EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMIA, 1954

(Plates 41–56)

The preliminary investigations of the Isthmian Sanctuary, which the University of Chicago undertook in 1952,1 revealed the location of the Temple of Poseidon (Pl. 41, a) and brought to light other data for a topographical study of the site. The results were sufficiently promising to warrant further excavations on a larger scale, and an expedition for this purpose was organized in the spring of 1954. In the course of a campaign of seven weeks the whole area of the temple was excavated, the temenos of Poseidon was investigated (Pls. 41, b; 42, a, b), a large part of the ridge (Rachi) was cleared, and trenches were dug in areas to be explored more fully in future campaigns.2

1 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 182-195.
2 The excavation was in progress from April 28th until June 12th. The excavation staff consisted of the following members: Gustavus F. Swift, Jr., Research Assistant, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, was in charge of excavation in the temple area and of a brief investigation of the Fortress of Justinian; Esther A. Smith, Edward L. Ryerson Fellow from Chicago to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, supervised the work in trenches in the Temenos of Poseidon and in the Theater; Chry soula Kardara, Assistant, National Museum, Athens, spent two weeks at the Isthmia excavating the settlement on the Rachi; and Oscar Bronner served as Field Director. The inventory of finds was completed by Esther A. Smith and Gustavus F. Swift after the termination of the field work. The survey and architectural plans have been made by Oliver M. Unwin, R. I. C. S. of London, in cooperation with George V. Peschke of Athens. Mr. Peschke also made the restored drawing of the sima for Plate 45, e. Three of the photographs, Plates 50, d, 54, c, 56, c, were made by Mr. John L. Caskey; those for Plates 44, a, c, 45, a, b, 46, a, b, d, 49, c, 50, c, by the author; one, Plate 48, b, by Esther Smith; all the others by Emile Seraff of the Emile Photo Studio in Athens. The Archaeological Service of the Ministry of Education was represented by Dr. Demetrios Pallas, Epimelites of Byzantine Antiquities. To him, and to the Ephor of Antiquities of the Argolis and Corinthia, I. Papademetriou, I am indebted for their wholehearted cooperation.

Funds for the excavations were provided by a generous donation from Mrs. Gustavus F. Swift and by contributions from the Greek Cultural Foundation for the University of Chicago. Mrs. Swift also made several visits to Isthmia in the early weeks of the campaign. To these donors the University of Chicago and the author are indebted for making the expedition possible. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens made available to the staff members accommodations in the excavation house at Corinth, use of a jeep, and many other facilities. Director and Mrs. J. L. Caskey did much to help make the expedition successful.

I am also indebted to Theodora Stillwell of Princeton, for volunteer work on inventories, photographic records, etc., and to Bonnie Bristow of New York, whose efficiency as typist and stenographer made it possible to complete the work during the last hectic weeks of the season.

Members of the Agora Excavation Staff: Lucy Talcott, Barbara Philippaki, Virginia Grace and Mrs. Josephine Shear offered valuable information and advice in their special fields of study.

As in the preliminary campaign the experienced foreman of the Corinth excavations, Evangelos Lekkas, was again made available by the American School. In addition to his duties as foreman,
THE TREASURE OF POSEIDON

The Archaic Temple

Beneath the fifth century temple and hidden by its floor there are some cuttings in the rock which can have had no immediate connection with the classical building. These and some wall blocks and early archaic roof tiles are all that remain of the archaic temple. The most conspicuous of the foundation cuttings lies in the axis of the later building (Pl. 42, a), at the west end of the cella, where it has been exposed for a length of ca. 9 m. At its western end it has been cut away by a somewhat deeper cutting, 2.28 m. long, which seems to have been made for a cult statue of the later building. About 17 m. farther east, the same rock cutting for the archaic temple has been partly exposed in an irregular channel, probably cut by the despoilers of the building in early Byzantine times; the rest is still hidden by the fill on which the floor rested. The archaic wall bedding apparently extended as far east as the doorway into the cella of the classical building, and it may have extended farther east. At the east end of the foundation for the north inner colonnade and within the east peristyle of the later temple can be observed other cuttings which seem to have been made for the archaic building. There are further traces of early foundations in the opisthodomos of the classical temple, where a clear-cut line in the fill beneath the floor indicates the existence of an earlier wall bedding. Judging from these cuttings, which extend from the east peristyle to the rear wall of the fifth century temple, we may conclude that the archaic building had a length of more than 40 m. Much of the fill beneath the floor of the later temple is still unexcavated and this probably conceals further cuttings for the foundations of the early temple.

In the east peristyle, approximately in the axis and beneath the floor level of the classical temple, there is a badly cracked and battered circular base (Pl. 50, c), 1.23 m. in diameter. Its top has been roughly cut away; at its highest point it now measures ca. 0.25 m. in height. It rests on hard earth but has no solid foundation. Nevertheless, it is probably standing in its original position and as such deserves consideration in connection with the archaic temple (see below, p. 129).

The only other rock cuttings now exposed which might be connected with pre-classical building activity are several circular cuttings in the rock, distributed at random over the area covered by the temple cella (Pl. 42, a). Most of the cuttings have

he negotiated with the owners for the purchase of the land on which the sanctuary of Poseidon is located. The complicated and time-consuming task of preparing the legal transfer of ownership was accomplished by Nikolas Yambourannis of Corinth, who offered his services at a greatly reduced rate of compensation. George Kachros of the Corinth Museum assumed the responsibility for the mending and care of the moveable finds.

The expedition enjoyed the hearty cooperation and good will of the village and its officers. The progress of the excavation was fully and ably reported in the local press and in the Athens dailies, the Vima and Athinaika Nea, and the Kathemerini.
a diameter of 0.30-0.40 m. at the top, narrowing toward the bottom until they reach a depth of ca. 0.30 m. What connection these irregularly spaced depressions can have had with any of the buildings on the site is not at present apparent. It should be observed in this connection that similar cuttings in the rock exist in the highest excavated area on top of the Rachi, where indications for the existence of some religious cult are numerous (see below, p. 125).

Building blocks of the pre-classical temple have been found in large numbers throughout the temple area, where they were used as filling material supporting the floor of the later building. They are particularly numerous in the east peristyle and at the west end of the classical cella. Their dimensions vary considerably. One nearly complete block from the west end of the temple measures 0.84 m. in length, ca. 0.80 m. in width and 0.25 m. in thickness; another block from the same part of the temple is only 0.76 m. long. On the underside of each block are two parallel grooves which usually turn the corner and extend up the two ends of the block. In a few cases there is a second set of cuttings at right angles to the others. The material is a rather soft, fine-grained poros. The stone cutting is, as a rule, comparatively rough; but on a few blocks one edge is smoothly finished. Both in the temple area and in an ancient dump along the north temenos wall (see below p. 119) these blocks (Pl. 43, a) were found in close association with terracotta roof tiles of a very archaic type. In view of the absence, except in rare cases, of significant cuttings indicating the architecture of the superstructure, it seems likely that the blocks were used chiefly for the socle of the building, the upper sections of the walls having been constructed of sun-baked bricks.

The archaic temple was demolished in a fire of considerable intensity, as shown by many of the bronze dedications within the temple which were melted by the heat. Some of the archaic building blocks are blackened by fire, and quantities of carbon and ash were mixed in the fill from the early building. A preliminary study of the objects from the destruction fill indicates that the fire broke out approximately at the time of the Persian wars.

The Classical Temple

The Temple of Poseidon does not seem to have been left for long in ruins. Sometime before the middle of the fifth century B.C. a new, splendid temple was constructed on the site of the archaic building. The overall dimensions of the foundations are 55.70 x 25.04 m., including the width of a footing trench on the outside of the outer

* For the occurrence of similar cuttings with about the same dimensions, see Carl Roebuck, *Corinth, XIV, The Asklepieion and Lerna*, p. 10.

* Similar building blocks of the same material and roof tiles of an identical nature have been found in large quantities north of the archaic temple at Corinth. They came from an early predecessor of the existing mid-sixth century temple. See article by Mary C. Roebuck in this issue of *Hesperia*, pp. 149, 154-157.
foundations. The foundations for the peristyle were laid in trenches cut deep in the rock (Pl. 42, b). On the north flank and at the two ends, where the rock is of a firm consistency, the foundation trench varies in depth from a few centimeters to over one meter. On the south side the rock is softer, and here the depth of the foundation trench is nearly 1.50 m. The trenches also vary considerably in width. At the narrowest point on the north flank the trench is only 2.75 m. wide; on the south flank it has a width in places of 3.25 m. Very little of the foundation remains in place. On the north flank five blocks from the lowest course are left in situ at one point, and a single block retains its original position farther east. There are no foundation blocks in situ at the east and west ends and only a single block in the south foundation.

The foundation trenches for the cella walls are considerably shallower than those for the outer colonnade. Parts of the foundations for the walls are preserved; at one point, at the northeast anta (Pl. 41, b), two courses remain, with a total height of 0.71 m. The blocks are here tied together with double-T clamps, ca. 0.33 m. long. Four blocks from the lowest course of the foundation for the north cella wall, still lying in their original position farther west, have no cuttings for clamps. Two blocks from the foundation of the southwest anta are still in situ. They were fastened with double-T clamps to the adjoining blocks to the west but not to each other. The foundation for the columns in antis at the east end of the temple is missing, except at the very north end, where it had a width of 2.51 m. The trench at this point is 2.78 m. wide. The foundations for the two end walls of the cella have been entirely removed, and their rock-cut beddings are very shallow and indistinct. That for the east wall seems to have had a width at the bottom of ca. 2.50 m., whereas the foundation for the rear cella wall is only ca. 1.50 m. wide. This difference in width may be interpreted as evidence that the cella had stairs on either side of the entrance, leading to galleries as in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

The foundation trenches for the inner colonnades are likewise very shallow; in most places they consist of nothing more than a smoothing of the rock. All the stones from the foundation of the south colonnade are missing; of those from the north colonnade four remain in approximately their original position (Pl. 43, b). The four blocks vary in length between 1.55 m. and 1.57 m. They have a smooth drafting along the vertical joints at both ends and at the bottom, but none at the top. They show various cuttings on top, some of which were made when the foundation was broken up for building material. The easternmost of the four blocks has deep grooves at right angles to each other for splitting the block into four pieces.

