UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO EXCAVATIONS
AT ISTHMIA: II

(PLATES 1–8)

In memory of Jeanne Marty, colleague and friend

THIS IS THE SECOND PART OF THE REPORT on the results of excavations at Isthmia undertaken in 1989 by the University of Chicago. The first part covered the period from the Late Bronze Age to the burning of the Archaic Temple ca. 470–450 B.C.1 Discoveries dating from the mid 5th century to a destruction in the sanctuary ca. 200 B.C. are described here.2 A third, and final, section is devoted to the Roman period and will appear in a forthcoming issue of Hesperia.3 While the primary objective of this account is to present results obtained from the 1989 excavations and subsequent study sessions, the new information also provides the basis for a reappraisal

1 Gebhard and Hemans 1992. For the date of the temple fire, see now J. Bentz in Gebhard 1998. As much as possible, the conventions used for recording archaeological materials in the previous report are continued here. Elizabeth Gebhard was principal investigator and director of the project. Frederick Hemans supervised excavations in the Temple of Poseidon and the northern side of the temenos and prepared the report on those areas. He also reconstructed the North and East Gateways and served as architect for the project. Gebhard was responsible for excavations and the discussion of remains in the northeastern area, the eastern temenos, and the Early Stadium. The final text and restored phase plans are the product of close collaboration by the authors. Summaries of the 5th- and 4th-century pottery were made by Julie Bentz; John Hayes wrote descriptions of the Hellenistic wares. The differences in the manner of reporting for the two periods are a result of the very different characters of the pottery, as mentioned in Hayes's essay.

2 All dates throughout this part of the report are B.C. unless stated otherwise. The following abbreviations are used: CRd = Classical Road; CT = Classical Temple; dep = deposit; ES = Early Stadium; ET = East Terrace; HD = Hellenistic Damage; NEA Ter = Northeast Altar Terrace; NT = North Terrace; RdG = Road G; sec = section; Tr = Trench. Note that in Gebhard and Hemans 1992, p. 17, note 47, ET = East Temenos. In this report, and in all subsequent publications, ET = East Terrace.

3 Gebhard, Hemans, and Hayes forthcoming. We are greatly indebted to many people and institutions. None of the work done in 1980 and 1989 at Isthmia would have been possible without grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities (RO-00039-80 and RO-21847-89), which were matched by generous contributions from private donors. A third grant from the NEH (RK-20024-93) supported subsequent study seasons at the site. We especially mention the kindness of Dr. David Wise, who did much to help us achieve our objectives. We warmly thank Dr. Ioannis Tzedakis, Director of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of the Greek Archaeological Service, and Dr. Phani Pachygianni, Ephor of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Nauplion Museum, for permission to carry out excavations in 1989 and to study at Isthmia in the succeeding years. Their interest and support, as well as that of Mrs. Zoe Aslamatzidou and many other Greek colleagues, greatly benefited the project. The former Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Professor William D. E. Coulson, the former Director of the Corinth Excavations, Dr. Charles K. Williams II, and the Assistant Director at Corinth, Dr. Nancy Bookidis, have given freely of their support over the years since 1989, and we greatly benefited from their advice and encouragement. Institutional support of the project came from the University of Chicago and the University of Illinois at Chicago. We gratefully acknowledge our debt to both universities and to their administrators.

The 1980 excavation staff included Brian Adam, Ilona Nacker, and Robin Rhodes. The 1989 staff is listed in Gebhard and Hemans 1992, p. 2, note 3, but we want again to thank everyone mentioned there for their excellent work in the field. In the following seasons the excavation material was studied by Karim Arafat, Julie Bentz, Helga Butzer-Felleisen, Julie Hanson, John Hayes, Alastair Jackson, Michael Jameson, David Mitten, Catherine Morgan, Kees Neef, Anton Raubitschek, David Reese, and Mary Sturgeon. They will be publishing separate studies of the objects under their care, but all contributed greatly to the production of this report. Photography was done by Catlin Rockman, Michiel Bootsman, Ino Ioannidou, and Lenio Bartzioti; all drawings are by Hemans, except as noted in the figure captions. A special note of thanks goes to Jean Perras, who is in charge of the inventory and all site records.

Hesperia 67.1, 1998
Fig. 1. Major monuments of the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. Five-meter contour intervals are marked from sea level.
Fig. 2. Sanctuary of Poseidon and its environs, with a tentative route for the Corinth–Isthmus road (after an earlier drawing by W. B. Dinsmoor Jr.)
of Isthmian chronology and several major features of the sanctuary (Figs. 1, 2). The restored plans of the central portions of the sanctuary reflect our new understanding of the changes that took place at several points in its history.4

The excavation strategy of 1989 entailed placing trenches adjacent to previously excavated areas so that, with more precise recording techniques and more complete retrieval of materials, we could clarify the stratigraphic context of the sanctuary.5 In this report we concentrate on detailed descriptions of the new trenches and their deposits, with only as much discussion of the remains from earlier campaigns as is necessary to relate the new material to what has already been published. A major goal was to provide a clearly defined chronological framework for the central sanctuary and a better understanding of the processes by which the deposits were formed.6 A plan of

4 The plans form the basis for three-dimensional restorations in computer format done by Peggy Sanders at the University of Chicago. They can be seen on the University of Chicago Isthmia website at http://humanities.uchicago.edu/isthmia./
5 See Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 2–3, for elevations at the beginning of our excavations and for the excavation procedures.
6 A catalogue of objects found in 1989 was prepared for the report, but for reasons of space, it was decided to retain the entries for the monographs that are under way.
Fig. 4. Plan of excavation trenches, 1952–1980 (W. B. Dinsmoor Jr.)
trenches opened in 1989 is given in Figure 3; trenches opened between 1952 and 1980 are shown in Figure 4.\textsuperscript{7}

This second part of the report on the 1989 excavations begins with the construction of the Classical Temple of Poseidon and traces subsequent damage and repairs to the building into late antiquity. Thereafter, remains from the second half of the 5th century in the central temenos are described in clockwise fashion, beginning at the northern side where terracing was made for the Corinth–Isthmus road. At the northeast corner of the plateau we investigated the Northeast Altar Terrace, and at the eastern edge of the temenos we excavated fill that formed a large-scale extension of the sacrificial area (Terrace 6). Tests were also made in the Early Stadium (Phases III, IV), which underwent alterations in the late 5th and in the 4th century.

After fire badly damaged the Classical Temple in 390 B.C., there seems to have been little building in the sanctuary until late in the 4th century. Our discussion begins with the final extension of the Greek sacrificial area on the eastern end of the temenos (Terrace 7) and continues with construction of Road G at the northeast corner of the plateau. Thereafter, the identification and reconstruction of the North and East Gateways, added to the temenos late in the 4th and early in the 3rd century, are discussed. A hitherto unknown destruction in the temenos, which occurred ca. 200 B.C., is revealed by debris in deposits of the early 2nd century. The report concludes with a catalogue by John Hayes of selected Late Hellenistic pottery.

THE TEMPLE OF POSEIDON

CLASSICAL BUILDING

Dismantling of the Classical Temple of Poseidon in late antiquity has left few blocks in place, but the foundations were cut deeply into bedrock, and as a result, the overall form of the building is clear (Figs. 5, 6; Pl. 1:a).\textsuperscript{8} Oscar Broneer was able to reconstruct the temple on the basis of fragments found on the site and on analogy with other buildings, in particular the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.\textsuperscript{9} The new excavations and recent study, however, have changed our understanding of the alterations and repairs to the building. We find that conversion of the cela from a two-aisled to a three-aisled plan probably dates after the fire of 390. Damage to the building ca. 200, and subsequent neglect, required a major rebuilding of the temple in the 1st century A.D.

Within the area of the Classical Temple most of the deposits are associated with the construction of the Archaic Temple and, subsequently, with its destruction, and so the vast majority of objects recovered here are from the Archaic Temple.\textsuperscript{10} On the other hand, later repairs and alterations caused many disturbances to the area, and these are described below (pp. 10–12).

For topographic reasons, the Classical Temple was not built squarely over the site occupied by the Archaic Temple. Nevertheless, the new temple was laid out on the same alignment as its predecessor, even to the extent of following an error in the position of the north stylobate of the earlier building when excavating the foundation for the new north stylobate. The orientation of the wall was corrected, however, before the foundation was completed.\textsuperscript{11} The repetition of this

\textsuperscript{7} On the plan he prepared in 1980 (Fig. 4) from Oscar Broneer's working drawing, William B. Dinsmoor Jr. labeled each of Broneer's trenches with the year of its excavation (1952–1967, 1980). Trenches opened in 1989 are numbered consecutively and are prefixed by 89-, and those dug in 1980 to the south of the Roman Palaionion carry the prefix 80-.

\textsuperscript{8} For Broneer's description of the Classical Temple foundations, see Isthmia I, pp. 57–64.

\textsuperscript{9} Isthmia I, pp. 101–103.

\textsuperscript{10} For construction deposits, see Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 36–40. Most of the deposits of destruction debris that overlie the floors of the Archaic pteromata, as well as those within the area of the cela and pronaos, were excavated by Broneer in 1952 and 1954; see also Gebhard 1998.

\textsuperscript{11} Broneer believed that the orientation of the two temples differed by 1.5°. This difference exists, however, only in the orientation of the north stylobate. The section of the Archaic temenos wall immediately south of the temple is parallel to the south stylobate of both temples. See Isthmia I, pp. 4, 57; Gebhard and Hemans 1992, p. 34.
error suggests that parts of the earlier temple were still in place when the new foundations were begun and that they served as points of measurement for the Classical Temple.  

In fact, it appears that to a large extent the ruins of the Archaic Temple were removed only gradually as construction in the new building progressed, rather than immediately after the fire. Such a sequence of events is supported by the fact that at the edges of the temenos, in the fill for the Classical Road and the East Terrace, the discarded remains of the Archaic Temple were found in and above deposits containing construction debris from the Classical Temple. In the East Terrace, Archaic blocks were mixed with chips from fluting of the columns, a task that would have been done in the final stages of construction on the Classical building. In the eastern and northern temene we recovered fragments of Archaic blocks that were recut for use in the Classical Temple.

Deposits excavated in 1989 and relating to the construction of the Classical Temple consisted of Archaic destruction debris deposited within the trenches that had been left after removal of the earlier temple. In the south pteroma a group of six pits (A–F on Fig. 6, Pl. 1:1a) was found (CT dep II.1). The pits appear to have been created during the removal of large objects for which beddings had been cut into the earthen floor of the colonnade. These robbing trenches vary in size, shape, and orientation, from ca. 0.85 m to 1.42 m in length and from 0.55 m to 0.90 m in width. Two were excavated completely (A and C), the others only partially. It is possible that additional trenches in the same area have not yet been located, since the latest floor of the Archaic pteroma has not been entirely exposed. Robbing trench A (Tr 89-52a) is oval in shape, ca. 1.00 × 0.75 × 0.28 m deep (Pl. 1:b). At the bottom, toward the eastern side, is an

12 The central colonnade in the new cella is atypical of 5th-century temples. Its presence might be taken as additional evidence that the builders were consciously imitating aspects of the form of the Archaic Temple.

13 See GRd dep I.1 and ET 6 deps I.1, I.5.

14 Examples include IA 836, IA 1557, IA 3629, and IA 3569. For construction chips from columns, see Hemans 1993.

15 In Gebhard and Hemans 1992, p. 38, the number was stated as five. Robbing trench B, only partially visible at the western end of Trench 89-52b, had not yet been noted.

16 The elevation at the bottom of the trench is –0.20 m.
irregularly shaped depression ca. 0.40 m in diameter that descends an additional 0.28 m. Trench C is rectangular, ca. $1.40 \times 1.00 \times 0.26$ m deep (Pl. 1:c). The objects that had stood in Pits A–F were taken out before removal of the foundations for the piers or pilasters that stood against the cella wall of the Archaic Temple.\textsuperscript{17}

In the west pteroma another pit (G) was discovered (CT dep II.2, Tr 89-51c); it has an irregular shape, of which the overall dimensions are $0.84 \times 1.85 \times 0.32$ m deep (Fig. 6).\textsuperscript{18} Beneath the southern edge of the trench is a round hole ca. 0.30 m in diameter that descends an additional 0.31 m.

That the robbing pits seem to mark the locations of large objects, the bases of which had been set into the floor of the colonnade, is supported by their irregular size and varied placement in relation to the columns.\textsuperscript{19} The identity of the objects is unknown, but they may have included some of the terracotta perirrhanteria that were recovered from the Large Circular Pit a few meters to the southwest.\textsuperscript{20} The sizes of their stands (up to 0.65 m across) are appropriate for the robbing pits, and the place of their disposal suggests they originally stood in the southern or southwestern area of the temenos. Other large-scale dedications from the Large Circular Pit that might have stood in the colonnade include a bronze tripod and a limestone kouros.\textsuperscript{21}

When the foundations for the Classical Temple were dug, the blocks of the Archaic Temple were removed from their shallow beddings and the cuttings filled with soil containing large amounts of burned destruction debris. Portions of the robbing trenches for the removal of the west stylobate of the Archaic Temple (CT dep I.1), north stylobate (CT dep I.2), north cella anta (CT dep I.3), eastern step course (CT dep I.4), east stylobate (CT deps I.5, I.6), and the south cella wall (CT dep I.7) were excavated in 1989.\textsuperscript{22} Destruction debris from the Archaic Temple was also excavated in two areas within the cella (Trs 89-62 and 89-63, CT dep III.2). As described in Part I of this report, the mixed nature of the deposits and the lack of any preserved surfaces within the cella, in contrast to those in the colonnades, suggest that an original earthen floor of the Archaic Temple was replaced by stone slabs sometime before its destruction.\textsuperscript{23} The slabs would have been salvaged after the fire.

Although the stone floor slabs of the Classical Temple are not preserved, a calculation based on their reconstructed positions shows that they were laid on a bedding that was ca. 0.25 m

\textsuperscript{17} The ten regularly spaced pits against the cella wall, which were dug in order to remove the pier/pilaster foundations, are described in Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 28–30. That the objects in Pits A–F were taken away before the removal of the foundations for the piers/pilasters is evident from the fact that the trench for Pier 1 was cut into the fill of robbing pit A; the removal of Pier 3 cut into Trench C, and of Pier 7 into Trench D.

\textsuperscript{18} The bottom elevation is −0.24 m.

\textsuperscript{19} Pits A and G may be an exception, because the holes in the bottom seem more suitable for holding wooden supports used in constructing the Archaic Temple. These holes will be discussed further in the final publication.

\textsuperscript{20} Of the approximately 52 basins recovered from the sanctuary, 23 came from the Large Circular Pit and fragments of another 9 were found both in the pit and elsewhere. See Broner 1962, pp. 1–2, 22, pls. 10a–b, d–e. Helga Butzer-Felleisen is studying the perirrhanteria, and we are grateful to her for sharing this information with us in advance of her publication.

\textsuperscript{21} See Isthmia VII, p. 81, no. 295 (tripod, made before the Archaic Temple was constructed but probably destroyed at the same time as the temple); Isthmia IV, pp. 68–69, no. 3 (kouros).

\textsuperscript{22} See Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 22–40, where these robbing trenches and their relation to the restored plan of the Archaic Temple are described in detail. Since the fills belong to the period after the fire, they are included in this report. We cannot be certain that all the blocks belonging to the Archaic Temple foundations were removed during construction of the Classical Temple. As construction progressed, the builders took out blocks that interfered with the completion of the new building, but stones used as packing to level the stylobate blocks in the eastern end of the building, for example, were left and are still in place. It is possible that the lowest course of stones in the south cella was also left in place and not removed until the building was dismantled in late antiquity.

\textsuperscript{23} Destruction debris in Trenches 89-62 and 89-63 is mixed in places with limestone working chips from the original construction of the Archaic Temple. The limestone chips are recognizably Archaic, closely resembling those excavated from the west pteroma, where they were found in a deposit beneath the clay floors: Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 34, 38.
thick. Most of the fill was excavated when the building was cleared in 1954, but at the time of the 1989 excavation within the West and North Colonnades, a small amount of bedding was found over the latest floor of the Archaic Temple (CT dep III.1). At the eastern end of the building the deposits of fill beneath the Classical floor were excavated in Trench 89-58 (CT dep III.3). The latest sherd belongs to a plain bowl of the mid 5th to early 4th century. Another indication of when the temple was completed is given by the construction of Terrace 6 at the eastern side of the temenos, where debris from the final finishing of the building was found in most layers of the fill. The date of the terrace deposits suggests that although work on the new temple may have begun soon after the fire, its construction was not completed before the latter part of the 5th century.

**Repairs to the Temple after the Fire of 390 B.C.**

With so little of the building remaining in place, the extent and chronology of repairs and alterations to the Classical Temple have been difficult to define. A fixed point in the chronology is provided by Xenophon (Hellenica 4.5.4), who describes a fire in the temple that was visible from Mount Geranium in the spring of 390. Broneer believed that “in the reconstruction that followed in the fourth century, a new roof was provided, the cella walls, and perhaps to a lesser degree, the peristyle, had to be rebuilt.” He based his conclusions, for the most part, on finishing done by a claw chisel, which he associated with the 4th-century repairs. The use of that type of chisel in Corinthian limestone architecture during Greek times, however, has recently been challenged by Christopher Pfaff. In light of his work at Argos, we reexamined monuments in the Isthmian sanctuary and found no clear evidence of claw chiseling on any blocks that can be dated securely to Greek periods, whereas signs of the use of the tool are abundant on blocks of Roman date. Claw chiseling should thus be removed as a criterion for identifying blocks used in repairs to the temple in the 4th century. The extensive use of that tool on numerous fragments from the south wall of the cella and on some column drums and frieze blocks should be seen rather as an indication of considerable rebuilding in the Roman era. Based on the discovery of fragments from the marble sima and the limestone frieze of the Classical Temple in deposits of the early 2nd century (HD dep I I, I, 2), it has become evident that the building suffered significant damage at the end of the 5th century. When the sanctuary again became active in the Roman period, the injuries inflicted ca. 200 B.C., as well as in later depredations, would have been repaired.

24 The Classical floor blocks rested at an elevation of about +0.327, and the top of the preserved floor of the Archaic pteroma has an elevation of ca. +0.08: Isthmia I, p. 69, and Gebhard and Hemans 1992, p. 40. See also Gebhard 1998. 25 ET 6 deps I.1, I.4, I.5. 26 The ceramic evidence does not support a more well-defined date than ca. 470–450 for the destruction of the Archaic Temple, thus limiting the precision of our estimate of the duration of construction on the Classical Temple. Julie Bentz discusses the latest burned pottery found in deposits within the Archaic Temple in Gebhard 1998, Appendix 1. The construction date of Terrace 6 cannot be fixed more closely than second to third quarter of the 5th century (ET 6 dep I.5). 27 Isthmia I, p. 101. 28 Isthmia I, p. 1. 29 In connection with the North Stoa at the Argive Heraion: Pfaff 1989, p. 317. 30 We are grateful to Christopher Pfaff and Charles K. Williams II for their visit to the site and for helpful discussions of the stonework at Isthmia, as well as for their suggestion to reconsider this problem. The Greek monuments reexamined include monument bases M 1 , M 2 –M 8 , the Archaic North Propylon, and the foundations of the Hellenistic East Gateway. Most of the bases and the East Gateway belong to the later 4th or first half of the 3rd century. Blocks with clear signs of use of the claw chisel include those from the parapet of the Flavian temenos wall, the ashlar facing of the “Roman Altar,” now identified as the Hadrianic Temple to Palaimon, and the Antonine Temple of Palaimon (Palaimonium V). 31 Broneer identified more than a hundred blocks of the cella walls at the temple site. The largest concentration, most of which were whole, was found near the southwest corner of the building, and many of these blocks appear to have claw chisel marks. See Isthmia I, pp. 104–108, BB 9–49, BB 63–66. Broneer attributed only minor changes to the temple after the 4th-century repairs: Isthmia I, p. 102.
Additional evidence of rebuilding is found in the northeast anta foundation, but it is uncertain whether this occurred in the 4th century or in Roman times. In the time since the temple was uncovered, in 1954, a portion of one of the blocks from the anta foundation has slipped out of place. On the bottom of the block, as it was used in the foundation, there is a pry hole, showing that the block had once been laid with that surface as the top. Another block in the same foundation has anathyrosis on an outside face, an indication that it, too, is not in its original position. Although it is possible that the blocks were cut for another position in the original temple and then moved during its construction, it seems more likely that they were placed in the northeast anta foundation during an extensive rebuilding of the temple. The deposits surrounding the anta cannot be associated directly with this repair, but the fill immediately to the east of it (Tr 89-58a; Fig. 6) contained the body sherd of a ribbed arcyballos belonging to the second half of the 4th or the early 3rd century (IP 8105 in CT dep IV.1). This repair, then, is best associated with a rebuilding of the temple, either in the 4th century or in Roman times.

