

# EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMIA

FOURTH CAMPAIGN, 1957-1958<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES 59-73)

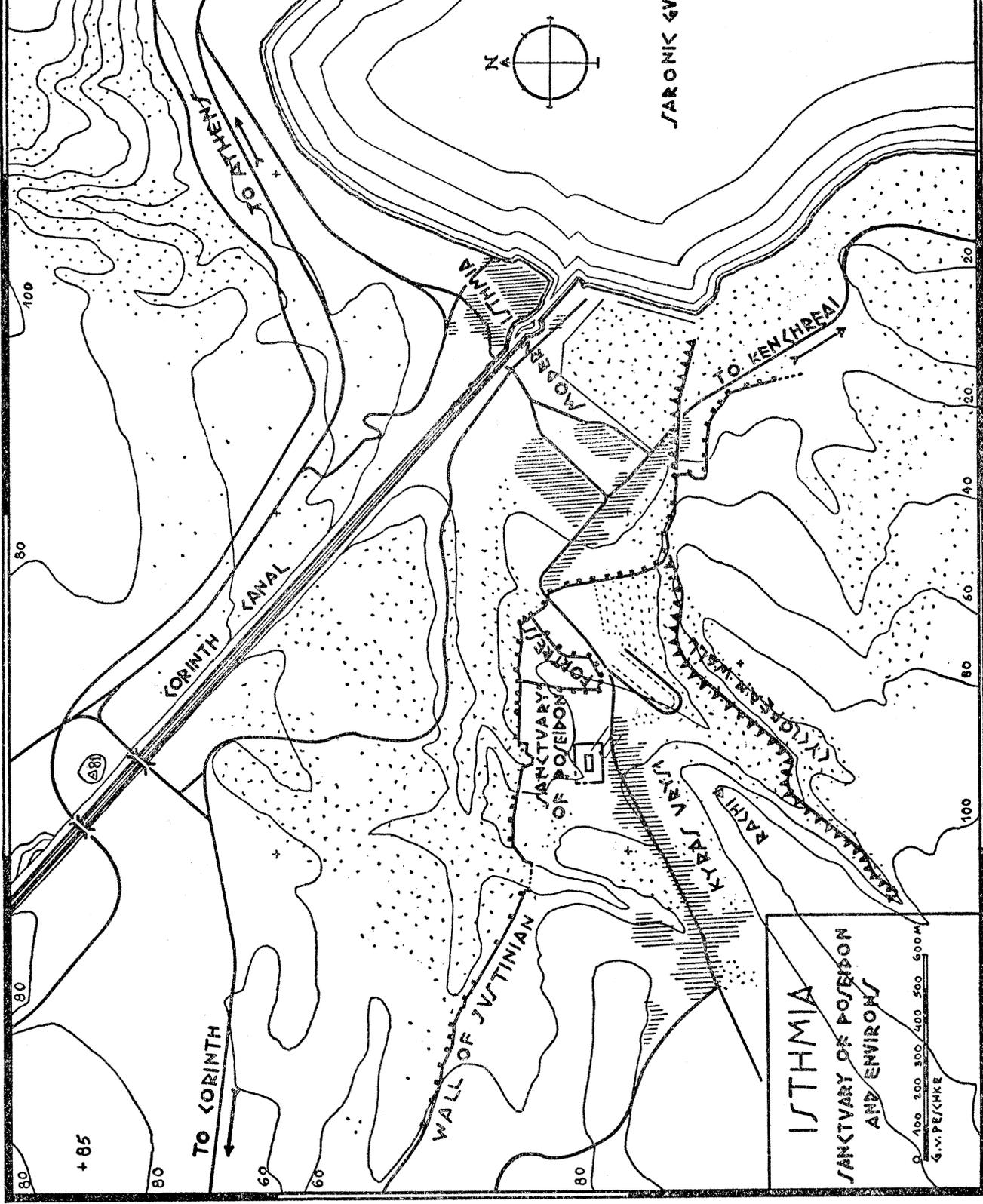
THE University of Chicago Expedition engaged in excavating the Isthmian Sanctuary has completed its fourth campaign.<sup>2</sup> Our chief efforts were concentrated on the clearing of the twin precinct of Poseidon and Palaimon, and at the same time we explored other areas within the perimeter of the ancient site. Inevitably the activities at a given season are determined by chance and unexpected developments, no less than by well-laid plans pursued over the years. Thus on the first day of excavation, October 2, 1957, two surprising discoveries led to extensive operations

<sup>1</sup> The major support for the season's work was a grant from the Bollingen Foundation. An additional contribution came from the American Hellenic Association (President Andrew Kanelos) through the Greek Cultural Foundation for the University of Chicago, and a very generous donation came from Mr. Horace Horton of Chicago. The American Council of Learned Societies made a special grant for a survey and mapping of the Corinthia.

Members of the staff who continued their work both through the autumn and the spring campaigns were John G. Hawthorne, William P. Donovan, and the writer of this article. During the spring season two members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Robert Charles and Matthew Wiencke, assisted in the field work. The Epimelites, Evangelia Protonotariou, who served under the Ephor of Antiquities, Nikolaos Verdellis, as representative of the Greek Archaeological Service, took active part in the excavations; and in the spring the Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities, Demetrios Pallas, supervised the excavation in the Fortress of Justinian. Eunice Work, also a member of the preceding campaign, studied the coins from Isthmia and in addition rendered valuable service in the field. The exacting task of keeping the inventories up to date was accomplished by Helen Besi and—during the autumn—by John Hawthorne and William Donovan. For a time in the summer of 1958 Synthia Yannatou assisted with the inventories and with typing. Franklin P. Johnson of the University of Chicago devoted the autumn months to a study of the pottery. The late George V. Peschke did the survey and mapping and made the plans of the excavations. His sudden death in March of 1959 was a great loss to the Isthmia Excavation. The photographs during the campaign were made by the members of the staff, and at the close of the season Emile Seraf did the major photographic work. Evangelos Lekkas served as foreman; George Kachros and Argyres Marines cleaned and restored the pottery and small finds.

The overseas staff members received accommodation in the Corinth excavation house of the American School of Classical Studies. To the donors whose generosity made the campaign possible, to the Archaeological Service of the Ministry of Education, to the Director of the American School, John L. Caskey, to the members of the staff, and to all who have contributed to the success of the year's work the University's Isthmia Expedition is deeply indebted.

<sup>2</sup> Three preliminary reports on preceding campaigns at Isthmia have appeared in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 182-195; XXIV, 1955, pp. 110-141; XXVII, 1958, pp. 1-37.



# ISTHMI

JANCTVARY OF POSEIDON  
AND ENVIRONS

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that were not intended and could not have been contemplated in advance. During a cursory search for fortification walls across the Isthmus we uncovered evidence to prove that the earliest of the walls goes back to the late Bronze Age (Fig. 1; see p. 320, note 19); and in a trial trench near the Poseidon Sanctuary we found the mouth of a large circular pit, the exact depth of which still remains to be determined. These discoveries contributed in no small degree toward the success of the year's work; they did not, as this report will show, prevent or seriously delay our major project of clearing the Sanctuaries of Poseidon and Palaimon.

#### ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF POSEIDON

Within the temple area a search was made for the scanty remains of the archaic temple, the construction of which goes back to the seventh century B.C. In the two ancient dumps to the north and east of the classical temple numerous building blocks with characteristic grooves for ropes were found both this year and in previous campaigns. The stones are readily recognized because of these grooves and because the material, a fine-grained poros, differs from that used in the classical temple. The abundance of this stone and the large quantities of archaic tiles from the temple indicate that the building was of considerable size. Since no fragments of architrave, frieze, or cornice appeared, we may assume that they were made of wood. Interior supports—as well as the peristyle, if one existed—would likewise have been of wood.

Of the foundation little remains in place, but beneath the floor of the classical temple is a well-preserved earth floor marked by a layer of ash and carbonized material from the fire that destroyed the temple, about the time of the Persian wars. The floor level of the archaic temple was *ca.* 0.40 m. below the level of the classical building. The only line of foundation that can be determined with any certainty is that of the north flank. Slight cuttings in rock and discoloration in the earth where the foundation has been removed show that the temple extended westward as far as the opisthodomos of the fifth century building. At the east end a trench sunk beneath the floor of the later pronaos revealed three blocks *in situ* from the foundation of the earlier building. The wall extended farther east, but all traces of it were removed when the foundations for the classical temple were laid. Presumably the east wall of the archaic temple ran along the same line as the front foundation of the classical pronaos. This would give the archaic temple a length between 33 and 39 m.

The exact width cannot be determined, since there are no certain traces left of the foundations for the south, east and west walls. The burned layer from the destruction extends southward as far as the south cella wall of the classical temple but does not appear in the fill between the foundation trench of this wall and the foundation for the south colonnade. Hence the south wall of the archaic building presumably ran along the line of the later south cella wall. This would give to the building a total

width between 9.20 and 10.90 m.<sup>3</sup> From the line of the north wall we learn that the orientation of the archaic temple differed slightly from that of the classical temple.<sup>4</sup> Beneath the floor of the east peristyle of the classical temple there are certain cuttings in the rock but they seem too narrow for the foundation of the temple proper. Presumably they mark the limits of an area on the east from which the temple was entered. In the exact axis of the classical temple lies the circular base which presumably supported the archaic *perirrhanterion*. It is not entirely certain that this base is now in its original position. It is slightly tilted and badly cracked, and the top has been mutilated by the plow. To the south of the base at a somewhat lower level we discovered the remains of a large metal tripod. Nothing is left but two Π-shaped pieces of iron *ca.* 1 m. apart. Small bits of rusted iron were found in the area where the third foot would have come. The photograph on Plate 59, a shows the relation of the tripod to the circular base of the *perirrhanterion*.

#### THE CIRCULAR PIT

In the autumn of 1957, while investigating the southward extension of the west waterworks, we came upon the rim of a large circular pit (Pl. 59, b) cut vertically through the rock and hard clay. Although outside the precinct proper (Fig. 2), it was probably closely related to it. At the rim the pit measures slightly under 5 m. in diameter. Though remarkably well cut with vertical sides, it varies somewhat at the bottom where it has a slightly elliptical shape. Around the edge there is a cutting in rock, 0.87 m. wide, which seems to indicate some kind of curbing. We began clearing the pit with no conception of its depth and soon came to realize that it would be a major undertaking to empty the whole immense shaft of its contents. Near the top there was a mixed fill containing Roman and late Greek pottery. Below the first 0.40 m. the fill was consistently archaic. Very few red-figured sherds were found and these seem to come down only to the beginning of the fifth century. The bulk of the pottery is Early and Middle Corinthian. The vases described below, Nos. 4, 5, and 10, and the bronze objects, Nos. 1, 7, and 10, came from the fill of the pit. Water was reached at a depth of 15.30 m., but the digging continued under water for some 0.40 m.

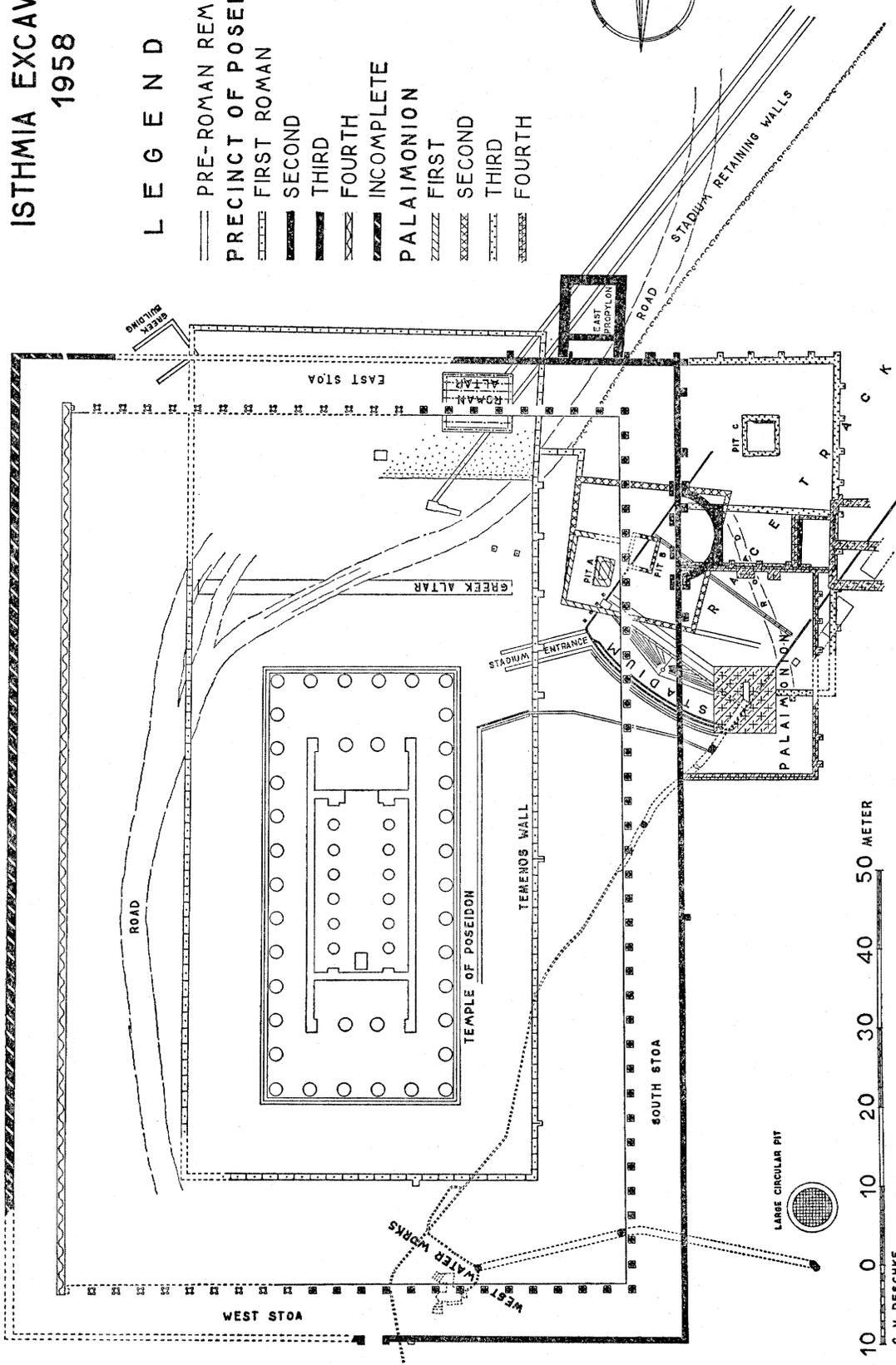
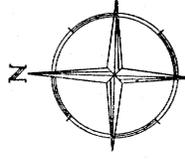
<sup>3</sup> The ratio of width to length may have been *ca.* 1:3, or approximately the same as in the Temple of Apollo at Thermon. The Isthmia Temple is the earlier of the two. For the date of the Temple at Thermon (*ca.* 620 B.C.) see Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 51; and cf. Hans Riemann, *Zum griechischen Peripteraltempel*, pp. 16 ff. The proportions of the foundation of the temple in the Agora at Sikyon is approximately 1:3. See Orlandos' plan in *Πρακτικά*, 1937, p. 95, fig. 2, reproduced also in G. Roux' *Pausanias en Corinthe*, fig. 31. The type of tile used in the Isthmia Temple is a further indication of early date; see *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 111-112, 153-157.

<sup>4</sup> The broad cutting for a foundation in the exact axis of the Classical Temple, which was at first regarded as part of the Archaic Temple, must now be explained as a feature of the fifth century building. It is too broad and has the wrong orientation for the archaic Temple.

# ISTHμία EXCAVATION 1958

## LEGEND

- PRE-ROMAN REMAINS
- ▬ PRECINCT OF POSEIDON
- ▬ FIRST ROMAN
- ▬ SECOND
- ▬ THIRD
- ▬ FOURTH
- ▬ INCOMPLETE
- ▬ PALAIMONION
- ▬ FIRST
- ▬ SECOND
- ▬ THIRD
- ▬ FOURTH



G. V. PESCHKE

Fig. 2. Plan of the Excavations

more. As no equipment was available for removing water in such quantity we abandoned, reluctantly, the project for the season. At the end of a dry summer the water level may be lowered enough to permit resumption of the digging. The pit had been filled up at one time not later than the end of the sixth century B.C. We do not know when it was dug nor what purpose it was intended to serve; the fill near the bottom might hold the answer. If, as seems likely, the pit was used for some time before being abandoned and filled up, it is probably to be dated during the reigns of the Corinthian tyrants.

#### EAST TEMENOS DUMP

A little to the north and west of the second altar of Poseidon we excavated a small area, the fill of which consisted chiefly of dump from the two temple fires (Pl. 60, a). The original ground level here sloped perceptibly toward the east. There was a shallow stratum of early fill resting directly on virgin soil. It is comparatively smooth on top, and toward the south the surface is covered with pebbles about as large as hens' eggs. Over the area where these pebbles are found there was a layer of ash and burnt animal bones. Osteological analyses indicate that various kinds of smaller animals, sheep, goats, pigs, are represented. In the 1956 campaign, when the area immediately to the south was excavated, similar pebbles were found mixed with carbon and ash.<sup>5</sup> It is fairly clear that the whole area was used in archaic times for sacrificial purposes. Perhaps the pebbles were used somehow in connection with the sacrifices, possibly in some primitive rite of stoning the animals before they were slaughtered.<sup>6</sup> This we may conclude from the fact that although the same hard packed surface extends toward the north and west, the pebbles are found only in connection with the layer of ash and animal bones. No altar was found in the area, and it may be questioned whether an altar in the proper sense had ever existed. It is possible that the sacrifices took place at an open fire on the ground. The area, however, is criss-crossed with foundations of the early stadium, and walls of Roman times, and an altar might well have disappeared.

Over this sloping ground there was a layer of earth, varying in depth from 0.50 m. at the west edge, near the Long Altar, to over two meters at the east edge of the area. Two kinds of fill may be distinguished. On the upper slope toward the west the fill consisted chiefly of debris from the archaic temple. Large numbers of archaic

<sup>5</sup> See *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 3. Similar pebbles appeared along the front edge of the long altar.

<sup>6</sup> For comparable practices see S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, pp. 280 ff., especially the ceremony at Megara, where pebbles were used instead of barley for sprinkling on the victims. A kind of altar made of a rough stone pile is known from other sites (see C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, pp. 214 f.), but in such cases the stones are larger and piled in a heap, not scattered over a wide area as at the Isthmia.

roof tiles and building blocks from the temple came from this fill, and mixed with it considerable numbers of potsherds and bronzes (see below, pp. 327-335, 337.) Some sherds of red-figured Attic pottery found in this area come from vases, fragments of which were found during earlier campaigns in the north temenos dump. This proves conclusively, if such proof is necessary, that the fill in the two areas came from the same place. Above this archaic fill and to the east of it there was a layer of poros chips containing fragments of classical roof tiles and pottery but few other objects. These chips probably resulted from the repairs to the temple after the fire of 394 B.C.

The area just described is divided from north to south by a foundation of Roman construction. Its west edge is 5.80 m. from the west façade of the Roman altar. This foundation has been exposed for more than 25 m. toward the north from the early Roman south temenos wall. The distance from the wall to the altar is almost exactly the same as the distance between the east edge of the altar and the east temenos wall (Fig. 2). This relation between altar and walls can hardly be accidental. We may assume that the two walls marked the west and east limits of an area which in Roman times was set aside for sacrificial purposes. The fact that the early sacrificial area is located in the same place may not be of any significance, since it had been entirely covered with debris from the archaic temple several centuries before the Roman foundation was laid down. Future excavations to the north and east may be expected to cast further light on these problems.

#### NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE TEMENOS

To the northeast of the Temple of Poseidon, where the original ground level slopes rather steeply toward the east, we dug a trench in an effort to find the northeast corner of the early Roman temenos wall. Our search was unsuccessful, but in the course of our exploration we uncovered a small building of pre-Roman times. It is not oriented like the temenos and the Temple. The extant remains consist of three walls preserved to the height of the orthostate, 0.675 m. above the foundation. The walls are only 0.43 m. thick. The building measures 6.13 m. in length from southeast to northwest, and 5.45 m. in width. The two flank walls abut against an outcropping of rock; there was no wall at the northwest end (Fig. 2). The foundation for the rear wall of the East Stoa, which cuts across the Greek building diagonally, caused the removal of the orthostate blocks in the southwest corner. Possibly there was an entrance here from the south, but there is no clear evidence for it. This garage-like structure has the normal dimensions for a treasury, but the absence of a wall or cuttings for a foundation at the northwest end leaves it quite uncertain what purpose the building was intended to serve. After its destruction and before the construction of the East Stoa an east-west road passed over the ruined building. At the southeast corner the orthostate blocks have been worn down some 0.30 m. by the wheel traffic on the road.

