

THE GYMNASIUM AREA AT CORINTH, 1969-1970

(PLATES 1-11)

INTRODUCTION

A large Gymnasium occupied a prominent position near the edge of the first plateau above the coastal plain of Corinth during the early Roman Empire. The Gymnasium, which lies almost due north of the theater (Fig. 1), was probably preceded by a Hellenistic and perhaps Classical Gymnasium, but no architectural remains of an earlier building have yet been identified with certainty. The identification of the Roman Gymnasium was one of the results of the first season of excavation in this area in 1965 by the University of Texas at Austin for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.¹ Work in the Gymnasium Area, which has continued annually under the same sponsorship, has revealed a number of ancient monuments in addition to the Gymnasium.² This preliminary report concerns the results of the excavations of 1969, when excavations were conducted in the Gymnasium, the cemetery, the bronze foundry, the Epistyle Wall (the late Roman city wall), and the Fountain of the Lamps,³ and of 1970, when all our efforts were concentrated on the bath-fountain-cult place known as the Fountain of the Lamps.⁴

¹ We are grateful to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for its cooperation, encouragement and many kindnesses, and to both its former Director, Henry S. Robinson, and the current Director, James R. McCredie. A special debt of gratitude is owed to Charles K. Williams, II, Director of Excavations in Corinth for the American School, for his cheerful help and sage advice. Our thanks also to Kathryn L. Butt, Secretary of the Corinth Excavations, for her generous assistance, and to Oscar Broneer with whom I discussed various problems of the excavations.

² Preliminary reports on the excavations of 1965-68 have appeared in *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 13-41, 402-428; XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 64-106. Short accounts have also appeared in *The Texas Quarterly*, X, 1967, pp. 147-155 and *Archaeology*, XXII, 1969, pp. 216-225.

³ An account of the discovery and excavation of the Fountain of the Lamps through the 1969 season was published in *Archaeology*, XXIII, 1970, pp. 130-137.

⁴ Members of the staff during both seasons were Professor Janet L. Rollins and Jeannette L. Nolen, area supervisors; A. Gene Grulich, architect; Margie Grulich, draftsman; Lucy Wiseman, records and inventory; and the author was director of excavations. Other staff members were as follows: Area supervisors: Professor John T. Cummings, Wilson College; Lauren Levy Adams, Harvard University; Virginia (Anderson) McKeen, University of Washington; Margot Camp, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts; Christina Dengate, University of Texas; Judith Economos, University of Texas; Susan Rotroff, Princeton University; Al Wesolowsky, University of Texas. Records and inventory: Karen Garnett, University of Texas, and Susan (Kane) Schaffner, Columbia University and Bryn Mawr. Professor James A. Dengate, University of Texas, worked on the coins in 1969. Photios Notis was our foreman and museum technicians were Anastasios Papaioannou, Nikos Didaskalou and Georgios Arborores.

The excavations were made possible by the financial support of the University of Texas; a

Hesperia, XLI, 1

GYMNASIUM

A large area was opened over the steps of the South Stoa at its eastern end and extending 4.20 m. to the north. The front of the stoa is now exposed along the line of the first step just over 14 m. from the east end of the steps (Fig. 2; Pl. 1, a). Several blocks are missing from this step and even more from the second. Two stylobate blocks are still in place and the lower part of one Doric column stands on one of them. Both the stylobate blocks, which supported adjacent columns, bear setting marks; the interaxial distance is 2.335 m.⁵

A rubble concrete foundation, *ca.* 0.80 m. wide, extends along the front of the South Stoa at a level varying between 0.30 and 0.40 m. below the top of the foundation for the stepped krepidoma. This originally carried a stone water channel of which three channel blocks and two settling basins were found in place in 1969. All other blocks in the channel had been removed in antiquity. One basin, badly preserved, is located just east of the column. Its form is identical with one found in place in 1965 some distance to the west;⁶ it is a rectangular basin cut deeply into a single poros block. Another basin, or more properly a collecting tank, is located at the juncture of the East and South Stoa. The block has semicircular cuttings on its upper west and north sides to receive the water from the channels of both stoa; a hole in the bottom allows the excess water to pass into a large stone and concrete drain that extends to the east beneath the Gymnasium.⁷ The poros water channel blocks found *in situ* are the easternmost of the South Stoa channel; the channel is merely a semicircular cutting in the upper surface of the blocks.

The distance between the settling basin and the corner egress is 5.94 m. A settling basin, but none of the blocks of the water channel, was found in place in front of the East Stoa at a distance of 8.50 m. from the corner basin (Pl. 2, a).

The southeast corner of the Gymnasium complex has suffered greatly from later construction and from the pillaging of its ruins in antiquity for building material. Even the rubble concrete foundations for the krepidoma and the water channel of the East Stoa were largely robbed at the south end. Only five blocks of the first step and its backers were found in place near the north end of the exca-

number of private donors in Texas, especially Mrs. Radcliffe Killam, Laredo, Mrs. Greer Marechal, Houston, and Miss Lucile Morley, Austin; and by a matching grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1969. Ford Foundation Traineeships were awarded to Adams, Anderson, Camp, C. Dengate, Garnett, Kane, Rollins, Rotroff and Wesolowsky. We are deeply appreciative of all the support we have received from individuals and institutions.

⁵ Almost exactly half (as it should be) of the interaxial distance of the interior colonnade, 4.665 m.; *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, p. 15; fig. 2 for detailed drawings of the column and steps.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, fig. 5.

⁷ *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 65, pl. 19, d. The floor and ceiling are of poros slabs. The drain is 1 m. high and 0.50-0.60 m. wide on the west. At a distance of 13.35 m. east of the entrance the ceiling of the drain drops to a height of 0.56 m. and the south wall is slightly inset. The drain is blocked with rubble 14.9 m. from the basin.

vation area and none of the courses above. The rubble concrete piers for three interior columns were revealed and probably represent the southernmost three columns of the East Stoa.⁸ The distance from the west edge of the stylobate foundation to to

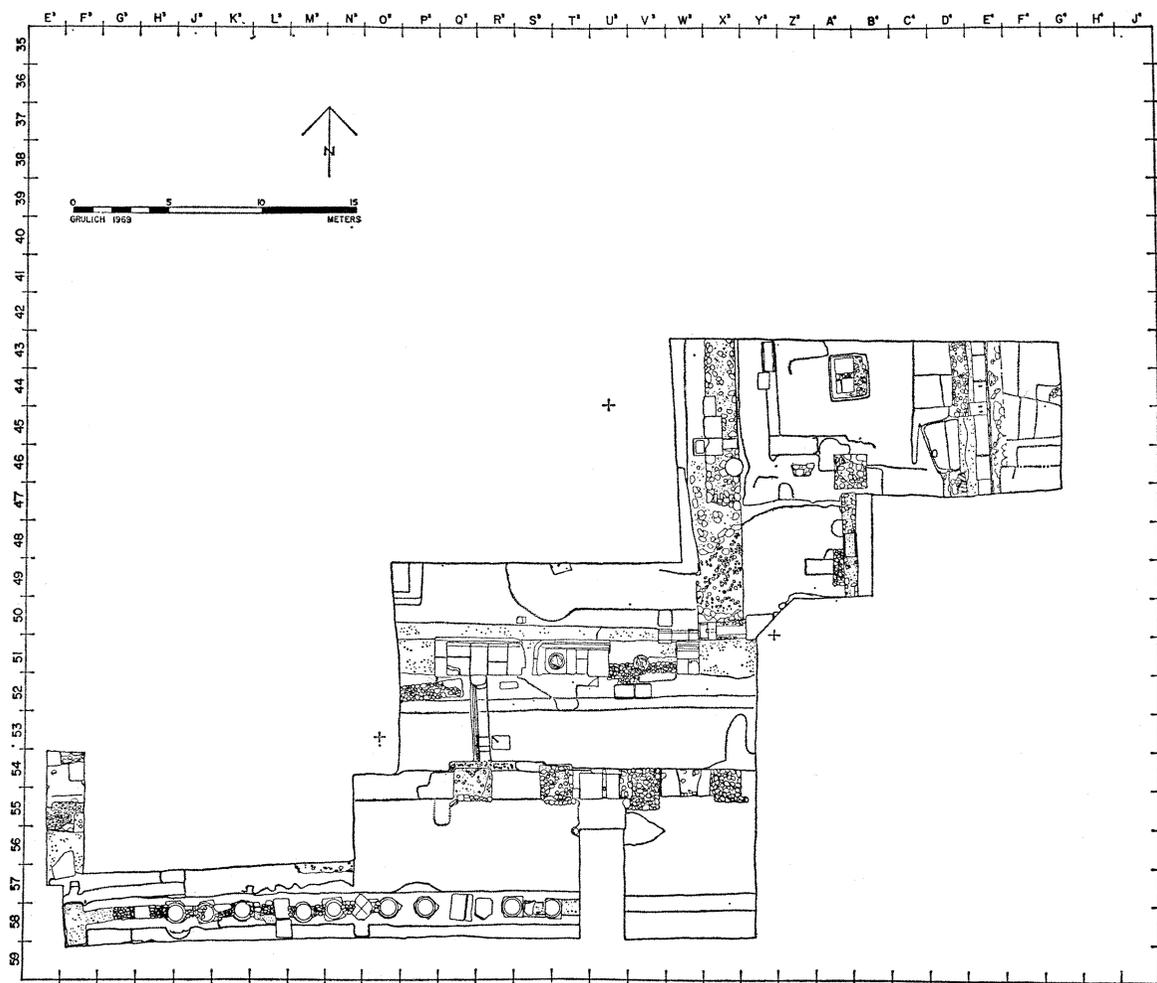


FIG. 2. Southeast Corner of the Gymnasium Stoa; Actual State.

the west face of Pier 2 is 7.76 m., a figure approximating the measurements in the South Stoa. The dimensions of the piers as well as the distance between the piers also correspond to those known in the South Stoa.⁹ A rectangular plinth of poros blocks (1.82 m. N-S x 0.935 m. E-W), *ca.* 0.50 m. high, rests on Pier 3, and although

⁸ The interior structure of the southeast corner must remain conjectural since a modern house with deep concrete foundations occupies the area.

⁹ Dimensions of piers: No. 1, 1.90 m. wide; No. 2, 1.70 x 1.80 m.; No. 3, 2.14 x 1.72 m. Distance between piers 1 and 2, 3.1 m.; between piers 2 and 3, 2.89 m.

it rises slightly above a floor level of the 5th century after Christ, it was probably a part of the original construction.

The line of the rear wall was cleared over a distance of 8 m., but the rubble concrete foundation is preserved for only 4.14 m. of that length. The southern part of the wall was pillaged and the robbers' trench filled in during the 5th century after Christ.¹⁰ No blocks of the superstructure were found; the foundation is *ca.* 1.25 m. wide, giving an overall depth of 13.90 m. for the East Stoa, i.e., from the west edge of the stylobate foundation to the east edge of the back wall foundation. A setting trench for the foundation of the rear wall yielded ceramics of the 1st to early 2nd century after Christ.¹¹

The rear wall of the East Stoa rose above a carefully made terrace wall of large poros blocks backed by concrete extending below the foundations of the back wall of the stoa (Pl. 1, b).¹² Only the lowest course and a euthynteria, also of poros blocks, are preserved. A setting line scratched into the upper surface 0.058 m. from the east face indicates that the second course at least was recessed to the west. A rubble concrete foundation, 0.80 m. wide, lies parallel to the poros wall on the east at a slightly lower level and is separated from it by a narrow space filled with earth, at least above the level of the euthynteria. The rather scanty ceramic material between the walls suggests a date of the late 1st or early 2nd century after Christ. A setting trench along the east face of the concrete foundation also produced pottery of the 1st century after Christ along with one sherd of Late Roman Red Ware, the latter probably representing a disturbance of the 4th century.¹³

No trace of a north-south road leading to the Asklepieion was found although excavations extended 3 m. east of the rubble concrete foundation just described. The absence of the road, however, may be the result of the large scale alterations of the terrain during the late empire. Everywhere in this area the excavations revealed a quantity of evidence for: a) catastrophic devastation in the late 4th century; b) wholesale plundering of building material in the late 4th to 5th centuries; c) habitation, burials¹⁴ and rubbish dumps¹⁵ of the 5th to 6th centuries.

¹⁰ Lot 6047.

¹¹ Lot 6061.

¹² This wall had been noted in test trenches dug in 1896 by R. B. Richardson (Corinth Field NB 1) and in 1930 by Miss Lucy Talcott (Corinth Field NB 113).

¹³ Lot 6067.

¹⁴ Two tile graves, both badly disturbed, were found above the East Stoa. Grave 91 (grids C⁴/45-46) was associated with 2 terracotta lamps, Broneer type XXXI. Grave 92 (grids Y³/45-46) was found near by. Pottery above and below the graves indicated that the burials took place in the late 5th or early 6th century after Christ.

¹⁵ A colossal trench was dug at the end of the 4th or in the early 5th century through earlier debris and parts of the Gymnasium itself where the South and East Stoas join. This trench served as a rubbish dump until some time well into the 5th century after Christ. Its overall area is not yet known, but it extended at least 17.5 m. east-west, 2 m. north-south and at its east end was over 2.5 m. deep.

A large number of architectural remnants of the Gymnasium were discovered both in this area of the excavations and in the Epistyle Wall, which is discussed below. Of particular interest was a quantity of poros *opus reticulatum* identical with the type found in the upper east wall of the corridor of the Fountain of the Lamps.¹⁶ Revetment slabs of a variety of types of marble were also numerous. Many drums and fragments of both Doric and Ionic columns and capitals were found and it is clear from their sizes that most of the pieces found represent the two orders of the Gymnasium stoas: Doric on the façade, Ionic for the interior colonnade. Pieces of the Ionic order, less numerous to begin with, were found (not surprisingly) in smaller numbers. Many drums of the latter were only partially fluted.

One of the more significant architectural discoveries is an Ionic base which was cut in one piece with part of an unfluted shaft (Pl. 4, a).¹⁷ The Attic base is Greek in style and should date to sometime after the middle of the 1st century after Christ.¹⁸ The overall height is 0.67 m. and the diameter of the shaft is 0.84 m., a size indicating that it belongs to the same series as the majority of the partially fluted Ionic columns found in various sectors of the Gymnasium Area. The diameter of the bottom torus is 1.14 m., precisely the size of base indicated by the plinths that are preserved *in situ* for the interior colonnade of the Gymnasium South Stoa.¹⁹ The base and shaft had been sawed flat on two sides for re-use. It was found in the large 5th century rubbish dump in front of the steps of the South Stoa.

THE EPISTYLE WALL

The principal area of excavation of the late Roman fortification wall that we have referred to as the Epistyle Wall²⁰ lies just beyond the west end of the Gymnasium South Stoa. The area was enlarged in 1969 so that the two east-west walls that comprise the outer and inner lines of the fortification are visible over a distance of 28 m. in grids U^o-J/51-60. We were also able to excavate to bedrock in one area (grids H-J/55-58).

A detailed description of the walls and of both the earlier and later constructions, as well as an analysis of the numerous re-used architectural pieces, will be reserved for a later publication. Only a few of the more significant features of the wall will be treated here.

¹⁶ See below p. 19.

¹⁷ Inv. No. A-69-40. The base is also visible in Pl. 1, a, at center.

¹⁸ A fragment (A 796) of the same type of base was found August 5, 1968. On the styles and chronology of Ionic bases, see Lucy T. Shoe, "The Roman Ionic Base in Corinth," *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, New York, 1964, pp. 300-303, fig. 1; "The Geographical Distribution of Greek and Roman Ionic Bases," *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 195.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 15-16, fig. 1.

²⁰ *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 87-92 and references cited there.

1. The north-south line of column drums in grids G-J²¹ extend from an undetermined distance south of the south wall to the north wall. The column series includes 13 Doric drums, 3 unfluted and one partially fluted Ionic drum (Pl. 2, b).²² The columns appear to have been set into place on a pre-existing poros (terrace?) wall *at the same time* as the construction of the fortification.
2. The column series probably served a function similar to the arc of columns found in 1968; that is, they tied the two faces of the fortification wall together.

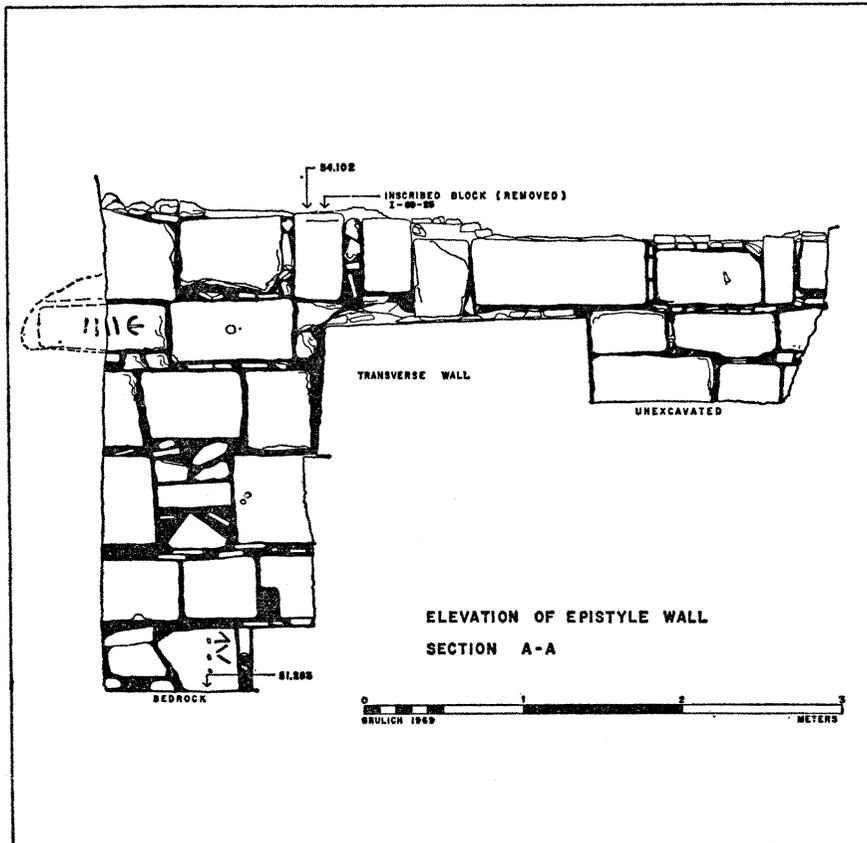


FIG. 3. Elevation of a Section of the Epistyle Wall, South Line, from North.

3. The south wall is preserved at the easternmost excavated part to a height of *ca.* 1.82 m. in 6 courses. The lowest course rests on bedrock (Fig. 3).
4. Several inscriptions were found to have been built into the south wall including a

²¹ Some of the columns were discovered in 1968; *ibid.*, p. 91, note 48.

²² The 17 drums include those at the north end that extend east, more or less perpendicular to the main row of columns.

tribal inscription (I-69-25) that was removed for preservation and study (Fig. 3; Pl. 10, c).²³

5. Several later constructions were built against the north wall which was itself plundered at a later date for building materials.²⁴

6. The thickness of the fortification at the present east scarp of the excavated area is 8.50 m.

The wall clearly was built in the late 4th or early 5th century after Christ. I have already suggested that it was probably constructed in A.D. 395 in a vain attempt to keep out the Gothic invaders.²⁵ A second possibility is construction shortly after the destructive raid in fear of recurrent attacks. In any case, the wall soon fell into disuse and was being quarried for stone in the 5th century. It was largely destroyed about the middle of the next century by earthquake.

This fortification must be a part of the city wall during the late empire. Some sections have long been known as the "Justinian Wall." Excavations were conducted in 1930 in the vicinity of one section of this wall, located about halfway between the Kenchreaian Gate and the Fountain of Peirene.²⁶ The excavations (unpublished) revealed that the wall was built in the late 4th or early 5th century after Christ and was destroyed in the mid-6th century. Its construction (Pl. 2, c)²⁷ here, as at the Epistyle Wall, is in two faces of re-used material. Other short stretches of this circuit wall have been noted west of the city.²⁸

²³ These inscriptions are discussed on pp. 33-38.

