



TEMPLE OF APOLLO, 1931

# CORINTH

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS.

CONDUCTED BY

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME I

## INTRODUCTION · TOPOGRAPHY ARCHITECTURE

BY

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WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

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PUBLISHED FOR

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

1932

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**CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U. S. A.**

THIS publication of the results of the excavations carried on at Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens is in charge of the Publication Committee of the School. The general editor is Professor Harold North Fowler. Opinions expressed are those of the individual contributors.

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## PREFACE

EXCAVATIONS at Corinth were begun by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1896 and were continued nearly every year until 1916. For various reasons the results of those excavations had not been adequately published, and some years later, when further excavation of the site was in prospect, more satisfactory publication appeared to be desirable. In 1924 I was sent to Greece to study the problem, and in the course of the year 1925 the form of the publication was determined and the authors of its various parts in great measure selected. It soon became evident that the results of excavations carried on before 1916 could not be entirely separated from those of later excavations, and therefore no such separation has been attempted. In certain volumes, notably those which contain catalogues, the date to which they extend will be clearly stated.

In the spring of 1925 excavations under the auspices of the School, but independently financed and conducted, were begun by Dr. Theodore Leslie Shear, the results of which will be published in volumes numbered as parts of the publication issued by the School but prepared independently by Dr. Shear and his collaborators. One such volume, *Corinth*, Volume V, *The Roman Villa*, by Dr. Shear, has already appeared.

Excavations under the immediate control of the School were begun again in 1925 by the Director, Dr. Bert Hodge Hill. In the spring of that year I took the opportunity to traverse the greater part of the Corinthia, most of the time in company with Mr. Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., and to make a record, with photographs, of most of the extant remains of antiquity, as well as of a few mediaeval monuments, in the hope that such a record of remains visible at a definite time, especially if accompanied by full references to the works of ancient and modern authors dealing with the Corinthia, might be of permanent value. In Chapter I of this volume the section on Perachora is due to Mr. (now Professor) Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., that on Pre-classical Sites to Professor Carl W. Blegen.

A great part of this volume is the work of Professor Richard Stillwell, now Assistant Director of the School and soon to be its Director. Since his appointment as Fellow in Architecture in 1924 he has been actively engaged every year in the work at Corinth, and eventually the publication of the architectural results of the excavations will certainly be in great measure due to him.

It remains for me to express my hearty thanks to Dr. Bert Hodge Hill, Professor William Bell Dinsmoor, and Professor Richard Stillwell for assistance rendered me in the preparation of those parts of this volume for which I am individually responsible, and to my colleagues of the Publication Committee, Professors George H. Chase and David M. Robinson, who have read the proofs of the entire volume and made many valuable suggestions.

HAROLD N. FOWLER

WASHINGTON, D. C.  
March, 1932

IN PREPARING the architectural chapters of this volume I have endeavored to limit the material, both text and drawings, to that which was necessary for an adequate presentation of the existing remains. Many architectural fragments exist which are doubtless connected with the buildings considered, but unless the assignments seemed probable, and not merely possible, I have refrained from discussing them. Much restoration could be done on paper, but it would be largely hypothetical and based on the study of parallels.

Several of the buildings have been published before, in more or less complete form, and my task has in a measure consisted of re-working old material and adding to it such items as later excavation and study have called for. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. B. H. Hill, former Director of the American School, for putting in my hands a number of studies and notes which he had made from time to time in the course of his long association with the excavations of Corinth. The plans are based largely on a series of survey sheets made by him and Professor T. W. Heermance about 1904, and the re-survey necessary to add such items and areas as were subsequently uncovered demonstrated the accuracy of their plans. Mr. L. C. Douglas, for two years Fellow in Architecture of the School, assisted me in much of the new surveying and also furnished the drawings illustrating the area north of the Basilica.

I have made no attempt to give an account of the various excavations that led to the final uncovering of the buildings included in this volume, nor have I referred to any objects found in their respective areas unless they threw definite light on the problems involved in dating the remains.

RICHARD STILLWELL

ATHENS  
March, 1932

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## ABBREVIATIONS

THE abbreviations employed for the names of Greek and Latin writers and the titles of their works are those which are in common use. Other abbreviations employed are as follows:

<i>A. J. A.</i> . . . . .	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>Arch. Anz.</i> . . . . .	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i>
<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> . . . . .	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.</i>
<i>B. S. A.</i> . . . . .	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
<i>B. C. H.</i> . . . . .	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
<i>C. I. G.</i> . . . . .	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.</i>
<i>Class. Rev.</i> . . . . .	<i>Classical Review.</i>
Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge</i> <sup>3</sup> . . .	Dittenberger, W., <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , third edition.
Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. . . . .	Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.
<i>I. G.</i> . . . . .	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i>
<i>J. H. S.</i> . . . . .	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
Πρακτικά . . . . .	Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρίας.

**INTRODUCTION**  
**TOPOGRAPHY ARCHITECTURE**

# INTRODUCTION

By HAROLD N. FOWLER

THE EXCAVATIONS.<sup>1</sup> The excavations carried on at Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens began March 23, 1896, at first as a joint undertaking of the School and the Archaeological Institute of America. After 1898, however, the work was carried on entirely by the School. Previous excavations, by W. Doerpfeld in 1886<sup>2</sup> and A. N. Skias in 1892,<sup>3</sup> had been limited respectively to the recovery of the ground plan of the great Doric temple and an unsuccessful search, about a quarter of a mile to the east of that temple, for the ancient Agora.

The duration of the work of excavation in each year was determined chiefly by the amount of the funds available, and this varied very greatly. For this reason the results attained in some years appear to be meagre in comparison with what was accomplished in others. Moreover the irregularity and uncertainty of contributions of funds for the work made it difficult to form and carry out consistent plans for a series of years.<sup>4</sup>

When the American work began, hardly anything in the wide area once enclosed within the walls of the ancient city was visible except the great temple, and even that lacked a name. Under these circumstances it is only natural that the work of the first season was wholly tentative.<sup>5</sup> Twenty-one trenches of varying lengths and depths were dug, the primary purpose of which was to identify, if possible, some of the monuments mentioned by Pausanias, in order to have some fixed points of departure for further work (Fig. 3).

This purpose was in considerable measure accomplished, for the theatre was found, and once this fixed point was determined, the great Doric temple could with some probability be identified as the Temple of Apollo mentioned by Pausanias (see p. 32). The discovery of part of the pavement of what proved to be the Lechaem Road also helped to indicate approximately the position of the Agora. The theatre itself was shown, even by the very imperfect excavation carried on in that year, to have been unusually large and to have been

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Dr. B. H. Hill for valuable assistance in the preparation of this brief sketch of the history of the excavations.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, pp. 297-308.

<sup>3</sup> Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας, 1892, pp. 111-136.

<sup>4</sup> The total expense of the excavations from 1896 to 1916 was about \$35,000. An exact statement would be difficult to make, as contributions were made in dollars, pounds sterling, francs, and drachmas, at widely varying rates of exchange. The chief contributors were: The Archaeological Institute of America (\$3107), The Carnegie Institution (\$7500), Mrs. Phoebe Hearst (\$2000), Mr. Elliot C. Lee (\$3000), Mr. J. Montgomery Sears (\$2500), Mrs. J. Montgomery Sears (\$9000), Mr. Benjamin T. Frothingham (\$960), Dr. Charles Peabody (\$750), Hon. John Hay (\$500), Mr. James Loeb (\$300). Many others showed their interest by gifts of smaller sums.

<sup>5</sup> R. B. Richardson, 'The Excavations at Corinth in 1896,' *A. J. A.* I, 1897, pp. 455-480; cf. *ibid.* p. 91.

I do not attempt to give references to all the provisional publications of buildings and objects found in the course of the excavations, as exhaustive references will be found in other parts of this publication.

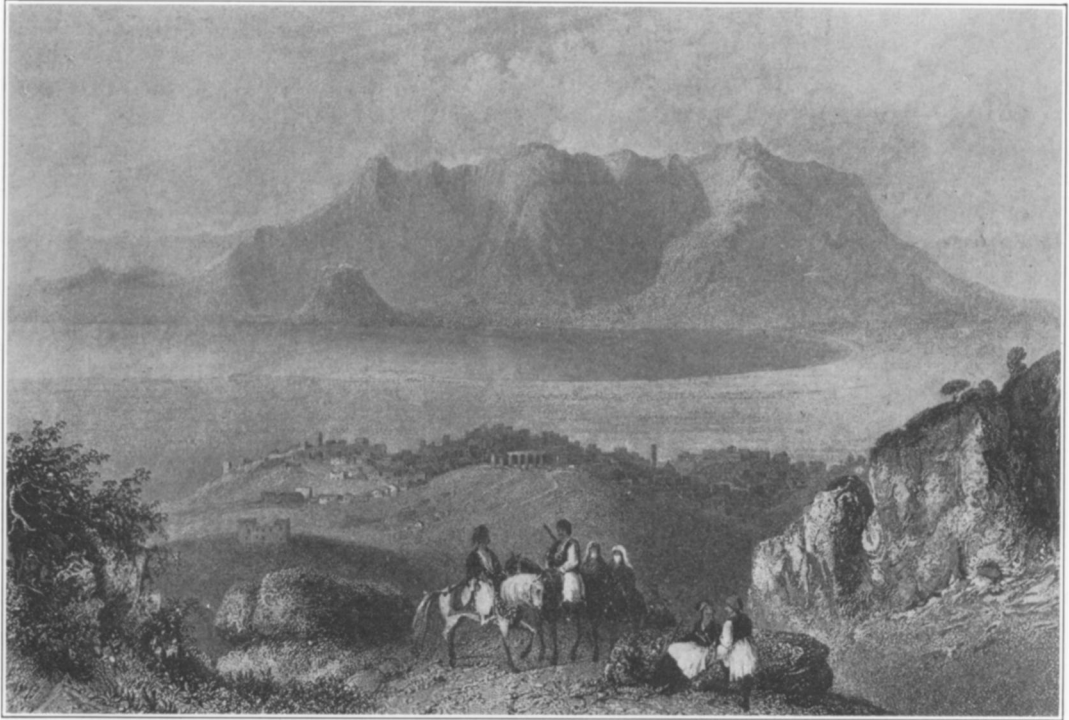


FIGURE 1. VIEW OF CORINTH

Drawn by Major Irton, engraved by R. Brandard; from an extra illustrated copy in the library of the British School at Athens of *Memorials of a Tour in Some Parts of Greece* by Richard Monckton Milnes, London, 1834; extra illustrated in 1860

rebuilt in ancient times, probably when the city was refounded by the Romans in 44 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The remains of a large Roman building (Trench XIV; Fig. 3, p. 7), in part of which was a mosaic floor, could not be identified with any building mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>2</sup> About

<sup>1</sup> Frank Cole Babbitt, 'The Theatre at Corinth,' *A. J. A.* I, 1897, pp. 481–494.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert F. De Cou, 'A Roman Building at Corinth,' *A. J. A.* I, 1897, pp. 495–506, pls. XXV, XXVI. The principal remains consist of a massive wall reinforced at intervals of about 3.55 m. by exterior buttresses, the whole being constructed of large quadrangular blocks of the soft whitish limestone, which at Corinth corresponds to Piraeus stone at Athens, laid in mortar. The wall is preserved in some places to the height of three courses (about 2.30 m.). The building of which this wall formed a part probably fronted on a paved street, with ruts in the pavement showing that it had been much used, which was found near the wall. At the other side of the wall (i.e. inside of the building) remains of a fairly good Roman mosaic were discovered. Other walls, of *opus incertum* and brick, were found at various slight distances from the buttressed wall, and apparently belonged to the building of which that was one of the exterior walls. Numerous drains and conduits, all of which seem to be older than the walls, were found in this region. The construction and workmanship of the walls suggest the time of Hadrian as the probable date of the building. The several cuttings known at the time as Trench XIV, in which these remains were discovered, were filled up again after the tentative excavation. Dr. De Cou suggested that the walls discovered in these cuttings may have formed part of a large building to which the mass of Roman brickwork and *opus incertum* some 33 to 53 m. south of the buttressed wall, and likewise the detached and partially destroyed pieces of vaulting in the field to the southwest, may also have belonged. These visible remains seem to have been mentioned by most of the travellers who have recorded their impressions of Corinth: Spon and Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant*, II, p. 306; Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, II, p. 295; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 244; Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, II, p. 192; E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa*, Part II, Vol. VI, p. 554 (4th ed., 1818); W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 55; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 400; at any rate, these



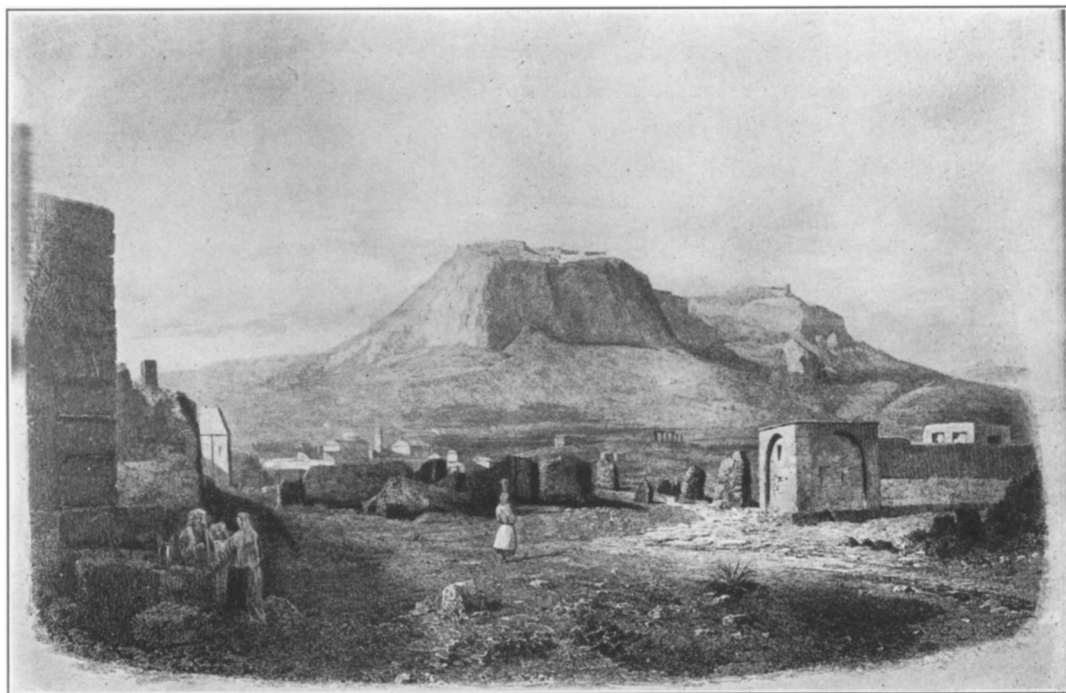


FIGURE 2. VIEW OF CORINTH

From A. Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée* (Paris, 1838), III, p. 76

two hundred metres north of east from the great temple (Trench Va) two nearly circular rock-cut graves opening from a rectangular shaft were found, which contained jugs and other vases of Early Helladic forms and fabric; two only were decorated with incised lines.<sup>1</sup> At another spot an ancient well yielded one complete vase and fragments of others of Corinthian style, and a great number of terracotta figurines came to light in various places.<sup>2</sup> Most of these were crude archaic representations of riders; others were female figures of later dates, for the most part of an Aphrodite type. Fragments of vases of various dates and styles, many house walls and architectural members, a number of inscriptions, and a few fragments of sculpture were found during the first season. When the work ended for the year, on the 8th of June, the outlook was encouraging.

are probably the remains referred to by Spon and Wheler as "quelques pans de murailles," by Chandler as "a remnant, it may be conjectured, of a bath or a gymnasium," and by Dodwell when he mentions "several shapeless and uninteresting masses of Roman remains composed of bricks, one of which seems to have been a bath, resembling in some respects that of Diocletian at Rome, but little more than the lower walls and foundations are remaining." Leake conjectures that these walls may be "part of one of the baths built by Hadrian," and Beulé suggests either the Baths of Hadrian or those of Eurycles. Of the site of the Baths of Hadrian nothing is known, and the words of Pausanias appear to indicate for the Baths of Eurycles a site somewhat nearer the Agora and Peirene.

<sup>1</sup> Theodore Woolsey Heermance and George Dana Lord, 'Pre-Mycenaean Graves in Corinth,' *A. J. A. I.*, 1897, pp. 313-332.

<sup>2</sup> R. B. Richardson, 'An Old Corinthian Vase from Corinth,' *A. J. A. II.*, 1898, pp. 195-205; 'Terracotta Figurines from Corinth,' *ibid.* pp. 206-222.

In 1897 the work of excavation, which began April 14, was broken off April 23, on account of the war between Greece and Turkey, before any considerable results were attained.<sup>1</sup> In 1898 the work began March 23 and continued until June 13. Five large marble torsos and several more or less mutilated reliefs, two small bronzes, several inscriptions, various terracottas and architectural fragments came to light, some of the walls of buildings near the Lechaem Road were discovered, part of the Lechaem Road itself was laid bare, the western end of the small Greek temple (Temple A) was found, and, most important of all, the Fountain of Peirene was discovered and identified and five of its chambers opened. By this a new point in the topography of the city was established, making it possible to fix definitely the position of the Agora and to give its name to the Lechaem Road. Some pieces of obsidian, some stone tools and primitive pottery, furnished further evidence of the prehistoric settlement, and some Byzantine tombs were uncovered. Trial investigations were also conducted on the Acrocorinthus. In this year and the next, tombs containing some entire Geometric vases were excavated.<sup>2</sup>

Work was carried on in 1899 from March 27 to May 27. The Fountain of Peirene was more fully excavated, the Fountain of Glauce was identified and cleared, and the Temple of Apollo, now finally identified with certainty by the identification of the Fountain of Glauce, was cleared entirely. The foundations of the Propylaea and part of the core of the superstructure were discovered, establishing the connection between the Lechaem Road and the Agora. Several statues, unfortunately not completely preserved, and many fragments of inscriptions came to light. One statue base bears the name of Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus, one complete Latin inscription records a dedication to Marcus Agrippa by the tribe Vinicia, and a long fragment of a Greek inscription relates to the Isthmian Games.<sup>3</sup>

In the next year, 1900, work was begun March 30 and ended May 28. The excavators proceeded to clear the part of the Agora to the westward of the Propylaea, finding parts of the figures and architectural members of the Façade of the Colossal Figures, and also the Sacred Spring with the triglyphon which ornamented the entrance to the fountain. The vaulted central chamber of the shops on the north side of the Agora was cleared. Of the objects found during this season the most interesting is a relief of dancing maenads; but several other more or less fragmentary pieces of sculpture, in addition to many small fragments, came to light. Several honorary decrees of Roman times, some of them in Greek, others in Latin, and a large number of Byzantine and Frankish coins were also found.<sup>4</sup>

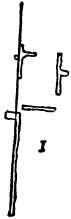
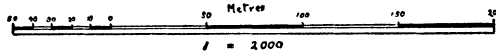
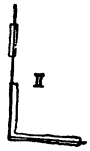
<sup>1</sup> R. B. Richardson, *A. J. A.* I, 1897, pp. 110–112, in his annual report as Director of the School.

<sup>2</sup> R. B. Richardson, *A. J. A.* II, 1898, pp. 233–236, and pp. 499–501, in his annual report. On the Geometric vases, see M. L. Nichols, *A. J. A.* IX, 1905, pp. 411–421.

<sup>3</sup> R. B. Richardson, *A. J. A.* III, 1899, pp. 682–686, in his annual report; 'Pirene,' *A. J. A.* IV, 1900, pp. 204–239; 'The Fountain of Glauce at Corinth,' *A. J. A.* IV, 1900, pp. 458–475.

<sup>4</sup> R. B. Richardson, *A. J. A.* IV, 1900, Supplement, pp. 22–26, in his annual report; 'A Series of Colossal Statues at Corinth,' *A. J. A.* VI, 1902, pp. 7–22; 'Dionysiac Sculptures Found at Corinth,' *A. J. A.* VIII, 1904, pp. 288–296, especially p. 292.

# Excavations at Old Corinth 1896.



Drums of columns  
and  
Bases of columns  
6-6

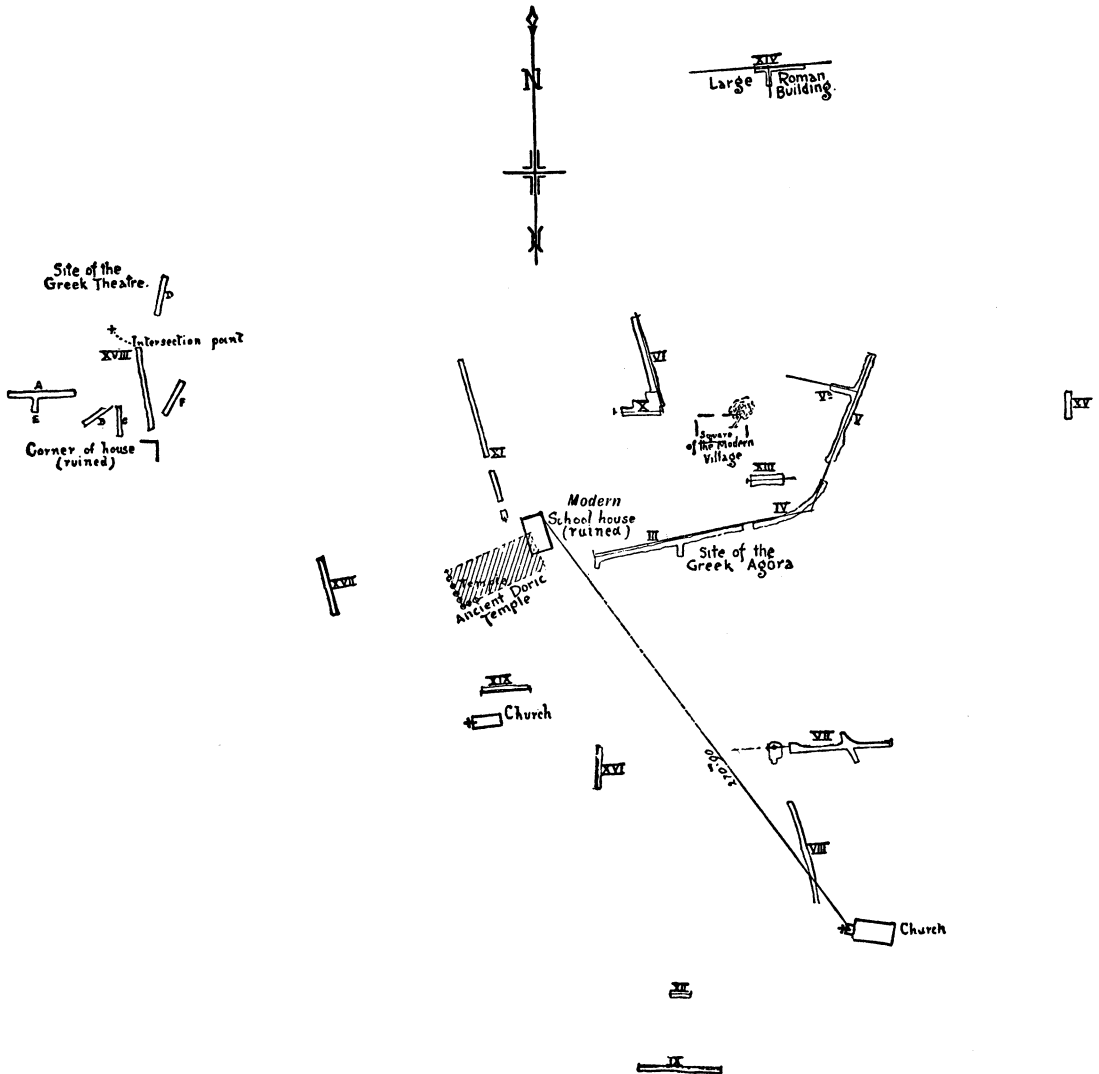


FIGURE 3. EXCAVATIONS IN 1896

In 1901 excavations were carried on from March 21 to May 22, chiefly west and north of the Sacred Spring in the Agora, in the Northwest Shops, at the head of the Lechaem Road, in and near Peirene, and on the Acrocorinthus.<sup>1</sup> In the first region two inscriptions bearing the name of Lysippus as artist came to light. A good many Old Corinthian and Proto-Corinthian vases and fragments were found, and some pieces of sculpture, including a head of Aphrodite and a large draped female figure, were discovered. On the Acrocorinthus the results were negative. About forty-five metres south of the Fountain of Glauce a large foundation of *opus incertum*, surrounded in part by a good wall of *poros*, was found, which was subsequently identified as a temple of Roman date<sup>2</sup> (Temple E).

The work in 1902 began early in March and ended June 13. It was for the most part confined to the Northwest Stoa, southeast of the Temple of Apollo, and the region to the east of the hill on which the temple stands. The eastern part of the stoa and of the Northwest Shops, with the apsidal temple (Temple B) underneath them and the approach to it, were excavated, as were also the Basilica and the Greek North Building under it. The area northwest of the Propylaea, having very clear and undisturbed stratification, gave the key to the chronology of the building remains in that region. Much Corinthian and Proto-Corinthian pottery, some terracotta figurines, about two hundred terracotta lamps of various dates, and numerous inscriptions were found. Among these last was one in the Corinthian alphabet, several statue bases dating from the time before 146 B.C., three proxeny decrees, and a base bearing the name of the artist Ariston. Of the many fragmentary inscriptions of Roman date the most interesting was one in honor of Cornelius Pulcher and of a grandson of Eurycles. North of Peirene a complete marble epistyle from the colonnade of the Peribolus of Apollo came to light. In the theatre some walls were laid bare, but the *skene* was not discovered. Among works of sculpture found in the theatre was a fine head of a youth,<sup>3</sup> evidently a copy of an original of the fifth century B.C.<sup>4</sup>

In 1903 work was carried on<sup>5</sup> from about the 1st of April to June 12, chiefly in the Agora,<sup>6</sup> the west end of which was found. A deposit of votive offerings of terracottas was unearthed, belonging to the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C.<sup>7</sup> Two small water chan-

<sup>1</sup> R. B. Richardson, *A. J. A.* V, 1901, Supplement, pp. 27-31, in his annual report; *A. J. A.* VI, 1902, pp. 306-320.

<sup>2</sup> Charles H. Weller, *A. J. A.* V, 1901, pp. 341-342.

<sup>3</sup> R. B. Richardson, *A. J. A.* VI, 1902, Supplement, pp. 19-23, in his annual report; *Ath. Mitt.* XXVIII, 1903, pp. 451-460.

<sup>4</sup> The excavations from 1896 to 1902 were under the immediate charge of the Director of the School, Professor Rufus B. Richardson. With him were associated in the several years, but not necessarily for the whole period of work each year, the following: In 1896, Messrs. Andrews, Babbitt, De Cou, Heermance, Lord; in 1897, Mr. Brown; in 1898, Professor Emerson, Messrs. Brown, Cooley, Dickerman; in 1899, Professor Emerson, Messrs. Cooley, Hyde, Kyle, Tucker, and other members of the School for short periods; in 1900, Messrs. Downes, Powell, Sears; in 1901, Messrs. De Cou, Powell, Sears, Weller, and, for shorter periods, Messrs. Bassett and Hill; in 1902, Messrs. Bassett and Hill, with Dr. Quinn and Messrs. D. M. Robinson and Van Hook for a short time.

<sup>5</sup> The staff consisted of Mr. Theodore W. Heermance, in charge, assisted by Messrs. Caskey, Hastings, Hill, and D. M. Robinson.

<sup>6</sup> R. B. Richardson, *A. J. A.* VII, 1903, Supplement, p. 19, in his annual report; T. W. Heermance, *A. J. A.* VII, 1903, p. 350. Further excavated in 1932.

<sup>7</sup> D. M. Robinson, *A. J. A.* X, 1906, pp. 159-173.

nels of the Sacred Spring were traced to their source. In the theatre a terrace wall behind the *skene* was found, but not the *skene* itself. Above the terrace much fragmentary sculpture came to light, including five heads and portions of a decorative relief of the third century B.C. representing the Battle of the Gods and Giants.<sup>1</sup>

The season of 1904 began early in May and ended June 28. The Director of the School, Dr. Theodore W. Heermance, was in charge. He was assisted by Messrs. Caskey and Hastings, and for short periods by other members of the School. The excavations were at and near the south end of the Agora, southwest of the Temple of Apollo and southeast of the Fountain of Glauce, and west and south of the Church of St. John. The Southwest Shops were completely excavated, and part of the South Stoa, which bounded the Agora to the south, was found. This year also inscriptions, fragments of sculpture, pottery, and other objects were discovered. Some broken flakes of obsidian were found among sherds of primitive pottery.<sup>2</sup>

In 1905 excavations were carried on under the direction of Dr. Heermance from July 4 to August 17, when he left Corinth, having been attacked by the typhoid fever which caused his untimely death in September. Regular work ceased with his departure, but Mr. Washburn worked on the slope of Penteskouphia August 21 to 23. In addition to the two Fellows, Mr. MacMahon and Mr. Washburn, most of the members of the School were in Corinth at least part of the time. The excavations of the season were in the neighborhood of the Fountain of Glauce, in the Agora, at the south side of the Agora, at Hadji Mustapha on the slope towards the Acrocorinthus, and in a gorge on the western side of Penteskouphia, where the terracotta tablets now in the Berlin Museum were found.<sup>3</sup> The ground near the Fountain of Glauce seems to have been a quarry in ancient times, but pottery of various kinds came to light there. Further parts of the stoa at the south side of the Agora were discovered. At Hadji Mustapha an ancient water conduit and some fragments of vases were found; and on the slope of Penteskouphia 350 badly weathered fragments of terracotta tablets, fragments of Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian vases, and a number of figurines were, apart from the satisfaction of having investigated the site, the only reward of the excavators. During this year, in order to secure a dumping-place, the Church of St. Athanasius was demolished and a new edifice erected.<sup>4</sup>

No excavations were conducted by the School in 1906. In August of that year an extraordinary rain carried great quantities of earth and mud into the excavated area, and the Greek government cleared much of this away and built a wall to protect Peirene, where new details were discovered. The government also strengthened the columns and architrave of the Temple of Apollo, removed the unfinished schoolhouse begun under Capodistrias, and built the western part of the museum. In this year Mr. A. N. Skias made trial excava-

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth M. Gardiner, *A. J. A.* XIII, 1909, pp. 304-321.

<sup>2</sup> T. W. Heermance, *A. J. A.* VIII, 1904, pp. 433-441; cf. *ibid.* Supplement, pp. 23-26, annual report.

<sup>3</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, I, pls. 7, 8, pp. 3, 4 (Fraenkel); II, pls. 39, 40 (Pernice).

<sup>4</sup> O. M. Washburn, *A. J. A.* X, 1906, pp. 17-20.

tions to the north and east of the village, the chief result of which was the determination of the position of ancient roads to Lechaeum and Cenchreae.<sup>1</sup>

In 1907 the excavations were begun April 12 and ended July 6. Mr. L. D. Caskey, Secretary of the School, directed the preliminary stages of the work, but after a fortnight the Director, Mr. B. H. Hill, took charge. Mr. J. S. Martin, Fellow of the School, Dr. G. W. Elderkin and Mr. K. K. Smith, Fellows elect, Messrs. L. E. Rowe, R. H. White, H. D. Wood, Carnegie Fellow in Architecture, and A. H. Wright assisted for short periods or throughout the season. The main field of work was the northwest part of the Agora near the Church of St. John, and between it and the Northwest Stoa. The excavation of the Northwest Shops was nearly completed. Remains of a circular building were found near the Church of St. John, and on a piece of the entablature is the inscription *Babbius Philinus aed(ilis) pontif(ex) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit et idem duumvir p(robavit)*. Between the Fountain of Glauce and the Theatre the Odeum was discovered, a building about 64 m. in diameter, partly hewn out of the rock and partly built of heavy blocks of stone and of *opus incertum*.<sup>2</sup> Among small objects found was a Roman marble medallion with the head of Athena Parthenos in relief (see p. 11, n. 1). Four headless statues, some fragments of sculpture, many Greek and Latin inscriptions, and a hoard of French silver coins of Clermont and Le Puy, ascribed to the twelfth century, were found.<sup>3</sup> With these was a gold coin of Alexis I.

The work of 1908 extended from March 24 to July 3. It was conducted by the Director, Mr. Hill, assisted by Miss Elizabeth M. Gardiner and Messrs. Elderkin, Smith, Whitmore, and Wood. The main field of work was again in the northwest part of the Agora. The modern road passing the Church of St. John was moved eastward and the west end of the Northwest Shops was uncovered. Foundations of a small Roman temple (Temple D) were found, and the steps leading from the main level of the Agora to the higher western level were unearthed. The West Shops and the foundations of the broad stairway to the south of them, which together formed the northern half of the western boundary of the Agora, were excavated. The beginning of the road to Sicyon mentioned by Pausanias was found, the foundations of a Roman temple (Temple C) were uncovered, and most of its precinct was cleared. The precinct had colonnades on three sides, and at the east a wall with attached semi-columns. It was approached through a tetrastyle portico. Part of this precinct had been found in 1905. Traces of the western and northern limits of the precinct of Apollo were discovered. In the Fountain of Glauce the full extent of Reservoir IV was ascertained, and further excavations in the Theatre added to the knowledge of the Roman structure.<sup>4</sup> In the region of Peirene the drain which served the fountain in antiquity was partially

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Cooley, *A. J. A.* XI, 1907, p. 52; B. H. Hill, *ibid.* Supplement, pp. 19 f., in his annual report; A. N. Skias, *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας*, 1906, pp. 145–166.

<sup>2</sup> The Odeum was completely excavated in 1927 and 1928. See O. Broneer, *A. J. A.* XXXII, 1928, pp. 447–473; cf. B. D. Meritt, *ibid.* XXXI, 1927, pp. 450–461. The complete publication will form volume X of this series.

<sup>3</sup> D. M. Robinson, *A. J. A.* XII, 1908, pp. 67 f.; Carnegie Institution, *Yearbook*, 6, pp. 168 f.

<sup>4</sup> In 1925 Dr. T. Leslie Shear began a complete excavation of the Theatre. He is preparing a full publication of the results of his work.

cleared. In this year several fragmentary works of sculpture came to light and pottery of various kinds was found, including Geometric, Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, and Attic black-figured vases, and also one "Fikellura" vase. A hoard of sixty-two silver pieces from the last Venetian occupation of Corinth was perhaps the most striking discovery of coins. Among the terracottas discovered in the Theatre was a mould of a head which reproduces in small relief the head of the Athena Parthenos.<sup>1</sup>

In 1909 excavations were carried on from May 10 to July 10. The Director was assisted by Mr. W. B. Dinsmoor, Fellow in Architecture on a grant of the Carnegie Institution, the two Fellows, Messrs. Elderkin and Edwards, Miss Stone, and Messrs. Westervelt and H. D. Wood. The Theatre and its neighborhood, the Odeum, and the Fountains of Glauce and Peirene were further uncovered and investigated, and on the Acrocorinthus the Fountain of Upper Peirene was examined. Between the Theatre and the Odeum traces were found of a Roman precinct with Greek remains underneath. About 150 m. west of the Theatre part of an underground water system was discovered. Its chambers had mosaic floors and elliptical vaulted ceilings cut in the rock. The purpose of this elaborate water system has not yet been fully ascertained. At Peirene the three earlier basins behind the six chambers were discovered and cleared, parts of Reservoirs 1, 2, and 4 and some fifteen metres of the tunnel behind Reservoirs 2 and 3 were cleared. Various small objects were found in the course of the work, among them a considerable number of coins of relatively late dates.<sup>2</sup>

The work of 1910, from May 9 to June 28, was chiefly in and about Peirene and the Peribolus of Apollo, and also in the Theatre. The Director was assisted by the Annual Professor, D. M. Robinson, Mr. Dinsmoor, and the other members of the School. At Peirene the supply tunnels and their connection were cleared and the iron piping across the court, through which water was delivered to a modern aqueduct, was moved to the east of Peirene, and the fountain was thus freed of visible iron pipes. The apse of the Peribolus of Apollo and two rooms south of it were cleared, disclosing the hexastyle stoa which in the later Greek centuries formed the eastern boundary of the Court of Peirene, and part of the main Peribolus was cleared. The drain under the Peribolus was followed beyond the village square and made serviceable. Under the southern colonnade was found the "Tirynthia" basin which took the overflow from Peirene in the principal Greek period. Farther west, excavation was done about Temple E, in the *cavea* of the Odeum, and near the Theatre. North from the stage building of the Theatre a Roman fountain with marble revetment was found, and there was a little excavation to find the ground plan of the great baths north of the Theatre. The objects found included a good many coins, mostly of late dates. Several graves were also discovered, but their contents offered little of interest.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carnegie Institution, *Yearbook*, 7, pp. 175 f.; D. M. Robinson, 'Two Corinthian Copies of the Head of Athena Parthenos,' *A. J. A.* XV, 1911, pp. 482-503.

<sup>2</sup> Carnegie Institution, *Yearbook*, 8, pp. 203 f.

<sup>3</sup> B. H. Hill, *Bulletin of the Arch. Inst. of America*, I, 1909-10, p. 271.

In 1911 work at Corinth was from April 6 to April 20 and from June 15 to August 7, the intervening period being devoted to work in Locris. The Director was assisted by the Fellows and members of the School, Misses Goldman and Walker and Messrs. Blegen, A. C. Johnson, Pharr, and Sanborn. The work was still for the most part in and near Peirene, where further details of the construction of the fountain, especially in Roman times, were discovered and studied. Excavation was carried on also between the hill on which the Temple of Apollo stands and the Lechaemum Road, as well as in the Peribolus of Apollo north of Peirene. The number of men employed was small, and no striking discoveries were made.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the campaign the Director was attacked by typhoid fever.

Owing to the illness of the Director and to the conditions caused by the Balkan Wars, there were no excavations in 1912 and 1913, but in 1914 work was begun March 23 and continued until June 12, chiefly in the Peribolus of Apollo and its immediate neighborhood. During this time Miss A. L. Walker found near the Temple of Apollo some apparently undisturbed strata containing potsherds closely resembling those which were previously known from excavations in Boeotia and Thessaly. A charming little head of a girl, broken from a relief, was found near Peirene.<sup>2</sup> After an intermission of about three months, work was resumed October 7 and carried on until nearly Christmas time, almost entirely in the eastern part of the Agora. The eastern limit of the Agora was discovered, and in that neighborhood, in and near the remains of the building which has been designated as the Julian Basilica and as the East Building, an interesting and impressive series of Roman portrait statues came to light, some of which represent members of the Julio-Claudian family. Incidentally the excavations of this year gave employment to men who would without them have had no means of livelihood, such were the conditions caused by the Great War.<sup>3</sup>

In 1915 work was continued by the Director in the eastern part of the Agora, especially in the southeastern corner, where the excavation of the Julian Basilica was completed, and more statues similar to those found in the previous autumn came to light. In the cemetery northwest of the ancient city Dr. Hill opened a considerable number of graves.<sup>4</sup> Their contents proved to be chiefly pottery of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The work of the season began April 16 and ended August 14.<sup>5</sup>

The Great War, lack of funds, and local conditions made the continuation of the excavations at Corinth impossible for a number of years, and therefore this sketch of the progress of the work from year to year ends at this point.

<sup>1</sup> B. H. Hill, *Bulletin of the Arch. Inst. of America*, III, 1911-12, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Wheeler, in his annual report, *Bulletin of the Arch. Inst. of America*, V, 1914, pp. 29 f.; E. H. Swift, 'A Marble Head from Corinth,' *A. J. A.* XX, 1916, pp. 350-355.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Wheeler, in his annual report, *Bulletin of the Arch. Inst. of America*, VI, 1915, p. 29; cf. *A. J. A.* XIX, 1915, pp. 92 f.; *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, I, 1915, παράρτημα, pp. 64-67.

<sup>4</sup> Additional graves were opened in 1916 by Dr. Hill and Mr. Dinsmoor, and a great number by Professor Shear in 1929 and 1930. This was evidently for a long time the chief cemetery of Corinth.

<sup>5</sup> *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, II, 1916, παράρτημα, pp. 55-57; E. H. Swift, 'A Group of Roman Imperial Portraits at Corinth,' *A. J. A.* XXV, 1921, pp. 142-159, 248-265, 337-363.



In the years 1915 and 1916 Dr. Blegen excavated the prehistoric site called Korakou,<sup>1</sup> and in those and the following years discovered further prehistoric settlements in Corinthian territory;<sup>2</sup> in 1919 and 1920 work for the sanitation of the village of Old Corinth, undertaken by the American Red Cross and directed by Dr. Hill, established the course of the Lechaëum Road north of the excavated area; moreover Dr. Hill and several members of the School devoted much time to the study of the results already gained from the excavations. Articles produced during the years when excavations were not carried on show that those years were not without value in furthering the understanding of what the spade had brought to light and in preparing the way for the excavations of later years.<sup>3</sup>

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF CORINTH. The following brief sketch of the history of Corinth makes no claim to originality, still less to completeness,<sup>4</sup> but is inserted here that the reader may have the chief facts at hand for reference and also as indicating what the excavators might reasonably expect to find when they began their work.

The tales which begin with the sun-god, Helios, and his sons, and tell of Medea, Sisyphus, and other legendary persons, may, for the present purpose, be disregarded. That the site was occupied at least as early as 3000 B.C. is proved by pottery and other objects found in the excavations, and the occupation was apparently continuous until the conquest by the Dorians. At any rate, the Dorians, coming, it would seem, from Argos, took possession of the site and the surrounding country and founded, probably not far from 900 B.C., the Dorian city which grew and flourished in the classical period.

At first, according to the statements of Pausanias and other writers, the city was ruled by kings. It was during the royal period, at some time in the eighth century B.C., that the colony of Corcyra was founded, and also a little later, but still in the same century, that of Syracuse in distant Sicily. Corinth was already rich and prosperous and had a powerful navy at her disposal for commercial or warlike purposes. The earliest recorded naval battle between Greek combatants was fought by the Corinthians and the Corcyraeans in 664 B.C., at which time Corinth was ruled by an oligarchy administered by the powerful family of the Bacchidae or Bacchiadae. Then, probably about 655 B.C., Cypselus made himself tyrant

<sup>1</sup> Carl W. Blegen, *Korakou, a Prehistoric Site near Corinth*, Boston and New York, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Carl W. Blegen, 'Corinth in Prehistoric Times,' *A. J. A.* XXIV, 1920, pp. 1-13, cf. p. 274; Walter Leaf and Carl W. Blegen, *ibid.* XXVII, 1923, pp. 151-163. See below, pp. 107-114.

<sup>3</sup> The work of excavation at Corinth was begun again in the spring of 1925. Reports have appeared regularly in the *A. J. A.* PLATE IV shows the extent of the excavations as it was in 1927.

<sup>4</sup> The chief modern source of information, apart from the general histories of Greece, is the article "Korinth," by Thomas Lenschau in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband IV, pp. 991-1036, especially pp. 1007-1036. *Ancient Corinth, Part I, From the Earliest Times to 404 B.C.*, by J. G. O'Neill, Baltimore, 1930, is also of some value.

For the later periods, the chief authorities are:

*Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, especially Chapter XIV, pp. 415-431, by Charles Diehl, and Chapters XV and XVI, pp. 452-477, 478-516, by William Miller.

G. F. Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands seit dem Absterben des antiken Lebens bis zur Gegenwart*, Gotha, 1876-79.

La Baronne Diane de Guldenerone, *L'Achaïe féodale*, Paris, 1886.

Sir Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea*, London, 1907.

William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London, 1908.

or irresponsible ruler of the city. He ruled for thirty years, devoting himself chiefly to the commercial and industrial development of his realm, and founding the colonies of Leucas, Sollium, Anaetorium, and Ambracia. He was succeeded by his brilliant and warlike son Periander (625–583 B.C.), who reestablished, with more than their earlier splendor, or perhaps even founded, the Isthmian Games in honor of Poseidon. Periander was followed by his nephew Psammetichus, with whom the Cypselid dynasty came to an end, not far from 580 B.C.

Under the tyrants Corinth had become greater and more prosperous than before; she possessed important industries, her pottery and bronze work being especially noted; her foreign commerce was extensive, and she had close connections with many foreign states. These conditions continued under the aristocracy or oligarchy which followed. The relations of the city with its colonies, excepting only Corcyra, continued friendly, and Corinth, as well as Corcyra, assisted Syracuse in the battle at the Helorus (491 B.C.) against Hippocrates of Gela. In 507 B.C., by refusing assistance to Cleomenes of Sparta, Corinth prevented the subjugation of Athens, and in 487 (though possibly this was at a later time) showed her friendship for Athens by renting her at a merely nominal price twenty ships to be used in the war with Aegina. In general Corinth was at this time, as well as later, an ally of Sparta. In the great war with Persia, Corinth played an important part. Forty Corinthian ships fought in the Battle of Artemisium and the same number at Salamis. In the next year (479 B.C.) five thousand Corinthian hoplites, with three hundred from the Corinthian colony of Potidaea, were present at the Battle of Plataea, and Corinthians fought bravely at Mycale.

As time went on, the relations of Sparta and Athens became less friendly, which naturally affected Corinth as a member of the Peloponnesian League, and moreover the constantly growing sea power of Athens, and her aggressive policy, interfered more and more with Corinthian commerce and prosperity. Finally, in 432 B.C., the Athenian fleet prevented the subjugation of Corcyra by Corinth after the Battle of Sybota, so that it is only natural that Corinth insisted more strongly than any other member of the Peloponnesian League upon the necessity of war with Athens. At this time Corinth, though still one of the greatest states of Greece, had apparently lost ground, for whereas at Plataea five thousand Corinthian hoplites took the field, during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.) their number never exceeded four thousand. After the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.) Corinth, which had remained true to Sparta for a century, made an alliance with Argos, Elis, and Mantinea, the purpose of which was hostile to Sparta; but this alliance led to no armed conflict. Corinth soon returned to her previous condition and was an important member of the Peloponnesian League throughout the war. At the end of the war Corinth was still so embittered against Athens as to demand the total destruction of the hostile city, but almost immediately after peace was declared there was a change of feeling; Corinth was no longer the zealous ally of Sparta and finally joined with Argos, Athens, and Boeotia against Sparta

in the Corinthian War (395–387 B.C.). In 392 or 391 B.C. Corinth actually joined with Argos in a federal state, though the union came to an end with the King's Peace in 386. It was probably in the latter part of the fifth century that long walls were built connecting the city with the port of Lechaëum on the Gulf of Corinth.

From this time on, Corinth was again friendly to Sparta, but endeavored also to keep on good terms with the other states of Greece and to avoid injury to her territory. Her position, however, at the passage between central Greece and the Peloponnesus, made this virtually impossible, and the constant wars of the Greeks caused a decrease in her wealth and power. In 369 B.C. it was at Corinth that the allies of Sparta tried to stop the march of Epaminondas into the Peloponnesus, and at that time Chabrias distinguished himself in the defence of the city. Not much later Corinth was engaged in a short war with Argos and Cleonae, in which Timophanes was prominent. Then she withdrew from the alliance with Sparta and made peace with the Thebans; in 362 B.C. the armies of both sides were given free passage through Corinthian territory. Apparently the policy of friendly neutrality towards all led to prosperity, for in 344 B.C. Corinth was able to send Timoleon with ten ships and a thousand men to the assistance of Syracuse, to be followed by an equal number in 343 in connection with extensive plans for colonization in Sicily.

Corinth took no part in the struggle against Philip of Macedon, and in 338 B.C. Philip chose the city as the seat of the Hellenic League. After Philip was murdered, in 336 B.C., the League, in session at Corinth, chose Alexander as its leader and appointed him general. Whether Corinth took part in the Lamian War (323–322 B.C.) after the death of Alexander is not certain. In the course of the struggles between the successors of Alexander, Corinth was held by the forces of one after another, until, in 303–302 B.C., Demetrius occupied the city, after which it passed to his son Antigonus Gonatas and remained in the hands of the Antigonids until it was set free, in 243 B.C., by Aratus. In general the century from 350 to 250 B.C. was a time of prosperity for Corinth; both her carrying trade and her industries flourished.

In 243 B.C. Corinth joined the Achaean League, but was occupied by Antigonus Doso in 223–222 B.C. and remained in the power of the Antigonids until, after the Romans had defeated Philip V of Macedon at the Battle of Cynoscephalae, Corinth, together with the other Greek states, was liberated by a formal decree read with much solemnity by T. Quinctius Flaminius at the Isthmian Games in 196 B.C. Unfortunately the ambitions of the Achaean League, of which Corinth was the most important member, conflicted with the policies of Rome, Roman envoys were on two occasions gravely insulted, and finally, in 146 B.C., the Roman consul L. Mummius took and sacked the city. The men were slain, the women and children sold into slavery; the city was burned and the ruins razed to the ground, the Corinthian territory in part given to Sicyon and in part declared public domain.

For a century Corinth was uninhabited, until, in 44 B.C., by an order issued before his death by Julius Caesar, a new Corinth was founded as a Roman colony under the name of

Laus Julia Corinthus. The colony grew and prospered. At first the inhabitants were for the most part, if not altogether, freedmen sent from Italy, but soon Greeks and foreigners were added, among them many Orientals and especially Jews (cf. *Acts* xviii), a fact which may account for the early introduction of Christianity, St. Paul's visit to Corinth, and his epistles to the Corinthians. Under Nero a canal through the Isthmus was begun, but the work was soon discontinued, not to be taken up and completed until nearly nineteen centuries later. Nero also did much for the restoration of the city after it had suffered severely from an earthquake. Hadrian embellished it with baths, built an aqueduct to bring water from Stymphalus, and repaired the road leading to Megara by the Scironian Cliffs. In the second century after Christ, Corinth was perhaps the finest and most modern city of Greece. When the Goths and Herulians overran Greece in 267 A.D. the lower city was destroyed, but its prosperity returned and lasted until the inroad of Alaric in 395 A.D. After that the city, which was the seat of the proconsul who governed the province of Achaëa under the Eastern Empire, was soon restored with imperial assistance, but suffered again severely from an earthquake in 521 A.D. About the middle of the sixth century Justinian fortified the city and the Isthmus, and Corinth was not overwhelmed by the Slavic hordes which poured into Greece at that time. When the Byzantine Empire was reorganized and divided into *themes*, Corinth was the capital of the theme Peloponnesus, which included also the Ionian Islands. It was also the seat of an archbishop. Even as late as the tenth century Corinth, like Athens, still possessed schools of sacred and secular learning in which some vestiges of ancient culture were preserved.

In the latter part of the tenth century, when the Bulgarian king Samuel invaded Greece, the Greek strategus Apokaukos held the Acrocorinthus with great bravery until the Emperor Basil II approached with a relieving force; but in 1147 Nicephoros Kaluphes surrendered the fortress without a struggle to the Normans, who plundered the city thoroughly and sailed away with rich booty and the relics of St. Theodore. In 1203 Leon Sgouros, archon or tyrant of Nauplia, captured Corinth by treachery. After his death Corinth was attacked by Jacques d'Avesnes, but the Acrocorinthus was not taken. It was at this time that the Franks built the fortress of Montesquiou (Penteskouphia) on the ridge of St. Basil. In 1210 Corinth became a part of the Latin Principate of Achaia, being called a Captaincy until it was erected into a County Palatinate by Philip of Tarentum in 1371. It was the seat of Nerio Acciaiuoli until he took Athens from the Catalans in 1387. The Turkish Conquest took place in 1459, and the attacks of the Venetians in 1463 failed to capture the citadel. In 1611 Corinth was taken by the Maltese, who held it, however, only a very short time. In 1687 the Venetians under Morosini, when they arrived at Corinth, found the lower town deserted and burned. They took possession of the citadel and held it until it was besieged and taken by the Turks in 1715. This is the subject of Byron's "Siege of Corinth." From that time until the Greek war for independence (1821-29) Corinth remained in Turkish possession.

During a great part of the Middle Ages and under Turkish rule Corinth was important by reason rather of the strength of the Acrocorinthus than of its population or its wealth. After the war for independence it was still one of the larger towns of the region until, in 1858, a disastrous earthquake destroyed nearly all the houses and frightened the inhabitants away. They settled in the new town by the sea. This was later made more accessible by the canal through the Isthmus and by the railway, and became the seat of trade and industry. The site of Old Corinth is now occupied only by a small village, the inhabitants of which are almost entirely of Albanian descent.

The site of Corinth, then, might be expected to yield Turkish, Venetian, Frankish, Byzantine, and Roman (or late Hellenistic) remains, though the city was, as has been stated, taken and plundered more than once in mediaeval times. Moreover, the one great monument that marked the site of the ancient city when the excavators began their work — the early Doric temple, now known to have been sacred to Apollo (see Chapter II) — and also the words of Pausanias (pp. 30 ff.) proved that the destruction in 146 B.C. was not absolutely complete; there was, therefore, some hope of finding remains dating from the great days of Greece, though it was probable that most of the buildings and minor monuments discovered would belong to later times. This has proved to be the case, though, as will be seen, the remains of the classical Greek period are peculiarly interesting.

# CHAPTER I

## CORINTH AND THE CORINTHIA

By HAROLD N. FOWLER

Topography of the Corinthian territory: Boundaries; Strabo's Description; Pausanias' Description; Perachora (by CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR.); Crommyon; Sidus; Schoenus; the Diolcus; the Wall across the Isthmus; Nero's Canal; the Isthmian Sanctuary and its Neighborhood; Cenchreae; the Bath of Helen; Craneum and the City; Acrocorinth; the Teneatic Gate; other Monuments; Lechaeum; Tenea; Solygeia; Sophiko; Angelocastro; Mediaeval Wall; Quarries; Roads; Prehistoric Sites (by CARL W. BLEGEN).

*Boundaries.* The excavations carried on by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens have been confined to the central part of the ancient city of Corinth,<sup>1</sup> but a brief description of the territory subject to the ancient city and a record of the present condition of the remains of antiquity still to be seen may be of some interest.<sup>2</sup>

The extent of the Corinthia was not always the same in ancient times; it might extend at one time farther towards Megara than at another, and the boundaries towards the south, as well as the Epidaurian frontier, may have varied. Towards the west the boundary between the Corinthia and the Sicyonian territory was the river Nemea (Koutsomadi),<sup>3</sup> about six miles from the Acrocorinthus. The southern boundary cannot now be determined with perfect accuracy, as there is little or nothing to mark it, and the details of its course can be only conjecturally fixed in accordance with the conformation of the ground. Beginning at the Nemea, eight or nine miles from the Gulf of Corinth, it passed in broad curves along the mountain heights and across the gorges and valleys, at first nearly east to Mt. Phouca (Apesas) and thence to Mt. Skona, then southeast and south, separating the territory of Corinth from that of Cleonae, then, about halfway between Mycenae and the small town of Tenea, it turned towards the southeast and continued about eight miles in that direction to the Phaneromeni Mountains, when it turned towards the east, dividing the Corinthia from Epidaurian territory, and reached the Saronic Gulf at Cape Spiraëum.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Except as the Acrocorinth (*Corinth*, Vol. III, Part I), the Potters' Quarter, and the Northern Cemetery have been explored and prehistoric sites, notably that of Korakou, have been excavated. See p. 77, n. 2; p. 82, n. 4; pp. 107-114.

<sup>2</sup> This chapter was written in 1925 and is a record of the visible remains of antiquity as they appeared in that year, with references to earlier records. Discoveries made since 1925 are mentioned for the most part in footnotes.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, viii, p. 382; Livy, xxxiii, c. 15; Diod. Sic. xiv, c. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Boblaye, *Recherches*, pp. 33 f., says: "La Corinthie (*ἡ Κορινθία*) était bornée au nord-est par la Mégaride. Les limites, sur le golfe d'Égine (Paus. i, 44, 10) étaient situées un peu au-delà du temple (*ἱερόν*) d'Apollon Latoüs et en avant du défilé des roches Scironiennes.

"Un petit sacellum que l'on voit près du rivage, à deux kilomètres de Kinéta peut appartenir à cet hiéron plutôt qu'à l'autel de Mélicerte, comme l'a cru Fauvel. Remarquons, pour l'intelligence de l'histoire, que par la position de ces limites, la totalité du défilé, l'une des clefs du Péloponnèse, était dans la dépendance de Mégare.

"Scylax donne 300 stades à la côte méridionale de la Corinthie, depuis la Mégaride jusqu'à l'Épidaurie, ce qui porterait sa limite méridionale au sud du promontoire Spiraëum, qui, cependant, suivant Ptolémée, appartenait à l'Argolide.

"Sur la côte septentrionale, la petite étendue de côtes donnée à la Mégaride (100 stades), et les 250 stades données,

In his narrative of the events of the year 412 B.C. Thucydides tells us that the Athenians defeated a squadron of Corinthian vessels and “pursued them to Peiraeus in the Corinthia; it is an uninhabited harbor and the last towards the borders of Epidauria,”<sup>1</sup> where they kept them besieged. The Athenians “anchored at a neighboring little island, where they

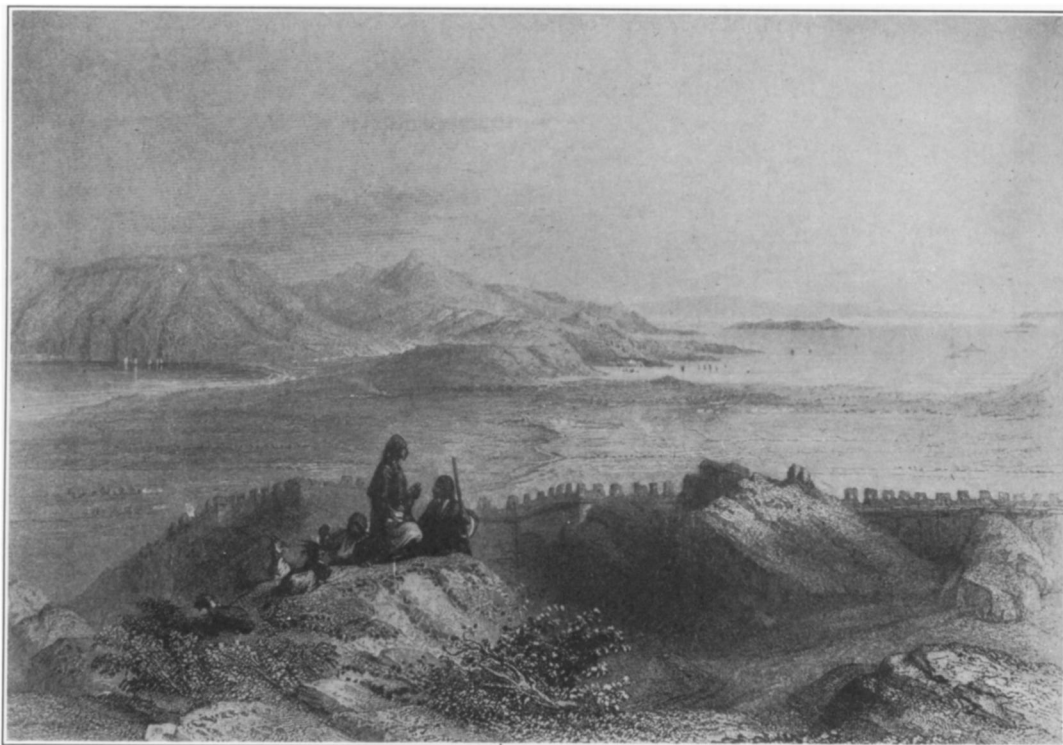


FIGURE 4. VIEW OF THE ISTHMUS FROM ACROCORINTH

From *Memorials of a Tour in Some Parts of Greece*, by Richard Monckton Milnes, London, 1834; extra-illustrated copy at the British School at Athens.

au contraire, à la côte de la Corinthie, nous engageant à placer les limites des deux états vers une petite forteresse hellénique située à 6,000 mètres à l'ouest de Pagae, forteresse qui pouvait être le *Gerania oppidum* (τείχος) mentionné par Scylax. On voit dans le même lieu des murs antiques de défense qui fermaient le défilé.

“À l'ouest la rivière Nemea coulait entre la plaine de Corinthe et celle de Sicyone (Liv. xxxiii, c. 15; Strab. viii, c. 7).

“Au sud, une ligne tirée du Mont Phouca (Apesas) au Mont Skona séparait Corinthe de Cleonae, et se reportant ensuite vers le sud jusqu'à la chaîne des montagnes de Phanéroméni, embrassait le territoire de *Tenea*. De là, la limite avec l'Épidaurie suivait la crête des montagnes, points de partage des eaux, et se dirigeait sur un petit cap au sud du Porto-Franco, port dans lequel nous voyons le Piraeus Portus de Thucydides ou le port des Athéniens de Ptolémée.

“Ainsi limité, la surface de la Corinthie n'était que de six myriamètres; dont près de trois myriamètres étaient situées en dehors de l'isthme.”

The passages of Scylax to which reference is made are: 55 (21 H), 40 (15 H), and 41 (15 H). In the last passage the length of the Corinthian coast on the Gulf of Corinth is given as “half a day,” which corresponds fairly well to the 250 stadia of Boblaye. The passage of Ptolemy is iii, 14, 33 (16, 12).

The identification of Cape Spiraëum and the harbor of the Athenians is discussed below. If Cape Trachyli is the ancient Spiraëum, the extent of the Corinthia is somewhat greater than that given by Boblaye.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. viii, 10, 3, αὐτοὺς καταδιώκουσιν ἐς Πειραιὸν τῆς Κορινθίας· ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν ἔρημος καὶ ἔσχατος πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας.

encamped.”<sup>1</sup> The name of this harbor has aroused some discussion, for there was in Corinthian territory a place called Peiraeum (Πείραιον), not far from Oenoe.<sup>2</sup> Moreover Ptolemy and Pliny, in giving a list of places along the coast from Epidaurus to Cenchreae,<sup>3</sup> mention a Cape Speiraeum first after Epidaurus; then Ptolemy mentions only a Harbor of the Athenians and Bucephalus Harbor, whereas Pliny lists only two ports, Anthedus and Bucephalus. Apparently the Peiraeus of Thucydides, the Harbor of the Athenians mentioned by Ptolemy, and the Anthedus of Pliny are one and the same, and this harbor is north of Cape Speiraeum. But the name of the Cape Speiraeum mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny is so similar to Peiraeus as to make K. O. Müller’s conjecture that Speiraeum (Σπείραιον) is the proper reading in Thucydides extremely probable, for the historian may well have given to the harbor the name of the adjacent cape, or both may have borne the same name at that time; and the conjecture receives support from an inscription found at Epidaurus.<sup>4</sup> The inscription<sup>5</sup> records the decision of the Megarians who were called in, at some time between 242 and 235 B.C., to settle a dispute between the Epidaurians and the Corinthians concerning certain territory claimed by both and concerning Sellanyum and Spiraem. The territory in dispute is given to the Epidaurians, and the boundary is determined by a

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. viii, 11, ἐς τὸ νησίδιον ὁρίζονται ἐν ᾧ οὐ πολλὸν ἀπέχοντι ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Ptol. iii, 16, 12, Ἐπίδαυρος, Σπείραιον ἄκρον, Ἀθηναίων λιμὴν, Βουκέφαλος λιμὴν, Κεγχρεαί; Plin. N. H. iv, 9, Epidauri oppidum Aesculapi delubro celebre, Spiraem promontorium, portus Anthedus et Bucephalus, et quas supra dixeramus, Cencreae.

<sup>4</sup> See W. Wyse, *Class. Rev.*, 1893, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> I. G. IV, 926. The boundary is fixed as follows, beginning in line 11:

Ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Κορδυλείου ἐπὶ

12 τ]ὰν κορυφῆν τοῦ Ἀλιείου. ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλιείου ἐπὶ τὰν κορυφῆν τοῦ  
 13 Κ]εραυνίου. ἀπὸ τοῦ Κεραυνίου ἐπὶ τὰν κορυφῆν τοῦ Κορνιατά.

14 ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Κορνιατά ἐπὶ τὰν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ῥάχιν τὸν τοῦ  
 15 Κορνιατά. ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥάχιος τοῦ Κορνιατά ἐπὶ τὸν ῥάχιν τὸν ἐπὶ ταί-  
 16 σ Ἀνείαις ὑπὲρ τὰν Σκολλείαν. ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥάχιος τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὰν Σκολ-  
 17 λείαν [ὅ]πρὸ τῆς Ἀνείαις ἐπὶ τὸν κορυφὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀμα-  
 18 ξιτο[ῦ τᾶ]ς καταγούσας ἐπὶ τὸ Σπείραιον. ἀπὸ τοῦ κορυφοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ  
 19 τῆς [ὁ]δοῦ τῆς ἀμαξιτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν κορυφὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Φάγας. ἀπὸ  
 20 τοῦ κορυφ[ὸ]φοῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Φάγας ἐπὶ τὸν κορυφὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰγι-  
 21 πύρας. ἀπὸ τοῦ κορυφοῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγιπύρας ἐπὶ τὸν κορυφὸν  
 22 τὸν τ[ὸ] Ἀ]ραίας. ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀραίας ἐπὶ τὸν κορυφὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πέτρ-  
 23 αι. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς Πέτραι ἐπὶ τὸν κορυφὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Σχοινοῦν-  
 24 τος. ἀπὸ τοῦ κορυφοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σχοινοῦντος ἐπὶ τὸν κορυφ[ὸ]ν  
 25 τὸν κα[τ]ὰ τὰν Εὐύργαν. ἀπὸ τοῦ κορυφοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς Εὐύργας ἐ[πὶ  
 26 τὸν ῥάχ[ι]ν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Συκουσίας. ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥάχιος τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 27 Συκουσίας ἐπὶ τὸν κορυφὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πελλερίτιος. ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 28 κ]ορυφοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς Πελλερίτιος ἐπὶ τὸν κορυφὸν τὸν τοῦ Παν-  
 29 ἰου. ἀπὸ τοῦ Πανίου ἐπὶ τὸν ῥάχιν τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄλκοῦ. ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥά-  
 30 χι]ος τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄλκοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ῥάχιν τὸν (ὑπὲρ) τοῦ Ἀπ[ολλ]ωνίου. ἀπὸ  
 31 τοῦ] ῥάχιος τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον.

It may be remarked that the Σχοινοῦς of lines 23 and 24 cannot be the Schoenus on the Isthmus (indeed the word may not be used here as a proper name at all, but may merely designate a reedy place), and the ὄλκος of lines 29 and 30 can have no connection with the dioleus, which was many miles from the Epidaurian border.



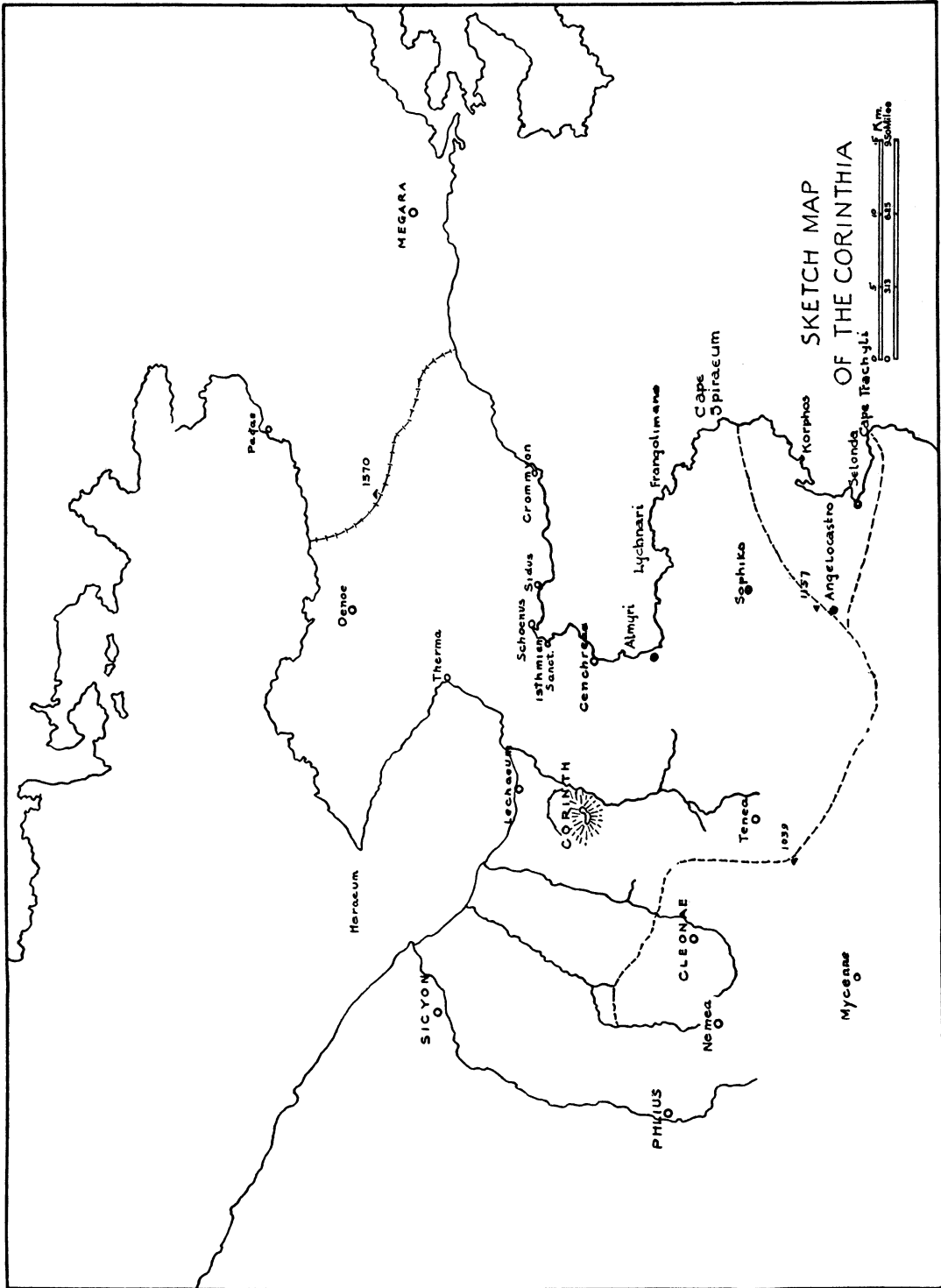


FIGURE 5. SKETCH MAP OF THE CORINTHIA

list of landmarks, for the most part mountain peaks and ridges, among them (ll. 17, 18) "the peak above the wagon road leading down to Spiraëum." The list of landmarks is long, nineteen in all being mentioned, and the peak above the road to Spiraëum stands seventh. Now it is quite impossible that the "peak of Kordyleium," the first landmark mentioned, marked the point where the boundary reached the sea. A peak cannot well be the seaward boundary; it must be inland. The Apollonium, mentioned last, may have been at the sea, but nothing in the text indicates it. The dispute between the Epidaurians and the Corinthians was concerning certain territory only, and there is no indication that the landmarks mentioned in the inscription marked the entire boundary between the two states; on the contrary, the presumption is that only a relatively small part of the boundary is in question. Spiraëum, whether cape or harbor is meant, must have been at the sea, and the "wagon road leading down to Spiraëum" would probably not be many miles from the sea, yet the peak above it stands seventh in the list of nineteen landmarks, the first of which is obviously inland. Clearly the landmarks are close together and the territory involved is small. Not one of the names, with the exception of Spiraëum, is known, and, since the territory involved is small, the peaks and ridges mentioned are probably not such as would appear important to the modern traveller. It is, therefore, not likely that they can be identified. The inscription teaches us that the boundary between Corinthian and Epidaurian territory was not always the same, and that part of it was newly determined at some time between 242 and 235 B.C., but it does not tell us where the boundary was, except that it was not far from Spiraëum.