## NORTH TEMENOS DUMP

Between the two sections dug in 1954 and in 1956 there was a small undug part of the ancient dump, which has now been completely excavated. As in the other sections of the same area, it contained numerous building stones and tiles from the archaic temple. Among the pottery there are a few pieces of interest, including several small fragments of the two Panathenaic amphoras discovered in 1956, and one inscribed fragment shown below, p. 335, No. 9. A section of the archaic road was laid bare *ca.* 1.25 m. below the Roman road level.

## WEST END OF THE TEMENOS OF POSEIDON

Here the whole southwest corner of the precinct has now been excavated from the west façade of the Temple of Poseidon to the rear wall of the West Stoa. The earliest remains in this area are the west waterworks excavated in 1954. The present campaign revealed the channel which brought water from somewhere west of the precinct to a long narrow reservoir connected with the west waterworks (Fig. 2). The reservoir measures *ca.* 0.80 m. at the bottom, and 0.45 m. at the top. It is somewhat over 2 m. deep, but the top has broken down, so that the exact depth at the north end is not preserved. The floor of the reservoir is 0.11 m. above the floor of the circular north manhole where the reservoir begins. From there it extends southward to the front wall of the South Stoa, where there is a second circular manhole, then turns slightly westward and continues 25 m. farther south into the modern school lot, and there terminates in an oval manhole, cut through solid rock. Walls and floor of the reservoir, as well as the sides of the manholes, are covered with a hard water-tight stucco. The reservoir and its three manholes contained much pottery of late Hellenistic times.

Into the north manhole, which is bottle-shaped, water was brought through a stuccoed channel extending northeastward for a distance of 8 m. Here it joins the supply channel, which runs from northwest to southeast across the precinct toward the Palaimonion reservoir (see below, p. 311). The west waterworks have been described in an earlier article,<sup>7</sup> but at the time of its publication the long west reservoir described above had not been cleared. One remarkable thing about the arrangement here is the fact that the terracotta pipe bringing water to the west waterworks from the north manhole is at a level 1.80 m. above the floor of the reservoir, and only *ca.* 0.25 m. below its top. Thus the tank in the west waterworks would get no water until the water-level had risen almost to the top of the reservoir. Presumably the water could also be drawn through the oval manhole at the south end. The pottery from the fill of the reservoir and its manholes indicates that these waterworks continued to function into late Hellenistic times. They may have fallen into disuse during

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 121 f., pl. 47, a, c.

the period of neglect between the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. and the establishment of the Roman colony a century later.

The supply channel which brought water to this whole hydraulic system was originally cut in clay and lined with a hard stucco similar to that used in the reservoir. It is *ca.* 0.18 m. wide at the top and 0.08 m. deep. The edges are rounded off in such a way as to indicate that the channel was originally intended to be left open. Here and there it has been mended with fragments of roof tiles from the classical temple. Near the point where the channel takes off toward the west waterworks a loop has been made which seems to have been constructed entirely out of marble cover tiles from the temple. For the channel itself the tiles are laid upside down and end to end, and other tiles of the same kind are used as covers; the water was diverted into the new channel by means of a dam across the old. The detour, however, soon rejoins the original channel, but at the point of juncture the connection has been destroyed through the construction of a small square building of post-classical date. The loop may have been made to avoid some building which has since been removed.

Regarding the date of these waterworks and of the supply channel no clear evidence has been revealed. Presumably they are earlier than the fire that damaged the temple of Poseidon in 394 B.C. Since cover tiles and fragments of pan tiles from the classical temple were available for the construction and cover of the loop, it is reasonable to conclude that this alteration was made shortly after the fire. This would place the original construction in the fifth century B.C. or earlier. The channel and waterworks had ceased to function before the earliest reconstruction of the precinct under the Empire. Both the earlier Roman temenos wall and the foundations of the South Stoa interrupt the channel.

The earliest remains in the west area after the west waterworks had fallen into disuse are represented by the west temenos wall (Fig. 2; Pl. 59, c, upper right). This runs parallel to the west temple façade at a distance of 8.75 m. It is part of the earlier Roman temenos enclosure which was uncovered at the east end of the precinct in the preceding campaign. Here at the west end it is made with large squared blocks resting directly on virgin soil. In places where the rock extends to a higher level the wall blocks were laid directly on the rock. Lime mortar and rubble masonry were used to fill in the spaces between the rock and the foundation blocks. The temenos floor level, between the wall and temple, was apparently at least 0.30 m. lower than the later floor level from the period of the West and South Stoa. The whole west area, however, has been disfigured by a series of later cuttings for which no structural reason is apparent. Before the South and West Stoa were built the ground level was here considerably higher than it is now. The southwest corner of the precinct has been cut down to a depth of more than 2 m. below the original rock surface. Conversely the ground level at the east and north sides of the temple has been raised. These operations presumably account for the disappearance of the temenos wall from

the classical Greek period. When the rock was cut away west of the temple, only a thin crust was left in small islands here and there throughout the precinct. Below this layer of rock there is white clay which when dry is very hard, but can readily be dissolved in water. Probably the irregular cuttings below the floor level of the precinct have resulted from digging for clay that was used in the construction of walls and floors. In the campaign of 1955-1956 a large pit was found north of the Temple, in which the clay had been dissolved in water.<sup>8</sup>

From the southwest corner of the precinct the foundations of the West Stoa (Pl. 59, c) have been laid bare for a distance of 45 m. Beyond this point the ground level drops abruptly into the north gully, and here all traces of the foundation have disappeared. The rear wall preserved for a length of 43 m. was partly cut out of rock and was partly built with large poros stones. A little to the south of the axis of the temple and precinct there was a gateway in the wall, through which led the road that skirted the temple on the north side. This west gate was apparently reconstructed many times, but it is clear that a road existed here even before the construction of the stoa and continued to exist after the stoa had been demolished. Traces of the gateway are preserved in the rear wall of the stoa, and the road metal extending over the stoa stylobate shows that the road was not interrupted when the stoa was constructed. Here a small section of stylobate, 6 m. long, is preserved. Presumably the span between the columns was larger here than elsewhere in the stoa so as to permit vehicles to pass through, but the evidence is lacking. Near this point were found two architectural members from the stoa, of great importance for the reconstruction. One is an Ionic column base indicating a lower diameter of 0.57 m. for the column. The base has the usual two toruses separated by a scotia. Attached to the circular base is a square plinth, measuring 0.72 m. on the side, and 0.095 m. in height. The second member is a combined cornice-sima block, measuring 1.31 m. x 0.88 m. x 0.45 m. At the outer edge of the top there is a shallow channel which does not extend across the joints. The water from this channel was poured out through two lions' heads as spouts, 0.68 m. apart. A similar but longer block from the South Stoa (Pl. 59, c) preserves three water spouts, unequally spaced. The material is a brittle bluish marble. The work is rough and sketchy.

#### SOUTH SIDE OF THE TEMENOS OF POSEIDON

Except for a small area occupied by the workshed, the whole south side of the temenos has now been excavated. Diagonally across the area runs the pre-Roman water channel that supplied the west waterworks and the reservoir connected with the Palaimonion (Fig. 2). It varies little in size and construction from the section already described in the area west of the Temple. Part of it, near the west end, is covered

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 3.

with marble cover tiles from the Temple roof and with terracotta cover tiles of the same shape and size. The channel slopes toward the southeast and finally empties into the Palaimonion reservoir. Where it passes under the south arm of the first Roman temenos wall, there is a filling of earth and uncut stones that would not have permitted the water to pass through; hence we must conclude that the channel and the reservoirs supplied by it had fallen into disuse before the temenos wall was constructed.

Near the east end of the Temple of Poseidon, where the ground drops to a lower level, there is a terrace wall built of re-used material. The north-south arm makes two obtuse angles, then the wall turns westward and runs parallel to the Temple at a distance of 2.00 m. from the Temple foundation. It does not extend all along the Temple flank, but comes to an end opposite the rear wall of the cella. Since it ends with an anathyrosis it may have extended farther west, where no traces of it are preserved. Along the side of the Temple the wall measures only 0.35 to 0.40 m. in width, but the north-south arm is nearly twice as wide. In the northernmost section of this arm, between the northeast corner and the first obtuse angle—a stretch of 7 m.—the existing blocks seem to have served as the lower of the two steps leading from the east to the higher level on the west. A setting-line through the middle of the existing blocks indicates the position of the missing second step. South of the first obtuse angle the wall foundation is preserved at the lower level and here are setting-lines that indicate that a parapet rested on the foundation. The lowest course of the foundation is preserved as far south as the foundation for the colonnade of the South Stoa, but the trench cut for the wall extends farther south, to the Palaimonion cistern to be described later. The chief purpose of this wall seems to have been to act as a curb for a partly paved area south of the Temple. The wall is certainly earlier than the South Stoa and presumably antedates the earlier Roman temenos wall, the foundation of which abuts against the east face of the wall. Although the material is re-used, the blocks are well fitted in their present position and the dressing of the blocks and setting-lines for the missing course indicate a period before the Roman reorganization of the precinct. This is further shown by the parapet in the Palaimonian reservoir (see below, p. 311).

The first Roman temenos wall on the south side of the Poseidon Temple is preserved almost throughout its entire length. It is constructed out of large blocks of unequal sizes laid directly on the rock and virgin soil. The east end of the wall, however, is constructed differently. Here the foundation is made with lime mortar and uncut stones and the same is true of the east and north arms of the wall. The preserved top of the wall south of the Temple is 0.40 m. below the level of the precinct as established by the construction of the South Stoa. Apparently the builders of the stoa attempted to establish a uniform level, but here and there the rock projects above this level. Some of these islands of rock have been trimmed down and in others there are various kinds of cuttings which do not lend themselves to any logical explanation.

It is clear, however, that the south temenos wall had been removed before the South Stoa was constructed, since the ground level established between the stoa and the Temple extends clear over the wall foundation.

The entire foundation for the colonnade of the South Stoa has been exposed (Pl. 60, b); it measures *ca.* 112 m. from east to west. In the west half of the stoa the foundation has been removed except for a series of pier-like portions, which presumably mark the position of the columns. The spacing of these "piers" indicates an interaxial distance of *ca.* 3.05 m. for the colonnade of the stoa. This would allow for 37 columns for the entire length.<sup>9</sup> The piers do not indicate individual foundations for the columns; rather at the time of demolition the foundation was removed between the columns while these were still standing. This is shown by the fact that in several of the intercolumniations the lowest course of stones is still left in place. We may assume that the axial distance in the East and West stoas was the same as in the South Stoa, but the foundations are almost entirely missing (cf. Pl. 59, c), leaving no evidence for the spacing of the columns.

The rear wall of the stoa is even less well preserved. At the southwest corner the rock and underlying clay has been cut back for the wall, and at one point the wall bedding is shown by cuttings in the rock. In the east half of the stoa both the front and rear foundations are better preserved. They show that the depth of the colonnade was *ca.* 7 m. There are no indications of interior supports in the original construction. Near the west end of the South Stoa there is a complex of walls, apparently dating from the period after the demolition of the stoa. They contain fragments of columns and other architectural members from the superstructure of the stoa. They were probably built shortly after the destruction under Justinian; but there is no ceramic evidence for any large-scale occupation of the site after that event. Throughout the area, as elsewhere in the sanctuary, a remarkably large number of pipes and water channels have been laid bare. Most of them run from west to east, but a few cross these at various angles. The earliest is the channel described above, which brought water to the west waterworks, the Palaimonion reservoir, and the Stadium. The latest of the channels, which were laid after the destruction of the classical buildings, may have brought water from the fountain in the upper part of the village to the fortress constructed under Justinian.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE EARLY STADIUM

In the campaign of 1958 we cleared more of the area once occupied by the early Stadium discovered in 1956. Later building activities have greatly altered the original

<sup>9</sup> In the plan published in *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 6, fig. 1, which was made before the building was completely excavated, the columns are incorrectly spaced.

<sup>10</sup> For pictures of these channels see *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pl. 3, b, c.

appearance, but a few stones clearly related to the Stadium were exposed, and some of these deserve mention. In the area northeast of the early starting line two large blocks were found which appear to be *in situ*. They are shown in the plan, Figure 2, east of the south end of the Long Altar. In each stone is a square cutting measuring *ca.* 0.16 x 0.19 m. in area and extending through the thickness of the blocks. These were probably used to support masts for banners or trophies displayed during the games in the Stadium. On the southwest side of the Stadium we uncovered part of the water channel that lined the racecourse. Near the southeast corner of the Temple of Palaimon there is a large poros block partly uncovered in 1956. When finally cleared this year it proved to be an isolated block without anathyrosis at the ends. It is exactly one meter square and 0.40 m. thick. From its position near the southwest end of the late starting line one might suppose that this block supported an altar or a chair for some important official.<sup>11</sup> Farther toward the southeast, along the edge of the Stadium, two larger foundations were uncovered. The first of these is constructed out of large blocks carefully dressed and fitted (Pl. 59, d). At the southeast end the foundation is 2.36 m. wide; farther to the northwest it is only 1.30 m. wide. It is preserved to a length of 5 m., but originally it was longer. Most of the foundation is only one course deep, but at the northwest end two courses are preserved, both of which have anathyrosis at the exposed edge, thus showing that the foundation extended farther in that direction. The top block has cuttings for hook clamps. This provides a dating for the base, since such clamps are not likely to have been used much before the fourth century B.C.<sup>12</sup> It remains uncertain whether the base is contemporary with or later than the racecourse with its starting line. As now preserved the foundation forms a  $\Gamma$ , possibly the northwest end had a projection corresponding to that at the other end. At a distance of 4.30 m. toward the southeast there is a third foundation (Fig. 2), also made out of large poros blocks, but less carefully finished than those of the second base. It is 2.32 m. wide, and it has been exposed for a length of 2.75 m. Part of the foundation lies buried beneath the modern road which here overlies the Stadium. Doubtless the two larger bases supported seats for officials or specially honored spectators. One may have been the place reserved for the Hellanodikai. We are told that the Athenian delegation enjoyed special privileges at the Isthmian Games, such as a proedria as large as the sails of the sacred vessel that brought them across the Saronic Gulf. The second base may have served some such purpose.

The excavation report for 1955-1956 contains a description of the parallel water channels that ran along the curved end of the racetrack.<sup>13</sup> At their south ends the two

<sup>11</sup> The altar from which the priestess of Demeter Chamyne watched the games at Olympia is an obvious parallel (Pausanias, VI, 20, 9), but in the absence of inscriptions no identification is possible.

<sup>12</sup> For the use of the hook clamp see Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 235, and Broneer, *Corinth*, I, iv, *The South Stoa*, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958 pp. 10 ff.; *Archaeology*, IX, 1956, p. 270.

channels were cut off when the foundation for the Palaimon Temple was laid. Presumably they continued southward and connected with a basin similar to that found at the northeast end of the triangular sill for the *balbides*. In our excavation of the Palaimonion we discovered an underground reservoir which doubtless supplied the water for the channels and basins of the Stadium. Although the entrance to the reservoir was altered by the construction of the temple, the original relationship of the reservoir to the Stadium may be established with a high degree of probability. At the southeast end the width of the reservoir measures 0.71 m. at the bottom, and 1.20 m. in height. Its roof, walls and floor are entirely covered with a thick water-tight stucco like that used in the west waterworks. Farther northwest, however, the rock-cut roof was left unstuccoed. The reservoir curves slightly, and is rather uneven on the sides. It extends 18 m. toward the northwest, and near the end the floor rises gradually toward the top, where the water channel described above emptied into the reservoir. The distance between the preserved southeast end of the reservoir and the upper of the two parallel water channels at the end of the Stadium is *ca.* 0.90 m. It is obvious that the water in the Stadium was supplied from the reservoir. We may assume that there was a parapet at the very end through which water was piped into the Stadium channels. At a distance of 2.60 m. from the preserved end of the reservoir there are traces of another parapet which consisted of a stone slab, 0.16 m. thick. In front of the slab were two gateposts, one of which is still *in situ*, and the cutting for the second is visible. This parapet does not run at right angles to the line of the reservoir, but follows the direction of the terrace wall described above (p. 308). Since the reservoir is unquestionably Greek, the relationship of the parapet to the terrace wall (Fig. 2) shows that the latter is also of pre-Roman date. The preserved gatepost on the left, as one enters the reservoir, was trimmed off in Roman times and its surface covered with a coarse stucco (Pl. 61, a) painted dark blue, similar to the stucco used within the passage of the temple foundation (see below, pp. 318-319). Directly in front of the parapet there is a shallow niche on the right side of the reservoir and a similar niche, now filled up with Roman stucco, probably existed on the other side. Two such niches are also preserved at the northwest end of the reservoir. These were presumably used as steps for descent through manholes, the upper parts of which have disappeared.

From the connection of the reservoir with the subterranean passage in the Temple of Palaimon we might suppose that the water of the reservoir was also somehow connected with an early cult place of the hero. Pausanias states that the boy's body was concealed within the crypt. The excavation has revealed nothing resembling a tomb, and the information conveyed by Pausanias may have been based on pious beliefs for which there was no material foundation. It may be of some significance, however, that the southwest end of the early starting line comes almost exactly in the center of the temple foundation. There may have been a tradition that the races

originally started from the tomb of Palaimon. Similarly, in the Olympic Stadium the tomb of Endymion was said by the Eleans to have marked the starting line, but it is clear that Pausanias (VI, 20, 9) did not see it.

#### THE PRECINCT OF PALAIMON

The area occupied by the northwest end of the Stadium became the precinct of Palaimon in Roman Imperial times. The first evidence of cult in this vicinity is supplied by three sacrificial pits to the east and north of the later Palaimon temple (Fig. 2). They do not differ greatly in date, but a study of the pottery from the fill permits us to arrange them in chronological sequence. Pit A (Pl. 61, b), the earliest and simplest, probably also the smallest, is located close to the basin at the northeast end of the early starting line. The pit is cut in the rock and virgin soil to a depth of *ca.* 1.15 m. below the sloping embankment of the Stadium. This was probably the ground level at the time when the pit was used. The pit is 3.50 m. long and 2.12 m. wide at the bottom, but its sides and bottom are very irregular. The north side is partly lined with a roughly built wall, the stones of which have crumbled from heat. In the center of the pit there is a shallow depression, 2.25 m. x 1.30 m. in area. The pit was filled to a height of 0.60 m. above the floor with ash, carbonized wood and burnt animal bones. Considerable numbers of vases, mostly flat bowls with curving rims, and fragments of Palaimonion lamps were found in this deposit. An area surrounding the pit, 8.70 m. long and more than 5.30 m. wide, was enclosed with a stone wall. The south side of this enclosure was destroyed when the South Stoa was constructed.

Pit B is located very close to A, to the southeast. It was largely destroyed when the foundation for the colonnade of the South Stoa was laid. The south wall measures 3.70 m. in length on the inside and is preserved to a height of 1.20 m. above the floor of the pit. This was probably the total depth when the pit was in use. Part of the west wall has been exposed, but the east wall is mostly concealed by later construction. The floor of the pit is *ca.* 0.20 m. below the bottom of the walls that line the sides. The stone lining, as in pit A, has crumbled from intense heat. Much of the fill was removed when the stoa foundation was laid, but in the southwest corner it was preserved to a height of some 20 centimeters. Its content does not differ greatly from that of pit A. Apparently pits A and B were used for a time simultaneously, as is shown by an enclosure which surrounds both and incorporates a considerable area toward the south and east (Fig. 2). This space may have been used by priests and other officials during the sacrifices.

Pit C (Pl. 62, foreground), which is the largest, was in use after the other two pits had been discarded. It measures 4 m. from east to west and 3.40 m. from north to south, and has a depth of *ca.* 1.10 m. All four walls are lined with stones which

show even more clearly than the walls in pits A and B the effects of intense heat. The east wall seems to have crumbled away completely at one time and a second wall was then made, partly out of fragments of tile. This wall begins at a height of 0.25 m. above the floor of the pit. At this level the contents of the pit also changed. The top part of the fill contained numerous fragments of small one-handled beakers of coarse material, whereas the lower deposit contained flat-bottomed bowls of the type found in the other two pits. The fill of ash and animal bones in pit C extends to a height of 0.75 m. above the floor. The bones in the three pits are all bones of cattle, at least some of which were young bulls. The animals had been burnt whole. None of the bones had been cut before burning, and bones from all parts of the sacrificial victims were found.<sup>14</sup> Thus we may conclude that the pits were used for sacrificial holocausts which may have formed the climax in the celebration of the Isthmian Games. Pit C, unlike the other two, is oriented like the temple and precinct walls of the Palaimonion and is very nearly on the axis of the temple. This indicates that the pit formed an important part of the Palaimonion complex as this took shape during Roman Imperial times. The large quantities of pottery mixed with the ash are probably to be explained as containers of oil brought by the worshipers as votive offerings and thrown into the pits to help feed the flames.

