

THE ROMAN BATH AT ISTHMIA

PRELIMINARY REPORT 1972–1992

(PLATES 53–62)

A SUBSTANTIAL BATHING ESTABLISHMENT of Roman date was located on a prominent height overlooking the Great Ravine on the Isthmus of Corinth, just northeast of the Temple of Poseidon (Figs. 1–3, Pl. 53:a).¹ This bath was built over the remains of an earlier Greek building, presumably also a bathing establishment, that itself had at least two phases, the later of which may be assigned to the 4th century B.C. The Roman building was built in the middle of the 2nd century after Christ, and it seems to have been in use until the very end of the 4th century, after which it fell into decay.

This complex was excavated primarily in the 1970's by Paul A. Clement of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), who published abbreviated reports for early campaigns in the *Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* but was unable to prepare a full report on his work before his death in 1986. Beginning in 1989 a program of architectural and mosaic conservation was undertaken in the building by the Ohio State University, and this has led to the discovery of further information about the Bath. The full-scale documentation and study of the Bath is now underway, and this will permit a complete history of the building and put it in the proper architectural context.² Publication of this work, however, is still some time off, and it seems advisable now to offer a systematic preliminary report covering the work carried out by UCLA and Ohio State. The present report will not attempt detailed analysis of the

¹ The excavation, conservation, and study of the Roman Bath was sponsored from 1972 to 1987 by the University of California at Los Angeles and from 1987 by the Ohio State University, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and with the permission and support of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sciences and the Fourth Ephoreia of Classical and Prehistoric Antiquities.

We wish to thank successive directors of the American School, Professors James R. McCredie, Henry R. Immerwahr, Stephen G. Miller, and William D. E. Coulson, and Ephors of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities Evangelia Protonotariou-Deilaki, Kalliopi Krystalli, and Phani Pachygianni. Among the many architects who have worked on the project we should single out William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., Michael Kouvaris, and Charles Zidar. The pottery descriptions here are largely the work of Jeanne Marty, who will prepare the final publication of this material; the analysis included here is only provisional. Pottery profiles are the work of Jayne H. Philipp. Special thanks are due to Ioannes Dagleis of the Department of Conservation of the Ministry of Culture, Fikret Yegül, Birgitta Wohl, Michael Mills, and Richard Rothaus. Much of the labor involved in the conservation of the Roman Bath was provided by Ioannes Elias of Kyras Vrysi.

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Thanks are due to members of the 1993 OSU Excavations at Isthmia field staff, many of whom offered helpful comments and corrections. Many of the comparanda on the Greek Bath have been provided by Alyson A. Gill, whom I thank warmly. Naturally, I am responsible for any errors or inaccuracies that remain in the present text.

² The full-scale study of the Bath is being prepared by Fikret Yegül, Jeanne Marty, and Timothy E. Gregory, with contributions by Jayne H. Philipp, Robert Seelinger, and Birgitta L. Wohl.

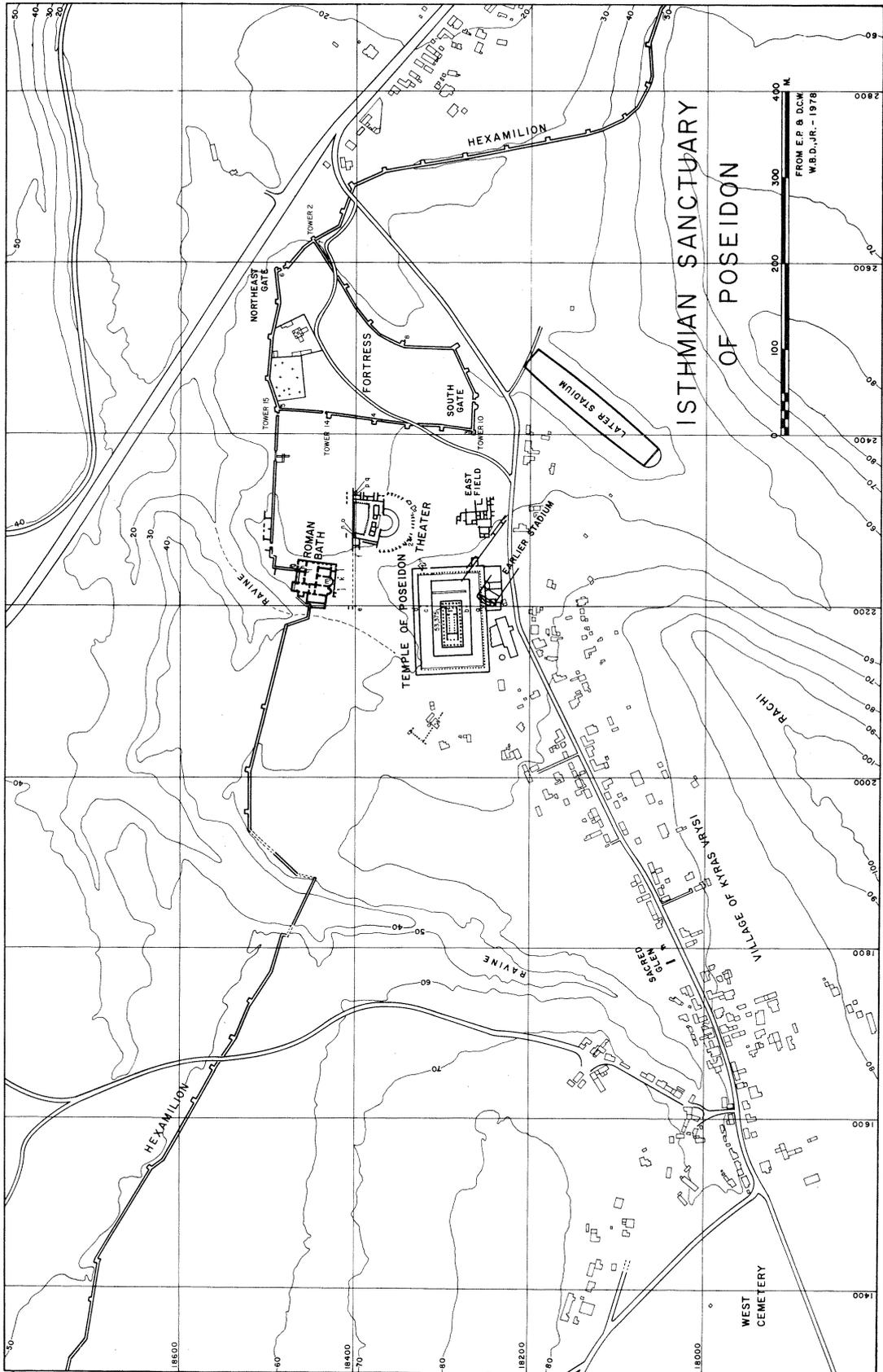


FIG. 1. Isthmia site plan

architecture of the Bath or the finds associated with it, since these will be treated fully in the final publication.³

EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF THE BATH

The traveler and topographer William Leake was the first to write about the remains of the Roman Bath, which he thought were part of the fortifications of the Isthmus. Thus, he noted that “westward of the peribolus [the Fortress, which he incorrectly identified as the wall of the Sanctuary] the Isthmic wall is traced, for about 300 yards, to the foundations of another small fortress. . . .”⁴

In 1954 Oscar Broneer, excavating for the University of Chicago, dug a small trench in the southern part of the building.⁵ There he revealed the southwest corner of Room XI and the southeast corner of Room XIII.⁶ In both he discovered the remains of the hypocaust system and fragments of glass, and he correctly identified the building as a bath of the Roman period. He concluded that “the building is sufficiently well preserved to merit further investigation, and its position in relation to the Isthmian wall is likely to throw light on the chronology of the fortifications.”

EXPLORATIONS OF THE ROMAN BATH, 1972–1980

In 1972 Paul Clement began excavation of the Roman Bath for UCLA.⁷ The first work in that year opened a long north–south trench (RB 72-1; Figs. 2, 4, in the former shown as the long trench south of Room XI) almost directly south of Professor Broneer’s excavation of 1954. This trench, in what turned out to be the area south of the Roman Bath, revealed three large nearly parallel walls running roughly east–west.⁸ The northernmost of these is constructed of large well-cut rectangular blocks, and it appears to be the southern wall of the Bath. The central wall is *ca.* 16.5 m. farther south; it is 0.90 m. wide, constructed on a concrete foundation, above which there are five courses of roughly cut ashlar masonry, most of it apparently reused. Above this masonry is a surface of tile, rubble, and mortar that seems to be mediaeval. We cannot tell what the upper portion of the wall was like; the foundations may have served only to support a stylobate for a colonnade. Between these two walls, at 40.85 m. above sea level, there is a red soil with pottery dating as late as the

³ See preliminary discussion in Yegül 1993. Cf. Yegül 1992, pp. 304, 368, and listing by Nielsen (1990, II, C. 268, p. 33), who places the bath in the “Sanctuary of Apollon” and seems to have thought that Isthmia was either just east of Delphi or near Aigosthena (see plan in frontispiece of vol. II).

⁴ Leake 1830, p. 287.

⁵ Broneer 1955, pp. 123–124; on p. 123, line 30, correct “northeast” to “northwest”.

⁶ The rooms were numbered, beginning in 1972, more or less in the order in which they were discovered; the numbering, therefore, has no particular significance.

⁷ Clement 1977, pp. 145–147.

⁸ This trench was excavated largely in 1972 (Clement 1977, p. 145), but there seems to have been some further cleaning, perhaps in 1976. Additional investigation, recording the complete stratigraphy in the southern part, was carried out in 1992.

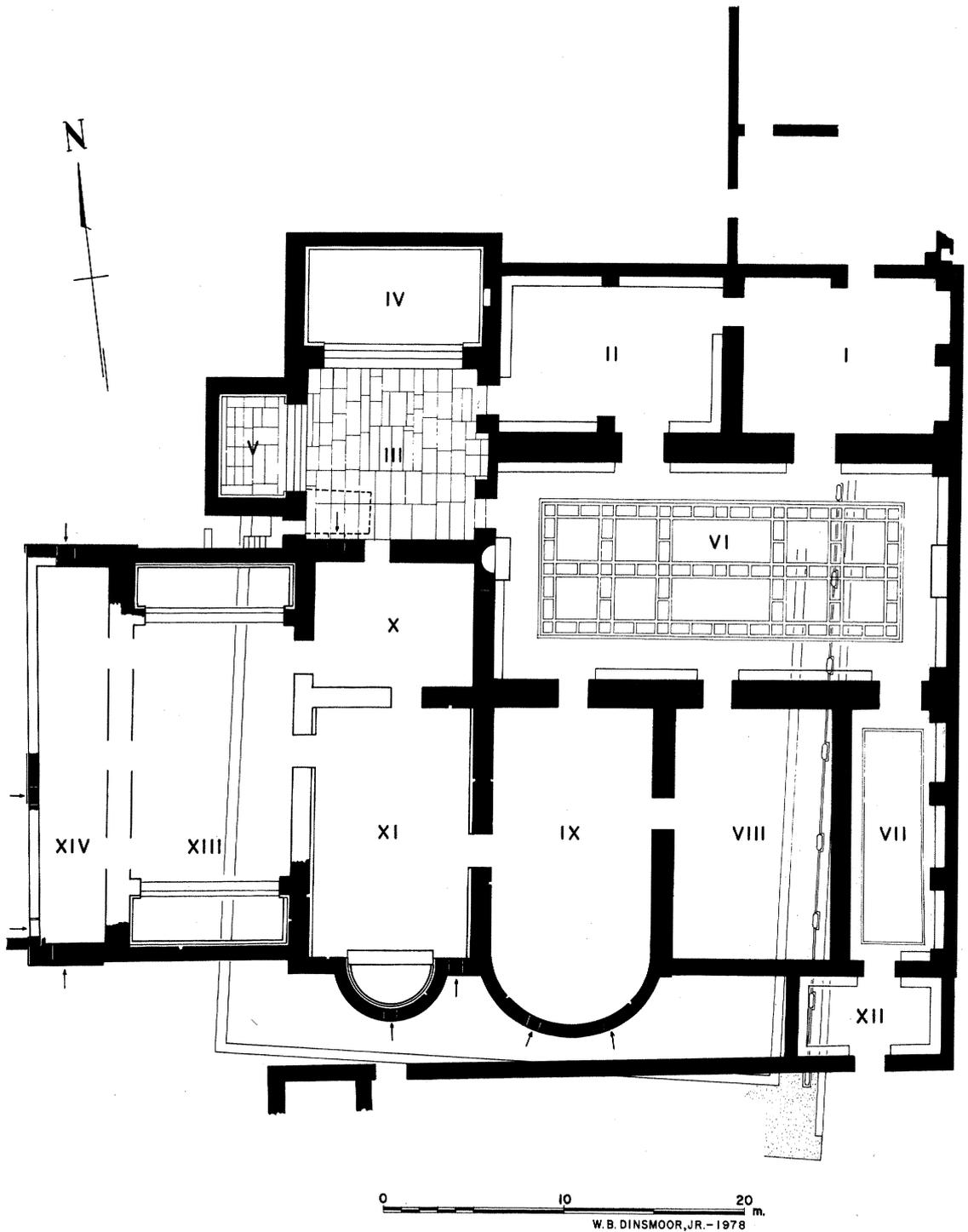


FIG. 3. Roman Bath, restored plan

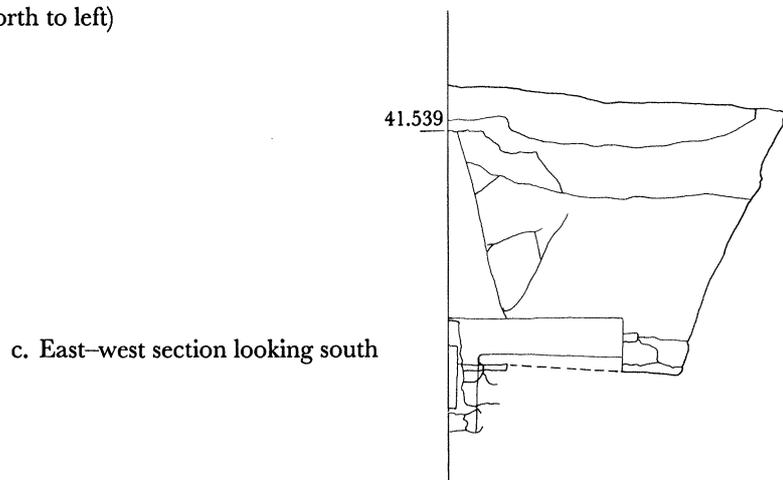
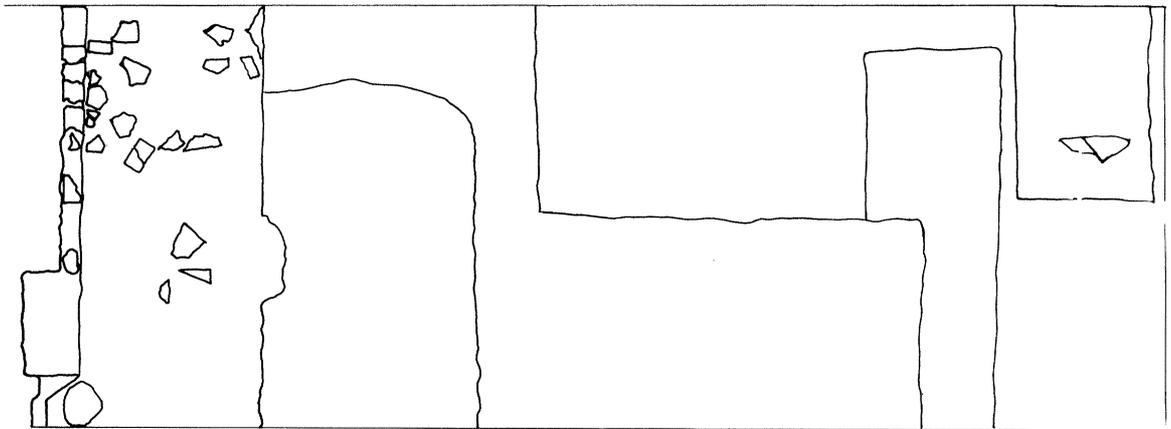
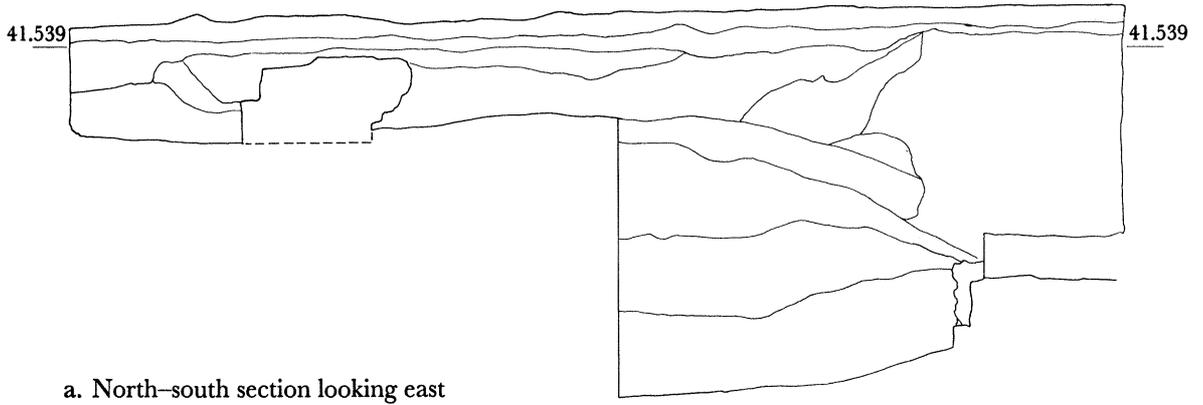


