HESPERIA 73 (2004)
Pages 401–426

APOLLO AND THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE AT CORINTH

ABSTRACT

After a detailed examination of the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, the authors argue that the prominent Archaic Doric temple at Corinth was dedicated to Apollo. It is this temple with its bronze statue that Pausanias (2.3.6) saw on his right as he left the area of the forum, taking the road to Sikyon. In further support of this identification, the authors present a previously unpublished Archaic terracotta pinax, possibly inscribed with a dedication to Apollo. The plaque was found during excavations at Corinth in 1902 and is now, apparently, lost.

The Archaic Doric temple that stands on the hill above the Roman forum at Corinth is the single most imposing monument to that city's early greatness.[1] Visible since the middle of the sixth century B.C. when it was built, the temple has served as a beacon and focus for early travelers, the first excavators of Corinth, and visitors to the site. Nevertheless, the identification of this major monument has remained a matter of debate.[2]

In 1886, the first excavator, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, stated that the temple's dedication was unknown, although some had attributed it to Athena Chalinitis.[3] In the earliest excavation reports of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, it appears as the "Old Temple."[4] With the discovery of the theater in 1897 and the Fountain of Peirene in 1898, however, the excavated site of Corinth could be related to the description of Pausanias, and by 1898 Rufus B. Richardson had identified the Old Temple as the Temple of Apollo.[5] It was published as such by Richard Stillwell[6] and, in

1. We are grateful to Benjamin Millis, Elizabeth G. Pemberton, Christopher Pfaff, Helen C. Stroud, Rudolf Wachter, and Charles K. Williams II for reading an earlier draft of this paper and substantially improving it. Comments from the two anonymous *Hesperia* readers have also been very helpful. We thank James Herbst and David Scahill for help with the plans; and Karen Soteriou and Martin Sedaghat for their drawings of Figs. 4 and 5, respectively. All translations are by R. S. Stroud.

2. For a useful discussion of the history of this problem, see Powell 1905, p. 44, who observed that, "No ruin in Greece has suffered more on the score of nomenclature than that of the old temple at Corinth." A century of scholarship has yet to effect a satisfactory cure.

3. Dörpfeld 1886, p. 305.

4. Richardson 1897.

5. Richardson 1898, p. 236.

6. *Corinth* I, pp. 115–134.

1905, Benjamin Powell asserted that "subsequent excavations have made this [identification] practically certain and from the evidence given by Dr. Richardson we may rest assured that this was truly the Temple of Apollo."[7] This statement, however, has not found universal assent.[8] A recent rediscovery of an inscribed clay plaque from the 1902 excavations takes on greater significance as possible additional evidence for the identification of the temple.

Before presenting this important new find, we first review the literary, epigraphic, architectural, and archaeological evidence for the identity of the Archaic temple, which, as far as we know, has never been thoroughly examined in one place.[9]

LITERARY EVIDENCE

We begin with the particular passage in Pausanias that relates to this issue, 2.3.6–2.4.5. Here, and elsewhere in his description of Corinth, the periegetes[10] uses the word ἀγορά for the large, open, paved area to the south of Temple Hill, which we will call the "forum" of the Roman city of Corinth.

> Ἑτέραν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα ἐρχομένοις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω κρήνη καλουμένη Γλαύκης· ἐς γὰρ ταύτην ἔρριψεν αὑτήν, ὡς λέγουσι, τῶν Μηδείας ἔσεσθαι φαρμάκων τὸ ὕδωρ νομίζουσα ἴαμα. ὑπὲρ ταύτην πεποίηται τὴν κρήνην καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ὠιδεῖον, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸ μνῆμά ἐστι τοῖς Μηδείας παισίν. . . . [2.3.7] χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ θυσίαι τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέτειοι κατέστησαν καὶ Δεῖμα ἐπεστάθη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι λείπεται, γυναικὸς ἐς τὸ φοβερώτερον εἰκὼν πεποιημένη. . . . [2.4.1] τοῦ μνήματος δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω Χαλινίτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν. . . . [2.4.5] τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Χαλινίτιδος πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ σφίσιν ἐστίν.
>
> Upon leaving the agora by another road, the one toward Sikyon, it is possible to see on the right of the road a temple and a bronze statue of Apollo and a little further on a fountain named for Glauke. For it was into this fountain that she threw herself, as they say, believing that its water would cure Medea's poisons. Beyond this fountain has also been constructed what is known as the Odeion. Beside it is a memorial to the sons of Medea. . . . [2.3.7] In response to the god's oracle, they (the Corinthians) established annual sacrifices to them and a monument of Terror was erected. This in fact still survives to our day, an image of a woman of dreadful appearance. . . . [2.4.1] Not far from the monument is the Sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis. . . . [2.4.5] The Sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis is near their theater.

This passage follows Pausanias's description of the monuments in the forum (2.2.6–3.1) and those along the road leading to the harbor of Lechaion (2.3.2–5). In 2.3.6, he returns to the west end of the forum and leaves on a road leading to Sikyon. Here he finds a temple and bronze statue of Apollo

7. Powell 1905, p. 53.

8. The observation of Frazer in his first edition of 1897, basically unchanged in the second edition of 1913, vol. 3, p. 37, "There is absolutely no evidence to what deity or rather deities the temple was dedicated," and his omission of any mention of a temple and statue of Apollo from his commentary on Pausanias 2.3.6 have to be seen in light of the fact that he wrote without any reference to the excavations of the American School.

9. Reichert-Südbeck 2000, pp. 183–205, has a valuable discussion of the evidence as it pertains to the worship of Apollo at Corinth.

10. We apply this nontechnical, descriptive term to Pausanias in light of the excellent discussion by Jones (2001).

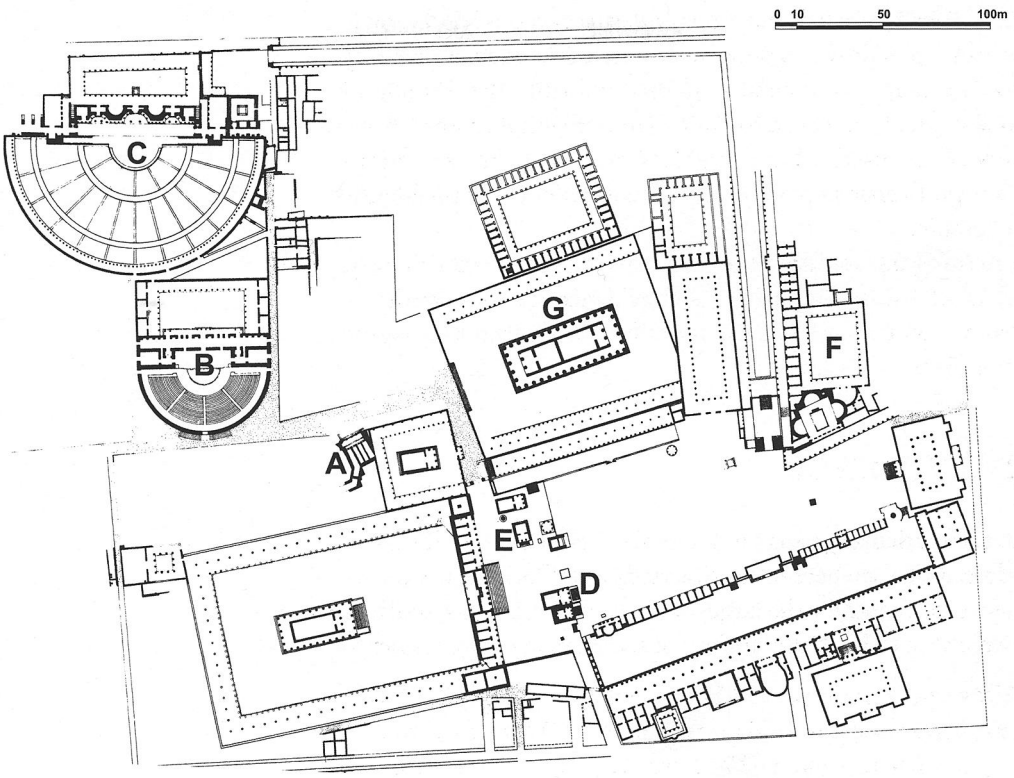


Figure 1. Plan of Corinth, ca. A.D. 150: A. Fountain of Glauke; B. Odeion; C. Theater; D. Temple G; E. Temple K; F. Peribolos of Apollo; G. Temple of Apollo. C. K. Williams II, Corinth Excavations

on the right side of the road. A little beyond this is the Fountain of Glauke, which has probably survived as the prominent rock-cut structure at A in Figure 1. The Odeion (Fig. 1:B), which is firmly identified, lies beyond Glauke, still on the road toward Sikyon. Another conspicuous structure, the theater (Fig. 1:C), indicates that all the monuments described in this passage by Pausanias must have been located between it and the gate by which he leaves the northwest corner of the forum. Convincing identifications for the memorial to Medea's children, the statue of Terror, and the Sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis have yet to be established, although many theories have been proposed.[11] We return to this passage below.

Further evidence for an image of Apollo in Roman Corinth is provided by Pausanias in 2.2.8, where he mentions a statue of Klarian Apollo in the forum near a fountain of Poseidon. A possible representation of this statue exists on a coin of Septimius Severus from Corinth.[12] The prototype of the god seated, semidraped, on a throne with his lyre next to him

11. For the *mnema,* see *Anth. Pal.* 7.354. For an introduction to the problems of the monument of Medea's children and the statue of Terror, with citation of sources and earlier bibliography, see Johnston 1997, who, however, errs in stating (pp. 46, 48) that Pausanias placed these monuments "in the agora." Regarding her proposal (pp. 49, 60) that the statue of Terror stood in the Sanctuary of Hera Akraia in Perachora, we prefer to follow the view of Papachatzis (1976, p. 75), that Pausanias's verb ἐπεστάθη (2.3.7) ties the statue to the *mnema* that is located next to the Odeion and not far from the Sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis. On the latter, see Novaro-Lefèvre 2000, pp. 60–62. On the *mnema,* see also Bookidis, forthcoming.