Perhaps the best evidence for repairs in the 4th century, after the fire of 390, are the changes made to the interior of the cella. The original design of the Classical Temple had an interior colonnade on the axis of the cella, which Broneer believed was replaced by the more conventional arrangement of two interior rows of columns before 390. His argument was based on two points: the fact that the blocks used in the foundations for the two interior rows of columns are finished with drafted edges, a feature not found elsewhere in the building, and the absence of toothed or claw chiseling (for him a sign of 4th-century work). Since it now appears that the claw chisel was not used at Isthmia until the Roman period, it is removed as a criterion for dating earlier phases. It seems likely that the change in the interior arrangement was part of the 4th-century reconstruction, when the roof was also replaced.

Repairs to the temple apparently were not completed for some time after the fire. The debris remained in the area until the late 4th or early 3rd century, when it was deposited in the fill of Terrace 7 and beneath Road G at the edge of the tenemos. In fact, there is no indication of any building projects in the sanctuary until the end of the 4th century. The temple may have been in ruins for more than half a century, during a period that coincides with the reduced circumstances of Corinth after the Corinthian War.

On at least two later occasions the bedding beneath the floor of the Classical Temple was removed or disturbed: during the robbing of the temple blocks in late antiquity, and later, when a small, one-room house was built over the site. Debris excavated in 1952 and 1954 from the large foundation trenches of the Classical Temple consistently contained some sherds dating as late as the 6th century A.C. The only deposit excavated in 1989 that contained objects from the dismantling of the temple in Roman times was the fill overlying the pits for the robbing of the piers against the south wall of the Archaic Temple cella in Trench 89-52 (CT dep V.1, with fragments of Roman marble revetment). The fill over the robbing trenches for the foundations of the piers, however, could not be separated from the fill within the robbing trenches themselves. In Pit 8, material later than the Archaic Temple was found, that is, a piece of hawksbeak molding from

---

32 Isthmia I, pp. 61-62.
33 East Terrace 7 deps I.1-9. Road G dep I.1, beneath a layer of burned roof tiles from the temple (dep I.2), dates to the late 4th or early 3rd century.
34 For remodeling of the Theater, see Gebhard 1973, p. 60. Broneer associated the Later Stadium with the activities of Philip and Alexander (Isthmia II, p. 66), but its construction may well have extended to the early 3rd century (see pp. 43-44 below).
36 The temple, as well as other sanctuary buildings, was used as a source of stone to construct the Hexamillion Fortress. Timothy Gregory dates the initial construction of the Hexamillion to the early 5th century A.C.: Isthmia V, p. 142. For a description of the house, see Isthmia II, p. 97.
37 A partial list includes lots 61, 72, and 88 from the north stylobate; lots 93, 159, 178, and 179 from the south stylobate; and lots 67, 226, and 797 from the east stylobate.
the Classical Temple (CT dep V.2).\textsuperscript{38} Since the position of the Archaic south cella wall and its outside piers did not interfere with the construction of the Classical foundations, the foundations for these piers were apparently not removed during the construction of the 5th-century temple. The presence of Roman marble revetment above the pits and the debris of 390 within one of them, in the same stratigraphic unit, suggests that the foundation blocks for the Archaic piers were removed during the Late Roman dismantling of the building.

**Deposits of the Classical Temple\textsuperscript{39}**

I. Robbing Fills in the Foundation Trenches of the Archaic Temple

1. West stylobate
   - Trs 89-51a (C-5), 89-52a (B2)
   - Elev.: from \(-0.02\) to \(-0.34\) m
   - Lots 89-422, 89-423
   - Total sherds, 75: 2 Geometric, 61 Archaic, 11 amphora, 1 cooking ware. Latest is an Attic sherd of mid-6th-century date or later.
   - Date: after 470–450, by position
   - Inventory: lead ingot, IM 5950; iron blade, IM 5951; bronze fragment, IM 5952; plate, IP 7611b (with join to ET 7 dep I.9)
   - Other material: iron frags., bronze frags., ash, 11 burned Archaic block frags., 1 Archaic tile frag.

2. North stylobate
   - Tr 89-60 (I, I')
   - Elev.: from +0.04 to \(-0.19\) m
   - Lot 89-421
   - Total sherds, 8: 8 Archaic
   - Date: after 470–450, by position
   - Inventory: Corinthian helmet, IM 5985
   - Other material: bronze frags., ash, burned Archaic block frags.

3. West anta of the north cella wall
   - Tr 89-51a (C-5)
   - Elev.: from \(-0.10\) to \(-0.30\) m
   - Lot 89-414
   - Total sherds, 16: 1 Geometric, 9 Archaic, 4 amphora, 1 cooking ware, 1 plain fineware
   - Date: after 470–450, by position
   - Other material: 1 iron frag., burned Archaic block frags.

4. Eastern step course
   - Trs 89-58b (C-7), 89-58d (C-8)
   - Elev.: from \(-0.58\) to \(-0.79\) m. No sharp division from the deposit above.
   - Lots 89-270 (under CT dep III.3), 89-438 (under CT dep I.5)

\textsuperscript{38} The deposits listed in CT dep V.2 include the fill from all the excavated pits, although only Pit 8 contained material that is certainly later than 470–450 B.C. Pit 5 contained a piece of yellow-glazed terracotta pan tile that is typical of the Classical period but that can be earlier. The fragment of a limestone block with red paint is probably from the Classical Temple. During construction, the builders used red paint to mark the blocks for further finishing. See pp. 29–30 below for a description of the debris from finishing blocks of the Classical Temple.

\textsuperscript{39} In the Catalogue of Deposits following the 1989 trench, the number of the equivalent trench or trenches in Bronner's excavations is given in parentheses. For ease of reference between old and new excavations we have retained Bronner's datum point (53.37 m above sea level), which is located at the eastern end of the north cella wall in the Classical Temple (see the lower right-hand corner of Figure 7 [Isthmian 1, p. 59, note 3]). Inventoried sherds that are significantly earlier than the deposit are identified only by inventory number. The date of the deposit is based on the latest identifiable objects and/or stratigraphic position. David Reese analyzed the faunal remains, and Julie Hansen analyzed the floral material. Mycenaean and Early Iron Age pottery was studied by Catherine Morgan, Archaic by Karim Arafat, Classical by Julie Bentz, and Late Hellenistic and Roman by John Hayes. Martha Risser also examined selected deposits of Classical date.
III. Destruction Debris of the Archaic Temple and Floor Fill of the Classical Temple

1. Destruction debris on the floors within the west and north colonnades of the Archaic Temple
   Trs 89-51a (G-5), 89-60 (I, I')
   Elev.: from +0.09 to +0.03 m

II. Fill in the Robbing Trenches A–G within the Colonnades

1. South pteroma (robbing trenches A–F)
   Trs 89-52a (B2), 89-52b (G, S-1)
   Elev.: from +0.21 to −0.48 m
   Lot 89-415 (under CT dep IV.1)
   Total sherds, 29: 1 Geometric, 19 Archaic, 6 amphora, 2 cooking, 1 plain fine ware. Latest is a handle of a miniature krater of the 6th to early 5th century.
   Date: after 470–450, by position
   Other material: 18 bronze frags., burned limestone block frags.

2. West pteroma (robbing trench G)
   Tr 89-51c (C-5)
   Elev.: from +0.02 to −0.24 m, to −0.55 m at west
   Lots 89-415, 89-416
   Total sherds, 24: 3 Geometric, 16 Archaic, 4 amphora, 1 plain fine ware. Latest is a handle of a miniature krater of the 6th to early 5th century.
   Date: after 470–450, by position
   Other material: 2 bronze frags., 2 burned Archaic block frags.

6. Foundation beneath east stylobate
   Tr 89-58d (C-8)
   Elev.: from −0.36 to −0.67 m
   Lots 89-442, 89-443 (under CT dep III.3)
   Total sherds, 23: 3 Geometric, 18 Archaic, 1 amphora, 1 plain fine ware.
   Date: after 470–450, by position
   Inventory: leg of terracotta horse-and-rider figurine, IM 5967
   Other material: 4 bronze frags., 1 iron frag.

7. South cella wall
   Tr 89-52b (G, S-1)
   Elev.: from +0.05 to −0.09 m
   Lot 89-424 (under CT dep V.1)
   Total sherds, 16: 1 Geometric, 6 Archaic, 6 amphora, 3 plain fine ware. Latest is a sherd of Corinthian black-glazed ware, probably 6th century in date.
   Date: after 470–450, by position
   Other material: 1 iron frag., 2 bronze frags., 2 lead drips, 1 frag. Archaic tile, 1 burned Archaic block frag.

5. East stylobate and upper deposit of step course, north end
   Tr 89-58b (C-7)
   Elev.: from −0.33 to −0.61 m
   Lot 89-437 (under CT dep III.3)
   Total sherds, 81: 2 Geometric, 67 Archaic, 10 amphora, 1 plain fine ware, 1 cooking ware. Latest is a semiglazed miniature bowl of the late 6th or early 5th century.
   Date: after 470–450, by position
   Inventory: iron spike, IM 5958; leg of terracotta horse-and-rider figurine, IM 5960
   Other material: bronze, iron, burned Archaic block frags.

Total sherds, 10: 4 Geometric, 5 Archaic, 1 coarseware
Date: after 470–450, by position
Other material: bronze, ash, burned Archaic block frags.
Lot 89-426
Total sherds, 2: 2 Archaic
Date: after 470–450, by position
Other material: 1 iron frag., 2 bronze frags.

2. Archaic destruction debris within the cella
Trs 89-62 (C-2), 89-63 (C-5)
Elev: from −0.05 to −0.29 m
Lots 89-418, 89-420
Total sherds, 28: 2 Geometric, 20 Archaic, 4 amphora, 2 cooking ware. Latest fineware is Corinthian black-glazed ware of the early 6th century.
Date: after 470–450, on the basis of burned Archaic blocks
Other material: 1 iron frag., 6 burned Archaic block frags.

3. Archaic destruction debris mixed with fill under the Classical floor and over the Archaic east stylobate and step course
Trs 89-58b (C-7), 89-58d (C-8)
Elev: from −0.13 to −0.40 m
Lots 89-269 (south end), 89-436 (north end)
Total sherds, 182: 1 Mycenaean, 17 Geometric, 108 Archaic, 6 Classical, 34 amphora, 3 cooking ware, 13 plain fineware. Latest is a plain bowl dating to the mid 5th century into the early 4th century.
Date: second half of the 5th century
Inventory: bronze olive leaf, IM 5945; iron hook, IM 5946; bronze rim, IM 5947; bronze strap or handle, IM 5948; obsidian flake, IM 5959; conical oinochoe, IP 8076; askos, IP 8077
Other material: 1 bronze frag., mud brick, burned limestone block frags., Archaic roof tile frags.

IV. Fill Associated with 4th-century Repairs or Roman Rebuilding

1. East pteroma of the Classical Temple
Tr 89-58a (C-4)
Elev: from −0.37 to −0.56 m
Lots 89-267, 89-268
Total sherds, 246: 17 Geometric, 202 Archaic, 1 Classical, 21 amphora, 1 coarseware, 4 plain fineware. Latest is ribbed aryballos (IP 8105) of the second half of the 4th to early 3rd century
Date: second half of the 4th to early 3rd century
Inventory: aryballos, IP 7963; miniature kalathos, IP 8071; miniature krater, IP 8072; aryballos, IP 8073; aryballos, IP 8088; aryballos IP 8089; ribbed aryballos, IP 8105
Other material: 1 bronze frag., 2 iron frags.

V. Late Antique Removal of the Building

1. Classical floor fill in south pteroma, mixed with late antique robbing debris overlying the Archaic floor and robbing pits for the removal of the piers against the south wall of the Archaic cella
Trs 89-52b (G, S-1), 89-52c (A, C-6)
Elev: from +0.21 to −0.17 m
Lots 89-411, 89-446, 89-539
Total sherds, 185: 10 Geometric, 125 Archaic, 2 Classical, 35 amphora, 9 cooking ware, 4 plain fineware. Latest is a kotyle base of the second half of the 5th century.
Date: Late Roman, based on marble revetment
Inventory: strigil handle, IM 5972; iron spike, IM 5973; Illyrian helmet rim, IM 5987; conical oinochoe, IP 7964
Other material: Roman marble revetment, iron frags., 8 bronze frags., Laconian tile frags., limestone block frags.

2. Robbing pits for piers of south wall of the Archaic cella
Trs 89-52a (B2), 89-52b (G, S-1), 89-52c (A, C-6)
Elev: from +0.05 to −0.27 m
5TH-CENTURY TEMENOS

CLASSICAL ROADS IN THE NORTH TEMENOS

The ancient road from Corinth to the Isthmian sanctuary followed approximately the same route as that followed by the present-day road, which passes through the modern town of Hexamilia. About 2 km west-southwest of the sanctuary a portion of the ancient roadbed was uncovered by Broneer, and its likely path from there to the temenos can be traced across the local landscape (Fig. 2). From the West Cemetery and the tip of the Kyiras Vrisi gorge, 600–700 m west of the temenos, the road would have traveled in an east-northeasterly direction, through an area that Broneer identified as the approximate location of the Sacred Glen, and then along the southern edge of the Northwest Gully to the Temenos of Poseidon. The route was probably adorned with monuments designed to be seen as one approached the sanctuary. It is also likely that the road was one of the main arteries to the Isthmus as well as to the sanctuary; certainly the heavily worn and rutted surfaces reflect a great deal of cart traffic.

Broneer described six different beds, or branches, of this road crossing the northern part of the temenos before the Roman era. All of them enter from the west at approximately the same location, just to the north of the gate through the Roman West Stoa. From there they travel in a northeasterly direction along the edge of the Northwest Gully. Excavation on the northern side of the sanctuary in 1989 exposed several new sections of the roadbeds, and we are now able to provide more information about their chronology and routes across the plateau.

Over most of the northern half of the temenos Broneer did not excavate below the hard surface that was established early in the Roman period (third quarter of the 1st century A.C.). Pre-Roman deposits were cleared only along the northwestern edge of the plateau and within the Northwest Gully, the largest deposit being a triangular area between the foundation for the stylobate of the North Stoa and the southern edge of the gully (Fig. 7, Pl. 2:a). The triangle extends for a distance of ca. 40 m along the southern side of the stoa foundation and ca. 13 m north–south at the western end. A heavily used Roman roadbed overlay the area. Below it, covering the sloping face of the gully, Broneer found enormous quantities of debris from the Archaic Temple. The fill was

---

40 Isthmia II, p. 122, pl. 81. The roadbed, located immediately south of the West Foundation, was traced for a distance of ca. 65 m. Another portion was found ca. 240 m farther east. The wheel tracks are ca. 1.40 m apart, the same distance that separates the tracks in the sanctuary that are dated to Hellenistic and Roman times.

41 Isthmia II, p. 113.

42 Archaic roof tiles from at least five small-scale buildings have been recovered, most of them from areas west of the temple: Hemans 1994, pp. 61–74.

43 Isthmia II, pp. 18–22, plan IV.

44 The Late Hellenistic and Roman roads will be described in Part III of this report, Gebhard, Hemans, and Hayes forthcoming.

45 See “Macadam Floor” in Part III of this report.

46 The area includes the eastern extension of the second North Temenos trench excavated in 1954; Trs I–V, 1956; cut in road trench, 1956; sections II and III, 1956; and NTDW trenches, 1958; see Fig. 4. The western edge of the Broneer trenches is indicated with a dashed line on Figure 7, adjacent to terrace walls NG1–3.
Fig. 7. Actual-state plan of the North Temenos showing features of the Classical and Hellenistic eras. Remains of later structures are shown in outline. The positions of North Temenos sections A–A and B–B (Figs. 8 and 9) are marked.
supported in part by two terrace walls, which are only partially preserved (NG², NG³). About five meters west of that area another portion of the Roman road, and the temple debris beneath it, was excavated in 1967. Broneer also opened a small trench between the Roman foundation wall and monument base M³ and, north of the wall, a larger area surrounding the Archaic North Propylon.

Classical Road (B), as described by Broneer, was uncovered at only one location, immediately north of base M³. Broneer restored the remainder of its path from the line of a water channel (WCh I; Fig. 7) that he believed followed the line of the road. Because the hard-packed surface of the road contained relief bowls of Hellenistic date, Broneer thought that it continued in use into the 2nd century.

Excavation in 1989 uncovered the remains of two roadbeds of the Classical period (designated here as Classical Roads 1 and 2). A small portion of Classical Road 1 was exposed in Trench 89-49 (Figs. 7, 8), and it appears to have been used for only a very few years after the Archaic Temple fire. It was replaced by Classical Road 2 at about the time the Classical Temple was completed. It is to this second Classical road that the section of road discovered by Broneer belongs. The western end of the road, up to monument base M⁸ (Fig. 18), bears signs of continuous use, with repairs, until the Roman era (Figs. 7, 9, Pls. 2:a–c, 3:a). After ca. 300 a southeasterly branch was constructed (Road G), remains of which were uncovered in 1989 near the Northeast Altar Terrace (see pp. 48–49 below). In Figure 18 a fork in the road is restored near M⁸, but only the surface of Road G has so far been uncovered.

Classical Road 1, where it was cleared to the west of the main area of excavations (Tr 89-49), has a very hard-packed and worn surface but no deep ruts, perhaps because this section of roadbed was used for only a short period, or the surface may lie on the verge of a track whose center was located immediately to the north or south of the portion excavated. The bed for the road was made after the Archaic temenos wall was dismantled and its foundation trench filled with soil containing large numbers of small limestone chips that have the sharp edges characteristic of construction debris (Fig. 8, sec B–B dep A, CRd dep I.1). This fill extends southward from the position of the wall, covering the worn surface of Archaic North Terrace 2. The area is fairly level, sloping slightly toward the temple. The sharp, broken edge of the road surface above the position of the robbed-out temenos wall shows that the road must originally have extended somewhat farther to the north. The date can be defined within fairly precise limits. The surface overlies North Terrace 2 and is then covered by layers of ash and debris from the Archaic Temple, which were deposited during the end of the clean-up period, when Classical Road 2 came into use (Fig. 8, sec B–B dep B, CRd dep II.3). Farther east (Tr 89-37) the foundation of the robbed-out temenos wall was partially filled by construction debris (unexcavated) and then later covered by Classical Road 2. The construction debris may well have come from work on the nearby Classical Temple. Thus, removal of the Archaic temenos wall and the construction of the first road probably occurred soon after the fire of 470–450.

The substantial section of Classical Road 2 that was uncovered in 1989 runs diagonally from southwest to northeast across Trenches 89-40, 89-28, 89-37, and 89-19, covering a distance of ca. 17 m (Fig. 7). Its bed was higher than that of its predecessor and was composed of blocks from the Archaic Temple, which were placed in layers up to 1.20 m deep across an area 3.50–5.00 m wide (CRd dep II.1; Pls. 2:a, 3:a). Approximately 600 fragments of blocks from the Archaic Temple were removed from the area, and Broneer took out hundreds more immediately to the west. The roadbed

---

48 The trench can be seen on the left edge of Figure 7; cf. Fig. 4.
51 Deposits to the north in this area were removed in 1956. It is possible that Terrace Wall NG² or NG³, the latter of which supported the fill beneath Classical Road 2, was initially constructed to support the fill beneath Classical Road 1.
Fig. 8. North Temenos section B–B, Trench 89-49, looking east

Fig. 9. North Temenos section A–A, Trenches 89-37 and 89-42, looking west
was created about the time the Classical Temple was completed, as is clear from the fact that some of the Archaic Temple blocks show signs of later carving. This occurred when some of the Archaic blocks were cut for reuse in the Classical temple; the unused portions of these blocks were later put into the road fill. A refurbishment after the fire of 390 is attested by fragments of burned marble rooftiles in the surface (CRd deps III.1–3). Further repairs to the road were made in the early 2nd century (see pp. 57–58 below).

The path of Classical Road 2 is clearly defined within the limits of the excavation. It entered from the west (from Corinth), traveling northeastward along the edge of the gully, and made a wide turn around the temple (Fig. 5). Its northern edge lay ca. 16 m from the northwest corner of the temple and was supported by Terrace Wall NG3. Classical Road 1 very likely followed a more direct line through the temenos, closer to the northwest corner of the temple and just south of the hard-packed surface uncovered in Trench 89-49, described above (p. 17).

Sixteen postholes were found cut into Classical Road 2 (Pl. 3:a, labeled on Fig. 7). The holes are clustered in an area only ca. 5 x 7 m, but additional holes may have existed beyond the limits of the excavation. All the holes have a fairly consistent diameter of 0.10–0.15 m, a size that could have accommodated wooden posts, perhaps as high as 3 m. Several of the holes were cut with considerable effort into the stone blocks of the roadbed. Such labor makes it appear that a fairly precise position was required for each post and that possibly they were placed in a fixed relationship to each other. On the other hand, the holes may not all have been made at the same time. Some of them are as close as ca. 0.50 m to each other. The holes could have held posts that supported temporary shelters for dedications or tents erected at the time of the games.