²⁴ A dump from a glass factory of the late 5th to early 6th centuries after Christ was noted in the last report, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 105-106. In 1969 a vast quantity of animal bones was found in the vicinity of the Epistyle Wall and further north in and near the Fountain of the Lamps. A preliminary examination of the material by Al Wesolowsky resulted in the identification of 5 faunal families for the majority of the bones: *bovidae*, *equidae*, *canidae*, *suidae*, and *cervidae*. Most of the remains are from skulls and especially the distal ends of limbs which often showed evidence of having been sawed or chopped off. If a butcher's shop was not located in the immediate vicinity, the discovery of such a quantity of discarded elements from butchering suggests that there was one at least not far away.

²⁵ *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 87, 92.

²⁶ The wall was partially visible before excavation and is indicated (as a mediaeval wall) on a map of Corinth and its periphery published in 1906; Andreas N. Skias, *Πρακτικά*, 1906, pl. E'. The excavations, under the direction of Rhys Carpenter, are referred to in Rhys Carpenter and Antoine Bon, *Corinth*, III, ii, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 127.

²⁷ The photograph reproduced in Plate 2, c was taken at the time of the excavations (Cor. Neg. 2737) and is published through the courtesy of the present Director at Corinth, Charles Williams.

²⁸ The wall is discussed briefly by Robert L. Scranton, *Corinth*, XVI, *Mediaeval Architecture*, Princeton, 1957, p. 7 and the east and west lines of the wall are shown on his plan II, E and F. The wall in the east was severely damaged in an earthquake of the early 6th century. The collapse of the wall at that time crushed a man who was apparently fleeing the city during the catastrophe. He was carrying with him a hoard of 742 coins, the latest of which date to the reign of Anastasios I

THE CEMETERY OF LERNA HOLLOW²⁹

Nine graves were found in the central area of the cemetery and seven of these were excavated.³⁰ The area concerned is a northern extension of the section near Manhole A that was excavated in 1968.³¹ All seven graves excavated were rock-cut chamber tombs with vertical shafts similar to others excavated in this cemetery. These also were covered by stuccoed earth mounds, rectangular in plan and roughly semicircular in vertical cross-section. Several terracotta lamps of the 5th to 6th centuries that had been left by mourners at the mounds were recovered during the excavations.³²

The new graves were arranged so that they continue roughly the two lines of burials found in 1967; all are oriented approximately east-west. No coins or inscriptions were associated with the burials; the ceramic context, including a few whole vessels found in some of the graves, suggests that all the burials belong to the later 5th and the 6th century after Christ. The number of burials in each tomb varied from one to eight individuals; the skeletal remains from these graves, along with the other human skeletal material from the Cemetery of Lerna Hollow, will be discussed in a separate article by Al Wesolowsky.

Two of the tombs call for special comment here. Grave 94 utilized the upper part of a manhole for most of the west end of the chamber. Two poros slabs were cemented over the original opening for the manhole at the surface of the bedrock; the fill in the oval manhole was level with the floor of the tomb and has not yet been excavated. Two articulated adults, a male and a female, were found in the tomb along with a pair of badly corroded iron finger rings, one associated with each burial. A Constantinian cross, *ca.* 0.25 m. high, had been painted in red on the south side of the entrance shaft. Traces of other designs or letters in red were detected on the west side of the shaft.

The entire length and almost the full height of the stuccoed mound of Grave 98 were preserved.³³ The mound is unique in the cemetery in that it possesses a nearly square pedestal at its western end. The pedestal was presumably for votives, such as the terracotta lamps so common at the cemetery. After the east end of the mound

(A.D. 491-518); K. M. Edwards, "Coins Found at Corinth During the Years 1930-1935," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 248-249.

²⁹ Al B. Wesolowsky, who supervised excavations in the cemetery in 1969, studied the human skeletal material from the Gymnasium excavations, 1965-69. That study formed the basis of his M.A. thesis (spring, 1971) at the University of Texas at Austin: "An Analysis of the Human Skeletal Remains from the Lerna Hollow Cemetery, Ancient Corinth, Greece."

³⁰ Graves 85, 94-101. Only the western portions of the stuccoed earth mounds of Graves 99 and 100 were cleared.

³¹ *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 81-86.

³² For a discussion of grave types and burial practices in this cemetery, see *ibid.*, pp. 79-86.

³³ L. 2.17 m., W. 0.70 m., H. 0.50 m.

(intact until our excavation) was removed, the cover slab of the entrance shaft was found securely cemented into position. The grave chamber itself, however, was empty, except for fine dust and two small pieces of bone that could easily have been introduced into the tomb from contiguous graves through small holes in the walls. There is indeed no evidence that a corpse ever occupied the chamber; the tomb must have served as a cenotaph.

THE FOUNTAIN OF THE LAMPS

The remarkable circumstances that led to the discovery of the Fountain of the Lamps in 1967 and 1968 and the procedures and difficulties involved in the rather more spectacular campaign of 1969 have already been recounted.³⁴ Even after the 1970 season there are numerous important problems regarding both the history and the architecture of the complex that can be solved only by further excavation. Our task here is to set out what can be known at present of the form of the structure and some comments on its function in the different periods of an architectural life that may well have exceeded a thousand years.

The Fountain of the Lamps is located within a deep hollow of the face of the plateau that looks out over the coastal plain and thus occupies a geologic setting that has much in common with the well-known fountain beside the Sanctuary of Asklepios. The two fountain house complexes, in fact, were built in adjacent hollows in the same cliff face less than 200 m. apart.

The newly discovered building complex includes at least the following elements (Figs. 4, 5): a) an underground bathing room with permanent wash basins; b) an underground fountain house; c) a network of water supply tunnels (and drains) to the bath, fountain and other rooms yet to be cleared; d) a large outdoor courtyard with a swimming pool. Since the complex is not yet completely cleared, and the history of the structure, especially in its earlier phases, is still obscure, the discussion that follows will take up the various areas in only a roughly chronological order.

a. THE GREEK BATH

The earliest architecture so far identified with certainty in the complex consists of an underground rectangular room with poros masonry walls, a floor of split pebbles of different colors set in a hard, brown cement (Pl. 4, b) and a vaulted roof. Four wash basins of poros stand against the east wall and two against the south; all are of essentially the same form (Fig. 5; Pls. 3, a-b).³⁵ Water was let into basins

³⁴ *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 75-78; *Archaeology*, XXIII, 1970, pp. 130-137.

³⁵ The basins are numbered for convenience from 1 to 6 beginning in the southwest corner. There must have been at least one other washstand of the same type somewhere in the complex, because a large fragment of a poros basin (A-69-39) was found in the entrance corridor.

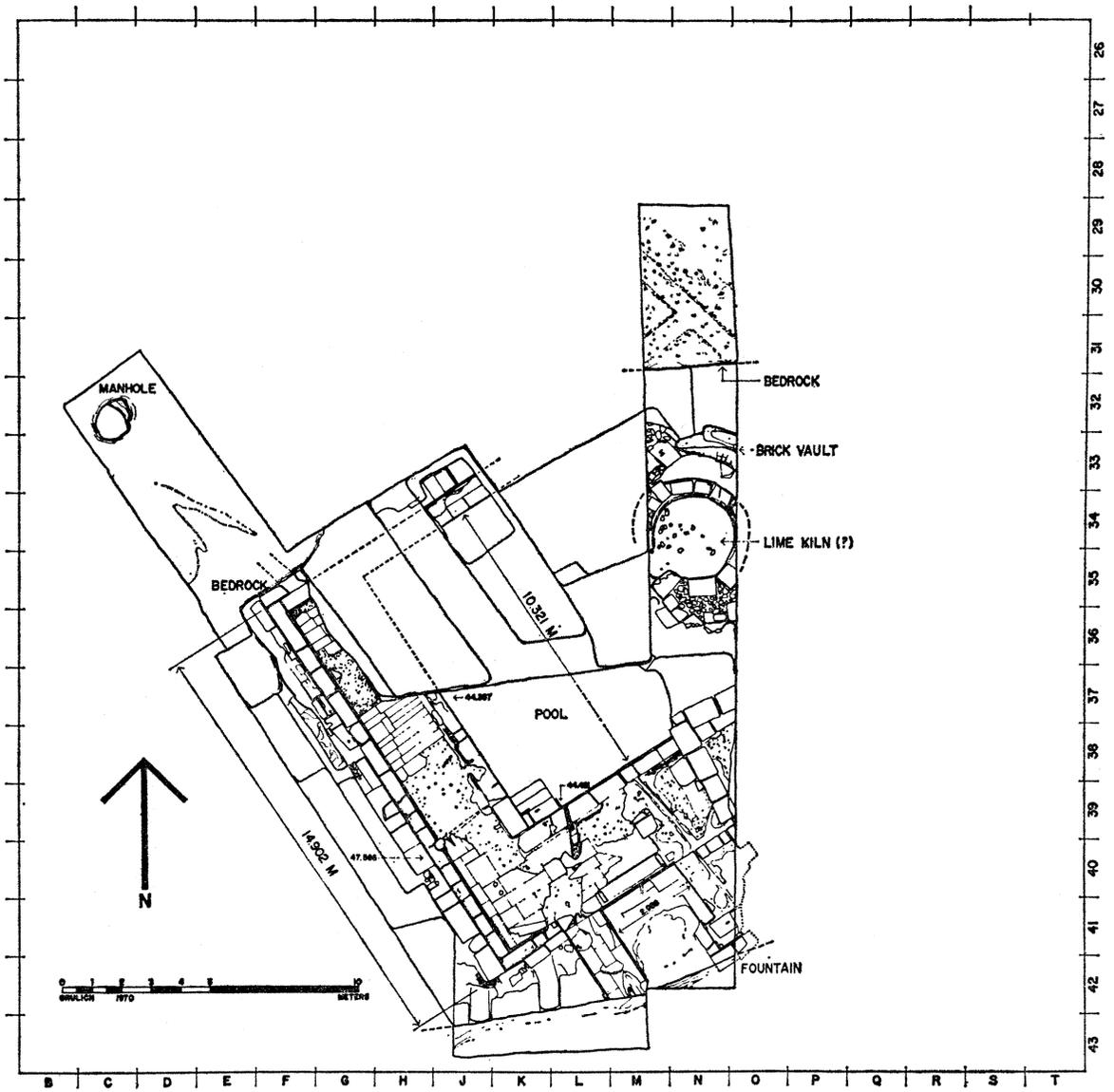


FIG. 4. The Gymnasium Bath and Fountain Complex.

1, 2, 3, and 5 through the walls of the chamber from water supply channels K and L, and narrow channels connect the upper part of each basin with its neighbor in such a way that as, e.g., basin 1 began to be filled, the excess would flow into 2, which in turn would flow into 3, and so on. The channel from basin 6 leads into a lead pipe that, in the later construction at least, emptied into a sunken, rectangular basin in the courtyard. The basin probably served as a footbath (Pl. 5, a, center).³⁶ Whether

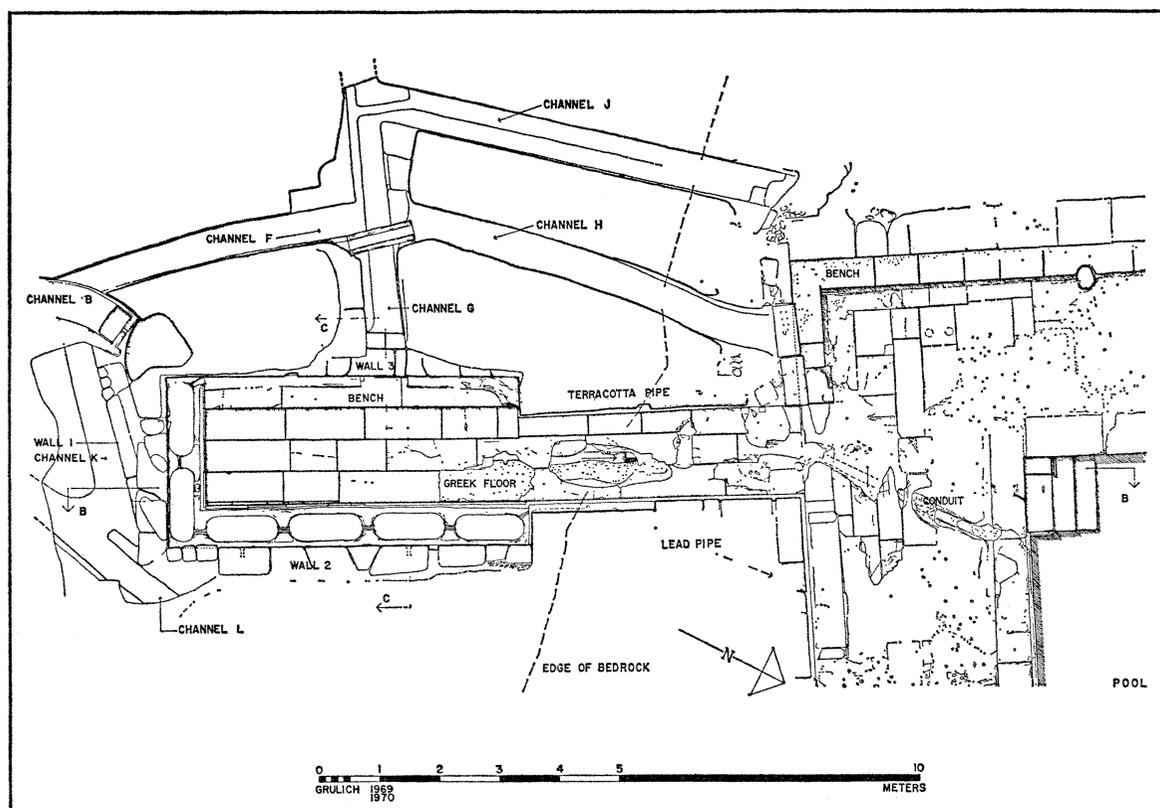


FIG. 5. The Underground Bath and Connecting Channels; Plan.

or not the lead pipe here and the one found in the hole above basin 3 are of the earliest period is problematic, but the use of lead pipes in Corinth is known as early as the 4th century B.C.³⁷

The basins are of a type familiar in Greece: they are four-legged stands with a round underbelly and a long, oval basin with rounded bottom cut into the top surface

³⁶ Footbaths are known in other Greek baths; René Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè, recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque*, Paris, 1962, p. 133.

³⁷ In the near-by Sanctuary of Asklepios: Carl Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 27, 49; cf. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, I, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1964, p. 153.

(Pl. 3, b). Nearly identical basins are known in the gymnasium baths at Eretria⁸⁸ and Nemea.⁸⁹ The basins at both sites have been dated to the 4th century B.C.

Hellenistic pottery found in the bottom of Channel G represents a date after which the bath must have been in existence, because part of the west wall (Wall 3) of the bath cuts off that channel. It is convenient to consider here the nature of that pottery.*

1. Fish Plate.

Pl. 4.

C-69-226. H. 0.043 m. D. of rim 0.17 m. D. of base 0.06 m. Mended from several fragments; restored in plaster. Very pale brown (HUE 10YR 8/3.5)* clay with white inclusions. Ring foot; outward sloping sides only slightly flared; plain rim with raised edge inside; raised ring at center. Dull black (HUE 2.5YR 2.5/0) glaze covers interior and about two-thirds of upper exterior; dripping below.

The shape is indicative of a later phase in the development of the fish plate than that seen in the examples from Koroni, which seem to have been in use during the Chremonidean War: Eugene Vanderpool, James R. McCredie and Arthur Steinberg, "Koroni, a Ptolemaic Camp on the East Coast of Attica," *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, fig. 8 (esp. No. 18), pp. 56-60; "Koroni: the Date of the Camp and the Pottery," *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 69-72; G. Roger Edwards, "Koroni: the Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 109-111. The earlier history (ca. 400-300 B.C.) of this common tableware has been traced by Brian A. Sparkes and Lucy Talcott, *The Athenian*

Agora, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton, 1970, pp. 147-148.

2. Cup.

Pl. 4.

C-69-227. H. 0.047 m. D. of base 0.04 m. D. of rim 0.09 m. Mended; partially restored in plaster. Light brown (HUE 7.5YR 6.5/4) clay. Flaring ring foot; flaring walls; vertical rim; horizontal, oval handle (missing) set just below rim; one groove low on body. Interior and upper two-thirds of exterior covered with iridescent black (HUE 2.5YR 2.5/0) glaze.

The shape is rather later than any of the "one-handlers" discussed in Sparkes and Talcott, *Athenian Agora*, XII, pp. 124-132, but deeper-bodied than the later 4th century examples published by Carl W. Blegen, Hazel Palmer and Rodney S. Young, *Corinth*, XIII, *The North Cemetery*, Princeton, 1964, p. 129. The vessel may be as early as the mid-4th century B.C.

3. Megarian Bowl.

Pl. 4.

C-69-238. H. 0.143 m. D. of rim 0.187 m.

⁸⁸ R. B. Richardson, "The Gymnasium at Eretria," *A.J.A.*, XI, 1896, pp. 160-162, fig. 3. Jean Delorme (*Gymnasion*, Paris, 1960, pp. 161-164) considers most of the Gymnasium complex to have been constructed in the 2nd century, though some parts, including the bath, could be earlier. Renewed excavations by the Greeks and the Swiss indicate again a date "de la fin de l'époque classique," but restored after 198 B.C.; Jean-Pierre Michaud, "Chroniques des fouilles en 1968 et 1969," *B.C.H.*, XCIV, 1970, p. 1099. It is noteworthy that René Ginouvès dated the first stage of the bath at Eretria to the early 4th century on the basis of the form of the wash basins; *Balanoutikè*, p. 185, note 3; he publishes a good photograph of the bathing room in his fig. 90.

⁸⁹ C. W. Blegen, "Excavations at Nemea, 1926," *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, p. 430, fig. 8; cf. also the schematic plan in Delorme, *Gymnasion*, fig. 8. There are both earlier (Delphi) and later (Priene) wash basins of similar form; see the discussion in Ginouvès, *Balanoutikè*, pp. 130-133.

* Color designations in this article beginning with the word HUE refer to hue, value and chroma as illustrated in the *Munsell Soil Color Charts*, 1971, published by Munsell Color Company, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland.

Mended from several fragments; partially re-stored.

Very pale brown (HUE 10YR 8/2.5) clay; flaking black (HUE 2.5YR 2.5/0) glaze. The three feet, of which one is missing, are inverted comic masks made and attached separately. Hemispherical bowl; on bottom three con-

centric raised bands enclose four acanthus leaves. Rows of overlapping lotus petals on wall of bowl; two bands of double spirals frame band of chevrons; lip slightly outturned.

Cf. Roger Edwards, *Hesperia*, Supp. X, 1956, pp. 90, 99-100, No. 60, pl. 43.

Vessels 1 and 3 are clearly at home in the 3rd century B.C., especially after 250. Other sherds in the same deposit (LOT 6072) may belong to the early 2nd century while a loomweight dates to the late 4th century,⁴⁰ and is probably contemporary with the one-handler. But whether a date *ca.* 200 B.C. should be taken as a *terminus ante* or *post quem* is not yet certain. Wall 3 is in fact two contiguous walls and there is a small hole from Channel G through the western wall that is closed by the eastern part of Wall 3. One interpretation of this circumstance is that two periods are represented, an early one when water entered the bath also from Channel G and a later one when Wall 3 was thickened and Channel G thus terminated.⁴¹ If that hypothesis is correct, the Hellenistic pottery accumulated in the eastern end of Channel G only after a remodeling of the bath, which would probably have taken place sometime between the date of the loomweight (350-300 B.C.) and the Megarian Bowl (250-225 B.C.).

Whether Wall 3 represents one or two periods, it is certain that at least in the later Greek period the ceiling was vaulted. A hard, thin buff-colored stucco is found on the lower part of Wall 3 in the line of Channel G behind the constructions that hid it during the Roman phases. The same stucco has been revealed also on Walls 1 and 2 and elsewhere on Wall 3, *including the inner angles* above basins 1 and 2 and extending even as high as the springers for the vault (Pl. 4, c).

Springers for the vault are preserved on both lateral walls (Fig. 6; Pl. 3, a), but only two voussoirs (A-69-38 and 77) were found in the bath, one at each end of the entrance corridor. Numerous large pieces of the fresco that adorned the ceiling in Roman times were found in the bath, but the thickness of the cement backing suggests that the vault above the springer courses at that time was probably concrete.⁴² It may have been so even in the Hellenistic Period,⁴³ but a masonry vault is

⁴⁰ No coins were found in this deposit. About two-thirds of a terracotta biconical loomweight (MF-69-266) was found. It bears an inverted stamp ΜΕΛΙΣ below the bevel. Stamp and profile indicate a date of 350-300 B.C.; cf. Gladys Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, No. 1163, fig. 27.