While alert to recent interest in Pausanias's "principles of choice," as Jones (2003) has well explained them, we are not prepared to follow Osanna (2001, p. 198), who rejects the seven topographic designations in this passage and argues that the organizing principle here is a kind of thematic association of legends rather than "una guida, topograficamente coerente."

12. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1964, p. 156, no. 25, pl. FF:14.

apparently goes back to the first half of the second century B.C.[13] Flashar's association of a corresponding figure on Augustan monuments celebrating the victory at Actium might give some support for an Augustan date for the statue at Corinth. In his suggestion that this statue was housed in Temple G (Fig. 1:D), Charles K. Williams II definitely set it in the Roman period.[14] Scranton attempted to place the statue of Apollo Klarios in Temple K (Fig. 1:E), which he then identified as the Temple of Apollo from Pausanias 2.3.6 (see below, p. 414).[15] A connection between Corinth and the Oracle of Apollo at Klaros is attested in an inscription from Klaros that records a delegation of 10 Corinthian *hymnodoi* sent to Klaros in the reign of Hadrian.[16] It is important to distinguish the small Roman temple in Pausanias's agora that housed the statue of Apollo Klarios from the Temple of Apollo in 2.3.6 that stood outside the agora on the right side of the road leading toward Sikyon.

Another reference to Apollo at Corinth is found in Pausanias 2.3.3, where he mentions a statue of the god next to the Fountain of Peirene. A nearby peribolos (Fig. 1:F), on the east side of the Lechaion Road, in which Pausanias saw a painting of Odysseus and the suitors may also have been consecrated to Apollo, although there seems to be nothing in the archaeological record to associate it with this god. We note also that Pausanias does not refer to a temple in this precinct in the Roman period.[17]

The only other temple dedicated to Apollo mentioned at Corinth by Pausanias cannot be related to the Archaic structure on Temple Hill, for it was outside the city walls on the road from Corinth to Sikyon and lay in burned ruins at the time of his visit. The relevant passage (2.5.5) reads as follows:

> ἐκ Κορίνθου δὲ οὐκ ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα ἰοῦσι ναὸς ἐμπεπρησμένος ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ. γεγόνασι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πόλεμοι περὶ τὴν Κορινθίαν καὶ πῦρ ἐπέλαβεν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ ἔξω τείχους· ἀλλὰ τοῦτόν γε τὸν ναὸν Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ὅτι Πύρρος κατακαύσειεν ὁ Ἀχιλλέως αὐτόν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἤκουσα καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε, ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοι Διὶ ποιήσαιντο Ὀλυμπίῳ τὸν ναὸν καὶ ὡς ἐξαίφνης πῦρ ποθὲν ἐμπεσὸν διαφθείρειεν αὐτόν.
>
> Going from Corinth, not along the inland road, but on the one leading to Sikyon there is a burned temple not far from the city on the left side of the road. Certainly there have been a number of

13. See Flashar 1992, pp. 147–157; Marcadé 1994, pp. 448–450.

14. Williams and Fisher 1975, pp. 27–28; cf. Musti and Torelli 1986, pp. 217–220; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, pp. 188–189.

15. *Corinth* I.3, p. 71.

16. Macridy 1912, pp. 54–55, no. 27.

17. *Corinth* I.2, pp. 1–54. H. E. Askew, in *Corinth* I.2, p. 1: "The name, Peribolos of Apollo, has been accepted with little hesitation, on the basis of the comment of Pausanias (II, 3, 3). . . . The existence, however, of such a statue of Apollo suggests that the buildings may have been consecrated to that god, possibly in Greek times as well as in the time of Pausanias." In view of the fact that a fish market was built over the temenos of the Hellenistic temple before the peribolos was laid out in the later first century A.D., it is unlikely that worship of the Greek deity would have continued. Reichert-Südbeck (2000, p. 189) is in essential agreement with this view. For the identification of the market, see Williams 1993, pp. 39–40; *Corinth* I.2, plan I. For Williams's previous work in the peribolos, see Williams 1968, p. 134.

> other wars in the region of the Corinthia and understandably houses and sanctuaries outside the city wall have been put to the flame. This temple, however, they say was that of Apollo and that Pyrrhos the son of Achilles burned it down. At a later time, I heard another version to the following effect, that the Corinthians constructed the temple for Olympian Zeus and that a sudden and unexpected fire destroyed it.

We turn now to potentially relevant literary evidence for Apollo in the Greek city of Corinth that may be useful in identifying the Archaic temple. The earliest belongs to the reign of Periander, 626/5–586/5 B.C. As part of his struggle against his rebellious son, Lykophron, the tyrant issued a proclamation recorded by Herodotos 3.52 as follows: τέλος δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὃς ἂν ἢ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηταί μιν ἢ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἱρὴν ζημίην τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσην δὴ εἴπας. "Finally Periander issued a proclamation to the effect that whoever either should receive him [Lykophron] in their houses or converse with him should be liable to a fine consecrated to Apollo, and in fact he stated the sum." Later, when Periander himself conversed with his son, the latter reminded his father that he ἱρὴν ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἑωυτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον, "had incurred the fine consecrated to the god by entering into conversation with him." The relevance of this passage for our present purposes was aptly noted by Heinrich Stein in his commentary to Herodotos: "Strafgelder flossen entweder in die Staatskasse oder, wie hier, in dem Tempelschatz einer Gottheit."[18] Apart from the "folk-tale" elements of this story, we believe that it is safe to infer that contemporary with Periander there was a depository for fines consecrated to Apollo at Corinth and that its most probable location was in a temple of this god.[19]

Further evidence for the importance and, indeed, for the size and location of the temple and sanctuary of Apollo at Corinth is found in Plutarch, *Aratos* 40.[20] In 225/4 B.C. the Corinthian πλῆθος, in anger at Aratos, the general of the Achaian League and commander of the garrison on Acrocorinth:

> συνδραμόντες οὖν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν, μετεπέμποντο τὸν Ἄρατον, ἀνελεῖν ἢ συλλαβεῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐγνωκότες. ὁ δ' ἦκε μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφελκόμενος τὸν ἵππον, ὡς οὐκ ἀπιστῶν οὐδ' ὑποπτεύων, ἀναπηδησάντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ λοιδορουμένων αὐτῷ καὶ κατηγορούντων, εὖ πως καθεστῶτι τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πρᾴως ἐκέλευε καθίσαι καὶ μὴ βοᾶν ἀτάκτως ἑστῶτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ θύρας ὄντας εἴσω παριέναι· καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ὑπεξῆει βάδην ὡς παραδώσων τινὶ τὸν ἵππον. οὕτως δ' ὑπεκδύς, καὶ τοῖς ἁπαντῶσι τῶν Κορινθίων ἀθορύβως διαλεγόμενος καὶ κελεύων πρὸς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον βαδίζειν, ὡς ἔλαθε πλησίον τῆς ἄκρας γενόμενος, ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ Κλεοπάτρῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς φρουρᾶς διακελευσάμενος ἐγκρατῶς φυλάττειν, ἀφίππευσεν εἰς Σικυῶνα. . . . αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι μετ' ὀλίγον τὴν ἀπόδρασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διώξαντες, ὡς οὐ κατέλαβον, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ παρέδοσαν τὴν πόλιν.

18. Stein 1893, p. 59.

19. For a convenient collection of evidence for this function of Greek temples, see Hollinshead 1999, pp. 209–213. For the feature tentatively identified as a treasury box in the sixth-century B.C. temple, see below, p. 412.

20. A much briefer, variant version, in which Aratos assembles the Corinthians in the Bouleuterion, appears in Plut. *Cleom.* 19. Cf. also Polyb. 2.52.2–3.

> And so rushing together into the sanctuary of Apollo, they kept summoning Aratos, having decided either to do away with him or arrest him before their revolt. He, however, came of his own accord, leading his horse behind him, and betraying no signs of distrust or suspicion; but when many of them had leapt up and were reviling and casting accusations at him, with a calm, composed expression on his face and with a gentle voice, he ordered them to sit down and not to stand up and keep shouting in an unruly way, but also to let those who were around the gates approach. And all the time he was saying these things he was gradually withdrawing as if he were going to hand his horse over to some one. Slipping out in this way, he calmly conversed with those Corinthians he encountered, bidding them to make their way to the Apollonion, until he secretly got near the citadel. Leaping upon his horse and ordering Kleopatros the garrison commander to keep a secure watch, he rode away to Sikyon. . . . When the Corinthians perceived his escape shortly thereafter and gave chase without being able to catch up to him, they summoned Kleomenes and handed the city over to him.

It is obvious from this passage, probably taken by Plutarch from Aratos's own report in his *Memoirs,* that the sanctuary of Apollo was capacious enough to accommodate the large and unruly mob that had summoned Aratos. Also, his admonition for them to sit down is meaningless if there was not room for such a large crowd to do so. Moreover, it is an essential point of the story that he was able to lead his horse into the sacred area, and that Apollo's shrine had gates, around which Corinthians crowded in an attempt to get in and join the assembly and through which Aratos and his horse were able to exit slowly and calmly. These gates must also have been easily accessible to a road leading to Acrocorinth. As he withdrew, still on foot, in the direction of Acrocorinth, Aratos urged the Corinthians he met to gather at the Apollonion. It was only when he had almost reached the citadel that he leapt on his horse and rode off to Sikyon.