The boundary between two states naturally ends, at the sea, with a promontory rather than with a harbor. In the case of Epidaurus and Corinth the choice lies between Cape Trachyli and the bulky promontory farther north, which is designated on our maps, without, apparently, any sufficient reason, as Spiraëum. Between the two is a rather large bay, at each side of which is a small harbor, Selonda at the south and Kórhos at the north; the latter serves as the harbor for the village of Sophikó, some two hours' walk inland. Perhaps the whole bay might be regarded as one harbor with two especially protected inlets. Several indentations in the rugged coast of the bulky projection north of this bay may have been regarded as harbors in ancient times; indeed most of them, if not all, are now used as landing-places for small craft. Named from south to north they are: Kiourkéli, Amóni, Frangolímano, Vagiá, Lychnári, and Sideróni. Of all these Kórhos and Frangolímano are, apparently, the best, perhaps the only ones which should properly be regarded as harbors, and Kórhos seems to be a better harbor than Frangolímano. This seems, indeed, to be the best harbor between Epidaurus and Cenchreae, and it is hardly possible that Ptolemy and Pliny, if they mentioned any harbor at all between those two ports, would omit this. We may, therefore, fairly assume that this is the Peiræus of our texts of Thucydides and that its proper name was Spiraëum. This carries with it the assumption that in 412 B.C. the boundary between Corinthian and Epidaurian territory reached the sea at Cape

Trachyli,<sup>1</sup> or, in other words, that Cape Trachyli is the Cape Speiraem of Ptolemy and Pliny and that the ancient name Speiraem has been wrongly attached to the promontory farther to the north.<sup>2</sup>

Nearly east of Cape Trachyli is the small island of Kyra, and the smaller islet Petrou is near the harbor of Kórphos. Just north of Frangolímano is Ovrionisi, and north of Lychnári is Platourada; moreover the group of the Pendenisia (Diaporiae) lies off the cape designated on our maps as Speiraem. There is no lack of islands at which the Athenian ships could find moorings in close proximity to the harbors. If the bay just north of Cape Trachyli really is the Peiraus (better Speiraem) of Thucydides, the small island mentioned by him would doubtless be the islet Petrou.

It is possible that at some time the boundary between Corinthian and Epidaurian territory may have been at the bulky promontory north of the harbor of Kórphos, or even that the region about the harbor may be the region under debate just before the decision of the Megarians, but in 412 B.C. the boundary was almost certainly at Cape Trachyli. The place of the harbor called Bucephalus by Ptolemy and Pliny is not easy to determine, but it was probably the harbor now called Frangolímano. The ancient name may be due to a fancied resemblance of one of the projecting headlands to the head of an ox.

The boundary between Corinthia and the Megarid extended from sea to sea in a generally southeast and northwest direction along the heights of the Geranian Mountains. At the eastern or southeastern end it began a little to the west of the Scironian Cliffs, and its western termination was somewhat east and slightly north of the small town of Oenoe. The most distant point, where the boundary towards Megara touches the Saronic Gulf, is little more than twenty miles in a straight line from the Acrocorinthus, the distance from the citadel to Cape Speiraem (Trachyli) is hardly twenty-two miles, and the distance to the height where the boundary turns to the east to reach the sea is little, if at all, more than fourteen miles.<sup>3</sup> The total area of the territory which Corinth claimed as its own was small, not more than about 270 square miles. The alluvial plain lying below the city and extending towards Sicyon was in antiquity, as it is to-day, exceedingly fertile, the soil on the Isthmus is now thin and dry and was probably not much better in ancient times, and the rest of the Corinthia consists, for the most part, of rugged, barren hills, with only here and there, as at Tenea, a fertile little valley. The importance of Corinth was due to her position, which

<sup>1</sup> Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques*, p. 33, mentions the fact that the 300 stadia given by Scylax to the south coast of the Corinthia necessarily puts the boundary south of "Cape Speiraem," by which he means the bulky promontory north of Kórphos.

<sup>2</sup> F. Bölte, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s.v. Speiraion, discusses the meaning of the inscription, the identification of the promontory and the harbor mentioned by Thucydides. He concludes that this promontory Speiraem is the bulky promontory now called by that name and that the harbor is Frangolímano.

<sup>3</sup> Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 306, says: "The Corinthia extended twenty miles in one direction from near Pagae, on the shore of the north-eastern arm of the Corinthian gulf, and thirty in the other direction, from the confines of Phliasia and Argolis to those of Megaris at the precipitous coast called the Scironian rocks." His figures are not exact, but are approximately correct. See also Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques*, p. 34.

gave her control of the traffic of the eastern and western seas and also of the land traffic between northern Greece and the Peloponnesus,<sup>1</sup> not to the fertility of the soil.

Two descriptions of Corinth and the Corinthia by ancient writers have been preserved. The earlier of the two is by Strabo, who visited Corinth not long after its restoration, and the other by Pausanias, forming the first part of the second book of his description of Greece. This book seems to have been written after 165 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> but probably within a few years of that date. For convenience of reference both descriptions are given here in English translations.

The description by Strabo (viii, 6, 20–23, C. 378–382) is as follows:

Corinth is called wealthy<sup>3</sup> because of its commerce, since it lies at the Isthmus and controls two harbors, one of which is near Asia, and the other near Italy, and it makes reciprocal exchange of cargoes easy for people who are so widely separated. And just as the strait of Messina was not easily navigable in ancient times, so neither were the open seas and especially the sea off Malea, on account of the contrary winds; whence the proverb: "When you have turned Malea, forget your home." So it was a welcome thing both to the merchants of Italy and to those of Asia to give up the voyage round Malea and bring their cargoes to land at Corinth; and also the tolls on goods imported into the Peloponnesus and on those exported from it by land fell to those who held the barriers. And this continued to be true later also without ceasing; but further profits also accrued to the people afterwards, for the celebration of the Isthmian Games brought in crowds, and when the Bacchidae, who were rich and numerous and of distinguished family, had made themselves tyrants, they held the power about two hundred years and reaped the fruits of the commerce without

<sup>1</sup> The most important modern sources of information concerning Corinth and the Corinthia are:

J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, III, pp. 1–41.

W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, London, 1830, III, pp. 229–323.

W. M. Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, London, 1846, pp. 391–401.

Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the Years 1801, 1805, and 1806*, London, 1819, pp. 180–204.

E. Puillon Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques sur les Ruines de la Morée, faisant Suite aux Travaux de la Commission Scientifique de Morée*, Strasbourg, 1835, pp. 33–40.

Alfred Philippson, *Der Isthmos von Corinth. Eine geologisch-geographische Monographie*, in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, XXV, 1, Berlin, 1890.

Alfred Philippson, *Der Peloponnes. Versuch einer Landeskunde auf geologischer Grundlage nach Ergebnissen eigener Reisen*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 28–35. This and the preceding are chiefly geological.

Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, London (reprinted from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1885, 1886, 1887), pp. 10–27, pls. B–G, and pp. 154–158, pl. FF, v–xvii.

E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, Gotha, 1852, II, 514–556.

George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece in Company of Dr. Spon of Lyons*, London, 1682, pp. 436–446.

Articles under the names of towns, mountains, etc. in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

To these should be added the *Guide Bleu*, 1911, pp. 377–387; the *Guide Joanne*, 1903, pp. 193–201; and Baedeker's *Greece*, fourth edition, pp. 316–321.

The articles by Paul Monceaux, in the *Gazette Archéologique*, IX, 1884, pp. 273–285, 354–363; X, 1885, pp. 205–214, 402–412, have to do only with the Isthmian Sanctuary and its neighborhood.

<sup>2</sup> W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 59; Frazer, *l.c.*, I, pp. xvi–xvii.

<sup>3</sup> In Homer's *Iliad*, ii, 570. Strabo has quoted this passage a little before.

fear. But Cypselus put an end to their rule and became tyrant himself, and his family lasted for three generations. And testimony to the wealth of this family is borne by the offering of Cypselus at Olympia, a large statue of Zeus made of beaten gold. And Demaratus, one of those who had gained power in Corinth, when he was driven out by the factions there, took from home to Etruria so much wealth that he himself obtained the rule of the city that received him, and his son was even established as king of the Romans. And the sanctuary of Aphrodite was so wealthy that it possessed as slaves of the temple more than a thousand courtesans who were dedicated to the goddess both by men and by women. And so, by reason of them, the city was thronged and enriched; for the sailors spent their money easily, and on that account the proverb says: "Not for every man is the voyage to Corinth." And indeed one courtesan, when a woman reviled her because she toiled not, neither did she spin, is reported to have said: "All the same I have finished three sails in this short time." <sup>1</sup>

21. But the topography of the city, according to what Hieronymus and Eudoxus <sup>2</sup> and others have said and what we ourselves saw after its recent restoration by the Romans, is about as follows: A lofty mountain, the vertical height of which is about three and one half stadia and the ascent as much as thirty stadia, ends in a sharp peak. It is called Acrocorinthus, and its steepest part is on the northern side, below which lies the city on a trapezoidal flat place at the very foot of the Acrocorinthus. Now the circuit of the whole city was forty stadia, and all the city was walled that was not protected by the mountain; and the mountain itself, the Acrocorinthus, was included in this circumvallation where it was possible to build a wall on it, and as we went up, the ruins of the *enceinte* were plainly visible; and so the entire perimeter was about eighty-five stadia. But on the other sides the mountain is less steep, yet here also it attains a considerable height and is conspicuous. Now on the peak is a little temple of Aphrodite, and below the peak is the Fountain of Peirene, which has no outlet but is always full of clear and drinkable water. They say that from this and from other subterranean veins the fountain is formed which flows out into the city so that it receives from it a sufficient supply of water. There is also an abundance of cisterns in the city, and, they say, on the Acrocorinthus as well; we, however, did not see them. And so, when Euripides says, <sup>3</sup>

I have come after leaving wave-dashed Acrocorinthus,  
The holy hill, city of Aphrodite,

the epithet "wave-dashed" must be taken to apply to its depths, since cisterns and subterranean conduits pass through it, or it must be understood that Peirene in ancient times

<sup>1</sup> The Greek *τρεις καθείλον ιστούς*, if said of weaving, means, "I have taken down three looms," i.e. "I have finished three pieces of work;" but it means also, "I have lowered three masts," i.e. "made three ships come to rest in the harbor," and possibly also "ruined three shipmasters."

<sup>2</sup> Hieronymus of Rhodes (?), a writer of about 300 B.C., and Eudoxus of Cnidus, a famous astronomer of about 366 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> In an uncertain play; Fragm. 911, Dindorf, 1069, Nauck.

overflowed and its water ran down the mountain. And there they say that Pegasus, as he was drinking, was caught by Bellerophon, Pegasus the winged horse that sprang from the neck of Medusa when the Gorgon's head was cut off; and they say that he also made the "Horse's Spring" (Hippocrene) on Helicon by striking the underlying rock with his hoof. Below Peirene is the Sisyphæum, a sort of sanctuary or palace made of white stones, not a few ruins of which are preserved. From the peak the view towards the north embraces Parnassus and Helicon, lofty snow-clad mountains, and the Crisæan Gulf spread out below them both, enclosed by Phocis and Boeotia, and the Megarid, and the Corinthian and Sicyonian territories across the water from Phocis; and towards the west . . .<sup>1</sup> and beyond all these lie the Oneian<sup>2</sup> Mountains extending as far as Boeotia and Cithæron from the Scironian Cliffs, from the road that passes along them towards Attica.

22. The beginning of the coast on each side is on one side Lechæum and on the other the village of Cenchræe and its harbor, distant about seventy stadia from the city. This harbor they use for those coming from Asia, and for those from Italy they use Lechæum. But Lechæum lies below the city and has no great population; and there are long walls extending about twelve stadia on each side of the road to Lechæum. The beach which stretches from there to Pagæ in the Megarid is washed by the Corinthian Gulf, and it curves inward, making the shipway overland to the other beach at Schoenus, which is near Cenchræe. Between Lechæum and Pagæ was the oracle of Hera Acræa in ancient times, and Olmiæ, the promontory forming the bay in which are Oenoe and Pagæ; the latter is a fort of the Megarians, but Oenoe a fort of the Corinthians. But near Cenchræe is Schoenus, where is the narrow place of the shipway; and next comes Crommyonia. In front of this beach lies the Saronic Gulf, and the Eleusinian, which is in a way the same, contiguous to the Gulf of Hermione. And on the Isthmus is also the sanctuary of the Isthmian Poseidon, thickly shaded by a grove of pines, where the Corinthians used to celebrate the Isthmian Games.

But Crommyon is a village of the Corinthia, formerly belonging to the Megarid, in which they place the tale of the Crommyonian sow which they say was the dam of the Calydonian boar. And it is the tradition that one of the deeds of Theseus was the slaying of this sow. Tenea is a village of the Corinthia in which there is a sanctuary of Apollo Teneates; and it is said that when Archias led the colony to Syracuse most of the colonists who went with him were from Tenea and that later that settlement was more flourishing than all the rest; and they say that in the most recent times the Teneans conducted independent policies of their own, that they attached themselves to the Romans when the Corinthians revolted, and their community continued to exist after the city was razed. An oracle is current which was delivered to a man who asked whether he should migrate to

<sup>1</sup> There is evidently a gap in the text here.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo has apparently made a mistake here, as the Oneian Mountains are south of the Isthmus and extend towards the east from the neighborhood of the Acrocorinthus. Leake, *l.c.*, following Strabo, gives the name Oneia to the mountains at the end of the Isthmus towards the Megarid.

Corinth: "Blessed is Corinth, but may I be a man of Tenea," which some people through ignorance pervert to "may I be a man of Tegea." It is there that Polybus is said to have brought Oedipus up. But there seems to be some kinship between these people and the people of Tenedos through Tennes the son of Cyenus, as Aristotle says; and the similarity in the cult of Apollo in the two places offers marked indications of this.

23. The Corinthians, being vassals of Philip, took part in his insurrection, and on their own account they were disdainful of the Romans; some of them were even so insolent as to throw mud at the envoys who were passing their house. For these and other faults they paid the penalty immediately; for a considerable army was sent, and Corinth itself was razed by Lucius Mummius, and the other regions as far as Macedonia were subjected by the Romans, various generals being sent on various occasions; and the Sicyonians obtained most of the Corinthian land. Polybius writing in terms of commiseration about what happened in connection with the capture mentions also the contempt of the soldiers for works of art and votive offerings. For he says he was there and saw paintings thrown upon the ground and soldiers playing draughts on them. And among them he mentions a painting of Dionysus by Aristides, in reference to which some say that the saying "nothing to Dionysus" was invented, and Heracles suffering in the tunic of Deianeira. Now the latter we have not seen, but we saw the Dionysus, a most beautiful work, deposited in the Temple of Demeter at Rome; but recently when the temple was burned the painting also was destroyed. And pretty nearly the best and the most numerous of the other votive offerings in Rome came from there; and the cities round about Rome also received some. For Mummius was, they say, generous rather than a lover of art, and freely gave a share to those who asked. And Lucullus, when he had repaired the Temple of Fortune and the portico, asked for the use of the statues which Mummius had, with the understanding that he would adorn the temple with them until it had been opened for inspection and would then return them; but he did not return them; he dedicated them and told Mummius to take them away if he wished; but he was not incensed or at all concerned, so that he gained more in reputation than the dedicator. But after remaining for a long time deserted, Corinth was restored by the Deified Caesar on account of its natural advantages. He sent colonists, most of whom were of the class of freedmen; and they, by turning over the ruins and digging up the graves, found a great number of terracotta reliefs and also many bronzes. They admired their workmanship and left no grave unransacked, so that they obtained plenty of such things, disposed of them at high prices, and filled Rome with "corpsicorinths," for that name was given to the things taken from the graves, more particularly to the terracottas. Now at first they were highly prized, like the bronzes of Corinthian workmanship, then people ceased to care for them, since the supply of terracottas gave out and most of them were not even well executed. The city of the Corinthians, then, was always rich and had plenty of men who were excellent in military affairs and in manual arts; for painting and sculpture and all such manual skill flourished especially there and at Sicyon. But the

territory it possessed is not very fertile, but uneven and rough, for which reason everybody has called Corinth beetle-browed and there is the saying:

“Corinth is beetle-browed and full of hollows.”

The description by Pausanias is longer and more methodical than Strabo's and is far more important, because it enumerates the monuments in and near the Agora, the centre of the civic and religious life of the city. Like Strabo's description it is interrupted by the narration of historical and legendary events.

1, 1. The Corinthian country, which is part of the Argive, is named after Corinthus. That Corinthus was a son of Zeus nobody, so far as I know, has ever said seriously except a majority of the Corinthians. Eumelus, the son of Amphilytus of the family called Bacchidae, who is said to have composed the epic poem, says in his prose history of Corinth (if the history is really by Eumelus) that Ephyra, the daughter of Oceanus, was the first to dwell in this land; that afterwards Marathon the son of Epopeus, the son of Aloeus, the son of Helios (Sun), fleeing from the lawless wantonness of his father, migrated to the coast of Attica; that after the death of Epopeus he went to the Peloponnesus, divided the kingdom among his sons, and himself returned to Attica; and that Asopia was renamed after Sicyon and Ephyraea after Corinthus.

2. Corinth is inhabited no longer by any of the ancient inhabitants, but by colonists sent by the Romans. For this change the Achaean League is responsible; for the Corinthians, who were members of it, took part in the war against the Romans which Critolaus, when appointed general of the Achaeans, brought about by persuading the Achaeans, as well as most of those outside of the Peloponnesus, to revolt. And the Romans, when they were victorious in the war, deprived most of the Greeks of their arms and tore down the walls of such cities as were fortified. Corinth was laid waste by Mummius, who was at that time in command of the Romans in the field; and they say that it was afterwards resettled by Caesar, who established at Rome the present form of government; Carthage also, they say, was resettled in his reign.

3. In the Corinthian territory is also the place called Cromyon after Cromus, the son of Poseidon. There they say Phaea was bred, and destroying this sow is one of the traditional labors of Theseus. Farther on the pine tree still grew by the shore to my day, and there was an altar of Melicertes. At this place they say the boy was brought to shore by a dolphin; and Sisyphus found him lying there, buried him on the Isthmus, and established the Isthmian Games in his honor. 4. At the beginning of the Isthmus is the place where the robber Sinis used to take hold of pine trees and draw them down. All those whom he vanquished in fight he would tie to the trees, and then let them fly up again. Thereupon each of the pines would drag the bound man to itself, and as the cord did not give way in either direction, but pulled with equal force in both, the bound man was torn asunder. And in such manner Sinis himself was slain by Theseus. For Theseus cleared the road from Troezen to



Athens, destroying those whom I enumerated before.<sup>1</sup> And in sacred Epidaurus he slew Periphetes, supposed to be a son of Hephaestus, who used a bronze club in fighting.

5. The Isthmus of Corinth extends on the one side to the sea at Cenchreae, and on the other to the sea at Lechaem; for this it is which makes the country to the south to be mainland. He who tried to make the Peloponnesus an island gave up before digging through the Isthmus; where they began to dig is still plain to be seen, but they did not advance into the work at all; and it still remains mainland as nature made it. Alexander, the son of Philip, wished to dig through Mimas, and this was his only unsuccessful undertaking; when the Cnidians began to dig through their isthmus, the Pythian priestess stopped them; so hard it is for man to do violence to the works of God. 6. The following tale which the Corinthians tell about their land is not peculiar to them, for the Athenians, I believe, tell a similar story to glorify Attica. The Corinthians say that Poseidon had a dispute with Helios (Sun) about the land and that Briareus acted as arbitrator between them, awarding to Poseidon the Isthmus and the adjacent parts and giving to Helios the heights above the city. From that time, they say, the Isthmus has belonged to Poseidon. 7. Here there are a theatre and a stadium of white marble, both of which are worth seeing. As one enters the sanctuary of the god there stand on one side statues of athletes who have been victors in the Isthmian Games, on the other side pine trees planted in a row, most of them growing straight upwards. On the temple, which is not very large, stand bronze Tritons. And there are images in the fore-temple, two of Poseidon, a third of Amphitrite, and one of the Sea, which is also of bronze. The images within were dedicated in our time by Herodes the Athenian, four horses, gilded all but the hoofs, which are of ivory; 8. and beside the horses are two Tritons, also of gold, with the parts below the waist of ivory. On the chariot stand Amphitrite and Poseidon and the boy Palaemon upright upon a dolphin. These also are made of ivory and gold. And on the pedestal on which the chariot stands there is wrought in relief in the middle the Sea holding up the child Aphrodite, and on each side are the Nereids, as they are called. I know that there are altars to them elsewhere in Greece and that some Greeks have dedicated to them precincts by harbors, where honors are paid to Achilles also. Doto has a holy sanctuary at Gabala, where was still remaining the robe by which the Greeks say Eriphyle was bribed to wrong her son Alcmaeon. 9. And on the pedestal of the Poseidon are wrought in relief the sons of Tyndareus, because they too are saviours of ships and seafaring men. The other offerings are images of Calm and of the Sea, a horse fashioned like a sea monster from the breast onward, Ino and Bellerophon and the horse Pegasus.

2, 1. Within the enclosure is a temple of Palaemon on the left, and in it are images of Poseidon, Leucothea, and Palaemon himself. There is also what is called the shrine, with an underground descent to it, where they say Palaemon is concealed; and whosoever, be he Corinthian or stranger, swears falsely here, can by no means escape from his oath. There is also an ancient sanctuary called the altar of the Cyclopes, and they sacrifice to the Cy-

<sup>1</sup> Polypemon (Procrustes), Book i, 38, 5; Cercyon, Book i, 39, 3.

clopes upon it. 2. The graves of Sisyphus and Neleus — for they say that Neleus came to Corinth, died of disease, and was buried near the Isthmus — I do not know that anyone would look for after reading Eumelus; for he says that not even to Nestor was the tomb of Neleus shown by Sisyphus, because it must remain unknown to all alike, and that Sisyphus was buried indeed on the Isthmus, but that there were few of the Corinthians even in his own day who knew the grave. The Isthmian Games were not omitted even after the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, but as long as the city lay desolate the conduct of the Games was entrusted to the Sicyonians, and when Corinth was restored the honor reverted to the present inhabitants.

3. The Corinthian ports received their names from Leches and Cenchrias, said to be sons of Poseidon and Peirene the daughter of Acheloüs, though in the *Great Eoëae* Peirene is said to be the daughter of Oebalus. In Lechaëum is a sanctuary of Poseidon with a bronze statue, and on the way from the Isthmus to Cenchreæ is a temple of Artemis with an ancient wooden image. In Cenchreæ is a temple of Aphrodite with a stone statue, and beyond it, on the mole that runs out into the sea, a bronze Poseidon, and at the other end of the harbor are sanctuaries of Asclepius and Isis. Opposite Cenchreæ is the Bath of Helen — a large stream of salt, tepid water flowing from a rock into the sea.

4. On the way up to Corinth are various monuments, and by the gate Diogenes of Sinope, whom the Greeks called the Dog, is buried. Before the city is a grove of cypresses called Craneum. Here is a precinct of Bellerophon and a temple of Aphrodite Melaenis and the grave of Laïs upon which is set up a lioness holding a ram in her forepaws. 5. There is in Thessaly another tomb which claims to be that of Laïs; for she went to Thessaly also when she fell in love with Hippostratus. It is said that she was originally from Hycara in Sicily, that as a girl she was captured by Nicias and the Athenians, that when sold and brought to Corinth she surpassed all the courtesans of her time in beauty and was so greatly admired by the Corinthians that they still claim Laïs as their own.

6. The things worthy of mention in the city are in part ancient objects which are still preserved, but most of them were made in the period of its later prosperity. At the market place — for most of the sanctuaries are there — are Artemis surnamed Ephesian and wooden images of Dionysus, gilded with the exception of their faces which are adorned with red paint; one they call Lysius and the other Baccheius. 7. The story about the images I too will write. They say that when Pentheus was committing his outrages against Dionysus, in addition to the various other things which he dared to do he finally went up to Cithæron to spy upon the women and getting up into a tree beheld what was being done; but they discovered him, dragged him down immediately, and tore him, living as he was, limb from limb. Afterwards the Corinthians, as they say, were commanded by an utterance of the Pythian priestess to find that tree and worship it as much as the god himself; for this reason they had the images made from it. 8. There is also a temple of Fortune with a standing image of Parian marble. Beside it is a sanctuary of all the gods. Near it there is built a

fountain, on which is a bronze Poseidon, and under Poseidon's feet is a dolphin spouting water. And there is a bronze Apollo surnamed Clarius and a statue of Aphrodite made by Hermogenes of Cythera. And there are two statues of Hermes, both standing bronze figures, and for one of them a temple has been built. Of the statues of Zeus, which are also in the open air, one has no surname, one they call Chthonius (of the Lower World), and the third Most High.

3, 1. In the middle of the market place is a bronze Athena; on its pedestal figures of the Muses are carved in relief. Beyond <sup>1</sup> the market place is a temple of Augusta, the sister of Augustus who was Emperor of the Romans after Caesar, the founder of the present city of Corinth.

2. As you go out from the market place by the road leading to Lechaeum there is a portal; and on it are two gilded chariots, one bearing Phaëthon, the son of Helios, the other Helios himself. And a little beyond the portal, on the right as you go in,<sup>2</sup> is a bronze Hercules, and beyond it is the entrance to the water of Peirene. The tale about Peirene is that she was a woman and was changed into a spring because of the tears she shed weeping for her son Cenchrias, whom Artemis unintentionally killed. 3. The spring is adorned with white marble, and there are chambers made like caves, from which the water flows into a basin in the open air. It is pleasant to drink, and they say that the Corinthian bronze gets its quality from being plunged when red hot into this water, since the Corinthians have no bronze.<sup>3</sup> And moreover there is a statue of Apollo near Peirene, and his sacred enclosure (peribolus), in which is a painting of Odysseus' exploit against the suitors.

4. As you proceed again by the straight road towards Lechaeum, there is a seated bronze Hermes; beside him stands a ram, because Hermes is the god who is supposed more than any other to watch over and increase the flocks, as Homer says in the Iliad:

The son of Phorbas of the many sheep, whom more than all  
The Trojans Hermes loved and gave him store of wealth.

The story told in the mysteries of the Mother about Hermes and the ram I know, but do not tell. After the statue of Hermes there is a Poseidon and a Leucothea and a Palaemon on a dolphin. 5. The Corinthians have baths in many parts of the city, some built at public expense, one by the Emperor Hadrian; but the most famous of them is near the Poseidon. This was built by Eurycles, a Spartan, who adorned it with various kinds of stone and especially with that which is quarried at Croceae in Laconia. At the left of the entrance is a standing figure of Poseidon, and beyond this one of Artemis hunting. There are many

<sup>1</sup> Beyond: The Greek word is *ὑπέρ*, which means literally "over" or "above," and this meaning might possibly serve in this instance. Below, however, the same word is used to describe the position of the Odeum in relation to the Fountain of Glauce. Now the Odeum is not in any sense above Glauce; in fact, being nearer the brow of the hill and the plain, it might be said to be below the fountain; there the rendering "beyond" seems necessary, and therefore it has been adopted here.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. as you go in to Peirene.

<sup>3</sup> No bronze (i.e. copper) is found in the Corinthia, and yet the Corinthian bronze was famous for its quality, not merely for its workmanship.

fountains throughout the city, for they have plenty of running water besides that which the Emperor Hadrian brought from Lake Stymphalus, but the one best worth seeing is the one by the statue of Artemis; over it is a statue of Bellerophon, and the water flows from the hoof of his horse Pegasus.

6. As you go out from the market place by another road, the one towards Sicyon, you can see on the right of the way a temple and a bronze statue of Apollo, and a little farther along a fountain called the Fountain of Glauce; for she threw herself into it, they say, thinking that the water would be a cure for Medea's drugs. Beyond this fountain is a building called the Odeum, and beside it is a monument to the children of Medea. Their names are Mermerus and Pheres, and they are said to have been stoned to death by the Corinthians on account of the gifts the legend says that they brought to Glauce. 7. And because their death was violent and unjust they caused the infant children of the Corinthians to pine away until, at the command of the god's oracle, they established annual sacrifices in their honor and a statue of Terror was set up. This still remains to our day, being a likeness of a woman of frightful aspect. But since Corinth was laid waste by the Romans and the ancient inhabitants were done away with, those sacrifices to the children of Medea have not been reestablished by the colonists, nor do their children cut their hair or wear black clothes in their honor. 8. At that time Medea went to Athens and married Aegeus, but afterwards, being detected plotting against Theseus, she fled from Athens also, and coming to the country then called Aria she caused the people to be called Medes after herself. The son whom she took with her in her flight to the Arians they say that she had by Aegeus and that his name was Medus; but Hellanicus calls him Polyxenus and says that his father was Jason. 9. There is an epic poem current among the Greeks called *Naupactia*. In this it is said that Jason migrated after the death of Pelias from Iolcus to Corcyra and that the elder of his sons, Mermerus, was killed by a lioness while hunting on the opposite mainland; but of Pheres nothing is recorded. But Cinaethon the Lacedaemonian — for he also wrote genealogies in verse — said that Jason had a son Medus and a daughter Eriopis by Medea; but even he gives no further information about the children. 10. Eumelus said that Helios gave the district of Asopia to Aloeus, and the district of Ephyraea to Aeetes, and that when Aeetes went away to Colchis he entrusted his land to Bunus, the son of Hermes and Alcideamea, and when Bunus died Epopeus, the son of Aloeus, thus got possession of the kingdom of the Ephyraeans also; but afterwards, when Corinthus, the son of Marathon, left no child, the Corinthians sent for Medea from Iolcus and handed over the power to her. 11. So through her Jason was king at Corinth, and children were born to Medea, but each child, as it was born, she carried to the Temple of Hera and hid, doing so in the belief that they would so be immortal; but at last she learned that her hopes were vain, and at the same time she was detected by Jason, who rejected her prayers for pardon and sailed away to Iolcus. For these reasons Medea also went away after handing over the kingdom to Sisyphus. This is the account I have read.

4, 1. Not far from the monument is the Temple of Athena Chalinitis (the Bridler). For Athena, they say, was the deity who gave most help to Bellerophon in his exploits, and she handed over to him Pegasus after having tamed him and bridled him herself. The image of her is of wood, but the face, hands, and feet are of white marble. 2. That Bellerophon was not an independent king, but was a vassal of Proclus and the Argives is my belief and that of all who have read Homer attentively. And after Bellerophon migrated to Lycia the Corinthians were evidently still subject to the rulers of Argos or Mycenae. They provided no commander of their own for the force they sent against Troy, but shared in the expedition as a part of the Mycenaean forces and the others led by Agamemnon. 3. Sisyphus had other sons besides Glaucus, the father of Bellerophon; he had another, Ornytion, and in addition to him Thersander and Almus. Ornytion had a son Phocus, said to be the son of Poseidon. He migrated to Tithorea, in what is now called Phocis, but Thoas, Ornytion's younger son, remained at Corinth. And Thoas begat Damophon, and Damophon begat Propodas, and Propodas begat Doridas and Hyanthidas. While they were kings the Dorians marched against Corinth, and their leader was Aletes, son of Hippotas, son of Phylas, son of Antiochus, son of Heracles. Now Doridas and Hyanthidas surrendered the royal power to the Dorians and remained at Corinth, but the Corinthian people were defeated in battle and expelled by the Dorians. 4. Aletes himself and his descendants reigned for five generations down to Bacchis, son of Prumnis, and after him the Bacchidae, as they are called, reigned for five more generations to Telestes, son of Aristodemus. Telestes was killed in enmity by Arieus and Perantas, and there were no more kings, but Prytanés (Presidents) chosen from the family of the Bacchidae and ruling for one year, until Cypselus, son of Eëtion, became tyrant and expelled the Bacchidae. Cypselus was a descendant of Melas, son of Antasus. Melas, coming from Gonussa above Sicyon, joined the Dorians in the expedition against Corinth. Aletes at first, because the god expressed disapproval, ordered Melas to go away to the other Greeks, but afterwards, misinterpreting the oracle, received him as a settler. Such I found to be the history of the kings of Corinth.

5. Now the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis is by the theatre, and near it is a nude wooden image of Heracles said to be a work of Daedalus. All the works of Daedalus are somewhat uncouth to look at, but nevertheless a touch of the divine gives them distinction. Beyond the theatre is a sanctuary of Zeus called Capitolius in the Latin language; but in Greek he might be called Coryphaeus. Not far from this theatre is the Old Gymnasium and a spring called Lerna. Columns stand around it, and there are seats made to refresh those who have entered it in the summer time. And by this gymnasium there are temples of gods, one of Zeus and one of Asclepius. The statues of Asclepius and Hygieia are of white marble, that of Zeus is of bronze.

6. As you go up to the Acrocorinthus — this is the summit of a mountain that rises above the city, awarded to Helios by Briareus when he acted as arbitrator and relinquished as the Corinthians say, by Helios to Aphrodite — well, as you go up to this Acrocorin-

thus, there are precincts of Isis, one of Isis to whom they give the epithet Pelagia (Marine), the other of Isis with the epithet Egyptian, and two of Serapis, one being of Serapis "in Canopus." After these are altars erected to Helios, and there is a sanctuary of Necessity and Force, into which it is not customary to enter. 7. Above this are a temple and throne of the Mother of the Gods; the statue and the throne are made of stone. The Temple of the Fates and that of Demeter and the Maid have images that are not exposed to view. Here, too, is the sanctuary of Hera Bunaea founded by Bunus, son of Hermes; and for this reason the goddess is called Bunaea.

5, 1. When you have reached the top and entered the Acrocorinthus you see a temple of Aphrodite. The images are the goddess herself in arms, Helios, and Eros with a bow. The spring which is behind the temple is said to have been a gift of Asopus to Sisyphus. For Sisyphus, so runs the tale, knew that Zeus had carried off Aegina, the daughter of Asopus, but refused to give the father the information he sought, until he should have water on the Acrocorinthus. When Asopus gave him this, he turned informer, and so — if anyone believes it — he pays in Hades the penalty for his informing. I have heard people say that this spring is Peirene, and that the water in the city flows from it underground. 2. The Asopus just mentioned rises in the territory of Phlius, flows through that of Sicyon, and empties into the sea there. The Phliasiens say that he had three daughters, Corcyra, Aegina, and Thebe, that the islands of Scheria and Oenoe were renamed after Corcyra and Aegina, and the city below the Cadmea after Thebe. The Thebans do not agree, but say that Thebe was the daughter of the Boeotian Asopus, not of the Phliasian. 3. Moreover, the Phliasiens and Sicyonians say of this river that its water comes from outside and does not originate in the country; for they say that the Maeander, rising in Celaenae, flowing down through Phrygia and Caria, and emptying into the sea at Miletus, goes to the Peloponnesus and forms the Asopus. I know, too, that I heard a similar story from the Delians, that the water which they call the Inopus comes to them from the Nile, and there is also a story about the Nile itself, that it is the Euphrates, which disappears in a swamp, comes up again beyond Ethiopia, and becomes the Nile. 4. Such are the stories I heard about the Asopus. When you have turned from the Acrocorinthus into the hill road you come to the Teneatic Gate and the sanctuary of Eilethya. The town called Tenea is about sixty stadia distant. The people there say that they are Trojans, that they were taken prisoners at Tenedos by the Greeks, and settled where they now live by permission of Agamemnon. For this reason they honor Apollo above all other gods.

5. As you go from Corinth, not inland, but along the road to Sicyon, there is a burned temple not far from the city, on the left of the road. Of course there have been various wars in the Corinthian land, and naturally houses and sanctuaries lying outside of the city walls have suffered from fire; but this temple, they say, is a temple of Apollo and was burned down by Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles. Afterwards, however, I heard another story, that the Corinthians built the temple for Olympian Zeus and that suddenly fire fell upon it from somewhere and destroyed it.

Strabo (viii, 6, 22; see p. 26) devotes only a few words to Peraia,<sup>1</sup> the northwestern part of the Corinthia, and to the stretch of coast extending from Lechaemum to the borders of the Megarid. He can hardly be said to offer a description of the region, but he gives the names of the oracle of Hera Acraea, the promontory of Olmiae, Oenoe, and the Megarian Pagae. Pausanias makes no mention whatsoever of this part of the Corinthia, which was, however, of considerable importance, since the roads passed through it which connected the Peloponnesus with central Greece. One of these led along the coast to Aegosthena, the other through the middle passes of the Geranian Mountains. This second road was without doubt sometimes used as the means of intercourse even with Megara and Athens, for the road by the Scironian Cliffs was narrow at best and might be rendered impassable by fallen rocks. At the present time the main road, and the only one which is passable for automobiles, from Athens, or even from Thebes, to Corinth passes through Megara and by the Scironian Cliffs; the same route is followed by the railway; but in 1805, when Dodwell went from Megara to Corinth, he left the coast and "ascended the mountain by a steep and winding way" to the "custom house, which is the most rigorous in Greece, as it is situated on the only pass which leads to the Morea." He then came down from the mountains by the central road, reaching the Isthmus not far from the Gulf of Corinth. He says that the road by the Scironian Cliffs "is difficult and dangerous, and only used by foot travellers."<sup>2</sup> The same condition no doubt existed sometimes in antiquity, so that occasionally, at any rate, the only available land routes between the Peloponnesus and the other parts of Greece were the roads which passed through Peraia.

In this region there were no large towns, but a few small villages and fortified places existed. Between the Hot Springs (Therma, the modern Loutraki) and the neighborhood of Lechaemum there appear to be no traces of ancient settlement, except the scanty remains of the wall which extended across the Isthmus (see p. 53), nor have any important traces of ancient occupation been found, so far as I know, at Loutraki, though the Hot Springs probably attracted visitors in ancient, as in modern, times. The ancient sites in Peraia are known to us chiefly through Xenophon's account of the campaign of Agesilaus in 390 B.C.; it is, therefore, appropriate to describe them with special reference to that account.

*Perachora.*<sup>3</sup> Perachora is a mountainous peninsula, north of the Isthmus, jutting into the Corinthian Gulf. In ancient times this district, which bore the name Peraia,<sup>4</sup> was an important possession to Corinth not only for the pasturage it offered and its supply of timber, but also because the shortest route to her Boeotian allies lay through it. In order to make the district secure, a series of fortifications was erected from one end of the penin-

<sup>1</sup> Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Περαια. The chief modern village in this region is called Perachora, and the name is applied also to the region in general.

<sup>2</sup> Dodwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 182.

<sup>3</sup> These topographical notes on Perachora, with special reference to Xenophon's account of the Corinthian War, 390 B.C., were prepared in 1924 by Professor Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., who was at that time a student in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

<sup>4</sup> Steph. Byz., Περαια.

sula to the other. At the eastern end was the fortress Oenoe; on the southwest tip of the peninsula was the fortified Temple of Hera, situated on the promontory (now called Hagios Nikolaos) which faces the Sicyonian coast; approximately midway between Oenoe and the Heraeum, but to the north, was the fortress Peiraeum.<sup>1</sup> This general area (Fig. 6) was the scene of a campaign of Agesilaus in 390 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

Agesilaus, having learned at Sparta that the Corinthians were being maintained from the supply of cattle they had in Peiraeum, resolved upon another expedition against Corinth,

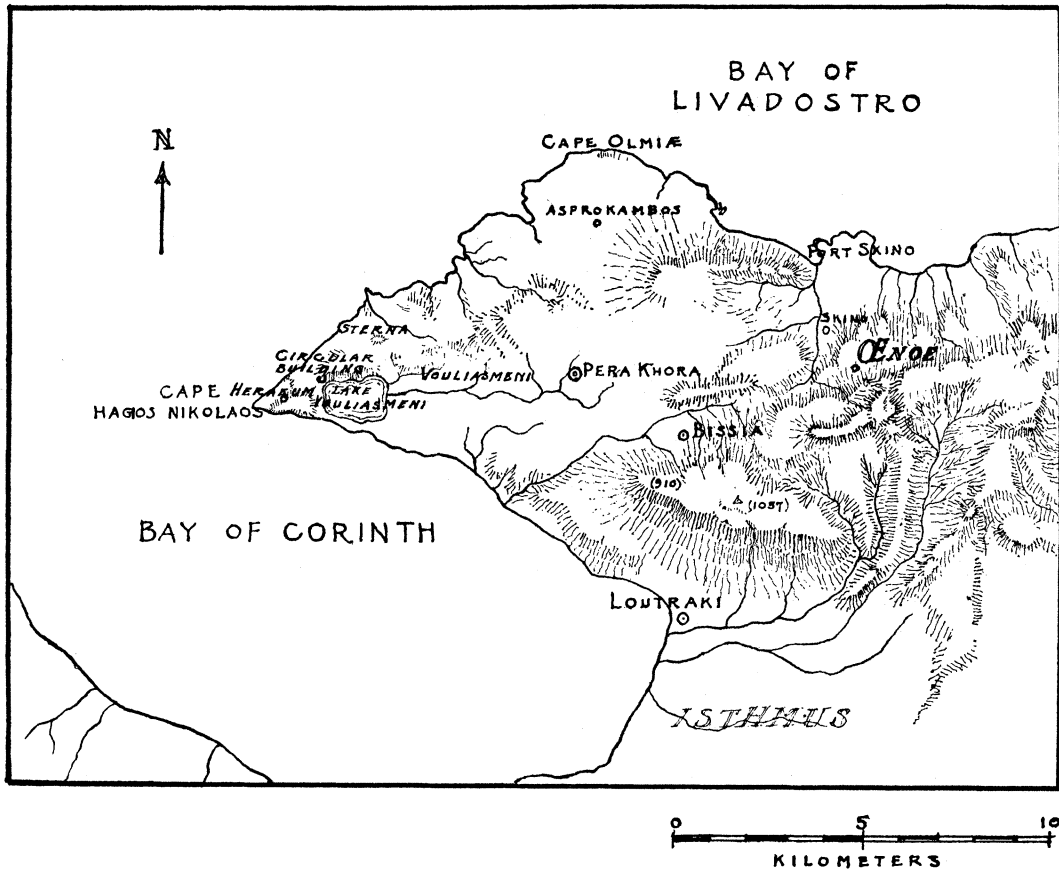


FIGURE 6. SKETCH MAP OF PERACHORA

with the purpose of capturing Peiraeum. It chanced to be the month of the Isthmian Games, and the Argives in Corinth had usurped their management. Upon the approach of Agesilaus, however, the Argives retreated in terror into Corinth, along the road leading to Cenchreae. Agesilaus did not pursue, but waited until the Corinthian exiles had completed the sacrifice and games in honor of Poseidon, and then on the fourth day led his army against

<sup>1</sup> This, not the Peiraeus or (better) Spiraëum beyond Cenchreae, is doubtless the place mentioned in the inscription *I. G. IV, 339, Πε(ι)ραιθεν ἡφορμες*.

<sup>2</sup> Xen., *Hell.*, iv, 5, 1 ff. The campaign is also mentioned by Xen., *Ages.*, ii, 18 ff.; and by Plut., *Ages.*, xxi and xxii, though in the former chapter Plutarch confuses the expeditions of 393 and 390 B.C.



Peiraeum. But seeing that the place was strongly guarded, he quickly countermarched against the Corinthians, who, fearing that someone was about to betray their city, recalled Iphicrates from Peiraeum with the greater part of the peltasts. The place thus weakened, Agesilaus moved against it at daybreak and proceeded as far as the Hot Springs, where he encamped for the night, sending on ahead, however, one regiment to hold the heights above. This proved to be a hard night for the regiment, for it was cold and rainy and the men had on only their summer clothing. But Agesilaus demonstrated his ability as a



FIGURE 7. VIEW OF OENOE

leader and sent up fire in pots, thus enabling the men to get warm and cook their supper. As soon as the people in Peiraeum perceived that the heights were occupied by the Lacedaemonians, they gave no further thought to defence, but together with their women, slaves, and cattle fled for refuge to the Heraeum. While Agesilaus marched thither the next day along the seashore, the regiment descended from the heights and captured the fortress of Oenoe, together with its provisions. Upon the arrival of Agesilaus, those in the Heraeum came forth, with the intention of leaving it to him to decide about them as he chose. Many ambassadors from various states were present, and from the Boeotians in particular had come ambassadors to ask what they should do to obtain peace; he pretended, however, not to see them, but sitting in the circular building near the lake watched the spoil and captives which were being brought out. While he was thus engaged, a horseman rode up to Agesilaus and informed him that the Amyclaeon regiment, which had left Lechaem with the intention of returning home to attend the Hyacinthian festival, had been attacked with great loss by Iphicrates and his peltasts. Agesilaus set out at once for Lechaem with

his tent companions, leaving orders for the troops to follow as soon as they had breakfasted. When he had passed the Hot Springs, he was informed that the bodies of the dead had been recovered. He then returned to the Heraeum.

On the next day the prisoners and property were sold; on the following, Agesilaus proceeded to Corinth, destroying property as he went, and after a short stop continued on to Sparta. Not long afterwards Iphicrates recaptured Oenoe.

The Hot Springs where the main army of Agesilaus encamped for the night are to be found at the village of Loutraki, a modern summer resort, situated at the foot of Mt. Perachora on the Bay of Corinth. The regiment, which had been sent ahead to hold the heights, no doubt ascended the mountain directly behind Loutraki. The summit once gained, it was in a very strategic position indeed: a small force could ward off attackers, and, with the threat of a flank attack, keep control of the long, narrow valley, hemmed in on the north and south by mountain ranges, stretching from Bissia on the east to Lake Vouliasmeni on the west. It is certain that no enemy force, unless greatly superior in numbers, could have operated in the valley while the regiment was encamped on the ridge. The following day the regiment moved up the valley to the modern village of Bissia and thence over the short but rather rough pass to Oenoe.

The only classical remains which I was able to discover at Bissia consist of two rather late marble Ionic or Corinthian bases, each 43 cm. in diameter. One of these was in a corner of the little Byzantine Chapel of St. Thomas; the other was built into a village wall.

Strabo describes Oenoe as being between Cape Olmiae and Pagae of the Megarid<sup>1</sup> and in a further passage states that it lay in the innermost part of the gulf.<sup>2</sup> The only unidentified part of the coast which will fulfill this description and at the same time meet the statement of Xenophon<sup>3</sup> that Oenoe was a fortified stronghold is the small landlocked harbor of Skino, behind which rises a hill with remains of strong fortification walls.

This hill (Fig. 7), which we may safely call Oenoe, is a natural stronghold. The north side consists of sheer cliffs 60 feet in height; on the west the ground is steep, and boulders and underbrush make walking extremely hard; on the east, bare rock stretches down to the plain at a difficult angle. The gently sloping ground on the south makes the approach an easy one at this point.

There are no walls on the north, the cliffs making fortifications on this side unnecessary. The other three sides are protected by two lines of walls (Fig. 8). The outside line on the west runs almost straight back from the cliff, following the brow of the hill, while on the east it runs in a zig-zag line, taking advantage of the bare rock previously mentioned. The wall on these sides is preserved to a height of from four to six courses, except where it runs over the native rock, and there only cuttings are left to show where it went. The outer fortification on the south is a terrace wall, on top of which no doubt rose the regular wall, but all traces of the latter are now gone. The south wall has towers on the west and east ends

<sup>1</sup> viii, C. 380. See p. 26 above.

<sup>2</sup> ix, C. 409. ἐν τῇ κοιλοτάτῃ τοῦ κόλπου.

<sup>3</sup> *Hell.*, iv, 5, 5.

and one in the centre, which projects about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  m., or almost four times as much as do the others. The wall on the south side averages seven courses in height. An inner fortification wall follows the outer at a distance generally of four or five metres. On the south side the wall forms another terrace with three towers, the central one projecting the farthest from the line. The two lines of walls are equally well preserved and resemble each other in every respect, with the exception that the east wall of the inner line runs, with but one break, directly from the tower to the cliff. The top of the hill is flat except in the northwest corner, where it rises abruptly, the south and east sides being steep and rocky. This small area

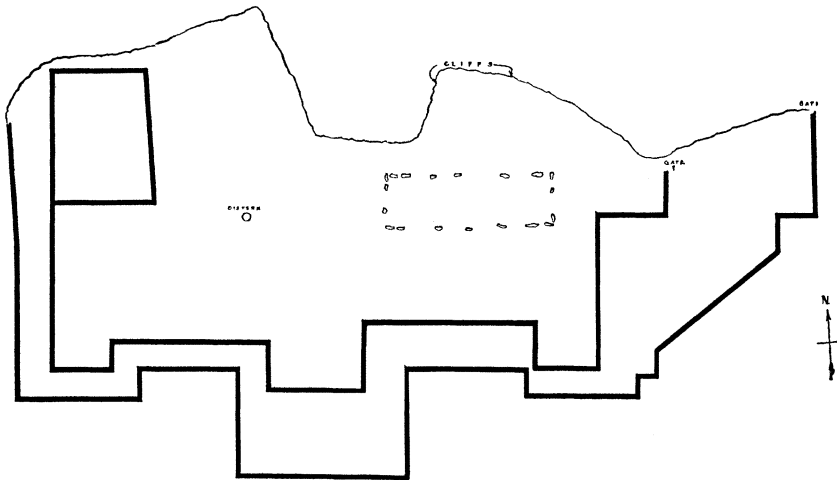


FIGURE 8. SKETCH PLAN OF OENOE. Scale 1: 900

was fortified and probably served as a place in which to make the last stand. On the west side it utilizes part of the wall of the inner fortification line, on the other three sides cuttings in the rock show for the most part where the wall went, though in some places as many as three courses are still standing. On the east side near the north end are cuttings in the rock for steps, which would connect this small terrace with the long, flat one below. At the east end of the main terrace can be traced the outline of a building  $20.18 \times 6.30$  m. Only one course of the foundations remains, and this consists of rather small, unworked stones, but they may mark the site of an ancient building. Perhaps this building contained some of the stores which Xenophon tells us Agesilaus' men obtained from Oenoe when they captured the place. About 16 m. west of this building is a cistern.

The entrance to the fortifications was at the northeast corner (Fig. 9). A narrow ledge, less than a metre wide in places, runs from the bottom of the cliff in an easterly direction at a rather steep grade until it reaches the top of the hill. An enemy coming up this passage would have his right, or unprotected, side exposed to the defenders. At the top was the gate. The threshold block is still *in situ* and measures  $116 \times 46 \times 25$  cm. Directly west of the threshold block the cliff rises about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m., and 1.28 m. from the ground there is a square cutting in the rock, probably for a bar. Immediately east of the threshold block is the forti-

fication wall, which runs quite to the edge of the cliff. The wall is only one course high at this point. The east wall of the inner fortification line stops within 1.96 m. of the edge of the cliff. It would seem, then, that the gate of the inner line was situated at this point, and this would have been the convenient place for it.

The walls are well built, being constructed of medium-sized, worked, conglomerate blocks in the ashlar style, and are probably late fifth century in date (Fig. 10). The corners



FIGURE 9. OENOE: VIEW OF ENTRANCE RAMP

of the towers are drafted. The pottery lying on the surface of the ground is chiefly Proto-Corinthian and classical.

Whether the modern village of Skino, just below Oenoe to the north, was ever inhabited in Greek times seems doubtful. Certainly we have no literary references to it, and there is no archaeological evidence on the surface of the ground. Skino, however, has since Roman times been a favorite spot. In several places the natives in their ploughing have uncovered Roman brick construction; there is an abundance of Roman potsherds; on the beach are two Byzantine columns; and today the entire village of Bissia moves there each winter to enjoy its pleasant sunshine and shelter from stormy winds.

It is necessary now to glance for a moment at the route of the main army from the Hot Springs to the Heraeum. Xenophon tells us that it lay along the seashore,<sup>1</sup> but this, if

<sup>1</sup> *Hell.*, iv, 5, 5, *παρὰ θάλατταν*.

taken literally, is impossible, for the mountains at the eastern end of the peninsula come down to the sea so precipitously that one man, much less an army, can hardly walk along their foot. If we interpret "along the seashore" as meaning "within sight of the sea and not far from it," we are able to make out the probable route of the army. Agesilaus, starting at the Hot Springs, probably led his men up the long, gentle pass to the northwest to the top of the ridge, thence down to the floor of the valley, continuing on to Lake Vouliasmeni, the north shore of which he skirted, and then to the Heraeum. With the exception



FIGURE 10. OENOË: SOUTHWEST TOWER

of the few minutes necessary to walk from the top of the ridge part way down the valley, the army would have been in sight of the sea the entire time and not very far from it. This is really the only route from the Hot Springs to the Heraeum, and Agesilaus must have taken it. If this be so, an interesting point is raised: During the few minutes necessary to go from the ridge to the valley floor the army must have gone within a very short distance of the site of the modern village of Perachora, which is the accepted site of ancient Peiraëum.<sup>1</sup> From the full account he has given us of this campaign it seems clear that Xenophon was a member of Agesilaus' party; but the narrative concerns itself chiefly with the main body of troops<sup>2</sup> and this would indicate that Xenophon remained with that force. If the army did go by way of Peiraëum, it is hard to understand Xenophon's silence on the sub-

<sup>1</sup> Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 315. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, p. 685.

<sup>2</sup> A very few words suffice to tell of the activity of the regiment after it left the heights. Indeed, the only definite mention of the capture of Peiraëum is *Hell.*, iv, 5, 19, where Xenophon refers to it as a past event: *ὄτε περ τὸ Πείραιον ἐάλω.*

ject. What is more probably the case is that Peiraeum did not lie on the route of the main army but in another valley to the northwest, and that after the regiment had captured Oenoe it proceeded to the Heraeum in a roundabout way in order to take Peiraeum also. Another argument against Perachora as the site of Peiraeum is this: It will be remembered that the inhabitants of Peiraeum, men, women, slaves and cattle (surely not an array likely to withstand an attack) did not flee to the Heraeum until *after* the regiment had taken possession of the heights. As I have already pointed out, a body of men stationed on the heights, overlooking Perachora and only a short distance from it, could have prevented an enemy force from operating in the narrow valley. Indeed, it seems most unlikely that the Lacedaemonians would have permitted the enemy, with all their booty, to escape before their very eyes.

Peiraeum lay, of course, somewhere between Oenoe and the Heraeum, for if it had been east of Oenoe the people would have fled to that place instead of to the Heraeum. The long valley stretching from Bissia to Lake Vouliasmeni and another one to the northwest are the only habitable parts of the country between Oenoe and the Heraeum, the rest being very mountainous. Since it seems unlikely that Peiraeum was situated in the long valley on the south side of the peninsula, it must have been in the other valley, and in this case the fortified hill above the very small modern village of Asprokambos probably marks its site. The fact that there are walls at Asprokambos and none at Perachora is another argument in favor of the former as the site of Peiraeum.

In going from Oenoe to Peiraeum, the regiment presumably descended to Skino and then proceeded along the shore for about an hour before turning in to reach the valley in which Peiraeum was situated. This is a small valley, dominated on the southeast by a low hill which rises gently from the plain. The hill is about 600 paces in circumference and for about a third of its circuit can be traced the remains of a poorly built polygonal wall, of which two courses are standing in some places, though generally only one remains. Two towers can be traced. They project from the line  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. and are about 4 m. broad. In the centre of the hill stands the little Chapel of the Panagia built chiefly of classical blocks (Fig. 11). About a ten minutes' walk below the acropolis is the Chapel of St. Nikolaos, also built to a large extent of classical blocks. A few Proto-Corinthian and classical sherds lie upon the ground. Peiraeum is not a natural stronghold, the fortifications are poor, and it is easy to understand why the inhabitants should desert it on the approach of the enemy.

Livy describes the Heraeum as the promontory opposite Sicyon, about seven miles from Corinth.<sup>1</sup> Strabo says that it was between Lechaem and Pagae,<sup>2</sup> and Plutarch merely mentions the plans of Antigonos to transport his troops from the Heraeum to Sicyon.<sup>3</sup> Xenophon tells us that Agesilaus seated himself in the round building near the lake (Lake Vouliasmeni) in order to watch the spoils being brought out of the Heraeum,<sup>4</sup> in which case the round building and the temple must have been near each other. It seems certain, then,

<sup>1</sup> xxxii, 23.

<sup>2</sup> viii, C. 380.

<sup>3</sup> *Cleom.*, 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Hell.*, iv, 5, 6.

especially in view of the exact description of Livy, that the Heraeum was situated near the point now called Hagios Nikolaos <sup>1</sup> (Fig. 12).

A long, narrow ridge, very steep on the north, and dropping precipitously into the sea on the south, comes within a half mile of the tip of the peninsula, where it suddenly stops, to continue again at a lower level for about 40 m. This lower level or ledge, about 20 m. wide at the east end and broadening toward the west, is very steep on all sides, except at the east where the ridge rises abruptly above it. At the west end the cliffs drop to the floor



FIGURE 11. ASPROKAMBOS: CHAPEL OF THE PANAGIA

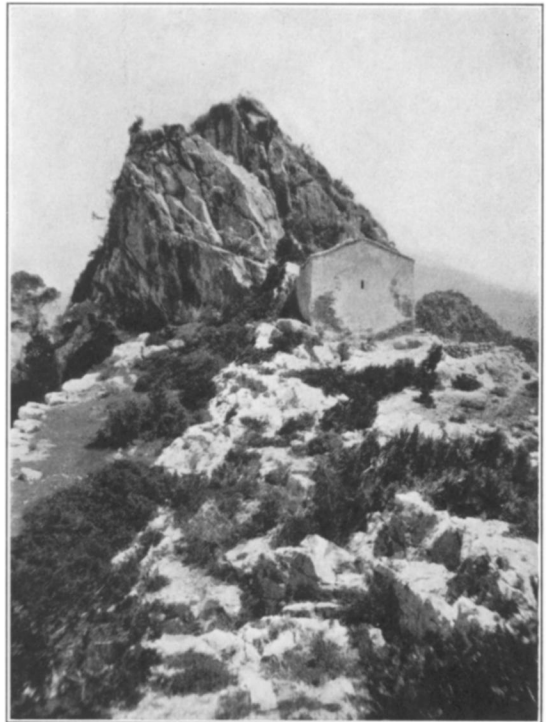


FIGURE 12. THE FORTIFIED LEDGE NEAR THE HERAEUM

of the valley, and the ground is level for about 50 m. and then rises rather abruptly again, the remainder of the promontory being a mass of rock dropping into the sea on the north, west and south. The promontory, then, is divided into two parts, the ledge and the final tip, separated by a gully.

The ledge is fortified on all sides, except the east. The wall on the north, built of particularly large blocks and standing to a height of four courses, begins at the base of the cliffs on the east and continues west along the edge of the ledge for 35.80 m. when it reaches the cliffs which drop to the floor of the valley (Fig. 13). Instead of turning south and con-

<sup>1</sup> If this be so, then Olmiae must be the point to the northeast. As Leake pointed out (*Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 315), the statement of Strabo (ix, C. 409) that it was 120 stades from Creusis to Olmiae agrees better with the reality if Olmiae is the northeastern of the two capes.

tinuing along the top of the cliffs, it bears a little to the north and finally gains the floor of the valley. Here it turns south and continues at a height of from one to three courses for 54 m., when it joins the south wall. The south wall is preserved to a height of from three to six courses, is 79.80 m. long, and, like the north wall, skirts around the cliffs at the west end of the ledge and dips down to the valley floor to join the west wall. The walls are of poor ashlar construction; those on the west and south are built of medium-sized conglom-

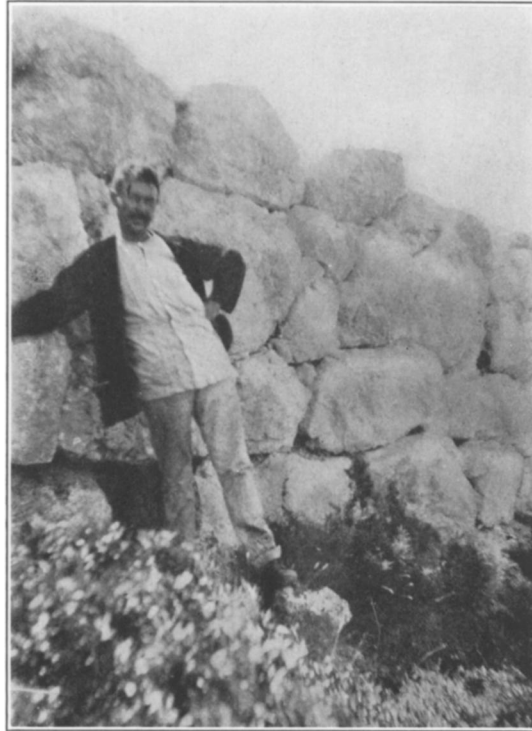


FIGURE 13. PART OF NORTH WALL AT  
THE LEDGE

erate blocks and date from perhaps the end of the fifth century; the wall on the north, also ashlar but built of large rough-hewn blocks, is decidedly earlier. We clearly have two periods represented here. At the east end of the ledge, directly under the overhanging cliffs and built against them, is the Chapel of St. Nikolaos, measuring 9 m.  $\times$  4.50 m., and constructed to a large extent of ancient *poros* blocks. Just south of the chapel is an ancient retaining wall, 8.57 m. long, with an orientation almost exactly east-west. (The chapel does not face exactly east). Though this wall is late Hellenistic or Roman, it may replace an earlier Greek one. At the west end of the chapel, near the north corner, are some cuttings in the rock which seem to have been made to receive foundation blocks and appear to be in line with the retaining wall. At any rate, this section is the only part of the ledge level enough to have held a building of any size. The retaining wall, the cuttings in the rock,



and the ancient Greek foundation blocks built into the Chapel of St. Nikolaos bear witness to an ancient building at this spot. Two and a half metres north of the northwest corner of the chapel are the foundation blocks of a very early building measuring 6.22 m. north-south by 4.62 m. The blocks are roughly hewn, very large, and appear to be of the same period as the north wall; only one course is standing. Near the northeast corner of the ledge, steps cut in the rock lead down to a cavern, which may have been the seat of the ancient oracle. There are no indications of a gate; the logical place would have been in the



FIGURE 14. APPROXIMATE SITE OF CIRCULAR BUILDING, SHOWING RE-USED BLOCKS

west wall, but in several places the wall has completely disappeared. The ledge was a strong fortress. Its weak point must have been on the west side, but even if an enemy should succeed here, there still remained the cliffs to climb. But the ledge is too small a place to support many people for long.

Near the very end of the promontory, west of the gully which separates it from the ledge, there is on the north side a wall about 30 m. long, preserved to a height of four courses. This wall begins as suddenly as it ends, and a careful search of the whole promontory disclosed only a few scattered ancient blocks. The wall is of the same period as the north wall of the ledge. I would suggest that the fortification of the peninsula was begun here and then suddenly abandoned in favor of the ledge. The potsherds found here and on the ledge were chiefly Proto-Corinthian and classical.

There remains yet to be identified the round building by the lake, mentioned by Xenophon.<sup>1</sup> Just east of the Heraeum there is a landlocked lake, called Vouliasmeni, joined to the sea by a small channel. Not far from the northwest corner of this lake are some ancient blocks scattered about, two of which are curved. Near at hand is a mediaeval cistern constructed to a large extent of classical blocks (Fig. 14). Although Leake places



FIGURE 15. INSCRIPTION AT H. THEODORI

the Heraeum here <sup>2</sup> and the circular building on the other side of the promontory,<sup>3</sup> the literary and archaeological evidence point to this place as the site of the circular building.<sup>4</sup>

*Crommyon.* Pausanias, coming by land from Megara, took the route followed by the modern road, past the Scironian Cliffs, and entered Corinthian territory in the district

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 319.

<sup>4</sup> The remains at the Chapel of St. Nikolaos (pp. 44 f.) I originally thought marked the site of the Temple of Hera Acraea, but excavations conducted in this neighborhood by the British School at Athens in 1930 seem to prove that this is not so. Near the end of the promontory remains of a considerable town were found, including a building near which were many votive offerings to Hera. Remains of a temple of the early fifth century were found, which was apparently not the Temple of Hera. It was about 60 feet long and 28 feet, 6 inches wide. The greater part of the foundation, and the existing walls, were of limestone, but the tiles were of marble. There was no external colonnade, and the internal division into nave and aisles was made by walls, not by columns. A large square base at the back obviously supported the cult statue. In front of it was once an isolated column. Near the temple were remains of what may have been an agora. The votive offerings mentioned above include much Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pottery, Attic, Boeotian, Laconian, Parian, Rhodian, and Etruscan (bucchero) sherds, and various other objects. Especially interesting is a series of bronzes dating from the early seventh century to the fifth. (*J. H. S. L.*, 1930, pp. 238-240; cf. *A. J. A.* XXXIV, 1930, pp. 506 f.; *B. C. H.* LIV, 1930, pp. 468-470; *B. S. A.* XXX, pp. 285-287). Excavations were continued in 1931 (see *Arch. Anz.*, 1931, coll. 255 ff.) and in 1932.

called Crommyonia,<sup>1</sup> that in which the town of Crommyon<sup>2</sup> was situated. Thucydides (iv, 45) says that Crommyon is 120 stadia distant from Corinth, and this agrees with the site of the little Albanian village of H. Theodori, halfway between Corinth and Megara, which lies close by the sea in a small but fertile plain shut in on the landward side by the Geranian Mountains. Boblaye<sup>3</sup> mentions here "ruines assez considérables"; W. Vischer<sup>4</sup>



FIGURE 16. LATE INSCRIPTION AT H. THEODORI

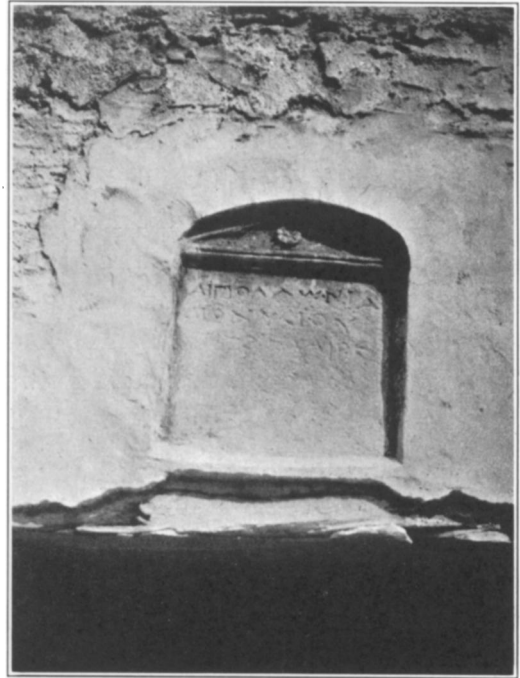


FIGURE 17. INSCRIPTION AT KINETA

mentions foundations overgrown with brushwood, columns and other pieces of architecture lying about, and a metrical inscription (Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca*, No. 463; *I. G. IV*, 196, p. 31), the epitaph of a girl, Philostrata, who died in her fifteenth year. This inscription (Fig. 15) is walled in at the right of the door of the Church of Sts. Theodore. At the left of the door is another inscription, of ten lines, made almost entirely illegible by a coating of whitewash (Fig. 16). The characters are of very late form. On the ground at the right of the door is the unchannelled shaft of a column, now used as a seat. Over the door is a bit of Byzantine decorative carving, and within the church three pilaster capitals are Byzantine in form and decoration. In the corner of the courtyard are two small marble column shafts. In the village are several large troughs which appear to be ancient sarcophagi of

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii, 6, 22, C. 380; ix, 1, 6, C. 392.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. iv, 42, 44, 45; Xen., *Hell.*, iv, 4; Plin., *N. H.*, iv, 7; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 9; Strabo (see p. 26), ix, 1, C. 390; Diod. xii, 65, 7; Paus. (see p. 28). The spelling varies between Κρομμύων and Κρομμών, and Κρεμμύων also occurs in Scylax, *Periplus*, 55 (Corinthia), Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Κρεμμύων, and Plin., *N. H.*, iv, 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Recherches Géographiques*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Reisen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, p. 229, Basel, 1875.

the simplest form, without decoration, and some large blocks which were no doubt once used in ancient buildings. It was probably at H. Theodori that Wheeler<sup>1</sup> saw "an antient Monument about mid-way from Megara to Corinth; being raised up three or four yards from the ground, and eight square." He saw also lying about the monument some marble slabs with reliefs. Leake first identified Crommyon with Kineta, a village, now almost deserted, some five miles nearer Megara than H. Theodori, but afterwards with Kassidhi.<sup>2</sup> This latter name seems to have gone out of use, and the place is probably identical with H. Theodori. At Kineta the only vestiges of antiquity are now a late Ionic base (or a moulded capital) lying on the ground by the door of the little church and an inscription<sup>3</sup> walled in above the door (Fig. 17). It reads *Αἰπολλωνία Διονυσίου γυνή. χαῖρε.* It may, as suggested in *I. G.*, have been brought from Crommyon. Crommyon once belonged to Megara, but was annexed to Corinth before the *Periplus* ascribed to Scylax was written. The probable date of the *Periplus* is in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

*Sidus.* The next settlement on the road towards Corinth was Sidus. It is mentioned neither by Strabo nor by Pausanias, and the fact that Strabo says Crommyonia is next after Schoenus may indicate that Sidus was regarded as belonging to the territory of Crommyon. It was, like Crommyon, a fortified place.<sup>4</sup> The site was without doubt in the small plain of Susaki, though the exact position of the fort has not been determined.<sup>5</sup> Boblaye, however, says: "quelques ruines de murailles élevées pour la defense du défilé de Sousaki ont fait penser que c'était là son emplacement." Leake suggested Kassidhi as the site of Sidus, but afterwards placed it in the valley of Susaki. The plain itself is a continuation towards the east of the plain of Kalamaki (Schoenus), from which it is not very clearly

<sup>1</sup> *Journey*, pp. 307 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, III, pp. 307 f.; *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> *I. G.* IV, 195, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Xen., Hell.*, iv, 4, 13, Πραξίτας . . . ἀναλαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἤγε τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα, καὶ αἰρεῖ προσβαλὼν πρῶτον μὲν Σιδούνα ἔπειτα δὲ Κρομμύωνα. καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τείχεσι καταστήσας φρουροὺς τοῦμπαλιν ἐπορεύετο. Cf. iv, 5, 19.

