

# THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE ON ACROCORINTH PRELIMINARY REPORT I: 1961-1962

(PLATES 1-11)

## THE EXCAVATION

TWO brief seasons of excavation in 1961 and 1962 have brought to light the remains of an important sanctuary on the north slope of Acrocorinth. The sanctuary lies to the east of the great north ravine of the hill, above the Turkish fountain of Hadji Mustafa and just below the modern road which leads up to the First Gate of the citadel (Pl. 1, a). Since the hill drops off abruptly at this point, two massive retaining walls which follow the contours of the hill were built here in antiquity to create a pair of long terraces running in an east-west direction. Our investigations have so far been limited to a small area on the upper terrace, but the density of the surface remains on the lower terrace and still farther to the north indicates that the sanctuary covered a considerably larger area. Until the spring of 1961 much of this terrain was under cultivation, and continual ploughing had brought to the surface great quantities of ancient roof tiles, potsherds, and fragments of terracotta figurines. A fragment of an inscribed poros block<sup>1</sup> was picked up in 1960 on the surface at the southern edge of the field, and near by was visible, projecting above the surface, a worked poros block which had anathyrosis on its northern face and seemed to be *in situ*.<sup>2</sup> About twenty meters to the west of this block was the mouth of an ancient well with the shaft open to a depth of slightly over nine meters. Almost all the surface sherds belonged to miniature vases of the classical period, simple votive pots common to most Corinthian shrines. The many figurine fragments that were picked up also suggested the presence of a sanctuary, and in the hope of uncovering one of the religious centers on the road up Acrocorinth mentioned by Pausanias (II, 4, 6), we began a brief trial excavation on May 23, 1961. The first season was of three weeks' duration and produced such quantities of pottery, terracotta figurines, and other finds that work was resumed for five weeks in May and June of 1962. Although it was possible to expose only a small area, the discovery of large numbers of votive objects and of two sacrificial pits left no doubt that we had located a sanctuary of considerable importance and popularity.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I 2541. Ht. 0.21 m. W. 0.225 m. Th. (original) 0.24 m. Broken at right. Two large (ca. 0.10 m. high), deeply cut letters bearing traces of bright red paint: OP [— — —. The fragment may have come from a pillar similar in shape, though perhaps not in purpose, to the stele of Hermaios from Aegina, *I.G.*, IV, 47; L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 1961, p. 113, no. 18, pl. 17, no. 18.

<sup>2</sup> This block was later found to belong to the southeast corner of Room A; see Figure 1.

<sup>3</sup> Brief reports on the progress of the excavation have appeared in *J.H.S.*, LXXXII, 1962, *Archaeological Reports*, p. 7 and *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, pp. 693-694. A short paper on the

An accurate account of the history of the sanctuary must await more extensive excavation since our work has been restricted to an area measuring only *ca.* 15 m. x 25 m. On the basis of the present evidence, the earliest activity at the site would seem to be dated to the early seventh century B.C.; no architectural remains of this period have yet been uncovered, but a small amount of Protocorinthian pottery has been found in the lowest levels. The sanctuary was very popular in the sixth century B.C., which is represented by an abundance of painted Corinthian pottery, terracotta figurines, and votive pots; to this period also belong the earliest walls uncovered to date and a rich burnt deposit in Room D. Throughout the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. numerous offerings continued to pour into the sanctuary and indicate that it played an important role in the religious life of the classical city. The modest size and the uniformity of so many of the dedications suggest that the shrine was much frequented by the common folk of Corinth at this period; many of the offerings are of a simple, personal nature. Remains of several cult rooms and of two sacrificial pits are to be dated to the classical period and most of the figurines were also dedicated at this time. Although very little pottery of Hellenistic type has turned up in the area cleared so far, figurines and coins belonging to the years preceding the destruction of Corinth by Mummius have been found in sufficient numbers to indicate that the sanctuary remained in use through the first half of the second century B.C. In the buildings so far exposed we have found no clear evidence of violent damage which can be associated with the disaster of 146 B.C., but later Roman rebuilding and the shallow fill which covers most of the area may account for this. Since no objects which date from the period 146 to 44 B.C. have appeared, it is likely that, even if the sanctuary escaped violent destruction, it was nevertheless abandoned and left as desolate for this century as was the rest of Corinth.

The sanctuary seems to have been cleaned up and put back into operation fairly soon after the resettlement of Corinth, for some Roman pottery of the end of the first century B.C. has been found, as have coins struck at Corinth during the reign

results of the first two seasons was read at the 1963 Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Pittsburgh, see *A.J.A.*, LXVIII, 1964, p. 201.

Work was carried on with a small crew, never more than ten men, under the supervision of the writer. I am indebted to Professor C. H. Morgan for first pointing out to me in 1960 the surface finds which were scattered all over the area, and I am most grateful to the Director of the Corinth Excavations, Professor H. S. Robinson, for entrusting me with the excavation of the site and for his constant guidance and advice at every step. I also wish to thank Chryssoula Kardara, Judith Perlzweig, and Martin Price for much helpful counsel. Nikolaos M. Verdelis, Ephor of Antiquities for the Argolid and the Corinthia, kindly permitted me to examine the finds from his excavation of a Corinthian sanctuary at the site of ancient Solygeia; many of these closely parallel the objects from Acrocorinth; see *Archaeology*, XV, 1962, pp. 184-192. The plans (Figs. 1-2) are the work of John Travlos. The finds have been under the expert care of George Kachros whose wide experience with all things Corinthian is familiar to anyone who has had the pleasure of working closely with him. He has been ably assisted by Nikolaos Didaskalou and Anastasios Papaioannou. My wife has helped immensely in ways too numerous to list.

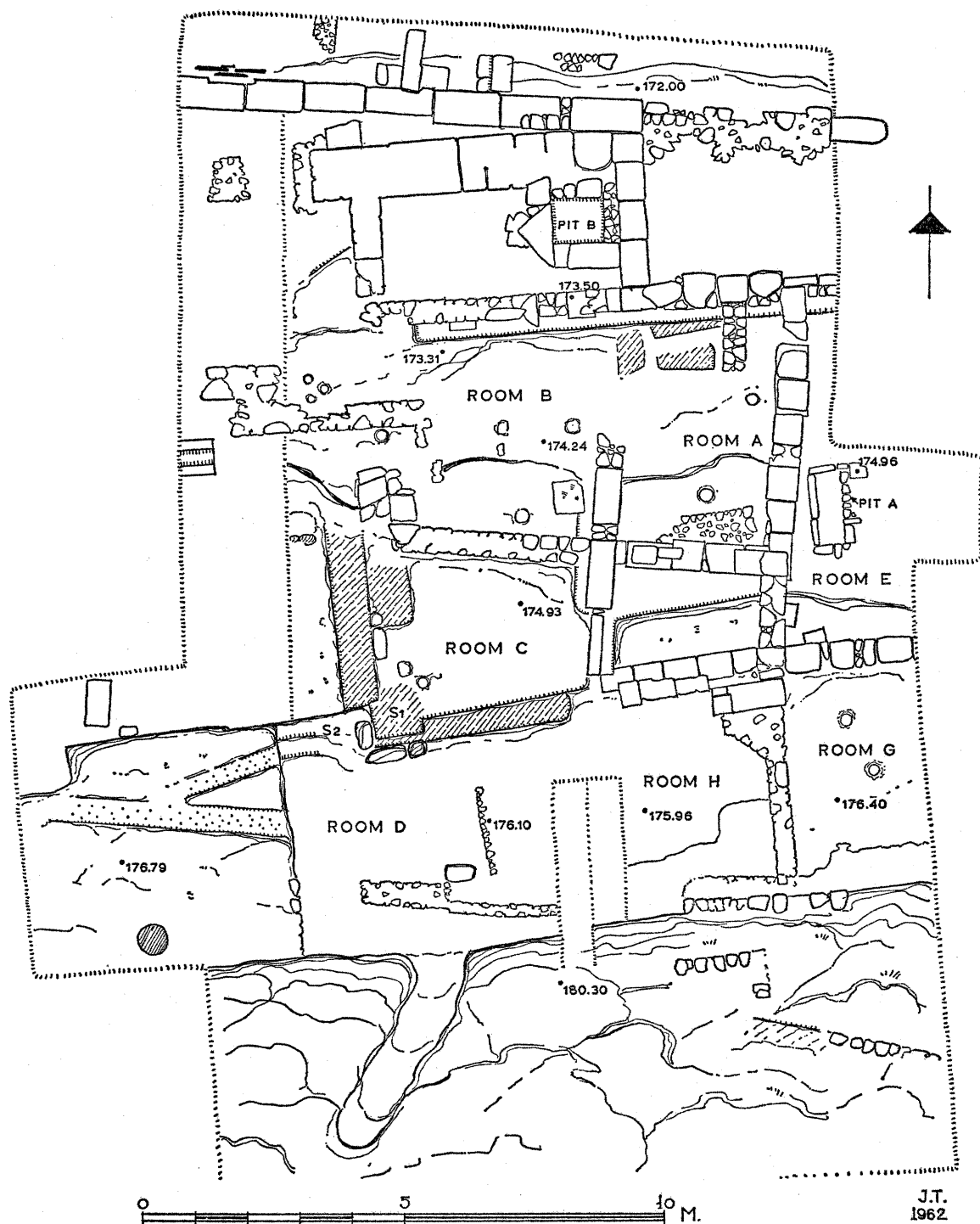


FIG. 1

of Augustus by the new annual magistrates, the Duoviri. Roman pottery, coins, and lamps have turned up in sufficient quantity to show that the sanctuary maintained its popularity until at least the end of the fourth century. The well, dug probably in the late first century, seems to have served the area for most of this period and several terracotta architectural fragments of Roman date indicate considerable building activity. The closing years of the fourth century saw the destruction of at least two independent sectors of the sanctuary. Although it is dangerous to argue from the little evidence recovered so far, it may be that the entire shrine finally collapsed under the successive blows dealt by earthquakes, the invasion of the Visigoths, and the increasing hostility of the Christian church which left their mark on so many other buildings in Corinth during this troubled period.<sup>4</sup>

Figure 1 shows a plan of the total area so far uncovered; it is obvious that more extensive excavation is needed to sort out the maze of walls and to establish the general plan of the sanctuary. Roman rebuilding has added to the confusion, as has the fact that, although the sanctuary remained in use for over a thousand years, in most places shown on the plan there was no more than one meter of earth over bedrock; this shallow fill has naturally left us very little stratification to help with the dating of the walls.

