

# SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE ON ACROCORINTH

PRELIMINARY REPORT V: 1971–1973

(PLATES 53–60)

EXCAVATIONS in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth continued with spring and summer campaigns in 1971, 1972, and 1973.<sup>1</sup> During these seasons numerous aspects of the expanding Sanctuary were investigated, most prominently the approach to the site and entrance system, the extent of the Upper Terrace, and the earliest levels of occupation within the temenos. The number of excavated dining rooms has now risen to forty with the uncovering of sixteen more. The most recent additions are among the best preserved on the site and introduce some new elements to the type.

The divisions in the organization of the Sanctuary stand out with increasing sharpness as more of the site is uncovered. The dining rooms are consistently relegated to the lowest part of the Sanctuary, hereafter designated the “Lower Terrace”, the cult buildings to the “Middle” and “Upper Terraces” and to the rocky slope which separates them. The finds follow this division. Pottery is generally sparse on the Lower Terrace; there drinking vessels and household wares are most common. Pottery is abundant on the Upper Terraces, especially on the Middle Terrace at the base of the Stepped Theatral Area. As would be expected, votive miniatures and more elaborate dedications are prevalent here, as well as terracotta figurines, jewelry and other offerings.

The discoveries of the last three seasons continue to support the historical conclusions of R. Stroud with regard to the destruction of the Sanctuary at the end of the 4th century after Christ.<sup>2</sup> The numbers of late 4th century coins which consistently appear

<sup>1</sup> For previous reports cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 1–24; XXXVII, 1968, pp. 299–330; XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 297–310; XLI, 1972, pp. 283–331. Work was carried out under the supervision of the author assisted by Cynthia Thompson (1971), Michael Goldstein (1972), David Peck and Elizabeth G. Pemberton (1973). We are all most grateful to Charles K. Williams, II, Director of the Corinth Excavations, for his unflagging support and advice in the field. We wish to thank Evangelia Deilaki, Ephor of the Argolid and Corinthia. We also thank Sharon Herbert, Mary Sturgeon, Jean MacIntosh and Stella Bouzaki for their help in the Museum, Keith DeVries, who looked at much of the Mycenaean and Geometric pottery, and Joan E. Fisher, who most kindly identified the coins and prepared the catalogue at the end of this article. Plans were drawn by R. Holzen, D. Peck and C. K. Williams, II. Photographs were taken by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to the American School of Classical Studies for financial assistance during these years.

Work continues on the finds in preparation for the final publication: Patricia Lawrence, terracotta figurines; Elizabeth G. Pemberton, pottery; Joan Baker Fry, miscellaneous finds; C. de Grazia, marble sculpture; Ronald S. Stroud, inscriptions; the author, terracotta sculpture.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 4.

*Hesperia*, XLIII, 3.

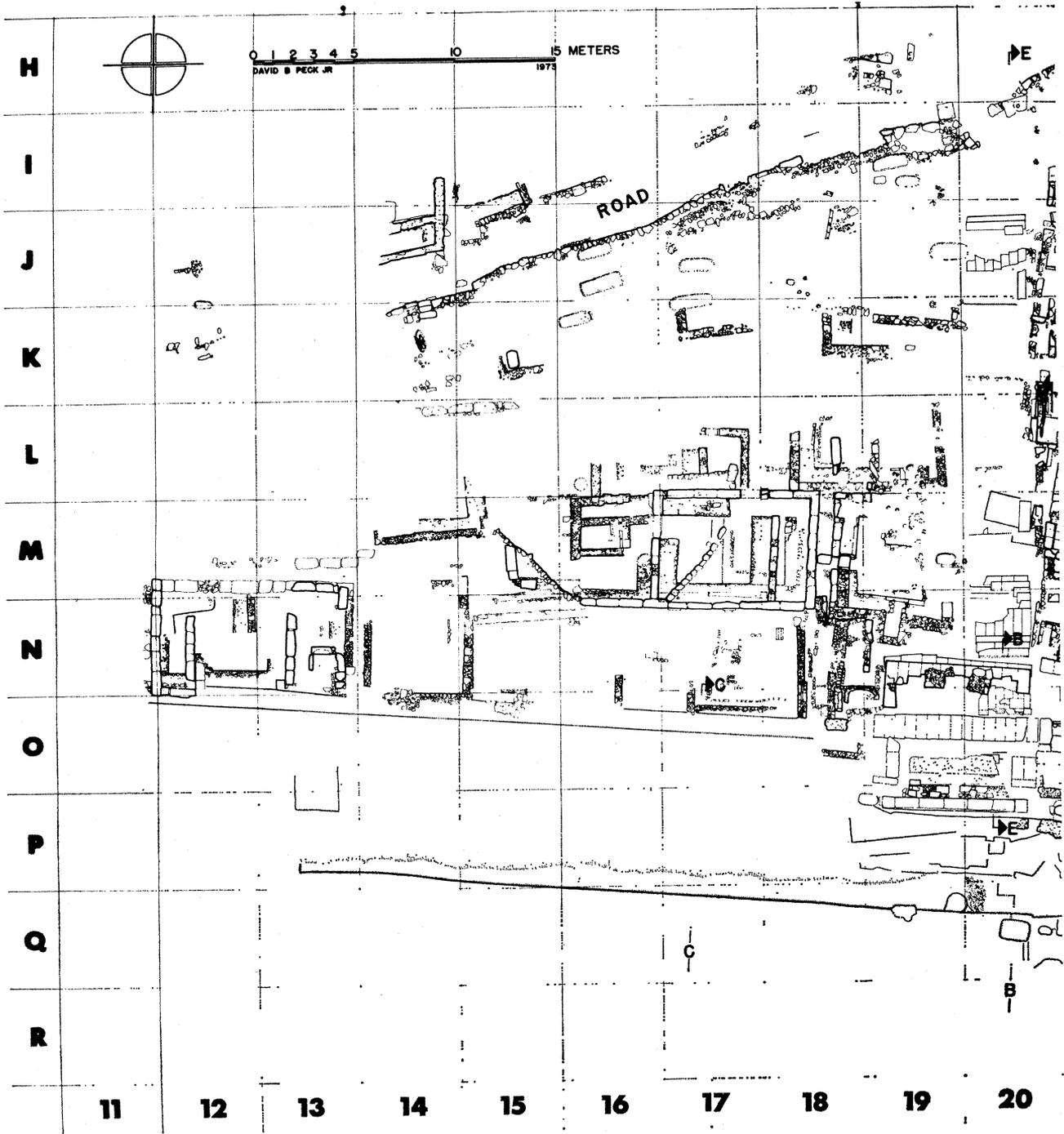
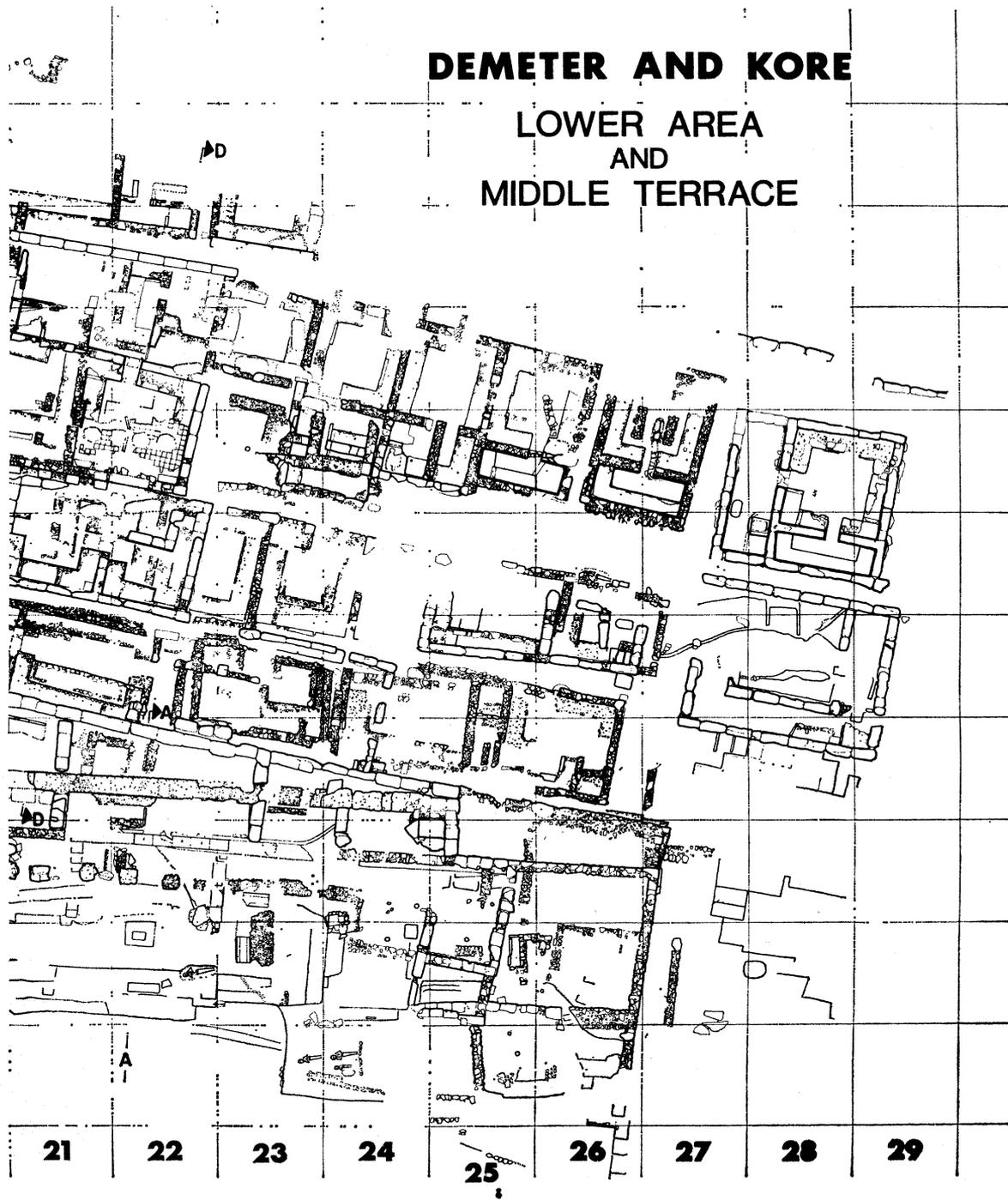


FIG. 1. Plan of Lower and

# DEMETER AND KORE

## LOWER AREA AND MIDDLE TERRACE



Middle Terraces

in the destruction debris of the Roman cult buildings attest this, even though they do not permit an exact determination of the date of the event.

The early history of the site, by contrast, must now be reconsidered. The occurrence of substantial quantities of Late Mycenaean III C, Protogeometric and Early Geometric pottery and, to a lesser degree, of Middle and Late Geometric sherds, suggests that there was more than just passing activity on the site well before the late 8th or early 7th century B.C. when the Sanctuary was thought to have been founded. It is now clear that the site was occupied as far back as the 11th century B.C. Not yet clear, however, is the relation between this occupation and the early Archaic Sanctuary. The material will be discussed in more detail below.

### THE ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS

#### THE ROAD (Fig. 1, Pls. 53, 54, a)

The road leading up to the Sanctuary crosses the Sanctuary plateau on a gentle diagonal line from northeast to southwest. A stretch of *ca.* 40 m. has been cleared bordering the west half of the temenos on the north, and from this section the line of the lower eastern half, now eroded, can be plotted. The roadway averages 2.00–2.30 m. in width. It is laid with clay and gravel, and, when first exposed, the surface was soft. There is no evidence of wheel ruts or of frequent resurfacing, and it seems likely, therefore, that this was not the main thoroughfare up Acrocorinth but a branch road to the Sanctuary.

The road is bounded on the south or uphill side by a retaining wall, standing in places to a height of nearly 1.00 m., which served simultaneously as the northern temenos wall for the Sanctuary. The wall exhibits several styles of construction and must have been rebuilt numerous times. Part is constructed of large boulders arranged in two rows with packing of earth and field stones; in these sections the wall averages 2.00 m. in thickness. The remainder has one face only and is constructed of smaller field stones. Since little fallen rubble was found along the roadway, the wall undoubtedly did not stand very high. Its function was to hold the earth back from the road and to create a terrace for the first row of buildings, not to screen them from view.

The date of construction of the wall is problematic. Wall and road certainly existed in the 5th century B.C. and quite probably in the 6th century too. The type of construction resembles that of the early 7th century B.C. fortification wall in the Potters' Quarter<sup>3</sup> without the interior cross-walls which occur there. The earth within and behind the wall contained much Geometric pottery, primarily early, but never without a scattering of 7th and 6th century B.C. sherds in addition. The early appearance of it must therefore be considered misleading and its erection placed in the 6th century B.C. Although no Roman surfaces were found to the road, the alignment of the numerous Early Christian graves

<sup>3</sup> A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, *The Potters' Quarter*, Princeton, 1948, p. 14, pls. 2, D; 51, plan A.

found just south of it suggests that the roadway continued to function throughout the Roman period. Pausanias (II, 4, 6) may well have walked along it on his way up the mountainside.

Along the north side the road is bounded by a row of buildings which were not extensively investigated since they lay outside the area of pressing attention. Only the western two are preserved in any intelligible form, and these closely resemble the dining rooms within the Sanctuary. One (Grid I-J:15)<sup>4</sup> is of 5th century B.C. date. The walls are of field stones and clay, while a long couch stands against the south wall. The second (Grid I-J:14), built at the end of the 4th century B.C. to replace the first, consists of at least two rooms, namely, a large room to the north, probably for dining couches, and a narrow room along the south, undoubtedly once furnished with a bench, as in Building L-M:28 to be described below. The interior was completely destroyed, however, and the furnishings can be deduced only from the plan.<sup>5</sup> These buildings suggest that the dining rooms were not confined to the Sanctuary but continued down the hillside.

The entrance to the Sanctuary opens off the roadway at a point on line with the central Stairway (Grid I:20). It consists of a large limestone threshold block set at an angle to the axis of the stairs but aligned with the temenos wall and road. The slab measures 1.31 by 0.85 m. and 0.30 m. thick. A second limestone block stands 2.50 m. west of the threshold. It is *ca.* 0.85 m. square, 0.75 m. high, and has two rounded corners on the northern side. The top of the block is not preserved. Any special treatment of the surface which might have explained the block's function has been lost. The stone stands in front of the temenos wall, projecting noticeably into the roadway. In such a position it must have been a prominent marker. Opposite this block on the north side of the roadway lies a boundary stone inscribed with the letters OP.<sup>6</sup> The stone measures 0.97 m. high, 0.315 m. wide and 0.27 m. thick. It was found lying flat, inscribed face up, and is therefore not in its original position. The block was so placed in the late 4th century B.C. Where it originally stood is unknown, perhaps somewhere near the entrance.

There is nothing to indicate that the entranceway to the temenos was closed. No blocks for door jambs or lintel were found. A large round hole cut through the threshold block is set too near the center of the stone to be a pivot hole, nor are there any accompanying cuttings to indicate that a door existed. This part of the temenos was accessible

<sup>4</sup> Because of the increasing complexity of the architectural levels and remains, a grid has been superimposed on the plan of the site, and buildings to be described have been identified by grid location (see Figs. 1, 5). Where reference has been made to structures already published, these are cited both by grid square and by their previous letter designation.

<sup>5</sup> Of interest was the discovery of four plain phialai mesomphaloi filled with burnt wood in the foundation trench of the east wall of this building. The phialai must relate to some sort of foundation ceremony connected with the construction of the building.

<sup>6</sup> I-71-84. It differs slightly from the two other boundary stones previously found in that it has no digamma. For those stones, cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 330, pl. 98,1; XXXVIII, 1969, p. 310, pl. 79, f.

to anyone passing by. That is supported by the discovery of a second entrance *ca.* 30 m. up the road to the west (Grid K:14). The second entrance is much smaller, being 0.70 m. wide, and consists of a flight of three steps which pass through the temenos wall to the dining halls above. The steps lie open and give quick access to the western half of the Lower Terrace. It is quite possible that there was a similar secondary entrance in the eastern half. Regrettably, the hill here is too badly eroded to determine either the position of the temenos wall or the existence of other doorways.

### THE LOWER TERRACE

The main entrance opens onto the central Stairway and to the dining rooms which line it on either side.<sup>7</sup> The plan in Figure 1 shows how numerous these are. They extend over 50 m. to both east and west of the steps without any sign of termination. The earliest as yet investigated date to the second half of the 6th century B.C. Dining rooms occur throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods down to 146 B.C., but they do not appear in the Roman restoration of the Sanctuary. Three major periods of building activity stand out, namely: the late 6th century B.C., the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. shortly after 450, and the end of the 4th century B.C.