FIG. 4. Actual-state plan and sections, Trench 72-1 (RB 72-1)

middle of the 1st century after Christ. Although more excavation will have to be done in this area before any certainty is possible, it may be suggested that the space between these two walls was a courtyard fronting on the south side of the Bath. About 4.20 m. south of this wall was yet another east–west wall, of which only a single block and the mortar foundation for another have been found. This wall seems to be on a slightly different orientation from that of the Bath, and it may perhaps be on the line of the north wall of the Theater Court excavated some 65 meters to the east.⁹ Fill laid to the south of this wall dates to the 2nd century after Christ, and one may assign the wall to this date. This southernmost wall was set in a deep cutting made in the white clay that comprises the local hardpan there, and to the south the clay rises immediately to a height of *ca.* 0.80 m. above the top of the single preserved block of the first course. The clay was thus substantially higher on the south than on the north, and the wall must therefore have served to retain the clay and to define the space to the south. The space between the two southern walls, then, would perhaps have provided a walkway and a means of communication between the Theater and the Bath; it might even have served as a roadway for more general traffic, although no proper road surface was encountered in the course of excavation.

Exploration of the Hexamilion in 1970 had already cleared much of the north side of the Bath.¹⁰ Thus, after the brief exploration of the walls in the south, excavation in 1972 concentrated in the northern part (Pl. 53:b). In this year Clement cleared or partially cleared five rooms, exposing the entire northern end of the Bath (Rooms I–V). Excavation revealed the connection between the Hexamilion, constructed in the early years of the 5th century after Christ,¹¹ and the north wall of the Roman Bath. The Hexamilion reached the Bath at the northwestern corner of Room IV, and it followed along the northern walls of Rooms IV and II before turning north at the northern termination of the party wall between Rooms I and II. The northern wall of the Roman Bath is *ca.* 0.70–0.90 m. wide, not nearly thick enough to form a fortification wall, and the builders of the Hexamilion added masonry piers or spur walls on the interior of the Bath, along the southern side of its north wall. These piers were founded directly on the floor of the Roman Bath, so that the resulting masonry was 2.70 to 2.90 m. thick. Three of the piers were placed along the north side of both Rooms IV and II, while one is in the northwest corner of Room I (Fig. 2: note that spaces between the piers were later filled in, perhaps in the Justinianic refurbishing of the Hexamilion).

Rooms III, IV, and V clearly formed a single complex, undoubtedly the *frigidarium* of the Bath. The floors were all paved with slabs of marble of uneven size, most of which were between 0.50 m. and 0.80 m. wide and 1.50 m. to 2.00 m. long, with their long axes running north–south. All these slabs have disappeared, but they are attested by setting lines in the cement. The beddings for the floors of Rooms IV and V are at elevations of 39.89 m. and 39.92 m. above sea level, respectively, while that of Room III is at 40.85 m. Thus, Rooms IV and V should not be seen as separate architectural spaces but as plunge baths that were an integral part of the *frigidarium*. They were each entered by a series of three steps that descended from Room III. The lower walls of Rooms IV and V up to a level of *ca.* 1.20 m.

⁹ Gebhard 1973, p. 113. Note her observation (here and on p. 73) that the walls of the court may have been laid out to take into account structures that already existed.

¹⁰ Clement 1974, pp. 109–111.

¹¹ *Isthmia* V, pp. 38–41.

to 1.30 m. were covered with marble slabs, and one may assume that this represents the height of the water in these rooms; above this level the walls were plastered and decorated, at least in the latest phase, with painted bands of floral patterns.

Excavation in 1972 also revealed evidence about the superstructure of the Bath, which collapsed when the building was destroyed. The remains of two blind arches that had once stood in the southern wall of Room II were found where they had fallen on the floor of the room (Pl. 54:b), while a section of possibly the same wall was discovered, preserving the traces of a series of what appear to be rectangular windows *ca.* 0.50 m. high and 0.30–0.40 m. wide, spaced *ca.* 1.00 m. to 1.20 m. apart (Pl. 54:a). The function of these is not entirely clear, and they are presently under study as an important aspect of the Roman building.

Rooms I and II, unlike Rooms III–V, were paved with an unpatterned mosaic, set with its surface at an elevation of about +41 meters.¹² The mosaic was made of large, roughly cut tesserae that are mainly white but mixed irregularly with tesserae of pale gray, yellow, pink, and orange. In 1972 Rooms IV and V were cleared completely, down to their robbed-out floor, while Rooms I–III were only partly excavated to the floor, with large sections of fallen masonry left in place at the end of the season. Although the northern wall of the Bath was traced through its entire length, the eastern wall was found largely robbed out: only the foundation cuttings in hardpan and a thin foundation of mortar and tile show where it had been.

The stratigraphy in these northern rooms was relatively simple. Immediately under the modern ground level in all but Room I were features and artifacts that may be assigned to the Byzantine Dark Ages of the 7th–8th centuries.¹³ These included walls and cement floors of several buildings, a hearth, and much pottery. This material is now being studied for detailed analysis, and it will not be discussed fully here. Below this and sealed by the Dark Age floors was the collapsed masonry of the original bath building, showing that in this part the walls and perhaps even the roof had stood until *ca.* A.D. 600. Under the collapsed debris, often over two meters thick and made up of crumbled mortar, stones, and tiles, was a layer that represents the period of abandonment of the Bath, with pottery and lamps dating through the first half of the 5th century after Christ. This abandonment fill, sealed by the collapse of the building, is thicker in some areas than in others, and in some places it was not present, suggesting that the fill had been partially cleaned up at some date. Thus, in Room V the fill below the collapsed debris was 0.11 m. thick, and in part of Room III, 0.20 m. thick, while the corresponding fill was not found in Room IV. The absence of the abandonment fill in Room IV may tentatively be explained in connection with the filling of the spaces between the Hexamilion piers, which took place sometime after the original construction of the fortifications, probably in the 6th century after Christ.¹⁴ At that time, probably, the floor of Room IV was cleaned and the accumulated debris was dumped elsewhere, perhaps in Room III.

¹² The elevation of the surface of the mosaic in Rooms I and II would thus be essentially the same as the restored elevation of the floor of Room III, where the paving slabs would have added several centimeters to the preserved elevation of +40.85 m. The floors of Rooms I and II sloped toward drains at their southwest corners (see discussion, p. 308 below).

¹³ Gregory 1993b.

¹⁴ *Isthmia* V, p. 40.

In Room II the abandonment fill was deeper, up to 0.87 m. above the floor. At one point, close to the wall between Rooms I and II, the pottery in this fill was as late as the second half of the 6th century after Christ. In Room I the abandonment fill overlay a thin layer of harder soil. This soil and its relationship to the abandonment fill have already been discussed by Birgitta Wohl: “The silt would most naturally have entered room I with winter rains through the door in the north wall and sifted itself west and south.”¹⁵ The hard layer was then cut into by the builders of the Hexamilion piers, and the softer fill above covered the whole at a somewhat later date, probably sometime about the middle of the 5th century after Christ.¹⁶ The formation of the hard silt layer probably occurred when the Bath was abandoned, either at the end of the life of the Sanctuary of Poseidon or as the result of an earthquake; it might, however, be connected with an abortive interior redecoration of the Bath, perhaps shortly before the building went completely out of use. The possibility of such a late refurbishing is suggested, among other things, by the removal of the floor in Room VIII and its replacement by a thick layer of white clay, as well as by the cutting made through the mosaic in Room VI, both mentioned below. The issue cannot be discussed fully here but will be considered in detail in the full publication of the Bath.

By the end of the 1972 season the northern third of the Roman Bath had been cleared. In 1976, after an interval of three years, excavation in the Bath resumed.¹⁷ Fallen masonry in the northern rooms, left in 1972, was studied and removed, and excavation continued, especially in Room VI, the Great Hall of the Bath (Fig. 3, Pls. 53:b, 56:c). This room was obviously the most splendid in the building. It is about 24.4 m. long and 11.7 m. wide; it was certainly vaulted and its walls decorated with white plaster set in a series of panels of different sizes. At either end of the room were raised pedestals, 2.40 m. and 2.65 m. wide; that on the east is centered on the axis of the room, while that on the west, which is better preserved, is offset to the north, either to provide a better line of sight for a visitor entering the room from the southeast or because of a connection with a door, later blocked, to the south of the west pedestal. In the wall behind the western pedestal is a semicircular niche *ca.* 1.50 m. wide and *ca.* 0.70 m. deep. Fragments of colossal marble sculpture, including parts of fingers, toes, and curls of hair, were found on the floor of Room VI and elsewhere in the building, and these may reasonably be associated with the pedestals, but it is impossible to assign them to known sculptural types or portraits.¹⁸

The borders of Room VI are paved with a white mosaic made from tesserae of the same stone as that in Rooms I and II but of smaller size. The great adornment of Room VI, however, is the magnificent monochrome mosaic, already published by Pamela Packard (Fig. 5, Pl. 57).¹⁹ This mosaic is one of the best preserved and most impressive works to survive from ancient Isthmia and is in fact the largest monochrome mosaic in the eastern Mediterranean. The mosaic was designed to be seen by a visitor approaching the room

¹⁵ Wohl 1981, pp. 116–118 (at p. 117).

¹⁶ Wohl 1981, p. 117, fig. 3, pl. 33:b.

¹⁷ Clement 1984; Catling 1978, cover and pp. 21–22.

¹⁸ This sculpture, along with all that excavated at Isthmia by UCLA, will be published by Steven Lattimore in *Isthmia* VI. He notes the presence of at least two colossal figures, one male and one perhaps female, probably from Room VI.

¹⁹ Packard 1980.

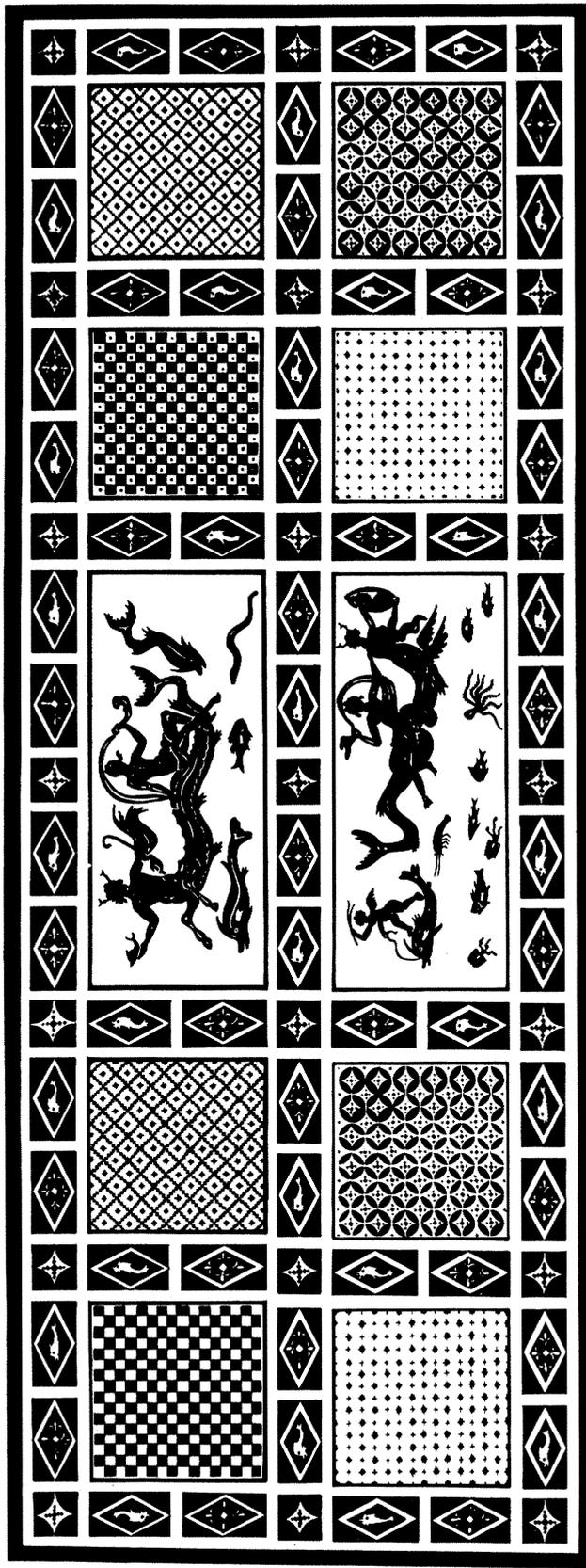


Figure 7a



FIG. 5. Monochrome mosaic, Room VI

from the south, ideally from Room VIII, since this would place the viewer in the center of the composition. The mosaic is divided laterally into thirds: in the center are two large figural panels, and at each end are four square panels filled with geometric designs. A black border surrounds the whole mosaic, and the individual panels are framed by a band of pairs of rectangles with lozenges containing figures of dolphins or fleur-de-lis, alternating with squares containing crosslets. The two figural panels in the center, one above the other, are near mirror images showing a Triton with a Nereid on his back, each group surrounded by sea creatures.²⁰

Beyond the primary focus of excavation in Room VI, investigation in 1976 also sought the identification of the boundaries of the building and the delimitation of the remaining rooms of the Bath on the south. Thus, a large section of Room VII was cleared, and the southern corners of the Bath were identified. As mentioned above, the east wall of the Bath had been robbed in antiquity except for a section in the southeast corner of Room VI, where four blocks were found *in situ*. Foundation cuttings on the same line were discovered to the southeast, with a similar cutting running off to the west. This was identified as the foundation for the south wall of the Bath, previously noted in the long 1972 trench south of the Bath (RB 72-1: see p. 281). Along a line slightly to the north, the southwest corner of the Bath was identified, and further details were ascertained about the size and shape of the western rooms, XIII and XIV.

In addition, in 1976 the excavators explored the drain system of the Bath, which is remarkably well preserved (Fig. 2). A drain was traced from the south side of Room VI (later seen to connect with Room IX), along the west end of the room, to where it emptied into a reservoir or vertical drain under the floor of the southwest corner of Room II.²¹ Another drain was traced westward to the same reservoir from the southwest corner of Room I. Roughly square settling basins, each presumably covered with a grate, were discovered at the southwest and northwest corners of Room VI, and a similar opening (but without settling basin) was found at the southwest corner of Room I. A third drain apparently connected to this same system runs roughly southeastward from the northeast corner of Room III. In this corner a similar square opening (settling basin) was located, but this was cut through crudely at a later date by a channel that ran along more or less the same line as the third drain, from the level of the floor of Room IV to the reservoir or drain in the corner of Room II. Parts of these drains were built of large rectangular blocks covered with waterproof cement, in a style very different from that of the Roman Bath. They therefore seem to predate construction of the Bath and suggested already in 1976 that the Roman Bath was built on the remains of an earlier building of then-uncertain size, date, and function (now known to be a bathing establishment of Classical date; see discussion, pp. 302–312 below). Furthermore, the ends

²⁰ For discussion of the figural panels, see Packard 1980, pp. 328–336.