The foundation cuttings, together with the few extant blocks of the lower courses and the somewhat doubtful cutting for the base of a cult statue, are all the remains in situ of the classical building. The restored plan on Plate 43, c, based on these cuttings and on calculations from the few scattered blocks of the superstructure, is tentative. Numerous blocks from the south cella wall, lying in jumbled disorder as
found in the western half of the temple area (Pl. 42, b, right), have not yet been measured and studied. Among the important architectural members are the Doric column drums, the largest preserved fragment of which is lying in the position where it was found on the line of the north cella wall. Since it has a diameter of only 1.569 m., it probably comes from near the top of the column, if not from one of the columns in antis. The drum with the largest diameter, now lying along the south wall of the Justinian fortress, had a diameter on the arrises of 1.86 m. This was probably a bottom drum. A small fragment from a top drum (Pl. 44, c) preserves the triple grooves of the necking. Several pieces of capitals have been found with a profile rather similar to that of the columns in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. One large fragment of a capital from the outer columns, found near the southwest corner of the temple, has been recut as a corner triglyph for use at a later period (Pl. 44, b, d).

Both column drums and blocks of the cela show two distinct types of tooling, some being made with a straight, others with a toothed chisel. The capital (Pl. 44, b), later recut as a corner triglyph, is finished with the straight chisel; but some fragments of capitals and drums from the west colonnade (Pl. 44, a) are finished in the other technique. The blocks cut with the toothed chisel probably belong to a period of restoration. Although the capitals of these later columns have approximately the same profile as those of the earlier period, the curve at the top of the echinos is somewhat more abrupt and the annulets, in contrast to those on the earlier blocks which have the normal profile, are almost rectangular in section.

The preserved triglyphs do not all have the same width. The corner triglyph referred to above measures 0.293 m. across each glyph, making a total of 0.879 m. for the width of the triglyph. On another fragment found at the west end of the temple, the width of each glyph is 0.305 m., which would give the triglyph a total width of 0.915 m. No metope is preserved in its entire width. One fragment, 1.17 m. long, found along the north side of the temple, has a taenia at the top, 0.181 m. high and projecting 0.058 m. from the face of the metope. The taenia above the triglyph, preserved on an ancient patch which had been fastened by three dove-tail clamps, was 0.19 m. high.

Of the architrave only a few small fragments are preserved. The taenia at the top is 0.132 m. high; the regula is 0.129 m. high and projects from the face 0.06 m. The guttae are 0.04 m. long and have a diameter of 0.06 m. Of the cornice several fragments are preserved, none of which shows the complete dimensions of mutules or viae. The cornice was made in two courses, with a horizontal joint a few centimeters below the hawksbeak moulding. Several fragments from the drip at the bottom and from the hawksbeaks have traces of color.

*Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pl. 62a.*
*Ibid., pl. 62b.*
*Ibid., p. 187.*
The fifth century temple was doubtless decorated with pedimental sculptures, at least on the east gable. Many fragments of a white, fine-grained marble were found, mostly in the eastern part of the temple area. They are, however, too small to indicate the subject of the group. One piece of a hand is from a figure nearly twice life size; two fragments of human feet, approximately life size, are flat on one side, and one retains the metal of a dowel by which it was fastened to a smooth background. There are some bits of drapery and other pieces less readily identified. Many of the fragments have been blackened by fire and partly turned into lime. All show the unmistakable quality of Greek sculpture of the fifth century B.C., reminiscent of the sculptures from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

The roof was probably all of marble. Large quantities of roof tiles, most of them showing the effects of fire, were found in the ancient dump along the north side of the temenos. They are, as a rule, made of the same fine-grained, white marble as the gable sculptures, readily distinguished from the coarser, grayish marble of the fourth century roof. The total dimensions of the pan tiles are not preserved. As a rule the tiles are thinner and more smoothly finished than those of the later roof. The cover tiles have the same width as those used in the fourth century restoration. The ancient dump in which the fifth century roof tiles were found also contained a fragment of a lion’s head spout of white marble. This is the only piece that has been recognized of the simas from the fifth century temple.

This temple, like its predecessor, was severely damaged by fire, not to the extent, however, of requiring a complete rebuilding. We have a definite date for a conflagration (394 B.C.), which is mentioned by Xenophon, who relates that the soldiers of Agesilaos, stationed on the heights above Loutraki, looked down toward the Isthmia and saw flames arising from the temple. Xenophon comments on the fact that it was not known by whom the temple was set afire. The damage to the building was sufficiently extensive to require a thorough reconstruction. Some of the columns may have remained standing to the very top, others had to be partly demolished and restored. The cella walls seem to have suffered in similar manner. The difference in tooling helps to distinguish blocks of the two periods. The roof was apparently completely reconstructed in the fourth century; and like the roof of the earlier temple, it was made of marble. Possibly some undamaged roof tiles of the fifth century temple could be used in the fourth century reconstruction, but if we may judge by the condition and quantity of damaged tiles, discarded and thrown into the dump north of the temple, not many remained usable after the fire. The eaves tiles, to which the horizontal sima was attached, were probably all replaced. Each section of the sima had a width of 1.41 m. At the upper end of the eaves tile there is a bumper in the middle, cut in the same piece of marble as the tile, and having the same profile as the cover tiles.

*Hellenica, IV, v, 4.*
Thus the upper half was divided into two equal parts, 0.705 m. in width, which was the width of the normal roof tile.

A complete section of the raking sima (Pl. 45, a), measuring 0.46 m. in height and ca. 0.61 m. in length, was found at the west end of the temple. The profile, not known in Greece proper, finds its nearest parallels in simas from Rhodes and Asia Minor. The horizontal sima (Pl. 45, b-e) is likewise of unusual design. The top edge, between the lion’s head and the antefix, curves following the line of the spiral design. The transition between the mane of the animal and the relief on the sima is formed by a conventional acanthus leaf which makes a loop at the top, where it is joined to the side of the head. The palmettes are not attached to the cover tiles, but are cut in one piece with the sima. The vertical joints run through the center of the palmettes, which measure 0.74 m. in height from the bottom of the taenia at the base to the tip of the middle leaf. On several of the existing fragments there is a horizontal joint across the palmette, with deep cuttings for doweling the top piece.

Later Alterations

The later history of the temple is obscure. There is evidence of repairs made at various times during the lifetime of the building. Some fragments from the upper course of the horizontal cornice, preserving the hawksbeak moulding, are very carelessly carved and covered with a heavy coat of lime stucco, and pieces of column capitals are made in the same debased technique. It is unlikely that these crude repairs are from the fourth century reconstruction.

It is uncertain to what extent the architecture was altered by Roman restorers. Since no recognizable fragments of the interior poros columns have come to light, it might be supposed that these were replaced with columns of marble. Some support for this conjecture may be gained from the fragment of a marble column, with a diameter at the top of ca. 0.55 m., found in the eastern part of the temple. In conformity with their customary practices, the Romans apparently veneered the walls, at least in their lower sections, and paved the floors with marble slabs, as shown by immense quantities of marble veneer fragments. Most pieces of sculpture and of inscriptions from the temple site belong to Roman times.

Pausanias’ enigmatic remarks about the small size of the temple would indicate that the classical building had been destroyed before the end of the second century after Christ and a smaller structure erected on the site. If such was the case all traces of foundations have disappeared. Moreover, the material from the Greek Doric

10 τινα τινά δή εντρ γεγενοσ ὀν μείζων, Π, 1, 7.
11 The discovery of many late lion’s head spouts of marble within the temple (Cf. Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 188, pl. 58d) might be interpreted as evidence for a late Roman temple. It is likely, however, that the heads came from the South and West Stoas, where many similar pieces were found.
temple was available at the time of construction of the Justinian fortification. For
the date of this construction, which presumably occasioned the demolition of the
temple, there is clear proof in the fortress itself.\(^{12}\) Corroborative evidence came from
our excavation of the temple site. In the debris filling the trench of the north colonnade
of the temple a hoard of Byzantine coins was discovered (Pl. 46, a), the latest of
which were minted in the reign of Tiberius II (578-582). The hoard could not have
been buried before the foundation for the colonnade had been removed. After the
stones from the temple had been carried away and built into the fortress the temple
area appears to have been virtually abandoned. The only indication of later occupation
is a small square foundation (Pl. 46, d) constructed over the trench for the south
peristyle of the temple. It had a fireplace in one corner and pieces of millstones lay in
the center of the room.

In the area immediately surrounding the temple only a small strip, ca. 2 m. wide,
has been cleared on all sides. The only building remains of a permanent nature are on
the south (Pl. 42, a). Close to the southeast corner of the temple there is a large
poros block, somewhat over 2 m. long and ca. 1 m. wide; originally it may have ex-
tended up to the foundation of the temple. The top of the stone has been cut down,
leaving a depression with a maximum preserved depth of ca. 0.10 m., but the block
seems to have been higher originally and the hollow correspondingly deeper. The
present surface is rough and unfinished and shows traces of lime. The block may have
been used originally as the base of some monument, later made into a trough in which
the restorers of the temple slaked their lime.

Along the south flank of the temple runs a curb of squared poros blocks well
fitted together. The north edge, which is ca. 2 m. from the south edge of the temple
foundation, is smooth and straight, whereas the south face is irregular. The course is
preserved for a length of ca. 32 m. At its east end, nearly 8 m. to the west of the
southeast corner of the temple, it turns a somewhat more than right angle toward the
south. This east arm of the wall has been laid bare for a distance of ca. 6 m. It is
wider than the east-west wall, and on its top is a clearly marked setting line, 0.30 m.
from the east face. This indicates that the preserved row of blocks formed the lowest
step of a long flight. The area south of the temple has a filling of rough stones and a
strosis of hard earth and mortar, approximately level with the top of the east-west
curb. It may be the pavement of a terrace supporting an altar of Poseidon.

Two terracotta pipes, one with a diameter of ca. 0.20 m., the other only 0.13 m.
in diameter, run between the terrace and the south temple foundation. These are part
of an extensive network of pipes bringing water from the fountain, to which the
modern village owes its name, Kyras Vrysi, into the precinct of Poseidon and other
buildings connected with the sanctuary.

THE TEMENOS

The Temple of Poseidon stood in the approximate center of a rectangular temenos, which in Roman times was surrounded by walls and porticoes. The terrain slopes from south to north, very gently in the center of the area, where the temple was situated, more steeply on the north. This steep, north slope, which forms the edge of a deep gully, was used by the ancients as a convenient place for dumping earth and building debris. Thus the level area tended to grow gradually toward the north and was finally encompassed by a permanent temenos wall. There may have been a wall in the pre-Roman period, but the temenos was probably then of irregular shape.

In the ancient dump near the northwest corner of the temenos an area, ca. 16 x 18 m., was excavated this season in an effort to discover building material from the Temple of Poseidon and its archaic predecessor. At a depth of only ca. 0.75 m. a late Roman road extends across the area from east to west. It turns rather sharply toward the south at the west edge of the excavated area and probably turned west again toward a propylon in the west temenos wall, which has not yet been excavated. The fill south of the road, which had a depth of ca. 1.50 m., contained innumerable building blocks (Pl. 43, a) and large quantities of tiles from the archaic temple. It is obvious that this part of the area was filled up and leveled at the time when the charred remains of the archaic temple were removed, prior to the construction of the classical building. The pottery in this part of the fill (Pl. 51, b) agrees in date and character with the pottery found in the archaic deposit within the temple. This early debris continues beneath the Roman road into the unexcavated area farther east.

