

THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE ON ACROCORINTH

PRELIMINARY REPORT II: 1964-1965

(PLATES 87-99)

EXCAVATION

AFTER an interval of one year, excavation was resumed in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the north slope of Acrocorinth in August 1964. Two campaigns of excavation were carried out in the late summer and early autumn of 1964 and in the spring and early summer of 1965. Although the poor preservation of most of the buildings and the quantity and character of the finds kept the work at a slow pace, it was possible to enlarge the area now cleared to slightly over 3,000 square meters. The steep incline of the hill at this point and the thin layer of earth over the bedrock have reduced the architectural remains in most parts of the sanctuary to an unimpressive tangle of foundations. It has been possible, however, to recover enough of the plan of the site to show in general the nature of this small hillside shrine which was founded in the archaic period and continued in service until late Roman times.¹

¹ For the position of the site and a report on the 1961 and 1962 seasons see *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 1-24. Brief notices of the results of the 1964 and 1965 campaigns have appeared in *B.C.H.*, LXXXIX, 1965, pp. 693-697; XC, 1966, pp. 756-761; *Archaeological Reports for 1964-65*, p. 8; 1965-66, p. 7.

A small crew of workmen, never more than twenty, was employed under the direction of the late Evangelos Lekkas, then Foreman of the Corinth Excavations. The work was supervised by Helen C. M. Stroud and by the writer. For seven weeks in the spring of 1965 we were joined by Nancy Bookides who excavated the remains described *infra*, pp. 314-317. We are all most grateful to the Director of the American School, Henry S. Robinson, for valuable assistance and encouragement at all stages of the work on this site. His successor as Director of the Corinth Excavations, Charles K. Williams, has facilitated our work in every possible way and given much helpful advice. Many thanks are due to Judith Perlzweig, Frances Doughty, and Helen von Raits Geagan for help with the inventorying. The plan and cross-sections were drawn by William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. For helpful discussions on the finds I am indebted to Patricia Lawrence, Elizabeth Pemberton, and G. Roger Edwards. John Kroll prepared the inventory of the coins from 1964-65.

For financial assistance making possible our full year in Corinth in 1964-65 and a summer of study in 1967 my wife and I are most grateful to the Managing Committee of the American School and to the American Council of Learned Societies. The Research Committee of the University of California at Berkeley has generously assisted with the expenses of preparing this report.

In addition to several more cult rooms, similar to those exposed in the two earlier campaigns, the new excavations have produced the remains of a small temple; a rock-cut theatral area, used probably for ritual performances; two dining rooms, one of which is large and solidly constructed; a number of sacrificial pits and votive deposits; a boundary stone *in situ* marking the limits of the sacred ground; and evidence of a few structures of Roman date, one of them perhaps a small stoa. A vivid impression of the popularity of the cult of Demeter and the manner in which her worship was conducted on this site may be gained from the large quantities of votive offerings that filled almost every area and layer of earth in the excavation. Pottery, terracotta figurines, miniature cakes and fruit, toys, large-scale terracotta sculpture, and assorted metal objects formed the staple votive repertoire. There was also plentiful evidence of animal sacrifices in the form of ashes and charred bones, most of which belonged to small pigs. New evidence for the identification of the site was provided by many more characteristic cult objects and by inscriptions which show clearly that we have located the shrine of Demeter that was briefly noted by Pausanias (II, 4, 6) during his ascent of Acrocorinth.

The exposure of a much larger area now adds considerable force to the conclusions reached earlier about the history of the sanctuary and necessitates only a few corrections. Much more Protocorinthian pottery was recovered in 1964-65 and the addition of some late Geometric sherds, which represent our earliest finds, shows that activity in the area of the sanctuary dates back into the eighth century B.C.² No architectural remains from this period have been recognized, but the painted fragments come mainly from votive pots which no doubt represent some of the earliest offerings made to the goddess in her new hillside shrine. The sixth, fifth and fourth centuries B.C. are represented by the greatest concentration of objects, both votive and domestic, and by intensive building activity. Virtually all of these objects are of local origin and modest value, but their sheer numbers attest the high regard in which the cult was held by the common people of Corinth during the classical period. As expected, the votives fall off sharply in numbers in the third and second centuries B.C. There are indications in the pottery and coins, however, that the sanctuary continued in use until the Roman destruction of 146 B.C. Evidence of violent damage to the buildings on the site as a result of Mummius' invasion has not yet been recognized; only in one area cleared so far is it barely possible.³ That the site remained abandoned, however, during the century of Corinth's eclipse is evident from the absence of objects which can be firmly dated 146-44 B.C. During the Roman period, when the sanctuary continued to function, a visit was paid to the site by the marauding Herulian tribes,

² Previously it had appeared that the site was not in use before the early seventh century B.C. A few finds, such as small prehistoric tools, are earlier than the eighth century B.C. but they do not constitute solid evidence for activity in this area.

³ *Infra*, p. 312.

who left clear traces of their destruction; this evidence had not been present in the area previously excavated. Finally, the excavations of 1964 and 1965 have added no evidence to contradict our earlier conclusion that the sanctuary failed to outlive the end of the fourth century after Christ, whose final decades witnessed extensive destruction elsewhere in Corinth.⁴

The actual state plan of the excavation is reproduced on Plate 96, and a general view of the area is to be found on Plate 87, a. In most of the buildings only the lowest parts of the walls and foundations have survived. An average depth of fill of only *ca.* 1 m. and a building history which extends over a period of one thousand years have combined to produce the maze of walls which characterizes the site. Despite this confusion we can fix the limits of the sanctuary on three sides, at least, with some certainty. The southern or uphill boundary is marked by the steeply rising bedrock above the rock-cut seats in the western sector of the excavation and above the small rooms previously exposed in the eastern sector. The steepness of the slope is apparent on Plates 88, d, e and 92, b and in the section drawing on Plate 99. At a number of places beyond the southern limit of the excavated area the bedrock is exposed and shows no signs of having been cut or dressed.

On the eastern side of the sanctuary, the complex of small rooms ends abruptly with a north-south wall which forms the eastern limit of Room E. This wall may be seen on Plate 96 above the northern tip of the compass arrow. To the east of this wall we encountered no stratification and, with the exception of a small stretch of parallel wall, no architectural remains. The area was explored further by three long test-trenches which confirmed the absence of buildings and produced only soft, disturbed earth, containing some pottery and a few votive objects, which continued all the way down to bedrock. It seems very likely that the eastern boundary of the sanctuary fell along the line of the east wall of Room E. It may even be possible that this boundary was once marked by the inscribed block found on the surface a few meters to the west before excavation began in 1961.⁵

The northern limit of the shrine is not so clearly marked. In fact the confused network of superimposed walls and floor levels is at its worst in this area, especially in the eastern sector. It is doubtful, because of the steepness of the hill, that there were more buildings to the north beyond the limits we have reached and the test-trenches which were dug here confirm this view. Within the complex of rooms, however, there does not seem to be any clear indication of where the actual boundary line may have fallen. The only certainty here is that after the end of the fourth century B.C. the entire northeastern sector of the exposed area went out of use. The problem of the western boundary of the sanctuary will be discussed *infra* pp. 308, 312-313.

⁴ *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 4.

⁵ I 2541, OP [OΣ]. *Ibid.*, p. 1, note 1.

IDENTIFICATION

In Preliminary Report I a tentative identification of the site as the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore mentioned by Pausanias, II, 4, 6, was proposed.⁶ At that time the identification rested on the interpretation of the figurine types, the nature of the miniature votive pottery and liknons, and a fragment of a marble statue holding stalks of wheat and a poppy seed-pod. The discovery of a sacrificial pit containing charred pig bones also seemed to point to Demeter as the deity worshipped in the sanctuary. Welcome confirmation of this identification was produced in the campaigns of 1964 and 1965 in the form of additional objects and vase paintings appropriate to the two goddesses and, more important, by epigraphic evidence which puts the question beyond doubt.

Among the terracotta figurines from the most recent excavations, standing female types holding either a pig and a torch or only a pig continued to turn up in considerable numbers. The same is true of the terracotta pigs. Miniature offering trays with three separate, circular receptacles on the floor, perhaps related to the kernos, also appeared in almost every basket of pottery from the archaic and classical levels, and the miniature liknons, or sacred winnowing baskets, were again numerous.

New evidence for the proposed identification is provided by three fragmentary Corinthian plates of the fifth century B.C. which exhibit scenes probably to be associated with Demeter and Persephone. All are painted in the crude outline technique, without incision, used in a series of cups and plates which has been studied by S. Wide and A. D. Ure.⁷ The first plate shows only the upper part of a female figure facing left in profile and brandishing in her outstretched left hand a flaming torch and a stalk of grain, two familiar attributes of the goddesses of the harvest and the mysteries (C-64-219; Pl. 87, b). A smaller fragment from another plate preserves on its floor the lower part of a female head in profile to left with a seed-pod of the poppy flower being held close to her mouth⁸ (C-64-208; Pl. 87, c). On the third plate, only about half of which is preserved, the head and shoulders of a goddess facing left in profile are painted in a style so similar to the piece with the poppy seed-pod as to suggest that these two plates are the work of the same artist (C-64-225;

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-24.

⁷ S. Wide, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, pp. 143-156; A. D. Ure, *J.H.S.*, LXIX, 1949, pp. 18-24. The orthodox attribution of vases in this style to a Boeotian workshop was questioned by M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 312 (cf. H. Payne, *C.V.A.*, Oxford, II, p. 65, no. 32); her suggestion of a Corinthian origin was confirmed by the discovery of several sherds in the same technique in the excavations of the Potters' Quarter at Corinth. The sherds which will be published by J. L. Benson in *Corinth*, XV, iii, were seen in the Corinth Museum by Mrs. Ure soon after the publication of her paper "Boeotian Haloa." In *J.H.S.*, LXXII, 1952, p. 121 she withdrew her suggestion that the subjects depicted on these vases were connected with a Boeotian cult or ceremony; see also *C.V.A.*, Reading, I, p. 27.

⁸ For the poppy seed-pod as an attribute of Demeter see *R.E.*, XV, Part 2, cols. 2445-2446, s.v. Mohn.

Pl. 87, d). The figure wears a tall crown and her jewelry consists of a single-strand necklace with small pendant discs and a spiral bracelet on the right wrist which terminates at both ends in a serpent's head. The robe, which covers also her shoulders and upper arms, appears at first glance to resemble an aegis, but closer examination shows that it consists rather of an overlapping scale-pattern with each scale decorated by a dot. The goddess holds in her right hand an object of uncertain identity.

These three plates belong to a class of small vases of Corinthian origin in which scenes relating to the worship of Demeter and Kore are very common. The "master-piece" of the group is an intact plate from Corinth, now in the National Museum at Athens, which shows Demeter seated on an elaborately decorated throne holding a torch, stalks of grain, and poppy seed-pods, and facing a rock altar which has a fig on top of it.⁹ The goddess on this plate so closely resembles the figure on the third of our examples that it is perhaps not too unreasonable to identify the latter also as Demeter. The occurrence of at least three plates of this type, with their appropriate representations, as dedications in the sanctuary on Acrocorinth strengthens the proposed identification.

More conclusive evidence for the identification is to be found in a number of sherds bearing graffiti and dipinti. A small fragment of a semiglazed, archaic, Corinthian kotyle has an incised inscription reading:— τᾱς Δάμ[αρος — — — in the epichoric alphabet. A second inscription, painted in tall, red letters of the epichoric alphabet, reads: τᾱ]ς Δάματ[ρος — — — (C-65-464; Pl. 87, e). Scratched through the red slip on the reserved foot of a fifth-century, black-glazed vessel are also the letters: τᾱ]ς Δάματρο[ς — — — in the later alphabet (C-64-220; Pl. 87, f). All three inscriptions were clearly written on objects to be dedicated in the sanctuary and might be restored as reading: τᾱς Δάματρός εἰμι, *vel sim.*

A more elaborate inscribed dedication is that of a marble hydria made in two pieces, of which only the top has survived (MF 12889; Pl. 87, g). The handles and the lip are broken away. Incised lightly in tall letters (*ca.* 0.01-0.015 m. high) on the shoulder is the text: ΔΑΜΑ ΙΑΛΛΙΣΟΙ i.e. Δάμα|τρι Ἰαλλίς Οἰ|νεία (sc. ἀνέθηκεν).
ΤΡΙ ΝΕΙΑ

The arrangement of the text into two groups of two lines each was determined by the interposition of the vertical handle. The appearance of Demeter in the dative case as the recipient of the offering not only fortifies the suggested identification but adds interesting evidence about the cult on Acrocorinth. Among the terracotta figurines from the sanctuary there are several examples of female hydrophoroi.¹⁰ A procession of such devotees seems to have formed part of the ritual of Demeter at a number of

⁹ Athens, National Museum, 5825. For the latest discussion, with full bibliography, see D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, pp. 141-143, 163-164, pl. VI.

¹⁰ For an example see *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 10, pl. 2, f.

sites¹¹ and the present vase, which was dedicated by a woman, suggests the presence of such a rite on Acrocorinth. The numerous miniature clay hydriai, which have been found in many of the votive deposits, perhaps were offered to the goddesses by the hydrophoroi themselves or by others on the day when the hydrophoria was celebrated. The marble hydria, however, was a special gift worthy of having its recipient and dedicator recorded. Iallis scratched her name onto the shoulder of the marble vessel and added the word Oineia, which is probably to be interpreted as a demotic. Of the many Greek towns with this name, perhaps the best candidate is the small classical site to the northeast of the modern village of Perachora.¹²

ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS

Room E

This area, only partly cleared in our previous campaigns, is now fully exposed (Pl. 96, E). Like many other areas in the sanctuary, which for convenience we have labelled "rooms," Room E does not have a very regular plan, nor are its walls of uniform construction. The corners form either acute or obtuse angles and the walls are of thicknesses varying from 0.45 m. to 0.65 m. The north wall of the room was not preserved; lying on the downhill side of the area, it seems to have been washed out like so many other north walls of rooms on this steep site. It was possible to locate its approximate line from a great mass of stones, apparently fallen from the wall, which was found lying loose in the earth *ca.* 4 m. from the south wall of the room. In the southwest corner of Room E the two projecting stuccoed bases and the oblong Pit A, both previously described,¹³ indicate the religious character of the area. Finds from the rest of the room include numerous votive pots, terracotta figurines, iron knife blades, and assorted metal and bone votive objects, including 25 astragaloi. The room apparently went out of use long before the Roman period, since under the accumulation of disturbed surface fill were found many classical roof tile fragments lying scattered over a hard-packed floor level. Pottery and other objects on the floor indicated a date in the fourth century B.C. for the collapse of the roof and it was evident that the debris was never cleaned up in order to use the room thereafter. *Ca.* 0.18-0.20 m. below this floor was another hard-packed layer which represents an earlier floor, perhaps from the earliest phase of the room. Sunk into this floor, and set against the inner face of the east wall of the room, was a pocket of classical pottery very tightly packed together and clearly delimited by a large Corin-

¹¹ See E. Diehl, *Die Hydria*, Mainz, 1964, pp. 187-193.

¹² It is conceivable that the vase was the gift of two women, Iallis and Oineia, with *καί* omitted. On the site of Oinoe see C. A. Robinson, Jr., in H. N. Fowler, R. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, i, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 38-42; H. Payne, *Perachora*, I, Oxford, 1940, pp. 8-9; *R.E.*, XVII, 2, 1937, cols. 2236-2237. Harpokration, *s. v.* Οἰνὴν καὶ Οἰναῖος, gives the latter as the demotic of the two Attic demes of this name.