Along the southern edge of the sanctuary the bedrock of the hill was cut away in a more or less straight line to form the southern limit of Rooms D, G, H, and probably of the entire sacred area. South of this line the unworked bedrock rises steeply and was covered with a thin layer of earth containing much pottery, numerous roof tiles, and fragments of terracotta figurines. The greatest concentration of these finds was in the area south of Rooms G and H, which seems to have served as a place to dump pottery and figurines discarded from the cult rooms to the north. Unfortunately, erosion and later building had removed all trace of stratigraphy in the thin layer of earth over bedrock here; even though the majority of the finds were of the classical period, Roman lamps and coins were found among them. Despite the steepness of the rock at this point, the quantity of the finds was remarkable—41 inventoried figurines and three boxfuls of small fragments (many of these being of the jointed doll type), over 185 intact miniature vases of assorted shapes, 15 complete lamps, and 18 baskets of pottery.

After the earth had been cleared off in this area, the meager remains of three small walls were exposed clinging to the steep face of the rock. In each case the construction is of rough field stones set in mud and in none is there more than one

<sup>4</sup> The literary and archaeological evidence for these catastrophes at Corinth is conveniently assembled by R. L. Scranton in *Corinth*, XVI *The Mediaeval Architecture*, pp. 4-5. See also J. H. Finley, "Corinth in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, VII, 1932, p. 477; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 119-121, and Appendixe 15, "Alaric in Greece," in the same author's third edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1906, III, p. 498.

"course" of stones preserved. These three walls are of such rude construction and in such a precarious position that they cannot have formed part of any structure; they seem rather to have been built to hold back the earth which was in danger of washing down into the sanctuary from the south. The pottery found under the southernmost wall was Roman.

The western limit of Room H has not yet been determined since we have left a high *martyra* here as a control on the stratification. More testing of the wall which divides this room from its neighbour to the east (Room G) will also be necessary to establish the date of its construction, but the rest of Room H has been cleared to bedrock with satisfactory results. Under the heavy layer (*ca.* 0.40 m. thick) of disturbed surface earth four successive layers of Greek fill could be distinguished. The earliest, a thin clay layer directly over bedrock, contained pottery of the mid-sixth century B.C., while the highest stratum was a clay floor with sherds and lamp fragments in it which belong to the end of the fifth century B.C. The occurrence of terracotta figurines and miniature votive pots in all four strata points to some religious use of the room, but neither the plan of the area nor the character of the other finds permits a more precise identification. In the southwest corner of the room as now exposed, and at the level of the latest floor, was found a small pocket of burnt fill containing a few discarded dedications of various dates, including the larger of the two bronze bulls discussed below (p. 19). Also in this burnt pocket was an amazing number of terracotta lamp fragments. Unlike most of the lamps found elsewhere in the sanctuary, the lamps of this group are remarkable in that all are broken in many fragments and all are of a single type.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that the burnt pocket represents a clearing out of the room subsequent to the use and dedication of these lamps as part of some religious ceremony.<sup>6</sup>

More clearing to the east will be necessary to expose the full extent of Room G; at present we have cleared the western end to bedrock which was covered by a clay floor of the late fifth century B.C. Hidden by this floor were two circular holes cut

<sup>5</sup> O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, pp. 39-42. Type IV. R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps and Their Survivals*, Princeton, 1958, pp. 48-49, Type 21 C. Howland dates the type to the last quarter of the 5th and to the early 4th century B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Lamps are explicitly mentioned as proper objects for dedication in the sacred regulations of the sanctuary of the Mistress at Lykosoura (W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*,<sup>8</sup> Leipzig, 1920, III, no. 999, line 16) and they seem to have been popular at other shrines of Demeter. A valuable list of references is presented by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 180, note 3. See also A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, ii, p. 253. The flat handles of our Type 21 C lamps are easily broken off but their thick, raised bases and broad nozzles are both sturdy and would require a blow of some force to shatter them into fragments as small as those found in the burnt pocket in Room H. Perhaps after their use in some nocturnal rites they were intentionally smashed. Compare the practice at Argos of throwing lighted torches into a bothros in honor of Persephone (Pausanias, II, 22, 3).

into the bedrock to a depth of *ca.* 0.15 m.-0.20 m. They may have held wooden posts to support the roof of this area in an earlier period.

Some digging was done in the area which for convenience we have labelled Room E, but not enough to give us a precise idea of its chronology or function. In the southwestern corner a pair of low rectangular blocks project from the two walls which meet here. These blocks are set at an oblique angle to the walls in such a way that they are made to face each other. The blocks, as well as the faces of the two walls forming the corner, are covered with two coats of stucco. The finds from this room include terracotta figurines and miniature votive pots, but there was no stratification and we have not yet dug to bedrock anywhere in the area. The proximity of sacrificial Pit A, however, suggests that the room was of considerable religious importance and the bases in the corner may have played some part in the cult. The coating of stucco might indicate the presence of a simple lustral apparatus here, or perhaps the projecting blocks served as low shelves for offerings, or as bases on which small cult images were set <sup>7</sup> (Pl. 1, b).

Sacrificial Pit A is a long, rectangular construction oriented roughly north-south; when first exposed it looked very much like a grave. Above it the fill was completely mixed; pottery, coins, and figurines of the classical period were found together with Roman lamps and pottery of the first and second centuries after Christ. The top of the construction consisted of large fragments of Corinthian pan-tiles set in two neat layers to form an effective cover (Pl. 1, c, d).<sup>8</sup> When the tiles were taken up, the west side and north end of the structure were seen to consist of thin poros slabs (*ca.* 0.10 m. thick) set on edge, while the east wall, which is much thicker, was constructed of small, unworked stones; three rough stones form the southern end. The earth under the tile cover proved to be fairly hard-packed with a few small stones and tile fragments in it; there was no trace of the clean, sandy earth so often encountered in Corinthian graves, nor were there any human bones. There were, on the other hand, many sherds and a few fragments of terracotta figurines scattered all through the filling. With the exception of four tiny votive pots and a miniature lamp, all the pottery was so badly broken as to suggest that it came from a near-by pile of debris. This filling remained the same until, at a depth of 0.50 m. and directly above the

<sup>7</sup> A more elaborate and better preserved lustral area in a small Demeter sanctuary has been excavated at Morgantina. See R. Stillwell, *A.J.A.*, LXIII, 1959, p. 171. At the same site in another shrine of Demeter, in Area IV, a long stuccoed bench was uncovered on which terracotta busts seem to have been placed, *ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>8</sup> The knife in Plate 1, c points to a Corinthian bronze coin of the Pegasus/trident variety found in the mixed fill immediately above the tile cover. M. Price, who is undertaking a detailed study of this series, has suggested that this piece was probably minted *ca.* 303-287 B.C.; reverse symbols N in circle—Dove.

bedrock floor, seven intact miniature kalathoi were found (Pl. 2, c).<sup>9</sup> They were all sitting upright in the north end of the pit where they had been placed as a simple offering which was later covered over. Since no traces of burning were observed either on the walls or in the earth filling, it is unlikely that the pit was used for animal sacrifices. No offerings were found at the bottom except the seven kalathoi. The vases were probably placed here as a bloodless offering carefully laid deep in the earth and then sealed off. Since they were placed on the bedrock, we might perhaps think of the vases in connection with one of the chthonic deities.<sup>10</sup> All seven are decorated in the late Corinthian "Conventionalizing" style, with simple linear patterns in black and red, and belong to the most popular type of offering found in the sanctuary. The chronology of the "Conventionalizing" style is still poorly defined, and we cannot date the filling-in of the pit solely on the basis of the shape and decoration of these seven miniature pots.<sup>11</sup> More satisfactory evidence is supplied by the latest objects from the earth above the miniature vases; these are several joining fragments of an Attic red-figured skyphos of the early fourth century B.C. (Pl. 2, b).<sup>12</sup>

The earliest remains in Room A go back to about the middle of the sixth century B.C. and consist of a stretch of wall constructed of fairly large, unworked stones set side by side directly on bedrock along the southern edge of the room. Only one course of this wall remains; it was built over by a later, wider construction and does not appear on the plan. Contemporary with this first period of the south wall is a small patch of bedding for a floor which has survived in the southeast corner of the room (see Pl. 2, a). Many small stones packed tightly together were set over bedrock here in an attempt to create a level floor surface; this was especially needed because the rock drops off so sharply to the north. Directly north of this patch of floor is a neatly cut, circular post-hole sunk into the bedrock. The northern end of Room A is confused and has passed through several stages of construction. The earliest remains here are some cuttings in the surface of the bedrock made for the step blocks

<sup>9</sup> C-61-390 to 396. The smallest vase (C-61-392, Pl. 2, c, top row, center) is 0.035 m. high; the others are all between 0.042 m. and 0.05 m. in height. For the shape see R. J. Hopper, "Addenda to *Necrocorinthia*," *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, pp. 209-210 and T. J. Dunbabin, *Perachora*, II, Oxford, 1962, p. 90. This type of vase is briefly discussed *infra* pp. 15-16.

<sup>10</sup> Similar tile-covered pits which had the appearance of graves but contained buried offerings were excavated by C. T. Newton in the sanctuary of Demeter, Persephone and Pluto at Knidos; *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae*, London, 1863, II, pp. 378-380, 389-392, 412.

<sup>11</sup> We must await full study of the unpublished examples from the valuable deposits in the Corinthian Potters' Quarter. See M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 286, no. 107. The recently published grave groups from the North Cemetery are of little help since only nine kalathoi were recovered from graves of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. See C. W. Blegen, H. Palmer, R. S. Young, *Corinth*, XIII, *The North Cemetery*, Princeton, 1964, pp. 117, 149.

<sup>12</sup> C-61-227. From filling of Pit A, LOT 887. Since 1959 the lots of pottery from the Corinth Excavations retained for study and chronological control have been assigned serial numbers.

of a small stairway which led up into the room from the north. Only the beddings for the two southernmost steps and perhaps a cutting for a wall which ran along the western side of the stairway have been preserved. It is likely that this stairway was contemporary with the other sixth century remains in the southern part of the room and that access to Room A in this period was from the north; a stair would be necessary to reach the floor of the room from the considerably lower level at the north.

The northern entrance to Room A was abandoned when a wide footing trench for a wall was cut across it on an east-west line. The south wall of the sacral area to be discussed presently was set into this trench and effectively barred all further access to Room A by means of the stairway. From the footing trench, which is *ca.* 0.20 m.-0.30 m. deep, about a basketful of pottery was recovered; this proved to be a fairly consistent lot dating from the middle of the 6th century B.C.<sup>13</sup> The wall which the trench was cut to receive would thus have been constructed at about the same time.

From the later history of Room A nothing in the way of a floor level has survived above the patch of small stones in the southeast corner. The area was used all through the Greek period and even later, but the fill above the level of this stone floor was so mixed that it is difficult to assign a date as yet to the highest preserved section of the walls of the room. This upper section is constructed of large squared blocks of poros and limestone, many of them re-used from earlier structures. Despite the lack of stratification here, it is certain that Room A was an important part of the sanctuary. In less than a meter of earth in this room there were over 70 complete miniature vases, 54 inventoried figurines and over 200 smaller fragments, and 15 baskets of pottery. Of special interest are the many fragments of miniature clay *liknons* and offering trays. In the southeast corner of the room, at a depth of 0.24 m. below the top of the east wall an important cache of terracotta figurines was found. Among these were fragments from at least twenty figures of a standing goddess who wears a high polos and holds a pig in one hand and a torch in the other (see *infra* p. 22). Most of the figurines were broken and since they were all found lying close together against the inner face of the east wall, it is possible that they fell there when the shelf on which they originally stood collapsed.