In the area around the postholes there was a large amount of ash and many fragments of bronze in the upper layers of the road fill (CRd dep II.4). Many of the bronze fragments have marks on the edges that show they were intentionally broken up with a chisel in preparation for remelting. Since other foundry material has been recovered in deposits at the northern and eastern sides of the plateau, in the Large Circular Pit, and inside the Temple of Poseidon, bronze was evidently being worked in the vicinity. The quantities of metal and ash in the area next to the road raised the question whether this was a location for metalworking, but the absence of other types of foundry debris, such as miscastings, drips, risers, and gates, makes it unlikely. The metal fragments were thoroughly mixed with the soil surrounding the blocks from the Archaic Temple, and thus they were probably deposited with the blocks.

Classical Road Deposits in the North Temenos

I. Classical Road 1 and Robbing Fill of the Archaic Temenos: Construction and Period of Use

1. Compacted surface of verge and layer of limestone construction chips
   Tr 89-49 (IV), Fig. 8, North Temenos sec B–B dep A
   Elev: from −1.59 to −1.89 m

52 The most obvious examples from this area are IA 836 and IA 1557, from portions of the roadbed excavated by Bronnee. IA 836 has a broad band of anathyrosis from the recutting: Isthmia I, Ar 41.
53 The angle of the terrace walls and the road at this point is approximately 52° east of north. Near the West Gate the surface elevation is ca. −0.44 m; adjacent to the preserved section of NG it is ca. −1.03 m, and just before it reaches the North Stoa it has dropped to ca. −1.67 m (Figs. 7, 9).
54 Thus, Classical Road 1 might follow the line of Water Channel I but at a lower level, as Bronnee had proposed for his Road B. The water channel, however, was probably constructed after 390, and its relation to Classical Road 1 is accidental. See pp. 51–52 below.
55 If they had extended south of the group excavated, they would have disappeared by the early 2nd century; see pp. 57–58 below.
56 If the holes functioned separately or with no precise relationship, it seems more likely that they would have been cut wherever it was easiest to locate them, since the stone blocks were visible on the surface.
57 Xenophon (Hell. 7.4.32) describes how the Arcadians cut down the carefully constructed tents (στηγώματα) in the Altis at Olympia in order to use the posts for a defensive palisade. Pindar (Pyth. 5.43–54) mentions a lightly built shelter for dedications at Delphi.
Lots 89-372, 89-373
Total sherds, 15: 2 Geometric, 9 Archaic, 3 amphora, 1 plain fine ware. Latest is an Attic imitation of a Corinthian kotyle from the second half of the 6th century.
Date: after 470–450, from chips and by position
Other material: limestone construction chips

II. Classical Road 2: Construction

1. Red-brown earth packed around blocks from the Archaic Temple
Trs 89-19, 89-37, 89-39–89-41 (VI–XI, North Temenos West)
Elev.: from –1.44 to –2.32 m
Lots 89-361, 89-533
Total sherds, 859: 76 Geometric, 541 Archaic, 4 Classical, 195 amphora, 3 plain fine ware, 24 coarse ware, 16 cooking ware. Latest pottery is late 6th or early 5th century.
Date: after 470–450, based on Archaic Temple debris
Inventory: limestone blocks from the Archaic Temple, IA 3200–3641; bronze fragment, IM 5816; shield arm bands, IM 5818, IM 5865; bronze ring, IM 5829; obsidian blade, IM 5830; terracotta horse-and-rider figurines, IM 5831, IM 5895, IM 5939, IM 5956; lead strip, IM 5841; bronze omphalos bowl, IM 5853; bronze pipe, IM 5866; conical oinochoe, IP 7977; lekane rim, IP 8008; miniature krater, IP 8010; plaque, IP 8557; Archaic hip tile, IT 1007
Other material: 656 pieces of Archaic Temple blocks (many inventoried), bronze frags. (375 gr), iron frags. (475 gr), charcoal
Fauna: 12 burned sheep/goat bones, including 1 anterior mandible; 39 unburned bones, including 1 cattle molar, 1 cattle shaft, 3 sheep/goat molars
Flora: 2 *Gramineae* sp.; 11 *Pinus* sp., wood; 1 *Pinus* sp., cone bract; 1 seed, unidentifiable; 47 *Quercus* sp., wood; 1 *Juniperus/Cupressus* sp., wood

2. Road fill without temple blocks
Trs 89-19, 89-37 (X, XI, North Temenos West)
Elev.: from –1.47 to –2.16 m
Lot 89-534
Total sherds, 426: 1 Mycenaean, 87 Geometric, 287 Archaic, 8 plain fine ware, 1 coarse ware, 3 cooking ware, 39 amphora. Latest pottery is late 6th or early 5th century.
Date: after 470–450, based on Archaic Temple debris
Inventory: bronze ring, IM 5890; terracotta horse-and-rider figurine, IM 5891; kotyle, IP 8012b; aryballos, IP 8014; pyxis, IP 8018; frag. of miniature kotyle, IP 8019; oinochoe, IP 8074
Other material: bronze frags., iron frags.
Fauna: 15 burned bones, including 6 cattle-sized, 9 sheep/goat-sized; 11 unburned bones, 2 cattle-sized

3. Ashy fill adjacent to road
Tr 89-49 (IV), Fig. 8, North Temenos sec B–B dep B
Elev.: from –0.74 to –1.57 m
Lots 89-393 to 89-396
Total sherds, 317: 2 Mycenaean, 29 Geometric, 249 Archaic, 6 plain fine ware, 1 coarse ware, 3 cooking ware, 27 amphora. Latest pottery is of the late 6th or early 5th century.
Date: after 470–450, based on Archaic Temple debris
Inventory: Chalcidian helmet, IM 5907; helmet-crest bobbin, IM 5921; bronze frag. with raised decoration, IM 5922; shield with rosette appliqué, IM 5923; bronze ring, IM 5924; heavy bronze rim, IM 5925; shield arm band, IM 5926; Corinthian helmet, IM 5927; Chalcidian helmet, IM 5993; kotyle, IP 7975; conical oinochoe, IP 7976; skyphos, IP 8042
Other material: bronze frags. (1,300 gr)
Fauna: 1 burned cattle-sized shaft
Flora: 2 *Lithospermum arvense* sp.; 3 *Pinus* sp., wood; 6 *Quercus* sp., wood; 4 wood, unidentifiable
4. Ash pockets near the postholes
   Trs 89-28, 89-37 (IX, X)
   Elev.: from −1.36 to −1.77 m
   Lot 89-360
   Total sherds, 19: 1 Mycenaean, 13 Archaic, 2 plain fineware, 3 amphora
   Date: after 470–450; note marble tile fragment from the 4th-century surface
   Inventory: bronze figurine, IM 5748
   Other material: 8 Archaic roofshingles, 1 marble Classical roofshingle, bronze frags. (550 gr)

III. Classical Road 2: Period of Use

1. Hard-packed red-brown surface
   Trs 89-19, 89-37 (X, XI, North Temenos West), Pl. 2:b
   Elev.: from −1.29 to −1.63 m
   Lots 89-139, 89-532
   Total sherds, 209: 1 Mycenaean, 42 Geometric, 113 Archaic, 4 Classical, 1 Classical/Hellenistic,
   1 plain fineware, 29 coarseware, 2 cooking ware, 16 amphora. Latest is a kantharos with relief
   decoration of the mid to late 4th century.
   Date: mid–late 4th century
   Inventory: obsidian blade, IM 5689; iron point, IM 5690; 2 bronze rosettes, IM 5702, IM 5884;
   bronze strip, IM 5815; iron loop, IM 5817; bronze plate, IM 5883; iron fitting, IM 5885;
   terracotta horse-and-rider figurine, IM 5893; bronze nail, IM 5894; IP 7538; miniature kalathos,
   IP 7602; IP 8012a; marble roofshingles, IT 1018, IT 1019
   Other material: 43 Archaic roofshingles; 95 frags. of Archaic Temple blocks, most burned, including 3
   with rope grooves; bronze frags. (1,200 gr); iron frags. (75 gr)
   Fauna: 3 burned bones, including 2 cattle-sized; 5 unburned bones, including 1 cattle-sized shaft,
   1 sheep/goat molar

2. Hard-packed white clay with tiles and stones
   Tr 89-37 (X, XI)
   Elev.: −1.72 (N)/−1.82 m (S) to −2.11 m (N)/−2.01 m (S)
   Lots 89-387, 89-388, 89-389
   Total sherds, 15: 4 Geometric, 3 Archaic, 2 plain fineware, 4 coarseware, 1 cooking ware,
   1 amphora
   Date: 5th—4th century, by position over debris from Archaic Temple
   Inventory: bronze strip, IM 5929; obsidian blade, IM 6022
   Other material: numerous small bronze frags., 1 iron frag.

3. Hard red-brown soil with stones and pebbles
   Trs 89-28, 89-37 (IX, X)
   Elev.: from −1.41 to −1.91 m
   Lot 89-353
   Total sherds, 54: 1 Geometric, 30 Archaic, 6 Classical, 1 plain fineware, 1 coarseware, 2 cooking
   ware, 13 amphora. Latest are Attic black-glazed sherds of the second half of the 5th century.
   Date: after 390, based on Classical Temple debris
   Inventory: limestone molding fragments with stucco from the Classical Temple, IA 4090–4095;
   bronze nail, IM 5819
   Other material: 39 limestone block frags., 8 with stucco; bronze frags.
   Fauna: 2 burned sheep/goat-sized bones

Northeast Altar Terrace

A small enclosure, open on one side, stood at the edge of the temenos above the Northeast
Cave (Figs. 10, 11). Bronner designated it the Northeast Altar Terrace and suggested a date for its
construction in the second half of the 4th century on the basis of an inscription, ONYMANTIOY,
Fig. 10. Actual-state plan of the East Temenos (Classical–Roman). Numbers in circles refer to terrace surfaces at these points. The positions of East Temenos sections D–D through L–L (Figs. 13, 14, Pls. 5:b, e, 6:d) are marked (F. Hemans and A. Koelman).
Fig. 11. Detail of Northeast Area, actual-state plan. The positions of East Temenos sections A–A through C–C (Fig. 12) are marked (F. Hemans and A. Koelman).

on the northeast wall facing the courtyard of the east cave.⁵⁹ The walls had been largely dismantled by the 1st century B.C., when Roman Roads 3 and 5 and Water Pipe b crossed the east corner of the enclosure (Fig. 12, sec B–B).⁶⁰ The masonry, of well-finished ashlar blocks, enclosed an area ca. 4.50 × 5.70 m on the surface of the plateau. The northeast wall continued down to the cave courtyard and bordered one side of it. To explore the relationship of the altar terrace to the eastern temenos (East Terraces 6 and 7) and the adjacent cave, Trench 89-29 was opened outside the southwest wall of the enclosure (Fig. 3). It would have been desirable to extend excavation along the southeastern face of the terrace, but a Late Roman structure rests on the terrace wall, and it was left in place.

At the eastern end of Trench 89-29, along the southwestern face of the enclosure above bedrock, was a thin layer of soil with limestone chips that appear to be left from construction of the terrace (NEA Ter dep I.1).⁶¹ The latest of the few sherds falls in the first half of the 5th century. Above the chips was a layer of ash mixed with a mass of carbon, pottery, and some bones, with the greatest concentration in the western and southern sides of the trench (NEA Ter dep II.1). The place and angle of deposition suggests that the burned material was thrown down from within

⁵⁹ Isthmia II, pp. 31–33, pl. 14:a–c; see also Gebhard forthcoming. Bedrock within the enclosure lies 2.11–2.26 m above the courtyard.

⁶⁰ Isthmia II, pl. 14:b. The Roman roads will be described in Part III of this report, Gebhard, Hemans, and Hayes forthcoming.

⁶¹ The area excavated was confined to the triangular, eastern section of the trench, measuring 3 m east–west by a maximum of 2 m north–south. Bedrock sloped from −4.15 to −4.41 m.
Fig. 12. Northeast Area, Road G and ET 7. Section A–A, looking south: verge of Road G; A + B = ET 7 I.9, I.8. Section B–B, looking west: Road G; A = surface 2, deposit II.2; B = verge, ET 7 I.8; C + D = bedding for Road G, deposits I.3, I.1. Section C–C, looking east: Road G; A = surface 3, deposit II.4; B = verge, ET 7 I.9; C + D + E = bedding for Road G, deposits I.3, I.2, I.1 (F. Hemans and A. Koelman).
the enclosure while the walls were still standing (Pl. 3:b). The presence of a miniature bronze omphalos phiale\(^{62}\) makes it likely that the deposits came from a ritual context. Traces of fruit may be present among the carbonized material.\(^{63}\) A terracotta lamp belongs to the first half of the 5th century,\(^{64}\) and the latest sherds can be placed in the second quarter of the century (Pl. 3:c). If the ash and bronze phiale are indeed associated with the small enclosure, they confirm Broneer's identification of an altar at that location.\(^{65}\) The date of its construction, however, seems to fit better in the second half of the 5th century because of the date of the chip deposit and because the finish of the walls resembles that of the retaining walls for the embankment and ramps that were added to the stadium in the second half of the 5th century (Early Stadium III).\(^{66}\) The Northeast Cave was blocked by Terrace 7 in the late 4th or early 3rd century. The inscription on the northeast wall could have been placed there at any time before construction of Terrace 7. There is nothing to show when the altar went out of use, but Roman roads 3 and 5 supply a \textit{terminus ante quem}.

Farther south, in Trench 89-16, are two deposits that may be contemporary with the early use of the altar terrace, before construction of Terrace 7 and Road G. The lowest layer is a thin stratum of red soil overlying a heavily worn marl surface that appears to have been a path in earlier times (NEA Ter dep II.2; Fig. 12, sec C–C dep F, sec B–B dep E). At the southern end of the trench, the second deposit consists of a brown layer that was cut by a natural water channel (NEA Ter dep II.3). Along the southwestern side of the altar enclosure, the outside surface originally rose very steeply (for a total of about 3.50 m) in the short distance between the courtyard of the Northeast Cave and the top of the plateau (Fig. 12, sec B–B). The 5th-century extension of the sacrificial area (Terrace 6) lay to the south (Fig. 5). No regular access to the plateau seems to have been provided at this place.

Later, construction of Terrace 7 and Road G raised the ground level outside the altar terrace.\(^{67}\) That the enclosure remained standing after construction of the terrace is shown by the fact that the bedding for Road G was packed against the wall but did not continue over the top of the orthostate course (ET 7 dep I.8).

NORTHEAST ALTAR TERRACE DEPOSITS

I. Construction

1. Light brown soil with limestone chips, small pebbles, and pieces of marl; under NEA Ter dep II.1
   Tr 89-29 (NE-F, north section)
   Elev.: from \(-4.14\) (W)/\(-3.97\) m (E) to \(-4.17\) (W)/\(-4.41\) m (E)
   Lot 89-231
   Total sherds, 5: 3 Archaic, 2 coarseware. Latest is a poorly made Corinthian imitation of an Attic cup-skyphos of the first half of the 5th century
   Date: first half of the 5th century

II. Period of Use

1. Ash and soft brown soil with many small stones, many carbon flakes
   Tr 89-29 (NE-F, north section)
   Elev.: from \(-3.81\) (W)/\(-3.79\) m (E) to \(-4.17\) (W)/\(-4.21\) m (E)

\(^{62}\) \textit{Isthmia} VII, p. 22, \textit{sub no. 85A (IM 5781)}.

\(^{63}\) The fragments are too small to be identified with certainty.

\(^{64}\) IP 8028; \textit{cf. Isthmia} III, pp. 12–13. Only four nearly complete examples and some fragments of Type V lamps were found in Broneer's excavations, most of which were of Attic manufacture. With one exception they occur in the Large Circular Pit, which was filled with debris toward the end of the 5th century. Broneer dates the type to the first half of that century, as corresponding to Athens Type 20: \textit{Agora} IV, p. 43, "(both before and after the Persian Wars), into the 460's." We are grateful to Martha Risser for confirming the date.

\(^{65}\) The deposit could have come from another altar. Possible connections between the altar terrace and the Northeast Cave are discussed in Gebhard forthcoming.

\(^{66}\) For the walls, see \textit{Isthmia} II, pp. 52–53, and pp. 33–36 below; for the date, see ES III deps I.1–3.

\(^{67}\) Broneer cleared fill that can be associated with ET 7 from the stairs into the Northeast Cave: \textit{Isthmia} II, p. 36. The surface in the courtyard was raised from an elevation of ca. \(-5.50\) m to ca. \(-3.00/3.50\) m.
Lot 89-230
Total sherds, 498: 230 Archaic, 46 Classical, 4 plain fine ware, 94 cooking ware, 124 amphora.

Latest are of the first half of the 5th century; a few are more precisely datable to the second quarter of the century. Types include many kotylai and skyphoi, Attic stemmed kylises, a small bowl with beveled rim, a dipped one-handler, and a drinking bowl.

Date: second quarter of the 5th century

Inventory: miniature bronze omphalos phiale, IM 5781; leg of handmade bell figurine, IM 6231; Corinthian lamp, Bronner Type V, IP 8028; IP 8324

Other material: 17 bronze frags., 3 iron spike frags., 2 Archaic roof tiles, 3 yellow-glazed roof tiles

Fauna: 1 unburned and 2 burned bones, cattle-sized; 1 cattle molar

Flora: 3 frags. Olea europaea sp.; 4 Pinus sp., wood; 10 unidentifiable frags., possibly fruit; all are burned. Ca. 9.2 gr of material recovered from 1 liter of floated material.

2. Red soil mixed with marl, over bedrock (cf. RdG dep I.1)

Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections), Fig. 12, sec C–C dep F; sec B–B dep E

Elev.: from −5.28 (N)/−4.71 m (S) to −5.40 (N)/−4.86 m (S)

Lot 89-235

Total sherds, 34: 15 Archaic, 5 Classical, 4 plain fine ware, 10 amphora. Latest belong to the first half of the 5th century.

Date: 5th century

Other material: 3 bronze frags.

3. Soft brown soil cut by water channel; under ET 7 dep I.8

Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections)

Elev.: from −4.67 (W)/−4.89 m (E) to −4.80 (W)/−5.00 m (E)

Lot 89-236

Total sherds, 7: 1 Archaic, 2 Classical, 1 plain fine ware, 3 coarseware. The foot of a semiglazed kotyle is of a shape typical of the second half of the 5th century. A Corinthian imitation of an Attic vessel has impressed decoration that is most often found in Corinth in the 4th century, although stamping appears on Attic black-glazed ware from the middle of the 5th century.

Date: second half of the 5th into the 4th century

Inventory: IP 7596

East Terrace 6

The nature and extent of the Archaic terraces (ET 2–5A) are discussed in Part I of this report.68 Figure 13, section D–D, shows their profiles, with the exception of Terraces 2, 5, and 5A. The red soil originally assigned to Terrace 1 is now understood to be natural to the area and does not represent a man-made alteration.69 Terrace 3 had a roughly horizontal surface that extended eastward from the altar for about 13 m and ended in a gradual (ca. 5°) slope to the east.70 A surface of sea pebbles was added at the end of the 6th century (Terrace 4). After the temple burned, a raised path, also surfaced with pebbles, was built between the East Propylon and the stadium (Terrace 5), and a deep layer of ash and burned animal bones (Terrace 5A) was laid over Terrace 4. These last terraces were temporary measures designed to maintain the sacrificial area and provide

68 Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 52–57, 61–68, 71–76. Bronner assigned the entire terracing project to formal landscaping done after 390: Isthmia II, p. 15, pls. 7a, 52b. The stratigraphic information necessary to distinguish between episodes of terracing came as a result of the 1989 excavations. It was found that the first expansion of the sacrificial space (Terrace 2) occurred in the second quarter of the 6th century.

69 I am grateful to Christopher Hayward for this information and for discussing the geology of the Isthmian sanctuary with me in advance of his forthcoming study. For a description of the East Temenos before the 6th century, see Gebhard and Hayward in Isthmia VIII, forthcoming.

70 The eastern edge of the horizontal surface corresponds with the east wall of the Flavian Temenos, and the sloping face reaches to the stylobate of the East Stoa; cf. Figure 13 with Gebhard and Hemans 1992, fig. 18. In describing the terraces it is convenient to refer to the later Roman foundations that were cut through them.
access to the stadium during construction of the Classical Temple and enlargement of the stadium embankment.

Terrace 6 represents a 5th-century extension of the sacrificial area (Figs. 5, 13), which was further enlarged at the beginning of the 3rd century with the addition of Terrace 7 (Fig. 18). Broneer excavated most of the fill. In 1989, Trench 89-3 was opened at the sloping, eastern edge of Terrace 6, and it cut through much of the body of Terrace 7 (Figs. 3, 14). It enabled us to separate the episodes of construction for the two terraces and to document the contents of the fills.