We do not believe that the large sanctuary required by this passage is plausibly associated with either the small temple dedicated to Klarian Apollo in the Roman forum or with the Roman "Peribolos of Apollo" on the Lechaion Road. Nor does anything in Plutarch's text suggest that these events took place outside the city to the west, where Pausanias saw a burned temple to Apollo (2.5.5). We cannot rule out the possibility that another large, centrally located temenos of Apollo at Corinth, otherwise unattested in literary sources, has eluded the excavators of Corinth for more than a century. In fact, only a single inscription on a votive krater informs us that, in its original form in the Archaic period, the Sanctuary of Asklepios, lying at the northern edge of the city and described by Pausanias (2.4.5), was dedicated to Apollo as a healing god.[21] By the late fifth century B.C., however, long before the time of Aratos, Asklepios was recognized as the patron deity of that sanctuary.

We propose tentatively that the topographic requirements of the story in Plutarch, *Aratos* 40 are best met by the temenos on Temple Hill. Its

21. *Corinth* XIV, pp. 15–16, 152–159; Wachter 2001, p. 117, no. COR GR 23.

central location in the Hellenistic city would have been a suitable venue for the unruly political protest meeting described by Plutarch. Even with its temple and possible subsidiary buildings, the temenos was large enough to have accommodated the crowd in question and to enable some of them to have found seating. It is spacious enough for Aratos to have led his horse into the sanctuary, rather than leave it outside, and for him to have withdrawn slowly enough to create the impression that he was about to hand over his mount to someone else. Its location on the old Classical road that exited the northwest corner of the later Roman forum also gave it close access to a nearby route to Acrocorinth, for by proceeding to the south from this corner one passed along the road that skirted the west end of the South Stoa and led directly up to the citadel. In the opposite direction, that is, the north, along this same road could have come some of the Corinthians with whom Plutarch says Aratos calmly conversed, urging them to proceed to the Apollonion.

The absence of gates into the existing temenos presents a possible difficulty with this proposed identification. One ancient approach, revealed by excavation, was by means of a broad, stone stairway at the southeast corner of Temple Hill. It is unlikely that this would have been the only way into the sanctuary, however, since building blocks (including the enormous monolithic columns of the Archaic temple), statues, and dedications would have to have been hauled up this steep ascent. While it appears that ancient buildings and the vertical cutting away of Temple Hill made access difficult on the east and north sides, the situation may have been different on the west side, where the slope is gentler. Extensive quarrying in Byzantine times has removed all evidence of earlier levels here, but topographically a main entrance into the temenos on Temple Hill in antiquity on this side makes the most sense. Large objects could have been moved most easily into the sanctuary from the west and hypothetical gates there would have given ready access to the road to Sikyon mentioned by Pausanias (2.3.6), which, as noted above, also leads south to Acrocorinth. It is important to remember that, according to Plutarch, Aratos did not immediately ride off to Sikyon after he left the Apollonion. He walked toward Acrocorinth and not until he had approached the heights and given orders to the commander of the fortress did he jump on his horse and flee.

This identification must remain hypothetical, but we are persuaded by Odelberg's association of the Apollonion in this story with the site of the temple treasury of Apollo implied in Herodotos 3.52 and the temple and bronze statue of Apollo seen by Pausanias (2.3.6) outside the northwest corner of the Roman forum on the road to Sikyon.[22]

We next examine a fourth passage from literature that may be helpful, one that has seldom played a role in studies of Corinthian topography. Among the epigrams attributed to Simonides in the *Greek Anthology* 6.212 is the following:

εὔχεο σοῖς δώροισι, Κύτων, θεὸν ὧδε χαρῆναι
Λητοίδην, ἀγορῆς καλλιχόρου πρύτανιν,
ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ξείνων τε καὶ οἳ ναίουσι Κόρινθον
αἶνον ἔχεις, χαρίτων δέσποτα, τοῖς στεφάνοις

22. Odelberg 1896, p. 36. Reichert-Südbeck (2000, p. 201) also places the story in Plut. *Arat.* 40 on Temple Hill.

> Pray, Kyton, that your gifts give as much delight to the divine son of Leto, prytanis of the fair-dancing agora, as the praise you have from foreigners and those who dwell in Corinth, lord of delights, by reason of your crowns.

In his detailed study of this poem, D. L. Page[23] rejected the attribution to Simonides, dated it in "the Hellenistic period, not early within it," pronounced the name Kyton "novel and unconvincing," and defended the integrity of the text in line 4 and the above translation of χαρίτων δέσποτα.[24] While recognizing problems with the date, attribution, and text of this poem, we nevertheless believe that the following inferences can be drawn. The epigram was most likely intended as an inscription to accompany gifts to Apollo at Corinth dedicated by a victor who had won crowns in the games that had brought him praise from both foreigners and his [fellow] Corinthians. Page aptly remarked that "the distinction between foreigners and residents in Corinth is particularly well suited to the occasion of the [Isthmian] Games." Moreover, Apollo's epithet "prytanis of the fair-dancing agora" is especially appropriate at Corinth since the chief magistrate and probably the eponymous annual official, under the Bacchiadai at least, was the πρύτανις.[25] The appropriateness of Apollo's presidency over dances in the agora becomes greater if the shrine where this inscription was meant to be displayed was itself in or near the agora. In Pausanias's time the forum was certainly to the south and below Temple Hill, but the location of the agora of Greek Corinth is uncertain. No clear evidence for it has been found beneath the Roman forum. Williams has therefore proposed that it was not beneath the Roman forum but lay to the northeast of Temple Hill.[26] We suggest that it is likely that the agora of the Greek city lay close to its central and dominating Doric temple. On the other hand, Page's attempt to identify the sanctuary in the poem with the temple to Klarian Apollo mentioned by Pausanias (2.2.8) in the Roman forum is improbable on chronological grounds. There is no evidence, literary or archaeological, to suggest that this temple was earlier than the Roman period. For the famous prize aryballos depicting a dancing competition found on Temple Hill, see below, page 413.

A final piece of literary evidence for Apollo comes from Hesychios, Latte 265, s.v. Ζωτελιστής· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Κορίνθῳ. We do not know how this passage can be associated with any of the attested shrines of Apollo at Corinth.

Accordingly, we think it much more likely that the sanctuary of Apollo described in the *Greek Anthology* 6.212 was that of Herodotos 3.52, Plutarch, *Aratos* 40, and Pausanias 2.3.6, located just outside the northwest corner

23. Page 1981, pp. 284–285.

24. We accept Bergk's emendation (1867, vol. 3, p. 1179, Simonides no. 164) of τοι to σοῖς in line 1. The editors of *LGPN* IIIA, s.v. Κύτων, also question this name. Possible emendations include Κύλων (Bergk 1867, vol. 3, p. 1179; Page 1981, p. 285) and Κύδων.

25. Page 1981, p. 284; Diod. Sic. 7.9.6 and Paus. 2.4.4; Salmon 1984, pp. 56–57. Could Stesichoros's epithet for Poseidon, κοιλωνύχων ἵππων πρύτανιν, also be applied to his role at Corinth or Isthmia? See Schol. T, Hom. *Il.* 6.507 (c.) II. 217 (Erbse); Campbell 1991, no. 235.

26. Williams 1970, pp. 32–39; 1978, pp. 18–19, 38–39. Reichert-Südbeck (2000, p. 191) discusses Apollo's connection to the dance at Corinth.

of the Roman forum. It seems to have been the most important shrine of this deity in central Corinth. Its temple perhaps contained a sacred treasury. It was an appropriate place for dedications of a prominent winner of crowns. Finally, the size and location of the temenos on Temple Hill satisfy the topographical requirements of the episode described in Plutarch's *Life of Aratos*.[27]

EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Epigraphic evidence from the Corinth excavations can shed some light on the identification of the Archaic temple, although it is oblique and often without particular focus on the god Apollo himself. All of it comes from Temple Hill and helps to characterize the nature and function of the temple and its precinct. One of the earliest inscriptions from Corinth is a fragmentary sacred calendar inscribed in the epichoric alphabet, boustrophedon, on two adjacent faces of a corner block of poros that lists sacrifices in (at least) the month of Φοινι[---] and includes "four pigs."[28] Henry S. Robinson associated this fragment, which was found on Temple Hill in 1898, with a piece from his excavations on Temple Hill in 1970[29] and suggested that these fragments belong to a block that formed part of the exterior wall of the Early Archaic temple, which was destroyed ca. 580–570 B.C.[30] No names of deities have survived in this fragmentary text and, as we shall see, attempts to infer the identity of the divine occupant of the Early Archaic temple on the basis of this inscription are methodologically unsound. The inscription does show, however, that the sanctuary on Temple Hill was important enough to have had an early and lengthy sacrificial calendar inscribed in large, prominent letters. Since most such sacred documents were erected by the polis, this sanctuary takes on added significance.

In the same excavations on Temple Hill, Robinson found a second example of a similar Archaic sacrificial calendar incised, boustrophedon, in the epichoric Corinthian alphabet, this time on a fragmentary lead tablet. On this tiny piece, nail holes are preserved for mounting it on a wood or stone backer. All that survives, in letters ca. 0.01 m in height, is the probable mention of an offering of an ox, possibly to Athena Polias, *SEG* XXXII 359. Again this inscription, as Robinson recognized, is "a public one," and may have been kept inside as part of a temple archive.[31] It helps to establish the sanctuary on Temple Hill as possibly the main repository for state religious documents. No other inscribed sacrificial calendars have been found elsewhere at Corinth. Parenthetically, it should be stressed

27. For festivals and cult ceremonies of the Greek period held in the area later occupied by the forum of the Roman period, see Broneer 1942.

28. *IG* IV 1597; *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 1 (I-1).

29. *SEG* XXVI 393; Robinson 1976a, p. 230, n. 90, inv. no. I-70-4.