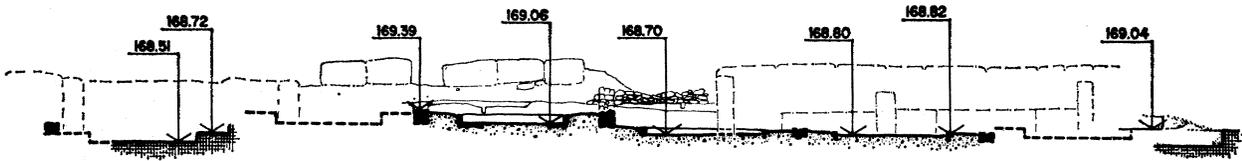
One of the earliest dining complexes which has been uncovered lies on the third row up to the east of the Stairway (Grid M-N:20-26). It consists of one long building, divided into at least five, and perhaps as many as seven, rooms (Fig. 2). The rooms average 5.00 m. north-south by 4.35-4.75 m. east-west. Each has its own entrance from the outside on the north and continuous couches against all four walls. Each dining room could accommodate seven diners, therefore 35 to 49 for the entire building.<sup>8</sup> No provision for cooking was found in any of the rooms, nor is it clear where this was done. The complex with modifications continued in use until the late 4th century B.C., when it was replaced by Building S (Grid M:21-22).<sup>9</sup> There is evidence to suggest that there were more such buildings on the terrace below and also to the west of the Stairway.

The plan of the dining hall becomes more complex in the late 5th century B.C. In the next row to the north four buildings (Grid K-L:24-28) were investigated, each comprising two to three rooms (Fig. 3). The easternmost building L:26-27 is free-standing, while the remaining three share party walls (Pl. 54, b). All face north and in each a single off-center entrance gives direct access to the main dining room. In Building L:26-27 there are remains of tables in addition to the usual couches. These consist of two long foundations of field stones laid with clay, 1.55 m. long by 0.53-0.59 m. wide,

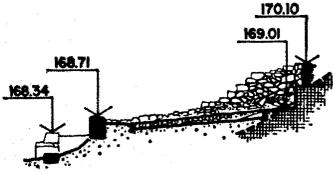
<sup>7</sup> For a description of the Stairway and flanking rooms, cf. *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 285-307.

<sup>8</sup> Since dining rooms have been described in some detail in the previous report, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 285-307, the descriptions given herein have been much simplified. In rooms M:23-24 and M:24-25, where the exact position of the door is certain, "half-couches" *ca.* 1.00 m. long lie to the east of the door. *Ibid.*, p. 295, for similar units.

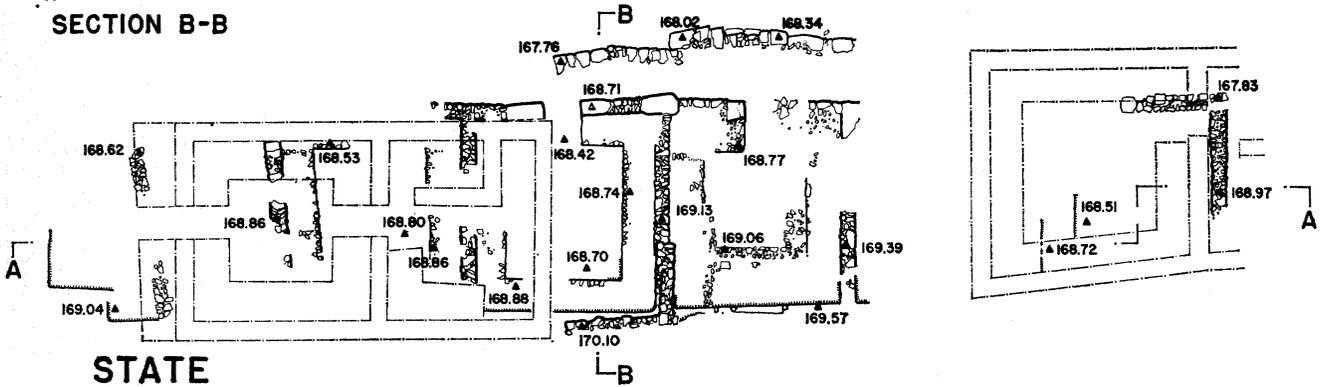
<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 294-299, for description of Building S.



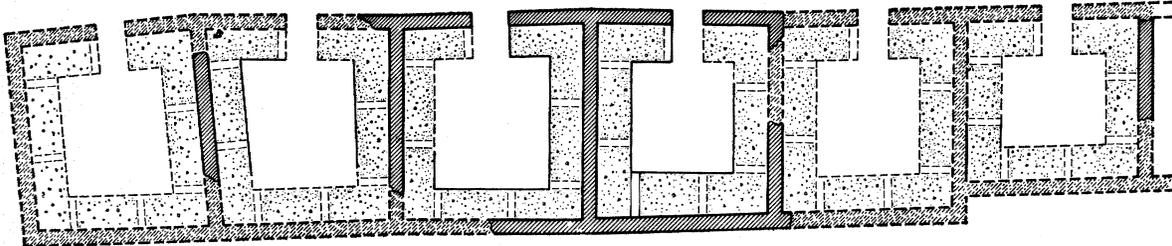
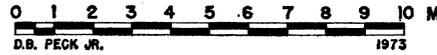
SECTION A-A



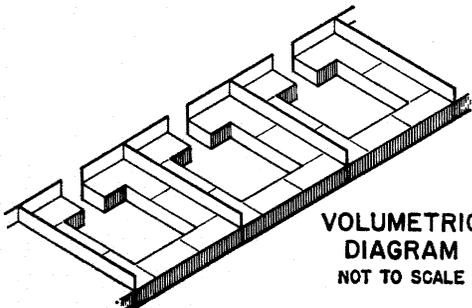
SECTION B-B



STATE



RESTORED



VOLUMETRIC  
DIAGRAM  
NOT TO SCALE

BUILDINGS

**M·N 20-26**

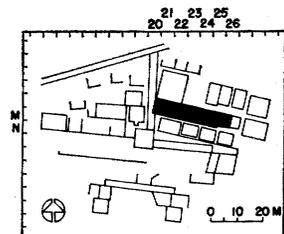
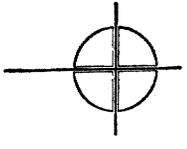


FIG. 2. Buildings M-N: 20-26.

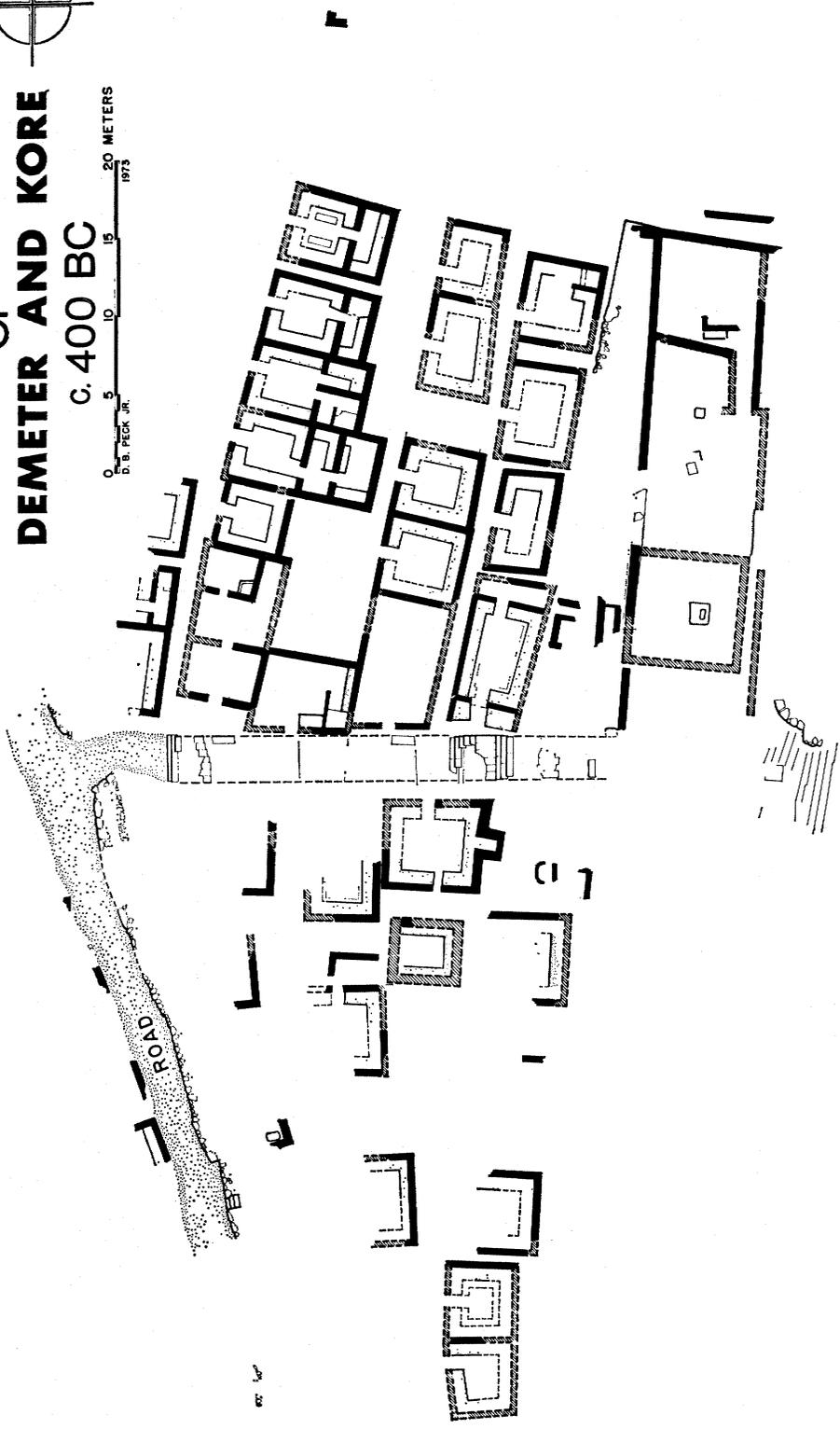
**SANCTUARY  
OF  
DEMETER AND KORE**

**C. 400 BC**

0 5 10 15 20 METERS  
D. B. PECK JR. 1973



**G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U**



**11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30**

FIG. 3. Plan of the Sanctuary at the end of the fifth century B.C.

each serving one half of the room. The dining rooms are augmented by a second narrow room furnished with either a bench or with additional couches and, in three cases, also with a shower stall. In Building K-L:24-25 the shower is in a separate room. Two of the buildings have a third room with hearth. In Building K-L:23-24, the westernmost of the series, the hearth is confined to the north end of a raised platform of earth and stones, built against the west wall of the southernmost room. The platform is 0.30 m. high and 0.65 m. wide. The hearth in Building K-L:24-25 immediately to the east is built into the southwest corner of the southwest room. It is screened from the adjacent shower stall by a tall limestone slab. The hearth is *ca.* 1.30 m. east-west by 1.11 m. north-south and stands 0.40 m. above the floor of the room. The sides are plastered with clay. Arms of clay and earth project from two sides to form at least three burners on which cooking pots were placed over the fire.<sup>10</sup> Much ash was found in the center of the hearth, together with two shallow phialai mesomphaloi turned upside down and filled with charcoal.

The four buildings went out of use in the late 4th century B.C. They were filled in and replaced by another large building L-M:28 at the far east end of the same row. This is one of the best preserved structures yet uncovered in the Sanctuary and helps to explain details previously unclear in other buildings.

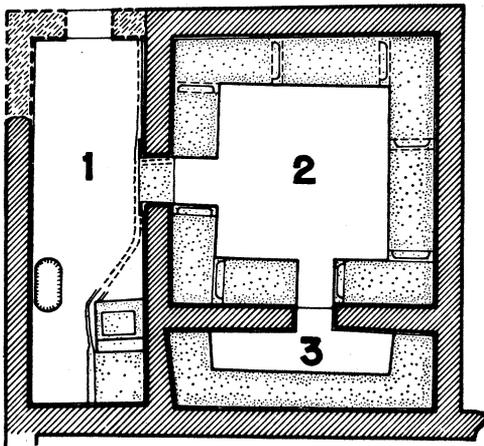
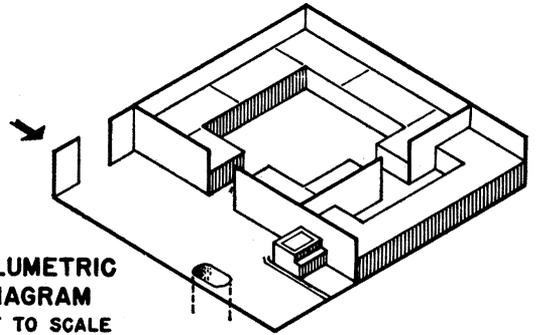
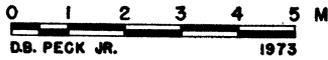
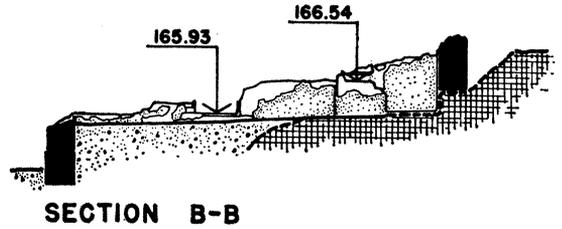
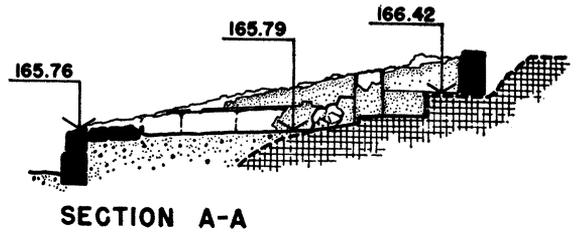
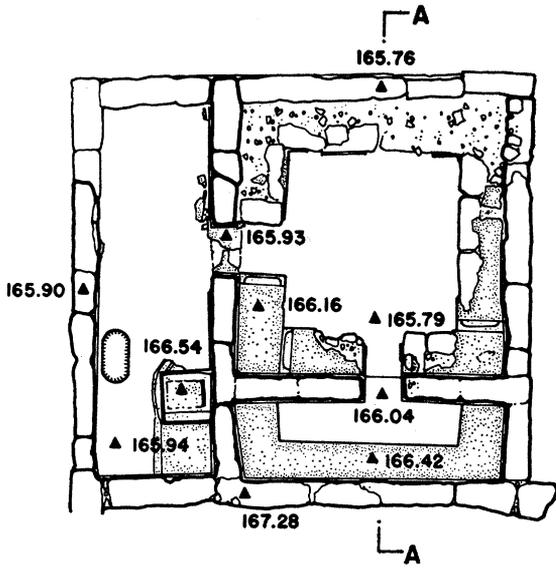
Building L-M:28 (Fig. 4, Pl. 55) is 8.05 m. long north-south and 7.80 m. wide east-west. The walls are constructed of large conglomerate blocks and average 0.45 m. in thickness. The interior faces are carefully stuccoed. Because of the steep slope of the hillside, the south wall survives to a height of 1.34 m. above floor level with correspondingly good preservation of the furnishings in the south half of the building; the north wall does not stand above foundation level. The main entrance is not preserved. Broad alleys along both north and west walls permit placement of the door on either side. The building is divided into three rooms: 1) a long narrow service room along the west side into which one may have entered first; 2) a large dining room to the east of this; 3) a small sitting room to the south of the dining room.

Room 1 runs along the entire west side of the building and is 6.35 m. long by 1.90 m. wide. The features in the south half are very well preserved. In the southeast corner is a rectangular shower stall *ca.* 0.90 m. square with a raised rim along the open west side to protect the clay floor of the room from running water. Beside the stall to the north is a tall, stone sink, also *ca.* 0.90 m. square and 0.60 m. high.<sup>11</sup> The sink has a raised rim 0.12 m. wide and 0.14 m. high on at least three sides; the fourth side is missing. Rim and floor of the sink are stuccoed. A drain runs from the shower stall around the base of the sink, along the east wall of the room and through the north wall to carry off excess water.

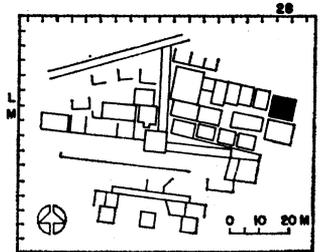
<sup>10</sup> A close parallel can be found in the cult caves in the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. Cf. O. Broneer, *Isthmia*, II, Princeton, 1973, pp. 33-46, pls. 18, d, 57. It is possible that the shower stall in Building K-L:24-25 was used as a sink by analogy with that in the Isthmian court II.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the sink in the court of the cult caves at Isthmia, Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

STATE



RESTORED



BUILDING L·M 28

FIG. 4. Plan of Building L·M: 28.