Scylax, *Periplus*, 55, τείχος Σιδούς.

Steph. Byz., s.v., Σιδούς, κώμη Κορίνθου ἢ Μεγαρίδος ἐπίνειον.

Athenaeus, iii, 22, p. 82, Διάφορα δὲ μῆλα γίνετα ἐν Σιδούντι, κώμη δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη Κορίνθου, ὡς Εὐφορίων ἢ Ἀρχύτας ἐν Γεράνων φησὶν.

ὦριον οἶά τε μῆλον, ὃ τ' ἀργιλώδεσιν ὄχθαις  
πορφύρεον ἐλαχείη ἐνιτρέφεται Σιδόεντι.

μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Νικάνδρος ἐν Ἐτεροιοιμένοις οὕτως·  
αὐτίχ' ὃ γ' ἢ Σιδόεντος ἢ Πλείστου ἀπὸ κήπων  
μῆλα ταμῶν χροάοντα τύπους ἐνεμάσσετο Κάδμου.

ὅτι δ' ἢ Σιδούς τῆς Κορίνθου ἐστὶ κώμη ὃ Ἡρανὸς εἰρηκεν ἐν Ἄ Ἡρακλείας καὶ ὃ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὃ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν ἐπερὶ νεῶν  
καταλόγου. Ἀντίγονος δ' ὃ Καρύστιος ἐν Ἀντιπάτρῳ φησὶν

ἦχι μοι ὠραίων πολλὴ φίλτερος ἢ δ' ἀριμῆλων  
πορφύρεον, Ἐφόρη τὰ τ' ἀέξεται ἡμεοέσση.

The last lines indicate that not only Sidus but Corinth (here called Ephyra), and perhaps the Corinthia in general, was famous for its apples, a fruit now little cultivated in this part of Greece.

The Epieikia mentioned by Xenophon shortly after the passage quoted above is otherwise unknown. If Xenophon's statement is exact, Praxitas placed garrisons at Crommyon and Sidus, then retired, and only after retiring fortified Epieikia. The place would then be, apparently, not far from Sicyon. If, as is barely possible, he erected the fortification before retiring, Epieikia must be in the neighborhood of Crommyon, possibly at Kineta.

<sup>5</sup> Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques*, p. 35; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 308; *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 397.

separated. About two kilometres east of the railway station of Kalamaki, and some distance west of the lighthouse, at a point where the highway is very near the sea, is a row of large, squared blocks, apparently part of an ancient foundation wall. Whether this can be regarded as having belonged to Sidus or to the neighboring Schoenus may well be doubted. There is now no village in the plain of Susaki, and Sidus can never have been a place of much importance. The soil of Sidus was clayey (unless the "Euphorion or Archytas" quoted by Athenaeus used the word ἀργιλώδεσιν chiefly on account of its metrical qualities), and the apples of Sidus were evidently held in high esteem.

*Schoenus.* Schoenus, at or near the narrowest part of the Isthmus, is mentioned by few ancient writers.<sup>1</sup> The site is that of the modern village of Kalamaki, not far from the entrance of the canal. The place was apparently not of much importance in ancient times, except as the port which served as the eastern end of the *diolcus* (διόλκος), the shipway across the Isthmus. It may also have served as a landing-place for visitors to the sanctuary of Poseidon and the Isthmian Games.

Gerster<sup>2</sup> speaks of "restes de digues" at Schoenus, and there are in the water at Kalamaki some slight remnants of walls which probably belonged to ancient shipways or landing-places. In the bed through which, after a rain, a stream reaches the sea at the village, about 500 m. from the sea, are remains of a heavy wall, partly cut from the living rock and partly constructed of concrete. Near this are a few blocks which may be from ancient buildings. In the northern bank of the canal, about one hundred paces to the east of the ferry, in an indentation in the bank, there are remains of a foundation built of heavy blocks, which extends into the bank.

*The Diolcus.* At the narrowest part of the Isthmus,<sup>3</sup> near the port of Schoenus, was the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii, 4. C. 369: εἶτα Κεγχραεὶ τὸ τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑω μέρη ναύσταθμον· εἶτα λιμὴν Σχοινοῦς πλεύσαντι τετταράκοντα καὶ πέντε σταδίου. ἀπὸ δὲ Μαλεῶν τοὺς πάντας περὶ χιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Σχοινοῦντα ὁ διόλκος τὸ στενότερον τοῦ Ἴσθμου, περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἴσθμίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν.

Strabo, viii, 22. C. 380 (see p. 26), ἀπὸ [δὲ] τῶν Κεγχραῶν ὁ Σχοινοῦς, καθ' ὃν τὸ στενὸν τοῦ διόλκου· ἔπειθ' ἡ Κρομμυωνία.

Strabo, ix, 1. C. 391. Διέχει γὰρ (sc. the Piræus), τοῦ μὲν Σχοινοῦντος τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν περὶ τριακοσίου πεντήκοντα σταδίου, τοῦ δὲ Σουνίου τριάκοντα καὶ τριακοσίου· [τόσον] πῶς ἐστὶ διάστημα καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Πηγᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πει[ραιῶς], ὄσοι περὶ καὶ ἐπὶ Σχοινοῦντα· δέκα δ' ὅμως στα[δίοις] πλεονάζειν φασί.

Plin., *N. H.*, iv, 7, In ora autem portus Schoenus, oppida Sidous, Cremmyon, Scironia Saxa.

Ptol., *Geogr.*, iii, 16, 13, Κεγχραεὶ ἐπίκειον να ᾠβ' λς ᾠγ'ιβ'

Σχοινοῦς λιμὴν να γ' λς

i.e. Cenchreae, long. 51° 35', lat. 36° 55'; Schoenus, long. 51° 20', lat. 37°, which, according to Ptolemy's reckoning, makes the distance between the two places much too great (ca. 14 miles or 23 km.); cf. the 45 stadia of Strabo, viii, 4. C. 369 above.

The Σχοινοῦς mentioned in the inscription *I. G.* IV, 926, ll. 23, 24, is not the port of Schoenus.

<sup>2</sup> *B. C. H.* VIII, 1884, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> The word Isthmus was used in ancient times, as it is in our own day, sometimes in a general sense to designate the whole stretch of land from the borders of the Megarid to Corinth itself (e.g. Plin., *N. H.*, iv, 23, Attingit [sc. Hellas] Isthmum parte sui quae appellatur Megaris ab colonia Megara, e regione Pagarum; *ibid.*, iv, 11, In medio hoc intervallo quod Isthmon appellavimus adplicata colli habitatur colonia Corinthus antea Ephyra dicta; Strabo, vii, 2. C. 335, Ἐντέθεν δὲ Σικίων καὶ Κόρινθος ἐκδέχεται μέχρι τοῦ Ἴσθμου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἢ Λακωνικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἀργεῖα, μέχρι τοῦ Ἴσθμου καὶ αὐτῆ; cf. Paus., ii, 1, 5), and sometimes to designate the part where the distance from one gulf to the other is the least (e.g. Paus., ii, 2, 3, Τὴν δὲ ἐς Κεγχραεὶς ἰόντων ἐξ Ἴσθμου; cf. Scylax, *Periplus*, 40 and 55). It was

διολκος,<sup>1</sup> the shipway or portage, by which ships were dragged across the Isthmus in ancient times. Strabo (iv, 6) states explicitly that the portage was at Schoenus, and if Pliny (*N. H.*, iv, 10) and Hesychius mention Lechaeum and Cenchreae in connection with it, we must not assume that the actual portage was from one of these ports to the other. They were the chief harbors of Corinth and would naturally be the stations for vessels before and after crossing the Isthmus. The position of the western end of the portage is not mentioned by any ancient writer; it was undoubtedly near the western end of the modern canal.

Few certain traces of the ancient portage exist today.<sup>2</sup> Where the road from Kalamaki to Corinth crosses the fortification wall of the Isthmus there is, both east and west of the road and just north of the wall, a depression or hollow which is, at a little distance east of the road, partly cut in the rock. The depression or hollow is found again somewhat farther east, so that altogether its length is about half a mile. This may be perhaps a vestige of the portage, but its elevation above the level of the sea and its proximity to the wall suggest rather that it was a dry moat or ditch made to add strength to the fortification. At

used also to designate the sacred precinct of Poseidon Isthmius (e.g. Thuc., v, 18, *στήλας δὲ στήσαι Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἴσθμοῖ κ. τ. λ.*) or the Isthmian Games (e.g. Anth. Pal. xiii, 15,

Εἰμί Δίκων υἱὸς Καλλυμβρότου· αὐτὰρ ἐνίκων  
τετράκις ἐν Νεμέῳ, δις Ὀλύμπια, πεντάκι Πυθοῖ,  
τρὶς δ' Ἴσθμῳ· στεφανῶ δ' ἄστυ Συρακοσίων).

Strabo, ix, 1, 6, tells of a stele which the Ionians and the Peloponnesians set up at the place agreed upon at the Isthmus, *περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἴσθμόν*, with the inscription on one side: *τάδ' ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος οὐκ Ἴωνία* and on the other: *τάδ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀλλ' Ἴωνία*, and Plutarch, *Vit. Theseus*, 25, 3, says that Theseus erected the stele, but whether it was at the narrowest part of the Isthmus or, as the context of both authors makes more probable, at the Megarian border, is uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> The word *διολκος* is very seldom found (Strabo, viii, 2, C. 335, *ὁ δ' Ἴσθμὸς κατὰ τὸν διολκον, δι' οὗ τὰ πορθμεῖα ὑπερνωλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν θάλατταν, εἴρηται ὅτι τετταράκοντα σταδίων ἐστίν, ibid.*, ix, 6, C. 369, *κατὰ δὲ τὸν Σχοινοῦντα ὁ διολκος τὸ στενωτάτον τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ, περὶ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν*, Hesychius, *Διολκος*: *ὁ ἀπὸ Λεχαιῶν εἰς Κεγχρεῶν τόπος*), but the references to the practice of dragging vessels across the Isthmus are more numerous (Thuc. iii, 15, 1, *καὶ ὄλοικς παρεσκεύαζον τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ ὡς ὑπεροίσοντες ἐκ τῆς Κορινθοῦ εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θάλασσαν*, viii, 7, *ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας θαλάσσης ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας ὑπερευεγκόντες τὰς ναῦς τὸν Ἴσθμόν κελύσσει πλεῖν ἐς Χίον πάσας*, viii, 8, 3, *διαφέρειν δὲ τὸν Ἴσθμόν τὰς ἡμισείας τῶν νεῶν πρῶτον*, Polyb., v, 101, 4 [484], Φίλιππος . . . τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν πλοίων ὑπερσθμίσας ἐν Λεχαιῶν παρήγγειλε πᾶσιν ὁρμῆν, *ibid.*, iv, 19, 7 [318], *θεωρῶν δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον τὸν Φάριον ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων εἰς τὰς Κεγχρεὰς καταπεπλευκῶτα, παρεκάλει τούτων βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ διυσθμίσαντα τοὺς λέμβους ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν διαβάσει*, frg. 162, *ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς κέλητας καὶ τὰς ἡμολίας ὑπερσθμίσας ἀνήχηθ, σπεύδων καταλαβεῖν τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον*, Aristoph., *Thesmoph.*, 647 f., *ἰσθμόν τιν' ἔχεις ὠθρῶπε· ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τὸ πῆος διέλκεις πυκνότερον τῶν Κορινθίων*, to which the Scholiast on 648 remarks, *ἐπεὶ τὰς ναῦς διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ εἰκον Κορίνθιοι, ὥστε μὴ περιέρχεσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ διυσθμῶνισαι ἐκάλουν*, Dio Cass., li, 5, [sc. Augustus] *διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τοῦ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑπερευεγκόν, Suidas, Διυσθμίσαντα· τὸν Ἴσθμόν διαβιάσαντα· παρεκάλει αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν, τοὺς λέμβους διυσθμίσαντα, idem, Διυσθμῶνισαι· τὸ διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἔλκειν τὴν ναῦν· ὅπερ ἐποίουν ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ οἱ Κορίνθιοι*, Plin., *N. H.*, iv, 10, see below; cf. Mela, *Geogr.*, ii, 48). That ships of war were dragged across the Isthmus in the first (or late in the second) century B.C. is proved by the inscription *Corinth*, vol. VIII, Part I, No. 1. Even as late as 883 A.D. the Greek admiral Nicetas Oripas transported a fleet across the Isthmus to combat the Saracens from Crete (Georgius Phrantzes, i, 33, in *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, XX, ed. Bekker, p. 96).

<sup>2</sup> Gerster, *B. C. H.* VIII, 1884, p. 226, says that the use of the portage was limited to small vessels, for if large ships had been transported, gradings and cuttings would have been necessary, "dout on n'aperçoit pas la trace aujourd'hui." But see note 1 above. Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, p. 5, says: "Some remains of the ancient portage, which seems to have been a sort of tramway, may still be seen near a guardhouse, at the point where the road from Kalamaki to Corinth crosses the northern of the two fortification walls." At the point to which these words must refer there is now no guardhouse, and I was unable to find any trace of the northern wall (see pp. 52 f.). There is a slight depression in the hill or terrace here, the direction of which makes it possible that the portage passed through it, but there is no indication that the depression is artificial.

the western end of the canal, in the southern bank, there is a heavy pavement of large, squared blocks, to the east of which many other similar blocks are lying (Fig. 18). The pavement, so far as it is well preserved, is about five metres square. The longest block is 1.60 m. in length, the widest 1.11 m. in width; the thickness of the blocks is 0.31 m. The pavement slopes downward towards the canal and is in part under water. To the east of the best preserved part it has fallen to pieces, but it continues in all for a distance of about

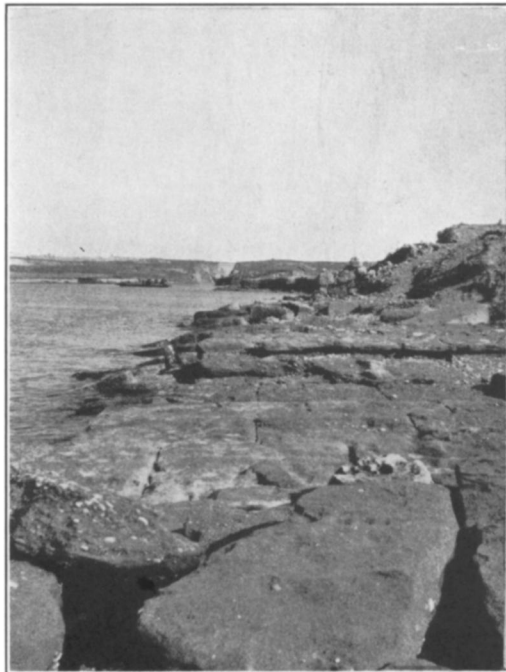


FIGURE 18. HEAVY PAVEMENT AT WESTERN  
END OF CANAL

forty metres. Over some of it there is a deposit of sand and pebbles so hard as to be almost conglomerate rock. If the ancient portage was a more or less elaborate construction, this pavement may be what is left of its western termination.

Not far to the east from this pavement the modern road leading to the ferry for Loutraki passes through a cutting in the earth. Here, on each side of the road, are blocks of stone<sup>1</sup> similar to those just mentioned (Fig. 19). The tops of these blocks show grooves such as might be made by wheels. Apparently these blocks are part of a continuation of the pavement seen at the bank of the canal, and in that case there can be little doubt that they, as well as the pavement at the bank, once formed part of the *diolcus*.

*The Wall across the Isthmus.* The traces of the portage are slight and difficult to recognize; the remains of the ancient fortifications are more considerable.

<sup>1</sup> My attention was called to these blocks by Mr. Oscar Broneer.

The lowest and narrowest part of the Isthmus, through which the Portage went in antiquity and the modern canal now runs, is bounded on the south by a line of low cliffs. Along the crest of these cliffs may be traced the remains of an ancient fortification-wall stretching right across the Isthmus from sea to sea. It is built of large blocks laid in fairly regular courses, and is flanked by square towers which project from the curtain at regular intervals of about 100 yards on the north side, showing that the wall was meant to protect the Corinthian end of the Isthmus against invasion from the north. The wall does not extend in a straight line, but follows the crest of the cliffs, wherever this natural advantage presented itself. The best preserved portion lies immediately to



FIGURE 19. PROBABLE REMAINS OF THE DIOLCUS

the east of the Isthmian sanctuary [see below]; here the wall is about 23 feet high and 8 feet thick. On the west the wall ended in a square fortress, standing on the shore of the Gulf of Corinth about three quarters of a mile to the south of the canal. The foundations of this fortress still remain under masonry of a later date. About a hundred paces north of this fortification-wall there are traces, at least on the eastern side of the Isthmus, of a less massive wall running parallel to the former but on lower ground.<sup>1</sup>

This description now requires some modifications. To the east of the Isthmian Sanctuary the wall is in part well preserved and is easily followed for about half a mile to the best preserved portion (Fig. 20), but almost immediately beyond this point the great deposit of material, chiefly clay, taken out when the modern canal was constructed, begins. This has completely covered any remains of the wall which may exist farther to the east, so that

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, III, p. 5; cf. P. Monceaux, *Gazette Archéologique*, X, 1885, pp. 211-213. The wall is mentioned also by Wheler, Dodwell, Leake, and others.



neither the wall itself nor the point where it reached the sea is now visible. A few steps eastward of the northeastern gate of the Isthmian precinct is a deep ravine, and here the wall, with seven openings for water at its base (Figs. 21, 22), is well preserved. For a considerable distance westward from the precinct the lowest part of the wall is still in place, and many blocks, 0.43 m. to 0.96 m. in thickness and of various lengths, are lying on the slope of the hill. It is true that the wall can be traced across the Isthmus, but the blocks of stone which once formed its inner and outer faces have for the most part disappeared, leav-



FIGURE 20. PORTION OF ISTHMIAN WALL

ing only the core of rubble, and in some places even this is hardly discernible. At the point where Frazer says the wall "ended in a square fortress," there is a rounded structure serving to support a small house and garden. In the foundation are ancient blocks, none of which is in the position for which it was originally intended (Fig. 23). Two of them are parts of an Ionic entablature. But that the wall ended at this point is proved by remains of it on the hill to the east, just across the modern road. Of the "less massive wall running parallel to the former" the only discernible remains are at the eastern side of the Isthmus, near the best-preserved portion of the massive wall (Fig. 24).

According to Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> the Peloponnesians, after the battle of Thermopylae (480 B.C.), assembled in great numbers at the Isthmus and, working eagerly and continuously day

<sup>1</sup> Hdt., viii, 71, ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν, μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς σφί ἔδοξε βουλευόμενοι, οἰκοδόμουν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος· ἅτε δὲ ἰουσέων μυριάδων πολλῶν καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πληθεῖς ἐσεφορέοντο· καὶ ἑλίπνον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας. This wall is mentioned also by Hdt. viii, 40; ix, 7; ix, 8; ix, 9; ix, 10; Lysias, ii (*Epitaphius*), 44; Isocr. iv (*Panegyri.*), 93; Plut., *Vit. Them.*, 9, 3; *De Herod. Malign.*, 41; Diod. Sic., xi, 16, 3, Οἱ δὲ σύνεδροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρώντες τὴν τῶν ἔχλων

and night, built a wall from sea to sea, using as materials stones, bricks, wood, and bags of sand. Apparently this was not a permanent wall but a hastily constructed barrier <sup>1</sup> such as has often been thrown up in times of war, not only by the Greeks, but by all peoples in all ages. The date of the wall of which the remnants still exist is unknown, but its regular masonry indicates a time during the period of Corinthian independence, certainly be-



FIGURE 21. ISTHMIAN WALL IN RAVINE

fore the city was destroyed by the Romans. Neither Thucydides nor Xenophon mentions a wall across the Isthmus in describing the military operations of the latter part of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C., and the palisades and deep trenches extending from Cenchreae to Lechaemum, by means of which, according to Diodorus,<sup>2</sup> the Lace-

*ταραχήν και τήν ὄλην ἐκπληξιν, ἐνηψίσαντο διατειχίζειν τὸν Ἴσθμόν. και ταχὺ τῶν ἔργων συντελεσθέντων διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν και τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐργαζομένων, οἱ μὲν Πελοποννήσιοι ὠχύρουν τὸ τεῖχος, διατείνον ἐπὶ σταδίοις τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ Λεχαιοῦ μέχρι Κεγχρεῶν, κ. τ. λ.* Here the use of the word *ὠχύρουν* does not imply the previous existence of a wall which was merely strengthened on this occasion, for it has just been stated that "they voted to build a wall across the Isthmus." Nor must the words *ἀπὸ Λεχαιοῦ μέχρι Κεγχρεῶν* be taken too exactly. As the distance given (40 stadia, ca. 7.4 km. or 4½ miles) clearly shows, the wall is supposed to cross the Isthmus very nearly at its narrowest point.

<sup>1</sup> So also Leake, *op. cit.*, p. 302, and Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 6. O'Neill, *Ancient Corinth*, pp. 13 f., argues that the wall of 480 B.C. was of permanent masonry.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic., xv, 68, 3, *Ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἀπὸ Κεγχρεῶν μέχρι Λεχαιοῦ σταυρώμασι και βαθείαις τάφροις διελάμβανον τὸν τόπον.* The temporary fortification extending from the Acrocorinthus to the Oneian Mountains (Polyb. ii, 52, 5, *Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης . . . διαλαβὼν χάρακι και τάφρῳ τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου και τῶν Ὀνειῶν καλουμένων ὄρων*), or in the passes of those mountains (Plut., *Vit. Cleom.*, 20, 1, *οὐκ ᾔφετο δεῖν τὸν Ἴσθμόν ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄρεα χαρακώσας και τειχίσας φυλάττειν*), by means of which Cleomenes hoped to stop the advance of Antigonos, can have no connection with the wall across the Isthmus.

daemonians and their allies attempted unsuccessfully to prevent Epaminondas and the Boeotians from invading the Peloponnesus (369 B.C.) cannot be identified with the existing remains of the wall. According to Pausanias<sup>1</sup> the Peloponnesians thought of building a wall at the time of the Gallic invasion of 279 B.C., but whether they actually built it or not we do not know. In 253 A.D. a wall was built under the Emperor Valerian in expectation of an invasion by barbarians from the North;<sup>2</sup> it was repaired and fortified with 153



FIGURE 22. ISTHMIAN WALL WITH HOLES FOR WATER

towers under Justinian;<sup>3</sup> in 1415 it was again repaired by the Emperor Michael Palaeologus;<sup>4</sup> the Venetians repaired it in 1463 and fortified it with 136 towers and double trenches.<sup>5</sup> In the fifteenth century it was captured three times by the Turks, and several times by others. The latest restoration was probably by the Venetians in 1696.<sup>6</sup>

*Nero's Canal* (Fig. 25). The portage across the Isthmus was at best a makeshift. Large vessels, such as ships of war, did indeed make use of it, but its use must have been inconvenient and difficult. It is only natural, since a canal only a little more than three and a

<sup>1</sup> Paus., vii, 6, 7 (*sc.* the Peloponnesians) δεινὸν ἔσσεσθαι σφισιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἠλπίζον, εἰ τὸν Κορινθίων Ἴσθμὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς κατὰ Λέχαιον ἀποτειχίσαιαν ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρεαῖς θάλασσαν.

<sup>2</sup> Zosimus, i, 29, p. 29, ed. Bekker in *Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz.*

<sup>3</sup> Phrantzes, pp. 95 f., ed. Bekker in *Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz.* At this time it was called Hexamilium, a name which survives as that of the village of Hexamilia.

<sup>4</sup> Phrantzes, p. 95 and pp. 107 f., ed. Bekker in *Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz.*

<sup>5</sup> Coronelli; see Finlay, *History of Greece*, etc., IV, p. 268; Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands . . . bis zur Gegenwart*, II, p. 588.

<sup>6</sup> See Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, II, pp. 186 f.

half miles in length<sup>1</sup> would remove the necessity of making the long and often dangerous voyage around the Peloponnesus, that the thought of making such a canal occurred to more than one mind. The first who is said to have considered the project of piercing the Isthmus was Periander.<sup>2</sup> The next was Demetrius Poliorcetes;<sup>3</sup> but his engineers declared that the waters of the Gulf of Corinth and the Saronic Gulf were not at the same level and that, if the Isthmus were pierced, Aegina and the neighboring islands would be inundated; he therefore gave up the project.<sup>4</sup> The plan was entertained by Julius Caesar,<sup>5</sup> Caligula,<sup>6</sup> Nero,<sup>7</sup> and Herodes Atticus,<sup>8</sup> and Caligula went so far as to send an officer to make measurements; but it was only Nero who, at the time of his journey to Greece, towards the end apparently of the year A.D. 67, actually undertook the task. In doing this he was acting in opposition to a belief, which seems to have been pretty general in ancient times, that it is impious to change the face of nature,<sup>9</sup> and there were tales of dire portents at the be-

<sup>1</sup> "The ancients varied greatly in their estimate of the breadth of the Isthmus. Scylax (*Periplus*, 40), Diodorus (xi, 16), and Strabo (pp. 334, 335) put the breadth at forty Greek furlongs, Lucian at twenty furlongs (*Nero*, 1), Philostratus at twenty-six furlongs (*Vit. Soph.* ii, 1, 10), Pliny (*N. H.* iv, 10) at five Roman miles, Mela (ii, 48) and Solinus (vii, 15, p. 64, ed. Mommsen) at four Roman miles. The estimates of Philostratus, Mela, and Solinus are most nearly correct. According to the French survey the exact breadth at the narrowest point is 5950 metres (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 37, note 1). The length of the modern canal is 5857 metres (Philippson, in *Zeitschrift d. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 25, 1890, p. 13)." (Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 6).

<sup>2</sup> *Diog. Laert.*, i, 7, 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Plin., N. H.*, iv, 10: Corinthiacus hinc, illinc Saronicus appellatur sinus, Lecheae hinc, Cenchreae illinc angustiarum termini, longo et ancipiti navium ambitu quas magnitudo plaustris transvehi prohibet, quam ob causam perfodere navigabili alveo angustias eas temptavere Demetrius rex, dictator Caesar, Gaius princeps, Domitius Nero, nefasto, ut omnium exitu patuit, incepto.

Strabo i, 3, 11, C. 54, φησὶ γὰρ (sc. Eratosthenes) καὶ Δημήτριον διακόπτειν ἐπιχειρήσαι τὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων Ἴσθμὸν πρὸς τὸ παρασχέιν διάπλουν τοῖς στόλοις, κωλυθῆναι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ἀναμετρησάντων καὶ ἀπαγγειλάντων μετεωροτέρα τὴν ἐν τῷ Κορινθιακῷ κόλπῳ θάλατταν τῆς κατὰ Κεγχρεᾶς εἶναι, ὥστε, εἰ διακόψειε τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίον, ἐπικλυσθῆναι ἂν ἅπαντα τὸν περὶ Αἴγινα πόρον καὶ αὐτὴν Αἴγινα καὶ τὰς πλησίον νήσους καὶ μηδὲ τὸν διάπλουν ἂν γενέσθαι χρήσιμον.

<sup>4</sup> See Strabo as quoted in the previous note. The same objection was raised in Nero's time (Lucian, *Nero*, iv). As Mr. Gerster observes (*B. C. H.* VIII, 1884, p. 228, n. 1) this objection may have been provoked by the fact that, on account of the difference in the time of the tides in the two gulfs, there is a difference of about one metre in the level of their waters, and if Strabo had observed this he might have omitted the criticism of Eratosthenes which he expresses a little before the passage quoted above.

<sup>5</sup> *Dio Cass.*, xlv, 5, καὶ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορίζαι . . . προσέταξαν (sc. Caesar's flatterers).

Plutarch. *Vit. Caes.*, lviii, Διὰ μέσον δὲ τῆς στρατείας τὸν τε Κορίνθιον Ἴσθμὸν ἐπεχειρεῖ διασκάπτειν.

*Plin., N. H.*, iv, 10, see above.

Sueton., *Julius*, 44, destinabat . . . perfodere Isthmum.

<sup>6</sup> *Plin., N. H.*, iv, 10, see above; Sueton., *Calig.* 21, destinaverat et . . . ante omnia Isthmum in Achaia perfodere; miseratque ad dimetiendum opus primipilarem.

<sup>7</sup> *Dio Cass.*, lxiii, 16, πάρεργον δὲ δὴ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐποιήσατο τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορίζαι ἐπιθυμήσας, καὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ ἔργου καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀκνούντων αἰμά τε γὰρ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀψαμένους τῆς γῆς ἀνέβλυσεν, καὶ οἰμωγαὶ μνησθμοὶ τέ τινας ἐξηκούοντο, καὶ εἶδωλα πολλὰ ἐφ' ἀντάξου, λαβῶν δὲ αὐτὸς δίκελαν καὶ τι καὶ ἀνασκάψας ἔπεισε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν μιμήσασθαι, καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνων μετεπέμψατο. Pausanias (ii, 1, 5, see p. 29) refers to Nero as "He who tried to make the Peloponnesus an island." Cf. Sueton., *Nero*, 18; Lucian, *Nero*, 1-5; Philostratus, *Apoll. Tyran.*, iv, 24, v, 7. See also Herzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, II, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii, 6.

<sup>9</sup> So when the Cnidians wished to cut through their isthmus, the Pythia advised them (Hdt., i, 174)

Ἴσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργούτε μῆδ' ὀρύσσετε·

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἰ γ' ἐβούλετο.

Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, i, 79; Paus., ii, 1, 5 (see p. 29).

ginning of the work: blood gushed from the ground, groanings and bellowings were heard, and many phantom shapes appeared.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor, however, was not to be deterred from his enterprise. He himself, after chanting hymns of praise to the deities of the sea, began the work with a few strokes of a golden pickaxe which was formally handed to him by the governor of Greece.<sup>2</sup> Then a great multitude of prisoners and soldiers, among them six thousand Jews sent by Vespasian from Judaea,<sup>3</sup> attacked the soil and rock of the Isthmus.



FIGURE 23. ANCIENT STONES IN MODERN FOUNDATION

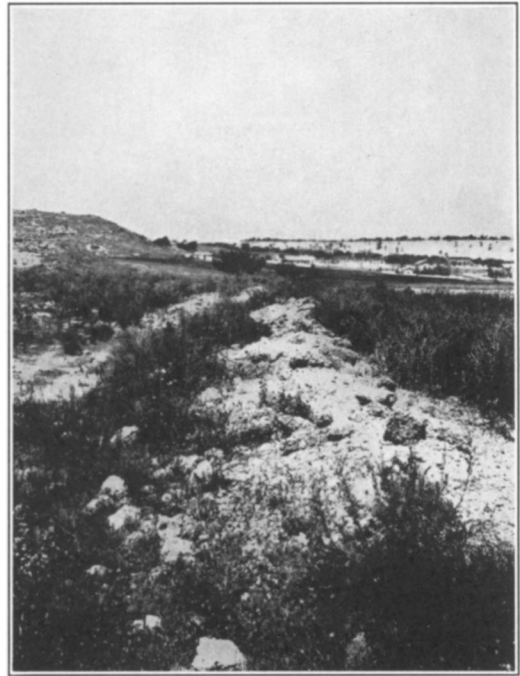


FIGURE 24. THE LESS MASSIVE ISTHMIAN WALL

This was no mad freak of a foolish potentate, for the plans had been carefully and wisely made, but the insurrection of Vindex and treasonable practices at Rome called the Emperor away from Greece.<sup>4</sup> The work was soon abandoned, perhaps immediately after Nero's departure, and was never resumed.

Nero's excavations were visible in the time of Pausanias (see p. 29), and even in modern times,<sup>5</sup> but their traces have now been almost entirely obliterated by the modern canal,<sup>6</sup> which follows the same line.

<sup>1</sup> Dio Cass., lxiii, 16, p. 56, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, *Nero*, 1-5.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, iii, 10, 10, τῶν δὲ νέων ἰσχυροτάτους ἑξακισχιλίουσ ἐπεμψεν εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν Νέρωνι.

<sup>4</sup> Dio Cass., lxiii, 19.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, II, p. 300.

<sup>6</sup> Constructed 1881-93 by a French company. The engineer in charge, M. Bela Gerster, made a careful study of the remains of the work of Nero, which is the source of the information here given (*B. C. H.* VIII, 1884, pp. 225-232). Cf. P. Monceaux, *Gazette Archéologique*, X, 1885, pp. 213 f.

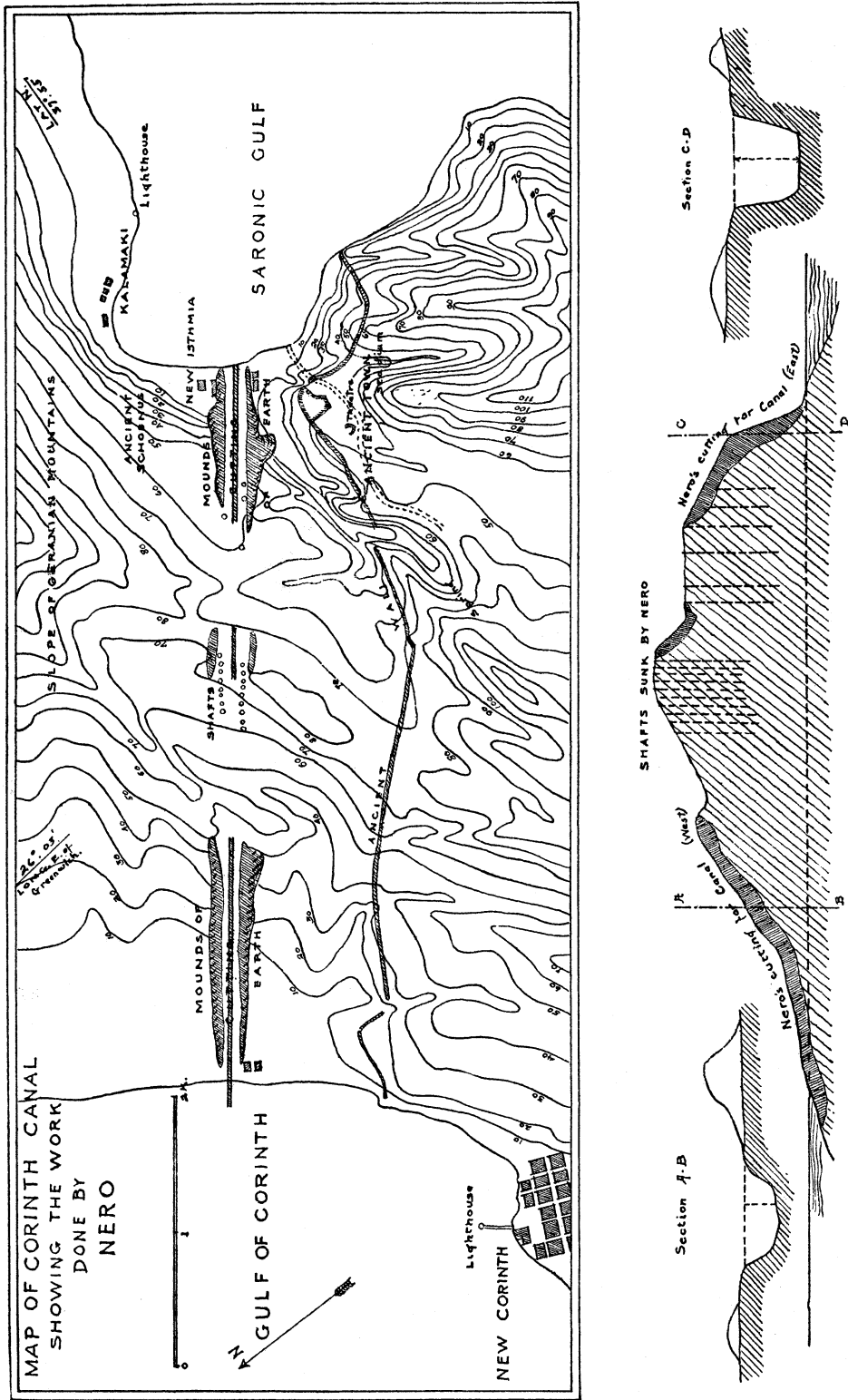


FIGURE 25. MAP OF THE ISTHMUS AND CROSS-SECTIONS, SHOWING NERO'S CANAL (AFTER GERSTER)

At this point the Isthmus of Corinth is composed of three quite distinct parts. (1) On the side of the Gulf of Corinth is a plain composed of sand and alluvial soil for a distance of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  kilometres. (2) Next, for a distance of 4 kilometres, is a hill, the mass of which is composed of sand and tertiary marl, the whole covered by a layer of conglomerate 2 or 3 metres thick. (3) Lastly, on the shores of the Gulf of Aegina, is a small plain, 600 metres wide, where the sand is covered by alluvial soil.

The works of Nero, which follow a perfectly straight line, consist of two cuttings, the depth of which varies from 3 to 30 metres, and the breadth of which at the two extremities of the line is 40 or 50 metres. The western cutting is 2000 metres long; the eastern 1500.

In the interval which separates the two cuttings, on the back of the hill, are two rows of shafts, arranged in parallel lines and in the same direction as the length of the canal.<sup>1</sup>

The western cutting, beginning in the plain by the sea, was carried first for 1200 m. through the sand and was here excavated in part below sea level. Farther along, towards the hill, the cutting, which is here in the tertiary tufa, had for a short distance a level of 10 m. above the sea. Then, for about 600 m., the trench was of various depths, and here the layer of conglomerate and several layers of compact sand had been removed; and finally there were two funnel-shaped pits 40 m. in diameter and 10 m. in depth. This entire cutting was bordered on both sides by mounds or hillocks formed by the earth thrown out, some of which were as much as 20 m. in height.

At the eastern side of the Isthmus the cutting was nowhere below the level of the sea. In the plain the alluvial soil was removed to a depth of two to four metres, and stopped at the level of the conglomerate schist which covered the tertiary sand; but after the rocky height was reached there was a trench about 100 m. long and 30 m. deep; farther on were four pits or shafts at different levels and a trench 60 m. in length which was bordered by heaps of earth. Between the eastern and western cuttings are two rows of pits, 37 to 42 m. deep, placed opposite each other about 40 to 45 m. from the ideal axis of the canal. Mr. Gerster thinks they were dug as soundings to determine the slope of the rock and perhaps also as points of attack for digging the canal itself. He estimates that the total mass displaced was 5,000,000 cubic metres and that the work occupied five or six thousand men for three or four months. Of the work done under Nero only the pits and some mounds of earth are now visible.

*The Isthmian Sanctuary.* Near Schoenus was the Isthmian Sanctuary (Paus., ii, 1, 7–2, 2, see pp. 29 f.), the site of which is now marked by the blue dome of the Church of St. John, a short distance to the south of the canal.<sup>2</sup> Before describing the sacred precinct, Pausanias mentions a theatre and a stadium, the remains of which are still visible.

<sup>1</sup> Gerster, *l.c.*, pp. 229 f., translated by Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Excavations and researches were carried on here in 1883 by M. Paul Monceaux, who published his results in the *Gazette Archéologique*, IX, 1884, pp. 273–285, 354–363 (on the precinct itself), and X, 1885, pp. 205–214 (on the remains of antiquity near the precinct). See Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–16, who cites the earlier travellers. Further excavations by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1903 led to no additional discoveries; see *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας*, 1903, pp. 14–17.

The stadium is a very short distance south of the precinct (see Fig. 26), in a little valley between two spurs of a hill. Its axis is northeast and southwest. The semicircular end, built of earth and masonry, closed a wild gorge in which any heavy rain creates a torrent. To carry off the water a vaulted passage was built, traces of which are mentioned by Monceaux, but the water has broken through and destroyed a great part of the curved end of the stadium, and there are now no visible traces of construction at this point. Monceaux says that the white marble seats were placed upon the slopes of the hills without special foundation, except at the two ends of the stadium, where there was some filling, and that some of the seats were still in their places, hidden under the brushwood; but now no seats remain, and the brushwood has for the most part made way for a field of grain. In the level part Monceaux found some poor fragments of marble statues. From the remains of the wall which formed the rectilinear end of the stadium to the curved end, Leake<sup>1</sup> measured 650 feet. Monceaux mentions above and to the northwest of the stadium foundations of ancient houses with pieces of common mosaics. To the southwest are the ruins of a small Frankish castle.

The theatre is in a small hollow about a quarter of a mile from the stadium, about 150 paces from the precinct of Poseidon, from which it is separated by a field formerly, according to Monceaux, full of débris and foundations, but now cleared and cultivated. It formed a semicircle opening towards the north, and was built of rough stones, mortar, and pebbles. The seats were on the slope and were supported by walls of masonry; of these there now remain eighteen piers arranged in a semicircle. Some bits of masonry in the field are no doubt remains of the scene building, and a few large blocks of stone are lying about. This was evidently the Roman theatre. On the same slope, but somewhat higher up and slightly to the west, is a depression of roughly semicircular shape in the hill. Here Monceaux found some remains of steps cut in the rock, which he thought were what was left of the Greek theatre. No definite cuttings in the rock are now visible, but the Greek theatre may well have been at this place.

The sacred precinct is situated on high ground a very short distance south of the canal, somewhat more than a kilometre, in a straight line, from Kalamaki. On the north is a deep valley, beyond which rise the high terraces formed of the clay and rock from the canal, completely cutting off the view in that direction. On the east and south the precinct dominates all the neighboring region, but at the west it is hardly higher than the general level of the plateau. In form it is an irregular hexagon, the greatest length of which, from northeast to southwest, is about 290 m. The southeastern boundary is curved in crescent form; the short northeastern side is occupied in part by a great gateway; the northern side, about

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, II, p. 286. Cf. W. G. Clarke, *Peloponnesus*, pp. 49 f., who calls attention to St. Paul's reference to the stadium, *I Cor.* ix, 24. An inscription (*I. G.* IV, 203), apparently of the second century after Christ or later, mentions near the stadium a stoa with vaulted chambers for the use of the ἀγορανόμοι or supervisors of the market. No remains of this are visible. The same inscription mentions several other buildings in or near the sacred precinct.



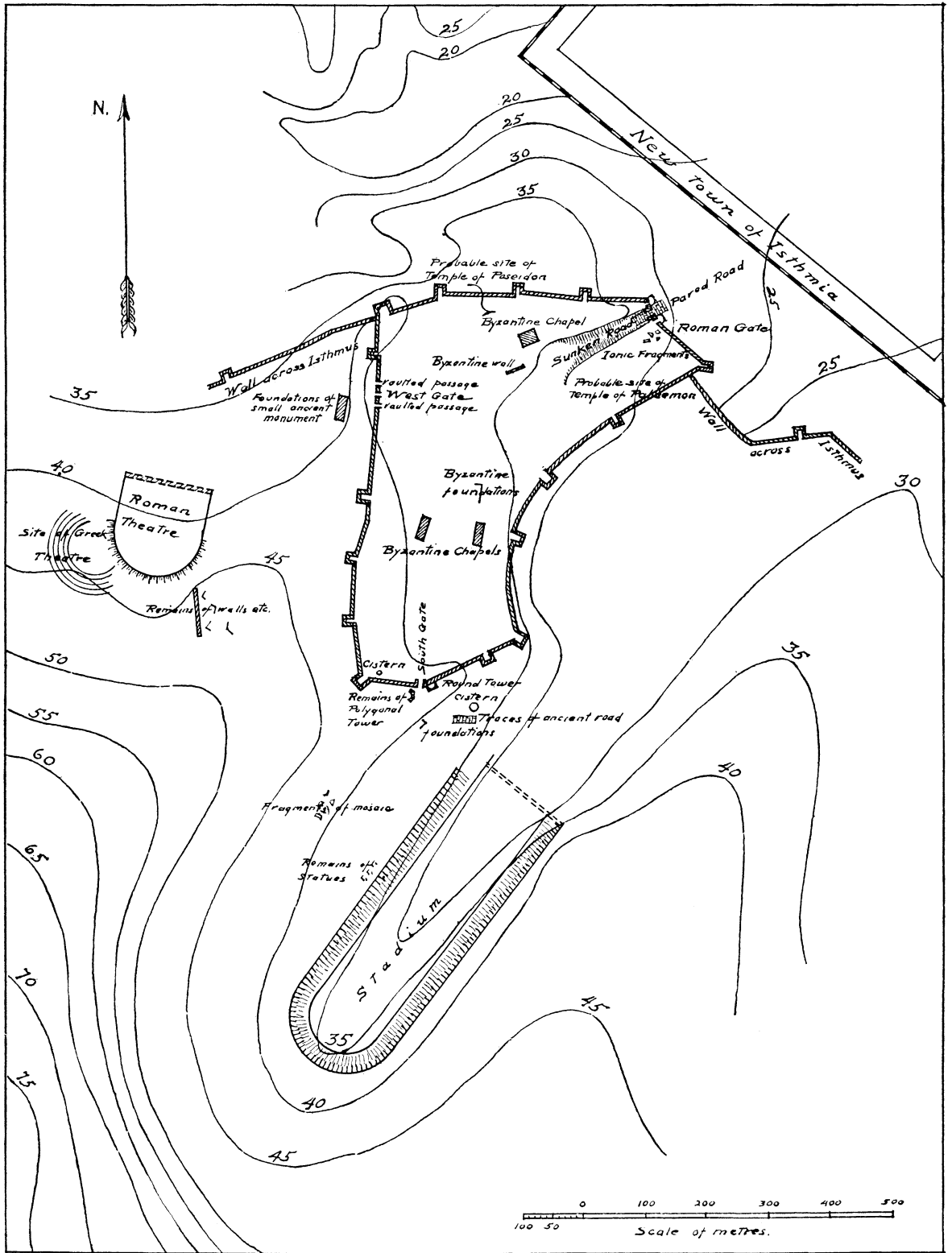


FIGURE 26. THE ISTHMIAN PRECINCT AND ITS SURROUNDINGS (AFTER MONCEAUX)

165 m. in length, is slightly curved and meets almost at a right angle the western side, which extends towards the south for about 210 m. Two shorter walls, 65 and 100 m. in length, form the southern boundary. Only the lower part of the wall now exists, for the upper parts, whether ancient, Venetian, or Turkish, have fallen away. What remains is ancient. It is a double wall of uniform construction, built of large squared blocks, well laid without mortar. The space between the two facings is filled, as usual, with irregular stones and rubbish. Although the wall is now hardly visible above the ground, it is probably preserved



FIGURE 27. WESTERN GATE OF ISTHMIAN PRECINCT

to a height of at least three metres, — perhaps, at the south, where the accretion of earth is greatest, to a considerably greater height.

At the north and east, for a distance of more than 200 m., the wall of the sacred precinct formed a part of the wall across the Isthmus, and on all sides it was strengthened by means of towers, nineteen of which are still to be recognized. Four of these are near the northeastern and southern gates and do not belong to the general plan. The fifteen others are built in the same manner as the rest of the wall and are about six metres square, the corner towers seven metres. Nothing is known of their internal arrangement. Situated in a commanding position and fortified with a strong wall and towers, the sacred precinct must have been a fortress of no little importance.

There were three gates in the wall: at the west near the theatre, at the south, and at the northeast. Of the western (Fig. 27) gate there were even forty years ago only scanty remains, and these are now hardly visible. M. Monceaux found one side hidden by modern masonry, the other only half uncovered. This had the same thickness as the wall. At a depth of 2.50 m. a paved roadway was found, and at the right and left of the gate were re-

mains of two vaulted passages, but whether these were side entrances or merely gave access to towers is uncertain. This gate, the nearest to Corinth, must have been of considerable importance and appears to have been in use until the final destruction of the precinct. Before the gate, outside of the sacred precinct, are the foundations of a small edifice, 13.59 m. long and 5.50 m. wide, built of large stones. It may have been a small temple. In the middle of the northeastern side are traces of the doorway.



FIGURE 28. SOUTHERN GATE OF ISTHMIAN PRECINCT

The southern gate (Fig. 28) situated above the stadium, appears to have been walled up at a comparatively early date; for the foundations of the wall which closed it were three metres below an inscription in honor of Justinian and Victorinus<sup>1</sup> which was found when the Emperor Manuel repaired the fortification in 1413.<sup>2</sup> The width of the gate is from 2.80 m. to 3.40 m.; its thickness is 3.70 m. One of its sides appears to be Hellenic work, the other was disfigured at a late period. At right and left of the gate, on the outside, the Byzantines erected a light wall ornamented with Greek crosses. Probably this entrance, like that at the southeast, had two gates, one light, the other heavier. The entrance was defended by two towers; at the right a round tower, 3.60 m. in diameter, at the left a polygonal tower, the side of which is not more than 1.10 m. in length. Both rest upon heavy foundations which project six metres from the wall of the precinct. The polygonal tower was of good construction and may be attributed to the Hellenic period.

<sup>1</sup> *I. G.* IV, 205, p. 34 = *C. I. G.* IV, 8640.

<sup>2</sup> Phrantra, *Chronicon*, p. 108, in *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*

The northeastern gate (Figs. 29–33) was evidently in Roman times the chief entrance, and Pausanias must have passed through it into the precinct. It is still in great part preserved, though its vaults have fallen. As M. Monceaux remarks, the principal entrance can hardly have been from this point in the days when Corinth was free and independent, and the architectural characteristics of the gateway are not Greek, but Roman. There were three openings: that in the middle, probably for wheeled vehicles, nearly four metres wide, and two side passages, doubtless for foot passengers, two metres in width. Each of the four



FIGURE 29. NORTHEASTERN GATE OF  
ISTHMIAN PRECINCT

piers or supports was also two metres wide, so that the entire façade had a width of about sixteen metres. The outer piers of the two side passages had the same thickness as the precinct wall, 2.20 m.; the thickness of the two piers which separated the roadway from the side passages was nearly six metres, and in each of these piers was a long niche made to receive the wings of the gate when it was open (see Fig. 31). Two pilasters adorn each of the piers. Their bases are 1.70 m. above the pavement of the central roadway and are decorated with simple mouldings. The entire gate is constructed of large stones without mortar. In each of the piers of the central roadway are two holes for bars (Fig. 31), and similar, but smaller, holes are seen near the inner face of the gateway, towards the precinct. Probably there was a smaller and lighter door here for ordinary use, and the larger door was closed only when necessary. The distance between the two doors was about 2.50 m. A paved

road, which still shows the ruts made by wheels, passed through the central gateway at a level about 0.50 m. lower than that of the pavement of the two side passages.

This great triple gate formed a dignified and even imposing entrance to the sacred precinct; but when, in the third century after Christ, barbarian hordes began to overrun Greece, it was difficult to defend. First the two side passages were blocked by large towers,

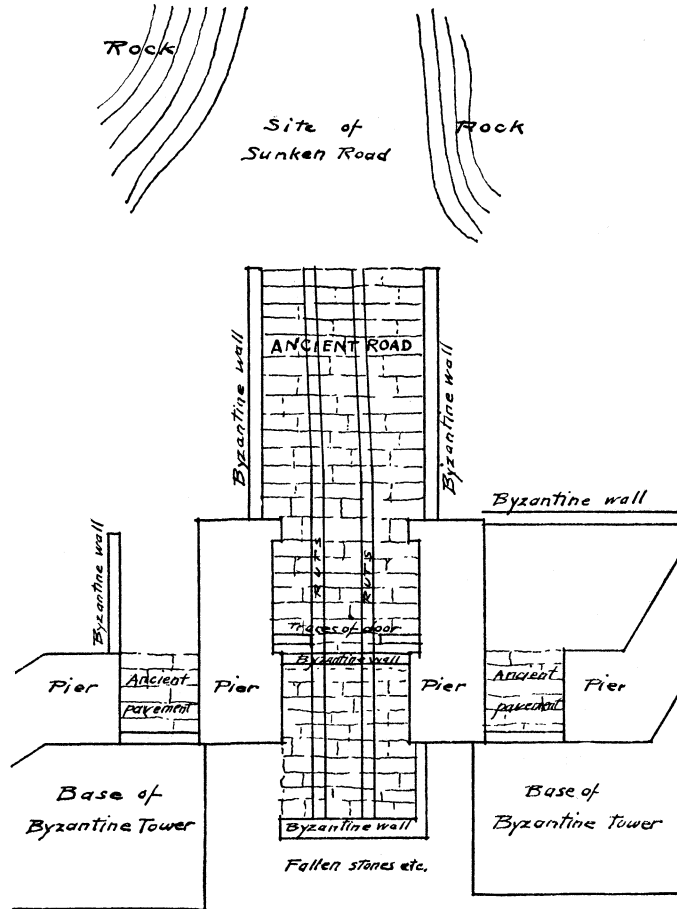


FIGURE 30. NORTHEASTERN GATE OF ISTHMIAN PRECINCT, SHOWING ROMAN REMAINS (AFTER MONCEAUX)

the foundations of which, at the level of the pilasters, project about four metres. One of these towers is still decorated with mouldings, the other is rough in appearance (Figs. 32, 33). But the principal entrance was still too wide, so first a wall was built, at a distance of two metres outside of the precinct, and connected with one of the piers, leaving a narrow passage between this wall and the tower. Finally the entire gateway was blocked with coarse masonry extending from one pier to the other, and behind this masonry fragments of ancient buildings, drums of columns, architrave blocks, cornices and the like were heaped up. This gateway was blocked at a relatively early date, for early Byzantine coins were found more than a metre below the surface of the ground. The date at which this triumphal

gateway was erected was, judging by the forms of the fragmentary mouldings, capitals, and cornices which are preserved, as well as by its general arrangement, not far from the beginning of the Christian era, or slightly earlier. It may have been built at about the time when Corinth was restored.

The wide paved road which passes through the central opening of this gateway must have led by a rather steep ascent from the port of Schoenus, and was evidently the chief road, or sacred way, leading into the precinct. Within the precinct it continued towards the west.

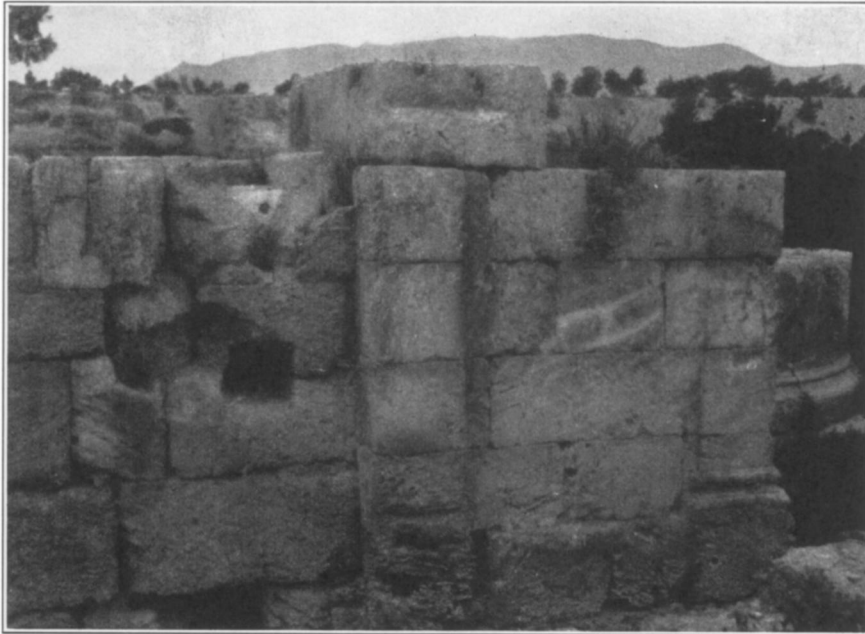


FIGURE 31. NORTHEASTERN GATE OF ISTHMIAN PRECINCT,  
SHOWING HOLES FOR BARS

The ground within the precinct is now cleared and cultivated. The northwestern corner is occupied by a cemetery which adjoins the courtyard of the Church of St. John. In the cemetery are a few fragments of small unchannelled marble columns. In the southern part of the precinct are foundations of two small Byzantine chapels, and a little south of these is a foundation wall<sup>1</sup> made of good-sized squared blocks, but it is doubtful whether the foundation is itself ancient or is merely made of blocks taken from some ancient building. There are no foundations from which the plan or exact site of any ancient edifice can be determined. Numerous fragments of Doric architecture, triglyphs, capitals, and drums of columns, which are to be attributed to the Temple of Poseidon, were found by the French excavators.<sup>2</sup> The drums have been sawn from top to bottom and employed in repairing the precinct wall. Those which were lying on the ground were all near the north-

<sup>1</sup> This does not appear on the plan (Fig. 26), which reproduces that of Monceaux.

<sup>2</sup> I found no triglyphs or capitals and very few drums. What is said about them above is derived from Monceaux.

ern, southern, and western walls, none of them near the eastern wall. As Pausanias remarks,<sup>1</sup> the temple was not large. It was built of the local stone, a sort of travertine, which was protected by a covering of stucco. The shafts of the columns, which had only sixteen channels, had a diameter of 1.48 m. at the bottom, and 1.23 m. at the top. The channels are 0.29 m. wide at the bottom, 0.22 m. near the capital. Comparison with the early temples of Italy and Sicily leads to the conclusion that the height of the column was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  diameters, or more than 6.50 m. The height of the drums varies from 0.80 m. to 0.90 m.; the shaft must therefore be composed of seven or eight drums. The echinus is thick and rounded in form.

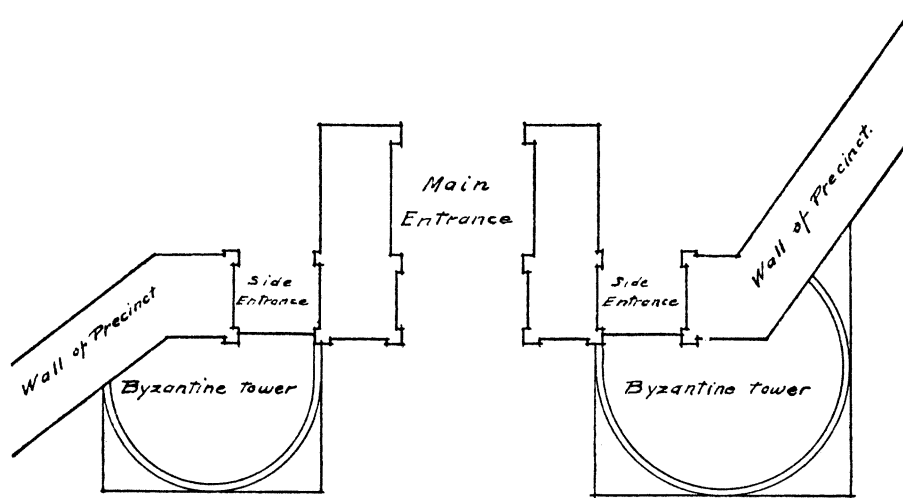


FIGURE 32. NORTHEASTERN GATE OF ISTHMIAN PRECINCT IN BYZANTINE TIMES  
(AFTER MONCEAUX)

The architectural details indicate that the temple was later than the Temple of Apollo at Corinth; it may be attributed to the latter part of the sixth century B.C. The site of this temple was probably that of the Church of St. John, at the right of the traveller who, like Pausanias, entered the precinct by the great northeastern gate. On coins of Geta<sup>2</sup> a Doric temple is seen, upon which are Tritons as acroteria. Inasmuch as Pausanias<sup>3</sup> says that there were Tritons on the Temple of Poseidon, it is evident that this is the temple represented on the coins. If the architecture is correctly reproduced, the temple was either prostyle or amphiprostyle and had only four columns in the façade; but architectural features are often incorrectly given on coins.

Near the great Roman gateway numerous drums of Ionic columns with twenty-four channels were found. Their height varies between 0.72 m. and 1.05 m. The depth of the channels (0.05 m.), the breadth of the arrises (0.025 m.), and the form of the capitals are

<sup>1</sup> ii, 1, 6; see p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. D, xlix, 1.

<sup>3</sup> ii, 1, 7; see p. 29.

characteristic of the early Ionic style (Fig. 34). On coins of M. Aurelius,<sup>1</sup> L. Verus, Geta, and Caracalla a round temple is represented, within which Palaemon is seen lying on a dolphin.<sup>2</sup> Several fragments of very early Ionic architrave and cornice which evidently belonged to a circular building were found,<sup>3</sup> and there is little doubt that the temple represented on the coins is the Temple of Palaemon in the Isthmian precinct. The drums of the columns were all found at the foot of the rock to the left of the sacred way as one comes from the great gate, the spot where Pausanias<sup>4</sup> saw the Temple of Palaemon.



FIGURE 33. NORTHEASTERN GATE OF ISTHMIAN PRECINCT, SHOWING MOULDINGS

Numerous fragments of altars and of buildings of Roman and Byzantine times, a considerable number of statue bases, and also fragments of statues, were found in the sacred precinct.<sup>5</sup> Evidently the precinct was, as might be expected, crowded with monuments of various kinds, especially after the restoration of Corinth by the Romans; but none of the buildings was of great importance, and even Pausanias mentions only the temples of Poseidon and Palaemon.

The sacred precinct was approached by three roads.<sup>6</sup> The first was the road from Schoe-

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. B, xi, xii, xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Paus. ii, 2, 1 (see p. 29), cf. ii, 3, 4 (see p. 31).

<sup>3</sup> I failed to find the fragments of architrave and cornice. The fragments of columns are now (1925) collected near the northeastern gateway.

<sup>4</sup> ii, 2, 1; see p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> They are now no longer there.

<sup>6</sup> The description of these roads is taken from Monceaux. I failed to find any traces of them. Evidently this region is much more cultivated than it was forty years ago, and cultivation has resulted in the disappearance of some of the traces of ancient workings which were then visible. Part of the first two roads mentioned may now be concealed under the great deposits taken from the canal.



nus, which led to the triumphal northeast gateway. The second, at the southeast, was cut in the rock and led by a gentle slope from the sea to the acropolis. Remains of a small jetty were visible in the sea not many years ago near the point where the road began; there was there a small port for pilgrims arriving by sea. Before reaching the wall of fortification across the Isthmus, that is, in less than half a mile, the road seems to have divided, one branch remaining outside of the wall and joining the road from Schoenus before the



FIGURE 34. IONIC CAPITAL IN THE  
ISTHMIAN PRECINCT

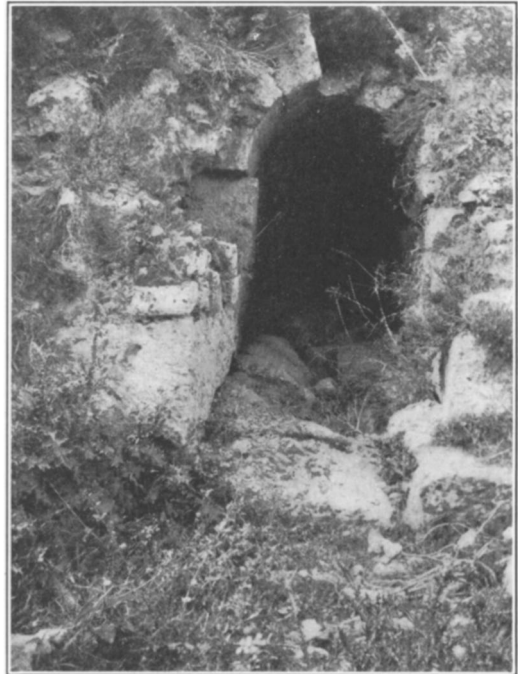


FIGURE 35. WATER TUNNEL NEAR THE  
ISTHMIAN PRECINCT

great gateway, the other passing through the wall of the Isthmus, along the eastern wall of the precinct, to the southern gate. Between the stadium and the small gate Monceaux saw remains of a road, and beside the road were traces of a circular construction, doubtless a cistern. The third road, coming from the west, is entirely destroyed in the immediate vicinity of the precinct, which it probably reached by two branches, one leading to the western gate, the other to the southern gate and the stadium. Monceaux says it was visible some hundreds of metres from the precinct, southwest of the stadium, and led towards the Acrocorinthus. It was ten metres wide and on each side were pits, two or three metres in diameter, the mouths of which were framed with cut stones. There was also a large cylindrical cistern bordered by large quadrangular blocks of cut stone. The road, which doubtless led to Corinth through the necropolis and the suburb of Craneum,<sup>1</sup> could be

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this road must have reached the ravine near its upper end, where is the hamlet of Kyras-i-Vrysi (Κύρας ή Βρύση).

followed for more than a mile, until it reached a ravine beyond which the cultivated fields began.

This ravine may well be the sacred vale in which were temples of Demeter, Persephone, Dionysus, and Artemis.<sup>1</sup> In it Monceaux saw many blocks from ancient buildings, such as architraves and stones with mouldings. There were also remains of a reservoir and of walls which may have been those of the peribolus.<sup>2</sup>

In the rocky region behind the Theatre, between the sacred vale and the precinct of Poseidon, were, when Monceaux wrote, many foundations and scattered remains of walls and houses. Here must have been in ancient times the houses of priests, the lodgings for athletes, the homes of merchants and others, as well as shrines and temples,<sup>3</sup> in short the city which grew up in connection with the sanctuary of Poseidon and the Isthmian Games. The cuttings in the rock and other traces of buildings are especially numerous along the edge of the sacred vale, where was the road by which processions would pass from Corinth to the Isthmian precinct. Between the Theatre and the western gate of the precinct some remains of a small Greek shrine are still to be seen.

In the region near the Isthmian precinct are many remains of cuttings in the rock and constructions which had to do with the ancient provisions for water supply and drainage. The only spring in the entire region is at the head of the sacred vale, where it flowed into a reservoir, remains of which are still visible. The water from this spring passed through a tunnel cut in the rock. This is now broken out at its mouth and presents the appearance of a great natural cavern. For some distance it is 2 m. high and 0.60 m. wide, but farther inward it becomes hardly more than 0.50 m. in height. It is about 100 m. long and opens into a small ravine or depression outside of the region of ancient remains. Of the other cuttings and constructions some are clearly intended to carry off the water after heavy rains (which now transform every ravine into a raging torrent), others to catch and retain the water for use. All appear to be of Greek or Roman times. One of the most striking is an arched passage for water considerably less than a kilometre southwest from the sacred precinct. It is about 1.23 m. wide; its height to the springing of the vault is 1.39 m., and the height of the vault is about 0.59 m. The passage is roughly walled up about 20 m. from the opening. The floor, of heavy stone blocks, is much worn by water. The front is broken away (Fig. 35),

<sup>1</sup> *I. G.* IV, 203, p. 32 = *C. I. G.* 1104, τὸν τε περίβολον τῆς ἱερᾶς νέπης καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ναοὺς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλμασιν καὶ προσκοσμήμασιν καὶ προνάοις. This inscription records the munificence of a high priest, Publius Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, who restored, not only the peribolus of the sacred vale and the temples mentioned above, but many other buildings either in or near the Isthmian precinct, which had suffered from earthquakes or from the ravages of time.

<sup>2</sup> The upper part of this vale is a narrow gorge with almost precipitous sides of hard yellowish grey clay or marl. Farther down, near the sacred precinct, the valley is wider and is now carefully cultivated. In it I found no blocks from ancient buildings, except on the slope just below the wall of the Isthmus. On the north side of this wall, just before it reaches the edge of the valley, and not far from the northwestern corner of the precinct, is a circular foundation about 3.20 m. in inner diameter. Some slight remains of a reservoir are visible near the head of the vale, about sixty metres from the cavernous opening out of which the water of the spring issues (see below).

<sup>3</sup> Several of these are mentioned in the inscription cited above. This region is now evidently more cultivated than when Monceaux examined it. The remains which he mentions have for the most part disappeared.

and the passage once continued about 2.25 m. farther forward. The water, when there is any, which is only in the rainy time of the year, now flows in a deep channel through the fields and passes under the Isthmian wall through a tunnel without masonry of any kind. The openings in the Isthmian wall where it crosses the gorge just east of the sacred precinct have already been mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

About 600 m. south of the precinct of Poseidon, on a hill overlooking the stadium, are many cuttings in the rock, for streets, stairs, houses, and cisterns, which indicate the existence at this place of an ancient city. Many potsherds of different kinds and periods are lying about.<sup>2</sup> The hill is now a quarry, and a considerable part of what was the ancient surface has disappeared, apparently in recent times. Evidently more was to be seen when M. Monceaux investigated the place than now. His description, greatly abbreviated, is as follows: "All the eastern part of the hill, for a length of a kilometre and a breadth of 300 m., is covered with cuttings for houses, streets, and stairways. The plan of the city is simple. The plateau is reached from two sides by a series of roads, ramps, and stairs, all cut in the rock. A wide street extends the whole length of the city, passing through a square near the middle. Most of the houses are grouped along this street. The other streets, traces of which are preserved here and there, are of minor importance. The streets, foundations, and house walls are all cut in the rock, and occasionally the hewn rock is adorned with mouldings." M. Monceaux remarks that everything appears to be of very early date, and he is of the opinion that this is the site of Ephyra, the Phoenician and Ionic city which he believes was supplanted by Corinth when the Dorians conquered the country (cf. p. 112).