⁴¹ Another possible interpretation is that the block with the hole was one used from another construction, allowing the full thickness of Wall 3 to date to one period.

⁴² Fragments of the frescoed ceiling are in Lot 6133.

⁴³ Cf. the concrete vault over Upper Peirene, which is dated 251-221 B.C.; C. W. Blegen, *et al.*, *Corinth*, III, i, *Acrocorinth*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 33-49. Arcuated construction, especially in masonry, is known in Greece from the late 6th or early 5th century B.C. The popular misconception that arches and vaults were unique Roman contributions seems to affect even architectural

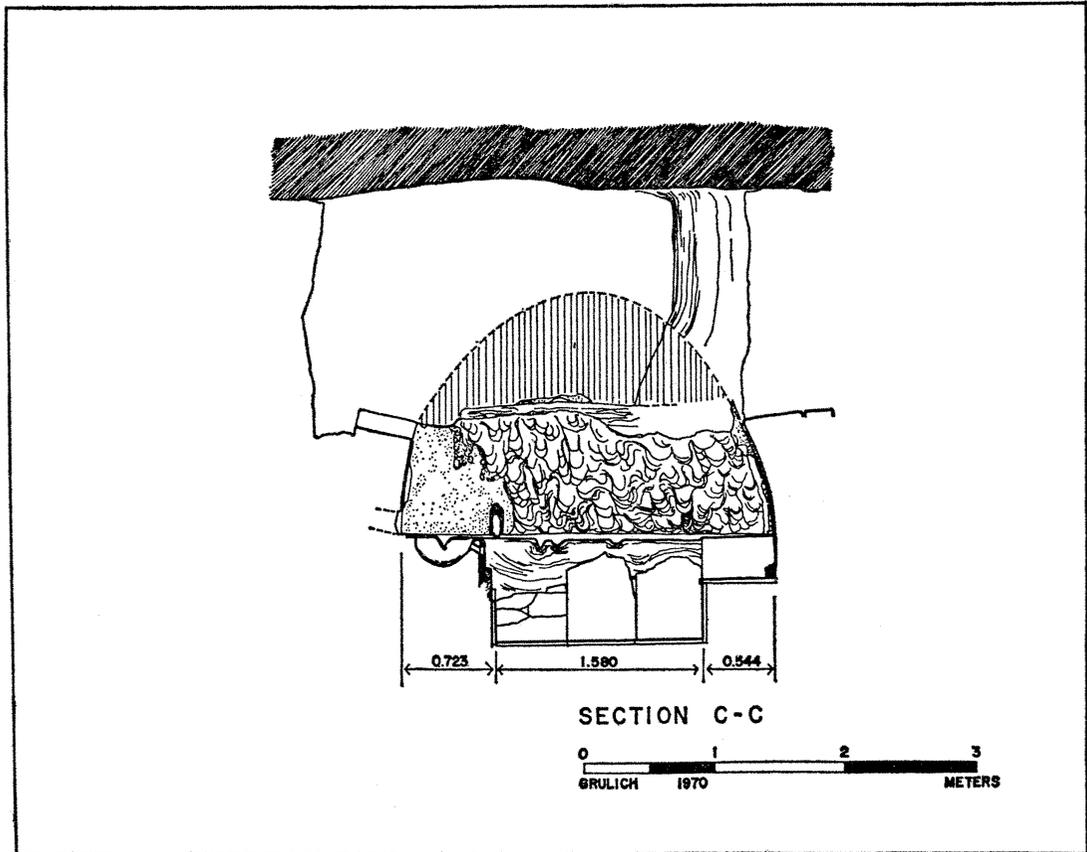


FIG. 6. Underground Bath, Section C-C.

certainly possible. The absence of the voussoirs could be explained by a collapse of the roof in or after 146 B.C. and removal of the voussoirs when the bath was refurbished during the early empire.

The vault must have been thick enough to press against and so support the fossiliferous and crumbly conglomerate ceiling of the cave in which the bath was set (Fig. 7). Room for the bath had been carved chiefly out of the *kimilia* (a chalky

historians so that they discuss Hellenic examples in the most equivocal terms (e.g., Ginouvès, *L'établissement thermal de Gortys d'Arcadie*, p. 120, note 5). There is a brief survey, with numerous photographs and drawings, of the development of arcuated construction in Greece in A. K. Orlandos, *Tà ðλικὰ δομῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων*, II, Athens, 1958, pp. 276-358; cf. also G. Roux, "La terrasse d'Attale I à Delphes," *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1952, p. 159, note 2. Recent discoveries of such construction in Greece, in addition to that at Arcadian Gortys (*loc. cit.*), include an underground chamber at ancient Ephyra in Thesprotia where there is a series of masonry arches (*Ἔργον*, 1958, pp. 95-103, fig. 107) and the Hellenistic arch in the city wall of Eretria (Michaud, *B.C.H.*, XCIV, 1970, p. 1099, fig. 459). There are others. A detailed study of the Hellenic arch and vault would be a welcome contribution to the study of ancient architecture.

marl, nearly impervious to water, that occurs often in the Corinthia between layers of conglomerate or poros), but a part of that space at least was probably a natural grotto where early inhabitants of the area were able to gather water.⁴⁴

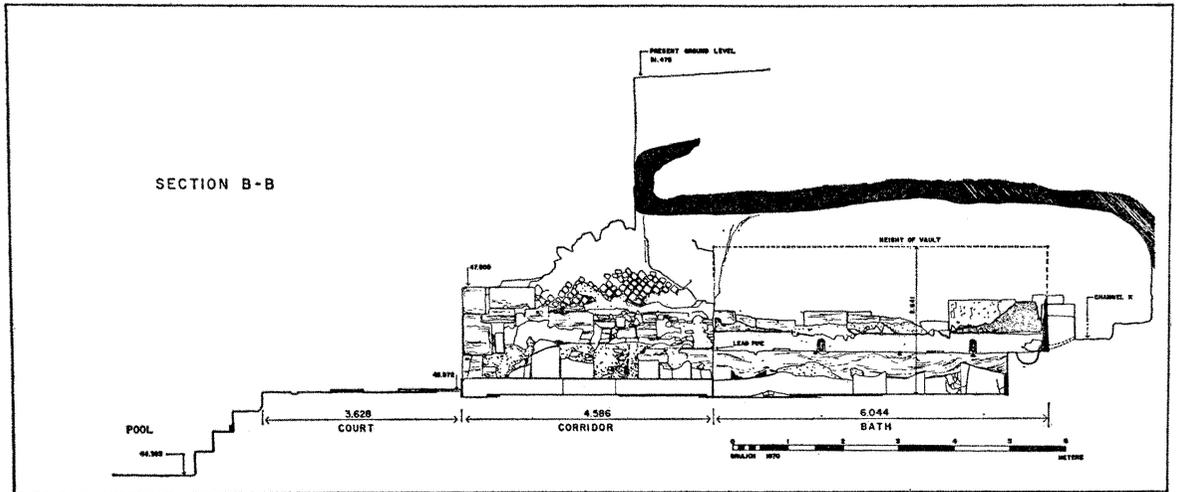


FIG. 7. Underground Bath, Section B-B.

The main room during the Hellenistic and all subsequent phases was just over 6 m. long and the distance between Walls 2 and 3 below the springers of the vault is 2.847 m. The crown of the vault was 2.64 m. above the Roman floor. The corridor in Roman times was 4.586 m. long. We cannot yet be sure of the length of the Greek corridor, but it may well have been the same, or nearly so; the fine Greek pavement can be seen through breaks in the Roman floor almost as far as the entranceway. The floor in all periods sloped gently to the north. The exit of used water was further aided by a drain set into the center of the Greek floor (Pl. 4, b). The extension of the drain in the courtyard was utilized, at least during the empire, to channel excess water from the bath into the pool of the courtyard. The corridor floor is *ca.* 0.20 m. below the floor of the courtyard.

Until a final collapse in the mid-6th century after Christ the living rock extended over most, perhaps all, of the corridor, and quantities of fallen rock had to be removed during the excavation to gain access to the bath. It is too soon for much speculation on the appearance either of the entrance way or the courtyard in Greek times. But it is certain that the underground bath was not an isolated feature. Although Channels F, G, H and J (Fig. 5) were all in use in the Hellenistic period, the latter

⁴⁴ The plateau above the hollow was inhabited as early as the 3rd millenium B.C.; *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 23-27, 410. E. H. II pottery has now (1970) also been found between the brick vault and the cut bedrock scarp in grids M-N/31-32.

two channels ⁴⁵ were cut off from whatever structure(s) they fed when the Roman courtyard walls were constructed.⁴⁶ There is little reason to reject the pool as a part of the Hellenic construction. Although swimming pools are rare in Greece, they are known at some of the great sanctuaries (Olympia, Delphi, Nemea), and basins at least for immersion are known elsewhere, e.g., Gortys in Arcadia. There are even occasional references in literature to such pools.⁴⁷ We have already noted above that a conduit from the Hellenic bath leads to the pool.

A fountain house was discovered and partially excavated in 1970. It also was set back into the face of the cliff and was entered from the courtyard (Pl. 5, a), ca. 2.95 m. east of the bath (Fig. 4). The plan of the fountain house changed somewhat during the centuries of its use, but it was essentially a rectangular room with a broad opening onto the courtyard and a masonry arch ⁴⁸ in the rear above a low parapet that closed a water basin. Channel L, or a branch of it, supplied the fountain house.

Channel E, which was located in 1968 and its upper deposits partially excavated at that time,⁴⁹ was tested in 1970 at the area we termed "cave-in" in 1968. The "cave-in" is clearly the stone fallen from the original face of the cliff, just as we found in front of the fountain and bath. Our test of 1970 in Channel E suggests that it was a reservoir, perhaps wider than that of the fountain described above, behind a *loutron* or *krene* lying beneath the collapsed bedrock and accumulated fill further to the north. There are graffiti in Greek on the stuccoed ceiling, but they are probably late.

Both the fountain and Channel E were in use from at least the early Roman period; they were probably originally contemporary with the Greek bath.

b. THE EARLY IMPERIAL BATH

The bathing complex was repaired and adorned sumptuously, inside and out, during the early life of the Roman colony of Corinth. In the underground bath room a thick bed of cement was laid over the Greek pavement and marble paving slabs

⁴⁵ Channels F and G may have continued in use during the early Roman period as a reservoir for the bath and/or to supply other establishments to the northwest.

⁴⁶ Channel H, which was stuccoed (J was not), received its water via a poros channel that bridges Channel G and extends partway along the upper east wall of Channel F to a smaller channel slanting upwards to the surface of the ground. Doubtless a collecting basin once stood above that access conduit.

⁴⁷ Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè*, pp. 133-135, 189; *L'établissement thermal de Gortys d'Arcadie*, pp. 55-56 and p. 153 (the latter ref. is to the bath at the Sanctuary of Asklepios). The ancient references, which are cited by Ginouvès in *Balaneutikè*, all date to the Roman period.

⁴⁸ The first voussoir on the west side is still in place; another voussoir was found near the fountain house, Inv. No. A-70-26.

⁴⁹ *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 76-77, fig. 6.

set in place; all were white except for a row of blue slabs on the west. A low bench⁵⁰ along the west wall was faced with a white marble seat and a blue marble front. Vertical slabs, probably also of marble, rose *ca.* 0.60 m. above the bench seat along a line *ca.* 0.085 m. from Wall 3 to provide a backrest.⁵¹ Above the backrest a narrow moulding probably provided a transition to the fresco of the vault, part of which is still in place (Pl. 6, a-b). The fresco has a bright blue background and floral patterns in green, red, yellow and white (Pl. 6, c).

The basins also were encrusted with marble⁵² and a vertical strip probably ran along the east wall between the level of the basins and the bottom of the fresco (Pl. 3, a-b). Marble lion's head spouts must at that time have masked the conduits above basins 3 and 5.⁵³

4. Marble lion's head spout. Pl. 6.

A-69-43. H. 0.18 m. W. 0.20 m. Max. Th. 0.153 m. Small-grained, gray-white marble. The lion's head is complete but broken away from the slab in which it was cut. The surface was worked with a narrow, flat chisel and was not smoothed over; mane in groups of three

locks, five to each side; deeply furrowed brow; teeth indicated. Bottom cut flat to rest on surface of basins.

The spout found in 1969 is a rather more carefully executed work than the spout found in 1968 (A 808; Pl. 6). The new spout was found below the level of the bench near basin 3.

The interior south wall was rusticated by cementing small stones and pebbles roughly over its surface (Pl. 3, a). Lion's head spouts were impossible here, and the water must have flowed either from unadorned and largely concealed outlets and down the face of the wall or through slender projecting pipes extending to a point above basins 1 and 2.

The courtyard, walled anew (or for the first time) on the west and south, was also paved with marble slabs (Fig. 5). The walls of the courtyard and the low bench found on the south and west were also encrusted with marble, although little of the revetment was found in place.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ The existence of the bench in Hellenistic times is probable but not definite.

⁵¹ This construction was revealed in 1970 when a section of the late Roman water pipe on the bench was removed. Much of the cement backing for the vertical slabs is preserved and the marble is pitted (intentionally roughened) immediately in front of the cement (Pl. 6, b). The same photograph also shows that the Greek wall had been cut into to receive the revetment of the seat.

⁵² Some revetment is still in place even on the upper surfaces of the washstands. A few fragments (not *in situ*) were also found with curves suitable for facing the basins themselves.

⁵³ One lion's head spout (A 808; Pl. 6) was found in 1968 near the floor of the bath at the south end; *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 78, note 20, pl. 23, d.

⁵⁴ Revetment is still in place on the lower courses of the south wall and a few pieces of the bench facing remain; several slabs and a moulding course are preserved near the center of the north wall. The encrusting of the walls of the courtyard or, for that matter, of the bath need not have been contemporary with the earliest Roman work here. It is clear that at least some parts of the complex were faced with marble at some time near the end of the first century after Christ; see the inscription 26 on pp. 38-39.

The interior length of the courtyard (north-south) is 14.9 m.; its width, still undetermined, may be as large (Pl. 7, a). The south wall of the court is preserved to a height of *ca.* 2 m. near its west end. A large pool which has not yet been completely excavated is sunk below the level of the courtyard. The pool begins 3.6 m. north of the entrance to the underground bath and is *ca.* 3.5 m. from the west wall. On the north side, however, the pool extends to within 0.79 m. of the wall (Pl. 10, d). The bench referred to above,⁵⁵ which extends from near the bath entrance to the southwest corner then all along the west wall and even turns the corner at the north, does not exist (of course) in this narrow space.

The pool is 10.32 m. long (north-south) but most of its area, including the entire east side, is still unexcavated. Only a quadrilateral area at the southwest, perhaps a fourth of the pool area, has been completely cleared. Three limestone steps are located in the southwest angle of the pool; they were originally covered with marble (Pl. 5, b). The walls of the pool are made of large poros blocks faced, at least in the final period of the pool, with a thick, coarse cement; the floor is paved with a fine, hard cement. The pool is 1.58 m. deep at the sides and becomes gradually deeper towards the center. It is, obviously, of a size and depth to permit swimming.

Two conduits, one each from the fountain and bath, empty through the south wall of the pool near the top (Pl. 7, a). Another conduit has been located on the west side near the steps; it extends to the pool from a shallow pit near the west wall. A marble lion's head spout was found on the floor of the pool below the outlet (A-70-35). There was originally a superstructure over the well-like pit that cut into the bench (Fig. 5) and water was found in the pit; the source for the water probably lies beyond the west wall. A handsome glass goblet (MF-70-156) was found in the "well."

5. Marble lion's head spout. Pl. 6.

A-70-35. H. 0.17 m. W. 0.21 m. Th. 0.116 m. The slab is nearly complete; chipped at edges; weathered. Medium-grain, gray-white marble. Two deep, vertical grooves cross brow and diverge on either side of the mouth; the eyes are ovoid.

6. Glass Goblet. Pl. 9.

MF-70-156. H. 0.14 m. D. of rim 0.066 m. D. of base 0.042 m. Mended from several fragments; about 90% complete. Blue-green, thin glass. The goblet has a slightly concave, circular base; tall, flaring body with deep vertical

indents. The slightly thickened rim is finished smooth. The decoration of indents is probably copied from early Roman ceramics (Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, p. 92); see, e. g., a ceramic beaker of the 1st century after Christ, James Wiseman and Djordje Manozissi, "Excavations at Stobi, 1970," *A.J.A.*, LXXV, 1971, p. 405. Similar decoration continues at least into the 2nd century; see, e. g., the small beaker in the Museo Nazionale di Cagliari, Maria Teresa Fortuna Canivet, "I vetri romani di Cornus conservati al Museo di Cagliari," *Journal of Glass Studies*, XI, 1969, p. 23, fig. 16.

⁵⁵ The bench is raised 0.45 m. above the floor and is 0.50 m. deep.

The construction date seems to be in the first century after Christ, not only on the basis of associated finds, but also of architectural style. Part of the upper east wall of the bath corridor is constructed of poros *opus reticulatum* (Fig. 7). Such work is seldom seen in Greece after the reign of Tiberius.⁵⁶

In the vicinity of the junction of Channels F, G, and H, at a level above the lowest channel (where the Hellenistic pottery was found) a number of animal bones, especially *bovidae*, were found with fragments of amphoras, Broneer Type XVI lamps and sherds of other pottery, all from the 1st century after Christ. The deposit was dark and ashey; small fires had obviously been prepared in the partially filled tunnels. This early Roman deposit extended all the way to the west side of Wall 3 where it was *ca.* 0.40 m. thick, beginning near the top of the preserved wall. Near the wall in this deposit were found 13 whole Broneer Type XVI lamps,⁵⁷ an intact mould-made lamp with figured disk and part of the disk of a similar lamp. The material could only have been deposited during the first Roman construction period.

7. Roman terracotta lamp. Pl. 6.

L-69-393. L. 0.12 m. W. 0.068 m. H. 0.031 m. Intact. Red (HUE 2.5YR 5/6) clay with inclusions. Wheelmade. Typical example of Broneer Type XVI with vertical strap handle, square nozzle, filling hole in center of disk.

Scene on disk is a gladiatorial combat.

Cf. Judith Perlzweig, *Athenian Agora*, VII, no. 36, pl. 2. The lamp is of Italian manufacture of the early 1st century after Christ.

8. Roman terracotta lamp. Pl. 6.

L-69-392. L. 0.105 m. W. 0.074 m. H. 0.03 m. Intact. Very pale brown (HUE 10YR 8/3) clay; traces of black glaze. Mouldmade. Broneer Type XXII. No handle; volute nozzle; three framing rings around disk; filling hole off-center; small air hole at edge of disk.

9. Roman terracotta lamp. Pl. 6.

L-69-381. Max. P. Dim. 0.078 m. Four fragments of a mouldmade lamp, mended, broken all around. Very pale brown (HUE 10YR 7.5/4) clay; traces of light red (HUE 2.5YR 6/8) glaze. Scene on disk shows a draped, animated female; she may be dancing. The fragment is probably from a lamp of the same type as No. 8; its date is early 1st century.

The reopening of the bath, then, seems to have taken place before the middle of the 1st century, perhaps as early as the reign of Tiberius. The exceptionally well-carved head of a marble portrait statue found in the pool in 1969 seems to be of about that date.⁵⁸

10. Portrait head. Pl. 8.

S-69-22. P. H. 0.23 m. W. 0.182 m. Th. 0.20 m. Fine-grained white marble with blue veins. The portrait is of a young man with a

somewhat narrow face and high cheekbones. He has a long, straight nose and wide eyes; an otherwise stern countenance is softened by a sensitive mouth. The ears are set close to the

⁵⁶ Marion Elizabeth Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus*, Washington, D. C., 1947, pp. 253-275.

⁵⁷ Only one of these lamps, L-69-393, was inventoried; the others were placed in context storage.

⁵⁸ *Archaeology*, XXIII, 1970, pp. 136-137, color photograph on p. 130.

head and the hair is delicately carved in short, curved locks, but is fuller at the nape of the neck and scalloped thinly across the wide forehead. The back and left side of the head have far less carved detail than the rest of the head; the statue was doubtless intended to be viewed only from the front and right side.