¹³ *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 6-7.

thian pan tile set on its edge. The pottery had obviously been gathered together and placed in this confined space which measured *ca.* 0.80 m. x 1.55 m. and reached a depth of *ca.* 0.18 m. Over fifty complete vases were recovered, most of them, as usual, Conventionalizing kalathoi, but there were also several Late Corinthian skyphoi and a few lekythoi, including two Attic black-figure pieces. Among the vases there were a few terracotta figurine fragments. For a view of the pottery pocket see Plate 88, a. The presence of this group of votive pottery is further evidence for the religious function of Room E, but the exact purpose the room may have served in the cult remains obscure.

THEATRAL AREA

West of Room E are a number of other small rooms which were excavated in 1961 and 1962 and described in *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 7-14, Rooms B-D and H. The bedrock rises steeply to the south of the area where these rooms were built and, with the exception of two light walls, no attempt seems to have been made to use this rough and uneven rock surface for any function connected with the sanctuary. Farther to the west, however, the steeply rising bedrock received considerable attention from the planners of the sanctuary; in fact, it appears to have been one of the more important areas in the entire temenos. The section in question (Pls. 96, F; 88, d, e; 89, a, b) is located directly south of the important Building A, which will be described in the next section.

Extensive cutting into the natural bedrock of the hill has produced a small theatral area here which occupies a space *ca.* 23 m. E-W x 12.50 m. N-S. The theatral area can be divided into two main sectors: the seats themselves, and a complex of walls located to the west and south of the seats, higher up on the rock.

Access to the seating area was from the northeast by means of three carefully cut steps. Along the east side of the stairway a number of large stones have been preserved from a curving terrace wall which held back the earth to the east. Directly east of the second step, to the left of the person ascending the stairs, is a small squared poros block still *in situ*, and preserved to a height of 0.19 m. This low block (which can be seen on Plate 89, b) may have served as a marker or a base of some kind. The steps seem also to have helped the drainage of the higher area to the south since below them and to the north there is a rock-cut channel, oriented north-south and sloping down to the north where it ends in a rectangular collecting basin cut into the surface of the bedrock to a maximum depth of *ca.* 0.55 m. Water from this basin could be drained off to the north by means of a small hole cut through the rock at the level of the floor of the basin. *Ca.* 0.45 m. east of the basin and its drain is another, smaller basin of roughly oval shape which may have served a similar purpose (Pl. 88, e).

The steps lead up to a series of long cuttings in the bedrock which divide the area

into six rows of narrow ledges, oriented roughly east-west. Although the cuttings are badly weathered and the surface of the ledges is rough and uneven in places, the intention of creating this series of ledges is obvious. It is conceivable that the ledges, which are *ca.* 0.40 m. deep and *ca.* 0.20-0.30 m. high, could have served no more important function than providing a place where small dedications could be set up in a prominent part of the sanctuary. On the other hand, the fairly careful construction of the steps leading up to these ledges, and the proximity of Pit D, to be described presently, suggest a more significant purpose for these cuttings. Their location immediately south of the most important religious structure on the site, Building A, also points in this direction. In view of these considerations and of the shape of the cuttings themselves, it is much more reasonable to regard them as rock-cut seats. The audience they could accommodate would have been small, perhaps no more than forty spectators at a time, and the view to the north would have been greatly restricted by the south wall of Building A. It seems likely then that the action to be viewed by this small group of spectators was limited to a space measuring only *ca.* 5 m. N-S, the width of the area between Building A and the steeply rising bedrock. Dramatic performances seem to be excluded by this restricted area and by the small number of spectators, nor is it likely that the steep slope of the bedrock in the places where it has not been cut back would have provided additional seating. The size and the position of the seats also seem ill-suited to the mere viewing of processions.

In a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore perhaps the most natural interpretation of an area designed for a small group of people to view some action taking place in a limited space is that it played some part in the mysteries of the goddesses. A select group of initiates could easily have been gathered together in this small hollow on the bedrock in order to be shown the sacred objects and to witness mysterious rites which could have been performed against the backdrop of the wall of the small temple. The theatral area seems to have been designed for an intimate ceremony of this nature. The secrecy which was essential on such occasions may have been achieved by rigidly restricting admission to this part of the sanctuary, or even to the entire temenos, on the appropriate days of the festival. Curious non-initiates who may have tried to watch the proceedings from the steep rocks to the south outside the sanctuary could have been thwarted by a screen wall set into one of the long east-west cuttings in the rock above the seats or even by temporary barriers.

Above the seats and to the west, in the southwest corner of the area, are some deep cuttings in the bedrock which are clearly footing trenches for walls (Pls. 96, 44 and 46; 89, a). The two best preserved are oriented east-west and were cut parallel to each other at an interval of *ca.* 1.60 m. Of the northern wall (Wall 46) only one fragmentary poros block remains *in situ* on the flat surface of the footing trench. At one point in the southern wall (Wall 44) a stretch of *ca.* 2.50 m. has survived but some of the squared, poros blocks have been shifted out of line by the pressure of

the earth washed down behind them from the south. Only the cutting for a short north-south wall has been preserved at the west end of Walls 44 and 46 and the cutting for Wall 44 extends beyond this point *ca.* 6.50 m. to the west. At the east end, one re-used poros block from a similar north-south wall has survived. The four walls enclose a small, oblong structure measuring *ca.* 7.50 m. x 2.50 m., outside dimensions.

Inside this structure the most important feature is the rock-cut Pit D (Pl. 96, G). This small pit has a diameter at the lip of *ca.* 0.45 m. but it spreads out on all sides before it reaches its maximum depth of 0.95 m. No cover was found over the pit and it was full of soft earth and stones which seem to have been washed in after the pit was abandoned. The interior was apparently not stuccoed and the pit seems small and poorly designed for collecting water. It is probably best interpreted as a sacrificial pit, although no traces of burning, ash, or bones were found in it. Libations or some other type of offering which did not require a fire might have been poured into the pit. The proximity of the pit to the seating area was probably intentional, and the confined interior space of the structure containing the pit suggests that the sacrificial offering was part of an intimate, perhaps even secret, ritual. Such preliminary sacrifices may have formed part of the initiation rite of the mysteries, as they did, for instance, at Eleusis. It would be natural to have a pit for offerings of this sort near the place where the initiates were later to witness the exposure of the sacred objects and the performance of the secret rites of the goddesses.

Offerings of a different sort were also made in the theatral area, for in a few pockets of protected fill over bedrock, and in the thick layer of surface earth which covered much of the area, were found hundreds of fragments of terracotta figurines of classical and Hellenistic times. With these were numerous miniature votive pots, mainly kalathiskoi and kernos-type offering trays, many of them intact. Some of the inscribed clay pinakes described *infra* pp. 328-330 were also from this area. All of these objects appear to have been dedicated to Demeter and Persephone high up in the area above the seats and perhaps also in and around the structure containing Pit D.

Dedications on a much grander scale were set up on this rocky slope in the form of terracotta sculptural monuments, several of them almost life-size. Rectangular cuttings for the bases of these monuments are clearly visible at many places on the rock surface, especially on the western side of the seating area. Confirmation of their identity was provided by the discovery of numerous fragments from the statues themselves in small, natural hollows of the bedrock. Most of the statues seem to have been standing male figures, see *infra* pp. 324-326. This combination of a seating area with monuments placed in and around it can be paralleled at Eleusis by the platform to the west of the Sacred Way just inside the Lesser Propylaea.¹⁴

¹⁴ See G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 143-146.

BUILDING A

In contrast to the poorly constructed rubble walls of the small rooms in the rest of the sanctuary are the solid foundations of squared blocks which survived from this structure. The care with which the footing trenches have been cut and the regular alignment of the blocks indicate that Building A was of major importance in the temenos. Extensive pillaging has left only the lowest foundations of the building but enough blocks remain to establish its rectangular plan, oriented east-west, and the outside dimensions of 8.30 m. x 4.80 m. (Pls. 96, A; 89, c, d; 90, a). Of the south wall two courses of large, squared blocks of conglomerate remain in position; the lower blocks are fitted tightly into a deep rock-cut footing trench. In the trench (Pl. 89, c) and packed against the south face of the blocks, was found much of the dug bedrock from the trench which had been shovelled back into the cutting and tamped in to help support the wall. The contemporary ground level to the south of the building can be deduced from a trimming near the top of the blocks of the upper course. The south wall is 0.55 m. thick, which is much less than that of the foundations for the other three walls of the building. This anomaly is to be explained by the slope of the hill, since the foundations for the south wall, as can be seen in Plate 90, a, and in the section drawing, Plate 99, are considerably higher than the others. In order to support a wall of 0.55 m. thickness, the lower lying foundations of the east, west, and north walls had to be much thicker in their lowest courses.

The west wall has been so badly pillaged that only four blocks remain in place but the full width of this lowest foundation course can be established at 1.25 m. Of the east wall only three poros blocks remain in place, tightly fitted together; their width is also 1.25 m. All of the blocks in the lowest course of the north wall have survived. These large conglomerate blocks are laid with a north-south orientation providing a wide, 1.25 m., platform for the rest of the foundations. The upper part of this wall had been torn out before the construction of a long cement and rubble terrace wall which extended in Roman times across almost the entire width of the sanctuary. This wall is described *infra* pp. 312-313.

Since only the lowest foundations of this building have survived, no evidence for an entrance has been preserved. We have been fortunate, however, in finding a large section of the original floor still *in situ*. It has a thickness of *ca.* 0.08 m. and is constructed of small stones set into a hard brown stucco which was smooth on its original upper surface. At its east and west ends, the floor has been cut away by the deep pillaging trenches over the foundation walls of the building. Another feature of the interior which has survived is a row of rough stones and small poros blocks along the inner face of the south wall. All the pottery evidence we recovered indicates that this little wall is contemporary with Building A and it seems very likely that it is the packing or the core for a low stuccoed bench running the length of the building against the south wall.

Pottery from the footing trench for the south wall, from under the blocks at the end of this wall, from under the packing for the interior bench, and from a few other tests made around this building seems to indicate a date in the early fourth century B.C. for the construction. No evidence has been found of any earlier building on this spot, but there are the remains of a stuccoed water basin which was destroyed at the time of the construction of the east wall. No traces were found of destruction debris from this building, and the only indication of how long it continued to serve the sanctuary is the construction of the early Roman terrace wall mentioned above, for this wall is actually supported by the lowest foundation course of the north wall of Building A. At this time the rest of the structure was probably covered over with fill dumped in to level off the area for the Roman buildings constructed to the south of the large terrace wall.

Building A must be considered the most important structure in the sanctuary in the Greek period. Unfortunately, there was no undisturbed fill inside the building which might have contained objects to help with the identification. That the building served a religious purpose, however, may be suggested by its proximity to the theatral area and by the presence of two deposits of discarded votive material found near by, one to the west, the other to the south. It is reasonable to suggest then that this structure was probably a small temple or sacred oikos. Further study of the small architectural fragments found in the vicinity of Building A will be necessary before a tentative restoration can be proposed, but it seems to have had solid walls on at least three sides and to have consisted of a single room with a bench along one of the interior walls. The room is large enough to accommodate cult statues but no cuttings or other traces were found on the pebble and stucco floor to indicate their existence. In Roman times, the cult statues were not shown to all visitors to the site, including Pausanias; this practice was probably observed in the sanctuary before the destruction of Building A.

CISTERN

At the southeast corner of Building A there is a deep, rock-cut cistern, which, to judge from its position and the classical workmanship of its interior, seems originally to have been constructed to collect water from the roof of the temple. Other sources of water might also have been tapped but it is impossible to determine this, since the original top of the cistern has not been preserved. The presence of footholes sunk into the thickly stuccoed walls only a few centimeters below the preserved lip shows that the shaft originally projected much higher. The shaft of the cistern, which is oval in plan, is cut down through the bedrock to a depth of 5.04 m., and footholes have been sunk into the stuccoed walls to a depth of *ca.* 2.85 m. At this point there are two chambers leading off to the west and east of the shaft. Both chambers are *ca.* 1.85 m. high and their walls are completely covered with stucco. The western chamber is only

1.10 m. long; that to the east extends to a length of 5.00 m. beyond the shaft. There are no other tunnels or manholes leading into these two chambers; they were designed solely for the storage of water. The stuccoed floors of the chambers slope downward toward the bottom of the shaft of the cistern which lies *ca.* 0.40 m. below them.

Although the design and workmanship of the cistern are apparently of classical date, such a well-constructed unit was also re-used for a considerable time in the Roman period. This is clear from the objects found in the earth filling which was thrown in after the cistern went out of use. The pottery and lamp fragments from at least the lower half of the dumped filling seem to point to a date about the middle of the third century or perhaps a little later for the time when this material was thrown into the cistern. A lucky find of sixteen bronze coins in the filling permits greater chronological accuracy and has provided us with evidence for an event of considerable importance in the life of the sanctuary. The chronological distribution of the coins is as follows:

Roman Imperial Unclassified	1
Corinth under M. Aurelius, 161-180	1
Septimius Severus, 193-211	1
Geta, 209-212	1
Gordianus III, 238-244	2
Trebonianus Gallus, 251-253	1
Volusianus, 251-253	1
Valerian I (struck 257)	1
Salonina, 253-268	3
Gallienus, 253-268	4
	—
	16

All the coins of the last five rulers, and one of Gordianus III, have been very lightly silvered.

These coins, plus the fact that the filling of the cistern contains much dumped debris, point clearly to a destruction in the sanctuary which coincides in date with the ravages of the Herulians, evidence for which has been found elsewhere in Corinth.¹⁵ No trace of this destruction has been recognized as yet above ground in the excavated area but the cistern gives ample proof that in A.D. 267 the barbarians made their way up to the sanctuary and probably left some parts of it in ruins. The cistern had probably remained in use until this time but after the withdrawal of the invaders it was a convenient place to dump debris during the cleaning up of the sanctuary and its use as a water reservoir came to an end.

¹⁵ O. Broneer, *Corinth*, I, iv, Princeton, 1954, pp. 133-134; J. H. Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, Princeton, 1966, p. 37.

PITS

Two more examples of oblong pits were found similar to Pit A, which was excavated in 1961 and described in *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 6-7. These structures resemble graves sunk into the ground with thin stone walls and a cover of reused Corinthian pan tiles. As we learned from Pit A, however, they served a different function in the sanctuary; the fill inside Pit A contained no bones or traces of burning but seven intact miniature vases which had been placed in the pit as an offering.

Pit F was found near the northeast corner of Building A, cut down into a hard clay layer which is probably to be dated in the first half of the fourth century B.C. Only the north and west walls of the pit were found *in situ*; they consisted of thin poros slabs set on edge (Pl. 90, b). There was no cover remaining over the pit and its contents had been removed. The interior was filled with small stones and a few tile fragments. The slabs reached a depth of *ca.* 0.46 m. which probably marks the original bottom of the pit since there was a hard layer of stones at this level probably indicating a floor.

In the case of Pit E we were more fortunate since most of its tile cover was found still intact (Pl. 88, b). This pit lies *ca.* 6 m. to the east of Building A, almost on its axis. Its outside dimensions are 1.95 m. x 0.90 m. and, like Pit F, it is oriented east-west. Four large fragments of Corinthian pan tiles were found on top of the structure as a cover but they were placed in such a way as to be resting almost entirely on the earth filling of the pit. They overlap very little onto the walls of the pit, nor do they project above the top of these walls. It is probable that, as in Pit A, two layers of tile fragments were set over the pit as a protective covering and that the top layer has not survived. Under the tiles, the earth filling contained a considerable quantity 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 intact votive pots was found (Pl. 90, c). All the vessels were lying together, some on their sides, others almost upside down, and they continued to a depth of 0.54 m., the level of the red earth floor of the pit. The deposit consisted of four intact kalathoi, three of them with Conventionalizing designs in red and black paint; a black-glazed Corinthian lekythos; one semiglazed bowl; a miniature black-glazed krateriskos; and a black-figured lekythos. The lip and the handle of the latter are broken off and were not found anywhere in the pit. On the broad, sloping shoulder of this vase is a spirited scene composed of three dancing women holding hands and two male figures, one of whom stands at one end of the dancing group, while the second is seated at the other end, facing the ladies and accompanying them on a lyre (Pl. 98, n). The workmanship is not of the highest quality, the incision is very sketchy, and the painter has generously provided the lyre player with a thumb and five fingers on his playing hand, but the overall effect is lively and pleasing.¹⁶

¹⁶ C-65-174.