In extent, the surface of Terrace 6 measured 28 m north–south, from the northern end of the Classical Long Altar to the passage leading into the stadium, and 21 m east–west. Its outer face sloped eastward for another 6 m. The terrace may have extended north of the altar, but the area has not been excavated below Early Roman levels. Excavation in the northeastern area in 1989 showed that the terrace did not reach as far as the altar terrace (Trs 89-16, 89-29; Fig. 10). Over most of its extent Terrace 6 rose ca. 0.30–0.40 m above the surface of Terrace 4. Along the eastern face, however, as the terrain sloped downward, the fill increased to a depth of 2 m (Fig. 13).

The surface of the terrace has an elevation of ca. -1.13 m along the altar, although the line of finished surface on the eastern face at the northern end shows that the terrace was planned to be about 0.18 m higher. East of the
The escarpment had a grade of 1:3 (17°), which is considerably steeper than its predecessor, but it is not so precipitous that someone could not have walked up its face. There was probably some additional grading between the terrace and the East Propylono, since the gate was originally built for the lower surfaces of Terraces 3 and 4, but we do not have evidence for the relationship of the terrace to the gate or to the westernmost ramp along the outside of the stadium embankment (see pp. 33–36 below).

The sloping eastern face of the terrace was covered with a compact layer of soil, within which the latest pottery extends to ca. 325 (Pl. 4:c; dep D in secs E–E and F–F, Fig. 14; contents: ET 6 dep II.1). The interior of the terrace was composed of two principal layers. The first (lower) held Archaic destruction debris that included some limestone chips from construction of the Classical Temple (ET 6 deps I.1–3), while the second consisted almost entirely of refuse from construction of the Classical building (ET 6 deps I.4–5). In the lower layer, the Classical chips included a few pieces created during fluting of the columns (described below), which is a sign that the terrace was probably begun during the latter part of the construction period for the Classical Temple.

The pattern of deposition in the individual deposits, showing that the soil and debris were thrown in from the southwestern side of the area, toward the northeast, places the source of the terrace fill in the southern half of the sacrificial space in front of the altar. Since Trench 89-3 is located at the eastern side of the temenos, near the center, the deposits dug in 1989 were among the last to have been laid down. This would explain the relatively small number of dedications recovered that year, in contrast to the large quantity of objects that Broneer found farther west (e.g., Trs E–C, “B,” “D,” “E”; R-28; R-30). Although most of the pottery is early, the latest sherds in the body of the terrace date to the second or third quarter of the 5th century (Pl. 5:a). It is likely that the terrace was completed before the end of the century, probably by ca. 425. Mixing of deposits D and E during excavation at the foot of the eastern face requires that E, a stratum that belongs to the body of the terrace, be listed in the Catalogue of Deposits along with later units relating to the period of use of the area (Fig. 14, ET 6 dep II.4).

Debris from the Archaic Temple included broken mud bricks,77 fragments of rooftiles, and blocks, some of which bore signs of recutting (Fig. 14, ET 6 deps I.1–3). The remains from the fluting of the columns of the Classical Temple mentioned above were irregular pieces of limestone, many of which preserve the smooth, curved surface of an unfluted column drum, while others bear rough chisel marks and show the shape of the flutes.78 A total of about 3,000 fragments of

Flavian temenos wall, at the northern end, Broneer left three small sections of Terrace 6 as martyra when he excavated to the pebble surface of Terrace 4. On the plan in Figure 10 the martyra are outlined (---), and the surfaces are labeled with an encircled 6. The elevations run from -1.46 m next to the Roman temenos wall to -2.30 m next to the foundation of the East Stoa stylobate, where the terrace was crossed by Hellenistic Road E. The roadbed surely accounts for the decline in elevation. The terrace would have sloped gently from the altar to its eastern edge.

Both the red soil buttress of Early Stadium II and the outer face of Terrace 2 had steeper slopes of 26°: Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 52, 69.

A possible reconstruction is presented in Figure 5. Ground level on the northeast side of the gate would have been almost 3 m below the horizontal surface of the terrace.

Fluting of the columns was one of the last stages in the construction of a temple: Martin 1965, pp. 297–302.

Julie Bentz furnished the following summary: “The latest sherds include numerous fragments of sloppily dipped semiglazed one-handlers and oinochoai, small bowls with beveled rims, and a fragment of a drinking bowl that is a shape not made until well into the second quarter of the 5th century. Such vases do not occur together and in quantity until after the beginning of the second quarter of the century and into the third quarter. There are also several fragments of Attic stemmed kylikes and black-glazed mugs, which are common at Isthmia from the late 6th through the 5th century. At least one mug is ribbed, a technique that does not begin until the second quarter of the 5th century. There are also numerous Corinthian kotyle and skyphos feet of the type common in the first half of the century.”

72 See note 89 below.

73 One measured 0.65 m in width and was 0.16 m thick.

74 Broneer published four similar fragments from an area immediately south of Trench 89-3; cf. Isthmia I, pp. 73, 77, 120–121, nos. 97–100.
limestone with worked surfaces was saved and examined. One of the larger examples (IA 3660) comes from a drum with a diameter of ca. 1.75 m.\textsuperscript{79} The size is too great for any of the columns except those in the peristyle of the Classical Temple.\textsuperscript{80} Numerous fragments (ca. 190) preserve a horizontal, finished surface that shows they are from the bottoms and tops of drums.\textsuperscript{81} Six examples have inscriptions filled with red paint, and three others with the same types of incisions were recovered in earlier excavations.\textsuperscript{82} The inscriptions can be interpreted as a system of notation made for the assembly and finishing of the columns. Their presence in Terrace 6 places them in the initial construction phase of the Classical Temple.

In connection with an extension of the Long Altar to bring it in line with the new, wider proportions of the Classical Temple, terracing was added to level the area where the natural surface sloped down at the northwestern side (Fig. 10).\textsuperscript{83} The same type of material as that described above was used for the fill, that is, broken blocks and rooftiles from the Archaic Temple mixed with fieldstones. The surface of the terrace and the rails belonging to Hellenistic Roads D–F, which crossed it, were cleared by Broneer (Fig. 10), and no further excavation took place here in 1989. We observed, however, that three of the roughly shaped stones in the fill have small beddings filled with lead, which was poured around a small, square object that is now missing. The size and shape of the holes suggest that they held metal rods, perhaps the legs of tripods.\textsuperscript{84} There is only one bedding in each stone, however, and the stones do not lie in such a way that they could have supported a tripod in their present position. We can only say that the unworked stones probably lay near the Archaic Temple and held some form of metal rod.

**Deposits on East Terrace 6**

I. Construction

1. Debris from the Archaic Temple, with some pieces from construction of the Classical Temple in western third of trench. Soil mixed with charcoal
   
   **Tr 89-3 (NE-F), Fig. 14, sec E–E dep I**
   
   Elev.: from −3.54 (W)/−3.82 m (E) to −3.84 (W)/−4.18 m (E)
   
   Lots 89-22, 89-24
   
   Total shreds, 115: 9 Early Iron Age, 58 Archaic, 16 Classical, 1 amphora, 27 coarseware, 3 cooking ware, 1 plain fineware
   
   **Date: mid 5th century**
   
   **Inventory:** IP 7512; IP 7515; Attic black-glazed kotyle, IP 7671; IP 7563
   
   Other material: 1 obsidian scraper; 45 limestone frags., many badly burned, some with plaster; 1 flute; 17 Archaic rooftiles; 4 yellow-glazed rooftiles; 1 black-glazed Laconian roof tile
   
   **Fauna:** 4 burned bones, 3 cattle-sized, 1 sheep/goat-sized; 10 unburned bones, cattle-sized

2. Soil with mud bricks under blocks from Archaic Temple
   
   **Tr 89-3 (NE-F), Fig. 14, sec E–E dep H**
   
   Elev.: from −2.17 (W)/−2.89 m (E) to −2.36 (W)/−2.95 m (E)

---

\textsuperscript{79} IA 3660 (H, 0.225, W, 0.175, Th, 0.017 m) preserves the bottom surface and outer face of a drum.

\textsuperscript{80} Columns from the ends of the peristyle had a diameter of ca. 1.48 m at the top and, by calculation, ca. 1.87 m at the bottom. The columns on the flanks of the peristyle were ca. 1.40 and ca. 1.85 m, respectively. Broneer found fluting fragments with a diameter as great as 1.70 m, based on the size of intact flutes: *Istumia* I, pp. 72–73.

\textsuperscript{81} One end of the block has a carved fascia, varying in height from 0.024 to 0.029 m and in depth from 0.004 to 0.008 m.

\textsuperscript{82} IA 3046, IA 3060, IA 3086, IA 3644, \( \Sigma \) 539, \( \Sigma \) 540; the earlier examples in *Istumia* I, pp. 120–121, C 98–100: IA 1135, IA 1120, and IA 1128. Broneer did not offer an interpretation of the notation. A more detailed discussion of the meaning and use of the inscriptions and their implications for understanding the procedures of construction will be presented in a future article; for a preliminary report, see Hemans 1993, p. 314.

\textsuperscript{83} The altar was extended 8.35 m to the north: *Istumia* I, pp. 98–99. For the date, see Gebhard and Hemans 1992, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{84} Block 1: 0.87 × 0.63 m; lead bedding, 0.11 × 0.04 m; cavity for leg, 0.03 × 0.015 m. Block 2: 0.57 × 0.97 m; lead bedding, 0.095 × 0.065 m; leg socket, 0.025 m squared × 0.04 m deep. Block 3: similar to block 1; bedding without lead, 0.20 × 0.13 m; leg socket, 0.09 × 0.04 m.
II. Period of Use

1. Light brown, compact soil over terrace fill
   Tr 89-3 (NE-F), Fig. 14, sec E–E dep D, Pl. 5:b, c
   Elev: from -2.51 (W)/-4.05 m (E) to -2.68 (W)/-4.40 m (E)
   Lot 89-18
   Total sherds, 283: 1 Mycenaean, 5 Early Iron Age, 75 Archaic, 36 Classical, 2 Hellenistic, 65 coarseware, 63 cooking ware, 94 plain fine ware, 2 slipped fine ware
   Date: third quarter of the 4th century, perhaps ca. 325.
Inventory: limestone block, IA 3645; stone pestle, IM 3656; terracotta mold-made female figurine, IM 3657; head of mold-made female figurine, IM 3658; terracotta horse-and-rider figurine, IM 3663; bronze bowl, IM 3665; IP 7555; IP 7560; lower half of Attic black-glazed skyphos, inside worn from secondary use, IP 7652; Attic skyphos with outturned rim, ca. 330 B.C., IP 8108; IT 1015

Other material: 33 burned limestone frags., many with plaster; 1 limestone piece with hawksbeak molding from Classical Temple; 141 limestone frags. from column fluting, including 3 with fascia; 7 burned marble rooftiles; 1 Archaic rooftile; 17 yellow-glazed rooftiles; 1 black-glazed Laconian rooftile; 1 lead drip

Fauna: 440 burned bones (ca. 800 gr), 360 cattle-sized, 43 sheep/goat-sized; 6 unburned sheep/goat-sized bones

2. Compact brown soil

Tr 89-22B (EC-A)
Elev: from −1.34 to −1.50 m
Lot 89-462
Total sherds, 72: 9 Early Iron Age, 43 Archaic, 4 Classical, 8 amphora, 7 coarse, 1 plain fineware
Date: 5th century
Inventory: IP 7539
Other material: 2 rooftop chips, 2 marble chips
Fauna: 1 unburned cattle-sized shaft

3. Compact red-brown soil

Tr 89-43 (13)
Elev: from −1.22 (W)/−1.33 m (E) to −1.36 (W)/−1.42 m (E)
Lot 89-295
Total sherds, 14: 1 Early Iron Age, 5 Archaic, 1 Classical, 4 amphora, 2 cooking ware, 1 plain fineware
Date: late 5th–4th century
Fauna: 1 burned cattle-sized shaft

4. Soft soil with limestone chips

Tr 89-3 (NE-F), Fig. 14, sec E–E deps E, D, C(?), Pl. 5:b
Elev: from −3.67 (W)/−3.79 m (E) to −4.26 (W)/−4.46 m (E)
Lot 89-19
Total sherds, 378: 5 Early Iron Age, 49 Archaic, 86 Classical, 1 Hellenistic, 191 coarseware, 25 cooking ware, 19 plain fineware, 2 slipped fineware
Date: third quarter of the 4th century, ca. 325
Inventory: corner of limestone block with two inscribed lines, IA 3058; limestone frags. from column fluting, IA 3059, Σ 527; corner of block marked for breaking up, IA 3060; limestone chip with red paint, IA 3084; corner of limestone block with two drilled holes (for attachment?), IA 4003; lead sealing with stamps, IM 3692; miniature krater, IP 7481; skyphos with outturned rim, ca. 330 B.C., IP 8108; yellow-glazed pan tile, IT 1013; Archaic rooftile, IT 1015; red-glazed Laconian rooftile, IT 1016
Other material: 1,010 worked limestone frags., mostly from column fluting; burned limestone frags., some with plaster; 1 Archaic Temple block (small); 11 Archaic rooftiles (small pieces); 21 yellow-glazed rooftiles; 3 black-glazed Laconian rooftiles; 1 lead drip
Fauna: 110 burned bones (ca. 150 gr), 91 cattle-sized, 11 sheep/goat-sized

85 Seven nonjoining fragments of this vase occurred in lots 89-18 and 89-19.
86 At the eastern end of Trench 89-3 the steeply sloping layers of loose chips in lot 89-19 were mixed with the surface of Terrace 6 and soft fills belonging to Terrace 7. Early in the excavation some confusion in maintaining separation between deposits was noted, but after completion of the trench we realized that the eastern end of lot 89-19 had been mixed with deposits above it (Fig. 14, sec E–E dep E). Thus, lot 89-19, while belonging largely to the construction of Terrace 6, contained sherds from its surface (dep D) and possibly also from construction of Terrace 7 (dep C).
Early Stadium III–IV

The Early Stadium underwent alterations in the 5th century as part of the renewal of the sanctuary after the burning of the Archaic Temple. We designate this period Phase III. A triangular pavement with starting gates, water basins and channels along the race track, and an entrance ramp leading to the starting area were uncovered by Broneer. He also cleared the spectator embankment, which was enlarged and raised at this time (Fig. 15).

In 1989 a small amount of fill representing one of the few remaining sections of the spectator area was cleared from the extreme northwest corner of the embankment, next to the outer retaining wall (Tr 89-2G; Fig. 15, Pl. 5d). The fill consisted of densely packed fieldstones, many head-sized, in a matrix of red soil that resembled the embankment of Early Stadium II (ES dep I.1). Beneath the stones we uncovered the foundation trench for the ashlar retaining wall that ran along the outside of the embankment. Its edge lies ca. 1.75 m from the inner face of the wall (Pl. 5:e). Most of the sherds in the fill are much earlier than the embankment, since the foundation trench was backfilled with soil from the underlying terraces, but the latest pieces belong to the 5th century, and a terracotta figurine of a horse and rider could be even later. The foundation trench cuts through Terrace 4, but there is no sign of Terrace 6 beneath the embankment. The embankment must have been built some time after the Archaic Temple was destroyed (ca. 470–450), since it covered a path (Terrace 5) that belongs to the years immediately after the fire. Expansion of the stadium probably was part of the same reorganization of the East Temenos that included construction of Terrace 6, although the terrace was the last part to be completed. Farther to the south, next to the edge of the running track (Tr 89-2B), another deposit of 5th-century date can be associated with construction of the new embankment (ES dep I.2, Fig. 16, sec H–H deps H–J), while a short distance to the east (Tr 89-17), the bedding of the first water channel yielded a few Classical sherds (ES dep I.3).

Along its western end, the spectator seating area would have ended in a slope that ran down toward both the altar and the running track (Fig. 5). In the absence of a retaining wall for most of the distance, we restore the end of the embankment with a gradual incline. Its surface would have been faced with clay in the same manner as the sloping faces of the terraces. Alfred Mallwitz suggests that a similar incline at Olympia at the end of Stadium IIIa, although limited by a retaining wall, was used as a theatron to view wrestling and boxing events that took place between the stadium

---


88 It seems likely that the Early Stadium went out of use at roughly the same time that the Later Stadium was finished, but the embankments and retaining walls could have been removed at a later period. It is not impossible that some events continued to be held in the old stadium. By the mid 1st century A.C., however, when the area was landscaped, the spectator embankment along the northeastern side of the track had been removed; see the discussion under “Palaimonion I, deips II.1, II.2,” in Part III of this report (Gebhard, Hemans, and Hayes forthcoming).

89 Cleared in Trenches 89-61, 89-17: Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 68–70.

90 ET 5; see Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 74–75, fig. 18. In Plate 5e note the wall blocks at the left resting on ET 4, while Trench 89-2G in the center exposed the sloping face of ET 2. ET 5 was restricted to a path between the East Gateway and the stadium.

91 The outer face of the stadium retaining wall was finished only above the surface of ET 6. The finished surface ends at an elevation of ~1.67 m, while the lower parts of the blocks are rough and would not have been exposed to view.

92 Each of the two blocks at the end of the short spurwall have a length of 1.04 m and a thickness of 0.13 m; they are 0.515 m wide at the top and 0.38 m at the bottom (Fig. 15). The profile is undercut on the east side. The upper edge of the undercut face is finished in a taenia 0.045 m wide. A band of anathyrosis (0.07 m wide) was cut along the top of the joint between the blocks, while the northern end of the northernmost block is finished at an oblique angle to the original front of the block. The blocks originally crowned a wall or monument base ca. 0.38 m wide and over 2 m long. The southernmost block is not complete and may have been cut off. They could not have supported much weight; possibly they carried a second course.
Fig. 15. Plan of Early Stadium III–IV
Fig. 16. East Temenos, section H–H (see plan, Fig. 10), looking east. Deposits in Trench 89-2B. Stadium embankment deposits H–J, over ET 2 and below Roman Palaimonion II (G. Ziesing).
and the altar. The space between stadium and altar at Isthmia seems too restricted for such contests, but spectators standing at the end of the embankment would have had an excellent view of processions entering the stadium and of sacrifices and other events at the altar.

Parallel to the northeastern (outer) face of the embankment and 3 m from the retaining wall ran a second ashlar wall, similar to the first but not continuous. Three segments were excavated by Broneer, the best preserved of which is exposed just east of the "Roman Altar" (Figs. 5, 10, 15). The western end of this segment lies under the Roman foundation; 17 m to the southeast, the wall ends in a well-finished corner that makes a right-angle turn and abuts the wall retaining the embankment. The space between the two walls was packed with stones and earth. Farther to the east, in the same line, there are similar stretches of wall, but they are more roughly finished and may be later. Broneer suggested that the discontinuous outer wall was intended as a reinforcement for the first analemma and was perhaps constructed following an earthquake. This could well be the case, but alternatively, the walls could have supported earthen ramps leading up to the top of the stadium embankment, as restored in Figure 5. An entrance ramp to the starting area, of smaller dimensions and probably reserved for special persons, is attested at the northwest corner of the running track (Figs. 5, 15).

The need for ramps giving access to the spectator embankment arose from the fact that the stadium was constructed across a gully and the ground sloped away from the seating area. Only the northwestern section of the embankment has been excavated, but on the basis of what we know about the topography, it is evident that spectators could not have entered the seating area from the outer (northeastern) side, since the top of the embankment would have been at least 11 m above ground level (elevation -5 to -6 m). If, however, the secondary retaining walls supported sloping earthen ramps at several points along the outer face, entrance and egress of festival crowds would have been greatly facilitated. Along the southwestern border spectators presumably witnessed the contests from the slope of the Rachi; no retaining walls have been uncovered on that side of the running track.

A second entrance to the northwestern end of the stadium, in addition to the walled ramp mentioned above, was identified in 1989. It took the form of a path that ran between the spectator embankment and the altar (Fig. 5). The walk was separated from the altar by a fence composed of wooden posts set into stone bases. Although two of the bases with sockets for posts had been excavated by Broneer, the whole construction became clear with the discovery of a third base in line with the others (Tr 89-22B; Fig. 10, Pl. 6a, b). Beginning with the newly discovered block at the northern end of the sequence, the bases are numbered 1-3. A clay-cut bedding for a block of the same size as the others was found at the edge of the running track, directly south of Palaimonion Pit A. It marked the southern end of the fence. The northern terminus would have been Base 1, as no further beddings were discovered to the north of it. Several intermediate bases have been removed. Another block (no. 4) with similar characteristics may have belonged to the same series, but it was found in a Roman context along Roman Road 4, north of the Northeast Altar Terrace. When wooden posts were set into the sockets in the bases, they would have formed a fence about 25 m long, running north–south from the outer side of the stadium embankment to the running track, as shown in Figures 5 and 15. The width of the passage between the fence and

---

93 Mallwitz 1981, pp. 102–118. He identifies the slope with the theatron mentioned by Xenophon (Hell. 7.4.31) in his description of a battle between Arcadians and Elians at the games of 364.

94 Spectators on the embankment of Stadium II (Fig. 15) might have witnessed the Greek generals after the Battle of Salamis casting their votes for the prize of excellence on the altar of Poseidon (Herodotos 8.123.2).

