

# UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMIA, 1989: III

(PLATES 70–75)

THIS IS THE THIRD AND FINAL PART of the report on excavations at the Sanctuary of Poseidon undertaken in 1989 by the University of Chicago.<sup>1</sup> It covers the period from ca. 146 B.C. to the early 3rd century A.C.<sup>2</sup> In an earlier version of this report, we had combined the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman material, but for reasons of space we have separated them into Parts II and III, the first of which appears on pages 1–63 of this volume (Gebhard and Hemans 1998). While some plans are duplicated in the following pages for ease of reference (Figs. 1, 4, 5, and 7 below), in other cases it will be useful for the reader to consult illustrations in Part II, especially for the plan of major monuments in the sanctuary (Part II, fig. 1, p. 2), the sanctuary and its environs (Part II, fig. 2, p. 3), and the plan of trenches excavated by Broneer (Part II, fig. 4, p. 5). Figure 2 below gives Broneer's restored plan of all major features in the East Temenos as an aid to locating monuments of different periods.

As in the previous reports, the account of the areas excavated in 1989 is arranged chronologically. Our aim is to present the development of the sanctuary over time by integrating information

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Gebhard was principal investigator and director of the project and is responsible for the excavation and report on the eastern and southeastern areas of the temenos and the Palaimonion; Frederick Hemans supervised excavations and reports on the northern section of the temenos and served as architect for the project; John Hayes analyzed all Roman context pottery, wrote the catalogue of selected vases at the end of this report, and prepared the drawings in Figures 14–17. The restored plans showing the sanctuary in the 1st and 2nd centuries (Figs. 3, 7, 8) are the product of close collaboration between Gebhard and Hemans. We are grateful to colleagues who are preparing objects from Isthmia for final publication for sharing information on their material. Ceramics: Catherine Morgan, Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (*Isthmia* VIII, forthcoming); Karim Arafat, Archaic (ca. 700–550 B.C.); Julie Bentz and Martha Risser, Late Archaic and Classical (ca. 550–400 B.C.); John Hayes, Hellenistic and Roman (ca. 400 B.C.–3rd century A.C.); other objects: Liane Houghtalin, coins; David Reese, fauna and shells; Julie Hansen, palaeobotanical remains; Michael Jameson, Greek inscriptions; Daniel Geagan, Roman inscriptions; Alastar Jackson, arms and armor. Mary Sturgeon, following her publication of the sculpture, 1952–1967, in *Isthmia* IV, studied fragments recovered in 1989 and others from the previous excavations that were not included in her book.

The excavations in 1989 and subsequent study seasons were carried out under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens with the permission of the Greek Archaeological Service. We warmly thank Dr. Ioannis Tsedakis, Director of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and Dr. Phani Pachygianni, then Ephor of the Fourth Ephoreia, for their assistance. The project was supported by two grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities (RO-21847-89, RK-20024-93) and matching funds from private donors. We gratefully acknowledge our debt to the University of Illinois at Chicago, the University of Chicago, and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for many forms of support and encouragement. See Gebhard and Hemans 1998, p. 1, note 3 for the excavation staff.

*Errata:* Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 16–17, note 47: ET = East Terrace, NT = North Terrace; plate 17:c: caption should read “A: red-soil buttress of stadium; B: sacrificial ash; C: rocky embankment for stadium D; E: East Terrace 3 fill”; note changes to deposit lettering on pp. 68–69; p. 74, East Terrace 8 = East Terrace 7. Gebhard and Hemans 1998, p. 28, fig. 14: caption should read, “Section E–E (top), trench 89-3, north scarp after excavation; section F–F (bottom), south scarp, diagram of deposits as excavated”; plate 8:c: rotate photograph 90° counterclockwise.

<sup>2</sup> All dates are A.C. unless otherwise specified. The following abbreviations are used: dep = deposit; E.St.IV = Early Stadium IV; ET = East Terrace; FT = Flavian Temenos; L.H.Rds = Late Hellenistic Roads; Mac = Macadam Floor; NEA Ter = Northeast Altar Terrace; NT = North Terrace; Pal = Palaimonion; RdD = Road D; RdE = Road E; RdF = Road F; RF = Roman feet; RRd = Roman Road; sec = section; tr = trench. In the deposit lists, inventoried sherds of earlier periods are listed by inventory number only. Elevations are taken from the site datum point established by Broneer at the east end of the north cella wall of the Classical Temple of Poseidon (53.37 m above sea level): *Isthmia* I, p. 59, note 3.

*Hesperia* 67.4, 1998

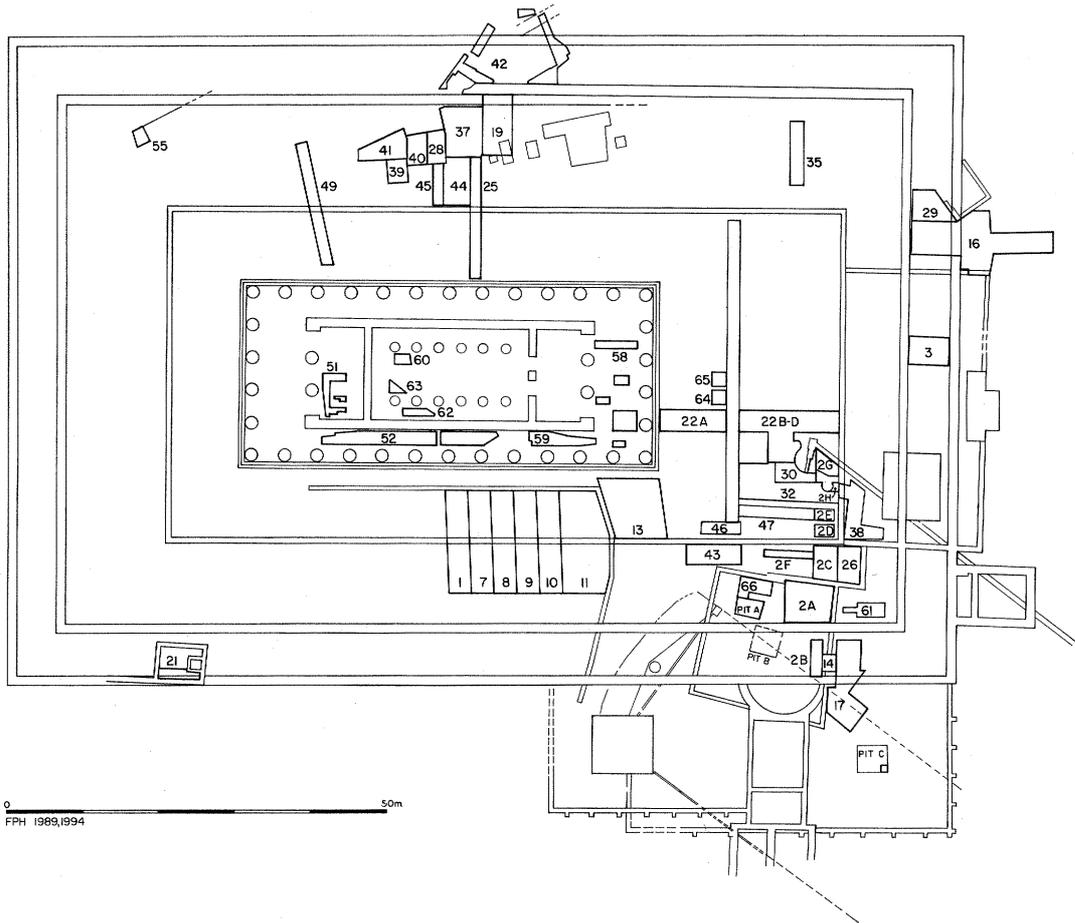


FIG. 1. Plan of the 1989 excavation trenches

gathered in 1989 with the evidence of the monuments excavated and published by Oscar Broneer.<sup>3</sup> The present narrative begins after the sack of Corinth in 146 B.C. and proceeds to the return of the Isthmian Games to the sanctuary and the first sacrifices to Melikertes-Palaimon in the middle of the 1st century A.C. The subsequent section addresses the rebuilding of the Temple of Poseidon and the temenos in the Flavian period and construction of a temple to Palaimon under Hadrian. The last section concerns the final sacrifices in Palaimonion Pit C, ending in the early 3rd century. Because ceramics recovered in 1989 play a central role in refining and revising Broneer's chronology and in understanding some of the activities in the Palaimonion, John Hayes, as well as contributing identifications for the deposits, has prepared an overview of the Roman pottery and a catalogue of selected objects.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Published in *Isthmia* I, II. The areas relevant to this report are found in *Isthmia* II.

<sup>4</sup> This is preliminary to his final publication of the Roman pottery in the *Isthmia* series.

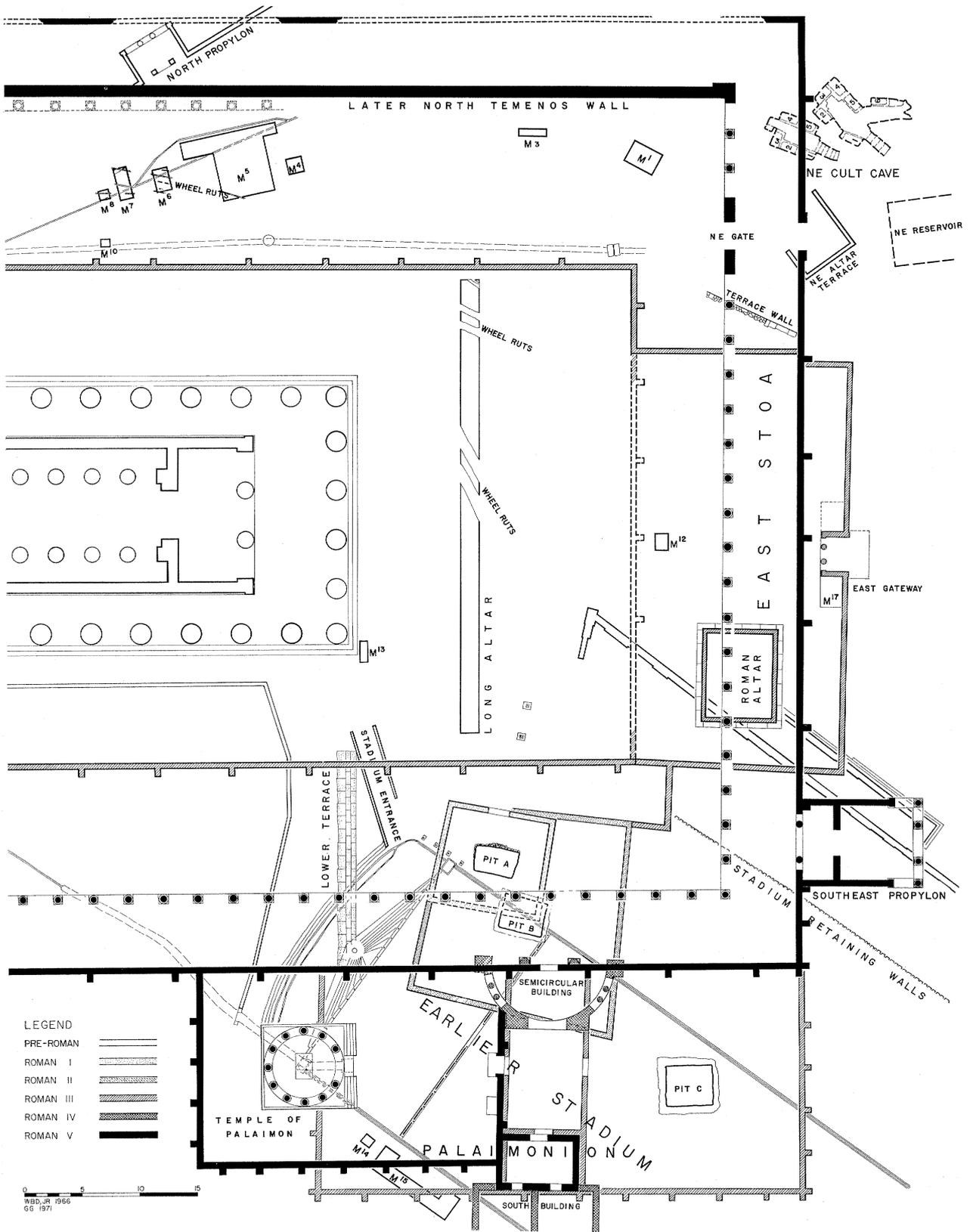


FIG. 2. Restored plan of the eastern temenos (after *Isthmia* III, pl. III [W. B. Dinsmoor Jr. with additions by G. Grulich])

## LATE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

(ca. 146 B.C. to ca. A.D. 50; Fig. 3)

The fate of the Isthmian Sanctuary after Mummius' sack of Corinth in 146 B.C. is not mentioned in the ancient sources. Pausanias (2.2.2) tells us that the games did not cease but continued under the supervision of the Sikyonians, and there is little reason to doubt him.<sup>5</sup> Deprived of her civic status, Corinth could not have continued to hold a Panhellenic festival. Furthermore, it is clear from archaeological evidence that the altar of Poseidon at the Isthmian sanctuary was dismantled and that sacrifices ceased to be made there. That is not to say, however, that people did not visit the site. Cicero's friend Atticus remembers seeing a statue of Aulus Postumius Albinus, one of Mummius' commissioners, "on the Isthmus."<sup>6</sup> Polybius vaguely refers to Mummius repairing "the place at the Isthmus," presumably but not certainly referring to the sanctuary.<sup>7</sup>

The most obvious remains of the period are the ruts of the Corinth–Isthmus road that cut across the altar of Poseidon (Fig. 2), and these convey the picture of an abandoned sanctuary. Before 146 B.C. the road had run roughly northeast to southwest, at the north side of the North Gateway, with a branch running northwest–southeast.<sup>8</sup> After the sack, the official sacrifices on the Long Altar must have been suspended. Either at that time or later the upper section of the altar was dismantled down to the foundations, and tracks for the road were cut into the surface of the remaining course of blocks (Fig. 4; Pl. 70:a).<sup>9</sup> In the North Temenos ruts are also found on the monument bases and on the foundation of the North Gateway (Fig. 5).<sup>10</sup> The several tracks of the road are restored in Figure 3. The sanctuary lay on the most direct overland route between the Argolid, Attica, and central Greece, as well as between Corinth and the eastern end of the Isthmus; it is not surprising that traffic continued on the route after 146 B.C.

Broneer labels the roads D, E, and F, and he assigns them, together with his Road G farther north, to the Late Hellenistic period, suggesting that they were "probably branches of the same thoroughfare" that joined along the north side of the temple to form one road going west to Corinth.<sup>11</sup> He describes them as following the same path as did their Classical predecessor in the western half of the plateau up to the point where they crossed the foundations of monument bases M<sup>6</sup>–M<sup>8</sup> near the center of the North Temenos. They then diverged into individual paths at the eastern end of the temenos.<sup>12</sup> The 1989 excavations showed that the tracks of these roads in the northern half of the temenos were located farther south than Broneer had thought.<sup>13</sup> Each of the roads in fact pursued a separate path through the area. The ruts crossing M<sup>5</sup>–M<sup>8</sup> that were identified by Broneer as Hellenistic must belong to roads of the Roman period. We identify them as Roman Roads 1–8 (see pp. 420–422 below). Ground level north of, and partially surrounding, monument bases

<sup>5</sup> Moretti's list of agonistic inscriptions that mention victors in the Isthmian Games includes the names of two victors from the mid 2nd century and one from the mid 1st century B.C.: Moretti 1953, nos. 49, 50, 56. Others will probably come to light.

<sup>6</sup> Atticus 13.30.2.

<sup>7</sup> Polybius 39.6.1. Problems concerning Corinth and the Isthmus during the interval 146 to 44 B.C. are discussed in Gebhard and Dickie, forthcoming. Future excavations in areas surrounding the temenos of Poseidon and the central plateau could reveal evidence of activities during this period.

<sup>8</sup> See Gebhard and Hemans 1998, fig. 18 (p. 42) and pp. 15–21, 48–51.

<sup>9</sup> See *Isthmia* II, pp. 20–21, pl. 10:a, b (ruts in altar). Broneer describes the paths through the Long Altar as being "worn away" by the roads, but it is clear from chisel marks and the sharp profiles of the cavities that the blocks were cut to allow carts to move more easily over them. Thereafter, the edges were worn away by heavy use.

<sup>10</sup> The monuments in the North Temenos, including the North Gateway, were destroyed ca. 200 B.C.: Gebhard and Hemans 1998, pp. 57–60.

<sup>11</sup> *Isthmia* I, pp. 98–99; *Isthmia* II, pp. 20–22, plans II, IV.

<sup>12</sup> Cut stones and other building materials evidently were removed from the sanctuary after 146 B.C., since very few blocks from Greek monuments were reused in foundations of the 1st century.

<sup>13</sup> See the diagram of roads in *Isthmia* II, plan IV. Broneer saw all tracks from the east converging at a point over monument bases M<sup>6</sup> and M<sup>7</sup>.

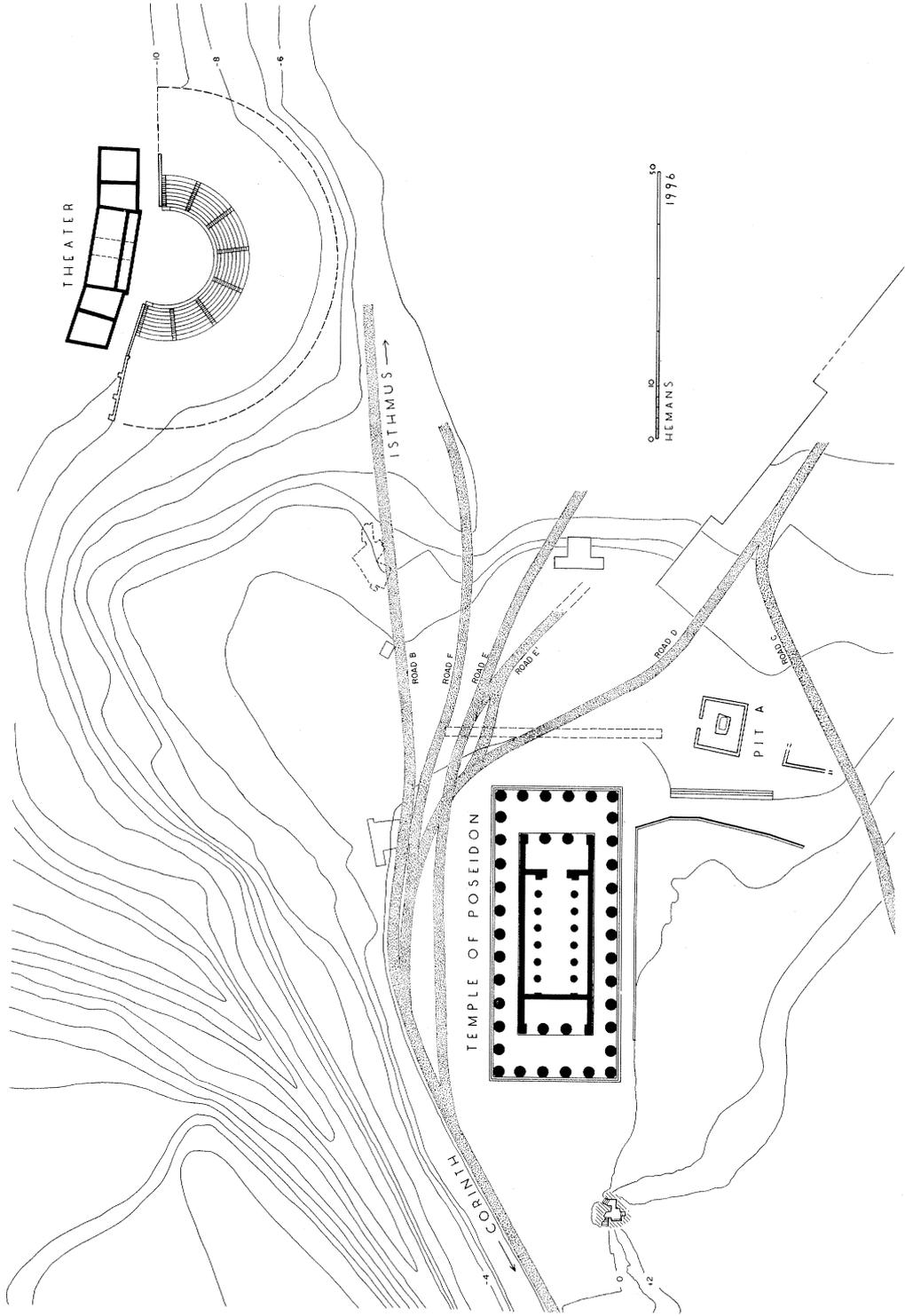


FIG. 3. Restored plan, Neronian temenos, ca. 60

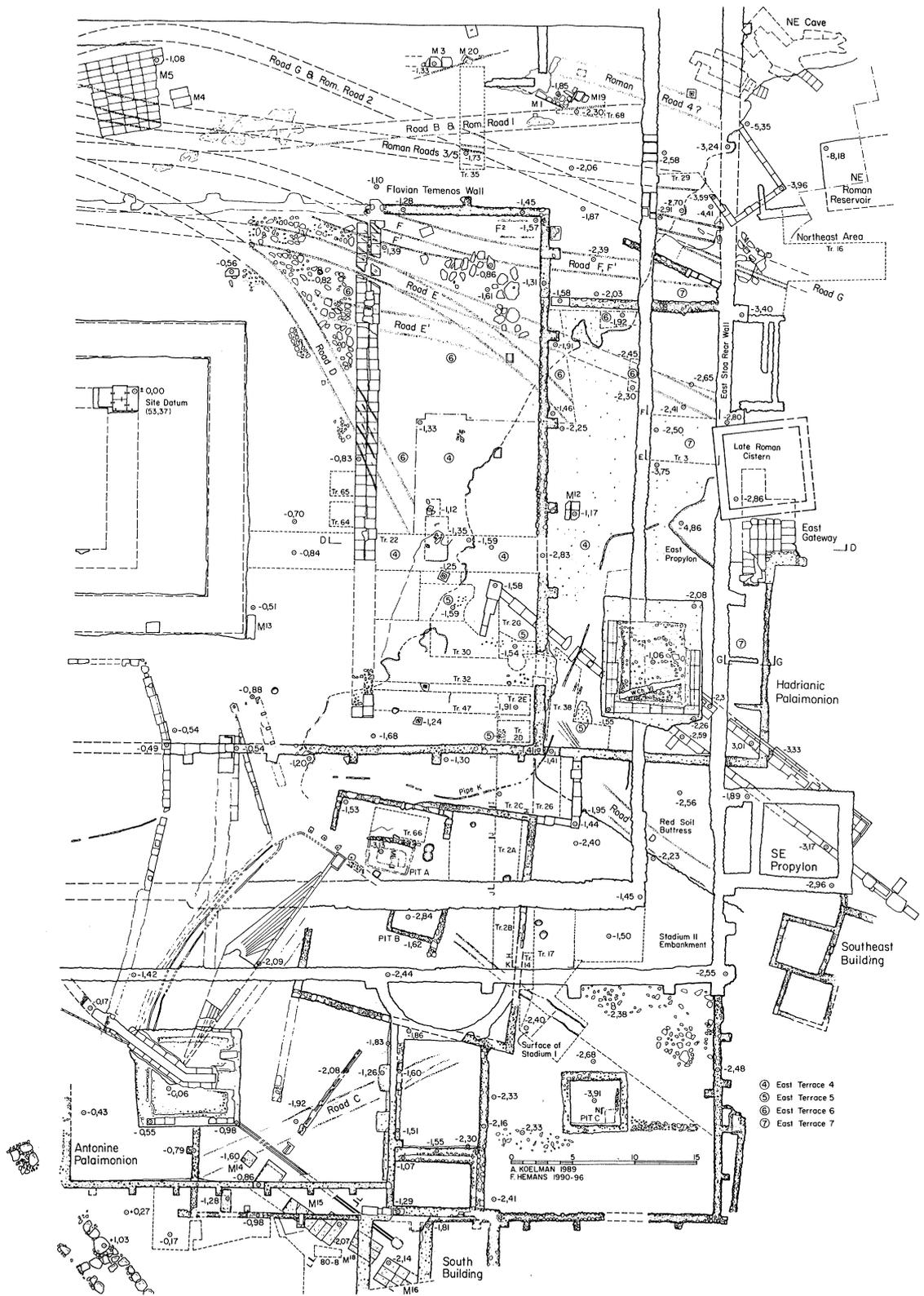


FIG. 4. Actual-state plan of the East Temenos, showing features of the Classical through Roman periods

M<sup>6</sup>–M<sup>8</sup> consists of a clay terrace that is supported at its northern end by retaining walls located just west of the old North Propylon (NP<sup>7–10</sup> in Figs. 5 and 6).<sup>14</sup> Pottery in the fill revealed that the walls were built and the soil deposited not earlier than the 1st century (Mac/RRds 1–8 depts I.1–3).

Further cleaning in the Northeast Temenos around monument bases M<sup>1</sup> and M<sup>19</sup> revealed Hellenistic Road B below Roman Road 1 (Fig. 4). East of the altar, Road E appears to have had several tracks. A second pair of ruts (E<sup>1</sup>) was noted on the blocks of the altar, south of the point where the main track of Road E crosses the foundations (Fig. 4). The southern rut is cut through the upper course of the altar, while the northern one is merely worn into the surface. The unevenness of the two ruts suggests that the track may have been abandoned before the second groove was cut or that the track was used after the Macadam Floor (described below, pp. 420–422) raised the surface of the road. The stone packing at the west side of the altar bears traces of both ruts, and so the track was in use for some period of time. During Broneer's excavations, signs of roads were observed over the entire East Temenos, and traces of them are visible today, but it is impossible to assign all of them to separate roadbeds.<sup>15</sup>

Whether all Late Hellenistic roads were in use at the same time remains unclear. On the other hand, only Roads C and G were established before 146 B.C. Road C runs northeast–southwest, crossing the starting line of Early Stadium IV (Fig. 4). Broneer suggested that Road C is the earliest of the post-Classical tracks, coming into use after the Early Stadium was abandoned. Road G, unknown to Broneer, was probably contemporary with C.<sup>16</sup> Road C may have been a branch of G, the latter approaching the temenos from the west and running along its north side, while the former came from the southwest (Fig. 3).<sup>17</sup> Road G probably ceased to be used after 146 B.C.,<sup>18</sup> but there is no evidence that Road C was abandoned before the Roman period. It was closed by walls that Broneer found beneath the southwest corner of the Palaimonion II precinct (Fig. 3).<sup>19</sup>

Roads D–F are assuredly later than Road C, since they could not have been established before sacrifices ceased to be offered on the Long Altar. Broneer believed that D and E were probably successive tracks of the same road, since they seem to come from the same direction, and that F, at the north end of the altar, may be earlier, having been in use while the upper part of the altar was still standing. Recent study suggests, however, that Road D was the first road to be established after destruction of the altar, because it appears to branch off from Road C, which was already in use, and to replace Road G with a more direct route around the north side of the temple. A sign that traffic may have continued on Road D well after the middle of the 1st century is the line of holes for posts along the northeast side of the Palaimonion precinct, where a fence separated the enclosure from the road (Fig. 4). The posts would seem to belong to a period of renovation during construction of Palaimonion II (see p. 437 below). Deposits from the roadbed where it crossed the red soil buttress of Early Stadium II were excavated in trenches 89-38 and 89-26 (L.H.Rds depts I.1, 2).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Isthmia* II, p. 11, pl. 52.