²¹ See discussion in Clement 1984, p. 67 and pl. 60:b, c. In 1976 the “egg-shaped cistern or shaft” (*loc. cit.*) was partially excavated, but the bottom was not found. In 1992 the remaining fill was cleared out, and it was found that the vertical shaft empties into what is apparently a large horizontal tunnel, presumably like several others at Isthmia (one immediately west of the Roman Bath, another north of the Theater, and a third northwest of the Temple of Poseidon; these are all tall enough for a human to stand in). This shows that although the vertical shaft mentioned here could perhaps have been used as a reservoir if the exit at the bottom were blocked, it was more probably part of a drainage system.

of two of the drains (those from Room I and Room VI) in the southwest corner of Room II were found blocked, apparently purposely, with large stones; near the western end of the east–west drain three skeletons were found undisturbed, more or less on top of each other and with their heads to the west. A lamp (IPL 76-2) was discovered near the stone that blocked the entrance to the drain, and we may assume that the former drain was used as a tomb, presumably in Late Antiquity and probably by individuals involved in defense of the Hexamilion.²²

Aside from the drainage channels discussed above, another channel was discovered along the north side of Room VI; cut roughly through the surface of the white mosaic border, it is *ca.* 0.40–0.60 m. in width and reaches a depth of 1.01 to 1.21 m. below the level of the mosaic floor. The cutting extends from beyond the eastern edge of the excavated area westward, through the foundations of the east wall of the Bath, through the mosaic surface, to the settling basin in the northwest corner of Room VI (which in turn connects with the reservoir or drain in the southwest corner of Room II). Clearly, this cutting was later than the original construction in the Bath, and it seems to have been designed to carry a pipe, presumably for drainage. In any event, no pipe was ever laid, and the cutting was roughly filled with tiles, broken wall fragments, pieces of sculpture, and other debris, with a low mound of soil left along the southern edge of the cutting on the surface of the mosaic. Both this cutting and the crude cut that ran from Room IV to the reservoir or drain in Room II must have been intended to drain areas that were still being used, apparently after the abandonment of the Bath; nevertheless, the plan that lay behind these constructions was probably never realized. The mound of soil south of the cutting through the mosaic rested above the abandonment fill (p. 303 below), suggesting that the cutting was probably made in the mid-5th century or later. This hypothesis is strengthened by the observation that Room IV would presumably not have been drained in this peculiar manner before the construction of the Hexamilion and the filling of the spaces between the piers along the north side of the room. Until those structures were built, the room would undoubtedly have been drained by a simple hole cut through the relatively thin northern wall, in a manner which can still be seen near the southwest corner of Room V.

Excavation in 1977 exposed most of Rooms VII, VIII, and IX, along with parts of Rooms III and XI (Pls. 54:c, 55:a).²³ The walls in the southeastern part of the building were almost completely robbed away, down to foundation cuttings. The east wall of the building has nearly completely disappeared, and nothing survives of the walls that surrounded Room VII and Room VIII except for the wall on the west of the latter, which is preserved in a reasonably good state. Room VII has a white mosaic floor, similar to that in Rooms I and II except that in the former there is a black border set around the outside edge of the room. The present floor of Room VIII, by contrast, is a white clay laid over a thick red fill. The preserved white mosaic surface in the doorway between Rooms VI and VIII suggests

²² IPL 76-2: Athenian post-glaze, first half of 5th century after Christ. The skeletons were discovered, completely extended, lying undisturbed on the gray silt that had washed in when the building was abandoned. One may conclude, therefore, that the burial took place well after the Bath had gone out of use.

²³ Although Professor Clement wrote a report for the 1977 season, which is preserved in the Isthmia archives, for some reason it was never published.

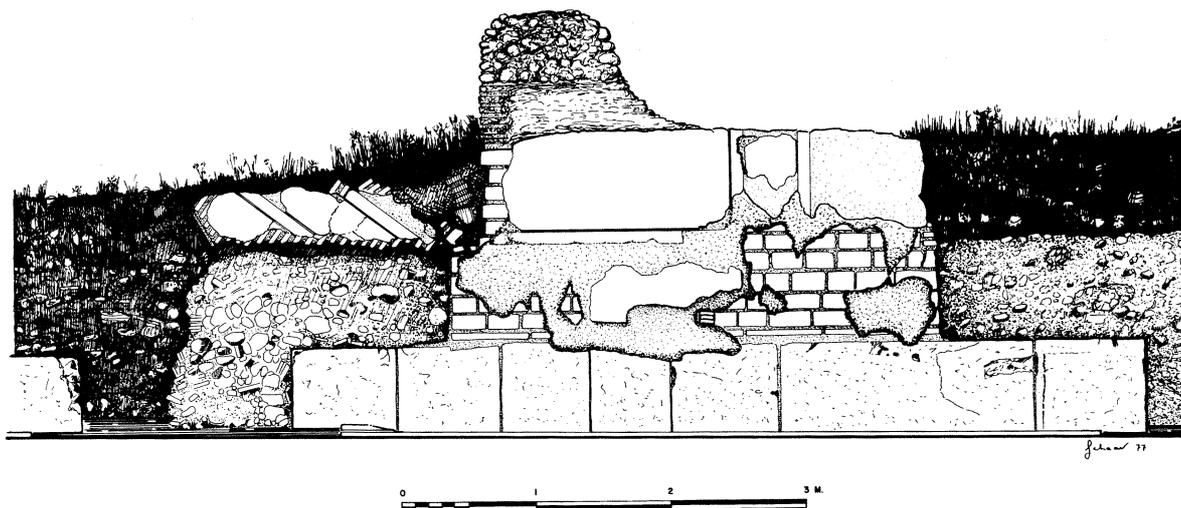


FIG. 6. Elevation of south wall of Room VI

that Room VIII was originally paved with this same mosaic floor but that it was replaced at some presently uncertain date, presumably as part of an abortive refurbishing of the Bath.

In the destruction fill in the northwest part of Room VIII, a large section of the wall between Rooms VIII and IX was sufficiently well preserved when excavated to allow reconstruction of details of construction and decoration. This piece of wall could not be preserved, but Figure 6 shows the surviving wall on the south side of Room VI, which reveals the same construction. The coursing of the face of the wall in Room VIII was partly brick and partly small ashlar blocks, and the fallen wall was almost completely preserved to and even beyond the height of the springing of the vault about five meters above the floor. The face of the wall was covered with white plaster decorated with impressed triple lines, which depicted linked squares in the soffit of the vault and rectangles in the vertical face of the wall, presumably to represent coffers in the vault and ashlar courses with staggered joints in the wall. Similar plaster decorations, not so well preserved, were noted on the walls of Rooms VI (Fig. 6) and IX.²⁴

Oscar Broneer had already discovered the corners of two rooms with hypocausts (XI and XIII). Excavation in 1977 revealed two more rooms with hypocaust systems, Rooms IX (Pl. 54:c) and X. All of these, with the exception of Room XIII, have hypocaust piers resting on a cement floor at *ca.* 39.60 m. above sea level, i.e., about a meter and a half below the level of the main floor of the Bath itself. The hypocaust piers are made of tiles, *ca.* 0.30 m. in diameter, all set in a mud mortar; these tiles are either round or square, mixed together in no apparent order. Rooms IX and XI were each heated by two sets of furnaces set into the south walls of the rooms (indicated by arrows in Figure 3); the furnaces in Room XI originally were designed also to heat Room X, but at a later date another furnace was constructed and fired

²⁴ For a discussion of this decoration and its relationship to the border in the mosaic of Room VI, see Packard 1980, p. 337 and note 48.

from a chamber under Room III (shown by an arrow in Figure 3). One furnace has been found at the southwest corner of Room XIII (not shown on the plans); this was fired from the floor of Room XIV on the west, and it heated directly a rectangular pool *ca.* 2.70 m. by 8.80 m. at the south end of Room XIII; there was a similar pool at the north end of the room, and one may reasonably restore another furnace there as well. Rooms IX and XI had apsidal terminations on the south; the apse in Room XI enclosed a pool that was heated by the two furnaces that underlay it.

Finally, in 1977 test trenches in the clay fill below floor level in Room VIII revealed a series of basins connected by a water line running roughly north–south from as far north as the northern side of Room VI but obviously at a level below the floor in Roman times. This feature was connected with the Greek predecessor of the Roman building already noted in the 1976 season (see pp. 303–312 below).

Excavation in 1978 cleared most of the remaining rooms of the Bath or at least defined their basic shape.²⁵ In the northeast section two subsidiary rooms were defined but not fully excavated. These communicated with Room I through a doorway in its northern wall; a door in the west wall of the southernmost of these rooms led to the open area to the west. Since no floor level was found in these rooms and their full dimensions are not known, it is presently impossible to know what function they may have played in the bath complex.

In the 1978 season Room XII, at the southeast corner of the Bath, was completely cleared. The walls of this room had been totally robbed out in antiquity, and only the foundation trenches surrounding a floor of plain white mosaic were found. Although the robbing of the walls removed all certain evidence, Room XII probably contained the primary entrance into the Bath. The remains of benches along the east walls of Rooms VI, VII, and XII preclude an entrance along the east, and an off-center opening through the middle of the south wall of Room XII seems the most likely access to the building. This would have accommodated an approach either from the Temple of Poseidon to the southwest or from the Theater to the southeast. A secondary, but probably still public, entrance was possible through the north wall of Room I, while service entrances might also be found in the west wall of Room XIV and up a set of stairs through the west wall of Room III.

Excavation in 1978 also exposed the main service area for the Bath along the south side, with a floor at an elevation of *ca.* +39.60 m. (i.e., the level of the floor of the hypocaust piers and about a meter and a half below the floor of the bath itself). This service area extended from the west wall of Room XII on the east along most of the south side of the Bath; on the south it was bounded by the south wall of the Bath, and workers in the area would have been invisible to visitors to the site. Built into this area (see p. 291 above) were four furnaces designed to heat Rooms IX and XI.

Investigation in Room XIV, apparently the westernmost room of the Bath, revealed at least two doorways. The plan, Figure 3, indicates by arrows four entrances, but only that on the southern wall and one in the middle of the western wall are certain. The doorway at the south had at some time been blocked with large stones; it is 1.20 m. wide, and its sill is at an elevation of +39.84 m. That in the western wall of the room is 0.90 m. wide,

²⁵ Professor Clement's report for the 1978 season was not published. See Touchais 1979, pp. 552–555; Catling 1979, pp. 11–12.

its sill at an elevation of +38.73 m. The floor of this room was never explored, but the doorway on the south is more or less at the level of the service area to the east, and one may imagine that this whole room was simply a continuation of the service space and that it was not meant to be seen or used by the bathing public. Why the level of the western doorway is so much lower must currently remain unknown.

The chamber located under the floor of the southwest corner of Room III was also excavated in 1978 (shown with a dashed line in Figures 2 and 3 and in detailed section and plan in Figure 7). This room is irregular in shape, its walls 3.54 m. long on the north, 3.42 m. on the south, 2.34 m. on the west, and 2.34 m. on the east. The ceiling is a vault of bricks, and all the walls, other than the north, are made of bricks set in mortar. The south and west walls are integral with the fabric of the Roman Bath, and there can be no doubt that the chamber, in its present form, was constructed as part of that building. Nevertheless, it is clear that there was construction in this area both before and after the building of the Roman Bath. The floor of the chamber, as exposed, is a smooth cement surface, similar to that of the preserved walls of the Greek pool (the connection with that structure will be discussed below, pp. 309–311). The southern wall of the chamber is pierced by a hole roughly cut through into the hypocaust area of Room X. This hole served as a furnace for Room X, but the roughness of the cutting suggests that it may not have been a part of the original construction of the Bath. The chamber is approached on the west from outside the building, through a passageway between Rooms V and XIII. On the south a flight of four stone steps (five risers) led to an upper landing, which is one step higher than the level of the floor of Room III. The north edge of this landing was supported by a pier built in the northeast corner of the corridor. In large part, the stairs and landing pier are now documented only by their silhouette imprint on the south and north walls of the corridor, respectively. Underneath the landing there is an opening into the vaulted chamber, which at the time of excavation was found to be filled with soils of several kinds.

In the uppermost levels of the vaulted chamber the soil was mixed with ash containing many carbonized pieces of wood and pine cones (Fig. 7). This fill obviously accumulated during the time that the chamber was used as the firing area for the furnace to heat Room X. Under this level there was a yellowish red soil, *ca.* 0.40 m. deep. In this soil was found a coin of the emperor Aurelian (IC 78-4), dating to A.D. 270–275, which provides a *terminus post quem* for the ash that built up above and shows that the furnace in this room was being used in the late 3rd century or later. Pottery from this use level stretches late into the 4th century (Lot 08-024) and suggests that the furnace continued to function until around A.D. 400. Foundations for the chamber were sunk in a red soil with an uppermost elevation of approximately +39.04 m., and all Roman activity was on this level and above.

In 1980 only a few small excavations were carried out: in the area just outside the southeast corner of the Bath, in the south foundations of the large pier between Rooms VI and I, and through the doorway at the north end of Room I.²⁶ Perhaps the most important result of this work was the information that the line of basins running southwest–northeast (Figs. 2, 3, 11, Pls. 58:c, 59:d), noted in earlier seasons, extended right up to the north side of Room VI, where a rectangular stone basin (or drain) was cut when the foundations for

²⁶ There is no published report of this work; information is derived from the Isthmia notebooks.

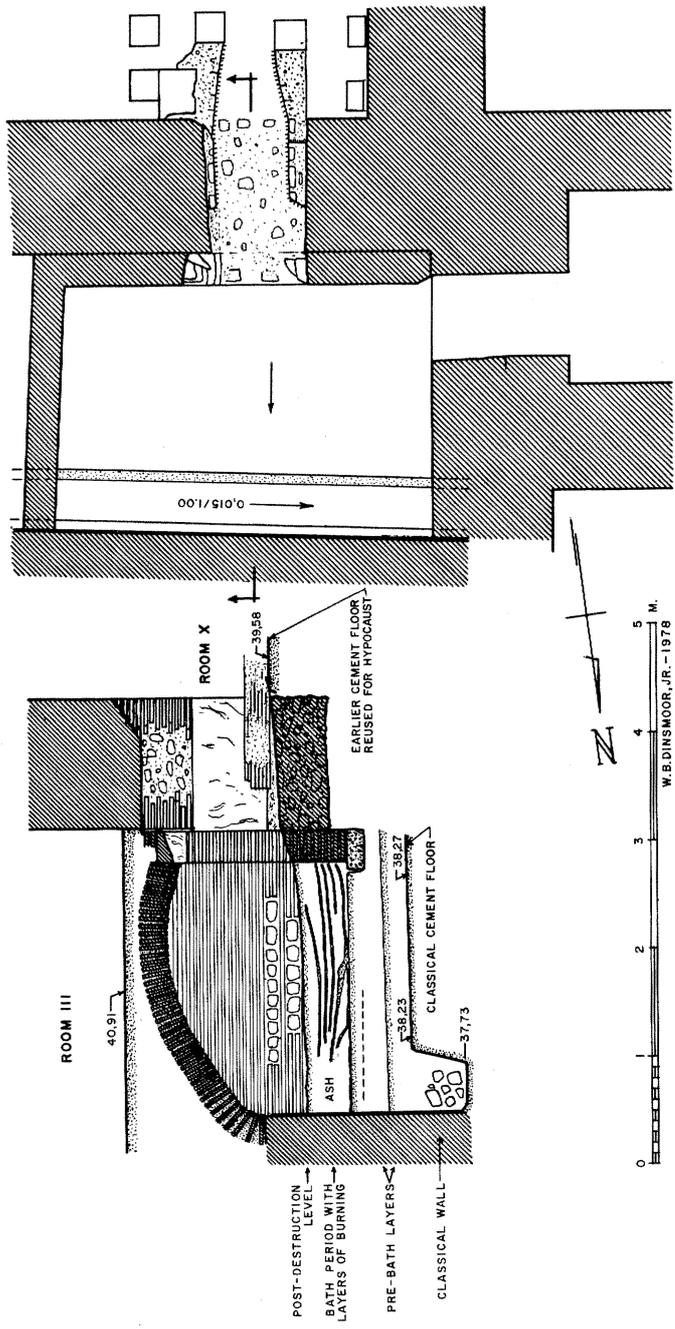


Fig. 7. Chamber under Room III, plan and section

the walls of the Roman Bath were made. South of the southern wall of the Roman Bath a small trench exposed part of the floor associated with the Greek Bath, above which was material from construction of the Roman Bath; on top of this was a sizable area of debris, including pottery and lamps dating about A.D. 300.