Pit C also had its own enclosure (Fig. 2), which is much larger than those of pits A and B. The walls enclosing pit C are preserved on the east, south and west sides. The north precinct wall probably coincided with the line of the rear wall of the South Stoa, which would account for its complete disappearance. The pit lies in the approximate center of this quadrangle, which measures 18 m. from east to west and 18.50 m. from north to south. The enclosing walls are made with stones of no large size laid in a mortar of earth. The east wall measures *ca.* 0.75 m. in thickness. On the east side, at intervals of *ca.* 3 m., there is a series of buttresses, constructed in the same way as the wall and tied into the wall construction. The wall runs southward in a straight line from the south end of the later rear wall of the East Stoa, and at the corner it abuts against a large buttress that projects southward from the rear wall of the South Stoa. The two foundations are readily distinguishable because the stoa wall with its buttresses is built with lime mortar, whereas the wall enclosing the sacrificial pit uses no lime in its construction. The south wall of the enclosure is constructed in the same way, also with buttresses. Apparently it continued beyond the enclosure without change of construction toward the west for a total length of 43 m. Later buildings in this part of the Palaimonion have somewhat disguised the earlier arrangement, but the general layout is clear. The west wall of the enclosure of pit C, though

<sup>14</sup> For information about the sacrificial victims I am indebted to Nils-Gustaf Gejvall of Statens historiska museum, Stockholm, who made osteological analyses of the bones from the pits in the Palaimonion and from the sacrificial areas east of the Temple of Poseidon.

constructed in the same way, has no buttresses preserved. The reason seems to be that this is not an outside wall but a partition wall between two rectangular areas. At its north end the foundation for the west wall cut through the earlier foundation of the enclosure around pits A and B. The relationships of these walls to each other is further complicated by the construction of a semicircular building to be described later. The wall reappears on the north side within the semicircle, where it ended against one of the buttresses for the rear wall of the South Stoa. The ground level surrounding pit C seems to have been somewhat lower than the floor of the racecourse, and the ground probably sloped slightly toward the pit. A row of step-like cuttings in the earth to the west of the pit may have been made for the insertion of benches on which the officials sat during sacrifices.

In the middle area, west of the quadrangle that enclosed pit C, there were two rooms of unequal size, a larger one on the north and a smaller one on the south. The clear width of the rooms from east to west is 6 m. Nothing was found to indicate what the rooms were used for. All the walls were constructed like those of the enclosure around the pit, but without buttresses. West of these two rooms there was another large rectangular area measuring 15.75 m. from east to west and *ca.* 18 m. from north to south. The south wall is a continuation of the south wall of the areas described above. Of the west wall a small stretch is preserved, south of the foundation for the Temple of Palaimon. It is constructed exactly like the other walls, but is only 0.60 m. thick and has one buttress preserved on the west side. Nothing now remains of the west wall north of the temple foundation. The area is here occupied with the sill for the *balbides* starting-line. When this area was excavated a few stones of a rubble foundation were removed in order to expose the underlying sill. This foundation was roughly in line with the section of the west wall preserved south of the temple. There can be no doubt that this large quadrangle is earlier than the temple, and that it was used in connection with the cult of Palaimon. This is shown by the fact that throughout this area we discovered innumerable lamps, both of the specific Palaimonion type and of smaller portable types (cf. Pl. 61, d). Here and there the area showed signs of fire, and in several places pits had been dug to a level below that of the Stadium floor.

At the north end of the middle area described above there is preserved a curving foundation (Pl. 61, c) which is somewhat less than a semicircle. The chord measures 11.75 m. on the outside. The foundation is 0.85—1.00 m. thick and is preserved to a height of 0.40 m. above the floor of the racecourse. It is built with small stones laid in mortar and at the preserved top it has been leveled off by means of broken roof tiles. On the rear, i. e. south side, the line of the foundation was made straight, presumably to facilitate the roofing of the building. At the two north ends of the foundation there were traces of buttresses on the east and west side; these, however, were largely removed when the foundation for the rear wall of the South Stoa was laid.

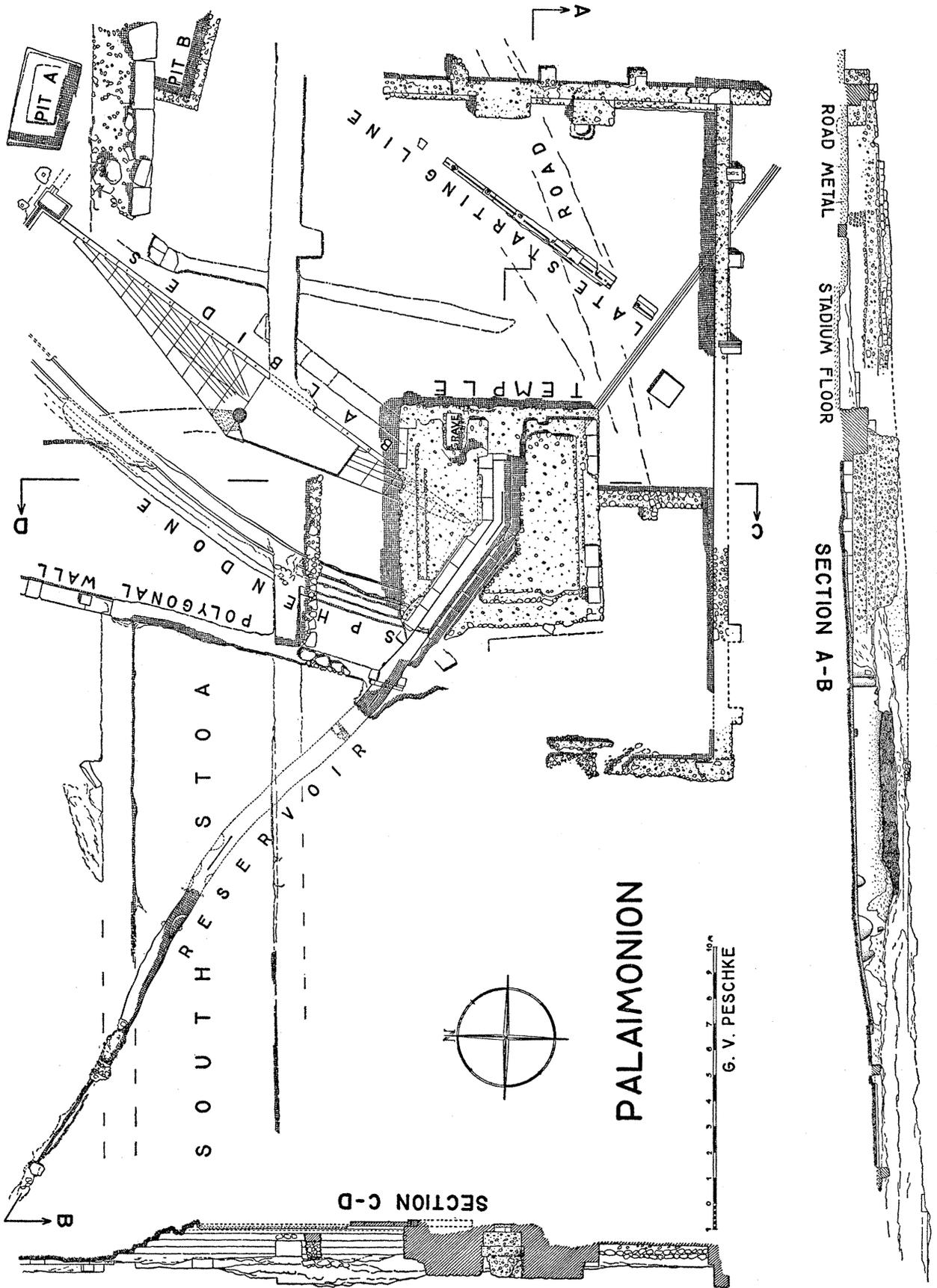


Fig. 3. Plan of the Palaimonion

Of the superstructure nothing remains; presumably it was made of large blocks which were removed and re-used in later buildings. The floor level appears to have been *ca.* 1.00 m. above the floor of the racecourse, as is shown by an earlier wall within the semicircle, still left standing to that height (Pl. 61, c, left of center). Near the east end of the buildings there is a box with inside measurements of 1.20 m. from north to south, 1.42 m. from east to west, and 0.72 m. in depth. It is lined both on the bottom and on the sides with roof tiles which seem to be Roman imitations of Greek tiles. They measure 0.71 m. x 0.58-0.60 m. in area. There are vestiges of pure lime on the tiles, and it is obvious that the box was used as a lime pit. The southeast corner has been cut off by the semicircular foundation, thus showing that the pit is earlier than this building. Two monument bases, arranged symmetrically, flanked the entrance into the semicircular structure. The west base was entirely removed when the South Stoa was built, but the cutting for its foundation is preserved. The north half of the foundation for the east base is still *in situ*. It measures 1.45 m. in length; its width is not preserved. Lying above this foundation was found a marble base inscribed with the epigram to Nikias (see below, Inscription, No. 5). It is likely that the preserved base had been supported on the foundation where it was found. The semicircular building is certainly earlier than the South Stoa, but it may have remained standing after the stoa was constructed. If this was the case, the rear wall of the stoa became the front wall of the semicircle, and the two statues may have been left, flanking the entrance into the semicircular structure. Possibly the semicircular room was used by the Hellanodikai; it may have been here that the athletes appeared to be examined before they were admitted to participation in the games.

The final stage in the architectural development of the Palaimonion is represented by the temple foundation and its temenos (Fig. 3; Pl. 63). The south precinct wall is preserved in its entire length; the east and west walls are partly preserved; and on the north the precinct extended to the rear wall of the South Stoa. The south wall is 0.51 m. thick, and is standing to a height of 1.56 m. above the Stadium floor. It is built mostly with small stones laid in a hard lime mortar, and on the south side are buttresses at intervals of *ca.* 3 m. The foundation of the wall extends all the way down to the floor of the racecourse. The lowest part, to a height of 0.75 m. above this floor, consists of rubble thrown into a trench cut through the fill above the racecourse. This shows how much the ground level had risen at the time that the wall was constructed. Above the rubble subfoundation there is a socle, 0.55 m. high and projecting 0.03 m. from the face of the wall. Like the rest of the wall the socle is built of stones and mortar, but it is roughly finished. The inner face of the wall above the socle is made with small dressed stones resembling in construction the north wall of the precinct of Poseidon.<sup>15</sup> The surface is smooth and was originally covered

<sup>15</sup> For a description of this wall see *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 120.

with stucco of lime mortar, 0.01 m. thick. The rear face of the wall, with its buttresses, is also smoothly finished; it may have been covered with stucco which has disappeared. The less well preserved east wall was similarly constructed, but only slight traces of the buttresses remain. Set against the west face of the wall and thus facing the temple are two foundations (Fig. 3) which do not extend down to the Stadium floor, but rest on earth. The larger of the two measures 2.30 m. from north to south, and projects 0.85 m. from the face of the wall. It lies approximately on the axis of the temple and was probably the foundation of a propylon. The smaller foundation, 1.70 m. farther south, has the same projection from the wall but is only 1.65 m. wide. Possibly there was a second, less formal, entrance at this point, but it is also possible that the foundation supported a monument of some kind. The west wall is preserved only in the southwest corner of the precinct, where the ground level was higher. Here too are traces of stucco on the inner face.

East of this enclosure, in the area occupied by the two middle rooms of the early temenos, there are indications that the walls were rebuilt and strengthened and thus continued to be used, probably for the same purpose as their predecessors, whatever that was. The similarity in plan points to functional continuity. In the smaller of the two rooms were found many fragments of an arched marble doorway, with an outer width of 1.87 m. Above the arch, which has three fasciae, are rosettes in the corners. The clear width of the door opening was *ca.* 1.00 m. A limestone threshold at the southwest corner of the south room has approximately the same width and was probably used in the door to which the marble arch belongs. Three heavy foundations of the same construction as the temenos wall extended southward into the area covered by the modern road (Fig. 2). Doubtless the two rooms enclosed by the walls served some purpose in connection with the precinct. Over this whole area there was a deep layer of building debris, including large pieces of vaulting.<sup>16</sup> It gave us the impression of being the destruction debris resulting from a severe earthquake. The pottery and lamps found among this rubble point to a date in the second half of the first century of our era.

#### THE TEMPLE OF PALAIMON

The foundation of the building which we have identified as the Temple of Palaimon is situated in the southwest corner of the Early Stadium (Fig. 3; Pls. 62, 63). Its orientation is the same as that of the temple of Poseidon (Fig. 2). What remains of the building is a rough foundation of *opus incertum*, stripped almost entirely of its lining of poros blocks. It stands to a height of 1.85 m. above the Stadium floor. It is nearly square, measuring 8.30 from east to west and 7.70 m. from north to south. The difference in the two dimensions is probably due to the fact that

<sup>16</sup> One piece of vaulting is seen in Plate 59, d, left of center.

there were steps on the east façade but none on the flanks, and probably none in the rear where the ground level was higher. When the foundation was laid down the level had risen to a point *ca.* 0.50 m. above the Stadium floor. It may have been somewhat higher on the south side, where a wagon road with clearly-marked wheel ruts ascended from east to west. This road would have been in use during the interval between the abandonment of the Stadium and the construction of the temple. Over the whole area east of the temple there was a stratum *ca.* 0.25 m. deep, which contained almost no pottery or other recognizable objects. This probably accumulated while the road was in use, as well as later. During the construction of the temple and shortly thereafter the ground level apparently rose quickly, to a height of *ca.* 1.10 m. above the Stadium. It sloped down gently toward the east, so that at the east edge of the precinct it was only 0.60 m. above the Stadium floor. The fill between the gradual accumulation of earth and the level established about the time of the temple construction, *ca.* 0.25-1.10 m., contained numerous lamps of the Palaimonion type and of the Corinth Type XVI (Pl. 61, d). They were found at all levels within this fill, but no appreciable difference in date can be observed between the lamps from the higher and lower levels. Thus we must assume that the area was not filled up at one time, but by stages, though fairly rapidly, after the road had been abandoned.

At the east end of the temple foundation there was an opening which now measures 1.80 m. in width. Originally it must have been considerably narrower, since it would have been lined with poros blocks. At a point 1.75 m. from the east façade this opening drops abruptly down to the level of the Stadium floor, and a passage 0.74 m. wide, extends westward. The two sides of the passage are built with poros blocks, the lowest course of which was somewhat wider than the upper courses. Thus the existing *opus incertum* foundation rests partly on the projecting edge of the bottom course, and this explains why this course was left in place when the upper courses were removed. The impressions from the blocks of the missing courses can be seen in the concrete foundation (Pl. 63). The inside of the passage is covered with a heavy water-tight stucco *ca.* 0.015 m. thick. The passage continues straight west on the axis of the temple for a distance of 2.35 m., then turns northward at a 37° angle, and issues at the northwest corner of the foundation (Fig. 3). On both sides of the east-west section of the passage the impressions from the poros blocks extend all the way up to the top of the foundation; a little beyond the turn they stop at a height of only 0.90 m. Above this level the two edges of the passage are broken away roughly. This probably indicates that the passage at this point was vaulted over. From the bend the passage extends straight toward the northwest for a distance of 5.25 m. and at the end there is a gentle rise in the stuccoed floor. At this point the passage is joined to the pre-Roman reservoir described above (p. 311), the walls of which are cut out of native rock. Although the passage within the temple foundation has nearly the same width as the reservoir, the change in construction is unmistakable. The

floor and the sides of the reservoir are covered with a stucco, which differs from that used within the foundations of the temple. It is not only much harder, but its composition is different. Within the temple foundation the mortar is crumbly and consists of broken-up terracotta tiles mixed with lime mortar. The stucco of the reservoir is dark gray in color and is made of coarse sand mixed with natural cement.

On this square foundation with its basement passage we must reconstruct a circular temple, in conformity with representations on coins from Antonine times.<sup>17</sup> The columns on the coins appear to be Corinthian, and small pieces of Corinthian capitals of white marble were found among the débris around the Temple foundation. Perhaps to the same colonnade belong two column bases of red marble, many fragments of which came from the same area. They indicate a column shaft with a lower diameter of 0.34 m. There were probably eight columns, and to judge from the coins, there were no walls within the colonnade. Some of the coins show a dolphin, carrying the body of Palaimon on his back, in the center of the building. It is not possible to determine whether this corresponds to a sculptural representation of the boy hero<sup>18</sup> or is merely the coinmaker's way of indicating what building he intended to portray. Although epigraphical evidence is lacking, the identification is beyond question. It rests on the combined evidence of a) Pausanias' description, locating the Palaimonion to the left of the entrance into the temenos of Poseidon; b) on the underground passage, shown on the coins and mentioned by Pausanias; and c) on the discovery of lamps and sacrificial pits in the area east of the temple. The apparent discrepancy in Pausanias' account, who says that the Temple of Palaimon was within the precinct of Poseidon, may be explained by the fact that Pausanias probably entered the Palaimonion from the north, after he had visited the Temple of Poseidon. To him, approaching in this way, the two precincts, separated then perhaps only by a low wall, might well have appeared as a single enclosure.

## THE THEATER

In the 1954 campaign we dug a long trench, 4 m. wide, across the theater but found the building so devastated that it seemed questionable whether it would be worth excavating. There were no seats preserved in the section of the cavea cleared in our trench. In the course of the last season, however, we dug a wide trench in the western part of the building and uncovered the two parallel walls of the west parodos. These have a different orientation from that of the skene, thus showing that the plan is that of a Greek rather than a Roman theater. The clear width of the parodos is 3.67 m. The two walls are built partly with very large, well-cut poros blocks, and partly with

<sup>17</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. B, XI-XIII.

<sup>18</sup> See Pausanias II, 3, 4 for sculptural representation of Palaimon on the dolphin; and cf. Franklin P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, No. 72.

small stones laid in lime-mortar. The north wall (Pl. 64, a), which is the better preserved, is 1.05 m. thick and is standing to a height of 1.70 m. From the west end it is preserved for a distance of 5.25 m. and is then broken off. The face of the south wall, similarly constructed, has been uncovered for a stretch of *ca.* 4 m. Its preserved height is only 1 m. At a distance of 3.93 m. from the west end of the parados there is a roughly built crosswall standing to a height of *ca.* 0.50 m. It is certainly later than the side-walls of the parados, but what purpose it served is not clear. Perhaps the floor of the parodos was raised at one time so that the crosswall was considered necessary to keep the earth from washing down into the orchestra. The walls uncovered in our trench are all of Roman construction. The parodos was probably vaulted over. At a height of 1.25 m. above the parodos floor, there was a layer of stones and crumbled lime mortar which seems to have resulted from the collapse of the vault.

Two fragments of a Doric column with a lower diameter of 0.53 m. were found lying on the floor of the parodos. The entrance to the parodos was partly closed by a large poros block, measuring 1.70 m. x 0.90 m. x 0.33 m., set on edge. One half of the block has a seat profile with a projecting band at the top, the other half preserves a step from one of the aisles of the cavea. The step is separated from the seat by a curved projection, 0.20 m. wide. Among the portable objects from the trench are several fragments of roof tiles stamped with the name *Ποσειδῶνος*, and the athlete's head described below pp. 326-327, Plate 66, a.

#### THE FORTRESS OF JUSTINIAN <sup>19</sup>

During the three preceding campaigns we undertook to clear some sections of the Fortress of Justinian, and this year we continued and extended the work in this area. Our excavations were concentrated at two points, inside the South Gate, and at the outer face of the wall east of the gate, between towers 6 and 8.<sup>20</sup>

The façade of the South Gate with its two flanking towers was excavated during the 1956 campaign. The gate proved to have been closed up at some late period; presumably another gate was subsequently made in the west wall. The approach to the South Gate from inside the fortress is flanked by walls, which seem to date from the eleventh to the twelfth century and were probably designed as retaining walls against an accumulation of earth within the fortress. The whole area inside the gate

<sup>19</sup> The work done in 1957-1958 in our effort to trace the Cyclopean fortification wall across the Isthmus has already been reported in two articles, *Antiquity*, XXXII, 1958, pp. 80-88; and *Atti del VIIe Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica*. Inasmuch as further attempts will be made to discover the continuation of the wall toward the west, a detailed description will be reserved for a later report.

<sup>20</sup> The numbering of the towers follows that of Megaw's plan in *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, p. 80, fig. 7. On this plan the numbering runs clockwise, beginning at the Northeast Gate. The right tower flanking the South Gate, as one enters the fortress, is numbered 8, the left tower is numbered 9.

presents a picture of building activities extending over several centuries. The latest is a dwelling built after the closing of the gate.

The outside face of the south wall (Pl. 64, c) was exposed for a distance of some 50 m., beginning at the section excavated in 1956 and extending toward the east as far as tower 6. Tower 7 was completely cleared; the west face of tower 6 was exposed; and the accumulation of building blocks, broken pottery, and ancient rubbish was removed from the interiors of the two towers. Both seem to have served as disposal pits for the convenience of the garrison within the fort. Tower 7, which had an intermediary floor of wood and probably carried a wooden roof construction, contained prodigious quantities of coarse pottery. Among the vases put together out of this vast material are several amphoras with pointed or rounded bottom, a series of tall vases with open top, large storage jars, etc. (see below, Pottery Nos. 15-17). Corroborative evidence for the date of construction of the wall is furnished by a complete lamp, a late phase of Corinth Type XXXI,<sup>21</sup> which came from the stratum of construction chips, just below the floor of the tower. There is some evidence of repairs to the tower, probably from the time of Manuel II (1391-1423). The large tower 6 at the southeast corner of the fortress is particularly impressive both in size and construction. The walls are massive, nearly 2 m. thick, and the ceiling seems to have been a corbeled vault. In the west wall are steps leading down to the intermediary floor level.