The features of the portrait suggest a member of the Julio-Claudian family, but I have found no exact parallel. Frontal views suggest Drusus Germanicus but profile views are less

similar; Germanicus, like Tiberius himself, has a lower lip that is set well back into the profile (see, e. g., Vagn Poulsen, *Les Portraits Romains*, I, Copenhagen, 1962, no. 52). The similarity is striking, but the distinct difference in the rendering of the mouth is troublesome. The sensitive mouth itself and the straight, clean features seem to me to be somewhat closer to the young Augustus, especially of the Prima Porta type.

A few lamps, some fragmentary, found in the lowest levels of the pool, inscriptions and sculptural fragments attest the continuing use of the complex through the first three centuries of our era (Pl. 9, a). The most interesting of the inscriptions is a list of athletic officials and victors carved on a herm (I-70-39). One of the *xystarchs* named is Gnaeus Babbius Italicus who was probably the son of the well-known Cn. Babbius Philinus and was active in Corinth in the mid-1st century after Christ.⁵⁹ The inscribed herm has received so far only preliminary study and will be published separately; a selection of the inscriptions found in 1969-70 are studied below (pp. 38-42). Here a sampling of material from the lower deposits of the pool will suffice to illustrate the period of use as well as indicate the nature of some of the monuments of the courtyard.

11. Roman terracotta lamp. Pl. 6.

L-70-26. L. 0.13 m. W. 0.112 m. H. 0.048 m. Pink (HUE 5YR 7/4) clay with light red to red (HUE 10R 5.5/3) glaze. Fragmentary; numerous fragments mended. Rectangular mouldmade lamp with three nozzles. The rectangular disk has a relief scene depicting Herakles in the center; he is nude except for a lion's skin that is draped over his left shoulder; he rests his weight gently on the club that he holds in his right hand. Herakles is framed on the left by what appears to be a tree and on the right by a draped female figure holding a staff or palm branch in her left hand. Her identity is unsure, but Athena or Nike is likely. The disk is framed by two raised, grooved rectangles; rim is flat and plain at the edges with a raised leaf design outside disk frame;

nozzles are small, rounded and located all on one side opposite the handle with one at each corner and one in the middle. The high handle is triple-grooved and double-pierced; base is rectangular, tapering from rim, and has a small, grooved square in each corner framing a double grooved circle. Most of the central base is missing and no trace of a signature is preserved.

The lamp may be unique. It is probably an Italian import of the 1st century after Christ rather than a local imitation. In any case the use of glaze on Early Roman lamps with relief disks was discontinued in Corinth shortly before the end of the 1st century after Christ (Perlzweig, *Athenian Agora*, VII, pp. 7-8), a good *terminus ante quem* for the Herakles lamp.

12. Phallic terracotta lamp. Pl. 9.

L-70-28. H. 0.041 m. P. L. 0.084 m. Frag-

⁵⁹ Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, No. 327. Cn. Babbius Philinus was a duovir in the Augustan period; his career is discussed by Robert L. Scranton, *Emory University Quarterly*, V, 1949, pp. 73 ff.

mentary; about half of middle part of lamp is preserved. Fine very pale brown (HUE 10YR 8/4) clay. Traces of dark reddish gray (HUE 10R 3/1) glaze. There are small wings on two sides of the phallus; pierced, double-grooved handle on top; small filling hole near handle.

The clay is typical of the fine Corinthian lamps of the 2nd-3rd centuries after Christ. Several Corinthian lamps of the same date (Broner Type XXVII), some of them whole, were found in the same deposit: e.g., L-70-25 (signature Πωσφόρον); L-70-39 (signature Εὐπόρον).

13. Marble water basin. Pl. 9.

A-70-64. L. 0.485 m. W. 0.47 m. H. 0.11 m. Nearly complete; part of rim missing. Medium grain, gray-white marble. The nearly square basin has a thick, flat rim sloping to shallow basin. There is a cyma recta crowned by a fillet below the rim on the exterior.

Part of a similar basin was also found in the debris of the pool that marks the destruction of the courtyard: A-70-65. Such basins probably stood on low pedestals about the courtyard.

14. Head of marble statue. Pls. 8, 9, a.

S-70-13. P. H. 0.222 m. W. 0.154 m. Th. 0.185 m. Fine-grained, white marble.

Statues of athletes or dignitaries doubtless stood in the courtyard and in rooms and niches along its perimeter.⁶⁰ A number of other fragments of these statues, especially hands, feet and parts of heads, were found in 1969 and 1970. A vast quantity of the marble slabs that once served as paving for the court or revetment for the walls was recovered from the pool. In addition to inscribed monuments, the bath must also have contained a number of separately constructed marble benches or chairs. Several bench supports were found in the pool, some elaborately carved.

16. Marble bench support. Pl. 9.

A-69-67. H. 0.32 m. L. 0.35 m. Th. 0.095 m. Intact. Medium-grain, white marble. The

The head, broken at neck, was made separately and doweled to the body; part of the dowel cutting is preserved. The head is that of a young boy with heavy, projecting eyelids, straight nose, and a small mouth. He wears a fillet in his hair which is carved in small locks and shown combed nearly straight down over his forehead. The fillet suggests that a victor in a boy's contest is represented.

15. Head of marble statue. Pls. 8, 9, a.

S-70-14. P. H. 0.255 m. W. 0.14 m. Th. 0.178 m. Fine-grained white marble. The head is broken at the neck, which extends downward and is roughened as a rounded projection; it may, as the preceding, have been made separately from the body. A young male is represented. His hair is carved in tight curls that continue down the back of the neck; he also has long sideburns. The features of the face are sharply defined and there is little modelling; straight nose with flat profile; small, full mouth, slightly off center; almond shaped eyes with heavy lids.

This head, found near the preceding, probably also represents a youthful victorious athlete who was commemorated at the bath he frequented.

support has anathyrosis on the top, bottom and back; dowel holes on top and bottom; a pour channel slopes from the front edge to the top

⁶⁰ A brick and concrete domical structure in grids M-O/33-35 was partially excavated in 1970 (Fig. 4). Its relation (if any) to the bath complex has not yet been determined because neither its floor level nor the full area of its wall has been excavated. If it does belong to the bath: 1) the pool would be *ca.* 8.50 m. wide or 2) the concrete structure might have been either a semi-domed exedra at the east edge of the pool or a domed room, perhaps the *sudatorium*.

dowel hole in the upper surface. The front is carved as a lion's leg with wide grooves on the sides, but the right side is more carefully worked. The relief is framed by the leg and by a continuous wide flat band. The support presumably stood at the end of the bench so that the less well-carved side would have been less readily visible, shaded, as it were, by the bench.

17. Marble bench support. Pl. 9.

A-70-60. H. 0.30 m. L. 0.43 m. Th. 0.15 m. Complete. Medium-grain, white marble. This support also has a lion's leg on the front, but one of grosser proportion than that of **16**; the paw is enormous and the leg short. The support is rough worked on the top and back.

The courtyard paving slabs extend only to the edge of the blocks that form the wall of the pool. The surface of that wall is raised above the level of the courtyard floor and must itself have been covered in some manner, perhaps with a different type of marble paving. Several fragments of red marble were found in the pool and no piece of such revetment has been found elsewhere in place. A pool border of red would be quite in keeping with the colorful decor of the complex.

The possibility remains that there was a colonnade about the pool. The top course of the courtyard walls is not preserved in any area yet excavated and, lacking any good evidence for a colonnade on the pool wall, there is little to suggest that the sides of the court were roofed. A few poros blocks with beam cuttings have been found, all in secondary positions. But several fragments of marble Ionic and Corinthian capitals were found in the pool. Part of an Ionic cornice, also of marble, was found built into the Late Roman ramp wall (below, p. 23), and even marble column fragments have been found. One of these fragments, A-70-62, is the lowest part of an unfluted column with a simple, rounded base moulding. Two dowel cuttings are preserved in the bottom. Unfortunately, the fragment suffered greatly in later periods of use when it had been cut down to fit a need for a flat block. The preserved diameter is 0.53 m.; the column might just have fitted on the west wall of the pool (*ca.* 0.75 m.), but would probably have been too large for the somewhat thinner blocks on the south. What is more, no dowel holes have yet been found in the blocks at the edge of the pool.

Perhaps a likelier candidate for the marble architecture is a colonnaded entranceway to the bath. That entranceway, whatever its form, has proved to be elusive. So far our excavations have revealed no entrance to the complex, either from the level of the hollow or from above on the level of the Gymnasium plateau.

c. EARTHQUAKE AND INVASION

Some of the repairs detected, such as patching of the courtyard paving, are of a sort that might have occurred at any time in the long history of the bath complex. Other more drastic changes in both form and function are also attested, though the chronology is not yet clear.

At some as yet undetermined time the ceiling of the underground bath was

repaired and the bright fresco covered with a brown cement (Pl. 6, c). Perhaps to this time should be dated the alterations in the adjacent fountain house where the chamber was narrowed by a poros wall on the west. The new wall masks the marble encrusted wall of the earlier phase; some marble is still in place and visible behind the repair.

Later, the use of the chamber as a bath was discontinued and all interest in the appearance of the interior lapsed. A terracotta water pipe on a crude stand of small stones was laid on top of the marble bench (Pl. 6, a) and covered with broken roof tiles; it drew its water from the inlet over basin 1, and it is the link above the basin itself that is the only substantial gap now in the conduit. The pipe was set into the west wall of the corridor and emptied above what is now merely a rectangular hole in the court floor at the edge of the bench (Pl. 5, b). The conduit carrying water from the basin 6 to an outlet above the "footbath" may also have still been operable. Presumably at this time the bath was being used chiefly as a source for water that could be gathered in jars at the entrance; it is not yet clear whether or not the ceiling had already collapsed when the pipe was laid. But a thin limey deposit on the marble bench seat was formed *before* the stand for the conduit was built so that there appears to have been at least a brief anterior period when the bath was flooded and unused.

Sherds and terracotta lamps found within the filled pipeline show that it was no longer functioning by the end of the 4th century after Christ. If its construction followed the collapse of the vault, it may have been in use only for about one generation. The roof, as we shall see, probably collapsed in the earthquake of A.D. 375, or possibly a cataclysm a decade earlier.⁶¹

The pool was largely filled with debris from the destruction of the courtyard before the end of the fourth century and rubbish dumps began to accumulate over the area both of the pool and the walkways around it. Sometime early in the 6th century an area on the southeast was set off by a wall of re-used poros blocks (Pl. 5, a) and on the west a ramp wall of re-used architectural pieces descended from the west wall along the south edge of the accumulating rubbish heaps near the edge of the pool. The entrance to the underground bath was thereby kept partially free of fill, though water would have flooded the area to a depth of about 1.50 m.⁶²

Although a large amount of the marble that once adorned the courtyard had already found its way into the pool and had been covered by later rubbish dumps, there was still enough marble visible in the 6th century to attract the lime makers. Pockets of lime and small pieces of marble statues were observed often in the north-eastern area of the excavations in 1970. The lower part of a large circular construction resting on a 6th century fill and covered by a deposit of the same century was

⁶¹ *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, p. 409 note 19 and the references cited there.

⁶² Water quickly accumulated in the bath to a depth of *ca.* 1.50 m. after excavations and the daily pumping of water ceased in 1969.

revealed within the periphery of the domical structure referred to above (p. 21, note 60). It is probably the lower part of a large limekiln.⁶³ The head of a marble statue was found at the "floor" of the kiln.

18. Marble statue head. Pl. 9.

S-70-10. P. H. of chin to top 0.23 m. W. 0.16 m. Medium-grain, white marble. The head is badly weathered and most of the face above the nostrils was cut away in antiquity. The outline of the nose is barely traceable. Facial features where discernible are small and feminine. The cutting for the right eye, which was inset and is not preserved, contains a thin bronze strip that would have held the eye in

place; its upper part might also have been cut to simulate eyelashes. There is no trace of hair on what little is preserved of the head; a possible explanation for this absence is that the figure wore a separate bronze helmet. There seems to have been little modelling of the face, chin and neck although the finish where preserved is smooth and carefully done. The head is likely to be an early Greek work, perhaps Archaic.

Other pieces of statues, architecture and a vast quantity of smaller objects, especially broken pottery vessels, continued to accumulate in the courtyard until the middle of the 6th century when the edge of the cliff collapsed over the bath and fountain and the entire complex was abandoned. Although the upper part of the courtyard walls may have been visible for another century or two, as the upper part of the domical structure certainly was to an even later time, there is no evidence that Corinthians took further interest in the area. Earth washing over the edge of the cliff accumulated to such a depth in the courtyard that the very existence of such a large complex was unimagined even in 1968 when we first arrived, through tunnels, at the rear of the underground bath. The floor of the pool lay more than 7 m. below the surface of the ground when we began work in 1969.

Minor finds from the deep accumulation over the courtyard are far too numerous to catalogue here; a few exceptional pieces only are cited below. I also publish here two drawings by M. Grulich showing the variety of crosses represented among the stamped designs of Late Roman Red Ware (4th-6th centuries after Christ) found in the same deposits (Fig. 8) and, on the same type of ware, examples of wild-life (Fig. 9).

19. Mouldmade terracotta disk. Pl. 9.

L-70-34. D. 0.071 m. Th. 0.012 m. Dark gray (HUE 10YR 4/1) clay, fired hard. Broken at bottom. The disk with the relief scene is attached to a second disk which curves out slightly in the back but tapers again towards the break. The form, then, is that of a deco-

rated handle analogous to those known on Broneer Type XXI lamps (1st century B.C. to 1st century after Christ); Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, pp. 73-76.

The front disk carries an idyllic scene in flat, almost unmodelled relief. A nude woman, holding a veil above her head, is performing a

⁶³ The interior diameter is slightly less than 3 m.

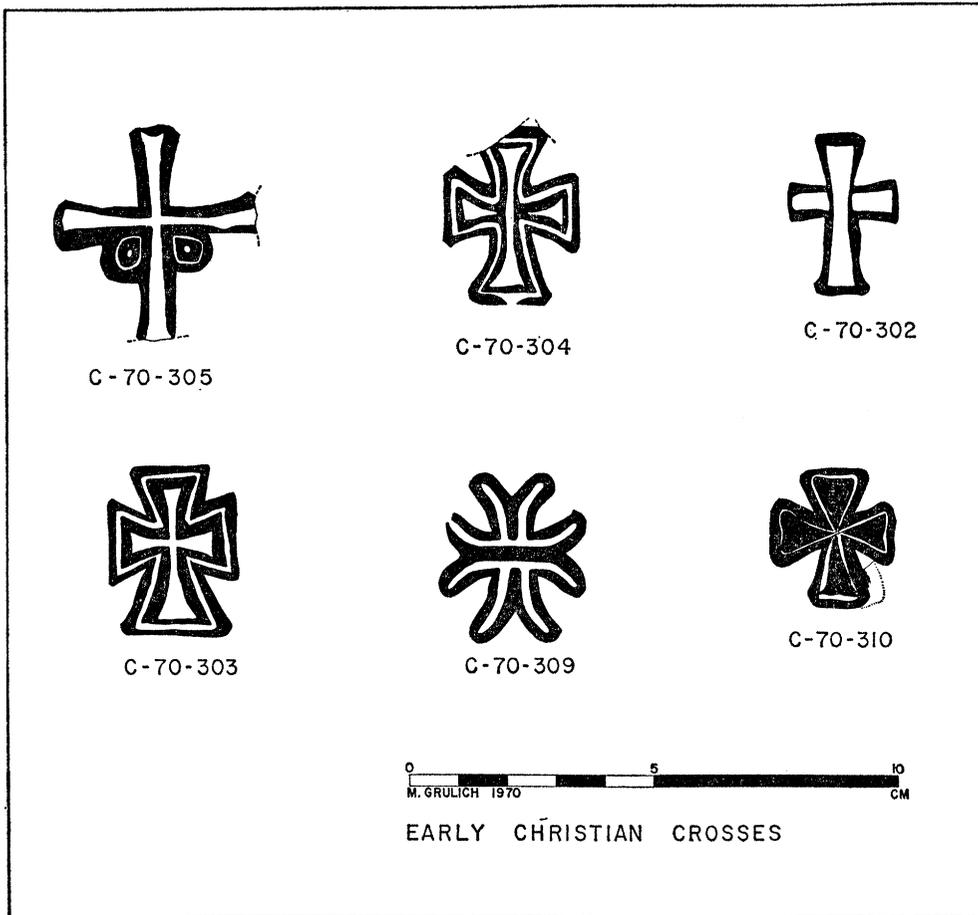


FIG. 8. Stamped Crosses on Late Roman Red Ware.

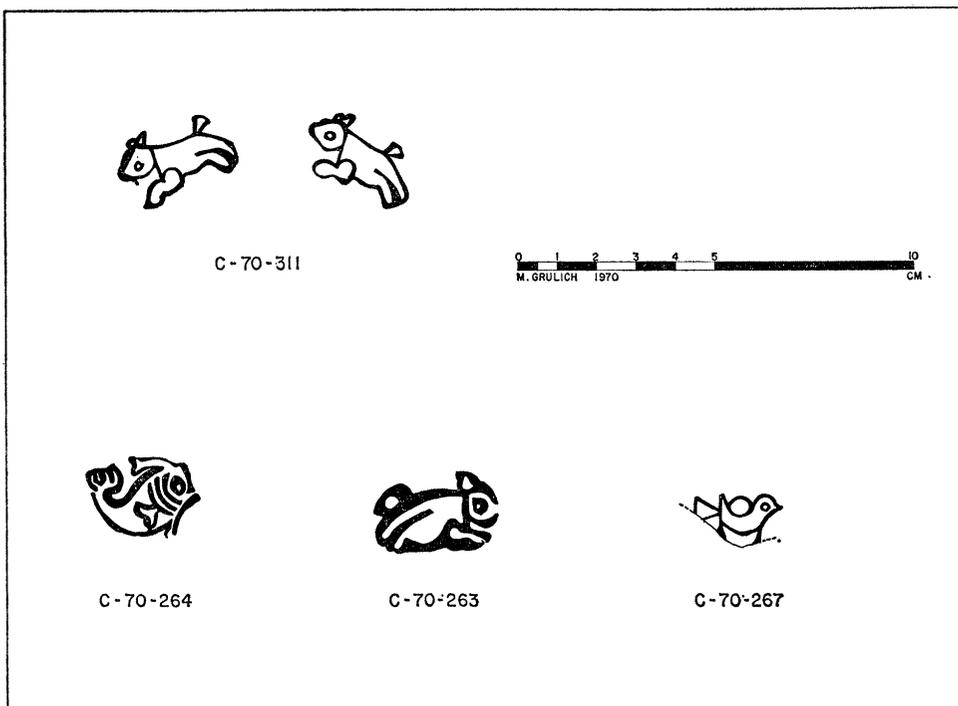


FIG. 9. Fish, Bird and Animals on Late Roman Red Ware.

highly animated dance. Her left leg is crossed over the right and she appears to be moving to the left. She looks back to her accompanist who is playing the pipes and watching her dance. He wears a belted tunic, short cape and high boots and is seated on what appears to be a large rock; his left leg is crossed over the right. Both figures have upswept, tight coiffures; the breasts and naval of the dancer, of about equal size, are simple impressed circles. Two stylized trees complete the unframed scene.

The disk, perhaps too boldly, has been inventoried as a part of a lamp and may indeed be a handle for another type of vessel. There is no handle of such size and shape known for a Broneer XXI lamp, which would, in any case, be very early for the type of rendering here. The stylized, unmodelled forms are far more at home in late antiquity. An interesting parallel in the rendering of a nude female can be seen in a Europa depicted riding a bull in a recently discovered mosaic on Naxos (*Ἐργον*, 1961, pp. 200-202, figs. 212-213). Here, too, the breasts are simple circles, the anatomy generally stylized, and the hair swept back and up. The mosaic is dated to the 4th century after Christ and I would suspect a date at least that late for the disk. It was found in a deposit of the late 5th to early 6th century after Christ. Large lamps, especially metal ones, which might have offered a prototype, are well known in the late empire.

The disk may be Coptic in origin. The following observations are those of Mrs. Nancy Jircik, a graduate student in Classical Archæology at the University of Texas.