*Cenchreae* (Κεγχραιά). Cenchreae, once the chief harbor of Corinth on the eastern side of the Isthmus, still retains its ancient name in slightly changed form (Kechries, Κεχραιάς), but is occupied by only a few families.<sup>3</sup> In Strabo's time it was only a village.<sup>4</sup> In the *Periplus* of Scylax<sup>5</sup> it is called a *teichos* or fortified place. Pausanias<sup>6</sup> describes it briefly, but his brief description seems to indicate that it was more important in his day than when Strabo visited it, which is not unnatural, since in Strabo's time Corinth had only recently been restored. It was at Cenchreae that St. Paul had his head shorn in accordance with a vow before sailing for Syria.<sup>7</sup> The harbor was in the northern part of a spacious bay

<sup>1</sup> See p. 53 and Figs. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> May 1st, 1925, Professor Kyle, of Redlands University, found a celt, or axe-head, of green serpentine, about five hundred feet from the northeastern point of the hill, and near the same spot a piece of flint. It seems, therefore, probable that there was a settlement here in neolithic times, though it is, of course, possible that these objects may have been brought from some other site.

<sup>3</sup> The site of Cenchreae is so fully determined, and the references to it in ancient literature are so numerous, that a complete list of references would be superfluous. See, however, those already given, pp. 20, n. 3; 49, n. 1; 50, n. 1; 53, n. 1; 54, n. 2; 55, n. 1; 56, n. 3. Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, viii, 22, C. 380; see p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Periplus*, 55, Corinthia.

<sup>6</sup> ii, 2, 3; see p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> *Acts* xviii, 18, Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος . . . ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας, κειράμενος ἐν Κεγχραιῶς τὴν κεφαλὴν· εἶχε γὰρ εὐχήν.

(Fig. 36) protected by projecting promontories on the north and south, but open towards the east. At the south the steep heights approach the sea, but at the north a more gradual slope leads up to the plateau which separates the semicircular valley of Kechries from the smaller valley below the Isthmian precinct. On the broad ridge to the west of the harbor are extensive cuttings in the rock and foundations which show that this was the site of the town (Figs. 37, 38). In the hill from which this ridge projects southwards is what appears to be the place of a wide roadway leading from the north to the eastern slope of the ridge



FIGURE 36. THE BAY OF CENCHREAE

and to the lovely little valley of Kechries. At some points the rock is cut away at the sides of the roadway. Near the upper end of the valley, beside one of the houses by the brook, are two ancient blocks, one from an Ionic entablature, the other covered with stucco painted red.

Along the head of the bay is a double row, sixty-three paces in length, of massive blocks of stone, evidently the remains of a quay (Fig. 39), and traces of ancient buildings. On the other sides of the harbor are the remnants of moles projecting into the water (Figs. 40, 41, 42), and in the water, for the most part hidden beneath its surface, are many remains of walls. The moles undoubtedly served as breakwaters to contract the wide entrance of the harbor and protect it from the east winds; the walls, which are for the most part near the moles, apparently divided the harbor itself into landing-slips.

A coin of Antoninus Pius<sup>1</sup> supplements Pausanias' brief description. Here the harbor appears as a curve, approximately a semicircle, short converging lines within which may indicate the landing-slips. At each end is a temple, and midway between the temples stands the figure of Poseidon holding a dolphin in his right hand and a trident in his left. The

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 17, pl. D, lx.



FIGURE 37. THE ANCIENT TOWN OF CENCHREAE



FIGURE 38. THE ANCIENT TOWN OF CENCHREAE

legend reads *C(olonia) L(aus) I(ulia) Cor(inthus)*. Other coins<sup>1</sup> give the figure of Poseidon more clearly. The two temples represented on the first mentioned coin are presumably two of those mentioned by Pausanias, the Temple of Aphrodite at one end of the harbor and at the other that of either Asclepius or Isis. The great figure of Poseidon seems to have stood at the end of a mole or, possibly, on an artificial island. It may well have been erected at a time between the visits of Strabo and Pausanias.

At the northern end of the harbor and close to the shore are the remains of a vaulted building, apparently of Roman times (Fig. 43) from which the submerged foundations of

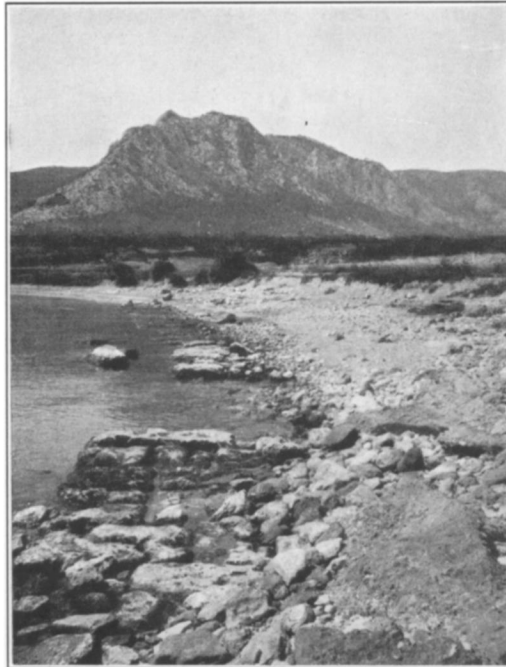


FIGURE 39. CENCHREAE: REMAINS OF QUAY

the breakwater run out towards the south-southeast. Even to the north of this breakwater there are foundations in the water and remains of ancient structures on land. The ruined building at the landward end of the southern mole must have been built in modern times. None of the existing foundations at either end of the harbor can be identified with any of the temples mentioned by Pausanias, but the remains of the moles and the submarine walls are unusual and interesting.

In the hill to the southwest of the harbor of Cenchreae, and about a kilometre distant from it, is a cutting 2.75 m. in width extending from the present road to the ravine at the south, a distance of about 100 m. There is no indication of the date or the purpose of this cutting. Perhaps it was connected with the water supply of the ancient town.

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. D, lxi, lxii, lxiii.



**FIGURE 40. CENCHREAE: MOLE AT SOUTHEAST SIDE OF HARBOR**



**FIGURE 41. CENCHREAE: MOLE AT SOUTHEAST SIDE OF HARBOR**

*The Bath of Helen.* About a mile to the south of Cenchreae a rocky cape terminates the ridge which forms the southern border of the Isthmus and which is separated from the Acrocorinthus by the bed of the river of New Corinth. Near this cape is a copious spring, undoubtedly the "Bath of Helen" mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> Dodwell<sup>2</sup> observes that the words of Pausanias imply that the water of the spring flowed directly into the sea. He says, "it is diverted from its course by ditches, and a large mill is turned by the rapidity of its current, which, after a course of a few hundred yards, enters the sea near a round promontory."<sup>3</sup> These words are perfectly true, but possibly misleading. The water of the spring



FIGURE 42. CENCHREAE: LANDWARD END OF MOLE

comes out of the ground into an artificial basin (Fig. 44) about five metres long and three metres wide, which is a metre or two above the sea and is separated from it only by a wall about 0.60 m. thick. From the basin the water flows along in a channel separated from the sea only by a wall about 0.50 m. in thickness until it approaches the mill, when it turns away from the sea in order to enter the mill from the landward side. The water of the spring is slightly brackish, but not, as has sometimes been stated, tepid; its temperature is presumably nearly the same at all times, and therefore it might, under certain conditions, seem somewhat warm. The round promontory mentioned by Dodwell is a peninsula and is a somewhat conspicuous feature in the landscape as viewed from Cenchreae (see Fig. 36). It is crowned by a round windmill.

<sup>1</sup> ii, 2, 3; see p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *A Classical and Archaeological Tour through Greece*, II, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 235; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, II, p. 538; Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa*, III, p. 760; Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques*, p. 39; Fiedler, *Reise durch alle Theile des Königreichs Griechenland . . . in den Jahren 1834 bis 1837*, I, p. 245; Philippon, *Peloponnes*, p. 32.



*Craneum and the City.* Pausanias<sup>1</sup> mentions various monuments on the way up to the city from Cenchreae, and it is evident that many tombs and graves existed in this region, though there is no reason to believe that it was for any considerable time the chief necropolis of Corinth, for graves and tombs have been found in even greater numbers in the plain to the north of the ancient city.<sup>2</sup> The graves which have been opened have, with

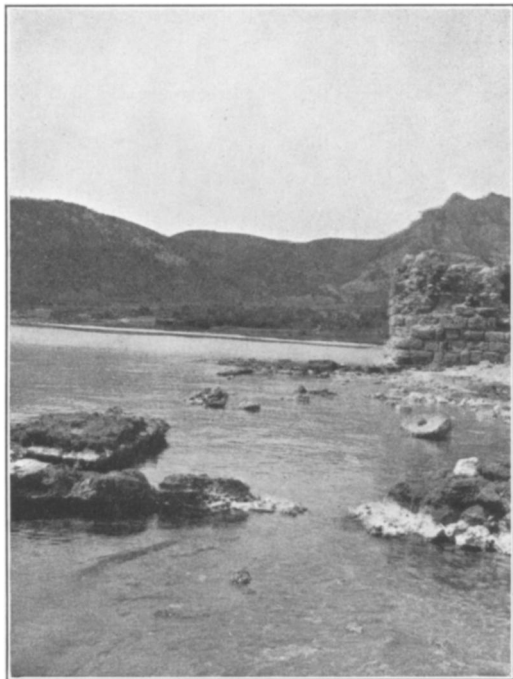


FIGURE 43. CENCHREAE: WALLS IN THE WATER AND VAULTED BUILDING

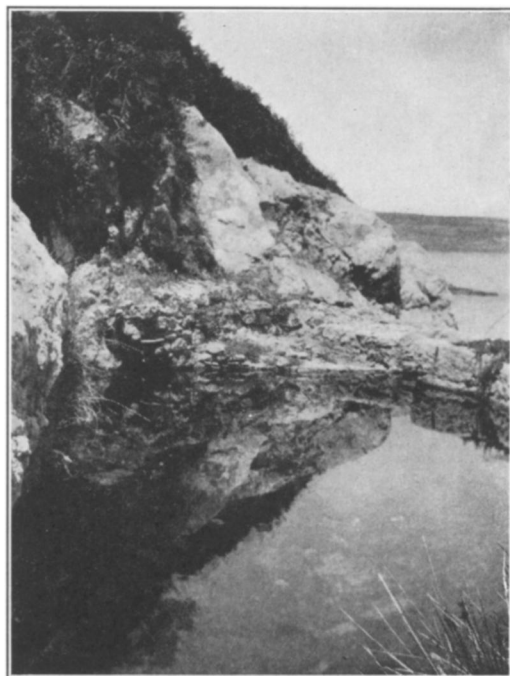


FIGURE 44. THE BATH OF HELEN

hardly any exceptions, been filled again and are now not visible, but in the field to the north of the road leading from Hexamilia to Old Corinth, near the point where it crosses the ancient wall, a Roman grave with a stone casing is to be seen. By far the most striking relic of the many monuments which existed in this region is the ruin of a tomb near the railway station of Hexamilia (Fig. 45). This tomb, built of brick and mortar, is evidently of Roman date and contains some remains of wall paintings. It must have been an imposing structure.

After his brief reference to the "various monuments" on the way up from Cenchreae, Pausanias mentions the grave of Diogenes and then the Craneum. This he describes simply as a grove of cypresses, but other writers speak of it in such terms as to show that it was a

<sup>1</sup> ii, 2, 4; see p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Since the words above were written Dr. Theodore Leslie Shear has excavated a great number of graves in the plain north of the city. See *A. J. A.* XXXII, 1928, pp. 490-495; XXXIII, 1929, pp. 538-546; XXXIV, 1930, pp. 403-431; XXXV, 1931, pp. 424-441; *Art and Archaeology*, XXIX, 1930, pp. 195-202, 257-265.

popular suburb.<sup>1</sup> Here it was that Diogenes is said to have asked Alexander to stand out of the sun,<sup>2</sup> and here he died, in Craneum, “the gymnasium just outside of Corinth.”<sup>3</sup> Of this gymnasium no traces have been found, nor are there any remains of the precinct of Bellerophon, the Temple of Aphrodite Melaenis, or the grave of Laïs, all of which are mentioned by Pausanias; but the fact that these buildings all existed in Craneum proves that it was no mere grove of cypresses and that its extent was considerable. Now there can never have been much space between the city wall and the ravine, even on the assumption that the

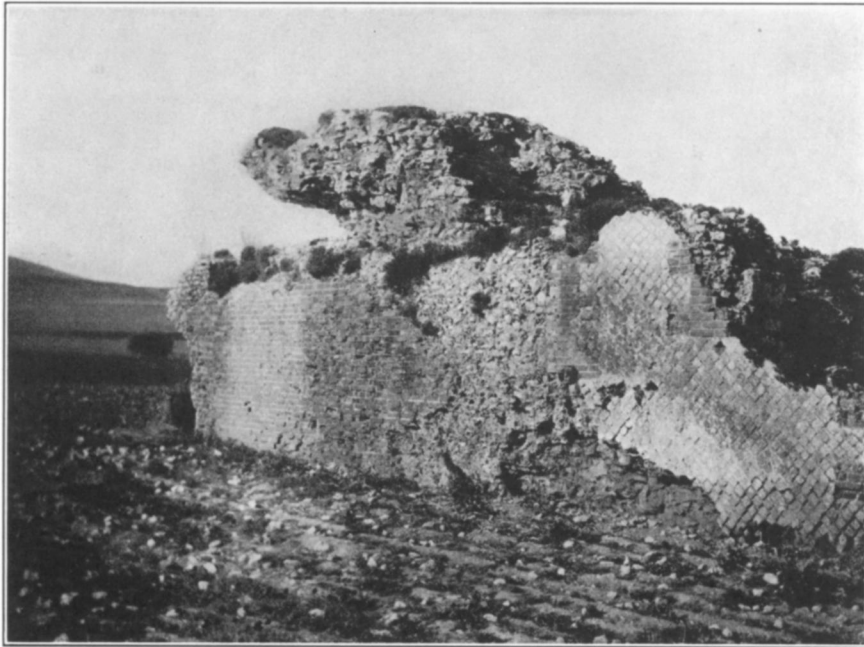


FIGURE 45. REMAINS OF LARGE TOMB NEAR HEXAMILIA

ravine was in antiquity less wide than at present, nor is it at all probable that a popular suburb existed to the east of the ravine, for this would be too far from the centre of the city, and moreover the region is relatively monotonous and unattractive, whereas the reference of Theophrastus<sup>4</sup> to the serene and pure air of Craneum would seem to indicate a site possessing some natural advantages. For all these reasons it seems probable that Craneum

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *De Exilio*, 6, Τὸ δὲ σε μὴ κατοικεῖν Σάρδεις οὐδὲν ἐστίν. οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες κατοικοῦσι Κολυττὸν, οὐδὲ Κορίνθιοι Κράνειον, οὐδὲ Πιτάνην Λάκωνες. Alciphron, *Epist.*, iii, 24, 2 (iii, 60), Οὐκέτι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον· ἔγνω γὰρ ἰν βραχεί τὴν βδελυρίαν τῶν ἐκείσε πλουσίων καὶ τὴν τῶν πενήτων ἀθλιότητα, ὡς γὰρ ἐλούσαντο οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ μεσοῦσα ἦν ἡμέ α, στρωμίλους ἔθεασάμην καὶ εἴφνε'ς νεανίσκουσ οὐ περὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀλλὰ περὶ τὸ Κράνειον εἰλουμένουσ καὶ οὐ μάλιστα ταῖς ἀρτοπώλισι καὶ ὀπωροκαπήλοισ ἔθος ἀναστρέφειν κτέ. Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* VIII, I, p. 144, Dindorf; *Or.* IX, I, p. 152, Dindorf; Lucian, *Quomodo hist. conscrib.*, 3; Timaeus, *Lexicon*, s.v. Κράνιον, Theophrast., *De causis plantarum*, v, 14, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert., vi, 2, 38; Dio Chrys., *Or.* VI, I, p. 66, Dindorf; Plutarch, *Alexander*, xiv, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert., l.c.

<sup>4</sup> *De caus. plant.*, v, 14, 2, Συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν δὲ καὶ οἱ τόποι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἐναίθριοι λεγόμενοι· πλείω γὰρ ἐκπῆγνται καὶ πλεονάκις ἐν τούτοις ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν καὶ μικρὸν πάνυ διεχόντων, ὥσπερ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὸ Κράνιον καὶ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον. Σκληραὶ γὰρ αἱ αἰθρίαὶ σφόδρα περὶ τὸ Κράνιον, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει δῆλον εἶναι.

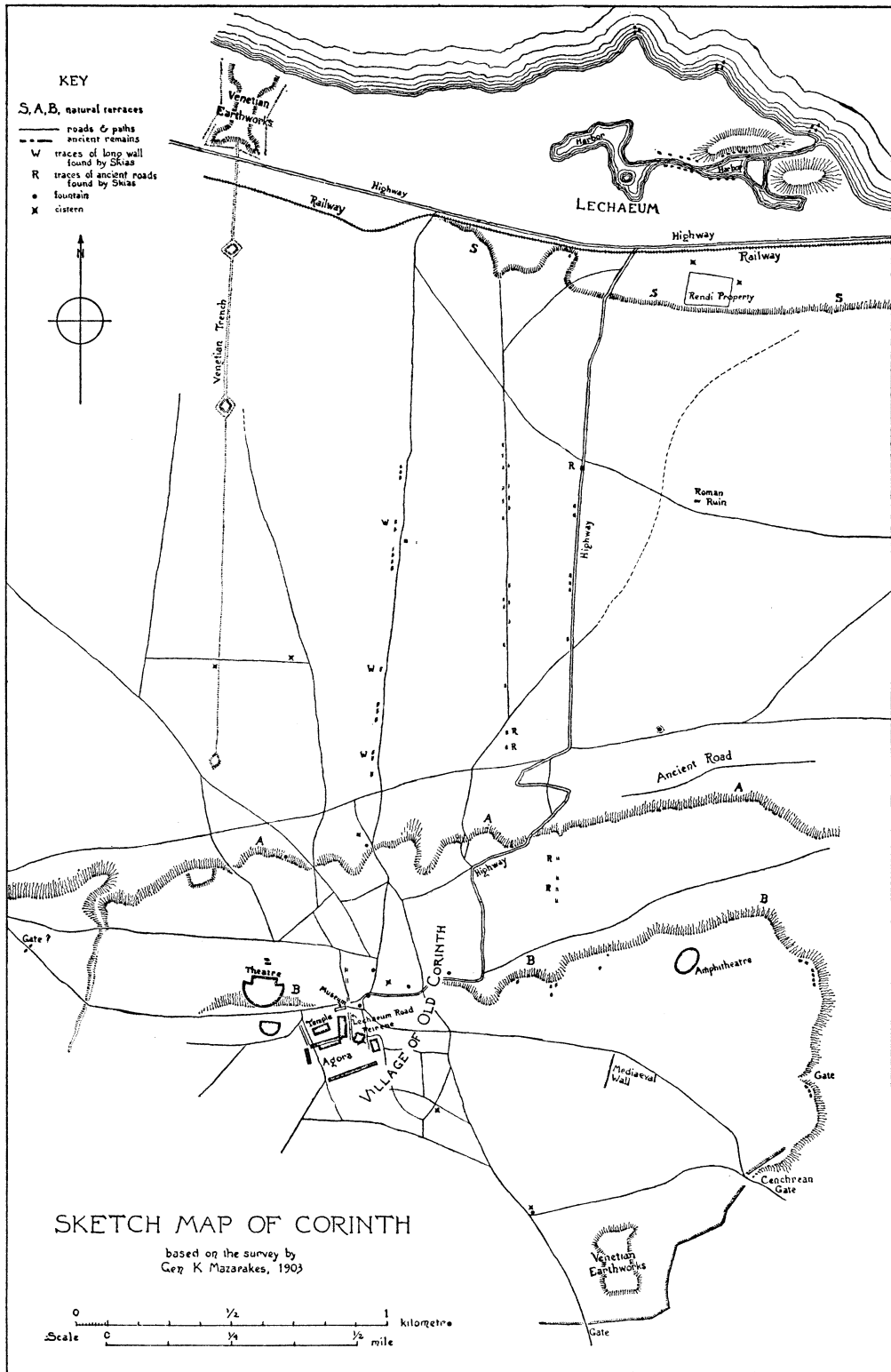


FIGURE 46. SKETCH MAP OF PART OF CORINTH, WITH LECHAEUM (AFTER SKIAS)

lay within the walls on the lower slope of the Acrocorinthus.<sup>1</sup> The words of Pausanias, "before the city," must then be understood as meaning, not outside of the walls, but before the thickly settled part of the city was reached.

About 150 m. or 160 m. west of the point where the present road towards Argos crosses the ancient city wall there is a fountain, and about the same distance farther west are remains of a wall running northwards from the road. This wall is made of large squared blocks for a distance of only about 10 m., but traces of the wall, with a few squared blocks, continue to the edge of what is now a terrace about a metre high. This terrace is held up for a considerable distance, beginning 35 or 40 m. eastward of the wall just mentioned, by a wall of more or less well squared stones. This may be, at least in part, ancient. Near the northernmost of the roads on this plateau, north-northeast of the wall last mentioned, are some remains of a wall of large squared stones running nearly north and south. It is barely possible that this may once have been connected with the wall mentioned above, in which case there may have been a wall separating the Craneum from the city proper.

At some distance west of the amphitheatre (see p. 89) and near the road are two formless lumps of brickwork showing that a building once stood there. Numerous graves, some of which have been opened, near the amphitheatre, lead to the assumption that the brick building was a tomb. Farther west and near the edge of the terrace are remains of a small square building of coarse concrete and of a wall extending northward from it.

Strabo<sup>2</sup> gives the circuit of the city of Corinth as forty stadia (*ca.* 7.4 km. or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles), or, including the walls of the Acrocorinthus, 85 stadia (*ca.* 15.72 km. or  $9\frac{3}{4}$  miles).<sup>3</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that part of the large space enclosed by the walls was virtually uninhabited and served as cemeteries and as open squares and parks. Of the walls mentioned by Strabo remains were visible in 1925 only at the eastern side of the ancient city and on the Acrocorinthus.<sup>4</sup>

The present road by which vehicles pass from Old Corinth to the highway leading from New Corinth to Argos crosses the ancient wall near the top of the steep descent into the valley of the river. Here was probably a gate in ancient times, though there is now no clear

<sup>1</sup> This is the general consensus of modern opinion. See Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, p. 18. Skias, *Πρακτικά*, 1906, thinks there was a city wall, to the west of Craneum, in addition to the circuit wall of which remains are now visible. Goettling, *Archäol. Anzeiger*, II, 1844, pp. 326-330, derived the name Κράνειον from the Doric form of the word κρήνη, spring, and believed that Peirene was in Craneum. But Peirene was near the Agora, not in an outlying part of the city. There is, however, a spring not far from the wall, near the road by which one now drives to reach the highway from Corinth to Argos; the possibility therefore remains that Goettling's proposed etymology is correct.

<sup>2</sup> viii, 6, 21; see p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> The difference between the total of 85 stadia and the 40 stadia given as the circuit of the city is much greater than the length of the circuit walls of the Acrocorinthus. Strabo may have included in his total the walls to Lechaemum or the wall leading up to the Acrocorinthus; but even then there is a discrepancy. His figures are, however, confessedly not exact, but only approximate.

<sup>4</sup> Since this chapter was written so many parts of the walls have been discovered that the entire course of the circuit walls and of the wall leading up to the Acrocorinthus is established. On the remains of walls and towers near the Potters' Quarter, see Agnes Newhall, *A. J. A.* XXXV, 1931, pp. 1-30, especially pp. 5 f. The publication of the fortifications of Corinth and the Acrocorinthus will soon appear as *Corinth*, Volume III, Part II.

evidence of a monumental gateway.<sup>1</sup> To the south of the road are considerable remains of a wall about 4 m. thick, of which only the lower part is preserved. The inner and outer faces were built of large rectangular blocks, and the space between these was filled with rubble. The foundations of small square towers project towards the city. This wall extends up the steep slope in a southerly direction for about 120 m., then turns sharply to the southwest and continues about 90 m. until it reaches a steep, almost vertical, ledge of rock. Above

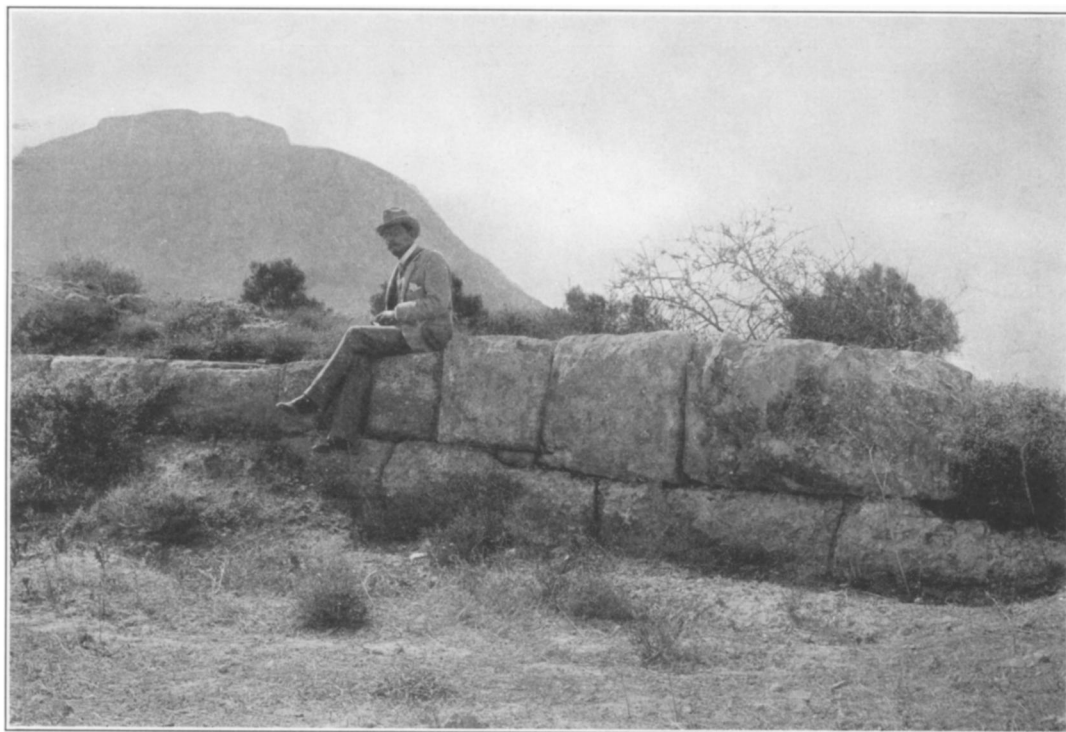


FIGURE 47. PART OF WALL OF CORINTH (GERMAN INSTITUTE PHOTOGRAPH)

this ledge the slope is not noticeably steeper than below, but the traces of the wall are slight and do not project above the general level of the ground.

North of the road the remains of the wall are less continuous, but its outer face is in some places preserved to the height of three or four courses of stones (Figs. 47, 48). It follows the brow of the ravine until the edge of the terrace turns in a more westerly direction (see map, Fig. 46).<sup>2</sup> After this only slight traces of the wall are visible, though some cuttings at the corner of the ridge, just northwest of the amphitheatre, may perhaps indicate the position of a tower. The wall probably followed the edge of the terrace (BB) to a point somewhat farther west than the amphitheatre and then turned northward, perhaps extending to the

<sup>1</sup> Skias calls this the Teneatic Gate; but see below, pp. 87 ff. Just to the north of the road some of the stones of the inner face of the wall (the outer face is not preserved) show some cuttings which suggest a threshold.

<sup>2</sup> Not far from this corner a large basilica was excavated by Professor Rhys Carpenter, the Director of the American School, in 1927. See *A. J. A.* XXXIII, 1929, pp. 347 ff.

edge of the next terrace (AA). Where it met the long walls connecting the city with Lechaem<sup>1</sup> we do not know. Apparently the city wall extended across the space between the long walls, for Xenophon says that the Corinthian exiles who were fighting in the space between those walls passed "upwards and came near to the circle of the city."<sup>2</sup> This indicates that the wall of circumvallation existed here. West of the western long wall the city wall probably passed in a westerly direction along the edge of the terrace (AA) and then followed the ravine which passes in front of the entrance to the Acrocorinthus. The wall



FIGURE 48. PART OF WALL OF CORINTH

running up to the Acrocorinthus<sup>3</sup> may perhaps never have been very substantial, for the ravine would, at any rate for some distance, be a sufficient protection; yet the complete disappearance of so great a part of the circuit wall is quite remarkable.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii, 6, 22; see p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Xen., *Hell.*, iv, 4, 11; διέδυσαν ἄνω καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κύκλου. This was on the occasion of the night attack made by the Spartan Praxitas for the purpose of breaking a passage through the long walls. The attack was made at the "gates where the trophy stands" (κατὰ τὰς πύλας ταύτας ἐνθα περὶ τὸ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν, Xen., *Hell.*, iv, 4, 8). The position of these gates, which were in the western wall, is unknown. The gates κατὰ τὸ Λέχαιον or ἐπὶ Λέχαιον mentioned by Polyænus, iv, 7, 8 (p. 202, 17, 21, ed. Woelfflin-Melber) may have been in the wall of circumvallation between the long walls. The action described in this passage took place in 303 B.C. When the long walls were built is not known, but a date in the second half of the fifth century B.C. is most probable. Strabo (viii, 6, 22; see p. 26) mentions them as existing in his day.

<sup>3</sup> Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, 2nd ed., Basel, 1875, p. 258, says: "Der Weg (to the Acropolis) zieht sich um die Westseite hinauf, zum Theil in einer Schlucht, die eine niedrigere Fortsetzung des Berges nach Westen rechts lässt. Dort sieht man noch Reste der aus grossen Steinblöcken erbauten Mauer, die einst von der Burg nach der Stadt lief." I failed to find here any such blocks as Vischer mentions.

<sup>4</sup> This brief description of the walls of Corinth was written in 1925 and is concerned only with the remains visible at that time. It will soon be superseded by the publication mentioned p. 80, n. 4. It is now evident that the extent of the city was nearly as great to the west of the Agora as to the east.

In the eastern wall are traces of three gates: one where the modern road already mentioned passes through the wall, one where the path, not passable for vehicles, from Old Corinth to Hexamilia descends into the valley, and one somewhat farther north, very near the edge of the bluff overlooking the river. The first of these has been already mentioned. What name it bore in ancient times is not known; but there must have been many gates, and only a few names are recorded.<sup>1</sup> The second gate is without doubt that by which the road from Cenchreae entered the city; it may, therefore, be called the Cenchrean Gate.

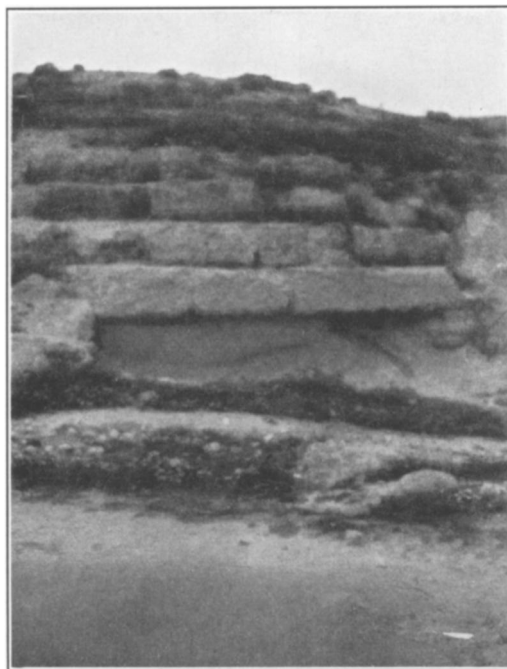


FIGURE 49. THE CENCHREAN GATE

Here the outer face of the wall is preserved to the height of four courses of stone to the north of the road, where there seems to have been a sort of tower, which was probably matched by a similar tower at the other side of the road (Fig. 49). Of the third gate there are only slight traces. Skias calls this the Isthmian Gate, but the present configuration of the land makes it doubtful whether a road from the Isthmian Sanctuary would naturally reach the wall at this point. It seems more probable that the road from the Isthmus joined the road from Cenchreae at the eastern side of the valley and entered the city by the Cenchrean Gate. In that case the gate farther north may have served for a road which led down into

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, ii, 5, 4, mentions the Teneatic Gate (see p. 34) and other gates are those leading to Lechaeum (*ταῖς πύλαις ταῖς κατὰ τὸ Λέχαιον* and *ἐπὶ Λέχαιον*, Polyæn. IV, 7, 8), to Phlius (*τὰς πύλας ἐπὶ Φλιοῦντα ἰόντι*, Xen., *Hell.*, vii, 1, 18), to Sicyon (*porta quae fert Sicyonem*, Liv., xxxii, 23, 4), and to the Isthmus (*πύλη ἢ φέρουσα εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμόν*, Diog. Laert., vi, 78), and a gate near the Heraeum (*παρὰ* and *περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον*, Plut., *Vit. Arat.*, 21, 1 and 22, 2). In most instances gates, if mentioned at all, are given no names. The Phliasian gate was discovered in 1932.

the valley and followed the course of the stream for some distance, perhaps crossing the valley at some point farther north.<sup>1</sup>

The imposing walls of the Acrocorinthus are now for the most part mediaeval, Venetian, or Turkish, but considerable portions of fine Hellenic masonry remain (Figs. 50, 51), especially near the third gate, none of which appear to be earlier than the fourth century B.C. There are also, especially near the southwestern corner of the citadel, some small portions of much earlier, even pre-classical, walls (Figs. 52, 53).



FIGURE 50. HELLENIC MASONRY IN WALL OF ACROCORINTH

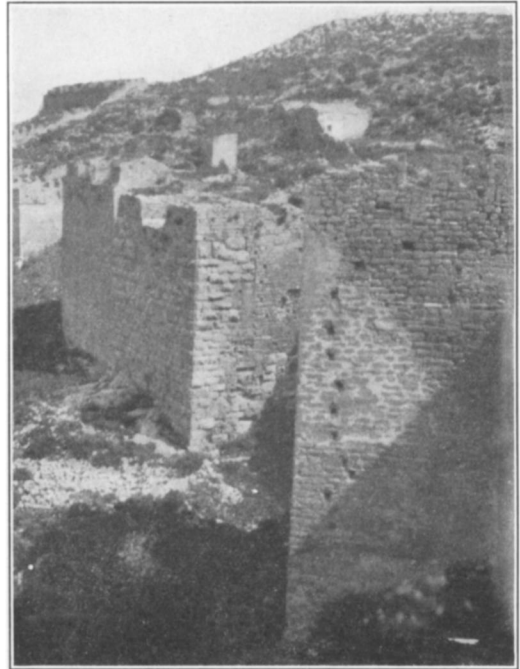


FIGURE 51. HELLENIC MASONRY IN WALL OF ACROCORINTH

From Craneum Pausanias passes at once to the Agora. This, however, does not imply that the Agora adjoined Craneum. Pausanias begins his description of the city proper by describing the centre of civic and religious life, where were the most interesting and important monuments. The first objects mentioned by him are statues, and as these have disappeared they offer no clue to the point at which the description begins. Pausanias, to be sure, seems to be coming from Cenchreae, but there may have been several streets leading from the Cenchrean Gate through Craneum and reaching the Agora at different points. The Temple of Fortune, the fountain with the bronze statue of Poseidon, and the Temple of Hermes offer no clue, as their positions are unknown. Probably they were in the eastern or southeastern part of the Agora, but even this is uncertain. That the bronze statue of

<sup>1</sup> For what has sometimes been regarded as a gate in the wall at the west of the city, see p. 93.



Athena was in the middle of the Agora is definitely stated by Pausanias, and also that the temple which he calls the Temple of Augusta<sup>1</sup> was beyond, or "above," the market place. This last statement indicates that the temple in question adjoined the Agora, but was not actually in it. The foundations discovered in the southeastern part of the field of excavation (see PLATE IV) may, therefore, well be the remains of this temple. The road leading to Lechaem, the Propylaea, the Fountain of Peirene, and the Peribolus of Apollo have been

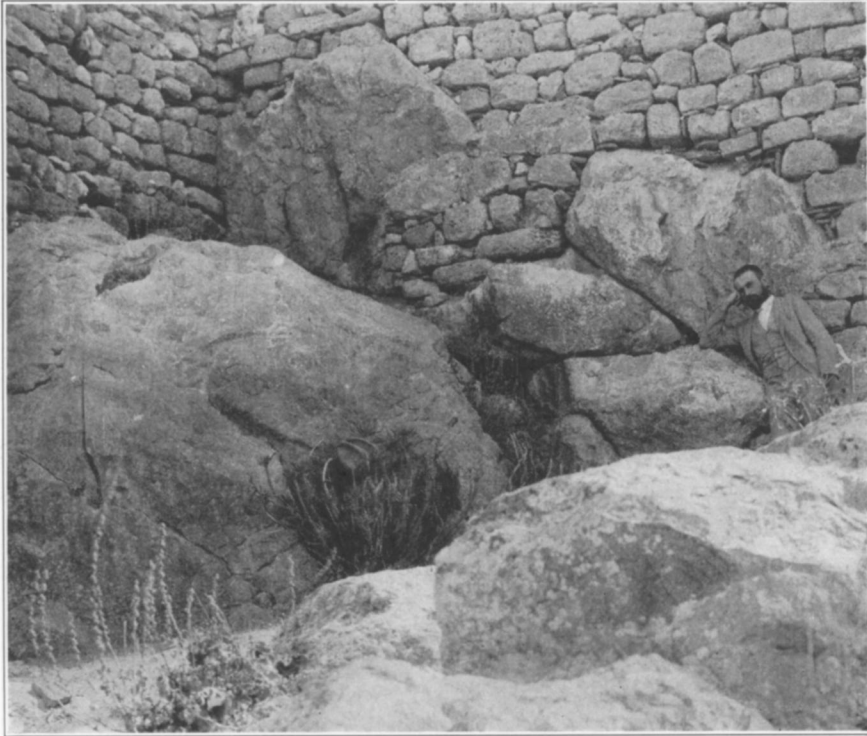


FIGURE 52. PRE-CLASSICAL MASONRY IN WALL OF ACROCORINTH  
(GERMAN INSTITUTE PHOTOGRAPH)

found in the excavations, and their positions are given in the plan.<sup>2</sup> The statues of Hermes, Poseidon, Leucothea, and Palaemon<sup>3</sup> were beside the Lechaem Road, evidently farther north than Peirene, but their exact positions cannot be determined unless, indeed, further excavations should discover their pedestals *in situ*, which is improbable. That the Baths of Eurycles<sup>4</sup> were near the Poseidon and, therefore, near the Lechaem Road, is clearly stated by Pausanias; it is, therefore, probable that the foundations uncovered in 1929 are

<sup>1</sup> Paus. ii, 3, 1. This was more probably a temple of the *Gens Julia*, perhaps containing a statue of the sister of Augustus with the attributes of Venus, the legendary ancestress of the family. Cf. Frazer, *Paus.*, III, p. 23, Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, p. 22, Pl. E, xciv.

<sup>2</sup> They are to be published in detail and are, therefore, not described here.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. ii, 3, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. ii, 3, 5; probably not the walls at Trench XIV (Fig. 3, p. 7); cf. De Cou, *A. J. A. I.*, 1897, pp. 495-506.

what remains of this edifice. The other baths mentioned by Pausanias, and the statues of Poseidon, Artemis, and Bellerophon, are mentioned in no topographical order, and their positions are quite unknown. The Temple of Apollo<sup>1</sup> has been identified with the ancient temple of which seven columns are still standing, the Fountain of Glauce,<sup>2</sup> the Odeum,<sup>3</sup> and the Theatre<sup>4</sup> are all known, and the positions of the monument to the children of Medea<sup>5</sup> and the Temple of Athena Chalinitis<sup>6</sup> are, therefore, approximately fixed, as are also those of the wooden image of Heracles and the sanctuary of Zeus Capitolius. The Old Gymnasium, the temples of Zeus and Asclepius, and the "spring called Lerna"<sup>7</sup> were about 250 metres north of the Temple of Apollo, at the edge of the terrace AA (Fig. 46).<sup>8</sup>

Of the temples and other monuments which Pausanias<sup>9</sup> says are by the road leading to the summit of the Acrocorinthus no remains have been found, nor is anything further known of them. Probably the course of the road was much the same in ancient times as at present, and the various monuments were arranged in the order in which they are mentioned. The Temple of Aphrodite, which Pausanias mentions and which Strabo says was at the summit,<sup>10</sup> was, in fact, at the highest point, where are the ruins of a Turkish sanctuary on the ruins of a Byzantine church which was built on the foundations of an ancient building.

The spring, which Pausanias says was behind the temple and which Strabo says was below it, is at some distance and much lower. Strabo calls this spring Peirene, and Pausanias says he has heard people say that it is Peirene, and both agree that the spring called Peirene in the city below derives its water from this source. This, however, appears to be merely an ancient conjecture; at any rate no connection between the two can be traced.<sup>11</sup> The spring is still as in Strabo's time, always full of clear and drinkable water and without any visible outlet.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paus. ii, 3, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; see plan, PLATE IV. The Odeum is the subject of *Corinth*, Vol. X, by Oscar Broneer.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. ii, 4, 5. The Theatre was excavated by Dr. Theodore Leslie Shear (in 1925 and the following years) and is to be published as *Corinth*, Vol. XI.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. ii, 3, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. ii, 4, 5.

<sup>7</sup> The Fountain of Lerna is mentioned by Lucian, *Quomodo hist. conscrib.* 29, who speaks of the travels and adventures claimed by a braggart ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρανείου δήλον ὅτι βαδίζων ἐπὶ τὴν Λέρναν, i.e. in a walk across the city of Corinth. Athenaeus, iv, 156 e, says that some praised the water of Lerna, others that of Peirene, but whether the reference is to this spring or the far more famous Lerna near Argos is not clear, for there is no special reason to think that the waters compared with each other are only those of Corinth. The passage reads: τοῦ δείπνου δὲ χρονίζοντος λόγος ἐγένετο ποῖον τῶν ὑδάτων ἥδιστόν ἐστιν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐγκωμιαζόντων τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρνης, ἄλλων δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Πειρήνης, ὁ Καρνεῖος κατὰ Φιλόξενον εἶπε τὸ κατὰ χειρῶν.

<sup>8</sup> Remains of the temple and precinct of Asclepius, identified as such by conclusive evidence, were found in 1930 and 1931; therefore the Temple of Zeus and the Old Gymnasium were in the immediate neighborhood, and the spring at this point must be the spring called Lerna. Before the discovery of the Temple of Asclepius, the ancient fountain at some distance west of the Temple of Apollo, to the right of the road leading towards the site of ancient Sicyon, was generally regarded as Lerna.

<sup>9</sup> Paus. ii, 4, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Paus. ii, 4, 7; Strabo, viii, 6, 21; see pp. 25, 34.

<sup>11</sup> There is now a tradition or belief that the outlet of this upper Peirene (called Dragonera) is the spring which issues from the rock at the hamlet of Kyras-i-Vrysi and flows down the vale past the Isthmian precinct.

<sup>12</sup> Excavations were carried on in the spring of 1926 by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens which resulted in much greater knowledge of the remains of the Temple of Aphrodite and of the spring called "Upper Peirene." The results of these excavations are published in *Corinth*, Volume III, Part I, *Acrocorinth*.

Strabo says he did not see the cisterns which he was told were on the Acrocorinthus, but his information was correct, for there are many cisterns there, some at least of which are ancient. The largest of all is in front of a Turkish minaret which stands in the valley or depression into which one enters through the third gate in the fortifications. The top of the citadel enclosed by the fortifications is by no means level, but, on the contrary, is a series of hills and valleys, for the most part covered with loose stones. The ruins of a Turkish town or village occupy the valley just within the great gate. The fortifications are an imposing



FIGURE 53. PRE-CLASSICAL MASONRY IN WALL OF ACROCORINTH

and even beautiful example of masonry of various periods. There were three gateways through which one had to pass, each of which was protected by towers. The first was approached in mediaeval times by a drawbridge; this has now disappeared, and another approach to the gateway is employed.

Pausanias<sup>1</sup> says that "when you have turned from the Acrocorinthus into the hill road you come to the Teneatic Gate and the sanctuary of Eileithyia." If the words "hill road" mean anything at all, they mean that the road which Pausanias has in mind is not the most nearly level road by which Tenea can be reached from Corinth,<sup>2</sup> but a road which, instead

<sup>1</sup> Paus. ii, 5, 4.

<sup>2</sup> This would be essentially the present road which passes through the city wall at the east (see p. 80) and joins the highway leading to Argos; this passes not far from the site of Tenea. Of course any road from Corinth to Tenea is in a measure a hill road, since Tenea lies beside the pass over the hills which separate the Corinthia from the Argolid; but the main highway, in ancient as in modern times, naturally avoided hills so far as possible.

of ascending the easiest pass, leads over the hills, and inasmuch as Pausanias speaks of turning into the hill road from the Acrocorinthus, not from the lower city, the beginning of that road, the Teneatic Gate, and the sanctuary of Eileithyia must be sought not far from the entrance to the Acrocorinthus. On the ridge which connects the Acrocorinthus with the small castle of Penteskouphia the ground to the south of the top seems to have been smoothed and levelled as if for a road leading towards Penteskouphia. This can be followed for at least 200 m. from a point near the first gateway in the fortifications of the Acro-



FIGURE 54. THE AMPHITHEATRE FROM THE SOUTHEAST

corinthus. A road beginning in this way, passing along the southeastern side of Penteskouphia, and turning south, would reach the present highway to Argos between the villages of Solymo and Chiliomodi, and would have to cross only two troublesome ravines. It would be a shorter road to Tenea than the road which passes round by the easternmost end of the Acrocorinthus.<sup>1</sup> A still shorter and more hilly route would pass along the slopes of Penteskouphia as suggested above and continue first directly across the valley, then over the hills to the south, reaching the present main highway not far from the site of Tenea. In the days when Tenea was a settlement of some importance and Corinth was a great and flourishing city, a short hill road, mainly for foot travellers, would undoubtedly have been

<sup>1</sup> There is now a path from Solymo to Old Corinth which passes round the southern and western sides of Penteskouphia. Even this is hardly longer, though much more difficult, than the main travelled road. It is not likely that any road led in antiquity directly south from the Acrocorinthus to Tenea, for the Acrocorinthus is here very steep and much cut up by watercourses. In ancient times these may have been less impassable than they are now, but they must have existed in some form to carry off the rain water, and the steepness must always have been the same.

convenient. To such a road Pausanias clearly refers. The Teneatic Gate was, then, not far from the first gateway of the existing fortifications of the Acrocorinthus,<sup>1</sup> probably a little to the southwest of it, and the Sanctuary of Eileithyia was close by, very likely near the top of the ridge leading towards Penteskouphia. There are, however, no visible traces of gate or sanctuary.<sup>2</sup>

Pausanias ends his description of Corinth<sup>3</sup> with the mention of a burned temple to the left of the road leading to Sicyon and not far from the city. Concerning this temple he



FIGURE 55. THE AMPHITHEATRE: SOUTHWEST PART

heard two stories, one that it was a temple of Apollo, the other that it was built for Olympian Zeus. In his time it was evidently a ruin, and its exact position is now unknown.

In addition to the monuments mentioned by Pausanias and those unearthed by the excavators, a few others are visible within or near the confines of the ancient city. Of these the most striking is, perhaps, the amphitheatre (Figs. 54–56), which lies near the edge of the upper terrace (see plan, p. 79) about one kilometre east of the Temple of Apollo.

<sup>1</sup> This is doubtless what Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 400, means when he puts the Teneatic Gate “near the south-east angle of the Acro-Corinthus.” If the entrance from the town to the Acrocorinthus was elsewhere, the present first gate may be on the site of the Teneatic Gate.

<sup>2</sup> This ground must have been the scene of many combats and much intercourse in mediaeval times, and, moreover, any material employed in building the gate or the sanctuary would have been useful to the builders of the fortifications of either the Acrocorinthus or Penteskouphia; it is, therefore, natural that all traces of the ancient structures have disappeared.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. ii, 5, 5.

It is excavated in the rock and has the usual elliptical shape.<sup>1</sup> The area of the arena is 290 by 190 feet.<sup>2</sup> Under the seats are chambers or grottoes cut in the rock, in which the wild beasts were probably kept.<sup>3</sup> Four rows of seats are now visible nearly all the way round the ellipse, and no more could ever have been cut in the rock; there must, therefore, have been a superstructure, whether of stone or of wood, but of this nothing remains. Near the southern end are remains of four stairways about 0.85 m. wide, and traces of similar stairways are seen at other points. At the southern end <sup>4</sup> a broad passage leads down into the arena, and



FIGURE 56. THE AMPHITHEATRE: SEATS AND GROTTO NEAR THE NORTH END

a few paces to the south are foundations of what must have been a large and imposing entrance. When the upper part of the amphitheatre was standing this passage was, no doubt, covered; it probably served as the entrance for gladiators and other performers. As Pau-

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, p. 38; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, pp. 244 f.; *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 38; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, II, pp. 527, 591; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, pp. 364 f.; *Ath. Mitt.* II, 1877, pp. 282-288 (plan); *Expéd. scientifique de Morée*, III, pl. 77 (plan). In the text of the last mentioned work, Blouet, after speaking of the temple, says, "au dessus, et près de la ville moderne, nous reconnûmes un reste d'amphithéâtre taillé dans le roc." The plan, which is hardly more than a sketch, is evidently that of the amphitheatre, but the position assigned to it is incorrect, for it is in no sense above the temple. Frazer's statement (*l.c.*) that the amphitheatre is "not far from the left of the torrent which separates Acro-Corinth from the heights to the eastward" is correct only if "not far" is equivalent to "at a considerable distance." Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, IV, p. 464, mentions a stadium adorned by Herodes Atticus. Apparently he means the amphitheatre. The plan published in *Ath. Mitt.* was made by Francesco Grimani in 1700 in connection with his proposal to use the amphitheatre and its grottoes as a hospital. The amphitheatre is discussed by F. J. de Waele, *Theater en Amphitheater Te Oud Korinthe*, Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1928, pp. 25-31. He thinks the most probable date of its construction is the latter part of the third century after Christ.

<sup>2</sup> These are the figures given by Leake, *l.c.*, and repeated by Frazer, *l.c.* They do not agree with those given in the *Expéd. scientif. de Morée*, pl. 77 (100 m. by 60 m.), but the discrepancy may be due to different levels at which the measurements were made. De Waele, *op. cit.*, Fig. 4, gives the length as 88 m., the width as 54 m.

<sup>3</sup> These now appear as caves of irregular shape; but originally they may have been neatly cut.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer, *l.c.*, says "on the north side," and Vischer, *l.c.*, says "an der Nordostseite."

sanias does not mention the amphitheatre, it may not have been built in his time. Dio Chrysostom<sup>1</sup> says that the Corinthians watched the gladiatorial combats outside of the city in a ravine large enough to contain a multitude, but so dreary that one would not even bury a decent man in it. This certainly does not describe the amphitheatre in any respect,



FIGURE 57. REMAINS OF FOUNTAIN HOUSE

for it is within the walls and is not in a ravine, but in an almost level field.<sup>2</sup> The amphitheatre is first mentioned by a geographer of the time of Constantine.<sup>3</sup>

Near the spring beside the road from Old Corinth to the highway leading to Argos (see plan, p. 79) are some cuttings in the rock (Fig. 57) which may very likely be the remains of an ancient fountain house, the water for which might have been derived from the same source which now furnishes the water for the neighboring spring.<sup>4</sup> Nearly due north of the Temple of Apollo, at the edge of the next lower terrace (BB), are the remains of a large building of brick and mortar, which was probably a Roman bath (Fig. 58), and about

<sup>1</sup> Or. xxxi, I, pp. 385 f., Dindorf, . . . ὥστε οἱ Κορίνθιοι μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως θεωροῦσιν ἐν χαράδρᾳ τινὶ, πλῆθος μὲν δυναμῆ-  
νω δέξασθαι τόπων, ἄνπαρῶ δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ὅπου μηδεὶς ἂν μηδὲ θάψειε μηδένα τῶν ἐλευθέρων.

<sup>2</sup> Skias, Πρακτικά, 1892, pp. 114 f., thinks Dio's words refer to a recess in the terrace, which he regards as the place of the ancient stadium. No reference to a stadium at Corinth is found in ancient literature, and it is possible that the Corinthians made use of the stadium at the Isthmus, since that was not far distant and contests for which a stadium was needed were probably not held very frequently.

<sup>3</sup> Mai, *Classic. Auct. e Vaticanis Codd. editorum*, Tom. III, Romae, 1831; *Liber junioris philosophi in quo continetur totius orbis descriptio*, p. 28 (p. 402).

<sup>4</sup> See also p. 80, note 1.

one hundred paces northeast from this the ridge is faced with masonry which appears to be Turkish or Venetian. Just below this is a spring or fountain.

Just to the north of the Temple of Apollo remains of extensive buildings were uncovered in 1930.<sup>1</sup>

Leake,<sup>2</sup> after mentioning the Temple of Apollo, which he thinks was the Temple of Athena Chalinitis, says: "At a short distance to the northward of this ruin, on the brow of the cliffs overlooking the plain and the bay of Lechaem, there is an artificial level, on



FIGURE 58. REMAINS OF LARGE BUILDING

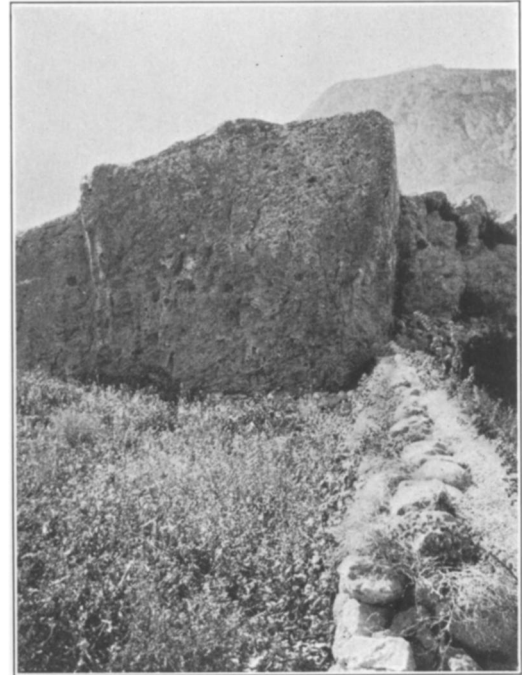


FIGURE 59. EASTERN ROCK BY ROAD

which I remarked the foundations of a large building, and some fragments of Doric columns, sufficient, I think, to prove that in this spot anciently stood another of the principal edifices of *Greek Corinth*," and goes on to say that the building was a hexastyle temple longer than the one of which the seven columns are now standing.<sup>3</sup> Some 500 m. north-northeast of the Temple of Apollo are some large blocks evidently from an ancient building.<sup>4</sup> One of these is part of a fluted Doric column more than 1.50 m. in diameter, the other a great block, probably from an architrave. The corners of this are rounded, which indicates that it was

<sup>1</sup> See F. J. de Waele, *A. J. A.* XXXIV, 1930, pp. 433-454. Complete publication of these buildings, as of all discoveries made since this chapter was written (in 1925), may be expected in as short a time as possible.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels in the Morea*, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Leake, having assigned the Temple of Apollo to Athena Chalinitis, calls this larger structure the Temple of Apollo.

<sup>4</sup> These are the blocks referred to by Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 38, as having been discovered by Doerpfeld. See Doerpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, pp. 306 ff.



rolled to this spot from a considerable distance; its present position is, therefore, no indication of the position of the building to which it originally belonged. The foundations mentioned by Leake are regarded by Doerpfeld as those of a Byzantine building.

About 400 m. west from the Temple of Apollo a diagonal crossroad connects the road leading towards Sicyon with that leading to the village of Anapnoí. This connecting road passes between two rocks, the faces of which, towards the north, show ancient working. The rock to the east (Fig. 59) is in part cut away, with a slightly overhanging surface, and

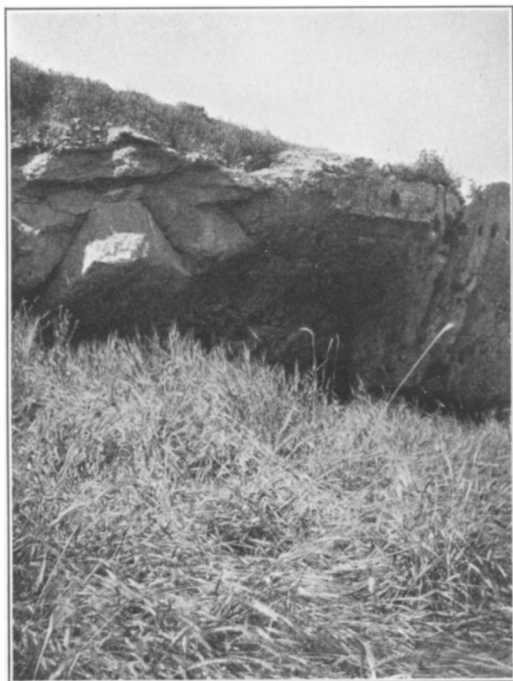


FIGURE 60. WESTERN ROCK BY ROAD

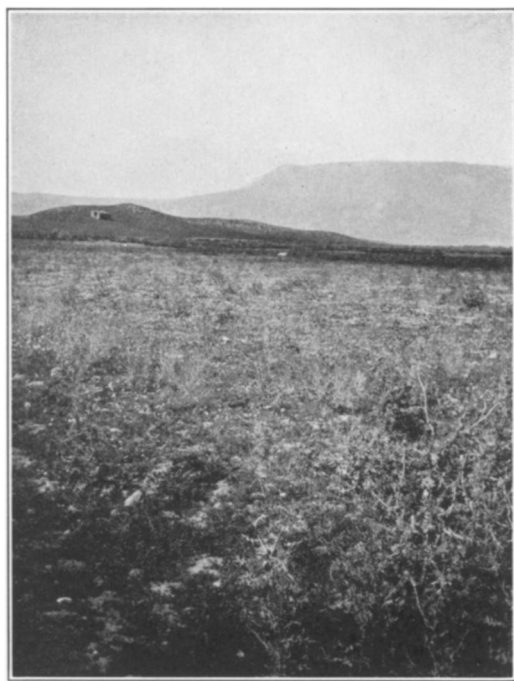


FIGURE 61. LECHAEUM: WESTERN MOUND

at the western end, some 3 m. above the ground, one corner of a cistern, which was cut in the rock and cemented, is visible. The western rock is also cut away, part of it with a slightly overhanging surface in which are rows of square holes as if to receive the ends of beams, and part of it with so much undercutting as to create what might almost be called a cave (Fig. 60). The purpose of these overhanging surfaces is not clear. Perhaps some sort of monumental gateway or arch existed at this point; it is, however, more probable that the first cuttings were made merely in quarrying, and that at a later time the rocks were used as backs for buildings.

Plutarch, in his *Life of Aratus*,<sup>1</sup> mentions a sanctuary or temple of Hera, which was evidently outside of the walls and near a gate, but nothing further is known of it. Plutarch

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Vit. Arat.*, 21, 1, ἤγε πρὸς τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Ἡραῖον, 22, 2, οἱ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔξω περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἀπολειφθέντες. The Heraeum mentioned *ibid.*, 24, 1, εἰθὺς τὸ τε Ἡραῖον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸ Λέχαιον ἐποιήσατο, is the one across the bay, in Perachora near the modern lighthouse; see pp. 42 ff.

mentions also<sup>1</sup> a sanctuary of Apollo in which the citizens were directed to congregate. This can, therefore, hardly have been merely a temple, but must have been a precinct of some size, capable of receiving a multitude. The Peribolus of Apollo beside the Lechaeum Road<sup>2</sup> seems too small, but the precinct about the ancient temple<sup>3</sup> may be the one to which Plutarch refers; at any rate it is not likely that the people would be asked to assemble out-

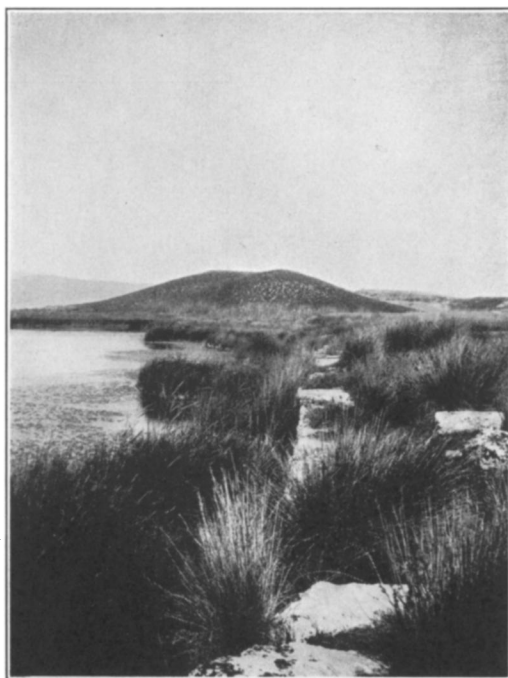


FIGURE 62. LECHAEUM: WALL AND EASTERN MOUND

side of the walls, even if we were sure that the burned temple by the road to Sicyon was sacred to Apollo.<sup>4</sup>

Beside the road leading towards Sicyon, about twenty minutes' walk from the Temple of Apollo, part of a mosaic floor was exposed by a swollen stream about 1917. This has proved to be the floor of a room in a Roman house, and the floors of several rooms, with interesting mosaics, have been uncovered.<sup>5</sup> The house was evidently a sumptuous villa.

About 400 m. south of the western mound of Lechaeum, at the south side of the road that runs west from New Corinth, a Roman villa with a nymphaeum was excavated in 1894 by the proprietor, Mr. Theophanes Rendis, and again, more completely, in 1916 under

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Vit. Arat.*, 40, 2, 'Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν, obviously identical with the 'Ἀπολλώνιον, *ibid.*, 40, 4, which was pretty certainly within the city.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. ii, 3, 3; see p. 31; see also plan, PLATE IV.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. ii, 3, 6; see p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. ii, 5, 5; see p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> T. Leslie Shear, *A. J. A.* XXIX, 1925, pp. 391-397; fully published by Professor Shear in Volume V of this publication.

the direction of Mr. Alexandros Philadelpheus, who published an illustrated report of his investigations.<sup>1</sup>

*Lechaeum.* The site of the ancient harbor town of Lechaeum (see Fig. 46) is marked by two mounds of sand or gravel (Figs. 61, 62), evidently the earth displaced by the original excavation of the harbor or perhaps by later excavation for its enlargement or improvement.<sup>2</sup> The channel connecting the artificial harbor with the sea is between the two mounds. It seems impossible that these mounds were ever covered with verdure of any kind or that any buildings stood on them, and their existence in the conspicuous position which they

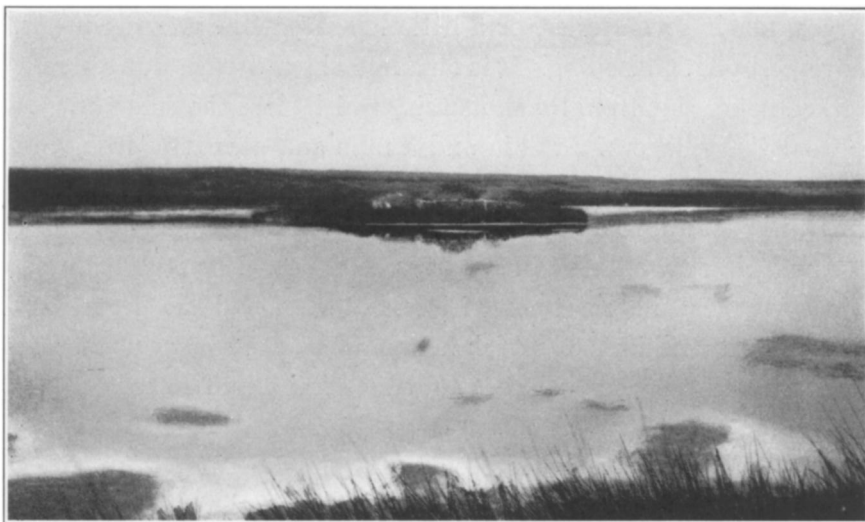


FIGURE 63. LECHAEUM: ISLET IN WESTERN BASIN

occupy may indicate that Lechaeum, however important as a harbor, was not systematically beautified as a town. Strabo<sup>3</sup> tells us that the place had no great population, and Pausanias says<sup>4</sup> only that Lechaeum was one of the two ports of Corinth and that there was there a sanctuary of Poseidon with a bronze statue. There are now no visible remains of the town, but the artificial harbor, though now shallow, choked up, and useless, is still plainly to be seen, and the foundations of some of the walls connected with it are still in place. The most noticeable of these extends for a considerable distance along the south side of the western part of the basin (Fig. 62). Almost directly south of the channel which connects the basin with the sea there is an opening about 5 m. wide in this wall, which may have been made to allow small vessels to enter an inner (southern) extension of the harbor, for the harbor once extended to the south considerably beyond the line of the wall, not

<sup>1</sup> A. Philadelpheus, *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, IV, 1918, pp. 125-135.

<sup>2</sup> Gerster, *B. C. H.* VIII, 1884, p. 226, "remblais qui ont jusqu'à 10 m. de haut; c'est la terre qui provient de l'excavation primitive du port, ou des travaux d'entretien."

<sup>3</sup> viii, 6, 22; see p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. ii, 2, 3; see p. 30.

only at this point, but in both eastern and western basins. In the western basin is a small island on which is a foundation of squared stones (Fig. 63); and considerable remains of walls of large, squared blocks exist near the sea at the entrance of the channel which connects it with the basin. In the sea itself and on the beach are some blocks which may be the remains of ancient moles.<sup>1</sup>

*Tenea.* Both Strabo and Pausanias<sup>2</sup> mention the village of Tenea, and the latter says it was about sixty stadia from the Acrocorinthus. Stephanus Byzantinus<sup>3</sup> says it was a village which belonged to Corinth and was situated between that city and Mycenae. It must, then, have been in the valley through which the highroad and the railway now run from Corinth to Argos, about seven miles, or a little less, from the Acrocorinthus. The exact spot was discovered by H. G. Lolling. It is on a hill which rises in five terraces and is separated by a marked depression from the mountains which close the valley towards the south, about a mile from the village of Athikia and a mile and a quarter from Chiliomodi, the nearest station on the railway. The twin villages of Upper and Lower Klenia, called collectively Klenies, lie just above and to the south of it. The terraces are now covered with fields of grain in which grow olive and fruit trees (Fig. 64). The architectural remains and pottery mentioned by Frazer are not now visible, but the rock-hewn graves on the northern slope of the hill towards Chiliomodi, which he mentions, are conspicuous. Little is known about Tenea in antiquity beyond what is told by Strabo and Pausanias, except that in 393 B.C. Agesilaus led a Spartan army from Argos to Corinth by a footpath which passed by the village.<sup>4</sup> It must, however, have been one of the most important inland villages of the Corinthia, otherwise Strabo and Pausanias would hardly have singled it out for special mention. The site commands the whole of the small but fertile plain in and about which are now the four villages mentioned above, and if in ancient times Tenea was the only settlement here, it would naturally have been a place of considerable size. It was, moreover, near the southern border of the Corinthia and commanded the main highway to Argos, as well as the footpath mentioned above, in addition to the valley leading to Cleonae.

*Other Villages.* Of the other villages of the Corinthia little is known. In the rock of a small hill about 1200 m. east of Hexamilia and a short distance north of the hamlet of Katópi are many cuttings which testify to ancient habitation. Some of the cuttings were apparently intended as bedding for walls, there is a well or cistern, and there are several shallow circular basins the purpose of which is not clear. The hill has been used as a quarry,<sup>5</sup> and it is not always easy to distinguish between cuttings made to receive foundations and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 80, n. 1, and the reference there given to A. N. Skias, *Πρακτικά*, 1906. As Skias remarked, the harbor<sup>r</sup> of Lechaem is of exceptional interest and might well repay careful investigation and excavation.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, viii, 6, 22 (see p. 26); Paus. ii, 5, 4 (see p. 34); Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, p. 39 f.; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 320 f.; *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 400 f.; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, II, pp. 549-551, 557; Boblaye, *Recherches géogr.*, p. 39; Bursian, *Geogr.*, II, p. 22; H. G. Lolling, in Steffen's *Karten von Mykenai*, erläut. Text, pp. 46 f.; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 34 f.; Baedeker, ed. 3, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Steph. Byz., s.v. *Τενεία*.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 107, n.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 106.

those which result from the ancient methods of quarrying. Any settlement at this place was probably small.

*Solygeia.* Beyond the peninsula which projects eastward near the Bath of Helen (Fig. 44) is a broad bay with a beach of sand and pebbles extending for some three miles or more to the rocky hills which for many miles from this point descend steeply into the sea except in a few places where some smiling little valley with a small harbor or beach relieves the harshness of the rugged coast. At the farther end of the beach a copious spring of slightly



FIGURE 64. THE SITE OF TENEA

brackish water issues from the ground, and its water flows about 100 m. to the sea. At very nearly the same point a copious stream comes down from the narrow valley in which the hamlet of Katakali is situated. From the beach a plain about two and a half kilometres wide at its widest point stretches back to the mountains, and at the southern corner of the plain is a hill connected with the mountains by a low ridge. On the rather flat top of this hill is the village of Galataki.