On the slope outside the wall we dug some exploratory trenches below the ground level from the time of Justinian. These soundings produced pottery, lamp fragments, and pieces of glass from the first and second centuries of our era. Near the southwest corner of tower 7 we found what appears to have been a small bathing establishment, possibly connected with some Roman cult place in the vicinity. From a small, stuccoed tank (Pl. 64, b) the water was led off through a channel toward the east. Within the tank were found two complete lamps and fragments of a third, all of the Corinth Type XXVII, from the second century after Christ (see below, Pottery Nos. 11-13).

#### INSCRIPTIONS

The epigraphical finds from our excavations have been somewhat disappointing, but a few of the documents, fragmentary as they are, deserve more than passing notice. Several small pieces of a treaty have been found containing the name of King Philip, doubtless Philip V. Since they came from widely separated parts of the sanctuary there are reasons for expecting that other fragments will be discovered from which significant portions of text may be restored. Many small pieces of victor lists have been found, all inscribed on three-faced stelai. The largest appears below as number 4.

<sup>21</sup> *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 118 ff.

1. IM 2315. Fig. 4; Pl. 73, a. Fragment of *halter*, inscribed on two sides, from the east temenos dump.

H. 0.095 m., W. 0.08 m., L. 0.12 m.; Letters, 0.01-0.03 m.

-- ε πενταφέθλεον νικά.

-- αιον δ' φυ[ό]ιδ' εὐχόμενο[s].

Reddish gray stone, blackened by fire.



FIG. 4. Inscription 1, on *Halter*

A. The reference to the pentathlon is important because of the early date of the inscription and the unique form of the word. It is a variant of *πεντάθλιον*, which occurs in Pindar's Isthmian I, 26. At Olympia the pentathlon is said to have been introduced in 708 B.C., and our inscription shows that it had become one of the events of the Isthmian Games before the middle of the sixth century B.C. The last four letters of the line may be the imperfect or, less likely, the imperative of the verb. Michael H. Jameson, with whom I have discussed the problems of the inscription, suggests reading *πενταφεθλεον(ν)ικά* as a noun. If the doubling of the *nu* is due to anomaly of spelling, the metrical irregularity in the fifth foot of the line disappears.

B. The first four letters of this line may be part of a name in the nominative, formed like *Ἰσαίων*, *Εἰρηναίων* etc., and would then be the name of the victorious athlete who dedicated the *halter*. It is more likely, however, that the dedicator's name appeared in the first line and that *αιον* is the end of a noun or adjective in the accusative, the object of *εὐχόμενος*. Where the line curves and turns back one or at most two letters are missing. The word suggested in the restoration is the dative of the

name Ἴνοῖς,<sup>22</sup> to be explained as a Doric equivalent of Ἴνοῖος or Ἴνοῖδης, metonymics formed like Λητοῖος, Λητοῖδης, and referring to Melikertes-Palaimon. It would be possible to read δ' Ἴνω[ό]ι δ' εὐχόμενο[ς], but the two particles coming so close together would make such a reading unlikely. And there is no reason to assume that the dedication was made to Ino, who seems to have had no direct connection with the games.

The *halter* was discovered in the debris from the burned Archaic Temple of Poseidon. The letter forms point to the first half of the sixth century B.C. They resemble the letters on the aryballos recently discovered at Corinth and dated to the end of the Middle Corinthian period (580-575).<sup>23</sup> The four-bar *iota* is more open and elongated, and this feature occurs on some of the Penteskouphia tablets.<sup>24</sup>

2. ΙΣ 319. Pl. 65, a. Poros base, found by villager in a field of Pavlos Vlassos, a quarter of a mile west of the Temple of Poseidon.

H. 0.40 m., W. 0.307 m., Th. 0.42 m.; Letters, 0.025 m.

Πᾶσι καὶ ἦς(?) | οἴμε ---  
 ἡεπτομ ---  
 ποσι ---

The letters are well cut, but only those of the first line are sufficiently well preserved to be read with certainty. The surface on the lower part of the stone has been scratched away by the plow.

What can be read seems to be part of a funeral epigram. At the right edge the first and second lines turned and ran down vertically. Possibly there was a painting or relief in the center. There are horizontal guide lines on the left two thirds of the stone and a very prominent vertical line after the second *alpha* of the first line. Corinthian letters of the sixth century B.C.

3. ΙΣ 316. Pl. 66, b. Blue marble base, found in orchard of Lambros Papatheodoros, west of the Sanctuary of Poseidon.

H. 0.11 m., W. 0.57 m., Th. 0.285 m.; Letters, 0.014-0.017 m.

Κλεὼ: Θασίδος: Δάματρι

In the top is an oblong cutting for a statue (see under Sculpture, p. 326, No. 1). The words are separated with double dots, like a colon. The unusual name Thasis is presumably feminine.<sup>25</sup> Fourth century B.C.

<sup>22</sup> For the occurrence of this ending of masculine nouns in Doric dialects see Pape, *Gr. Eigennamen*, p. xviii. Normally, according to Bechtel, *Die Griechischen Dialekte*, II, p. 251, the *i*-stems of Greek nouns in the Corinthian dialect are formed with genitives *ιος*, and datives *ει*, *ι*; but there are few examples of this kind of proper names in archaic Corinthian inscriptions.

<sup>23</sup> Mary and Carl Roebuck, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 160.

<sup>24</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, II, pl. 23, no. 15a; pl. 24, no. 21.

<sup>25</sup> But see above, note 22.

4. IΣ 358. Pl. 65, b. Fragment of victor list of white marble, from the Palaimonion area.

H. 0.24 m., W. 0.34 m., Th. 0.115 m.; Letters, 0.012-0.016 m.

Face B: Συνωρίδι τελεία

[I]ούλιος Τειμοκράτης Σικυώνιος

Κέλητι τελείω

--- αρχος ὁ καὶ Λέων Μεγαλοκλέους Θεσσαλός

Ἄρματι πωλικῶ

Face C: Ἄ[γενείων πένταθλον] (?)

Ἰ Ἄν[τώνιος

Ἄ[νδρῶν πένταθλον] (?)

--- δη ---

The fragment preserves parts of the second and third faces of the stele, as will appear if we compare it with the better preserved victor lists found at Ancient Corinth.<sup>26</sup> The records of the games were probably engraved on duplicate stelai, one copy being set up in the gymnasium at Corinth, the second at Isthmia. The ἄρματι πωλικῶ does not occur, with this designation, among the events listed in the Corinth inscriptions.

5. I 377. Pl. 65, c, d. Statue base of white marble, discovered in front of the semi-circular foundation (see above p. 316) at the north edge of the Palaimonion area.

H. 1.25 m., W. at top 0.475 m., at bottom (not including the moulding) 0.525 m., Th. 0.52 m.; Letters, 0.02-0.04 m.

A. Ῥητήρων τὸν πρῶτον ἀγωναθετῶν

ὁχ' ἄριστον,

Ἐν πάσαις ἀρχαῖς κῦδος ἀναψάμενον.

Στήσαν ἐνὶ προδόμῳ σε Ποσειδάωνος

5 ἄγαλμα

Νευκία, ἀντ' ἀρετῆς οἱ συναγωνοθέται.

Ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλήσ)

B. Αὐτὸς μὲν προχέων ἐπιείκελα

ρεύμασι πέμπει

10 Ἀετιάων ποταμῶν ἐν στομάτεσ<σ>ιν ἔπη

Ἐἴκονι δ' ἔστηκεν πρότι νηοῦ χαλκοτεύκω

Χείρεσιν ἐν καθαραῖς παρ' καθαροῖσι ῥόοις.

Ἄντ' ἀρετῆς δ' ἔλαβεν ῥ' ἄ σ ῥ ἄ

<sup>26</sup> B. D. Meritt, *Corinth VIII*, i, *Greek Inscriptions*, No. 15.

ᾧ μιν ἔτεισαν.

- 15 Οἱ ῥα καὶ ἀτρεκέως ἦδες (α)ν ἀθλοθέται  
 Νικία, ᾧ μέγα χάρμα πολῆϊ τε καὶ  
 τεκέεσσιν  
 ἄστοις καὶ ξείνοις, ὡς μεγ' ὄνειαρ ἔφυσ.

Translation:

First among orators, pre-eminent as agonotheses,  
 Having acquired glory in every public office—  
 For these achievements your colleagues in the office of agonotheses  
 Erected a statue of you, Nikias, in the forechamber of Poseidon.

BY VOTE OF THE COUNCIL

He verily pours forth words like streams  
 At the mouths of everflowing rivers.  
 He stands, a portrait of bronze, before the Temple,  
 in the midst of pure hands, by purifying streams (of water);  
 And as reward for his merit he received a gold crown (?) by which  
 they honored him.  
 Readily, unfalteringly the athlotheses knew (your worth),  
 O Nikias, a great delight to the city; and to the young—  
 Citizens and strangers alike—how great a blessing nature has made you.

The first four lines of the epigram, inscribed on the broad front face of the base, record the original honor, the erection of a bronze statue in the pronaos of the Temple of Poseidon by Nikias' colleagues in office. The longer, second part of the epigram, on the left flank of the base, has to do with another honor granted at some later occasion. Here, in line 11, the statue mentioned in line 3 is referred to as already standing in front of the Temple. The 'pure hands and purifying streams' I take as allusions to the ceremonial washing of hands in a basin (*perirrhanterion*) standing at the entrance to the Temple. The reference to the second honor in line 10 has been erased. It may have been a gold crown, χρυσοῦν στέφος, awarded to Nikias for his oratorical skill. A faint trace of the slanting stroke of the *chi* can be observed in the first letter space of the *rasura*. The crown, unlike the statue, did not require consent of the Boule. It is significant that the second part, lines 8-16, makes no mention of his office of agonotheses; instead it extols his powers of speech in exaggerated terms, which even to the ancients must have suggested a double interpretation. The reason for the *rasura* we can only guess. Nikias may have failed to produce the price of the crown which custom required the recipient to deposit;<sup>27</sup> or he may in his old age

<sup>27</sup> This suggestion was made to me by Antony Raubitschek.

have returned the badge in a fit of displeasure. Whatever the reason for the censure may have been, it did not entail the removal of the statue. It seems likely, however, that it was moved from its original position in the pronaos of the Temple to the South Stoa, where the stone was discovered.

The synagonothetai, who were responsible for the erection of the statue, cannot be merely the successors or predecessors of Nikias. We do not know how many agonothetai served at one time at the Isthmian Games, but they must have been more than two.<sup>28</sup> The second honor was awarded by the athlothetai, probably no more than a poetical term for Hellanodikai, who would have been responsible for distributing the prizes. The difference in the spelling of the name Nikias in lines 6 and 16 is further indication that the two parts of the inscription were inscribed at different times, although the letter forms are very similar.

## SCULPTURE

1. IS 254. Pl. 66, b. Statuette of white marble, belonging to the inscribed base, Inscription No. 3.

L. of plinth 0.40 m.; pres. H. 0.23 m.; max. W. 0.175 m.; L. of sinkage in base 0.41 m. The upper parts of the figure are missing.

The preserved portion shows a girl, reclining to left with her knees drawn up and draped down to her feet. She holds her two hands on a bird, probably a goose, whose head is broken away. The carving of hands and feet is careless; the folds of the drapery are shallow and roughly worked out. Even in its present state of preservation, however, the contours of the body and the chubby hands and feet indicate that the girl represented was a small child, perhaps three or four years old. The carving of the drapery is somewhat reminiscent of the drapery on the Manteneia frieze. There can be no doubt that the statuette belongs to the inscribed base. The letter forms show that the dedication was made in the fourth century B.C. The Sanctuary of Demeter, in which the statu-

ette was set up, was situated within the Sacred Glen (*ιερά νάπη*) to the west of the precinct of Poseidon. Another dedication to Demeter,<sup>29</sup> also of the fourth century B.C., was found some years ago in the same vicinity.

2. IS 301. Pl. 66, c. Fragment of a statue of white marble, found in the underground passage of the Palaimonion, at the entrance to the pre-Roman reservoir.<sup>30</sup>

L. of plinth 0.62 m.; pres. H. 0.40 m.

Only the left foot and part of a tree trunk support are preserved. The sandal, with very elaborate straps, is somewhat reminiscent of the sandals on the Hermes statue at Olympia.

3. IS 351. Pl. 66, a. Marble head of youth from the west parodos of the Theater.

H. from chin to top of wreath 0.18 m.; ca. three-quarters life size.

The head has been broken away from a relief and was intended to be seen in three-quarter view to left. The hair is rendered with shallow locks and he wears a wreath of pine twigs.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The title *conagonothetes* appears in Latin inscriptions from Corinth. A. B. West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, *Latin Inscriptions*, No. 95.

<sup>29</sup> *A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, p. 232; *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 128.

<sup>30</sup> The photograph on Plate 61, a shows the fragment as found at the entrance to the reservoir.

<sup>31</sup> For the conventional rendering of pine branches see Franklin P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, No. 55.

There are marks of the drill in the hair, wreath, and ear. White marble; good Roman work, probably from the first century of our era. This

is the first sculptural evidence for the pine wreath of the Isthmian victor from our excavation.

## METAL OBJECTS

1. IM 2224. Pl. 67, a. Standing male figure of bronze, from the north temenos dump.

H. 0.135 m.

Head, arms and lower left leg are missing. The right foot is pierced and the whole figure is bent forward.<sup>32</sup> The surface is much corroded.

Geometric period.

2. IM 2089. Pl. 67, d. Standing male figure of bronze, from large circular pit.

H. 0.105 m.

Both arms are bent at the elbows, and it is possible that he held some object in his right hand. The hair is parted in the middle and in the back it ends in a queue. The surface is badly pockmarked.

Fine work of the early sixth century B.C.

3. IM 2360. Pl. 67, b, c. Standing male figure of bronze, from east temenos dump.

H. 0.08 m.

The figure is striding with right foot forward and left arm bent. The right arm, which came off in the cleaning, is too much oxidized to be cleaned and added to the figure. The hair is smooth and held together with a fillet. On the back it comes down in a solid mass ending in a point.

4. IM 2356. Pl. 67, e. Male figure of bronze, probably Poseidon, from the east temenos dump.

H. 0.117 m.

Hands and feet are missing and the surface damaged by fire. He is striding, with left foot advanced and his right arm held up toward the head. Probably he held the trident in the right hand. The edge of the hair is combed up in

front, the rest is smooth. Apparently he was bearded, but the lower part of the face is so much damaged by fire that the features are largely obliterated. A cloak hangs over his left shoulder. A piece of bronze attached to the right leg seems to be from another figure accidentally stuck on during the fire in the Temple.

5. IM 2480. Pl. 68, a. Bronze Medusa, from east temenos dump.

H. 0.102 m.

Head, right wing, and both feet are missing. She is kneeling, with her right knee resting on the decorated rim of a vessel. She wears a short-sleeved garment, and three curls of hair hang down on either side of the face. The upper part of her winged boot is preserved on her left leg. The back is flat and unfinished.<sup>33</sup> The surface is much damaged in fire.

6. IM 2481. Pl. 68, b. Fragment of bronze Medusa, identical with the preceding and found in the same place.

H. 0.05 m.

All that remains is the part from the waist down to below the knees.

7. IM 2485. Pl. 68, c. Bronze protome of sphinx, from east temenos dump.

H. 0.038 m.

The figure was attached to a handle, part of which is preserved in the back. She wears a low crown, consisting of a plain band above which there is a row of pointed leaves. The hair, which is rendered with great care, hangs down in two long curls on either side of the face. The feathers on the chest are indicated with fine incised lines. The lower part of the face has been damaged in fire.

<sup>32</sup> A very similar figure, completely preserved, was found at the Argive Heraion. See Carl W. Blegen, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 431, fig. 17.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Ulf Jantzen, "Bronzewerkstätten," *Jahrb. Ergänzungsheft* XIII, 1937, pl. 32, 132-134; H. Payne, *Perachora*, I, pp. 134 f., pl. 42.

8. IM 2090. Fig. 5. Bronze boat with rowers, from large circular pit.<sup>84</sup>

L. 0.093 m., W. 0.028 m.

The stem of the vessel terminates in an animal's head. At the prow sits a man with bent elbow in an apparent gesture of command. There are two rowers at the middle and a helmsman at the stern. The human figures are roughly blocked out with few details showing, but motions of the rowers and the man at the prow are well contrasted with the slumped, inarticulate position of the helmsman.

9. IM 2343. Pl. 68, e. Miniature dolphin of bronze, from the east temenos dump.

11. IM 2091. Pl. 68, g. Bronze bull, from large circular pit.

L. 0.07 m., H. 0.046 m.

The figure is carefully modeled with fine attention to details, but the surface is much damaged.

12. IM 2359. Pl. 68, f. Bronze bull, from east temenos dump.

L. 0.055 m., H. 0.032 m.

The figure is more crudely modeled than the preceding figure, and unlike it the bull is represented as standing still with the legs nearly straight.



FIG. 5. Bronze Boat with Rowers

L. 0.033 m.

The figure is delicately modeled, with all the details indicated, and in excellent state of preservation. The eyes are rendered with fine incised circles.

10. IM 2301. Pl. 68, d. Bronze billy goat,<sup>85</sup> reclining, from east temenos dump.

L. 0.075 m., H. 0.06 m.

The inside is hollow and the bottom line curves slightly, showing that the figure was attached to the curving surface of a vessel. The bent right foreleg is rendered with incised lines. Tail, beard and hair on the head are similarly indicated.

13. IM 2302. Pl. 69, a, right. Head of a horse, from east temenos dump.

Total L. from mouth to top of mane 0.065 m.

The head is modeled in the round but was clearly intended to be seen in profile. When viewed straight from the front the head looks somewhat distorted. The mane is rendered in ripply waves, and a double fringe over the forehead is similarly indicated. The forelock is tied into an upright knot, and the individual hairs are rendered with fine incised lines. The modeling is exceptionally delicate and the preservation of the head is perfect. The back of the neck, however, is less carefully finished and

<sup>84</sup> A clay model of a boat, very similar to ours, was found in Cyprus, *Fasti Archeologici*, VIII, 1953, p. 120, fig. 20.

<sup>85</sup> There is an almost identical figure of a goat from Dodona, illustrated in *Tò 'Eργον τῆς 'Α. Έ.*, 1955, p. 57, fig. 54.

was not meant to be visible. The head was cast solid and is broken at the neck, as if wrenched with great force from a solid background.

14. IM 2303. Pl. 69, a, left. Horse's head found with the preceding and obviously part of the same monument.

Total L. 0.063 m.

The details are rendered in the same way as in the preceding and if anything with greater delicacy.

The most obvious parallels to the two horses' heads are the figures of the frieze in the Vix krater.<sup>36</sup> On closer scrutiny, however, important differences emerge. The Vix krater is considerably later in date. Joffrey dates it in the second half of the sixth century and it can hardly come much before the end of that century. The two horses on the Vix krater with their heads raised measure 0.14 m. in height; the Isthmia horses by analogy would have been *ca.* 0.25 m. high. Both heads are in the round, though intended to be seen in profile. Since they show no trace of bridles it may be questioned whether they were part of a quadriga. In view of these differences it seems hazardous to assume that the two heads are part of the decoration of a monstrously large krater. A dedicatory relief, on the analogy of certain marble reliefs of later date,<sup>37</sup> seems more likely, even if no parallels in bronze can be adduced.

15. IM 2284. Pl. 68, h. Bronze trident, from east temenos dump. Pres. L. 0.108 m.

The metal prong in the middle, which is broken at the top, has a double spiral on one side, but there is no trace of attachments for a similar piece on the other side. One of the side prongs has two barbs on the inside, the other has one on either side. Only a small part of the shaft is preserved. The trident was probably part of a statuette of Poseidon.

16. IM 2357. Fig. 6. Bronze stylus, from east temenos dump. L. 0.14 m.

The flat end for erasing has simple decorations on both sides.

17. IM 2339. Fig. 7. Hinged bronze pieces, from the archaic fill in the Temple of Poseidon (see above, p. 300).

Total L. if extended, 0.085 m.

The two pieces are square in section and hollow, apparently intended to hold pieces of wood or ivory. They may have been used as compasses or callipers.

18. IM 2471. Fig. 7. Hinged bronze pieces like the preceding and found in the same place.

Three more pairs, five in all, came from the same area. Most of them are in poor condition, and all show the effect of the fire by which the wood or ivory that fitted into the bronze sockets was consumed. Possibly they were architects' instruments, used in the construction of the Temple and later dedicated to Poseidon.