The most important part of the sanctuary uncovered so far and the site of the richest deposits of terracotta figurines is a rectangular sacral area below and to the north of Room B, near the northern edge of the excavation. Its position may be seen on Figure 1 and a more detailed plan is given in Figure 2. The sacral enclosure is formed by four walls and in the northeast corner there is a square sacrificial pit about one meter deep with the bedrock as its floor. The area is limited on the south by the wall which was set in the deep footing trench that cut across the north end of Room A. This wall is constructed with small stones and some re-used poros blocks of

<sup>13</sup> LOT 876.



various shapes, whereas the other three walls of the area consist of large squared blocks of Acrocorinth limestone. Also connected with the sacral area is another wall which begins at the northeast corner of the complex and runs off at an acute angle to the west. It disappears into the scarp at the western edge of the excavation, but its line can easily be traced for at least 4.50 m. beyond this point. Perhaps it served as a large terrace or peribolos wall which connected the sacral area to some other part

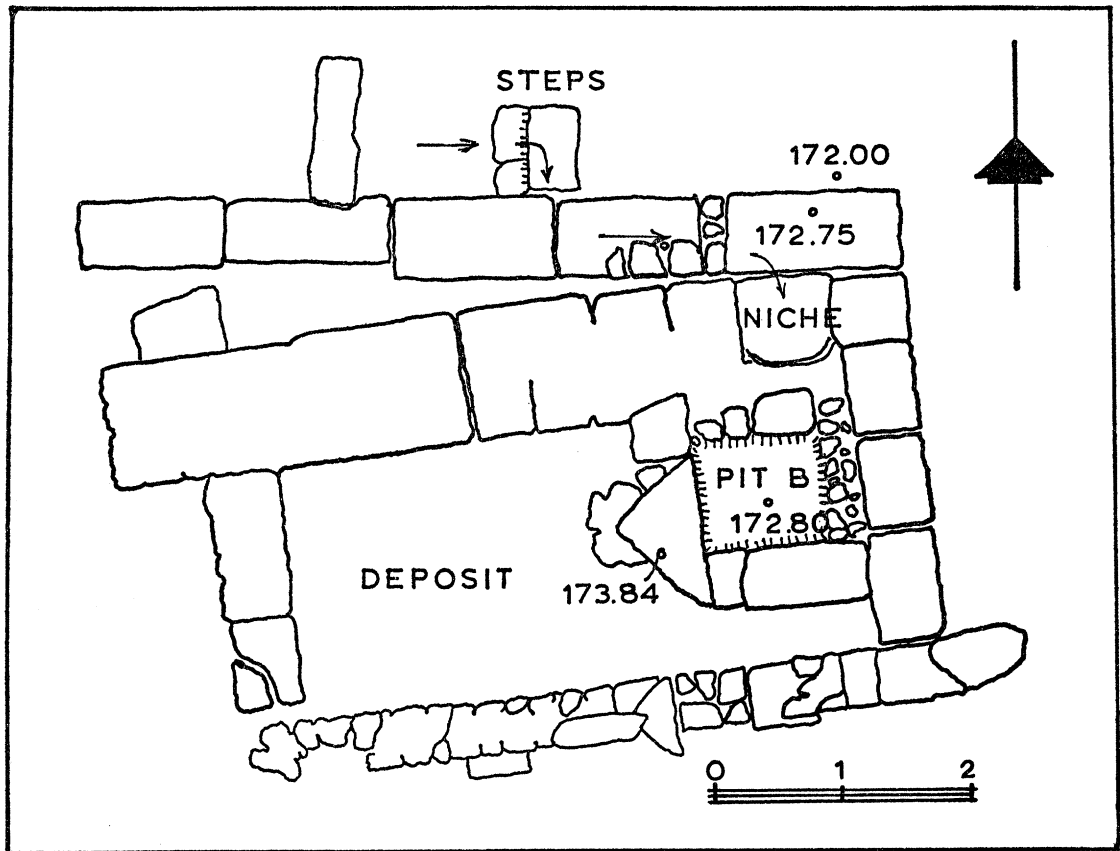


FIG. 2

of the sanctuary farther to the west. This wall served a definite purpose with regard to the sacral area, however, by providing the only means of access to the sacrificial Pit B. Two low steps set at right angles to its north face permitted the person sacrificing to step up onto the flat surface of the wall, and to move along it a few steps to the east before turning to his right to face the pit. Directly in front (i.e. north) of the pit there is a small niche where the devotee could stand to make his offering into the pit.

This whole complex seems to have been laid out in the last half of the 6th century B.C. Alterations were made at some later time, probably in the middle of the 4th century B.C., to the pit itself and to the north wall of the area; the other parts of the enclosure apparently remained as they were originally constructed.

When we first discovered the pit a few tiles were still lying on top; they had apparently been placed there to close it off when it went out of use. A similar cover was used in Pit A. Under the tiles, the pit, which measures 1.00 m. x 0.85 m., was full to the top with ash. There was no stratification; the soft black ash continued without change all the way to the bedrock floor 1.00 m. below the lip and fragments of pottery found at the top of the pit joined pieces which lay at the bottom. The ash was full of charred animal bones, coarse cooking pots, terracotta figurines, much broken pottery, and miniature votives. The stone walls of the pit were heavily calcined, showing clearly that fires were lit here for animal sacrifices. Professor B. Kiortsis of the Department of Zoology in the University of Athens, who kindly examined the bones from this pit, reports that almost all of them are from young pigs which were sacrificed while they were still fairly small. One worshipper seems not to have been able to afford a live pig and substituted a small terracotta one which showed traces of burning. Twenty-six figurines and several small fragments were found in the pit, most of them female types, although there are a few children represented too. Also in the pit was a fine example of a comic mask and a female head carrying a water jug. A selection of the figurines is shown on Plate 2, d-h.<sup>14</sup>

The total of complete or nearly complete vases from the pit reached fifty-seven; many of these are miniature unpainted kalathoi, but there were also some larger vases in both plain black glaze and coarse reddish cooking fabric which help to establish a date for the ash filling. A full description of all the pottery from the pit cannot be included here; three of the black glazed vases and two of the coarser fabric are illustrated on Plate 3, a-c.<sup>15</sup> The pottery is of the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B.C. This evidence tallies with the date of most of the terracotta figurines from the pit and points to a cessation of sacrificial rites in the rectangular area at this time. When Pit B went out of use the contents were not cleaned out; a layer of Corinthian tiles was simply set over the pit.

The finds in this area were not restricted to the pit, for immediately to the west within the enclosure we came upon a rich deposit of terracotta figurines and pottery.

<sup>14</sup> Plate 2, d: MF 10497. Plate 2, e: MF 10501. Plate 2, f: MF 10498. A number of heads from hydrophoroi figurines were found in other parts of the sanctuary. Plate 2, g: MF 10505. Plate 2, h: MF 10492. This head is very similar to MF 2991, *Corinth*, XII, p. 50, no. 326, although it is clearly female and not "Alexander the Great." For the stephane, cf. D. B. Thompson, *Troy, Supplementary Monograph III, The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*, Princeton, 1963, pp. 49-50, nos. 216-220.

<sup>15</sup> LOT 880. Pl. 3, a: C-61-206, 214, and 380. Pl. 3, b: C-61-385. Plate 3, c: C-61-386. I am indebted to G. R. Edwards for much helpful information about the date of this group of pottery.

All the finds were packed tightly together in earth which showed clear signs of burning; the area of the deposit measured roughly 2.00 m. x 2.00 m. and the depth of the fill was *ca.* 0.60 m.-1.00 m. Fourteen baskets of pottery were collected from this small area <sup>16</sup> and the 213 inventoried objects include 148 terracotta figurines, many intact miniature vases, lamps, fragments of large terracotta perirrhanteria, iron knife blades, and a fine life-size terracotta head of a young boy (Pl. 3, d).<sup>17</sup>

Another rich deposit, of earlier date, was found at the south edge of the excavated area in the space designated Room D. This room consists of a platform *ca.* 3.00 m. x 3.00 m. cut back into the bedrock of the hill. The bedrock along the southern edge of the room is very steep and has been trimmed down in a straight line in order to square off this side of the area. A similar deep cutting was made along the western side where the top surface of the bedrock outside the room lies *ca.* 0.60 m. above the floor of Room D. The only means of access to Room D seems to have been on the north side, from Room C, which lay *ca.* 1.00 m.-1.20 m. below the floor of D; hence a low stairway was necessary. Remains of two such stairways have been found here; they are to be associated with two distinct layers of fill covering the bedrock floor of the room. Of the earlier stair (S 1 on Fig. 1) only the bedding for the lowest step has survived. At the northeast corner of this bedding is a neat, circular post hole probably designed to anchor a slender wooden column. A later cutting was unfortunately sunk across the northwest corner of the bedding for the lowest step, so we will never know whether a corresponding post hole was cut on this side.

When this earlier entrance went out of use, three large stones were set across its path and earth was piled around them to prevent all access to Room D at this point. The entrance was then shifted to the northwest corner of the room where two steps lead up to it (S 2 on Fig. 1). No trace of any attempt to embellish this entrance was found; the bare rock was simply cut back in two stages to form the steps. This entrance probably remained in use as long as the room continued to serve as a sacred area.

Directly over bedrock throughout Room D there was a layer of hard-packed, bright reddish earth which was full of terracotta figurines and pottery of the archaic period. The layer is *ca.* 0.20 m. thick and represents the earliest floor level in the room. We have only made a few test cuts through this layer but the pottery collected so far does not appear to be much later than the early 6th century; a good deal of it is earlier. The only structural element contemporary with this reddish layer is a thin wall of small stones extending in a north-south line parallel to the rock-cut west wall

<sup>16</sup> LOTS 877 and 878.

<sup>17</sup> MF 10507. No other fragments of this remarkable figure survived in the deposit. The large votive busts found in the Asklepieion resemble this head in only a few respects; they seem to be the work of much less sensitive artists; see *Corinth*, XIV, pp. 119-120, nos. 2, 3.

of the area. This wall is too flimsy to have supported any substantial superstructure, but it does mark the eastern limit of the red fill.