95 Isthmia II, pp. 54–55, plan II.

96 Isthmia II, pp. 47–48, plan VII.

97 The height of the spectator embankment is restored as approximately 6 m, but it could have been somewhat higher.

98 Between Bases 1 and 3 there were large sections of soft soil where it was difficult to distinguish possible beddings from simple gaps in the loosely packed fill of the terrace. The area between Base 3 and the Palaimonion has not been excavated below the Roman macadam surface.
the embankment was 3.80 m. The posts were designed to be set up at the time of the festival and then taken down and stored away.99

Base 1 is slightly larger and has a bigger posthole than the others. It is set into a trench that was cut through Terrace 5; the top is flush with Terrace 6.100 Base 2 lies 9.05 m to the south (measurements taken on center of the postholes), and Base 3 is 2.85 m farther south. If the distance between Bases 2 and 3 is taken as the norm, there would have been a total of nine posts in the fence.101 While the surfaces of the blocks are weathered and worn, the cuttings for posts are well preserved (0.16–0.20 × 0.19–0.21 m). The configuration is the same in each block: a square hole with a notch at one side is cut through the center of the block, and on the top of the block the cutting is surrounded by a shallow recess (Pl. 6:b).102 It seems likely that the recess held a wooden or metal plate through which the post was inserted and fixed in place by a wedge fitted into the groove at the side of the hole. The plates surrounding the posts would have protected the soft limestone from wear during the setting up and taking down of the uprights and from lateral movement when they were in place.103

Four similar but smaller bases with postholes but no collars are located along the northeastern edge of the starting area (Figs. 5, 10, 15, Pl. 6:c).104 The rectangular holes (0.08 × 0.10 m) are cut through the blocks and are large enough for posts perhaps 2 m high. If the small and large bases are viewed as a single system, they represent a continuous barrier that extended from the outer edge of the stadium to the running track and then along the starting area of the track to the lower end of the walled ramp, as shown in Figure 5. Taken together, the wooden fence and the walls of the ramp would have enclosed the southern end of the altar. Direct access to the race course from the temenos would have been limited to the walled ramp and the passage along the spectator embankment.

Two monuments stood at the head of the passage, just north of Base 1 (M22, M23, Figs. 5, 10). Bronner uncovered several small, badly weathered blocks that are set into shallow beddings cut into bedrock, and there are further traces of beddings on either side of them. In 1989, the discovery of a more clearly defined cutting at the southern end of the area made it clear that the blocks and cuttings belonged to foundations for at least two bases (Tr 89-22; Pl. 6:a, d).105 Their outline is restored in dashed lines in Figures 5, 10, and 18. The bedding for the southern base measures about 3.50 × 1.75 m, indicating a monument of considerable size, or possibly two separate monuments. A smaller bedding, about one meter square, lies at its northwestern end.

99 Other temporary wooden constructions at Isthmia include the wooden gate at the upper end of the walled ramp leading to the western end of the running track (Isthmia II, p. 40, pl. 21:a, foreground) and the wooden proskenion in the theater (Gebhard 1973, p. 57).
100 Elevation at the top is −1.25 m. The setting trench, 0.10 m wide along its southwestern face, contained seven sherds of Geometric and Early Archaic date (lot 89-463).
101 Since the blocks do not lie in a perfectly straight line and the southern bedding lies slightly to the west of the others, the distance between the center of the posthole in Base 1 and the center of the southern bedding is only 24.80 m, while the total length of a straight fence of nine posts spaced 2.85 m apart would have been 25.65 m.
102 Base 1: 0.755 × 0.77 × 0.32 m high, finished on all sides; posthole, 0.20 × 0.21 m, notch in northern side 0.085 m wide, 0.01 m deep at the top; pentagonal recess 0.04 m deep. Base 2: 0.82 × 0.77 × 0.31 m high, finished on northern and northeastern sides only; posthole, 0.17 × 0.19 m, notch in northern side 0.10 m wide; rectangular recess 0.03 m deep. Base 3: 0.66 × 0.58 × 0.29 m high, finished on all sides; posthole, 0.16 × 0.19 m, no notch; pentagonal recess 0.03 m deep. Base 4: 0.78 × 0.79 × 0.43 m high, finished on all sides; posthole, 0.16 × 0.21 m, no notch; pentagonal recess, the surface is broken. Broad chisel marks on the unexposed face of Base 4 are comparable to the finishing on Base 1; the rest is badly worn.
103 Posts of a size to fit the holes would have been very heavy and could have had a height of perhaps three meters or more. The lead collars that surround the postholes in the later starting line in the Early Stadium would have served the same purpose: Isthmia II, p. 51, pl. 24:c.
104 The blocks were excavated by Bronner: Isthmia II, p. 48.
105 The cutting is triangular (1.75 × 1.30 × 0.16–0.32 m deep) and lies at the southeast corner of a large rectangular bedding.
Fig. 17. East Temenos, section L–L through monument base M\textsuperscript{15}, looking northwest. At right, south wall of Roman Palaimonion III and stadium water channel (W. B. Dinsmoor Jr.)

No more can be said about these features, except to note that they occupied perhaps the most conspicuous position in the temenos, close to the center of the altar and at an important entrance to the stadium. After the bases were removed, the bedding was filled with broken pieces of marble roof tiles and fragments of three Hellenistic inscriptions (HD dep I.2; Pl. 6:d). Joining pieces of the same inscriptions were found in a road fill in the North Temenos (HD dep I.1; see pp. 57–58 below) and in cleaning fills above the road. It is likely that the monuments in front of the altar were destroyed ca. 200, at the same time as those along Road G to the north of the temenos.

The stadium underwent changes during the next century (Phase IV). Many fragments of limestone covered with waterproof stucco and showing the beveled profile characteristic of a water channel were found near the running track together with sherds dating into the 4th century (ES dep II.1; Figs. 15 and 16, sec H–H dep G).\textsuperscript{106} On the opposite side of the dromos similar fragments of hydraulic stucco were recovered in 1980 from the footing trenches for foundations M\textsuperscript{13} and M\textsuperscript{18} (ES dep II.2; Fig. 17, sec L–L dep A; ES dep II.3). In the same area, a lengthy section of stone-cut water channel remains in place (Fig. 15). Its stucco lining is comparable in shape and material to the stucco pieces found in the 1980 and 1989 deposits. On the basis of their context, then, the fragments of hydraulic stucco probably came from a 5th-century channel along the edge of the track, which was replaced or repaired during the final phase of the stadium.

Bronneer excavated three foundations along the southwestern edge of the track (M\textsuperscript{14}, M\textsuperscript{15}, and M\textsuperscript{16}), and in 1980, a fourth foundation (M\textsuperscript{18}) was revealed lying between M\textsuperscript{15} and M\textsuperscript{16} and partially covered by the west wall of the South Building (Figs. 10, 15). M\textsuperscript{18} is rectangular and composed of three blocks of shell limestone with an overall dimension of ca. 1.80 × 2.60 m. The monument base would have been smaller, but no setting lines are visible on the surface of the foundation. Because of their shape, it seems likely that M\textsuperscript{14} and M\textsuperscript{18} held statue bases; M\textsuperscript{16} is not completely excavated, and M\textsuperscript{15} could have supported a proedria, as Bronneer suggested, or a more elaborate group of statues.\textsuperscript{107} A construction date in the 4th century is indicated by pottery

\textsuperscript{106} For the channel, see Isthmia II, p. 49, pls. 22:c, 24:a.

\textsuperscript{107} Isthmia II, p. 55. David Rupp (1979, pp. 64–72) suggested that the Archaic kouros recovered from the Large Circular Pit (Isthmia IV, pp. 68–70) stood on M\textsuperscript{14} and represented the hero Melikertes-Palaimon. The connection of kouros and monument is unlikely because the bases along the track are not earlier than the water channels of Stadia III and IV and the kouros would have been buried in the Great Circular Pit by the end of the 5th century.
from the foundation trenches of M$^{15}$ and M$^{18}$. The fact that the line of monuments along the track begins some distance from the triangular starting line of the 5th-century stadium and close to the later starting line is a further sign that they belonged to the final period of the stadium (Phase IV).$^{108}$ The presence of shell limestone suggests that the date fell in the second half of the century, since the same stone appears in the foundations for the North and East Gateways (the former dating to the late 4th, the latter to the early 3rd century; see pp. 51–57 below) and does not seem to be in use in the central area before that period. At the same time, dating by material is always hazardous and is especially so at Isthmia, in view of the limits of our information about the larger sanctuary.

**Deposits of Early Stadium III–IV**

I. Construction of Early Stadium Embankment, Phase III

1. Red soil, rocks, and ash  
   Tr 89-2G (R-8, R-24), Pl. 5:d  
   Elev.: from −1.53 to −2.14 m  
   Lot 89-182  
   Total sherds, 1,286: 1 Mycenaean, 558 Early Iron Age, 554 Archaic, 35 plain fineware, 2 coarseware, 9 cooking ware, 127 amphora. Latest are an Attic black-glazed foot and a Corinthian kotyle base dating to the late 6th and into the 5th century.  
   Date: second half of the 5th century, on the basis of figurine IM 5930  
   Inventory: terracotta horse-and-rider figurine, 5th or possibly 4th century, IM 5930; terracotta bull figurine (leg), 6th century, IM 5931; IP 7935, IP 8032, IP 8033, IP 8070, IP 8084a, b, IP 8602  
   Other material: 1 lead drip, 4 pieces iron  
   Fauna: 1227 burned bones (ca. 1900 gr), 597 cattle-sized, 630 sheep/goat-sized, including 3 horned, 2 large rear mandibles, and 1 ulna; 14 unburned bones, including 1 cattle molar, 4 cattle-sized, 10 sheep/goat-sized

2. Layers of brown soil and small stones  
   Tr 89-2B (ET XI), Fig. 16, sec H–H deps H–J  
   Elev.: from −2.20 to −2.74 m  
   Lots 89-44, 89-45, 89-46  
   Total sherds, 38: 14 Archaic, 2 Classical, 7 plain fineware, 11 coarseware, 4 cooking ware. Latest is a semiglazed kotyle of the 5th century.  
   Date: 5th century  
   Inventory: obsidian flake, IM 5623  
   Other material: 4 small pieces of stucco

3. Clay bed for water channel  
   Tr 89-17 (ET XI, XII)  
   Elev.: from −2.65 to −2.80 m  
   Lot 89-290  
   Total sherds, 12: 1 Mycenaean, 4 Classical, 4 plain fineware, 3 amphora  
   Date: Late Classical  
   Inventory: IP 7936

II. Construction, Phase IV

1. Water channel repair, hard white clay and soil  
   Tr 89-2B (ET XI), Fig. 16, sec H–H dep G  
   Elev.: from −2.14 to −2.60 m  
   Lot 89-43

$^{108}$ *Isthmia II*, p. 51. The later starting line is 10.93 m from the triangular pavement.
Total sherds, 196: 11 Early Iron Age, 60 Archaic, 31 Classical, 1 Roman(?), 4 plain fine ware, 61 coarse ware, 25 cooking ware, 3 amphora. Latest is blisterware of the later 5th to early 4th century.

Date: 4th century, after 390
Inventory: IP 7575, IP 7659
Other material: 11 white marble chips; 4.68 kg hydraulic stucco, many with faceted profiles from the edges of a water channel; small pieces of yellow-glazed rooftiles

2. Footing trench of base M

Tr 80-8, Fig. 17, sec L–L dep A
Elev.: from −1.88 to −2.48 m
Lots 80-77, 80-78
Total sherds, 34: 6 Archaic, 12 Classical, 6 coarse ware, 10 cooking ware. Latest is Boiotian kantharos, 9.
Date: first half of the 4th century
Inventory: Boiotian kantharos, 9, first half of the 4th century
Other material: 24 pieces hydraulic stucco, 5 yellow-glazed rooftiles, 1 small white marble and many small limestone working chips

3. Footing trench of base M

Tr 80-10
Elev.: from −2.25 to −2.52 m
Lots 80-51, 80-52
Total sherds, 29: 16 Classical, 10 coarse ware, 3 cooking ware. Latest are a black-glazed mug, 10, and a Corinthian sessile kantharos(?), IP 6746
Date: late 5th to first half of the 4th century
Inventory: mug, 10; kantharos, IP 6746
Other material: 29 pieces hydraulic stucco, 40 black limestone frags., 3 yellow-glazed rooftiles

III. Abandonment, Phase IV

1. Soft red soil with large stones in bedding for second water channel, after removal; over ES dep I.3
Tr 89-17 (ET XI, ET XII)
Elev.: from −2.43 to −2.68 m
Lot 89-321
Total sherds, 16: 7 Archaic, 3 Classical, 1 plain fine ware, 1 cooking ware, 2 amphora. Latest is Classical.
Date: 4th century, after 390 on the basis of marble rooftiles
Other material: 1 marble rooftop, several pieces of hydraulic stucco comparable to deposits II.1–3 above

Temenos Wall and East Propylon

The early Archaic temenos wall seems to have remained standing at the southern side of the temple. Because of the wider dimensions of the Classical building, a space of only ca. 2.10 m remained between the wall and the colonnade (Figs. 10, 15). At its eastern end the wall makes an oblique angle toward the southeast and continues for a distance of ca. 7 m in the same type of masonry. Where the Roman temenos wall crosses the foundation, the wall bends toward the south for ca. 5.50 m and then toward the southwest for another 17 m. The blocks in the southern portions are larger and more smoothly finished and are set into a footing trench. The difference in the types of masonry is evident in the photograph, Plate 7:a. The surface finish and the use of shifting notches in the southern segment of the foundation resembles the blocks in the retaining

---

109 The identification of the limestone foundation along the southern side of the temple as part of an Archaic wall enclosing the temenos is based on the discovery in 1989 of trenches for similar foundations at the northern and eastern sides of the plateau; see Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 47–51, note 119, figs. 5, 14. Cf. "polygonal wall" in Isthmia II, p. 14, pl. 6:b. 

---

109
walls of Early Stadium III. It appears likely that the old temenos wall was extended southward when the triangular starting pavement was installed. The other boundaries of the Classical and Hellenistic temene appear to have been marked by gates, monuments, roads, and terraces, but along its southern side the Archaic wall and its Classical extension defined the sacred area.

The East Propylon was standing when the Archaic Temple burned, and it may have remained in place during the next century and a half, until construction of the East Gateway. The basis for this supposition is the fact that the fill of Terrace 7 beneath the rear wall of the East Stoa occupies the eastern half of the foundation trench for the propylon (Fig. 10). The view in Plate 7:b shows the Roman foundation resting on the boulders in Terrace 7. At left is Trench 89-3, with the surface of Terrace 6 exposed after excavation of Terrace 7 (cf. sec D–D, Fig. 13; see E–E, Fig. 14). In the center foreground is the area cleared by Broneer, including the western half of the foundation cutting for the Archaic propylon. At right, there is a deep layer of architectural debris belonging to Terrace 7 and filling the eastern half of the bedding for the propylon. It seems likely that the foundation course for the gate was not removed before construction of the terrace. On the other hand, owing to the rise in elevation in the East Temenos, it is not as certain that the superstructure of the Archaic gate remained standing during the period of Terrace 6 (cf. Fig. 5). The propylon may have been substantially rebuilt on the old foundations. If so, the entrance would have continued in some form until construction of the East Gateway in the early 3rd century.

FOURTH AND THIRD CENTURIES

After the burning of the Temple of Poseidon in 390, some time appears to have elapsed before new building projects were undertaken in the sanctuary. The city of Corinth had lost her previous vitality, and the lack of activity at Isthmia seems to reflect her political and economic disarray. In fact, repairs to the temple may not have been completed much before the end of the century, a period that saw the initiation of several other projects. The theater received a new cavea and scene-building. A sanctuary to Demeter on the Rachi may have been moved down to the Sacred Glen, west of the central temenos, when the Rachi settlement was built. The major project, however, was construction of a new stadium in the Southeast Valley (Fig. 1). This extensive undertaking must have lasted for some years.

Within the temenos, the eastern terrace was extended still farther eastward (Terrace 7; Figs. 10, 13, 18), and a branch of the Corinth–Isthmus road (Road G) was built at the northern end of the terrace on a ramp that crossed the edge of the plateau. Because of Early Roman landscaping,

110 The Archaic East Propylon and its relation to Terrace 3 are described in Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 79–74.
112 Large deposits of burned debris from the Classical Temple were not dumped into Terrace 7 until the early 3rd century. See pp. 43–45 below.
113 Broneer suggested a connection between construction at the Isthmian sanctuary and in Corinth and the Hellenic League founded by Philip and Alexander and briefly revived under Demetrios Poliorketes: Isthmia II, p. 64, note 72, p. 66. For Corinth and Isthmia as the venue for international meetings during the 4th through the first part of the 2nd century, see Wiseman 1979, table 3.
115 The approximate location of the Sacred Glen, known from IG IV 203 in Verona, is indicated by the discovery of two objects bearing dedicatory inscriptions to Demeter (Fig. 2). A relief krater (IP 384) came from a well 300 m west of the temenos, and a small statue (IS 254, Σ 316) was found in a field some 150 m farther west: Isthmia II, p. 113; Isthmia IV, p. 116. Their dates fall in the second half of the 4th century (krater: Caskey 1960; statue: Isthmia IV, p. 115). For replacement of the shrine, see Anderson-Stojanović 1987; Anderson-Stojanović forthcoming. The earliest structures of the settlement date to the second half of the 4th century: Anderson-Stojanović 1996, pp. 62–63. A well may be slightly earlier, but the earliest datable material in its fill belongs to the third quarter of the 4th century: Anderson-Stojanović 1993, p. 270.
Fig. 18. Restored plan of the sanctuary, ca. 300 B.C.
which removed all earlier accumulations, we have little evidence for changes that may have taken place in the southeastern temenos after the end of the 4th century. The Stadium may have been incorporated into Terrace 7; it is also possible that at least some of the embankment was not removed until the Roman period. A new, freestanding gateway replaced the Archaic Propylon at the northern entrance to the sacred area, and monuments soon sprang up on both sides of the road. A second independent gateway at the eastern entrance seems to be the latest addition to the precinct, constructed during the first half of the 3rd century. The latest of the monument bases along the southwestern side of the track, M\textsuperscript{18}, is composed of the same shell conglomerate as was used for the foundations of the East and North Gateways (Fig. 18). The temenos was thus enlarged to the east while being curtailed at the north. At its western end lay the West Waterworks and Southwest Reservoir, both features excavated by Broneer and perhaps belonging to the Classical period,\textsuperscript{117} while along the southern side, the Archaic temenos wall was probably reduced to a single course by the 3rd century.\textsuperscript{118}

There is little information about building activity at the sanctuary during the second half of the 3rd century, but things took a turn for the worse at the end of the century. The 1989 excavations revealed evidence of an unrecorded episode in the Second Macedonian War that left the North and East Gateways, together with the monuments near them, in ruins and the Temple of Poseidon severely damaged. At the same time, the Rachi settlement was destroyed by fire.\textsuperscript{119} The combined effect was a blow to the sanctuary from which it did not recover until near the end of the 1st century a.c. The last deposits excavated in 1989 that belong to the Greek period were closed ca. 180.

**East Terrace 7**

The final phase of terracing (Terrace 7) extended the horizontal surface of the East Temenos for about 13.50 m to the east (Fig. 13, sec D–D; Fig. 18, restored plan). The sloping face of the terrace stretched another few meters. At its northern end, on either side of Road G (Trs 89-16, 89-29), the terrace covered and blocked the approach to the Northeast Cave as well as much of its courtyard.\textsuperscript{120} The cave presumably went out of use when the terrace and Road G were built.\textsuperscript{121} At its southern end, Terrace 7 abutted the first three courses of the westernmost ramp to the stadium embankment (excavated by Broneer in Trench R-25; Figs. 4, 18), but it is not clear whether the upper part of the ramp and seating area were still intact or had been removed by that time. The upper part of the embankment of the Early Stadium had certainly been removed by the Late Hellenistic period (after 146 B.C.), because Road D ran across it (Fig. 10).\textsuperscript{122} Any earlier Hellenistic layers from the post-stadium period were removed by Roman landscaping (missing in Trench 89-2A–C; Fig. 16, sec H–H). The Later Stadium was probably initiated in the latter part of the 4th century or possibly later,\textsuperscript{123} but the project must have taken some time to complete, and in the interval, the Isthmian contests would have taken place in their old venue. As noted above in the section on the Early Stadium (pp. 38–39), foundation M\textsuperscript{18}, along the southwestern side of the racecourse, may be contemporary with the North and East Gateways to the temenos. If so, the Early Stadium was still receiving monuments around 300 B.C. or later. In the restored plan

\textsuperscript{117} *Isthmia* II, pp. 27–29.

\textsuperscript{118} Along most of its length, the northern edges of the remaining blocks are heavily worn; cf. *Isthmia* II, p. 14.

\textsuperscript{119} Anderson-Stejano\'vi\'c 1996, pp. 93–94.

