door, for north of this point the plaster continues down to the floor. For whatever reason, the bench was removed before the building was abandoned.

As described above, the door from the dining Room 1 to the bathing Room 3 falls between the north and west couches (Pl. 35:b). Although the space left for it between the couches is 1.15 m. wide, part of the opening was blocked by the north wall of Room 3. Therefore, the door proper was probably only 0.79 m. wide. Its threshold is simply the lowest course of the party wall between the two rooms and stands 0.50 m. above the dining room floor. As Figure 30 shows, the floor level of the eastern rooms is substantially lower than that of Rooms 3 and 4 because of the depth to which stereo had been cut under Rooms 1 and 2 for the earlier Building M:17–18.⁷⁵

Bathing Room 3

Nearly square, Room 3 measures 4.00 m. from east to west by 4.65 m. from north to south and is divided into two parts (Pl. 35:a). The southern portion is furnished with a bench of solid rubble, which measures 0.75 m. wide on the east side and 0.35 m. wide along the south. Although

⁷⁴ There is nothing to suggest that the opening was ever closed with a door leaf. Plate 37:a shows Room 2 excavated to the earlier remains of Building M:17–18.

⁷⁵ The floor level in Room 1 is +170.00–169.87 m., while that in Room 3 near the south bench is +170.58 m.

now only one or two courses high, the bench must originally have been at least 0.30 m. high. In front of it the clay floor (+170.58 m.) extends 1.70 m. north to a bath stall, its surface sloping downward.⁷⁶

The bath stall is enclosed on three sides by 0.40 m.-thick walls built of fieldstones, which must have continued to the ceiling (Pls. 35:a, 37:b); as we noted above, its west wall is also the west party wall of Room 3. Measuring 1.20 m. wide north–south by 1.90 m. east–west, the stall is paved with lime-cement laid over a bedding of small stones (+170.67 m.); traces of similar cement occur on the bases of the walls. The cement floor slopes down to the north to a narrow drain that cuts through the north wall at 0.30 m. from the northwest corner. Along the open east side a low curb projects above the cement floor. It is built in two sections: the original, southern 0.50 m. is 0.12 m. wide, 0.02 m. high, and carefully plastered; the later, northern segment is a poros slab 0.16 m. thick, the top of which is now broken but must have been at least 0.07 m. high. In front of the curb is a low step 0.10 m. high and 0.35 m. wide. Like the curb, the step shows two stages of construction. Here, the earlier, northern segment is built of small stones and earth with fine stucco on the east and south faces. The later, southern segment is a limestone block placed against the plaster face of the northern segment. The entrance to the shower stall is close to, and on axis with, the door to Room 1. The area was thus immediately accessible to incoming diners, while the bench to the south provided sitting room.⁷⁷

Immediately north of the bath stall is a small area that is incompletely understood. As noted above, the north wall of the stall extends to the east wall of Room 3.⁷⁸ A second wall lies parallel to this but 0.60 m. further north, meeting at its western end an extension of the west wall of Room 3 (Pl. 37:b). This northernmost wall is quite carelessly built with fieldstones, an enormous boulder, and much clay, as is the extension of the west wall. The faces are irregular and the construction does not resemble the careful work of the other rubble walls in the room. The question therefore arises whether the narrow, corridorlike space so formed belongs with the rest of the room and building, and, if so, what function it served. The fill from this corridor was much disturbed, containing Roman pottery to a depth well below the floor level of Room 3 (lot 5716). Moreover, the water that drained from the bath stall must have passed through the western end of this area, perhaps to empty into a shallow pit cleared just beyond the northwest corner of the space. Again, if the area was in use in Hellenistic times, it is difficult to understand how one gained access to it. Two alternatives remain, namely, to disregard the outer rubble wall as a later construction and to make the north wall of the bath stall the outer wall of the room and building, or to replace the flimsy outer wall with a good ashlar wall similar to the remaining exterior walls of the building. As for function, its narrowness calls to mind a stairway, but since there is no indication that this or any of the dining halls had second stories, such an interpretation is unsatisfactory.

Kitchen, Room 4

An opening 0.65 m. wide in the southwest corner of Room 3 leads to the kitchen, Room 4 to the west (Pl. 35:a). The well-built south wall of the building, which runs in a straight line from the southeast corner of Room 2 to this point, ends here and makes a short jog north for *ca.* 0.65 m. to avoid an earlier structure before it turns west again. Although the blocks have

⁷⁶ The threshold of the door to Room 3 lies 0.28 m. below the floor in the southern half of the room.

⁷⁷ In Bookidis 1969, p. 301, we suggested that the side walls of the bath stall stood to waist or shoulder height. The subsequent discovery of a similar space in the Hellenistic Building K–L:21–22 clearly set off as a room makes such a reconstruction now unlikely.

⁷⁸ Although the wall is poorly preserved east of the stall, projecting just above floor level for most of its length, it is well preserved at foundation level and is bedded on the stereo.

been removed for much of this stretch, the impressions of them in the underlying earth make the reconstruction clear.

Room 4 was considerably disturbed in Late Roman times by the construction of a rubble wall across its southwest corner, for which see Chapter 13 below and Plate 56:b. For this construction most of the room, as well as much of Room 3, was cleared nearly to the earliest Hellenistic floor. Only in the southwest corner of Room 4 were fills left undisturbed. Moreover, the northern half of the room has been completely lost, leaving its restoration open to question. The room is 2.40 m. wide from east to west by at least 1.70 m. long from north to south. That an enclosed room and not an open court should be restored is indicated by the discovery of a layer of fallen roof tiles covering a series of at least six successive soft, clay floors. These floors all showed considerable evidence of burning. In addition, on two successive floor levels we found a single line of fist-sized fieldstones, *ca.* 0.95 m. long, laid first at the base of the south wall, then later along the west wall (Pl. 37:c). Each line was only one course high as preserved and originally may have been coated with clay. Similar rows of stones have been found in other buildings in association with hearths,⁷⁹ and it seems safe to posit one here too. The stones were undoubtedly laid to protect the walls from the heat and dirt of the fire. Although concentrated here, evidence of burning was not confined to this corner of the room. A second patch lay just north of the door to Room 3; here, numerous carbonized olive pits were recovered. Room 4, therefore, was the kitchen that served the dining Room 1 and the place where water could have been heated, if necessary, for the washing in Room 3.

Chronology

Tests for material to date the construction of Building M:16–17 were made in a number of places: against the south and north exterior walls,⁸⁰ in the floors in Rooms 1, 2, and 3,⁸¹ and in the packings for the north, east, and south couches in Room 1.⁸² With some exceptions, the results were fairly uniform. Though pottery was not abundant, the latest shapes represented were skyphoi with strongly contracted lower bodies, cyma and articulated kantharoi, domed pyxis lids, and blister ware oinochoai with impressed ivy chain, indicating a date near the end of the 4th century B.C.⁸³ As always these appeared together with earlier material, most notably an Attic red-figured bell krater of the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.⁸⁴ Coins were also found, namely, two from the exterior bench against the north façade (68-1260, 68-1263) and a third from the south couch (68-1241), all three Corinthian bronzes of the Pegasos/Trident series.

The exceptions referred to above are the fills in the north couch, below the floor of Room 3, and behind the south wall, all of which dated either to the 5th century B.C. or, at the latest, to the early 4th century B.C. But such chronological discrepancies are common in the Sanctuary.

Despite the piecemeal appearance of the western end of the building, there is no evidence that any room was added at a later time. Although the fills in Rooms 3 and 4 generally contained earlier material than those in Rooms 1 and 2, the continuous construction of the south wall as

⁷⁹ Most prominently in Room 2 of the Hellenistic Building M:21–22. In the late-5th-century B.C. Building K–L:24–25, where the clay plaster is still preserved, the stones form burners on which cooking pots could rest.

⁸⁰ Lots 5643 and 5644 from behind the south wall were uninformative; more useful was the fill from the north bench (lot 5693).

⁸¹ These are, respectively, lots 5657, 5709, and 5710.

⁸² These are, respectively, lots 3221, 5648, and 5646.

⁸³ For a similar blister ware oinochoe, see *Corinth* VII, iii, no. 377 (C-34-1645), p. 149, a duck askos dated to the fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C. The first layer of packing removed from the east couch 7 contained pottery of even later date, most predominantly a fragmentary Megarian bowl, belonging to the late 3rd century B.C. at the earliest (lot 5648). Since, however, this layer forms the surface of the couch, it is possible that stray sherds from the overlying debris were pressed down into the exposed surface.

⁸⁴ *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 73 (C-68-244), p. 92. Joining fragments of the krater were recovered from the construction fill of the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building in O–P:22–23 (see Chapter 8 below).

far as the southwest corner of Room 3 makes Rooms 1 to 3 an entity. Furthermore, since it is unlikely that the rubble-built west wall of Room 3 was an exterior wall when the others were built of ashlar masonry, it is probable that the entire structure was built at once and that any anomalies in plan were due to the presence of earlier buildings.

In Room 1 the north couch was dismantled and rebuilt.⁸⁵ In Room 2 the bench that lined the east and south walls was removed. Covering both the foundation of the bench and the first burnt floor was a second clay floor, incorporating sherds of the late 4th or possibly early 3rd century B.C. (lot 5691) and a silver coin.⁸⁶ If the date of the floor is, indeed, as early as its contents, then the bench cannot have remained long in use. Whether portable furniture was subsequently introduced, or whether the room's function changed, its earlier one absorbed by Room 3, cannot be known. No attempt, however, was made to repair the break in the wall plaster.

The subsequent history of Room 2 is somewhat confused. Above its clay floor lay two successive strata, both remarkably similar in composition and consisting of rubble and broken roof tiles. The first extended from the floor to the plaster break (Fig. 31, Room 2, stratum 4), the second (Fig. 31, Room 3, stratum 3) from there to *ca.* 0.50 m. above it. A thin layer of red earth, not everywhere apparent, separated the two. Stratum 4 was thought to represent an intermediate raising of the floor after the removal of the bench, followed by stratum 3 and the abandonment of the building. And yet no threshold or step was found in the door to Room 1 that could have held back the higher fill in Room 2 during such an intermediate phase. The sherds in the two layers were also quite similar to each other, although no actual joins were found. Both dated to the 3rd century B.C., with the difference that in stratum 3 one or two sherds were of late-3rd- or early-2nd-century B.C. date.⁸⁷ It therefore seems more likely that the floor continued to be the clay layer beneath stratum 4 until the building went out of use.

In Room 3 the bath stall was repaired. Through a hole in the cement floor, visible in Plate 37:b, one can see that the stall was originally 0.25 m. shorter on the east side. An earlier limestone curb with plaster on its east face was covered over when the curb was moved to its present eastern line. When this happened is unclear, since no distinctive pottery was recovered. A second clay floor covered the original one in the southern half of the room, dating to the second half of the 4th century B.C. (lot 5708; Fig. 31, Room 3, stratum 6). Nearly all the overlying fills, however, had been removed by the Late Roman wall.⁸⁸

In the kitchen (4), six floors were recorded. Unfortunately, the area in which they were preserved was so small that the pottery is sparse and essentially undatable.

The evidence for the abandonment of the building is more abundant. Over the floor of Room 1 lay a thin stratum no more than 0.10 m. thick (Fig. 31, Room 1, stratum 5). This stratum was relatively hard and contained much carbon, broken roof tiles, pieces of fallen plaster, and small stones. Although the pottery recovered from it is primarily of 3rd-century B.C. date, a handful of fragments belong to the 4th and 5th centuries, while a few pieces are from the first half of the 2nd century B.C. (lot 3232). These consist of a small piece of a thorn kantharos and a flat-rim plate. Using these, we place the abandonment of the building in 146 B.C., the time of Mummius'

⁸⁵ Lot 3221, unfortunately, dated to the 5th century B.C.

⁸⁶ Coin 68-1242, a drachm of Corinth showing Pegasos and Peirene. See Bookidis and Fisher 1972, no. 2, p. 325.

⁸⁷ From stratum 4, lot 3231, coin 65-1063, Pegasos/Trident; from stratum 3, lot 3228, coins 65-1057, Pegasos/Trident, and 65-1058, Antigonos Gonatas (278–239 B.C.). The later sherds are the rim of a flat-rim plate and a West Slope plate with offset rim.

⁸⁸ The stratum that corresponds to the building of that wall is numbered 3 in Figure 31, while the final abandonment of the room is shown by stratum 2. Some part of the Hellenistic abandonment, however, may be represented by a layer of rubble that covered both floor 2 and stall (lot 5707), stratum 5 in Figure 31, Room 4. The pottery, unfortunately, dated to the 4th century B.C.

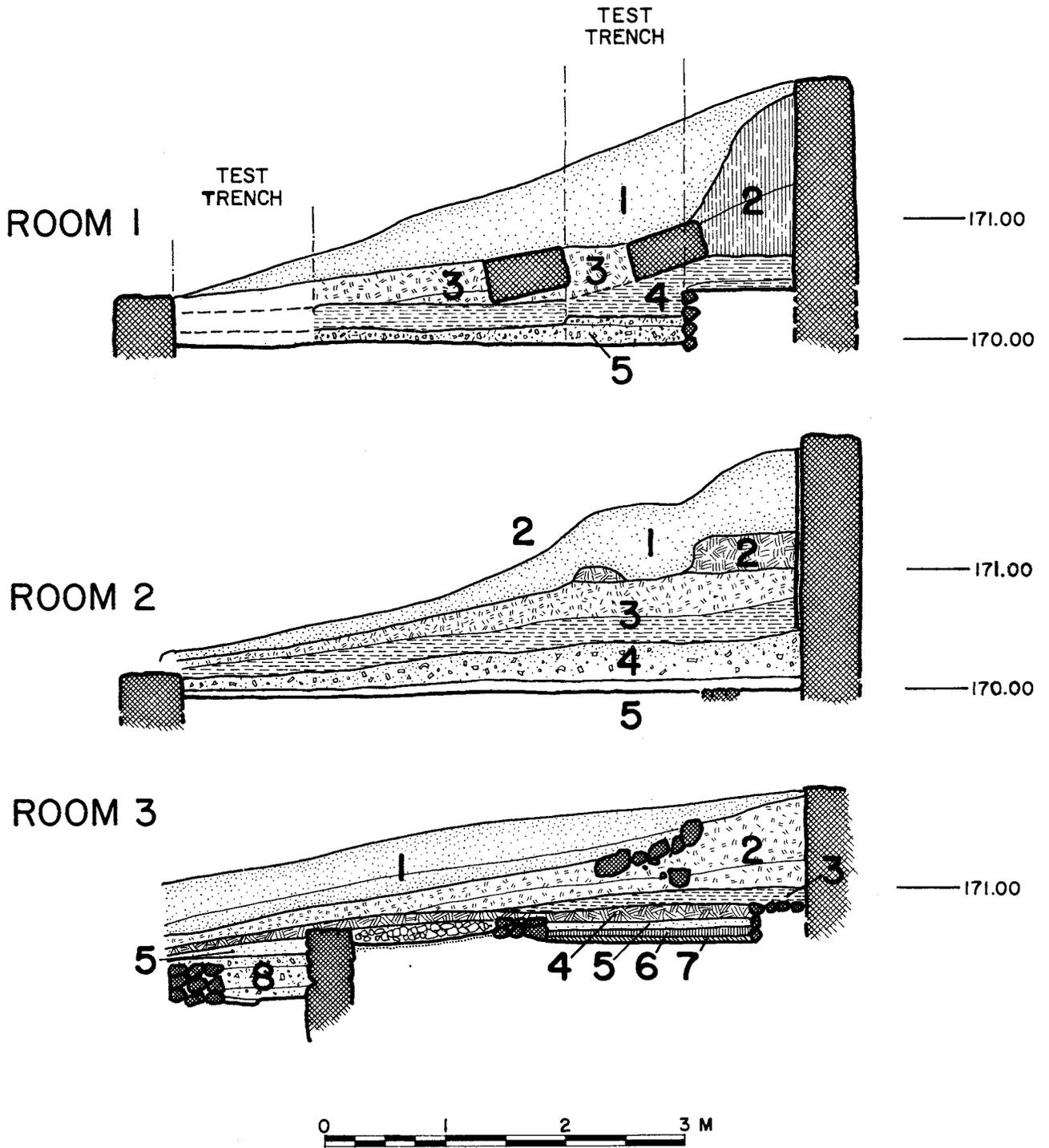


FIG. 31. Three sections: Building M:16-17, all looking east

A. Room 1: [1] General fill (lot 3222), [2] General fill (lot 3229), [3] Wall collapse (lot 3230), [4] Layer beneath wall collapse (lots 3233, 3410), [5] Debris over floor (lot 3232)

B. Room 2: [1, 2] General fill (lot 3228), [3] Abandonment (lot 3228), [4] Phase 2, removal of bench, raising floor (lot 3231), [5] Phase 1, floor (lot 5691)

C. Room 3: [1, 2] General fill, [3] Late Roman floor (lot 5705), [4] Roman fill under floor (lot 5706), [5] Debris over floor 2 (lot 5707), [6] Floor 2 (lot 5708), [7] Floor 1 (lot 5709), [8] Postdestruction fill (lot 5716)

destruction of Corinth. In addition, however, a West Slope plate with offset rim, tentatively dated to the late 2nd century B.C. by Elizabeth G. Pemberton, may indicate some activity here during the 102 years of the city's abandonment. In all cases, the pottery was extremely fragmentary; no whole profiles were recovered.⁸⁹ For the subsequent history of the building, see Chapter 10.

GRID SQUARES N–O:17–19: SERVICE ROOM (INCOMPLETE), VOTIVE PIT (Fig. 7)

When the retaining wall and boundary stone were put up in N:19, Room N–O:18–19 was torn down and a new room, N–O:18, was constructed in the area immediately to the west of it. A space of ca. 1.00 m. was left between the boundary stone (I-2768) and the new structure, undoubtedly to permit access to it. Although the room is incompletely preserved, its presence near the Hellenistic Propylon O–P:19–20 makes it worthy of note.

The new room was built in the space between Room N–O:18–19 and Building N–O:17–18.⁹⁰ The east wall of the latter building became its west wall, and a new east wall was erected over the earlier west wall of Room N–O:18–19. This new east wall is preserved for a length of 1.50 m. and ends at the north in squared blocks, as if for a door. Although the south wall was destroyed by the pillaging trench for the Roman terrace wall, its position can be approximately restored from the interior features. The northern limits are unknown. The room thus formed measures within ca. 1.35 m. wide.

In this confined space there were two benches, one against the west wall that was 0.40 m. wide, and a return against the south wall that must have been slightly wider. These reached a height of at least 0.40 m. above the clay floor.

⁸⁹ The material from this stratum gives a good idea of the kind of pottery in use in the Hellenistic Sanctuary. A selection of 281 sherds includes the following shapes, in accordance with the shape names employed in *Corinth XVIII*, i and *Corinth VII*, iii:

Lot 3232:

Votive miniatures 10: 8 hydriai, 1 krater, 1 possible kernos-type offering tray.

Fine ware 167: of which 35 are of 6th- to early-4th-century B.C. date; of the remaining 132: 4 krater bodies; 1 late ovoid kotyle; 31 or 32 kantharoi: 1 calyx, 3 possible cyma rims, 6 or 7 one-piece or articulated rims, 5 handles, 1 pedestal foot, 1 Attic ribbed spur-handled, 1 thorn kantharos, 12 other fragments; 13 bowls: 1 figured molded relief bowl, 2 conical, 1 with West Slope decoration, 5 echinus bowls, 3 Hellenistic semi-glazed, 1 hemispherical with incised circles as *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 454, p. 162, and 1 with outturned rim (*ibid.*, no. 452 [C-65-487], p. 161); 1 saucer (in 19 fragments); 5 plates, 3 flat-rim, 1 flat-rim or possibly a beveled fish-plate rim, West Slope plate with offset rim as *ibid.*, no. 472, p. 164; 16 ring feet and 27 bodies of plates/bowls; 2 blister ware ribbed aryballoi; 12 Hellenistic pyxis lids and bottoms.

Plain fine ware 46: large hydria rim, 14 other fragments of closed shapes; 5 column kraters; 5 perforated cylindrical vessels (lamp-hangers).

Coarse ware 12: 4 amphoras, including 2 Corinthian type B; 1 Archaic trefoil oinochoe; 3 lekanai; 1 mortar, 3 perirrhanteria.

Cooking ware 83: 12 unflanged stewpots, 15 flanged with diameters of 0.09 to 0.13 m.; 5 casseroles; 2 lid knobs; 1 trefoil pitcher; 6 or 7 lekane rims, 7 ring feet.

Figurines 74: small, worn fragments, chiefly of draped moldmade females, 4th century B.C. to Hellenistic, 3 female heads, 1 head of a goose-boy, 2 girls with pigs, 3 or 4 jointed dolls, 1 Classical seated figure; 1 fragment of drapery from a 5th-century B.C. terracotta statue (SF-65-43).

Date: 6th to first half of 2nd century B.C., possibly into second half.

In addition to pottery of advanced Hellenistic date, there is also a certain mixture of earlier material. The shapes are generally represented by fragments rather than by complete pots or even complete profiles. Combined with the pottery are a certain number of figurines, a rather sizable number, but again, very fragmentary and worn, as if they had been in circulation for some time. It is therefore difficult to say to what extent this material would have represented the furnishings of the dining room at the time of its abandonment. It may well be that part of the finds does so belong but that other debris was either brought in to help fill in the room or washed in from above.

⁹⁰ In the preceding period there was either a passageway here or a small room having only a clay floor.

The remodeling must have taken place in the early 3rd century B.C. when the boundary stone was set up. It is not clear, however, how long the room continued in use, for at some point, probably still in Hellenistic times, the area went through one more transformation.

At this time the room was enlarged to the east and south. A new east wall was aligned with the boundary stone in N:19 but lay 0.75 m. south of that stone. The new south wall was also shifted to the south in O:18. It is visible in both Figure 7 and in the foreground of Plate 40:a south of the Roman pillaged wall trench. The enlarged Room N–O:18 measured at least 3.50 m. from north to south by 2.25 m. from east to west. Although nothing can be said of the function of the room, its location, just 0.40 m. west of the Hellenistic Propylon O–P:19–20, effectively blocked circulation around the Propylon south to the Middle Terrace.

Votive Pit(?) N–O:17–18

In the 3rd century B.C. the area of Building N–O:17–18 became a dumping ground for discarded votives. One such deposit of cast-off material was isolated in the southeastern quarter of the building where grid squares N–O:17–18 come together.⁹¹ The southern limits of the deposit were formed by a single line of tiles set on edge 0.30 m. north of the building's south couch wall. The line is visible in the lower right quarter of Plate 48:b and in Plate 37:d. The deposit extended from the east wall westwards for 1.90 m. and from the tiles north for 0.90 m. Nothing confined it on the west or north sides, nor was it covered when excavated.⁹²

Although we originally believed that the deposit was a defined pit of intentionally buried votives, much like that found in Room E on the Middle Terrace,⁹³ upon further reflection we now suggest that all these objects had been removed from some other place and simply discarded here (Pl. 38:a). In addition to the 12 kg. of pottery discussed by Elizabeth Pemberton, a few pieces of jewelry, 9 lamps, a terracotta loomweight, 5½ baskets of roof tiles, and roughly 170 fragments of terracotta figurines were also recovered (lot 3217). While draped female types predominated among the figurines, a few figurines of children and men were recovered together with three fragments of terracotta sculpture. The material was largely fragmentary, and a few pieces showed evidence of burning, which may suggest that the material was gathered from more than one source. The deposit covered the earlier dining room floor (+172.57 m.) of Building N–O:17–18 to a height of 0.40 m. Modern ground surface lay only 0.20 m. above this, and, as a result, nothing was found to indicate a further use of this area.

On the basis of the pottery, the deposit has been dated to the third quarter of the 3rd century B.C., a date that also seems to agree with the figurines. This date is based on the absence of Late Hellenistic material. One must keep in mind, however, that its absence may be fortuitous. Immediately south of the tile barrier the stratum that covered the earlier floor of the dining room contained molded relief bowls (lot 3218), a type of pottery that had been absent in the deposit. That the area, however, may have long been a popular dumping ground for discarded votives is suggested by circumstances immediately to the north. There in the Roman period the collapsed south wall of Building M:16–17 was covered by a deep fill containing 60 baskets of fragmentary votive pottery, dating from the 6th to 2nd century B.C., and ca. 1,600 fragments of terracotta

⁹¹ Pit 1965-1, *Corinth XVIII*, i, Group 8, pp. 101–103, pl. 3:b.

⁹² The fallen stones and tiles to the north and west, mentioned in *Corinth XVIII*, i, p. 101, were merely part of the debris, not parts of collapsed sides; the south tile barrier continued well beyond the deposit.

⁹³ For a description of this pit, see p. 159 above, Pit 1965-2, and *Corinth XVIII*, i, Group 3, pp. 84–87. In addition to the pottery described by Pemberton, Pit 1965-2 contained a fragment of an Archaic lamp, Broneer type I, of the first half of the 6th century B.C., two Howland type 20 lamps as *Agora IV*, no. 149, pp. 43–44, from the first half of the 5th century B.C., a terracotta protome as *Corinth XV*, ii, XII.14, p. 101, an unusual moldmade head of a horse, and three knucklebones of sheep or goat (bone lot 65-39).

figurines.⁹⁴ While some of this could have washed down from the theatral area further south, much of it may have derived from fills covering Building N–O:17–18.

BUILDING N:12–13: DINING ROOM, KITCHEN WITH BATH, SITTING ROOM
(Figs. 8, Phase 2 on p. 47, 32)

Building N:12–13 is situated south of Building M:16–17 and approximately 8.00 m. to the west of it. It is roughly oriented with its long axis due east–west, and its main entrance is probably to be restored on the north side. The overall dimensions are 9.75 m. east–west by *ca.* 6.00 m. north–south. In plan the building is divided into three rooms, comprising a large central dining room, 2, a service area to the east, 1, and a narrow sitting room to the west, 3 (Pl. 38:b). It overlies, for the most part, the earlier two-room complex, the east side of which is visible below the later remains in Plate 38:c.

Like nearly all the Sanctuary dining rooms, Building N:12–13 is cut into the hillside in such a way that the interior floor is flush with the base of the south wall, while lying *ca.* 1.50 m. above the base of the north wall. Both north and west walls are preserved for their entire length; a single block of the east wall suffices to establish its position. Most of the south wall was destroyed by the trench for the pillaged Roman terrace wall that crossed the Sanctuary from O:24 to N:12. That trench is visible along the right edge of Plate 38:b. The interior generally reflects a similar state of preservation in that the southern half is moderately well preserved, while the northern half has been destroyed.

The construction of the exterior and interior walls is generally like that of Building M:16–17, that is, ashlar masonry of local breccia blocks, interrupted by isolated stacks of rubble. Nothing more of the superstructure is preserved.

The position of the main entrance into the building is unattested. As we have seen in the other Sanctuary buildings that are set well away from the stairway, entrances are generally on the north side, and one has been so restored here, but we have followed a less common practice by placing it off the kitchen, Room 1. In this way the number of doors opening into the dining room is limited to two rather than to three and the disposition of the couches is more satisfactory.⁹⁵

Kitchen, Room 1

Room 1, which occupies the entire east side of the building, is 2.10 m. wide and *ca.* 5.00 m. long (Pl. 38:c). Its features are confined to a rectangular enclosure at the southern end. Formed by two blocks of breccia, placed at right angles to each other and to the east wall, this measures 1.15 m. wide east–west by 1.80 m. long north–south. An opening *ca.* 0.90 m. wide in the southwest corner provided a means of access. Although no floor was actually preserved here, the dimensions of the space are suited to a bathing stall. The absence of a floor is not disturbing, however, for this would have been elevated several centimeters above the surrounding floor on a bedding of some sort and could very easily have been removed. By analogy with Building L–M:28, then, the rest of the room would have been used as a kitchen.

Dining Room 2

A door led into the dining Room 2 to the west. Although this is not actually preserved, its position may be suggested by a second door on the opposite side of the room, leading to the sitting Room 3. If the two doors were aligned, as is frequent in the Sanctuary, then the door from Room 1 lay 1.85 m. from the south wall of the building. Room 2 is 4.55 m. wide east–west by *ca.* 5.00 m. long north–south. The preserved southern half appears together with Room 3 in Plate 38:b. Its

⁹⁴ Lot 3222. The 60 baskets of pottery came from an area roughly 5 m. square; see p. 380 below and Figure 31, stratum 1, Rooms 1, 2.

⁹⁵ Our basis for this arrangement is Building L–M:28, together with the less certain N:28.

floor (+173.15 m.) is of clay. Banquettes are preserved along the southern half of the room. They average 0.80–1.00 m. wide and nearly 0.50 m. high, but only the southwest couch 5 preserves its original surface of waterproof lime-cement. A further feature of these banquettes is one already noted in the dining Room 1 of Building M:21–22 (p. 187 above). Rectangular basins are let into the tops of the couches in either south corner of the room. They are *ca.* 0.40 m. square, and the better-preserved southwest one is 0.41 m. deep. Like those from the other building, sides and floor are plastered continuously with the couch tops and the lip is beveled; there is no evidence in either of a drain.

If we are correct in our assumptions that the main entrance to the building stood in Room 1 and that the two doors leading off to the neighboring rooms were aligned, then the following reconstruction of couch lengths can be suggested, beginning to the right (north) of the door from Room 1:

- | | |
|----------|----------------|
| 1. East | 2.30 m. |
| 2. North | 1.87 m. |
| 3. North | 1.87 m. |
| 4. West | 1.45 m. |
| 5. West | 1.80 m. |
| 6. South | 1.87 m. |
| 7. South | 1.87 m. |
| 8. East | 0.80 m. (half) |

These make up seven and one-half-couches. Finally, it is likely that two more basins also existed in both north corners of the room.

Sitting Room 3

Room 3 occupies the entire west side of the building, being 1.30 m. wide and 5.00 m. long (Pl. 38:b). Its function as a sitting room is made clear by the benches, preserved on the south and west sides. These are built of rubble and earth and measure 0.75 m. wide on the south and 0.35 m. wide on the west. Their maximum preserved height is 0.34 m. They undoubtedly continued around the north side too. Two successive floors were uncovered: the earlier may have been plastered with waterproof lime-cement, badly decomposed remains of which were found along the benches (+173.36–173.28 m.); this, in turn, was covered with clay (+173.40–173.27 m.). The floors thus stood *ca.* 0.15 to 0.20 m. above that in Room 2.

Chronology

Building N:12–13 in this form overlies a 6th-century B.C. structure containing two dining rooms. The evidence for the filling in of that building and its replacement by the new structure in the mid- or second half of the 4th century B.C. has been discussed in conjunction with the earlier phase. When the second building went out of use can only be determined in the broadest of terms, for only a thin layer of surface fill overlay the floors and walls. It was certainly abandoned, however, at or by the time the Roman terrace wall for the Middle Terrace was built over its south wall (Chapter 11 below).

An ashlar wall of breccia lies 0.65 m. north of Building N:12–13. The wall runs east–west, not quite parallel to the north wall of Building N:12–13, and extends at least 2.00 m. beyond the northeast corner of that building (Pl. 38:c). It is undoubtedly the back wall of another structure to the north that remains unexplored.

Yet another ashlar wall of breccia runs east–west along the northern edges of L:14–15 and just 5.00 m. south of the road (Plan 1). It is visible in the middle ground of Plate 4:a. In view of its poor preservation, we cannot say whether it formed the north wall of the same building as the preceding wall or part of yet another one just to the east of it.

BUILDING O:9: DINING ROOM (INCOMPLETE) (Fig. 32)

We made a test to the west of the main excavations in an attempt to define the limits of the Sanctuary on that side.⁹⁶ Far from achieving this purpose, we found, on the contrary, that buildings continue at least another 20.00 m. to the west. Although the walls that we exposed lay close to the surface and their state of preservation was consequently poor, we were able to isolate the plan of at least one dining room.

Building O:9 lies *ca.* 12.00 m. west of Building N:12–13 and south of the line of that building's south wall. It thus falls at the western end of the Middle Terrace, that is, in an area not otherwise occupied by dining rooms. Whether the structure was separated from the rest of the Middle Terrace by a wall is unknown. Evidence for the kinds of walls that defined the eastern half of the Middle Terrace in all periods seems to be completely lacking in the western half until the Roman period.

Of Building O:9, we see preserved the southeast corner of a dining room together with a short segment of what may have been the north couch wall, and two blocks of the east outer wall. From these remains we can restore at least one room in a building *ca.* 5.40 m. long north–south.

The east wall is built of ashlar blocks in local breccia, *ca.* 0.45–0.50 m. thick, for a preserved length of 1.60 m. It is not possible to say where the door stood. *Ca.* 4.50 m. long north–south, the room is framed on at least three sides by banquettes. The retaining walls for the banquettes are *ca.* 0.30 m. thick, consisting of large stones packed with smaller ones. They define couches 0.80 m. wide. Room thus existed for two couches of 1.75 m. each on the west side. More cannot be said. The floor is of clay, and on it lay a few fragmentary pan tiles.

Pottery from the building was slight and in no way useful in dating the phases of the building. The use, however, of breccia in the east wall and the considerable thickness of the couch walls can best be paralleled in the Sanctuary buildings of the later 4th century B.C., such as Building M:16–17, and it is to that period that we assign this building. Nothing within it in any way contrasted with the finds from the rest of the Sanctuary, and there is no reason to regard this building as different from any of the other dining rooms.⁹⁷

ENTRANCE SYSTEM AND PROPYLON IN O–P:19–21 (Figs. 33, 34; Plans 9 B–B, 10 E–E)

As discussed above, significant changes are made to the area immediately west of the stairway and to the stairway itself south of landing 7 around the end of the 4th century B.C. As a result of these modifications a new, enlarged passageway is created that is more than twice as wide as the original stairway. North of landing 7 the stairway proper remained unchanged and continued to serve the buildings newly erected to the east of it. Landing 2 thus gives access to Building K–L:21–22, landing 4 to Building M:21–22, and landing 6 to the successor to Building N:21, unfortunately no longer preserved. Along the west side, Buildings L:18–19 and M–N:19 are dismantled at this time and their remains are covered with earth to form an open area. Although the stairway does not expand into this area, what is created, in effect, is a broad sloping ramp. Stairway and ramp together form a new, wide approach to the Middle Terrace. The western limits for this passage are clearly defined by the two inscribed boundary stones as well as by the jogged wall that connects them. Part of this open ramp may have been used for temporary booths, and a bench provided a resting or viewing place for those ascending the hill.

⁹⁶ The test cut extended diagonally across the hillside from P:9–10 at the southeast to M:7–8 to the northwest. It was limited in scale. To pursue the test further would have required an additional purchase of land and an expenditure of valuable time needed for other parts of the Sanctuary.

⁹⁷ Further north two more walls were found that may have belonged to one or more structures. Although they were too poorly preserved to be investigated, they appear in Figure 32.

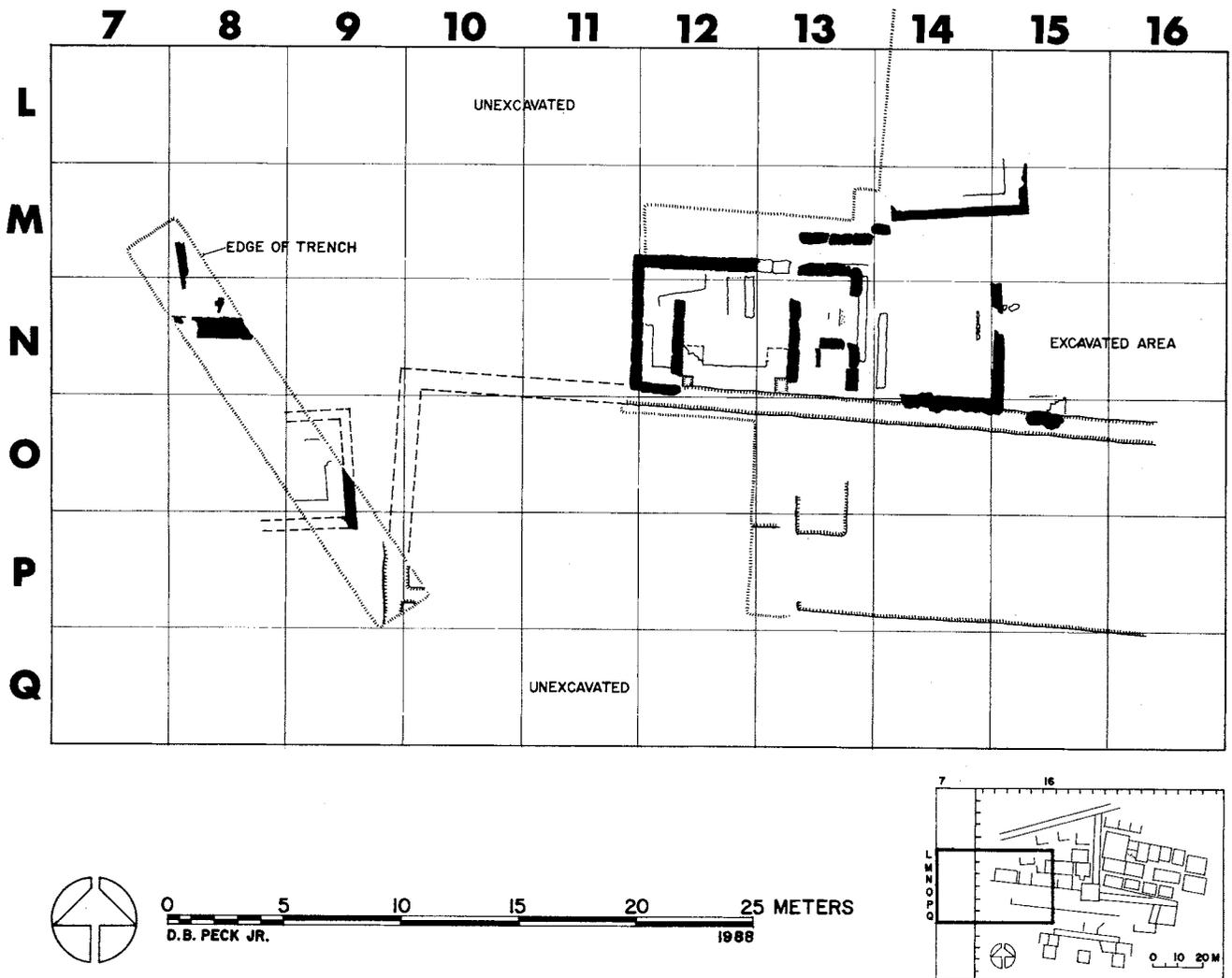


FIG. 32. Plan: West Test Trench

The focus of these modifications, however, lies at the southern end of the stairway from landing 7 upward to the south. The changes carried out here represent part of a much larger reorganization of the entire Middle Terrace and should be examined in conjunction with the work done there.

A comparison of the two period plans, Plan 4 of *ca.* 400 B.C. and Plan 5 of *ca.* 275 B.C., will illustrate the difference. At the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century B.C. the Middle Terrace is enlarged to the north, absorbing the North Corridor (P-O:21-26) that had previously separated the dining rooms of the Lower Terrace from the Middle Terrace. As a result, one can no longer enter the Middle Terrace from the northeast in P:25 but must continue south to enter the Terrace from the west in P-Q:20. Built over the North Corridor is a new Trapezoidal Building, and at the western end of this there is now constructed an enclosed court accessible only from landing 7 of the stairway. Immediately south of landing 7 in O-P:19-20 and abutting the court, a large entrance hall or propylon now replaces landing 8 in order to control circulation onto the Middle Terrace to the south.

Entrance Court and Votive Pit F in N–O:20–21 (Figs. 33, 35)

Opposite landing 7, on the stone stairway before one reaches the Propylon, there is, on the east side, a small court in N–O:20–21. The court is visible in Plate 38:d.⁹⁸ It lies between the stairway and the western end of the new Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace. On its west side the court opens directly onto the landing; the other three sides are defined by ashlar walls of breccia, averaging 0.45 m. thick. The court's north wall is formed by Wall 10, the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace, which also served as the north, or back, wall of the new Trapezoidal Building. Its east side is the west wall of that building. Bonded into this wall and extending westward from it is the south wall of the court. The latter then returns for ca. 1.75 m. to the north to form the west wall of the court, which is flush with the east side of the Propylon. A large opening there ca. 2.30 m. wide faces onto landing 7.⁹⁹ In view of the solid construction of the walls, the court was undoubtedly roofed.

These four walls are part of a single design contemporary with the construction of both the Propylon and the Trapezoidal Building. The court they form is itself trapezoidal in shape, measuring ca. 3.75 m. east–west by ca. 3.50 to 4.00 m. north–south.

Except for the thick rubble and concrete construction of a Roman terrace wall, which cuts through its east wall and has destroyed a strip of floor along its south side, this court has survived in a relatively good state of preservation. This helps to establish the fact that there is no exit from the court apart from landing 7. Its east and south walls are preserved to a height of ca. 0.65 m. and ca. 0.53 m., respectively, above the floor level and show no evidence of a door. It was impossible, then, to gain access to the Middle Terrace or to the Trapezoidal Building through this small court, and its only opening served as the entrance and exit.¹⁰⁰

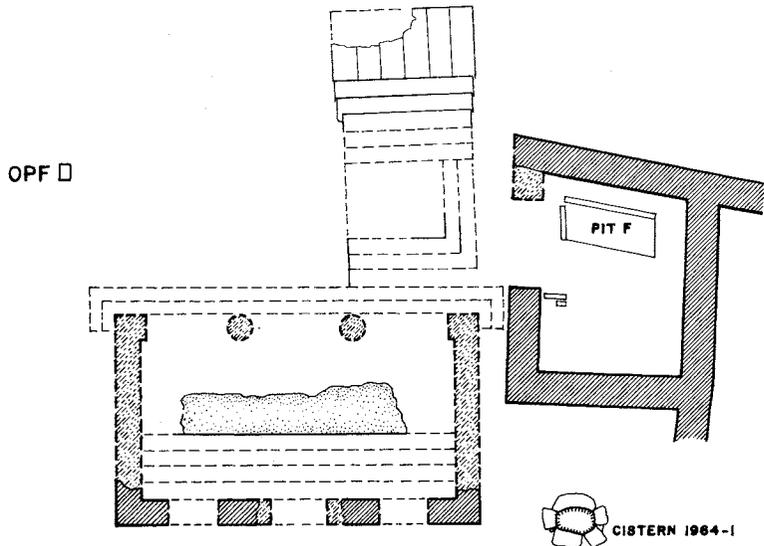
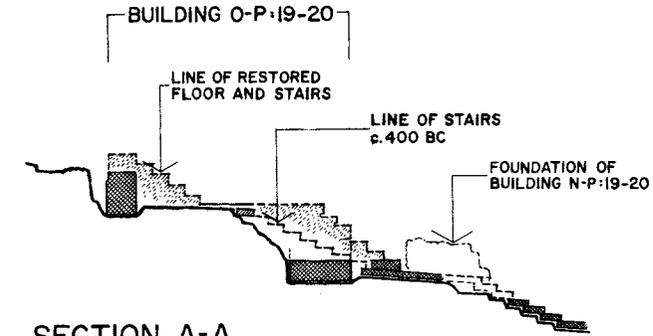
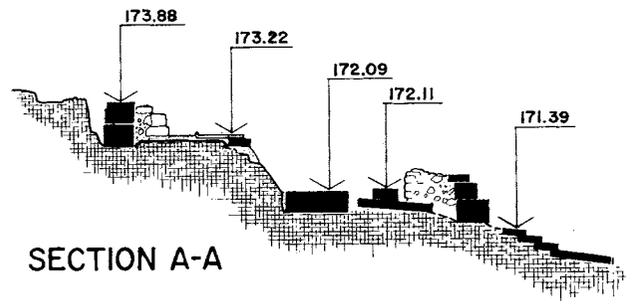
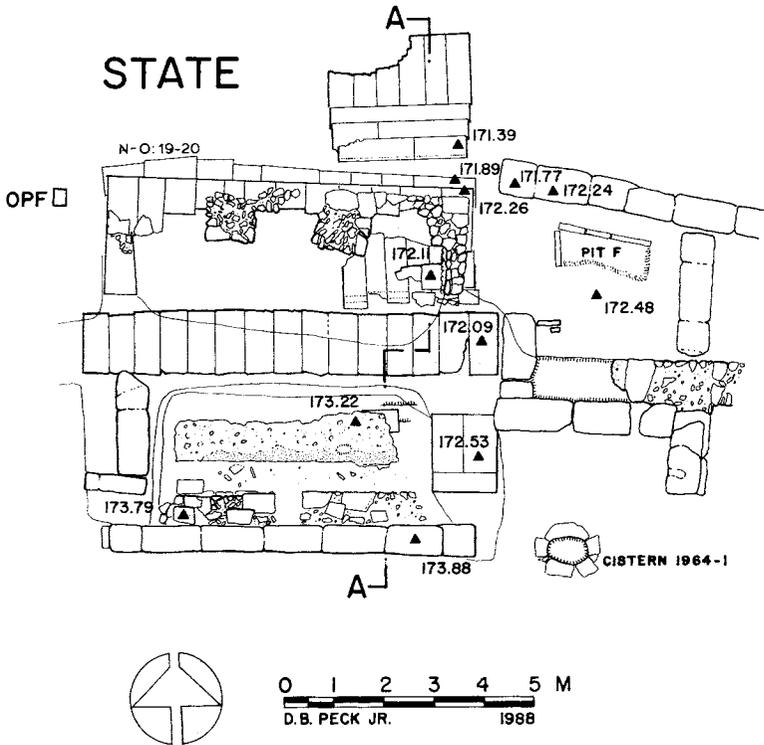
Within the court is a hard-packed clay floor. Set into this floor ca. 0.50 m. from the north wall and parallel to it is a rectangular pit (Pl. 39:a). Lined on north and west sides by thin limestone slabs, the pit is ca. 2.00 m. east–west, 0.80 m. north–south, and 0.46 m. deep, and its floor consists, in part, of small, packed stones. In form and size it closely resembles the 5th-century B.C. votive Pits A and E of the Middle Terrace. Unlike those pits, however, this one, which we have labeled Pit F, is missing both its cover and a deposit of miniature vases. A bronze coin of Septimius Severus, A.D. 193–211 (65-956), recovered from the filling of the pit, indicates that it had been disturbed and its original contents, if any, removed by at least the late 2nd century after Christ. This disturbance may also explain the absence of stone slabs on east and south sides. That Pit F may once have been covered when it went out of use is a possible inference from similar covers found on Pits A and E in the Middle Terrace. That the pit was part of the original design of the court is proven by the way the clay floor of the court is laid against its two preserved walls. Pottery recovered from within and below the floor (lots 4388, 4389) places construction of the court and pit in the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

Also set into the floor of the court on the right as one entered were two small poros stelai, or one stele supported in back by a second slab. They have remained *in situ* oriented east–west and stand only ca. 0.04 m. apart. The northern slab is 0.49 m. wide and 0.125 m. thick and stands

⁹⁸ The court can also be seen from the southeast in Plates 10:a and 41:a; in Plate 20:e, to the right of the breccia terrace wall; and in the upper left corner of Plate 21:a.

⁹⁹ A foundation undoubtedly once continued further north to meet with the north wall, the end block of which now lies 0.71 m. below floor level within the court. A large trench was cleared that could have once held these blocks, extending 1.30–2.20 m. south from the north wall and lying 1.30 m. east of the landing. The foundation would probably have projected no higher than the floor within the court but would have retained the earth beneath that floor.

¹⁰⁰ In any case, much more elaborate arrangements than a simple door in the court's east wall would have been necessary to get into the west room of the Trapezoidal Building, for the floor of the court lies perhaps as much as ca. 1.60 m. below the minimum hypothetical floor level of the building. For the floor level of the Trapezoidal Building, see p. 243 below.



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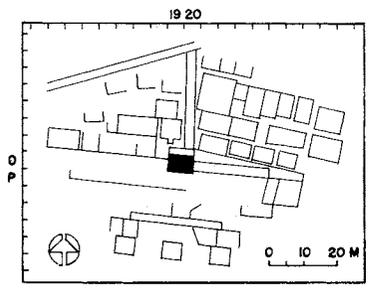
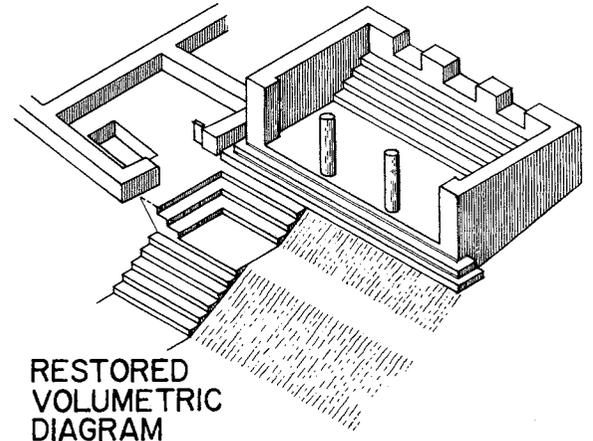


FIG. 33. Plan: Building O-P:19-20, Hellenistic Propylon

to a height of 0.445 m. above the floor (Pl. 39:b). The top of its front face has been broken off. All four surfaces are roughly dressed; there are no traces of incisions, moldings, or any other form of decoration. Smaller than its mate, the southern stele is 0.20 m. wide and 0.09 m. thick and is preserved to a height of 0.37 m. (Pl. 39:d). Its top is likewise missing, and the treatment of the surface is identical to that of the northern stele.

Confirmation that the stelai were positioned here when the clay floor of the court was laid down emerged when we dug below the floor to expose their full heights on the south side. Immediately below the level of the floor the northern stele becomes considerably thicker, and its surface has been left much rougher than the portion that was meant to be seen. This difference in workmanship is apparent in Plate 39:d. The bottom of the stele rests on bedrock, which lies *ca.* 0.48 m. below the floor. The southern stele was set into the ground only *ca.* 0.14 m., which probably indicates that it could not have originally been very tall.

Furnished with Pit F and the twin stelai, this self-contained little court occupied an extremely strategic position in the Sanctuary.¹⁰¹ It stood at the borders of the Lower and Middle Terraces. Moreover, its west side probably lay open, clearly revealing the pit and stelai to anyone on the stairway's southernmost landing. It seems obvious that the position and design of the court were determined by requirements of the cult. Pit, stelai, and perhaps other less permanent installations were probably employed in some kind of ritual that was performed before one entered the Middle and Upper Terraces. The lack of any signs of burning in and around Pit F rules out burnt animal sacrifices, but the pit could well have received bloodless offerings or libations of a chthonic nature. In votive Pits A and E on the Middle Terrace worshipers seem to have placed miniature votive vases, especially kalathiskoi, in the earth in honor of Demeter and her daughter. Pit F resembles these other two in shape and could have been used for a similar function.

Pit F in the entrance court of *ca.* 300 B.C. also shares with these two earlier pits another characteristic that may be of ritual significance. Pit E was sunk into the ground in the long North Corridor that separated the Lower from the Middle Terrace and led to the latter's principal entrance in P:25 contemporary with the pit's period of use. One had to pass it in order to gain entrance to the Middle Terrace. Also, in the later 5th century B.C., after passing through the entrance in the north retaining wall at P:25, one soon encountered Pit A, which was placed outside Room E. It is possible that passage from the Lower to the Middle Terrace was accompanied by a ritual in which an offering had to be placed in a pit in the ground. This custom could have been preserved by constructing Pit F in the little entrance court *ca.* 300 B.C. when the whole pattern of circulation and entrance into the Middle and Upper Terraces was radically altered. Given its small size, however, the number of those using the court and Pit F at any one time must always have been very small. It might even be suggested that the religious officials intended this particular step in the ritual to be a private affair.

Stelai set into the ground near a repository for miniature vases and other votives are reminiscent of the small stele shrines excavated in the Corinthian Potters' Quarter, especially Stele Shrines A and B and the Shrine of the Double Stelai.¹⁰² We probably have in the small entrance court another example of the practice—popular at Corinth—of burying large numbers of votives around or near such upright stones.

A problem of housekeeping may have arisen from Pit F's location in the closed court. Although precise archaeological evidence is lacking for the length of time the pit remained in service, the elaborate construction of the court argues for a fairly permanent installation. At the same time, the capacity of the pit is limited. Even if the normal offering was a miniature votive

¹⁰¹ Stelai and Pit F can be seen to the left of Building N:21 in Plate 21:a.

¹⁰² For the Potters' Quarter stele shrines, see *Corinth* XV, i, pp. 22–25, 49–53. These differ somewhat from ours, however, for the surfaces of the stelai are cut into panels, which may or may not have once been painted.

vase or perhaps a figurine, it would not have taken long to fill its small and fairly shallow interior. The necessity to clean out the pit periodically to make room for subsequent dedications must have been pressing. In the case of the similar votive Pit A on the Middle Terrace, we found in the vicinity, particularly in Room E, large numbers of votives in deposits that are best explained as the result of cleaning the offerings out of the pit and burying them nearby. Within the entrance court, however, there are no dumps of this sort that might represent the cleaning out of Pit F. The confined space of the court, its hard clay floor, and the proximity of the heavily used stone stairway all probably precluded disposal of votive offerings in the immediate environs of Pit F.

Across the stairway from the court, however, at the southern edge of the Lower Terrace in N–O:17–18, a large dump of discarded miniature vases, figurines, and other votives was excavated (lot 3217) (pp. 211–212 above). It included many intact kalathiskoi. Although this dump contained much earlier material, its latest pottery has been dated to roughly the third quarter of the 3rd century B.C. by Elizabeth G. Pemberton.¹⁰³ Thus, both the date and the location of this dump make it a suitable candidate for the place where votives emptied out of Pit F were discarded.

The Hellenistic Propylon O–P:19–20 (Figs. 33, 34, 43)

In comparison with other buildings in the Sanctuary, Building O–P:19–20 is a sizable structure (Pl. 40:a). Measuring 8.30 m. from east to west by 4.80 m. from north to south at foundation level, the building is nearly as large as one of the three-room dining halls on the Lower Terrace. It is centrally located within the Sanctuary at the head of the stairway and ramped passageway (Pls. 2, 23:b).¹⁰⁴ Because of its size and its position at the base of the theatral area, the building was identified as a temple at the time of its discovery.¹⁰⁵ With further excavation and a greater understanding of how the respective terraces functioned, we have abandoned this identification in favor of that of a propylon, but the building's importance is no less considerable.

First built in the Hellenistic period over the line of the Classical stairway, the Propylon had a long history within the life of the Sanctuary. Enlarged to the north by the Romans through the addition of a new north facade in N–O:19–20, the building was apparently used until Late Roman times, when its walls were torn down. The south wall was dismantled to its two lowest courses; deep trenches filled with debris covered the lowest foundation course of the east, west, and north walls. Although the lowest course of the Hellenistic north foundation was left for its entire length, three blocks each are all that remain of both east and west foundations. Within the building roughly half the floor still exists, together with the partial remains of a construction that abuts the south wall (Pl. 40:a–d).

The Propylon is oriented east–west, with its long sides along the north and south. It is placed at a point on the hillside where the bedrock of the Middle Terrace begins to slope steeply downward to the north. As a result, the base of the lowest foundation course of the south wall lies only 0.24 m. below interior floor level, while the base of the lowest north foundation course is 1.57 m. below floor level. Both east and west foundations are stepped to provide the transition from one side to the other. As Section A–A of Figure 33 shows, the area beneath the floor is largely level, undoubtedly because of the earlier stair landing 8, which, we propose, once occupied that place, and only where the drop again becomes abrupt has the floor disappeared.

The foundations and walls are built of breccia blocks averaging 0.52–0.55 m. thick, 1.16–1.30 m. long, and 0.45 m. high, insofar as they are preserved. For the single extant foundation

¹⁰³ *Corinth XVIII*, i, Group 8, pp. 101–103.

¹⁰⁴ The building also appears in the following Plates: 5; 46:b, before the stairway was uncovered; 50:c, from the west; 51:b, from the southeast.

¹⁰⁵ Stroud 1968, pp. 308–309, therein called Building A. It is important to keep in mind that at the time of that publication neither the stairway nor much of the Lower Terrace had been found.

course of the north wall these are laid as a row of headers, making a massive foundation 1.20–1.25 m. thick, top +172.09 m. (Pls. 40:a, 50:a). The east and west crosswalls are also of double thickness but are built somewhat differently (Pl. 40:c, d). For these, bedrock is cut in three steps from north to south, beginning with the lowest bedding at the north, which is flush with the top of course 1 along the north. On it rest two blocks of what were originally two pairs of stretcher blocks that once bonded with course 2 to the north, top +172.53 m.; behind them and level with them is a thinner header 0.35 m. wide that rests on a bedrock shelf. South of this, bedrock rises again to the top of this block, and once again to the base of the south wall.¹⁰⁶ The south wall consists of two courses of stretchers 0.55 m. thick, laid in a single row. The blocks are set into a bedrock trench 0.90 m. deep. If the surviving course of the two end walls is equal to course 2, then the lowest course on the south side is equal to course 4, the second to course 5. The top of course 5 (+173.88 m.) lies 0.66 m. above interior floor level but is just flush with bedrock to the south. Its south face is trimmed back slightly to a depth of 0.15 m. for most of its length, suggesting that this course formed the euthynteria for this side of the building (Pl. 39:f). At both ends of course 5 a header, or the bedding for a header, would have bonded with both crosswalls. It is clear, therefore, that by this level those walls were only the thickness of a single stretcher, or 0.55 m. maximum. The north wall, however, may have been different.

In continuing the restoration of the building's superstructure we have several options. On the one hand, we can raise the existing double-thick foundations in alternating courses of headers and stretchers to the level of the floor and continue the walls thereafter in single rows of stretchers to enclose a simple rectangle. In so doing, however, we do not address the issue of why the three foundations are heavier. They cannot all be explained simply in terms of a need to provide adequate support for deeply founded walls, although the element of support must have been a part of the explanation for the bonding east and west walls. Such foundations do not occur in the Trapezoidal Building (see Chapter 8 below), the north wall of which is founded even more deeply than the north wall of the Propylon. Similar, broad foundations, however, do occur along the front and sides of the colonnade of the South Stoa in the center of the ancient city. Consisting of alternating courses of headers and stretchers, the broad foundations provide support for a two-stepped crepidoma, surmounted by a colonnade.¹⁰⁷ A colonnade on the Propylon will also explain the presence of a number of fragments of a Doric entablature, found, for the most part, in the immediate vicinity of the foundation. There are certainly very few foundations in the Sanctuary that could have supported such a superstructure, and, as we shall see, the dimensions of these pieces work with those of our building. Accordingly, we suggest the following restoration.

On top of the existing, lowest course of the north foundation we restore a second course of double stretchers. These must have bonded with the east and west walls, as the single surviving block at the northwest corner indicates.¹⁰⁸ This course is equivalent to the euthynteria on the north, east, and west sides of the building. At this height we are at an elevation of +172.53 m., or 0.69 m. below the interior floor and also, therefore, below stylobate level.

Evidence to close at least part of this difference in height comes from three step blocks decorated with triple reveals. Such blocks are not employed on any part of the Sanctuary's long stairway. At other sites, however, they do appear in conjunction with colonnades. The first of

¹⁰⁶ See Stroud 1968, pl. 99 C–C for a cut through the east wall. On this side of the building the bedding beneath the southern header cannot be seen. If, however, the east foundation was built like the west, then the header was substantially thinner than the normal wall course.

¹⁰⁷ *Corinth I*, iv, pp. 18–19.

¹⁰⁸ The stretchers of the west wall (L. *ca.* 1.30) would have overlapped the southern half of the north foundation. The combined thickness of the two west stretchers equaled the length of one stretcher oriented east–west on the north foundation. This left room to the north for one more stretcher running east–west.

these (1)¹⁰⁹ is built into the north foundation for the Roman Propylon just to the north of the Hellenistic one. Broken at its back and perhaps one end, the block is 0.17 m. high, at least 0.32 m. long, and 0.59 m. wide. A second block (2) of unknown provenance is 0.22 m. high, while a third fragment (3) from the area of the stairway preserves the three reveals but is broken above. Blocks 2 and 3 differ from 1 in that the uppermost reveal is beveled rather than square-cut. Whether this means that both blocks belong to the same course or to successive ones is unknown. Using these fragments, we can restore at least two steps, if not three, with triple reveals: one 0.17 m. high, a second 0.22 m. high with a beveled upper reveal.¹¹⁰ This leaves 0.30 m. for a third step that may have also been the stylobate. With treads that were roughly 0.30 m. wide, we arrive at a stylobate that was approximately 0.60 m. wide. It is not clear how far these steps wrapped around the east and west sides of the building. For that reason we have stopped them just beyond the corners in Figure 33. In view of the heavy flank foundations, however, the steps may have continued further around the sides. At stylobate level the building measures externally 7.30 m. from east to west by 4.20 m. from north to south.

A number of elements can be assigned to the entablature (Fig. 34). A key piece in this restoration is a combination triglyph-metope block (5), found just north of the Roman Propylon in Late Roman fill. Clearly Greek in its tooling, the block gives us the order of the façade, the height of the frieze course, or 0.495 m., the width of one metope, 0.445, the approximate width of one triglyph, 0.303, and allows us to determine the distance between columns on center. A stylobate 7.30 m. long can be divided into either four columns prostyle or, as we prefer, two columns in antis. The interaxial span will be 2.22–2.25 m. The frieze block (minimum length 0.748 m.) fits well into this length if we allow three metopes per intercolumniation.

Nothing of the columns or capitals remains, and remnants of the architrave are limited to one small fragment of a regula (4) found further north in Building K–L:21–22 and tentatively assigned to the Propylon. Its restored length is suitable for the width of the triglyph,¹¹¹ and it provides us with a profile of the guttae; these are cylindrical. The frieze block is 0.328 m. thick. But since its back face is worked with anathyrosis and is cut by a square dowel hole (Pl. 64:e), it was clearly masked by a row of backer blocks. A hawksbeak molding (6), recovered from Late Roman debris over the north wall of the Propylon, may belong to the crown of this backer. Three fragments preserve most of the profile of the lateral geison up through the crowning molding, namely, the cyma reversa soffit molding (7A, B), found with 6, a portion of one mutule and the corona with crowning hawksbeak (8). The latter was discovered in Building K–L:21–22 but can be associated with 7 on the basis of scale, workmanship, and suitable moldings. Although the exact width of the mutule cannot be determined, its range within 0.28–0.33 m. is compatible with the size of the triglyph. The projection of the geison is estimated to have been 0.185–0.19 m., or slightly more than half the width of the triglyph.

In addition, hawksbeak crowns, drips, and fragmentary mutules from geisa were recovered from the stairway area. Built into the lowest step of the north foundation of the Roman Propylon is a block with back face exposed, showing the very same workmanship as that on our triglyph. Unfortunately, its face is covered and its architectural function cannot be identified.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ The bold numbers refer to entries in the Architectural Catalogue in Chapter 16.

¹¹⁰ Similar reveals appear on the top two steps of the South Stoa; there, moreover, a beveled-top reveal occurs on both courses. The steps of the South Stoa differ only slightly in height, being 0.265 and 0.27 m.: *Corinth* I, iv, pp. 18–19. At the roughly contemporary Temple of Zeus at Nemea, however, the steps are 0.3412, 0.3607, and 0.38 m. high; the lower two steps have double reveals, the stylobate triple ones. Hill and Williams 1966, p. 4, pl. XIII.

¹¹¹ Coulton (1964, p. 108) notes that the regula on the harbor stoa at Perachora is sometimes narrower than the triglyph above it.

¹¹² Another molding, A-69-84, a cyma reversa shown in Figure 97, had been built into the north foundation for the Roman Propylon. Similar in profile to the soffit molding of the geison on 7, although not identical, the molding is

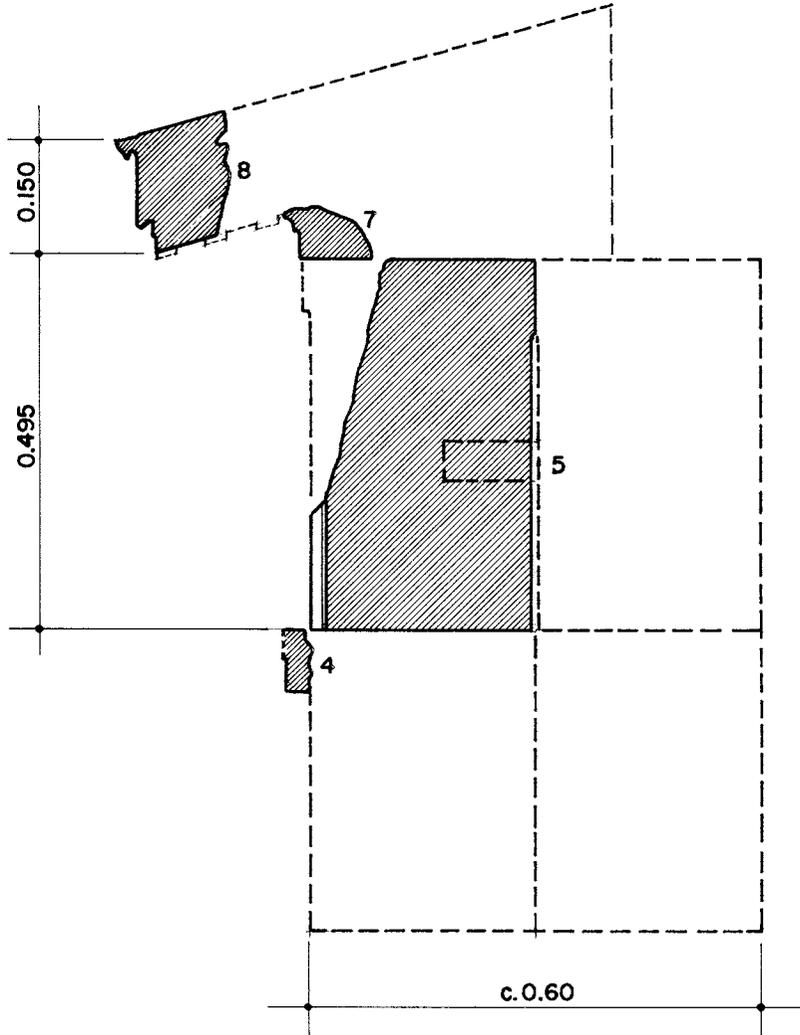


FIG. 34. Restored elevation: Entablature, Propylon O-P:19-20

Several fragments of architectural terracottas can be attributed to the roof. The first of these (**9A, B**) is a raking sima with cyma reversa profile that is decorated with a painted egg-and-dart. Fragment **A** was found in Roman fill between the Hellenistic Propylon and the later north wall of the Roman Propylon. Although this form of decoration is far less common than the anthemion, it is paralleled at Corinth in an unattributed sima from the Hellenistic Asklepieion. Fragment **B** lay near the base of the stairway in K:19; it preserves the right corner of the sima with part of the acroterion box. Found near fragment **B** is a small portion of an eaves

much larger in scale and cannot have derived from a geison. Because it is difficult to understand where the piece could have stood on such a small building as this, we have not associated it. One possible identification, however, might be as part of a door frame. Our thanks to Charles Williams II for this suggestion. Its dimensions are as follows: p.H. 0.116, p.L. 0.302, H. molding 0.029, Depth 0.027 m.; broken on all edges; traces of stucco and dull ochre paint on its surface.

tile, decorated with a bead-and-reel (9C); this we tentatively assign to the eaves of the flanks. Finally, a palmette antefix from Late Roman debris over Building K–L:21–22 (75) might have embellished the eaves.

A good impression of the scale of this façade can be had by comparing the surviving elements with those from the harbor stoa at Perachora.¹¹³ The two buildings have a number of similarities (discussed below), and they are very close in scale. Using that monument as a basis, therefore, we can suggest the following hypothetical elevation of the north façade:¹¹⁴

| | PERACHORA STOA | PROPYLON |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Lower column diameter</i> | 0.59 m. (flutes) | 0.598 m. (flutes) |
| <i>Full column height</i> | 4.13 m. | 4.19 m. |
| <i>Abacus width</i> | 0.65 m. | 0.65 m. |
| <i>Architrave height</i> | 0.415 m. | 0.42 m. |
| <i>Frieze height</i> | 0.487 m. | 0.495 m.* |
| <i>Metope width</i> | 0.462 m. | 0.44 m.* |
| <i>Triglyph width</i> | <i>ca.</i> 0.306–0.316 m. | 0.303 m.* |
| <i>Height of order to top of frieze</i> | 5.032 m. | 5.105 m. |
| <i>Intercolumniations</i> | 2.18–2.30 m. | 2.22–2.25 m.* |

Although we emphasize that these dimensions are only hypothetical, they are useful in providing us with an idea of the scale for such a façade.

Far less clear is the restoration of the south façade. The elevation of the existing course 5 is too low to have been the stylobate, for although the block's surface is level with bedrock immediately to the south of the building, bedrock continues to rise to the south. We assume, therefore, that at least one more course 0.40–0.45 m. high was required to give some height above potential downwash from rains.¹¹⁵ At such a height (+174.28–174.33 m.) the south stylobate was between 1.00 and 1.10 m. higher than the north. It was also narrower, no more than 0.55 m. and possibly less. If this façade was Doric—and we cannot even be sure of that—it must have been substantially smaller than the order of the north façade.¹¹⁶ With so many unknown elements we have not attempted to restore this side but have simply suggested multiple doors with piers in the restoration in Figure 33.¹¹⁷

The interior dimensions of the building are 6.30 m. from east to west by 3.20 m. from north to south. The northern three-fifths of the room are paved with a cobble floor (+173.22 m.). This is composed of limestone cobbles *ca.* 0.07 m. long, laid in a bedding of lime-cement and covered with the same; a thin surface skin of cement with fine red and gray pebbles gives it a total thickness of 0.08 m. (Pl. 40:a, b, no. 4). Damaged by the robbed wall trenches that removed most of the

¹¹³ Coulton 1964, pp. 101–111.

¹¹⁴ We have marked with an asterisk those dimensions that are known for the Hellenistic Propylon.

¹¹⁵ If the landings that we have hypothesized for the southern end of the stairway continued in use after the construction of the Hellenistic Propylon and were not dismantled as part of a general ground-raising project, then a stylobate set at +174.28–174.33 m. would have corresponded to the southern portion of landing 9. On the other hand, the east stylobate of the Propylaia at Athens projects only slightly above bedrock. On that analogy, our south stylobate might have been lower.

¹¹⁶ A number of small-scale Doric elements are included in Chapter 16 under 52–63. Of these only 53 and 54, two fragments of Doric columns, might fit such a colonnade. The remaining elements are too small.

With so many details of the Propylon's plan and elevation unknown, we have intentionally limited our reconstruction to an axiomatic drawing and an elevation of the north entablature. To give greater form to it would give the reader the mistaken impression that more was known.

¹¹⁷ See note 112, p. 221 above for a possible door molding.

building's walls, the cobbling must once have extended up to the east and west walls and to the north stylobate.¹¹⁸

On the south side the floor ends 1.30 m. from the south wall. There it makes a vertical face against a surface no longer preserved. At present, this 1.30 m.-wide strip (Pl. 40:b, no. 3) is partly filled with fragmentary step blocks of Classical date, laid in at least four rows and interspersed with rubble, a few tiles and decomposed lime mortar (Pl. 40:b, no. 2). These blocks stand along much of the south wall to a height of 0.57 m. above floor level (+173.79 m.). Although they were originally interpreted as packing for a bench within the Hellenistic building, their careless assembly and use of mortar indicate a Roman date. In their present form they can be disassociated from the Hellenistic building and will be discussed in conjunction with the Roman phase. Nevertheless, the finished edge of the cobbled floor indicates that something stood here in their place, and when we consider the difference in height between the cobble floor and proposed south stylobate or toichobate, steps become the most likely reconstruction for the Hellenistic period too. Indeed, it is possible that the step blocks that were reused in the Roman phase were simply taken from the Hellenistic structure. The number and size of the steps are dependent on the height of the south toichobate, but four with treads of *ca.* 0.30 m. and risers of 0.20–0.25 are plausible.

Summarizing the evidence thus far, we restore a propylon measuring 7.30 m. wide by 4.20 m. deep on the existing foundations of Building O–P:19–20. Its north façade was Doric and probably comprised two columns in antis. The elevation of the south façade is unknown but could have either been columnar on a smaller scale or incorporated doors and piers. A cobble floor for heavy wear ended against a flight of steps that led up through the south façade to the Middle and Upper Terraces up the hill.

This restoration gains further plausibility from the building's relation to the surrounding monuments, for it is closely hemmed in by other buildings on both east and west sides. Abutting its foundations for at least half the length of its east wall is the small entrance court, described above. This was a blind court with no outlet but its own entrance. Behind this court to the south ground level is substantially higher, and the cistern that lay there, in P:20–21, could only be reached from the south. This abrupt change in the height of ground level is also apparent to the west of the Propylon, for immediately south of Room N–O:18 ground level rises 0.60–0.70 m. Therefore, despite the impression given by both Figure 33 and Plan 5 that a passageway might have existed here, one did not. In later Hellenistic times the gap was closed when Room N–O:18 was moved up against the west foundations of the Propylon (Pl. 40:a). From the stairway, then, the only means of access to the Middle and Upper Terraces was through this new building, and since the old entrance to the Middle Terrace in P:25 was also blocked up with the construction of the Trapezoidal Building, this became, in fact, the only means of approach to those areas.

Relation of Propylon to Stairway

The construction of the Propylon disturbed the Classical stairway from the south side of landing 7 to at least the hypothetical landing 9. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to show that the stairway was rebuilt in conformity with the new changes in levels. Some confusion in visualizing these changes is caused by the presence of the north foundation for the Roman Propylon, which removed some steps and incorporated others into its plan. The foundation is shown in the state plan in Figure 33 just north of O–P:19–20. If we think these later elements away, however, we can reconstruct this small area in Early Hellenistic times.

¹¹⁸ Tests beneath this floor, though uninformative about the date of the building's construction, produced nothing later than the 5th century B.C. This type of cobbling and waterproof cement can be paralleled elsewhere in the Sanctuary in the late Classical and Hellenistic bathrooms, as, for example, that in Room 3 of Building M:16–17. Elsewhere in Corinth an example of such a cobbled floor occurs at the entrance to Building II beneath the Forum, for which see Williams and Fisher 1972, p. 165.

Landing 7, as it is now preserved, is 2.70 m. wide and 1.45 m. long. Its northern half had been destroyed by the Roman foundation just mentioned. We have discussed already the likelihood that the extant blocks are not as they were originally laid (pp. 97–98 above), and we have proposed that the landing in the late 5th century B.C. was 3.00 m. long, its south face lying some 0.40 m. further to the south.¹¹⁹ To accommodate the Propylon, the blocks of the landing were lifted and relaid further north. The new landing was further reduced to a length of 1.60 m. when the steps leading up to the stylobate were shifted 0.80 m. north of the landing's southern edge. Parts of two stones of this lowest step are visible in Plate 39:c and e, together with a third block behind them that served as a foundation for the overlying steps. The landing slopes upward from an estimated +171.73 m. at its projected north face to +171.91 m. at the base of the step. The step is 0.20 m. high, and its surface (+172.11 m.) is just 0.42 m. below the estimated top of the euthynteria to the south. Thus, two more steps of ca. 0.20 m. each would have sufficed to bridge the distance from the landing to the euthynteria (Fig. 33 A–A). At the same time, a second set of three steps was laid out at right angles to these to provide a means of ascent to the higher entrance court to the east (+172.48 m.). Parts of two of these steps were incorporated into the later north foundation of the Roman Propylon and are visible in Plate 39:c at right angles to the first flight.¹²⁰ Thus, the worshiper, ascending the stairway to landing 7, could first walk up to the entrance court, before continuing up the hill through the Propylon, or bypass the court altogether. Such an arrangement is not unique at Corinth, for it also appears in the Sacred Spring.¹²¹

As for the area west of landing 7 and just north of O–P:19–20, no sign of cheek walls for the steps were found. Rather, the sloping surface of the ramped passageway simply abutted the foundations of the Propylon and also rose very gently up to the west to the foot of the boundary stone I-2768 (+172.19 m.), which stood 2.00 m. from the northwest corner of the foundations. This marked the western limits of the ramped passageway.

Chronology

The chronological evidence for the building's construction is varied. Pottery recovered from the foundation trench for the south wall, although meager, included a few pieces of late-4th- or possibly even very early 3rd-century B.C. date. Among these are the foot of an Attic skyphos, a small unglazed hydria, paralleled among the finds from the Hellenistic sacrificial Pit B on the Middle Terrace, and a terracotta figurine.¹²²

Of greater significance for defining this date is the building's physical relationship to the Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace, of which both the sacrificial Pit B and the entrance court are parts. The opening to the entrance court is aligned with the Propylon, for the block that forms the south side of the entrance is aligned with the north foundations of that structure. More important, the westernmost block of the court's south wall overlaps the east foundation of the Propylon. Thus, the latter block was in position when the court wall was built. The date of the Trapezoidal Building is well documented from the large quantity of Early Hellenistic pottery

¹¹⁹ By face we mean the unencumbered surface of the landing; the actual southern edges of the blocks, however, lay another 0.15 m. to the south, and in Plate 39:c it is possible to see the original raised bedding for the earlier step. The line of the earlier stairway shown in Figure 33 A–A is now incorrect, for we push the south side of the landing further to the south and reduce the number of steps that lead to landing 8. See Figure 12 above.

¹²⁰ The lower of these two blocks is positioned 0.65 m. in from the eastern edge of landing 7; the second is set in 0.30 m.; its top lies at +172.26 m.

¹²¹ For a similar arrangement of steps ascending in two directions from a common level, see those in the Sacred Spring, Williams and Fisher 1971, pl. 5:b.

¹²² Lots 2232 and 4418; MF-12887, the figurine of a peplophoros standing against a support; for unglazed hydriai, see *Corinth* XVIII, i, pp. 10–12, and for the material from Pit B, *ibid.*, Group 7, pp. 96–100.

that formed the packing for its core. As we shall see below in Chapter 8, the lowest limit for this material is the end of the 4th to very early 3rd century B.C.¹²³

The architectural members that we have attributed to the superstructure of the Hellenistic Propylon fit in well with other Corinthian monuments of the late 4th century B.C., in particular with both the South Stoa in the center of the ancient city and the harbor stoa at Perachora. The profiles of the moldings—most prominently, the geison soffit and crowns—are very close to those from the South Stoa.¹²⁴ In both cases the cyma reversa is much deeper than high, unlike the corresponding molding from Perachora, which is higher than deep.¹²⁵ Both buildings contain steps with triple reveals, as does the neighboring Temple of Zeus at Nemea, and like the Propylon, the South Stoa features a beveled upper reveal. The proportions of the Sanctuary metopes here are similar to those both in the South Stoa and at Perachora, being slightly higher than wide, and the metopes are about half again as wide as the triglyph. Furthermore, the Perachora building incorporates three metopes per intercolumniation, a feature that is common on buildings other than temples by the end of the 4th century B.C.,¹²⁶ and it exhibits the same proportion of geison projection to triglyph width.¹²⁷ The eaves tile and antefix that we have attributed to the Propylon roof are identical to those from Perachora, showing, if nothing else, that the attribution is suitable; they are close, though not identical, to those from the South Stoa.¹²⁸ One feature in which the Propylon does differ from the other two buildings is the profile of the guttae on the regula. Here they are cylindrical, while the others are flaring. The South Stoa was dated by Broneer to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.;¹²⁹ Coulton has suggested that the Perachora building was built ca. 300 B.C.¹³⁰ If the attribution of fragments to the superstructure of the Propylon that we have proposed is correct, and in our view, findspots and dimensions argue in their favor, then it may be that it will provide the firmer chronology for those buildings.

The plan of the Propylon is unusual, if not unique. It is considerably wider than deep and is placed off-axis to the main stairway. In its adaptation to the hillside, moreover, the Propylon differs from most other such buildings. Customarily, the floor of a propylon was level, and all steps were relegated to the exterior. This is the arrangement we find, for example, at the Herakleion at Thasos or, even more dramatically, in the propylaia to the Sanctuary of Athena Lindia on Rhodes.¹³¹ Interior steps are far less common. Two examples come to mind. In the Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinous, a flight of steps led up to the distyle in antis façade of the

¹²³ *Corinth* XVIII, i, Group 6, p. 91.

¹²⁴ Compare the moldings of **7** and **8** with those shown in *Corinth* I, iv, p. 35, fig. 11. Numerous similarities can also be found with the architectural elements associated with the Classical temple to Aphrodite on Acrocorinth. Their date, however, should be lowered from the 5th to late 4th century B.C. See *Corinth* III, i, pp. 6–18.

¹²⁵ Coulton 1964, p. 112, fig. 5. Unfortunately, the drawing is at a small scale. The Perachora profile may be affected by the superposition of an Ionic second story.

¹²⁶ Coulton 1976, pp. 116–119, in particular, and chapter 7, pp. 99–137, in general. Coulton 1964, pp. 107–108 would attribute the two-metope span of the South Stoa to the great size of the building and probable heaviness of its roof.

¹²⁷ Coulton 1964, p. 110. The projection of the geison is much greater on the South Stoa. There it is equal to nearly four-fifths the width of the triglyph, or 0.355 m. to 0.45 m. *Corinth* I, iv, pp. 34–35, fig. 11.

¹²⁸ Compare the decoration of **9c** and **75** with Coulton 1964, pl. 24:a–b and color pl. B.a, and with *Corinth* I, iv, pls. 20:3, 21:1. The beads on the South Stoa eaves tile are diamond-shaped, not elliptical, and the heart of the palmette is rounded, not pointed.

¹²⁹ *Corinth* I, iv, pp. 94–99, but see Williams and Fisher 1972, p. 171 and C. K. Williams II and J. E. Fisher, “Corinth, 1972: The Forum Area,” *Hesperia* 42, 1973 [pp. 1–44], p. 27, where the abandonment of Building III is placed in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. Since the stoa cannot have been completed until these buildings were covered over, the date for the stoa may have to be lowered somewhat.

¹³⁰ Coulton 1964, p. 128, though he admits that this date is not firm and could, conceivably, be earlier.

¹³¹ For the propylon into the Herakleion on Thasos, see M. Launey, *Études thasiennes*, I, *Le sanctuaire et le culte d'Héraklès à Thasos*, Paris 1944, pp. 19–21; for the propylaia at Lindos, Dyggve and Poulsen 1960, pp. 155–173.

propylon; within the building, a step beneath the west stylobate made the transition from level floor to the higher ground level to the west without an intervening door wall, and additional steps continued from the west stylobate up into the temenos. Because the slope was less steep, however, the building could be deeper, the transitions less abrupt, and colonnades could be accommodated on both façades.¹³² On a much more monumental scale, the Propylaia on the Athenian Acropolis addressed much the same problem. Rather than cut the bedrock to a uniform level, Mnesikles introduced a flight of four steps but masked them, in a sense, beneath the interior door wall. The floor of the narrower east porch was thus 1.77 m. higher than that of the west porch, and as a result, the roof was broken to accommodate the different levels. It is also interesting to note that the height of the east stylobate of the Propylaia is only slightly higher than bedrock just to the east and that no attempt was made to divert rainwater that must have washed down into the porch from the bedrock as it continued to slope upward into the temenos.¹³³

It is significant that the Sanctuary Propylon lies not at the entrance to the Sanctuary as a whole but at the entrance to the Middle Terrace, the cult center where sacrifices were made and offerings deposited. In his discussion of sanctuaries, Richard A. Tomlinson emphasizes that propyla are passageways rather than barriers, suggesting that they helped the worshiper make the spiritual transition from secular to sacred.¹³⁴ This they surely did, but, at the same time, they could also create effective barriers between such zones. In the Sanctuary of Aphaia at Aigina, which houses one of the few surviving Archaic propyla, the so-called Priest's house with dining and bathing facilities lay outside the temenos wall; the propylon thus opened onto just the temple and altar.¹³⁵ To some extent this was also the case on the Late Classical Acropolis at Athens, especially if Pontus Hellström is correct in his identification of the Pinakothekē as a public dining room.¹³⁶ In contrast, at both the Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinous and the Hellenistic Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon, a temenos wall enclosed the entire sanctuary; accordingly, the propylon opened onto all the buildings attached to the sanctuary.¹³⁷

Because of the critical position of the Propylon here, one might ask why a similar building was not constructed before the Hellenistic period. As discussed in Chapter 4, the approach to the Middle Terrace lay along a corridor that skirted the north side of the Terrace and led up to a narrow entrance in P:25. At the same time, the oikos may have formed a substantial enough obstacle to circulation at the western end that nothing more was needed. This still, however, left the Upper Terrace easily accessible from the central stairway. Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that a predecessor to the Hellenistic Propylon once existed south of landing 8, among the various cuttings that are now no longer intelligible at the base of the Upper Terrace. The Propylon and the area immediately surrounding it were used throughout the succeeding centuries of the Sanctuary's history. Enlarged in the 1st century after Christ and incorporated into yet another reorganization of the Middle Terrace, the building continued to function until its demolition in the late 4th century after Christ or later. Its walls were then dismantled, and in their place was deposited debris from all over the Sanctuary (lots 4350, 4362, 2248). Similar debris covered the cobbled floor (lot 2240).

¹³² Gabrici 1927, cols. 75–87. The propylon has recently been restudied by Margaret M. Miles. For an abstract of her paper given at the 1989 meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America, see *AJA* 93, 1989, pp. 255–256. We are grateful to her for letting us read a copy of her forthcoming, full publication of this monument.

¹³³ Bundgaard 1957, figs. 6–10.

¹³⁴ R. A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries*, London 1976, pp. 39–40.

¹³⁵ For propyla, see J. R. Carpenter, "The Propylon in Greek and Hellenistic Architecture," diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1970.

¹³⁶ P. Hellström, "The Asymmetry of the Pinakothekē—Once More," *OpAth* 11, 1975, pp. 87–92; *idem*, "The Planned Function of the Mnesikleian Propylaia," *OpAth* 17, 1988, pp. 107–121.

¹³⁷ For Selinous, see note 132 above. For the propylon at Pergamon, *Pergamon* XIII, pp. 17–20.

NORTH OF THE ROAD: BUILDING I–J:14: DINING ROOM, SITTING ROOM (INCOMPLETE)

Of the buildings that lay beyond the main Sanctuary to the north of the road, one is certainly of late-4th-century B.C. date. Building I–J:14 is situated *ca.* 26.00 m. west of the main entrance and directly north of the subsidiary entrance in K:14. It can be seen in the lower right corner of Plate 4:a, where it cuts deeply into the roadway.

In plan, Building I–J:14 originally consisted of at least two rooms and possibly three. Erosion has removed all but the southeast portion of two, leaving south and east walls standing to a height of two courses. The south wall is preserved for a length of 3.30 m.,¹³⁸ the east for 4.50 m. At the southeast corner the two make an obtuse angle, for while the east wall is oriented north–south, the south wall follows the orientation of the road and turns somewhat to the southwest. The east wall then continues 0.80 to 1.20 m. south of the corner beneath the road. As in the other buildings of this period, both walls are built in ashlar masonry of local breccia.

An east–west crosswall built of the same material lies 1.10 m. north of the back wall of the building and separates a larger room to the north from a long narrow room to the south just 1.10 m. wide. Since this kind of arrangement occurs elsewhere in the Sanctuary, most notably in Building L–M:28, we can probably assume that the northern room was furnished with dining couches, the southern with benches. The party wall survives for a length of 2.20 m., beginning from the western end, so that the door between the two rooms must have lain further east. Unfortunately, no interior furnishings were actually found. Finally, on the analogy of Building L–M:28, we might expect a third service room to the west of Rooms 1 and 2.

The construction of Building I–J:14 caused the partial dismantlement of the late-5th-century B.C. Building I–J:15 to the east. Several interesting discoveries were made in the building debris that lay along the east side of the later structure. Above the foundation trench for the east wall was a layer of stone chips, perhaps from the trimming of the breccia wall blocks. Among these chips two mesomphalos phialai filled with charred material lay upside down. Most of this material proved to be carbonized pine wood, but in addition to this were eighteen lumps of organic material that was not wood but possibly fruit or a carbonized breadlike substance.¹³⁹ A layer of burnt material rested on top of the stone chips, and again within this layer two more phialai had been placed upside down.¹⁴⁰ The phialai are identical to two that lay on the hearth in Room 3 of Building K–L:24–25 (p. 113 above). Those too rested upside down on top of a small pile of charred wood. While it is possible that four such phialai could have come from a hearth in Building I–J:15, destroyed when the later breccia building was constructed, their appearance in pairs, carefully placed upside down on top of the charred wood, argues against such an interpretation. Since they covered the east foundation trench of Building I–J:14, the phialai were clearly placed there after Building I–J:15 was destroyed and I–J:14 erected in its place. We therefore suggest that these were part of a sacrifice or libation made at the time of that building's construction. It is, however, the only such deposit found in the Sanctuary.¹⁴¹

In addition to the four phialai, all of which date to the second half of the 4th century B.C., pottery recovered from the foundation trench included a Corinthian lamp, similar to Howland type 25A and datable to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.,¹⁴² allowing us to refine further

¹³⁸ This is the wall designated Wall 245 in *Corinth XVIII*, i, p. 33.

¹³⁹ *Corinth XVIII*, i, nos. 428 and 429 (C-72-86, -87), pp. 158–159. Again, we wish to thank Julie Hansen of the Department of Archaeology, Boston University, for identifying the wood samples and for isolating the other organic samples. These will be submitted to further analysis.

¹⁴⁰ *Corinth XVIII*, i, nos. 427 and 430 (C-72-88, -89), pp. 158–159.

¹⁴¹ Unfortunately, information on the exact limits of the burning was lost in the excavation house fire of 1972. For a foundation deposit of somewhat different character, see Miller 1981, p. 63.

¹⁴² Lot 72-110, L-72-14. See *Agora IV*, pp. 67–69.

the period when the dining room was constructed. No evidence for the date of its abandonment was recovered.

The exploratory trench that exposed the remains of Building I–J:14 continued north to the edge of the plateau on which the Sanctuary of Demeter is built, a total length of 55.00 m. A number of walls were uncovered, showing that occupation on the slope continued here well below the road. Because the earth fill over bedrock here was slight and the condition of the walls generally poor, the area was not explored more extensively.

CONCLUSIONS

The buildings that were constructed on the Lower Terrace in the late 5th century B.C. continued in use with relatively little change through the first half of the 4th century B.C. Sometime in the third or early fourth quarter of that century, however, a major program of rebuilding was begun, which transformed the appearance of the Lower Terrace. We speculate on a reason for this reconstruction in Chapter 15 (pp. 430–431 below).

Though the function of the Lower Terrace in no way changes at this time, the setting for dining is given a more monumental appearance. Thus, the old rubble-built walls are replaced by sturdier ashlar ones in breccia. As Appendix I, Table 1 of Chapter 14 (p. 413 below), shows, the structures of this period are consistently larger than those of the preceding centuries. Kitchens, bathing areas, and sitting rooms are now a regular feature, but they are organized into a more compact whole with the dining room. Interiors are carefully finished with waterproof lime-cement, and in at least one case, that of Building L–M:28, the couches are embellished with a half-round molding. Nevertheless, buildings continue to display individualized or peculiar features. One such feature is the basin, let into the couch tops in Buildings M:21–22 and N:12–13. Low wall niches occur in Building M:16–17, and higher wall niches are a feature of Buildings K–L:21–22 and M:16–17. Two buildings of this period are provided with indoor cisterns, namely, L–M:28 and M–N:25–26. That the evidence of waterworks is so limited, however, suggests that provisions for water were always a rarity on this steep, exposed slope.

Plan 5 records no more than fourteen buildings for this period, as compared with at least twenty-five at the end of the 5th century B.C. But it is difficult to assume from this number that the Sanctuary had declined in popularity, for, in most cases, the Hellenistic buildings lie just beneath the surface of the ground. Accordingly, they are most likely to have suffered from erosion and farming. The effects of such erosion are apparent, for example, north of Buildings L–M:28 and N:12–13, where isolated ashlar walls are all that remain of the three or four large buildings that once stood there. Tests made in 1994 to the east of Building L–M:28 produced remains of a further structure of this period, and it is therefore likely that L–M:28, together with Building N:28, did not form the eastern limits of the Sanctuary.

The single most important modification to the plan of the Lower Terrace is the addition of an imposing Propylon, O–P:19–20, at the head of the stairway. By demolishing the dining halls immediately west of the stairway and replacing them with an open walkway, Sanctuary architects provided more space for religious processions and gave greater emphasis to the transition from the lower dining halls to the ritual center of the cult. This emphasis is heightened by the colonnaded Doric façade that decorated the Propylon, one of the few ornamented fronts within the whole Sanctuary. By means of this building the division between the functions of the Lower and Middle Terraces is made clearer. Tests made to the east of Building L–M:28 in 1994 have shown that for a distance of at least 11.00 m. beyond that building no temenos wall enclosed that side of the site. We have concluded in earlier chapters that there was, in fact, no temenos wall surrounding

the Lower Terrace. The Propylon, therefore, performed an important function by restricting access to the Middle Terrace, which, as we shall see, was enclosed on at least two sides.

Finally, dining structures continue to be built north of the road. Because these are similar in plan to buildings within the Sanctuary, and because their contents, while sparse, are also similar to those recovered elsewhere in the Sanctuary, we assume that these buildings belong to it and represent a need for increasing space. How far down the mountain slope they continued is not clear.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ At the time of writing, two parallel ashlar walls of breccia, which could demarcate a bench room or kitchen within a larger structure, can be seen on the surface of the ground on the next terrace down from the Demeter Sanctuary. Since other sanctuaries are known to have existed here, however, the building may belong to one of them.

THE MIDDLE TERRACE, *Ca.* 400–146 B.C.

(Plans 1, 5)

O–R:11–27

In this chapter we shall consider all the architectural remains on the Middle Terrace from the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. To divide the many important new features now introduced into neat, century-long segments would give the false impression that we have all the necessary information about these buildings. In most cases, however, the chronological sequence of construction can at least be established, and we shall try to follow its line in our descriptions of the architectural remains.

There is, on the other hand, a very good reason why it has been difficult to assign firm, absolute dates to most of the buildings in question. With few exceptions, we were unable to find floor levels belonging to structures built on the Middle Terrace at this time. Erosion on the steep slope of Acrocorinth over the many centuries following the abandonment of the site in late antiquity has left behind only a few foundation walls and, in places, the earth that was dumped in against them. After clearing off the shallow surface soil—through which indeed the tops of some of the Hellenistic walls were visible before we began to excavate—we had to be content with investigating fills that lay below the level of the original floors. Thus, we often remain uncertain about not only the date of construction but also the length of time such buildings stayed in use.

Chronological imprecision is doubly frustrating at this time, for it is clear that the design of the Middle Terrace underwent significant changes in the two and one-half centuries before life in the Sanctuary was interrupted by the Roman invasion in 146 B.C. For most of the 4th century B.C., however, continuity seems to have been maintained. One still approached the Middle Terrace from landings 7 and 8 on the stone stairway, O:20. Opening off these landings to the east was the North Corridor, which separated the buildings of the Middle Terrace from the southernmost row of dining rooms on the Lower Terrace. By moving eastward across this corridor in single file visitors reached the principal entrance into the Middle Terrace, which lay in P:25 in the north boundary wall of the Terrace. It remained a single, narrow door permitting entry to only one person at a time. After passing through this entrance, one entered the open Courtyard in P–Q:23–25, which was still the centerpiece of the topography of the Middle Terrace. Still standing on the west side of this Court was the Archaic oikos in P–Q:21–23, which had been built in the 6th century B.C. and continued to serve as the main cult building in the Sanctuary. Along the southern edge of the Middle Terrace lay the rock-cut platform containing Areas D, G, and H. In the southeast corner of the Middle Terrace stood Room E, just inside the long north–south Wall 21 in P:27–R:26, which still marked the eastern boundary of the Sanctuary.

This arrangement seems to have survived until *ca.* 300 B.C., when the topography of the Middle Terrace underwent a radical transformation. Architecturally these sweeping changes are represented by some of the most substantial construction attested for this part of the site. These new buildings were part of a unified design that resulted in a completely new entrance complex leading to both the Middle and Upper Terraces. To prepare the way for this new project, the builders of the Sanctuary removed the Archaic oikos in P–Q:21–23 down to its foundations. It is possible that this building had been partly destroyed and was already in ruins before the work began on the new project *ca.* 300 B.C. We speculate (p. 270 below) that its religious functions in the

Sanctuary were now shifted to a new temple built on the Upper Terrace. For a restored plan of the Middle Terrace in the Hellenistic period, see Plan 5.

An important feature of the new building program of *ca.* 300 B.C. was the blocking up and abandonment of the principal entrance into the Middle Terrace in P:25. At the same time a long trapezoidal-shaped building was constructed in the area previously occupied by the North Corridor separating the Lower Terrace from the Middle. One could no longer turn eastward off the stone stairway at landings 7 and 8 and move across this corridor to enter the Middle Terrace. Instead, one now encountered on the east side of landing 7 the small court with Pit F and two stelai in N–O:20–21, described above in Chapter 7. After passing this court on the left, one climbed up through a large, new Hellenistic Propylon in O–P:19–20. As one emerged from this building on its south side, one could either continue straight up the hill toward the steeply rising bedrock of the Upper Terrace or turn to the left (east) to approach the Middle Terrace. The removal of the Archaic oikos opened up the west side of the Middle Terrace, creating a new, broad entrance *ca.* 5.00 m. wide. This led directly into the now considerably expanded Central Courtyard. The courtyard may also have grown in importance with the creation of a rock-cut theater area to the south, up on the rock of the Upper Terrace in S–T:21, which looked directly down on the Courtyard. We consider the possible ritual function of the Courtyard and theater on pages 245–247 below.

The southern edge of the Middle Terrace was still defined by the rock-cut platform containing Areas D, G, and H, but new northern and eastern boundaries were established as part of the building program of *ca.* 300 B.C. These had the effect of increasing the size of the Middle Terrace and transforming its perimeter from a rectilinear to a trapezoidal outline. The northern limit now consisted of a massive wall of squared blocks that ran along the south side of the dining rooms of the Lower Terrace in N–O:20–25, leaving no space between them and the Middle Terrace. This wall formed the north side of the solidly constructed building of trapezoidal shape in N–P:21–25, which occupied the area of the former north corridor. This building faced southward onto the Central Courtyard. Incorporated into its western end was the small entrance court containing Pit F and stelai; it lay along the east side of landing 7 in the stairway and the contemporary Propylon. At the eastern end of the Trapezoidal Building was a sacrificial pit, Pit B, which produced a deep deposit of ash, animal bones, and pottery. Found around it and in many other parts of the Middle Terrace were large numbers of miniature vases, terracotta figurines, and other dedications, providing clear evidence that cult activity in this part of the Sanctuary remained intensive well into the 3rd century B.C., if not later. As part of the same design as the Trapezoidal Building, the east side of the Central Courtyard and the Middle Terrace as a whole were now defined by the construction of a small building in P–Q:25, Room A. This meant the abandonment of the old temenos wall (Wall 21), outside of which to the east we found considerable traces of a shallow quarrying operation.

THE ROCK-CUT PLATFORM: AREA H IN R:24–25

Evidence that this part of the rock-cut platform along the south side of the Middle Terrace continued to function in the 4th century B.C. was supplied by an isolated pocket of dark black earth that contained some ash and votive objects dating as late as *ca.* 350 B.C. (lot 1966). It lay above the 5th-century B.C. clay floor at the southern edge of the area, against the vertical face of bedrock. In this small pocket, which measured *ca.* 0.70 m. × 1.20 m. and was *ca.* 0.12 m. deep, were a small, votive bull of bronze, a few figurine fragments, several miniature vases, and small fragments of at least twenty terracotta lamps.¹ The latter, in both their uniformity and their badly broken

¹ Bronze bull, MF-10785; it carries the inscription *ἱερός* on its left shoulder; for photographs, see Stroud 1965, pl. 9:b. Another small bronze bull, MF-12170, was found in the Sanctuary. Both will be published in a later fascicle

condition, make this deposit unique in the Sanctuary. All the fragments are from a single type of lamp that was popular ca. 425–375 B.C.² The flat handles of lamps of this type are easily broken off, but their thick, raised bases and broad nozzles are sturdy enough to have required a deliberate blow of some force, perhaps on the bedrock, to reduce them to the heap of small fragments in this deposit. The possibility that the lamps had been deliberately broken is strengthened by the fact that several much more fragile, votive miniature vases survived intact in this pocket of earth. This suggests that the lamps were not shattered merely by being shoveled into the deposit. Perhaps the lamps were used and later discarded in some nocturnal ritual that was conducted in the southern part of Area H where the vertical face of bedrock was exposed.³

Another indication of activity in Area H at this time comes from a layer of earth excavated in the western part of the area. It lay above the clay layer of the 6th century B.C. described above (p. 159), but since it was not in contact with any of the walls of Area H, its architectural significance is unknown. The mainly votive pottery that it contained, however, forms a consistent group extending in date from the 5th century B.C. until at least ca. 350 B.C. (lots 2217, 4420). The latter contains a fairly high proportion of lamp fragments, which might be related to those in the deposit just described.

We found no later evidence in Area H to indicate that it continued in use until the end of the 4th century B.C. The inference that this part of the rock-cut platform was abandoned by ca. 300 B.C. is consistent with the building history of Room A (pp. 248–251 below). When this structure was added to the east side of the Middle Terrace at the end of the 4th century B.C., access to Area H was effectively blocked. Presumably no one wished to enter this area because by now it was no longer functioning.

THE ROCK-CUT PLATFORM: AREA D IN R:23–24

Ritual activity, represented by animal bones, ash, and large numbers of intact votives, may have continued in Area D throughout the 5th century B.C. (pp. 153–154 above). Signs of construction here in the 4th century B.C. were also present. On top of the mainly 5th-century B.C. fill, represented by lots 1989 and 1991 (pp. 153–154 above), we found a stratum of reddish soil containing no ash. No associated architectural remains survived with this layer, and we did not find that its upper surface was level or hard enough to identify as a floor. The latest objects in this reddish earth are at least three moldmade terracotta figurines of the 4th century B.C., although the bulk of the pottery is Archaic and 5th century B.C. (lot 2000). The contrast in color and texture

of *Corinth* XVIII. For bulls sacrificed to Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, see, e.g., *IG I*³ 5; 78, line 37 and the helpful references collected by Burkert 1983, pp. 292–293; Clinton 1988, p. 71. Cf. also the *lex sacra* from Phrearrhioi in Attica, *SEG* XXXV 113.

² For this type of lamp, see *Agora* IV, pp. 48–49, type 21 C.

³ For the ritual use and dedication of lamps in sanctuaries of Demeter, see *IG V.2.514*, line 16; Sokolowski, *LSCG*, pp. 137–138, no. 68, Lykosoura, 2nd century B.C.; no. 89, lines 1, 17; *SEG* XXXVI 206; A. Hug, *RE* XIII, ii, 1927, col. 1585, s.v. Lucerna; Thompson 1936, p. 180, note 3; *Corinth* XV, ii, p. 253; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* II², Munich 1961, pp. 374–377; A. T. Kraabel, “Υψιστος and the Synagogue at Sardis,” *GRBS* 10, 1969 [pp. 81–93], p. 90, note 41; J. N. Coldstream, *Knossos: The Sanctuary of Demeter (British School at Athens, Supplementary Volume 8)*, Oxford 1973, p. 183; I. Scheibler, *Griechische Lampen (Kerameikos XI)*, Berlin 1976, p. 151.

In the Classical shrine excavated in the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora, many of the votive vessels seem to have been intentionally hurled against and shattered on the great outcropping of bedrock on its floor that served as a natural altar stone. See T. L. Shear Jr., “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971,” *Hesperia* 42, 1973 [pp. 121–179], pp. 126–134; *idem*, “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972,” *ibid.* [pp. 359–402], pp. 360–369. D. R. Jordan, “Ululations from a Well beside the Panathenaic Way,” *AJA* 90, 1986, p. 212, has suggested that this shrine may have been sacred to the Eleusinian goddesses. An outcropping of bedrock, possibly connected with the worship of Demeter, projected above the floor of the *Anaktoron* in the Periklean Telesterion at Eleusis; see Mylonas 1961, pp. 83–84.

of this reddish layer with the strata below is striking enough to permit the hypothesis that we may have evidence here of a new phase of construction in Area D. The reddish soil appears to have been laid down in order to raise the level of Area D and to cover earlier fills. What activity was planned to take place on this new, raised surface we cannot tell, for its top has not survived. It is possible that the red earth provided the underpinning for a floor on which ritual activity continued more or less unchanged from what it had been in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. Alternatively, this same stratum may have been intended to put an end to the cult practices represented by the lower levels of fill that it now covered.

That Area D was eventually abandoned as the scene of animal sacrifices and indeed of all ritual activity is certainly established by the presence of a fairly uniform layer of small fieldstones laid down as a kind of cobbling on top of the reddish earth. These stones effectively sealed off and protected the Archaic and Classical levels below them. They appear to be later than the date of the reddish layer immediately below them, but we cannot determine the length of this interval. The cobbled layer was quite close to the modern surface, and it was directly on these stones that the three bodies, buried here in late antiquity, were laid out: Graves 27–29 (p. 387 below).

The abandonment of Area D as a scene of burnt sacrifices probably in the (late?) 4th century B.C. could be interpreted as indicating a change in ritual. It seems much more likely, however, that a practice that went back at least to the 6th century B.C. in the Sanctuary would have been continued. We suggest that this was in fact the case and that the setting of such sacrifices was now shifted from the western end of the rock-cut platform to the eastern end of the Trapezoidal Building in N–P:20–25, to be described presently. At this location was a carefully constructed stone pit-altar (Pit B) that probably now took over as the new center in the Sanctuary for animal sacrifices.

South of Area D two isolated deposits of figurines and votive pottery were recovered. Neither had any clear architectural setting; both appear to have been groups of discarded dedications that were buried in the ground in a part of the Sanctuary no longer in use. Their contents, however, supply helpful information about the kinds of offerings the goddesses received in the 4th century B.C. and Early Hellenistic times.

The larger of the two deposits lay up against the face of the bedrock in R:24, directly below a shallow cover of surface earth *ca.* 0.10 m. deep. Four baskets of assorted votive and coarse-ware pottery were collected from this small pocket of dark black earth, in addition to a large number of fragmentary terracotta figurines, numerous lamps, kernos-type offering trays,⁴ intact miniature vases, and a badly worn bronze Corinthian coin of the Pegasos/Trident series (62-24; lot 1962). Among the intact miniature vases are several hydriai, phialai, kotylai, and kalathoi, most of them undecorated. Almost all the lamp fragments belong to the same type as those in the deposit in nearby Area H (pp. 232–233 above). The latest objects in this cross-section of modest dedications would seem to date its burial sometime in the early 3rd century B.C.

South of this deposit was a smaller one. It consisted of an isolated pocket of black earth lying over bedrock in a natural hollow at the south side of R:24. This pocket, which measured *ca.* 1.20 m. by 1.00 m. and was *ca.* 0.30 m. deep, contained fewer figurine fragments than the deposit just described and virtually no lamps. Miniature votive pots, however, were again numerous, and the types resemble those in the nearby deposit. A bronze coin of Phleious, probably to be dated *ca.* 400–360 B.C., was found with them (62-21). The latest objects, especially the figurines, help to establish a burial date in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. for this deposit (lot 1963).⁵ Both these

⁴ For this type of dedication, see Stroud 1965, p. 23, pl. 11:c; Bookidis and Stroud 1987, p. 23. For “Les Kernoi éleusiniens,” with helpful earlier bibliography, see G. Bakalakis, *Kernos* 4, 1991, pp. 105–117.

⁵ The figurines in lot 1963 will be discussed by Gloria Merker in a later fascicle of *Corinth* XVIII.

deposits were found outside the limits of Area D and probably represent discarded votive objects that were buried in a part of the Middle Terrace where cult activity had ceased.⁶

THE TRAPEZOIDAL BUILDING: N–P:20–25 (Fig. 35)

In earlier publications this structure was called the “Trapezoidal Stoa.”⁷ Further study has shown, however, that it cannot plausibly be restored as having a colonnade along its south side. It was, we believe, a closed structure. We, therefore, abandon the term “stoa” and will refer to it henceforth as the Trapezoidal Building N–P:20–25.

Until the end of the 4th century B.C. the principal entrance into the Middle Terrace remained the opening in its north boundary wall in P:25. The only approach to this entrance was by way of the long, narrow North Corridor that separated the Middle from the Lower Terrace and opened directly off landings 7 and 8 of the stone stairway in N–O:20. Late in the 5th century B.C. a new retaining wall had been constructed across the northern edge of this corridor in O–P:25–27. This wall appears to have stood until *ca.* 300 B.C., when it was replaced by a much more solidly constructed wall, to which we have already briefly referred. Its foundations of large, squared blocks of breccia destroyed the fieldstone fabric in the western sector of the earlier retaining wall. The new wall maintained the same line as its predecessor, which roughly followed the orientation of the southernmost row of dining rooms on the Lower Terrace, but it did not cover the full extent of the earlier retaining wall. At its western end, in N:20, the new wall begins at the stone stairway, opposite landing 7 (Pls. 20:e, 21:a), but it was built to the east only as far as O–P:25, where it returns to the south. The corner so formed is *ca.* 10.10 m. short of the eastern end of the late-5th-century B.C. retaining wall. We do not know if the eastern segment of the latter remained standing after the new wall was built, or indeed what happened to this corner of the Middle Terrace after *ca.* 300 B.C. Above the preserved top of the 5th-century B.C. retaining wall there was only a shallow layer of surface earth containing pottery as late as the 4th century after Christ (lot 890).

Like its predecessor of the late 5th century B.C., the new wall helped to support a level terrace extending to the south, but the creation of this massive new north wall for the Middle Terrace brought about a number of significant breaks with the past.

First, the size of the Middle Terrace was now increased. The long North Corridor that had separated the Lower Terrace from the Middle for approximately two hundred years was eliminated as the northern limits of the latter were now pushed down the hill right up against the southernmost dining rooms of the former. This move represented a maximum northward expansion of *ca.* 6.70 m. along the west side of the Middle Terrace.

Second, by following the oblique orientation of the earlier north retaining wall of the corridor the builders of the thick new wall transformed the shape of the Middle Terrace. Since at least *ca.* 550 B.C. this central sector of the Sanctuary had consisted of a long rectangle stretching across the hillside from east to west. Its north boundary wall and the north wall of the oikos in P–Q:21–23 both ran parallel to the rock-cut platform that extended along the south side of the terrace. Now, as we shall discuss in more detail presently, the building of the new north wall changed the Middle Terrace into an irregular trapezoid, narrower at its eastern end, wider at the west.

Third, construction of this wall was accompanied by the blocking up of the entrance in P:25. Completely new arrangements were made for entering the Middle Terrace farther up the hill to the south, after one had passed through the Hellenistic Propylon and turned to the east into the Central Courtyard.

⁶ For the three burials of late antiquity made above Area D in R:23–24, see p. 387 below. The dating of these burials to the Classical period and the speculations about them in Stroud 1965, pp. 12–13, were both erroneous and premature. They must be abandoned.

⁷ *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 18, note 31, 91, 96, 136, 231.

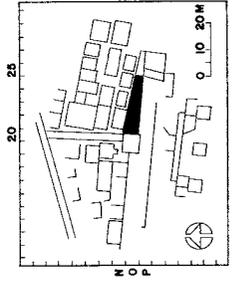
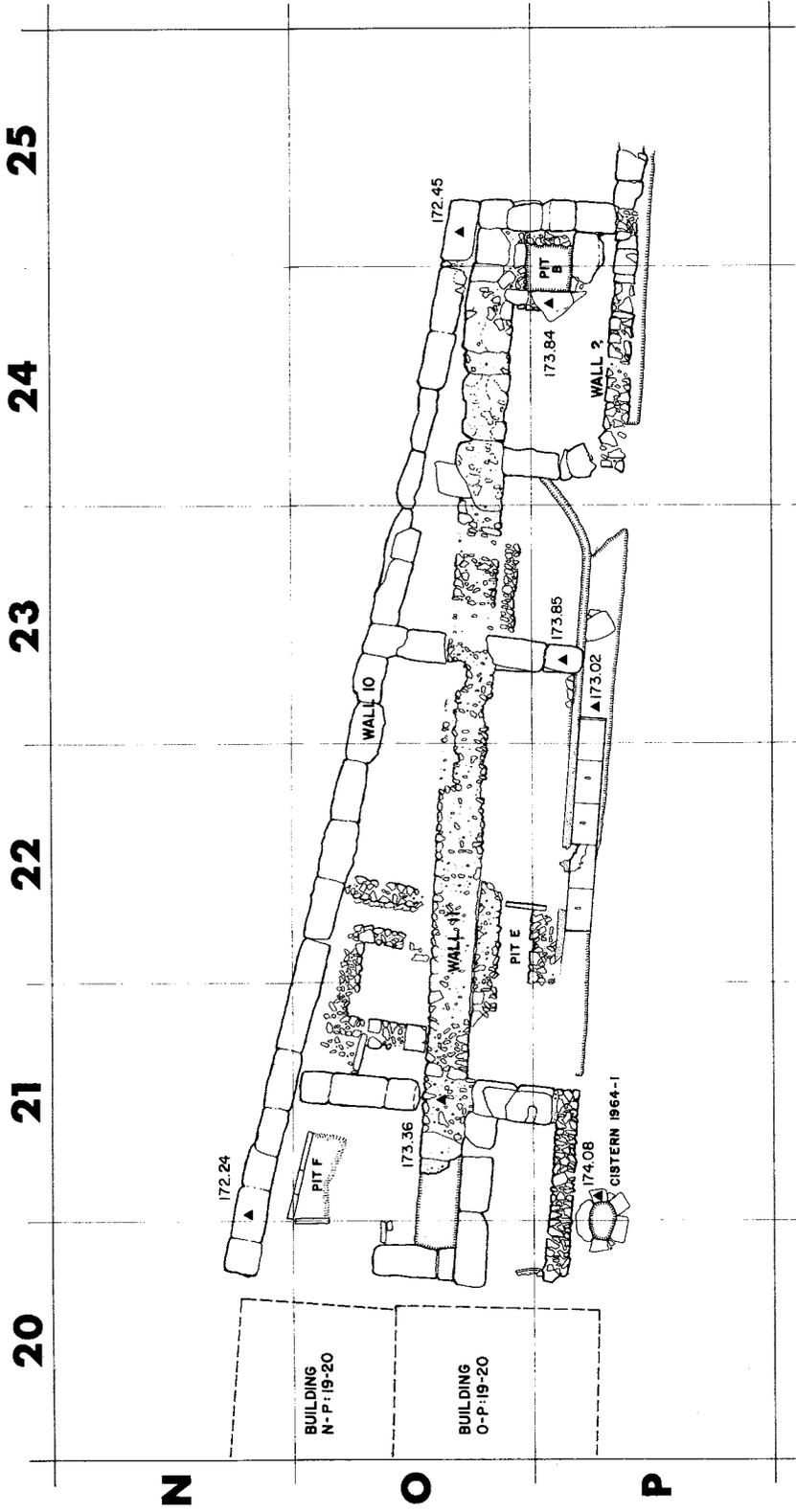


Fig. 35. Plan: Trapezoidal Building, N-P:20-25

Fourth—and most important—not only did this massive new wall establish a new northern boundary for the Middle Terrace and hold back the deep leveling fills that extend out from it to the south, but it also formed part of a new building. In the space previously occupied by the long, narrow corridor a trapezoidal structure was now built. The new wall formed its north, or back, wall.

This long building became the largest structure on the Middle Terrace before the Roman period. It is *ca.* 19.25 m. long. Along its wider, western, end it measures *ca.* 6.50 m., and the building narrows down to a width of *ca.* 4.00 m. across its eastern end. It faced southward out onto the Central Courtyard of the Middle Terrace. On this side was one of the building's most remarkable features: a front wall that was not built parallel to the back. Accordingly, each of the three rooms of differing sizes that form the interior of the building is trapezoidal in shape, with the west wall in each instance longer than the east. The back, or north, wall projects *ca.* 3.75 m. beyond the west wall of the building in N:20–21 to help form the small contemporary entrance court with Pit F and two stelai described above (pp. 216–219).

At no point within the building has any trace of the original floor been preserved; of the walls only the lowest foundations of the building are standing. Another obstacle in the way of reconstructing the building today is the disturbance through its full length from east to west created by a thick Roman wall of rubble and cement construction, Wall 11 (pp. 304–306 below; Pl. 10:a, b, lower left). This has destroyed parts of three of the north–south walls of the building and helped to obscure the interior arrangement, particularly of the room at its eastern end. Furthermore, not one stone belonging to the upper façade of the building seems to have survived. We are reduced to pure guesswork in attempting to recover the original appearance of this long front side of the building.

Despite its poor state of preservation, however, an approximate, if conjectural, reconstruction of the Trapezoidal Building is possible, although many features must remain obscure. We shall begin with an account of the surviving foundations and then examine the excavated evidence for the use and date of the building (see Fig. 35).

The north foundation stands today to a maximum height of three courses, or *ca.* 1.20 m. (Pl. 21:a). This is at its western end, for at the northeast corner of the building the north foundation is only one course high. It is preserved for its full original length of 23.00 m., but, as noted above, extends *ca.* 3.75 m. beyond the western end of the building. The length of the building proper is 19.25 m. Modern ploughing has taken a heavy toll on the preserved upper surface of the foundation, which was only a few centimeters below the ground when the excavations began. Several of the blocks have been cracked and deeply scarred as a result. The line of large squared blocks of breccia, however, is unbroken. The blocks were laid closely together in a single row of stretchers, each course measuring *ca.* 0.40 m. in height. In its best-preserved section the foundation maintains a uniform thickness of *ca.* 0.60–0.65 m. Little attempt seems to have been made, however, to keep the blocks consistent in length. Many of them fall within the range of 1.20–1.30 m., but shorter blocks of 0.75 m. and 1.00 m. were employed, and one example 2.40 m. long survives *in situ*.⁸ For the most part, the lowest course of the foundation rests directly on bedrock or in places on a shallow layer of earth. No trace of the late-5th-century B.C. retaining wall could be detected underneath the north foundation's large blocks. At its western end in N:21–22, the building's north foundation replaces the south wall of an abandoned dining room of

⁸ It might be possible to infer from the height of the courses, the thickness of the wall, and the length of many of the blocks that the builders of this wall used a unit of measurement *ca.* 0.40 m. long, but it was not rigidly employed. We do not find evidence for a foot-measurement of this length in the numerous studies of Greek metrology cited by Orlandos 1955, I, p. 32, note 1; or by Broneer in *Isthmia* I, pp. 174–181.

the Lower Terrace, Building N:21 (Pl. 21:a). We shall examine below (p. 241) the evidence this provides for the date of the Trapezoidal Building.

Immediately to the north outside the building are the dining rooms of the Lower Terrace, and since the Trapezoidal Building faced south onto the Central Courtyard of the Middle Terrace, it is very likely that its north wall was carried up to the roof as one solid mass of masonry or perhaps mud brick. Certainly there was no door in this wall. Although normally at Corinth the local breccia was used mainly in foundations, there are examples on the Lower Terrace of exterior walls built to the roof in this stone. Even limited exposure to the elements, however, leads to crumbling and deterioration of this friable stone. If the superstructure of the north wall consisted of breccia or mud brick, it would have been necessary to cover the exterior north face with a thick coat of stucco, for it would have had to withstand strong, cold winds and driving rains on this steep hillside every winter. Perhaps the upper parts of the walls consisted of limestone or poros blocks. Naturally, we cannot establish the original height of the north wall on the basis of the surviving evidence.

Extending to the south from the back wall of the building are four parallel foundations that form the two ends of the building and two partition walls (Pl. 41:a). The latter divide the interior of the building into three rooms of unequal size. Construction in all four of these foundations is uniformly the same as that in the north wall: squared breccia blocks set tightly together without clamps. Each of these four foundations is *ca.* 0.60–0.65 m. thick and exhibits the same variety in the lengths of the blocks as noted in the north foundation, although in the short east foundation of the building there was a preference for blocks *ca.* 0.70 m. in length. Of this last foundation, which lies in O–P:25, only the two lowest courses remain in place to a height of 0.88 m. (Pl. 27:b). In the bottom course small fieldstones were packed in one of the joints and under the southernmost block of the upper course in order to help correct anomalies in the sloping bedrock on which the foundation rests. The bedrock was not trimmed or cut into a foundation trench to receive the lowest course of blocks.

Ca. 5.30 m. to the west of the eastern end of the building is a foundation for a partition wall in O–P:24 (Pl. 10:b). It has been so badly damaged by the thick Roman wall mentioned above (Wall 11) that its point of contact with the building's north foundation no longer survives. Pulled out of line, but still oriented north–south, a squared breccia block incorporated into the fabric of the Roman wall in O:24 undoubtedly belonged to the northern end of this partition. Still *in situ* are only three blocks of the foundation at its southern end, standing to a height of *ca.* 0.70 m. in two courses. The southernmost block of the bottom course rests directly on bedrock, which drops off so sharply to the north that the adjacent block, *ca.* 1.20 m. long, required an earth packing *ca.* 0.25 m. deep underneath it to maintain the same level.

Foundations for a second partition wall lie *ca.* 3.40 m. to the west in O–P:23 (Pl. 41:a). With the exception of a gap *ca.* 0.75 m. wide, where the Roman wall cut through it, this foundation is very well preserved. It stands today to a maximum height of *ca.* 1.30 m. in three regular courses. Again, the uppermost blocks, which were very close to the modern surface, have been badly damaged by ploughing. Like its neighbor to the east, this foundation was set directly on bedrock at its southern end but on a layer of earth *ca.* 0.25–0.30 m. deep at the north. Fortunately, its juncture with the foundation of the north wall of the building (preserved in O:23) reveals that the two are tightly bonded together at this foundation level.

The west foundation of the building in O–P:21 is longer than the other three walls just described (Pl. 41:b). Its construction, as we have seen, probably caused considerable damage to the putative pit that succeeded Pit E of the 5th century B.C., which may have stood in what was then the North Corridor in O:21 (p. 167 above). Three courses of this foundation are still standing above bedrock at its southern end to a height of *ca.* 1.20 m. We were unable to dig to bedrock at the northern end in order to expose its full preserved height here. Clearly, however, the three

lowest courses of the foundation abut—and are not bonded into—the back (north) foundation of the building to form its northwest corner. It was this long west wall of the Trapezoidal Building that helped to create the small entrance hall with Pit F and two stelai outside its western end.

The four north–south foundations just described share two other important characteristics: (1) they are parallel to one another, and each meets the oblique line of the north wall of the building at a combination of obtuse/acute angles, rather than at right angles; (2) they all stop at their southern ends along roughly the same east–west line that extends across P:21–25. It is to this line that each north–south foundation is perpendicular.

Both of these features are consistent with our earlier suggestion that the oblique north foundation supported the back wall of a building that faced out to the south onto the Central Courtyard of the Middle Terrace. They permit the inference that the front wall of the building would have fallen roughly along the east–west line that marks the southern terminus of the foundations for the two end walls and the two partition walls. As we have seen, however, no blocks of this hypothetical front wall of the building remain in place today. We must then examine what happens on the ground at the southern ends of the foundations for the two partition walls and the two end walls of the building.

The eastern end foundation and the foundation for the easternmost partition wall both abut—but in no way overlap—the old 6th-century B.C. north boundary wall of the Middle Terrace (Wall 2), which was still standing in P:24–25. In P:23 the foundation for the western partition wall of the Trapezoidal Building was constructed to the south only as far as the rock-cut foundation trench in which Wall 2 and its predecessor had been set (Pl. 10:b). Today no trace of either of these two phases of the north boundary wall remains in place, but the original position of both is clear from the foundation trench, and it is here that the foundations for the Trapezoidal Building's partition wall stop. Significantly, the latter covers and blocks the stuccoed conduit that extended along the north side of the Archaic oikos (for this conduit, see pp. 68–69 above). The foundation for the western end wall of the Trapezoidal Building abuts in P:21 the western segment of the old north boundary wall of the Middle Terrace.⁹

It can hardly be coincidence that all four of these north–south foundations in the Trapezoidal Building were not built any farther to the south than the line of the old north boundary wall of the Middle Terrace. From the fact that each of these foundations abuts what has survived of that wall we infer that enough of it remained to serve the purposes of those constructing the Trapezoidal Building. Otherwise, they surely would have built over its line. We suggest that either in its preserved form, or with some alteration, this old retaining wall was incorporated into the foundations of the Trapezoidal Building's south wall.

Reuse of both the western sector of the old retaining wall in P:20–21 and the eastern sector in P:23–25 would seem to present no problems. It will be recalled, however, that in P:21–23 part of this north boundary wall consisted of the north wall of the Archaic oikos. The stuccoed conduit that may once have carried water from its roof did not survive the construction of the foundation for the westernmost partition wall of the Trapezoidal Building in P:23. We have no other stratigraphic evidence for the destruction of the oikos before the Roman period when the blocks of its northwest corner were pillaged. It is very difficult to believe, however, that this old structure could have remained standing when the Trapezoidal Building was constructed *ca.* 300 B.C. For one thing, the oikos would have effectively blocked off access into the western

⁹ At this point the western segment of the old north boundary wall consisted of the east–west wall of fieldstones that once formed the north side of the Archaic building with internal bench in P:20–22. As we have seen (pp. 56–57 above), this building was destroyed *ca.* 550 B.C., when the oikos was built partly over it (perhaps as its replacement). Enough of this wall remained standing thereafter, however, to serve as the western end of the north boundary wall of the Middle Terrace.

room of the Trapezoidal Building. In addition, after the construction of the Hellenistic Propylon in O–P:19–20, one could approach the Middle Terrace only by moving up the stone stairway, through the Propylon, and by turning to the east in P–Q:20. If the *oikos* had still been standing at this time, it would have prevented processions from entering this part of the Sanctuary. Finally, we shall see in Chapter 9 that a possible successor to the *oikos* may have been built at or about this time high up on the bedrock of the Upper Terrace in S–T:16–17. We prefer to conclude, therefore, that the *oikos* was no longer standing when the Trapezoidal Building was under construction. It had been either abandoned or dismantled for the construction of the Trapezoidal Building. Enough of its north wall was left in place, however, to be incorporated into the foundations of the southern façade of the new building.

We have suggested that the foundations for the north wall of the Trapezoidal Building are thick and solid enough to have been carried up to the roof in stone. Mud brick and timber construction must also be considered. The same is true of the end walls and partitions of the building. All the surviving foundations lie so close to the modern surface that no trace of any type of superstructure has been preserved. On the long south side, the lowest foundations are much less substantial, consisting of the surviving portions of the old north boundary wall of the Middle Terrace and the *oikos*. We suggest that the builders of the Sanctuary used this earlier wall as the bedding for a solid wall across the southern façade of the Trapezoidal Building. Since there are no physical remains to support a reconstruction of a stoa or a colonnaded façade on this south side, we prefer to conclude that the Trapezoidal Building was a closed structure. Presumably, each of the three rooms was entered by a door in the south wall, but since at no point is this south wall preserved above foundation level, the positions and size of the doors remain unknown.

Equally problematic is the roofing arrangement on a building of this unusual trapezoidal shape. The lowest timbers and tiles across the long south side would probably have formed a straight line. But whether the roof was pitched in two unequal “halves” or descended in shed-like fashion from the top of a high north wall to a lower southern façade, it seems likely that awkward-looking adjustments must have been made in the tiles and woodwork along the northern edge of the roof. Difficulties in the roofing arrangement were probably most acute at the narrow eastern end of the building. Indeed, the easternmost room containing the sacrificial Pit B may even have been open to the sky. Some large Corinthian-type clay roof tiles were found near the building, but there are so many other structures in the Sanctuary to which they could have belonged that it is impossible to assign specific pieces to the Trapezoidal Building.

For convenience we have numbered the three rooms of the Trapezoidal Building from west to east. Room 1 at the western end of the building is the largest, measuring *ca.* 8.75 m. wide (east–west) and *ca.* 5.25 to 4.00 m. deep (north–south). Since each room is a trapezoid, we give in each case two measurements for the depth of the room, the maximum (west side) and the minimum (east side). Room 1 is divided into two parts today by the Roman retaining wall (mentioned above) that slices through both of its side walls (Pl. 41:b). Well below the original floor level of the western half of the room are Pit E and the complex of walls of the 5th century B.C. described above (pp. 165–167). These were covered by the construction fill of the Trapezoidal Building. There is no evidence for any internal architectural feature such as a bench, couches, support for the roof, or the like.

The central Room 2 is *ca.* 3.40 m. wide and *ca.* 4.00 to 3.50 m. deep (Pl. 41:a, lower right corner). Its two side walls have also been cut through by the Roman wall. Again, no trace of any internal construction or furnishings has survived. The chronological implications of the earlier remains lying under this room will be discussed presently.

At the eastern end of the building is Room 3, whose interior dimensions are *ca.* 4.50 m. wide and *ca.* 3.50 to 2.90 m. deep (Pl. 9:d). Here more satisfactory evidence for the use of the room has survived than in any other part of the building. The eastern end of the Trapezoidal Building

was clearly of considerable importance in cult ritual, for a solidly constructed pit (Pit B) was built against the east wall of Room 3. On the north side of the pit, the eastern end of the thick Roman Wall 11, which here contains reused breccia blocks in its lowest course, has partly destroyed and now covers some of its construction (Pl. 42:d). But Pit B is well enough preserved to give us a fairly good idea of its design, original appearance, and purpose.

The interior of the pit is rectangular in plan with inside dimensions of ca. 1.00 m. (east–west) by 0.85 m. (north–south). It is formed by stone walls built up on all four sides. For a view of Pit B after excavation, see Plate 42:d. The squared breccia blocks of the Trapezoidal Building's east foundation served as the east wall of the pit. The south wall consists of two blocks, one set above the other, standing to a height of ca. 1.00 m. The lower block, which is squared, was set into a foundation trench cut into the bedrock to a depth of ca. 0.08 m. Pottery from the earth that filled this trench, which extends out ca. 0.10 m. beyond the south face of the wall, helps to establish the date of the construction of the pit. The upper block in the south wall is irregular in shape and has been placed so that its one straight side faces into the pit, thereby giving the south side of the latter a firm line. Viewed from the south, however, this block is rather shapeless, a condition that has not been improved by the damage its top surface has suffered as a result of modern ploughing. Neither of the two courses of the south wall bonds with the foundation for the east wall of the Trapezoidal Building.

The west wall of the pit again consists of two large blocks of breccia placed one above the other. The lower one rests directly on bedrock, which was not cut here to form a foundation trench. The upper block is roughly triangular in shape and is most likely reused. Its longest straight side faces into the pit. Deep cuts from modern ploughing scar its upper surface. In the construction of the north wall of the pit smaller blocks seem to have been used, but the overbuilding of the Roman retaining wall prevented us from exposing it for its full height. Enough is preserved at the eastern end, however, to show that, like the south wall, it abuts—and is not bonded into—the foundation of the east wall of the Trapezoidal Building.

The irregular appearance of the outer faces of the south, west, and, possibly, north walls of the pit is to be explained by the fact that all would have been covered by the construction fill of the Trapezoidal Building. All lie well below the putative level of the floor of this building. At the east side of the pit was a thin wall of fieldstones, flush with the east wall of the Trapezoidal Building, that may represent a later alteration.

We now turn to the evidence for the date of the Trapezoidal Building and of Pit B. Helpful in establishing a *terminus post quem* are the remains of earlier structures partly covered by the foundations of the building. First, at its western end the foundation for the north wall replaced the south wall of an abandoned dining room of the Lower Terrace, Building N:21. The latest pottery from the destruction debris over the floor of this building shows that it went out of use in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. (pp. 130–131 above). Second, below Room 1, covered by the construction fill of the Trapezoidal Building, were Pit E of ca. 450 B.C. and the complex of walls in O:21–22, for which we have pottery evidence extending to the end of the 5th and possibly into the early 4th century B.C. These structures once stood in the long North Corridor that led to the main entrance into the Middle Terrace. Construction of the Trapezoidal Building brought about the abandonment of this corridor. The north and west foundations of Room 1 cut through and partly destroyed the earlier remains. In the northeast corner of Room 1 a pocket of earth containing pottery of the 5th century B.C. was found on the bedrock (lot 4360). It was covered by the construction fill of the Trapezoidal Building.

Earlier remains were also found below Room 2. In the western part of the room, resting directly on bedrock, is the short stretch of wall of ca. 600 B.C. in O:23, described above (pp. 53–55). Covering this was a hard-packed layer of clay and crushed bedrock, possibly a floor, which contained pottery as late as the second half of the 4th century B.C. (lot 2234). Although this layer

appeared to extend up to the inner face of the west foundation of the room near its southern end, it can hardly represent part of the Trapezoidal Building, for it lies well below the level of the foundations for the south wall of the room and was itself covered by the construction fill of the building. We should probably regard it as an earlier survival, possibly marking the approximate ground level of the North Corridor in the 4th century B.C. before construction of the Trapezoidal Building began.

A different kind of evidence for the date of our building and for Pit B is provided by the pottery recovered from the footing trenches for two of the foundations. For the most part, the large breccia blocks that form the building's foundations were simply set down on bedrock or on a thin layer of earth. In only two places was any trace of a foundation trench discovered. The few sherds from the rock-cut trench that ran along the outer face of the foundation for the west wall of the Trapezoidal Building are no later than the 4th century B.C. (lot 6212). More numerous and capable of closer dating are the objects from the foundation trench for the south wall of Pit B. In addition to the pottery, there are two lamp fragments¹⁰ and five pieces of terracotta figurines.¹¹ Most of these finds belong in the second half of the 4th century B.C. (lot 73-108).

No trace of a floor survived in any of the three rooms of the Trapezoidal Building. Erosion and modern ploughing have robbed us of the upper stratification contemporary with the building's use. Directly above the battered tops of the preserved foundations was a thin cover of ploughed earth at the modern surface that contained pottery as late as the 4th century after Christ. No intervening layer separated this surface earth from the fill below. Since the latter was not sealed off or protected, we cannot expect it to have remained free of contamination by objects later than the date when it was laid down. But this lower fill was in character sharply different from the earth both above and below it. Filling the substructure of the three rooms of the building, in some places all the way down to bedrock, elsewhere covering the earlier remains underneath it, was a soft, black earth with ample traces of ash and burning. It contained a remarkable amount of pottery, intact miniature vases, terracotta figurines, lamps, and assorted clay votives. There were also numerous animal bones.¹² These finds were totally unstratified and in many cases badly broken. Tile fragments and isolated pieces of terracotta sculpture suggest that the objects in the filling had been gathered up from other parts of the Sanctuary after some kind of destruction.¹³ We speculate about the possible nature of the destruction below (pp. 430–431).

From Rooms 1 and 2 fifty-five baskets of pottery were collected and 207 inventoried objects. The number of the latter will probably increase after more detailed study of the terracotta figurines and votive objects. Considering the quantity of this material and the fact that it was not a sealed deposit, there is a fairly clear cut-off date in the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. for the latest objects (lots 1950, 1982, 2111, 2233, 2249, 2250, 4355, 4356, 4369).¹⁴

¹⁰ Both are from Howland type 21 lamps; see note 2, p. 233 above.

¹¹ Two of the figurines are inventoried: MF-73-111 and -116: the former is a fragment of a seashell; the latter is a nude female torso. Both will be discussed by Gloria Merker in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

¹² Rooms 1 and 2: bone lot 65-22. Room 3: bone lot 65-24.

¹³ For instance, in this filling was the head of a terracotta statue of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., SF-65-14. Fragments of the torso were found on the Upper Terrace in Q-R:17 and on the Lower Terrace in M:16-17. For this statue, see Stroud 1965, p. 11 (head); Stroud 1968, p. 325 (torso); Bookidis and Stroud 1987, pp. 13-14; Bookidis 1988, pp. 18-21.

¹⁴ Elizabeth G. Pemberton has analyzed the pottery from the filling in these two rooms in *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 91-96, Group 6. Many cross-joins among the pottery and figurine fragments have led to the amalgamation of these lots. Five bronze coins were found in them. One is illegible (65-942); the other four belong to the Corinthian Pegasus/Trident series. In the present state of published research, coins of this series cannot be closely dated.

Next door in Room 3, to the west of Pit B, the filling produced fourteen baskets of pottery and 233 inventoried objects of roughly the same date. Particularly numerous here are the fragmentary terracotta figurines (lots 877, 878).¹⁵

Since this fill in all three rooms lay against the foundations of the Trapezoidal Building and was not cut through by them, we have interpreted it as earth that was thrown in after the construction of the foundations in order to bring the interior of the building up to floor level. In some places, where the fill lay directly over bedrock, it was as much as *ca.* 1.00 m. deep. Throughout the building the preserved top of this filling lay at roughly the same level as the upper surface of the foundations, except where it had been cut into by later disturbances. Even this amount of construction fill, however, did not suffice to create an interior floor approximately on a level with the Courtyard outside the building to the south. It was from the courtyard that one approached the Trapezoidal Building, so that we might expect the latter's floor to have been at least on a level plane with the floor of the former. Since the bedrock as exposed today in the southern part of the Court is *ca.* 2.10 m. above the level of the bedrock inside the Trapezoidal Building, we must postulate a construction filling of at least this depth below the level of the floor of this building.

On the basis of the three types of dating criteria we have examined—earlier remains under the Trapezoidal Building, pottery from foundation trenches, and the date of the latest objects in the construction fill—we conclude that the building was erected not much later than the early 3rd century B.C.

ALTAR: PIT B IN P:24–25

All the evidence from the Trapezoidal Building discussed so far has to do with its date of construction. Our only indication of the function of the building comes from Pit B in its easternmost room. Inside this pit we found a filling of soft, black ash. Its top was level with the preserved tops of the blocks that form the pit's four walls.¹⁶ There was no stratification; the ash continued without any change all the way to the bedrock floor of the pit *ca.* 1.00 m. below the lip, and sherds found near the top of the filling joined pieces that lay near the bottom. The stone walls of the pit were scarred by burning, showing that fires had been lit inside it.

The ash in the pit contained a handful of animal bones identified by David Reese as pig, sheep, and goat. Only a small proportion had been burnt.¹⁷ In addition to the large amount of broken pottery in the pit, there were also no fewer than fifty-seven complete or nearly complete vases. Many of these are intact, unpainted kalathiskoi, but there are also several examples of fine glazed wares, saucers, kitchen pottery, and cooking pots. Almost none of these show signs of burning. Also in the ash filling were twenty-seven inventoried fragments of terracotta figurines and a few assorted small pieces. One of these is a small pig, MF-10509. There is also part of a mold for a terracotta figurine, MF-11261. Lamp fragments, a few iron nails, bits of bronze, and one piece of terracotta sculpture were also found.

In a sanctuary of Demeter, the most plausible function for a deep, fire-scarred, stone-lined pit found full of ash is clearly for burnt animal sacrifices, perhaps of a holocaust nature, possibly

¹⁵ In lot 878 at least one terracotta figurine (MF-11347) seems to be later than the early 3rd century B.C. More study of the finds may reveal other such objects. Lot 877 contains one bronze coin of the Pegasos/Trident series that cannot be closely dated (62-36).

¹⁶ When Pit B was excavated, a few tile fragments were found lying on top of the ash filling (Pl. 42:b). These were interpreted by Stroud (1965, p. 10) as the remains of a tile cover placed over the pit when it went out of use. A reconstruction of Pit B as part of a rectangular sacred area approached from the north was also offered in this preliminary report. These views were advanced before the Trapezoidal Building had been excavated and before the relationship of Pit B to Room 3 could be understood. Both must now be rejected.

¹⁷ Bone lot 61-7.

also involving small pigs.¹⁸ We conclude, therefore, that Room 3 of the building was designed to serve as a sacrificial area. Those participating in the ritual presumably would have stood on three sides of the pit and cast the victims down into its confined interior. Since both Pit B and the room that housed it are quite small, only a few individuals could have offered sacrifice at any one time. This is in keeping with the procedure that we have inferred from the small size of the sacrificial Area D at the western end of the rock-cut platform, which was in use ca. 500–300 B.C.

Caution is required, however, in interpreting the contents of Pit B. While much of the ash may represent the residue of burnt sacrifices made in the pit, the other objects are not likely to have found their way into Pit B as part of this kind of ritual. Had they merely accumulated in the pit while it was used for sacrifices and remained there when it was finally abandoned, we might have expected these objects to be very heavily burnt. Also, there ought to be more burnt animal bones. Moreover, iron nails, two fragmentary roof tiles, one fragment of terracotta sculpture, isolated pieces of drapery from figurines, and particularly the mold for a terracotta figurine are hardly likely to have been thrown into the pit to accompany any kind of sacrifice. They look more like debris. It seems more reasonable to conclude, therefore, that most of the filling was thrown in at the time when Pit B was being abandoned, presumably after having served for several years as a place of sacrifice. Most of the fragmentary objects may have come from one or more of the many votive dumps in the sanctuary. Not to be ruled out, however, is the possibility that some of the intact votive vases represent a final dedicatory act. They may have been intentionally placed in the pit as offerings when it went out of service, in the same way that final deposits of miniature vases were laid in the sealed Pits A and E.

The terracotta figurines and other miscellaneous votives from Pit B await final study, although the pottery is dated near the middle of the 3rd century B.C. (lot 880).¹⁹ This should give us, then, an approximate date for the filling in of the pit. If we have correctly established the date of construction of the Trapezoidal Building at ca. 300 B.C., Pit B ought to have been in service for roughly half a century or a little more.

Two final problems about Pit B remain for discussion; both concern its relationship to the rest of Room 3. First, was the sacrificial pit located in an enclosed room that had a roof, or was this end of the Trapezoidal Building open to the sky? The poor state of preservation of the building permits only a very tentative response. The existing foundations for the walls of Room 3, however, are in no respect different from those in the other rooms of the building. The large breccia blocks are just as thick here and were laid down right on, or very close to, the bedrock. If Room 3 had been unroofed and consisted of a sacred enclosure attached to the eastern end of the Trapezoidal Building, there is nothing to suggest this in the nature of the foundations as they are now preserved. We cannot confidently conclude, on these grounds, that Room 3 must have been roofed, but this seems to be the most likely inference from the uniformity of construction that it shares with the rest of the building.