Immediately above the hard reddish floor level and in sharp contrast to it, a thick layer full of carbon and ash was encountered which contained many more figurines, miniature votive pots, and charred animal bones. This layer, which was remarkably consistent, reached a depth of *ca.* 0.20 m.-0.25 m. and we have cleared it down to the reddish floor level throughout the room. The finds in this layer were so numerous that the pick-men had to work for several days on their hands and knees with very delicate tools. More finds were recovered by sifting the dug earth, as there seemed to be more pottery, figurine fragments, and animal bones in this layer than there was earth. Twenty-seven baskets of pottery were recovered, and close to 300 intact kalathoi, *liknons*, and offering trays. The terracotta heads broken from archaic figurines which turned up here are especially fine. Much figured Corinthian pottery was found, including two large fragments of a Middle Corinthian plate (Pl. 3, e).<sup>18</sup> Scattered all through the fill were great numbers of charred animal bones; most of these, when examined by Professor Kiortsis, proved to belong to young pigs. Little in the way of architecture contemporary with the burnt layer has survived within the room. Near the south end of the area there is a puzzling wall which runs in roughly an east-west direction, gradually becoming thinner near its eastern end. The greatest concentration of figurines and bones seemed to occur around this poorly preserved wall, a fact which may suggest that it was once part of an altar, though in its present state it offers no sure basis for reconstruction.

Closer study of the great mass of material from the burnt layer will be necessary before the date of the latest objects can be established. It seems at present that, as an area where burnt sacrifices were made, Room D probably went out of use about the middle of the 6th century.

The later history of this part of the sanctuary is confused. Above the archaic layer just described a thick covering of rough stones and much disturbed fill was encountered; this clearly belongs to a period when the sacred nature of Room D was no longer upheld.

Directly over Room D at about 0.30 m. below the modern surface, but still within the confines of the sanctuary, we came upon a rudely constructed grave. The floor of the grave consisted of nothing more than a bedding of rough stones packed tightly together. On this layer three bodies had been laid out in the positions indicated on Plate 4, g; all three heads were placed toward the west. Earth had been thrown around and over the bodies to a depth of *ca.* 0.20 m. above the floor. Then another

<sup>18</sup> C-62-272. In the tondo is a heraldic scene of confronted sphinxes. Almost all the remaining space is filled with carelessly incised floral ornamentation. In the space between the front and hind legs of the sphinx on the right, however, there is a tiny, crouching human figure (a pygmy?) facing right.

layer of small stones was set over the grave and more earth thrown over this. Most of the northern part of this stone cover had been washed down the hill but the skeletons were in a good state of preservation and had not been disturbed.

It is clear from the construction of the grave that all three occupants were buried at the same time. The skeletons have not yet been carefully studied, but two of them which are less than a meter long must have been young children. The third body was that of an adult, perhaps a woman, since a small pendant disc from an earring or necklace was found resting on top of the skull. Only three other simple objects had been placed in the grave: a toy bronze mirror, a scaraboid amulet, and a thin glass disc which probably served as a piece of jewelry. All were found with the older child. Some idea of the date of this burial may be gained from two bronze coins which had been placed in the mouths of the two larger skeletons. One of these coins belongs to the Pegasos/trident bronze series struck at Corinth during the fourth and third centuries B.C. The symbols to either side of the trident on the reverse ( $\Delta$ - , amphora) probably place it sometime after *ca.* 290 B.C.<sup>19</sup> The second coin was struck at Syracuse perhaps in the third quarter of the fourth century<sup>20</sup> and subsequently found its way to Corinth. On the evidence of these coins, then, we may date the burial to some time early in the third century.

Since all three bodies were interred at the same time, and two of them are children, we might think of them as all belonging to one family and probably dying at the same time. The construction of the stone bed on which the corpses were laid and the stone cover over them, as well as the presence of offerings in the grave, all show clearly that the burial was deliberate and planned; it was not an unauthorized, clandestine affair. The religious officials permitted this woman and her two children to be buried within the limits of the sanctuary, perhaps as a reward for past service to the cult. It may be that the woman once served as a priestess, as has been suggested in the case of similar graves within the temenos of Artemis at Brauron.<sup>21</sup>

One other area in the excavation deserves mention. For convenience it has been labelled "Room C," although its plan is far from clear. The walls and cuttings for

<sup>19</sup> For this information I am grateful to Martin Price.

<sup>20</sup> Obv. Head of Athena I., in Corinthian helmet. Rev. Hippocamp I., with curled wing. See E. Gabrici, *La Monetazione del bronzo nella Sicilia antica*, Palermo, 1927, p. 172, nos. 56-76. The issue is commonly dated *ca.* 345-336 B.C. Coins of this type are rare at Corinth, as are Western Greek coins in general. Of over 50,000 coins in the published reports for the excavations from 1896-1939 only ten came from Sicily and southern Italy.

<sup>21</sup> I. Papadimitriou, *Πρακτικά*, 1956 (published 1961), pp. 76-77. Cf. also the burials which are probably connected with Stele Shrine A in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth; *Corinth*, XV, i, pp. 23-25. For the practice in general see W. Vollgraff, "Inhumation en terre sacrée dans l'antiquité grecque," *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XIV, Part II, 1951, pp. 315-398. Most of the evidence assembled in this work is epigraphical; much of it is highly dubious. See J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," *R.E.G.*, LXVII, 1954, p. 111, no. 53.

walls which seem to form its four sides are by no means uniform or contemporary. Despite this confused plan, it is possible to state with some certainty that a Roman building once stood here. Below a heavy accumulation of mixed surface fill and at a level *ca.* 0.35 m. above the bedrock, there was a uniform layer of broken roof tiles. These tiles, which extended over almost the whole area of Room C, were all Roman in date and seem to have fallen into the room with the collapse of the roof. Pillaging of the blocks from a wide north-south cutting at the west edge of the room probably accompanied the destruction of the roof. There was no evidence of burning anywhere in the room; no traces of decayed wood were detected among or under the tiles; and, surprisingly, not a single nail survived in the fill, though nails have been found in all other parts of the sanctuary. In all probability the roof beams were carried away with the building stone.

The destruction layer of this Roman building provides us with our latest finds; these may help to date the abandonment of the sanctuary, although it is dangerous to place too much confidence in such a date until more of the site has been excavated. A few small pieces of painted wall plaster, fragments of terracotta drain pipe of Roman date, much coarse pottery of the third and fourth centuries, and several fourth century Roman lamp fragments were found in the destruction level.<sup>22</sup> Much more precise evidence is supplied by eleven bronze coins which were scattered among the tiles and under them on the earth floor. One of these coins is illegible and one was struck by Domitian, but the other nine all belong to the 4th century. Six of these were struck in the second half of the century and the latest piece was issued from the Thessalonica mint of Valentinian II in the period 383-392.<sup>23</sup> The final years of the 4th century, therefore, saw the destruction of this Roman building.

The water supply for the sanctuary in Roman times came from the well mentioned above, pp. 1, 4. It is situated too far to the west to appear on Figure 1. The well was dug to a depth of 18.70 m. in the late first century after Christ and the use filling consisted of a wide range of fragmentary and complete water jugs and household vessels.<sup>24</sup> Above the use filling there was a great mass of earth and debris from the sanctuary which had been dumped into the well probably when the shrine went out of use. The pottery (twelve basketfuls in only 3.20 m. of earth) was completely mixed in date and much of it was of the miniature type.<sup>25</sup> A wide variety of objects turned up in this dumped fill: terracotta figurines, coins, lamps, terracotta archi-

<sup>22</sup> LOTS 1947 and 1948.

<sup>23</sup> R. A. G. Carson, P. V. Hill, J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, London, 1960, Part II, no. 1848. The chronological importance of this piece is shown by the fact that these nine coins form an almost unbroken series extending from 306 throughout the fourth century.

<sup>24</sup> LOT 1946. The chronological range of this use filling extends from the late first century to about the middle of the fourth century after Christ.

<sup>25</sup> LOT 1945.

tectural fragments, a small poros capital of the Ionic order, fragments broken from marble monument bases, and several pieces of large-scale terracotta sculpture. Striking proof that this was no ordinary filling of the well came in the form of the three marble heads discussed below, pp. 20-21. All three had been forcibly broken off and hurled 15 m. down the shaft of the well. The date of this destructive activity can be placed sometime after the middle of the 4th century on the evidence of the many Roman lamp fragments in the fill and the latest coin, a bronze piece struck by Constantius II at his mint in Constantinople *ca.* 346-350.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that the destruction of Room C discussed above is related to the filling in of the well.

## THE FINDS

Since the finds from the first two campaigns are so numerous and varied, there is space for only a brief, selective account of some of the more important objects. A total of 1,405 finds have been inventoried to date and almost every category of Corinthian antiquities is represented. There has barely been time for cleaning, mending, and inventorying the small finds and arranging into manageable lots the 300 baskets of pottery recovered. Little opportunity has been available for the detailed study of the objects which will increase our understanding of their place in the history of the sanctuary.

### POTTERY

The large amount of pottery collected from each area of the excavation illustrates, as do the figurines, the great popularity which the sanctuary enjoyed throughout its history. In view of the evidence from the small shrines in the Corinthian Potters' Quarter and from the Heraion at Perachora, it is not surprising to find an extremely high proportion of miniature vases among the pottery. A small selection is shown on Plate 4, a-f.<sup>27</sup> Hundreds of these tiny votives have survived intact and exhibit a wide range of shapes and decoration. A few are handmade but most of them were thrown on the wheel and some approximate the shapes of their larger counterparts. Careful attention was sometimes paid to proportion and painted design, as in the tiny pyxis with convex sides in Plate 4, b, far right. All of these little vases seem to be of local manufacture, which is not surprising in the light of Corinth's position as one of the leading producers of miniature votive pottery.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Carson, Hill, and Kent, *op. cit.*, Part II, no. 2026.

<sup>27</sup> Pl. 4, a, left to right: C-61-183, C-61-152, C-61-180, C-61-266, C-61-189. Pl. 4, b, left to right: C-61-169, C-61-146, C-61-276, C-61-287. Pl. 4, c, left to right: C-61-247, C-61-257, C-62-256. Pl. 4, d: C-61-300 and C-61-246. Pl. 4, e: C-62-348 and C-62-355. Pl. 4, f, left to right: C-61-163, C-61-244, C-61-166.

<sup>28</sup> See the useful references for the exportation of Corinthian miniatures collected by H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 334-335; see also Dunbabin, *Perachora*, II, pp. 290-291.

There is a wide range of shapes represented in our miniature vases but kalathoi greatly outnumber all other types. Representatives of every period in the development of this particular shape have been found in large numbers. There are conical kalathoi, both perforated and unperforated, and many examples with deeply concave sides (Pl. 4, c and e). A more tublike profile is seen in the examples on Plate 4, d and f. The miniature kalathos remained the most popular votive offering at this sanctuary from early in the seventh century until late in the fourth or early in the third century B.C.; the later examples are mostly unpainted. K. F. Johansen<sup>29</sup> pointed out long ago that the simplicity of the painted designs on most vases of this type made it especially difficult to determine the chronology of the kalathos. He urged that context dates would be the most effective means of tracing the development of the shape. The excavations of the British School at Perachora<sup>30</sup> provided valuable evidence of this nature for the earlier stages and numerous examples were found in the important deposits in the Corinthian Potters' Quarter. It is hoped that later detailed study of the miniature kalathoi from the deposits and stratified areas of the present excavation will provide a fairly complete chronological series of these vases from one site.