<sup>15</sup> Descriptions of the roads are found in field notebooks 11, 12, 14, 22, 23, 27, and 28.

<sup>16</sup> For Road G, see Gebhard and Hemans 1998, p. 42, fig. 18, pp. 48–51. Its construction is contemporary with East Terrace 7, and it is dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

<sup>17</sup> Farther to the west, at the edge of the modern village of Kyras Vrasi, the road coming from the direction of Corinth would have passed south of the deep Kyras Vrasi Gorge: Gebhard and Hemans 1998, fig. 2 (p. 3). Its tracks through the area of the village have not been identified. See also *Isthmia* II, p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> See Gebhard and Hemans 1998, p. 48.

<sup>19</sup> *Isthmia* II, p. 101. The north–south wall is shown in Figure 4. At its northern end, the wall returns for a short distance to the east, beneath the precinct wall of Palaimonion II.

<sup>20</sup> The finewares are uniformly early, belonging to the soil of the buttress, but the amphora fragments could be later. No definable layer could be associated with the road, as the surface was composed of the underlying soils, compressed to stone-hard consistency by the traffic; cf. Road E where it passes over the 4th-century B.C. terrace fill (ET 7) in the East Temenos. For Early Stadium II, see Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 68–70.

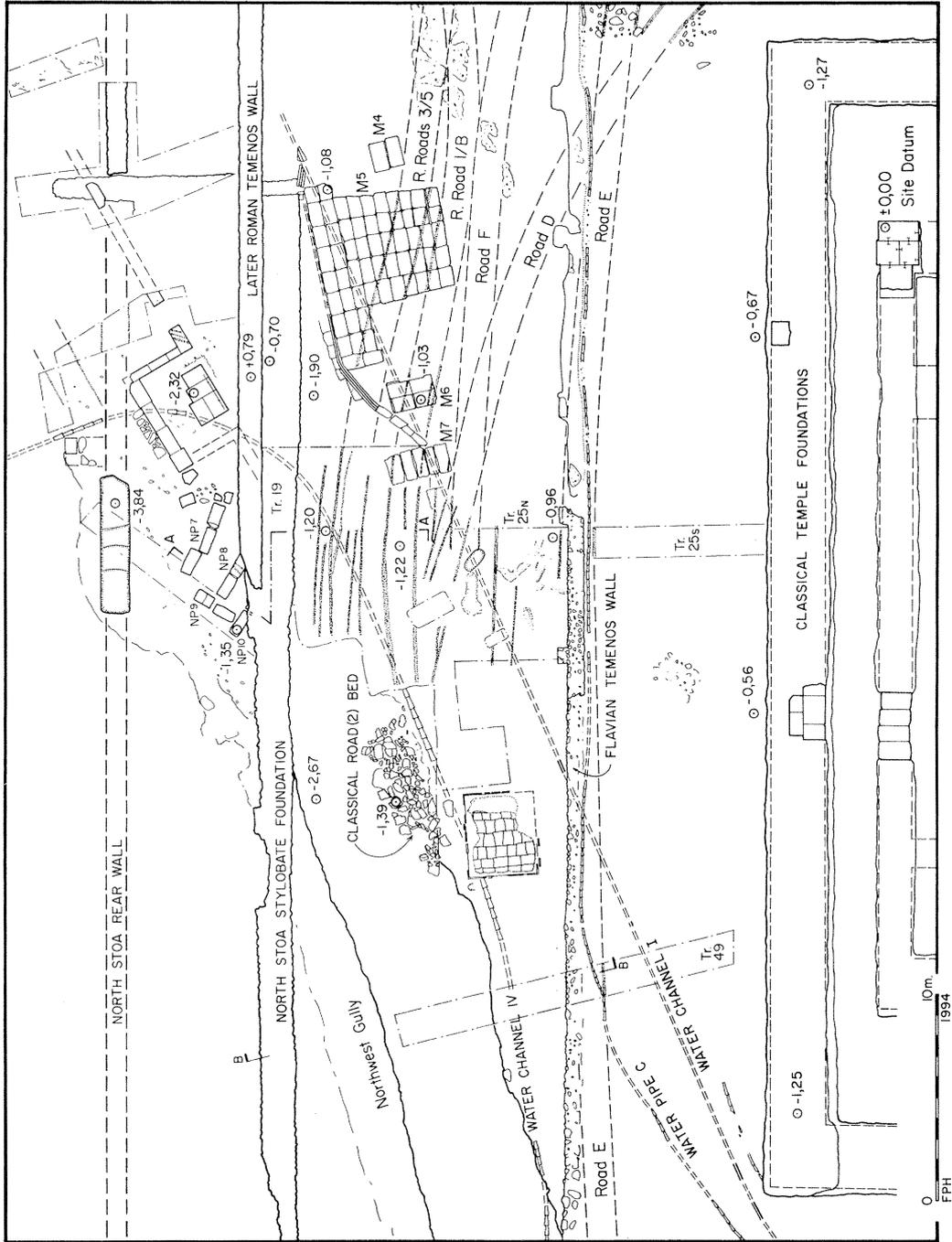


Fig. 5. Actual-state plan of the North Temenos, showing features of the Late Hellenistic through Roman periods

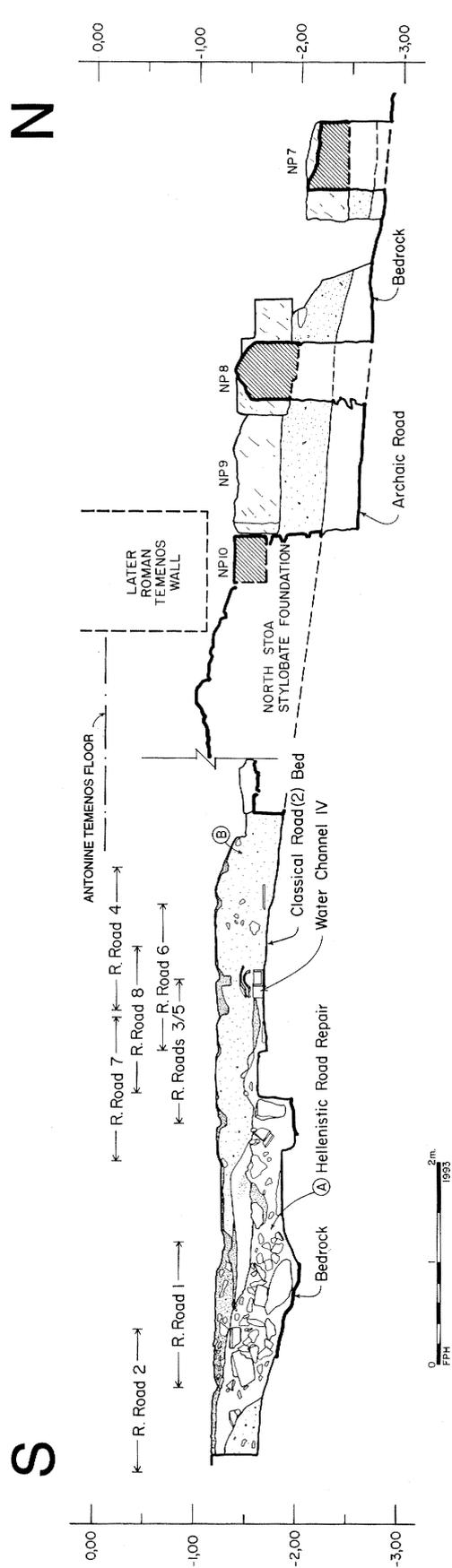


FIG. 6. North Temenos, section A-A, showing the positions of Roman roads and retaining walls NP7-10, looking west

Road E (two tracks) runs parallel to D but farther north; Road E<sup>1</sup> crosses the altar between E and D (Fig. 4). Road F (with three tracks, F, F<sup>1</sup>, and F<sup>2</sup>) takes a more east–westerly course, approaching the orientation of Road B and Roman Roads 1 and 3/5. It is not necessary to suppose that Roads D–F followed each other sequentially. They could have been used at the same time, serving as alternative routes to Road B in the same way that Road G was used with Classical Road 2.

The three roads formed deep hollows in the terraces of the East Temenos.<sup>21</sup> Each depression is about 5 m wide and at least 0.30 to 0.50 m deep. All roads sloped down across the temenos toward the east, following the natural contours of the site. Over time the eastward decline increased as cart wheels dug into the terrace fill and erosion carried off the soil.<sup>22</sup> The hollow at the south side of Road F/F<sup>1</sup> is shown in Plate 70:b. The northern side of the depression is filled with silt and has not been excavated. Each track of a road, as represented in Figure 4, lay in the center of a hollow, and the sides sloped up to form the verges of the road. Usually more than one set of wheel ruts can be discerned on each road, although many of the marks are shallow and do not belong to its main tracks. Measured on centers, the ruts show that the carts had a wheel base of about 1.40 m.

When we turn to the North Temenos many more ruts are evident, because during the periods the sanctuary was functioning the main path of the Corinth–Isthmus road ran along the north side of the plateau (Fig. 5).<sup>23</sup> A series of tracks close to the north side of the temple is oriented in such a way that, despite the fact that there is an unexcavated stretch about 22–33 m long, it is obvious the tracks belonged to Roads D–F. The group of ruts located 2.50 to 5.00 m north of the Flavian temenos wall appears to connect to Road F (L.H.Rds deps I.3, 4, 6). The next in our series (Road E) flanks each side of the Flavian temenos wall at an elevation of –0.94 to –0.99 m. The ruts were in places bedded in the deposits of the 4th-century B.C. terrace fill (L.H.Rds deps I.3, 5). The last series of ruts, located 5–7 m north of the temenos wall, is part of Road D (dep I.4). At this location, the ruts move in a diagonal direction from northwest to southeast. The position and direction of the ruts seem to be determined by the need to swing the road in a wider arc so as to allow the carts to cross the Long Altar near its midpoint and descend from the plateau at the southeast side, where the remaining fill of the embankment from the Early Stadium III provided a convenient path. Road D was the most heavily used of all these roads, perhaps because it avoided the steeper slope at the northeast end of the plateau. It is apparent from the extremely gradual turns in the roads that the carts had fixed axles, which limited their ability to maneuver, especially on steep terrain. We also think it likely that the presence of various roads allowed traffic to proceed simultaneously in opposite directions. This would be particularly important for the continuous movement of heavily laden carts moving up or down the slope.

<sup>21</sup> For terraces ET 3, ET 6, and ET 7, see Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 61–68; 1998, pp. 26–32, 43–48.

<sup>22</sup> Road E slopes about 1.40 m over a distance of 30 m, from –1.11 west of the altar to –1.90 near the eastern edge of the plateau, to –2.50 within the East Stoa. Road F had a slightly steeper incline, dropping to at least –3.00, while Road D (sloping from –0.87 to about –2.25) was similar to E.

<sup>23</sup> For Classical Roads 1 and 2, see Gebhard and Hemans 1998, pp. 15–21; the Roman roads are discussed below.

*Late Hellenistic Roads D–F*

## I. Construction and Use

1. Surface of Road D; brown soil with small stones; leveling fill  
Trench 89-38  
Elev.: from –1.70 to –2.10 m  
Lot 89-242  
Total sherds, 111: 14 Early Iron Age, 64 Archaic, 1 Classical, 4 plain fineware, 3 coarseware, 2 cooking ware, 23 amphora. Latest is 5th century B.C.  
Date: Hellenistic to 1st century, by position  
Inventory: terracotta horse figurine, IM 5824  
Other material: 1 tile, 1 limestone fragment  
Fauna: 2 burned bones: cattle- and sheep/goat-sized
2. Surface of Road D: very hard red soil (under Mac/RRds dep I.6)  
Trench 89-26  
Elev.: from –1.59 to –2.07 m  
Lot 89-313  
Total sherds, 96: 15 Early Iron Age, 50 Archaic, 3 plain fineware, 11 coarseware, 17 amphora  
Date: Hellenistic to 1st century, by position
3. Classical terrace under Road E, north of Flavian temenos wall  
Trench 89-25 (north)  
Elev.: from –0.94 to –1.00 m  
Lot 89-152  
Total sherds, 718: 1 Mycenaean, 22 Early Iron Age, 521 Archaic, 3 Classical, 42 plain fineware, 34 coarseware, 95 amphora. Latest is Attic black-glazed vessel, possibly mid to late 4th century B.C.  
Date: 4th century B.C.  
Inventory: silver rod, IM 5758; terracotta figurine (6th century B.C.), IM 5726 (joins with IM 5734); IP 7608, IP 7612, IP 8063a–c  
Fauna: 22 unburned bones: 17 sheep/goat-sized, 5 cattle-sized
4. Roads D, F (over Hellenistic damage, Part II, dep I.1)  
Trenches 89-28, 89-44, 89-45  
Elev.: from –1.305 to –2.67 m  
Lot 89-357  
Total sherds, 36: 6 Archaic, 6 slipped fineware, 4 coarseware, 12 cooking ware, 8 amphora. Latest is a cooking pot rim that may date as late as the 1st century.  
Date: early 2nd century B.C. to 1st century  
Inventory: cooking pot, Part II, no. 7; inscription, ca. 220 B.C., IΣ 555, IΣ 567, IΣ 568, IΣ 573; marble fragments of lion's mane from sima, IA 4048, IA 4066; marble fragment of palmette from sima, IA 406  
Other material: 1 lamp
5. Road E, adjacent and south of Flavian temenos wall  
Trench 89-25 (south)  
Elev.: from –0.90 to –1.00 m  
Lot 89-160  
Total sherds, 3: 2 Classical, 1 plain fineware  
Date: Hellenistic to 1st century, by position
6. Road F  
Trenches 89-44, 89-45  
Elev.: from –0.93 to –1.30 m  
Lot 89-355  
Total sherds, 65: 6 Archaic, 1 Classical, 28 Roman, 1 coarseware, 5 cooking ware, 24 amphora  
Date: second half of the 1st century  
Inventory: Italian bowl, 9; IΣ 556, IΣ 557

*ROMAN PERIODS: Overview*

Recent study of the evidence for the celebration of the Isthmian Games after 44 B.C. suggests that the return of the festival to the sanctuary at Isthmia did not immediately follow the establishment of the *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthiensis*, although the privilege of holding the Panhellenic event was in Corinthian hands soon thereafter.<sup>24</sup> A review of all material relating to the history of the games in Roman times must be reserved for the future. At present, analysis of deposits excavated in 1989 and objects from the earlier excavations leads us to suggest downdating the stages in the reconstruction of the sanctuary and changing the sequence of events and the identification of some monuments. Figure 2 shows all phases of the East Temenos as restored by Broneer on a single plan. This complete view of the monuments will be useful in elucidating the discussion of the 1989 excavations that is presented below.

In the North Temenos and the Northeast Temenos we uncovered terracing and roads belonging to the period of the first Roman activity at the sanctuary (trenches 89-16, 89-19, 89-28, 89-29, 89-37, 89-39; Figs. 1, 3). In the Palaimonion we explored the floors associated with phases I–III and cleared the remains of sacrifices that had been left by Broneer in Pits A and C (trenches 89-2A, B, C, 89-14, 89-17, 89-66). Evidence for construction of the first Roman temenos around the Temple of Poseidon was excavated in the northern and eastern areas of the precinct (trenches 89-22, 89-25, 89-49).

Broneer places the beginning of Roman activity at the sanctuary, and the initial use of Palaimonion Pit A, in the reign of Augustus. Pit B followed shortly thereafter and was closed by the middle of the century.<sup>25</sup> We suggest, on the basis of excavation in Pit A and the surrounding area, the terracing at the north and east sides of the temenos, and the establishment of Roman Roads 1 and 2, that this chronology is too high by perhaps fifty years. Further support for a later date for the resumption of the festival at the sanctuary comes from the small number of sherds and coins found in the central sanctuary, the theater, and the stadium that are datable before the middle of the 1st century.<sup>26</sup> The fact that the objects that usually accompany a Panhellenic gathering are missing for this period makes it unlikely that large crowds visited the sanctuary every two years to celebrate the Isthmian Games during the first century of the colony's life. With heavily laden carts going to and from the Isthmus hauling goods across the old altar and through the heart of the temenos, in front of a badly damaged Temple of Poseidon, it is difficult to imagine where the official ceremonies that accompanied the games would have taken place. Neither the stadium nor the theater appears to have been repaired before the middle of the century, although the stadium has not been sufficiently excavated to provide clear evidence for its periods of use.<sup>27</sup> Fragments of an Ionic architrave bearing a Latin inscription may belong to the 1st century.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The pine crown of an Isthmian victor first appears on Corinthian coins of 40 B.C.: Amandry 1988, type IV, pp. 39–40, pl. V:R1–R5. For discussion of the coins and other evidence for the date of the festival at Corinth and its permanent return to Isthmia, see Gebhard 1993, pp. 79–89. The Isthmian Games appear to have been held in the city of Corinth before they were returned to the sanctuary, although on some occasions during this period they may have been held at their traditional site.

<sup>25</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 4, 68, 100, note 6.

<sup>26</sup> Of the twenty-one coins minted between 146 B.C. and A.D. 50, seven are pre-Augustan (IC 200, IC 368, IC 378, IC 681, IC 682, IC 689, IC 879bis). The mint dates of the others range between 24 B.C. and A.D. 49 (IC 155, IC 261, IC 292, IC 354, IC 355, IC 359, IC 370, IC 692, IC 705, IC 715, IC 795, IC 904, IC 1411, IC 1492). A further eleven coins cannot be dated more precisely than: A.D. 14–96 (IC 264, IC 314), 27–68 (IC 302), 30–100 (IC 878bis), or 30–200 (IC 231, IC 259, IC 316, IC 356, IC 1442, IC 1443, IC 1482). John Hayes reports a similar lack of pottery assignable to the period between the mid 2nd century B.C. and the mid 1st century A.C.

<sup>27</sup> See *Isthmia* II, pp. 55–63. The main feature of Roman construction that Broneer uncovered is a fountain at the curved end of the spectator embankment. He suggests a date around the middle of the 1st century on the basis of other repairs to the sanctuary that he assigns to the same period.

<sup>28</sup> ΙΣ 486–500; cf. *Isthmia* II, p. 63.

The theater, which had been stripped of its seats and scene building, was not rebuilt until the time of Nero.<sup>29</sup> Some of the work at the sanctuary may have been initiated at the prospect of a visit by the emperor. Nero did indeed compete in the Isthmian Games and used the stadium to give a speech of liberation to the assembled Greeks, very likely upon his arrival in Greece in 66. A year later he inaugurated a canal through the Isthmus while again performing at the sanctuary.<sup>30</sup> It is to the time of Nero that Broneer assigns the first Roman temenos of Poseidon, which includes a Roman temenos wall around the Temple of Poseidon and a Roman altar surrounded by a precinct wall that was entered through a gateway built on the foundation of the Hellenistic East Gateway.<sup>31</sup> According to information from the 1989 excavations and further study, we suggest that the Roman temenos wall belongs instead to the Flavian period or later, ca. 80/90–100/110. Rebuilding in Corinth after the earthquake of 77 may have given impetus to a major refurbishment of the Isthmian shrine.<sup>32</sup> At about the same time, a monumental arch was erected over the road from the Isthmus, at the entrance to the larger sanctuary.<sup>33</sup> Palaimonion Pit B, with its precinct wall, belongs to the same decades. Another imperial visit, this time by Hadrian in 126 and/or 128/129, may have been the occasion for the building of the temple to the hero Melikertes-Palaimon that is shown on Corinthian coins of the period. We propose that the foundation Broneer identified as the Roman altar of Poseidon was in fact the base of this temple (Figs. 2, 7; Pl. 71). The precinct surrounding the temple was connected by a ramp to Palaimonion Pit B. We date the earliest use of Pit C to the mid 2nd century.<sup>34</sup> Before Palaimon's temple was dismantled to make way for the East Stoa, a broad floor was laid down to connect the east precinct to Pit C.

Broneer places the remainder of the Roman buildings under the heading "Later Roman Temenos of Poseidon," and he dates them to the second half of the 2nd century.<sup>35</sup> The five periods of the Palaimonion are treated separately.<sup>36</sup> Changes in the chronology of phases I, II, and III (Pits A–C) have been mentioned above. The present study throws little light on the later periods of the sanctuary, since most of the upper levels either had eroded after the buildings were dismantled or had been previously excavated. In general we follow Broneer; a restored plan of the sanctuary in the Antonine period is given in Figure 8.

As an aid to grouping the elements in each of the four main phases of construction, we use the name of the emperor or imperial family to identify the feature and period: Neronian period (= Palaimonion I); Flavian temenos wall (= Broneer's first Roman temenos wall); Hadrianic Palaimonion (= Broneer's Roman altar and precinct); Antonine Palaimonion (= Broneer's Palaimonion V). On the other hand, we maintain Broneer's numbers for phases of the Palaimonion while altering the dates and placing the Hadrianic Palaimonion during the use of Pit B (= Palaimonion II).

<sup>29</sup> Gebhard 1974, pp. 84–87.

<sup>30</sup> For sources regarding the circumstances and chronology of his visits, see Amandry 1988, pp. 15–26; Levy 1984, pp. 167–185; 1989, pp. 65–68; also Gebhard 1973, pp. 86–87. We are grateful to Orestes Zervos for drawing our attention to Levy's work.

<sup>31</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 69–75.

<sup>32</sup> West (*Corinth* VIII, ii, pp. 18–19) discusses the date of the earthquake. Rebuilding of the city is associated with several inscriptions: *Corinth* VIII, iii, pp. 42–43, nos. 82–86; see also Wiseman 1979, pp. 506–507.

<sup>33</sup> See Gregory and Mills 1984.

<sup>34</sup> The lowest fill was initially dated to ca. 75–125, and the end of the pit's use was given as the mid 2nd century: *Isthmia* II, p. 102, note 8.

<sup>35</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 75–96.

<sup>36</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 99–112.