¹⁸ Cf. the deep, rectangular pit full of ash in Ost-Oikos 36 of the Demeter sanctuary at Pergamon, see *Pergamon XIII*, p. 16. For pig-sacrifice in Demeter sanctuaries, see, e.g., Burkert 1983, pp. 256–259; Clinton 1988, pp. 72–80; M. Detienne in “The Violence of Well-Born Ladies: Women in the Thesmophoria,” *The Cuisine of Sacrifice Among the Greeks*, English trans., M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, eds., Chicago 1989 [pp. 129–147], pp. 133–135.

¹⁹ Pemberton has analyzed the pottery from Pit B in *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 96–100, Group 7. For a later dating of this deposit in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C., see *Corinth VII*, iii, p. 211, deposit 45. In addition to the pottery, Pit B contained the following inventoried objects: terracotta figurines MF-10486–10494, 10496–10505, 10934, 11338–11342, 11239, 13805; mold for terracotta figurine MF-11261; inscribed bone object MF-10495 [---]NEY[---]; liknon C-61-375; kernos-type offering trays C-61-372, -448, -449; cover tile FC-95; pan tile FP-245; two bronze coins, one of which disintegrated in cleaning; the other (61-38) was struck in Leukas in the 4th century B.C.

Second, there is the problem of the original depth of Pit B and the position of its top. As described above, the preserved tops of the foundations of the Trapezoidal Building and the construction fills within its rooms lie well below the level of the original floor. In fact, the floor may have been as much as *ca.* 1.10 m. above them, to judge from the level of the Courtyard outside the building to the south. This could mean that the ash filling we removed from Pit B might represent only the bottom portion of its original contents. What lay above this we can only guess. It is possible that the same kind of filling, containing vases and debris of the same type and date, continued more or less uniformly to the top. But we cannot rule out the possibility that the upper filling was quite different, perhaps even containing objects later than *ca.* 250 B.C. It is even conceivable, though unlikely, that the upper portion of the pit remained open and still in service for sacrifices, while earlier debris was left to accumulate in the bottom. Also, since the exact level of the floor is unknown and there is no evidence of its appearance, nothing definite can be said about the original depth of Pit B or about the construction of its top. The latter may have been level with the floor, set down into the floor, or possibly even built up with a stone curb above the level of the floor. In any case, it is probably safe to assume that the depth of the pit was as much as *ca.* 2.00 m. or a little more.²⁰

Since throughout the rest of the building excavations have necessarily been restricted to levels lower than that of the original floor, Pit B supplies valuable evidence for the history of this trapezoidal structure and for its importance in cult ritual. The function of the other two rooms in the building, however, remains a mystery. In view of the large number of contemporary dining rooms available on the Lower Terrace, they are unlikely to have been used for communal meals. One might conjecture that other stages in a cult ritual were performed in these two rooms or that they functioned as repositories for votive gifts to the goddesses. The back wall of the building effectively blocked all access from the north and cut the Middle Terrace off from the dining rooms on the Lower Terrace. By facing southward out onto the Central Courtyard, the Trapezoidal Building helped focus attention on this part of the Sanctuary and provided a degree of privacy. We shall suggest that its southern façade perhaps served as a backdrop for ritual activity in this Courtyard. The presence of Pit B at the building's eastern end suggests that these rituals included animal sacrifices.

We have no evidence as to the fate of the Trapezoidal Building after Pit B ceased to function, possibly *ca.* 250 B.C. or slightly later. This is not surprising since most of the foundations lay so close to the modern surface and no floors survived. Certainly, the building no longer remained in service in the Roman period, but we do not know if it stood until 146 B.C. or what happened to it during the following century when the Sanctuary seems to have been abandoned.

THE CENTRAL COURTYARD, P–Q:20–24

From at least the middle of the 6th century B.C. the central part of the Middle Terrace seems to have consisted of an open, rectangular Courtyard in P–Q:23–26. Its limits were formed on the west by the Archaic oikos in P–Q:21–23; on the south by the retaining walls along the north side of the rock-cut platform in Q–R:23–26 containing Areas D, H, and G; and on the east by Room E in Q:26. The north side of the Court was defined by the north boundary wall of the Middle Terrace, through which the principal entrance in P:25 led directly into the Court's northeast corner. On the site today and on the actual-state Plan 1, some imagination is required to envisage the appearance of the Central Courtyard in the Hellenistic period, for the western half of this area is occupied by the remains of a Roman stoa, which will be described in Chapter 11 (pp. 310–327 below). Until *ca.* 300 B.C., however, the Courtyard seems to have remained free from construction.

²⁰ The structures outside the Telesterion at Eleusis, which he identifies as pits (*megara*) for the deposit of sacrificial piglets, are said by Clinton (1988, p. 72, note 40) to be “over 3 fathoms” deep.

It also retained roughly the same size and shape, that is, *ca.* 15.50 m. east–west by *ca.* 7.00 m. north–south.

The building program of the early 3rd century B.C., which created the Hellenistic Propylon at the top of the stone stairway, the small court with stelai and Pit F, and the Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace, brought with it substantial changes to the form and position of this Central Courtyard. One could no longer enter the Middle Terrace and the Courtyard from the north, for the Trapezoidal Building now stood on this side, preventing all direct access from below and from the stone stairway at its western end. The old entrance in P:25 was deliberately blocked at this same time as part of the construction of Room A (pp. 248–251 below). Access to the Middle Terrace was now shifted to its southwest corner.

After climbing up the stone stairway past the entrance court containing Pit F and the stelai and passing through the Hellenistic Propylon, one now turned to the east in P:19–20 and moved across into the Middle Terrace. In the Archaic and Classical periods this approach was blocked by the oikos in P–Q:21–23, which filled the entire west side of the terrace. By the early 3rd century B.C. this old building seems no longer to have been standing here. When its north wall was incorporated into the foundations of the Trapezoidal Building's southern façade, the rest of the oikos—probably now in ruins—was dismantled. Its foundation trenches were now probably buried under leveling fills. No trace of subsequent construction emerged in the area formerly occupied by the oikos until the Roman period. We conclude that this area now became part of the open Central Courtyard.

Removal of the oikos from the western end of the Middle Terrace not only provided easy access to the central sector of the Sanctuary from this side but also brought about the expansion of the Central Courtyard. The latter now extended from the east side of the Hellenistic Propylon in P:20 for more than 20.00 m. to the east. Its south side remained unchanged, but on the north, the edge of the Courtyard was formed by the southern façade of the Trapezoidal Building. Although the Courtyard expanded to the west in the early 3rd century B.C., contraction took place on the east side with the contemporary construction of Room A (pp. 248–251 below). The former eastern end of the Middle Terrace in Room E was now abandoned, and the oblique west wall of Room A, in P–Q:24, marked the east side of the Central Courtyard.

Erosion of the fill and later building in the area of the Courtyard make it impossible to determine the ground level of the Court in the Hellenistic period. That is, we do not know how thick a layer of earth covered the bedrock here at that time. Nor can we, with confidence, establish the existence of any monuments or other structures in the Courtyard. There are some suggestive cuttings in the bedrock, but they cannot be dated. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it is probably safe to conclude that the floor of the Courtyard consisted of earth and was not paved with stone or any other material.

A courtyard of these proportions and in this position could have played an important part in the cult ritual of the Sanctuary. Both the stone stairway leading up through the Lower Terrace and the monumental Hellenistic Propylon are wide enough to have accommodated processions. In fact the very scale of these two structures is difficult to explain otherwise. Pit F with its nearby stelai and protected court also seems designed for ceremony. It is easy to imagine a group of worshipers moving up the several landings of the stairway in orderly procession, perhaps stopping just below the Hellenistic Propylon for individual participants to deposit a votive in Pit F. After resuming its progress and moving through the Propylon, a procession might have ascended the steep bedrock of the Upper Terrace to the south, seeking the cult building in S–T:16–17 or one of the rock-cut theatral areas described in Chapter 9 below.

Upon passing through the Hellenistic Propylon, processions could also have turned to the east. People entering the Middle Terrace would have found themselves at the west side of the open Courtyard, out in front, that is, south, of the Trapezoidal Building. Here was ample space for many of the traditional rites of worship—prayers, hymns, dances, and the like. Conveniently

located at the eastern end of the Trapezoidal Building was Pit B for burnt animal sacrifices. That the Middle Terrace was the main setting for worship throughout the history of the Greek Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is demonstrated by the thousands of votive objects that have been found there. That the Courtyard we are imagining played a particularly important role in cult ritual may be inferred also from the location of the contemporary rock-cut theater to the south on the Upper Terrace in S–T:21. Its position is such as to give the eighty-five or so people that it could accommodate a clear view of a procession as it came through the Propylon. The theater also looks directly down on the open Courtyard and on the southern façade of the Trapezoidal Building (see p. 263 below). In fact, the latter would have cut off most of the view out over the Lower Terrace (Pl. 42:a). To a large extent it focused the attention of those in the theater on activities directly below in the Courtyard. At the same time, the protected Courtyard is small enough to have been the scene of rites of worship that may not have been open to public view. If there was some form of mystery religion practiced at this Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the Trapezoidal Building, Courtyard, and theater could all have provided an appropriate setting. Finally, the presence of terracotta theatrical masks, figurines of comic actors, and a clay pinax inscribed with the name of Dionysos among the finds from the Sanctuary permits the further conjecture that the Central Courtyard could have been the scene of some kind of dramatic performances.²¹

In the absence of literary or epigraphic evidence for the operation of the cult at this site, we can only offer imaginative reconstructions such as the one just presented. For their historical validity we can make no claims. We have tried, however, to make clear the nature of the archaeological evidence from which we have drawn our inferences. In our view, the latter remain, if not certain, at least plausible.

CISTERN IN P:20–21

In the northwest corner of the Central Courtyard in P:20–21 is the oval mouth of a deep cistern. It lies only *ca.* 1.20 m. east of the southeast corner of the Hellenistic Propylon and *ca.* 2.00 m. from the southwest corner of the Trapezoidal Building (Pl. 9:e). No covering was found over it, and the earth filling we removed from within the cistern had been thrown in at two different times in the Roman period. The design and workmanship of the cistern, however, closely resemble those found in similar constructions at Corinth in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.²² Although at the end of its life it was certainly used in the Roman Sanctuary to dispose of debris, it must have been kept open and used as a reservoir into the 3rd century after Christ. We suggest that the cistern was constructed earlier to store water collected from the roofs of Sanctuary buildings before 146 B.C.

Two excellent contemporary candidates for such buildings spring quickly to mind. Tucked unobtrusively into this corner of the Middle Terrace, out of the way of traffic, the cistern is suitably positioned to have stored rainwater from the roofs of both the Hellenistic Propylon and the Trapezoidal Building. We cannot prove this connection, since the original top of the cistern has not been preserved. Thus, no trace of pipes, drains, or other conduits leading into it survives. The location of the cistern, however, can hardly be fortuitous, and its ample capacity could have met the challenge of storing water from these two adjacent buildings. We estimate the capacity of the cistern at *ca.* 8,000–9,000 liters of water.

Broken stucco at the preserved lip of the cistern and the presence of footholes in the thickly stuccoed walls only 0.20 m. below the lip both show that the mouth of the cistern originally

²¹ For the probability that Dionysos was worshiped with Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, see Stroud 1968, pp. 329–330; Bookidis and Fisher 1974, pp. 290–291.

²² For instance, though on a much larger scale, the nearby water tunnels and cisterns excavated on the lower northern slopes of Acrocorinth by Robinson (1969, pp. 1–35).

projected higher than it does today. We have not been able to determine the ground level in the area surrounding the cistern because of the proximity of several walls, including the rubble and cement foundations of a Roman stoa, that crowd in on the cistern from the south (Pl. 42:c). The relationship between the level of the ground in this corner of the Courtyard and the original mouth of the cistern, therefore, remains uncertain. We can be sure, however, that the mouth of the cistern as now preserved was originally below the ground, for the upper portion of the shaft is built of reused poros blocks and fieldstones set around its circumference. The inner face of the oval so formed was stuccoed to create the shaft. On the outside, these stones of irregular shapes and sizes must have been hidden in earth fill.

The shaft of the cistern, which is oval in plan, *ca.* 0.83 m. by 0.56 m. at the top, was thus built up above bedrock. Below the surface of the rock the shaft was cut down through it to a total depth of 5.04 m. below the preserved lip. Footholes lined with the same stucco that covers the walls were sunk into its north and south sides, eight in the former and six in the latter. These continued to a depth of *ca.* 2.85 m. Below this point there are two chambers opening off the shaft, one to the east and another to the west. Both chambers are *ca.* 1.40–1.90 m. in height and have rounded ceilings, which, like their walls and floors, are completely covered with one continuous coat of stucco. The western chamber is only 1.10 m. long and 0.62–0.82 m. wide, while to the east the other chamber extends 5.00 m. beyond the shaft. It is 0.48–0.74 m. wide. These chambers do not connect with any tunnels or manholes; they were designed to increase the capacity of this cistern alone. Their floors slope downward toward an oval-shaped settling basin *ca.* 0.40 m. deep, which lies directly under the shaft. Such settling basins placed directly at the bottom of the entrance manhole of cisterns were a customary cleaning device in Corinthian cisterns of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.²³ They were also employed in the Sanctuary in cisterns in Buildings K:15 and L–M:28 on the Lower Terrace.

If the cistern was built *ca.* 300 B.C. to service the Hellenistic Propylon and the Trapezoidal Building, it could have provided a considerable amount of water for activities on the Middle Terrace, perhaps even for ritual purposes. It is conveniently located near the contemporary entrance into the Central Courtyard. Large numbers of fragments of terracotta perirrhanteria found throughout the Sanctuary show that ritual cleansing was a significant part of cult procedure.²⁴ Ample amounts of water would have been used also in the several bathrooms in the dining complexes of the Lower Terrace.

An indication that in an earlier—but indeterminate—period there was also provision for collecting water in this area is provided by the remains of a stuccoed basin in O:20–21, which was destroyed by the construction of the east wall of the Hellenistic Propylon (p. 57 above). Not enough is preserved to suggest its original size, shape, or source of water.

ROOM A IN P–Q:25

At the eastern end of the Courtyard and to the south of the Trapezoidal Building lie the deep foundations of what we have labeled Room A (Pl. 25:c). Before excavation began in 1961, the top of its southeast corner block protruded above the modern surface in Q:25. Our earliest trenches exposed the full limits of the room. It was only with the clearing of the rest of the Middle Terrace in subsequent seasons, however, and after more detailed study of the pottery and other finds that we were able to understand the chronology of the room and its role in the topography of the site. We will now argue that in date, function, and orientation, the first phase of Room A must

²³ See Robinson 1969, pl. 1.

²⁴ These have been published by Pemberton in *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 75–78.

be considered as part of the same construction project as the Trapezoidal Building. Furthermore, after *ca.* 300 B.C. it formed the easternmost structure on the Middle Terrace.²⁵

As in the three rooms of the Trapezoidal Building, Room A's four walls enclose a trapezoid, rather than a rectangle. In laying out its south wall, the builders seem to have taken their orientation from the back (north) wall of the Trapezoidal Building. The east and west walls of Room A were then laid perpendicular to its south wall. Instead of building a north wall parallel to the south, however, they decided simply to use as its foundations the existing remains of the 6th-century B.C. boundary wall of the Middle Terrace in P:25 (Wall 2). This stretch of wall was by now obsolete as a retaining or boundary wall. But we have seen already that in the construction of the Trapezoidal Building, other parts of its western extension, including the former north wall of the *oikos*, were reused as foundations for the Trapezoidal Building's south wall. The segment of this old wall that now formed the north side of Room A runs right up against the east wall of the Trapezoidal Building in such a manner as to indicate that both buildings were probably part of a single design.

In reusing the Archaic retaining wall as a bedding for the north wall of Room A, the builders of the latter laid roughly squared breccia blocks directly on top of the fieldstone fabric of the earlier wall. In the northeast corner of the room they encountered the threshold block of the main entrance into the Middle Terrace from the late 6th century until *ca.* 300 B.C. This entrance they now blocked. Plate 12:b shows the entrance gap in the Archaic wall with the threshold block resting on the earth fill of the late 6th century B.C. On the north side of the Archaic wall, as here exposed, the large, rough breccia blocks of the later construction can be seen resting on the threshold block and on the Archaic wall's fieldstones.

At the western end of the north wall of Room A, the breccia blocks were set down on top of the remains of the earlier wall only as far as the east wall of the Trapezoidal Building in P:25. Although the north wall of Room A is not bonded into the latter, its westernmost breccia block abuts the Trapezoidal Building's east wall in such a way as to suggest that both walls were part of a single design.

The foundations for the other three walls of the room were laid directly on bedrock or, in some places, on a shallow layer of earth. They owe their relatively good state of preservation to the fact that they were built over in the Roman period. Those parts that can confidently be assigned to the earliest phase of Room A remain standing to a maximum height of *ca.* 0.86 m. and enclose an area *ca.* 4.50 m. by 2.75 m. (for the interior of Room A, see Pl. 25:c). In addition to roughly squared breccia blocks, *ca.* 0.65 m. thick, the walls contain a few small fieldstones packed tightly together in clay with pieces of Classical Corinthian roof tiles wedged in among them. This type of construction is found between some of the breccia blocks and below them directly on bedrock. No attempt seems to have been made to cut or trim the sloping and uneven bedrock to receive the lowest blocks of the foundation. Since the inner face of the foundation is too irregular to have been left exposed, it is likely that the surviving sections stood below floor level. This suggestion accords well with the problems presented both by the sloping bedrock in the room and by the lack of stratigraphy.

In order to create a floor that was level even with the highest point of bedrock in the southern part of the room the builders would have been required to bring in considerable fill in the northern half, where the rock lies *ca.* 0.80 m. lower. Even this minimum filling would have covered much of the inner face of the east foundation as now exposed. That a much deeper filling was used under the original floor of Room A is shown by the presence of a fragmentary wall of the 5th century B.C.

²⁵ The chronology and reconstruction of Room A offered by Stroud 1965, pp. 7–8, must now be rejected together with his assertion that the votives in lot 878 may have fallen from a shelf.

in its southeast corner (p. 56 above). This was certainly covered by the fill under the floor of Room A.

Although the depth of earth in Room A reached *ca.* 0.80–1.20 m. below the modern surface, no floor was preserved here. Since the hill drops off so sharply to the north, it is possible that in digging on this steep slope we failed to recognize traces of a suitable layer. Roman reuse of the walls, however, occasioned considerable disturbance inside the room itself, which may have removed the more obvious remnants of the original floor. At any rate, below the deep layer of surface earth containing pottery and other objects as late as the 4th century after Christ (lots 870, 871, 891, 892), there survived directly over bedrock against the inner faces of the walls a fill of soft earth *ca.* 0.20–0.30 m. deep. It contained large quantities of votive pottery and fragments of terracotta figurines. Intact kalathiskoi predominate, but the small kernos-type offering trays and model likna are also numerous (lot 893). This seems clearly to be fill brought in from a nearby votive dump to help level off the sloping bedrock so that a floor could be laid over it. Certainly, we detected no indication that foundation trenches for the walls had been cut through this earth. Also, this fill was not sealed off from the surface earth above it by any clear stratum marking a firm division between the two. Furthermore, what has survived over bedrock is evidently only the bottom portion of the leveling fill for the floor of Room A. This seems a safe inference from the fact that more than 0.80 m. of fill would have been required to create a level surface in the room, whereas the maximum depth of the existing layer is only *ca.* 0.30 m.

The latest objects in this earth filling, then, which seem to belong to *ca.* 375 B.C. or slightly later, can only establish a *terminus post quem* for the building of Room A (lot 893). This is also true of a handful of sherds found in a small pocket of earth directly under the northern end of the east wall of the room (lot 2006), dating to the late 5th century B.C. In the southern part of the room, over the 5th-century B.C. wall that rests on bedrock, another small pocket of earth was excavated containing pottery of *ca.* 450 B.C. and at least one fragmentary figurine of the 4th century B.C. (lot 894).

Obviously, the stratigraphic evidence from inside Room A is very unsatisfactory. As in the rooms of the adjacent Trapezoidal Building, we have had to be content merely with excavating well below the level of the original floor. On the basis of the finds just mentioned we can only suggest the earliest possible date of construction as roughly the 4th century B.C.

Since only the foundations are preserved, it is not surprising that no trace of a door has survived. Approach to Room A, however, would probably have been difficult on all sides except the west, which faces on to the Courtyard in front of the Trapezoidal Building. The northern half of the west wall is not preserved. This existing gap of *ca.* 2.20 m. in the west wall is best interpreted as indicating the presence of a door near the northwest corner of the room.

We can only guess at the interior plan and the function of Room A. No evidence has survived of partition walls, benches, couches, a pit, or any other such internal feature. There is nothing to suggest that it was a dining room or served some domestic purpose. Nor is there any evidence to indicate whether it was roofed. The proximity of Room A to the eastern end of the Trapezoidal Building where the sacrificial Pit B is located may point to a religious function. In a cult ritual that seems to have required a series of different acts performed by small groups of worshipers at any one time, Room A could have played a role. It might also have served as a repository for votives, which, as we have seen, accumulated rapidly in this Sanctuary.

Although we found no strata contemporary with the use of Room A, the concentration of finds within its walls is remarkable. Preliminary reckoning shows 87 inventoried terracotta figurines and more than 250 other fragments; 83 inventoried vases and some additional 75 intact miniatures; 21 other inventoried objects; 17 coins; and more than 23 baskets of pottery. All this came from an area only *ca.* 4.50 by 2.75 m. in an average depth of fill of *ca.* 1.00 m.

Instead of simply forming a corner with its south wall, Room A's west wall extends beyond it *ca.* 2.10 m. to the south. Here, in the southeast corner of Q:24, it abuts the stepped retaining wall on the north side of the rock-cut platform in which Areas G and H are located (Pl. 25:b, d). As we have seen in Chapter 6, this retaining wall was built in the 5th century B.C. Now, in *ca.* 300 B.C. as part of the reorganization of the Middle Terrace, this west wall of Room A helped to define the large Courtyard that lay out in front of the Trapezoidal Building. Circulation to the east around the south side of Room A was now blocked. Room A, in effect, together with the southern extension of its west wall formed the new eastern limit of the Middle Terrace. As far as we know, this arrangement continued until the Roman rebuilding of the Sanctuary in the late 1st century B.C. For a description of the Roman phase of Room A, see pages 309–310 below.

South of Room A there is a narrow space in front (i.e., north) of the stepped retaining wall of Area H. We conjectured in Chapter 6 that the long east–west cuttings on the steep face of the exposed bedrock here may once have supported steps leading up into Area H. Although for the 5th century B.C. this suggestion may have some plausibility, the construction of Room A and the southern extension of its west wall now made this approach to Area H impossible. If there were stone steps here previously, they were gone by the time Room A was constructed, for at that time this narrow space was filled with earth. Below the surface layer, which contained mixed to late Roman pottery, we found a deep fill, *ca.* 0.85 m., extending all the way down to bedrock. Like the fill in Room A, it contained a large amount of votive pottery, together with terracotta figurines, lamps, and some metal votives (lots 881, 885). For chronology the finds were a little more satisfactory than those from inside Room A, since the latest objects probably belong to the late 4th or perhaps even early 3rd century B.C.²⁶ They should be roughly contemporary with the date of construction of Room A. This fill covered the bedrock cuttings. It was probably thrown in here behind the south wall of Room A merely as fill. For a view of this area after excavation, see Plate 25:b, d.

Immediately west of Room A, in Q:24, there survives in very poor condition a westward extension of the south wall of the room. It is *ca.* 3.25 m. long and rests on bedrock. Built of small fieldstones and a few fragments of roof tiles, it abuts, but is not bonded into, the west wall of Room A. Its original length remains uncertain since at its preserved western end a deep foundation cutting and cement and rubble construction of a large Roman building have broken down through the wall. Some evidence for activity in the late 4th century B.C. was recovered to the north of this wall, but, unfortunately, it does not help to clarify the wall's purpose or date. Under the surface earth containing mixed to late Roman pottery (lot 896), there was a layer of fill resembling that found in Room A. In the southern part of this area it was only *ca.* 0.12 m. deep and lay directly over bedrock. This fill extended to the north as far as the south side of the Trapezoidal Building. Here, as was to be expected, the layer was *ca.* 0.55 m. deep, since the bedrock slopes down from south to north. The earth in this layer was fairly soft and betrayed no evidence that it ever formed part of a floor or hard surface. It contained much votive pottery, many terracotta figurines, lamps, and other small finds. We have interpreted it as a dumped leveling fill similar to that excavated in Room A. It was probably brought in to raise the level of this part of the Middle Terrace toward the end of the 4th century B.C. This appears to be the date of the latest objects found in it (lots 897, 899).

Sunk into the bedrock in the southeast corner of Q:24 is an almost square cutting measuring *ca.* 0.65 by 0.70 m. It is *ca.* 0.35 m. deep and contained only the same soft fill as that described in the previous paragraph. It is not aligned with any of the walls of Room A or with the Trapezoidal Building. The purpose of this cutting remains unknown, but it clearly is earlier than the leveling operation in the Courtyard of *ca.* 300 B.C.

²⁶ In lot 881 one terracotta figurine, MF-10510, is probably of the 3rd century B.C.

QUARRY IN O–Q:27–29

Outside the eastern limits of the Middle Terrace in the Archaic and Classical periods we explored an area extending from the steeply rising bedrock at the south edge of Q:27–29 as far north as the large rectangular building of the Lower Terrace in N:28. This sector, which measures *ca.* 15 m. north–south by 14 m. east–west, was devoid of architectural remains. Although the depth of fill in this part of the site reached in places as much as 1.75 m., there was virtually no trace of stratification. Soft surface earth containing pottery, coins, and other objects as late as *ca.* 400 after Christ continued all the way down to bedrock.

Under this earth, on the surface of the rock itself, however, there are many deep cuttings, which belong to ancient quarrying operations. These cuttings are recorded on the actual-state plan (Plan 1; see also Pls. 33:d, 34:d). Their purpose was to extract squared, oblong blocks *ca.* 0.65 m. in width and of various lengths, by channeling down on all four sides of the desired piece of bedrock. This method was commonly used in antiquity.²⁷ The products of this small quarry, which consisted of breccia blocks, were undoubtedly built into the foundations and walls of buildings on the Middle and Lower Terraces.

We can only guess at the appearance of this area before it became a quarry. In all likelihood the 6th-century B.C. wall and possible couch found in P:27 were destroyed by the nearby quarry cutting (p. 81 above). In Q:27 the isolated north–south wall of similar date may once have belonged to a building that extended to the east and was abandoned when the quarrying began. A few clues were discovered to help fix a date for the quarry. At its northern edge, on the Lower Terrace, the south wall of the large Building N:28 of the 4th century B.C. was constructed over the quarry cuttings (Chapter 7 above). Shallow, isolated pockets of earth directly over bedrock in P:28 (lot 2211), P–Q:27–28 (lot 72-121), and O–P:27–28 (lot 6656) contained pottery from the 5th to the middle of the 4th century B.C. From these admittedly meager pieces of evidence we might conclude that quarrying did not continue in this area much later than *ca.* 350 B.C. The total absence of Hellenistic and Roman strata over the bedrock probably indicates that this part of the site remained an open dumping ground after the Classical period.

CONCLUSIONS

Having reached this stage of development, the Middle Terrace seems to have remained virtually the same throughout the 3rd century and first half of the 2nd century B.C. We have had to infer this, however, from the lack of positive evidence for architectural change. The truth is that our picture of the form and history of this part of the Sanctuary in the last 150 years before the Roman invasion is very incomplete. Finds from this period have turned up, but they were seldom recovered in layers or pockets of earth that are chronologically consistent or architecturally meaningful. By their nature—miniature vases, terracotta figurines, assorted votives—they bear witness to continued activity connected with the cult. After about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., however, there is an almost total lack of evidence of any kind from the Middle Terrace.²⁸ This void lasts until the earliest finds and architecture belonging to the Roman rebuilding of the Sanctuary, to be described in Chapters 10 through 12. We found no indication that the devastation that accompanied the Roman sack of Corinth in 146 B.C. extended to the buildings on the Middle Terrace. They seem merely to have been abandoned, along with the rest of the Sanctuary, for about a century until in the early years of the new colony the worship of Demeter and Persephone was revived.

²⁷ For this technique, see A. Dworakowska, *Quarries in Ancient Greece (Polish Academy of Sciences: Institute of the History of Material Culture XIV)*, Warsaw 1975, pp. 24–25, 131–151, with earlier bibliography.

²⁸ Pemberton (*Corinth XVIII*, i, p. 4) briefly discusses the scarcity of pottery from this period in the excavations. She includes only five fragments of vases dating *ca.* 146–44 B.C. in her catalogue; all were found on the Lower Terrace.

THE GREEK UPPER TERRACE

(Fig. 36; Plans 5, 7-9)

Q-T:15-23

As its name indicates, the Upper Terrace lies at the top, or highest, part of the Sanctuary immediately south of the Middle Terrace (Pls. 2, 5). Not quite so large as the latter, it extends from Q-U:15 to Q-U:23. Today the Upper Terrace is clearly distinguishable from the Middle Terrace because of the steepness of its exposed rocky slope and because of a deep, broad cutting in bedrock of possibly Roman date that forms its lower limit from Q:23 to P:13 (pp. 307-308 below; Pls. 44:a, 51:a, b). South of that line very little has survived but cuttings in bedrock, for the buildings that once stood there were largely dismantled in Late Roman or Byzantine times to provide building material for other parts of the city. Despite this pillaging, some sense can be made of the few blocks that remain together with the cuttings. For example, we can identify a flight of rock-cut steps and possible settings for freestanding dedications in R:19-20, a small theater in S-T:21, a one-room structure, tentatively identified as a Hellenistic temple, in S-T:16-17, and part of a monument in the northern half of T:19 (Pls. 43, 44:b). In turn, these are replaced in Roman times by a monumental T-shaped stairway, of which only the top cross-bar can be restored in R-S:17-22, and by three small temples on a high platform at the very top of the terrace in T-U:16-23.¹

Blocked out in such simple terms, the history of the Upper Terrace does not account for all the cuttings shown in Plan 7. But rather than burden our account with a description of every cutting, we have confined ourselves to those that can be explained, either here, as part of the Greek plan, or in Chapter 12, as part of the Roman one. Comparison of the actual-state plan of the area, Plan 7, with Figures 36 and 52 should make clear what few cuttings have been omitted. In addition, the period Plans 3 through 6 show what reconstructions we suggest for each period.

A more serious problem is that of chronology. With the exception of the area occupied by the Roman temples, the theater, and a few small protected deposits, no stratified fills were found on the Upper Terrace. At the time of its excavation most of the hillside was covered with a uniformly soft, dark earth, which ranged in depth from 0.20 m. to as much as 1.40 m. The extent of this fill is apparent in the baulks that are visible in Plate 43. In this earth were many fieldstones, some roof tiles, fragments of stone architecture, and quantities of discarded votives. These votives occurred throughout the earth, on bedrock, or in occasional isolated pockets of black fill, to be described below. They included votive pottery, with a large proportion of miniature kernos-type offering trays, some Classical table and utility wares, and more pottery of Roman date, extending as late as the second half of the 4th century after Christ.² Terracotta figurines were also plentiful, especially Hellenistic types; both fragmentary and complete examples were found together with pieces of terracotta sculpture. We shall come back to these finds later, but here it is important to note that objects of Archaic and Classical date were found side by side with Roman and Byzantine

¹ Unfortunately, the general photographs of the Upper Terrace, and indeed of the entire site, were taken before the discovery of the central temple, T-U:19. In the center of these photographs it is the mound of grassy earth.

² Lots 2107, 6233. About 30 baskets of pottery were recovered from an area measuring *ca.* 5.00 by 30.00 m., stretching from R:16 to the northern half of S:21. When compared with the 60-odd baskets of pottery that overlay Building M:16-17 in roughly a 5.00 m. square area, the pottery in this area is not as abundant as it first might seem.

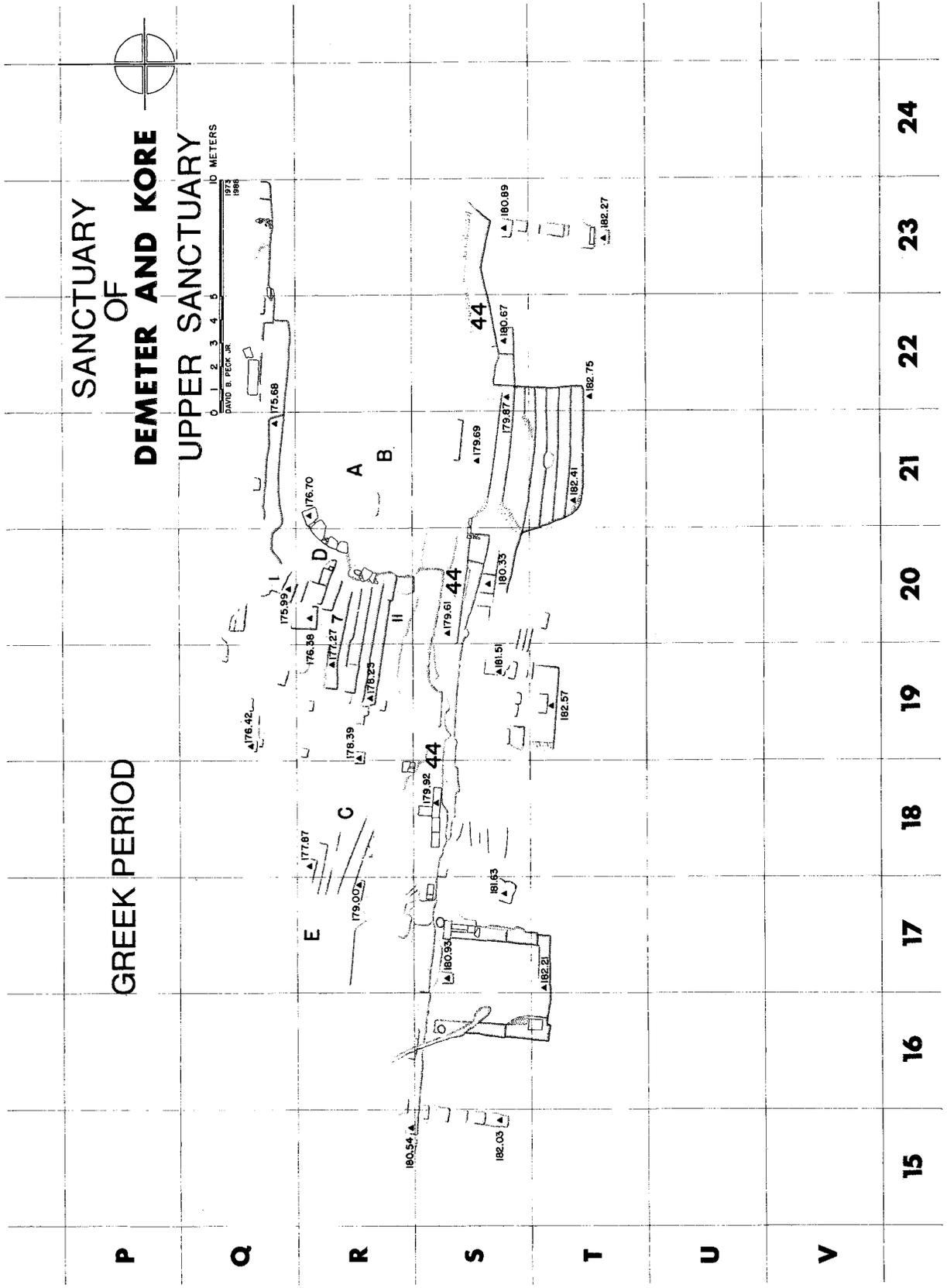


Fig. 36. Plan: Greek Upper Terrace

objects, including a coin of Nikephoros III, A.D. 1078–1081 (64-78), several Byzantine sherds, and a coin of Turkish date (64-87).

Because the accumulation of earth spans a long period of time, we can determine neither when specific cuttings were made nor when they were abandoned. And only when the cuttings overlap, which rarely occurs, can we attempt to establish some sort of relative chronology. For this reason we have organized our discussion of the Upper Terrace into two main periods, Greek and Roman, placing into the Greek whatever is not demonstrably Roman. Furthermore, since it is not possible to determine what is earlier or later within a given period, we have organized our discussions topographically, proceeding in the Greek period from north to south, or bottom up, in the Roman period from south to north, or top down.

The earliest attested use of the Upper Terrace goes back to the end of the 7th century B.C., when the first of two pottery deposits was set into a shallow fissure in the bedrock slope in R:21 (Fig. 36, A), approximately 3.00 m. east of the southern end of the curved retaining wall in R:20, to be described below. Forty-six miniature votive pots lay on their sides, stacked one inside the other, in soft, black earth just beneath the modern surface. Some of the pots sat in the fissure, while others rested on the surrounding bedrock slope. Three more were found close by. Of the forty-nine vessels recovered, thirty-nine are kalathiskoi, eight are kotylai, and two are broad-bottomed oinochoai. Thirty-one of the vessels are intact, twelve are complete but broken, leaving eight that are incomplete. Five show traces of black discoloration that could have been caused either by burning or by the black earth in which they lay.³ Most of these pieces belong to the Late Protocorinthian period; however, one, at least, may be as late as Early Corinthian. While it is conceivable that these pots are all that survived of a general fill of votives discarded in Classical times to make a terrace packing, and not an isolated, early deposit, the way in which they had been stacked and the relative uniformity of their date seem more in keeping with a contained and intentional deposit of votives.

A second such nest of votives lay *ca.* 1.50 m. to the southeast in R:21 in similar circumstances (Fig. 36, B). Much smaller than the first, it comprised only eight miniature pots, namely, a coarse, handmade "dinos," two handmade kalathiskoi, two flaring banded kalathiskoi, a handmade stemmed dish with reflex handles, and a stemless cup with offset rim (Pl. 45:d). With the exception of the dish, which was broken but complete, the pots were intact. Less easily dated, this small deposit may reflect a longer chronological range. While the kalathiskoi and dinos were probably made in the Late Protocorinthian period, the stemless cup should date to the Middle or Late Corinthian period, that is, to the middle to third quarter of the 6th century B.C.⁴

If these "nests" do, in fact, represent small, intentional deposits and not just random pockets of discarded pottery, more deposits may have once existed. Unfortunately, the short patch of hillside that extends from R:21 to R:23 is virtually all of the Upper Terrace that was left untouched by later builders and modern erosion. We shall return to this area below.

We do not know when the Upper Terrace began to be used on a more ambitious scale, but possibly not before the later 6th century B.C.⁵ We have seen that in the 6th century B.C. a deep rock-cut platform containing Areas D, G, and H was constructed in R:23–26 at the southern edge of the Middle Terrace, effectively marking the division between the Middle and the Upper Terraces. In addition, at some date a retaining wall was built just south of the oikos in order to

³ Pottery pocket 1970-1. *Corinth XVIII*, i, Group 1, nos. 1–21, pp. 79–81, pl. 1:a. In addition, not included in Pemberton's catalogue are C-70-3, -477, -484, -487, -488, -491 to -495, -497 to -499, -503 to -516, -526.

⁴ Lot 6232. Pottery pocket 1970-2. For the type of cup, see *Corinth XV*, iii, no. 1492, p. 273, pl. 62. The present example, however, is more squat, the rim flaring and the ring foot vertical.

⁵ The period plans reflect the uncertainty of our knowledge here and cannot be taken as anything more than a suggestion of what may have been. We have chosen the most conservative of reconstructions, by placing most of the work after 400 B.C.

keep downwash from covering the Middle Terrace. Evidence for this is a level bedding in the red stereo that could be traced from Q:22 to Q:20; it was not found further west. This bedding is visible at the left edge of Plates 44:b and 51:b. Together with the rock-cut platform, this wall further defined the two terraces in the eastern half of the Sanctuary until 146 B.C.

THEATRAL AREA (Plan 9 B-B)

It seems logical to assume that the earliest work carried out was the cutting of steps in the central area of the Upper Terrace, R:19–20, which we have called the theatral area, since without them the structures located higher up would have been inaccessible (Pls. 43, 44:a, b). More graphic in photographs, perhaps, than in plan, the steps are confused by a number of later cuttings for dedications, collecting basins, and other constructions (Plan 8).

Before we begin our description of the various cuttings made in the bedrock, a few general words on the nature of that bedrock will not be out of place. Like the quarry behind and beneath Building N:28 on the Lower Terrace, the entire slope of the Upper Terrace is composed of breccia.⁶ Large and smaller outcroppings of angular, hard limestone that are difficult to cut are embedded in a softer yellow-brown matrix that spalls and quickly decomposes when exposed to the air. Indeed, in the relatively short period of time that the cuttings have been uncovered, they have eroded considerably. For this reason we believe that they were all originally masked with cut stone, nothing of which has remained. The sole exception to this may have been the theater seats in S–T:21 because of their irregularity, for the considerable hardness of the limestone has meant that in places where the stone could not be cut, surfaces have been left uneven, and lines of walls have been deflected from a straight line.

The eastern limits of the stepped area are defined by a curved retaining wall visible in R:20–21 and in Plate 43. The northern part of the wall is composed of four large boulders *ca.* 0.75 m. high, which are laid in an arc. An irregular outcropping of bedrock to the south caused the continuation of the wall to swing out *ca.* 1.00 m. to the west before continuing southward. Although only two boulders survive from this southern section, the wall probably continued in a straighter line to the southern edge of R:20. A test cut made behind the northern section of the wall was generally unproductive, for beneath the surface accumulation there lay only a few centimeters of earth flush with the base of the boulders. A fragmentary Conventionalizing kalathiskos, type 3, may indicate that the earth was deposited no earlier than the end of the 6th century B.C.; however, since the earth could have accumulated behind the walls at any time in its history, the sherd tells us very little. In addition, a fragmentary combination roof tile of possibly early-7th-century B.C. date may have derived from a structure, no longer existing, on the Middle Terrace (Chapter 16, 68).

The stepped cuttings begin roughly on line with the northern end of the curved retaining wall, or *ca.* 2.80 m. south of the deep Roman bedding that marks the present-day limits of the Upper Terrace.⁷ Between the steps and the bedding are a series of rectangular rock-cut basins of Roman date (Chapter 12 below). These are visible in the lower left corner of Plate 43 and in Figure 52.

As Plate 44:a makes clear, the lowest steps are too faint to be fully traced. Those that are more visible (Fig. 36, 1–3) begin at the southern edge of Q:20 and the northern side of R:20.⁸ They are oriented 112 degrees east of north. A fourth step 0.70 m. long follows these and, 0.40 m. further south of this, a fifth that is 2.00 long. A small limestone block is firmly set at the eastern end of step 4 as a marker of some sort (Pl. 44:a).⁹ Sloping bedrock separates the western end

⁶ We thank Christopher Hayward for this identification.

⁷ Section B–B in Plan 9 is drawn down the center of the steps.

⁸ Steps 1, 7, and 11 are marked by number in Figure 36.

⁹ The small block measures 0.19 m. high, 0.17 m. wide, and 0.195 m. long.

of this step from a large rectangular cutting 1.00 by 1.20 by 0.40 m. deep, lying 1.00 m. away. Oriented more truly north-south, this last cutting must have held either a freestanding dedication or blocks of a later unidentified construction.¹⁰ Approximately 0.50 m. south of step 5 is a sixth, which ends 2.95 m. west of the curved retaining wall. This group of steps is clearly related to the north segment of the curved retaining wall and makes a coherent unit with it.

Ca. 0.57 m. south of step 6 a second set of longer cuttings is aligned with the southern leg of the curved retaining wall (Pl. 44:b, middle ground). Oriented 100 degrees east of north, they may belong to a different period from those steps to the north. This second flight consists of five rock-cut steps (Fig. 36, 7-11), averaging 4.80-5.00 m. long and 0.40 m. wide. Although varying from one end to another, the risers average 0.20-0.29 m. in height.¹¹ To the south of step 11 faint traces of cuttings, visible in the soft crust overlying bedrock, suggest that at one time the steps may have continued as far south as the entrance to the small theater in S:20 (Pl. 46:b, foreground). The foundations for the Roman stairway, however, described in Chapter 12, have thoroughly erased these remains. Roughly 4.50 m. south of step 11 bedrock rises abruptly 1.92 m.¹²

West of steps 7-11 bedrock extends with few interruptions to yet a third set of stepped cuttings in the western half of R:18 and the eastern half of R:17 (Fig. 36, C). They appear in Plates 43, 44:a, and 45:a, and at the right edge of Plate 44:b. Fewer in number, they average 0.30-0.40 m. in width by 0.20-0.25 m. in height but differ in their lengths. The three northern cuttings follow the orientation of steps 7 to 11, that is, *ca.* 102 degrees east of north, while the southern two turn to 112 degrees like steps 1 to 6 in Q-R:20. An isolated, sixth cutting in R:17 is turned even more truly east-west. What purpose they served or how one reached them, since they simply begin in the middle of the hillslope, is no longer evident. While they seem to ascend the hill on a diagonal toward Building S-T:16-17, they do not lead to that building's entrance for, as we shall see below, this lay to the east. We can only assume that later construction and perhaps also erosion have made them unintelligible.

In describing the plan of the processional stairway on the Lower Terrace, we suggested that at least two landings continued south of landing 8 to the base of the Upper Terrace (Fig. 12), or perhaps three to the base of step 1 of the theatral area (p. 98 above).¹³ Since the steps on the Upper Terrace are approximately aligned with the stairway, they may have continued the stairway's function of simply providing access to monuments or buildings lying further up the hill. But the southern set of steps (7-11) on the Upper Terrace may also have had an additional function. They are considerably wider than the processional stairway and do not begin at the base of the Upper Terrace but nearly 5.00 m. south of it or 2.53 m. above it. In the initial excavation report of this area, we suggested that these wider steps functioned as a small theatral area from which initiates could view rituals carried out on the Middle Terrace below.¹⁴ At that time the theater to the southeast had not yet been found. Nevertheless, its discovery does not negate that suggestion, for the central steps may have preceded the small theater as a place from which to follow the rites. From them one could have looked down onto the processional stairway and onto the area immediately to the west of it, as well as to the east as far as the oikos in P-Q:21-23. Although they are too narrow and low for seats, the central steps could have provided standing room for viewers. With an allowance of 0.50 m. per person, approximately fifty people could have

¹⁰ The orientation of the cutting is more in keeping with that of the Roman walls.

¹¹ In addition, a later cutting *ca.* 1.20 m. wide cuts into the western end of steps 8 and 9, and a slightly smaller one 1.00 m. wide breaks through the eastern end of step 11.

¹² That is, from *ca.* +179.61 to 181.53 m. The abrupt rise is clear in Section B-B, Plan 9.

¹³ A height of 2.85 m. separates the highest known step on the Lower Terrace (+173.14 m.) in O:20 from the lowest preserved step on the Upper Terrace (+175.99 m.).

¹⁴ Stroud 1968, pp. 305-306, there called seats.

been accommodated comfortably, and perhaps more, if we are correct in assuming that the steps continued further south.¹⁵ If, however, this was the case, then their function as a theatral area was subsequently taken over by the small theater to the southeast. To distinguish between the two, we will retain the term “theatral area” for the central steps, reserving the word “theater” for the cuttings in S–T:21.

At some point in the pre-Roman history of the Greek Upper Terrace a long wall was built across the top or back of the theatral area. Its bedding is designated 44 in Figure 36. It extended from the southeast corner of R:15 to S:23, a total of 39.00 m. Probably never very high, it was designed to retain a narrow terrace *ca.* 1.25 m. wide at the base of the steep rise in bedrock.¹⁶ The terrace filled an important place in the topography of the Upper Terrace, for it provided the means of access to the Hellenistic temple S–T:16–17 to the west or to the theater to the east.

The remains of the wall are confined to four limestone blocks of the lowest course in S:17–18 as well as cuttings in bedrock. Relatively thin, the wall blocks are only 0.20–0.30 m. thick and rest on a bedrock bedding that is 0.45–0.50 m. wide. They are cut in lengths of 1.30 m. or approximate divisions thereof, a unit of measure that is repeated in the Hellenistic temple S–T:16–17. Although all four blocks are worked with the flat chisel, all show some retrimming with the claw, a sure indication that the wall was rebuilt in the Roman period. The bedding begins in the southeast corner of R:15 (+180.54 m.) and continues for 13.70 m. to the western edge of S:19, where erosion has removed all traces of it. The cutting for the wall’s south face resumes 3.75 m. further east in S:20, where it lies *ca.* 3.05 m. south of step 11 in the theatral area. From there the bedding for the wall continues up to the “orchestra” of the small theater in S:21, where it presumably stops, to continue on the opposite side in S:22. The remaining 6.00 m. of the wall bedding are not straight but curved, and its eastern end lies 0.36 m. below the western end (+180.18 m.). Furthermore, the line that connects all these cuttings is not straight but somewhat bowed. The floor of this terrace may not have been quite level. Just east of Temple S–T:16–17 the absolute elevation of bedrock is *ca.* +180.82 m.; further east by the theater it descends to +180.51 m.

At either end the retaining wall returned to the south in a series of stepped beddings 0.45–0.50 m. wide, which provided anchorage for wall blocks ascending the hill. Five such beddings on the west side created a wall at least 3.90 m. long¹⁷ that enclosed Temple S–T:16–17, situated

¹⁵ When the steps were first published, Stroud 1968, pp. 305–306, the ashlar foundations in O–P:19–20 were interpreted as a temple, and an analogy was drawn to the sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura, where a stepped retaining wall faced onto the side of the Hellenistic temple. It is clear now, however, that Building O–P:19–20 was not a temple but a propylon, and while the analogy to other stepped areas remains, their relative placement within the Sanctuary as a whole does not. In this respect, one may recall that in the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon the large formal theatral area faces onto the large open square to the east of both the temple and the main altar (*Pergamon XIII*, pp. 36–38). Ginouvès (1972) discusses rectangular theatral areas in general and on p. 66 includes the central steps at Corinth.

¹⁶ We thank Charles Williams II for this suggestion. The position of bedding 44 is marked in Section B–B of Plan 9. The cutting immediately south of it is that of the earlier western parados A (+179.88 m.), for which see Figure 37. The floor of the terrace would have been just south of this, where bedrock rises, then flattens again.

¹⁷ The dimensions, absolute elevations, and respective heights of the five west beddings are as follows. The lengths are measured from the south face of Wall 44 to the south face of each cutting:

1. 0.50 m., floor +180.87 m., or 0.33 m. above bedding 44.
2. 1.30 m., floor +181.09 m., or 0.22 m. above 1.
3. 2.20 m., floor +181.52 m., or 0.43 m. above 2.
4. 2.85 m., floor +181.71 m., or 0.19 m. above 3.
5. 3.90 m., floor +182.03 m., or 0.32 m. above 4.

3.30 m. to the east. Similarly, on the east side, seven such cuttings extend 5.10 m. south of the retaining wall¹⁸ to limit not only the theater but also an open court *ca.* 6.90 m. wide to the east of it.

There is very little evidence to tell us when this terrace was created. Thirty-three tiny and uninformative fragments of Classical votive miniature vases were recovered from the packing behind the retaining Wall 44 in S:19 (lot 4484). With them was a fragment of hair from the head of a marble statue that may have been either Hellenistic or Roman in date.¹⁹ Nevertheless, that the wall was originally Greek and not Roman is shown by its relation to Building S-T:16-17, to be described below.

The relation of this wall and terrace to the rest of the theatral area is open to two restorations, both of which are plausible. It is possible that the central steps 1 to 11 remained in use after the terrace was built and that they provided the means of ascent to it. But a second possibility must also be considered.

In the beginning of our discussion of the Upper Terrace we made reference to patches of black fill that could be isolated within the general stratum of surface soil covering the Upper Terrace. One such pocket, containing a number of interesting finds, partly covered the lowest steps (Fig. 36, D) beside the north curved retaining wall in R:20. Near the small limestone block on step 4 described above lay a group of terracotta figurines and a small red-figured lebes gamikos (lot 2063).²⁰ A short distance to the west was found the head of a terracotta herm of half lifesize (Pl. 45:e), and with it were a small terracotta mask of a Silenos, two more small masks, and two other figurines (lot 2064).²¹ *Ca.* 0.40 m. north of the figurines lay four inscribed clay pinakes—three complete and one broken—one of which bears the name of Dionysos.²² The pottery that was recovered with all of this material dated from the 4th to the early 3rd century B.C.²³

A second pocket (Fig. 36, E), this one not of black earth, was found in Q-R:17 just west of the third set of cuttings. Here a layer of relatively hard white clay resting on bedrock was isolated from the soft fill around it. Measuring *ca.* 2.00 m. north-south by 5.80 m. east-west, the deposit yielded four baskets of pottery, 1,009 fragments of terracotta figurines, and 16 fragments of large-scale terracotta statues. Among the latter are the torso of a draped youth dating to the last quarter

¹⁸ The dimensions, absolute elevations, and respective heights of the east beddings are these:

1. 1.00 m., floor +180.89 m., or 0.78 m. above bedding 44.
2. 1.60 m., floor +181.21 m., or 0.32 m. above 1.
3. 2.10 m., floor +181.50 m., or 0.29 m. above 2.
4. 3.15 m., floor +181.63 m., or 0.13 m. above 3.
5. 3.35 m., floor +181.85 m., or 0.22 m. above 4.
6. 4.50 m., floor +182.04 m., or 0.19 m. above 5.
7. 5.10 m., floor +182.27 m., or 0.23 m. above 6.

¹⁹ S-3725, to be published separately.

²⁰ Lot 2063. MF-11781 to MF-11786, to be published with the figurines from the site; for the lebes gamikos, *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 333 (C-64-224), p. 144.

²¹ Lot 2064. For the herm, SF-64-5, see Stroud 1968, pl. 97:c, and the mask of Silenos (MF-11779), pl. 95:a; the additional pieces are MF-11775, 11776, 11777, 11780 and a bronze pin, MF-13185. With this material was found a scallop shell (bone lot 64-37). Both the herm and the mask were stolen during the April 12, 1990, robbery of the Corinth Museum.

²² Stroud 1968, pl. 98:h, j, k, MF-11820 to 11823 (lot 2087). These will be published separately with the inscriptions. The three complete examples were also stolen from the Corinth Museum in 1990.

²³ See *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 133, p. 144, where lot 2063 is dated to the early 3rd century B.C. Most of the material is, in fact, 4th century B.C. in date; the kalathiskoi, *ibid.*, p. 61, are type 4, which occur in the late 4th to first half of the 3rd century B.C. The latest piece may be the fragmentary lamp-hanger, *loc. cit.* (there called a perforated cylindrical vessel), the chronology of which, however, is by no means fixed.

of the 5th century B.C., the arm of a second statue, and left shoulder and chest of a third.²⁴ All the statues are incomplete, but their presence, together with numerous other fragments of large-scale sculpture from the Upper Terrace, may indicate that these statues were originally set up here. Although fragments of terracotta sculpture were found in all parts of the Sanctuary, they were most abundant in a broad band descending from the Upper Terrace, through the central part of the Middle and Lower Terraces, especially along the stairway. This concentration gives support to the idea that some statues, at least, were set up on display on the Upper Terrace. Subsequently used as filling in terrace backfills, they could then have washed down the hillside with the collapse of the terrace walls.

The four baskets of pottery gathered from this last deposit comprise, for the most part, votive miniatures, namely, kalathiskoi, kernos-type offering trays, and phialai among others. In addition, there are a few fragments of table ware, the whole dating to the latter part of the 4th century B.C. (lots 4378, 4379). Although numerous, the figurines are extremely fragmentary; 4th-century B.C. types predominate, but some Archaic and Classical examples also occur. The material is clearly incomplete and had been discarded here after its use—perhaps somewhere nearby.

It is possible that these deposits are related to a change in the plan of the Upper Terrace in the early 3rd century B.C. This change corresponds to major work on the neighboring Middle Terrace, when the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building was built and the oikos simultaneously dismantled. We suggest that the building in S-T:16-17 (to be described below) replaced the oikos. Given the configuration of the hillside on the west side of the Upper Terrace, a new approach was needed for this building, for it could not be easily reached from the north. For this purpose the preexisting theatral area was covered over by means of deposits such as those described above. Whether the earth was retained by a predecessor to the Roman wall at the base of the Upper Terrace or by an extension of the wall in Q:22 to Q:20 (p. 256 above) we can no longer say.

If the old steps of the theatral area were covered over, then a new stairway must have been built up to the retaining wall in S:19. Three pairs of small beddings, located in the western half of Q-R:19, could be remnants of that stairway. Lying just west of steps 1-11, the beddings ascend the hillside in a north-south line that can be traced as far south as step 11 just to the east of them.²⁵ If the terrace served the Hellenistic temple, it also served the theater to the east. Moreover, it also brought the two structures into closer association, making it possible for objects, stored in the temple, to be displayed in the theater. Finally, it also provided a means of ascent to a third structure lying between the theater and Temple S-T:16-17 on bedrock to the south in T:19.

THEATER, S-T:21 (Figs. 37, 38; Plan 9 A-A)

To the southeast of the theatral area just described lies the small theater in S-T:21. The relative positions of the two areas are apparent in Plates 43 and 44:b. The theater is composed of a small seating area or cavea and an equally small "orchestra" below it to the north (Pl. 46:a, b).

²⁴ A preliminary publication of the draped youth, SF-65-14, can be found in Bookidis 1988, pp. 18-21. Additional fragments of the statue were found on the Lower Terrace and the head near Pit B in P:24-25 on the Middle Terrace (p. 242, note 13 above). The arm is SF-65-27, the chest SF-65-16. These, as well as all of the other terracotta sculpture from the Sanctuary, will be published separately in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

²⁵ The first pair of cuttings begins 1.75 to 1.90 m. south of the deep bedrock cutting at the base of the Upper Terrace. The cuttings are ca. 0.50 m. wide and are spaced 1.25 m. apart. The western cutting lies at an elevation of +176.415 m., or 1.67 m., above the deep bedding to the north. The second pair occurs 2.60 (east)-2.20 m. (west) further south; these cuttings are 1.60 m. apart, and their floors lie at +177.28 m. (east) to 177.26 m. (west), or 0.85 m. above pair 1. The third pair occur 2.40 m. further south, about on line with step 10 of the theatral area. The eastern of the two cuttings is irregular in outline, perhaps comprising two cuttings, with a combined width of 0.80 m. The distance between the two is ca. 1.20 to 1.50 m.; their respective elevations are +178.03 (east) to +178.39 m. (west), or ca. 0.95 to 1.03 m. above pair 2.

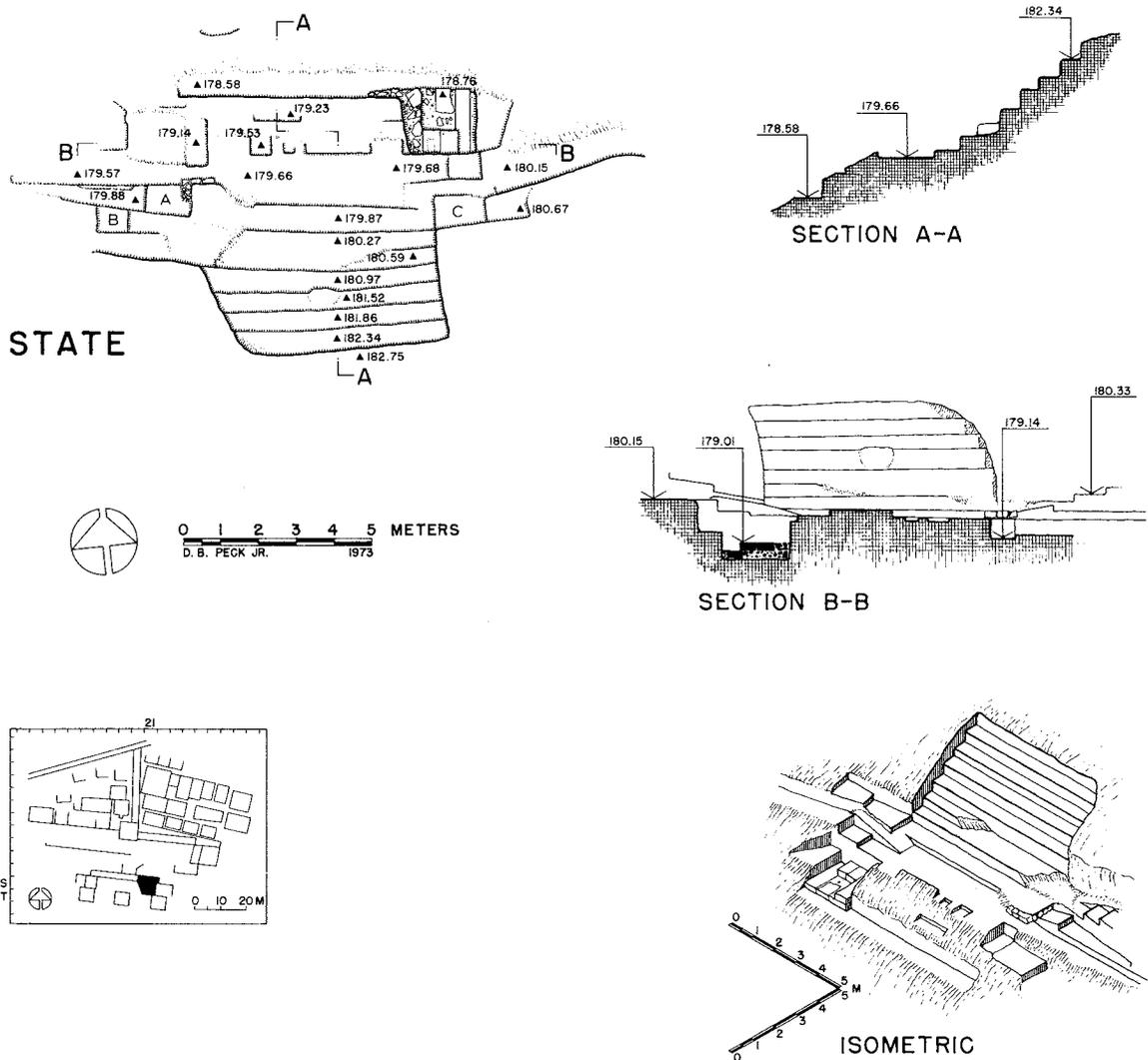


FIG. 37. Plan: Theater, S-T:21

Like the central steps of the theatral area, the theater consists solely of cuttings in bedrock; no worked blocks can be associated with it. The earth that buried the cavea accumulated from Late Roman to Byzantine times. By contrast, the fill that covered the orchestra seemingly dated to the 3rd century B.C. but can have been deposited no earlier than the 1st century after Christ, when the retaining wall for the Roman temple platform was constructed.

The state of preservation of the theater is generally good. Of the cavea all but the northwest corner and parts of the three lowest steps still remain; the orchestra to the north of the cavea, however, has been cut by the foundations for the east wing of the Roman stairway. It is therefore not always clear exactly which cuttings belong to the theater, which are later, or which are earlier but were reused by the Romans. In the description that follows we have limited ourselves to the remains that appear to us to belong to the Greek theater for the sake of greater clarity; a comparison of the state plan of the theater in Figure 37 with that of the Greek Upper Terrace in

Figure 36, the Roman Upper Terrace in Figure 52, as well as Plan 5, showing the Sanctuary in 275 B.C., should make clear what we have assigned to each period.²⁶

In keeping with the buildings in the rest of the Sanctuary, the theater is small in scale. The cavea is 6.40 m. wide at maximum and 3.30 m. deep. It consists of six broad steps cut into the sloping bedrock. The steps vary from 0.40 to 0.60 m. in width and 0.30 to 0.40 m. in height; individual dimensions are listed below. While they are sufficiently high for sitting, the steps are not very deep, with the result that those sitting in one row could have been incommoded by the feet of those in the next row above. Nevertheless, our experiments have shown that it is possible to seat 85 people with a minimum of discomfort. When we compare this number with an estimated capacity of 800 for the theater in the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon or of several thousand for the Periklean Telesterion at Eleusis,²⁷ the sum is strikingly small, and it emphasizes the difference in attendance and perhaps also in worship at the three sites.

At the base of step 6 is a seventh, which is as wide as the others but only 0.14–0.18 m. high. Its north face is not sharply cut for the entire width of the seating area but bleeds into sloping bedrock at either end. Different, therefore, from the other six steps, step 7 simply may have divided the cavea from the orchestra.

The dimensions of the cavea as a whole and of each step are as follows:

Cavea: L. (east–west): 4.45 (south) to est. 6.40 m. (north)

W. (north–south): 2.90 (east) to 3.50 m. (west)²⁸

Steps, from the top, or south, down:

| | HEIGHT | WIDTH | LENGTH |
|----|--------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | 0.25–0.30 m. | 0.40–0.45 m. | 5.60 m. (front) |
| 2. | 0.30–0.35 m. | 0.50 m. | 5.50 m. |
| 3. | 0.30 m. | 0.40–0.60 m. | 6.15 m. |
| 4. | 0.30 m. | 0.55–0.60 m. | 6.15 m. |
| 5. | 0.30–0.35 m. | 0.50 m. | p.L. 3.30 m.; est. L. 6.30 m. |
| 6. | 0.25–0.30 m. | 0.40–0.45 m. | p.L. 6.00 m.; est. L. 6.40 m. |
| 7. | 0.14–0.18 m. | 0.50–0.65 m. | p.L. 6.00 m.; est. L. 6.40 m. |

A striking feature of the theater is the fact that it is not semi-circular but rectilinear. Its form may be explained by its small size and by the fact that it is cut into the steep, hard bedrock, for a rectilinear plan is more compact and possibly easier to execute.²⁹

Because of the varying degrees in hardness of the rock, certain irregularities are apparent in the plan. For example, while the east side of the cavea is oriented due north–south and lies at a right angle to the south side, the west side splays out from southeast to northwest. Thus, the cavea is wider at the base of step 7 than it is at the top of step 1. Similarly, the steps that comprise the seats are irregularly cut, tending to bow out toward the center and to have uneven

²⁶ When we first excavated the theater, we assumed that all of the cuttings belonged to it, and that the whole, moreover, was of Roman date, Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 307–309. Subsequent study of the entire Upper Terrace has led us to the conclusion that while the theater is Greek, the cuttings belong to more than one period. We wish to thank David Peck for bringing this to our attention.

²⁷ If we allow *ca.* 0.50 m. per person, we estimate that approximately 2,850 people could have sat or stood on the steps in the Periklean Telesterion. For the capacity of the theater in the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon, see Ginouvès 1972, p. 67.

²⁸ The width is measured to the face of step 6.

²⁹ It is also tempting to attribute the rectilinear plan to an early date. Since, however, there is absolutely no way of determining the date of the theater's construction, we cannot use this as a criterion. For a discussion of rectilinear plans, see E. G. Gebhard, *The Theater at Isthmia*, Chicago 1973, p. 15, note 13.

surfaces. These variations are entirely haphazard. Because of them, however, the steps may never have been faced with stone.

No built walls enclose the cavea; in their place are the low rock scarps created by the cutting of the steps. Along the south, or back, this scarp rises to 0.40 (on southeast)–0.80 (on southwest) m. above the back seat and on either side to 0.60–0.90 m. The surface of the rock surrounding the cavea is smooth, and it is therefore unlikely that the area was ever roofed.

To the north of step 7 a level surface (+179.66 m.) 6.40 m. wide extends north for 1.45 m. Despite its small scale, we have for convenience designated this portion the “orchestra.” Its northern limits are given by a projecting lip of bedrock 0.16 m. high, the top of which is about equal to the top of step 7.³⁰ It is possible that both step 7 and the projecting lip were designed to retain a stone paving for the “orchestra”; if this was the case, however, the paving must have been adjusted to a gentle upward slope in the surface of the orchestra toward both east and west sides. North of the projecting lip, bedrock slopes downward at an angle of 30 degrees toward the Middle Terrace. A short distance north of this lip a broad bedding (labeled 46B in Fig. 52; see also Fig. 37) for an east–west wall is cut into the slope. It is clearly visible in the foreground of Plate 46:a and to the left in Plate 46:b. The cutting is a part of the Roman stairway system and will therefore be discussed in Chapter 12.

Approximately 10.00 m. north of the projecting lip the sloping surface of bedrock was limited by the retaining wall described above (p. 256). Now no longer preserved, the wall extended from Q:20 to at least Q:22 and kept earth and pottery, such as the two votive “nests” described above, from washing down from the Upper Terrace onto the Middle Terrace. For this purpose the wall need not have been very high. In the Hellenistic period the area to the north of this wall formed the Central Courtyard, described in Chapter 8. Since the small theater faced directly onto it, the true orchestra of the theater may not have been the narrow platform at the base of the cavea so much as the large Central Courtyard on the Middle Terrace. In such a case, the “orchestra” at the base of the cavea may simply have facilitated access to the seats or, alternatively, may have been used for simpler exegeseis while the Courtyard below was used for dances or enactments of some sort. Some idea of the relative positions of the theater and court can be had from Plate 51:a, where the theater is visible in the upper right corner and the court is flush with the leveled bedrock that extends back from the foreground of the photograph (see above, p. 247).

The entrance to the theater lay on the west side of the orchestra roughly on line with step 7. Two phases are represented by pairs of cuttings marked, respectively, A and B in Figure 37. Using them, we can restore two successive *paradoi*, which led down into the theater from the west (Fig. 37, Section B–B, isometric; Plan 8).

The northern pair of cuttings, A, presumably the earlier, does not follow the orientation of the cavea steps but is turned 12 degrees to the southeast. Possibly when the cuttings were in use, the approach to the theater was through the steps 1–11 described earlier in this chapter. The cuttings consist of a level bedding 3.00 m. long, lying 0.19 m. (+179.88 m.) above the floor of the orchestra. It is interrupted at the east by an oblique cutting 1.29 m. long by 0.85 m. wide, the floor of which rises 0.15 m., then slopes down at an angle of 16 degrees toward the orchestra to end 0.15 m. above that floor (+179.84 m.), or 0.07 m. below the top of step 7.³¹ Given the various changes of height in these cuttings, we assume that they originally supported limestone blocks that formed a level floor at the west, followed by a short ramp to the east.

³⁰ Part of this terrace was again used in Roman times to support the south retaining wall for one wing of a double stairway that led up to the temple platform to the south (p. 374, note 133 below). Since further west the thickness of wall bedding 44 is no more than 0.30 m., it is unlikely that the entire trimmed terrace north of step 7 was made in Roman times. We therefore assume that the flat terrace was Greek and was simply reused by the Romans for that portion of their retaining wall.

³¹ See Figure 37, Section B–B.

When bedding 44, described above, was cut across the back of the theatral area, the entrance to the theater was shifted slightly to the south on line with the face of step 6 in the cavea. The new parados (B) was now 1.25 m. wide, measured from the south face of the terrace retaining wall. It consisted of the sloping floor of the terrace, now badly eroded, followed by three broad steps, two of which survive. The top of the first step lies at an elevation of +180.51 m., or roughly 0.30 m. below the western end of this narrow terrace by Temple S-T:16-17. The steps measure 0.80 m. long and, respectively, 0.18 (+180.33 m.) and 0.21 m. (+180.12 m.) high. The eastern edge of step 2 has now eroded, but since it stands 0.25 m. above the top of step 7, one more step would have been necessary to bridge the gap. We further estimate that the southern edge of parados B marked the beginning of the rock scarp that closed off the west side of the cavea. Today that scarp lies 0.60 m. further south, probably the result of erosion and some trimming during excavation.³²

The western parados B is mirrored by its counterpart on the east side of the cavea, marked C in Figure 37 (Section B-B). The eastern parados consists of two sloping, stepped beddings that rise to the east from the orchestra. The lower, or western, of the two lies 0.18 m. (+180.14-180.34 m.) above the top of step 7 and is 1.25 m. long east-west by 0.80 m. wide. It rises at an angle of 11 degrees to a second step 0.19 m. high (+180.53-180.67 m.) and 1.15 m. long, the surface of which slopes at 8 degrees. Bedrock rises once again 0.20 m. and continues to rise gently toward the east retaining wall. Along the north side of these cuttings bedrock is trimmed to form a sloping ramp 0.15 m. lower than the parados steps. It is only preserved for a width of 0.25 m., for it, in turn, is cut by two rectangular beddings for the Roman stairway. The eastern parados opened onto the court that extended from the east side of the cavea 6.90 m. east to the south return of bedding 44. Today we see only sloping bedrock, together with two limestone paving slabs near its southern limits, which may be either Classical or Roman in date (p. 373 below). What functions were carried on here, if any, can no longer be determined, for the Roman East Temple T-U:22 to the south has removed all traces of earlier remains.

When we began to excavate the theater, we found it buried in steeply sloping layers of earth to a height of 1.00-1.25 m. and more above bedrock (Fig. 38). A few Byzantine sherds, found in the surface stratum 1 that covered the top two or three steps, suggest that the back half of the cavea lay exposed for several centuries before filling up.³³ Beneath the surface soil the earth was fairly gray-brown and sandy, mixed with bits of limestone, fieldstones, and fragmentary tiles (lot 6500; Fig. 38, A, stratum 2). As we dug down, we noted increasing amounts of mud brick mixed in with the gravelly earth (lots 6501, 6502; Fig. 38, B, strata 3, 4). The gravelly earth mixed with mud brick was retained by a formless mass of rubble and pieces of worked limestone, which lay in an east-west line over the center of the orchestra, beginning *ca.* 0.75 m. north of step 7 (Fig. 38, B). Resting on bedrock, the stones were piled to a height of *ca.* 0.40 m. Among them was a limestone block worked with a fascia and cavetto, deriving from an unknown monument of the late 4th century B.C., if not later.³⁴

To the east and north of these stones we uncovered an intermediate layer *ca.* 0.10-0.20 m. thick, approximately level with the top of the stones (Fig. 38, A, stratum 3). The earth in this layer was an ashy black; since some pottery and animal bones in it had been burnt, the fill was probably brought from a place of sacrifice to be discarded here (lot 6503). It, in turn, rested on the same gravelly fill that we found further south (lot 6504; Fig. 38, A, stratum 4; B, stratum 5), with the addition of a concentrated patch of broken Classical roof tiles that covered the eastern end of step 7. Over the slope north of the orchestra the depth of fill was uniformly shallow.

³² The position of that rock scarp is marked by a heavy black line in Figure 37.

³³ The lowest Byzantine sherd was recovered in the first basket of stratum 2, which covered step 2.

³⁴ Chapter 16, 94. See cutting T:19 below.

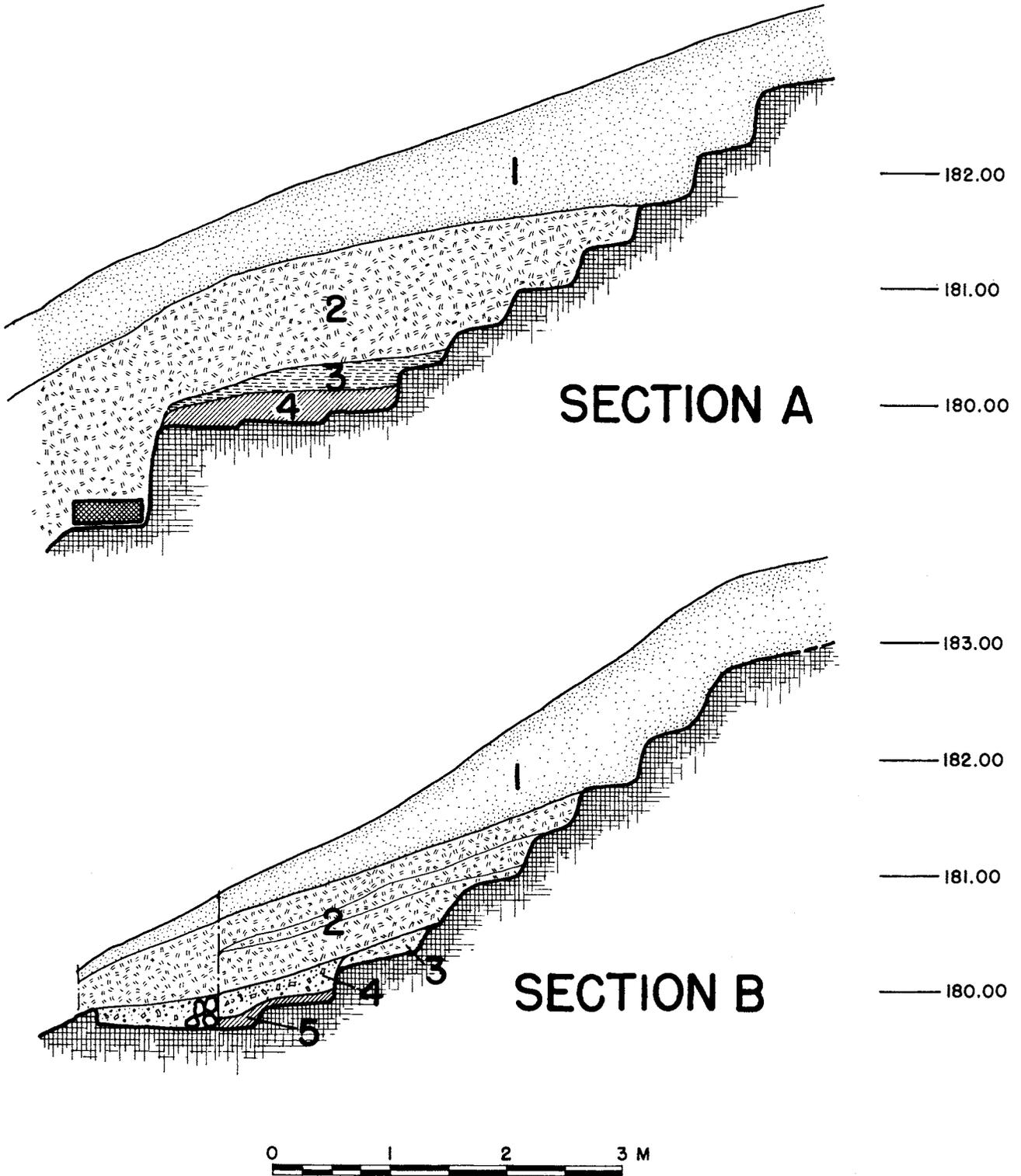


FIG. 38. Two cross-sections through Theater S-T:21

A. East end of theater, looking east. [1] Surface; [2] General fill (lot 6500); [3] Miniature hydria deposit (lot 6503); [4] Fill over orchestra (lot 6504)

B. Center of theater, looking east. [1] Surface; [2] General fill (lot 6500); [3] General fill (lot 6501); [4] General fill (lot 6502); [5] Fill over orchestra (lot 6504)

Pottery from the excavation of the theater was abundant. Thirteen full baskets were recovered from the theater cavea alone. Among the many sherds votive miniatures predominated, in particular kalathiskoi and kernos-type offering trays, but figurines and lamps were also present. Below step 2 or 3 and down to the top of step 6 the Classical votive pottery was mixed with a handful of Late Roman sherds (lot 6500; Fig. 38, A, stratum 2). Below that level, the contents were almost uniformly late 4th to 3rd century B.C. in date, but again with Roman additions.

The black layer was especially rich in votives, and a nest of whole miniature hydriai was concentrated at the eastern end of the cavea on top of step 6 (Fig. 38, A, stratum 3). The pottery from this deposit (lot 6503) has been discussed by Elizabeth Pemberton.³⁵ Although some pieces date to the 5th century B.C., most are Hellenistic, extending down to the later 3rd century B.C. The predominance of miniature hydriai is both interesting and important, for it reflects the general Hellenistic trend in this Sanctuary to replace the kalathiskos by the hydria. In addition to these votives we also recovered 190 fragments of figurines. Among these the predominant type is that of girls carrying pigs, some examples of which also belong to the later 3rd century B.C. With them were animal bones (bone lot 70-50), 24 lamps, a few other offerings such as bronze rings and part of a marble pyxis, as well as two bronze coins of the Pegasos/Trident series (70-128, 70-129).³⁶ With this material, however, were the disc of a Roman lamp of Broneer type XXVIII, dating no earlier than the 3rd century after Christ, and a piece of Roman blown glass.

The lowest layer (Fig. 38, A, stratum 4; B, stratum 5), of mud brick and gravelly earth (lot 6504), also contained material of the late 4th to 3rd century B.C. but without Roman contamination. This would imply that the "orchestra" was covered over in the Hellenistic period together with step 7. Such a hypothesis seems unlikely, however. The fill covers the line of the terrace wall bedding 44, which, in the Roman period, extended across the orchestra to retain the three temples to the south and to form the south wall of the monumental stairway leading up to those temples. Since everywhere else the Romans cut their foundations for the stairway to bedrock, it is unlikely that they would have built here on top of the earth. The irregular mass of rubble found over the center of the orchestra, in fact, broke along the line of the Roman wall, suggesting that it and the fill to the south formed part of the Roman packing for the terrace. Furthermore, as we mentioned above, among the stones that covered the center of the orchestra was a block of a monument that can have been no earlier than the late 4th century B.C. It is therefore more likely that this material was deposited when the retaining wall for the Roman temple platform was constructed. With the building of that wall, the entire theater was covered to the height of the back of the cavea, for the northwest corner of the East Roman Temple, T-U:22, covered the eastern ends of the top three steps.

When was the theater constructed? There is no way of knowing. Its connection with the Hellenistic temple in S-T:16-17 indicates that it was certainly created by the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. Moreover, the evidence for a western *parados* that preceded the building of the terrace wall suggests that the theater already existed. Earlier in this chapter we hypothesized that the theater succeeded the steps of the theatral area as a gathering place, but since we cannot date those steps, we can only propose a relative sequence with no fixed beginning. In the restored plans of the Sanctuary we have placed the theatral area in the 5th century B.C. (Plan 4), with the theater added sometime in the 4th century B.C. (Plan 5). We cannot ignore the possibility, however, that this sequence began earlier, namely, that the central steps were first cut in the 6th and the theater thereafter in the 5th century B.C.

³⁵ *Corinth XVIII*, i, Group 9, pp. 103-105; the shapes are tabulated therein. This account should be emended to include the two bronze coins of the Pegasos/Trident series mentioned in our text. Pemberton states that the deposit was found in the east corner of step 5. It was, in fact, found on step 6.

³⁶ For 70-129, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, no. 30, p. 325.

HELLENISTIC TEMPLE(?), BUILDING S-T:16-17 (Figs. 36, 50; Plan 9 C-C)

At the southwest corner of the Greek Upper Terrace at the opposite end from the theater lies an isolated one-room building, S-T:16-17. Very little remains of this structure apart from the cuttings for east, south, and west walls, three small foundation blocks in the east wall, and a fourth block at the southwest corner of the building. The cuttings for the stairway in the Roman period have considerably confused the area immediately to the north, and the interior is thoroughly gutted. Despite the building's poor state of preservation, we can make some observations about those parts that have survived, and although we can draw no firm conclusions about its full plan or its function, we can nevertheless offer some suggestions. The area surrounding this building is shown at the upper right of Plates 43:a and 45:a. Since, however, it could not be photographed from a good enough angle to satisfy our needs, we have limited illustrations to Plan 7, Figure 36, to the elevations in Plan 8, to section drawings in Figure 50 and Plan 9, Section C-C, and one detail in Plate 45:c.

Building S-T:16-17 is small in scale. Measured from the outside limits of its cuttings it is *ca.* 4.55 m. wide from east to west and 4.60-5.00 m. long from north to south. It does not follow the southwesterly orientation of the steps in R:17-18 but is oriented north-south. Because of the considerable slope of the hillside here, the bedding for the south wall lies 1.30 m. above the northwest corner of the building; the beddings, moreover, are not completely level but step up from north to south and down from east to west. Within the single room the surface of bedrock also slopes sharply downward from south to north. The areas to east and west of the building generally continue the slope within it, while to the north bedrock is considerably lower. Only outside the northeast corner of the building has a small area of bedrock been intentionally leveled for a distance of 1.70 m. north-south by 2.00 m. east-west. As discussed below, the entrance to the structure probably lay here.

In greater detail, the bedding for the south wall consists of a channel 0.45 m. wide cut into the natural sloping bedrock (+182.21 m.); the south face of the channel is a vertical rock scarp 1.00 m. high; the north face makes a low lip. From the southeast corner the bedding extends west at a uniform level for 3.50 m., then drops 0.64 m. to continue another 1.05 m. to the southwest corner of the building. At the base of this drop lies a limestone block 0.60 m. long, 0.435 m. wide, and 0.29 m. thick.

The bedding for the west wall is 0.45 to 0.60 m. wide and 4.95 m. long. It steps down 0.63 m. at 1.77 m. from the southwest corner and continues level thereafter to end against a low outcropping of bedrock *ca.* 0.18 m. wide from north to south. Projecting no more than 0.03 m. above the cutting's floor, the surface of this outcropping has been trimmed flat. What may be a large posthole 0.34 m. wide and 0.30 m. deep cuts through the western edge of the bedding at 0.16 m. from its northern end and 0.22 m. from the eastern edge.

The 0.55 m.-wide bedding for the east wall lies 0.64 m. below the base of the south wall. From this wall it extends north 1.30 m., drops 0.62 m., to continue north another 1.30 m. Here, 3.05 m. from the southeast corner of the building, the bedding widens to 0.85 m. This northern section, 1.35 m. long, is not uniformly level, for the eastern 0.55 m. is cut down 0.20 m. In this deeper cutting two blocks remain in their original positions as well as a third to the south of them (Pl. 45:c). Two of these three blocks are clearly reused architectural fragments; all three form the foundations for an overlying course, which was undoubtedly the threshold for the building's entrance.³⁷ We shall return to this below. The bedding ends in a cutting 0.73 m. wide from

³⁷ Block 1, the southernmost of the three, is 0.07 m. thick, at least 0.46 m. long, and 0.38 m. wide. It is worked smoothly and preserves patches of thin white stucco painted red on one broad face. A metope comes to mind as a parallel, but with so little preserved, almost any interpretation is possible. Block 2 preserves part of an unfluted shaft, originally estimated to have been 0.33-0.35 m. in diameter, rising from a plinth *ca.* 0.19 m. thick; because

east to west by 0.34 m. from north to south and 0.10 m. deep. To the north of this cutting bedrock slopes down to the north. Another posthole, 0.35–0.40 m. wide and 0.35 m. deep, cuts into the northeast corner of the bedding. Since neither this hole nor its western mate is related to the axis of either east or west wall, both should be separated from the building phase under discussion. Whether they are earlier or later than the Hellenistic temple is unknown.

There is no comparable foundation for the north wall of Building S–T:16–17. In its place we find several other features. The first of these is the bedding 44 for the terrace wall that extended across the back of the theatral area in the Hellenistic period. Beginning roughly 4.50 m. west of the Hellenistic temple, bedding 44 runs along its north side and continues east to S:23. The east and west walls of the temple, however, do not extend up to the bedding but are separated from it by low outcroppings of bedrock 0.31–0.34 m. wide. Because bedrock drops steadily away to the north, the bedding of 44 lies 0.39 m. below the west wall bedding of the temple and 0.456 m. below the east.

A second feature is a rectangular cutting for a pier or post, which lies roughly midway between the northern ends of both east and west foundations, or 1.45 m. from the east foundation and 1.53 m. from the west. Its southern edge falls 3.70 m. north of the south wall and 0.95 m. south of wall 44. At most 0.30 m. deep, the cutting is 0.60 m. long north–south by 0.45 m. wide east–west. Its floor is level with the northern end of the east wall bedding and only 0.04 m. below the west wall bedding. Its orientation, position, and absolute elevation suggest that it was a part of the building.

A third feature is an east–west cutting that lies just south of bedding 44 and extends from roughly the line of the east wall to the western edge of the rectangular central cutting just described. Its orientation is somewhat more southeasterly than that of the Hellenistic temple, closer to that of an isolated cutting in the southeast corner of R:17 and of the steps further north in R:17–18. All these cuttings may, therefore, be earlier than the building in question.

That the Hellenistic temple had a north wall and was not simply open on that side will be clear when we consider the restoration of its interior. Therefore, the options for determining its position are two. We can restore a north wall on that portion of bedding 44 which fronts Building S–T:16–17. Troubling for this restoration, however, is the fact that the beddings for the east and west walls do not actually join bedding 44 but end 0.31–0.34 m. south of it. For that reason we propose to restore a north wall where both east and west walls of the temple end, founding it in part on bedrock, in part on the terrace wall of bedding 44. This restoration appears in Plan 5.

If the wall block that still lies in the southwest corner of S–T:16–17 is an indication of the thickness of the overlying walls, then these will have been 0.43 m.³⁸ Whether the walls were stone to the roof, however, we cannot say. With the four walls restored as we have suggested, the exterior dimensions of the building would have been at least 5.00 m. from north to south by 4.40 m. from east to west.

The entrance to the temple lay on the east side. We have already described the narrow terrace (44) that ran along the back of the theatral area to connect the theater in S–T:21 with this building. From an elevation of +180.51 m. by *parados* B, the floor of this terrace must have risen to the west

the block has been considerably cut down to fit its present position, its complete dimensions cannot be determined. Block 3, measuring 0.70 m. long, 0.22 m. wide, and 0.18 m. thick, has no distinctive working.

³⁸ The four extant blocks of Wall 44 resemble this single block. They are set up, however, on the narrow end so that the retaining wall was only 0.29–0.30 m. thick. It is unlikely that the walls of the Hellenistic temple were so thin, for it is difficult to see how they could have supported a roof. Such a thickness (or thinness) also does not explain the dimensions of the wall beddings.

until it reached a roughly leveled, small platform outside Building S–T:16–17 that is 2.00 m. long from east to west by 1.70 m. deep from north to south. This small platform is limited along the south by an abrupt rise in bedrock, to the north by bedding 44. Although its present floor slopes somewhat from its southern edge (+181.09 m.) to the north (+180.71 m.), in the center (+180.86 m.) it is only 0.35 m. higher than the top step of *parados* B.

The southern limits of this small terrace lie just south of the point where the bedding for the east wall of the temple, widened to 0.85 m., is partially filled by the three foundation blocks, described above. These, then, form the underpinnings for the door. The two, northernmost blocks give a maximum width of 1.00 m. for the opening; the deeper oblong cutting to the north would have held the northern door jamb, while the southernmost of the three blocks could have formed part of the support for the southern jamb. In order to determine the height of the threshold, however, we must first consider the interior disposition of the building.

The room is *ca.* 3.50 m. wide from east to west and an estimated 4.20 m. long from north to south. Within it we find the rectangular pier cutting, described above in conjunction with the north wall, and sloping bedrock. As Section C–C of Plan 9 reveals, that surface is relatively level in the northern half of the room, except for one or two bedrock outcroppings, which do not appear on the section line, but in the southern half it rises sharply at an angle of 25–30 degrees to the base of the south wall bedding, 1.30 m. above the northwest corner of the building. This surface is generally uneven and is devoid of cuttings. A natural fissure in the bedrock begins roughly 2.60 m. south of bedding 44 and 0.62 m. in from the west wall and runs through that wall and off to the northwest. From the line of the west wall and westward the sides of the fissure are trimmed to a depth of 0.26 m. This artificial trimming suggests that the fissure functioned as a drain.

Because the height of bedrock differs so much between the north and south sides of the room, we can reconstruct the interior in at least two different ways. We can restore a uniform floor, level with the base of the south wall, or +182.22 m., that rested on a fill as deep as 1.25 to 1.30 m. on the north side of the room. A threshold that projected somewhat above the floor would have had a minimum elevation of +182.24 m. Since the existing foundations for the door are no higher than +180.98 m., or 1.26 m. below such a threshold, a flight of steps would have been necessary to bridge this gap. With risers of 0.24 m. four steps in addition to the threshold would have been needed in the area of the small entrance court.

Alternatively, we can break the floor within the room by restoring a podium, 1.66 m. wide by at least 0.77 m. high, across the south side to mask the higher bedrock there and by confining the floor to the northern half. The minimum elevation for such a floor is +181.45 m. At that level the difference in elevation between the existing foundation for the door and the interior floor is reduced to 0.50 m. Thus, a single step 0.40 m. deep, placed on the existing foundation, in front of and below the threshold, would have been sufficient to give access to the room.

In addition to the podium, a drain connected with the bedrock fissure may also have existed. What purpose the pier on the north side of the room served is unclear, unless it was absorbed within the full thickness of the north wall and helped to tie that wall to the terrace of bedding 44.

Parallels for small buildings with an interior podium are not difficult to find, although one with such a width as this is less common. For example, in the contemporary Temple of Demeter and Kore at Priene a podium 1.00 m. wide and 1.23 m. high runs the length of two walls and once supported statues, the cuttings for which still remain.³⁹ In ancient Aigeira to the west of Corinth the Hellenistic Temple of Tyche was furnished with a podium 1.17 m. wide by 0.90 m. high;⁴⁰ the

³⁹ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, p. 152.

⁴⁰ For the building, see the preliminary report by W. Altzinger, "Aigeira, 1987," *Öjh* 58, 1988, Grabungen [pp. 11–13], p. 13. The dimensions are from personal observation by Bookidis.

podium in Naikos D, the so-called Temple of Zeus, was even wider, measuring 3.80 m. deep and 0.80 m. high. This, however, was a later addition to the 3rd-century B.C. building.⁴¹ Although the dimensions of the podium here are entirely hypothetical, as is the podium itself, any reduction of its width requires a corresponding elevation of the floor and threshold. Nevertheless, of the two restorations the second is more in keeping with the local Greek building tradition found in other parts of the Sanctuary. Good parallels exist on the Lower Terrace for couches that are bedded on uneven bedrock without trimmed beddings, which mask higher bedrock to the south.⁴²

Any restoration of a building is tied to its function. A building as small as ours cannot have been designed to serve crowds of worshippers. Smaller than many of the dining rooms, it can only have held a few people at a time. If we are correct in connecting it to the theater by means of the narrow terrace, then it could have been a repository for sacred objects, displayed to initiates at festival time, or a temple for cult statues of Demeter and Kore that were either never seen—if the prohibition recorded by Pausanias (2.4.7) was valid in earlier times—or only processed on occasion. A room either with or without a broad podium could have served such a purpose. A table for offerings and a drain to carry off ablutions could have completed its furnishings.

But like virtually every building in the Sanctuary, its form, if a temple, was not canonical. The irregular placement of the door at the northeast corner negates a columnar façade. In its place we envisage a small roofed building with plain ashlar walls on four sides similar in form to the *oikos* on the Middle Terrace. To the west of it was an open court roughly 3.20 m. wide, enclosed on the west by the southern return of wall 44. To the east beyond the small entrance court bedrock rises abruptly in two stages. Here four isolated rectangular cuttings, marked on Plan 7, must have supported freestanding dedications such as 92, Chapter 16, or perhaps even some of the terracotta statues found in various parts of the Sanctuary.⁴³

Given that little remains but bedrock cuttings, it is virtually impossible to date this building. A rough *terminus post quem* is suggested by the architectural fragments incorporated into the east foundations. Their workmanship probably indicates that they derive from dismantled buildings of Classical date. We earlier suggested that the construction of terrace wall 44 took place in Early Hellenistic times. A further impetus could have been provided by the demolition of the *oikos* on the Middle Terrace at the end of the 4th or in the early 3rd century B.C. and the need to find a successor to this building, albeit smaller. At the same time, the Hellenistic temple may not have been the first construction on this site. An oblique cutting along the northern edge of the temple, a second in R:17, and the steps further north in R:17–18 may be faint remains of some sort of predecessor.

⁴¹ S. Gogos, "II. Naikoi beim Theater," in W. Alzinger *et al.*, "Aigeira-Hyperesia und die Siedlung Phello in Achaia," *Klio* 68, 1986 [pp. 6–62], pp. 32–38.

⁴² See, for example, Building M–N:20–26, Room 3. In the case of Buildings M–N:25–26 and N:28, both of which enclose steeply sloping bedrock, the rock is trimmed only for footings for couches or wall blocks for a short distance along the high south side of both rooms. Thereafter, the stones are laid on the natural, sloping surface. This practice is especially common with rubble walls that can conform more easily to uneven surfaces than cut blocks.

⁴³ These cuttings are as follows, beginning at the north and working south. A single cutting lies just south of the small entrance court and 1.00 m. east of S–T:16–17. It measures 0.85 m. east–west by 0.55 m. north–south; its floor lies at +181.63 m. *Ca.* 0.75 m. south of this is a second cutting, or rather pair of cuttings, consisting of a higher bedding at the east, 0.55 m. east–west by 0.50 m. north–south (+182.725 m.), and a deeper cutting beside it (+182.502 m.) to the west that is 0.65 m. east–west by 0.50 m. north–south; in the latter are two fieldstones in a row. Roughly 0.30 m. south of this pair and west of it are two more cuttings. The first is 0.45 m. east–west by 0.55 m. north–south (+183.097 m.). The second, which lies just to the southeast of the southeast corner of Building S–T:16–17, is only 0.35 m. wide east–west by 0.30 m. deep north–south (+183.10 m.).

The building was dismantled when or by the time that the West Temple T:16–17 was built immediately to the south of it in the later 1st century after Christ. The north wall of that building must have overlapped the earlier south wall, while an artificial terrace undoubtedly covered the rest. The earth that covered the remains of the Hellenistic temple does not belong to this period, however. Overlying the stripped bedrock was a deep stratum of soft earth containing the debris of the Roman temple—broken blocks, roof tiles, pieces of lead casing—as well as Archaic and Classical votives and Late Roman pottery of the 3rd to 4th century after Christ (Fig. 50, strata 1, 2, 5 on p. 358; lot 6638). A Byzantine coin (70-528: 12th–13th century), recovered immediately to the east of the building, shows that disturbances continued until late.

CUTTING, T:19

One final feature must be described, although we are uncertain of both its date and its function. It is a large rectangular cutting in T:19, in the high bedrock surface that stands well above the theatral area, roughly midway between the theater and the Hellenistic temple. Its southern edge is aligned with the inner face of the south wall of the temple, an alignment that suggests a possible relation between the two structures. The cutting lies beneath the façade of the Roman Temple T–U:19, but because it seems to serve no obvious purpose in that building, we tentatively associate it with the Hellenistic enhancement of the Upper Terrace.

The cutting is a broad, flat bedding 3.21 m. long from east to west by 1.23 m. wide from north to south (Pl. 45:b). Its floor (+182.569 m.) lies approximately 2.00 m. above the floor of bedding 44. The northern limits of the bedding in T:19 are unclear, for bedrock drops sharply downward; several cuttings in this steep slope may also be related to it. On the other hand, they would require a considerable elevation of the retaining wall for terrace 44, a wall we have already suggested was low. A smaller cutting 0.60 m. by 0.81 m. was made into the floor of the cutting at 1.18 m. from its eastern edge and 0.37 m. from its southern edge. Whether this belongs to the same phase is unclear. Too small for a building, the cutting might have supported a large monument. We have mentioned already an orthostate block with a cavetto base molding, which was recovered from above the orchestra of the theater (Chapter 16, 94). Using this block, the length and width of which are, respectively, 0.55 and 0.445 m., we can restore a monument 3.195 m. long by 1.10 m. or more wide, composed of five block lengths and a single width for its long axis and two block lengths for its width. Three parallel cuttings in the bedrock to the northeast of the bedding could well have supported steps that led up to it from the region of *parados B*. A monument base to support a large dedication would not be out of place here; we have mentioned already the cuttings for smaller bases that lay just to the east of this. Furthermore, opportunities for such offerings must have been abundant. Might not Timoleon have made such a dedication upon the successful completion of his campaign in Sicily, a campaign that was blessed by the goddesses themselves? Its position at the top of the Upper Terrace would certainly have given it a prominence above all other such dedications.

CONCLUSIONS

Dedications such as T:19 were only one aspect of the multiple functions served by the Upper Terrace, an aspect, however, that may go back to the beginnings of the Sanctuary's use. As we have seen, two deposits of votive miniatures may reflect the earliest use of this area. In addition, a central stepped area provided the first gathering place for worshipers or initiates. Replaced by the more formal theater in the late 5th or 4th century B.C., the steps nevertheless continued to provide a means of access to the upper half of the slope. At some point, perhaps in the late

4th century B.C., a small building, tentatively identified as a temple, was added to the west of the theater in S-T:16-17 and the two were connected by a walkway, terrace 44. Whether the central steps continued to function in this period or were replaced by the staggered cuttings immediately to the west of them, we cannot say with any certainty. With these various buildings, cuttings, and dedications, the Upper Terrace lasted until the end of the Hellenistic phase of the Sanctuary. Under the Romans, it was completely rebuilt, but one element, at least, the temple, was retained and expanded.

THE LOWER TERRACE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

(Plans 1, 6)

H-O:12-25

In 146 B.C. the Roman army under the leadership of Lucius Mummius sacked the city of Corinth and dispersed its surviving population. At that time the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, although apparently undamaged, was abandoned and remained so for more than one hundred years. There is nothing to suggest that during these hundred years the Sanctuary buildings were dismantled except, perhaps, for their roofs. As a result, they must still have been visible when the first Roman worshipers began to visit the site in the first half of the 1st century after Christ.

It is difficult to reconstruct the earliest stages of Roman occupation of the Lower Terrace, or, indeed, of the Sanctuary as a whole. If we date that occupation by the earliest buildings they constructed, then there were no Romans on the site until the latter part of the 1st century after Christ, at which time they erected three small temples on the Upper Terrace and remodeled a building on the Lower Terrace, K-L:21-22. But these are not the earliest signs of Roman activity in the Sanctuary. A small amount of Early Roman pottery—some clearly ritualistic—was recovered from various parts of the site, including the construction fills for those first, truly Roman, buildings.¹ These pieces argue for a Roman presence on the site already in the first half of the 1st century after Christ; unfortunately, the ceramic material cannot be dated precisely. The numismatic evidence sheds more light on this question. We have found thirty bronze coins issued by the duoviri of Corinth from the time of Augustus to that of Galba. Of these, twenty were struck in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. The Roman imperial coins from our excavations show a similar pattern of chronological distribution.² Although their total number is not great, the preponderance of early issues is striking and might be surprising in a Sanctuary not occupied before the late 1st century after Christ. We would, therefore, prefer to place the earliest use of the Sanctuary by the Romans in the first half of the century, perhaps as early as the first quarter, if the evidence from the Hellenistic dining hall L-M:28 is indicative. It may be that this earliest worship was conducted in the open air, but if an architectural setting was necessary, any one of the standing Hellenistic structures could have been used. The evidence for such use on the Lower Terrace is inconclusive, however.

Before proceeding with an account of the Roman remains on the Lower Terrace, we preface our discussion with a few general remarks regarding the state of preservation of the Roman levels. In contrast to the rich succession of buildings that dominated the Lower Terrace from Archaic through Hellenistic times, the Roman remains are meager. Unprotected by later structures, these uppermost levels were those most subject to erosion and modern ploughing and are therefore the least well preserved. Accordingly, our understanding of the period is sadly incomplete. To the problem of poor preservation is added a further one, that of imprecise chronology. Because there is a general decline in the number and kinds of dedications given in the Sanctuary at this time, coarse and cooking wares tend to predominate over fine wares. Because these kinds of pottery are less closely datable in our present state of knowledge, our understanding of the chronological

¹ See *Corinth* XVIII, ii, pp. 4-5. Examples of ritual vessels are the phiale, *ibid.*, no. 141 (C-73-177), p. 65, the white-slipped thymiaterion, no. 143 (C-73-416), p. 66, and the coarse thymiaterion, no. 148 (C-73-251), p. 68, all from the construction fill for the Temple T-U:19. As Slane has shown, *ibid.*, pp. 64-71, these vases are difficult to date.

² A table of the duoviri and Early Roman imperial coins found in the Sanctuary is given below in Chapter 15 (p. 435).

sequence is, of necessity, much less definite. To some extent this ceramic imprecision can be corrected by coins, the dating of which, in this period, is much more exact. But the number of coins that were recovered from significant contexts is relatively small. For these reasons we have not attempted to subdivide the Roman period as we have the Greek but will treat the Lower Terrace as one unit from the 1st to the 4th centuries after Christ. For that same reason we have not made separate period plans but have combined all of the Roman architecture on one composite plan, Plan 6. We will deal with the remains that postdate the Sanctuary in Chapter 13.

The Roman builders of the late 1st century after Christ retained the earlier division of the Sanctuary into three terraces, erecting three temples on the Upper Terrace and a stoa in place of the Trapezoidal Building N-P:20-25 on the Middle Terrace. They made significant changes to the Lower Terrace as well, foremost among which was the abandonment of the setting for communal dining. The Hellenistic dining halls were all filled in, with the exception of Building K-L:21-22. This, however, was remodeled along quite different lines and came to serve, among other things, as a repository for curse tablets. Two rooms were added to the east of it, and a room with a bench may have been built in K:16, but, for the most part, the terrace was sparsely occupied. In addition, part or all of the monumental stairway was covered over. In its place an earthen walkway approached the Middle and Upper Terraces on the same line as the Hellenistic route but passed through an enlarged propylon in N-P:19-20.

The location of the Roman road leading to the Sanctuary is somewhat problematic. Presumably, the Classical and Hellenistic road at the base of the site continued in use. No surfaces, however, could be assigned to this period, nor is there any evidence that the earlier entrance to the Sanctuary in H-I:20 was either retained or replaced.

HELLENISTIC DINING BUILDINGS M:16-17, L-M:28

(Figs. 25 [p. 180], 26 [p. 181], 30 [p. 203], 31 [p. 209])

We begin our detailed account of the Lower Terrace in the Roman period with brief descriptions of two Hellenistic dining halls that best exhibit the historical sequence just described. Both must still have been standing in the early 1st century after Christ, and both contained some Early Roman material.

The first of these is the four-room dining complex M:16-17 (Fig. 30), where evidence for the Early Roman period is confined to the dining room, 1; the sitting room, 2, was filled with a deep layer of earth and rubble of Hellenistic date, while a Late Roman wall and associated floor effectively removed all earlier levels in the bath room, 3, and kitchen, 4.³ In the Hellenistic dining Room 1 a hard-packed layer 0.10-0.20 m. thick covered the clay floor (+170.00 m.) that had been in use at the time of the building's abandonment in 146 B.C. Mixed in with the earth of this stratum were numerous fragmentary roof tiles and sherds apparently dating no later than 146 B.C. (lot 3232; Fig. 31, Room 1, stratum 5).⁴ The striking hardness of the compacted soil of this layer suggests that its surface had been exposed for a considerable length of time either to the elements or to continued use, during the period of abandonment or early in the Sanctuary's reoccupation by the Romans.

On top of this surface was a layer *ca.* 0.18 m. thick of soft, dark brown earth (Fig. 31, Room 1, stratum 4) in which both stones and roof tiles were much more abundant than in the underlying level. In no way could this stratum represent a floor or reflect a period of use. It more closely resembled an accumulation of debris in an abandoned building. Among the sherds from this

³ Figure 31, Room 3, strata 2 and 3. For a description of the building in Hellenistic times, see Chapter 7 above. For Early Roman pottery possibly associated with the north wall of Room 3, see above, pp. 202, 206. Because the Late Roman wall and floor belong to the period after the Sanctuary had ceased to function, they are described below in Chapter 13.

⁴ The pottery in lot 3232 is described in detail in Chapter 7, note 89, p. 210.

stratum are parts of two plates tentatively assigned to the late 2nd century B.C., the period of abandonment, and several fragments of Early Roman date, most prominently, a deep basin with incised wave pattern and the figurine of a draped man (lots 3233, 3410), neither of which, however, could be closely dated.⁵

This soft layer accumulated while the building's walls (if not the roof, too) were still standing, for it was covered by a thick stratum of debris, apparently the result of an earthquake that toppled the south wall of the building (Fig. 31, Room 1, stratum 3). Three courses of blocks tumbled into Room 1, and with them came a great quantity of rubble, chunks of broken stones, over seven baskets of roof tiles, pieces of plaster, and seventeen baskets of pottery (lot 3230).⁶ Sixty-five catalogued objects, ranging from Archaic to Early Roman pottery, terracotta and marble sculpture, stone architecture, and a terracotta sima of Early Hellenistic date, reflect the variety of the material that surrounded and covered the fallen blocks. In addition to the thirty-five inventoried figurines, roughly 880 more fragments of varying types were recovered. Despite the wealth of finds, however, the material is of limited use in determining when this event took place. Of four bronze coins, one, 68-1144, is illegible, while the remaining three belong to the Greek Pegasos/Trident series, 68-1186, 68-1188, 68-1189. As for the pottery, Hellenistic shapes again predominate, and the few Roman fragments cannot be dated more precisely than to the 1st century after Christ.⁷ Either of two earthquakes, attested elsewhere in Corinth, could have caused this destruction—either that of A.D. 22/23 or that of A.D. 77.⁸ As we shall see, however, substantial destruction to the site caused by an earthquake in A.D. 77 would better explain the building program that completely changed the appearance of the Sanctuary in the late 1st century after Christ. After this, Building M:16–17 was not rebuilt but was completely abandoned until the end of the 4th or early 5th century after Christ, when parts of its south wall were put to a new use. They are described below in Chapter 13.

The Hellenistic dining hall L–M:28 (pp. 179–184 above, Fig. 25) differs slightly from M:16–17, for by the early 1st century after Christ the entire three-room complex had been filled in to a height of *ca.* 0.30 m., or to the couch tops in dining Room 2 and to *ca.* 0.10–0.20 m. above the bench top in sitting Room 3 (Fig. 26, strata 5, 8, 9). The pottery from this first layer over the Hellenistic floor, although not closely datable, is no later than the 2nd century B.C.⁹ A thin leveling stratum covered this layer (stratum 8) only on the east side of Room 3 (Fig. 26, detail), but nothing resembling a continuous floor separated this debris from the successive dumped fillings brought in by the

⁵ The two plates are published in *Corinth XVIII*, i, as nos. 472 (C-65-319) and 473 (C-65-609), p. 164; the basin is *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 263 (C-65-637), p. 122, while the figurine, MF-13750, will be published separately. There are *ca.* 440 sherds from the two lots together. Of those that can be dated, approximately 40 cover the period from 6th to 4th century B.C., 209 belong to the late 4th to the 2nd century B.C., while 4 or 5 are Early Roman. Figurines are more abundant, totaling 151 fragments; with them were found 6 pieces of large-scale, Classical terracotta sculpture and an antefix of 4th-century B.C. date. The latest pieces are the basin, cited above as no. 263, part of at least one Roman pitcher (not catalogued), and nine stewpot rims that are either Hellenistic or Roman in date.

Apart from the two plates, nos. 472 and 473, which may or may not be as late as the late 2nd century B.C., virtually nothing else has been found from the period of abandonment except for a single coin, a silver denarius dated to *ca.* 106 B.C. For this, see Bookidis and Fisher 1974, no. 67 (73-530), pp. 298, 303.

⁶ *Corinth XVIII*, i, Group 11, pp. 107–109.

⁷ The Roman fragments consist of a thin-walled beaker, a fragmentary cooking pot rim, and basin rims with wave pattern, one of which belongs to *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 263 (C-65-637), p. 122. One coarse-ware thymiaterion, *ibid.*, no. 145 (C-65-322), p. 68, and a vase decorated with plastic snakes, no. 156 (C-65-643), p. 71, were also found in this stratum. Of considerable interest is the virtually complete casserole found lodged in a hole where the east door jamb had once stood. Perhaps as early as the Augustan period, the cooking pot could well have been used on the premises; *ibid.*, no. 168 (C-65-323), p. 79.

⁸ See Wright 1980, p. 175 for the earlier earthquake, and for the second, Slane 1986, p. 317.

⁹ Lots 6719, 6720, Room 1; lot 6712, Room 2; lots 6716, 6717, Room 3. For lot 6712, see *Corinth XVIII*, i, Group 10, pp. 105–106.

Romans. These dumped fills were soft, with fewer stones and tiles than appeared in layer 1; the amount of pottery recovered from them was slight and invariably mixed—Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman together. The latest material from these fills in the dining Room 2 (lot 6713; Fig. 26, strata 3, 4) is perhaps no later than the first quarter of the 1st century after Christ,¹⁰ while that in Room 3 (lot 6721; Fig. 26, stratum 7) is somewhat later, extending into the second quarter of the 1st century after Christ.

This Roman date is of even greater interest when applied to four objects found within the lowest Roman layer. The first two of these are fragmentary lead curse tablets, which lay on top of the southwest couch of Room 2 (Fig. 26, stratum 3).¹¹ Curse tablets are not unusual in this Sanctuary, for we have found a total of eighteen, fourteen of them on the Lower Terrace alone. The tablets from Building L–M:28, however, are the earliest of these by context and indicate that from virtually the beginning of the Romans' interest in the site, the Sanctuary was considered to be a suitable repository for such objects.

The other two objects are clay thymiateria, a type of ritual vessel that in Corinth thus far is peculiar to the Sanctuary. One of these was found complete but broken, standing upright in the southeast corner of the sitting Room 3, on the leveling stratum above stratum 8 (Fig. 26, detail). The second lay against the west side of the same room at about the same level but was missing its pedestal foot.¹² Both were heavily burned. Had these vessels been used in the building? It is difficult to say. The absence of a foot on the second thymiaterion might suggest that the pot had merely been discarded here. Within the room we certainly found no floor, apart from the thin, soft leveling stratum that lay at one end of it. The circumstances here, however, are somewhat different from those obtaining in Building M:16–17. There, as we have seen, the sitting Room 2 had been filled with Hellenistic debris, and with the exception of a single casserole that was virtually intact, evidence for Roman activity was limited to a very small number of sherds. Building L–M:28, by contrast, was filled in to a uniform level throughout—to couch and bench tops. It could have been more easily reused and possibly was. The evidence is ambiguous.

Kathleen Slane, however, has described the material from both these buildings as “part of a Roman cleanup of the site before construction took place.”¹³ We would qualify this statement, for the Romans were not simply dumping pottery and votive offerings abandoned by the Greeks. They were simultaneously discarding objects they too had used. These objects, moreover, ritual vessels and curse tablets (if the latter were indeed discarded here and not deposited), reflect new Roman practices not previously attested in the Sanctuary. We prefer to think, therefore, that the Romans initially reused what they found standing. Quite possibly such reuse was concentrated in the temple and altars of the Upper and Middle Terraces, for the Greek dining room, as such, seems to have played no part in their ritual. Whether the earthquake of A.D. 77 was the catalyst, as we propose, or whether it merely hastened a process already begun, the Sanctuary was completely modified by the end of the century. But the importance of these objects comes from the testimony they give of Early Roman cult practice in the Sanctuary.

¹⁰ Two bronze *duoviri* coins found in later Roman levels above these strata could have been disturbed from them. For these, see Bookidis and Fisher 1974, no. 38 (71-212), p. 300, minted in A.D. 4/5, and no. 43 (71-224), p. 301, minted in A.D. 21/22. With this latter piece was a coin of Patras, no. 52 (71-223), p. 302, dating to 147–32 B.C.

¹¹ MF-71-25a, b. More specifically, the tablets lay 0.50 m. from the south wall and 0.30 m. from the west wall at +166.20 m. It is possible that both fragments belong to a single tablet, but, for the present, they have been kept separate. All of the tablets from the Sanctuary will be published separately in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII* together with the other inscriptions.

¹² For the thymiateria, see *Corinth XVIII*, ii, nos. 146, 147 (C-71-182, -179), p. 68. No. 146 was found against the east wall, no. 147 by the west wall. With them was a red-slipped plate, *ibid.*, no. 134 (C-71-632), p. 62.

¹³ *Corinth XVIII*, ii, p. 66.

THE BUILDING OF THE TABLETS: K-L:21-22, ROMAN PHASE 1 (Figs. 24, 39-41)

The dining complex K-L:21-22 is the only Greek structure on the Lower Terrace to have been rebuilt by the Romans. As we have seen, a prominent building had occupied that place from the early 5th century B.C. on. Standing as it did at the base of the approach to the Middle and Upper Terraces, it must always have played a prominent part in Sanctuary affairs. This is certainly also true in the Roman period, for the building was remodeled at least twice. Unfortunately, today the Roman phases of Building K-L:21-22 are not well preserved, for erosion has destroyed all but the southern half of Room 7 and the outlines of Room 1 at the southwest corner. Despite this loss, however, the surviving elements are of considerable interest, as are the finds, for they reveal an aspect of worship in the Sanctuary that is not attested earlier.

The first well-documented use of K-L:21-22 by the Romans can be placed in the late 1st century after Christ (Fig. 39, Phase 1).¹⁴ At that time substantial modifications were made to the Hellenistic interior. That this first remodeling was largely, if not wholly, confined to the interior suggests that the Hellenistic building was still in relatively good condition. Given Roman interest in the building at that time, it is quite possible that their use of it actually began earlier in the century. Though we found no floors or stratified evidence of use within it before the remodeling in the late 1st century after Christ, certain finds in the packing for the earliest Roman floor in Room 7 may have been the residue of earlier activity. We shall return to these finds below.

We find evidence of the first Roman rebuilding in the southern half of what had been the Hellenistic building, in both Rooms 1 and 7. For this phase the Hellenistic exterior walls continued in use on both east and west sides, on the south side of Room 1, and probably also on the south side of Room 7, although in the last case the evidence is ambiguous. At some point during Roman reuse of this complex a new wall was built on top of the earlier south dining couch, just north of, or inside, the Hellenistic south wall of Room 7 (Pls. 28, 47:a). Although this modification probably occurred in Roman phase 2, we have shown both walls in Figure 40 because the evidence for their dating is imprecise.¹⁵ For this new south wall of Room 7 a bedding of roof tiles and mortar was first spread over the couch top; on this was laid at least one course of limestone blocks 0.60 m. high and 0.40 m. thick, above which may have been fieldstones. All that remained of this wall at the time of excavation was a block at either end, separated by a trench, created when the intervening blocks were removed.¹⁶

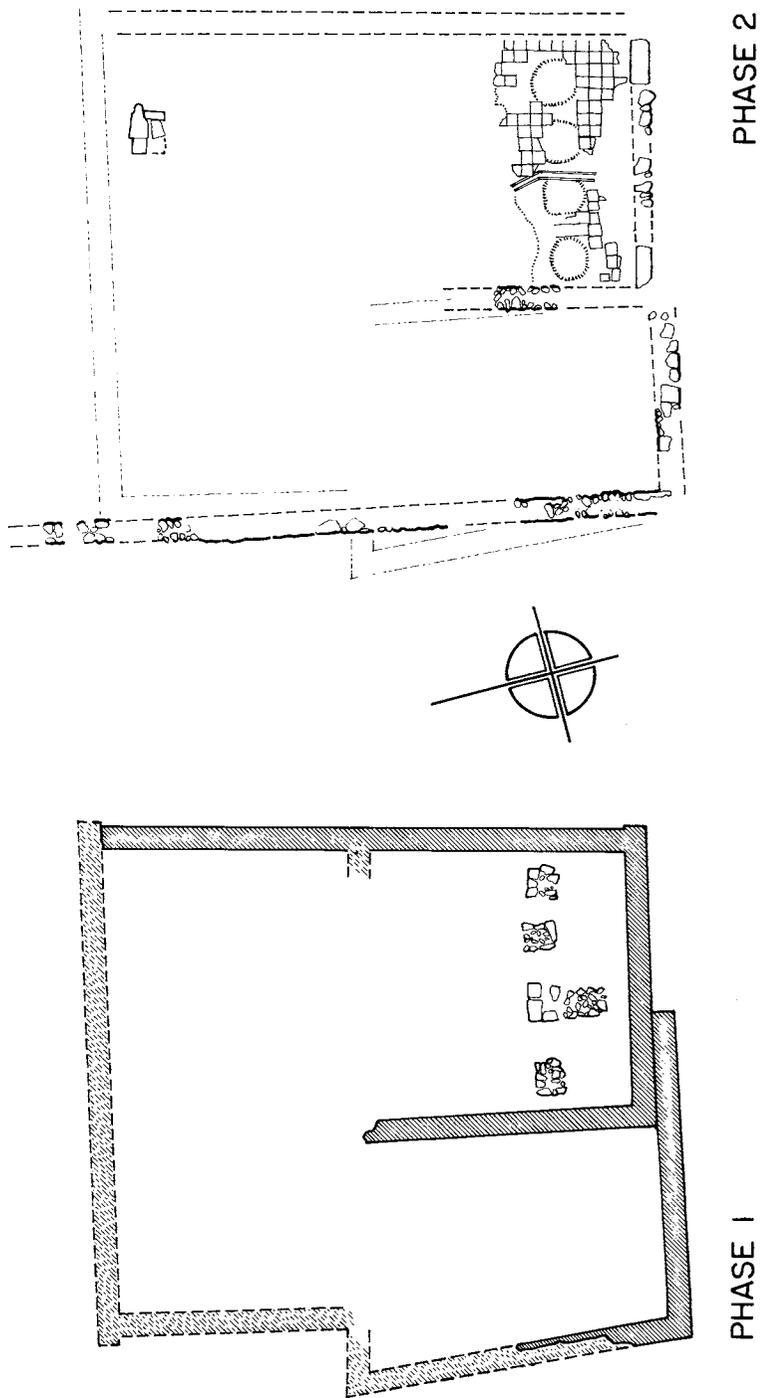
Evidence for the first Roman use of Room 1 is slight but definite. The Hellenistic partition wall that had divided Rooms 1 and 7 was retained, with the result that both rooms kept their original (east-west) width and perhaps also their same (north-south) length.¹⁷ Thus Room 1 in its first Roman phase was 3.84-4.50 m. wide and 5.75 m. long, while Room 7 was 5.08 m. wide by possibly 5.35 m. long. Since no doors were found in the existing portions, we assume that the rooms were approached from the north. Both rooms were completely remodeled for their

¹⁴ For convenience we have retained the Hellenistic room numbers shown in Figure 24. Though we are dealing with the first Roman phase of this building, it is the second phase of Room 7, thus the differing designations in Figures 39 and 40 and in the text.

¹⁵ In Figure 40, Phase 2, the Hellenistic south wall is designated by broken lines while the Roman wall is hatched.

¹⁶ The stratigraphic evidence for the relative dates of these two walls was uninformative because the accumulation of earth over the underlying Hellenistic couch here was slight. Juxtaposed as these two walls were, the inner, or north, wall effectively removed any earth that might have rested against the outer, Hellenistic wall. Furthermore, we could not determine whether the inner wall was in place when the first Roman floor was laid down or whether it cut into the floor at a later date.

¹⁷ We have not dotted in all of the Hellenistic rooms on the Roman plan (Fig. 39), since we are uncertain whether the rooms continued in use. We have rendered the walls differently in the two phases of Figure 39. Since the walls of phase 1 are drawn in detail in Figure 24, we simply hatched them here. The later walls of phase 2, however, do not appear elsewhere.



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FIG. 39. Plan: Roman phases of Building K-L, 21-22

new use. In Room 1 Hellenistic features, such as the southern alcove with its bench and partition, were covered with both earth and a new clay floor (+167.60 m.). Although the clay floor was preserved only along the south side of the room, it was about level with the top of the Classical couch that had stood against the room's west wall and must have covered that feature too. An Early Roman cooking pot and a terracotta grill were found near the southeast corner of the room, unfortunately in a disturbed context; they may, however, indicate that food was prepared in some part of the room.¹⁸

The Hellenistic dining Room 7 (Fig. 40) was filled in to the level of its couch tops (+166.85 m.). Rubble and fragmentary roof tiles, both Greek and Roman, were heaped onto the Hellenistic floor to a height of 0.40 m., together with a few discarded architectural fragments and two pieces of Classical terracotta sculpture.¹⁹

On top of this packing four bases were laid out in a row from east to west and at a distance of 1.40 m. from the (dotted) Hellenistic south wall (Fig. 40, Phase 2; Pl. 47:a). Bases A, B, and D (Fig. 41) were built of fieldstones and fragmentary pan tiles and averaged 0.60–0.70 m. square; their upper surfaces were somewhat irregular. Base C was slightly larger, measuring 0.80 m. square, and consisted of fragments of worked limestone that formed a more level bedding along its north side. This construction is evident in Plate 47:a. In addition, a foundation of fieldstones, measuring 0.60 m. thick and 0.16 m. high, insofar as it was preserved, extended south from base C toward the south wall of the room; its southern end was not found, but we restore it up to that wall. Although this foundation also broke off before joining base C, its northern end here formed no regular face, and we suggest, therefore, that it also originally continued up to and incorporated the base in its structure. A thick clay floor was laid down throughout the room (+166.90–166.93 m.), above which the four stone bases projected about 0.10 m. (+167.02 m.). The floor was only preserved in the southern 3.30–4.30 m. of the room, for in the northern half intrusions from higher levels effectively removed all features down to the rubble packing that covered the Hellenistic floor.

The rubble foundation and bases divided Room 7 into three areas of unequal size. A large space 5.08 m. wide extended at least 3.25 m. north from the bases. A smaller area in the southeast corner measured 2.70 m. by 1.40 m., and an even smaller alcove in the southwest corner measured 1.80 m. by 1.40 m. The bases were not evenly spaced, as the following list of "intercolumniations" will show:

| | |
|----------------------------|---------|
| <i>East wall to base A</i> | 0.32 m. |
| <i>Base A to base B</i> | 0.48 m. |
| <i>Base B to base C</i> | 0.70 m. |
| <i>Base C to base D</i> | 0.88 m. |
| <i>Base D to west wall</i> | 0.22 m. |

From this spacing we can infer that the wider openings to either side of base C were designed to give access to each of the two small southern alcoves, while the closer spacing to either side of these clearly inhibited it.

A soft, loose stratum of earth covered the clay floor to a height of 0.10–0.15 m. Although uniform in consistency throughout the undisturbed portions of the room, the stratum was not

¹⁸ The cooking pot is *Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 176 (C-69-278), p. 84; the terracotta grill, MF-69-314, will be published in a later fascicle.

¹⁹ Lot 6219. Because the Hellenistic couch tops sloped downward from south to north, the filling actually also covered the northern couches; on the south side it stopped at the couch top. Architectural fragments include a small fragment of a Doric capital, which joins A-588 from M:19, and part of a Doric geison, A-69-58, associated with the Hellenistic Propylon; see Chapter 16, 56 and 8, respectively. The two fragments of terracotta sculpture are the chest of a 5th-century B.C. nude youth, SF-69-6, and an Archaic draped foot, SF-69-21. In addition, we recovered part of a stone perirrhanterion, MF-69-87.

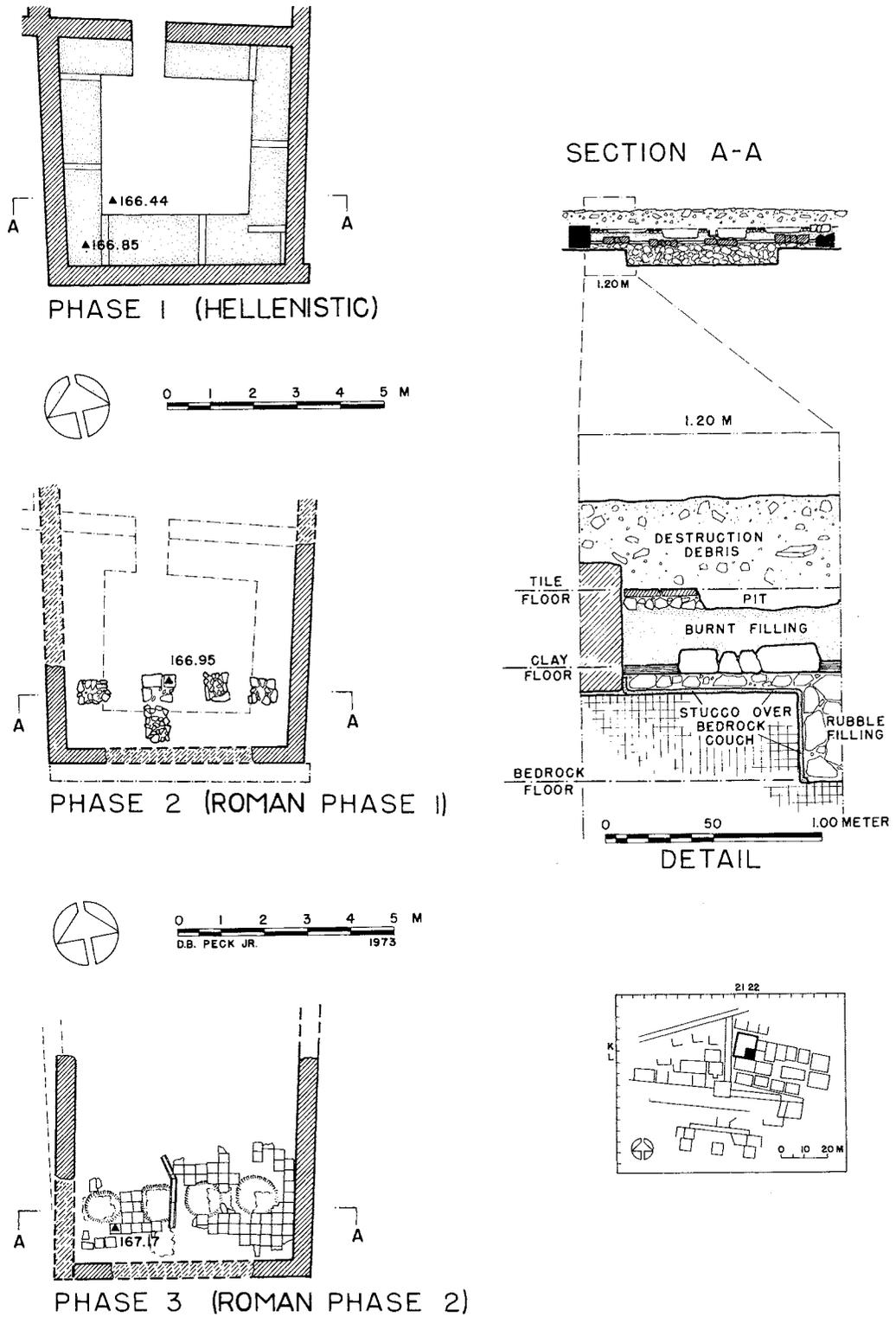


FIG. 40. Plan: Three phases of Room 7, Building K-L:21-22

uniform in color. Over most of the floor the earth was brownish, mixed with considerable amounts of tiny bits of carbonized material; this brownish earth also covered bases C and D. In the southeastern quarter this same loose earth became more consistently black in color. The black earth was thinnest in the southeast corner of the room and thickest around the bases, covering base B and part of the rubble foundation of the partition, but it could be traced to 2.60–3.40 m. north of the room's south wall. During excavation this fill appeared to separate into two layers (nos. 1, 2). Both layers, however, were identical; each layer was soft, bore no evidence of compaction from use, and was in no way level. Furthermore, the finds recovered from both were also similar in type and date. The two "layers" may therefore represent just one fill. Although the clay floor had been discolored by this fill, it had not been burned. We found no signs of cooking or of fires on it. Finally, despite the fact that this soft earth covered the partition and, in part, the bases, we do not believe that it was unrelated to the room, that is, merely brought in as a leveling stratum for the next phase. As we shall see below, a century separates this fill from the next phase above it, and the material used to raise the later floor level was quite different in substance. We believe that the soft brown/black layer accumulated during the room's use during the first Roman phase and was then used to cover over the features.

Curse Tablets

One further reason for this belief is a series of objects found within the room in all the levels described so far. Moreover, these objects show that the room had a special function. They are nine lead curse tablets, together with a tenth found in the succeeding phase 3. We have already mentioned curse tablets in conjunction with Building L–M:28 (p. 276 above), where two fragments were found just above the abandoned south couch. The tablets from Room 7 in Building K–L:21–22, however, represent the largest such collection from a stratified context within the Sanctuary.²⁰

The nine tablets were found in the following contexts. Three, MF-69-298, -308, and -309, lay in the rubble construction packing that formed the underpinning for the first Roman clay floor near the eastern bases.²¹ The findplaces for the remaining six, which were found either on or above the floor, are shown in Figure 41. The first of these, MF-69-299 (Fig. 41, **4**), lay at floor level between base D and the west wall of Room 7; similarly, bits of lead, the remnants of other disintegrated tablets, were found in cleaning the floor around base B (Fig. 41, **10**). The remaining five were recovered from the soft earth that covered the floor. MF-69-300 (Fig. 41, **5**) was found *ca.* 0.25 m. northwest of base D beside the room's west wall, several centimeters above the floor in the lower brown stratum ("Layer 1"). MF-69-296 and -297 (Fig. 41, **6** and **7**) were discovered in the so-called upper brown layer ("Layer 2") no more than 0.07 m. above the floor, against the south side of base D. Finally, MF-69-294 and -295 (Fig. 41, **8** and **9**) rested in black earth ("Layer 1") 0.04–0.05 m. above the floor, 0.40 m. south of base B. All of the tablets were rolled up when found, with the exception of one, MF-69-296. This, however, is not properly a tablet but the bottom or lid of a round receptacle inscribed on its interior surface with a curse.²²

²⁰ The remaining seven unstratified tablets were discovered in the following places: MF-69-301 in N:20 in disturbed fill over the stairway; MF-72-52 in J:18, again in disturbed fills; MF-71-25a, b in Building L–M:28; MF-11671 in surface layers in P–Q:26–27; MF-70-51 on the bedrock core of the East Temple T–U:22; and MF-73-5 and -38, in destruction debris over the Temple with the Mosaic Floor T–U:19. Both MF-69-301 and MF-72-52 could have originally derived from Building K–L:21–22. The tablets will be published separately in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII* together with the other inscriptions.

²¹ Their exact findspots within the rubble fill were not recorded in the field notebook, apart from the fact that they lay near the Hellenistic south banquette.

²² For "coffins" or boxes, some with hinged lids, in which lay lead figurines, see Gager 1992, p. 15, fig. 3 and p. 36, note 82. It is possible that a similar figure, perhaps modeled in wax or lead, once lay within our container.

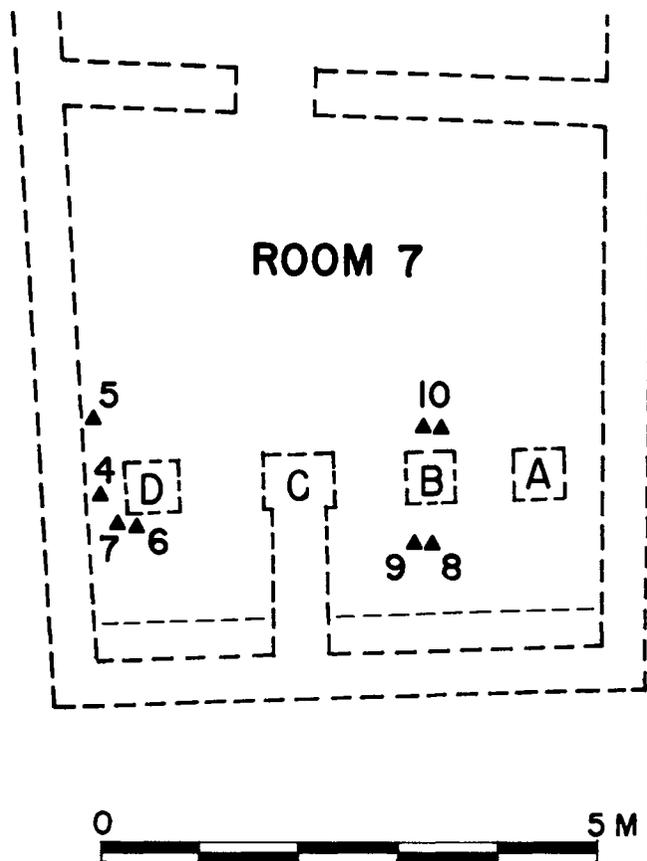


FIG. 41. Plan: Location of curse tablets in Room 7, Building K-L:21-22 (numbers correspond to citations in text) 1-3: MF-69-298, MF-69-308, MF-69-609, beneath floor, not on plan. 4: MF-69-299; 5: MF-69-300; 6: MF-69-296; 7: MF-69-297; 8: MF-69-294; 9: MF-69-295; 10: Tiny fragments; A-D: Bases

Perhaps the most important question with regard to the nine tablets from Room 7 is whether they lay where they had originally been deposited or whether they were simply casual finds within earth that had been transported from another part of the Sanctuary. It is our opinion that they were found near where they had been placed. Their appearance in consecutive strata suggests this. As we have just seen, three tablets were found in the packing for the floor and must have been deposited before the others. Indeed, it is possible that they were even left in the room or building before it was remodeled in the late 1st century after Christ. One, together with fragments of others, rested directly on the floor, while the remaining five were found no more than 0.07 m. above it. As described below, a tenth was found above the floor of Roman phase 2. Of particular interest is the fact that three of these, MF-69-294, -295, and -297 (**8, 9, 7**), are all directed against the same woman, a certain Karpime Babbia, who was a weaver of garlands.²³ Although we cannot now tell whether all three tablets were commissioned by the same person, this seems the likely explanation.²⁴ Their occurrence together in one room is a further argument for their having been discovered where they were deposited.

²³ A translation of one of these tablets appears in Bookidis and Stroud 1987, p. 30, where the woman's name is incorrectly given as Karpile Babbia, and in Gager 1992, p. 37, note 92.

²⁴ This repetition of tablets referring to a single person is not unique. A group of tablets from the Athenian Agora contains three that are addressed against an athlete named Eutykianos, while two more are concerned with a prostitute named Juliana. See Jordan 1985a.

Before considering the reconstruction and function of this room, let us review the chronology of the successive layers. The beginning of the first Roman phase can be determined from the pottery and coins recovered both from the rubble packing and from the overlying clay floor. The material from the packing includes an Eastern Sigillata B cup, Early Roman thin-walled and cooking ware, twelve fragments of Broneer type XVI lamps, and two Early Roman glazed lamps, as well as several Hellenistic pieces and one pre-Roman bronze coin of Sikyon (lot 6219). Joins were found with pottery recovered from the clay floor.²⁵ More useful than these objects, however, are two coins found during the removal of the clay floor (lot 6220). The earlier of these, 69-816, is a bronze Corinthian duoviri coin, minted in the time of Caligula (A.D. 37-41). The second, 69-815, is a silver denarius of Titus, perhaps minted in A.D. 72-73. From these it is clear that the first Roman reconstruction of Building K-L:21-22 took place no earlier than the late third quarter of the 1st century after Christ.²⁶ In our discussion of Building M:16-17 we attributed the collapse of its south wall to an earthquake and suggested two possible dates for this event, A.D. 22/23 or 77. The remodeling of Building K-L:21-22, at least of Room 7, must have taken place no earlier than A.D. 72-73, based on the coin of Titus found with the floor. Although there is no evidence of physical damage to the Hellenistic building, the renovation may have been activated by earthquake in A.D. 77, and it is possible that the rubble and architectural members that formed part of the filling of the Hellenistic dining rooms derived from that destruction.

The pottery and lamps recovered from both the brown and the black strata were uniform in type. Although pottery was most abundant in the southeast alcove, the pottery and lamps were extremely fragmentary in all areas, and few whole profiles could be assembled.²⁷ Red-slipped wares were rare, but lamps, thin-walled ware, and cooking vessels were common; among the last, small globular mugs were most numerous. In the so-called lower layer (1), lot 6221, additional pieces were found of the Eastern Sigillata B cup first uncovered in the lowest rubble packing, C-69-251. Among the cooking wares were fragments of a frying pan and a casserole rim, while lamps included 45 small fragments of Broneer type XVI lamps, 30 of Early Roman glazed lamps, and one possible Broneer type XXVII lamp.²⁸ In the so-called upper layer (2), lot 6222, were 205 small fragments of thin-walled vessels, including 52 handles of small mugs, another frying pan, the floor of a basin, 35 fragments of Broneer type XVI lamps, 68 of Early Roman glazed examples, one type XXVII lamp, and part of a thymiaterion.²⁹ A bronze coin from the time of Domitian (69-813: A.D. 81-96) reinforces the date of the lamps in the early 2nd century after Christ for the end of this phase.³⁰

²⁵ Lot 6219. *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 95 (C-69-251), p. 50, cup dated A.D. 40-60/70; no. 202 (C-69-252), p. 96, thin-walled pitcher; no. 151 (C-69-319), p. 70, cooking lid for a thymiaterion; and no. 230 (C-69-318), p. 112, an amphora neck. For the coin, 69-817, dated to the 3rd century B.C., see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, no. 75, p. 329.

²⁶ Lot 6220. Joins were found with the pitcher, *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 202 (C-69-252), p. 96, and with the stone perirrhaterion, MF-69-87. Also from this level is a lamp, Broneer type XVI, *ibid.*, no. 3 (L-69-410), p. 23. For the coins, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, no. 44 (69-816), p. 326; no. 82 (69-815), p. 329.

²⁷ The material from the earth above the floor was divided into two storage lots, namely, the lower (lot 6221) and upper (lot 6222) layers. The finds from the southeast alcove, however, were ultimately combined with those from the southwest, perhaps incorrectly, because both the brown-black and the black earth had covered the dividing partition; no distinction could be made, either chronologically or typologically, between the pottery or lamps from either area.

²⁸ See *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 4 (L-69-409), p. 23, for a Broneer type XVI lamp from this fill, and no. 163 (C-69-321), p. 79, for a frying pan. A single Byzantine sherd, cited by Slane (*ibid.*, p. 138, lot 6222), is an intrusion from pottery washing, for these levels were sealed by the succeeding phase.

²⁹ Also from this level is a fragmentary lead-glazed crater, *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 63 (C-69-275), p. 39.

³⁰ For coin 69-813, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, p. 327, no. 50.

Reconstruction of Room 7, Roman Phase 1 (Fig. 41)

Before turning to the next phase in the history of Building K–L:21–22, we must give some thought to the appearance of Room 7 and to the way in which it functioned during Roman phase 1. With regard to the plan, we established earlier that Room 7 was divided into three parts by means of the bases and the cross-foundation, and we further proposed that the cross-foundation and base C were part of one structure. What was that structure? It is difficult to identify it with any assurance, given its poor state of preservation. At least two different restorations of the plan are possible. The rubble foundation may have formed a partition that ran from floor to ceiling and ended at the north in a thickened anta. In this way, south of the bases there would have been two distinct spaces, which were entered by means of a doorway to either side of the anta (base C). At the same time, it is striking that the partition is noticeably thicker than either the exterior walls of Room 7 or the party wall that divided it from Room 1. Therefore, it is equally possible that the foundation remained low and was a support for either a table or a bench.