In the middle of the road, and in the approximate center of the excavated area, was found the opening to a manhole extending to a depth of 8.60 m. At the bottom a passage, 0.70 m. wide, extends 1.70 m. toward the west; its extension toward the east still remains to be explored. The upper part of the manhole is constructed mostly of re-used building blocks; in the lower part it is cut in rock. Very few pottery fragments of any kind were found, either in the manhole or in the passage; those found indicate a date in the late Roman period. Two large blocks closed the mouth of the manhole. They projected ca. 0.35 m. above the level of the road, thus indicating that the manhole and the water channel were in use after the road had been abandoned or diverted. At the depth of a little over 1.00 m. below the road level a terracotta water channel enters the manhole from the north. It is preserved for a distance of 9.50 m. and is then interrupted by the gully, which in ancient times appears to have been filled up at this point, at least to the height of the ground level in the temenos of Poseidon.

North of the road and approximately level with its surface there is an east-west retaining wall reaching a height of over 1.00 m. and making a right angle with a short north-south spur wall (Pl. 46, b, top). The two walls, which are constructed of ancient building blocks set on end, with smaller blocks filling the intervening spaces, were
probably built primarily as retaining walls when the area was filled with debris, although they might have served also as a temporary temenos enclosure. They have no solid foundation, and it is obvious that the area had been used as a dump before the walls were constructed. The area north of the retaining walls contained some debris from the archaic temple and also large quantities of marble roof tiles, most of them showing the effects of fire. These had doubtless been removed from the Temple of Poseidon after the destruction by fire at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

About 2.50 m. to the north of the upper retaining wall, there is a second wall (Pl. 46, b, bottom) running roughly east to west at a much lower level. It is built directly on the rock, which in places seems to have been dressed down slightly for the bedding of the stones. The building material is re-used, and some of the stones have the characteristic rope marks of the blocks from the archaic temple. The wall is roughly built with open joints as if it had been constructed in haste. Most of the blocks are set on edge, so that the thickness of the wall in places is only ca. 0.30 m. Such a construction can hardly have been very effective as a retaining wall, and many of the blocks have been forced out of place by the pressure of the earth behind them. North of this wall the rock slopes steeply toward the gully. The sloping layers of the ancient dump can be observed in the west end of the trench. The date of the fill grows gradually later toward the north, and at the very edge of the trench some Hellenistic and Roman pottery was found. Here, too, were discovered two blocks from a small Doric building, probably of the late fourth century B.C. (Pl. 46, c). One is a frieze block, 0.48 m. in height; the total width is not preserved. The width of the triglyph is 0.29 m. The second block is from the cornice, presumably of the same building. The plain band at the base preserves clear traces of the meander pattern, but the colors are not preserved. The blocks come from a small building, perhaps a treasury connected with the precinct of Poseidon.

At a point ca. 35 m. farther east an area, 17 x 9 m., was excavated to the north of the Roman temenos wall. Here a stretch of a well-built wall was discovered, partly constructed out of re-used material. It turns a right angle near the east end of the excavated area and extends toward a heavier wall parallel to the first. These remains may be part of an early temenos wall, with an entrance-way from the north at this point. In this area were found piles of archaic roof tiles and a great deal of black fill, containing corroded bronzes and pieces of iron. Among the bronzes are fragments of helmets similar to those found in the burnt debris from the archaic deposit within the Temple of Poseidon. It is obvious that the whole north slope of the hill had been used through several centuries as a dumping ground for debris from the temple area.

East of the excavated area just described the lower part of the north precinct wall is preserved as far as the northeast corner of the temenos. It is constructed of small stones laid in hard lime mortar. The north face is rough and irregular, even
above the ancient ground level, the approximate line of which is indicated in the construction of the wall. The south side of the wall, facing the temple, is smoothly finished and the stones are here roughly rectangular in shape, imitating brick construction. The wall is preserved in places to a height of 0.70 m. above the top of the foundation. The upper part of the wall may have been constructed of larger blocks and topped with coping stone, several pieces of which have been found all along the wall.

The subfoundation for the north temenos wall has been exposed at the northeast corner of the temenos. At a distance of ca. 15 m. farther south, a trial trench has revealed a section of the east wall, here constructed out of large poros blocks, most of which appear to be re-used. It is possible that the exposed part of the wall consists of foundations for a propylon connecting the Precinct of Poseidon with the Theater.\(^\text{13}\) The course of the east wall has been traced to a point ca. 45 m. south of the northeast corner of the temenos.

The southeast corner of the temenos has not been investigated. We may assume that there was another entrance, either on the axis of the temple or farther south, connecting the temenos with the Stadium. The route followed by Pausanias from the Stadium to the temple had a row of statues of victorious athletes on one side and tall pine trees on the other. Somewhere near the point where the road entered the precinct we may expect to discover the circular Temple of Palaimon which Pausanias saw on the left side of the entrance.\(^\text{14}\)

The south and west sides of the temenos have been more fully investigated. The rock was here considerably higher than the ground level near the temple and consequently had to be cut down. Along the south side no foundations of buildings earlier than Roman times were encountered. A colonnade facing the temple was erected, probably in the second century after Christ. The lower courses of the foundation are constructed of rough building blocks of various sizes, laid in a deep irregular trench (Pl. 47, d). A stretch, ca. 40 m. long, from the southwest corner of the temenos has been exposed, and the foundation extends eastward into the unexcavated area. It is not certain that the precinct was completely rectangular, and further excavation in this part of the temenos is necessary before its full extent can be determined. Along the foundations for the colonnade were found many fragments of the marble superstructure of the stoa. The order was Ionic; the intercolumniation, so far as it is possible to judge from the spacing of the blocks in the foundation, was ca. 4.30 m.

\(^\text{13}\) Such a propylon has been indicated in the restored plan, Plate 43, c, but its dimensions and even its existence are still a matter of conjecture.

\(^\text{14}\) The work in this area was impeded by the lateness of the season, which caused the crop to ripen several weeks later than usual. In order not to cause undue destruction of the grain the further excavation of the east temenos wall and the search for the Temple of Palaimon had to be postponed.
The column shafts were unfluted and the bases appear to have been cut out of large blocks containing also a square plinth.

At the southwest corner the colonnade turned at right angles and extended northward along the west end of the temenos. At the very corner where the two colonnades met was found a complete cornice block, 1.70 m. long, 0.77 m. wide, with the sima cut in the same piece (Pl. 47, d, bottom center). The work is extremely coarse and careless. Three lion’s head spouts, remarkably ugly and unevenly spaced, are preserved. The distance between two of them is only 0.58 m., the other two are spaced 0.68 m. apart. Within the west stoa, and considerably below its floor level, runs a terracotta water pipe, which is probably earlier than the foundations for the stoa. The southwest corner of the building is preserved in rock-cut beddings for the rear walls of the south and west stoas. Since both the southwest and the northeast corners of the temenos are now exposed, the total length can be calculated to be ca. 116.30 m. In the restored plan (Pl. 43, c), the northwest and southeast corners of the temenos have been omitted, since it is not certain that the precinct was completely rectangular, and the principal entrances from the east and west have not yet been excavated. The west colonnade was probably interrupted at the axis of the temple by a gateway through which the road toward Corinth issued forth. It has not been possible to determine whether the west colonnade was continued north of this propylon, since the whole northwest corner of the temenos has been washed away by the gully.

**West Waterworks**

While investigating the colonnade along the west end of the temenos, we discovered a complicated system of water basins, the purpose of which still remains uncertain. It consists of a reservoir of very irregular shape, ca. 6.40 m. long and 3.50 m. wide (Pl. 47, a, c). Two stairways, one at the northwest corner, the other at the northeast, lead into a stuccoed basin. Along the west side runs a bench, nearly 2 m. long. The walls of the reservoir consist for the most part of nothing but the native hard clay, covered with a good, watertight stucco containing small pebbles. To the south of this larger basin, and separated from it by a thin poros slab set on edge, there is a small tank, ca. 0.90 m. long, 0.56 m. wide. Its preserved depth is 1.45 m., and its floor is ca. 0.60 m. below that of the reservoir. In its present condition the tank has no visible connection with the reservoir. The tank received its water through a terracotta pipe entering the tank at the southeast corner, ca. 0.65 m. above the floor. The water was piped to the tank from a circular cistern, 3 m. to the southeast. This cistern is in the form of a well shaft, 2.60 m. deep and 1.10 m. wide at its widest point, but narrowing toward the top and bottom. A shallow channel, perhaps used as an inlet—it has no perceptible slope in either direction—enters the cistern from the northeast. A broad channel, ca. 0.55 m. wide, extends from just above the bottom of the circular cistern into the unexcavated area on the south.
There are no traces of walls or any kind of superstructure connected with these waterworks. If such walls existed, as they presumably did, they must have been removed when the Roman colonnade was constructed. Nor is there any certain clue to the purpose of the basin. From the pottery found in the fill it seems to have been in use in late Hellenistic times. The pottery consisted for the most part of coarse water jars, such as might be found in any waterworks. In the fill of the circular cistern, however, was found a krater (Pl. 52, d) with large handles, decorated on the sides with circular shields and a plastic snake crawling up each handle and looking into the interior. The presence of the two snakes would indicate that the water of the basin was used for ritual purposes, but in the absence of other votive objects its religious significance must remain undetermined for the present.  

TRIAL TRENCHES

Theater

The Isthmian Theater is situated in a natural hollow, now a plowed field, midway between the Precinct of Poseidon and the Justinian Fortress (Pl. 41, a). Above the ground is visible a series of rubble foundations arranged radially in a circle along the outer circumference of the auditorium. Each foundation, constructed of hard rubble masonry, is ca. 1.10 m. wide and 3.75 m. long. The inner ends describe a uniform curve, indicating that there was a gallery beneath the auditorium at this point.

A trench, ca. 60 m. long and slightly over 3 m. wide, was dug diagonally through the building (Pl. 48, a). Of the auditorium nothing was found in the trench except the stepped cuttings in the clay bank on which the seats rested. The orchestra appears never to have been paved with stone slabs, and no traces of a gutter were found along its perimeter. Nowhere within the auditorium or the orchestra were any building blocks found, and only very few pieces of marble veneer, such as are usually found in large quantities in Roman theater buildings. If the auditorium had stone seats of the common type, they must have been completely removed some time before the building was finally destroyed, and long before the hollow was filled up to its present level. Deep layers of ash appear in the fill halfway between the surface of the plowed field and the orchestra level. It is difficult to see how this could have found its way into the theater except from a roof construction covering part of the cavea.