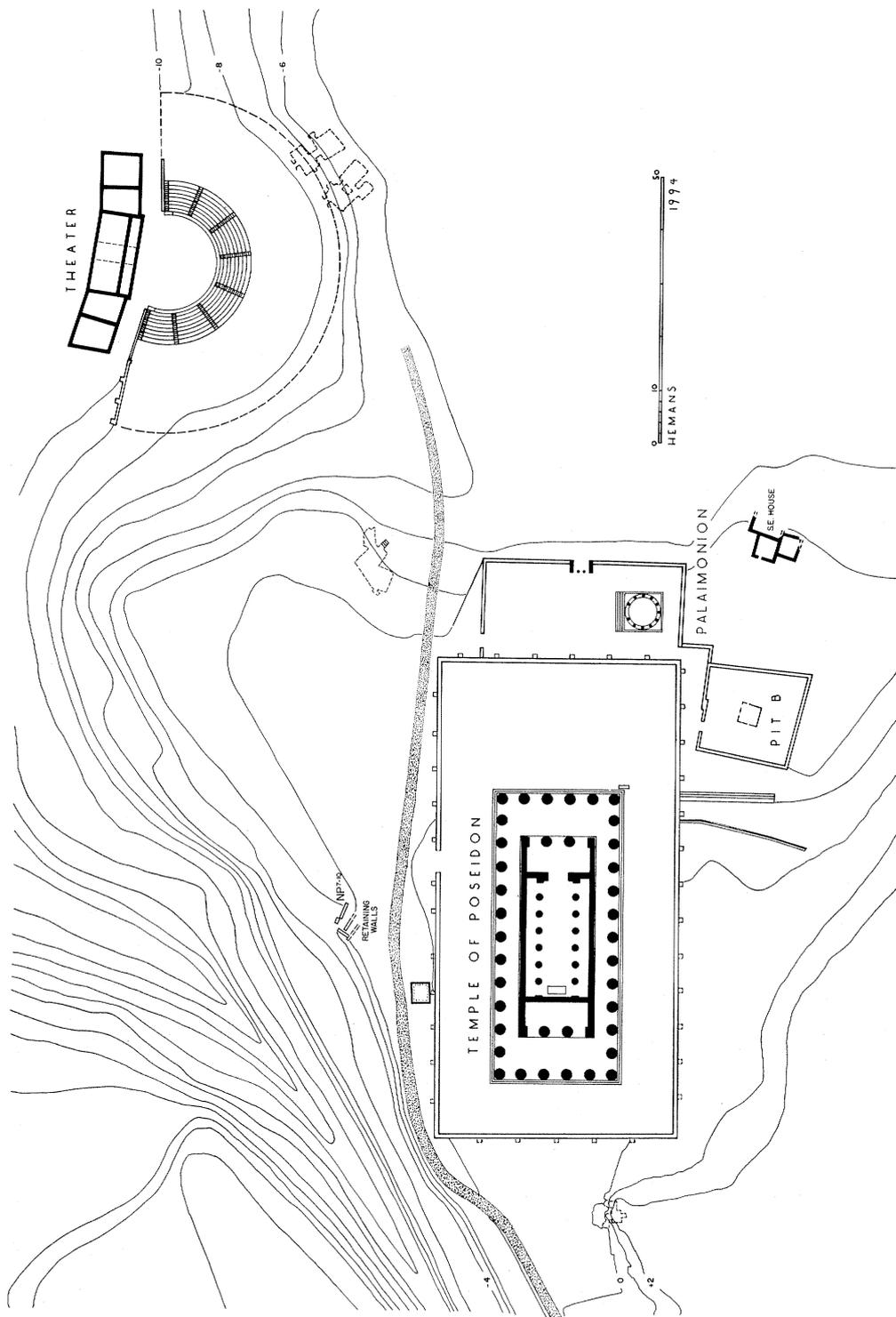


Fig. 7. Restored plan of the sanctuary in the Hadrianic period

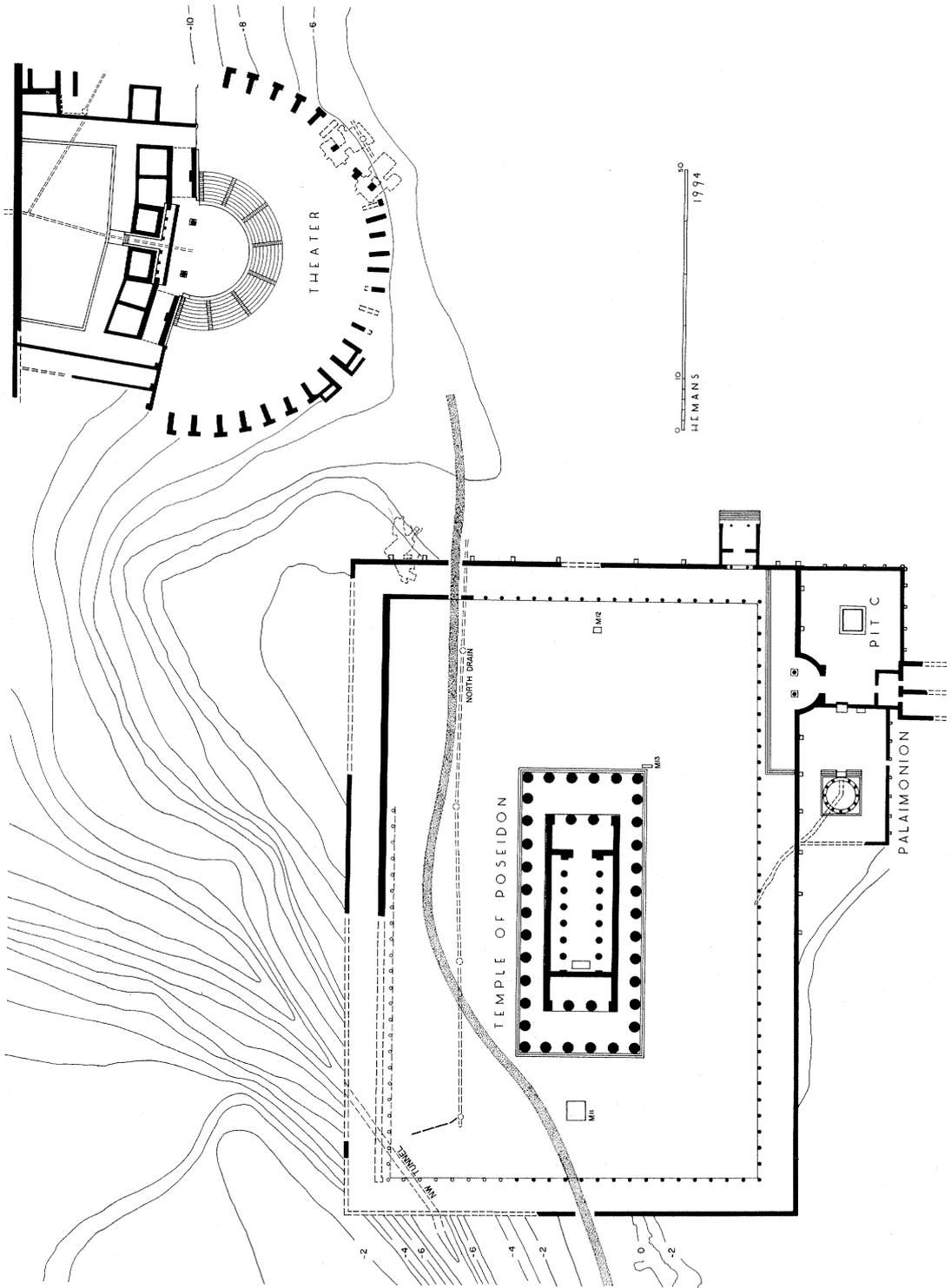


Fig. 8. Restored plan of the sanctuary in the Antonine period

## NERONIAN PERIOD

## MACADAM FLOOR AND ROMAN ROADS 1–8 (Figs. 3–5)

Among the earliest features of the Neronian phase is a series of fills that were brought in to level the area around the Temple of Poseidon. They covered the deep troughs formed by the Hellenistic roads and extended over other anomalies in the northern and eastern parts of the plateau. Over the fill was laid a hard, white surface that provided a clean, level area for the renewed activity in the area. The hard stratum, which was encountered in almost every trench of the early excavations and remains unexcavated in many areas, is frequently described as consisting of gravel, clay, and small stones. Broneer referred to it as a “pavement of hard-packed earth or macadam” with the consistency of road metal in some areas.<sup>37</sup> We retain the term “Macadam Floor” for ease of identification.

In the North Temenos, prior to construction of the Macadam Floor, the sloping surface of Classical Road 2 still lay along the north side of the plateau, north of monument bases M<sup>5</sup>–M<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 5). When a deep layer of clay fill was laid down, the surface of the plateau was extended by as much as 7 m, and the top was raised to an elevation of about –1.14 m (Fig. 6; Mac/RRds deps I.1, 2; II.1, 2). Farther west, the Classical/Hellenistic road surface was higher, and the Macadam Floor was laid directly over it. In the area immediately west of the Archaic Propylon (demolished in the 5th century B.C.) a series of terrace walls (NP<sup>7–10</sup> in Figs. 5, 6) was put in place to support the clay fill.<sup>38</sup> The western edge of the new terrace walls followed the curving edge of the gully and continued the line of the Greek terrace walls NG<sup>2</sup> and NG<sup>3</sup>.<sup>39</sup> South of NP<sup>7–10</sup> the clay fill was ca. 0.65 m thick (Fig. 6, sec A–A dep B = Mac/RRd deps I.1; II.2). Thus, a broad area north of the temple, about 20 m wide, was now made level for the Corinth–Isthmus road. Although this surface was probably soon in use, Roads D–F continued with moderate traffic for some time afterward.<sup>40</sup>

Roman Roads 1 and 2 were established in the North Temenos and the Northeast Temenos in the 1st century. As in the past, erosion and the lack of space between the Northwest Gully and the temple required additional construction to provide and maintain a cart road past the sanctuary. The new, very hard surface at the north was probably built with the intention of eliminating traffic so close to the Temple. Roman Roads 3–8 seem to be somewhat later.<sup>41</sup> As these roads proceed toward the west they converge on the relatively narrow corner of the temenos. After the construction of the Flavian temenos wall (see pp. 433–436 below), this corner, which was only about 3.50 m wide, became a bottleneck. As the roads extend toward the east they are roughly parallel to the temple. At the northeast corner of the plateau (in the area of the earlier Northeast Altar Terrace) the tracks descend from the plateau toward the Isthmus (Figs. 4, 9).

In the North Temenos, Roman road surfaces were excavated in trenches 89-19, 89-25, 89-37, 89-28, 89-39, and 89-40 (Figs. 1, 6; Pl. 70:c).<sup>42</sup> At least eight distinct and heavily used pairs of cart tracks can be traced across the area, but there were many others. The clay layer of the roadbeds was extremely dense, and during the course of excavation the individual strata peeled

<sup>37</sup> *Isthmia* II, p. 73.

<sup>38</sup> They are described and illustrated in *Isthmia* II, p. 11, pl. 52:a. Broneer identified them as retaining walls but did not assign them to a specific phase of the sanctuary. The walls are bedded on the Archaic destruction debris that covered the Archaic North Propylon. Broneer noted that the wheel ruts evident on several blocks were made before the blocks were set in their present location. They may originally have been scored as part of the Classical road terrace, where deep ruts are still visible.

<sup>39</sup> See Gebhard and Hemans 1998, fig. 8 (p. 18), section of the North Temenos, looking east.

<sup>40</sup> The shallowness of the ruts in the Macadam Floor suggests less use over a shorter time than had been the case in the earlier period.

<sup>41</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 87–89. For alterations to Broneer’s reconstruction of the Hellenistic and Roman roads, see pp. 408–415 above, “Late Hellenistic Roads D–F”

<sup>42</sup> Where the surface of the road could not be distinguished from the terrace fill beneath, the deposit is listed with the surface (Mac/RRd deps II.1, 2).

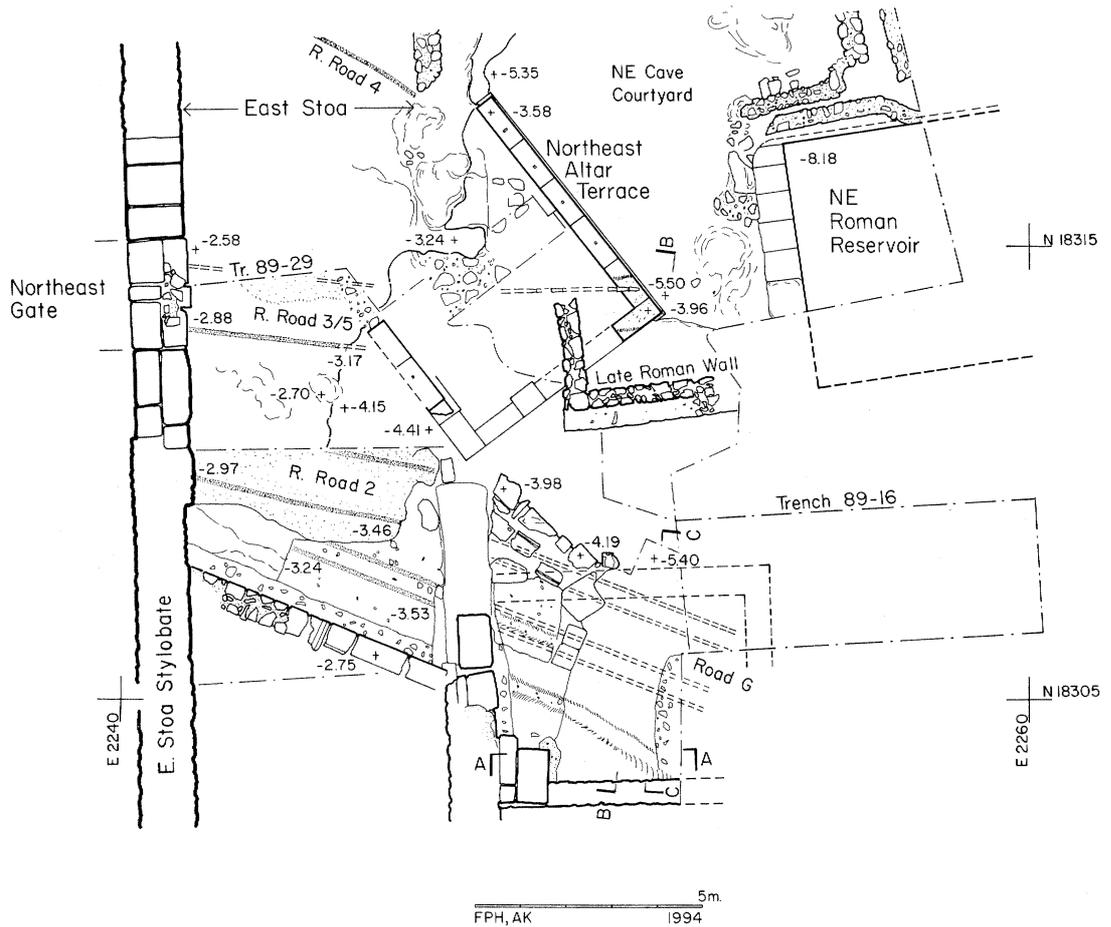


FIG. 9. Actual-state plan of the Northeast Temenos

away, exposing the ruts illustrated in Plate 70:c (cf. Fig. 5). The individual ruts were not a single impression in the clay but rather a series of superimposed, extremely thin layers. Each of these surfaces appears to have been formed when the clay was wet, and it seems likely that some could represent a season or even a single rainfall. Some of the ruts have dozens of thin layers of clay, and the overall impression is that an enormous amount of cart traffic passed through the sanctuary. The spacing between the ruts is very consistent, 1.38–1.40 m, and in many cases it has been possible to match pairs of ruts to a roadbed based on this dimension.

The clay fill beneath the roads was excavated in layers, but the layers probably represent the process of creating the fill rather than different periods of construction separated by any great lengths of time (see Mac/RRd deps I.1, 2; II.2). While Roman Roads 1 and 2 seem to be somewhat earlier than those farther north, they run over the same layer of Macadam Floor and terrace fill (Fig. 6). The creation of the ruts of Roads 3–8 might have begun as late as the end of the 1st century, after the construction of the Flavian temenos wall, but the ceramics from the fill belong to the period from 60 to 80 (Mac/RRd dep I.1), with one deposit farther west dating later in the century (dep I.2). The latest diagnostic sherd embedded in the surfaces of Roads 3–8 is dated to the late 1st or early 2nd century (dep II.2). All the roads were later covered by the surface of the Antonine temenos, but none of this surface or any fill from later periods was preserved in this area (Fig. 6).

In the northeast area of the temenos, soil had accumulated over the surface of Hellenistic Road G before a road was again established in the 1st century (Mac/RRd dep I.4). In the small area cleared in 1989, the Roman levels lay close to the modern surface, but two road surfaces with ruts could be identified as successors to Road G (Fig. 9; Mac/RRd deps II.3–6). Road 2 is the earlier and has the same general orientation as the Hellenistic road, while Road 3/5 lies farther north, running in a more-or-less east–west direction over the remains of the wall surrounding the Northeast Altar Terrace. The upper courses of the wall had been removed, and ruts belonging to the road cut into the easternmost corner of the remaining masonry.<sup>43</sup> The Northeast Reservoir lay buried beneath the road.<sup>44</sup>

#### WATER CHANNEL IV, NORTH TEMENOS

At the time that a new surface was created across the North Temenos, a terracotta water channel (IV) was installed to carry fresh water toward the lower sanctuary (Fig. 5; Pl. 73:a). As with the Greek water channels, its source is located west of the temenos. To judge from the portions so far uncovered, its destination must have been somewhere in the area of the later Roman bath.<sup>45</sup> Broneer excavated segments of it in two locations: west of a large rectangular pit used for mixing clay during later Roman times and in the fill above the Archaic North Propylon.<sup>46</sup> The channel, from a point approximately ten meters north of the northwest corner of the Temple of Poseidon, runs northeast across the North Temenos toward the area of the Archaic North Propylon. At that point it curves sharply to the north and then slightly west of north before it disappears at the northern edge of trench 89-42.

A section of the channel about 17 m long was uncovered and removed in 1989 to permit excavation of lower deposits. The portion extended from the western end of trench 89-39, where it is interrupted by the later Roman clay pit, to the eastern end of trench 89-19. At that point the channel is interrupted by the foundation of the North Stoa. The channel descends from an elevation of  $-1.39$  m at the west, where it is bedded on clay fill, to  $-1.70$  m at the east, where it is bedded on Classical Road 2 (Pl. 73:a).

There is little diagnostic material from the bedding of the channel, but a few coarseware and cooking sherds probably belong to the 1st century (Mac/RRd dep I.3). The position of the channel, however, shows that it is contemporary with and was laid at the same time as the wide deposit of clay fill beneath the Macadam Floor (Mac/RRd dep I.1).<sup>47</sup> The fill in this area was quite deep and is supported by terrace walls NP<sup>7–10</sup>, described above (Fig. 5).

#### LEVELING FILL AND MACADAM FLOOR IN THE EAST TEMENOS

The deep hollows formed by Hellenistic Roads D–F to the east of the Long Altar were filled in and the Macadam Floor laid down across the area. The fill was composed, at least in the places where it has been excavated, of limestone chips and fragments of Doric flutes with well-preserved white stucco that shows signs of burning. The Macadam Floor and fill in the bed of Road E at the east side of the Long Altar is shown in Plate 70:a. A test trench, at the left in the photo, revealed the surface of Terrace 6.<sup>48</sup> Some of the fill in other sections along the altar was cleared by Broneer, and

<sup>43</sup> See section B–B in Gebhard and Hemans 1998, fig. 12 (p. 24).

<sup>44</sup> *Isthmia* II, p. 95.

<sup>45</sup> Construction of the Roman bath is currently placed in the mid 2nd century: Gregory 1995, p. 279.

<sup>46</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 93–94. The terracotta pieces constituting the channel are rectangular in section and shaped like troughs about 0.56 m long that taper toward one end to form an overlapping joint with the next section. The pieces are notched at each end to allow the sections to interlock. The trough is 0.075 m high, 0.10 wide at the upper end, and 0.07 wide at the lower end. The sides are 0.02–0.025 m thick.

<sup>47</sup> Broneer (*Isthmia* II, p. 94) mentions that the Macadam Floor covered Water Channel IV.

<sup>48</sup> For Terraces 6 and 7, see Gebhard and Hemans 1998, pp. 26–30, 43–45.

the contents are described in the field record.<sup>49</sup> Farther south, deposits of the leveling fill were cleared in 1989 over Road D (Mac/RRd deps I.5–7). The flutes and working chips in the roadbeds (see dep I.6) suggest that the resurfacing took place at a time when work was being done on the Temple of Poseidon. The Macadam Floor was laid over the chip layer.<sup>50</sup>

Northeast of the Long Altar the surface did not appreciably raise the level of the temenos above Terraces 6 and 7 (Fig. 10:a). Where the Macadam Floor remains unexcavated over Roads E and F (trenches NE-A to D [north]: Part II, fig. 4), it is embedded with small chips of white marble and black limestone.<sup>51</sup> Farther south along the plateau (trenches E-C “A,” E-C “B,” R-8, R-24, R-10, R-28, R-30: Part II, fig. 4) and within the east precinct surrounding the Hadrianic Temple of Palaimon, the later fills were almost completely cleared by Broneer, with the exception of a small area at the northeast side of the precinct that includes trench 89-3. The surface of trench 89-3, however, yielded nothing later than the Hellenistic period.<sup>52</sup> Presumably the Macadam Floor was cleared in the earlier excavations or did not cover the area. North of trench 89-3 ruts of Road E are faintly visible on the Hellenistic surface, very likely marking the bottom of a roadbed. A small portion of the floor above the leveling fill was excavated in trench 89-38 (Mac/RRd deps II.7, 8).<sup>53</sup> Both the leveling fill and the Macadam Floor were put down before construction of the Flavian temenos wall, because the wall cuts through them.<sup>54</sup>

Erosion has always been a problem in the East Temenos because rainwater from the Rachi courses through the area. Water-deposited silt is found in many of the roadbeds, often covered by a second macadam floor. Road F at the east side of the Flavian temenos wall furnishes a good example from the earlier excavations; two successive macadam floors are visible at the right in Plate 70:b.<sup>55</sup> On the surface of the macadam at the northeast corner of the Flavian temenos, wheel ruts show that Road F<sup>2</sup> continued after the floor was laid. The road took a more northerly route than did F/F<sup>1</sup>. Traces of wheel ruts for Roads D–F in other areas of the East and North Temenos where the Macadam Floor is preserved are signs that the roads continued to be used to some extent until the Flavian period, when they were permanently closed by the temenos wall.

<sup>49</sup> In trenches K and L over the Long Altar (notebook 7, pp. 65, 70) Broneer records “fragments of columns, etc.,” and stucco with red paint. The sherds are Roman: trench K, pottery lots 372, 376, 680; trench L, pottery lot 1175; trench M, pottery lot 701. In the scarp of the test trench next to Road E we observed a dense packing of limestone chips and small fragments of flutes (Pl. 70:a).

Pottery lots: During the 1985–1988 seasons each container holding context sherds from Broneer’s excavations was given a pottery lot number. For the excavations of 1980 and 1989 the term “lot” is used to designate a context unit, and all objects within it bear the same lot number.

<sup>50</sup> *Isthmia* II, p. 73. Over a distance of 21 m between the temple and the East Stoa, the Macadam Floor sloped down a total of 1.52 m at the north end (elev. –0.60 to –2.12 m) and 1.44 m at the south (elev. –0.56 to –2.00 m). There was a gentle decline of 0.31 m from south to north along the altar.

<sup>51</sup> The black stone is not native to Corinth but was used there in monument bases of the 4th century B.C.; cf. Williams, MacIntosh, and Fisher 1974, pp. 25–29. Williams calls it “Argos black stone” (hard, gray limestone). The chips at Isthmia could well have come from similar bases that were set up in the sanctuary. None of the Greek monument bases is preserved above the foundations. We thank an anonymous *Hesperia* referee for bringing the Corinth reference to our attention.

<sup>52</sup> See Gebhard and Hemans 1998, p. 44.

<sup>53</sup> Much of the surface in the northeast and southwest temenos was excavated by Broneer. The Macadam Floor is not found south of the Flavian temenos wall (trenches 89-2C, 89-26). The floor of the ramp connecting the east precinct with Palaimonion II belongs to the Hadrianic period (see p. 440 below), and it lies directly over the surface of Terrace 4 of the Early Classical period.

<sup>54</sup> This was noted frequently during the earlier excavations of the area: notebook 22, p. 46 and *passim*.

<sup>55</sup> Road F/F<sup>1</sup>, where it continues east of the Flavian temenos wall (trenches NE-C, NE-D, NE-E: Part II, fig. 4), had filled with silt to a depth of 0.30 m before the Macadam Floor was laid over it. The surface lay at elev. –2.12 m between the temenos wall and the stylobate of the East Stoa, sloping to –2.35 next to the short diagonal wall that crosses the road in the area within the East Stoa. The upper macadam layer was added later.

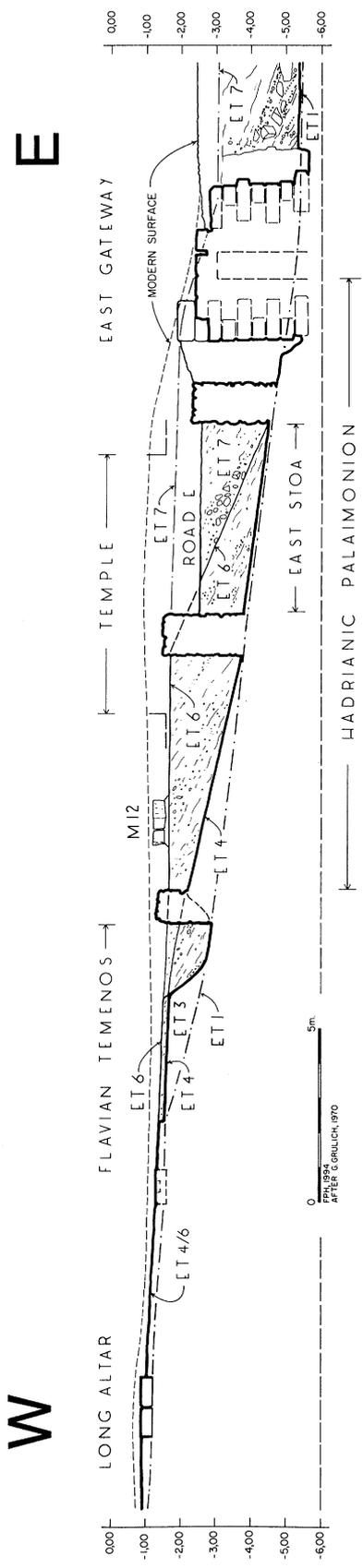


Fig. 10.a. Section D-D, showing terracing in the East Temenos, looking north

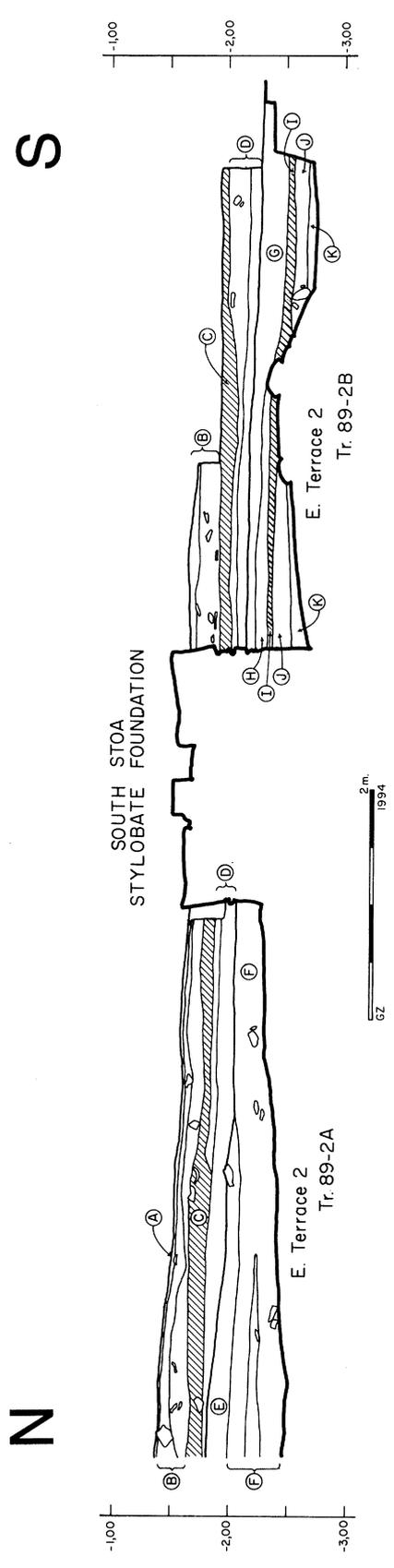


Fig. 10.b. Section H-H, trenches 89-2A and 2B, looking east (G. Ziesing)

*Macadam Floor and Roman Roads 1–8 Deposits*

## I. Construction: Leveling Fills

1. Clay leveling fill in North Temenos beneath Roman Roads 1, 2 and clay layers to the north beneath Roads 3–8 (Fig 6, sec A–A dep B)
  - Trench 89-19
  - Elev.: from –1.17 to –1.57 m
  - Lot 89-132
  - Total sherds, 821: 2 Early Iron Age, 14 Archaic, 2 Classical, 7 Hellenistic; Roman includes 5 plain fineware, 29 decorated fineware, 63 slipped fineware, 106 coarseware, 110 cooking ware, 483 amphora
  - Date: 60–80
  - Inventory: fragments of marble sima from the Classical Temple, IA 3074, IA 3075, IA 3077–3079; marble rooftile, IA 3076; marble chips, IA 3082, IA 3083; limestone gutta from Classical Temple, IA 3080; fragment of painted terracotta ridge antefix, IA 4004; gold foil, IM 5652; quartz tessera, IM 5653; wooden vessel, IM 5657; amphora stamp, IP 7664; jar, IP 7665; Knidian mug, **2**; small cup/bowl, **3**; “frying pan,” **4**; amphora or flagon, **6**; coarse brown jug, IP 8219; incised rooftile, ΙΣ 530
  - Other material: 5 lamps
  - Fauna: 10 unburned bones: 7 sheep/goat-sized, 2 cattle-sized, 1 pig
2. Clay layers beneath Roman roads in North Temenos
  - Trench 89-39
  - Elev.: from –1.04 to –1.29 m
  - Lot 89-383
  - Total sherds, 27: 3 slipped finewares, 24 amphora. The latest is a base of Çandarlı ware, Loeschcke type 26A, mid to late 1st century.
  - Date: mid to late 1st century
  - Inventory: pan tile with purlin impressions, IT 1064; limestone cornice, IA 4088; limestone molding, IA 4087; painted terracotta sima of late 4th century B.C., IA 4040, IA 4041;<sup>56</sup> painted eaves tile, IT 1063
3. Water Channel IV, North Temenos: cover, interior fill, and setting trench
  - Trenches 89-19, 89-28, 89-37, 89-39
  - Elev.: from –1.12 (west)/–1.47 m (east) to 1.39 (west)/1.70 m (east)
  - Lots 89-137, 89-345
  - Total sherds, 18: 4 Archaic, 1 coarseware, 2 cooking ware, 11 amphora
  - Date: mid 1st century
  - Inventory: terracotta raking sima, IA 4080 (joins IA 4071, IP 7686: Part II, Hellenistic damage dep I.1.D)
  - Other material: 9 Greek rooftiles
4. Fill over Road G in the Northeast Temenos: hard, sandy brown soil
  - Trench 89-16
  - Elev.: from –4.11 to –4.62 m
  - Lots 89-78, 89-232
  - Total sherds, 109: 4 Mycenaean, 2 Early Iron Age, 41 Archaic, 24 plain fineware, 4 slipped fineware, 11 coarseware, 9 cooking ware, 14 amphora. The latest pieces are 2 slipped fineware sherds of the 1st century.
  - Date: 1st century
  - Other material: 9 tiles (Greek and Roman), 3 water pipes, 1 glass, 3 iron lumps, small bronze fragments
  - Fauna: 4 burned bones: 3 cattle-sized

<sup>56</sup> Hemans 1994, pp. 78–81, no. 16.