Across the room from the sink at the base of the west wall is a cistern, the oval mouth of which is 0.85 m. long and 0.50 m. wide. The stuccoed shaft is nearly 4.00 m. deep with seven pairs of footholes cut into the sides. The cistern was fed with water collected from the roof. A small hole passes through the exterior west wall just above the mouth; on the outer face of the wall is a projecting stuccoed lip which must have connected with a drain pipe no longer preserved.

These installations represent a more elaborate version of the washing provisions noted in many of the dining rooms. Although cisterns are not a common feature in the other buildings, at least two other examples (Grid N:26, K:15) show that this was not unique. It is likely that the cooking was done in this room even though no actual facilities were found.

A door with raised step, set 2.10 m. from the northeast corner, leads into the second room which is 4.65–4.88 m. wide and 4.67 m. deep. The floor is clay. Couches to accommodate eight diners stand against the four walls. These are of the usual construction but are carefully finished in fine stucco cement with contoured headrests and half-round moldings along the top front face. The couches are 0.45–0.50 m. high, 0.75–0.80 m. wide and 1.75–1.80 m. long. Two couches are shorter, 1.35 and 1.45 m. respectively.

A second door with raised threshold divides the two south couches and gives access to the third, southern room. Room 3 is 4.80 m. long and 1.26 m. wide. It is furnished on three sides with a stuccoed bench 0.38 m. high and 0.60 m. wide (0.80 m. on the short returns). The narrower width of the bench and the absence of headrests suggest that it served for sitting rather than for reclining. Diners presumably sat there before and/or after meals taken in the adjoining room. It is now clear that this sitting room, if it can be so designated, is a feature common to many of the dining rooms. Most notably, the long narrow room to the east of the dining room in Building N, previously thought to have been a kitchen or storeroom, must have been such a sitting room. This would explain the break in wall plaster on an even line at 0.30 m. above the floor.<sup>12</sup>

When excavated, Building L–M:28 proved remarkably clean of pottery. Only a scattering of sherds was found over the floors of all three rooms. Among the latest are a semi-glazed bowl (Pl. 59),<sup>13</sup> a small fragment of a West Slope conical bowl,<sup>14</sup> and two plates with outturned rim.<sup>15</sup> These date to the later 3rd or early 2nd century B.C. The pottery is supplemented by a coin (No. 49) found on the floor of the dining room, which dates to the time of Philip V of Macedon (220–178 B.C.). It is possible, however, that the building continued in use until the sack of Mummius in 146 B.C.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 315–317.

<sup>13</sup> C-71-181. H. 0.074, diam. of foot 0.059, diam. of rim 0.156 m.

<sup>14</sup> Corinth Pottery Lot 6712.

<sup>15</sup> C-71-177. P.H. 0.032, est. max. diam. 0.19 m. C-71-178. P.H. 0.049, est. max. diam. 0.26 m.

<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that the pottery from the cistern (Corinth Pottery Lots 6722, 6723) is earlier in date, belonging to the very early 3rd century B.C. Only near the mouth was late Hellenistic pottery found, including fragments of the semi-glazed bowl cited above. Together with the pottery was one coin (No. 27).

A fragmentary moldmade terracotta figurine recovered from the foundation trench of the west wall of the building is the sole evidence for the period of construction. A semi-draped female of *ca.* mid-4th century B.C. type, it suggests a date in the second half of the 4th century B.C.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE UPPER TERRACE: THE MOSAIC BUILDING (Fig. 5, Pl. 56)

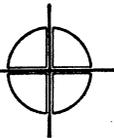
The Mosaic Building (Grid T-U:19) is situated on the uppermost terrace of the Sanctuary at the head of the Theatral Area steps. It is the central of three small buildings on this terrace, all of which present roughly the same plan and dimensions (Fig. 5).<sup>18</sup> The newly found structure, however, is by far the best preserved. Like the two buildings to east (Grid T-U:22) and west (Grid S-T:16-17), it is set into a large rectangular cutting in the rocky slope, *ca.* 2.40 m. deep at the back. The building consists of one nearly square room. The lowest foundation course of the east, south and west walls, and part of one block of the north wall are preserved, as well as the rock-cut beddings of these walls where the blocks have been removed. Re-used limestone blocks, averaging 0.53 m. wide, 0.24 m. high and 0.80-1.30 m. long, are employed in the foundations.<sup>19</sup> These are laid in a single row for the east, west, and north walls, and in a double row for the south wall. The dimensions of the building at this level are 5.60 m. east-west by 5.65 m. north-south. The position of the second or toichobate course is given by setting lines scratched on the bottom course, showing that this was stepped in *ca.* 0.23 m. on the east and west sides, 0.33 m. on the south. Overall dimensions at the level of this course are 5.15 m. east-west by 5.10 m. north-south. Since the inner face of this course abutted against the bedrock core in the interior of the building, and since the top of the blocks would have fallen level with the interior floor, the overlying wall courses were not

<sup>17</sup> MF-71-140. P.H. 0.045 m. Fragment preserving right hip to thigh, partly covered by himation held in right hand; details summarily rendered. For example of related type, R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracotta Figurines in the Department of Classical Antiquities, British Museum*, I, London, 1954, p. 237, no. 887, pl. 129, from Boiotia.

<sup>18</sup> For the two other buildings, cf. *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 309-313, therein designated Building G 1-2, and the foundation "above the southeast corner of the theater cavea." At that time it was thought that the western building G 1-2 (Grid S-T:16-17) consisted of two rooms, viz. an upper southern room on the level of the top terrace, and a lower room to the north. The discovery of the Mosaic Building, however, with its similarity to the plan of the eastern building (Grid T-U:22) calls for a re-examination of G 1-2 and suggests a separation of the two rooms into two distinct phases, namely, an earlier, northern room, covered over with the construction of the later, southern one. This would better solve the problem caused by the different orientation of western walls of the two rooms.

<sup>19</sup> These are exactly like the blocks employed in the eastern building. They preserve V-shaped lifting channels and a variety of pry holes and setting lines unrelated to the present use. They must have derived from the same early Classical building. One block only is different, namely, the easternmost block of the south wall. This is curved, has plaster on its outer or south face, and must once have stood in an apsidal or round monument. There is no other indication that such a structure existed in the Sanctuary.

SANCTUARY  
OF  
**DEMETER AND KORE**  
UPPER SANCTUARY



0 1 2 3 4 5  
10 METERS  
DAVID S. PECK, JR.  
1973

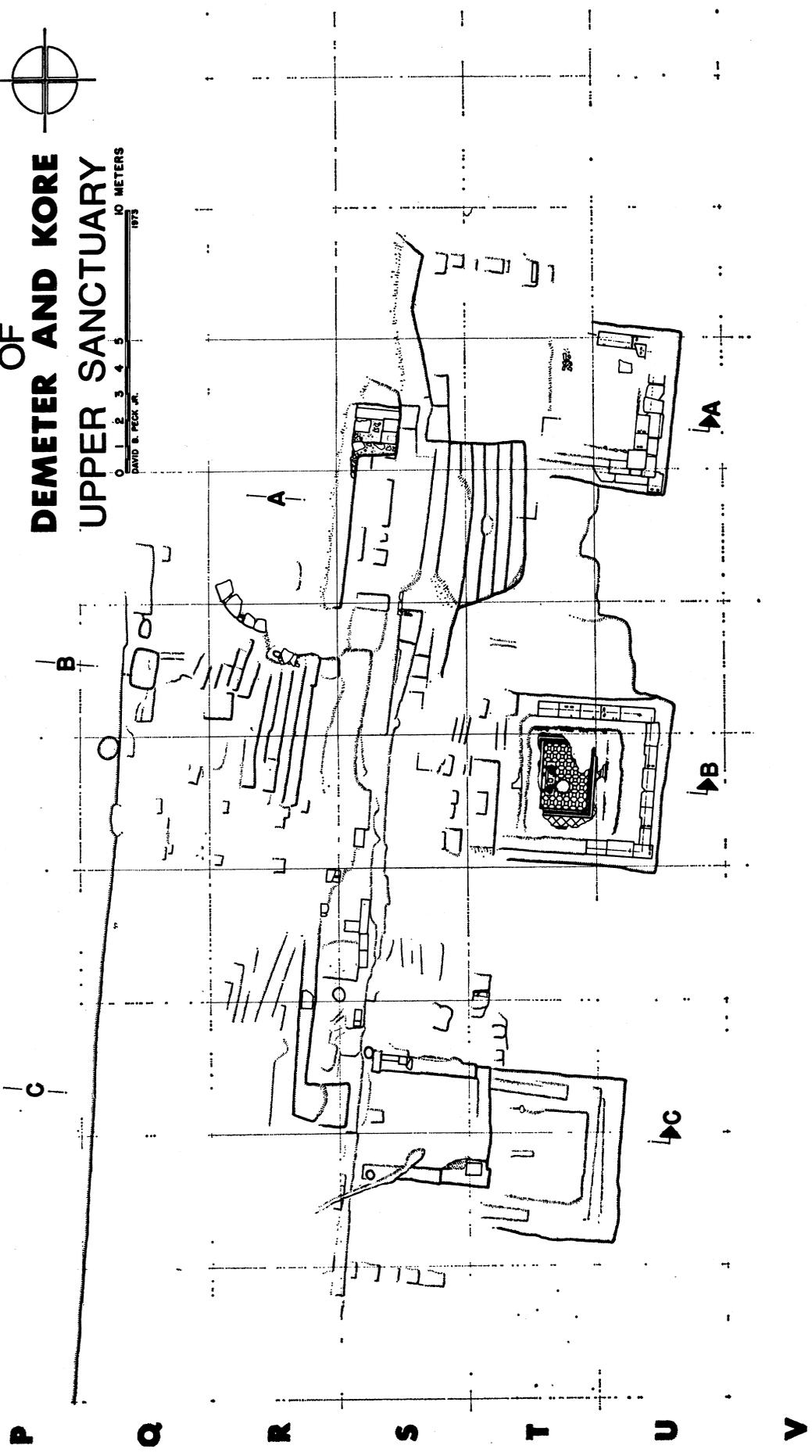


FIG. 5. Plan of the Upper Sanctuary.

stepped. Interior dimensions of the room thus enclosed are 4.15 m. east–west by 3.80 m. north–south.<sup>20</sup>

Although no longer preserved, the entrance can be restored on the north side. This is clear from the disposition of the floor, to be described below. Within the room a long bench or podium stood against the south wall. The bench was built with fragmentary roof tiles, set on edge in cement mortar against a core of some sort, and faced with thin slabs of grayish-white marble veneer. All that remain *in situ* are the lowest row of tiles and the base of the revetment. Again depending on the position of the south wall, the width of the bench was at least 0.60 m. and perhaps as much as 1.10 m.; its height is unknown.

A tessellated mosaic covers the floor. It extends from the foot of the bench to the line of the north wall and across the full width of the room. The mosaic is executed with coarse tesserae *ca.* 0.015 m. square, of marble, terracotta and, in the emblema, glass. For the most part, three colors are used, namely, white, blue-black and terracotta red. The decoration is simple. A geometric border of diamond pattern encloses a large rectangular field ornamented with interlocking octagons. Because of the confinement of space created by the southern bench, the border on the north and south sides is only half the width of that on the east and west sides. In both border and central rectangle, the geometric motives are executed in a blue-black line against a white field.

A framed panel is placed near the north edge to west of center, or two octagons from the east border, one from the west, and one-third from the north edge. The range of colors is enlarged to include blue, yellow and green. Represented are (Pl. 57), at either end, two large wicker baskets—one yellow, one red—with horizontal handles and possibly lids. Around each basket a blue and green speckled snake is curled, tail and head toward the center, green tongue extended. In the center of the panel between the snakes' heads is the impression of an object which had been worked separately—undoubtedly in another material—and embedded in the mosaic. Only the outline remains, straight sides finished with three scallops at the top and two V-shaped points at the bottom. Although the identification of the object is not immediately obvious, it probably depicted some implement of the cult.

Beneath the emblema there is a second smaller panel 0.53 m. long and 0.17 m. wide, also placed west of center. The panel contains an inscription picked out in small white marble strips against a blue-black field. The inscription records the dedication of the mosaic by a certain Octavius Agathopous as Neokoros. It reads:

Ὀκτάβιος Ἀγαθόπους  
νεωκόρος ἐψηφοθέτησε  
ἐπὶ Χαρᾶς ἱερείας νεωτέρας

<sup>20</sup> The north–south dimension 3.80 m. represents the length of the interior bedrock core, but the building may have been longer. Because of the considerable width of the cutting for the south foundations, the exact position of the south wall is not certain.

The letters are oriented so as to be read by someone standing on the north side of the room and facing south, presumably standing at the entrance to the building. The inscription is extremely useful not only in preserving these names, but also in showing for the first time that the Sanctuary was presided over by an eponymous priestess.<sup>21</sup>

Finally just above the emblema there is the impression of another object once embedded in the mosaic floor. The pattern of octagons is interrupted by a large circle drawn with a single row of blue-black tesserae. The circle lies four octagons, or 1.27 m., from the east edge, one and one-half octagons, or 0.67 m., from the west, and two octagons, or 0.70 m., from the south edge of the panel. The circle measures 0.52 m. in diameter.

When the Mosaic Building was first exposed, the floor was covered with an extremely hard stratum of calcined and broken stone. Some of this derived from limestone wall blocks which had been smashed on the floor, driving the tesserae into the underlying bedding. There were equally many fragments, however, of marble. Half of a large marble table top (A-73-18) was found in front of the bench just west of center (Pl. 58); three lion's-paw feet were found nearby. North of the table a fluted stand for a perirrhanterion or table (1) lay on its side over the circular bedding. Parts of a second stand came up nearby as well as outside the building to the north. There were also several fragments with molded profile which may be from an altar or a statue base. In addition, there were numerous small but tantalizing fragments of marble sculpture: three feet from three statues, one just over life-size (Pl. 58),<sup>22</sup> two just under; part of the lower right leg and foot of a draped, standing figure (Pl. 58);<sup>23</sup> two right arms, one with a long attached strut (2), both under life-size; four over life-size fingers, two under life-size; several small pieces of drapery; seven fragments of at least five separate horn-shaped objects (3). In the thick layer of destruction debris and earth which covered the entire building, two fragmentary, lead curse tablets were also recovered as well as an abundance of pottery (4).

1. Fluted Stand.

Pl. 59.

A-73-14. H. 0.628, diam. at base 0.32, diam. at top 0.288 m.

Fine-grained white marble.  
Complete.

Raised base, tapering shaft with twenty flutes, crowned by wide, unfluted band; above shaft, broad splaying top with half-round molding circling rim; deep rectangular cutting in upper

surface 0.07 m. square, in bottom of which a small dowel hole. Underside of base shows anathyrosis.

For fragments of second similar stand, cf. A-73-6.

Fluted stands are extremely common in both domestic and religious contexts, as a support for basins or table tops. For discussion, cf. E. Pernice, *Hellenistische Tische, Zisternenmündungen, Becken-*

<sup>21</sup> For the use of Agathopous, cf. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris, 1937, p. 143 and note 1; "Recherches épigraphiques," *Rev. ét. anc.*, LXII, 1960, pp. 356-361. I wish to thank David Jordan for these references. The name occurs on an unpublished inscription from Corinth of early Roman date (C-34-1808).

<sup>22</sup> S-73-34. P.H. 0.06, P.L. 0.142, P.W. 0.101 m.

<sup>23</sup> S-73-28. P.H. 0.177, P.W. 0.305 m.

*untersätze, Altäre und Truhen*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 38 ff.

The diameter of the base of the stand is too small for the circular bedding south of the emblemata. The stand could only have stood there if it rested on a wider plinth.

2. Right Forearm. Pl. 58.

S-73-31. P.L. 0.23, L. of strut 0.175 m.

Grayish white marble.

Five joining fragments of forearm and hand to base of fingers, first joint of first finger.

Right arm of figure of small stature or slightly under life-size. Arm hung down at side, out from body, with fingers pointing down. Long rectangular strut from wrist to side. Surface of arm and hand lightly polished, coarse rasp marks on palm of hand, strut.

In scale and type of marble the arm is not incompatible with the head of a priestess (S 2666) found in 1961 in a well at the base of the Theatral Area. Both fragments may be part of the same statue which stood in the Mosaic Building. For head, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 21, pl. 10, b.

3. Unidentified Horn-shaped Objects. Pl. 58.

a. S-73-9. L. 0.093, diam. at bottom 0.027 m.

White marble. Surface polished.

Tip of curving horn-shaped object, oval in section, tapering to blunt point. At bottom, smoothed joining surface with iron dowel still embedded.

b. S-73-13. P.L. 0.101, diam. at bottom 0.029 m.

Same as a, but broken at broad end, no evidence of dowel, round in section.

c. S-73-14. P.L. 0.061, diam. at bottom 0.0255 m.