As mentioned above, the decoration of the Roman Bath was sumptuous and varied. The floors of all the rooms intended for the use of patrons were covered with mosaic or marble slabs. The walls were decorated with ornamental plaster or marble revetment in a wide range of colors and designs, and architectural features were articulated with moldings of various kinds. An idea of the richness of this decoration can be gained from two series of anta capitals found in Room IX and in several other areas of the Bath. These include a capital with palmette decoration (e.g. IA 77-28; Pl. 55:b) and an exquisite series with a dolphin and trident (e.g. IA 77-1; Pl. 55:c).²⁷ In addition, Room VI was decorated with colossal sculpture, and fragments of other sculpture, both relief and in the round, have been found in the Bath. The best preserved of these is the life-size portrait of Polydeukion (or Polydeukes) found in the service area at the south side of the Bath (IS 78-12; Pl. 56:a).²⁸ It is not certain that this head was originally set up in the Bath: another head copy (IS-437), perhaps based on the same original, was discovered in the area of Tower 14 of the Byzantine Fortress, some 200 meters to the east.²⁹ Such a portrait, however, would be appropriate in a bath.³⁰

CONSERVATION OF THE BATH AND MOSAIC IN ROOM VI

The monochrome mosaic discovered in Room VI is one of the most important works of art found to date at ancient Isthmia.³¹ The mosaic was almost completely intact when found: tesserae were missing only in a few places, primarily in the east central part. Nevertheless, the surface of the mosaic was very uneven, and the bedding had broken in many places, frequently along rectilinear lines, parallel and perpendicular to the axis of the room. Along these lines the surface had sunk as much as 0.30 m. It was therefore clear from the moment that the mosaic was first discovered that it could be conserved only by lifting it completely, constructing a new foundation, and then putting it back in place. From the outset, it was Professor Clement's intention to relay the mosaic in its original architectural setting rather

²⁷ Cf. Clement 1977, pl. 132:j (IA 72-55). These two series are very similar, and they were undoubtedly designed to be used together. Examples were found in the so-called Gully Bastion just north of the Roman Bath (IA 70-51, 70-55), in Room I (IA 72-55), in Room VI (IA 76-106–76-110), and in Room IX (IA 77-1–77-3, 77-28, 77-29).

²⁸ Touchais 1979, p. 555, fig. 70; Catling 1979, p. 12, fig. 12.

²⁹ Clement 1969, p. 142, pl. 85:a, there described as "perhaps from the statue of an athlete".

³⁰ For the use of sculpture in Roman baths, see DeLaine 1988, pp. 26–27. These two portraits will be published by Steven Lattimore in *Isthmia* VI.

³¹ Packard 1980.

than to move it to a museum or some other place. During the spring of 1980 some 38 panels, each about one meter square, were lifted and placed in a shed on the site for cleaning, repair, and later relaying.³² For various reasons, however, this work was suspended, and it was not resumed for another ten years.

Active field work in the Roman Bath was resumed in 1989, at this time under the sponsorship of the Ohio State University.³³ The intervening period had been spent in the reorganization of the excavation, its records and finds, and in the identification of financial and technical help for the conservation of the mosaic and the building and its final publication. A large structure of Roman date presents many problems of conservation and maintenance, not least of which is the phenomenon that its walls, made primarily of faced mortared rubble, were never meant to be exposed to the elements but were to be protected by the building's roof and a sheathing of bricks, stones, and plaster or revetment. By 1989 most of the building had been exposed for twelve years and more, and the walls and the mosaics were beginning seriously to deteriorate. The monochrome mosaic had been covered with sand in preparation for conservation, but the mosaics in Rooms XII and especially VII were in danger of complete destruction, in part because the exposure of the trenches left by the robbing of their walls meant that the fill under the mosaic had begun to erode, leaving the mosaics completely unsupported. In addition, large sections of walls had begun to disintegrate, and weeds had grown up everywhere in the building. In 1989 an emergency program was begun, the most pressing need being the construction of walls around the floor levels of Rooms VII and XII, simply to keep the mosaic surfaces in place until they could be properly conserved. In addition, the west side of the mosaic in Room VII had to be lifted and relaid. This conservation, incidentally, revealed the method of construction used by the Romans in making the foundation for the mosaic itself (described more fully below in connection with the mosaic in Room VI). In order to stabilize the mosaics in these two rooms, brick walls were constructed along the west and south sides of Room VII and completely around Room XII. These walls were meant only to retain the soil fill under the mosaic, and they were to be as unobtrusive as possible: the walls extended up only to the level of the mosaic floor and were covered with a stucco mixed with local soil to allow them to blend in as much as possible with the surrounding landscape. With these procedures the mosaics in Rooms VII and XII were stabilized, although their full conservation will have to be carried out at a later time.

In 1990 the conservation of the monochrome mosaic in Room VI was resumed.³⁴ This project was under the general supervision of Ioannes Daglis of the Department of Conservation of the Ministry of Culture. The panels still *in situ* were lifted using the traditional "sectional" method normally employed in Greece, in which the mosaic

³² Work in 1980 was supervised by Christos Skordas and executed by Konstantinos and Nikoletta Reres of the Greek Ministry of Culture. In connection with this work a detailed (1:10) drawing of the mosaic was executed by Demitra Kamaraki. The method utilized in lifting the mosaic in 1980 was exactly the same as that used in 1990 and described below.

³³ French 1990, p. 19.

³⁴ French 1991, pp. 16–17.

is cut into sections, each of which is lifted separately.³⁵ The “rolling” method (in which the mosaic is not cut)³⁶ was not used because the mosaic surface had already been broken before it was discovered, and there were large sections which had already sunk below the original surface by as much as 0.30 m. These depressions were located primarily in the central part of the mosaic. They formed apparently regular patterns that were oriented along the axes of the mosaic, but there were also two amorphous depressions near the centers of the short ends. The causes of these breaks were unknown at the beginning of the 1990 season, and one of our goals was to explain this phenomenon, since the restored mosaic could not be relaid if the breaks were caused by subsurface subsidence of some kind. After careful documentation, including thorough photography and the execution of the detailed 1:10 scale drawing of the entire mosaic, a projection was made of the location of all the panels to be lifted.

The panels were to be roughly rectangular, *ca.* 1.00 × 0.70 m., with divisions between the panels to be along lines in the mosaic itself, where they would be less conspicuous in the final restoration. In addition, wherever it was appropriate the divisions were to correspond to the breaks in the surface (as described above) so that some of the panels would have some irregular edges. Thus, a flexible system was established, designed to be practical and efficient, while minimizing damage to the mosaic surface itself.

The sectional system of mosaic conservation is well known and may be briefly summarized here. After the panels are sketched out on the plan, a small area of the mosaic, suitable for one day’s work (usually three or four panels) is washed carefully to remove surface soil. The first task is to remove a single line of tesserae around the border of each of the panels to be lifted that day. These tesserae are glued (in their original position) onto long strips of cloth. A single layer of thin cotton cloth (cheese cloth) is then laid on the surface of the mosaic, and this is cemented in place with an adhesive made largely of fish parts, vinegar, honey, and glycerine;³⁷ above this a layer of heavy cotton cloth (canvas) is laid in place with the same glue. Once the cloth has dried and the panels have been clearly marked with an identifying number, the cloth is cut around the panel, and the mortar bedding is broken along the same lines. The mosaic was originally set in a bedding of lime mortar about 0.05 m. thick, which was itself above another layer of mortar about 0.10 m. thick (see below). It was always possible to separate these layers of mortar, especially in areas where the surface of the mosaic had been damaged by breaks, exposure to the elements, or fires: a flat iron bar was inserted between the layers, separating the upper layer, in which the tesserae were set, from the lower layer. After this was accomplished, the tesserae, secured by the glued cloth, could be lifted out of place. At this point the panel could be picked up and shaken out, much like a carpet, and any debris adhering to the underside was removed. The panel was then placed, bottom side up, on a specially cut and marked piece of composition

³⁵ Sease 1987, pp. 87–88. As noted above, this was the same method used for lifting the 38 panels in 1980.

³⁶ On the rolling method, see Kosinka 1991, pp. 17–23, and Sease 1987, pp. 88–89.

³⁷ Sease (1987, p. 87) and others suggest PVA emulsions be used rather than organic glue, but the dry conditions in Greece and local tradition and experience suggest the use of fish glue.

board. The back of the mosaic was further cleaned to remove all loose mortar,³⁸ and the panel was stored in a shed that had been constructed on the site of the Roman Bath.

This process of lifting the mosaic began on May 21 and ended on July 31, 1990. In all, 110 panels were lifted during the 1990 season, to which should be added the 38 panels lifted during 1980, bringing the total to 148 panels. Of these, all were removed nearly perfectly intact, with only a few loose tesserae falling away, a clear testimony to the skill of the conservators. There were special problems where the mosaic had subsided and where fires had been built on the surface of the mosaic in antiquity, probably shortly after the abandonment of the building and perhaps during the time when the Hexamilion was being built. In such cases the tesserae were partly calcified, and the underlying mortar was commonly completely destroyed.

Lifting the mosaic provided considerable information about how the mosaic was originally prepared and laid (Pl. 58:a).³⁹ The foundations were first prepared by bringing in large quantities of red soil that was leveled about 0.50 m. below the projected surface of the mosaic. Above this was set a layer of hard, crystalline rocks, roughly 0.15–0.20 m. in diameter, from a source not in the immediate vicinity of the Bath. Above and around the stones a layer of mortar was poured, up to about 0.20 m. below the surface of the mosaic. This was allowed to dry, and a second layer of mortar was applied, up to about 0.10 m. below the surface of the mosaic. Once this had dried, the final layer of mortar was laid and the tesserae placed in this. Our investigation revealed vertical lines through each of the layers of mortar, showing that the layers were not laid complete at one time but rather in sections that presumably represented what could be accomplished in a single day's work. The final plan for the mosaic must have been at hand from the beginning of work on these foundations, since many of these lines correspond to divisions in the decoration of the mosaic. Marks on the surface of these layers of mortar show that the surfaces were smoothed with boards, and sections of the middle layer bore the impressions of several feet, some of them bare and others in hob-nail shoes (Pl. 58:d). There were marks on this surface that looked as though they were part of the cartoon that was presumably laid out before the mosaic was set, but these were nowhere well preserved. In several places, however, the undersides of the mosaic panels were marked by black lines that occasionally cut across the lower surface of the white tesserae; they, indeed, must have been from the cartoons that originally set out the decorative scheme.⁴⁰

Excavation under the mortar bed was continued, in large part to determine the cause of the subsidence in the surface and prevent its recurrence in the restored mosaic. Much of what was found, not surprisingly, was related to the predecessors of the Roman Bath, to be discussed below in the section on the Greek Bath. Excavation in the western three-quarters

³⁸ On the cleaning of the back of the mosaic, see Pastorello and Schmid 1991, pp. 24–25. This process seems to have been accomplished more easily at Isthmia than at Paphos, perhaps because the mortar bedding at Isthmia was more seriously deteriorated.

³⁹ Compare the very similar foundations for the Orpheus Mosaic at Paphos: Kosinka 1991, p. 21, fig. 14, pl. 5.

⁴⁰ Professor Clement was the first to note this at the time the first sections of the mosaic were lifted in 1980.

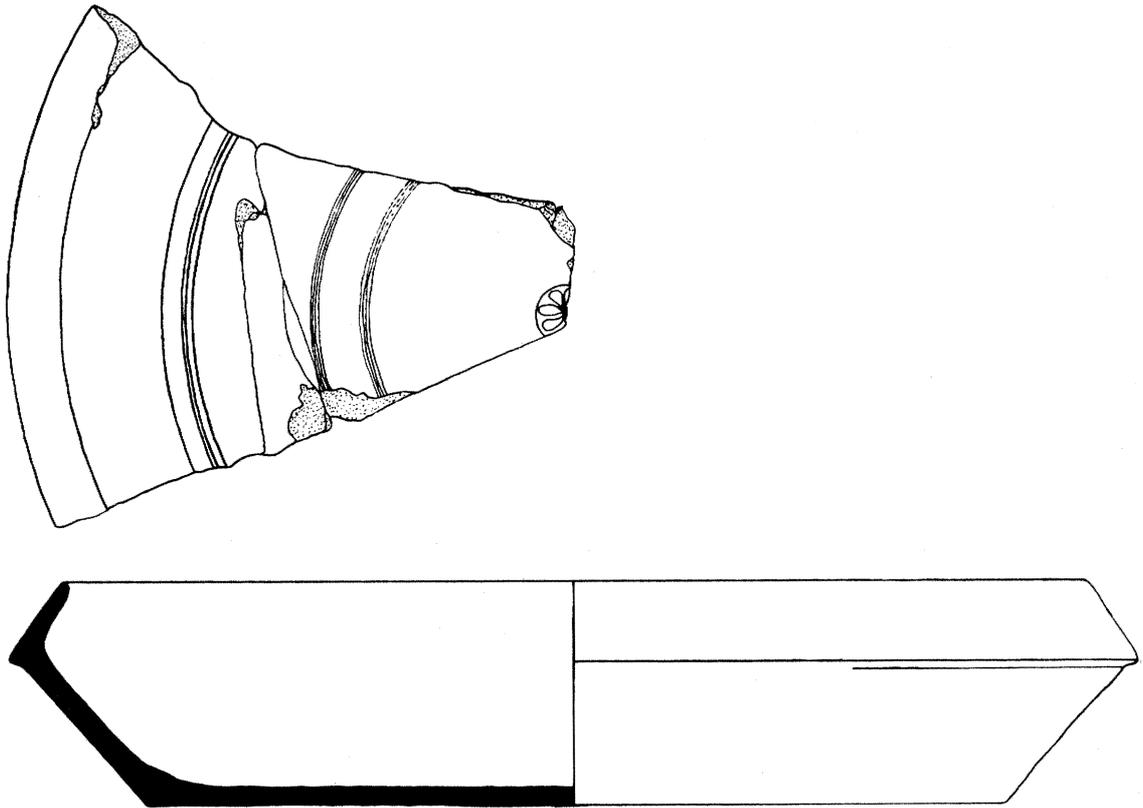


FIG. 8. Eastern sigillata B plate 1. Scale 1:2

of Room VI, however, was concerned with the removal of the fill that the Romans laid down in the Greek pool in order to raise the surface to the level of the intended floor of the room. The upper part of this fill was made of stones and layers of mortar (see above), while the lower meter or so was largely soil brought in expressly for the purpose of raising the floor level. There were, in fact, several distinct soils in the fill: a red soil similar to much of what occurs in the immediate vicinity of Isthmia, a white clay of a type again commonly found nearby, and a gray, sandy soil that does not appear to be local. The fill was excavated stratigraphically, and it was possible to tell, for example, that the pool was filled from south to north and from the approximate center of Room VI outward to the east and west. There was little pottery in this fill, and none of the pots were found whole or could be mended up into complete vessels, suggesting that most of them had been broken and discarded elsewhere and were brought with the fill into the Bath as a secondary deposit. Some of the pots were, in fact, rather special containers: amphoras or other vessels that had been broken and then reused as mixing bowls or sprinklers, perhaps in the construction or decoration of the Bath. These were identified by an intentional cutting of the vessel after firing and, in the case of the sprinklers, by piercing with roughly cut holes; these containers frequently had traces of mortar on the interior. Various pieces from different parts of the fill did join, demonstrating

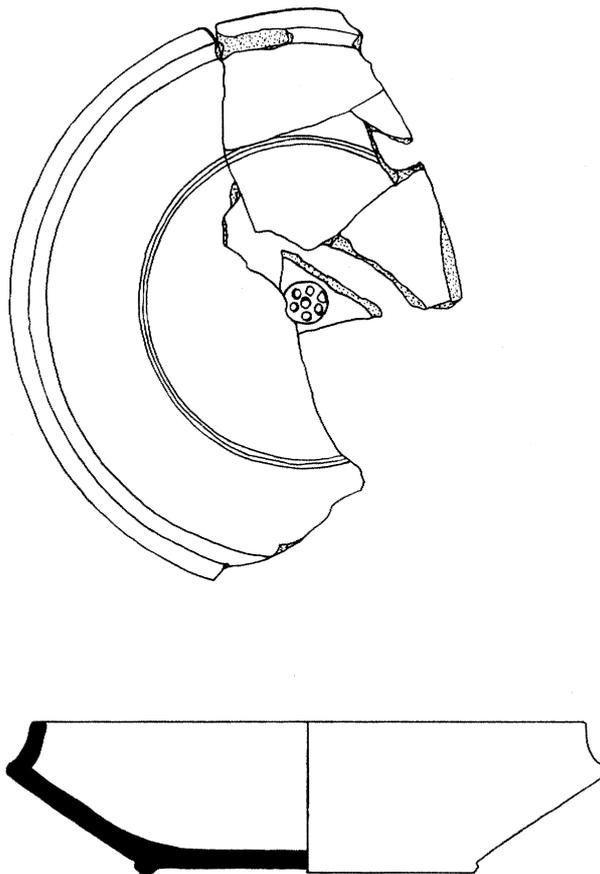


FIG. 9. Eastern sigillata B bowl 2. Scale 1:2

that even though the soils were different and layering of the fill could be determined, the fill was put into the Bath at approximately the same time. Within the fill were fragments of many micaceous water jars, several cooking pots, and a number of eastern sigillata B II plates.⁴¹ Characteristic among these are the following, which provide a stratigraphic date for the fill.