\textsuperscript{120} The courtyard was excavated by Broneer in Trenches NE-G (N), NE-H, and NE-J; see *Isthmia* II, pls. 14a, b, 55b.

\textsuperscript{121} The western stairway, the courtyard along the face of the Northeast Altar Terrace, and the interior of the cave were filled with the same type of deposits containing debris from the Classical Temple as were found farther south in Terrace 7. Not enough is known about the unexcavated area east of the cave and the entrances to it to be certain that the eastern stairway was blocked at this time. It was open in the Roman period and continued in use after construction of the East Stoa: *Isthmia* II, pp. 36–37.

\textsuperscript{122} Hellenistic Roads C–F will be discussed in Part III of this report, Gebhard, Hemans, and Hayes forthcoming.

\textsuperscript{123} Broneer associated it with Philip and Alexander on historical grounds: *Isthmia* II, p. 66.
of the sanctuary in ca. 300, both the stadium and Terrace 7 are shown (Fig. 18), although the spectator embankment may have been demolished before construction of the East Gateway. Later, the surface of the terrace presumably extended southward across the entire area.

The original surface of the terrace is not preserved. Upper layers were removed in the earlier excavations. In the area of Trench 89-3, Hellenistic Road E/E' wore the surface down by almost a meter (Figs. 10, 13). The threshold to the East Gateway, although now missing, would have had an elevation of about −1.50 m, on the basis of the preserved foundation, and the terrace would have been approximately the same height (Fig. 13, sec D–D). At a point ca. 4 m east of the entrance, the modern ground level drops off a meter or more, perhaps marking the eastern edge of the terrace. It seems likely that there was a ramp leading to the gate.

In Trench 89-3 we retrieved a significant sample of fill from Terrace 7 (Fig. 14), and further deposits were recovered in the northeastern area, beneath Road G and along the verges (Trs 89-16, 89-29; Fig. 12). The three main layers in Trench 89-3 are tipped along a line running northwest by southeast, showing that the material was put in from the southwest in the same way as the fill for Terrace 6. The angle of the slope in relation to the sides of the trench is responsible for the difference in the profile of deposits between the southern and northern faces (secs E–E and F–F in Fig. 14). Deposit B ended before excavation reached the northern end of the trench, while deposit A grew larger toward the north. The view in Plate 4a was taken after removal of deposits K, A, and L. Burned architectural debris from the Classical Temple, including marble roof tiles, occurred in all layers of Trench 89-3 and in the northeastern area. Many limestone fragments still carry the fine white stucco that had covered the outside of the temple. The substantial amount of burned animal bones and ash, especially in the upper layers (depos A, L, B), the terracotta figurines, and the large number of miniature vessels point to the neighborhood of the Long Altar as the source of the fills. Many of the other objects in the deposits, such as metal sheet, miscastings, vitrified tile and clay, and probably the obsidian blades, are characteristic of a workshop and particularly of metalworking. It would appear that the eastern temenos was used not only as a collecting point for debris from the damaged temple and for refuse from sacrifices but also for foundry activities.

Similar deposits with comparable objects were excavated by Broneer in Trenches NE-F (S), NE-J, R-25, and R-4 (sec G–G, Fig. 19). Construction of the terrace provided a convenient repository for the debris in the east temenos, very likely after completion of repairs on the Classical Temple.

Although the temple burned in 390, the terrace does not seem to have been constructed before the end of the 4th century or early in the 3rd century. The great bulk of the pottery is Archaic, with a smaller amount of Classical and 4th-century wares. There is little in Trench 89-3, deposit C (ET 7 dep I.1), that is clearly later than the surface of Terrace 6, deposit D (ET 6 dep II.1), and deposit B (ET 7 dep I.2) carried no later material. The volume of pottery is much greater in deposits A and L (ET 7 deps I.3, I.4), and a few sherds belong to types that continued into the 3rd century.

124 In Figure 10, note a section of ET 6 at the western face of the East Stoa stylobate foundation, where it is crossed by Road E. The surface (elevation −2.30 to −2.45 m) exhibits erosion similar to that portion of ET 7 in Trench 89-3. The original surface would have been about a meter higher.
125 The profile of the terrace east of the gate as shown in section D–D (Fig. 13) is based on information from Broneer's excavations; cf. Isthmia II, plan V, section A–A. The trench was subsequently backfilled.
126 Cf. the sacrificial ash in ET 4 and ET 5: Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 72, 75.
127 For other evidence of metalworking in the eastern temenos, some of it associated with the period after the destruction of the Archaic Temple, see Rostoker and Gehband 1980, pp. 350–352, pls. 104:d, e, f, 105:c; d; Gehband 1998; Gebhard forthcoming.
128 The latest pottery in ET 7 dep I.1 includes a fragment of a blisterware aryballos that seems to be an early example of the incised type of the second half of the 4th century. An open vessel, wholly black-glazed, is probably 4th century or later.
129 Some fragments of kantharoi should be no earlier than the fourth quarter of the 4th century. A ribbed kantharos is of a type that occurs on the Rachi in a 3rd-century context, and of the same period is a wheelmade blisterware aryballos.
Deposits L and A are essentially the same, but L was excavated as a separate basket because it lay against a Roman cistern at the eastern side of Trench 89-3 (Figs. 10, 14). The southwest corner of the cistern rests on the foundation for the wall of the East Stoa, so the upper portion of the stoa wall must have been demolished before the water reservoir was built. The presence of a glass beaker belonging to the late 3rd to the 4th century a.C. in deposit L provides a terminus post quem for removal of the stoa and construction of the cistern.

**Deposits on East Terrace 7**

1. **Construction**
   1. Soft red-brown soil with debris from the destruction of the Classical Temple; under ET 7 dep I.2
   2. Tr 89-3 (NE-F), Fig. 14, secs E–E and F–F dep C
   3. Elev.: from -2.44 (W)/-4.01 m (E) to -2.55 (W)/-4.26 m (E)
   4. Lot 89-17
   5. Total sherds, 130: 2 Early Iron Age, 34 Archaic, 29 Classical, 25 coarseware, 16 cooking ware, 24 plain fine ware. The latest are a blisterware aryballos of the second half of the 4th century and a black-glazed vessel probably of 4th century date or later.
   6. Date: second half of the 4th century or later

---

*Isthmia II*, p. 96.
Inventory: leg of terracotta horse, IM 3646; base of standing terracotta female figurine, IM 3676; IP 6660; IP 7557; IP 7558a–e
Other material: 14 burned marble rooftiles, 8 yellow-glazed rooftiles, 46 burned limestone frags., 8 with thin stucco
Fauna: 631 burned bones (ca. 1,000 gr), 447 cattle-sized, 95 sheep/goat-sized; 4 unburned sheep/goat-sized bones

2. Hard dark soil with white crust; partially below surface layer (K) and ET 7 dep I.3
Tr 89-3 (NE-F), Fig. 14, sec E–E dep B
Elev.: from $-2.44$ (W)/$-2.73$ (E) to $-2.95$ (W)/$-3.24$ m (E)
Lot 89-16
Total sherds, 374: 4 Early Iron Age, 102 Archaic, 66 Classical, 3 amphora, 114 coarseware, 55 cooking ware, 30 plain fineware
Date: early to mid 4th century
Inventory: bronze staple, IM 3630bis; iron spike, IM 3631; obsidian blade, IM 3638; bronze shield armband, IM 3639, IM 3640; bronze strigil, IM 3641; terracotta horse-and-rider figurine, IM 3642; terracotta horse figurines (legs), IM 3643–3645; vitrified tile(?), IM 5637; vitrified tile, IT 1010; inscribed limestone, Σ 526
Other material: 15 burned marble rooftiles, 2 burned limestone frags. (1 with stucco), 1 pithos, 1 mortarium, 1 Archaic rooftop, 34 yellow-glazed rooftiles, 1 painted Laconian tile, 1 small lead sheet
Fauna: 1,685 burned bones (ca. 3,350 gr), including 1,350 cattle-sized, 235 sheep/goat-sized; 27 unburned bones, cattle- and sheep/goat-sized

3. Soft light-brown soil and ash with many small stones; under surface (K) and partially under ET 7 dep 4
Tr 89-3 (NE-F), Fig. 14, secs E–E and F–F dep A, Pl. 7:c, d
Elev.: from $-2.48$ (W)/$-2.46$ m (E) to $-3.58$ (W)/$-4.06$ m (E)
Lot 89-14
Total sherds, 575: 9 Early Iron Age, 218 Archaic, 77 Classical, 3 Hellenistic, 6 amphora, 224 coarseware, 26 cooking ware, 12 plain fineware. The latest are ribbed kantharoi and a wheelmade blisterware aryballos.
Date: beginning of the 3rd century
Inventory: 2 copper olive leaves (wreath?), IM 3602bis, IM 3603bis;\(^{131}\) bronze strigil handle(?), IM 3604bis; bronze caliper rod (miscast?), IM 3608bis; 2 bronze vessel rims melted inside one another, IM 3609bis a, b; obsidian blade, IM 3630; handmade terracotta figurine of dove, IM 3632; terracotta horse, neck and torso, IM 5974bis; lead sheet with lozenge-shaped piece stamped out, IM 6018; IP 7479; IP 7554; IP 7556a, b; IP 7561; IP 7562; Corinthian cover tile, IT 1011
Other material: 34 yellow-glazed rooftiles, 9 burned marble rooftiles, 1 piece grinding stone, bronze, iron, 5 lead drips (ca. 180 gr), plaster
Fauna: 5,508 burned bones (ca. 11,150 gr), 4,194 cattle-sized, 853 sheep/goat-sized; 47 unburned bones, 4 cattle-sized, 25 sheep/goat-sized; 1 Tonna; 1 Arca; 1 Mytilis
Flora: 53 Spergula sp. (modern); 3 unidentifiable wood frags.

4. Soft light-brown soil, same as ET 7 dep I.3 but disturbed by construction of Roman cistern
Tr 89-3 (NE-F), Fig. 14, sec E–E dep L
Elev.: from $-2.47$ (W)/$-2.46$ m (E) to $-3.58$ (W)/$-3.52$ m (E)
Lot 89-588
Total sherds, 289: 2 Early Iron Age, 100 Archaic, 26 Classical, 140 coarseware, 21 plain fineware
Date: late 3rd–4th century A.C., on the basis of glass beaker IM 3628
Inventory: limestone cornice, IA 3040; obsidian blade, IM 3622tris; mold-made figurine of seated boy, IM 3623bis; iron plate (chariot fitting?), IM 3624bis; iron spike, IM 3625; iron blade, IM 3626; iron bar, IM 3627; glass beaker (late 3rd–4th century A.C.), IM 3628; small pieces

\(^{131}\) Identical to IM 1227 and IM 5945.
of burned, vitrified clay, IM 3693; grinding stone for handmill, IM 6028; IP 7551; IP 7552; Attic white-ground lekythos (late 6th–first quarter 5th century), IP 7553.

Other material: 9 burned marble roof tiles; 34 yellow-glazed roof tiles; 1 bag of terracotta roof tile frags.; 2 limestone flutes with plaster; limestone frags. with plaster, some burned; iron frags.; plaster frags.

Fauna: 973 burned bones (ca. 2,500 gr), mainly cattle-sized; 5 unburned bones, including 4 sheep/goat-sized

5. Loose red soil with many stones at southern edge of Road G, below surface 2

Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections)

Elev.: from −3.87 (W)/−4.04 m (E) to −4.25 (W)/−4.62 m (E)

Lots 89-86, 89-330

Total sherds, 122: 75 Archaic, 5 Classical, 7 plain fineware, 12 coarseware, 4 cooking ware, 19 amphora

Date: 4th century, probably early

Inventory: bronze frag., IM 5684; inscribed sherd, IP 7620; clay stopper, IP 7621

Other material: small fragments of bronze and lead, 4 limestone frags. from the Classical Temple, 2 burned marble roof tiles

Fauna: 25 burned bones (ca. 100 gr), 17 cattle-sized, 8 sheep/goat-sized

6. Homogeneous red soil with small stones at northern side of Road G; under ET 7 dep I.7

Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections)

Elev.: from −4.30 (W)/−4.33 m (E) to −4.43 (W)/−4.46 m (E)

Lot 89-94

Total sherds, 84: 3 Early Iron Age, 31 Archaic, 2 Classical, 3 plain fineware, 1 slipped fine storage jar, 25 coarseware, 6 cooking ware, 13 amphora

Date: first half of the 5th century

Fauna: 4 unburned bones, 1 cattle-sized, 2 sheep/goat sized, 1 sheep/goat premolar

7. Loose red-brown soil with stones, northern side of Road G

Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections)

Elev.: from −4.22 (W)/−4.28 m (E) to −4.32 (W)/−4.37 m (E)

Lot 89-93

Total sherds, 12: 6 Archaic, 1 Classical, 1 Hellenistic, 2 coarseware, 1 cooking ware, 1 amphora

Date: mid 4th century

Other material: 7 burned marble roof tiles, 7 yellow-glazed roof tiles

8. Layers of soft red-brown and beige soil interspersed with destruction debris, pebbles, and fieldstones, at southern edge of Road G (below dep I.9)

Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections), Fig. 12, secs A–A and B–B dep B

Elev.: from −3.96 (W)/−4.28 m (E) to −4.47 (W)/−4.98 m (E)

Lots 89-331–89-334

Total sherds, 486: 1 Mycenaean, 14 Early Iron Age, 200 Archaic, 42 Classical, 37 amphora, 110 coarseware, 22 cooking ware, 60 plain fineware

Date: mid 4th century

Inventory: limestone patch with plaster, IA 4022; terracotta horse-and-rider figurine, IM 5709; bronze shield attachment plate, IM 5710; bronze strip, IM 5711; terracotta horse figurine (neck), IM 5712; IP 7543; IP 7586; miniatures, IP 7591–7594; IP 7595; IP 7616; IP 7617; IP 7619; IP 7622; IP 8005; IP 8006; IP 8022; IP 8066; miniature, IP 8067a, b; IP 8068; inscribed limestone, ΙΣ 549

Other material: 14 frags. of bronze; 14+ limestone frags., 5 burned; 7+ marble roof tiles, burned; 12 Archaic tile frags.; 35 yellow-glazed tile frags.

---

132 Joins IP 360, which was found by Broneer in the pronaos deposit of the Archaic Temple, Trench C8. IP 361, from the same vase, also came from the pronaos, Trench C7. Athena leads Hermes, who wears a himation and petasos. See Gebhard 1998.
Fauna: 186 burned bones (ca. 300 gr), including 110 cattle-sized, 2 cattle-sized ribs, 1 cattle horncore, 1 cattle femur, 32 sheep/goat-sized; 1 unburned cattle-sized bone; 1 *Tonna*

9. Loose red-brown soil with small stones and pebbles; southern side of Road G (surface 1)

Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections), Fig. 12, sec A–A dep A, sec C–C dep B

Elev: from −3.60 (W) to −3.72 m (E) to −4.11 (W)/−4.07 m (E)

Lots 89-83, 89-328, 89-329

Total sherds, 191: 14 Early Iron Age, 96 Archaic, 13 Classical, 12 plain fine ware, 19 amphora, 22 coarseware, 15 cooking ware

Date: 4th century

Inventory: bronze dagger(?), IM 5682; 5th-century lekane, IP 7610; plate, IP 7611a (joins sherd in CT dep I.1); pithos/perirrhanterion, IP 7689; IP 7919

Other material: 22 yellow-glazed roof tiles, 4 limestone frags. with stucco, 9 pieces of stucco, 6 mortar chips

Fauna: 233 burned bones (ca. 400 gr), including 149 cattle-sized, 29 sheep/goat-sized (with 1 rib)

**Road G**

A short segment of a previously unknown branch of the Corinth—Isthmus road (Road G) was discovered in 1989 at the northeastern edge of the plateau, just south of the Northeast Altar Terrace (Trs 89-16 and 89-29; Figs. 10–12, 18, Pl. 8:a). From north of the temenos the road curved southeastward to descend more easily from the plateau than did the Archaic and Classical roads, which apparently ran directly to the Isthmus along the Northwest Gully (cf. Figs. 2, 5, and 18).

The section of the road revealed in 1989 is 11.50 m long. It consists of a deep and carefully constructed roadbed and four successive surfaces. The foundation for the road formed a ramp (ca. 5 m wide and 0.70 m thick) to carry the track across the edge of the plateau. The first (lowest) layer in the ramp was a deep, hard-packed stratum of red soil mixed with pieces of marl (Road G dep I.1; Fig. 12, sec B–B dep D, sec C–C dep E). Above it, burned marble roof tiles from the Classical Temple formed a leveling course (dep I.2; Fig. 12, sec C–C dep D). The surface, which was designed to bear the weight of the carts, was composed of field stones and broken blocks from the Archaic and Classical Temples (dep I.3; Fig. 12, dep C in secs B–B and C–C). Broken blocks were also used along the northern edge of the ramp to support the road where the verge dropped down toward the courtyard of the Northeast Cave (Fig. 11). In Figure 12, section B–B, one of these blocks is shown in profile just to the right of the encircled letter A. The earliest track is the southern pair of ruts, ca. 1.40 m apart, measuring on their centers (Fig. 11).

The exceptionally deep ruts (over 0.25 m) attest to the weight of the loads carried by the carts. Among other goods, they may have been carrying stone from Corinthian quarries near Hexamilia for shipment at the Isthmus. At some point, probably before the decline of the sanctuary in the 2nd century, the track of Road G appears to have moved a little to the north, closer to the Altar Terrace (surface 4, visible but not labeled on Figure 12, sec C–C). Use of the road for heavy loads had ended by that time, since the surface in that location shows no sign of the deep ruts that characterize the earlier roads. Surface 4 continued into the Roman period (dep II.6).

The verges of the road are part of Terrace 7 (ET 7 dep I.6–9; Fig. 12, sec A–A dep A, B), and the ramp, although its layers were specially planned to carry the road, could be considered as belonging to the terrace. Construction of the road is thus contemporary with Terrace 7. The latest sherds in the lowest layer of the ramp (dep I.1) confirm a construction date at the end of the 4th century or early in the 3rd. The period of use represented by the three main surfaces of

---

133 Cf. Archaic Temple blocks beneath CRd dep II.1. Most of the fill is unexcavated, as can be seen in Figure 12, section B–B.

134 The main port for exporting Corinthian stone on the Saronic Gulf would have been Kenchreai, but the Isthmus probably also handled a great deal of traffic. For hauling and export of stone, see Burford 1960; Burford 1969, pp. 142–143, 169. Christopher Hayward is making a new study of the Corinthian quarries and their operation.
Road G is not so clearly defined because the fabric of the road was largely the same fill as was used in Terrace 7 and the pottery is largely of the Archaic and Classical periods.

From the edge of the plateau, Road G may have continued in a course parallel to the Early Stadium and then turned northeastward, toward the Saronic Gulf, as does the modern road today, although no ruts belonging to Road G have yet been identified east of the plateau. At the center of the northern side of the temenos, there must have been a junction between Road G and the earlier Classical Road 2 as restored in Figure 18, but the area lies under the foundation of the North Stoa. Proceeding eastward, the road would have made a wide arc and passed outside (north) of monument bases M₅⁻M₈, which very likely marked the edge of the temenos. Bases M₃, M²⁰, M₁, and M¹⁹ were built at the northern side of Road G while it was in use.¹³⁵ The most probable route for the road is shown in Figures 7, 10, and 18.

**DEPOSITS OF ROAD G**

I. Construction

1. Deep layer of red soil with a few small stones; under ET 7 dep I.6
   - Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections), Fig. 12, sec B–B dep D, sec C–C dep E
   - Elev.: from −4.67 (W)/−4.54 m (E) to −5.26 (W)/−5.35 m (E)
   - Lot 89-234

   Total sherds, 441: 17 Mycenaean, 9 Early Iron Age, 222 Archaic, 6 Classical, 8 Hellenistic, 83 amphora, 51 coarseware, 17 cooking ware, 24 plain fineware, 2 slipped fineware, 2 lamps.

   Not many, if any, of the sherds extend beyond the 4th century. The latest are a kantharos handle, a plate fragment, a kylix stem, and a base with slip.