As Figure 41 makes clear, the findspots of the curse tablets cluster around the bases. This distribution suggests that the two elements may have been related; in other words, that the tablets were placed in, on, or beside whatever was supported on the bases. Furthermore, the tablets were concentrated around bases B and D. If this accumulation is not merely fortuitous, it may indicate that the objects supported on the bases were not the same in all three cases.

Up to this point we can draw upon the existing remains. In attempting to restore the room in elevation, however, we are faced with a myriad of possibilities, no one of which is better documented than the others. For this reason, we will explore some of these possibilities, discarding what seems untenable.

In our opinion, at least three kinds of objects could have stood on bases A, B, and D. These are posts or columns, receptacles, and altars. We begin by exploring the possible uses of posts. Given the room's relatively small width of 5.08 m., posts were not required to support the roof. None existed in the earlier, Hellenistic dining room that was equal in size. Similarly, we have no evidence for a second floor that might have required some added strengthening of the first floor foundations. If the roof were partially open, in the manner of the Classical Olynthian kitchen flue,³¹ then supports would be called for, but there is no reason to believe that this arrangement, attested in Classical northern Greece, continued into Roman times. Similarly, posts and the partition might have supported an intermediary floor or loft that covered only the southern end or southeast corner of the room. But no evidence was found for a stairway by which to reach it. Finally, if the bases supported posts or piers that served some structural purpose, it is difficult to explain their erratic spacing and why bases 1 and 4 needed to be placed so close to the east and west walls.

Bringing hypothetical posts into closer relation to the curse tablets found around the bases, we might suggest that the tablets were originally hung on the posts or nailed to them.³² But here too the evidence is contrary to such a reconstruction. All but one of the tablets were rolled up and folded when found, the exception being part of a round vessel (6).³³ Two of the tablets had

³¹ For two separate interpretations of the Olynthian kitchen, see *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 185–197, and G. E. Mylonas, "Excursus II, the Oecus Unit of the Olynthian House," in *Olynthus* XII, pp. 369–398.

Another example of a building having such an arrangement of supports is the Hellenistic Xenon in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea, in rooms 5, 10, and 12. There, Lynn H. Kraynak (*Nemea* I, p. 129, and fig. 134, p. 124) argues that the columns supported a second story over the northern half of the ground floor. The Nemean arrangement, however, is far more complex, for in those rooms the columns lie near an interior wall, not an exterior one, as in the present case; the column spacings at Nemea are also wider and more regular.

³² See Versnel (1991, p. 80), who discusses the ways in which tablets might have been deposited. He cites Newton (note 39 below), who believed that some of them were hung up on walls because their corners were pierced.

³³ MF-69-296. A second round tablet or vessel, MF-69-301, was found in late debris over the central stairway.

been joined together by an iron nail, while a second nail pierced just one of the two. From this arrangement one might conclude that they were pinned to a post, but the remaining rectangular tablets that were well preserved had simply been rolled and folded; both nails and suspension holes were lacking.³⁴

Finally, could posts in this position have formed part of a screen across the back of the room? Tempting as this suggestion is, it too is contradicted by the existing remains. Classical parallels for such a construction call for sockets, of much smaller size, into which the posts themselves were fitted, not bases on which they stood.³⁵

Bases for receptacles into which curse tablets could have been dropped are another possibility. An inscription of 100 B.C. from Korope in Thessaly prescribes that enquiries, addressed to the oracle of Apollo, should be written on *pinakia* and placed in a jar under the surveillance of a group of officials.³⁶ Apart from the fact that we have no evidence for the deposition of curse tablets in this way, large receptacles on bases do not explain the pottery and the black ashy earth found in the room. Most evidence for the deposition of curse tablets comes from graves and wells, where the act was solitary and secretive. A sanctuary was a far more public place, and we therefore might expect the ritual to have been different. *Defixiones*³⁷ are known from six other sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter and Kore or to related chthonian divinities.³⁸ These are located at Knidos,³⁹ Rhodes,⁴⁰ Mytilene,⁴¹ Selinous,⁴² Morgantina,⁴³ and possibly

³⁴ MF-69-294 (8) and MF-69-295 (9) were pinned together; MF-69-297 (7) was rolled, MF-69-298 (1) and MF-69-300 (5) were both rolled and folded at the time of discovery.

³⁵ See, for example, T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 39, 1970, pp. 145–222, esp. pl. 41.

³⁶ *Syll.*³ 1157, lines 43–47; H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus*, Oxford 1967, pp. 104–108.

³⁷ The basic collection of curse tablets remains Audollent 1904. An extremely useful work that gathers tablets found since Audollent is Jordan 1985b. See Faraone 1991 for a discussion of the classification of tablets.

³⁸ Deposition of curse tablets in sanctuaries, of course, was not confined to shrines of these divinities. For example, seven tablets have been found in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea. See Stephen G. Miller, "Excavations at Nemea, 1979," *Hesperia* 49, 1980 [pp. 178–205], pp. 196–197; Miller 1981, pp. 64–65. The tablets were found both beneath and within the large enclosure called the Heroon.

In addition to the tablets from the Sanctuary of Demeter, three more were recovered from the foundation trench of an apsidal building near the Gymnasium of Corinth. The building has been tentatively identified as a temple to Diana Nemorensis, for which see C. K. Williams II, "Laus Julia Corinthiensis et Diana Nemorensis?" in *Φύλακα Ἐπιεῖς Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάου* II, Athens 1987, pp. 384–389.

We have not included here the tablets that were found in a well in the Athenian Agora and that may have come from a neighboring small shrine, since they were not actually found in the enclosure; Jordan 1985a, p. 210 and note 6. For speculation that this shrine was consecrated to Demeter, see above (p. 233, note 3).

³⁹ C. T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae*, London 1862, p. 382. Fifteen or more tablets were found with statuary to the west of the large complex of underground compartments, probably in secondary fill. Newton, however, does not clarify whether all of the tablets were found here; for the number of tablets, which varies from thirteen to fifteen, see Audollent 1904, pp. 5–19. The tablets have been dated to the 2nd century B.C. For a discussion of these tablets as judicial prayers, see Versnel 1991.

⁴⁰ *Δελτ* 28, 1973, B2 [1977], p. 622. Jordan 1985b, p. 168. Although the area was too small to be investigated fully, the finds suggest that it once was a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The excavator speaks of rectangular constructions and votive deposits; however, the findspot of the tablet is not recorded.

⁴¹ In the Acropolis sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Mytilene, where six tablets have been discovered, one was found beside an altar; see Williams and Williams 1988, pp. 138, 145. In 1989 two more tablets were found in a building of Hellenistic date that is furnished with a bench, Williams and Williams 1990, p. 183. We thank Hector Williams for this information.

⁴² Gabrici 1927, col. 388. Jordan 1985b, pp. 175–177. Of the ten *defixiones* recovered from this site, eight were found within the *temenos* of Demeter Malophoros and two just outside it; a specific context, however, is published for only one. This lay in a stratum of sandy down-wash in the open precinct.

⁴³ Contexts have been published for the ten tablets from the sanctuary of the chthonian deities in Morgantina. Seven of these tablets lay in a pit-altar in the central court of the shrine; another rested against a second, raised altar

Isthmia.⁴⁴ From most of these sites little information can be gleaned about ritual based on findspots. Two sanctuaries, however, are of interest. At Morgantina ten tablets were found in conjunction with three separate altars, namely, one large pit-altar and two built altars. Similarly, at Mytilene at least one of the six newly discovered tablets lay near an altar.

With these parallels in mind, we propose that small stone altars rested on some or all of the three bases in Room 7. Altars are attractive because they provide a possible explanation for the black earth, if we assume that some sort of bloodless sacrifice or offering was also made within the room. Similarly, the thin-walled mugs could have served as libation vessels, while the many lamps would have helped to illuminate what must have been a very dark space. Lamps and libation bowls accompanied the tablets at Morgantina.

The altars need not have been large, for if we follow the example of a fragmentary altar found in the West Temple T:16–17 on the Roman Upper Terrace, they could have been simple stone rectangles, perhaps embellished with horns.⁴⁵ Tablets could easily have been placed on their flat top surfaces or dropped at their base. An altar of this type would have provided an aura of greater sanctity and ceremony for the ritual of deposition and would have established more vividly the presence of the deity or deities whose assistance was being invoked.

One of the few ancient texts that refers to the placing of curse tablets in a sanctuary is not a tablet but a confession inscription from northeast Lydia, which describes the effects of a curse on a particular family.⁴⁶ In it we are told that a certain woman, named Tatia, wishing to dispel rumors that she had poisoned her son-in-law, placed curses in a sanctuary. The text states that she ἐπέστησεν σκήπτρον καὶ ἀράς ἔθηκεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. The curses, unfortunately, worked against her, for when she died and her son was bitten by a snake, the family hastened to remove them. This they did by following the same ritual of “raising the scepter.” They then erected the inscribed stele as a testimony to the power of the gods.

The somewhat colorless verb τίθημι gives little insight into exactly where and how Tatia “placed” her curses in the temple. We infer that this was a concrete, and not a symbolic, act and that the curses were written on a tablet. The mention of a scepter, however, implies a formal ritual for invoking the deity, possibly one involving a priest. Some further substance to this act is provided by a series of inscribed reliefs from Asia Minor. Of particular interest is the confessional

beside the pit. Two more were discovered in the small adyton, which also contained an altar; one of these rested in fill, while the second had been built into the altar. For a recent discussion of this complex, I. E. M. Edlund-Berry, “The Central Sanctuary at Morgantina (Sicily): Problems of Interpretation and Chronology,” *Atti del convegno internazionale ‘Anathema,’* in *Scienze dell’ Antichità* 3–4, 1989–1990, pp. 327–338.

See N. Nabers, “Lead Tabellae from Morgantina,” *AJA* 70, 1966, pp. 67–68, for their interpretation; *idem*, “Ten Lead Tabellae from Morgantina,” *AJA* 83, 1979, pp. 463–464, with references therein to earlier bibliography. While Nabers calls them “pious prayers” on behalf of the dead, Jordan argues that they are curses in “Two Inscribed Lead Tablets from a Well in the Athenian Kerameikos,” *AM* 95, 1980 [pp. 225–239], pp. 236–238. Also Jordan 1985b, pp. 179–180. Jordan’s interpretation is supported by Faraone 1991, pp. 18–19.

⁴⁴ *Isthmia* II, p. 115. Two tablets were recovered from a well that may have lain within the Sacred Glen of Demeter and Kore. Only one is inscribed. See D. R. Jordan, “Inscribed Lead Tablets from the Isthmian Sanctuary,” *Hesperia* 63, 1994 [pp. 111–125], no. 5, pp. 116–125. The curse is directed against a runner and is tentatively dated by Jordan to the 3rd century after Christ. In the same well was a large skyphos-krater inscribed to Demeter and Kore, published by J. L. Caskey, “Objects from a Well at Isthmia,” *Hesperia* 29, 1960 [pp. 168–176], no. 1, pp. 168–172.

A single lead tablet, found in the early excavations at Kyrene, refers to Persephone Praxidika. Although it is tempting to assign the tablet to one of the several sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore that once stood in the city, a provenance is not recorded. See G. Pugliese Carratelli, “Praxidika a Cirene,” *RendLinc*, ser. 8, 1963, pp. 340–344; White 1981, p. 24.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 16, 49.

⁴⁶ *TAM*, V.1.318, lines 9–11. Versnel 1991, pp. 76, 101, note 84, who translates ἐπέστησεν as “drew up a sceptre.” Robert 1983, p. 519, with copious parallels, paraphrases it as “elle se soumet elle-même au sceptre.”

inscription of the woman Claudia Bassa, which is accompanied by two reliefs.⁴⁷ One of these depicts a priest in the act of holding a tall scepter, the tip of which rests on the ground. Beside him stands a woman, presumably Claudia Bassa herself, who is shown in the act of placing an unidentified ovoid object on a low altar. Although this object does not resemble a tablet, nor should it in the context of her confession, for she is confessing to a lapse of faith, nevertheless the ritual is clear: her testimony is made to Zeus over the altar where his power could be felt; it is accompanied by the setting down of something on the altar in the presence of a priest who holds a scepter.

Fascinating as the scepters are, they have as yet to be documented outside Lydia and are not central to our restoration. The altar, however, is. If a curse can be thought of as a kind of prayer or invocation—and we adhere to Graf's arguments⁴⁸ that magic and religious prayer were closely related—then in a sanctuary the place to make that prayer and, by extension, to deposit that curse is at the god's altar. The altar in Claudia Bassa's relief shows no flame, for what she is depositing is some sort of testimony to her "conversion," not an offering to be burned. In the same way, we should expect that the lead tablets were not burned but deposited. This act, however, does not eliminate the possibility that burnt offerings, libations, or incense burning were also made within the room. Quite possibly, the deposition of the curse took place in private, while at other times public offerings or sacrifices were made communally.

We tentatively restore three altars on bases A, B, and D, although we cannot overlook the possibility that there may have been only two; the concentration of tablets around bases B and D may reflect some distinction between them and base A. If this reconstruction is plausible, certain details, nevertheless, must remain unknown. We have suggested that the rubble foundation, incorporating base C, could have been either a partition or a support for a table. Either is possible. As for the identification of the deities to whom such altars were dedicated, the two paired bases might have belonged to Demeter and Kore, while the third was dedicated to yet another divinity. Alternatively, all three might have been associated with a separate group of deities.

Throughout this chapter we assume that the Lower Terrace continued to form a part of the same sanctuary as the Middle and Upper Terraces and that the whole was dedicated to the worship of Demeter and Kore. This assumption is based, in part, on the similarity of pottery throughout these three areas—in particular, specific ritual vessels such as the thymiateria, which, as yet, have not been found in other parts of Corinth⁴⁹—and in part on the fact that curse tablets were found in all three parts of the site. We may recall, however, Pausanias' mention of the Moirai in conjunction with Demeter and Kore (pp. 3–4 above) and consider the possibility that in Roman times the Lower Terrace was separated from the rest of the Sanctuary and was given over to the worship of separate but perhaps related deities. The tablets invoke a number of divine figures, including the Moirai Praxidikai,⁵⁰ Hermes, Ge, and other gods of the Underworld. This could suggest that Building K–L:21–22 was a cult center for their rites. We think this is unlikely, however, and will return to this question in our discussion of the identification of the three Roman temples on the Upper Terrace (p. 371 below).

⁴⁷ From Saittai, ed. pr. Robert 1983, pp. 520–522, with helpful discussion of the scepter as a symbol of divine justice; *SEG* XXXIII 1012. For scepters, see also J. H. M. Strubbe, "Cursed Be He That Moves My Bones," in *Magika Hiera*, C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., Oxford 1991 [pp. 39–59], esp. pp. 44–45, and C. Naour, "Nouvelles inscriptions du Moyen Hermos," *EpigAnat* 2, 1983 [pp. 107–140], esp. p. 121.

⁴⁸ F. Graf, "Prayer in Magical and Religious Ritual," in *Magika Hiera*, C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., Oxford 1991, pp. 188–213.

⁴⁹ For this type of vessel, see *Corinth* XVIII, ii, pp. 64–71.

⁵⁰ The Moirai Katachthonioi are invoked on two tablets from Attica in Audollent 1904, pp. 102–103, nos. 74, 75. Jordan (1985b, no. 21, p. 57) also informs us that the Moirai are addressed in a vengeance curse from the Athenian Agora.

BUILDING OF THE TABLETS: K-L:21-22, ROMAN PHASE 2 (Figs. 39, 40)

Room 7 was remodeled once again in the early 3rd century after Christ. Its west wall was rebuilt, probably also the south, and a new floor was laid. Such modifications, however, were not confined to this room, for at some point, either before or at this time, a new outer wall was constructed on the west side of the building, as well as a new south wall for Room 1. Unfortunately, our chronological evidence for these changes is far less precise than that for Room 7, and although we have grouped them all together under one phase, the work may have been spread out over a longer period of time.

The new west wall of Building K-L:21-22 apparently replaced the jogged west wall of Classical date, changing its course to a straight one. Accordingly, in the southern half of the building, that is, in Room 1, the new wall fell inside the line of the west wall of the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C.; it rested on top of the shower stall, which lay buried beneath 0.56 m. of earth, and it cut through the Hellenistic stuccoed couch. North of Room 1 its path lay outside, or west, of the 4th-century B.C. wall but east of that of the early 5th century B.C., and it continued at least 1.40 m. beyond the northwest corner of the Hellenistic building before breaking off, a total length of 12.00 m. Although the wall was not completely preserved for all of this length, sections of it were clearly visible in L:20, K:20, and J:20. Built of fieldstones with two good faces, the wall measured 0.45 m. thick and was preserved to a maximum height of 0.26 m. Pottery recovered from the interstices of the wall was at least 2nd century after Christ in date (lot 6227).

The new south wall for Room 1 was built just in front of the Hellenistic south wall on top of the rubble bench of the Classical building (Chapter 5; Pl. 47:a, top center) and therefore also on top of the Early Roman clay floor. Only 0.35 m. thick, it might better be described as a new facing for the earlier wall, for the extant portion, which stood to a height of 0.47 m., was built largely of fieldstones. A single upright limestone block stood at its preserved western end; its juncture with the west wall was not found. Five sherds recovered during the demolition of this wall could be dated no more specifically than to the Middle Roman period, that is, no earlier than the middle of the 2nd and no later than the early 4th century after Christ (lot 6226).

Perhaps at this time, too, the south wall of Room 7 was rebuilt. Already described in conjunction with the first Roman phase of Room 7, the wall consisted of at least one limestone block at either end and possibly rubble between them (Pls. 21, 47:a). It did not continue the line of the new wall in Room 1 but, as in Hellenistic times, lay one wall's thickness north of it. Clearly belonging to Roman phase 2 was the new party wall that separated Rooms 1 and 7. Despite its incomplete state of preservation, enough remained to determine that it now lay 0.22 m. east of the earlier wall and followed a slightly different orientation. The extant portion of the wall could be traced from 0.30 to 2.90 m. north of the inner face of the new south wall of Room 7.

In Room 1 nothing could be associated with this later phase apart from the walls just described, for the fills were completely disturbed down to and through the Classical floors. Indeed, a long limestone block, lying at right angles to the south wall just a short distance from the room's east wall, proved to be a step displaced from the Classical stairway.

As in Roman phase 1, the main evidence for this phase is to be found in Room 7 (Fig. 40, Phase 3). Here the three rubble bases and partition were covered over with a thin layer of gravel and earth. This, in turn, was covered with a 0.09 m.-deep bed of densely packed cobbles (Pl. 47:b). Over this was placed a paving of greenish yellow, terracotta floor tiles, each 0.25 m. square and 0.035 m. thick (Pl. 48:a). At least one Laconian pan tile had been used in place of a floor tile. The tiles were laid in fairly even rows, beginning at the south wall and extending north for at least 3.60 m. In actuality, only one fragmentary tile was found in position beside this wall, but because of this one we assume that tiles continued all along the base of the wall. They covered the earlier partition and (as discussed below) also covered portions of the three rubble bases. The

positions of the earlier bases beneath the tile floor are shown in Figure 40, Phase 3, where the outlines of the earlier bases are rendered by dotted lines. The floor was not quite level but was highest in the southeast corner (+167.25 m.) of the room and lowest in the middle (+167.13 m.).

In the center of the room a terracotta drain lay beneath the floor (Pl. 47:b). It rested on the earlier rubble partition. The drain was composed of rectangular or U-shaped units 0.57 m. long and 0.07 m. high; it was 0.123 m. wide at its base and 0.11 m. at its top. Its preserved southern end began 0.74 m. north of the new south wall and *ca.* 2.73 m. from the east wall. It extended 1.14 m. north, then turned 20 degrees to the northwest, to continue for another 0.57 m. before breaking off. A row of small stones braced the base of the drain on either side. On the west side these stones extended as far south as the south wall, suggesting that the drain originally continued in that direction for at least one more unit. The direction of its flow was apparently from south down to north.⁵¹ Given the slope of the tile floor from the corners toward the center, the drain probably carried off water used on that floor. Although the tile floor was disturbed for most of the drain's length, a single floor tile near the drain's northern end indicates that it was once covered. But drain holes in the tile floor could easily have facilitated the run-off of water.

Four shallow pits cut through both the tile floor and the underlying cobble bedding (Pls. 47:b, 48:a). Arranged much like the earlier bases, the pits followed an approximate east-west line at a distance of 0.95–1.10 m. from the south wall of the room. They varied in diameter from *ca.* 0.60 to 0.90 m. and lay 0.40–0.50 m. apart. More specifically, pit 1 (they are numbered from east to west) measured 0.85 m. in diameter, 0.09 m. in depth, and lay 0.15 m. from the east wall; pit 2, with a diameter of 0.65–0.80 m., and a depth of 0.15 m., lay 0.40 m. from pit 1 and 0.35 m. from pit 3; pit 3, measuring 0.74 m. wide and 0.14 m. deep, lay 0.50 m. from pit 4; pit 4, with a diameter of 0.80 m. and a depth of 0.11 m., lay 0.25 m. from the west wall. With the exception of pit 3 from the east, which overlay the northern end of the earlier partition, the pits did not exactly coincide with the earlier bases (Fig. 40, Section A–A); pits 1 and 4 overlapped most but not all of bases A and D, while pit 2 overlapped only the western half of base B. In addition, both the underlying black or brown earth of Roman phase 1 and the gravel leveling stratum separated the two features.

Although these pits may merely represent later intrusions through an otherwise continuous tile floor, the similarity of their disposition within the room to that of the bases of the preceding phase suggests a repetition of the earlier plan, without, however, the inclusion of the rubble foundation or partition. If altars were again set up in this phase, we must assume that both they and their bases were subsequently removed, since no architectural remains were found. We must also assume that one more altar was introduced in place of the anta or support that we have proposed once stood on base C of Roman phase 1.

The floor for this phase was laid in the first half of the 3rd century after Christ, in other words, roughly a century after the deposition of the underlying black layer. Indicative of this date are the several pieces of Broneer type XXVII lamps, decorated with vine-and-ray, and pedestal craters that were recovered from the lower layer of gravel.⁵² By contrast, the material from the overlying

⁵¹ At its preserved southern end the floor of the drain lay at +167.00 m., at its northern end, +166.98 m., a very slight difference. As for the southern end, one more unit of 0.57 m. would have left a space of 0.17 m. between the drain and the south wall. A large piece of stucco-cement flooring, as if from a rectangular basin, was found in the debris that covered the tile floor. Since, however, it is possible that this flooring could have derived from the Hellenistic phase of the room, it cannot be associated with the drain with any certainty. The south wall of the 4th-century B.C. dining room was furnished with at least one niche, the floor of which was coated with stucco-cement. This piece could thus have belonged to a second one.

⁵² Lot 6223.

Total: 65 sherds, 5 figurines, 8 miscellaneous.

cobble bedding was substantially earlier. With nothing later than the early 2nd century after Christ, this material clearly had been swept up either from earlier levels in the room or from elsewhere.⁵³

To what extent the material found on top of the tile floor in Room 7 was used there is uncertain, for no destruction layer or tile fall sealed the room's contents (although so labeled in Figure 40, Section A–A). All of the building was covered with a soft, red earth containing some stones and tiles, but this earth was scarcely distinguishable from the surface layer, which reached nearly 2.00 m. where accumulation was deepest. Pottery was fragmentary, much like that discovered beneath the tile floor. It consisted of a handful of coarse and cooking-ware fragments, two to three red wares, and seventeen fragments of lamps. Of the lamps eleven are Corinthian and range in date from Classical to 2nd or 3rd century after Christ; six are Attic. Three of the Attic lamps fall in the second half of the 4th century after Christ, the latest belonging to the category of post-glazing lamps.⁵⁴ In addition to this material, one lead curse tablet was discovered in the debris.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, its exact findspot is not recorded. Unlike the rectangular tablets found in conjunction with the earlier phase, which were rolled or folded, this one had been opened, although it was originally folded.

One more Roman feature remains to be described. At the northern end of the building, or rather at the northern end of the Hellenistic building, we uncovered a small patch of tile paving ca. 0.70 m. square (Fig. 39, Phase 2; Pl. 47:c). The paving (+165.66 m.) cut into the northwest

Fine ware 6: 3 Classical, 1 local Roman red ware; 2 Eastern Sigillata B: 1 rim as *Athenian Agora* V G169, 1 imitation Haltern 8 cup (*Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 95 [C-69-251], p. 50; joins with lots 6219, 6221).

Thin-walled ware 30: all tiny fragments.

Coarse and plain fine ware 6: 1 amphora handle; base and rim of pedestal crater (*Corinth* XVIII, ii, nos. 271 and 272, lot 6223:1–2, p. 126); 2 narrow-neck pitchers; 1 coarse base.

Cooking ware 3: 1 Pompeian red-ware pan; 1 frying pan; 1 body.

Lamps 14: 5 Broneer type XVI; 6 Early Roman glazed lamps; 3 Broneer type XXVII (*Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 21 [L-69-411], p. 28).

Figurines 5: 1 draped female, 4 others, all pre-Roman.

Miscellaneous 8: 5 glass; 1 iron; leg of marble statuette, S-70-1; 1 stone bead, MF-69-345.

Date: first half of the 3rd century after Christ.

⁵³ Lot 6224.

Total: 58 sherds, 3 miscellaneous.

Fine ware 5: 2 Classical, 3 local Roman red ware.

Thin-walled ware 3.

Coarse and plain fine ware 15: 9 amphoras; 2 rims, rest bodies; 2 miscellaneous water jars; 2 possible small, round-mouth jugs.

Cooking ware 4.

Lamps 31: 1 Broneer type XVI; 1 late 1st century after Christ; 29 from 6 lamps, Broneer type XXVII (*Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 19 [L-69-408], p. 28).

Date: first half 2nd century after Christ.

With these sherds was a bronze coin of Argos, 69-810, dated to the 3rd century B.C.

⁵⁴ Lot 6225. See *Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 40 (L-69-406), p. 32; no. 53 (L-69-404), p. 34; and no. 58 (L-69-407), p. 35, for the lamps; also no. 117 (C-69-317), p. 57, an African red-slip bowl Hayes form 53. For a discussion of post-glazing lamps, see *ibid.*, pp. 20–21, as well as p. 352 below, in conjunction with the destruction of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor T–U:19. Other finds from this level include two arms of marble statuettes, S-69-27 and S-69-28, a terracotta sima similar to that used in the West Temple T:16–17 (below, Chapter 16, 39), a few pieces of glass, red plaster, a shell, and three animal bones. The dating of the post-glazing lamps of Attica is, at present, being reexamined by Arja Karivieri; preliminary study has suggested a downdating by as much as fifty to one hundred years for this type of lamp. Since, however, we have not had time to examine her work in detail, we have chosen to retain the dates published by Kathleen Slane. In support of Slane's dating is the almost total lack of 5th-century after Christ pottery from the site. We thank A. Karivieri, however, for sharing this information with us.

⁵⁵ MF-69-311. It invokes the Theoi Katachthonioi.

corner of the service Room 5 of the Hellenistic building (p. 176 above) and was framed on the north and west sides by the walls of the Hellenistic structure. This fact may indicate that the Hellenistic walls continued to be used at this time. The paving is composed of one square tile like those used in Room 7, a Sicilian pan tile, and part of a Laconian one, both Roman. They are partially contained by a limestone slab, which runs parallel to the west wall and lies 0.30 m. south of the north wall. The flat pan tile is cut to continue around the slab to the east; beyond this point, however, nothing was found.

The remains are too slight to add to our understanding of the building. They show, however, that some provision for water existed on the north side, perhaps a small shower stall of some sort. The floor lay about 1.50 m. below the floor level in Room 7 to the south. This considerable difference in height may mean that the small paved area was not at floor level but below it. Since the material found on the paving was uninformative (a few pieces of Roman glass), we have tentatively assigned the floor to the early-3rd-century after Christ remodeling because of its similarity to the tiles used in Room 7. A Roman date, in any case, is assured by the form of the reused pan tile.

After its remodeling in the early 3rd century after Christ, the building continued to function until the second half of the 4th century after Christ and was undoubtedly abandoned late in this century when the rest of the Sanctuary was destroyed.

According to the pottery and the lamps, nearly a century separated the two Roman phases of the Building of the Tablets. Yet there is no reason to believe that the building was abandoned during this time, and it is possible that the laying of the tile floor in Room 7 may have removed traces of the intervening period. If we can assume that the building was used continuously, can we also assume that its function remained unchanged? The discovery of the additional curse tablet in Roman phase 2 would suggest that it did. In the same way, if we are correct in our interpretation of the later pits as a repetition of the earlier stone bases, then this too argues for continuity of function. At the same time, the addition of a tile floor and a drain—two features not present earlier—means that there was a change in practice. The tile floor of phase 3 was surely designed to cope with substantial amounts of water,⁵⁶ as the earlier clay floor was not. Though the tile floor could not have held water, sprinkled or poured water could have been cleaned up easily or swept into the drain. Therefore, in addition to the deposition of curse tablets, ablutions of some sort may have been performed in the room at this later date.

BUILDING L:23–24

A Roman structure was excavated just to the east of the Building of the Tablets, K–L:21–22. Considerably smaller than its neighbor, Building L:23–24 consisted of two adjacent rooms. Of these two, nearly all of the eastern room was preserved except for its northeast and northwest corners, but only a portion of the south wall of the western room. This breaks off 2.80 m. from Building K–L:21–22, with the result that the relation between the two buildings is not clear. Together, the two rooms measured 3.50 m. from north to south and 5.40 to perhaps as much as 8.20 m. from east to west.

Despite their proximity, the two buildings were not aligned, for the south wall of L:23–24 lay *ca.* 1.00 m. north of the corresponding wall of the Building of the Tablets. Moreover, its axis is turned slightly more to the southwest. Built of rubble and reused breccia blocks taken from earlier dining rooms, the south wall stood to a height of 0.92 m. For the length of the eastern room

⁵⁶ Tile floors occur elsewhere in Corinth, but their purpose in these buildings has not always been understood. In the Great Bath on the Lechaion Road tiles support the hypocausts in Room 5, undoubtedly because of their ability to withstand heat, *Corinth* XVII, p. 51, pl. 8:b. On the other hand, the purpose behind the tile floor in Shop VI of the west wing of the Central Shops is not immediately intelligible, unless it was simply one of durability. Furnished with a niche, the room has been provisionally interpreted as a small shrine; *Corinth* I, iii, p. 116.

it measured 0.75 m. thick, then narrowed to *ca.* 0.50 m. along the length of the western room. There was no sign, however, that one part had been added to the other. The remaining walls, also rubble, were preserved for a height of only one or two courses.

The eastern room measured 2.35 m. north–south by 2.15 m. east–west. No floor was preserved within it nor any features that might have indicated its use. In the adjacent, western room also the floor was missing. From the break in the south wall, however, to just short of the east wall of Building K–L:21–22, a hard, white clay floor was exposed (+166.849 m.). If this floor belonged with the western room, then Building L:23–24 must have extended up to the Building of the Tablets.⁵⁷ But we cannot disregard the possibility that the white floor was the sole remains of an earlier building that was destroyed when L:23–24 was constructed.

Pottery recovered from the demolition of the south wall (lot 73-117) provides an approximate date early in the 2nd century after Christ for the construction of Building L:23–24. With the sherds are two pieces of a Roman lionhead spout like that used in the roof of the Roman West Temple T:16–17 at the top of the Upper Terrace. What roof had been dismantled by this time to provide filler for the wall is not known.⁵⁸ The hard, white floor is also dated to the first half of the 2nd century after Christ, based on the sherds recovered during its removal (lot 73-104).⁵⁹ Both the floor and the building would therefore appear to have been coeval and part of the same complex. If this was the case, however, then the destruction of the building apparently occurred not too long after its construction. A layer of roof tiles rested on top of the south side of the white floor and continued south of it, just beyond the break in the wall. Pottery from the tile layer dated to the middle of the 2nd century after Christ (lot 73-103); beneath it were a coin of Hadrian (73-616), a local imitation of an Arretine cup, and an early Broneer type XXVII lamp, both belonging to the early 2nd century after Christ (lot 73-103).⁶⁰ Even if we use the latest date allowed by the pottery, that is, Antonine, the room and perhaps the building went out of use before the remodeling of Room 7 in Building K–L:21–22 in the early 3rd century after Christ.

BUILDING K:16

Part of another complex, tentatively identified as Roman, was exposed in K:16, approximately 5.00 m. north of Building M:16–17. The remains are confined to a stretch of wall 4.20 m. long, which runs east–west through the width of the grid square and into the neighboring K:17. Broken at either end, the wall certainly continued further east, but it is probably missing very little at its western end. It is *ca.* 0.45 m. thick, is built of fieldstones, and is preserved to a height of only one or two courses, or 0.26 m.

A bench 0.50 m. wide and 0.30 m. high stands against the north face of the wall. Its retaining wall consists of a single row of fieldstones, as is common in the Classical buildings in the Sanctuary. At its western end the bench makes a short return to the north before breaking off. No good floor was found in front of the bench but only red earth; this, in turn, was interrupted a short distance to the north by a Late Roman grave.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Despite the fact that the white floor is only 0.05 m. lower than the clay floor in Room 7, Roman phase 1, of Building K–L:21–22, the east wall of K–L:21–22 was not preserved to a sufficient height to indicate whether a door once existed between the two structures.

⁵⁸ Chapter 16, **39** for the type. As noted above, note 54, a similar fragment was found on top of the latest floor in Room 7 of Building K–L:21–22. For lot 73-117 and the numbers of the catalogued objects published from it, see *Corinth XVIII*, ii, p. 142; there the lot is dated to late Flavian or Hadrianic times.

⁵⁹ Lot 73-104, *Corinth XVIII*, ii, p. 142. A glass bottle, MF-73-76, from this level will be published in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

⁶⁰ Lot 73-103, *Corinth XVIII*, ii, p. 142. Buildings 1 and 3, east of the Theater, seem to have been destroyed by an earthquake during the reign of Hadrian, for which see C. K. Williams II and O. H. Zervos, "Corinth, 1985: East of the Theater," *Hesperia* 55, 1986 [pp. 129–175], pp. 142–143.

⁶¹ Grave 8, Chapter 13.

Both the wall and the bench in every way resemble the kinds of structures that abound in the Greek Sanctuary, and it would be preferable to date them to that time. Roman pottery, however, was recovered from the foundation trench for the south wall and from the earth cut by that trench (lot 75-251). Diagnostic of a post-Classical date are one Hellenistic shield bowl and six Roman sherds, including part of a lamp of the 1st century after Christ. If these sherds are not intrusive, then the complex must have been built in the 1st century after Christ.⁶² It is difficult to understand, however, what purpose it would have served in the Roman Sanctuary.

The building had a relatively short life, as is attested by a large pit that cut through its southeastern end. The 338 sherds from this pit are almost entirely Roman in date, consisting primarily of fragments of transport amphoras, Rhodian, Coan, and pseudo-Coan. Based on the latest material, the filling of the pit took place in the first half of the 2nd century after Christ (lot 75-253).⁶³ Further destruction of the building took place when a small oven was cut into its southwest corner (Pl. 56:c). For this, see Chapter 13, pages 380–381.

THE STAIRWAY AND ROMAN PROPYLON: N-P:19-20

(Figs. 33 [p. 217], 42A-B, 43; Plans 9 B-B, 10 E-E)⁶⁴

In the Classical and Hellenistic periods the Lower Terrace had been tied to the Middle and Upper Terraces by means of the long processional stairway whose lowest treads began in H-I:20 and continued at least as far south as O-P:20, a length of nearly 14.00 m. As we have seen, around the end of the 4th century B.C. a propylon was erected in O-P:19-20—if one had not existed earlier—in order to funnel and control the traffic that passed up into the cult center. This building, O-P:19-20, must have been standing when the Romans reoccupied the site, for they apparently retained its core while enlarging it to the north. At the same time, they covered over part or all of the stairway, to judge by a small stretch of undisturbed Early Roman fill that overlay landing 6 and the steps immediately to the south of it in N:20, as well as a second patch at the base of the steps in J:20. These two areas of Early Roman fill suggest that the stairway too was still visible, despite the passing of more than one hundred years and the likelihood of downwash from Acrocorinth that might have covered it during the intervening period. Although the area where the stairway had been was left free of architectural construction, it is difficult to understand why the Romans abandoned the steps, unless it was their intention to change the approach to the Middle Terrace, to separate the Lower Terrace from the remainder of the Sanctuary, or to raise the level in front of the Hellenistic Propylon. We shall look at each of these possibilities in greater detail, beginning with the stairway, then proceeding to the Propylon in its two, Roman phases.

From N:20 north to at least the southern third of L:20, there is good evidence for the covering of the stairway in the 1st century after Christ. Over landing 6 and the three steps to the south of it lay a deposit of sandy earth, mixed with pieces of limestone, roof tiles, and small fragments of Doric architecture (Fig. 43, stratum 4B). The amount of tiles and stones increased further north as more of the step blocks proved to be missing. Though pottery from this fill was largely Hellenistic in date, several fragments of Roman pie-fluted thymiateria place its deposition somewhere in the 1st century after Christ.⁶⁵

Further north the picture is less clear. Where the blocks of landing 1 are missing in J:20, we again found a stratum with Early Roman sherds directly over the bedding for the stairway.

⁶² A further problem in an early date for Building K:16 is its relation to the 5th-century B.C. structure K:17, of which again very little exists. Building K:17 lies just north of the eastern end of the wall and bench in K:16 and would have to have been abandoned when Building K:16 was built.

⁶³ *Corinth XVIII*, ii, p. 142.

⁶⁴ Stroud 1968, pp. 314–315, therein called the Pi-shaped foundation, from the resemblance of its north foundation to the Greek letter pi.

⁶⁵ No lot. For this type of pottery, see *Corinth XVIII*, ii, pp. 66–71.

Thus, this part was not simply covered but also partially dismantled in or by the 1st century after Christ. For most of the northern half of the stairway, however, from the northern edge of M:20 to the southern third of K:20, the fill over the bedding was of Late Roman date. The successive tips of earth that covered the area are quite clearly mixed with considerable amounts of rubble and tiles in alternation with cleaner layers of gravel. The extent to which this northern area was disturbed is shown by the Late Roman tile Grave 12, which was dug into the earth that filled the missing west side of landing 1 in J:20.⁶⁶ Dislodged step blocks were discovered in Late Roman levels over the Classical dining hall M–N:19, and in debris of the late 4th century after Christ in Room 1 of the Building of the Tablets (K–L:21–22).

South of landing 6 Early Roman activity was also attested in N–O:19–20, where part of the stairway was removed to make way for a new, north façade of an enlarged propylon. For this construction, steps 4 and 5, leading from landing 6 to 7, were removed (Pl. 20:e), together with the northern end of landing 7. Behind this foundation the lowest layer of earth to cover landing 7 contained nothing later than the 2nd century B.C. (lot 6202). This fill was both cut and covered by a leveling stratum having, in addition to Hellenistic pottery, a few Roman pieces.⁶⁷ From these we can conclude that this portion of the stairway was also abandoned by the 1st century after Christ.

The Propylon, Roman Phase 1

As a part of their rebuilding of the Propylon, the Romans enlarged the Hellenistic building by constructing a new façade 2.80 m. north of the old one. The remains of this new façade are now reduced to a single foundation, consisting of a two-coursed ashlar wall of limestone oriented east–west, as well as short returns to the south at both eastern and western ends. These closed the gap between the new north façade and the preexisting building. Some of these blocks undoubtedly derived from the north wall of the Hellenistic Propylon, for their dimensions are close to those of the blocks still *in situ*.

The bottom course of this foundation is 7.52 m. long from east to west, 0.46 m. high (top +171.89 m.), and perhaps as much as 0.60 m. thick. Composed of a single row of blocks, its north face is uneven, for two blocks project nearly 0.20 m. beyond the others. Several blocks preserve a beveled vertical joint cut with the claw chisel; the front of one block is worked with anathyrosis, while three more exhibit lengths suited to the Hellenistic Propylon.⁶⁸ Fragmentary roof tiles set in mortar fill out whatever irregularities existed (Pl. 49:b, d).

Course 2 is set back 0.24–0.41 m. from the north face of course 1 (Pls. 20:e, 23:b, 49:d).⁶⁹ Measuring 7.31 m. long, 0.37 m. high (top +172.26 m.), and 0.58–0.75 m. thick, the course consists of a single row of blocks along the north. Although the north face of course 2 is more regular than that of course 1, at least one block is irregularly trimmed and suggests that the faces of both courses were covered.⁷⁰ Beveled joints appear here too, and a reused statue base has also been incorporated into the foundation.⁷¹

⁶⁶ For the grave, see below in Chapter 13.

⁶⁷ The later pieces are described in note 78 below. The paucity of Roman sherds in these levels and the predominance of Hellenistic material suggest that the purely Hellenistic date of lot 6202 is coincidental. The fill was probably deposited in Early Roman times, for there is no reason that the stairway would have been abandoned earlier than that.

⁶⁸ These lengths are 1.22, 1.15, and 1.12 m.

⁶⁹ The variation in this setback is due to the unevenness of course 1.

⁷⁰ A band 0.10 to 0.25 m. wide is trimmed back more deeply on the upper edge of block 4; this trimmed face is not parallel to the lower half of the block.

⁷¹ Although largely obscured by its neighbor, the east face of block 3 (numbered from the east end) preserves a large rectangular cutting 0.07 m. deep, set in 0.085 m. from at least two edges. At least two more such blocks are known from the site. One was built into a Hellenistic wall overlying the Classical dining hall N:21 (p. 198 and note 54 above), while a second was incorporated into the west wing of the Roman stairway on the Upper Terrace (p. 374 and note 130 below).

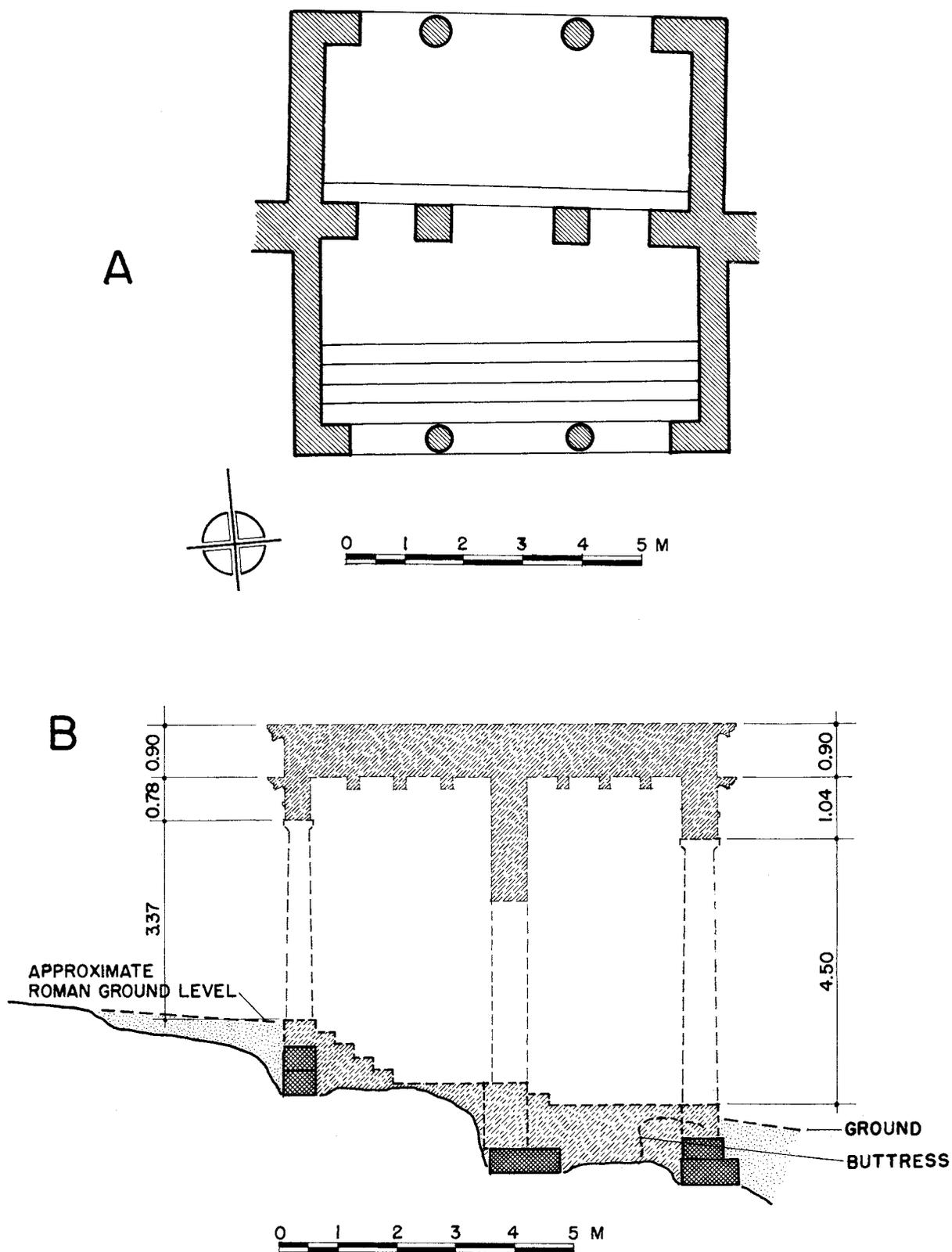


FIG. 42. Roman Propylon N-P:19-20: *A. Restored plan; B. Restored elevation, looking west*

At the eastern end of course 2 a single block, 1.26 m. long and 0.64 m. wide, has been laid with its long axis oriented north–south to form the beginning of the east flank wall of the new Propylon. It is aligned with the Hellenistic east wall that lies further to the south. Incorporated into this new segment of the east wall are also the steps that led into the Hellenistic Entrance Court at N–O:20–21 as well as a fragmentary step block with triple reveals from the Hellenistic façade (Chapter 16, 1). At the western end of course 2, two blocks, each 1.26 m. long and 0.64 m. wide, are also oriented north–south; a third such block lies immediately to the south to fill out the west flank wall, which also is aligned with the earlier west wall further south. Neither of these additions to east and west walls abuts the earlier north foundation of the Hellenistic Propylon but ends 0.40 m. short of it, a fact that suggests that the earlier north wall was not retained in the enlargement of the building.

Despite the demolition of part of the Hellenistic Propylon, the enlargement was clearly laid out with the earlier structure in view, for the new north façade is the same length as the old one. The two buildings do not, however, share the same orientation but vary slightly. Whereas the Hellenistic Propylon is oriented about true east–west, the new north foundation runs 3 degrees to east of north, an orientation that is reflected in the terrace Wall 11 for the Roman Middle Terrace (Chapter 11). The east, south, and west walls of the Hellenistic Propylon were all retained as the exterior walls for the Roman Propylon. Only the Hellenistic north wall was abandoned, and with the enlargement of the north side of the building, both east and west walls were also extended.

The Roman Propylon was substantially larger than its predecessor, being 7.30 m. square. The new plan comprised two porches of nearly equal size, either distyle in antis or tetrastyle prostyle; in addition, an intermediate door-wall was built on top of part of the foundation for the earlier north wall (Fig. 42A).

Evidence for this door-wall is preserved in the packing that was deposited behind the new north façade. The area between the Roman north façade and the Hellenistic façade was filled with brown earth mixed with stones to about the top of course 2 of the Roman façade (Fig. 43, stratum 6A, +172.28–172.30 m.). This homogeneous fill overlapped the lowest foundation course of the north wall of the Hellenistic Propylon; indeed, the fill covered as much as 0.55 m. of it. (In Plates 49:d, e and 50:a it is the lower baulk that indicates the height of this packing.) This means that the Hellenistic Propylon must have been at least partially dismantled by or at the time the Roman enlargement was begun. On top of the southern half of the foundation for the Hellenistic north wall a new wall was constructed that was subsequently pillaged in Late Roman times. The trench that was left by this pillaging, however, allows us to restore the new wall's position (Fig. 43, stratum 2; Pls. 40:a, 50); the trench itself is shown by fine lines in the state plan of Figure 33. Situated 3.20 m. from the Roman north façade and 3.50 m. from the south façade, this wall is 0.60 m. thick.⁷² It served as the foundations for an interior door-wall within the Roman Propylon.

The trench that removed the interior door-wall continued beyond the Propylon to east and west, following the line of terrace Wall 11 for the Roman Middle Terrace (Chapter 11 below). The latter wall extends from O:25 to at least N–O:11. Where the fabric of the wall is preserved, it is built of rubble and cement and averages 1.00 m. in thickness. Furthermore, it formed the north wall of a stoa that replaced the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building. From the robbed wall trench it is clear that the Roman terrace wall together with the stoa abutted the Propylon on the east side and that the wall alone abutted it on the west side. The orientation of this wall, moreover, is the same as that of the new north façade.

⁷² The pillaged wall is 0.60 m. thick, if we confine our measurements to the area supported by the underlying stone foundations; the pillaged wall trench, however, continues somewhat south of the foundations, reaching a maximum width of 0.80 m.

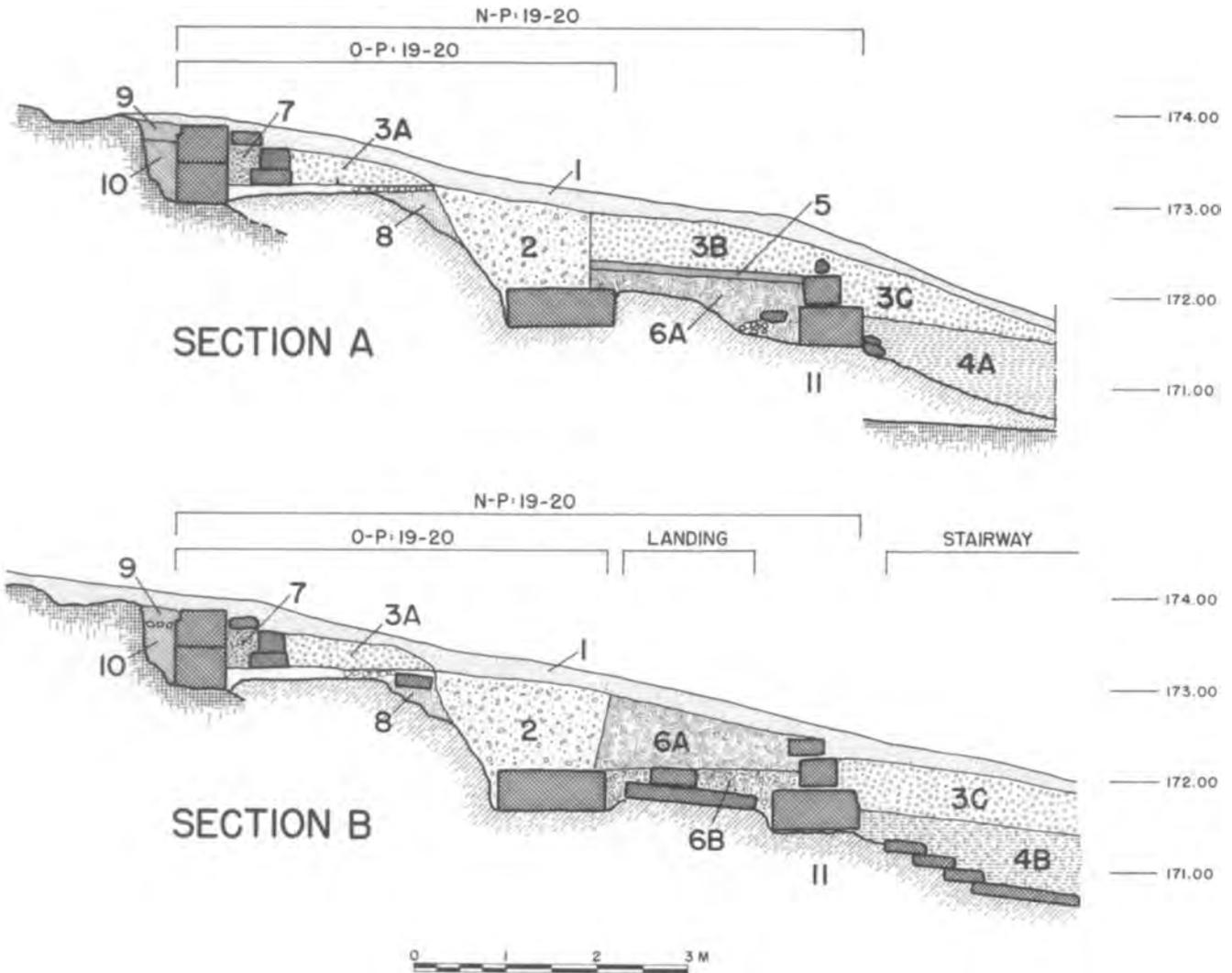


FIG. 43. Cross-section through Roman Propylon N-P:19-20

A. Through center, looking west; B. Through east side, looking west. [1] Surface; [2] Robbed wall trench for interior door wall (lots 2248, 4381); [3A] Late Roman debris over floor (lot 2240); [3B] Later Roman packing for phase 2 with Byzantine contamination (lot 3207) [3C] General fill; [4A] Construction fill north of Propylon; [4B] Covering of Classical stairway; [5] Leveling stratum, phase 1; [6A] Packing for north porch, Roman phase 1 (lots 3208, 3209, 3215); [6B] Packing for north porch over landing 7, Roman phase 1 (lots 3216, 6202); [7] Packing for south steps, phase 1 or 2 (lot 4415); [8] Classical fill beneath Hellenistic floor over stairway; [9] Foundation trench behind south wall, Roman fill (lots 2231, 4437); [10] Foundation trench behind south wall, Hellenistic fill (lots 2232, 4418); [11] Red virgin soil

The Late Roman pillaging of the Propylon was not confined to the interior door-wall, for deep trenches also overlay the east and west walls, removing at the same time the juncture between the preexisting side walls and their new extensions to the north. The south wall was dismantled to its euthynteria course, the top of which is flush with bedrock to the south (Fig. 43). The fill within the robbed wall trenches that overlay both east and west walls was homogeneous with that over the foundation for the interior door-wall. The trenches were filled with discarded material, a wealth of Archaic and Classical votive pottery, figurines, and terracotta sculpture, as well as fieldstones, roof tiles (both Greek and Roman) to which mortar adhered, and mortar mixed with earth.⁷³ The composition of the fill dumped back into the trenches suggests that the superstructures of all the walls may have incorporated rubble, tiles, and mortar, in addition to cut blocks that were attractive to pillagers. Whether this construction belongs to the first Roman phase of the Roman Propylon, however, or to its second is unclear. The type of construction seems more in keeping with the later phase since rubble seems to have been used sparingly in the first one. See page 305 below.

Virtually nothing can be assigned to the superstructure of this building. Nevertheless, we can make certain observations about its elevation. Some slight assistance comes from the Roman Stoa on the Middle Terrace, the façade of which lay parallel to the south façade of the Propylon but approximately 1.10 m. further south.⁷⁴

The builders of the Roman Propylon faced much the same problem as their Hellenistic predecessors in adapting their building to the hillslope, for the difference in height between the tops of the north and south foundations is a substantial 1.62 m., or 0.96 m. between the north foundation and the surviving floor of the south porch. Two solutions were possible: the builders could have raised the north foundations nearly a meter in order to elevate the north stylobate to the level of the interior floor; however, they would also have had to create a considerable mound or high stairway just north of the north façade in order to make the stylobate accessible to those approaching the building. Alternatively, the north stylobate could have been left at a lower level, but then several steps would have been required within the north porch to bridge the difference in height between it and the floor of the south porch, and again, between the south porch and ground level to the south. Among the few fixed points left to us today are the floor of the south porch (+173.22 m.), which continued to be the cobbled floor laid down in the Hellenistic period, and the foundations for the steps that abutted the south wall of that porch. That the floor continued in use is suggested by the Late Roman pottery and the lamps that covered it.

In our proposed restoration of the Roman Propylon (Fig. 42B), two other factors have been taken into account, namely, contemporary ground level to the south of the building and the proposed elevation of the adjacent Doric stoa, since all other evidence for the superstructure of the Roman Propylon is missing. The approximate ground level for both the Roman Propylon and the Roman Stoa can be estimated both from a patch of pebble paving (+174.75 m.) that lies further south beside Well 1961-11 in Q:19 and from a slanting drain block associated with a wing of the stoa in Q:23 (+174.91–174.773 m.). The hypothetical ground level is shown by a broken line in Figure 42B. From this line it is clear that one more course of 0.45 m. was necessary to raise the existing south foundation of the Roman Propylon to at least that height. As described below in Chapter 11, very little remains of the stoa's superstructure apart from elements of the roof and a single, fragmentary Doric capital (Chapter 16, **10**). Nevertheless, by using the restored width of that abacus, or 0.45 m., and by following, as a parallel, the proportions of the Doric façade

⁷³ The lots for the robbed wall trenches are as follows: lot 4362, east wall; lot 2239, west wall; lots 4350, 2248, 4381, north wall.

⁷⁴ The problems in the restoration of this stoa are considerable and are discussed below in Chapter 11. It is possible that in its original phase the Roman Propylon was freestanding, except for the abutting terrace Wall 11. But it is equally possible that the stoa abutted it from the start. For that reason, we have taken the stoa's façade into consideration in restoring ours.

of the Northwest Stoa in the Forum of Corinth,⁷⁵ we arrive at the following very hypothetical dimensions for the elevation of both the stoa and the south façade of the Roman Propylon:

| | NORTHWEST STOA | STOA AND PROPYLON |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Lower column diameter</i> | 0.64 m. | 0.44 m. |
| <i>Full column height</i> | 4.25–4.80 m. ⁷⁶ | 3.37 m. |
| <i>Abacus length</i> | 0.65 m. | 0.45 m. |
| <i>Entablature height to top of lateral geison</i> | 1.06 m. | 0.78 m. |
| <i>Full height of order to top of lateral geison</i> | 5.31–5.86 m. | 4.15 m. |

For the north façade of the Roman Propylon there is even less evidence, and we can only propose a reconstruction that would be within the bounds of probability, given the dimensions of the restored south face. We have no evidence for Roman ground level north of the façade. The fill associated with the covering of the Classical stairway was only preserved to the top of course 1 (Fig. 43, strata 4A, B; +171.89 m.). Above this level the earth was simply a continuation of surface plough soil. We have argued above that both foundation courses of the north façade in N–O:19–20 were poorly enough finished to warrant their being covered. This same argument can be used for the top of course 2, the south face of which is quite uneven. We assume, therefore, that there was at least one more course above course 2. Some idea of the height possible for such a course or courses is suggested by the remains from the succeeding phase, described below. As we will see, these show that the stylobate of the Roman Propylon at that time stood more than 0.40 m. above the top of course 2. Using, therefore, the proposed elevation of the south façade to establish the height of the lateral geison, together with the proportions of the Northwest Stoa, and limited by the width of the underlying foundations, we arrive at the following dimensions that might have been used for the Propylon's north façade:

| | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <i>Elevation of stylobate</i> | +172.92, or 0.66 m. above course 2 |
| <i>Lower column diameter</i> | 0.60 m. |
| <i>Full column height</i> | 4.50 m. |
| <i>Abacus length</i> | 0.64 m. |
| <i>Entablature height to top of lateral geison</i> | 1.04 m. |
| <i>Full height of order to top of lateral geison</i> | 5.54 m. |

Because of the difference in height between the two entablatures, many of the elements of the façade must have ended at the corners of the building. The roof, however, would have been of uniform height; with a slope of *ca.* 14 degrees from a ridgepole oriented north–south, a pediment roughly 0.90 m. in height would have crowned either façade. We must emphasize, however, that these figures are entirely hypothetical, serving to show simply how an elevation might have worked. We have assumed that both façades were Doric; this too is hypothetical. We have also restored a plan with two columns in antis on both façades (Fig. 42A), while admitting that a tetrastyle prostyle porch is also possible.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ For the Northwest Stoa, see *Corinth* I, ii, pp. 89–130, esp. pp. 96–100. It is dated to the Early Roman period in Williams 1969, pp. 52–55. A second example of a relatively well preserved Doric elevation of the Roman period is that of the Peirene Fountain in its second Roman phase, for which see *Corinth* I, vi, pp. 69–78, fig. 38. Its proportions are close to those of the Northwest Stoa. These two structures represent virtually the only well-preserved Roman Doric elevations in Corinth.

⁷⁶ The height of the column is equal to 6.6 or 7.5 lower diameters, depending on its restored height. The engaged Doric columns on the façade of Peirene Fountain have a column height of 7.5 times their lower diameter.

⁷⁷ A good example can be found in the gates leading into the Roman market in Athens, where the outer façade is Doric prostyle, while the inner façade is Ionic distyle in antis. J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* I, London 1762, chapter I, pls. I–VI; H. S. Robinson, "The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market-Place," *AJA* 47, 1943, pp. 291–305; M. Hoff, "The Roman Agora at Athens" (diss. Boston University 1988), pp. 127–157. There are,

The hypothetical north stylobate lay 0.27 m. below the floor in the southern half of the Roman Propylon. Therefore one or two steps must have bridged the gap from one level to another. Following the examples of gate-buildings elsewhere, we have tentatively restored three doors in the dividing wall, a central higher one flanked by a smaller door to either side. Within the south porch lay the pebble floor that we have described already. Whether it was resurfaced or revetted at this time we cannot say. It ended 1.30 m. from the south wall. As in the Hellenistic Propylon, a number of steps were required to reach the level of the southern stylobate. The existing foundations suggest that there were four, or five including the stylobate itself, each about 0.25 m. high and roughly 0.30 m. deep.

The only evidence for the date of this first Roman reconstruction of the Propylon comes from the pottery recovered from the brown packing behind the foundation for the north façade (Fig. 43, strata 6A, B), as well as the material overlying the stairway to the north (Fig. 43, stratum 4B), already mentioned above. While most of the sherds from the brown packing are Hellenistic in date, three fragments of Roman cooking ware and one piece of Roman blown glass place the deposition of this earth sometime in the 1st century after Christ (lot 3209);⁷⁸ a more precise date cannot be determined. But if we can speak of a unified building program in the Early Roman Sanctuary, then the remodeling of the Propylon may well have taken place in the last quarter of the 1st century, together with the renovation of the Building of the Tablets, and the construction of three temples at the top of the Upper Terrace.

The Propylon, Roman Phase 2

At a subsequent date, exactly when is unattested, the Roman Propylon N-P:19-20 was extensively rebuilt. Evidence for the rebuilding was best preserved on the north façade and inside the south porch against the foundations of the south wall. Characteristic of this phase is the use of rubble and cement.

The north façade was dismantled to the top of course 2. Above that course was built a wall or foundation composed of fieldstones, at least one grinding stone, and pieces of poros, laid in a cement that had largely decomposed. Larger stones were placed along the north face, smaller stones behind, with squared step blocks at the corners (Pl. 49:a). Set back 0.10 m. from the north face of course 2, the new foundation measured 0.50 m. thick. The stones did not rest directly on course 2 but on a thin layer of earth. This stratum of earth was more visible beneath the stones of the east return, where it reached a height of 0.40 m., and was mixed with fragmentary roof tiles.

In addition, two rectangular pierlike foundations were built against the inner face of the north façade in N-O:19-20. The eastern foundation lies 1.94 m. from the east face of the Propylon (Pl. 49:c). It is 1.05 m. wide from east to west by 0.65-0.90 m. from north to south; its base is about level with the base of course 2 of the north foundation, while its top projects 0.40 m. above that course (+172.66 m.). The western foundation lies 1.30 m. west of the first, or *ca.* 2.00 m. from the west face of the Propylon. It is 1.00 m. long east-west by 0.64 m. north-south and rises 0.36 m. above course 2. Both foundations are built of fieldstones and fragmentary step blocks, bound by a similar, decomposed mortar, and, when discovered, they appeared to bond with the rubble construction that covered course 2. In the absence of any finished surface, we assume that all three elements were originally masked with limestone or marble. Behind them the

in fact, no good parallels for the Sanctuary building among known propylaia, for they are either built on level ground, as in the Athens market, or so placed on a slope that the building itself is level, but approached by a steep stairway. For a discussion of this problem in conjunction with the Hellenistic Propylon, see Chapter 7.

⁷⁸ More specifically, these later pieces are one cooking ware fragment with incised wave pattern, a second piece with incised wave pattern and applied "pie crust," probably belonging to a thymiaterion, and a third undecorated body. The glass is light blue in color and blown. For such a thymiaterion, see *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 145 (C-65-322), p. 68.

earth packing was raised to at least the top of the piers (Pl. 49:e, higher baulk, to right), but the few sherds recovered from it were not of use in dating this remodeling (Fig. 43, stratum 3B).

Although the outlines of the Propylon remained unchanged, the new foundations facilitated the building of a more massive façade, for the new piers, when combined with the width of the front wall, provided a base *ca.* 1.00 m. square for the columns erected on them. Unfortunately, once again nothing can be assigned to the superstructure of this phase. We do not know whether the order was Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian, or whether the columns stood directly on the new stylobate or on square piers. Two unfluted column shafts, one marble (Chapter 16, **66**), one poros (**67**), were found north of the Propylon; both, however, seem too small for such bases. For this reason we have attempted no restoration.

It may well be to this phase, too, that we should attribute rubble and cement superstructures to the foundations of the east and west outer walls. These are the walls that were subsequently destroyed and that provided part of the filling for the pillaged wall trenches that overlay the foundations.

As mentioned above, to this period also must belong the foundations for interior steps that can now be seen against the south wall (Pl. 40:a, b, no. 2). Like the north foundation, these incorporate fragmentary step blocks, laid somewhat haphazardly in rows beside fieldstones, and fragmentary roof tiles in a crumbly mortar. At present, three rows of stones are preserved, filling 0.72 m. of the 1.30 m. wide gap between the cobbled floor to the north and the south wall of the room. They stand to a height of 0.60 m. or about flush with the extant surface of the south wall; originally, however, they must have filled the entire 1.30 m. As in the preceding period we estimate that there were four steps in addition to the stylobate, each about 0.25 m. high and 0.30 m. deep.

The Propylon stood in this form until at least the late 4th century after Christ. At that time, the east and west exterior walls, as well as the interior crosswall, were destroyed to foundation level. The floor of the south porch was covered by a thick layer of tiles, stones, and earth, together with pottery of the late 4th century after Christ (lot 2240).

In conclusion, that the Romans retained the Propylon and even enlarged it indicates that the means of access to the Middle and Upper Terraces remained unchanged from Hellenistic times. That route, moreover, took visitors past the Building of the Tablets, K-L:21-22, the significance of which must have been considerable. We can only assume, therefore, that their purpose in covering part, if not all, of the Classical stairway was simply to raise the level to fit the new buildings. If we may use Building K-L:21-22 as an example, the new floor in Room 1 was raised 0.50 m. from its Hellenistic level. Its door would thus have stood well above the landing to the west.

The Roman Propylon, moreover, fit neatly into the Roman design for the Middle and Upper Terraces, for a line drawn through its center also bisects the central Temple with the Mosaic Floor T-U:19 at the top of the Upper Terrace, while passing just to the west of the well in Q:19. That axial line is also important for the two wings of the divided stairway of the Upper Terrace, to be described in Chapter 12, for each end is equidistant from the line.

The Propylon does not clarify the relationship between the Lower Terrace and the Middle and Upper Terraces in the Roman period. One may argue, however, that the retention of a preexisting architectural organization implies that the same relations obtained between the various parts. Just as the Classical dining rooms were a part of, but subordinate to, the cult buildings of the Middle and Upper Terraces, so may the buildings described above have complemented the temples, stoa, and altars of the rest of the Sanctuary.

THE MIDDLE TERRACE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

(Plans 1, 6)

N-R:9-27

Although there is no evidence of building activity on the Middle Terrace during the period from 146 to 44 B.C., it appears that this part of the Sanctuary once again played an important though comparatively diminished role after the Roman renovation of the site. The condition in which the Roman renovators found the abandoned buildings on this Terrace is very difficult to determine. Erosion has carried away much of the stratification that accumulated after the 3rd century B.C. In fact, it is only because some of the foundations of Roman buildings cut down through the earlier levels to bedrock that we are able to recreate in part the form of the Middle Terrace during the last four hundred years of its existence. In one case,¹ the Roman builders used earlier walls and retained the original form of an area as it had been in the Greek Sanctuary. Their usual practice, however, seems to have been to ignore the orientation and existence of earlier structures when they laid deep foundations for new buildings.

Roman construction brought radical changes to the shape and size of the Middle Terrace. It is not surprising that one of the most pressing projects to occupy the attention of the renovators was the north retaining wall. The importance of this element in the architectural development of the Middle Terrace can be gauged by observing the successive attempts to define its northern limits during each phase of construction in the previous history of the site.² Now, in the Roman period, a substantial new wall was built to serve the old dual purpose of defining this side of the Middle Terrace and preventing its earth fill from being washed down the steep slope of the hill to the north. This new north retaining wall is much longer than any of its predecessors. It can be traced for more than 65 meters, and for most of this length it runs parallel to a long rock cutting to the south in P:13 to Q:20. Together, these two important features not only restored the Middle Terrace to its Archaic oblong proportions but also more than doubled its total area. Through the layers of earlier fill that survived to the south of the new retaining wall, trenches were dug for the rubble and concrete foundations of a long, narrow building, probably a stoa. It occupied the eastern half of the Middle Terrace. It faced southward, up the hill toward the three Roman temples that were now built high up on the bedrock of the Upper Terrace.³ Inside the stoa the Romans reused, at least until the middle of the 3rd century after Christ, the Hellenistic stuccoed cistern in P:20-21 (pp. 247-248 above). In addition to restoring part of the Greek Room A and adding some kind of lustral installation outside it in Q:25, they also dug a well through the bedrock in Q:19. North of the well, at the western end of the stoa, in N-P:19-20, a new entrance hall was now constructed that served as the principal means of access from the lower part of the site (pp. 293-301 above, the Roman Propylon). After passing through it, one had reached the level of the Middle Terrace. Directly on its axis to the south lay the well in Q:19 and the central temple on the Upper Terrace.

Erosion on a massive scale and fairly thorough destruction near the end of the 4th century after Christ have reduced most of these Roman elements on the Middle Terrace to meager

¹ Room A (pp. 309-310 below).

² For the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace in the Greek Sanctuary, see pp. 57-63, 163-170, 245-247 above.

³ These three temples will be described below (pp. 338-371).

proportions. Nor has much contemporary stratification survived in place. Consequently, the chronology of the Roman structures in this part of the Sanctuary remains very uncertain. More so than in earlier periods, we are forced to rely on the positions of the buildings, rather than on associated lots of pottery and other finds, to establish their dates of construction. The great quantity of Roman pottery, lamps, and coins found in the upper levels throughout the excavation of the Middle Terrace shows that the limited architectural remains do not accurately represent the amount of activity here during the period *ca.* 44 B.C. to *ca.* A.D. 400.⁴

RETAINING WALLS

The northern limit of the Middle Terrace in the Roman period was marked by a long east-west retaining wall, which we have been able to trace for a distance of 65.75 m. (Wall 11). In building this wall, the Romans appear to have dug a deep trench *ca.* 1.00 m. wide down as far as bedrock or until they encountered parts of earlier walls that were solid enough to be incorporated into their new construction. They then filled this trench with fieldstones, tile fragments, reused blocks, and the like, all held together with a coarse, gray cement. This formed the foundations of the retaining wall.⁵ At its eastern end, this wall begins in O:25, where it abuts the inner face of the east wall of the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building.⁶ Since no trace of the Roman wall survives to the east of this building, we assume that it did not extend beyond this point. The solid blocks of the Trapezoidal Building's east wall probably provided a firm anchor for the end of the Roman retaining wall. At this point, the latter is bedded directly on the north wall of the sacrificial Pit B, which is located in the easternmost room of the Trapezoidal Building, P:24–25. Here, and to the west of the pit, part of the fabric of the retaining wall consists of a few large, breccia blocks similar to those used in the foundations of the Trapezoidal Building. Some have clearly been shifted from their original positions and are reused in the Roman retaining wall. The upper surface and the joints between these blocks are covered with the same coarse, gray cement mentioned above. The preserved width of the wall here is *ca.* 1.00 m., that is, the same as that of the construction trench. Hence we do not have for the wall any foundation trenches on either side of it that could have contained pottery helpful for dating.

Since it is unlikely that the eastern end of this north retaining wall merely stopped in O:25, we suggest that it had a short return to the south (see Plans 1 and 6). The east foundation wall of the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building was still standing here to a sufficient height to serve as a suitable underpinning for this return. The fact that on its top surface there were no traces of the Roman concrete or rubble construction may not be significant, for the wall lay only a few centimeters below modern ground level. Its upper parts had been badly damaged by modern ploughing.⁷

The Roman retaining wall continues to the west, cutting through the two partition walls of the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building in O:24 and O:23. Here it rests directly on bedrock. It passes to the north of the 5th-century Pit E in O:22⁸ and cuts through the west wall of the Trapezoidal

⁴ The pottery and lamps of the Roman period have been published by K. W. Slane in *Corinth XVIII*, ii. Some of the coins have been published in preliminary form by J. E. Fisher in Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 318–331, and 1974, pp. 292–307. A complete catalogue of all the coins from the Demeter Sanctuary will be included in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

⁵ This type of construction is common in the Roman period at Corinth: cf., e.g., the foundations of many of the Roman temples and monuments in the Lower Forum; *Corinth I*, iii, pp. 9, 17, 51–53, 57, etc. Similar is the construction of the north temenos wall of the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, except for the buttresses. See *Isthmia II*, pp. 69–70.

⁶ For this building, see pp. 235–243 above.

⁷ See pp. 243–245 above.

⁸ For this pit, see pp. 163–164 above.

Building in O:21. Here the Roman builders encountered the late-4th-century B.C. entrance court with stelai and Pit F.⁹ They constructed their retaining wall so that it ran parallel to, and flush against, the north face of the south wall of this court. The west wall of the court they left in place, incorporating it into the fabric of their wall. From this point and extending westward for most of its exposed length, we found that the retaining wall had been pillaged. Its width and position, however, are never in question, since the robbers left behind on the line of the wall a deep trench containing great quantities of the redeposited rubble, tile, and cement fabric of the wall. This they had apparently broken up in order to remove larger, more serviceable blocks for reuse elsewhere. See page 298 above.

In O:20, the builders of the Roman retaining wall reached the Hellenistic Propylon. This building must now have been largely in ruins, for they seem to have bedded their wall directly on top of the lowest foundation course of its north wall in the manner described above (in Chapter 10; for the robbing trench over the Roman retaining wall here, see Pl. 50:a, b). The relationship of the north retaining wall to the new Roman Propylon that was built in N-P:19-20 has also been discussed above (p. 296).

Although the north retaining wall may have played a role in the design of this new Roman entrance, it did not terminate here, for it continued to the west. In O:18, a large piece of its rubble and cement fabric is preserved. No other fragment of the wall's original construction survives to the west of this, but the robbing trench, full of the same kind of debris, continues all the way across the width of the excavations to N-O:11 (see Pl. 50). In the western sector the retaining wall partially covered or removed the south walls of at least two dining room units of the Classical period on the Lower Terrace in N-O:17-18 (pp. 148-149 above) and N:12-13 (p. 212 above). To the south of this western sector of the Roman retaining wall we found no remains of structures on the flat terrace that it helps to create. Nor are there any other walls that can be connected with it. We should probably conclude that here the wall's main function was to define the northern limit of the Middle Terrace and to retain the earth to the south of it in the long, level strip of land it supported.

We have not succeeded in locating the western end of the long Roman retaining wall. The Middle Terrace extends into land that was not purchased for excavation. In a test trench that was dug in 1970 at the far western extremity of the site, a short stretch of robbing trench, oriented north-south, was found in P:9-10 (Fig. 32). It was *ca.* 0.80-0.90 m. wide and could be exposed for a length of only *ca.* 4.00 m. in the test trench. At right angles to it, another, smaller robbing trench extended to the east for *ca.* 0.80 m. The latter was only *ca.* 0.50 m. wide. The orientation of the north-south robbing trench is such that if the wall it represents were projected to the north as far as the line of the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace, the two walls would meet at a right angle. It is possible, therefore, though by no means certain, that the north-south robbing trench represents the western end wall of the Middle Terrace in the Roman period. We have tentatively indicated the hypothetical position of this wall on Plan 6. The purpose of the narrower wall that extends from it to the east remains uncertain. Although it is not perfectly aligned with the rock cutting that defines the south edge of the Middle Terrace (p. 308 below), the east-west wall might have served a similar purpose at the far western end of the terrace.¹⁰

Although the Roman retaining wall is longer and thicker than any other surviving wall on the Middle Terrace, it is frustrating not to be able to say much more about it. Where the wall is partially preserved, its width and solidity both suggest that it could have reached a considerable height. Today, however, the foundation for the wall survives only to a maximum height of

⁹ For this court, see pp. 216-219 above.

¹⁰ For the remains of a Classical dining unit discovered in this same test trench, see p. 214 above.

ca. 1.20 m. Nor did we find on the irregular top surface of the preserved sections any indication of the type of construction used in the superstructure.

Chronologically, we can be sure only about the destruction of the retaining wall. From the robbing trench that followed its line a considerable amount of pottery was recovered from among the stones, tiles, and chunks of concrete that once formed part of the wall's fabric. The latest objects from this pillaging trench belong to the second half of the 4th century after Christ (lots 2248, 4350, 4381, and 4417). Of the three coins found in this debris, the latest one helps to build a case for placing the destruction of the wall toward the end of the same century. It was struck in the period *ca.* A.D. 366–375 (65-928). The coin was broken and too badly corroded to provide any sure indication of how long it had circulated before finding its way into the robbing trench.

Evidence for the date of construction of the retaining wall is less satisfactory. No floor surfaces of the Roman period were preserved on either side of the foundation that could be associated with it for certain. Only in one place did we isolate a layer of earth that lay in direct contact with the south face of the foundation and yielded helpful pottery. This was in O–P:20–21 over the south wall of the late-4th-century B.C. entrance court. Here the latest objects in the layer of earth did not extend in date beyond the end of the 3rd century after Christ (lot 4363). If we could be certain that this layer had accumulated against its foundation, we could conclude that the retaining wall was standing on the Middle Terrace by at least the late 3rd century after Christ. But the possibility remains that the construction trench for the wall's foundation was cut down through this layer. Hence the date of construction remains unknown.

In the absence of sound stratigraphic evidence, we can only infer a likely date for the construction of the retaining wall from its purpose on the Roman Middle Terrace. In the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods, reorganization of this part of the Sanctuary was accompanied in each instance by a new retaining wall on its northern edge. The problems of holding back the earth on the steep incline between the Upper and Lower Terraces were perennial. They must have confronted the Roman renovators with particular force, however, inasmuch as more than a century of neglect had preceded their efforts. One would have thought that the need for a new retaining wall was pressing. We should expect the Roman builders on the Middle Terrace to have undertaken construction of the retaining wall soon after they began work in the Sanctuary.

To judge from its length and orientation, the new retaining wall was clearly part of a terrace that was much larger than it had been in Hellenistic times and now of an oblong, not trapezoidal, shape. The wall was part of a new design. It is unlikely, therefore, that construction of a wall of such major importance in the topography of the Sanctuary postdated by any significant degree the equally important new temples that were built high up on the rock of the Upper Terrace. More satisfactory evidence, discussed below, has survived for the date of construction of these three buildings. Work began on the Roman Upper Terrace about the middle, or perhaps in the third quarter, of the 1st century after Christ (Chapter 12 below). Since the only available access to these temples was through the Middle Terrace, it is difficult to imagine that this part of the site still lay in ruins when they were completed. We suggest that its north retaining wall was probably standing by at least the time when work began on the temples. A good parallel for the use of coarse cement in wall construction in the later 1st century after Christ occurs at Isthmia, where the first Roman temenos walls are built in the same manner (see note 5 above).

The Middle Terrace, as defined on the north by this new retaining wall, measures more than 65.75 m. east–west by *ca.* 8.50 m. north–south. We shall now examine the limits of the Terrace on its southern side, where the bedrock of the Upper Terrace rises steeply to support the three Roman cult buildings described in Chapter 12.

In the Greek period the Middle Terrace had been divided from the Upper by a regular line of cutting that created a vertical face of bedrock extending from R:26 on the east to R:23 on

the west. At the latter point the cutting turned north at a right angle along the west side of Area D before resuming its western course in Q:23. In the rock-cut platform formed by this cutting lay Areas D, G, and H (R:23–26). The abandonment and filling in of these areas were underway in Late Classical and Hellenistic times. This process was completed by the Roman renovators of the Sanctuary. The effect of their activity was to extend to the north the division between the Middle and Upper Terraces to roughly the same position as the cutting farther to the west to form a consistent line from Q:21 to Q:26. The earlier retaining walls along the north sides of Areas D, G, and H survived to give this line firm definition and to hold back the earth fill thrown in south of them, now completing the filling in of these Archaic and Classical areas. This filling, as we have seen (pp. 232–235 above), was rich in finds, especially of votive pottery and figurines, but it was too contaminated by later disturbances, represented by some pottery and coins as late as the 4th century after Christ, to permit us to date it with any precision (lots 1953, 1955, 1978, 2013, 2035).

To the east of Area G in Q:26, the Roman builders added an extension to this line of retaining walls in the form of a thick wall of fieldstones, tile fragments, and reused poros blocks without cement. At its western end this wall was built up against an outcropping of bedrock that carries on its upper surface the narrow cuttings outside Area G at the southern edge of Q:26 (p. 157 above). *Ca.* 2.85 m. to the east of this point the wall abuts the long north–south wall that marked the eastern limit of the Middle Terrace in the Archaic and Classical periods (Wall 21). The latter, though perhaps now in disrepair, was standing at this point to a sufficient height to anchor the eastern end of the new thick retaining wall. The latter wall rests directly on bedrock and stands today to a height of only *ca.* 0.85 m. Its original top surface does not seem to be preserved. The fact that this wall has only its north face finished could indicate that the area below and to the north of it was in use in the Roman period.¹¹ To the south, however, behind the Roman wall, the space east of Area G was now filled in with earth.

From Q:26 at the east, then, the southern boundary of the Roman Middle Terrace was now marked by a more or less continuous line of retaining walls extending to the west as far as Q:23. Beyond this point a long, vertical cutting in the face of the bedrock stretches across the area formerly occupied by the southern part of the Archaic oikos in Q:22–21, below the Greek steps of the Upper Terrace in Q:20, and almost all the way across the entire excavation in a clearly defined line to terminate in P:13. Immediately north of this cutting in Q:19 a well of the Roman period was sunk through the level surface of bedrock. Part of a contemporary floor of small stones packed in cement has survived on the east side of the mouth of the well (pp. 332–336 below). The position of this well and its floor shows that any retaining wall built along the line of the level surface of bedrock would have to have been interrupted at this point, at least.

Beyond the well to the west, however, from Q:19 to P:13, the more regular shape of the rock cutting and the relatively narrow shelf of level bedrock along its north face, *ca.* 1.00 m. wide, both suggest that a long east–west wall was built here. Also, the orientation of the rock cutting is parallel to that of the north retaining wall of the Roman Middle Terrace, which lies *ca.* 8.50 m. to the north. We found no trace of construction of any kind along the line of the southern cutting. Had there been a wall here, its demolition was so thorough as to have left no structural evidence. On the other hand, it would not be difficult to suggest a plausible function for a wall in the cutting along this southern edge of the Middle Terrace. High above it on the Upper Terrace to the south stood the westernmost of the three Roman cult buildings in T:16–17. A retaining wall down below to help support the deep earth fill over bedrock in front of this important building would have made good sense. The line of the bedrock cutting may be seen on Plate 51:a. It

¹¹ This is the area designated Room E in the Greek Sanctuary. See pp. 79–80, 159–161 above; and for Roman remains here, pp. 308–309 below.

is flat and wide enough to have supported a wall of squared blocks that could have risen to a considerable height. We shall see, however, that restoration of a retaining wall in the vicinity of Well 1961-11 is not without its problems; see pages 377–378 below.

Additional evidence that a wall once stood in this long rock cutting can be found at its western end in P:13. Here, instead of merely stopping, the cutting returns for a short distance, projecting *ca.* 0.50 m. to the north in such a way as to suggest that a corner block could have been set here. There is also in O–P:13 a large rectangular cutting in the crumbly surface of the bedrock whose western side is roughly aligned with the return of the cut bedrock in P:13 to the south. This rectangular cutting, which measures *ca.* 2.20 m. in width, is much wider than would be necessary merely to support a wall, but its position can hardly be fortuitous, especially in the absence of all other cuttings or structural remains in this barren western end of the Middle Terrace. It was probably designed to support some kind of construction related to the western end of the wall that we are suggesting ran along the south side of the Middle Terrace in the Roman period. Unfortunately, there was nothing in the rectangular cutting except a filling of soft, clean surface earth. Presumably the squared blocks for which it seems to have been designed were removed in antiquity, perhaps at the same time as the robbing of the north retaining wall. As suggested above (p. 305), there may be some slight evidence in P:9–10 for a continuation of the southern boundary wall of the Middle Terrace for at least *ca.* 15.50 m. to the west (Fig. 32).

Excavation in this western sector of the Middle Terrace proved to be almost totally unproductive. West of the Hellenistic Propylon, in the long, narrow area that is *ca.* 30.00 m. east–west by *ca.* 9.00 m. north–south (O–P:13–18), no architectural remains were discovered (Pls. 50:c, 51:a). Beneath a shallow cover of disturbed surface earth, *ca.* 0.15–0.20 m. thick, there was a hard, reddish-brown soil directly over bedrock. It extended fairly uniformly over the entire area and contained virtually no sherds or other ancient objects. If there ever were any buildings of any date in this part of the Sanctuary, their foundations and floors must have stood at a much higher level than this layer. Erosion has been very destructive on this steep hillside. It is certain that the reddish earth does not represent an original ground level of any period in the Sanctuary. Also, its top surface lies below the level of the top of the rock-cut bedding for the hypothetical south wall of the Middle Terrace. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that all structures that may have stood here could have been so completely swept away as to have left not even any traces of associated pottery. This certainly did not happen elsewhere on the Middle Terrace, as far as we can determine. We conclude, therefore, that this long, narrow western sector of the Middle Terrace probably remained open and devoid of buildings in the Roman period.

ROOM E IN P–Q:25–26

At the far eastern end of the Middle Terrace there is some slight evidence of Roman construction in the area previously occupied by Room E. This room had played an important role in the Archaic and Classical Sanctuary. In Roman times, however, its ruinous state permits only a few tentative inferences as to the form and function of this area. On its south side was built the thick Roman retaining wall in Q:26 described above (p. 307). The eastern end of this wall meets at a right angle the old north–south wall that once served as the eastern boundary of the Archaic and Classical Sanctuary (Wall 21). Although the two walls establish a firm corner for this area, we cannot tell how far it extended to the north, since the Roman levels have been washed away on this side. On the west side, however, more can be said, for in P–Q:25 is preserved the north–south wall that divides this area from Room A to the west. Ample evidence survives in the upper parts of this wall to show that it was substantially repaired by the Romans (pp. 309–310 below). It was also in the Roman period that this wall was extended to the south for *ca.* 1.35 m. beyond the original southeast corner of Room A. Built of fieldstones and tile fragments set in clay, this portion of the wall is 0.45 m. thick and stands today to a height of *ca.* 0.80 m. For a

view of this wall from the west, see Plate 25:d. Its original top surface has not survived. At the south it abuts the east–west retaining wall along the north side of Areas G and H to form the southwestern corner of Room E as it was in the Roman period. From the two walls forming this corner two small rectangular blocks project into the room. They are separated one from the other by a narrow space or niche *ca.* 0.30–0.50 m. wide. Both blocks are covered by two layers of waterproof stucco that have also been applied to the side surfaces of the walls. The outer layer is a coarse, thick stucco resembling that used in Roman construction elsewhere in the Sanctuary. This coating is preserved for *ca.* 0.95 m. to the north to cover at least this much of Room E's west wall. No other evidence was found to explain the purpose of the stucco and the two projecting blocks, but they could possibly indicate that some kind of simple lustral activity went on in Room E in the Roman period. For this corner of Room E in the Roman period, see Plate 25:a.

We can say nothing more about the probable function of Room E at this time. Certainly the offering Pit A and the Classical walls in Q:25–26 now rested under a deep layer of earth filling. The lack of stratification at the upper levels of Room E has made it impossible to identify any floor level contemporary with the Roman construction here. The latest Roman pottery and lamps in the filling directly above the Classical levels do not seem to be any later than the 3rd century after Christ (lot 886). Above this filling the earth at the surface contained pottery and lamps that come down into the early 4th century after Christ (lot 2048). At best, these finds could suggest that there was some activity in this corner of the Sanctuary in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Beyond this we cannot safely go.

ROOM A IN P–Q:24–25

Immediately to the west of Room E and sharing a party wall with it is Room A. It was originally part of the extensive building program of the Early Hellenistic period (pp. 248–251 above). Room A stood at the eastern end of the Middle Terrace next to the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building probably until the Sanctuary was abandoned after 146 B.C. At some time during the Roman renovation, perhaps because its solid walls were still in fairly good repair, Room A attracted the attention of the builders of the Sanctuary. Erosion and the effects of modern cultivation have removed all trace of their efforts in the northern part of the room. In the southern half, however, there is clear evidence that they simply followed the outline of the room as they found it, reusing the walls by building directly on top of them. Over the breccia foundations of the Hellenistic period the Romans now set a wide variety of limestone blocks that had obviously been gathered up from earlier structures and reused in the new Room A. These squared blocks, some of them fragmentary, exhibit cuttings, pry holes, anathyrosis, possible slots for the insertion of wooden posts or beams, and the like, all of which have no possible use in their present positions. The most prominent of these today is the large L-shaped block at the southeast corner of Room A, which was projecting slightly above the surface when excavation began in 1961. Although its top is only 1.60 m. above bedrock, this block is the highest preserved point on the Middle Terrace. We have not been able to assign any of these blocks with confidence to specific earlier structures in the Sanctuary, and the possibility of doing so is not at all increased by the fact that we cannot determine the date when they were built into the walls of Room A. The most logical time might appear to be during the initial phase of Roman renovation, when abandoned structures of the Greek sanctuary could probably have provided ample building material for reuse. These reused blocks in the south wall of Room A are visible on Plate 25:b, d.

In addition to increasing the height of the existing walls of Room A, the Roman builders also extended the east wall to the south, as described above (p. 308). A similar addition was made to the west wall of Room A. Signs of Roman construction at the southern end of this west wall are also evident. At the point where this wall meets the east–west retaining wall along the northern

side of the earlier Area H in Q:24, the bedrock has been trimmed on a north–south line parallel to the line of the west wall of Room A. This cutting seems to have made room for what appears to have been a widening of this wall. Also, the westernmost preserved block of the retaining wall for Area H has been notched to receive a large squared block that was probably set down into this cutting on top of the existing lowest course of Room A's west wall (Pl. 25:d). That this operation belongs to the Roman period is shown by the use of the claw chisel to cut the notch. In Corinth, use of the claw chisel for surface treatment of limestone does not seem to be attested in buildings earlier than the Roman era. From this corner with the retaining wall for Area H the west wall of Room A is preserved for *ca.* 4.50 m. to the north. Beyond its broken northern end no trace of the wall has survived. It is in this northwest corner of Room A in the Hellenistic period that we have tentatively placed the entrance: access in Roman times may also have been gained at this point.

As the remains of Room A now stand, they give no indication as to the nature of construction above foundation level. The foundations are thick enough to have supported high stone walls, and the effort that went into their rebuilding suggests that Room A was intended to be roofed. Within the room, however, no evidence of a floor could be detected in the soft fill that extended from the modern surface down to bedrock. The upper part of this filling from the modern surface contained pottery as late as the second half of the 4th century after Christ (lot 891). Below, but not clearly distinguishable from this earth, was a fill *ca.* 0.30 m. deep, which, with the exception of two sherds, did not contain any pottery or lamps later than the early 3rd century after Christ (lot 892). Room A seems, then, to have been in existence by at least this date, but we have no other means of reconstructing its building history or its function in the Roman Sanctuary.

By extending the east and west walls of Room A to the south as far as the east–west retaining wall along the northern side of Area H, the Roman builders created a small rectangular area to the south of Room A in Q:24–25 (labeled A' on Plan 6). Its dimensions are only *ca.* 2.10 by 2.60 m. No trace of a floor was preserved here, nor do we have any evidence for the date or function of this small area.

AREA H IN Q–R:24–25

Evidence that this part of the Sanctuary received some attention in the Roman period was found on its east side in R:25. Here, surrounded by and cutting through levels of the Classical period described above (pp. 232–233), was a rectangular patch of very clean white marl along the inner face of the area's east wall. It measured *ca.* 2.20 m. by 0.80 m., reaching a depth of *ca.* 0.20 m., and rested partly on bedrock and partly on a layer of reddish earth. Unlike all the other undisturbed strata in Area H, this patch of marl contained Roman pottery as late as the 3rd century after Christ (lot 1972). No stones or blocks were found in association with this marl, and its purpose, structural or otherwise, remains a mystery. The most plausible suggestion is that it formed part of a floor, perhaps as a layer of waterproofing.

To the south of Area H in S:25 a row of five fieldstones was found set in a rock cutting forming part of a light wall. In the shallow layer of earth that remained over bedrock against its south face the latest pottery was of the late 1st century after Christ (lots 1960, 1961). No other walls were found that could be associated with these stones. Set high up on the steep bedrock, this wall was most likely built to help check the erosion of earth from the upper levels of this part of the site.

THE STOA IN O–Q:20–24 (Figs. 44, 45)

On the flat platform of the Middle Terrace to the west of Room A are the remains of a long, narrow building that must have dominated the eastern half of the Middle Terrace in the Roman period. Although the existing remains are meager and poorly preserved, a plausible restoration can be deduced from the disposition of this building's foundations and from fragments

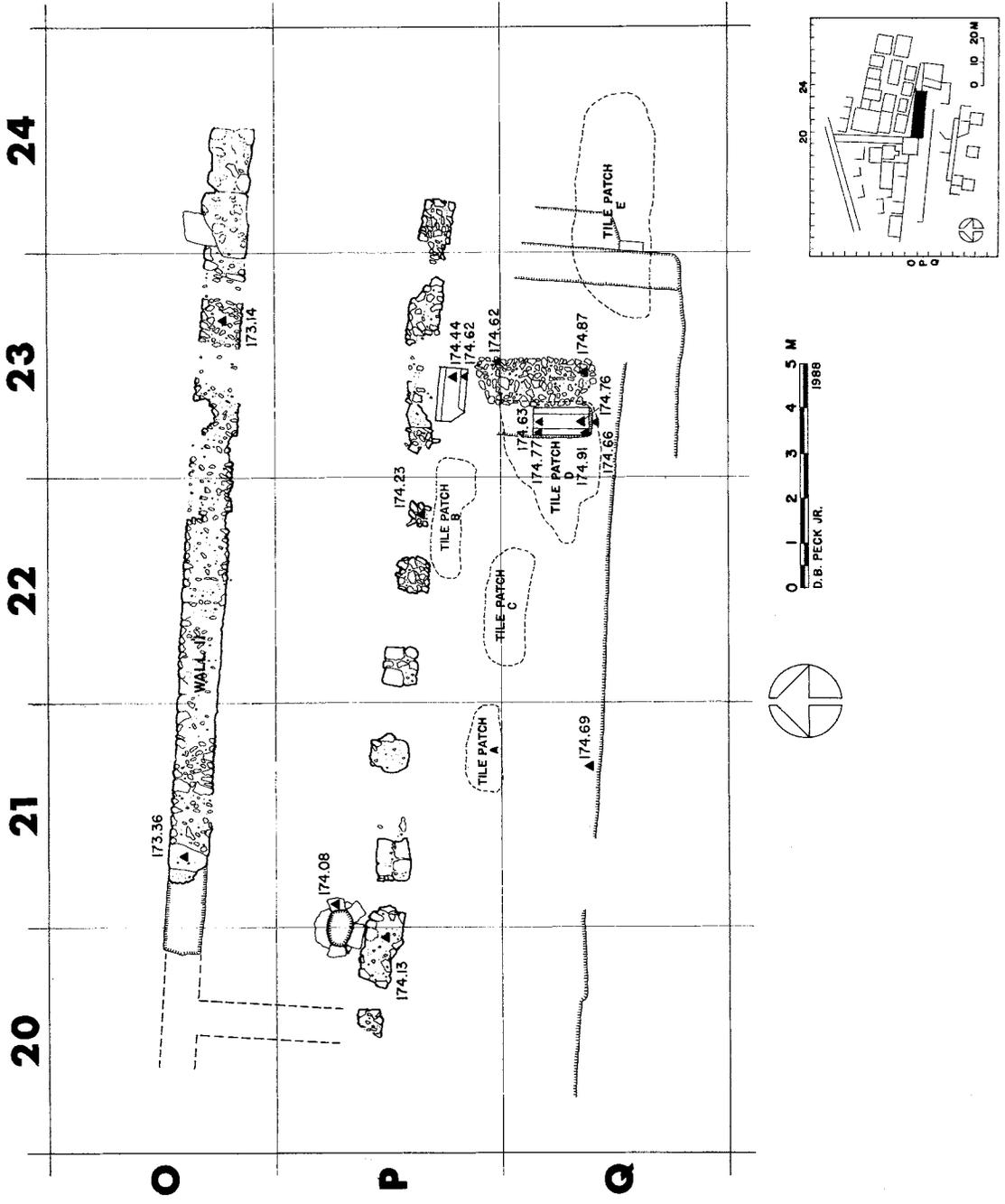


Fig. 44. Plan: Roman stoa, O-Q:20-24

of its superstructure found nearby. The context in which the latter were preserved, together with associated pottery, lamps, and coins, provides helpful evidence for the chronology of the building.

The north wall of the structure consisted of a segment of the large north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace in O:20–24 (Wall 11). Constructed of reused blocks, fieldstones, and tile fragments all held together in coarse cement, this part of the wall is *ca.* 0.80–1.00 m. thick. In this particular sector it stands today to a height of *ca.* 1.20 m. above the bedrock on which it rests. Since this wall also served as the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace, it extends to both the east and the west beyond the limits of the building we are considering.¹²

Lying parallel to this north wall, *ca.* 3.70 m. to the south, are several isolated patches of small stones, tile fragments, and reused blocks packed in a crumbling coarse cement. These irregular patches, which form a fairly consistent, though broken, east–west line, are the remains of the foundations of a wall *ca.* 0.80 m. thick. They extend across the area of P:20 to P:24 for a distance of *ca.* 19.00 m. At neither end is there a clear corner or a straight face that might indicate that the original end of the wall has survived. Both to the east and to the west, however, we found evidence to suggest that the foundations did not extend beyond their present limits. We will return to this point when we discuss the foundations for the end walls of the building. In fabric, these patches of foundation are identical to that of the north wall of the building, but they are much more poorly preserved, standing now only to a maximum height of *ca.* 0.40 m. They vary greatly in size and are spaced at irregular intervals. Their condition and position seem to have been the result of their accidental survival and not a deliberate effort to lay individual foundations for columns or piers with empty spaces left between them. Since there is no observable pattern in their positions, we conclude that the foundations for the south wall were originally continuous and that they were destroyed or washed away in the empty spaces between the surviving patches of masonry.

In P:23 a large poros drain block, oriented east–west, was found immediately to the south of the foundation for this south wall. It is sitting level on a thin layer of earth over bedrock, flush against the south “face” of the rubble foundation. Its top projects *ca.* 0.35 m. above the preserved upper surface of the foundation. The block is 1.24 m. long, 0.64 m. wide, and 0.40 m. high and has a channel 0.31 m. wide, semicircular in section, cut into its upper surface to a depth of *ca.* 0.14 m. In the southwest corner of the upper surface, the wall along the south edge of the channel has been broken away. It is difficult to tell whether this was done intentionally. On its exposed sides are the marks of both the flat and the claw chisel, perhaps indicating that in its present position the block may be reused. This drain block is shown on Plate 11:a and Figure 45A.

In its present position the drain block looks on Figure 44 as if it could be interpreted as forming part of a stone drain that once ran along the south side of the building immediately outside its south wall. Three factors, however, tell against this impression. First, the top of the drain block (+174.58 m.) lies below the probable contemporary ground level in the open area to the south of the building in P–Q:21–23. The uneven bedrock as exposed here today is *ca.* +174.66–174.77 m., but it was probably covered in Roman times by a layer of earth that would have formed a level surface or floor outside (south of) the building. Even if this layer had only been *ca.* 0.10–0.20 m. thick, its upper surface would still have been considerably higher than the top of the drain block. A floor here that sloped down so sharply from the south to the lower level of the drain block and the south wall of the stoa seems highly improbable. Second, although the long north side of the drain block is aligned with the southern edge of the rubble foundations of the south wall of the stoa in its immediate vicinity in P:23, the line of this same side of the drain block, when projected further to the west, overlaps the lumps of rubble foundation in P:21–22.

¹² The practice of placing a structure up against the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace and using the latter as its own north wall is attested in the Sanctuary in the Archaic period with the oikos in P–Q:21–23 and *ca.* 300 B.C. with the Hellenistic Trapezoidal Building in N–P:20–25.

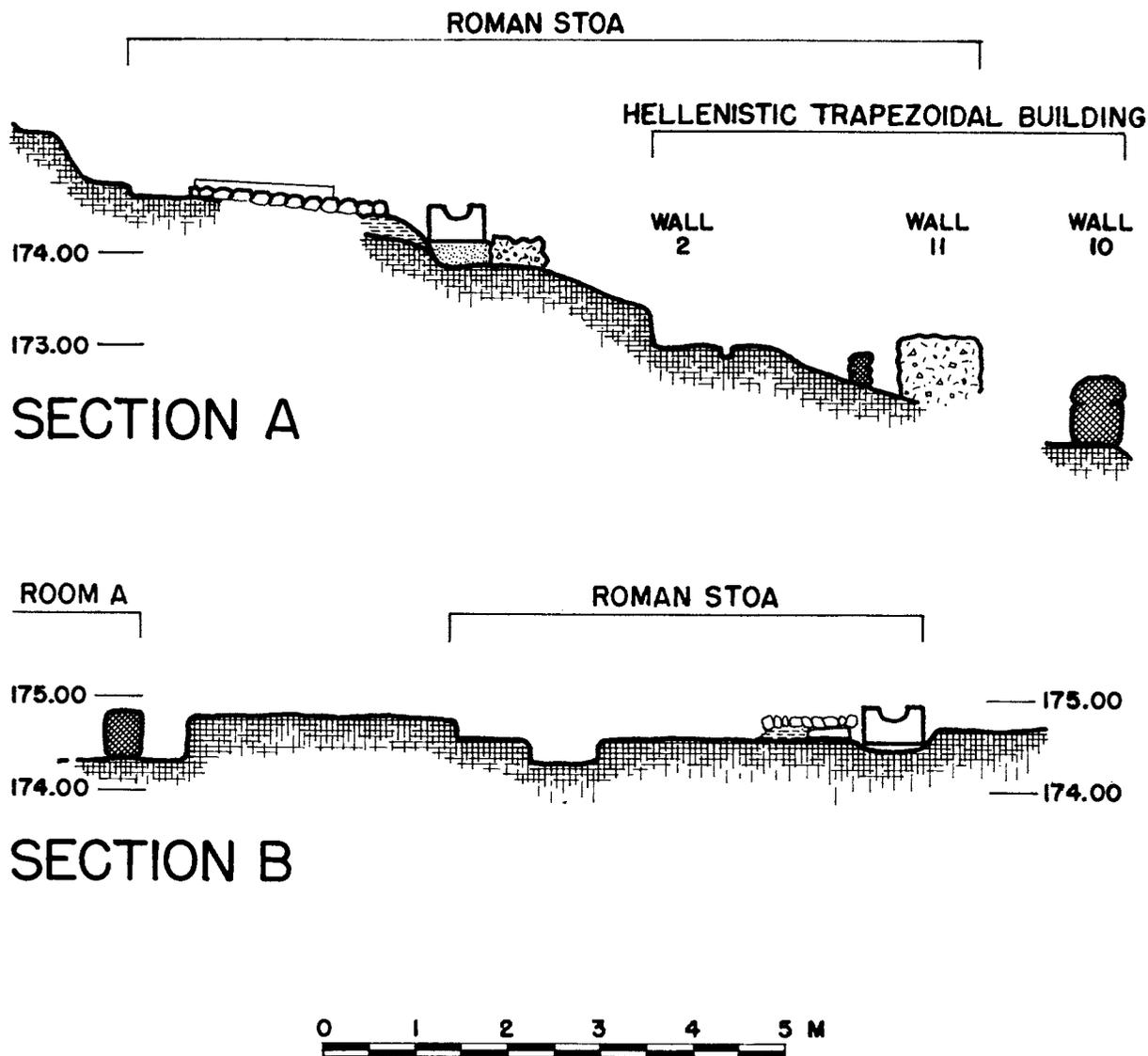


FIG. 45. Two sections: Roman Stoa. A. North-south, looking west. B. East-west, looking south

A possible explanation of this anomaly is that the drain block has been pulled only a little out of its original alignment. But the block's present orientation may also indicate that it is not *in situ*. Finally, the pottery in the layer of earth under the drain block, which proved to be as late as the 6th century after Christ (lot 7172), establishes a *terminus post quem* for the setting of the block in its present position. The stoa to which this east-west drain block could theoretically have belonged was destroyed, however, well before this date. We prefer to conclude, therefore, that although the block itself may once have formed part of the Roman stoa, we cannot use its present position as evidence for reconstructing the form of that building.

The patches of stone and concrete, which belong to the foundations for the south wall of this Roman building, do not extend to the west beyond the southeast corner of the Hellenistic Propylon in P:20. This was not coincidental, for a robbed wall trench full of soft earth, small stones, tile fragments, and cement extended northward from the preserved end of the south wall of the Roman stoa. We have indicated its position by dotted lines in O-P:20 on Figure 44. This trench could be traced to the north as far as the similar robbing trench for the north retaining wall

of the Middle Terrace in O:20. Here it ended. The soft filling and rubble of these two trenches were identical and clearly part of the same operation. As we have seen, the north–south robbing trench lies directly over the lowest foundations of the east wall of the Hellenistic Propylon (pp. 294–297 above). Just as the builders of the north retaining wall of the Middle Terrace poured their concrete and rubble directly down on top of the foundations of the north wall of the Propylon, so, we suggest, did they use the foundations of the east wall of this same structure as the bedding for the west wall of the building we are describing. The line of the north–south robbing trench in O–P:20, then, represents the position of the west wall of the Roman building. It may have bonded with both the north and south walls of the building, but nothing of the original fabric of the walls survives at these two points of contact. The foundations for the west wall were almost certainly of rubble and concrete construction identical to that in the foundations for the north and south walls of the building. The fact that the foundations were deliberately broken up suggests that the west wall contained some reused squared blocks whose removal justified such demolition.

We were not so fortunate in our search for evidence of partition walls in the interior of the building enclosed by the foundations just described. Nor does any trace of the east wall seem to have survived. Erosion and modern ploughing may have destroyed the latter, since the concrete and rubble patches of the foundations for the south wall were covered by only a thin layer of soil at the surface. It is remarkable, in fact, that even this much of the building has survived.

Evidence provided by excavation at the eastern end of the foundations for the south wall may help to tie down the possible location of the building's east wall. Although the preserved end of the foundations for the south wall in P:24 is irregular, there seems little chance that the wall extended beyond this point to the east, for it here rests upon and cuts into a stratum of earth lying directly over bedrock that contained exclusively Late Archaic or Early Classical pottery. The top of this stratum was only a few centimeters below the preserved top of the foundation, and it lay against the latter's eastern end in such a way as to preclude any further extension of the foundation in this direction. If, on these grounds, we can establish the eastern end of the building's south wall in P:24, we have some slight basis for suggesting that at this point a wall may have extended to the north to form the eastern end of the building.

The existing foundation for the north and south walls, the robbed wall trench at the building's western end, and the hypothetical line of its east wall in O–P:24 form the outline of a long, narrow structure measuring *ca.* 19.00 m. east–west by *ca.* 5.50 m. north–south (exterior dimensions). Within the area enclosed by the foundations for these walls there are no remains of internal supports for the roof, no furnishings, no construction fills, no floors, nothing that could help us reconstruct the original form of the building's interior. We have only its outer shell. Pottery evidence shows that all the existing remains within the building are of a much earlier date: they must have lain well below its original floor. Everything else above them has been washed away. We speculate below about the presumed level of the building's floor.

Probably to be associated with this building is another poros drain block uncovered in Q:23. It is oriented north–south at right angles to the south wall of the building and to the similar drain block in P:23 described above. Unlike the latter, the north–south drain block is clearly *in situ*, for it rests in a trench cut into the bedrock to a depth of *ca.* 0.15 m. and only slightly wider (0.70–0.75 m.) than the block itself. Moreover, the latter fits snugly against the south face of this trench, indicating that the trench was specifically cut for it. This fact and the absence of any construction or cuttings on the surface of the bedrock to the south beyond this point probably mean that the block *in situ* represents the southern end of the drain. That the water collected in this drain was intended to run down to the north is clear from the pronounced tilt of 4–5 degrees of the block in this direction, that is, the levels of the floor of the channel at the southern and northern ends of the block are +174.76 m. and +174.63 m., respectively. Since the top of the

block probably projected only a few centimeters above ground level, it also gives us some idea of the level of the surface to the south of the building in Roman times (Fig. 45B).

The poros stone of this block is the same as that of the east–west drain block in P:23, and both exhibit the same tooling with flat and claw chisels. In width and depth of the channel on the upper surface, the two blocks are also identical. The north–south drain block is slightly longer (1.27 m.) and only 0.27 m. high. Under its northern end there is a layer of earth *ca.* 0.16 m. deep over the floor of the rock-cut trench. The west wall of the trench can be traced for *ca.* 0.70 m. to the north beyond the end of the drain block, probably indicating that at least one more drain block of the same width was originally set into the trench. Beyond the preserved end of the rock-cut trench, the natural bedrock drops off sharply to the north. No cuttings were detected on the surface of the bedrock here. For the position of the north–south drain block, see Plate 11:a and Figure 44.

Immediately east of the north–south drain block in Q:23 and *ca.* 0.04 m. below it is a rectangular patch of small cobblestones tightly packed in coarse cement. Its western side runs along the full length of the drain block and extends beyond it on the same line to the north. The southern end of the cobble and cement packing is on line with the southern end of the drain block. On its east side, the rubble packing forms a good face on a line parallel to its west side and to the drain block. As now preserved, the northern end of this cobbling is broken, and it is here that the east–west drain block described above rests in fill of the 6th century after Christ. The preserved length of this patch of cobbling is *ca.* 3.05 m.; the width (original) is 1.10 m. The western half of the cobbling is two courses, or *ca.* 0.25–0.30 m., deep, whereas on the east side a single layer of cobbles lies directly on earth. The upper surface of the packing is flat and seems to be original. It follows the slope of the drain. The cobbling is visible in Plates 11:a and 52:a, right.

In P–Q:24 *ca.* 1.50 m. east of this cobbled surface are two north–south cuttings in bedrock that run parallel to each other and to the cobbling and drain block (Fig. 44). The westernmost cutting is *ca.* 0.65 m. wide and extends to the south in Q:23–24 beyond the line of the cobbling and the north–south drain block. Its floor lies 0.52 m. below the top surface of the cobbling. The eastern cutting beside it, which is *ca.* 0.80 m. wide, suggestively ends at the south on a line corresponding to the southern edge of the cobbling and the north–south drain block. Its floor lies 0.19 m. below the top of the cobbling. This cutting is also roughly aligned with the easternmost preserved patch of rubble and concrete foundation for the south wall. At their presumed point of juncture a large squared block, possibly reused, sits above and at an angle to the cutting.

Before attempting to reconstruct this building on the basis of the remains we have just described, we must examine additional evidence provided by excavation to the south of it. The area in question extends from the foundations for the south wall of the building as far as the long east–west cutting of the steeply rising bedrock that marks the dividing line between the Middle and the Upper Terrace. The position of this cutting in Q:20–23 can be seen in Figure 44 and Plan 1.

In P–Q:23, from the preserved top of the foundations for the south wall of the building down to bedrock there was a filling of earth that lay against the south face of the foundation. The pottery it contained belongs to the 3rd century after Christ and may help to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the foundation, since it is reasonable to suppose that the latter had to be standing when this earth was thrown in against it (lot 1984).¹³

In Q:23–24 at a depth of *ca.* 0.40–0.90 m. below the modern surface, we found a layer of broken Roman roof tiles, which for convenience is labeled “Tile Patch E” on Figure 44. The dotted outline for this patch of tiles and for the others (A–D) on Figure 44 represents only the general area in which the tiles were concentrated. Tiles were found throughout the area between the building and the edge of the Upper Terrace; the dotted lines provide only an approximate

¹³ This is not, of course, a necessary inference, since it is conceivable that the foundation is later than the filling and that it cut down through it.

indication of the tile patches. Over Tile Patch E were two layers of soft earth that sloped down from south to north and contained a completely mixed assortment of pottery, coins, and other objects extending in date to the late 4th century after Christ (lots 1955, 1999). These layers formed a deep surface cover over this part of the site. Under them the tiles were scattered unevenly over the area indicated on Figure 44. Most of the tiles were lying flat on the fairly level earth surface below them (Pl. 52:c). One of these tiles bears the stamp: C L I COR GEN EPA[---] (Chapter 16, 13). With the tiles there was also a fragment of a cylindrical Roman drain pipe and some fragments of Roman lamps, including L-4286 of the mid-3rd to early 4th century after Christ.¹⁴ Most of the fragmentary pottery found with the tiles is coarse ware, which has not been possible to date more closely than Late Roman (lot 1947). The following eight bronze coins were recovered from the earth of the tile layer:

- 62-41 Athens: *ca.* 339–322 B.C. or later
- 62-39 Roman: Constantius II, A.D. 337–341
- 62-38 Roman: Constans, A.D. 341–346
- 62-42 Roman: Julian Caesar, A.D. 355–361
- 62-43 Roman: Julian Caesar, A.D. 355–361
- 62-40 Roman: Emperor? A.D. 355–361
- 62-44 Roman: Emperor? possibly A.D. 364–378
- 62-37 Roman: Valentinian II, A.D. 383–392

Under the tiles, directly over bedrock, there was a layer of earth *ca.* 0.15–0.20 m. deep that contained Roman pottery and lamps as late as the second half of the 4th century after Christ (lot 1948). In this earth were also iron nails and the following three bronze coins:

- 62-55 Corinth: Domitian, A.D. 81–96
- 62-31 Roman: Constantius Chlorus, A.D. 295–299
- 62-30 Roman: Valens, A.D. 364–367

More broken Roman roof tiles were found in Q:22–23 in an area we have labeled “Tile Patch D” on Figure 44. Here the tiles, which were covered by surface earth *ca.* 0.20 m. deep, lay directly over the northern end of the north–south poros drain block in Q:23 described above (Pl. 52:a). They also extended to the west of this block in a fairly shallow, flat layer. Among the tiles were iron nails, numerous seashells, three broken pieces of terracotta simas of Roman date, and Late Roman pottery and lamp fragments coming down in date into the second half of the 4th century after Christ (lot 2104).

To the north of Tile Patch D, more broken Roman roof tiles were found that stretched along the outer face of the foundations for the south wall of the Roman building in P:22–23. This stretch we have designated “Tile Patch B” (see Fig. 44). Again, the tiles lay under a cover of surface earth *ca.* 0.20–0.30 m. deep and were scattered about with a lot of Roman pottery and lamp fragments among them. The latest of these objects belong in date to the second half of the 4th century after Christ (lot 2102). Among the tiles were an iron nail, a fragment of a Roman terracotta sima, and a bronze coin of Aigion under Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161–180 (64-117). Under the tiles, directly over bedrock, was a shallow layer of earth containing Roman pottery and lamp fragments as late as the second half of the 4th century after Christ (lot 2165).

Slightly to the southwest, under *ca.* 0.20–0.30 m. of surface earth, the same tile layer was picked up in P:22. This we have designated “Tile Patch C” on Figure 44. It lies out in front of the foundations for the south wall of the Roman building. Two pieces of Roman terracotta sima, one of which is a lionhead spout, were found among the tiles. The Roman pottery and lamp fragments here appear to be as late as the early 3rd century after Christ, possibly 4th century

¹⁴ *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 47, p. 33.

(lot 2103). Under Tile Patch C only a shallow layer of earth, *ca.* 0.10 m. deep, remained directly over bedrock. It produced iron nails and a small quantity of Roman pottery and lamp fragments dated no later than the first half of the 3rd century after Christ (lot 2105). One of these sherds joins a fragment of a Çandarlı plate of this date, which was found in Tile Patch D (lot 2104).¹⁵ Two other fragments of the same vessel came from the tile debris in lot 2088 (below).

A fifth, isolated patch of similar fallen tiles (Tile Patch A) lies to the west of Tile Patch C in P:21–22 to the south of the Roman building. It was also covered by *ca.* 0.20–0.30 m. of surface earth. Among the tiles were two fragments of Roman terracotta simas. The latest pottery and lamp fragments in this part of the tile layer belong to the second half of the 4th century after Christ (lot 2101). Again, the layer of earth on which the tiles rested was excavated down to bedrock; its maximum depth was *ca.* 0.30–0.35 m., and it produced a large assortment of finds, including Archaic and Classical pottery and figurines, seashells, fragments of Roman terracotta sima, and an antefix. The latest Roman lamp fragments and pottery in this fill are dated to the second half of the 4th century after Christ (lot 2106). In this layer were found the following four bronze coins:

- 64-119 Athens: *ca.* 339–322 B.C. or later
- 64-120 Corinth: Duoviri, Galba, A.D. 68/9
- 64-121 Roman: Faustina (posthumous), after A.D. 147
- 64-122 Roman: Valentinian I, A.D. 367–375

Finally, less than two meters to the south of Tile Patches A, B, and C, another heavy concentration of broken Roman roof tiles was discovered in Q:20–22 under *ca.* 0.15 m. of surface earth (not indicated on Fig. 44). A clear southern limit to this layer of tiles was marked by the long east–west cutting in the face of the steeply rising bedrock that divides the Middle Terrace from the Upper. Almost no tiles were found to the south, above this line. Unlike those in Tile Patches A–D, the tiles in Q:20–22 were not lying flat but were all mixed together in soft earth. This fill continued below the tiles all the way to bedrock; it was *ca.* 0.45 m. deep. Large amounts of pottery (twenty baskets), numerous figurines, seashells, Roman glass fragments, iron nails, and miscellaneous votives were scattered through this mixed filling. (For fragments from this lot that belong to the Çandarlı plate, from lots 2104 and 2105, see note 15.) No fewer than thirteen bronze coins came out of this layer; five are Greek. The Roman coins are as follows:

- 64-65 Corinth: Julia Domna, A.D. 191–211
- 64-64 Corinth: Plautilla, A.D. 198–212
- 64-67 Roman: Probably Gordian III, A.D. 243/4
- 64-60 Roman: Maximianus, A.D. 295/6
- 64-61 Roman: Constans, *ca.* A.D. 346–350
- 64-68 Roman: Emperor? *ca.* A.D. 355–361

The latest Roman pottery and lamps in this fill belong to the second half of the 4th century after Christ (lot 2088). In addition to the tiles, the most striking feature of the finds from this strip of earth at the southern edge of the Middle Terrace is the large number of Roman architectural terracottas: twenty-two pieces of simas and ten fragments of antefixes. Here also was found a small piece of a Doric capital in poros (Chapter 16, 10).¹⁶

It is possible to attempt a reconstruction of this Roman building based upon the remains *in situ* and on the excavated evidence to the south of it just described. Although there is no trace of the east wall, and the existence of a wall at the western end of the building has to be inferred from

¹⁵ For this plate, see *Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 105 (C-64-450), p. 54.

¹⁶ Among the tiles were a few human bones, which Peter Burns identified as those of an infant (p. 389 below, bone lot 64-19). It is possible, though by no means certain, that they derive from a late burial similar to those in R:23–24. For these late graves, see Chapter 13 below, nos. 27–29.

a robbing trench, we tentatively suggest that the structure was rectangular in outline, measuring *ca.* 19.00 m. by 5.50 m., with solid walls on the west, north, and east sides. Inasmuch as the existing foundations are nowhere preserved above the original ground level, it is impossible to reconstruct the superstructure with any confidence. Certainly, the foundations on the north side are thick and solid enough to have supported a wall of squared blocks all the way to the roof. This is the most likely form of construction for the end walls as well.

The building was most conveniently approached from the south, where there was in Roman times an open area in P-Q:20-23. This extended from the south wall of the building as far as the southern edge of the Middle Terrace, which is marked by a long east-west cutting in the steeply rising bedrock in Q:20-23. In this area, which measures *ca.* 15.00 m. (east-west) by *ca.* 4.00 m. (north-south), the uneven bedrock slopes down to the north and has on it several cuttings for earlier structures. To create a level surface in front of the building over these rock cuttings and some remains of earlier walls, an earth filling would have been necessary. It would have reached its deepest point against the outer face of the building's south wall.

The long, narrow outline of the building and the numerous fragments of terracotta simas with lionhead spouts found in front of it make possible the suggestion that this was in fact a stoa with a colonnade along its southern façade. As noted above, the foundations for the south wall as now preserved are not continuous but consist of isolated patches of rubble, tile fragments, and reused blocks held together in concrete. It is impossible, however, that these patches represent individual underpinnings for single columns. They vary so much in size and are spaced at such irregular intervals that we must regard them as the surviving remnants of a continuous foundation. The latter is thick enough, *ca.* 0.80 m., to have supported a crepidoma or simply a stylobate, but its upper surface is nowhere preserved. We cannot even determine, therefore, the exact level of the top of the foundations. Hence, speculation about the number, form, and position of the courses that might have stood on these foundations to support a row of columns must remain very tentative. Also, the building is so poorly preserved that the placement, size, material, and order of such columns cannot be determined with certainty.

A possible clue, however, may be provided by the small fragment of a Doric capital of poros found in the tile debris in Q:20-22 (Chapter 16, 10). Not enough of the echinus is preserved to establish its full profile. The surface is worked with a claw chisel, which probably indicates a date in the Roman period. The attribution of this capital to the Roman stoa, though far from secure, is an attractive possibility.¹⁷ Although only a small fragment has survived, it is possible to estimate the original length of the abacus at *ca.* 0.45 m. If, by way of example, we compare this dimension to the proportions of the Doric columns on the façade of the Northwest Stoa in the Forum, we arrive at a restored diameter for the bottom of the column of *ca.* 0.45 m. This dimension can help us in seeking to restore the elevation of the Roman stoa. In our discussion of the Roman Propylon (Chapter 10 above) we have suggested a restored elevation of that building based upon proportions derived from a comparison of this capital with buildings in the Forum of Corinth. We have also noted that the Propylon and the stoa were built close enough together to suggest that they were part of a single design.

In the Northwest Stoa in the Forum, columns with a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.65 m. sit on a stylobate that is *ca.* 0.80 m. wide. If, then, we press the comparison further, we could suggest that in the stoa on the Middle Terrace, columns with a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.45 m. would require

¹⁷ We should also mention here the discovery of two small, battered fragments of poros Doric column shafts with traces of stucco in the flutes. They lay in mixed to late Roman surface fill inside the stoa *ca.* 3.00 m. east of the mouth of the cistern in P:21. These pieces could conceivably have once formed part of the Roman stoa, although they are so poorly preserved that it would be risky to base any kind of reconstruction on them. They are now stored with lot 2156.

a stylobate whose width was *ca.* 0.55 m. Since the width of the preserved foundations of the south wall of the stoa are only *ca.* 0.80 m. wide, we could restore on them either a single stylobate course *ca.* 0.55 m. wide or a stylobate of this same width on top of a broad crepidoma that projects 0.25 m. below it to form a bottom step. In our discussion of the Roman Propylon (pp. 298–299 above) we have suggested measurements for the height of the columns and the elevation of the façade of the stoa.

Evidence has already been presented to show that the position of the east–west poros drain block in P:23 cannot be used for reconstructing a drain running along the full length of the stoa's southern façade. Nevertheless, a drain on this side of the building seems plausible. The most obvious purpose for such a drain would have been to carry off rainwater that ran down into it from the roof. That some rainwater was in fact collected behind a horizontal sima on the stoa's roof and channeled down through lionhead spouts is a fair inference from the large number of Roman terracotta sima fragments found out in front of the building. In fact, in the tile debris to the south of the stoa, more fragments of such simas and antefixes turned up than in any other part of the Sanctuary.

Now, this water could simply have poured out of the lionhead spouts and down onto the ground in front of the south wall of the building. Such an arrangement, however, seems highly unlikely, for we found no evidence beneath the tile patches for any kind of paving in the area immediately outside the stoa's south façade. In a heavy rainstorm, the shallow layer of earth over bedrock, which here formed the contemporary floor surface, would quickly have become saturated and the whole area reduced to a large puddle of mud. Also, water is not plentiful on this exposed north face of Acrocorinth. In earlier periods provision was made to collect it from roofs of several buildings in the Sanctuary.¹⁸ In the Roman Sanctuary surely we cannot expect those in charge to have wasted the large quantities of water that could be collected from the roof of this building, especially in the winter. It is, therefore, a plausible inference from the presence of the numerous lionhead sima panels found to the south of the building that a stone drain once ran along the stoa's façade. The most likely destination for the rainwater it collected is a cistern near the stoa's western end in P:20–21 (pp. 327–332 below).

The drain that we suggest ran along the south façade of the stoa was not the only such drain on this side of the building. As noted above (pp. 314–315), there is in Q:23 another poros drain block oriented north–south. This one is indeed *in situ* next to a section of cobbling. Both drain and cobbling seem clearly to belong somehow to the design of the Roman stoa. This drain block, as described above, is tilted downward in such a way as to carry water off to the north. A rock-cut trench in Q:23 was designed for additional blocks to continue the north–south drain to the north beyond the single surviving block. These missing blocks must have been ripped out, perhaps at the time when the walls of the rest of the stoa were pillaged. Indeed the east–west drain block in P:23, which is not in its original position, may once have formed part of this construction.

In seeking to reconstruct the original purpose of the north–south drain with its accompanying cobbling we have to determine the probable source of the water it was intended to carry off to the north. Although the drain lies close to the base of the steeply rising bedrock of the Upper Terrace in Q:23, its main purpose was clearly not to channel run-off from this higher part of the Sanctuary. Neither in the earth fill over bedrock on the Upper Terrace nor in the rock itself did we find any trace of construction built to collect or divert water down into the drain. Moreover, a gap of *ca.* 0.70 m. in length separates the southern end of the drain block itself and the rock-cut trench in which it rests from the edge of the Upper Terrace. This gap was not filled by an extension of the drain southward, since the rock-cut bedding in which the drain block rests clearly ended here also. Such a gap is inexplicable if the drain carried off water that came down from the south.

¹⁸ E.g., the Hellenistic Propylon and Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace (p. 247 above).

Finally, the hard-packed cobbling along the east side of the drain, which is clearly part of the same construction, would seem to be superfluous, if the main purpose of the water channel had been to collect run-off from the Upper Terrace.

A more attractive hypothesis, in light of the numerous lionhead spout *sima* fragments found nearby, is that the north-south drain was designed to collect water from the roof of a building. In developing this theory we must examine the purpose of the cobbling that lies to the east of the drain. Its uniformly flat upper surface led us originally to suggest that it was the packing for a floor.¹⁹ In view of the fairly straight eastern edge of the cobbling, however, which seems to be original, it is probably better to view it as a strip of packing, *ca.* 1.10 wide, running along the inner edge of the drain block and lying only a few centimeters below the lip of the latter.²⁰ In such a position this strip of packing is much more plausibly interpreted as the bedding for a wall. It would have been a thick wall, oriented north-south, which at its southern end in Q:23 began at the same point as the end of the drain that ran along its west side. Although the cobble packing extends to the north *ca.* 1.25 m. beyond the drain block, its preserved northern edge is broken, thereby giving no indication of its original relationship to the south wall of the stoa in P:23.

If the north-south drain collected water that poured down into it from lionhead spout *simas* on the edge of the roof, we could suggest that the west façade of the building in question consisted of a colonnade. The wide cobbled packing might then have been the underpinning for a stylobate. Since a single stylobate course *ca.* 1.10 m. wide set directly on top of the cobbling would have required columns of very substantial size,²¹ it is better to restore a crepidoma consisting of at least two courses: a bottom step that projects *ca.* 0.34 m., surmounted by a stylobate course *ca.* 0.76 m. in width. This would permit the restoration of columns of a more appropriate scale, and indeed a suitable parallel in the Doric order is provided in Early Imperial times by the Propylon into the temenos of Temple C, whose columns are 0.60 m. in diameter.²² If, on the other hand, we wished to replicate the dimensions already postulated for the elevation of the south façade of the Roman stoa, we could restore a stylobate 0.55 m. wide fronted by two steps each 0.27 m. in width. We must stress that any such reconstruction is entirely theoretical, since no blocks of a presumed step or stylobate have survived on the site. The drain block, the cobbled bedding, and terracotta *sima* fragments with lionhead spouts, however, all point to the existence of a colonnade of the Roman period oriented north-south in P-Q:23.

The restoration of this hypothetical colonnade on the cobbled packing immediately raises the question of a back wall for such a structure. The most obvious candidate for its position is the easternmost of the two cuttings in P-Q:24, described above (p. 315; Fig. 44). It lies *ca.* 2.80 m. from the front edge of the presumed colonnade and runs parallel to it. It is wide enough to have supported an exterior wall of about the same dimensions as the other walls of the stoa. The reason why it would have been necessary to prepare a rock-cut footing trench for a wall in only this sector of the building we are reconstructing is that the bedrock here is higher than in all other parts of the building. It is so high, indeed, that any wall that was merely bedded directly on the unworked surface of the bedrock would probably have been well above floor level. The easternmost cutting is a more likely candidate than the westernmost, which runs parallel to it, because the latter is probably too narrow to support a wall of the required thickness and it is also much deeper than necessary for the back wall of a colonnade whose façade was formed by the north-south drain block and the cobbling in Q:23. The dates of these two cuttings are unknown. We discovered no

¹⁹ Stroud 1968, pp. 313-314.

²⁰ The top of the cobbling lies at +174.87 m.; the top of the drain block, at +174.91 m.

²¹ For instance, the stylobate of the South Stoa at Corinth is *ca.* 1.17 m. wide and the lower diameter of the external Doric columns is 0.906 m.; see *Corinth* I, iv, pp. 19, 30.

²² R. L. Scranton in *Corinth* I, ii, p. 138. For this parallel and many other helpful suggestions in this section we are indebted to Charles Williams II.

foundation blocks, rubble, or coarse cement in them. Pottery in the earth within the easternmost cutting was mixed to 3rd century after Christ (lot 1996). Among the objects in the filling were a complete Roman pan tile of Corinthian type and the neck of a small Roman amphora.²³ It must be admitted that this north–south cutting might be considerably earlier, even pre-Roman, and have nothing whatever to do with the cobbling and drain block in Q:23. As noted above, however, its length and orientation are so conveniently in accord with the southern end of the cobbling and drain block on the one hand, and the eastern end of the rubble and cement foundations of the south wall of the stoa on the other, as to make its association with our building very persuasive.

We must next consider the structural and chronological relationship of this north–south colonnade to the Roman stoa lying immediately to its north, which we have reconstructed as having an east–west orientation. One of several points requiring explanation is the destination of the water that was carried off to the north by the north–south drain in Q:23.

There would seem to be at least three different chronological sequences for the two structures in question: (a) the north–south colonnade is earlier than the east–west stoa; (b) the north–south colonnade is later than the east–west stoa; (c) both structures are part of a contemporary unified design.

Possibly in favor of a difference in date between the two structures is the fact that the west façade of the north–south colonnade has a much wider (*ca.* 1.10 m.) and more solid foundation, which probably supported a step and stylobate. In contrast, the foundation for the south wall of the east–west stoa is only *ca.* 0.80 m. wide and was built by dumping rubble, tile fragments, reused blocks, and cement into a trench dug down through earth fill. It could not have supported a step and stylobate arrangement similar in dimensions to that of the north–south colonnade. The blocks of the stone drain that we have suggested ran along the south side of the building would have been set on earth, not into a rock-cut trench. It would be possible to characterize the workmanship and design of the north–south colonnade as more careful and earlier and that of the east–west stoa as rather shabby and later. Pursuing this line of argument, we could suggest that the building to which the north–south colonnade belonged was constructed earlier than the east–west stoa. The problem of the articulation between the two buildings could then be solved by concluding that the earlier was in ruins by the time that construction began on the later or that it was destroyed or dismantled in preparation for the building of the east–west stoa.

As part of this reconstruction it is probably necessary to assume that the landscaping of the area in front (*i.e.*, south) of the later east–west stoa included the covering over of the rubble packing and its accompanying north–south drain block(s) with earth. It would also seem logical to postulate the removal of the columns, stylobate, and step blocks prior to this operation. It was across this now open, level strip of land in front of the east–west stoa that one could have passed in order to reach the area occupied by the Roman phase of Rooms A and E in P–Q:25–26 (see pp. 323–324).

There is one awkward obstacle in the way of this reconstruction. Associated with the east–west stoa, as we have seen above, are several patches of tile debris. One of these, Tile Patch D, partly covered the north–south drain block and extended in an irregular line *ca.* 2.40 m. beyond it to the west. Its eastern side, however, forms a fairly straight line that runs parallel to the east side of the drain block and overlaps only a few centimeters onto the rubble packing (for this side of Tile Patch D, see Fig. 44). The eastern side of the tile patch is regular enough to suggest that it may have formed against a straight line of construction that was still standing on top of the rubble packing when the tiles fell into the position in which we found them. The pottery under Tile Patch D was as late as the late 4th century after Christ (p. 316 above). Since we shall argue

²³ The pan tile is 0.537 m. long, 0.42 m. wide, and 0.024 m. thick with projecting vertical sides 0.05 m. high (FP-246). For the amphora, see *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 249 (C-62-961), p. 116.

that Tile Patch D and its mates represent destruction debris from the east–west stoa belonging to the final days of the Sanctuary, it would seem to follow that at that time the rubble packing was not completely covered over with earth in the manner that we suggested above but that at least some of the blocks of the presumed lower step of the north–south colonnade were still in position.

The second possibility—that the north–south colonnade is a separate structure later in date than the east–west stoa—has little in its favor both logically and in the archaeological record. Since, as we shall see, the east–west stoa survived until the end of the life of the Sanctuary in the last decades of the 4th century after Christ, we would have to argue that it was only at this late date that a new north–south successor was constructed. This would have been at a time when the three temples on the Upper Terrace lay in ruins and the primary source of water in the Roman Sanctuary, the well in Q:19 (pp. 332–336 below), had been abandoned and largely filled with destruction debris. No other evidence of construction after the end of the 4th century after Christ survived until the site was turned into a burial ground. Historically, then, a north–south colonnade postdating the destruction of the east–west stoa makes no sense.

In the archaeological record there also seems to be valid evidence against such a sequence in the fact that we found the one drain block of the north–south colonnade that is *in situ* covered with tile debris from the very building that, on this hypothesis, it was built to supplant. Clearly in this condition the drain could never have been used.

Finally, we must consider the third possibility, that the east–west stoa and the north–south colonnade somehow formed part of a unified design. As we have seen, on the ground today there is no surviving point of contact between these two constructions. This may not be a barrier to restoring them as two parts of one structure, however, since the north–south drain block and its accompanying rubble packing are preserved at a much higher level than the foundations for the walls of the east–west stoa. Since the top of the latter is nowhere preserved, however, it is possible to restore these foundations as having been built up in rubble and concrete to approximately the level of the lip of the north–south drain block and the top of the adjacent cobbling in Q:23. If we continue the slope of this drain block to the north, we can arrive at the approximate ground level in front of the stoa. This will have been roughly 0.50 m. above the existing top of the foundations of the south wall, or *ca.* +174.72 m. We would have to assume that the two interior floors too lay at roughly the same level and that the two stylobates met at the same elevation. The result would clearly be an L-shaped structure consisting of the east–west stoa on the long side and the north–south colonnade forming a short wing projecting from it at right angles to the south. Just as the building becomes L-shaped, so would the drain in front of it. There is room for one more block to the north of the existing north–south drain block in Q:23. This would have abutted the presumed line of the east–west drain that we have suggested ran along the south façade of the stoa.

We establish below that the destination for the water this drain collected from the roof of the L-shaped stoa was a cistern at the western end of the building in P:20–21. This cistern was probably built in the Hellenistic period to store rainwater from the roofs of the Trapezoidal Building and the Hellenistic Propylon (pp. 247–248 above). That the Greek cistern was cleaned out to serve the Roman stoa seems clear from its position conveniently close to and inside this building's south wall, almost at the stoa's southwest corner. Since the preserved tops of both the cistern and the adjacent foundation of the south wall are not original, nothing certain can be said about how the water was transferred from drain to cistern. Moreover, the preserved top of the cistern lies 0.64 m. below the estimated outside ground level and even more below what would have been the interior floor level. For a description of the fill in the cistern, see pages 327–332 below.

Although there is nothing in the above restoration of the drainage system to suggest that the two parts of the L-shaped stoa are not contemporaneous elements in a unified design, two other architectural features create difficulties for this theory. If both parts of the building were laid

out at the same time, why were the foundations not all of similar thickness and construction? Why was the foundation for the west wall of the north–south wing *ca.* 1.10 m. thick and made of cobble packing, while the underpinning of the south wall of the main part of the building reached a thickness of only *ca.* 0.80 m. and consisted of rubble and concrete dumped into a foundation trench? On the latter it is impossible to restore a step block plus stylobate course whose dimensions exactly match the arrangement that probably sat on top of the cobble packing in the north–south wing. The foundation of the south wall of the main part of the building is much more plausibly restored as providing support for a single stylobate course. On the other hand, we have seen that to restore a single stylobate course on the north–south wing would unreasonably require columns of enormous proportions. Moreover, if our calculations of the size of the columns on the south façade of the east–west stoa are sound (and it must be remembered that they are based only upon the tentative assignment of a tiny fragment of a Doric capital to this building; see p. 318 above), the columns in the two surviving parts of the building would seem to have been of different sizes.

A second architectural anomaly is presented by the survival of segments of the foundations for the south wall of the east–west stoa in P:23–24. Figure 44 shows that the presence of these clumps of rubble and concrete in this position proves that the south wall of the east–west stoa was originally built all the way across the length of the building. If the north–south wing was built at the same time as the rest of the building, however, why did the foundations for the south wall not stop in P:23 and return at right angles to the south to form the underpinning for the west wall of the north–south wing?

As suggested earlier, one possible explanation for these two architectural discrepancies is that the two parts of the building were constructed at different times. As part of our present hypothesis that both parts belong to the same building, however, we must now consider the possibility that the north–south wing formed an addition, made at a later time, to the earlier, long east–west stoa. Adjustments had to be made to that earlier structure when the short north–south wing was added. One of these adjustments concerned the stone drain that we have restored as extending across the full extent of the south façade of the east–west stoa. When the north–south wing was added to the eastern end of the existing east–west stoa, the drain blocks in P:23–24 would no longer have been functional. These blocks were probably either left in place and covered over by the floor of the new wing or, more likely, were removed so that some of them could be reused in the new north–south section of the drain on the wing's west façade. We have seen that the surviving block in P:23, which is not *in situ*, has dimensions almost identical to those of the southernmost drain block of the north–south wing, which still remains in position.

A second adjustment concerns the presumed columned façade at the eastern end of the east–west stoa when the north–south wing was added. What happened to these columns? Were they simply left in place or were their intercolumniations blocked up by a solid wall? It is not easy to envisage how this adjustment would have been made. Nor is it obvious how the articulation between the roofs of these two units would have been effected, particularly at the level of the geison.

Construction of a projecting north–south wing as a later addition to the stoa might appear to raise a problem in the topography of the Middle Terrace. Before it was built, one could move freely across the Middle Terrace to the south of the east–west stoa in order to reach the structures in the eastern side of the Terrace, that is, Rooms A and E in P–Q:24–26. Since the bedrock of the Upper Terrace rises steeply to the south of the north–south wing, one could not have skirted the latter on this side in order to get to the eastern part of the Middle Terrace. After the wing was built, therefore, one could only have reached Rooms A and E by going through the wing. Exactly how this was achieved remains unknown. It is possible that the west façade of the wing was not columnar but consisted of a wall broken by one or more

doors. If the east wall of the stoa was solid, there could have been a door in it leading to Rooms A and E to the east.

We have presented these three different reconstructions of the exiguous remains of the Roman stoa at length without confidence that any one of them is capable of certain demonstration. Perhaps they do not even exhaust all the possibilities. We have to concede that there is not enough evidence to form firm conclusions.

We turn now to a discussion of the date of the stoa. With the exception of the earth lying against the outer face of the south wall in P–Q:23, which could mean that the building was standing in or before the 3rd century after Christ,²⁴ we have no pottery evidence from foundation cuttings for the walls, from construction fills, or the like to indicate when it was built. If, as seems likely, the stamped terracotta roof tile (Chapter 16, **13**) found in Tile Patch E (p. 316 above) came from the roof of the stoa, it could provide some chronological evidence. The abbreviation formula in this stamped inscription does not seem to have been employed before the Antonine period. This might, therefore, establish a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the roof of the stoa. Not to be ruled out, however, is the possibility that the stamped tile belonged to a later repair of an earlier roof. No other tiles bearing stamps were found in Tile Patches A–E, which, as we will try to show, represent destruction debris from the stoa.

Also pertinent in this connection are the fragments of lateral terracotta simas that can probably be assigned to this building. They have a vertical face crowned with a molding consisting of egg-and-dart or dot surmounted by a plain fascia. To either side of a central projecting lionhead spout are tendrils of acanthus in relief. Fragments of no fewer than thirty-four of these simas were found in the tile layers excavated to the south of the stoa and in the cistern near its western end. Some of these fragments are too small to be attributed to a specific class or group of simas, but most of the others fall into a recognizable category represented by the lionhead spouts (Chapter 16, **11A–B**, Pl. 59) and by the associated panel (Chapter 16, **12**, Pl. 60).