1. (IPR 90-8) Plate with overhanging rim

Lots 03-016, 04-003, from Trenches 90-4 and 90-5.
H. 0.059, est. max. Diam. 0.29 m.
Fine, light-red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with tiny black and sparkling grits and a few lime eruptions.

Fig. 8, Pl. 60:a

Nine fragments join to form full profile.

Plate with flat floor, flaring then rounded sides to sharp, plain rim. On exterior, thick overhanging rim projects out from vessel at point of greatest diameter.

Red slip (2.5YR 5/8) on interior and exterior.
At center of interior floor, stamped rosette (Diam.

⁴¹ The material from this fill (Deposit 90-1) will be published in full by Jeanne Marty in the volume on the Roman Bath.

0.014 m.) set within two sets of three narrow grooves; the rosette preserves 4 raised petals (probably originally 10); petals shaped like teardrops, meeting at raised circle at center.

Cf. *Agora V*, G168 for rosette. For plate shape, cf. *Agora V*, G176 (or G173?: late 1st–early 2nd century; however, on **1** the rim turns inward more) and *Corinth XVIII*, ii, no. 94, p. 50 (first half 2nd century; this is fairly early in the form's development, since the rim is not undercut).

2. (IPR 90-9) Small bowl or dish Fig. 9, Pl. 60:c

Lot 03-016, from Trench 90-4.

H. 0.041, max. Diam. 0.14 m.

Seven fragments preserve complete profile.

Fine, light-red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with tiny black and shiny inclusions, some lime eruptions in surface, especially on base.

Small, shallow, flanged bowl or dish with low ring foot. Interior floor divided at point just above foot; division marked with groove. At center, floor somewhat concave, changing to convex toward edge. Sharp break in profile at edge of floor, turning up to plain vertical rim, concave on exterior, and rounded lip.

Semigloss red slip (2.5YR 5/8) on interior, thinner and duller on exterior; striations visible in exterior surface, especially below rim. At center of floor, poorly impressed rosette stamp: 5 raised petals with

rounded tips around central circle, diameter 0.008–0.009 m.

Cf. for shape *Agora V*, H4 (first half of 2nd century); for stamp, *Agora V*, G30. Closest parallel in color, size, and shape: Corinth C-1983-11, Eastern sigillata B shallow bowl.

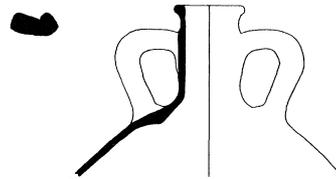


FIG. 10. Water jar **3**. Scale 1:10

3. (IPR 90-4) Micaceous water jar Fig. 10, Pl. 60:d

Lot 05-004, from Trench 90-6.

Max. p.H. 0.114, Diam. rim 0.046 m.

Light-red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with very fine black and sparkling inclusions; fabric flakes in layers at broken edges.

Single fragment preserves rim, neck, and part of shoulder of one-handed micaceous water jar.

Cf. *Agora V*, M125 (mid-2nd century); also Williams and Zervos 1986, no. 20, p. 156, pl. 4 (2nd century).

On stratigraphic grounds, then, the fill can be dated to the middle of the 2nd century after Christ, to a date close to A.D. 150. This naturally provides a date for construction of the mosaic, one that conforms very well to that suggested by Pamela Packard on stylistic grounds.⁴²

Excavation under the mosaic failed to reveal any structural reasons for the subsidences in the surface. Instead, the disturbances were considerable in the top levels of the fill, but these decreased and finally disappeared in the lower levels. This showed that the subsidences were caused by forces coming from above, rather than from below, and in fact must have been caused initially by the collapse of the Bath's vaults and walls, perhaps exacerbated by centuries of weight unevenly distributed on the surface of the mosaic. That the initial collapse was the primary cause was suggested by the rounded indentations in the surface at the east and, more especially, the west ends of Room VI, directly in front of the pedestals; these depressions almost certainly were caused by the collapse of the monumental statuary located there, probably as the result of an earthquake of uncertain date.

⁴² Packard 1980, pp. 334–346.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ROMAN BATH

Examination of the walls of the Roman Bath suggests that the building was constructed in a single phase. Various materials were used in the wall construction, including large ashlar blocks, rubble faced with small ashlar blocks, and rubble faced with bricks, but these different techniques seem to have no chronological significance: the large ashlar blocks normally were used in the lower courses of walls, while the other masonry appears mixed in walls that clearly bond together.

As noted above, the mosaic in Room VI was laid about the middle of the 2nd century after Christ, and the contemporary fill under the mosaic seems also to date the foundations of Bath walls in that area, so that we may conclude, tentatively at least, that the mosaic was constructed at the same time that the Bath was built. Construction fill from the Roman Bath south of the building (including poros working chips: Lot 92-1) also provides a date around A.D. 150. Material of the same date was also encountered in exploration of the foundations along the east side and along the north wall of the Bath.

In addition, it is significant that excavation under the mosaic, within the interior of the Greek pool (see below), showed that the floor of the Greek period was clean when the 2nd-century Roman construction took place. This would seem to be a very strong argument that the Greek pool, and perhaps the whole of the Greek Bath, was being used during the Early Roman occupation of the Sanctuary of Poseidon. As has frequently been pointed out,⁴³ Roman rebuilding of the Sanctuary seems to have begun only in the second half of the 1st century after Christ, but had the Romans built their Bath in a derelict site *ca.* A.D. 150, one would expect to have found the Greek floors littered with debris that had fallen or been thrown in over the previous 300 years. Instead, the floor was clean, and one cannot avoid the conclusion that the occupants of the site in the Roman period must have been making use of the Greek structures. This, of course, has important ramifications for the history of the Sanctuary at Isthmia in the Early Roman period, as well as for the development of Roman baths and bathing practices in the eastern Mediterranean.

The only complication in this reconstruction is a small east–west cutting in the hypocaust-level floor of Room IX that joins up with a similar cutting along the west side of the same room (shown in Figures 2 and 11). The east–west cutting, which is *ca.* 1.10 m. wide, is exactly in line with, and the same width as, the foundation for the robbed-out wall along the south end of Room VIII and just a bit wider than the preserved wall under the north side of the pool in the apse of Room XI. Piers from the hypocaust system in use during the latest phase of the Roman Bath were constructed directly over this cutting, but investigation within the cutting revealed mortar and tile foundations exactly like those encountered elsewhere in the building, so one may conclude that there was a significant alteration in the Bath plan in this room at some point and that either the room had a rectangular south end or there was a pool in the apse. It is presently impossible to date this early phase, whether it represents a period before construction of the rest of the building (i.e., before A.D. 150) or whether the

⁴³ This was first noted as a result of examination of the pottery from Tower 14 of the Fortress (Peppers 1979, pp. 142–143). The work of John Hayes, on material from the earlier Broneer excavations and from excavation in 1989, has confirmed that this general pattern is evident throughout the area of the Sanctuary. See Gebhard 1993, Marty 1993, and Hayes 1993.

original Bath had a wall at this point that was removed in one of the remodelings of the structure that are otherwise attested.

Such remodelings seem to have been relatively limited: the addition of the furnace in the chamber under Room III and the blocking of a doorway between Rooms VI and X, both mentioned above. There is some indication of changes in the heating system of the building over time, as well as modification of the decorative scheme and the way in which water was handled.

The Roman Bath seems to have functioned until the end of the 4th century after Christ. Indication of this is provided by the ash fill in the furnace area under Room III and, more especially, in the drains in Room VI and elsewhere. It is clear that the drains were kept clean (and the building presumably in use) until the very end of the 4th century, after which they quickly became clogged with debris that included lamps, pottery, and coins dating to the end of the century.

Unfortunately, we cannot be sure what caused the abandonment of the Bath; perhaps it was an earthquake (those of 365 and 375 are well attested in the Corinthia), or it may have been connected with the general decline of paganism or the invasion of Alaric in 395/6.⁴⁴ In any case, it seems clear that the eastern side of the Bath originally suffered most, and the east wall of the building may have fallen down. After some period of abandonment the debris from this first collapse was partially cleaned up, and the building was again used, perhaps by individuals involved in construction of the Hexamilion. Fires were built on the surfaces of the mosaics, amphoras were apparently stored in various parts of the building, and a rubble wall was built along the east side of Room I, probably to replace the original wall of the Bath, whose blocks had presumably been robbed out to help build the Hexamilion, sometime in the early decades of the 5th century. Apparently shortly after this, the long cutting was made through the north side of the mosaic in Room VI and from Room IV to the drain in Room II, although the precise purpose of this work is presently unclear (Pls. 53:b, 56:c, 58:b). By this time, of course, the Bath was long out of commission, and its northern walls had been incorporated in the early Byzantine fortifications of the Isthmus of Corinth. Yet, some of the walls of the Bath were apparently still standing, at least until the latter part of the 6th century or later, when the final collapse of the building took place.

EXPLORATION OF THE GREEK BATH

The remains of the Greek Bath at Isthmia were first discovered in 1976 when excavation in Room VIII of the Roman Bath revealed portions of a waterproof floor at an elevation of *ca.* +40.70–40.86 m., with a small water line and basins (shown most clearly on Figure 11, running north–south along the east side; cf. also Figs. 2 and 3).⁴⁵ Further excavation in 1978 exposed part of a lower floor at an elevation of +39.66 m. at the south end of the Roman Bath and showed that the hypocaust piers in Rooms IX and X were built upon this same floor. Both of these floors could be seen to predate the Roman Bath; the upper floor could

⁴⁴ Beaton and Clement 1976.

⁴⁵ This is not mentioned in the report of Clement 1976.

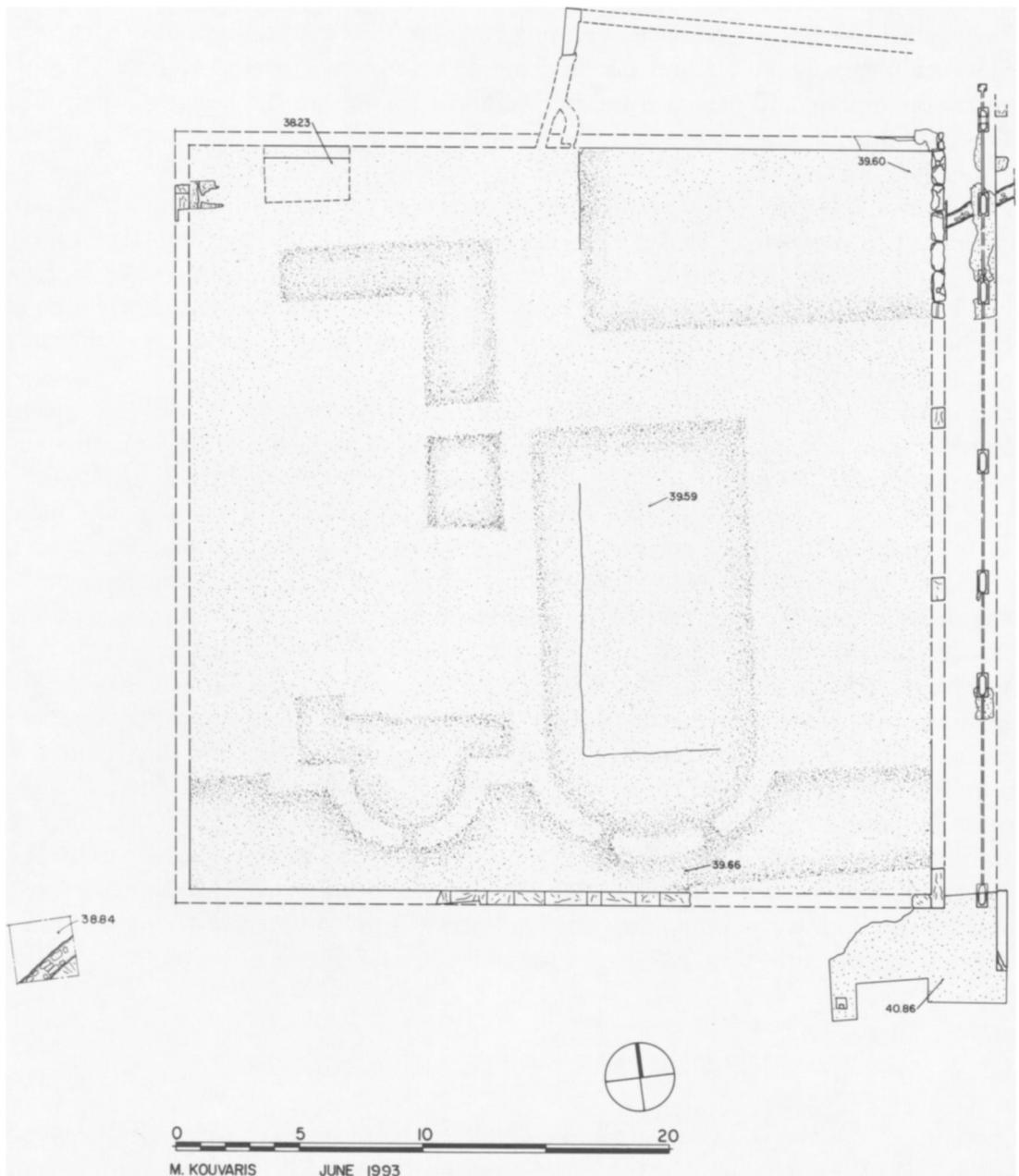


FIG. 11. Greek Bath, period plan

be identified as a walkway, while the lower floor was the bottom of the pool of the Greek Bath. The floor of the “service area” along the south side of the Roman Bath and the footing for the hypocaust piers in Rooms IX, X, and XI were thus simply part of the bottom of the Greek pool. A further section of the pool floor and its outer (west) wall was found in the passageway west of Room III. The south wall of the Greek pool could be identified in the service area, and the southwest corner is visible in cuttings where the original blocks were robbed away. The east wall was partially exposed near its southern corner (at the southeast corner of the service area of the Roman Bath) and in two cuttings made through the fill of Room VIII. This same wall seemed to be visible as a break in the eastern part of the monochrome mosaic in Room VI.