Thucydides,<sup>1</sup> in narrating the events of the year 425 B.C., says that the Athenians made an attack upon Corinthian territory and "sailing at daybreak they came to land between

<sup>1</sup> iv, 42 ff.; cf. Polyæn., i, 39, 1, *Σολύγης λόφος*; Steph. Byz., s.v. *Σολύγεια*. The words of Thucydides which give topographical information are: iv, 42, 2, *πλέοντες δὲ ἅμα ἐφ' ἔσχον μεταξύ Χερσονήσου τε καὶ Ῥείτου ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῦ χωρίου ὑπὲρ οὗ ὁ Σολύγειος λόφος ἐστίν, ἐφ' ὃν Δωριῆς τὸ πάλαι ἰδρυθέντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορινθίοις ἐπολέμουν οὖσιν Αἰολεῦσιν· καὶ κώμη νῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Σολύγεια καλουμένη ἐστίν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τούτου, ἔνθα αἱ νῆες κατέσχον, ἡ μὲν κώμη αὕτη δώδεκα σταδίου ἀπέχει, ἡ δὲ Κορινθίων πόλις ἐξήκοντα, ὁ δὲ ἰσθμὸς εἴκοσι, iv 44, 4, τοῖς δ' ἡμίσεσι τῶν Κορινθίων, οἱ ἐν τῇ Κεγχρειᾷ ἐκάθηντο φύλακες μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν Κρομμύωνα πλεύσωσι, τούτους οὐ κατὰ δῆλος ἡ μάχη ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ὀρείου· κοινορτὸν δὲ ὡς εἶδον καὶ ὡς ἔγνωσαν ἐβόηθον.*

Chersonesus and Rheitus on the beach of the place above which is the hill Solygeius on which the Dorians in ancient times settled and made war upon the Corinthians in the city, who were Aeolians. And there is now a village on it called Solygeia. From the beach where the ships came to land this village is twelve stadia distant, the city of the Corinthians sixty and the Isthmus twenty." He goes on to say that the Corinthians came to protect their territory, leaving half of their force at Cenchreae in case the Athenians should make a descent upon Crommyon. He describes the battle which took place and says that



FIGURE 65. HILL AND VILLAGE OF GALATAKI

the Corinthians at Cenchreae were unable to see it on account of the Oneian mountain, but when they saw the cloud of dust came immediately to render assistance.

Here we have a beach with a peninsula (Chersonesus) at one end and a place of flowing waters (Rheitus) at the other, distant sixty stadia from Corinth and twenty from the Isthmus,<sup>1</sup> with a plain about twelve stadia wide and hidden from Cenchreae by the Oneian hills. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the narrative of Thucydides refers to the plain of Galataki, and the site of the present village (Fig. 65) is the most probable site for the ancient Solygeia,<sup>2</sup> as being the most natural site for a settlement in this part of the plain. Any site nearer the beach would conflict with the statement of Thucydides that the beach was twelve stadia from the hill. The Corinthians coming from Cenchreae could reach the scene of the battle either by the steep passes over the Oneian hills<sup>3</sup> or by the lower road near the Bath of Helen.

<sup>1</sup> The distances from Corinth and the Isthmus are round numbers and only approximately correct. Whether Thucydides means by *isthmus* the Isthmian precinct or the narrowest part of the Isthmus would make little difference, and the distance from Corinth would depend somewhat upon the route followed.

<sup>2</sup> See Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, pp. 308 ff.; cf. Poppo-Stahl, note on Thuc., iv, 42, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 105.

About three kilometres (two miles) from the Bath of Helen, near the beach and some two kilometres (a mile and a half) from Galataki, is the little village of Almyrí. Here and in the neighborhood some pottery of Roman date has been found, and in the churchyard are several marble column shafts, probably from a Byzantine building. Over the lintel of the side door of the church is a piece of Ionic moulding, and inside the threshold a bit of

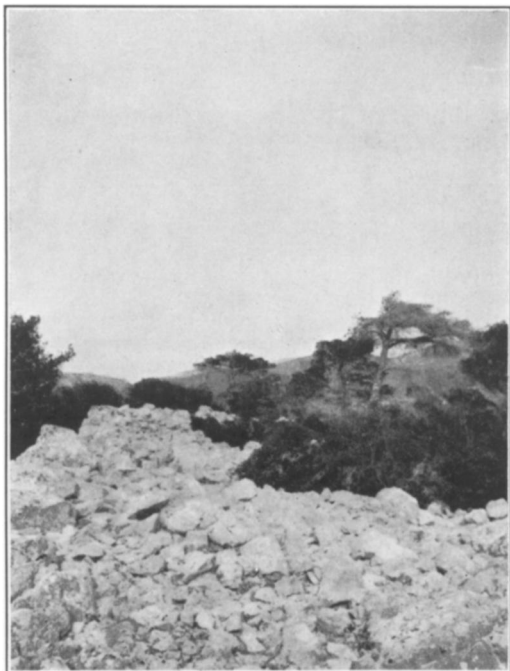


FIGURE 66. RUINED WALL ABOVE SOPHIKO



FIGURE 67. RUINED WALL ABOVE SOPHIKO

Byzantine decorative carving. It is not unlikely that there was in ancient times a small settlement, perhaps a fishing village, on this site. Ancient graves, apparently of Roman times, have been found between Almyrí and Galataki.

*Sophiko.* From Almyrí a road ascends through a wild and picturesque valley or gorge for a distance of at least sixteen kilometres or ten miles to the large village of Sophiko, situated in a fertile plain or valley several kilometres in length. Not far from the middle of the plain is a small hill upon which is the Church of St. Paraskevi. The church is built upon the foundations of an ancient structure, and there are also remains of an ancient peribolus wall of polygonal masonry.<sup>1</sup> To the north of the village rises a high, steep hill or mountain, on the summit of which is a great walled enclosure, very nearly rectangular in shape. The length of the northern and southern sides is about 200 m., that of the eastern and western sides about 100 m. Within this great rectangle is a smaller one, about 90 m. long from east to west, and about 45 m. wide. The western wall of this smaller rectangle is about 20 m.

<sup>1</sup> 'Αντώνιος Μηλιαράκης, *Γεωγραφία πολιτική νέα και αρχαία τοῦ νόμου Ἀργολίδος καὶ Κορινθίας*, Athens, 1886, p. 142, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ περίπου τῆς πεδιάδος ταύτης ὑψοῦται λόφος, ἐφ' οὗ ἐρείπια περιβάλλου ἀρχαίου μετὰ τείχεων πολυγωνικῆς οἰκοδομίας ἔχοντος ἐντὸς ναὸν Ἁγίας Παρασκευῆς, ἠκοδομημένον ἐπὶ θεμελίων ἀρχαίου κτιρίου. Cf. *ibid.* p. 143.

east of the western wall of the larger; its northern wall coincides with the longer northern wall. In the southern wall of the smaller enclosure, near its western end, is an opening or gateway about 1.50 m. in width. Within the smaller rectangle are several low walls at a right angle to the circuit wall; they have the appearance of ramps, and may have been intended to enable those who stood on them to see over the wall. Distributed over all the area of the great enclosure are foundations of rectangular buildings, none of which was large, though some of them appear to have contained at least two rooms. The material of all these buildings, as of the enclosing wall, is the grey rock of the hill. The wall (Figs. 66, 67) is built entirely of broken, not cut, stones. Those of the inner and outer faces are



FIGURE 68. HOUSE WALLS NEAR ANGELOCASTRO

fairly large, averaging at least 0.25 m. in length, and carefully laid; those of the filling between the two faces are smaller and seem to have been merely thrown in. Apparently no mortar was employed. The wall is about 1.80 m. in thickness, measured about one metre above the bottom of its outer face, which has a slight batter or inward inclination. The upper part of the wall has everywhere fallen down, so that the original height can no longer be measured, but it must have been about three metres on the outside. Since the ground slopes, the wall must almost everywhere have been somewhat less high on the inner than on the outer side.

Somewhat east of the middle, the northern wall has been removed and its stones piled up along the eastern end of the smaller enclosure. Here the ground has been cleared, and the space serves as the forecourt of a chapel. This may mark the site of an ancient temple, though we failed to see any remains of ancient foundations.



So far as I know, this place is not mentioned in ancient or modern literature. The structure of the wall is far removed from the elaborate ashlar work of the fourth and third centuries B.C., as seen at Messene, Phyle, and Eleutherae, to mention familiar examples, neither is it pre-Hellenic. More similar is the wall in the pass through which the railway runs between Athens and Eleusis, a wall which is supposed to be Hellenic, of the fifth century or earlier, but there the stones, though not actually cut, are more artificially shaped than here. The mediaeval wall on the Oneian hills not far from Cenchreae (see p. 104) is

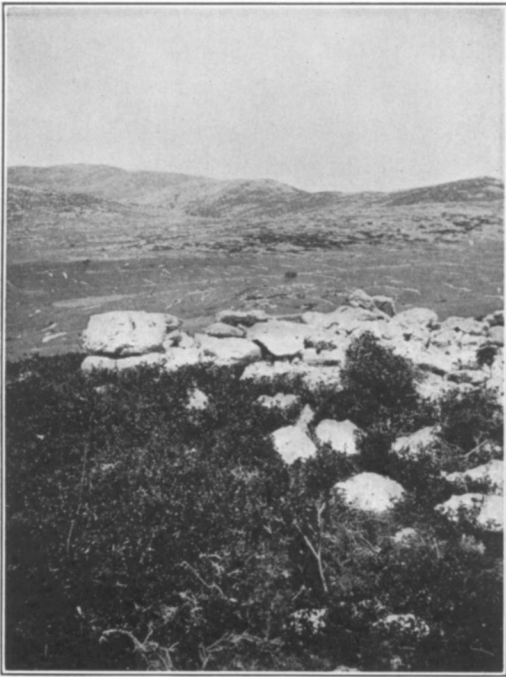


FIGURE 69. HOUSE WALLS NEAR  
ANGELOCASTRO

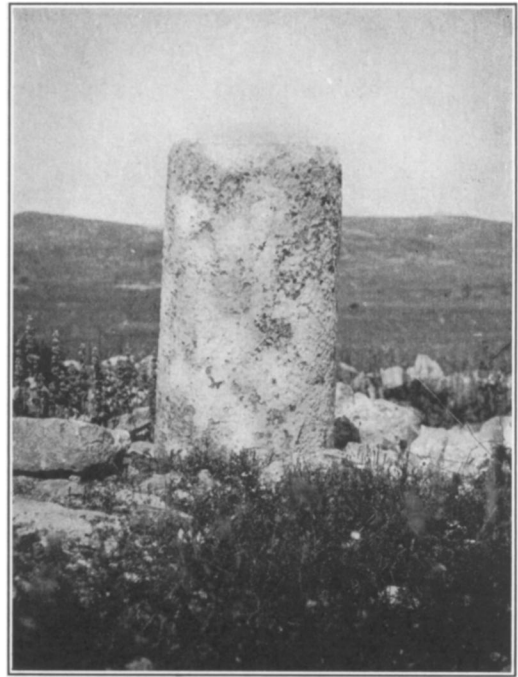


FIGURE 70. BROKEN COLUMN NEAR  
ANGELOCASTRO

built, like this, of broken stones, but it is far less massive. The house walls or foundations within the enclosure resemble closely the house walls near Angelocastro (see p. 102), which have generally, though without, so far as I know, definite reason, been considered ancient, not later, that is to say, than Roman times. The method of building — by making two parallel facing walls of carefully laid uncut stones and filling the space between with smaller stones — is a natural one in a region where loose stones abound, and does not necessarily belong to any particular time. So far as I know, no ancient pottery has been found on this site. There can be no doubt that the whole enclosure is mediaeval and certainly the fortification must at some time have been of considerable importance. The view from the site is wide and beautiful, extending to the west and northwest across the Isthmus of Corinth to the mountains beyond the Corinthian Gulf, to the east and southeast along the

coast of Peloponnesus, and including the Saronic Gulf with its many islands. The garrison of the place would control a large part of the rough mountainous region near the Epidaurian border.<sup>1</sup>

*Angelocastro.* The village of Angelocastro is situated on the steep and stony slopes of a narrow valley which opens into a small plain. It is about eight kilometres in a straight line southwest of Sophiko, and some twelve kilometres southeast of Athikia. It is accessible from Chiliomodi also, but its most convenient outlet towards the sea appears to be by way of Piadha (Epidaurus). No roads, but only mountain paths, lead to the village, and these paths, especially towards the west, pass over exceptionally rough, barren, and stony mountains.<sup>2</sup> On a peak above and near the village are the ruins of the mediaeval castle. There are few traces of ancient habitation, but a settlement certainly existed here in antiquity, for the plain is too large and, especially in its eastern or southeastern part, too fertile to have remained uncultivated, and too isolated to have been cultivated by people who lived elsewhere.

At a place called Patíma, about two kilometres from the village, on a hillside overlooking the most fertile part of the plain are ruins of a considerable number of houses (Figs. 68, 69) the walls of which were built of broken stones, apparently without mortar, though it is possible that clay mortar was used and has been washed away by the rains. Among these ruins part of a column, about 1 m. high and 0.35 m. thick, is standing upright (Fig. 70). It is a simple, unchanneled shaft, and there is nothing to show whether it was part of an ancient building or of a later construction. Hardly two metres from the column is a small cistern lined with cement. It is about a metre square, and may perhaps be of Roman date, though it may equally well, so far as I can judge, be later. The date of the houses is not easy to determine, but there is no ancient pottery on the surface of the ground, nor any proof that the settlement which once existed here was ancient. Some 300 m. southwest from the column are the foundations of a building built of heavy stone blocks about 0.55 m. thick and of various lengths (Fig. 71). The total length of the building is 13.40 m. and its width 7 m. It fronts towards the southeast. Its southwestern portion is a cella 8.93 m. in length inclusive of the thickness of the walls. The remainder of the building seems to have been a porch or smaller room entered by a central door. No foundations for columns are

<sup>1</sup> The mass of silver coins sometimes called "the find of Sophiko" has no connection with the village or the plain of Sophiko. It was found in 1913 in the sea not far from the harbor (called in the neighborhood Kórhpos) which serves the villagers. This is some three miles from the village. The find comprised 945 silver coins, nearly all of the third century B.C. See Svoronos, *Journal Internationale d'Archéologie Numismatique*, II, 1899, pp. 289-296, X, 1907, pp. 35-46, pls. I, II.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, II, p. 429, after describing Epidaurus and its neighborhood, says: "Nach Korinth zu wird die Landschaft rauher und dürrer; die natürliche Gränzseidung macht der Höhenrücken von Angelokastro, in dessen Nähe neuerdings ansehnliche Ueberreste antiker Thürme und heiliger Gebäude gefunden worden sind" (published 1852). *Op. cit.*, II, p. 597, Anm. 94, writing of Tenea and its neighborhood, he remarks: "In diesem Gebirgsdistrikte lag auch vielleicht der Gau Petra, die Heimath der Kypseliden, Herod. v, 92." See also Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, II, pp. 12 and 22. That the district called Petra was in the mountainous region extending from the neighborhood of Tenea to the Epidaurian border and the sea south of the plain of Galataki (Solygeia) is merely a conjecture, but the name would be appropriate.

visible, but the whole ruin is overgrown with brushwood and is difficult to examine. The foundations, which are the only remnants of the building, were not very carefully laid, and the structure may be Byzantine or later; it may, however, be ancient, in spite of the careless construction, for it is possible that in ancient times, as later, the buildings erected in small outlying villages were less carefully constructed than those of larger and wealthier communities. Some 400 m. south and a little east from this ruin, in a bit of brushwood surrounded by vineyards and grain fields, are some remains of a carelessly built stone tower which may be mediaeval, but is certainly not ancient.

Near the western end of the plain or valley a path turns northward over a ridge. To the right of this path as it ascends are the ruins of a tower built for the most part of uncut



FIGURE 71. RUINED BUILDING NEAR ANGELOCASTRO

stones, with two underground rooms or recesses. Here coins are said to have been found. There are also on the heights above the village some remains of house walls said to be like those at Patíma. These are similar in construction to the house walls within the great enclosure on the high hill above Sophiko (p. 100).

Whether Angelocastro belonged in ancient times to Corinth or to Epidaurus is not certain,<sup>1</sup> for the history of this mountainous and for the most part unproductive region is virtually unknown. The most natural boundary in this neighborhood would seem to be the heights to the north and west of Angelocastro, and if the boundary between the two states reached the sea at the great promontory designated on our maps as Cape Speiraeum, Angelocastro was almost certainly in Epidaurian territory. Natural and political boun-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 21-23. In the time of the Frankish rule it belonged to Corinth, for in the list of the Domains and Fiefs of the Principality of Achaia drawn up for Marie de Bourbon in 1364 *Lo castello de Angelo Castro* is mentioned as *in la castellania de Corinto del gran Senescallo*. See Sir Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea*, II, p. 296.

daries, however, are not always, or even usually, identical, and if the boundary reached the sea at Cape Trachyli, it would have passed to the south and east of Angelocastro, and therefore the place, the ancient name of which is unknown, should be regarded as Corinthian.

*Mediaeval Wall.* At some distance south from the road leading from Hexamilia to Kechriés, about two miles from the sea, high up on the slopes of the Oneian Mountains, is a mediaeval wall (Fig. 72). It stands on a steep slope between two narrow valleys, in a position to command the passes as well as the plain below. It is built of medium sized, uncut, but carefully split stones set in a mortar composed chiefly, if not entirely, of clay. Only the facing stones are carefully split and laid; the inner part of the wall is made of smaller stones laid with little care or perhaps merely thrown in between the facings. On the outside the

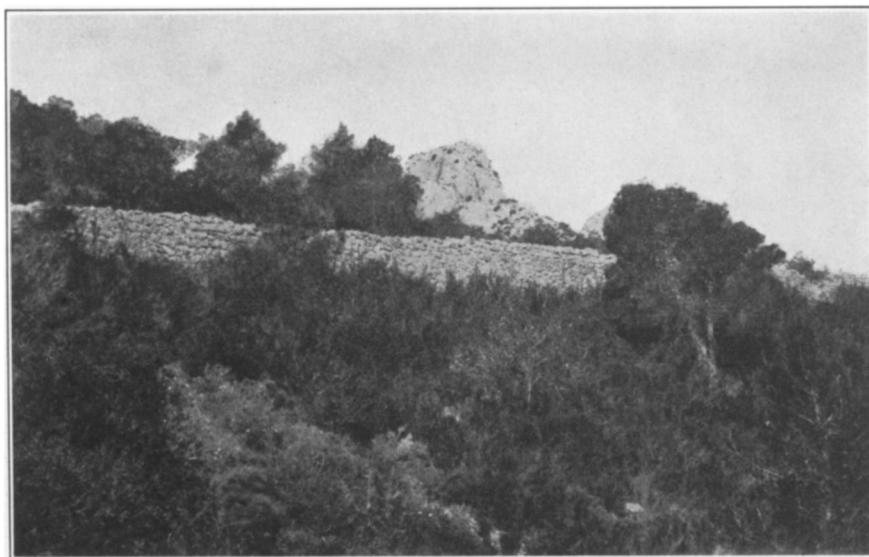


FIGURE 72. MEDIAEVAL WALL

wall is about 3.25 m. high, and on the inside it rises about 1.25 m. above a raised walk, about 1 m. in width, which is at varying height above the irregular surface of the ground and follows the wall for its entire length. The wall has a considerable batter on the outside and is about 0.80 m. thick at the top. It was once crowned with triangular stones forming a sharp ridge, after the manner of the walls now often built in Greece to enclose gardens, but very few of these stones are still in place.

Beginning on the slope towards the eastern valley the wall runs about 9 m. to the east, then about 55 m. almost due north, then about 55 m. to the west, then about the same distance west-northwest. Here a wall projects nearly 20 m. northeast by north, turns sharply to the west for about 12 m., then slightly west of south, continuing until it meets the main wall. In the enclosure thus formed there is, on the northern face of the main wall, a raised platform about 1.50 m. in width and about 0.50 m. below the top of the wall. Near the

middle of the southwest side of this enclosure is a gateway about 1.50 m. in width, now much blocked by fallen stones. This small enclosure is at the highest point of the projecting ridge between the two ravines, and the wall is nearly above the place where the eastern ravine divides, one branch passing up the mountain to the southeast, the other to the south-southwest. Both might serve as passes over the mountain to the plain of Galataki (p. 98), and the same is true of the ravine to the west.

From the enclosure the wall continues in the same direction (west-northwest), only curving slightly outwards towards the plain, for nearly 100 m. to the bottom of the ravine



FIGURE 73. MEDIAEVAL WALL: WATERCOURSE

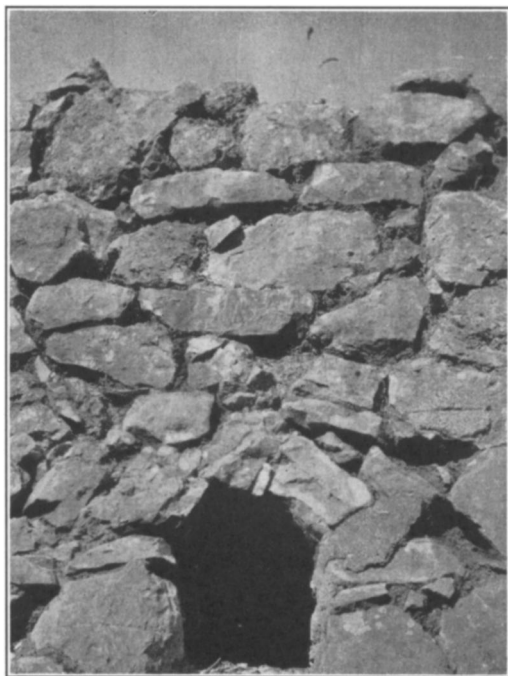


FIGURE 74. MEDIAEVAL WALL: OPENING FOR DRAINAGE

and nearly 40 m. up the other side, then turns at an angle of about sixty degrees, continues some 20 m. to the north, and then, turning to the left at about the same angle, runs 15 or 16 m. to the face of a cliff. About 15 m. down to the west from the enclosure is a gateway about 1.50 m. wide. On the eastern side of this, steps parallel to the wall give access to the raised walk; on the western side the walk is only a little above the ground. At the watercourse in the bottom of the western ravine the wall on the eastern side ends in a great stone of irregular shape (Fig. 73), about 2 m. in each dimension; on the other side several large stones were employed, but these are now not all in place. Evidently provision was made to care for the sudden rush of water after a rain. In the short eastern wall, near the southeast corner, are two holes, some 0.35 m. in height, evidently intended to carry off water. One of these is rectangular in shape, the other has an arched top (Fig. 74).

The date of this extensive and elaborate fortification is apparently unknown, but it bears eloquent testimony to the importance of this region in mediaeval times.

*Quarries.* Much of the rock of the Corinthia (and rock is abundant) is limestone of good quality, and quarries are numerous.<sup>1</sup> In and about the ancient city the rock is so cut as to show that it was quarried in ancient times; in the hill near Katópi (see p. 96) some of the cuttings are doubtless merely the result of quarrying; there is an ancient quarry just to the west of this hill; and a little to the east of it a great part of the hills has been quarried away for a distance of about a kilometre. There is a great quarry due north of Penteskouphia, about thirty-five minutes' walk west of the Temple of Apollo in Corinth. From the heights of the Acrocorinthus this looks like a mighty wall. On the path leading from Kechriés to the eastern end of the canal, some twenty minutes' walk from Kechriés, is a small ancient quarry. Indeed quarries are found in many places. The list might be considerably lengthened, but those mentioned are sufficient to indicate the extent of the quarrying in ancient times.

*Roads.* The roads in the ancient Corinthia undoubtedly corresponded pretty closely with the existing roads and paths, but there are now few traces of ancient highways. In antiquity, as now, there were three roads by which access from the north was possible, one near the western coast through Perachora, one by the Scironian Cliffs, and one through the pass in the mountains midway between these two. Towards the south the main highway to Argos must have followed nearly the line of the modern road, since that traverses the hills through the lowest and easiest pass. A road to Phlius and Cleonae mounted the pass to the west of Penteskouphia. The road leading from the southern end of the Acrocorinthus to Tenea has been discussed in connection with the Teneatic Gate.<sup>2</sup> Pausanias mentions a road leading from the city of Corinth to Sicyon, and there may well have been a road near the shore, connecting Sicyon and its port directly with Lechaem. Nothing is known of the land route between Corinth and Epidaurus, but the most reasonable way would seem to be past the Bath of Helen, along the sea near Galataki (Solygeia), and through Sophiko, for the paths over the rough hills between Sophiko and the coast could hardly have been very much better in antiquity than they are in modern times.

When Corinth was a great and prosperous city, when Cenchreae and Lechaem were busy ports, and when the Isthmian Games attracted crowds of visitors, there were without doubt many roads and paths in the comparatively flat region of the Isthmus and the plains that stretch along the shores of the Corinthian and the Saronic gulfs; but of these there are no vestiges remaining. The existence of the mediaeval wall in the Oneian hills<sup>3</sup> shows

<sup>1</sup> Stone was exported from Corinth to other places. Corinthian stone is mentioned in Delphic inscriptions in connection with the building of the temple in the fourth century B.C., e.g. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, 241 (Hicks and Hill, 129), l. 21, ἀργύριον δόμεν πο[τ]ῆ τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἐν Κορίνθῳ; *B. C. H.* XXVI, 1902, p. 63, II, ll. 1 f., καὶ Πύθι λατόμοις ποῦρου [ἐκ] Κορίνθου πλίνθων ἀγέλαι[ᾶν] ἑκατόν; cf. *B. C. H.* XXII, 1898, p. 304, ll. 45 ff., p. 321, ll. 57 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 101.

that in the Middle Ages the passes over those hills were of some importance, and probably their importance was even greater when Corinth was at the height of its prosperity and power. There are passes over which it is possible to walk from the plain of Galataki (Solygeia) to Athikia, near the site of ancient Tenea, and in the days when the population of the Corinthia was greater than it is now those passes were doubtless more frequently trodden than they are today. Of only one of these lesser roads is there any direct mention in ancient literature, that is the mountain path to Mycenae, which was called the *Κοντοπορεία*.<sup>1</sup> It was identified by H. G. Lolling<sup>2</sup> as the path which passes by Chiliomodi, Tenea (or rather its site), Klenies, Hagionori, Berbati, and Klisoura to the Argive plain. The spring mentioned by Ptolemy is probably the one southwest of the height of Hagionori, close by the path, where was once a small chapel with which the fountain house was connected.<sup>3</sup>

*Pre-classical Sites.*<sup>4</sup> Central Corinthia, by which is meant the district just west of the Isthmus, immediately surrounding the site of Corinth itself and extending westward to the Nemea River (the ancient boundary toward Sicyon), is a comparatively fertile agricultural region. Several flourishing villages maintain themselves here, raising ample crops for independent support in the matter of food supplies, and producing annually large amounts of grain, wine, tobacco, fruits and cheese, and a huge quantity of dried currants to market in their prosperous trading emporium, New Corinth. In the spring the hills and plain are covered with waving fields of grain; later in the summer when the higher slopes are dry and brown a vast expanse of fresh green vineyards stretches from the hills to the sea, with here and there a spot of pleasing verdure, where one of the numerous springs issues into the plain. This is the district famed in an ancient proverbial saying,<sup>5</sup> which expressed its supreme conception of wealth and prosperity by a wish for the possession of land between Corinth and Sicyon. Such being the character and repute of this territory in modern and classical times, one might with reason expect it to have been valued as a site for settlement and cultivation in the prehistoric period also. Exploration in recent years has shown in fact that this was undoubtedly the case. No fewer than ten sites of prehistoric villages have been discovered in this small area. In addition to the remains at Corinth itself (Site No. 1), they are the following:

<sup>1</sup> Athen. ii, 43e (from the *Memoirs* of Ptolemy Philadelphus), Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἑβδόμῳ ὑπομνημάτων ἐπὶ Κορίνθου προάγουσί φησιν ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς Κοντοπορίας καλουμένης κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόρειαν προσβαίνουσιν εἶναι κρήνην νῆμα ἀνείσαν χίονος ψυχρότερον κτέ., Polyb., xvi, 16, 4 (in criticizing a statement of Zeno), τοιαύτην γὰρ φύσιν ἔχει τὰ προειρημένα, πάντα συλλήβδην ὥστε μηδὲν διαφέρειν τοῦ λέγειν ὅτι ποιησάμενός τις ἐκ Κορίνθου τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ διαπορευθεὶς τὸν Ἴσθμόν καὶ συνάψας ταῖς Σκευρωσίωσι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Κοντοπορίαν ἐπέβαλε καὶ παρὰ τὰς Μυκῆνας ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν εἰς Ἄργος, Xen., *Hell.*, iv, 4, 19, (Ἄγρησίλαος) δηλώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν (τῶν Ἀργείων) τὴν χώραν, εὐθὺς ἐκείθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ Τενεάν (Köppen; mss. Τεγέαν) ἐς Κόρινθον αἰρεῖ τὰ . . . τείχη. Xen., *Ages.*, ii, 17, repeats the same statement, but reads τὰ στενά instead of Τενεάν (Τεγέαν).

<sup>2</sup> Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai*, Berlin, D. Reimer, 1884, Text, pp. 44-46.

<sup>3</sup> Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 328, derives the name from *κοντός*, "pole" or "staff," not from the Byzantine and modern *κοντός*, "short," and explains that the road was called *Κοντοπορεία* because it was passable for foot travelers only.

<sup>4</sup> This brief description of Pre-classical sites in the Corinthia is by Dr. Carl W. Blegen. The greater part is reprinted from an article which appeared in *A. J. A.* XXIV, 1920, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Athenaeus, V, 219 a; Schol. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 969.

2. (Fig. 75.) About half a mile northwest of the Temple of Apollo a ruined windmill, known as "Mylos Cheliotou," crowns a small isolated hill at the edge of the upper plateau overlooking the plain to the north. Prehistoric potsherds comprising Early, Middle and Late Helladic wares lie scattered about this hill and its northern slope. The mound is thickly covered with débris showing evidence of continuous occupation from prehistoric down to recent times. A line of massive stones, projecting slightly above ground and traceable for a considerable distance, may belong to a prehistoric wall. Near by in a deep ravine to the south is a spring. No excavations have yet been made at this site.<sup>1</sup>

3. (Fig. 76.) Two miles west of Old Corinth a high, circular cliff with flat top, standing conspicuously at the mouth of a deep ravine, bears the appropriate name "Aetopetra" or

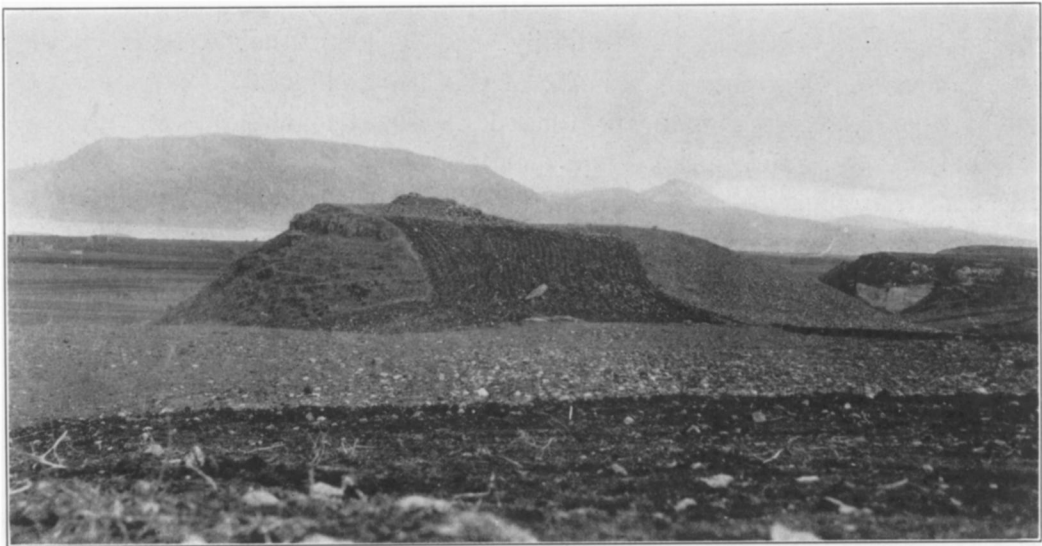


FIGURE 75. MYLOS CHELIOTOU FROM THE WEST

Eagle Rock. It commands a splendid view of the fertile plain to the north and dominates an old road leading southward through the hills. One of the Mycenaean highways discovered by Steffen (*Karten von Mykenai*, map) very probably came down this ravine, passing just below the site. On the flat summit of the hill many potsherds have been exposed by ploughing and others may be gathered along the slope south of the cliff, among which Early, Middle and Late Helladic fabrics are all well represented. A number of house walls also appear cropping up out of the ground. Up to the present time there has been no excavation.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. T. L. Shear has recently dug some trenches on the slope below the hill toward the north and the northeast, where he found a deep well filled with débris of the Early Helladic period, including quantities of pottery. In the plain, still farther toward the northeast, some Middle Helladic graves were brought to light, and fragments of neolithic pottery were also discovered in deposits scattered about here and there in the same region. *A. J. A.* XXXIV, 1930, pp. 403 ff.



4. (Fig. 77.) Near the shore of the Corinthian Gulf, somewhat more than a mile west of Lechaem, is a slight elevation surmounted by a chapel of St. Gerasimus. In the field about the church Early Helladic sherds have been picked up in abundance, and a few scanty fragments of Middle Helladic wares have been found. This site has not yet been excavated.

5. On a bluff named "Korakou," which juts out close to the sea at a point two thirds of a mile east of Lechaem and about two miles west of New Corinth, is a low but conspicuous mound, formed of the débris and ruins of successive prehistoric settlements. Excavations conducted here in 1915 and 1916 revealed an undisturbed and clearly stratified



FIGURE 76. AETOPETRA FROM THE NORTHEAST

deposit, which yielded an architectural and ceramic sequence giving the basis for a division of the Bronze Age into three main stages, the Early, Middle, and Late Helladic periods respectively. An account of these excavations has been published.<sup>1</sup>

6. (Fig. 78.) A small prehistoric site has been discovered about a mile and a half east of Old Corinth at the north end of a ridge called "Arapiza," which lies just west of the carriage road from New Corinth to Argos. Early and Middle Helladic sherds occur here and some Mycenaean ware has also been found. Arapiza is a small mound and probably not very important, but, standing near the chief line of communication between the Isthmus and the Argolid, and affording a wide view of the Corinthian Plain, it may mark the site of a military post. No excavations have yet been undertaken.

<sup>1</sup> Carl W. Blegen, *Korakou, A Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth*, Boston and New York, 1921.

7. (Fig. 79.) Half a mile directly north of the village of Hexamilia is a circular flat-topped elevation known as "Yiriza" which, rising steeply on all sides, forms a prominent feature of the landscape as viewed from the north. Trial pits dug here in 1916 showed that this site was occupied by a flourishing settlement in the Early Helladic period, but no trace of subsequent habitation appeared.

8. (Fig. 80.) A few hundred yards east of Yiriza and just above the road which leads from Hexamilia to New Corinth is an extensive prehistoric site. It occupies a fairly broad



FIGURE 77. HAGIOS GERASIMOS FROM THE EAST

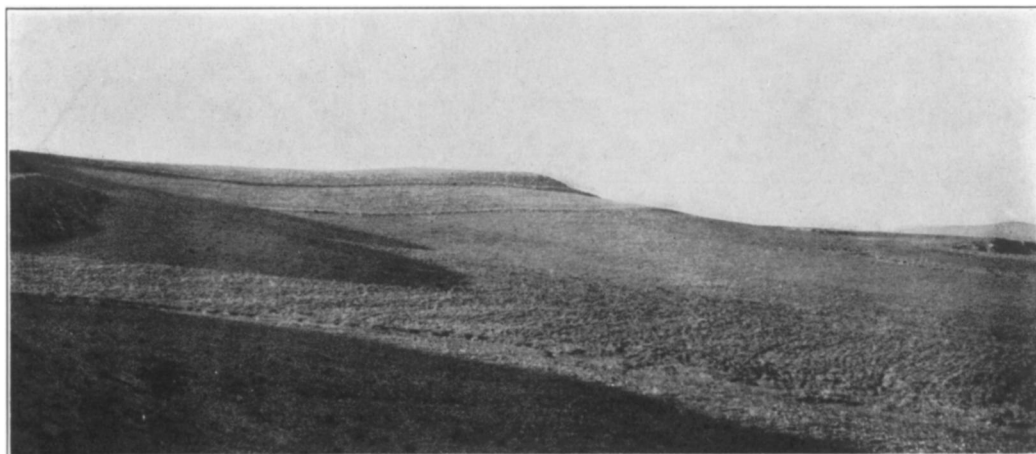


FIGURE 78. ARAPIZA FROM THE SOUTHEAST

irregular ridge called "Gonia" which falls off steeply on all sides except the west, where for a short distance the slope is more gradual. Twenty-two trial trenches opened here in 1916 produced a large mass of potsherds representing neolithic, Early, Middle and Late Helladic wares. An account of these excavations has been published.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carl W. Blegen, 'Gonia,' *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III, Part 1, December, 1930, pp. 55-80.

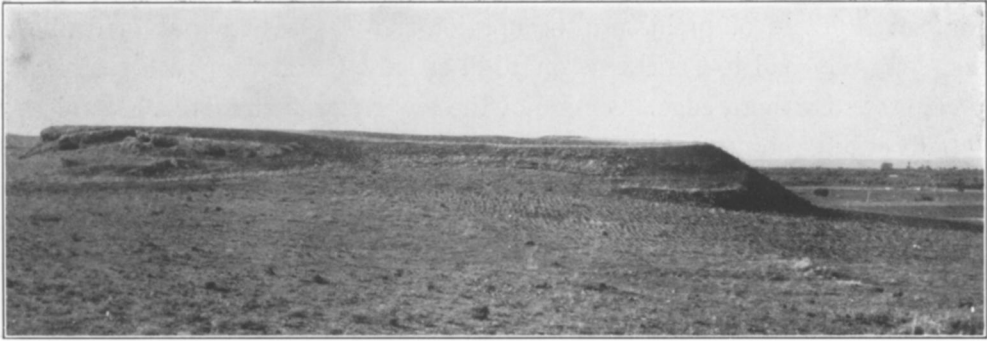


FIGURE 79. YIRIZA FROM THE SOUTHEAST



FIGURE 80. GONIA FROM THE SOUTHEAST



FIGURE 81. CYCLOPEAN WALL AT PERDIKARIA

9. (Fig. 81.) Traces of prehistoric occupation may be seen about one mile east of Hexamilia along the road to Cenchreae on a hill called "Perdikaria" which rises abruptly with a precipitous northern edge. On one of the lower slopes stands a short piece of terrace wall built of huge stones in Cyclopean style. This wall was observed in 1906 and a few Mycenaean potsherds were picked up. Minyan ware has also been found, as well as glazed ware of the Early Helladic period, and a large quantity of obsidian. Perdikaria offers an admirable situation for a settlement, controlling the road from Cenchreae and giving an extensive view toward the Saronic as well as the Corinthian Gulf, but the layer of soil covering the hill seems very thin and the remains are probably not well preserved. No digging has yet been attempted.

10. On the hill just above the northeast mole of the harbor of Cenchreae a few Early Helladic sherds have been found. This site bears evidence of Greek, Roman and Byzantine occupation, as a result of which neither the extent nor the duration of the prehistoric establishment can be determined without excavation. The situation is, however, a highly favorable one and it is extremely likely that an important prehistoric settlement dominated this approach from the sea.

11. There is a prehistoric site at the Isthmus on the hill above the ruins of the stadium (Monceaux, *Gazette Archéologique*, X, 1885, pp. 402-406; see above, p. 71), but the cuttings in the rock described by Monceaux appear to date from the occupation of the site in the early classical period. The prehistoric remains found here up to the present time seem to be limited to a scanty number of sherds of Early Helladic ware and a stone celt picked up in 1925 by Professor J. W. Kyle. There has been no excavation at this point.

Of these eleven sites two (Nos. 1 and 8) have yielded remains, mainly pottery, showing that they were occupied before the Bronze Age by a race the culture of which betrays unmistakable kinship with the civilization of the neolithic period in Thessaly. These inhabitants are among the earliest of whom traces have yet come to light in the Peloponnesus. The recent discovery of closely analogous remains, again chiefly pottery, at Phlius, at Nemea, at the Argive Heraeum, and at Hageorgitika near Tripolis in Arcadia suggests indeed that exploration in this field is still very incomplete and that the whole Peloponnesus will soon have to be recognized as belonging to the sphere of neolithic occupation. So far as the archeological evidence now available goes, this racial element may represent the aboriginal population of southern Greece. However that may be, it is a significant fact that at least two points in the small Corinthian district adjoining the Isthmus had already been seized upon for permanent settlement in this remote age; and one can hardly refrain from drawing the conclusion, however startling it may appear, that the strategic and economic factors of the geographical situation, which ultimately raised classical Corinth to such a height of prosperity, had already begun to make themselves felt by the commencement of the Bronze Age.

It seems clear that we must attribute the introduction of bronze to a new race of invaders and conquerors. In the Early Helladic period which they inaugurate all of the eleven

sites named above were inhabited, and it is evident that the Corinthian region entered upon a stage of no little prosperity. From the number of these villages, some of which are of fairly large size, we are justified in assuming that the population was considerable. Three of the settlements occupy natural elevations close to the sea; all are within easy reach of it, the position in each case having apparently been chosen mainly with a view to advantageous defence against attack and the existence of a supply of water. Apparently the prosperity of this group of Early Helladic communities (which is amply demonstrated by the remains they have left) was based in no small measure on the sea; in other words the Corinthian Isthmus was already beginning to take its place as a crossing-point of commercial traffic. From the pottery and other remains found at Korakou, Gonia, and Yiriza, it seems safe to deduce trade connections on the one hand with the Cycladic Islands toward the east, and on the other with the region of Phocis and Boeotia toward the north. Corinth appears already to have become an important intermediate station on a great trade route from the south to the north — coming from Argolis, the Aegean, and even Crete to the Isthmus, and passing thence across the Corinthian Gulf to the region of Thisbe, whence it proceeded by land to Thebes and Orchomenos. This sea route would have been much easier than the difficult overland trail through the rugged passes of Mt. Geraneion; and its existence in later times, at least, has received vigorous confirmation from the group of gold objects recently published by Sir Arthur Evans,<sup>1</sup> and reported to have been found in Mycenaean chamber tombs in the vicinity of Thisbe. Coasting traffic up and down the Gulf of Corinth may also have been considerable; though investigations of the prehistoric remains in western Greece have lagged far behind those in the South and East, there is no reason to disbelieve that the origins of the lively trade with the West, on which Corinth seems already to have laid the basis of her wealth when she emerges into the light of history, actually go far back into the remote past. The Early Helladic finds from Levkas<sup>2</sup> (a Corinthian colony in later days) are illuminating in this connection.

That the Early Helladic settlements in the Corinthia flourished in such numbers need not be explained by commerce alone; as already stated, agricultural resources of no mean value were at hand, and there is no reason to doubt that they were duly exploited. The bones of domestic animals found in the ruins of the settlements indicate that the hills bordering the Corinthian Plain, which supply abundant grazing for numerous flocks at the present day, were already familiar to Early Helladic shepherds. Fishing was also no doubt a source of livelihood, as it is, with scarcely more perfected equipment (save for the use of dynamite), in the Corinthian Gulf today.

Of the sites recorded in the list only four have been tested by digging; seven are yet unexcavated, and we cannot be certain of what may some day be revealed by the spade. From the evidence of surface finds of pottery, however, it is clear that at least six (Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, and 9; possibly also No. 4) continued to exist as inhabited settlements in Middle

<sup>1</sup> *J. H. S.* XLV, 1925, pp. 1 ff.; Heurtley, *B. S. A.* XXVI, pp. 38-45.

<sup>2</sup> Bossert, *Attikreta*, 2te Aufl., Berlin, 1923, Pl. I, 1 and 2.

Helladic times. The causes which led to the blotting out of Early Helladic civilization, the abandonment of several of the smaller sites, and the introduction of a new culture are not yet clearly understood. It looks as if they can only be explained as the result of an invasion and conquest by a more vigorous, powerful race, following perhaps in its coming the line of the great trade route from the north — though whence it reached its rallying point in Phocis and Boeotia must still remain an open question. It may be that immediately subsequent to this invasion the population had seriously fallen off, which might account for the abandonment of four or five of the smaller sites. But it is not impossible that already in the Middle Helladic period a movement of concentration and centralization had begun; Theseus, the unifier of Attica, may well have had forerunners or imitators in Corinthia and the other districts of Greece. At all events it may be said that material prosperity continued in Middle Helladic times about the Isthmus, and the great trade routes north, east, south, and probably west, were kept open.

In the Late Helladic period which, with apparently no racial change, develops from the Middle Helladic in an unbroken series of steps under constantly increasing Minoan influence, the same six settlements continued to subsist and to maintain their connections in all directions. During this period were constructed the great strongholds of Mycenae and Tiryns, the fortresses of the cities which grew up about them. Continuous subsequent occupation has made away with most of the remains of a similar stronghold on the Acropolis at Athens; and this has possibly been the case, even more completely, at Corinth. But the scanty remnants of early walls on Acrocorinth and a Cyclopean construction just north of Peirene in the classical city suggest that here too the period was one of consolidation and building on a large scale. At any rate, from the evidence of Mycenaean finds throughout southern, central, and western Greece it is certain that communications and trade had vastly increased, and there can be no doubt that the crossing lines of traffic at the Isthmus had become very lively highways.

In summary, then, it may be said that the great number of these early settlements in central Corinthia<sup>1</sup> and the remains they have left, though the field is by no means thoroughly explored, are sufficient to establish the conclusion that the natural advantages of Corinth, agricultural, commercial, military, climatic, upon which the greatness of the classical city was founded, had already begun to be exploited at a vastly earlier date; and the prosperous history of the wealthy Corinth we know is only the evolution on a grand scale of a process that was motive throughout the Bronze Age.

<sup>1</sup> Several sites have recently become known in eastern Corinthia, beyond the Isthmus, showing that this region, too, was occupied in pre-classical times. One is a small hill at the Saronic end of the canal, just above the village of Kalamaki and below the line of the Peloponnesian Railway. Early, Middle, and Late Helladic sherds are strewn about on the surface of the ground. Another settlement must be recognized above the village of Loutraki, where some Mycenaean vases are reported to have been discovered. Mr. Payne has kindly informed me that an Early Helladic site has been found by members of the British School in the neighborhood of Vouliasméni (Vouliagméni) Lake on the Perachora promontory.

## CHAPTER II

### THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO

BY RICHARD STILLWELL

OF THE Temple of Apollo at Corinth there remain standing but seven columns and a portion of the architrave (*Frontispiece*; cf. Fig. 95). Five of these columns belong to the western front and two to the southern side of the pteroma, adjacent to the southwestern angle column. The several excavations carried on have revealed that the remainder of the plan may be traced from the cuttings in the rock made to receive the foundations (PLATE V).

From these cuttings we learn that the temple was peripteral, had a cella with pronaos and epinaos and was equipped with two interior rows of columns dividing the cella into three aisles. A transverse cutting about two thirds of the way down the cella to the west indicates that it was divided into two chambers (Fig. 82).

At the eastern end of the smaller chamber there remain two blocks of stone that seem to have been the foundations for the base of a statue.<sup>1</sup> These blocks rest on the natural rock, which is not levelled off but merely chiselled smooth so as to provide a good bed. The tool marks show that originally there were six blocks for the foundation, which measured 2.75 by 2.00 m. The presence of this base so near the transverse cutting mentioned above would preclude the possibility of there having been a door through the partition. At least it could not have been placed on the axis of the cella without putting the statue in an impossible position, as there would not have been room to enter the chamber wherein it stood. Doerpfeld (*Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, pl. VII, p. 302) has for this reason restored the plan of the temple as having a double cella, with an image in the smaller chamber facing toward the west. As the larger and more important chamber is in the east end this would indicate that another image, originally perhaps of wood, was placed in the main room of the cella. Hence we should have a double temple. The chief objection to this is that Pausanias, in his description of Corinth, speaks of a temple "dedicated to Apollo," and makes no mention of any other deity associated with him. We must then assume, always supposing that our present attribution of the temple is correct, that Pausanias' assignment was incomplete or that at the time when he visited Corinth the cult of the other deity had lapsed. This seems improbable. If there never had been more than one image, to what purpose can we assign the smaller chamber and its base foundation? Possibly to the rôle of a treasury, the base being designed to support a great bronze or wooden chest such as we find mentioned at Olympia.

<sup>1</sup> Doerpfeld found four when he excavated in 1886. See *Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, pp. 297 ff.

There is another possibility, namely, that the transverse cutting represents a barrier or railing intended to separate the image from the main part of the cella. It is difficult, however, to suppose that the cutting, which is as carefully executed as any of the others, was made for so light a structure, comparatively speaking, as a barrier. Furthermore the cutting runs clear across the cella from wall to wall, whereas, in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the barrier goes merely between the interior columns and then returns, leaving either side aisle free.

We should suppose, then, that, notwithstanding certain objections mentioned above, the temple was divided by a wall which may have had, since there is no evidence to the contrary, openings on the axes of the side aisles, so as to connect the two parts of the cella. We know, however, that in the Parthenon the original disposition was without any openings in the cross wall and that those of which traces are evident to-day were made at a later time.

The cuttings in the rock, which are quite regular, with sharp corners and level beds, average 1.60 m. in width. The system of cuttings for the cella is not connected with the cuttings for the peristyle. This is characteristic of the early conception of a temple as a building around which a colonnade is placed, quite independent of the cella.

The sandstone rock on which the temple is built slopes away gradually to the east, and the cuttings step down in order to obtain a level bed for the walls and the peristyle (Fig. 83). The levels are shown in the plan, and are taken below the level of the stylobate at the southwestern angle of the building. In some places there must have been as many as seven or eight courses in the foundation before the visible wall was reached.

The material of which the temple is constructed is a close-grained *poros*<sup>1</sup> from a quarry near Isthmia. The courses range from 0.44 m. to 0.25 m. in thickness. The blocks are usually cut away slightly from their tops toward the base so as to permit a close fit at the upper part of the joint, although this feature may be observed only in the joints that run at right angles with the main axis of the temple. In the course below the stylobate there are, on the under side of the blocks, facing the exterior of the building, square holes, 0.05 m. to 0.06 m. in size, which do not appear to have been intended for dowels (PLATE VI B). They may be for the purpose of working the blocks into place, replacing the usual pry holes.

In reconstructing the section of the ends of the temple it is evident that the number of steps is determined by the nature of the rock cutting. Six blocks of what seems to have been the euthynteria are still in place. If we take the height of the upper step to have been that of the stylobate course (0.44 m.), we should have to allow 1.52 m. less 0.44 m., or 1.08 m. for the total height of the remaining steps. To put in only two other steps would be to make them of a greater height than the upper step, quite against the usual practice, and furthermore, to bring them out to the euthynteria would give them treads of 0.89 m.,

<sup>1</sup> The word *poros* is used in the following pages to denote a limestone similar to that quarried on the island of Poros, but generally not actually imported from that place. See H. S. Washington, *A. J. A.* XXVII, 1923, pp. 445 f.



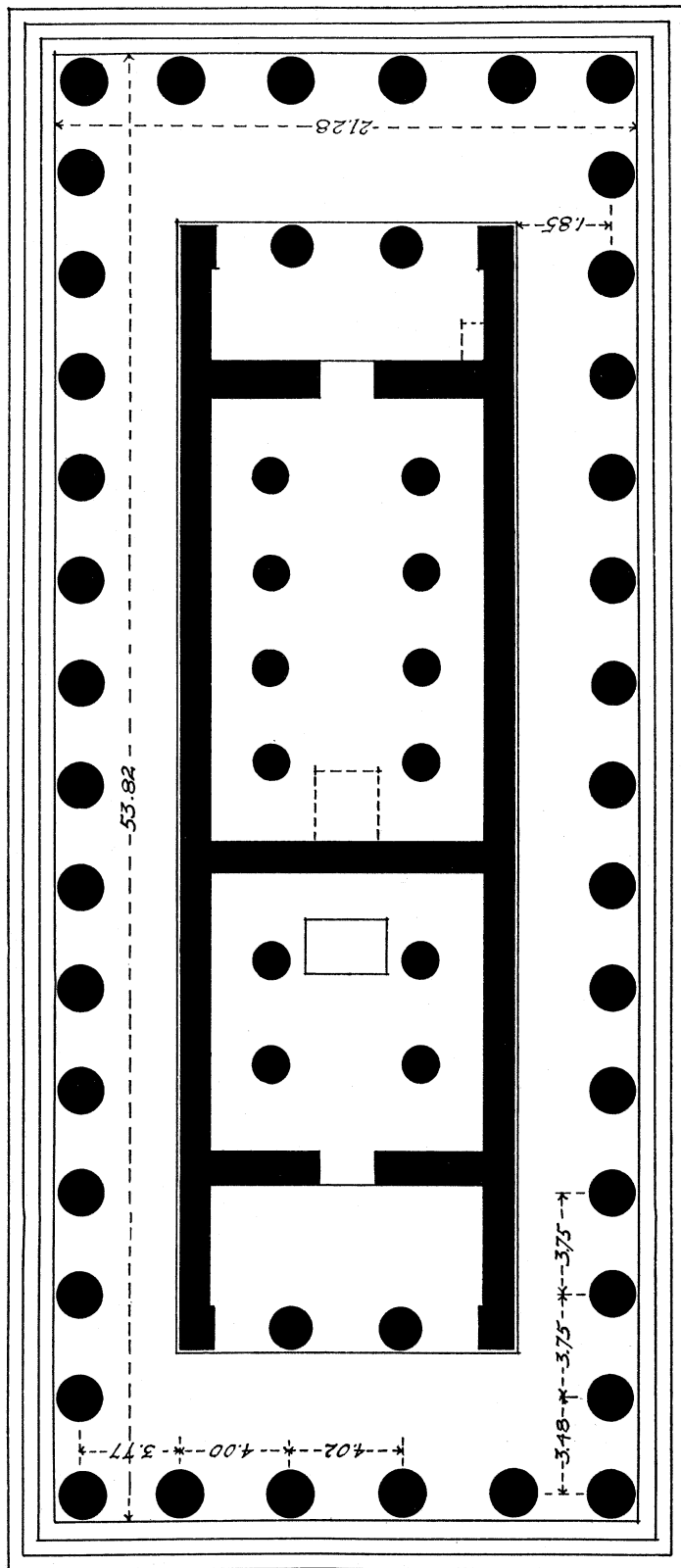


FIGURE 82. RESTORED PLAN OF TEMPLE

which seems excessive. By following the actual height of the rock cuttings, and basing our steps on that, we get four steps of about 0.36 m., somewhat shallow, it is true, but quite in harmony with the stylobate.

Furthermore, at the eastern end, the wide cutting is not large enough to take care of the steps and columns, but if we take into account the narrower cutting immediately to the



FIGURE 83. VIEW OF TEMPLE FROM EAST SHOWING ROCK CUTTINGS FOR FOUNDATIONS

east, we have a place for our euthynteria and by a bridging construction (see PLATE V) we obtain the same four steps noted above and reach the required level.

In the southwestern corner of the pronaos, in the very angle of the wall, were found two well-laid stone slabs which formed the sides of a receptacle (Fig. 84). The bottom, cut in the natural rock, is covered by a fine coat of white stucco, as are the sides of the slabs, and the

inference is that this was some sort of depository for treasure or offerings. That it is in the pronaos, and not in the cella proper or in the opisthodomos, may be explained by assuming that it was for the protection or concealment of secular and not religious wealth. A glance at the section will show that the sides were originally at least one course higher and could have been concealed by a slab let into the floor.

Carefully measured levels show that the stylobate, which varied in height from 0.44 m. to 0.42 m., had a curve rising 0.02 m. at the centre of the west end and the same amount



FIGURE 84. VIEW OF CYST IN THE ANGLE OF THE PRONAOUS  
(The Building in the Background has since been Removed.)

at the sixth column from the corner on the south side. The exact intercolumniation is difficult to determine accurately. Blouet (*Expédition Scientifique de la Morée*, III, pl. 77) gives for the sides of the temple 3.71 m. and for the ends 4.00 m. with 3.61 m. and 3.85 m. for the respective intercolumniations next the corners. Doerpfeld (*Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, p. 301) gives 3.70 m. and 4.00 m. for the sides and ends and 3.48 m. for the final space along the sides. The dimension of the last intercolumniation along the ends he does not give. Powell (*A. J. A.* IX, 1905, pp. 44 f.) gives 3.70 m. and 3.48 m. for the sides and says that the measurements reading from the ends to the centre are 3.70 m., 4.00 m., and 4.02 m. These

measurements do not seem to take into account the displacement of the columns due to earthquakes. It is very evident, from an observation taken on the site, that this has been considerable. In fact, the remaining corner column has been not only displaced but even rotated slightly on its axis.

If we take the length of the architrave over the two easternmost columns, 3.75 m., as the measure of the intercolumniation, and assume 3.48 m. to be that of the last space along the side, we have as the length of the architrave on one side:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 12 \times 3.75 = 45.00 \text{ m.} \\
 2 \times 3.48 = \quad 6.96 \text{ m.} \\
 \hline
 51.96 \text{ m.} \\
 \text{plus two half diameters} \quad 1.72 \text{ m.} \\
 \hline
 53.68 \text{ m.}
 \end{array}$$

The face of the stylobate seems to have projected 0.07 m. beyond the columns, and if we add twice this we get 53.82 m. for the length of the temple measured along the stylobate.

Since the total length, measured from the face of the euthynteria course at the west end of the temple to the far side of the cutting for the corresponding course at the east end, is about 57.50 m., and at the west end the face of the euthynteria lies 1.85 m. to the west of the face of the stylobate, we may deduct  $2 \times 1.85$  m., or 3.70 m., from 57.50 m. and obtain 53.80 m. for the length of our stylobate.

Taking Blouet's measurements we get a total length of about 53.66 m., which answers closely enough to the requirements, and, as his work dates before the earthquake of 1858, it may be that his figures are to be relied upon. The length of 53.28 m. which we get from Dörpfeld, or as he puts it "about 53.30 m.," draws the eastern colonnade westward, so that the columns would not rest completely on the wall built below them in the cutting. Moreover, this arrangement does not give any use for the narrow cutting assigned by us to the step foundation.

The width of the temple can be determined only approximately. Blouet gives 3.85 m. for the intercolumniation next the corner, and all measurements agree in making the next space 4.00 m. If we allow the central opening to be 4.02 m. we get a total width of  $7.70 + 8.00 + 4.02 + 1.72 = 21.44$  m. If we allow an additional 0.07 m. for the stylobate on each side we get a total of 21.58 m. Thus the length of the temple is to the breadth almost as 5:2.

The columns, of a heavy Doric order, with twenty flutings, are monolithic.<sup>1</sup> Those at the ends of the peristyle have a maximum diameter of 1.72 m. diminishing to *ca.* 1.295 m. at the top. The columns of the sides are 1.64 m. at the base and diminish to 1.23 m. This gives a ratio of 1:4 for the diminution of both sets. There is no entasis. The arrisses are sharp-edged and have a depth, measured from the chord between two arrisses, of  $1/58$  of

<sup>1</sup> One of the fallen shafts at the south side of the temple shows at its top no evidence of the half-V cut for the sinkage between the hypotrachelium and the shaft, and thus indicates that in this column a drum was interposed between shaft and capital. Some of the other columns, which have entirely disappeared, may also have been built up by drums.

the outer diameter. The height of the column is 7.24 m. This gives a proportion of diameter to height of 1:4.21 for the end columns and of 1:4.42 for the sides. Blouet gives the height of the columns as 7.21 m. A fallen shaft on the south side of the temple measures 6.375 m. The height of the capital of the last column to the east is 0.865 m. Adding these we get a total height of 7.24 m. The second column from the corner on the west side has a height of 7.235 m. measured on the side toward the cella. Possibly this indicates that the columns were tilted inward slightly, as became the rule in later Doric architecture. On the other hand, the roughness and mass of the material may easily be made to account for as small a discrepancy as 0.005 m!

Stuart and Revett (*Antiquities of Athens*, III, chapter vi) give a total height of 23 feet 8 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches, which works out to 7.226 m.

The capitals have a broad, swelling echinus, of a rather graceful curve. They resemble very closely the capitals of the temple known as that of Poseidon at Paestum. In Greece proper they seem to come somewhere between the seventh-century archaic capitals found in the Hecatompedon and the sixth-century work in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi and in the Pisistratid work on the acropolis at Athens. There are four rings at the base of the echinus, the incised part of the ring being nicely curved. The transition is marked by two V-shaped sinkages at the lower part of the capital and one half-V that conceals the joint and is repeated on the top of the shaft. The abaci, square in plan, vary in height from 0.300 m. to 0.305 m. This variation is probably to be attributed to the necessary levelling for the architrave. It is interesting to note that the width of the abacus corresponds with the space between the bases of the columns, the former being 2.25 m. and the latter *ca.* 2.28 m. measured on the western front.

The architrave consists of a face and a backer. The height measured to the underside of the taenia varies from 1.21 m. at the southwest corner to 1.215 m. toward the centre. On the south side it is only 1.19 m. It is very tempting to see a subtle curve refinement in this gradually rising architrave on the west side of the building, but as there is only one architrave block from which to argue, it is perfectly possible that the inequality is due merely to the necessary adjustment caused by the difficulty of cutting such large monolithic shafts to a perfect standard. A careful examination of the capital on the northernmost standing column failed to show any dowel holes for securing the architrave.

The architrave is topped with the usual taenia, *ca.* 0.115 m. in height. The projection is 0.067 m. The regulae on the sides of the temple are 0.0747 m. in length and 0.115 m. high. They project only 0.003 m. less than the taenia. The guttae, six to each triglyph, were carved in place. They are 0.053 m. high and measure 0.058 m. in diameter at the base, increasing to 0.065 m. for their lower diameter. The backer for the architrave has no moulding at the top. There is no evidence that clamps were used, in fact no clamp cuttings appear anywhere in the building.<sup>1</sup> The manner of mitering the corner architrave is shown in figure 85. The adjacent faces of architrave and backer were cut away in a rude anathyrosis.

<sup>1</sup> Except on one block (Fig. 87), and this is not *in situ*.

No part of the frieze remains in place. Two fragments of triglyph were discovered, making it possible to restore that element in all respects save as regards height (PLATE VIII). We also learn from one of these fragments that the metopes were finished at the top with the usual taenia and that the taenia was about 0.10 m. high. The band at the top of the triglyph was 0.05 m. higher than that over the metope.

The small projection of the triglyph shows that some of the metopes certainly carried no sculpture, and the inference is that if there were any so decorated they were to be found

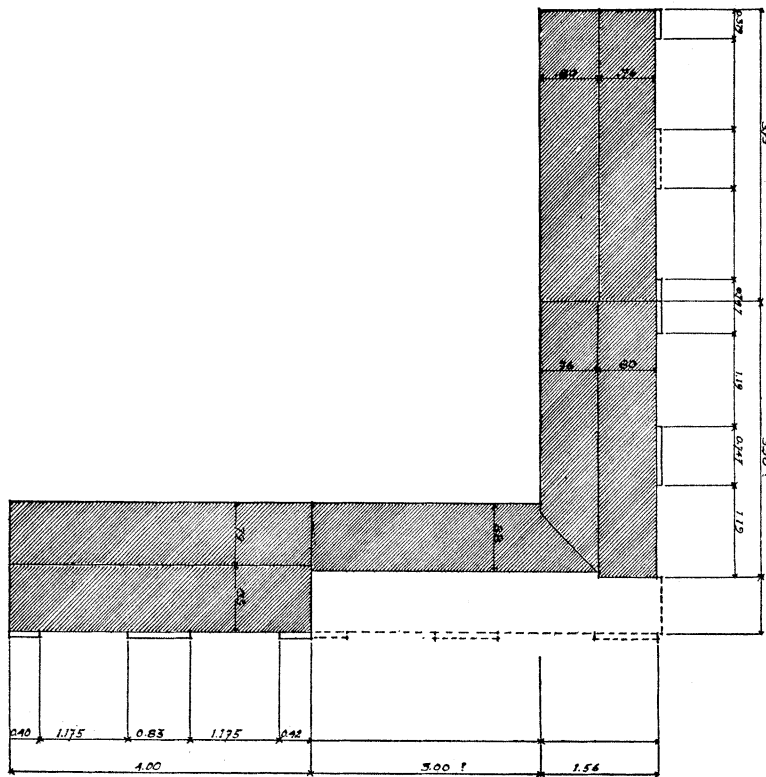


FIGURE 85. PLAN OF EXISTING ARCHITRAVE BLOCKS

at the ends of the temple. A few very small fragments of sculpture were found, which, on account of their finding-place near the temple, and the material of which they are made, may with reasonable certainty be associated with the building.

Of the cornice we have only a large number of guttae. They were all found within a short distance of the temple at a spot which was apparently used for the cutting up of some of the material removed from the building when it was destroyed. The guttae give us the pitch of the mutule, the distance of the outer row of guttae from the edge of the mutule, and also the distance from the end. These are respectively 0.03 m. and 0.05 m. No fragments of corona or cyma appeared. Probably the cyma, at least, was of terracotta. The whole temple had originally a coat of hard white stucco, of which traces remain on the

fallen shafts and on certain protected parts of the capitals still in position. At the time of the Roman restoration the whole temple was plastered over with a thicker and coarser coat, much of which can still be seen.

Fragments of a large marble sill, probably that of the main doorway at the east end of the cella, were found near their original site (Fig. 86). No remains of the interior order survive, unless some fragments of drums found in the area near the Lechaemum Road may

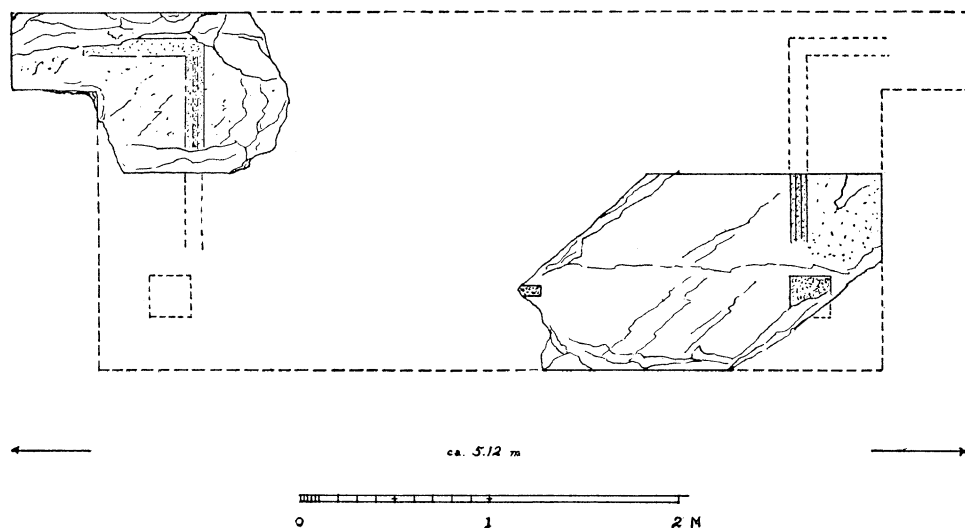


FIGURE 86. PLAN SHOWING TWO REMAINING FRAGMENTS OF MARBLE THRESHOLD

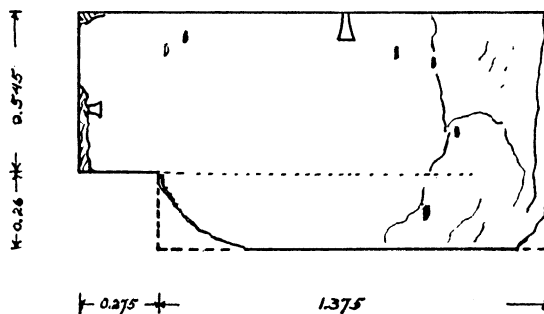


FIGURE 87. TOP VIEW OF BLOCK FROM ANTA OF EPINAOS

be regarded as such; but this assignment is extremely doubtful. A large *poros* wall block, presumably from the angle formed by the anta and the west wall of the temple, is illustrated in figure 87. The height of the block is 0.985 m., and there are cuttings for two swallow tail clamps. In the excavations conducted in 1930 on the north side of the temple hill a large fragment from the upper part of one of the shafts of the main order was found. It has a small circular cutting for an empolion in the top.

THE DATE OF THE TEMPLE. Courby (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II, p. 111) points out the similarity in the system of proportions governing the sixth-century temple at Delphi, the Hecatompèdon peristyle at Athens, and the temple at Corinth.

The following table, which is a revision of the one given by Courby, is amended only in so far as the measurements of Corinth are concerned. Although certain of the measurements given for Delphi do not agree with the figures on the drawings in the French publication, I have refrained from changing them, but have inserted the figures given on the drawings in parentheses.

	<i>Delphi</i>	<i>Hecatompèdon</i>	<i>Corinth</i>
Number of columns . . . . .	6 × 15	6 × 12	6 × 15
Axial spacing . . . . .	4.12 and 4.00 m.	4.04 and 3.70 m.	4.00 and 3.75 m.
Upper diameter of columns . . .	ca. 1.30 m.	ca. 1.30 m.	1.295 and 1.23 m.
Height of capital . . . . .	1.10 m.	1.083 m.	0.90 and 0.865 m.
Side of abacus . . . . .	2.25 m. (2.30 to 2.35)	ca. 2.25 m.	2.25 and 2.10 m.
Height of architrave . . . . .	1.415 m.	1.275 m.	1.30 m.
Width of triglyphs . . . . .	0.89 and 0.82 m.	0.822 and 0.753 m.	0.83 and 0.747 m.

The height of the columns in terms of their diameter is given for the temple at Delphi as 4.6, although Courby states that by giving the column a height of only nine drums the result would be about 4.25, or practically the same as that at Corinth. He discards this figure as unlikely, reasoning that as the columns at Corinth are monolithic the proportion would naturally be heavier. The height of the columns of the Hecatompèdon is not obtainable (Wiegand, *Porosarchitektur*, p. 122).

A graphic comparison of the respective orders (Fig. 88) shows the similarity quite clearly, but it also shows that the temple at Corinth, especially in the profile of its capital, has a distinctly more archaic look. A glance at the profile of the echinus, however, will show that there is not the sagging curve characteristic of the usual seventh-century capital. The capitals of the temple at Corinth seem to come into the class that marks the transition between the archaic and the developed Doric. The presence of the curved stylobate, the width of the pteroma, no longer exaggerated, the alignment of the cella wall approaching the axis of the second column on the façade, and in general the well-developed plan, lead one to try to date the temple as late as possible and yet have it precede the two buildings above mentioned.

If we take the date of 548 for the beginning of the construction of the temple at Delphi and assume with Courby that Corinth served as a model, or even that Corinthian architects worked at Delphi, it seems that we must date the beginning of the construction in the first half of the sixth century.