30. Robinson 1976a, pp. 230–231; 1976b, pp. 249–251. For later research on this inscription, see *SEG* XXXII 358. Still useful is Dow's (1942) excellent analysis. For a recent reconstruction of the Early Archaic temple, see Rhodes 2003, who restores walls chiefly of mudbrick but does not mention the inscribed poros block.

31. We have examined this inscription in the Corinth Museum, inv. no. MF-75-86, which remains unpublished. For a photograph, see Aupert 1976, p. 600.

that state sacrificial calendars do not necessarily provide evidence for the location of sanctuaries consecrated to the individual deities listed on them.[32]

Other epigraphic finds from Robinson's excavations on Temple Hill are relevant to our present inquiry. Against the background of a dearth of surviving inscriptions from Corinth before 146 B.C., aptly termed by Jean Pouilloux "la grande misère de l'épigraphie corinthienne,"[33] it is striking that Robinson discovered in the northeast quarter of Temple Hill fragments of at least 11 decrees of the Greek city. This represents the largest concentration of official documents from any one place in the pre-Roman city. Clearly the sanctuary on Temple Hill was, like the Acropolis of Athens, a prominent and important location for the display of state documents.[34]

Another find from this part of Corinth that might be relevant is the fluted poros shaft of the Archaic period inscribed with the name of the dedicator, Ἀραμο[---]. It was found just to the east of Temple Hill, in a late context. If Williams is correct in interpreting this small column as part of a support for a tripod,[35] similar to those dedicated to Apollo at Ptoon, its association with a sanctuary of Apollo on Temple Hill would not be out of the question. Williams prefers, however, to connect it with other tripod bases from the Sacred Spring.

We do not believe that the dedication to Apollo Kynneios, once copied by Pouqueville at the Teneatic Gate of Corinth and now lost, can be linked with Apollo on Temple Hill.[36] The reading of Apollo's name on a fragmentary revetment slab, *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 372, line 2, also seems very uncertain, despite the fact that the stone was found between the Fountain of Glauke and the Odeion.

Finally, we note the often published and much discussed Latin inscription on an Ionic architrave block that mentions a temple and a statue of Apollo Augustus and 10 *tabernae (decem tabernas).*[37] George Wheler saw the block reused in a Turk's house located on the right side of the road on the way to Sikyon, "a little way out of the Town [Corinth]"; he copied

32. Hence, Wiseman (1979, p. 530) was right to reject attempts to infer a possible connection between Apollo and the word Φοινι[---] on *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 1, as evidence for identifying the building on Temple Hill as a temple of Apollo. Salmon (1984, p. 219), in turn, had little trouble in rejecting Wiseman's own attempt, on the basis of an alleged connection between the word Phoinikaios in the same inscription with Athena, to argue that the shrine on Temple Hill belonged to this deity and that the ridge on which this temple and the Fountain of Glauke were constructed was the Phoinikaion Hill; Steph. Byz., s.v. Φοινίκαιον. Robertson (1982, pp. 340–342) argued that the Phoinikaia festival in this inscription had nothing to do with Athena, but was dedicated to Adonis. See also Morris and Papadopoulos 1998. We must also resist the attempt to infer from the probable presence of Athena Polias on the lead sacrificial calendar, *SEG* XXXII 359, that the Archaic temple on Temple Hill was consecrated to this goddess. Equally unpromising is Reichert-Südbeck's observation, "Phoinix bedeutet Palme, ein Baum, der vor allem dem Apollo bzw. der Trias heilig war" (2000, p. 200, n. 108). To draw topographic inferences about a single deity from the findspot of a sacrificial calendar in which that god is named is fundamentally to misunderstand the essential character of this genre of inscriptions. Consider, for instance, the large number of deities from far-flung shrines listed in the Attic calendar of sacrifices found in the deme of Erchia, *SEG* XXI 541.

33. Pouilloux 1966, p. 366. On this point, see also Dow 1942, p. 69; Stroud 1972, p. 198.

34. These fragments, which still remain unpublished, are potential sources of information on the poorly documented constitution of the Greek city.

35. *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 27 (I-176); Williams 1970, pp. 27–31.

36. *CIG* I 1102; *IG* IV 363. Reichert-Südbeck (2000, p. 186) suggests that it was a private dedication.

37. *CIL* III 534; *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 120 (I-37).

the text in 1676 and published the editio princeps in 1682.[38] Both Wheler and Leake (1846) tried to connect this inscription with the remains of a large Doric temple near the edge of the plateau that carries the north city wall, which they thought was the Apollo temple referred to by Pausanias in 2.3.6.[39]

In the American School excavations of 1896, Richardson reported the "reexcavation" of this architrave in trench Vb, more than 100 m east of Temple Hill.[40] Without reference to Wheler's editio princeps or to Leake's report of 1846, he tried to identify some of the walls uncovered in the trench with the *decem tabernas* of the inscription. But clearly, arguments based on the secondary or tertiary findspot of this inscription in trench Vb are without value for locating and identifying the monuments named in it. We follow Leake in believing that the architrave is too small to have formed part of a temple, including the one on Temple Hill. The inscription is evidence for the existence of a shrine and statue of Apollo Augustus and an accompanying market or dining complex of rooms, but since these structures could have been almost anywhere in Corinth, we see no convincing reason to associate them with the Doric temple on Temple Hill.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

We now turn to evidence from the architectural form of the existing Archaic temple and its successors on Temple Hill. As is well known, Dörpfeld's excavation in 1886 revealed that the interior ground plan of the Archaic temple included a room facing east and, behind it, divided by a wall, another, smaller chamber. Although the Athenian Parthenon, which was dedicated to a single deity, shares a similar ground plan, with its self-contained western chamber possibly having served as a treasury, some scholars have argued in favor of a joint dedication of the Archaic temple in Corinth, imagining a different deity in each of the two chambers. They have found support for this theory in the existence of four blocks resting on bedrock, below floor level, under the smaller western chamber. Dörpfeld interpreted these blocks as belonging to the base of a cult statue.[41] We note that no trace of a similar base survived in the eastern chamber. Only two of these blocks remained in situ in 1899 when the excavators of the American School completely laid bare the foundations and the rock-cut beddings for the walls of the temple. On the basis of Dörpfeld's original plan and the adjacent rock cuttings, however, the American excavators reconstructed a base ca. 2.75 × 2.00 m, consisting originally of six blocks.[42]

The two surviving blocks of the presumed statue base, however, present problems for this reconstruction. The northernmost preserves anathyrosis on its north face, as can be seen in a photograph published by Pfaff,[43] although it lies just 0.30 m from the foundation cutting for the northern interior colonnade of the western chamber. On the other hand, the southern of the two blocks shows no anathyrosis on its south face, although it must have been juxtaposed there to a third block. Again, a pry hole can be seen in the top of the northern block near its western edge but there is no

38. Wheler 1682, p. 444.

39. Wheler 1682, p. 444; Leake 1846, pp. 393–395. These are the remains of the temple studied by Dinsmoor (1949) and Pfaff (2003, pp. 115–119). We do not believe that they are to be associated with the burned temple to Apollo referred to in Paus. 2.5.5, for it is difficult to imagine that they stood on the left side of the road leading to Sikyon, not far from the city. Pausanias's use of ἄλλοι πόλεμοι seems to imply that this temple too lay outside the city walls.

40. Richardson 1897, p. 457.

41. Dörpfeld 1886, pp. 302–303.

42. *Corinth* I, pp. 115–116.

43. Pfaff 2003, p. 114, fig. 7.25.

such hole in the southern block. Such dressings and cuttings suggest that these blocks do not now lie in their original positions. Their tops, in fact, lie 1.21 m below the stylobate of the temple. Furthermore, whereas neat beddings were cut into the bedrock for all other walls and features in the temple, no such beddings were prepared for the proposed base. On the contrary, the bottoms of the two surviving blocks have been carelessly cut to fit the sloping bedrock, which rises both to the south and west.[44]

The date and function of these blocks remain too uncertain to justify reconstructing them as part of the foundations for the base of a cult statue in the Archaic period. Inferences from them about a double cult in the Archaic temple, therefore, would seem to be groundless. Similar inferences based on the interior plan of the temple are equally tenuous. Before Pausanias's visit to Corinth, probably roughly contemporary with the reign of Claudius or Nero, the interior columns of the eastern and western chambers were removed, thus radically altering the interior ground plan of the temple.[45] It is even possible that after this Roman renovation the building no longer had eastern and western chambers divided by a north–south wall.

We prefer to interpret the western chamber in the Archaic temple of ca. 560 B.C. not as housing a cult statue, but rather as a temple treasury, the successor to the one implied by Herodotos (3.52) that was probably located in the Early Archaic temple on Temple Hill in the time of Periander. After a detailed examination of inner rooms in Greek temples, Hollinshead has recently observed that "in most Greek temples the presence of inner rooms is best explained by the need for storing and safe-keeping temple treasures."[46] In light of her persuasive demonstration of this function for the "opisthodomos" of the Parthenon,[47] we propose a similar interpretation for the western chamber in the building on Temple Hill at Corinth. This would not duplicate the proposed function of the lined cist preserved beneath the floor in the southwest corner of the pronaos of the Archaic temple. Its floor is 1.468 m below the stylobate of the temple. In view of its small size, 1.29 m long by 0.84 m wide, it might have served as a treasury box for coins but not for larger, more valuable dedications.

Unfortunately, the few surviving fragments that may represent sculptural decoration of the Archaic temple of ca. 560 B.C. provide no evidence for the identity of the cult. Apart from the chest of a frontal horse, carved in high relief, that might have derived from a biga or quadriga, the remaining pieces are essentially unintelligible.[48]

44. For a brief discussion of the base, with a photograph, see Pfaff 2003, pp. 114–115, fig. 7.25. In *Corinth* I, p. 115, Stillwell observed, "If there never had been more than one image, to what purpose can we assign the smaller chamber and its base foundation? Possibly to the role of a treasury, the base being designed to support a great bronze or wooden chest such as we find mentioned at Olympia."