Excavation in 1990 and 1991 clarified the overall size of the Greek pool, although several problems still remain concerning its western half and the structure(s) that lay around it. Presumably the pool was only part of the Bath, and we expect that the normal facilities for a bath of the Greek period, such as exercise grounds, bathing basins, and cisterns, would have been located in the near vicinity.

The pool is almost square (Plate 59:b shows only the northeast corner of the pool, shaded in Figure 11). The blocks of the northeast and southeast corners are preserved *in situ*, while the southwest corner is indicated by the broken cement floor; the wall blocks there were robbed away when the Roman Bath was built. Only the northwest corner must be hypothetically restored, since it lies deep under the cement floor of Room III. On the basis of the preserved evidence, the sides do not appear to be exactly the same but vary between 30.04 m. and 30.31 m. in length. The eastern wall, whose corners are best preserved, is 30.04 m. long, and this probably gives the best estimate of what the builders originally intended. Almost certainly the length of each side was meant to be one hundred Greek feet. Oscar Broneer has shown that at Isthmia a foot of *ca.* 0.320 m. was in use in the Archaic and Classical periods, while by the time of Alexander a foot of 0.302 m. was the norm.⁴⁶ The evidence from the pool suggests that the latter foot was used in its construction. As will be seen, the pool must be dated to the earlier part of the 4th century B.C., and this pushes the use of this foot back into the Classical period.

The eastern and southern sides of the pool, at least, were capped with a curb *ca.* 0.20 m. high, projecting *ca.* 0.04 m. into the pool. The pool is *ca.* 1.4 m. deep, from the top of the curb on the sides, but the water was undoubtedly meant to come only to the bottom of the curb, so that the water in the pool was 1.2 m. deep. The sides and the floor of the pool are covered with waterproof cement; the sides were re-cemented once, the floor twice. The original floor was a patternless pebble mosaic, while the sides were smooth; the later cementings were less carefully done than the original. The pool was certainly open to the sky.

Thus, the Greek Bath at Isthmia is different from most Classical baths known to date. Most Greek baths were small, and if they included a pool or plunge bath, those were commonly small and covered by a roof (as, for example, at Nemea and Epidauros). The best comparisons are the pools at Syracuse, Delphi, and Olympia, all of which were open to the sky. The pool at Delphi, of course, is round, with a diameter of *ca.* 10 m. and a depth of 1.90 m.; that at Olympia was approximately 24.6 × 16.40 m. and 1.64 m. deep, while the

⁴⁶ *Isthmia I*, Appendix I, pp. 174–181; *Isthmia II*, pp. 63–64.

pool at Syracuse was 29.75×21.80 m.⁴⁷ Using these figures as a basis for comparison and ignoring differences caused by steps in the pools, the pool at Delphi would have held *ca.* 78.5 cu. m. of water, and that at Olympia 596.6 cu. m., while the Isthmia pool is by far the largest, with a capacity of *ca.* 1274.7 cu. m.

Along the east side of the pool and immediately to the east (and possibly along at least some of the other sides) was a waterproof cement floor *ca.* 2.10 m. wide, made of the same patternless mosaic as the original floor of the pool (Pls. 58:c, 59:a). This floor is at approximately the same elevation as the top of the pool walls. On its western side the floor ran directly up to the pool wall, while on the east it was bounded by a wall of uncertain height, now almost completely robbed away. Set into the floor was a water line, *ca.* 0.10 m. wide and 0.10 m. deep, only *ca.* 0.18–0.20 m. from the east edge of the room, running from south to north with oval basins set flush into the floor at irregular intervals (Pl. 59:d). Seven of these basins have been uncovered to date; they are all cut into rectangular sandstone blocks, *ca.* 1.00 m. long and 0.48 m. wide. The upper surface of the blocks was chiseled away to a maximum depth of 0.16 m. to form the oval basins. The surfaces of the basins were covered with two layers of waterproof cement, the first a coarse layer with small rounded indentations that resemble the impressions of golf balls, the second a finer finishing coat. The water line slopes downward slightly from south to north, and the first basin is set in the cement floor of a room of uncertain but irregular shape at the southeast corner of the Greek pool.

The shallow pitch of the line and the fact that over its preserved length it does not connect with the pool show that the water line cannot have been used as an inlet or a major source of water for the pool. Thus, the exact purpose of the water line and basins is not certain; in size and location they do not seem like basins in other Greek baths, and it is difficult to see how they could have been used as part of the bathing process. The basins are shallow with rounded interiors, not at all like the usual deep bathing tubs found at many other sites. The basins, indeed, most clearly resemble settling basins. The best immediate parallel is the water line and basins running along the south side of the Stoa of Kotys at Epidauros, which were constructed in the 4th century B.C.⁴⁸ There the water line was designed simply to carry off the rainwater from the roof of the stoa, while the basins were for settling.

Complicating an understanding of the water line and basins at Isthmia is the fact that it is not known whether the space in which they were enclosed was roofed or whether there was a building just to the east. One may reconstruct the floor around the pool as open to the sky or as closed. There is certain evidence of a wall along the east side of the floor, but this is preserved only in a single course at the northeast and southeast corners of the complex. All other traces were presumably removed when the Roman Bath was constructed. Thus, one may suggest that there was another building to the east of the Greek pool. Rain from the roof of this hypothetical building would then have emptied into the water line, and the basins would thus have served as regular settling basins.

⁴⁷ Ginouvès 1962, pp. 133–134; cf. Jannoray 1953, p. 55 (“la piscine ronde qui occupe la partie central de la cour”), pls. I and II (Delphi), and Schlieff 1944, pp. 40–46 (Olympia).

⁴⁸ Kavvadias 1894, p. 54 and 1892, p. 49. Neither of these illustrate the basins and water line, which, to the best of my knowledge, are unpublished.

Another possibility is that a water supply line ran from the higher ground on the southeast toward the southeast corner of the pool, emptying into the room at this corner, and then ran along through the basins. Alternatively, the water line may have extended along the wall east of the line of basins, with a series of waterspouts, presumably appropriately decorated, each of which directed water into one of the basins and then along the line to the north. In this case the basins would be largely decorative, and the waterspouts would have allowed bathers to wash their hands or feet before using the pool. A partial parallel to this system may be seen in the Greek bath at Delphi, where a series of eleven spouts emptied into basins along the south side of the wall separating the upper from the lower terrace.⁴⁹ One should note, of course, that the Delphi basins are considerably deeper than those at Isthmia and were not set into the floor, as at Isthmia, but rested on foundation and orthostate blocks so that their top surfaces were about a meter above the floor and about a meter below the waterspouts. The backs of the basins were flush against the wall behind them, and water flowed between the basins through a channel cut directly in the surface of the blocks. Similar arrangements, with virtually attached basins, can be seen at Nemea,⁵⁰ Eretria,⁵¹ and Priene,⁵² but none of these forms an exact parallel with the basins at Isthmia.

It is possible to suggest that the basins were used for washing feet, and this is supported by their depth (0.16 m.) and placement, with their tops nearly flush with the floor. The curving sides of the basins and the difficulty of using them in the cramped space against the presumed east wall of the building, however, would seem to mitigate against this. Ginouvès, nevertheless, suggests that basins at Priene, Eretria, Gortys, and Pergamon were designed for this purpose, and he notes that the basins at Eretria were only 0.15 m. deep, while those at Priene had a depth of 0.19 m.⁵³ Finally, one might seek a parallel for these basins at the Amphiaraiion at Oropos, where a water line and a series of stone settling basins run east–west along the south side of the stoa, perhaps extending into the area of the women’s baths.⁵⁴

In the area excavated east of the northeast corner of the Greek pool, one of the basins was uncovered almost immediately below the lowest layer of mortar from the Roman Bath. About 3.5 m. north of this basin another one was discovered at a slightly lower elevation, covered completely with a layer of hard white clay. It would seem that this basin had sunk into the filling of an earlier water line (see below) sometime during the life of the Greek Bath,

⁴⁹ Jannoray 1953, pp. 55–59, pls. I, II, VI (1–2), VII (2), XXIII, XXIV, XXV. The spacing of the basins varies from 1.75 to 1.82 m., except for the center basin, which is 1.50 m. from its neighbors. Only a single mutilated example of the basins survives: it is 1.82 m. long, 0.825 m. wide, and 0.582 m. high. The channel in this block is 0.18 m. wide.

⁵⁰ Stephen G. Miller in Birge *et al.* 1992, pp. 205–216. At Nemea there were four tubs (or basins) along each of the two tub rooms on either side of the central pool. The water for the tubs ran along the inside of the wall of the bathing rooms and fell into the tubs through spouts above each (no traces of the decoration of the spouts have been found). The tubs were placed on “legs” that in turn rested on bases, so that the tops of the tubs were approximately half a meter above the floor of the room. Cf. Orlandos 1916; Delorme 1946, pp. 109–113.

⁵¹ Richardson 1896, p. 152, fig. 1.

⁵² Wiegand and Schrader 1904, pp. 270–271, figs. 277, 278, pl. XX.

⁵³ Ginouvès 1962, pp. 133, 198.

⁵⁴ Ginouvès 1962, pp. 133, 347. Cf. Petrakos 1968, pp. 72–77 (women’s bath), pp. 109–110 (men’s bath); fig. 4 shows the water line and the basins.

making the basin and the water line unusable. The surface of the basin was then covered with the clay and the water line recut in this hard surface.

The inlet for water to fill the pool has not been securely identified.⁵⁵ There may have been a water inlet at the southeast corner (p. 307 above), but this cannot reasonably have been used to fill the pool, since the water line was only *ca.* 0.10 × 0.10 m., and the volume of the pool was well over 1000 cu. m. of water. A more likely candidate for the main inlet may be seen in a small trench (RB 76-22) excavated at the southwest corner of the Roman Bath (shown in Figure 2 just south of room XIV). There, a cutting in hardpan with several stones *in situ* seems to run directly to the southwest corner of the Greek pool. The brief investigation of this feature did not allow any stratigraphic observations, but there was nothing to preclude its connection with the Greek pool.

The drains for the Greek pool are clearer in their arrangement and function. Thus, one drain (of a probable set of drains) was found along the northern side (Pl. 59:c). This was about 14.4 m. west of the northeast corner of the pool. It preserves a rough, circular cutting, *ca.* 0.12 m. in diameter on the south face and 0.18 m. on the north face, set just above the floor of the pool; it was presumably lined with some material, and fragments of decomposed bronze found at the opening suggest that it had been fitted with a bronze pipe. This drain emptied out through the north wall of the pool, originally into a large drain, 0.51–0.56 m. wide, that ran off to the north under what became Room II of the Roman Bath. This drain was blocked, presumably by the Romans, but another constructed in the same Greek technique of large blocks covered with waterproof cement is still visible 0.45–0.50 m. to the west, where it was incorporated into the drainage system of the Roman Bath. This must have been connected with a drain in the Greek pool that is now covered by an unexcavated section of the white mosaic in Room VI. We should probably imagine, then, at least two drains centered in the middle of the north wall of the pool (Fig. 11). Immediately to the north of the pool the water line branched to the west and to the east. Immediately to the west was the reservoir/drain for the Roman Bath (pp. 289–290 above). To the east the water line, built of large blocks covered with waterproof cement and *ca.* 0.50 m. wide, ran at least as far as the southwest corner of what became Room I of the Roman Bath. This water line, running parallel to the north side of the Greek pool and about 4.5 m. north of it, was utilized in Roman times as a drain for Room I (running east–west to the reservoir).

The east wall of the pool was constructed of ashlar blocks *ca.* 1.20–1.50 m. long, *ca.* 0.50–0.60 m. high, and *ca.* 0.50–0.60 m. wide. An unusual technique, visible in the east and the south walls, was used to join at least the top two courses of the wall: a rectangular cutting about 0.10 m. on a side was made lengthwise in the middle of the bottom of the upper course and the top of the second course, leaving a cavity *ca.* 0.20 m. high. The blocks were laid, and waterproof cement was forced into the cavity, filling it and extruding out at various places along the east side of the wall (Pl. 60:b). The purpose of this technique was undoubtedly to seal the horizontal joints and thus to prevent water in the pool from leaking out between the blocks. This technique is visible in the highest horizontal joint, but it is uncertain if it was used lower in the pool wall.

⁵⁵ On the inlet for pools of the Greek period, see Jannoray 1953, pp. 58–61 (Delphi), and Stephen G. Miller in Birge *et al.* 1992, pp. 207, 210–232 (Nemea).

The fill found in connection with construction of the Greek pool was investigated in a number of places: in the fill to the east of the east wall (under the floor with the series of basins),⁵⁶ north of the north wall of the pool,⁵⁷ near the northeast corner, and in a small break under the floor of the central part of the pool.⁵⁸ The fill in all these areas was consistent; it contained many broken fragments of stone faced with waterproof cement but relatively few pieces of pottery or other finds. The diagnostic pottery could largely be assigned to the 5th century B.C., but a few pieces date as late as the first third of the 4th century B.C. These included a plain black-glazed bowl and a skyphos:



FIG. 12. Pottery from construction fill for the Greek pool. Scale 1:2

4. (IPG 90-3) Bowl

Fig. 12, Pl. 61:a

Lot 01-010.

H. 0.050, est. Diam. rim 0.10, Diam. foot 0.047 m. Fine, pink clay (7.5 YR 7/4) with some small black and sparking inclusions and voids.

Mended from many fragments, preserving about half of vessel, including full profile.

Small bowl with thin disk on undersurface. Low, convex-flaring wall to plain turned rim. Interior glazed; upper third to half of exterior glazed by dipping, with drip down to foot. Wheelmarks on exterior.

Cf. *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 54, p. 88, pl. 8 (second quarter 5th century B.C.); no. 62, p. 89, pl. 9 (third or fourth quarter 5th century B.C.).

5. (IPG 90-4) Skyphos

Fig. 12, Pl. 61:b

Lot 01-010.

Pres. H. 0.036, Diam. ring foot 0.041 m.

Fine, light-red clay (2.5YR 6/8) with few small, light-colored inclusions.

Skyphos with low ring foot and wall with compound curve from diameter less than that of ring foot. Black glaze on interior and exterior down to ring foot, where slip is unevenly applied. Thin slip on underside of ring foot: in center two concentric circles in black glaze. Corinthian imitation of Attic.

Cf. *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 394, p. 155, pl. 45 (later 5th-early 4th century B.C.); no. 396, p. 155, pl. 45 (mid to third quarter 4th century B.C.).

On the basis of this evidence, construction of the Greek pool should be assigned to sometime around or shortly after 365 B.C. In addition to the fragments of fine pottery, there were significant numbers of fragments from large blister-ware oinochoes, of the kind one might expect to find in large-scale bathing and athletic facilities.

Excavation in 1978 explored a built chamber under Room III of the Roman Bath (Fig. 7) that was used, in its latest phase at least, as a furnace for the heating of Room X (pp. 293-294 above). The floor and north wall of this chamber were connected in some way with the Greek structures that predated the Roman Bath, and the chamber would have fallen within

⁵⁶ Trench 90-3 (Deposit 90-3); Trench 91-1 (Lots 08-006 to -008, -010, -016 to -020).

⁵⁷ Trench 90-4 (Deposit 90-6).