With the vases was the most important piece in the deposit, a well-preserved carnelian scaraboid amulet (MF 12156; Pl. 88, c). On the flat surface, within a border of two thin lines with crosshatching, is a winged bull in intaglio with his head turned back over his shoulder. The pointed horn is held high and the details of the arching wing, the brisket, and the head are delicately rendered.

The amulet and the miniature pots seem clearly to have formed a small votive deposit which was placed in the pit and carefully buried in the ground. As in the case of Pit A, the deposit is much smaller than we might expect to find in a structure of this size and depth. Perhaps the strange grave-like pits served some other function in the sanctuary for a number of years and at the time when they were filled in and covered over, a small votive offering was made in them. To judge from the deposit just described, Pit E would seem to have been filled in early in the fifth century B.C.

ROMAN TERRACE WALL AND STOA

Architectural remains of the Roman period in the sanctuary are meager and those which have survived are in very poor condition. The quantity of Roman pottery, coins, and lamps found in the upper levels throughout the site, however, shows that the architectural remains do not accurately represent the history of the sanctuary during the period 44 B.C.-*ca.* A.D. 395. For the most part the Roman buildings were not bedded on the rock of the hill but on fill in and around ruined Greek structures. The construction at this higher level was of cement, small stones, and reused blocks, and being so close to the modern ground level, these walls were most exposed to the erosion which has carried away so much of the fill and the ancient remains on this steep site. Pillaging and continual ploughing in the fields over the sanctuary have accounted for further deterioration in the Roman buildings.

The best preserved piece of Roman construction is a long, east-west terrace wall (Wall 11), which was probably built soon after the reoccupation of the sanctuary in the early years of the new Roman city. The line of this wall can be traced for a distance of *ca.* 66 m. and it may extend farther to the west than we have been able to determine. At the east end it begins directly in front (i.e. north) of the sacrificial Pit B (Pl. 96, H). The north wall of the rectangular enclosure containing this pit has been used as the foundation of the wall at this point. The wall continues to the west, cutting across at least three Greek walls and using a few poros blocks from earlier structures in its predominantly cement and rubble construction. Before the terrace wall was constructed, Building A was already in ruins, for the Roman builders bedded their wall directly on the wide foundations of the north wall of this structure. Not only had the Greek structure passed out of use, but the pillaging of most of its north wall had already taken place, as is shown by the fact that the Roman wall did not use the full width of the lowest course of the foundations. Had more of the wall been available to them, it seems likely that they would have used it all, as they did

when they encountered other Greek walls (Pl. 89, d). To the west of Building A, the line of the wall can be traced without difficulty, although in only a few places are there any pieces of it still in place. Extensive pillaging of the Roman wall in this area has left us with only the original trench which is cut through a hard red earth. It was full of soft, disturbed earth containing many small stones stuck in cement. At the far western end of the excavated area, the wall is better preserved and it is likely that it continues even farther to the west beyond the area exposed at present.

On the flat platform created to the south by this terrace wall, traces of at least one Roman building were exposed in the form of several masses of cement and rubble probably once part of the foundations. Throughout this same area, between Building A and Rooms B and C, many Roman tiles and terracotta architectural fragments turned up, some in disturbed surface earth, others in a number of pockets of tile destruction, which seem to date from the final years of the fourth century when the sanctuary was finally abandoned. The masses of Roman masonry are preserved in an east-west line which lies *ca.* 3.50 m. south of the terrace wall and parallel to it, beginning at the southeast corner of Building A and extending to the east for at least 19 m. It is likely that we have here the lowest foundation level of a wall forming the southern limit of a long narrow area which is bounded on the north by the terrace wall. The remains are admittedly meager but they do permit the tentative reconstruction of a long, narrow building, perhaps a stoa, in this area, its back wall being formed by the terrace wall on the north, the front wall represented by the masses of rubble and concrete on the south. Some support for this suggestion can be gained from the numerous terracotta antefixes and sima fragments with lionhead spouts of Roman date which were found along the line of the south wall. At the southwest corner and inside the building formed by these two walls lies the stuccoed cistern which we have seen to have been in use until A.D. 267. No trace of a floor level within the proposed interior of the building could possibly have survived, since the masses of rubble and concrete which form the lowest portion of the foundation were found almost directly below the disturbed surface fill. Although the terrace wall clearly extends much farther to the west, the rubble and concrete of the south wall of the hypothetical stoa end at the southeast corner of Building A. No remains of a west wall of the building were found in place but it is likely that it lay near by. There is a possibility that its line followed that of the east wall of Building A, since this wall had been extensively pillaged and the trench over it was again full of small stones and concrete lying in the loose disturbed fill. This trench could represent the cut made for the west wall of the stoa. The eastern end of the stoa is more difficult to recover. A reused poros drain block still *in situ* and oriented north-south has along its eastern edge a large section of pebble floor still preserved.¹⁷ This could mark the line of a

¹⁷ The drain block which appears on the plan oriented east-west is not in its original position, although it seems once to have been part of the same drain. It was probably pulled out of position and left in its present spot soon after the building was destroyed.

wing of the building meeting the main section at right angles to form a small L-shaped stoa.

Π-SHAPED FOUNDATION.¹⁸

Another Roman structure, this time more solidly built, lies to the north of Building A, outside the pillaged Roman terrace wall (Pl. 96, M). It is a three-sided structure facing north and measuring 7.30 m. x 2.20 m. It consists of two courses of reused poros blocks, reinforced by four rectangular masses of rubble disposed along the inner face of the north side, one in each corner and two towards the middle. Perhaps to be associated with the structure are a poros orthostate, a Doric frieze block, and a lion-headed waterspout found to the north. Using the orthostate to mask the rubble piers, and the frieze block and waterspout in the entablature, one can reconstruct a small porch with four supports, which served, perhaps, to house a dedication, and which faced onto a large open area immediately to the north. A date in the Roman period is indicated by the use of mortar and tiles in the construction of the foundations, and by the close alignment of the structure to the Roman terrace wall.

To the west of the Roman foundation is a complex of rubble walls which covers an area of *ca.* 4.00 m. x 6.00 m. The walls are of different dates, but all fall within the period of the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. They are, for the most part, incomplete or poorly preserved, and are so closely set one to another, or one over another, that they cannot as yet be understood either separately or as a group. Future work and study in this area should make them clearer.

Nevertheless, several points of interest can be noted. A well-built wall of stacked masonry, running north-south, limits the complex on the west side. Beyond this is an open court with clay floor. In the court we found a deposit of broken pottery and figurines, partly resting on the stacked wall, and thrown there during the cleaning of part of the sanctuary. The pottery (Lor 3217) was chiefly votive but included some cooking and coarse wares. Nine boxes of terracotta figurine fragments contained both handmade and mouldmade types. The occurrence of shallow echinus bowls and incised kantharoi indicates a date in the fourth-third century B.C., while the absence of later Hellenistic types, such as Megarian bowls and flat-rimmed plates, suggests a *terminus ante quem* of approximately the mid-third century B.C.

On the east side of the complex, an inscribed horos stone was found. The poros block stands at the south end of what may be a retaining wall (Pl. 96, K). There is, however, some doubt as to whether the line of stones with which it is associated really forms a wall; the stones are quite irregular and loosely fitted, and it is equally possible

¹⁸ This section and the following description of the Banquet Hall, pp. 315-317, have been prepared by the excavator, Nancy Bookides. Miss Bookides wishes to thank G. Roger Edwards for advice on the Hellenistic pottery and Charles K. Williams for his help with questions of architecture and stratigraphy.

that they are fallen from one of the neighboring rubble walls. This will become clearer when the entire complex is studied in closer detail. For discussion of the inscription see *infra* p. 330.

BANQUET HALL

To the northwest of the Π -shaped Foundation lies an interesting, and most productive, stuccoed building which yielded over fifty baskets of pottery, seven bronze coins and twenty-two inventoried objects. Among these are five stamped amphora handles, part of an inscribed terracotta pinax, and a sima fragment of late fourth century B.C. date, decorated with acanthus scrolls.

The structure measures 8.23 m. E-W, and 6.18 m. N-S. It is set deeply into the hillside and is, as a result, well-preserved (Pls. 96, N; 90, d; 91, a). The south wall stands to a height of 1.96 m., while that on the north, the downhill side, is only one course high. The exterior walls are constructed of large conglomerate blocks laid in single rows and interrupted by occasional stacks of small, partially worked stones. The inner face of all four walls is covered with a thick coat of plain stucco, everywhere well-preserved. A smaller partition wall, built in the same manner, projects 4.35 m. from the south wall and divides the interior of the building into two rooms of unequal size. This wall is stuccoed only on its western face. The two rooms thus formed measure 1.45 m. x 5.28 m. (eastern) and 5.35 m. x 5.28 m. (western).

The entrance to the building and main room is located on the north side and stands to left of center. The threshold block, preserved *in situ*, shows considerable signs of wear. The absence of a pivot hole or door support suggests that the entrance way stood open.

The function of the building as a dining hall is indicated both by the position of the doorway and by the furniture of the main room. A bench skirts the interior of the room, abutting against all four walls. It is not continuous around the entire room but is interrupted near the northwest corner for 1.18 m. The north bench is therefore a separate unit. Where the bench is interrupted on the west side, the wall blocks are shifted slightly out of line. It is possible that another door once stood here, leading to additional rooms to the west. This will become clearer when work is carried out here in the future.

The benches are built of earth and rubble; they measure 0.90-1.00 m. in width; 3.10, 3.30, and 4.40 m. in length. They stand 0.30 m. above the clay floor of the room. In this respect, they differ from the usual type of platform found in banquet halls, which rarely exceeds 0.05-0.10 m. in height, and which simply forms a raised dais on which the couches are placed. In view of the considerable height of the Acrocorinth bench, it is unlikely that individual couches were employed. Diners undoubtedly reclined on cushions laid directly on top of the benches. Nine banqueters could be accommodated at one time in the hall; this allows approximately 1.50-1.60 m. per person.

Two shallow niches, 0.60 m. high, 0.33 m. wide and 0.11-0.22 m. deep, are let into the eastern and southern walls at the foot of the southern and western couches respectively. The niches are stuccoed; they are level with the top of the bench, and it seems likely that they were introduced to take the feet of the last banqueter on each of these sides. It is noteworthy that no such niche was found in connection with the northern bench which, isolated from the other three sides, offers no corner problem of overlapping heads and feet.

A third stuccoed niche stands higher up in the south wall, 1.00 m. above the bench top, and *ca.* 0.50 m. from the southwest corner of the room. Traces of another are preserved near the southeast corner of the same wall. Lamps were undoubtedly placed here to provide lighting within the room.

No evidence of either tables or hearth, both common elements in a dining room, was found. These must have been portable.

The smaller room to the east is much simpler; indeed, it preserves no structural evidence of its function. It is entered from the main room through an open doorway located at the foot of the eastern bench. Only three of the walls are stuccoed; the back of the partition wall is plain. The considerable amounts of cooking and coarse ware fragments found here (Lot 3231) suggest that the room was used as a pantry or, less likely, as a kitchen.

Soundings in the area immediately adjacent to the dining room indicate that the unit was probably part of a larger structure. The south wall continues westward, well beyond the limits of the dining room, and a second, similar unit may have stood on the west side. Excavations to the east produced another conglomerate wall, parallel to the building's east wall and *ca.* 0.70 m. from it. The wall makes an eastern return at its north end. Moreover, a bench-like structure, similar to that discussed above, abuts against its east face. Soundings to the north produced more conglomerate blocks arranged in north-south and east-west lines. Unfortunately, because of limitations in time, none of these could be fully explored.

For the same reason, the date of the construction of the building cannot as yet be closely determined. A test made on the last day of excavation, against the outer face of the north wall to the left of the doorway, revealed part of an earlier rubble wall, set at an angle to the later wall. Pottery, however, was scanty and difficult to date more closely than perhaps in the fifth century B.C. (Lot 3220). At present we can only identify the building as "classical," and tentatively place it in the fourth century B.C.

There are some indications of remodelling within the dining room: a rebuilding of the north platform, the closing of the west door (?), the raising of the floor level in the pantry. But these are minor and do not generally affect the arrangement and use of the area. The building was used continuously into the second century B.C., and probably until the Mummian destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. Pottery over-

lying the floor (Lots 3231-3) showed considerable range in date, from the sixth century through the second century B.C. The abandoned building must therefore have been exposed to pillagers who dug about in the debris; indeed, on the clay floor we found a small lamp of the sixth century B.C. completely intact.

The final collapse of the building did not take place until later. Tumbled blocks from the walls were found at a fairly high level, resting on a considerable accumulation of earth and fallen debris. With the destruction, the east jamb of the doorway was torn away; in the gap was a Roman cooking pot of the first century after Christ. Additional pottery of the same date found in the debris associated with the blocks gives a *terminus ante quem* for the time of the collapse.

Sometimes after its destruction, the building was partly reused. A rubble wall was built on top of several fallen blocks. It extends 4.70 m. from the southwest corner into the center of the main room and is conspicuous in Plate 90, d. A bronze Sikyonian coin from the time of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217), found in the stratum overlying the destroyed west wall and resting against the rubble wall, provides a *terminus ante quem* for its construction. This wall was, in turn, abandoned, though at what period cannot be determined.

In the last stage of the building's history, it was completely filled in. The fill, which reached in places a depth of 1.25 m., consisted of tightly packed, crushed pottery, chiefly votive. The pottery dated from the sixth to the second century B.C., with scattered Roman sherds. Clearly, the filling in must have represented a vast cleaning project within the sanctuary. When this occurred is not known; a *terminus post quem*, however, is provided by the same Sikyonian coin, which was found under the fill. The building shows no further activity after this time.

ROOM J

This area may be seen on Plate 96, J and in the middle ground of Plate 91, b; it is situated north of Room E. The inside dimensions of the room are 5 m. E-W x ca. 4.50 m. N-S. The walls, which are preserved to a maximum height of only ca. 0.80 m., are in places set directly over bedrock and are constructed of small stones packed in clay; they probably served as a socle for walls of mud brick. A well-preserved clay floor was uncovered in this room which dates from the classical period and sherd evidence for the construction of the walls indicates that the room was built in the fifth century B.C. Along the inner face of the east, west, and north walls, at the level of the clay floor, there is a strip of small, tightly packed stones, ca. 0.60-0.80 m. wide. In places the boundary between the clay floor and these stones is marked by a row of slightly larger stones which project only a few centimeters above the floor level. In the northwest corner of the room, this strip of stones appears to have been washed away. The position and the solidity of the layer of stones suggest that it may have been intended as the bedding for a series of couches placed along three sides of the

room. The strip is perhaps much wider than that necessary to support a simple bench. The presence of couches would mean that the room probably served as a modest dining hall, and a small, rectangular area in the southeast corner of the room may have been used for the storage of cooking utensils or perhaps for preparing some of the food. Near the southern wall of the room two thin poros slabs were found, one *in situ* placed on edge, the other fallen on its side. It is possible that these slabs are the remains of a rectangular roasting pit sunk into the floor of the room. Two similar slabs would have formed the enclosure.