15 The relation of the reservoir to the Temple of Poseidon is comparable to that of the much earlier Lustral Room to the Temple of Asklepios at Corinth. Here, too, was a basin approached by steps and separated from a deep tank, or reservoir. See Carl Roebuck, Corinth, XIV, The Asklepieion and Lerna, pp. 46-51, 158. While ritual baths appear to have been part of the cure in a sanctuary of Asklepios, in a sanctuary of Poseidon it may have had a different significance. The thalassa in the Erechtheion comes naturally to mind. For a discussion of the thalassa in ancient cult buildings and its influence on Christian churches see Demetrios I. Pallas, Ἦ Θάλασσα τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, pp. 48-49, 150 ff. A wave of the Sea, erupting within the Sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios at Mantinea, was said to have blinded Aipytos in punishment for violating the sanctity of the place. Pausanias, VIII, 10, 3-4.
Along the north edge of the orchestra runs a stone sill, *ca.* 0.63 m. wide and projecting 0.15 m. above the orchestra level (Pl. 48, b). It is well worn on top and has a number of cuttings of a rather irregular nature. This cannot have been the foundation for the front wall of a Roman stage, but is more likely to be the sill for a proskenion of the Hellenistic type. At a distance of 2.34 m. from the south (front) face of the sill there is a stone wall, 0.46 m. thick, preserved only in its lowest course. It is built of carefully fitted stones, and its front, facing the orchestra, was covered with stucco. In front of the wall were laid bare three bases, spaced *ca.* 2 m. apart. They seem to have been inserted later than the construction of the wall, since the stucco extends behind the bases.

Directly behind the poros wall, there is a heavy rubble wall, 0.75 m. thick, and preserved to a height of 1.30 m. A similar, but heavier rubble wall extends at right angles to it toward the north and forms a corner with another east-west wall. These constructions, which are obviously of Roman date, constitute all that has been exposed of the scene building. Between the walls just described, and directly above stereo, were found a few sherds of Early Helladic and Mycenaean pottery.*16* Behind the scene building there is an open area covered by a rubble foundation which may have been the bedding for a paved court. Five meters farther north there is an east-west wall constructed of squared blocks, and at the north end of the excavation trench, a section of another wall was exposed running north-south at nearly right angles to the wall described above. The two walls (Pl. 48, a, foreground) are constructed in the same type of masonry and are obviously parts of the same building. Whether this had some connection with the Theater or was a separate structure cannot be determined without further excavation.

The most remarkable feature about the Theater is the almost total lack of marble fragments and building blocks of any kind, except those still *in situ* in the walls. The explanation is probably to be sought in the nearness of the Justinian fortifications, for which the Theater, like other buildings of the sanctuary, provided ready-made material.

**Roman Bath**

At a point *ca.* 100 m. northeast of the Theater and close to the Isthmian Wall some Roman masonry appears above ground. A trench dug in this area revealed the walls of a Roman bath (for its location see Pl. 41, a). Parts of two rooms were excavated down to the floor level. In one room the floor and the hypocaust are preserved, and in the other are remains of brick piers for the support of the hypocaust. In both rooms were found many pieces of thick pane glass, of greenish color.*17* The building

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*16* See article by Esther A. Smith on “Prehistoric Pottery from the Isthmia” in this number of *Hesperia*, pp. 142-146.

*17* Similar pieces of pane glass were found in a Late Roman bath in Corinth. They were originally interpreted as coming from a skylight. Charles H. Morgan, *A.J.A.*, XL, 1937, p. 540 and cf. Broneer, *Corinth I*, Part IV, *The South Stoa and Its Roman Successors*, pp. 149 f.
is sufficiently well preserved to merit further investigation, and its position in relation to the Isthmian wall is likely to throw light on the chronology of the fortification.

**Justinian Fortress**

Near the end of the season we cleared a short stretch of wall and one of the towers of the Justinian Fortress (Pl. 48, c) close to the section excavated in 1952. A few blocks from the debris of the wall could be recognized as coming from the Temple of Poseidon. One surprising discovery was made in this area. An inscribed block of dark gray limestone proved to fit the top of an inscription found in the Agora at Corinth some twenty years ago. Since the text deals with buildings at the Isthmian sanctuary, the discovery of additional fragments may prove to be of great importance. The new piece, which seems to have been used at one time as a paving block, retains only a few legible letters at the lower edge. Its discovery in this place proves beyond a doubt that the stone had originally been set up at the Isthmia.

**Cyclopean Wall**

Another wall briefly investigated this season lies on the east side of the gully in which the Stadium is located. It is built in typical Cyclopean style of masonry. Only a short stretch was cleared, but other less well preserved sections can be observed on the wooded hillside farther north. It is clearly a retaining wall with a finished face toward the gully. No foundations of other buildings are visible in the vicinity and almost no pot sherds were found, either in the fill in front of the wall or in the near-by plowed field. The wall can have been used only as a retaining wall for a road, probably a part of the ancient communication system connecting the Isthmia region with Epidaurus and Troizen. The legend of Theseus’ journey to Athens via the Isthmia presupposes a road somewhere along the east coast of the Argolis peninsula.

**THE RACHI**

The excavations on the Rachi consist of two sectors, a smaller one on the west at a higher level and a larger area on the lower, eastern part of the ridge. Originally,

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18 *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 185, pl. 56a.
21 For the location of the Rachi and its geographical relation to the Sanctuary of Poseidon see Plate 41, a, where the east end of the ridge is indicated to the left of the Stadium. In the preliminary report on the first season a view of the Rachi appears, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 54a. In that report the Greek word for ridge is transliterated “Rache” instead of the preferable form “Rachi,” which will be used henceforth in articles on the Isthmia excavations.
a much larger part of the ridge was occupied by houses and perhaps shrines, but large sections to the east and west of the area excavated this year have been quarried away. Quarrying in this area seems to have begun in ancient times and still continues.

There are few recognizable traces of foundations in the western sector, but at the west edge is a rock cutting, ca. 1 m. wide, extending approximately from south to north; and a somewhat similar cutting runs at right angles to it. Close to this point was found a Doric capital, of advanced fourth century B.C. profile and unfluted neck, lying upside down on the rock. A square cutting, 0.10 m. on the side, extending through the capital from top to bottom, seems to indicate that the column was not part of a Doric building but had served as pedestal for some dedication.

In the center of the western sector are two pairs of circular depressions in the rock arranged as an irregular quadrangle. The largest measures ca. 0.30 m. in diameter and 0.30 m. in depth. There are other similar depressions which do not seem to be arranged in any significant relationship to each other. Several small deposits of miniature votive vases, mostly hydriai and pitchers and a few other shapes, were found near the highest point of the area (Pls. 47, b; 52, c).

About 25 m. to the southwest of the highest point of the area are five rock-cut steps leading up from the south. At the top of the stair is a rectangular cutting in the rock, and ca. 4 m. to the north of the stairs is a large cistern lined with cement. The whole south side of the ridge shows numerous cuttings, mostly made when the rock was quarried, but in some cases steps and foundation cuttings indicate other uses.

About 13 m. to the east of the area just described and at a somewhat lower level, are the remains of rather elaborate hydraulic works (barely visible in Plate 49, a, upper left). There is a rectangular tank, 0.58 m. wide and 0.66 m. long on the inside; its greatest preserved depth is 0.75 m. The inside is covered with stucco. To the south of it, at a height of 0.65 m. above the bottom of the tank, there are traces of a larger cistern, the preserved length of which is 1.70 m. and the width at least 0.80 m. From the tank a rock-cut channel, 0.12 m. wide, extends eastward, where it apparently connected with a circular basin, the diameter of which measures 0.66 m. at the top. The bottom of a similar basin is preserved ca. 1.50 m. further south. These two basins seem to have been arranged roughly in symmetrical relationship to the small tank and the cistern. East of the tank there is a deep cutting in rock, 1.20 m. long, 0.34 m. wide in the center but only 0.22 m. at the two ends, and 0.84 m. deep. Half way down to the bottom there is a slot on either side, and from the east end of the north slot a small hole extends through the rock toward the north. This was obviously made to lead off some liquid from the rock-cut container which doubtless at a higher level connected with the tank at the rear. This rather intricate system of rectangular tanks and circular basins is repeated, with variations, at two other points on the ridge. About 4 m. to the southeast of these waterworks are preserved five rock-cut steps of a stairway leading from the south to the top of the ridge.
On the lower level, *ca.* 20 m. to the east of the waterworks described above, a larger area of the hill was excavated with a maximum length of 42 m. from east to west and a maximum width of 21 m. (Pl. 49, a). It presents a confused picture of rock-cut beddings and traces of walls, not sufficiently regular or well enough preserved to indicate house types. Over the whole area were found quantities of broken terracotta roof tiles and a few pieces of marble tiles. In many parts of this sector were heaps of ash and charred material. A great deal of pottery was found scattered over the whole area.

The most conspicuous remains on the hill are the tanks and cisterns, all but one of comparatively small size. In some instances they are cut down into the rock, in other places they must have had constructed walls which have largely disappeared. They are covered on the inside with a hard cement, usually well preserved. The largest of these waterworks is a reservoir near the west end of the lower sector (Pl. 49, b, top center). It is practically square, measuring approximately 2.50 m. on each side. Its greatest preserved depth below the rock surface is 2.00 m. It is cut in rock and its walls were originally covered with a stucco of much poorer quality than that of the other cisterns in the area. In the approximate center of the reservoir is a pier, measuring 0.465 m. x 0.265 m. in section and having a total height of 1.85 m. It consists of one large block, 1.52 m. high, surmounted by a smaller stone, at the top of which is an Ionic capital with two fasciae and a crowning moulding. Within the cistern were found many broken terracotta roof tiles and quantities of ash, indicating that the roof construction was of wood and had been destroyed in fire. A little to the east of the cistern a rock-cut channel for the overflow extends toward the north to the edge of the rock.

About 2.50 m. to the east of the large reservoir are the remains of other waterworks consisting of a rectangular cistern and two circular basins (Pl. 49, b, center). The present depth of the rectangular basin is only a few centimeters, but originally it was deeper. At its northeast corner is an outlet by which its contents were emptied into one of two circular basins. The partition wall between these, which is only 0.12 m. wide at the narrowest point, is preserved up to the top and covered with cement, and there is no visible means of pouring the liquid from one to the other. So far as it is possible to judge from the existing remains, contents of the rectangular basin were drained off into the smaller of the two circular basins and from there, after the liquid had settled, it was perhaps scooped out and poured into the basin on the south. The lower part of a large terracotta storage jar was found close to the rectangular basin.