Corinthian figured pottery turned up in considerable amounts but mostly in the form of small sherds. The nature of the deposits, in which many of the objects had been broken and discarded, has prevented the survival of larger vessels in nearly complete form. The presence of these figured sherds, however, some of them of respectable style, shows that larger, more elaborate vases were placed in the sanctuary as dedications and that the miniatures and terracotta figurines did not hold absolute sway. In addition to the sherds of Corinthian style, there are a few Attic pieces and at least two figured sherds imported from Eastern Greece. A few of the better sherds are illustrated on Plates 4 and 5.<sup>31</sup> A fine three-handled cup<sup>32</sup> is decorated on the shoulder and interior with simple red and black rings; it does not come from a closely datable context, but the shape seems to be quite uncommon and it is the only vase of its type from the area so far excavated (Pl. 5, c and d).

The Hellenistic period is represented by several terracotta figurines and probably some of the miniature vases, but pottery of the familiar Hellenistic types has been very scarce. The Roman pottery for the most part has no intrinsic interest; an exception is provided by a fragmentary relief vase (oinophoros) on which a spirited lion is

<sup>29</sup> *Les Vases Sicyoniens*, Paris, 1923, pp. 66-68.

<sup>30</sup> H. Payne, *Perachora*, I, Oxford, 1940, pp. 61, 93-101. See T. J. Dunbabin's extremely useful discussion in *Perachora*, II, pp. 87-91, 282, 303. The 1,000 complete or nearly complete examples from Perachora constitute "by far the largest collection of Corinthian kalathoi known." No count of the kalathoi from the Acrocorinth sanctuary has yet been made, but, if future campaigns continue to produce them at the same rate as in 1961 and 1962, this total should at least be reached, if not surpassed.

<sup>31</sup> Pl. 4, h: C-61-167. Pl. 5, a: C-61-232. East Greek, Pl. 5, b: C-61-175, C-61-262.

<sup>32</sup> C-62-259. Ht., 0.04 m.; diameter at rim, 0.07 m.



depicted (Pl. 5, e).<sup>33</sup> No pottery later than the end of the fourth century has yet been found; the site has fortunately remained free from extensive Byzantine or Turkish contamination.

### TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

Of the small finds from the sanctuary the terracotta figurines are by far the most numerous. There are 638 inventoried pieces and the number of smaller fragments which await closer study is over two thousand. The earliest figurines go back to the seventh century B.C. and the latest belong to the first half of the second century B.C. Some of the pieces closely resemble figurines manufactured in the Potters' Quarter, but for many types which occur in the sanctuary there are no parallels in the Potters' Quarter. It is clear that there existed other terracotta factories at Corinth contemporary with and perhaps as productive as the site at the western edge of the city; these other factories were especially active during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

Two of the earliest figurines are shown on Plate 5, f, g.<sup>34</sup> They are both flat relief plaques with standing female figures in a frontal pose. The smaller of the two figures holds both hands to her breasts and her long straight robe is crudely decorated with roughly horizontal stripes of dull black paint. Both figures lack the head, and stylistic dating is difficult; but they seem to resemble the relief plaques found at Perachora which are products of the late seventh century B.C.<sup>35</sup>

Some of the mouldmade heads of the other archaic figurines merit illustration now, even though there is a chance that later excavation may produce more joining pieces. The striking figure in Plate 6, d, for instance, seems to be without parallel in the finds from other parts of the Corinth Excavations.<sup>36</sup> Though battered and, in some cases, badly burned, several of these archaic heads show remarkably delicate and lively features (Pl. 6, a).<sup>37</sup> Many of the female figures wear the high, hollow polos over their thick hair, and elaborate applied necklaces are suspended across their breasts from flat disks at the shoulders. The bodies are normally flat and hand-made, as in the examples on Plates 5, h and 6, c.<sup>38</sup>

A great many simpler archaic figurines have been found. Most of these are crudely handmade with rough "beak" or "gash" faces, but it must be admitted

<sup>33</sup> C-61-289. These fragments came from the dumped filling in the Roman well. For similar lions cf. the discus ornament on fourth century lamps, see O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, nos. 1216-1238 and J. Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora*, VII, no. 974.

<sup>34</sup> Pl. 5, f: MF10553. Pl. 5, g: MF 10920.

<sup>35</sup> H. Payne, *Perachora*, I, p. 103, nos. 190, 193. Cf. also A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, ii, pp. 65-66, no. 11.

<sup>36</sup> MF 10686.

<sup>37</sup> Pl. 6, a, left to right: MF 11284, MF 11222, MF 11114.

<sup>38</sup> Pl. 5, h: MF 10929. Pl. 6, c: MF 10370.

that some of these ungainly efforts possess a certain charm of their own. Again, almost all of these figures are provided with an elaborate necklace (see Pl. 6, b).<sup>39</sup>

Contemporary with some of the archaic figurines are a number of plastic handles from Corinthian vases moulded in the form of female protomes. About fifteen such handles have been found. A much more elaborate plastic attachment is the saucy sphinx in Plate 7, c, who straddles the thick handle of a large clay vessel; the handle terminates at the right in a rosette.<sup>40</sup> The head is mouldmade but the rest of the figure, including its flat hind legs, has been modelled by hand.

Related to these last objects are two delicate plastic vases made in Corinth near the beginning of the sixth century (Pl. 7, a, b).<sup>41</sup> The hare has survived intact and is in very fine condition. Of the siren only the nose has been seriously damaged. Both were found in the rich deposits in Room D and probably served as dedications. A few small fragments of other plastic vases have been recovered.

Among the later figurines, female types predominate. There is a remarkable variety in these figures and many new additions to the Corinthian repertoire can now be made. The value of such pieces for the history of the terracotta industry at Corinth is increased by the fact that many of them were found in clearly defined and datable deposits. In the sacral area to the west of Pit B, for example, the deposit contained 148 figurines which have been included in the inventory and about 700 smaller fragments. Pieces such as those shown on Plates 7 and 8 will help to strengthen Corinth's reputation as a major center in the production of terracottas throughout the fourth and third centuries B.C. Any discussion of individual pieces is impossible here; only a small selection of the female figures has been chosen for illustration.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to the female types there is also a wide range of the more common varieties of Corinthian figurines. Doves, horses, cocks, and other animals are represented and there are also many small children. Plate 8, e is a typical example of the "Temple Boy" type, of which we have found several.<sup>43</sup> One of the most popular types, however, is the nude female jointed doll. A torso from one of these is shown on Plate 9, a.<sup>44</sup> Dolls of this kind seem to have been very popular at Corinth and large numbers of them have turned up in the Acrocorinth sanctuary.

## BRONZES

Among the few bronze objects which have been found are two small votive bulls perfectly preserved along with their flat rectangular stands. In the case of the

<sup>39</sup> Pl. 6, b, left to right: MF 10619, MF 10419, MF 10399, MF 10933, MF 10374.

<sup>40</sup> C-61-190.

<sup>41</sup> C-62-260 (hare) and 261 (siren).

<sup>42</sup> Pl. 7, d: MF 10444. Pl. 7, e: MF 10468. Pl. 7, f: MF 10458. Pl. 8, a: MF 10436. Pl. 8, b: MF 10443. Pl. 8, c: MF 10459, MF 10922. Pl. 8, d: MF 10396.

<sup>43</sup> MF 10493.

<sup>44</sup> MF 10438. For the interpretation of these jointed figures see the valuable studies of D. B.

larger bull (Pl. 9, b)<sup>45</sup> much of the lead in which the bronze stand was anchored still adheres to it. The modelling of the smaller bull was very simply done, whereas great care was taken to outline with incision the face, tail, and brisket of the other bull. The larger animal stands in a solid, frontal pose with its legs held straight. On the left shoulder in clearly legible letters, made with a circular punch, is the inscription  $\text{IAPO}\Sigma$ .

Another object is important as one of the few examples of miniature bronze furniture at Corinth.<sup>46</sup> It is in the form of a folding stool with about half of the flat seat and one pair of legs preserved (Pl. 9, c).<sup>47</sup> A bronze pin holds the two legs together at the point where they cross and the legs terminate in delicately modelled horse's hooves. The stool seems to have been deliberately destroyed, for the flat seat was cut through cleanly by a sharp chisel and the legs have been bent out of position. Two similar folding stools are depicted on a sixth century Attic plaque in the Berlin Museum.<sup>48</sup>

#### COINS

Of the 100 coins from the first two seasons, 94 can be accurately identified. With two exceptions, all the coins are bronze and about one-third of the total were minted at Corinth. The great majority of the Corinthian pieces belong to the "Pegasos/trident" series. Several other Greek cities are represented throughout the Hellenistic and early Roman periods by their local issues. The distribution of the Roman coins found to date helps to strengthen the conclusion that the sanctuary had been abandoned by the end of the fourth century. Almost one third of all the coins found were struck during this century, but there is an abrupt break shortly after 390.

The only coin worth special mention is the earliest piece, a superb Corinthian silver stater in mint condition. It bears the familiar archaic types of a vigorous Pegasos flying right, with a  $\kappa\omicron\phi\phi\alpha$  beneath, and the delicately rendered head of Athena, wearing a Corinthian helmet and dotted necklace, within an incuse square (Pl. 9, f, slightly enlarged).<sup>49</sup>

Thompson, *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, 1943, pp. 114-118 and Troy, *Supplementary Monograph* III, 1963, pp. 87-95.

<sup>45</sup> MF 10785. Length, 0.065 m. From the burnt pocket in Room H, see p. 5, *supra*.

<sup>46</sup> For other examples of miniature bronze furniture see G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, p. 127, nos. 837-843.

<sup>47</sup> MF 10921.

<sup>48</sup> See G. Hirschfeld in *Antike Denkmäler*, II, Part I, 1891-1892, pp. 4-5, pl. IX, 2. A modern replica has been produced by the Athenian firm of Saridis and Co. and is illustrated on p. 28 of *Greek Heritage*, I, 1, 1963.

<sup>49</sup> Weight: 8.40 gr. For the dies cf. O. E. Ravel, *Les "Poulains" de Corinthe*, Period II, Class 1, no. 96. Ravel's dates for this series should probably be brought down to the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. See L. Brown, *Num. Chron.*, X, 1950, pp. 187-188; C. M. Kraay, *ibid.*, XX, 1960, pp. 73-74.

## ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS

Nineteen objects belonging to this class have been inventoried and there are over fifty other fragments of antefixes, painted tiles, sima panels, etc. The earliest piece, and one of the finest, is shown on Plate 9, d. It is the upper part of a brightly painted Corinthian antefix of the late sixth century.<sup>50</sup> There are a few other painted tiles from this period, and numerous plain Corinthian tiles of excellent quality occur, both in the excavation and as surface finds all over the field. Their presence indicates the existence of gaily decorated archaic buildings of some importance; it is unlikely that any of the jumbled architectural remains exposed so far can have belonged to such structures.