45. Robinson 1976a, pp. 237–238; Pfaff 2003, pp. 114–115.

46. Hollinshead 1999, p. 214.

47. Hollinshead 1999, pp. 210–213.

48. Bookidis 1970, pp. 320–321, no. 8 (S-2473), pl. 78. Although the relief of this piece was thought to be too small for the temple, it is possible that it might have fit on one of the porch metopes. The other limestone fragments published there are either of the wrong date or wrong scale to belong to the temple. Four other small fragments, uncovered in Robinson's excavations, await publication. See also Pfaff 2003, p. 103, n. 64. Unfortunately, the fragments of terracotta sculpture found on Temple Hill are also not helpful for identifying the cult; see Bookidis 2000.

A fragmentary Late Geometric bronze tripod leg with low relief decoration that Robinson excavated in the debris of the earlier temple is not out of keeping with the identification of the temple as that of Apollo. Claude Rolley has attributed it to a Corinthian workshop and suggested a date just after 750 B.C.[49]

Additional potential testimony for the identity of the Archaic temple is offered by the famous and controversial Middle Corinthian aryballos of Pyrrhias, which Mary C. Roebuck excavated on Temple Hill in 1954. Neither in its painted scene nor in its inscription does this vase explicitly mention Apollo, but both in word and deed its decoration is unmistakably associated with a dancing competition. No clear consensus among scholars has emerged as to the divine recipient of this prize dedication, which calls itself an olpe, but a possible association with Apollo, "prytanis of the fair-dancing agora," cannot be excluded.[50] Stesichoros observed, <χορεύ>ματά τοι μάλιστα | παιγμοσύνας <τε> φιλεῖ μολπάς τ' Ἀπόλλων (Plut. *Mor.* 394D).

Finally, a deposit of aryballoi, suitable dedications to Apollo, was excavated by Robinson just to the north of the temple.[51] Rather than assume that these vases derive from a putative shrine along the early road that skirted this side of the hill, as Robinson suggested, we prefer to interpret them as discarded dedications from the temple itself.

In attempting to relate the literary and epigraphic evidence to the archaeological remains and topography of Corinth, it is critical to recognize the divide between the Greek city before the destruction of 146 B.C. and the capital of the newly founded Roman colony after 44 B.C. For instance, in Greek Corinth we have the following evidence for the worship of Apollo: (1) the Early Archaic temple that can be inferred from Herodotos's story (3.52) about Periander; (2) the Archaic vase inscription from the Asklepieion; (3) the large temenos of Apollo in Plutarch, *Aratos* 40; (4) the poem on the crowns of Kyton from the *Greek Anthology* (6.212); and probably (5) the burned temple seen by Pausanias (2.5.5) to the west of the city on the way to Sikyon.

Attested in Roman Corinth are (1) the temple and statue of Apollo Klarios at the west end of the forum (Paus. 2.2.8); (2) the statue of Apollo near Peirene and possibly the nearby peribolos associated by some with Apollo (Paus. 2.3.3); (3) the shrine of Apollo Augustus and its related

49. Robinson 1976a, p. 215; Magou, Philippakis, and Rolley 1986, p. 127; Bookidis 2003, p. 249, with earlier references. Reichert-Südbeck (2000, p. 195) also connects this tripod with the cult of Apollo on Temple Hill.

50. Inv. no. C-54-1 in the Corinth Museum; Roebuck and Roebuck 1955. For the painting, see Amyx 1988, vol. 1, p. 165, and for the inscription, Amyx 1988, vol. 2, pp. 556, 560–561, no. 17; Wachter 2001, pp. 44–47, 328, no. COR 17, both with copious earlier bibliography. Wachter (2001, p. 328) states, "To judge from the place it was found, the vase was finally dedicated to Apollon." Reichert-Südbeck (2000, p. 201) also closely associates this vase with Apollo.

51. Discussed in Bookidis 2003, p. 249, n. 24. See Reichert-Südbeck 2000, pp. 186–188, for a renewed attempt to authenticate and attribute to the cult of Apollo at Corinth the inscription on the controversial Archaic bronze frog in Berlin, *IG* IV 357; Jeffery 1990, p. 114, n. 3. Reichert-Südbeck (2000, pp. 193–194) also associates a fragmentary Hellenistic marble relief (S-2567, depicting Apollo, Artemis, and Leto) with the worship of Apollo at Corinth; the relief was found in 1940 during excavation for the east extension to the museum (Ridgway 1981, p. 427).

market complex attested by the Latin inscription *CIL* III 534; *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 120; and (4) the Temple of Apollo seen by Pausanias (2.3.6) outside the forum on the right side of the road to Sikyon.

In seeking an identification for the structure on Temple Hill, we propose to eliminate from the above monuments of the Greek period the early shrine of Apollo in the Asklepieion and the burned Apollo temple outside the city walls. Similarly, there is no compelling reason to suppose that the following Roman monuments had predecessors connected with Apollo in the pre-44 B.C. city, although that possibility, of course, cannot be excluded: the Temple of Apollo Klarios located in the forum; the statue of Apollo near Peirene; and the shrine to Apollo Augustus and the related *tabernae* of the inscribed Latin architrave.

It may, however, be misleading to overemphasize the chronological divide between the Greek and Roman cities, since some important sanctuaries survived into the Roman period and flourished, such as the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth.[52] For this reason we feel justified in combining the literary evidence into a consistent pattern for the worship of Apollo that crosses the divide between 146 and 44 B.C.: a temple treasury of Apollo in the time of Periander (Hdt. 3.52); the large, centrally located Apollonion of Plutarch's *Aratos* 40; Apollo, "prytanis of the fair-dancing agora," in the *Greek Anthology* 6.212; and the temple and bronze statue of Apollo noted by Pausanias (2.3.6) as he leaves the forum on the right of the road to Sikyon. We see no barriers, topographical or historical, to such a reconstruction.[53]

On the basis of literary, epigraphic, topographical, and archaeological evidence, therefore, we join the long list of scholars who have identified the Archaic Doric temple at Corinth as the Temple of Apollo.[54]

OTHER THEORIES

Apparently, the first serious challenge to this identification of the Temple of Apollo, and especially to the above reading of Pausanias 2.3.6, came from Robert L. Scranton in 1951.[55] After having accepted the identification of the Archaic temple as that of Apollo in 1941,[56] a decade later Scranton presented a complex and elaborate theory, based upon his proposed identification of the small Roman Temple K as the Temple of Apollo. Since this structure lies immediately west of, or behind, the Babbius Monument, well within the confines of the forum of Pausanias, Scranton's proposal won few adherents. Furthermore, in 1975 and again in 1984, Williams cogently demonstrated not only that Scranton's interpretation entailed

52. *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 434–438. For a discussion of cult continuity into the Early Roman period, see Williams 1987; Bookidis, forthcoming.

53. We omit the undated and uncertain references to Apollo in Hesychios, Latte 265, and *IG* IV 363; see above, p. 408.

54. Odelberg 1896, p. 36; Richardson 1898, p. 236; Dinsmoor 1949, p. 115; Will 1955; Roux 1958, pp. 119–120; Hill in *Corinth* I.6, p. 116; Meyer 1967, p. 573; Papachatzis 1976, pp. 171–172; Williams and Zervos 1984, pp. 101–102; Salmon 1984, p. 219; Musti and Torelli 1986, p. 225; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, p. 188; Pfaff 2003.

55. *Corinth* I.3, pp. 51–52, 64–73.

56. *Corinth* I.2, pp. 131–165.

a serious misreading of the text of Pausanias and a totally unpersuasive reconstruction of Corinthian topography, but that there are also serious grounds for doubting the interpretation of this structure as a temple at all.[57] Scranton's theory, moreover, was framed without having taken into account the additional literary and epigraphical evidence discussed above. In a forthcoming reexamination of the route of Pausanias from the forum to the theater, Williams, in the light of recent excavations, will clearly show that the periegetes' account is precise and topographically logical and that the Temple of Apollo lay outside the forum on the right side of the road to Sikyon.

James R. Wiseman suggested that the Archaic temple could possibly be identified with Athena.[58] We have shown above that the sacrificial calendar mentioning Φοινι[---] cannot be cited in support of this view. More suggestively, however, Wiseman pointed out the proximity of the nearby Sacred Spring in which Kotyto, one of the daughters of Timandros, may have been worshipped. She was said to have been burned to death in the Temple of Athena when Corinth was captured by the Dorians and, as Wiseman observes, the Sacred Spring "lay immediately south of the hill of the temple and there was immediate access via the stairway at the southeast corner of the hill."[59]

In 1988, Christina Dengate placed Athena in the pre-Roman temple and Apollo in the Roman structure.[60] Catherine Morgan argued that more than one deity may have been housed in the Archaic temple[61] and Petra Reichert-Südbeck has proposed that Apollo in the eastern chamber shared his temple with his sister Artemis who occupied the western.[62] In 1990, Donald Engels suggested that the temple in Roman times served the imperial cult, being dedicated to "Corinth's founding dynasty, the Gens Julia."[63] Recently, Mary E. Hoskins Walbank has proposed that after the removal of the interior Doric columns of the temple in the Early Roman period, "the two *cellae* remained as they were and were not thrown into one, as previous excavators thought." She further suggests that the western cella "was retained for the worship of Apollo, and that the other, perhaps the eastern one, was dedicated to the *Gens Iulia*." Evidence for this interpretation comes from the representation of a hexastyle Doric temple dedicated to the *Gens Iulia* on an issue of Corinthian bronze coins struck during the reign of Tiberius in A.D. 32/3 or 33/4.[64]

We have pointed out above that the existence of two chambers in one temple does not necessarily require two different cults. It is also not clear to us that the ground plan of the temple can be confidently established in the Roman period, after the substantial renovations to the interior. If we accept Walbank's theory, we may also have to assume that in the Roman

57. Williams and Fisher 1975, pp. 25–29; Williams and Zervos 1984, pp. 101–102. Jones (2003, p. 674) cogently refutes Torelli's (2001) attempt to identify Temple K with Pausanias's "temple of all the gods."