   Date: late 4th, possibly early 3rd century

   Inventory: IP 7546

   Other material: small lumps of bronze and iron, 1 Archaic roofile, 3 yellow-glazed roofiles

   Fauna: 1 burned sheep/goat-sized bone; 29 unburned bones (ca. 100 gr): 6 are cattle-sized, including 2 cattle molars, and 18 are sheep/goat-sized, including 1 sheep/goat molar, 1 sheep/goat humerus

2. Layer of marble roofile fragments in sandy soil with pockets of ash; over dep I.1
   - Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections), Fig. 12, sec C–C dep D
   - Elev.: from −4.49 (W)/−4.68 m (E) to −4.59 (W)/−4.89 m (E)
   - Lot 89-233

   Total sherdS, 31: 1 Archaic, 1 amphora, 1 plain fineware

   Date: after 390 on the basis of the marble roofiles; late 4th century or later, by position

   Inventory: 2 bronze finials, IM 5735, IM 5736; bronze lekythos, IM 5737; bronze sheet with nail, IM 5738

   Other material: 94 burned marble roofiles, including 9 pan tiles and 26 cover tiles; 60 yellow-glazed roofiles

3. Red soil with broken blocks, limestone chips, many stones; over dep I.2
   - Tr 89-29 (NE-F, north section), Fig. 12, sec B–B dep C, sec C–C dep C
   - Elev.: from −3.28 (W)/−3.32 m (E) to −3.81 (W)/−4.07 m (E)
   - Lot 89-229

   Total sherdS, 139: 1 Early Iron Age, 34 Archaic, 26 Classical, 48 amphora, 30 cooking ware

   Date: after 390 on the basis of Classical Temple debris; late 4th century or later, by position

   Inventory: iron clamp, IM 5768; bronze handle, IM 5782

   Other material: marble roofiles, small bronze and iron lumps, 10+ yellow-glazed roofiles, 3 Laconian roofiles

¹³⁵ Ruts on the northeast corner of the North Gateway foundation (M³) in Figure 7 reflect the position of Road G after 200 B.C.
II. Period of Use

1. Road G, surface 1, very hard white soil; over dep I.3
   Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections), Fig. 12, secs B–B, C–C
   Elev: from −4.32 (W)/−4.35 m (E) to −4.67 (W)/−4.69 m (E)
   Lot 89-327
   Total sherds, 35: 3 Early Iron Age, 15 Archaic, 3 Classical, 1 plain fineware, 5 coarseware, 2 cooking ware, 6 amphora
   Date: after 390 on the basis of Classical Temple debris; late 4th century or later, by position
   Inventory: burned limestone, IA 4021; terracotta dove, IM 5732; IP 7588; IP 7589
   Other material: small fragments of lead, bronze, and iron, 13 marble roof tiles
   Fauna: 1 burned cattle-sized shaft; 1 unburned cattle premolar

2. Road G, surface 2, hard white road metal with stones; over dep II.1
   Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections), Fig. 12, sec B–B dep A, sec C–C
   Elev: west end, lot 89-85, from −3.01 (W)/−4.10 m (E) to −4.26 (W)/−4.35 m (E); east end, lot 89-324, from −4.13 (W)/−4.23 m (E) to −4.28 (W)/−4.36 m (E); patch over east end, lot 89-325, from −4.10 (W)/−4.01 m (E) to −4.11 (W)/−4.14 m (E)
   Lots 89-85, 89-324, 89-325
   Total sherds, 38: 16 Archaic, 3 Classical, 4 plain fineware, 4 coarseware, 2 cooking ware, 9 amphora
   Date: late 4th century or later, by position
   Inventory: terracotta horse leg, IM 5683; IP 7574
   Other material: 1 painted roof tile
   Fauna: 58 burned bones (ca. 100 gr), including 38 cattle-sized and sheep/goat-sized; 2 unburned bones, sheep/goat-sized

3. Road G, surface 2, southern edge; under dep II.4
   Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections)
   Elev: from −4.00 (W)/−4.02 m (E) to −4.19 (W)/−4.17 m (E)
   Lot 89-326
   Total sherds, 4: 4 Archaic
   Date: late 4th century or later, by position
   Other material: 1 bronze frag.
   Fauna: 2 burned bones, 1 cattle-sized, 1 sheep/goat-sized

4. Road G, surface 3
   Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections), Fig. 12, sec C–C dep A
   Elev: from −3.25 (W)/−3.92 m (E) to −3.58 (W)/−4.23 m (E)
   Lots 89-84, 89-322
   Total sherds, 132+: 4 Early Iron Age, 36 Archaic, 4 Classical, 3 plain fineware, 10 coarseware, 6 cooking ware, 69+ amphora
   Date: late 4th century or later, by position
   Inventory: terracotta mold(?), IM 5705
   Other material: 3 small iron and bronze frags., 25 yellow-glazed rooftiles, 1 painted tile, 1 piece of stucco from Classical Temple
   Fauna: 11 burned bones, including 8 cattle-sized, also sheep/goat-sized

5. Road G, surface 4
   Tr 89-16 (NE-F, NE-G, north sections)
   Elev: from −3.00 (W)/−3.92 m (E) to −4.25 (W)/−4.29 m (E)
   Lot 89-92
   Total sherds, 49: 21 Early Iron Age, 3 Archaic, 1 Classical, 8 plain fineware, 12 coarseware, 3 cooking ware, 1 amphora
   Date: late 4th century or later, by position

136 Surface 3 had been removed from the western end of Road G before section B–B was drawn.
6. Road G, sandy fill between surface 3 and Roman Road 2 in channel cut by rainwater in surface 3

NORTH AND EAST GATEWAYS: MONUMENT BASES M⁴–M⁸

In the 4th and 3rd centuries several monuments (M⁴–M⁸) were erected along the southern edge of Road G (Figs. 7, 18), but only the foundations survive. With the exception of M⁵, the bases are of a small rectangular shape that would have been suitable for supporting statues or stelai. Some information on the relative chronology of the monuments is provided by their relationship to a water channel (WCh I) that was constructed after the Classical Temple was built, and probably after the fire of 390.¹³⁷ Two of the bases, M⁵ and M⁶, are later than the original channel, since they interrupt it and a new branch of the channel was built around them.¹³⁸ Still later, M⁷ and M⁸ continued the line of monument bases to the west of M⁶, but they interrupt the water system, which was no longer operating when they were put in place. A 4th-century date for their construction is confirmed by sherds from the foundation trenches excavated in 1989 (monument bases M⁷ and M⁸ dep I.1), but they may well be later on the basis of the late 4th century date proposed below for M⁵. All the monuments fell prey to the destruction in the sanctuary that occurred ca. 200 (see pp. 57–60 below).

The size and shape of M⁵ separates it from the others. It is a T-shaped foundation with overall dimensions of ca. 6.30 m north–south by ca. 9.00 m east–west (Fig. 7). Broneer wrote that “it is conceivable M⁵ is the foundation for a new propylon built to replace the earlier, lower propylon at the northern edge of the temenos.”¹³⁹ Terracing along the edge of the Northwest Gully in the Classical period raised the road over a meter, and that change in elevation made the earlier gateway unusable. M⁵ is a suitable foundation for a new entrance because of its position and size.

The stone used in M⁵, a friable limestone with large amounts of marine shell, is similar to but has less shell than that used in the foundation of the East Gateway and in base M¹⁸ at the southern side of the Early Stadium (discussed above, pp. 38–39).¹⁴⁰ Cart traffic during the Late Hellenistic and Roman eras damaged the surface and edges of M⁵, but the foundation appears to be complete. The main section (north–south) is composed of ten rows of five blocks that are each 1.00–1.30 m in length and 0.60–0.65 m wide. They constitute a rectangle with somewhat irregular edges that is ca. 6.30 m (north–south) by ca. 5.50 m (east–west). At the northeast corner the first two rows extend to the east by one additional block (ca. 0.90 m). At the northwest corner the first two rows extend by two blocks to the west, and another pair of blocks is set at an angle of 90° at the end. Thus, the northwest corner projects ca. 2.75 m to the west. Only the upper surface of the

¹³⁷ Isthmia II, pp. 24–26. Broneer noted that the channel makes a bend to go around the northwest corner of the Classical Temple, and therefore it postdates the temple. Marble roof tiles reused after the fire of 390 cover it. Broneer thought that the marble tiles were a later addition, and he dated the channel to the 5th century, soon after construction of the temple. In the section of the channel exposed in 1989 (Trs 89-25, 89-44, 89-45), we found that fire-damaged marble roof tiles were built into the walls of the channel. While it is possible that these belong to later repairs, it seems more likely that the original construction of the channel postdates 390.

¹³⁸ The bypass is seen in Figure 7 and in Isthmia II, pl. 5b–d.

¹³⁹ Isthmia II, p. 12, pl. 5b, c. The earlier propylon and its connection with the Archaic temenos wall are described in Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 47–51.

¹⁴⁰ The marine limestone is not normally used as building stone. The standard building material at Isthmia and Corinth is the well-known oolitic limestone often called poros.
foundation has been exposed, except at the northwest corner, where the detour of Water Channel I was built into the back edge of a step. The step allowed pedestrians easy access to the gate from the sloping ground in front of it.

The small size and asymmetry of the two projecting wings on the northern side of the foundation suggest that they did not support the main building. It is possible that they were foundations built to support monuments (comparable to M⁴, M⁶–M⁸) on both sides of a rectangular building. A setting line for the east wall of a building resting on the main part of the foundation is visible on the easternmost stone of the fifth row of blocks (Fig. 7). Thus, the maximum possible east–west dimension of the building on the main rectangle was ca. 4.90 m, but the actual dimension was probably a little smaller. The surface of the western portions of the foundation is badly worn, but it is likely that the west wall was set away from the irregular edge of the foundation as it was on the east. Another setting line is visible on the surface of the westernmost blocks of the western extension. It indicates that the maximum dimension of the complex, central building and projecting wings, was ca. 8.70 m on the northern side.

The identification of M⁵ as the foundation of a gate is supported by the presence of a similar foundation, M¹⁷, at the eastern side of the temenos, also located opposite an earlier propylon (Figs. 10, 13, 18). It is composed of large blocks of marine-shell limestone with a higher concentration of shells than M⁵. Because of its presumed symmetry and position at the eastern side of the temenos, Broneer was more confident of his identification of this foundation as a gateway.¹⁴¹ The trenches for its construction were cut through the fill of Terrace 7, thus making it later than the terrace.¹⁴² The main rectangle measures 4.80 m (east–west) by 4.65 m (north–south), a little smaller than that of M⁵.¹⁴³ Broneer suggested that the most likely reconstruction of the East Gateway would have been a building with two columns in-antis flanked by small covered passages or by wings adorned with niches for statuary. The northern wing, however, lies under the Late Roman cistern and has not been excavated. Although Broneer restored it symmetrically with the southern wing, it is equally possible that it was of a different dimension, like the wings of the northern foundation. As noted above in the section on Terrace 7 (p. 44), the contour of the area east of the gate suggests that there was a ramp at the eastern entrance.

Reconstructions of the two gateways emerged from an earlier study of all decorated terracotta rooftiles and unassigned architectural elements at Isthmia, which produced three groups of limestone blocks and painted rooftiles representing three small-scale Doric buildings (1–3; Figs. 20, 21). Additional decorated rooftiles and limestone blocks were recovered in the 1989 excavations. The tiles from Building 1 place its construction in the second half of the 5th century, and no foundation of that date has yet been identified. It will not concern us in this report.¹⁴⁴

The overall dimensions of Building 2 (North Gateway) can be determined from the cornice fragments.¹⁴⁵ The mutules are ca. 0.29 m wide, with viae ca. 0.075 m wide, creating an axial

¹⁴¹ Hellenistic East Gateway; *Isthmia* II, pp. 15–16, pls. 7:b, c, 52:c, plans III, V.

¹⁴² See section A–A (looking north), *Isthmia* II, pl. V. The trenches are now backfilled.

¹⁴³ The individual blocks of the East Gateway are comparable in size as well as material to those in foundation M⁵.

¹⁴⁴ The date is based on the style of the palmette antefix, which is comparable to examples from Olympia: *Olympia* II, p. 198, pl. 122; *Olforsch* V, pp. 116–117, pls. 17, 18, 44, 45; Hemans 1994, pp. 67, 77. Tiles identified as belonging to this building include 3 palmette antefixes and 6 eaves tiles: Hemans 1994, p. 77, nos. 12–14. IA 3094 (no. 12), a well-preserved palmette antefix, and IA 4061 (under no. 13), an eaves tile, were found in HD I.1. Note that IS 262, one of the tiles listed at the end of primary catalogue entry no. 12, should read IT 262. Stone members include a triglyph metope block and a cornice block: *Isthmia* II, p. 131, nos. 117 and 118.

¹⁴⁵ Elements of Building 2 include 2 raking-sima fragments with lotus-and-palmette design: IA 707, IT 260 (Hemans 1994, p. 78, nos. 15, 16); 2 raking-sima fragments with egg-and-dart design: IA 4040 + IA 4041, IT 422 (Hemans 1994, pp. 78–81, no. 16. The raking-sima fragments with egg-and-dart design are to be associated with the same building as the lotus-and-palmette type, based on the similarity of size and the matching patterns on the meander and soffit; the two simas might have adorned opposite pediments); 9 eaves-tile fragments: IA 3095, IA 4079, IT 270, IT 272, IT 287, IT 350, IT 729, IT 1029, IT 1030 (Hemans 1994, p. 81, no. 19); 14 antefix fragments: IA 4033, IT 17, IT 21,
dimension of 0.73 m between triglyphs and an axial distance of ca. 1.46 m between the columns. A likely configuration of the gate is distyle in-antis, judging by the size of the foundation. If that is the case, an equal spacing between its columns and antae would create an overall width at the cornice of ca. 4.67 m. Such a dimension would be suitable for a building resting on foundation M⁵, the maximum east–west dimension of which is ca. 4.90 m, exclusive of the wings. With nine triglyphs on the sides, the depth of the building would have been ca. 6.13 m. The depth might have been shorter, however, if its front facade was in line with the rear wall of the projecting wings. The building is restored in Figure 22. The reconstruction is based on the dimensions of the capitals and terracotta sima fragments and a column with a proportion of lower diameter to height of ca. 1 : 6. It seems likely that the building formed the North Gateway and rested on foundation M⁵.

---

**Fig. 20.** Restored capital IA 1148 + IA 1149a, b, from Building 3 (East Gateway)

146 Four triglyphs at 0.29 m and four viae at 0.075 m = 1.16 + 0.30 = 1.46 m.
147 The range of the proportions of the lower diameter to height of columns varies a great deal in the 4th century, but the average proportion is approximately 1 : 6. The proportions in the Temple of Zeus at Stratos are ca. 1 : 5.42; in the Temple of Zeus at Nemea they are ca. 1 : 6.35. See Dinsmoor 1950, Chronological List of Greek Temples, between pp. 340 and 341.
Fig. 21. Cornice block IA 4012, from Building 3 (East Gateway)

The overall dimensions of Building 3 (East Gateway) can be restored from a complete triglyph block (IA 614) that is 0.223 m wide. The width of the frieze on the facade would be ca. 4.35 m, as shown in Figure 23. The central part of the foundation M is ca. 4.65 (north–south) and would thus accommodate a structure with the width of Building 3. The size of the foundation, as in the North Gateway, suggests a building that was distyle in-antis. In this case, however, an

The elements of Building 3 include 4 raking-sima fragments: IA 4039, IA 4071 + IA 4080 + IP 7684, IT 425, IT 808 (Hemans 1994, p. 82, no. 22); 9 eaves-tile fragments: IA 662, IT 11, IT 51 + IT’ 161, IT 172, IT 240, IT 247, IT 271, IT 411, IT 1028 (Hemans 1994, p. 82, no. 21); 13 antefix fragments: IT 23, IT 25, IT 26, IT 27, IT 168 + IT 234, IT 169, IT 249, IT 304, IT 481, IT 482, IT 735, IT 834, IT 980 (Hemans 1994, p. 81, no. 17); 2 ridge-palmette fragments: IT 248, IT 269 + IT 278 (Hemans 1994, p. 81, no. 18); 4 Doric capital fragments: IA 619, IA 620, IA 1149a, b (Isthmia II, p. 130, nos. 101, 102, 104), IA 1148 (at least three different capitals are represented. The dimensions as published in Isthmia II should be corrected as follows: no. 101, H. 0.163 m, abacus W. 0.432 m, abacus H. 0.067 m; no. 102, H. 0.165 m, abacus W. 0.433 m, abacus H. 0.068 m; no. 104, H. 0.166 m, abacus W. 0.433 m, abacus H. 0.072 m; IA 1148, H. 0.166 m, abacus W. not preserved, abacus H. 0.072 m. IA 1148 and IA 1149a, b are reconstructed in Figure 20); triglyph block: IA 614 (Isthmia II, p. 131, no. 119); 6 cornice fragments: IA 4049–4052, IA 4064, and IA 4068, all recovered from HD dep I; 3 cornice fragments: IA 432, IA 648, and IA 539 (Isthmia II, p. 132, nos. 120, 121, 122); geison block: IA 4012, from HD dep I (the block has a lower molding height equal to the height of the upper band on the triglyph block and is thus associated with the building).

An approximation of the interaxial dimension between the triglyphs would be 0.59 m; the total width of the frieze would be $7 \times 0.59 = 4.13 + 0.223 = 4.353$ m.
equal spacing between its columns and antae would be too narrow for a passageway through the center, and it is likely that an additional triglyph was added between the columns to create a wider central opening.\textsuperscript{150} The remainder of the reconstruction is based on the dimensions of the capitals and terracotta sima fragments and a column with a proportion of lower diameter to height of ca. 1 : 6.5.\textsuperscript{151}

Further support for the assignment of the architectural fragments to the two gates is based on the fact that the foundation (and thus the building) for the North Gateway is larger than the East Gateway by a ratio of ca. 1.2 : 1.\textsuperscript{152} Thus the elements from the East Gateway should be proportionately smaller (ca. 85%) than those of the North Gateway. Because the total corpus of painted rooftiles and stone Doric elements that have been recovered at Isthmia represents only

\textsuperscript{150} Broneer thought it possible that the roof of this square building would have had gables on all four sides: \textit{Isthmia} II, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{151} The ratio between the lower diameter and height of the column continues to rise in the 3rd century; in the Temple of Athena Polias at Pergamon it reaches ca. 1 : 7. See Dinsmoor 1950, pp. 267–268 and the Chronological List of Greek Temples between pp. 340 and 341.

\textsuperscript{152} The overall width of the foundation for the North Gateway is ca. 5.50 m; the foundation for the East Gateway is 4.65 wide. Although the buildings would have been narrower than their foundations, the dimensions of the foundations can be used to provide an approximate ratio between the widths of the two gates.
two buildings later than the 5th century and the ratio of the sizes of these elements is in the range of 1.19–1.34 : 1, their assignment to the two foundations seems justified.\textsuperscript{153}

The dates of the buildings are most clearly indicated by the painted rooftiles. The tiles from Roof 2 find their best parallel in the roof of the South Stoa at Corinth, and thus they should be contemporary with that building, which is dated by the excavator to ca. 325.\textsuperscript{154} The tiles from Roof 3 have different patterns, are more carelessly made, and can be assigned on stylistic grounds to the first half of the 3rd century.\textsuperscript{155} As noted above, construction of the northern foundation followed the fire of 390, and nothing about it prevents placing the North Gateway toward the end of the 4th century. That the East Gateway followed its northern counterpart by some years is supported by the fact that foundation M\textsuperscript{17} is later than Terrace 7, which was constructed early in the 3rd century. In summary, the reconstruction of two Doric gates on the foundations M\textsuperscript{5} and M\textsuperscript{17} is based on the correspondence between the foundations and the architectural elements of Buildings 2 and 3 in terms of individual dimensions, relative scale, and chronology.

In position, the new freestanding gateways find parallels in the North Propylon at Epidauros and in the Ptolemaion at the eastern entrance to the sanctuary on Samothrace. The latter was

\textsuperscript{153} The ratio between the heights of the raking simas from the two roofs is 1.34 : 1 (Roof 2 simas are 0.159–0.165 m high; the Roof 3 sima is 0.123 m high). The ratio between the mutule width of Building 2 and the triglyph width of Building 3 is 1.3 : 1 (0.29 and 0.223 m). The ratio between the abacus widths of the capitals is 1.22 : 1 (0.528 and 0.433 m). The ratio between the heights of the antefixes is 1.19 : 1 (0.268 and 0.225 m).

\textsuperscript{154} Corinth I, iv, pp. 83–88.

\textsuperscript{155} Hemans 1994, pp. 68, 81–82, nos. 17, 21–22.
erected by Ptolemy II (285–246), and the East Propylon at Epidauros probably belongs to the same period.\textsuperscript{156} The ornamental portals, freestanding and without an associated wall, accentuated the entrances to the sanctuary and helped to define the boundaries to the temenos. In appearance and scale, however, the Doric gateways had a rather traditional and austere aspect, in contrast to the Ionic and Corinthian orders and the ornamental friezes on the other propylaia. Such a conservative tone in architecture seems in keeping with the spirit of Dorian Corinth and the architecture of the Temple of Poseidon. Economic constraints may also have contributed to their simplicity (pp. 42–43 above).

Some of the stone and terracotta fragments from Buildings 2 and 3 were found close to the northern and eastern foundations, although other pieces were scattered throughout the temenos. Their contexts show that destruction of the gates took place before the end of the Greek period. Elements from both buildings occurred in fill used to repair Classical Road 2 early in the 2nd century. In earlier excavations three fragments (two joining) of Doric capitals from Building 3 were recovered from the same road fill, located in the area immediately north of M\textsuperscript{5} (Fig. 20).\textsuperscript{157} The other two capitals and the triglyph from Building 3 were discovered in the southeastern temenos.\textsuperscript{158} Two capital fragments from Building 2 appeared in Hellenistic terracing fill above the starting area of Early Stadium III.\textsuperscript{159} It appears from these contexts that both gates were destroyed in the incident that took place ca. 200 (see below).