There is a rectangular cistern about 5 m. farther south and *ca.* 3 m. to the south of the large reservoir; and close to its south end and a little to the east of it are the remains of another group of containers, consisting of a rectangular cistern at a higher level and two circular basins, the tops of which are approximately level with the floor of the rectangular cistern.
The area to the east of these basins, in the approximate center of the lower sector, preserves the most tangible remains of human habitation. Here are traces of two walls roughly at right angles to each other. They are built partly of squared stones, which seem to be re-used, and partly of uncut field stones. They probably formed the southeast corner of a dwelling, the full extent of which cannot be determined. Over the whole area covered by these remains were found quantities of ash and carbonized material. Within the room were many fragmentary tiles of terracotta and marble, one complete stone from the top of a hand mill, two fragments of similar implements, a large terracotta trough and other objects of stone and terracotta.

Approximately midway between the east and west ends of the lower sector and close to the north edge of it are the remains of a building, the walls of which have almost entirely disappeared. At its west end is preserved a floor of hard packed earth which is blackened by fire. The east half of the building is occupied by a bath in comparatively good state of preservation (Pl. 49, c). West of the bathtub, in the approximate center of the building, was a stuccoed area, measuring ca. 1.52 m. in length and 1.15 m. in width at its widest part. It is separated from the tub by a ridge, only 0.08 m. in height. At its northeast corner it emptied its contents into a narrow channel leading northward. There seem to be two periods represented, the level of the later being ca. 0.21 m. above that of the earlier period. The best preserved part of the house is the bathtub, which is of the typical fourth century type with a seat at the wider, straight end and a depression for the feet at the curved end. It is partly hollowed out of rock and partly built of stone and covered with hard cement. The seat is 0.60 m. long, 0.27 m. wide and ca. 0.20 m. high. From this wide end with the seat the tub narrows toward the west end, where there is a circular cavity, with an upper diameter of 0.35 m. and a depth of ca. 0.14 m. The total length of the tub is only 1 m. On the right side is a small quadrangular tank, 0.54 m. long and 0.34 m. wide, separated from the bathtub by a thin poros slab set on edge. There is a narrow outlet at the bottom of the tank which joins the outlet from the larger rectangular basin in front of the bathtub. The two poured their water into a narrow channel sloping toward the north.

Slightly to the east of the bathtub are preserved the floors of two large shallow basins, and a little to the south of these there is a well preserved rectangular tank, measuring 1.20 x 0.80 m. in area, and 0.97 m. in depth. There are traces of an inlet at its northwest corner.

At the eastern end of the excavated area are scant traces of house walls and

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22 Fragments of terracotta tubs of similar shape were found scattered over a wide area on the ridge. The type was common in the fourth century B.C. and later. A well preserved example was found at Tarsus; see Hetty Goldman, A.J.A., XXXIX, 1935, p. 542, fig. 32. The tubs found at Olynthos lack the seat. See Excavations at Olynthus, Part VIII, pp. 199-200, plates 28, 53-54; and Part II, pp. 46-50, where references to ancient bathtubs are collected.
cuttings in rock, indicating that the whole area was thickly occupied with buildings. Here is preserved a rectangular cistern cut in rock (Pl. 49, a, left center), 1.60 m. long, ca. 1 m. wide at its widest point, and 0.85 m. deep. Along its upper edge is a shallow rabbet in which stone cover slabs were inserted. Some of the broken slabs were found in the tank and one, completely preserved but cracked in the middle, still occupies its original position. Close to the tank on the south side was found a pile of ash and calcined stones.

The extensive use of cisterns for the collection of water gives the impression that the whole ridge was fairly thickly settled in ancient times. It seems unlikely that its occupants were villagers and tillers of the soil, although some of the cement-covered tanks could well be explained as serving some purpose in connection with wine production. There seems to be no reason, however, for carrying the grapes grown in the valley to the top of the hill to be made into wine, unless the inhabitants of the hill lived there permanently and consumed the wine in their homes. Most of the cisterns seem to have been constructed for the collection and storage of water. In view of the dedications of miniature vases on the top of the ridge and other less tangible indications of cult, it seems likely that the whole area was occupied by temple servants who were permanently attached to the cults in some sanctuary at the foot of the hill, but had their private shrine in the settlement on the ridge. Numerous loomweights found on the hill (Pl. 56, e), several female figurines (Pl. 56, b), the gold earring found in 1952 etc., seem more suitable to female attendants of some goddess than to priests in the cult of the sea-god Poseidon.

The eastern end of the ridge has suffered so extensively from quarrying both in modern and ancient times that it hardly seems worthwhile to investigate the area. There are traces of several stairways both on the north and south sides and some other cuttings in the rock indicating extensive use and more permanent occupation than would have been occasioned by working the quarries.

SCULPTURE

Very little sculpture was found sufficiently well preserved to merit inclusion in an interim report. The fragments of a pedimental group from the Temple of Poseidon have already been mentioned.

The earliest piece of sculpture (IS 161) is the head of a lion (Pl. 50, d) of blue

23 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 194, fig. 1, pl. 60d.
24 The cult of Poseidon at Kalauria, however, was served by a young priestess, as we learn from Pausanias II, 33, 2. Not far from the Rachi, west of the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, was the Sacred Glen, Ἰερᾶς Νάπες, in which were temples of Demeter and Kore, of Dionysos and of Artemis, I.G., IV, 203, lines 15-17. In the village of Kyras Vrysi a remarkable vase was recently discovered, which carries a dedication to "Wise Demeter." See Eugene Vanderpool, A.J.A., LVIII, 1954, p. 232, pl. 45, 4.
fine-grained marble, the surface of which has flaked off as a result of exposure to heat. Enough of the neck is preserved to show that the head was turned sharply to the right. Round the neck is a raised line, indicating a collar, from which a leash extended below the chin toward the back. The lion belongs to a group of sculpture, one fragment (IS 3) of which was found in the trial trenches dug in 1952. This is the lower half of a female figure in stiff archaic pose, holding a curved object in either hand. It is made of the same type of marble as the lion's head but has suffered less from the fire. On the analogy of an almost identical and better preserved figure from Olympia, and a complete example at Oxford, said to have come from Corinth, it is now possible to identify the two fragments from the Isthmia as part of the sculptural support of a perrhiranterion. It consisted of three female figures standing on lions, each woman holding the tail of her animal in one hand and the leash in the other. At the top was a marble basin, probably supported on a central column and resting on the poloi worn by the human figures. There is good reason to suppose that the circular base (Pl. 50, c) found beneath the floor of the east peristyle of the classical temple (see above, p. 111) supported the group. A tentative restoration is shown in Fig 1.

The most significant pieces of later marble sculpture are parts of a marble frieze, several fragments of which were discovered in the trial trenches of 1952. On one is preserved the upper part of a female figure (IS 6) leaning forward, with arms outstretched toward the left. The hand of a second figure rests on her back. A second piece (IS 171) of the same slab, discovered in 1954, adds the arm of the second figure (Pl. 50, b). The back of the slab has saw marks and in the upper edge is an iron pin. The material is white marble.

On a fragment of a second slab (IS 8), found in 1952 is preserved part of a male figure holding in his arms a woman who appears to be dead or dying. On a separate piece from the upper right corner, presumably of the same slab, is the upper part of a male figure to left, holding in his hand an object swung like a club. In the

25 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 191, pl. 59d.
26 Olympia, III, pp. 26 ff., pl. 5; F. Matz, Geschichte der gr. Kunst I, pp. 382 f., pls. 120, 246. I am indebted to Homer A. Thompson for kindly calling my attention to the Olympia group. The Oxford stand, published by Cecil Smith in J.H.S., XVI, 1896, pp. 275-280, is made of “limestone of a kind common in most parts of Greece, especially the Peleponnesus.” Smith comments on the crudeness of the work. Although he admits that the style may be archaizing, he concludes that it is an original work of the first half of the fifth century B.C. The style of the human figures and of the lions is much more advanced than that of the Isthmia fragments. A central column, shaped like an hour-glass, supports a circular base, which also rests on the heads of the women. In the top of the base is a large cutting through which a basin, presumably of stone, had been fastened to the stand.
27 The restoration in Figure 1 was made by William J. Tallon of the Departments of Art and Education at the University of Chicago. For the use of perrhiranteria in ancient cult practice see S. Eitrem, Opferritus und Voropfjer, pp. 78 ff.; and cf. Demetrios I. Pallas, op. cit., pp. 19 ff.; Constantine G. Javis, Greek Altars, p. 184.
28 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 191, pl. 58e, f.
29 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pl. 58e.
modeling it looks like the arm of a child. The marble is broken at the shoulder and there is no room in the corner of the slab for the complete figure to which the "arm" belongs.

Several fragments of reliefs, probably from the same monument, were found in the excavations of 1954. Three contiguous fragments (IS 169), and the right arm of a figure found in 1952 (IS 13) have been joined together, forming the largest preserved piece of the whole series (Pl. 50, a). On the left half of the slab is a male figure, his body in front view and his head turned in profile toward the left. A chlamys is thrown over his left arm and shoulder, and fastened on his right shoulder. In the background is a circular object which can only be the petasos of Hermes, and thus serves to identify the figure. The head is well modeled and resembles very strongly the head of the fragment described above from the 1952 excavation. The left hand, which seems to hold the edge of the chlamys, is very clumsily rendered. The right half of the slab was occupied by a figure of Artemis, to right, represented in the act of drawing the bow. She wears the customary garment of the huntress, held in at the waist by a girdle and forming an overfold at hip height. The head is missing, but four locks of hair are preserved in low relief, two at the top of the head and two at the rear. The upper edge of the hunter's boot is preserved on the left leg. A small fragment (IS 170), apparently from the lower edge of the same slab, as shown in Plate 50, a, preserves the left foot of the Artemis figure. If this fragment is correctly placed,
the slab had a total height of ca. 0.50 m.; the preserved length is 0.58 m. Unlike most pieces of the same series, it was not made as a thin slab, but here the sculptured face has been broken away from a larger piece of marble. The maximum thickness preserved, including that of the figures, is 0.15 m. Along the top and the right edge, the background has been roughly shaved off as if a moulding had fitted against it. A cutting for a metal clamp is preserved in the top. The surface is heavily encrusted with lime, and the marble is cracked, presumably from exposure to heat.

There are some smaller fragments of the same frieze, all found within the temple, but these would add little to the interpretation. There can be no doubt that some of the figures are copied from a group depicting the slaying of Niobe’s children, but not all the fragments fit the known representations of the myth. There is a chance that more pieces of this important frieze will be found in future excavations within the temenos of Poseidon.