It is possible that Room J was not a single unit but that it formed part of a complex of rooms extending to the west. The north wall of the room certainly extends *ca.* 4.25 m. beyond its western limit and appears to link Room J to another rectangular area which we have called Room L (Pl. 96, L). The two rooms are separated from each other by a passageway only *ca.* 1.25 m. wide; it seems likely that the entrance to Room J was located in the southwest corner and opened into this passageway.

Outside Room J to the north there is another narrow passageway which has set down into its floor, at the northeast corner of the room, a rectangular stuccoed basin. Water from the roof of Room J was apparently collected in this basin, which measures 0.60 m. x 0.80 m. and is 0.88 m. deep. Through a hole in the north wall of the basin the water was then carried off to the north to be stored in an underground cistern which has an oval shaft, 3.95 m. deep, and two side chambers. The walls, floor and ceiling of the entire system are covered by a thick coat of smoothly finished brownish stucco; footholes are set into the walls of the shaft. Both the basin and the cistern seem to have been filled with earth deliberately in the second half of the fourth century B.C., and this date seems also to mark the end of activity in Room J.

To the west of Rooms J and L there is a confused tangle of lightly constructed rubble walls, for the most part poorly preserved. It has not yet been possible to work out the plan of this area for the different periods of occupation, but enough evidence has been preserved to show clearly that all these walls are earlier than the second half of the fourth century B.C. At some date during this period, which more detailed study of the pottery should enable us to establish, great quantities of pottery, with a few figurine fragments mixed in, were dumped down into this area. This dumping was done both inside some of the rooms formed by the rubble walls and over the preserved tops of the walls as well. No traces were found of later occupation in this area; it seems that the second half of the fourth century B.C. saw a massive cleaning-up program, probably in the area to the south, and the abandonment of the rubble area, which was partly filled in with masses of discarded broken pottery. No extensive traces of burning were discovered in the rubble area to indicate a violent destruction by fire; the piles of collapsed stones from the walls which were encountered suggest rather that the cause of the trouble may have been an earthquake.

NORTHEAST BUILDING

Of this independent structure, located at the northeast corner of the excavated area, little more than the lowest course of the foundations has survived (Pl. 96, O). An outer wall of large, squared blocks of conglomerate forms a rectangle whose outside measurements are *ca.* 9.50 m. x 7.50 m. (Pl. 92, a-c). One block from the east wall and several from the northern half of the west wall are missing. The southern wall partially covers a series of deep cuttings in the bedrock which are the remains of a small quarry that produced squared blocks of Acrocorinth limestone (Pl. 92, c). Inside the building there are remains of three walls which seem to form another rectangle against the north wall of the structure, measuring *ca.* 4.50 m. x 4.75 m. The west wall is almost completely missing; the east wall is less than half preserved. Along the southern side of this inner enclosure a section of flat, rock-cut floor is preserved. To the north of this floor the fill was disturbed and no traces of the surface or even the packing for a floor were found. The rest of the interior consists of a corridor, *ca.* 1.40-1.60 m. wide, running around the west, south, and east sides of the inner rectangle. In the eastern and western sections of this corridor no traces of a floor were discovered, but the southern leg was covered by a layer of broken roof tiles of the classical period which obviously represent the destruction of the roof over at least this part of the building. Under the fallen tiles in the southeast corner was a small chamber with a carefully constructed floor of pebble and stucco mosaic. The same stucco coating was also found on the surfaces of the three preserved walls which form this small chamber, and between the two corner blocks of the outside wall of the building a small stuccoed channel at the level of the floor conducted water away to the east. This small chamber at least had some lustral function but it is the only indication we have for the purpose of the building. The steep slope on which it was constructed has resulted in the almost total loss of the interior fill of the building and it also makes it more difficult to reconstruct its original plan. The southern corridor was covered by a tile roof and perhaps the eastern and western were likewise enclosed but other structural details remain obscure. Even the position of the entrance cannot be established with absolute certainty. We are on firmer ground in regard to the chronology of the building since good pottery evidence has been recovered from under both the stucco floor and some of the wall blocks. These sherds point to a date in the fifth century B.C. for the construction of the building; the tile destruction is probably to be placed in the second half of the fourth century B.C. and the building was not reoccupied thereafter. The meager finds from the building do not give much help in determining its function. A smaller structure, apparently with a plan similar to the Northeast Building, was uncovered in the closing days of the 1965 season at the northwest corner of the excavated area. It is possible that complete excavation of this structure, which is also provided with stuccoed water basins, may shed some light on the function of the Northeast Building.

THE FINDS

POTTERY

The rate at which pottery was produced increased greatly during the 1964 and 1965 seasons over previous campaigns. The total number of baskets of pottery from our last two seasons reached 1,080. Most of this pottery is, of course, votive in character and miniature in size, providing by its sheer quantity firm evidence for the popularity of the sanctuary. Among the new finds almost no change occurred in the types of pottery represented. Miniature kalathoi and the small kernos-type offering trays were again the predominant shapes, the former being much more numerous. Except in the area of the stuccoed banquet hall and a few other places on the site, Hellenistic pottery has been conspicuously absent. The numerous terracotta figurines of the third century B.C. show, however, that no break in the religious life of the site is to be assumed. Considerable amounts of Roman pottery were produced, the most important group coming from the cistern filled soon after the Herulian destruction; but most of the Roman pottery is not exceptional. Sherds later than the end of the fourth century after Christ were very rare and occurred almost exclusively in the disturbed surface layers.

Of particular interest among the fragments from larger votive vases found during the last two seasons is a fragmentary Attic black-figured epinetron (C-64-312; Pl. 92, d) with a scale pattern incised on the top and a scene containing four figures on the side. Flanked by a female facing left and part of a male figure facing right are a man and a woman in animated conversation, each of them gesticulating with two fingers of the right hand held up.

One of the more interesting pieces of local origin is part of a large vessel decorated in a combination of silhouette and outline technique in black paint without the use of incision (C-64-188; Pl. 91, c). The fragmentary scene shows the façade of a temple with part of a Doric column at the left with a low, curving profile to the capital. Architrave and triglyph-metope frieze are clearly depicted and above them is the pediment containing in its lower right corner two sculptured figures. One of these strides violently to right holding a long weapon high over his head with his right hand. The second figure is very difficult to identify because, at this point, the surface of the vase is badly worn, but he is not in an upright position. He seems to be falling to the right of the striding figure and is probably being beaten down into the corner of the pediment. Above the raking cornice, toward the center of the pediment, is part of a curving line which could represent part of a peak akroterion. Behind the column the wall of the temple is shown, bearing along its top an egg and dart moulding and, to the right of the column, part of a large doorway can be seen. The fragments are from a very large, open vessel, probably a krater.

Plate 91, d illustrates the sole remaining sherd from a Corinthian pyxis with convex sides whose painted decoration is of considerable interest (C-65-38). Depicted

are the heads of three female figures above a checker-board design in black and white. Incision is used very sparingly in the rendering of the heads. Only a small portion of the face of the woman on the left is preserved; she faces right in profile. The next woman is slightly smaller than her companions and is represented frontally with a long, sharply-pointed nose and high, triangular forehead. The head on the right is facing left in profile and looking slightly upward. Like the woman on the far left she wears a plain headband to hold back her long black hair. She wears also a scale-pattern garment that comes high up on the neck. Behind her head is the identifying painted inscription in the epichoric Corinthian alphabet: BPA . At the right side of the sherd, behind Hera, there are remains of an attached plastic handle which was probably in the form of a female protome. She wears a garment of scale-pattern identical to that of Hera and holds out her right hand toward the three women.

Perhaps the most important pottery fragments from the sanctuary are those illustrated on Plate 93, a. They belong to a large, open vessel (C-64-226) which must have been one of the outstanding dedications on the site. Eight fragments, all apparently from the same vase, have been found to date; there are no joins among these individual pieces, and they were found scattered over a wide area. A freehand, polychrome technique, without incision, has been used to decorate the exterior of the vase with a scene which is represented on the surviving fragments in a very tantalizing manner. One fragment shows the hind legs of two horses side by side with the outline rendered by a solid dark brown line. Lighter strokes in the same color indicate the musculature, and the legs themselves are a pale brownish yellow. The horses are moving to the left and from a second fragment it seems most likely that they were harnessed to a chariot, for this piece preserves the five-spoked wheel of the car and the long, thin hairs from one of the horses' tails. On a third fragment there is a brightly burning fire with black and red coals and swirling red flames. The coals rest on a thin black horizontal line beneath which is a painted inscription only two letters of which, **ON**, can be read with certainty. Framing the inscription at the bottom is another horizontal line parallel to the first. It is not certain whether the top line represents a ground line and the inscription is placed within a clearly defined band, or the fire is actually burning on top of an altar which has along its top an inscribed moulding.

Painted inscriptions were used elsewhere on the vase as labels. One of them is represented by two surviving letters, **HB**, which are painted to the right of a female head in profile. Only the top of the head is preserved showing curly hair held in place by a wide headband which terminates at the back in a pair of small wings. To the right, below the inscription, the bent elbow of the left arm of this figure is partly preserved, showing that she was holding her arm forward and up toward the right. This posture may restrict the space available for the rest of the identifying inscription and adds some plausibility to the restoration **HB [H]**. This fragment has two neatly drilled holes through it which probably belong to an ancient repair.

The last fragment of interest has another neatly painted inscription curving retrograde around the bottom of a large wing of red and black feathers. Only the last four letters of the label survive: — — —] BNOΣ.

These scraps from a very large vessel give us only the slimmest of evidence on which to base a reconstruction of the scene depicted. Any attempt is rendered even more dangerous by the possibility of additional fragments turning up in future excavation. If we were justified in expecting one of the most elaborate dedications found in the sanctuary to contain some reference to the deities worshipped on the site, we might suggest that the horses are drawing the chariot of Hades at the time of the rape of Persephone. The theme might have been similar to those depicted on the terracotta pinakes from the sanctuary of Persephone at Epizephyrioi Lokroi. In such a context it might be possible to interpret the winged creature labelled —]BNOΣ as *Eπε]βνος, the lord of the underworld,¹⁹ but how the fire and Hebe are to be accommodated in this reconstruction is not apparent to me.

A few other vases of larger scale seem also to have been placed in the sanctuary as dedications. Fragments of at least two Panathenaic amphoras have turned up and also a large, black-glazed skyphos resembling the vase dedicated to Demeter in the sacred glen at Isthmia.²⁰

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

After the miniature pottery, terracotta figurines were the most popular type of dedication in the sanctuary. The number of inventoried figurines has now reached 986 and fragments awaiting further study and cataloging number in the thousands. Although the Eleusinian types are represented by the most numerous examples, the range and variety of subjects depicted in the figurines have greatly increased. Almost all the pieces are of local origin and many completely new types have been added to the Corinthian coroplastic repertoire. The chronological distribution remains the same: ca. 625-146 B.C. with the fourth century being the period of greatest activity.

A selection of the archaic pieces is shown on Plates 91, e, f; 93, b-e.²¹ Remarkable for the modelling and for the painted details of the eyes is the early fifth-century male head on Plate 93, e (MF 12162). The curly hair has been added later and deeply incised.

¹⁹ Greek names ending in this combination of letters are exceedingly rare. For the spelling, normally *Eπεβος, see H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, I, 1960, s.v. ἔπεβος. The word normally denotes the darkness of the underworld, but it is personified as early as Hesiod, *Theogony*, 125. An alternative restoration might be suggested if the B is interpreted as the epichoric Corinthian epsilon or eta, i. e. —]ενος or —]ηνος. The letters on the fragment with the female head would then have to be interpreted as hē[βε] or hē[βη].

²⁰ See J. L. Caskey, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 168-172. The vase from Acrocorinth does not have moulded relief decoration.

²¹ Plate 91, e, MF 12014; f, MF 11970; Plate 93, b, MF 12129; c, MF 12146; d, MF 12016.

Some of the finest work in the terracotta figurines is to be seen in the female types of the fourth century, especially in the rendering of the heads. Elaborate coiffures are popular; facial features are delicately indicated, the head frequently being tilted at an angle (Pl. 94, a-e).²²

Most of these women assume sedate poses and wear elaborate drapery. Some reach considerable size like the large figure on Plate 94, d, which is preserved to a height of 0.275 m. (MF 11786).

On a level with the female heads for the careful execution and expression of the facial features is the head of a bearded man illustrated on Plate 94, f (MF 12164). He wears a low polos which probably indicates his hieratic rank. A number of other subjects are represented among the terracotta figurines, one of the most important of which is the comic or grotesque. This element is frequently present in the terracotta dedications at sanctuaries of Demeter and is no doubt closely related to the tales of the wanderings of Demeter and the attempts, like that of Iambe or Baubo, to cheer her up.²³ Several figurines in this category have been found in our excavations. Although very poorly preserved, one piece of particular interest in this context is the figurine shown on Plate 94, h, a fat, bearded Papposilenos who holds the baby Dionysos on his left shoulder.²⁴ The baby's head is missing but he is reaching up to the ear of the old man with his right hand.

Another silenos with a grossly misshapen face, obese body, and prominent phallos is painted bright red and clasps his hands across his belly (Pl. 94, g).²⁵ Silenos is also represented on a mouldmade mask, *ca.* 0.10 m. high, which is brightly painted (MF 11779; Pl. 95, a). His mouth is cut out and around it grow a long, wavy moustache and beard. He wears around his head a thick wreath with a cluster of grapes, or perhaps ivy berries, over the right ear.

On Plate 95, b is shown one of the comic figurines, an intact, standing female dressed in a chiton and himation which cover all of her body except the face. She holds her draped right arm across the lower part of her face and her left hand is at the side of her rounded, protruding abdomen. M. Bieber²⁶ has suggested that this protrusion is the result of padding rather than pregnancy, and T. B. L. Webster²⁷ has seen in figurines of this type a forerunner of the Second False Virgin of the New Comedy masks as described by Pollux.

²² Plate 94, a, MF 12119; b, MF 12894; c, MF 11967; e, MF 12157.

²³ See *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 194-196, with the commentary of T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 149-151.

²⁴ MF 12120. For the subject see G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, Princeton, 1952, p. 51, no. 331; R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas, British Museum*, I, London, 1954, p. 197, no. 736; and D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 36-40.

²⁵ MF 12037. For a similar figure see *Εργον, 1966, p. 117.

²⁶ MF 12046. *A History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, New York, 1961, p. 77.

²⁷ *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXII, 1949-50, pp. 104-105, 132. See also Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201 and Webster, *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 273-278.

Other terracotta dedications include two fragments of what appears to be a votive polos with a moulded relief decoration below a moulded fillet and a row of crenellations (Pl. 97, a-b).²⁸ The object was open at the top, and closed at the bottom. It was not, however, a complete cylinder since there are finished surfaces at the right edge of fragment A and the left edge of fragment B. Of the moulded relief only six figures are preserved, *ca.* 0.046 m. in height. Fragment A shows three standing figures: from left to right, a woman in frontal pose clad in a peplos and holding a jug at her right side. Her left hand is held up above her left breast. Next is a shorter female figure facing left and holding a tall staff with a swelling at the top. She wears a chiton and loose himation. Behind her, with his right arm stretched out to her shoulder, is a frontal male figure with a himation over his left shoulder and lower part of the body; most of his head is broken away above his beard. On fragment B the figure at the left is a heavily draped woman who faces right and holds up in front of her an unidentified object with her right hand. To her right and facing right is a seated, nude male figure who is strumming a lyre. Only the top part of the torso and the head of the next figure have been preserved. It is a woman facing left toward the lyre player. She holds her right hand up in front of her face. Behind this woman there is a small area where the clay is a deep orange color suggesting that another figure was attached here. The figures were made individually in moulds and attached to the wall of the polos before firing. Since the two fragments do not join, it is difficult to determine the original diameter of the object, nor can we be sure of the height. The original bottom is not preserved and there may have been one or more frieze panels below the one that has survived. Some care was apparently taken over the decoration of the moulded frieze, for there are traces of gilding on the drapery of the central figure on fragment A. These fragments are similar in many ways to a slightly larger, and much more elaborately decorated, votive polos from the Agora in Athens. For a full description of this fascinating object and a valuable commentary on the religious significance of the polos, see D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 99-103.