58. For this suggestion, see Wiseman 1979, pp. 480, 528–530.

59. Wiseman 1979, p. 530. For the complex evidence of scholia and lexica on these traditions of the Temple of Athena (Hellotis) and Kotyto's sister Hellotis, who is much more prominent, see Will 1955, pp. 130–143; and also Williams 1978, pp. 44–46.

60. Dengate 1988, pp. 15–17.

61. Morgan 1994, pp. 138–139.

62. Reichert-Südbeck 2000, p. 199.

63. Engels 1990, p. 13; also pp. 101, 227, n. 33.

64. Walbank 1996, pp. 202–204.

period the cult statue of Apollo was moved from the eastern cella to the western in order to accommodate the cult of the *Gens Iulia* in the former. Regardless of the merits of this theory, it does not diminish the hypothesis that the Archaic temple was dedicated to Apollo and that it was identified as such by Pausanias as the first structure on the right after he left the forum on the road to Sikyon.

Figure 2 *(opposite, top)*. **View of Temple Hill and the Lechaion Road, 1925: A. martyra I; B. Lechaion west shop II [IV].** Corinth Excavations

Figure 3 *(opposite, bottom)*. **Plan of 1902 excavations: A. martyra I; B. approximate findspot of pinax.** Corinth Excavations

NEW EVIDENCE

After more than a century since its discovery, new evidence for the identification of the Archaic temple can now be presented; it apparently had previously remained unnoticed.[65] In 1902, the excavations of the American School were concentrated on the Northwest Shops and the Northwest Stoa to the south of Temple Hill and an area between the east scarp of Temple Hill and the west shops of the Lechaion Road. On Friday, May 16, R. B. Richardson, director of the excavations, recorded the following in his notebook: "Painted TC tablet. See Bassett's notes." At the back of his notebook, among his lists of finds, Richardson further wrote: "a terra cotta tafëlchen [sic] inscribed . . . , s.w. of martyra I, near foot of O.T. stairs."[66] Martyra I (Figs. 2:A, 3:A) lay between the back of shop IX of the Lechaion Road west shops and the east scarp of Temple Hill, visible in Figure 2. The "O.T. stairs" are the steps that lead down from the southeast corner of the Old Temple, or Temple Hill. Therefore, by Richardson's account, the terracotta object must have been found generally under the southwest quarter of the Lechaion Road Basilica.[67]

The account of the excavator, Samuel Bassett, is more specific. On May 16, 1902, while supervising work on shops II–VI of the Lechaion Road west shops, he states somewhat tersely that in shop II some of the stones forming the ceiling over the "*door or window between back and front shops* had to be removed."[68] He goes on to record: "In shop II just W. of the window circ. 1m. N. of wall and at level of window bottom (window is in S.W. cor of shop) a frag. of Alt Cor pottery w. letters." In point of fact, what was Bassett's shop II in 1902 is now identified as shop IV.[69] His "door or window between back and front shops" still exists and is, indeed, a door, a late one, near the south end of the west wall. At the time of excavation it was apparently thought that a second line of shops lay behind the first. The walls so interpreted proved instead to be the foundations of the Lechaion Road Basilica. The plaque was found just west of this door, therefore immediately behind shop IV (Figs. 2:B, 3:B). Based on the stratigraphy, the date of this context can be no earlier than the first century A.D. and quite possibly later. We must assume that Richardson was speaking only generally about the plaque's location, for the terracotta fragment would have been found south–southeast of the martyra, some 25 m from the steps to Temple Hill.

Bassett's account of the discovery includes a short description of the fragment that was not previously published. In 1902 the piece was sent to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, where it was catalogued

65. Bookidis (2003, p. 258) briefly noted this discovery.

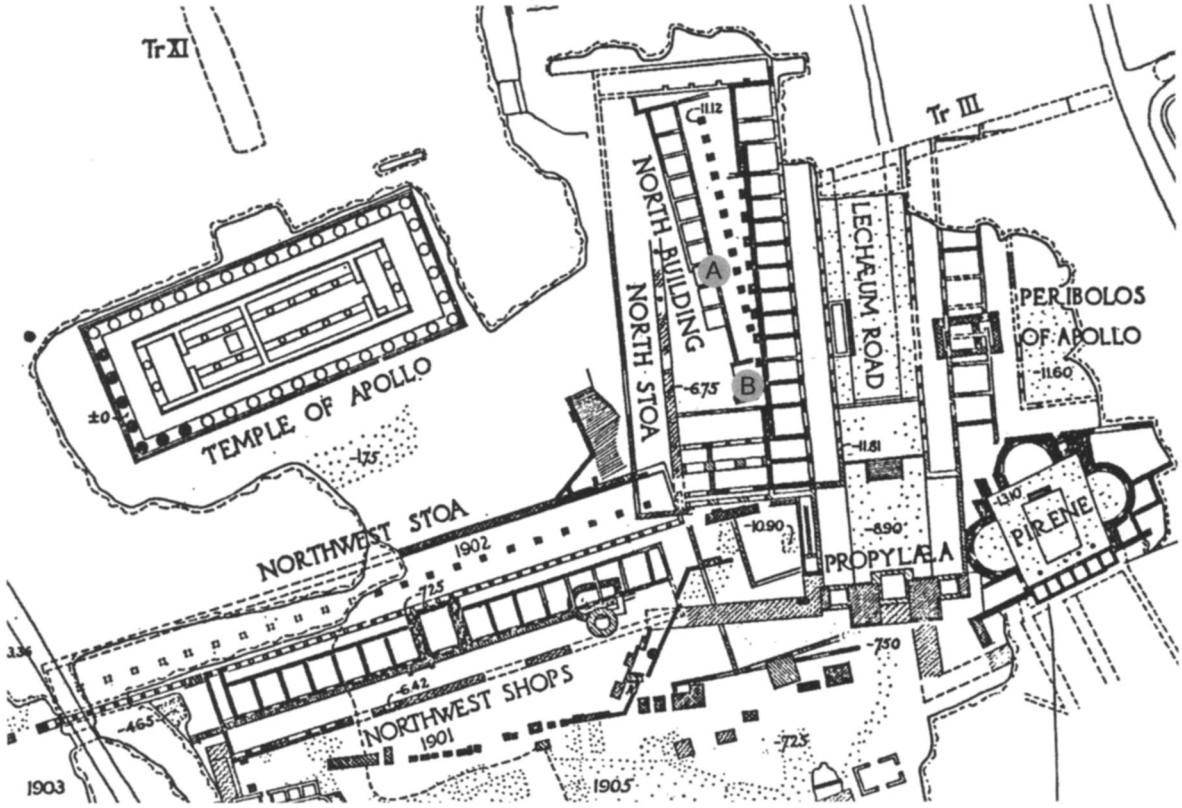
66. Corinth Notebook 13, p. 33, and p. 9 at the back. In the early excavations, columns of earth called martyras were left standing in various parts of the site as stratigraphic records of what had been removed.

67. In *Corinth* I, pl. XII, the outline of the martyra is visible behind shops VIII and IX. The steps are also shown on that plan. In the Roman period most of this area was given over to the Lechaion Road Basilica; *Corinth* I, pp. 193–211. For the Lechaion Road west shops, see *Corinth* I, pp. 148–154.

68. Corinth Notebook 14, pp. 72–73; the emphasis is ours.

69. The numbering of the shops changed several times in the course of the excavations as more and more rooms were isolated. That Bassett's shop II is today's shop IV is proven by his reference to a mason's mark, a ligature of omicron-pi, that appeared on the top of a block in the north–south cross-wall of the shop. This sign still exists today, not in shop II, but just north of the west door in shop IV. We thank Benjamin Millis for confirming this on the site.


B
A


Tr XI
Tr III
NORTH BUILDING
NORTH STOA
LECHAEUM ROAD
PERIBOLOS OF APOLLO
TEMPLE OF APOLLO
NORTHWEST STOA
NORTHWEST SHOPS
PROPYLAEA
PIRENE
1901
1902
1903
1905
A
B

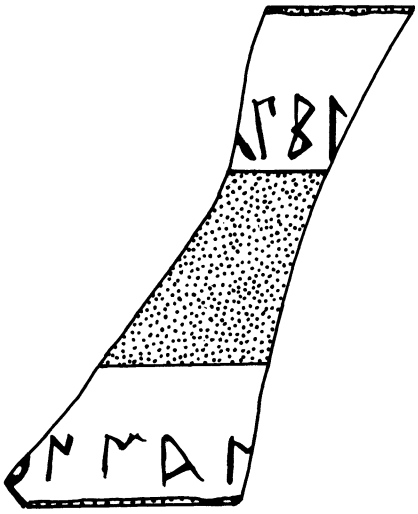


Figure 4. Tracing of pinax from Corinth Notebook 14, p. 73.
Scale 1:1. Original drawing S. Bassett; tracing K. H. Soteriou

as NM 13758. Regrettably, at the time of writing this article, it could not be located. We quote Bassett's description here:

> Height .065, w. at top .018, at bottom .03. It is either a tablet or inside of large bowl, the painted side being concave. Other side is rough so perhaps a tablet and not made on a wheel. clay yellowish clay, top and bottom edge smooth and no working of wheel [?] on back. thickness .004. Top and bottom a narrow black band .001. In center a broad one .025. In the plain surface between these three bands are letters.[70]

The description is accompanied by a drawing (Fig. 4); in the margin is Bassett's tentative restoration of the text: Ἀπέλ[λωνος τ]ὸν μάν[τιν]. It is clear from both Richardson's and Basset's descriptions that the inscription is painted on the plaque, not incised.