Among the Roman architectural terracottas are a number of stamped tiles and an elaborate antefix which bears the manufacturers' name, ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΞΙΟΥ in relief letters.<sup>51</sup> Large fragments of at least three different series of terracotta sima panels have also been found, many of them in the dumped filling of the Roman well. On several of these large lion head spouts are still preserved, surrounded by floral patterns in relief.

## SCULPTURE

A few assorted fragments of marble came to light in the surface excavation, but the major find came from the Roman well. At a depth of *ca.* 15 m., in the dumped fill, three large marble heads were discovered. No other fragments which can definitely be assigned to these statues were found in the well. There were, however, about thirty small pieces of worked limestone and marble in the same filling which may have come from the bases on which the figures once stood. All three heads are female and of Roman workmanship; the two smaller heads probably date from the Antonine period. Despite the rough treatment they received, the surface on the preserved parts of these heads is still remarkably clear and fresh; it seems likely, therefore, that the statues originally stood indoors. We have yet to find any indication of where they were placed in the sanctuary.

The largest head (Pl. 10, a) is over life-size and belonged to an impressive female figure which may have served as a cult statue.<sup>52</sup> The face and neck have been highly polished and the hair, which is carefully modelled but unpolished, was covered

<sup>50</sup> FA 452. Closely related to this piece are the antefixes on the Megarian Treasury at Olympia. See E. Curtius, F. Adler *et al.*, *Olympia*, II, Berlin, 1892, p. 194, pl. CXIX, 5. For other parallels see H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 261-262, fig. 112 B.

<sup>51</sup> FS 947. See *Corinth*, IV, i, pp. 16, 36. For similar manufacturers' names see H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora*, V, pl. 49. The presence of this antefix in the Acrocorinth sanctuary weakens the position taken by O. Broneer in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 155, note 78.

<sup>52</sup> S 2668. The back of the head on the left side was carved from a separate piece of marble (now lost). This was joined to the rest of the head by fitting it into a deep, rabbetted groove carved in the surviving fragment.

with a thin coat of bright gilding. Slight traces of this gilding have survived above the right ear. Small holes were drilled in the lobes of the ears for suspended earrings; the inset eyes have been crudely gouged out by the vandals who destroyed the statue. The only literary source for the statues which stood in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is Pausanias, but for the appearance of the cult figures he is of little help. As an Eleusinian initiate, he may have seen the statues himself, but he has left no description and reports that the statues were not shown to the public.<sup>53</sup>

The other two heads are smaller and represent young girls who may have served in the sanctuary as priestesses (Pl. 10, b, c).<sup>54</sup> The features of the better preserved head are beautifully fresh and lively and both girls wear the elaborate and delicately rendered coiffures which are common in sculpture of this period.<sup>55</sup> Almost all of the face on the head in Plate 10, c has been broken away, apparently by a sharp, clean blow. This damage probably occurred before the head was thrown into the well since no other fragments were found in the dumped filling.

The existence of three marble statues of such fine workmanship in the sanctuary not only implies that it was a rich and flourishing religious center about the time of Pausanias' visit, but also leads us to hope that other important sculptural finds may be produced by future excavation.

In addition to the cult objects, which will be discussed presently, the other finds include a great many bronze rings, terracotta lamps of all periods, loomweights, and a few fragments of moulds for terracotta figurines. More interesting are several fragments of large terracotta perirrhanteria<sup>56</sup> and four pieces of large-scale terracotta sculpture which may have decorated one of the archaic buildings on the site.

## IDENTIFICATION

On his way up to the famous temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth Pausanias noted a number of sanctuaries and he listed these in the order in which they were placed along the road (II, 4, 6). First there were two shrines of Isis and two more

<sup>53</sup> Pausanias, II, 4, 6. For his initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries, see I, 37, 4 and 38, 7. At Hermione no men, not even Pausanias, were allowed to see the statue of Demeter (II, 35, 8). On Pausanias' reverence for Demeter and the Mysteries, see J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 2nd ed., London, 1913, pp. lii-liii.

<sup>54</sup> Pl. 10, b: S 2666. Pl. 10, c: S 2667.

<sup>55</sup> Circular braids of this type worn at the back of the head are also found on coin portraits of Faustina the Younger (Augusta 147-175); see M. Wegner, *Das römische Herrscherbild*, II, 4, Berlin, 1939, p. 220, pl. 34. Other sculptured heads of the period with similar scalloped locks and coiled braids are published by A. Philadelphus, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, 1918, *Παράρτημα*, p. 2; J. Marcadé, *B.C.H.*, LXXXI, 1957, pp. 429-432; E. Rosenbaum, *A Catalogue of Cyrenaican Portrait Sculpture*, London, 1960, pp. 50-51, no. 32. See also R. Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 2nd ed., Rome, 1932, p. 260, no. 813.

<sup>56</sup> One of these fragments has mouldings and decoration almost identical to the terracotta

of Sarapis; then there were altars of Helios and a sanctuary of Ananke and Bia. Above this there stood a temple of the Mother of the Gods with a stele and a marble throne. He also saw temples of the Fates and of Demeter and Kore, where the cult statues were not on public view. Finally, near the temple of Demeter and Kore, there was a sanctuary of Hera Bounaia, named after its founder Bounos, son of Hermes.

The position of our shrine on the slopes of Acrocorinth and its long history, combined with the quantity of the finds and the presence of large-scale marble sculpture, make it clear that this is an excellent candidate for one of the sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias. No inscriptions have turned up yet to give us a positive identification, but the sacrificial areas where young pigs were offered to the deity and the nature of the objects which will now be discussed all seem to be more appropriate to Demeter than to any other god or goddess on Pausanias' list.

Since there is such a wide range in the types of the figurines from the sanctuary, considerable significance is attached to the group found in Room A (*supra* p. 8). An example from this group is shown on Plate 11, a.<sup>57</sup> There were at least twenty such standing goddesses in the deposit; all of them wear the high polos and hold a pig in the right hand and a torch in the left. These are familiar attributes of Demeter and the pose of the figure is paralleled in terracottas found in sanctuaries of Demeter all over the Greek world.<sup>58</sup> Many related pieces with devotees holding pigs have been found throughout the sanctuary and their presence is doubly important since figurines of this type are extremely rare in other parts of the Corinth Excavations.

Not only were the charred bones of young pigs found in at least two important sacrificial areas of the sanctuary, but many terracotta pigs had been brought to the shrine as dedications to the goddess. Several joining fragments of one such pig appear on Plate 11, b.<sup>59</sup> The practice of dedicating images of pigs is also familiar from other sanctuaries of Demeter and, as in the case of the goddess figurines, the concentration of so many pigs in the area of the Acrocorinth sanctuary is in sharp contrast with the finds from elsewhere in Corinth.<sup>60</sup>

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perirrhanterion found by O. Broneer in the Large Circular Pit at Isthmia; see *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, p. 22, pl. 10, a, d.

<sup>57</sup> MF 10325.

<sup>58</sup> A full list is impossible here. See, e.g., F. Winter, *Die Typen der Figürlichen Terrakotten*, III, p. 92, no. 3, from Eleusis; E. Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, XXII, 1927, pp. 295-296, nos. 1-2, 4, 7, Demeter Malophoros at Selinus; P. Orsi, *ibid.*, VII, 1897, pp. 255-258, Granmichele, etc.

<sup>59</sup> MF 10676.

<sup>60</sup> For votive pigs in sanctuaries of Demeter see e.g., G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton, 1961, p. 201, fig. 66; C. T. Newton, *Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae*, II, 2, p. 385; many more examples could be cited. In 1942 O. Broneer remarked the scarcity of terracotta pigs at Corinth in comparison with the abundance of other domestic animals, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 130. The publication of two large groups of figurines since that date has not seriously changed the picture. *Corinth*, XII contains no terracotta pigs and there are only three scraps from the Potters' Quarter; see *Corinth*, XV, ii, pp. 193-195, nos. 5, 6.

Also valuable for the identification of the sanctuary is a fragment of a marble statue preserving only the crook of the left arm (Pl. 9, e). The fragment comes from a life-size female figure who holds long stylized stalks of wheat and a seed-pod from the poppy flower; both are common attributes of Demeter.<sup>61</sup>

After the kalathoi, the miniature votive pots which are found in greatest numbers are the little flat offering trays illustrated in Plate 11, c.<sup>62</sup> Hundreds of these were recovered intact. The trays contain three separate, circular receptacles which are attached to the floor, and in most cases there are two tiny vertical bulges at the rim which represent handles. The receptacles were clearly designed to hold some kind of offering, though it must have been a small and perhaps symbolic one. So many of these little trays were found that it is difficult not to think of them as connected in some way with a cult ritual. The surest clue as to what was placed in the cups is supplied by a small fragment of a model tray in which tiny pieces of clay representing grains of wheat appear in the receptacle (Pl. 11, d).<sup>63</sup> The likeliest hypothesis, then, is that the little receptacles in the complete trays carried real kernels of wheat which were dedicated to the goddess, perhaps as first-fruits of the harvest. They would have formed a simple and very personal offering made by the individual farmer at the time of the threshing of the grain. With almost no exception, the trays contain three separate receptacles; this may suggest that the grain was offered to the Eleusinian triad of Demeter, Kore, and Triptolemos.

Another type of clay offering tray of which we found several examples gives further evidence in favor of this identification. These trays are much more elaborate and are filled with assorted cakes and fruits made of clay. The examples on Plate 11, e, g,<sup>64</sup> are small-scale models of the larger trays which were filled with real fruit and cakes when used for ritual purposes. In shape and contents these little trays closely resemble the *liknon* or winnowing basket, which was one of the major cult objects in the processions and mysteries celebrated at sanctuaries of Demeter.<sup>65</sup> Our miniature, model *liknons* were probably placed in the sanctuary as dedications to the goddess of the harvest and of the mysteries. Many of the *liknons* discovered in the first two seasons came from the burnt deposit in Room D and are to be dated in the first half of the sixth century B.C. or earlier. In addition to these models, a real cult *liknon*

<sup>61</sup> S 2662. For a lively representation of the goddess with these emblems, plus a torch, see D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, p. 163, no. 60, pl. VI.

<sup>62</sup> Left, C-61-143. Right, C-61-184. None of the examples from the sanctuary is much longer than ca. 0.06-0.08 m.

<sup>63</sup> C-61-291.

<sup>64</sup> Pl. 11, e: C-62-267, C-62-268. Pl. 11, g: C-61-218, C-62-270.