19. Fig. 8. Decorated shield strap, from the east temenos dump.

Total W. 0.07 m., size of decorated panel (exclusive of the border), 0.053 × 0.050 m.

Parts of two halves are preserved: one (A) with two panels, beginning at the palmette; the other (B) with four panels, going down to the palmette. Two small fragments in poor condition are decorated with scenes of a quadriga. Apparently they come from one of the attachment plates (*Ansatzplatte*), which extended from the arm loop and were usually somewhat wider than the straps attached to them.

A. Fig. 8, left. The palmette, with nine leaves above the volutes, is separated from the first panel by a bead-and-reel pattern. Single bead-and-reel borders separate the panels, but at the ends two such patterns come together; one belongs to the panel; the other, which extends across the whole width of the strap, goes with the palmette.

<sup>36</sup> René Joffrey, *Le trésor de Vix*, pl. XIII.

<sup>37</sup> E. g. the double relief from New Phaleron; see Otto Walter, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937 A, p. 112, fig. 3. The extensive bibliography on this piece of sculpture appears in note 1 of Walter's article.

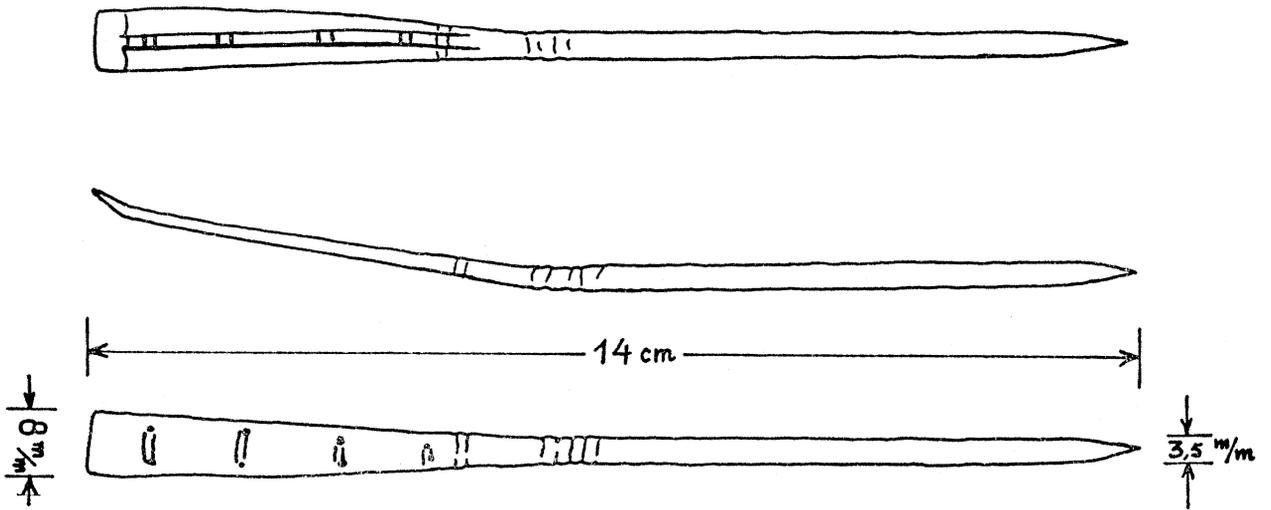


FIG. 6. Bronze Stylus

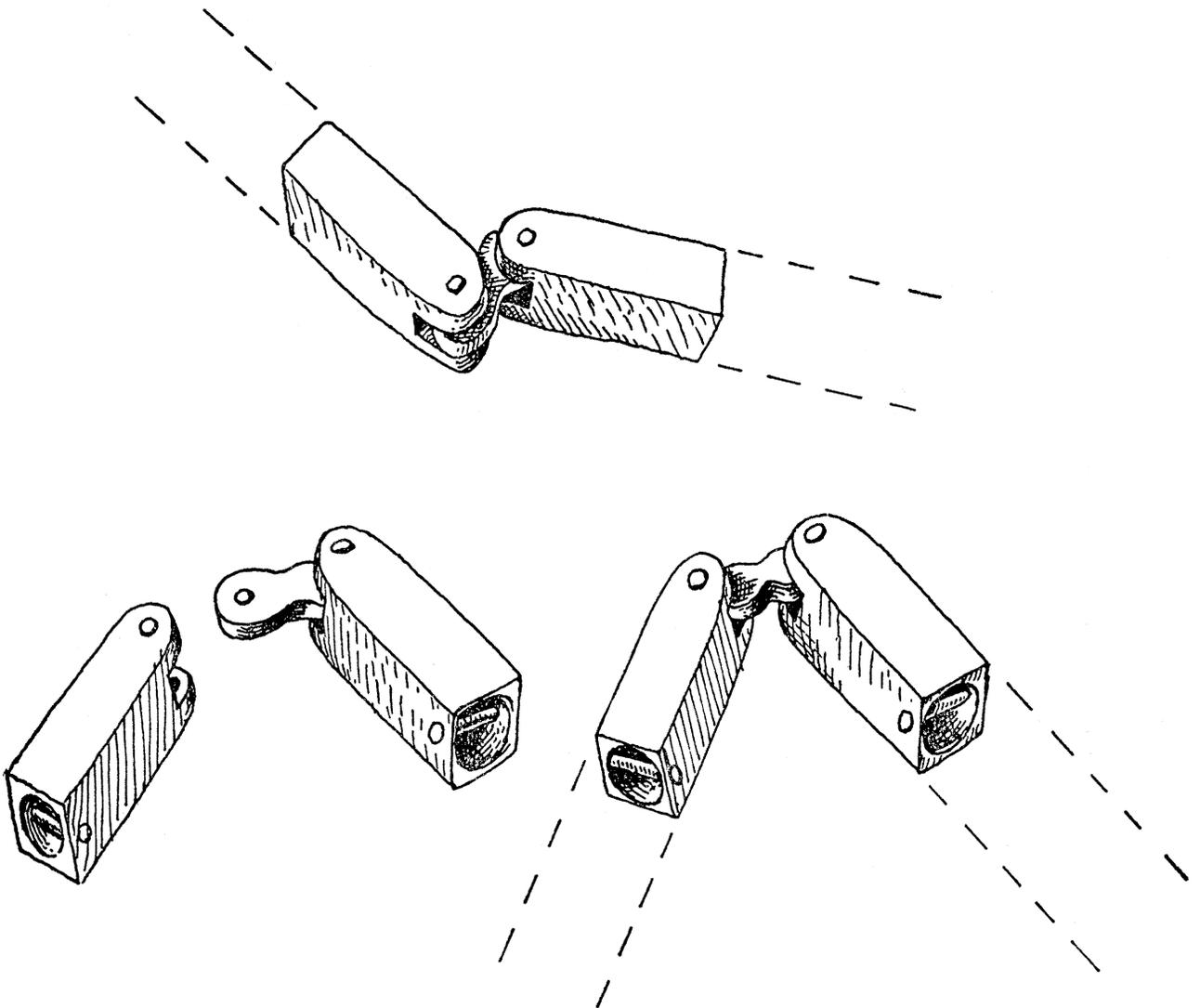


FIG. 7. Hinged Bronze Pieces

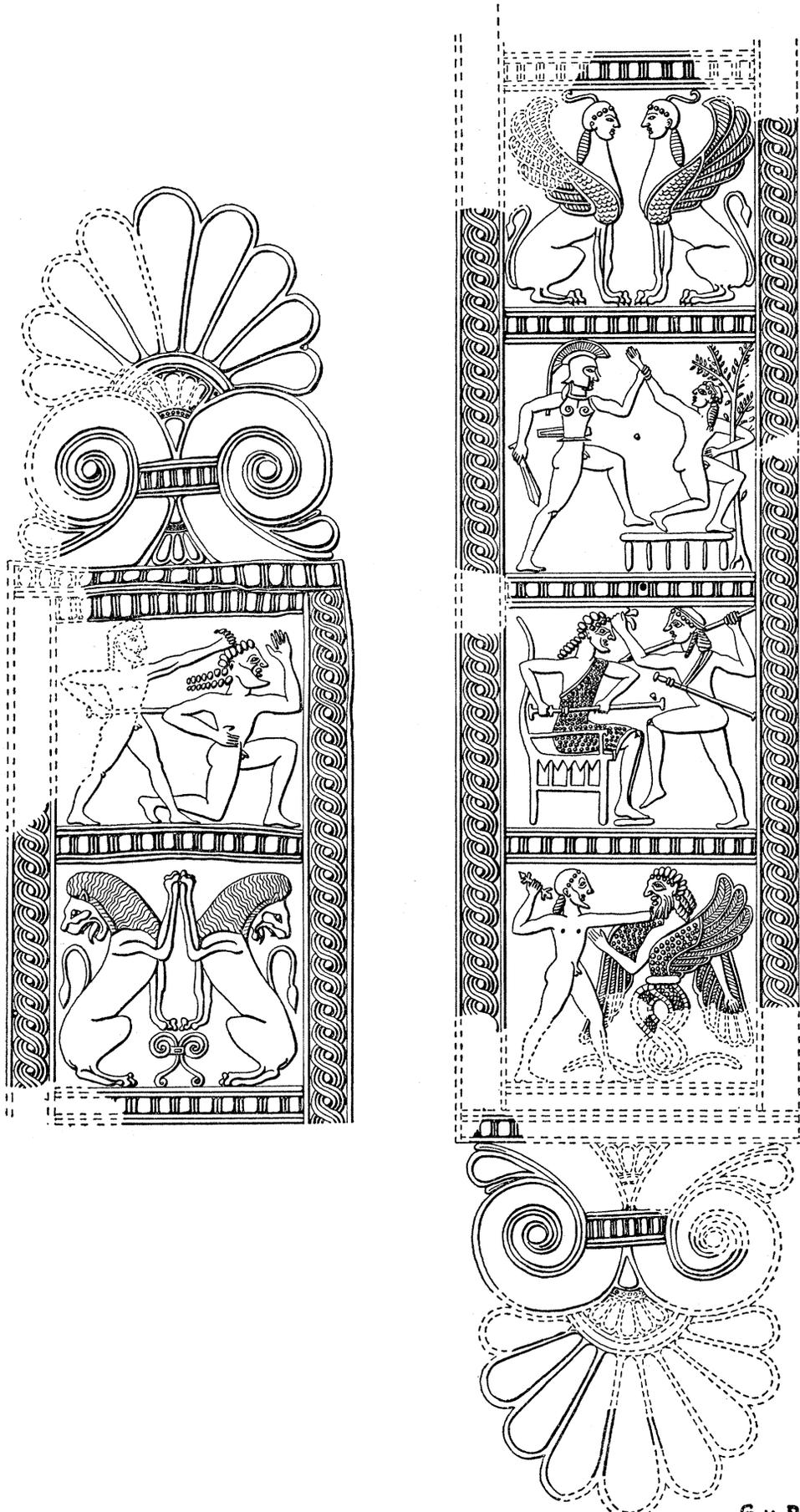


FIG. 8. Decorated Bronze Shield Strap

G. v. PESCHKE

Panel 1. A bearded figure (Geras)<sup>38</sup> is fleeing to right, with his right knee bent to the ground, and is pursued by a second figure (Herakles), who has grasped him by the hair and seems to be stabbing him with his sword. Most of the pursuing figure has been restored.

Panel 2. Two rampant lions, each with one forepaw held straight up, the other resting on a stand of double spirals. Only part of the left lion is now visible. The second lion, here restored from better preserved Olympia examples, is hidden underneath the folded bronze, but the metal sheet is too crumbly to be turned back.

B. Fig. 8, right. The longer half, with four panels, began at the attachment of the loop that went around the arm.

Panel 3. Two confronting sphinxes with curved ribbons extending above their heads.

Panel 4. Achilles and Troilos. This is the best preserved of the panels. Troilos, nude, stands on an altar and has crooked his left arm around a tree. Behind him Achilles, wearing breast plate and helmet, has grasped with his left hand the right wrist of Troilos. Achilles is stepping on to the altar with his left foot and holds his sword unsheathed ready to stab the boy.

Panel 5. This panel too is almost completely preserved. The subject is the death of Aigisthos. He is seated on a throne, and wears a dotted garment which leaves the right shoulder bare. He is bearded and wears an elaborate hairdo, resembling that of Geras in panel 1. Orestes, who is nude, has seized Aigisthos' hair with his left hand and stabs at his chest with his spear in his right. His sword hangs in the scabbard on his bare back.

Panel 6. Zeus combatting Typhon. The lower part of the panel is missing. Zeus stands nude before the monster, whom he has seized by the neck, threatening him with his thunderbolt. Typhon has three wings and his body below the waist consists of two twisted snakes' tails. His arms are spread out in a gesture of fear, also registered in his face.

There can be no doubt that the two halves of the bronze strap belong together. The decorations on the panels are identical with those on six of seven panels on one type of shield strap from Olympia.<sup>39</sup> One panel, with the scene of Ajax and Cassandra, may be lost entirely; more probably the strap was shortened by the length of one panel. The length of the shield straps from Olympia varies, but not the order of the panels. Kunze's conclusion that single matrixes were employed, by which the order becomes fixed, is thus corroborated by the fragments from Isthmia. It is obvious that the shield straps from Olympia, form I, and our specimen from the Isthmia were manufactured in the same workshop. The label "Argive-Corinthian" adheres to this kind of bronze reliefs, but the reason for the first part of the hyphenated term, as Humfry Payne<sup>40</sup> already surmised, becomes less cogent with each new discovery at Corinthian sites.

20. Fig. 9. Decorated piece of bronze, from the east temenos dump.

H. 0.13 m.

A figure of Poseidon to right is rendered by engraved lines. The god wears a leafy wreath and a long, flowing garment, which he has gathered in his left hand. In the right hand he holds a small dolphin, whose body is partly concealed beneath the folds of his garment. The tail of the dolphin is outlined below Poseidon's wrist. The projection behind the dorsal fin

<sup>38</sup> For the identification of the mythological figures see Emil Kunze, *Olympische Forschungen*, II, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 73, I. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Emil Kunze for information about the shield straps. His basic work on the Olympia shields has revealed the technical processes involved in the production of the decorated straps.

<sup>40</sup> *Perachora*, I, pp. 143 ff.

seems to be a fold of drapery. There is no background. Apparently the bronze piece was intended as a separate dedication or as inlay for decoration on some piece of armor or harness.<sup>41</sup>

21. IM 2311. Pl. 69, b, top left. Decorated strip of gold, from the east temenos dump.

L. 0.036 m., W. 0.012 m.

Pres. L. 0.03 m., H. 0.03 m.

The paws, the end of the tail, and hairs on the haunches are rendered with fine incised lines; the texture of the fur is shown with light stippling. At the back is a curving line which seems to indicate the beginning of a sickle-shaped wing. At the right edge are two holes for fastening the ornament with pins or wire.



FIG. 9. Bronze Plaque with Figure of Poseidon

The decoration consists of four rosettes in squares, surrounded by frames of small dotted squares. There are two holes through the thin gold leaf, but they seem to be accidental.

22. IM 2310. Pl. 69, b, top right. Gold ornament, preserving rear half of griffon in repoussé.

23. IM 2174. Pl. 69, b, bottom left. Gold pin with flat knob, from east temenos dump.

Diam. of knob, 0.008 m.

The pin was twisted out of shape and the point is missing. On the flat knob is a cross in very fine lines.

<sup>41</sup> Though later in date, it is technically similar to the "ausgeschnittenes Bronzeblech" B 1646 from Olympia, H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympiabericht*, V, 1956, p. 93, pl. 50.

24. IM 2313. Pl. 69, b, bottom center. Small coil of gold wire, from the east temenos dump.

The color is much lighter than that of the other gold objects, and it is probable that the coil is made of an alloy (electrum).

25. IM 2312. Pl. 69, b, bottom right. Small gold rivet or pin head, from the east temenos dump.

To the hemispherical head is attached a short hollow tube.

26. IM 2362. Fig. 10. Iron implement, from east temenos dump.

L. 0.164 m., W. (in middle) 0.045 m., (at the ends) 0.065 m.

There is a hole, only 0.017 m. in diameter, for the handle. It seems to be a stone mason's tool rather than a carpenter's adze.

27. IM 2363. Pl. 69, c. Lead *halter*, from east temenos dump.

L. 0.16 m., Weight, 1.345 kg.

The surface is somewhat rough, partly due to oxidization. It belongs to a type of *halter* frequently shown in palaistra scenes on sixth century vases.<sup>42</sup>

### POTTERY

1. IP 1946. Pl. 70, a. Fragment of stirrup vase, from the Cyclopean wall in the village of Isthmia. L.H. III B.<sup>43</sup>

Pres. H. 0.12 m.

On the body are alternating rows of wide and narrow bands; on the shoulder a design made up of various curved lines and rows of dots. The stem, which was made as a separate piece and attached to the shoulder while the clay was wet, is relatively high, an indication of lateness within the L. H. III B period. Reddish buff clay, brown glaze.

2. IP 1947. Pl. 70, b. Small one-handed jug, from the same place as the preceding. Top and handle are missing.

Pres. H. 0.065 m.

On the neck and body are horizontal bands. Reddish buff clay, light brown glaze.

3. IP 1945. Pl. 70, c. Base of L. H. kylix, from Cyclopean wall.

Diam. of base, 0.065 m.

Reddish buff clay, unglazed.

4. IP 1346. Pl. 70, d. Early Corinthian alabastron, from large circular pit.

H. 0.06 m.

On the shoulders and bottom are elongated leaf designs and on the body conventional patterns of lines and dots. Buff clay, brown and purple glaze which has largely peeled off.

5. IP 1841. Pl. 70, e. Plastic vase in the form of a duck, from the large circular pit.

L. 0.07 m., H. 0.057 m.

The neck forms a loop, and at the top of the head is the mouth of the vase. Details of the head and of wings and feathers are rendered with fine incised lines. Buff clay; dark brown and purple glaze, which has largely flaked off.

6. IP 2009. Pl. 70, f. Early Corinthian alabastron, from north temenos dump.

H. 0.073 m.

On the neck and bottom are leaf designs, on the body two zones of animals, badly drawn. Light buff clay, brown and purple glaze.

<sup>42</sup> See E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, fig. 105. The weight is somewhat less than that of the stone *halter* from Isthmia, published in *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 36, but greater than that of a similar lead weight in the British Museum illustrated by Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 146, fig. 100 b. There seems to have been no standard weight for the *halteres*.

<sup>43</sup> The three fragmentary vases, Nos. 1-3, and other fragments from the fill of the Cyclopean wall are typical examples of L.H. III B pottery. For shape and decoration compare the pottery from the Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 388 ff., figs. 69, 70; and A.J.B. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pl. XLVII, 3, 13, 14. According to Furu-mark's dating this type of pottery comes down to 1230 B.C., *Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, p. 115.

7. IP 2010. Pl. 70, g. Small Corinthian oinochoe, from north temenos dump.

H. 0.077 m.

On the neck are rows of wavy lines, on the handle and shoulder rays. The main zone carries a row of animals: two lions, a swan, and a duck. The intervening spaces are filled with conventional patterns. Light buff clay; dark brown glaze, poorly preserved.

suggested the rare *ποτήρ*, should probably be restored as *κόθων*. This term was applied to a common drinking cup<sup>46</sup> rather than to the flat bowl with incurving rim of Corinthian manufacture which by modern usage has been called kothon. Red Attic clay, lustrous black glaze.

10. IP 1708. Pl. 71, a, b. Plastic vase of a comic figure, from large circular pit.

Pres. H. 0.055 m.

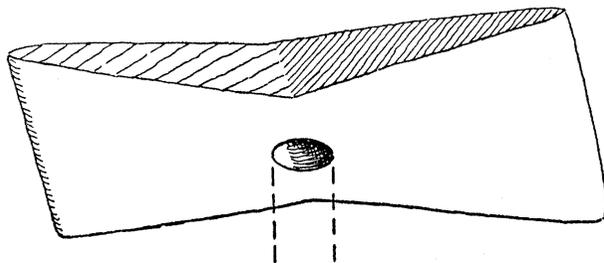


FIG. 10. Iron Implement from East Temenos Dump

8. IP 2424. Pl. 70, h. Terracotta bell,<sup>44</sup> from east temenos dump.

H. 0.04 m., Diam. 0.038 m.

At the top is a basket handle, and the bell is open at the top. On the body are three lines of glaze. Hard, red clay; dark brown glaze of good quality.

9. IP 2047a. Pl. 70, i. Fragment of one-handed cup with flat bottom, from north temenos dump.

In the photograph only the bottom is shown, but a large fragment from the body is preserved. They were found together. On the base is incised the name of the vase *κόθων*. The two fragments come from a vase of the shape of Berlin 2266. In 1954 some inscribed fragments of such a vase came from the archaic deposit within the Temple of Poseidon.<sup>45</sup> They are not from the same cup as the new fragments. The missing word in the dedication, for which I

The head is missing. The man is seated with his legs drawn up and his elbows resting on his knees. His right hand, which he holds up to his beard, is well modeled with each finger indicated, but there is no left hand at all nor is it broken away. The bottom of the vase is perforated and a horizontal hole, perhaps for suspension, ran through the head, communicating with the opening into the interior. The man seems to wear some kind of animal's skin on his chest, rendered plastically and covered with small dots. Possibly this is merely intended to indicate the hair on the body, because the breasts are shown by dotted circles. On the belly, on either side of a large phallos, is a dancing satyr painted in brown glaze. There are small rosettes on his knees and larger rosettes on the shoulders. Two wheel patterns, one unlike the other, are painted on the buttocks.