It is significant that no sima fragments of this type were found on the Upper Terrace. This series was probably not, then, employed on any of the three Roman temples in that part of the Sanctuary. Fragments excavated near the Roman stoa, therefore, are not likely to have washed down from above. At least seven of these fragments were found in the destruction debris described on page 317 (lot 2088). One other came from the earth below Tile Patch A (lot 2106; p. 317 above). Another was in the upper filling of the cistern (lot 2099) and joined a fragment of a lionhead spout from lot 2088 to form **11A**. On the basis of these contexts it is reasonable to conclude that these simas once decorated the roof of the Roman stoa. Several other fragments were found near the Roman stoa and in other parts of the Sanctuary lower down the hill. Most of these, however, come from surface layers that cannot be closely dated.

While these contexts provide some evidence for attributing this type of sima to the stoa, they are of limited help with the early chronology of the building. With one exception, all the fragments come from pottery lots associated with the destruction of the stoa, thereby indicating only what kind of roof decoration it may have had at the time of its demise. Unfortunately, in the present state of research on plastic simas of the Roman period at Corinth, it is impossible to assign a date to our fragments on the basis of style.²⁵

Also found in the tile destruction associated with the Roman stoa were eleven fragments of terracotta palmette antefixes. These fall into three different groups: (1) a type represented by **40** (Pl. 61), which bears the signature Ἀφροδείστου; (2) a type represented by **85** (Pl. 64); (3) a type represented by **84** (Pl. 64). One fragment of series (3) was found under Tile Patch A (lot 2106;

²⁴ P. 315 above, with the proviso added there in note 13.

²⁵ Parallels for both types can be cited from *Corinth* IV, i, but the authors of this work seldom propose a date or record a building to which the terracottas can be assigned.

p. 317 above). The other ten antefix fragments came from the tile debris in lot 2088 (p. 317 above). Again, the findspots of these antefixes could indicate that they once decorated the roof of the Roman stoa. Caution is required here, however, since, as we shall see, several other buildings in the Sanctuary also had antefixes of these types.

It is unlikely, of course, though not impossible, that the stoa roof carried at one time three different types of antefixes, although if the north–south wing were a later addition, two different types on the same building could not be ruled out. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible on present evidence to establish a firm date for any one of the three types. The type most susceptible to dating is that bearing the signature of Aphrodeisios (40), for which numerous parallels exist among the finds from the Corinth Excavations. To our knowledge, however, none is from a closely dated context, nor has a convincing identification of the fabricant been proposed.²⁶

Surviving evidence for the date of construction of the Roman stoa is, therefore, quite unsatisfactory. It could have been built at the very beginning of the Roman reoccupation of the Sanctuary, perhaps at the same time as the long north retaining wall for the Middle Terrace. Certainly the cement and rubble debris in the robbing trench over the line of the stoa's west wall was identical to that found in the pillaged sections of the retaining wall. If we could press this uniformity of construction, and the fact that the two walls did in fact join in O:20, we might be on firmer ground in suggesting a date in the 1st century after Christ for the building of the stoa.

Better evidence is available for the date of the destruction of the stoa. Erosion has robbed us of the opportunity of examining destruction debris that might have accumulated inside the building, since at no point has any portion of the floor survived. Some chronological conclusions will be drawn later about the dumped fill in the cistern in the building's southwest corner (pp. 327–332 below). Outside the stoa, however, the pottery, lamps, and coins found in the extensive tile debris in P–Q:20–24 provide helpful evidence for the building's final days.

The survival of the several patches of tile debris indicated on Figure 44 and described above is probably due to the fact that in this area in front of the stoa the contemporary ground level was lower than that inside the building. Hence the relatively level layers of earth and tiles that we excavated here, beneath the sloping layers of surface earth, seem to have been less exposed to erosion than the remains inside the stoa farther down the hill to the north. Moreover, within the building the natural bedrock slopes down to the north at a much sharper angle than it does in the area to the south of the stoa, where the tile debris was discovered (Fig. 45). The fact that the bedrock is fairly level along this southern edge of the Middle Terrace probably helps to account for the relatively good state of preservation of the tile debris.

We present here the case for interpreting the six different concentrations of tile debris as evidence for the destruction of the stoa.

First, the contents of all six are appropriate for destruction debris of a building. Roof tiles, fragments of terracotta simas, and pieces of antefixes are the most numerous objects in these lots. There are also several iron nails. It must be stressed that the proportion of these structural parts of a building to the other objects in each of the six patches of tile debris is remarkably high when compared with other groups of finds from other parts of the Sanctuary.

Second, the positions of the six areas of tile debris are striking in their proximity to the Roman stoa. Tile Patch E to the east in Q:23–24 was very close to the projecting wing of the stoa. It may even have overlapped a portion of the interior of the building if the north–south wing was indeed a later addition to the east–west stoa. Tile Patch D covered most of the north–south drain block

²⁶ For discussion of the name, which is attested on Corinthian lamps of the Roman period, see the Architectural Catalogue (Chapter 16, 40). On the difficulty of assigning firm dates to antefixes bearing signatures from the Roman period in Athens, see M.-F. Billot, "Terres cuites architecturales du Musée Epigraphique," *Δελτ* 31, 1976, A, pp. 122–125.

of the wing in Q:23. Patches A, B, and C extended along the south façade of the stoa. The large numbers of tiles and architectural terracottas in the strip of earth at the southern edge of the Middle Terrace in Q:20–24 (lot 2088; p. 324 above) lay less than 2.00 m. from the front wall of the stoa. This heavy concentration of building debris near the foundations of the stoa cannot be coincidental.

Nor is it mere economy of hypothesis that leads us to conclude that the architectural debris is most plausibly to be assigned to the closest contemporary structure. Additional support for this view derives from the sharp contrast between the concentration of tile debris in this part of the Middle Terrace and the nature of the finds in the surrounding area. Nowhere else did we encounter large numbers of broken Roman roof tiles lying relatively flat in layers that also contained architectural terracottas and iron nails. Particularly striking was the difference between the tile debris on the Middle Terrace and the contents of the fills immediately to the south. Here, in Q–R:20–24, where the bedrock of the Upper Terrace rises steeply, there were relatively few tiles scattered through the sloping layers of earth that covered the rock.

Third, in favor of the view that we are dealing with a fairly uniform body of material that belonged to the same destruction of one building is the remarkable chronological consistency of the finds. This is true of the dates of both the latest objects found in the tile layers and those from the earth under the tiles. As we have seen, the latest Roman pottery, lamps, and coins from these two types of contexts belong in almost every case to the second half of the 4th century after Christ. This is precisely what we would expect if the roof debris from the stoa at the time of its destruction fell down upon contemporary levels of earth out in front of it.

Fourth, the chronological consistency of the objects in the tile layers is matched by their uniformity in identity. This is particularly true of the finds in Tile Patches A–D, which very closely resemble one another.

The force of these four arguments in support of the conclusion that the tile debris is to be associated with the destruction of the Roman stoa gains additional strength when one attempts to account for the positions, contents, and uniform date of these tile patches by means of alternative hypotheses. It is, for instance, highly unlikely that all the tiles and the earth beneath them could have been deliberately dumped in this part of the Middle Terrace to form such relatively neat concentrations. Nor is it probable that the strategic placement of the several patches of tile debris around the foundations of the stoa was the result of erosion. Had the tiles and sima fragments simply washed in here, they ought to have come down the slope from the Upper Terrace to the south. Although there were ample quantities of roof tiles found in the destruction debris of the three temples on the top of the Upper Terrace, the slopes immediately south of the Middle Terrace were almost totally lacking in roof tiles. We conclude, therefore, that the most plausible source of the tile debris is the Roman stoa itself. It is important to understand that, in our view, only pockets of destruction debris survived the extensive pillaging activity that targeted the walls, drain, and colonnade of the stoa soon after the end of the Sanctuary. Further disturbances may have occurred later when a cemetery was dug into the site of the former Sanctuary of Demeter. We do not have a tidy, uniform layer of tiles lying exactly in the positions they occupied as they either fell or were torn down from the roof. Only isolated remnants of this destruction have survived.²⁷

The latest Roman pottery and lamps in the pockets of tile debris and in the earth below them have been assigned by Kathleen Slane to the second half of the 4th century after Christ (*Corinth XVIII*, ii, pp. 133, 135–136, lots 1947, 2088, 2101–2106). This date is reinforced and

²⁷ In reaching this conclusion about the nature of the tile debris we have had to take issue with the statement of our colleague Kathleen Slane, *Corinth XVIII*, ii, p. 5: “No destruction debris from the Sanctuary was apparently found *in situ*.”

refined by the bronze coins found in these same contexts. The value of the numismatic evidence is enhanced by the fact that more coins were found in the destruction debris from the Roman stoa than in any other part of the Sanctuary. Also, Roman coins can be dated with a high degree of precision and consistency. Of the thirty coins in question, eleven belong to the 4th century after Christ, and eight of these are to be dated after A.D. 355. Among the latter there is a considerable chronological overlap. That is, they form a fairly consistent sequence ending with the latest piece, a coin of Valentinian II, dated A.D. 383–392.

| | |
|--------|--------------------------------|
| 62-42 | Julian Caesar, A.D. 355–361 |
| 62-43 | Julian Caesar, A.D. 355–361 |
| 62-40 | Emperor? A.D. 355–361 |
| 64-68 | Emperor? A.D. 355–361 |
| 62-44 | Emperor? possibly A.D. 364–378 |
| 62-30 | Valens, A.D. 364–367 |
| 64-122 | Valentinian I, A.D. 367–375 |
| 62-37 | Valentinian II, A.D. 383–392 |

If this evidence is to be interpreted strictly, the destruction of the stoa ought to be placed no earlier than the last two decades of the 4th century after Christ. We speculate below (pp. 438–440) on the possible causes of this destruction and the final days of the Sanctuary.

CISTERN IN P:20–21:1964-1

In the southwest corner of the Roman stoa is the oval mouth of a cistern that was probably constructed *ca.* 300 B.C. to store water collected from the roofs of the Hellenistic Propylon and the Trapezoidal Building. A description of the cistern is given above (pp. 247–248). Its location, just inside the south wall of the Roman stoa near the end of a presumed stone drain that collected water from this building's roof, raises the possibility that the cistern was reused in Roman times. For the position of the cistern, see Figure 44.

No cover was found on top of the cistern, and its original lip has not survived. Its present lip lies at +174.08 m. Contemporary ground level in front of the stoa was *ca.* +174.74 m., which would probably have roughly matched the floor level inside. There is no indication how water was carried from the exterior drain into the cistern. We cannot expect any such evidence to have survived, since the existing remains are today well below the original floor level. The main shaft of the cistern and its two side chambers were found full of earth. We excavated all the fill in the shaft first down to the bottom. Then we removed the earth from the two side chambers separately. A description of the cistern's contents follows.

In the western chamber (the shorter of the two) the clean earth was almost free of pottery and other objects. Only six sherds were found, of which the latest Roman fragment is probably from the middle of the 1st century after Christ. There were six animal bones (bone lot 64-30), some carbonized wood, and two fragments of terracotta figurines. No tiles or coins were present (lot 2108).

The earth in the eastern chamber, which is five times longer than the western, also contained very few objects. There were fifty-nine animal bones (bone lot 64-31), two iron nails, some carbonized wood, ten fragments of Roman glass, and forty-four pieces of pottery, the latest of which is a bowl with barbotine decoration dated by Slane to the late 1st to early 2nd century after Christ (*Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 137 [C-64-452], p. 62). No tiles or coins were found in this chamber (lot 2109).

The fill in the shaft of the cistern was very different from that in the chambers, for it contained large amounts of Roman pottery, several fragments of Roman lamps, many broken roof tiles, and small fieldstones. Unlike the soft, clean earth in the chambers, this filling clearly represents debris

that was shoveled into the cistern. Apparently this was done at two different times, for it was possible to distinguish fairly clearly between the filling in the bottom 2.09 m. of the shaft and that in the top 2.95 m. The dividing line between these two distinct fillings fell at the point where the shaft of the cistern begins to widen to form the ceilings of the two side chambers. It must be stressed that this dividing line was drawn by the excavators after preliminary study of the material found in the shaft. Indeed it was on the basis of the difference in date and character of the objects in the two lots that this division was made. We did not detect any striking change in the color or texture of the earth at this point. There was no hard layer of earth, stones, tiles, or the like that sealed off the fill in the lower part of the shaft from that in the upper. Some contamination of the lower, earlier filling from the upper, later one cannot be excluded. Nevertheless, the distinction between the finds in the two fillings is clear enough to be of help in reconstructing the history of the cistern. Although they do not constitute sealed deposits, these two groups of objects may also serve as useful comparanda for the interpretation of other finds in the Sanctuary and perhaps in other parts of Corinth.

From the bottom filling, six baskets of pottery were collected and two baskets of broken Roman roof tiles (lot 2100): from -2.95 m. to -5.04 m. (bottom). One small fragment of a Roman terracotta sima was found in this filling. It belongs to the series represented by Chapter 16, **83A-B** (Pl. 60). In addition to several animal bones (bone lot 64-23) and pieces of Roman glass, there are seven fragments of Roman lamps, including L-4828 and L-4829.²⁸ Slane assigns to the latest objects a date in the second half of the 3rd century after Christ. Strong reinforcement for her chronology comes from seventeen coins that were concentrated in the filling between -3.15 m. and -3.50 m. One disintegrated in cleaning; the other sixteen are as follows:

| <i>Inventory Number</i> | <i>Emperor</i> | <i>Date A.D.</i> | <i>Number of coins</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| 64-111 | Commodus | 76-192 | 1 |
| 64-112 | Septimius Severus | 195/6 | 1 |
| 64-110 | Caracalla | 198-217 | 1 |
| 64-106 | Geta | 210-212 | 1 |
| 64-113 | Gordianus III | 241-243 | 1 |
| 64-103 | Gordianus III | 243/4 | 1 |
| 64-109 | Trebonianus Gallus | 251-253 | 1 |
| 64-108 | Volusianus | 251-253 | 1 |
| 64-102 | Valerian I | 257 | 1 |
| 64-101, -105, -114, -115 | Gallienus | 260-268 | 4 |
| 64-100, -104, -107 | Salonina | 260-268 | 3 |
| TOTAL | | | 16 |

Two of these pieces are antoniniani, 64-103 and 64-108; the others are bronze.²⁹

The upper filling, from the top to -2.95 m., produced four baskets of pottery, five baskets of broken roof tiles, and numerous small fieldstones. Included also were eight fragments of Roman

²⁸ Slane has analyzed and discussed the Roman lamps and pottery in this lot in *Corinth XVIII*, ii, pp. 4-5, 136. In studying the Roman pottery from the cistern and other parts of the Sanctuary, Slane had to work under a severe handicap in that she did not have at her disposal all the excavated material. Although all the lamp fragments from the Middle Terrace were retained, storage problems for the large quantities of pottery recovered from this site forced the excavators to discard considerable amounts of pottery, particularly body fragments of coarse and cooking ware, after preliminary sorting. Conclusions about the dates of Roman pottery, therefore, must be weighed in this light. For Slane's assessment of the degree to which the pottery available for study is representative of what was actually found, see *Corinth XVIII*, ii, pp. 1-2.

²⁹ We are indebted to Joan E. Fisher and Orestes Zervos for advice regarding these coins.

terracotta simas, including a piece of a lionhead spout (Chapter 16, **11A**) that joins a fragment found in the tile destruction to the south of the stoa in Q:20–22 (lot 2088), and one fragment of the smaller series represented by **83** (Pl. 60). In this filling there were also several iron nails identical to those found in the tile destruction of the Roman stoa. More animal bones were present (bone lot 64-22) and fragments of over forty Roman lamps. On the basis of her analysis of the latter and of the Roman pottery, Slane has assigned a date from the 3rd century to the second half of the 4th century after Christ to this filling (lot 2099; *Corinth XVIII*, ii, pp. 135–136). No coins were found in the upper filling.

Even though the division between them is not positively established,³⁰ there are still enough discrepancies in the dates and contents of these two fillings to justify regarding them as the result of two different dumping operations. The earlier would have been deposited in the second half of the 3rd century after Christ, the latter, in the second half of the 4th. We now suggest the most likely occasions for these two events.

In the high proportion of broken Roman roof tiles and the presence of iron nails and Roman terracotta sima fragments, the upper filling (lot 2099) resembles the late-4th-century tile debris that we have associated with the destruction of the Roman stoa. This impression is strengthened by the two joining fragments of the terracotta lionhead spout (Chapter 16, **11A**) mentioned above and by two non-joining sherds that have been assigned to the same vase of the 3rd century after Christ by Slane. One fragment of this vessel comes from the upper filling in the cistern (lot 2099), while the second was found in the tile debris in Q:20–22 (lot 2088).³¹ Although we lack the numismatic evidence from the upper filling that helped to pinpoint the date of the destruction debris outside the Roman stoa, we may safely conclude that some of this same debris was shoveled into the top 2.95 m. of the cistern. This probably occurred no later than the closing decades of the 4th century after Christ.

The dating and interpretation of the lower filling in the shaft of the cistern (lot 2100) present more problems and require closer scrutiny. After preliminary study it was proposed in 1968 that the evidence of the coins especially pointed to a filling of the cistern in, or soon after, the reign of Gallienus.³² The debris was then interpreted as the result of an otherwise unattested attack on the Sanctuary by the invading Herulians in A.D. 267.³³ More detailed examination of the

³⁰ Slane has joined a fragment of Roman cooking ware from the lower filling (lot 2100) to a piece of the same pot from the upper filling (lot 2099). There do not appear to be any other joins between the two lots.

³¹ *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 196 (C-64-185a–b), pp. 90, 95.

³² Stroud 1968, pp. 309–310.

³³ The Herulian invasion of Greece is attested in the *Historia Augusta*: Vita Gallieni 13.6–9; Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 33.3; Zonaras 12.26; Zosimos 1.39, 42–43; Ammianus Marcellinus 31.5.15–17; Cedrenus 259 A (*CSHB I*, p. 454); Dexippos of Athens, *FGrHist* 100, F 28; and Synkellos 717, A. Mosshammer, ed., who is the only source explicitly to mention Corinth: Κόρινθόν τε καὶ Σπάρτην καὶ τὸ Ἄργος καὶ τὴν ἔλην Ἀχαίαν κατέδραμον. For the sources on the Herulian invasion, see F. Millar, “P. Herrenius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions,” *JRS* 59, 1969, pp. 26–29; D. Armstrong, “Gallienus in Athens, 264,” *ZPE* 70, 1987, pp. 235–258; A. Frantz, *Agora XXIV*, pp. 1–3. Archaeological evidence for the invasion of Athens is conveniently collected by Frantz, pp. 2–15, to which should be added the important hoard of bronze coins of the reign of Gallienus preliminarily published by A. Walker, *Coin Hoards* 3, 1977, pp. 40–48, no. 95. For possibly similar evidence from Corinth, see T. L. Shear, “A Hoard of Coins Found in the Theatre District of Corinth in 1930,” *AJA* 35, 1931, pp. 139–151; *Corinth I*, iv, p. 134–138, 159 (rejected by Slane, *Corinth XVIII*, ii, p. 4, note 8); *Corinth VIII*, iii, p. 37; Williams and Zervos 1982, pp. 118, 132–134. Slane, *loc. cit.*, reports other unpublished material of this period from Isthmia. For evidence of the Herulians at Olympia, see A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, Munich 1972, p. 112; E. Kunze, “Zur Geschichte und zu den Denkmälern Olympias,” in *100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabung in Olympia*, Munich 1972, pp. 24–25. For skepticism about the Herulians at Olympia, see U. Sinn, “L’attività dell’Imperatore Nerone ad Olimpia: Risultati e prospettive dei nuovi scavi,” *I Grandi Santuari della Grecia e l’Occidente*, ed. A. Mastrocinque, Trento 1993, pp. 136–147. For the

coins has resulted in a few refinements in their dates and identity, which are reflected in the list given above, but the latest pieces, seven of the total of sixteen, are still those struck in the reign of Gallienus and Salonina, A.D. 260–268. The attraction of associating these sixteen coins and the debris in the lower filling of the cistern with a clean-up operation soon after a destructive raid in A.D. 267 is increased by the facts that (1) there is a significant number of coins; (2) the last twelve of them form a sequence that extends with only a few brief intervals from A.D. 241 to A.D. 260–268; (3) the largest number, seven, cluster in the reign of Gallienus and Salonina; (4) there are no coins later than A.D. 260–268. Thus, the numismatic evidence from lot 2100 is not inconsiderable in its volume and in its precision, based on the regnal years of eight 3rd-century Roman emperors.

After careful examination of the Roman pottery and lamps found in the cistern, Slane has rejected the possibility of associating lot 2100 with the Herulians (*Corinth XVIII ii*, pp. 4–5). She registers three objections to this theory, two of which are as follows: (1) “the fill of the tunnels which open off the lower part of this fill (lots 2108, 2109) was no later than 2nd century, and it therefore appears that a second, earlier fill may be included in lot 2100”; (2) “no other debris of mid-3rd century date was found in the Sanctuary, as one would have expected if the destruction were caused by the Heruli.”

Both of these observations are valid. Neither, however, is fatal to the hypothesis that lot 2100 represents Herulian destruction debris. We have seen that the soft, clean earth in the two side chambers of the cistern contained only a very small amount of pottery, none of it later than the 2nd century after Christ. It may indeed represent earlier fill in the cistern, part of which is included in lot 2100. Possible earlier contamination of this kind, however, can in no way weaken the case in favor of a date of soon after A.D. 267 for lot 2100, since it is the latest objects in this filling that are chronologically diagnostic.

It is also true that we have not encountered large amounts of debris of mid-3rd-century date such as might have been expected had the Herulians raided the sanctuary. Expectations, however, do not constitute evidence, and arguments from silence, here only partial, can be dangerous. The case for a date slightly later than 267 for lot 2100 would perhaps be strengthened if we could cite other similar deposits from the Demeter Sanctuary, but the absence of such parallels is not fatal to the theory. We have to deal with the only evidence we have and draw from it the most plausible inferences. We shall see that the Temple with the Mosaic Floor had its roof repaired at roughly this time and a collecting basin in Q:20 on the Upper Terrace was now filled in, see below pages 377–378.

Slane’s third objection to associating lot 2100 with the Herulian invasion is more serious. It is based upon her detailed investigation of the Roman pottery and lamp fragments in the lower filling of the cistern. Twelve Roman vases from lot 2100 are included in her catalogue. Seven of these belong to the 3rd century after Christ. The latest dates assigned to these vessels are mid-3rd century (two vessels of African red-slip ware: *Corinth XVIII, ii*, nos. 110 [C-64-458], 111 [C-64-459], pp. 4, 55); second half of the 3rd century (coarse-ware stewpots: *ibid.*, nos. 177 [C-64-227], 182 [C-64-228], pp. 84–85), and mid-second to third quarter of 3rd century (*ibid.*, no. 251 [C-64-460], p. 116). In addition, “124 sherds of mid-2nd to the second half of the 3rd century remain [stored] in the lot.” Slane cautiously does not press the evidence of the pottery to the point of claiming that specific pieces must be later than *ca.* A.D. 267, although several of them certainly could be. She assigns a general date of the second half of the 3rd century to the lot. Until more precise dating criteria are available for these latest vases, it is legitimate

Herulians at Sparta, see P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities*, London 1989, pp. 122, 129, 223. For possible archaeological evidence of Herulian destruction at Argos, see A. Pariente, M. Piérart, and J.-P. Thalmann, “Les recherches sur l’agora d’Argos,” in *Argos, Topographie et Urbanisme* (forthcoming).

to conclude, therefore, that a general date of the second half of the 3rd century is not incompatible with the numismatic evidence, which clearly supports a date during or soon after the reign of Gallienus.

The evidence of the Roman lamps in lot 2100, however, is regarded by Slane as "most diagnostic."³⁴ Critical here are two fragments of unglazed Corinthian lamps with vine pattern on the rim and rays on the discus and one unglazed Attic base with a central boss and three framing circles. These are stored in lot 2100. In Slane's catalogue are two more unglazed Attic lamps, L-4828 (*Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 42, p. 32) and L-4829 (*ibid.*, no. 50, pp. 33–34). Her contention that these five lamps rule out a possible association of lot 2100 with the Herulian invasion must be taken very seriously, since it is based on a detailed reexamination of the chronology of Roman lamps represented by examples from the Sanctuary of Demeter with numerous comparanda.³⁵

Slane's careful analysis of unglazed Corinthian lamps of the vine-and-ray category led her to conclude that some of them may definitely belong in the second half of the 3rd century after Christ, but "how long beyond the middle of the 3rd century unglazed Corinthian lamps continued to be manufactured is still uncertain" (p. 17). Until a more precise chronology for the vine-and-ray lamps *ca.* A.D. 350–400 can be established, therefore, it seems risky to insist that the two fragments in lot 2100 must be significantly later than *ca.* A.D. 267.

Slane has isolated the fragments of the three unglazed Attic lamps as the latest objects in lot 2100. Of these, L-4829 (her no. 50) cannot be confidently placed so late as to rule out a Herulian context, for, as she observes, a very similar lamp was found in destruction debris of the mid-3rd century after Christ east of the theater in Corinth.³⁶

L-4828 (Slane no. 42), however, is a stumbling block. It has been mended from several fragments, all of which belong to lot 2100. Only a small portion of the discus is preserved, but enough survives to enable Slane to show that it carries the representation of "a goddess with double axe."³⁷ For the chronology of this type, Slane quotes with approval the statement of Judith Perlzweig that it "did not appear on Attic lamps until after the Herulian invasion, A.D. 267."³⁸ Slane dates L-4828 (her no. 42) "late 3rd/early 4th century" (*Corinth XVIII*, ii, p. 32).

We are thus faced with a real conflict in our evidence. Apparently, with the exception of this one lamp, no other objects in the lower filling of the cistern can be dated with certainty later than *ca.* A.D. 267. Moreover, the chronological sequence of the sixteen coins in this fill points firmly to a terminal date in or just after the reign of Gallienus. In view of their numbers and the precise dates they afford, we should hesitate to reject the testimony of the coins because of the presence of one later lamp in the fill. This would be a particularly inadvisable procedure in attempting to deduce the date of a filling that was not sealed off from the earth above.³⁹

³⁴ This is because, unlike the pottery, all the lamp fragments from the cistern were available for study; see note 28, p. 328 above.

³⁵ *Corinth XVIII*, ii, pp. 7–23.

³⁶ See Williams and Zervos 1983, no. 38, p. 17.

³⁷ For speculation on the identity of this figure, with earlier bibliography, see *Isthmia III*, p. 75; D. W. J. Gill and D. Hedgecock, "Debris from an Athenian Lamp Workshop," *BSA* 87, 1992, p. 415, no. 12, an Amazon.

³⁸ *Agora VII*, p. 117.

³⁹ Despite strenuous efforts by several experts working with masses of material from all over the Mediterranean world for many years, the chronology of Roman pottery and lamps remains volatile, especially for the 3rd and 4th centuries after Christ. Slane's excellent analysis of the conflicting evidence for the chronology of Attic and Corinthian lamps of this era clearly exposes the problems (*Corinth XVIII*, ii, pp. 13–23). See also our references to recent research on Late Roman lamps in Chapters 12 (p. 352, note 54, Karivieri) and 15 (p. 439, note 92, Rügler). Even if consensus among scholars is eventually reached, it is not in the nature of things that we will ever be able to date individual vases and lamps of this period as precisely as we can Roman coins. When the latter appear in a deposit or group of finds in significant numbers, the evidence they provide should be given proper weight.

Cautiously, then, while recognizing the presence of at least one later object, we conclude that the lower filling in the cistern was probably deposited in, or soon after, the reign of Gallienus, A.D. 260–268. Such a date is compatible with the theory that this filling consists of debris that resulted from destruction inflicted by the Herulians.

It remains to discuss the relationship of the two fillings in the cistern to the building history of the Roman stoa. The date of construction of the latter is uncertain, but it is probable that when the stoa was built, the Hellenistic cistern was cleaned out in order to store water carried to it by a stone drain that ran along the building's southern façade. In the third quarter of the 3rd century after Christ, the cistern went out of use. We suggest that at this time it was filled to within 2.95 m. of the top with debris from a clean-up operation after a raid on the sanctuary by the Herulians. It is possible that the stoa was itself damaged at this time. At any rate, thereafter some other arrangement must have been made for the storage of water collected from its roof. Also the top of the cistern would now have probably been covered, since the upper part of the shaft was still empty. At the end of the 4th century after Christ, when the stoa was in ruins, more debris, this time from the building's destruction, was shoveled into the cistern, filling it at least to the level of the preserved top.

WELL 1961-11 IN Q:19-20

The major source of water in the Sanctuary in Roman times was a well dug through the bedrock and located *ca.* 4.20 m. directly south of the Roman Propylon in N-P:19-20. Its mouth lies on the horizontal ledge of bedrock immediately north of the vertical cutting that marks the dividing line between the Middle and Upper Terrace in Q:19-20 (see Pl. 51:b). On the east side of the roughly circular mouth of the well is a small, irregular patch of floor made of small stones packed in a coarse gray cement. This floor is *ca.* 0.10–0.15 m. thick, and a patch measuring *ca.* 0.90 m. by 1.50 m. has survived. No stratigraphy was preserved above the floor, and no objects were found on it. The stones and cement of this floor were laid in a hard paving of what appears to have been dug bedrock mixed with water and gravel. From a test cut made into this layer through the floor we gathered a handful of badly broken Roman sherds. Any date based on such meager evidence can only be extremely tentative, but none of these pieces seems to be later than the 1st century after Christ (lot 4485).

No trace of a well head was found. Since the stone floor on the east side of the mouth extends right up to the lip, any well head would have had to rest on this floor. It is likely that there was a well head here to help prevent objects, animals, and people from falling into the shaft. At its mouth, the well is 0.90 m. in diameter. The shaft, circular in section, has been cut down through solid bedrock. It was found open to a depth of 9.04 m. and overgrown with bushes. We found no trace of stucco or any other inner coating on the walls of the shaft. Sunk into the rock walls of the shaft, however, on an east–west axis are several shallow foot-and-hand holes *ca.* 0.08–0.10 m. deep, five on the east side, four on the west; they are spaced at irregular intervals of *ca.* 0.20 to 0.50 m. These extend to a depth of *ca.* 2.40 below the top. Beyond this point the original walls of the shaft had crumbled away, thus removing all trace of any other holes and also increasing the diameter of the shaft to *ca.* 1.60 m. At a depth of 12.05 m. the shaft began to spread outwards to form a large bell-shaped chamber that measured at its widest point *ca.* 2.50 m. east–west by *ca.* 4.25 m. north–south. Water was encountered at a depth of 16.25 m., but it never seeped into the well fast enough to prevent us from bailing it out twice a day by hand in order to continue digging. This part of the filling in the well was excavated in late May and early June of 1962. At a depth of 18.70 m. we reached the bedrock bottom of the well. No tunnels, drains, or any other constructions were found leading into either the shaft or the chamber of the well.

Although the first 3.00 m. of earth in the well produced only a handful of nondescript sherds and tile fragments, the progress of the work was enlivened by the discovery of a rusted bicycle

frame (no wheels), which sparked many conjectures among our workmen, since it had clearly been deposited in the well at this steep and fairly inaccessible site long before the construction of the modern road up Acrocorinth. Below this filling of recent times and extending from the top of the chamber at level -12.05 m. to a depth of -15.25 m., the well had been filled with earth and debris from the ancient Sanctuary. Twelve baskets of pottery were recovered from this 3.20 m. of fill, ranging in date from a few Protocorinthian pieces to Late Roman coarse ware of the second half of the 4th century after Christ (lot 1945).⁴⁰ Also included were three boxes of terracotta figurine fragments, of which thirty-five are inventoried; thirty-three pieces of terracotta architectural members consisting of stamped tiles, antefixes, and sima panels with lionhead spouts, most of which came from the ruins of Roman buildings; numerous badly broken Roman roof tiles; fourteen battered fragments of large-scale terracotta sculpture of the Greek period; three bronze coins; nineteen Classical and fifty-four Roman lamp fragments (one intact, L-4194; see *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 54, p. 34); numerous small fragments of marble broken from monument bases; a poros Ionic capital and part of an architrave block; and seven fragments of marble sculpture.

Of the last the most important are a large fragment of the draped torso of a life-size standing figure (S-2663) and the heads of three female statues. The heads were all found together directly below the mouth of the well at a depth of -15.20 m. All had clearly been hurled down the shaft of the well at the same time. All are of Roman workmanship and will be discussed in detail in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

The largest head (S-2668) is that of an impressive over-lifesize figure that probably stood as a cult statue in the westernmost Roman temple in T:16–17 high up on the bedrock of the Upper Terrace to the southwest of the well. A joining fragment of hair from the back of the head and a non-joining piece from the neck of this statue were both found there (p. 357 below).⁴¹ The head suffered considerable damage before it found its way into the well, for the thin coat of gilding that had originally covered the hair had all been scraped off, except for a tiny patch in front of the right ear. Also, both eyes, which were probably rendered in semiprecious stones, had been gouged out.⁴²

The other two heads are smaller, about lifesize, and represent young girls who may have served in the Sanctuary as priestesses (S-2666, S-2667). It is possible that the portrait statues from

⁴⁰ For the pottery and the lamps, see *Corinth XVIII*, ii, pp. 132–133. For a catalogue of the inventoried objects found in the well, see pp. 335–336 below.

⁴¹ For a fragment of a marble monument base possibly from this same building on the Upper Terrace found in the upper filling of the well (lot 1945), see Chapter 16, 96.

⁴² Preliminary publication of the three heads with photographs appeared in Stroud 1965, pp. 20–21 with pl. 10. For speculation that the largest head is a Roman copy of a Greek original of the Classical period, see P. Noelke, "Zum Kopf der 'Meter' Doria-Pamfili," *BjB* 167, 1967, pp. 38–43 and G. I. Despinis, Συμβολή στη Μελέτη τοῦ Ἔργου τοῦ Ἀγορακρίτου, Athens 1971, pp. 120–123. Noelke provisionally suggested that S-2668 represented Persephone, since it was found in a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Despinis sought to identify it as a copy of a statue of Kybele by Agorakritos of ca. 450–440 B.C., and, despite its findspot, he proposed that it once stood in the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods on Acrocorinth; Pausanias 2.4.6. His theory was based partly on stylistic criteria and partly on the assertion that the over-lifesize statue to which S-2668 once belonged was too large to fit into "the naïskos of the sanctuary" of Demeter and Kore. Not only was this a rash conjecture to advance in 1971 before the full extent of the Sanctuary had been excavated, but Despinis, inexplicably, committed the additional error of identifying Building M:16–17 as "the naïskos," which would have housed cult statues of Demeter and Kore in Roman times. This structure, however, was explicitly identified in Stroud 1968, pp. 315–317 (to which Despinis, p. 213, note 60 refers) as a banquet hall that did not survive the end of the Greek Sanctuary. For a complete description of this room, see pp. 202–210 above. In fact, the Roman temple in which S-2668 once stood was discovered on the Upper Terrace; see p. 357 below. Equally misguided was the attempt of E. Berger, "Der Basler Athenakopf aus der Sammlung Ludwig," *AntK* 17, 1974, p. 135, note 23, to combine the head with three marble torsos found in the Forum; *Corinth IX*, nos. 5–7, pp. 9–15. For our view that S-2668 represents Demeter, see p. 362 below.

which these two heads were broken also stood originally in or near one of the Roman temples on the Upper Terrace. Some of the other smaller fragments of marble arms and hands found in the well could perhaps be associated with these two statues.

It is clear that the damage to the faces of these three heads took place before they were hurled down the shaft of the well, since no chips or broken pieces belonging to them were found in the earth filling. In each case the front of the face is badly enough broken to suggest that the statues fell forward onto a hard surface, perhaps at the time when the heads were broken off.

Some idea of the date when this mixed filling of debris was dumped into the well can be gained from the latest objects in lot 1945. Apart from a few isolated intrusions of later times,⁴³ the pottery and lamps do not appear to be any later than the second half of the 4th century after Christ.⁴⁴ Of the three coins in this filling, the latest is a bronze struck under Constantius II at his mint in Constantinople sometime between A.D. 346 and 350 (61-44).

At a depth of -15.25 m. we made an arbitrary division in the finds from the well, collecting material below this point as far as the bottom (-18.70 m.) in lot 1946.⁴⁵ Thirty-three baskets of pottery were recovered from this bottom 3.45 m. of fill. This is almost three times as much pottery as was found in the 3.20 m. of dumped fill immediately above. Unfortunately, lot 1946 is not a pure use filling of the well, despite the fact that it contained a number of nearly complete Roman water jugs.⁴⁶ There were also four nearly intact Roman lamps.⁴⁷ In this lot, however, were still several fragments of roof tiles, terracotta simas, and pieces of worked marble, which probably represent destruction debris. On the other hand, this fill differs in other respects from that found above it. Greek pottery is represented by only a few fragments, while pottery of the Roman period is abundant. Only five fragmentary terracotta figurines turned up and only two pieces of large-scale terracotta sculpture. There were no more fragments of marble sculpture, and, in contrast to the upper filling, lot 1946 contained a box of animal bones.⁴⁸

It is probably unwise to try to draw firm inferences from these variations in the finds. They may merely indicate that the dumped material in the bottom of the well was not drawn from the same Sanctuary debris as that in the upper part. The fact remains, however, that in some respects the dumped fill in the well was not entirely uniform. Although it is clearly contaminated, the Roman pottery of lot 1946 from the bottom 3.45 m. of the well shows a range in date from the first half of the 2nd century after Christ to the second half of the 4th. On the assumption that some of this material is contemporary with the use of the well, and in view of the fact that when it had been cleaned out, *ca.* 2.45 m. of water seeped back into the bottom of the well, we suggest that the well had not gone dry in antiquity. It probably continued to produce water for the Sanctuary until it was choked off by the dumped fill near the end of the 4th century after Christ.

It is more difficult to establish the date when the well was dug, for the earliest objects found in it offer no guidance. From the mud in the lowest 0.70 m. we could collect only a few nondescript sherds. There is no way to determine whether the well had been cleaned out in antiquity. If

⁴³ Such as a bronze buckle, MF-10663, which resembles no. 2234 in *Corinth XII*, p. 274, Byzantine, and a fragment of a Roman lamp, Broneer type XXXI, with a Christian cross imitating a type from Africa that does not appear before A.D. 425, stored in lot 1945.

⁴⁴ See *Corinth XVIII*, ii, pp. 132-133.

⁴⁵ This arbitrary division was made between the 1961 and 1962 seasons of excavation. The three marble heads were found on the last day of the former, June 22. Unfortunately, it was impossible to complete the excavation of the well at this time.

⁴⁶ Stroud (1965, p. 14) was premature in characterizing this as "use fill." It is better to follow Slane (*Corinth XVIII*, ii, p. 99), who cautiously observes that this filling, "which consists almost exclusively of mendable pitchers and amphora fragments and complete lamps, with very little fine pottery, probably includes material from the use of the well." For a catalogue of the inventoried objects in lot 1946, see pp. 335-336 below.

⁴⁷ Wheelmade, Broneer type XVI. See *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 7 (L-4835), p. 26.

⁴⁸ Bone lot 61-8.

the evidence for the date of the floor at the mouth of the well had been more plentiful and decisive, we could confidently place the digging of the well in the 1st century after Christ at the latest. But this is far from certain. The position of the well, however, may be significant. Not only was it placed at the dividing line between the Middle and the Upper Terrace, just before one begins the ascent to the latter, but it also lies directly on the north–south axis of both the Roman Propylon to the north and the central Roman Temple with the Mosaic Floor in T–U:19 to the south. Such an alignment can hardly be fortuitous. It is suggestive of a uniform architectural design, one that may have been governed by the fact that this well had some special significance in the ritual or perhaps in the legends connected with the worship of Demeter on Acrocorinth. One is reminded of the sacred Kallichoron Well at Eleusis, which is set prominently near the entrance to the sanctuary.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, we cannot determine the building sequence on Acrocorinth. The well could have been laid out on the axis of the two Roman structures sometime after they had both been completed, or the well may have been earlier than the two buildings. Its position could have become a determining factor for the Roman architects when they laid both of them out.

There is also the possibility that the well is even earlier than the Roman renovation of the Sanctuary and that it had provided water to worshipers in the Greek shrine. It was conveniently placed just below the steeply rising face of the bedrock and directly on the north–south axis of the Early Hellenistic Propylon. Anyone passing through the latter would have found the well immediately in front of him and only *ca.* 4.20 m. away. Apart from cisterns, we know of no other source of water for the Sanctuary before the Roman period, although there is ample evidence for the importance of water in the Greek shrine. Consider, for instance, the numerous washing installations in the dining complexes of the Lower Terrace and the many fragments of terracotta perirrhanteria of the Archaic and Classical periods found on the Middle Terrace.⁵⁰ The need for a well in the Greek period can thus be plausibly maintained, but the surviving archaeological evidence offers proof of the existence of Well 1961-11 no earlier than the 1st century after Christ.

WELL 1961-11

Catalogue of Inventoried Objects

LOT 1945. From –12.05 m. to –15.25 m. Twelve baskets of pottery.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Pottery | C-61-288, -289, -484, -485, -494, -496, -497 |
| Lamps | L-4194, -4266–4269 |
| | [For the Roman pottery and lamps, see K. Slane, <i>Corinth XVIII</i> , ii, pp. 132–133] |
| Terracotta Figurines | MF-10660–10662, -10664–10674, -10676–10678, -10936, -10945–10953, -10956, -13414, -13478, -13523, -13783, -13784, -13813, -14033 |
| Terracotta Sculpture | SF-61-8–12, -18, -22 |
| Marble Sculpture | S-2662–2668 |
| Terracotta Architectural Members | FA-450, -451, -454; FP-173 (90); FS-945–948 (81), -953, -954 (82); FT-191 (72B) |
| Stone Architecture | A-396, -929, -951 (96), -952 (97), -953–955 |

⁴⁹ For this well, see Mylonas 1961, pp. 97–99.

⁵⁰ The terracotta perirrhanteria have been published by Pemberton in *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 75–78, nos. 661–674. Several fragments from the Demeter Sanctuary were also included in M. Iozzo, “Corinthian Basins on High Stands,” *Hesperia* 56, 1987 [pp. 355–416], pp. 368–372, nos. 21, 23, 26; pp. 377–379, nos. 41, 44; pp. 388–389, no. 64; pp. 390–391, nos. 67, 71; pp. 394–398, nos. 78, 80, 81, 83, 86, 89; pp. 401–402, nos. 100, 104; pp. 409–410, no. 121. As far as the perirrhanteria from the Demeter Sanctuary are concerned, Iozzo’s work must be used with caution, for it contains many errors, particularly with regard to context and physical features; for a striking example, see pp. 162–163 above, note 10.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lead Weight | MF-10944 |
| Bronze Buckle | MF-10663 |
| Coins | 61-42 Greek, illegible, bronze |
| | 61-43 Corinth, Pegasus/Trident, bronze |
| | 61-44 Roman, Constantius II, A.D. 346–350 |
| LOT 1946. From –15.25 m. to –18.70 m., bottom. Thirty-three baskets of pottery. | |
| Pottery | C-62-273, -875–878, -962, -967, -968, -973, -974, -976 |
| Lamp | L-4835 [For the Roman pottery and lamp, see <i>Corinth XVIII</i> , ii, pp. 132–133] |
| Terracotta Figurine | MF-10954 |
| Terracotta Sculpture | SF-61-12 |
| Terracotta Architectural Member | FA-457 |
| Stone Architecture | A-380, -942 (59A–B) |
| Bone Flute | MF-10955 |
| Whetstone | MF-13269 |
| Oval Stone | MF-13271 |
| Coin | 62-34 Roman, Patrae, after Augustus |

CONCLUSIONS

No evidence of building or cult activity was found on the Middle Terrace beyond the end of the 4th century after Christ. The destruction debris preserved in Well 1961-11, in the cistern, and to the south of the Roman stoa probably all belongs to the last days of the Sanctuary when the buildings were destroyed and then fairly systematically quarried for construction materials. We speculate below (pp. 438–440) on the probable causes of the destruction of the Sanctuary. After an indeterminate interval, this part of the slope of Acrocorinth became the site of a cemetery. For these late burials, see Chapter 13 below.

THE ROMAN UPPER TERRACE

(Fig. 52; Plans 6–8)

P–U:13–23

In Chapter 9 we attempted to isolate the Greek remains on the Upper Terrace from the myriad cuttings that attest to its long period of use. As we explained, the paucity of stratified fills makes this virtually an impossible feat. To some extent, this is also true for the Upper Terrace in the Roman period. Other parts of Corinth have provided us with evidence of a number of building periods, brought about because of destructive periodic earthquakes,¹ private benefactions,² or simply the growing needs of a large community. Unfortunately, almost none of this history can be recovered from the remains on the Upper Terrace of the Sanctuary. We can identify three small buildings at the top of the Upper Terrace in T–U:16–22. Of these the centrally placed Temple with the Mosaic Floor was remodeled at least once. Apart from these we are left with cuttings in bedrock, all of which need not belong to a single period of construction or even one period of use. Two sets of cuttings in R–S:17–18 and R–S:20–22 can be associated with each other because of the identity of their plan, and they served as the beddings for a monumental approach to the buildings above.

We shall therefore begin at the south, or top, with the three buildings that are more coherent and gradually work down the hillside to the north. We will not attempt to divide the Roman Upper Terrace into periods, but, as with the Greek phase, we will describe everything as one, our organization being topographical rather than chronological.

At the top, then, of the Upper Terrace in T–U:16–22 are the remains of three small buildings drawn up in a row. In the center is the so-called Temple with the Mosaic Floor T–U:19. *Ca.* 8.00 m. to the west of it lies the West Temple T:16–17, and *ca.* 8.00 m. to the east is the East Temple T–U:22. The three structures originally stood on a high platform that was in part cut into the bedrock hillside and in part built up with earth retained by a wall extending from R–S:15 to S:23 (Fig. 52, no. 44). We will discuss the evidence for this retaining wall, together with the stairway leading up to the platform, below. For our present discussion it is enough to say that the platform so formed was about 39.00 m. long from east to west and 5.00 m. wide at either end, extending to 11.00 m. at the center. On this platform each structure is built within a large cutting in the bedrock hillside that is slightly greater than the width of the built foundations. Thus, rock scarps surround each building on east, west, and south sides; access was from the north. The remaining bedrock surface is rough and sloping.

All three buildings are similar in plan, each consisting of a rectangular cella and small front porch, resting on a two- or three-step crepidoma. The West Temple T:16–17 has been completely pillaged, with only cuttings left to be seen; but from its debris come enough fragments of a limestone entablature to enable us to restore an Ionic tetrastyle prostyle porch. Of the larger, centrally placed Temple with the Mosaic Floor, the lowest foundation course of the cella and interior mosaic floor are preserved. Only five small fragments could be associated with its exterior order; these duplicate the better-preserved evidence of the West Temple and permit us to suggest a similar façade for it. In addition, the function of both buildings as temples can be

¹ For evidence of earthquakes, see Williams and Zervos 1987, p. 4 and pp. 430–431, 435, 438–439 below.

² A useful discussion of these benefactors and their gifts can be found in *Corinth* VIII, iii, pp. 20–23.

determined from their contents, more abundant in the case of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, but nonetheless distinctive in both. The remains of the East Temple T-U:22 are confined to three courses of the crepidoma of the cella and to two fragments of the superstructure. Nevertheless, the similarity of its preserved plan to that of each of the other two buildings, and of its scale to the West Temple, makes its identification and restoration likely. Each, then, as we shall see, is a small prostyle temple facing north.

TEMPLE WITH THE MOSAIC FLOOR: T-U:19 (Figs. 46–48; Plan 9 B–B)

We begin our account of the Upper Terrace with the Temple with the Mosaic Floor (Pl. 53). It is the largest of the three structures on the top terrace. Not only is the building centrally placed between the two others, but it is also aligned with the well in Q:19 and with the Roman Propylon N-P:19–20 on the Middle Terrace and must, therefore, have been a focal point for the Sanctuary as a whole. Most important for our study, it is the best preserved of the three temples and is one of the only buildings on the site in which a destruction debris was found intact. As a result, we can restore its furnishings and are in a good position to verify its identification as a temple and, by extension, that of the two other buildings.³

The Temple with the Mosaic Floor is set in a bedrock cutting *ca.* 6.40 m. square, which reaches a maximum depth of 2.40 m. at its south scarp. Within this large cutting are beddings for all four cella walls, as well as segments of the lowest foundation course therein. More specifically, all of one row of the south foundation, the southern half of the west, and all the east foundation exist, except for the northeast corner block. The north foundation is represented by part of a single cracked block. In the center the bedrock core projects *ca.* 0.55 m. above the level of the wall beddings (+182.865 m.) to support the floor of the cella (+183.42 m.). At the lowest foundation course the cella measures 5.65 m. east–west by 5.50–5.60 m. north–south. Just beyond the east side of the building the bedrock is cut roughly level to form a small terrace approximately 2.00 m. wide east–west by *ca.* 4.00 m. long north–south. To the southeast and south bedrock rises vertically to a height of 2.40 m., while it drops steeply away to the north.

The lowest foundation course (top +183.12 m.) is composed of limestone blocks 0.49–0.54 m. wide and 0.24–0.27 m. high; lengths vary from 0.605 to 1.32 m. Some are clearly reused from an Archaic structure, for five blocks preserve V-shaped lifting channels in one end; a sixth derives from a round or apsidal structure.⁴ The blocks also preserve at least two sets of pry holes and several setting lines, and their top surfaces, in contrast to their sides, have been trimmed with a claw chisel. On both the east and west sides these blocks are laid as a single row of stretchers in a rock-cut trench 0.90 m. wide. Where bedrock drops away on the north side, a shallow bedding has been cut into the slope for the north wall; the end of one cracked block still rests in place. At this lowest course the north wall does not run at right angles to east and west walls but follows an orientation turned somewhat more to the northeast, perhaps following the line of an earlier

³ The temple appears in the preliminary report, Bookidis and Fisher 1974, pp. 278–285, as the Mosaic Building. With regard to destruction debris in the Roman Sanctuary, see p. 326 and note 27.

⁴ The blocks with distinct cuttings are catalogued below in Chapter 16, 98–109. It is possible that all the rectangular blocks derive from the same building; dimensions and workmanship are similar. Those with the V-shaped lifting channel, which are demonstrably Archaic, are 0.272–0.287 m. high, 0.75–0.84 m. long. Their widths vary from 0.49 to 0.53 and 0.607 m. Two of these make short returns or corners. Their dimensions do not match those of the foundations for the oikos, being both narrower by 0.03–0.08 m. and lower. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that they derive from the upper portions of those walls; see pp. 62, 64–73 above. A similar V-shaped lifting channel occurs on a possible Doric epikranitis block (Chapter 16, 63). There is no evidence for either a round or an apsidal building in the Sanctuary.

cutting.⁵ This orientation was corrected in course 2, the evidence for which is given by the cutting in bedrock for its inner face, just 0.25 m. south of course 1. The bedding for the south wall is 1.70 (west)–1.90 (east) m. wide. Within this broad cutting the blocks are placed in a row 0.35–0.43 m. out from the south rock-cut scarp, leaving 0.80–1.00 m. between them and the inner bedrock core to the north. Originally, this space was filled by a second row of blocks, giving a maximum width of 1.08 m. to the foundation on this side. A gap of 0.20 m. remaining between this second row and the bedrock core was probably filled with earth and building chips.

Although it is no longer preserved, course 2 can be restored with certainty to a width of 0.46 m., or 0.92 m. on the south side. Its position on east, south, and west sides is marked by a series of setting lines incised on course 1, which are visible in both Figure 46 and Plate 53, and by a ledge cut into the bedrock core on east, west, and north sides of the building.⁶ The course is set in 0.24 m. from the east face of course 1, 0.215 m. from the west face, 0.25 m. from the north face, and 0.31 m. from the south face. In addition, two cross lines on the east and west foundations mark the position of the second row of blocks comprising the doubly thick south wall. The position of course 2 is also clear in Plate 53, where it appears as a black discoloration on the surface of course 1. This variation in color is due to the fact that the exposed portions of course 1 were covered by a construction packing of poros stone chips and red earth. Where this construction packing was found intact, the surface of the stone had retained its original light color, but where the overlying walls had been robbed, the foundation was exposed to the destruction debris and thereby blackened. The top of course 2 lay flush with the interior floor (+183.42 m.) and therefore represented the toichobate. At this level the cella measures 5.20 m. east–west by *ca.* 4.94–5.04 m. north–south.

Several fragments of a large-scale Ionic superstructure, recovered from the debris of the building, undoubtedly derive from a porch that extended to the north. Its exact plan, however, is unknown. North of the north cella wall bedrock slopes gently downward for *ca.* 1.25 (east)–2.25 (west) m. before dropping abruptly down to the theatral area (from +182.959 to 179.88 m.), as shown in Plan 9, Section B–B. On this small platform are a number of rock cuttings, most of which must antedate the Temple with the Mosaic Floor.⁷ Among them, however, is a northward continuation of the outer face of the west wall bedding. By means of this extension the west wall can be traced for a total length of 7.00 m. The floor of this part of the bedding is actually 0.409 m. lower than that to the south.

The small Roman temples D, F, and G at the western end of the Corinthian Forum⁸ and the West Temple on the Upper Terrace of the Sanctuary give us an idea of what may have stood here: a tetrastyle prostyle structure with a porch roughly half the depth of the cella. It is difficult to make the building much longer than 7.00 m., for north of that length bedrock begins to drop sharply away. At 7.00 m., moreover (+182.569 m.), an irregular line of rubble extended across the front of the building on a northeast–southwest line. It preserved no good face and was irregularly laid but could have once formed a part of the porch's substructure. We therefore propose to restore a building roughly 6.50–7.00 m. long at toichobate level with four Ionic columns across its

⁵ If one extends the line of the north bedding eastwards toward the east wall, the two walls will meet over a drop in the east bedding 0.14 m. deep. Presumably a small block was used to level the two walls. For an earlier cutting just to the north, see note 7 below; in addition, some earlier traces are broken by the line of course 2's inner face.

⁶ In Figure 46 the inner face of course 2 (and also the line of the cella wall) is marked by the outermost of two dotted lines.

⁷ In Plan 7 the large cutting in T:19 that extends eastward from this extension, and then turns north, appears to have no relation to the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, even though it shares its orientation. See p. 271 above for its description.

⁸ *Corinth* I, iii, pp. 8–16, 52–63, plan B.

façade, or possibly one that was pseudo-dipteral prostyle. The reconstruction presented in Plan 6 is hypothetical, in particular with regard to the length of the porch walls and antas.

The limestone architectural fragments of the superstructure are small and few: namely, a base molding from an Ionic anta or toichobate (**14**),⁹ a cyma reversa molding perhaps from the crown of the architrave (**15**), and one dentil of a dentillated cornice (**16**). In addition, five other fragments, too small to be catalogued, were recovered from the destruction debris. Two preserve part of the top fascia of the architrave and the beginning of the crowning molding; two more give the lower part of a cyma reversa molding like **15**, while the fifth derives from a geison. All these pieces are too incomplete to permit any restoration of the entablature; nevertheless, it is useful to compare them with those from the West Temple, which are smaller in scale. On the other hand, a lateral geison (**50**), recovered from the debris over the East Temple, is larger in scale than a comparable piece from the West Temple (**38**). This either means that a comparison of scales of the entablatures is not useful or that the larger geison may be better assigned to the Temple with the Mosaic Floor.

Nothing could be assigned to a raking sima. Presumably, this would have been in limestone, following the example of the East Temple (**51**).

Two small fragments of a terracotta lateral sima, also found in the destruction debris, can be attributed to the roof. One preserves the crowning molding decorated with an egg-and-dart in relief (**17A**); the other preserves part of the mane of a lionhead spout (**17B**). They can be associated with another fragment from the well in Q;19, which preserves the top of a very crude lionhead spout (**18**). From these few fragments it is clear that the scale of the sima was small and the execution poor. Similar to this series, although not identical, are seven fragments represented by sima **83**, two examples of which derive from the tile debris of the Roman stoa. We tentatively associate with the temple sima an antefix (**85**), showing the unusual motif of a palm frond with date seedpods in place of the usual palmette. Although no example was found in the temple debris, its association with the sima is made on the basis of size and fabric, for both represent the smallest series from the Sanctuary as a whole. Four of the six fragments of this type of antefix were found at the base of the theatral area in O-P:15-17. One example each of both sima type **83** and antefix type **85** was found in contexts that may date to the first half of the 3rd century after Christ. They may, therefore, represent an earlier phase of our roof, which was then rebuilt in the 3rd century with **17** and **18**.

In addition to these few pieces, 1,628 fragments, or 497.86 kg., of roof tiles were recovered from the excavation of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. Of these 227, or 149.53 kg., are Classical in date, 1,186, or 271.16 kg., are certainly Roman, while 215, or 77.17 kg., could belong to either Classical or Roman pan tiles of Corinthian type.

The Classical tiles probably derive from the packing behind the walls and can be discarded from our discussion of the roof. Among the remaining tiles that can be identified with certainty as being of Roman manufacture, 246 belong to Roman Laconian cover tiles with semicircular profile, 746 to Roman Laconian pan tiles with curved profile, and 194 to Roman Corinthian pan tiles with flat floors. The relative proportions of Laconian to Corinthian are shown below. If the 215 fragments of uncertain date are added to the Roman Corinthian pan tiles, then the proportions change somewhat. The totals for the pan tiles can be summarized as follows:

| | ROMAN | | ROMAN + UNCERTAIN | |
|------------------------|-------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| <i>Laconian type</i> | 746 | 78.8% | 746 | 64.6% |
| <i>Corinthian type</i> | 194 | 20.6% | 409 | 35% |
| TOTAL PAN TILES | 940 | | 1,155 | |

⁹ Numbers in bold type refer to the Architectural Catalogue in Chapter 16.

Both kinds of tiles were recovered from the same destruction layers that covered the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. This suggests that both were in use at the same time. This contemporaneity is further supported by the fact that both types of pan tiles are identical in width, or 0.446–0.448 m., as **19** and **20** demonstrate. Fifteen such tiles give a length of 6.72 m., sixteen a length of 7.17 m. for the building.¹⁰ Although no full lengths are preserved, we estimate that five or six horizontal rows of tiles would have covered each side of the roof.

With these proportions of tiles in mind, we can probably explain the predominance of Laconian pan tiles by assigning the Corinthian ones to the lateral sima, the Laconian to the remainder of the roof. There is, however, one problem with this arrangement. Among the few fragments that belong to the ends of the Corinthian pan tiles, there are four that preserve the notched lower end.¹¹ It may well be, therefore, that a row of Corinthian pan tiles lay behind the lateral sima. What the advantage of such a roof can have been is not clear. The joints cannot have been close-fitting; however, the Laconian cover tile must have absorbed some of the differences.¹² That this solution may not have been unique to the Sanctuary is indicated by the recent excavation of the Roman Building 7 east of the theater, which produced a similar mixture of Corinthian and Laconian tiles.¹³ Furthermore, in the Hellenistic period repairs to the Corinthian roof of the South Stoa of Corinth may have been made with Laconian tiles.¹⁴ That we are not dealing with simple repairs to the roof of the temple is indicated by the large numbers of Laconian tiles. Finally, two stamped Corinthian tiles were recovered from the debris, bearing two different stamps, namely, [L]·RVTIL[---] (**21**), and [COL·L·I]V[·]COR (**22**). The first name also appears on tiles from the West Temple and underlines the contemporaneity of the two structures.

The entrance to the cella is no longer preserved but once stood on the north side. This will become clearer when we discuss the mosaic floor within the room. The interior of the cella is slightly wider than deep, measuring *ca.* 4.28 m. east–west by 3.56–3.67 m. north–south. A tessellated mosaic covers the floor from east to west walls, and from the entrance south for *ca.* 2.90 m. (Pls. 53, 54:a). Because the mosaic is very well preserved except for its southeast and northwest corners and most of the framing border, the missing parts can be restored with little question. The decoration falls into three parts. A border of reticulate pattern frames a large field with interlocking octagons, which covers most of the floor. Within this field is a narrow panel decorated with motifs related to the cult (baskets). Below this panel is a *tabula ansata* with a donor's inscription. Both are so designed as to be immediately seen by those entering the room from the north, the inscription first and then the baskets above it.

The mosaic rests on a bedding of small stones and cement, which, in turn sits on bedrock.¹⁵ The design is executed in coarse tesserae 0.01 to 0.015 m. square, 0.022 m. high, spaced *ca.* 1 to 2 mm. apart. For the panel with baskets these tesserae are supplemented with smaller, irregularly cut pieces to fill out odd angles. Three colors are used for most of the floor, namely, white marble

¹⁰ This sum is only approximate, since there is no evidence for a raking sima, as we shall see.

¹¹ The notch is cut into the side of the projecting lip and is 0.083–0.10 m. long, to fit into the next tile below it. In addition, two fragments preserve upper ends, where the side lip breaks off 0.04 m. from the end of the tile; on a third the lip continues to the end of the tile without any notch.

¹² Among the tiles identified as Classical were fragments of Corinthian pentagonal cover tiles. From their shape as well as their fabric we assumed that these were definitely Classical in date. It is possible, however, that among these were pentagonal covers used with the Roman Corinthian pan tiles on our building.

¹³ Williams and Zervos 1989, pp. 4–5.

¹⁴ Broneer (*Corinth I*, iv, p. 88) attributes these to structures adjacent to the back of the South Stoa. Williams, however, in "Corinth Excavations, 1979," *Hesperia* 49, 1980 [pp. 107–134], pp. 133–134, would assign them to repairs to the Stoa itself.

¹⁵ The mosaic was not lifted but remains in place. As a result, we were unable to examine the underpinnings more closely.

for the background, dark blue limestone for the geometric designs, and terracotta red for the filling motifs. Tesserae of yellow and black stone and green glass further enliven this panel.

In greater detail, the design is as follows from the outside in. Plain bands of blue, white, and blue (each two rows of tesserae wide) frame the entire mosaic. Within them is a decorative border, 0.445 m. wide on east and west sides but only half that, or 0.265 m. wide, on the south and north sides. On the wider east and west sides the border motif is a single row of large diamonds flanked by half-diamonds, outlined in blue. This outline consists of contiguous squares of four tesserae each, producing a dotted effect. In the center of each diamond is a smaller solid red one, eight tesserae wide at its broadest. On the narrower north and south sides, the motif is reduced to a zigzag or half-diamond. The tesserae in the border are laid in rows running parallel to the north and south frame lines.

Bands of blue (2),¹⁶ white (6), blue (5), white (4), and blue (2) enclose the central field, which is 2.44 m. long east–west by 1.83 m. wide north–south. The field is filled with rows of interlocking octagons outlined in blue (2). The octagons overlap in such a way as to create a subordinate pattern of a central square surrounded by hexagons. A solid red diamond embellishes the center of each square, and in each hexagon is a red quincunx. In the field the tesserae are laid in accordance with the geometric form, that is, in diagonal rows for the outlines, in horizontal rows for the central squares, and in boxed hexagons, working from the outside in.

Just to west of center the field of octagons is interrupted by a circular depression that breaks through the mosaic floor to expose bedrock (Pl. 54:a). *Ca.* 0.52 m. in diameter, the depression is outlined in the mosaic by a blue line. Thus, whatever stood there (and we shall return to this below) was incorporated into the mosaic floor.

Immediately north of the depression and undoubtedly near the missing entrance is the panel with baskets (Pl. 54:a). Because of the octagon pattern, this panel is of necessity off-center to the axis of the room and to the entrance. Two octagons frame it to the east, one to the west, four to the south, and a row of hexagons to the north. *Ca.* 1.31 m. long by 0.41 m. wide, the panel is white and is framed by a blue line (2). Represented in it are two large wicker baskets with flat bottoms, flat lids, and large horizontal loop handles near mid-height. Each basket is yellow, flecked with red, dark green, white, and black tesserae. Each lid is slightly ajar, with double blue lines representing the baskets' interior. A snake worked in blue with green speckles and red eyes wraps around each basket, the long tails of both meeting in the center. Red tongues extend from their open mouths. In the field between the baskets is the impression of two closely set feet in pointed shoes directed toward the door. The impression is 0.22 m. long, 0.166 m. wide, and 0.003 m. deep. A very slight lip midway between the top and bottom of the cutting undoubtedly supported a plaque of marble or metal, on which the feet were drawn. As for the disposition of the tesserae, the white tesserae of the field outside the baskets are laid in vertical rows following the side frame. For the remainder of the panel the tesserae are laid in accordance with the shape of the motif.

Directly beneath the panel with baskets and slightly off-center to it is the *tabula ansata*, 0.17 m. wide by 0.53 m. long. Within it, against a blue background, is a three-line inscription in Greek worked in thin strips of white marble (Fig. 47). The inscription is designed to be legible to persons entering the room and records the name of the mosaic's donor:

ΟΚΤΑΒΙΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΥΣ
ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΗΦΟΘΕΤΗΣ
ΕΠΙ ΧΑΡΑC ΙΕΡΕΙΑC ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑC¹⁷

¹⁶ The number in parentheses indicates the number of rows of tesserae used for each band.

¹⁷ The inscription will be discussed below (pp. 362–370), together with the meaning of the panel and the identification of the building.

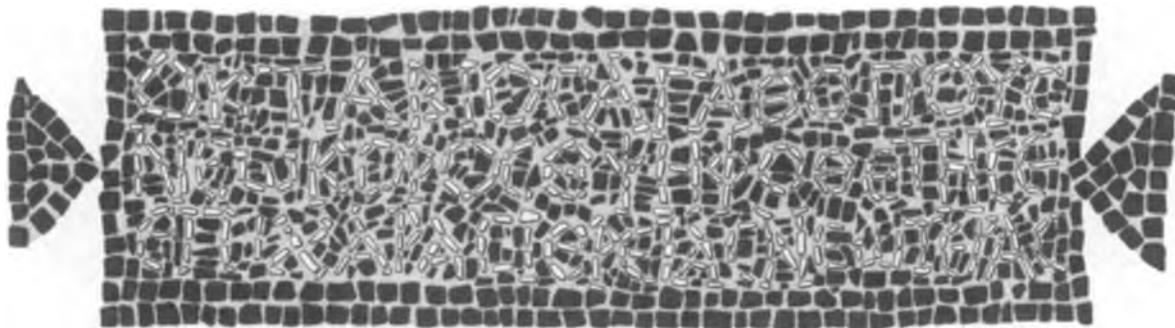


FIG. 47. Drawing of inscription in Temple with the Mosaic Floor T-U:19

The mosaic floor abuts a raised platform 0.61 m. wide, which stood against the south wall. Although the platform itself has been thoroughly destroyed to the top of the bedrock core, a few fragments of white marble revetment, belonging to its north face, were found still upright. Immediately above bedrock south of this face we found a layer of clayish earth, perhaps from the packing for the platform. The height of the platform is less clear. Twenty-nine fragments of veneer in a striated gray and white marble, possibly "Hymettian," were recovered from the destruction debris. The majority of them are narrow strips. Those that could be measured preserved the following original widths: 0.063, 0.066, 0.088, 0.092–0.096, 0.10 m. A few fragments were clearly larger than these, but how much is not known. None were profiled moldings.

In view of the fact that a relatively small amount of veneer was found in the building, we should probably restore either plain or stuccoed walls. Indeed, some pieces of red and white stucco were recovered from the floor debris. The revetments were thus probably confined to the south platform, unless some sort of marble dado was used together with the mosaic floor. For the platform, then, at least two restorations are possible. We can ignore the variations in revetment width and assign all the strips to the face of a single step at least 0.065 m. high.¹⁸ Such platforms occur in the two excavated cult rooms of the Asklepieion at Pheneos. In both cases the platform supported a base for cult statues.¹⁹ A second restoration would replace the single step with a flight of two or three steps, each slightly different in height to explain the differences in the veneer. This solution, however, seems the less likely, for the steps would have been very low.

As noted above, the south wall of the room was doubly thick, or *ca.* 0.92 m. Such a construction does not appear in the two neighboring buildings. Therefore, its function in the Temple with the Mosaic Floor cannot have been to withstand pressure from the fill that lay behind the building, for such a solution would have also been needed in the West Temple, the south scarp of which is equally high. More likely, the wall was made doubly thick to provide room for one or more wall niches. A niche of this sort would presumably have been equal in depth to the thickness of one row of blocks, or *ca.* 0.45 m. Although we have no evidence for either the width or height of such a niche, we assume that it must have been large enough to enclose an over-lifesize statue

¹⁸ Variations exist within a given piece. For example, the longest fragment, A-73-19, varied in width from 0.092 to 0.096 m. over a length of 0.62 m. Since the fragments remaining *in situ* are bedded *ca.* 0.02 m. below the surface of the mosaic, these differences could have been absorbed.

The fragments derived from the destruction debris over the floor, the so-called robbed wall trenches, and the postdestruction debris, with cross-joins between all three. Cf. A-73-19, A-73-20, lot 73-98, lot 73-99, lot 73-100.

¹⁹ E. Protonotariou-Deilake, «'Ανασκαφή Φενεοῦ 1958, 1959, 1961», Δελτ 17, 1961–1962, B1 [1963], pp. 57–61.

standing on a base.²⁰ Thus, according to our restoration, a low platform stood in front of a large niche that was let into the back wall of the room.

When the building was excavated, a layer of destruction debris rested on the mosaic floor and, to a lesser extent, over the platform, which had already been destroyed (Pl. 55:a). In this debris were parts of furniture and of statues, which, though badly damaged, give some idea of the room's contents.

Resting on the mosaic floor in the southwestern quarter of the room and just in front of the ruined platform, possibly even just on top of its face, lay the top of a large marble offering table (23), or rather, half of the top, for the other half was never found. The table was lying top side up at right angles to the platform. One table leg rested beside it (24); a second was found some 2.00 m. to the northeast (26A), while a third lay outside the west wall of the building (25). The top of one leg (27), possibly belonging to 26, lay beside table leg 24. Beneath the table top we found one fragment of sculpture, S-73-31, a right forearm, and near it along the west side of the room was a human foot, S-73-18, both of marble. *Ca.* 0.70 m. north of the table the marble shaft of a perirrhanterion rested on its side (28). A section of the rim of the stand was found *ca.* 0.50 m. to the east of it. Only a tiny portion of the bowl was recovered. Small segments of a second stand appeared both on the floor and over the cuttings for the robbed north wall (29). Several fragments of a marble base with cyma recta (31A) and ovolo moldings (31B, C) were scattered about together with the pieces of revetment and numerous terracotta roof tiles. There were also a number of small but tantalizing pieces of marble sculpture: four feet from three or four different statues, ranging from slightly under to slightly over lifesize, six fingers, parts of two arms (one of which, S-73-19, overlay the ruined platform), and small segments of drapery.²¹ In addition, there were seven fragments of at least five marble, horn-shaped objects,²² and a single finger from a bronze statue under one-third lifesize.²³ A few of the sculptural fragments were found in the robbing trenches for the walls and in the postdestruction debris.²⁴

How were these objects originally placed within the room? The heavy table (23–27) perhaps stood near where it lay but not quite so, since the narrow finished end pointed north toward the center of the room while its broken middle abutted the platform. It probably originally stood either parallel to the platform and just in front of it or at right angles to it. Examples of offering tables in sanctuaries are of course very numerous.²⁵ In sanctuaries of Demeter, however, a close parallel can be found at Priene.²⁶ In the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura four tables are placed at right angles to the cult statues.²⁷

²⁰ An interesting parallel is the Temple of Demeter Malophoros at Selinous, as rebuilt in Hellenistic times. There, the side and back walls of the adyton are 1.70 m. thick. Each wall is composed of an inner and outer facing of ashlar masonry against a rubble core so as to support a barrel vault. A niche in the back wall is created by interrupting the packing and inner wall to expose the back wall. The niche is 3.09 m. high, 0.79 m. deep, and 1.31 m. wide, or somewhat less than one-third the width of the back wall of the adyton. See Gabrici 1927, col. 32; White 1967, pp. 339–340.

A niche is posited for Temple F in the Forum of Corinth, the back wall of which is double in thickness. There, a curved crowning molding for a niche gives further weight to the restoration; *Corinth* I, iii, p. 59, fig. 38, pl. 23:2.

²¹ The feet are S-73-16, S-73-18, S-73-28, and S-73-34; the fingers, S-73-20 to -25, S-73-46; arms, S-73-19, S-73-31; drapery, S-73-35 to -40. The sculpture will be published in a separate fascicle of *Corinth* XVIII. Several pieces appear in Bookidis and Fisher 1974, p. 282, nos. 2, 3 and pl. 58.

²² S-73-9 to -11, S-73-13 to -15, S-73-45.

²³ MF-93-20. Our thanks to Melissa Thompson for drawing our attention to this piece.

²⁴ S-73-9, S-73-10, and part of S-73-35. A marble finger, S-73-46, was found to the east of the building on the bedrock terrace.

²⁵ The use of the offering table in the Classical period is described by D. Gill, "Trapezomata: A Neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice," *HThR* 67, 1974, pp. 117–137; *Greek Cult Tables*, New York 1991.

²⁶ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, pp. 152–154, figs. 121 and 122.

²⁷ Leonardos 1896, col. 110.

The better preserved of the two marble perirrhanteria (28) must have stood close to the table near which it was found. It is tempting to place it in the circular area reserved within the mosaic floor. Its base diameter of 0.32 m. is considerably less than the 0.52 m. of the impression; however, a marble disc with vertical face and the start of a step or molding at the upper break (30) has a restored diameter of 0.48 m. and may have served as a plinth on which the perirrhanterion rested. There is no indication of where the second perirrhanterion (29) stood.

The destruction debris is both informative and frustrating, for despite the number of fragments recovered from it, nothing else is sufficiently well preserved to be restored and positioned within the building. For example, the four feet of marble statues mentioned above can be attributed to either three or four statues. One may be slightly under lifesize (S-73-28); two are about lifesize.²⁸ In addition, a fourth or fifth statue or statuette is represented by the solitary bronze finger. If the cult statue, presumably over lifesize, stood in the niche, the smaller dedicatory statues probably rested on the mosaic floor. With the fragments were parts of at least one monument base, embellished with cyma recta base and ovolo crowning moldings (31A-C). The plinths of the statues would not have been set into the top of the base but would have been clamped to it by means of an L-shaped clamp, the vertical shaft embedded into the base, and the cross-bar cut into the top of the statue plinth. Such cuttings are attested on a number of Corinthian statues.²⁹ If we look at the nearly contemporary Temple of Artemis at Messene, moreover, we see that these buildings can have been cluttered with dedications in addition to the cult statues.³⁰

Other finds discovered in the building include the following: two lead curse tablets, of which one, MF-73-5, was found unrolled in postdestruction debris, and the second, MF-73-38 (rolled), in the robbed wall trench for the south wall; a faience bowl, MF-73-39, from the same trench; and a glass flask, MF-73-72, from surface fills above the building.

The date for the construction of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor is based on the coins and pottery recovered from the construction packing behind the walls, especially behind and overlapping the south wall where the high rock scarp protected the earth (Fig. 48, strata 5, 6).

The packing consisted of two superimposed fills. In Plate 54:b these surround the exposed floor. The lower fill (Fig. 48, stratum 6), a hard, red earth resembling ground-up stereo, mixed with limestone working chips, was ca. 0.55–0.85 m. thick. This red packing extended from bedrock to the height of the missing toichobate, filling the space between bedrock and the setting line incised on course 1. In Plate 54:b it is the lower fill at the left. From this lower fill came numerous Classical roof tiles; four coins, namely, two of Chios of the 2nd century B.C. (73-562, 73-563), one of Cassander (316–297 B.C.; 73-550), and a fourth that disintegrated in cleaning; as well as a small amount of pottery, nearly half of which was Classical in date (lot 73-96). The latest pieces consisted of two thin-walled cups from the 1st century after Christ, as well as a handful of other Early Roman sherds.³¹

²⁸ S-73-16, a left foot, and S-73-18, a right foot, could belong to the same statue. There are, however, stylistic differences in the rendering of the toes that make their association uncertain.

²⁹ For example, *Corinth IX*, no. 135 (S-1065), pp. 72–74, the so-called Gaius, grandson of Augustus, as well as a number of unpublished pieces in the collection.

³⁰ A. K. Orlandos, «Ἀνασκαφή Μεσσήνης», *Πρακτικά* 1962 [1966] [pp. 99–112 ι], pp. 102–112 θ; Orlandos 1976, pp. 9–38, esp. pp. 32–35, figs. 19–21.

³¹ Lot 73-96. For the thin-walled cups, see *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 193 (C-73-182), p. 93; no. 207 (C-73-409), p. 98; also an amphora neck with dipinto, no. 231 (C-73-258), p. 112. In addition to these pieces, the lot contained the following:

Lot 73-96:

Total: 62 sherds, 5 figurines, 6 miscellaneous.

Fine ware 36: 26 Archaic to Classical (not itemized); 1 Eastern Sigillata B; 9 fragments of 1 local Roman red ware pitcher.

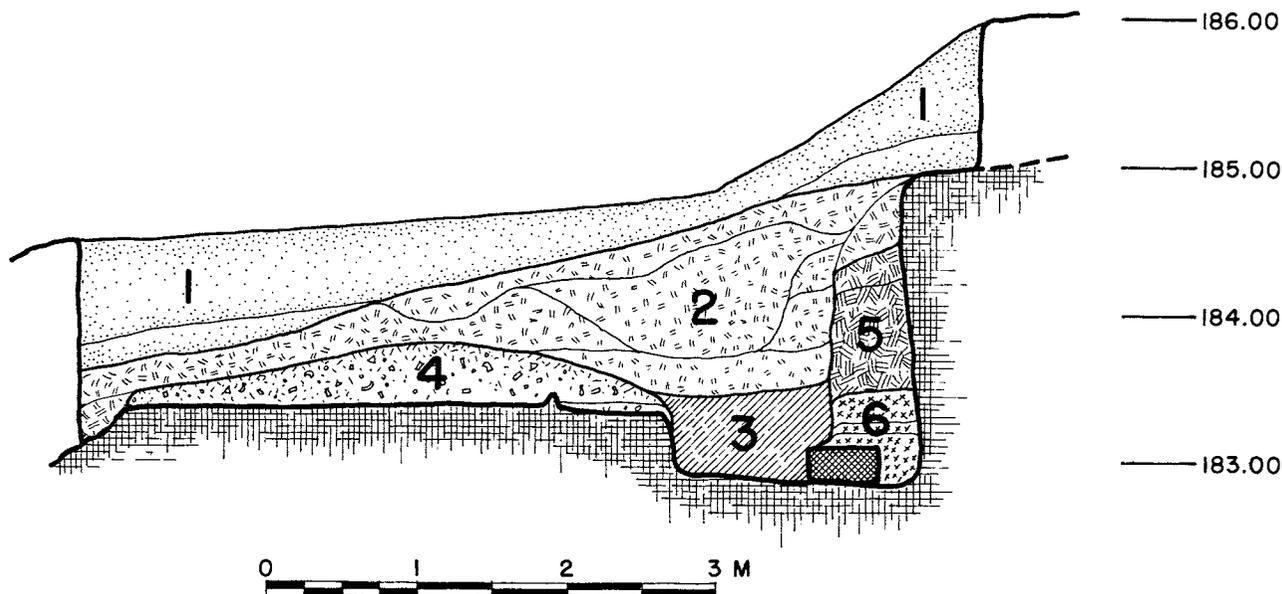


Fig. 48. Section: Temple with Mosaic Floor T-U:19, looking east

[1] Surface; [2] Postdestruction fill (lot 73-100); [3] Robbed wall trench (lot 73-99); [4] Destruction debris (lot 73-98); [5] Construction packing, black layer (lot 73-97); [6] Construction packing, chip layer (lot 73-96)

Above this fill a stratum 0.80–1.00 m. thick of soft, black earth (Fig. 48, stratum 5) reached a height of *ca.* 2.40 m. above the top of the lowest foundation course. In Plate 54:b it is the higher baulk in the back corner of the cut. During excavation we observed an intermediary layer of red earth mixed with black, and a little black earth within the lowest red packing. These facts suggest that both fills were laid down as part of one operation. The black packing is especially significant, however, because of the presence of large quantities of carbonized wheat mixed with some charcoal, small bits of animal bones, and fine black earth. Samples of the wheat and soil were analyzed in the Department of Crop and Soil Sciences at Michigan State University and in the United States Department of Agriculture. Analysis of the wheat showed that two or possibly three species are represented, the first, *Triticum aestivum vulgare*, probably a soft winter wheat much like that used today in the eastern United States, the second *Triticum sphaerococcum*, or “shot” wheat, and the third *Triticum compactum*, or club wheat.³² The soil, upon analysis, was described as

Thin-walled ware 9: 7 fragments of 1 cup, 2 others.

Coarse and plain fine ware: 1 trefoil oinochoe.

Cooking ware 5: 1 pitcher, 1 stewpot(?) rim with piecrust decoration; 1 lid.

Figurines 5: 1 jointed doll; moldmade seated, standing draped females, all Classical to Hellenistic.

Miscellaneous 6: 2 fragments of bronze; 1 shell; white stucco; 1 terracotta pinax (MF-73-33); 1 silver ring (MF-73-34).

Date: 1st century after Christ.

³² We should like to express our thanks to Kenyon T. Payne for offering to undertake this analysis and to E. H. Everson, Professor of Wheat Genetics and Breeding, and Aural Cross, paleobotanist, of Michigan State University, and Gustav Wiebe of the Department of Agriculture for the results of their testings.

It is interesting to note that according to R. Sallares, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World*, Ithaca 1991, p. 358, *Triticum sphaerococcum* did not spread beyond India; similarly *Triticum compactum*, while known in Pontos and South Russia (p. 331) and in second millennium B.C. Cyprus (p. 485, note 139), is apparently not attested on the Greek mainland.

“probably representing an accumulation from a cooking area.” The kernels had been subjected to intense heat. We shall return to this below.

Together with the wheat were a substantial amount of discarded pottery, several baskets of Classical and Roman roof tile fragments, a little wall plaster, glass, and two figurines (lot 73-97). Thus, we are clearly dealing with a dumped fill gathered from one or more places on the site, rather than with any sort of ritual performed within or behind the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. What other part of the site the wheat could have come from, however, is not known. No grain was found in any other part of the Middle and Upper Terraces, including sacrificial Pit B.

Two possible explanations come to mind. The deposit may represent wheat that was brought to the Sanctuary as tithes and stored for later use or sale but which, due to rotting or combustion, had to be destroyed and discarded. It may also have been the accumulation of sacrifices made on a Roman altar no longer preserved. That sacrificial ash periodically had to be disposed of is shown by its occurrence over Area D and throughout the foundation fill of the Trapezoidal Building on the Middle Terrace.³³ At the same time, one should not expect to find it far from the altar itself.

The pottery was most heavily concentrated in the lower half of the black packing. Very little of it is Classical in date, the greater amount being Early Roman. Among the twenty catalogued vessels there are eight fine ware cups, bowls, and plates, two thin-walled cups, a mesomphalos phiale, one fine ware thymiaterion, a mixing bowl, three pitchers, two cooking pots, and a large fine ware storage jar. Three Roman lamps, Broneer types XVI and XXII, were also inventoried as well as a glass flask. Among the uninventoried material are more fragments of table ware, possibly thirteen pitchers, at least four cooking vessels, two coarse thymiateria, and seventeen lamps, all of which date no later than the second to third quarter of the 1st century after Christ.³⁴ Important components of this fill are the ritualistic vessels, namely, the phiale and the various thymiateria, which must have been used at an earlier date in another part of the Sanctuary. Similarly, the Roman roof tiles that lay in the packing may well have been removed from an earlier roof within the Roman Sanctuary, unless the tiles were discarded during the laying of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor's own roof.

³³ The black packing represents approximately three times the volume of Pit B on the Middle Terrace insofar as the latter was preserved, or 3.16 cubic meters, as against *ca.* 1.00 cubic meter. This is only a relative statistic, however, since it does not take into account the volume taken up by pottery and tiles in both.

³⁴ Lot 73-97. The glass cup, MF-73-75, will be published with the miscellaneous finds. For the remainder of the material, see *Corinth XVIII*, ii, pp. 140–141, lot index. Not included under that lot are five vessels and a coin that probably did belong to the packing but were excavated in part with the black destruction debris, namely, no. 80 (C-73-246), p. 46; no. 148 (C-73-251), p. 68; no. 194 (C-73-245), p. 95; no. 223 (C-73-248), p. 107; no. 267 (C-73-254), p. 122; and coin (73-388), Corinthian duoviri from the time of Tiberius. The uninventoried material included the following:

Lot 73-97:

Total: 280 sherds, 2 figurines, 16 miscellaneous.

Fine ware 24: 16 local Roman red ware: 2 two-handled cups as *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 201 (C-73-29), p. 96, 1 other cup, 1 bowl; 1 Eastern Sigillata A Samaria form 11; 4 Arretine: 2 Haltern 8 cups; 1 Pontic rim.

Thin-walled ware 18.

Coarse and plain fine ware 32: 12 amphoras: 2 Italian toes, 1 micaceous water jar; 3 white-slipped thymiateria; 19 to 20 pitchers: 1 white-slipped, 4 plain bases, 6 rims as *Corinth XVII*, ii, no. 223 (C-73-248), p. 106, one as *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 224 (C-73-249), p. 107, 4 to 5 trefoil as *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 214 (C-73-252), p. 102, of which 2 at least half preserved; 1 pierced lamp-hanger.

Cooking ware 31: 1 jar and 2 thymiateria, 4 lids, 1 frying pan, 1 baking pan.

Lamps 17: 1 Hellenistic(?); 7 Broneer type XVI, 1 of which very large; 9 Early Roman glazed.

Figurines 2: 1 Classical nude doll.

Miscellaneous 16: 14 glass; 2 painted wall plaster.

Date: second to third quarter of the 1st century after Christ.

One last possibility must be considered, although we think it unlikely, namely, that the black packing was not deposited at the time of the building's construction but was an accumulation of debris discarded over a period of time. Then the temple could have been built earlier in the century, and the various ritual vessels noted above could have been a part of its paraphernalia. In conjunction with this hypothesis, it is worth noting that six coins of Early Roman date were found in disturbed fills around this building. Four of these are cited below with the later coins from the postdestruction fill and robbing trenches; two more are a Roman Republican denarius of 106 B.C. (73-530) and a Corinthian *duoviri* bronze from the time of Augustus (73-524). Tempting as it might be to consider these objects as evidence for a date in the early 1st century B.C., a later date is more in keeping with the building history of the East Temple and the Lower Sanctuary.

From the time of its construction the building was used continuously for several centuries. During that period it was remodeled at least once when the mosaic floor was laid. Although there is no evidence by which to date the mosaic apart from its style, several factors suggest that it must be later than the third or early fourth quarter of the 1st century after Christ.³⁵ The first is the presence of glass tesserae, a material that is probably not used in such flooring before the 2nd century after Christ.³⁶ In Corinth glass tesserae occur in the Mosaic House by the South Basilica in the Forum, the mosaics from which have been dated to the late Antonine or early Severan period.³⁷ They are used more extensively in the mosaics from the Anaploga Villa. Originally assigned to the second half of the 1st century, these mosaics have more recently been redated in the 3rd century after Christ.³⁸

Second, the organization of the floor into a large geometric field, essentially black-and-white, that is broken by a pseudo-emblema worked in a richer palette of colors, is an advanced technique. It is quite different from the continuous pattern that decorates the floors of the early-2nd-century after Christ Kladeos Baths at Olympia, one of the few dated mosaic complexes in Roman Greece,³⁹ or the bath at Isthmia with its great black-and-white figured floor dated to the middle of the 2nd century after Christ.⁴⁰

Third, although the pattern of linked octagons can be traced back to the 1st century after Christ, the closest parallels to this form are to be found in floors of the late 2nd or 3rd century after Christ. One Corinthian example occurs in the south room of the Mosaic House, mentioned above. There, the pattern, which covers most of the floor, is broken by a small panel, containing simply a rosette. The octagons are picked out in contiguous diamonds like the reticulate border in the Sanctuary mosaic. The general impression is thus lighter. The filling ornaments, while the same, are reversed, the quincunx moving to the central square, the diamond to the hexagons. Also similar are the color schemes and the coarseness of the tesserae. A second Corinthian parallel can be found at Kenchreai in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite. In the "oecus" northeast of the peristyle the octagon covers the floor in much the same way as in our temple but without the interruption of a panel.⁴¹ Only the form of the quincunx differs slightly. Again, as in our floor, the tesserae are

³⁵ In the original report, Bookidis and Fisher 1974, p. 285, a date in the 2nd century after Christ was suggested for the mosaic. This date we would now qualify.

³⁶ M. E. Blake's observation in "Roman Mosaics of the Second Century in Italy," *MAAR* 13, 1936 [pp. 67-214], p. 172, that the use of glass tesserae "was far from being a general practice in the second century," still obtains. See note 38 below.

³⁷ The house and mosaic are described in *Corinth* I, v, pp. 113-122, and the mosaic is illustrated in pl. 53.

³⁸ Stella G. Miller, "A Mosaic Floor from a Roman Villa at Anaploga," *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 332-354. For the redating, see G. Hellenkemper Salieis, "Römische Mosaiken in Griechenland," *BJ* 186, 1986 [pp. 241-284], p. 278.

³⁹ H. Schleif, "Die Badeanlage am Kladeos," *IV. Bericht über der Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin 1944 [pp. 33-104], pp. 57-69, pls. 22, 27-31.

⁴⁰ P. Packard, "A Monochrome Mosaic at Isthmia," *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 326-346; T. E. Gregory, "The Roman Bath at Isthmia: Preliminary Report, 1972-1992," *Hesperia* 64, 1995, pp. 279-313.

⁴¹ R. Scranton, J. W. Shaw, and L. Ibrahim, *Kenchreai* I, Leiden 1978, pp. 91-94, pl. XXXVII.

coarse, but there hard stone is used for red.⁴² According to the evidence of the excavations, the complex at Kenchreai dates to the early 3rd century after Christ.

The octagon pattern appears to have been a familiar motif in the Peloponnese, as the growing number of newly excavated mosaics shows. Examples have recently been found at Sparta,⁴³ at Patras,⁴⁴ and outside the Greek mainland in Rhodes.⁴⁵ The reticulate border is even more common.⁴⁶ For these reasons a date in the late 2nd or, more likely, the early 3rd century after Christ seems most suited to our mosaic.

Quite possibly, the laying of the mosaic was not an isolated project. We have already mentioned the possibility of a repair to the roof in the early 3rd century after Christ. In addition, a pocket of discarded pottery was discovered in the small rock-cut terrace directly east of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor (lot 2154). Among the vessels are a number dating to the 1st century after Christ; these could very well have derived from construction packing disturbed during subsequent work. Indeed, one fragment joined a painted crater that was actually found in the black packing.⁴⁷ Later lamps and cooking ware, however, place their deposition here, again, sometime in the 2nd or early 3rd century after Christ.⁴⁸

The final destruction of the building was violent. Those objects that lay on the floor were badly broken. The associated earth was white with limestone dust (Fig. 48, stratum 4). Small pieces of limestone were found in the debris, presumably remnants of wall blocks. In some places either the wall blocks or the furnishings had fallen with such force that they had driven the tesserae into the underlying stone bedding. The decomposed limestone had formed a hard crust on the mosaic so that the design could not be seen until the floor had been washed thoroughly and scraped. Together with the debris of furniture and statues were numerous roof tiles, some lying beneath the stone fragments on the floor. Three baskets of tiles were removed from the central 2.00 m. strip alone. The entire destruction layer was only 0.35 m. thick.

The uniformity of the white limestone dust over all the objects on the floor suggested that the destruction debris was intact, and in a sense it was. But nothing in it was complete. Despite the limestone dust and occasional fragments of limestone blocks, large segments of wall blocks were missing; fragments of them were more numerous in the stratum that covered this debris, but

⁴² Terracotta tesserae appear at Corinth in the following mosaics: in the peristyle of the Roman north market, *Corinth I*, iii, p. 187, and in the peristyle of the Peribolos of Apollo, *Corinth I*, ii, p. 52, fig. 37.

⁴³ A. Demakopoulou, «Ἀνασκαφικὰ ἔρευνα εἰς οἰκόπεδα Σπάρτης», *Δελτ* 20, 1965, B1 [1967] [pp. 170–177], pp. 173–174, pl. 155, gamma, Roman bath dated to the 3rd century after Christ.

⁴⁴ P. Petsas, «Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀχαΐας», *Δελτ* 26, 1971, B1 [1974] [pp. 148–186], p. 161, pl. XX, from the Odeion, from an earlier structure in black-and-white; *ibid.*, 29, 1973–1974, B2 [1979], pp. 362–363, pl. 222, Kanare St. 46.

⁴⁵ G. Konstantinopoulos, «Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Δωδεκανήσου», *Δελτ* 22, 1967, B2 [1969] [pp. 514–540], pp. 532–533, fig. 9.

⁴⁶ Outside Greece the motif appears more commonly in the East than in the West. The examples from Antioch have been discussed by Weinberg (*Corinth I*, v, pp. 115–122). To these can be added a Roman villa in Ulpia Oescus, modern Bulgaria. There both reticulate and interlocking octagon motifs form borders for an emblem depicting a scene from Menander's *Achaians*. Both patterns are worked in contiguous diamonds. The tesserae are equally coarse, while terracotta red and green glass occur in the panel. The mosaics are dated to the end of the 2nd or early 3rd century after Christ. See T. Ivanov, *Une mosaïque romaine de Ulpia Oescus*, Sofia 1954. Interlocking octagons form the border for a central panel in the Mithraeum at Aquincum in Roman Pannonia. The Mithraeum is dated to A.D. 198. A. Kiss, "Mosaiques de Pannonie," *La Mosaique greco-romaine. Colloques internationaux, Paris 29 Août–3 Septembre, 1963*, Paris 1965 [pp. 297–302], p. 298, fig. 8.

⁴⁷ Lot 2154. C-73-257, *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 261, p. 121. For the remaining pieces published from this fill, see p. 137, under lot 2154.

⁴⁸ As everywhere in the Sanctuary, one cannot help here too being somewhat suspicious of the dating of this fill, for in it lay a marble finger, S-73-46, similar to those found in the destruction debris of the temple, with identical blackening of the surface caused by the destruction.

there too they were not abundant. As we have seen, virtually nothing of the superstructure of the building has survived. The heads and bodies of the statues whose fingers, wrists, and feet lay on the floor are also missing. Much of the furniture was not found, for example, half of the table **23**, most of the shaft of the second perirrhanterion **29**, and both bowls. Some marble pieces show long oblique pick strokes on broken surfaces, which suggest that they were purposely broken up. Furthermore, the fragments were widely scattered about the room. For example, the table legs were found not only by the table but also 2.00 m. to the northeast and outside the west wall. Portions of sculptured statues occurred throughout. Three objects from the debris immediately overlying the floor were found to join fragments from elsewhere on the site. The large foot, S-73-34, and the crowning molding of the monument base, **31B**, both joined with pieces found in the theatral area immediately to the north. A nonjoining fragment of a marble horn, S-3518, was also found there. Another marble horn, S-73-11, joined a segment from Q:24 (lot 1981). Furthermore, when the statues and furniture were broken, the south platform had already been demolished, for the table top seems to have lain just over its face, and at least one fragment of sculpture, S-73-19, rested on the bedrock foundation for the platform south of the table.

The date of the destruction of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor is given by the coins and lamps found on the floor (lot 73-98). Pottery, by contrast, was meager, quite fragmentary, and perhaps not much in use during the latest phase of the building's history.⁴⁹ Six bronze coins were recovered from on top of the floor, and two more, 73-523 and 73-561, lay on the demolished south platform:

| | |
|--------|------------------------------------|
| 73-523 | Corinth, 400–146 B.C. |
| 73-399 | Maximinus II, A.D. 311–312 |
| 73-532 | Constantine I, A.D. 324–330 |
| 73-710 | Constantius II, A.D. 324–330? |
| 73-536 | House of Constantine, A.D. 330–335 |
| 73-684 | Constans, A.D. 330–335 |
| 73-561 | Constantius II, A.D. 355–361 |
| 73-400 | Valens, A.D. 367–375 |

Apart from the single Classical piece, the coins generally span the 4th century after Christ, the latest being that of Valens, minted in A.D. 367–375.

In our preliminary report of the building's excavation, we suggested that the destruction of the temple was caused by marauding Visigoths or Christians.⁵⁰ Our conclusion was based upon the very incomplete condition of the remains. This explanation, however, may not fully account for the violence of the destruction or the force with which the objects hit the floor. Another

⁴⁹ Lot 73–98:

Total: 59 sherds, 2 figurines, 15 miscellaneous.

Fine ware 8: 2 Arretine bowls Haltern 15; 2 Attic rims as *Agora* V, L61, p. 80, pl. 36; 2 fragments of 1 carinated cup; 1 Late Roman Attic bowl (*Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 119 [lot 73-98:1], p. 57); 1 local(?) painted crater (*Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 261 [C-73-257], p. 121, joins with lots 73-97, 73-99).

Coarse and plain fine ware 17: 6 amphoras: 3 fragments of 1 Palestinian, 1 wheel ridged, 2 earlier types; 12 pitchers: 11 fragments of 1 pitcher.

Cooking ware 15: 1 rim with piecrust decoration; 12 pitchers: 11 fragments of 1 wheel-ridged pitcher as *Agora* V, M169, pp. 99–100, pls. 25, 58.

Lamps 14: 1 late Broneer type XXVII; 1 discus as *Agora* VII, nos. 689–706, p. 114; 1 discus with head of Helios; 5 fragments of 1 as *Agora* VII, no. 1332, p. 140; for 3 published lamps, see note 52 below.

Figurines 2: 2 Late Classical heads.

Miscellaneous 16: 1 terracotta sima; 1 glass; 3 lead; 1 bronze vessel rim; 2 limestone moldings; 2 veneer: 1 in lapis lacedaemonicus; 3 wall plaster; 2 iron nails; tesserae.

Date: 1st century to third quarter 4th century after Christ.

⁵⁰ Bookidis and Fisher 1974, p. 283.

cause should also, perhaps, be sought. Three earthquakes are known to have occurred in the second half of the 4th century after Christ, although all three may not have been felt in Corinth. One struck in A.D. 365, a second in A.D. 375, and a third in A.D. 395.⁵¹ One of these could have been responsible for the initial or partial collapse of our building. In view of the coin of Valens, minted in A.D. 367–375, which lay on the floor, our choice is limited to the latter two dates.

Some further assistance may come from the lamps found on the floor. The latest are an Attic glazed lamp, one Attic post-glazing lamp, and the handle of an unglazed Corinthian imitation.⁵² Kathleen Slane has discussed in detail the problems that exist with the chronology of these lamps; we need not repeat them here. Essentially, however, two different chronologies are possible. The earlier chronology, proposed by Judith Perlzweig⁵³ and followed by Kathleen Slane, would place the lamps in the third quarter of the 4th century. The later chronology, proposed by Karen Garnett and Birgitta Wohl,⁵⁴ would make the destruction no earlier than the end of the 4th century and perhaps as late as the late first quarter of the 5th century after Christ. Elsewhere we have followed the earlier dating for the lamps. For Slane this dating was further supported by the complete absence of pottery typical of the end of the century. Her interpretation of the evidence, therefore, favors the earthquake of A.D. 375 as the cause of the building's destruction.

But if, in fact, an earthquake was responsible for the collapse of the walls and roof, further willful devastation was caused by human agents. As we have seen, some marble elements had been broken up by means of a pick. Fragments of the same object were scattered about the room, and much had simply disappeared. Walls were pillaged to their lowest foundation course (Fig. 48, stratum 3), and some material may have been thrown down the well on the Middle Terrace at the base of the theatral area.⁵⁵ Toward the end of the 4th century after Christ it is not difficult to identify such vandals. Hostile Christians eager to extinguish pagan worship as well as the Visigothic invaders of A.D. 395 could have contributed to the final destruction of the building. Certainly, some pillaging took place after the collapse of the roof, since tiles were found both under and above the fragments.

Above the debris that lay immediately on the floor was a deep fill, much the same as the lower stratum but darker and looser in texture. This covered the entire building, including the dismantled walls and bare bedrock to the north (lots 73-99, -100; Fig. 48, stratum 2). Within this general debris, which we have termed postdestruction debris and which stood to well over a meter above the floor, were marble fragments belonging with those on the floor, such as parts of the table top, **23**, and of the monument base, **31B, C**, joining pieces of revetment, at least one architectural fragment, **15**, many roof tiles, much pottery, and large pieces of limestone blocks. The limestone fragments occurred at all levels, suggesting that some pillaging of the site may have continued. One piece, however, that had no discernible place in the building is part of a terracotta drain

⁵¹ For a discussion of the earthquakes of A.D. 365 and A.D. 375, see *Corinth VIII*, iii, p. 165; R. Rothaus, "Earthquakes and Temples in Late Antique Corinth," in *Archaeoseismology* (Fitch Laboratory Occasional Paper v. 7), R. E. Jones and S. Stiros, eds., 1996, pp. 105–112.

⁵² *Corinth XVIII*, ii, nos. 57 (L-73-42), 59 (L-73-32), 61 (lot 73-98:2), p. 35. For a discussion of the chronology of Late Roman lamps, see pp. 19–23.

⁵³ *Agora VII*, pp. 62–64.

⁵⁴ B. L. Wohl, "A Deposit of Lamps from the Roman Bath at Isthmia," *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 112–140, esp. p. 137. See also Chapter 10, note 54, p. 290 above for the most recent work undertaken by Arja Karivieri; by her chronology too the lamps would move into the first half of the 5th century. We thank Arja Karivieri for this information. See also Chapter 15, p. 439, note 92, A. Rügler.

⁵⁵ We must admit that no direct joins have been found between the two, however, and only one piece has been found in the well that could be definitely associated with the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, namely, the terracotta sima, **18**.

pipe, recovered from the robbed wall trench for the south wall (lot 73-99), unless there was a drain pipe from the roof or through a wall that has left no other trace.⁵⁶

When this part of the building's destruction took place is not well attested. It may have happened a short time after the earthquake, for there is no visible difference in date between the immediate destruction debris and the deep stratum that covered it (lots 73-99, 73-100). Of the ten coins recovered from the stratum above the destruction fill, the so-called postdestruction layer, one is Greek, four are Early Roman and may have derived from disturbed construction packing, while the remainder belong to the 4th century after Christ:

- 73-476 AR, Sikyon, 4th century B.C.
- 73-477 Duoviri, time of Augustus
- 73-478 Duoviri, time of Augustus
- 73-387 Duoviri, time of Augustus
- 73-388 Duoviri, time of Tiberius
- 73-537 Maximinus II, A.D. 312-313
- 73-531 House of Constantine, A.D. 330-337
- 73-494 Constantius II, A.D. 355-360
- 73-479 Constantius II or Julian Augustus, A.D. 355-361
- 73-480 Julian Augustus, A.D. 361-363

With the exception of the single coin of Valens noted above, the coins from the floor show the same range as these. The pottery included much from the 1st century after Christ that was disturbed from construction fill, while the material from the 4th century after Christ could not be closely dated. As for the lamps, both Attic glazed and Corinthian imitations were found but no post-glazing lamps. In other words, the objects in the fill that covered the destruction debris were even slightly earlier in date than the debris itself. Whoever the agents of the final plundering were, it is clear that the walls were systematically dismantled before the final layer of earth was deposited. We have referred here and elsewhere to robbed wall trenches over the wall foundations. Strictly speaking, this is incorrect. There was no separate operation of dismantling the walls once the building was covered over. The wall blocks were removed after the initial devastation, but the earth that covered the floor also covered the wall beddings. The building was thereafter left undisturbed. We discuss the identification of this temple below (pp. 362-370).

WEST TEMPLE: T:16-17 (Figs. 49, 50, 52; Plan 9 C-C)

The West Temple lies approximately 8.00 m. west of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor (T-U:19). It stands in a bedrock cutting that measures *ca.* 6.00-6.30 m. wide from east to west, 5.30-5.40 m. from north to south, and 1.72 m. deep. The south scarp of that cutting falls *ca.* 0.50 m. north of the line of the south scarp of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor.

Extant remains of the building on the ground are confined to cuttings for the east, south, and west foundations of the cella and to the projecting bedrock core that underlay the floor. The missing north side must have stood on an artificial fill retained by the terrace wall in R-S:15-16. When this wall was demolished, the terrace fill washed away, exposing cuttings for the earlier Hellenistic temple, S-T:16-17, which was covered when the West Temple was in use.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ A narrow cutting in the bedrock, resembling a drain channel, appears in Plan 7 to the northeast of the building. This may have had some connection with the terracotta drain.

⁵⁷ When it was first uncovered, the Roman building was thought to consist of two rooms, a northern one (now the Hellenistic temple S-T:16-17) and a southern one (now the West Temple), and was so published in Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 310-313, as Building G. Since the west walls of the two rooms in no way align, however, thereby requiring that the northwest corner of the southern room would have hung on air, we must be dealing with two buildings of differing dates. Unfortunately, no original fill was left in either building except for construction fill for the West Temple. Our thanks to David Peck for drawing our attention to this.

Over the exposed bedrock cuttings for both buildings lay a thick, uniform stratum of earth and debris. Fragments of a limestone Ionic entablature and of architectural terracottas and a few of the building's furnishings were concentrated over the cuttings for the West Temple. Using these, we can reconstruct most of the entablature of a prostyle porch (Fig. 49), as well as part of the building's roof. The plan of the building is in large measure identical to that of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, only slightly smaller, and since projecting bedrock scarps enclose east, west, and south sides, the orientation too must have been north-south.

The foundations for the West Temple were laid somewhat differently from those of the other two temples. The blocks were set into a broad cutting 0.65 to 0.75 m. wide on the west and east sides and 0.80 to 0.90 m. wide on the south side. The floor of this bedding is roughly level (+183.20–183.29 m.). In addition, on the east and west sides a deeper bedding cuts through this rock floor but only in the northern half of each side.⁵⁸ The cuttings for this lower course are apparent in Plan 7. On the east side the cutting begins at the north bedrock scarp and extends south for 3.00 m. to end *ca.* 1.50 m. short of the building's southeast corner. *Ca.* 0.25 m. deep and 0.40–0.43 m. wide (floor +182.95 m.),⁵⁹ this cutting lies 0.40–0.60 m. from the outer east bedrock scarp and roughly 0.35 m. from the inner bedrock core. The cutting for the lowest course on the west side is only 1.85 m. long, thus ending *ca.* 2.30 m. from the southwest corner of the building. It lies 0.35–0.50 m. from the west outer scarp and 0.40 m. from the inner core and is 0.45 m. wide. This deeper cutting, which we will call course 1, does not exist on the south side.

The position of course 2 is provided by the construction packing that lay behind the missing blocks of the course. This is preserved along the southern ends of both east and west walls and along the south side. On the west side of the building this packing extends 0.90 m. from the outer, or west, bedrock scarp, leaving another 0.50 m. between the packing and the inner core for the blocks of course 2 (floor +183.20 m.); thus, course 2 was set in *ca.* 0.35–0.40 m. from the outer face of course 1. The same arrangement occurs on the east side. It would therefore seem that course 1 was designed primarily to tie in the missing north foundations with those on the sides, thereby suggesting that the building stood on a two-stepped crepidoma and did not support the upper course along the flanks.

In Plan 7 two different lines are apparent for the south face of course 2 on the south side. The southern of these two lines, which runs at an angle to both the south rock scarp and the inner core, marks the edge of the bedrock wall bedding. The northern line is the face of the porous working chip packing that extended from the blocks of course 2 south to the south scarp. Between this second line and the bedrock core is room for a course *ca.* 0.50 m. wide. If we allow a height of 0.25–0.27 m. for course 2, then its top surface will have been about level with the top of the bedrock core (+183.48–183.50 m.). Thus, course 2 is equal to the toichobate.

The width of the West Temple from east to west at toichobate level is about 4.50 m., or *ca.* 0.75 m. less than that of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. It is also shorter, for the exterior face of its south wall nearly aligns with the interior face of the south cella wall in the latter temple. Its length, insofar as it is preserved, is 4.30 m. If the north façades of the three buildings formed a straight line, then the West Temple was approximately 6.00 m. long at toichobate level. The approximate position of the north façade is also given by a series of stepped cuttings that form the western end of the Roman terrace in S:15 and are visible in Plan 7. These end against the bedrock slope just a short distance south of the hypothetical temple façade.

⁵⁸ In actuality, the bedding for the foundation widens in the northern half of both east and west sides to *ca.* 1.55 m., extending from either outer rock scarp to the central core. Although this widening is not apparent in the plan, Figure 52, it is suggested by the more careful tooling of the bedrock surface to either side of the deeper cuttings in the northern half of both walls.

⁵⁹ The bedrock surface on which the lowest foundation course in the Temple with the Mosaic Floor rests varies from +182.87 to +182.98 m.

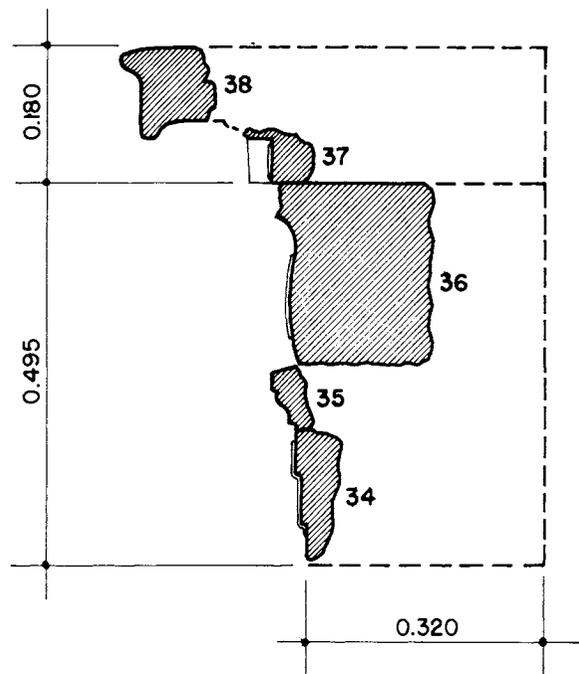


FIG. 49. Restored elevation: West Temple T:16-17

As noted above, almost all the elements of the limestone entablature of the porch façade are represented by pieces recovered from the overlying debris. To these can be added other fragments, identical in profile and size, that were found in Well 1961-11 at the base of the theatral area (Q:19). Although the fragments are small in size, they permit us to determine profiles of all but the raking geison (Fig. 49).

There are three fragments of Ionic capitals; two preserve the echinus (32) while the third is a volute from a corner capital (lot 6638:2; see under 33). A similar but better-preserved corner volute was found in the well (33). With these pieces we can estimate the diameter of the capital at the fillet to have been *ca.* 0.44 m., and we can restore with certainty a prostyle rather than a distyle in antis plan.

A three-stepped architrave with crowning cyma reversa and fascia is preserved in three fragments. Two (34; one from the well [A-929]) give full heights for the lower two of the three fasciae, while the third (35) supplies the crowning molding. From these fragments we can restore an architrave at least 0.305 m. high, if all three fasciae were of the same height, or more if the top fascia was wider, as is most likely. Broken just above the crowning molding of the architrave, the frieze (36) has a shallow cyma recta profile, ending in a molding, the stuccoed face of which, however, is missing; its profile is therefore uncertain. The estimated height of the architrave-frieze is at least 0.55 m. Several fragments of a dentillated cornice have survived. One set of fragments preserves five dentils (37), while another preserves the cornice beyond the soffit molding (38). Its horizontal upper surface places it under the pediment on one façade.

Above the limestone entablature were a terracotta lateral sima and antefixes, numerous portions of which were recovered. The sima (39) differs from that assigned to the Temple with the Mosaic Floor in being both larger and better executed. Its lionhead spout more closely resembles Classical prototypes in having a square head and beetling brows, although less exaggerated than the spouts employed in the South Stoa. To either side of the spout is the typical Roman rendition of the 4th-century B.C. acanthus sima, having double volutes and pendant bud springing from

a fluted stalk. The antefixes (40) also resemble Classical antecedents in using double scrolls and half-palmettes beneath the large palmette. They are signed with the name of the tile maker, ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΟΥ. Although this name appears on a number of tiles and antefixes found in other parts of the city, none can be associated with a dated building. See pages 324–325 above. Among the remaining pan and cover tiles, which were too fragmentary to reconstruct, was one stamped pan tile (41). This gives the name of either the fabricant or a magistrate, L·RVTIL[---]. A tile from this factory is also known from the Temple with the Mosaic Floor (21). In the debris over bedrock, fragments of both Roman Corinthian and Roman Laconian tiles were noted, suggesting that the roof of this building reflected the same mixture of systems as that of the central temple, namely, Corinthian pan tiles along the eaves, Laconian pan tiles over the rest of the roof. Evidence for a raking sima was not found, but this could have been of limestone like that (51) from the East Temple.

The temples at the western end of the Forum of Corinth provide us with some idea of local Ionic buildings of this date.⁶⁰ Our West Temple is about four-fifths the width of Temple F, the smallest temple in the series there.⁶¹ If we restore four Ionic bases somewhat larger in diameter than the capitals, or *ca.* 0.50 m., then the interaxials on center of the West Temple façade will be *ca.* 1.33 m., the intercolumniations 0.83 m. The three-stepped architrave and frieze with cyma reversa profile can be paralleled on Temple D,⁶² the Babbius Monument,⁶³ and on the newly reconstructed Fountain of Poseidon.⁶⁴

The entrance to the cella has not survived except for a single molding (42), which we tentatively assign to the lintel. As already noted, the door must have stood on the north. The cella itself was approximately 3.50 m. wide and at least 3.00 m. deep (north–south). No trace of a floor was found nor any evidence of a raised platform like that in the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. Moreover, in view of the thinness of the south wall, there can have been no niche. The bedrock core of the cella stands at a height of +183.48–183.50 m., or 0.08–0.10 m. higher than the core of the central temple. Its only noticeable feature is a shallow cutting 0.20 m. wide, 0.90 m. long as preserved, and 0.10 m. deep, visible along the north side of the cella. Oriented north–south, the cutting lies almost equidistant from either side wall, 2.00 m. north of the south wall, and continues to the northern edge of bedrock. It may have housed a drain pipe, which then must have either turned along the cella wall to an exterior wall or run under the doorway.

Some idea of the building's furnishings can be had from a few small but identifiable fragments recovered from the postdestruction debris. These consist of one, or possibly two offering tables, represented by a blue-gray marble table top (43), a small portion tentatively assigned to a second, white top (47), and three legs (44–46). Despite some differences in proportions and decoration, the three legs are extremely close to each other in style, especially in the modeling of the lion paw, and undoubtedly belong to one table. It is tempting to associate them with the better-preserved blue marble top; however, this cannot be proven.

The corner of a marble block with molded profile (48) must belong to a statue base like 31 from the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. A fragment from Well 1961-11 helps to fill out the profile, and two more may preserve the crowning molding.

⁶⁰ Because the reconstructions of these temples are currently being reexamined, we have restricted our observations to elements that seem least likely to change. See Williams and Zervos 1990, pp. 351–356.

⁶¹ The width of its stylobate is 5.60 m.; *Corinth* I, iii, p. 58. These buildings, however, stood on high podia, in contrast to the Sanctuary structures, which were placed on a stepped crepidoma.

⁶² *Corinth* I, iii, p. 12, fig. 3. The crowning molding above the architrave, however, differs from the West Temple's. The entablature associated by Scranton with Temple F, *ibid.*, p. 61, fig. 41, has now been disassociated.

⁶³ *Corinth* I, iii, p. 27, fig. 15.

⁶⁴ C. K. Williams II, "A Re-evaluation of Temple E and the West End of the Forum," *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (BICS Supplement 55), S. Walker and A. Cameron, eds., London 1989, pp. 156–162; Williams and Zervos 1990, pp. 354–355.

A third piece of furniture is a small rectangular altar of limestone of which, again, only one upper corner is preserved. Its full form is easily restored, however, since other, complete examples have been found in the lower part of the city (49, with parallels).

Most important of all are two fragments of marble sculpture, which will be discussed more fully in a separate volume but which are significant here as part of the contents of the building. One is a braid of hair, the second is part of the chest, and both were found on bedrock in the northwest quarter of the building. The braid joins onto the back of the over-lifesize head of a woman, which had been thrown into Well 1961-11 at the base of the theatral area.⁶⁵ Although the chest does not join the head, it is comparable in scale and finish and clearly belonged to the same statue. That the statue was a cult image is indicated by its scale and gilding; its original location in the West Temple is proven by the join. Statue, offering table(s), and small altar all make a coherent group. Furthermore, the table(s), monument base, and sculpture mirror similar finds from the Temple with the Mosaic Floor and reflect the similar functions of the two structures. They are, however, separate and distinct elements, belonging to this building, and not simply discards from the central temple. We discuss the identity of the cult statue below.

In theory, pottery recovered from the working chip layer (Fig. 50, stratum 4) associated with the three walls should provide us with an approximate date of construction for the West Temple. In actuality, the material is undiagnostic. The pottery (lot 6640) consists primarily of fragments of an unusual kind of plain kotyle, unattested elsewhere in Corinth, and possibly, but not certainly, of Late Hellenistic date. Clearly Roman were part of a cooking ware stewpot and a Pompeiian red ware platter. Neither, however, can be dated more precisely than to the Early Roman period.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, in view of the close similarities to the Temple with the Mosaic Floor in both plan and execution, we have assumed, tentatively, that the two structures were built at about the same time, namely, in the second half of the 1st century after Christ.

When the West Temple was excavated, the walls had already been completely dismantled and the interior gutted. Over the bedrock lay a fairly uniform fill, reaching to a height of *ca.* 1.50 m. along the south side of the building and *ca.* 0.40 m. along the north side (Fig. 50, stratum 2). Despite slight changes of color, the fill consisted throughout of soft, dark earth mixed with broken roof tiles, limestone architectural fragments, and coarse ware pottery. The tiles and architectural elements became more abundant over the central core and west side but were not confined to that area. No clear distinction, moreover, could be made between the debris that overlay the core (lot 6638) and that which had settled onto the beddings of the dismantled walls (lot 6639; Fig. 50, stratum 3). The only clear division existed between the deep layer of debris and the very thin layer of cleaner red earth and poros chips that formed the packing behind the walls at the time of their construction (lot 6640).

The conclusion that must be drawn is that the building was destroyed or abandoned and thoroughly dismantled before it was completely covered over. The floor was destroyed and the

⁶⁵ S-2668A, B. Its initial discovery is reported in Stroud 1965, pp. 20–21, pl. 10:A. For the additional join, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 311–312, pl. 62:a.

⁶⁶ The lot consists of the following:

Lot 6640:

Total: 91 sherds, 6 figurines, 1 iron.

Fine ware 79: 1 LH IIIC or Protogeometric amphora(?); 78 fragments of 10 or 11 plain kotylai.

Coarse and plain fine ware 5: 4 amphoras; 1 coarse stand.

Cooking ware 10: 1 small Pompeiian red ware pan; 2 Hellenistic pitchers; 1 lid; 1 handle; 5 bodies.

Figurines 6: 1 handmade animal; 1 seated kore; 1 late Classical draped figure; rest fragments.

Iron 1: iron knife.

Date: Early Roman.

For the kotylai, see *Corinth XVIII*, i, nos. 405–409 (C-70-366, -597 to -600), p. 156; for the stewpot, *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 173 (C-70-409), p. 81.

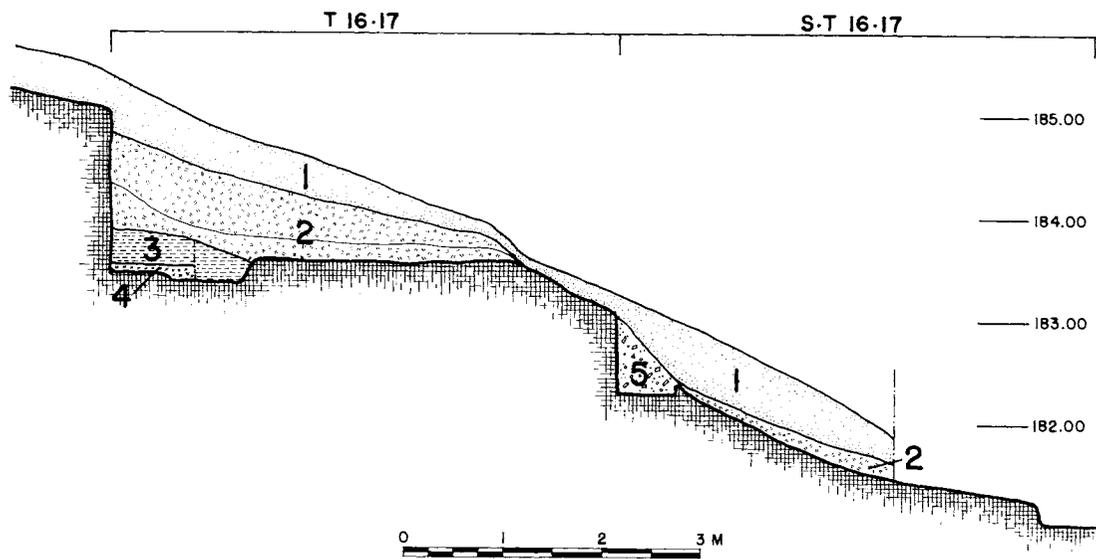


FIG. 50. Section: West Temple T:16-17, Hellenistic Temple S-T:16-17, looking west

[1] Surface; [2] Postdestruction debris (lot 6638); [3] Robbed wall trench (lot 6639); [4] Construction packing T-U:16-17 (lot 6640); [5] Postdestruction debris (lot 6641)

wall blocks were removed before the filling operation took place. The wall blocks, however, were not violently broken up here, for we have found no evidence of the limestone dust that occurred in the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. Since all that we have is this final filling, what we have termed the postdestruction debris, there is no way of knowing how long the whole process took, that is, whether there was a lapse of time between destruction and filling.

The eight architectural fragments of stone and thirteen of terracotta that were recovered from the debris, although preserving most elements of the superstructure, represent a tiny portion of the whole. The blocks had been broken into small pieces, with the result that no one piece presents a complete profile, much less a complete block length or thickness. Two stone and two terracotta fragments appear to have found their way into the well at the base of the theatral area, along with the marble head, and some joins were made between objects found in both places. Other joins, especially of pottery, were made between finds from east and west sides of the building or between the West Temple and the debris over the Hellenistic temple S-T:16-17 to the north. Furthermore, as we noted with one terracotta sima plaque (see under **39**), joins were also made to fragments from the central stairway in the Lower Terrace and from the surface layer in P-Q:20-22 on the Middle Terrace. In other words, the material was greatly mixed and scattered.

As in the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, the pottery from this postdestruction debris consisted of both early and late material. Except for three lamps, virtually everything catalogued from it by Kathleen Slane in *Corinth XVIII*, ii is, in fact, 1st or 2nd century after Christ in date.⁶⁷ As in that building, too, some of this early material could have originally formed part of construction fill

⁶⁷ *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 8 (L-70-44), p. 26; no. 74 (C-70-365), p. 44; no. 142 (C-70-351), p. 65; no. 149 (lot 6639:2), p. 70; no. 155 (lot 6639:1), p. 71; no. 205 (C-70-602), p. 96; no. 219 (C-70-362), p. 104; no. 242 (lot 6638:1), p. 114; no. 248 (C-70-604), p. 115; no. 250 (C-70-603), p. 116. In addition to these Roman vessels, the following objects were catalogued from this stratum: one Classical and four Hellenistic figurines, MF-70-169, MF-70-226, MF-70-242, MF-70-247, MF-70-259; a terracotta model boat, MF-70-160; an inscribed pinax, MF-70-166; a bronze spoon, MF-70-161; and a glass flask, MF-70-164.

that was disturbed when walls were demolished. The two recovered coins are Late Classical or Early Hellenistic, both of the Corinthian Pegasos/Trident series (70-516, -517). Nevertheless, indicative of a date in the second half of the 4th century after Christ for the filling are six Attic glazed lamps.⁶⁸ Neither the post-glazing Attic lamps, however, nor the Corinthian imitations that had appeared in the central temple were found here. No conclusive evidence exists to indicate whether this is a matter of chance or indicative of the fact that the filling of the West Temple occurred somewhat earlier than the destruction of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor.

EAST TEMPLE, T-U:22 (Figs. 51, 52; Plan 9 A-A)

The third building in the row, the East Temple (Pl. 55:a), lies 8.00 m. east of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor (T-U:19) and just southeast of the small Greek theater; indeed, the northwest corner of this building must have overlapped the last three rows of seats of the preexisting cavea. Like the other two temples, the East Temple is built into a large rock cutting in the hillside 6.20 m. long east-west by 5.00 m. wide north-south and over 1.70 m. deep at the southwest corner. In addition to the wall cuttings for the southern half of the building, two courses of foundations are partially preserved there as well as the toichobate course. As with the other two buildings, however, the northern half has disappeared completely. At present, the interior consists of an irregular bedrock surface that slopes from south to north, unmarked by any features. Patches of red earth and small stones, preserved on the east side and in the northeast corner of the cella, must represent part of a packing that underlay the missing floor. Remains of the superstructure are confined to a raking geison block, part of the raking sima, and an unattributed molding. Bare bedrock is all that is left of the interior. Finds were generally meager.

In style of construction the East Temple is similar to both the Temple with the Mosaic Floor and the West Temple. Its foundations are also set into a series of stepped cuttings in bedrock on the east, west, and south sides of the central core, which formed the underpinning for the cella floor. The beddings, however, are deeper on the east and west sides to accommodate one more foundation course. Thus, whereas from the front the two buildings to the west probably had only a two-stepped crepidoma, that of the East Temple was three-stepped. The foundation blocks are of limestone and, in most cases, show evidence of previous use. Several derive from the same Archaic structure that provided material for the Temple with the Mosaic Floor.⁶⁹ The blocks average 0.515–0.52 m. wide and 0.27–0.28 m. high but vary considerably in length. When one compares the lowest foundation course of the central temple with those of the East Temple, it is clear that many more irregular blocks were used in the latter structure. It is as if the best blocks were picked for the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, while the fragments were left for its eastern neighbor. The tops of almost all the blocks have been trimmed with the claw chisel, presumably for this last period of use.

At its lowest foundation course the East Temple is 5.65 m. wide from east to west⁷⁰ and at least 4.80 m. long from north to south. At this level two blocks remain of the east side of the cella and three blocks of the west (bottom +182.75 m., top +183.02 m.). They are set in *ca.* 0.30 m. from the outer bedrock scarp.

Course 2 is set in 0.30–0.31 m. from the outer face of course 1 in the east and west foundations and 0.35–0.45 m. from the bedrock scarp on the south, where it forms the lowest course. Three blocks of this course are preserved on the west side, two on the east, and all along the south side (top +183.29 m.).⁷¹ Setting lines make clear the position of missing blocks. At this level the building measures 5.00 m. east-west by a minimum of 4.35 m. north-south.

⁶⁸ Two of these are included in *Corinth XVIII*, ii, nos. 55, 56 (L-70-71, L-70-43), pp. 34–35.

⁶⁹ These blocks are catalogued below in Chapter 16 as **104–109**.

⁷⁰ Or 5.90 m., if one includes the southwest corner block, which projects beyond the rest of the west foundation.

⁷¹ The southeast corner of the building is covered by a baulk and therefore appears incomplete on the plan.

Course 3, the toichobate, is preserved only on the south side at the western end, although its position on the other two sides is again clear from the setting lines.⁷² The course is stepped in 0.24 m. on east and west sides and 0.37–0.38 m. on the south side (top +183.57 m.).⁷³ At this level, therefore, the building measures 4.52 m. east–west by 4.00 m. north–south as a minimum. With the exception of the southwest corner block, which is square, the other blocks resemble those in the foundations below. A setting line 0.05 m. in from the south face marks the position of the overlying 0.45 m.-thick wall blocks and gives a width for the building of 4.42 m. and a minimum length of 3.91–4.04 m. at this course. In elevation this wall consisted of a single row of blocks and was therefore too thin to have enclosed a niche like that proposed for the Temple with the Mosaic Floor.

We have said nothing of the missing north side. The cutting marking the interior face of course 1 on the west side ends *ca.* 0.50 m. south of the small theater, and possibly the lowest foundation for the north cella wall made its return at this point. Some support for such a restoration is provided by a change in the height of bedrock just 0.10–0.15 m. south of the proposed line of this north foundation.⁷⁴ The drop is marked by a broken line in Plan 7. South of this line bedrock, although uneven, is approximately 0.24 m. higher than it is to the north of the line. There is, however, no trimmed bedding for this wall, and because the rock surface is uneven, we must assume that some earth fill was laid down before the blocks could be set into place.

If we are correct in assuming that this building resembled the other two in having a porch, then this too lay further to the north. Here, however, there is less problem with bedrock, for north of the proposed north cella wall bedrock slopes gently for roughly 2.00 m. before dropping more sharply to the retaining wall of the Roman Upper Terrace. This lay 8.55–9.50 m. north of the south toichobate. The southeast cutting for this Terrace would have been about aligned with the northeast corner of the porch. We would tentatively restore the building to about the same length as the West Temple, or *ca.* 6.00 m. at toichobate level.

Slight evidence for a porch derives from two blocks found in the overlying debris. One is the front half of a lateral geison (50), similar in profile to that from the West Temple (38), although it is slightly larger in scale. The second is the upper half of a limestone raking sima (51).

Numerous fragments of undecorated roof tiles lay in the debris that covered these foundations, but none that could be attributed to the lateral sima or antefixes.

An entrance to the cella is not preserved but can be restored in the middle of the north side. The cella measured *ca.* 3.60 m. wide east–west by 3.20 m. north–south. It is thus about equal in size to the cella of the West Temple but 0.70 m. narrower and 0.47 m. shorter than that in the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. Nothing remains of its interior.

The stratigraphic history of the building is relatively straightforward even though the finds were not abundant. As in the central temple, a construction fill, consisting of poros chip packing, was isolated on the south and east sides of the foundation (Fig. 51, stratum 5). Pottery from that packing included two stewpots and a local red-slipped beaker, datable to either the late 1st century B.C. or the early 1st century after Christ (lot 6506).⁷⁵

⁷² There are three different setting lines on the east side. They lie 0.025, 0.24, and 0.275 m. in from the east face of course 2.

⁷³ The toichobate of this building is thus 0.14 m. higher than the floor of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor and 0.07–0.09 m. higher than the estimated toichobate of the West Temple.

⁷⁴ Or *ca.* 4.05 m. north of the south face of the toichobate.

⁷⁵ For the stewpots, *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 171 (C-70-208) and no. 172 (C-70-207), p. 81; for the beaker, *ibid.*, no. 200 (C-70-114), p. 96.

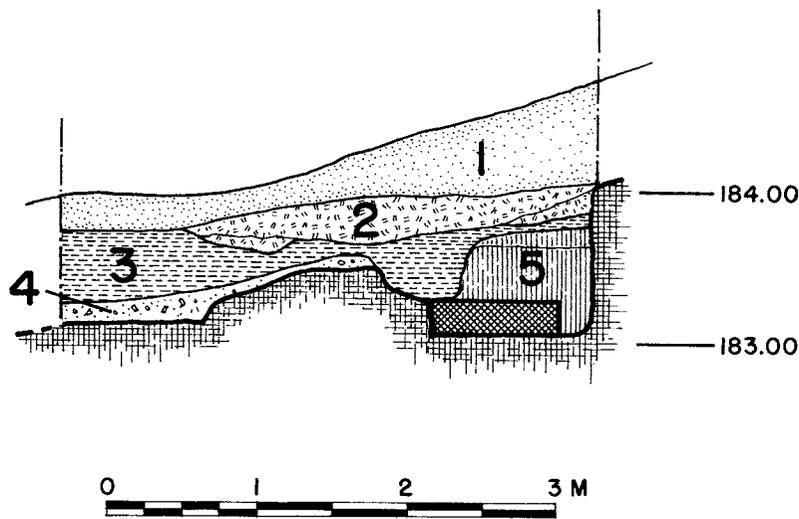


FIG. 51. Section: East Temple T-U:22, looking east

[1] Surface; [2] Down-wash; [3] Postdestruction debris (lot 6505); [4] Stereolike fill; [5] Construction packing (lot 6506)

In addition to the pottery from the construction packing, three coins may give some further aid in the dating of the building. Two derive from the debris that filled the dismantled wall trenches (Fig. 51, stratum 3) but could conceivably have derived from disturbed construction fill. Both are bronze *duoviri* coins of Corinth, minted in the time of Augustus (70-175, -160). The third coin (70-176) was recovered from the red earth that we have tentatively identified as floor packing on top of the bedrock core (Fig. 51, stratum 4). Dated to the time of Galba (A.D. 68), it would bring the construction date of the East Temple more closely in line with that of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor.

Above the bedrock core and wall foundation and in the trenches of the dismantled walls was a fairly uniform fill (Fig. 51, stratum 3), consisting of dark earth, broken pieces of limestone wall blocks, preserving claw-chisel marks, and a few roof tiles. Six coins from within the robbed wall trenches ranged in date from the time of Augustus to Geta (A.D. 209-212).⁷⁶ The pottery, however, was nearly equally divided between sherds of the 1st century after Christ, again perhaps disturbed construction packing, and lamps of the 3rd to 4th century after Christ (lot 6505).⁷⁷ The upper date cannot be defined more clearly.

Whether this late fill represents both the destruction or dismantlement of the building and its covering, or simply the natural accumulation over an already dismantled structure, cannot be shown. Similarly, the cause of its destruction is unknown. There is, however, a marked difference between its final state and that of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, where many of the building's contents still lay as they had been left. In this respect the East Temple more closely resembles the West Temple, the interior of which had been quite thoroughly plundered. One find of interest, which lay in the Late Roman debris on top of the bedrock core, is a fragmentary lead curse tablet (MF-70-51). Although too poorly preserved to be read fully, the tablet does further connect the building with the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, where two tablets were found, and the Building of the Tablets, K-L:21-22 on the Lower Terrace, where ten more were recovered.

⁷⁶ All the coins from this building are published in Bookidis and Fisher 1974, p. 324; in addition, two were illegible.

⁷⁷ This lot represents quite specifically the fill in the robbed wall trenches.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE THREE ROMAN TEMPLES

Although the buildings just described are incomplete, each in a different way, the extant portions exhibit enough similarities one to another to justify our inference that they were alike not only in plan but also in function. The statues, offering tables, perirrhanteria, and small altar found within them have led us to conclude that all three structures were temples. Furthermore, as discussed above, all three were built at about the same time. We now attempt to identify the three deities to whom these buildings were dedicated. The evidence must be culled from a variety of sources, since no single one is sufficiently informative.

THE TEMPLE OF DEMETER

For the West Temple, T:16–17, this evidence is limited to the fragments of sculpture found on the bedrock core of the building. One of those fragments, the marble braid of hair, joined the over-lifesize head of the cult statue found in the well in Q:19 on the Middle Terrace (S-2668). We therefore infer that the complete statue once stood in the building. This association is further supported by other finds from this same well that originally stood in the West Temple. Although the head has variously been identified as that of the Mother of the Gods or Persephone,⁷⁸ we believe that it represents Demeter.⁷⁹ This conclusion has been reached independently by Luigi Beschi and will be supported with detailed evidence by Elizabeth Milleker in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. The West Temple should therefore be assigned to Demeter.

THE TEMPLE OF KORE

Critical to the identification of the central temple in T–U:19 are (1) the inscription worked into its well-preserved mosaic floor, (2) the symbols depicted in the mosaic, and (3) the objects found within the building.

The Mosaic Inscription

The complete text reads as follows:

Ὀκτάβιος Ἀγαθόπους
νεωκόρος ἐψηφοθέτησε
ἐπὶ Χαράς ἱερείας Νεωτέρας

We have not found the neokoros Octavius Agathopous in Corinth or elsewhere. Though not popular in the Roman city, the nomen Octavius is attested for the duovir of A.D. 42/3–45/6,⁸⁰ the victor in the hoplite race at the Isthmian Games of A.D. 137, Π. Ὀκ[τ]ά[β]ιος?,⁸¹ and the lamp maker of the 3rd century after Christ.⁸² For the name Octavianus at Corinth, see L. and J. Robert, *La Carie II*, Paris 1954, p. 213, lines 5–6.

At Corinth the name Agathopous is also found scratched on a clay ink well of the 1st century after Christ, found in the South Stoa, C-34-1808, Ἀγαθόπ[ους], unpublished. N. A. Bees has restored the name Ἀγαθόπ[ους] on a Christian gravestone of the 4th century after Christ from Corinth, *IG IV 409*; *SEG XI 186*.⁸³ L. Robert showed that Agathopous is often a name of good

⁷⁸ Add to the references in Chapter 11, p. 333, note 42 above, B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München. Katalog der Skulpturen*, II, *Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Munich 1979, pp. 510–511, note 16. Vierneisel-Schlörb doubts Noelke's identification of Persephone.

⁷⁹ *LIMC IV*, i, Zurich 1988, p. 862, no. 192.

⁸⁰ *Corinth VI*, p. 21, no. 50; *Corinth VIII*, iii, p. 25; M. Amandry 1988, pp. 72–73, 192–195.

⁸¹ *Corinth VIII*, i, no. 15, line 76.

⁸² *Corinth IV*, ii, pp. 97, 117; G. Siebert, "Lampes corinthiennes et imitations au Musée National d'Athènes," *BCH 90*, 1966 [pp. 472–513], pp. 474, no. 2; 509, no. 20; *SEG XXVI 413*; *XXX 348*; *XXXI 296*.

⁸³ *Corpus der griechisch-christlichen Inschriften von Hellas*, Band I, *Die griechisch-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes*, Athens 1941, pp. 95–97, no. 44, with a helpful list of examples of the name in inscriptions.

omen.⁸⁴ This idea is further supported by the prints of two human feet that were set into our mosaic floor above the inscription and that may have had a direct reference to the name of the neokoros.⁸⁵

The office of neokoros is found here for the first time in Corinth.⁸⁶ For the several duties of neokoroi in the Greek world and the many sanctuaries they served, K. Hanell, *RE* XVI, 1935, cols. 2422–2428, is still useful, though in need of revision.⁸⁷ We regard Octavius Agathopous as the neokoros who had special responsibility for the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, like his counterpart at Eleusis who is attested in *IG II*² 1672, line 123.⁸⁸ On present evidence, we find no grounds for linking the term “neokoros” in the mosaic inscription with the Imperial cult. For this connection elsewhere, see the summary of the dissertation of B. Burrell, “Neokoroi: Greek Cities of the Roman East,” *HSCP* 85, 1981, pp. 301–303; Z. Gočeva, “Religiöse Ämter in der Provinz Thrakien,” *Eirene* 21, 1984, pp. 33–39; S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984, pp. 64–65.

The verb ψηφοθετέω, which describes the activity of Agathopous, is relatively rare in mosaic inscriptions. More common are the related words ψηφοθεσία and ψηφοθέτης.⁸⁹ The latter term is usually equated with *tesselarius* and interpreted as designating the craftsman who designs and lays a mosaic floor.⁹⁰ The same practical meaning, however, cannot always be attached to

⁸⁴ *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, p. 143, note 1; “Recherches épigraphiques,” *REA* 62, 1960, p. 360; *Actes du VII^e Congrès internationale d’Épigraphie grecque et latine: Constantza 1977*, Bucharest 1979, p. 141. See also H. Solin in *L’Africa romana: Atti del VII Convegno di studio Sassari, 15–17 dicembre 1989*, A. Mastino, ed., Sassari 1990, pp. 177–186, who demonstrates the Greek origin of the name “nel clima del sincretismo religioso caratteristico del periodo tardo ellenistico” (p. 183) and documents its wide distribution (ca. 200 examples in Greek sources).

⁸⁵ For the interpretation of these footprints against a broad range of parallels, both sacred and secular (with a wealth of bibliography), see the valuable paper of Duñbabin 1990, pp. 85–109, esp. pp. 105–106. We thank her for initially identifying the footprints in the mosaic and for much helpful discussion. Especially happy is her formulation that Agathopous “will have had particular reason to choose the goddess’ footprints as a sign of her favour; his own name predisposed him to look upon feet as propitious” (p. 106).

⁸⁶ A neokoros at Isthmia is attested in an inscription of the Roman period that provides only the incumbent’s name; *SEG* XVII 132.

⁸⁷ See also Bruneau 1970, pp. 497–504; A. Savelkoul, “Un néocore de Zenoposeidon à Mylasa: Machon, Fr. 8 Gow (= Ath., VIII, 337c),” *AntCl* 57, 1988, pp. 274–279; *BIBR* 55–56, 1985–1986, pp. 47–56.

⁸⁸ Cf. K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (*TAPA*, n.s. 64, no. 3), Philadelphia 1974, p. 98.

⁸⁹ In 1958, L. Robert observed, “Là encore, dans le domaine de la mosaïque, il y aurait des études à faire sur le vocabulaire, le sens exact des mots et leur chronologie,” in “Inscriptions grecques de Side en Pamphylie,” *RPhil* 32, 1958, p. 49; cf. his *Hellenica* XI–XII, Paris 1960, p. 493. Some progress has been made on this project by, e.g., I. Calabi Limentani in *Enciclopedia dell’arte antica* V, Rome 1963, pp. 297–300, s.v. Musivarius, a helpful list of signatures of mosaicists; C. Balmelle and J.-P. Darmon, “L’artisan-mosaïste dans l’antiquité tardive,” in X. Barral i Altet, *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge* I, Paris 1986, pp. 235–253; J.-P. Caillet, “Les dedicaces privées de pavements de mosaïque à la fin de l’Antiquité,” *ibid.* II, Paris 1987, pp. 15–38; P. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, Παρατήρησεις σχετικά με τους τύπους υπογραφής καλλιτεχνών και τεχνιτών στην παλαιοχριστιανική εποχή, συγκριτικά με την Ελληνική και τη Ρωμαϊκή αρχαιότητα: ΑΜΗΤΟΣ, Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανόλη Ανδρόνικο I, Thessaloniki 1987, pp. 89–99; *eadem*, Σύνταγμα τῶν Παλαιοχριστιανικῶν Ψηφιδιτῶν Δαπέδων τῆς Ἑλλάδος II, Πελοπόννησος–Στερεὰ Ἑλλάδα: Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα VII, Thessaloniki 1987, pp. 28–44; P. Bruneau, “Philologie mosaïstique,” *Journal des Savants* 1988, pp. 3–73, with earlier bibliography. The Λεξικὸν Ἀρχαίων Ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν Ὀρῶν of A. K. Orlandos and J. Travlos (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας 94, Athens 1986) is quite defective on these terms for mosaics and mosaicists. Helpful for terminology in both Greek and Latin is Donderer 1989.