Same as b, broken at broad end, no dowel, round in section.

d. S-73-11. P.L. 0.21, diam. at top 0.0245, diam. at bottom 0.039 m.

Four joining fragments, broken at either end of tapering, curved shaft, round in section; upper diameter smaller than preserved ends of above three pieces, therefore from fourth such piece.

e. S-73-45. P.L. 0.117, diam. at top 0.037, diam. at bottom 0.041 m.

Fragment like d, from shaft, broken at top and bottom, slightly oval in section. Upper diameter overlaps lower diameter of c.

Three other fragments of shafts found, not illustrated, S-3518, S-73-10, S-73-15.

By comparing the various fragments, all of which are similar in workmanship, one can reconstruct a long curving cylinder of marble over 0.40 m. long, rounded at one narrow end, with a diameter of at least 0.043 m. at the other. An intriguing suggestion has been made that they represent horns of cornucopias. Somewhat problematic for this identification, however, is the fact that they do not swell sufficiently to provide a basket for the contents, nor do they have the customary "button top". Nevertheless, no other interpretation suggests itself at present.

4. Oinophoros.

C-73-321 a-d. M.P.H. of largest fragment 0.07 m.

Semi-fine clay with white inclusions, gray at core, salmon-pink at surface.

Four non-joining fragments from body and shoulder.

Moldmade jug with deep cylindrical body, steep shoulder set off by ridge; stump of one vertical handle with spiral grooves on shoulder. Decorated in blurred low relief: on shoulder, pendant petals; on body, one or more vines with clusters of grapes, arm wrapped around stalk (?).

The vase is one of a small class of two-handled wine jug, the *oinophoros*, often identified by an inscription on the underside. The type has been dated anywhere from the 4th century B.C. to the 4th century after Christ. The present example would appear, from clay, quality of relief work, and context, to be Roman. Cf. *C.V.A.*, U.S., Robinson 3 (7), pl. 39 (333); *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 183-184, pl. 64, from the Athenian Agora, found in the Herulian destruction debris. For a second fragment of an *oinophoros* from the Sanctuary, cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pl. 5, e.

The date of the destruction is attested by several elements. The late Roman pottery, by itself somewhat difficult to pinpoint, is supplemented by lamps and coins. Among the latest lamps are several of Broneer Type XXVIII,<sup>24</sup> datable to the second half of the 4th century after Christ. The coins, however, are even more useful. Twenty coins in all were recovered from the Mosaic Building. Of these, eight came up immediately on top of the floor or, where this had been damaged, on bedrock. Seven were found in the thick layer of debris which covered walls and interior. One of these fifteen coins is Classical Greek (No. 23) while two are early Roman in date (Nos. 40, 44). The remaining twelve span the 4th century after Christ, eight extending over the first half (Nos. 71, 72, 74–77, 79, 82), the last four falling in the second half of the century (Nos. 78, 83, 86, 88). The latest coin, that of Valens (No. 88, A.D. 365–375), shows moderate wear and must have been in circulation for some time. Therefore the destruction of the building can be placed securely in the last quarter of the 4th century after Christ. To which of the many disastrous events of the late 4th century this should be assigned is not conclusively evident.<sup>25</sup> It may well have been a combination of events which brought about its end. The violence and thoroughness of the destruction, however, suggest that the final blow was dealt by human hands, either Visigothic or Christian, or possibly both.

The date of the construction of the building is less well documented. Four coins came to light in the construction packing behind the south wall. One disintegrated; the remaining three date to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. (Nos. 48, 62, 63). The pottery from this same fill is predominantly Classical but includes some early Roman fine ware and cooking pots.<sup>26</sup> Characteristic are brittle-ware globular jugs, an Arretine plate and a thin-walled cup with barbotine decoration (5). These may be as early as Augustus and certainly no later than the first half of the first century after Christ. As noted above, two early Roman coins were found within the destruction debris, both struck by the *duoviri*, one in the reign of Augustus (No. 40), the second in the reign of Caligula (No. 44). Either or both coins may well have been part of the construction packing subsequently disturbed when the walls of the structure were dismantled, and they may give further indication of the period of construction. On the other hand, either or both coins may have belonged to the period of use of the building, again providing a date by which the building was already constructed.

A curious feature was noted during the excavation of the fills behind the south wall. Above the lowest layer of reddish earth and working chips, which clearly could be associated with the trimming of the wall blocks, a deep fill of soft, black earth mixed with

<sup>24</sup> O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1930.

<sup>25</sup> For a summation of the history of this period, cf. R. Scranton, *Corinth*, I, iii, *The Lower Agora*, Princeton, 1951, p. 131. For evidence on the earthquakes of A.D. 365 and 375, J. Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, *The Inscriptions*, Princeton, 1966, pp. 165–167. For references and discussion of Visigothic invasion, cf. R. Stroud, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 4, note 4.

<sup>26</sup> Corinth Pottery Lot 73-96.

large quantities of carbonized wheat was found. Black earth and wheat apparently formed a continuation of the packing between the wall and the bedrock scarp to the south. An abundance of pottery was recovered from this earth.<sup>27</sup> It is almost entirely early Roman with the exception of a few Hellenistic sherds. Among the better preserved pieces are three imitation Roman red-ware cups (6), a large fine-ware stamnos (7), several lamps of Broneer Types XVI and XXII (8), as well as a variety of utility jugs and cooking pots. The date is, again, no later than the first half of the first century after Christ and possibly early in that period.

5. Thin-walled Barbotine Cup. Pl. 58.  
C-73-182. H. 0.075, diam. of foot 0.045,  
max. diam. 0.102, diam. of rim 0.092 m.

Orange-gray clay. Unglazed.  
Complete profile.

Small ring foot with fine resting surface, squat globular body, slightly everted molded rim. Two vertical strap handles on shoulder. Handle zone decorated with schematic barbotine leaf pattern: row of dots framed by curving lines ending in large blobs.

The shape finds a close parallel in a type of two-handled cup from Cosa, of Tiberian date; cf. M. T. Marabini-Moevs, *Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome*, XXXII, 1973, pp. 182-183, form LXI, pl. 39, 80, although our example is much more rounded.

First quarter of the first century after Christ.

6. Two-handled Cup. Pl. 58.  
C-73-30. H. 0.076, diam. of base 0.032, max.  
diam. 0.094, diam. of rim 0.08 m.

Gritty, tan clay with fine inclusions, mica;  
peeling, orange-red glaze.

Nearly complete.

Flattened raised base, biconical body with maximum diameter well below median; rounded rim offset by shallow groove. Two vertical loop handles above median. Glazed inside and out.

Two more cups of similar proportions found, not illustrated, C-73-29, C-73-247.

For similar shape, cf. *Athenian Agora*, V, *Pottery of the Roman Period*, Princeton, 1959, p. 30, G 79, first half of the 1st century, and P 21733,

cited therein, from deposit R 10:1, early 1st century after Christ.

7. Stamnos. Pl. 59.  
C-73-262. H. 0.476, max. diam. 0.382, diam.  
of rim 0.232 m.

Fine, buff-orange clay with scattered fine, black inclusions. Red-orange glaze, fugitive white paint.  
Complete profile.

Small ring foot, deep ovoid body tapering to flattened rolled rim. Two horizontal strap handles, tilted on shoulder. Lower half of body decorated with red, white bands; upper half with wavy red band, red stripe on handles.

For related shape and possibly similar decoration, cf. *Athenian Agora*, V, p. 31, G 101, from first half of the 1st century after Christ.

8. Moldmade Lamp. Pl. 58.  
L-73-25. H. 0.029, diam. of base 0.029, diam.  
of rim 0.071 m.

Greenish clay, mottled brown glaze.

Complete profile, missing part of disc, end of nozzle.

False ring foot, flaring convex sides, maximum diameter at rim; sloping rim, concave disc, start of volute nozzle, small air hole in edge of disc. No handle. On rim, three grooves; on disc, in relief, dog chasing deer.

For type, *Corinth*, IV, ii, pp. 76-78, Type XXII. Cf. *Athenian Agora*, VII, *Lamps of the Roman Period*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 75-79, nos. 34-79, dated from late 1st century B.C. to first half of the 1st century after Christ.

<sup>27</sup> Corinth Pottery Lot 73-97. Although samples of the grain have been submitted for analysis, at the time of writing the results of the tests have not yet been received.

Whether the mosaic dates to the time of the initial construction of the building or to a remodeling is not yet certain. There are several cuttings along the north edge of the mosaic which have a different orientation from the line of the existing north wall. These suggest that there was more than one phase in the history of the building. The coarseness of the mosaic and the use of terracotta tesserae call to mind a series of mosaics from the Forum area which date generally to the second century after Christ.<sup>28</sup>

The quantity of material recovered from this small building, the mosaic floor with its snake baskets, and the central position of the structure on the axis of the main approach to the Upper Terrace make the question of the identification of the building an important one albeit one which we are not yet prepared to answer. Attempts to give it primary importance within the Roman Sanctuary must be counterbalanced by considerations of the two flanking buildings, so close in size and plan but so much less well preserved. It is hoped that a continued study of all three monuments, so crucial for our understanding of the Roman cult, will make their identifications clearer.

Tests made to east and west of the buildings which flank the Mosaic Building revealed nothing but irregular bedrock. There would appear, therefore, to be nothing more on the Upper Terrace than the three buildings which have been excavated to date.

### EARLY CHRISTIAN GRAVES

Although the Sanctuary ceased to operate after the fourth century of our era, activity on the site did not immediately end. With the excavation of sixteen new graves between the years 1971 and 1973, the number of Early Christian burials in the vicinity of the Sanctuary has risen to twenty-four.<sup>29</sup> As the plan in Figure 1 shows, these generally lie in the region immediately south of the road. They are tile burials of common Late Roman type, containing a single interment in extended position. With two exceptions there have been no grave gifts. The exceptions are a child's burial 6:72 (Grid J-K:12) in which several bronze ornaments and a bell-shaped rattle had been placed, and an adult burial 2:72 (Grid J-K:17) which contained a single unglazed lekythos datable to the 6th century after Christ.<sup>30</sup> This represents to date the latest object from a closed context in the Sanctuary.

<sup>28</sup> The colonnade mosaic in the Peribolos of Apollo, dated to the early second century after Christ, if not later, is quite similar (*Corinth*, I, ii, p. 52 and fig. 37). The peristyle mosaic in the Roman North Market, early 2nd century in date, uses primarily stone for red but also some terracotta (*Corinth*, I, iii, pp. 187, 190). The mosaics in the rooms north of the Odeion are close in style but use only stone for red; these are dated to the second half of the 2nd century (*Corinth*, X, *The Odeum*, Cambridge [Mass.], 1932, pp. 67-69).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, p. 305, for a description of other graves. The skeletal material is being studied by Peter Burns of the University of Arizona.

<sup>30</sup> C-72-57. H. 0.148, diam. of base 0.055, max. diam. 0.07 m. For a close parallel from the Early Christian cemetery near the Gymnasium, cf. J. R. Wiseman, *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, p. 38, pl. 15, b, 5, dated to the 6th century after Christ.

## THE EARLY REMAINS

The early remains which predate the Archaic and Classical Sanctuary are to be found on the Lower Terrace, with the exception of a few stray sherds on Middle and Upper Terraces. On the Lower Terrace they are concentrated in the area west of the Stairway and south of the north temenos wall. A test trench, however, made to the east of Building T in Grid K–L:23 exposed a distinct stratum above bedrock in which were a few sherds of the Late Mycenaean III C or possibly Protogeometric period.<sup>31</sup> The dining rooms to the east of this, too, gave up occasional Geometric sherds.

The remains take several forms. There are graves, a wall with associated burnt floor and, above all, an abundance of pottery, much of which, however, was unstratified.

Two graves, widely separated from each other, have been excavated to date. The first, a Late Mycenaean III C child's burial found beneath the floor of dining room P (Grid M:19), has been described in the preceding report.<sup>32</sup> The second grave, excavated in 1972, lies just south of the short flight of steps which leads from the road into the western half of the Sanctuary (Grid K:14). The grave consists of a shallow, unlined pit *ca.* 1.20 m. long and *ca.* 0.40 m. wide without cover. Within the pit was the skeleton of an adult, lying in contracted position on its left side, head to the south with legs bent under the body. Just behind the head was a small handmade oinochoe (9) of the Protogeometric or very early Geometric period.

- |   |                |  |
|---|----------------|--|
| <p>9. Coarse-ware Oinochoe.<br/>C-72-115. H. 0.087, max. diam. 0.056 m.<br/>Buff Corinthian clay with red inclusions.<br/>Complete.<br/>Flattened bottom, globular body curving into low wide neck, flaring trefoil mouth; high-swung</p> | <p>Pl. 59.</p> | <p>strap handle from rim to shoulder. Unglazed.<br/>Paring marks on surface.<br/>As handmade coarse ware, this small pot cannot be closely dated without additional corroborative material.<br/>Protogeometric to Early Geometric.</p> |
|---|----------------|--|

The architectural remains consist of a single wall (Grid K:19) situated immediately west of the Stairway and *ca.* 8.00 m. south of the temenos wall. Oriented east–west, the wall is built of large field stones with small stones in the interstices. It is 4.70 m. long, 0.45–0.50 m. wide and one course high. The east end was cut away with the construction of the Stairway. Just beyond its preserved west end, a second line of stones can be traced for a distance of 1.55 m. further west. The north face of this line lies *ca.* 0.20 m. north of the first wall, and the stones are bedded at a slightly deeper level.

In front of both walls a continuous stretch of burnt clay floor is preserved for a width of 1.60–2.50 m. North of this there is much Roman intrusion. The floor breaks off just west of the western wall; associated fills over the floor, however, extend at least 2.50 m. further west. Several post holes were cleaned in the floor, three lying 1.10 m. to

<sup>31</sup> Corinth Pottery Lot 73–122.

<sup>32</sup> *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 291–292.

1.85 m. beyond the preserved west end of the wall, and one near the east end. Northwest of the first three holes a shallow pit was cleared in which lay a small ladle (10). Much clay was found over the floor, over the west end of the wall, and southwest of the wall.

Pottery from the earth accumulated over the floor ranges from Late Mycenaean III C to Protogeometric periods.<sup>33</sup> Among the more distinctive pieces are a fragmentary, deep, monochrome bowl (11) and two kraters (12, 13). Removal of the burnt floor produced a small amount of pottery of the Late Mycenaean III C period only.<sup>34</sup> Among the sherds were several joining fragments of the large krater (13) found over the floor. Beneath the floor near the east end of the wall, a thin layer of black earth covered a series of six post holes, one of which was lined with pithos fragments. The holes extend unevenly from the wall north for 2.50 m. The few sherds recovered from this earth again seem to date no later than the Late Mycenaean III C period.<sup>35</sup>

In summary, wall and floor appeared to have been constructed no earlier than the Late Mycenaean III C period and quite possibly even later, in the Submycenaean or early Protogeometric periods, since broken Late Mycenaean III C pottery occurred within and beneath the floor. How long it continued in use cannot be determined.

As stated above, substantial amounts of pottery have been recovered but, with the exception of the graves and wall already described, almost all of the material has occurred in contexts of mixed date. Immediately north of the Stairway and south of the threshold block several tests were made to bedrock. These exposed much burned and discarded mudbrick, together with pottery ranging from 12th to 6th centuries B.C. Again, attempts to isolate early strata on the ceramically rich terrace west of the stairs have met with little success. Invariably there is a sprinkling of Protocorinthian and Archaic sherds, suggesting that in those periods extensive terracing work and building were carried out which disturbed the earlier levels. Only in one test trench just south of the temenos wall (Grid J:17) was a stratum containing only Protogeometric pottery isolated.<sup>36</sup> It remains, therefore, to consider the range of periods represented by the pottery excavated to date. Nothing appears to be earlier than Late Mycenaean III C, with the possible exception of a fragmentary psi-type figurine (14) to be described below. Late Mycenaean III C, however, is clearly represented. Proto- and Early Geometric are abundantly attested. The amount of Middle Geometric pottery is much reduced, while Late Geometric so far is evidenced by a handful of sherds. Whether Submycenaean exists is perhaps a matter of definition, depending on a more careful analysis of the local Corinthian style. The deep, monochrome bowl, for example, found in the child's grave under Room P<sup>37</sup> may

<sup>33</sup> Corinth Pottery Lots 72-116, 72-117. The early pottery throughout the Lower Terrace is extremely fragmentary and waterworn and therefore somewhat difficult to classify. Dating is given in the broadest of terms and will certainly be modified and refined when the material is studied in detail.

<sup>34</sup> Corinth Pottery Lot 73-109.

<sup>35</sup> Corinth Pottery Lot 73-111.