"The scene is a type popular in Egyptian decorative arts until well into the Christian era, and the rendering is like that on other objects of Coptic origin in the 5th to early 6th century.

d. THE BATH AS A PLACE OF MAGIC

Water sources that fell into disuse often became places of magic in antiquity. A disused well, for example, was the usual depository for lead *tabellae defixionum*.⁶⁴

Similar dancing figures include a Nereid on a 5th century relief from Herakleopolis Magna (J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture, 300-1300*, London, 1963, pl. 60), a Pan figure on a tapestry (*L'Art Copte*, Catalogue, Petit Palais, 1964, Paris, pl. 158), and Aphrodite on a bone inlay panel (*Pagan and Christian Art of Egypt*, Catalogue, Brooklyn Museum, New York, 1941, p. 167, pl. 106).

"Distorted proportion of the torso, a boneless animation, flattening of form, and incision of interior details occur on the Daphne relief (Beckwith, pl. 61; early 5th century), a pilgrim's flask from Abou Mena (Petit Palais, 1964, pl. 137; 5th century), the stele of Olympos (Brooklyn Mus., 1941, pl. 36; 5th century). The flat rendering becomes an overall pattern and would seem later in date than the disk; cf. two saints in the catalogue, Brooklyn Mus., 1941, pls. 58, 59; 6th century.

"Hair, as an incised, up-swept mass appears as a Coptic convention in the late 4th to the 6th centuries; K. Wessel, *Coptic Art*, N. Y., 1965, fig. 134; Beckwith, fig. 57. Bulbous noses, descending straight from the forehead, occur both on the disk and on a late 5th to 6th century tapestry showing Pan and Bacchus (Petit Palais, 1964, fig. 158, Pan and Bacchus)."

20. Marble statue head.

Pl. 9.

S-69-19. P. H. 0.245 m. W. 0.183 m. Fine-grain, white marble. Badly weathered; most of mouth and nose worn away; chip missing from left cheek. Hair rendered in tight curls; small, finely carved ears; delicately carved brow and eyes. The figure was represented with his head turned slightly to the left. The figure was probably an athlete. The sculptor was a skilled carver of stone, whether a copyist of the early Roman period or the original Greek sculptor.

⁶⁴ See, e.g., tablets from a well in the Athenian Agora: G. W. Elderkin, "An Athenian Male-

Caves, furthermore, were the natural haunt of Pan, nymphs and other deities.⁶⁵ The new Corinthian bath included a hydraulic installation within a natural grotto only a short stroll from a site known for centuries to be a place of healing (i.e., the Asklepieion which was demolished in the late 4th century after Christ).⁶⁶ Since a large cemetery (above, pp. 8-9) occupied the former Gymnasium Area, including the Asklepieion and its fountain, an additional chthonic feature was added that may have further enhanced the appeal of the underground bathing room as a place for magic.

However varied and numerous the causes, it is clear that the underground bath became a cult place after its ceiling collapsed in the 4th century after Christ (above, p. 23). Some of the marble revetment that faced the basins was broken in the catastrophe that overwhelmed the bath and also fell into the central area of the chamber along with the lion's head spouts from the east wall. The uncontrolled water that supplied the bath now flooded the chamber and doubtless extended well into the courtyard. The ramp wall described above (p. 23) would not only have formed a border for the rubbish dumps over the courtyard and pool, but would also have provided access for visitors to the subterranean room. Persons might wade into the chamber itself or allow their votives (usually terracotta lamps, as we shall see) to float into the room, or they could cast them from the ramp wall. The supply and storage channels for the now ruined bath were only partially filled and could also have provided access for the pilgrim of more adventurous spirit who might enter the grotto from the rear.⁶⁷

Terracotta lamps were the usual votive offering. From about the level of the basins to the floor, whole and fragmentary lamps were found in astonishing quantity. A total of 1,461 whole lamps were recovered from the bath in 1968 and 1969; at least 2,500 other lamps are represented by fragments. They range in date from the middle, possibly the early part, of the 4th century to the middle of the 6th century. It was this great cache of lamps that prompted the name for the underground structure of the "Fountain of the Lamps." A study of lamps of Corinthian manufacture during the late empire, based on finds from the Fountain of the Lamps, is being prepared

dictory Inscription on Lead," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 43-49; *idem*, "Two Curse Inscriptions," *Hesperia*, VI, 1940, pp. 382-395. But tablets are found elsewhere also; cf. the tablets from the setting trench of the apsidal building in the Gymnasium Area, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 70.

⁶⁵ Examples are far too numerous to list here. Basic treatments of the subject are G. W. Elderkin, "The Natural and the Artificial Grotto," *Hesperia*, IX, 1941, pp. 125-137; and esp. Ginouvès, *Balanéutikè*, pp. 327-428. On the relations among grottos, nymphs and fountain houses of both the Greek and Roman (*nymphaea*) periods, see also Ginouvès, in J. des Gagniers *et al.*, *Laodicée du Lycos, Le Nymphée*, Quebec and Paris, 1969, pp. 137-140.

⁶⁶ Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, pp. 160-161. On the importance of water for the cult of Asklepios, see Ginouvès, *L'établissement thermal de Gortys d'Arcadie*, p. 153, note 2, and *Balanéutikè*, pp. 349-361.

⁶⁷ Or through Channel E, which must also have been partially open until the mid-6th century.

by Karen Garnett for a forthcoming issue of *Hesperia*.⁶⁸ A full report on the lamps must await the final publication of excavations in the Gymnasium Area.

The lamps with relief disks, of which there is a large number, display both pagan and Christian symbols. A small selection is reproduced in Plate 10, but there is not space here even for a representative publication of the variety of shapes and disk reliefs;⁶⁹ one of the lamps shown (Pl. 10, b) has two nozzles.⁷⁰ Several lamps of this unusual form, all of Corinthian manufacture, were found in the chamber. The numerous signatures of imperial lampmakers include *Χιόνης*, *Στρατόλαος*, *Σωκράτης*, *Νάρος*. Four of the lamps carry graffiti (Fig. 10).

21. Mouldmade terracotta lamp. Fig. 10.

L-69-103. L. 0.114 m. W. 0.069 m. H. 0.031 m. Intact. Reddish yellow (HUE 5YR 6/6), micaceous clay. The lamp, other than the graffito it bears, is an undistinguished example of the 5th century Broneer Type XXXI lamps, a variety which seems to have its origins in North Africa; Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, pp. 118-119; Perlzweig, *Athenian Agora*, VII, pp. 9-10. The development of the lamp in North Africa has been traced in a recent study, "Études sur la ceramique romaine d'Afrique, sigillée claire et ceramique commune de Hencher el Ouiba (Raggada) en Tunisie centrale," *Bulleten van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der kennis van de Antieke Beschaving*, XLIII, 1968, pp. 80-145. There is a stylized palm tree surrounded by circles on the keyhole-shaped disk of the new example.

The graffito is written on the wall of the lamp beginning near the handle on the left side and continuing all around the lamp, ending at the handle on the right side; it is in two lines on the second side.

*Ἄγγελοι οἱ κατο[ι]κοῦντ[ες] ἐπὶ το[ῖς] Ἰουδα[ῖ]οις τούτοις.

A squiggle partially below the line may indicate the missing letter(s) in κατο[ι]κοῦντ[ες]. It seems best to take the first three words as vocative to denote those addressed: "Angels who dwell below . . ." The dedicator also omitted two letters in the article following ἐπὶ and in Ἰουδα[ῖ]οις omitted an *iota* and wrote the *sigma* on its side. On "Angels who dwell below," see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, s.v. ἄγγελος F: τῶν γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐνοικούντων πνευμάτων οἱ τὴν κατωτάτω χῶραν κατοικοῦντες ἄγγελοι. Some angels are evil and serve Satan (*ibid.*, G); these, presumably, "dwell below." They are present at the time of death (*ibid.*, H. 8); even men become angels (*ibid.*, N). A few early Christian tombstones from Thera contain the word angel in *I.G.*, XII, iii, Suppl.: (No. 1384) ἄγγελο[s]; (No. 1636) ἄγγελος Τύχωνος; (No. 1637) ἄγγελος Φοινίσ(σ)ας. The references here are obviously merely to the deceased.

The prepositional phrase ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις is

⁶⁸ The study is based on her Master's Thesis (May, 1970) at the University of Texas, "Late Roman Lamps of Corinthian Manufacture from the Fountain of the Lamps."

⁶⁹ The lamps shown in Pl. 10, a are (l. to r.); L-69-218, Broneer Type XXVIII, Attic glazed import, signature TPY, previously unknown; L-4580, Broneer Type XXVIII, Attic unglazed import; L-69-290, Broneer Type XXVIII, Corinthian imitation of Attic unglazed; L-69-151, Broneer Type XXXI, Corinthian imitation of North African type; L-69-135, Broneer Type XXXII, Corinthian imitation of a (possible) Syracusan type. A few other lamps from the fountain have been illustrated elsewhere; *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 78, 105, pls. 24, a, 26, d; *Archaeology*, XXIII, 1970, ill. on p. 136.

⁷⁰ L-69-63. L. 0.097 m. W. 0.068 m. H. 0.031 m. Signature Σωκράτης.

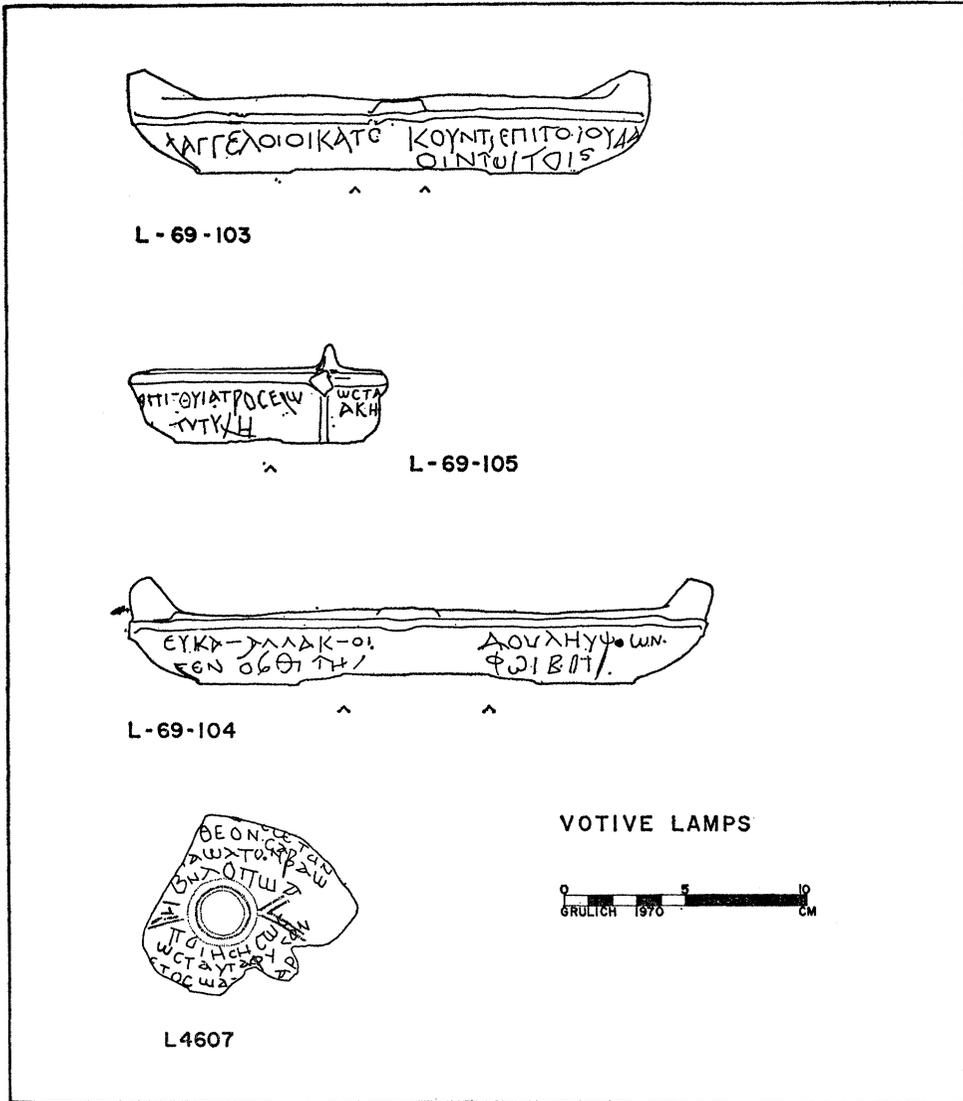


FIG. 10. Votive Lamps with Graffiti.

especially interesting in this context. In their discussion of *ἐπί* with the dative, J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan (*The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 234) cite examples from two papyri of the 2nd century after Christ in which the heirs are referred to in the prepositional phrase following the statement of death: e.g., *μετηλλαχότος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐπὶ κληρονόμωι νῆωι Ἀφροδισίωι*. The expression is equivalent to a

simple dative of interest, and it would be tempting to translate, "angels who dwell below (i.e. the dead) (having left) these Jews (as heirs)." The cross at the beginning of the expression, however, marks the dedicator as a Christian and renders such a sentiment unlikely. It is better to view the phrase as a simple locative: "Angels who dwell below among these Jews."

The dedicator, then, seems to be calling upon

dead Christians (who have become angels), or angels of the lower world, who are somehow associated with Jews. The *τούτοις* is also strange; the reference is not to *all* Jews, or even all dead Jews, but *these* Jews. Presumably certain Jews are to be associated, along with Christians, with the cult place. We may postulate a group of martyrs who dwelt at the time of their martyrdom in the Jewish community; they may have been Jews converted to Christianity; and the group of martyrs apparently includes both Jews and Christians. Certainly Christian proselytizers sought converts in the Jewish community of early Corinth; Paul was charged by the Jews before Gallio for his evangelical successes in the 1st century (*Acts*: 18, 13). The language of the graffito is especially appropriate for a reference to a Jewish community; *κατοικία* was a technical term referring (Moulton and Milligan, *s.v.* *κατοικία*) "to a 'settlement' of Jews in the city with definite rights and a legalized position." The inscription cited in the lexicon is from Hierapolis and the relevant passage reads as follows: *εἰ δὲ ἕτι ἕτερος κηδεύσει, δώσει τῇ κατοικίᾳ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει κατοικοῦντων Ἰουδαίων προστείμων δηνάρια*. Moulton and Milligan based their comment, cited above, on an earlier discussion by W. H. Ramsay. The verb *κατοικεῖν* here, as regularly, signifies merely "inhabit, dwell"; the locative aspect of the verb in the graffito, however, is suggested by the discovery of the lamp in a subterranean cult room.

22. Mouldmade terracotta lamp. Fig. 10.

L 4607. Max. P. L. 0.078 m. Max. P. W. 0.058 m. Single fragment; light reddish brown (HUE 2.5YR 5.5/5) micaceous clay. Found in the bath chamber on August 7, 1968. The base and part of the walls of the lamp are preserved; two circular ridges on bottom; two V-shaped grooves at base of nozzle; three grooves at base of handle.

The graffito is written to be read in a series of lines from the top line below the rim, probably to the rim on the other side. This arrangement requires the words on the second side of

the lamp to be "upside down" in their relation to the lamp.

[- - - -] σε τὸν
 [- -] θεὸν Σαβαώ
 [- -] Ἰάωα τὸν
 Βήλ ὄπως
 ποιήσης <καλ>ῶς
 ὡς ταῦτα φύσον
 ἔτος ΩΑ [- -] AP

There are traces of several letters in line 1, probably representing the first word in what is clearly a magic incantation. A likely candidate is *ὀρκίζω*, common in the magical papyri. The Great Magical Papyrus (*ca.* A.D. 300, according to Adolf Deissmann) provides an almost exact parallel for our text in lines 3052-3053: *ὀρκίζω σε μέγαν ἄν Σαβαώθ*; and in 3045: *ὀρκίζω σε θεόν*; text with translation of this Jewish spell is in Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, New York, 1927, pp. 257-263. It is tempting to restore *μέγαν* on the basis of the preceding, at the beginning of line 2 of our text.

The references to Sabaoth in line 2 and to Iao in the third line suggest that the caster of the spell was a Jew. Both are among the names of God found in texts of Jewish incantations; see, for example, the Coptic text of an exorcism, especially sections IV-V and IX, in Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, II, *The Archaeological Evidence from the Diaspora*, New York, 1953, pp. 176-177. Bael is one of the 24 archangels in the same text, sections XIX-XX.

Moulton and Milligan, *op. cit.*, p. 454, *s.v.* *ὄπως*, cite an interesting parallel for the expression in our lines 4-5; it is from a papyrus of the 1st century after Christ: *δ[ι]ε[π]εμφάμην σ[οι τὸ]ν ἐμὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὅπ[ως] καλῶς ποιήσι (= εἰ)ς, συμβαλὼν χάρ[ακα] περὶ τοῦ ἐ[λαίων]ος ἡ (= ἰ)-δίου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνθάδε*. The same lexicon, *s.v.* *ποιέω*, also offers the following helpful observation: "The phrase *εἰ* or *καλῶς ποιήσεις* is very common introducing a command or request, almost equals our 'please' or 'kindly.' It is generally followed by an aorist participle . . ."

The construction in the graffito is somewhat more complicated, but neither the ὅπως clause nor ὦς with the future participle is unusual. And the misspelling ποιήσης for ποιήσεις is not troublesome for this period; certainly Corinthian letter-carvers during the late empire exhibited a most cavalier unconcern when choosing among the vowels ι, η, υ, ει, οι; cf. Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, *passim* among the early Christian tombstones, pp. 172-204.

We must either take ὦς in line 6 as a duplication or assume that the dedicant omitted καλ- before ὦς in line 5. Omissions are in no way surprising; cf. the dropped letters in the text of No. 21. The frequency of the formula καλῶς ποιεῖν is, I think, conclusive; cf. also Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 201 (3rd century papyrus, no. 19, line 2), καλῶς ἐποίησες; *ibid.*, p. 208 (late 3rd century papyrus, no. 21, col. III, line 1), καλῶς οὖν ποιήσαντ[ες, ἀδελφοί]; cf. also in the Rainer papyri, C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, XX, 1969, no. 24, line 3, καλῶς ποιήσεις.

The omega in line 7 may be the numeral (800th), perhaps equivalent to infinity. The beginning of a horizontal bar at the tip of the letter after A is visible followed by space for ca. 3 letters, then -αρ- and another break. A possible restoration, which would only intensify the prayer, is to write ἀτ[έκμ]αρ[των].

The graffito might then read as follows:

[ὀρκίζω] σε τὸν
 [μέγαν] θεὸν Σαβαώ,
 [τὸν] Ἰάωα, τὸν
 Βήλ, ὅπως
 5 ποιήση(= εἰ)ς <καλ>ῶς
 ὦς ταῦτα φύσων
 ἔτος ᾧ ἀτ[έκμ]αρ[των].

"I adjure you, great God Sabaoth, Iao, Baal, that you kindly bring it to pass that the 800th boundless year swell to fullness with these things."

The "things" would presumably be the desires expressed orally when the lamp was placed

in the fountain. The prayer sounds like an invocation of good rather than evil.

23. Mouldmade terracotta lamp. Fig. 10.

L-69-104. L. 0.113 m. W. 0.071 m. H. 0.031 m. Complete. Light red (HUE 2.5YR 5.5/6), slightly micaceous clay. Broneer Type XXXI lamp. Disk: central filling hole; design of slanted rays. Rim: herringbone; impressed Maltese cross in front of handle. Channel to nozzle. Raised circular base ring.

The graffito is in 2 lines on each long side of the lamp, reading from handle to nozzle on one (side A), nozzle to handle on the other (side B).

Side A: εὐκατάλλακτοι

γένος θ(εοῦ) Ἰη(σοῦ)

Side B: Δούλη ὑψ(ίστου) ὄν(?)

Φωῖβοι

Side A bears the invocation of the εὐκατάλλακτοι, "those who can be appeased." The second line is problematic; even γένος is not sure. I have taken the short vertical stroke after the theta to mark an abbreviation; there is another mark above iota. The final letters are the abbreviation of Ἰησοῦ; Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, No. 704. Moulton and Milligan, *op. cit.*, s.v. γένος, cite examples of γένος meaning "offspring," which would be appropriate here.