**POTTERY**

Some pottery was found in all the areas excavated in the course of the campaign. The prehistoric vases are discussed separately by Esther A. Smith (below pp. 142-146). The most important classical pottery came from the archaic deposit within the Temple of Poseidon and from the ancient dump north of the temple. A few of the better preserved pieces from these areas are described below. They have an important bearing on the date of the deposit as well as on the dating of the archaic temple. The excavation on the Rachi yielded a large amount of pottery, which seems to date chiefly from the fourth century B.C. It consists for the most part of coarse household ware which has not yet been mended or studied. A few of the miniature vases from the deposit on top of the hill are described below (Nos. 21-29).

1. IP 88. Pl. 51, a, b, c. From archaic deposit in the Temple of Poseidon.

Corinthian aryballos. H. 0.055 m., gr. diam. 0.059 m. Buff, slightly reddish clay, dark brown glaze with purple applied freely on the warriors but not on the woman’s head at the back of the handle.

On the main zone is a battle scene in which six hoplites, three on either side, armed with spears, helmets and circular shields, face each other in the center. The protagonist on the right, whose shield is partly hidden by that of his opponent, has a flying bird on the face of the shield; his two companions have identical devices, the protome of a panther holding up a paw to his face. Behind the combatants are two unarmed figures, mounted on horses, facing away from the warrior scene. Between the two horses, directly below the handle (Pl. 51, b, top right), is a seated hoplite to right, armed like

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Professor Ernst Langlotz first called my attention to the similarity of a figure on one of the fragments found in 1952 (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 58, f, reproduced here in Pl. 50, b) to the Artemis figure in representations of the Niobid story. Cf. E. Langlotz, *Die Antike*, IV, 1928, p. 33, Fig. 2. If the new Artemis fragment found in 1954 is part of the same series, we must assume that the smaller fragment shows some other figure than Artemis. The presence of Hermes would be difficult to explain in connection with the Niobe story.
the warriors on the front of the vase. On the back of the handle is the head of a woman with long flowing hair and a fillet round her head. The edges of the handle, rim and shoulder are decorated with conventional designs. On the bottom is a whorl pattern consisting of a series of crescents in dark brown, purple and the color of the clay.

By decoration this belongs to Payne's Warrior Group, which was common in the Early Corinthian period, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 288. Cf. especially his 495 and p. 99, fig. 31; but the shape is that of Middle Corinthian aryballoi, *op. cit.*, pl. 31, 2-4.

2. IP 114. Pl. 51, a. From archaic deposit.

Corinthian aryballos. H. 0.06 m., gr. diam. 0.052 m. Grayish brown clay, possibly discolored by fire.

On the main zone is a series of warriors, to left, carrying circular shields, and with a double row of circular dots surrounding each figure. Purple circle on each shield and white dots around the rim. Concentric circles on rim, shoulder and bottom, and a tongue pattern below the neck.


3. IP 120. Pl. 51, a. From archaic deposit.

Aryballos. H. 0.06 m., gr. diam. 0.056 m. Reddish buff clay, surface poorly preserved.

Almost identical with the preceding and painted by the same unskillful, or merely careless master.

4. IP 333. Pl. 51, a. From archaic deposit.

Aryballos in buccero ware. H. ca. 0.053 m., gr. diam. 0.053 m. Dark gray fabric with polished surface, no glaze.

Parts of the rim and bottom missing. The decoration consists of depressed vertical lines extending from rim to base.

5. IP 324. Pl. 51, a. From archaic deposit.

Aryballos. H. 0.064 m., gr. diam. 0.061 m. Brick red clay.

Handle, parts of rim and body missing. On the rim and below the shoulder, wide purple stripes; the rest of the vase is covered with black glaze.


Squat jug. H. 0.072 m., gr. diam. 0.068 m. Buff clay, darkened by fire. No decoration.

7. IP 82. Pl. 51, b. From ancient dump.

Aryballos. H. 0.064 m., gr. diam. 0.06 m. Buff clay, brown and purple glaze, which has mostly disappeared.

On the front of the vase is a large bird with outstretched wings, very badly drawn. On rim and shoulder, at the base and in the back are conventional designs and space fillers.


Aryballos. H. 0.06 m., gr. diam. 0.056 m. Light buff clay with very smooth surface. The glaze has largely peeled off.

The main decoration consists of large ram, rendered in brown and purple glaze. On rim, shoulder and bottom are radiating tongues, and space fillers are used on the back of the vase. The drawing is very similar to that on the preceding aryballos, and the two might well have been executed by the same painter.


Aryballos. H. 0.067 m., gr. diam. 0.06 m. Buff clay, dark brown and purple glaze, comparatively well preserved.

The decoration on rim and body consists of alternating purple and brown bands, separated by narrower bands in the color of the clay. On the shoulder and base are radiating tongues.

10. IP 87. Pl. 51, b. From ancient dump.

Aryballos. Gr. diam. 0.058 m. Smooth buff clay, dark brown and purple glaze in good state of preservation.

The rim and handle are missing. The main decoration consists of a large duck with outspread wings. Conventional fillers in the rear, and radiating tongues on shoulder and bottom. The incisions are deep and careless.
11. IP 68. Pl. 51, b. From ancient dump.
   Alabastron. Gr. diam. 0.036 m. Reddish buff clay, dark brown and purple glaze, well preserved.
   The top is missing. On the body are three bands with double rows of dots. Between the bands are double lines of purple paint. Tongue pattern on shoulder and bottom.
   Cf. Necrocorinthia, p. 283, no. 376, fig. 121 B.

   Kalathos. H. 0.045 m., diam. at rim 0.058 m. Reddish buff clay.
   In the main zone are carelessly drawn zig-zag lines between rudimentary handles. Bands of purple and dark brown glaze above and below.

13. IP 110. Pl. 51, d. From archaic deposit.
   Top of Corinthian alabastron with tongues on rim and neck, and small dots on the body. Reddish buff clay, dark brown glaze, well preserved.
   Cf. Early Corinthian alabastron, Necrocorinthia, p. 284, no. 377, fig. 121.

14. IP 72. Pl. 51, d. From archaic deposit.
   Top of Corinthian alabastron. Buff clay with a pinkish tinge.
   On the rim are alternating purple and brown tongues, on the neck a row of tongues in brown glaze. Partly preserved on the shoulder zone, a row of lions, to right, with purple glaze used for their manes and other details of the body.

15. IP 111. Pl. 51, d. From archaic deposit.
   Fragment from lower part of Corinthian alabastron. Buff clay of fine quality.
   Figure of a lion, to right, rosettes and dots used as space fillers. Below are purple lines on brown bands; on the bottom radiating tongue pattern. The fragment resembles the preceding and may be part of the same vase.

   Bell shaped clay vessel with a circular hole and a pinched together handle at the top. Brick red clay, probably not Corinthian.
   The decoration consists of concentric rings in dark brown glaze.

17. IP 356. Pl. 51, d. From archaic deposit.
   Fragment of Kleinmeister cup. Red Attic clay, good black glaze.
   Part of the maker’s signature —— s με ἐπολεσεν preserved. The four-bar sigma, which occurs twice, is rare on black-figured vases. Among the masters listed by Hoppin, Handbook of Greek Black-FIGured Vases, only two, Kittos and Lysias, use it.

18. IP 360 and 361. Pl. 54, b. Found in disturbed fill, probably part of the archaic deposit.
   Fragments of Attic black-figured lekythos. Diam. at shoulder 0.07 m.
   On the main zone was a chariot scene, in front of which are two hoplites. Very poor, careless drawing. At the top of the decorated zone is a band of interconnected dots, and on the shoulder two rows of tongues.
   Date, 480-470 B.C. For the shape cf. C. H. E. Haspels, Attic Black-FIGured Lekythoi, pl. 41, 4-5, by the Haimon Painter, which have the same type of foot, but they taper less abruptly toward the bottom. In this respect the Isthmia lekythos resembles the vases of Haspels’ Emporion Painter, op. cit., pp. 165-169, pl. 48, 3-5, whose style is closely related to that of the Haimon Painter.

19. IP 335. Pl. 52, a. From archaic deposit.
   One-handled, Attic red-figured mug. Diam. at rim ca. 0.109 m.
   Two of the fragments seem to have been blackened in fire and the clay is now a grayish red. On the piece in the upper right of Pl. 52, a the red color of the Attic clay is preserved. There is little doubt that all three pieces belong to the same vase.
   The decoration was applied on a panel in front. On the largest fragment is preserved, in the upper left corner of the panel, part of the helmeted head of a warrior, to left. A small fragment from the bottom of the panel preserves part of a nude figure falling backwards with left knee bent back. The object at the right edge of the fragment seems to be his scabbard.
On the third fragment is preserved a large circular shield, held by a lunging figure, whose back and left leg are partly preserved. To the left of the shield at the edge of the break the lower part of another shield (?) appears.

On the rim of the largest fragment is an incised inscription *hexos* Ποσει[δονος — — —]. The masculine form of ιερός presumably agrees with the Greek word for the name of the vessel, possibly the rather rare form ποτήρ, or perhaps κότυλος, which in Athenaios, Deipn., XI, 478, is described as a one-handed drinking cup.

Date: End of sixth century B.C. Related to the Painter of Berlin 2268. See J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-Figured Vase Painters, pp. 113-116, and cf. C.V.A., Poland I, Goluchow, pl. 23, 2, 3. The attribution was made by Lucy Talcott.

20. IP 350 and 337. Pl. 52, b. From archaic deposit.

Four fragments of Attic red-figured hydria. The clay is now of an ash gray color, but this seems to have been the result of fire. One fragment (small piece at the top in upper row, Pl. 52, b) preserves the original red color of the clay.

A fragment from the shoulder (lower right in Pl. 52, b) preserves part of a lion to left. At the very edge of the shoulder is a pattern of squares with crosses in the center. There was a similar band at the bottom of the main zone. It terminates in a vertical band of interconnected dots. Of the figures in the main panel is preserved one foot and part of the drapery of a figure walking toward the right. At the base was a ray pattern.

The meander pattern of the borders is peculiar. Its closest parallels occur on vases of the Pan Painter, on which a wide variation of border patterns are found. The saltire squares are commonly interspersed in the regular meander pattern; on the Isthmia fragment they occur in succession, with alternate squares open toward the top and bottom, and in many instances the squares are closed. Cf. Richter and Hall, Red-Figured Athenian Vases, II, pl. 69, 65; J. D. Beazley, Der Pan-Maler, pls. 1, 2, 5, 18, 19, 24, etc.

21-29. IP 195, 171, 169, 189, 170, 84, 193, 192, 185. Pl. 52, c. From the excavations on the Rachi, all but one from a single deposit in the higher area.