⁵⁸ Trench 90-5 (Deposit 90-2).

the square dimensions of the Greek pool, its north wall directly in line with the north wall of the pool as exposed farther east (Figs. 2, 11). The Roman use level in this chamber, it will be remembered, was at an elevation of *ca.* +39.04 m. and above. Far below this level, however, at elevations of +38.23–38.27 m., was a well-preserved floor made of smooth, waterproof cement. The floor slopes up slightly from north to south, and along its north side there is a channel, *ca.* 0.50 m. wide and 0.50 m. deep. The north wall of the chamber is covered with this same waterproof cement, and it is clear that it was built at the same time as the floor. The floors of the chamber and the channel are at elevations far below that of the preserved floor of the Greek pool elsewhere: *ca.* 39.58 m. for the floor of the pool under Room X, as opposed to +38.23 m. for the floor of the chamber and +37.73 m. for the floor of the channel. In addition, there is a small patch of the floor of the pool still *in situ* at an elevation of +39.60 m. in the passageway just west of the chamber. It is, of course, possible that the floor in the chamber was a small, deep section of the pool, but this seems unlikely. What is more probable is that this floor represents an earlier construction whose north wall was used by the builders of the Greek pool. The pool floor under Room X and just west of the chamber does not connect with the floor of the chamber; instead it is broken roughly away, which presumably occurred when the Roman Bath was built. Furthermore, the east wall of the chamber was not constructed on the floor of the chamber but rather in a red soil that must have been in place when the Roman Bath was built (p. 293 above). This surface is just below the floor level of the Greek pool under Room X, and one may suggest that it represents a filling put in by the builders of the Greek pool in order to cover the earlier cement floor and to raise the area to the level of the floor in the rest of the pool. This theory is confirmed by the finds in the fill, which are entirely of Greek date and which conform closely to the material found in the fill associated with construction of the Greek pool elsewhere.⁵⁹

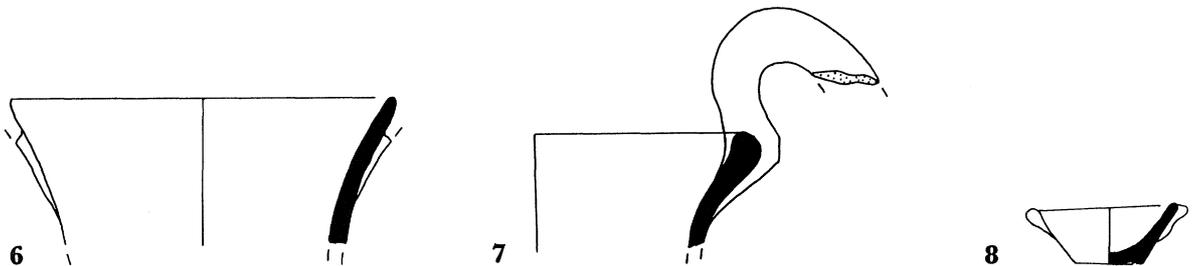


FIG. 13. Pottery from fill below the Greek pool, under Room X. Scale 1:2

- | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>6. (IPG 78-1) Skyphos
Lot 78-JMP-016.
P. H. 0.038, est. Diam. rim 0.11 m.
Single fragment preserves <i>ca.</i> one-sixth of rim and shoulder.</p> | <p>Fig. 13, Pl. 61:c</p> | <p>Fine, red clay (5YR 7/6) with many small white inclusions.
Skyphos with compound-curved wall and outturned, slightly tapering rim.
Black glaze on interior and exterior.</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

⁵⁹ Trench RB 78-4 (Lot 78-JMP-011 to -018, -020 to -023); Trench 92-2 (Lot 08-029 to -036).

Cf. *Agora* XII, pp. 84-85; nos. 348-351, pp. 259-260 (ca. 400 B.C. to 350-340 B.C.); *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 360, p. 149, pl. 41 (first or early second quarter of 4th century B.C.).

7. (IPG 78-2) Black-glazed oinochoe Fig. 13, Pl. 61:d

Lot 78-JMP-016.

P. H. 0.066 m.

Single fragment preserves part of handle and rim.

Fine buff clay (5YR 6/4).

Oinochoe (round or trefoil mouth?) with broadly flaring rim to plain lip, slightly thickened vertically; oval handle rises above rim.

Thin black glaze on exterior and dripping into interior.

Cf. *Agora* XII, no. 124, p. 245, pl. 7 (ca. 400 B.C.); *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 390, fig. 3.

8. (IPG 78-4) Miniature kotyle Fig. 13, Pl. 62:a, b

Lot 78-JMP-011.

Height 0.16, Diam. rim 0.34 m.

Intact.

Fine, buff clay (7.5YR 8/4).

Miniature vessel with flat, string-cut base, above which wall is initially concave, then flares out sharply to plain, slightly outturned rim. Two solid horizontal handles crudely attached to rim.

Cf. *Corinth* XVIII, i, no. 511, p. 169, pl. 50 (mid-4th century B.C.); cf. IPG 68-105 (from West Cemetery). According to *Corinth* XVIII, i, p. 65, these vessels "abound in 6th- and 5th-century levels; they appear to die out in the late 4th century."

One may conclude, then, that the floor in the chamber under Room III represents a building of Greek date, earlier than the Greek pool above it. No investigations were made under this floor, and a more precise date cannot presently be assigned. Furthermore, although it is certain that this earlier Greek structure was designed to hold water, we cannot presently say whether it was a predecessor to the Greek pool, simply a water-storage device, or some other kind of construction.

The builders of the Greek pool, however, made use of the existing north wall to form the north wall of their pool, at least in the western part, and this determined the orientation of the structure as a whole. Why the floor level of the Greek pool had to be "raised" ca. 1.30 m. above the floor of the earlier Greek structure was not immediately apparent, but in 1992 bedrock was encountered at an elevation of +39.47 m. near the northwest corner of Room IX, ca. 4.5 m. away, suggesting that the builders of the Greek pool would have had to excavate substantial quantities of bedrock if they had wished to construct the wall of the pool at the level of the earlier Greek floor. Also, one should remember that there is no evidence that the earlier, lower, floor continued significantly to the south of its preserved termination at the south edge of the chamber; excavation at the west end of Room VI, about three meters south of the north wall of the Greek pool, encountered virgin soil at an elevation of +39.32 m., and so the earlier floor cannot have existed there. Further, excavation to the west of (i.e. outside) Room V revealed virgin soil at an elevation well above the level of the earlier floor, so that it may be suggested that the earlier structure came to an end at the hypothetical northwest corner of the Greek pool, concealed under the floor of Room V. Whether the earlier north wall continued the entire length of the later Greek pool cannot now be determined. Yet it may be significant that the construction of the north wall of the pool, as far as it has been investigated, is different from the east and the south walls. The latter are constructed of large ashlar blocks (p. 308 above), while the north wall, at least in the east where it has been explored, is made of unevenly shaped blocks.

East of the east wall of the Greek pool and at an elevation of ca. +40.47 m., well below the cement floor associated with the pool, was a cutting in virgin soil ca. 1 m. wide and

at least 0.40 m. deep (Pl. 62:c, d). This cutting must have been for a water line, running roughly northeast–southwest, presumably originally lined with stones and covered with waterproof cement, although this lining was discovered *in situ* in only two places along its course. By its position, this water line must be older than both the cement floor that lay above it and the Greek pool, whose east wall cut through it. The line was filled in when the Greek pool was constructed, and the pottery found in it is the same as that discovered elsewhere in construction fill for the pool. The direction of the water line cannot be determined, since only a small section of it was explored and only the sides of the line in the virgin soil could be identified; its orientation and the general lay of the land suggest that it ran off to the northeast.

Exploration of the Greek Bath and the other structures of the Greek period that were very likely associated with it must await another campaign of excavation. Many problems presently remain unanswered, yet it is already clear that in bathing facilities, as in many other aspects of architectural development, Isthmia commands an important place. In particular, the Greek Bath at Isthmia was large, of an early date, and included a pool that was considerably larger than those at Olympia, Nemea, Delphi, and Epidauros.

In the forthcoming publication of the Roman Bath there will be detailed documentation of the stratigraphy and finds, and a full discussion of the Isthmian Bath in the context of the development of bathing facilities in the eastern Mediterranean. The Greek Bath, too, will receive full treatment at the proper time, once full-scale investigation of its remains has been completed.

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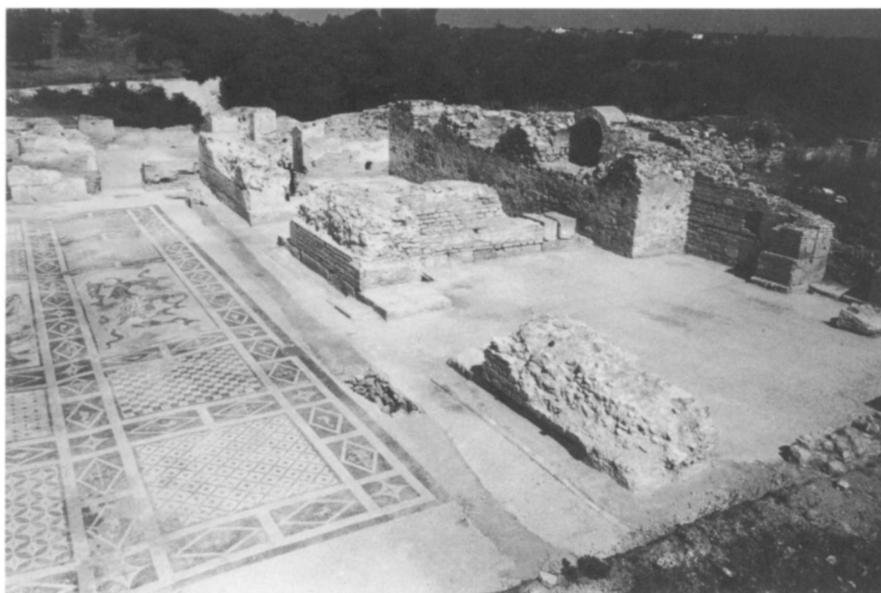
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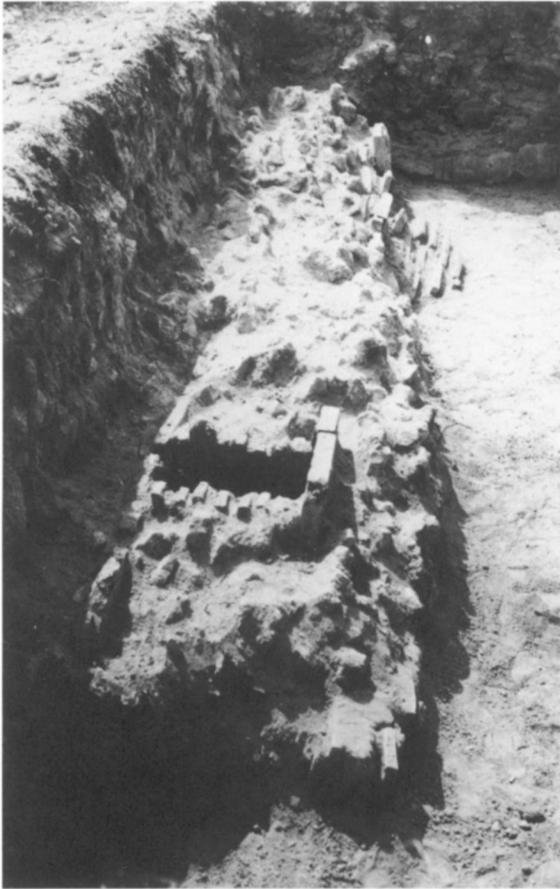


a. General view of the Roman Bath from the south



b. Rooms VI and I from the southeast

PLATE 54



a. Fallen wall with windows, between Rooms VI and II, from the east



b. Fallen wall in Room II, from the east



c. South end of Room IX, from the northwest



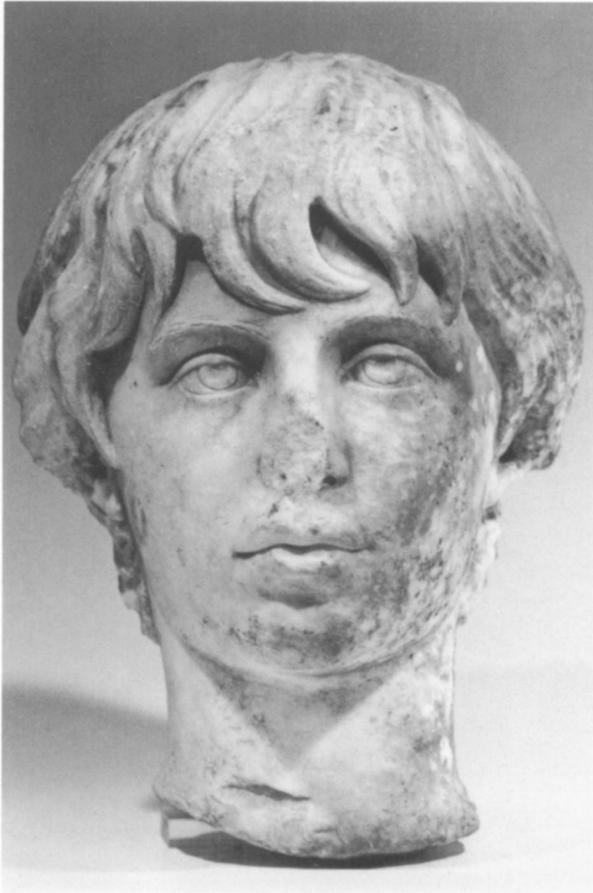
b. IA 77-28



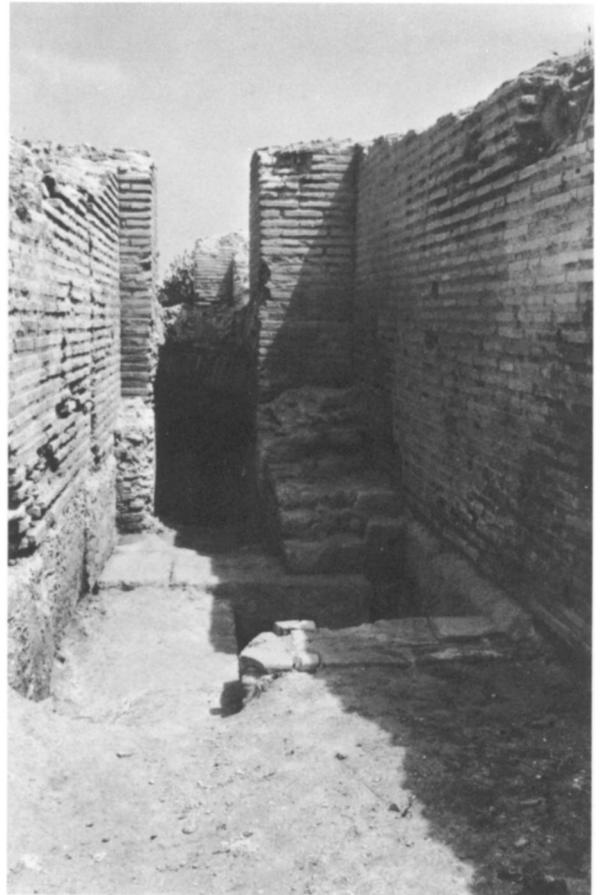
c. IA 77-1



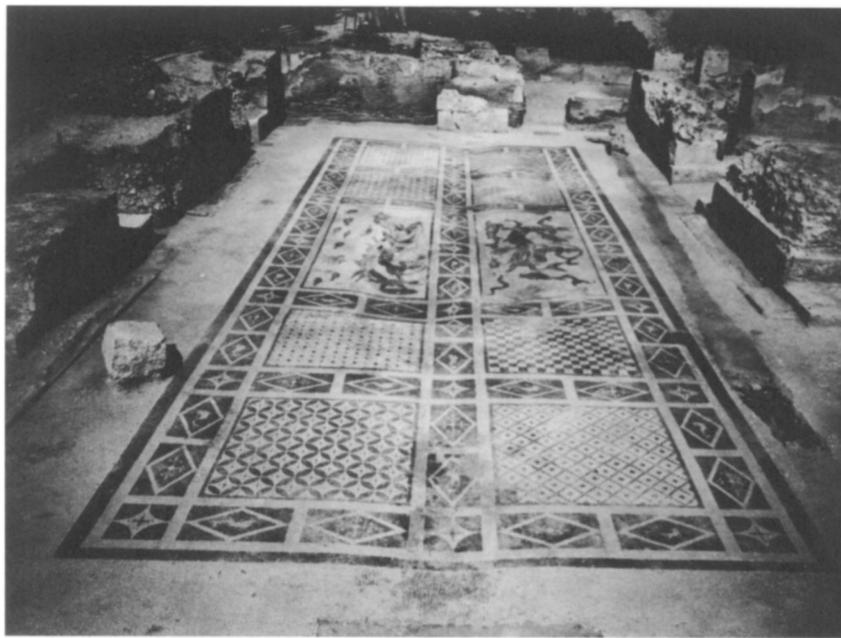
a. South end of Room XI, from the northwest