On the basis of Bassett's drawing we attempt the following epigraphic commentary.

Line 1. Of the first letter, all that survives is the freestanding end of a diagonal stroke in the bottom right corner of the letter space. In the Corinthian epichoric alphabet we can probably limit the possible readings here to alpha, kappa, san, or chi: A, K M, X. There appears to be enough original uninscribed surface above and to the right of this stroke, however, to render kappa and chi unlikely, for we should then expect to find some trace of another diagonal stroke in the upper right corner of the letter space. Also, if this diagonal is, in fact, part of an original san, the letter would have to have been written not in its normal manner with two outer parallel verticals, M, but splayed, ᗰ. This latter form is attested,[71] but it is not particularly common. Alpha, albeit dotted, seems the most likely reading of the first letter.

We therefore read [---]ἈΠΕΛ[---] and note that the surviving letters form a satisfactory beginning of a word or name: [---] Ἀπελ[---]. In the Doric dialect the number of words beginning ἀπελ[---] is very limited; perhaps in the context of an Archaic inscribed pinax, one candidate might be some form of ἀπέλ[λαι]. Cf. Hesychios, s.v. ἀπέλλαι· σηκοί, ἐκκλησίαι. Also possible is ἀπελλαῖον, a sacrifice at a meeting of a phratry, attested at Delphi.[72] Plausible also might be the month name Ἀπελ[λαῖος], found in Argos, Epidauros, and a host of cities outside the

70. Corinth Notebook 14, pp. 72–73.

71. E.g., Wachter 2001, p. 44, no. COR 16; pp. 131–132, no. COP 25.

72. E.g., *CID* I 9.A, line 4; B, line 8.

Peloponnese.[73] If we could be confident of this latter restoration, we would make a significant contribution to our knowledge of the Corinthian calendar, for, to date, the names of only three months are known.[74]

More plausible in the present context, however, is some form of the name of the god Apollo in the Doric dialect, as Bassett himself suggested in his field notebook; compare the painted label of this god in a chariot on a fragment of a Corinthian kotyle from Delphi.[75] For reasons that will emerge in our discussion of line 2, we would prefer this interpretation instead of a personal name beginning in Ἀ̣πελ[---], such as Ἀπελλῆς, Ἀπέλλιχος, vel sim.

Finally, of course. it would be possible to divide the surviving letters in line 1 in such a way as to exclude Apollo and all the other reconstructions above: viz. ἀ̣π' ἐλ[---], [---]α̣ πελ[---], [---]α̣πε λ[---], and so on.

Line 2. At the broken left edge of the pinax only part of the arc of a circular letter survives in the bottom right corner of the letter space, limiting the possible readings here to Θ or O. Since this letter is followed by nu and mu, theta seems to us a very remote possibility but one that cannot be excluded epigraphically. Although the right side of the final letter in this line is broken away, the surviving vertical and joining diagonal would seem to restrict the possible readings to lambda, mu, nu, and perhaps san. The collocation of NM in the second and third positions makes feasible a word division between these two letters, yielding [---]Ο̣Ν ΜΑ̣Ν̣ [---]. Of the relatively few Greek words beginning in ΜΑ̣Ν̣[---], the most common are those connected with prophecy, e.g., μαντεία, μαντεῖος, μάντις. One of these would not be out of place if Apollo does in fact appear in line 1; e.g., [τ]ὸ̣ν μάν̣[τιν], as Bassett proposed in his notebook; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1202, μάντις μ' Ἀπόλλων τῶιδ' ἐπέστησεν τέλει; *Choephoroi* 559, ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων, μάντις ἀψευδὴς τὸ πρίν. We might also have in Μαν̣[---] the beginning of a personal name.

Another, perhaps more formulaic, word division would be [---]Ο̣Ν μ' ἀν̣[έθεκε] in which the first two letters would be the end of a personal name in -ο̣ν or -ω̣ν.

While recognizing that remains of only nine letters situated in two separate lines are available for interpretation and that other possible combinations exist, we would like to propose that in these exiguous traces we have fragments of no fewer than four essential components of a basic type of Greek inscription: name of a deity, name of a dedicator, pronoun of the object offered, and verb recording the dedication. These are by far the most common components of the numerous painted inscriptions found on the Penteskouphia plaques, the closest epigraphic parallel in both physical form and content to the object found by Bassett. The repetitive nature of these texts has encouraged us to suggest as the most plausible reading of this inscription:

[---] Ἀ̣πέλ[λονι]ι[---]ο̣ν μ' ἀν̣[έθεκε].

In Corinthian dedicatory inscriptions on pinakes the name of the deity in the dative seems normally to follow, rather than to precede, the verb ἀνατίθημι, but Rudolf Wachter provides an example with the word-order deity, dedicator, pronoun, and verb-of-dedication.[76] Moreover, several dedicatory inscriptions on pinakes, whose beginnings are not preserved, end in ἀνέθεκε *vacat*.[77] They may have had the name of the deity in the position we propose for the text on the pinax from Temple Hill. As Wachter

73. Samuel 1972, p. 285; Trümpy 1997, p. 290.

74. To the names Phoinikaios and Panamos, listed in Samuel 1972, p. 89, and Trümpy 1997, p. 155, must be added the month Gamilios in the Corinthian decree from Delos, *SEG* XXX 990, line 3.

75. Amyx 1988, vol. 2, p. 562, no. 20; Wachter 2001, p. 51, no. COR 20, Ἀπέλλον; also Wachter 2001, p. 57, no. COR 28A (d) Ἀπέλλον; p. 117, no. COR GR 23 Ἀπέ[λ]ο̣νός ἰμι and pp. 156–157, no. COP APP 1 (d) [---]εν Ἀ̣πέλλον[---?]. See also Reichert-Südbeck 2000, p. 201.

76. Wachter 2001, p. 132, no. COP 27; see also p. 275 for word order in dedicatory inscriptions on pinakes.

77. E.g., Wachter 2001, nos. COP 35 (b), 36, 49?, 52, 53, 57.

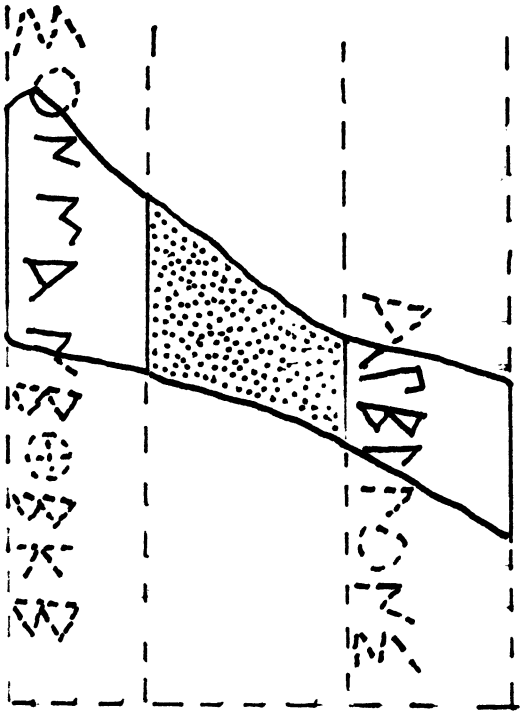


Figure 5. Restored drawing, with proposed orientation, of pinax.
M. Sedaghat

confirms, the verb of dedication normally is spelled in Corinthian without the nu ephelkystikon.[78]

Names ending in -ων are, of course, numerous at Corinth, as elsewhere. Among the shorter ones appearing as dedicators on the Penteskouphia pinakes, we note, e.g., Δόρκων (Wachter 2001, no. COP 31), Ἴγρων (COP 38), Σιμίων (COP 3), Φλέβων (COP 12, 48), Ὀνύμων (COP 65). We might even hazard the suggestion that Κύτων/Κύλων/Κύδων from the epigram in the *Greek Anthology* (6.212) discussed above cannot be excluded.

It can be seen from the restored drawing (Fig. 5) that the proposed restoration yields a satisfactory symmetry at the ends of the two lines. We do not know how far the original inscription extended to the left. A minimal restoration, using the shortest possible name of a dedicator, [Ἴ]ο̣ν, produces a rectangular object that had to have been at least 0.09 m long but could well have been longer. Indeed, with a dedicator's name longer than Ion, there would have been room for another word in front of Apollo's name, [τõι] or an epithet, suggesting an even longer rectangle than 0.06 × 0.09 m. Some of the Penteskouphia pinakes are considerably larger than this example.[79] The black central stripe may have continued the full length of the piece but may also have formed only a portion of a decorative panel or possibly even part of the robe of a standing draped figure, with the inscription on either side.

Wachter has suggested to us the possibility that the pinax was placed or hung vertically, as shown in Figure 5, not horizontally. The left line for a reader would start in the top left corner and would constitute the first line of the text. The right side of the pinax would then become line 2 of the text reading from top to bottom. This reconstruction restores

78. Wachter 2001, p. 234.

79. Some dimensions are given in Furtwängler 1885, vol. 1, pp. 47–105; Geagan 1970, pp. 46–48.

the normal formula of dedicator–verb of dedication–deity in the dative, avoiding the awkward final position of ἀνέθεκε. Wachter further points out that, if desirable, we could restore a metrical inscription, e.g., [---]o̱ν μ' ἀγ[έθεκε]| [hεκαβόλοι] Ἀ̣πέλ[λονι].