<sup>65</sup> For this use of the *liknon* see the important discussion by D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 96-98, 102, with the references collected there. See also A. Jarde, s.v. Vannus, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1955, I, pp. 128-130.

made of clay was recovered from the earth immediately above the burnt layer in the same area (Pl. 11, f).<sup>66</sup> It has fairly high, stout walls on three sides with heavy, arching handles rising from them. Although of moderate size (0.149 m. long), it is still large enough to hold a few sacred objects or to be carried in a procession. This is the first such *liknon* found at Corinth and it may be that we have one of the actual objects used in celebrating the mysteries on Acrocorinth.

Despite the quantity of the finds and what seems to be a plausible identification of the site as the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, much work remains to be done. In fact, our first eight weeks of excavation have barely marked a beginning. Much more excavation will be necessary before the plan of the entire area can be established and the limits of the sanctuary determined. Pausanias explicitly mentions a temple in connection with Demeter and Kore and, although several key architectural pieces have turned up in both terracotta and stone, we still lack the foundations to go with them. Furthermore, by establishing the position of the Demeter shrine, we should now be able to conduct an intelligent search for the ancient road up the north slope of Acrocorinth and for the other monuments which lay along its course. For these reasons excavation was resumed in the summer of 1964. If the results of these new investigations keep pace with the first trial excavations, our gain in information about the topography of Corinth, its art, and its cults should be considerable.

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<sup>66</sup> C-62-792.





a. View of Acrocorinth from the North showing Position of the Sanctuary



c. Pit A with Tile Cover



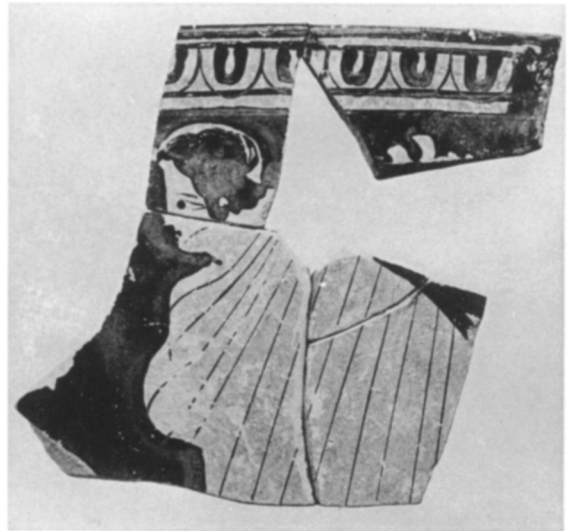
b. Southwest Corner of Room E



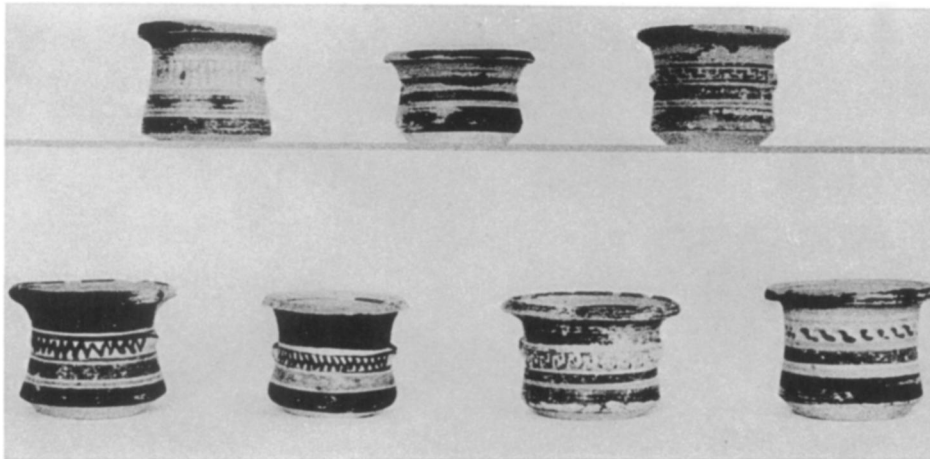
d. Pit A from the North



a. Room A from the West



b. Skyphos Fragment from Pit A. 2:3



c. Kalathoi from Pit A. 1:3



d.



e.



f.



g.



h.

d.-h. Figurines from Pit B. 1:1



a. 1:4



b. 1:5

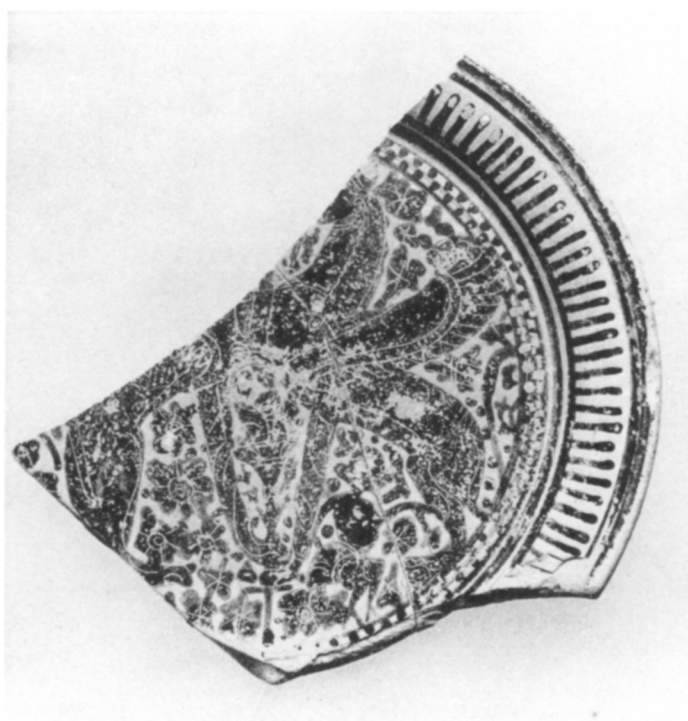


c. 1:5

a.-c. Pottery from Pit B

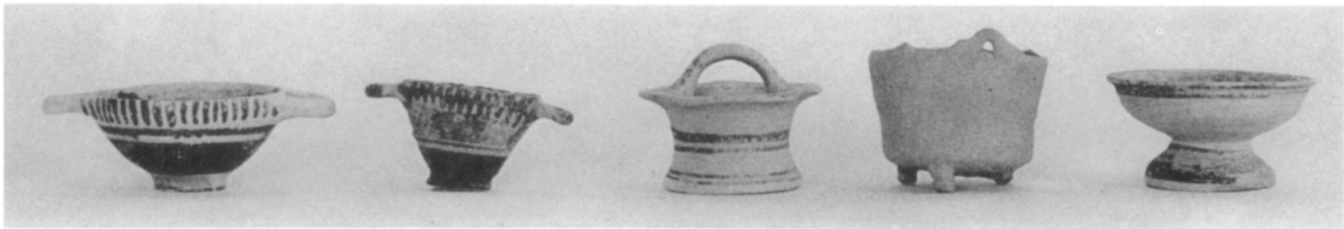


d. Terracotta Head of Boy from Deposit in Sacral Area West of Pit B. 1:2



e. Middle Corinthian Plate from Room D. 1:2

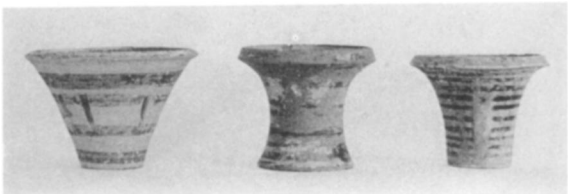
PLATE 4



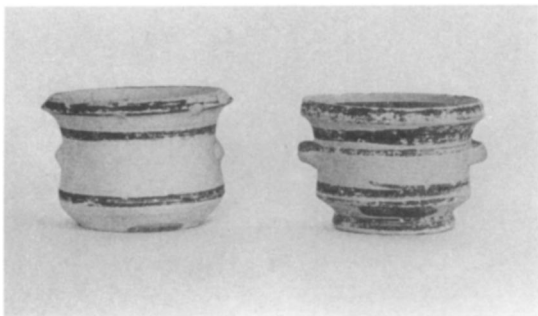
a. 1:2



b. 1:2



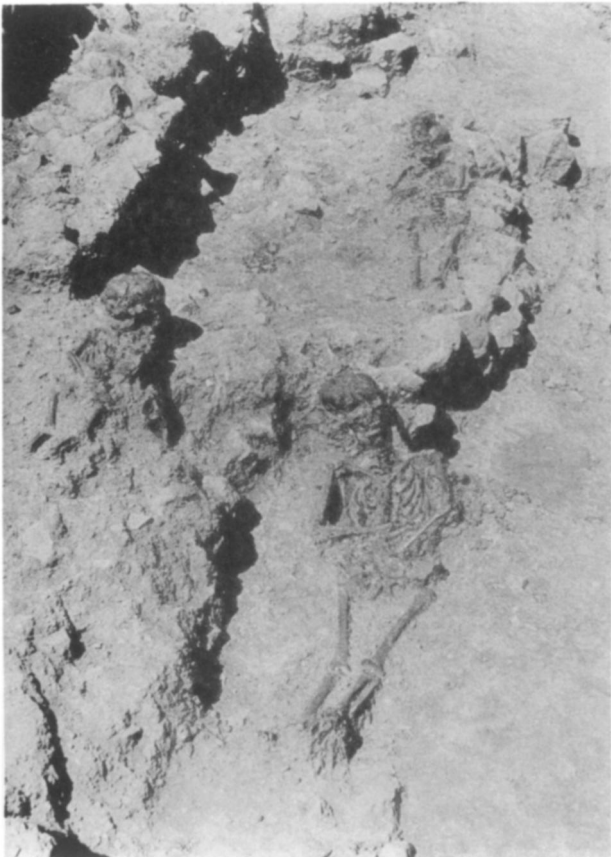
c. 1:3



d. 1:3



e. 1:3



g. Grave over Room D



f. 1:3

a.-f. Miniature Vases

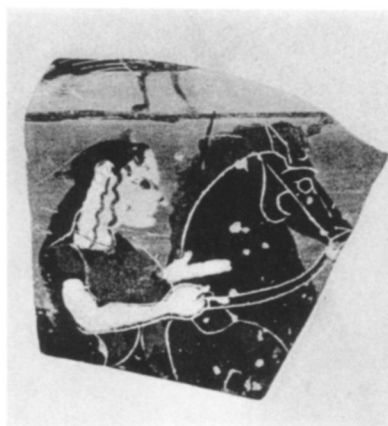


h. Corinthian Figured Fragment. 1:1

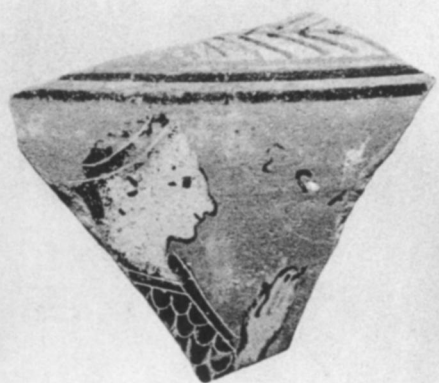




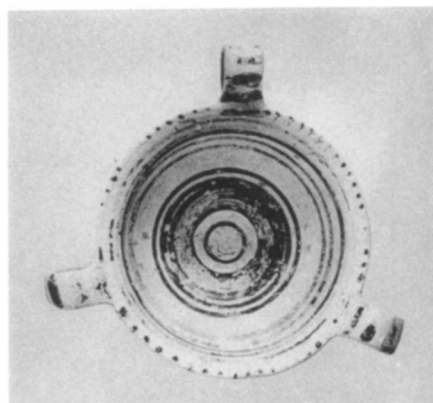
a. Corinthian. 1:1



b. East Greek. 1:1



c.-d. Three-handled cup. 1:2



e. Roman Relief Ware. 1:2



f.