Side B identifies the dedicant as a δούλη ὑψ(ίστου) "slave of the Most High." The lexica refer to several examples of ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὑψιστος as the Jewish God; see especially ὑψιστος in Moulton and Milligan. The context renders any reference to Zeus Hypsistos most unlikely (cf. Thracian dedications, *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 1969, Nos. 481-482; Michaud, *B.C.H.*, XCIV, 1970, pp. 1062-1066, fig. 385). The god intended, as in the graffito, is not always explicit; cf. the thankful inscription on an altar found recently in Bulgaria (*S.E.G.*, XXIV, 1969, No. 905 and, for line 3, J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXXVIII, 1965, p. 131, note 256): [A]γαθῇ Τύχη | [θ]εῷ ὑψίστῳ | Χρήσ<ι>μος | Ἐρμογένου | ὑπὲρ τῶν | ιδίων | εὐχαριστῶ. The

“slave of God” and “the slave of Christ” also appear, referring especially to conversion to Christianity; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 319-338. The “slave of the Most High God” appears in a charm addressed to Eros on which Goodenough, who discusses the spell at length, comments, “a more complete mixture of Hellenism with Egyptian and Jewish elements could not be imagined”; *Jewish Symbols*, II, p. 201. If our reading is correct for the lamp graffito, there is here, too, a striking mixture of Jewish, Christian and Pagan sentiment.

I believe that the final letters in line 2 refer to a purchase: $\omega\nu(\eta\tau\eta)$; cf. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, XX, no. 71, line 6, $\alpha\delta\tau\omega\ \omega\eta\eta\tau\eta\nu\ \delta\omega\lambda\eta\nu$ (a papyrus of the 3rd century after Christ). That is, we have to do with an actual purchase, or rather a manumission since the slave was purchased for $\Phi\omega\beta\omega\varsigma$. The so-called “Polygonal Wall” at Delphi has numerous examples of the manumission of slaves through their purchase for Apollo; cf. an inscription referred to by Deissmann (p. 323) in his brilliant discussion of the formulas of manumission and servitude of god $\tau\alpha\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \omega\nu\alpha\nu\ |\ \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\ \text{N}\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha\ \tau\omega\iota\ |\ \text{A}\rho\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\ \epsilon\pi' \ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha\iota$.

The lamp, then, was left at the chamber as a thank offering for manumission. The religion of the freedwoman may have been as ambigu-

ous to her as it appears to us, but she is likely to have been a Jewish slave who was both manumitted and converted to Christianity.

The graffito seems to say something akin to the following:

“(You) who can be appeased;
Jesus, child of God.
The slave of the Most High God, bought
for Phoebus (dedicates this lamp).”

24. Mouldmade terracotta lamp. Fig. 10.

L-69-105. Max. P. L. 0.086 m. Max. P. W. 0.058 m. H. 0.032 m. Soft, white (HUE 5Y 8/2) clay. One fragment including handle, part of rim, walls and base; part of the nozzle, un-inscribed, is preserved separately. Broneer Type XXXI. Rim: alternating triangles and hearts. The graffito is arranged in two lines on each side in the same manner as on the preceding lamp.

Side A: $\omega\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\ [-\ -\ -]$

AKH [- - -]

Side B: $[-\ -\ -]\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}[\xi]\ \omega\nu\ \iota\alpha\tau\rho\delta\varsigma\ \text{E}\rho\omega(\varsigma)$

$\epsilon\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$

Too few letters are preserved on Side A to suggest a formula. But the second side seems clear enough: “Eros, healing doctor, come. . . good fortune.” The lamp is a love charm and Eros is summoned to minister not to a physical illness, but to a spiritual (sexual) pain.

Lamps were the most frequent offerings left in the flooded chamber, but the magicians and other worshippers who went there left other votives as well. A total of 45 coins were recovered, many of which were found adhering to lamps, sherds, the backside of marble revetment slabs from the basins,⁷¹ and even a few on the floor itself. Such a circumstance is possible only if the coins (at least the majority of them) were tossed into the water after the collapse of the bath and during the life

⁷¹ In one instance of this type the front side of the slab was covered with a calcium deposit like that found on the revetment in place. The bath, obviously, had been flooded for many years before that slab had been broken from the revetment and the coin came to rest on its backside. This is further evidence for the suggestion that some people continued to enter the bath even when it was flooded (to leave votives only? final bath for the dead intended for the near-by cemetery? baptism?). The entire set of circumstances, too, points to a quite lengthy use of the room for cult purposes.

of the room as a cult place. The identifiable coins range in date from the mid-4th century after Christ (Constantius II, A.D. 351-361) until the middle of the 6th century (the latest legible coin, 69-561, was minted during the reign of Justinian I in A.D. 546-547).

Four large, lead scrolls also were discovered; MF-69-112 and MF-69-118 were found inside basin 4, MF-69-113 and 114 between the basins and the bench, but below the level of the bench seat. All are inscribed in Greek, but only two have thus far been unrolled; none has received more than preliminary examination. One of those unrolled (MF-69-114) carries a carefully engraved representation of an anguipede who holds a raised sword in his right hand, a gleaming staff in his left; a snake is wrapped about the staff. The head and the body of the figure are human. The anguipede, often labelled Iao or Iao Abrasax Sabaoth, is discussed by Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, II, pp. 245-258. His presence on the scroll points once again to the use of the chamber by Jews, or at least persons acquainted with Jewish magic.

The texts of the scrolls are being prepared for a separate publication. A full analysis of the cult(s) represented in the Fountain of the Lamps must also await a later date.

INSCRIPTIONS

A relatively large number of inscriptions and fragments of inscriptions were discovered: 20 in 1969 and 34 in 1970. Several of the fragments, however, as often is the case in Corinth, preserve only one or two letters, and some only traces. None of the inscriptions could be placed with certainty before the founding of the Roman colony in 44 B.C.

Only a few of the more informative, or early, inscriptions are presented here. The Christian tombstones all date from the late 4th to mid-6th centuries.

25. I-69-25.

Fig. 11; Pls. 10, c, 11.

Complete poros block. H. 1.20 m. W. 0.54 m. Th. 0.345 m. Found built into south line of Epistyle Wall (Fig. 3) on July 22, 1969; removed for study and preservation. Face A was up at the time of discovery (Pl. 10, c). Several other blocks in the wall have a few large letters carved on them, but not all of these have even been completely revealed (Fig. 3) and must await further study. There is the possibility that all the blocks belong to a single or related monument(s).

The block is inscribed on the four long sides and so presumably stood on end; we have taken the narrow drafting to mark the top but the block could be inverted. There is no evidence to suggest how it was bedded. The arrangement of the letters on each of the faces and the relation of the faces can be seen at a glance in Figure 11. All faces are badly weathered; toothed chisel marks are visible (only) on the upper part of Face B. The letters are large, rough and deeply cut. There are traces of red paint in the grooves of the letters of Face B.

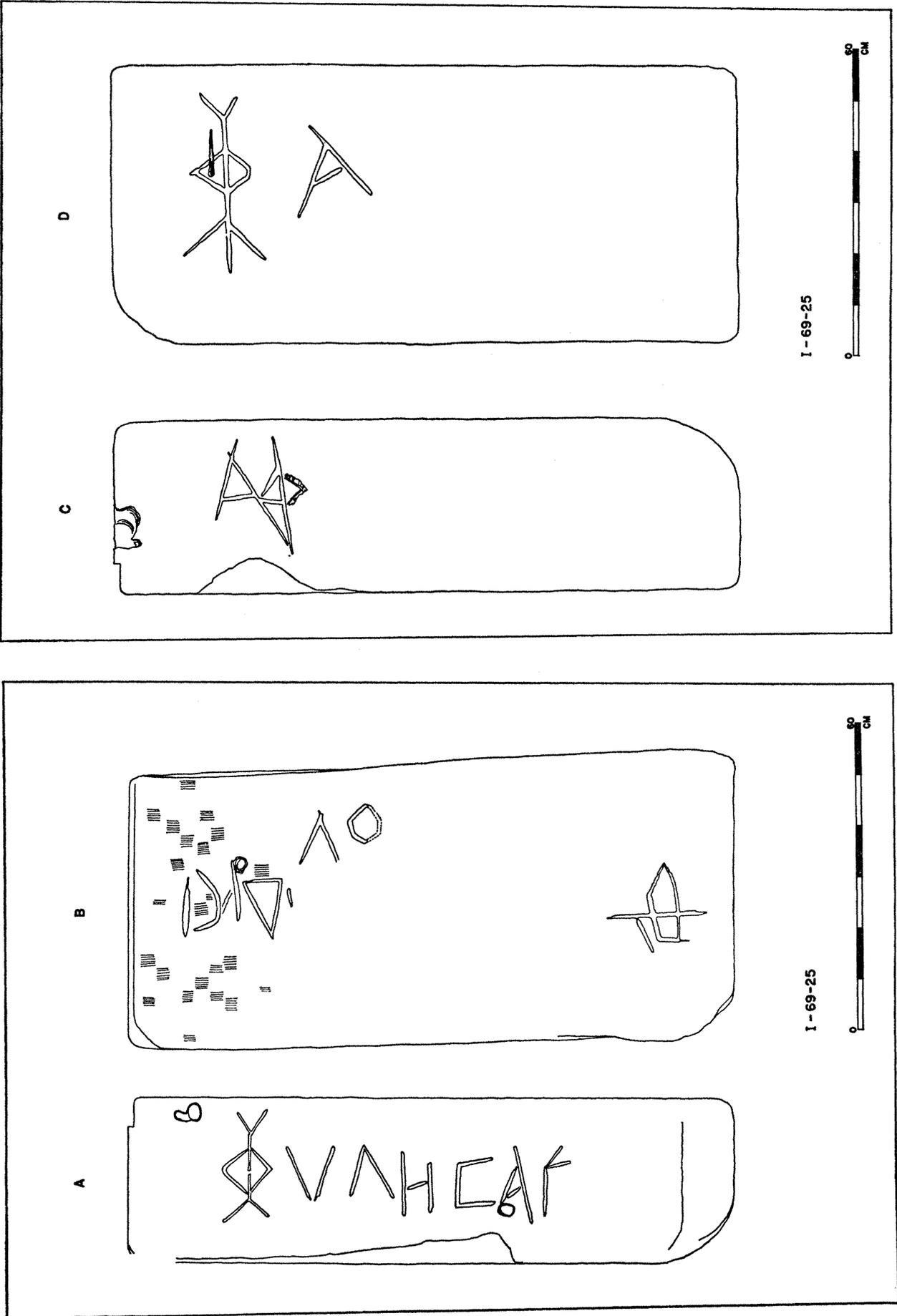


FIG. 11. Tribal Inscription I-69-25, Faces A, B, C, D.

- A. H. of letters 0.10-0.15 m., except for Φ which is 0.24 m.
 $\Phi\Upsilon\Lambda\text{H}\Sigma\text{A}_f(=I?)$
- B. H. of letters 0.12-0.16 m.
 $\Theta[- - -] \delta\upsilon\omicron$
 $[- - -]ov$
- C. H. of letters 0.23 m.
 $\text{A}\Phi$
- D. H. of letters 0.17-0.34(!)m.
 ΦA

Whether we read *φυλή* or *φυλής* on Face A, the letters following eta almost certainly include the abbreviation of the tribal name. Before proceeding to the difficulties presented by the new inscription we must first turn to earlier studies on tribal organization in Corinth.

A casualty list of the late 4th century B.C. found in Corinth in 1915⁷² was later shown by Hiller von Gärtringen⁷³ and Sterling Dow⁷⁴ to include three Corinthian tribal abbreviations: ΣI , ΛE , KY .⁷⁵ Each tribal designation in the casualty list was followed by a dash and one of three letters: E, f or Π . A perceptive study by Ronald S. Stroud⁷⁶ of a previously published boundary stone⁷⁷ along with two recently discovered inscriptions both strengthened the view that the abbreviations cited were those of Corinthian tribes and resulted in a number of important observations. Stroud suggested that the three inscriptions that form the core of his study are tribal boundary markers. Each carries two lines of three letters each, some in the form of the Corinthian epichoric alphabet: (I 2652) $\Lambda\text{E}\Pi|\text{H}\text{E}\text{N}$; (I 2624) $\Sigma\text{I}\Pi|\text{H}\text{E}\text{N}$; (I 2184) $\Sigma\text{Y}_f|\Delta\text{Y}\text{O}$. Two of the recognized tribal abbreviations recur; Stroud adds ΣY and suggested that the letter following the tribal abbreviations in all cases indicated the trittys.⁷⁸

If our new inscription can be dated prior to 146 B.C., the hypothesis of von Gärtringen, Dow and Stroud regarding the tribal abbreviations could be accepted as fact. The reading of Face A would be $\Phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta} \Sigma\text{A}_f$: "Tribe ΣA , division f ." The

⁷² Inv. No. I 734; Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII, i, No. 11.

⁷³ Review of Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII, i, in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, LII, 1932, p. 362.

⁷⁴ "Corinthiaca," *H.S.C.P.*, LIII, 1942, pp. 90-106.

⁷⁵ KY must be the abbreviation for the only Corinthian tribe whose name is known: *κυνόφαλοι* (Hesychius, s.v. *κυνόφαλοι*).

⁷⁶ "Tribal Boundary Markers from Corinth," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, I, 1968, pp. 233-242.

⁷⁷ Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, No. 8.

⁷⁸ W. P. Wallace ("The Demes of Eretria," *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 119, note 14) suggested earlier that the third letter might designate a military division. There are other possibilities and, though Stroud's hypothesis of a trittys designation is attractive, it would be wise to withhold judgement until more evidence is at hand.

presence of the digamma with the new tribal name ΣΑ would even strengthen the hypothesis that the third letter of the abbreviation in all cases is the trittys.

Face B is badly damaged and the toothed chisel marks, not found elsewhere on the block, could represent a reworking of the stone for a subsequent use. The only full word that can be detected is δύο. It is noteworthy that this is also paralleled in the texts of the tribal boundary markers. Stroud, following a suggestion of Oscar Broneer, considered the εἴς and δύο of the boundary markers as the distance in stades along the city wall⁷⁹ for which the particular trittys of the particular tribe was in some way responsible.⁸⁰

The theta on Face B has an oblique mark to the right, and we may take it as the numeral nine.⁸¹ There is no obvious relation between the numeral 9 and the other boundary markers. Thus, whereas the other internal evidence suggests that the new inscription could be related in time and function to the other boundary markers, the theta offers neither support nor contradiction. The final [— —]ου is also neutral in that respect. The ΑΦ on Face C and the ΦΑ on Face D may both be merely practice carving for the letter-cutter.⁸²

The upsilons on both Faces A and B as well as the lambda have their closest parallels in the tribal boundary markers already discussed. The depth and large size of the letters are similar. What is more, several of the bars that should join do not meet at all; e.g., on Face A the epsilon and the crossbar of the eta. This, too, is a common feature in the other inscriptions. A date of the mid-fifth century B.C. has been proposed for the three tribal inscriptions found earlier.⁸³ The new inscription cannot be that early, although we have already seen that the internal evidence is suitable for a date before 146 B.C. The forms of the letters, however, point to a much later date.⁸⁴

The exceptionally long vertical stroke of the phi is often found on inscriptions of the later 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ.⁸⁵ The hasta at each end of the vertical

⁷⁹ All three boundary markers discussed by Stroud were found along the east line of the city wall; *op. cit.*, pp. 234-236.

⁸⁰ Specifically, defense; Stroud, *op. cit.*, p. 240. But the responsibility could have been complete, including repair of the wall.

⁸¹ Or less likely, 9,000; the stroke normally precedes the letter to indicate the multiple thousand; cf. Margherita Guarducci: *Epigrafia greca*, I, Rome, 1967, p. 423.

⁸² As if the smaller phi on Face C had been unsatisfying and the phi with hasta at each end of the vertical stroke had been created, first on Face D, and found favor with the commissioning officials. But the letters on Face D are better carved and could have been significant; Φα is known from Sicily as an abbreviation for Φαρρία(= Φαρρία): Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, II, Rome, 1969, p. 523.

⁸³ Stroud, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁸⁴ The construction of the Epistyle Wall in the late 4th or early 5th century after Christ (above, p. 7) provides a not very helpful *terminus ante quem*.

⁸⁵ E.g., Louis Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris, 1937, pp. 343-344, pl. XXIII, No. 4, line 16 (a late 2nd century inscription from Sebastopolis); cf. in the same volume a dedication from

stroke on the phi of Faces A and D seems to echo the more ornate style of the 1st century.⁸⁶

The tilted alpha with a prolongation of the right leg beyond the apex is a further indication of an imperial date.⁸⁷ The quadrate sigma and theta and the triangular form of the phi, finally, are paralleled at the earliest in the late 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ.⁸⁸ The Corinthian inscription most closely related to ours in letter forms is a gravestone found in 1928.⁸⁹ The quadrate sigma is present; even the phi has a diamond-shaped body and an extraordinarily long vertical stroke. Kent dates the epitaph to the late 3rd century after Christ. The new tribal inscription is likely also to have been carved in the 3rd century.

It is incredible that the text could reflect a civic organization that had ceased to exist perhaps four centuries before the inscription was carved. The abbreviated tribe must be one contemporary with the inscription. We know the names of 11 Corinthian tribes during the empire: Agrippia, Atia, Aurelia, Calpurnia, Claudia, Domitia, Hostilia, Livia, Maneia, Vatinia, and Vinicia.⁹⁰ There may have been others. Our inscription cannot refer to any of the known tribes, whether we read Φυλῆ ΣΑϜ or Φυλῆς ΑϜ; the former, in any case, is more likely since no tribal abbreviation shorter than three letters is known in Corinth after 146 B.C.

There is yet another problem with the reading of Face A. The digamma is known in Corinth "in the latter part of the 4th century B.C.,"⁹¹ but even if it survived another century and a half (for which there is no evidence), it was not in use in Roman times except in numerals. A triangular shaped epsilon is found in the late 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ,⁹² the form of which is similar to what is visible

Tralles, p. 407, pl. XXIII, No. 1, line 4; and a somewhat earlier epitaph from Tiejion, p. 284, pl. XXII, No. 3, line 6; and, from the late 2nd or early 3rd century, an example from Thyatira, p. 125, pl. XXVIII, No. 1, line 9. Robert publishes another 2nd century example in *Laodicée du Lycos, Le Nymphée*, Paris, 1969, pp. 254-261, pl. CV (lines 1-2). Examples from Corinth include Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, Nos. 370, 373b, 474, 481, 485 (all fragments dated by Kent "44 B.C.-A.D. 267").

⁸⁶ Cf. Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin, 1900, No. 157, a, line 11 (pl. VIII); No. 208, lines 1-2. Strokes decorated with apices begin even in the 3rd century B.C.; Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, I, pp. 372-373.

⁸⁷ Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, I, pp. 379-380. The form continues; it is especially common in early Christian inscriptions from Corinth.

⁸⁸ Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, I, pp. 377-379.

⁸⁹ Corinth Inv. No. I 905; Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, No. 305, pl. 27.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23, where 10 are listed; the name of the 11th tribe, Claudia, is known from an inscription discovered recently in the Isthmian excavations of the University of California at Los Angeles; Michaud, *B.C.H.*, XCIV, 1970, p. 949, fig. 135. The inscription probably dates to the early 1st century after Christ. The tribe, to which I now call attention for the first time, was probably one of the original tribes of the colony.

⁹¹ A boundary stone reading OPF in the Demeter Sanctuary; Nancy Bookidis, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, Preliminary Report III: 1968," *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 310.

⁹² Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, I, pp. 378-379, fig. 203.

on Face A. But that interpretation is of little use, since the Greek equivalent of -ae- would be -αι-,⁹³ as Caesar becomes *Καίσαρ*.

The stone is not only badly weathered, but damaged as well. The vertical stroke of the last letter on Face A is indeed cut more deeply than the other two, and may represent the original letter, i.e., an iota.

The two remaining marks then would be explained as damage marks. Face A then should read:

Φυλῆ ΣΑΙ

Since ΣΑΙ cannot be an abbreviation for one of the 11 known Corinthian tribes, nor for a Roman tribe, it must be the abbreviation for a previously unknown Corinthian tribe. Possible *nomina* are Saedius, Saenius and Saepinius.⁹⁴ Lucius Saenius, especially if we accept the conjecture that his cognomen was Babbinus,⁹⁵ is the most likely prospect. Although he had been proscribed by the triumvirate, he was later restored to such favor that he became *consul suffectus* in 30 B.C. Marcus Lepidus, after he was dismissed from the triumvirate and his family was being prosecuted by Maecenas, appealed to the same Babbinus.⁹⁶ A Corinthian tribe named Saenia after a man who was so manifestly favored by Augustus would not be surprising; the other known Corinthian tribes were named after friends or relatives of Julius Caesar or Augustus.⁹⁷

26. Dedicatory plaque.

Pl. 11.

small serifs. H. of letters decreases in each lower line: 0.031, 0.026, 0.025, 0.02 m.