5. Over surface of Road D, East Temenos  
Trench 89-38  
Elev.: from -1.71 to -1.92 m  
Lot 89-240  
Total sherds, 75: 3 Early Iron Age, 9 Archaic, 4 Archaic/Classical, 5 plain fineware, 15 coarseware, 11 cooking ware, 28 amphora  
Date: mid to second half of 1st century  
Other material: 1 white and 1 red marble piece, 6 water pipes, 3 Roman(?) tiles
6. Over surface of Road D, under Hadrianic ramp (Pal II dep II.3), East Temenos  
Trench 89-26  
Elev.: from -1.53 to -2.05 m  
Lot 89-312  
Total sherds, 68: 1 Early Iron Age, 7 Archaic, 2 Classical, 1 Classical/Hellenistic, 8 Roman, 20 plain fineware, 8 slipped fineware, 10 coarseware, 6 cooking ware, 5 amphora  
Date: 1st century  
Inventory: limestone fragment with grooves and blue paint, IA 4028; echinus from small Doric capital, possibly from interior of Classical Temple, IA 4029; flute with white stucco from small building, IA 4030 (cf. IA 4015, IA 4034)  
Other material: 2 baskets of worked limestone including 18 pieces with tooth-chisel marks, 3 with broad-chisel marks, 10 with stucco, 3 Doric flutes, 1 limestone pan tile, 7 iron fragments
7. Under Water Channel VI, East Temenos (disturbed)  
Trenches 89-32C, 89-47B, 89-2D  
Elev.: from -1.48 to -1.90 m  
Lot 89-202  
Total sherds, 35: 1 Early Iron Age, 11 Archaic, 2 plain fineware, 3 coarseware, 8 cooking ware, 10 amphora. Lightly ribbed amphora could be as late as the 2nd century.  
Date: late 1st to 2nd century  
Other material: 1 limestone fragment with stucco, 4 limestone fragments with worked faces, 3 Roman tiles, 1 small marble fragment

## II. Use

1. North of the Flavian temenos wall, road surface adjacent to Roman Roads 1, 2 (over dep I.1)  
Trench 89-25 (north)  
Elev.: from -0.92 to -1.18 m  
Lot 89-145  
Total sherds, 56: 18 Archaic; Roman-ware sherds include 6 plain fineware, 1 slipped fineware, 20 coarseware, 3 cooking ware, 8 amphora. The latest piece is a fragment of a "micaceous water jar" of the late 1st or early 2nd century.  
Date: late 1st to early 2nd century
2. Surface of Roman Roads 3-8 and upper clay layers beneath them in North Temenos (Fig. 6, sec A-A)  
Trenches 89-19, 89-37  
Elev.: from -1.14 to 1.48 m  
Lots 89-131, 89-342, 89-343  
Total sherds, 446: 6 Archaic, 1 Classical, 4 Roman, 10 plain fineware, 2 decorated fineware, 20 slipped fineware, 138 coarseware, 105 cooking ware, 160 amphora  
Date: late 1st century-early 2nd century  
Inventory: bronze nail/pin, IM 5633; glass vessel, IM 5780; painted plaster, IM 5779; marble sima, IA 3065; terracotta raking sima, IP 7686 (joins with IA 4071 and IA 4080 from Hellenistic damage I.1 in Part II and Mac/RRd dep I.3); IT 1005; Pergamene red-gloss ware, **8**; IP 7590; coin of Phlius, 400-360 B.C., IC 1450  
Other material: 13 lamps

3. Fabric of Roman Road 2, Northeast Temenos  
 Trench 89-16 (area of test trench 1)  
 Elev.: from -2.46 to -2.79 m  
 Lot 89-87  
 Total sherds, 502: 71 Early Iron Age, 148 Archaic, 20 Classical, 1 Hellenistic, 26 Roman, 25 plain fineware, 7 slipped fineware, 71 coarseware, 51 cooking ware, 81 amphora, 1 "micaceous water jar," 1st/2nd century  
 Date: late 1st/2nd century  
 Inventory: miniature loomweight, IM 5638; iron object, IM 5640; iron boss, IM 5646; iron nail, IM 5647; bronze rings, IM 5645, IM 5648; limestone chip with red paint, IA 3070; glass rims, IM 5643, IM 5644; IP 7483, IP 7486, IP 7573, IP 8097, IP 7572, IP 7614, IP 7615  
 Other material: 2 Palaimonion lamps with whitewash, 1 perirrhanterion, 34 Greek and Roman tiles, 2 marble fragments, 2 shells  
 Fauna: 124 burned bones: 62 cattle-sized, 32 sheep/goat-sized
4. South verge of Roman Road 2, Northeast Temenos  
 Trench 89-16  
 Elev.: from -3.10 to -3.53 m  
 Lot 89-335  
 Total sherds, 117: 1 Mycenaean, 1 Early Iron Age, 26 Archaic, 2 Hellenistic, 2 Roman, 1 slipped fineware, 45 coarseware, 17 cooking ware, 22 amphora. Latest pieces are 2 sherds from a thin-walled mug, mid/late 1st century.  
 Date: mid/late 1st century  
 Inventory: grinding stones, IM 5700bis, IM 5701bis; molded terracotta antefix, IA 4023; terracotta horse-and-rider figurine, IM 5704; IP 7583  
 Other material: 25 Greek and Roman tiles, 1 water pipe, 8 pieces of worked limestone (5 from the Classical Temple), 6 marble rooftile fragments, 2 marble fragments, 1 bronze, 1 iron, 1 glass fragment  
 Fauna: 20 burned bones: 18 cattle-sized
5. Fabric of Roman Road 3, Northeast Temenos  
 Trench 89-16  
 Elev.: from -3.93 to -4.22 m  
 Lots 89-323, 89-91  
 Total sherds, 48: 7 Early Iron Age, 13 Archaic, 3 Classical, 1 Roman, 1 slipped fineware, 4 cooking ware, 19 amphora. Latest sherd is Eastern Sigillata A.  
 Date: late 1st century  
 Inventory: IP 7487  
 Other material: 1 worked marble, 3 tiles, 1 glass fragment  
 Fauna: 2 burned bones: 1 sheep/goat-sized, 1 cattle-sized
6. Use of Roman Road 3, Northeast Temenos  
 Trench 89-29  
 Elev.: from -2.53 (northwest)/-2.96 m (southeast) to -2.80 (northwest)/-3.12 m (southeast)  
 Lots 89-223, 89-224, 89-225, 89-227  
 Total sherds, 128: 10 Early Iron Age, 33 Archaic, 4 Classical, 1 Hellenistic/Roman, 2 plain fineware, 3 slipped fineware, 3 coarseware, 24 cooking ware, 48 amphora  
 Date: Roman  
 Inventory: marble molding, IA 4026; millstone, IM 5701; terracotta horse-and-rider figurine, 6th century B.C., IM 5704; black stone fragment, IM 5733  
 Other material: 10 tiles, 1 water pipe, 2 marble revetment, 2 bronze, 1 iron, 2 lead fragments  
 Fauna: 2 burned bones: 1 cattle-sized; 1 unburned cattle-sized bone
7. Macadam Floor in East Temenos  
 Trench 89-38  
 Elev.: from -1.60 to -1.77 m  
 Lot 89-239

Total sherds, 53: 10 Early Iron Age, 4 Archaic, 2 plain fineware, 3 coarseware, 5 cooking ware, 29 amphora. The latest pieces are the tube from a Palaimonion lamp and a lagynoid jug/amphora.

Date: late 1st century

Other material: 1 obsidian chip, 1 limestone fragment with plaster, 9 water pipes, 11 Greek and Roman tiles, 1 lamp

8. Soil over the Macadam Floor in the East Temenos (dep II.7)

Trench 89-38

Elev.: from -1.47 to -1.66 m

Lot 89-254

Total sherds, 30: 6 Early Iron Age, 4 Archaic, 1 Classical, 2 coarseware, 3 cooking ware, 14 amphora. The latest is a handle from a trefoil-mouthed cooking ware jug.

Date: 1st century

Other material: 105 water pipes, 5 tiles

Fauna: 1 burned bone, cattle-sized

### PALAIMONION I

The earliest evidence for the Roman cult of the hero Melikertes-Palaimon belongs to this period. The establishment included a small pit (Pit A) for holocaustic sacrifices of cattle and a wall enclosing the area around it. The pit was sunk into the native clay of the Early Stadium embankment, just northeast of the northeast end of the triangular starting pavement (Figs. 2, 3, 4).<sup>57</sup> The enclosure wall of fieldstones formed a rather restricted precinct, which was probably entered from the north. After a second pit, B, was opened at the southeastern side of the original precinct, some of the enclosure was removed and a new wall surrounded both pits.<sup>58</sup>

A series of earthen floors in trench 89-2A provides ceramic evidence, in addition to that from the contents of the pits, for the chronology of the shrine. The layers did not, however, show a continuous sequence from Greek to Roman times. On the east side of the trench, surfaces of the 1st century lay above the Early Stadium embankment (Fig. 10:b, sec H-H deps D + E = 1st century; dep F = 5th century B.C.).<sup>59</sup> On the west side of the trench the Roman surfaces covered an Archaic ramp (= Terrace 2) connecting the race course and the Long Altar (Fig. 11:b, sec J-J dep D = 1st century).<sup>60</sup> No strata remained from the years after the stadium went out of use at the end of the 4th or early in the 3rd century B.C., or from the time when the sanctuary was virtually abandoned following 146 B.C. The area may have been landscaped, perhaps after removal of the stadium and again at the time of the first Roman activity, or it may have suffered from erosion, with the result that cultural deposits were washed away.<sup>61</sup> Both phenomena could have been responsible for eliminating soil in this area.

<sup>57</sup> For the earlier excavations, see *Isthmia* II, p. 100; recent analysis of the sacrificial remains will be included in Gebhard and Reese, forthcoming.

<sup>58</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 100–101. Broneer concludes that Pit B was begun before sacrifices had ceased in Pit A, because the second wall surrounded both pits. The sequence of the pottery and the floors as described below suggests instead that Pit B followed the closure of A. Since the enlarged temenos is centered on Pit B, there is no reason to suppose that B alone was not the focus of the sacrificial activity.

<sup>59</sup> Early Stadium II: see Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 68–70.

<sup>60</sup> East Terrace 2: Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 52–57.

<sup>61</sup> The natural slope of the terrain is from west to east and from south to north, with the result that most of the deposits follow the same general pattern and are subject to erosion from water pouring down the Rachi. The same lack of cultural material is apparent at the southwest corner of Palaimonion III and V, where virtually nothing later than the 3rd century was uncovered. At the north and east sides of the main temenos, after the stoas and temenos walls were demolished in late antiquity, the entire surface of the Antonine temenos was washed away. Note how close the modern surface was to the plateau at the time of the first excavations in 1952, as shown in Figure 10:a. Level of Antonine temenos shown in Figure 6.

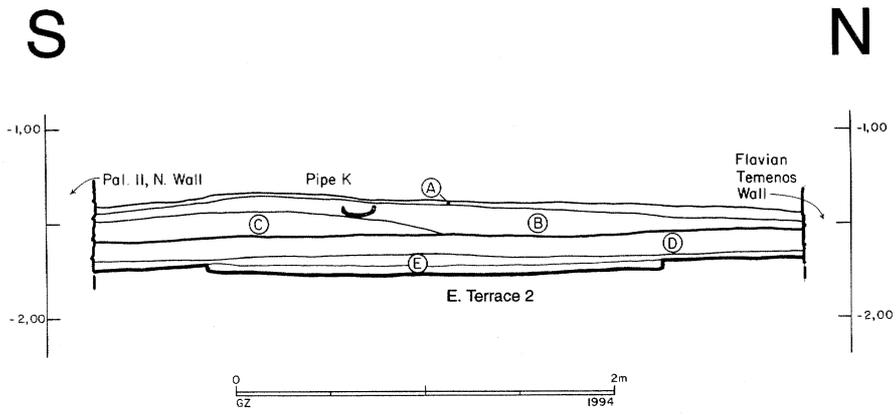


FIG. 11:a. Section I-I, trench 89-2C, west scarp, looking west

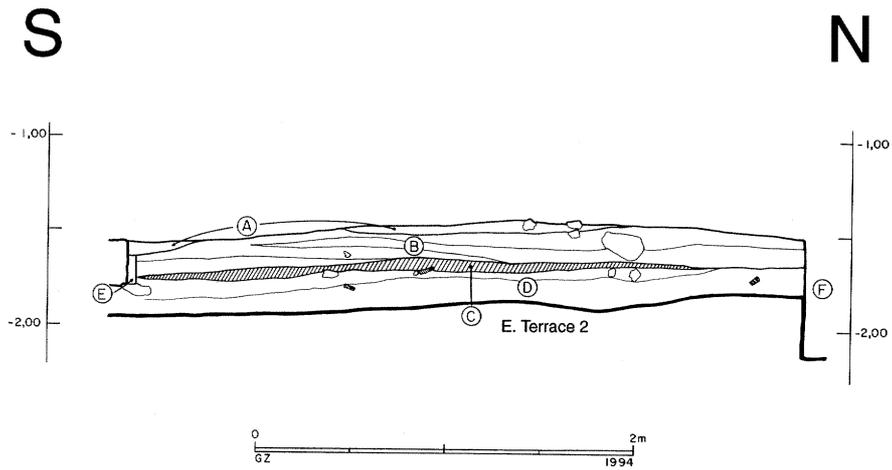


FIG. 11:b. Section J-J, trench 89-2A, west scarp, looking west

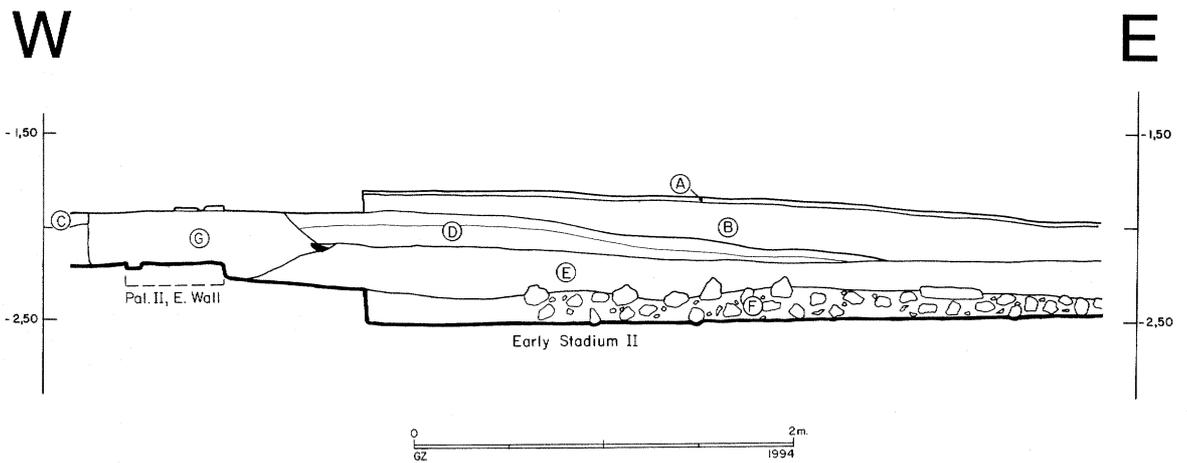


FIG. 11:c. Section K-K, trenches 89-14 and 17, south scarp, looking north (G. Ziesing)

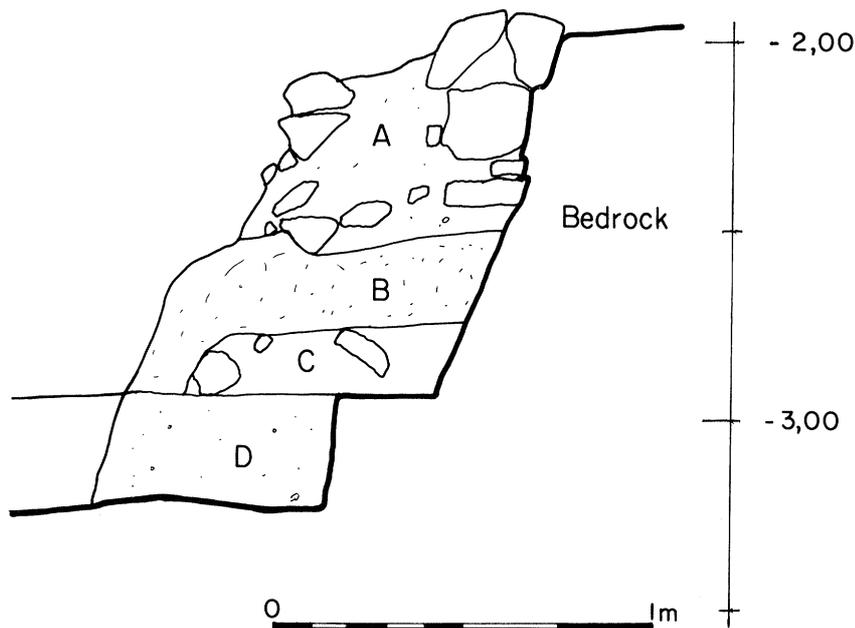


FIG. 12. Section M-M, Palaimonion Pit A (G. Ziesing)

Sacrificial Pit A (3.70 × 2.00 m, 1.30 m deep) is cut through a layer of clay below the eastern edge of the plateau, and it reaches the underlying bed of conglomerate.<sup>62</sup> Broneer found the pit filled to a height of 0.80 m with ash, carbonized wood, burned animal bones, and pottery. He excavated most of the contents but left a *martyra* near the southeast corner, and that deposit was cleared in 1989 (Pl. 73:c; Fig. 12).<sup>63</sup>

In the floor of the main pit is a rectangular cutting (2.50 × 1.40 m, 0.37 m deep; Pl. 73:b).<sup>64</sup> It appears to be the bottom of the original shaft that was sunk into the ground to receive the first sacrifices. Initially the pit would have been about 1.30 m deep, but the interior would scarcely have been large enough to hold a fire that would consume a full-grown animal. It seems likely that a pyre was built over the pit and, when the supporting timbers had burned through, the flaming mass fell into the cavity. The sides of all the Palaimonion pits have been heavily damaged by heat.<sup>65</sup> At some point the pit was enlarged to its present dimensions, and a portion of the original shaft, with some of its contexts, was left at the bottom.<sup>66</sup>

The smaller pit within Pit A was filled with homogeneous gray ash mixed with burned animal bones but little pottery. The absence of votive shapes, with the exception of a mug(s), is notable (Pal I dep I.1: Fig. 12, sec M-M dep D). The pottery extends at least to the middle of the 1st century.

<sup>62</sup> The area lay at the western end of a path leading to the plateau in the Early Iron Age (Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 12–16; Gebhard in *Isthmia* VIII). It was covered in the 6th century B.C. by a deep layer of clay that created a ramp between the stadium and the altar (Terrace 2). As far as can be determined at present, there was no monument or shrine in the vicinity before the Roman period.

<sup>63</sup> For the preliminary report, see Broneer 1959, p. 312; also *Isthmia* II, p. 100, pl. 37:d. Broneer notes that “when the pit was discovered it was filled to a height of 0.80 m,” but in pl. 37:d, which shows the *martyra* at the close of his excavation in 1958, there is an upper deposit in the center that appears to extend to the top of the retaining wall at the north side (elev. –1.79 m). In 1989 the *martyra* measured ca. 1.20 × 1.10 m, and its height above the main floor of the pit was ca. 1.00 m.

<sup>64</sup> The slope of the conglomerate, with its overlying layer of clay, is visible in Pl. 73:b; the lower pit is cut only into the clay (upper right) and not into the conglomerate sloping down from the northwest (lower left).

<sup>65</sup> *Isthmia* II, p. 102, note 8; see also Gebhard and Reese, forthcoming. We are indebted to Bergitta Bergquist for pointing out that the shaft would not have had the necessary draft for an animal to be burned whole.

<sup>66</sup> In his preliminary report Broneer mentions a “shallow depression” in the center of the pit, but from his reported elevations he does not seem to have cleared it.

Above it, in the enlarged pit, lay a deeper layer of ash that was consistently mottled with pockets of very dark ash, light ash with a dense concentration of bone fragments, and some red soil (Pal I dep I.2: Fig. 12, sec M–M deps B + C). Carbonized remains of bread/hard wheat, fig seeds, and pomegranate seeds make up the bulk of the botanical remains, with the addition of a few pinecone bracts and one date pit fragment (together with wild plant seeds that have only tentatively been identified), retrieved by water-sieving.<sup>67</sup> The pottery consisted almost entirely of votives or related types (phialai, cups, mugs, gray jugs), with only one fragment that might belong to a Palaimonion lamp. An imported mug (20) provides a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 60 for the deposit; other ceramics give a date of 75–80. The capping stratum was similar in composition, reaching a slightly later date and providing evidence that use of the pit ceased before the end of the 1st century (dep I.3). The pottery and bones were densely packed in an ash matrix. The total amount of burned cattle bones from Broneer's excavation of the pit, together with those retrieved in 1989, weighed 13.50 kg. The volume of the pit is about 5.92 cubic meters.<sup>68</sup> From the area outside the pit many small, hand-held lamps were recovered where they had probably been set down by worshippers.<sup>69</sup>

About two meters east of the sacrificial pit are two small circular pits (ca. 0.75 m in diameter and 1.40 m deep). Pit 2 cut into the side of Pit 1 (Fig. 4; Pl. 73:b). Both pits contained only soft fill and relatively few sherds, including some votive material (deps II.1, 2). A large worked block lay over both of them in a way that suggests they were intentionally covered at the same point in time. Because of previous excavation in the area, the surface from which they had been dug was not clearly defined, but the pottery in the fill places their abandonment late in the 1st century and possibly into the 2nd century, during the second phase of the Palaimonion and Pit B. A small portion of the precinct floor was found at the northeast side of the pits, although most of the surface had been previously excavated (dep II.3).

The first Roman surface outside the east wall of the precinct surrounding Pit A was cleared in trench 89-2A (Fig. 10:b, sec H–H deps D, E; Fig. 11:b, sec J–J dep D).<sup>70</sup> The stratum consists of a thick layer of very hard-packed, compact beige soil with many limestone chips but little pottery (Pal I dep II.4). Use of the surface spans the second half of the 1st century, as shown by a Palaimonion lamp fragment.<sup>71</sup> The sacrificial deposits within Pit A cover the same time span, although we cannot be certain whether the contents represent all the sacrifices made there or only the final two or three offerings.

### *Palaimonion I Deposits*

#### I. Pit A

##### 1. Lower layer of ash in smaller pit (Fig. 12, sec M–M dep D)

Trench Pal Pit A

Elev.: from –3.03 to –3.37 m

Lot 89-280

Total sherds, 22: 1 Early Iron Age, 4 Archaic, 1 Classical, 5 Hellenistic, 11 Roman. Scrappy material. Includes neck of small unguentarium (mid 1st century) and thin-walled mug similar to IP 8196 in dep I.2; otherwise no obvious votives.

Date: mid to third quarter of 1st century

<sup>67</sup> We are grateful to Julie Hansen for information on the plant remains. She reports that there was similar material in Pit C; see pp. 443–444 below.

<sup>68</sup> In 1989 all sacrificial deposits were sifted, and a larger number of bones was saved than in the earlier excavations. For this reason the deposits from the two periods of excavation are not comparable in terms of number or weight.

<sup>69</sup> The lamps associated with Pit A and its precinct are of Broneer type XVI: *Isthmia* III, p. 89.

<sup>70</sup> As described above, the surface lies over Terrace 2 and the Early Stadium II embankment of the 6th and early 5th centuries B.C.

<sup>71</sup> See p. 445 below.