TERRACOTTA SCULPTURE

The quantity of terracotta sculpture produced in the 1964 and 1965 seasons was one of our most pleasant surprises. Most of the fragments were found in the theatral area and all are badly broken, but it is clear that there is much valuable evidence here for the continuation of this major Corinthian art-form through the classical period. With the exception of the remarkable series of votives from the Asklepieion,²⁹ large-scale terracotta sculpture of the fifth and fourth century B.C. has

²⁸ MF 11927 A and B. The fragments, which do not join, could possibly belong to two different poloi.

²⁹ C. Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, Princeton, 1951, pp. 114-128.

not been well represented by the finds from the Corinth excavations.⁸⁰ Detailed study of our new finds will undoubtedly result in further joins among the fragments and increased knowledge about the technique of modelling these figures, some of which are almost life-size.

The earliest terracotta statue is that of a standing, draped archaic kouros (MF 12523; Pl. 95, c, e). Only the torso is preserved and the right side of the figure's chest is badly broken. It is about two-thirds life-size; height 0.48 m. The left arm was bent forward at the elbow, but is missing below this point. Three long, black locks of hair fall over the front of the left shoulder and the rest is gathered up into a neat, triangular knot which lies against the figure's back below the shoulders. A long, tight himation falls diagonally across the front of the body from the left shoulder leaving a small part of the upper chest bare. The figure is modelled carefully on the back, where heavy folds of the himation hang straight down from the left shoulder, and much of the original paint is preserved: dark red on the himation, brownish black on the folds of drapery. The neck and chest are covered by a clear yellowish green slip. The figure is hollow except at the neck and the interior is divided vertically by a roughly modelled wall of clay. At the small of the back is an oval hole which appears to have been a vent hole that would have been plugged and hidden when the statue was finished.

Another terracotta male statue has only a part of the lower right chest and hip preserved (MF 11931; Pl. 97, d). This figure would originally have been almost life-size. Thick folds of drapery painted purple-red fall down the right side of the body and across the waist. The contours of the ribs are very carefully modelled.

Fragments of a third statue combine to form the right shoulder, upper right arm, and part of the back of a male figure, who wears a thick himation which falls down diagonally from his left shoulder (MF 12913; Pl. 95, d). The orange-pink color of the clay in this statue, which is in great contrast to the yellow-green and buff hues of the clay in the other two pieces, illustrates the wide range of firing techniques employed by the Corinthian sculptors.

Almost all of the numerous fragments of terracotta sculpture from the theatral area appear to belong to standing male figures who wear a himation over the left shoulder. This uniformity in iconography and the occurrence of the figures in a sanctuary that seems to have been so popular with female worshippers suggest that the statues do not represent male devotees. It seems more likely that the young man who is represented had some religious reason for being so honored in the shrine of Demeter and Persephone. It would be appropriate to see in these statues a male figure closely related to the goddesses in both legend and religious practice. Hades

⁸⁰ In the most recent catalogue, which represents the finds through 1954, only nine fragments are dated to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.; S. S. Weinberg, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 289-319.

seems excluded by the youthfulness of most of the statues, but the young Dionysos⁸¹ or perhaps Triptolemos would be suitable candidates. No obvious attributes which would settle the identification have yet been recognized among the many fragments of these male statues.

In addition to the terracotta sculpture a number of large votive busts were found, some of them closely resembling those from the Asklepieion.⁸² The most unusual of these is the terracotta head illustrated on Plate 97, c (MF 11778). It is a bearded male head with a great mass of deeply incised wavy hair. A heavy beard, attached separately, and a moustache surround the gaping mouth which turns down at the corners. The appearance of this individual was even more bizarre in antiquity since the face at least was covered with a thin coat of gilding, slight traces of which still remain over a pinkish painted undercoat.

METAL OBJECTS

Very few objects in this category are well preserved. Many small fragments of bronze, iron, and lead were found throughout the site, some of them from votive objects, others from utensils such as knife blades and iron roasting spits. One of the better bronze dedications from the last two seasons is a small bull standing free without a base⁸³ (Pl. 98, a).

Another metal object of interest is the lead scallop shell illustrated on Plate 98, b (MF 11848). The manner in which the grooves are rendered suggests that this object may have been made in a mould which was taken from a real scallop shell.⁸⁴ The lead shell could have been used as a weight, although there are no marks of value on it and, to my knowledge, this shape is not represented among the other weights from Corinth.⁸⁵ We must also consider the possibility that the shell was actually a dedication, since hundreds of scallop shells were found in the area of the Roman

⁸¹ The active participation of Dionysos in the *mysteriēs* of the Eleusinian goddess has been a matter for vigorous debate and cannot be discussed here. For a lengthy negative examination of the evidence pertaining to Eleusis, see G. E. Mylonas, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1960, pp. 68-118. Dionysos and Demeter did share mysteries, however, at Lerna; for the evidence see M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II², Munich, 1961, p. 354. It is also a reasonable inference from several terracotta figurines depicting the god, and perhaps from the terracotta pinax published *infra* p. 329, that he was worshipped in the sanctuary on Acrocorinth together with Demeter and Kore. Formal proof that he actually *participated* in the mysteries celebrated there may never be forthcoming. If the terracotta statues could be firmly identified as representing Dionysos, we would be as close to proof as we may ever hope to be in a site as notoriously devoid of inscriptions as Corinth, for the figures stood in the theatral area where the mystery ritual was probably performed.

⁸² See C. Roebuck, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

⁸³ MF 12170. Length 0.046 m. This is the third miniature bronze bull found in the sanctuary; see *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 18-19.

⁸⁴ For the same process used to make a votive clay shell see D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 148-149.

⁸⁵ For these see G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, pp. 203-206, with references. MF 11848 is 0.056 m. long and weighs 214 gr.

stoa, almost exclusively in the Roman level of occupation. These may merely represent the debris from banquets which featured this particular delicacy,³⁶ but it is equally possible, in view of the fertility symbolism of the scallop shell and a possible connection with Demeter,³⁷ that shells, both lead and real, were dedicated by worshippers.

COINS

One hundred and eighty coins were found in 1964 and 1965, bringing the total for the excavation to two hundred and eighty. Six of the coins from the last two seasons are silver and the remainder are bronze, including the silvered pieces from the cistern described *supra* p. 310. About one-third of the coins found were struck at Corinth before 146 B.C.; other Greek mints of the same period are represented by thirty-nine coins. The chronological distribution of the coins from our two most recent campaigns parallels the results from 1961 and 1962 and helps to support the conclusion that the sanctuary was no longer in use after the final decades of the fourth century after Christ. Seventy-two Roman coins were found which date to the period 31 B.C. to *ca.* A.D. 400. The fifth century, on the other hand, is represented by only one piece of doubtful attribution. There are two Byzantine bronze coins of the eleventh century and a single Turkish piece.

Two of the silver coins from the Corinthian mint merit illustration in this report, the first for its excellent condition and the superb rendering of the female head on the reverse. It is a hemidrachm (1.275 gr.), dating *ca.* 510-480 B.C., with the forepart of Pegasos flying left on the obverse and a koppa on its side below (Pl. 98, c). The reverse bears a female head, tentatively identified as the nymph Peirene, with archaic features to right; the details of the face and especially the hair are exquisitely rendered³⁸ (Pl. 98, d). The second coin is a Corinthian tetradrachm (8.36 gr.) of mid-fourth century B.C. date with Pegasos flying left on the obverse, koppa below (Pl. 98, e); the reverse shows the head of Athena to left wearing a Corinthian helmet with the symbol of a tiny bow and quiver behind her neck³⁹ (Pl. 98, f).

INSCRIPTIONS

Like other Corinthian sanctuaries, this site has produced very few inscriptions on stone. In addition to the two boundary stones discussed on pp. 301, 314, 330, there are

³⁶ D. B. Thompson, *loc. cit.*, aptly cites Athenaios, III, 86 c for a discussion of the edibility of shellfish. See also *R.E.*, XVI, 1, *s.v.* Muscheln, cols. 783-785, and O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, II, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 560-561.

³⁷ This type of shell was called a *κρείς*, or comb, but the word also designated the womb. On this subject see the entertaining paper of H. C. Coote, "The Scallop Shell, considered as a Symbol of Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries," *Archaeologia*, XLII, 1869, pp. 322-326, and, more seriously, A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 132-133, note 2, 302.

³⁸ Cf. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Copenhagen, 1944, *Corinth*, no. 18.

³⁹ Cf. O. E. Ravel, *Les "Poulains" de Corinthe*, II, London, 1948, p. 257, no. 1033d.

a few fragments of Roman date, but they contribute little to our knowledge of the history and operation of the cult. More interesting, if still fragmentary, are the inscriptions on clay, both dipinti and graffiti, of which seventy-five examples have come to light. One of the earliest is a text in the Corinthian epichoric alphabet incised retrograde around a small black-glazed cup (C-65-171; Pl. 98, g). The writer has used a thin but sloppy guide-line along the bottom of his letters, and the vase itself is divided into four sections by vertical lines lightly incised on the walls and extending to the foot. Fifteen letters are perfectly preserved at the beginning of the text; the rest is far from certain. The text reads as follows: Χοῖράσου *ha* ῥοτύλλα ἐμί . ῥόρι *τα* — — —. The name *Χοῖραςος* is not a common one; I have not found it attested at Corinth. The sixth letter of ῥοτύλλα may be an alpha, in which case the final letter would not belong to this word. If the doubtful ἐμί can be read, it would be possible to interpret the next word as ῥόρ<ε>ι and translate "I am the kotyle of Choirasos, to Kore. . . ." Of the rest of the text only a few scratches have survived. Enough remains of the pot, however, to show that the inscription did not extend all the way around it, and below the end of the line there is evidence in the letters *Χοῖρ* *vacant* that the writer had here made a false start on his text. Apart from its epigraphic interest, the vase adds new evidence of the best kind to the vexed question of the nomenclature of ancient pottery shapes.

By far the most puzzling inscriptions from the sanctuary are several oblong clay plaques which were inscribed before firing with a single proper name. Fourteen of these objects have been found to date, of which four are complete (Pl. 98, h-k).⁴⁰ In all of the plaques the clay is yellowish green and the lettering fairly uniform. Although it is impossible to assign all to the same hand, they seem to have been made at roughly the same period. On the basis of the most subjective of epigraphical criteria, letter-forms, we might tentatively place them in the second half of the fourth century or the first half of the third century B.C. They are *ca.* 0.025 m. high, *ca.* 0.01 m. thick, and the complete pinakes range in length from 0.10 m. to 0.14 m. In all the examples in which the right edge is preserved, the single name is in the genitive case.⁴¹ On the four complete plaques the following names are inscribed: Διονύσου, Παιᾶνος, Ὀλολυνγοῦς, Ἀλφιαίας.

The three intact pinakes and a few other fragments were found in the theatral area, a fact of importance for the interpretation of these objects, since they would hardly have been carried up into the higher part of the sanctuary to be discarded. Moreover, the good state of preservation of the three intact pinakes shows that they have probably not moved about in the earth since they were buried. The plaques appear, therefore, to be connected in some way with the theatral area. We have already seen how suitable the little theater is for the celebration of a ritual witnessed

⁴⁰ Plate 98, h, MF 11822; i, MF 12526; j, MF 11820; k, MF 11821.

⁴¹ There is one small fragment from the left side of a plaque which has two lines of letters.

by a select audience. The names on the pinakes may help to illuminate the nature of that celebration.

The function of the plaques themselves is by no means clear to me. They are either flat or slightly convex on the inscribed face. It is possible that they may have been labels of some sort, but no traces of perforations for suspension or any other marks of attachment have been detected on the preserved fragments. The complete plaques will stand up, like a domino, but if they are pieces used in a game, it is perhaps surprising that the names are all in the genitive, and most ancient Greek gaming pieces do not have this oblong and slightly convex shape. Another possibility would perhaps be that they are tickets of some sort, and their occurrence in the theatral area could support this view, but clay tesserae used for this purpose generally have the names in the nominative.⁴² It is also difficult to believe that the exotic individuals named on our plaques are mere mortals. Whatever the precise function of the pinakes may be, it is possible to connect the names on some of them with a cult ritual.

Διονύσου is the clearest. At a site where Dionysos was worshipped together with Demeter and Kore, this must surely designate the god himself, and not a human namesake.⁴³ Very near this plaque, a terracotta mask representing Dionysos was discovered. There is then a strong probability that Dionysos shared somehow in the activity that went on in the theatral area. That this activity included ritual utterances seems apparent from the two plaques which read Παιᾶνος and Ὀλολυνγοῦς. The *locus classicus* for the occurrence of the *paean* and the *ololyge* in sacrificial ritual is Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IV, 3, 18: καὶ οἱ μάντιες ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνῆλάλαζον, συνωλόλυνζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι.⁴⁴ These two types of utterances were not restricted to the ceremony of sacrifice; both were used in a wide variety of religious contexts⁴⁵ among which, for the *ololyge*, were the orgies of Dionysos and the ecstatic worship of Rhea-Kybele.⁴⁶ It is not clear to me whether Παιᾶν and Ὀλολυνγῶ designate personifications of the sacred utterances or actual sanctuary officials responsible for leading the ritual cries.⁴⁷ The connection, however, between the names and these cries does seem

⁴² Cf. the clay theater tickets from Mantinea, *I.G.*, V, 2, 323. For a general discussion of clay tokens, with bibliography, see M. Lang, M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora*, X, Princeton, 1964, pp. 124-126.

⁴³ Examples of the latter are fairly rare and late; see e. g. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg, 1922, col. 90.

⁴⁴ Cf. Aeschylus, *Septem*, 268-269: ὀλολυνγὸν ἱερὸν εὐμενῇ παιώνισον, | Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστάδος βοῆς, and a host of other passages collected by L. Deubner in his fundamental study, "Ololyge und Verwandtes," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1941, no. 1. See also E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus Agamemnon*, II, Oxford, 1950, pp. 296-297.

⁴⁵ On the uses of the *paean* see *R.E.*, XVIII, 2, 1942/3, cols. 2345-2354. For the *ololyge* see the full documentation in Deubner, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-26.

⁴⁷ There was an official at Pergamon in the 2nd century B.C. called the ὀλολύκτρια who was connected with the worship of Athena, W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, III, 982, line 25 and note 19.

very likely, and the proximity of the small temple and the sacrificial Pit D to the theatral area suggests that the cries accompanied cult ritual that took place near by. A full discussion of all possible interpretations of the pinakes and of the implications they suggest for the worship of Demeter cannot be attempted here. Certainly, the last word will not be written about these tantalizing objects for some time to come, and, hopefully, the last examples may not yet have been unearthed in the sanctuary.

One final inscription must be described because of its possible significance for the limits of the sacred area. It was discovered *in situ* between the Banquet Hall and Building A (*supra* p. 314; Pl. 96, K). The text, which is complete, consists of three large letters OPF, deeply cut into a low poros block⁴⁸ (Pl. 98, l). The abbreviation,⁴⁹ the size of the letters, and the shape of the block indicate that the stone is a boundary marker. In the absence of securely dated parallels from Corinth⁵⁰ we can do little more than assign the inscription generally to the classical period. Its position, however, is puzzling, for the letters face toward the east as if the block may be marking the limits of an area behind it to the west, where lies the Banquet Hall. It is also possible, however, that it defines the sacred area to the east, including Building A and the theatral area, and that the Banquet Hall is thus firmly excluded from the sanctuary. A third possibility is that the boundary marker is earlier than the construction of both the Banquet Hall and the small temple, and that it marked a limit which was no longer observed after these two structures were built. The marker may simply have been covered over rather than being removed from the rubble complex of walls in which it is situated. Testing of the fill around the base of the stone may reveal chronological evidence which will help to solve this problem. Further excavation to the west is also mandatory to clarify the plan of the larger structure of which the Banquet Hall is only a part. This work will probably be resumed in the summer of 1968 when excavation is to be concentrated in the western sector of the site.