Several plastic vases of this general variety

<sup>44</sup> A similar bell came from the archaic Temple deposit in the 1954 campaign; *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 133, No. 16, pl. 51, d.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133, No. 19, pl. 52, a.

<sup>46</sup> See Aristophanes' *Knights*, 600; Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, I, 2, 8.

have been found in Corinth,<sup>47</sup> and others of Corinthian manufacture have come from other places in Greece and Sicily. Our vase from the Isthmia has much in common with a plastic vase in the Louvre, to which Payne<sup>48</sup> has devoted a considerable discussion. The pose and modeling are very similar and so is the trick use of holes for manipulating the contents. Another vase of the same kind is in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.<sup>49</sup> This figure wears a sleeveless garment with dots, very similar to the stippled patch on the chest of our man. Animal figures are painted on hips and shoulders, and on the back are two rosettes rather like those on the shoulders of the figure from the Isthmia. It seems highly probable that the three vases were made and painted in the same shop. Payne dated the vase in the Louvre to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.

11. IP 1959. Pl. 71, c, top. Roman lamp, from the small bath close to the Fortress of Justinian. Corinth Type XXVII, Group 2.

L. 0.105 m., W. 0.078 m.

On the rim is a vine pattern and on the discus rays. On the bottom is the signature ΕΥΠΟΡΟΥ,<sup>50</sup> incised while the clay was wet. Buff clay, unglazed.

12. IP 1960. Pl. 71, c, right. Roman lamp made in the same mould as the preceding and found in the same place. Same signature.

13. IP 1963. Pl. 71, c, bottom. Fragmentary lamp, Type XXVII, found in the same place as the preceding.

Diam. at top, 0.077 m.

<sup>47</sup> D. M. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, pp. 421 ff.; and H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 170 ff., who gives a full discussion of plastic vases of Corinthian manufacture.

<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 175 f., pls. 44,5 and 48,13,14.

<sup>49</sup> This vase, which is published by Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection*, p. 38, pl. 24, b, was kindly called to my attention by D. A. Amyx.

<sup>50</sup> This signature appears on four of the published lamps of Corinth, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 208, pl. XXXI.

<sup>51</sup> One lamp from Corinth has the same signature, *op. cit.*, p. 204, fig. 137.

<sup>52</sup> For the type see *op. cit.*, pp. 118 ff., Type XXXI, and pl. XXII, especially No. 1456.

On the rim are triple clusters of grapes, interrupted by panels on the cross axis. On the discus is a square rosette surrounded by scallops. On the reverse within a triple groove is the signature ΕΠΙΤΥΝΧΑΝΟΥ.<sup>51</sup> Handle and nozzle are missing.

14. IP 1928. Pl. 71, c, left. Early Christian lamp,<sup>52</sup> Corinth Type XXXI, found among the work chips within tower 7 in the Fortress of Justinian.

L. 0.15 m., W. 0.08 m.

On the rim is a pattern of alternating *Taus* and *Lambdas*, and on the discus an indistinct figure of a bird. There are two holes on the discus and a large wick-hole blackened from use. Brick red clay, micaceous. The lamp must have come into the layer of chips at the time of construction of the wall, and since it is unbroken and shows signs of use, its date must be approximately the same as that of the wall, ca. A.D. 550.

15. IP 2135. Pl. 72, a. Large, coarse jar with wide open mouth and base ring, from tower 7 of the Fortress of Justinian.

H. 0.68 m., Diam. 0.45 m.

On the neck are wavy rows of lines impressed in the wet clay by drawing a comb over it. Broad zone with similar but coarser and nearly straight lines on widest part of the body. Coarse, gritty clay, dark gray on the surface, brick-red within.

16. IP 2138. Pl. 72, b. Large, coarse amphora with rounded bottom and narrow mouth, from same place as the preceding.

H. 0.65 m., Diam. 0.41 m.

Broad zone of deep, slightly rippling grooves,

made by comb while clay was wet. Ash-gray clay, surface partly blackened by fire.

17. IP 2139. Fig. 11; Pl. 72, c. Tall, open vase like "umbrella stand," with rounded bottom, from same place as the preceding.

H. 0.58 m., Diam. at top 0.32 m.

Broad moulded rim, no handles. On the out-

ments have been blackened in fire after the vessel was broken.

Many fragments of other vessels of this puzzling shape came from the fill of the tower. On one of these a rough form of signature has been produced by combing just below the rim. On

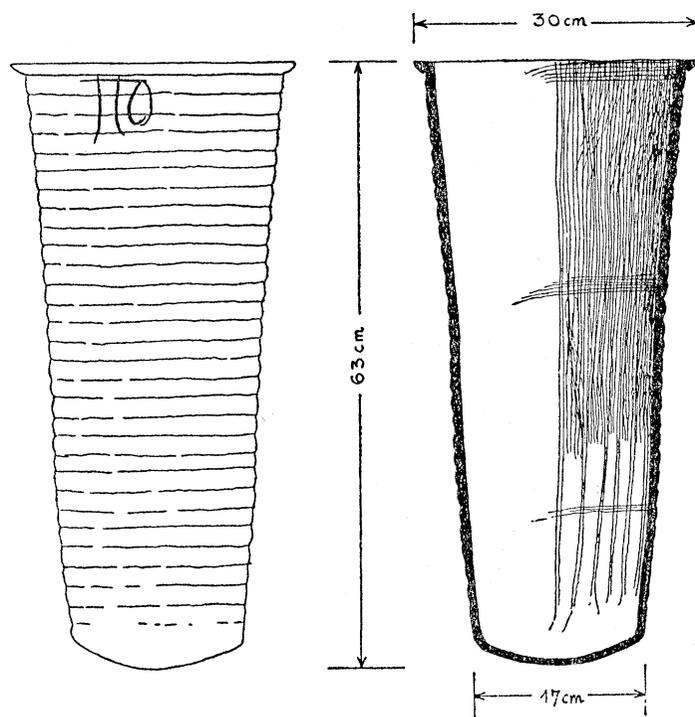


FIG. 11. Tall Open Vessel with Combed Grooves on the Inside

side are shallow horizontal grooves produced when the vessel was being cast on the wheel and also visible on the inside. While the clay was still wet the surface on the inside was roughened by drawing a comb vertically from the bottom toward the rim. At intervals of ca. 0.15 m. the comb was drawn crosswise in horizontal lines over the vertical combings (Fig. 11). This roughening of the surface extends over a little more than half the inside; the rest is plain. Brick red clay, but some of the frag-

others the letters ΠΟ have been engraved in wet clay below the rim. All the vessels of this kind show the combing on the inside, and in every case part of the surface is left smooth. It is difficult to suggest a satisfactory explanation for the peculiar shape and treatment of the inside surface.<sup>53</sup> Demetrios I. Pallas, who was in charge of the area where these vases came to light, believes that they were used as beehives and that the inside was roughened so that the honeycombs would cling to the vessel.

<sup>53</sup> In a large open jar from the Hellenistic period and signed ΟΡΕΞΤΑΔΑ (*Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 32, No. 42) the inside surface has been similarly roughened.

## MISCELLANEOUS

1. IM 2315. Pl. 73, a. One half of a stone *halter*, from the east temenos dump.

It is very elaborately carved with individual grooves for each finger of the left hand. The material is a greenish stone with high mica content. For the inscription and measurements see above, pp. 322-323, No. 1.

2. IM 2140. Pl. 73, b, top left. Archaic terracotta horse, from large circular pit.

Pres. H. 0.06 m.

Head and all the extremities are broken away and the color has largely disappeared. On the mane and hind legs are traces of painted bars. The attachment for the rider's right hand is visible on the mane.

3. IM 2202. Pl. 73, b, top right. Archaic terracotta horse, from east temenos dump.

L. 0.064 m.

All four legs are missing. The mane is indicated by a series of notched streamers, and additional features are rendered by a dull red paint. The tail is a round knob. There is no indication of a rider, and it is possible that some other animal than the horse was intended.

4. IM 2142. Pl. 73, b, bottom left. Terracotta horse, from large circular pit.

Pres. H. 0.05 m.

Head and extremities are missing. Of the rider only the legs and hands are preserved. On the mane is a series of painted lines, and on the body and legs rows of circular dots.

5. IM 2201. Pl. 73, b, bottom right. Terracotta horse, from east temenos dump.

Rider, head and all the extremities of the horse are missing. Colors were added in red.

6. IM 2429. Pl. 73, c. Small terracotta boat, from large circular pit.

L. 0.061 m.

On the stem are two eyes painted, and in the interior the ribs are indicated by color.

7. IM 2426. Pl. 73, d. Upper part of archaic male figure in terracotta, from north temenos dump.

Pres. H. 0.06 m.

The hair is plastically rendered and colored brown. Eyes, lips and beard are shown in color.<sup>54</sup>

8. IM 2199. Pl. 73, e, right. Female terracotta figurine, from the Palaimonion area.

Pres. H. 0.12 m.

The chiton hangs from the woman's right shoulder, leaving the left shoulder and breast bare. An outer garment, tucked under the left arm, covered the lower part of the body. The clay is coarse and gritty like that used for tiles, but the surface is smooth and covered with a white, opaque paint. The back is flat, as if the figure had been attached as a relief to a smooth surface. It may have been part of an altar or dedicatory shrine.

9. IM 2198. Pl. 73, e, left. Small fragment of female figure, from the Palaimonion area.

Pres. H. 0.06 m.

It was made in the same mould as the preceding, but the details have been somewhat more retouched. The two figures doubtless belong to the same monument.

## SUMMARY

At the termination of the fourth campaign of excavation it is possible to assess the significance of the work accomplished and to indicate the direction that future investigation of the site should take. Despite the wholesale destruction of buildings

<sup>54</sup> There is a close similarity between this figure and the heads attached to Corinthian pyxides from the early decades of the sixth century B.C. Cf. H. Payne, *op. cit.*, pl. 48, 8,9,15.

and the very slight depth of soil over most of the area, the excavations have produced a considerable mass of material from which to reconstruct both the physical aspects and the history of the Isthmian Sanctuary and Games.

A large proportion of the portable objects of interest belong to the period before the Persian Wars. In the first quarter of the fifth century the Archaic Temple with all its wealth of votive gifts went up in flames. From the time of construction of this temple, in the seventh century B.C., until the end of the archaic period the sanctuary was very prosperous. Its wealth is amply reflected in the debris from the fire that destroyed it. It was the period of the tyrants Kypselos and Periandros, who with their far-reaching connections toward the east, south, and west brought Corinth and the Isthmian Sanctuary to a pitch of opulence never again to be attained.

The total destruction of the Temple and its treasures must have for a time reduced the Isthmian Festival to unimportance. Soon, however, a new temple was erected, larger and more splendid than its predecessor. Isthmia, like the other great sanctuaries of the Peloponnesos, reflects the tendency toward monumentality. Doubtless the interior furnishing was in keeping with its architectural grandeur. Yet, if we may judge from the objects found within the Temple, the gifts brought to the site declined greatly in quantity. This may be a false conclusion. The very richness of the votive objects could have been the cause of their destruction. We know that Isthmia shared with the other Panhellenic centers in the booty captured from the Persians at Plataia, and there were probably many other occasions, unrecorded by historians, when men of wealth and religious devotion showed their generosity to the Isthmian god. But after allowance is made for the element of chance in destructive actions, it cannot but impress the unprejudiced observer that so many of the valuable objects from our excavations are to be dated in the sixth century B.C. and so few in the fifth.

The second fire that wrought havoc to the Temple of Poseidon broke out in the year 394 B.C. Xenophon,<sup>55</sup> who furnishes our only literary evidence for this fire, intimates that there was something mysterious about its origin: "It was on this night also that the Temple of Poseidon was seen burning; but no one knows by whom it was set on fire." We have excavated some of the debris from this fire, which had been thrown into the gully on the north side and to the east of the Temple. One readily recognizes the calcined marble roof tiles, which differ in the quality of marble, though not in size, from those of the fourth century repairs. Our excavation of the dumps from this fire have revealed none of the wealth of dedications that we find in the debris from the Archaic Temple.

The damage to the Temple was heavy. Not only were the wooden ceiling and roof construction completely consumed by the flames, but the walls themselves and

<sup>55</sup> *Hellenica*, IV, 5.4.

even the outer columns were damaged by the heat. Some of the building material could be re-used for the restoration but much of the stone work, especially the delicate carvings on frieze and cornice, had to be discarded. The rebuilding was carried out before the end of the fourth century B.C., but there seems to have been an interval during which the Temple remained in ruins. With its reconstruction, probably in the second half of the century, the whole sanctuary seems to have entered upon a new period of prosperity. This is indicated by the settlement on the Rachi, which came into existence about the middle of the fourth century and continued to flourish till the middle of the third. Additional evidence is furnished by two dedications to Demeter, whose cult house stood within the Sacred Glen (Hiera Nape). Both are dated in the fourth century B.C. Architectural members found in the orchard that was once the Hiera Nape and others from within the Sanctuary of Poseidon point to renewed building activity at that time. The old Stadium had probably existed in the fifth century, perhaps even earlier, but the parallel retaining walls and the intricate starting gates seem to have been added early in the fourth century. The west water-works and the pre-Roman reservoir that supplied the water for the Stadium, whatever their exact date, continued to function during this period. During the reigns of Philip and Alexander, when Corinth was designed to be the capital of a new world, the Isthmus once more became a meeting place of all the Greeks. It is not surprising that the material remains of the sanctuary reflect the political activities of the era.

In the course of the second century B.C. this prosperity came to a sudden halt. The destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. could not but adversely affect the Isthmian Sanctuary and its Panhellenic festival. Although we have Pausanias' testimony to the fact that the Isthmian Games continued to be held under Sikyonian management, the excavations show that the sanctuary was allowed to fall into decay. Corinth with its allurements had attracted visitors to the Isthmian Games from all parts of the world. After the city had been laid in ruins a powerful inducement for a visit to the Isthmia was missing. Indications from the excavations are unmistakable. The great altar of Poseidon was demolished and three wagon roads ran across its foundation, so close to the Temple that they had to make a bend to avoid the northeast corner. Such secularization of the area surrounding the Temple can only mean that the cult had declined in importance. A similar effect is traceable in the early Stadium. Silt and gravel washing down from the east slope of the Rachi began to cover up the race track together with its starting line and athletic devices. And here too a wagon road was made across the area once dedicated to athletic performances.

This condition of neglect did not come to an abrupt end when the new colony was planted by Caesar on the ruins of Corinth. For some three-quarters of a century the Isthmian Sanctuary continued to show the effects of deterioration. Some time in the first century of our era, perhaps as early as the reign of Tiberius, a reorganiza-

tion and rebuilding of the sanctuary began. The Temple of Poseidon was probably then restored and its crumbling interior walls and floors revetted with marble slabs. A restricted area surrounding the Temple was enclosed by a temenos wall. In the southeast corner of this rectangle a new altar was built to take the place of the demolished long altar close to the Temple of Poseidon. The games, which now were again managed by the Corinthians, regained much of their former splendor and popularity. At this time or earlier a new stadium was built in a hollow with steeply sloping sides that could be made to provide better accommodation for spectators and participants.

The cult and precinct of Palaimon offer the best evidence for renewed interest and activity. Three sacrificial pits, constructed successively in the abandoned early Stadium, testify to religious activity in the area. The awesome holocausts and nocturnal celebrations centering round these pits brought many worshipers who left their pottery vessels and oil lamps as tokens of religious devotion. Though at first there seems to have been no temple, the cult increased in importance throughout the decades of the first century, until toward the turn of the century, the circular temple was erected with its subterranean passage and cult equipment.

Presumably the Theater was also rebuilt during the first century, but the extent of its rebuilding still remains to be determined. There were other buildings outside the sacred enclosures. Over a large area toward the east and south ancient foundations projecting above the ground indicate that the space devoted to the games and to the convenience of visitors was greatly enlarged.

A new period of building activity began in the second century of our era. It was then that the stoas were built on the east, south, and west sides of the precinct of Poseidon, and possibly the Palaimonion was not given its final form until that time. These material improvements point to increased interest and popularity of the Isthmian Games.

There is epigraphical evidence for further building activity in the time of the Antonines. Two inscriptions, one now in Verona, the other in Corinth, enumerate the buildings erected or repaired at the expense of the high priest of Poseidon, P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus. Only two of the many structures erected by him can with any degree of probability be identified with the buildings uncovered in our excavations. These are the Palaimonion with its embellishments (*προσκοσμήματα*) and the Sacred Entrance (*ἱερὰ εἴσοδος*). The latter is probably the East Propylon excavated in 1956 and 1958. The Palaimonion has been described above. But here we meet with a chronological discrepancy. So far as we can judge from the scanty remains of the building and from the ceramic finds in the surrounding area, the temple was constructed not later than the end of the first century of our era. If this is one of the buildings erected by Iuventianus we shall have to suppose that the

original structure had been totally demolished, and there is no archaeological evidence for this. The inscription, however, does not refer to the building as a *ναός* but as *τὸ Παλαιμόνιον σὺν τοῖς προσκοσμήμασιν*. Perhaps the reference is only to the precinct together with such monuments and statuary embellishments as it may have contained. This mention of the Palaimonion is immediately followed by the reference to an *enagisterion* and to the Sacred Entrance. Perhaps the large sacrificial pit east of the Temple of Palaimon was known as *enagisterion*, the east wall of which was repaired in the second century after Christ. In fact the contents of this pit furnished the clearest archaeological evidence for the continuation of the cult into the second century. Almost nothing was found in the vicinity of the temple itself that can be dated as late as that. A full discussion of the building program carried out by Iuventianus must await further investigation of the buildings outside the twin sanctuaries of Poseidon and Palaimon. Our information about the sanctuaries in the second century is still very meager.

The third century is an almost complete blank. A few fragmentary lamps and some pottery from the fourth century show that the place was not wholly abandoned. Presumably the buildings remained standing, though probably not functioning, until the middle of the sixth century after Christ. Justinian's engineer Victorinus, who seems to have been charged with the construction of the line of defense across the Isthmus, did a thorough job in demolishing the pagan shrines and their artistic treasures. From this destruction there was no recovery. The site was abandoned, except for the Fortress of Justinian and possibly other buildings near the fortress that served military purposes. The history of the Isthmian Sanctuary comes to an end during the reign of Justinian.

The principal aim of the excavation up to the present has been to lay bare the two major shrines, the Temples of Poseidon and Palaimon, together with precinct walls and the various annexes relating to their cult. This task will probably be completed during the 1959-1960 campaigns. Next in importance is the further exploration in the Theater. To gain a complete picture of the Isthmian Sanctuary it will be necessary to extend the investigation into more distant areas, among them the Sacred Glen and the later Stadium to the southeast of the present excavation, and to the surroundings of this stadium, where many foundations of ancient buildings project above ground. Further study of the Fortress of Justinian with its two major gates is likewise envisaged in the program of future excavation. The large circular pit has not been fully cleared. To complete this task may be both costly and difficult, because of the inflow of water, but the prospect of finding the explanation for this immense shaft gives it high priority among the unfinished tasks.

Finally, some provision must be made for exhibiting the objects unearthed in our excavation. The present exhibition halls of the Corinth Museum are already filled

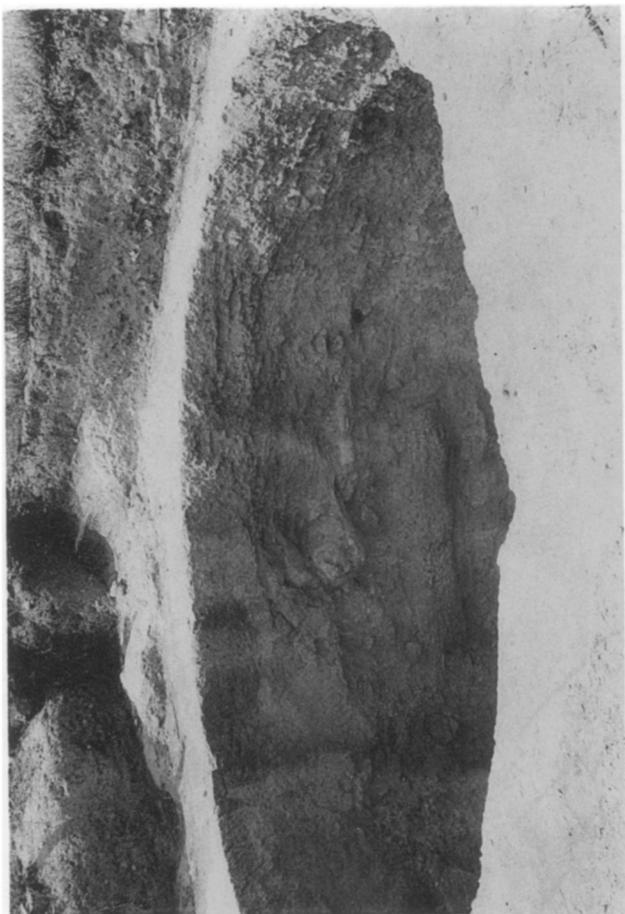
to overflowing. Rare treasures from our excavation are now stored away in drawers and workrooms unavailable to the public. In order to make the Isthmian Sanctuary intelligible and meaningful to laymen and scholars alike, a separate exhibit of the finds is an urgent necessity. A small local museum or a separate hall in the Museum at Ancient Corinth must be provided to meet this need.