Other material: small Roman(?) tile, burned limestone chips

Fauna: 2,218 burned cattle-sized bones (2,800 g); 9 burned sheep/goat-sized; 8 unburned sheep/goat-sized bones

2. Upper layer of mottled ash (Fig. 12, sec M–M depts B + C)
  - Trench Pal Pit A
  - Elev.: from –2.57 to –3.03 m
  - Lot 89-279
  - Total sherds, 1,130: 1 Archaic, 1 Hellenistic, remainder Roman. Included are ca. 3,800 g slip-coated phialai, ca. 1,130 g mugs and cups, ca. 1,000 g gray jugs (including **21**).
  - Date: ca. 60–75/80, on the basis of **20**
  - Inventory: **18–21**, IP 8196, IP 8199, IP 8305–8308
  - Other material: 2 small bags carbonized wood, 1 rim of Palaimonion lamp, type A
  - Fauna: 7,454 (10,850 g) burned cattle-sized bones; 2 unburned bird bones
  - Flora: *Triticum aestivum/durum*, *Triticum* sp., Gramineae indet., *Ficus carica*, *Lithospermum arvense*, cf. *Verbascum*-type, cf. *Urtica*-type, cf. *Carex* sp., *Phoenix dactylifera*, *Punica granatum*, *Pinus* sp. (pinecone bracts), *Malva* sp., seed indet. #2, seed indet. #3
3. Large fieldstones in loose soil at top (Fig. 12, sec M–M dep A)
  - Trench Pal Pit A
  - Elev.: from –2.09 to –2.65 m
  - Lot 89-278
  - Total sherds, 68: 4 Classical, 64 Roman. Mainly votives of the type in dep I.2; slip-coated phialai predominate.
  - Date: ca. 60–80 or a little later
  - Other material: moldmade lamp, Knidian or Italian, 1st century
  - Fauna: 130 burned bones (100 g), cattle-sized

## II. Precinct

1. Round Pit 1
  - Trench 89-66
  - Elev.: from –1.83 to –2.20 m
  - Lot 89-399
  - Total sherds, 43: 1 Mycenaean, 2 Early Iron Age, 14 Archaic, 2 Classical, 24 Roman. Includes votive phialai (9 sherds) and a possible platter base in slip-coated ware. No Palaimonion lamps.
  - Date: Not closely datable, but late 1st century at the earliest
  - Other material: worked limestone, 10 white marble chips, 3 Greek rooftiles
  - Fauna: 7 burned bones, cattle-sized
2. Round pit 2
  - Trench 89-66
  - Elev.: from ca. –2.10 (top previously excavated) to –2.68 m
  - Lot 89-281
  - Total sherds, 20: 1 Classical, 1 Hellenistic, 18 Roman. Some votive material, including **23**, with mortar adhering (i.e., secondary deposition). An Eastern Sigillata B2 rim, EAA form 80 (probably early), provides evidence for the date.
  - Date: post-80 (possibly into early 2nd century)
  - Inventory: **23**
  - Other material: 1 large white marble chip
3. Interior floor northeast of Pits 1, 2 (partially excavated previously)
  - Trench 89-66
  - Elev.: from –1.64 (north)/–1.79 m (south) to –1.67 (north)/–1.86 m (south)
  - Lot 89-449
  - Total sherds, 5: 1 Archaic, 1 Classical, 2 cooking, 1 amphora
  - Date: second half/late 1st century, based on the lamp
  - Inventory: Palaimonion lamp, type A variant, **22**
  - Other material: 1 piece stucco

4. Exterior floor (Fig. 10:b, sec H–H deps D, E; Fig. 11:b, sec J–J dep D)  
 Trench 89-2A  
 Elev.: from –1.74 to –2.18 m  
 Lots 89-40, 89-41  
 Total sherds, 39: 5 Mycenaean, 9 Early Iron Age, 3 Archaic, 9 plain ware, 10 coarseware, 3 cooking ware. Includes 1 Roman amphora, 1 Pontic Sigillata, 4 Palaimonion slip-coated bowls/phialai.  
 Date: second half of 1st century  
 Other material: 1 sherd of Palaimonion lamp

## FLAVIAN THROUGH EARLY TRAJANIC PERIOD

### TEMENOS OF POSEIDON

At some point in the Flavian or early Trajanic period cart traffic across the eastern part of the temenos in front of the Temple of Poseidon was at last stopped, and Roads D–F were blocked by construction of a wall marking out a small temenos immediately around the temple.<sup>72</sup> The space measures ca. 44.25 m north–south and ca. 88.50 m east–west (150 × 300 RF of 0.295 m), with proportions of 1 : 2. No evidence for the entrance(s) has survived. In Figure 7, which shows the temenos in the Hadrianic period, we have restored a gate in the north wall because there had been an entrance to the temenos in that area since Archaic times. By the same reasoning, we might postulate an opening in the east wall as well. There is no evidence, however, for a stair at the east, and, since the surface to the east of the temenos was considerably lower than the floor within the walls, we have not restored an eastern gateway. It is also possible that a gate existed on the west side, through which visitors from Corinth approached the temple. In any case, the absence of any construction separate from the line of the wall itself means that the entrance(s), wherever they were, must have been simple doorways without architectural embellishment. Only the foundations survive of the walls. They are made of mortared rubble on the north and east sides and of rectangular limestone blocks on the south; on the west side only traces of the foundation bedding remain. Evenly spaced buttresses projected from the outer face of the enclosure. The upper portion of the wall, now totally missing, very likely consisted of ashlar masonry, and the top was finished with a coping of cut stone, many pieces of which have been found in the excavations.<sup>73</sup>

Evidence that allows us to move construction of the temenos walls to the Flavian or early Trajanic period comes from two long cuts in the northern area that were made to record the stratigraphy between the temple and the temenos wall (Fig. 5). In trench 89-25 (south), where patches of the floor of the temenos were preserved, it consisted of a white, hard-packed soil with a high clay content (FT dep II.2). The surface sloped gently away from the level of the lowest step of the temple toward the temenos wall, from an elevation of ca. –0.59 to –0.80 m. Farther west, in trench 89-49, the hard floor was not preserved, but the uppermost layer of fill beneath it was excavated. The stratum shows a slope away from the temple similar to that of the floor in trench 89-25 (from ca. –0.65 to –0.75 m; FT dep I.1). At both locations the fill was used to raise and level the surface of the temenos.<sup>74</sup> The deposits contained a large amount of pottery, which includes a wide range of Eastern and Western Sigillata and various other imports of the same period. The construction of the first Roman temenos can thus be placed in the late Flavian to early Trajanic period, or 80/90–100/110 (see the section on ceramics, p. 445 below). These deposits rested on an uneven, heavily worn surface that had been in use since the construction of the Classical Temple in the 5th century B.C., and over which cart roads had traversed the temenos since

<sup>72</sup> Broneer called it the First Roman Temenos: *Isthmia II*, pp. 69–73.

<sup>73</sup> *Isthmia II*, p. 71; catalogue of architectural members, nos. 1–15 (pp. 123–124).

<sup>74</sup> The lowest level of fill (lots 89-158, 89-159 in FT dep I.2) contained nothing dating later than 60–80 and may have been put down before construction of the Flavian temenos. The pottery is contemporary with that of the leveling fill beneath Roman Roads 1, 2, farther north (Mac/RRd dep I.1).

the 2nd century B.C., as described above (p. 414).<sup>75</sup> In the southernmost portion of trench 89-25, toward the foundation trench for the north stylobate of the Classical Temple, the earlier deposits were disturbed, and Roman material extends to bedrock.<sup>76</sup>

Further evidence for the construction date of the temenos wall comes from the east side, where a portion of the concrete, trench-built foundation was removed (trench 89-22). While most of the pottery was Archaic, thrown up from Terraces 3 and 4 when the foundation trench was dug into the earlier surfaces, two fragments of a votive bowl similar to those in Palaimonion Pit A belong to the 1st century (FT dep I.3). The mortared rubble of the foundation contained a number of architectural fragments, including part of a Doric echinus (IA 4018) about three-quarters the size of the columns in the peristyle of the Classical Temple. A piece of a Doric column of about the same scale is built into the foundation at the north side of the trench (unexcavated), and another is visible in the foundation of the same temenos wall at the north end of the Long Altar. Broneer noted that there were numerous fragments from the Temple of Poseidon and other Greek buildings (which cannot be identified) throughout this wall.<sup>77</sup>

An even larger collection of architectural fragments, almost certainly from the Temple of Poseidon, was uncovered by Broneer in the northeastern corner of the Flavian temenos (trenches NE-A, NE-B: Part II, fig. 4). The blocks were mixed with fieldstones, and the mass of rubble lay on the Macadam Floor.<sup>78</sup> The smaller pieces of wall blocks from the Temple of Poseidon have been cleared away, but the larger fragments of columns, some, at least, from the interior of the temple, remain on the site (Fig. 4; Pls. 71, 74:a).<sup>79</sup> Since the architectural fragments, mixed with a greater mass of fieldstones, formed a continuous layer over the Macadam Floor, they appear to have been deposited in order to level the eastern end of the temenos. The area had always sloped down to the east, following the natural slope of the rock. The addition of the fill, which was about one meter deep, raised the surface to the elevation of the area in front of the temple (elev. -0.50 to -0.70 m).<sup>80</sup> Outside the temenos, the surface remained lower, sloping down

<sup>75</sup> Immediately below the fill in trench 89-25 (FT dep I.2) is a wheel rut belonging to Road E.

<sup>76</sup> Lot 89-161, not included in the list of deposits.

<sup>77</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 69–70.

<sup>78</sup> The blocks and stones are recorded on the trench plan in notebook 22, pp. 5–8 (trench NE-A: 11 numbered blocks are listed and drawn on pp. 48–52; trench NE-B: 3 blocks on pp. 57–58). Broneer includes five of these blocks in *Isthmia* I, in his catalogue of wall blocks from the Temple of Poseidon, nos. BB 50–53 and BB 67 (pp. 107–108). Of the capital and column fragments, C 31 and C 33 (p. 118) could belong to the interior columns of the temple; nos. C 75 and C 86 (pp. 119–120) are too small to place. They fall into the group that he identifies as debris from the fire of 390 B.C. (p. 104), but he does not discuss them further. We found that Terrace 7 contained much temple debris from the 390 B.C. blaze, but the battered fragments in trenches NE-A and NE-B are probably from later depredateions to the building, since they were available for Roman reuse and they rest on the Macadam Floor, over Roads E and F.

<sup>79</sup> The tops of several pieces, wall blocks and column fragments, are heavily worn and bear plow marks. Fragments of similar columns were built into the foundations of the Flavian temenos wall, as described above. See *Isthmia* I, pp. 116, 118, C 36 and C 41.

<sup>80</sup> The floor of the temenos is not preserved, but a minimum elevation is given by the top of the rubble layer (elev. ca. -0.86 m); see Figure 10:a. At the time of the excavation in 1959, although it is not mentioned in the final publication, it was assumed that the debris belonged to the final dismantling of the temple in late antiquity. Pieces of inscriptions and coins supported this interpretation: small fragments of marble inscriptions in trench NE-A (IΣ 400–404, IΣ 406; 2nd century, where datable); 7 coins (IC 709–712, IC 755, IC 800, IC 843; 1st–6th centuries). In trenches NE-A and NE-B the latest sherd is from the 7th century (pottery lots 1532, 1533, 1551, 1556, 1577); the rest belong to the 1st–3rd centuries. These objects came from the layer of soil (ca. 0.30 m deep) along the Long Altar that rested on the Macadam Floor.

The impediment to placing all the material in the final phase of destruction is the fact that the floor of the Flavian temenos, as shown by the construction levels of the Flavian temenos walls, lay well above the Macadam Floor (elev. -0.54 to -1.40 m [south]; -1.20 to -1.45 m [north]); see Figure 10:a. The floor of the East Stoa was higher than the podium of the Hadrianic temple (elev. -1.06 m). During the Flavian through the Antonine periods the levels in the East Temenos were certainly higher than the Macadam Floor. Erosion may be responsible for the drop in elevation during the final period of the sanctuary. When the East Stoa was removed, rainwater coursing down the Rachi could have carried off the

to the east (Fig. 10:a). The availability of fragments from the temple for raising the temenos, and for the earlier leveling fill beneath the Macadam Floor, is perhaps a sign that the temple was in a ruined state in the middle of the 1st century and that it was extensively rebuilt toward the end of the century.<sup>81</sup> The restorations should have been largely finished by the time the Flavian temenos wall was completed.

*Deposits from the Flavian–Early Trajanic Temenos of Poseidon*

I. Construction

1. Leveling fill, North Temenos

Trench 89-49

Elev.: from –0.65 to –1.32 m

Lots 89-364, 89-365, 89-369

Total sherds, 545: 32 Greek; Roman wares include 20 plain fineware, 1 decorated fineware, 90 slipped fineware, 69 coarseware, 122 cooking ware, 211 amphora. The latest are a wide range of Eastern and Western Sigillata wares and various other imports. A few sherds of Palaimonion votive bowls and wheelmade lamps indicate contemporaneity with Palaimonion II deposits.

Date: 80/90–100/110

Inventory: Corinthian anonymous coin, Augustan and later, IC 1482;<sup>82</sup> glass rim, IM 5944;

Corinthian bowl rim, **12**; Palaimonion lamp, **17**; cooking-ware jug, **13**; amphora, **16**

Fauna: 5 burned bones, 2 cattle-sized; 12 unburned bones, cattle- and sheep/goat-sized

Other material: 10 lamps

2. Leveling fill

Trench 89-25 (south)

Elev.: from –0.59 to –1.01 m

Lots 89-156, 89-158, 89-159

Total sherds, 1,717: 145 Greek; Roman wares include 51 plain fineware, 6 decorated fineware, 297 slipped fineware, 112 coarseware, 396 cooking ware, 710 amphora. The latest are the same types as in dep I.1.

Date: 80/90–100/110

Inventory: limestone moldings, IA 4027, IA 4035; glass bases, IM 5741, IM 5756; terracotta figurine, horse's tail, IM 5757; thin-walled beaker, IP 7687; coin, IC 1474 (50/51);<sup>83</sup> bowl,

**11**; casserole, **14**; frying pan, **15**; thin-walled beaker, **1**; wide-mouthed amphora, **10**

Other material: 13 lamps

3. East wall of temenos

Trench 89-22

Elev.: from –1.55 (north)/–1.87 m (south) to –2.17 (north)/–2.11 m (south)

Lot 89-466

Total sherds, 152: 35 Early Iron Age, 52 Archaic, 11 Classical, 1 Hellenistic, 5 plain fineware, 2 slipped fineware, 6 coarseware, 11 cooking ware, 29 amphora. Two sherds of a votive bowl and one of a thin-walled Roman cooking ware vessel provide the date.

Date: second half of the 1st century

Inventory: Doric echinus, IA 4018; limestone chip, IA 4006; limestone molding with stucco, IA 4016; limestone fragment with hole, IA 4005; terracotta metope(?), IA 4017; miniature bowl, IP 7605; mortarium, IP 7677

Other material: 2 marble chips, 2 small bags of bronze, 5 Greek rooftiles, 1 Roman rooftile

upper layers of soil, about 1–2 m of fill. If this happened before the Temple of Poseidon was dismantled, pieces from the temple would have fallen on the Macadam Floor that was then exposed.

<sup>81</sup> If the earthquake of 77 affected the sanctuary, it would have further weakened an already damaged building. For destruction in the Hellenistic period, see Gebhard and Hemans 1998, pp. 57–60.

<sup>82</sup> *Corinth* VI, p. 24, no. 74. Coin identifications and catalogue entries are by Liane Houghtalin.

<sup>83</sup> *Corinth*, duoviral, semi.: obv. Helios head radiate; rev. Poseidon with dolphin and trident, Melikertes-Palaimon on a dolphin. Cf. Amandry 1988, pp. 73–74, 98, pls. XXXI, XXXII.

## II. Use

## 1. White clay surface and brown earth fill beneath, North Temenos

Trench 89-25 (south)

Elev.: from -0.65 (south)/-0.80 m (north) to -0.75 (south)/-0.825 m (north)

Lot 89-155

Total sherds, 171: 11 Greek; Roman wares include 21 red-gloss imports (Çandarlı, Italian *terra sigillata*, Eastern Sigillata A, B1, and B2), 1 thin-walled mug, 10 local red-slip wares, 17 coarseware, 37 cooking ware, 3 micaceous jar, 71 amphora

Date: late 1st century

Other materials: 1 beehive fragment; 19 Corinthian tile fragments; 24 fragments of Lakonian-type tiles; 3 fragments of water pipe

## PALAIMONION II

At the time the Temple of Poseidon received a precinct wall, the Palaimonion was almost quadrupled in size, and a second sacrificial pit (B) was opened a short distance to the southeast of Pit A (Figs. 2, 4).<sup>84</sup> A deposit probably related to the construction of the enclosure surrounding the new pit came from a robbing trench (ca. 1.50 m wide; trenches 89-2C, 89-26) along the outside face of the north wall (Pl. 74:b; Pal II dep I.1). At its eastern end the robbing hole cut through Terraces 4 and 3 of the Classical period and exposed stones belonging to the embankment of the Archaic Early Stadium II that were perhaps then used in the wall (Pl. 74:b; stones of the stadium are visible in the lower deposits, center).<sup>85</sup> The cavity was then filled with soft soil containing pottery that dates to the end of the 1st and into the early 2nd century. The cavity appears as a dark area next to the lower mass of stones in Plate 74:b. The footing trench for the south wall of the Hadrianic Ramp (described below) was cut through this fill (Ramp dep I.1).

Some terracing evidently took place along the southeastern side of the new enclosure, where the ground sloped down to the east. In trench 89-17 we excavated a deep layer of soft fill containing many small sherds and lamps. The lamps included the earliest version of Palaimonion type A, but there were a few of Broneer type XVI lamps and votive vessels (Fig. 11:c, sec K-K dep E; Pal II dep I.2). The stratum was spread over the rocky surface of the Early Stadium II embankment, and the layer is sealed by a very hard-packed earthen surface (Fig. 11:c, sec K-K dep D; Pal II dep II.1). The abundance of the earliest form of Palaimonion lamps in the lower deposit (I.2) places their introduction to the cult in the final years of Palaimonion I, before ca. 100. The hard surface above the leveling fill (Pal II dep I.1) contained similar pottery and lamps, two molded handles from ritual paterae (24, 27), and one mug (26). The patera handles occurred in the bottom of the deposit, in connection with two postholes described below. They could have been deposited after the terracing operation, during early use of the floor. They are listed with the floor deposit (II.1).<sup>86</sup>

The outside surface is comparable in elevation and date to the red floor inside the precinct. The interior surface layer was excavated in 1989 in trench 89-2A, and Broneer excavated it in the area of our trench 89-2B. The floor is very distinct in the scarp of our trench 89-2B (Fig. 10:b, sec H-H dep C; Fig. 11:b, sec J-J dep C). It is composed of fine red soil, densely packed and striking in its brilliant red color (Pal II dep II.2). The second sacrificial pit (B) was dug from this surface.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 100–101.

<sup>85</sup> At the western end of the trench the stone-robber's hole did not go below the surface of Terrace 4 (Fig. 11:a, sec I-I dep C).

<sup>86</sup> A third handle (33) was found in a hole inside the Palaimonion II temenos, just north of the foundation for the stylobate of the South Stoa (Fig. 4). It is included in Palaimonion III dep I.1 (under the white floor) (pp. 443–445).

<sup>87</sup> See *Isthmia* II, p. 100. Broneer described the surface as being at least 1.20 m above the floor of Pit B, or elev. -1.65 m.

North of the precinct wall, at its eastern end, a series of thin strata totaling 0.05–0.10 m in depth and dating to the late 1st century rest directly on the surface of East Terrace 4, which was in use during the first half of the 5th century B.C. (Pal II dep II.3).<sup>88</sup> The absence here and in the eastern side of the precinct (beneath Pal II dep I.2) of any accumulation belonging to the intervening centuries suggests that the area was landscaped at the time Palaimonion II was built, as mentioned above.

Two large postholes were excavated in trench 89-17 (ca. 0.23 m in diameter and ca. 0.24–0.30 m deep), another in trench 89-2A (ca. 0.40 m in diameter; bottom not excavated), and a fourth in the western extension of trench 89-2A (ca. 0.42 m in diameter and ca. 0.10 m deep; Fig. 4). Taken together they form a line running northwest by southeast across the northeastern corner of Palaimonion II. The two holes in trench 89-17 were dug through the terracing stratum (Pal II dep I.2) and were detected in the lowest level of the floor above (dep II.1). The posts thus appear to have been removed shortly after the floor was formed. Small bits of wood were recovered from the holes that are perhaps the remains of a wooden fence that was erected during construction of Palaimonion II. It may be worthwhile to note that a patera handle was found in the hole in trench 89-2A.<sup>89</sup> A fifth hole near the south end of the Long Altar could belong to the same series.

### *Palaimonion II Deposits*

#### I. Construction

1. Robbing trench; soft, dark fill (Fig. 11:a, sec I–I dep C)
  - Trenches 89-2C, 89-26
  - Elev.: from –1.54 to –2.09 m
  - Lot 89-309
  - Total sherds, 300: 1 Mycenaean, 119 Early Iron Age, 30 Archaic, 1 Classical, 4 Roman, 5 plain fineware, 16 coarseware, 34 cooking ware, 90 amphora. Domestic mix; scraps of micaceous brown jar.<sup>90</sup>
  - Date: end of 1st to early 2nd century
  - Inventory: coin, A.D. 67/68, IC 1465; flagon neck, **37**; glass, IM 5731; painted plaster, IA 4031
  - Other material: 9 Broneer type XVI and 3 Palaimonion type A lamps
2. Soft, reddish terracing fill outside precinct (Fig. 11:c, sec K–K dep E)
  - Trench 89-17
  - Elev.: from –2.00 to –2.45 m
  - Lot 89-98
  - Total sherds, 2,156: 78 Early Iron Age, 200 Archaic, 9 Classical, 4 Hellenistic, 346 Roman. The rest constitute the normal domestic mix (cf. p. 444).
  - Date: close to 100
  - Inventory: glass, IM 5632; worked ivory, IM 5650, IM 5651; obsidian flake, IM 5649; IP 7513, IP 7535, IP 7536, IP 7568, IP 7650
  - Other material: 464 Palaimonion lamps, early type A; a few Broneer type XVI lamps

#### II. Use

1. Compact floor outside east wall of precinct (Fig. 11:c, sec K–K dep D)
  - Trench 89-17
  - Elev.: from –1.81 to –2.19 m
  - Lot 89-97
  - Total sherds, 413: 17 Early Iron Age, 43 Archaic, 7 Hellenistic, 7 Roman, 24 plain fineware, 1 decorated fineware, 73 slipped fineware, 80 coarseware, 91 cooking ware, 70 amphora. The rest constitute the normal domestic wares with some votive types (cf. p. 444).

<sup>88</sup> Gebhard and Hemans 1992, pp. 71–73.

<sup>89</sup> A connection between the patera handle and the hole is not evident. No other parts of the vessel were recovered, which indicates that the vessel was broken before it went into the hole.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *Agora* V, pl. 41.

Date: ca. 100 to early 2nd century

Inventory: 2 patera handles, **24**, **27**; thin-walled mug, **26**; Palaimonion lamp, type A, **25**; southern Gaulish *terra sigillata*, IP 7660; IP 7533, IP 7670

Other material: 68 lamps, wood, 2 solitary coral, 1 *Glycymeris* fragment

Fauna: 4 burned bones, 3 cattle-sized

2. Red floor inside precinct (Fig. 10:b, sec H–H dep C; Fig. 11:b, sec J–J dep C)

Trench 89-2A

Elev.: from –1.55 to –1.99 m

Lot 89-39

Total sherds, 303: 32 Early Iron Age, 7 Archaic, 25 Classical, 41 plain fineware, 5 decorated fineware, 63 slipped fineware, 15 coarseware, 115 cooking ware. Roman ware consists almost entirely of locally produced wares, votive and cooking, and is thus comparable to the other deposits associated with Palaimonion I, II.

Date: late 1st to early 2nd century

Inventory: Knidian gray-ware skyphos, **34**, joining fragments in Pal III dep I.1

Other material: 16 Broneer type XVI lamps; 55 Palaimonion type A lamps; small bronze fragments; marble chips; 2 obsidian blades; small tile fragments

Fauna: 8 burned bones, cattle-sized

3. Compact red-brown stony soil

Trenches 89-2C, 89-26

Elev.: from –1.50 to –1.86 m

Lot 89-310

Total sherds, 262: 52 Early Iron Age, 49 Archaic, 2 Classical, 4 Roman, 3 plain fineware, 26 slipped fineware, 38 cooking ware, 39 coarseware, 49 amphora. Roman ware is scrappy; includes Palaimonion phiale.

Date: late 1st century

Inventory: limestone chip with grooving, IA 4025

Other material: numerous glass fragments; 2 Broneer type XVI lamps; 1 Palaimonion early type A lamp; *Glycymeris* fragment

Fauna: 4 burned bones, 3 cattle-sized

### HADRIANIC TEMPLE OF PALAIMON

At the eastern side of the Flavian temenos, within an ample precinct, stands the large, rectangular foundation that Broneer identifies as the Roman altar of Poseidon (Figs. 2, 4).<sup>91</sup> The main entry to the area was from the east, through a gate built on the foundations of the Hellenistic East Gateway (Part II, pp. 51–57), and small doorways existed at the northwest and southwest corners of the precinct. The concrete foundation with ashlar facing occupies the southern half of the space, while the northern half seems to have remained open. Most of the surface to the level of Terrace 4 was excavated by Broneer (Fig. 10:a). It is attractive to think of the large base as a Roman altar of Poseidon, because no other altar has been found and there is no sign that the Long Altar was ever rebuilt. On the other hand, there are several problems with this identification. The period of use of the complex was quite short, and it would be unusual for an altar to be demolished, covered over (by the East Stoa), and never rebuilt. Would a monumental altar for the sanctuary be discarded at just the time when Poseidon's precinct was expanded and embellished with colonnades? If there had been a replacement for the altar, it would surely have survived.<sup>92</sup> Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the identification is the apparent separation of the eastern precinct and its monument from the main temenos of Poseidon. Why did a wall divide the space around the altar from the

<sup>91</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 72–75.

<sup>92</sup> Contrary to the impression that a visitor may have of the dilapidation of the Isthmian sanctuary, more than twenty foundations for monuments have been uncovered in the central area.

area in front of the temple? It is difficult to believe that the altar of Poseidon would have been confined to its own precinct separate from the temple. Another explanation for the concrete base is proposed below.

Recent analysis of the floor levels within the Flavian temenos has shown that the surface at the eastern end in front of the temple was raised about a meter when the new temenos wall was built (as discussed above). When the eastern precinct was constructed some time later, the Macadam Floor, which had covered the entire area during the earliest period of Roman activity at the sanctuary, seems to have remained in use.<sup>93</sup> As a result, there was a difference in elevation of at least 0.75–0.80 m between the main temenos and the eastern enclosure. Such a variation in floor levels makes it unlikely that the eastern wall of the Flavian temenos was removed when the eastern precinct was built. Since none of the enclosure walls is preserved above the foundations, no sign of a doorway could be expected. Furthermore, if there had been an opening, we would expect to find a stairway or ramp. From the evidence at present, it seems that the eastern precinct remained completely separate from the main temenos of Poseidon.

Some deposits excavated in 1989 help to define the chronology of the complex. At the south corner of the east precinct, the uncovering (trench 89-26), from surface to bedrock, of the abutment between the south wall and the east walls of the main temenos confirms that the precinct walls were built after those of the Flavian temenos. The main enclosure was found to have been constructed in the period 80/90–100/110 (FT deps I.1, 2), which provides a *terminus post quem* for erection of the eastern complex. It was demolished when the East Stoa was built over it. The date of the last event is not altogether clear. Broneer places the initiation of the colonnades and the enlargement of the temenos in the first half of the 2nd century and suggests that the project very probably extended into the reign of the Antonines.<sup>94</sup> This program for embellishment of the sanctuary may have included an ambitious plan to rebuild the theater; pottery and coins from the theater, as well as Pausanias' comment that it was worthy to see, support a date in the third quarter of the 2nd century.<sup>95</sup> Most revealing for the expansion of the temenos, however, is the location of the third enclosure sacred to Palaimon along its south flank (Figs. 2, 4). Since Palaimonion II adjoins the South Stoa and the stoa wall in the final phase formed the north wall of the precinct, a plan for the colonnades must have been made, even if they had not yet been built, when the precinct and sacrificial Pit C were laid out.<sup>96</sup> Two deposits excavated in 1989 provide some indication of the date. The pottery in the lowest layer in Pit C belongs to the time of ca. 150 or later (Pal III deps II.1, 2), and a hard white surface to the north of the pit and apparently joining it to the eastern precinct is a few decades earlier (ca. 100–120; Pal III dep I.1). The eastern enclosure was thus in use after 80/90–100/110 and ended after the middle of the 2nd century.