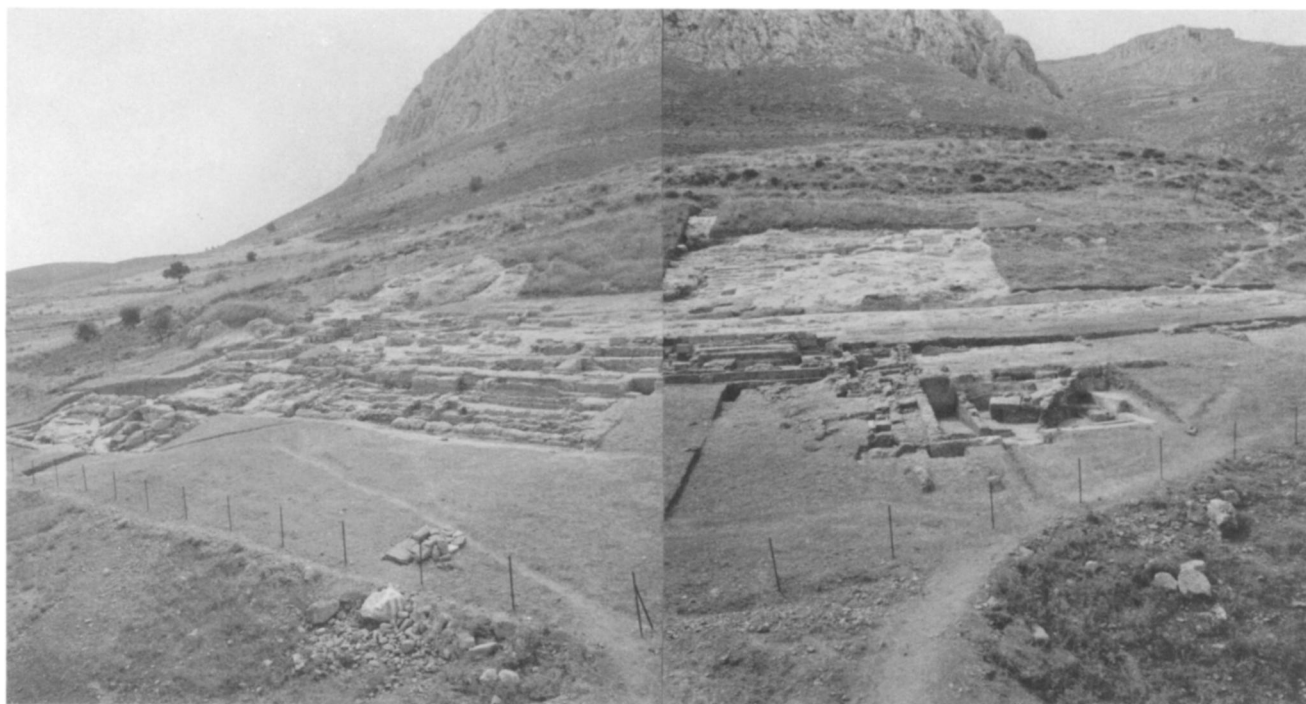
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⁴⁸ Exposed height 0.40 m.; width 0.36 m.; thickness 0.278 m. Height of letters 0.07-0.116 m.

⁴⁹ For the spelling *ῶπος* see *I.G.*, IX, 1, 698 from Kerkyra.

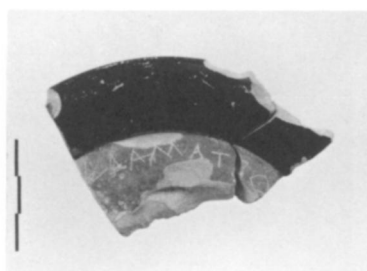
⁵⁰ Digamma was used in abbreviations at Corinth as late as the mid-fourth century B.C.; *Corinth*, VIII, i, no. 11; improved text by S. Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, LIII, 1942, pp. 90-106.



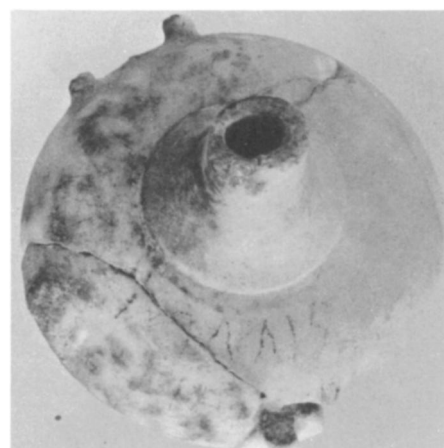
a. View of Sanctuary of Demeter from North



b.-d. Sherds in Outline Technique (1:2)



e.-f. Inscribed Sherds (1:2)



g. Marble Hydria Fragment (1:2)



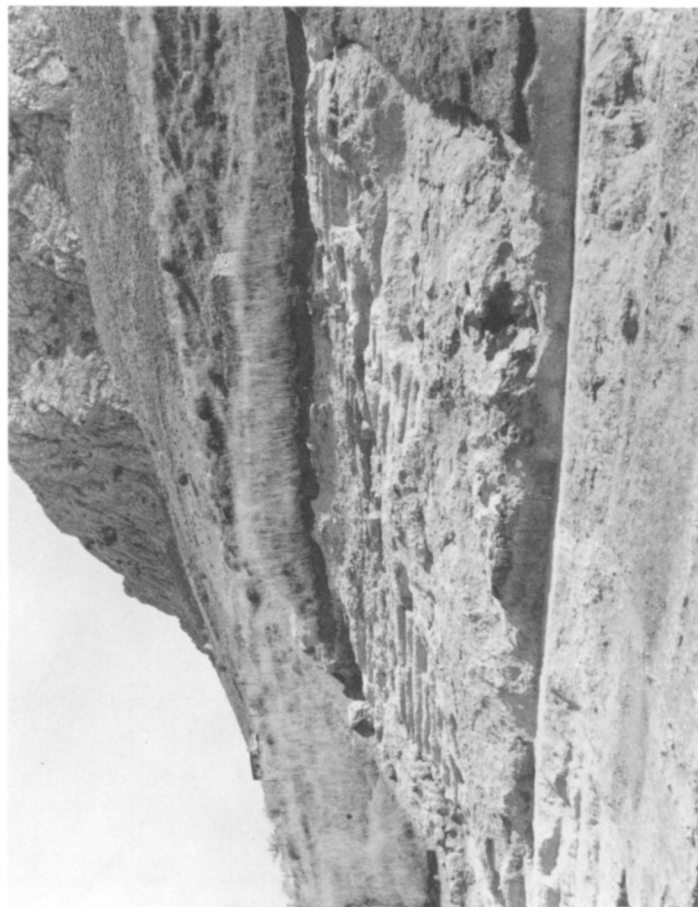
a. Pottery Pocket in Room E



b. Pit E from South



c. Scaraboid Amulet and Cast from Pit E (1:1)



d. Theatral Area from Northwest



e. Theatral Area from East

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a. Rectangular Building in Theatral Area from East



c. Building A South Wall and Footing Trench from East



b. Theatral Area from Northeast



d. Building A Pillaging Trench over North Wall from West



a. Building A from West



b. Pit F from East



c. Pit E with Deposit from East.

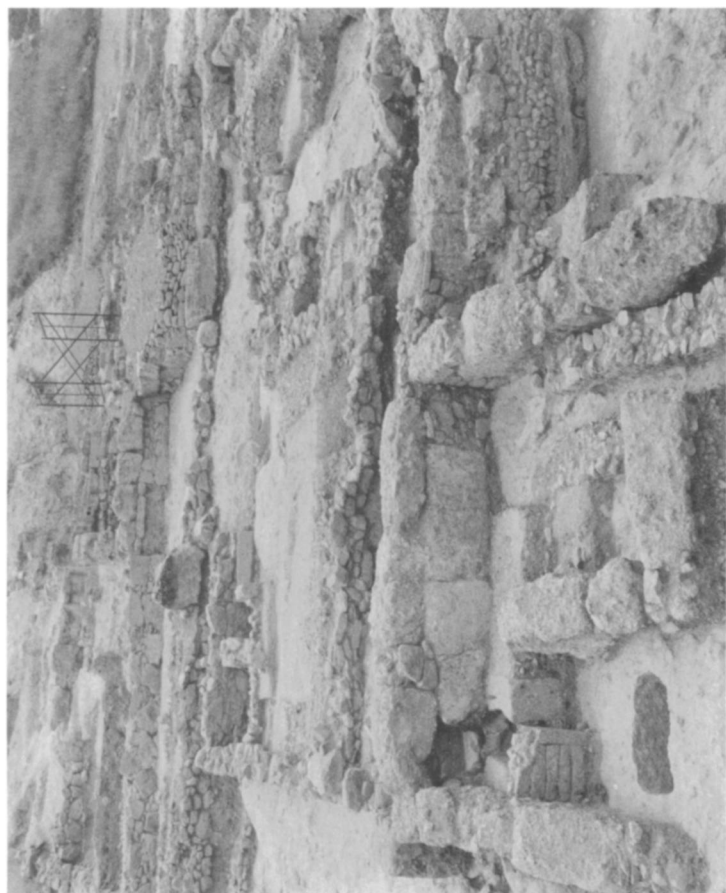


d. Banquet Hall from North

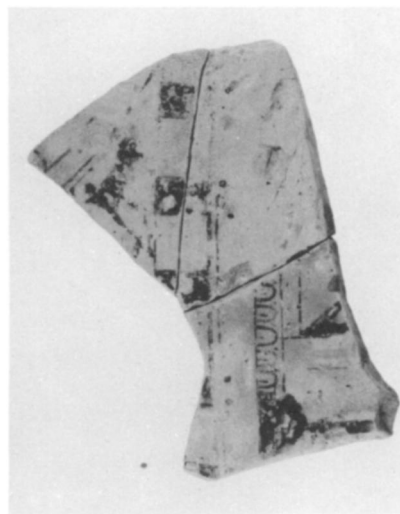
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a. Banquet Hall from North showing "Kitchen," Bench and Threshold



b. Room J and Rubble Complex from North



c. Silhouette Sherd (1:3)



d. Corinthian Sherd (1:2)



e-f. Archaic Terracotta Figurines (1:1)

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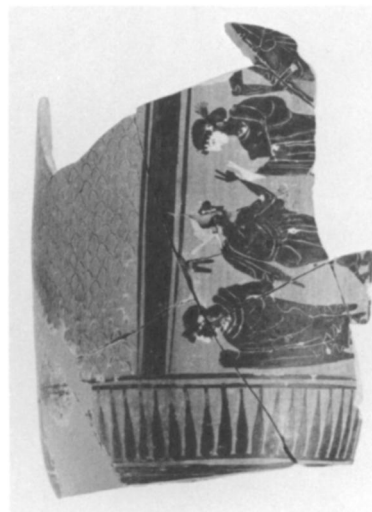
a. Northeast Building from North



b. Northeast Building from West

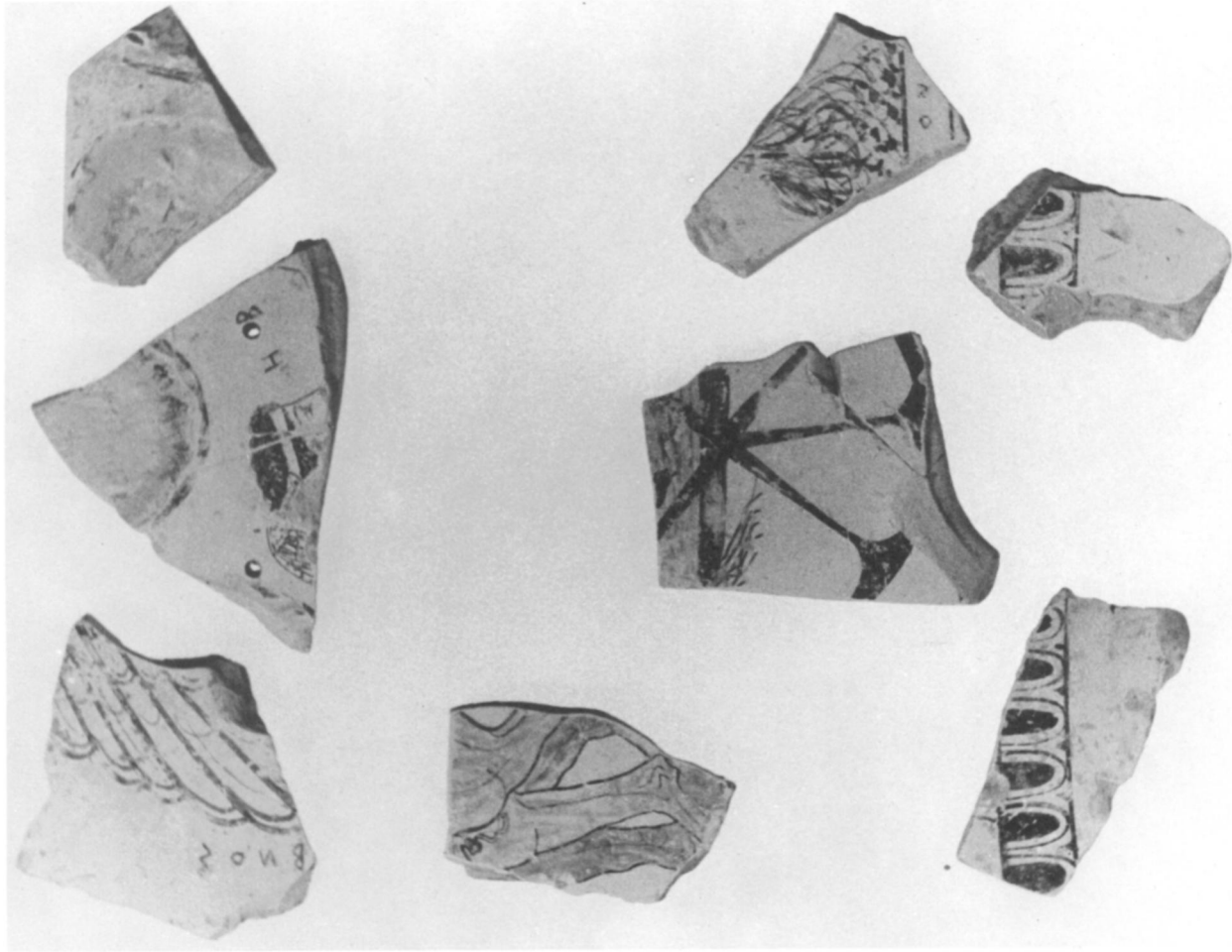


c. Northeast Building from South with Quarry



d. Attic Black-figured Epinetron (1:3)

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a. Polychrome Figured Sherds (1:2)



b.



c.



d.



e.

b.-e. Archaic Terracotta Figurines (1:1)



a.



b.



c.



d. (1:3)



e.



f.



g.



h.

a.-h. Terracotta Figurines (1:1 except d.)

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a. Silenos Mask (1:1)



b. Terracotta Comic Actor (1:1)



c.