⁹⁰ This is certainly the meaning of the noun in Diocletian’s Edict VII.7; see S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, Berlin 1971, pp. 118–119, 234–235, and in the grave epigram of a mosaicist from Perinthos, *CIG* II 2025; Donderer 1989, no. A 32; *SEG* XXVI 827; XXIX 1206; cf. also the following mosaic inscriptions, *SEG* XXV 659(b) (cf. XXXIV 1746); Donderer 1989, no. C 8, who restores the last word as [ἐψ]ηφοθέτ[ησαν]; XXVII 1020 (?); XXVIII 1324; Donderer 1989, no. A 23; XXXIV 1445; Donderer 1989, no. A 20; 1514 (?); XXXV 1495 (cf. D. Feissel in *BE* 1987, no. 513); Donderer 1989, no. A 15; XL 1521 *ter*, c; and a mosaic in Copenhagen discussed and illustrated by

ψηφοθεσία and ψηφοθετέω, for both terms appear in contexts referring to a donor or a dedicator of a mosaic.⁹¹ Although we cannot assume that Agathopous as neokoros would not also have been a mosaicist,⁹² it is probably best to interpret ἐψηφοθέτησε here as meaning “had the mosaic made,” *vel sim.*

The name of the priestess, Chara, is apparently new to Corinthian prosopography. Although not a common name, it is found in the Roman period at Athens, *IG II²* 13047; at Gortyn, *IC IV*, p. 367, no. 359, A; at Telmissos, *CIG III* 4215; and at Massalia, J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1972, no. 624. The office held by Chara at the time when the mosaic floor was laid is that of priestess, ἱέρεια. Diodoros and Plutarch use the same term to designate the religious officials of Demeter and Kore whose dream was a good omen for the expedition of Timoleon to Sicily, quoted above (pp. 1–2). Since both authors employ the plural, we may safely conclude that in the mid-4th century B.C., at any rate, there were at least two priestesses serving the goddesses at Corinth.

The most problematic word in the mosaic inscription is the last, ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑC. Of possible interpretations we consider very unlikely the suggestion that this is an adjective qualifying the name of the priestess, that is, “when Chara the younger was priestess.” While this comparative adjective often distinguishes a younger from an elder homonym in Greek inscriptions, it does not here occupy its normal position immediately following the name it qualifies. The intervention of the title ἱερείας seems to us fatal to this interpretation.

More plausible is the view that the word designates the name or epithet of the deity served by Chara, that is, “when Chara was priestess of Neotera.” We consider two possible identifications of this deity.

First, Dunbabin (1990) has made the attractive suggestion that Neotera is here the goddess who appears in literary sources and in papyri, in several Greek inscriptions on stone, on coins of Kleopatra VII, and on seal stones. The treasures in her temple at Oxyrhynchos (possibly shared with Apollo) are catalogued in *Pap. Oxy.* no. 1449, of A.D. 213–217. Her name sometimes designates a separate goddess who is associated with Sarapis, Isis, Apollo, Kore, Aphrodite, or Zeus Bronton. Neotera is also found as an epithet of Aphrodite, Hera, and Queen Kleopatra VII. Her identity and origin, however, remain matters for speculation. In his useful compilation of testimonia on Neotera, L. Moretti suggested that she was an Egyptian deity, closely related to Isis and Sarapis, probably identical with Nephthys, the former’s younger sister.⁹³ This view has

P. Bruneau, “Les mosaïstes antiques avaient-ils des cahiers de modèles?” *RA* 1984, pp. 262–263; Donderer 1989, no. A 43.

⁹¹ See the mosaic inscription of the 3rd century after Christ near Smyrna, G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna II*, 1, Bonn 1987, 733, Τι(βέριος) Ἰού(λιος) Σεπτίμιος Ἰουλιανός Σμυρναῖος ἐκ προγόνων βουλευτής, περιοδονεῖκης, ξυστάρχης, δεσπότης ἀπὸ προγόνων τοῦ κτήματος, τὴν ψηφοθεσίαν τῷ Βαχχελῶ ἐποησάμην, and the mosaic in a synagogue at Caesarea published by B. Lifshitz, “Fonctions et titres honorifiques dans les communautés juives. Notes d’épigraphie palestinienne,” *RevBibl* 67, 1960 [pp. 58–64], p. 60, Βη[ρ]ύλλος ἀρχισ(υνάγωγος) καὶ φροντιστής, ὕδς Ἰούτου ἐποίησε τὴν ψηφοθεσίαν τοῦ τρικλίνου τῷ ἰδίῳ. See also the inscribed base of the 3rd century after Christ from Jerash, A. H. M. Jones, “Inscriptions from Jerash,” *JRS* 18, 1928 [pp. 144–178], p. 171: [Φλ(άουιος) Μου]νάτιος Φλ(αουλου) Μουνατλου (ἐκατονάρχου) υἱός, ἱππικός, βουλ(ῆς) ἱεράς, [ἀ]γγὸς στρατη[γός], [τὸ πρό]βαιον τῆς κυρίας Ἀρτεμ[ίδος] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐψηφοθέτ[ησε]ν.

⁹² See the remarks of H. W. Pleket in *SEG XXIX* 1206 regarding craftsmen who held local offices in the Late Roman Empire. Donderer 1989, pp. 20–21, 31, 39–40, 50, argues that ψηφοθετέω is “immer Kausative” and so interprets the verb in our mosaic inscription, p. 20, note 42.

⁹³ “Note Egittologica,” *Aegyptus* 38, 1958, pp. 203–209, with helpful quotations of all pertinent texts and references to earlier bibliography; see also G. Manganaro, “Nuove ricerche di epigrafia siciliota,” *Siculorum Gymnasium* 16, 1963, pp. 51–64; M. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiennes en Italie*, Leiden 1972 (= *EPRO XXII*), pp. 215–216; G. Sfamemi Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, Leiden 1973 (= *EPRO XXXI*),

not found favor with all Egyptologists.⁹⁴ Others have urged that she was a Near Eastern goddess, the daughter of Baal and Hera, probably identical with Venus Caelestis or Aphrodite Ourania.⁹⁵

We do not believe that there is any evidence to connect the Neotera in our mosaic inscription with Aphrodite and the Near East. The possibility of identifying her as an Egyptian deity who occupied the central temple on the Upper Terrace is also somewhat problematic. It is true that Neotera is sometimes linked with Isis and Sarapis, among a wide variety of other deities. It is true that feet of the type probably once set into the mosaic floor are often, though not exclusively, associated with Isis and Sarapis. Indeed Dunbabin has very persuasively argued that it was the footprints (*vestigiae*) of Isis that Lucius venerated in her famous temple at Kenchreai (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.17.3; 23–24). Also the neokoros was an official particularly prominent in the cult of Sarapis,⁹⁶ although amply attested elsewhere. Syncretism of Isis and Demeter—indeed assimilation—is also well attested in the Greek world, and there may even be hints of it in the sacred baskets, the tusks, and the palm antefixes to be discussed presently.⁹⁷ On the other hand we have not found sufficient evidence elsewhere in our excavations to suggest the presence of Egyptian deities at this site. Their names, for instance, do not appear with those of Demeter and the Moirai on any of the curse tablets of the Roman period. There is also a topographic problem, for Pausanias' account of his ascent of Acrocorinth (2.4.6–7) shows clearly that Isis and Sarapis, on the one hand, and Demeter and Kore, on the other, were worshiped at separate sanctuaries in two distinct sites in the Roman period. We have suggested that the discovery of an inscribed dedication to Isis and Sarapis near the Fountain of Hadji Mustafa probably indicates that their sanctuaries lay at the base of Acrocorinth, well below the temenos of Demeter and Kore.⁹⁸

We cannot categorically rule out possible syncretistic worship of Neotera in the central temple on the Upper Terrace. One might imagine that Neotera-Nephtys, the younger sister, shared this building with the younger deity, Persephone-Kore, while Isis and Demeter were housed in the westernmost temple. At the same time we do not find the case for importing an Egyptian deity into the Sanctuary strong enough to rule out other explanations of the mosaic inscription.

In considering another possible identification of Neotera, we start from the fact that the Sanctuary built in the Roman period occupied the same site as the shrine firmly identified in Greek times as that of Demeter and Kore. The only deities mentioned in connection with this sanctuary by Pausanias (2.4.6–7) are Demeter, Kore, and the Moirai. We start, then, by asking what the name “Neotera” could most plausibly mean in the context of a known sanctuary of the two goddesses. Helpful parallels come from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. In their accounts of 329/8 B.C. the Eleusinian Epistatai mention coins in the *thesouroi* of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis: (ἐ)κ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἐξείρεθῆ τῶν Ἐλευσῖνι τοῖν θεοῖν: ἐκ τοῦ(ς) τῆς

pp. 70–73, 219–220, no. 181; F. Manno, “Nouvelles traces des cultes de Neotera, Serapis et Poseidon en Palestine,” *Liber Annus Studii Biblici Franciscani* 27, 1977, pp. 229–238.

⁹⁴ For instance in E. Graefe's richly documented article on Nephtys in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV, Wiesbaden 1982, cols. 457–460, Neotera is never mentioned. G. Hölbl rejects the connection with Egypt in “Ändere ägyptische Gottheiten,” in M. J. Vermaseren, *Die orientalischen religionen im Römerreich*, Leiden 1981 (= *EPRO* XCIII), pp. 182–183.

⁹⁵ For this view, see J. T. Milik, *Recherches d'épigraphie proche-orientale*, I, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, Paris 1972, pp. 412, 418–423; and Hölbl, note 94 above.

⁹⁶ See, e.g., H. Bloch, “A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393–394 A.D.,” *HTHR* 38, 1945 [pp. 192–244], pp. 242–244, and Dunbabin 1990, pp. 85–109.

⁹⁷ Among several other studies, see Y. Grandjean, *Une Nouvelle Aréologie d'Isis à Maronée*, Leiden 1975 (= *EPRO* XLIX), pp. 92–114, and the remarkable bronze disk found by J. Travlos at Eleusis, G. Daux, “Chronique des fouilles 1963,” *BCH* 88, 1964, pp. 694–696. Also useful is Roscher II, 1, 1890–1897, cols. 443–448, *s.v.* Isis (W. Drexler). For Isis-Persephone, J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, Cambridge 1970, pp. 392–393. For helpful discussion of the mosaic inscription we are indebted to Christopher P. Jones, who reminds us of Herodotos 2.59.2: Ἴσις δέ ἐστι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ.

⁹⁸ For discussion of this passage and the topography of the north slope of Acrocorinth, see pp. 4–7 above.

πρεσβευτέρας—coins—ἐκ τοῦ τῆς νεωτέρας—coins—(IG II² 1672, lines 300–302). Hesychios (*s.v.* 'Ρειτοί) employs a similar formulation in his definition of the lakes in the southwestern corner of the plain of Eleusis: ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἐλευσίνι Ῥειτοὶ ἔρωγμοί: καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τῆς πρεσβευτέρας θεοῦ νομίζεται, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστῦ τῆς νεωτέρας, ὄθεν τοὺς λουτροὺς (τοῖς λουτροῖς;) ἀγνίζεσθαι τοὺς θιάσους.

Evidence that the name Νεωτέρα can stand alone to designate the younger of the Eleusinian goddesses is found on two inscriptions of the Roman period from Eleusis. They are particularly helpful parallels since each honors an Eleusinian priestess, the hierophantis: Πόση Ποσέους Μαραθω|νίου θυγάτηρ τὴν ἔαυ|τῆς τήθην, ἱερόφαντιν| νεωτέρας (IG II² 3546, *ca.* A.D. 100); ἱερόφαντιν τῆς νεω|τέρας Κλ. Φιλοξέναν| Τι. Κλαυδίου Πάτρωνος| Μελιτέως θυγατέρα| ἀργυρώσασαν τὸν βωμὸν| τῆς νεωτέρας θεοῦ (IG II² 3585, Hadrianic).

P. Foucart correctly explained the terms πρεσβευτέρα and νεωτέρα in these four texts as designating Demeter and Kore, respectively.⁹⁹ The two Roman inscriptions show that the name Neotera could stand alone to designate Kore at Eleusis. We suggest that these four parallels from Eleusis provide the best evidence for interpreting the term Neotera in our mosaic inscription. Chara was the priestess of Neotera = Kore. There were at least two priestesses in the Demeter Sanctuary on Acrocorinth in the 4th century B.C. There were two hierophantides in the Roman period at Eleusis, one of Demeter (Presbeutera) and one of Kore (Neotera). We may suggest, then, that the Roman Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth had, in addition to Kore's priestess Chara, at least one other priestess who served the elder goddess, Demeter.

The inscription dates the laying of the mosaic floor in the central temple on the Roman Upper Terrace to the time when Chara was priestess of Neotera/Kore. Unfortunately, our only clue as to when she held office is the style of the floor, which probably belongs in the late 2nd or early 3rd century after Christ. Strictly speaking, the inscription does not explicitly identify the deity worshiped in this temple in the sense of recording a dedication of the floor to Neotera by the neokoros Agathopous. We have merely the familiar dating formula of ἐπί with the genitive of an official. The most natural inference from this formula, however, is that the temple over which Chara presided and in which Neotera was worshiped is the one whose inscription recorded these facts. If this central temple were sacred to some other deity, such as Demeter, we would have to explain why the mosaic floor was recorded as having been laid down during the priestesship of Neotera, who presumably would have had to occupy another temple. It seems much more plausible to us to conclude that there were at least two priestesses in the Sanctuary: one serving Neotera/Kore, the other, Presbeutera/Demeter, as at Eleusis. Our inference from the mosaic inscription that it was Neotera/Kore who was worshiped in the central temple gains further support from our identification of the western building as the Temple of Demeter.

The Symbols in the Mosaic

Less informative for the identification of the central temple are the symbols that are depicted in the mosaic panel above the inscription. Restricted to no one divinity, these motifs often occur in Roman imperial art in conjunction with a wide range of gods and goddesses. The first of these, the baskets flanked by snakes, can easily be recognized as the *cista mystica*, the sacred basket in which were kept the *aporrheta* of a mystery cult.¹⁰⁰ But while this symbol is commonly associated

⁹⁹ "Les empereurs romains initiés aux mystères d'Eleusis," *RPhil* 17, 1893, pp. 202–203; followed by A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, Leipzig 1898, pp. 228, 262–263; P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, Paris 1914, pp. 211–213. Cf. also Kirchner's helpful note *ad* IG II² 3546.

¹⁰⁰ The basic sources on the *cista mystica* still remain O. Jahn, "Die Cista Mystica," *Hermes* 3, 1869, pp. 317–334; A. Mau, *RE* III, 1899, cols. 2591–2606 (*cista*); F. Lenormant, *DarSag* I (1887), 1205–1208 (*cista mystica*); H. G. Pringsheim, "Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults" (inaugural diss., University of Bonn, Munich 1905), pp. 49–64.

with the cult of Demeter and Kore,¹⁰¹ it is by no means confined to them. The *cista mystica* is also a prominent image in the cult of Dionysos Sabazios¹⁰² and is central to the worship of Isis and Osiris.¹⁰³ Indeed, by the 3rd century after Christ, representations of the basket in association with Isis would probably have far outnumbered those with Demeter and Kore. To a Corinthian of the 3rd century after Christ, who had attended the festival of Isis at Kenchreai and had seen the *cista* carried in a procession such as Apuleius describes in *Metamorphoses* 11.10, the message conveyed by such baskets in the Temple of Neotera/Kore would undoubtedly have been powerful, but its specific association with the worship of Demeter and Kore might have been less emphatic.¹⁰⁴

Traditionally, the *cista mystica* is a cylindrical container without handles. In this respect it differs from the baskets in the present mosaic, which have two loop handles midway up their sides.¹⁰⁵ The presence or absence of handles, however, is less important than the combination

¹⁰¹ In addition to the sources in note 100 above, see O. Kern, "Das Kultbild der Göttinnen von Eleusis," *AM* 17, 1892, pp. 125–142; M. Ruhland, *Die eleusinischen Göttinnen*, Strassburg 1901, pp. 99–105; C. Picard, "La Déméter d'Istamboul, à la ciste en vannerie," *RA* 43, 1954, pp. 228–229; A. Peschlow-Bindokat, "Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *JdI* 87, 1972 [pp. 60–157], pp. 118, 151, R29. The more customary Roman representation is shown in G. E. Rizzo, "Il Sarcophago di Torre Nova," *RM* 25, 1910, pp. 89–167. Somewhat more remote is a stele of Roman date from Mactar, Tunisia, depicting a priestess of the Cereres with baskets and other symbols of her cult, G. C. Picard, "Civitas Mactaritana," *Karthago* 8, 1957, pp. 56–57, pl. 28. The basket here, however, is not a *cista* but a *kalathos*.

The *cista mystica* is generally associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries, but it would be interesting to know to what extent it appears in other aspects of the worship of Demeter and Kore. Pausanias describes two examples. In the sanctuary of Demeter in Onkeion near Thelpousa (8.25.7), the image of Demeter Erinynos holds a *cista* and a torch. But at Lykosoura, it is Despoina who holds it. See E. Levy and J. Marcadé, "Au musée de Lycosoura," *BCH* 96, 1972 [pp. 967–1004], p. 982.

¹⁰² The representations are almost too numerous to cite. Again, in addition to the sources cited in note 100 above, one can add depictions such as the wall painting from Boscoreale now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, in which a snake appears from a half-opened basket: P. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Cambridge 1953, p. 17, fig. 14, pl. 34; or the Dionysiac sarcophagi at Baltimore: K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, Baltimore 1942, esp. p. 29; half-opened baskets with emerging snakes appear on four of the sarcophagi. For additional sarcophagi, see R. Merkelbach, *Die Hirten des Dionysos*, Stuttgart 1988, figs. 40, 59, 61, 62, 70, 75, 84, and p. 48, drawing 6 for a stucco relief from Ostia, wherein the basket is identified by the legend "Mysteria."

¹⁰³ For the *cista mystica* in the cult of Isis, see M. Malaise, "Ciste et hydrie, symboles isiaques de la puissance et de la présence d'Osiris," *Le symbolisme dans le culte des grandes religions*, J. Ries, ed., Louvain-la-Neuve 1985, pp. 125–155, esp. pp. 135–143. Malaise argues that the *cista* did not come to Isis from Eleusinian or Dionysiac practices but was an essential element of her cult, representing the power of Osiris. See also Griffiths 1975, pp. 222–226, with many references to both the *cista* and snakes, and Roscher II, 1, 1890–1897, cols. 443–448, s.v. Isis (W. Drexler). S. K. Heyob, *The Cult of Isis Among Women in the Graeco-Roman World*, Leiden 1975 (= *EPRO* LI), pp. 61–62, interprets the *cista* as a symbol of the afterlife when depicted on sarcophagi and gravestones.

¹⁰⁴ One could argue that the Isiac *cista* is covered with a conical lid and decorated with a crescent and/or crossed sticks, as in M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss, "The Cista Mystica in the Cult and Mysteries of Isis," *Studies in Hellenistic Religions*, M. J. Vermaseren, ed., Leiden 1979 (= *EPRO* LXXVIII), pp. 23–26. But examples do exist of it without crescent and sticks. Cf., for example, W. Altmann, *Die römische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1905, pp. 236–237, figs. 190, 190a, p. 238, fig. 191; D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits*, Rome 1987, pp. 102–104, no. 5, pl. IV:1–4.

Although we have not made an exhaustive study of depictions of snakes associated with the *cista* in the Isis cult, a preliminary survey suggests that when they are not the uraeus, they nevertheless wear a headdress of some sort, such as those depicted in the fresco from the Isaeum at Pompeii, depicting the "Inventio Osiridis": Tran Tam Tinh 1964, pl. 10:1.

¹⁰⁵ Parallels to baskets with handles are confined to a limited number of examples that have a kind of rope loop that hangs down from the rim of the basket. An example of one, filled with fruits, appears on an Early Roman fresco from Corinth depicting a Dionysiac procession. See Williams and Zervos 1984, p. 105, pl. 30:d. For an example of a basket with horizontal handles like ours but with the conical lid common to Isis, see the Attic grave stele of Elate and Epigonos, *IG* II² 6485; Dunand 1973, II, pl. VII.

of basket and protective snake, for this association was one that, by Roman times, was widely recognized as a symbol of revelations reserved for the initiate. Unfortunately, because it was so widespread, this symbol does little more than place the cult within the broader spectrum of mystery religions.

In narrative scenes only a single *cista mystica* is depicted. On a monument like the Lesser Propylaia at Eleusis, where the basket is both symbolic and decorative, it may be repeated.¹⁰⁶ Thus, two baskets may appear in the mosaic here merely to balance the composition, although the association with the two goddesses, Demeter and Kore, is, in our view, a more likely explanation.

The vestigia that lie between the baskets are another such symbol of relatively clear meaning but imprecise association. After K. M. D. Dunbabin's excellent discussion of them, we confine ourselves here to a few summary remarks.¹⁰⁷ Footprints, either singly or in pairs, are attested in numerous sanctuaries around the Mediterranean from Archaic times on, recurring also in Early Christian iconography. While they are most frequently dedicated to Isis and Sarapis, as Dunbabin has shown, they, nevertheless, are not exclusively associated with one deity but in Roman times are dedicated to Liber, Saturn, Bona Dea, Nemesis, and Caelestis. Apart from the pair in the central temple on Acrocorinth, however, such feet are apparently unattested for Demeter and Kore.¹⁰⁸

Vestigia have been interpreted in a number of ways. When accompanied by a personal name, they are generally thought to record a pilgrimage, by testifying to the physical presence of the donor in the place where they appear. By extension, vestigia may record not only the visit but a desire to remain in the Sanctuary.¹⁰⁹

In the Mithraeum della Planta Pedis at Ostia a single print is worked into the mosaic floor of the cult room just within the entrance and pointed toward the altar. So placed, as Becatti has observed, the foot seems to designate a position to be taken by the worshiper and perhaps also a direction of movement.¹¹⁰ Conversely, ours are a pair and face outwards. They are not likely, therefore, to record the visit of a pilgrim, especially if we are to trust Pausanias' observation that the temples here were not open for public viewing.

The most plausible interpretation of the feet in the central temple, in our view, is suggested by three inscriptions. The first, from Alexandria, is a single footprint, inscribed Ἰσιδος πόδας.¹¹¹ A stele from Termessos, dedicated to the Θεὸς Ὑψίστος, possibly Sarapis, is carved with a phiale and a left foot, which is described as the ἕχνος θεοῦ.¹¹² A third inscription from Panamara

¹⁰⁶ H. Hörmann, *Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis, Denkmäler antiker Architektur*, Leipzig 1932, esp. pls. 6, 15, 20, 42, 50, 51.

¹⁰⁷ Dunbabin (1990) provides a wealth of bibliography on the subject. Still among the most useful collections of these feet are Guarducci 1942–1943, with extensive references; G. Manganaro, "Peregrinazioni epigrafiche, I. Nuove dediche con impronte de piedi alle Divinità egizie," *ArchClass* 16, 1964, pp. 291–295. M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* III, Rome 1974, pp. 70–74; M. Langdon, "Hymettiana I," *Hesperia* 54, 1985 [pp. 257–270], pp. 263–269.

¹⁰⁸ The sandals shown on two dedicatory reliefs from the Eleusinion at Kalyvia in Laconia are not vestigia but are part of the dress of either the cult statue or perhaps the priestess or votary, as shown by S. Walker, "Two Spartan Women and the Eleusinion," in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (BICS Supplement 55), S. Walker and A. Cameron, eds., London 1989, pp. 130–141, pls. 51, 52.

¹⁰⁹ B. Kötting, "Fußspuren als Zeichen göttlicher Anwesenheit," *Boreas* 6, 1983, pp. 197–201.

¹¹⁰ G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, II, *I Mitrei*, Rome 1954, pp. 77–85. The mosaic foot replaced an earlier one in stone, which had been set into the underlying cocciopesto floor. M. Le Glay (*Saturne africain, Histoire*, Paris 1966, p. 387) places initiates on the vestigia during their presentation to the deity.

¹¹¹ E. Breccia, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée d'Alexandrie: Inscriptions grecques et latines*, Osnabrück 1911 (rep. 1976), p. 68, no. 104A. Guarducci (1942–1943, p. 315) associates the name with a mortal; for comments, Dunbabin 1990, p. 86, note 16.

¹¹² K. G. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* II, Vienna 1892, p. 76; Guarducci 1942–1943, p. 323. Only the heel and toes of the foot are visible as they cut through the circumference of the phiale; presumably, a separate plaque for the whole foot was inset into the top of the stele.

records the giving of ἴχνη θεοῦ, in this case, four gold footprints of Zeus.¹¹³ In each case the footprints attest the presence or epiphany of a deity, and it is this meaning, following Dunbabin, we would give to the vestigia in the central temple. We do not believe, however, that the feet must be those of the goddess Isis. The inscriptions from Termessos and Panamara clearly state that the offerings were made κατὰ κέλευσιν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ θεοῦ) or κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργίαν. We suggest that Agathopous was similarly motivated to dedicate the feet in the temple here, although he did not give a reason for doing so in the mosaic inscription. Perhaps his gift (in what material we no longer know) was a thank offering for some stroke of good fortune bestowed by Demeter and Kore and happily reflected in the omen of his own name.¹¹⁴

The Finds from the Temple

In trying to identify the central temple we have concentrated on the mosaic floor because of the very fragmentary condition of the contents of the cella.¹¹⁵ Identification of the several draped statues that once stood in the temple cannot be determined from the feet, wrists, and hands that have survived. They therefore do not help us much in our efforts to establish the identity of the deity worshiped in the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. Of interest, however, is a group of five or more horn-shaped objects of marble recovered from the temple debris. Although these will be published in detail in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*, it is useful to draw attention to them at this point because of their resemblance to large-scale elephant tusks.¹¹⁶ They are carved wholly in the round and were therefore not attached to a disc or plumes such as the ones associated with the crown worn by Isis-Hathor, as in Dunand 1973, pl. XXX:1. Similar objects, however, are held by the personification of Africa in a relief from the Old Forum in Lepcis Magna as well as on a mosaic from the Villa Imperiale at Piazza Armerina.¹¹⁷ If these objects indeed represent elephant tusks, they might indicate some connection between Africa and the cult practices belonging to the temple on Acrocorinth, particularly since there are five or six of them. Perhaps they are further testimony to syncretism or assimilation of Kore with other divinities. Evocations of Africa as a major source of grain for the Roman Empire would not be out of place in a sanctuary of the goddesses of the harvest. The tusks might also, in a secular vein, be connected somehow with the dedicators of the statues in the temple or with the donor of the mosaic floor, although Solin has argued against an African origin for the name Agathopous (see note 84 above).

Another group of finds with possible Orientalizing overtones was not found in the central temple but on the Middle Terrace and consists of a series of terracotta antefixes that decorated a roof dismantled by the early 3rd century (Chapter 16, **85**). This series is unique in Corinth,

¹¹³ J. Hatzfeld, "Inscriptions de Panamara," *BCH* 51, 1927 [pp. 57–122], p. 106; Guarducci 1942–1943, p. 323.

¹¹⁴ Since the feet are the only part of the mosaic floor that was carefully removed, probably in antiquity, we may infer that they were made of some valuable material. For prosperity linked to feet, see Herodotos (2.91), who tells of a temple of Perseus in the Egyptian city of Chemmis, in and around which Perseus was occasionally seen to wander. Whenever his giant sandal was seen, then Egypt prospered. For Agathopous' name, see above, note 84.

¹¹⁵ Found in the robbing trench of the late 4th century after Christ over the south wall of this temple is a small lead tablet that invokes Κυρία Δήμητρα, MF-73-38.

¹¹⁶ See Bookidis and Fisher 1974, no. 3, p. 282, pl. 58.

¹¹⁷ *LIMC* I, 1981 [pp. 250–255], no. 40, p. 253, pl. 189:40, *s.v.* Africa (M. Le Glay), 2nd century after Christ. Our thanks to Liane Houghtalin for this reference. See also M. Le Glay, "Un centre de syncrétisme en Afrique: *Thamugadi* de Numidie," in *L'Africa romana, Atti dell'VIII convegno di studio Cagliari 14–16 dicembre 1990*, Cagliari 1991 [pp. 67–78], pp. 75–76; a mosaic from Piazza Armerina, depicting Africa holding a trunk, also shown in A. Carandini, A. Ricci, and M. de Vos, *Filosofiana: The Villa of Piazza Armerina*, Palermo 1982, p. 230, fig. 131, there variously identified as Africa, Egypt, Arabia, and India. A fresco from the House of Meleager at Pompeii depicts a seated woman, variously identified as Alexandria or Dido, who carries a tusk, in *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 493, no. 80, *s.v.* Alexandria (M. O. Jentel). On coinage, however, Alexandria wears the skin of an elephant head with trunk. Our thanks to Katherine Dunbabin for this citation.

for its representation of a date palm with drooping palm branches and two clusters of seedpods replaces the usual palmette. The possible meanings of this motif are numerous. Palm trees as symbols of fertility are shown by Leto's giving birth beneath one on Delos. The palm tree is also a common motif in the worship of Artemis.¹¹⁸ It can symbolize an athletic victory or simply establish a Nilotic setting for a scene, as in two frescoes from Herculaneum depicting Isiac ceremonies.¹¹⁹ Three marble palm trees from the lower city of Corinth may have had such a topographic function, as may those depicted within enclosures on two Corinthian coins.¹²⁰ Their appearance in the cult of Isis is more extensive, however, than simply as a topographical motif. In scenes depicting cult figures, palm branches are held by astrologers or, more frequently, by Anubis, and in his hands they may symbolize the victory of life over death.¹²¹ We suggest above (p. 341) that the date-palm antefix might have decorated the roof of the central temple, T-U:19. If that association is correct, then what better place within the Sanctuary for an image signifying the triumph of life over death than the Temple of Persephone/Neotera? But while fertility and the victory of life over death are both subjects well suited to the worship of Demeter and Kore, the palm branch is not a symbol that is generally associated with them. We may therefore have here a further example of syncretism between the cults of Isis and Demeter.

THE EAST TEMPLE

Evidence for the identification of the third temple, T-U:22, is limited to one curse tablet (MF 70-51) found on the gutted, bedrock core of the building. After preliminary study, its text seems to be too fragmentary to yield helpful information about the identification of this temple. Tablets on the Upper Terrace are not confined to this building alone, for two more were discovered in the destruction debris overlying the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. From these we may only hypothesize that in both cases the titular divinity had associations with the Underworld. For the East Temple both Hades and Artemis are possible, if we consider other Roman sites where

¹¹⁸ For the palm tree in Greek art, H. F. Miller, "The Iconography of the Palm in Greek Art: Significance and Symbolism" (diss. University of California, Berkeley 1979); *RE* XIX, iii, 1941, cols. 386–403, *s.v.* Phoinix (Steier); W. Deonna, "L'ex-voto de Cypsélos à Delphes: Le symbolisme du palmier et des grenouilles," *RHR* 139, 1951, pp. 162–207.

¹¹⁹ Tran Tam Tinh, *Les cultes des divinités orientales à Herculaneum*, Leiden 1971 (= *EPRO* XVII), nos. 58, 59, pp. 83–86, figs. 40, 41.

¹²⁰ A marble palm tree (AM-14), 0.80 m. high, was removed in 1918 from a modern village house some distance to the east of the Forum of Corinth, for which see A. Philadelphus, «Εὐπρεπισμὸς καὶ νέα προσκτῆματα Μουσείου Κορίνθου», *Δελτ* 1918, Parartema [pp. 1–9], p. 8, fig. 12, there wrongly identified as a Byzantine double column capital, and *Corinth* XVI, no. 44, p. 108. Fragments of two more trees (unpublished; A-1037 and A-1039) were found in the excavations of a building attached to the northwest corner of the precinct of Temple E. Since this building was destroyed in the early 3rd century after Christ, the trees were clearly earlier dedications, and it is tempting to place them in the time of Marcus Aurelius when palm trees may appear on two series of Corinthian bronze coins, cited below. For the building, see J. K. Anderson, "Corinth: Temple E Northwest: Preliminary Report, 1965," *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 1–12, fig. 1. The trees, however, were found in the early excavations of 1933.

A palm tree may appear on two different bronze coins minted in Corinth under Marcus Aurelius. On one a tree rises above an altar or enclosure: B. V. Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Corinth, Colonies of Corinth*, London 1889, p. 79, pl. XX:16. On the second, an unpublished coin in the Corinth Museum (Oakley South, Nov. 9, 1933, coin 85), a palm tree stands behind a small structure housing a seated figure; before it are priest and emperor. The topographical and cultic implications of these scenes are unclear. Our thanks to Mary Walbank for these examples.

¹²¹ During the procession in honor of Isis at Kenchreai a priest carried a golden palm branch: Apuleius, *Met.* 11.10. See Griffiths 1975, pp. 198–203; F. LeCorcu, *Isis: Mythe et mystères*, Paris 1977, pp. 142–144, 187; Tran Tam Tinh 1964, p. 93, no. 6, p. 125. A good example of the association of Anubis with the palm is an altar from Acci, Spain, which shows on one face in low relief, a seated Osiris, and on the other, Anubis beside a palm tree: A. García y Bellido, *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*, Leiden 1967 (= *EPRO* V), pls. 10, 11. For the palm as an Early Christian symbol for the victory of life over death, see M. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, Austin 1989, fig. 150.

Demeter and Kore are worshiped.¹²² If, however, we confine ourselves to Corinth and to the Sanctuary for indications that other divinities were venerated here, then we must also consider the Moirai.

We have seen that the Moirai Praxidikai are invoked on a curse tablet associated with chthonic ritual in the Building of the Tablets, K–L:21–22 on the Lower Terrace.¹²³ Supporting evidence for their worship in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is lacking in the other finds from the excavation.¹²⁴ The Moirai, however, appear in juxtaposition with Demeter and Kore in the only explicit literary reference to the Sanctuary: Pausanias (2.4.7), ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ ⟨δ⟩ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης οὐ φανερὰ ἔχουσι τὰ ἀγάλματα. We have argued that the plural verb ἔχουσι rules out the possibility that Pausanias saw only one temple in which the Moirai, Demeter, and Kore were worshiped together. There must have been at least two temples; and Kayser's ⟨δ⟩ inserted before Δήμητρος neatly solves the textual problem.¹²⁵ Indeed, the excavations have shown that at the time of Pausanias' visit to Acrocorinth there were three temples standing in a row on the Upper Terrace. If we are right in concluding that the central temple belongs to Kore and that the westernmost housed a cult statue of Demeter, then the Fates become a candidate for the deities worshiped in the temple at the east. Pausanias may then have named three temples, one each for the Moirai, Demeter, and Kore. If necessary, his text could easily be emended to reflect this suggestion of separate temples for mother and daughter by inserting either ⟨οί⟩ in place of Kayser's ⟨δ⟩ in front of Δήμητρος,¹²⁶ or a second ⟨δ⟩ in front of Κόρης.

OTHER STRUCTURES

MONUMENTAL STAIRWAY (Fig. 52; Plans 6–9)

In the large area north of and below the three temples, some evidence still survives of the monumental stairway that provided access to them. In the Hellenistic period (Chapter 9 above) this area consisted of a small theater in S–T:21, a building tentatively identified as a temple in S–T:16–17, and a theatral area in Q–S:19–20, cut by steps leading up to those structures. With the rebuilding of the Sanctuary by the Romans and the construction of the three temples at the top of the Upper Terrace, the remainder of the Upper Terrace was also reorganized. The earlier structures were replaced by an elaborate T-shaped stairway. This was composed of a central flight of steps, no longer preserved but once located in some part of the old theatral area (Q–S:19–20), and east and west wings, placed just below the temples, against the retaining wall for the temple platform.

¹²² An inscription from Isthmia that records the works of P. Licinius Priscus Juventianus, *IG* IV 203, cites both of these deities, as well as Dionysos, either in the Sanctuary of Demeter or near to it, *Isthmia* II, pp. 113–116. See most recently D. J. Geagan, "The Isthmian Dossier of P. Licinius Priscus Juventianus," *Hesperia* 58, 1989, pp. 349–360. At Kyrene, Dionysos is named on an inscription found in the gully below the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore; D. White, "Cyrene's Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone: A Summary of a Decade of Excavation," *AJA* 85, 1981, pp. 13–30. For the inscriptions, four in all, see *SEG* IX 163, 164; *CIG* III 5139, 5140. For the worship of Dionysos in the Acrocorinth Sanctuary in the Greek period, see p. 247, note 21 above.

¹²³ P. 287 above.

¹²⁴ Chapter 1, pp. 3–4 above. Denise Callipolitis-Feytmans (1970) argued on the basis of Corinthian vase paintings that the Fates were worshiped in the Demeter Sanctuary in Greek times. There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the identity of the female figures represented in these paintings. See, e.g., D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period*, Berkeley 1988, pp. 653–657; R. Hamilton, "Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia," *Hesperia* 58, 1989 [pp. 449–472], p. 471.

¹²⁵ P. 3 above.

¹²⁶ We owe this suggestion to Charles Williams II.

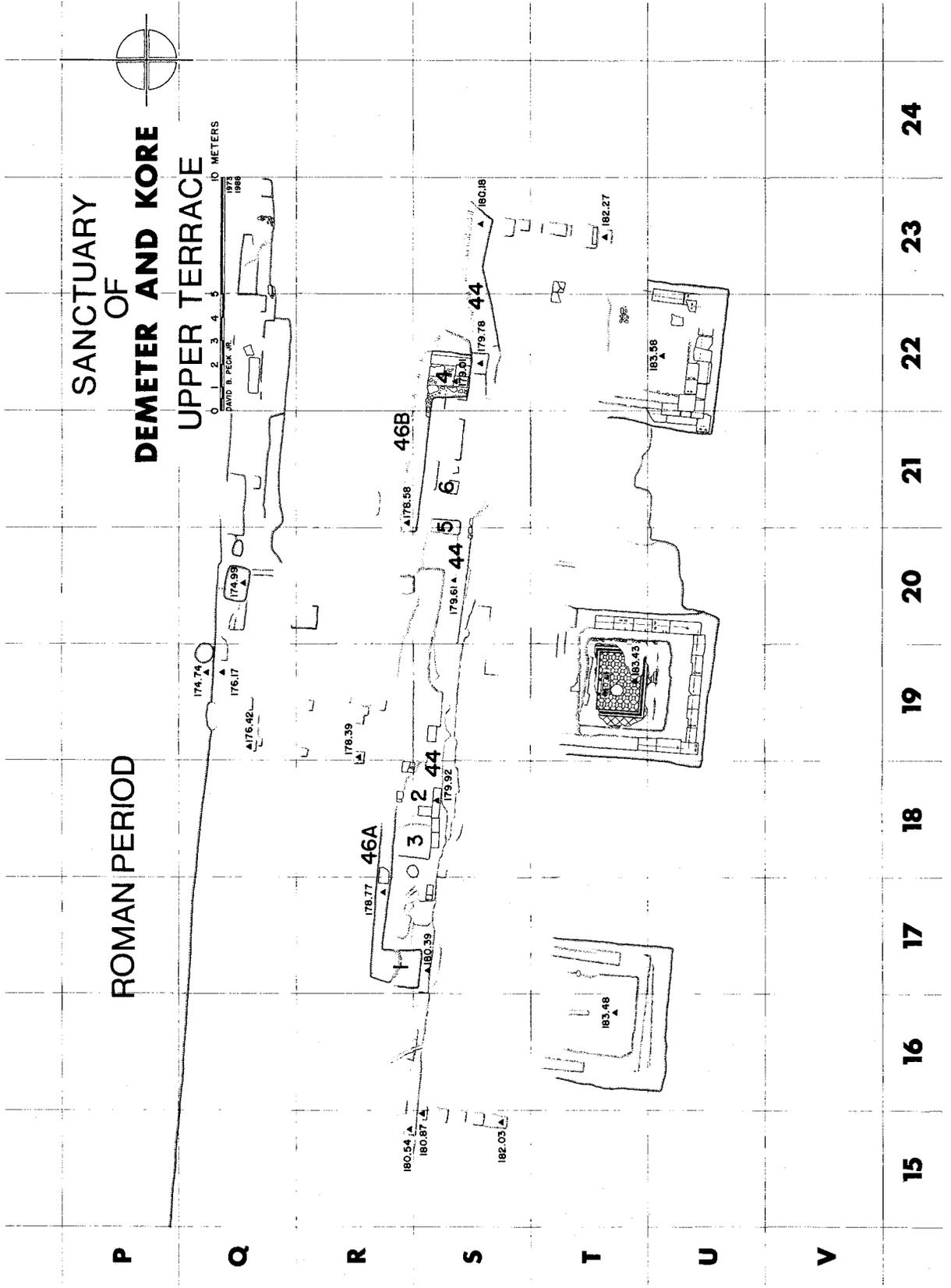


Fig. 52. Plan: Roman Upper Terrace

As we stated at the beginning of this chapter, the terrace on which the three temples stood was retained by a wall that extended from R-S:15 to S:23, for a total length of 39.00 m. (Fig. 52, no. 44), then returned to the south at either end for 3.90 (west)–5.10 (east) m. Described in detail in Chapter 9, evidence for this wall consists of a rock-cut bedding and four blocks of its lowest foundation course in S:17–18. We will refer to this as bedding 44. We have proposed that this wall was first constructed in the Hellenistic period, at which time it sustained a narrow terrace that linked the small Hellenistic temple S-T:16–17 with the theater S-T:21. It was rebuilt in Roman times, for the four limestone blocks of its foundation were reworked with the claw chisel. At this time the height of the wall must have been considerably raised.

The height of the Roman terrace wall can be approximately reconstructed on the basis of the temples to the south. Since these are built in the Greek fashion with two- or three-stepped crepidomas and not as Roman podium temples, we can assume that ground level on the platform was roughly equal to the base of the lowest step, or +182.95 m. at the west and +182.75 m. at the east.¹²⁷ Thus, the retaining wall would have to have been at least 2.41 m. high at its western end, 3.06 m. high in S:21 where bedrock slopes down, and 2.60 m. high at its eastern end. The returns would have extended far enough south to overlap the north façades of the temples. Roughly 3.00 m. would have remained between the temple façades and the north retaining wall, space enough in which to place an altar before each building. Two limestone slabs¹²⁸ of what may have been platform paving (+181.96 m.) were found resting on a few centimeters of fill in T:22–23 just north of the hypothetical north façade of the East Temple. The slabs are about on line with cutting 4 of the east terrace wall but fall 1.90 m. further west of it. They lie roughly 0.80 m. below the minimum estimated height of the platform; just southeast of them is a slightly higher outcropping of bedrock. If these do not belong to an earlier structure, then we must assume that they have settled following the collapse of the north retaining wall that stood on bedding 44.

Both east and west portions of the retaining wall for the temple platform were buttressed by a system of walls that also created means of access to it in the form of two wings of a T-shaped, monumental stairway. We begin with the better-preserved west wing. Evidence for the north, or outer, wall of the stairway consists of a rock-cut bedding in R:17–18 for a wall that lies 1.51 m. north of bedding 44 (Pl. 56:a, center). It is designated 46A in Figure 52. Unlike bedding 44, this is not stepped but is cut as one long channel 0.48 m. wide, as much as 0.88 m. deep, and with a uniform floor at +178.77 m., or 0.68–1.625 m. below bedding 44. The exact length of the cutting is not known, for its eastern end is not preserved. The securely identifiable portion of it is 7.35 m. long, and in it still remains part of a single foundation block of limestone at R:17–18.¹²⁹ Insofar as it is preserved, the block is worked only with the flat chisel and exhibits anathyrosis on its western end.

These two parallel beddings, 44 and 46A, that form the outside walls of the stairway are joined by three crosswalls. Plan 8 helps to clarify their relative positions. The first and most massive of these crosswalls forms the western end of our reconstructed stairway in R-S:17 (Fig. 52, no. 1). A deep cutting, it is 1.55 m. wide east–west by 2.18 m. long north–south and ascends the hill to the south in one high step. Level with bedding 46B at its northern end, the floor rises 1.07 m. in the southern half of the cutting. This higher portion, in turn, lies 0.53 m. below bedding 44.

Crosswall 2, which forms the eastern end of this wing of the stairway (Fig. 52, no. 2), lies roughly 7.80 m. east of 1 (outside measurement) in S:18. Evidence for it consists of a level bedding on which rests a single foundation block at right angles to the blocks of course 1 on bedding 44

¹²⁷ Unless, of course, for the sake of unity the lowest step of the East Temple was covered, in which case the level of the platform would have been nearly the same at both ends.

¹²⁸ The one complete slab is 0.45 m. wide, 0.50 m. long, and 0.09 m. thick.

¹²⁹ The block is at least 0.72 m. long, over 0.48 m. high, and 0.43 m. thick.

(Pl. 56:a, center). Possibly a reused statue base, its top (+179.67) lies 0.25 m. below the top of that course (+179.92).¹³⁰ Between these two ends of our proposed stairway a third crosswall provided internal buttressing as well as support for the missing risers. The cutting for crosswall 3 (Fig. 52, no. 3) lies 1.85 m. west of no. 2, and its floor (+179.67) is level with the top of the surviving block of crosswall 2. If we assume that the thickness of these last two crosswalls was the same, or 0.37 m., then the space between them was only 1.60 m. wide from east to west.

Between crosswalls 3 and 1, a space of 4.15 m., is a single feature, a circular pit cut 0.95 m. into bedrock just 0.30 m. west of crosswall 3. It straddles the western corners of R-S:18 in Plan 7 and Figure 52 (mouth at +179.92 m.) When excavated, the pit was found to contain soft silted earth with very little pottery. Among the sherds were parts of two Late Roman lamps, including an Attic glazed lamp of the 4th century after Christ.¹³¹ Around the mouth of this pit bedrock is level; west of it the surface of bedrock is irregular. On this pit, see page 376 below.

The arrangement for the east wing of the monumental stairway is much the same, with the difference that the width of the structure is somewhat greater. The cutting for the north wall, labeled 46B in Figure 52, begins in the northeast corner of S:20 and extends east to the middle of S:21. Because bedrock slopes down steeply here from south to north, the cutting is not a deep channel like 46A but simply a level bedding cut into the hillslope (Pl. 46:a, foreground; Pl. 46:b, to left; Plan 9 A-A).¹³² Bedding 46B falls 1.90 m. north of bedding 44;¹³³ at an absolute elevation of +178.55 m., it lies 1.11 m. below bedding 44 and about 0.22 m. below the floor of its western counterpart 46A. Bedding 46B is 7.85 m. long and 0.60–0.70 m. wide.

A similar arrangement of three crosswalls ties 46B to bedding 44 to form supports for the east wing of our stairway. Closing the eastern end in S:22 is a massive cutting (Fig. 52, no. 4) that widens in elevation from bottom to top. At bottom it is about 1.50 m. square. Still *in situ* are parts of the two lowest foundation courses (Pl. 46:a), incorporating reused blocks together with blocks trimmed with the claw chisel.¹³⁴ At the top of course 2 the bedrock cutting widens to nearly 2.00 m. Two more courses would have sufficed to reach the level of bedding 44 to the south. The western end of this unit of the stairway is formed by the narrower cutting 5 (Fig. 52, no. 5)¹³⁵

¹³⁰ The block is 0.52 m. high, 0.615 m. long, and 0.37 m. thick. Its east face preserves a cutting that is 0.29 m. by 0.255 m. by 0.07 m. deep, and is set in 0.06, 0.12, 0.14, and 0.26 m. from the four edges of the block. The floor of this cutting is smooth. The block bears anathyrosis on its north face, has one beveled edge, and is partially worked with the claw chisel. It is likely, therefore, that, while originally Greek, the block was reworked by the Romans.

¹³¹ See Stroud 1968, p. 307, pit D. Shaped like a bottle in vertical section, the pit has a narrow neck 0.45 m. in diameter, which widens to 0.85 m. at a depth of 0.40 m. Its contents are itemized as follows:

Lot 2169:

Total: 30 small sherds, 4 figurines, 1 roof tile.

Votive miniatures 24.

Fine ware 3: 1 Hellenistic echinos bowl; 1 plate foot; 1 Roman(?) phiale.

Coarse ware 1: 1 jar neck.

Lamps 2: 2 Late Roman as *Agora* VII, nos. 1603–1604, p. 148.

Figurines 4: Classical to Hellenistic.

Date: Late Roman, probably 4th century after Christ.

¹³² Compare Plan 9, Sections A-A and C-C (178.79). To be exact, the bedding is not completely level but makes a 0.07 m.-deep step down at *ca.* 2.50 m. from its western end.

¹³³ Bedding 44 here crosses the floor of the small "orchestra" of the theater; its north face is marked by a raised lip of bedrock *ca.* 1.60 m. long that is situated in the middle of the eastern half of S:21.

¹³⁴ The lowest course is made up of one block 1.68 m. long, 0.37 m. wide, and 0.30 m. high, laid north-south. Beside it is a fragmentary, reused block. The two extant blocks of course 2 are 0.58–0.64 m. long, 0.46–0.50 m. wide, and 0.24–0.26 m. high. The upper surface of one of these is worked with anathyrosis.

¹³⁵ Cutting 5 is 0.58 m. wide by 1.30 m. long. Its bedding (+179.137 m.) is 0.58 m. higher than that of 46B and 0.47 m. lower than the floor of bedding 44. The cutting falls 0.40 m. south of 46B and 0.48 m. north of bedding 44's south face.

that straddles grid squares S:20–21, roughly 7.80 m. west of cutting 4 (outside measurement). Crosswall 6 lies 1.15 m. to the east of cutting 5 in the northwest quarter of S:21 (Fig. 52, no. 6). Because of the hillslope, it consists of two steps cut into the bedrock: a longer ledge just above bedding 46B,¹³⁶ combined with a narrow cutting for a single block at the south¹³⁷ just below bedding 44.

The two wings are therefore similar in plan, although not identical in all their respective measurements. Several points are important to note. First, the spaces enclosed by the long beddings 44, 46A and B, and their crosswalls are too small to have functioned successfully as rooms, since only one or two persons could have stood in them at a time. Second, the broad returns at either end of the two wings (Fig. 52, nos. 1, 4) were designed to support massive loads, something more than just the end wall of a long, narrow building. Third, bedrock between beddings 44 and 46A is uneven, for it slopes not only from south to north but also from west to east. As a result, a uniform floor, high enough to cover bedrock at the west, would have been inaccessible at the east. For these reasons we restore in each of these wings a stairway that leads from the center of the theatral area Q–S:19–20 up in both east and west directions to either end of the temple platform.¹³⁸ Bedding 44, as we have seen, supported the retaining wall for the temple platform. Bedding 46 supported the retaining wall for the stairway's packing, Wall 46A for the west wing, Wall 46B for the east wing. The two crosswalls on either side become internal buttresses for the retaining walls and intermediary supports for the steps (see Plan 6).

Within this framework various reconstructions are possible, the variables being the lengths of the two stairways and the dimensions of the treads and risers. It is clear, however, from monuments preserved in other cities that the Romans had no reservations about running long, steep flights of steps up the fronts of their buildings either at right angles or parallel to the façades. It would be an impossible task to list all the examples. Perhaps the most elaborate such approach occurs at the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina.¹³⁹ A second, less dramatic stairway can be found leading up to the Temple of Domitian at Ephesos.¹⁴⁰

If we base our reconstruction on the minimum length of Wall 46B, since here both ends of the wall are known, then the eastern stairway will be 6.35 m. long, measured to the west, or inner, face of its eastern end (Fig. 52, no. 4). It is not possible to know with certainty at what level the steps began, for Roman ground level in S:20 is unknown. If, however, we take bedding 44 (+179.61–179.67 m.) in S:21 as the basis for our restoration, then the stairway will be *ca.* 3.00 m. high.¹⁴¹ This arrangement is especially attractive because +179.67 m. is also the elevation of the base of crosswall 3 in the west wing (Fig. 52, no. 3). If we restore twenty-one steps, each 0.15 m. high by 0.30 m. wide, the steps will end at the edge of the heavy return to the south. Here we can restore a landing 1.50–2.00 m. wide, sufficient for a balustrade and room on which to turn onto the temple terrace to the south.¹⁴² The western wing must have been similar to this.

¹³⁶ The cutting is 1.31 m. long, and its floor falls at +179.23 m., or 0.68 m. above bedding 46B. It is not clear whether its length was designed to catch the end of the two blocks oriented north–south, for further south there is only one cutting sufficiently wide to take a wall block.

¹³⁷ This portion of crosswall 6 is 0.52 m. wide by 0.58 m. long. Its floor lies 0.13 m. below bedding 44 but 0.95 m. above bedding 46B.

¹³⁸ We would very much like to thank David Peck for suggesting this reconstruction and Charles K. Williams II for its further elucidation.

¹³⁹ Fasolo and Gullini 1953, *passim*.

¹⁴⁰ H. Vettors, "Domitianterrasse und Domitiangasse," *ÖJh* 50, 1972–1975, Beibl. [cols. 311–330], cols. 315–318. A photograph of this stairway appears in J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture*, New York 1977, p. 275, fig. 337.

¹⁴¹ These are the elevations recorded across the "orchestra" of the Greek theater S–T:21.

¹⁴² Step heights, unfortunately, are not always given in publications. At Palestrina, however, the central steps that lead up to the Upper Terrace are about 0.23 m. high and 0.39 m. deep, a ratio of about 3:5 for height of riser to tread.

Beyond the few limestone foundation blocks, which we have described, nothing has survived from the superstructure of this stairway to clarify exactly how it was built. We assume, however, that the two side walls retained a filling of earth and stones, on which the stone steps rested, their ends supported by the walls. The crosswalls would have provided internal buttressing, while the thick end walls would have carried the weight of the full height of the stairway and landing.

There is virtually no evidence for dating the construction of this stairway system. Logically, it should have gone up when the three temples were built in the second half of the 1st century after Christ, for there is no other approach to those buildings. Independent evidence is confined to a small amount of packing protected behind course 1 on bedding 44 in S:18. Although the pottery from this packing consists entirely of fragmentary votive miniatures of Classical date (lot 4484), a small portion of hair from the crown of a marble statue could be either Hellenistic or Roman.¹⁴³ In Chapter 9 we suggested that bedding 44 originally was cut in Hellenistic times to support a low retaining wall for a narrow terrace along the back of the theatral area. The purpose of this terrace was to provide access to the Hellenistic Temple S-T:16-17 and to link that building with the theater. If this was the case, the wall was rebuilt in the Roman period when some or all of its blocks were reworked, to judge by those left *in situ*.

Just as there is no good evidence for the period when the stairways were built, so is there also none for their destruction. Most of the bedrock here was covered with surface wash, roof tiles, and fragments of stuccoed limestone. These may have come down from the buildings above. A firmer layer of earth was cleared just north of bedding 44 in the northwest corner of S:19. Here we found a number of terracotta figurines, two fragments of terracotta statues, three baskets of roof tiles, and a coin of Constantine I.¹⁴⁴ We also described a bottle-shaped pit that had been cut into the bedrock just west of crosswall 3 in the west stair wing. The date and purpose of this pit are obscure. That it existed and was used together with the reconstructed steps is unlikely, since the area in which both would have to have been used was too constricted. It is possible that the pit antedates the Roman stairway; in that case, however, we should expect it to have been full of construction material from the time of the stairway. We can only assume that either it was earlier and was simply covered over and not filled until the stairway was destroyed or it postdates the destruction of the stairway and was filled with random wash that in no way reflects either its period of use or time of abandonment.

When the Romans laid out their new buildings on the Upper Terrace, they did so with certain fixed points in mind. For example, a line drawn through the center of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor will pass by the west side of the well in Q:19 and will approximately bisect the Propylon N-P:19-20 to the north. The two flanking temples are equidistant from the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. Furthermore, the eastern and western ends, respectively, of the wings of the stairways are also equidistant from this line.¹⁴⁵ To this extent the buildings appear to have been planned in relation to one another.

North of bedding 44, however, down to the base of the Upper Terrace in Q:19-20 it is virtually impossible to isolate the Roman phase among the myriad undatable bedrock cuttings

If we follow such a ratio, then with a tread of 0.30 m., the riser should be 0.18 m., the stairway length 5.10 m., the number of steps 17, or 3.06 m. total height. This length, however, corresponds to none of the crosswalls. In addition to the steps at Palestrina, there are two ramps that lead up to the steps from below, following the face of the hillside; their slope is *ca.* 19 degrees. If we attempt such a reconstruction here, the ramp must be 8.35 m. long and must begin closer to the center of the theatral area. Such an arrangement does not fit with the known length of bedding 46B. For the Palestrina material, see Fasolo and Gullini 1953, pp. 88, 118.

¹⁴³ S-3725, to be published separately.

¹⁴⁴ Lot 2107, coin 64-89, posthumous issue, Constantine I, A.D. 337-341.

¹⁴⁵ They are 13.60-13.70 m. distant, depending on where exactly one measures the irregular cuttings that mark their limit (Fig. 52, nos. 1, 4).

that cover the slope. As we have shown in Chapter 9, some of these cuttings are surely Greek. But among the remainder, no obvious plan explains how a Roman reached the stairways just described from the Propylon further down the hill to the north.

Our understanding of this lower slope in the Roman period is based on three assumptions. First, the quantities of Classical and Hellenistic figurines and Classical votive pottery found in the lower part of the Upper Terrace neither washed down from the Roman temples above nor were deposited there after the Sanctuary's demise. They were intentionally brought in as filling to cover bedrock. Second, this fill was retained by a wall that lay at the base of the Upper Terrace, its cutting extending from Q:23 to P:13 (Pls. 43, 51:a, b). Third, a stairway ascended the slope of the theatral area Q-S:19-20 to the base of the stairways just described.

With regard to the filling that covered the bedrock slope, already described above (Chapter 9), it is important to note that a considerable number of Late Hellenistic figurines were found here, in fact, the most found anywhere in the Sanctuary. Their concentration in this part of the site may indicate that they were once offered somewhere nearby.

The evidence for the retaining wall has been presented already in Chapter 11. Briefly summarized, it consists of a deep rock-cut bedding that created a high rock scarp along its south side, a scarp as much as 1.43 m. high just west of the well in Q:19. There are, however, several problems with the course of that wall that must be described. Perhaps the most prominent ones are the well, which lies directly in its path, and the pebble floor that surrounded the well for a distance of at least 1.00 m. to the north and east (pp. 307-308 above).

Just south of the retaining wall and east of the well in Q:20 are three basins, hollowed out of the soft outer crust of bedrock (Pls. 43, lower left; 44:b; 51:b, center left). The first of these lies 1.85 m. east of the well and is 1.47 m. long, 1.08 m. wide, and 0.57 m. deep (Plan 9, Section B-B, 175.16). It is fed by a channel 0.25 m. wide and 1.10 m. long, cut into the higher bedrock surface to the south. A drain hole opens through the north side of the basin at floor level, thereby allowing water to be emptied directly into the line of the retaining wall. This hole falls roughly 2.40 m. east of the well mouth.¹⁴⁶ A second, smaller basin, measuring 0.77 m. by 0.38 m. by 0.25 m. deep, lies 0.45 m. east of the first. This, in turn, drains into a third larger, rectangular basin in Q:21, of which only the west and south sides are preserved.

Although the function of these basins is uncertain, the first, if not all three, must postdate the cutting of the retaining wall, for otherwise its drain hole would have to have been extended at least 1.00 m. to pierce the bedrock. Because of the well and the basins, the retaining wall must have broken off in Q:19-20 and possibly Q:21, and spur walls must have extended south to keep the dumped filling over the theatral area from spilling onto the Middle Terrace. The basins could have been covered, but bedrock to the south must have been at least partially exposed to allow the channel to gather water for the westernmost basin. It is possible therefore that the steps hypothesized for the Hellenistic theatral area in the western halves of Q-R:19 continued to function in the Roman period.

We have stated that the western basin has to have been at least as late as the cutting of the retaining wall. It is also possible that it was later. It did not, however, continue in use until the Sanctuary's destruction in the late 4th century after Christ. A filling of earth, pottery, and three architectural terracottas lay tightly packed in the basin. The terracottas consist of a Roman palmette antefix like **85**, a lionhead spout, FS-958, like **81**, and a sima plaque. The associated pottery could be dated to the first half or middle of the 3rd century after Christ (lot 2093). What building or buildings lost their roof at this time is unknown, although we have suggested elsewhere that the Temple with the Mosaic Floor may have been a candidate. It may be that the same

¹⁴⁶ On the rock scarp of the retaining wall just east of the well we noted a patch of cement; its purpose, however, remains unclear.

damage that caused the filling in of Cistern 1964-1 to the north in P:20-21 also led to the filling in of the basin. A tight packing of small stones and a few nondescript sherds in the second basin, unfortunately, could not be dated.

CONCLUSIONS

Although many questions must remain unanswered in this area, it is clear that the major focus of the Upper Terrace—probably of the whole Sanctuary at this time—was the high platform with its three Ionic prostyle temples. Oriented north-south, each was undoubtedly preceded by its own altar. Identifications for two of the three temples can be proposed with a good measure of certainty. We have suggested that the central and larger temple, T-U:19, was dedicated to Kore/Persephone, while that to the west, T:16-17, belonged to Demeter. We have seen that a plausible inference for the identification of the eastern temple as that of the Moirai can be drawn from the text of Pausanias, but other, physical, evidence is lacking.

According to our restoration, the temples were approached from the north by means of a central stairway in Q-R:19 or 20, the details of which have been lost, and by two wings in R-S:17-18 and R-S:21-22. The buildings were used for some three hundred years, during which time they served as repositories for dedications of sculpture and, presumably, other valuable offerings no longer attested. Possibly damaged by the earthquake of A.D. 375, the temples were looted, abandoned, and forgotten until their rediscovery in 1970.

THE LATER REMAINS

(Plans 1, 6)

Although the Sanctuary had ceased to function by the end of the 4th century after Christ, the site continued to be used thereafter. A few vestiges of architecture remain from this latest phase, but the most striking testimony to this continued use are twenty-nine graves, which were located from just south of the retaining wall for the road to the base of the Upper Terrace. Their positions are plotted on Plan 6 as nos. 1 to 29. Though few of them contained grave gifts, twenty-four are tile graves, of a sort that was common in Corinth from the 4th to the 6th centuries. Their presence in the area of the Sanctuary reinforces the evidence of the pottery and architecture, namely, that worship did indeed stop, but they offer no help in clarifying exactly when this happened. It is possible, moreover, that the site was revisited in mediaeval times, for four of the graves (26–29) are of a type that is best paralleled in Corinth in the 13th century or later. If the graves are indeed this late, they represent the only evidence for use of the site in mediaeval times, for a sprinkling of Byzantine sherds and six coins may simply represent the random droppings of passersby or of farmers using the fields.¹

THE ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS

The architectural remains are limited and are confined to the Lower Terrace. They consist of a small stretch of wall in L:25, most of a room or building in M:15–17, and a bread oven in K:16. The walls stand out from the other Sanctuary architecture because of their different orientation and, in the case of M:15–17, unusual plan.

The best preserved of these features is the oddly shaped structure that was built within the shell of the Hellenistic dining complex M:16–17. This new building used, in part, the south wall of the Hellenistic building, which was deeply bedded in the hillside, and added to it new east and west walls; a north wall was never found.

Because of the difference in height between the Hellenistic floor levels of Rooms 1 and 3 of Building M:16–17, the eastern half of the new structure was founded on blocks of the south wall that had fallen into Room 1 during an earthquake in the 1st century after Christ, while the western half cut through Hellenistic floors in the higher Rooms 3 and 4. It covered the lowest course of the partition wall between Rooms 1 and 3 and probably removed the wall that separated Room 3 from 4. Its east and west walls were poorly built of fieldstones laid in a single row. Both were laid out at an oblique angle to the back wall. The east wall, preserved to a height of 0.40 m., extended from the southwest corner of the Hellenistic Room 1 toward the main entrance at an angle of 42 degrees east of north. The better-preserved west wall, which stood to 1.10 m., cut diagonally across Room 4 and beyond it at an angle of 47 degrees west of north (Pl. 56:b). It incorporated several architectural fragments, including an unfluted Ionic column shaft (Chapter 16, **66**). Together with the back wall, the new walls partially enclosed

¹ These are coins 71-359, Leo VI (886–911); 71-434, Anonymous Bronze (Follis) Class D (1059–1067); 64-78, Nikephoros III (1078–1081); 70-257, Alexius I (1092–1118); 69-831, Manuel I (1143–1180); 61-6, 12th century. In addition, we found one coin, 71-231, of Frankish date (1250–1278), and five of Turkish date, namely, 64-87, 71-211, 71-440, 72-421, and 72-433.

a space 4.50 m. wide across the south, at least 11.00 m. wide across the front, 5.00 m. long on the east side, and 5.47 m. on the west.

What happened along the north side is uncertain. Because of the hillslope, this side is unprotected, and if we envisage a single long wall that closed the north side, or two walls making a pentagon, these could have washed away without any trace. At the same time, given the peculiar shape of the structure, there may have been no north wall at all or only a temporary wall of wood or brush. Nothing was found within the building to clarify its function, its sole feature being a clay floor, which lay flush with the base of the east and west walls. If it was roofed, the tiles had disappeared. Its irregular shape and flimsy construction, however, are more suggestive of an animal fold or agricultural storage space of some sort than an enclosed living area. That the site was farmed at some point in its long history is shown by the numerous oblong planting pits that confused the surface layers across parts of the Lower Terrace² and by the modern field wall that began in O:24 and continued down the hill well past the limits of the Sanctuary.³

A *terminus post quem* for the date of construction of the walls in M:15–17 is provided by a coin of Arcadius (68–1238, A.D. 400–408), which had found its way into the back crevices of the west wall. But how soon after this date the walls were built and used is not wholly clear, for it is unlikely that the structure, whatever its purpose, was in use while burials were being made no more than ten meters away. Some 0.60 m. above the clay floor we removed a small pile of rubble that overlay the southeast corner of the enclosure. With the stones were a few sherds dating no earlier than the 4th and perhaps as late as the 6th century after Christ (lots 3224, 3225).⁴ The latter date might suggest a historical sequence for the building, from its construction in the early 5th century to its abandonment by or in the 6th century after Christ. For the most part, however, the building was covered by a dense layer of discarded Greek votive pottery and figurines, wherein there was almost less earth than sherds (lot 3222). Approximately sixty baskets of pottery and over 1,600 fragments of terracotta figurines were recovered from this fill. The material ranged in date from Archaic to the first half of the 3rd century after Christ, and it exemplifies the kind of reverse stratigraphy found all over the site, due to erosion of walls and subsequent movement of earths. It undoubtedly washed down from the area to the south of the building once its south wall had collapsed and the building was abandoned in the Roman period.

The remains in L:25 are limited to a very short stretch of rubble wall, running from northwest to southeast, which was built on top of Building K–L:24–25. Its orientation of 30 degrees west of north distinguishes it from the earlier structures in the Sanctuary and associates it with the room we have just described. Although only 1.50 m. of the wall remained, and this to a height of only 0.20 m., it was more sturdily built than the walls in M:15–17 and had two good faces. There is, however, no indication of its date apart from that suggested by its orientation. Excavation of the earth beneath it produced nondescript Roman pottery of the 2nd century after Christ or later (lot 72–145).

One last feature remains to be described, the bread oven that cut through the southwest corner of Building K:16 roughly 6.50 m. north of M:15–17. Oval in shape, the oven was 0.98 m. long east–west by 0.83 m. wide north–south and was preserved to a height of 0.46 m. (Pl. 56:c). A narrow rubble wall in front of it to the north incorporated a fragment of a Roman monument

² The planting pits averaged 1.00–1.30 m. long, 0.20 m. wide, and 0.12 m. deep; they were arranged in rows, which lay 1.00 m. apart, and each was separated by a space of 1.00 m. According to the local villagers, such pits are customary in the planting of vines, although no one now living remembers vines on the slopes of Acrocorinth.

³ The southern end of this wall appears in the actual-state plan in Stroud 1968, pl. 96, in Room L, now Building N–O:24–25. It is the long, L-shaped dotted strip immediately left of the letter L; the wall proved to continue down the entire hillslope of the Sanctuary.

⁴ The 6th-century date is based on the fragmentary foot of an African red slip plate found in lot 3225; the full profile of the plate, however, is not preserved.

base (Chapter 16, **95**). Mud plaster, burnt red, was preserved on the interior surfaces and must originally have formed the dome of the oven. Its floor was composed of roughly squared tiles *ca.* 0.12–0.20 m. long, which had been coated with a layer of mud plaster. In front of the oven was a narrow ledge laid with small stones, flush with the oven floor and plastered with red earth. Over it lay a thin layer of ash. North of the ledge ground level dropped 0.23 m. to make a small pit. From the pit we recovered a few roof tiles, more fragments of the monument base, and, at the bottom, charcoal. A single row of stones to the south and west delineated the area of the oven, but no other architectural remains were found in its immediate area. Unfortunately, neither the construction nor the destruction of the oven can be dated. Of the 132 sherds recovered from the collapsed earth covering its floor, the greater number were Classical and Hellenistic in date, with only a handful belonging to the second half of the 1st century after Christ (lot 75-252). Because the monument base that was incorporated into the oven is undoubtedly later in date than this, the pottery from the collapse is uninformative. The oven cannot have been built until Building K:16 was abandoned and the Roman monument base dismantled and broken up. Since there is no evidence of a structure with which the oven could be associated, and since the wall of the abandoned building was left visible and not buried, the oven undoubtedly also belonged to a time when worship had ceased. Although it is tempting to associate it with the construction in M:15–17, it may belong to a later date, for Grave 8 lies just 2.50 m. to the northeast.

THE LATE GRAVES

Turning to the graves, we find them concentrated on the Lower Terrace, where they clustered to the south of the Classical road and around the Roman Building of the Tablets, K–L:21–22. Only four form a separate group on the Middle Terrace in Q:26 and R:23–24. With the exception of one child's burial, no. 1, which was actually dug into the road, the graves respected its line. This respect for the road could mean that it was still being used in Late Roman times. Problematic for such a conclusion, however, is the large pit of Late Roman date that destroyed the road in I:18–19 (p. 20 above). It may simply be, therefore, that the propinquity of bedrock beneath the road made it an unsuitable area for adult burials.

Most of the graves seem to fall into groups, as if they had been organized into family burial plots. Thus, nos. 2–9 all cluster just south of the road in grid squares J–K:15–17. Nos. 10–12 group together in I–J:19 just west of the Classical entrance to the site; nos. 13–24 surround Buildings K–L:21–22 and K:23, with nos. 22–24 forming a small group within the larger one. Grave 25 stands by itself north of the Propylon in M:19. Nos. 26–29, on the Middle Terrace, are located far from the other graves, but among them nos. 27–29 were clearly a group. Unfortunately, because the accumulation of earth above the graves was slight, we were unable to determine any sort of relative chronology among them based on stratigraphic sequence.

All but five of the graves were identical in form. They consisted of earth-cut cists in which the body was laid either directly on the earth floor or on a floor of terracotta pan tiles of Laconian type. Additional Laconian tiles were placed on either side, resting on one long edge and leaning in toward the center to form a low pyramid over the body. In the few cases where the tile cover was well preserved, a Laconian cover tile was placed over the apex. Occasionally, fieldstones were packed along the perimeter as added protection. The tiles used in these graves were much like the Laconian tiles that covered the Temple with the Mosaic Floor (Chapter 16, **20**; Pl. 60), having a curved, horizontal section and square-cut ends. Those pan tiles that could be measured averaged 0.82–0.87 m. in length and 0.35–0.43 m. in width. They were no more than 0.025–0.045 m. thick, and several bore large impressed arcs, made by strokes of the fingers in the moist clay. The cover tiles that occasionally covered the ridge were also typically Laconian, having a semicircular

section tighter than that of the pan tiles. No complete dimensions, however, are recorded for these. Beneath this cover the bodies lay on their backs, legs extended and parallel, with hands generally crossed over the pelvis or at the side.

Five graves consisted simply of earth-dug cists in which the bodies were placed without a cover. Of these Grave 22 was laid out on the bedrock socle of the collapsed back wall of the Building of the Tablets, K–L:21–22. Since the position of the skeleton was identical to that of the bodies in the tile graves just described, the interment probably belongs with that group. Such may not be the case, however, for the remaining four on the Middle Terrace. In all four cases the head was propped up on stones so that the chin rested on the chest and the face looked east to the rising sun; the head of the skeleton in Grave 26 was further braced by three large stones. In addition, the arms were brought up from the pelvis or sides to cross over the chest. This disposition of the body not only differs from that in the other graves on the site but is also less common in the rest of Corinth. Near the Roman Gymnasium two such graves were dug into strata dated to the 6th century after Christ and are therefore no earlier than that date; whether they were later cannot be determined.⁵ Two more, found on top of the paved court east of the Theater, were probably no earlier than the 11th or 12th century.⁶ The majority of this type, however, were concentrated in two areas of the city, namely, north of the Temple of Apollo in proximity to a small church and southeast of Temple E. The graves north of the Temple of Apollo can be assigned to the 13th century, based both on coins found in two of them and on sherds recovered from the overlying earth.⁷ Those from the area of Temple E are somewhat later, dating from the 13th century onward.⁸ It is therefore possible that the Sanctuary examples too belong to the mediaeval period. Certainly, the Roman retaining wall for the Upper Terrace had to have been completely demolished by the time Grave 26 was dug.

All the graves but three were oriented east–west with head to the west. The three exceptions, nos. 9, 15, and 20, were oriented north–south with head to the south. Indeed, Grave 20 lay beneath Grave 21 so that the two intentionally, or unintentionally, made a cross.

Grave goods were rare. Of the total graves excavated, only three preserved any sort of gift or personal adornment. These are nos. 1, 7, and 16, and they contained, respectively, some simple bronze jewelry, a lekythos, and a glass bottle. In addition, three more graves, nos. 22, 27, and 28,

⁵ Graves 1966-11, 1966-12, unpublished. These were found during salvage excavations on the property of C. Lekkas near the Roman Gymnasium. No objects were found with the burials, and the *terminus post quem* is provided by the stratum, dated to the 6th century after Christ, into which they were cut. For a mosaic from this site, which should precede the burial, see C. K. Williams II, "Excavations at Corinth," *Δελτ* 22, 1967, B1 [1968] [pp. 184–185], pp. 185, 222, pl. 135; G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles 1966," *BCH* 91, 1967 [pp. 623–889], p. 635; J.-P. Sodini, "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes de Grèce," *BCH* 94, 1970 [pp. 699–753], p. 709, note 17; M. Spiro, *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland, Fourth/Sixth Centuries*, New York 1978, pp. 96–102; S. E. Waywell, "Roman Mosaics in Greece," *AJA* 83, 1979 [pp. 293–321], p. 298, no. 23. The mosaic has been assigned to the 4th (?) century by Waywell and to the second half of the 5th century by Spiro.

⁶ Graves 1928-18, 1928-20, unpublished. Remnants of a wooden coffin were found by Grave 1928-18.

⁷ The examples are numerous. Most important for our purposes are Graves 1972-30 and 1972-31, which contained Latin imitative coins, roughly dated between 1204 and 1261. Grave 1972-30 preserved a further feature, for there the stones that had been placed to either side of the skull supported a large slab. In this way the head was protected even though the rest of the body was not. For a brief description of the church, see H. S. Robinson, "Temple Hill, Corinth," in *Neue Forschungen im griechischen Heiligtümer*, U. Jantzen, ed., Tübingen 1976 [pp. 239–260], pp. 256–260. There, the church as well as some of the burials is called Early Christian. The similarity, however, of the church's plan to that found most recently southeast of Temple E (note 8 below) suggests that it too may belong to the period of Frankish occupation in the 13th century. The church will appear in a future article. Our thanks to Eric Ivison for much useful information on the subject of Byzantine burial practices, both on Temple Hill and elsewhere.

⁸ These graves are briefly mentioned in Williams and Zervos 1990, p. 350 and in Williams and Zervos 1991, pp. 39–40.

contained objects of earlier date that may have been offerings but more likely were random finds within the earth filling, since none of these graves was covered with tiles. Because of the paucity of finds, the graves are difficult to date. Some assistance is provided by the lekythos in Grave 7. According to our present working chronology, this may have been made in the 6th century after Christ.⁹ It may not, however, reflect the date of all the graves, for a few of the items, like the glass bottle in Grave 16, should probably be placed closer to the 4th century after Christ. Nevertheless, the approximate chronology of the tile graves is fixed by parallels in the lower city, where this type was ubiquitous. A vast cemetery was excavated in the Asklepieion and west of it towards the Fountain of the Lamps. Many tile graves were found a hundred meters or so west of the Odeion and south of the modern church of Haghia Paraskevi. More graves were found at the northwestern edge of the city in the area now called Cheliotomylos, as well as in the region of the Roman Forum.¹⁰

On the whole, the skeletons in the graves from the area of the Sanctuary are very poorly preserved, due to the action of the soil and groundwater on the bones. They were studied by Peter Burns as part of a larger examination of the Christian population of Corinth. Because of their poor condition, however, the Sanctuary material provides relatively little information about the people of that period.¹¹

Below, we append a brief description of each grave, together with a list of contents, where applicable. The small finds, however, will be published in a later volume. The initial catalogue number refers to graves on Plan 6, whereas the second number given below is that assigned during excavation. Unless otherwise stated, it is understood that there were no grave gifts.¹²

CATALOGUE

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>1 Child burial, grid square J:12 Grave 1972-6. L. 0.68, W. 0.30 m. Orientation: 98 degrees east of north. Grave 1 is the only grave that actually cut into the road. Its tile cover was incompletely preserved, and the skeletal remains are limited to part of a skull; no bone lot. Near the head lay a bronze cylinder, MF-72-36, and two bronze hair rings, MF-72-37, -38; somewhat east of the head was a small bronze bell-shaped rattle, MF-72-35.</p> | <p>Pl. 57</p> | <p>Orientation: 83 degrees east of north. Grave 2 is the westernmost grave in the plot located south of the road and north of the Late Roman Room M:15-17. It lies <i>ca.</i> 1.00 south of the retaining wall for the road. The tile cover was preserved on the south side and eastern end. Skeletal remains consist of fragments of long bone shafts, indicating an adult, possibly female (bone lot 72-1), but these were too few to indicate the full position of the body.</p> |
| <p>2 Adult burial, grid square J:15 Grave 1972-1. L. <i>ca.</i> 1.85, W. 0.45 m.</p> | <p>3 Adult burial, grid square K:16 Grave 1972-85. Undug.</p> | <p>Orientation: 73 degrees east of north. Grave 3 lies roughly 1.60 m. southeast of no. 2. Although one end of</p> |

⁹ As Slane has already observed (*Corinth* XVIII, ii, p. 127), no definitive study of the Late Roman lekythos has yet been made in Corinth.

¹⁰ For the Asklepieion material, see *Corinth* XIV, pp. 162-163. The grave goods, consisting chiefly of lekythoi and Late Roman lamps, are as yet unpublished. The western extension of this cemetery appears in Wiseman 1967, pp. 31-35; J. Wiseman, "Excavations at Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1966," *Hesperia* 36, 1967 [pp. 402-428], pp. 417-420; Wiseman 1969, pp. 79-87. The graves from Haghia Paraskevi are unpublished. The Cheliotomylos tile graves were interspersed among the chamber tombs and stone sarcophagi; the cemetery is briefly cited by T. L. Shear, "Excavations in the North Cemetery at Corinth in 1930," *AJA* 34, 1930 [pp. 403-431], p. 428.

¹¹ We have included Burns' comments on the skeletal remains in the descriptions of the individual graves. We should like to thank him for providing us with this information. We are also grateful to Sherry C. Fox for her useful comments on this material.

¹² We regret that more information could not be included about the graves excavated in 1971 and 1972; these accounts were lost in the burning of the excavation house.

the grave was freed, the remainder continued under a cement elevation point and was therefore not exposed. So far as they were uncovered, the tiles were intact with pan tiles on the sides and end and cover tiles along the ridge.

4 Adult burial, grid square J:16

Grave 1972-7. L. 1.60, W. 0.50 m.

Orientation: 78 degrees east of north. Grave 4 falls 2.50 m. east of no. 2 and immediately south of the road. Only the base of the tile covers remained *in situ*; within was an extended burial of a gracile, adult female; although most of the skeleton had been destroyed, the arms, which had survived, were crossed over the pelvis. Identification of the sex was based on a distal left humerus. No measurements were possible (bone lot 72-6).

5 Adult burial, grid square J:16 Pl. 57

Grave 1972-9. L. 2.00, W. 0.50 m.

Orientation: 83 degrees east of north. Grave 5 is aligned with no. 4 but lies 1.00 m. further south. The tile cover was well preserved, with two pan tiles per side. The fairly well preserved cranium and less well preserved postcranial skeleton are those of a female adult. The body lay in an extended position when found, legs parallel, hands crossed over the pelvis. Sex determination was on the basis of the small, gracile character of the bones. Stature, based on the humerus, was 164.9 ± 4.5 cm. Her dentition expressed only one caries among 19 teeth recovered, no abscesses, and the lower third molars were genetically absent (bone lot 72-8).

6 Adult burial, grid square J:17

Grave 1972-3. No dimensions.

Orientation: 88 degrees east of north. Information lost. Grave 6 falls 2.50 m. east of no. 5 and south of the road. The grave had been largely destroyed. There were scant remains of an adult, possibly female, represented by long bone shafts (bone lot 72-3). The position of the body could not be determined.

7 Adult burial, grid square K:17 Pl. 57

Grave 1972-2. L. 1.80-2.00, W. 0.50-0.60 m.

Orientation: 89 degrees east of north. Grave 7 is just 1.20 m. south of no. 6, and it cuts through the west wall of Building K:17. The tile cover is complete, consisting of the usual pyramid of pan tiles, to which a row of semicircular cover tiles was added along the ridge. The well-preserved body was laid out on its back, its hands crossed over the pelvis and legs straight. It is that of a female. From the humerus her stature can be reconstructed as 164.7 ± 4.1 cm. One tooth had been

lost since death, three before death, and there were four abscesses; the third molars were all genetically absent (bone lot 72-2). Beneath the left upper arm lay a small lekythos, C-72-57, tentatively dated to the 6th century after Christ.¹³

8 Adult burial, grid square K:16

Grave 1975-4. L. *ca.* 1.85, W. 0.58 m.

Orientation: 70 degrees east of north. Grave 8 lies *ca.* 3.00 m. south of no. 5 and was dug through the floor of Building K:16, 0.50 to 0.80 m. north of the south bench face. The tile cover was largely missing, with fragments of the north side cover and one fragment preserved on the south side. Within was the eroded skeleton of a woman in the usual extended position with arms over the abdomen. She was aged over 35 years, with poor dental health and small but well-muscled bones. The mandible is wide (bone lot 75-65).

9 Child burial, grid square K:17

Grave 1975-5. L. *ca.* 0.90, W. 0.40 m.

Orientation: 175 degrees east of north, or 5 degrees west of north. Grave 9 is approximately aligned with the eastern end of Grave 7 but 3.30 m. further south. It cut across the line of the south wall of Building K:16 but beyond the point where the wall breaks off. A small grave, oriented north-south, preserved no bones, and it is possible therefore that it represented the burial of an infant or child. The cover tiles were missing, but a floor of tile fragments remained, with stones packed around the sides of the grave cutting.

10 Adult burial, grid square I:19

Grave 1971-8. L. *ca.* 1.80, W. *ca.* 0.80 m.

Orientation: 81 degrees east of north. Information lost. Grave 10 is located 9.20 m. northeast of no. 6 and 1.00 m. south of the retaining wall for the road near the Classical entrance. The state of preservation of the skeleton is poor. The grave contained the remains of an adult female; determination of sex based on the gracile bones. Her dentition is represented by the mandibular and most of the maxillary teeth. There are no abscesses in the mandible, only two carious teeth present, and one tooth lost before death; tooth wear was heavy (bone lot 71-2).

11 Child (?) burial, grid square I:19

Grave 1971-4. L. *ca.* 1.30, W. *ca.* 0.60 m.

Orientation: 85 degrees east of north. Grave 11 lies immediately south and slightly east of no. 10. Because there were no skeletal remains, our identification of the grave as that of a child or adolescent is based on the length of the grave cutting.

¹³ *Corinth* XVIII, ii, no. 276, p. 127.

12 Adult burial, grid square J:19

Grave 1970-10. L. 1.78, W. 0.35 m.

Orientation: 90 degrees east of north. The grave cuts through the west side of stair landing 1 on the Lower Terrace. Its tile cover was well preserved. Within were the poor skeletal remains of a female of *ca.* 30 years of age. She lay with her legs extended and parallel, and her arms were crossed over her pelvis. The identification of her sex is based on the small size of the bones. Her age was estimated from the young texture and quality of the bones. The teeth were lightly worn, and the lower third molars were genetically absent (the maxillae are present). There were no caries or abscesses (bone lot 70-1).

13 Adult burial, grid squares J:21-22

Grave 1969-58. L. 1.45, W. 0.45 m.

Orientation: 95 degrees east of north. Grave 13 was dug through the floor of Room 4, Hellenistic Building K-L:21-22. One pan tile, 0.95 m. long, was placed on either side, and stones closed either end. Little more remained than part of the skull, the left upper arm, and parallel thigh bones, but these could be assigned to an adult female. The only measurable parts were the teeth; 28 were present, only one was carious; there were no abscesses and no teeth lost before death. Wear on the teeth was fairly heavy (bone lot 69-86).

14 Adult burial, grid squares J-K:22-23 Pl. 58

Grave 1969-57. L. 1.85, W. cutting 0.50-0.60, of grave 0.47 m.

Orientation: 92 degrees east of north. Grave 14 cut through the east wall of Room 5, Building K-L:21-22, *ca.* 1.00 m. south of the northeast corner of the room. There were two pan tiles per side, with fragmentary tiles at the eastern end; the cutting was lined with small stones. Within were the very poorly preserved remains of an adult female, her head turned to the left, with arms at her sides and legs extended. The only measurable parts were the teeth, of which 13 were found; of these, none were carious (bone lot 69-85).

15 Adult burial, grid square K:23

Grave 1973-11. L. 1.10, W. 0.50 m.

Orientation: 175 degrees east of north, or 5 degrees west of north. Lying *ca.* 2.00 m. east of no. 14, Grave 15 cuts through the east couch of Building K:23. The grave is oriented north-south with head at the south. The tile cover was incomplete, the skeletal remains in poor condition. They are those of a young female about 20 years of age at death. Her head was turned to the right or east, hands were probably crossed over the pelvis, to judge by the position of her right arm, and legs were extended. The fragments present show that she was very small but rather well muscled; on the skull there

are no browridges, while there was a moderate occipital projection. Tooth wear was slight, and the third molars, at least the upper ones, had erupted (bone lot 73-21).

16 Child (?) burial, grid square K:22

Grave 1969-56. L. of cutting 1.35, of burial 1.00, W. 0.45 m.

Orientation: 80 degrees east of north. Grave 16 cut through the south wall of Room 6, Building K-L:21-22. Its cover consisted of one pan tile per side, with a tile at the eastern end and fieldstones at the western end. Within were only bits of the skull; no bone lot. A glass bottle, MF-69-292, lay on its side at the foot of the grave. For this, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, no. 18, p. 305, pl. 59, therein dated to the end of the 4th to 5th century after Christ. Again, in the absence of bones, the attribution to a child is based on the size of the grave.

17 Child (?) burial, grid squares K:22-23

Grave 1969-59. L. 1.10 m.

Orientation: 100 degrees east of north. Grave 17, situated 1.40 m. south of no. 14, breaks through the southeast corner of Room 5, Building K-L:21-22. The tile cover was incomplete; a pan tile existed on the north side, a fragmentary tile at either end, but the collapsed south tile was found in cleaning. The skeletal remains were limited to a few fragments of the skull and part of the left radius; no bone lot. It is suggested that the grave may have been that of a child because of the size of the cutting.

18 Child burial, grid square K:23

Grave 1973-8. L. *ca.* 1.30 m.

Orientation: 104 degrees east of north. Grave 18 lies just southeast of no. 17 and is dug into the south couch of Building K:23. A single tile, reinforced with stones, lined each long side. The two tiles are 0.42 by 0.87 m. and 0.82 by 0.84 m., with impressed finger strokes on their undersides. The skeletal remains were confined to parts of the skull. It is estimated that they belonged to a child of about 5 years of age; nearly the only remains are four deciduous teeth, two permanent crowns, and one second molar bud. There is no wear on the first molar crowns, but the roots were either broken after death or not yet formed (bone lot 73-6).

19 Adult burial, grid square K:23 Pl. 58

Grave 1973-10. L. *ca.* 2.25, L. body 1.60 m.

Orientation: 104 degrees east of north. Grave 19 was placed immediately east of no. 18. The tile cover was well preserved, with two pan tiles per side and cover tiles down the ridge. The extended body lay with hands at its sides and legs extended. The relatively well preserved but eroded skeletal remains are those of a young male, aged about 24 years. He was rather tall, 172 cm.,

with long and slender bones of average musculature. The femora seem to have a slight modeling error of the distal metaphyses, which makes them look too big and somewhat club-shaped. This is probably due to a metaphyseal dysplasia (failure of normal transverse growth) during the late years of growth. A common accompaniment of such a dysplasia is accelerated longitudinal growth, which seems possible in this case. One other pathology noticeable postcranially is a parry fracture of the left ulna. The skull appears very long and low with a protruding occiput and vertex far to the rear in the center of the parietals. The browridge is of moderate size, and there is no forehead. The nuchal plane is heavily muscled, the nasal margin rounded with a pronounced anterior nasal spine, and there is no prognathism. The mandible is not large or heavily muscled, and the chin is of little less than average height. Three teeth were lost during life (LRP4, LRM1, URM2), perhaps due to traumatic injury, as the roots are still in place. Injury may have caused the loss of URM1 as well (bone lot 73-20).

20 Adult burial, grid squares K-L:23

Grave 1973-9. L. 1.40, W. 0.50 m.

Orientation: *ca.* 12 degrees east of north. Grave 20 cuts through the northwest corner of Building L:23-24 and lies below the western end of no. 21. It is oriented north-south, with head directed to the south. The tile cover consisted of two pairs of Laconian pan tiles along the sides, with fragmentary pan tiles at either end. A ring of fieldstones reinforced the bases of the tiles. Within were the poorly preserved and very eroded remains of a female, aged about 17 years. She lay in the customary position, her hands crossed over her pelvis. Her head had fallen onto her right shoulder. The pieces of cranium seem rather small, without a marked forehead or browridge. The mandible is typically female, with low chin and very open gonial angle. The fragments of postcranial material show a very small and gracile skeleton (bone lot 73-7).

21 Child burial, grid square K-L:23

Grave 1973-7. L. *ca.* 1.00 m.

Orientation: *ca.* 100 degrees east of north. Grave 21 covers no. 20 and is oriented at right angles to it. Two side tiles were found in place for this grave, but there may have been some disturbance to the western end, for while the jaw was found in place, the crown of the head lay in the area of the pelvis. The poorly preserved and eroded skeletal remains are those of a child of 6-7 years, according to the eruption of lower left first molar and erupting lower central incisors. The long bones

seem rather small and slender, but all epiphyses and landmarks have completely eroded (bone lot 73-5).

22 Adult burial, grid square L:22

Grave 1969-55. L. 2.00, W. *ca.* 0.35 m.

Orientation: 101 degrees east of north. Grave 22 is laid on the lowest stone course of the Hellenistic south wall of the dining complex Building K-L:21-22. The grave consists of a simple cist burial, made without tile cover but only with stones and earth. The body was laid directly on the lowest wall course; when found, its head was turned to the left side, hands were crossed over the abdomen, and legs were extended. The skeleton was that of a 17-year-old, probably female. Age was determined by the third molars, which were just on the verge of erupting, while sex was based on the gracile fragments of skull and skeleton. Of the 28 teeth present, none was carious. Wear on the teeth was extremely light (bone lot 69-84). Beside the right shoulder was found an illegible bronze coin (69-803) of the 4th century after Christ.¹⁴ Since there was no cover on the grave, the coin could well have come in with the surrounding earth when the building was abandoned in the late 4th century, and it therefore may not have been a grave gift.

23 Adult burial, grid square L:22

Grave 1971-7. L. 1.95, W. 0.60 m.

Orientation: 79 degrees east of north. Grave 23 lies immediately south of no. 22, although at a much higher level, for it was dug into the service Room 3 of dining hall M:21-22. The tile cover was well preserved, the skeletal remains moderately so, showing that the legs were parallel and the arms may have been at the side. The body was that of a female aged 35-39 years (pubic symphysis Phase VII). The left clavicle has a healed fracture that had set at an unnatural angle, reducing the length by about 25 mm. as compared to the right clavicle. The dentition was almost all present; of the alveoli present, eight of the teeth had been lost since death and could not be observed, three teeth were lost during life, and the rest were healthy (bone lot 71-1).

24 Child burial, grid square L:21

Grave 1971-6. L. 1.30, W. 0.65 m.

Orientation: 79 degrees east of north. Cut into the northeast corner of Room 1, Building M:21-22, Grave 24 lies just 0.80 m. west of no. 23. Although the tile cover was well preserved, the skeletal remains were confined to a few teeth, belonging to a child of 3-4 years (bone lot 71-39).

¹⁴ For the coin, see Bookidis and Fisher 1972, no. 100, p. 331.

25 Child (?) burial, grid square M:19

Grave 1969-39. L. 0.87, W. 0.54 m.

Orientation: 95 degrees east of north. Grave 25 is an isolated burial that overlay the southeastern quarter of the Classical dining hall M-N:19. The tile cover was confined to small parts of the north side, stones along the outside, and a fragmentary tile at the eastern and western ends. Skeletal remains were limited to a bit of an ulna, belonging to a child or adolescent, which lay near the eastern end of the grave; no bone lot.

26 Adult burial, grid square Q:22 Pl. 58

Grave 1964-3. L. 1.70, W. 0.64 m.

Orientation: 72 degrees east of north. Located on the Middle Terrace, the grave overlaps the cutting for the Roman retaining wall at the base of the Upper Terrace.

The grave consisted of a simple inhumation without a tile cover. The body lay on its back with legs extended and parallel. The arms were crossed over the chest, while the head was propped up nearly at right angles to the body by means of a stone, giving a pronounced curve to the spinal column. In addition, three stones had been placed to either side of the head, which lay toward the west. The bones are those of a gracile male, aged 27-30 years (pubic symphysis Phase V). The skull is marked for its very high forehead and flat occipital region. The skeleton was in good condition, showing no pathologies and with a reconstructed stature of 166.7 ± 3.0 cm. The dentition shows degeneration in the form of three abscesses, two carious teeth, and two teeth lost *ante mortem*; one tooth was lost after death (bone lots 64-1, -2).

Graves 27-29, which were the first graves uncovered in the Sanctuary, were published in the first preliminary report as a group burial of the early 3rd century B.C.¹⁵ There was, in fact, good reason for such an interpretation, despite the fact that most sanctuaries prohibited such practices. The bodies appeared to be accompanied by Classical grave gifts, including two coins, and were covered by a layer of earth containing only Classical pottery (lot 1976). Doubt over their date began to grow as more and more Late Roman graves were discovered in the Sanctuary, until a reexamination of the so-called grave gifts showed that one of the objects, a circular disc of glass, MF-10938, was, in fact, the disc foot of a goblet and could date no earlier than the Roman period. The graves are like Graves 22 and 26 in having had no tile cover and further resemble no. 26 in the disposition of the body; we therefore present them here as part of the late cemetery. It is possible that all three bodies were part of a single burial. This cannot be verified, since no grave cuttings were found, but the close placement of the bodies suggests some sort of relation. This suggestion is further strengthened by sufficiently close resemblances in the teeth.¹⁶ For this reason, we will describe the group of three as a whole and then consider the individual interments with their so-called grave gifts.

27-29 Child burials, Fig. 53; Pl. 59
grid squares R:23-24

Grave 1962-26 A-C.

The grave or graves lay above Area D, which had been filled in well before this time. Three skeletons rested on a bedding of stones. Nos. 27 and 28 lay side by side, *ca.* 0.35 m. apart, with no. 28 south of no. 27; they rested at slightly different levels because of the unevenness of the stone bedding on which they lay, but they were undoubtedly contemporary. No. 29 lay 0.60 m. west of no. 27. The bodies lay on their backs with heads to the west, beneath a covering of earth containing much Classical pottery and some stones; on top of this fill were four intact kalathiskoi, and three more fragmentary

ones. These were thought to represent an offering made after burial, but in view of the abundance of Classical pottery found further south up the slope of the hill, it is unlikely that the small pots represent anything more than random finds. None of the skeletons exhibited any pathologies or signs of arrested growth.

27 Child burial, grid square R:24 Pl. 59

L. 1.25 m.

Orientation: *ca.* 82 degrees east of north. Skeleton 1 is the northernmost of the two eastern bodies. Like that of no. 26, its head was propped forward on stones, arms were crossed over the chest, and legs were extended. The body is that of a child approximately 9 years old, based on dental eruption sequence. The permanent

¹⁵ Stroud 1965, pp. 12-13.

¹⁶ These bones were studied by both Peter Burns and the late Lawrence Angel.

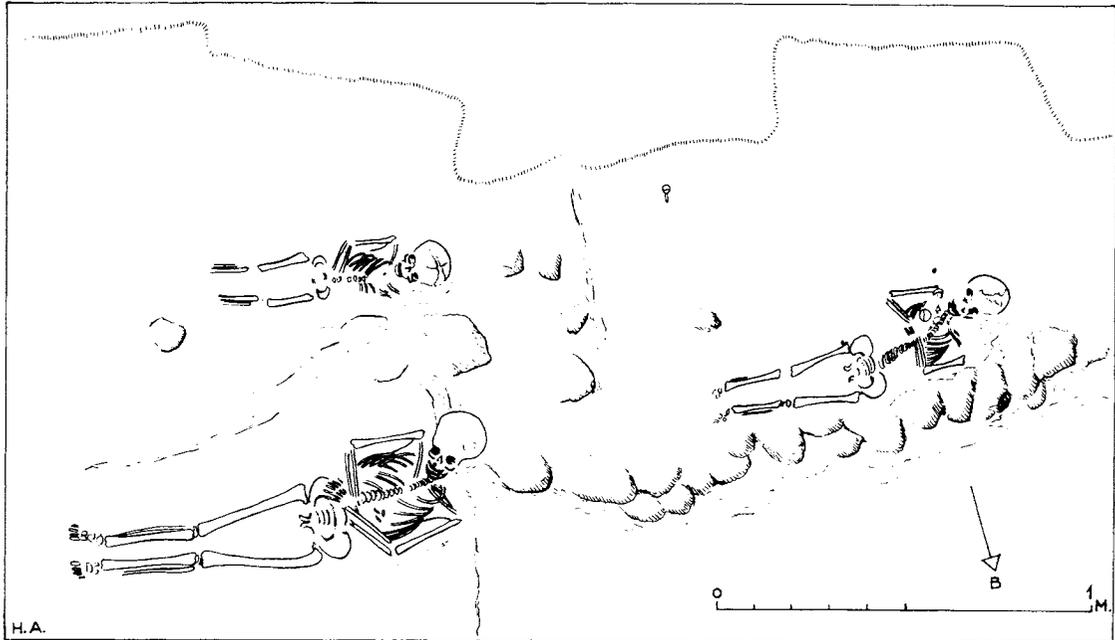


FIG. 53. Plan: Graves 27-29

incisors are in place, but the permanent canines have not yet erupted. There were no caries or abscesses (bone lot 62-2). On the right side of the upper jaw lay a thin metal pierced disc from a necklace or earring, MF-10940. A bronze coin of Syracuse (62-20), dated to the mid-4th century B.C., rested on the skull. We shall return to these objects below.

28 Child burial, grid square R:24 Pl. 59
L. 0.62 m.

Orientation: *ca.* 82 degrees east of north. The southernmost of the two eastern interments rested at a higher level than no. 27. Its position was otherwise identical to that of no. 27. The smallest of the three, the skeleton is that of a very young child of about 14 to 20 months or possibly younger. All the skeleton except the left arm was preserved. The halves of the neural arches had just begun to fuse, and the anterior fontanel is still open. The deciduous central incisors were erupted but had been lost after death (bone lot 62-4). There were no apparent offerings with this body.

29 Child burial, grid square R:23 Pl. 59
L. 0.84 m.

Orientation: *ca.* 82 degrees east of north. The skeleton lay 0.60 m. west of no. 27. Again, the position of the body was identical to that of the two just described. The bones were those of a young child of 4 or 5 years. No pathologies or obvious signs of arrested growth were found. The femur length of 168 mm. corresponds well with the estimated age ascertained from the dentition (bone lot 62-3). On top of the right ribs was a thin circular piece of glass, MF-10938, the pared foot of a goblet of Late Roman date, possibly used here as a piece of jewelry. Beside the upper right arm lay a small seal stone of Archaic or Classical date, MF-10939, and 0.55 m. south of the feet was a bronze miniature mirror, MF-10937. Finally, a Greek bronze coin of the Corinthian Pegasus/Trident series (62-19) rested on the skull.

The small objects found with skeletons 27 and 29 can be interpreted in at least two different ways. They can be considered as grave goods intentionally placed with the body, despite the 800-900 years that separated their manufacture from the actual date of interment. Or they can be regarded as casual finds that lay in the earth that was used to cover the bodies. This is quite a likely interpretation for the small finds; seal stones, miniature mirrors, and jewelry are all objects that are likely to be found in any given layer of fill in the Sanctuary. While this is also true of the coins, their appearance on two of the three skulls may be more than coincidence. It is even possible that the coins and other objects were found when the graves were being dug and, because

suitable for children, were buried with the bodies. Their presence, however, does not affect the actual date of the graves, which must have been no earlier than the 5th or 6th century after Christ and perhaps as late as the 13th to 15th centuries, as we discussed above.

Two last burials, or possible burials, remain to be described. For the first a grave was not actually found; however, the skeleton of a baby was recovered from among the fallen roof tiles just south of the Roman Stoa on the Middle Terrace, in Q:20–22.¹⁷ According to Peter Burns, the well-preserved bones are those of a neonate, aged by femur length and by the very small size of all its bones. Its age is so young that the mandible has not fused at the symphysis (bone lot 64-19). The presence of these bones, not far from Graves 26–29, may mean that at least one more grave once lay in this area. Since no actual grave cutting was observed during the excavations of this tile layer, however, it is possible that the baby was simply placed among the tiles without the opening of a separate cist.

The last burial was found in circumstances quite different from the graves described thus far. In Q:27–28 (Plan 1) a roughly oval pit *ca.* 1.00 m. by 0.85 m. had been cut into the bedrock to a depth of 0.45 m. Over the pit was a fragmentary poros slab of the sort often used in Corinth for sarcophagus lids. Within the pit lay several fragments of leg bones, which had been covered with soft red earth, devoid of sherds or any other objects. Evidence for the date of this filling is lacking, for above it was the same deep (*ca.* 0.65 m.) accumulation of unstratified earth that characterized the rest of the area east of Wall 21. The material from this accumulation is roughly dated to the second half of the 4th century after Christ but probably does not provide a useful *terminus ante quem* for the deposition of the bones. That the pit may have been a grave, however, is suggested by the bones, which have been identified as human and adult (bone lot 64-18). They were, unfortunately, too fragmentary to allow further analysis.

Two questions remain with regard to this later material, namely, the relation, if any, between the cemetery and the architectural remains and the explanation for the burials that lay within the area previously occupied by the Sanctuary. Let us begin with the latter question.

We have intentionally avoided calling the graves Early Christian and have kept to the vague term of Late Roman because we found no Christian symbols or artifacts anywhere, either in the cemetery or in the Sanctuary, except for one Christian lamp that had been thrown into Well 1961-11 (p. 334, note 43). In the great Lerna cemetery by the Asklepieion this was not the case, for inscribed Christian tombstones were found in conjunction with some of the graves.¹⁸ Without such evidence here we can make no concrete statement about the religious affiliations of the deceased. Much has been written about possible Christian depredations and desecrations of pagan sanctuaries. We do not see any reason to believe that the graves were dug here for that purpose. It is more likely that the burials were simply part of a larger cemetery that extended over the north slope of Acrocorinth.

Graves, going back to at least Hellenistic times, are known to have existed on the north slope of Acrocorinth. In 1960 the widening of the modern automobile road up Acrocorinth exposed twelve graves. These lay above and beyond the Sanctuary to the west of the North Ravine that descends from the top of Acrocorinth to its base. By the grave offerings found within them they could be dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.¹⁹

¹⁷ Pottery lot 2088. These tiles are attributed (p. 317 above) to the destruction debris from the Roman stoa, datable on the basis of the pottery and coins to the second half of the 4th century after Christ.

¹⁸ *Corinth* XIV, pp. 165–167; *Corinth* VIII, iii, nos. 522–567, pp. 172–183; pp. 183–204 for Christian gravestones from the rest of the city, as well as Wiseman 1969, pp. 92–94 and N. Bees, *Corpus der griechisch-christlichen Inschriften von Hellas*, Band I, *Die griechisch-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes*, Athens 1941, pp. 30–128, nos. 15–66; see D. I. Pallas and S. P. Danda, «Ἐπιγραφές ἀπὸ τῆν Κόρινθο», Ἄρχ. Ἐφ. 1977, pp. 61–83, with earlier references therein.

¹⁹ Robinson 1962, pp. 118–120.

In 1967 an isolated grave was uncovered just west of the North Ravine but northwest of the Hellenistic graves. Although marble slabs replaced roof tiles as covers, the grave was otherwise like those found in the Sanctuary. A two-handled flask found within it placed the interment in the 4th century after Christ.²⁰ Further up the mountain on the saddle between Acrocorinth and Penteskouphi eight more Late Roman graves were discovered.²¹ Some were protected by roof tiles like those in the Sanctuary, while others were covered with reused stone slabs. As with most graves of this type, grave gifts were few. Nevertheless, one burial of a child contained a cooking ware pitcher,²² while a second grave preserved both a bronze belt buckle and a coin of Constans II, dated to A.D. 659–665.²³ Recently, in 1987, a bulldozer exposed a grave to the east of the Sanctuary. Different in form, this consisted of a short vertical shaft that opened into a round chamber. Regrettably, grave robbers pillaged the grave before it could be examined, and its date must remain unknown. The devastating floods of January 1997 exposed a series of tile graves, similar to ours, roughly two hundred meters north of the Sanctuary along the brow of the hill south of the fountain of Hadji Mustafa.

All these graves were discovered at random and not through systematic excavation of Acrocorinth, for as yet the only systematic investigation of the hillslope apart from the citadel has been that of the Sanctuary. That graves keep turning up, however, suggests to us that they were not uncommon. Although it is true that so far a greater concentration of them has been found over the Sanctuary, this may be a mere coincidence. On the other hand, just as it was obvious from the surface finds to anyone walking over these fields before excavation began in 1961 that here was the site of an ancient sanctuary, so in the 5th and 6th centuries it could hardly have escaped the notice of those burying their loved ones that these graves would be located on what had once been, for some, holy ground. It is probable that the walls of some of the destroyed Sanctuary buildings still protruded above the surface. Certainly the mouth of Well 1961-11 on the Middle Terrace stood open. It is difficult to believe that only a century after its demise all memory of the identity of this important sanctuary—which flourished for more than 1,100 years—had vanished. In every shovelful of earth the gravediggers must have encountered many fragments of miniature votive pottery. Who knows what other remnants of the worship of Demeter and Kore they uncovered?

Of two striking facts we can be certain. First, of the twenty-nine graves, no fewer than eighteen were dug down deeply enough to make contact with, indeed in some cases actually to damage, the remains of Sanctuary buildings (Grave nos. 7–9, 12–20, 22–25, 27–29). The structures that suffered most were dining rooms on the Lower Terrace. Suggestive also of the fact that some of these burials demonstrate knowledge of the prior existence of the Sanctuary is the triple grave of the children in R:23–24. It is probably by chance that this grave happens to lie directly over one of the most active centers of animal sacrifice in the Archaic and Classical Sanctuary, Area D on the Middle Terrace. It seems to us by design, however, that earlier finds like the intact miniature kalathoi, toy bronze mirror, jewelry, and especially the bronze coins resting on the skulls of two of the children were placed in the grave after they had been dug up out of the earth of the Sanctuary.

²⁰ Grave 1967-1. Unpublished. The flask, C-67-2, is identical to one published from Well 1982-1 from the area east of the Theater. See Williams and Zervos 1983, no. 65 (C-82-122), p. 25, pl. 10, dated by context to the end of the 4th century.

²¹ Graves 1963-6, -7, -14, -15, -16, -18, -19, -20. Unpublished.

²² The pitcher, C-63-652, lay in Grave 1963-6.

²³ Grave 1963-7. The coin is 63-858. The buckle, MF-11557, is similar to *Corinth XII*, no. 2187, p. 271, pl. 114, with the difference that the plate is a plain open circle, decorated with a small cross, which hangs from the buckle, and a small knob, as *ibid.*, no. 2186.

Second, fourteen of the skeletons have been identified as female, twelve as those of children, and only two are male. Is it possible that this remarkable distribution of sexes and ages reflects the survival of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in folk memory as an ancient holy place that was particularly hospitable to women and children? Did this memory make it especially attractive to women in the 5th and 6th centuries, whether they were pagan or Christian? Only fuller exploration of the north slope of Acrocorinth can help to bring a more informed answer to these questions.

More problematic is the chronological relation of the graves to the architectural remains. As we have seen, the slight evidence from Building M:15–17 would suggest that the walls and graves were coeval. And yet it is difficult to believe that people might have lived or herded their animals near a cemetery. This is especially striking in the case of the oven, which stood close to Grave 3. Such proximity might only be intelligible if the architectural remains had been part of a church or burial chapel. But there is nothing to support such an interpretation. The walls are, for the most part, quite flimsy, while the plan of M:15–17 is not only irregular but also in no way suggestive of church architecture. Possibly, therefore, the walls and oven belong to a later period than the cemetery. Like the more recent planting pits and field wall, they may reflect a time when the hillside had reverted to the farmers and shepherds, just as in Late Mycenaean times, when the first structure was constructed on the site of the later Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.

THE DINING ROOMS

In the preceding chapters we have confined ourselves to descriptions and reconstructions of the physical remains within the three major topographical divisions of the Sanctuary, and in Chapter 15 we will review the architectural history of the site as a whole. As we have seen, in all periods a major portion of the Sanctuary was given over to communal dining to an extent and in a form not heretofore attested in other sites. It is appropriate, therefore, that we here attempt to summarize the general characteristics of these buildings and, where possible, to draw parallels to dining complexes elsewhere. Our concern, however, is only with the architectural form; the process of dining and its place in cult ritual will be discussed in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. Dimensions of the dining rooms and epigraphical parallels are listed in Appendix I and II to this chapter. All dates in this chapter are B.C.

Before beginning our discussion, we must keep in mind one factor that strongly influenced the shape of the dining hall, namely, the topography of the site itself. The plans of the buildings are very much affected by their position on the hillside. Where the slope is steeper, east of the central stairway on the Lower Terrace and south of Building K–L:21–22, space is more limited and the buildings are accordingly constricted in size (Plans 1, 4, 5). This constriction is especially apparent in Row 4 just below the Middle Terrace, beginning with Building N:21. Further north where the hillside flattens out, namely, along the line of Building K–L:21–22 and generally west of the stairway, more space existed for experimentation, and it is in these areas that we see the greatest change in dining room design in the course of the site's long history. It is curious, however, that the organization of buildings by rows that was established in the 6th century was maintained until the end of the Hellenistic period. No attempt was made to cut across two rows in order to create a larger area for a more imposing structure.

If we attempt to characterize the Demeter dining hall, to say what makes it distinct, we may point to its small size (see Appendix I, Table 1) and, in its fully developed form, its self-sufficiency. Its small scale is not in itself unusual, for other small dining buildings exist; witness the dining room in the Delion at Paros.¹ That numerous small buildings should be the solution to feeding many people at one time, however, is unusual. At Epidauros a single building, the so-called Gymnasium, may have accommodated as many as two hundred fifty diners by means of three large halls and six smaller rooms.² On a smaller scale, a similar solution was found for the Asklepieion at Troizen³ or again at Brauron, where nine dining rooms, each with provisions for eleven couches, were housed in one stoa.⁴ By contrast, in Classical and Hellenistic times the buildings on Acrocorinth resemble nothing so much as a series of houses tightly packed across the hillside, each with its own cooking and washing facilities to make it self-sufficient.

¹ Rubensohn 1962, pp. 31–35.

² Tomlinson 1969b, pp. 106–117. The study of dining rooms has mushroomed in the last five years, and a wealth of articles has been written on the subject. It is beyond the scope of this study—essentially a publication of the Sanctuary dining rooms—to review the whole field. That alone would require a book. Therefore we will confine ourselves to relevant parallels. Nevertheless, useful surveys can be found not only in Goldstein 1980 but also in *Tenos I*, pp. 165–170; Roux 1973, pp. 525–554; Bergquist 1990, pp. 37–65; Will 1976, pp. 353–362; and Börker 1983.

³ Frickenhaus 1917, pp. 114–118.

⁴ Bouras 1967, pp. 71–86.

The dining halls begin in the late 6th century as one-room units with provisions for eating but not, for the most part, for cooking or for lustrations. The rooms can occur singly or side by side beneath a common roof. Two buildings differ. One, Building M:17–18, is not a dining room at all but simply a sitting room.⁵ The second, Building L:16–17, contains three rooms, two of which, 2 and 3, are noticeably smaller than the dining Room 1. These can easily have been a kitchen and a bathroom, thereby establishing the types that are to become common in the next two centuries.

Parallels for row buildings such as M–N:20–26 can be found if we keep in mind that elsewhere they generally had a front porch or colonnade or were incorporated into a peristyle. Although these are not abundant in the Archaic period, we have the example of the Priest's House in the Marmaria at Delphi, where two rooms are fronted by a porch,⁶ or the West Building at the Argive Heraion, where three rooms face onto a large peristyle court.⁷ In the 5th and 4th centuries we find two-room buildings such as the Hestiatorion at Perachora,⁸ four-room structures like the Asklepion in Athens,⁹ or the sixteen-room South Stoa I in the Athenian Agora.¹⁰ At Brauron the nine rooms are bent into an L, while the U-shaped stoa of Centocamere in Locri Epizephyrii comprises two wings of eleven adjoining dining rooms framing a large open court.¹¹ But the principle of contiguous, independent rooms is the same for all of these, and like the Sanctuary row buildings, these dining rooms had neither separate kitchens nor bathrooms. In the Demeter Sanctuary it is not until the second half of the 5th century that service rooms become a common addition to the dining unit and not until the late 4th century that they appear to become a necessity.

Within the Sanctuary we cannot trace a neat development of design from simple to complex, culminating in the establishment of a master plan. The problems of dining seem to be addressed anew in each building that is constructed. Thus, after the Archaic period no structures are identical. One can say, however, that by the last major Greek building period, the second half of the 4th century, the plan is compact, with all service rooms neatly contained within a regular rectangle.

Building materials used in the dining rooms are essentially what was being used in the rest of the city at equivalent times. Initially, the walls are built of fieldstones or fieldstones and pisé. Limestone blocks are combined with the fieldstones in the 5th century. Ashlar walls in breccia are introduced in the late 5th century, as Building J:23 attests, but do not become general until the late 4th century. Although breccia is a poor stone that easily erodes and should, therefore, be limited to foundations, it is also employed in exterior, freestanding superstructures in the Sanctuary, as the west wall of Building M:21–22 attests. For protection from the elements, these surfaces

⁵ The 6th-century remains of Building O:26–27 are too poorly preserved to be informative; nevertheless, a bench may have existed there too in the 6th century B.C.

⁶ Börker 1983, pp. 15–16, 25; N. Bookidis, "The Priest's House in the Marmaria at Delphi," *BCH* 107, 1983, pp. 149–155. For a different interpretation of this building, see J. Bousquet, "L'Atelier de la Tholos de Delphes," *BCH* 108, 1984, pp. 199–206.

⁷ Waldstein 1902, pp. 131–134; Miller 1973, pp. 9–18, who dates the building to the late 5th century; Coulton 1976, pp. 103–105, who dates it to the second half of the 6th century. The building is being redrawn and restudied by Christopher Pfaff. In the Sanctuary of Archegetes on Delos the oikoi to the east of the temenos initially consist of four small rooms, subsequently expanded to six or seven. According to the earliest excavation reports, this initial phase is dated to the first half of the 6th century B.C. on no clear evidence except that of construction style of the foundations. For the most recent study, see G. Kuhn, "Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Säulenhalle in archaischer und klassischer Zeit," *JdI* 100, 1985 [pp. 169–317], pp. 227–230.

⁸ Tomlinson 1969a, pp. 164–171. For a review of the history of the Sanctuary of Hera at Perachora, see Chapter 15, p. 428, note 35 below.

⁹ Tomlinson 1969b, pp. 112–117.

¹⁰ J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora*, London 1986, pp. 122–126.

¹¹ G. Gullini, *La cultura architettonica di Locri Epizephyrii*, Taranto 1980, pp. 111–127.

were undoubtedly once plastered. In all periods walls are built without clamps or dowels. The interiors of walls and benches are plastered with clay in the 6th and 5th centuries, but by the late 5th century, a waterproof lime-cement is introduced, exemplified by Building K-L:23-24, and this becomes the uniform wall finish in the Hellenistic period.

The buildings are roofed according to the prevailing Corinthian system. Flat pan tiles (Chapter 16, 77-80) and pentagonal cover tiles predominate, although some Laconian tiles are also used. That these were undecorated seems likely from the paucity of decorated tiles found on the site. Whether the roofs are gabled or hipped, we cannot say.

For purposes of circulation the dining halls are laid out in rows. These are more regular to the east of the stairway than to the west, perhaps again because of the configuration of the hillside. Clay-surfaced passageways 0.80-1.00 m. wide separate most rows to permit access to individual buildings and to allow rain to pour off the neighboring roofs. It is curious that no drains are built to carry this water away; the passages must have needed frequent repair. In only one or two cases, that of Building M-N:25-26 and possibly also Building L-M:28, are provisions made for collecting this water off the roof and into an underground cistern.

Each building has one entrance. In structures that face the stairway the door opens on either east or west sides; the entrances of the remaining buildings, where attested, face downhill or north. These openings average 0.80-0.90 m. in width. Stone thresholds are rare, appearing only in Buildings I-J:21-22, K-L:21-22, K-L:23-24, N:21, and M:16-17. In Hellenistic Building M:21-22 the threshold is simply the exposed surface of the foundation course, which continues unbroken across the entranceway. A similar arrangement undoubtedly also existed in Hellenistic Buildings L-M:28, N:28, N:12-13, and possibly the north side of K-L:21-22. It is more common, however, to break the wall foundations at either side of the entrance and to continue the interior clay floor out the door. Although it is likely that these entrances were closed by a door leaf, a pivot hole for an exterior door was found only in Building N:21.

Exterior benches flank the entrances to five buildings, thereby providing visitors with a place to rest. Such benches can be found in the late-5th-century Buildings K-L:24-25, N:21, and M-N:19, as well as the late-4th-century M:21-22 and M:16-17. They are not unique to the Sanctuary but occur inside the courts in larger peristyle buildings such as the Pompeion in Athens or the dining complex in the Asklepieion at Troizen.¹²

We found no sign of windows in any of the buildings. Where walls are preserved to a sufficient height to expect one, none exists. On the other hand, the best preserved walls are invariably south walls, which are built into the hillside; the north walls rarely stand higher than one course above floor level. Therefore, evidence for windows may have been lost. At the same time, the prevalence of lamps and Hellenistic lanterns, which may have been placed in niches in the walls, could imply that ceremonies were nocturnal, thereby making windows unnecessary.

DINING ROOMS (Appendix I, Tables 2, 3)

Whether freestanding or part of a larger complex, the Demeter Sanctuary dining room is remarkably consistent in terms of proportions and furnishings from its introduction in the 6th century to its demise in 146 B.C. Although the ideal dining room is square,¹³ the majority of the Sanctuary rooms are rectangular, being slightly longer than wide. Only five are square or very nearly so, namely, Room 7 of Building K-L:21-22 and Room 1 of Buildings M:21-22, M:16-17, L:18-19, and N-O:17-18; the plans of the last two, however, have been partially

¹² *Kerameikos* X, p. 99. Legrand 1897, p. 547. Benches also stood against the east and west walls of the South Stoa at Corinth; *Corinth* I, iv, p. 29.

¹³ This axiom is frequently stated in studies of dining rooms. For example, Bouras 1967, p. 73, note 116; V. Heermann, "Banketräume in Leonidaion," *AM* 99, 1984 [pp. 243-250], p. 247; or Hoepfner in *Kerameikos* X, p. 55, who identifies the dining rooms in the Pompeion, in part, from their square shape.

restored. The prevalence of the rectangular shape is undoubtedly due to the hillslope, which restricted the northward expansion of all but the lowest rows of buildings.

Bergquist has recently classified rectangular dining rooms according to their entrances, distinguishing between rooms with an entrance on one narrow or short end and those with entrances on the long or broad side. Moreover, she proposes a chronological development from the earlier short-sided buildings to the later broad-sided ones.¹⁴ Both types of buildings exist in the Demeter Sanctuary, but if any such pattern was followed, the chronologies here should be reversed. The 6th-century Buildings N-O:24-25 and N-O:25-26 are "broad-sided," while the late-5th-century I-J:21-22, I-J:22, and N:21 have their doors on the narrow end. Our own conclusion regarding the Sanctuary structures, however, is that shapes of rooms were determined by the size of the lot and that doors were placed where access was most convenient, in relation either to the stairway or to the passageway.

The dimensions of these rooms are small (Table 2), generally ranging from 3.60 to 4.60 m. per side; a few rooms exceed 5.00 m. in at least one dimension, while only one, N:21, exceeds 6.00 m. in length; it is, however, quite narrow. If we examine the approximate area occupied by each dining room, we will see that most of them fall within 17 to 20 or 22 square meters. There is no progression in size from small Archaic rooms to large Hellenistic ones, for the individual rooms in the 6th-century Building M-N:20-26 are already sizable by Sanctuary standards. Indeed, the largest dining room is the late-5th-century Building M-N:19, which covers *ca.* 29.26 square meters, while the smallest occurs in K-L:25-26 in its early-5th-century phase, being only 14.78 square meters. It may be that scale was also determined by building materials, in particular, by the size of roof timbers. With small spans like those here neither very long timbers, which might have been costlier, nor interior supports were needed.

As we have come to think customary for dining rooms, main entrances are, for the most part, off-center. There are, however, exceptions. The entrance to Room 3 of Building M-N:20-26 is about axial, and axial doors have been restored for Rooms 1 and 2 of that same building, as well as for Buildings N-O:22-23, N-O:24-25, and Room 2, N:12-13. Therefore, one cannot exclude the identification of a room as a place for dining because it has an axial door. 220z The ideal dining room is one that has only one door, and such is the rule in the 6th century B.C. With the addition of service rooms, however, interior doors are needed, and the disposition of the couches accordingly becomes more irregular. The total number of doors that open off any given dining room is generally limited to two; however, in the case of Building K-L:24-25 there are three, with the result that it has the fewest dining couches of all the dining halls.¹⁵ Where two doors occur, oddly enough, they are usually aligned, as in Buildings K-L:25-26, L:26-27, and M:21-22, to name a few. This again creates problems with the dining couches, for the two halves of a dining room are not symmetrical, but each is the reverse of the other. As a consequence, when two doors are aligned, two half-couches are created.¹⁶ What happens when two doors are not aligned but staggered is shown by Building M-N:19, which is fitted with eight full couches.

The furnishing of an ancient dining room could be handled in a variety of ways. Following the simplest and most common solution, builders merely reserved a strip of floor along the four walls as a base for portable wooden couches. The border could be either flush with the center of the floor or raised slightly above it. An example of the latter arrangement can be found in the Centaur

¹⁴ Bergquist 1990, pp. 44-45.

¹⁵ As we have seen, however, there may have been an additional couch in Room 2 (p. 112 above).

¹⁶ There are normally two couches along each wall. To the two couches one must add the width of one couch foot. Thus, in the case of Building M:21-22 the west entrance lies one full couch length from the southwest corner of Room 1. The aligned east door to Room 2 lies one couch width and a half-couch length from the southeast corner. On the missing north side of the room, presumably one full couch lay north of the east door, while a couch width and a half-couch lay north of the west door.

Bath beneath the Forum of Corinth,¹⁷ in many private houses,¹⁸ and in some sanctuary buildings such as the stoa at Brauron or the Oikos of the Samothracians on Delos.¹⁹ In the Asklepieion at Corinth,²⁰ the Hestiatorion at Perachora, and the Sanctuary of Zeus Aphetios outside Megara, stone-carved couches were installed.²¹ Stone slabs projected from the wall to support boards or other slabs for couch tops in the Gymnasium at Epidauros,²² in the large building in the Asklepieion at Troizen,²³ and in Room 2 of the West Building in the Argive Heraion.²⁴

Among the less common designs is the built couch or continuous banquette of earth and stones (we use these terms interchangeably). This is the form that is used for all the couches in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Outside the Sanctuary examples can be found in two buildings in the upper town at Perachora,²⁵ in the Priest's House at Cape Zoster, Vouliagmene, to which we will return below, in Building II in the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina,²⁶ and in Rectangular Building 2 and Round Buildings 12, 17, and 18 in the Kabeirion near Thebes.²⁷ At Kommos in Crete the banquette that lines the walls of the Hellenistic Building A1 differs slightly in that its upper surface is completely paved with stones.²⁸ But although there are undoubtedly other examples of dining rooms with built couches that could be cited, such as those in private houses,²⁹ the total number of rooms with built couches or banquettes is considerably less than those with movable or individual couches.³⁰

¹⁷ Williams 1977, p. 47, fig. 2, pl. 21:f. A similar arrangement appears in a poorly preserved structure in the Potters' Quarter; *Corinth* XV, i, p. 31, pl. 8:E.

¹⁸ *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 173–185, with descriptions not only of those examples at Olynthus but also elsewhere. See also Jones 1975, p. 95, for the house at 6 Aristeides St., Athens, where couches are marked off by grooves in the pebble mosaic floor.

¹⁹ Roux 1973, p. 551.

²⁰ *Corinth* XIV, pp. 51–54.

²¹ D. Philios, «Ἀνασκαφαὶ παρὰ τὰ Μέγαρα», Ἄρχ'Ἐφ 1890 [cols. 22–55], col. 37; A. Muller, "Megarika," *BCH* 107, 1983, pp. 157–179.

²² Tomlinson 1969b, p. 107.

²³ P. E. Legrand, "Nouvelles observations sur un edifice de Trézène," *BCH* 30, 1906, pp. 52–57.

²⁴ Frickenhaus 1917, pp. 121–130.

²⁵ Tomlinson 1969a, pp. 180–181, Building BIV and p. 187, ZIII. Tomlinson argues that these were not houses in a settlement but establishments used in conjunction with the Sanctuary.

²⁶ Furtwängler 1906, p. 153. Goldstein 1980, pp. 147–151. A little narrow for a couch, the banquette is 0.60–0.70 m. wide. The eastern section, which begins beside the door, is 2.40 m. long, a unit that does not break down easily into couch lengths, being rather long for one couch but too short for two. We would thus question the identification of this room as a dining hall and would suggest that it might have been a sitting room. Room 2 in Building I to the west also contained remnants of what has been called an interior retaining wall for a presumed couch 1.20 m. wide. On the large site plan the wall appears only against the north wall and does not seem to return along the east to the entrance. Therefore, we are again uncertain that it should be identified as a retaining wall for a couch.

²⁷ Heyder and Mallwitz 1978, pp. 21–22, 28–30, 38–40, 44–46. For the round buildings, see Cooper and Morris 1990, pp. 66–68.

²⁸ J. W. Shaw, "Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1978," *Hesperia* 48, 1979 [pp. 145–173], pp. 164–168, fig. 6. Temples A, B, and C have been reinterpreted recently as public dining halls by Bergquist 1990, p. 58, and by Cooper and Morris 1990, p. 69. We will reserve judgment regarding the building's identification until its final publication. In support of Shaw's interpretation, however, we would draw attention to the fact that the platform in A2 is waist-high and therefore considerably greater than the 0.45 m.-high banquette in A1, a difference that may indicate a separate function.

²⁹ Two examples of private dining rooms with banquettes are House A in Ano Voula (Jones 1975, pp. 105, 107, fig. 14), or in Ano Siphai, Boiotia (W. Hoepfner and E. L. Schwandner, *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*, Munich 1986, p. 268, fig. 265).

³⁰ According to yet another arrangement, mats or *stibades* were placed directly on the floor or ground. An interesting reconstruction is proposed by U. Kron, "Kultmahle im Heraion von Samos archaischer Zeit," in *Early*

In the 6th century and to some extent in the 5th, the retaining walls for the Sanctuary banquettes are made of fieldstones and an occasional roof tile. Limestone slabs are introduced in the 5th century, and by the late 4th century these are replaced by blocks of breccia. In all periods the armrests that set off the independent couches are formed by a single row of stones laid on top of the banquette. Initially, the banquette is plastered with clay, but by the late 5th century B.C., in Building K–L:23–24, waterproof lime-cement is introduced. Only four buildings vary this arrangement slightly. In Building N–O:25–26 the retaining wall is reduced to two flimsy rows of stones set on top of a thick foundation of solid clay, for a total height of *ca.* 0.25 m. and a thickness of 0.46 to 0.76 m.; the earth packing of the banquette is capped by a layer of small stones. Although the south banquette of Building N–O:24–25 is normal, the west banquette consists of a solid packing of small stones, retained by larger ones. Whether this stone packing supported portable couches or was itself the couch is not clear, for some difference in height exists between the built banquette and the stone-packed ones. Finally, in Buildings L:16–17 and K:17 the retaining walls are made of a kind of pisé rather than stone. Embellishments are rare. A raised lip along the edge of the couches in Building K–L:23–24 may have kept pillows in place, as in the Isthmian cult caves;³¹ the upper edge of the banquette in L–M:28 was finished as a half-round, but these are exceptions.

Because the banquette can vary in size, both from building to building and within a single room, we have listed the dimensions in two tables. Heights and widths of banquettes appear in Table 2, individual couch lengths in Table 3 of Appendix I. We shall discuss the subject of variations below, but for the purposes of general description, we can summarize these dimensions as follows. Banquettes are most commonly 0.75 to 0.85 m. wide; however, they can be as narrow as 0.65–0.70 m. and as wide as 1.15 m. Heights show less consistency, but knee-height is the rule, or *ca.* 0.35–0.45 m. The 0.53 m.-high couch in Room 1 of Building M–N:20–26 is exceptional, and, as we have explained above (p. 28), the dimension may reflect a conflation on our part of an earlier floor with a later couch.

As for individual couch lengths, in Table 3 of Appendix I we have distinguished between complete (marked by an asterisk) and restored dimensions. Although many dimensions fall into the second category, they cannot be far wrong, given the small scale of the rooms. Among the 53 known complete couch lengths, dimensions range from 1.45 to 2.35 m. Taking into account both these and the 211 estimated couch dimensions, we will find, not surprisingly, that the most common lengths fall between 1.65 and 1.85 m., with 24 less than 1.35 m. and 39 greater than 2.00 m. Eight couches are longer than 2.35 m. Of these, however, only one long couch is completely preserved (K–L:21–22, Room 7, couch 3, 2.42 m.). The remainder are restored, and one may argue that restorations of 2.50 to 2.80 m. are incorrect. Yet the alternative of two small couches in place of one large one is equally or more unsatisfactory.

How short can a couch be before it is too short for reclining? This is a question that is not only difficult to answer but also rarely needs to be asked. The actual and estimated lengths given in Table 3 are as small as 0.35 m. and as great as 2.80 m. Among modern studies of banquet rooms, couch lengths of 1.70 to 1.90 or 2.00 m. are generally considered standard. Clearly, a number of ours are below that level, but where do we draw the line: at 1.50 m., 1.45 m., or even less? In point of fact, a person 1.63 m. tall (5 ft. 3 in.) can recline with extended legs in a space 1.35 m. long, when measured from the left elbow to the feet and not from the head. This could therefore still be a viable length for a dining couch. At the same time, we must admit that where such a length is given, namely, in Building N:21 (1.35 m.) or in Building L–M:28 (1.30 m.), the decisive

Greek Cult Practice, R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. C. Nordquist, eds., Stockholm 1988, pp. 135–148. For *stibades* in the Thesmophorion of Bitalemi near Gela and their importance to the cult, see Kron 1992, esp. pp. 622–623.

³¹ *Isthmia* II, pp. 31–40.

feature of the armrest is not preserved, and as a result we cannot say with certainty that such units were used primarily as couches.

Nevertheless, as Table 3 clearly shows, a number of so-called couches fall within the range of 0.35 to 1.20 m.; we have called these half-couches. They are, in a sense, leftover spaces that invariably flank doors and have no armrests. They may occur singly or doubly within a given room, depending on the number of doors that interrupt the couches and on the disposition of the couches. Half-couches are found in all periods and have been noted in all but eleven dining rooms; indeed, among those eleven buildings only three are securely known to have had no half-couches (Buildings M–N:19, K–L:21–22, and M:16–17), for in the remaining rooms the entrance is restored.

Although the considerable number of half-couches is a peculiarity of the Sanctuary dining rooms, they may not be unique to the site. A sanctuary inventory, found in the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina, makes an interesting distinction between a small couch (κλίνη μικρά, lines 8–9) and a couch (κλίνα, line 18).³² Such short units are apparent at dais level in at least two, and possibly three, *andrones* at Olynthus³³ and may have existed to the left of the door in the Delion dining room on Paros.³⁴ While it is possible that these “roundings off” of corners could simply have been an architectural device for tidying up odd spaces, it is difficult to understand why other solutions were not found for a more canonical room. Simply shifting the entrance and absorbing the half-couch into the full couch to the right of the door would have sufficed to solve the problem, especially since consistent couch lengths were not an issue. That such measures were rarely taken may mean that these units were intentional and functional and that they were incorporated into the dining ritual. One explanation that we have suggested elsewhere and will reexamine in a later fascicle is that the half-couch provided a seat for someone directing the course of the meal.³⁵ One might also ask whether spaces such as these were intended for children holding a special position within the cult.

The subject of couch lengths is dear to anyone working on the architectural setting of banquets. Thus, in his discussion of prytaneia, Stephen G. Miller divides ancient dining rooms into two groups.³⁶ His first group comprises those rooms that were designed according to a consistent module based on one couch length. He then devises a formula by which one can either reconstruct a building from a known couch length or the reverse. His second category, exemplified by our dining halls, consists of those rooms built irrespective of the couches, in which the couches appear to have been added, with resulting irregularities. The distinction may, in principle, be correct, but it is misleading for two reasons. First, it implies that regularity was the rule and irregularity the exception. Second, it indirectly suggests that the “irregular” dining rooms were a haphazard affair in which couches were introduced after the fact into a preexisting space.

With regard to regularity versus irregularity we note that, of the seven dining rooms listed in Miller’s table 2 (*ibid.*, p. 221), three are, in fact, not strictly modular. For example, in the large hall of the Peristyle Building at Troizen the couch supports are spaced from 1.35 to 1.85 m. apart. It is not, therefore, possible to reconstruct couches of identical lengths throughout the room.³⁷ The West Building of the Argive Heraion houses three well-built and commodious dining rooms.

³² IG IV 39; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafi greca* IV, Rome 1978, pp. 293–296.

³³ *Olynthus* VIII, House A6, pp. 85–86, pl. 89, and Bv1, pp. 130–132, pl. 103. See also *Olynthus* XII, House Aviii1, pl. 3. The term “half-couch” (ἡμικλίτον) can be found in a Delian inventory of couches; IG XI.2, 147 B line 14. Since, however, it is preceded by couches without backs or cords, and is followed by couches missing legs, the word may be another term for a broken couch; on the other hand, not everything in the inventory is in disrepair.

³⁴ See note 40 below.

³⁵ See Bookidis 1990 and 1993 for preliminary discussions of the process of dining.

³⁶ Miller 1978, Appendix B, pp. 219–224.

³⁷ Goldstein (1980, pp. 268–269) estimates that they must have ranged from 1.63 to 2.03 m.

But despite the assumptions of some scholars that couches were of a uniform length, it has not been possible to restore them as such.³⁸ At least one longer couch occurs in both Rooms A and 7 of the large dining complex attached to the Megarian Sanctuary of Zeus Aphesios.³⁹ A final example, not cited by Miller but frequently included in studies of Hestiatoria, is the dining room in the Delion at Paros. Attempted reconstructions have failed to realize that couches of uniform length will not fit around the room, nor is it possible to reconstruct a normal couch to the south of the door.⁴⁰

Irregularities such as these do not affect Miller's basic formula, but they do suggest that distinctions between buildings built according to the couch and buildings in which couches were added are of little importance. The buildings in our Sanctuary clearly were intended for dining from the beginning; the couches were not a later addition. Therefore, variations in couch lengths are either intentional or the result of careless planning. Since similar variations can be found at other sites, we may be wrong to give them too much importance, for banqueters did not pull out meter sticks in order to determine a hierarchy of seating by couch length. At the same time, it is curious that over the course of two hundred years virtually no dining rooms within the Sanctuary were built with uniform couches, despite the fact that several of the rooms are about square. The most regular dining room is Building M–N:19, the couches of which vary by only 0.05–0.10 m. In Room 7 of Building K–L:21–22, however, the differences in couch length are noticeable. Are they meaningless? We cannot say at this point.

The number of couches in each room is not fixed. As Table 3 reveals, there can be as many as nine or as few as five, but seven and one-half couches are the norm, if such a term can be used for the Demeter rooms.⁴¹ Though we are accustomed to think that dining rooms had odd numbers of couches, three buildings have six (Building M–N:20–26, Room 1; M–N:25–26, Room 1; N–O:22–23) while four or five rooms have eight couches (N:12–13, Room 1; M–N:19; K–L:21–22, Room 7; possibly M–N:25–26, Room 2; and M:16–17). Customarily, two couches stand against each wall. Because of this pattern we have been reluctant to restore three short couches in place of two long ones unless for some good reason. The provable exceptions are few and confined to long, narrow buildings such as N:21 or I–J:21–22.

A low dais or step sets off the base of the couch from the floor in seven rooms. It can be anywhere from 0.05 to 0.20 m. high and 0.25 to perhaps as much as 0.80 m. wide. There seems to be no reason why the dais was used in one room and not in another, as, for example, in the adjacent rooms in the 6th- and 5th-century Building N:12–13. As Table 2 shows, however, it is most common in the 6th, rare in the 5th, and wholly absent in the 4th century.

With one exception, the dining room floors are all of clay. The exception is Room 7 of Building K–L:21–22, which is paved with waterproof cement. The use of clay may be surprising

³⁸ Goldstein 1980, pp. 236–240. According to Goldstein, they varied from 1.61 to 1.84 m.

³⁹ See note 21 above.

⁴⁰ Rubensohn (1962, p. 34) restored nine couches, including one 2.10 m. long in the southwest corner. According to our calculations, three couches of 1.50 m. each (or two of 2.25 m.) stood against the north wall, two of 1.90 m. against the east wall, two of 1.85 m. against the south wall, and one of 1.30 m. against the west wall beside the door. Goldstein (1980, p. 285) wrongly places a couch 2.10 m. long against the west wall, requiring the banqueteer's head to fall in the corner.

⁴¹ In response to Bergquist's (1990, p. 37) statement "that the seven-couch type was not employed after the Classical period in civic and ritual dining rooms," we would point to the 4th-century complex recently uncovered in the Sanctuary of Hera Lakinia near Kroton, F. Seiler, "Un complesso di edifici pubblici nel Lacinio a Capo Colonna," *Crotone, Atti del ventitreesimo Congresso di studi sulla Magna Graecia XXIII*, Taranto, 7–10 Ottobre 1983, pp. 231–242, or the early-3rd-century Skana Building known from inscriptions at Epidauros, *IG IV².1*, 109 and *SEG XV* 207, discussed by A. Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*, Liverpool 1969, pp. 77–78, nos. XX, XXI; and Goldstein 1980, pp. 101–112. Both buildings included fourteen seven-couch rooms.

in view of the need that must have arisen to wash the floors.⁴² Certainly enough examples of dining rooms having mosaic or cement floors exist elsewhere to make us think so. Nevertheless, clay floors are well attested in the Sanctuary even in the Hellenistic period, and since those rooms have no drains, they must have been swept, not washed.⁴³ The floors generally slope sharply downward from one end of the room to the other and continue out the door, where stone thresholds do not exist.

Tables completed the furnishings of these rooms. Although most of them must have been wooden and portable, a few stone foundations have survived to testify to their existence. A round table or table support stands in the northeast corner of the late-6th-century Building N–O:25–26. A rectangular foundation of fieldstones straddles the southeast corner of the 5th-century Room 1, Building J–L:21, while two long foundations service both halves of Room 1 in Building L:26–27. Their tops, originally of wood or stone, are now missing. In addition to these, the south couches of Buildings N–O:25–26, N–O:24–25, and Room 7, Building K–L:21–22 are substantially wider than the other couches in those same rooms. We have suggested, although it cannot be proved, that in these cases the additional width provided table space. In the case of Building K–L:21–22 the armrests clearly stopped 0.40 m. before the actual face of the couch; therefore, the wider platform was not intended for additional diners.

One feature that occurs in dining rooms elsewhere but is completely absent in the Sanctuary buildings is the central hearth. Only two rooms preserved evidence of burning within the dining room proper, namely, Room 1, Building M–N:20–26, where burning was noted in one corner, and Room 1, Building J–L:21. Cooking was handled differently here, but we shall return to this subject below.