Some time afterward, a large monument enclosed in its own temenos was built over the western half of the third Palaimonion complex (Fig. 2).<sup>97</sup> The precinct walls covered those of the earlier enclosure, and the structure replaced whatever had previously existed there. Broneer excavated the floor of the new temenos, which held pottery belonging to the third quarter of the 2nd century.

<sup>93</sup> Broneer reports finding the Macadam Floor along the west side of the area: *Isthmia* II, p. 73. It is possible that the floor level within the eastern precinct was raised and that the fill subsequently eroded away together with the surface of the later colonnaded precinct, but there is no evidence for a higher floor before the Antonine period. The foundation for the rectangular monument in the eastern precinct was poured from an elevation of ca. –2.08 to –2.26 m., while the foundation for the Flavian temenos wall was poured from an elevation of ca. –1.31 to –1.45 m.

<sup>94</sup> *Isthmia* II, p. 83.

<sup>95</sup> Gebhard 1974, pp. 131–133.

<sup>96</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 101–104. Much about this complex needs explanation, and only a short summary including the results from the 1989 excavations is included here. A full treatment of the evidence for the cult of Melikertes-Palaimon at Isthmia is in preparation for a volume in the *Isthmia* series.

<sup>97</sup> Palaimonion V: *Isthmia* II, pp. 109–112.

The monument and its precinct were probably contemporary with the South Stoa, which followed construction of Pit C and the original enclosure.

An indication of the function of the eastern precinct is given by the ramp that linked it to the temenos of Pit B (Figs. 2, 4).<sup>98</sup> While the east wall of the ramp is bonded with the adjacent wall of the eastern precinct, the south wall abuts the temenos wall of Palaimonion II, making the ramp later than Palaimonion II and contemporary with the eastern enclosure. The hard-packed earthen floor of the ramp and the foundation trench of the south wall were excavated in trenches 89-2C, 89-26 (Ramp deps I.1, II.1, 2; Fig. 11:a, section I–I dep B). The setting trench was cut through the robbing fill connected with construction of the Palaimonion precinct (Pal II dep I.1), and the floor lay above it. While the construction deposit cannot be dated more precisely than the late 1st century and through the 2nd century, the floor seems to have been in use not later than the early 2nd century. There was thus a close connection between the eastern precinct and Palaimonion II during the early 2nd century.

On the ramp floor and visible on the surface of the south wall foundation are the ruts of a road running north and south. Its location and direction are difficult to explain. The track may have been a service road between the eastern precinct and the enclosure of Palaimonion Pit C at a period after Pit B had gone out of use and before construction of the South Stoa.<sup>99</sup> It may have continued over the hard white surface uncovered in trench 89-17 (Pal III dep I.1), but previous excavation of the area between trenches 89-26 and 89-17 removed evidence for the southern extent of the road. In any case, the eastern precinct was evidently connected first with Palaimonion Pit B and then probably with Pit C. The structure within the enclosure would appear to have been related to the cult of Palaimon rather than to that of Poseidon. It is also possible, of course, that it was a commemorative monument, perhaps to the emperor and his family, of which we have no other evidence.

A more attractive alternative is suggested by Corinthian coins minted during the reign of Hadrian (117–138). They carry the image of a small circular building with a conical roof supported by columns. It stands on a foundation of which only the upper part is represented, and inside is the image of a youth lying on a dolphin. The building is certainly a temple of Palaimon.<sup>100</sup> A very similar temple with the same statue but with added features, such as a doorway in the podium and a tree and bull nearby, appears on later coins beginning under Marcus Aurelius.<sup>101</sup> Broneer associates the temple on both series of coins with the foundation that he excavated in the western half of the southern Palaimonion complex (see above, Fig. 2). The presence of a doorway in the foundation leading to a passageway through the foundation confirms the correspondence between the monument and the building shown on the later coins. On the other hand, Palaimonion III was not built before ca. 100–120 at the earliest, and probably as late as ca. 150, so the temple of Palaimonion V must be dated some time later. It is difficult to believe that it is the monument represented on the coins of Hadrian.

The foundation in the eastern precinct resembles that of Palaimonion V in terms of its scale, construction, and location within a walled enclosure adjacent to the temenos of Poseidon but

<sup>98</sup> For construction of the ramp, see *Isthmia* II, p. 74. The outside face of the eastern wall is shown in Gebhard and Hemans 1992, fig. 17.

<sup>99</sup> The absence of Late Roman sherds in Ramp dep II.2 and the presence of 29 Palaimonion lamps militate against placing the road in a period of abandonment and destruction in the 5th century.

<sup>100</sup> The coin is illustrated in Gebhard 1993, fig. 5, and see note 61 therein. Problems surrounding the identification of monuments relating to the Roman cult of Palaimon and their chronology have recently been discussed in a stimulating article by Marcel Pièrart (1998). While others may reach different conclusions, he presents the current bibliography and a very useful survey of the evidence as it was known before the 1989 excavations. For the coins, see pp. 94–95. A detailed analysis of the many points he raises will be included in the larger study of Palaimon's cult at Isthmia that is in preparation. We thank Robin Hägg for bringing Pièrart's article to our attention.

<sup>101</sup> See *Isthmia* II, pp. 110–112 and pl. 42:b.

separate from it.<sup>102</sup> We suggest that it is the podium of the temple of Palaimon that is represented on the Hadrianic coins. The passage through the foundation is absent. Three steps on the north side led up to the top, with the first step broader than the others. In both the earlier and later monuments the small circular temple would have stood at the rear of the podium. A reconstruction of the eastern precinct with the Temple of Palaimon as shown on the Hadrianic coins is given in Figure 7 and on Plate 72. In the first phase the shrine was linked to sacrificial Pit B and later, with the opening of Pit C, participants in the rites may have walked across the white floor to the place of sacrifice.

### *Hadrianic Ramp Deposits*

#### I. Construction

##### 1. Foundation trench fill

Trench 89-26

Elev.: from -1.48 to -1.96 m

Lot 89-305

Total sherds, 213: 7 Early Iron Age, 12 Archaic, 3 Classical, 6 Hellenistic, 3 plain fineware, 25 slipped fineware, 39 coarseware, 45 cooking ware, 72 amphora, 1 perforated brazier. Cooking ware and micaceous brown jar continue through the 2nd century.

Date: late 1st/2nd century

Inventory: Italian *terra sigillata* dish, **36**; relief vase, IP 7681 (join to IP 7672); lead object, IM 5708; glass, IM 5714, IM 5740; limestone with plaster, IA 4034

Other material: 0.5 tin of rooftiles; 5 glass fragments; 1 Palaimonion lamp; 2 Broneer type XVI lamps; 1 Roman relief lamp

#### II. Use

##### 1. Lower floor level; hard white soil (Fig. 11:a, sec I-I dep B)

Trenches 89-2C, 89-26

Elev.: from -1.41 to -1.62 m

Lot 89-308

Total sherds, 437: 32 Early Iron Age, 86 Archaic, 2 Classical, 6 plain fineware, 13 slipped fineware, 35 coarseware, 74 cooking ware, 30 plain buff ware, 159 amphora. Cooking ware of late-1st- or 2nd-century types. A few sherds of Palaimonion votives.

Date: end of 1st or early 2nd century

Inventory: stone with hole, IM 5755; IP 8043, IP 7683

Other material: 2 Broneer type XVI and 42 Palaimonion type A lamps; 4 glass fragments; 1 bronze fragment

Fauna: 1 burned cattle-sized bone

##### 2. Accumulation over the floor and road

Trenches 89-2C, 89-26

Elev.: from -1.37 to -1.62 m

Lot 89-307

Total sherds, 280: 5 Early Iron Age, 32 Archaic, 18 slipped fineware, 19 coarseware, 81 cooking ware, 125 amphora. Similar to dep II.1 above.

Date: end of 1st or early 2nd century

Inventory: southern Gaulish *terra sigillata* rim, IP 7672 (Dragendorff type 29); glass, IM 5672; IP 7585

Other material: 1 relief lamp and 29 Palaimonion lamps; water pipe fragments; rooftiles

<sup>102</sup> At the level of its ashlar facing the eastern foundation measures ca. 7.61 m east–west and at least 7.50 m north–south, while the southern podium is ca. 7.50 m. north–south and ca. 8.40 m east–west.

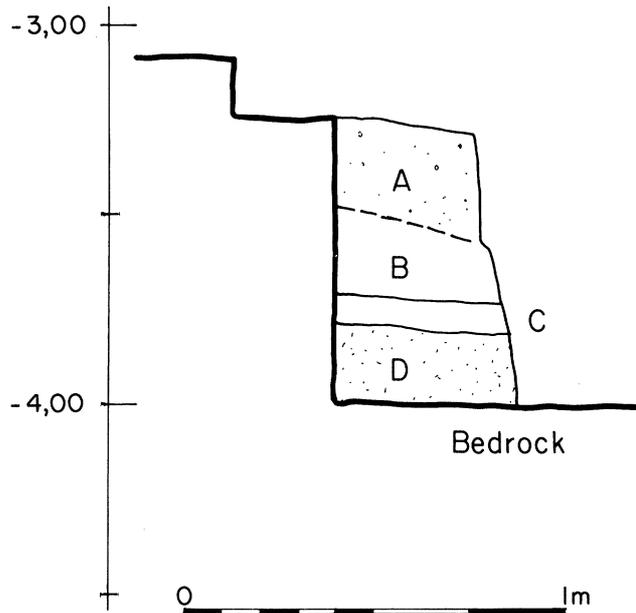


FIG. 13. Section N–N in Pit C, *martyra*, looking south

### PALAIMONION III AND PIT C

Palaimon's third sanctuary stretched 41.60 m along the edge of what was later to be the South Stoa (Figs. 2, 4).<sup>103</sup> Pit C (ca. 3.90 × 3.70 m) occupied the easternmost of three compartments within the complex, which included a central corridor ending in a small room and a large, open western area, as noted above. From the arrangement of the architecture, it appears that Pit B and its peribolos were not used in conjunction with Pit C. At the time of the first excavations, a thick layer of clay was found stretching over the east wall of Palaimonion II and the entire area east and south of it. The stoas had not been built at that time, and there seems to have been an open space between the Hadrianic Palaimonion and the south precinct.<sup>104</sup> The foundations for the South Stoa were set through this surface. In 1989 we excavated a considerable portion of the surface in trenches 89-2A, 89-2B, 89-14, and 89-17 (Fig. 10:b, sec H–H dep B; Fig. 11:b, sec J–J dep B; Fig. 11:c, sec K–K dep B). Composed of two layers, in places it reached a thickness of ca. 0.40 m, and it was never less than 0.20–0.25 m thick (Pal III dep I.1). The latest sherds do not date much later than ca. 120. It appears that the floor represents an intermediate stage between Palaimonion II and III.

The second area investigated in 1989 was Pit C and its contents, where, as in Pit A, Broneer had left a *martyra* for future excavators (Pl. 74:c).<sup>105</sup> It measured 0.50 by 0.75 m and was 0.75 m high. It consisted of three layers of ash, burned cattle-sized bones, carbonized plant remains, and votive pottery. The uppermost ash, very loose and mottled in color (Pal III dep II.4; Fig. 13, sec N–N deps A + B), lay over a hard red stratum that seems like a floor put in at one point over the ash below (dep II.3; Fig. 13, sec N–N dep C). It also contained much burned bone. Light-colored

<sup>103</sup> *Isthmia* II, pp. 101–104. The area was excavated in 1955–1958; see Fig. 4.

<sup>104</sup> At one time the white floor was associated with the use of the South Stoa, but in the balk under the rear wall of the East Stoa the white floor is lower than the wall surface on which the wall was constructed, and the foundation clearly cuts through it.

<sup>105</sup> Pit C was excavated in 1956 as trench C-2; see notebook 12, pp. 125–131. For analysis of the bones, see Gebhard and Reese, forthcoming.

ash was again found under the red deposit (dep II.2; Fig. 13, sec N–N dep D), concentrated in the center and continuing to the bottom of the pit. Along the walls of the pit was a strip of very dark ash (ca. 0.18 m wide) with very few bones (dep II.1).

All the bones belonged to cattle that had been burned whole. Plant remains were most abundant in Pit C and include the full range of cereals, fruits, and nuts that appeared in other deposits, with the addition of an apple or pear seed and a lentil fragment. Pistachio, both wild and domesticated types, are also present. Dates in the deposit represent an imported fruit; hitherto no other site in Greece has produced dates in the palaeobotanical material. These fruits were not native to the country but probably came from Babylon or elsewhere in the Near East.<sup>106</sup> The vessels in all layers consisted mainly of flanged bowls, and there were some late Palaimonion lamps and gray-ware mugs. The first (lowest) deposit belongs to the mid 2nd century or later, while the pottery in the upper one extends into the 3rd century. As with Pit A, the cavity may have been cleaned out at some time, perhaps when the walls at the sides were strengthened, and the material in the bottom is not necessarily contemporary with construction of the pit.

### *Palaimonion III Deposits*

#### I. Construction and Use

1. White floor (Fig. 10:b, sec H–H dep B; Fig. 11:b, sec J–J dep B; Fig. 11:c, sec K–K dep B)  
Trenches 89-2A, 89-14, 89-17  
Elev.: from –1.40 (northeast)/–1.60 m (southwest) to –2.05 (northeast)/–2.20 m (southwest)  
Lot 89-33  
Total sherds, 955: 2 Mycenaean, 30 Early Iron Age, 79 Archaic, 16 Classical, 8 Hellenistic;  
Roman includes 84 plain fineware, 1 decorated fineware, 67 slipped fineware, 399 coarseware,  
138 cooking ware, 131 amphora  
Date: ca. 100–120+  
Inventory: relief lamp, **28**; Palaimonion lamp, type A, **29**, **32**; votive paterae, **30**, **33**; Knidian  
gray-ware skyphos, **34**; casserole, **31**; IP 7482, IP 7482, IP 7653, IP 7658a, b, IP 7663, IP 8309  
Other material: 374 Palaimonion, 11 Bronceer type XVI, and 5 relief lamps

#### II. Pit C

1. Dark ash on the floor and along the east and south walls of the pit  
Elev.: from –3.80 to –3.93 m  
Lot 89-286  
Total sherds, 77: 37 slipped fineware, 30 coarseware, 10 amphora  
Date: probably mid 2nd century or rather later  
Inventory: flanged bowl, **38**; flanged bowl (joins with dep II.2), **39**; Palaimonion lamp, type B-1,  
**40** (joins with dep II.2); flanged bowls, IP 8181–8184  
Other material: 5 roof tile fragments, 1 glass, 2 Palaimonion lamps. 50 percent of the deposit  
was water-sieved.  
Fauna: 12 burned bones, cattle-sized  
Flora: *Pistacia* sp., *Ficus carica*, *Pinus* sp. (pinecone bracts), *Punica granatum*, *Triticum aestivum/durum*,  
seeds indet.
2. Light ash on floor in center of deposit; same layer as dep II.1 (Fig. 13, sec N–N dep D)  
Elev.: from –3.84 to –3.93 m  
Lot 89-285  
Total sherds, 168: 1 Archaic, 83 slipped fineware, 83 coarseware, 1 amphora  
Date: same as dep II.1  
Inventory: Palaimonion lamp, type A-5b, **41**; **40**, IP 8181–8193 (joins IP 8180, IP 8182, IP 8194)

<sup>106</sup> Julie Hansen kindly supplied this information. She reports that dates are known from Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age sites in Israel, such as Jericho (Hopf 1983) and Nahal Mishmar (Zaitschek 1961; 1980). Further description and analysis of the palaeobotanical and faunal remains by Julie Hansen and David Reese, respectively, will be included in a series of studies devoted to the cult of Palaimon.

Other material: 15 Palaimonion lamps; burned rooftiles. 16.6 percent of the deposit was water-sieved.

Fauna: 212 burned bones (350 g), cattle-sized

Flora: *Triticum aestivum/durum*, *Punica granatum*, *Ficus carica*, *Labiatae* indet.

3. Hard red stratum (Fig. 13, sec N–N dep C)

Elev.: from –3.725 to –3.84 m

Lot 89-284

Total sherds, 74: 1 Classical, 3 plain fineware, 6 slipped fineware, 20 coarseware, 44 cooking ware.

Coarsewares apparently mainly votive, including pieces of gray-ware dishes. No local mugs were present.

Date: second half of 2nd century (ill-defined)

Fauna: 222 burned bones (300 g), cattle-sized

4. Upper ash layer, over red floor (Fig. 13, sec N–N deps A + B)

Elev.: from –3.21 to –3.79 m

Lot 89-283

Total sherds, 1,479: 1 Hellenistic, 269 plain fineware, 30 slipped fineware, 876 coarseware, 163 cooking ware, 10 amphora, 130 unclassified. Mostly mugs with some Palaimonion lamps, mostly type B (see 42). Rest is coarse gray ware (votives) and pieces of a large cooking pot, 49.

Date: end of 2nd to early 3rd century, perhaps to ca. 220–230

Inventory: Palaimonion lamp, type B-3, 42; mugs, 43, 47, 48; dish/lid, 44; lid (or dish?), 45; small bowl, 46; cooking pot, 49; rooftile, IT 1006; gray-ware mugs, IP 7870, IP 7871

Other material: 41 lamps; 1.5 tins of rooftiles (cf. IT 1006 for type); 1 glass fragment; 6 boxes of carbonized material

Fauna: 642 burned bones (1,000 g), cattle-sized

Flora: *Pistacia* sp. (wild), *Pinus* sp. (pinecone bract), *Punica granatum*, *Phoenix dactylifera* (pit), cf. *Phoenix* sp. (fruit), *Ficus carica* (fragments with seeds), fruit fragments indet., *Triticum aestivum/durum*, *Gramineae* indet., *Lens* sp., cf. *Pyrus/Malus* sp. (seed), *Spergula* sp., cf. *Vaccaria pyramidata*, cf. *Medicago* sp., shell fragments indet., *Olea* sp. (wood), *Pinus* sp. (wood), *Hordeum* sp., *Galium* sp.

## THE POTTERY ASSEMBLAGE OF ROMAN DATE

In Roman times, in contrast to the basically domestic character of the Hellenistic pottery at the sanctuary,<sup>107</sup> votive vessels of rather different character are associated with the cult of Palaimon, but these are separated by some 400 years from the main Classical series and seem rather to be the expression of an artificially created cult, dissociated from that of Poseidon.

So much could already be inferred from examination of the old finds from the excavations; the 1989 finds merely reinforce the pattern and add some refinements. In particular, the 1st- and early-2nd-century sequence has been more clearly defined. Closer study of the material from the three sacrificial pits in the Palaimonion, supplemented by new finds, has led to significant redating (see comments below). The dates proposed by Broneer in *Isthmia* III for the chief lamp types used in the cult need to be adjusted accordingly.

The term “normal domestic mix” used in the Roman deposit descriptions below may be taken to indicate ca. 10 percent various slip-coated tablewares (= ca. 5–6 percent by weight), ca. 10–20 percent cooking wares, ca. 5–10 percent plain buff wares, and ca. 60–80 percent commercial amphoras (by sherd count and weight). This matches the normal pattern observed on those Mediterranean Roman sites where a statistical approach has been adopted.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> See Gebhard and Hemans 1998, pp. 60–62.

<sup>108</sup> See, for instance, the evidence from Carthage (Hayes and Riley 1976, 1978) and from other excavations published by various authors in *Società romana ed impero tardoantico* III. Comparable figures from Corinth will shortly be published by Kathleen Slane and will provide a reference point for those given here. Where a deposit differs markedly in composition from this pattern, further details are provided.

The standard (nonvotive) mix of Roman wares found within the Poseidon sanctuary serves basically as dating evidence for its various phases and should generally represent material redumped from elsewhere on the site. Comparison with types from Corinth and elsewhere proves that the stratified sequence here does not antedate the third quarter of the 1st century; the few scraps of Augustan and early-1st-century date found are not in context (the same seems to hold for similar finds from previous seasons). The earliest proper deposit dates the road surfaces in the North Temenos (2–6). The largest group of the 1st century comes from fill between the Temple of Poseidon and the Flavian temenos wall. It is to be dated to the time of Domitian on the basis of a wide range of Sigillata wares present, both Eastern and Western in origin. The commonest red-gloss imports here (as over the site in general) are Eastern Sigillata B2 ware and the products of the Pergamon/Çandarlı kilns. The presence of the odd scrap of Gaulish *terra sigillata* here may indicate the original context of a number of pieces of this ware found earlier by Broneer scattered in disturbed contexts in and around the temple. Along with these wares are sherds of imported thin-walled mugs, cooking vessels, and trefoil-mouthed jugs in cooking fabric, all early examples of well-documented Aegean and Italian wares. These are accompanied by local thin-walled mugs and by a few early specimens of the distinctive micaceous brown commercial containers common in the Athenian Agora<sup>109</sup> and over much of the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>110</sup> The domestic ware component from contemporary and slightly later fills in the Palaimonion complex shows a similar mix of wares. The buildup of sanctuary deposits seems generally to cease fairly early in the 2nd century (see p. 423 above); the floors and demolition layers that overlay them were removed by the earlier excavations and by erosion. Lamps of Broneer's type XXVII did not occur in the layers dug in 1989.

Within the successive Palaimonion precincts the situation is reversed, with specific votive types (vessels and lamps) preponderating. These form almost 100 percent of the finds within the three votive pits, but they are associated with some standard pottery.<sup>111</sup> As in the later layers dug previously, Palaimonion lamps are more common in the surrounding areas than in the pits proper; a further scatter of Palaimonion lamp sherds occurs in Roman levels across the main sanctuary.

A few other new finds from outside the pits may be linked specifically to the Palaimonion rituals. Of note are three hollow handles from paterae (24, 27, 33; Pl. 75), two of them in the animal-head form well known from bronze examples elsewhere.<sup>112</sup> A small jug bearing rings on the bottom (35) may be related to them. All are in the same ware as the sacrificial phialai and bowls; their contexts are Palaimonion phases II and III (early).

The 1989 finds clarify the early history of the distinctive wheelmade Palaimonion cult lamp, not fully documented by Broneer in *Isthmia* III. While no certain examples are present in the early Pit A, the type seems to have been first introduced during the period of Palaimonion I (i.e., before ca. A.D. 80), though it is not common until the latter part of Palaimonion II.<sup>113</sup> Those from the earliest contexts, the forerunners of Broneer's type A, display a smooth buff-to-pale brown fabric and have low sockets and fairly narrow rims bearing a slight depression around the top; they are neatly finished, with possible whitewash traces. These set the pattern for two distinct series, one (the more common) in brown ware and the other in paler buff ware, typical of the finds from the deposits of Palaimonion II (Pit B) and III (ca. A.D. 100–120), specifically the "red" and "white" floors (Pal II dep II.2 and Pal III dep I.1, respectively). The brown-ware lamp series has a wide flat rim (52), while the buff-ware type has a high wall, sometimes gently ribbed, and a narrow

<sup>109</sup> For the series, see *Agora* V, pl. 41.

<sup>110</sup> For a recent survey, including a distribution map, see *Sidi Khrebish* II.

<sup>111</sup> Fragments in the use deposits of Palaimonion II (dep II.2, red floor) and III (dep I.1, white floor) indicate that the fills for these do not derive exclusively from the preexisting sacred areas. A good deal of pre-Roman material is mixed in with them.

<sup>112</sup> For a conspectus of the type, see Nuber 1972.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. *Isthmia* III, pp. 35–48.

rim, which may be slightly grooved (29). A few brown specimens from Palaimonion II (late) to III contexts also display the narrow rim type (25). The brown-ware type bears a thick chalky "whitewash" coating, which is generally dispensed with on the paler ware. During Palaimonion III the two series tend to merge, creating the earlier versions of Broneer's type A (1–3). Further finds of late versions of Broneer's type A, and of type B, are documented from the two ash deposits in Pit C (Pal III deps II.1, 2, 4). These, like the previous finds from this pit, seem to prove that both types survived into the closing years of the Palaimon cult. Some lamps of type A shape in a hard reddish fabric, found in the old excavations (e.g., in the final filling of the Large Circular Pit [trench H]) remain unplaced in the later part of the series.

The new finds prove that the simple wheelmade lamps of Broneer type XVI used here belong to the latter part of the 1st century, like the coarse gray-ware jugs which they match in fabric. A few examples in finer slipped fabric could be earlier, and here they are residual finds not directly related to the cult. The origins of this common Corinthian type are not to be sought here. Their place is taken by the early type A lamps described above. The bulk of the type A lamps listed by Broneer may now be assigned to the early to mid 2nd century, with the late version, A-5 (the type found in Pit C), lasting into the early 3rd century. The coarse gray-ware lamps of Broneer's type B, seen only in Pit C and other late contexts, probably belong essentially to the period ca. A.D. 170–230. Old finds from the site suggest a cessation of cult activity around A.D. 220–240; the 1989 pottery adds no further precision to this date.