OSCAR BRONEER

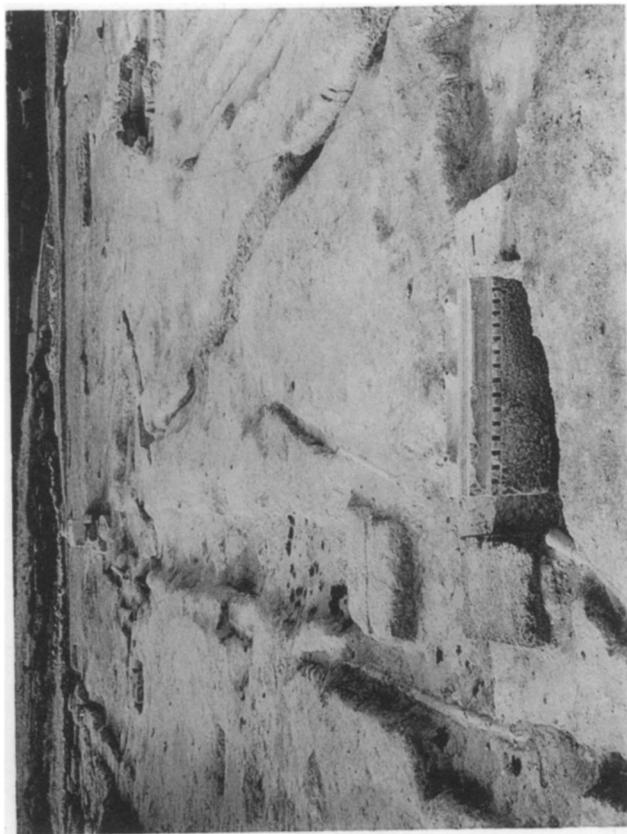
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a. Circular Base and Marks of Tripod



b. Circular Pit from above



c. Southwest Corner of Precinct, from South; Cornice Block from South Stoa



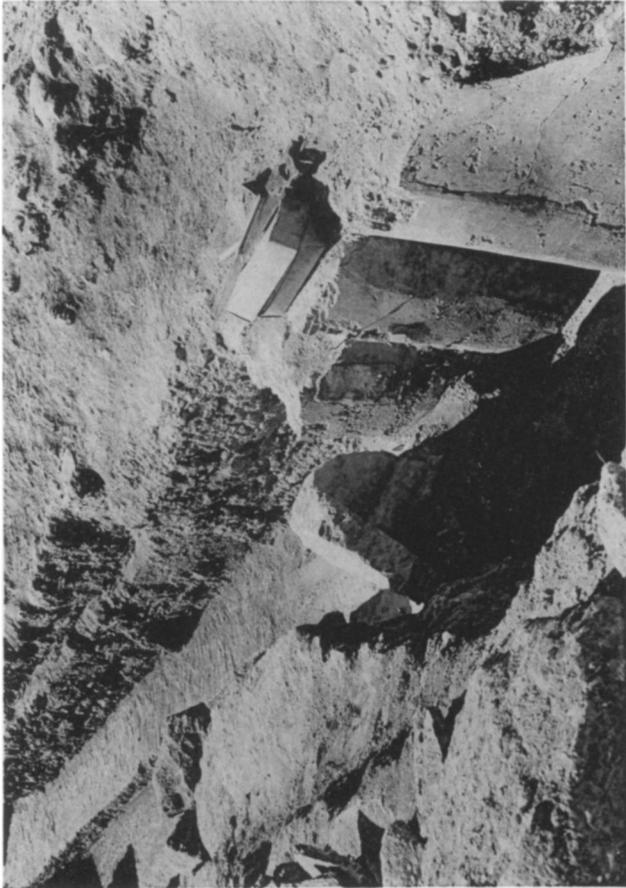
d. Foundation of Early Stadium underneath Palaimonion Temenos Wall



a. East Temenos Dump, from South



b. South Side of Precinct, from West



a. Southeast End of Greek Reservoir



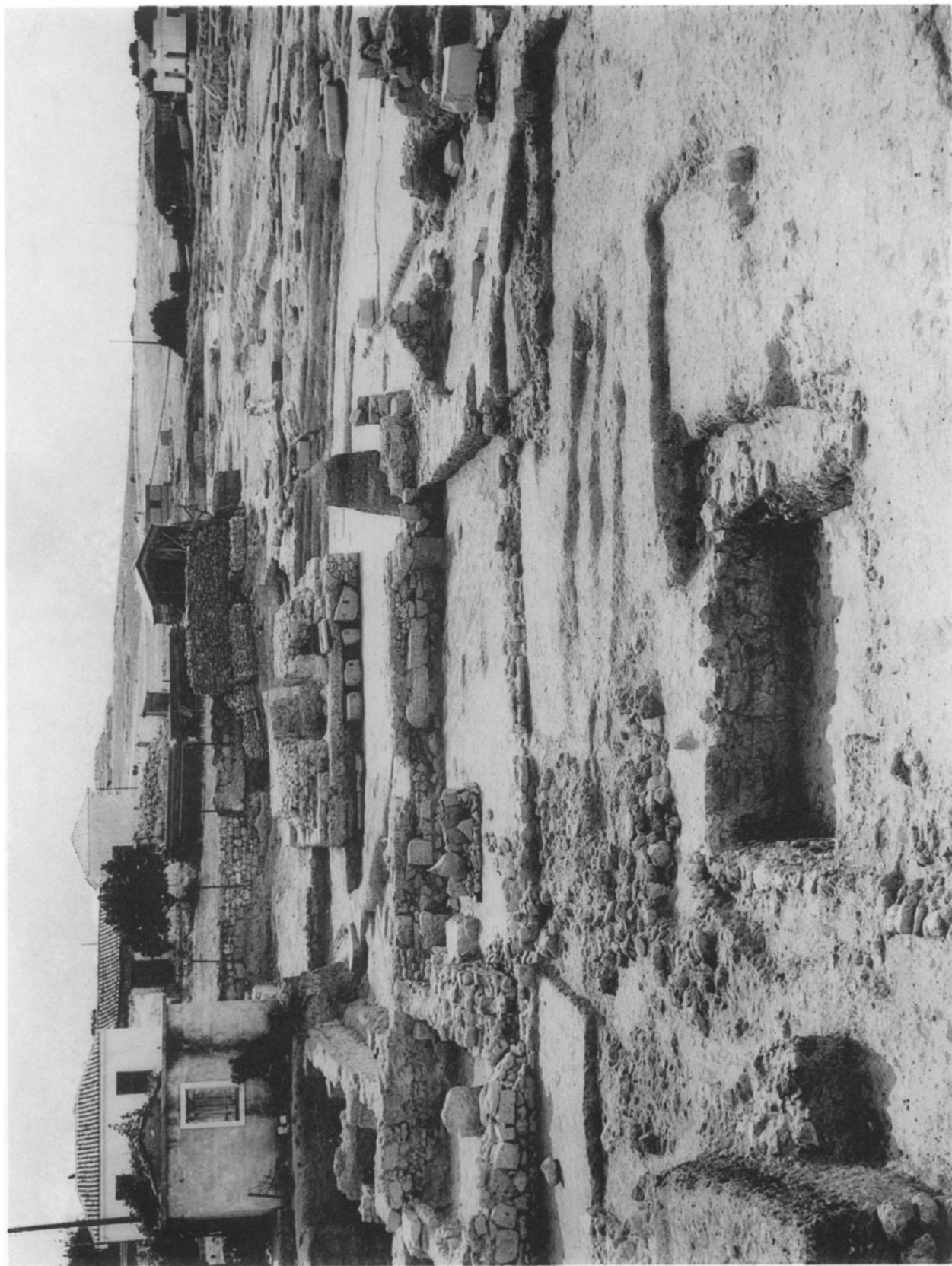
b. Sacrificial Pit A and Basin at Northeast End of Stadium Starting Gates



c. Semicircular Foundation in the Palaimonion

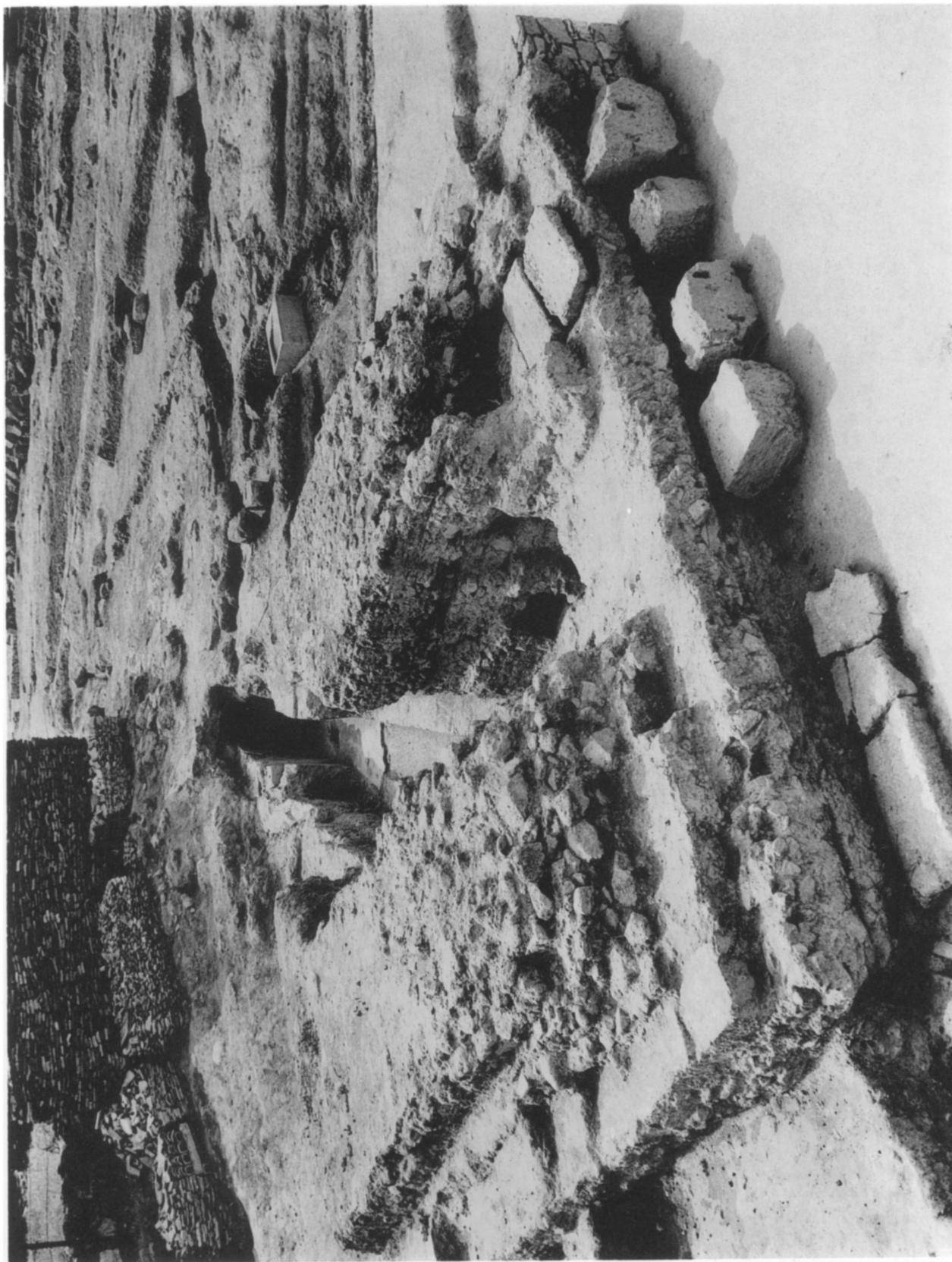


d. Lamps as Found, East of Palaimon Temple



Palaimonion Area from East; Sacrificial Pit C

OSCAR BRONEER: EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMA, FOURTH CAMPAIGN, 1957-1958



Temple of Palaimon from Southeast

OSCAR BRONEER: EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMA, FOURTH CAMPAIGN, 1957-1958