I-70-14. Found August 5, 1970 in FL, Channel E, Test Trench 1. H. 0.16 m. Th. 0.03 m. Max. P. W. 0.063 m. Medium-grain, white micaceous marble. Top, bottom and left side of the inscribed plaque are preserved. Thin projecting lip on left, 0.01 m. wide, tapering to top; thinner lip on top at back. There are four lines of carefully cut Latin letters with

BIB[---]

AD[---]

NA[---]

RE[P?--]

The first word may be a proper name. Vibius⁹⁸ or Vibulius⁹⁹ are both well attested

⁹³ E. g., the Greek abbreviation of the Roman tribe Aemilia is AIM: Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, no. 200.

⁹⁴ Hermann Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1914, index of *nomina* in vol. III, i. One Corinthian tribe, Agrippia, took its name from the cognomen of its patron; see the discussion of this peculiarity in West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, p. 91. My thanks to Professor Gwyn Morgan for his helpful observations on names both here and in regard to No. 26.

⁹⁵ Stein, *R.E.*, 1920, *s.v.* Saenius, No. 2, col. 1722.

⁹⁶ Appian, IV, 50; cf. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, S 40. L. Saenius is named *consul suffectus* in 724 A.U.C. = 30 B.C. in a preserved list of magistrates, Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 6123.

⁹⁷ Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, p. 23, note 18.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 60, 206, 272.

⁹⁹ F. Lenormant, "Inscriptionum Graecarum ineditarum centuria quarta," *Rh. Mus.*, XXI, 1866, p. 515, no. 320, Γ(αἰος) Βιβούλ[λιος] πατρι ἀν[έθηκεν], "Corinthi, in ruderibus domus veteris

nomina in the 1st and 2nd centuries at Corinth and begin with a beta in Greek. But our inscription is in Latin and we should expect a V at the beginning were either name intended.¹⁰⁰ Cognomina beginning Bib- are known, but not at Corinth. Gaius, Marcus and Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus are distinguished names of the 1st centuries B.C. and after Christ;¹⁰¹ other epigraphically possible names include C. Fulvius Bibulianus,¹⁰² Crysantus M. Bibulor s(ervus),¹⁰³ and Furius Bibaculus (3rd to late 2nd centuries B.C., however).¹⁰⁴ It would, however, be strange if a cognomen were the first word in a Corinthian inscription of the early empire. Perhaps we should look for other possibilities, e.g., Bib[lithoteca - - -]. A library would have been an altogether appropriate element in a gymnasium-bath complex. The library at Corinth was evidently a much frequented place at least in the 2nd century after Christ.

The third letter in the fourth line has a vertical stroke and the beginning of a curved line is visible at its top; the letter is probably a P or D, less likely an R. Most of the Latin inscriptions at Corinth begin each line with a new word. Nothing suggests that the inscription is funereal; if it is honorific, line 4, then,

might read rep[arator...] on the analogy of *reparatori Romanae Rei fundatori*.¹⁰⁵

The majority of the Latin inscriptions from Corinth antedate Hadrian;¹⁰⁶ the elegant serifs suggest that the new inscription may be as early.

27. Monument base.

Pl. 11.

I-70-32 and 37. Two joining fragments, found August 25 and 28, 1970, in pool, FL Sect. 1 West and East. P. H. 0.20 m. P. W. 0.22 m. P. Th. 0.302 m. Fine-grain, white marble, preserving smooth top and right side; bottom, badly damaged, may also be preserved in spots so that the full height of the inscription may be represented. There are two small dowel holes in the upper surface near front edge: 1) 0.039 m. sq., 0.05 m. deep; 2) 0.066 x 0.015 m., 0.026 m. deep.

Carefully cut, handsome Greek characters with apices in three lines with graduated H. 0.042-0.025 m.

[- - -] εἰν[ι]ov
 [- - -] νίov[ο-ιι]Υ
 [- - -] ΩΛΛΙ[- - -]

There is a trace of an oblique stroke left of

urbis." Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, Nos. 212, 280 (Vibuleius), 347, 348, 367, 496, and references cited in commentary; discussion of this prominent family in West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, p. 80. Cf. the Athenian Βιβούλιος Θεόφιλος of the late 2nd century; *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 1969, No. 200, A99.

¹⁰⁰ But a *Greek* inscription honoring the emperor Caesar Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus Pius Felix Augustus (A.D. 251-253) misspelled Vibius in a curious way: the letter-carver began the work with a *Latin* L, as if the name were Livius; Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, No. 116. There are other examples of Greek and Latin letters in a single inscription from Corinth; West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, No. 65; cf. also No. 29 (I-70-13) below, pp. 40-41 and the bilingual inscriptions, Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII, i, Nos. 71, 130. Cf. also Wilhelm Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, repr., Berlin, 1966, pp. 201 (note 2), 334 where Lucius Bibultrius Felix may have been written for Vibultrius.

¹⁰¹ Groag and Stein, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd ed., 1936, C 253-255; cf. also below note 104.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, B 125.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, C 255.

¹⁰⁴ Irio Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki, 1965, p. 270. Kajanto includes references also to the Calpurnii of note 101.

¹⁰⁵ Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, No. 506, line 1; dated A.D. 393-395.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

nu in line 2 and a faint trace of a bottom hasta in line 3 to right of iota.

The fragment is probably from a statue base with the name of the man honored in the accusative, e. g. [Καν]είν[ι]ον, a prominent family in Corinth during the 1st century after Christ, which is the probable date of the inscription. Two statues are known to have been erected for P. Caninius Agrippa, who served as procurator and duovir (A.D. 68/69).¹⁰⁷ Another possible family is suggested by a 2nd century Thespian victory list in which a Corinthian, Π. Ἀλκείνιος Μεθόδικος, was winner in the ὄπλον.¹⁰⁸

28. Building inscription. Pl. 11.

The following fragments are grouped together because of the great similarity in form and size of their letters, and because they were all carved on a thin, white marble slab. The fragments were all found either in the debris over the courtyard of the bath or along the Epistyle Wall.

H. of letters 0.036-0.04 m. The upward tilt and flourishing serifs of the graceful Latin characters indicate a date in the late 1st or early 2nd century.¹⁰⁹

a) I-70-38.

Three fragments mended, found August 23 and 29, 1970 in the courtyard pool, FL Sect. 1 West. P. L. 0.165 m. P. H. 0.072 m. Th. 0.014 m.

pa]rietes· incr[ustavit

b) I-70-12

Found in debris above courtyard in FL 6 on

July 30, 1970. Max. L. 0.144 m. Max. H. 0.075 m. Th. 0.021 m.

[— traces — —]
ex] testa[mento

c) I-69-6

Found July 3, 1969 near Epistyle Wall: SW-EP1. Max. P. L. 0.183 m. Max. P. H. 0.10 m. Th. 0.017 m.

— — —]m ·Sira[— — —
— — —] traces [— — —

If the three fragments do belong to a single inscription, the inscription records the revetting of certain walls¹¹⁰ (a) in fulfillment of the terms of a will, *ex testamento* (b). We might expect for this part of the inscription an expression similar to: et pa]rietes incr[ustavit marmoraque omnia s(ua) p(ecunia) f(acienda) ex] testa[mento curavit.¹¹¹ The plaque is likely to have adorned one of the walls of the bath courtyard and refers either to a refurbishing of the court or, perhaps, even to the first revetting of the walls. Should the latter be the case, we shall have to suppose a period of perhaps 50-100 years of use when the bath exhibited only poros walls (above, p. 9).

Fragment c may include part of the identification of the donor. Sira—, however, is an unlikely name. The lexica list Siraci as Asiatic Sarmatians and Sirae as a Thracian town. Either would be a *hapax* at Corinth.

29. I-70-13. Pl. 11.

Found August 3, 1970 in FL 6. P. H. 0.06 m. P. L. 0.09 m. Th. 0.039 m. H. of letters 0.008-0.012 m. W. of letter M 0.012. W. of N 0.007 m.

¹⁰⁷ West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, Nos. 65-66; Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, pp. 22 (note 15), 26 and No. 284. Κανείνιος Σο[— — —] was a victor in an equestrian event at the Isthmia in A.D. 127; Cor. Inv. No. I 2740, line 89, William R. Biers and Daniel J. Geagan, "A New List of Victors in the Caesarea at Isthmia," *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, pp. 79-93.

¹⁰⁸ *S.E.G.*, III, 1929, No. 335, line 31.

¹⁰⁹ Cf., e.g., Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, Nos. 173, 177; *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pl. 30, 1 (Inv. No. I 2753).

¹¹⁰ Cf. Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, No. 337; *incrustavit et pari[etes et . . .]*.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 322.

Fine-grained blue marble with white veins; single fragment broken on all sides; back finished nearly smooth.

A nonsense inscription, perhaps of early imperial date.¹¹² There may be a few Latin characters among the Greek: R in line 1 and perhaps line 2. The strangest character in line 2 is what appears to be an inverted rho used twice; gamma appears in a variety of shapes and there is a digamma(?) along with lunate sigma and epsilon.

30. Christian tombstone. Pl. 11.

I-69-8. P. H. 0.143 m. P. W. 0.12 m. Th. 0.025 m. H. of letters 0.03 m. Gray-white marble tombstone fragment found August 1, 1969, inside bath chamber; right side preserved.

[Κοιμητήρι]ον δια-
[φέρων Ἀν]δρέον
[τοῦ τὴν μα]καρίαν
[μνήμην - - -]

Andreas, then as now, was a common name; several others are known on Christian grave-stones from Corinth.¹¹³

31. Christian tombstone. Pl. 11.

I-69-11 + I-70-8. P. H. 0.10 m. P. W. 0.21 m. Th. 0.022 m. H. of letters 0.022-0.025. Two fragments of white marble, joined; found August 1, 1969 in bath chamber and July 25, 1970 in FL 5 over courtyard. Right side preserved.

- - -]ΜΑ[- - -]
- - -]ΑΝΘΙΑΝ
- - -]αρία ἡ Αἰ
[- - traces - -]

The letters in line 3 may represent Ἀνθίαν or more likely Ἀνθίαν|[οῦ].¹¹⁴

32. Christian tombstone. Pl. 11.

I-69-14 + I-70-21. P. H. 0.28 m. P. W. 0.28 m. Th. 0.03 m. H. of letters 0.025-0.035 m. Distance between lines 0.018 m. Two joining fragments found August 1, 1969 in bath chamber and August 20, 1970 above courtyard in FL 5. Medium-grain, white marble; broken on all sides.

+ Κυμ[ητήριον δια-]
φέρο[ν - - - - -]
τοῦ τὴν μακαρίαν μ[ν(ήμην)]
καὶ Ἀριάγνης τ[ῆς]
αὐτοῦ γαμετ[ῆς].

There is a curved stroke above and below sigma in line 4.

"A sepulcher belonging to _____ of blessed memory and his wife, Ariagne."¹¹⁵

33. Christian tombstone. Pl. 11.

I-70-20. H. 0.27 m. W. 0.315 m. Th. 0.07 m. H. of letters 0.016-0.035 m. Found August 13, 1970 in Channel E, Test Trench 1. The tombstone is complete except for several chips around edges. The epitaph was cut into the surface of a paving slab of dull red marble.

+ Παῦλ(ο)ς
Ῥάπτη(ς) υἱ(ὸ)ς
υἱ- Σωτηρίς +
οὔ μν(ήμα)
+ +

Sotiris¹¹⁶ is in the nominative and Paul the tailor probably is also; a patronymic is possible,

¹¹² See Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, LIII, 1942, p. 108, for an example of another nonsense inscription found at Corinth. No. 29, however, has well-carved letters.

¹¹³ Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, Nos. 547, 551, 552, 558, 561; Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII, i, Nos. 154, 164, 206.

¹¹⁴ Pape and Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3rd ed., 1884, s.v. Ἀνθία, Ἀνθίας, and Ἀνθιανός. I thank B. D. Meritt for his suggestions on this inscription.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, s.v. Ἀριάγνη (= Ἀριάδνη).

¹¹⁶ For a recent example of the name see *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 1969, No. 691: Σωτηρίς χαίρει (Thracian tombstone of the 2nd century after Christ).

though the inverse order would be surprising. The words for Paul, tailor, memory, and son (line 2) are abbreviated and so marked by the usual sign (S). The genitive *υιοῦ* is broken between syllables, the first appearing before line 3, the second isolated to the left and below line 4; the reference is presumably to the burial of Sotiris.

"Paul the tailor and his son Sotiris. The grave is the son's. In (their?) memory."

34. Christian tombstone. Pl. 11.

I-70-29. P. H. 0.094 m. P. W. 0.011 m. Th. 0.029 m. H. of letters 0.011-0.018 m. Found August 23, 1970 over courtyard pool. Single fragment of gray-blue marble broken on all sides.

--]TAT[---
 --]ANM[---
 --]Φανίου ἀπ[έθανεν
 --]ιμα ἐνθα κατ[άκειται

There is a long (0.021 m. +) horizontal groove above the first line and a joining oblique stroke at its left end; it may be the leg of a large Greek cross.¹¹⁷ The three letters preserved in line 1 could belong to a superlative such as *μακαριότατος* or *λαμπρότατος*, but there are other possi-

bilities. Line 2 probably should be restored with the most common formula of epitaphs from this period: *μακαρί]αν μ[νήμην*.

35. Christian tombstone. Pl. 11.

I-69-19. P. H. 0.10 m. P. W. 0.18 m. Th. 0.021 m. H. of letters 0.025 m. (omicron is 0.015 m.). Found August 14, 1969 in FL Ext.; two fragments, joined; coarse blue marble; left side preserved.

κ(οι)μ(η) [τ(ήριον) διαφέρων --]
 ὁ τὴν μα[καρίαν μνήμην]
 ἀδελφ(ός) αὐτ[οῦ ἐνθα κείται]
 ἀγορασθ(έν) π[αρά --]
 [-- traces ----]

The abbreviation *κμτ* for *κοιμητήριο* is known at Corinth only in Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, No. 564. The usual abbreviation sign (S) is used in line 3 but is reversed in line 4. The restoration in line 3 is largely *exempli gratia*.

"A sepulcher belonging to _____; his brother of blessed memory lies here; (the tomb) was bought from _____."

The chief interest in the inscription lies in its unusual abbreviations and in the elaborateness of the carved phi.

JAMES WISEMAN

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

¹¹⁷ Cf. the cross incised in stucco on the west end of Grave 76 in the Lerna Hollow Cemetery; *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, fig. 11.

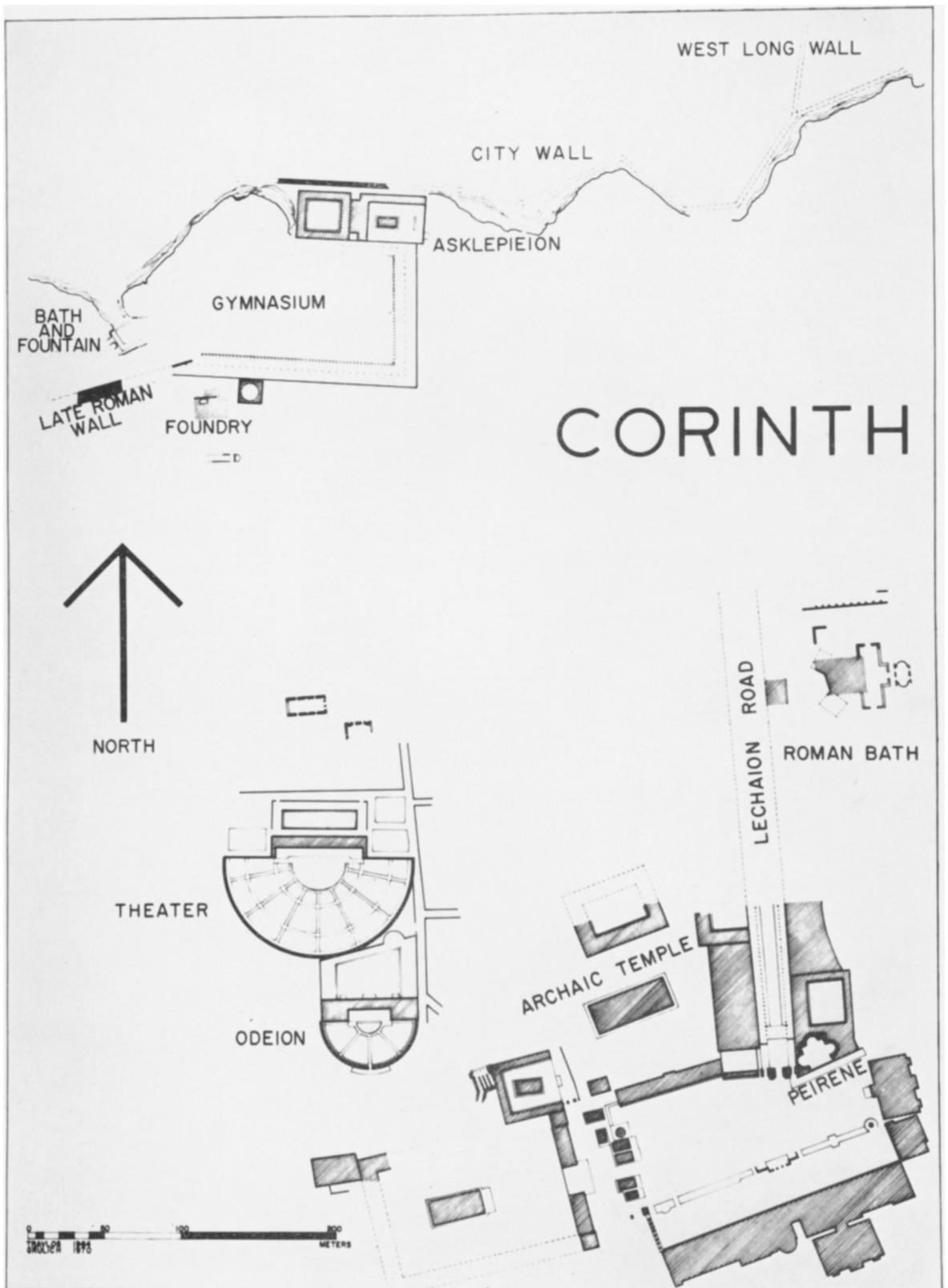
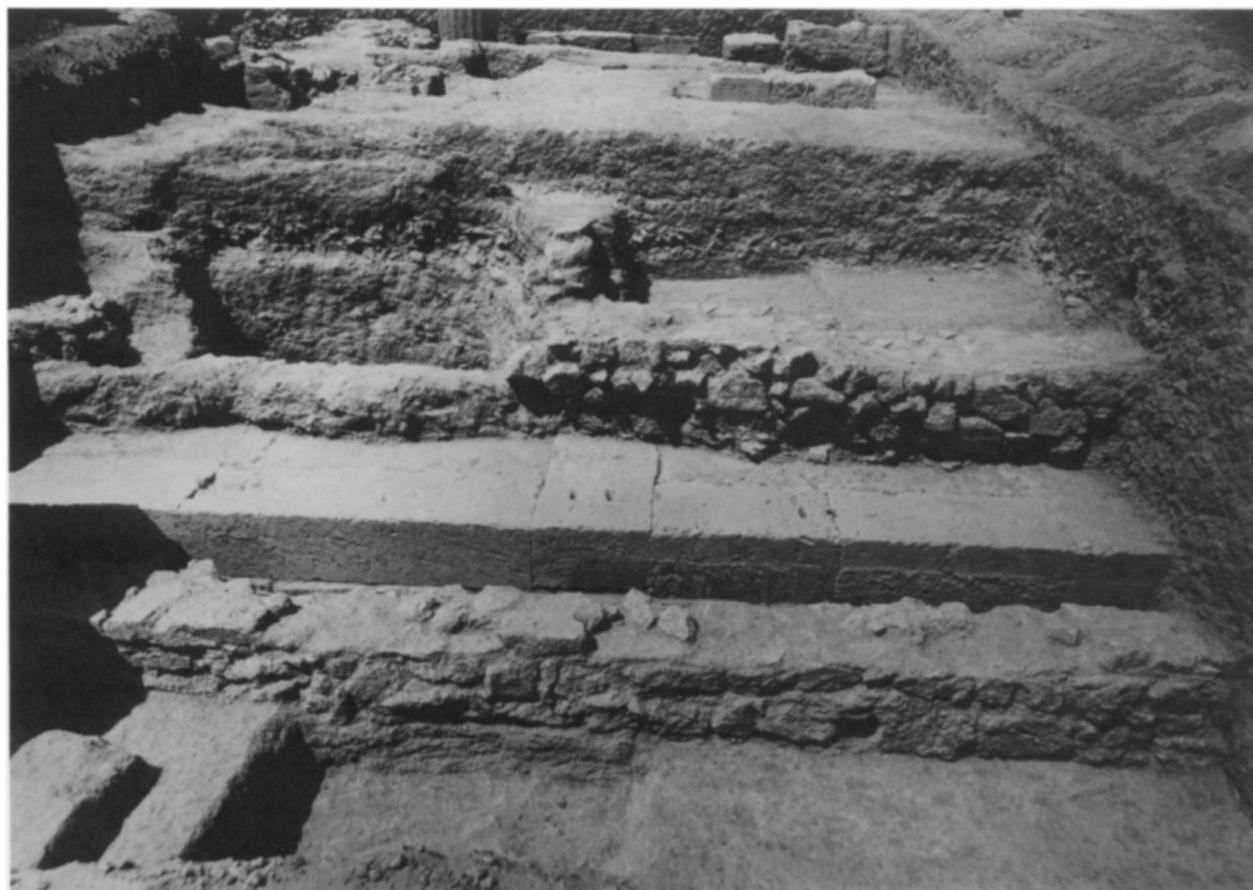