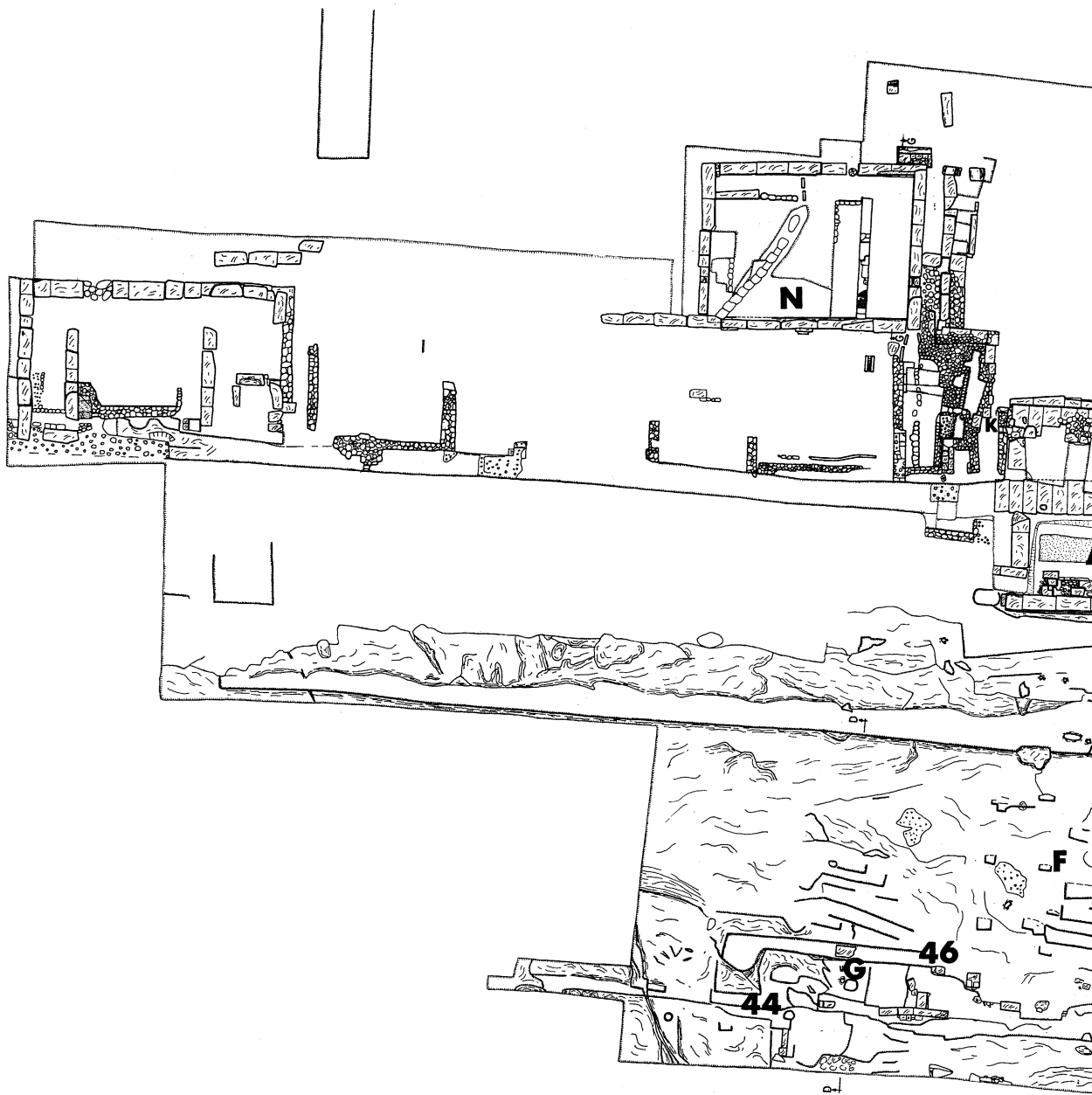
d. Fragment of Terracotta Statue (1:3)



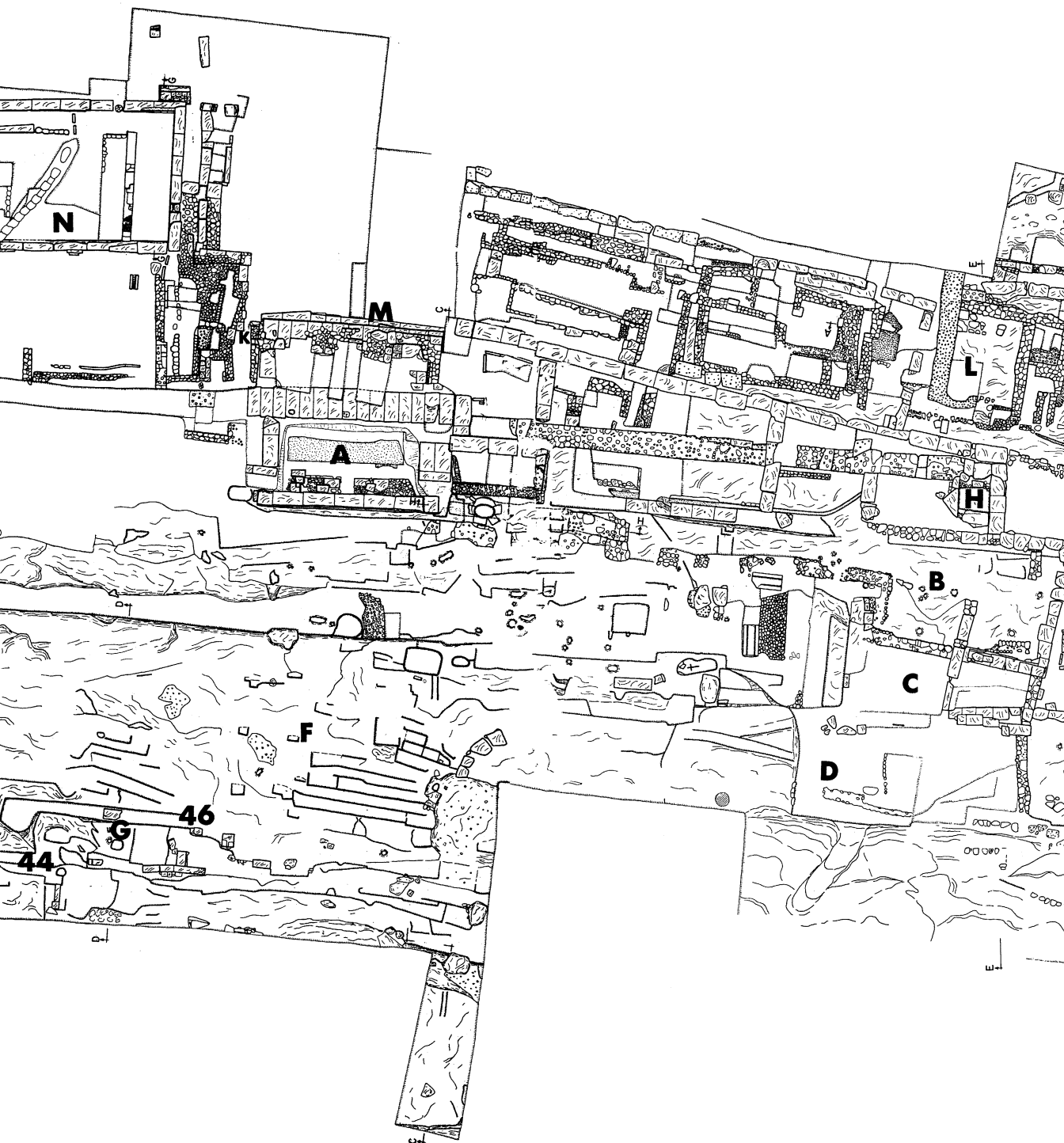
e.

c. and e. Archaic Terracotta Kouros (1:5)

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A = Building A
 B = Room B
 C = Room C
 D = Room D
 E = Room E
 F = The central Area
 G = Room G
 H = Room H
 I = Room I
 J = Room J
 K = Room K
 L = Room L
 M = Room M
 N = Room N
 O = Room O
 P = Room P
 Q = Room Q
 R = Room R
 S = Room S
 T = Room T
 U = Room U
 V = Room V
 W = Room W
 X = Room X
 Y = Room Y
 Z = Room Z