g.



h.

f.-h. Archaic Figurines. 1:1



a. Mouldmade Archaic Heads. 1:1



b. Archaic Figurines. 1:1



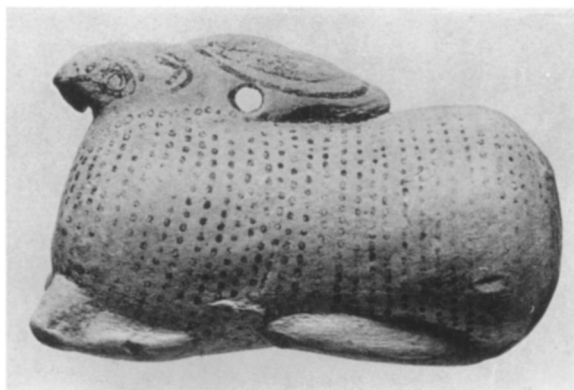
c. Handmade Figurine. 2:3



d. Mouldmade Archaic Figurine. 1:1



a. Siren Plastic Vase. 1:1



b. Hare Plastic Vase. 1:1



c. Sphinx Handle. 1:1



d.



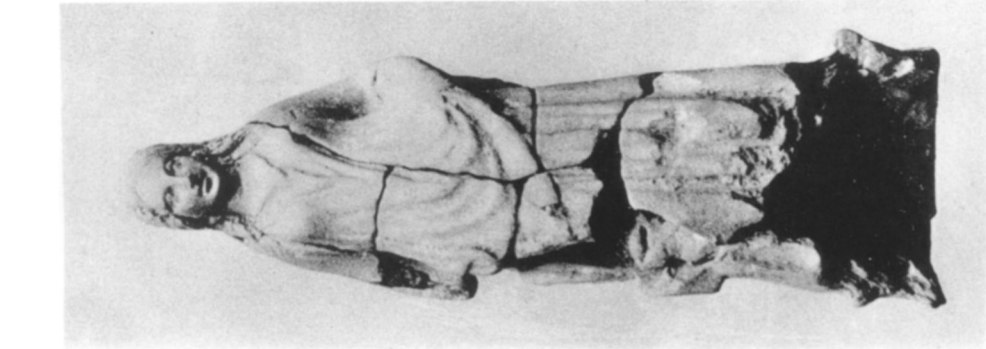
e.



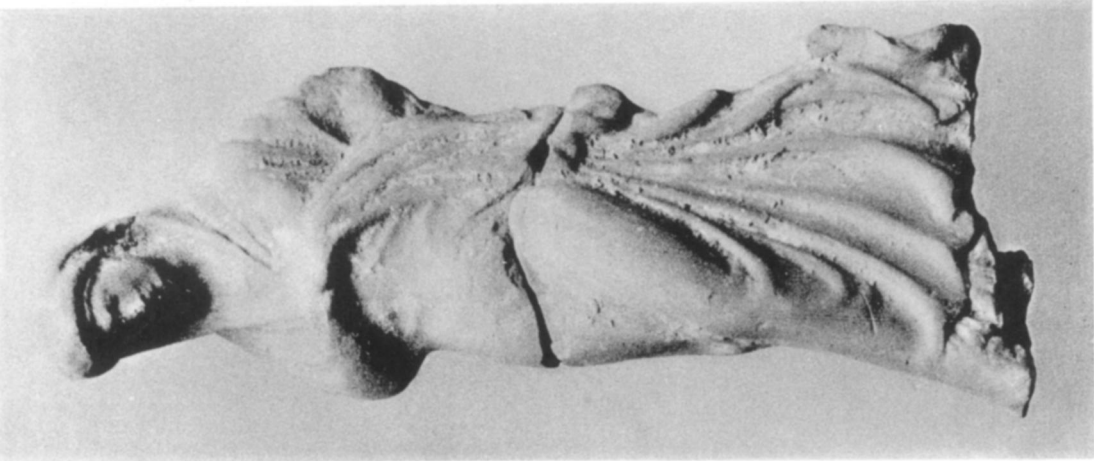
f.

d.-f. Figurines from Sacral Area West of Pit B. 1:1 except d. 2:3

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a.



b.



c.



d.



e. "Temple Boy"

Figurines from Sacral Area West of Pit B. 2:3 except c. 1:1  
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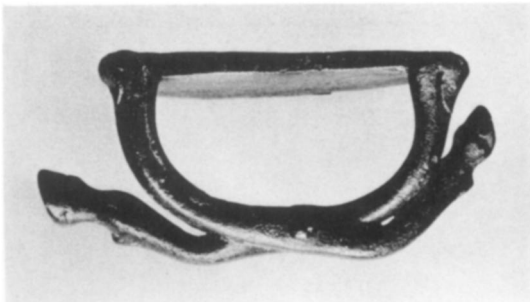




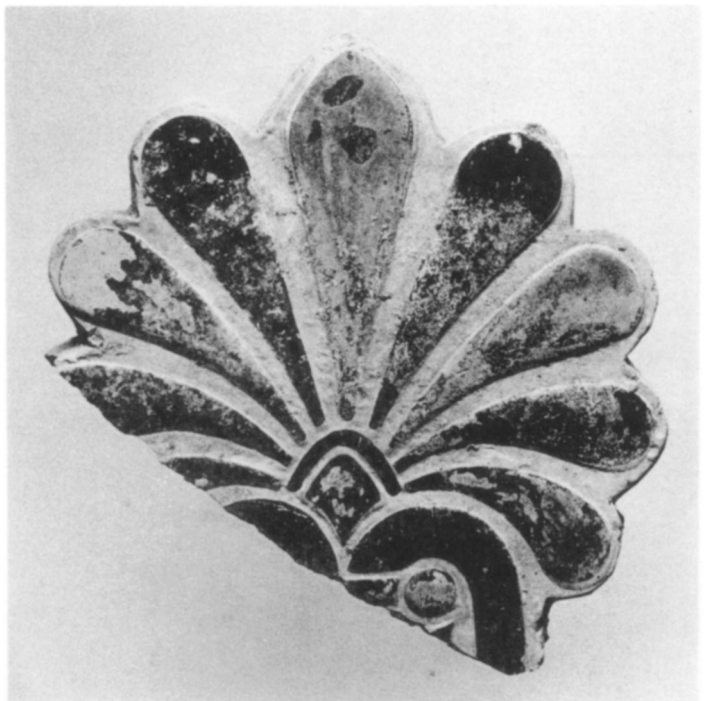
a. Female Jointed Doll. 2:3



b. Bronze Inscribed Bull (slightly enlarged)



c. Bronze Folding Stool. 1:1



d. Terracotta Antefix. 1:2



e. Fragment of Marble Arm holding Wheat and Poppy Seed-Pod. 1:2



f. Corinthian Silver Stater (slightly enlarged)

PLATE 10



a. Female Head, perhaps of a Cult Statue. 1:2



b. Head of Priestess. 1:3

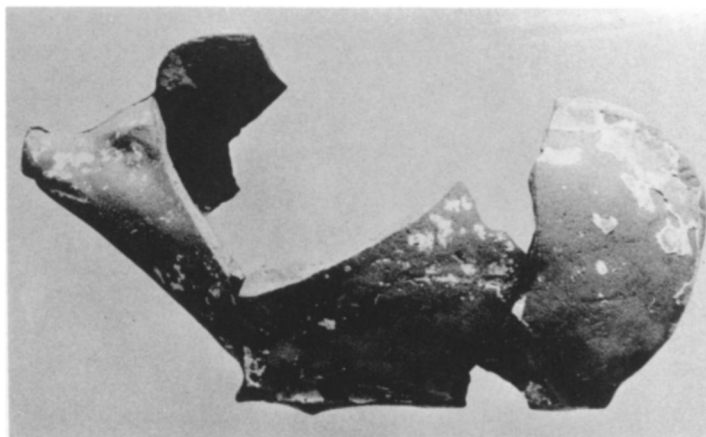


c. Head of Priestess. 1:3

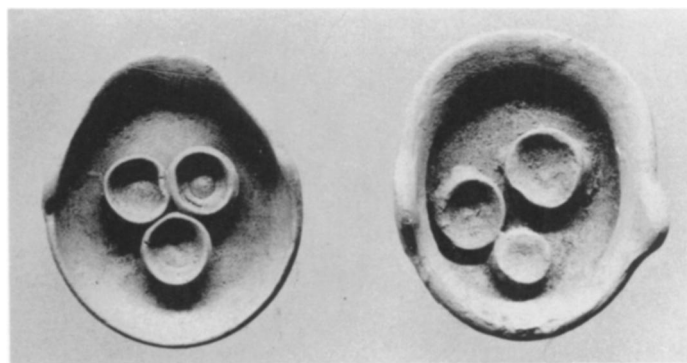
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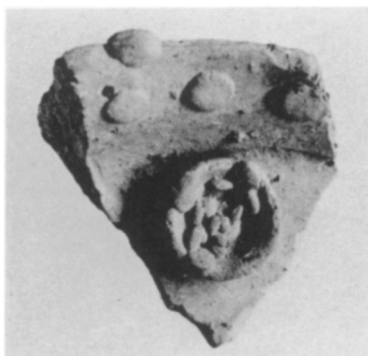
a. Demeter with Pig and Torch. 1:1



b. Pig. 2:3



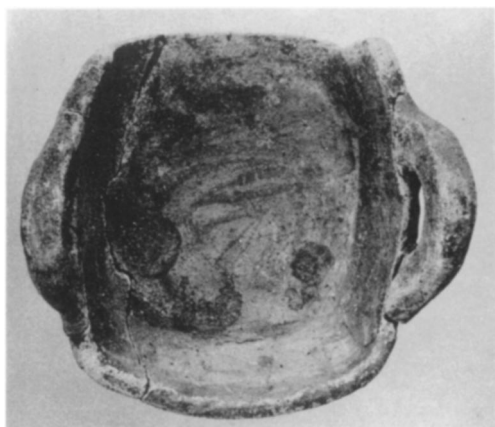
c. Offering Trays. 2:3



d. Model of Tray with Wheat. 1:1



e. Models of Liknon with Fruit and Cakes. 1:2



f. Liknon. 1:3



g. Models of Liknon with Fruit and Cakes. 1:2