#### POTTERY CATALOGUE

##### *Selected Roman finds*

- 1** (IP 7687). Thin-walled beaker Fig. 14  
 Diam. ca. 0.083, H. 0.074 m. Over half preserved, mended. Red-brown (Munsell 2.5–3.75YR 6/8), fired gray on upper part of outer and lower part of inner surface. Turned base. Handle(s) possible.  
 Unidentified Asia Minor(?) series (not Po Valley series).  
 Lot 89-158 in North Temenos, Roman fill below the Flavian temenos surface (mid 1st century+)  
 FT dep I.2
- 2** (IP 7667). Thin-walled mug, Knidian Fig. 14  
 Diam. body 0.089, H. 0.069 m. Most of upper part, with pieces of rim and handle. Fine orange to buff ware, with bright orange-brown slip, fired dull sepia on inside. Fine sand rough-cast is thickly applied (with brush?) to exterior of body. Grooved handle of "sliced" type.  
 Ca. 50–75, supplying *terminus post quem* for this deposit  
 Mac/RRd dep I.1
- 3** (IP 8217). Fig. 14  
 Base of small cup/bowl, Corinthian red-slipped ware  
 Diam. foot 0.040 m. Light brown, with yellowish tint at surface; remains of flaky red slip all over. Remains of an illegible potter's stamp at center (rectangular with indented ends, 0.011 × 0.0045 m, with two[?] letters separated by a stop).  
 Probably early 1st century (here residual)  
 Mac/RRd dep I.1
- 4** (IP 7666). "Frying-pan" Fig. 14  
 Est. Diam. 0.32, H. 0.042 m. Coarseware, drab gray-brown (brown-black grits, some lime). Rough, gritted bottom; inner surface lightly smoothed.  
 Early (local?) version of classic Phocian Roman type (see, e.g., IP 7669).  
 1st century?  
 Mac/RRd dep I.1
- 5** (IP 7668). Amphora or flagon, plain ware Fig. 15  
 Diam. foot 0.13, est. Diam. body 0.34, p.H. 0.30 m. Smooth-textured light-brown ware. Globular-ovoid body (base detail drawn).  
 Mac/RRd dep I.1
- 6** (IP 8218). Rim of amphora/large flagon Fig. 14  
 Est. Diam. rim 0.074. Dark chocolate-brown, with crystalline calcite inclusions and fine mica. Narrow-mouthed, with a small molding below rim; part of an oval-sectioned handle attached.  
 Nonlocal ware, unclassified (possibly from the Cyclades?).  
 Mac/RRd dep I.1
- 7** (IP 8210). Fig. 14  
 Amphora, Knidian (Roman version)  
 Est. Diam. rim-molding 0.140, Diam. toe-ring 0.041, W. handles 0.037, tapering to 0.024 m. Many sherds (part mended), with fresh fractures. Light brown (10YR 7/5), turning brick red to pinkish (5YR 6/6 to 2.5YR 6/6) at core; surface wet-smoothed, cream buff

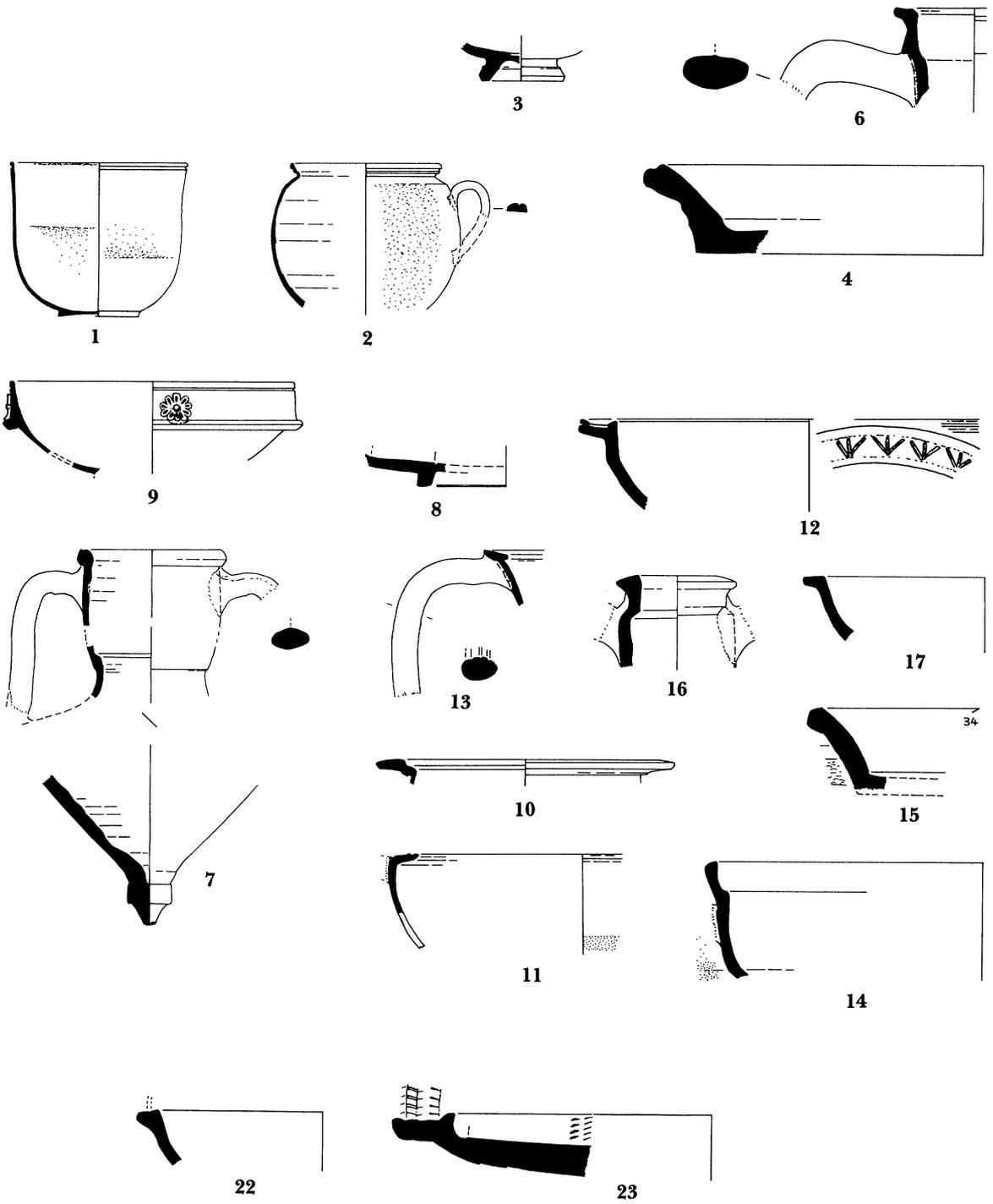


FIG. 14. Roman pottery (scale = 1:3; 7 = 1:6)

(10YR 8/4); scatter of fine gold mica; clean-breaking. Oval-sectioned handle(s), sharply tapered at lower end; slight finger indentation behind upper attachment. No stamp(s).

Presumed contemporary with 1–4

Lot 89-555/556 in Northeast Temenos, Roman Road 1

**8** (IP 8444). Fig. 14

Dish base, Pergamon red-gloss ware

Est. Diam. foot 0.084 m. Orange-red fabric (as 1st century products); slip glossy on top, thin and dull on underside.

Mid to late 1st century

Cf. Loeschke 1912, types 1, 6, and similar; Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988, T 4, T 31.

Mac/RRd dep II.2

**9** (IP 7691). Flanged bowl, Italian *terra sigillata* Fig. 14

Est. Diam. (flange) 0.140 m. Parts of upper body and rim, much comminuted; a loose sherd adjacent to missing foot. Brownish red, with standard hard mid-1st-century/"Late Italian" semimatte gloss. Rosettes (remains of two) applied below rim. Goudineau type 38b (= Corinth in Hayes 1978, p. 24).

Ca. 50–100

L.H.Rds I.6

**10** (IP 8215A, B). Fig. 14

Rim of wide-mouthed amphora(?),  
Pergamon red-gloss ware

Est. Diam. 0.140 m. Sherds. Orange-red; slip glossy and polished on top of rim.

FT dep I.2

**11** (IP 8216A–D). Fig. 14

Fragments of bowl with handle, unclassified ware

Est. Diam. 0.18 m. (A loose wall sherd projected on, position approximate.) Smooth orange-pink ware with thin slip (bright orange-red and flaking on exterior, purplish sepia on inside; metallic sepia band on lower wall). Edge of a handle stump visible below inturned rim.

Regional Greek ware (possibly "ATTIKO" ware, or Amphissa series)?

FT dep I.2

**12** (IP 7692). Bowl rim Fig. 14

Est. Diam. 0.214 m. Light orange-tan clay (local ware); dull red slip, fired maroon-purple on inside. Row of incised arrow patterns in hollow on top of rim (presumably imitating stamped motifs on, e.g., Knidian relief ware).

FT dep I.1 (lot 89-364). Fill in area to south of Early Roman temenos wall (basically the Roman terrace fill, ca. 80–100, slightly disturbed).

**13** (IP 8220). Fig. 14

Handle of cooking-ware jug, with part of rim

Max. dim. ca. 0.088 m. Deep pinkish red, gray at surface, with some fine silvery mica specks; hard fired.

Mouth presumably of trefoil shape; handle has two low median ribs.

Not local; transitional 1st-/2nd-century fine cooking ware type.

FT dep I.1

**14** (IP 8211). Casserole rim Fig. 14

Est. Diam. 0.26 m. Sherd. Local ware, red-brown (slightly blackened on outer surface), with fine lime inclusions. Narrow internal ledge marking off rim; end of stump of a horizontal(?) handle on wall.

Probably Early Roman

FT dep I.2

**15** (IP 8214). Frying-pan fragments Fig. 14

Est. Diam. 0.34 m. Part of rim and wall; loose floor sherds (broken lines on profile indicate thickness). Light gray, with beige tint; exterior dark gray; some fine mica and black(?) specks. Interior of wall brush-smoothed, floor lightly polished; exterior rough.

Ware probably not local, but not the standard gritty fabric of 2nd-century Phocian examples.

FT dep I.2

**16** (IP 8300). Amphora (or flagon?) rim Fig. 14

Est. Diam. rim 0.056 m. One side restored; a second handle uncertain. Medium brown, hard and very smooth. Projecting rim, with cavity below; stump of an oval-sectioned handle (0.029 × 0.019 at break).

Not local; could be a Boiotian or Central Greek fabric.

FT dep I.1

**17** (IP 8301). Fig. 14

Rim sherd of Palaimonion wheelmade lamp

Est. Diam. ca. 0.170 m. Light yellowish (some red-brown specks); remains of a thin white wash on outside.

Not one of main series (see pp. 445–446 above), but closer to the narrow-rimmed type of Palaimonion lamps **25, 29** below.

FT dep I.1

**18** (IP 8195). Fig. 16

Large two-handled cup, thin-walled

Max. Diam. 0.140, H. 0.086 m. Mended, nearly complete. Hard gray ware (local), fairly fine-textured. Elaborated version of local type. Band handles with four grooves, twisted to imitate glassware. Rim marked off by a sharp ridge, fine groove at belly; base grooved under edge. Abnormally large. Possibly had special function.

Pal I dep I.2

**19** (IP 8198). Two-handled(?) cup Fig. 16

H. 0.097, est. Diam. body 0.128, est. Diam. rim 0.108 m. One side, giving profile; no traces of handles preserved. Light yellowish ware with smooth red slip, fired black on exterior and on upper part of inside. Round-bellied type with convex molding on shoulder (cf. IP 6839). Light rough-cast covering exterior, including bottom.

Not certain if local or imported. An early type.

Pal I dep I.2

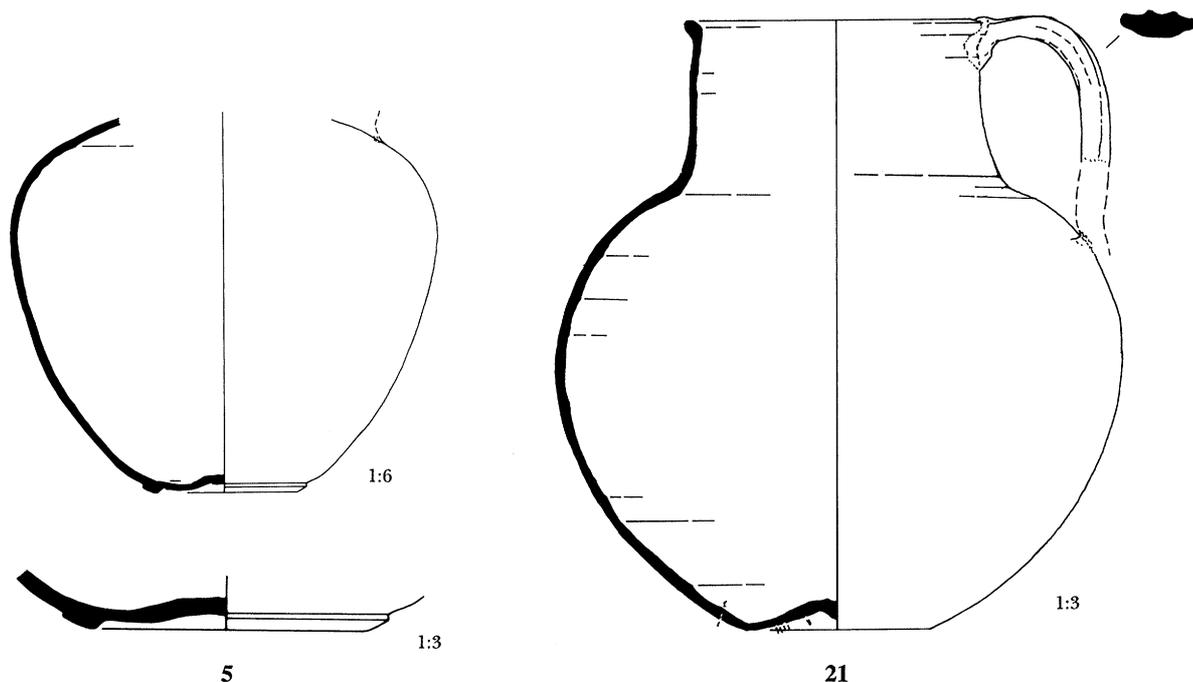


FIG. 15. Roman pottery

**20** (IP 8197). Mug, imported Fig. 16

Diam. base 0.035, est. Diam. rim 0.073–0.076, rest. H. ca. 0.086 m. Lower part (mended) and loose rim sherds. Thin, hard gray ware (parts of exterior fired drab brownish). Round-bellied early version; a handle missing. Thracian(?) type *a collarino* (Moevs form LXVIII), early in its series.

Type not attested before ca. 60; this provides a *terminus post quem* for the deposit.

Pal I dep I.2

**21** (IP 8227). Round-mouthed jug Fig. 15

Diam. rim 0.121, Diam. base 0.081 m. P.Wt. 700 g. Complete neck and part of shoulder mended; ca. 114 loose pieces. Thin, hard gray ware, fairly clean, splintery. Broad form with wide vertical neck; ribbed strap handle. Small concave base bearing grooves around a central knob. Flat-sectioned handle with two longitudinal ribs.

Pal I dep I.2

**22** (IP 8445). Fig. 14

Palaimonion lamp rim, type A variant

Est. Diam. 0.175 m. Yellowish buff ware, rather fine, fired light brown on inner surface. Patches of white coating on outside. A loose socket sherd (in similar thinnish ware) may belong.

Pal I dep II.3

**23** (IP 8446). Rim of sacrificial platter Fig. 14

Est. Diam. 0.30 m. Local ware, buff to gray, smooth; thin black slip all over. Coarse rouletting on rim and floor. Mortar remains on surfaces and on break.

Pal I dep II.2

**24** (IP 7655). Handle of votive bowl (patera) Pl. 75

Max.p.L. 0.125, H. at break 0.033 m. Orange clay, red slip (local ware, as Palaimonion votive bowl series). Hollow, moldmade. Crude ram's head terminal, with fluting on top of stem behind it.

Imitation of a metalware type. The exact shape of the votive bowl to which this belonged is uncertain. This, **27** and **33** below, and IP 6775 (lacking head) are the only examples in local fabric found on the site.

Pal II dep II.1

**25** (IP 7693). Palaimonion lamp, type A Fig. 16

Diam. ca. 0.182–0.185 m. Over half of wall and rim. Brown ware (clay 5YR 7/6 to 3.75YR 6/6). Cf. **52** for ware, but form related to **29**, with narrow rim.

Cf. *Isthmia* III, type A-2, narrow-rim version; for fabric see pp. 40–41, pls. 6, 22, his fabric.

Pal II dep II.1

**26** (IP 7661). Mug, imported Fig. 16

Diam. body ca. 0.08 m. Fragmentary (profile restored); one side of body (mended); handle and base loose. Thin

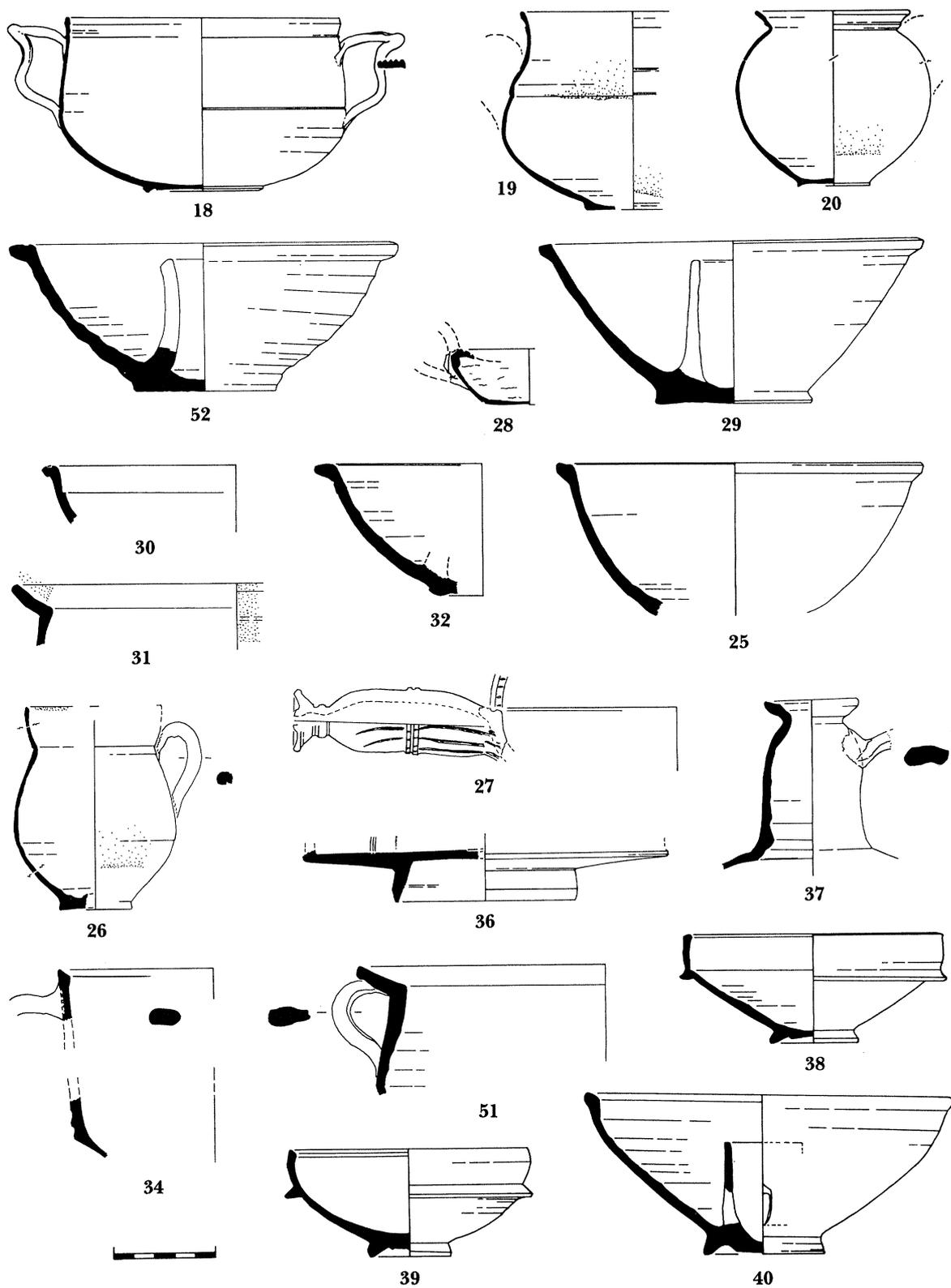


FIG. 16. Roman pottery (scale = 1:3)

orange ware, fired gray over most of outer surface. Standard Phocian baggy form (Knossos type 1), with high bulging rim, "sliced" handle, and narrow "raised" base.

Fairly early in series. Close to (rather more baggy) *Agora V*, p. 32, G 103, pls. 7, 42.

Pal II dep II.1

**27** (IP 7670). Handle of patera Fig. 16; Pl. 75

L. along median line (with rim) 0.102 m. Orange-brown clay, red slip. Tubular, with concave terminal disk, perforated. Attached to a narrow flat rim. Rough fluting on inner half and around junction with wall of vessel; finer cross-strokes added on upper surface and on top of rim. Double molding (notched) encircling midpoint.

Local series, unique.

Pal II dep II.1

**28** (IP 7657). Relief lamp, fragmentary Fig. 16

Diam. body 0.076, H. body 0.028 m. Half of rim, one side of base. Light reddish brown; bright orange-brown slip. Narrow rim, two stepped grooves around missing discus. Plain flat base, defined by a groove. Stumps of a handmade looped handle on body at rear.

Unsigned. Broneer type XXIV(?), probably Knidian fabric.

Late 1st century

Pal III dep I.1

**29** (IP 7663). Palaimonion lamp, type A Fig. 16

Diam. 0.181–0.192, H. 0.085 m. Mended, nearly complete. Light buff clay (10YR 8/3) with patchy white-wash. Fairly thin-walled, no ridging. Narrow squarish rim. Single vertical slot in tube. Different series from **52**, distinguished by ware and treatment. This version is common in unrelated site deposits from 1989; not listed in *Isthmia* III (but shape related to Broneer's type A-2, narrow-rim versions: cf. **25** above).

Ca. 100

Pal III dep I.1

**30** (IP 7658). Two sherds of a patera Fig. 16; Pl. 75

Rim (est. Diam. ca. 0.190 m) and loose fragment of a horizontal(?) handle (p.L. 0.050, W. 0.020). Hard orange ware, bright red slip (burned on rim sherd). Small stamped arcs along top of rim. Handle moldmade (edges flanged), bearing remains of florals in relief. Unique for this site.

Import (possibly Pergamon fabric)?

Pal III dep I.1

**31** (IP 7694). Casserole (or cooking-pot) rim Fig. 16

Est. Diam. 0.220, p.H. 0.030 m. Joining sherds. Classic Phocian fabric, rather thick-walled: light pinkish red (ca. 1.25YR 6/4), surfaces partly blackened (see drawing).

Early in series (ca. 80–120). For the basic type, see Suppl. **51**.

Pal III dep I.1

**32** (IP 7695). Palaimonion lamp, type A Fig. 16

Est. Diam. 0.164, H. 0.065 m. One side, rim to base. Brown-ware series (cf. **52**): brownish clay, white coating (partly flaked off). Flattish rim.

Pal III dep I.1

**33** (IP 7654). Handle fragment of patera Pl. 75

p.L. 0.070, H. 0.031 m. Same ware and type as **24**, probably from same molds.

Pal III dep I.1

**34** (IP 7676). Fig. 16

Skyphos fragments, Knidian gray ware

Thirty-two loose pieces (original H. of wall uncertain). Hard brown ware, glossy to metallic brown to sepia slip. Shape is rather uncommon; see *Sidi Khrebish* III, i, type B 85, pp. 62–63, fig. 10, pl. II.

Pal II dep II.2; Pal III dep I.1

**35** (IP 8310A–C+). Fig. 17

Red-slipped jug, fragmentary

Est. Diam. body 0.130, est. Diam. base 0.062 (reconstructed), H. ca. 0.17–0.18 m. Parts of body and base; a loose rim sherd should belong. Yellowish brown, smooth; red slip on outside and over rim.

Rim of trefoil or two-lobe form, with top of handle attached to lip. Low foot, with grooves forming rings on bottom. Two grooves preserved on shoulder. Ware and treatment of base identical to votive phiale series, suggesting a possible ritual function.

Lot 89-578bis (related to Pal III dep I.1)

**36** (IP 7680). Italian *terra sigillata* dish Fig. 16

Diam. foot 0.090 m. Goudineau type 39c or related. One side of foot and floor. Hard pinkish fabric, rather dull, dark reddish gloss (= "Late Italian" fabric?). High, thinnish foot. Pair of grooves on floor, end of a *planta pedis* stamp visible at center.

Mid 1st century or later

Ramp dep I.1

**37** (IP 7684). Flagon neck Fig. 16

P.H. 0.084 m. Local ware, light brownish to yellowish, fairly hard and thin. Neck sharply constricted at top; a thin two-ribbed band handle attached (only the stump remains). From a globular lagynoid jug. Cf. Williams and Zervos 1986, p. 133 and pl. 27, no. 2 (a larger version). Context there stated as second quarter or mid 2nd century A.C., but found with pottery of end-of-1st-century appearance and a coin of Domitian, so that the type could be earlier. See a further comparable example, Williams and Zervos 1987, pp. 12–13, no. 8, pl. 3 (context: Trajanic). IP 6435, less constricted, may be related.