Of the date of the destruction of the temple we have little definite information. It underwent extensive repairs under the Roman occupation, and we know that it was re-roofed. The plan shows how little of the temple remains. As was usually the case in the destruction of such buildings when they came to be used as quarries, the cella, which furnished squared building blocks, easily re-used, was the first to go. The columns and entablature went



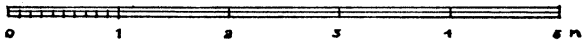
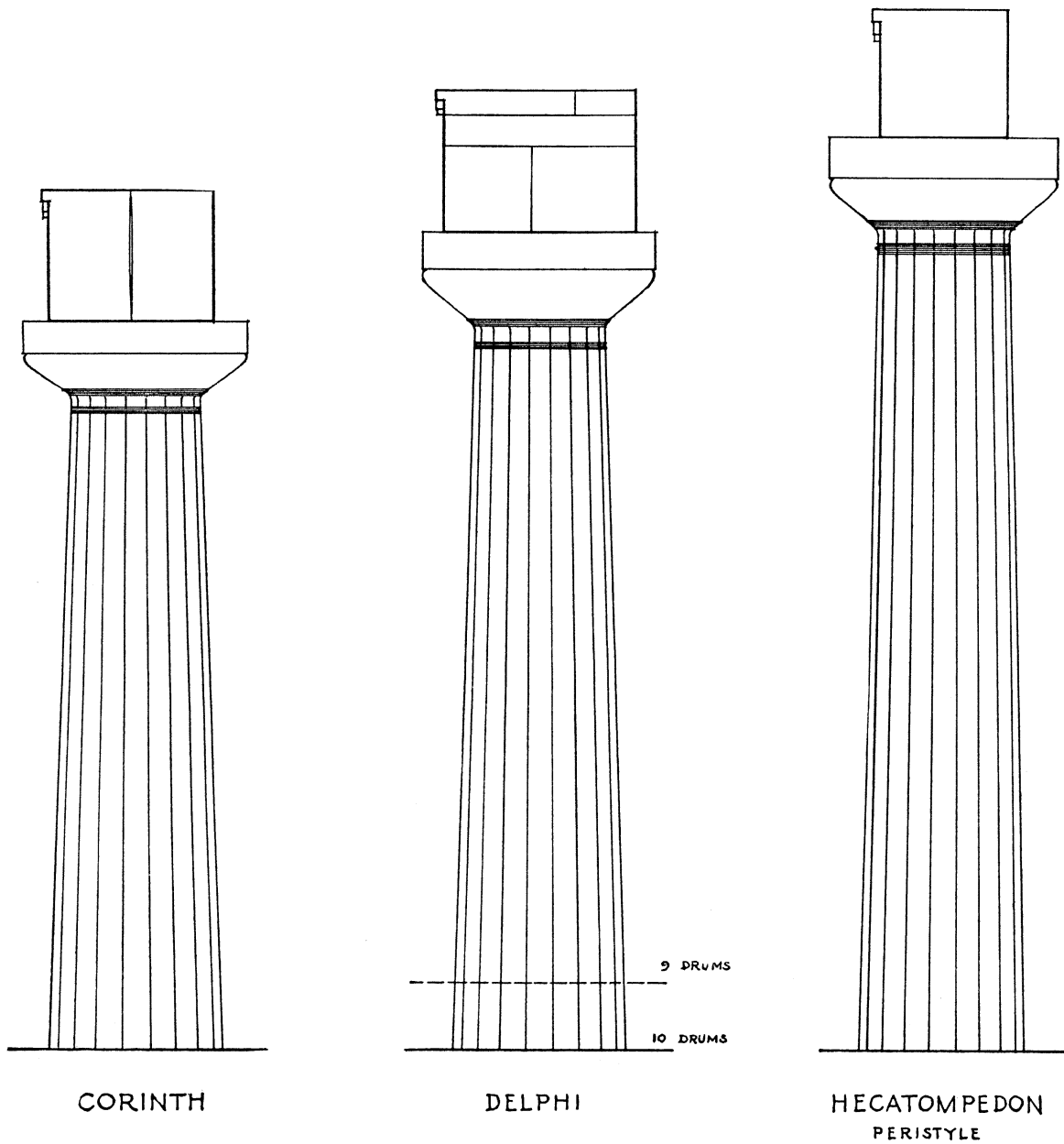


FIGURE 88. COMPARISON OF ORDERS FROM CORINTH, DELPHI, AND ATHENS

next, beginning at the south and east sides. Mr. Hawkins, a British traveller who visited the site in 1745, records that the destruction was still in progress, and refers to the columns that were to be thrown down by the Turkish owner to provide material for the building of his villa. We have also varying reports as to the number of columns that remained when the temple was visited by Stuart and Revett and others (see below, pp. 127 ff.).

In the area immediately to the north of the temple numerous fragments came to light, mostly pieces of capitals and columns, but the only fragments from the entablature, as mentioned above, were the guttae and the small piece of triglyph found near together close by the northwest corner of the building.

The fact that no recognizable fragments of the cella walls or of the antae appeared on the temple hill, where foundations dating from the twelfth century to Turkish times were found, indicates that the main destruction of the building began in the early mediaeval period, possibly about the ninth century, when a considerable amount of building was done on what had been the Lechaem Road.

HISTORY OF THE TEMPLE.<sup>1</sup> No ruin in Greece has suffered more on the score of nomenclature than that of the old temple at Corinth, of which seven columns are now standing. Pausanias, in his description of Corinth, gives us passable guidance to the city of the second century A.D., and names a number of temples there. The root of the evil has been in the fact that we have had no starting-point for our topography, and, in consequence, almost every name of a temple mentioned by Pausanias has at one time or another been attached to the present ruin by different travellers. A survey of the accounts of these different travellers may be interesting.

After Pausanias visited Greece no one, so far as we know, described the ancient city until Cyriacus of Ancona visited Greece some twelve hundred years later, in 1436. The Corinth of Pausanias's time had passed away and only one prominent ruin remained. Cyriacus says:<sup>2</sup> "There still stand ten great columns entire of the temple of Corinthian Juno, with their architraves, any one having a diameter of 7 palms (i.e. 1.55 m.) and architraves 16 palms (i.e. 3.54 m.) in length." The measurements given correspond fairly accurately to the true measurements of the columns and the architraves on the side of the temple as it exists to-day. Dr. Emil Reisch has shown<sup>3</sup> that an X was probably written in the text instead of the true number XIII, which was used for the drawing originally given below, and this later was written out "decem." The true number XIII is really found in the text of Codex Parmensis, 1191 f. 37', so there can be no doubt that the number thirteen was in-

<sup>1</sup> This sketch was written by the late Benjamin Powell and forms a part (pp. 44-54) of his article, which was published in *A. J. A.* IX, 1905, pp. 44-63. It is here republished with the omission of some passages which are now unnecessary, the insertion of a few illustrations, and a few additions and corrections. — H. N. F.

<sup>2</sup> Cyriacus, *Epigrammata per Illyriam*, p. xvii: ad eundem X. K. Maiarum diem Corinthum venimus, cuius et moenia undique conlapsa vetustate conspexi . . . et extant adhuc integrae ex Junonis Corinthiae templo decem immanes columnae suis cum magnis epistiliis habentes diametrum quaelibet p.  $\wedge$  (i.e. 7), epistilia vero longitudinis p. xvi. COLUMNAE IMMANES, N. XIII. deest icon.

<sup>3</sup> E. Reisch, 'Die Zeichnungen des Cyriacus im Codex Barberini des Giuliano di San Gallo,' *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 225. Reisch quotes the passage from Cyriacus and, in a note on p. 225, explains the "decem."

tended. The drawing originally accompanying the text of Cyriacus has been unfortunately lost, but Reisch identifies some detached drawings in the Codex Barberini of Giuliano di San Gallo as lost drawings of Cyriacus. After some drawings identified as belonging to Eleusis, there occurs a sketch of four Ionic columns having on their architraves the inscription P XVI EPIΞTILIA; and then is given a section of wall of square blocks of masonry and also one of polygonal masonry. The length of the architraves corresponds to that given by Cyriacus in his text and the drawings of walls correspond to the fortifications (moenia) that were seen by him at the Isthmus.<sup>1</sup> We need not hesitate because the drawing gives the columns in the Ionic style instead of the Doric, as they really are, for the Parthenon at Athens on another page is treated in the Corinthian style. We may rest assured, then, that thirteen columns belonging to the present ruin were standing in 1436.

The Codex Ambrosianus (C, 61) contains many Greek and Latin inscriptions jotted down by Joh. Vinc. Pinelli (1535–1601), and at page 88 of the manuscript begins a description of a journey in Greece, written in Italian of the Venetian dialect.<sup>2</sup> The writer visited Corinth, and says: "Below Corinth toward the Gulf of Patras were ancient buildings and great walls of squared blocks of masonry. There are still about twelve or fourteen columns of marble on bases, beautiful and very large; they are arranged on a square, and a little distance from them is a very high column, but this is in two pieces; the lower part is the shaft (butt-end) and the upper part is drawn to a point, above which there seems to have been fixed some statue. The dwellings of Corinth are all on the mountain, which is very high and is for the most part inaccessible; and there ascended Berthold, Captain of the Signoria (Empire of Venice). . . . Only one road leads to it, and that is very difficult; nor does one see the dwellings from any place, except from that (road) and on the mountain; but being in the plain one does not see anything of the country." There is only one thing by which this account may be dated, and that is the name of Bertoldo, Capitano de la Signoria. This seems to be the Condottiere Bertoldo da Cà d'Este, who in 1463 in the Veneto-Turkish War besieged Corinth (August 24–October 20), but did not take the citadel. He was himself killed by a thrown stone. Ziebarth dates the manuscript about 1470, and suggests that the author may possibly be Dominicus Brixianus, of whom little is known, or some pupil or younger friend of the painter Francesco Squarcione, since it cannot have been Squarcione himself, as he died in 1474 at the age of eighty years.

<sup>1</sup> Cyriacus, *l.c.*: Ad Peloponnesiacum Isthmum venimus antiquis olim moenibus Lacedaemonum ope clausum.

<sup>2</sup> E. Ziebarth, 'Ein griechischer Reisebericht des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts,' *Ath. Mitt.* XXIV, 1899, p. 78: Soto Corintho verso el colpho di patras erano aedificii antiqui, muri grossi de sassi quadrati. Sono anchora circa 12 over 14 colonne di marmoro in piedi belle et assai grande, e sono posti per squadro, e pocho distante da quelle è una colonna altissima, ma che sia di doi pezzi; la mità di soto è calce e la mità di sopra tra in punta, sopra le qual par fusse qualche imagine. Le habitatione di corintho sono tutte sopra el monte, el quale è altissimo, et è la mazzor parte inaccessible, e dove ascese bertoldo capitano de la S(ignoria), dove 1 dio fu morto e fatto domá d muro con una fortezza avcc (?), che tutto il mondo non possa intrare. Una sola via è da intrar e molto difficile, ne anche se vide le habitatio(ne) da nissuna parte, excepto da quella e sopra il monte; ma essendo al piano non si vede cosa alcuna de la terra.

The first part of this passage is clear, but evidently the text of the latter part contains errors.

This traveller is disappointing in his offhand way of saying twelve or fourteen columns without giving the exact number. I am inclined to think that there were thirteen still standing in the peristyle, and that Cyriacus in his reckoning had taken into account the extra column which this traveller mentions as standing at a short distance. This extra column is undoubtedly that shown by Le Roy and Stuart in their drawings (Figs. 89 and 90), about three hundred years later, as belonging to the opisthodomus at the west end of the temple. Our writer evidently saw no immediate connection between this column and the others and thought, as was natural for a Venetian who had the two columns in the Piazzetta at Venice in mind, that the column supported a statue. The top of this column is so hidden in the drawing of Stuart that we cannot say whether the capital of the column was in place or not; the contraction into a point mentioned by our author would tend to show that it was not; his idea of this contraction was, of course, the diminution of the column. He makes a mistake in the material of the columns, which are not of marble.<sup>1</sup>

Spon and Wheler<sup>2</sup> came in 1676 and found only twelve columns standing; namely, eleven of the peristyle and the extra column, concerning which Wheler says that it had the same diameter as the others, but stood upon a higher level. He recognized the fact that it was part of the temple, and assigned it as a support to the roof of the pronaos. Of course, being at the western end, it would belong to the opisthodomus. Du Loir, who had been in Corinth shortly before, saw only twelve columns.<sup>3</sup> Dodwell<sup>4</sup> foolishly finds fault with Du Loir for his number twelve, and says that Wheler saw only eleven; but he himself is in the wrong in interpreting Wheler, who really saw twelve in all. Le Roy, however, who travelled some time after Wheler, deludes himself into thinking that he saw fourteen columns (Fig. 89).<sup>5</sup>

Stuart, who came nearly a hundred years after Wheler (1766), made excellent sketches and plans of the temple (Fig. 90). He shows twelve columns standing; namely, five across the west end, six along the south side, omitting the corner column, and the isolated column of the west entrance.<sup>6</sup> At the time of Stuart's visit, dwelling houses occupied the eastern part of what had been the complete structure, and a boundary wall had been constructed in the intercolumniations on the south side. The architraves were complete for the stand-

<sup>1</sup> At this point Powell says: "Martin Kraus visited Greece about the middle of the sixteenth century, and in his *Turcograecia* says that this ruin was a temple of Juno. He evidently followed the same tradition as Cyriacus. The only ground for such a hypothesis is that Pausanias mentioned a temple of Bunaeon Hera below the Acrocorinthus." I have been unable to find any reference to the temple in the *Turcograecia*. — H. N. F.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Spon, *Voyage*, II, p. 173; Wheler, *Journey*, p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> Le Sieur Du Loir, *Voyage* (Paris, 1654), p. 342, Je n'y ay rien veu de plus entier que douze colomnes qui n'onst assurément subsisté que parce qu'elles n'ont pas de beauté considérable qui pust servir d'ornement à pas un endroit. Elles ne sont que de grosses pierres, et ie pense pour moy qu'elles ont esté faites deuant que les ordres de l'Architecture fussent inuentez.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece During the Years 1801, 1805, and 1806*, II, p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> Le Roy, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, II, p. 28, pl. XI. He shows fourteen columns and also part of the capital of the column in the opisthodomus; but his drawing is obviously not to be trusted.

<sup>6</sup> See Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, III, chap. vi, pls. i, ii, iii.

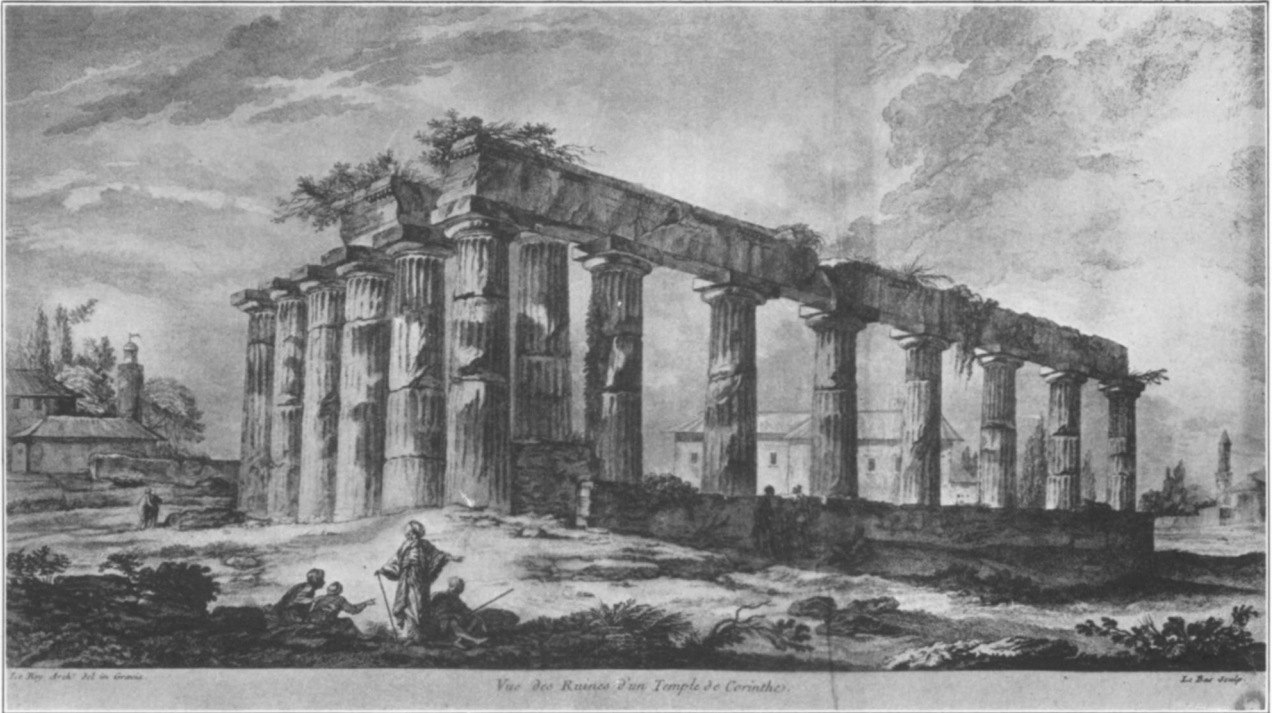


FIGURE 89. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO (AFTER LEROY)

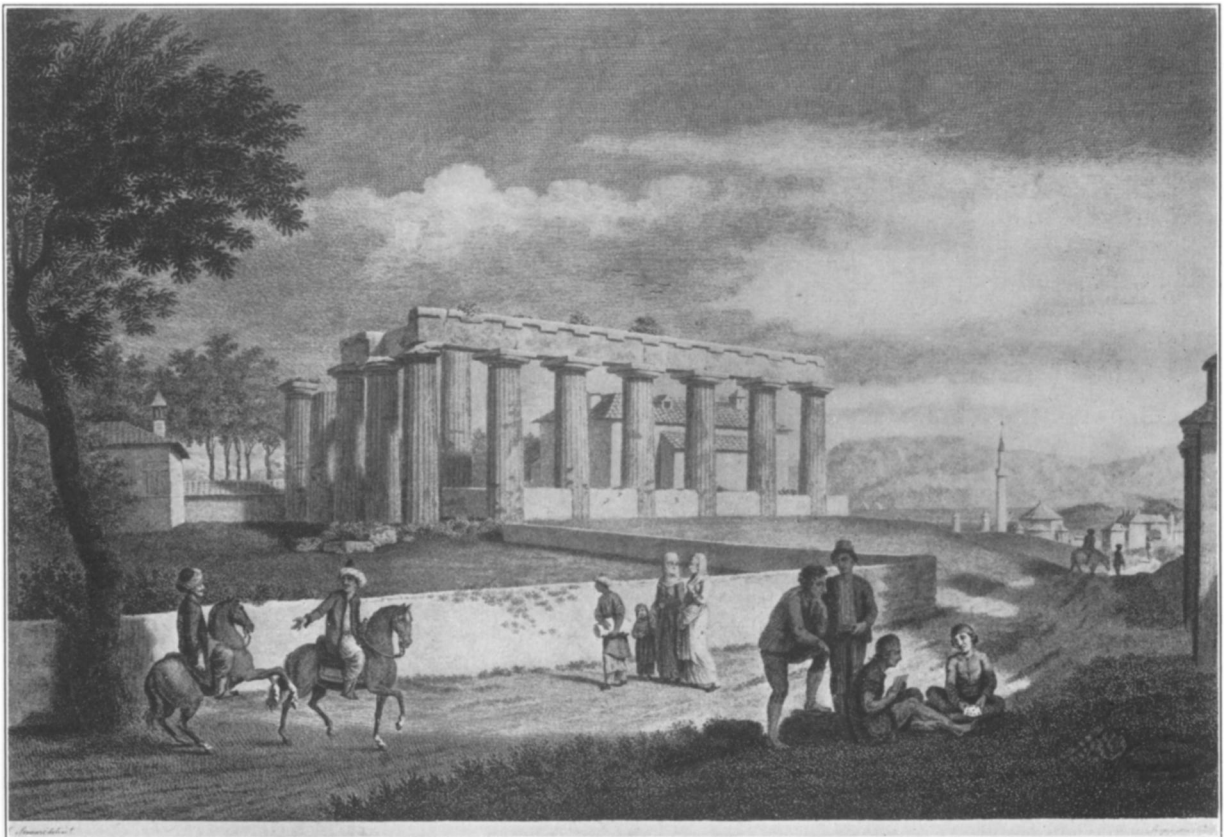


FIGURE 90. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO (AFTER STUART)

ing columns of the south side, and the most western of these was not broken and sunken as it afterwards was.<sup>1</sup> The outer of the two architrave blocks spanning the first intercolumniation of the west end had already disappeared and the whole west end bore the appearance that it bears to-day.

Dr. Chandler,<sup>2</sup> who travelled in Greece in 1776, found the temple in the condition portrayed by Stuart. He, without the least evidence to support his theory, suspected it to be the Sisyphæum mentioned by Strabo.

Colonel W. M. Leake, that prince of topographers, gives us valuable information concerning the ruin. He says<sup>3</sup> that some drawings were made about the year 1785 by an artist named Mayer who was employed by the British ambassador, Sir R. Ainslee. These drawings show that between the visits of Stuart and Chandler and that time (i.e. between 1776 and 1785) the isolated column had disappeared.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Hawkins, the British traveller, visited the ruin in 1795 and found that four columns of the south side had been removed, leaving the temple substantially in its present condition. The Turk who owned the house standing upon the site had demolished the columns to make room for some new buildings which he intended to erect. Leake, from the unique proportions of the columns, dates the building of the temple at the middle of the seventh century B.C. and quite consistently argues that, inasmuch as the cult of Athena Chalinitis at Corinth, as described by Pausanias, was very ancient, these columns probably belonged to the temple of that goddess.

E. D. Clarke, who published his volumes of travels in 1818, says<sup>5</sup> that the four columns last removed were blasted into fragments with gunpowder and used by the governor in building a house. Clarke disputes Chandler's idea that the building was the Sisyphæum, and is inclined to call it the Temple of Octavia mentioned by Pausanias. He says, however: "I do not bestow the name upon it, but leave its history to be hereafter determined, when future discoveries upon the spot shall have made the antiquities of Corinth better known than they are at present." A thought upon the relative ages of *this* temple and of a temple to the Roman Octavia would have saved Clarke even the mention of the ridiculous hypothesis.

Several travellers visited Corinth in the first third of the nineteenth century and made sketches of the temple (Figs. 91, 92, 93).<sup>6</sup> The views by Williams and Parser are to all intents and purposes identical and, since they show that the westernmost block of the southern architrave was still unbroken, must have been made before Blouet's visit in 1829. The

<sup>1</sup> It was restored to its original position by the Greek government in 1906.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, II, p. 294 (3d ed., London, 1817, II, p. 270).

<sup>3</sup> Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> So Mr. Powell. Leake says that the drawings by Mayer were published, but I have not been able to find them.—H. N. F.

<sup>5</sup> E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa*, Part II, Vol. VI, pp. 551-554.

<sup>6</sup> Figures 91 and 92 are from *Select Views in Greece with Classical Illustrations*, by H. W. Williams, F. R. S. E., London, 1829. The two plates were published by Longman, Rees, & Co., London, and Adam Black, Edinburgh, 1827. Figure 92 is published by Mr. Powell, *A. J. A.* IX, 1905, p. 50 and also in *Historische und malerische Wanderungen in Griechenland* herausgegeben von Dr. J. M. Braun, Stuttgart, 1837. Figure 93 is signed by W. Parser and was engraved

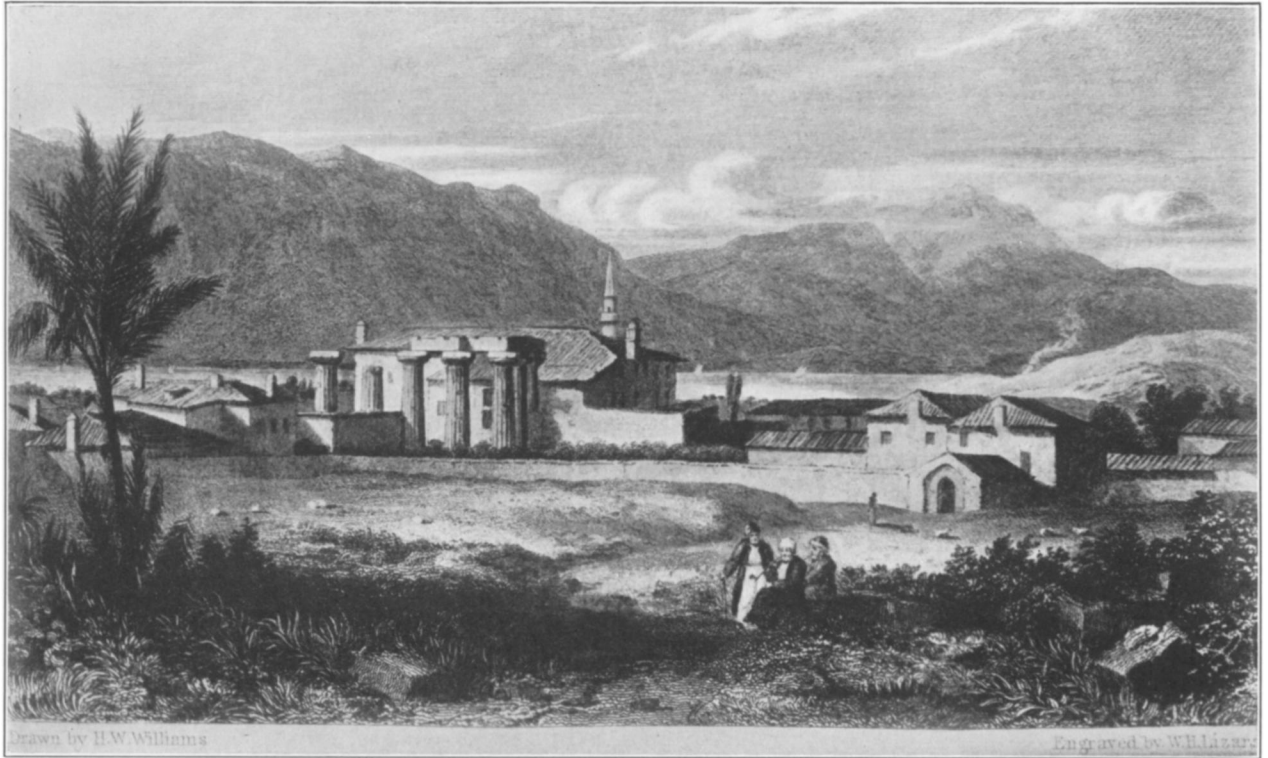


FIGURE 91. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO (AFTER WILLIAMS)



FIGURE 92. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO (AFTER WILLIAMS)

Turkish buildings are here seen which were built over the four dismantled columns of the southern peristyle; a large wall traverses the axis of the temple and incorporates in itself the third column of the western end. The second and third columns of the side are also bound together with a wall.

The "Expédition Scientifique de Morée" under Blouet in 1829 made a number of excellent drawings of the temple. In the drawing of the ruin in plate 80 of this work (Fig. 94)<sup>1</sup> the westernmost block of the southern architrave had evidently been broken not long before Blouet's visit, and the parts had become deflected to the precarious condition in which they remained until the restorations of 1906.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. W. Doerpfeld of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens made in 1886 the first excavations undertaken on this site.<sup>3</sup> He made clear the plan of the temple by excavations at certain points, but found nothing from which the temple could be named; he supposed from the division of the cella into two parts that the building was dedicated to two divinities, the entrances to the two chambers being from the east and west ends of the temple.

The excavations by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens were begun in the spring of 1896, and it needed only one campaign for the Director, Dr. Richardson, to make a plausible guess at the name of the temple. A paved roadway was found<sup>4</sup> leading from the direction of the Corinthian Gulf toward the Acrocorinth and passing to the east of the temple. It was conjectured that the Agora described by Pausanias lay a short distance up this road from the point where it was first tapped opposite the old temple, and then a road leading from the Agora to Sicyon would leave the old temple on the right, which would make it appear to be the temple mentioned by Pausanias in his description.<sup>5</sup> The discovery of the Fountain of Glauce, the Odeum, and the theatre have made this conjecture a certainty, and we may rest assured that this was truly the Temple of Apollo.<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Doerpfeld had considered<sup>7</sup> that no further excavation of the site was necessary, but in 1898 the work of completely clearing the site was begun, and in 1899 completed,<sup>8</sup> with the exception of a few late walls of buildings which were removed in the spring of 1901. The only unexcavated portion then remaining was at the northeast corner under the wall of the uncompleted roofless schoolhouse which was begun in 1858 and left unfinished when the earthquake destroyed the village in that year.

or published by Floyd. This illustration is derived from an extra-illustrated copy in the Library of the British School at Athens of *Memorials of a Tour in Some Parts of Greece*, by Richard Monckton Milnes. I do not know from what source it was taken. Stackelberg, *La Grèce, vues pittoresques et topographiques*, Paris, 1834, gives the temple almost exactly as given by Williams. He calls it (p. 28) "Temple de Minerve Chalinitis." — H. N. F.

<sup>1</sup> *Expédition Scientifique de Morée*, III, pl. 80. Paris, 1838.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius (*Peloponnesos*, II, p. 532) follows Leake in identifying the ruin as a temple of Athena, and Bursian (*Geographie von Griechenland*, II, p. 16) also is inclined to the same hypothesis.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, pp. 297 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *A. J. A.* I, 1897, p. 464.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, ii, 3, 5.

<sup>6</sup> *A. J. A.* IV, 1900, pp. 458 and 474.

<sup>7</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, p. 300.

<sup>8</sup> *A. J. A.* IV, 1900, p. 462.





FIGURE 93. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO (AFTER PARSER)



FIGURE 94. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO  
(*Expédition scientifique de Morée*, pl. 80)

In 1925 the entire site was cleared to the level of classical times <sup>1</sup> in the hope of discovering any fragments of the superstructure of the building which might have been buried in antiquity. The appearance of the temple in 1927 is shown in figure 95. The great earth-



FIGURE 95. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN 1927

quake of 1928, which nearly destroyed the town of New Corinth, did relatively little harm at Old Corinth and did not materially affect the ancient temple, the present appearance of which is shown in the frontispiece.

<sup>1</sup> A. J. A. XXX, 1926, p. 46.

## CHAPTER III

### THE LECHAEUM ROAD

By RICHARD STILLWELL

MANY centuries of building and rebuilding have made the ancient city of Corinth into an elaborate puzzle. Both the ordinary visitor and the archaeologist, notwithstanding the resources at their disposal, are confronted by a seemingly inextricable tangle of ruin. Many problems can be solved by comparative study, or may be settled by the actual evidence of stratification, but none the less, when a comprehensive survey is made of our knowledge of the small part of the ancient city that has been laid bare, the gaps are frequent, and many questions arise that will never be satisfactorily answered.

The principal landmark to-day, and presumably in antiquity, is the Temple of Apollo, whose seven remaining columns were almost the only clue to the location of the ancient town when the excavations were begun in 1896. The temple stands on a ridge of limestone which overlies a layer of conglomerate, and deeper down a layer of hard clay. To the east of the temple hill is a natural depression, enlarged and utilized by the Greek and Roman inhabitants of Corinth as one of the ways of approach to the Agora which lay to the south of the hill. Through this depression, or valley, runs the southern end of the road that led to the port of Lechaeum, two and a half miles away on the shore of the Gulf of Corinth. At the head of the roadway are the remains of a monumental gateway, or Propylaea of Roman times, forming the entrance to the Agora, which was approached from this direction at its northeast corner. Going northward from the Propylaea, one sees to the right the Fountain of Peirene, lying partly under the Agora, and next beyond, the Peribolus of Apollo, both of which have been identified by means of the description given by Pausanias (see p. 31). Near the middle of the west side of the Peribolus, under the Roman level, lies the foundation of a small Greek temple, known as Temple A. Adjacent to it are a monument and a water basin also of the Greek period. Farther north, adjacent to the Peribolus, is a complicated area, much built over in the Byzantine period. In it are the remains of a Roman structure which was a large elaborate public bath. Perhaps this is to be identified with the Baths of Eurycles, also mentioned by Pausanias. On the east side of the road the excavations have not been carried any farther north. On the west, opposite the northern part of the street, as it is now exposed, lay a rectangular courtyard, surrounded by a colonnade which was remodelled in very late Roman or, more probably, in Byzantine times as a hemicycle. South of the courtyard, between the road and the east scarp of the temple hill, was a Basilica, the remains of which show evidence of several remodellings. Buried under

the foundations of the Basilica, and under the fill which raised the floor level to the desired height, were found parts of a Greek building of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. This is now called the Greek North Building. In front of the Basilica was a courtyard, and below its level may be seen the remains of Roman terrace walls, dating back to the earliest period of Roman occupation. The remains of a road or street of Greek times lead up past a small sanctuary, connected with the Sacred Spring near by, to a level space in front of a stoa of Hellenistic times which flanked the south side of the temple hill and formed the northern limit of the Agora. This stoa was masked in Roman times by a line of shops with a colonnade in front, known as the Northwest Shops. Immediately in front of the Basilica, forming the south side of the entrance court, are the remains of a very elaborate building of the second century A.D., which from the pseudo-caryatid figures that adorned its upper story is known as the Façade of the Colossal Figures. The east end of this façade was adjacent to the Propylaea.

Behind the east end of the Hellenistic stoa are the remains of a stairway of earlier Greek times, leading up to the temple hill.

In the area of the Agora itself the most important monuments are the Sacred Spring with its triglyph parapet and the small apsidal temple connected with the system. Many bases for monuments of Greek and Roman times are still visible. Immediately south of the Propylaea, on a line with the east side of the central opening, is a heavy foundation which returns at an angle of about seventy-five degrees in order to accommodate itself to the line of the wall above the chambers of Peirene. This belongs to Roman times, and was presumably the foundation of a colonnade that ran to the northwest corner of the East Building, a Roman work of the first century, lying on the east side of the Agora.

Of the monuments described in this volume only one, the Propylaea, is identified with certainty as a structure mentioned by Pausanias (see p. 31). Consequently no attempt is made to follow his route step by step, but the order observed is as follows: — Starting with the northern limit of the Lechaem Road as now excavated, we shall consider first the road itself, and then, proceeding along it, take up a market place lying on the west of the road, then the colonnades and shops which lined the way on either side. Certain bases for monuments will be considered here. The Propylaea in its various periods of building follows, and after that the Basilica and the remains of a building of the Greek period which lie below it. The area known as the Peribolus of Apollo and the remains of a Roman bath to the north of it will be considered in a later part of this publication.

The nature of the plan, and the interlocking of buildings and periods, necessitates a certain amount of repetition. Just as it is impossible to visit the ruins and see everything at a glance, so it is also impossible to present the various monuments otherwise than separately, and yet in order to explain fully many peculiarities of construction, it is necessary to take into account the connection of one building with another.

The Lechaem Road, identified from its relationship to Peirene and the Propylaea,

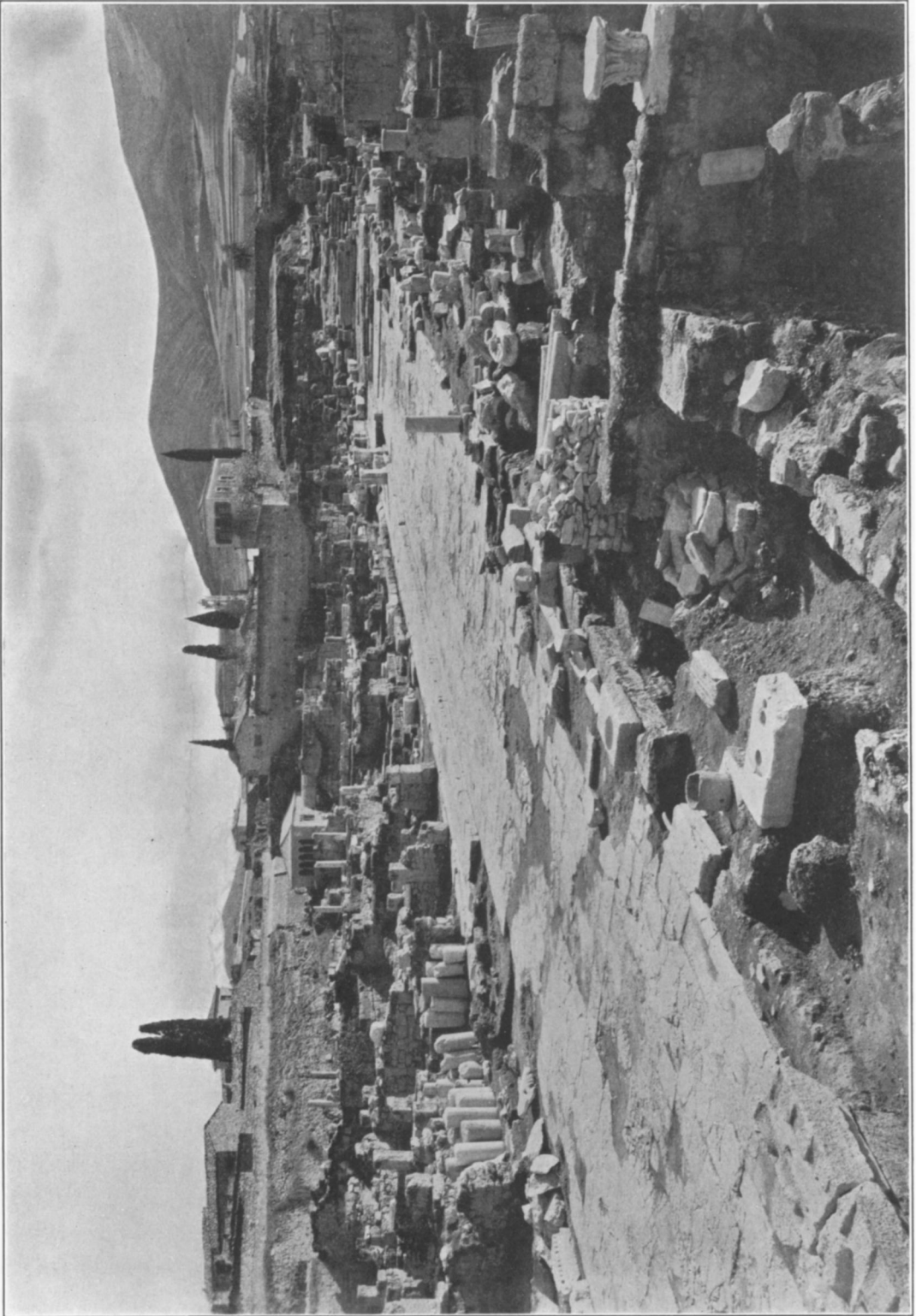


FIGURE 96. VIEW OF LECHAEMUM ROAD FROM THE NORTHWEST

consists of a central way flanked by sidewalks on either hand (plan, PLATES X and XI; Figs. 96 and 97). The sidewalks are raised from 0.292 m. to 0.305 m. above the level of the road. At their outer sides there is a gutter 0.368 m. wide by about 0.11 m. deep sunk in the walk to catch the drip from the cornice of colonnades which flanked the road. Although the width of the sidewalks remains constant (2.62 m. including the gutters) the width of the road diminishes from a point 70.90 m. north of the steps to the Propylaea, where it measures 8.40 m., to a breadth of 7.025 m. at its head. That there was no intention of allowing vehicular traffic along the central way is made evident by the fact that at a point 107.70 m. north of the Propylaea there are two steps, averaging 0.15 m. high (one half the height, roughly, of the curb at the side), which presumably extend from sidewalk to sidewalk.<sup>1</sup> (Beyond these steps only the east side of the road has been uncovered and as the curb continues in the same line it may be assumed that the road continues to grow wider.) It is not possible to measure the actual width of the road at this point, but calculation based on the rate of increase of the southern part of the road gives a width at the steps of about 8.60 m. It is impossible to determine now the original length of the street paved in this way, but soundings taken to a distance of half a kilometre from the excavated portion have revealed pavement, much broken up. Both road and sidewalks are paved with very hard limestone varying in color from pale buff to a pinkish grey or yellow tint. Although it is the rock of which a part of Acrocorinth consists, it does not seem to have been used by the architects of Corinth until the Roman period. The pavement is of squared slabs of varying size, from 0.11 m. to 0.15 m. thick, laid on a bed of concrete 0.15 m. to 0.20 m. thick, under which is coarse gravel rammed with clay mortar to a depth of 0.60 m. At *ca.* 32.50 m., 41.00 m., and 50.20 m. from the first step at the head of the road, courses, respectively 0.60 m., 0.60 m., 0.85 m. wide, have been laid clear across the central way. These seem to have been for the purpose of ordering the lines of paving blocks as the work of laying the slabs progressed. Inasmuch as the slabs were cut with nearly rectangular sides, the various sets of blocks had to be laid with their edges parallel to one or the other of the sides of the road for as long a time as the central way continued to diminish. That the paving of the central part was laid first is shown clearly by the fact that the curb overlaps the edges of the roadway by some eight to twelve centimetres. Where the curb has disappeared it is possible to trace its line by a slight working down of the surface of the road slab. A fairly uniform slope of 4.15 in 100 is maintained. The relative time between the laying of the stylobates, however, and the finishing of the walks is more difficult to determine. This consideration may best be taken up later when the chronology of the whole area is discussed. On the west side, the walk is interrupted twice; once, at a point eight metres from the southern end, by a platform of rather badly grained limestone, some 8.82 m. long by 2.62 m. wide. The gutter south of this construction turns across the sidewalk and discharges into the road, to start again when the sidewalk recommences at the north. Nearly in line with the north wall of the later Ro-

<sup>1</sup> The distance is measured from the northernmost face of the Propylaea foundations to the face of the top step.

man Basilica, where unfortunately the curb and sidewalk have been ripped out, the paving of the road extends for some 0.40 m. beyond the line of the curb, and a cutting shows that here the curb was returned for an indeterminate distance to the west (A on plan, PLATE XI). This may have some connection with a peculiarity to be noticed in the stylobate foundation of the west colonnade opposite the same point. Unfortunately, for some ten metres or so north of this point, as well as for a shorter distance south, the original construction



FIGURE 97. VIEW OF LECHAEUM ROAD LOOKING NORTH

of the walk was almost completely destroyed by the mediaeval inhabitants of the city. The gutter and the walk when they resume to the north show evidence of repair. Along the east walk there is a break opposite the limestone platform on the west walk, but it seems probable that originally the sidewalk and gutter continued on without interruption, since the setting line of the curb can be followed uninterruptedly along the lower pavement.<sup>1</sup> Fifty metres north of the head of the road the east sidewalk is interrupted, and the gutter returns across the sidewalk alongside of the marble revetted base of some important monument which occupied the entire width of the walk (C on plan, PLATE XI). Unfortunately,

<sup>1</sup> At the southern edge of this gap the paving stones of the walk show that they were worked off very slightly to provide for some construction that rested on them. The nature of this is not apparent, but presumably it was a pedestal for a monument similar to many others which were placed on the walks at irregular intervals.

the foundations of this monument have been quite thoroughly destroyed, and it is not possible to recover its exact length. From the evidence of the slabs of the roadway, which, where they were laid against this base, show a smooth edge lying nearer the actual curb line than usual elsewhere, and, after a missing slab, resume the normal underlap of eight or ten centimetres, it may be assumed that the north-south dimensions of the monument were between 3.10 m. and 3.50 m. This is not unlikely to be the foundation for one of the monuments that Pausanias mentions as occurring along the road, and will be reconsidered later on. The fact that it occurs in a very likely place for the entrance to the Baths of Eurycles, and at a point where the Byzantine complex to the east shows a series of cisterns, which may have been let down in a street or passage, would suggest that here we might place the image of Poseidon and Leucothea. Pausanias says it is on the left of the entrance, but perhaps he looked at it as he went out.

The Lechaem Road continued to be used until the ninth or the tenth century, but was later encroached upon from both sides by heavy buildings which reduced its width to a narrow way some 2.50 m. or 3.00 m. wide. With these changes and with the accumulation of earth and débris, the level rose gradually some 1.50 m. The blocks of paving of this narrow street are much more broken than those on either side, where they received the protection of early mediaeval building.

North of the base, near the entrance to the baths, the sidewalk resumed again, and continued on to the north. It is found in the narrow extension dug in the autumn of 1929, the curb only being uncovered, on account of modern buildings at a higher level which it was not convenient to remove. Although the juncture of the two steps at the north part of the road with the sidewalk itself does not appear, there is preserved just north of the steps a section of curb which is only 0.15 m. high, or just half of the normal height. Very much worn, it indicates a further interruption of the sidewalk, probably by the entrance to some building along the road.

The essentially important feature of the Lechaem Road, its diminishing width as it approaches the Propylaea, suggests a deliberate attempt to make use of the effect of a forced perspective. If the road maintained a uniform width, the incline, rising gently to the Propylaea, would tend to reduce the apparent length of the approach. Consequently the trick of forcing the perspective might be resorted to. On the other hand, examples of such work are rare, if we except the arrangement of the main street at Palmyra, where the perspective is enhanced by varying the direction of the street. If, as will appear later on, the construction of the road and colonnades dates from a time when several important buildings and monuments had already been erected along the general line of the road, the diminution or widening may be only the result of an attempt to reconcile the street with existing conditions. It may be noted here that the west colonnade diverges from the axis of the street by 0.81 m. in 100.00 m. whereas the line of the shops diverges from the main axis by 1.68 m. in 100.00 m. or slightly over twice as much. On the other hand, the east stylobate



and the front of the East Shops converge. The limestone base that interrupts the west sidewalk is also slightly out of line with the actual direction of the curb, and lies nearly parallel to the Basilica.

The fact that the east curb of the road lies exactly parallel with the face of the heavy wall in front of the hemicycle may give the clue to the orientation of the road, especially if, as seems to be the case, this wall is, at least in part, Hellenistic. The connection of the area east of the temple hill with that on the north has not yet been made and it may be that the solution is to be found in this as yet unexcavated area. Some compromise seems to have been made in laying the axis of the road, and as the Basilica did not fall properly into line, the expedient of diminishing the width of the road was resorted to. In order to prevent this discrepancy from being too apparent, the west colonnade was given the direction of the bisector of the angle formed by the axis of the road and the side of the Basilica. As will appear later on, the width of the Propylaea itself was very closely limited at the east and west by the Basilica and the Roman façade of Peirene.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE MARKET NORTH OF THE BASILICA

By RICHARD STILLWELL

BEGINNING at the buttress wall which marks the northern limit of Basilica I (the Basilica of the *poros* period) is a wall which extends north until it disappears under the bank by the south face of the museum (D and B, PLATE XI). The highest course of this wall, which

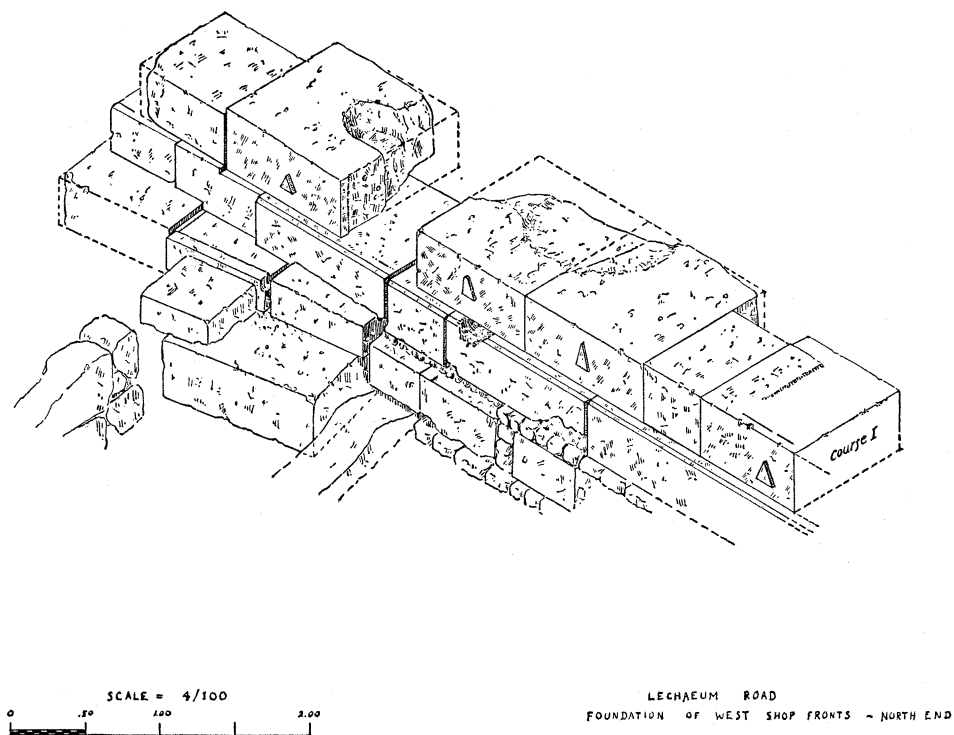


FIGURE 98. WALL WITH TRIANGULAR LIFTING BOSSES AT JUNCTION WITH NORTH END OF FIRST BASILICA

L. 64

occupies the space between the buttress wall and the rear wall of the late hemicycle, is of tooth-chisel-worked *poros*, 0.345 m. high, with tight joints. On the face of each block is a triangular lifting boss (Figs. 98 and 99). The orientation of this wall differs slightly from that of the shop fronts, pointing more to the northeast. There are two courses below the upper one, set out respectively 0.07 m. and 0.08 m. The joints of course II (counting down) are bevelled on one edge and on the top of the block. Below course II, course III consists here of squared *poros* blocks of varying size and height, the gaps being filled with roughly

squared *poros* pieces. The general height of this course is about 0.36 m. It rests on a foundation of rubble laid without mortar. The top of course II is crossed by a shallow semicircular channel for drainage. Course II appears again just north of the hemicycle wall. The level then drops to course III, and course II resumes just beyond the hemicycle stylobate, and extends 1.75 m. to the north. The foundation for the stylobate of the hemicycle is built over it. Course II here shows bevelled drafting on one edge and the top of the stones, and 0.08 m. behind the face is a setting line. Beyond the end of course II, course III runs on un-



FIGURE 99. WALL WITH TRIANGULAR LIFTING BOSSES AT NORTH END OF WEST SHOPS

evenly for 5.20 m. It is built of *poros* stones of various sizes, some quite large, not coursed, but rather resembling polygonal work, although the joints are not carefully cut. Roughly 0.40 m. below the top of course III is a foundation of *poros* and limestone rubble. Beyond the 5.20 m. mark, course III becomes a well-laid course 0.42 m. high. The first block of the good masonry is fitted into a slanting cut in a large irregular *poros* piece that is as high as courses III and IV together. The face of the worked section of course III is west of the unworked southern part of the course. Course IV is flush with III, but courses V and VI, also carefully worked, are 0.17 m. in front of them (Fig. 100). Course VI rests on a euthyn-

teria that also projects slightly. The top of course III is about 1.40 m. to 1.30 m. wide. From the way the upper side of this course is worked off, it appears that the back of the next course could not have been more than 1.10 m. behind the face of course III. Course V, after running on a short distance, is set back flush with IV and III. At this point it is noticeable that the upper outer edge of VI is bevelled with a tooth chisel, and although some of the joints of V and VI south of this point are also bevelled, the work was done with a straight chisel. Courses IV and III, however, show the marks of tooth chisels. There is a setting line 0.05 m. back from the face of course V which is not utilized by course IV, and it seems as though we have here a case of a very careful rebuilding on top of an earlier wall. The lowest courses of the wall, where they have been cleared on their west face, show the use of blocks from an earlier construction. From the nature of the back of the wall, which is

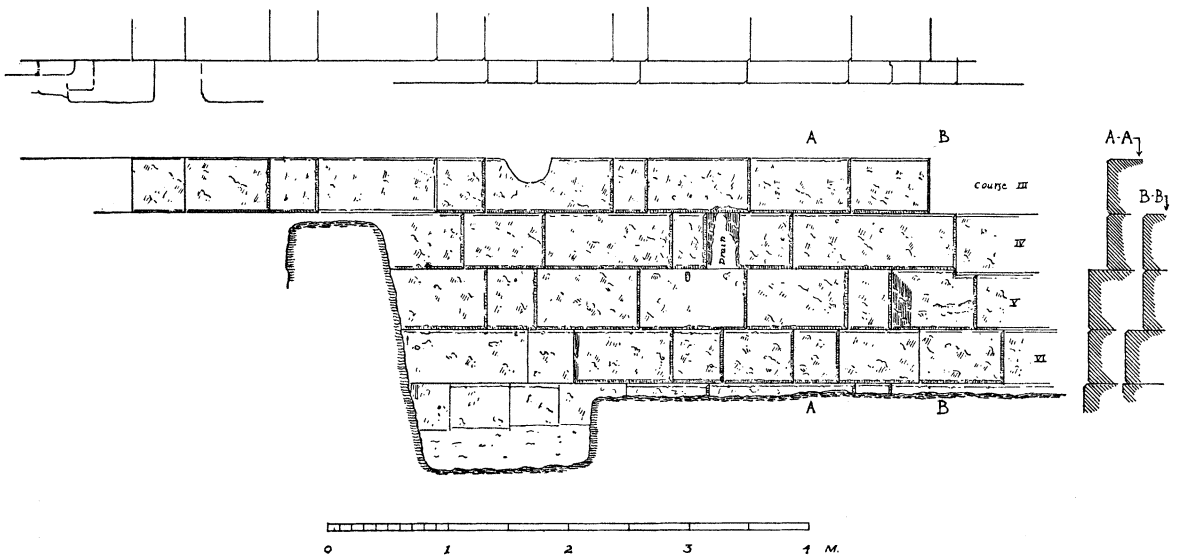


FIGURE 100. EAST FACE OF HEAVY WALL IN AREA NORTH OF BASILICA

left entirely rough, it is evident that here was a terrace of some kind, intended to be seen only from the east. The fill behind the wall, at least in its lower part, seems fairly homogeneous, and extends right up to the wall, except in the case of the upper courses, III and IV. Here it has been dug away and certain evidence is not at present obtainable. The workmanship of the upper courses looks Roman, and resembles very closely the first Roman period of Peirene, which may be dated from the reign of Augustus. Although the fill behind seems to contain no Roman remains, it is possible that we have here a Roman construction which restored a Hellenistic one, and was built before the Lechaem Road was paved, and certainly before the construction of the colonnades and the market.

North of the Basilica (Figs. 101, 102) an area was excavated in 1925 which measured some thirty-three metres from east to west and extended from the north wall of the later Basilica to the modern museum, a distance of about twenty metres.<sup>1</sup> To judge by the remains of a

<sup>1</sup> O. Broneer, *A. J. A.* XXX, 1926, pp. 49-57, pl. II.



FIGURE 101. AREA NORTH OF BASILICA. VIEW LOOKING WEST



FIGURE 102. AREA NORTH OF THE BASILICA IN 1925

hemicycle that was built in this section in very late Roman, or even Byzantine times, the space occupied by this market must have measured about forty metres from north to south. Shops surrounded the market on three sides, and in the centre was an open court, paved with marble, having around it a colonnade which rested on a hard limestone stylobate, raised a foot above the pavement. A gutter, similar to those of the Lechaeum Road, ran along the foot of the stylobate. The depth of the colonnade was 4.80 m., or roughly sixteen feet, and the floor of this peristyle was paved with mosaic patterns, geometrical in character, of black and white marble chips. Part of the shop wall is preserved along the south side, and gives a depth for the shops of *ca.* 4.30 m., measured from the front face of the shop wall. On the west the original wall has been replaced by a later, poorly built wall, which gives approximately the same depth. The rear wall of the shops is formed on the south by the wall of the Basilica, and on the west by the rock scarp of the temple hill, which has been pieced out in places with rubble construction whenever a natural fault of the rock made this necessary. Of the original partition walls of the shops practically nothing remains.

The construction of the front wall of the shops, though not so good as that of the corresponding wall of the West Shops, is nevertheless characteristic of Roman work in Corinth of the late first and early second century after Christ. Clearly, from the plan, the market place that remains was constructed at the time of the rebuilding of the Basilica, or even a little later. It may well belong to the same period of building as that represented in the Roman market on the north side of the temple hill.<sup>1</sup>

From the two blocks of the stylobate of the portico that remain in place, it appears that the intercolumniation was very nearly 2.70 m. The single circular dowel holes for two bases are in evidence, and the bases suitable for these are, not far off, re-used in the construction of the later hemicycle (PLATE XI). They give a lower diameter for the columns of *ca.* 0.50 m., and are furnished on the top with a single circular dowel. Like the bases of the Lechaeum Road colonnade they have a circular plinth.

The pattern of the mosaic floor is shown in the angle of the portico, and it may be seen from the plan that opposite each column the broad black band of the border was carried across the floor so as to divide it into panels equal in width to the spacing of the columns. The marble pavement of the open court is matched exactly by that found in 1929 in the area to the north of the temple hill.

The arrangement of this market on the side toward the road is not to be recovered. The heavy wall running north from the front wall of the West Shops presumably served as a foundation, but clearly belongs to an earlier construction. A single isolated *poros* block on a rubble foundation may indicate the northern return of the colonnade along the east side of the court.<sup>2</sup> If this is the case, the wall B would have served as the foundation of a wall

<sup>1</sup> A. J. A. XXXIV, 1930, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> The actual position of this block would make it more apt to be a foundation for the gutter than for the stylobate; moreover, its level, which is 0.17 m. lower than the gutter, would accord well with the average thickness of the gutter blocks.

pierced by one or more entrances, and flanked on the west and the east respectively by the columns of the market and the colonnade along the road.

Superimposed on this plan is a curved wall, built of re-used Roman materials, with a radius of *ca.* 18.75 m. It is well preserved in places up to a height of two metres, and is pierced by openings for doors. The curve springs from the front wall of the West Shops at a point about a metre north of the Second Basilica, and at one place incorporates a section of the wall belonging to the earlier court. Four and a half metres in front of this wall is a stylobate which is concentric with the wall. This is built entirely of re-used materials, and the individual blocks have not even been cut to conform to the curve. At least two stylobate blocks of the earlier court are to be found, and also two of the column bases belonging to the preceding system. More important, however, for the purpose of dating this structure is a block which belongs to the stylobate of the interior colonnades of the Basilica. It is very similar to another such block, found elsewhere, and shows the same evidence of a shifting of the column spacing in some restoration.

This piece of evidence shows that the hemicycle was certainly not built until the Basilica had been completely destroyed, possibly in the end of the fourth century after Christ, or even later. The complex of walls behind the hemicycle shows very little that can be called a definite plan, and from its construction clearly represents a series of alterations extending well down into the Byzantine period. The better built of these walls, especially that which crosses the mosaic floor from north to south and is interrupted by a door and also a shallow niche containing a well (possibly a latrine), shows an interesting finish. It is built of rubble and re-used cut *poros* blocks of varying sizes, and is then pointed with a good coat of stucco which has been cross-hatched while wet.<sup>1</sup>

The area between the stylobate of the hemicycle and the heavy wall B presents a picture of inextricable confusion. The level in Byzantine and mediaeval times was never much higher than the older one, and although thresholds and floor levels were found that showed a rise of level from time to time, the area was constantly being cut into for purposes of making drains, cisterns, and foundations. Even burials are found cut through into the Greek level. There were no Greek remains of an architectural nature, if we except a large drain built in a fashion that approximates polygonal masonry. It runs at right angles to another similar drain which can be seen in the space between the colonnade of the Lechaem Road and the front of the West Shops, just off the north wall of the First Basilica. Many Corinthian and Proto-Corinthian potsherds were found in this area, and low down, close to hardpan, was a stratum of sherds of this period. The consideration of these remains belongs, however, to another part of the publication.

A glance at the plan of the excavations of 1925, made before most of the later building was cleared from the site, shows the nature and arrangement of the work of the mediaeval builders.

<sup>1</sup> O. Broneer, *A. J. A.* XXX, 1926, p. 50, mentions the outline of a fish incised in the same manner. For a possible identification of this area as a *macellum piscarium* see *Corinth*, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 102.

## CHAPTER V

### THE COLONNADES AND SHOPS ALONG THE LECHAEUM ROAD

BY RICHARD STILLWELL

**THE WESTERN COLONNADE.** The Lechaeum Road was flanked, as has been stated above, by colonnades starting from antae on the ends of walls which flanked a platform in front of the Propylaea, and running north, apparently as far as the end of the section of road that has been uncovered. The stylobate of the Western Colonnade is not preserved farther north than a distance of 29.00 m. from the anta. On the east, the stylobate extends north for about 41.00 m. from the position that the anta, now missing, originally occupied. The two colonnades differed from one another in a number of particulars, the most noticeable being that whereas the eastern one has a level stylobate that steps up 0.45 m. when it reaches the lower platform in front of the Propylaea, the western one has a sloping stylobate, although its slope is not so steep as that of the road. In a distance of twenty metres the separation between the two increases 0.10 m. The west stylobate is of bluish marble and measures 0.302 m. high by 0.775 m. wide. Its stones vary in length from 1.11 m. to 2.16 m. A horizontal bed was dressed for each column base, and scratch marks give the axial distance as 2.61 m. The base of the pilaster terminating the colonnade to the south is *in situ*, and various other column bases on circular plinths were found close by (PLATE XVII, C, D). Each has two dowel holes which match exactly those of the stylobate. All the bases are of coarse-grained island marble. They vary considerably in height, especially the round plinths, which were designed to accommodate the entablature to the slope of the stylobate. The level at the eleventh column is 0.28 m. below the level immediately north of the face of the pilaster. If continued as the foundations indicate, there would be a total drop of *ca.* 0.55 m. in the distance to the north end of the basilica.

The foundations of the stylobate consist of large squared blocks of *poros* resting on a *poros* and rubble-concrete foundation. There are occasional breaks where a block has been ripped out, but the line of foundation continues north as far as the excavations have been carried. The top of the *poros* course shows where it has been dressed down at intervals to accommodate the varying thickness of the stylobate. Towards the north end of the Basilica, and farther on, it is covered in part by a great deal of very rough rebuilding in rubble concrete. One very interesting variation in the construction occurs at A, PLATE XI, where, as has been noted above, the pavement of the Lechaeum Road also shows a peculiarity. The foundation is wider at the base at this point than it is elsewhere. The top course, on which the marble stylobate once rested, has had its western edge cut down slightly as if



to accommodate a step. It may be possible to account for this discrepancy by the fact that at this point a drain of the Greek period runs under the stylobate, and consequently demanded more adequate foundations on a broader footing, but if we take into account that it is just here that the pavement of the road gives an indication of some sort of entrance through the colonnade, we probably should restore at this point the approach to a flight of steps that would lead up to the temple hill along the north face of the First Basilica. There are traces of such an approach, a kind of back stairs, in the rock west of the Basilica. There is no difficulty in the fact that the West Colonnade, as we know it, has a spacing of some fifty centimetres less than the width implied in the foundations of this approach, and that a column would fall at a point one third of the way across the opening. The stairway must have been suppressed in the construction of the Second Basilica, and as there seems to be good reason to consider the marble colonnade and its stylobate as a reconstruction, it would naturally take little account of the previous arrangement.

The question now arises, can we restore the spacing of the colonnade which preceded the marble one? If we assume an intercolumniation of 3.57 m. in order to have the entrances of the majority of the shops come evenly between two columns, and start from the north wall of the First Basilica, we find that this spacing agrees with the division walls of Shops IV to XIII and would end in an anta somewhat south of the present anta, but almost exactly opposite the projecting *poros* wall at the east side of the road. Such an arrangement would agree well with the flight of *poros* steps leading up to the main platform of the Propylaea.

The material of this colonnade would have been *poros*, and in all probability the Doric order would have been used. There are in this region a number of fragments of light monolithic shafts with a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.50 m. which could have belonged to this system. With an intercolumniation of over three metres the entablature presumably was of wood, perhaps no more elaborate than a simple beam to receive the rafters that formed the roof of the colonnade.

The marble colonnade, if we restore its columns on a plan, comes out evenly at the north extremity of the Second Basilica. There were twenty-four intercolumniations along the shops, beginning with the anta against the platform of the Propylaea. The marble stylobate was carefully fitted to the platform which interrupts the west sidewalk, and in fact at one point was omitted for a distance of 0.96 m. behind the foundation of the platform. The surface of the stylobate block adjacent to the gap is left quite rough. This shows that even in the restoration of the colonnade the platform or *bema* continued to be used.

The disposition of the colonnade in front of the market place north of the Basilica is mainly a matter of conjecture. Nothing of the stylobate survives. The mediaeval was lower than the ancient level and all traces, except the actual foundations, have disappeared. Two cornice blocks have been found with a complete set of mouldings on both sides (PLATE XVII, E, F). They are 0.40 m. high, too great a dimension for the colonnade, and may have

crowned a wall built on the heavy foundations across the front of the market, approximately on the line of the shops. The roof of the colonnade could have abutted against this wall as it did against the wall of the Basilica. It also seems most probable that the colonnade was interrupted at the end of the Basilica and then resumed, in much the same style, at a lower level. Manifestly it would have been difficult to continue it indefinitely to the north without some adjustment to compensate for the slope of the roadway. During the Middle Ages shops were built in the colonnade itself and used the stylobate, or sometimes its foun-



FIGURE 103. CORINTHIAN CAPITAL FROM  
LECHAEUM ROAD COLONNADES



FIGURE 104. CORINTHIAN CAPITAL FROM  
LECHAEUM ROAD COLONNADES

dations, as the basis on which to erect a new front wall. Traces of the walls of these shops appear in PLATES X and XI at E-E.

Fragments of a considerable number of unfluted columns, with an average lower diameter of 0.54 m., diminishing to *ca.* 0.45 m. at the top of the shaft, were found along the road and have been assigned to the colonnade. The capitals were Corinthian (Figs. 103, 104), of Parian marble, and measure 0.57 m. in height. The entablature, with the exception of a number of cornice blocks, is not well preserved. A couple of fragments of combined epistyle and frieze bearing a Latin inscription of which only three letters are preserved (Insc. Inv. 20; 234),<sup>1</sup> are very probably from this colonnade, since their general dimensions and material, as well as the place of their finding, agree admirably with what is required (PLATE

<sup>1</sup> *Corinth*, Vol. VIII, Part II, Nos. 126<sup>a</sup>, 126<sup>b</sup>.

XVII, G). The numerous cornice fragments which may with reasonable certainty be assigned to the colonnade constitute a series of essentially the same type, but of slightly varying dimensions (PLATE XVII, H, I).

**THE WEST SHOPS.** Behind the colonnade is a series of sixteen shops measuring 4.45 m. from front to rear, excepting Nos. I, II, XV, XVI, which measure 5.50 m. The width of the typical shop is 2.93 m. Nos. III and XIV, however, are 4.45 m. wide, and No. XVI



FIGURE 105. CORNICE BLOCKS FROM LECHAEUM ROAD COLONNADES

4.90 m. wide. The partition walls are 0.65 m. thick, built of courses of varying height, some made with bonding stones, some with two blocks set back to back and joined by swallow-tail clamps 0.20 m. to 0.27 m. long. The front walls have largely disappeared, but the foundations are preserved for practically the entire length. The original thickness of the wall can be seen in a few places, and can also be determined from setting lines preserved on the foundation. The floors were probably of dirt. No traces of pavement can be seen. The shops continued to be used during the Middle Ages, when a new front wall was built behind the original one, but the remains are so confused, and show such frequent remodelling, that the exact arrangement is very uncertain. It is plain, however, that the general scheme was to build walls across the area occupied by the colonnade, erect a new front wall along

the line of the stylobate, and rebuild again, in certain cases, the ruined front wall of the shops. Sometimes this seems to have been done when as much as a metre and a half of earth had collected over the original level. Again, in some cases, the shops had ceilings introduced in them about 2.50 m. above the floor level, and the lower part of the shop was converted into a cellar. Openings for doors were cut in the back wall of the shops (that in Shop VI is the best preserved) and additional cellar space was excavated in the hard clay



FIGURE 106. SPRING OF VAULT ON PARTITION OF WEST SHOPS ALONG LECHAEUM ROAD

and filling behind the back wall. Even the heavy piers behind the partitions were cut into, and two of them, indeed, quite cut through. Several doors were cut from shop to shop, and some were subsequently filled up.