In addition to the couches, several dining rooms feature different kinds of niches. The customary type of high niche appears in the south walls of Room 7 of Building K–L:21–22 and Room 1 of Building M:16–17. They are built into the walls at a height of 1.00–1.38 m. above the couch tops. The niches are 0.50 m. long, 0.45 m. deep, and probably one wall course (or *ca.* 0.50 m.) high. Although they are not large enough to have held many objects, the niches would have sufficed for a lamp or two, a lantern, or possibly even an image of some sort.⁴⁴

Building M:16–17 features a second set of niches 0.33 m. high, but these fall level with the couch tops at both southwest and southeast corners of Room 1. Not only are these niches lower than normal, but they are also only 0.115 and 0.22 m. deep and could not, therefore, have held much of anything. Because they occur at the foot of two couches, we have suggested that they provided additional foot room for diners.

The south walls of both Buildings M–N:19 and I–J:15 held niches of a different sort. These are more like closets or deep, narrow cupboards, providing storage space for what was clearly a one-room building in the case of M–N:19 and possibly also of I–J:15. Presumably, they extended from couch top to ceiling, and one entered them by climbing onto the couch top. Since there is nothing to suggest that they were closed like a modern cupboard, they may have stood empty when dining was in progress.⁴⁵ Despite the fact that these are not the only one-room buildings in the Sanctuary, they are the only ones to have this facility.

⁴² Roux 1973, pp. 551–552.

⁴³ A narrow drain channel is cut into the stone threshold of Building N:21. But since the floor of the dining room is clay, it is difficult to imagine what function the drain would have had.

⁴⁴ In the houses of Delos, niches apparently held not only lamps but also statuettes of deities; *Delos VIII*, pp. 201–203.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of closed cupboards, see W. K. Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai, Part 2," *Hesperia* 25, 1956 [pp. 178–328], pp. 220–225. At Halieis a large dining room contained the slight remains of a piece of furniture resting on the dais against the back wall. Variously identified as an altar or a *kylikeion*, it may have presented a different solution to the problem of storage. For this structure, see Jameson 1969, p. 329.

Finally, two more dining rooms, M:21–22 and N:12–13, preserve one last feature, namely, large holes or basins, 0.40–0.50 m. square and 0.30 m. deep, sunk into the couch tops in both southeast and southwest corners of both rooms. Similar holes probably also once existed in the two missing north corners. Plastered continuously with the couch tops, these basins were clearly part of the design of the room, despite the fact that they cut into the foot of each corner couch. The buildings in which these basins occur are amply furnished with kitchens. Therefore, if their purpose was to provide storage space (and it is difficult to understand what other use they could have had since they did not drain), they must have stored something special that need not have been kept in the kitchen.

Throughout this study we have referred to and described the types of fragmentary pottery found in the dining rooms. We have argued that the sherds in the debris that covered a specific dining room were not necessarily from vessels actually used in that specific room. In saying this, however, we do not imply that they were not employed in the dining rooms at all, for the constant repetition of certain shapes from building to building is surely an indication of what was in use on the Lower Terrace. If we were to put together a typical dining set from the 4th century B.C., for example, characteristic shapes would include the following (Pl. 66:a):⁴⁶ (1) drinking cups: kotylai, skyphoi, and kantharoi; these far outnumber other shapes and must have been the most common vessel employed in the dining rooms;⁴⁷ (2) small one-handled cups; (3) large bowls, in a variety of shapes and sizes; illustrated in Plate 66:a is an echinos bowl, but a review of *Corinth XVIII*, i shows that a number of shapes were used; (4) small bowls and saucers for condiments; in Plate 66:a typical examples are the bowl with beveled rim and saucer with incurving rim; (5) plates and plain saucers, again in a variety of shapes;⁴⁸ (6) pyxides, which must have been used as a covered bowl or small dish; (7) blister ware aryballoi, probably used for olive oil, in view of the fabric, which is impermeable; (8) feeders, combining a strainer mouth with a narrow spout for pouring, in a normal, plain ware fabric. To these we can add kraters, or more commonly, mixing bowls, occasional oinochoai, mortars, and amphoras as utility vessels. Lacking in the Sanctuary are the table amphoras, pelikai, and psykters that were found in the recently published dining deposit from the Athenian Agora.⁴⁹ The food consumed from these vessels will be discussed in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.⁵⁰

BATHING ROOMS (Appendix I, Table 4)

Bathing rooms with cement floors are preserved in ten buildings and have been restored with likelihood in four more. The existence of a cistern in Building K:15 makes the reconstruction of one in that building a good possibility, and a drain in the corner of the sitting Room 2 in Building L:26–27 may mean that some sort of washing was done there too, despite the lack of a waterproof floor. In addition to these sixteen examples, bathing rooms may have existed in four other dining halls, namely, Room 3 of Building L:16–17, Room 5 of Building K–L:21–22, Room 2 of L:18–19, and Building K:18–19, which apparently had at least two rooms. The

⁴⁶ With the exception of the lower half of the pyxis, all the vessels illustrated in Plate 66:a are published in *Corinth XVIII*, i. They are as follows: skyphos, no. 410 (C-61-406), p. 156; one-handler, no. 122 (C-61-208), p. 98; beveled bowl, no. 456 (C-71-137), p. 162; small echinos bowl, no. 124 (C-61-213), p. 98; large echinos bowl, no. 447 (C-65-488), p. 161; plain saucer, no. 129 (C-61-381), p. 98; feeder, no. 481 (C-69-313), p. 165; blister ware aryballos, no. 476 (C-61-400), p. 164; pyxis lid, no. 202 (C-65-489), p. 109. For the bottom of the pyxis, see *Corinth VII*, iii, no. 568 (CP-350), p. 97.

⁴⁷ A comparison with the deposit of dining ware recently published from the Athenian Agora shows much the same proportion. See Rotroff and Oakley 1992, p. 46.

⁴⁸ For the plain saucer as a kind of plate without profiled rim, see *Corinth VII*, iii, p. 42.

⁴⁹ Rotroff and Oakley 1992, *passim*.

⁵⁰ For a preliminary discussion, see Bookidis 1993 and N. Bookidis, J. Hansen, P. Goldberg, and L. Snyder, "Dining in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth," forthcoming in *Hesperia*.

earliest attested example is that in Room 3 of the early-5th-century Building J–L:21. We have, however, noted the small size of Room 3 in Building L:16–17 and have suggested that this too may have been a bathing room. If this suggestion is correct, then the ritual of bathing before dining was practiced at least as early as the later 6th century B.C. Bathing rooms as a facility, however, were not common until the late 5th century. By the late 4th century B.C. they were a part of every dining hall.

The basic elements of the bathing room are a floor of waterproof cement, which is slightly elevated above the rest of the floor and has a raised lip along the one open side, and a drain against the wall. These floors vary in size from the smallest, in Building L–M:28, measuring 0.85 m. square, to the largest, in Building M:16–17, which is 1.20 by 1.90 m. The norm is roughly around 1.00 by 1.34 m.

An entire room is set apart solely for the purposes of bathing in only four or five banquet halls, namely, in the Hellenistic Buildings M:16–17, K–L:21–22, M:21–22, M–N:25–26, and possibly the Classical L:16–17; in three of these there is, or would have been, little else beside the cement floor. The bathroom of Building M:16–17 is much more elaborate, for it is incorporated within a larger room, which, in turn, is furnished with a bench for those waiting. In most cases, however, the bath stall is fitted into one corner of a room that serves other functions. For example, in Buildings K–L:24–25 and L–M:28 it is placed in the kitchen; we have suggested a similar arrangement for the 5th-century Buildings I–J:22, N–O:25–26, and K:15 and the 4th-century Building N:28. This is a logical place for a bath since bathers were undoubtedly provided with a measure of hot water.⁵¹ The bath stall of Building K–L:23–24 is placed at one end of the sitting room but next to the door to the kitchen; therefore, it is again easily accessible from that room. In the case of Building K–L:25–26, there was only one auxiliary room. This served as sitting and wash room, but from the discovery of burning on the floor we may hypothesize that people also cooked or heated water there.

According to R. Ginouvès, a room set aside for washing, especially one furnished with a cement floor and drain, implies that a thorough bathing took place. For anything less, a basin and pitcher passed by a servant at the table would have sufficed.⁵² This sort of topical washing is surely what is implied in Plato's *Symposium* 175A, when Aristodemos is made ready for dining. This latter practice is also suggested in an inscription from Chorsiai, Boiotia, which lists certain sacred objects belonging to the demos of Thespiiai. Among the inventoried objects are dining couches, a variety of metal vessels, and six footbaths (*podonipteres*) for just such topical washing.⁵³ Following Ginouvès, therefore, we assume that our hypothetical diners retired to the bathing room and washed completely; by what means is less clear. If we compare the bathrooms here with those at Olynthus, we find that they are very similar in plan. The Olynthian examples, moreover, are usually placed within the complex identified by Graham as a kitchen. They are, however, considerably larger than the Sanctuary bathrooms because they are invariably equipped with terracotta bathtubs that are set into the floor.⁵⁴ Not a single fragment of a tub was found in our Sanctuary. Therefore, bathers may have either used basins, which are numerous, or simply stood while a servant poured water over them. Ginouvès concludes that the pedestal louterion or perirhanterion was a customary fixture of a bathroom.⁵⁵ But, despite the fact that fragments of

⁵¹ The sacred law from Andania makes certain provisions for bathing in the sanctuary, under the heading ἀλείψματος καὶ λουτροῦ. For a charge of no more than two coppers (δύο χαλκῶν) bathers will receive a tub, fire, and well-mixed water. Sokolowski, *LSCG*, pp. 120–134, no. 65, lines 106–109.

⁵² Ginouvès 1962, pp. 151–156.

⁵³ R. A. Tomlinson, "Two Notes on Possible Hestiatoria," *BSA* 75, 1980, pp. 221–228; *SEG* XXIV 361.

⁵⁴ *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 199–204.

⁵⁵ Ginouvès 1962, pp. 174–175. For a selection of such perirhanteria, see *Corinth* XVIII, i, pp. 188–190, and Iozzo 1987, pp. 355–416. Not all the pieces included in Iozzo's catalogue are from the Sanctuary.

such vessels are found in virtually every dining building in the Sanctuary, they are generally earlier in date than the buildings in which they occur and may have been too large for the bathrooms.

At Olynthus evidence for a closed door was found in one bathroom. In the Sanctuary there were none. The open side of the bathing room of Building M:16–17 faced onto the dining room; in Building K–L:21–22 and K–L:23–24 one passed through the bathroom in order to reach other parts of the structures. The bath stall in Building L–M:28 simply stood open in one end of the kitchen. Therefore, privacy may not have been an issue.

We explored the narrow drains that carried off water from the bathing room floors in Buildings K–L:25–26 and L:26–27. In both cases the drains simply led into a stone-lined pit beneath each dining room floor; from there the water then seeped into the surrounding earth. To judge from the kinds of facilities that existed in private houses, we have concluded that these rooms were not used as latrines.⁵⁶

Water is necessary for bathing as well as for drinking and cooking, and on a hillside as barren as this part of Acrocorinth, provisions for the storage of water must have been critical. And yet there are relatively few such installations. A cistern of Hellenistic date in P:20–21 and a well, 18.70 m. deep, perhaps of Roman date, in Q:19 supplied water to the Middle Terrace and possibly also to the Upper and Lower Terraces. But on the Lower Terrace only three cisterns were found. The earliest, in Building K:15, probably dates to the second half of the 5th century, while the other two, in L–M:28 and M–N:25–26, were cut in the late 4th century. Sources of water before that time are unattested. As we mentioned in Chapter 1, a natural spring, now called Hadji Mustafa, lies *ca.* 300 m. down the hill at the base of Acrocorinth, but even if ancient, this can hardly have been a convenient source for the site.

The Lower Terrace cisterns can be likened to very small house cisterns in terms of size and capacity. The cistern in Building K:15 was *ca.* 1.80 cubic meters in size and held approximately 1,827 liters; the 4th-century B.C. cistern in Building L–M:28 was roughly 3.50 cubic meters and held about 3,500 liters. The capacity of the cistern in M–N:25–26 is estimated to have been roughly 4 cubic meters, or 4,000 liters. These capacities, however, are much less than those of the Olynthian cisterns, which are estimated to have held 23,000–26,000 liters, or seven to eight times that of ours.⁵⁷ Since the cisterns in the Sanctuary would have been used fewer days of the year and for restricted needs, this difference should not be surprising. Whether those few buildings that had cisterns shared their water with their neighbors, however, is unknown.

The source of the water is apparent only in the case of Building M–N:25–26. There, as we have seen, a rectangular catch basin against the southeast corner of the structure caught the run-off from the roof and fed it through a hole in the wall into the cistern. Despite our conjecture that the cistern in L–M:28 was also fed from the roof, it is difficult to understand how this could have been effected, for we have found nothing resembling the Delian system of gutter tiles and downspouts that channeled rain from house roofs into cisterns located beneath the courts.⁵⁸ How, then, the water reached the outer spout is unclear. A similar question can be asked for the cistern in Building K:15.

Despite the importance of cleanliness and purification to both worship and dining and despite the abundant evidence for provisions for water in sanctuaries at other sites,⁵⁹ examples of bathing

⁵⁶ Latrines were not found at Olynthus; *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 205–206. At Delos they can be identified by the narrow channel that cuts through the floor along the base of the wall. For these, see *Délos* VIII, pp. 181–190.

⁵⁷ *Olynthus* VIII, p. 308.

⁵⁸ *Délos* VIII, pp. 341–342.

⁵⁹ The standard reference work for this subject remains Ginouvès' exhaustive study, 1962. A recent survey is that of S. G. Cole, "The Uses of Water in Greek Sanctuaries," in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. C. Nordquist, eds., Stockholm 1988, pp. 161–165. R. Parker (*Miasma*, Oxford 1983, pp. 226–232) states that lustral water had to be pure, drawn from a flowing source.

facilities attached to dining halls elsewhere are difficult to find.⁶⁰ The Southeast Buildings in the Sanctuary of Aphaia at Aigina are one of the few such examples. Among the several rooms that make up this complex are one to three dining rooms and a bathroom. The bathroom is divided in two; in the outer room is a stall *ca.* 1.00 m. square, much like the Sanctuary bathrooms but called a footbath by Furtwängler, while three built tubs fill the rear room.⁶¹ Whether the entire complex was reserved for the priestly staff is unclear but possible, given the limited scale of the facilities. That such arrangements existed in antiquity is indicated by Pausanias' statement (10.34.8) that in the Sanctuary of Athena Kraneia in Phokis the priests live with the goddess for five years and bathe in tubs in the old manner.

Again, at Troizen a small bathroom (E) forms one part of a small complex of four or five rooms (A–E) just southwest of the large peristyle building. The room is distinguished by its pebble mosaic floor. Welter actually makes both Room E and the adjoining Room D part of the same bathing unit, on the grounds that the hearth in D was intended to serve both areas. It is equally possible, however, that the hearth room, D, was a kitchen and that only E was a bathroom.⁶²

The Asklepion at Corinth was provided with a lavish amount of water. A lustral basin at the southern end of the abaton, a spring house, and four reservoirs near the dining rooms on the terrace below it could have been used for both cures and dining.⁶³

Evidence for a different arrangement was preserved at the Kabeirion near Thebes. There, the support for a louterion stood beside the entrance to Round Building 18 for the use of all who dined within.⁶⁴ Such a solution must have existed in many sanctuaries, although louteria were not confined to dining facilities.⁶⁵

It is possible that some sort of washing facility existed at Isthmia in conjunction with the Theater caves. A circular area *ca.* 1.80 m. in diameter in the southeast corner of court I was provided with a small collecting basin and a run-off drain. Broneer considered it a sink at floor level but could it also have been used by prospective diners?⁶⁶

Finally, the building inscription from Epidauros cited above, which gives the specifications for a building with fourteen seven-couch dining rooms to be built on Mount Kynortion, calls for both *loutra* and a *balaneion*. The difference in terminology might be a distinction between facilities for cold and hot water baths.⁶⁷

SITTING ROOMS (Appendix I, Table 5)

At least eight sitting rooms can be identified with certainty on the Lower Terrace, beginning with the Late Archaic, self-contained Building M:17–18. In addition, eight other buildings may have had such a room. One of these, O:26–27, is too poorly preserved to be restored. Each of four

⁶⁰ Although it was not part of a sanctuary, a similar plastered stall was uncovered in Building II beneath the Roman Forum of Corinth. See Williams and Fisher 1972, p. 169. See also *Delos* VIII, p. 191 for rooms with paved floors and no other furnishings.

⁶¹ Furtwängler 1906, pp. 91–101.

⁶² G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalauria*, Berlin 1941, pp. 33–34. According to Welter, the wall behind the floor-level hearth bulged out into Room E in order to allow smoke or air to pass into that space.

⁶³ *Corinth* XIV, pp. 46–51, 96–106.

⁶⁴ Heyder and Mallwitz 1978, p. 46.

⁶⁵ See note 55 above. The perirrhanteria from the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia are being prepared for publication.

⁶⁶ *Isthmia* II, p. 38. The so-called Gymnasium at Epidauros is provided with drains, which may suggest bathing in some part of the structure. The remains, however, are too insubstantial to be included here. See Goldstein 1980, pp. 246–261. Similarly, the Hestiatorion at Perachora is placed beside an enormous reservoir, but within the dining complex there is no place for washing.

⁶⁷ *IG* IV².1, 109. [A]ουτρῶν: II 85; βαλανεῖον: III 38–39, 45. For references to discussions of this inscription, see note 41 above.

other buildings had one service room, the furnishings of which are no longer preserved, but could have included benches.⁶⁸ In its late-5th-century phase, Building K–L:21–22 certainly had one sitting room, Room 4; however, the alcove off Room 1 also had a bench that may have been used either in conjunction with the adjacent shower stall or by itself. Similarly, the 5th-century Room N–O:18–19 contained a wide bench in addition to the hearth, but what role it played has been lost with the remainder of the room.

The sitting room is generally long and rarely more than 1.60 m. wide. Its bench resembles the couch-banquette except that it is normally narrower and lacks armrests. In five buildings the sitting room contains no other facilities; however, in at least two cases, the bench is combined with a bathing stall, while in the questionable N–O:18–19, sitting room and kitchen may have been combined. Building M:21–22 is the only Hellenistic building without such a room, if, that is, we are correct in assuming that the two couches in Room 2 were indeed couches and not also benches for sitting. Building K–L:25–26 is also unusual. There, a benchlike construction stands against the south and west walls; the southern unit, however, which is 0.60 m. wide, is provided with an armrest. It is therefore either a very narrow, long couch, juxtaposed to a short bench 0.68 m. wide, or a bench that could also have been used as a couch. A similar ambiguity exists in Building K–L:24–25, where the L-shaped bench of Room 2 is provided with armrests. Only one of these armrests, however, falls at the head of the bench. Therefore, again we either have one couch and a bench or a bench that could be used as a couch when necessary.⁶⁹

We have repeatedly referred to these rooms as a place for sitting. Other functions for such a space have been proposed by modern visitors to the site. Among the most plausible suggestions are those that would view it as a place where votive offerings were displayed, where food was set out prior to eating, or where women sat to eat while men reclined on the couches. To the first proposal we would argue that the Lower Terrace was not the place where votives would have been given. Offerings were made on the Middle Terrace. Votive miniatures, figurines, and other offerings were far more numerous in that part of the Sanctuary and were, more often than not, intact. Plate 64 illustrates one such deposit from a very narrow area within Room A of the Middle Terrace (lot 73-138). We have also described three pits on the Middle Terrace that received at least some of those dedications. On the Lower Terrace such finds were much fewer and usually fragmentary, only becoming more abundant as one approached the Middle Terrace. Their presence on the Lower Terrace is probably to be explained as a part of secondary filling operations.

With regard to the second suggestion, namely, that the benches were tables for food before the dishes were served, we draw attention to the fact that in Buildings L–M:28, M:16–17, and N:12–13 the room with the bench was on the opposite side of the dining room from the kitchen. If the kitchen and bench room were related, surely they would have been accessible, one from the other.

Finally, the identification of these rooms as a kind of women's dining room, although tantalizing, is unlikely. The space is, in all cases, constricted; there is not sufficient room for both seated people and tables of food. This will be clear from the dimensions listed in Table 5. Nor does this shape of room facilitate the kind of conversation that must have been an important part of the whole dining ritual. We also find it difficult to believe that a cult that must have addressed primarily women would have reserved the larger dining area for men, the narrower one for women. That the bench room invariably opens off the dining room suggests to us that its function was directly related to the act of dining, and that it served either as a place from which to begin or as one to which to retire. At the same time, because it is not a feature of every

⁶⁸ They are Buildings N:21, N–O:25–26, L:18–19, and I–J:14. These rooms, however, can equally well have been kitchens.

⁶⁹ We do not consider it likely that we are dealing here with one left-handed and one right-handed couch.

dining complex, its function could perhaps have been fulfilled within the dining room itself, unless the ritual for which it was designed was not performed in every building.

The sitting room then may be a peculiarity of the Sanctuary buildings, for although benches for sitting do appear outside dining rooms in large dining complexes,⁷⁰ they are not a formal part of the dining process. Two exceptions, however, may be Room II.2 in the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina, which we have discussed above,⁷¹ and a room with a bench, recently found in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Mytilene.⁷²

KITCHENS (Appendix I, Table 6; Appendix II)

Of all the service rooms, kitchens are the least well preserved on Acrocorinth. Six kitchens can be identified securely. Furthermore, kitchens clearly existed in Buildings L–M:28, N:12–13, N:28, and M–N:25–26, but in which room of the last two structures is unclear. Eight more buildings may have had one. The examples are listed in that order in Table 6.

At least one main entrance into a banquet hall lay through the kitchen, namely, in Building L–M:28. A similar arrangement is posited for N:28 and N:12–13. But these are the exceptions, for the main entrance generally opened into the dining room, and the kitchen, therefore, was approached from either the dining room or one of the other service rooms.

In terms of space, the largest kitchens are Room 4 of Building M:16–17 and Room 3 of K–L:23–24. They served no other function. In all other examples, the kitchen was combined with some other facility. Kitchens and bathstalls are combined in Room 1 of K–L:21–22, L–M:28, and N:12–13 and in Room 3 of K–L:24–25. They may have been combined with both stalls in Buildings I–J:22, N–O:25–26, K–L:25–26, and L:26–27. They occur with benches in Room 3 of K–L:23–24, in N–O:18–19, and also in Room 1 of K–L:21–22. Again, they may have occurred with benches in Buildings N:28, K–L:25–26, and L:26–27.

Cooking could be done directly on the floor. The best examples of this practice appear in Room 2 of M:21–22 and Room 4 of M:16–17, where a row of fieldstones protected the wall from the heat of the fire,⁷³ and in N–O:18–19. Not only had the floor of this last room been baked red in a small circle beside the wall, but on it still stood a small stewpot (p. 148 above). A fireplace or floor hearth may have taken up the southeast corner of Room 3 of K–L:23–24. If so, however, it was not the only hearth in the room, for both that room and Room 3 of K–L:24–25 were provided with raised hearths. In K–L:23–24 this took the form of a long benchlike construction of earth retained by rubble. Building K–L:24–25 had the added feature of clay-built burners to support cooking pots above the fire.

Whatever their form, hearths generally occur against an exterior wall, perhaps to facilitate the escape of smoke. Opaion tiles, found in several parts of the Sanctuary, may have provided the opening through the roof.⁷⁴

The kitchens contained little else in addition to hearths. We have spoken above of the need for water, and we have cited the three dining halls that housed cisterns, namely, Buildings K:15, M–N:25–26, and L–M:28. The only other feature of note is the elevated sink or table that stood opposite the cistern and next to the bathing stall in the kitchen of Building L–M:28. Because its upper surface was plastered with waterproof stucco-cement, we assume that it could have

⁷⁰ See note 12 above.

⁷¹ See note 26 above. Most recently, this room appears among the broad-sided dining rooms in Bergquist 1990, p. 42, table 3.

⁷² Williams and Williams 1990, p. 185. The remains of this building are slight, and it is therefore difficult to tell whether they formed part of a complex like those in the Sanctuary.

⁷³ For similarly placed tiles and stones, see *Tenos* I, pp. 51–52.

⁷⁴ Chapter 16, **79, 80**. A possible exception may have been the hearth, tentatively identified in Building J–L:21 (p. 88 above), which stood in the angle of a table.

been used for water; however, a waist-high bearing surface could also have served a multitude of purposes in a kitchen.

If we judge from the fragmentary cooking ware found in the debris within the dining halls, the primary shapes in use were the stewpot (both lidded and unlidded forms) and the casserole, and after these the round-mouthed pitcher (Pl. 66:b, c).⁷⁵ Braziers are virtually nonexistent, and portable ovens are completely lacking. Boiling, stewing, and frying must have been the essential ways in which food could have been prepared; thus, little more than a hearth would have been necessary.

Those rooms that we can either definitely or tentatively identify as kitchens date no earlier than the second half of the 5th century. A possible exception may be Room 2 in the late-6th-century Building L:16–17. Additional evidence for cooking before the late 5th century may exist in two other dining rooms. One is the 6th-century Building M–N:20–26, where burning was noted on the floor in the northeast corner of Room 1. Similarly, in Room 1 of the early-5th-century Building J–L:21 intense heat burned the floor red in the angle formed by the southeast table foundation. Thus, while it is possible that in the earliest phase one cooked directly on the dining room floor, the paucity of evidence argues against such a practice. It is equally possible that at this time the meal was a simpler affair that required little or no cooking on the spot.

Relatively few kitchens have been identified as part of dining complexes elsewhere. A prime reason is obviously a lack of distinguishing features. Thus, at Pergamon the small room that lies to the north of the oikoi in the west stoa remains provokingly silent.⁷⁶ Similarly, the room that adjoins the dining room of the Delion on Paros may well have been a kitchen, as Rubensohn suggested, but it preserves no tangible evidence as such.⁷⁷

Our closest parallel is a local one, namely, the Theater Caves at Isthmia. We have already spoken of the possibility of washing facilities in court I. The cooking facilities are better preserved. Both courts have raised hearths with burners exactly like those in Building K–L:24–25, a type perhaps peculiar to Corinth, while the so-called table or sink resembles that in Building L–M:28. If the storage pits at Isthmia are lacking in our rooms, it is probably because space was more abundant in the Sanctuary.

A good parallel for the hearth in N–O:18–19 but on a larger scale occurs in Room 3 of the Xenon Building at Nemea. There, the floor-level hearth consisted of large cobbles, laid in a circle and covered with clay, the diameter of which was 1.30 m. In addition, to one side of the hearth three Laconian tiles were set on end to form a cooking stand; within the circumference of the tiles the earth was burned red.⁷⁸

The Priest's House at Vouliagmene in Attica was provided with a kitchen (Room Xi). It could be distinguished by the amount of ash, animal bones, seashells, and cooking ware that covered the floor. In the absence of any distinct hearth, however, we assume that cooking was done directly on the floor, as in several of our rooms.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ For the stewpots in Plate 66:b, from left to right, see *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 649 (C-61-432); no. 652 (C-65-474); no. 653 (C-71-88); no. 655 (C-65-438), pp. 186–187; for the vessels illustrated in Plate 66:c, see *ibid.*, no. 151 (C-61-385), p. 100; no. 646 (C-65-533); no. 658 (C-68-304), pp. 186–187. For a listing of their capacities, see Bookidis 1993, p. 61.

⁷⁶ *Pergamon* XIII, pp. 32–34.

⁷⁷ Rubensohn 1962, p. 34.

⁷⁸ *Nemea* I, pp. 142–147, with references therein to two more buildings at Nemea in which stands of this kind have been found. An alternative explanation for this structure is therein proposed by Miller, who calls them ovens. Although this interpretation may be correct, we prefer their identification as stands, since they more nearly parallel the burners found on the hearth in Building K–L:24–25.

⁷⁹ P. D. Stavropoulos, «Ἱερατικὴ οἰκία ἐν Ζωστήρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς», *Ἀρχ* 'Εφ 1938, pp. 1–31; J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988, pp. 468, 478–479, figs. 601, 602; Jones 1975, pp. 106–110.

In discussing the bathing room attached to the peristyle building at Troizen, we mentioned the likelihood of an adjoining kitchen (Room D). Its chief characteristic is a rectangular hearth, which projects just 0.20 m. from the floor. In view of the room's small size it may not have sufficed for the number of people accommodated within the building proper; perhaps the hearths that appear in most of the dining rooms there also provided cooking space. But an interesting additional feature of this building is the fragment (or fragments) of a measuring table, anciently called a *sekoma*, which was apparently found in the court and which may have rested on two uprights in the southeast corner of the peristyle. It would be useful to know whether the table could have played any part in the apportionment of food and drink consumed in the dining rooms.⁸⁰

Kitchens gathered in a building separate from, but close to, the Hestiatorion occur in the Sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos. These rooms feature both built hearths and hearths at floor level, a drain, and niches let into the walls. Their identification is further secured by the cooking and utility vessels found within them.⁸¹

The importance of the kitchen in the preparation of the banquet cannot be emphasized too much, for food was the focus of the communal meal. But modern studies have concentrated wholly on the form of the dining room proper, its size, capacity, and disposition of couches, while paying too little attention to the needs of the people in those rooms. That our archaeological remains are, in general, incomplete is attested by the epigraphical evidence. A cursory survey of sacred inscriptions reveals at least ten references to kitchens (see Appendix II). One from Paphlagonia is especially interesting, for it refers to stoas, to the oikema beside the stoas, and to the kitchens on either side of the oikema, at least two, therefore.⁸²

Other kinds of epigraphical evidence must also be taken into account, such as inventories of sanctuary equipment in which kitchen utensils are cited. We have already made reference to one of these in conjunction with footbaths. Included with those are bronze cauldrons and spits, both of which suggest some sort of cooking. Similar references can be found elsewhere, most prominently in the Delian inventories.⁸³ Another kind of inscription records purchases of food for what were clearly public banquets. A reading of the ingredients suggests that some cooking must have been involved. For example, for the Delian Poseidia purchases were made of farina, chickpeas, dried fruits, oil, vinegar, salt, condiments, fennel, cheese, and *episplanchnidia*.⁸⁴ We are also told of the foodstuffs that were to be provided by women called ἄρχουσαι for the Thesmophoria of Cholargos in Attica, namely, barley, wheat, barley groats, flour, figs, wine, oil,

⁸⁰ For Room D, see note 62 above. Regarding the hearths in the dining room, we note the observation by the excavator Pierre Legrand, that no ash or burning was found within them but only red earth much like that which covered them; in his reconstruction they become column bases; see P. Legrand, "Antiquités de Trézène," *BCH* 29, 1905 [pp. 269–315], pp. 292–293. As for the *sekoma*, see *ibid.*, pp. 298–300, as well as *Délos XVIII*, pp. 167–185. For additional fragments of what has been called an offering or sacrificial table, see Legrand 1897, p. 548. Interesting in this respect is a fragmentary inscription from Didyma, which provides for a division of sacrificial meat by weight. Not clear from the inscription is whether the sale by weight only took place in the event that the sacrifice was not consumed within the Sanctuary. See L. Robert, *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa I*, Paris 1945, pp. 48–50; Sokolowski, *LSAM*, no. 54, pp. 140–141.

⁸¹ *Tenos I*, pp. 50–56.

⁸² These inscriptions are gathered in Appendix II below. The inscription from Paphlagonia is no. 7. We are grateful to Sara B. Aleshire for her assistance in gathering these references.

⁸³ Bruneau 1970, p. 288; stewpots in the Thesmophorion. See also *Délos XVIII*, p. 227, and *SEG XXXVII* 34. Equipment probably for dining is also listed in an unpublished inscription from Brauron, for which see *SEG XXXV* 83; *XXXVII* 89.

⁸⁴ The accounts are summarized by Bruneau (1970, p. 261). The word ἐπισπλαγχνίδια is translated as "crepinettes" by Bruneau but as an instrument by Liddell-Scott.

honey, white and black sesame, poppyseed, cheese, and garlic.⁸⁵ The use of wheat and barley suggests boiling, roasting, or baking, and in some cases we find payment for the services of a baker.⁸⁶ Thus, a more careful study of such evidence is needed before our understanding of ancient dining places can be considered complete.

Of course, an enclosed kitchen was not always necessary. The extramural Koreion at Eloro in southeast Sicily was provided with outdoor pits. These were filled with ash and animal bones, suggesting that a meal was both eaten and prepared there.⁸⁷ Similarly, at the Thesmophorion of Bitalemi by Gela two burnt stones, ash, and a pig's jaw may be the remnants of a hearth and part of the meal.⁸⁸ Although we might expect this kind of facility in conjunction with the earliest dining rooms in the Sanctuary, where formal kitchens are lacking, none was found.

Another place for cooking may have been at the hearths that are featured in a number of dining rooms, unless these were intended solely for heat. In recent years, considerable scholarship has been devoted to dining rooms with central hearths; indeed, the hearth has come to be considered a determining factor in the identification of a room as a dining area. B. Bergquist cites the forthcoming work of one of her students, Samuelsson, who has reinterpreted a series of hearth-altar temples in Crete as a type of prytaneion.⁸⁹ Similarly, R. A. Tomlinson has proposed that the Temple of Hera Limenaia at Perachora was not a temple but a dining hall.⁹⁰ Certainly, demonstrable dining establishments do exist with central hearths, although perhaps not as many as Bergquist and others suggest, and these may provide a further solution to the question of where food was prepared.⁹¹

But at the same time there are a number of buildings for which absolutely no evidence for cooking exists. We think here of the West Building in the Argive Heraion and the Perachora Hestiatorion. In those cases the absence of cooking provisions may mean that the meal was simply the sacrifice, which was taken from the altar to the table without further preparation. Meals in such places may then have been different from the sort of meal consumed in the Classical Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.

⁸⁵ *IG II²* 1184; Sokolowski, *LSCG*, no. 124, pp. 208–209. Also Bookidis 1993, pp. 52–57, 61, for a consideration of this inscription in conjunction with the cooking pots from the Sanctuary of Demeter.

⁸⁶ See Bruneau 1970, p. 218, ἀρτοκόπος, and discussion of *ID* 461.Bb.53, in conjunction with the festival of Eileithyia.

⁸⁷ A. Van Buren, "News Letter from Rome," *AJA* 70, 1966 [pp. 349–361], p. 358. Although the six rooms of the cult building contained benches 0.50 m. high, these are thought to have been for the placing of votive offerings. Offerings were also placed, upside down, in a circle around the pits.

⁸⁸ Kron 1992, p. 646.

⁸⁹ Bergquist 1990, p. 43. For early temples and chieftains' houses, considered as settings for communal dining in the Geometric and Early Archaic periods, see A. J. Mazarakis Ainián, "Early Greek Temples: Their Origin and Function," *Early Greek Cult Practice*, R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. C. Nordquist, eds., Stockholm 1988, pp. 105–119.

⁹⁰ R. A. Tomlinson, "The Upper Terraces at Perachora," *BSA* 72, 1977, pp. 197–202.

⁹¹ Commonly included in lists of hearth rooms but technically not identifiable as such are:

1. Corinth, Asklepieion, where a flat stone occupied the center of each dining room; blackened and cracked, the block may have supported portable braziers, according to Roebuck (*Corinth* XIV, p. 51).

2. Athenian Agora, South Stoa I; according to H. A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1953," *Hesperia* 23, 1954 [pp. 31–67], p. 44, a certain amount of ash and charcoal lay on the floors such as might have spilled from braziers.

3. Brauron, Sanctuary of Artemis, stoa, as the South Stoa I in the Athenian Agora.

Possible hearths and pits containing ash, animal bones, and pottery (some whole pieces) have been found beneath the peristyle of the Gymnasium at Epidauros. Because they predate that structure it is not clear with what they are to be associated; L. Palaiokrassa, "Recent Excavations at the Gymnasium," *The Propylon of the "Gymnasium" and the Tholos in the Asklepieion at Epidauros*, Committee for the Preservation of the Epidaurian Monuments, Athens 1988 [pp. 21–35], pp. 23–32. Hearths also appear in some private houses, such as the house at Ano Voula, discussed by Jones (1975, pp. 105, 107). At Olynthus, however, the hearth was never in the andron but always in the kitchen.

CONCLUSION

It should be clear from the examples cited thus far that good parallels for the Classical buildings in the Sanctuary are lacking. The closest similarities are probably to be found among buildings described as "Priests' Houses." We have mentioned the house that is situated a short distance from the Temple of Apollo at Cape Zoster, Vouliagmene, Attica. A large complex, comprising at least ten rooms and a courtyard, the building includes several dining rooms of different sizes, built couches similar to those at the Sanctuary, a kitchen, and a well. Originally built in the late 6th century B.C., according to the excavator, the building was remodeled in the 4th century when several more dining rooms were added.

A second Priest's House, known as West Building B, lies *ca.* 165 m. west of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina. In addition to the twelve-couch dining room, there are four service rooms. Unfortunately, none of the contents of these rooms have survived to elucidate their function.⁹² We have also cited the similarities that exist between the Sanctuary buildings and the Isthmia cult caves. At none of these sites, however, do we find such a repetition of the small, independent buildings that typify the Sanctuary nor the emphasis on large-scale dining in intimate groups.

In addition to the so-called Priests' Houses parallels to the Sanctuary buildings are also to be found among private houses. We have cited the dining rooms at Olynthus, for example, that may have had provisions for half-couches. In private houses we also find the kitchens and bathing rooms that are typical of the Classical and Hellenistic building in the Sanctuary. It does not seem too farfetched, therefore, to suggest that Demeter's epithet, Epoikidie, referred not only to the household functions over which she was titular deity but also to the houselike setting in which took place the communal meal that bound the participants into one social entity.⁹³

One more setting may have closely paralleled the kind of banquet that was held in the Sanctuary in Corinth. Known only through literary and epigraphical sources, it is the tent.⁹⁴ From these literary and epigraphical references we learn that while tents serve a variety of purposes, they share certain characteristics with the Sanctuary buildings. They can be large or small, depending on the financial means available;⁹⁵ they are regularly pitched on ground that rings the sanctuary;⁹⁶ they are as plentiful as the people attending the festival; and they can be used for dining.⁹⁷ Because the sources only describe the more exotic examples, we do not

⁹² Furtwängler 1906, pp. 107–113; Goldstein 1980, pp. 143–147. A slightly hollowed stone block in Room V was tentatively identified as a millstone, and because of it the room was called a kitchen. Although the block is not a millstone, it could have been a mortar and Room V could still have been the kitchen.

⁹³ Bradley A. Ault has come to the same conclusion independently. We thank him for sharing with us his paper entitled "Type-Houses, House Types, and Isonomia in Classical Greece," delivered at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1993 and summarized in *AJA* 98, 1994, pp. 314–315.

⁹⁴ The parallels between tents and the dining halls are made more graphic by the very useful presentation of them in Goldstein 1980, pp. 8–100. See also Kron 1992, pp. 620–623.

⁹⁵ One of the most lavish tents for which we have a description is that of Xouthos in Euripides' *Ion*, lines 1122–1165, which could apparently accommodate the whole community of Delphi. To avoid such excesses the sacred law from Andania places a limit on the size a tent could be, *σχανῶν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρεπόντων οἱ ἱεροὶ μῆθ' ἐνα ἔχειν ἐν τετραγώνῳ μεῖζω ποδῶν τριάκοντα* (Sokolowski, *LSCG*, no. 65, pp. 120–134, lines 34–35). It is not clear how large the tents were that are mentioned in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai*, for when Mnesilochos is asked the name of his tent mate (line 624), the question *καὶ τίς σοῦ 'στ' συσκηνήτρια* is in the singular. Is it possible that in this case the women slept in pairs in small tents, but ate in the open?

⁹⁶ For Isthmia, Aristophanes, *Peace*, 879–880, Goldstein 1980, pp. 14–16; for Olympia, Plutarch, *Themistokles* 25; [Andokides], *Against Alkibiades* (4.)30, Goldstein 1980, pp. 16–22, esp. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 7.4.32; Pindar, *O.* 10.46–47; the Andania inscription, lines 35–36, distinguishes the area for priests' tents from those for the attending populace but does not specify where these should be pitched.

⁹⁷ This aspect is discussed by Goldstein (1980, pp. 50–60). Tents for dining are clearest in the account in the *Ion* but also in the sources for the Spartan festivals.

know whether cooking and washing facilities would have been common features in tents. In the law from Andania, however, the regulations regarding placement and type of tent (lines 34–36) are followed by a provision for the setting up of lustral basins (*hydranes*, line 37).⁹⁸ Therefore, lustrations of some sort were made in or by the tents. Especially interesting for our purposes are the accounts of the Spartan Karneia. In particular, we are told that nine *skiades* were put up for the festival, each to accommodate nine diners, three from each of three phratries.⁹⁹ Here we have not only a number of small dining rooms, close in size to those on Acrocorinth, but also a social system for the organization of the diners.

In explanation of the complex form of the Demeter banquet hall, Ernest Will has suggested that they were intended for small family groups who spent the night in the Sanctuary at festival time, hence the kitchens and bathrooms.¹⁰⁰ Bergquist has taken this idea one step further by proposing that the buildings were erected both for, and by, families. In so doing, she characterizes them as private and removes them from the body of public banquet halls.¹⁰¹ Interesting as these suggestions are, they may unduly simplify the local customs that must have characterized the Sanctuary. We have cited Spartan practice at the Karneia in order to illustrate that different criteria existed for dividing large numbers of people into intimate groups. We are not yet prepared, therefore, to identify the buildings here as family banquet halls, for we do not know whether “families” as such participated in the festivals. Nor do we believe that the word “private” properly reflects the character of the festival or festivals celebrated in the Sanctuary, as manifested in its size, in the massive numbers of votive offerings, and in the deities worshiped therein. Caution is advisable in using terms such as “private” and “public” of a state that appears to have supported a relatively stable oligarchic form of government for most of the Archaic and Classical periods, particularly when contemporary literary and epigraphic evidence is almost totally lacking for the practice of Corinthian religion.

⁹⁸ See note 95 above.

⁹⁹ Goldstein 1980, pp. 32–33. The source is Athenaeus, *Deipno.* 4.141.e–f, quoting Demetrios of Skepsis, *Trojan Battle-Order*, as cited by Didymos.

¹⁰⁰ Will 1976, p. 358.

¹⁰¹ Bergquist 1990, p. 44. Although Bergquist does qualify her use of the word “private,” using it “in the wider sense,” we regard it as misleading. This interpretation has been taken up more recently by Kron (1992, p. 621), who regards the Demeter Sanctuary buildings as settings “für kleinere, private Feste von Kultgemeinschaften.”

APPENDIX I

TABLE 1: BUILDINGS

| BUILDING | OVERALL DIMENSIONS | SQ. METERS | NO. OF ROOMS | DATE |
|-----------|----------------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------------|
| M-N:20-26 | 4.50-4.75 × 29.40 | 139.65-161.70 | 6 | 6th century |
| N-O:24-25 | 3.85 (?) × 6.50 | 25.02 (?) | 1 | 6th-5th century |
| N-O:25-26 | 4.50-4.60 × 5.50-5.78 | 24.75-26.59 | 1 | 6th century |
| L:16-17 | 3.70+ × 7.75-7.85 | 28.67+ | 3 | 6th-5th century |
| M:17-18 | 4.30 × 4.80 | 20.64 | 1 | 6th-5th century |
| L-M:14-15 | 3.05+ × 5.70 | 17.38+ | 1 | 6th-5th century |
| N:12-13 | 4.40-5.00 × 9.80-10.12 | 43.12-50.60 | 2 | 6th-5th century |
| J-L:21 | 5.30 × 9.50 | 50.35 | 3 | 5th century |
| J-K:22 | 4.70 × 5.20 | 24.44 | 1 | 5th century |
| K:23 | 4.65 × 4.95 | 23.02 | 1 | 5th century |
| K-L:25-26 | 4.50 × 4.92 | 22.14 | 1 | Early 5th century |
| I-J:21-22 | 4.50 (?) × 5.80 | 26.10 (?) | 1 | 5th century |
| I-J:22 | 4.16 × 6.00 (?) | 24.96 (?) | 2 | 5th century |
| J:23 | ? × 5.10 | ? | 1 | 5th century |
| K-L:21-22 | 10.50 × 11.70 | 122.85 | 6-7 | 5th century |
| K-L:23-24 | 4.95 × 9.80 | 48.51 | 3 | 5th century |
| K-L:24-25 | 5.05 × 7.92 | 40.00 | 3 | 5th century |
| K-L:25-26 | 4.92 × 7.07 | 34.78 | 2 | Early 4th century |
| L:26-27 | 5.21 × 7.06 (?) | 36.78 (?) | 2 | 5th century |
| M-N:20-24 | 5.75 × 18.00 | 103.50 | 4 (?) | 5th century |
| M-N:25-26 | 4.25-4.80 × 11.45 | 48.66-54.96 | 2 | 5th century |
| N:21 | 4.90 × 8.50 | 41.65 | 2 | 5th century |
| N-O:22-23 | 4.05-4.35 × 6.60 | 26.73-28.71 | 1 | 5th century |
| N-O:24-25 | 5.20-5.30 × 6.70 | 34.84-35.51 | 1 | 5th century |
| N-O:25-26 | 5.55 × 6.25-6.40 | 34.69-35.52 | 2 | 5th century |
| L:18-19 | 5.00 × <i>ca.</i> 5.20 (?) | 26.00 (?) | 2 (?) | 5th century |
| M-N:19 | 6.25 × 6.40 | 40.00 | 1 | 5th century |
| N-O:17-18 | 5.75 (?) × 5.95 | 34.21 (?) | 1 (?) | 5th century |
| N:14 | 5.35 × 5.05 | 27.01 | 1 | 5th century (?) |
| L-M:28 | 7.80 × 8.05 | 62.79 | 3 | 4th century |
| M:21-22 | 5.60 × 9.70 | 54.32 | 3 | 4th century |
| M-N:25-26 | 4.40-5.30 × 10.40-10.52 | 45.76-55.75 | 3 | 4th century |
| N:28 | 7.50 × 9.50 | 71.25 | 4 | 4th century |
| N-O:22-24 | 7.65-9.50 (?) × 5.60 | 42.84-53.20 | ? | 4th century |
| M:16-17 | 6.10 × 15.30 | 93.33 | 4 | 4th century |
| N:12-13 | 6.00 × 9.75 | 58.50 | 3 | 4th century |

Note: All dimensions are in meters. The plus sign (+) indicates the minimum possible length or width for buildings for which the total dimensions are unknown. The square meters are only approximate.

TABLE 2: COUCH HEIGHTS and WIDTHS

| BUILDING | DINING ROOM OVERALL DIMENSIONS | SQ. METERS (Approx.) | COUCH HEIGHT | WIDTH | DAIS HEIGHT | DAIS WIDTH |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>6th century B.C.</i> | | | | | | |
| M-N:20-26 | | | | | | |
| Room 1 | 4.50 × 5.00-5.10 | 22.50+ | 0.53 (?) | 0.90-0.92 | 0.10-0.20 | 0.26-0.32 |
| Room 2 | 4.40-4.65 × 4.80-5.00 | 21.12+ | ? | 0.76 | ? | 0.40 |
| Room 3 | 4.60 × 4.80-4.95 | 22.08+ | 0.32 (?) | 0.70 | | |
| Room 4 | 4.35 × 4.75-4.80 | 20.66 | ? | 0.85-1.10 | 0.16 | 0.30 |
| Room 5 | 4.40 × 4.05-4.65 | 17.82-18.83 | ? | ? | | |
| Room 6 | 4.05 × 4.40 | 17.82 | 0.21+ | 0.85 | | |
| N-O:24-25 | 3.40 (?) × 5.60 | 19.04 (?) | ? | 0.84 or 1.15 (?) | | |
| N-O:25-26 | 3.70 (?) × 4.80-5.00 | 18.50 | 0.25 (?) | 0.68-0.80 | 0.25 (?) | 0.46-0.71 |
| L:16-17 | | | | | | |
| Room 1 | 3.00+ × 4.90 | 14.70+ | 0.45 | 0.80 | 0.22 | 0.80 (?) |
| L-M:14-15 | 2.70+ × 4.90-4.95 | 13.23+ | ? | 0.65-0.70+ (?) | | |
| N:12-13 | | | | | | |
| Room 1 | 3.65-4.15 × 4.35-4.40 | 15.88+ | 0.28+ | 0.75 | | |
| Room 2 | 3.95-4.20 × 4.45 | 17.58+ | ? | 0.80 | 0.10 | 0.40 |
| N-O:18-19 | ? | ? | ? | 0.80 | | |
| <i>5th century B.C.</i> | | | | | | |
| J-L:21 | | | | | | |
| Room 1 | 4.22 × 4.55 | 19.20 | 0.35 | 0.70-0.80 | | |
| J-K:22 | 4.00 × 4.35 | 17.40 | ? | 0.75 | | |
| K:23 | 3.80 × 3.97 | 15.08 | 0.25 | 0.65-0.85 | ? | 0.30 |
| K-L:25-26, | | | | | | |
| Phase 1 | 3.65 × 4.05 | 14.78 | ? | 0.70-0.80 | | |
| I-J:21-22 | 3.65 (?) × 5.05 | 18.43 | ? | 0.80-0.85 (?) | | |
| I-J:22 | 3.51 × 5.05 (?) | 17.72 (?) | 0.30 | 0.75 | | |
| J:23 | ? × 4.35 | ? | 0.35-0.40 | 0.85 | | |
| K-L:23-24 | 4.13 × 4.45 | 18.38 | 0.24 | 0.72-0.85 | | |
| K-L:24-25 | 3.99-4.19 × 4.08 | 13.01-17.09 | ? | 0.78 | | |
| L:26-27 | 3.80-3.90 × 4.30 | 16.34+ | 0.32 | 0.73-0.76 | | |

TABLE 2: COUCH HEIGHTS, WIDTHS (cont.)

| BUILDING | DINING ROOM OVERALL DIMENSIONS | SQ. METERS (Approx.) | COUCH HEIGHT | WIDTH | DAIS HEIGHT | DAIS WIDTH |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>5th century cont.</i> | | | | | | |
| M-N:25-26 | | | | | | |
| E. Room | 3.45-3.65 × 4.30 | 14.83+ | ? | 0.78-0.80 | | |
| W. Room | 3.70-4.05 × 5.70 | 21.09+ | 0.32 | 0.75 | | |
| N:21 | 4.15 × 6.30 | 26.14 | 0.36 | 0.75 | 0.05 | 0.25 |
| N-O:22-23 | 3.20-3.50 × 5.80 | 18.56+ | 0.45 | 0.65, 0.70, 0.90, 1.15 | 0.16 | 0.20 |
| N-O:24-25 | 4.35 × 5.90 | 25.66 | 0.25 (?) | 1.00 | | |
| N-O:25-26 | 4.40 × 4.15 | 18.26 | 0.25 | 0.75 | | |
| K:17 | ? | ? | ? | 0.80 | | |
| L:18-19 | 4.25 × 4.25 | 18.06 | 0.48 | 0.77-0.80 | 0.11-0.17 | 0.27-0.30 |
| M-N:19 | | | | | | |
| Phase 1 | 5.32 × 5.50 | 29.26 | 0.35-0.38 | 0.82-0.90 | ? | 0.40-0.70 |
| Phase 2 | 5.32 × 5.50 | 29.26 | 0.35-0.38 | 0.82-0.90 | 0.25 | 0.35-0.60 |
| N-O:17-18 | 5.10 × 5.00 (?) | 25.50 (?) | ? | ? | | |
| N:14 | 4.60 × 4.15 | 19.09 | ? | 0.80 | | |
| <i>4th century B.C.</i> | | | | | | |
| K-L:25-26, Phase 2 | 4.07 × 4.43 | 18.03 | 0.40 | 0.74 | | |
| K-L:21-22 Room 1 | 4.35 × 3.95-4.50 | 17.18-19.57 | 0.40 | 0.75 | | |
| Room 7 | 5.05-5.45 × 5.08-5.35 | 25.65-29.15 | 0.40 | 0.77, 0.85, 1.15-1.19 | | |
| L-M:28 Room 2 | 4.70 × 4.65-4.88 | 21.85 | 0.37 | 0.75-0.82 | | |
| M:21-22 | 4.50 × 4.55 | 20.47 | 0.46 | 0.87-0.92 | | |
| M-N:25-26 | 3.75-4.25 × 5.20 | 19.50+ | 0.48 | 0.83-0.85 | | |
| M:16-17 | 5.28 × 5.35 | 28.25 | 0.33 | 0.90-1.00 | | |
| N:12-13 Room 2 | 4.55 × 5.00 | 22.75 | 0.50 | 0.80-1.00 | | |
| N:28 Room 2 | 4.60 × 4.40 | 20.24 | ? | ? | | |

Note: + = minimum possible for an incomplete dimension

Rooms are understood to be Room 1, unless specified. All dimensions are in meters.

TABLE 3: COUCH LENGTHS

| BUILDING | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | DATE |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|------------|-----------|-----------|------|-------------------|
| M-N:20-26 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Room 1 | 1.85 | 2.10 | 2.10 | 1.85 | 1.85 | 2.70 | — | — | — | 6th century |
| Room 2 | 1.75* | 2.05 | 2.05 | 1.77 | 1.77 | 1.95 | 1.95 | 1.20 | — | 6th century |
| Room 3 | 1.80* | 2.08 | 2.08 | 1.90 | 1.90 | 2.08 | 2.08 | 1.10* | — | 6th century |
| Room 4 | 1.90* | 1.95 | 1.95 | 1.75 | 1.75 | 1.85 | 1.85 | 0.75* | — | 6th century |
| N-O:25-26 | | | | | | | | | | |
| N:12-13 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Room 1 | 1.45 | 1.45 | 1.47 | 1.47 | 1.77 | 1.77 | 1.65 | 1.65 | — | 6th-5th century |
| Room 2 | 1.80 | 1.65 | 1.65 | 1.65 | 1.65 | 1.55 | 1.55 | 1.00 | — | 6th-5th century |
| L:16-17 | 1.65 | 1.87 | 1.87 | 2.05 | 2.05 | 1.45-1.50* | 1.50 | 1.65 | — | 6th-5th century |
| J-L:21 | 1.515 | 1.515 | 1.515 | 1.65 | 1.65 | 1.52 | 1.52 | 1.45-1.55 | — | 5th century |
| J-K:22 | 1.80 | 1.625 | 1.625 | 1.80 | 1.80 | 1.625 | 1.625 | 1.00 | — | 5th century |
| K:23 | 1.82 | 1.52 | 1.52 | 1.61 | 1.61 | 1.52 | 1.52 | 0.40 | — | 5th century |
| K-L:25-26, | | | | | | | | | | |
| Phase 1 | 2.00* | 1.425 | 1.425 | 1.625 | 1.625 | 1.425 | 1.425 | 0.50* | — | 5th century |
| I-J:21-22 | 1.68 | 1.68 | 1.68 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 5th century |
| J:23 | ? | ? | ? | 1.65* | 1.85* | ? | ? | ? | ? | 5th century |
| K-L:23-24 | 2.00* | 1.80 | 1.80 | 2.35* | 1.80 | 1.80 | 0.35 | — | — | 5th century |
| K-L:24-25 | 2.00-2.15 | 1.70 | 1.70 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 0.35 | — | — | — | 5th century |
| K-L:25-26, | | | | | | | | | | |
| Phase 2 | 1.94* | 1.81 | 1.81-1.84 | 1.31* | 1.19* | 1.81 | 1.81 | 0.48* | — | Early 4th century |
| L:26-27 | 1.80-1.90 | 1.53-1.58 | 1.53-1.58 | 1.30* | 1.62* | 1.53-1.58 | 0.90-1.00 | — | — | 5th century |
| M-N:20-24 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Room 3 | 1.80* | 2.08 | 2.08 | 1.95 | 1.95 | 2.08 | 2.08 | 1.10* | — | 5th century |
| Room 4 | 1.90* | 1.95 | 1.95 | 1.70 | 1.70 | 1.85 | 1.85 | 0.75* | — | 5th century |
| M-N:25-26 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Room 1 | 1.85 | 1.85 | 1.75 | 1.75 | 2.70 | 1.80 | — | — | — | 5th century |
| Room 2 | 2.05 | 1.55 | 1.55 | 2.40 | 2.40 | 1.50 | 1.50 | 2.05 | — | 5th century |
| N:21 | 2.00* | 1.83 | 1.83 | 1.83* | 1.35* | 1.25 | 1.85 | 1.85 | 1.85 | 5th century |
| N-O:22-23 | 1.90 | 2.60 | 2.50 | 2.50 | 2.05 | 1.80* | — | — | — | 5th century |
| N-O:25-26 | 1.60-1.80 | 1.85 | 1.85 | 1.70 | 1.70 | 1.80-1.90 | 1.80-1.90 | 0.80-1.00 | — | 5th century |

TABLE 3: COUCH LENGTHS (cont.)

| BUILDING | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | DATE |
|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|------------|-------|-----------|-----------|---|-------------|
| L:18-19 | 1.75 | 1.73 | 1.73 | 1.65 | 1.75* | 1.77* | 1.70 | 0.90-1.00 | — | 5th century |
| M-N:19 | 1.95 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 2.00* | 1.95* | 2.00* | 2.00* | 1.90 | — | 5th century |
| K-L:21-22 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Room 1 | 1.50* | 2.40-2.50 | 1.80 | 1.80 | 1.50 | 1.50 | 1.10-1.30 | — | — | 4th century |
| Room 7 | 1.77* | 2.12* | 2.42* | 2.27* | 1.80-2.01* | 1.99* | 2.33* | 2.16* | — | 4th century |
| L-M:28 | 1.75* | 1.45* | 1.80* | 1.90* | 2.10* | 1.95 | 1.95 | 1.30* | — | 4th century |
| M:21-22 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Room 1 | 2.03* | 1.85* | 1.85* | 1.10* | 1.65* | 1.85 | 1.85 | 0.80-0.90 | — | 4th century |
| Room 2 | 1.71* | 1.63* | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4th century |
| M-N:25-26 | 1.65 | 1.65 | 1.60 | 1.60 | 2.15 | 2.15 | 2.10 | — | — | 4th century |
| N:28 | 1.80 | 1.80 | 1.80 | 1.15 | 2.00 | 1.80 | 1.80 | 1.15 | — | 4th century |
| M:16-17 | 1.75 | 1.55 | 1.55 | 1.55 | 2.215 | 2.215 | 1.685 | 1.685 | — | 4th century |
| N:12-13 | 2.30 | 1.87 | 1.87 | 1.45 | 1.80 | 1.87 | 1.87 | 0.80 | — | 4th century |

Note: * = complete

TABLE 4: BATHING ROOMS

| BUILDING | ROOM LENGTH | ROOM WIDTH | STALL LENGTH | STALL WIDTH | SQ. METERS | OTHER FEATURES* | DATE |
|-------------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Certain:</i> | | | | | | | |
| J-L:21, Room 3 | 4.45-4.60 | 2.30 | 1.38 | 0.78 | 1.07 | ? | 5th century |
| I-J:22, Room 2 | 3.51 | 1.00 | 1.15 | 1.00 | 1.15 | K (?) | 5th century |
| K-L:21-22, Room 1 | 3.85 | 1.40 | 1.32-1.40 | 1.03-1.15 | 1.36-1.61 | K (?) | 5th century |
| K-L:23-24, Room 2 | 4.13 | 1.60 | 1.60 | 0.85-0.98 | 1.36-1.58 | SR | 5th century |
| K-L:24-25, Room 3 | 2.43 | 2.03 | 1.30 | 1.01 | 1.31 | K | 5th century |
| K-L:25-26, Room 2 | 3.80-3.96 | 1.37 | 1.37 | 1.00-1.20 | 1.37 | SR | Early 4th century |
| K-L:21-22, Room 2 | 3.10-3.12 | 1.40-1.45 | 1.40 | 1.18 | 1.65 | — | 4th century |
| L-M:28, Room 1 | 6.35 | 2.00 | 0.85 | 0.85 | 0.72 | K | 4th century |
| N:28, Room 4 | 8.50 | 1.40 | 1.40 | 1.20 | 1.68 | Bench, K (?) | 4th century |
| M:16-17, Room 3 | 4.65 | 4.00 | 1.90 | 1.20 | 2.28 | Bench | 4th century |
| <i>Likely:</i> | | | | | | | |
| N-O:25-26, Room 2 | 4.45 | 1.10-1.15 | 1.25 | 1.15 | 1.44 | ? | 5th century |
| N:12-13, Room 1 | 5.00 | 2.10 | 1.80 | 1.15 | 2.07 | K (?) | 4th century |
| M-N:25-26, Room 2 | 2.33 | 1.95-2.20 | ? | ? | ? | — | 4th century |
| M:21-22, Room 3 | 2.36 | 1.15 | ? | ? | ? | — | 4th century |
| <i>Uncertain:</i> | | | | | | | |
| L:16-17, Room 3 | 1.10 (?) | 1.74 | ? | ? | ? | ? | 6th century |
| K-L:21-22, Room 5 | 3.03-3.30 | 2.50 | 0.85 | 0.70 | 0.595 | SR (?) | 5th century |
| L:18-19, Room 2 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 5th century |
| K:18-19, Room ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 5th century |
| L:26-27, Room 2 | 4.25 | 1.66 | ? | ? | ? | SR, K (?) | 5th century |
| K:15, Room (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 5th century |

Note: K = Kitchen

SR = Sitting Room

All dimensions are in meters.

TABLE 5: SITTING ROOMS

| BUILDING | ROOM LENGTH | ROOM WIDTH | BENCH WIDTH | BENCH HEIGHT | OTHER FEATURES* | DATE |
|--------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Certain:</i> | | | | | | |
| M:17-18 | 3.55 | 3.10 | 0.45-0.60 | 0.28 | — | 6th century |
| O:26-27 | ? | ? | 0.60 | ? | ? | 6th century (?) |
| K-L:21-22, Room 4 | 4.50-4.80 | 2.83 | 0.68-0.70 | ? | — | 5th century |
| K-L:23-24, Room 2 | 4.13 | 1.60 | 0.60 | 0.30 | BS | 5th century |
| L:26-27, Room 2 | 4.25 | 1.66 | 0.66-0.73 | 0.40 | BS | 5th century |
| L-M:28, Room 3 | 4.55-4.80 | 1.26 | 0.60-0.80 | 0.38 | — | 4th century |
| M:16-17, Room 2 | 5.28 | 1.45 | ? | 0.30 | — | 4th century |
| N:12-13, Room 3 | 5.00 | 1.30 | 0.35-0.75 | 0.34 | — | 4th century |
| <i>Uncertain:</i> | | | | | | |
| K-L:24-25, Room 2 | 2.43 | 1.52 | 0.84-0.87 | 0.39 | Armrest | 5th century |
| K-L:25-26, Room 2 | 3.80-3.96 | 1.37 | 0.60-0.68 | 0.35-0.41 | Armrest | Early 4th century |
| N:21, Room 2 | 4.15 | 2.20 | ? | ? | ? | 5th century |
| N-O:25-26, Room 2 | 4.45 | 1.10-1.15 | ? | ? | BS | 5th century |
| L:18-19, Room 2 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 5th century |
| N-O:18-19 | 2.50+ | 2.00+ | 1.00 | ? | K | 5th century |
| N:28, Room 3 | 4.60 | 1.60 | ? | ? | ? | 4th century |
| I-J:14, Room 2 (?) | ? | 1.10 | ? | ? | ? | 4th century |

Note: K = Kitchen

BS = Bathing Stall

+ = minimum possible for an incomplete dimension

All dimensions are in meters.

TABLE 6: KITCHENS

| BUILDING | KITCHEN LENGTH | KITCHEN WIDTH | COMMENTS | OTHER FEATURES* | DATE |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Certain:</i> | | | | | |
| K-L:21-22, Room 1 | 3.85 | 1.40 | Burning on floor, stall | Bench, BS | 5th-4th century |
| K-L:23-24, Room 3 | 4.13 | 2.10 | Hearth 1: 0.65 × 0.90 Hearth 2: 0.65 × 2.10 | Bench, "Gonia" | 5th century |
| K-L:24-25, Room 3 | 2.43 | 2.03 | Hearth 1.11 × 1.30 | BS | 5th century |
| N-O:18-19 | 2.50+ | 2.00+ | Hearth on floor D. 0.45, C-69-79 on it | Bench/Couch? | 5th century |
| L-M:28, Room 1 | 6.35 | 2.00 | Ash in southwest corner, middle of west side | Cistern, BS, Sink | 4th century |
| M:21-22, Room 2 | 3.65 | 2.80-4.40 | Hearth on floor | Couches | 4th century |
| M:16-17, Room 4 | 1.70+ | 2.40 | Hearth on floor | — | 4th century |
| M-N:25-26, Room 3 | 3.40 | 1.10-2.85 | | Cistern | 4th century |
| <i>Uncertain:</i> | | | | | |
| L:16-17, Room 2 | 3.00 | 1.66-1.74 | Continuous clay floor | — | 6th century |
| I-J:22, Room 2 | 3.51 | 1.00 | Burning on floor | BS | 5th century |
| N:21, Room 2 | 4.15 | 2.20 | Continuous clay floor | — | 5th century |
| N-O:25-26, Room 2 | 4.45 | 1.10-1.15 | | BS | 5th century |
| K:15, Room ? | 2.20+ | 1.40+ | | Cistern | 5th century |
| K:18-19, Room ? | 3.10+ | 1.10+ | Continuous clay floor | — | 5th century |
| K-L:25-26, Room 2 | 3.80-3.96 | 1.37 | Burning on floor | Bench, Couch? | Early 4th century |
| L:26-27, Room 2 | 4.25 | 1.66 | Burning on floor | BS, Bench | 5th century |
| N:12-13, Room 1 | 5.00 | 2.10 | | BS | 4th century |
| N:28, Room 4? | 8.50 | 1.40 | ? | BS, Bench | 4th century |
| or Room 1? | 6.50 | 1.48 | ? | ? | 4th century |

Note: BS = Bathing Stall

+ = minimum possible for an incomplete dimension

All dimensions are in meters.

APPENDIX II

The following is a series of references to inscriptions that refer to cooking facilities in connection with a sanctuary or religious association:

1. *IG IV*².1, 108, line 46; 109, line 149: *πόρδαιον*. Building inscription for the Skana building on Mount Kynortion, Epidauros. See notes 41 and 67, pp. 400, 405 above.

2. *IG II*² 1672, line 189: *ὀπτάνειον*. Eleusinian accounts of 329/8 B.C. Unfortunately, the text does not make clear where the kitchen will be built.

3. *IG II*² 1672, line 194: *ἱπνός*, in the city Eleusinion of Athens.

4. *IG II*² 2499, line 28: *ὀπτάνιον*. Care and leasing of a sanctuary by the orgeones of the hero Egretes, 307/6 B.C. See also Sokolowski, *LSCG*, pp. 87–88, no. 47, with references.

5. *IG II*² 1301, line 5: *[μ]αγειρεῖον*. Provisions by an association in Peiraieus to repair or reconstruct a kitchen. 221/1 B.C.¹⁰²

6. *ID* 2310: *μαγιρέον*. A dedication to the *Θεοὶ Πρῶτοι*, including tables and a scissors; 3rd century B.C. The inscription was found in Sanctuary C on Mt. Kynthos, but the architectural remains give no indication of either a dining area or a kitchen. See A. Plassart, *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe (Délos XI)*, Paris 1928, p. 262.

7. *SEG XXXIII* 1113: *μαγειρεῖα*. Dedication to the *Θεοὶ Μεγάλοι*, from Paphlagonia. 3rd/2nd century B.C.

8. J. and L. Robert, *BE*, 1950, p. 201, 200: *μαγειρεῖον*. Roman imperial dedication to Zeus Soter, including a stoa and a table, from Ikonion.

9. G. Petzl, *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, 24,1, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna II*, 1, Bonn 1987, pp. 241–242, no. 737: *μαγειρεῖον*; see also L. Robert, *RPhil* 13, 1939, p. 194. Repairs to a sanctuary, perhaps belonging to an association, probably from Smyrna, 2nd/3rd century after Christ.

10. E. L. Hicks, “Inscriptions from Western Cilicia,” *JHS* 12, 1891, p. 232, no. 13: *μαγειρεῖον*. Roman imperial dedication in the pronaos of the Temple of Hermes, from Western Cilicia near Kanytellides.

¹⁰² Occurrences of the word *μαγειρεῖον* are gathered by L. Robert in “Hellenica,” *RPhil* 13, 1939 [pp. 97–217], p. 194 and *BE* 1984, p. 506, no. 480. For a discussion of the *mageiros* but not the *mageireion*, see G. Berthiaume, *Les rôles du Mageiros (Mnemosyne Suppl. 70)*, Leiden 1982, esp. pp. 71–78.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SANCTUARY

This chapter sketches the historical development of the site occupied by the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth from its earliest habitation in Mycenaean times until its final abandonment as a cemetery probably in the 6th century of our era or later. We here attempt to pull together some of the more important elements in the growth and decline of the Sanctuary and to relate them to events that shaped the history of Corinth and other parts of the Greek world. These elements have all been described in detail in the foregoing chapters. The paucity of written evidence relating to this Sanctuary has already been remarked in Chapter 1. Our excavations have not significantly filled that lacuna with important inscriptions, although some inscribed objects are helpful, as we shall see. Largely, however, the following account is based upon inferences drawn from the chronology, purpose, and location of the physical remains. For what follows, readers should consult the chronological series of restored period plans on Plans 2–6.

Apart from the commanding view this site enjoys and the possible proximity of other sanctuaries (Pausanias 2.4.6–7), there is no firm evidence as to why a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was established here. No founding legends, oracles, or aitia connected with this shrine have come down to us. No natural features on the steep slope of Acrocorinth provide any obvious clues. The slope of the hill here is too steep to support even a modern threshing floor. That the ancient Corinthians believed in the special sanctity of this spot, however, may be indicated by their choice of such awkward, sloping, rocky terrain. To build even the smallest structure here required considerable terracing. Some of the more complex buildings, especially those employing ashlar foundations, required laboriously cut footing trenches sometimes deep into bedrock. In one place to create a level platform for a sacrificial area the builders of the Sanctuary quarried away a large vertical face of the steeply rising bedrock of the hill. Since the slope of the hill was too precipitous even for comfortable seating, they also had to cut level rows of seats for a theater out of the living rock. Moreover, the only copious source of water in the vicinity (now tapped by the fountain of Hadji Mustafa) lies inconveniently some 300 meters below the Sanctuary.¹ It is a strenuous climb up to the site from the fountain, especially if one is carrying a heavy water jar. Our excavations revealed the presence of a road crossing this part of the north slope of Acrocorinth and skirting the lower part of the Sanctuary.² It is possible that the position of this thoroughfare helped determine the location of Demeter's shrine. Since the construction date of the road, however, is uncertain, it may have been built later in order to service this and perhaps other existing sanctuaries. We are left in the dark, therefore, as to why Demeter and her daughter came to have this place of worship on Acrocorinth.³

¹ For this fountain, p. 5 above.

² For this road, pp. 19–20 above.

³ For Demeter sanctuaries on hills, see p. 8, note 27 above. As at Eleusis, Demeter on Acrocorinth was a goddess of grain, who received numerous dedications of clay *likna* and *kernos*-type offering trays. As at Eleusis, her Corinthian shrine was also built “below the citadel and its sheer wall” (ὕπαι πόλιν ἀπὸ τε τεῖχος), if not strictly “on a projecting spur of hill” (ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολῶνῳ); *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 270–272, cf. 296–298. On the siting of her sanctuary at Eleusis, E. Vanderpool, “ΕΠΙ ΠΡΟΥΧΟΝΤΙ ΚΟΛΩΝΩΙ: The Sacred Threshing Floor at Eleusis,” *Hesperia* Supplement 20, Princeton 1982, pp. 172–174. For the implausible views of Engels 1990 and de Poulignac on the location of the Sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth, see p. 5, note 12 above and p. 8, note 27 above. For a brief summary of the placement of Corinthian sanctuaries, with helpful bibliography, see A. Schachter, “Policy, Cult, and the Placing

It is clear from the excavation, however, that the goddesses were not the first occupants of this lofty site. They were preceded in Mycenaean times by people who left behind a few sherds of LH IIIB date (*ca.* 1340–1300 B.C.), a *psi*-type figurine, and possibly a short piece of rubble wall. We do not have enough evidence even to hazard a guess as to the nature of their activity. Two centuries later (*ca.* 1140–1125 B.C.), at least one large building was constructed in J–K:18–19 in what was later to be the Lower Terrace of the Sanctuary. This has been plausibly interpreted as a farmhouse, rather than as some remote ancestor of the Demeter Sanctuary. As Jeremy Rutter has aptly concluded, “Neither the architecture of, nor the finds associated with, the Mycenaean Building suggest any form of cult activity in Mycenaean times in the area of the later Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.”⁴ Contemporary with the house and possibly associated with it was a small cist grave containing a deep bowl. Although a fire appears to have destroyed this building in the third quarter of the 12th century B.C., it did not mark the end of activity on the site in the prehistoric period. *Ca.* 1125–1100 B.C. a terrace wall was built in J:17–18, which tantalizingly shares roughly the same orientation as the retaining wall of the Archaic period along the south side of the road to the Sanctuary.⁵ We do not know what, if anything, was built on the level ground to the south that this terrace wall helped to create.

For roughly the next four hundred years the architectural history of the site is almost a total void, broken only by an isolated adult burial of Protogeometric or Early Geometric times on the Lower Terrace in K:14.⁶ The pottery finds from our excavation, however, present a more positive picture. Although no clearly defined strata or deposits survived from this period, Christopher Pfaff’s careful collection and analysis of all relevant sherds preserved in a wide variety of contexts throughout the Sanctuary have yielded examples of vessels from all phases of the pottery sequence at Corinth from Early Protogeometric to Early Protocorinthian.⁷ Most of these sherds are small and poorly preserved, but their numbers are not insignificant. There do not appear to be among them any vessels that can be identified as specifically votive. Nor have contemporary figurines or clay votive objects survived. The pottery evidence, however, unmistakably demonstrates continuous activity at the site from the Late Bronze Age until the 7th century B.C.

In the present state of our knowledge, continuous activity in the archaeological record cannot be equated with continuity of cult practices. We can only guess at the nature of the activity that left behind over more than four centuries a steady accumulation of potsherds on this site. No accompanying architectural remains from the period *ca.* 1100–650 B.C. permit conclusions such as those of Rutter to the effect that in Mycenaean times a farmhouse stood on ground later sacred to Demeter and Kore. And yet, in our view, this exposed, windy, waterless slope of Acrocorinth is a peculiar place for Corinthians of Mycenaean or any other times to have built a house.⁸ Even in eras when the city was much more densely populated, people do not seem to have elected to live on this steep hillside.⁹ We are left with the nagging suspicion that there might

of Greek Sanctuaries,” *Fondation Hardt: Entretiens sur l’antiquité classique*, 37: *Le Sanctuaire grec*, Geneva 1992 [pp. 1–57], pp. 14–18.

⁴ Rutter 1979, p. 371. Writing without citation of Rutter’s work, Engels (1990, p. 243, note 15) asserts, “Mycenaean pottery has been found on the site of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, and this may indicate some survival of the cult from that era.”

⁵ For the prehistoric remains in the area of the Sanctuary, pp. 13–15 above.

⁶ P. 15 above.

⁷ Pfaff forthcoming.

⁸ Pp. 14–15 above.

⁹ For a survey of the prehistoric settlement in Corinth, see Salmon 1984, pp. 8–19, with earlier bibliography, to which add Rutter 1979. In classical antiquity the north slope was the site of sanctuaries and scattered cemeteries (pp. 1–8 and 389–390 above). Thereafter it seems to have reverted to uninhabited farmland. With the possible exception of a painting by W. Haygarth in 1810 and a drawing in A. Blouet *et al.*, *Expédition scientifique de Morée III*, Paris 1838, p. 76, we know of no view of Acrocorinth in the copious record of the early travelers that shows any buildings on the north slope higher than the fountain of Hadji Mustafa.

have been something unusual about this Mycenaean farm building, something that could have inspired legends or tales that may somehow have led the Corinthians in the Archaic period to establish a Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore over its ruins.

The first certain evidence of cult activity on the site consists of an important series of bronze pins, fibulae, and finger rings, which appears to begin at least as early as the middle of the 8th century B.C. and continues down into the 5th century B.C. These objects are numerous enough and from a wide enough range of archaeological contexts to justify the inference that they represent a popular and long-lived type of votive. We have therefore concluded that women had begun dedicating their jewelry to Demeter and Kore on this spot by at least the Late Geometric period, if not earlier. See pages 16–17 above.¹⁰

The discovery of an early combination pan and cover tile (Chapter 16, 68) may indicate the existence of a substantial building in the Sanctuary in the first half of the 7th century B.C.; it may have served a religious purpose. Additional evidence of early cult activity on the site consists of a deposit of forty-nine small votive vases found on the Upper Terrace in R:21.¹¹ Although no architecture could be associated with these finds, they are important for their form, purpose, and date. They demonstrate that in the earliest phases of the Sanctuary the kalathos was established as a favorite type of vase to be dedicated to Demeter in this shrine. Thirty-four of the vessels in this deposit are kalathoi, and this shape remained so numerous and ubiquitous in the Sanctuary as to suggest some special function for it in the cult ritual.¹² Since most of the pottery in this deposit is Late Protocorinthian in style, it provides welcome confirmation that the Sanctuary was functioning as a place of worship by at least ca. 650–630 B.C.¹³ This accords with the evidence of the Archaic terracotta figurines from our excavation, which do not seem to be earlier than the last quarter of the 7th century.¹⁴

Do these finds supply us with firm enough evidence to include the Demeter Sanctuary in the program of establishing Corinthian cult centers represented by the temples of Hera at Perachora, Poseidon at Isthmia, Aphrodite on Acrocorinth, and Apollo on Temple Hill? Although we can be certain that a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore occupied this site in 734 B.C., when Corinth founded her first colony at Syracuse, its impact upon the cults of this new *polis* remains obscure.¹⁵ It is also clear that Demeter and Kore were being worshiped on Acrocorinth by at least the time of the first Corinthian tyrant, Kypselos, ca. 657/6–627/6 B.C. Unfortunately, no other evidence, literary or archaeological, links the worship of Demeter to Kypselos or to his successors.¹⁶

¹⁰ These and the other bronze objects from the Sanctuary will be published in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. For early cult activity at Olympia represented by bronze votives in the absence of pottery, see C. Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century B.C.*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 26–56.

¹¹ *Corinth XVIII*, i, pp. 79–81, Group I; p. 255 above.

¹² Pemberton has aptly remarked that “it is the only vessel that appears in significant numbers in every area and during every period of the Sanctuary. . . . Simply, there are so many of them that virtually no stratum, no matter how few the sherds, is without at least one fragmentary example”; *Corinth XVIII*, i, p. 20. After counting more than two thousand kalathoi among the pottery from only the first month of excavation in 1961, she concluded that it was pointless to continue, *ibid.*, pp. 19–25. In a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*, after the publication of all the finds, we hope to discuss the role of the kalathos in the cult of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth.

¹³ We here follow the chronology of D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase Painting of the Archaic Period II*, Berkeley 1988, pp. 428–429.

¹⁴ We are grateful to J. M. Turfa, who will publish the Archaic figurines in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*, for confirming this date.

¹⁵ Unfortunately, we have not been able to fulfill all the hopes expressed, e.g., by G. Zuntz, *Persephone*, Oxford 1971, p. 73, note 5, that the shrine on Acrocorinth “may represent one of the points of origin for the early cult of the two goddesses” in Syracuse and the rest of Sicily.

¹⁶ Salmon 1984, pp. 201–201, speculates, without evidence, that under Periander the Sanctuary may have been “politically significant,” comparing Peisistratos’ encouragement of the growth of the popular cults of Demeter at Eleusis and Dionysos in Athens. These kinds of “parallels,” in the Archaic period, however, can be dangerous. For

It is in the first half of the 6th century B.C. that the earliest architectural remains *in situ* can be dated. These are concentrated on the Middle Terrace and consist of an isolated stretch of wall in O:23 of ca. 600 B.C.,¹⁷ a roughly contemporary painted terracotta antefix that must have decorated an important cult building,¹⁸ and a structure with an interior bench in P:20–22, which had been destroyed and filled in before ca. 550 B.C. The latter could have been a predecessor of the main cult building, which was constructed partly on top of it.¹⁹ Nearby, deep cuttings into the steep bedrock at the southern edge of the Middle Terrace now created a large open platform in R:23–26. At its western end (Area D) a rectangular area, open to the sky, was set aside for animal sacrifices. Small animals, mostly piglets, were the standard offerings. The confined space around the proposed altar restricted participation in these rites to only a few persons at a time.²⁰

By mid-century at the latest the builders of the Sanctuary divided the Middle Terrace from the Lower Terrace by a solidly constructed wall in P:20–27. This served the double purpose of boundary and retaining wall. It seems to reflect a desire to mark off the Middle Terrace as the center of the cult at this time. Access to this central part of the Sanctuary was probably restricted to a single small entrance in the wall in P:25.²¹ Contemporary with this organization of the site was construction of the principal cult building in the western sector of the Middle Terrace, the oikos in P–Q:21–23. Sunk into the bedrock floor inside this building is a deep cutting, which may have helped support a cult statue or, perhaps more plausibly, served as a pit for offerings. Although the ruinous condition of the oikos has left us with a very imperfect picture of its physical appearance, it was to remain the most important sacred structure in the Sanctuary for roughly the next two and a half centuries.²² On the east side of this building was an open Courtyard and to its southeast, the rock-cut platform containing sacrificial Area D.²³ In the southeast corner of the Middle Terrace, against the wall that now marked its eastern boundary, a small room was added, which contained large numbers of vases and other votives of Archaic and Classical times (Room E).²⁴

These 6th-century B.C. structures on the Middle Terrace are all concentrated in the eastern sector of this part of the site. All future construction on the Middle Terrace also followed this pattern, even into Late Roman times. The western half of this area of the Sanctuary, behind and above the dining units of the Lower Terrace, always remained open.

The early 6th century B.C. seems also to have witnessed the first building activity on the Lower Terrace. This consists of an isolated east–west wall in N:24–25 of uncertain purpose,²⁵ which predates a major building project on the Lower Terrace in the late 6th century B.C. Now, perhaps for the first time, this part of the Sanctuary was clearly defined on its north side by a substantial boundary wall. Preserved for a distance of at least ca. 40 m., this wall also served as a retaining wall along the south, uphill, side of a long stretch of road. The road may have existed earlier, but we know for certain that at least from the late 6th century B.C. it provided access to this

the history and development of Corinth in the Archaic period we have found E. Will, *Korinthiaka*, Paris 1955, still helpful; see also C. Roebuck, "Some Aspects of Urbanization in Corinth," *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 96–127; C. K. Williams II, "The Early Urbanization of Corinth," *ASAtene* 60, 1982, pp. 9–19; Salmon 1984, pp. 55–80, 186–256.

¹⁷ Pp. 54–55 above.

¹⁸ P. 54 above. Chapter 16, 69, below.

¹⁹ Pp. 56–57 above. Several cuttings in the bedrock of the Middle Terrace, which follow a different orientation from these structures, may have helped support walls that are earlier than ca. 600 B.C.; p. 58 above.

²⁰ Pp. 74–78 above.

²¹ For this wall and the entrance, pp. 57–63 above.

²² For the oikos, pp. 64–73 above.

²³ For this courtyard, pp. 63–64 above.

²⁴ For this room in the Archaic period, pp. 79–80 above.

²⁵ For this feature, pp. 21–22 above.

and probably other sanctuaries on the north slope of Acrocorinth.²⁶ The late 6th century B.C. is also the most likely date when the main northern entrance into the Sanctuary was established in I:20.²⁷ Construction of the north temenos wall probably represents expansion of the land now claimed by Demeter and Kore.

In the late 6th century B.C. the Lower Terrace was the scene of intense building activity that established it as the focal point of communal, ritual dining in the Sanctuary. At least fifteen dining units belonging to this phase of the Sanctuary's development have been excavated, and there were probably more. Built either singly or in a continuous attached row, such as the six in M-N:20-26, each of these one-room units accommodated from six to eight diners reclining on low couches. Noteworthy also is Building M:17-18, which is not a dining room but a small structure furnished with a continuous bench, apparently a predecessor of the sitting rooms that occur in many of the dining units in the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

It is clear from the form, size, and large numbers of these units that ritual dining on the Lower Terrace was either introduced or at least became a much more significant part of the worship of Demeter and Kore in the late 6th century B.C. This practice was to continue, and even to increase, throughout the life of the Greek Sanctuary until 146 B.C. An essential aspect of the cult meal, one that was also upheld in Classical and Hellenistic times, required that it be shared among only a small group of worshipers who were segregated into separate buildings. Concentration of dining on the Lower Terrace may suggest a multistaged ritual in which small groups of participants sacrificed first on the Middle Terrace before consuming a communal meal. Both activities may have been part of a ceremony of initiation. In this period there is virtually no evidence of cooking inside the individual dining units, although the mixing and preparation of uncooked foods may well have taken place here. The large numbers of miniature clay *likna* in the votive deposits on the Middle Terrace demonstrate the importance of food in the cult ritual. The model cakes, loaves of bread, and porridge inside the *likna* probably represent part of what worshipers ate in the dining rooms. It was a sacred meal, one which they shared with the goddesses.²⁸

At the end of the 6th century B.C. the boundary wall between the Middle and Lower Terraces was rebuilt, indicating a continuing concern to separate these two parts of the Sanctuary. This separation is also reflected in the finds and in the types of architecture attested in each. No evidence of dining emerged in the excavations on the Middle Terrace, while the Lower Terrace revealed no trace of the animal sacrifices, sacred *oikos* with offering pit, and the abundant votive deposits that characterize the Middle Terrace in Archaic times.²⁹ Cult ritual in the Sanctuary seems to have been separately articulated, both topographically and architecturally.

The 6th century, then, was a period of rapid expansion and high popularity in the worship of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. Enormous numbers of votive objects were carried up the hill and deposited in their shrine. Most of these were miniature vases produced in Corinthian workshops, although a few fine black-figured vases imported from Athens were dedicated. Among the latter, drinking vessels prevail; several of them are decorated with Dionysiac scenes.³⁰

²⁶ For the road and its retaining wall, pp. 19-20 above.

²⁷ Pp. 20-21 above.

²⁸ For the dining units of the 6th century B.C., pp. 22-49 above. In Room 1 of Building M-N:20-26 slight traces of burning were found that could possibly indicate cooking. Bookidis (1990 and 1993) has studied the form and function of the dining units and their role in the cult. See also Chapter 14. For the *likna*, see Stroud 1965, pp. 23-24; Bookidis and Stroud 1987, pp. 26-27. Brumfield 1997 discusses the food in the votive clay *likna*. Apparently, more *likna* (ca. 225 fragments) have been found in the Demeter Sanctuary on Acrocorinth than at any other site in the Greek world. The objects themselves will be published with the miscellaneous finds in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

²⁹ The only possible exception is a rock-cut pit in M:20 that was filled with votives; pp. 123-124 above.

³⁰ *Corinth XVIII*, i, nos. 305-329, pp. 138-142. For evidence for the worship of Dionysos in this Sanctuary in the Classical period, p. 247, note 21 above.

Terracotta figurines were also a favored offering. The agricultural nature of Demeter's cult is represented by numerous model clay *likna* containing imitation cakes and bread.³¹ Not all the dedications were small, for in the Archaic period begins an impressive series of freestanding terracotta sculptured figures that may have been set up by individuals. With few exceptions these are all male; the earliest is a fragmentary torso of a draped youth of *ca.* 550–525 B.C.³² In the face of such a large and varied body of votive objects and Archaic buildings that played an important role in cult ritual, it is frustrating not to have any written testimony as to the organization, timing, and nature of the festivals of Demeter and Kore at this site. Nor can we say anything definite about the administration of the Sanctuary in the Greek period.³³ Any link with the political history of Corinth in the Archaic age must also remain entirely inferential. With the exception of a few *dipinti* and graffiti on potsherds, the names of the worshipers are unknown. The few surviving names are predominantly, though not exclusively, those of women.³⁴ Was this cult sponsored officially by the Corinthian government, or did it flourish under the control and through the benefactions of one or more of the city's wealthy families or clans? It seems to have received its most potent stimulus for growth after the death of the last Kypselid tyrant, under the oligarchic regime that took over control of Corinth *ca.* 584 B.C. We may guess also that, for the most part, the Sanctuary attracted clientele mainly from the Corinthia. This seems to be indicated by the fact that almost all the surviving votives were made in Corinth. At no time in the history of the Demeter Sanctuary did it enjoy as large a volume of imported objects as, for instance, the Sanctuary of Hera Akraia at Perachora.³⁵

The 5th century B.C. was also a period of rapid growth in the Sanctuary of Demeter. This can be traced in both architecture and the finds. The numbers of terracotta figurines, votive miniature pottery, and large-scale terracotta sculpture all significantly increase. Until *ca.* 450 B.C. the pattern of construction of dining rooms on the Lower Terrace remained more or less the same as it had been in the 6th century B.C. That is, contiguous single-unit dining rooms of roughly the same size continued to be built in rows that were oriented east–west across the lower slopes of the hill. Apparently all lie within, or south of, the north boundary wall of the Sanctuary. Each unit has a door opening to the north. The pace of this construction, however, now quickens. The minimum number of diners accommodated at one time on the Lower Terrace grows from approximately 100 *ca.* 500 B.C. to at least 130 fifty years later. This part of the site was the focus for most of the architectural expansion of the Sanctuary at this time.³⁶

A notable contemporary feature added now on the Middle Terrace was the construction of stone-lined pits sunk into the ground and designed to house buried votives and other objects. Placed near the entrances to the Middle Terrace and to Room E, they may have had a ritual

³¹ For these dedications, note 28 above.

³² SF-64-12. For this figure, Stroud 1968, p. 325. Bookidis will publish the terracotta sculpture from the Sanctuary in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. In the meantime, see Bookidis 1988.

³³ If the stories about Timoleon's departure for Sicily in Diodoros (16.66.1–5) and Plutarch (*Timoleon* 8, pp. 1–2 above) concern our Sanctuary, we can conclude that in the 4th century B.C. at any rate its staff included priestesses. In the Roman period a priestess and a neokoros are attested in the mosaic inscription of the central temple on the Upper Terrace, pp. 362–366 above. Quite wrong is S. J. Simon, who claims on the basis of Pausanias 2.35.7 that “at the sanctuary of Demeter in Corinth, four old sacerdotal women cut with a sickle the throats of four cows inside the temple”; “The Functions of Priestesses in Greek Society” *ClBull* 67, 1991 [pp. 9–13], p. 10. This rite was performed at Hermione. The error is repeated by R. S. Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings*, Oxford 1992, p. 27.

³⁴ These inscriptions will be published by Stroud in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

³⁵ For the imported scarabs, ivories, bucchero pottery, etc., at Perachora, see *Perachora II*, pp. 368–388, 403–451, 461–516. For the Corinthian character of this sanctuary, see U. Sinn, “Das Heraion von Perachora: Eine sakrale Schutzzone in der Korinthischen Peraia,” *AM* 105, 1990, pp. 53–116, who perhaps could have given more prominence to the imported votives; see also Tomlinson 1992.

³⁶ For these 5th-century dining rooms on the Lower Terrace, pp. 90–150 above.

function connected with the progress of worshipers from one part of the Sanctuary to another. Two of these survived with their tile covers intact: Pit E in O:21–22 and the later Pit A in Q:25.³⁷

Although other Corinthian sanctuaries received dedications commemorating victory over the Persians in 480–479 B.C.,³⁸ we have not found evidence for historical offerings of this nature to Demeter on Acrocorinth. Similarly, the impact of the Peloponnesian War has left no discernible mark on the excavated remains at this site.³⁹ The same is true of the Corinthian War in the early years of the 4th century B.C., although there was, at that time, considerable fighting around the walls of Corinth. Far from hindering the growth of Demeter's worship on Acrocorinth, the final years of the Peloponnesian War in fact witnessed an ambitious flurry of architectural activity that significantly changed the layout of the Sanctuary for the remainder of the Greek period.

It was in the late 5th century B.C. that the Corinthians resurfaced the road along the northern edge of the Sanctuary and rebuilt its retaining wall. They added a new, secondary entrance into the Lower Terrace in K:14, fitted out with a short flight of steps.⁴⁰ But the most important construction lay opposite the Sanctuary's main northern entrance. Here, in J–O:20, was now built a broad, monumental stone stairway that ascended the hillside. Short flights of three or four steps alternated with spacious landings; there were at least eight to ten of the latter in all. These landings provided access to the dining room buildings that flanked the stairway as it climbed the slope up through the Lower Terrace. The topmost preserved landings (nos. 7 and 8) now also opened to the east onto the long North Corridor that led to the principal entrance into the Middle Terrace in P:25. Not only did the stairway thus more closely link the Lower and Middle Terraces, but it also seems to have continued up the hill, possibly as far as the steeply rising face of bedrock that marks the northern edge of the Upper Terrace. Hence, for the first time the three levels of the Sanctuary were now tied together as parts of a unified, more monumental design. The width and gentle incline of the stairway also suggest that it was built for processions, not merely for single visitors or service personnel. A role in cult ritual, therefore, may have been added to the practical utility of the stairway in helping worshipers circulate from one part of the shrine to another over this very steeply sloping hillside.⁴¹

Although firm dating criteria are lacking, it is likely that by the time the stairway was built, a small theatral area had been roughly cut out of the rock of the Upper Terrace in Q–R:19–20. Approached from the north by means of a short flight of rock-cut steps protected by a retaining wall in R:20–21, the long, stepped cuttings on the steep face of the bedrock could have accommodated at least fifty people. The latter probably stood in rows, one above the other, to view a procession or some other form of cult ritual down below on the Middle Terrace.⁴² Isolated pockets of pottery and votive objects indicate earlier activity on the Upper Terrace,⁴³ but the little theatral area is our first evidence for construction in the rocky slope at this southern edge of the Sanctuary. From now on, the Upper Terrace was to remain an important locus for cult activity. It is even

³⁷ For these pits and their contents, pp. 161–162, 163–170 above.

³⁸ E.g., the Corinthians dedicated a Phoenician trireme and a bronze statue of Poseidon at the Isthmos (Herodotos 8.121, 9.81); and captured tackle or weapons in the sanctuary of Leto (Plutarch, *Moralia* 870 F; *Anth. Pal.* 6.6.215); and golden statues in the temple of Aphrodite (Theopompos, *FGrH* 115, F 285; Plutarch, *Moralia* 871 A–B).

³⁹ On this topic, see B. R. MacDonald, "The Import of Attic Pottery to Corinth and the Question of Trade during the Peloponnesian War," *JHS* 102, 1982, pp. 113–123, with the judicious comments of I. McPhee, "Attic Red Figure from the Forum in Ancient Corinth," *Hesperia* 56, 1987 [pp. 275–302], p. 277, note 8. See also P. Kracht, "Überlegungen zum Problem des attischen Handels während des Peloponnesischen Krieges," *MBAH* 9, 1990, pp. 95–98.

⁴⁰ For this feature, p. 21 above.

⁴¹ For the stairway, pp. 94–98 above.

⁴² Pp. 257–258 above.

⁴³ P. 255 above.

possible that some of the terracotta statues represented by the numerous fragments found on the Upper Terrace may once have stood here.⁴⁴

We may infer another development in the worship of Demeter on Acrocorinth from new architectural features that emerge in the second half of the 5th century B.C. Again, no surviving *lex sacra* on stone, no literary testimony illuminates or helps to explicate these innovations. It seems evident, however, that not only was there increased emphasis on ritual dining in the cult at this time—as demonstrated by the growing numbers of dining units being constructed—but the nature of the ceremony may also have become more complex. A demand seems now to have arisen for much more elaborate dining units. Replacing the rows of single-room units, ranged across the Lower Terrace from east to west, are several self-contained multiroom buildings of the second half of the 5th century B.C. Although the main chambers with six to eight couches remained the same size as their predecessors, most of these buildings now also contained additional smaller, subsidiary rooms. Some of these were used for the preparation of food; others had stuccoed installations for washing or possibly some kind of ritual lustration. A third type of subsidiary room, which is long and narrow in shape, had a low bench around its walls. By *ca.* 400 B.C. in the now flourishing Sanctuary as many as two hundred diners could be served at one time in the surviving dining units on the Lower Terrace. Dining units also now began to appear to the north of the road, indicating, perhaps, further expansion of the physical boundaries of the Sanctuary.⁴⁵

This surge of new construction in the Sanctuary during the final decades of the 5th century B.C. was not an isolated phenomenon. For whatever reason, the pace of building activity quickened in several other parts of Corinth at this same time. In the Potters' Quarter, for instance, new construction included the circular shrine, the rectangular pit, the earliest phases of the Terracotta Factory, and the south cemetery.⁴⁶ In the area later occupied by the Forum of the Roman city, the substantial "Building I" was now erected,⁴⁷ as were the "Pentagonal Building,"⁴⁸ the "Centaur Bath," and "Building V."⁴⁹ It was probably in the closing years of the 5th century B.C. that the worship of Asklepios was introduced into the Sanctuary of the healing deity, Apollo, at the northern edge of the city.⁵⁰

The layout of the Sanctuary and the level of cult activity at the site appear to have remained fairly uniform through most of the 4th century B.C. The prosperity enjoyed by Corinth particularly in the second half of the century is reflected in offerings made to Demeter and Kore, perhaps most dramatically in the very high quality and variety of the numerous terracotta figurines, especially those representing well-dressed and elegantly coiffed women. A sign of the importance of the Sanctuary in 344 B.C. is the role its priestesses play in sending off Timoleon's expedition to Sicily with favorable auspices.⁵¹ If the successful general acknowledged this aid by a monumental dedication in the Demeter Sanctuary, as he did elsewhere in Corinth, no trace of it has turned up in the excavations.⁵²

Architectural continuity was certainly broken, however, in a fairly drastic manner near the end of the 4th century B.C. We do not know the precise cause, but a destructive earthquake may be

⁴⁴ Pp. 259–260 above.

⁴⁵ For the dining units of *ca.* 450–400 B.C., pp. 94–150 above. It is possible, of course, that the dining rooms on the north side of the road belonged to another, unidentified sanctuary.

⁴⁶ *Corinth XV*, i, pp. 29–49.

⁴⁷ Williams and Fisher 1972, pp. 151–165.

⁴⁸ Williams and Fisher 1976, p. 108.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 109–115; Williams 1977, pp. 40–52.

⁵⁰ *Corinth XIV*, pp. 22, 152–155.

⁵¹ Pp. 1–2 above.

⁵² For Timoleon's victory dedication in the lower city, see *Corinth VIII*, iii, no. 23, pp. 7–8; *SEG XXXIII* 266; cf. Diodoros 16.80.5–6, 81.1. For a suggestive cutting in T:19 high up on the Upper Terrace, see p. 271 above.

the most plausible explanation. There is evidence for similar devastation elsewhere in Corinth at this time.⁵³ On the Middle Terrace the oikos in P-Q:21-23, which had been the principal cult building in the Sanctuary since *ca.* 550 B.C., seems to have been knocked down. All of the dining units of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. on the Lower Terrace had to be replaced by new buildings. Our most vivid evidence for this destruction consists of deep fills of debris that were leveled off in many sectors of the Sanctuary in order to support new construction above them. These layers are full of very numerous roof tiles, votive objects, and pottery, most of it badly smashed. The latest objects in these fills help to date the destruction near the end of the 4th century B.C.⁵⁴

Recovery seems to have been fairly rapid. Whether it was aided by financial support from the government of Corinth or from one or more of the Hellenistic monarchs who vied for control of the garrison on Acrocorinth at this time is unknown. Certainly no inscribed monuments originating with these kings or their agents have been found in the Sanctuary. As usual, in attempting a reconstruction we must rely on inferences drawn only from architectural remains and stratigraphy. The outlines, however, seem fairly clear. Most of the rebuilding projects belong *ca.* 300 B.C. or slightly later.

As part of this extensive renovation of the Sanctuary, the level of the road that skirts its northern perimeter was raised. Contemporary remodeling of the principal northern entrance into the Lower Terrace in I:19-20 introduced a large stone threshold and possibly an inscribed boundary marker, outside the temenos wall.⁵⁵ Remaining in place to the south of this, up the hill, was the monumental stone stairway of the 5th century B.C. This continued to control the flow of traffic within the Sanctuary and to link the three separate terraces that ascend the hill one above the other. Its importance was now significantly increased, however, since at least two dining units⁵⁶ that had previously framed the stairway on the west side were dismantled. Over their remains a thick layer of earth was put down to form a broad, sloping ramp along the west side of the stone steps. Together, earth ramp and stone stairway formed an enlarged, open passageway more than twice as wide as the old one. Dining units continued to open off the landings of the stairway on its east side. The western limits of this passage were now defined by a retaining wall and by two boundary stones, each inscribed with an abbreviation of the word *horos*. We found both of these *in situ*, facing east onto the stairway and ramp, in L:19 and N:18-19, respectively.⁵⁷

To either side of the newly expanded passageway lay the renovated dining units of the Hellenistic Lower Terrace. All of them were rebuilt over the filled-in ruins of units that suffered damage in the earthquake of the late 4th century B.C. The foundations of the new structures employ large, squared breccia blocks. This type of building material, which seems now to be used extensively in the Sanctuary for the first time, was probably quarried nearby.⁵⁸ It may be that the builders of the Sanctuary sought greater protection against earthquake damage by using this heavier, more solid type of foundation.

In form and plan the dining units of the Hellenistic period continue the general layout of their late-5th-century B.C. counterparts. A greater degree of regularity, however, now seems to have been introduced. The buildings are more neatly rectangular in outline. All are now multiroomed. More subsidiary rooms are added to the main chamber with its dining couches. These rooms are perhaps better integrated into the overall plan of each building. The couches are all now stuccoed; some are even furnished with simple moldings and armrests. Carefully stuccoed installations for bathing become more elaborate. Stuccoed benches continued to be built in some of the smaller

⁵³ Williams and Fisher (1976, pp. 115-117) assemble the data. See also *Corinth* XVIII, i, p. 91.

⁵⁴ For these fills, pp. 242-243, 250-251 above.

⁵⁵ P. 21 above.

⁵⁶ Buildings L:18-19 and M-N:19, pp. 199-201 above.

⁵⁷ Pp. 200-201 above.

⁵⁸ For at least one small quarry just east of the Sanctuary, p. 252 above.

rooms. In general the buildings are more handsomely appointed, with more attention given to the comfort of the diners. As far as we know, however, they continued to accommodate small groups of diners, *ca.* seven to eight or nine, who consumed a ritual meal together as in the past. For the final centuries of the Greek Sanctuary this kind of cult activity was still restricted to the Lower Terrace.⁵⁹

Construction on the stone stairway *ca.* 300 B.C. was not restricted to the section we have previously described. At the stairway's southern end, on the level of the Middle Terrace in O-P:19-20, the entire entrance system was transformed. As the centerpiece of the new arrangement a monumental stone entrance hall or Propylon was built to occupy the full width of the stone stairway and its accompanying earth ramp. On the Hellenistic Propylon's stepped northern façade stood two columns in antis. A second broad flight of steps inside the building enabled processions to ascend the steep hillside to the level area west of the Middle Terrace and at the base of the rising bedrock of the Upper Terrace.

The new structure provided more than decorative monumentality, for it led to a sharper articulation between the Lower and the Middle Terraces than had ever been the case in the past. The Hellenistic Propylon formed, moreover, an integral part of a wholesale rebuilding of the Middle Terrace. An important consequence of this new project was that one could no longer enter the Middle Terrace on its north side through the door in P:25. Where one had previously turned off the stone stairway at landing 8 in N-O:20 to make one's way toward this entrance, there was now constructed a small court. Large, squared breccia blocks formed the walls of this one-room, self-contained unit. Into its floor were set twin stone stelai and a stone-lined, oblong pit (F) for votive offerings. This court lay immediately to the northeast, outside the Hellenistic Propylon. Not only did it now block access to the Middle Terrace from this side, but we suggest that it also played an important role in cult ritual by housing votive offerings deposited by worshipers who were moving up from the Lower Terrace. To enter the Middle and Upper Terraces one now had no choice but to ascend through the Propylon.⁶⁰

After emerging from the Hellenistic Propylon on its southern, or uphill, side, one found a broad new entrance to the Middle Terrace opening off to the east. Previously, the Archaic oikos had fully occupied this western end of the Middle Terrace. This structure, however, was a probable casualty of the earthquake near the end of the 4th century B.C. At any rate, the ruins of the oikos were now dismantled down to their lowest foundations, except for the north wall, to make way for the new entrance into the Middle Terrace. In the process the central Courtyard of the Middle Terrace was considerably expanded. Its importance in the religious life of the Sanctuary may also have increased with the carving of a small theater out of the bedrock of the Upper Terrace directly above it. The cult functions served by the Archaic oikos as the principal sacred structure in the Sanctuary had by now probably been assumed by a new temple set high up on the steep bedrock of the Upper Terrace to the south in S-T:16-17.

New construction on the Middle Terrace now produced a large Trapezoidal Building that stretched across the north side of this part of the Sanctuary. Its three rooms faced south out on to the central Courtyard. Its solid north wall effectively formed a new division between the Middle Terrace and the dining units below and to the north on the Lower Terrace. At the eastern end of this building lay a deep, stone-lined pit for animal sacrifices, Pit B.⁶¹ A new east boundary wall for the Middle Terrace was constructed in P-Q:25; it served as the exterior wall of a new room that was added on the east side of the central Courtyard, Room A.⁶² For the foundations of the latter and of the Trapezoidal Building, large, squared blocks of breccia were set down

⁵⁹ For the dining units of the Hellenistic period, pp. 172-201 above.

⁶⁰ For the Hellenistic Propylon and entrance court, pp. 214-227 above.

⁶¹ For the Trapezoidal Building and Pit B, pp. 235-245 above.

⁶² Pp. 248-251 above.

directly on the bedrock. Thrown in against these foundation walls to create a level surface for the interior floors were the deep fills of earth containing masses of broken and discarded votive objects and other debris from the earthquake to which we have already referred. Remnants of earlier sacrifices consisting of blackened earth and animal bones were also dumped in here.

Even after the removal of the principal cult building, the Middle Terrace remained an important focus of cult activity. Animal sacrifices were performed in Pit B. Votive pottery and terracotta figurines continued to be deposited here in large numbers. It is also probable that the now expanded central Courtyard served as a staging area for ceremonies and perhaps even dramatic performances viewed from the theater on the Upper Terrace.

The effects of the building program of *ca.* 300 B.C. may also be seen in two important structures that were now added to the Upper Terrace. Expansion into this steep and rocky sector of the Sanctuary, which had been the scene of earlier cult activity, became easier after the completion of the Hellenistic Propylon in O-P:19-20. Directly south of this building and distant only *ca.* 9.00 m. from it are the rock-cut steps that allowed one to climb up into the small theatral area on the Upper Terrace.⁶³ These steps remained in service, but it is likely that more cuttings higher up the slope were now added at this time. These would seem to have been required to bed a stairway in order to reach a new, small, rectangular temple that was built in S-T:16-17. Little more than its deep, rock-cut foundation trenches has survived. It sat on a small terrace and faced out to the north over the Sanctuary below it. We have suggested that this building may have housed cult statues and taken over the functions of the Archaic oikos that once stood on the Middle Terrace.⁶⁴

Ca. 17.00 m. to the east of this building, at the same level on the Upper Terrace, are the well-preserved remains of a small, rock-cut theater in S-T:21-22. It seems to have been laid out at the same time as the temple just described, probably as part of the new design of *ca.* 300 B.C.; it is linked to the temple by a narrow terrace. Approximately eighty-five spectators could be seated at one time in the straight rows of seats. Had the builders of the Sanctuary desired a larger auditorium, they had ample room to create one on this steep and rocky slope. Clearly, their aim was to accommodate a limited number of spectators gathered together to view a cult ritual. Such rites, which may have been connected with initiation or the mysteries, could only have been performed down below in the Middle Terrace. The theater is placed so as to give spectators an unimpeded view of processions moving up the stone stairway and earth ramp of the Lower Terrace and emerging through the Hellenistic Propylon in O-P:19-20. It also looks directly down into the central Courtyard of the Middle Terrace. Here the Trapezoidal Building on its north side would have formed a suitable backdrop for such activity and guaranteed privacy. Sacrificial Pit B at the eastern end of this building may have been included in the ceremonies. We have no clues as to the nature of the rites viewed by the spectators in the theater. It is possible that the worship of Dionysos, attested by artifacts found in the Sanctuary, may have formed part of this ritual of Demeter and Kore.⁶⁵

After the building program and reorganization of *ca.* 300 B.C., the Sanctuary seems to have remained fairly stable for the next century and a half. Although we found very little evidence for new construction, the large quantities of votive pottery and terracotta figurines indicate lively and continuous activity. Second only to the kalathos, miniature unpainted hydriai now become numerous enough as offerings to suggest that water may have been important in the ritual. Throughout the Hellenistic period the people in charge of the Sanctuary and those participating in its cult remain, for us, virtually anonymous. Nor is there at the Demeter Sanctuary any clear reflection in the archaeological record of the ups and downs of the political and military history of

⁶³ Pp. 256-260 above.

⁶⁴ Pp. 267-271 above.

⁶⁵ For the theater, pp. 246-247, 260-266 above.

Corinth at this time. No Hellenistic monarch is in evidence; there is no trace of the Achaian League. Despite its proximity to the fortress on Acrocorinth, which often changed hands in these years, religious life in the Sanctuary appears to have been uninterrupted.

The only clear break in the historical development of the Sanctuary comes at the time of the Roman invasion and destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. Although we found no indication that Sanctuary buildings suffered damage at this time or that the looting of Mummius and his soldiers included dedications in this shrine, the site was obviously abandoned after the Romans withdrew. Like most of the rest of Corinth, it remained deserted for over a century. Among the thousands of objects recovered in our excavation, only a small handful can tentatively be assigned a date 146–44 B.C.⁶⁶

When the Roman Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis was founded in 44 B.C., the condition of all the abandoned buildings in the Sanctuary of Demeter is unknown. Nor can we tell for certain how soon after this date the colonists decided to revive the worship of the two goddesses on Acrocorinth.⁶⁷ We have suggested that the road along the north side of the Sanctuary remained in use in the Roman period. It is also likely that the topographic outline of the Greek Sanctuary was still obvious, for in their rebuilding program the Romans retained the old tripartite division of the hillside into Lower, Middle, and Upper Terraces. Although the main approach probably continued to be from the north, the northern entrance and the monumental stone stairway of the Greek shrine were abandoned and covered over in Roman times.

Good evidence emerged on the Lower Terrace to show how and when the Romans went about building one part of their new Sanctuary. The Hellenistic dining unit K–L:21–22 survived in good enough condition to be reused in part during the early phases of the Roman shrine. As part of the renovation of this structure, fill was brought in and new floors were laid down that covered the earlier dining couches. Communal meals of the old type seem no longer to have formed part of the ritual in this building. Nor is there evidence elsewhere in the Roman Sanctuary to indicate a continuation of this practice. The presence of some ritual pottery and ten lead curse tablets in this renovated room suggests that it was designed to serve the cult, however. The old Hellenistic dining unit was refurbished to form a spacious cult building with two or more rooms and an unusual arrangement of supports for what may have been altars that were closely connected with the ceremony of depositing curse tablets. Its importance is shown by the fact that this building remained in continuous service until the end of the 4th century after Christ.

⁶⁶ For the Roman victory over the Achaian League and the subsequent destruction of Corinth, see E. S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome II*, Berkeley 1984, pp. 519–528, with earlier bibliography. For objects from the period 146–44 B.C. found in our excavations, see p. 252, note 28 above. Even the small population of “squatters” that may have settled in or near the ruined city does not seem to have been attracted up to the Demeter Sanctuary. For these, see Williams 1978, pp. 21–23; Williams and Russell 1981, pp. 27, 34–44. On Corinth from 146 to 44 B.C., see Wiseman 1979, pp. 491–496; C. M. Edwards, “Corinth, 1980: Moulded Relief Bowls,” *Hesperia* 50, 1981 [pp. 189–210], pp. 199, 205; *Corinth XVIII*, i, p. 4. There is no evidence to support the assertion of Engels (1990, pp. 94–95) that the buildings in the Sanctuary “suffered heavy damage from neglect and the theft of building material during the period of the city’s eclipse.” In fact the two sources he cites in support of this claim (Stroud 1968, pp. 300–310; Bookidis and Fisher 1972, p. 284) state exactly the opposite, i.e., “Evidence of violent damage to the buildings on the site as a result of Mummius’ invasion has not yet been recognized” (Stroud 1968, p. 300).

⁶⁷ For speculation about Roman attitudes toward revival of the old Greek cults of Corinth, see C. K. Williams II, “The Refounding of Corinth: Some Roman Religious Attitudes,” in *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*, F. H. Thompson and S. Macready, eds., London 1987, pp. 26–37; Engels 1990, pp. 92–107, with our reservations expressed note 3 above; Stroud 1993. In our view the arguments of R. E. DeMaris fail to demonstrate that on Acrocorinth “Demeter’s chthonic aspect became dominant in the Roman period. The earlier Greek emphasis on fertility . . . gave way to funerary and underworld [*sic*] emphases”; “Demeter in Roman Corinth: Local Development in a Mediterranean Religion,” *Numen* 42, 1995 [pp. 105–117], p. 105.

Moreover, the concentration of the curse tablets in Building K–L:21–22, three of them from under its floor, sheds new light on the cult in the Roman period.

The practice of depositing lead defixiones in the Demeter Sanctuary apparently began in the Roman period. With one exception in Latin, all the tablets are written in Greek. None of the eighteen tablets found throughout the excavations, however, belongs to the Greek phase of the site. Almost all the curses were directed against women, which might help to strengthen the impression, gained from many of the other finds, such as the terracotta figurines, that most of the worshipers in the Sanctuary were female. Since one of the tablets from Building K–L:21–22 invokes the aid of the Moirai Praxidikai, it is possible that we have in it our earliest evidence for the association of the Fates with Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. Other deities named on the tablets include Demeter, Hermes, Ge, and the theoi katachthonioi.⁶⁸

Construction on the first phase of Building K–L:21–22 probably did not begin until the third quarter of the 1st century after Christ, possibly after the earthquake of A.D. 77.⁶⁹ Other parts of the Lower Terrace, however, may have been in service earlier. Building M:16–17, in fact, may have been destroyed by this same earthquake. How much time elapsed between the founding of the colony in 44 B.C. and the revival of the Demeter Sanctuary remains uncertain. Roman pottery and lamps from our excavation are not very numerous before *ca.* A.D. 50, although there are some.⁷⁰ The coins, however, suggest that the site may have been back in use somewhat earlier, as this preliminary tabulation illustrates.

| CORINTHIAN DUOVIRI COINS | No. | ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS | No. |
|--------------------------|-----------|----------------------|----------|
| | | Julius Caesar | 1 |
| Reign of Augustus | 12 | Augustus | 3 |
| Augustus/Tiberius | 4 | | |
| Reign of Tiberius | 4 | Tiberius | 1 |
| Reign of Claudius | 1 | Claudius | 1 |
| Reign of Nero | 2 | Nero | 1 |
| Reign of Galba | 7 | | |
| | <u>30</u> | | <u>7</u> |

Of the thirty-seven coins in these two categories, which were struck roughly in the first one hundred years of the new colony, twenty-five belong to the period before *ca.* A.D. 50. This distribution may reflect a revival of the Sanctuary not too long after the refounding of Corinth.⁷¹

Other changes in cult practices in the Roman Sanctuary accompanied the abandonment of communal dining units and the introduction of lead curse tablets. Although large amounts of pottery were brought up to the Sanctuary throughout the Roman period, the great bulk of it was utilitarian, not votive, as had been so conspicuously the case in the Greek shrine. One exception is the thymiaterion, which now becomes a favorite ritual vessel for worshipers in the

⁶⁸ For Building K–L:21–22 on the Roman Lower Terrace, pp. 277–291 above. For the Moirai Praxidikai, pp. 3–4, 370–371. The curse tablets will be published in full in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*. See Bookidis and Stroud 1987, pp. 30–31; D. R. Jordan, “A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora,” *GRBS* 26, 1985 [pp. 151–197], p. 166; J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*, New York 1992, p. 37, note 92.

⁶⁹ The evidence for this earthquake was conveniently assembled and discussed by West (*Corinth VIII*, ii, pp. 18–19). See also *Corinth VIII*, iii, nos. 82–86; Wiseman 1979, p. 506; Slane 1986, pp. 316–317.

⁷⁰ *Corinth XVIII*, ii, p. 5.

⁷¹ These proportions of coins from the Demeter Sanctuary are very close to the figures of Imperial and municipal coins found in the Corinth Excavations as a whole, as compiled by Engels (1990, pp. 160–166). Fisher has published reports on the coins from the excavation seasons of 1969–1973 in the Demeter Sanctuary in Bookidis and Fisher 1972 and 1974. All coins from the Sanctuary will be published in detail in a later fascicle of *Corinth XVIII*.

Roman Sanctuary. The practice of dedicating terracotta figurines and other small votives was also sharply curtailed. Lamps seem to have remained an important part of life in the Sanctuary. They may have been used in nocturnal rites, and they are numerous enough in the Roman period to have served as votives.⁷² Seashells also turn up in significant enough numbers in Roman contexts to indicate that they became a popular form of dedication.

Other building projects that might belong to the earlier phases of Roman construction include a new entrance hall into the Middle Terrace, the Roman Propylon. Here again the Roman builders reused parts of an earlier structure, for they bedded some of the walls of their new hall on the deep foundations of the Hellenistic Propylon in O–P:19–20. The main entrance into the Middle Terrace in Roman times thus stayed where it had been since *ca.* 300 B.C., but one now stepped through a new columnar façade.⁷³ Directly on axis with this monumental entrance, a deep well, *ca.* 5.00 m. to the south on the Middle Terrace, was cut down through the bedrock. Not only did it probably become the principal source of water in the Roman Sanctuary, but its position may have marked it out for special attention in the cult. We lack secure dates for these constructions, as we do for the earliest phases of two other important features on the Roman Middle Terrace.⁷⁴

One of these is a long cement and rubble retaining wall that marked this sector's northern boundary and extended the Middle Terrace much farther to the west than had ever been the case in the Greek Sanctuary. The pressing need to check erosion on this steep hillside by building similar walls in earlier periods makes it unlikely that the Romans waited long to do likewise. Together with a parallel cutting in the bedrock along the south side of the Middle Terrace, this wall helped to form a long narrow platform. The western part is devoid of buildings. In the eastern half the Romans put up a stoa that faced south toward the Upper Terrace and away from the cold north wind. It did not, however, look up the hill toward a theatrical area as in Hellenistic times. In the Roman Sanctuary we found no evidence for gathering places of this type. The stoa and two rebuilt rooms to the east of it are too poorly preserved to tell us anything about how they functioned in the life of the Sanctuary.⁷⁵

In the Roman period the center of the Sanctuary's focus shifted to the Upper Terrace. Here, on the loftiest part of the site, three small temples were constructed in the second half of the 1st century after Christ, probably after the earthquake of A.D. 77. Their columnar façades all faced north, down onto the rest of the Sanctuary and far out over the city of Corinth, the Corinthian Gulf, and the mountains of central Greece beyond. Rock cuttings and retaining walls below and to the north of the temples supported a broad platform in front of them, approached at either end by a monumental stairway. This provided access to the three buildings. Although not of identical dimensions, the temples, nevertheless, share the same plan, and they are parallel to, and equidistant from, one another. They clearly belong to a unified architectural design. The central temple lies on the north–south axis of the Roman entrance hall down below on the Middle Terrace and directly on line with the well in Q:19.⁷⁶

After about the middle of the 2nd century after Christ at the latest, the westernmost temple housed an over-lifesize marble cult statue of Demeter. Each of the two adjacent buildings may have contained representations of other deities. Portrait statues of young priestesses seem also to have been kept in these buildings, as well as carved marble basins, cult tables, and at least one altar. The floor of the central temple was decorated in the late 2nd/early 3rd century after Christ by a mosaic pavement laid down by the neokoros Octavius Agathopous, in the time when

⁷² *Corinth* XVIII, ii, p. 8; Stroud 1993.

⁷³ For the Roman Propylon, pp. 293–301 above.

⁷⁴ For the well and the possibility that it may have been dug in Hellenistic times, pp. 332–336 above.

⁷⁵ For the retaining wall, stoa, and rooms on the Middle Terrace, pp. 304–332 above.

⁷⁶ For the temples, pp. 338–371 above.

Chara was priestess of Neotera (= Kore). Since both individuals are otherwise unknown, we learn nothing more about the date or occasion of this benefaction.⁷⁷ Nor do we have any explicit evidence of any other such gifts the Sanctuary may have received from individuals, the city of Corinth, local magistrates, or the emperor. The sacred baskets with encircling snakes represented on the mosaic floor are probably connected with a mystery cult of Demeter and Kore.

These temples will have been the ones that Pausanias saw when he visited Corinth *ca.* A.D. 160. We have argued that he did in fact make the climb up to Acrocorinth and that, according to the most plausible interpretation of his text at 2.4.7, he saw more than one temple of the Fates and Demeter and Kore.⁷⁸ His further observation that the statues in these buildings were not visible is in keeping with our suggestion that each of the three temples housed a cult statue. Presumably, Pausanias was excluded from entering the buildings because of either his sex or his not having been initiated into the mysteries at Corinth.⁷⁹ If we are correct in associating the western and central temples with Demeter and Kore, respectively, the Moirai thus become candidates for the identification of the easternmost temple, although other deities cannot be excluded.⁸⁰

Pottery, lamps, coins, and other finds indicate that the Sanctuary enjoyed continuous popularity throughout the Roman period. Additions, alterations, and repairs were made in several structures, such as the construction of a projecting wing on the south side of the stoa on the Middle Terrace. This work cannot be dated.⁸¹ Other projects can be placed with some confidence in the 3rd century after Christ. They include renovation of the cult building K–L:21–22 on the Lower Terrace;⁸² possible construction in Rooms A and E at the eastern end of the Middle Terrace;⁸³ the filling in of the small, rock-cut basin on the Upper Terrace in Q:20 just above the well in Q:19;⁸⁴ the mosaic floor added to the central temple on the Upper Terrace.⁸⁵ The surviving evidence for all these activities is not uniform or precise enough to place them together or to link them to any known historical event.⁸⁶

The only evidence for a possible interruption in the life of the Sanctuary in Roman times consists of debris in a cistern in the Roman stoa on the Middle Terrace. On the basis of the coins in this filling, we have suggested that the Sanctuary may have suffered some damage at the time of the Herulian invasion of Corinth in A.D. 267. No other evidence, however, indicates widespread destruction of buildings or disruption in the life of the Sanctuary at this time. Worship and other activities apparently continued undiminished until the end of the 4th century after Christ.⁸⁷

⁷⁷ For the mosaic inscription, pp. 362–369 above.

⁷⁸ Pp. 3–5, 370–371 above.

⁷⁹ For this suggestion, see Odelberg, *Sacra Corinthia, Sicyonia, Phliasia*, Upsala 1896, p. 84, who infers from Pausanias' statement about the statues that secret rites of a chthonic nature were held in the temple of Demeter and Kore. For Pausanias' initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries (1.37.4; 37.8) and for his attitude toward mystery cults, see C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Greece*, Berkeley 1985, pp. 156–157.

⁸⁰ Pp. 370–371 above.

⁸¹ Pp. 319–324 above.

⁸² Pp. 277–291 above.

⁸³ Pp. 308–310 above.

⁸⁴ Pp. 377–378 above.

⁸⁵ Pp. 349–350 above.

⁸⁶ They could be related to one or more destructions attested by excavations in other parts of Corinth. For instance, the Odeion was destroyed by fire in the first quarter of the 3rd century after Christ and restored a little later, *ca.* A.D. 225, as an arena for gladiatorial shows; *Corinth* X, pp. 58–59, 65, 146–147. East of the theater, Williams has found evidence of widespread violent destruction in his Roman Phase 5, 3rd century after Christ; Williams and Zervos 1987, pp. 27–28. But these destructions may also have had strictly local origins.

⁸⁷ For the cistern in the Roman stoa and the Herulian invasion, see pp. 327–332 above; Engels 1990, p. 199, note 46, who, like Slane, is skeptical about much Herulian damage in Corinth.

It is possible that the Sanctuary enjoyed the benefactions of one of the richest and most prominent Corinthians in the 4th century after Christ, Aristophanes, son of Menandros. His friend, the famous sophist Libanius, who was in Corinth while Aristophanes served as duovir, ca. A.D. 337–340, praised his generous gifts to Demeter and Kore, among other deities, in his *Oration* (14.7). Unfortunately, the location of their shrine(s) is not indicated.⁸⁸

On September 9, A.D. 364, the emperors Valens and Valentinian I issued a law that prohibited all nocturnal “nefarios preces aut magicos apparatus aut sacrificia funesta” (Ammianus Marcellinus 29.1.44). The historian Zosimos attributes to the emperors a desire to thwart especially practitioners of mystery religions. Whether or not they were in fact the law’s primary targets, the threat this legislation posed to the Eleusinian Mysteries can be inferred from the intervention of a powerful public figure with close ties to Eleusis, who persuaded the emperors not to enforce the law but to allow “the Greeks to practise in the prescribed manner the holiest mysteries that sustained the human race.” Without them life would be unlivable. This man was Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, hierophant and proconsul of Achaia. He was a zealous pagan and close associate of the former emperor Julian the Apostate. Nothing is said about the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth in our sources for this incident, but it could be that Praetextatus came also to the aid of the rites practiced in this shrine, particularly if, as seems likely, the provincial governor had his headquarters in Corinth.⁸⁹

The end of religious life in the Sanctuary is graphically represented by evidence of violent destruction in several separate areas. Debris from its final phase lay on the floor of the large cult building K–L:21–22 on the Lower Terrace. Large numbers of terracotta tiles and other parts of the roof of the Roman stoa on the Middle Terrace were found where they had collapsed. The upper filling of the cistern inside this building consisted of similar destruction debris. Many tiles, terracotta simas and antefixes, fragments of stone monument bases, architectural members, and marble sculpture found their way into the well in Q:19 on the Middle Terrace. Dramatic indication of the violence of this final destruction consists of the marble heads of two priestesses and the female cult statue that had been broken from their bodies and hurled down the well. Nowhere, however, did we find a better example of the destruction in place within a building than in the central temple on the Upper Terrace. Over its mosaic floor were tumbled wall blocks, tiles and other parts of the roof, stone architectural fragments, parts of elegant marble furnishings, and pieces of badly smashed marble sculpture.

The pottery, lamps, and coins found in these accumulations of destruction debris conclusively point to the closing decades of the 4th century after Christ as the time of the Sanctuary’s demise. A similar date is attested by the overall pattern of distribution of these and other finds from our excavation. All such objects very sharply decrease in numbers after ca. A.D. 400 or slightly earlier. This was an age marked by official attempts to discourage non-Christian worship.⁹⁰ Hostility from the Christian community may have helped to hasten the end of the Sanctuary.

⁸⁸ Aristophanes was probably an initiate into the Eleusinian Mysteries; Libanius, *Or.* 14.64–65, 70. For his pagan piety, see also *ibid.*, 41–43, 63–70; Julian, *Epistles* 97.

⁸⁹ Zosimos, *New History* 4.3.2–4. See E. Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätrömischer Zeit: Dissertationes Pannonicae* I, Budapest 1946, pp. 45–48; A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Late Roman Empire* I, Cambridge 1971, pp. 722–724; F. Paschoud, Zosime, *Histoire Nouvelle* II.2, Paris (Budé) 1979, pp. 336–338; Trombley 1993, pp. 69–70 (with whose translation and chronology we cannot agree). The evidence for Corinth as the capital of the province of Achaia is still weak; see Wiseman 1979, pp. 501–502.

⁹⁰ For discussion of the several antipagan imperial edicts, which began before the end of the 4th century after Christ, see *Agora* XXIV, pp. 69–71. For a brief account of Christianity at Corinth, which unfortunately does not discuss the demise of the pagan sanctuaries, see Engels 1990, pp. 107–120, with some helpful bibliography. The clash between the old Hellenic religion and Christianity is treated at length in Trombley 1993, with copious quotation of primary sources that show clearly that at other sites Christian hostility to sanctuaries was often expressed through physical violence.

Earthquake damage has seemed the most plausible initial cause for the ruined condition in which we found the central temple on the Upper Terrace. The latest coin in the debris on its mosaic floor was minted after the tremor of A.D. 365; it perhaps points rather to the earthquake attested in A.D. 375.⁹¹ Sanctuary buildings, however, did not merely collapse in an earthquake and lie abandoned. Human agents of destruction were at work, as is clear from the three marble heads in the well and other badly broken objects scattered over the site. Not to be ruled out as having a possible impact on the destruction and looting of the shrine are the invading Visigoths who swarmed into Corinth under the leadership of Alaric in A.D. 395.⁹² It is also obvious that, soon after the end of worship at this site, Sanctuary buildings were extensively pillaged by those in search of building materials. Deep robbing trenches cut down through surviving walls, in some cases reaching to their lowest foundations. Some of this activity could have been part of a final, and futile, attempt to clean up the site after the earthquake.

The absence of explicit written evidence does not permit conclusions about the date or the causes of destruction in the Sanctuary firmer than those tentatively proposed in the preceding paragraph. Within the final decades of the 4th century after Christ, the chronology of the Roman pottery and lamps from the Sanctuary is not accurate enough to establish a precise terminal date. The latest Roman coins, though capable of more exact dating, are probably not numerous enough to be conclusive. As the following tabulation shows, however, their distribution may suggest that the end came not too much before the time of Alaric's invasion.⁹³

| EMPEROR | NO. OF COINS |
|---|--------------|
| Valens, A.D. 364–375 | 6 |
| Gratianus, A.D. 367–375 | 1 |
| Valentinian I, A.D. 367–375 | 1 |
| 4th century unclassified, A.D. 364–378 | 4 |
| Valentinian II, A.D. 378–392 | 4 |
| Valentinian I–II, unclassified | 4 |
| Theodosius I, A.D. 393–395 | 4 |
| Arcadius, A.D. 383–408 | 5 |

⁹¹ For detailed discussion of the date of the debris in this temple, see pp. 350–353 above, where problems of the chronology of the latest Roman lamps are raised. For literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence relating to the earthquakes of A.D. 365 and 375, see *Corinth* VIII, iii, pp. 165–166; Williams and Zervos 1983, p. 24; 1987, pp. 31–32.

⁹² Frantz (*Agora* XXIV, pp. 49–56) has a useful discussion of the literary sources and archaeological evidence for the invasion of Alaric, with helpful bibliography. Still worth reading for the destruction of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis by Alaric and his followers is G. Finlay's stirring account, *A History of Greece from Its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864* I, Oxford 1877, pp. 158–159. For Alaric in the Corinthia, see Wiseman 1969, p. 92; P. A. Clement, "Isthmia Excavations," *Δελτ* 27, 1972 B, pp. 228–229; A. E. Beaton and P. A. Clement, "The Date of the Destruction of the Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth," *Hesperia* 45, 1976, pp. 267–279; T. E. Gregory, "The Late Roman Wall at Corinth," *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 264–280; J. A. Dengate, "Coin Hoards from the Gymnasium Area at Corinth," *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 149–153, with helpful bibliography, p. 150, note 9; Williams and Zervos 1982, pp. 118, 144–145; 1983, pp. 23–24; J. D. MacIsaac, "Corinth Coins, 1925–1926," *Hesperia* 56, 1987, pp. 100–101; P. Castrén, "Post-Herulian Athens," *Greek and Latin Studies in Memory of Cajus Fabricius (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 54), 1990, pp. 59–64; A. Rügler, "Die Datierung der 'Hallenstrasse' und des 'Festtores' im Kerameikos und Alarichs Besetzung Athens," *AM* 105, 1990, pp. 279–294.

⁹³ After the end of the 4th century after Christ, Theodosius II, A.D. 400–450, and Valentinian III, A.D. 423–455, are each represented by a single coin from the Sanctuary. There follows a hiatus until the reign of Justinian, of whom we also found one coin.

After the abandonment of the Sanctuary, no further construction of any importance seems to have taken place on the steep slopes of this part of Acrocorinth. On the Lower Terrace in M:15–17 and in K:16 we excavated the poorly preserved remains of what seem to have been an animal fold and a wall with an oven to the north of it.⁹⁴ It was probably not long before abandoned parts of the former Sanctuary were occupied by clusters of tile graves. Most of these lie at the northern edge of the Lower Terrace, while a few others were found on the Middle Terrace. Grave goods are few and poor; tombstones are lacking. It is impossible to tell if these burials were Christian or pagan, and they can only be dated by comparison with similar cemeteries elsewhere in Corinth of roughly A.D. 400–600. No graves seem to have been placed in the line of the road that skirts the northern edge of the Sanctuary. This may suggest that the road remained in use until at least the end of antiquity.⁹⁵ We have suggested above (p. 391) that the remarkable concentration of graves containing skeletons of women and children (twenty-six out of twenty-nine) may indicate that this part of Acrocorinth retained a certain attraction as a burial ground for those whose maternal ancestors had worshiped at the shrine of Demeter and Kore for more than a millennium. The few sherds and coins of Byzantine and Turkish times recovered in our excavations were probably dropped by those who passed over these fields oblivious of the existence of the buried Classical Sanctuary.

⁹⁴ Pp. 379–381 above.

⁹⁵ For the tile graves, pp. 381–391 above.

ARCHITECTURAL CATALOGUE

Eighty fragments of poros and marble architecture and furniture were inventoried from the entire Sanctuary. Only sixty-one of these, however, have been included in the following catalogue. It will be all too clear why the remainder were omitted, for not one complete profile has survived from the site. Although very few Sanctuary buildings had decorated superstructures, clearly those that did were thoroughly destroyed, leaving isolated moldings and small segments of larger elements as a testimony to their existence. As a result, we have limited our description to what is most informative.

The architectural terracottas are considerably more numerous, undoubtedly because they could not be so easily reused. Thus, 26 Archaic to Hellenistic and *ca.* 195 Roman decorated tiles were recovered from the site. We have presented one example of virtually every type. In general, the small number of decorated tiles from the Greek period suggests that these were employed only on the roofs of the more important cult buildings on the Middle and Upper Terraces; the roofs of the dining rooms were undoubtedly plain. In addition to the decorated tiles we have added a few undecorated ones, such as the two opaion tiles, **79** and **80**, and the pan tile from the Hellenistic Building N:28, **77**.

The catalogue has been divided into three parts. Part I, **1–51**, presents those architectural elements that can be assigned to specific buildings and are important for their reconstruction. These buildings are organized chronologically and topographically as they appear in the preceding chapters, progressing from Greek to Roman. Only those fragments that can be attributed with some security have been included. Part II, **52–97**, consists of unattributed pieces that either are intrinsically interesting or provide evidence for a building or building phase not otherwise attested. They are arranged by material, stone preceding terracotta, and are organized by function, then date. Part III, **98–109**, is a catalogue of miscellaneous blocks, chiefly of Archaic date, that formed the foundations of the Roman Temple with the Mosaic Floor, T–U:19, and the East Temple, T–U:22. Because some or all of these blocks could have been brought from another part of the city, we have separated them from the other entries, which clearly do derive from the site.

Only half of the items catalogued in Parts I and II can actually be associated with a specific building. Those buildings are few and relatively late, consisting of the Hellenistic Propylon O–P:19–20, the Roman stoa, and the three Roman temples. The impression they give of the Sanctuary's architectural history is necessarily lopsided. But when we add to Part I the unattributed fragments catalogued in Part II, the picture becomes fuller, and we can perhaps better understand what we have lost on the ravaged Middle and Upper Terraces, for the important decorated cult buildings stood in those two areas. A brief chronological review of these elements may make this point clearer.

The earliest architectural element from the site is a fragmentary combination tile, **68**, similar in scale and form to those from the early-7th-century B.C. Temple of Apollo in the city below. Given its size and weight, the piece must have roofed a building with sturdy walls. If we can assume that such a roof would only have been designed for an important building, then we can also conclude that there must have been such a structure in the Sanctuary by the middle of the 7th century B.C. The earliest decorated tile, however, belongs to the end of the 7th or early 6th century B.C., **69**. Much smaller in scale than **68**, it belongs with the earliest type of antefix yet known at Corinth. A second antefix, **70**, is decorated in another style. Thus far

without parallel in Corinth, this piece resembles more closely types of antefixes known from Argos. Tentatively dated to the middle of the 6th century B.C., it therefore represents a third Archaic roof. Not until the second half of the 6th century B.C. do we begin to find worked stone. To this period we would assign **62**, the Archaic hawksbeak molding, **63**, tentatively identified as an epikranitis, and perhaps the small column shaft, **52**, although its small scale may indicate that it was not architectural but a freestanding votive. A third palmette antefix, **71**, from the early 5th century B.C., must represent the last stage of the dark-on-light style of revetment at Corinth. Of indeterminate date, but clearly earlier than Hellenistic times, are the two guttae, **60**, detached from a lateral geison; whether Archaic or Classical is unclear, but the absence of other 5th-century B.C. architectural elements suggests that they may also have belonged to the 6th century B.C.

As we have seen, the late 4th to early 3rd century B.C. was a time of extensive building in the Sanctuary. To about the end of that century belong several buildings with either decorated entablatures or simply decorated roofs. The first of these is the Hellenistic Propylon, O-P:19-20, represented by **1-9**. Two or more buildings, smaller in scale, incorporate the following pieces, namely, **53** and **54**, Doric column shafts; **55**, Doric capital; and **61**, a Doric raking sima. To this same period belong four separate roofs, represented by the raking simas **9**, attributed to the Hellenistic Propylon, and **72A, B**, one lateral sima, **73**, and an eaves tile, **74**. At least two series of Hellenistic antefixes are also known, **75** and **76**, the latter a half-palmette. Two small pieces of ridge antefixes have not been included (lots 3206, 5618). In addition to these fragments, we have four pan tiles, **77-80**, which once belonged to undecorated roofs of dining rooms on the Lower Terrace, as well as the three stone monument bases, **92-94**.

The remaining architectural members are Roman in date. Some of these elements can be assigned to the three Ionic temples, erected in the second half of the 1st century after Christ on the Upper Terrace. **14-22** belong to the superstructure of the central Temple with the Mosaic Floor, T-U:19, while **23-31** formed part of its furnishings. Similarly, **32-42** can be associated with the entablature and roof of the West Temple, T:16-17, **43-49** to its interior. Two poros pieces, **50** and **51**, are attributable to the East Temple, T-U:22, while **64** could have belonged to either of the last two buildings.

In addition, a number of fragments of Roman workmanship cannot be dated more closely. Four pieces, **10-13**, including part of a Doric capital, have been assigned to some phase of the Roman stoa. Two more Doric capitals of different proportions, **56** and **57**, are too small for either the second phase of the Roman stoa or the Roman Propylon, while the triglyph, **59**, could have come from any of the three Doric entablatures. This leaves us with a series of unassigned roof tiles, namely, three Roman simas, **81-83**, two antefixes, **84** and **85**, and six stamped tiles, **86-91**. Part II of the catalogue closes with three Roman monument bases, **95-97**, one of which undoubtedly stood in the East Temple T-U:22.

In the figures that follow, all catalogued items are shown at a scale of 1:25 except for **58** and **98-103**. These are reproduced at a smaller scale: the reader is referred to the measurements on the drawings.

The page references given in the text are to the primary citation of that piece. For additional references, consult the Index of Inventoried Objects under the inventory number.

PART I: ATTRIBUTED ARCHITECTURE

HELLENISTIC PROPYLON, O-P:19-20 (pp. 219-224 above)

- 1** Poros step block¹ Fig. 54
 H. 0.171, p.L. 0.327, Th. at top 0.594 m. Top, bottom, one end preserved. Middle Terrace, built into the north foundation of the Roman Propylon. Left on site.
 P. 221 above.
 A low step block, equal in thickness to half that of the north foundation of the building, preserves triple reveals along the bottom of its front face; the lowest reveal is 0.028 m. high, 0.015 m. deep; the second is 0.018 m. high, 0.01 m. deep; the third is 0.015 m. high, 0.005 m. deep; all are square cut. Above this the surface continues vertically for 0.11 m. The upper surface shows rough strokes of the flat chisel. The bottom surface cannot be seen. See **2** and **3** for similar blocks.
- 2** Poros step block Fig. 55
 P.H. 0.225, p.L. 0.20, p.Th. 0.280 m. Resting surface, face, and right joint preserved, remaining sides broken; surfaces badly pitted and weathered. Exact provenance unknown. Left on site.
 P. 221 above.
 A step block having triple reveals along the bottom of its front face, which measure from the bottom up, 0.029 m. high, 0.018 m. deep; 0.019 m. high, 0.009 m. deep; 0.014 m. high, 0.009 m. deep. The uppermost reveal is beveled; above it the vertical face continues for at least 0.163 m. There is anathyrosis on the right joint, and a narrow relieving margin 0.012 m. wide along the bottom front edge. Step blocks with beveled upper reveal occur on the top two steps of the South Stoa, just visible in *Corinth* I, iv, pl. 5:4.
- 3** Poros step block Fig. 56
 P.H. 0.160, p.L. 0.33, p.Th. 0.111 m. Part of resting surface and three reveals, remaining surfaces broken; all surfaces weathered. Lower Terrace, from the area of the stairway. Left on site.
 P. 221 above.
 The three reveals on this step block measure as follows, from the bottom up: 0.031 m. high, 0.015 m. deep; 0.019 m. high, 0.009 m. deep; 0.015 m. high, depth not preserved since the face of the step above this point is broken; the reveal does, however, appear to be beveled.
- 4** Poros Doric architrave Fig. 57
 A-69-85. P.H. 0.082, p.L. 0.069 m. Part of front and right edge, with regula and one gutta. Lower Terrace, from Late Roman fills over Building K-L:21-22.
 P. 221 above.
 A single fragment remains from the architrave, preserving a small portion of the regula, 0.027 m. high, projecting 0.027 m. from the face of the architrave, and the edge of the taenia above. One gutta, 0.03 m. in diameter and 0.009 m. high, is set in 0.011 m. from the right edge of the block. Its sides are vertical, and it is engaged to the block in back; its front face, however, is chipped away. The small portion of the right face of the block is smooth. Traces of white stucco are visible on both regula and gutta. With a spacing of 0.022 m. between the guttae, the regula can be restored to a length of 0.312 m.
- 5** Poros triglyph-metope block Fig. 58, Pl. 64
 A-1061. H. 0.495, p.L. 0.67, min. rest. L. 0.74, max. Th. 0.322, metope W. 0.445, rest. W. triglyph ca. 0.303 m. Bottom, top, and back surfaces preserved, together with small parts of left end and front surface. Lower Terrace, from Roman debris just north of the Roman Propylon. Left on site.
 P. 221 above.
 A frieze block preserves part of one triglyph and a metope to left of the triglyph. Although most of the face of the block is missing, the base of two glyphs and a small part of the surface of the metope remain. From the existing portions the complete widths of both the metope and triglyph can be restored, namely, 0.445 m. for the metope and 0.297-0.303 m. for the triglyph, though here a certain latitude must be left in view of the worn state of the glyphs. The metope is slightly higher than wide and about half again as wide as the triglyph. The back (Pl. 64) is worked with anathyrosis along the top and left end; a horizontal cutting 0.053 m. square by 0.12 m. deep is set 0.247 m. down from the top near the center of the block. By means of wood inserted in this hole, the block could have been lifted and shifted into place.² Both cutting and anathyrosis require that a row of backer blocks be restored behind the façade. The absence of claw chisel marks suggests a Greek date for the block, since poros in *Corinth* is customarily worked with a flat chisel in Greek times, with the claw in Roman

¹ We have used the term "poros" for a fine-grained, gray oolitic limestone from which are carved all architectural members except for those cut from marble. We are extremely grateful to Christopher Pfaff for reading this catalogue and making many useful comments.