Miniature vases that probably served no practical use but were mass-manufactured to be sold as containers of votive offerings. The three forms, hydria, oinochoai, and kylikes, shown in the photograph, are the most common shapes from the various deposits on the hill. The vases are well made of pale buff Corinthian clay, and only rarely are they glazed. An exception is the miniature hydria 189 (fourth in upper row, Pl. 52, c), which is covered with a thin, lusterless paint in dark brown color.

30. IP 363. Pl. 52, d. From the circular cistern in the west waterworks.

Krater. H. 0.316 m., gr. diam. 0.296 m. The clay is pale buff, and powdery on the surface. The rim, the handles, and the snakes are covered with a thin, light brown wash; the rest of the vase is unglazed.

The rim is profiled and its lower edge is scalloped. On the shoulder are parallel grooves and a band of wavy lines impressed while the clay was wet. On either side of the handles are circular discs decorated with concentric circles. A snake, plastically rendered, is represented as crawling up over each handle and looking into the interior of the vase or drinking of its contents. The eyes, and spots on the skin, are indicated by small depressions made in the wet clay, and on the heads are crest-like projections.
COINS

The coins from the campaign of 1954 fall into three categories: a) silver coins from the archaic deposit within the Temple of Poseidon, b) a hoard of bronze coins from the temple area, and c) scattered coins from various parts of the excavations. The coins have all been cleaned but have not been identified or systematically studied.

In the course of the campaign 135 silver coins (Pl. 53) were found, all but two within the Temple of Poseidon. By far the largest number came from the archaic deposit beneath the floor of the fifth century temple, a few from disturbed fill that had probably been part of the deposit. With few exceptions the coins are readily legible, but many show signs of considerable wear, and some may have been damaged by the fire that destroyed the building. In general the coins of Corinth are in a better condition than those of Aigina. Some of the drachma pieces with Pegasos on the obverse and a female head on the reverse (Pl. 53, third row down) are exceptionally fine examples of engravers’ art.

Nearly half (61) of the total number are coins of Aigina, 43 of which are staters; the others are smaller denominations. Corinth is represented by at least 56 coins: 14 staters, 12 drachma pieces, and 30 smaller coins. The remaining 18 are small, and a few are in a poor state of preservation. From a cursory study of these pieces it has been possible to identify three of Argos, two of Tegea, one of Sikyon, one of Eretria, and one of Naxos.31

Several of the coins appear to be counterfeits. One Aiginetan coin, with the usual figure of a turtle on the obverse and an incuse on the reverse, consists of a paper-thin shell of silver, which broke into several pieces when the coin was immersed in the cleaning bath. The inside was filled with a whitish substance, most of which dissolved in the process of cleaning. One Corinthian stater, with Pegasos on the obverse32 and an incuse on the reverse, has the color of bronze with only small patches of silver. Repeated attempts to clean it by the process used for the other silver coins have tended to intensify the bronze color and to cause some of the silver patches to decrease in size or disappear altogether. A deep vertical gash through the Pegasos was made in ancient times, apparently to test the metal. Many of the Aiginetan and some of the Corinthian coins have a thin cover of silver over a core of baser metal, which has turned black (Pl. 53, second coin in third row down). A chemical analysis of this metal may throw some interesting light on ancient counterfeiting. It is surprising to find several such coins brought as dedications to the temple.33

31 I am indebted to Margaret Thompson for valuable advice and information about the silver coins from the temple.
32 The Pegasos on the obverse is very similar to that in Ravel, Les Poulins de Corinthe, I, pl. V, 65, but it is not identical with it.
33 “False staters,” στατήρες κίβδηλοι, are recorded among the inventoried treasures of Artemis
Most of the silver coins were found in the stratified deposit containing pottery, bronzes, jewelry, pieces of iron, etc. Whereas many of the bronzes were so badly damaged by the fire as to turn them into unrecognizable lumps of metal, not many of the coins have been affected by the heat. Like the other objects from the archaic deposit, the silver coins were doubtless brought as dedications to the god. They are not a hoard in the strict sense of the word, since they were found individually scattered over a restricted area, nor is it likely that they were dedicated at one time by a single individual. A detailed study of the Isthmia coins in their relation to the deposit as a whole will be of importance for the chronology of archaic Greek coinage.

The hoard of Byzantine coins, found within the temple (see above p. 117, Pl. 46, a) contained 270 bronze pieces in all. Among them are 61 very small coins, and about half of these are without any legible marks on either side. Many of the small pieces belong to the class of coins usually grouped together under the term "Vandalic"; a few seem to be issues of the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, and one is a Pegasos-Trident piece of Hellenistic times. The other coins of the hoard are, with few exceptions, in excellent condition (Pl. 54, c). A cursory examination of the lot has revealed that a little less than one fourth of the total number are coins of Justinian (A.D. 527-565). Most of these are large clean specimens that look as if they had come fresh from the mints. Five of Justinian's mints, Constantinople, Theoupolis (Antioch), Kyzikos, Nikomedia, and Thessalonike are represented, in that order of frequency. A little less than half of all the pieces in the hoard are coins of Justin II (A.D. 565-578). These, too, are for the most part in excellent condition. The largest number of the coins of Justin are small pieces minted at Thessalonike. The larger coins of his reign were minted at Constantinople or Nikomedia; a few bear the mint mark of Kyzikos. At least five are coins of Tiberius II (A.D. 578-582). Two mints, those of Constantinople and Nikomedia, are represented among them. Since the largest number are coins of Justin II, who reigned thirteen years, and only a very few are coins of Tiberius II, we may conclude that the hoard was buried shortly after coins of Tiberius had come into circulation.

BRONZES

Objects of bronze from the archaic deposit were numerous, but many of them were found in such poor condition that they could not be included in the inventory of finds. The more significant pieces are described below.

Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis, I.G., II-III, 1388, line 61; and an item of ἄργυρων κρύπταν from the Eleusinion also occurs among the Hekatompedon inventories, I.G., II-III, 1393, line 33.

See Katherine M. Edwards, Corinth, VI, p. 11. Margaret Thompson, The Athenian Agora, II, pp. 101-102, has shown that most of the so-called Vandalic coins found at Corinth and in the Athenian Agora cannot have been minted by Alaric, but are likely to have been issued during the economic distress following the invasion of the Goths, either by imperial mints or possibly even by the cities, Corinth and Athens, themselves.
1. IM 112. Pl. 55, b, lower left.
   Female figure. Total pres. H. 0.07 m.
   In a contorted position, with the left shoulder raised and her head bent forward and toward her left. The front part is in poor condition and the face is missing. Some locks of hair fell over the shoulders on the front; their attachments at the head are visible, and parts of three ringlets are preserved below the left shoulder. The back is in somewhat better state of preservation. Here the hair and part of the drapery are tolerably well preserved. The whole lower half of the figure was destroyed by fire and is now a formless mass of metal.

2. IM 111. Pl. 55, b, lower right.
   This is a companion figure discovered with No. 1. Pres. H. 0.065 m.
   It represents a satyr in a crouching position, resting on his bent right knee. The face is poorly preserved, but his pointed left ear is clearly visible, and his face gives the impression that he is wearing a mask. On the back his hair falls in a solid mass to his shoulders and a hand seizes his hair from the top. Part of the goat skin that fell over his back and the hole for the attachment of the tail are preserved.

   The two bronzes, which were found close together, doubtless form a pair. The dimensions of the figures are approximately the same, and the finish is very similar. This is particularly apparent in the fine strands of hair on the top of their heads. They probably represent a symplegma of a nymph and a satyr. The latter would have approached her from her right side. As he crouched on the ground, with his head slightly above the level of her waist, she seized his hair with her left hand, turning her head away from him in a gesture of modesty.

   Because of the mask-like face of the satyr, and the action portrayed, it is not unlikely that the two bronzes represent actors in a satyr play. The two figures assume additional interest by being approximately contemporary with Aischylos' satyr play, Θεορός Ἡ Ίσθμιαταί, the scene of which was laid in the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmia.  

3. IM 312. Pl. 55, b, upper left.
   Bronze bull. L. 0.058 m.
   In good state of preservation with only the feet missing. The head is rendered with some attention to detail, but there is little modeling of the body, which is curved and elongated, as if the figure had been used as a handle on a bronze vessel.

4. IM 311. Pl. 55, b, upper right, and c.
   Bronze bull in perfect state of preservation. L. 0.039 m., H. 0.027 m. It stands on a base, 0.037 m. long, 0.027 m. wide, perforated at the corners, and was probably intended to be attached to a higher base of wood or stone.

   The muscles of the neck, the folds around the eyes, and the locks of hair between the horns are indicated by deep lines.

   The figure, probably later in date than the preceding, shows characteristics of a different breed of cattle. The body has the heavy, low-slung form of animals bred for their meat. The legs are short and bent, as if unable to support the excessive weight. The resemblance to a Hereford bull is striking.

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35 For the pose of the satyr and the hand on his head cf. Satyr and Maenad scene on red-figured amphora, Pfuhl, M.Z.G., III, pl. 104, fig. 362.

36 H. J. Mette, Nachtrag zum Supplementum Aeschyleum, 1949, pp. 27-32. The fragments of the play mention the Temple of Poseidon, δώμα Ποσειδών Σειάνθο[ν] line 18, probably the archaic temple, and refer to the crown of pine branches given to the victors at Isthmia, line 79. These references were kindly called to my attention by Professor Bruno Snell.

37 Cf. small bull from the Athenian Acropolis, A. de Ridder, Cat. de Bronzes Trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes, p. 187, No. 514, which is, however, more elongated and less bulging.
5-12. IM 521, 744, 505, 534, 535, 142, 709, 200 + 636. Pl. 54, a.

Fragments of bronze helmets.

Helmets seem to have been common dedications to Poseidon, but few pieces are sufficiently well preserved to show their shape. Some were found within the temple area, the rest came from the ancient dump, north of the north temenos wall, which contained blackened debris similar to that found in the temple. The edges of these bronze fragments are decorated with various designs executed in different techniques. A fairly common type of decoration consists of rows of small raised dots which were made by inserting pins in tiny holes that extend through the thickness of the metal. Usually the pins project slightly on one or both sides, and in some cases they have fallen out, leaving an open hole. One nose guard (Pl. 54, a, third, lower row) has on the back some letters of an inscription which has not yet been deciphered.

MISCELLANEOUS

A few objects of gold and silver were found in the archaic deposit from the Temple of Poseidon. In addition to the objects described below pieces of crumpled gold foil were found at all depths in the temple area. They had probably been used for the gilding of statues made of bronze, marble, or wood.

1. IM 615. Pl. 55, a, lower right.

Miniature gold bull. L. of base, 0.01 m., W. 0.005 m.