A = Building A

B = Room B

C = Room C

D = Room D

E = Room E

F = Theatrical Area

J = Room J

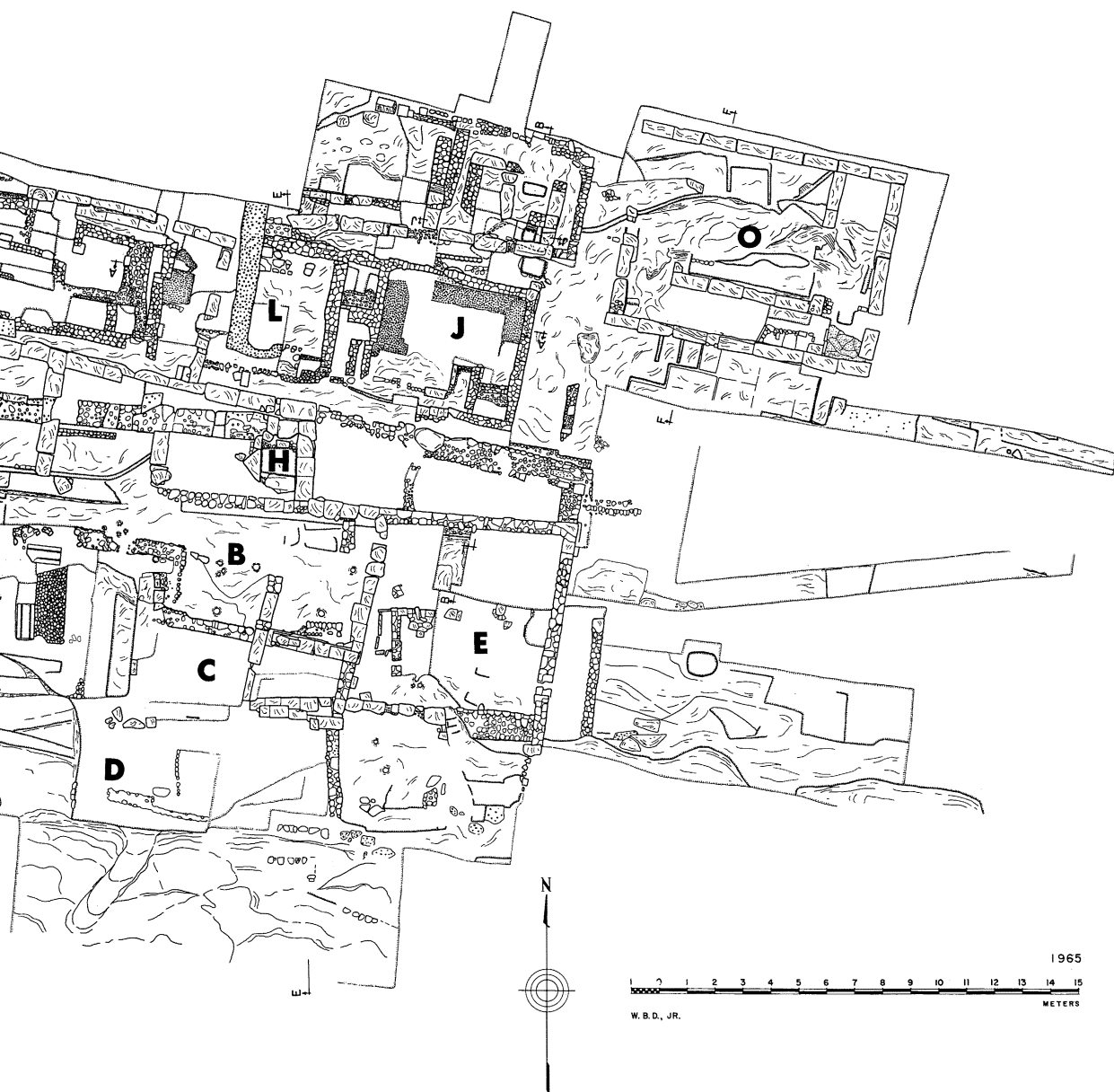
K = Horos Stone

L = Room L

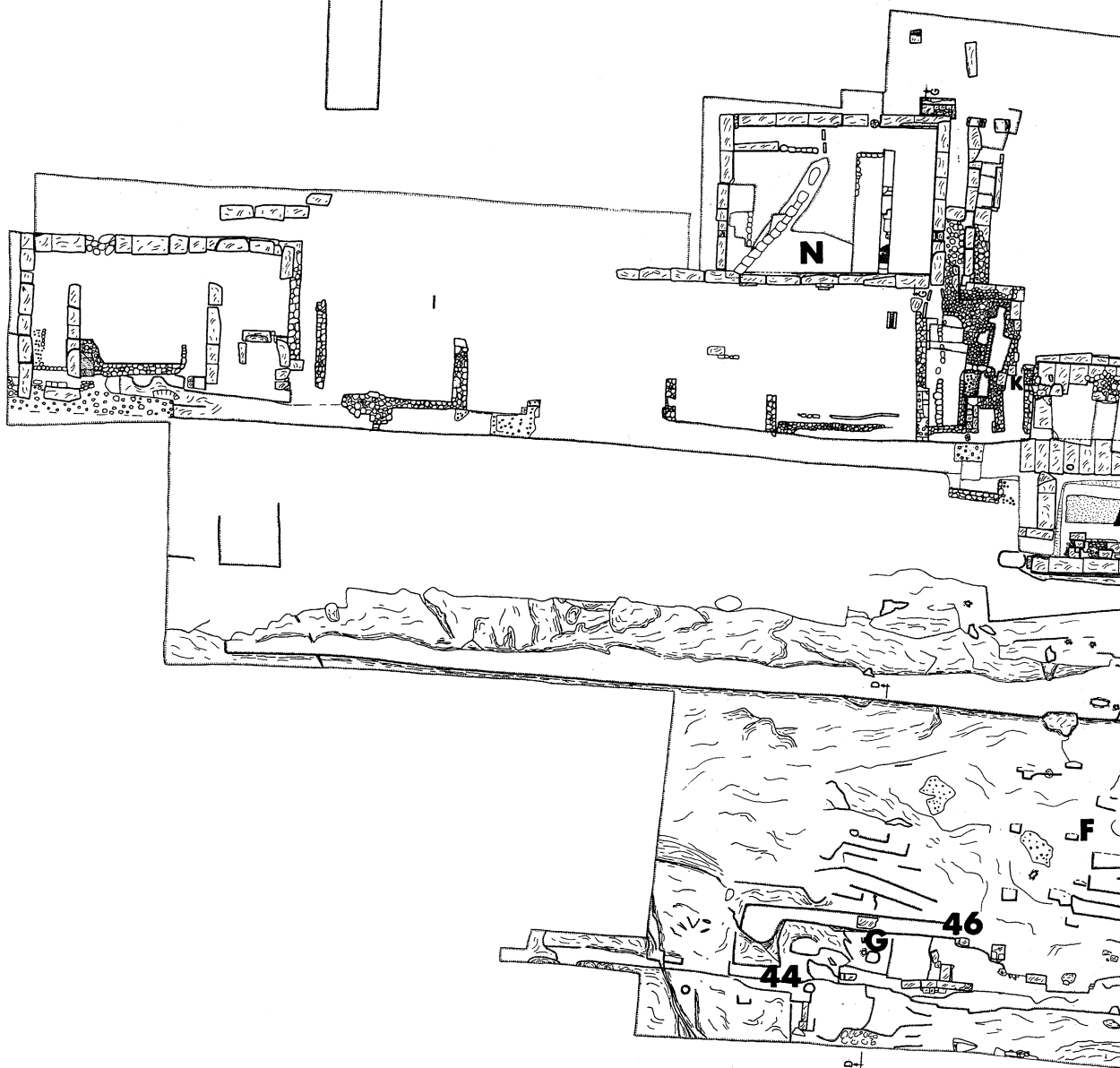
M = \square -shaped Foundation

N = Banquet Hall

O = Northeast Building

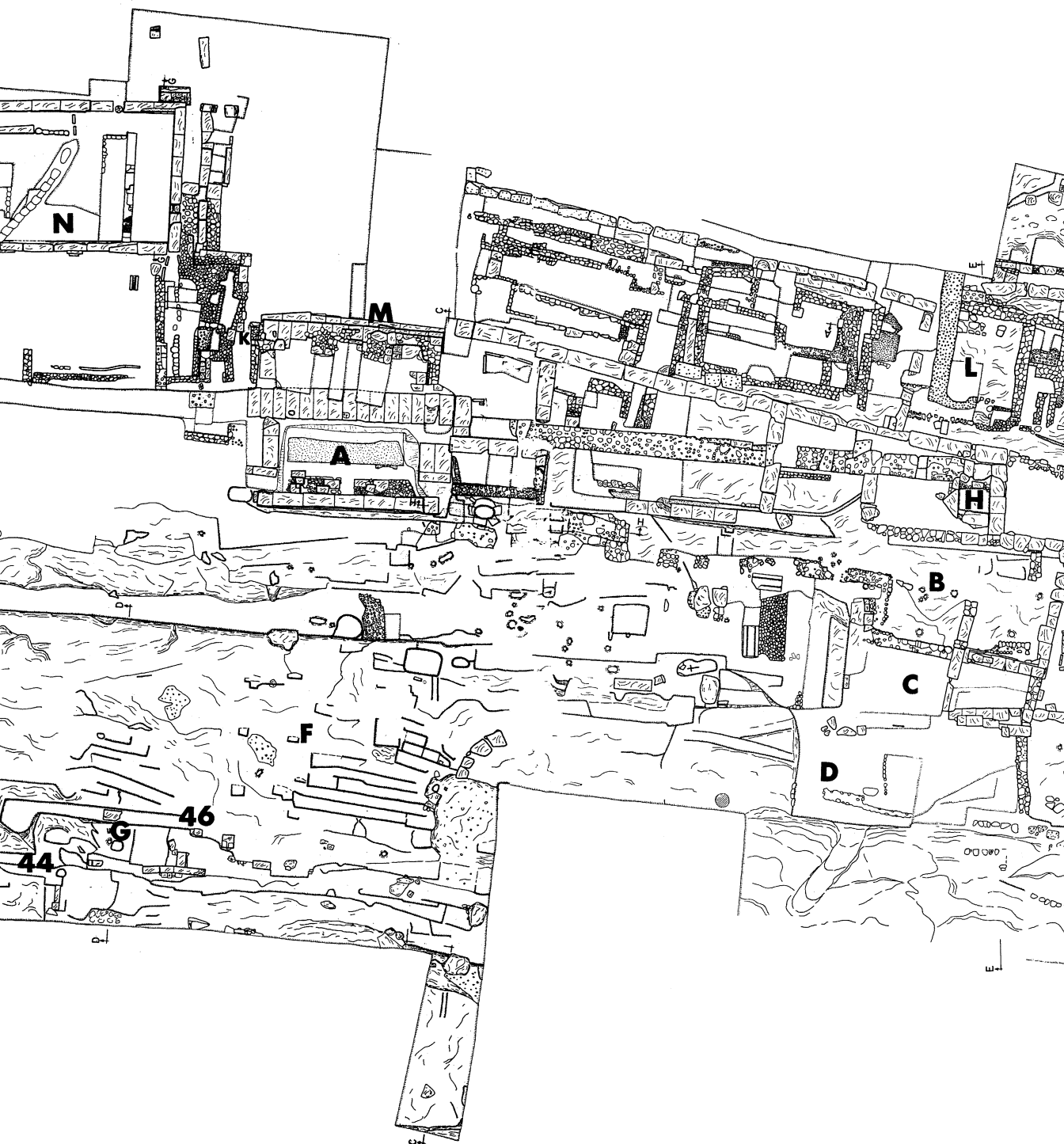


- J = Room J
- K = Horos Stone
- L = Room L
- M = \square -shaped Foundation
- N = Banquet Hall
- O = Northeast Building



- A = Building A
- B = Room B
- C = Room C
- D = Room D
- E = Room E
- F = Theatral Area
- G = Pit D
- H = Pit B

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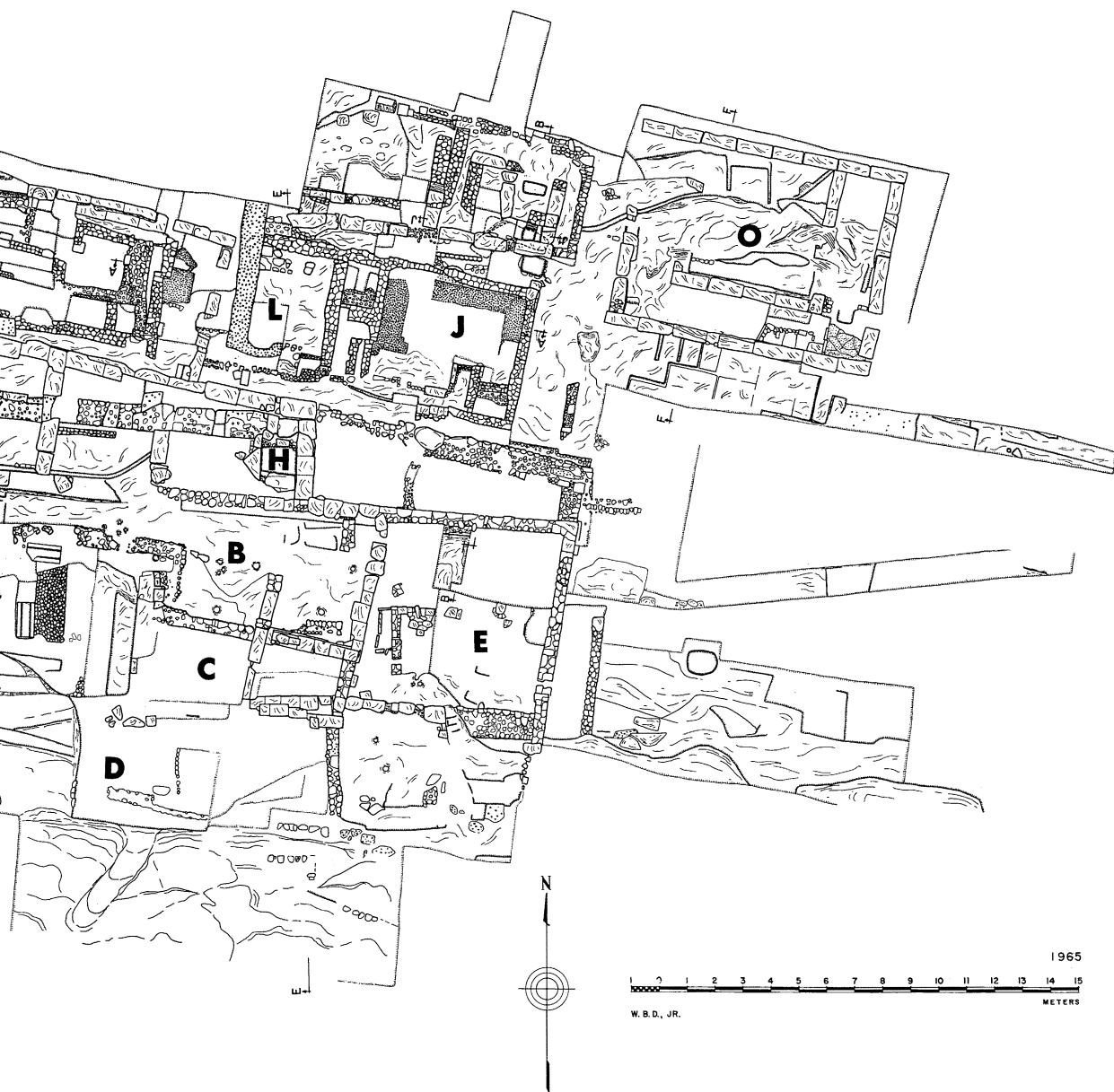


A = Building A
 B = Room B
 C = Room C
 D = Room D
 E = Room E
 F = Theatral Area
 G = Pit D
 H = Pit B

Actual State Plan

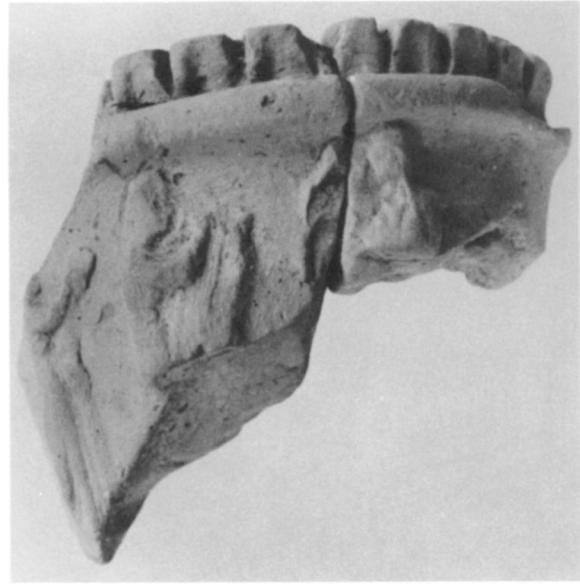
J = Room J
 K = Horos Stone
 L = Room L
 M = \square -shaped Foundation
 N = Banquet Hall
 O = Northeast Building
 44 = Wall 44
 46 = Wall 46

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J = Room J
 K = Horos Stone
 L = Room L
 M = \square -shaped Foundation
 N = Banquet Hall
 O = Northeast Building
 44 = Wall 44
 46 = Wall 46

TEMPLE AND KORE ON ACROCORINTH,
 II: 1964-1965



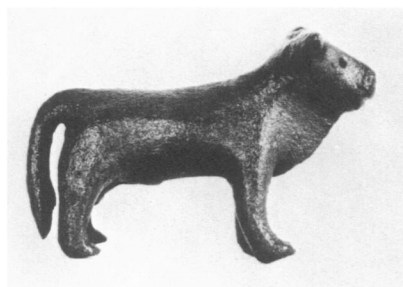
a.-b. Fragments of Votive Polos (1:1)



c. Terracotta Male Head (1:2)



d. Terracotta Male Torso (1:5)



a. Bronze Bull (1:1)



b. Lead Scallop Shell (1:1)



c.-d. Archaic Corinthian Hemidrachm (2:1)



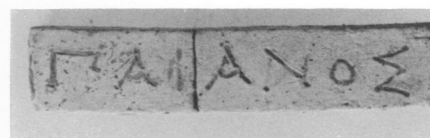
e.-f. 4th Century Corinthian Tetradrachm (1:1)



g. Black-glazed Cup with Graffito (1:2)



h.



i.

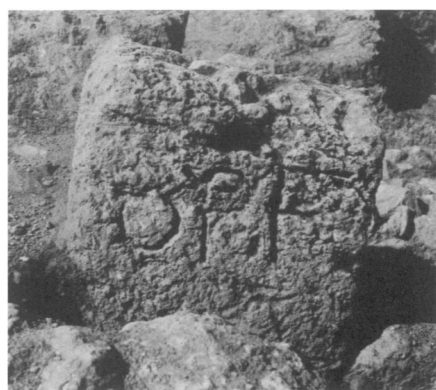
h.-k. Inscribed Terracotta Pinakes (1:2)



j.



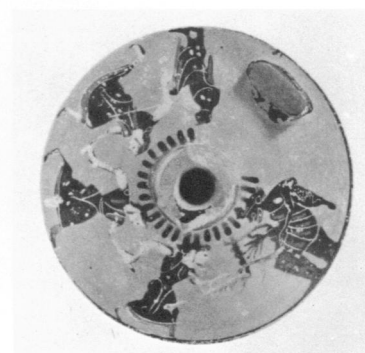
k.

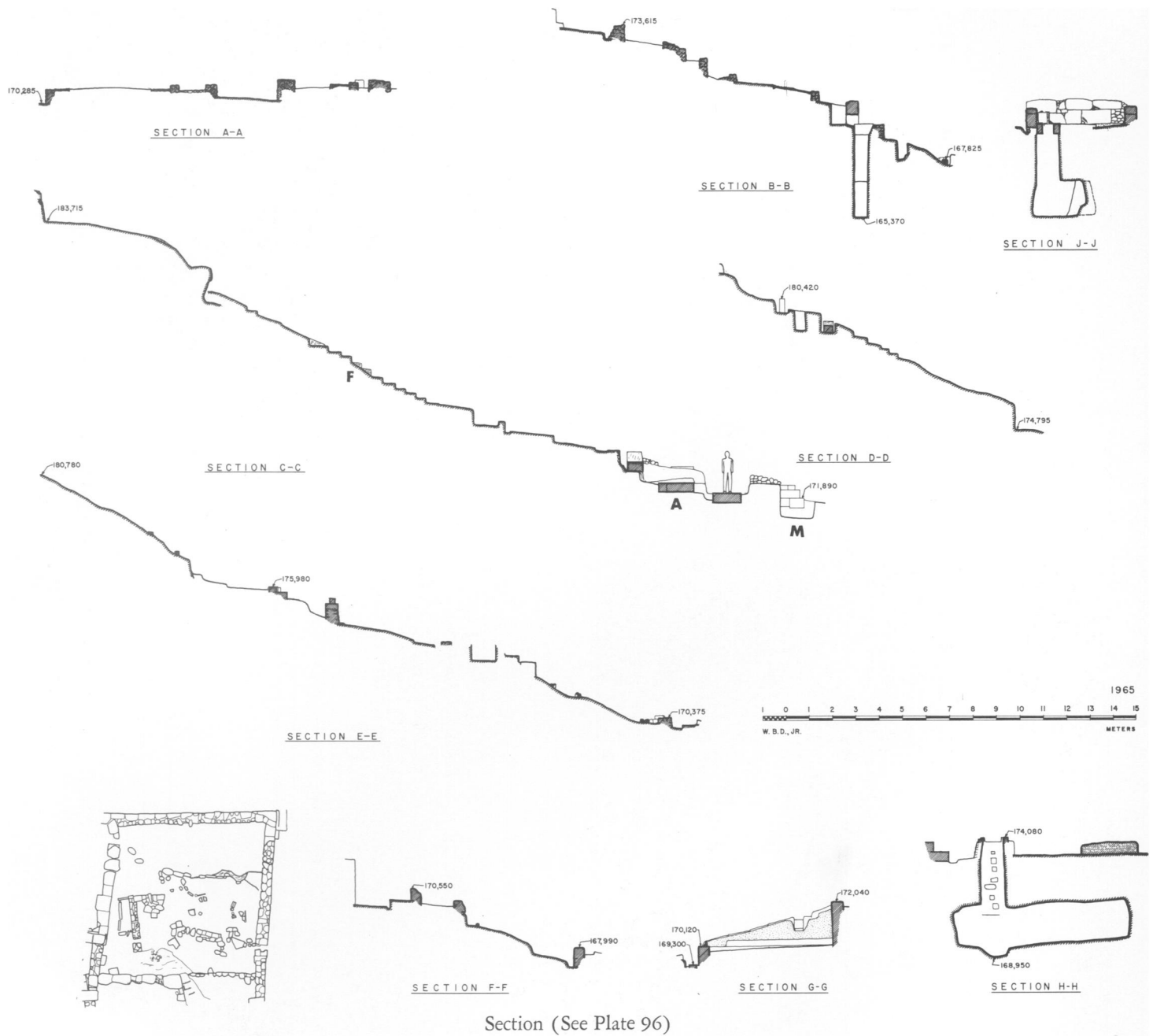


l. Inscribed Boundary Stone



m.-n. Black-figured Lekythos (1:2)





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