² Our thanks to Christopher Pfaff for this suggestion. Martin (1965, p. 239, pl. XXIV:5) places horizontal tenons in such cuttings in order to reduce the possibility of shifting blocks.

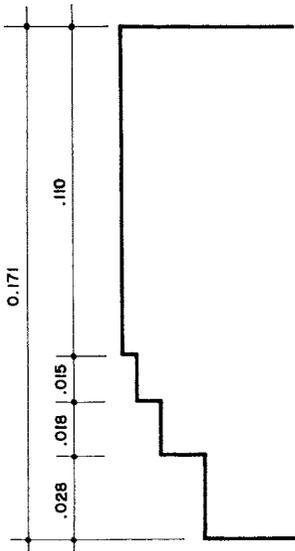


FIG. 54. 1, Step block

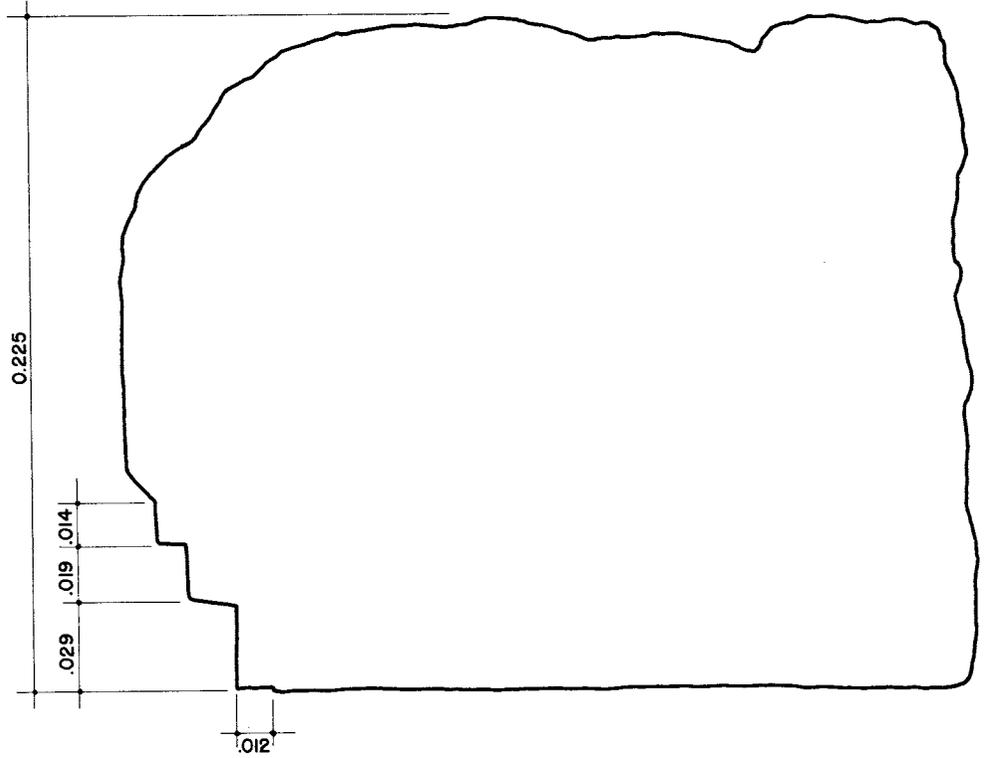


FIG. 55. 2, Step block

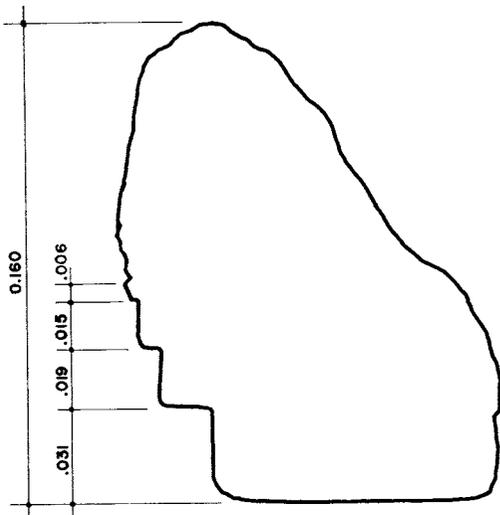


FIG. 56. 3, Step block

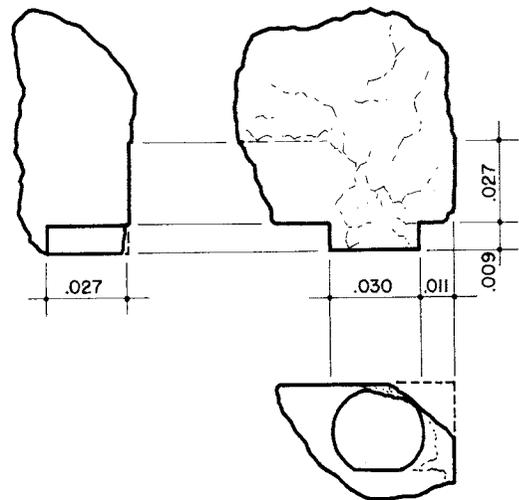


FIG. 57. 4, Regula

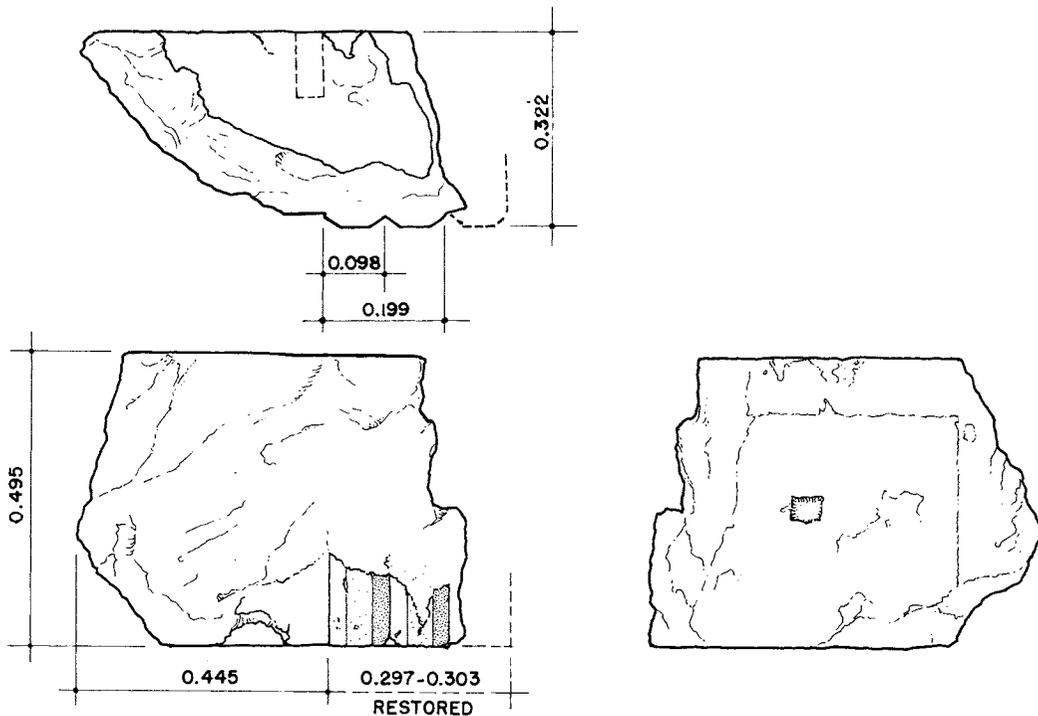


FIG. 58. 5, Triglyph

times. Its proportions, moreover, agree with those of the South Stoa in Corinth. **58** below may derive from the top of one such triglyph.

6 Poros crowning molding Fig. 59

A-585. P.H. 0.044, p.L. 0.267, p.Th. 0.044 m. Two joining fragments, molding from projecting part of hawksbeak to top; broken below, ends. Middle Terrace, from robbed wall trench over north wall of Hellenistic Propylon (lot 2248) and from Late Hellenistic fill over landing 7 (lot 3216).

P. 221 above.

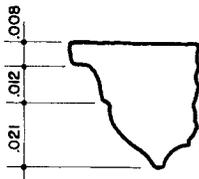


FIG. 59. 6, Molding

The upper part of a hawksbeak molding, p.H. 0.021, Depth 0.03, has a blunt beak with compound upper curve, crowned by a deep cavetto, H. 0.012, Depth 0.011, and narrow fillet, H. 0.008 m. The top surface of the molding is horizontal for at least 0.044 m. and at

right angles to the fillet. There are traces of a thin, hard, white stucco on the surface. See Shoe 1936, p. 123, pl. LIX:5 for the hawksbeak from Didyma, Temple of Apollo, second half of the 4th century B.C.; the cavetto on **6**, however, is more erect and nearly as deep as it is high.

The molding could have crowned either an anta capital or frieze backer. Not enough is preserved to determine which. A small nonjoining fragment, found over the stairway from lot 6215, adds another 0.135 m. to its length.

7 Poros Doric lateral geison B. Fig. 60

A-584a, b. **A.** P.H. 0.06, p.L. 0.083, p.Th. 0.055 m. Bottom to lower half of soffit molding, right end; **B.** P.H. 0.132, p.L. 0.155, p.Th. 0.182 m. Bottom, complete soffit molding. **A.** Middle Terrace, from Late Hellenistic fill just south of the north foundation of the Roman Propylon (lot 3209). **B.** Lower Terrace, from Roman fill over Building M-N:19 (lot 5618).

P. 221 above.

Doric geison with lower fascia, H. 0.043, crowned by a cyma reversa soffit molding, H. 0.018, Depth 0.026 m. Fragment **B** also preserves the back of one via and therefore the height of the mutule, H. 0.025 m. Its surface is worked with the flat chisel. For the molding, see Shoe 1936, p. 72, pl. XXX:44, Olympia, unidentified molding, ca. 320 B.C.

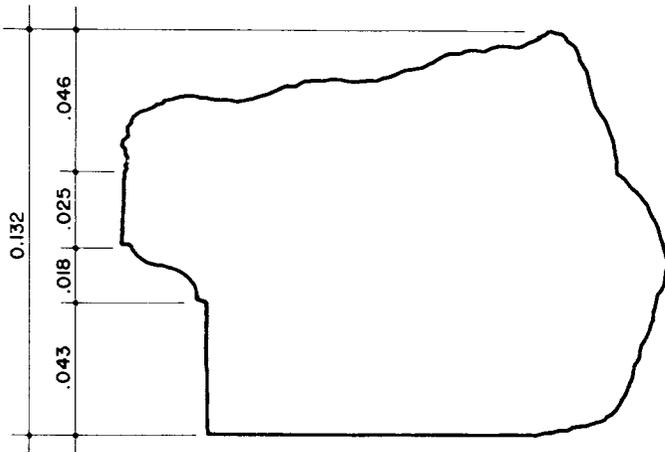


FIG. 60. 7, Geison

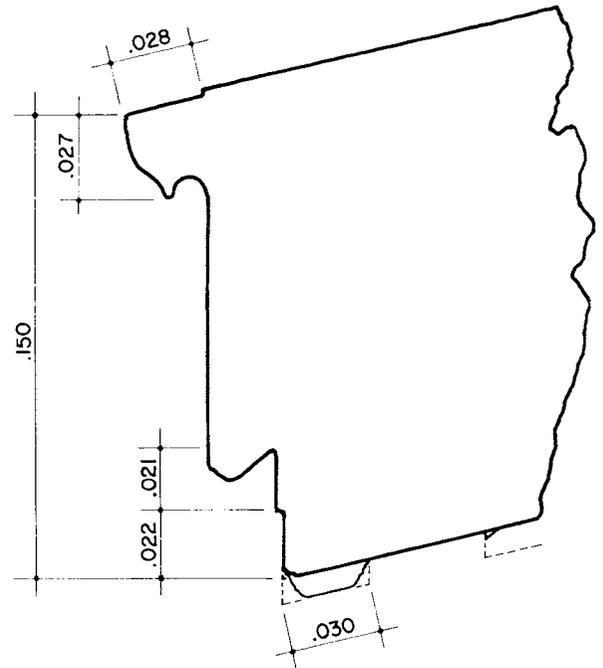


FIG. 61. 8, Geison

A nonjoining fragment, A-69-83, from the stairway, preserves the bottom of the block and lower half of the soffit molding, for a preserved length of 0.175 m. **8**, which was not found in the area of the building, undoubtedly preserves the front of the geison.

8 Poros Doric lateral geison Fig. 61

A-69-58. P.H. 0.19, p.L. 0.218, p. Depth 0.135 m. Front of geison with part of mutule, crowning molding, top surface; tip of drip broken away; upper surface heavily pitted. Lower Terrace, Building of the Tablets, K-L:21-22, Room 7, in packing for the first Roman floor (lot 6219).

P. 221 above.

A lateral geison preserves part of a mutule, H. 0.022, to a depth of at least 0.084 m. and a width of at least 0.106 m. On it are one gutta and part of a second along the front, with the edge of a third behind these. The guttae are 0.03 m. in diameter and 0.006 m. high;³ they are spaced at least 0.021 m. apart from side to side and 0.041 m. front to back. Thus, we can restore the width of the mutule to no less than 0.285 m. but no more than 0.33 m., and its depth to about 0.18-0.19 m. Above the mutule the fascia is 0.021 m. high; the drip has a curved undercut; its projection is 0.025 m. The

crowning hawksbeak is continuous with the face of the geison; its depth is 0.027 m. A rough relieving margin 0.028 m. wide, 0.002 m. deep runs along the outer edge of the top; the top surface rises at an angle of 14 degrees to the face. Traces of a thin, fine, white stucco are apparent on all parts of its profile, and there is red paint on the fascia below the drip.

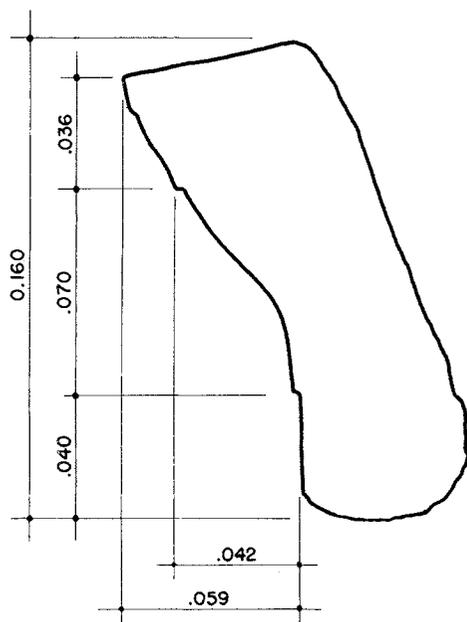
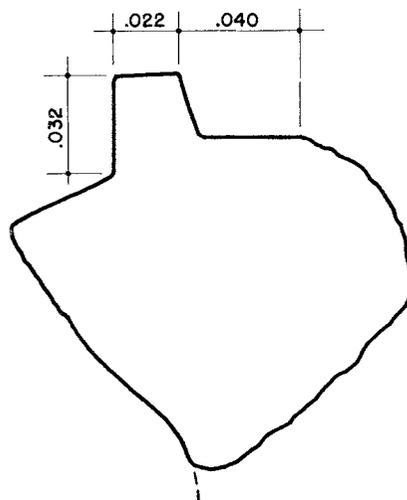
The geison closely resembles **7** both in workmanship and stone, while mutule heights are nearly identical. The profile of its crowning molding is similar to that from the South Stoa and is in keeping with the above soffit molding. Its association with **7** and with the Hellenistic Propylon O-P:19-20 is therefore likely.

9 Terracotta raking sima A. Fig. 62A; Pl. 59;
B. Fig. 62B; C. Pl. 59

A. FS-1015. H. 0.16, p.L. 0.12 m. Projection of face 0.059 m. Nearly complete height and left edge; bottom surface and right edge broken. Middle Terrace, from packing south of the north foundation of the Roman Propylon. No lot. Coarse yellow Corinthian clay, with moderate amount of mudstone inclusions, fine slip, slightly yellower than 5Y 8/3.

B. FS-1029. P.H. 0.135, P.H. sima face 0.095, p.L. 0.161 m. Upper half of sima, part of acroterion box;

³ At least seven detached guttae have been recovered from the area around the Hellenistic Propylon; the best example, A-586, preserves part of the surface of the mutule and one gutta, identical in dimensions to those here.

FIG. 62a. **9A**, SimaFIG. 62b. **9B**, Sima

painted decoration largely worn away. Lower Terrace, Late Roman debris, K:19. No lot. Coarse light Corinthian tan clay with numerous coarse mudstone inclusions, between 10YR 7/3 and 8/3.

C. Lot 6509:2. H. 0.054, p.L. 0.107, p.Th. 0.068 m. Single fragment from eaves, right edge, broken on other edges, broken or worn along top. As **B**.

Pp. 222–223 above.

A raking sima with a fascia 0.04 m. high along the bottom, outset cyma reversa with very flat profile, 0.07 m. high and projecting 0.042 m. from the fascia, crowned by a smaller, flat cyma reversa 0.026 m. high and fascia, 0.01 m. high. There is slight anathyrosis on the left joint; the back roughly trimmed with flat chisel for 0.078 m., presumably to overlap next tile. It is decorated as follows in a dull, dark brown paint. The fascia bears a swastika maeander in brown on a reserved ground; the cyma, an egg-and-dart, beginning at left with half a dart (full egg-dart about 0.116 m. wide), reserved on a dark ground; on the smaller cyma is a Lesbian leaf-and-dart outlined in brown with a V-shaped central rib; the fascia is brown. Fragment **B** is the right end block; although its state of preservation is poor, its profile is identical to that of **9A**,

and faint traces remain of its painted decoration. Part of an acroterion box is preserved on its upper surface. The box is set back 0.036 m. from the face and is framed by a vertical lip 0.022 m. thick that declines in height from right to left. Its horizontal floor is preserved for at least 0.125 m. along the sima face, but there is no evidence at present of an acroterion that was set in it.

On the flanks the sima was replaced by eaves tiles, represented by **C**. Its soffit is decorated with a band 0.056–0.058 m. wide of round bead-and-reel, reserved on a dark ground, while the front fascia has a swastika maeander and red-inscribed checkerboard in the same dull brown paint as **A**. A second piece of this series was found in the lower filling of Well 1961-11 in Q:19 (lot 1946).

For a parallel, see *FD II*, pp. 153–154, roofs 78–79, p. 168; ours is closer in profile to roof 79 but is not identical; Le Roy has no good evidence for the date of this type but allows it a span of 375–325 B.C.; in addition to the parallels he cites (p. 166), there are several unpublished examples at Corinth, but none that provides us with chronological support.

ROMAN STOA (pp. 310–327 above)

10 Poros Doric capital

Fig. 63

A-1045. P.H. 0.105, p.L. 0.18, p.W. 0.106, H. abacus 0.071, est. L. abacus 0.44–0.45 m. Corner of abacus with upper part of echinus. Middle Terrace, Q:20–22, tile layer to bedrock (lot 2088).

Pp. 298, 317 above.

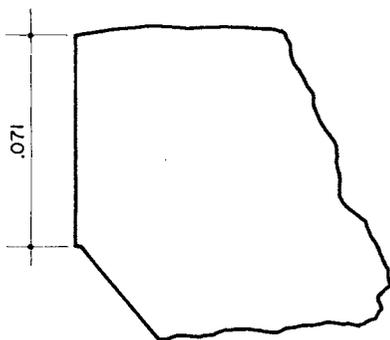


FIG. 63. **10**, Capital

Small-scale Doric capital, its echinus flaring at 45 degrees from the vertical, ending against the abacus without an upward curve or groove. The upper surface of the abacus is not quite flat, for the outer 0.04 m. slope down, preserving broad flat chisel marks. Claw chisel marks cover all other surfaces. Workmanship is coarse, partly owing to the coarseness of the stone. Too little, however, is preserved to attempt a date based on parallels.

11 Terracotta lateral sima

A. Pl. 59;

B. Pl. 59

A. FS-1059. P.H. 0.154, p.L. 0.145 m. Two joining fragments from the right half of lionhead spout with part of sima plaque to right, broken on all edges. Middle Terrace, P:20–21, Cistern 1964-1, upper filling (lot 2099), and Q:20–22, tile layer to bedrock (lot 2088). Buff clay, fired pink at core, with scattered red mudstone inclusions, 10YR 8/3.

B. FS-957. P.H. (at back) 0.157, W. through cheeks 0.127 m. Two joining fragments, complete spout except for tongue. Q:20–22, tile layer to bedrock (lot 2088). Coarse tan clay, numerous mudstone inclusions, 7.5YR 7/4.

Pp. 324, 329 above.

Sima with vertical plaque, decorated in relief with an acanthus spray, of which one fluted stalk is preserved to the right of the lionhead spout. The spout has a broad head with low, flat forehead, pronounced knobs by bridge of nose and outer corners of eyes, and rounded cheeks; the horizontal eyes are retouched, with both lids outlined by grooves, the pupils pierced. The top of the nose is smooth, the muzzle square; deeply incised lines

render the whiskers, creating a strongly projecting band between the nostrils and the upper lip. Square-cut teeth occur not only on the sides but also across the front of the open mouth. The mane locks consist of short, erect tufts, each doubly slashed, arranged in three rows; they were added by hand. The ears are similar tufts but ungrooved.

In addition to these pieces, at least four more fragments of this series were found in the Sanctuary, namely, one more from the tile layer (lot 2088), one from surface levels over the stoa (lot 2156), one from Building K–L:21–22 on the Lower Terrace, and another from the area west of the stairway.

In general structure, the lionhead spout is similar to **81** below, although not from the same sima, for this brow is less beetling, the eyes and muzzle different, and the teeth are rendered in front. Nevertheless, they are undoubtedly close in date.

12 Terracotta lateral sima

Pl. 60

FS-940. H. 0.242–0.252, p.L. 0.367 m. Left half of sima, complete profile, with the outlines of the water spout. From Middle Terrace, surface fills in P–Q:24–25, Q:20–22 (lots 891, 2087). Coarse clay with a moderate amount of fine to coarse red mudstone inclusions, fired pink at core, pale pinkish buff at the surface, ca. 7.5YR 7/3.

P. 324 above.

Lateral sima with plain fascia, H. 0.031–0.034 m., recessed panel, H. 0.16 m., decorated in relief with acanthus spray, and a crowning ovolo with egg-and-dart in relief between fillets. The acanthus spray consists of a fluted stalk springing to left from an acanthus leaf beside the spout. From the stalk a twisted stem extends downward to end in a half-furled leaf and a bud with two petals; two tendrils, curling counterclockwise, flank the stem, one springing from the stalk, the second from the twisted stem. Top and left joints are smooth.

Although we cannot be certain that this sima goes with the spout just described, its discovery in the area of the stoa argues for its association. Six other examples are known from the site, three from the stoa (including one from the tile debris of lot 2088), one from the lower filling of Well 1961-11 (lot 1946) and two from the stairway area. Distinctive of this series is the left tendril, which does not spring from the furled leaf but from the twisted stem. See **81** (FS-948) for an example of the other type.

13 Stamped Roman pan tile

Pl. 65

FP-188. P.H. 0.186, p.W. 0.182, Th. 0.025, H. letters 0.015, H. field 0.027 m. Broken on all edges, stamp incomplete. From Middle Terrace, Q:23–24, tile destruction Patch E, east of the Roman stoa (lot 1947). Light tan clay at surface, pink at core, fine voids, few

large white inclusions, surface between 10YR 7/4 and 7.5YR 7/4.

Pp. 316, 324 above.

A flat pan tile preserves most of a stamp in an oblong field:

C L I COR GEN EPA[---]

This stamp belongs to a large series of manufacturers' "signatures" represented by tiles from Corinth and Isthmia. The correct interpretation of the letters following the abbreviation of the name of the Roman colony, C(olonia) L(aus) I(ulia) Cor(inthiensis), has been suggested to us (*per ep.*) by Michael J. Mills, as follows. GEN = generavit. It is followed by the abbreviated beginning of the tile maker's name. Thus we have FP-286 [C·L·I·COR]·GEN ALEX, from Forum Southwest, grid square 60:D, unpublished; FP-279 [C·L·I·C]OR·GEN ALE[X], from the Gymnasium, unpublished; FP-211 [C·L·I COR·]GEN CARPh[l], from the Gymnasium, Wiseman 1967, pp. 38–39 (the first preserved letter is a certain G and the last is ligature of P and H); FP-368 [C·L·I·COR·]GEN CARPhl, from the 1920's excavations of T. L. Shear, unpublished; two other examples of this same stamp from the excavations of 1898, provenance unknown, FP-390, FP-391, unpublished; FP-85

[C·L·I·COR·GE]N SEB, provenance unknown, unpublished. From the same series, but not preserving anything of the tile maker's name, are FP-51, from the Asklepion, unpublished; FP-52, provenance unknown, unpublished; FP-254, Roman Bath on the Lechaion Road, 1968, unpublished; FP-256, FP-261, FP-267, FP-278, from the Gymnasium, unpublished; FP-382, East of Theater, unpublished. There are two fragments of similar tiles in the Museum at Isthmia: IT-167 [C·L·I·]COR·GEN STEPH and IT-835 [C·L·I·C]OR·GEN STE[PH].⁴

Our name EPA[---] is probably to be restored as Epa[gathus]. For holders of this name in Roman Corinth, see *IG IX.1.12*, lines 43–44; *Corinth VIII*, ii, no. 76, p. 60; p. 70; *Corinth VIII*, iii, p. 96, and the lampmaker, *Corinth IV*, ii, p. 308 and *Agora VII*, pp. 8, 32.

The abbreviation CLI·COR for the name of the colony is not found on Corinthian coins before the reign of Antoninus Pius. Beginning with this emperor and continuing through Geta, it becomes the official abbreviation on coins. If we can trust the numismatic parallel, tiles of this series ought to be dated A.D. 138–212. See discussion under **86**, below.

TEMPLE WITH THE MOSAIC FLOOR, T-U:19 (pp. 338–353 above)

14 Poros Ionic anta or toichobate base Fig. 64

A-73-10. P.H. 0.101, p.L. 0.154, p.Th. 0.089 m. Corner, resting surface, torus molding, broken above. From robbed wall trench of west wall (lot 73-99).

P. 341 above.

Rectangular base with flat resting surface continuing into torus, 0.066 m. high, and fillet, 0.02 m. high, at base of missing scotia, set back 0.029 m. from the face of the torus. Coarse claw chisel marks appear on all surfaces.

15 Poros architrave crown Fig. 65

A-73-9. P.H. 0.085, p.L. 0.157, p.Th. 0.112 m. Face and top surface, complete molding, broken on all other edges; very worn. From postdestruction debris over the southwest corner (lot 73-100).

Pp. 341, 352 above.

A heavy molding from the crown of the architrave, consisting of a cyma reversa 0.048 m. high, 0.039 m. deep, and a poorly executed fascia, 0.014 m. high; the total projection of the combined moldings is 0.055 m. The upper surface rises at *ca.* 15 degrees from the horizontal. The workmanship is very coarse, with claw chisel marks covering the surfaces. No stucco was preserved. Compare with **35** below from West Temple, T:16–17, which is smaller in scale.

16 Poros dentillated geison

A-73-15. P.H. 0.096, p.L. 0.103 m. Single dentil, with small portion of bedding behind it. From destruction debris over the floor (lot 73-98).

P. 341 above.

A geison, represented by a single dentil measuring at least 0.070 m. high, 0.057 m. wide, and 0.05 m. deep, broken from below the soffit molding. Claw chisel on exposed surfaces. The single dentil is both higher and thicker than those from the West Temple, T:16–17; see **37** below.

17 Terracotta lateral sima **A.** Pl. 60; **B.** Pl. 60

A. Lot 73-98:8. P.H. 0.06, p.L. 0.12 m. Crowning molding, broken on all other edges. From destruction debris over floor (lot 73-98). Soft reddish tan clay with few, fine inclusions, 5YR 6/6.

B. Lot 73-100:1. P.H. 0.15 m. Single fragment of mane locks, broken on all edges. From debris of building, exact provenance unknown (lot 73-100). Clay as **A** with buff surface, 7.5YR 7/3.

P. 341 above.

Crowning molding of a sima (**A**), consisting of a tongue-shaped egg in relief, outlined by a heavy ridge and dotlike dart, 0.029 m. high, above which is a broad,

⁴ We owe our knowledge of these to the kindness of Michael J. Mills.

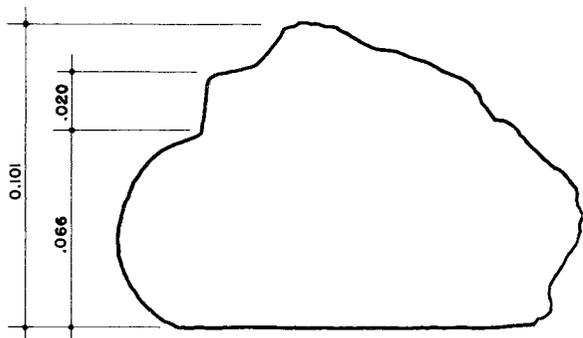


FIG. 64. 14, Ionic anta

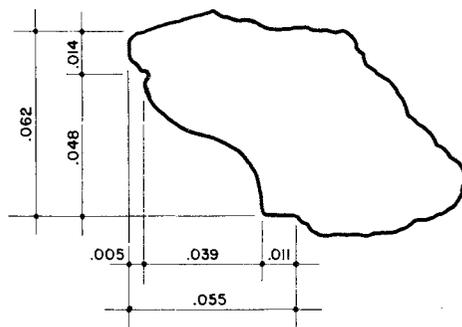


FIG. 65. 15, Architrave crown

horizontal V-shaped groove, and a fascia 0.013 m. high. The back is concave. Three mane locks remain of the lionhead spout (B). These are set in a single row, each one long and deeply grooved.

18 Terracotta lateral sima Pl. 60

FS-952. P.H. 0.144, H. ovolo 0.029 m. Top of spout, crowning molding; badly worn. Middle Terrace, Q:19, from the lower filling of Well 1961-11 (lot 1946). Soft orange clay, a few fine inclusions, 7.5YR 6/7.

P. 341 above.

The sima consists of a relatively thin vertical plaque with crowning egg-and-dart in relief, above which a deep V-shaped groove and crowning fascia; a crudely modeled lionhead has virtually no forehead, a pronounced browridge with incised eyebrow, shallow-set eye with punched pupil set just below the brow, lion mane consisting of a single row of long, deeply scored locks applied by hand. The head is distinctive and differs from the much more classical type of 11. Shown in Plate 60 is a better-preserved example, FS-1001, unfortunately without context, a surface find from the hill of Cheliotomylos on the outskirts of Corinth.

Although our fragment was found in the well and not in the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, its association with the building is secured by 17A, B, recovered from the building itself. But whether this series derives from the initial construction of the temple or from a later remodeling is unclear. The crudeness with which the lionhead is rendered, the use of single, long mane locks to replace the several rows typical of Greek and earlier Roman examples, as that from the Roman repair of the South Stoa (*Corinth* I, iv, pl. 26:1), together with the slightly blurred egg-and-dart molding, might suggest a later date for this sima. A rough *terminus ante quem* is suggested by its similarity to 83 below, which was discarded in the first half of the 3rd century after Christ. It is indeed tempting to attribute 83 to the same roof as 17 and 18, for despite

the difference in the respective sizes of their egg-and-dart moldings, the total height of the molding with the crowning fascia is the same on all three examples. But since it is not possible to reconstruct the total heights of all three fragments, we have kept 83 separate.

19 Roman pan tile, Corinthian type Pl. 60

FP-393. P.L. 0.22, W. 0.446 m., Th. 0.03 m. Complete width of back end of tile. From either destruction or postdestruction debris. No lot. Coarse orange Corinthian clay with considerable amount of red mudstone and fewer white pebble inclusions, 5YR 6/6.

P. 342 above.

Back end of a flat pan tile, slightly warped in firing, with vertical lip 0.024 m. thick along each long side to end of tile. Both lips rise to 0.027 m. above the floor of the tile. The upper surface is thinly slipped, the undersurface is rough with large amounts of adhering inclusions.

20 Roman pan tile, Laconian type Pl. 60

FP-394. P.L. 0.394, max. W. 0.448 m. Complete width of back end of tile. Findspot as 19. Coarse Corinthian clay with numerous fine black and fewer coarse white inclusions, fired pink at core, buff at surfaces, 10YR 8/2 to 10YR 8/4.

P. 342 above.

Concave tile, with maximum height of chord 0.042 m. The end is smoothly flat, the side edges slightly rounded. A single finger stroke in the upper surface cuts a straight line across the width of the tile at 0.094–0.11 m. from its end, perhaps marking the amount of overlap between successive tiles. The upper surface is thinly slipped; the undersurface is rough.

21 Stamped Roman pan tile Pl. 65

FP-388. P.L. 0.09, p.W. 0.088, Th. 0.018, H. letters 0.015, H. field 0.031 m. Single fragment, broken on

all edges. From either the destruction debris or post-destruction debris. Moderately coarse Corinthian tan clay, fired light red at core, with fine, sandlike inclusions, numerous voids, more yellow than 5YR 6/6.

Pp. 342, 356 above.

Flat pan tile, with a stamp in a rectangular field on its upper surface:

[L]·RVTI[- -]

Of the last preserved letter only part of a vertical stroke survives just inside the break. We have restored the first letter on the basis of **41**, which is from the same factory but not from the same die.

22 Stamped Roman pan tile Pl. 65

FP-389. P.L. 176, p.W. 0.117, Th. 0.028, H. letters 0.018, H. field 0.038 m. Two joining fragments, broken on all edges. From destruction or postdestruction debris. Coarse Corinthian clay fired tan at surface, pinkish tan at core, with mudstone inclusions and voids. Lighter and pinker than 5YR 7/5.

P. 342 above.

Flat pan tile, preserving a stamp in a rectangular field on its upper surface:

[COL·L·I]V[-]COR

Only the triangular bottom tip of the first preserved letter has survived. Of the next letter there is the bottom of the vertical joined by the complete bottom horizontal. The lettering resembles that of **86**, especially the oval O, but the two stamps are not from the same die. See discussion of date under **86**.

23 Marble offering table, top Pl. 61

A-73-18a-e. P.L. largest fragment 0.88, W. 0.66, Th. 0.058 (edge)-0.085 (center), rest. L. 1.35 m. Five nonjoining fragments, of which **A** preserves a little over half table; **B-E**, parts of perimeter. Found on floor in front of and abutting or possibly even overlapping the face of south platform (lot 73-98). White fine-crystallized marble.

Pp. 345, 352 above.

Large table leaf with horizontal surface, vertical sides, underside beveled for 0.115 m. along the perimeter. On the underside a square cutting, 0.024 by 0.03 m. deep, set in 0.32-0.33 m. from either long side and 0.66 m. from preserved narrow end, lies beneath the probable center of the table. The settings for two legs, one on each long side, 0.115 m. in from corner are marked by two cone-shaped ribs in relief, set 0.17 m. apart. The surface between them is horizontal, not beveled, and part of a dowel hole 0.011 m. square and 0.027 m. deep is set in 0.07 m. from the front edge of the table and midway between the ribs. Its position is marked by a shallowly cut "L" or Gamma. All surfaces are smoothly finished. Fragment **B** preserves part of another setting for a leg but could have come from either a long or narrow end. For

the legs, see **24-26**. A table with settings for three of the four legs marked by the letters Lambda, Iota, Omicron was found in the temple at Lykosoura; Leonardos 1896, p. 110.

24 Marble table leg A. Pl. 60

A-73-13a. **A**) P.H. 0.296; plinth: H. 0.07, W. 0.142, Th. 0.205; W. leg at base 0.088 m. Complete foot and lower shaft; encrusted on left side. Found on the floor just northeast of table top (lot 73-98). White fine-crystallized marble.

P. 345 above.

Table leg consisting of a lion paw resting on a high rectangular plinth. The paw is long, toes exaggeratedly thin and deeply separated one from another, the nails carved free of the pads; the paw continues into a smooth, rectangular shaft, to height of 0.147 m. above plinth, with three rounded bosses in a row; above, the face of the shaft is decorated with four reeds or convex flutes separated by fillets. Claw chisel marks are visible on the resting surface and on sides and back of the shaft to height of 0.07-0.08 m. above the plinth; the rest is smooth. A small, nonjoining fragment of the shaft, **B**, adds little more than part of a reed.

25 Marble table leg Pl. 60

A-73-11. P.H. 0.135; plinth: H. 0.061-0.065, W. 0.143, p.Th. 0.121 m. Front half of foot and plinth. Encrusted. Found west of the west cella wall.

P. 345 above.

Material and description as **24**.

26 Marble table leg A. Pl. 60; B. Pl. 60

A. A-73-12. P.H. 0.132; plinth: H. 0.025-0.027, W. 0.121, Th. 0.165; W. leg at base 0.088 m. Most of plinth, paw, and start of shaft. Found on floor *ca.* 0.75 m. east of **27** (lot 73-98).

B. A-73-4. P.H. 0.164, W. 0.078-0.087, Th. 0.046 m. Upper shaft, broken either end. Front and left side encrusted. Found on the floor (lot 73-98). White fine-crystallized marble.

P. 345 above.

Lion paw on a plinth; the carving of the paw is like that of **24** and **25**; toes, pads, and nails are identical. Because the surface is fresher, however, a sharp edge is apparent here along the top of each toe. The paw is set on a lower and smaller plinth; the shaft is also smaller, and the concave channels between the toes continue up somewhat higher onto the shaft. The shaft, represented by **B**, is both smaller than **24** and differently carved; the front face is decorated with a central, convex flute framed by fillets, with two fillets along either raised outer edge. Part of a horizontal dowel hole for a cross-brace(?), at least 0.025 m. deep, pierces the back face. For a possible nonjoining fragment of the same, see **27**.

27 Top of table leg (?) Pl. 60
A-73-7. P.H. 0.06, p.W. 0.106, Th. 0.04 m. Upper right edge of leg. Back encrusted. On floor *ca.* 0.50 m. north of **24** (lot 73-98). White fine-crystalled marble.

P. 345 above.

The top of a leg, slightly thinner than **24** and **25**, originally consisted of a pair of volutes that curl out from a central palmette, of which the tip of one petal remains. It is crowned by a schematic *cyma reversa* and fascia; top and back are flat.

Marble table legs regularly are made with a console projecting from the back face, on which the table top rests, and the shaft above this point naturally thins. Since the proportions of this piece are much closer to those of **26**, than of **24** or **25**, it is tentatively associated with that leg.

Despite the differences in plinth heights and thicknesses of legs, we would associate all three legs with the table top to make one table. According to Christopher F. Moss ("Roman Marble Tables" [diss. Princeton University, 1988], pp. 44–52), tables of this sort would have been four- rather than three-legged. If this is correct, then we must assume that the fourth leg was lost both here and in the West Temple, T:16–17. Several factors support the association of all three legs with one table. All the pieces were found on the floor in relatively close association; nothing else was found that could be identified as part of a second table; the carving of the feet is identical on all three fragments and distinctly different from that of those found in the West Temple, **44–47**, below. Close parallels in marble come from a Roman tomb not far from the Asklepieion on Kos⁵ and from Delphi, although those are considered to be Greek.⁶

This kind of table, however, is not the form that is most popular for offerings in sanctuaries. More common is a type that appears at Lykosoura, consisting of a slab set on two solid transverse supports, the faces of which are often carved like those just described.⁷

28 Perirrhanterion stand Pl. 61
A-73-14. H. 0.628, D. base 0.32, D. top 0.288 m. Complete, mended. Lying on floor in roughly the center of the cella (lot 73-98). White fine-crystalled marble.

Pp. 345, 346 above.

Published: Bookidis and Fisher 1974, no. 1, pp. 281–282, pl. 59.

Stand with broadly splaying base with vertical face; the resting surface is worked with anathyrosis around its circumference. The tapering shaft has twenty flutes, above which a smooth band 0.061 m. wide flares to support the bowl. It ends in a half-round crowning molding. The upper surface slopes inward to a central cutting 0.07 m. square, 0.04 m. deep, in which is a second circular cutting 0.04 m. in diameter by 0.05 m. deep. The surfaces are roughly smoothed with flat chisel. Only a tiny portion of the wall of a bowl was found.

29 Perirrhanterion stand A. Pl. 61; B. Pl. 61
A. A-73-5. P.H. 0.186, est. D. base 0.30–0.32 m. Base and lower shaft, small part of circumference. From postdestruction debris over bedding for north wall of cella (lot 73-100). White fine-crystalled marble with micaceous veining.

B. A-73-6a–d. Max. P.H. 0.171, est. D. 0.26 m. Four nonjoining fragments, from top of shaft to upper surface. From debris on floor (lot 73-98). Marble as A.

Pp. 345, 346, 351 above.

Stand, similar to preceding, but missing most of shaft; the flutes end in a half-round *ca.* 0.022 m. below top of shaft; above this the stand rises more steeply than that of **28** to support the missing bowl. Its top is apparently horizontal. The underside is finely picked, the remaining surfaces smooth.

30 Circular base (?) Pl. 60
A-73-17. P.H. 0.087, est. D. 0.48 m. Small segment of outer circumference, bottom; broken above. From either destruction or postdestruction debris. White fine-crystalled marble.

P. 346 above.

A large circular base having a smooth resting surface, vertical edge 0.08 m. high, and start of a second member set in *ca.* 0.01 m. from the face. A beveled cutting exists on the outer edge as if for a pry bar. Although the dimensions of this piece are slightly smaller than the circular depression in the mosaic floor, it is possible that this may have served as a base or plinth for **28**, which was found near the depression. It could also, however, have been from a round altar or monument base.

⁵ R. Herzog, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Koische Expedition im Jahre 1903," *AA* 18, 1903 [pp. 186–199], p. 196; Herzog cites three legs from the tomb, but only two are catalogued by G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* III, Constantinople 1914, nos. 835, 835a, p. 37. These two are identical; it would be interesting to know whether the third was the same and whether there once was a fourth.

⁶ G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*, London 1966, p. 68, figs. 352–360. The examples from Delphi are sufficiently like the Sanctuary legs to raise the question of whether they could be Roman rather than Greek in date. For discussions of three- and four-legged tables, *ibid.*, pp. 63–71, pp. 110–111.

⁷ K. Kourouniotes, *Κατάλογος τοῦ Μουσείου Λυκοσούρας*, Athens 1911, p. 61, no. 63; for legs like those here, nos. 65, 66, pp. 62–63. See also the study by G. Bakalakis, *Ἑλληνικὰ Τραπεζοφόρα*, Thessalonika 1948.

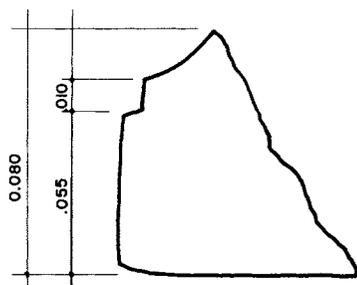


FIG. 66a. **31A**, Statue base

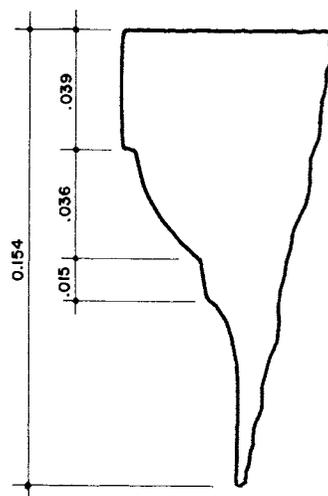


FIG. 66b. **31C**, Statue base

31 Marble statue base **A, C.** Figs. 66a, b

A. A-73-21. P.H. 0.08, p.L. 0.135, p.Th. 0.073 m. Corner of base molding. From robbed wall trenches (lot 73-99).

B. A-73-3. P.H. 0.227, p.L. 0.195, p.Th. 0.157 m. Corner, upper part of shaft, crowning molding. Joins from the debris on the floor, postdestruction debris, and fill over the theatral area below (lots 73-98, 73-100, 2107).

C. A-73-8. P.H. 0.154, p.L. 0.211, p.Th. 0.205 m. Corner of crowning molding. From postdestruction debris (lot 73-100). Fine white marble with micaceous veining.

Pp. 345, 346, 351, 352 above.

Three nonjoining fragments, probably derive from one rectangular monument base. Above the sawn bottom is a vertical face 0.055 m. high and the start of a

cyma recta (**A**); the rectangular shaft is crowned by an ovolo, 0.035–0.037 m. high and 0.022 m. deep, and a fascia 0.039 m. high, projecting 0.006 m. beyond the ovolo (**B, C**). The upper surface is roughly picked. Two rectangular dowel holes are preserved in the top surface, one set in 0.063 and 0.158 m. from the two faces of the corner, the second set in 0.09 and 0.085 m. from the faces. The faces of the block are finely picked, possibly with the claw, with narrow smoothed bands at the corners.

It is possible that this base once supported the small bronze statue represented by a single fragmentary bronze finger, MF-93-20 (see p. 345 and note 23 above). On the other hand, a fragmentary marble plinth found in the building debris preserves cuttings for clamps that held the plinth to its base, and it may be that the holes preserved here were for the ends of such clamps.

THE WEST TEMPLE, T:16–17 (pp. 353–359 above)

32 Poros Ionic capital, echinus Fig. 67; Pl. 61

A-70-74. P.H. 0.16, p.L. 0.22, est. D. top of shaft 0.50 m. Echinus, part of cushion, broken on all edges. From southwest quarter of building (lot 6638).

P. 355 above.

From bottom up the capital consists of an astragal, an echinus 0.069 m. high, carved with egg-and-dart, and a deep concave cushion, 0.06 m. high as preserved. The three existing eggs are deeply and carefully cut, and it is estimated that five originally filled the space between volutes. The right, end egg breaks off before the customary angle palmette. White stucco, thin over the face of the capital but thicker in the less visible

areas, originally covered the whole. The workmanship is good.

A-70-73, smaller fragment of same, preserves the apophyge. The stucco is applied more thickly here, suggesting an association with several fragments of fluted column shafts also heavily stuccoed, found in the theatral area. For a composite drawing of these two pieces, see Figure 67.

33 Poros Ionic corner capital Pl. 61

A-396. P.H. 0.115, p.L. 0.15, Th. between eyes of volute 0.084 m. Lower half of volute. From upper filling of Well 1961-11 (lot 1945).

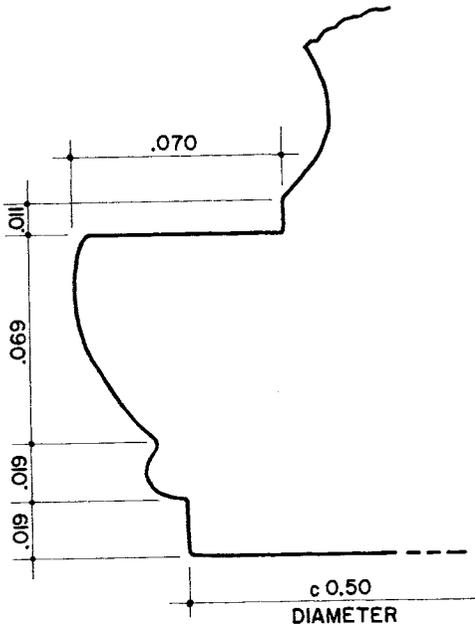


FIG. 67. 32, Ionic capital

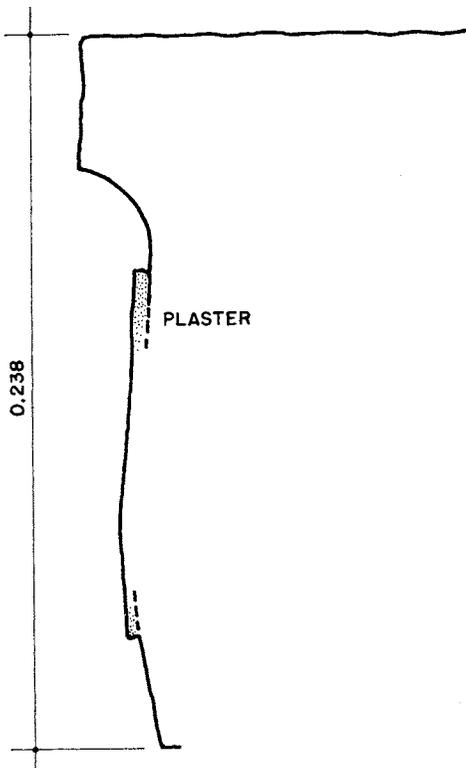


FIG. 70. 36, Frieze

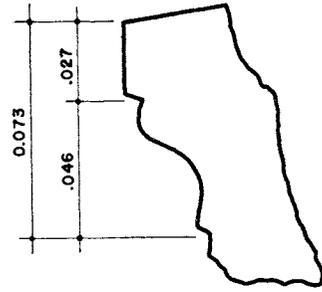


FIG. 69. 35, Architrave crown

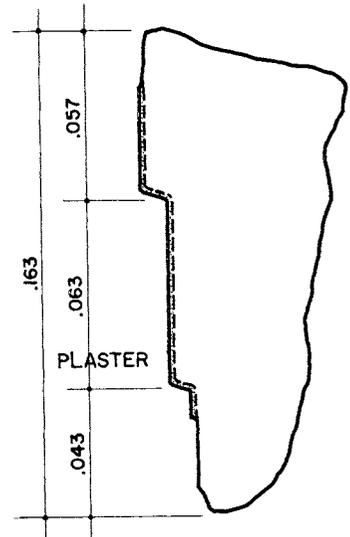


FIG. 68. 34, Architrave

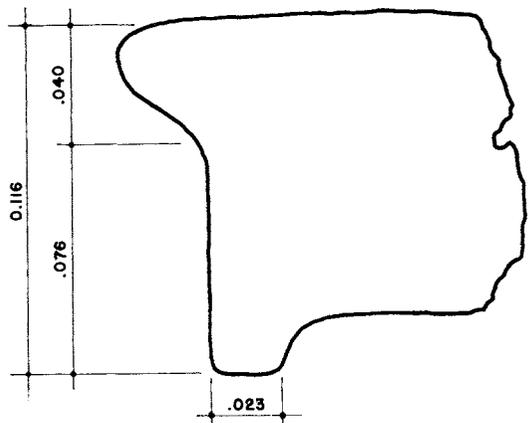


FIG. 71. 38, Geison

P. 355 above.

The lower half of a corner volute is broken at its attachment to the echinus. The bolster narrows towards the exterior with a shallow V-shaped section. The channels are concave, meeting in sharp-edged ridges, with three rotations of the spiral, ending in a solid eye. White stucco. Quality of workmanship is similar to that of **32**.

Lot 6638:2, a similar but smaller fragment from the postdestruction debris.

34 Poros Ionic architrave Fig. 68
A-70-82. P.H. 0.163, p.L. 0.146, p.Th. 0.065 m. Single fragment, broken on all edges (lot 6638).

P. 355 above.

The fragment preserves parts of three fasciae, of which the middle one is complete, H. 0.063 m. From the bottom up they measure as follows: p.H. 0.043, H. 0.063, projection 0.01, p.H. 0.057 m., projection 0.014 m. Coarse claw chisel marks on surface, covered with thick white stucco. The workmanship is much inferior to that of **32** and **33**. Another fragment, A-929, recovered from the upper filling of the well (lot 1945), preserves the bottom fascia and part of the second. Using this, we can tentatively restore the height of the lowest fascia to 0.065 m.

35 Poros crowning molding of Fig. 69
Ionic architrave

A-70-83. Max. p.H. 0.11, p.L. 0.135, p.Th. 0.077 m. Single fragment, front and top surfaces (lot 6638).

P. 355 above.

Preserved is the top of the third fascia of the architrave, crowned by a cyma reversa 0.046 m. high, projection ca. 0.02 m., with deeply concave lower profile, crowning fascia 0.027 m. high, and a sloping upper surface. Coarse claw chisel on surface like that on **34**. No stucco preserved. Compare it with **15**, which is larger in scale.

36 Poros Ionic frieze crowning molding Fig. 70
A-70-93. P.H. 0.238, p.L. 0.12, p.Th. 0.192 m. Single fragment preserving most of profile to top; broken below, sides, back (lot 6638).

P. 355 above.

Frieze with a shallow cyma recta profile, which breaks just below the crowning molding. Top surface flat with a narrow band worked smoothly along front face. Thick white stucco covers the lower two-thirds of the cyma recta. Coarse claw marks visible on rest.

37 Poros Ionic dentillated geison Pl. 61
A-70-72. P.H. 0.09, p.L. 0.365, p.Th. 0.15 m. Three joining fragments, preserving outer portion of bedding, parts of five dentils, broken at either end; surface blackened (lot 6638).

P. 355 above.

Dentils cut flush with bedding are 0.06 m. high, 0.052–0.06 m. wide (with plaster), 0.037 m. deep, and are spaced 0.016–0.019 m. apart. Above is the start of a crowning molding. An incised line divides the base of the dentils from the bedding. A thick layer of white stucco, smoothly finished, fills out the dentils, including the undersides, where it projects 0.004 m. below the bedding. In lot 6638 a single dentil preserves the concave curve of a possible cyma reversa crowning molding.

38 Poros Ionic geison Fig. 71
A-70-81. H. of corona 0.116, p.L. 0.135, p.Th. 0.137 m. Front half of geison, right joint (lot 6638).

P. 355 above.

Geison with plain soffit, roughly horizontal, curving down to a broad blunt drip, 0.023 m. thick. The vertical front face 0.076 m. high is crowned by a molding of indistinct oblique profile, probably an ovolo, 0.04 m. high. The top surface has a slightly beveled, relieving margin 0.02 m. wide; the remainder is horizontal. Faint traces of anathyrosis exist on the right joint, which forms a slightly acute angle to the top surface of the block. No stucco is preserved. The claw chisel work is coarse. In profile this is identical to **50** below but smaller.

39 Terracotta lateral sima Pl. 61
FS-1048. H. 0.22, p.L. 0.29, est. L. 0.49 m. Left half of sima, complete profile, two-thirds of a lionhead spout. Northeast quarter of building (lot 6638). Coarse orange clay, ca. 5YR 6.5/6 or slightly yellower.

P. 355 above.

Sima with projecting bottom fascia 0.025 m. high, projection 0.013 m., surmounted by molded vertical face 0.145 m. high, crowning egg-and-dart 0.02 m. high, projection 0.035 m., and narrow fillet 0.022 m. high. The molded face is decorated with a fluted stalk, curving outward from the lionhead; from this spring two volutes, each composed of two, smooth coils, and a pendant poppy pod. The lionhead spout has a broad forehead, square muzzle, strongly tilted and shallow-set eyes, impressed dot for pupil, deeply pierced nostrils, with shallowly incised furrows on the snout and whiskers. Deep cuts separate the teeth. The mane, which is largely made in the mold, lies close to the head; locks are rendered by incision, and deep gouges form the two ears. White slip is visible on the bottom fascia; red paint is applied directly to the clay for the lion mane.

Seventeen fragments of this type of sima were recovered in the Sanctuary, namely, seven more from lot 6638; two from the upper filling in Well 1961-11, Q:19 (lot 1945); one from Tile Patch C, P-Q:22 (lot 2103); one from surface in O-P:15-17 (lot 4384); three from the stairway area; one from above the tile floor in Room 7 of the Building of the Tablets, K-L:21-22 (lot 6225); two from the south wall of Building L:23-24. Joins were

found between lot 6638, the stairway, and surface in P-Q:20-22 (lot 2156). Slight variations can be observed in the rendering of the spout, and it is therefore possible that not all of them derive from the West Temple.

40 Terracotta palmette antefix, signed Pl. 61
FA-532. H. 0.263, W. at base 0.175, H. letters 0.022 m. Complete face, broken at attachment to tile. Southeast quarter of building (lot 6638). Clay as **39**, traces of white slip.

P. 356 above.

Eleven-petal palmette with tall, straight axial petal and drooping side petals, over double scrolls with smaller scrolls arising from ends. Beneath scrolls are two half-palmettes flanking a lotus. Across the bottom on a plain panel in raised letters is the stamped inscription:

Ἀφροδείστω

Five more such fragments were found in the building, four from lot 6638, one from lot 6641, the robbed wall trench of the south wall of the Hellenistic Temple, S-T:16-17. Three were found in Well 1961-11. Five other fragments were recovered in the Sanctuary, namely, two from the tile layer in Q:20-22 (lot 2088), one from surface above it (lot 2156), one from the theatrical area, and one from surface layers in O-P:13-15 (lot 4385). It is possible, therefore, that they were also used on other buildings in the Sanctuary, for although there are eight to nine different series of simas, there are only three of antefixes.

Among the inventoried antefixes from the Corinth excavations, the following bear this same signature: FA-206 and FA-219, provenance unknown; FA-308, from the area of the Julian Basilica; FA-314, Forum Southwest; FA-318, from a dump in the Forum Southeast; FA-557, from a Byzantine pit in grid square 68:E of the Forum Southwest. All are from the same die except for FA-314. Related are FS-821, -822, and -913, which are terracotta simas in which the name Ἀφροδείστω had been lightly incised while the clay was still wet. See the simas FS-144, -145, and -259.

To our knowledge none of these pieces comes from a closely dated context, nor have they been assigned with certainty to specific buildings. See *Corinth* IV, i, pp. 16, 36, 50, 60, 80-81, 90; O. Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," *Hesperia* 11, 1942 [pp. 128-161], p. 155, note 78, who associates such an antefix with a temple of Aphrodite, an interpretation that must now be abandoned. For similar kinds of manufacturer's "signatures," see *Agora* V, pl. 49; *SEG* XXX 328-330.

The name is attested on Corinthian lamps of the Roman period; *Agora* VII, p. 95, no. 277.

41 Stamped Roman pan tile Pl. 65
FP-273. Max. p. Dim. 0.136, Th. 0.024-0.27, H. letters 0.015, H. field 0.024 m. Single fragment, broken on

all edges. Found in the central strip in the southern half of the room (lot 6638). Coarse hard orange clay with red inclusions, pale slip, 5YR 5/6 (core), surface near 7.5YR 7/4.

P. 356 above.

Flat Roman pan tile with a stamp in a rectangular field on the upper surface:

L·RVTIL[---]

Another tile from this same factory but not from the same die was found in the neighboring Temple with the Mosaic Floor, **21**.

There is an unpublished parallel, FP-369, perhaps from the excavations of the Theater in the lower city, which reads [---].VTILIL·S[---] (*sic*). Not enough of the first letter survives to be sure of the reading, but an R may be restored with some confidence. The Rutilii were an important family attested on Corinthian inscriptions and coins of the 1st century after Christ; see *Corinth* VIII, ii, no. 82, pp. 66-99; no. 84, pp. 70-71; no. 120, pp. 94-95, with good discussion on pp. 66-69; *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 251, p. 104. For the duoviri L. Rutilius Plancus and L. Rutilius Piso, see Amandry 1988, pp. 12, 14-22, 67-69, 76-77. They held office in A.D. 12/13 or 15/16 and 66/67, respectively. The name on the tile stamps is likely to be that of the manufacturer, rather than an annual magistrate used for dating, since the latter practice seems not to have been followed on tile stamps in Roman Corinth.

42 Poros lintel block (?)

Fig. 72

Lot 6638:3. P.H. 0.206, p.W. 0.14, p.Th. 0.183 m. Single fragment, crowning molding and top, broken on all other edges; surfaces badly worn. Exact findspot within the building unknown (lot 6638).

P. 356 above.

Block with vertical face, p.H. 0.04 m., above which is a cyma reversa, 0.05 high, projection 0.04, and fascia, 0.041 m. high, projection 0.003 m. The upper surface is cut down 0.018 m. along the front 0.036 m., leaving the molding to project in high relief. Coarse claw chisel covers the face, as in the other fragments from this building. No stucco was preserved.

The greater size of the molding, as compared with the other moldings from the entablature, makes this piece stand apart. This factor, together with the raised surface on the top, suggests that the block derives either from the lintel of the door, somewhat like that from the later Temple of Herakles in the Forum of Corinth, for which see *Corinth* I, iii, pl. 19:3, or, less likely, again because of its size, from the interior wall crown.

43 Marble table top

A-70-76a, b. A. P.L. 0.38, p.W. 0.278, Th. 0.061-0.065 m. Three joining fragments, parts of two sides. B. Max. p. Dim. 0.233 m. Broken on all edges. From

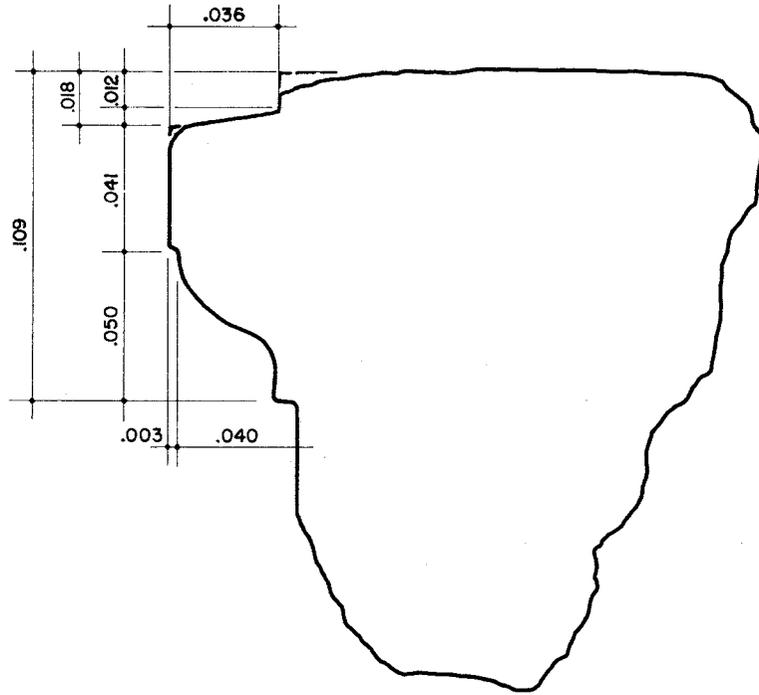


FIG. 72. 42, Lintel

southeastern quarter of building and south pit (lot 6638). Blue-gray fine-crystalled marble with micaceous veining. P. 356 above.

A thick, rectangular slab, thinning slightly at the sides, having vertical faces. It is smoothly worked on top and sides, roughly worked with the claw chisel on the underside. There is no evidence for the attachment of legs.

44 Marble table leg Pl. 62
A-70-78. P.H. 0.505, plinth: H. 0.042–0.05, Th. 0.168, W. 0.12–0.124 m.; W. leg 0.087 (base)–0.106 (top) m. Two joining fragments, foot, most of leg. From southeastern quarter (lot 6638). White fine-crystalled marble with micaceous veining, heavily encrusted on the right side.

P. 356 above.

The leg consists of a rectangular shaft, narrowing from top to bottom, and ending in a lion paw on a rectangular plinth. Filling the top of the plinth, the paw is compact and square (H. 0.09, projection from shaft 0.09 m.), the toes ending on nearly the same line. The nails project but are not cut free of the pads, and the flesh above the nail makes a straight line. Drill channels separate the toes. Above the paw the shaft is decorated with three bosses set in a rectangular frame. Above this are three concave flutes separated by flat, grooved arrises. At H. 0.477 m. a rectangular area is roughly picked into the back of the

leg, and at H. 0.488 m. there is a horizontal pin hole, D. 0.01 m., perhaps for the attachment of a cross-brace. The back of the leg is rounded and makes sharp edges at the sides. A small iron pin projects from the broken front right corner of the plinth. The resting surface is roughly picked except for a narrow relieving band along front and back edges.

45 Marble table leg Pl. 62
A-70-79. P.H. 0.492, plinth: H. 0.04–0.045, Th. 0.163, W. 0.121–0.123 m.; W. leg 0.078 (base)–0.094 (top) m. Two joining fragments, foot, most of leg. Heavily encrusted on left side. Place of finding, marble as **44**. P. 356 above.

The leg is like **44** but with the following variations. It is slightly thinner, the plinth somewhat lower. The paw is compact but shorter (H. 0.083, projection 0.078 m.). The two central toes project beyond the flanking toes. The flesh above the nails is rounded. Above the rectangular panel with bosses the shaft continues in convex flutes separated by double fillets, and the junction of the sides to back is rounded. The rectangular cutting in back occurs at H. 0.476; the pin hole is 0.05 m. deep. The resting surface is worked with the claw chisel.

46 Marble table leg Pl. 62
A-70-75. P.H. 0.123, plinth: H. 0.06–0.064, p.Th. 0.102, p.W. 0.107, rest. W. ca. 0.12 m. Single fragment,

front left two-thirds of plinth and toes. Findspot as **44** and **45**. Marble possibly same but heavily encrusted.

P. 356 above.

The plinth of **46** is higher than that of the other two legs. Of the preserved toes, the two central ones project more strongly than those of **44**. The first toe is thinner and completely separated from the second by the drill channel, which reaches to the plinth. The flesh above the nails makes a deep V. The faces of the plinth as well as the resting surface are claw-chiseled.

All the worked surfaces of the fragment are discolored gray, beginning at 0.025–0.03 m. above the bottom. In addition, a black stain from fire or ash appears on the tops of the toes, corner and side of the plinth; here the black goes below the line of discoloration.

47 Marble table top (?)

A-70-77. P.L. 0.27, p.W. 0.13, Th. 0.037–0.04 m. Single fragment, one edge. From Late Roman fill in central strip over the Hellenistic Temple, S–T:16–17 (lot 6638). Fine white marble with micaceous veining. Lime encrustations.

P. 356 above.

A flat marble slab with all surfaces lightly polished. The vertical face has one round and one sharp edge, thereby perhaps distinguishing top from bottom. Its vertical face is partially blackened. It is possible that this is part of a second table; if so, it is difficult to say which table top went with the legs, if all the legs indeed belonged to the same table. Although this marble is more like that of the legs, top and legs may not have been of the same marble.

48 Marble statue base, base (?) molding Fig. 73

A. A-70-84. P.H. 0.088, p.L. 0.252, p.Th. 0.239 m. Two joining fragments, back left corner, bottom. North-western quarter of building (lot 6638).

B. A-958. P.H. 0.108, p.L. 0.032 m. Single fragment preserving part of face, top surface. From Q–S:17–20, theatral area (lot 2107). White fine-crystallized marble.

P. 356 above.

The corner of a base, **A**, preserves parts of two faces. On side A is a tall fascia 0.057 m. high, above which is the start of a cyma recta; its surface is somewhat roughly worked with the flat chisel. On side B the molding is replaced by an oblique surface above the same fascia. This side is worked with the flat chisel to a height of

ca. 0.02 m. and above that with the claw chisel; the bottom is smoothly finished.

Fragment **B**, although from the theatral area north of the temple platform, is tentatively associated with **A**. It preserves the upper half of the cyma recta (rest. H. 0.057, rest. projection 0.046 m.), crowned by a quarter round 0.018 m. high, projection 0.014 m., and an apophyge; its horizontal upper surface preserves anathyrosis. Another fragment, A-951, from the upper filling in Well 1961-11 is identical to **A** and adds another 0.095 m. to the base.

The base resembles **31** from the Temple with the Mosaic Floor but is larger in scale. Its cyma recta profile is paralleled in another base molding, **96**, from yet a third marble statue base. If **A** and **B** are correctly associated, then they show that the base was worked in several pieces and that it was designed to stand against a wall, since one surface is only roughly blocked out. Several ovolo moldings, which could have formed the crown of the base, were found in both the theatral area and the well. See **97**.

A cyma recta molding is used at Corinth both as a base molding for statue bases and as a crown. The combined profile of **A** and **B** can be seen on a block tentatively identified as the pier crown (unpublished) for the later columns of the West Shops in the Forum. Whether **48** is to be dated to the 3rd century after Christ like that monument, however, is unclear.

49 Poros rectangular altar

Fig. 74

A-70-94. P.H. 0.153, p.L. 0.137, p.Th. ca. 0.12 m. Upper corner, from lot 6638.

P. 357 above.

A rectangular altar, missing its shaft, is decorated with a two-stepped fascia, H. 0.014 and 0.04, set 0.055 m. below the top of the block. Above the fascia are two triangular horns in low relief, one at each face of the corner. The upper surface is flat with a slight gray discoloration, possibly from burning.

For two similar but not identical altars, see I-1904, from the northwest corner of the Corinthian Forum near the west end temples, published in *Corinth VIII*, iii, no. 68, p. 37, pls. 7, 61, and dated on letter forms to the late 3rd or early 4th century after Christ; and A-82-2, used in the foundation of a basin in the area to the east of the Theater; see Williams and Zervos 1983, no. 62, p. 22, pl. 9.

THE EAST TEMPLE, T–U:22 (pp. 359–361 above)

50 Poros Ionic lateral geison Fig. 75

A-70-85. P.H. 0.204, H. corona 0.153, p.L. 0.15, p. Depth 0.23 m. Single fragment, front half of geison, right joint; surfaces badly pitted. From general debris over building. No lot.

P. 360 above.

Ionic lateral geison with flat horizontal soffit, narrow blunt drip 0.013 m. thick, plain vertical face 0.104 m. high, and schematic crowning molding with straight flaring profile 0.025 m. high, projection 0.027 m., originally filled out in stucco, and a vertical fascia 0.024 m. high. The upper surface rises at an angle of 13–14 degrees.

Anathyrosis on the right joint, coarse claw chisel on the front face and soffit. The profile is virtually identical to, but the scale is slightly larger than, the geison from the West Temple, T:16-17, 38.

A somewhat crudely carved fragment preserves the upper part of a cavetto or very flat cyma recta molding, p.H. 0.061, ending in a fascia, H. 0.032 m. The upper surface is flat; the right joint is worked with anathyrosis. All surfaces are trimmed with a very coarse claw chisel, but stucco was not preserved. A second, smaller fragment from the same debris gives more of the beak.

51 Poros Ionic raking sima Fig. 76
 Lot 6507:1. P.H. 0.097, p.L. 0.096, p.Th. 0.086 m.
 Two joining fragments, left joint, top surface. From postdestruction debris above south robbed wall trench. P. 360 above.

Because of this fragment we can restore the otherwise missing raking simas on the two other temples. Thus, the lateral simas would have been of terracotta, the raking simas of stone.

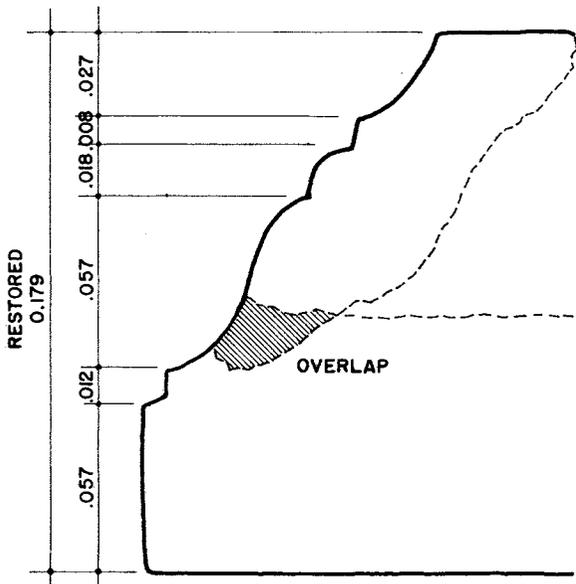


FIG. 73. 48A, B, Statue base

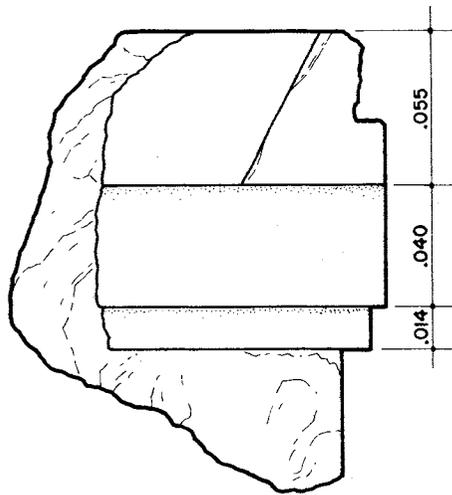


FIG. 74. 49, Altar

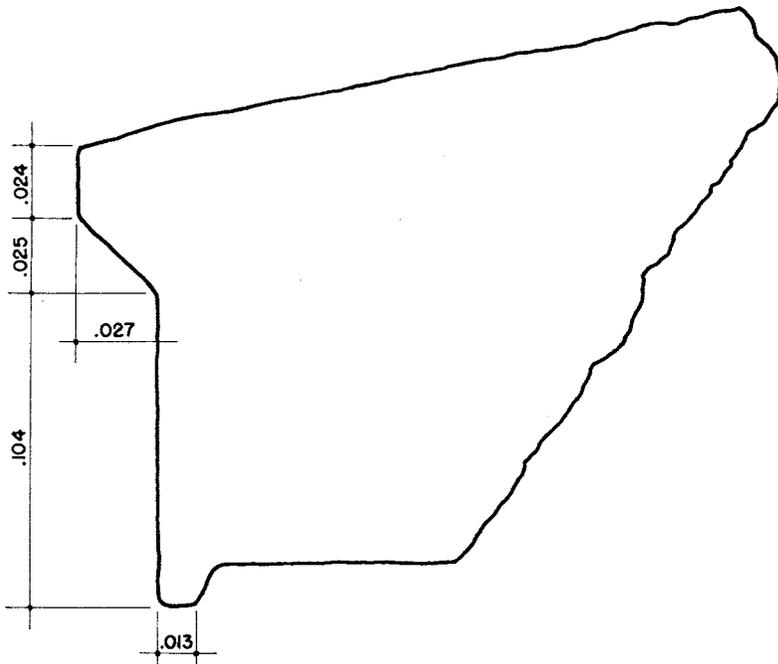


FIG. 75. 50, Geison

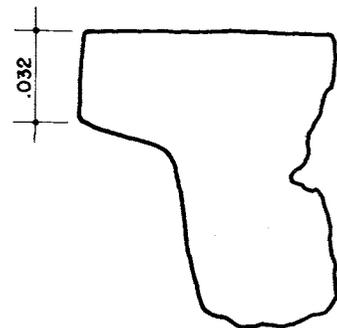


FIG. 76. 51, Sima

PART II: MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

52 Poros Doric column Fig. 77

A-945. P.H. 0.145, p. chord W. 0.262, W. flute 0.06–0.063, Depth flute 0.003–0.006, rest. D. (between arrises) 0.31–0.32 m. Three joining fragments, broken all around. Middle Terrace, found built into a wall in Q:24.

Fragment preserving *ca.* one-fourth of the circumference of a Doric column drum with sixteen flutes, of which four complete flutes and parts of two more are preserved. The arrises are sharp. Broad and shallow, the flutes are arcs of circles approximately 0.16 m. in diameter. They differ slightly one from another in width and depth, those on one side being distinctly shallower than those on the other side. The surface is worked with a rasp and covered with a thin coat of hard white stucco. In the incomplete, leftmost flute the stucco forms a thicker edge at 0.015 m. from the arris; it may therefore be that the column was only fully worked on one face and faceted on the other.

That the column may be Archaic is suggested by the shape of the flutes and the workmanship. Unfortunately, we know of no building in which it could have stood. But given its small scale, it may rather have been part of a votive.

53 Poros Doric column

A-701 **A.** P.H. 0.266, p. cord W. 0.27, W. flute 0.056–0.059, Depth flute 0.007 m. rest. D. (between arrises) 0.37, rest. D. (between flutes) *ca.* 0.355 m. Single fragment, broken all around. From Middle Terrace, O:25, built into the 5th-century B.C. retaining wall for the North Corridor on the Middle Terrace.

A fragment preserves most of the core, five flutes, and part of a sixth. Because of the poor condition of most of the arrises, however, it is not possible to determine the exact diameter of the column nor the total number of flutes. Perhaps originally eighteen, the flutes are more numerous, narrower, and deeper than those on **52**, the workmanship coarser; the flutes describe an arc with an approximate diameter of 0.10–0.11 m. Stucco is applied in two coats, a thin undercoat coarsely striated, covered by a smooth, hard white surface 1 mm. thick.

Despite the Classical date of the wall into which the fragment was built, the workmanship and fluting on the piece better fit with a Hellenistic or even Roman date, and we assume, therefore, that it derives from a later repair of the wall.

A small nonjoining fragment, **B**, adds no more information. **54** undoubtedly derives from the same

monument. Because of their small scale there are very few monuments on which these two columns could have fit. One possibility is the southern façade of the Hellenistic Propylon, O–P:19–20, if, in fact, this façade was columnar.

54 Poros Doric column

A-702. P.H. 0.163, p. chord W. 0.207, W. flute 0.065, Depth flute 0.01, rest. D. *ca.* 0.41 (arrises), rest. D. 0.38 m. (flutes). Single fragment, broken all around. Lower Terrace, surface find near base of Classical stairway, in area of K:20.

A small fragment preserves two complete flutes and most of a third of a column that originally probably had eighteen flutes. The flutes describe an arc of a circle *ca.* 0.10 m. in diameter. Extremely coarse rasping was covered by two thin coats of white stucco. Both the profile of the flute and the coarseness of the work suggest a date in either Hellenistic or Roman periods for this column. The plastering is identical to that on **53**, and the two thus derive from the same monument, although probably not from the same column.

55 Poros Doric capital, Hellenistic **B.** Fig. 78

A. A-473. P.H. 0.103, p.W. 0.143, H. echinus 0.033 m. (to top of annulets); abacus: H. 0.059, est. L. 0.35 m. Single corner, echinus from top annulet to top of abacus, *ca.* one-eighth circumference. Middle Terrace, Q:20–22, tile layer to bedrock (lot 2088).

B. A-474. P.H. 0.103, p.W. 0.10, H. echinus 0.032 m. Single fragment, echinus from base of annulets to top of abacus. Upper Terrace, S:20, theatral area (lot 2107).

A Doric capital with three thin annulets, and a straight-sided echinus rising at an angle of 40 degrees from the horizontal. Its juncture with the abacus is marked by a narrow vertical band. The scamillus is set in 0.038 to 0.045 m. from the outer face of the abacus and projects 0.002 m. Surfaces are carefully finished; no claw chisel is visible. The estimated diameter of the capital at the base of the annulets is 0.28–0.29 m. The height of the echinus above the annulets is equal to nearly three-fifths the height of the abacus, or a ratio of *ca.* 1.34. A small fragment preserving the top of the flutes and annulets was found in the stairway area and may belong with this capital (lot 6214).

The narrow vertical return that the echinus makes against the abacus is a feature of Hellenistic capitals. One of its earliest occurrences is on the Temple of Artemis at Epidauros variously dated to *ca.* 300 B.C. or the early 3rd century B.C.⁸ Capitals from that building

⁸ Roux 1961, pp. 208–209. See also Hill and Williams 1966, p. 11, who would place the introduction of this detail early in the 3rd century B.C., as evidenced by the Temple of Artemis at Epidauros, but would assign the capitals from the Temple of Nemean Zeus to a transitional stage.

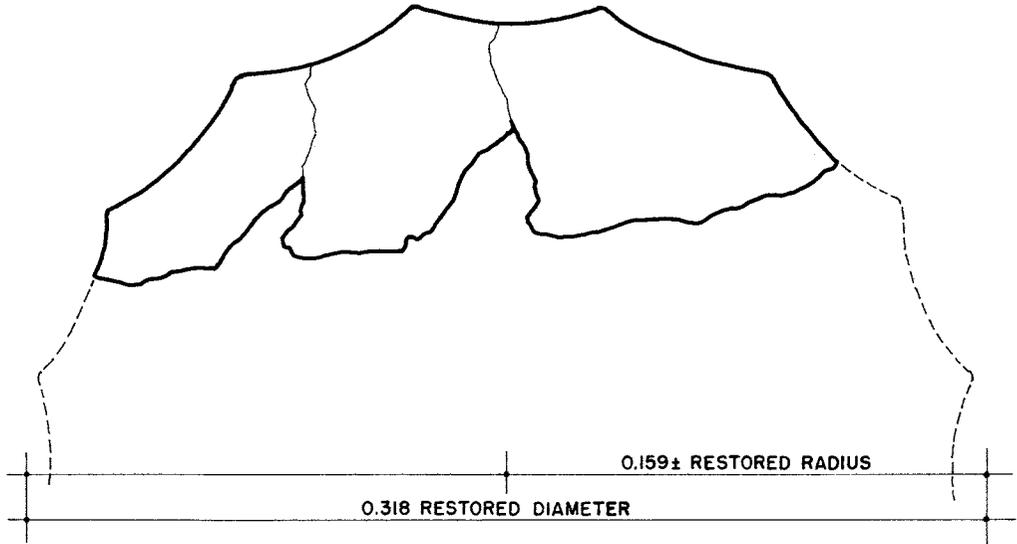


FIG. 77. 52, Doric column

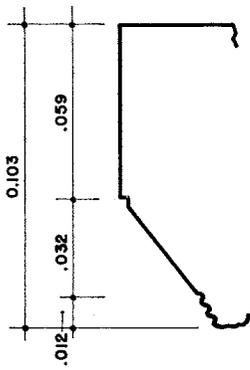


FIG. 78. 55B, Doric capital

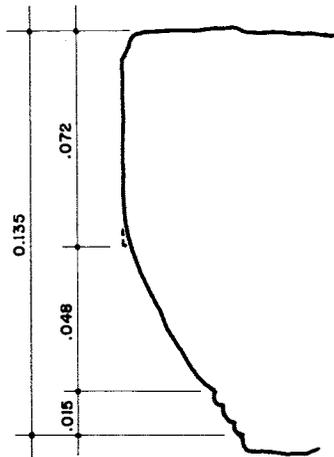


FIG. 79. 56, Doric capital

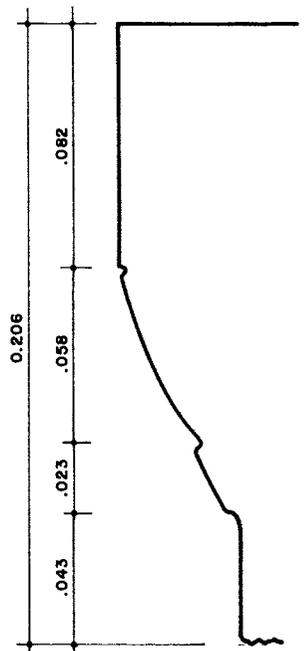


FIG. 80. 57, Doric capital

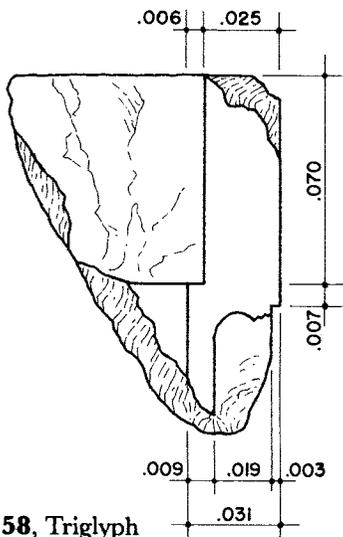


FIG. 81. 58, Triglyph

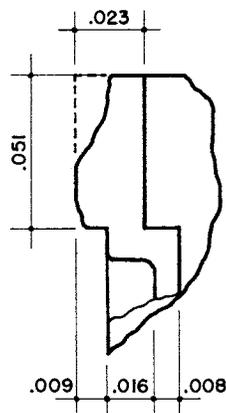


FIG. 82. 59A, Triglyph

are also similar to **55** in both profile and proportions, and the two buildings may be synchronous. The capital from the Demeter Sanctuary, however, is considerably smaller. If we follow the column proportions reconstructed by Roux for the Epidaurian building, we arrive at a column height of 2.05 m. for our capital, surely too small for any viable Classical building. A further parallel, similar to **55** in both profile and size, derives from the Asklepieion at Corinth, for which see *Corinth* XIV, p. 40, fig. 10. There identified as a votive capital, it offers a possible interpretation for not only this capital but for all the smaller, Doric architectural fragments discussed herein. At the same time, the presence of a scamillus suggests that the capital once supported an entablature of some sort, and a small-scale raking geison, **61**, may give more substance to an architectural function.

56 Poros Doric capital, Roman Fig. 79

A-588. P.H. 0.142, p.W. 0.17 m.; abacus: H. 0.072, est. L. 0.35–0.37, H. echinus 0.048 m. (above annulets). Two joining fragments preserving a small part of one side, from base of annulets to top of abacus; face worn, top surface broken. Lower Terrace, from Roman fill over the Building M–N:19 (lot 3223), and packing for first Roman floor, Room 7, Building of the Tablets, K–L:21–22 (lot 6219).

Although similar in scale to **55**, this capital differs from it in profile and proportions. Above three or four narrow annulets, the echinus has a steeper, slightly convex profile and meets the abacus with only the slightest articulation. Both the echinus and abacus are very nearly equal in height. Although both its restored base diameter and length of abacus are about equal to those of **55**, i.e., ca. 0.27–0.29 m. and 0.35–0.37 m., respectively, its height is greater. In profile it more closely resembles **57** but is not identical. Although its surfaces are carefully smoothed without evidence of the claw chisel, the convex profile of its echinus suggests an Early Roman date.

57 Poros Doric capital, Roman Fig. 80

A. A-69-59a. P.H. 0.206, p.L. 0.28 m.; abacus: H. 0.082, est. L. 0.38–0.40 m.; H. echinus 0.058 m. (above annulets). Single corner, nearly complete height. **B.** A-69-59b. H. 0.206, p.L. 0.248 m. Two joining fragments of corner, complete height. Both found in intrusive fill against the north wall of the Hellenistic Building K–L:21–22 in Room 5.

A Doric capital, somewhat larger than both of the preceding, preserves 0.04 m. of unfluted column shaft below the annulets; the latter have not been carved but in their place is a broad smooth band above which is a steep echinus with a slight convex profile. The top

of the abacus is badly worn. The estimated diameter of the top of the column shaft is 0.32 m., the restored length of the abacus 0.38–0.40 m. The entire surface of the capital is covered with coarse claw chisel marks, indicating a Roman date for its carving. Roman Doric monuments in the Sanctuary are limited to two, namely, the Roman Propylon and the stoa. Possibly too small for the former, it also differs from the capital, **10**, assigned to the latter. We must therefore assume that it belonged either to a different phase of the stoa or to a separate monument altogether.

For a similar profile, see the capitals from the Temple of Asklepios at Messene, A. K. Orlandos, «Ἀνασκαφή Μεσσήνης», *Πρακτικά* 1969 [pp. 98–120], p. 109, fig. 11, there wrongly drawn with a straight profile, and Orlandos 1976, p. 31, fig. 30. Although the capitals have been dated to the 2nd century B.C., their similarity to **57** suggests a later date for them.

58 Poros triglyph Fig. 81

A-944. P.H. 0.121, p.W. 0.20, p.Th. 0.09 m. Upper part of triglyph, metope, upper surface, broken on all other sides. Middle Terrace, P:22, from Tile Patch A (lot 2101).

A block preserves the upper left corner of a triglyph with crowning fascia, 0.077 m. high, parts of the left glyph and left slot. The head of the glyph, although broken, is rounded; the remainder of the triglyph is missing. The adjoining metope carries a fascia 0.07 m. high, set back 0.025 m. from the fascia of the triglyph. Below, a tiny portion of the metopal plaque is covered with a thin layer of white stucco. The top surface of the block is smooth. The workmanship is careful.

With so little preserved, we can say nothing substantive about the date of the piece. Rounded heads of glyphs continue at least as late as the Temple of Nemean Zeus; they are not preserved on the South Stoa at Corinth. It is possible, therefore, that the fragment could be associated with **5** as part of the frieze of the Hellenistic Propylon. There is, however, one problem with such an association, namely, the height of the fascia above the triglyph in proportion to the total height of the course. As we stated above, the height of the fascia is 0.077 m.; the height of the frieze course of the Hellenistic Propylon is 0.495 m., or 6.43 times that of the fascia. Although there seems to have been no consistent rule about this proportion, a survey of Greek buildings does show that the fascia is generally narrower in that period, with ratios of 1:7.45 to 1:7.86 being more common. At the same time, exceptions do occur. For example, the triglyphs of the Hellenistic North Stoa at Assos are equal to 6.20 times the fascia; in the Corinthian Sacred Spring this proportion on frieze III of the triglyph wall is

1:6.67.⁹ Thus, the fragment may have decorated the façade of the Hellenistic Propylon, but it may, on the other hand, have formed part of a larger order. This need not have been a freestanding building but could have been a retaining wall or altar.

59 Poros triglyph, Roman **A.** Fig. 82

A. A-942. P.H. 0.093, p.W. 0.153, p.Th. 0.047 m. Single fragment, upper right corner of triglyph, part of metope. Middle Terrace, Q:19, Well 1961-11, lower filling (lot 1946).

B. A-380. P.H. 0.15, p.W. 0.148, p.Th. 0.056 m. Upper part of triglyph preserving parts of two glyphs and one slot, broken on all edges. As **A.**

Fragment **A** preserves the upper part of a block with 0.079 m. of a triglyph at left and 0.071 m. of an adjoining metope to right. Remains of the triglyph are limited to the right half-slot, W. 0.022 m., crowned by a straight drip, and a fascia 0.051 m. high, projection 0.011 m. The fascia of the metope is equal in height to that of the triglyph; it is set back 0.023 m. from it but projects 0.014 m. beyond the metope plaque. Its top surface is chipped and worn; no stucco remains. The surfaces are unevenly cut, and claw chisel marks are visible on the metope, indicating a Roman date for the piece.

Fragment **B** preserves more of the glyphs, as well as one full slot, and allows us to restore the dimensions of the triglyph to ca. 0.273 m. Its association with **A** is based on the dimensions of the slots, **B**'s being twice the width of the half-slot of **A**, and on the workmanship, which is identical. It is smaller in scale than the triglyph from the Hellenistic Propylon, **5**, and therefore may also have been too small for either the Roman phase of that building or for the façade of the Roman stoa.

60 Poros guttae from a mutule

A. Lot 1988:1. P.H. 0.025, D. 0.035 m. Single gutta, broken at juncture to mutule. **B.** Lot 1988:2. P.H. 0.027, L. gutta 0.021, D. 0.0345 m. Middle Terrace, both from R:23-24, general fill above Area D.

Despite their poor preservation, the two guttae catalogued here attest the presence of a geison earlier than that from the Hellenistic Propylon. Not only are they larger in diameter than those guttae, but they are also longer, an indication of their earlier date. Nothing more, however, can be determined about their original location. While they are probably too large to be associated with any of the columns described above, they could, possibly, belong with **62** and **63**.

61 Poros Doric raking geison, Hellenistic **Fig. 83**

A-590. P.H. 0.135, p.L. 0.195, Depth to base of soffit molding 0.154 m. Single fragment from soffit molding to front face; missing beak, crowning molding, and top. Lower Terrace, from the Hellenistic Building M:16-17, Room 1, Roman debris associated with collapse of south wall (lot 3230).

P. 202, note 69 above.

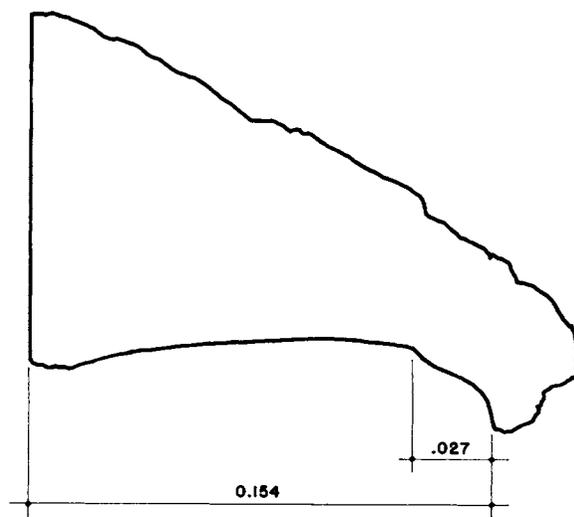


FIG. 83. 61, Geison

Flattened cyma reversa soffit molding, H. 0.027, Depth 0.027 m., concave soffit curving down to missing beak. Despite the small scale of the geison, its soffit molding is larger than that of **7**, flatter in profile, and not carefully articulated from the adjoining faces. If the capital **55** is architectural and not votive, quite possibly the two derive from the same structure. Apart from the Hellenistic Propylon, however, there is no other known decorated façade in the Sanctuary from this date.

62 Archaic poros hawksbeak molding **B.** Fig. 84

A. A-759. P.H. 0.06, p.L. 0.159, p.Th. 0.085 m. Corner, preserving two sides, top; beak broken. Lower Terrace, from Roman fill over Room 3, Hellenistic Building M:16-17.

B. A-583a. P.H. 0.07, p.L. 0.12, p.Th. 0.05 m. Single fragment, complete profile. Lower Terrace, from M:19, in Roman debris north of the Roman Propylon.

⁹ J. T. Clarke, F. H. Bacon, and R. Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos*, Cambridge 1902, p. 47. The height of the triglyph from the triglyph retaining wall in the Sacred Spring is 0.68 m., as compared with 0.102 m. for the height of its crowning fascia; for this phase of the wall, see *Corinth* I, vi, p. 139, triglyphon frieze III.

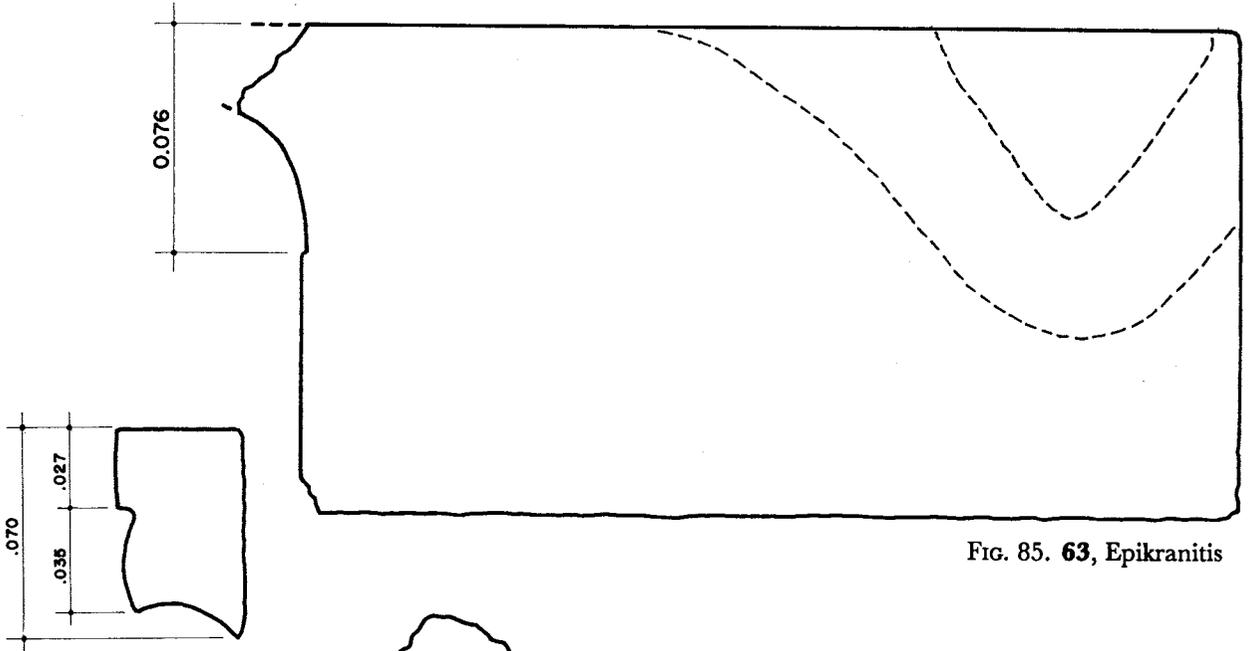


FIG. 85. **63**, Epikranitis

FIG. 84. **62B**, Hawksbeak molding

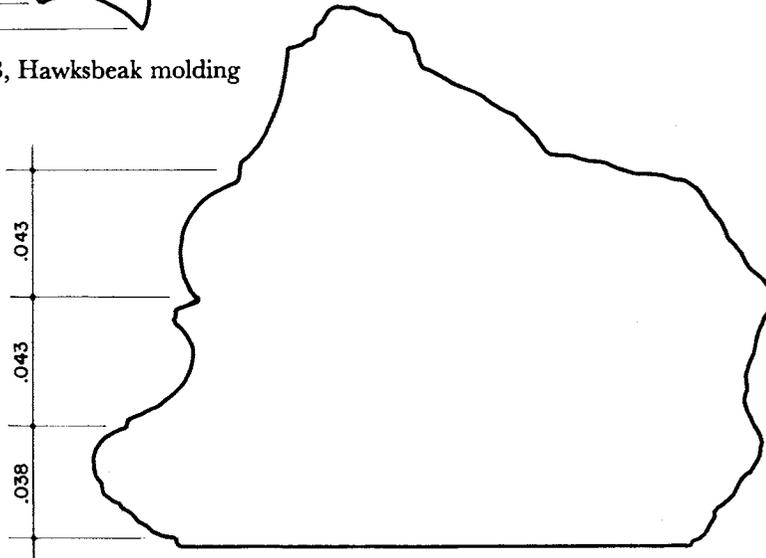


FIG. 86. **64**, Ionic base

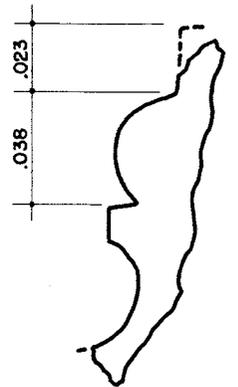


FIG. 87. **65A**, Ionic base

C. A-583b. P.H. 0.075, p.L. 0.145, p.Th. 0.056 m. Single fragment of beak, top. Lower Terrace, from general area of stairway.

To these three fragments can be added a fourth, uncatalogued, in lot 6214. All reproduce the same molding, namely, the upper part of a hawksbeak with a heavy, convex beak, only slightly undercut, p.H. 0.035 m., crowned by a fascia H. 0.027 m. The molding falls between Shoe 1936, p. 117, pl. LVI:4 and 6, both from Corinth and dated between 570 and 500 B.C. Too large for **63**, the molding could have crowned an anta, a wall or possibly an altar, or a statue base.

63 Archaic poros Doric epikranitis (?) Fig. 85
P.H. 0.16, p.L. 0.267, p.Th. 0.31 (bottom)–0.33 (top) m. Single fragment, face, top, and right side

preserved; face of molding missing. Lower Terrace, exact find place unknown. Left on site.

Preserved is the top of a block with the lower half of its hawksbeak crown. The base of the molding is cut 0.002 m. into the vertical face of the block at 0.076 m. below the top surface; it then rises vertically, breaking off as it begins to flare to the beak, which can have been no more than 0.037 m. high. Part of a V-shaped lifting channel is preserved in the upper surface at the left break, 0.215 m. from the right joint. The top is level, and the right joint is smooth. It is not clear whether the bottom surface is original or whether the block has simply split in a flat plane.

On the basis of the V-shaped lifting channel, the date of **63** should be no later than the beginning of the 5th century B.C. and possibly earlier. See Martin

1965, p. 210 and note 2. Similarly, the vertical profile of the lower half of the hawk's beak also suggests an Archaic date. For an Archaic epikranitis with such a vertical profile, Shoe 1936, p. 126, pl. LX:11. Attributed by Waldstein 1902, pl. XXII:D to the South Stoa of the Argive Heraion, this block probably belongs to the 6th-century B.C. West Building.¹⁰ For additional blocks with similar cuttings, see 98–109.

64 Poros Ionic column base, Roman Fig. 86

A-756. P.H. 0.179, est. D. at bottom 0.63, est. D. column 0.528 m. Single fragment, bottom to apophyge, lower torus largely missing. Lower Terrace, Building M:16–17, Room 3, Late Roman fill.

An Attic Ionic base with flat resting surface, lower torus 0.038 m. high, deep scotia 0.043 m. high, with slanting upper surface, upper torus 0.043 m. high, set well in from the fillet at the top of the scotia, and apophyge with slight curve. Although it is smaller in scale than 14, the base is finer in execution. Nevertheless, faint but distinct traces of the claw chisel place it in the Roman period, where it could, perhaps, be associated with either East or West Temples.

65 Marble Ionic column base A. Fig. 87

A. A-943a. P.H. 0.127 m. Single fragment from a base, preserving part of scotia and upper torus, screen. Middle Terrace, from Q:24–25, surface.

B. A-943b. P.H. 0.134, p.L. 0.076, p.Th. 0.061 m. Single fragment, front, top, and right side of screen base with traces of scotia and upper torus of column base. Surface find. Very fine white marble.

An Ionic base, having scotia, p.H. 0.05, and upper torus, H. 0.038 m., surmounted by a low fillet 0.023 m. high with upper surface worked with a coarse claw chisel, was engaged to either a wall or, more likely, a screen, the outline of which is preserved at left of **A**. Fragment **B** preserves part of that screen to the right of the base; its right joint is worked with oblique strokes of the point or flat chisel, except for a smooth narrow band left along the perimeter. A similar arrangement can be seen on an unpublished block from the area of Temple E off the Forum. These can be associated with no known building in the Sanctuary.

66 Unfluted Ionic marble column

P.H. 0.258, p. chord W. 0.352, D. shaft 0.338 m. Top of column, *ca.* half circumference. Lower Terrace, from Building M:16–17, Room 3, Late Roman fill above floor. Extremely dense, hard gray poroslike marble. Left on site.

Ionic column with unfluted shaft curving out to narrow fillet 0.023 m. high, above which a torus 0.033 m. high. The top surface is roughly picked with oblique strokes around outer circumference.

67 Unfluted Ionic poros column

P.H. 0.652, upper D. 0.42, lower D. 0.43 m. Shaft, preserving upper surface, broken below, part of shaft missing. Lower Terrace, K:20, from Roman fill over stairway. Left on site.

Unfluted column, its upper surface finished without any cuttings. No tooling visible.

68 Combination pan-cover tile Fig. 88

FC-105. P.L. 0.17, p.W. 0.14, Th. pan 0.039, Th. cover 0.042 m. Single fragment from juncture of pan and cover, broken on all edges. Upper Terrace, found in R:20–21, behind curved retaining wall of Greek theatral area. Coarse clay with dense amount of coarse red mudstone (5 mm.), fired reddish tan at core, 5YR 6/6–6/7, surface tan, slightly pinker than 10YR 6/4.

Pp. 54, 256 above.

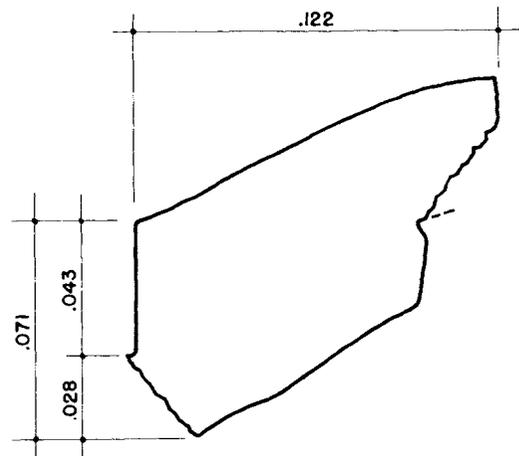


FIG. 88. 68, Combination tile

A small portion of a combination tile is roughly equal in size to a roof tile from the Protocorinthian Temple of Apollo. The fragment preserves the scar of the pan tile and approximately half the width of the cover. Like the Protocorinthian examples the cover is lightly convex with nearly vertical sides. The coarse core is masked on the exterior by a fine slip. A line of blackened discoloration across the top is also noticeable along the break and must have been made after the tile was discarded.

Scale and manufacture are close enough to the tiles from the early Temple of Apollo to suggest a date near

¹⁰ By private communication from Christopher Pfaff; for a 5th-century B.C. dating for this building, see Miller 1973, pp. 9–18.

them in the first half of the 7th century B.C.¹¹ The clay differs somewhat, however, in that the inclusions here are both coarser and fewer, the fabric a little finer. **68**, then, may be somewhat later, although such a chronological evaluation is difficult to make. A heavy roof, made up of tiles such as this, would have required a building with heavy walls. No such remains are known to have existed in the 7th century B.C.

69 Archaic antefix with cover tile Pl. 62

FA-547. P.H. 0.10, max. p.L. 0.10, p.Th. 0.106 m. Part of front face and cover; broken either side, below and back; apex chipped. Lower Terrace, from the area of the stairway. Coarse green-buff Corinthian clay with dense amount of black mudstone inclusions, with self-slipped surface. 5Y 8/2.5.

Published: C. K. Williams II, "Demaratus and Early Corinthian Roofs," *Στήλη: Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980 [pp. 345–350], pp. 348–349, pl. 155; Roebuck 1990, p. 53; Billot 1990, p. 106.

Pp. 54, 57, note 7 above.

Pentagonal cover tile, unattached to the eaves tile and ending in an antefix that follows the profile of the cover but rises to a plastic three-petal palmette finial at the apex. The lower edge of the antefix is chipped so that it is now unclear whether this edge was horizontal or rose at an angle, although the latter is more likely. On the face a lightly impressed groove, filled with dilute black glaze, follows the upper edge of the antefix and ends in two scrolls; above the scrolls the outlines of the petals are also lightly impressed and painted, and a deep, painted "V" closes the apex of the scrolls. Inclusions are still apparent through the very thin surface slip.

The parallels for this type of antefix have been discussed by Williams. Since his article more examples have been found at Corinth that are identical to his type II, without, however, any further elucidation as to their date.¹² When compared to the antefix from Nemea, which has been dated to ca. 560 B.C., the Sanctuary piece appears to be much simpler. Its shape and execution are closer to those of an undecorated cover tile, and the shallowly impressed decoration contrasts with the relief work on the Nemea example. These differences would suggest an earlier date for **69**, but perhaps not as early as the mid- to third quarter of the 7th century B.C., as Williams suggested. The problems of the beginnings of decorated roofs in Greece have not yet been satisfactorily resolved, and unfortunately the Sanctuary

context provides no sure evidence. If only temple roofs were decorated in the Archaic period,¹³ then we must assume that the tile derived from a predecessor of the oikos on the Middle Terrace.

N. Winter 1990, pp. 18–20, note 13, has recently associated this type of antefix with Argos, suggesting that its appearance in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth is due to the benefaction of a pious Argive. At this early date, however, if indeed at any time in the Sanctuary's history, there is no reason to expect Argive gifts. It may rather be that the type had a broader geographic distribution.

70 Archaic antefix Pl. 62

FA-546. P.H. 0.08, p.L. 0.10 m. From the right side, broken on all edges and back. Lower Terrace, M:19, from Roman debris. Coarse buff-tan clay with dense amount of red and black mudstone inclusions, 7.5YR 7/4.

Pp. 68, note 12, 73 above.

70 is an unusual piece belonging to an entirely different series. It is sufficiently fragmentary so that its orientation is not wholly certain. It would appear, however, to preserve the vertical right edge of a pentagonal antefix. Because of wear, the upper edge now appears horizontal, but originally it may have been slightly concave, with points at the corners and center. The face is decorated in relatively high relief with a stem that curves down from the center toward the lower right corner and loops back on itself. Convex in section, the stem is framed by plastic fillets. The surface of the antefix is slipped, and the relief work is executed in fine clay against a coarse backing. The stem is painted a purplish red, the framing fillets and background dilute brown.

There is no good parallel for this type. One can cite an Argive example that has slight peaks at the corners and is decorated with a lotus-palmette motif, as Billot 1990, pl. 11:c. There are, however, obvious differences. On the piece from Corinth the scroll does not fill the corner but falls lower on the face of the antefix; furthermore, from the proximity of the top of the tendril to the upper edge of the antefix, there may not be room for much more than a tiny palmette, as *ibid.*, pl. 11:a. Perhaps the closest parallel to this piece is a type of antefix not previously attested at Corinth but known in Argos. It is a low pentagonal antefix with peaked corners and pointed center. Two stems curve out from the center, and at their juncture is a small five-petal palmette. See E. D. Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic*

¹¹ Preliminary publication of these tiles can be found in H. S. Robinson, "Excavations at Corinth: Temple Hill, 1968–1972," *Hesperia* 45, 1976 [pp. 203–239], pp. 231–234, with references to earlier works.

¹² As yet unpublished, these derive from Hellenistic dumped fill beneath Building 5 in the area east of the theater in the city below. They are FA-571 and FA-572.

¹³ Our thanks to Nancy Winter for this information.

Period, London 1926, p. 7, pl. IV, fig. 6, from the Argive Heraion.

The Heraion pieces are dated approximately to the middle of the 6th century B.C. The plasticity of the decoration on **70** would certainly place it well after **69** but possibly before the spread of the conventional palmette antefix of the second half of the century.

71 Late Archaic antefix Pl. 62

FA-452. P.H. 0.165, est. W. through palmette 0.17, Th. at top ca. 0.022 m. Single fragment preserving most of palmette, broken at tendrils and lower left petal. Surface find. Light tan clay with moderate amount of coarse red mudstone inclusions, self-slip, near 10YR 7.5/3.

P. 68, note 12.

Published: Stroud 1965, p. 20; *FD* II, p. 100, note 1 under no. 45; Roebuck 1990, p. 61.

Palmette antefix with possible trace of cover tile at back at about the height of the lotus tip, with the palmette rising above it. Modeled in relief, the palmette is nine-petaled with pointed central petal, the others round-tipped, slightly drooping, above an oval-shaped heart. Beneath, two tendrils curve down from a central bar; below the bar is the edge of one lotus leaf, beside the bar a round stud. Front and back surfaces are slipped. It is painted as follows: maroon, petals alternating from center, heart, crossbar, and stud; rest matt black.

Le Roy places this piece in a group with roof 45, which he dates from 525–500 B.C. It may, however, come closer to a light-on-dark antefix, assigned by him to the Knidian Lesche, ca. 475–460, *FD* II, no. 17, p. 130, pl. 48, roof 56. Like **71** that example has nine petals, the central one of which is pointed; its heart is oval; the overall shape of the palmette is quite round. It may be, however, that the petals on the Delphian example droop somewhat more than on this one. By contrast, the antefix from LeRoy's roof 45 and that from the Megarian Treasury at Olympia have seven petals, all with rounded tips, and a semicircular heart.¹⁴ We would therefore place **71** no later than roof 56 and probably a little earlier, in the first quarter of the 5th century B.C.

72 Late Classical terracotta raking sima A. Pl. 63;
B. Pl. 63

A. FS-1027. H. 0.134, p.L. 0.21, p.Th. 0.225 m. Left corner, broken either end, preserving height, nearly half acroterion box; missing upper half of surface, lion muzzle. Lower Terrace, L:19, from Roman debris.

B. FT-191. P.L. 0.135, p.W. 0.098, Th. 0.04 m. Small fragment from end of tile, broken three sides. Middle Terrace, from upper filling in Well 1961-11,

Q:19 (lot 1945). Pale yellow clay with dense admixture of black mudstone inclusions, 2.5Y 8/3.

The raking sima consists of a fascia 0.03 m. high, above which projects a cyma reversa, much of the surface of which has flaked away, together with the crowning molding. The combined height of these two elements is 0.067 m. On the lateral face a small lionhead spout is set 0.053 m. in from the corner. Roughly 0.077 m. wide through the cheeks, the head is framed by three rows of blunt, erect mane locks. To the left of the spout the sima gives way to an eaves tile 0.045 m. thick, more of which is represented by **B**. The upper surface of the sima slopes up to the acroterion box, set back 0.065 m. from the face. Originally ca. 0.13 m. square, the flat floor was surrounded by a lip 0.02 m. thick and 0.01–0.02 m. high.

The sima is decorated as follows. The soffit along the raking side is 0.047 m. wide and is decorated either with just a red stripe or stripe and bead-and-reel; on the flanks this becomes a 0.112 m. wide band of lotus-palmette chain, bead-and-reel, and a red stripe. The face of the raking sima bears a swastika maeander on the fascia, and lotus-palmette chain on the cyma, the remnants of which appear to match those on the soffit, namely, a nine-petal palmette with round-tipped axial petal and five-petal lotus with triangular-tipped axial leaf. All elements are reserved against a matt black background; red appears on the heart of the palmettes and tips of the calyx of the lotus.

An anthemion occurs on a sima placed in the southern half of the South Stoa, as *Corinth* I, iv, pl. 20:4. The lotus and palmettes on our pieces, however, are more slender and elongated, the axial leaf of the lotus angular. They are closer to a series of unpublished tiles from the North Market in Corinth and probably date closer to the end of the 4th century B.C.

73 Late Classical terracotta lateral sima Pl. 62

FS-988. H. 0.17, p.L. 0.19 m. Complete profile, right edge; broken at back, to left. Lower Terrace, Hellenistic Building M:16–17, Room 1, Roman debris associated with collapsed south wall (lot 3230). Clay moderately coarse with mudstone inclusions, fired pink at core, pale yellow at surface, ca. 2.5Y 8/3.

P. 202, note 69 above.

The sima is composed of a fascia, 0.052 m. high, crowned by a vertical panel 0.117 m. high, inset 0.026 m. and tilted forward at 11 degrees from the vertical. The panel ends without a crowning molding. A black band is painted on the soffit, and on the fascia is a maeander in light-on-dark technique. The panel is decorated with an acanthus scroll in relief, consisting of an unbroken, fluted

¹⁴ The drawing of the antefix from the Megarian Treasury at Olympia, shown in E. Curtius and F. Adler, *Olympia: Die Ergebnisse der vom Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabungen* II, Berlin 1892, pl. 119, is incorrect; the central petal is rounded, not pointed. For the correct form, see N. Winter 1990, pp. 20–21, figs. 6, 7.

stalk, springing out to the right from the missing spout, and two tendrils, which curl down and out to right and left from the stalk. Both tendrils have a V-shaped section and are of nearly the same size. The scroll is reserved on a matt black ground. A second fragment, FS-1028, found in M:19, preserves the left end of the sima.

Although the acanthus scroll sima is extremely common from the 4th century B.C. on, examples such as **73** (without a crowning molding) are less so. Four examples are known from Corinth: one, *Corinth* IV, i, FS-134, is without provenance; of the remaining three, FS-991, FS-1025, and FS-1064, FS-1025 was found in Cistern 1969-1 in fill of the second half of the 4th century B.C. Le Roy (*FD* II, pp. 180-182, pl. 75) presents one example of this series, his roof 90, which he dates on stylistic grounds to the second half of the 3rd century B.C. Both the Delphic example and FS-1025 differ slightly from **73** in the form of the stalk and the addition of a bud. But how these differences affect the dating is unclear. Because of the findspot of FS-1028, it is tempting to place this series on the flanks of the Hellenistic Propylon. It is, however, 0.01 m. taller than the raking sima **9**, and may therefore be too large to belong with it.

74 Eaves tile Pl. 63

FT-207. H. 0.059, p.L. 0.132, p.W. 0.098 m. Single fragment, right edge; broken to left and at back. Middle Terrace, exact provenance unknown. Coarse pale yellow clay with scattered black mudstone inclusions, 5Y 8/3.

Eaves tile with a raised lip along the right edge, set back 0.032 m. from the face, rising 0.016 m. above the surface. The right joint is worked with anathyrosis. The tile is decorated in light-on-dark style as follows: soffit, lotus-palmette chain, p.W. 0.081 m., composed of eleven-petal palmettes with short, pointed axial leaf, elongated heart, and two of five leaves of lotus with tip of calyx; face, swastika maeander and checkerboard. Red paint occurs on the palmette heart and along the edge of the calyx; a red stripe runs along the front edge of the soffit, and red outlines the checkerboard of the face. An additional fragment of the same series was found in the robbed wall trench for the north wall of the Hellenistic Propylon (lot 4350).

75 Hellenistic palmette antefix Pl. 63

FA-528. P.H. 0.203, p.W. 0.164, rest. W. base 0.178 m. Complete except for tip, bottom edge, lower corners, surface flakes; broken at juncture to cover. Lower Terrace, Building of the Tablets, K-L:21-22, Room 1, in Late Roman fill, no lot. Coarse light yellow clay with moderate amount of black mudstone inclusions, 5Y 8/3. P. 223 above.

Originally attached to a pentagonal cover tile, the antefix is decorated in low relief with an eleven-petal palmette, the tip of which is broken away, and drooping side petals, which spring from a pointed heart. The

petals rest on double S-scrolls, which frame a reversed three-petal lotus; half-palmettes fill the angles; smaller scrolls curve up from the base of the "S" to fill the upper corners. The background is painted black; there are traces of red color on the heart, the lotus, and the outer edge of the antefix; the remainder is reserved.

Several palmette antefixes were recovered from the site. If we restore the axial petal here with a pointed tip, then at least three other examples have been catalogued: FA-461 and FA-462, from Late Roman levels in P-Q:26 and P-Q:20-22, and FA-501, from Hellenistic to Early Roman fill in the Hellenistic Building M:16-17 (p. 202, note 69 above). Small fragments with similar S-scrolls are in lots 6214 and 2234. Although three such antefixes with round axial leaf are known from Corinth, all from the Gymnasium area, FA-504, FA-511, and FA-525, the pointed leaf variety is much more common and is best known on the South Stoa. **75** differs slightly in the shape of the heart and the thickness of the lotus petals but is otherwise similar. It is, however, identical to one associated with the harbor stoa at Perachora dated ca. 300 B.C., for which see Coulton 1964, pl. B:a. Quite possibly, it originally decorated the eaves of the Hellenistic Propylon.

76 Hellenistic half-palmette antefix Pl. 63

FA-566. P.H. 0.117, W. at base of third leaf 0.063, rest. W. 0.126 m. Single fragment, preserving right joint, broken below. Lower Terrace, from J-N:18-22, surface stratum, no lot. Clay as **75**.

The left half of a palmette antefix preserves the taller, pointed axial leaf, and three, of what were originally probably five, drooping petals, all in low relief. The finished right joint falls just to the left of the axial petal. The palmette is reserved against a black background; its outer edge is red. A second such antefix, FA-499, from surface layers over the Hellenistic Building M:16-17, preserves the right half of a similar palmette.

76 is similar to **75** in size and form, insofar as it is preserved. Whereas, however, whole palmettes are generally attached to a cover tile, half-antefixes are made in one with the lateral sima, and it is therefore regrettable that the lower portion of this series was not found. The only lateral sima known from the site, **73**, shows no trace of such an antefix. Like **75**, this should probably be dated to the time of the Perachora stoa.

77 Corinthian pan tile, Classical Pl. 62

FP-247. L. 0.694, W. 0.593-0.607, max. Th. 0.067 m. Complete. Lower Terrace, Building N:28, tile fall in Room 4 (lot 2255). Yellow clay with moderate amount of fine to coarse (7 mm.) black mudstone inclusions, 2.5Y 8/3.

Pp. 195, 197 above.

This Corinthian pan tile tapers slightly from front to back. Along each long side is a blunt lip 0.015 m. wide, rising 0.024 m. above the upper surface of the

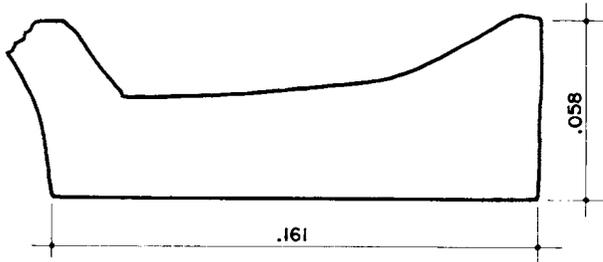


FIG. 89. **79**, Opaion tile

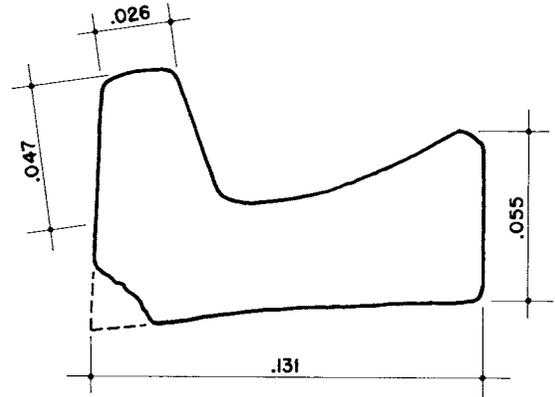


FIG. 90. **80**, Opaion tile

pan. Along the back edge is a flat band 0.03 m. wide, projecting 0.005 m. above the surface of the pan; a 0.10 m.-wide rabbet is cut into the underside of the front end. The floor of the tile diminishes in thickness from 0.045 m. just behind the rabbet to 0.03 m. in front of the back band.

If the tile belongs to the original phase of this building, then it dates no earlier than the late 4th century B.C.

78 Corinthian pan tile with dipinto Pl. 64
 FP-219. P.H. 0.25, p.W. 0.265, Th. 0.035, H. letters ca. 0.06–0.08 m. Single fragment broken along all edges. Lower Terrace, M–O:17–20, in surface earth (lot 3206). Coarse clay with numerous inclusions, fired yellow to pale pink at core; thin yellow slip on upper surface, near 2.5Y 8/3.

A Corinthian pan tile, broken at the back edge of the rabbet, bears a dipinto in dilute black paint on its upper surface:

[---].[---]
 [- ? -]NAY *vacat*

Traces of the first line are limited to a single, diagonal stroke. Despite the impression given by the photograph, there are no letters preserved after the upsilon. From its shape and fabric the tile must be Classical in date.

79 Opaion tile Fig. 89, Pl. 62
 FP-289. P.L. 0.177, p.W. 0.207, Th. 0.037–0.058 m. Part of one side, broken on remaining edges, portion of hole. Lower Terrace, O:27–28, surface fill south of the Hellenistic Building N:28. Coarse clay, pink at core, tan at surface with numerous mudstone inclusions, 10YR to pinker.

A Corinthian pan tile having the customary blunt lip along the lateral edge, rising 0.021 m. above the upper surface of the pan. Part of a circular opening lies 0.161 m. in from this edge. With an estimated diameter of 0.28 m., the opening is surrounded by a

sloping rim 0.029 m. high. The upper surface is smooth. Three more opaion tiles with round or oval openings are known from the site. One was found in surface layers in O:18 (lot 4349); a second lay in general fill over the Classical Building N–O:22–23 (lot 4347); the third, FP-395, was recovered from 4th-century B.C. fill in Building M–N:25–26. A similar tile from the South Stoa appears in *Corinth* I, iv, pl. 22:1.

80 Opaion tile Fig. 90, Pl. 62
 FP-236. P.L. 0.215, p.W. 0.197, Th. 0.03–0.056 m. Part of one lateral edge, floor, two sides of opening. Middle Terrace, Late Roman robbed wall trench over east wall, Hellenistic Propylon (lot 4362). Coarse pinkish buff clay with dense admixture of mudstone inclusions, fine surface slip, 10YR 7/4.

Preserved is part of a Corinthian pan tile with a blunt lip, rising 0.026 m. above the upper surface of the pan, along the lateral edge. A rectangular opening, p.L. 0.18, p.W. 0.10 m., cuts through the floor at 0.09 m. from the outer edge of the tile. This opening is surrounded by a rim 0.047 m. high and 0.026 m. thick. In view of the tile's context, it cannot be dated with any security, except to liken it to **79** in fabric and general form. Rectangular holes in opaion tiles are otherwise unattested, however.

81 Roman terracotta lateral sima Pl. 63
 FS-948. H. 0.261, p.L. 0.345, rest. L. 0.48 m. Two-thirds of sima from just left of spout to right joint, complete spout. Middle Terrace, Q:19, upper filling in Well 1961-11 (lot 1945). Coarse light reddish tan clay, 7.5YR 6/6 with numerous mudstone inclusions, fine slip, 10YR 7/4.

P. 335 above.

Lateral sima with a base fascia 0.04 m. high, projection 0.02 m., vertical panel, ca. 0.168 m. high, crowned by an ovolo and narrow fascia 0.057 m. high, projection 0.02 m. The panel is decorated in molded relief

with the usual acanthus stalk; in contrast to **39**, each spiral is a single coil, which is grooved, and both spirals are equal in size; the pod hangs from the spirally fluted stem. The ovolo is worked in relief with squarish eggs and double-ridged darts. The moldmade lionhead spout differs from that of **39** in that its forehead is flatter, the eyes more deeply set and horizontal, and the mane, although flatter, is worked in relief. It also differs from **11**, assigned to the Roman stoa, in the structure of the forehead and treatment of the eyes and muzzle, as well as the form of the mane locks. On **81** the bulges above the eyes and at the cheeks are more pronounced; a deep groove outlines the upper lid only, while the lower lid curves into the cheek; the pupil is pierced; the whiskers are more shallowly incised, with the result that the strip between nostrils and lip is flush with them and blurred. The teeth are not rendered in front but only on the sides. Finally, the mane consists of three rows of plastic locks lying close to the head; the locks are unscored.

At least one other example of this spout was found, but its provenance in the stairway area (lot 6215) offers no help for the original placement of this sima. In addition, two other series of lionhead spouts are identical in all details but differ slightly in the rendering of the mane locks. The locks of one have a single slash, while the locks of the second series have several slashes each. These heads, too, are slightly narrower through the cheeks than **81**. But since modifications were made after the moldwork, it is likely that all these spouts may derive from the same sima and building. Seven examples of the singly scored mane locks have been found, namely, two from Well 1961-11 (lot 1946) and FS-946 (Pl. 63), one from the upper filling of the cistern in P:20-21 (lot 2099), one from the quarry in M-O:27-29 (lot 2210), one from surface fill in Q:24-25, FS-941, and two from the stairway area (lot 6215), and just west of it, FS-989.

Five examples exist of the many-scored locks: two from surface in P-Q:20-22 (lot 2156), one from surface in O-P:15-17 (lot 4384), one, FS-958 (Pl. 63), from the collecting basin at the base of the theatral area (lot 2093) (p. 377 above), and one from the stairway (lot 6215). FS-958 was placed in the basin by the middle of the 3rd century after Christ, which gives a *terminus ante quem* for the dismantlement of the roof. Since simas have been attributed to the stoa and to the central and western temples, this series could have stood on the East Temple T-U:22 or on the Roman Propylon, N-P:19-20.

82 Roman terracotta lateral sima Pl. 64

FS-954. P.H. 0.225, p.L. 0.149 m. Two joining fragments, left end of sima plaque from just above base fascia to top. Middle Terrace, upper filling in Well 1961-11 (lot 1945); Lower Terrace, surface fill over Hellenistic Building M-N:25-26 (lot 4344). Coarse clay

with scattered red mudstone inclusions, fired pink at the core, buff at surface, 10YR 8/4.

P. 335 above.

The sima consists of a vertical panel decorated with molded relief, consisting of a single curling tendril with grooved section that fills the entire panel, wrapping itself twice before ending. Above the tendril is a single fillet 0.008 m. high, framed by grooves, a large egg-and-dart 0.05 m. high, worked in relief on the vertical face of the plaque, and a crowning fascia 0.05 m. high. The egg-and-dart ends 0.02 m. before the left edge of the tile. The left joint is smooth.

There are seven other fragments of this type of sima, namely, two more from Well 1961-11 (lot 1945), one from the quarry, Q-R:27-29 (lot 2038), one from P-Q:22-23 under the tile layer south of the Roman stoa (lot 2106), one from surface at O-P:15-17 (lot 4384), and two from the Lower Terrace (lots 6214, 6215). One of these fragments offers the additional element of a trumpet-shaped flower beside the tendril.

83 Terracotta lateral sima A. Pl. 60; B. Pl. 60

A. FS-1092. P.H. 0.148, p.L. 0.145 m. Right end of tile, broken below at juncture with pan tile and fascia, above at base of crowning molding. Middle Terrace, from P-Q:22, Tile Patch C (lot 2103).

B. FS-1093. P.H. 0.128, p.L. 0.158 m. Upper left corner, preserving upper part of panel, crowning molding, left joint. Middle Terrace, from P-Q:20-22, surface layers (lot 2156). Moderately coarse clay with scattered coarse red mudstone inclusions, fired orange, between 10YR 7/6 and 7.5YR 6.5/6 for A; B slightly darker, or 7.5YR 7/4 to 5YR 6.5/6.

P. 341 above.

Two fragments of the same series, but probably not of the same block, preserve a small-scale sima with vertical panel decorated with an acanthus spray in low relief to either side of the missing spout. The arrangement is essentially that of **12**, with the difference that there is no half-furled leaf, the left tendril curls from the stalk with double coils, while the right tendril curls from a faintly scored stem again with double coils. Between the coils is a pendant bud with two petals. Spaced well above the spray is an egg-and-dart molding, 0.023 m. high, in relief on the vertical face of the plaque, and crowning fascia 0.019 m. high, articulated by a deep groove. The end tendrils are cut by the joint; the stalk is blurred, and the tendrils look as if they had been impressed twice.

In scale, execution, and type of crowning molding these fragments are closest to **17** and **18** from the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, with the difference that the egg-and-dart molding here is smaller in scale, although the total height of the crown in both is about similar. Given the crudity of workmanship, such differences may not be significant and may be otherwise absorbed in

the lower portion of the sima, now no longer preserved. Based on their find place, these fragments may have decorated the roof of the Roman stoa, but it is equally possible that this series could also once have decorated the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. Seven other examples have been found, namely, two from Cistern 1964-1 (lots 2099, 2100), two from surface layers in O-P:15-17 (lot 4384), one in Q-R:27-29 (lot 2038), one from the area of the stairway, and one from the cistern in K:15 (lot 72-99). The discovery of one fragment in the lower filling in Cistern 1964-1 (lot 2100) implies that the roof was dismantled by the mid-3rd century after Christ.

For an antefix that may well have belonged with this series, see **85**.

84 Roman terracotta palmette antefix Pl. 64

FA-582. H. 0.260, est. W. base 0.18 m. Full height of face, though missing most of lower edge and central petals of palmette; broken in back at juncture to neck. Possibly burned. Middle Terrace, Q:20-22, from tile debris (lot 2088), and from surface (lot 2156). Very coarse pale yellow to gray-buff clay, with dense admixture of fine to coarser mudstone inclusions. From ca. 2.5Y 7/4 to 5Y 6/2.

P. 324 above.

A palmette antefix, attached to neck, by means of which it hooked over the sima. The face consists of a rectangular element at the bottom, 0.06 m. high and decorated with three horizontal ridges, above which is a bead-and-reel, now largely worn away. Above this is an eleven-petal palmette with taller central leaf, which is also pointed and hollowed. The remaining petals are convex, round-tipped with drooping ends; the palmette rises from the calyx of a flower (?), from which a tendril also springs to either side. The surface is extremely poor and unslipped. The back is smoothed with a ridge down the center to the top of the neck. From the same series are FA-450, -457, and -533; the latter may be a half-palmette.

This antefix is one of the commonest types of Roman antefix at Corinth. At least forty-two examples have been catalogued from the site. In the Forum area they have been found in the vicinity of the South Stoa, the South Basilica, Temple E, the Temple of Apollo, the Babbis Monument, and the Baths of Eurykles. Further afield, several fragments were recovered from the Gymnasium, the Asklepieion, and the area around the Kenchrean gate. Since, however, they cannot be associated with either a specific building or a building phase, the type cannot be dated. Several fragments are known from Delphi, *FD* II, p. 193, series 110; these too are unattributed.

85 Roman terracotta palmette antefix Pl. 64

FA-509. Max. p.H. 0.314, p.H. antefix 0.184, W. antefix at base 0.161, rest. W. cover 0.11 m. Complete

except for tips of three fronds, end of cover. Middle Terrace, O-P:15-17, surface to bedrock (lot 4384). Tan clay, red-brown at core, with numerous fine to coarse white inclusions. Surface 10YR 7/5, core 5YR 6/6.

Pp. 324, 341, 369, 377 above.

This is an antefix made to fit over a sima by means of a long neck, pentagonal in section, which ends in a semicircular cover tile. The lower edge of the antefix proper stands 0.145 m. above the resting surface of the cover tile. Its face is modeled in high relief as follows, from top down: nine long palm fronds, resembling the petals of a palmette except that each frond is divided longitudinally by a deep, V-shaped groove and finely incised veins. To either side of the central frond is a short one that does not reach the central heart. The heart, somewhat blurred, projects in high relief and resembles a leaf folded down; beneath it is a flatter, erect leaf with rounded tips, to either side of which is a bunch of dates or seedpods. At the base of the antefix are two long acanthus sprays that spring from two small half-furled leaves and curl down into either corner. Traces of a fine buff slip remain on the surface.

Five more fragments of this type of antefix were recovered, three from the same context as this, or west of the Roman Propylon, one from the collecting basin just southeast of Well 1961-11 in Q:20 (lot 2093), and one from the tile layer in Q:20-22 (lot 2088).

The dimensions of this antefix best fit the sima series represented by **83**, the restored height of which we estimate to have been ca. 0.18-0.19 m. If we subtract 0.035-0.04 m. for the thickness of the sima pan tile, the height of the sima becomes 0.14-0.15 m., equaling the height of the antefix from the base of the neck to the lower edge of the antefix face. All the other simas from the Sanctuary are too large. The use of palm fronds on an antefix is thus far unattested at Corinth, and we must assume therefore that its use here had special significance, despite the statement of Steier, *RE* XX, 1941, cols. 386-403, *s.v.* Phoinix, that the palm tree had no meaning in a sanctuary. For a discussion of its possible meaning here, as well as its association with **17** and **18** on the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, see pp. 341, 369 above.

If the date of the filling of the collecting basin is correct, then the roof on which this antefix stood was dismantled by the middle of the 3rd century after Christ. With it was found a lionhead spout (FS-958, *sub* **81**), which is too large for this series.

86 Stamped Roman pan tile Pl. 65

FP-195. PH. 0.106, p.L. 0.155, Th. 0.026, H. letters 0.02, H. field 0.037 m. Broken on all edges. Middle Terrace, Q-R:27-29, mixed to Late Roman fill over quarry (lot 2038). Coarse clay, pink at core, buff surface, 10YR 8/3 and 7.5YR 8/4.

Flat pan tile preserving a stamp in a long rectangular field:

[C]OL·L·IVL·COR

The lettering resembles that on **22**, especially the oval O, but it is not from the same die. Other stamped tiles from the Sanctuary of the type are **87**, **88**, and an uninventoried fragment in lot 6214 (Pl. 65).

There are approximately two hundred inventoried tiles from the Corinth Excavations that bear this stamp or a variant in which one or two letters are added at the end; see commentary on **88**. Little attempt has been made to date these tiles, which are stamped with the abbreviated name of the Roman city of Corinth.

The longest and most numerous series of Latin abbreviations of the name of the city appears on the coins of the colony. From 44 B.C. until Galba, the coins of the Corinthian duoviri exhibit the abbreviations LAVS IVLI CORINT, CORINT, and COR.¹⁵

No coins were struck at Corinth from A.D. 69 to 81. Under Domitian, when Corinth resumed minting, the coin abbreviations recognized the change in the name of the colony, i.e., COL IVL FLAV AVG CORINT, and variants.¹⁶ Under Trajan we find COL IVL LAV COR,¹⁷ and it is under Hadrian that, apparently for the first time, the order of the names on the tile stamps is exactly followed, COL L IVL COR and COL LAV IVL CORIN.¹⁸ A *terminus ante quem* for the abbreviated title of the colony as it appears on **86** is the reign of Antoninus Pius when CLI COR takes over and remains the standard abbreviation; see commentary under **13**.

If these numismatic data could be trusted, we might, then, date **86** and similar stamped tiles to A.D. 98–138. But there are probably far too many examples to restrict the use of such tiles to this limited period of time. A date of ca. 44 B.C.–A.D. 138 is probably more realistic.

Abbreviations of the name of the city are not numerous on Latin inscriptions from Corinth, nor are they very helpful: see, for instance, *Corinth* VIII, ii, nos. 4, 5; VIII, iii, nos. 130, 355, 366.

Jane C. Biers collects some useful references to stamps of this series on tiles from Corinth, but none comes from a closely dated context. Her assertion that use of the Latin language is an indication of early date needs to be qualified in the light of the series represented by **13** here. *Corinth* XVII, pp. 78–79.

87 Stamped Laconian pan tile, Roman Pl. 65

FP-264. P.H. 0.113, p.L. 0.108, Th. 0.02, H. letters 0.026, H. field 0.035 m. Lower Terrace, from Late Roman fill over Room 2, Building of the Tablets,

K–L:21–22 (lot 6229). Broken on all edges, stamp incomplete. Coarse orange clay with fine inclusions, 5YR 6/6.

A fragmentary Laconian tile preserves part of a stamp in a rectangular field on the upper or concave side of the tile:

[---]VL COR

Of the first preserved letter there is only a tip of a diagonal stroke in the top right corner of the letter space.

The lettering resembles that of **88**, and the stamp belongs to the same series as **86** and **22**.

88 Stamped Roman pan tile Pl. 65

FP-171. P.H. 0.105, p.L. 0.075, Th. 0.02, H. letters 0.025, H. field 0.035 m. Broken on all edges, stamp incomplete. Surface find. Coarse orange clay, 5YR 6/6.

A flat pan tile preserves the beginning of a stamp in a rectangular field:

COL[---]

The lettering resembles that on **87**.

This tile most likely bears the same kind of stamp as **22**, **86**, and **87**, although formally one could restore, e.g., COL[·L·IVL·COR·A]. After COR, the following readings are also attested on stamped tiles from the Corinth Excavations: AC, AG, AI, and AL.

89 Stamped Roman pan tile Pl. 65

FP-172. P.H. 0.153, p.L. 0.091, Th. 0.022, H. letters 0.026, H. field 0.044 m. Broken on all edges, stamp incomplete. Surface find. Soft tan clay near 10YR 7/5. Surface very badly worn.

A small fragment of a flat pan tile preserves the beginning of a stamp in a rectangular field:

C.[---]

There are traces of an oblique stroke of a second letter to the right of the C, possibly the curve of an O, but not enough to identify it. A possible reading is CQ[L---].

90 Stamped Roman pan tile Pl. 65

FP-173. P.H. 0.11, p.L. 0.198, Th. 0.02, H. letters ca. 0.04, H. field 0.055 m. Broken on all edges, stamp incomplete. Middle Terrace in Well 1961-11, Q:19, depth 12.05–14.20 m. (lot 1945). Coarse clay with scattered coarse white and mudstone inclusions, voids, fired pink at core, buff at surface, surface 10YR 7/4.

A flat pan tile preserves part of a stamp in a rectangular field:

MAZ[---]

To judge from the top of the alpha, this stamp is to be read retrograde. The incomplete letter at the left edge of the tile, which is the third letter in the text, appears

¹⁵ M. Amandry 1988, *passim*, esp. pp. 27–30, 77–78.

¹⁶ E.g., *Corinth* VI, nos. 91–93, 97–102, 104, 106, with earlier references.

¹⁷ *Corinth* VI, no. 109.

¹⁸ *Corinth* VI, nos. 114, 125.

to be a ligature, possibly of zeta and at least one other letter, or perhaps a xi, i.e., $\text{Μαξ}[\text{---}]$.

There is an exact parallel for this stamp on another unpublished pan tile from the Corinth Excavations, FST-62, but it is of no help in deciphering the ligature or in dating the tile. Its find place is unknown, and it is broken in such a way as to preserve no more of the third letter than can be read on **90**.

The ornate lettering suggests a date in the Roman period.

91 Stamped Roman pan tile Pl. 65

FP-374. P.H. 0.058, p.L. 0.085, Th. 0.022, H. letters 0.02 m., H. field unknown. Broken on all edges, stamp incomplete. Lower Terrace, M-O:27-29, in surface fill over the quarry (lot 2210). Moderately coarse clay with fine sandlike inclusions, numerous voids, fired light red at core, tan at surface, more yellow than 5YR 6/6.

A flat pan tile preserves part of a stamp in an oblong field:

[---]ACE[---]

We have not found a parallel for this stamp among the inventoried tiles from the Corinth Excavations. Cf. the abbreviation AC mentioned under **88**.

92 Poros monument crown Fig. 91

A-703. P.H. 0.101, p.L. 0.237, p.Th. 0.15 m. Two joining fragments, one corner with top of shaft, crowning molding, and top surface. Upper Terrace, south of bedding 44 (lot 2107); Lower Terrace, Building M:21-22, Room 1, debris over couches and floor (lot 6206).