a. Polydeukion (IS 78-12)



b. Entranceway between Room IV and Room X,
from the west

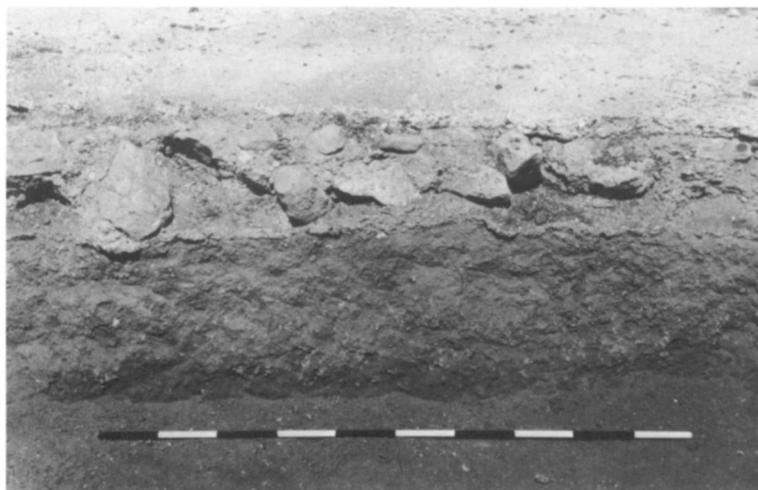


c. Room VI from the east



Monochrome mosaic, Room VI, aerial view

PLATE 58



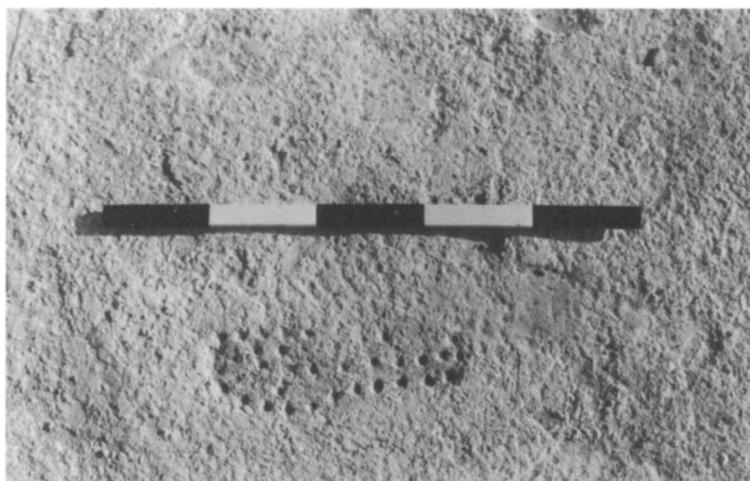
a. Mosaic bedding in Room VI



b. Long cutting through the mosaic in Room VI



c. Floor east of the Greek pool, from the south



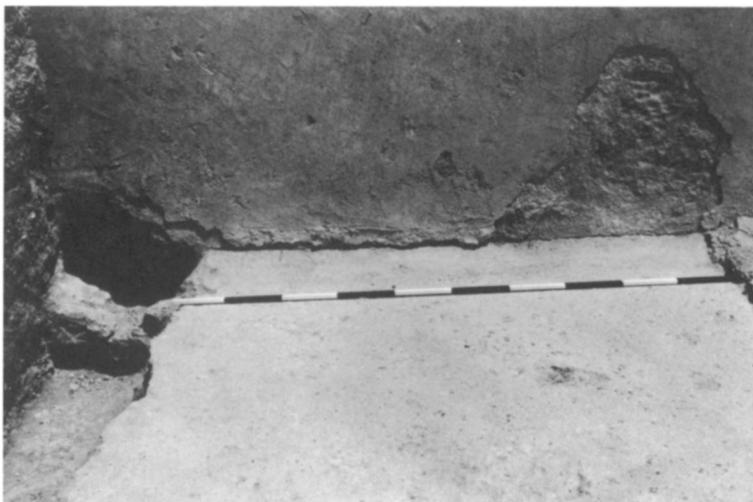
d. Footprint in mortar



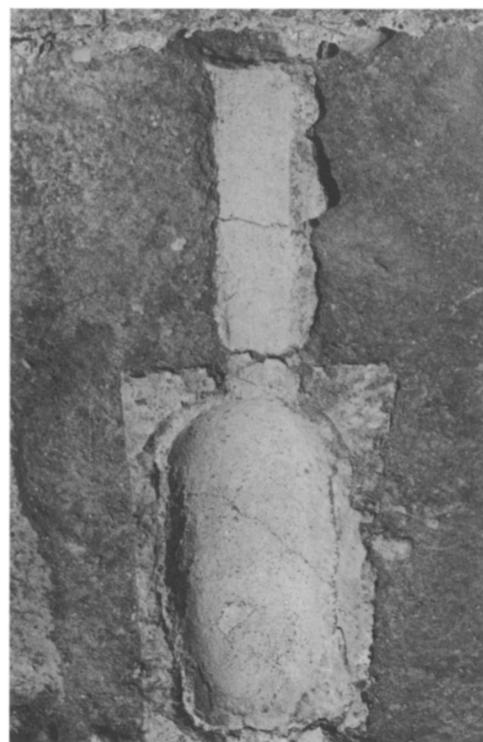
a. Floor east of the Greek pool, from the north



b. Northeast corner of the Greek pool, from the west



c. Drain in the Greek pool

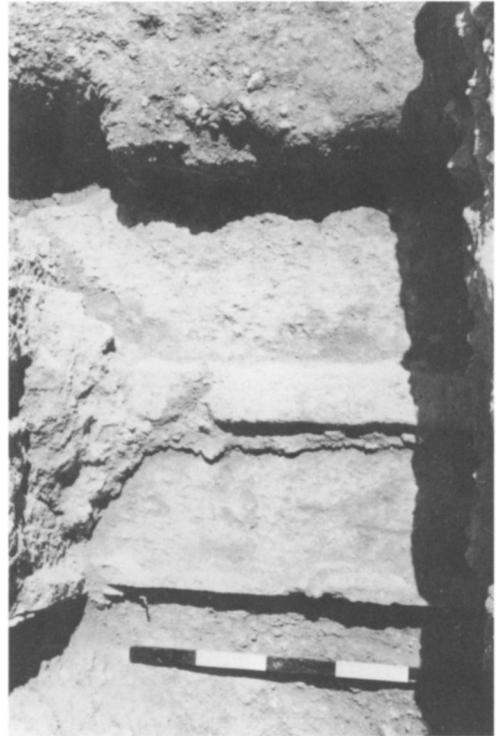


d. Southeast excavated basin in Room VI, from the north

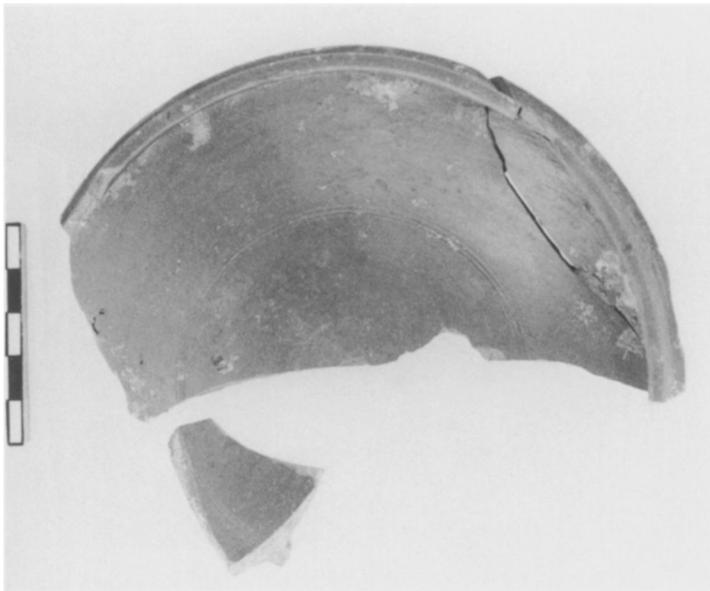
PLATE 60



a. 1 (IPR 90-8)



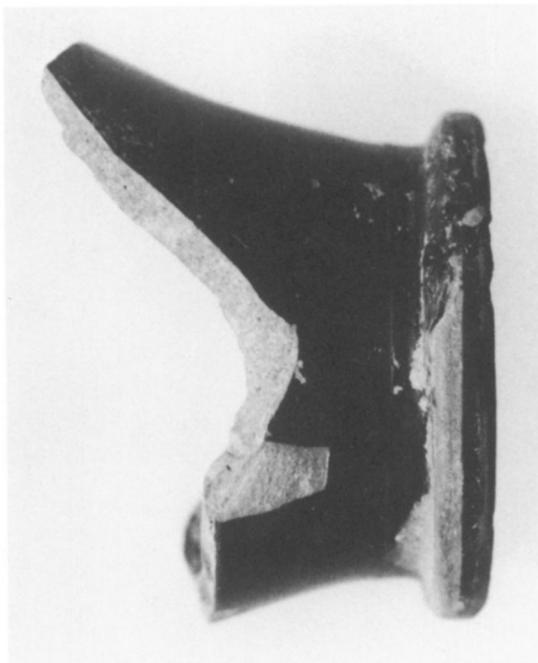
b. Southernmost excavated block of the east wall of the Greek pool showing cement filling between blocks, from the west



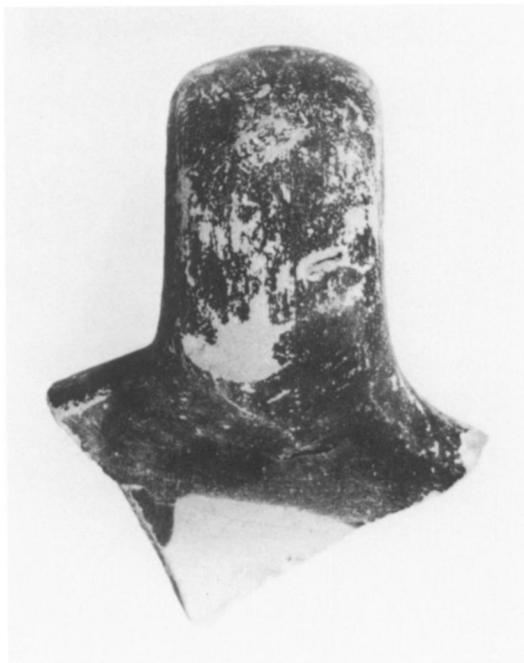
c. 2 (IPR 90-9)



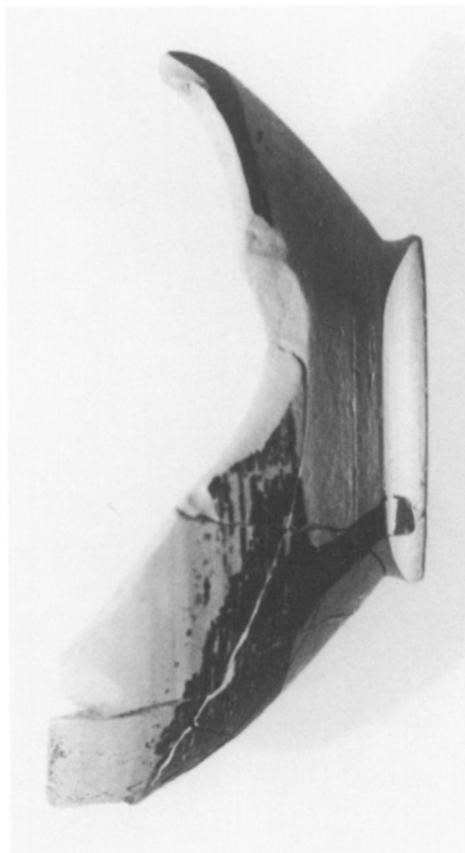
d. 3 (IPR 90-4)



b. 5 (IPG 90-4)



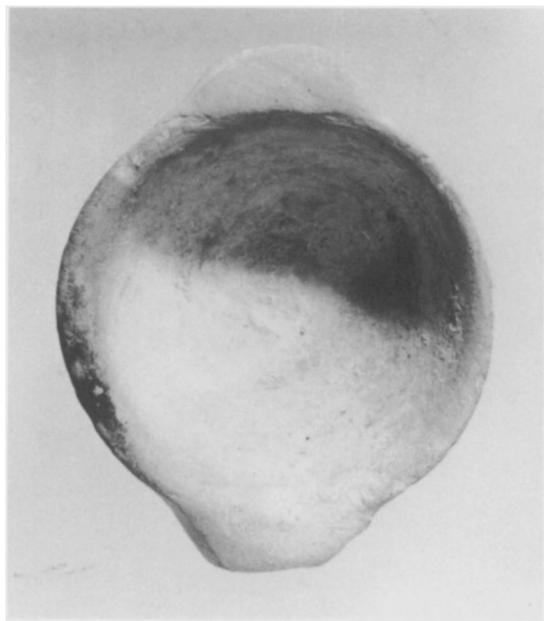
d. 7 (IPG 78-2)



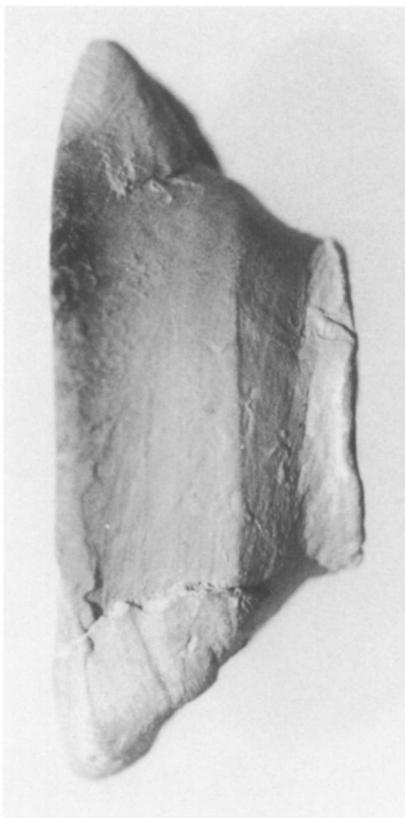
a. 4 (IPG 90-3)



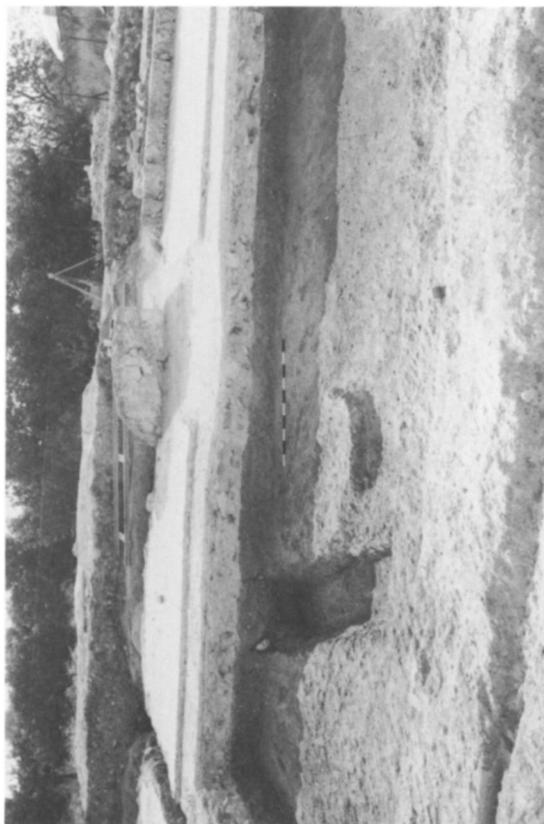
c. 6 (IPG 78-1)



a. **8** (IPG 78-4), top view



b. **8**, side view



c, d. Cutting in virgin soil east of the Greek pool, from the west



d.