a. Theater; North Wall of West Parados



b. Tiled Tank South of Fortress



c. Fortress of Justinian; South Wall during Excavation



a. Inscription 2, Poros Base



b. Inscription 4, Victor List



c. and d. Inscription 5, Statue Base, Front and Side



b. Statue of Girl and Inscribed Base 3



a. Head of Athlete



c. Left Foot and Base



a. Geometric Bronze Figurine



b. and c. Archaic Bronze Figurine, Back and Front



d. Early Archaic Bronze Figurine



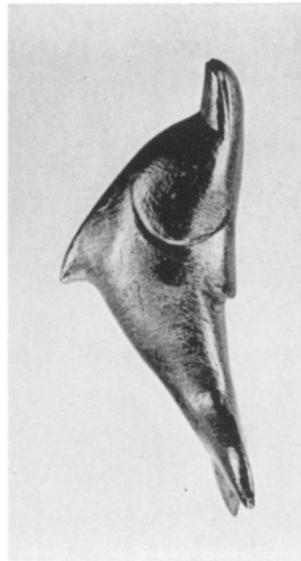
e. Bronze Figurine of Poseidon



a. and b. Two Bronze Figures of Medusa



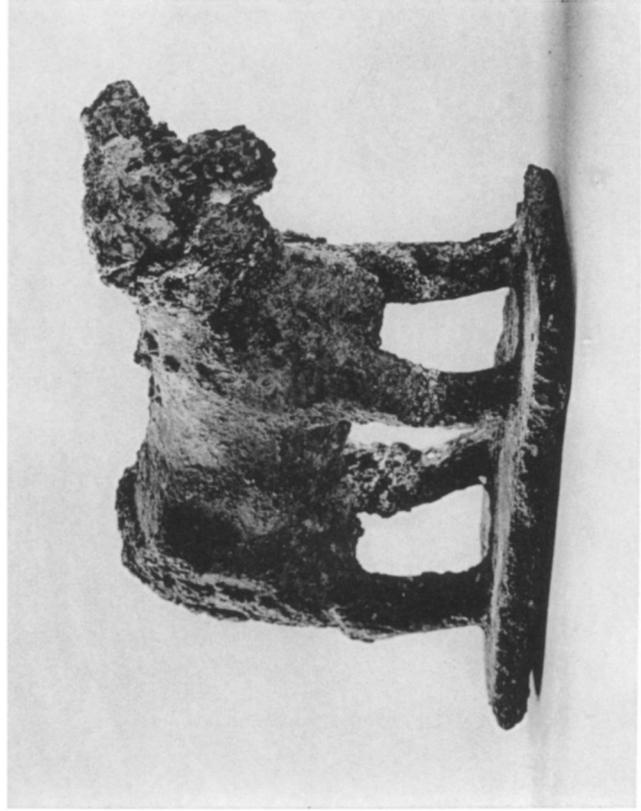
c. and d. Protome of Sphinx and Goat



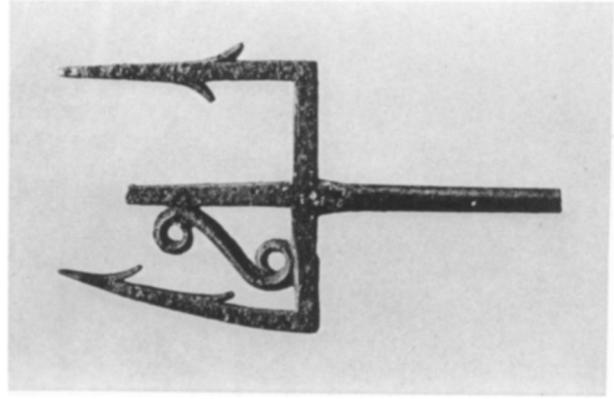
e. Bronze Dolphin



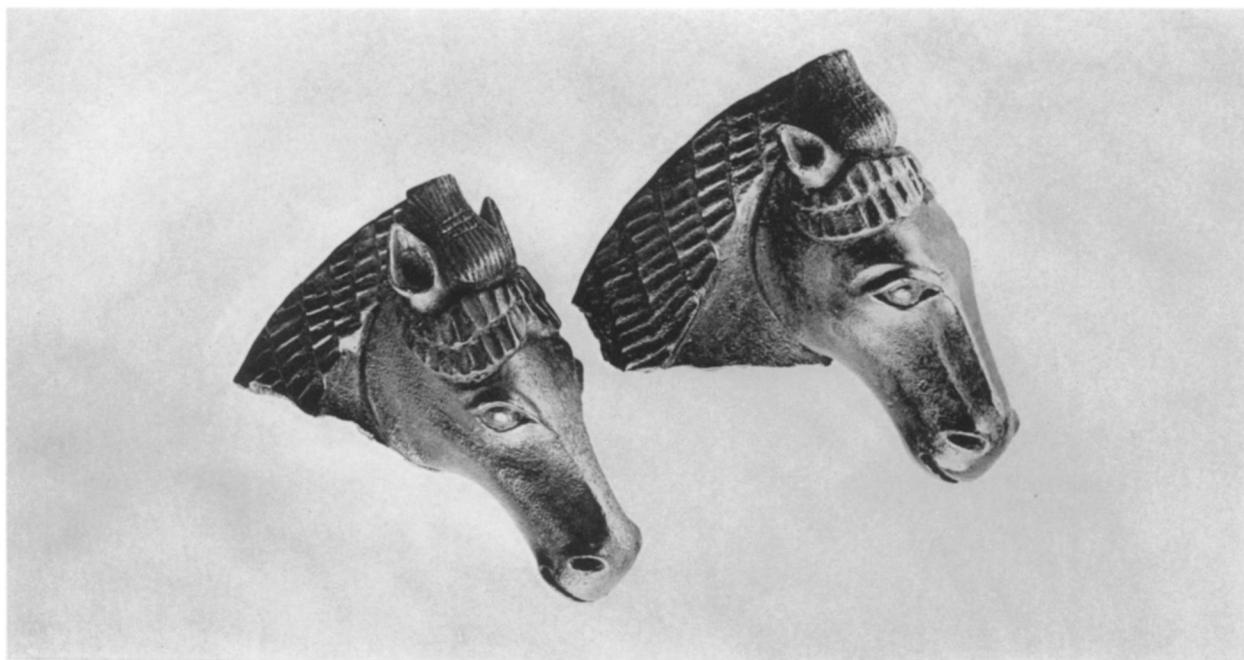
f. Bronze Bull



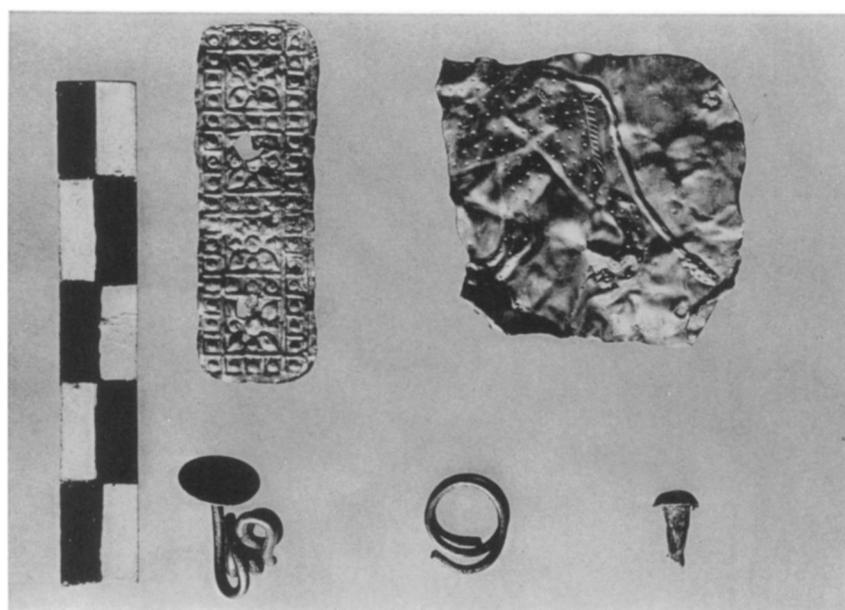
g. Bronze Bull before Cleaning



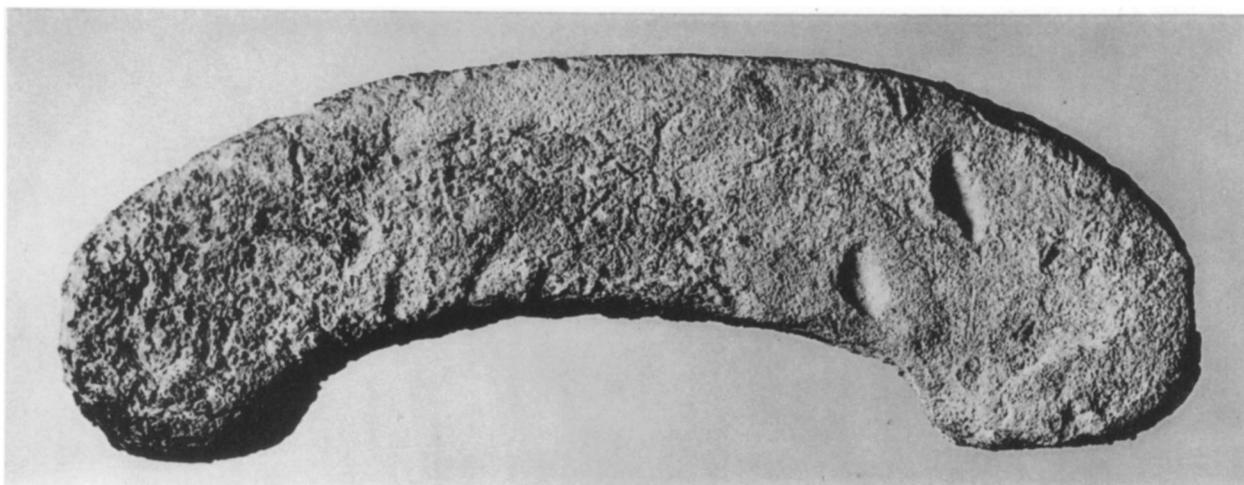
h. Bronze Trident



a. Two Horses' Heads



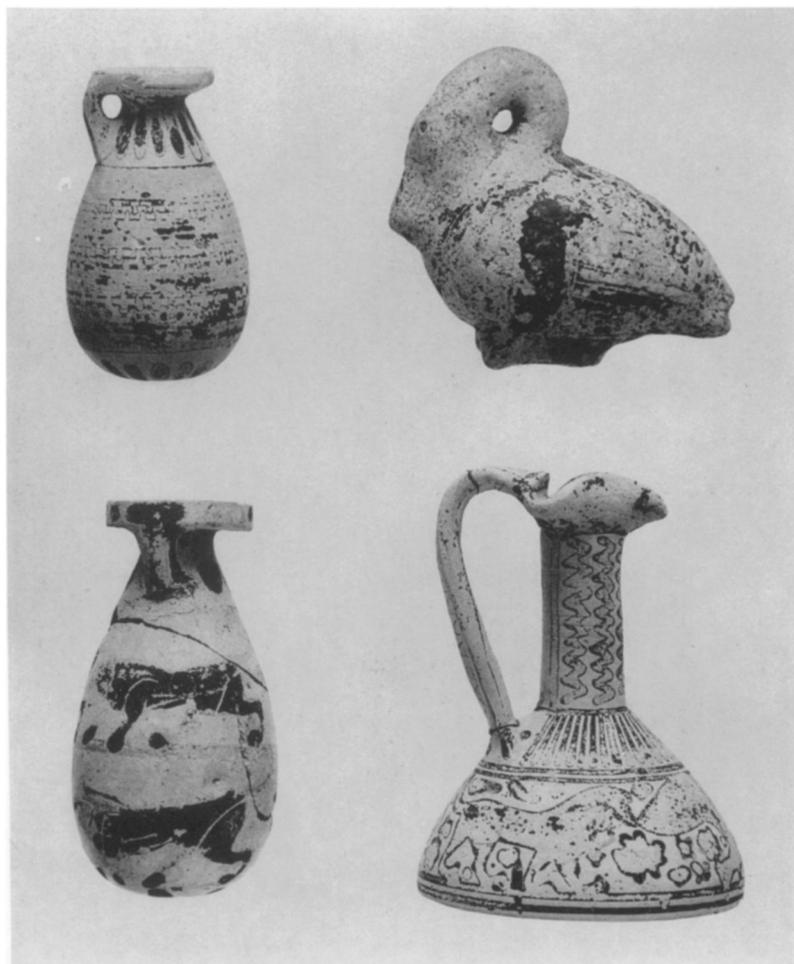
b. Gold Objects from Archaic Temple Deposit



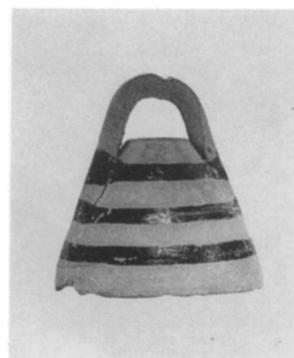
c. Lead Halter



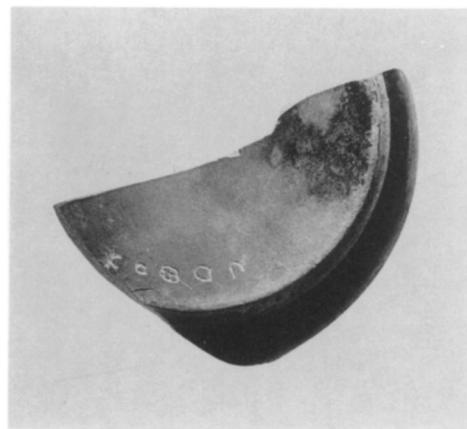
a.-c. Three Mycenaean Vases from Cyclopean Wall



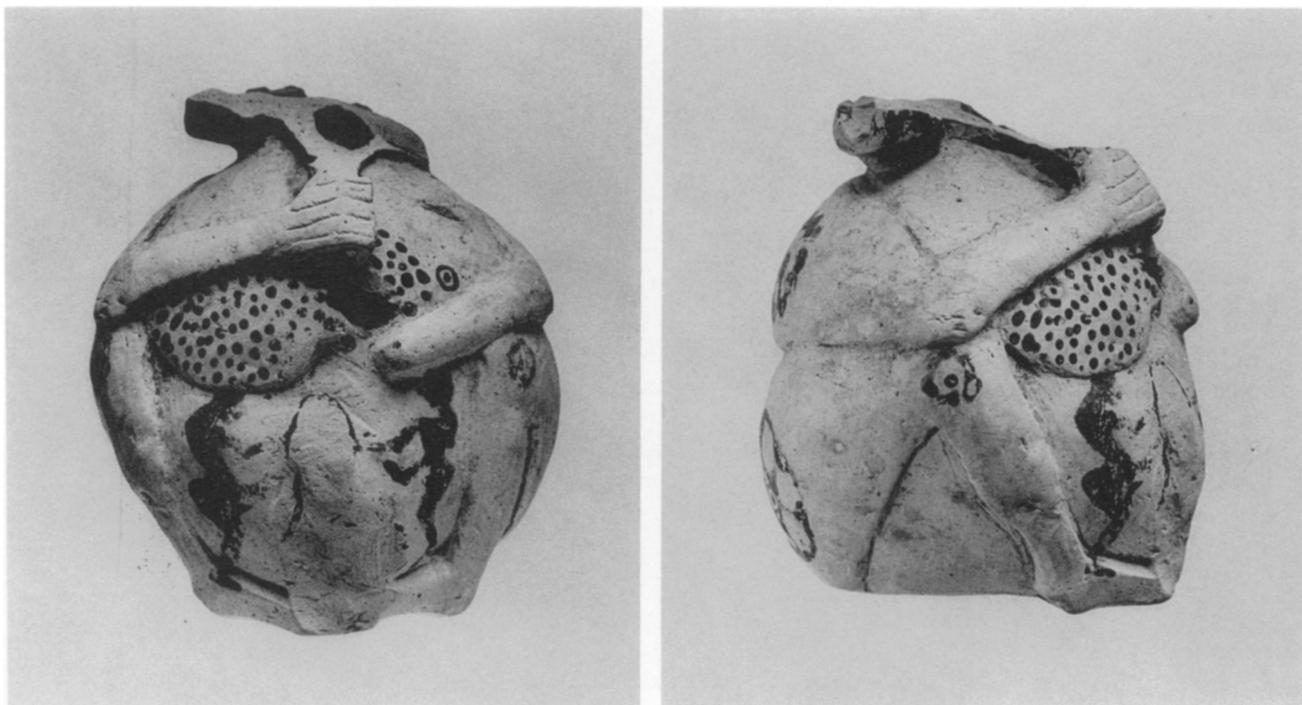
d.-g. Four Corinthian Vases



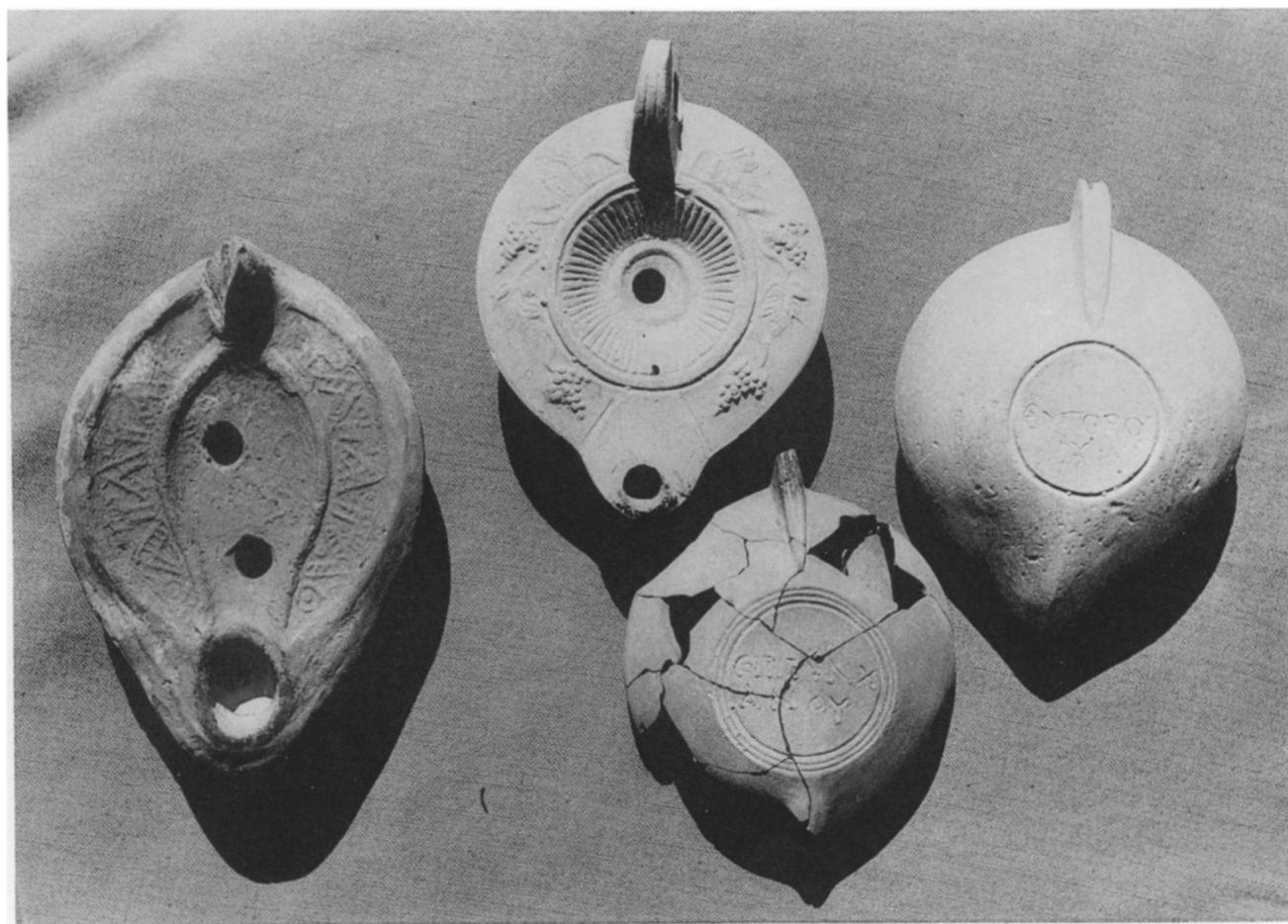
h. Terracotta Bell



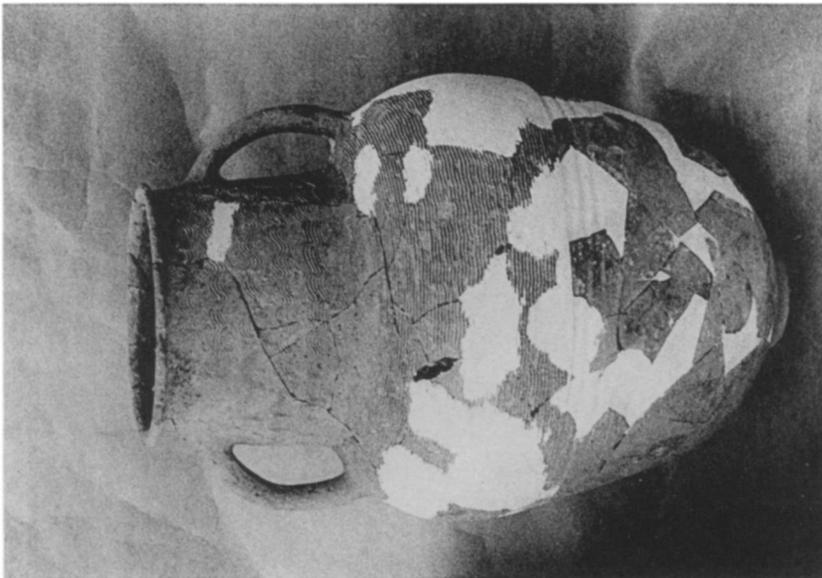
i. Inscribed Vase Fragment



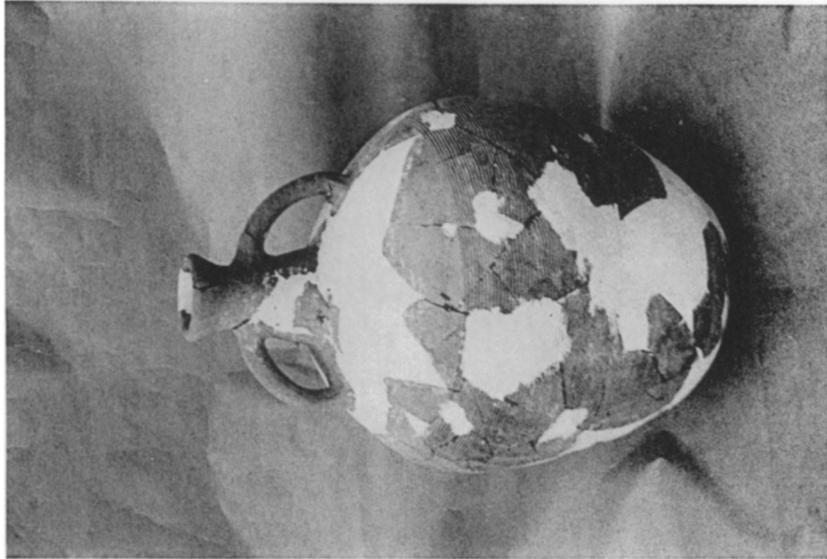
a. and b. Plastic Vase, Front and Side



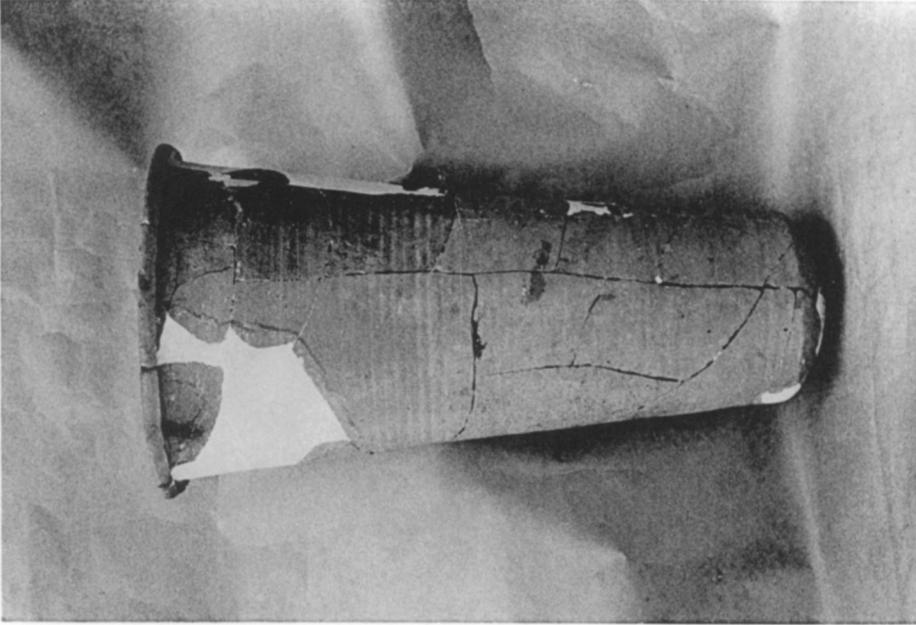
c. Four Lamps from the Justinian Fortress Hill. Nos. 14, 11, 13, 12.



a. Coarse Jar from Tower 7 of Fortress



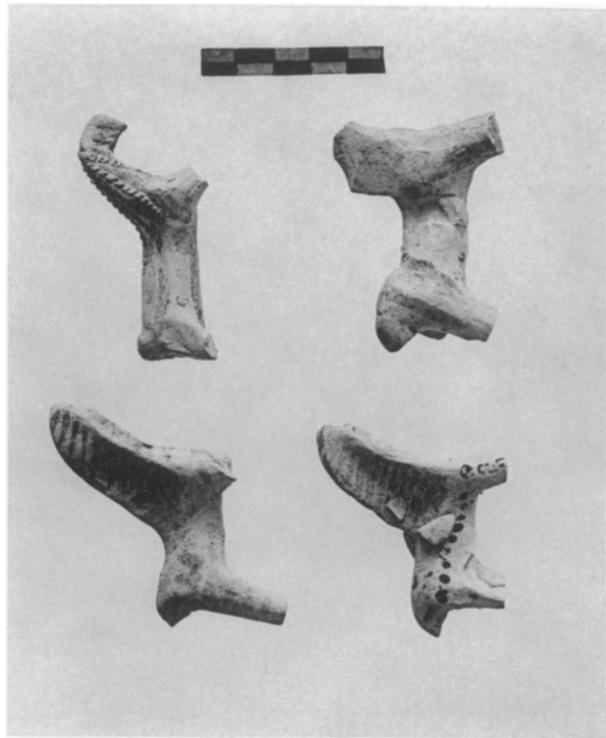
b. Amphora from Tower 7 of Fortress



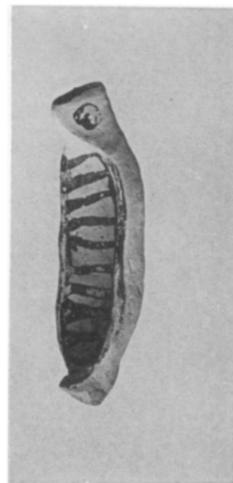
c. Tall Open Vessel from Tower 7 of Fortress



a. Inscribed *Halter*



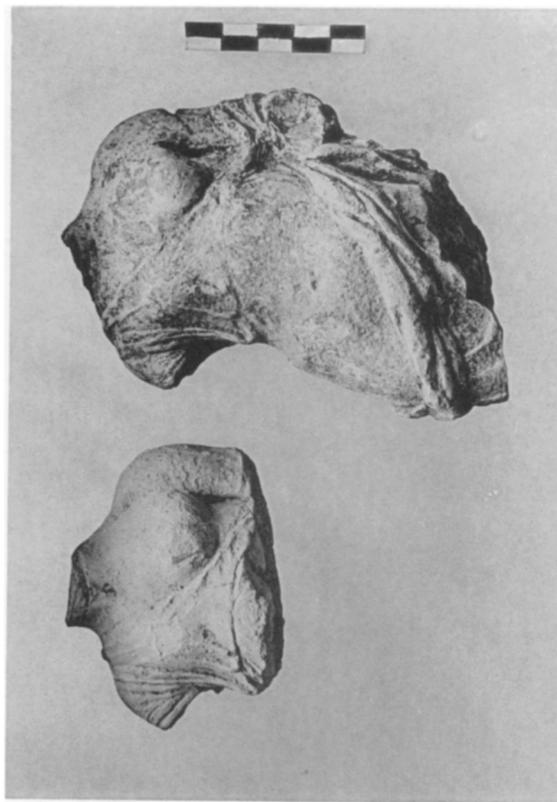
b. Four Terracotta Figurines of Horses, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5



c. Terracotta Boat



d. Terracotta Male Figurine



e. Two Terracotta Figurines from the Same Mould