P. 270 above.

The monument base consists of a rectangular shaft, crowned by a hawksbeak 0.015 m., projection 0.026 m., with double curve to the beak and no offset below; it is crowned by a cavetto 0.014 m. high and 0.005 m. deep, above which the surface curves back to a horizontal surface set in 0.02 m. from the face of the moldings. In this top surface are parts of three deep rectangular cuttings, namely, one parallel to each face, and a third set obliquely to the corner; all are incomplete but are at least 0.03 m. square by 0.085 m. deep. Fine white stucco covered the surface.

This type of base is paralleled in an unpublished surface find from the northeastern quarter of the city, A-70-92. It consists of a tall shaft, crowned by cyma reversa, cavetto, and sloping surface but with a large rectangular cutting in the top for a plinth, rather than separate dowels. The hawksbeak and cavetto molding on **92** are closely paralleled in the anta capitals from the South Stoa, Shoe 1936, p. 123, pl. LIX:3, and should be dated to the last third of the 4th century B.C. The widely scattered findspots of the two joining fragments are common within the Sanctuary. Assuming that fragments travel downhill rather than up, we would place

the base on the Upper Terrace, quite possibly in one of the bedrock cuttings just east of the Hellenistic Temple.

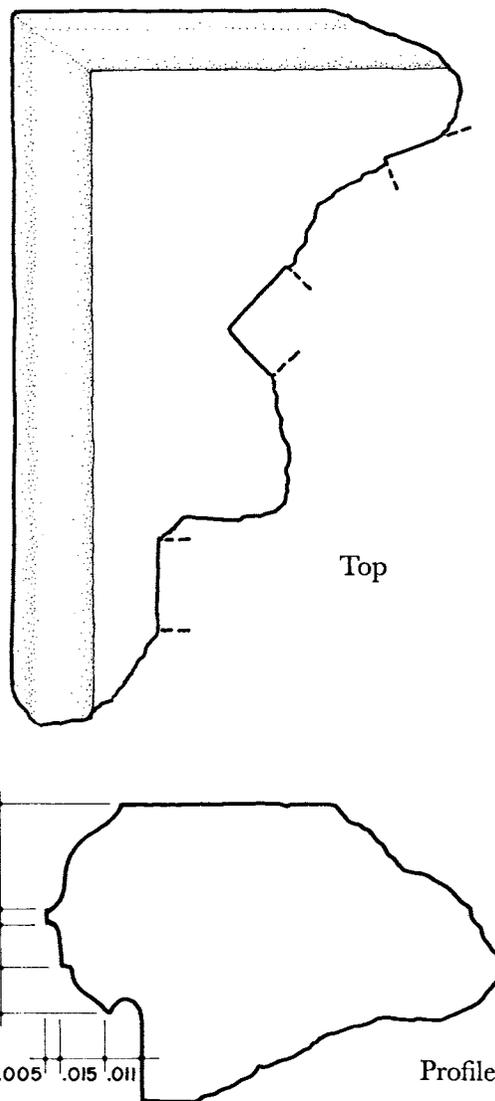


FIG. 91. **92**, Monument crown

93 Poros monument crown (?) Fig. 92

A-719. P.H. 0.231, Th. 0.13, p.L. 0.093 m. Front, two sides, and top preserved, broken below and in back. Lower Terrace, found in O:24.

A corner block, of which the front and left faces are worked with smooth band 0.072 m. high, projecting 0.006 m. from the lower part of the block; above this is a cyma reversa 0.032 m. high, projection 0.013 m., and a fascia 0.039 m. high. The top is smooth, as is the right joint. The surfaces are worked with the flat chisel.

Although we have tentatively called this piece a stele or monument crown, in reality its identification is questionable. It is tempting to make it the capital of a door

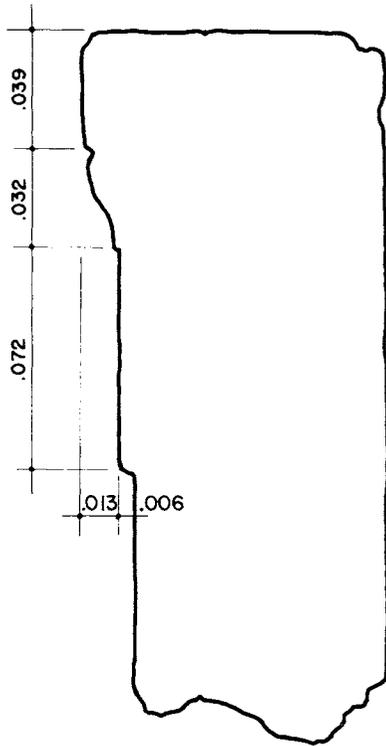


FIG. 92. 93, Monument crown

pier, but problematic for such an interpretation is its extreme thinness. The workmanship is Greek, but parallels for the unusually flat molding are lacking. Although the smoothness of its right face suggests that the piece was meant to stand against a wall or other surface, such a treatment is also common in votive stelai.

94 Poros monument base
or orthostate block

Fig. 93

P.H. 0.429, p.L. 0.52, rest. L. 0.55, p.Th. 0.442 m. Corner with parts of two profiled faces, left joint, bottom; broken above, in back. Upper Terrace, theater, S:20, over western end of steps 5, 6. Left on site.

P. 264 and note 34 above.

A corner orthostate block with smoothly finished resting surface; on front and right faces a fascia 0.105 m. high, projection 0.005 m., cavetto 0.054 m. high and 0.045 m. deep, above which vertical face at least 0.27 m. high. The left joint is worked with anathyrosis. The workmanship is careful without visible tool marks, and there is no evidence of the claw chisel.

The cavetto is generally used in conjunction with other moldings; its occurrence here alone is therefore unusual and without good parallels in Shoe 1936. At Corinth such a cavetto appears by itself on a columnar

monument base found in the area of the Sacred Spring.¹⁹ The shape of **94** suggests that it too formed part of a large monument. Its similarity to the base in the Sacred Spring places it no earlier than the 4th century B.C. A pre-Roman date is also indicated by the absence of claw chisel marks. Because it had fallen onto the west side of the theater, it is possible that it originally stood on bedrock to the south. For a cutting in bedrock in T:19 that could have supported it, see p. 271 above.

95 Roman poros statue base

Fig. 94

A. A-75-27. P.H. 0.134, p.L. 0.395, p.Th. 0.170 m. Bottom, base molding, right end. Burned.

B. A-75-28. P.H. 0.09, p.L. 0.38, p.Th. 0.38 m. Molding and top surface, corner with parts of two sides. Burnt.

Both fragments were found on the Lower Terrace, in and in front of the late oven in K:16 (pp. 380–381 above), and clearly had been used in its construction.

A square or rectangular base, consisting of a fascia, H. 0.028, large ovolo 0.039 m. high, projection 0.034, and apophyge (**A**). The crown consists of a nearly straight flaring surface, and vertical fascia 0.035 m. high (**B**). The moldings were executed on three sides only, for the fourth face is flat. The bottom is worked with the flat chisel; all remaining surfaces are coarsely trimmed with the claw. A thick coating of stucco, partly preserved on **B**, is painted maroon on the crowning molding, white on the fascia. Since neither **A** nor **B** preserves either cuttings or relieving margins, their relative positions are not certain, and the two could, perhaps, be reversed. The workmanship is coarse, the date Roman.

96 Roman marble statue base, base molding

Fig. 95

A-951. P.H. 0.134, p.L. 0.195, Th. 0.08 m. Corner fragment preserving parts of two faces, left joint, bottom, broken above. Middle Terrace, Q:19, from Well 1961-11, upper filling (lot 1945). White fine-crystallized marble.

96 derives from the back right corner of a statue base much like **31** and **48**. It preserves 0.08 m. of the right face, decorated with a fascia 0.051 m. high, projection 0.006 m., and cyma recta 0.073 m. high, projection 0.049 m. The remainder of the base is missing but could have continued as **48**. The right side of the block repeats the fascia, but in place of the cyma recta is an oblique surface, all worked with the flat chisel. To the left of the face is a joint, which is worked entirely with the claw chisel without anathyrosis. The tip of a horizontal dowel hole cuts into this surface at 0.064 m. above the bottom and 0.175 m. back from the front face. A very shallow relieving margin runs along the edge of the underside, while the remainder of the underside is worked with

¹⁹ Although unpublished, the base appears in *Corinth* I, vi, figs. 115 and 116. Our thanks to Charles K. Williams II for drawing our attention to this block.

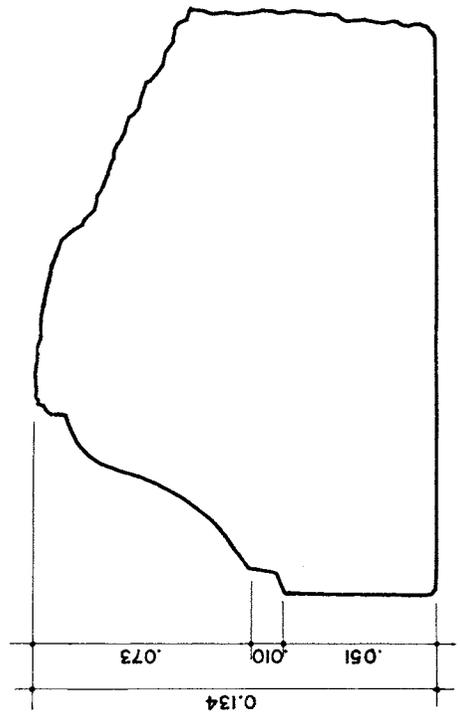
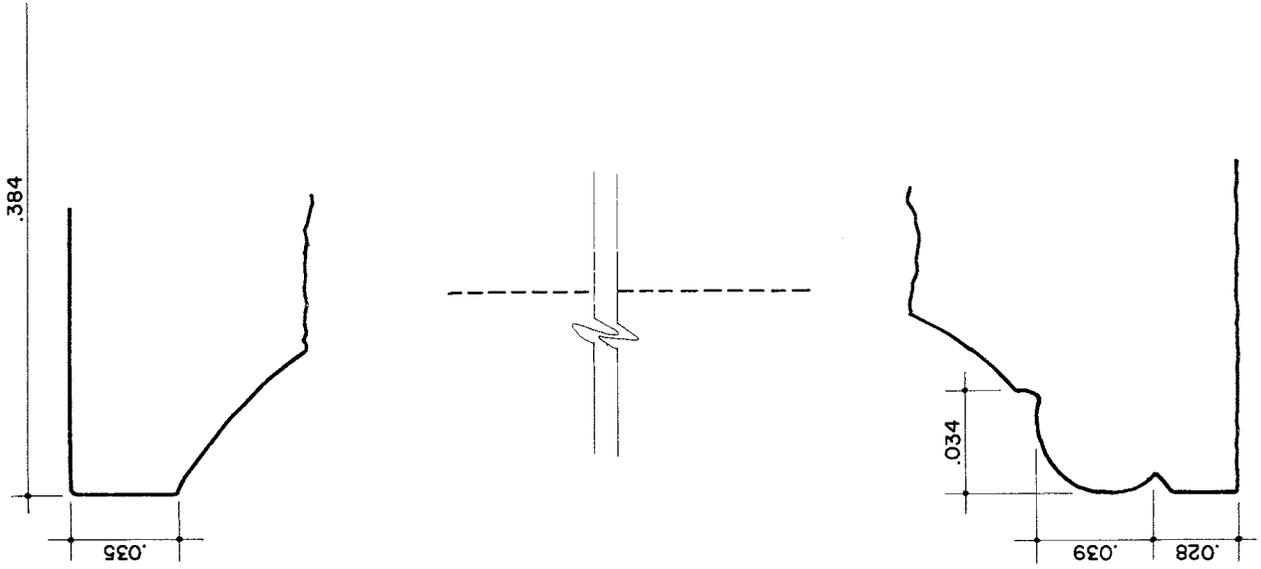
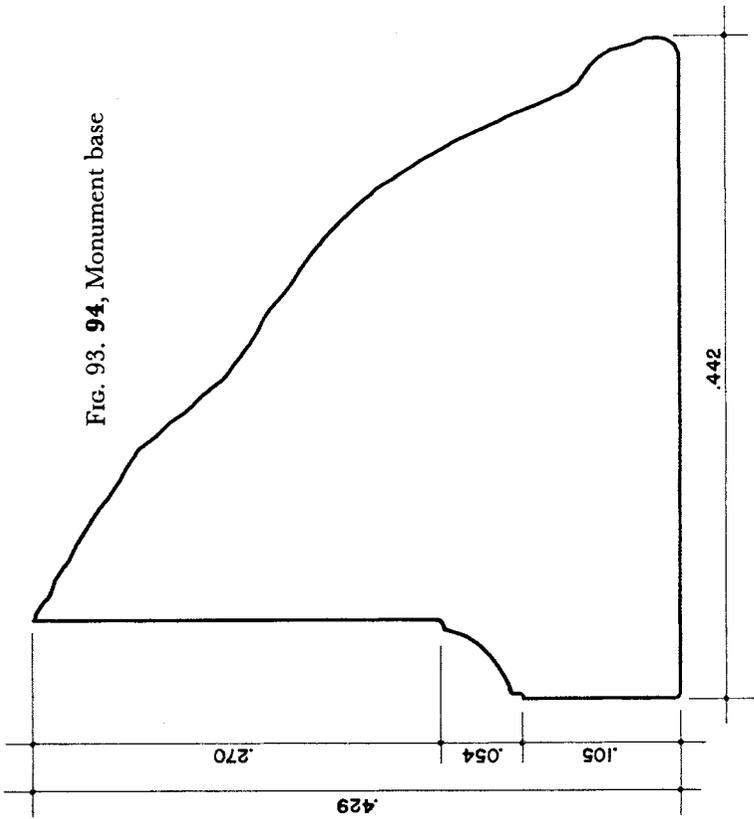


Fig. 94. 95A-B, Statue base

Fig. 95. 96, Statue base

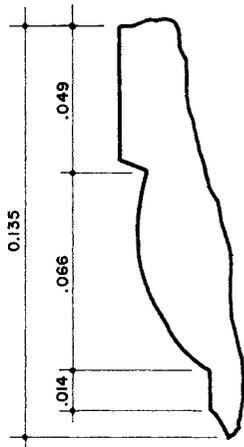


FIG. 96. 97, Statue base

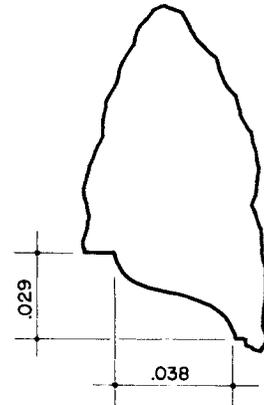


FIG. 97. Molding A-69-84

the claw. The face is finished relatively smoothly with the flat chisel.

Although this piece closely resembles **48**, it differs in several details. Its fascia is slightly lower, the bottom surface is worked differently, and the surface finish is somewhat better. Its profile, moreover, differs somewhat from **48B**. For that reason it has been assigned to a third marble base, which presumably stood in one of the three Roman temples.

97 Roman marble statue base, Fig. 96
crowning molding

A-952. P.H. 0.135, p.L. 0.12, p.Th. 0.049 m. Corner, from top to start of apophyge. Upper Terrace,

Q-S:17-20, theatral area (lot 2107); Middle Terrace, Q:19, upper filling of Well 1961-11 (lot 1945). White fine-crystallized marble.

The crowning molding of a statue base is worked on both faces with an apophyge, crowned by an ovolo 0.066 m. high, projection 0.035 m., and a fascia 0.049 m. high, projection 0.005 m. The upper surface has a relieving margin 0.01 m. wide, smoothly finished along both faces, while the rest of the surface is roughly picked.

An additional fragment from lot 2107 may also belong with the base. Another fragment from the well, however, may belong to yet a fourth base.²⁰ **97** could represent the crown of either **48** or **96**.

²⁰ A-953. P.H. 0.10, p.L. 0.10, p.W. 0.055 m. Corner, parts of two faces, both worked with fascia, H. 0.041 m., and ovolo. The top surface is finished with the flat chisel.

PART III: ARCHAIC and CLASSICAL REUSED BLOCKS

The remaining entries consist of poros blocks, primarily of Archaic date, that were reused in the foundations of both the Temple with the Mosaic Floor, T-U:19, and the East Temple, T-U:22. Most of these blocks preserve V-shaped lifting cuttings, for which see Coulton 1974, pp. 1-19. Two, at least, however, differ: **100**, deriving from a round or apsidal building, for which there is no evidence within the Sanctuary, and **107**, the original function of which is unknown. Dimensions given in the figures will not be repeated in the text.

TEMPLE WITH THE MOSAIC FLOOR (Pp. 338-340; Pl. 53)

- 98** Fig. 98
East foundation, second block from north. Top, east faces visible. V-shaped lifting cutting on top, parallel to long east face. Four setting lines running length of block; also a single pry hole on top, west face, 0.332 m. from southwest corner. Tooling: top worked with claw chisel overall; anathyrosis on northern end of west face only; east face smoothly finished, no tooling visible.
- 99** Fig. 99
East foundation, fourth block from north. Top, west face visible, missing segment of lower west face. V-shaped lifting cutting on top, parallel to narrow northern end. Four setting lines running length of block; a single pry hole on top, east face, 0.53 m. from northeast corner; two pry holes on top, west face, set 0.45 and 0.55 m. from northwest corner. Tooling: top surface trimmed with claw chisel; west and visible top portion of east face smoothly finished.
- 100** Fig. 100
South foundation, first block from east. Top, north face visible. North and south faces curved in plan, radius of curve of outer, south face 2.516 m. A single setting line runs length of block. Tooling: claw chisel on top, north face smoothly finished.
- 101** Fig. 101
South foundation, second block from east. Top, north face visible. A V-shaped lifting channel on top, parallel to narrow western end. A single setting line runs length of block. The north face is partially cut back 0.062 m. from the western edge to 0.492 m. The V-shaped lifting channel was approximately centered on the original complete rectangle. Tooling: claw chisel on top, north face smoothly finished.
- 102** Fig. 102
South foundation, fifth block from east. Top, north face visible. A V-shaped lifting channel on top, parallel to narrow western end. A single setting line runs length of block. The western half of the north face is cut back 0.126 m. for a length of 0.385 m. The V-shaped cutting was centered on the original rectangle. Tooling: claw chisel on top, anathyrosis on the southern end of the west face only; north face, cutting roughly worked with flat chisel; remainder smoothly finished.
- 103** Fig. 103
West foundation, southernmost block. Top only visible. A V-shaped lifting channel on top, parallel to narrow southern end. Two setting lines make a corner, marking southwest corner of missing course 2 of the Temple with the Mosaic Floor. Tooling: the surface is largely cut down with the claw chisel, leaving a narrow, higher margin 0.02-0.08 m. wide along the west side.

EAST TEMPLE (Pp. 359-360; Pl. 55:b)

- 104** Fig. 104
Course 1, east foundation, second block from north, partly covered by baulk and overlying course. Top only visible. A V-shaped lifting channel on top, parallel to narrow northern end. Tooling: trimmed with claw; narrow band 0.08 m. wide projects slightly above rest of surface along part of east side.
- 105** Fig. 105
Course 1, west foundation, southernmost block. Top only visible. V-shaped lifting cutting in narrow western end; a cutting in the southeast corner. Tooling: top surface cut down with claw chisel over most of surface; narrow band along west edge left higher; surface of band smoothed, except for a narrow raised margin 0.06-0.10 m. wide along the northern edge.
- 106** Fig. 106
Course 2, east foundation, northernmost block. Southern half only preserved. Top, east face visible. V-shaped lifting channel on top, parallel to narrow southern end. Three setting lines running length of block. Tooling: claw chisel on top; lower portion of east face cut back 0.019 m. with claw chisel; upper portion smooth.

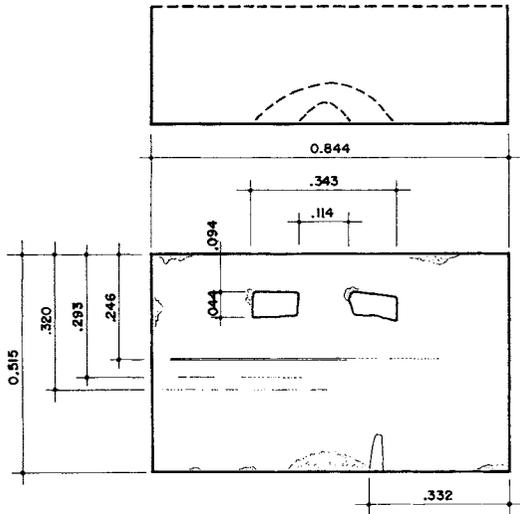


FIG. 98. 98

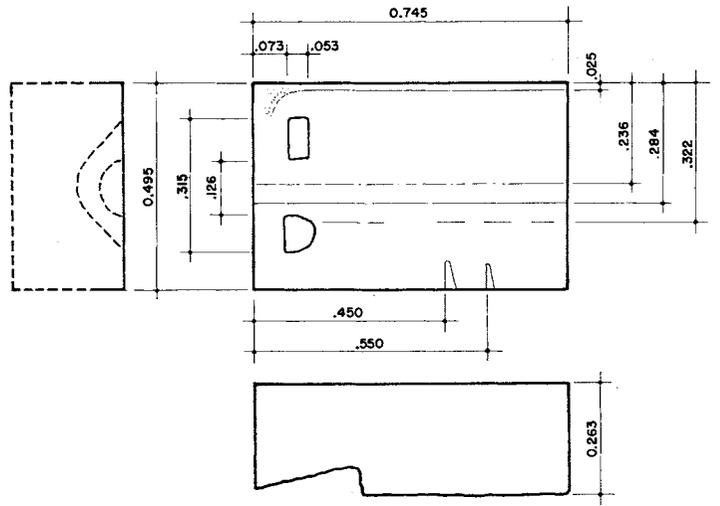


FIG. 99. 99

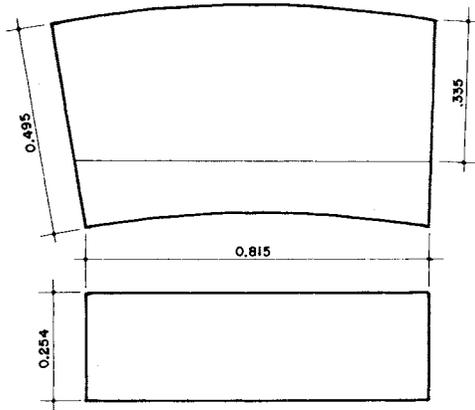


FIG. 100. 100

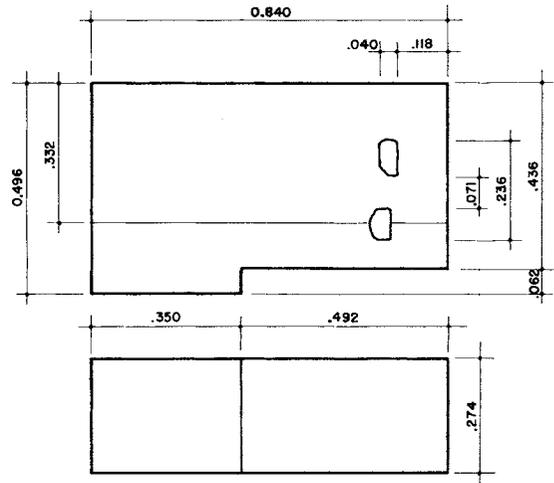


FIG. 101. 101

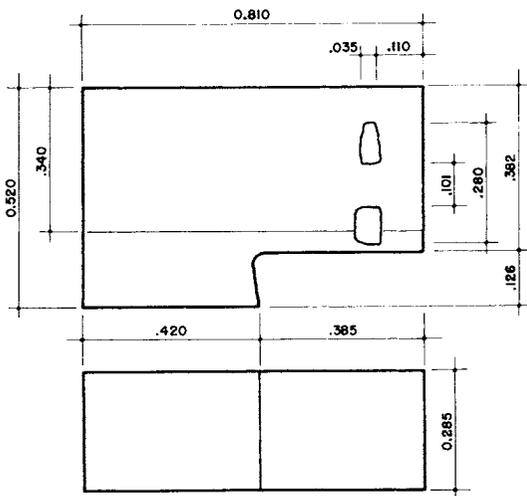


FIG. 102. 102

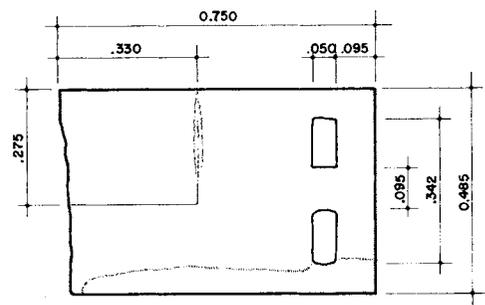


FIG. 103. 103

Figs. 98-103. Reused Blocks

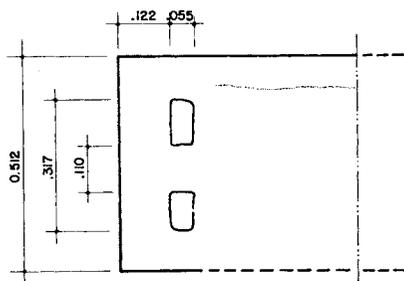


FIG. 104. 104

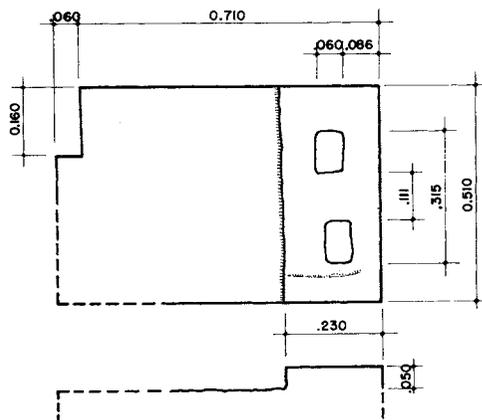


FIG. 105. 105

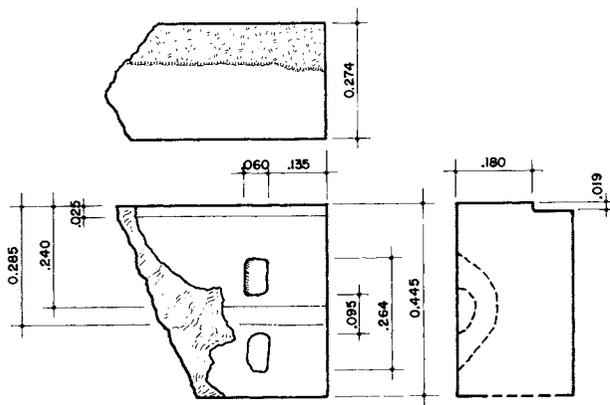


FIG. 106. 106

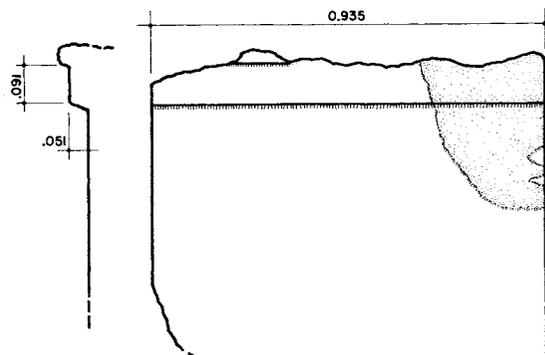


FIG. 107. 107

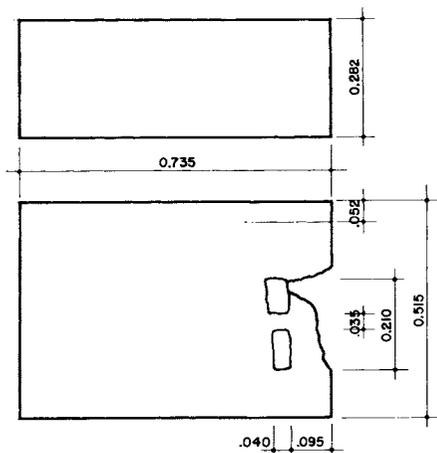


FIG. 108. 108

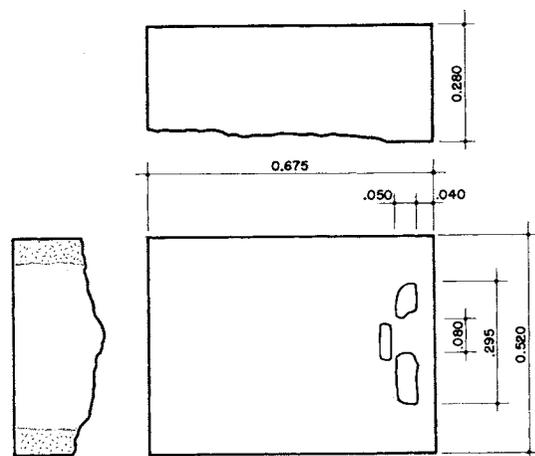


FIG. 109. 109

FIGS. 104-109. Reused Blocks

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Fig. 107

Course 2, south foundation, third block from west. A large rectangular block, partly covered by course 3, with northeast corner broken away. A broad fascia 0.11 m. wide runs length of south side, from which a second fascia or molding with damaged profile projects near eastern end. Tooling: hard stucco covers the southwest corner, remainder of surface worked with claw chisel.

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Fig. 108

Course 3, south foundation, second block from west. Top, south face visible. A V-shaped lifting channel on top, parallel to narrow western end. A faint setting line

visible at southwest corner. Tooling: claw chisel on top, south face smooth.

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Fig. 109

Course 3, south foundation, third block from west. Top, south, and east faces visible. A V-shaped lifting cutting on top, parallel to narrow western end; cutting partly damaged by second rectangular cutting or pry hole just to the east of it 0.08 m. long, 0.03 m. wide, 0.034 m. deep. Tooling: claw chisel on top; north face smooth; anathyrosis along north and south sides of east face.

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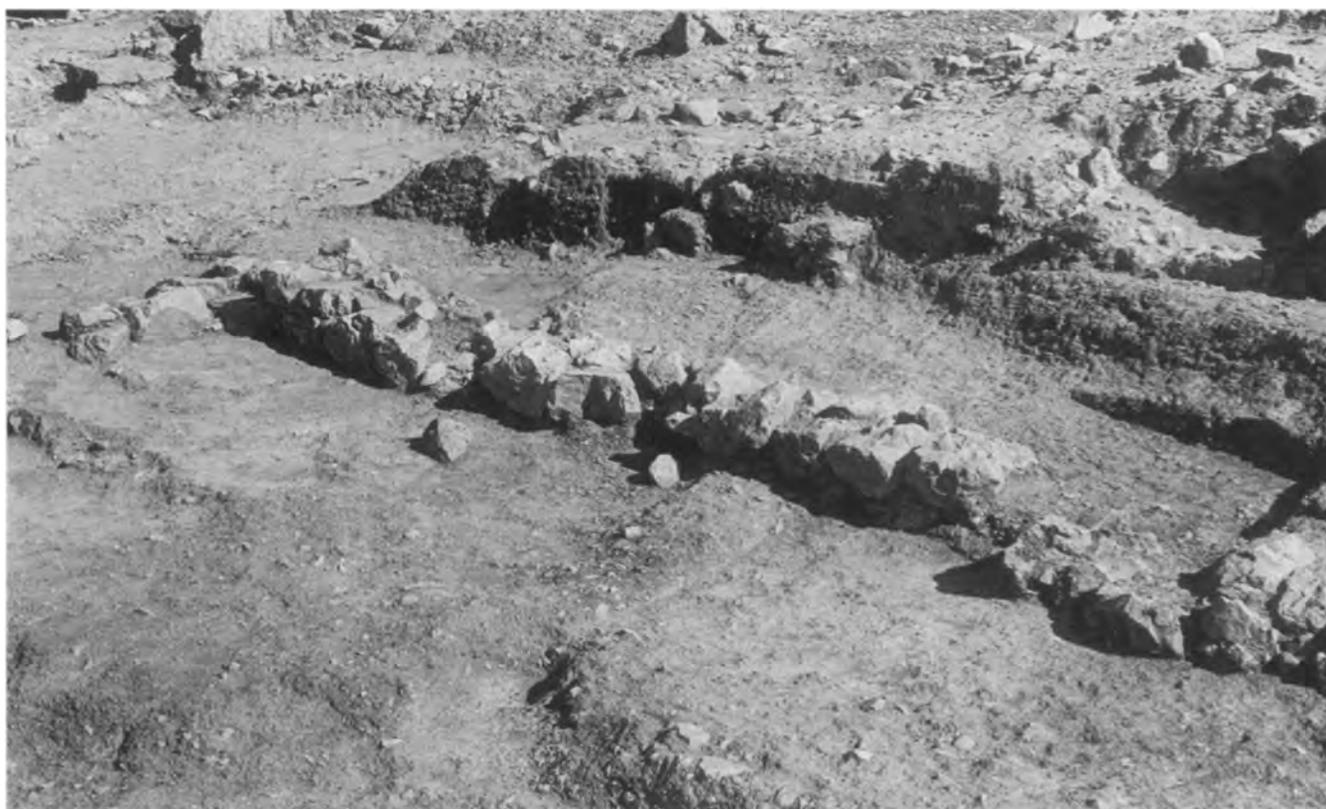
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General view of Acrocorinth with Sanctuary (from northeast).



Sanctuary (from northwest), road in foreground.



a. J-K:18-19, Mycenaean house (from northwest).



b. Road (from northeast).

PLATE 4



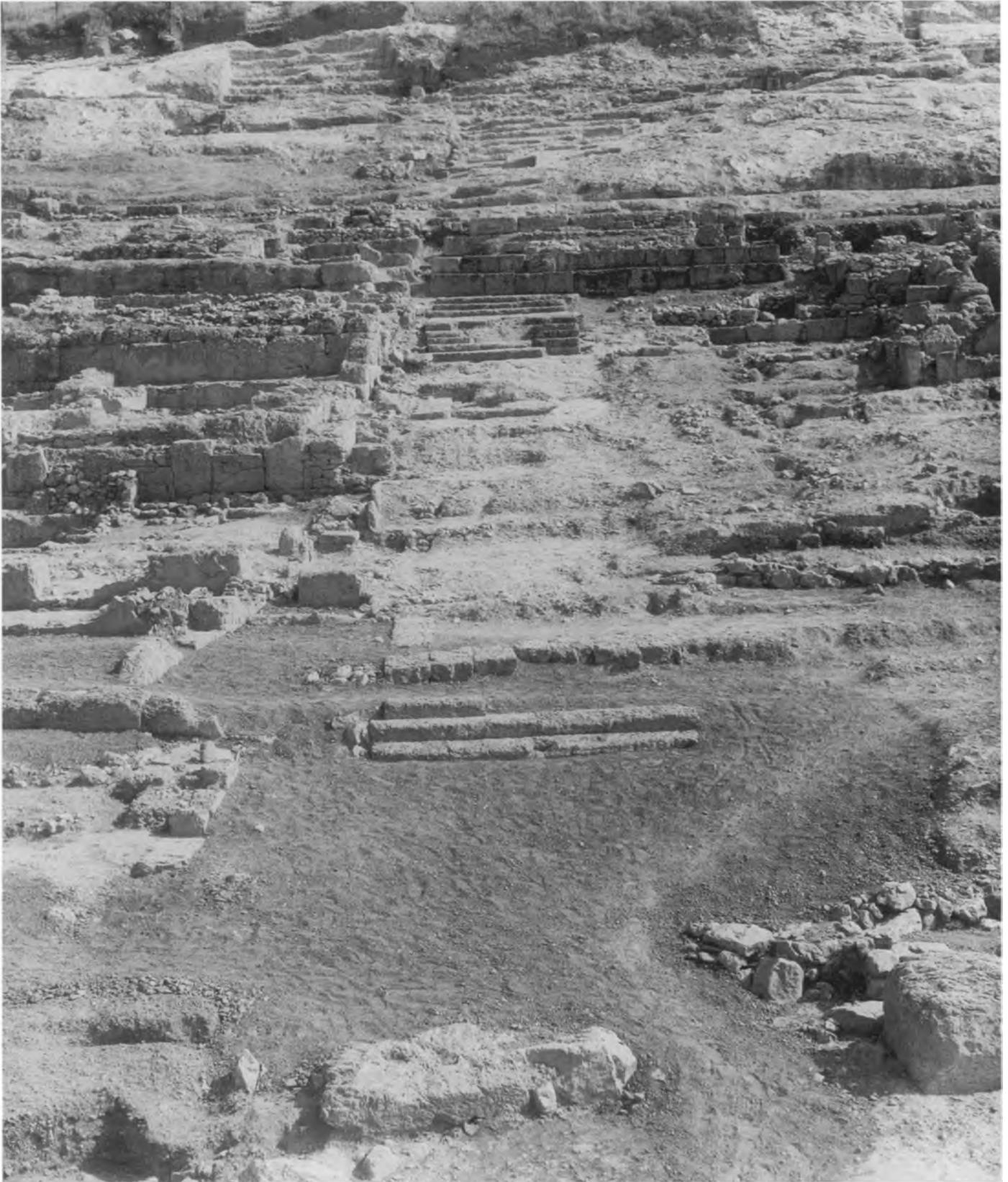
a. Western half of road (from north), Buildings I-J:15, I-J:14 in foreground, M:16-17 upper left.



b. I:17-18, road retaining wall (from north), Mycenaean terrace wall to south.



c. I-J:16-17, road retaining wall (from north).



General view of the Sanctuary (from north), entrance in foreground, square marker right, stairway.



a. Building M-N:20-26, Room 3 (from north). At right, east wall of Building M:21-22.



b. M:20, pit under stair landing 4 (from north).



c. Building M-N:20-26, earlier east wall.



d. H:19, horos stone (I-71-84) (from northeast).



e. Secondary entrance in K:14 (from northwest).



a. Building N-O:25-26, north wall with drum (from north).



b. Building N-O:25-26, west couch (from south).



c. Building M-N:25-26 (from north), behind which is Building N-O:25-26.



a. Room 1 in both phases, below which are cuttings for Building M-N:20-26, Room 6 (from north).



b. Hellenistic Rooms 2 and 3, below which are earlier east wall to left, to right east wall of Building M-N:20-26.



a. P:23-24, Wall 2, drain (from west).



b. O:23, rock-cut drain, earliest wall (from east).



c. P:21-22, east wall of early building (from north),
later oikos wall to left.



d. P:24-25, Wall 2 with cutting (from west),
Pit B to left.



e. P:20-21, early north wall, cistern P:20-21 to south (from north).



a. Central sector (from southeast), oikos in foreground with interior cutting to left.



b. O-P:21-22, left to right, Roman retaining wall, Pit E, north wall of oikos (from northwest).



a. O-Q:20-23, oikos, Pit E, drain blocks of Roman Stoa (from southeast).



b. R:23-24, Area D (from northwest).



a. Area D (from southwest).



b. P:25, blocked entrance in Wall 2 (from north).



c. P:26, detail of Wall 2 (from north).



d. P-Q:26, Room E (from northeast), Wall 21 at left, small court in foreground.



General view of stairway, Building K-L:21-22 (from northwest).



a. Building K-L:21-22, Room 1 (from west).



b. Building K-L:21-22, Room 1, south wall (from north).



c. Building K-L:21-22, bath stall (from east).



d. Building K-L:23-24, northeast couch (from west).



e. Building K-L:23-24, excavated hearth (from east).



Dining rooms in Row 2 east of stairway from Building K-L:23-24, partly excavated, in foreground to Building L-M:28 in background (from northwest).



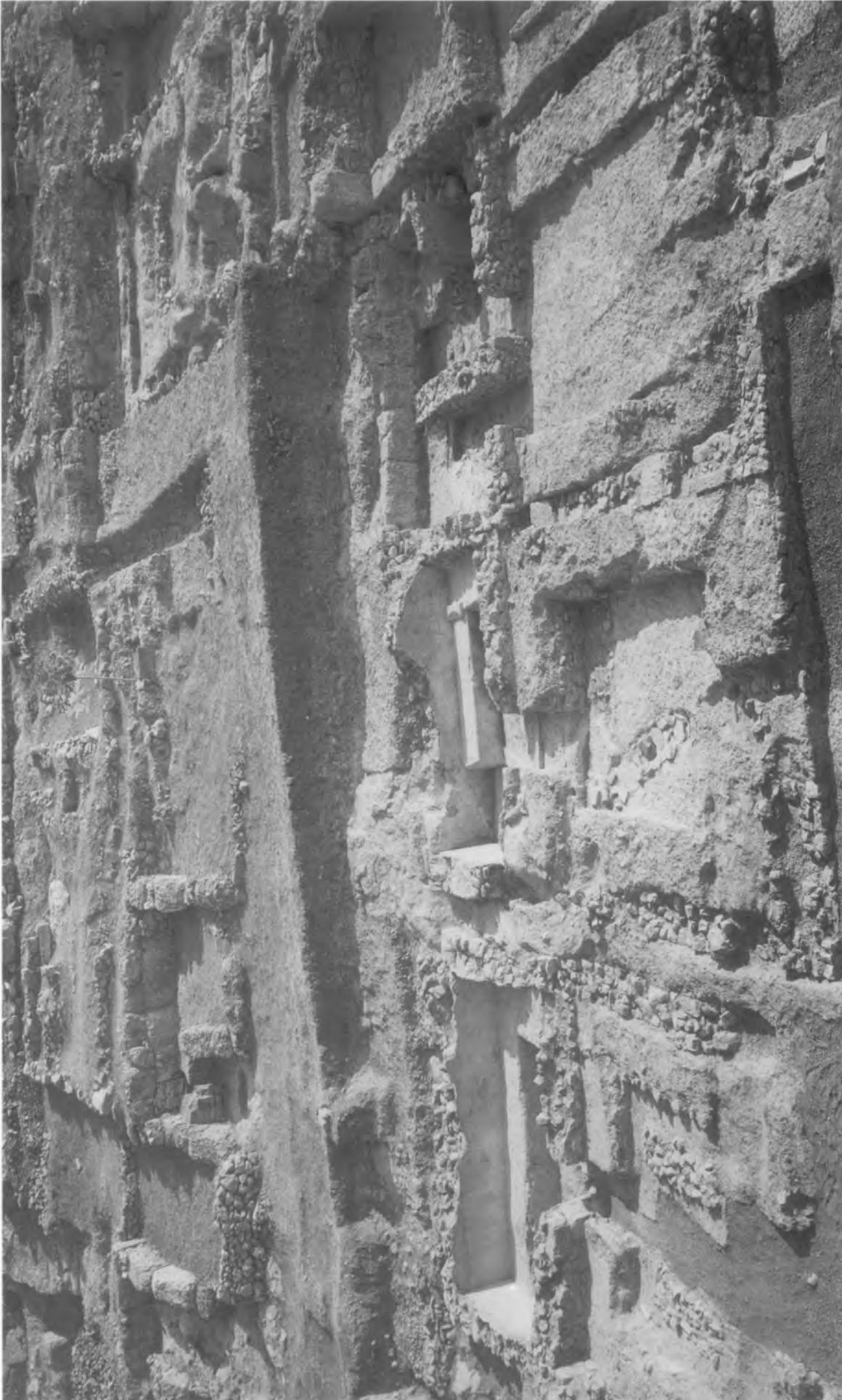
a. Building K-L:23-24 (from north).



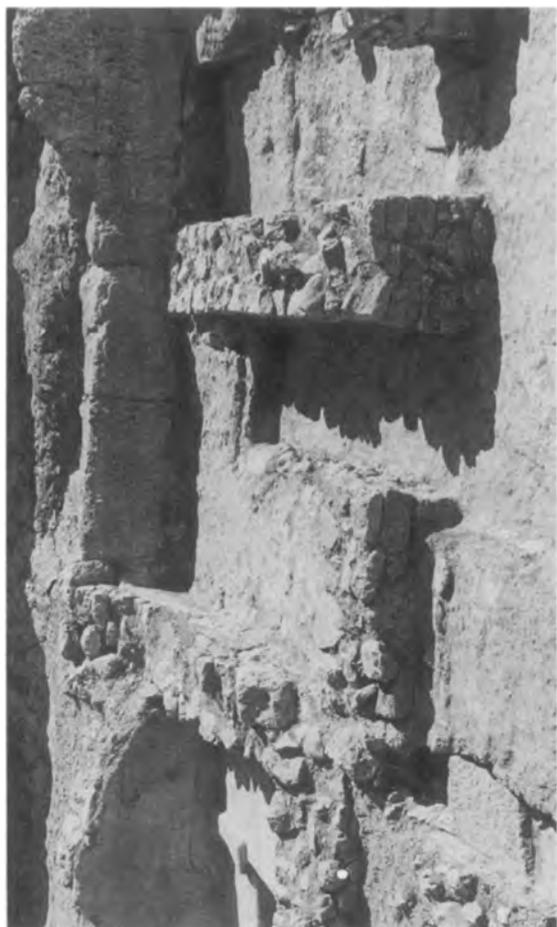
b. North walls of Buildings K-L:25-26 left, K-L:24-25 right (from north).



c. Building K-L:24-25, west wall of exterior bench (from northeast).



Left to right, Buildings L:26-27, K-L:25-26, K-L:24-25 (from north); to south, Building M-N:25-26 at left, M-N:20-24, Rooms 3 and 4 at right.



a. Room 2 (from north).



b. Room 3 (from southeast).



c. Room 3, hearth with phialai (from northeast).



d. Room 2, detail: couch, bath stall, drain (from southeast).



a. Building K-L:25-26, Room 2 (from northwest).



b. Building K-L:25-26, Room 2, east jamb (from south).



c. Building L:26-27 (from northwest).



d. L:26-27, east table (from northwest).



e. L:26-27, west table (from northeast).



a. Building L:26-27, Room 2 (from northwest).



b. Building L:26-27, drain (from north).



c. Grave under Building M-N:25-26 (from northeast).



d. Building L:26-27, drain uncovered (from west).



e. Landing 6 before Building N:21, entrance court to right (from west).



a. Building N:21 (from east), Trapezoidal Building to left.



b. Building N:21, threshold (from east).



c. Building N:21, southwest corner of Room 1 (from east).



d. Building N-O:25-26, foundations of bath left, couch to right (from north).



a. Building N-O:22-23 (from north), behind which breccia walls of Trapezoidal Building.



b. Buildings N-O:24-25, center, N-O:25-26 to left; behind, Pit B, covered (from northwest).



a. Building L:18-19 (from east); later postholes in foreground, *horos* stone at left.



b. Stairway with Building M-N:19 to right, Roman Propylon N-P:19-20 behind (from north).



a. Southern half with later postholes (from northeast).



b. General view (from east).



c. West wall.



d. Niche and worn south couch top (from north).



a. Q:25: southwest corner of Room E, Wall 4 at back (from north).



b. P-Q:25: Wall 4, southern half of Room A (from northeast).



c. P-Q:25: Room A (from west).



d. P-Q:25: Wall 4, southern half of Room A (from west).



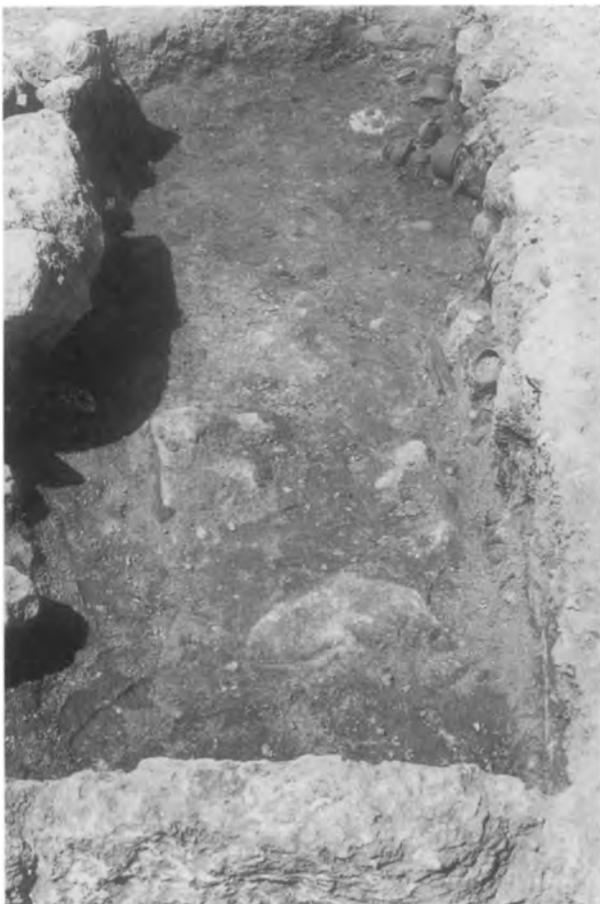
a. Pit A before excavation (from north).



b. Pit A after excavation (from northeast).



c. Pit E before excavation (from west).



d. Pit E after excavation, deposit in western end (from east).



e. Pit E (from east, oikos wall in lower left corner).



b. Left to right: Wall 2, Wall 13, Pit B top right (from northeast).



c. P-Q:26, Pit 1965-2 in Room E (from west).



a. At left Wall 13, Pit B covered; Building N-O:25-26 at right (from east).



Building K-L:21-22 (from north); to south, Building M:21-22; stairway to right.



a. Room 2, bath stall (from east).



b. Room 7, southeast armrest (from west).



c. Room 7 (from west).



d. Room 7 (from east).



a. View from north; behind, Buildings N:28 and M-N:25-26 to right.



b. View from west.

BUILDING L-M:28



a. Room 1, cistern (from east).



b. Room 1, sink (from west).



c. Exterior overflow spout
(from west).



d. Room 2, southeast corner (from northwest).



e. View from east.



a. View from northwest.



b. Room 1 (from north).



c. Room 1, basin.



d. Rooms 2 and 3 (from northwest).



a. Buildings M-N:25-26, N:28 behind, N-O:25-26 to right (from west).



b. Building M-N:25-26, collecting basin (from southeast).



c. Building N:28 (from north).



d. Building N:28 and quarry (from south).



a. Building N:28, Room 3 (from northwest).



b. O:27-28, quarry (from east).



c. Hellenistic walls over Building N:21 (from north).



d. L:19, *horos* stone (from east).



e. Building L:18-19, later phase (from northeast), *horos* stone at left.



a. View from west.



b. Rooms 1 and 2 (from north).



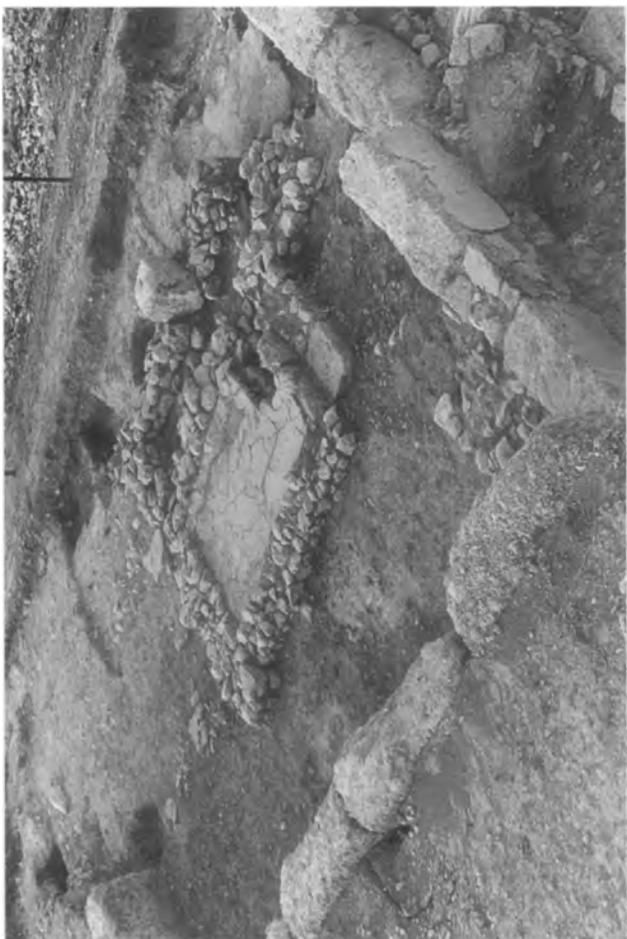
a. Room 1, southwestern quarter, showing couches, niches (from north).



b. Room 2 and collapsed wall in Room 1 (from north).



a. Building M:16-17, Room 2, test below floor; east wall of M:17-18 at left.



b. Building M:16-17, Rooms 3 and 4 (from southeast).



c. Building M:16-17, Room 4, with hearthstones (from northeast).



d. Building N-O:17-18, discarded votive deposit (from west).



a. N-O:17-18, deposit (from north).



b. Building N:12-13, Rooms 2, 3 (from west).



c. Building N:12-13, Room 1 with earlier east wall;
west wall of N:14 to right (from southeast).



d. N-O:20-21, entrance court (from west), showing tile fall to right of Pit F.



a. Entrance Court: Pit F (from southeast).



b. Entrance Court: twin stelai (from northeast).



c. Entrance Court: landing 7 with later steps (from northwest).



d. Entrance Court: twin stelai (from south), Pit F beyond.



e. Left to right: buttness of Roman Propylon, landing 7, Hellenistic Propylon.



f. Propylon: south wall (from southeast).



a. View from northwest, edge of Roman robbed wall trench at left, Building N-O:18 in foreground.



c. West wall (from north).



b. Interior (from east):
(1) south wall;
(2, 3) later steps;
(4) floor;
(5) earlier stairway.



d. East wall (from south).



a. Central part (from southeast).



b. Western end (from south), Pit F upper left, Pit E lower right.



a. P-Q-22-25, cutting for south retaining wall in foreground (from southwest).



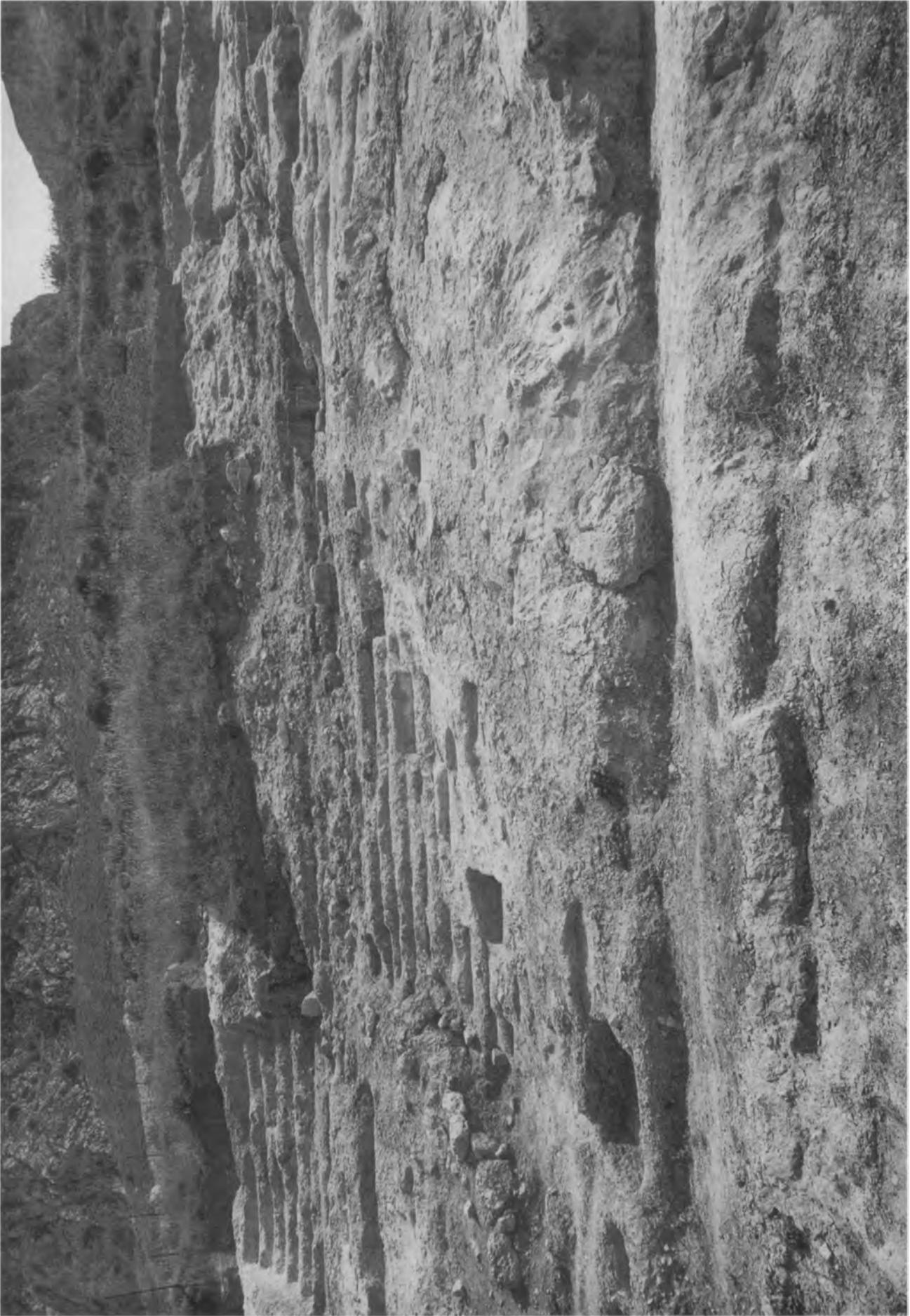
b. Pit B before excavation (from south).



c. P:20-21, cistern 1964-1 (from southeast).



d. Pit B after excavation (from southwest).



Q-T:17-22, Upper Terrace (from north), before excavation of Building T-U:19-20.



a. Theatral area with central steps, west wing of Roman stairway upper right (from northeast).



b. View from northwest, with central steps, theater above, cutting for retaining wall Q:23-P:13 in foreground.



a. Western steps in R:17-18 (from north); to south cuttings for Buildings S-T:16-17, T:16-17.



b. Cutting in T:19 (from east).



c. Building S-T:16-17, east wall (from south).



d. Pottery deposit 1970-2.



e. Terracotta herm SF-64-5.



a. Theater S-T:21, before which Roman stair foundation bedding 46B (from north).



b. Theater (from west), bedding 46B at left, bedding 44 at right.



b. Cobble bedding for second Roman phase, tile drain (from south).



c. Tile floor over Room 5 (from south).



a. Room 7, first Roman phase (from east).



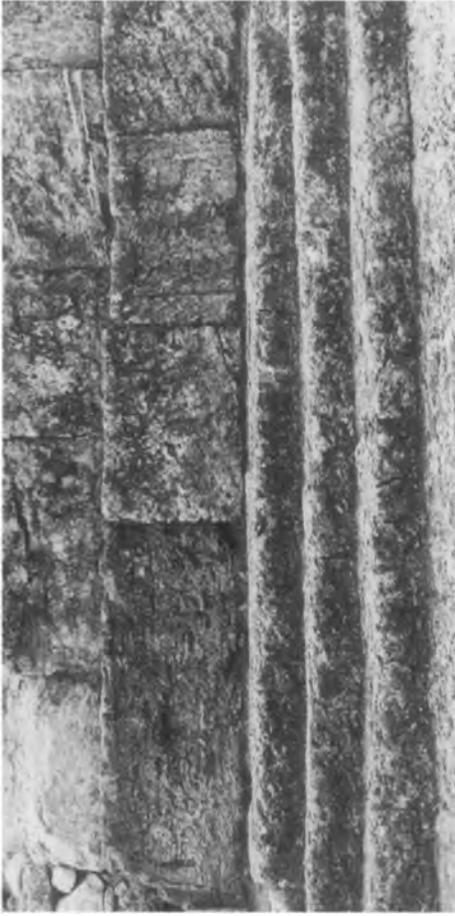
a. Building K-L:21-22, Room 7, later tile floor (from east).



b. Roman Propylon in center, Building N-O:17-18 in right foreground (from northwest).



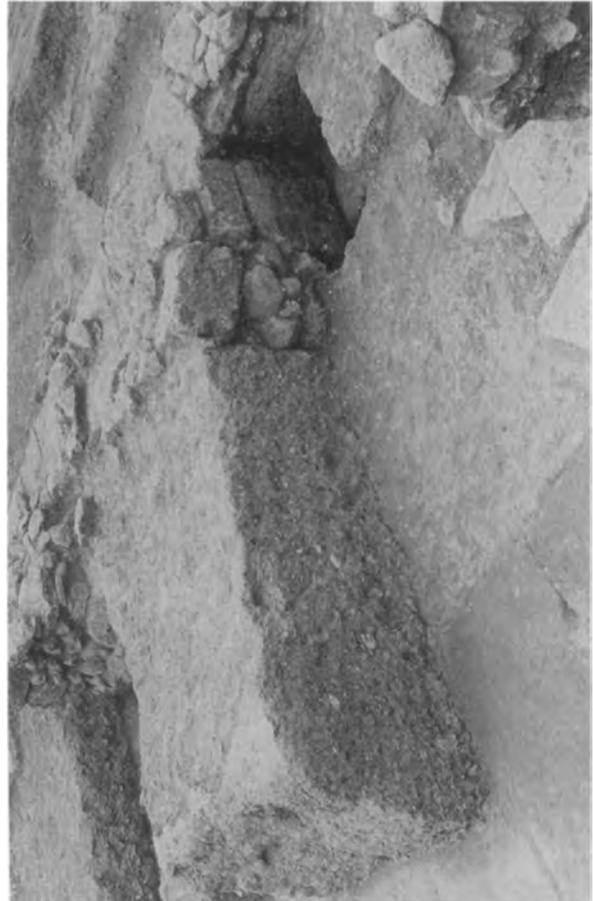
a. Course 3 of north foundation during excavation (from east).



b. Eastern half of north foundation, earlier stairway (from north).



d. Western half of north foundation (from northeast).



c. Buttresses, packing (from southeast).



e. Western half of north foundation (from south), with packing;
north wall of Building O-P:19-20 at bottom.



a. O-P:19, trench of robbed (Roman) wall (from west).



b. Trench of Roman Wall 11 (from east).



c. Middle Terrace (from west), Roman Propylon in middle ground.



a. General view, looking east from the western end of Middle Terrace, cutting for terrace wall at right.



b. General view of western half (from southeast), oikos in foreground, Propylon in center.



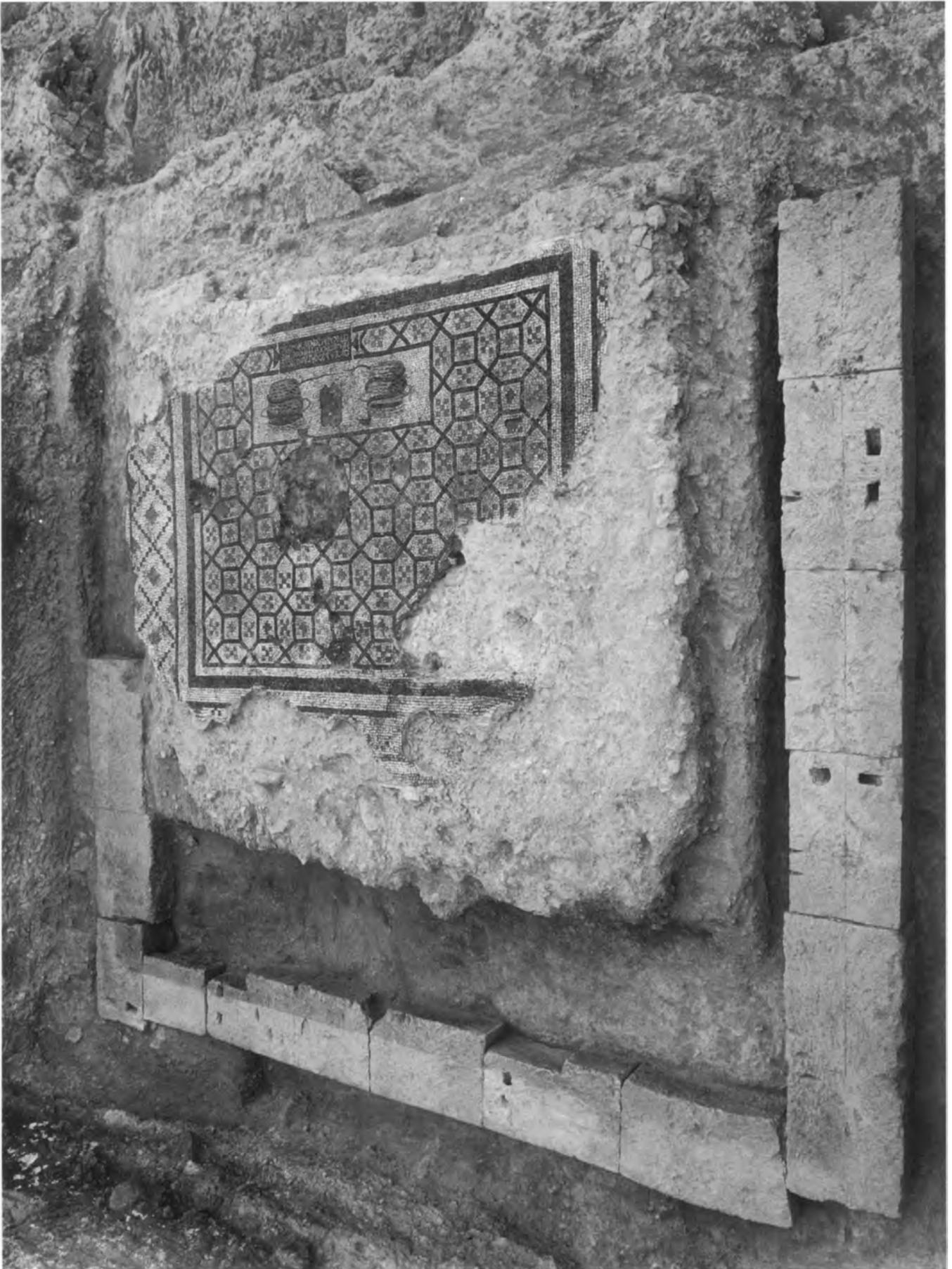
c. Tile Patch E, stamped tile 13 in center (from south).



a. Roman Stoa, Tile Patch D over drain (from south).



b. Q:27-28, pit with human bones, and cover (from south).



Temple with the Mosaic Floor T-U:19 (from east).



a. Building T-U:19, detail of mosaic (from north).



b. Construction packing behind walls of Building T-U:19 (from northeast).



a. Building T-U:19, destruction debris (from south).



b. Building T-U:22 (from west).



b. LT: Late Roman wall over Room 3, Building M:16-17 (from east).



c. LT: K:16, oven (from north).



a. UT: Cuttings for west wing of Roman stairway, beddings 44 and 46A (from east).



a. Grave 1 with gifts (from east).



b. Grave 5, cleaned (from east).



c. Grave 7 with tile cover (from east).



e. Grave 7, cleaned (from east).



d. Grave 7 (from south), detail, showing lekythos beneath left arm.



a. Grave 14 with tile cover (from northeast).



b. Grave 14, cleaned (from east).



c. Grave 19 with tile cover (from northeast).



d. Grave 19, cleaned (from south).



e. Grave 26 (from east).



a. Graves 27 to 29 (from east).



b. Grave 27 (from east).



c. Grave 28 (from east).



d. Grave 29 (from east).



9A



9C, face



9C, soffit



11A, front



11A, profile



11B



12



83A



83B



17A



17B



18



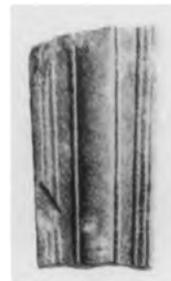
FS-1001 (sub 18)



19



20



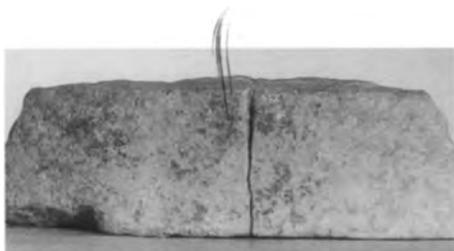
26B



27



24



30



25



26A



23



40



28



29B



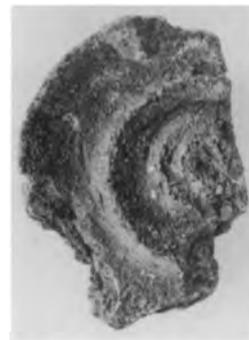
29A



39



37, front



33



37 (from below)



32



44



45, front



45, profile



46, profile



46, front



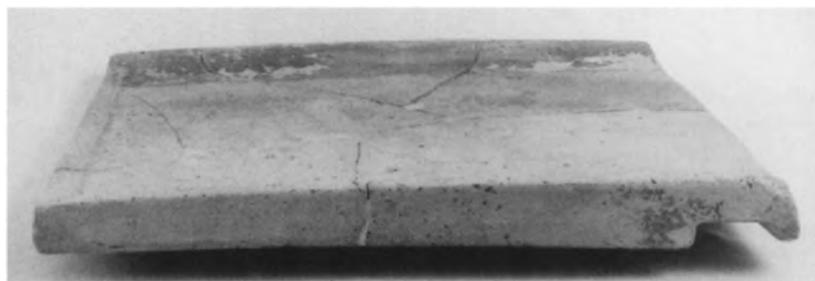
69



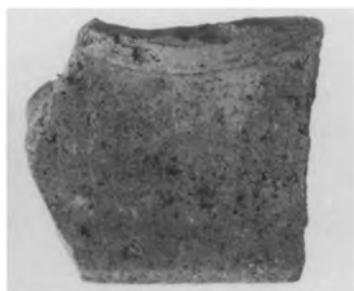
70



71



77



79



80



73



72A, front



72A, soffit



76



74, soffit



74, face



72B



75



81



FS-946 (sub 81)



FS-958 (sub 81)



82



84



85



78



5, back



Lot 73-138



13



21



22



41



86



89



87



Lot 6214 (*sub* 86)



90



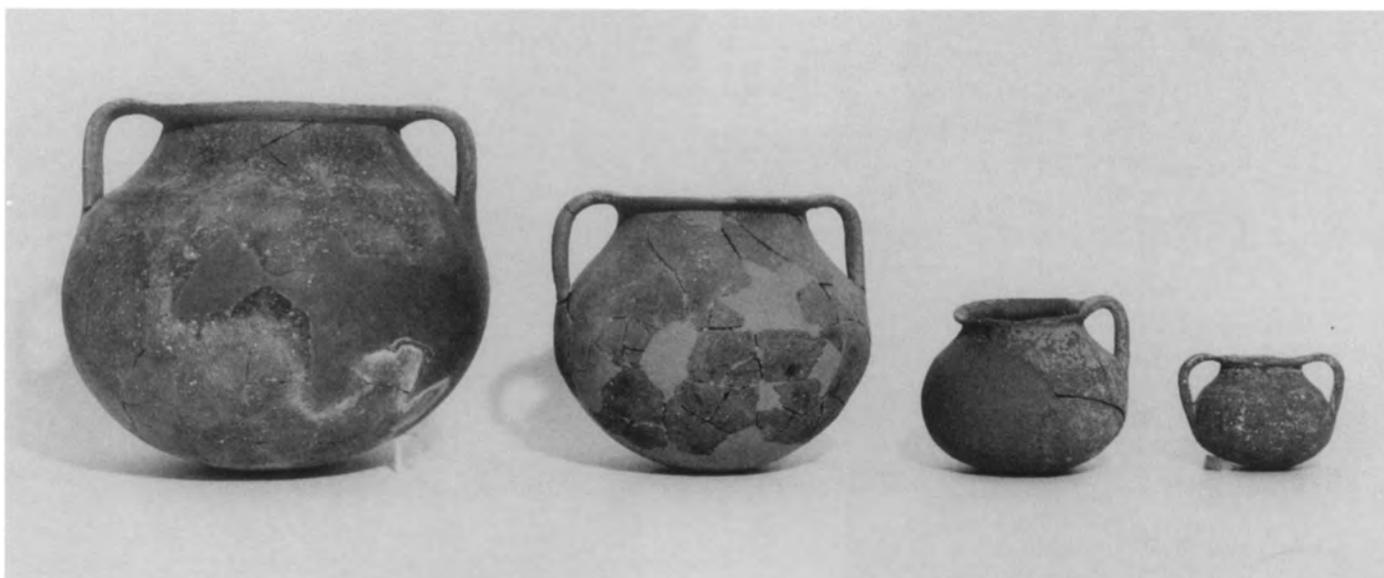
88



91



a. A dinner set of the 4th century B.C. (see Chapter 14, page 402, note 46).



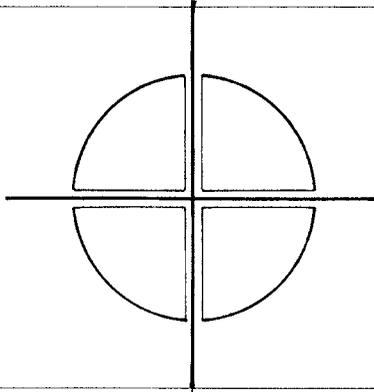
b. A selection of stewpots in different sizes for the kitchens (see Chapter 14, page 408, note 75).



c. Casseroles and pitchers for the kitchens (see Chapter 14, page 408, note 75).

PLANS

H



0 1 2 3
DAVID B PECK J

I

J



K

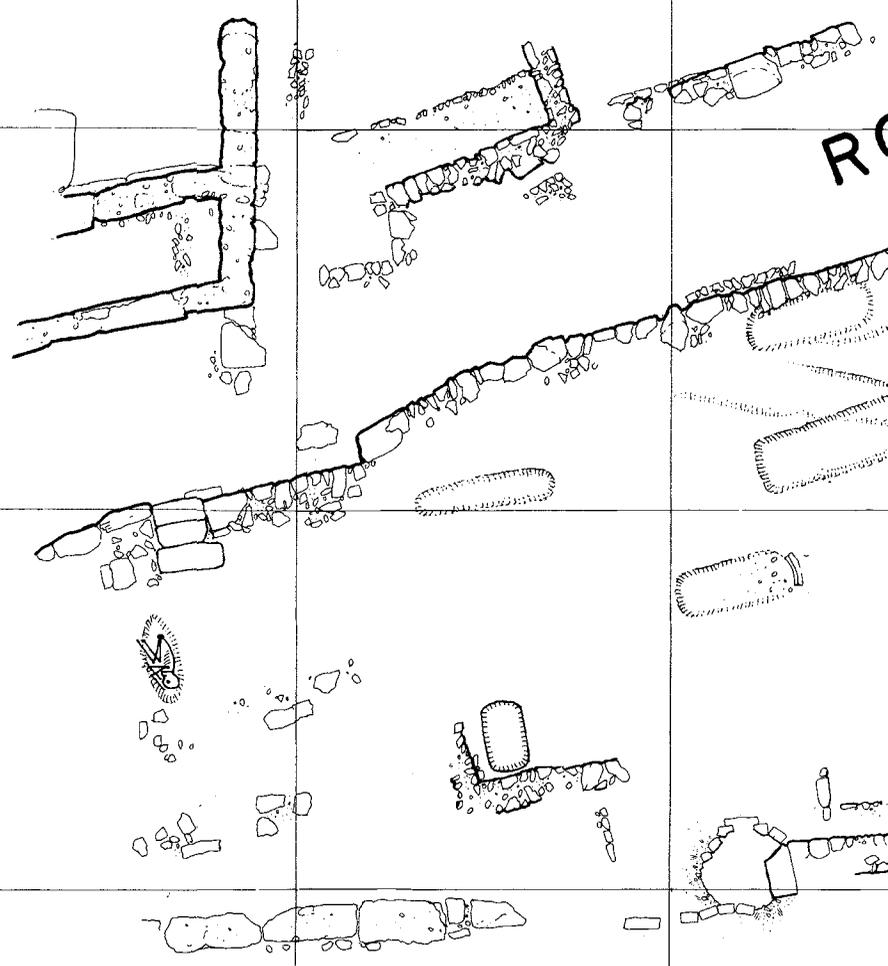


L

0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 METERS

DAVID B PECK JR

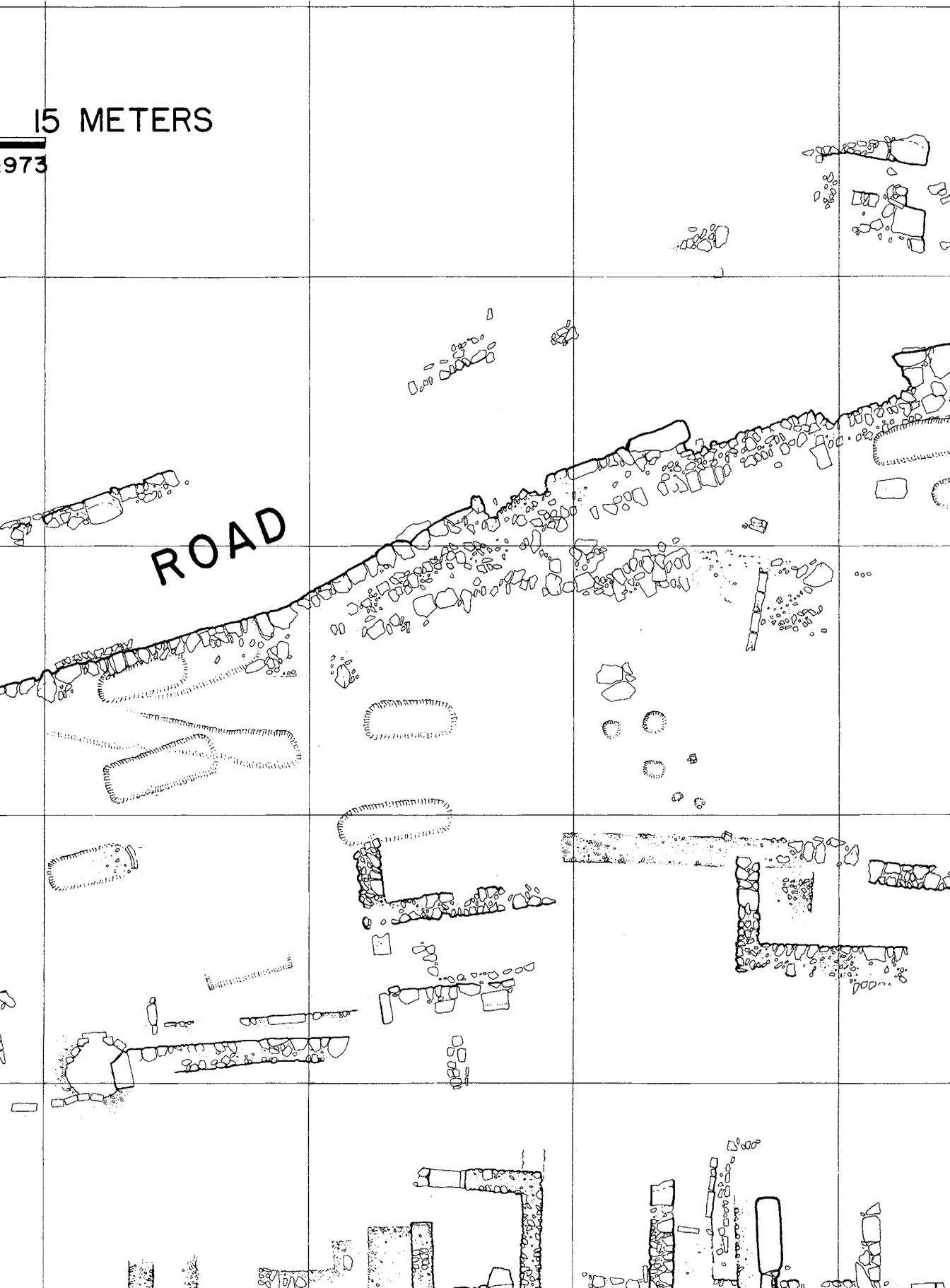
1973

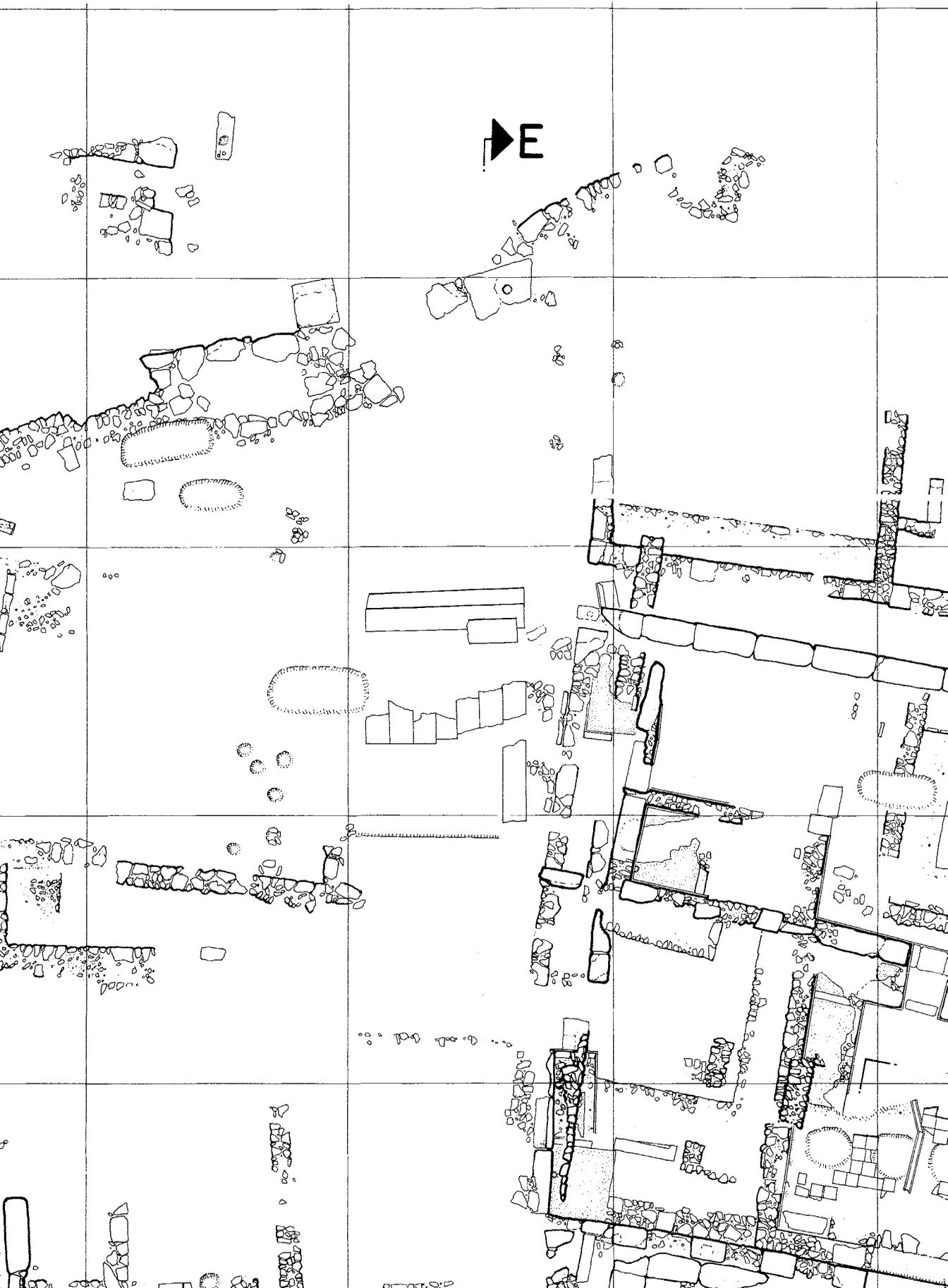


RO

15 METERS

973







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**LOWER ARE
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ND KORE

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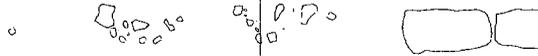


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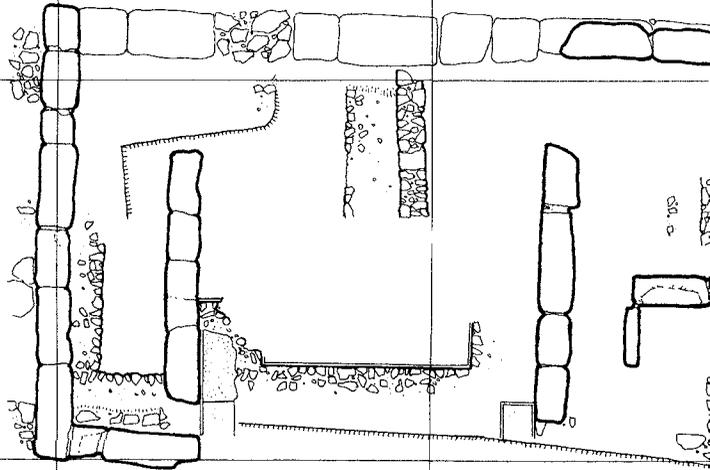


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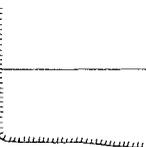
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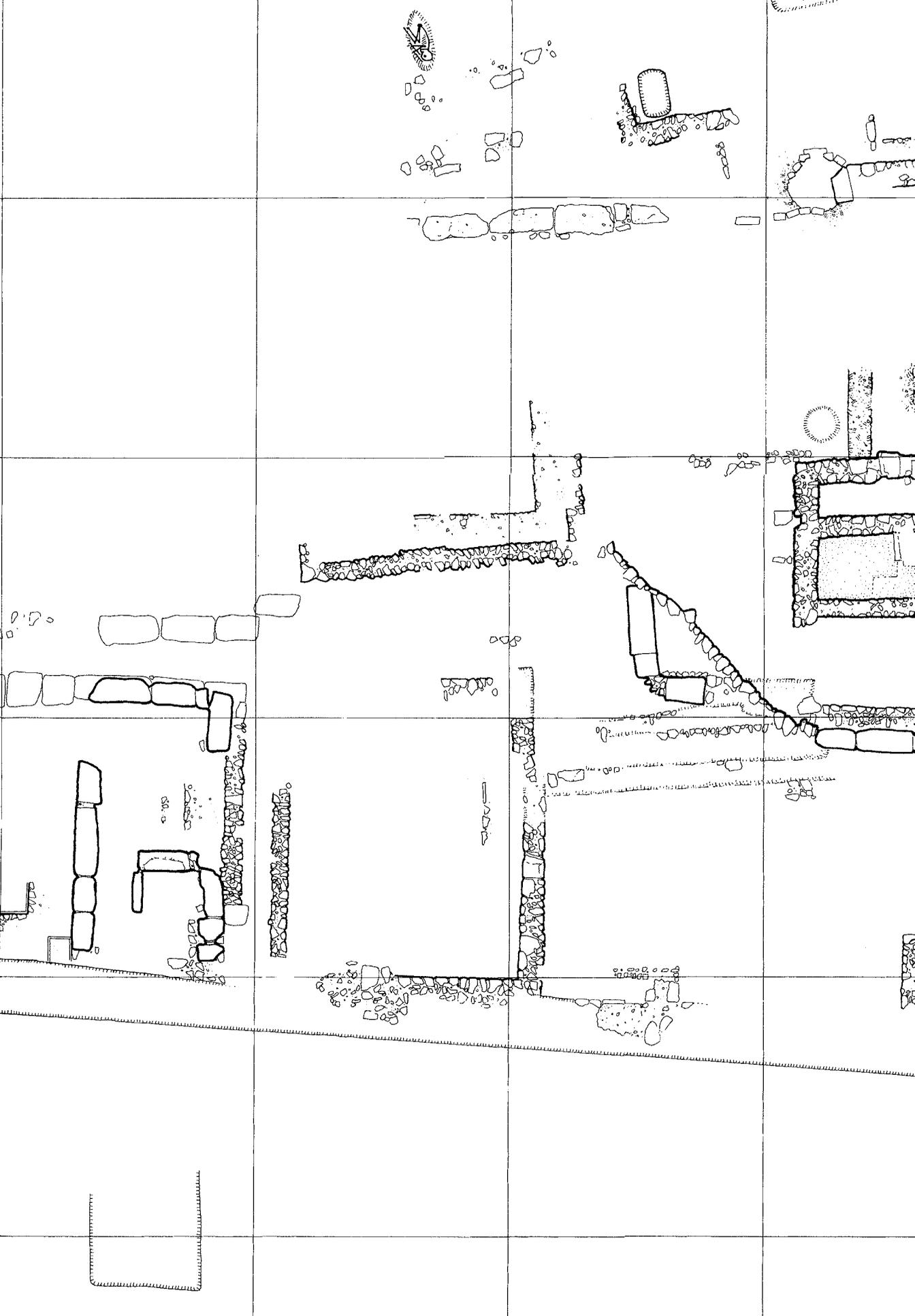


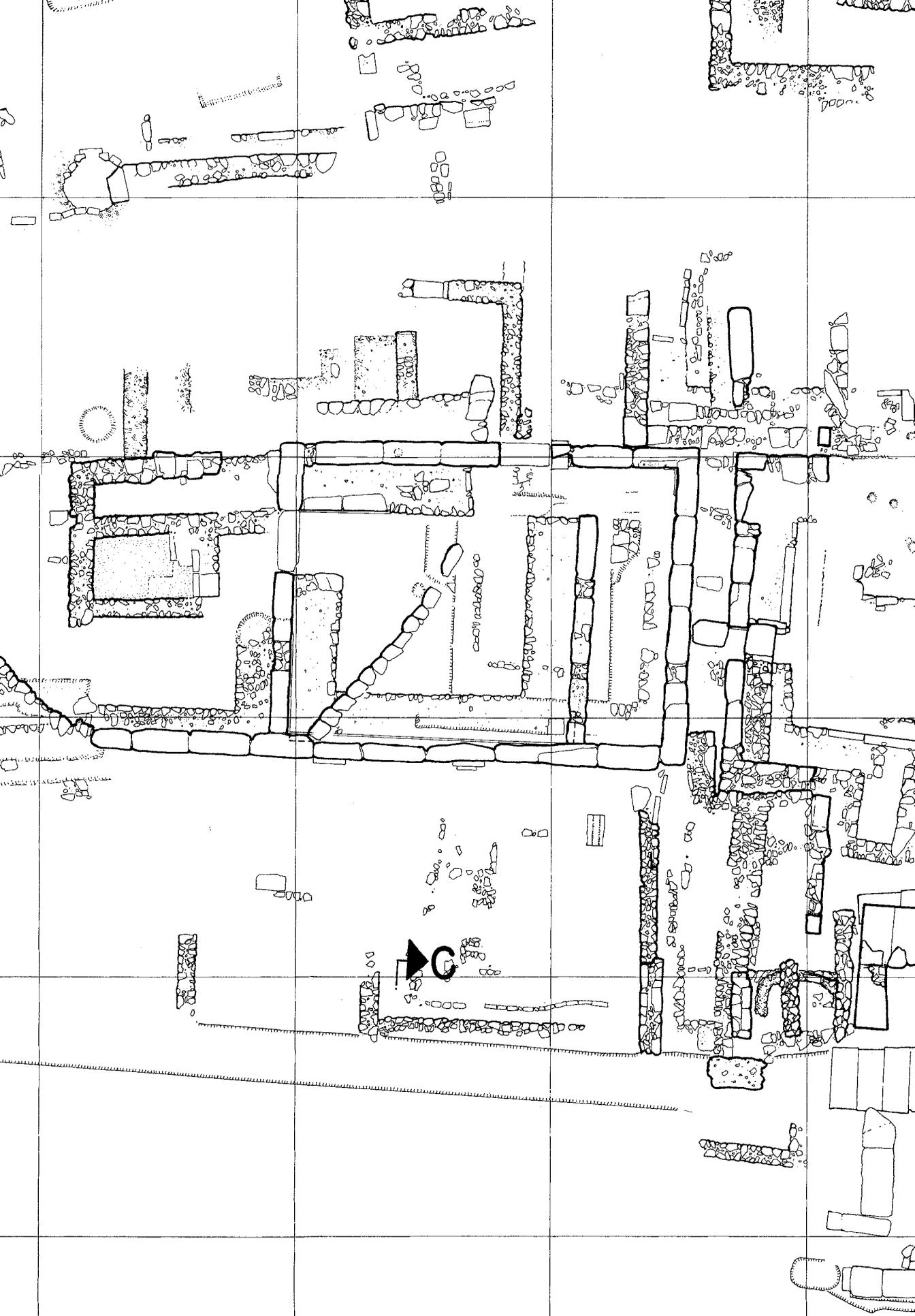
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O



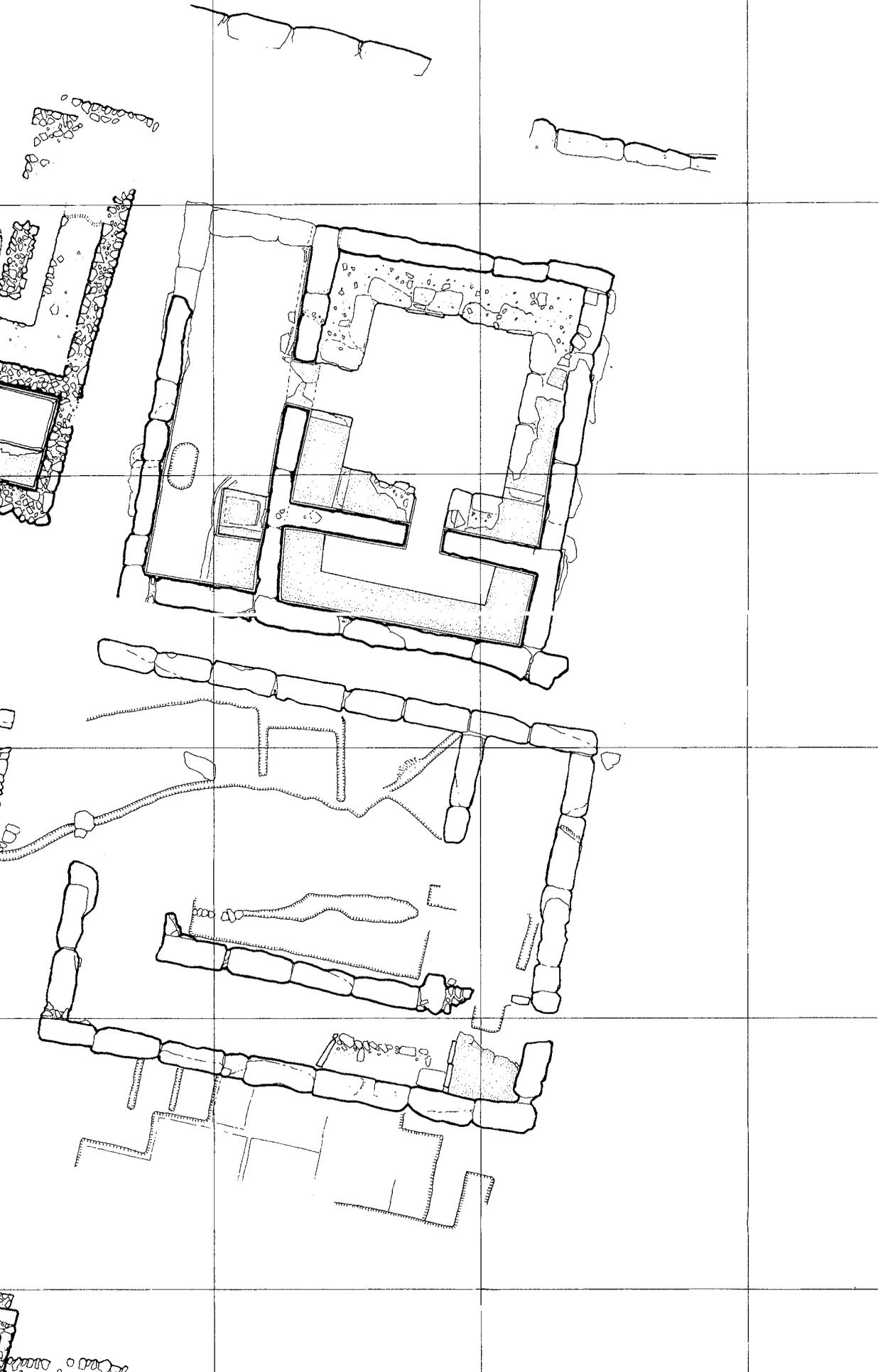


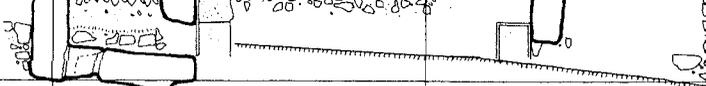












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P

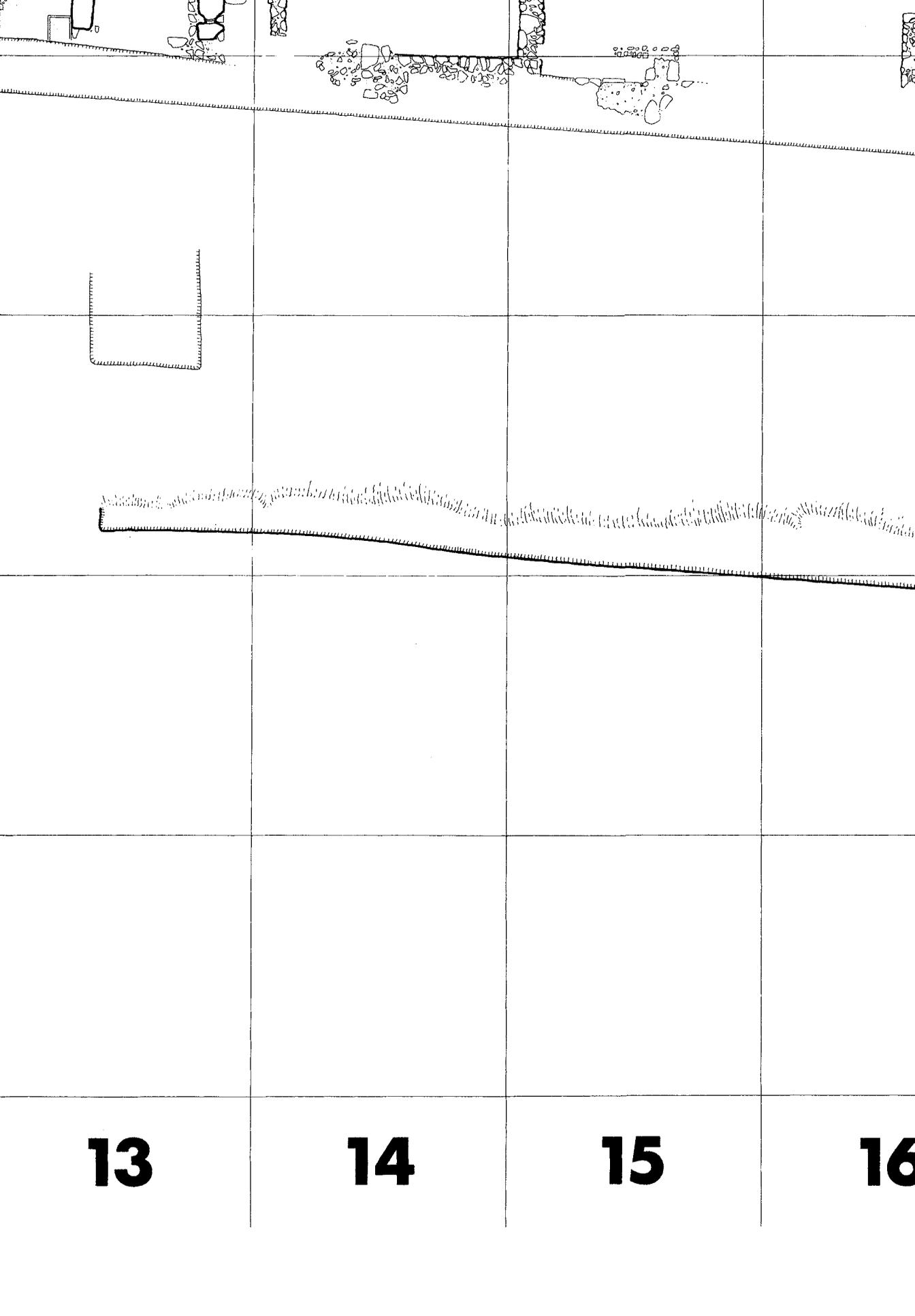
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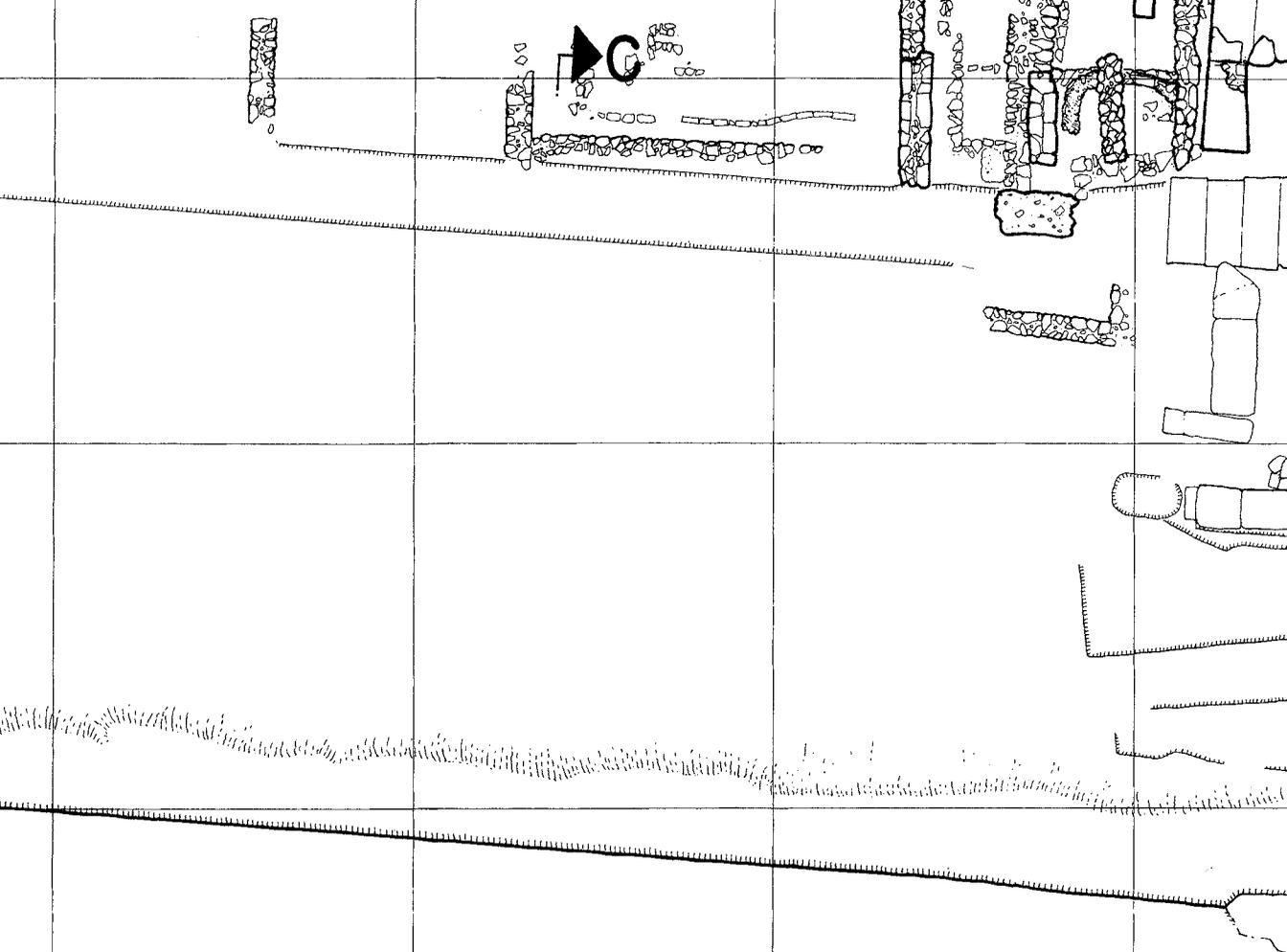


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19



▶ E

▶ D

B

A

19

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21



22

23

24

A



24

25

26

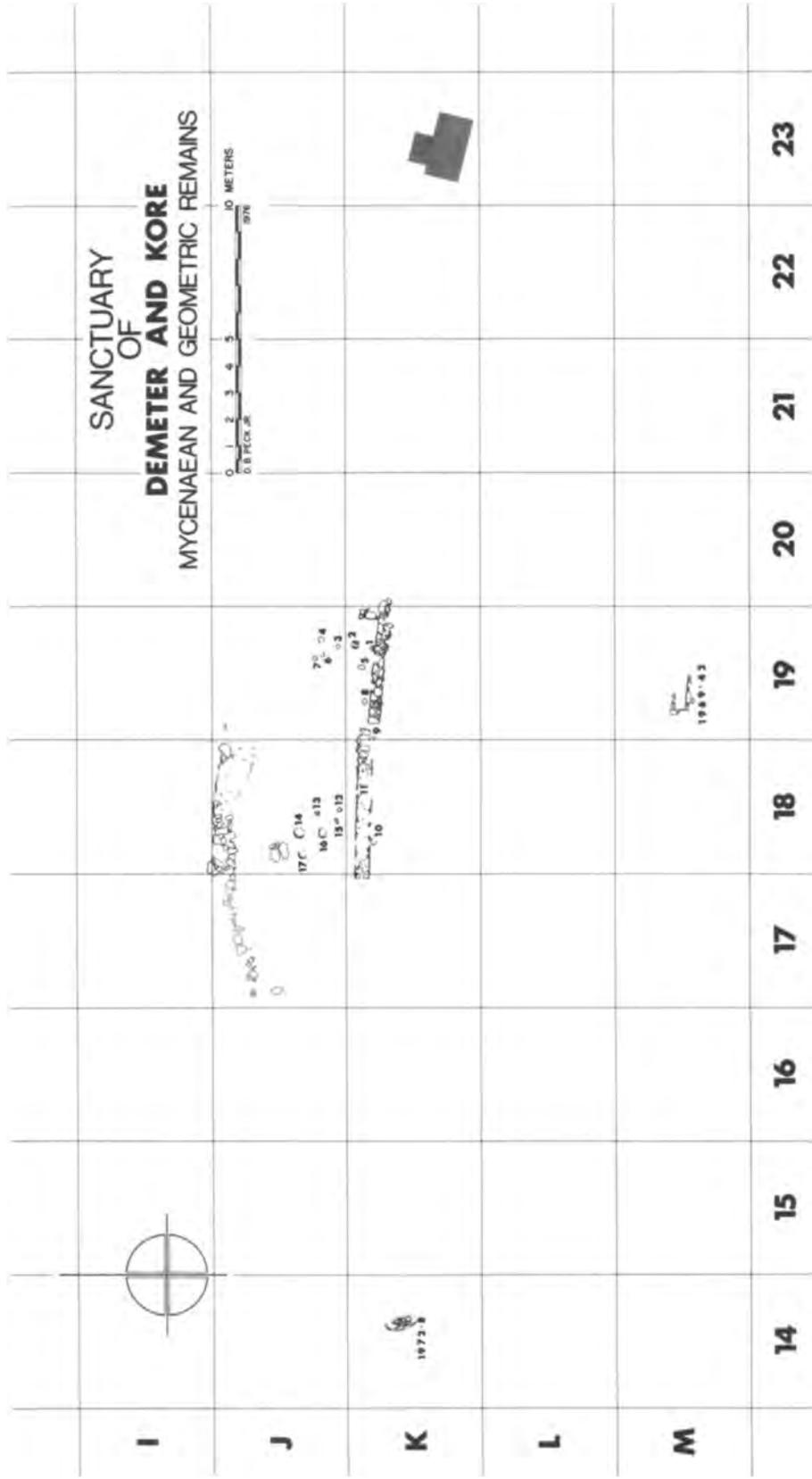
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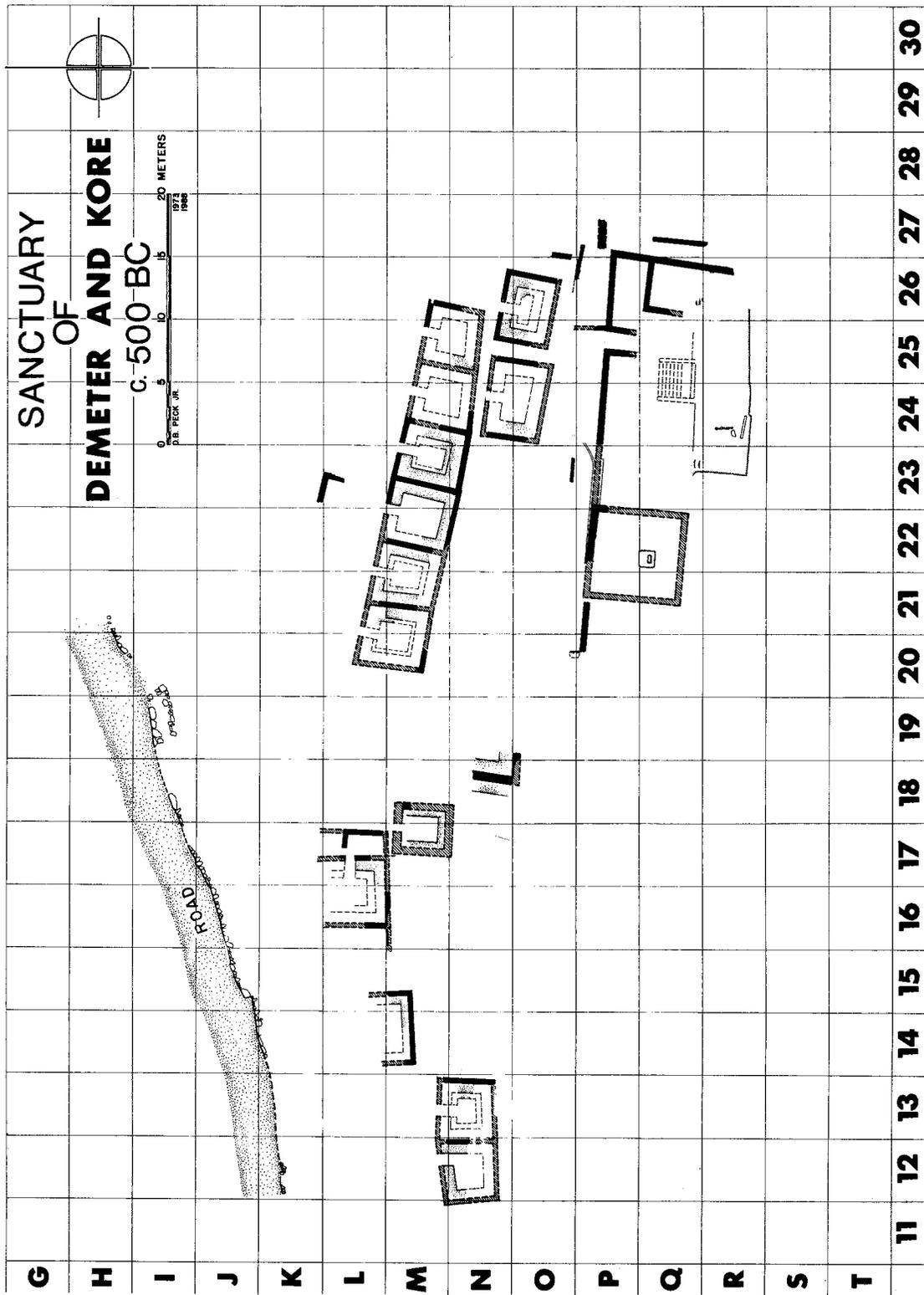
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28

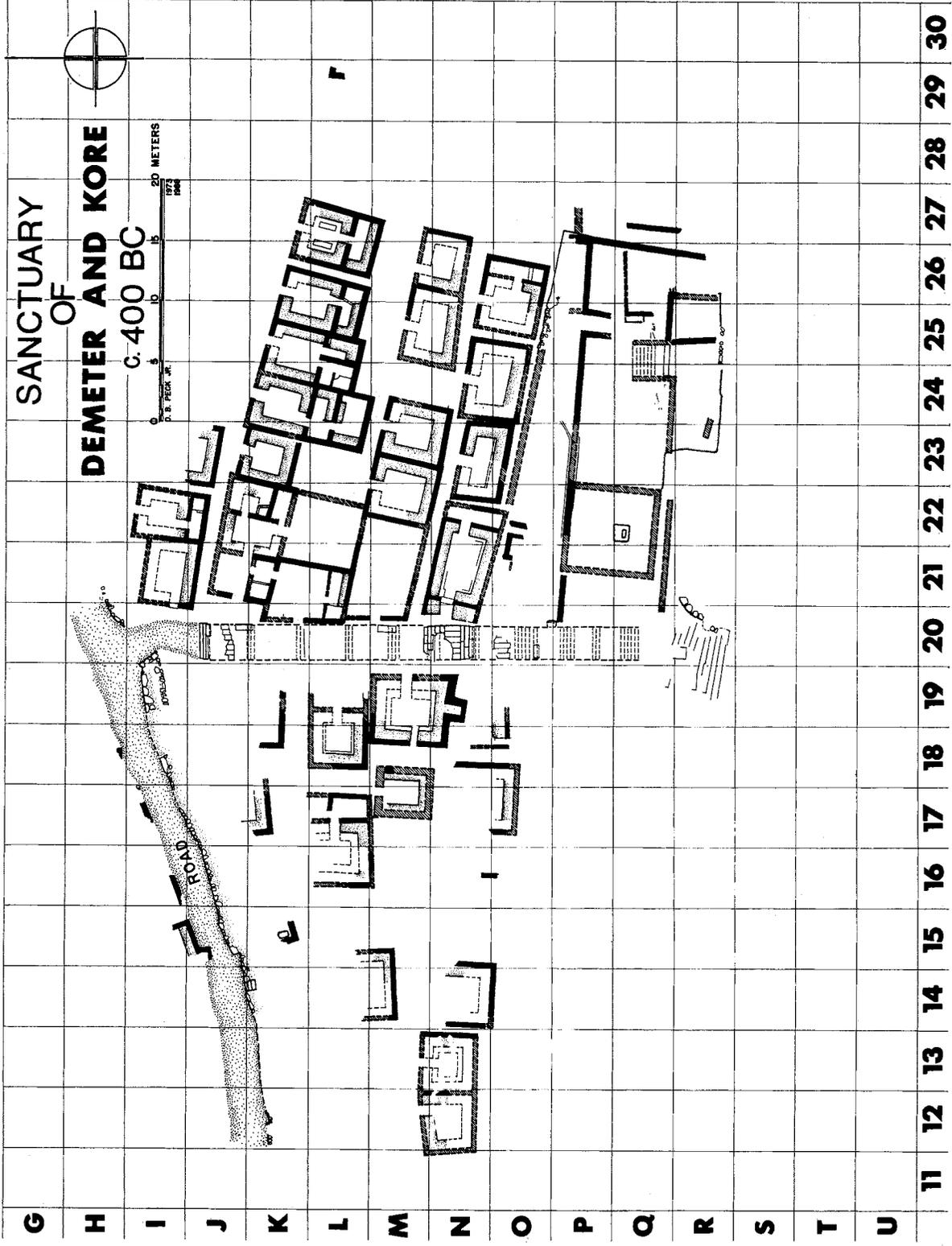
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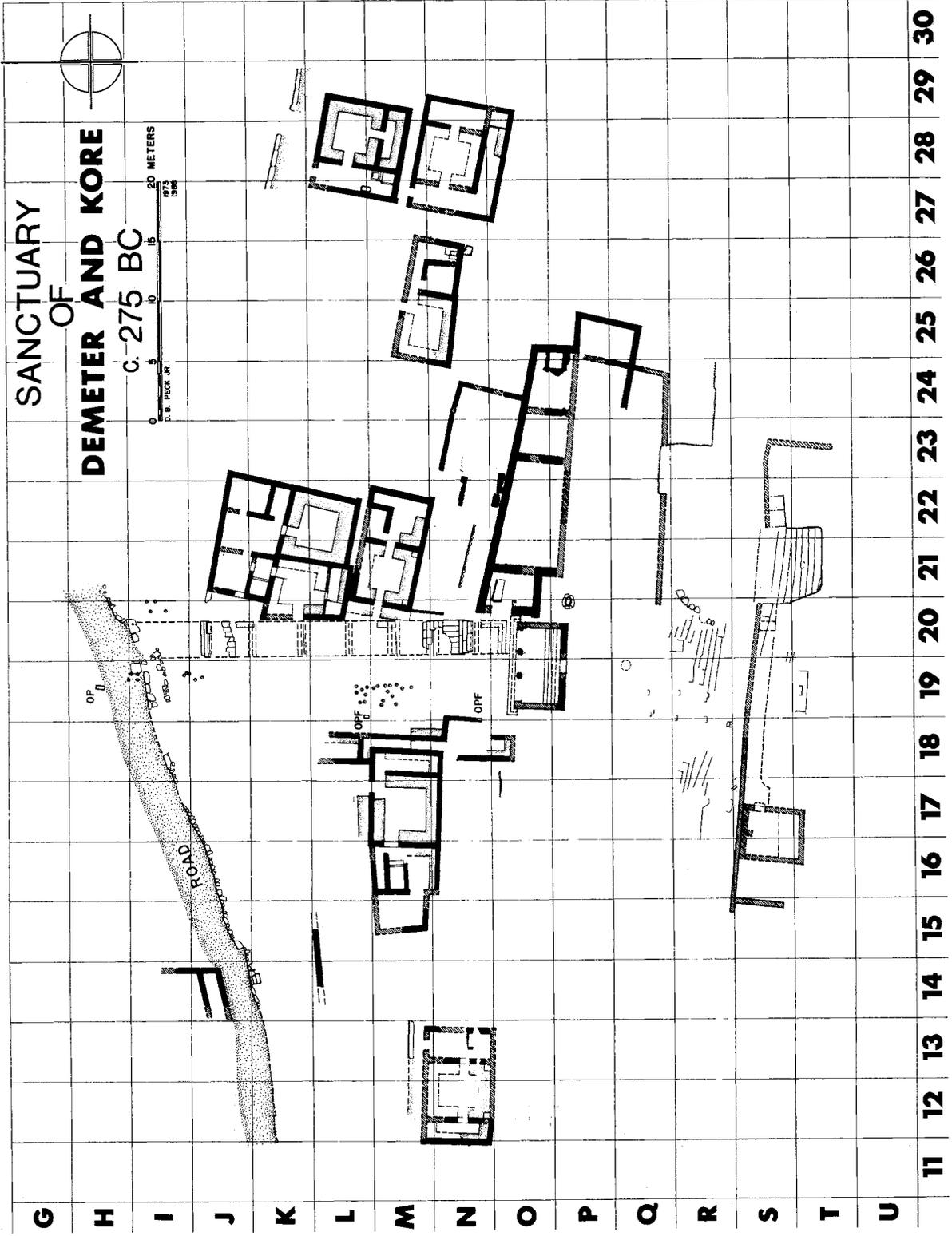
PLAN 2. Period Plan: Mycenaean-Geometric



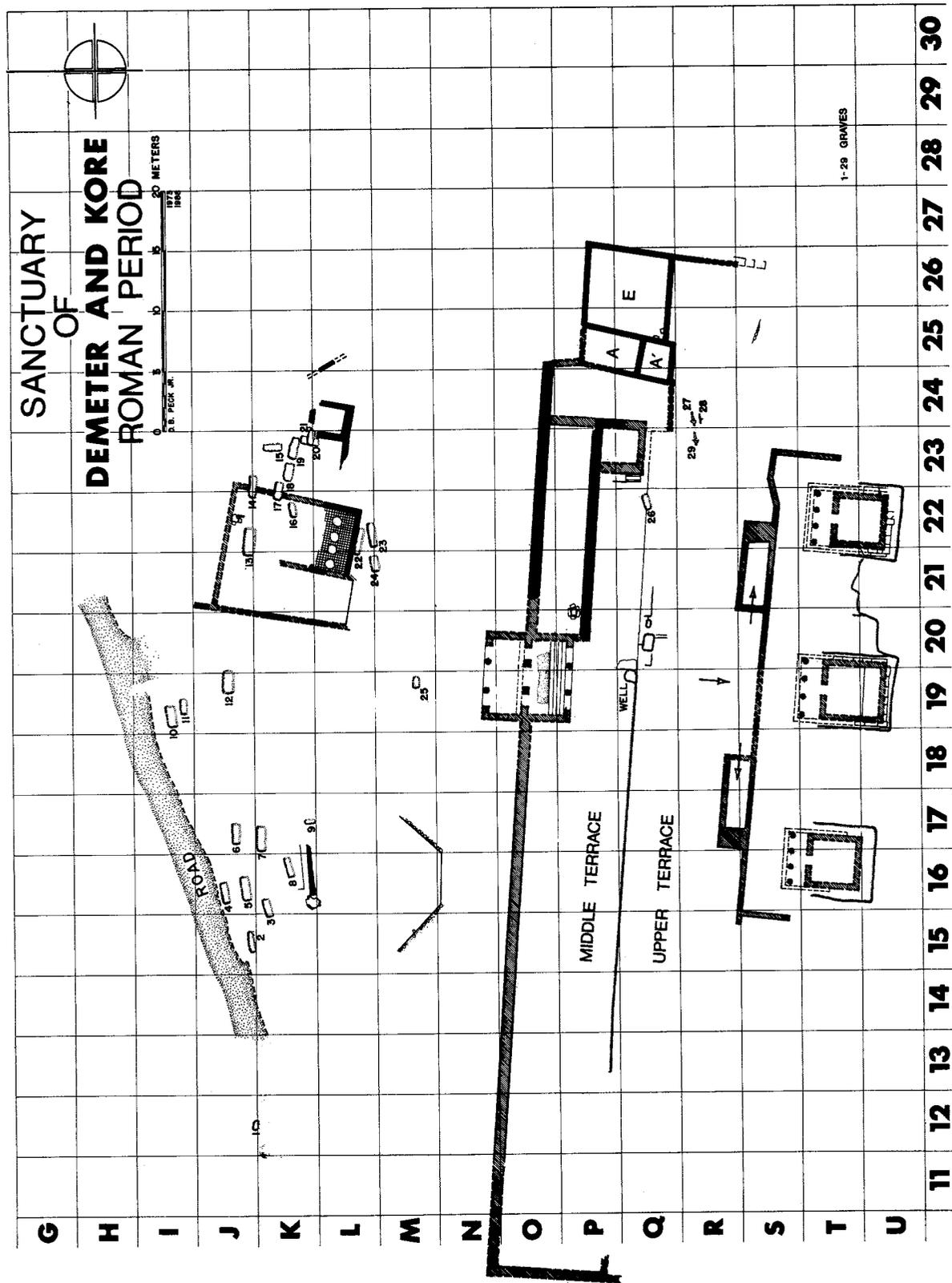
PLAN 3. Period Plan: ca. 500 B.C.



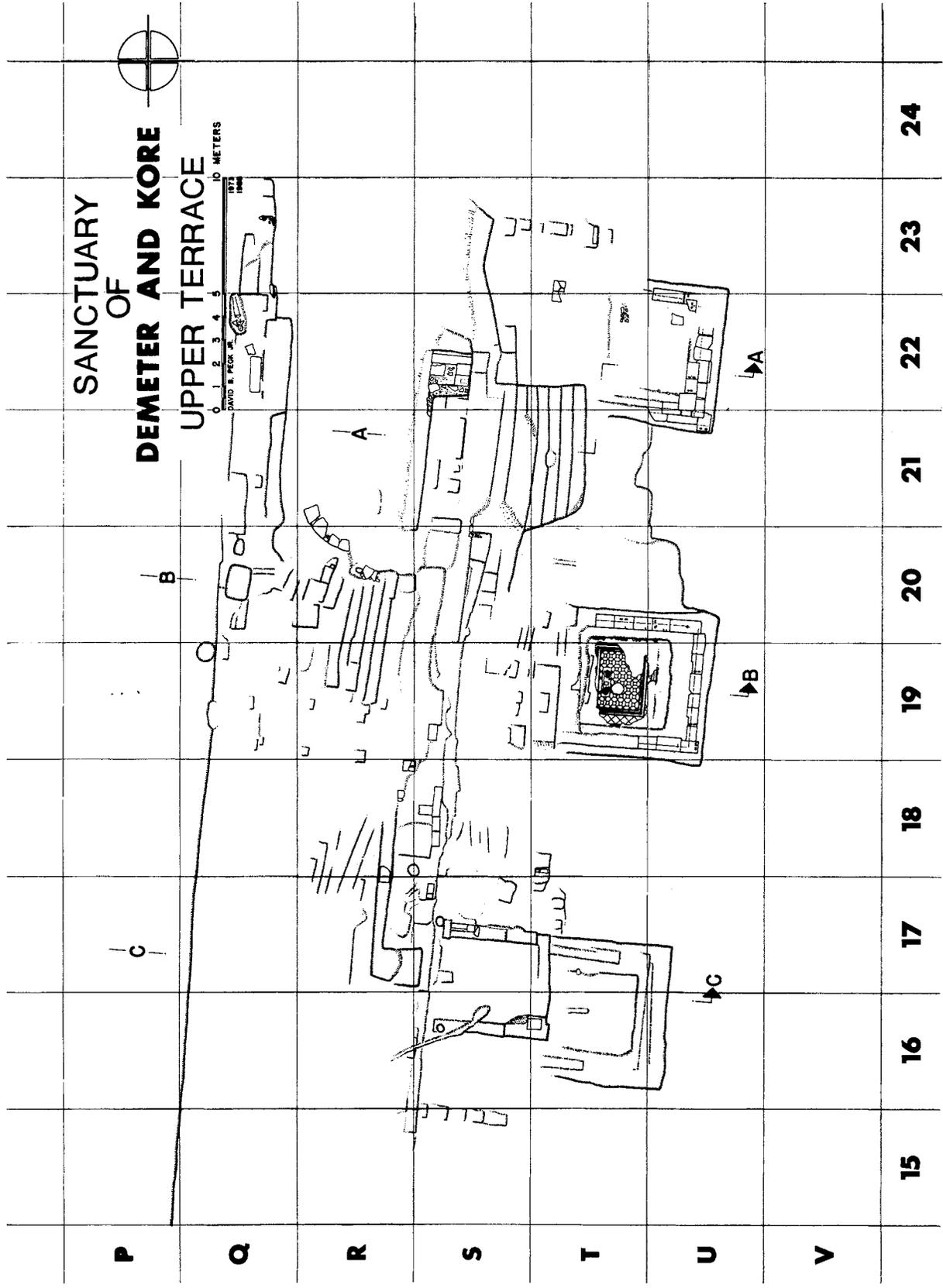
PLAN 4. Period Plan: ca. 400 B.C.



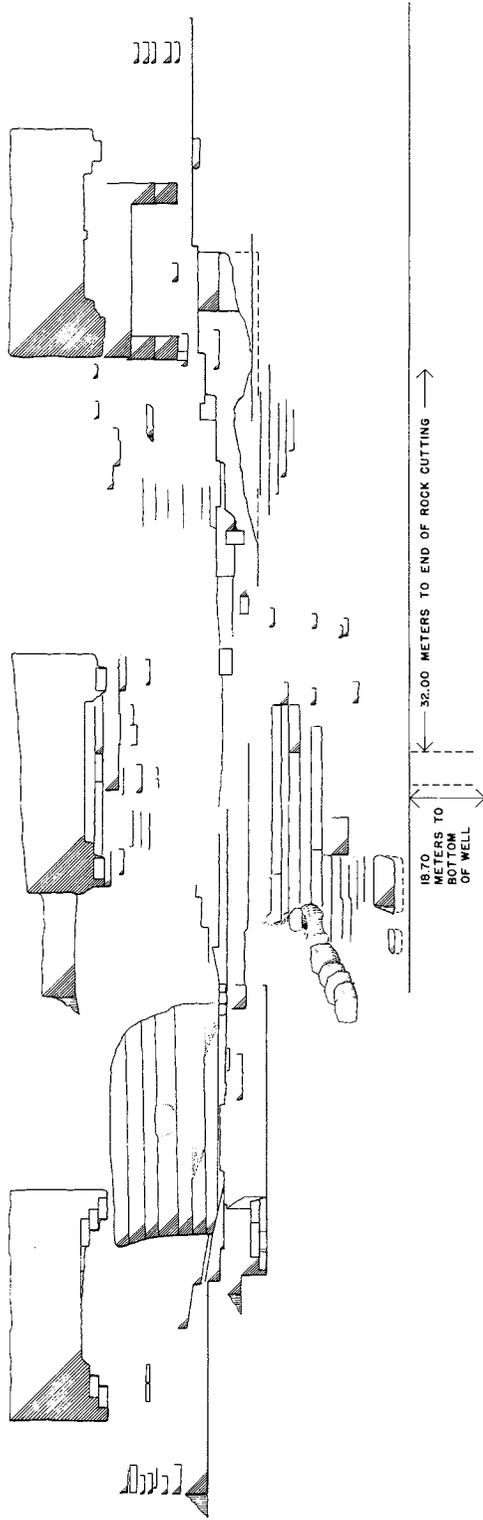
PLAN 5. Period Plan: ca. 275 B.C.



PLAN 6. Period Plan: Roman period



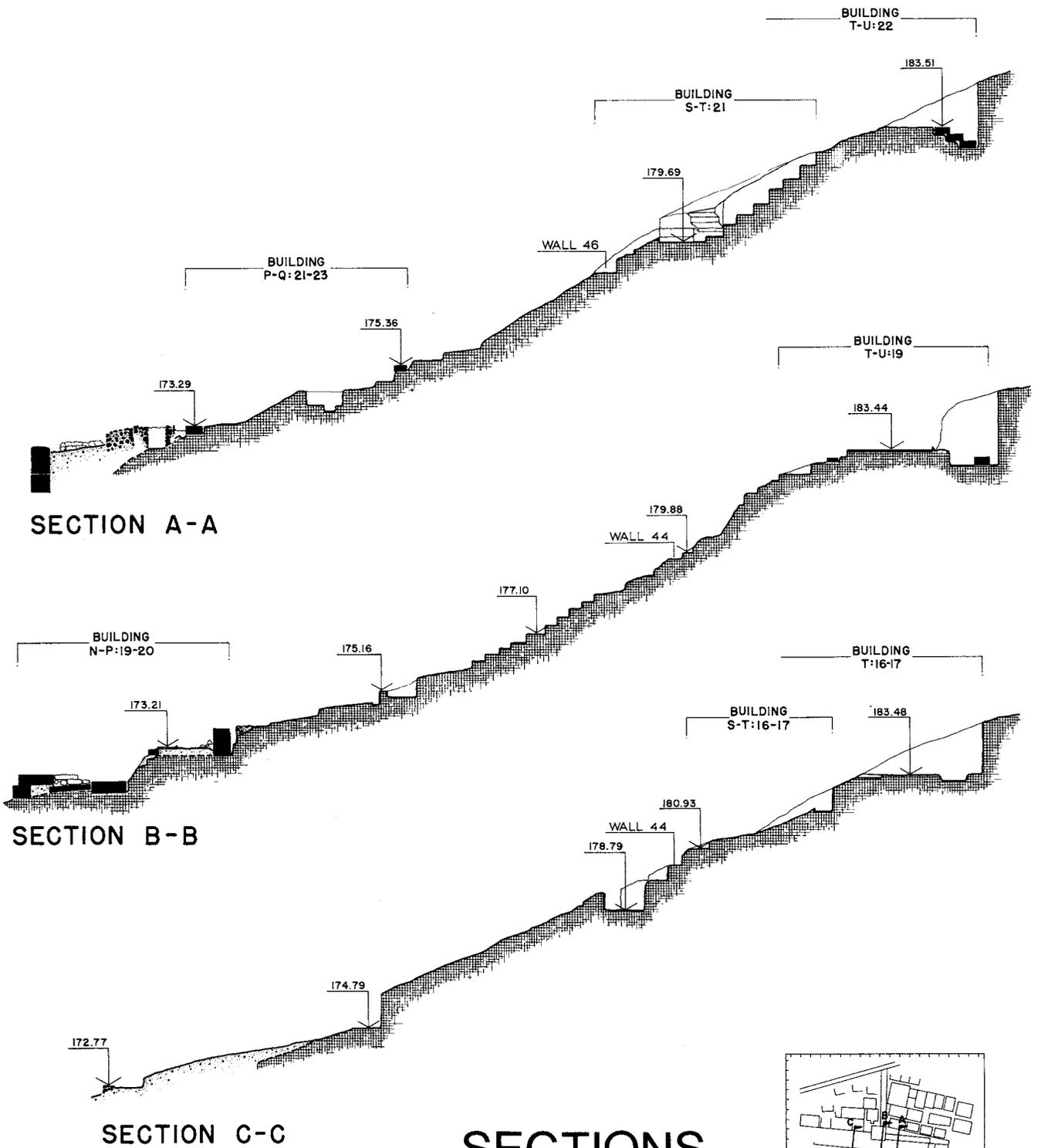
PLAN 7. Upper Terrace, Actual State



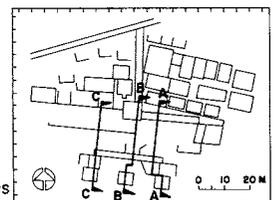
**UPPER TERRACE
ELEVATION**



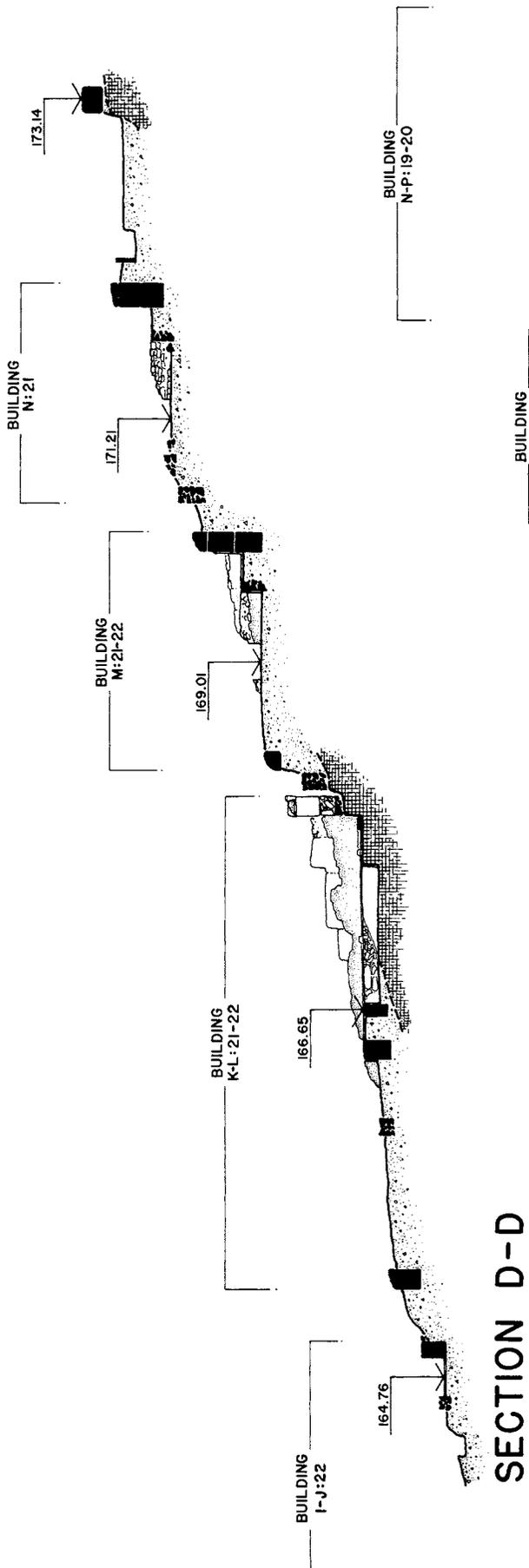
Plan 8. Upper Terrace, Elevation



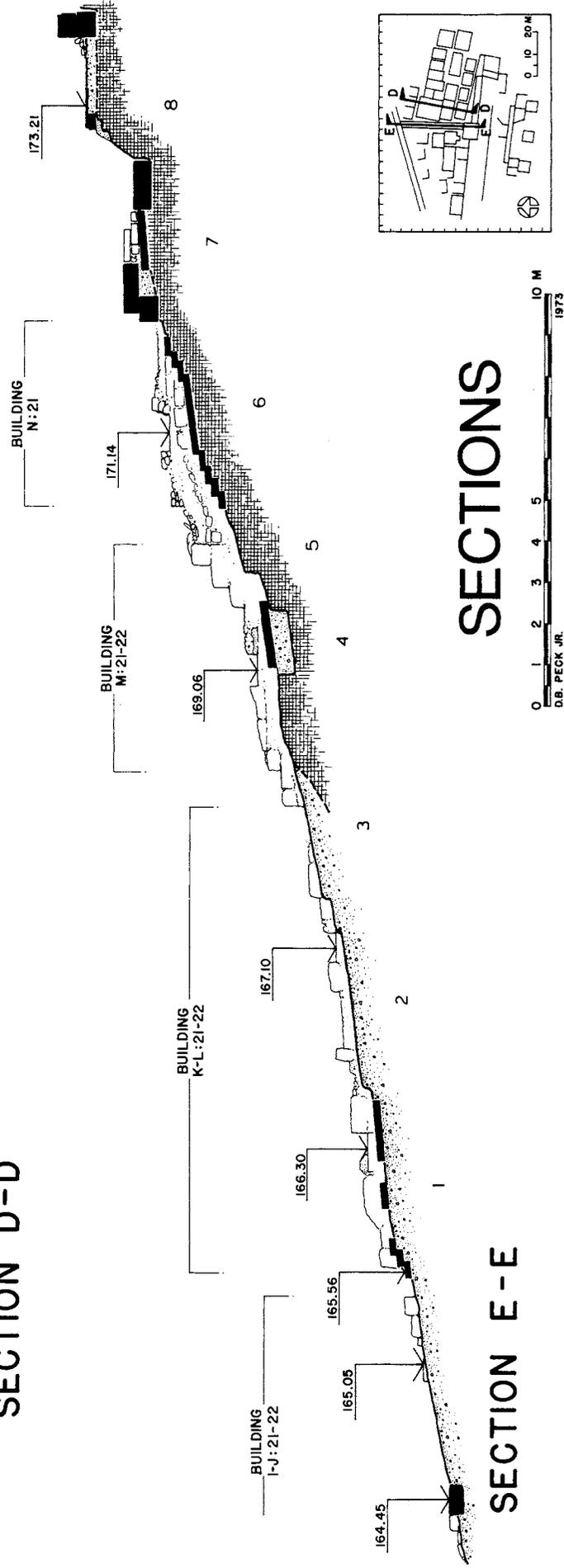
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 METERS
 D.B. PECK JR. 1973



PLAN 9. Sections A-A to C-C



SECTION D-D

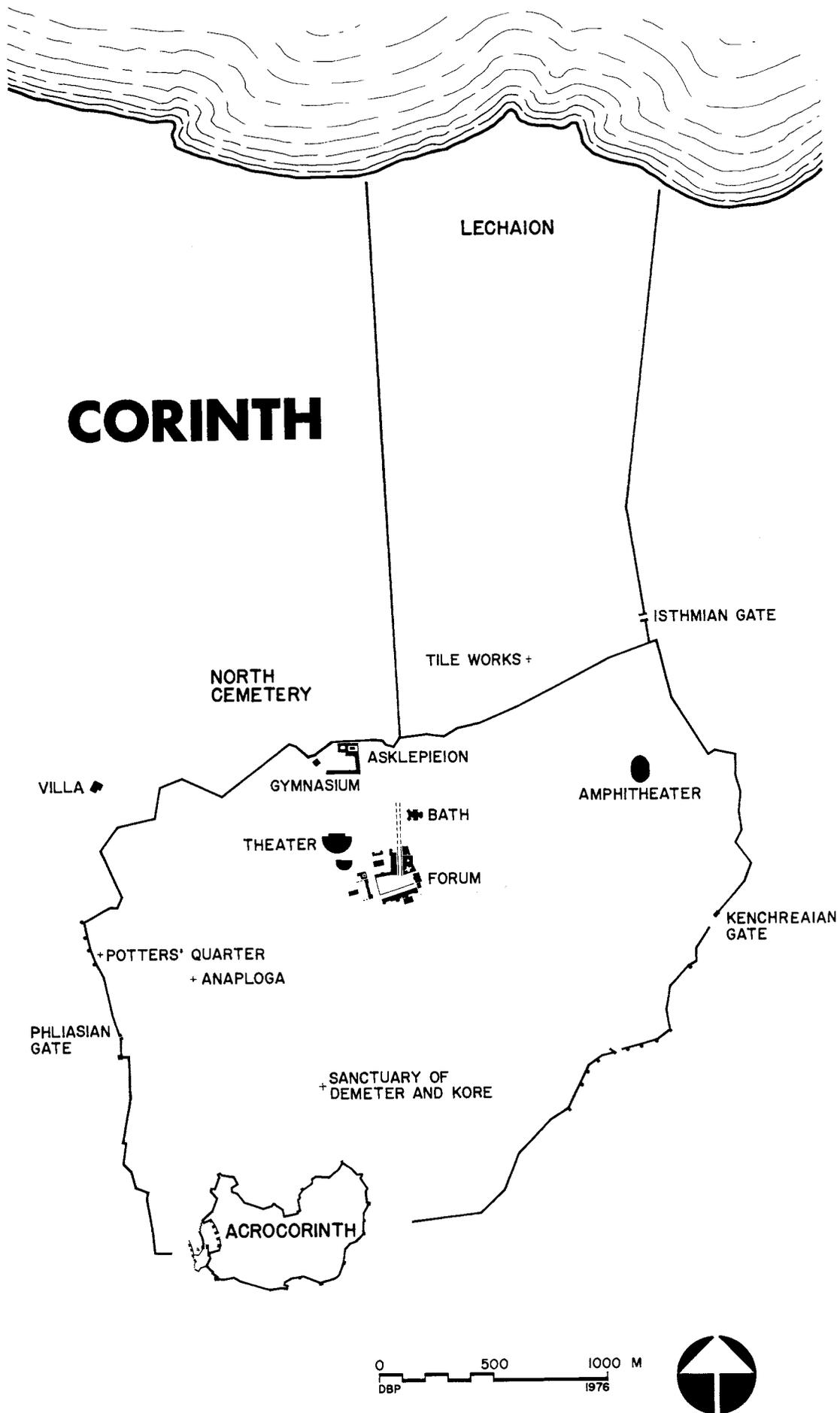


SECTION E-E

SECTIONS



PLAN 10. Sections D-D to E-E



PLAN 12. Corinth and Environs