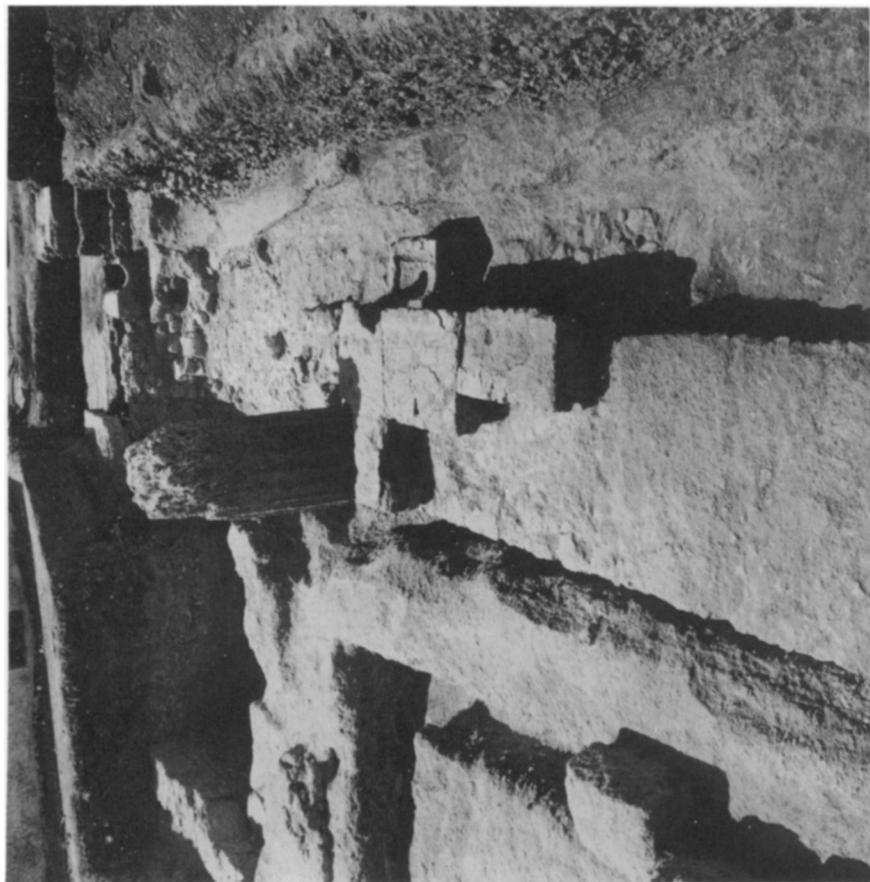
FIG. 1. The Central Area of Corinth and the Gymnasium Area.



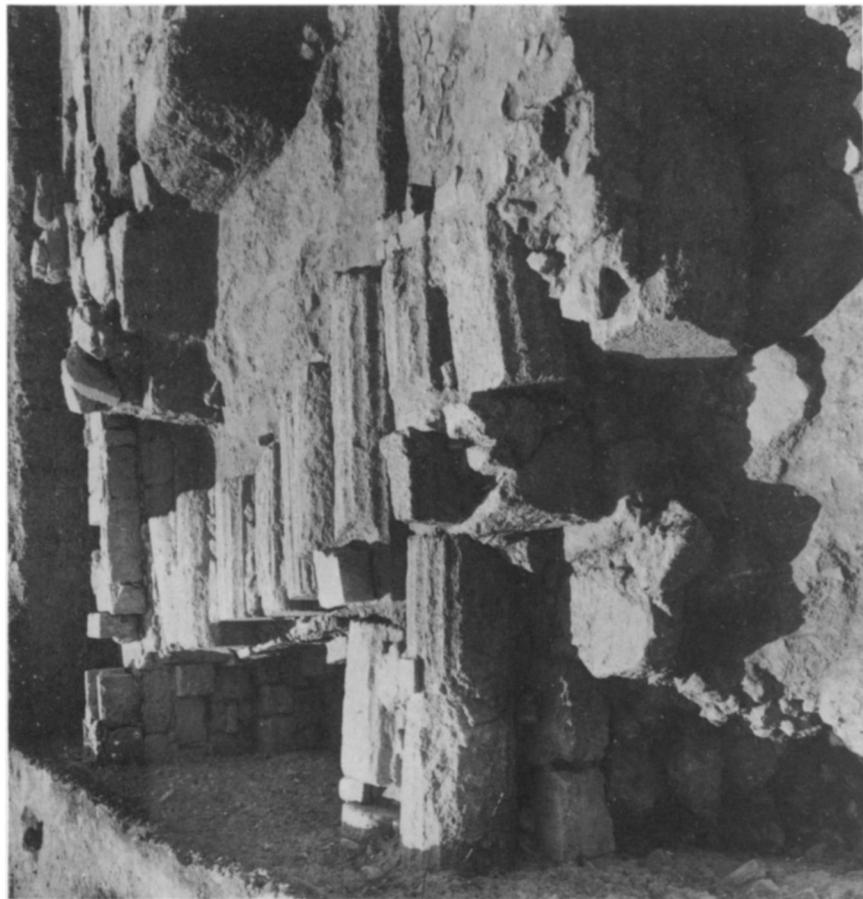
a. South Stoa Facade from West



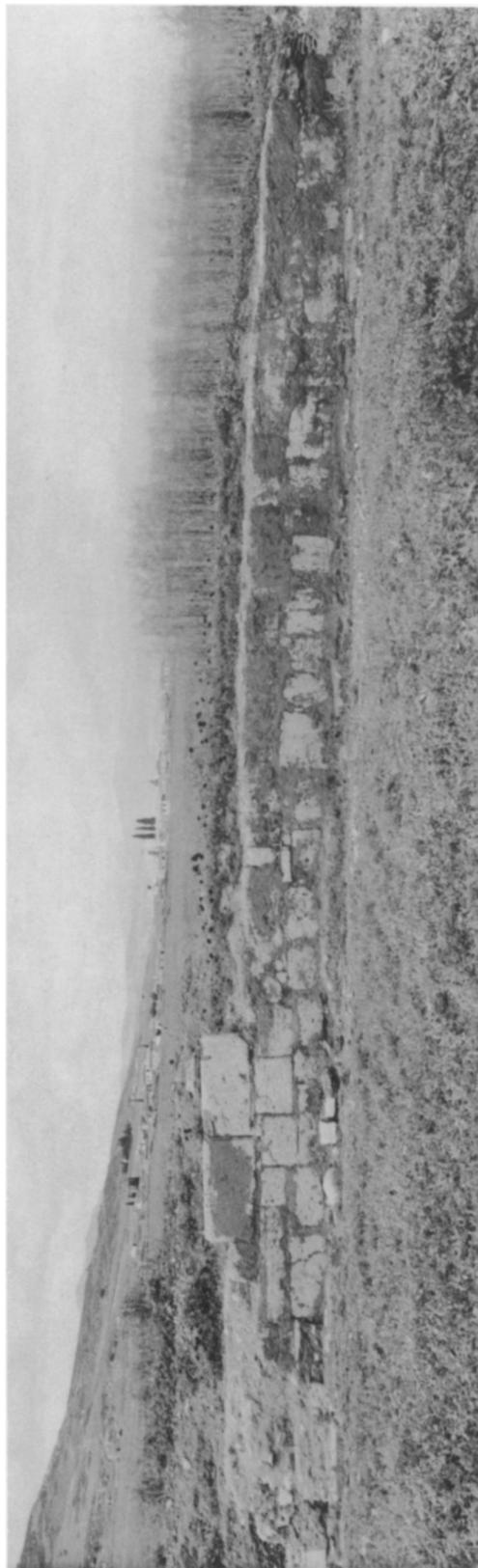
b. Rear Wall of East Stoa from East



a. East Stoa Facade from North



b. Epistyle Wall, East Area from North



c. Late Roman Wall from East

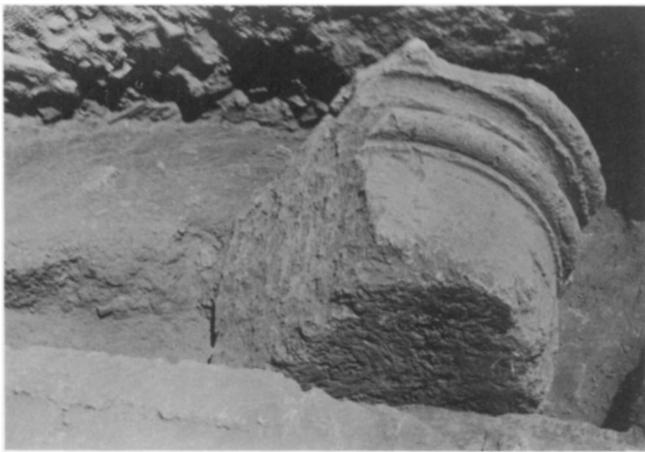
JAMES WISEMAN: THE GYMNASIUM AREA AT CORINTH, 1969-1970



a. Bath from Entrance



b. Bath from South



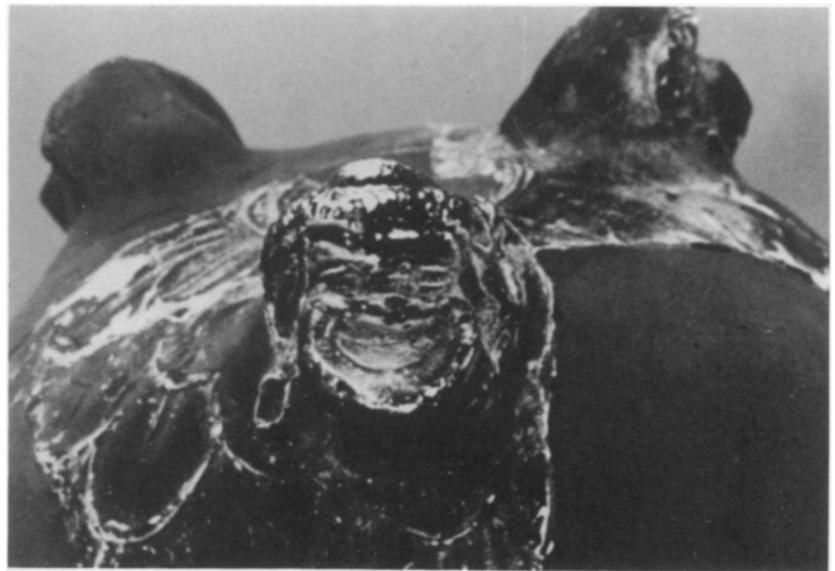
a. Ionic Base as Found from South



3. Megarian Bowl



b. Entrance Corridor from Interior



Foot of 3



1. Fish Plate



2. Cup



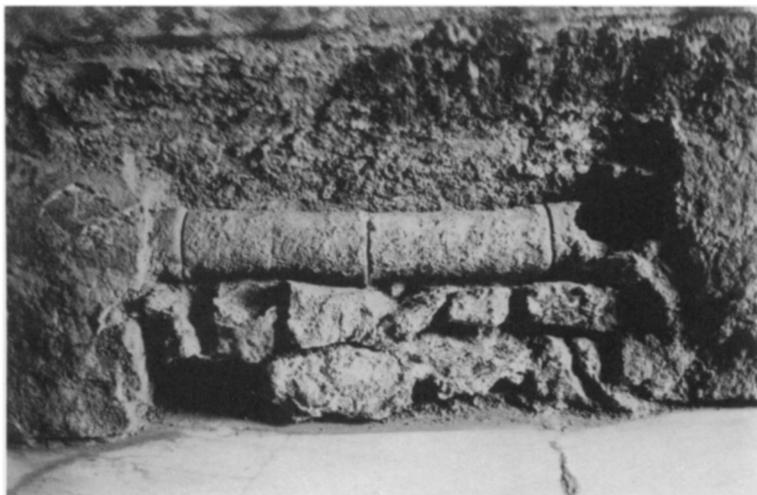
c. Bath, Southeast Corner



a. Fountain (Left) and Bath Entrance from North



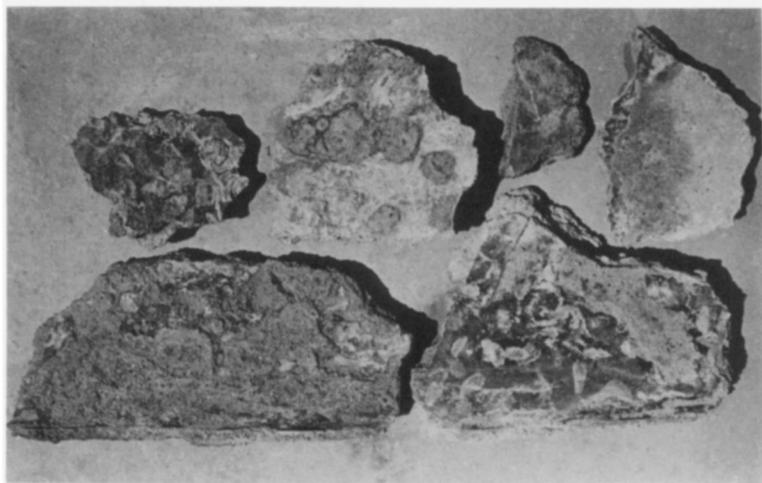
b. Courtyard from East



a. Water Pipe on Bench



b. Center of Bench after Pipe Removed



c. Ceiling Fresco Fragments

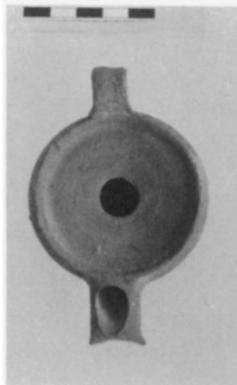


5

4

A 808

Water Spouts



7. Lamp



8. Lamp



9. Lamp



11. Herakles Lamp



a. Courtyard from West



b. Courtyard from South



15. Head of Athlete



10. Portrait Head



14. Head of Athlete

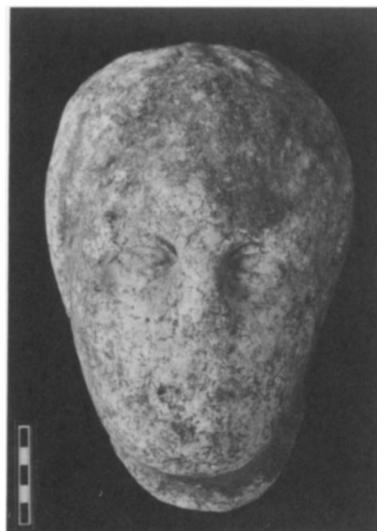




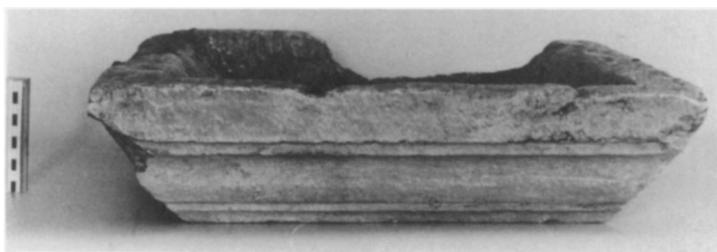
a. Marble Pieces in Pool from Southeast



18. Marble Head



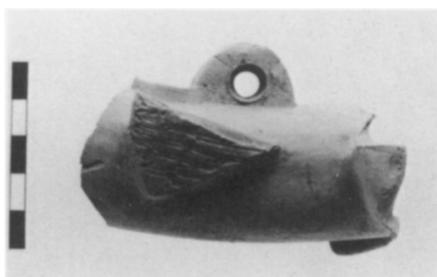
20. Marble Head



13. Basin



6. Glass Goblet



12. Phallic Lamp



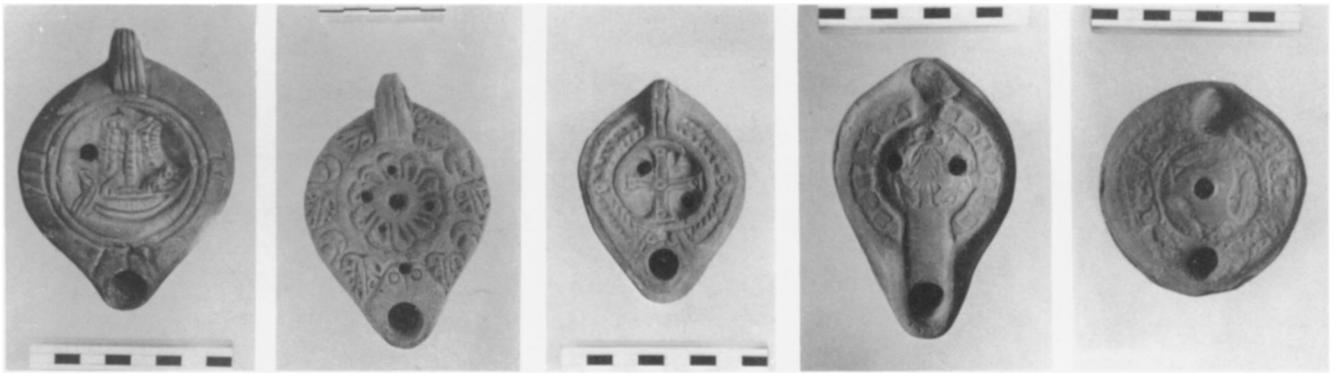
19. Disk



16. Bench Support



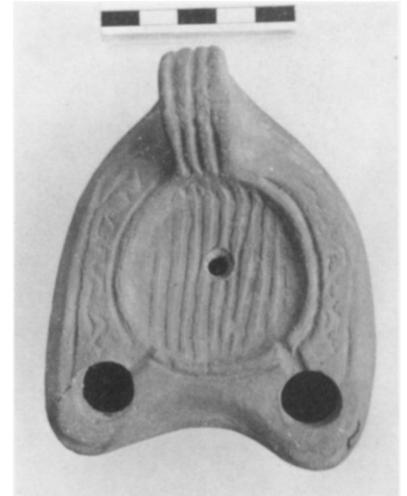
17. Bench Support



a. Votive Lamps



c. Inscription 25 as Found



b. Votive Lamp



d. North Wall of Pool and Court



25



32



33



27



29



26



30



28, a



28, b



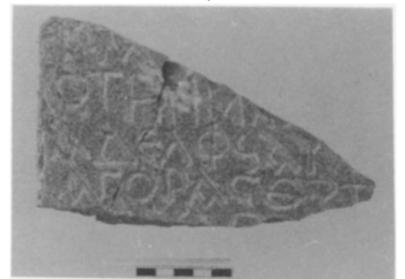
28, c



31



34



35