It was made in two halves fastened together, and the tail was soldered on as a separate piece. The animal was apparently conceived as standing, pawing the ground with his left forefoot and lowering his head as if ready to charge.\(^{38}\)

For all its smallness the engraver has succeeded in instilling an appearance of strength and vitality, and creating an illusion of monumentality. The gold bull was found by sifting the earth from the archaic deposit within the temple. On this evidence it is to be dated not later than the first two decades of the fifth century B.C.

2. IM 614. Pl. 55, a, upper right.

Gold object, probably a pinhead, shaped like a bishop’s miter. L. 0.015 m.

The upper part, which has been squeezed out of shape, is divided into sections by means of depressed lines, and at the top is a spherical knob. At the lower, open end is a loop pattern between raised lines and beadings. There are two large holes for fastening the head to the pin. For the shape cf. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery in the British Museum*, pl. X, 965.

3. IM 604. Pl. 55, a, upper left.

Tiny, almond-shaped gold bead.

4. IM 561. Pl. 55, a, center left.

Spherical gold bead with large hole through center. Diam. 0.006 m.

5, 6. IM 561, 562. Pl. 55, a, lower left.

Hemispherical objects of gold with two points clinched like staples, for attachment to some material such as leather or wood.

7. IM 565. Pl. 56, c.

Silver ring, with rectangular silver bezel on which is engraved the figure of a sphinx, to left, within a frame of simple rope pattern. The

\(^{38}\) The position of the bull is rather similar to that of the well known grave monument of Dionysios of Kollytos in the Dipylon Cemetery, which is nearly two centuries later. A. Brückner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos*, p. 44, fig. 18; p. 66, fig. 37. An early example of the type was found at Olympia, A. Furtwängler, *Olympia IV*, p. 151, pl. LVI, 958.
engraving is sketchy and crude. The bezel was made as a separate piece and soldered to the ring.

8. IM 581. Pl. 56, d.
Scaraboid gem, of a smoky, whitish stone, probably chalcedony. L. 0.015 m., W. 0.011 m.

Terracotta figurines were found in considerable numbers in the temple area, in the ancient dump, on the north side of the temenos and on the Rachi.

Archaic horse-and-riders, found in the temple and in the ancient dump close to the north temenos wall.
These are all made of the typical buff Corinthian clay and decorated in red, brown, or purple colors.

14. IM 115. Pl. 56, b, upper left.
Head of a veiled female figure, probably a priestess.
The clay is red, with a buff surface. Traces of white paint remain on the head and veil. The face is modeled with extreme delicacy, but the veil, which hangs down her back, is only sketchily rendered. This head was found in the ancient dump north of the temenos of Poseidon.

15. IM 116. Pl. 56, b, upper right.
Beautifully modeled head of a woman wearing a kerchief that comes down over her forehead, where it is held in place with a fillet and turned back over the head. The rear edge of the kerchief is broken away. There is a deep fold in the center, where the hair would have been parted. The hair is gathered together at the nape of the neck, and roughly moulded ringlets hang down the back. The clay is of a grayish brick-red hue, and traces of white paint remain on the face. The kerchief may be the distinguishing mark of some temple servants connected with one of the cults of the Isthmian Sanctuary. Provenance, the Rachi.
The position of the head and the unusual form of kerchief occur on a head from Corinth. Cf. Gladys R. Davidson, Corinth, XII, pl. 24, no. 285. The Corinth head is from a larger figure, and the expression on her face is totally different, but the position of the head, the form of the kerchief and the hair are so similar that both may be copied from an original in bronze or marble. Probable date, end of the fourth, or the beginning of the third century B.C.

16. IM 117. Pl. 56, b, lower left.
Small figure of Eros in a striding position, with outstretched hands and with the head bent back, as if he were looking up at some object near by.
Arms, legs and wings are partly missing. On his right side is a lump of clay by which the figure was attached to some other object. Provenance, the Rachi. In the quality of clay and glaze and in the crisp, sketchy rendering of the hair, the Eros figure resembles the preceding. Whether or not they belong to the same group, the Eros figure was doubtless attached to a larger figure, and he is represented in the common attitude of looking up toward the face of his companion. Compare, for example, the two Erotes on a lamp from Corinth, Corinth, IV, ii, p. 98, fig. 44. Here, however, the Erotes are represented as standing away from the figure of Aphrodite. For the pose cf. figure of flying Eros from the Athenian Agora, Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 32, 11, dated by Dorothy B. Thompson in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. The Isthmia figure can hardly have been a flying Eros.

17. IM 168. Pl. 56, b, lower right.
Small terracotta head of a woman, with hair
parted in the center and pulled back tight. A thick braid is wound round the hair at the back of the head. There are traces of white paint over a red sizing.

For the type, compare head from Corinth, Gladys R. Davidson, *op. cit.*, no. 268. She dates the Corinth head in the early third century B.C. The Isthmian head, which is better modeled, should probably be dated at the end of the fourth century.

More than 70 loomweights were found during the campaign, most of them in the excavations on the Rachi. Six of the more interesting examples are shown.

18. IM 327. Pl. 56, e, upper left.

Lentoid stamp on which a winged figure of Eros kneels before a trophy, or armed statue. Below is the stamp MEA. For a similar weight, compare Gladys R. Davidson, *op. cit.*, no. 1149, who suggests that the armed figure may be a statue of the armed Aphrodite on Acro-Corinth.


Weight stamped with the figure of a loom-weight, and on the beveled edge the letters ΓΑΥΚ. Cf. Gladys R. Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 157, fig. 27, no. 1153.

20. IM 331. Pl. 56, e, upper right.

A miniature loomweight, lacking markings of any kind.

21, 22. IM 742 and 771. Pl. 56, e, lower left and middle.

These weights have a somewhat more advanced profile and are marked by identical stamps—a beardless male head, to right—within a circular impression. The head is delicately rendered and gives the impression of being a portrait. Two other loomweights with identical stamps were found on the Rachi. Although presumably of Corinthian manufacture, the stamp does not occur on loomweights found at Corinth.

23. IM 333. Pl. 56, e, lower right.

The beveling here comes considerably lower than on the two preceding, and the stamp is above the beveled edge. Within an elongated impression is a small bearded face, to right, which also seems to be intended as a portrait.

CONCLUSION

The first two campaigns have vastly increased our knowledge of the Isthmian Sanctuary. The primary objective, discovery of the Temple of Poseidon, was achieved during the first season. As a result of the second campaign the principal epochs in the history of the temple have been revealed, and the physical and architectural features of the whole precinct stand out with reasonable clarity. But the task is far from finished. The temenos with its enclosing walls and stoas is as yet inadequately explored. The ancient dump along the north side may be expected to yield further material from the successive periods of the temple; the area between the South Stoa and the temple requires further investigation, and the waterworks at the west end of the area must be completely cleared.

The immediate objective of the next campaign is to discover the location of the Palaimonion. This was probably a minor monument, architecturally, but the cult which it housed was of major importance, inasmuch as Palaimon was the foundation
hero of the Isthmian Games. Outside the precincts of Poseidon and Palaimon there were many temples and public buildings, the names of which are known. It would be important to know the line of the processional way by which Pausanias reached the precinct from the Stadium. Some traces are likely to remain of the portraits of victorious athletes that graced the approach to the temple along this route. The Theater and the Stadium merit further investigation. And it would be desirable to be able to plot the roads leading to the Isthmia from the east and the west; indeed the topography of the whole Isthmus region has never been thoroughly explored. These are a few of the most urgent tasks of future campaigns.

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a. Plan of the Isthmia Region, Showing Location of Sanctuary of Poseidon

b. Temple of Poseidon from Northeast

OSCAR BRONEER: EXCAVATIONS AT ISTMIA, 1954
a. Temple of Poseidon, Detail Plan

b. Temple Foundation from the West

Oscar Broneer: Excavations at Isthmia, 1954
a. Blocks of Archaic Temple, from Ancient Dump

b. Foundation for North Inner Colonnade, Showing Drafting

c. Temple and Precinct of Poseidon, Restored Plan

Oscar Broneer: Excavations at Isthmia, 1954
a. Fragment of Column Capital, from West End of Temple

b. Column Capital, with Corner Triglyph Cut in the Same Block

c. Fragment of Column Drum from Top of Shaft

d. Corner Triglyph on the Back of Block in b

Oscar Broneer: Excavations at Isthmia, 1954
a. Raking Sima of Marble

b. Fragment of Horizontal Sima

c. Fragment of Horizontal Sima.

d. Fragment of Lion’s Head Spout

e. Section of Horizontal Sima, Restored

OSCAR BRONEER: EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMIA, 1954
a. Hoard of Byzantine Coins from Temple Area
b. Retaining Walls in Ancient Dump North of Poseidon Temple
c. Cornice Block from Ancient Dump, Showing Meander Pattern
d. Late Foundation on South Side of Temple Area
a. West Waterworks, Plan and Sections

b. Deposit of Vases on Rachi (Cf. Pl. 52, c)

c. West Waterworks, from the South

d. Foundation of South Colonnade, from the West

Oscar Broneer: Excavations at Isthmia, 1954
a. Trench through the Theater, from the North

b. Trench through the Theater, from the South

c. Excavation at the Justinian Fortress, from Southwest

Oscar Broneer: Excavations at Isthmia, 1954
a. Excavations on Rachi, from the Northeast

b. Excavations on Rachi, Showing Waterworks

c. Bathtub on Rachi

Oscar Broneer: Excavations at Isthmia, 1954
a. Relief with Figures of Hermes and Artemis

b. Fragment of Relief from Temple of Poseidon

c. Circular Base in Axis of Poseidon Temple

d. Head of Archaic Lion from Peribolos of Poseidon

OSCAR BRONEER: EXCAVATIONS AT ISTMIA, 1954
b. Vases from Archaic Dump, and Aryballos from Deposit in Temple

c. Aryballos from Archaic Deposit in Temple
a. Fragments of Inscribed Vase, 19, from Archaic Temple Deposit

b. Red-Figured Sherd, 20, from Archaic Temple Deposit

c. Vases, 21-29, from Deposit on Rachi

d. Snake Vase, 30, from Cistern
Selection of Silver Coins from Temple Deposit, Obverse (above) and Reverse (below)
a. Fragments of Bronze Helmets from Archaic Temple Deposit

b. Lekythos from Temple of Poseidon

c. Six Coins from Byzantine Hoard, Obverse and Reverse

OSCAR BRONEER: EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHmia, 1954
a. Gold Objects from Archaic Temple Deposit

b. Bronze Figurines from Archaic Temple Deposit

c. Bronze Bull, Enlarged (about 3:1)

Oscar Bronner: Excavations at Isthmia, 1954
a. Archaic Horse-and-Rider Figurines

b. Terracotta Figurines

c. Silver Ring from Archaic Temple Deposit

d. Engraved Gem, Enlarged (about 2:1)

e. Loomweights from Rachi

OSCAR BRONEER: EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMIA, 1954