**Deposits of Monument Bases 7 and 8**

I. Construction

1. Setting trenches

   Tr 89-19

   Elev.: from \(-1.37\) to \(-1.71\) m

   Lots 89-129, 89-140 (under cleaning lot 89-125)

   Total sherds, 81: 8 Early Iron Age, 46 Archaic, 2 Classical, 8 plain fine ware, 7 coarse ware, 6 cooking ware, 4 amphora. Latest is a fragment of blister ware that is probably 4th century in date.

   Date: 4th century, probably second half

   Inventory: marble sima from Classical Temple, IA 3061; oinochoe, IP 7566; kotyle, IP 8087

   Other material: 5 rooftop chips, 1 frag. worked marble, numerous small bronze frags., small iron frags.

   Fauna: 1 sheep/goat-sized bone

**Damage to Hellenistic Sanctuary**

Two deposits excavated in 1989 produced evidence for a hitherto unknown incident in the history of the sanctuary. They contained broken pieces of buildings, rooftiles, and fragments from more than three large inscribed stelai. The largest mass of material was found in a small gully north of M\textsuperscript{5}–M\textsuperscript{6} (Figs. 7, 9, Pl. 8:b). The gully follows the southern edge of Classical Road 2 and probably Road G as restored in Figure 18. It was created by water flowing from southwest to northeast. At the wider, eastern end the gully was ca. 3 m wide and 1.00 m deep,\textsuperscript{160} its tip lay about about 15 m to the southwest and was ca. 0.75 m higher than the eastern end.\textsuperscript{161} The stone debris, together with fragments of terracotta rooftiles, pottery, metal, and soil, was packed

---

\textsuperscript{156} George Roux (1961, pp. 253–274) suggests a date in the first half of the 3rd century. See also Dinsmoor 1950, p. 286, note 3. For Samothrace, see Lehmann 1975, pp. 88–89; McCredie 1979, pp. 2–6.

\textsuperscript{157} IA 1148, 1149a, b, Tr NTa, 1965, lot 2264: Isthmia II, p. 130, no. 104.

\textsuperscript{158} IA 619, IA 620, Tr ET X, 1958, lot 881, located west-southwest of the so-called Roman Altar, now identified as the Hadrianic Palaimonion (Figs. 4, 10). Both capitals were cut to be reused in a wall.

\textsuperscript{159} IA 429, IA 430, Tr Enigma IV, 1956, lot 1089.

\textsuperscript{160} Tr 89-19, at an elevation of \(-2.04\) m. Most of the objects came from this trench.

\textsuperscript{161} Tr 89-39. Gully fill was not excavated in this trench.
into the ditch to repair the side of the road. Most of the architectural fragments came from the Temple of Poseidon and the two small Hellenistic buildings identified above as the North and East Gateways. Two of the inscribed stelai carried large public documents from the time of Philip V, ca. 224(? and ca. 220(? B.C.\textsuperscript{162} Fragments of a third inscription belonging to the same period were recovered from a deposit of silt that later accumulated over the road repair.\textsuperscript{163} Parts of the same three inscriptions were excavated in the second deposit of debris that was packed into the bedding for monument M\textsuperscript{23} after its removal from the East Temenos (Fig. 18, Pl. 6:a).\textsuperscript{164} The fact that fragments of the same three inscriptions recovered in the gully (HD I.1) and in the upper levels in the North Temenos were also found packed together into a single deposit (HD I.2) in the East Temenos indicates that the three stelai were very likely destroyed at the same time. None of the stone was burned, but all the inscriptions had been broken into very small pieces, either by the people who overturned them or, later, by those who used the material as packing to repair the road and temenos. The date of the repairs falls in the first quarter of the 2nd century (HD dep I.1) on the basis of the latest sherds in the road packing (for the most part relief bowls [1-4]). The East Temenos deposit, while containing similar objects, was smaller and lacked the Hellenistic pottery (HD dep I.2). The date of the destruction in the sanctuary is discussed below.

The damage to the sanctuary seems to have been extensive. To judge from the fragments from the sima and cornice of the Classical Temple that appeared in the packing, the building suffered considerable depredation. The North and East Gateways evidently did not survive the incident, and there is no indication that they were rebuilt. The large inscribed stelai were completely broken up. So many pieces of the document of 220(?) were found in the road deposit that it seems likely that the stele had originally stood in the vicinity of the North Gateway, possibly on one of the surviving foundations. The large monument in front of the altar that had occupied foundation M\textsuperscript{23} was probably destroyed at the same time. When its base was removed, the bedding was filled with debris.

At about the same time, the settlement on the Rachi was burned and abandoned.\textsuperscript{165} The extensive material excavated there supports a destruction date at the very end of the 3rd century. Whether or not the same action destroyed both the sanctuary and the Rachi settlement is not certain, but the two events were certainly not far separated in time. In the sanctuary, the date of the latest inscription is perhaps 220, and the repairs to the road and East Temenos were made in the first quarter of the 2nd century. Thus, the event that caused damage to the temple and destroyed the gates and inscriptions must have occurred ca. 200 or shortly thereafter.\textsuperscript{166} Lack of precision in dating on the basis of ceramics makes the association of historical events with deposits in the archaeological record difficult to make, but it is worthwhile to note that after Philip V sacked Thermon in 218, sanctuaries repeatedly came under attack by his forces (Polybius 5.8.4-9, 5.9.5). Thermon fell again in 207 (Livy 36.31.1), and the sanctuaries surrounding Pergamon, in 201 (Polybius 16.1.5, 18.2.2, 18.6.4; Livy 31.46.4). In opposition to Philip, Lucius Quinctius Flamininus and his Greek allies laid siege to Corinth in 198.\textsuperscript{167} While the Romans did not succeed in taking the city, their base of operations was at Kenchreai, and they probably controlled the roads across the Isthmus. It may have been during that siege that forces burned the settlement on the Rachi.

\textsuperscript{162} We are grateful to Michael Jameson for the identifications of the inscribed fragments. He will discuss them fully in a forthcoming article on the Hellenistic inscriptions from the sanctuary. The inscription of 220(?) may be the renewal of the Hellenic symmachy by Philip V; that of 224(?) may represent the renewal of the Hellenic symmachy between Antigonus Doson and the Achaean League.

\textsuperscript{163} Lot 89-355, Σ 556, Σ 557. Since this deposit belongs to the period after 146, it will be included in Part III of this report (Gebhard, Hemans, and Hayes forthcoming). Two inscribed fragments (Σ 551 and Σ 552) came from a cleaning lot over the area of the road repair, lot 89-397.

\textsuperscript{164} The monument is described above, pp. 37-38, in the section on Early Stadium III.

\textsuperscript{165} Anderson-Stojeanović 1996, pp. 93-94, with relevant sources.

\textsuperscript{166} The deposits lack the later material that would associate them with the destruction of Corinth in 146.

\textsuperscript{167} Wiseman 1979, pp. 455-456.
and damaged and destroyed the buildings and monuments of the sanctuary, including inscriptions relating to Philip V. That the Rachi was the scene of military action is affirmed by the presence of weapons in the destruction debris. Associated coins and pottery place the event ca. 200.\textsuperscript{168}

\textbf{Deposits Related to the Damage to the Hellenistic Sanctuary}

\section*{I. Road Fill Repair on Southern Side of Classical Road 2}

1. Construction, North Temenos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trs 89-19, 89-28, 89-37, 89-40, 89-44, 89-45, Fig. 9, sec A–A dep A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lot 89-138, 89-143, 89-358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sherds, 436: 1 Early Iron Age, 17 Archaic, 81 Classical/Hellenistic, 37 plain fineware, 6 relief bowl, 183 amphora, 98 cooking ware, 6 gray micaceous jar, 1 beehive, 3 pithos, 3 frags. of a red-and-black-painted basin. The latest are the relief bowls of 200–180.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: 200–180 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inventory:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Classical Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marble rooftile, IT 1012, IT 1020, IT 1021; marble sima, IA 3090–3093, IA 4000, IA 4001, IA 4007, IA 4008, IA 4043–4045, IA 4056–4060, IS 515; limestone guttae, IA 4019, IA 4020, IA 4042; hawksbeak molding, IA 4013, IA 4069, IA 4085; molding, IA 3097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Doric building (Building 1; see p. 52 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palmette antefix, IA 3094; painted eaves tile, IA 4061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Doric building (Building 2; see pp. 52–53 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>painted eaves tile, IA 3095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Doric building (Building 3; see pp. 53–54 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limestone cornice, IA 4049–4052, IA 4064, IA 4068; limestone Doric geison, IA 4012 (Fig. 21); terracotta raking sima, IA 4071 + IA 4080 + IP 7686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. limestone building frags. (unassigned to a building)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cornice, IA 4072; pier capital, IA 4074;\textsuperscript{169} molding, IA 4076 + 4084; block with incised lines in herringbone pattern, IA 4077; block, IA 4083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. marble Ionic column bases, IA 3098, IA 3099, IA 4002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. terracotta ridge antefix, IA 4037; cover tile, IA 3096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. pottery: relief bowl, possibly Argive, 1; relief bowl, 2; relief bowl, 3; Attic relief bowl, 4; dish rim, 5; bowl, 6; cooking dish, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. inscriptions: (1) public inscription of 220(?), (\Sigma) 532, (\Sigma) 534–538, (\Sigma) 541, (\Sigma) 543–545, (\Sigma) 547–548, (\Sigma) 550, (\Sigma) 554, (\Sigma) 558–565, (\Sigma) 569–572; (2) inscription from 224(?), (\Sigma) 546, (\Sigma) 553; 31 fragments of similar blocks, but without letters, are inventoried as IA 3073, IA 3089, IA 4011, IA 4014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. bronze fishhook, IM 5882; terracotta loomweight, IM 5936; marble serpent's head, IS 511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other material: 4 painted Laconian rooftiles, 36 Corinthian rooftiles, numerous small bronze frags., iron frags.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Bedding of East Temenos monument (M\textsuperscript{23})

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tr 89-22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elev: from (-1.33) to (-1.65) m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lot 89-464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total sherds, 255: 68 Early Iron Age, 139 Archaic, 7 Classical, 10 plain fineware, 8 coarseware, 5 cooking ware, 18 amphora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: first quarter of the 2nd century on the basis of inscriptions (cf. deposit I.1 above)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{168} Anderson-Stojanović 1996, p. 94, notes 113, 114.

\textsuperscript{169} The identification of IA 4074 as a pier capital is based on the similarity of its preserved dimensions with the nearly complete pier capital IA 594, which was found in the southwestern part of the sanctuary: \textit{Isthmia II}, p. 131, no. 113. Overall dimensions would have been ca. 0.213 × 0.507 × 0.188 m high.
THE POTTERY ASSEMBLAGE OF LATE Hellenistic DATE

John W. Hayes

The Hellenistic pottery of the sanctuary marks a sharp break with the past. The masses of drinking vessels and other votives associated with the Classical cult are absent, and the Hellenistic assemblage is basically domestic in character, with coarse amphoras predominating. A peculiar feature, however, is the persistent occurrence (normally in later layers) of relief ("Megarian") bowl fragments, without any corresponding quantity of the other finewares normally to be found with them. This is suggestive of some ritual function in the present context, whether in the main sanctuary or in outlying shrines, but no primary deposit of such bowls has been found as proof.

Large Hellenistic deposits are lacking among the 1989 finds, the only significant deposit being material recovered from a road repair in the North Temenos (HD dep. I.1). This, on the basis of the sherds of relief bowls present (1-4; Pl. 8c), should date from the early decades of the 2nd century B.C., not much later than the smashed inscriptions of Philip V found in the same context, which provides its terminus post quem. The other fragments from here (5-8) generally match the latest objects from the Rachi settlement. No later Hellenistic material was found in context in 1989.

CATALOGUE

Hellenistic relief bowls

1 (IP 7678). Base fragment
   Pl. 8c
   Diam. 0.032 m.
   Light brown clay, semiglossy black slip. Medallion on bottom, within beading: eight radiating lozenge-shaped palmettes in high relief.
   Perhaps Argive or Asia Minor series. Related motifs in Attic series (Agora XXII) are at the end of the 3rd or early in the 2nd century.
   HD dep. I.1 (lot 89-138)

2 (IP 7688). Sherd
   Pl. 8c
   W. 0.029, H. 0.019 m.
   Upper part of wall. Attic: drab light brown clay, dull black gloss. Top of main frieze: bent foreleg of goat(?), flanking (on r.) upper part of krater. First half of 2nd century.
   Goats and krater motif: see Agora XXII, pp. 27-29 passim, pp. 56-59, nos. 105-114, 122-123, pls. 18-20, 23 (from various workshops; dates range from last quarter of the 3rd to second quarter of the 2nd century).
   HD dep. I.1 (lot 89-143)

3 (IP 7690). Sherd of upper part of wall
   Pl. 8c
   W. 0.035, H. 0.025 m.
   Ware unidentified: light brown clay, dull black slip. Bottom of egg-and-dart upper border, line of heavy beading; ends of two swags(?) in frieze below.
   HD dep. I.1 (lot 89-358)

4 (IP 7699a, b).
   Two wall sherds from same vessel?
   Pl. 8c
   A: 0.031 x 0.026 m. B: 0.023 x 0.019 m.
   Red-brown clay, metallic black gloss (Attic?). Floral pattern: A: swag(?), bunch of grapes. B: part of palmette, beading? Types and combination not present in Agora XXII.

170 Joining fragments in the northern temenos: Σ 552 in cleaning lot 89-337, Tr 89-28; Σ 557 in silt lot 89-355 in Trs 89-44, 89-45.
Fig. 24. Hellenistic pottery. 5: dish rim, IP 8439; 6: bowl fragments, IP 8440a–c; 7: cooking pot, IP 8232; 8: cooking dish, IP 8233; 9: Boiotian kantharos, IP 6745; 10: black-glazed mug, IP 6747
(J. W. Hayes)

General style is of the end of the 3rd or early in the
2nd century.
HD dep I.1 (lot 89-138)

Other wares
5–6, are basically similar to 3rd-century finds from the
Rachi, e.g., IP 8110, IP 8230; see also Anderson-Stojanović 1996.

5 (IP 8439). Dish rim, local slip-coated ware Fig. 24
Diam. ca. 0.158 m (one side restored).
Yellow-buff; brown to black slip (partial).
HD dep I.1 (lot 89-358)

6 (IP 8440a–c). Bowl fragments, local slip-coated ware Fig. 24
Est. Diam. 0.124 m, H. (restored) ca. 0.027 m (profile
restored from three pieces).
Light yellow; flaky dull black slip (partial).
HD dep I.1 (lot 89-358)

7 (IP 8232). Cooking pot (or casserole?) rim Fig. 24
Est. Diam. rim ca. 0.215 m.

Standard local cooking ware: red-brown, partly gray
on surface; limestone temper. Stump of an arched (?)
handle set against rim. Type perhaps related to the
cooking pot, Corinth VII, iii, p. 123, no. 656, which is later.
Period-of-use level above HD dep I.1 (lot 89-357)

8 (IP 8233). Cooking dish (or lid?) rim Fig. 24
Est. Diam. 0.212 m.
Brown with gray core; fine temper (lime, etc.). Inner
surface smoothed.
HD dep I.1 (lot 89-138)

9 (IP 6745). Fragments of a Boiotian black-glazed
low-footed kantharos Fig. 24
Max. est. Diam. 0.077 m.
Joining sherds of body, with two loose sherds giving
profile of lower body. Smooth red-brown clay, good black
gloss with brownish tint on interior. Body horizontally
ribbed, preserved handle grooved (cf. Kabirion III, pp. 12–
13, pl. 5, especially nos. 68, 70).
First half of the 4th century.
ES dep II.2 (lots 80-77, 80-78)
10 (IP 6747).

Base fragment of a black-glazed mug, possibly Argive

Est. Diam. base 0.055 m.

Fired or burned light gray. Gloss smooth on exterior, thinner and worn on interior; no reserved areas. Presum-
ably from a mug based on the Pheidian shape; no body ribbing preserved.

End of the 5th or first half of the 4th century.

ES dep II.3 (lots 80-51, 80-52)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agora = The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.


Corinth = Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

I, iv = O. Broneer, The South Stoa, Princeton 1954.


Isthmia = Isthmia: Excavations by the University of Chicago under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.


III = O. Broneer, Terracotta Lamps, Princeton 1977.


OlForsch V = A. Mallwitz and W. Schiering, Die Werkstatt des Pheidias in Olympia (Olympische Forschungen V), Berlin 1964.
Olympia II = W. Dorpfeld and R. Bormann, Die Baudenkmaler (Olympia II), Berlin 1892.

Director, University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia
Isthmia Museum
Kyras Vrisi
Korinthias
20100 Greece

ELIZABETH R. GEBHARD

Wichita State University
Department of Art and Design
Wichita, KS 67200-0067

FREDERICK P. HEMANS
a. Southern half of the temple, looking east. Trenches 89-52a–c and robbing trenches A–F within them are located to the right, between the foundation trenches for the south cella wall and the south stylobate of the Classical Temple.

TEMPLE OF POSEIDON

b. The southwest corner of the temple, looking southeast. Robbing trench A, adjacent to the robbing trench for pier foundation 1, is visible at the lower right.

c. Robbing trench C (right foreground) and the robbing trench for pier foundation 3 (left foreground), looking east. Photograph taken before excavation was completed.
a. North Temenos area after removal of the bedding for Classical Road 2 in Trench 89-37 (foreground). The area in the center background is the eastern end of a large triangular area excavated by Broneer in 1954, 1956, and 1958.

b. Surface of Classical Road 2, looking northwest across Trench 89-37. The deep groove on the left is the bedding of Water Channel IV (cf. Fig. 9, North Temenos section A–A). Road ruts at the center right mark the southern edge of the Classical road and the northern edge of a repair to the road in the early 2nd century B.C. (HD I.1).

c. Bedding of Classical Road 2 under excavation in Trenches 89-40, 89-28, and 89-37, looking west

Elizabeth R. Gebhard and Frederick P. Hemans: Univ. of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia: II
a. Classical Road 2 after removal of its surface, looking west (Trench 89-37). Wear from the wheels of carts is visible across the surface of the stones near the center. At center left are three of the postholes cut into the stones of the bedding.

b. Northeast Area, Trench 89-29, looking northwest, after excavation of the ash deposit. The southwest wall of the Northeast Altar Terrace is at the right.

c. Northeast Altar Terrace (deposit II.1), Corinthian lamp, Broneer Type V (IP 8028)
a. East Temenos, Trench 89-3, south scarp after excavation of deposits K, A, and L, looking north (Fig. 14, section E–E)

b. Archaic Temple blocks in Trench 89-3 during excavation, looking northwest

c. The surface of Terrace 6 (Fig. 14, deposit D) at left and chip layer to right (Fig. 14, deposit F) during excavation in Trench 89-3, looking north

b. East Terrace 6 period of use (deposits II.1, II.4). Top row: dipped drinking bowl, probably 4th century; small drinking bowl, probably 4th century. Bottom row: dipped one-handler, mid 5th century or later; kotyle foot, badly burned, late 5th/early 4th century; Attic skyphos with outturned rim, 2nd half of the 4th century.

c. East Terrace 6 period of use (deposit II.1), skyphos with outturned rim (IP 8108), ca. 330 b.c.

d. Early Stadium III embankment, Trench 89-2G, after removal of stones, looking east (see plan, Fig. 15)

e. Early Stadium III embankment, Trench 89-2G, after removal of fill, looking east (see plan, Fig. 15). Terrace 5 with pebble surface to right; Terraces 3 and 4 lie under the retaining wall at left, and Terrace 2 is exposed in the center.
a. East Temenos, looking east along Trench 89-22. Long Altar in foreground; bedding for monument base M^20 in center; posthole block 1 is at center right, immediately in front of the stadium embankment retaining wall.

b. Posthole block 1

c. Northwestern end of Early Stadium III, showing modern posts inserted in small posthole blocks along the edge of the starting area, looking west

d. Fill in bedding for monument base M^21, looking west
a. Archaic and Classical sections of the temenos wall along the western end of the stadium, looking north. Junction between the two phases of the foundations at center.

b. Bedding for Archaic East Propylon filled with large boulders and architectural debris from Terrace 7 (right foreground). Rear wall of East Stoa stands above terrace fill, looking northeast.


b. North Temenos excavation area, looking west. The gully that was filled with building debris in the early 2nd century is visible in the left foreground and extends to the center of the photograph. Blocks in the bedding of Classical Road 2 are at the right.

c. Hellenistic relief bowls. Top row: IP 7690 (3), IP 7688 (2); center: IP 7678 (1); bottom: IP 7679B, A (4).