A stone on the top of the division wall of Shops VII–VIII gives, apparently, the start of a barrel vault which may have covered the room, and suggests that all the shops were originally vaulted (Fig. 106). The form of the block, with its horizontal upper surface, points to a vaulting of concrete rather than of stone, since in the latter case the block would have the form of a voussoir. It is impossible to tell, however, whether the block is of the first construction. If the shops had originally had true vaulting, the thrust would have been dangerous for the north end wall, and unless the vaulting had been in the form of segmental

arches, the level of the crown of the arch would have risen above the Basilica floor, giving a raised aisle on the west side of the Basilica. Furthermore, no trace of the curve of the vault is visible at the only point, in the back of Shop V, where the rear wall is preserved to a sufficient height to show the traces of it. The front wall of the shops rests on clay hardpan, having first a footing course of squared blocks, not laid to line, but on the whole carefully jointed with respect to each other. On this course, which because of the slope of the colonnade and the street is stepped down at intervals, is laid a course, averaging 0.38 m. high, of stones with their edges drafted for a width of about 0.10 m. each. This course is set back from the footing course some 0.07 m. to 0.20 m., depending on the irregularities

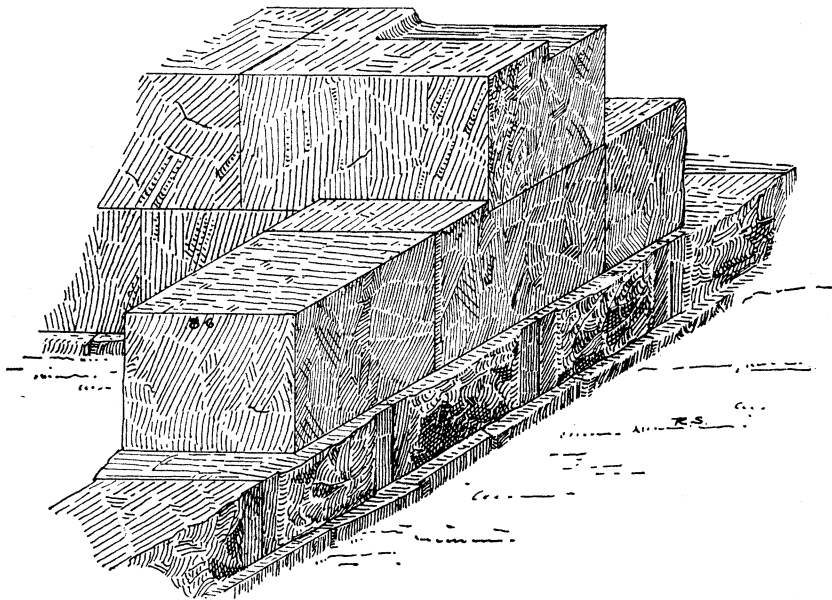


FIGURE 107. ISOMETRIC VIEW OF CONSTRUCTION OF FRONT WALL OF SHOPS

of the bottom course. A setting line, 0.08 m. behind the joints of the second course, marks the line occupied by the third course, which seems to have been about two feet high (Fig. 107). The few blocks preserved are badly worn by later rebuilding, but one can be measured accurately and gives a height of 0.675 m. It measures 0.86 m. from front to back, but elsewhere, where there are indications of the wall higher up, the thickness seems to diminish to 0.75 m., or about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The entrances to the shops would have been *ca.* 1.90 m. wide, and in Shop IX dowels for the sill may be seen. Even coursing is not maintained in the construction. The height of the courses seems to be dictated by the dimensions of the material on hand, and practically all of it seems to be re-used Greek stones, well worked over. Usually a single course in one of the partition walls will be of the same height throughout, and is frequently made of thin blocks set on edge and back to back with their tops joined by swallow-tail clamps. The bonding with the back wall is effected in the usual manner of having alternate courses of the partitions run back into the wall, but

frequently also a block will be cut L or T shaped and be common to both walls. The inequalities in the heights of the courses are always taken up by cutting down part of the upper surface of a given stone in order to avoid consecutive vertical joints. In no case is any block less than 0.20 m. high inserted for the purpose of filling a gap, but in several instances more than half of the height of a block has been cut down to accommodate the adjoining course. Where the blocks have been preserved from the wear of many centuries of use, it appears that the joints, made with anathyrosis, are marked by a bevelled edge on one of the stones. The face of the blocks is not necessarily finished smooth, but is slightly pulvinated or else left rough, without, however, showing any very great irregularity (Fig. 108). It is precisely the kind of construction that one might expect where old materials were being employed and standard sizes from a quarry were not obtainable. As in all the Roman work at Corinth from the first period of rebuilding, excepting that of the earliest temporary campers who returned to the site, care is taken to avoid showing on the visible surface of walls any trace of the re-use of Greek stones. The chief exception noticeable in this area is the wall that runs southward, continuing the line of the front of the shops, and acts as a retaining wall along the side of the ramp that led up to the Agora before the construction of the Propylaea (PLATE XV). Here can be seen four large blocks from the epistyle of a Greek building, but the taenia, regulae, and guttae have been carefully worked off, not broken, and only the tell-tale evidence of the stucco is left to show what the stones originally were. Even here it is evident that, when the *poros* stone was first worked off, its natural whitish color would make the trace left by the stucco almost invisible, and only in the course of time has the different color taken by the stone made the contrast.

THE EAST COLONNADE. Of the East Colonnade there remains only a portion of the stylobate. It is chiefly of a poor quality of limestone, the surface is much weathered, and repairs are noticeable. Instead of following approximately the slope of the road, as does the West Colonnade, the stylobate runs level from the point at which it is preserved (opposite Shop XII) to a point opposite Shop IV. It then steps up 0.45 m. and for the remaining distance runs level again till it ends against the wall that flanks the east side of the platform in front of the Propylaea. It is apparent that the stylobate is earlier than the paved street, for the bed of the latter takes no account of the fact that the rough foundations of the former are revealed. Round dowel holes and workings for the bases are visible and give an axial distance which varies from 2.58 m. to 2.67 m. There is a gap in the stylobate, however, roughly opposite the foundations of the small Greek Temple "A," east of the road, and when the distance between the columns to north and south of the gap is measured (14.02 m.), it is evident that somewhere in this space there must have been a special arrangement.

14.02 m. = total length of gap

2.595 m. = average axial distance of columns 1 to 5 gives five intercolumniations, with  
1.045 m. left over. The same distance divided by 2.63, the average axial distance of columns

10 to 15, leaves 0.86 m. unaccounted for. If we put column 6 at a distance of 2.595 m. north of 5, and column 7 an equal distance north of that, and restore 9 and 8 with an axial distance of 2.63 m., we have a span of 3.55 m. between 7 and 8. The centre of this gap would come about 0.43 m. south of the centre line of the monument foundation that interrupts the west sidewalk of the road, and about 0.05 m. north of the centre of the sixth span in the west side of the Peribolus of Apollo. The Peribolus, however, has twelve spans along the side,

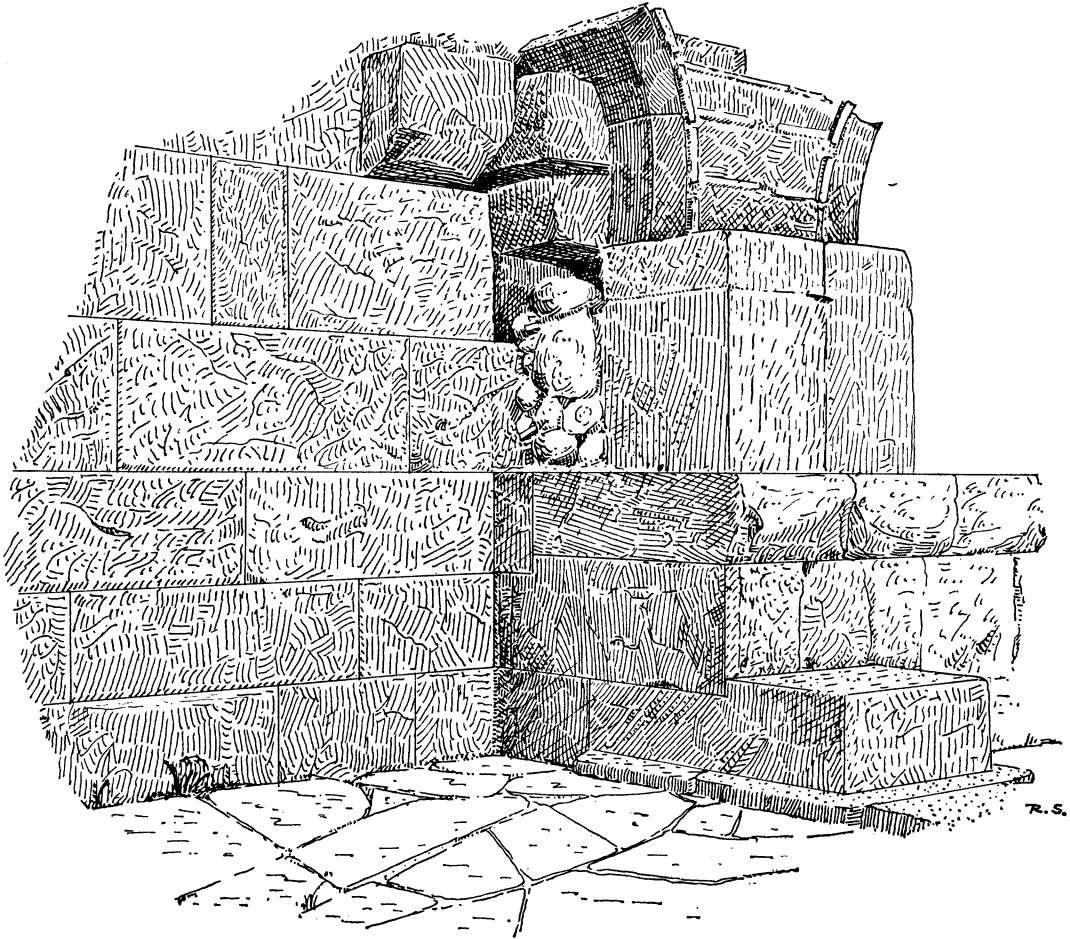


FIGURE 108. PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF NORTHWEST CORNER OF SHOP II, SHOWING TYPICAL WALL CONSTRUCTION. THE ARCHES ARE MEDIAEVAL

and consequently it would make the entrance come off the axis of the court. It is also significant that this entrance, if it is the *εἰσόδος* of which Pausanias speaks, should come exactly at the point where the east sidewalk is torn up.<sup>1</sup> One other fact should be mentioned in this connection. The dividing walls of the shops behind the East Colonnade were, to judge from the three now remaining, spaced at intervals of 4.50 m. This allows the entrance to come within 0.05 m. of the centre line of one of these rooms, which would not have been

<sup>1</sup> This arrangement, considered together with the traces still visible on the pavement south of the gap (see p. 139, note 1), suggest that something of importance stood at this point; but the fact that the gutter shows no sign of returning on the roadway seems to prove that no large monument was placed here.

actually a room, but a passage from the East Colonnade to the peristyle of the Peribolus. Exact alignment in the arrangement of the various buildings and roads of Roman Corinth is hardly to be expected, inasmuch as the development of the plan was the result of successive years of building and accommodation of one part to another rather than the outcome of a unified and simultaneous scheme of building.

It seems possible that the east stylobate carried, originally, a *poros* colonnade which was later replaced by marble, at the time that the West Colonnade was restored. This assumption is made on the grounds that a stylobate of the rather poor material that this exhibits would hardly be later than the well-laid marble stylobate on the west side, and is equally unlikely to be contemporary. In the chronology of this region, it must be assumed, for reasons that will appear later, that the marble colonnades date in the second half of the first century A.D. and are among the earliest important constructions as yet uncovered that belong to the period when marble became the chief decorative material for important buildings in the city. The marble period did not come, presumably, until after the earthquake in the reign of Vespasian. But the quality of the east stylobate is so inferior that it certainly seems to have been destined to receive a colonnade of a humbler material than that which it ultimately carried. There is also the consideration mentioned above, that the slope and level of the pavement take no account of the foundations of the stylobate, whose badly hacked surfaces are plainly visible.

The axial distance of the columns has already been discussed. There remain marble bases, of the same type as those used on the west side of the road, and numerous fragments of columns of bluish marble from Euboea which may be assigned to the colonnade. Blocks from the epistyle and the frieze are wanting, although some fragments remain which might be assigned to the colonnade of this side of the road. The cornice was of the same type as that on the west, and of about the same dimensions. The capitals were Corinthian, resembling those of the West Colonnade.

Practically nothing is left of the superstructure of the row of shops that extended along the area behind the East Colonnade, between it and the Peribolus of Apollo, but enough of the foundations remain to allow the restoration of such a row. Where it is preserved, at its southern end, the foundation wall of the shop fronts is 4.80 m. behind the stylobate, measuring from the front of one to the front of the other, but to the north, near the last preserved block of the stylobate, the distance diminishes to about 4.50 m. There is room, beginning back of the north wall of Peirene, for ten shops, averaging 4.50 m. wide (see above), before the series is interrupted by a construction of another nature. One of the spaces occupied by the shops would have naturally formed a passage into the Peribolus. Like all the early Roman work in Corinth, the walls of these shops, at least so far as their foundations are concerned, make free use of discarded Greek materials, some of which are of a very interesting nature and will be considered separately (Fig. 109). As these shops did not have any heavy building above them, as was the case across the road, the walls are thinner than those of the West Shops, and measure about two feet, or *ca.* 0.65 m., in thick-



ness. They were so thoroughly destroyed in mediaeval times, and have been so built over, that it is frequently very difficult to be sure of the dates of all the construction that is preserved, but in every case, the original line of the walls is the one followed by later repairs and rebuilding. The rear wall of the shops, which formed at the same time the rear wall of the west side of the Peribolus, is very nearly six metres from the front wall, giving the shops a depth of about 5.35 m.

The north wall of the Peribolus, which coincides with the northern wall of the tenth shop, and also is in the line of the fifteenth column of the East Colonnade, rests upon the



FIGURE 109. EAST SHOPS. FOUNDATION OF SHOP FRONT WALL, SHOWING RE-USED GREEK MATERIAL

line of an earlier Greek<sup>1</sup> wall which may have formed the northern boundary of some precinct north of the Greek Peirene, and certainly dictated the northern limit of the Roman Peribolus. North of this wall, opening off the street, was a latrine, the remains of which as now revealed date from comparatively late Roman, or even Byzantine times, but there seems to be reason to believe that this is merely the rebuilding or repairing of a similar arrangement of an earlier Roman period. This area was excavated in the spring and summer of 1929, and will be considered as a whole in a succeeding volume of this publication. It is important to observe at this point, however, that here the level of the stylobate must have

<sup>1</sup> B. H. Hill, *A. J. A.* XXXI, 1927, p. 73.

been lower, and there may well have been actually a break in the colonnade necessitated by this change in level. From here on, north along the line of the road, the foundations of the stylobate continue, broken into from time to time by mediaeval building or repairs. Just what arrangement was made behind the colonnade is uncertain at present, but the location of the Baths of Eurycles in this region makes it probable that the western limit of the area so occupied was arranged for shops flanking a space that served as the actual entrance to the baths.

The western sidewalk is interrupted at a point eight metres from its start by a puzzling construction 8.82 m. long and 3.35 m. wide, clearly older than the paved way (Fig. 110). It consists of a platform 2.63 m. wide, built of a rather badly grained limestone but little

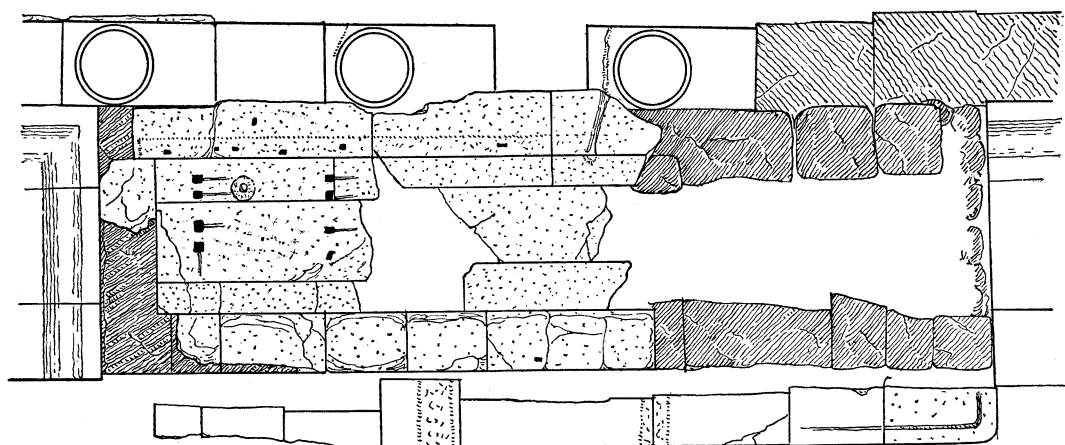


FIGURE 110. PLAN OF FOUNDATION INTERRUPTING WEST SIDEWALK

used in Corinth, to which on the east were later added two steps of better limestone similar to that used in the pavement of the street. Back of the centre of this rectangle the stylobate of the colonnade is omitted for 0.96 m., and the surface of an adjacent stylobate block is left rough on top. The gutter south of it turns across the sidewalk and discharges upon the central roadway, to start again when the sidewalk recommences at the north. The horizontal top of the platform, 0.25 m. to 0.50 m. above the level of the sloping sidewalk, is cut uniformly to a depth of 0.08 m. leaving an edge 0.35 m. wide, and in this cutting appear dowel holes with pour channels arranged for the fastening of other blocks at intervals upon it. The purpose of this construction is far from clear. Its large dimensions render it improbable that it was the pedestal of a statue, or even of a group. That it was a *bema*, with steps up to it over the gap of the stylobate, does not seem an impossibility. The orientation of this foundation, as will be seen from the plan (PLATE X), is not exactly that of the sidewalk, but is very nearly parallel to the West Shops. It seems reasonable in view of this fact, as well as in view of the material of which it is composed, to assign it a date contemporary with the building of the Shops, prior to the construction of the Colonnades and the Propylaea, and certainly before the laying of the pavement of the road and sidewalks.

# CHAPTER VI

## THE PROPYLAEA

By RICHARD STILLWELL

ONE of the most important architectural monuments of Corinth during the Roman period was the Propylaea,<sup>1</sup> mentioned by Pausanias, near the northeast corner of the Agora. Standing at the head of the paved way from Lechaeum, the monumental archway must have formed a magnificent termination for the converging colonnades and the various memorials that flanked the road, while the gilded quadrigas that crowned the arch gave the essential point of brilliant focus to the vista.

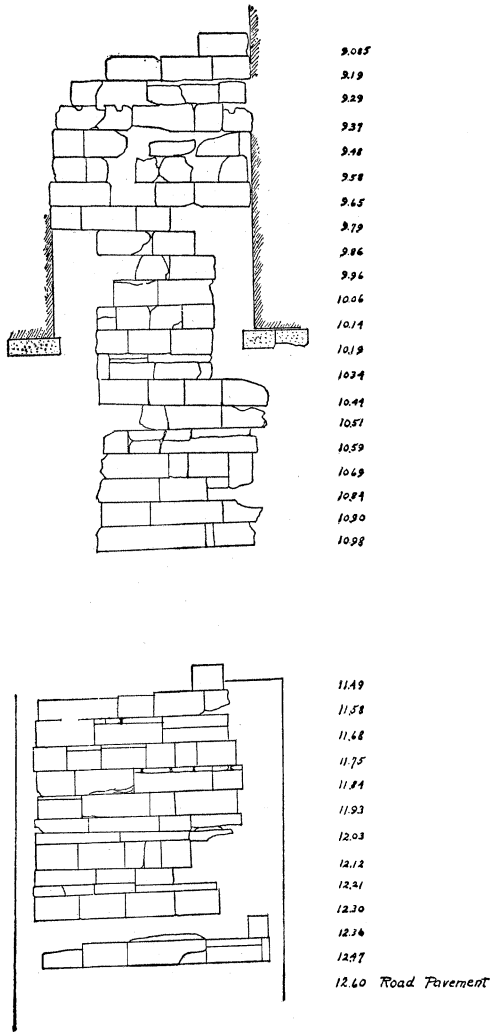
Practically nothing of the superstructure of this monument has survived. We are forced to reconstruct it on the basis of what we can learn from the powerful foundations and from the remains of the stairs and platforms that led up from the road to the level of the archway which gave access to the Agora. Here again we are faced with the problem, not of a simple building dating from one period, but of one which in the course of less than three centuries underwent at least one complete reconstruction and many alterations. Valuable hints as to the changing aspects of the Propylaea are given by Roman coins of Corinth, and these will be discussed as their connection with the monument demands.

Before one can understand or study in detail the nature and relation of the various elements one to another, a brief description of the existing remains is essential. As one advances southward along the centre of the road, the first element one reaches connected with the Propylaea is a set of six blocks, in line across the pavement and set into the road after the necessary paving blocks had been removed (PLATE X, A). These formed the first step of a ramp which in Byzantine times replaced the Roman steps (Fig. 112). A single square block of *poros* behind the west end of this line belongs to the second course of the ramp, which consisted of broad shallow steps with an average rise of 0.095 m. and a tread of about 0.632 m. When first excavated, the ramp was complete, and numbered 38 steps (Fig. 111). A section of it was removed in 1901 in order to clear part of the Roman approach. The remainder was taken up in 1926. The blocks of which the ramp was composed were mainly architectural fragments: cornices, split column drums, *epistylia*, inscriptions, and fragments of anything that had been or could be reduced to a usable shape. A drain ran from east to west under this ramp, just in front of the main flight of Roman steps that led up to the principal platform. In the spring of 1930 this also was removed, and proved to have

<sup>1</sup> A. J. A. III, 1899, p. 685; IV, 1900, pp. 223-225; VI, 1902, pp. 439-454, Pls. XVII, XVIII. Pausanias ii, 3, 2-4.

been roofed with step blocks from the latest Roman stair. The beton foundation for the Roman steps was also revealed when the Byzantine concrete construction was peeled off.

Six metres beyond the first step of the Byzantine ramp, the road is interrupted by a flight of three steps, the first extending from curb to curb, the second and third across both road



and sidewalk. Neither of the last two steps is preserved in its full length, but their foundations are still in place. The three steps lead to a platform that extends across the whole width between the East and West Colonnades. It was paved with marble and has at its western edge a gutter to catch the drip from the cornice of the colonnade. The platform slopes up gently to the beton foundation of a flight of steps, which has approximately the width of the roadway and is flanked on either side by the remains of *paratids*,<sup>1</sup> which correspond roughly to the space occupied by the raised sidewalks. The walls which bound this approach to the east and west continue the lines of the two colonnades, and mark the limits of the main platform. The removal of most of the beton core from the western *paratid* has revealed a flight of *poros* steps, much worn, extending from the western limit of the approach to the east face of the western *paratid*, where the foundations for the flight of marble steps have caused the removal of the earlier *poros* ones (Figs. 113, 114). Projecting from the eastern *paratid*, however, is a short block that corresponds to the lowest preserved *poros* step on the west, and shows conclusively that this *poros* flight once extended across the entire width of the main plat-

FIGURE 111. PLAN OF BYZANTINE RAMP.<sup>2</sup> SCALE 1:200

Part of the last two steps of the Byzantine ramp are still in place. It is probable that they mark the site of the upper steps of the Roman series, although definite evidence of this fact is lacking.

The principal platform, 13.50 m. wide, still preserves a part of its marble pavement, and also on the west a considerable section of the *poros* pavement that went with the *poros* steps mentioned above (Fig. 115). Along the west edge of the platform there is a narrow

<sup>1</sup> For the word *paratid* there seems to be no familiar English equivalent. The nearest approach to it is perhaps *spur*. The *paratids* here are spurs of the upper platform.

<sup>2</sup> The column of figures at the right indicates the levels below the stylobate of the Temple of Apollo, the *datum* level for all excavations in this area.



FIGURE 112. VIEW OF SOUTH END OF LECHAEUM ROAD  
The Byzantine ramp is still largely in place. At the right may be seen the *poros* foundation of the "Bema," interrupting the west sidewalk. At the left is the east stylobate showing how it steps up alongside of the lower platform. The approximate slope of the ramp which preceded the *poros* Propylaea shows between the "Epistyle Wall" and the main platform.

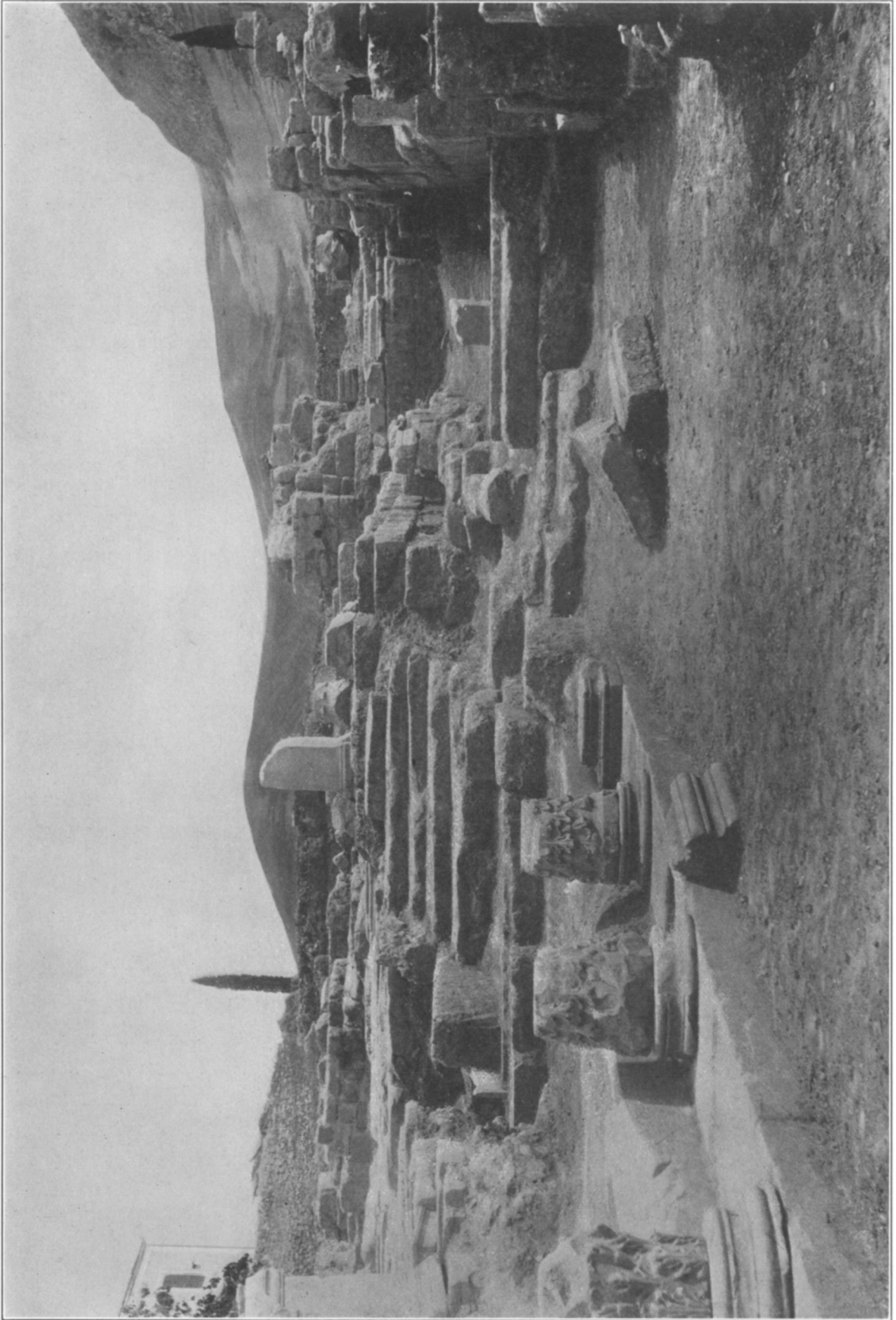


FIGURE 113. SOUTH END OF WEST COLONNADE

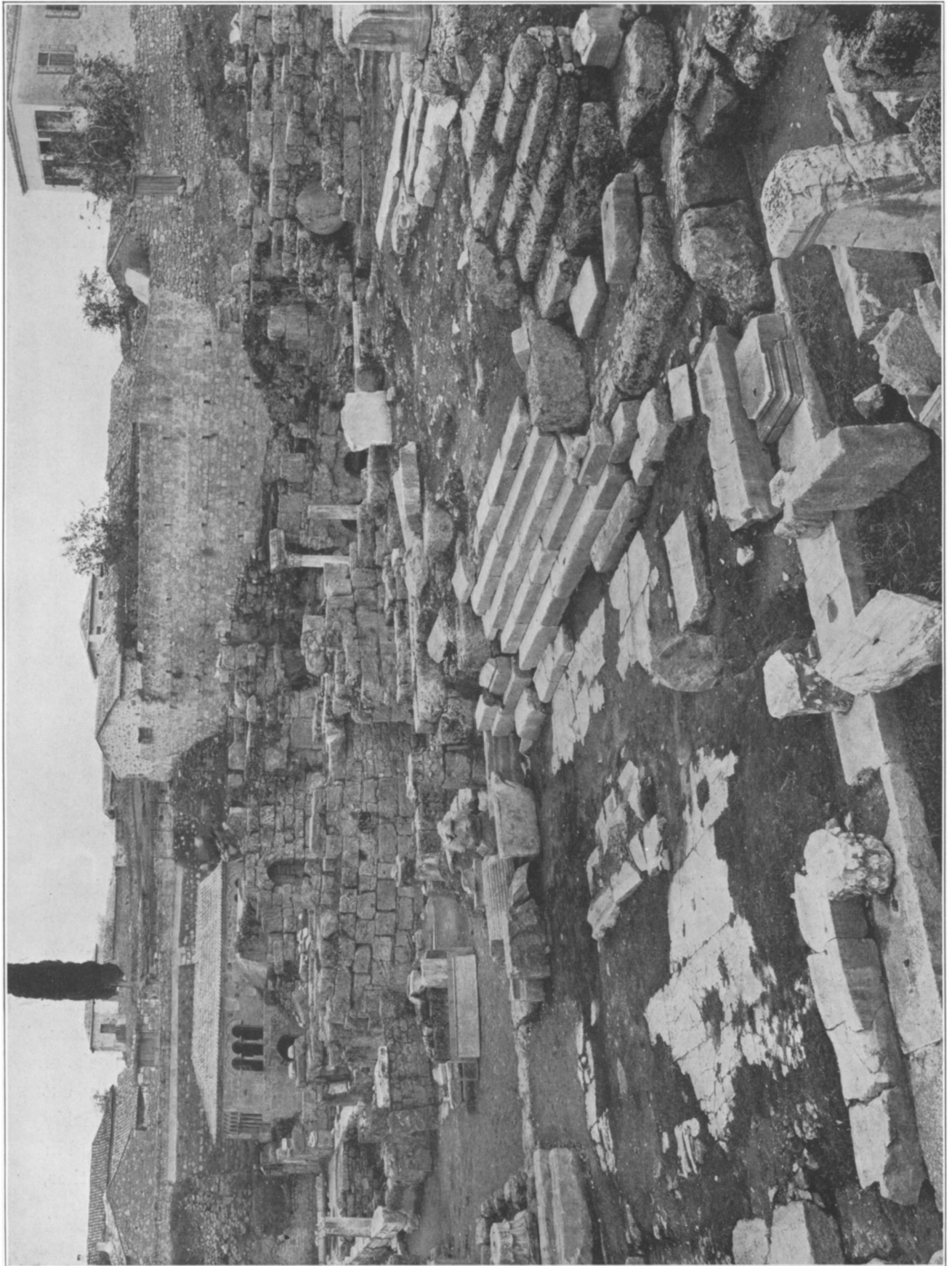


FIGURE 114. VIEW OF STEPS TO PLATFORM IN FRONT OF PROPYLAEA

gutter which belongs to the *poros* pavement (it is covered by the marble one) and shows definitely that the paved platform was never any wider than at present.

West of the platform the following remains should be noted. What was originally the covered way between the colonnade and the front wall of the shops is blocked, just south of the entrance to Shop I, by the first two courses of a wall that ran between the retaining wall of the platform and the southward prolongation of the front wall of the shops (Fig. 113). It is later in date than the shops, but belongs with the platform, and courses with it. Running parallel with the western edge of the platform, about 0.70 m. away from it, is a wall,



FIGURE 115. MAIN PLATFORM OF PROPYLAEA. THE HOLE AT THE RIGHT WAS MADE BY THE EXCAVATORS TO REACH THE COMPLEX OF DRAINS UNDER THE PLATFORM

built for the most part of small blocks faced on the east side. The foundations of this wall following a gentle slope upward to the south recall a deeply incised sloping line in the prolongation of the front wall of the shops, which lies nearly parallel to the edge of the platform, some 4.10 m. from it (PLATE XV).

This wall, called hereafter the "epistyle wall," continues southward until it is interrupted by the foundation of a buttress that marks the western limit of the first Propylaea. The material of this wall is, of course, *poros*, and it contains four large epistyle blocks of good Greek workmanship. The taenia, regulae, and guttae have all been carefully cut away, but their trace is still very plain. The original top of this wall, which was presumably a terrace wall, is no longer preserved, and it has been overbuilt both in later Roman and in Byzantine times (PLATE XIV). 2.50 m. west of the face of the "epistyle wall" is another,



higher wall, of which the socle and three courses are preserved. When first excavated the excellent quality of the masonry led a distinguished archaeologist to call it "a good Greek wall," but subsequent excavation laid bare its foundations, and proved it to be Roman (Fig. 116). For convenience in description it will be called the "good high wall," a name by which it has been known to the excavators of Corinth for many years. At the southern end the "good high wall" returns to the east. Opposite the southern limit of the main platform a small square room was arranged in the space between it and the "epistyle wall."



FIGURE 116. VIEW OF WEST FACE OF "GOOD HIGH WALL." THE RUBBLE FOUNDATION FOR THIS WALL APPEARS BEHIND A TERRACE WALL BELONGING TO THE ROMAN PERIOD BEFORE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PROPYLAEA

There are traces of a similar room at the north nearly opposite the northern limit of the main platform and immediately adjacent to the southeast corner of the Basilica. From the north to the south room, midway between the two walls above mentioned, runs a course of *poros* blocks, set on edge, and resting on a projection of the foundation of the "good high wall." The top of this "intermediate wall" is about 0.10 m. below the socle of the "good high wall."

At the south end of the space between the "epistyle wall" and the platform, north of the return of the "good high wall," and resting on earth fill, were four large *poros* blocks, which formed the foundation of some monument of which all other traces have disappeared. Only two of these blocks are in place today, as the removal of the other two was necessary to permit excavation in the important angle below them.

At the foot of the foundation of the west buttress of the Propylaea, cut both by it and by the "epistyle wall," are the foundations of a Roman terrace wall (Fig. 117). The orientation of this wall corresponds not with that of the Propylaea, but with that of the Greek stoa which formed the northern boundary of the Agora, and consequently with the early Roman system of terraces which was built to make the transition between the level of the Agora and the earliest, presumably unpaved, road that ran along the front of the shops. If



FIGURE 117. JUNCTION OF WEST BUTTRESS OF PROPYLAEA AND EPISTYLE WALL. AN EARLY ROMAN TERRACE WALL APPEARS BELOW THE BUTTRESS

we prolong the line of this fragment to the southwest, it agrees with a return visible on the lower of two Roman terrace walls which may be seen at a low level in the space west of the "good high wall" and south of the Basilica (Fig. 116).

Mention should be made here of two well-built drains, one of which lies at the foot of the fragment of terrace wall and is of Greek construction, and the other, Roman, some five metres to the north. The latter was reached by a manhole which interrupted the "intermediate wall" (PLATE X).

The connection of the wall forming the west edge of the platform with the Propylaea proper has been interrupted by a drain built presumably in the latter part of the first cen-

ture A.D., at the time when the entire Propylaea was reconstructed (Fig. 118). On the east, however, the boundary of the platform extends right up to the foundation of the early Propylaea.

Five metres farther east the line of the shop fronts lying between the road and the Peribolus of Apollo is continued southward to the foundations of the Propylaea, where, as on the west side, it reaches the foundations of the large buttress that marked the eastern



FIGURE 118. WESTERN PIER OF CENTRAL ARCH OF PROPYLAEA

end of the Propylaea (Fig. 119). This wall is neither so well built nor so well preserved as the "epistyle wall," and has been to some extent repaired. It forms a definite boundary line between the area occupied by the Propylaea and its approach and that occupied by Peirene. The only thing to note in the area between it and the main platform is a complex of drains of various dates which must be discussed later.

A careful inspection of the east wall of the platform shows the following peculiarities (PLATE XVI, A, B; Fig. 120). The shallow buttress from which the wall starts northward consists in its top course of a block which bonds into the course below the euthynteria. This block, where it projects, is worked down 0.10 m. below the level of the top of the

course, except on its east side, where part of the original level is maintained. Fitting tightly against it, and notched into the next lower course of the buttress block (the first one on the top of the wall, which, as has been said, is worked level with the top of the buttress block for a part of its length, after which its upper surface rises slightly), the second and third blocks of the wall maintain the same level, but the last metre of the third block steps down *ca.* 0.20 m. The four remaining blocks of this top course are evidently later additions (PLATE XVI, A; Fig. 121). The second course of the wall, counting downward, is of even height throughout, and has a width of 1.25 m., projecting to either side of the course above. It is roughly finished on the east face, and although on the west face the blocks are better worked, it is evident that they were never left exposed. The width of this course represents approximately the width of the remainder of the wall for most of its length, the exception being that at the north end it is two courses or *ca.* 1.20 m. thick. The northern third of the wall is remarkable in that whereas the top of the fifth course counting downward is practically level, the succeeding courses, down to the eighth, slope decidedly to the north. The eighth course restores the level, where it rests on the ninth course, and the latter is practically level save that its bed accommodates itself to an earlier construction below which shows the orientation belonging to the period before the Propylaea (Fig. 122). The foundations below the finished courses of the southern two-thirds of the wall are very rough, composed of large re-used blocks as well as smaller uncoursed fragments, and give the impression of having been laid in a trench cut into, though following in a general way, the slope of the earlier ramp. It is significant that the foundations of the shallow buttress do not go below the fourth course, counting from the bed of the euthynteria, and in this correspond fairly well with the depth of the foundations of the platform wall.

East of the platform there is no trace of any cross wall running to the line of the front wall of the shops, but the relatively good finish of the east face of the platform wall, as far back as five metres from the north end, suggests that such a cross wall might reasonably have existed some two metres farther south, relatively, than its counterpart on the west. If we restore such a wall, carrying it to the line of the front wall of the shops, it strikes a point which coincides with the westward prolongation of the north wall of the first Roman court in front of Peirene. Unfortunately there has been so much rebuilding in this particular spot that any traces of such a connection have vanished.<sup>1</sup>

The construction of the west wall of the platform is seen in figure 123. Where preserved, it consists of three courses of *poros* resting on a rubble foundation which extends down, increasing in depth to the north, to the approximate line of the ramp. The top course, it will be noticed, has a rebate cut in its upper edge, on the west, which agrees with a weather line noticeable on the large block forming the foundation for the late monument that lies between the platform and the epistyle wall. This seems to be for a pavement, presumably of

<sup>1</sup> A possible alternative is to assume a ramp, or a secondary flight of steps.

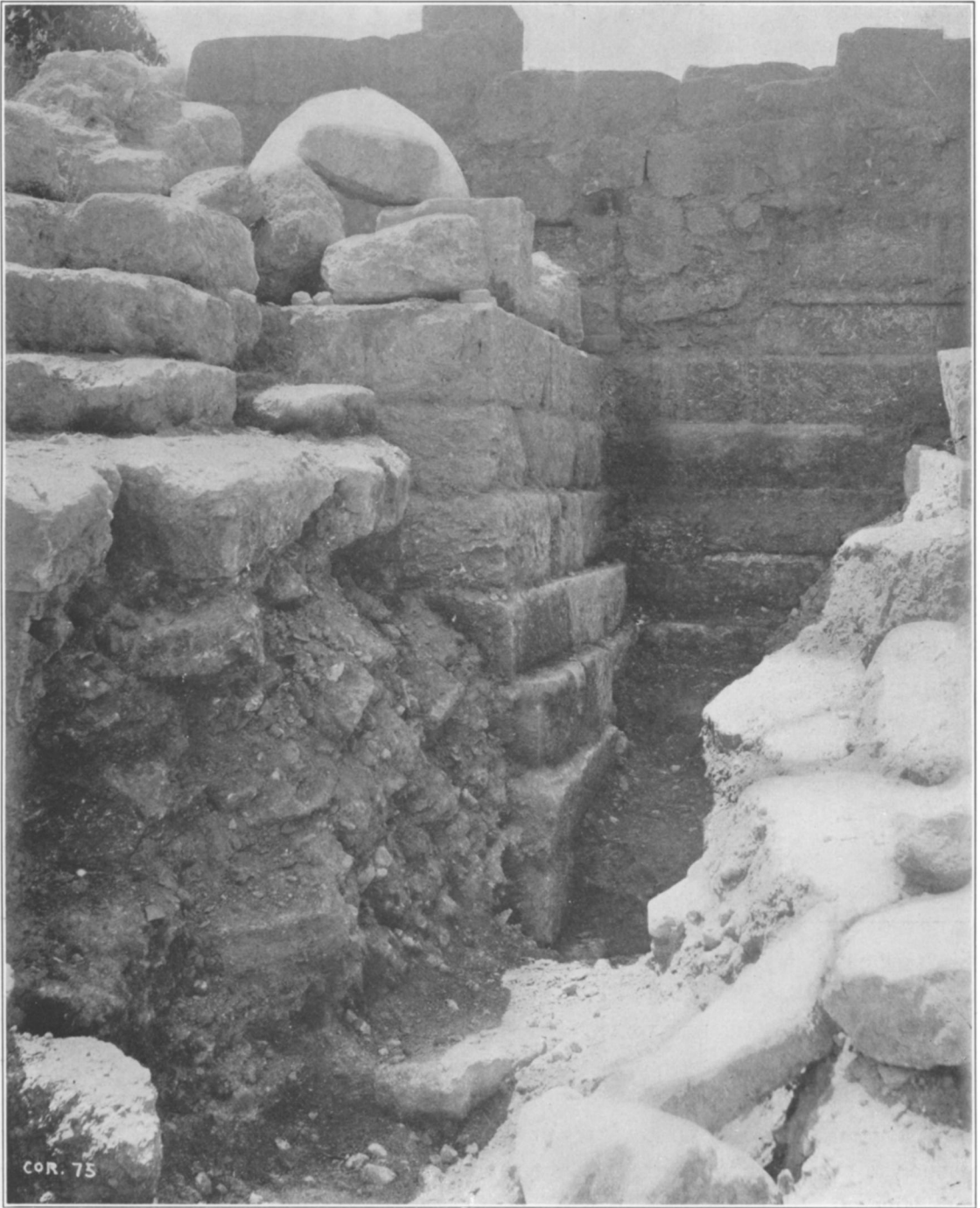


FIGURE 119. EASTERN BUTRESS OF PROPYLAEA SEEN FROM THE NORTH

marble, extending the width of the platform westward across the "epistyle wall," up to the "intermediate wall."

The massive foundations of the Propylaea itself, extending down as much as 6.00 m. below the level of the Agora, are built of regularly coursed *poros* blocks, some of which have been taken from the ruins of Greek buildings. The difference in level (*ca.* 5.00 m.) between the Agora and the road, and the fact that there was no adequate footing except at a great



FIGURE 120. JUNCTION OF EAST WALL OF MAIN PLATFORM WITH THE EAST PYLON OF THE CENTRAL ARCH OF THE PROPYLAEA

depth, together with the undoubtedly heavy character of the superstructure, made a solid foundation essential. As usual in the Roman construction at Corinth during the first fifty years after the refounding of the city, the foundations are of the built type, and beton or rubble was used only as a means of levelling for the footings.

The masonry is roughly dressed. The joints show the characteristic V-cut found on nearly all early Roman work in Corinth. Tooth chisel marks are everywhere apparent. No trace of clamps or dowels is evident in any of the parts preserved. The interior faces of the box-like chambers, or bays, which of course were filled up after construction, are less well laid. Succeeding courses project and retreat as much as 0.20 m. In the eastern bay there

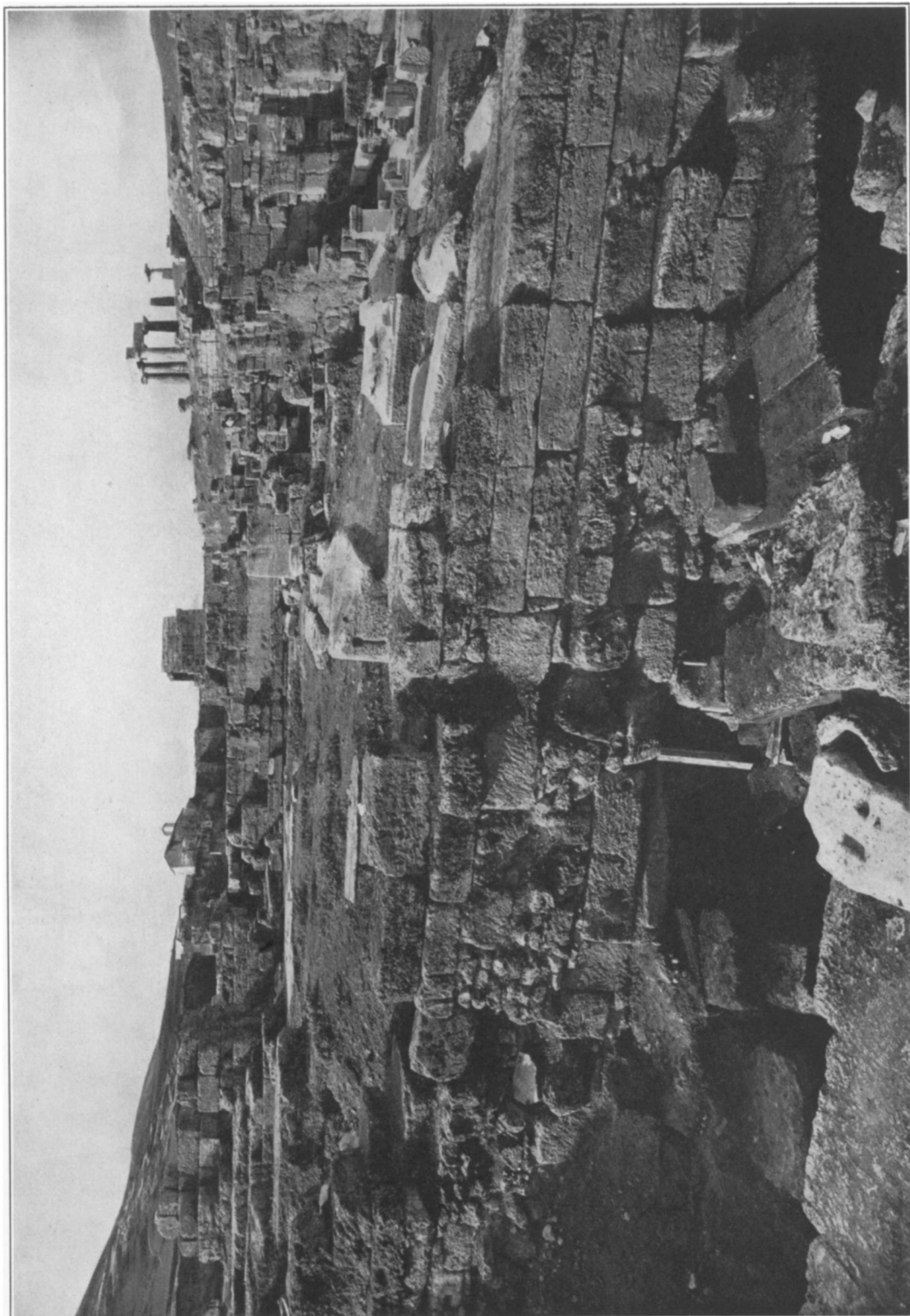


FIGURE 121. EAST WALL OF MAIN PLATFORM OF PROPYLAEA



**FIGURE 122.** VIEW FROM NORTH OF AREA TO THE EAST OF THE MAIN PLATFORM OF THE PROPYLAEA.  
In the right foreground may be seen construction antedating the platform. In the centre foreground is the outer side of a drain leading from the Agora.



is a solid filling of well packed *poros* chips at the level of the fifth course below the euthynteria (PLATE XVI, A). There is no record of the stratification as excavated in these chambers (excavation of 1899) but it seems probable, from the practice elsewhere in Corinth,<sup>1</sup> that, as the walls rose to a height above which a man could not work conveniently, the open space was filled to provide a working platform. Each successive stage, therefore, would be marked by a layer of fairly well trodden chips left in the process of trimming the blocks.



FIGURE 123. WEST WALL OF MAIN PLATFORM OF PROPYLAEA AND EARLIER RETAINING WALL

The arrangement of the Propylaea foundations of the first period will be understood by reference to the diagram on page 175 (Fig. 124). There are three bays, the central one being larger than the two at the ends. As the south line of the foundation, broken by four shallow buttresses, is continuous, it follows that the central bay projects 1.40 m. to the north. The end walls of the foundation are also drawn to the north, providing a foundation for some buttress or column arrangement at either end. The solid spaces between the chambers seem disproportionately wide, but the evidence that remains from the euthynteria course, which fortunately has survived, shows that there was, between the central and side open-

<sup>1</sup> The traces of this practice show against the north face of the *poros* Propylaea, just east of the main arch, and are also to be observed in the *cavea* of the theatre.

ings, another smaller opening 1.25 m. in width. The exact position and size of these openings is given by a wearing down of the upper forward edge of the euthynteria. The trace of the eastern opening is visible, beginning 0.32 m. west of the joint made by the upper course of the foundation with the east wall of the platform, and extends westward for the rest of the length of the particular block of the euthynteria on which it begins, i.e. *ca.* 1.23 m. (Fig. 120). The next adjacent block to the west resumes the full height of the course and does not show any wear. The western of the small openings is shown in like manner, with the difference that here the sill of the opening is a few centimetres lower than the eastern one, although the euthynteria itself is at practically the same level. This discrepancy is interesting when taken in consideration with the fact that the east wall of the platform is some 0.30 m. higher than the west wall.

It is also possible that there may have been a small rectangular cell left under these openings, as in the case of the larger bays, making in all five cells in the foundation instead of three. If this was the case, these bays were carefully built up in the reconstruction of the Propylaea, and at present are entirely covered over by the remaining courses of the piers of the second arch. It may also be noted that the overlying courses which may belong to the second Propylaea do not show any signs of having settled over these points, a fact that points either to the excellence of the reinforcement of the foundations or to the fact that the first foundations at these points were solid. Whether there was a passage that went straight through the mass of the Propylaea, or whether there was a chamber in the nature of a guard house, is open to speculation, but in any case there was an opening, probably spanned by a lintel rather than an arch, flanking either side of the central passage. The space between these doorways and the end openings is marked by a pilaster or attached column, for which the foundation has been broken forward in the manner of a shallow buttress. The east wall of the platform, which, as has been stated above, joins the shallow buttress, shows on its top course a worked space which, taken together with the top of the buttress, makes a level area  $0.78 \times 0.85$  m. (PLATE XVI, B). This seems to indicate a column rather than a pilaster, and possibly a free standing column rather than an engaged one.<sup>1</sup> If we are to accept the *poros* paved platform as contemporary with the *poros* Propylaea in its first stage, for reasons which will appear later on, it seems a little strange that the foundation for an element that was in itself an integral portion of the gateway should be formed in part by an abutting wall. Unfortunately, on the west side the corresponding arrangement does not exist. The later Roman drain which runs across the front of the west opening cut any connection that there may have been between the west wall of the platform and the Propylaea itself. Still a similar piece of construction is possible. An alternative suggestion is to restore a statue base directly in front of the pilaster.

The euthynteria course is fairly well preserved. It is 0.315 m. high, and its visible face

<sup>1</sup> The use of free standing columns, however, is not common until a later period. See Curtis, 'Roman Monumental Arches,' *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome*, II.

is carefully dressed with a toothed chisel. The joints are even, not drafted, nor V-cut. In spite of the later rebuilding of the gateway, it is possible to make out the essentials of the plan of the *poros* Propylaea, excepting only the arrangement of the architectural elements on the flanking buttresses, and on the sides of the projecting central bay. Fortunately, in one place on the east side, and in two places on the west, two or three courses of the superstructure remain. That on the east is especially important, as it gives the one bit of architectural detail still in place. On the face of the east jamb of the small opening to the east

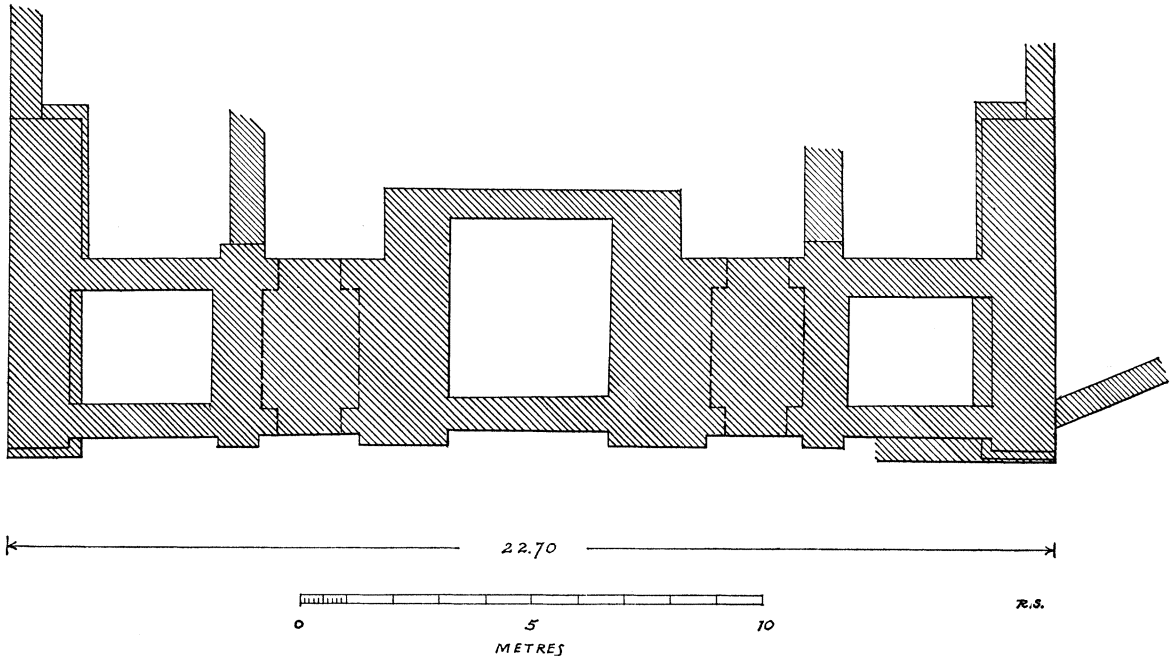


FIGURE 124. DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE POROS PROPYLAEA. THE EMPLACEMENT OF THE CHAMBERS FLANKING THE CENTRAL OPENING IS SHOWN BY DOTTED LINES

of the main arch there is still visible the profile of a base of the Attic-Ionic type (PLATE XVI, B). This moulding probably turned around the jamb of the doorway, although this can be only surmised, for most of the moulding has been hacked away. It also returned against the north face of the pier. Immediately adjacent to it, on the east, a projection of some sort has been cut away, but here we may restore either the attached column or the pilaster and column suggested in connection with the east wall of the platform. The courses of superstructure left on the west side of the central arch give us information concerning the height of the courses (0.38, 0.36, 0.38, and 0.35 m.) and also confirm the plan of the passage between the central and the side arch.

Any attempt to restore the elevation of the superstructure must be largely imaginary. A limited number of *poros* fragments may reasonably be assigned to the gateway at this period, but there is no definite evidence for their assignment or allocation. Numismatic

evidence relating to the Propylaea is of little or no value for this period, although for subsequent periods it gives fairly important indications.

Adjacent to the Propylaea on the east was a stair between walls that led up from Peirene to the level of the Agora and landed at a slight angle next to the southeast corner of the building.

There is no evidence for any approach leading up to the side arches. On the contrary, the disposition of the side walls of the platform in front of the Propylaea seems to indicate that the space between them and the prolonged lines of the shop fronts, both east and west, was filled up to the level of the main platform and on the east slightly higher. A series of very uneven cuttings along the top of the west wall of the platform, outside of the small gutter, may indicate a fence or barrier, but the purpose of such an arrangement is not clear. Certainly one would not expect that all the traffic which could be accommodated on the wide flight of *poros* steps extending, as it did, across the entire width of road and sidewalks would be diverted through the comparatively narrow central opening. Nevertheless, when the Propylaea was rebuilt with a single arch only a little wider than the original central opening, the stream of people must have found its way either through it or past it on either side. It has been suggested that the side openings, inasmuch as they are in line with the roofed space over the colonnades, may have served as passages for those who wished to take advantage of the long, raised walk furnished by the roof platforms on either side of the road. A study of the levels shows, however, that to reach such a walk from the main platform it would have been necessary to mount some eight or ten steps. This, of course, is within the bounds of possibility, but there remains not the slightest trace of any such arrangement. If it once existed, it would seem to have been at best a makeshift.

Before discussing the alterations and rebuilding of the Propylaea it is advisable to consider the relation between the *poros* Propylaea and its platform, the "epistyle wall," and the Colonnades.

The "epistyle wall," as will be remembered, shows on its face a deeply cut, slanting line. This line, if produced, reaches the level in front of the shops at a point just a little south of the door to Shop I. If carried on to the south it strikes the sill of the western opening of the Propylaea at a point too low to allow a ramp laid on this line to pass through. Furthermore, it is evident from the manner in which the epistyle wall is cut by the west buttress foundation that it was in place before the buttress was built (Fig. 117; see below.) This is confirmed by the character of the fill in this angle, which shows that a deep hole was sunk for the Propylaea foundations in a harder fill that occupied the area to the north. This harder fill dates from Roman times, and it is very unfortunate that the early excavators did not note whether it was packed directly against the "epistyle wall" at its south end. Lacking this evidence we may deduce from the wall lying just west of, and parallel to, the west edge of the platform, that when it was built it was set on foundations which followed the slope of a ramp approximately the same as that indicated by the incised line on the "epi-

style wall." The irregular stone footings for the platform wall run up against the foot of the wall just to the west, and a convenient working space is left when we reach the two last courses of the side of the platform. This light retaining wall does not give the impression of a structure intended for permanence, nor does it line up with anything. It is interrupted by the cross wall between the "epistyle wall" and the platform.

Keeping these elements in mind the following chronology and explanation may be suggested as the most plausible.

Following close upon the earliest Roman arrangement, of which we know only fragments such as a series of terrace walls, the Basilica and the shops connected with it were laid out on a different orientation. The "epistyle wall," which is unquestionably contemporary with the shops, was prolonged to the south far enough to act as the retaining wall of a terrace in front of the Basilica, approximately on the level of the Agora. The approach to the Agora from the lower level was effected by means of a broad ramp. Its eastern boundary is not clear. This ramp had the slope given by the incised line on the "epistyle wall," of which the lower part of the south end, accordingly, was buried. The wall probably had one course and a capping course above its present top, and presumably carried a parapet extending to the southeast corner of the Basilica. Before this arrangement had endured many years, but after the shops on the east side of the road had been erected (they may well be contemporary with the Basilica shops, or possibly earlier) it was decided to erect a monumental entrance to the Agora. The foundations of the *poros* Propylaea were accordingly laid, but some means of access had to be provided while the work was going on. Accordingly, a second ramp was laid, overlying the first, and reaching the upper level at a sufficient distance north of the Propylaea to afford access, by a turn to the right, to the area in front of the Basilica, and as a temporary retaining wall for this ramp we find remaining the light wall just west of the main platform. The lower end of this temporary ramp would have blocked the entrance into Shop I. If it did so, we may suppose that the civil authorities overrode the protest of the shopkeeper.

Work proceeded on the foundations of the Propylaea, the southern end of the "epistyle wall" was curtailed (some of its blocks may have found their way into the lower part of the adjoining foundations), the main platform was built, reached by the broad flight of *poros* steps, and the foundations of the two colonnades, the eastern first, were begun. As soon as the platform and main steps were completed the utility of the temporary ramp vanished. The cross wall blocking the end of the colonnade was put in, and the entire space east of the "epistyle wall" was filled up to the level of the platform.

The construction at the point of junction of the stylobate of the East Colonnade and the east wall of the platform shows either that they are contemporary, or that the colonnade is earlier. If the colonnade is distinctly earlier, it must have governed the plan. This seems unlikely. If we take into account the character of the foundation of the stylobate, both at its south end and much farther north along the road, as well as the construction

of a wall that joins on to the shop fronts, but is later, in construction at least, than they are (Fig. 99, p. 143), it seems more likely that the *poros* Propylaea, its platform, and the colonnades formed part of one and the same scheme.

The lower platform, with its three steps and gutter at the side, is not well related to the colonnade and suggests a more involved explanation. As may be seen from the drawings (PLATE XIV; Fig. 125), the bases of the last two columns, as well as the anta base on the west side, are hidden by the gutter which comes above the level of the stylobate. Such an arrangement is likely to be the result of an alteration or of a failure to adjust levels when the scheme was laid out. The gutter in front of the West Colonnade when it reaches the platform at a point opposite the first step across the road, has a well-defined end and clearly never went any farther. Furthermore, the pavement of the road, at a point where there is a gap in the first step, shows that it also was designed to stop at that particular point. The foundations of the second and third steps, extending clear across the whole width of road and sidewalks, do not seem to be the result of any alteration, and we are forced to accept the present arrangement of the three steps and the first platform, with its flanking gutter, as essentially the original scheme. The top step shows traces of another step above it, and the blue marble pavement, if restored on its present slope, would make a shallow step necessary. This pavement bears signs of having been relaid and even includes a slab with a fragment of inscription on it. It seems more probable that the original pavement of this platform would have been of the same material as the road and sidewalks. The gutter, too, alongside of the platform, is of bluish marble instead of white limestone. Two reasonable alternatives suggest themselves. Either the first arrangement had at most two steps, and merely led to a platform which was level with the west stylobate, or there were originally four steps, leading to a platform even higher than the one now preserved. The first hypothesis is reasonable, save for the fact that investigation at a point on the stylobate between columns one and two showed that its face at this point was roughly worked and makes the fitting of any pavement close against it difficult. Furthermore, there is no sign of any pavement underlying the present one. If there had been one, it should appear somewhere, as its complete removal before the alteration would seem unlikely. The reason is that the white limestone is very friable, and hardly worth the trouble of removing. The second hypothesis, that of an original platform some centimetres higher, is more likely to be correct. This, however, makes the concealment of the bases even more complete. Still, the fact that the stylobate as far as the third intercolumniation shows practically no signs of wear indicates that it could not have been in place very long before it received the protection of the raised gutter which, as is apparent, took most of the wear, whereas the stylobate at a lower level received practically none.

The following explanation may account for the discrepancy between the construction and material of the two colonnades, as well as for the awkward arrangement of the gutter along the side of the platform. The West Colonnade as we know it may date from the time

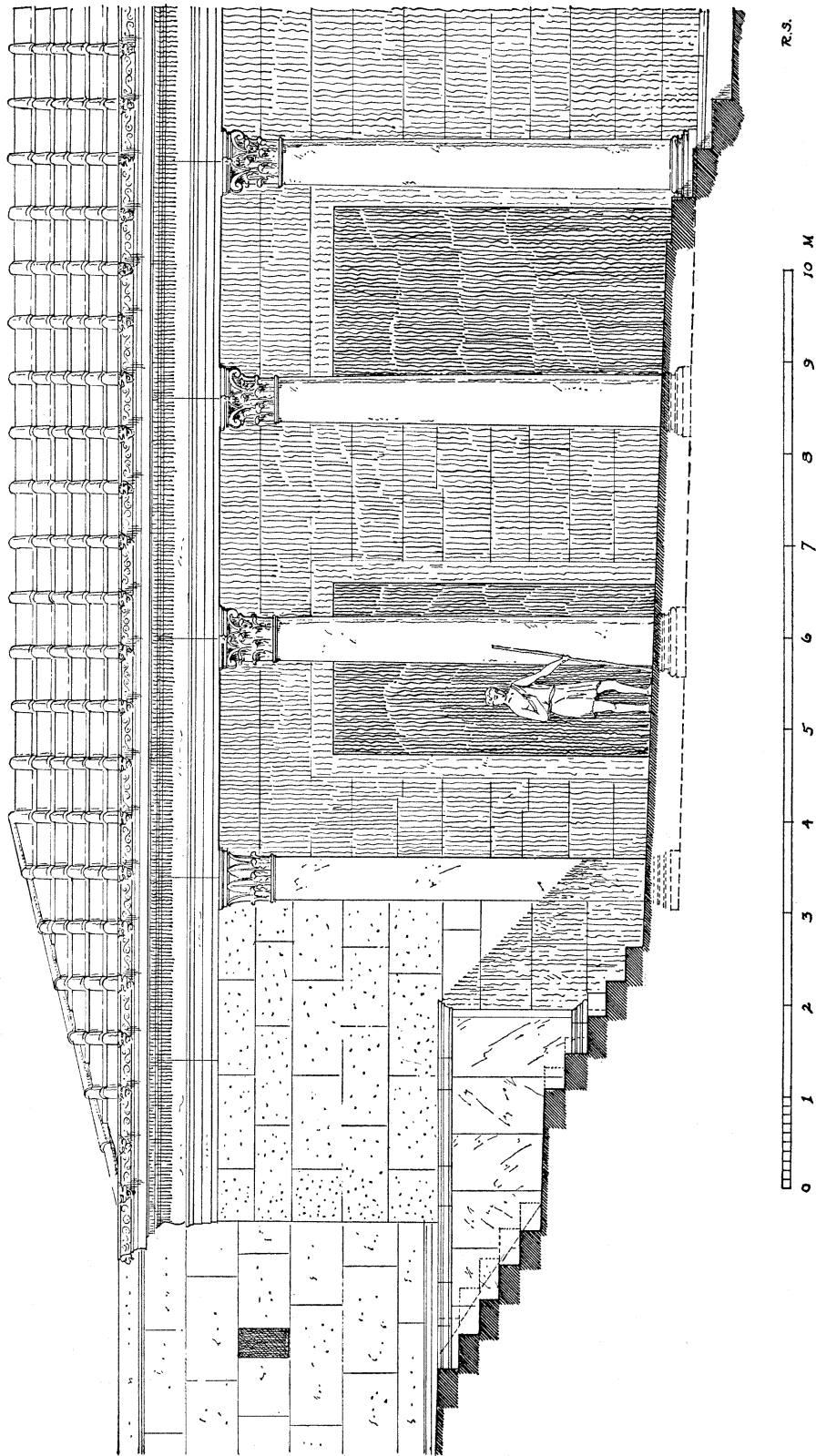


FIGURE 125. RESTORATION SHOWING SECTION OF STEPS BETWEEN PARATIDS, LOWER PLATFORM, AND STEPS FROM ROAD

when the Propylaea was rebuilt after the earthquake of 79 A.D. The high east wall of the Basilica may have fallen and so damaged an existing earlier colonnade as to make its complete reconstruction a necessity. The similarity in material of the pavement of the lower and the main platforms suggests that they are contemporary, but later than the pavement of the roadway. The lower platform already existed and was consistent in its arrangement with the stepping up of the east stylobate. The arrangement of the entablature, however, must have been awkward, and in reconstructing the West Colonnade the concealment of the bases of the columns may have been considered the lesser of two evils. Another point should be noted in this connection. The two *poros* blocks which run southward from the anta base rest in part *on* the last block of marble stylobate and hence must be contemporary with it. There is a *poros* socle which continues the level of the stylobate and provides a bed for the larger part of the first block and all of the second. The blocks do not course either with the next block to the south, which belongs undoubtedly to the west wall of the platform, or with the block adjacent on the east, which forms also a part of the same wall. The inference is that they are the result of an alteration, and an examination of the construction at the corresponding point on the east seems to bear this out. This may also furnish an explanation for the fact which has been noted as to the dowels for the bases of the two colonnades (see above), namely that the eastern series uses one circular dowel and the western two square dowels for each base. The sloping line, which is very noticeable along the western stylobate blocks, caused by the proximity of the paving blocks of the sidewalk, need not be taken as a setting line, but merely as the result of a joint between the two stones, where water would lie for a considerable time. Farther north, where the difference in pitch between the stylobate and the sidewalk of the road causes the stylobate blocks to stand for their full height above the level of the sidewalk, at least one gutter block (PLATE X, opposite to Shop XIII) actually extends *beneath* the line of the stylobate. It is impossible to say that it could not have been inserted when the stylobate was already in place, but this seems unlikely.<sup>1</sup>

It is noticeable that on the east side of the platform the steps have sunk considerably. In fact there is a general depression at the angle which they form with the east sidewalk that indicates a drain of some sort underneath. This, however, is not accessible without considerable damage to the pavement. It is reasonable to assume, however, that there may be some connection with the complex of drains exposed east of the main platform. A narrow channel for a lead pipe cut at the back of the tread of the first step and extending across the end of the block that forms the curb of the east sidewalk, is at too low a level to drain into the east sidewalk gutter and hence must have found another outlet, most probably the drain suggested above. Holes for metal clamps intended to hold the pipe in place occur in the top of the first and in the face of the second step. Clearly late in date, the pipe must

<sup>1</sup> It would be equally difficult to explain if it were laid under the earlier *poros* stylobate, but if we consider the peculiarly narrow slab immediately east of it, the suggestion occurs that this particular gutter block may be a repair contemporary with the marble stylobate.



have provided water for a fountain, possibly at the side of the road. There are traces of a similar channel on the second step. Several repairs have been effected at various times, using the *poros* and any materials that were readily available.

One other peculiarity should be noted about this lower platform. Running at right angles to the main flight of steps leading to the main platform are two shallow cuttings, 0.18 m. wide and less than 0.01 m. deep. These begin at the south edge of the pavement, and are respectively 0.38 m. from the line of the inner face of the east *paratid* and 0.60 m. from that of the west.<sup>1</sup> One has four, the other two iron dowels, still preserved, and arranged as shown in the sketch (Fig. 126). Evidently they were intended to serve as a kind of

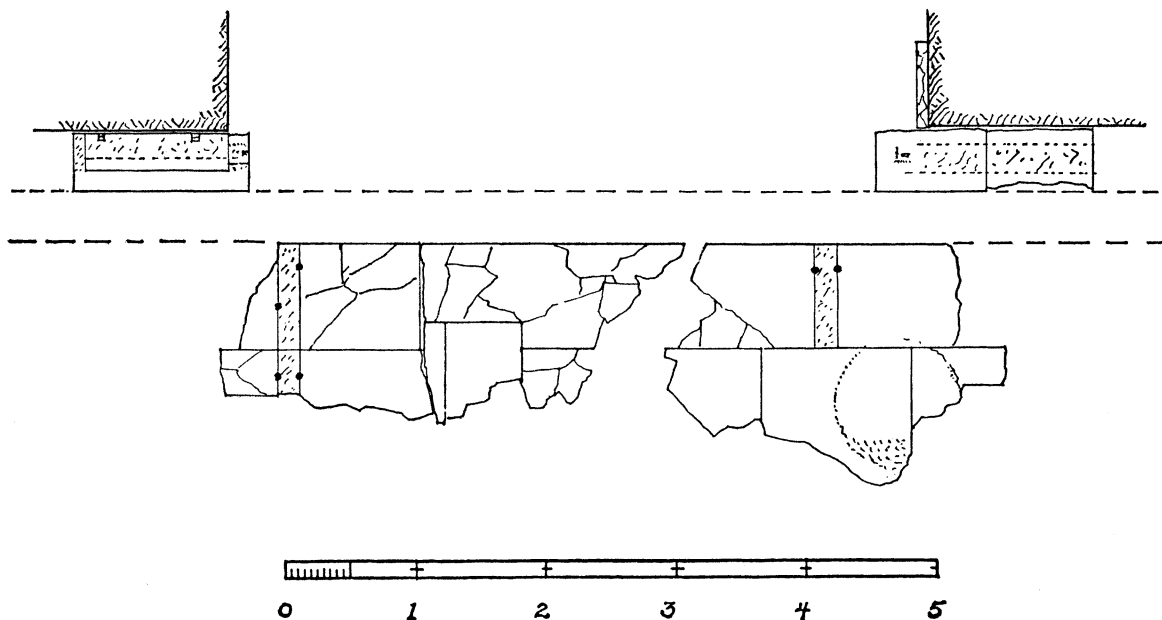


FIGURE 126. PLAN SHOWING GROOVES IN PAVEMENT OF LOWER PLATFORM

barrier, but their date is uncertain, and their connection with the flight of steps is even more so. One cutting is preserved to its full length, the other has been curtailed by repairs to the pavement.