<sup>36</sup> Corinth Pottery Lot 6938.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. above, note 32.

prove to be Submycenaean rather than Late Helladic III C. As yet, the gap most disturbing to possible considerations of historical continuity occurs between Late Geometric and Late Protocorinthian, the earliest time for which there is sure evidence for the worship of Demeter and Kore. Here, too, it is possible that a careful review of the excavated material may reduce the period of "discontinuity". As for the types of pottery represented, fine and coarse wares appear in equal amounts in all periods. Skyphoi, bowls and kraters are the most common fine-ware shapes, while among the coarse wares there are jars, pithoi and cooking pots. In addition to the pottery, one bone needle probably of Mycenaean date was found over the burnt clay floor,<sup>38</sup> and one fragmentary psi-type figurine from a mixed context north of the Stairway (14).

Certainly the most pressing question to ask of this material is whether or not it is related directly to the Archaic cult and whether the first foundation on the site in the 12th century B.C. is religious or secular. The architectural remains are regrettably sparse and indecisive. It may be argued that the close proximity of graves to building indicates that the foundation was secular and domestic.<sup>39</sup> This would not be out of keeping with the kind of pottery found in the excavation. At the same time, a less salubrious location for a house or settlement can scarcely be found in Corinth. The barren slope is beaten by the north wind, and the nearest modern source of water, Hadji Mustapha, is a good five minutes' walk down the mountainside, or fifteen minutes' steep climb with a water barrel on one's back. In the absence of extensive architectural remains, it may be that the best evidence will be provided by the pottery, that is, by the existence of a continuous representation of pottery from the 12th to 7th centuries B.C. Without this unbroken chain, arguments for religious continuity must remain inconclusive.

10. Ladle. Pl. 60.

C-72-240. H. 0.053, diam. at rim 0.093 m.

Tan clay with fine inclusions, micaceous red-brown glaze.

Nearly complete, missing handle.

Deep bowl with rounded bottom, low flaring rim, start of high-swung strap handle at rim. Interior and exterior decorated with red cross, consisting of four vertical stripes at right angles from rim to base, separate stripe up back of handle.

For similar shape, cf. M. Popham, E. Milburn, "Late Helladic IIIC Pottery of Xeropolis (Lefkandi), A Summary," *B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1971, p.

337, fig. 2.4, LH III C 1b; S. Immerwahr, *The Athenian Agora*, XIII, *The Neolithic and Bronze Ages*, Princeton, 1971, p. 140, and no. 484, p. 263, pl. 64, Mycenaean III B-C:1.

Late Mycenaean III C.

11. Deep, Monochrome Bowl. Pl. 60.

C-72-198. P.H. 0.085 m.

Buff clay fired gray, badly fired and worn black glaze.

Three joining fragments, giving most of profile from rim to lower body.

Deep, rounded bowl with flaring lip, maximum

<sup>38</sup> MF-72-137. L. 0.109 m. Complete. Fine-pointed needle with blunt head, shallow groove near blunt end.

<sup>39</sup> The most recent excavations beneath the Roman Forum have shown that in the Geometric period family burials were made in the immediate proximity of the home. Cf. C. K. Williams, II and J. E. Fisher, *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 4.

diameter of bowl at rim; beginning of attachment for handle at right break. Glazed inside and out, reserved stripe below lip in interior.

Similar to deep, monochrome bowl from child's grave, C-69-179, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, p. 292, pl. 57, though profile of present piece somewhat less rounded.

Late Mycenaean III C—Submycenaean (?).

**12. Krater.** Pl. 60.

C-72-188. P.H. 0.08, est. diam. at rim 0.50 m.

Clay fired buff at core, orange at surfaces, with scattered fine inclusions, mica. Red glaze.

Fragment from rim.

Large krater with straight sides, flattened out-turned rim; beneath rim, applied band of clay with diagonal slashes imitating rope pattern. Interior, rim and plastic band glazed. Body reserved; at right, part of multiple stem pattern; to left, upper half of solid circle outlined with fringed band.

For shape, with ropework band, cf. Popham, Milburn, *op. cit.* (10), pls. 54.6, 56.4, both LH III C phase 2. For multiple stem motif, Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery*, p. 299, fig. 19, hook-shaped.

Late Mycenaean III C.

**13. Krater.** Pl. 60.

C-72-199. H. 0.175, est. diam. of rim 0.23 m.

Buff clay with fine sand, fired grayish; worn and crackled brown-black glaze.

Mended from many fragments, complete profile.

Low flaring ring foot with broad resting surface, ovoid body with nearly vertical shoulder, contracting slightly near mouth, high outturned rim, maximum diameter at rim. No preserved handles. Interior glazed, on lip reserved band with

bars; exterior glazed, reserved underside and narrow zone at handles, ornamented with series of fringed spirals, alternately depending from top or rising from base of reserved zone.

For shape, Furumark, *op. cit.* (12), p. 49, fig. 14.282, III:C:1 l. The decoration is a variation of the stemmed spiral, *ibid.*, p. 366, fig. 63, no. 15. Fringing as an embellishment begins in the Late Mycenaean period and continues through Submycenaean. Compare our piece with the fragmentary krater from the Kerameikos in Athens, dated to end Submycenaean or beginning Proto-geometric, Kraiker and Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, p. 128, pl. 50 right, which has a denser, paneled decoration, as well as wavy lines at top and bottom heralding Proto-geometric. On the use of fringing or "punktreihe", cf. *ibid.*, p. 80.

Late Mycenaean III C.

**14. Psi-type Figurine.** Pl. 60.

MF-71-62. P.H. 0.026, P.W. 0.044 m.

Buff-tan clay, gray at core, red-brown glaze.

Fragment from neck to below breasts, part of left arm.

Psi-type figurine with raised breasts; wavy lines covering arms, breast to base of neck on front and back.

For discussion of type, see E. W. French, "The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines," *B.S.A.*, LXVI, 1971, pp. 128-133. Not enough is preserved of our piece to type it as hollow or solid stemmed. The decoration and treatment of the breasts would place it in the large category of Late Mycenaean III A or III B periods. This seems unlikely in view of the absence of pottery of that date on the site.

Late Mycenaean III B-III C.

## THE FINDS

In conclusion, a brief word should be said about the finds. The number of inventoried objects from the Sanctuary has now risen to 3050, with many more inventoriable pieces still in storage lots awaiting study. Among these, most numerous are pottery and terracotta figurines. The types and ranges of finds from the excavation have been described amply in previous reports, and there is no need to repeat them here. Two objects only of especially fine quality may be singled out for notice.

The first is the fragmentary ivory handle of a bronze mirror (Pl. 59), found beneath the floor of dining room J (Grid N-O:25-26).<sup>40</sup> Reconstructed from two non-joining fragments, the mirror resembles the type generally associated with Corinthian bronze workshops. The handle is a flat, single piece, divided into two zones, that is, a nearly square panel just below the mirror disc and, beneath this, a long rectangular shaft. Like its bronze counterparts, the ivory handle is worked on one face in very low relief. A crouching sphinx, facing left, but now headless, fills the upper square panel; it is partly obscured by a bronze patch used to repair the handle at some point in its history. On the long, lower panel is the figure of a woman (?) also facing left, dressed in an elaborately ornamented peplos, her hair tied by a fillet and hanging down her back. Between the panels are two volutes with bronze studs as central eyes. Comparisons with Middle Corinthian vase painting place the relief in the first half of the 6th century B.C. While ivory mirror handles as such are not uncommon, having been found both at Corinth and at other sites, they generally take the form of a cylinder of plain or molded profile, fitting over the bronze tang of the mirror. The present example from the Sanctuary is unusual, if not unique, in its form and figural decoration, and can be closely paralleled in local bronze work.<sup>41</sup>

The second object is a terracotta mask of under life size, depicting a bearded man (Pl. 59), and found to east of the Theater.<sup>42</sup> The face is broad, with low, flat forehead, large deep-set eyes, full lips and long drooping moustaches. Wavy hair frames the forehead. Above this is a stephane or polos decorated with a wreath of overlapping ivy leaves. Two short curving horns, one of which is now broken away, sprout from the center of the head. Over a coating of white engobe, skin, beard, and hair are painted red, the horns are light blue. There are no suspension holes but behind the polos is the start of the curving crown of the head, by which the mask could have been hooked over a post or nail. The broad face, wide forehead, and large eyes suggest a date in the second half of the 5th century B.C. Aside from the very fine quality of the piece, of special interest is the question of the identity of the person represented.

The facial type is that of Dionysos-Hades. Numerous parallels can be found for the solemn bearded visage among protomes, most notably from Boiotia and Lokris.<sup>43</sup> A

<sup>40</sup> MF-72-140. Fragment a: P.H. 0.037, W. 0.028, Th. 0.006 m. Fragment b: P.H. 0.037, W. 0.021, Th. 0.006 m. I wish to thank Lila Marangou of the Benaki Museum who looked at these pieces and corroborated their material. For dining room J, cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 317-318.

<sup>41</sup> For discussion of the type with parallels, cf. P. Oberländer, *Griechische Handspiegel* (Diss., Hamburg, 1967), pp. 8-20, Group A.1, no. 1-23; p. 234 for ivory handles; H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 226-227, figs. 101-102. For a mirror with ivory handle from the Potters' Quarter in Corinth, *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 118, no. 19, pl. 47.

<sup>42</sup> MF-73-3. H. 0.18, Th. 0.008-0.011 m. Distance between inner corners of eyes 0.018, distance between outer corners of eyes 0.048 m.

<sup>43</sup> F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, Berlin, 1903, p. 248, nos. 3-5. R. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas*, p. 233, no. 873, pl. 125.

terracotta mask found recently in the Sanctuary of Dionysos in ancient Maroneia, Thrace, shows the type even more clearly. The bearded god here wears a low polos with ivy crown and clusters of grapes.<sup>44</sup> On our piece, however, an added iconographical element is provided by the horns.

Horns growing out of heads are generally associated with divinities such as Acheloos or Pan. Both of these gods, however, have a very strong animal aspect which does not appear in the bearded mask. Tradition records a horned Dionysos who is connected with a bull and sprouts bull's horns from his head.<sup>45</sup> This may well be the aspect of the divinity depicted on our Corinthian piece. Representations of the horned Dionysos are rare, and in the few examples so recognized he is generally youthful. Such a figure has been identified on a Corinthian pyxis in the Reading Museum,<sup>46</sup> decorated in the outline style of which so many examples have been found in the Sanctuary. That age may not be a significant factor, however, is shown by the changing aspects of Dionysos in art of the late 5th and early 4th century B.C.

The presence of Dionysos in the Sanctuary cult has already been suggested by the appearance of his name on a terracotta plaque found at the base of the Theatral Area<sup>47</sup> and by the discovery of at least one other small-scale mask (Pl. 59).<sup>48</sup> The snake baskets on the mosaic described above are common emblems of Dionysos Sabezius and may be a further indication of his participation. The new mask certainly strengthens that impression.

This marks the last preliminary excavation report on the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. With the discovery of the north and south boundaries to the temenos and with the full definition and investigation of the central cult area, excavation is near an end. Work will now be concentrated on the final publication of the architecture and finds, and any subsequent discoveries will be incorporated in that study.

NANCY BOOKIDIS

CORINTH EXCAVATIONS

<sup>44</sup> *Πρακτικά*, 1971, p. 104, pl. 125, a.

<sup>45</sup> Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, Oxford, 1909, pp. 250 ff., with references therein.

<sup>46</sup> A. D. Ure, "Boeotian Haloa," *J.H.S.*, LXIX, 1949, pp. 18–24, figs. 2, a, 3. Mrs. Ure's identification of this figure as Dionysos of the threshing floor has awakened much controversy, for summary of which cf. J. Boardman, "A Sam Wide Group Cup in Oxford," *J.H.S.*, XC, 1970, pp. 194–195. It is hoped that the Sanctuary mask will give more support to her interesting interpretation.

<sup>47</sup> *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 328, pl. 98, h.

<sup>48</sup> MF 11776. P.H. 0.101 m. For discussion of the relation of Dionysos to Demeter, cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 326, note 31.

## APPENDIX: COINS

This report covers the coins found in the Demeter Sanctuary during 1971–1973. One hundred and eleven is the gross count, from which one hundred readable specimens were obtained and catalogued below. They bring the current total of usable coins up to 533.<sup>49</sup> The low figure confirms the fact that the amount of silver and bronze making its way up the lower slopes of Acrocorinth is modest. This suggests either small change brought up by worshippers soon to return to the city markets below, and spent on simple fees relating to the Sanctuary (purchase of votives, or services, for example), or coins accidentally lost, from garments laid aside in washing, for example—coins not primarily destined for the Sanctuary.<sup>50</sup>

Predominance of Greek and, specifically, Corinthian coinage over Roman, Byzantine, Frankish, and Turkish follows the usual pattern. Lack of Archaic specimens, new types, or hoards does also. All of the coins are bronze except for eight silver: a hemidrachm from Corinth (No. 1), two from Sikyon (Nos. 53, 54), one denarius from South Italy or Sicily (No. 67), and four Turkish pieces of which one alone (No. 100) is catalogued. The other three are paper-thin and in some cases pierced, possibly sequins of the 18th to 19th centuries after Christ.

Chronologically, the earliest coin recovered is a bronze, Herakles/Eagle fighting Serpent (No. 47) from the second reign of Amyntas III of Macedonia (381–369 B.C.). The latest coin, apart from the sequins, is the fourth Turkish find (No. 100). Struck under Bāyazīd II in Novār, it bears the ruler's date of accession: 886 H (A.D. 1481).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> For previous coin reports: N. Bookidis and J. E. Fisher, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth," *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 318–331, and p. 318, note 41. Usable amounts:

Demeter Sanctuary	
1961–1965	280 coins
1968–1970	153
1971–1973	100
	533 coins total

For abbreviations used in this article, see *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 34, note 41. To these add: *Agora*, IX = G. C. Miles, *The Athenian Agora*, IX, *The Islamic Coins*, Princeton, 1962; Brett = A. B. Brett, *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 1955; Edhem = Khalil Edhem, *Meskükāt-i 'Osmāniye* (Part VI of *Müze-yi Humāyün: Meskükāt-i Qadīme-yi Islāmīye Qatāloghi*), Constantinople, 1334; *Hunter*. = G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Glasgow, 1899–1905; *Noe* = *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards* (NNM No. 78), New York, 1937; *Ravel* = *Les "poulains" de Corinthe*, London, 1948; *Syd*. = E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London, 1952.

<sup>50</sup> See K. E. Edwards, "Report on the Coins found in the Excavations at Corinth during the Years 1930–1935," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 247, for a similar occurrence in the Asklepieion. The Abaton hoard, composed mainly of small Corinthian issues, may represent change used in the precinct; the Offertory Box hoard, with only "foreign" coins, probably not.

<sup>51</sup> I am most grateful to Dr. George C. Miles for checking this coin (letter, November 7, 1973). Dr. Miles identifies Novār as Novāberda (Novobrdo) in the old kingdom of Serbia. For further details of the mint under Islamic rule, see *Agora*, IX, p. 15, nos. 13 and 14.

In terms of pertinence to the “life” of the Sanctuary, however, an Arcadius coin (No. 91) is the latest. Found just east of Building T, the piece lacks a mint mark and is datable to only a general A.D. 383–408 of the VICTORIA AVGGG (Victory I.) emission to which it belongs. In the Duoviri period several chronological gaps occur for just three emperors are represented: Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula. The Augustan coins are the most numerous, as is once again the Pollio-Priscus issue.<sup>52</sup> Greek Imperials, however, are virtually absent although one semi-illegible Hadrianic bronze (No. 65) was recovered. Another gap comes between A.D. 249 and 305. If these gaps have little significance in the over-all numismatic picture of the Sanctuary (other seasons supply material for most missing periods here), they may have bearing as context (or lack of it) for specific structures uncovered at a given time. A summary of stratified coins with reference to Dr. Bookidis’ text will appear below.

Turning to the Greek coins in more detail, the Corinthian hemidrachm is of the E-ϙ series. Related to a similar E-ϙ specimen in the Forum hoard of 1971, it is also linked to the E-dot series. This relationship is clear upon examination of the Kyra Vrissi hoard found near Corinth in 1934.<sup>53</sup> The hoard contains, among other silver and bronze fractions of Sikyon, Leukas, Corinth and Colonies, the three-hemidrachm series mentioned above: E-ϙ, E-dot, E-dot. These are represented by two or more examples per letter combination (four for E-dot, for example); all three series are linked by an identical obverse die. A second obverse joins an E-ϙ and an E-dot specimen. There are at least two reverse die-links within the E-ϙ and the E-dot groups respectively. All four E-dot specimens share the same reverse die. Not only are these fractions closely linked, but die deterioration is nearly imperceptible, suggesting that the three series may be one issue struck at the same time. A further fact of interest is that both an E-ϙ and an E-dot specimen share identical obverse dies with a hemidrachm that bears no reverse letters (*BMC* 344). Without further study the relative sequence of the series remains undetermined. Nevertheless, one can say that the Unmarked, the E-ϙ, and the E-dot, and the E-dot hemidrachms were struck in close sequence and that the E is the dominant letter of the issue. Concerning our hemidrachm (No. 1), its poor condition excludes reliable die identities. It can be dated only to 350–307 B.C. by the above-cited Forum hoard which also contains die duplicates of three Kyra Vrissi pieces.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Ed. Class XIII. See *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, p. 319 and note 48.