Date

Lacking a meaningful excavated context, we are forced to rely on the less than satisfactory criterion of the letterforms in seeking a date for this object. Unfortunately, only six individual letters remain on which to make such a judgment, and they are not distinctive enough to permit a persuasive comparison with any of the few firmly dated Corinthian epichoric inscriptions. Remembering that the Corinthians used the epichoric alphabet as late as the epigram honoring their war-dead in the battle of Salamis (*IG* I^3 1143), we consider it possible that the limited number of letters on the pinax could have been written anytime between ca. 560 and 480 B.C.

Identity

Without the object in hand we can only surmise its identity. With finished straight edges on top and bottom, or two sides, the fragment clearly could not have derived from a vase, as Bassett himself admitted. Additionally, he stated that there were no visible wheel marks. At the same time, Bassett described it as slightly concave on the painted side, as if from a large bowl. We therefore can assume that its curvature was not great. Although this curvature may have been intentional, it is also possible, in view of its relative thinness (0.004 m), that the fragment had warped in firing. The normal thickness of the pinakes from Penteskouphia seems to have been ca. 0.006–0.009 m.[80] The original piece must have been at least somewhat longer than it was wide.

The rectangular shape and restored dimensions are most in keeping with those of a pinax, or plaque, as Bassett himself suggested. In his informative article on painted plaques, Boardman cites examples that are decorated on one side and curved or not well finished on their backs.[81] At the same time, he warned that "it is not always easy to identify a fragment of a painted plaque and to distinguish it from any other painted clay artefact. A straight edge, flat surface, unpainted back with no trace of wheel marks and even suspension holes are not always enough, and as their appearance may be significant in indicating the presence of a sanctuary, extra caution is justified."[82] He draws attention to other objects that might be confused with plaques, such as clay boxes or fenestrated tripod legs. To his list one might add the legs of a Geometric tripod-lebes from Perachora, although nothing comparable to it can be cited for the period of our fragment.[83] Pinakes, moreover, need not bear figurative decoration. Several uninscribed plaques from Eleusis that are crudely painted with vertical lines, random zigzags, or crosshatching are instructive in this respect.[84] One of the uninscribed Penteskouphia plaques is decorated simply with a palmette-lotus chain.[85]

80. Geagan 1970, pp. 46–48.

81. Boardman 1954, esp. pp. 191–194. See also the discussion of the form and function of the pinakes from Penteskouphia in Wachter 2001, pp. 275–279, where the author asserts "that these pinakes are generally, if not exclusively, dedications by the members of the pottery industry" (p. 277). We see no reason to connect the pinax from Temple Hill, dedicated to Apollo, with the pottery industry.

82. Boardman 1954, p. 194.

83. Payne et al. 1940, p. 55, n. 7, pls. 14:6, 124:l.

84. Kokkou-Vyride 1999, pp. 97–98, 201–202, A39–A48, pls. 9, 10, dated to the first half of the seventh century B.C.

85. Furtwängler 1885, vol. 1, p. 78, no. 762.

Our view is that the fragment found on Temple Hill at Corinth was most likely a plaque. It could have had a similar function to the inscribed sheets of bronze that are thought to have accompanied some dedications. At Olympia several inscribed sheets of bronze have been found that may once have been attached to the bases of the statues of victors.[86] One records the dedication by the Spartan Eurystratidas of τάδε τὰ hόπλα, presumably to Zeus Kronios.[87] A second from Olympia states that Ἐργοτέλης---μ' ἀνέθηκ[ε---] ἀθάνατον μν[ᾶμ'---]. This second plaque preserves a nail hole in what would have been its center, and originally also had nail holes at the corners, suggesting that it was once pinned to the stone statue base. More directly relevant is a third, fragmentary tablet of clay that was found in the Sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos in Boiotia.[88] Consisting of the left half of a roughly rectangular plaque, the tablet preserves parts of five lines written in false boustrophedon that refer to a καλὸν ἄγαλμα dedicated to Apollo. A large hole at its left end indicates that the tablet was once attached to or suspended from another surface, quite possibly the *agalma* itself. Whether the dedication was of wood, stone, or bronze can no longer be determined. Unfortunately, as the Corinth plaque is missing its corners, we cannot be certain that it was attached to another surface. If it was, that surface may have been slightly curved like the base of a tripod, unless the plaque hung freely from one corner.

Findspot

In the notebook accounts of the excavations of 1901 and 1902, there are a number of references to quantities of Archaic pottery recovered from and around Temple Hill. These appear to have been particularly abundant along the east side of the hill and around the base of the steps leading up to the southeast corner of the temenos. For example, on March 23, 1901, Richardson states that "along E. edge were found a quantity of Old Corinthian and ProtoCorinthian vases. The layer extended to the north where near the trench iii we got a zembili full of such frgts. and some whole vases."[89] On April 3, 1901, he further records "more old Corinthian vase frgts., one with pareunos" north of the steps leading down from the temple.[90] Again, on March 27, 1902, Richardson states that along the "inside and outside of the front wall of the long porch many pieces and some whole vases of ProtoCorinthian ware were found. It was, in fact, a large yield."[91] On March 28, he notes "many more Proto and Old Corinthian vases and fragments found at the foot of the cliff to the east of the Old Temple, notably a helmeted head." The discovery of "a very archaic female [figurine] from rear of east shops" is recorded for May 14.[92] These accounts are echoed in the notebook of Bert Hodge Hill, who repeatedly encountered quantities of early pottery in the course of his exploration of the Lechaion Road Basilica.[93]

Regrettably, with a few exceptions, it is no longer possible to identify either this pottery or the figurine. Although quantities of Archaic and Classical material have been catalogued from those early years, we can no longer determine where most of these objects were found. The notebook citations remind us of the wealth of material that may once have been

86. *OlBer* II, pp. 129–130; Kunze 1956, pp. 153–157; Lazzarini 1976, p. 290, no. 791; p. 300, no. 855, from Olympia; p. 300, no. 859, from Francavilla Maritima.

87. Lazzarini 1976, p. 290, no. 791, dated to the mid-sixth century B.C.

88. Guillon 1963; Ducat 1971, pp. 413–416; Lazzarini 1976, p. 291, no. 796; Jeffery 1990, p. 92, n. 4, p. 95, no. 6.

89. Corinth Notebook 10, p. 2. Trench III was one of the first trial trenches excavated in 1896, extending diagonally southwest from the back of shop XII of the Lechaion Road west shops to the east scarp of Temple Hill.

90. Corinth Notebook 10, p. 9. For the inscribed vase, see Powell 1903, p. 28; Wachter 2001, p. 37, no. COR 5.

91. Corinth Notebook 13, p. 5. The long porch to which he refers may be the west foundation of the Lechaion Road Basilica that ran parallel to the east edge of Temple Hill.

92. Corinth Notebook 13, p. 29. The east shops were later designated the North Building, for which see n. 95 below.

93. Corinth Notebook 16A, pp. 13, 15, 45; in addition on pp. 37, 39, and 45 he records isolated Archaic pottery, as well as the hindquarters of a terracotta sphinx. It is unclear whether Hill is referring to a large-scale terracotta sculpture or to a small figurine.

dedicated within the temenos, for there are no monuments of the Archaic period against and just below the east side of Temple Hill that would have justified the deposition of so much Archaic material. Apart from the house or shop of an Archaic merchant, north of the Lechaion Road shops and beneath the Roman hemicycle,[94] there are only two stoas, one succeeding the other, that possibly stood against Temple Hill from Late Archaic to Classical times.[95] These are the east shops mentioned by Richardson on May 14. Although it is no longer possible to reconstruct the stratigraphy of those earliest excavations, it seems clear that the pottery partially overlay the ruins of these buildings and also formed part of the filling for the Lechaion Road Basilica. For this reason, it is unlikely that our inscribed fragment could have derived from the Sanctuary of the Sacred Spring. There, not only were the majority of votive offerings of Classical and Late Classical date, but the Archaic material was deeply stratified at low levels.[96] It is also unlikely that the plaque came from the sanctuary that lay across the Lechaion Road beneath the Roman Peribolos of Apollo, since this was founded no earlier than the late fifth century B.C.[97]

It is our view that the plaque came down from the Archaic sanctuary that occupied the whole of Temple Hill. Considerable work was carried out around the Archaic temple in Roman times. Sometime early in the life of the Roman colony, substantial quarrying of the limestone bed at the east end of the hill could have led to the redeposition of material from the sanctuary to the areas below. Similarly, after the collapse of the stoas and temenos walls that enclosed the sanctuary, further dispersals could have taken place.

In conclusion, we propose that the inscribed terracotta pinax discussed above recorded an Archaic dedication to Apollo, who was the deity worshipped in the Doric temple of the Greek period on top of Temple Hill. We further propose that the temple that stands on the site today continued to be dedicated to this same god in the Roman period and that Pausanias ca. A.D. 160 singled it out as lying to the right as one leaves the forum on the road to Sikyon.

94. Williams, MacIntosh, and Fisher 1974, pp. 17–24.

95. The so-called North Building, originally called the East Stoa in the early excavation notebooks and earliest reports. See *Corinth* I, pp. 212–228; Pfaff 2003, pp. 135–136.

96. Scholars have associated several different cults with the Sacred Spring. Bonner (1929) connected the sanctuary with the worship of Dionysos. At a later date Elderkin (1941) attributed it to the cult of Apollo, identifying the apsidal Temple B as an oracular shrine. The oracular association with Apollo was picked up by Robinson (1976b, p. 251), who, however, linked it with the Archaic temple on top of the hill. How much these earlier scholars may have been influenced by knowledge of Bassett's inscribed plaque cannot now be determined. Broneer (1942) placed the cult of Athena Hellotis at the Sacred Spring, while Williams (1978, pp. 44–45, 125–127, 135–136) and Steiner (1992) proposed that the sanctuary was dedicated to the worship of Kotyto. For a discussion of the lekythoi that formed the predominant pottery dedications in this shrine, see Steiner 1992.

97. As noted above, there is no certain evidence for the identity of this cult.

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