Pal II dep I.1

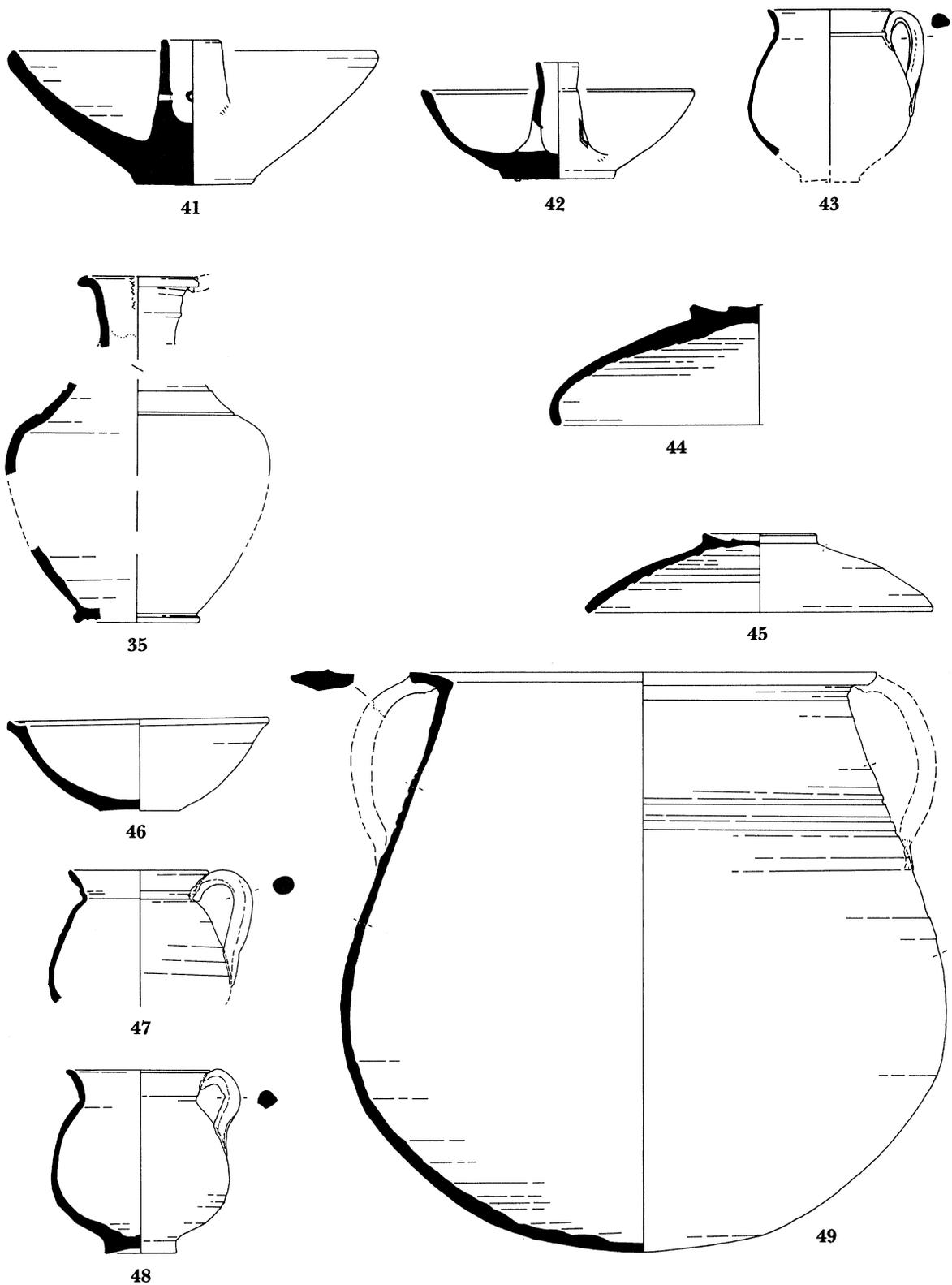


FIG. 17. Roman pottery (scale = 1:3)

- 38** (IP 8183). Flanged bowl Fig. 16  
Diam. rim ca. 0.126, H. 0.055 m. Nearly complete, mended; some burning. Plain ware: brownish clay, burned light gray in parts. Conical body form. Cf. one similar example, IP 8189.  
Pal III dep II.1
- 39** (IP 8182). Flanged bowl Fig. 16  
Diam. rim 0.117, H. 0.053 m. Mended; part of rim lost. Some burning. Slipped version: light brown clay, slip mottled (orange-red/sepia/gray-black). Round-bodied form. Nine other slipped examples (shapes vary) inventoried from same context: IP 8181, IP 8186–8188, IP 8190–8194.  
Pal III depts II.1, 2
- 40** (IP 8180). Fig. 16  
Palaimonion wheelmade lamp, type B-1  
Diam. rim 0.173–0.179, H. 0.079 m. Mended; most of one side missing. Late type, in gritty gray ware with lime temper. Variant shape: two opposed slots in tube; raised base, deeply grooved underneath. No exact parallels in *Isthmia* III; for type B-1, see p. 49, pls. 7, 24; no. 2080 is an earlier find from the same pit.  
Pal III depts II.1, 2
- 41** (IP 8184). Palaimonion lamp, type A-5b Fig. 17  
Diam. 0.181, H. to rim 0.065, H. with tube 0.071 m. Mended; a piece of tube missing. Some burning. Corinthian gritty ware: buff, with brown-gray temper. Cf. *Isthmia* III, p. 44, no. 1518 (IP 1418) from this pit.  
Pal III dep II.2
- 42** (IP 7696). Palaimonion lamp, type B-3 Fig. 17  
Diam. 0.132, H. to rim ca. 0.049, H. with tube 0.058 m. Base, tube, and half of rim; mended. Burned. Gritty gray ware with lime specks. Other comparable examples are listed in *Isthmia* III for this pit.  
Pal III dep II.4
- 43** (IP 8226). Mug, imported type Fig. 17  
Diam. rim 0.06, Diam. body 0.085 m. Fragmentary. Hard, thin, smooth gray ware, fired slightly darker at (smoothed) surface. *Collarino*-type; latest version of shape represented by **20** above.  
Late 2nd century to ca. 240. Provides primary evidence for dating this deposit. Cf. IP 1120.  
Pal III dep II.4
- 44** (IP 8221). Dish/lid Fig. 17  
Diam. 0.204–0.209, Diam. base 0.066, H. 0.054–0.064 m. Some pieces missing. Gray ware, fairly clean. Wheel-ridging on interior, some scratches on lower exterior. An old find from this pit, IP 1409, is similar.  
Pal III dep II.4
- 45** (IP 8225). Lid (or dish?) Fig. 17  
Est. Diam. 0.169, H. 0.039 m. Most of rim missing. Plain ware, as **44**: brown, partly burned, with a few lime specks. Wheel-ridging on interior, with slight traces of stacking rings from firing.  
Pal III dep II.4
- 46** (IP 8185). Small bowl Fig. 17  
Est. Diam. 0.128, H. 0.044–0.046 m. Two-thirds preserved, in two pieces. Smooth local ware, burned gray; thin slip, uneven and washy on outside. Narrow tilted rim; small, flat, turned base.  
Pal III dep II.4
- 47** (IP 8223). Mug, variant of *collarino*-type Fig. 17  
P.H. 0.065, Diam. rim 0.068–0.071, Diam. body ca. 0.091 m. Upper part. Beige, smooth, fired gray on outer surface; thin-walled. Body faintly ribbed. Plain round-sectioned handle. Unidentified fabric. Type copies **43** above. Other similar fragments from this deposit preserve a turned base molding.  
Pal III dep II.4
- 48** (IP 8222). Mug, copying *collarino*-type Fig. 17  
H. 0.090, Diam. rim ca. 0.070, Diam. belly 0.087 m. Wt. 130 g. Nearly complete. Coarse cooking-ware fabric: light gray, gritty; red tint at core. Flaring rim, with slight offset at bottom. Turned base. Handle sliced on inner face. Standard type here. Other examples: IP 7870, IP 7871.  
Pal III dep II.4
- 49** (IP 8224). Cooking pot Fig. 17  
Est. H. 0.29, est. Diam. rim ca. 0.227, Diam. body ca. 0.296 m. P.Wt. 1,430 g. Base and part of rim, mended up separately; many other pieces (giving full profile). Gritty gray ware, thin in places. Flat angular rim, with ribbed strap handle(s) attached to lip. Two/three shallow grooves mark off neck from body. Similar: IP 1403 (from old excavations), found in the disturbed top fill of the pit along with some later material.  
Similar: *Corinth* XVIII, ii, p. 85, no. 182, fig. 20, pl. 11 (in a cistern deposit closed in the late 3rd century).  
Pal III dep II.4

*Selected vases not in context***50** (IP 8438). Commercial amphora

Est. Diam. rim 0.115, Th. wall 0.008–0.010 m. About 125 sherds (mostly small), including one handle and parts of rim; eroded. Yellow-brown, fired buff on exterior, rather sandy. Type same as *Agora* V, p. 89, M 54, pl. 19 (possibly Cilician?). Thick rim molding. Horned handle(s) with central groove; originally a double-bulge body. Remains of stripes and loop in red paint on outside. Gray stain on inner surface from sealing substance.

About early to mid 2nd century

Lot 89-70; trench 89-16

**51** (IP 7673). Casserole fragment

Fig. 16

Est. Diam. rim 0.242 m. Part of side, with a handle. Brown fabric (about 5YR 6/6), possibly local, but may be "classic" ware. Common Phocian type (Knossos type 2:

Hayes 1983, p. 105), with "sliced" handle, fairly large. Early in series: cf. *Agora* V, p. 42, G 194–195, pl. 7 (in a late Flavian context).

End of 1st century

Lot 89-300 (cleaning in trench 89-2C)

**52** (IP 6644).

Fig. 16

Palaimonion wheelmade lamp, type A

Greater part in one piece, joining rim fragment. A piece of rim and one side of tube missing. Brown clay (5YR 6–7/8), with thick white chalky coating. Flat rim bearing slight groove. Two (opposed) slots in tube.

Ca. 75/80–100

Type specimen of the early version common in Palaimonion II deposits. Version not listed in *Isthmia* III. Related to Broneer's type A-1 (pp. 37–40, pls. 6, 22). Found (by Y. Perras, 23 July 1981) in trench 80-2, Pit A or B(?).

## REFERENCES

- Agora* = *The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Princeton
- IV = R. H. Howland, *Greek Lamps and Their Survivals*, 1958
- V = H. S. Robinson, *Pottery of the Roman Period: Chronology*, 1959
- XXII = S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*, 1982
- Amandry, M. 1988. *Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens* (BCH supplément 15), Paris.
- Anderson-Stojanović, V. R. 1996. "The University of Chicago Excavations in the Rachi Settlement at Isthmia, 1989," *Hesperia* 65, pp. 57–98.
- Broneer, O. B. 1959. "Excavations at Isthmia, Fourth Campaign, 1957–1958," *Hesperia* 28, pp. 298–343.
- Carthage* = *Excavations at Carthage Conducted by the University of Michigan*
- I = *Excavations at Carthage, 1975* (Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art and American Schools of Oriental Research), J. H. Humphrey, ed., Tunis 1976
- IV = *Excavations at Carthage, 1976*, Ann Arbor 1978
- Corinth* = *Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
- VI = K. M. Edwards, *Coins, 1896–1929*, Cambridge, Mass. 1933
- VII, iii = G. R. Edwards, *Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery*, Princeton 1975
- VIII, i = B. D. Meritt, *Greek Inscriptions, 1896–1927*, Cambridge, Mass. 1931
- VIII, ii = A. B. West, *Latin Inscriptions, 1896–1926*, Cambridge, Mass. 1931
- VIII, iii = J. H. Kent, *The Inscriptions, 1926–1950*, Princeton 1966
- XVIII, ii = K. W. Slane, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Roman Pottery and Lamps*, Princeton 1990
- XX = C. K. Williams II and N. Bookidis, eds., *The Centenary, 1896–1996*, Princeton, forthcoming
- Ettlinger, E., et al. 1990. *Conspectus formarum terrae sigillatae Italico modo confectae* (Materialien zur römisch-germanischen Keramik 10), Bonn.
- Gebhard, E. R. 1973. *The Theater at Isthmia*, Chicago.
- . 1993. "The Isthmian Games and the Sanctuary of Poseidon in the Early Empire," in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period*, T. E. Gregory, ed. (*JRA* Supplementary Series 8), Ann Arbor, pp. 78–94.
- Gebhard, E. R., and M. W. Dickie. Forthcoming. "The View from the Isthmus, ca. 200–44 B.C.," in *Corinth XX*.
- Gebhard, E. R., and F. P. Hemans. 1992. "University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia, 1989: I," *Hesperia* 61, pp. 1–77.
- . 1998. "University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia: II," *Hesperia* 67, pp. 1–63.
- Gebhard, E. R. and D. Reese. Forthcoming. "Sacrifices to Poseidon and Melikertes-Palaimon at Isthmia," in *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian* (6th International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, 25–27 April 1997), Robin Hägg, ed., Stockholm.
- Gregory, T. E. 1995. "The Roman Bath at Isthmia: Preliminary Report, 1972–1992," *Hesperia* 64, pp. 279–313.
- Gregory, T. E., and H. Mills. 1984. "The Roman Arch at Isthmia," *Hesperia* 53, pp. 407–445.
- Hansen, J. N., N. Bookidis, and L. Snyder. 1996. "Foods of Ritual Dining at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth" (paper, San Diego 1995), abstract in *AJA* 100, pp. 341–342.
- Hayes, J. W. 1973. "Roman Pottery from the South Stoa at Corinth," *Hesperia* 42, pp. 416–470.
- . 1983. "The Villa Dionysos Excavations, Knossos: The Pottery," *BSA* 78, pp. 97–169.
- Hayes, J. W., and J. A. Riley. 1976. "Pottery: Stratified Groups and Typology," in *Carthage I*, pp. 47–123.
- . 1978. "Pottery Report, 1976," in *Carthage IV*, pp. 23–98.
- Hemans, F. P. 1994. "Greek Architectural Terracottas from the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on the Greek Architectural Terracottas of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods* (*Hesperia* Supplement 27), N. Winter, ed., Princeton, pp. 61–83.
- Hopf, M. 1983. "Jericho Plant Remains," in *Excavations at Jericho V* (British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem), K. M. Kenyon and T. A. Holland, eds., London, pp. 576–621.
- Isthmia* = *Isthmia: Results of Excavations Conducted by the University of Chicago and by the University of California at Los Angeles and the Ohio State University under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Princeton
- I = O. Broneer, *The Temple of Poseidon*, 1971
- II = O. Broneer, *Topography and Architecture*, 1973

- III = O. Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, 1977  
 IV = M. C. Sturgeon, *Sculpture I, 1952–1967*, 1988  
 V = T. E. Gregory, *The Hexamilion and the Fortress*, 1993  
 VII = I. K. Raubitschek, *The Metal Objects (1952–1989)*, 1998  
 VIII = C. A. Morgan, *The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary*, Princeton, forthcoming
- Levy, B. E. 1984. "Nero's Liberation of Achaia: Some Numismatic Evidence from Patrae," in *Nickle Numismatic Papers*, Waterloo, Ontario, pp. 165–185.  
 ———. 1989. "Nero's Apollonia Series: The Achaean Context," *NumC*, pp. 59–68.
- Loeschcke, S. 1912. "Sigillata-Töpfereien in Tschandarli," *AM* 37, pp. 344–407.
- Moretti, L. 1953. *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Rome.
- Nuber, H.-U. 1972. "Kanne und Griffschale," *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission* 53, pp. 1–23.  
*Pergamenische Forschungen*  
 VI = C. Meyer-Schlichtmann, *Die pergamenische Sigillata aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon*, Berlin/New York 1988
- Pièrart, M. 1998. "Le culte de Palaimon à Corinthe," *Kernos* 11, pp. 85–109.
- Riley, J. A. 1982. "The Coarse Pottery from Berenice," in *Sidi Khrebish II*, pp. 91–467.  
*Sidi Khrebish = Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice)*  
 II = *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice)*, J. A. Lloyd, ed., Tripoli (1979) 1982  
 III, i = P. M. Kenrick, *The Fine Pottery* (Supplement to *Libya Antiqua* V), Tripoli 1985  
*Società romana ed impero tardoantico*  
 III = *Le Merci, gli insediamenti*, A. Giardina, ed., Bari 1986
- Williams, C. K. II, J. MacIntosh, and J. E. Fisher. 1974. "Excavation at Corinth, 1973," *Hesperia* 43, pp. 1–76.
- Williams, C. K. II, and O. H. Zervos. 1986. "Corinth, 1985: East of Theater," *Hesperia* 55, pp. 129–175.  
 ———. 1987. "Corinth, 1986: Temple E and East of Theater," *Hesperia* 56, pp. 1–46.
- Wiseman, J. 1979. "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.–A.D. 267," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II.7.1, Berlin, pp. 438–548.

ELIZABETH R. GEBHARD

Balcankuhal House  
 Glenfarg  
 Perthshire PH2 9QD  
 United Kingdom  
 egebhard@midway.uchicago.edu

FREDERICK P. HEMANS

WICHITA STATE UNIVERSITY  
 School of Art and Design  
 Wichita, KS 67260-0067  
 hemans@twsuvm.uc.twsu.edu

JOHN W. HAYES

L9 Linton Road, Flat 1  
 Oxford OX2 6UH  
 United Kingdom

PLATE 70



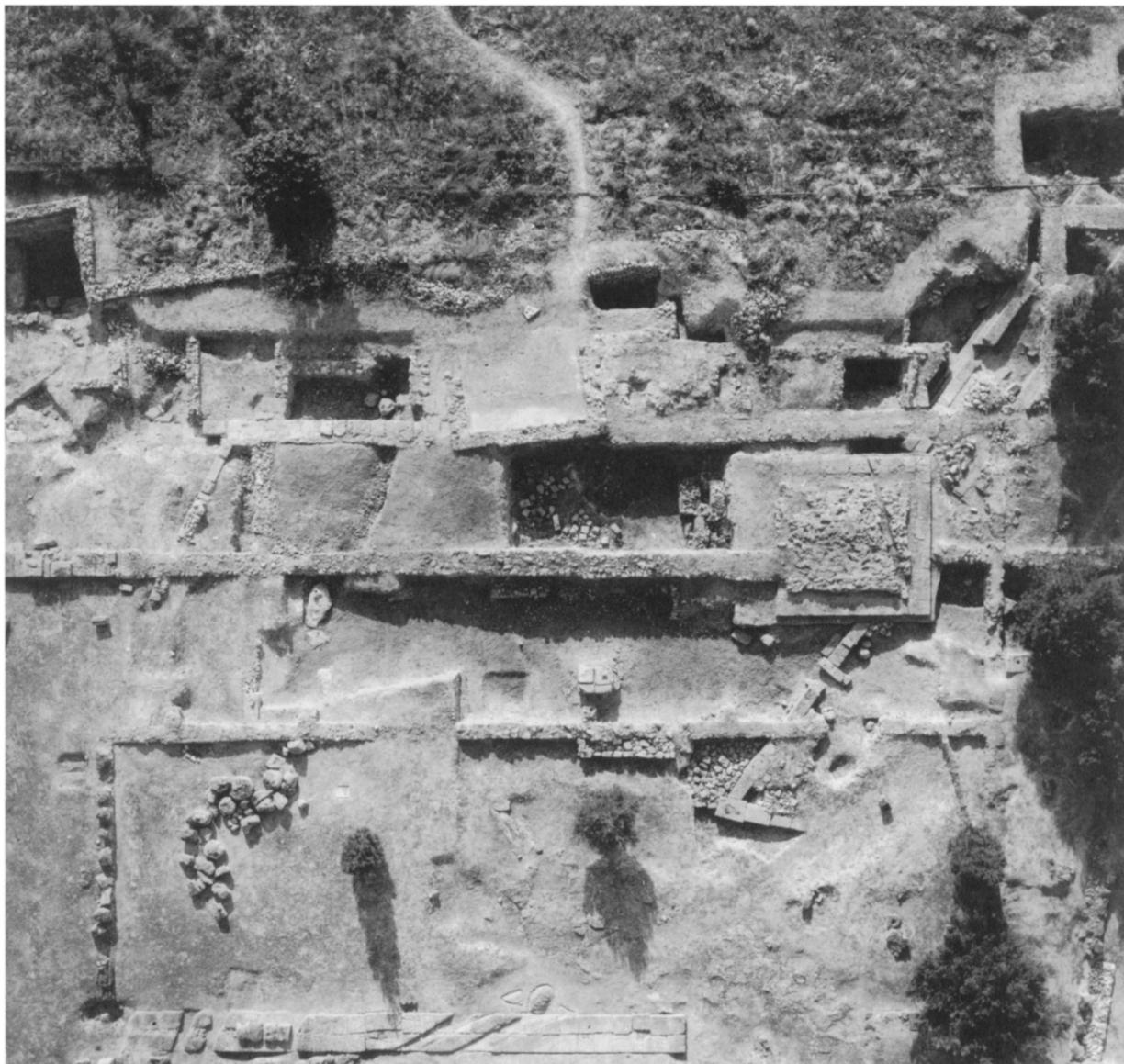
a. Road E where it crosses the Long Altar, looking west.



b. Hollow of Road F/F<sup>1</sup>, southern half excavated, east of the Flavian temenos wall, looking west, upper and lower macadam floors over northern half of hollow at right.



c. View of the North Temenos; Roman Roads 1-8 across trench 89-37, looking northwest.

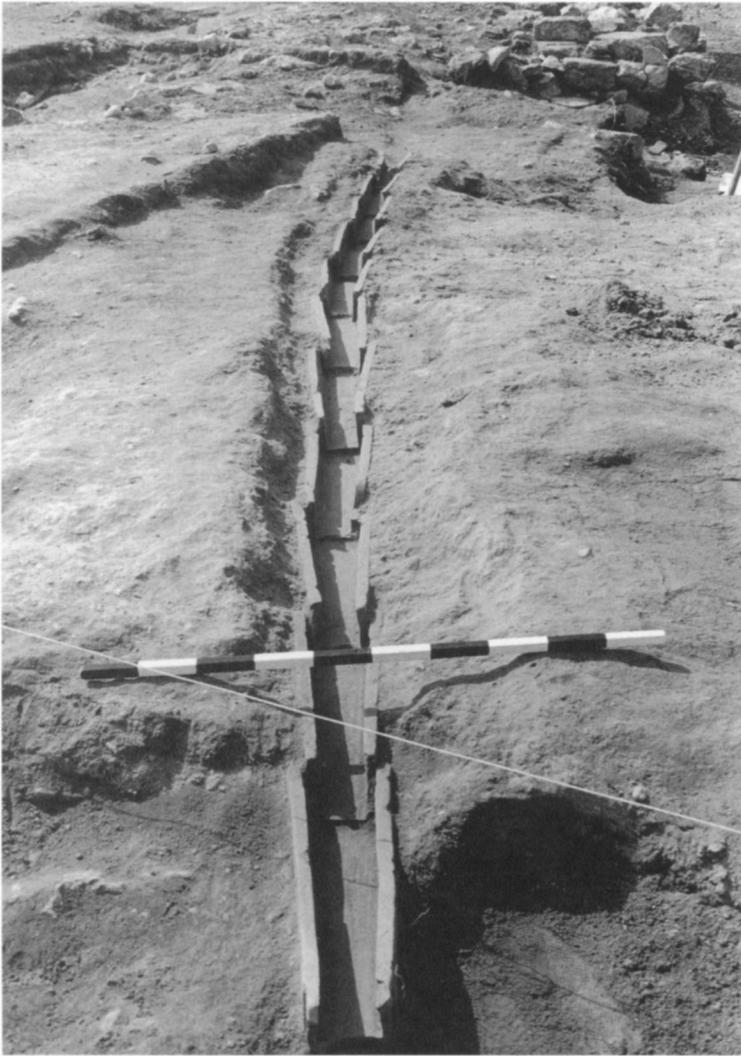


Aerial view of the East Temenos in 1986; east is at top (E. and W. Myers).

ELIZABETH R. GEBHARD, FREDERICK P. HEMANS, AND JOHN W. HAYES:  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO EXCAVATIONS AT ISTHMA, 1989: III



Three-dimensional restored view in the Hadrianic period (AutoCad, P. Sanders)



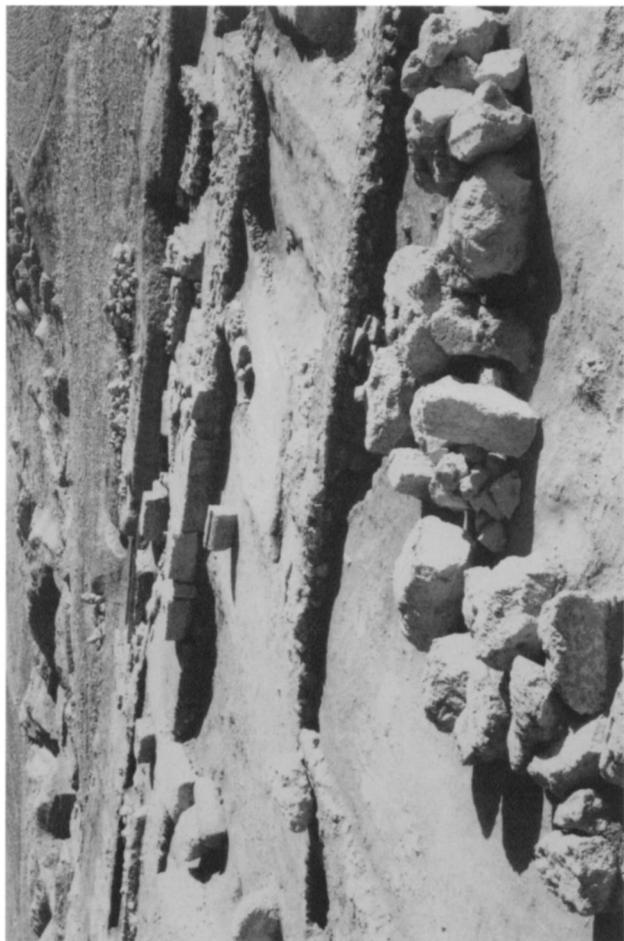
a. Water Channel IV in trench 89-37, looking southwest



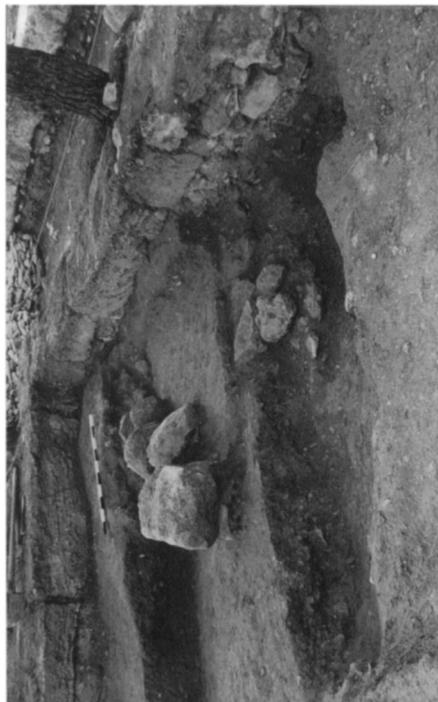
b. Cutting in bottom of Pit A, after 1989 excavation, looking east. Pit 2 at top.



c. Palaimonion Pit A, *martyra* before 1989 excavations, looking east



a. Architectural debris in the east side of the Flavian temenos in 1959, looking northeast (O. Broneer)



b. Robbing trench in ramp between eastern precinct and Palaimonion II, looking southeast. Ramp wall and northeast corner of Palaimonion II meet at the tree at right



c. Pit C and *martyra* before 1989 excavation, looking south

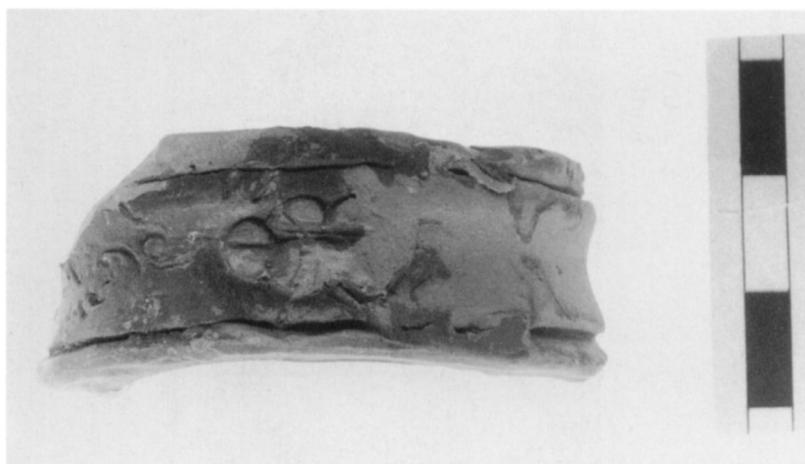


Handle fragment of patera **33**  
(IP 7654)

Handle of patera **24** (IP 7655)



Handle of patera **27** (IP 7670)



Handle fragment of patera **30**  
(IP 7658b)