<sup>53</sup> *New Greek Hoards Index* 200 (Noe 594). Access to this hoard is thanks to the unfailing kindness of Dr. Mando Caramessini-Oikonomidis, Director of the National Numismatic Cabinet, Athens, Greece, to whom I am indebted for help of all kinds. The hoard itself awaits detailed publication.

<sup>54</sup> *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 176–178 for Forum hoard. The Pegasos/Tridents of the Kyra Vrissi hoard have the following symbols: Pileus, Dove, Crescent, Star, Bow, and Poppyhead. All of these occur on staters along with the letter E (Ravel 977 ff.); one E-Torch stater appears in the hoard as well. It would seem simply that at this period the staters were struck with both symbol and letter controls, the small bronze with similar symbols, and the hemidrachms with the dominant letter—in this case, E—and often with a second letter.

As usual the Pegasos/Trident group is the largest. 33 were catalogued, but no new symbols or varieties were found. A Pegasos-right (No. 2), generally considered an early issue, occurred in quite satisfactory context (first half of the 4th century B.C.), in the quarry.<sup>55</sup> A Pegasos/Trident, Bow (No. 19) is associated with the Amyntas bronze (No. 47), both discovered in Building K-L:24-25 on the Middle Terrace. Although the context pottery is somewhat later (third quarter of the 4th century B.C.), it is not incompatible when the circulation of the Macedonian piece, prior to being lost, is considered. No. 19 is also relevant to the Kyra Vrasi hoard which contains 36 Bow specimens.<sup>56</sup>

More rare than any Pegasos/Trident is the large Athena/Trident bronze. One (No. 34) was recovered from the Sanctuary building K-L:23-25 in 1972. Only eight such coins have ever turned up in the Corinth excavations.<sup>57</sup> Two have secure context and will be discussed later. Most of the coins appear in remarkable stages of deterioration and are nearly useless for study. Soil conditions alone cannot account for this; crude, friable fabric and poor annealing are also factors. Close metallographic examination of such coins would perhaps reveal distinctions in composition, as well as details in the finishing processes of the flans (before striking). This issue, however, has certain known "peculiarities": a large flan, an ethnic written in full, a retrograde E, a new obverse type, and, frequently, a countermark. In the pre-Mummius period the flans of nearly all the Corinthian bronzes are small. Only the Poseidon head/Bellerophon-on-Pegasos coin is as large. This issue has been dated to the time of Antigonos Gonatas (277-239 B.C.) because of the similarity of the Poseidon head to the one on the Macedonian silver.<sup>58</sup> Another large bronze of Corinthian type is, of course, known at Lokri Epizephyrii, so the denomination is not an anomaly for the period.<sup>59</sup> The full legend, on the other hand, is an innovation. This is the only known occurrence on the Greek issues of Corinth. Full ethnics do appear on Corinthian type series elsewhere and under the Romans, from time to time, Corinth strikes the full legend in Latin. The usual form of the ethnic is the well-known ϑ while KOP is reserved for Corcyra; KOPINΘION on the Athena/Tridents is distinctly unusual.<sup>60</sup> The reverse control mark appears on some, but not all,

<sup>55</sup> Quarry location: Grid P:28. Corinth Pottery Lot 72-121. *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 37, 39, comparison of Pegasos-right in Sacred Spring, Phase 3. There are 7 phases in all, Phase 2 being the earliest for coins.

<sup>56</sup> See above, note 54.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *BMC* 472-475 and dates: ca. 400-300 B.C. Other Athena/Tridents from Corinth: a) No. 34 above, Middle Terrace, upper fills in south rooms of Building K-L:23-25. b) 63-828, Anaploga Cistern area, closed context. c) 5/5/61, Roman Chamber Tomb. d) 4/19/37, Agora NE, closed context. e) 4/3/36, South Stoa M. f) 4/17/36, South Basilica Well. g) 5/4/33, East Portico Drain, Lerna Square. h) 5/21/32, "East Wall".

<sup>58</sup> *BMC* 478, and Introduction, p. xxxiii.

<sup>59</sup> *BMC* 16.

<sup>60</sup> Full ethnics in Greek on Corinthian type AR, AE: *BMC* 5, 16 (Lokri, ca. 350-268 B.C.); full ethnics in Latin at Corinth: Ed. 17 (CORINTHVM), Ed. 35 (CORINTHI), for example.

of the Athena/Tridents. This  $\exists$  may, although not necessarily, associate the issue with the E staters and fractions discussed above. Another innovation is the obverse type. Athena wearing a crested Corinthian helmet without a neck-piece is unknown on Corinthian staters. At Corinth, Athena appears in a crestless helmet with or without the neck-guard. Elsewhere, on Corinthian-type staters when the crest is present, the neck-flap is, too. Conversely, when the crest is missing so is the flap.<sup>61</sup> Symbols on one or two of the stater series depicting a crested helmet are possible precursors to the new type. Small scale, however, tends to abbreviate detail so the presence or absence of a neck-piece is not always certain.<sup>62</sup> The new type appears on one other Corinthian issue, the small Athena/Pegasus bronzes. Their looser, freer style, however, relates these bronzes more closely to the Athena/Pan of Antigonos Gonatas than to the Athena/Trident. Barclay V. Head observed some time ago that the Athena/Trident owed its new type to the gold staters of Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.).<sup>63</sup> Although the inauguration of a new Corinthian-helmet type on Macedonian and not on Corinthian coins first seems illogical, the role of tradition in die design may have been as inhibitory to change for Corinthian staters as it was for Athenian. On the other hand, if the type that inspired the magnificent Alexander obverses (on the gold) was from Corinth, no echo of a prototype has been found on her staters, although certainly there are some issues that have not survived. The few gold obols minted at Corinth suggest as much, presupposing as they do a larger denomination that has perished.<sup>64</sup> The local bronze would hardly seem an impressive model for the new type used in distant Macedonia. Pending evidence to the contrary, the Athena/Tridents were struck near to the time of the Alexander III gold, but how long before or after 336 B.C. is uncertain. In this vein, the staters and drachms of Lokris Opunti are troublesome. Ajax, hereon, wears the crested Corinthian helmet, sometimes with a flap (Brett 956), sometimes without (Brett 955). The silver is traditionally dated *ca.* 387–338 B.C. and the Leukaspis issue from Syracuse cited as prototype, true perhaps for the general design, but not for the head-piece, because Leukaspis wears an Attic helmet (Brett 420). Until a thorough die-study of the Opuntian coins reveals the relationship of the crested helmet, with or without the flap, to the chronology of striking, it is hard to know whether the flapless type was also an innovation on this coinage after the type with flap. If so, the new type should be brought closer in time to Alexander III, not stopping before unless there is reason to believe the type started elsewhere, at another time. Datable context for the Athena/Trident occurs in just two areas at Corinth, the Agora NE (1937) and the Anaploga Cistern area (1963). Material

<sup>61</sup> Examples of crest, flap: *BMC* 8 (Syracuse), *BMC* 41 (Ambracia), *BMC* 13 (Anactorium); no crest, no flap: *BMC* 49 (Corinth), *BMC* 17 (Syracuse), etc.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. helmet or helmet-on-Ares symbols, Ravel 1013, 1056, *BMC* 7 (Argos Amphilochikon).

<sup>63</sup> *BMC* (Corinth), Introduction, p. xxxii.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, III, Paris, 1914, p. 439, 599–600, for example.

from the Agora NE includes a small Athena/Pegasos like those mentioned above, a bronze weight, and some strictly 4th century B.C. pottery, the latest piece being an Attic type A skyphos.<sup>65</sup> The other area, the Anaploga Cistern region, yields two bronze coins, Histiaia (*BMC* 20) and Phokis (*BMC* 66); two loom-weights, and late 4th-century B.C. pottery.<sup>66</sup> Stratification, therefore, offers a mid- to late 4th-century B.C. context for the Athena/Tridents. One more detail that was mentioned previously, the countermark, raises questions of the duration of this issue. The tiny trident indicates perhaps a local re-evaluation, perhaps a change of mint authority, prolonging or affecting in some way the intended circulation of the coins. Although the earliest countermarked bronze found so far at Corinth belongs to Antigonos Gonatas, there is yet no evidence as to who altered this Athena/Trident series, or why.<sup>67</sup> Conceivably, this large bronze, minted around the time of Alexander III, could have been retained in circulation, for lack of a new striking in this denomination, during the unsettled time of Cassander, until Demetrios Poliorketes introduced his own coinage into the area, or until replaced by the next large Corinthian bronze struck, the Poseidon/Bellerophon on Pegasos. As the size of this interesting issue is still unknown, many details must remain problematic until clarified by new evidence.

Concerning Duoviri finds, No. 40 is unusual for an unrecorded legend on the reverse: GEN below the heads of Caius and Lucius. Another specimen from Corinth confirms the reading and, furthermore, adds CAE over the heads of the two young princes.<sup>68</sup> No magistrate name occurs on the coin, but, nevertheless, the coin has been attributed to the issues of Servilius and Hipparchus (*ca.* 17 B.C.) on similarity of the reverse types. Also minted in early Roman times, a bronze (No. 45) of the local anonymous series raises two minor points. First, the obverse seems to be Melikertes on the Dolphin, the reverse Pegasos and not vice versa as given in Edwards and the *BMC*. At least six other specimens in the collection confirm this, as does CopSNG 259.<sup>69</sup> Secondly, this particular Melikertes die is shared at the present time by three other Corinth specimens; moreover, it die-links with a Melikertes/SE Isthmus piece, making these two issues contiguous.<sup>70</sup> There are more relationships to be discovered in this group.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery*, Princeton, 1970, no. 352, *ca.* 330 B.C. Warm thanks go to Dr. Bookidis for help in locating and especially in examining context pottery. The bronze weight with four punch marks which belongs to this closed stratum 3 should probably date 4th century B.C., not after Christ as published in *Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, Princeton, 1952, p. 205, no. 1593.

<sup>66</sup> CopSNG 538 (Histiaia, 3rd century to 146 B.C.), CopSNG 113 (Phokis, *ca.* 371–357 B.C. and later). These dates are lower than those of the *BMC*. Corinth Pottery Lot 4604.

<sup>67</sup> Ed. 240 or Agora SW 5/24/33 for A. Gonatas countermarked examples.

<sup>68</sup> Specimen: Agora NC 3/1/38.

<sup>69</sup> Specimens: East Wall 5/25/32; South Basilica 3/27/36 and 4/1/36; Agora NC 3/11/38; Agora SE 4/3/35 (two coins).

<sup>70</sup> Die-linked Melikertes/Pegasos coins: East Wall 5/25/32, South Basilica 3/27/36 and 4/1/36. Die-linked Melikertes/SE Isthmus coin: South Basilica 4/16/36. Cf. also CopSNG 259, which now should follow directly after CopSNG 256.

For example, out of a group of 13 Poseidon/Dolphins (Ed. 82), 8 share one obverse die, 2 another, while the rest of the coins are too badly preserved to establish die identities. Thus, the material presents adjacent issues struck closely together in time at Corinth.

Little need be said of the two Sikyon hemidrachms (Nos. 53, 54), which bring the total found in the Sanctuary up to four, but No. 67, the Q. Lutatius Cerco denarius, is a more unusual find. Dated about 106 B.C., the coin may have been dropped during the period of abandonment after the Mummius sack, or during the early years of the new colony under Julius Caesar.<sup>71</sup> Sydenham points out that the non-Roman style of the coin indicates a South Italian or Sicilian mint.

Finally, three other Roman coins have small details of interest. Nos. 77 and 85, both FEL TEMP REPARATIO issues, show variations in mint marks or controls. AQS replaces the usual AQP for Aquileia on No. 77, while  $\cdot S \cdot \star$  are not recorded for Fallen Horseman type 3 at Constantinople, No. 85. On the other hand, No. 73 is not a variation but a fine example of the VOT XXX emission from Heraclea A.D. 325/6. The obverse bears the characteristic head of Constantine the Great looking upwards, and wearing a ladder-shaped diadem decorated by a jewel or dot in each segment.<sup>72</sup> Little or no signs of wear mar the freshness of the reverse, evidence that the coin saw little circulation before being lost and subsequently rediscovered in an unstratified Roman disturbance over the early boundary wall of the Sanctuary. Coins that can be stratified are as follows:

#### LOWER TERRACE, ROW 2

##### BUILDING K-L:27-26

###### *South room, upper level*

Roman	Galerius, A.D. 307-308	(No. 70)
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###### *Near floor*

Sikyon	Dove r./Σ	(No. 55)
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###### *North room, upper level*

Roman	Valentinian I-Valentinian III	(No. 93)
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##### BUILDING K-L:26-25

###### *South room, upper level*

Corinth	Pegasos I./Trident	(Nos. 10,11)
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	Torch?	(No. 18)
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	II Vir, Agrippa-Regulus (Tiberius)	(No. 42)
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###### *North room, upper level*

Corinth	Pegasos I./Trident	(No. 17)
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##### BUILDING K-L:25-24

###### *South rooms*

Corinth	Pegasos I./Trident	Bow	(No. 19)
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Macedonia	Amyntas III, 381-369 B.C.	(No. 47)
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<sup>71</sup> Syd., no. 559 and p. xxix. Denarius uncovered in general destruction debris over the Mosaic Building.

<sup>72</sup> RIC VII, 72; bust E<sup>4</sup> and rarity R<sup>5</sup>.

## BUILDING K-L:24-23

*North room, above destruction fill*

Argos Wolf head/ $\Lambda$  (No. 61)

Arkadia [ ]/ $\Lambda$  (No. 64)

*Destruction fill*

Corinth Pegasos l./Trident Torch (No. 22)

*Between north and south rooms, over wall*

Corinth AR Pegasos protome/Peirene, E- $\varphi$  (hemidrachm) (No. 1)

*South room, upper layer*

Greek Uncertain (No. 65)

*Lower gravel strosis*

Boiotia Shield/Trident Dolphin (No. 50)

## BUILDING L-M:28

*Room 1, cistern*

Corinth Pegasos l./Trident Aphlaston,  $\Delta$ -[ $\Omega$ ] (No. 27)

*Room 2, dining room*

Corinth II Vir, Pollio-Priscus (Augustus) (No. 38)

Agrippa-Regulus (Tiberius) (No. 43)

Patras Athena/Poseidon (No. 52)

*Over floor*

Macedonia Philip V, 220-178 B.C. (No. 49)

*Room 3, over floor*

Sikyon Dove r./Tripod, wreath (No. 59)

## LOWER TERRACE, ROW 3

## BUILDING M-N:24-23

*Upper fill, south*

Corinth Pegasos l./Trident (No. 4)

*Lower fill*

$\Delta$ -Pinecone, [I] (No. 25)

QUARRY, P:28

*Closed fill over stereo*

Corinth Pegasos r./Trident (No. 2)

## UPPER TERRACE

## MOSAIC BUILDING

*Above destruction fill, north*

Sikyon AR Chimera/Dove (hemidrachm) (No. 54)

Roman AR Q. L. Cerco, ca. 106 B.C. (denarius) (No. 67)

*General destruction fill, central*

Roman Constantius II, A.D. 337-361 (No. 77)

*General destruction fill, southeast*

Corinth	II Vir, Servilius-Hipparchus (Augustus)	(No. 40)
	Labeone-Plancus (Caligula)	(No. 44)
Roman	Maximinus II, A.D. 312-315	(No. 71)
	Constantinople issue, A.D. 330-337	(No. 76)

*General destruction fill, north*

Roman	Julian II, A.D. 361-363	(No. 83)
	House of Constantine	(No. 86)

*Destruction directly on mosaic floor*

Corinth	Pegasos l./Trident A-Conch (?) Fulmen (?)	(No. 23)
Roman	Maximinus II, A.D. 312-315	(No. 72)
	Constantine I, A.D. 324-330	(No. 74)
	Urbs Roma, A.D. 330-335	(No. 75)
	Constantius II, A.D. 355-361	(No. 78)
	A.D. 324-330	(No. 79)
	Constans, A.D. 337-350	(No. 82)
	Valens, A.D. 367-375	(No. 88)

*Construction packing behind south wall*

Macedonia	Cassander, 316-297 B.C.	(No. 48)
Chios	Sphinx/Amphora	(No. 62)
	Same	(No. 63)

*Just north of Mosaic Building<sup>73</sup>*

Corinth	II Vir, Aebutius-Hera (Augustus)	(No. 37)
	Pollio-Priscus (Augustus)	(No. 39)
Sikyon AR	Chimera/Dove (hemidrachm)	(No. 53)

## CATALOGUE

Coins are bronze unless otherwise specified; asterisks mean that those coins appear on Plate 60.

## CORINTH

(46)

Pegasos protome l., below, φ / Nymph head r., hair  
/ rolled; earring

BMC 331

\*1. 73-681 AR Hemidrachm ↑ 1.11 gr. Rev. to l., E; to r., traces: φ.

Pegasos r., below, φ / Trident; no symbol

(2)

Ed. 11

2. 72-285 ↘

3. 72-444 Rev. traces: type.

Pegasos l., below, φ / Trident; no symbol

(14)

- |             |              |              |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| 4. 71-149 ↓ | 9. 72-358 →  | 14. 72-427 ↑ |
| 5. 71-187 ← | 10. 72-382 ↗ | 15. 72-430 ↓ |
| 6. 71-432 ↑ | 11. 72-412 ← | 16. 72-432 → |
| 7. 71-524 ↗ | 12. 72-422 ↙ | 17. 72-435 → |
| 8. 72-343 ↗ | 13. 72-425 ↖ |              |

<sup>73</sup> These three coins are added for completeness, although they are not, as the others, from in or over the building but to the north of it. The building is situated in virtual isolation and the coins probably belong to it.

- Similar, but symbol l. (1)
18. 72-411 → Torch (?)
- Similar, but symbol r. (4)
19. 72-438 ← Bow
20. 72-426 ↙ Double-axe (?)
21. 73-591 ↓ Torch
22. 73-678 ↑ Torch (?)
- Similar, but symbol or letter, l. and r. (11)
23. 73-523 ↗ A—Conch (?) Fulmen (?) 29. 71-167 ↗ Δ—Patera
24. 73-596 → Pileus, A—[Υ] 30. 71-435 ↗ H—Wreath
25. 73-686 ↗ Δ—Pine cone, [Ι] 31. 72-342 ↗ As No. 30
26. 72-436 ↓ [Δ Ι]—Stag's head (?) 32. 72-440 ↗ H—Wreath (?)
27. 71-372 ← Aphlaston, Δ (?)—[Ω] 33. 71-525 ← Σ—Fulmen
28. 71-355 → Δ—Amphora (?), Ω
- Similar, but [type]: 1
- Total Pegasos/Trident found: 34
- Athena head l., in crested /KOPIN—ΘΙΩΝ *BMC 472*
- Corinthian helmet / Trident
- \*34. 72-420 ↗ Obv. traces: CTMK at temple. Rev. traces: ethnic.
- Athena head r., in crested / Pegasos r.; below, K *BMC 476*
- Corinthian helmet
35. 71-441 ↘ Rev. [K].
- Herakles head r., bearded /Pegasos protome r.; *BMC 481*
- / below, letters
36. 71-433 ← Rev. ΗΡ—[Ϙ].
- DUOVIRI (8)
- AVGVSTVS CORIN / P. Æ B V. S P F *Ed. 32*
- Augustus head r., / C. IΛ IO. HERA all in
- bare / II VIR QVI wreath
- / ITER
37. 73-478 ↓ Obv. AVGV[S]. Rev. [P F]---I ΛI[O]. HER[A II]---. *Ed. 35*
- CORINTHI AVGVSTVS / CHEIO POL
- Augustus head r., / LIONEITER all in
- bare / C MVSSIO PR wreath
- ISCO II VIR
38. 71-212 → Obv. traces: legend. Rev. C[E] IO [---] N[E] IT---.
39. 73-477 Obv. [legend]. Rev. traces: wreath; [legend]. *BMC 508*
- COR Pegasos flying r. / Caius and Lucius busts,
- / bare, face to face
- \*40. 73-388 ↑ Rev. below, traces: GEN.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> A fresher specimen—Agora NC III/1/38—reads (Rev.) above: CAE, below: GEN, legends unrecorded in the *BMC*.

- L ARRIO PEREGRINO II VIR / L FVRIO LABEONE II VIR Ed. 41  
 Livia bust r., hair in / COR Hexastyle temple  
 knot / inscribed GEN IVLI
41. 73–524 ↖ Obv. [legend]. Rev. LAB [EONE II VIR--GEN IVLI].
- P. CANINIO AGRIPPA. II VIR. / L. CASTRICIO REGVLO BMC 523–524  
 QVINQ Drusus head r., bare / II VIR. QVIN COR  
 / Gens Julia statue  
 / seated r.
42. 72–383 ← Obv. ] AGRIPPA. II VIR. Q[. Rev. traces: legend.
43. 71–224 ↖ Obv. ] REGVLO[. Rev. ]CANINIO AGRIP[--]COR. Var. BMC
- Variation: obverse legend on reverse, and vice versa. See also C. K. Williams, II, 523  
 J. E. Fisher and J. MacIntosh, "Excavations at Corinth, 1973," *Hesperia*, XLIII,  
 1974, p. 55, coin No. 91.
- A VATRONIO LABEONE II / L RVTILIO PLANCO II VIR Ed. 46  
 VIR Caligula head r., / COR Nike on globe l.  
 laureate /
44. 73–387 ↗ Obv. A VATR]--[BEONE--. Rev. traces: legend.

## ANONYMOUS COINAGE

- COR Melikertes on dol- / COR Pegasos flying r. Var. Ed. 77  
 phin r., holding /  
 thyrsos /
45. 73–595 →<sup>75</sup>

## TESSERA

- Pegasos r.; below COR / Unstruck Ed. 231
46. 72–441 Early Roman times.<sup>76</sup>

## OTHER GREEK MINTS

## MACEDONIA

- AMYNTAS III, 381–369 B.C.  
 Herakles head r. / AMYNTA Eagle r., devouring BMC 17–22  
 / serpent held in talons
47. 72–472 ←

<sup>75</sup> Edwards and the *BMC* give (Obv.): Pegasos (Rev.): Melikertes, but at least eight specimens from Corinth, as well as Cop.SNG 259, are struck with types placed as No. 45, above. See also p. 296, for mention of die-links.

<sup>76</sup> After excavations in 1972, two Corinthian strays (72–596, 72–597 respectively) came from a modern dump in the lower part of the Sanctuary; their original findspots are unknown:

- a. Pegasos l. / Trident Pileus, A–Y
- b. [legend] Nero head r., / [legend] Poseidon (?) in hippo-  
 laureate / camp biga, r. (sic) Var. BMC 561

CASSANDER, 316–297 B.C.

Herakles head r. / ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ  
/ Naked rider on horse trot-  
/ ting r.

*Hunter.*  
14–15

48. 73–550 Obv. [type]. Rev. above, traces of inscription;  
below, Κ; to r., ΑΙ or ΔΙ.

PHILIP V, 220–178 B.C.

Poseidon head r., laureate / Β Α Αθηνα Αλκίς r.

Ed. 244

49. 71–222 ↙ Rev. to l., Φ.

### CENTRAL GREECE

ΒΟΙΩΤΙΑ: Federal coinage

Boiotian shield / ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ Trident; to r., dol-  
/ phin, upwards

*CopSNG*  
179–181

50. 73–683 ↑

### ATTICA

ATHENS, ca. 339–322 B.C., or later

Athena head r. / Θ<sup>A</sup> E Double-bodied owl  
in plumed At- /  
tic helmet /

Ed. 281

51. 72–419 ↓ Rev. [A  
E.]

### PELOPONNESE

PATRAS, ca. 147–32 B.C.

Athena bust r., in / ~~ΑΕ~~ or ~~ΑΡ~~ Poseidon strid-  
plumed Corinthian / ing r., holding trident and  
helmet / dolphin; around, inscription

Ed. 327

52. 71–223 → Rev. [monogram, inscription, dolphin].

SIKYON

Chimera l.; below, ΣΙ / Dove flying l.

*BMC* 111

- \*53. 73–476 AR ↓ 2.11 gr. Hemidrachm.

- \*54. 73–492 AR → 2.32 gr. Hemidrachm.

Dove flying r. / Σ ornament or letter

*BMC* 94–105

55. 72–283 ↙ Rev. [ornament, letter].

Dove flying l. / ΣΙ in wreath

*BMC* 143–145

56. 71–150 ↓

57. 71–273 ↙

Similar, but ΔΗ in wreath

Var. *BMC*

58. 71–526 → Obv. variation: above tail to r., ΔΩ.

159–160

ΣΙ Dove feeding r. / Tripod in wreath *BMC* 176–182  
 59. 71–378 ↖ Obv. [ΣΙ].

## LAKEDAIMON

Bearded Herakles head r., / ΛΑ Club in wreath *BMC* 41–43  
 laureate /  
 60. 72–424 ↑ Rev. in field, [letters].

## ARGOS

Wolf head l. / ♂ *BMC* 101–102  
 61. 72–442 ↓ Rev. below, crested helmet

## CHIOS, 190–84 B.C.

Seated sphinx r., front paw / ΧΙΟΣ Amphora *CopSNG* 1611  
 raised, holding grapes /

62. 73–562 ↑ Obv. sphinx seated on: [winged caduceus and club].  
 Rev. to r., ΑΠΕ[ΛΛΗΣ].

63. 73–563 ↑ Obv. sphinx seated on: club. Rev. ΕΥΕΕΝΟ[Σ]. *CopSNG* 1615

## UNCERTAIN (3)

64. 72–443 Obv. [type]. Rev. ♂; probably ARKADIA: cf. *BMC*  
 65, 70, or 74.

65. 73–616 ↓ Obv. Hadrian bust r., draped, laureate. Rev. traces: naked figure facing,  
 with r. arm raised. Apollo (?) Hermes (?) Venus (?) mint (?) A.D. 117–138.

66. 73–682 Obv. traces: head r. Rev. [type]; mint (?). Hellenistic.

## ROMAN REPUBLICAN COINAGE (1)

## Q. LUTATIUS CERCO ca. 106 B.C.

Rhegium (?) ROMA CERCO Mars or / Q LVATI Q Galley r., *Syd.* 559  
 Roma head r., in / with Mars- or Roma-  
 crested Corinthian / headed prow, oars,  
 helmet; to l., \* / all in oak-wreath

\*67. 73–530 AR ↑ Denarius. Obv. r. edge of coin broken: [CERCO]. Rev.  
 [Q L]—[Q]. Possibly minted in Sicily.

## ROMAN IMPERIAL COINAGE (28)

## SEVERUS ALEXANDER A.D. 222–235

Rome PM TR P V COS II PP S C Pax advancing l. *RIC* IV<sub>2</sub>,  
 p. 106, 445  
 A.D. 226

68. 71–436 Sestertius.

## PHILIP I A.D. 244–249

Rome ANNONA AVGG S C Annona standing l. *RIC* IV<sub>3</sub>,  
 Undated p. 90, 168  
 69. 72–434 As.

## GALERIUS A.D. 305–311

Serdica GENIO AVGVSTI Genius l. *RIC* VI,  
 A.D. 307–308 p. 499, 35  
 70. 72–246 Follis.

## MAXIMINUS II A.D. 308–314

Cyzicus GENIO AVGVSTI Genius l. *RIC* VI,  
 A.D. 312–313 p. 594, 101a  
 71. 73–537 Follis.

Antioch Same. Similar *RIC* VI,  
 A.D. 311–312 p. 642, 162b  
 72. 73–399 Follis.

## CONSTANTINE I A.D. 307–337

Heraclea DN CONSTANTINI MAX AVG Wreath with VOT XXX *RIC* VII,  
 A.D. 325–326 p. 550, 72  
 \*73. 71–523 Follis.

Cyzicus PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Camp gate Hill 1158  
 A.D. 324–330  
 74. 73–532 AE3.

## URBS ROMA

Nicomedia No legend. Wolf and twins Hill 1120  
 A.D. 330–335  
 75. 73–536 AE3.

## CONSTANTINOPLE

Thessalonica No legend. Victory l. Hill 839 ff.  
 A.D. 330–337  
 76. 73–531 AE4.

## CONSTANTIUS II A.D. 337–361

Aquileia FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier, fallen horseman Var. Hill  
 936  
 \*77. 73–494 AE3.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Mint mark here is AQS, a variation of the usual AQP. See *RIC* VII, p. 399, n. 50 for another AQS recorded by Dattari for a VIRTVS EXERCIT issue dated A.D. 320. On the above coin the II ✱ in left field are regular for Hill 936.

- Thessalonica Same. Similar Hill 1684  
 A.D. 355–361  
 78. 73–561 AE3.
- Nicomedia PROVIDENTIAE CAES Hill 1114  
 A.D. 324–330  
 79. 73–710 AE3.
- Uncertain FEL TEMP REPARATIO Fallen horseman cf. Hill 2295  
 80. 72–429 AE3.  
 VOT XX MVLT XXX in wreath cf. Hill 1306
81. 72–437 AE4.
- CONSTANS A.D. 337–350
- Uncertain GLORIA EXERCITVS Two standards cf. Hill 1245  
 82. 73–684 AE3.
- JULIAN II A.D. 361–363
- Thessalonica VOT X MVLT XX in wreath Hill 1697  
 A.D. 361–363  
 83. 73–480 AE3.
- HOUSE OF CONSTANTINE
- Siscia (?) VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN Two Victories  
 84. 73–594 AE3.
- Constantinople (?) FEL TEMP REPARATIO Fallen horseman  
 \*85. 72–206 AE3.<sup>78</sup>
- Nicomedia (?) SPES REIPVBLICE Virtus I.  
 86. 73–479 AE3.
- Uncertain Same. Similar  
 87. 72–418 AE3.
- VALENS A.D. 364–378
- Heraclea GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor dragging captive r. Hill 1937  
 A.D. 367–375  
 88. 73–400 AE3.
- Antioch (?) SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory I. Hill 2657 ff.  
 A.D. 364–375  
 89. 72–431 AE3.

<sup>78</sup> •S• with ✱ are recorded (Hill 2037–2038) for Fallen horseman, type 4, at Constantinople, but not for type 3, as the coin above.

## THEODOSIUS I A.D. 379–395

Thessalonica VIRTVS AVGGG Emperor on ship  
A.D. 383–392

Hill 1854

90. 72–428 AE3.

## ARCADIUS A.D. 383–408

Uncertain VICTORIA AVGGG Victory I.

cf. Hill 392 ff.

91. 73–604 AE4.

## VALENTINIAN I–VALENTINIAN III

Uncertain GLORIA REIPVBLICE Camp gate

92. 73–605 AE4.

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory I.

93. 73–339 AE3.

VICTORIA AVGGG Victory I.

94. 71–442 AE4.

VOT XX MVLT XXX in wreath

95. 73–679 AE4.

## ROYAL IMPERIAL UNCLASSIFIED

Late fourth and fifth centuries after Christ: 2

## BYZANTINE

(3)

## LEO VI A.D. 886–912

Constantinople Emperor / Inscription  
A.D. 886–912

*BMC II,*  
8–9

96. 71–359

## CONSTANTINE VII A.D. 913–959

Constantinople Romanus I bust / Inscription  
A.D. 919–944

*BMC II,*  
14–29

97. 73–329

## ANONYMOUS ISSUES

Class E Christ bust / Three-line inscription  
A.D. 1059–1067

*Agora, II,*  
1868

98. 71–434.<sup>79</sup>

## FRANKISH COINAGE

(1)

## GUILLAUME DE VILLEHARDOUIN A.D. 1245–1278

Corinth G. P. AC CA IE / COR INT  Castle  
Before A.D. 1250 Cross, circle / of Acrocorinth

Ed. 2

99. 71–231 Billon.

<sup>79</sup> Overstrike on Class D: Christ on throne with back / Three-line inscription.

## TURKISH COINAGE

(4)

BĀYAZĪD II, H. 886–918 / A.D. 1481–1512

Novār  
 H. 886  
 \*100. 71–211 AR.

*Agora*, IX,  
 p. 23, 13  
 or Edhem 567

18th–19th century para (2 possibly “sequins”): 3

\* \* \*

Illegible fragments: 2

Not coins: 1

Disintegrated: 2

JOAN E. FISHER

CORINTH EXCAVATIONS



General view of the Sanctuary from the northwest



a. The roadway from the northeast



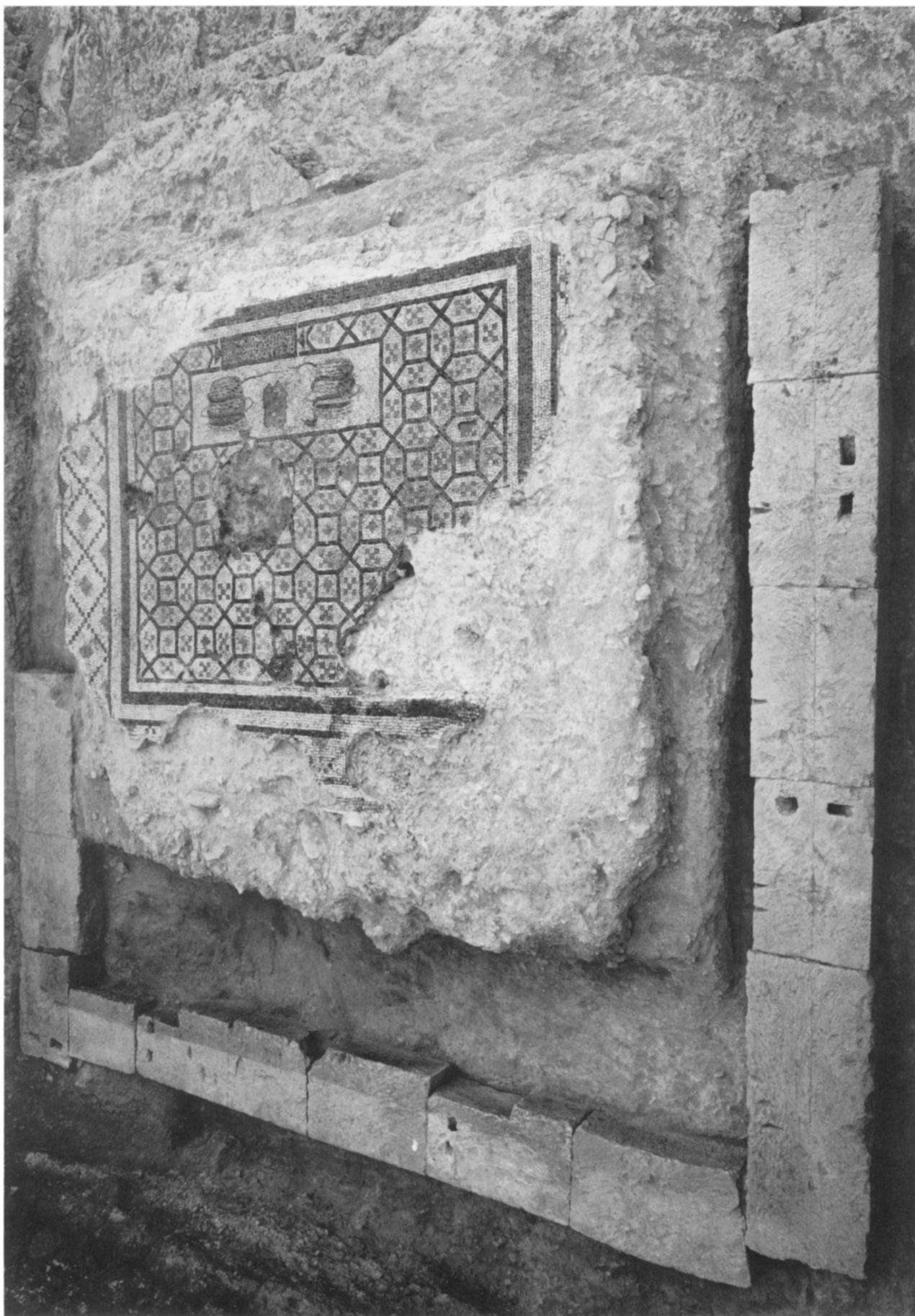
b. Building K-L: 24-28 from the north



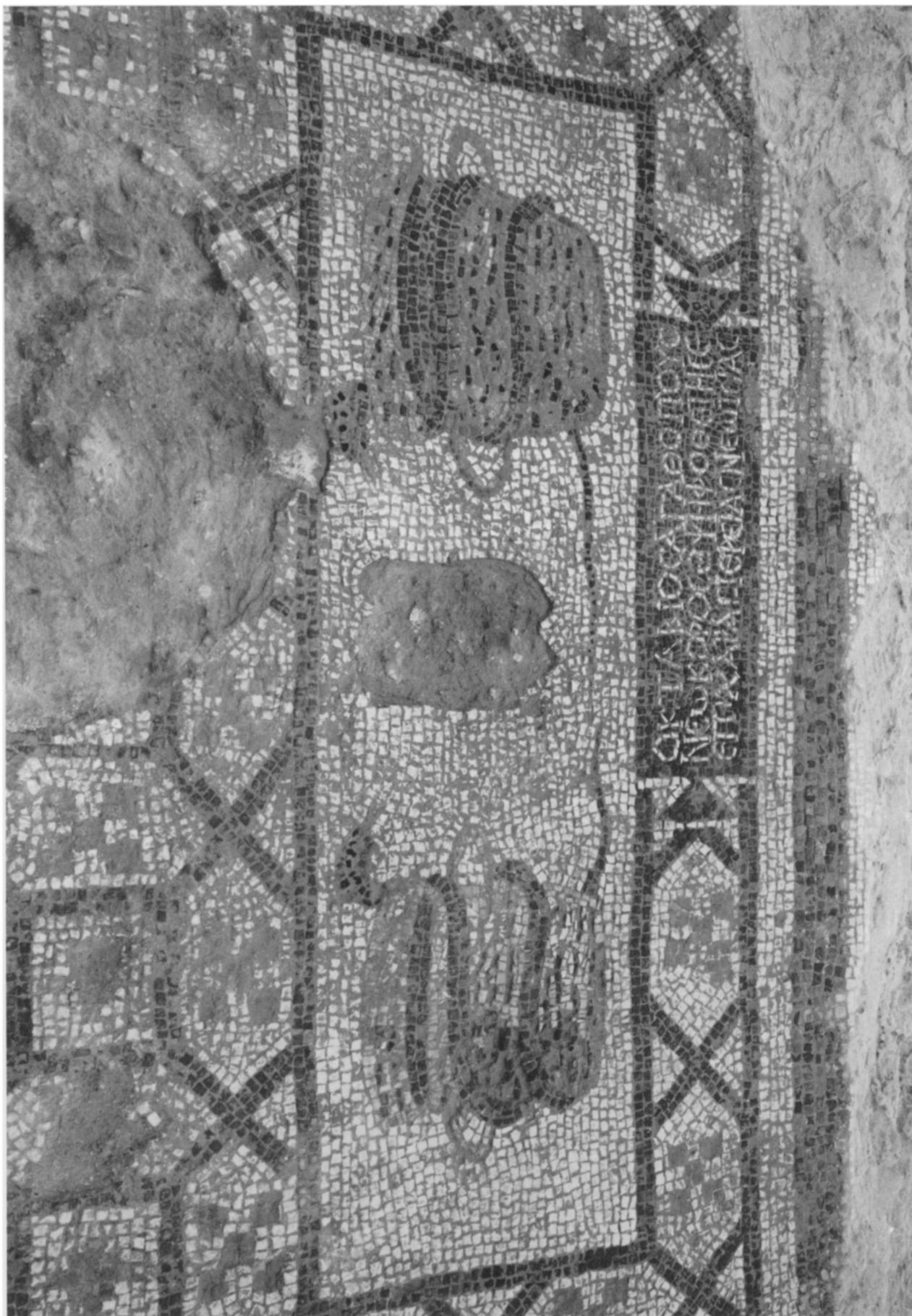
a. Building L-M: 28 from the north



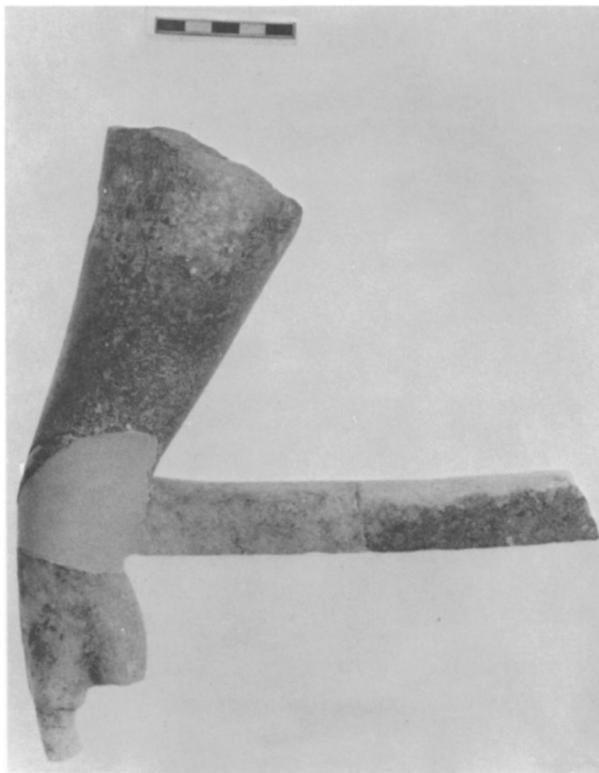
b. Building L-M: 28 from the west, Room 1 in the foreground



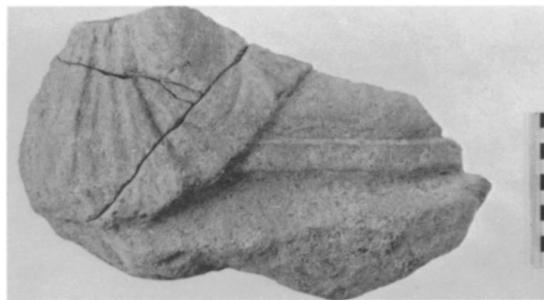
Mosaic Building from the east



Detail of the mosaic floor



2



S-73-28



3d



S-73-34



3b



Mosaic Building with debris over floor, table top to left of fluted stand



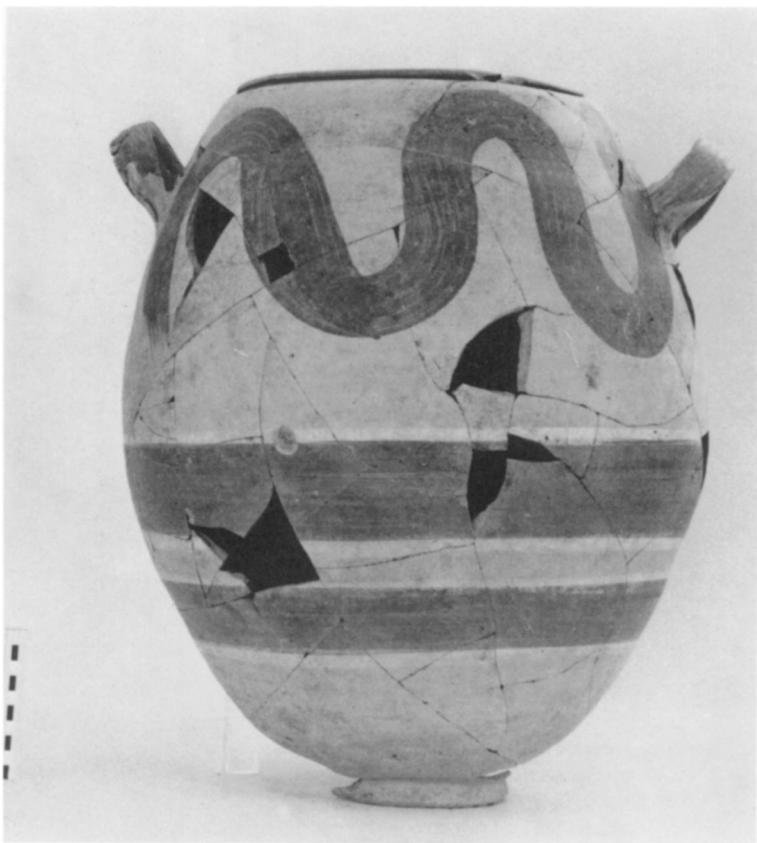
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6



8



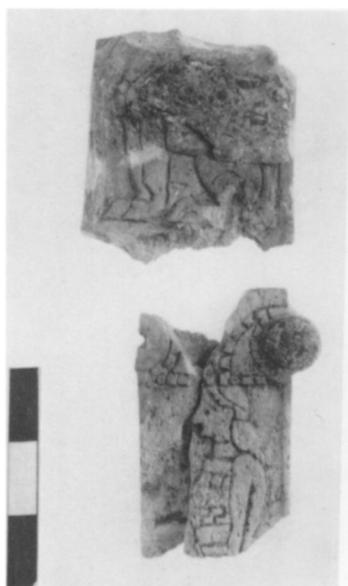
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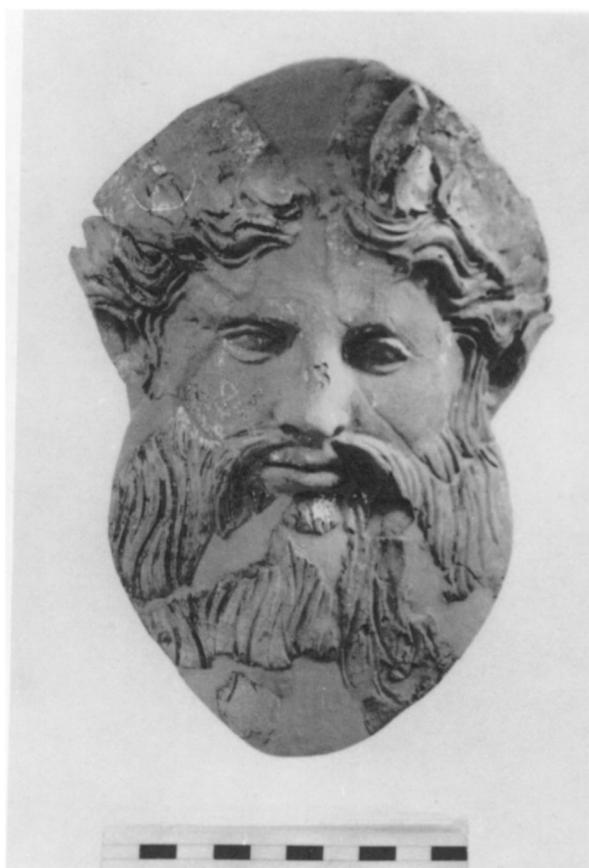
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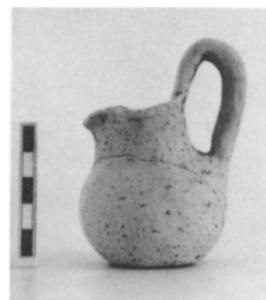
C-71-181



MF-72-140



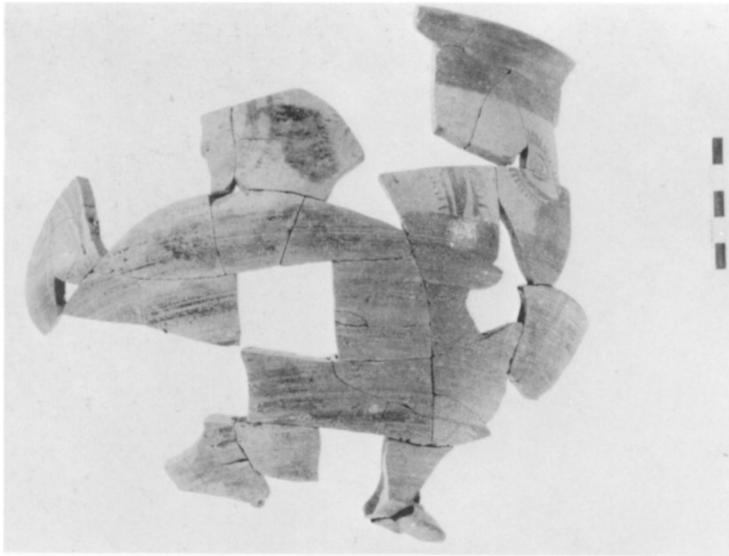
MF-73-3



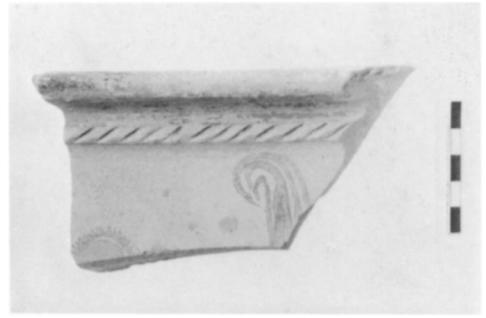
9



MF 11776



13



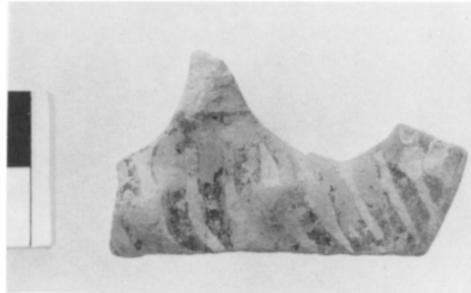
12



10



11



14



1



34



40



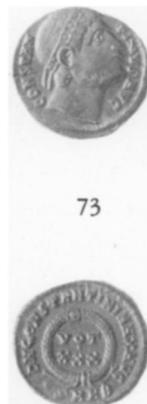
53



54



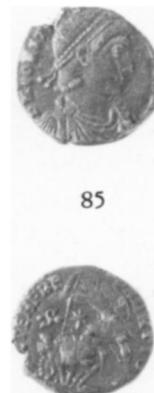
67



73



77



85



100