Turning once more to the south, and considering the later arrangement of the steps to the main platform, we have the following details to note. There seems to have been originally a flight of ten steps of hard limestone with a rise of 0.22 m. and a tread of *ca.* 0.38 m., ascending, possibly in two flights, between the *paratids*. The first step went across the front of either *paratid*, as did the second, but the third was returned forward when it reached the *paratid*, and reduced the width of the second step at this point to *ca.* 0.14 m. It served, as well, as the base of a moulding of which a fragment is preserved (Fig. 127; PLATE XVI, C). This ran across the face of the *paratids* and returned against the fourth step. All the Roman steps except three blocks of the second and one of the third, where they lay in front of the

<sup>1</sup> Measured from the *poros* backing blocks of the *paratids*.

*paratid*, have been removed (Fig. 128). The trace of the first five steps on the beton foundation is still preserved. A piece of the marble revetment of the west *paratid* alone survives, but at the time of the excavation three pieces of the revetment of the east *paratid* also remained. Weathering and tooling on their surfaces makes the restoration of the steps quite certain, but unfortunately the plaques on the east have disappeared as a result of native industry, and beyond the account of them given by Mr. Sears (*A. J. A.* VII, 1902, pp. 139-154), there is no record. The step blocks preserved are of a bluish limestone that made a slight difference in color at the point where they extended across the front of the *paratid*. No block remains that can be assigned with any certainty to the first step, but it seems likely that this step carried the bluish tone clear across. The original steps, much worn, are still in evidence

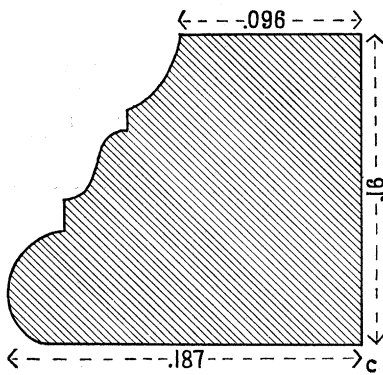


FIGURE 127. MOULDING AT BASE OF PARATIDS

in a number of scattered blocks. Where the steps ran across the *paratids* they were fastened by iron clamps to the wall behind. Their upper surfaces show weather lines and make the assignment of several additional blocks a certainty. In the demolition of the Byzantine ramp and the drain underneath it a second series of step blocks came to light. These are triangular in section, as opposed to the first series, and although worn, are on the whole better preserved. The rise is the same as for the first series, but the tread is just over 0.30 m. It seems reasonable to assign them to the only flight of steps within easy distance, and they belong most probably to a stair which replaced the

original stair between *paratids* at a time when constant traffic had worn it down to a dangerous irregularity. The construction of the Byzantine ramp caused the removal of all step blocks and destroyed completely the trace of the upper steps. Judging from the steepness of the stair, when restored, it seems likely that in accordance with the usual custom the flight was broken by a landing halfway up. It is quite uncertain whether the second stair was laid over the first without removing it, though such a plan would enable the repair to be effected rapidly, with a minimum of time lost in removing the old steps, not more than two at the most having to be cut away (see Fig. 125). The triangular blocks are also much more easily handled, as was proved when a section of the stair was restored in the spring of 1930.

The upper part of the *paratids* is gone, and the question as to how they were finished at the top is still open. Presumably there was some sort of crown moulding, in character with the base mould, and it is also likely that there was some form of railing or balustrade. There is in this section of the excavations a series of heavy limestone blocks that have the under corner bevelled off, but the finish is not of a quality to go well with the workmanship on those blocks which remain in place.

When the level of the main platform is reached, it will be noted that the pavement is

of the same bluish marble that is used in the lower platform. It is about 0.08 m. thick, and was regularly laid in slabs of about 1.60 m. by 0.80 m. On the west it is preserved right up to the wall of the platform, where it overlies the small gutter and stops against a raised edge left on the top course of *poros*. The south edge of the pavement is also preserved and agrees with the trace of a flight of four steps that led to the central opening of the Propylaea. The trace is visible on the west side of the monument base which projects from the northeast corner of the central bay, and on close examination can be traced on



FIGURE 128. REMAINS OF EAST PARATID OF PROPYLAEA PLATFORM SHOWING STEPS *in situ*

the present upper course of the northeast corner of the central opening immediately behind the monument base (PLATE XVI, D). As will appear later, the base itself is relatively late in date, and it follows that the trace is that of steps equally late. It seems quite probable, however, that these late steps replaced a similar flight belonging to the reconstruction after 79 A.D. Across this pavement from east to west is a narrow cutting in which was found a fragment of lead pipe measuring 0.06 m. by 0.045 m., and *ca.* 35 m. long, bearing the inscription ΕΥΤΥΧΗΔΟC in letters 0.015 m. high. This seems to have led from the large foundation to the left of the main arch, across to the west edge of the platform, where all further trace of it is lost. Presumably it served as the supply of a fountain which stood

on this base, but the source from which the water came, unless from as far as the Fountain of Glauce, remains obscure. Needless to say, both pipe and fountain are later than the pavement; their date will be discussed below. The base measures *ca.* 2.70 m. by 2.20 m. and rests on a beton foundation.

The main platform has suffered a great many repairs in the course of time, but in the main consists of a layer of beton some 0.30 m. thick laid over a dirt fill, which in turn overlies, in diminishing depth toward the south, what seems to have been the earth ramp that preceded the *poros* Propylaea. The rather surprising fact that the original *poros* pavement is preserved only on the west side can be accounted for by the assumption that at various times it was necessary to tear up a portion of the platform in order to reach the complex system of drains which form a junction under the platform. This angle of the Agora, as is apparent from a casual glance at the general plan of the excavations, forms the only reasonable place at which water can be brought down to connect with the main drain of Peirene. A section of this very important outlet can be seen on the left as one enters the court of Peirene through the western door (PLATE X, B), but at this point a study of the drainage system, although interesting, would lead too far from the subject of the Propylaea.

The *poros* Propylaea was razed to its foundations and entirely rebuilt during the latter half of the first century A.D. In its new form it took the shape of a single arch, decorated with marble columns and entablature and revetted also with marble. It carried the quadrigas of Helios and Phaethon which drew the comment of Pausanias. The chambers or passages flanking the original central arch were filled up. Three courses of this filling on the west, and two on the east, remain to-day. The central opening may have been widened, although its exact dimensions cannot be determined with any certainty. That it was widened, nevertheless, seems probable in view of the proportions of the foundations. Most important, however, the depth of the Propylaea was increased by *ca.* 3.10 m. on a foundation of three courses of *poros* laid over beton which goes down to a depth of *ca.* 2 m. below ground level. The foundations at the south side of the arch indicate that the entire width of the structure was some fifteen metres, and in the east bay of the first Propylaea a wall *ca.* 0.70 m. thick has been built against the west side of the bay. The west bay does not show such a wall, but it may have once existed, perhaps in such a crude form that it was removed during the early excavations as being mediaeval (there is no record). What occurred in the place once occupied by the east and west bays of the predecessor of the second arch is not apparent. Some terracing may have been done on the west, but on the east side a later rebuilding, complicated by the curve of the west apse of the court of Peirene, makes any speculation purely hypothetical. To suppose that there were three arches in this new Propylaea leads to the following difficulties. The side arch on the west must have retained the depth of its predecessor. There is no enlargement of the foundation at this point. The large rectangular foundation slightly to the east of the original east line of the Propylaea demands an arch which would not balance with the one on the west. It is some 0.70 m.

wider. It is tempting to say that the entire axis of the Propylaea might have been shifted to the east, but this would throw the stairway leading to the main platform entirely out of line. As it is, its axis lies a trifle to the west of the true centre of the earlier arch. But even if these difficulties are disregarded we have the evidence of the coins of Domitian and Hadrian,<sup>1</sup> which show a single arch, whereas later coins, of Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius,<sup>2</sup> show three arches. The reason for this discrepancy will appear shortly. Furthermore, if we assume the date of the reconstruction to lie in the last quarter of the first century, at a period when there was much rebuilding in Corinth as a result of the earthquake of 79 A.D., the prevailing style of that time was in favor of single arches.<sup>3</sup>

The core of this arch, where preserved, is composed of *poros* blocks laid in courses *ca.* 0.44 m. high. No mortar is used above the foundations, nor are there any clamps. The levels of the courses are even, but the blocks of the several courses are not carefully fitted. The ravages of time have destroyed all trace of the exterior coating of this Propylaea, and the assignment to it of marble fragments becomes largely a matter of hypothesis. Many of the architectural pieces from the Byzantine ramp came no doubt from this building, but very few remain intact (PLATE XVII, A).

Following the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, the coins of Lucius Verus and Antoninus Pius show an arch with three openings. That they indicate an actual change in the building is suggested by the following dispositions. The Façade of the Colossal Figures, adjacent to the Propylaea on the west, seems to have been erected, to judge by the detail of the sculpture, at some time between 130 A.D. and 170 A.D.<sup>4</sup> The details of the architecture, quite irregular in quality of workmanship, make a later date preferable, rather than an earlier, but inasmuch as the building was subjected to a restoration, the exact date remains doubtful. A careful study of the architecture of that Façade<sup>5</sup> indicates that it had originally no connection with the Propylaea, save for the fact that its foundation was laid immediately adjoining the western pier of the *poros* Propylaea foundation. Keeping this in mind, let us turn to the disposition on the east. The long, rectangular pier, equalling in its north-south dimensions the entire depth of the second Propylaea, resembles in workmanship the court with apses before Peirene, generally assigned to the time of Herodes Atticus. That it is not actually contemporary is shown by the fact that it does not bond with the western apse, but in any case it cannot be far removed in date. The coin of Lucius Verus showing the three arches dates about 144 A.D. and, if we accept it as evidence, postulates a change in the disposition of the arch at, or just before, that time. Supposing, then, that

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 22, pl. F, xvii, xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 22, pl. F, xcix. In an article on the Propylaea, *A. J. A.* VI, 1902, pp. 439-454, J. M. Sears, Jr., publishes (p. 450) coins of Domitian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Commodus representing the Propylaea, and (p. 452) a mirror-case, said to have been found at Corinth, on one side of which is a head of Nero, on the other the Propylaea with one arch and surmounted by a quadriga.

<sup>3</sup> Curtis, 'Roman Monumental Arches,' *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome*, II.

<sup>4</sup> See F. P. Johnson, *Corinth*, Vol. IX, *Sculpture*, p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> This will appear in a later volume of *Corinth*.

a lesser arch was added to the main one on the east, it would be natural to make some similar arrangement to balance it on the west. But with the Façade of the Colossal Figures already erected it would be impossible to make this small eastern arch project south as far as the main arch, without seriously masking the angle of the façade. It would, then, seem probable that if it had been constructed at all, it would have been only as deep as the original west arch of the old *poros* Propylaea, and would consequently make use of its foundations and the remaining two courses of the western pier. This pier itself shows traces of having been cut back slightly along its inner face.

The block of the euthynteria course which starts across the north face of this opening, i.e. the highest course now preserved, seems to have been finished with a rabbet to act as a stop for a gate or grill. Close to this block, on the north, there is a hole for a gate hinge-pivot, worked in the top of the course immediately below the euthynteria. From their relative positions the pivot hole and the gate stop cannot belong together, but they indicate that at some time passage through the western opening of the Propylaea was definitely barred.

Just east of the central arch a heavy beton foundation runs south for a distance and then returns to the east at an acute angle, parallel with the face of Peirene. One course of *poros* blocks remains on part of it, and is very similar in construction to the Façade of the Colossal Figures. Apparently it was designed to carry a colonnade. This foundation was built outside of, but parallel to, a similar foundation of *poros* blocks, of which only a few fragments survive. The earlier foundation takes off from the southeast angle of the second Propylaea. We restore, therefore, a colonnade, contemporary with the rebuilding of the Propylaea after 79 A.D., which ran to the south and then returned eastward, making a passage along the back of the façade of Peirene, at a high level, and leading presumably to the area occupied by the building in the ruins of which were found the portrait statues of the Julio-Claudian family.<sup>1</sup>

When the Façade of the Colossal Figures was built this colonnade did not form an adequate balance for it, and so was replaced by a far more imposing one on the concrete foundation. Fragments of this colonnade may reasonably be assumed to have fallen into Peirene and to have furnished the material for the architectural decoration of the Byzantine period. The late east pier connected with the Propylaea may belong to this same alteration, but the workmanship makes it desirable to assign to it a slightly earlier date and to bring it into connection with the Herodian alteration of Peirene. It would furnish a means of entrance to the colonnade for people who had reached the platform in front of the Propylaea. What alterations, if any, the main arch underwent is quite impossible to say.

The Greek construction enclosed by the angle of the concrete foundation does not enter into the consideration of the Propylaea, and is more fittingly treated elsewhere.

A large, irregular concrete foundation extends south about six metres from the west side of the main arch, but its purpose and date are not clear.

<sup>1</sup> See *Corinth*, Vol IX, *Sculpture*, pp. 70 ff.

Turning to the area and complex of the "good high wall," and the "epistyle wall," the following points are to be noted. The "epistyle wall" as has been said before, is built, in part, of re-used Greek blocks, of which the epistyles are the most prominent. They came from a building which had an intercolumniation of *ca.* 2.13 m. They are described in chapter VIII, p. 225. Traces of fine white stucco with which they were originally covered still remain. This wall shows the characteristic bevelling of the edges of the blocks, and all the bevels show the use of the toothed chisel. The fourth course from the bottom projects slightly and gives a pulvinated effect; it is, except for the edges of the blocks, quarry faced. There is a large dovetail clamp cutting at the joint that the south jamb block of the door to Shop I makes with its neighbor. No other clamp cuttings are visible. The workmanship is identical with that of the shops, and the disposition of the blocks shows that they were laid from south to north. The wall, where it can be measured, is of varying thickness, and was intended plainly as a terrace wall. At its present south end, the shallow block adjacent to the buttress of the Propylaea and immediately under the large overhanging block at the top has had its south end hacked away. The manner in which it overhangs the gap shows that originally there must have been a block below. The shallow block of the third course from the top does not rest directly on the projection of the buttress course immediately below. There is a gap, measured vertically, of over one centimetre. Certainly if the "epistyle wall" were contemporary with, or later than, the buttress, such construction would be very difficult to explain. It must be earlier. The sloping line used to govern the grading of the ramp has already been discussed. The foundation of the wall consists of re-used blocks, laid on hardpan, and projecting from 0.05 m. to 0.20 m. from the face of the course above. A similar arrangement is found along the foundations of the shop fronts.

The blocks which rest partly on the buttress and partly on the wall, projecting *ca.* 0.17 m. from the face of the "epistyle wall," must be associated in date with the socle of the "good high wall," and also with the wall one course high which runs across from the buttress to the southwest corner of the main platform. The present upper blocks of the buttress were cut down in order to accommodate this course, and this naturally makes the "good high wall" later in date than the *poros* Propylaea. The short cross wall 2.50 m. north of the southern return of the "good high wall," as well as the "intermediate wall," belongs to the same construction. The foundations of this complex go down *ca.* 2.50 m. and were made by the simple process of digging a trench and filling it with broken *poros* fragments, among which are many pieces that can be recognized as Greek. Before the socle was laid, however, a form was placed above the foundation, and smaller fragments mixed with a reddish mortar were thrown in. The intermediate wall, however, rests on the level of broken *poros* fragments some 0.35 m. below the socle. In places it actually overhangs the edge of the foundation and could not have been destined to support any great weight. The eastward return of the "good high wall" rests on a similar foundation, although it is not so deep and does

not have the formed concrete section that is found under the north-south part of the wall. The reason is, as will appear shortly, that it did not have to carry so much weight, the wall being lower at this point. Above the socle there are three courses preserved which average 0.46 m. thick and from the bottom up measure respectively 0.70, 0.66, 0.72 m. high. The top of the second course is level as it turns the corner, but the top of the first course rises 0.05 m., a height which is maintained by the block which runs to the north on the line of the "epistyle wall." This block shows on its east face a cutting as though for a step or for the base of some monument which was built against it. A fragment of iron clamp just above this cutting may also be significant, though its use is not clear. The wall courses are smoothly dressed, especially on the east face of the wall. The upper course is much weathered, and the two upper courses display a series of round holes which, if they have any significance, may be for some dedication or inscription applied in large bronze letters. Beam cuttings and a marked weather line on the east face probably belong to Byzantine times, as does the roughly built wall which now stands above the "epistyle wall."

The purpose of this "good high wall" seems clearly to provide a retaining wall at a higher level, and to make a division between the area of the Propylaea and its platform and the court or place in front of the Basilica. The return on the south lies at a point which would provide a narrow passage between the court and the platform of the Propylaea, and the socle that connects with the platform of the Propylaea shows at a point halfway between the platform and the line of the "epistyle wall" (covered by this time) a cutting and a dowel hole as though for an anta or pedestal. The exact level of the court west of the high wall is difficult to ascertain with accuracy, but in any case it was enough higher than the platform to make a short flight of steps or a ramp necessary.<sup>1</sup> Whatever arrangement was there originally has been greatly modified by the addition of the Façade of the Colossal Figures and the drain that, after running diagonally through its foundations, continued between the foundations of the west bay of the Propylaea and the return of the high wall. A definite restoration is for this reason not possible. The drain in question dates in part from the construction of the Façade of the Colossal Figures, and in part from the somewhat earlier reconstruction of the Propylaea. The west bay of the foundations is cut for a water channel, which seems originally to have turned the northwest corner of the second Propylaea and, after running eastward along the face of the Propylaea foundations, plunges down underneath the platform at the angle formed by the projecting central bay. This drain interrupted the connection of the west wall of the platform with the foundations. The shallow buttress was left, and the offset between it and the central bay was lined with

<sup>1</sup> A photograph which shows the area in question in process of excavation in 1899 gives some indication as to the level of the court in front of the Basilica. Along the top of the second course of the "good high wall" there is a marked weather line (see PLATE XV), which corresponds with a series of blocks laid at intervals and at right angles to the wall. These may have served as a sort of foundation for a floor, or more likely have been laid on top of a floor level during the Byzantine period. The level of the weather line is recalled at the west side of the court by a mosaic floor, now removed, which seems clearly to have belonged to the period when the second Basilica had been erected, and possibly also the Façade of the Colossal Figures.



blocks of *poros*. The covering of this drain has entirely disappeared, but it was probably effected by step courses that led to the podium of the later Propylaea. When the Façade of the Colossal Figures was constructed it appears that this drain was altered so as to run diagonally through the foundations of the façade and eastward in the space between the "good high wall" and the north side of the Propylaea foundations until it joined the last two metres of the earlier drain. A curious feature of this construction is that there is no stone bottom preserved. The side blocks were set on earth fill, and it is possible that they have been replaced at least once. In Byzantine times a section of the drain under the Façade of the Colossal Figures was used as a place of burial.

The purpose of the "intermediate wall" is also quite obscure. It is unlikely that it could ever have been destined to carry any considerable weight, and yet we are compelled, from the pry-holes which are preserved along its top, to restore another course at least. There is on the face of the wall no trace to the west of any shelf or bench that may have been supported by the intermediate wall, nor does the very slight projection of the soele of this western wall afford a reasonable support for stone blocks at a low level. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that this complex must date from nearly the same period, there seems to be no reasonable alternative but to restore some kind of low wall either supporting a bench, or perhaps merely filled in behind with earth to act as a supplementary support to the lower courses of the "good high wall" and prevent them from being displaced by the pressure of the earth west of it. The two "guard rooms" (for want of a better name) seem quite clear. The southern one is well preserved, and there is one block of the foundation of the northern one left. If we restore the corner of the first Basilica, on the plan, it will be seen that the distance between it and the end of the intermediate wall is about equal to that of the width of the southern guard room. The original height of the "good high wall" is not preserved.

It is interesting to speculate in passing on the possible relation between the so-called guard rooms and the two small passages or chambers which flanked the main arch of the first Propylaea. No good parallels can be offered, but it may be worth while to note that, when the first arch was removed, two small chambers were provided apparently to replace those destroyed.

#### CHRONOLOGY

##### *The first Roman Period.*

Soon after the refounding of the city in 44 B.C. a series of terrace walls, consisting mainly of re-used Greek blocks, was built, preserving the orientation of the Greek period. One of the main Greek thoroughfares, leading westward up to and along the front of the Northwest Stoa was interrupted, and some approach was effected at the general location of the present Propylaea. Of this particular approach no remains are recognizable. Of the course of the Lechaem Road at this time nothing can be definitely ascertained. The arrange-

ment of some early building, presumably the predecessor of the later Peribolus of Apollo, and the establishment of a line of shops (now the East Shops), which followed in general very closely the angle established by a Greek stoa of Hellenistic times, probably gave the general orientation of the Second Period, which began, in all probability, during the reign of Augustus.

*The Second Roman Period.*

This period was marked by the erection of the West Shops, and consequently by the planning and construction of the first Basilica that lay above and behind them. As has been noted elsewhere, this building diverges slightly toward the north from the construction on the east side of the road. The exact reason does not appear, but it may be sought in the rock scarp of the temple hill. It is tempting to think that it was also a part of the scheme which looked ahead to the eventual completion of the converging lines of colonnades and their perspective. The construction of this period obliterated the earlier Roman terraces and furnished the approach to the Agora by means of a ramp, bounded on the west by the "epistyle wall." This arrangement gave way very quickly to the establishment of the *poros* Propylaea, with its main platform and great flight of *poros* steps, the building of the East and West Colonnades respectively, and the widening of the platform. The *Bema* on the west side of the road was respected, and the laying of the Lechaemum Road pavement brought only slight modification of the side which faced the road. An entrance to the Peribolus of Apollo was also provided, although it is possible that this was not the principal one, which may have been on the east side of the court.

In such form things stood until the earthquake of 79 A.D. The wear on the *poros* steps attests a considerable period of use, although not sufficient to necessitate their replacement. Probably if we assign the construction of the *poros* Propylaea to the Augustan period we shall be fairly near the truth. This would agree very well with the first Roman building of the theatre, which may safely be placed in the reign of Augustus. The workmanship in the two buildings is very similar.

*The Third Roman Period.*

After the damage done to the city by an earthquake during the reign of Vespasian, the *poros* Propylaea was replaced by a more monumental archway, probably, to judge by the construction, of the time of Domitian. The appearance at this time of a coin with a single arch on it is taken as further testimony of the change. The reconstruction of the Basilica may also be assigned to this period, although it is preferable to give time for the construction of the "good high wall" and its adjacent complex, and the raising of level of the court in front of the Basilica. The whole, however, may be a part of one scheme, and the execution of the projects — Propylaea, "good high wall," and Second Basilica — in the order given, may furnish sufficient explanation for the sequence of building shown by a study of the remains. Certainly the level west of the "good high wall" was brought quite early

to the level of the court in front of the Second Basilica, as is shown by a well-marked weather line and the absence of weathering below.

To this time also belong the alteration of the platform and the reconstruction of the marble stairs between *paratids*, the restoration of the West Colonnade in its present form, and also the earlier colonnade behind Peirene, returning against the southeast corner of the Propylaea.

#### *The Fourth Period.*

Somewhere about the middle of the second century Peirene underwent an extensive alteration. In this century, too, we must place the erection of the Façade of the Colossal Figures and the enlargement of the colonnade, this time on a concrete foundation, adjoining the Propylaea on the east. To this period we must also assign the construction of an arch adjacent to the main arch, on the east, giving access from the platform to this colonnade without the necessity of going into the Agora. The erection of a balancing arch to the west, between the Propylaea and the Façade of the Colossal Figures is problematical, and it can be restored only on the evidence of the coins of Lucius Verus and Antoninus Pius. From the point of view of design this would be desirable.

#### *Later Roman Periods.*

Of subsequent additions to the Propylaea very little can be said. Presumably it suffered little or no change until its fall, but at least one interesting monument in connection with it must be mentioned. This is the base which encroaches on the platform just east of the main archway. The small pipe running across the platform indicated, as has been said, a fountain. A coin of Corinth of the reign of Septimius Severus<sup>1</sup> shows a fountain of Scylla and above it shows what may be taken as *two* arches. As the monument in question lies *between two arches*, and as, furthermore, we find on other coins a juxtaposition of Scylla and Peirene, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that we have here the emplacement of the Fountain of Scylla. Again, however, the evidence of the coins is not conclusive, for we find juxtaposition of other monuments that could not have been physically adjacent. Still the coincidence is striking and may be accepted until further proof of the actual emplacement of the Scylla base is forthcoming.<sup>2</sup>

#### *The Byzantine Period.*

The date of the destruction of the Propylaea in its completed form is not certain. Presumably it should be placed in the end of the fourth century after Christ, coinciding with the devastation of the theatre and other buildings. The coins found in the concrete under

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 23, pl. F, cvi; cf. *ibid.* p. 24, pl. F, cxii, cxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias mentions a statue of Heracles on the right as you go out, and it is just possible that this may have stood on the base in question. A more effective place to put it, however, would be farther out on the eastern *paratid*. Naturally, if the Scylla base dates from the time of Septimius Severus, Pausanias could not have seen it.

the Byzantine steps date as late as the tenth century, and we must assign the construction of the Byzantine ramp to approximately that period. If this is correct, the Propylaea may have stood a longer time, so as to furnish its débris more readily to the construction of the ramp. The ramp was flanked with *poros* walls, rudely constructed after the middle Byzantine manner, and its sides were further embellished or fortified by several large marble pedestals of the Roman period.

# CHAPTER VII

## THE BASILICA

BY RICHARD STILLWELL

THE shops along the west side of the Lechaem Road support a high artificial terrace reaching back to the east scarp of the temple hill. The terrace was made at the same time as the shops by filling in great quantities of débris from the ruins of the Greek city, chips and shapeless blocks of *poros*, refuse from the quarry, and waste from the stone-cutting on the site of the new construction. The Greek North Building was covered, after contributing largely to the material for the construction of the shops, and the poor walls which represented temporary construction in the ruins of this building were also buried. The north limit of the terrace was the end wall of the shops, prolonged westward to the rock of the temple hill. The south limit had already been terraced up to some degree, and was raised still more by a fresh fill of earth and a relatively smaller proportion of building chips. A layer of *poros* chips firmly packed and of extreme hardness, especially above the deeper filling, brought the terrace up to its final level (see plan, PLATE XII).

Behind the rear wall of the shops a complex of heavy foundation walls and piers reaches down through the fill to bed rock or hardpan. The walls lie parallel or perpendicular to the direction of the shops, and fall into two systems, for the most part mutually exclusive in plan. They differ also in materials and workmanship. In the earlier system the walls running westward conform to the arrangement of the shops and, where the point of juncture is preserved, are seen to bond with the rear wall. This may be observed at the north and south ends, behind Shop XVI and Partition III–IV. Where decisive observation was possible, the overlapping of wall courses upon definitely marked strata of fill showed that the two were contemporary. This was particularly clear behind Shops I and II, II–III, and XIII–XIV and XVI. It follows that the construction of the shops and the Basilica, of which these walls are the foundations, was contemporary with the establishing of the terrace above which the superstructure of the Basilica rose.

The foundations, heaviest in the northern and middle sections, where the fill was deepest, are constructed wholly in coursed masonry, but without close jointing or alignment of either face save in the wall behind Shop XVI, 2.00 m. from the north end of the terrace (Fig. 129). They are everywhere made of freshly cut stone or of re-used Greek blocks. The latter are used almost exclusively in the southern section, where some half dozen display the letters I N, conspicuously incised on them (Fig. 130). It is natural to assume that convenience governed the selection of material, and it appears from the manner of laying the blocks in the "epistyle wall" that the work progressed from the south to the north. The Greek North

Building contributed most of the material to be re-used, and its fragments, as they were removed from their position in the ruins, found their way for the most part to the southern end of the Basilica and the shops. A few exceptions may be noted, especially a column drum from the later colonnade of the Greek building, which found a place in the foundation course of the wall between Shops XV and XVI.

After obvious restoration the plan revealed is that of a normal Roman basilica<sup>1</sup> with the shops constituting a lower story under the east aisle. The length of the central hall equalled



FIGURE 129. NORTHWEST CORNER OF BASILICA

the distance, *ca.* 36.00 m., from Shop III to Shop XIII. A breadth of about 11.00 m. is indicated by the foundations preserved at the west side opposite Shops XI to XIII. The measurements in both cases are from centre to centre of the supporting walls. At first glance, the thickness of the rear wall of the shops is very slight in comparison with that of the other foundation walls, and in consequence the piers behind the shops might appear to belong to

<sup>1</sup> Leroux's classification (*Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle*, 1913, pp. 280 ff.) would make this building combine the Greek and the oriental types. It has marked similarity to the Basilica at Pompeii, save that the latter lacks the chambers flanking the entrance.

it. The spacing of these piers, however, is too wide for the length of the central part, and furthermore, the piers contain second-hand Roman material, found in no other part of the original structure. Examination shows that none of the piers is bonded with the rear wall, and each actually incorporates a small buttress or thickening of the wall which clearly belongs to the original construction. Upon these smaller buttresses, and along the parallel wall at the opposite side of the court, are to be restored eleven piers or columns, connected at the ends by other piers or columns that rest on the heavy cross foundations. The eastern



FIGURE 130. BASILICA. CROSS WALL BEHIND SHOPS II AND III SEEN FROM THE NORTH

line of the colonnade or arcade thus formed becomes the second story of the shops, and the square shape (and consequently increased width) of Shops III and XIV is explained by the fact that the colonnade was returned across the ends of the court with its depth unchanged. The rear wall of the returns would be supported by the foundations which run westward from the partitions between Shops II and III, and XIV and XV. A loose, dark fill on the line of the northern of these two foundation walls indicated that it was torn out at a comparatively late period. Only a small amount of the lower part of this wall remains. The southern cross wall is fortunately much better preserved. One moulded column base of *poros* remains *in situ* (A, Fig. 130), and the beds cut west of this define the position of

two others with fair exactness. The axial distances indicated are respectively 4.10 m. and 3.60 m. The middle of the eastern, larger intercolumniation lies on the central axis of the main hall and may therefore be taken to define closely the median axis of the building. This is 11.50 m. from the face of the front wall of the shops, and at a corresponding distance to the west of the central axis a few Greek blocks and a cutting in the rock represent all that is left of the western wall of the Basilica.

We restore, then, a long central hall, 35.70 m. by 10.40 m., surrounded by a colonnade or arcade of uniform depth, 4.60 m. (Fig. 131). There is no certain evidence as to whether columns or piers were employed. The wide spacing of the supports, 3.60 m. on centres, would necessitate the use of wooden epistylia if columns are to be restored. The spacing of the supports across the ends of the hall was probably the same as that of the preserved column base and the two beds for bases in line with partition II–III. The central axial distance will have been 4.10 m. and the two outer intervals, like those along the sides of the hall, 3.60 m. At the south end of the building the foundations indicate a sort of narthex consisting of three chambers or divisions. These rooms are the “Chalcidian Porches” mentioned by Vitruvius, by which one may maintain a correct proportion between the length and breadth of the Basilica proper in case the exigencies of the site produce a structure of disproportionate length.<sup>1</sup> The depth of these rooms equals the combined breadth of Shops I and II; that is, about 6.50 m. The central room was about 7.40 m. wide; the two others, each about 6.20 m. wide, occupied the rest of the width of the building. The foundations of the partitions between the rooms suffered severely in the later reconstruction of the Basilica. The eastern of the two walls was largely rebuilt and the western cut through by the foundations for a line of columns (Fig. 132). The connection between the “Chalcidian Porches” and the aisle surrounding the central court is not very clear, but on the basis of the westernmost column foundation on the wall running westward from between Shops II and III it would appear that toward the north each room presented a pair of columns placed symmetrically with reference to its north-south axis. (A similar disposition of columns can be restored on the partitions between the three chambers.) An alternative to this restoration would be to divide the lateral chambers by an east-west wall on the basis of the division of Shops I and II. No trace of such a foundation has appeared in the western chamber, but this would be easily explained by the reconstruction on that line of the piers supporting the southern return of the peristyle of the later Basilica. If the early Basilica had a gallery surrounding the central court, this subdivision of the lateral chambers would provide for a stairway giving access to the gallery. No direct evidence of this arrangement is to be found and hence it remains a matter of hypothesis. Cuttings in the base and sub-base *in situ* on either side of the central axis show that at some time a barrier was erected between the middle chamber and the central part of the Basilica. The western outside wall meets exactly the northeast corner of the Greek Northwest Stoa,

<sup>1</sup> Vitruvius, v, 4.



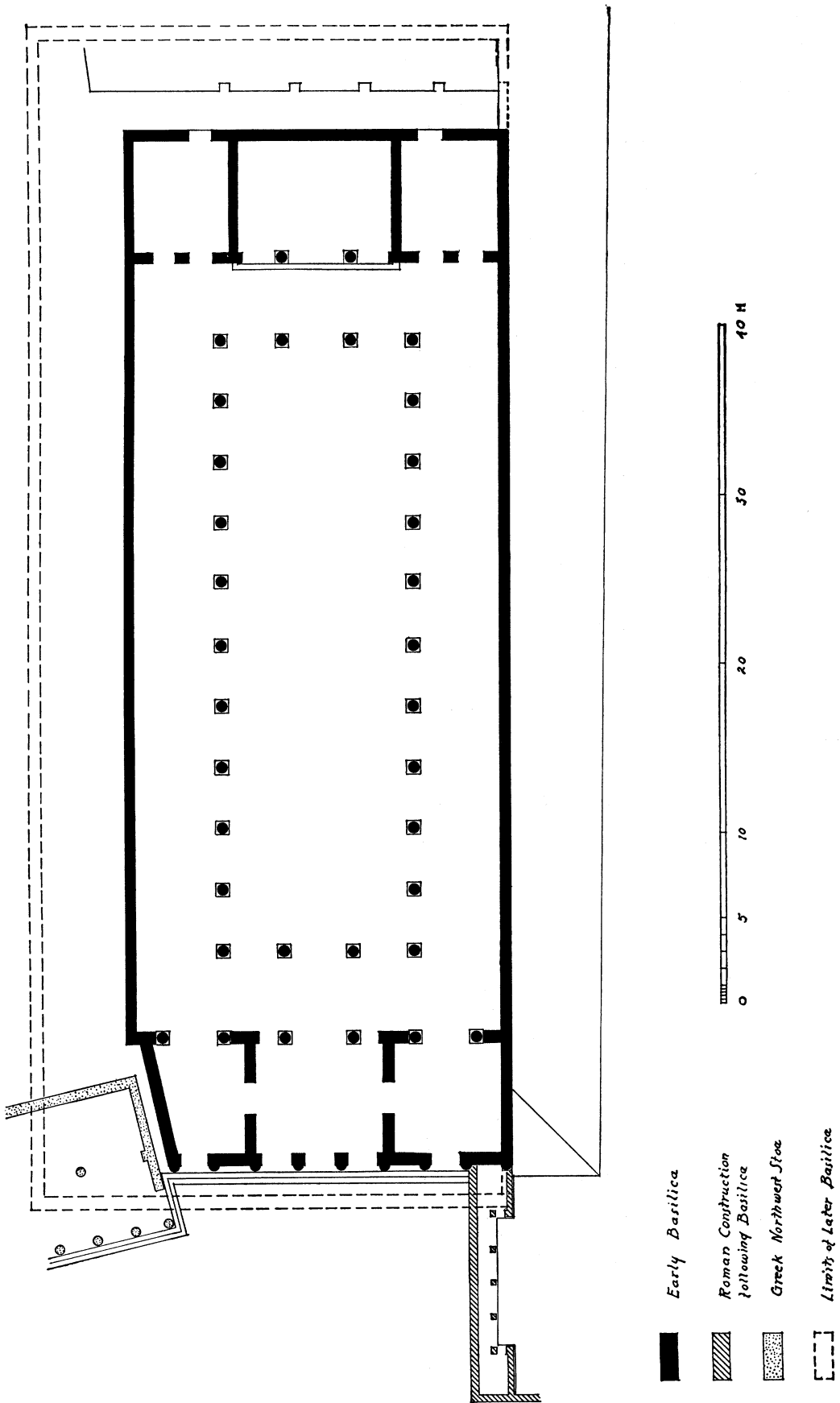


FIGURE 131. RESTORED PLAN OF BASILICA

which is known to have been restored in Roman times. This fact, in combination with certain observations relating to the subsequent restoration or rebuilding of the Basilica, creates a presumption that the east wall of the Stoa was respected in the construction of the early Basilica, the front of which was thereby somewhat narrowed. It follows consequently that the western chamber had a slightly irregular shape. It is significant that the distance from the southwest corner of the Basilica to its central axis (8.70 m.) is repeated between the central axis and the west face of the "good high wall" that forms the eastern boundary of the court in front of the building. The result is, of course, to make the façade symmetrical, at least in its lower part. Although the relation between the structure of the wall and the façade is no longer perfectly clear, the wall must surely be slightly later in date than the Basilica itself. This would indicate that the location of the wall in question was determined by a desire to give the front of the Basilica greater symmetry. In the restored plan, half columns have been suggested on the façade, and it will be seen that they accord very well with existing conditions. The following calculation gives the approximate spacing of the columns.

	20.20 m.	Entire width of face of Basilica.
Less	.70 m.	Diameter of base of column plus 0.10 m.
	8)19.50 m.	
	2.44 m.	= Intercolumniation.
	19.50 m.	
Less	2.44 m.	
	17.06 m.	Interaxial distance of eight columns.
Add	.35 m.	Half diameter of base.
	17.41 m.	Distance from southwest corner to axis of eighth column.
	17.40 m.	(2 × 8.70) or distance from corner to west face of "good high wall."
	.01 m.	= Distance from face of wall to axis of eighth column.

That is, the face of the "good high wall" was brought to the axis of the column. The arrangement suggests three doors to the central chamber of the narthex and one to each of the side chambers.

The restoration of the north end of the Basilica is complicated by the fact that very little of the foundation remained *in situ*. There is no question about the return of the interior colonnade, for its foundations still exist, running westward from the partition XIII-XIV. The following east-west division should, presumably, be restored in a manner resembling the arrangement at the south. There is room here for a tribune somewhat wider perhaps than the central chamber at the south end, and it would seem reasonable to flank this on either side with smaller chambers. The wall lying two metres south of the end wall of the system suggests the northern limit of the tribune and consequently of the Basilica proper. As may be seen in figure 129, it is well finished on its northern face. If there were any traces of a wall continuing on this line and reducing the width of Shop XVI to cor-

respond with Shop XV, there would be little doubt that the buttressed north wall of the system supported merely a narrow terrace, possibly approached by steps along the north end of the building. Two large Byzantine vats, each some 1.30 m. in diameter, set in very hard rubble concrete effectively interrupt the connection of the supposed north wall of the tribune with the rear wall of the shops. The foundations at the northeast corner of Shop XVI were largely ripped out in Byzantine times, and the entire shop has suffered so much in the course of mediaeval occupation that any restoration is doubtful. It is worth



FIGURE 132. FOUNDATION PIERS FOR INTERIOR COLUMNS AT SOUTH END OF LATER BASILICA

noting, however, that if we restore the buttressed wall as a supporting terrace for the north end of the Basilica, the building becomes symmetrical about its minor axis.

Although the plan of the Basilica is clear enough in general, the superstructure can be restored only by conjecture. There is, to be sure, a great number of used *poros* blocks of Roman workmanship in the foundation of the later Basilica. These would naturally have been taken from the demolished portions of the earlier building, but none of them can be assigned definitely to its place in the original structure except a second column base similar to the one *in situ*. Other possible exceptions are fragments of a Doric entablature from a wall having either buttresses or a decoration of attached columns or pilasters. The frieze has the peculiarity that, while the other dimensions remain constant (epistyle, 0.345

m. high; frieze, 0.405 m. high; triglyph, 0.32 m. wide), the width of the metopes varies in the examples that can be measured (0.30 m.—0.385 m.). This was presumably due to different spacing for supports, the desire being to keep the relation and number of triglyphs everywhere the same. In the complete absence of evidence this entablature could be assigned to piers around the main hall or to pilasters on the exterior of the building. They find, however, a very probable place upon the existing buttressed wall at the north end of the system, especially as the spacing of the buttresses is irregular.

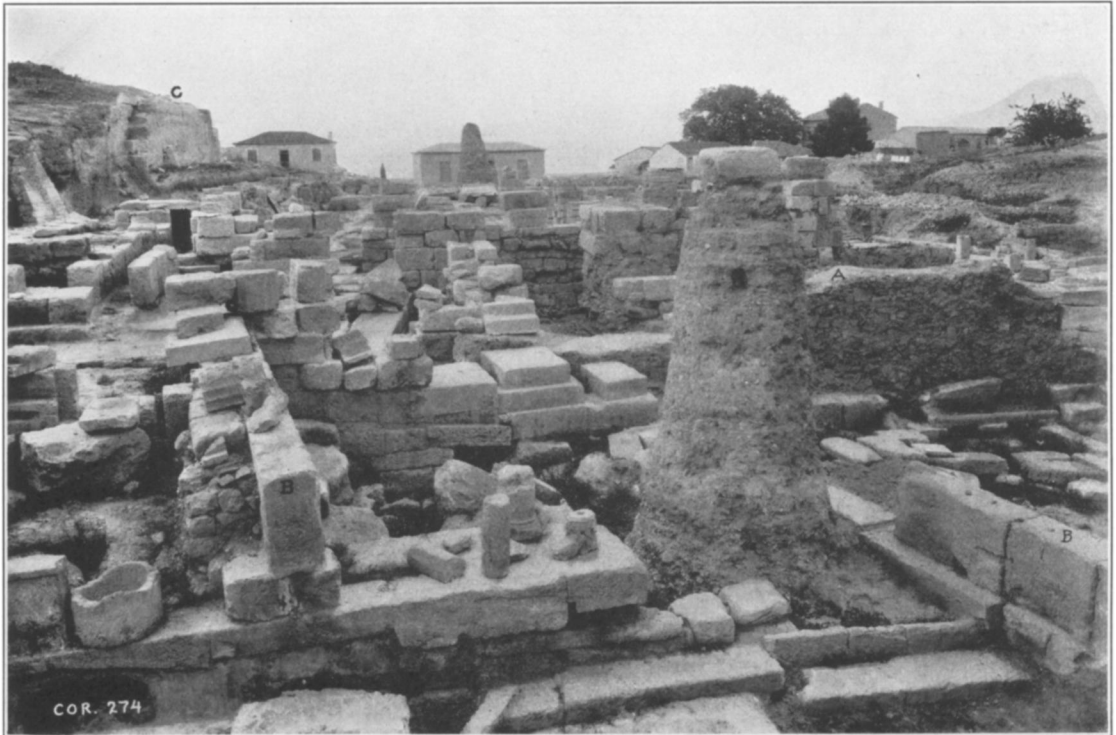


FIGURE 133. VIEW FROM SOUTH OVER AREA OCCUPIED BY THE BASILICA AND THE COURT FROM WHICH IT WAS ENTERED

The later Basilica was 4.50 m. wider and some 8.50 m. longer than its predecessor. It was extended in every direction except eastward. Its plan largely disregards the subdivisions of the shops and the lines of the earlier Basilica. Its foundations may be distinguished, furthermore, from those of the earlier structure by difference in material and manner of building as well as in size and general plan. Throughout they are built chiefly of second-hand Roman blocks. In the interior, instead of continuous walls, they consist of piers formed of large blocks of stone — to receive the supports of the superstructure, which alternate with a filling of broken *poros* and friable lime mortar. At the south end and along the east side the piers are well preserved, but the filling between them has been almost completely removed. The eastern of the two piers behind Shops I–II differs from all the others

in consisting largely of rubble masonry (Fig. 132). Nevertheless it reaches down to hardpan like the rest. It is interesting to note that a small fragment from one of the columns of the Temple of Apollo has found its way into this pier, a piece of evidence which confirms the restoration of the Temple in Roman times. At this end of the building the piers and the filling between them were laid in a broad trench cut down through strata contemporary with the earlier walls round about. The rear wall of Shops I and II was in part removed and

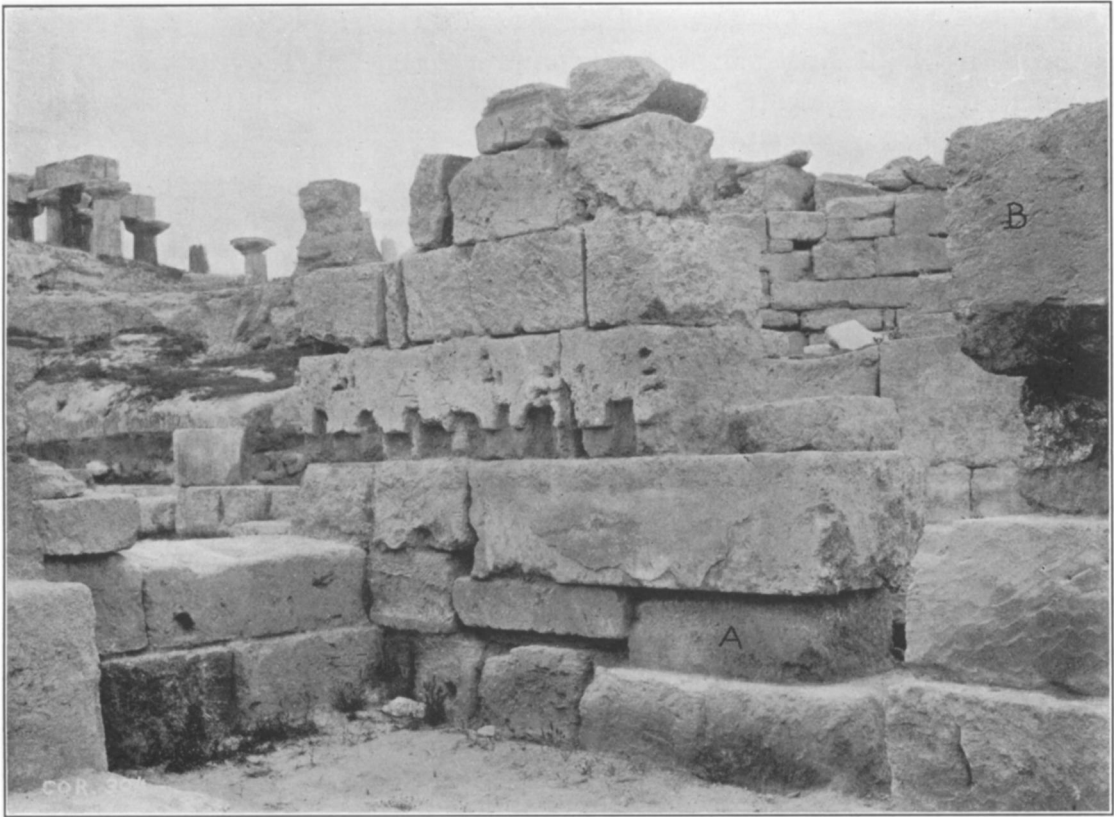


FIGURE 134. PARTITION WALL BUILT IN EAST END OF RESTORED NORTHWEST STOA

reconstructed so that the southeast corner pier of the new system might have its place in the general east line. The arrangement in the deeper shops at the north end was probably similar, but too little is preserved there to make this certain.

The south wall of the new building lies some two metres outside of the south wall of its predecessor. It consists of rubble concrete about one metre thick save where it is backed, at points opposite the piers of the interior system, by pilaster foundations of *poros* stone (Fig. 133, A). The rubble concrete seems to have been poured in a trench cut to the proper width without the use of forms. At its western extremity, however, where considerable remodelling of existing conditions was necessary, the last six metres of the wall are built of *poros* blocks resting on the rock. The chronology of the building complex at this corner

is difficult and requires a brief consideration of the relations between the early Basilica and the restored Greek Northwest Stoa.

As has been mentioned above, it seems certain that the early Basilica did not interfere with the east end of the Stoa. Some time after the construction of the Basilica, however, the Stoa underwent a considerable modification at its east end. A wall which contained certain of the epistyle-frieze blocks from the east end of the Stoa was built along the line of the interior row of Ionic columns, presumably as far as the southwest corner of the early Basilica (Figs. 134 and 135). Two blocks bear respectively the letters Γ, Δ. Other blocks may be assigned to the east wall projecting forward to an anta. The rear wall of the Stoa was rebuilt 1.30 m. south of its original position, and a cross wall, or at any rate a sill, ran

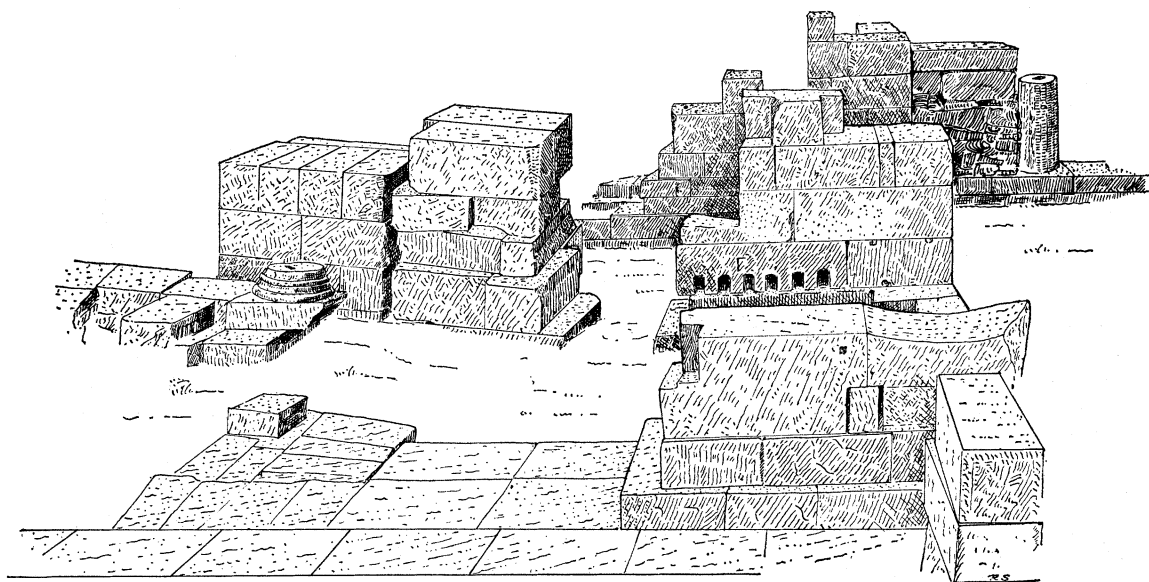


FIGURE 135. AREA IN WHICH THE BASILICA AND THE NORTHWEST STOA MEET.  
SKETCH IS MADE LOOKING SOUTH

forward to a point slightly west of the position of the sixth column from the corner. Whether a solid wall was built along the line of those columns which were removed does not appear; the fragment of wall now existing there seems to be of later date. When the second Basilica was constructed, its southwest corner made allowance for the existing arrangement, as is shown by the fact that the corner is bevelled off at a slight angle so as to make a surface perpendicular to the line of the stoa. It follows, then, that the second Basilica accommodated itself in some slight degree to the earlier Roman alteration of the stoa, but it seems most likely, also, that this alteration was subsequent to the construction of the first Basilica. The erection of the line of Roman shops along the front of the stoa caused further modification at this point without seriously affecting the Basilica. Under the southwest angle of the second Basilica a drain was constructed of re-used material, largely from the Stoa, to take care of the water which came down by the old Greek stairs at the angle of the

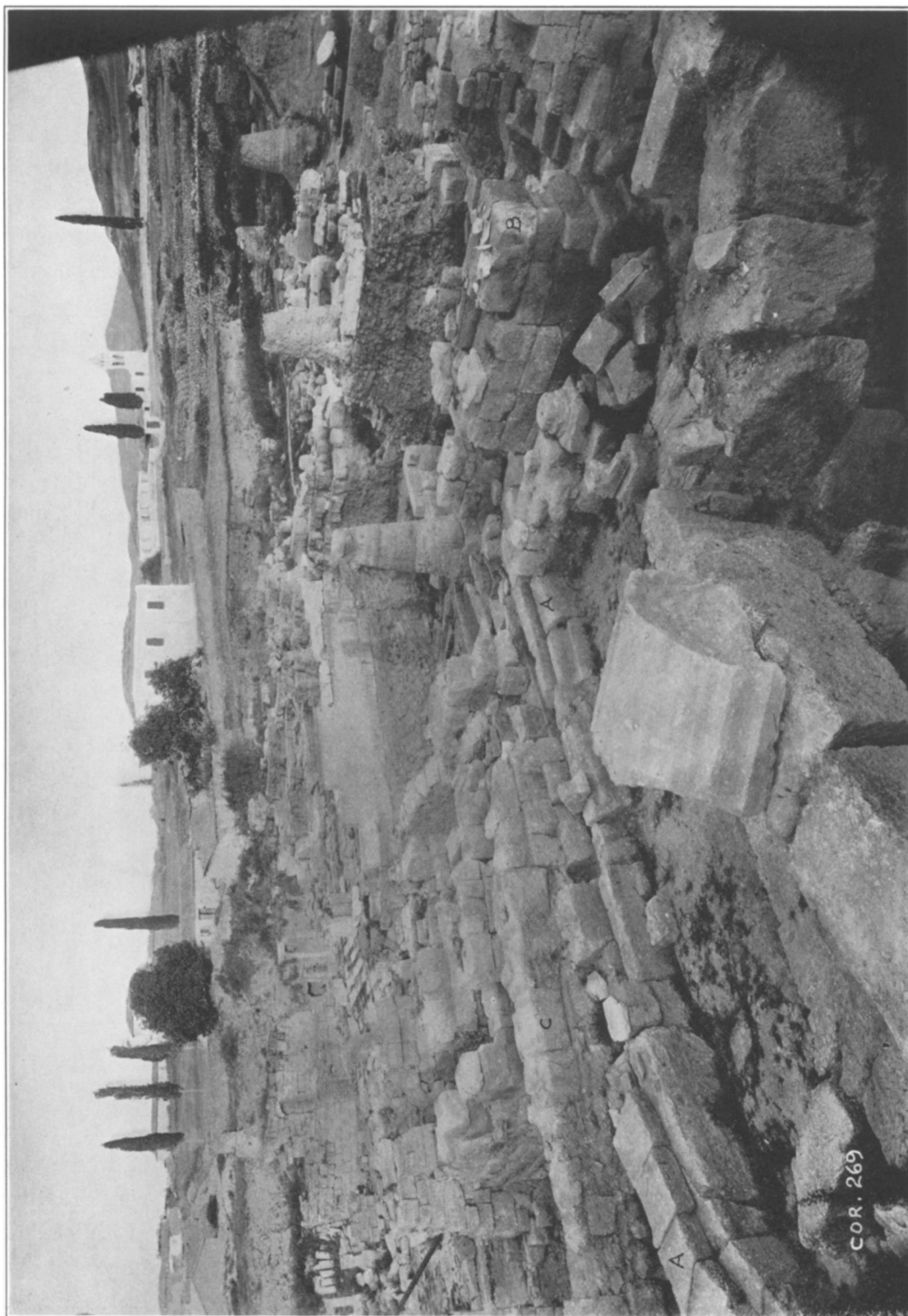


FIGURE 136. VIEW OF SOUTHERN END OF BASILICA AND ADJACENT AREAS TAKEN FROM STEPS LEADING TO THE TEMPLE HILL

Basilica and the Stoa (Fig. 136). This drain emptied into another, which ran across the courtyard in front of the Basilica and beneath the parallel walls flanking the west side of the Propylaea.

Before leaving this area we should also note that the interior angle of the Basilica is reinforced by a foundation measuring 2.40 m. by 0.90 m. and consisting of *poros* blocks which do not course with the rest of the foundation at this point. The present top course of this reinforcement is actually notched over the south wall of the Basilica. Its purpose is not clear, and there are no remains on the corresponding corner to the east to help explain it.

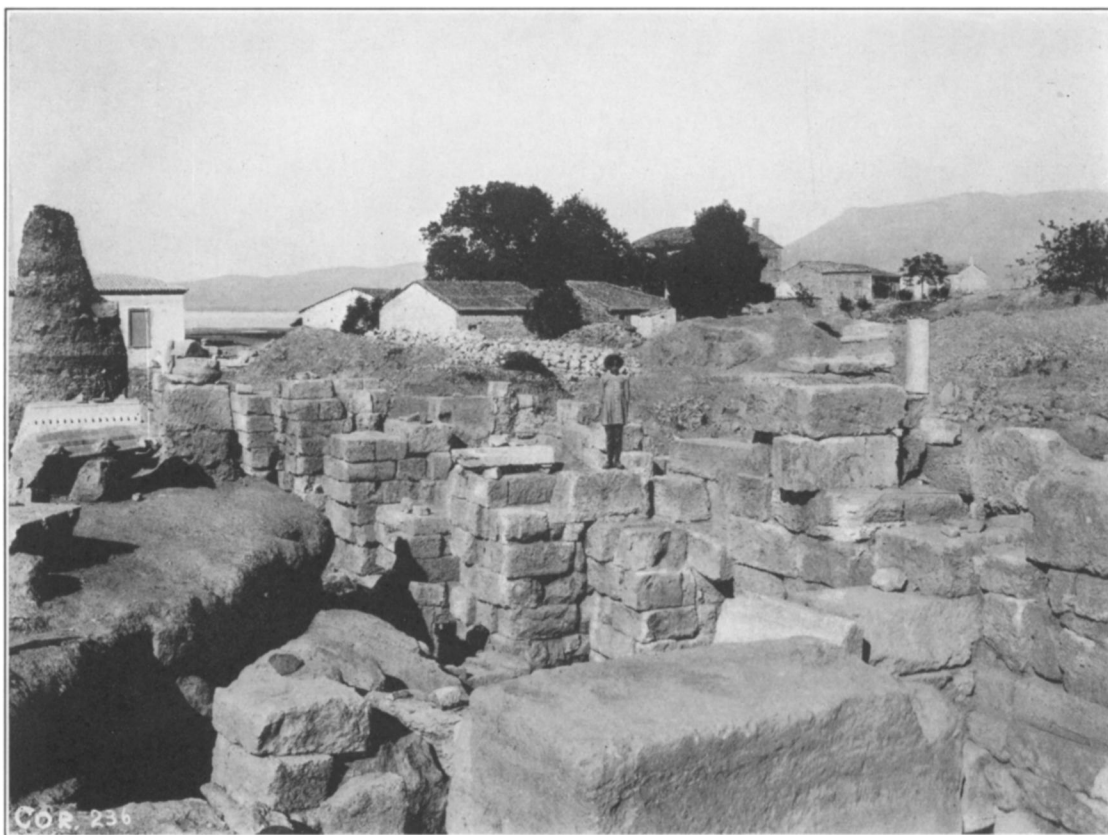


FIGURE 137. FOUNDATION PIERS FOR EASTERN COLONNADE OF LATER BASILICA  
SEEN FROM THE SOUTHWEST

The western limit of the Basilica lies some four metres outside of its predecessor. Along the middle of its length it is formed by the vertically cut rock of the temple hill, which was pieced out with blocks of stone wherever necessary. This was the case for its entire upper portion. It is possible that the rock cutting antedates the construction of the Basilica and is contemporary with the establishment of the earlier terrace. There would then have been a narrow street between the earlier Basilica and the scarped face of the temple hill. A gutter along the foot of the rock here, at too low a level and quite in the wrong place for



the later Basilica, and too low, also, for any subsequent period, would thus find explanation. It may, of course, be true that the rock was cut back after the construction of the first Basilica, but before the second. To the north, in line with the rock cutting, there are no foundations preserved. To the south, however, one course is left of *poros* with lime mortar, the stones chinked with broken tile.

The north wall of the new system lies some four metres beyond the buttressed end wall of the older. Between them was found a very heavy filling, drawn wholly, it would seem, from demolished parts of the first Basilica and from filling of the earlier terrace. By this



FIGURE 138. FOUNDATIONS FOR WESTERN COLONNADE OF LATER BASILICA

northward extension, space for a seventeenth shop of standard width was gained. This shop would be slightly deeper than the others (4.74 m. instead of 4.45 m.), to conform apparently to the new rear line of the adjacent room. It is not impossible, however, that here was a staircase leading up to the Basilica from the colonnade below.

Few foundations remain to show the arrangement of the interior at the north end of the later Basilica. A foundation partly overlying the rear wall of the first Basilica runs westward from about the middle of Shop XVI and terminates in line with the eastern of the

two central piers belonging to the south return of the interior colonnade. As was mentioned in the description of the first Basilica, a series of piers was built behind the rear wall of the shops (Fig. 137). All but the northernmost two of this row are represented by at least a few blocks and the majority are preserved to a considerable height. The one behind Shop XII has been thickened to the north and west, but the reason for this peculiarity is not apparent. A short spur projecting from the foundation of the interior colonnade of the early Basilica directly opposite this point may be significant and may indicate a subdivision of the interior of the Basilica.

The column foundations along the west side of the court of the later Basilica are preserved for the southern half of the series. They show very well the intermediate filling of rubble which was found when the southern interior piers were excavated (Fig. 138). They also preserve in places a layer of reddish mortar on their upper surface which corresponds to a similar mortar found adhering to the under side of the marble stylobate blocks.

The only part of the Basilica preserved above floor level is the western wall, which shows numerous dowel holes for fastening revetment, and in one or two places bits of the marble veneering are still *in situ* close to the floor. Some of the marble pavement to be seen near the west wall may be original. It agrees in level with the stylobate as replaced upon its foundation, and the level thus twice indicated is about half a metre higher than that of the earlier building. In the central hall the fill for levelling up above the floor of the earlier Basilica contained quantities of marble chips, clearly from the time of the remodelling. The final level was about 0.08 m. lower than the stylobate.

Three large marble blocks (Fig. 139), measuring from 1.52 m. to 1.665 m. long by *ca.* 0.98 m. wide and about 0.30 m. deep, can in all probability be assigned to the stylobate. The front face of these blocks is worked down smoothly for the whole height, but the rear is worked down for about 0.80 m. only and below that the rough surface projects in some places as much as 0.10 m. A well-cut circular dowel in the top of these blocks marks the centre of a column base, the diameter of the lower torus of which measured about 0.83 m. This dimension agrees with a series of marble bases which have been found in this part of the excavation. It is evident that at some time the Basilica represented by this stylobate was remodelled and the spacing of the columns changed; for upon each of the stylobate blocks above mentioned there appears a second dowel 0.35 m. to 0.45 m. away from the first. In the case of one stylobate block the earlier dowel was carefully plugged with a piece of marble (Fig. 140). Two shorter fragments of this same stylobate bearing circular dowel holes have come to light, and four others of a different pattern but the same material may belong to the building. Three of these show square dowels 0.55 m. on centres, with pour channels from opposite sides. One block is finished on one face, has anathyrosis on a second face, and the other two faces resemble the back of the long stylobate blocks. The second of these blocks is badly broken but shows that, save for a slight drafting on its upper surface, three faces at least were unworked. The marble bases, which have a circular dowel both in top and bot-

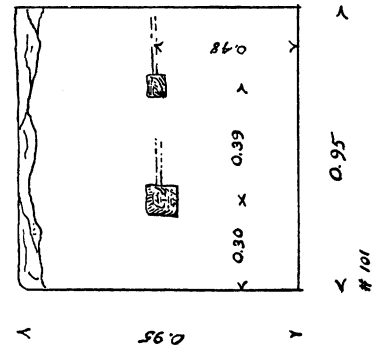
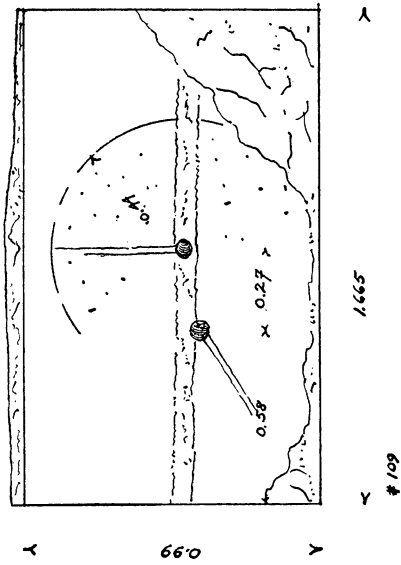
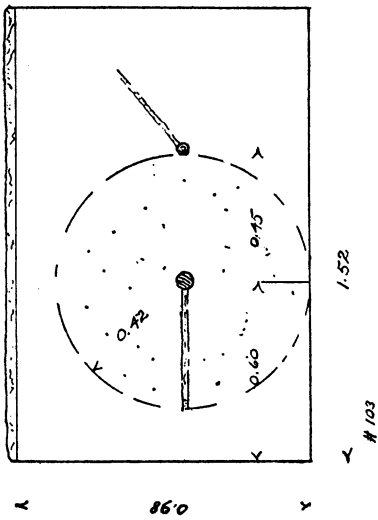
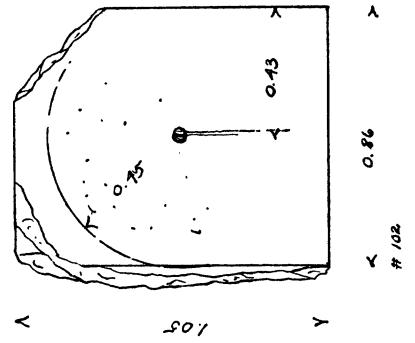
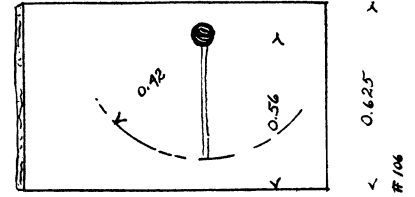
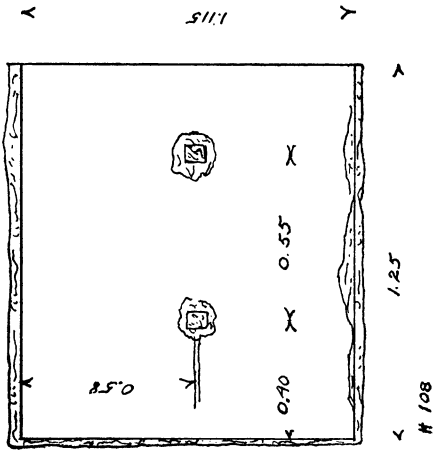
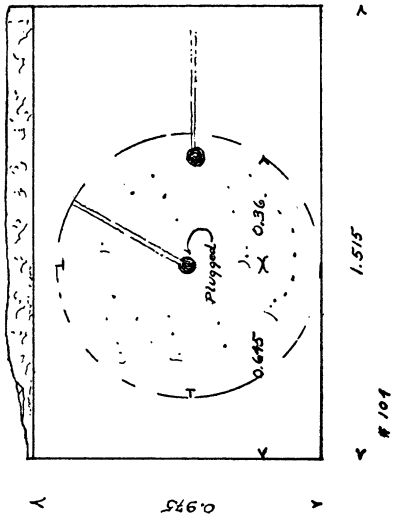
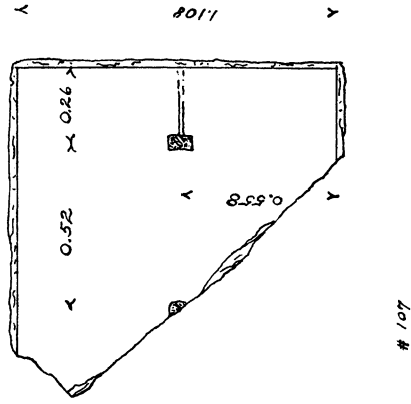
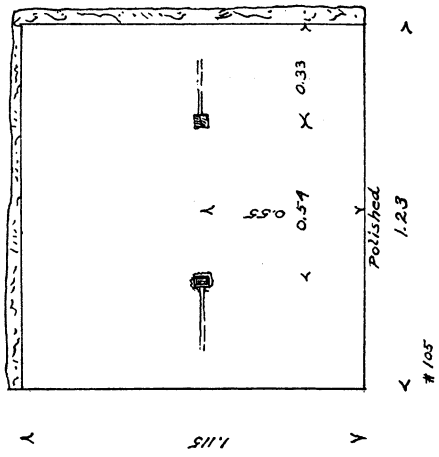


FIGURE 139. STYLOBATE BLOCKS FROM SECOND BASILICA

tom, indicate a shaft measuring from 0.58 m. to 0.60 m. in diameter, and a number of drums which would fit this requirement were found in the excavations, chiefly east of the Lechaem Road, a region to which they could readily have rolled upon the collapse of the Basilica. A large marble capital of the Aeolic type was found in the area north of the Basilica and can without doubt be used to complete the order of the colonnade about the central hall (Fig. 141 and PLATE XVIII). The letter H is inscribed on the abacus. Bluish white marble cornice blocks of late and poor workmanship were also found on the site of the Basilica. They



FIGURE 140. MARBLE STYLOBATE BLOCK FROM SECOND BASILICA

may very probably belong to it in the period of the renewal inferred from the second set of dowel holes in the stylobate. They fall into two groups suitable respectively to an inner and an outer order. The former has small lion's-head spouts which are not perforated and the latter perforated spouts and cuttings to receive the ends of rafters (Figs. 142 and 143.) As will be observed from the drawings, the profiles of these two types of cornice differ slightly as do the dimensions. Both types were provided with hook clamps. A variant of the larger type must also be mentioned (Fig. 144). It lacks both the spouts and the rafter cuttings, and the dentils appear as a plain band. Two of these blocks have been found near the north end of the Basilica, and it is reasonable to suppose that they belong to the exterior cornice which ran across the north end of the building. The cornice blocks of the smaller set show in



FIGURE 141. AEOLIC CAPITAL FROM SECOND BASILICA



FIGURE 142. CORNICE FROM RESTORATION OF LATER BASILICA

some cases a smoothed surface 0.21 m. wide running along the top for the length of the block and beginning about 0.415 m. behind the forward edge of the cyma. Whether this cutting was intended to receive the base of a balustrade protecting a gallery around the aisle of the building, or whether it was to receive a beam connected with the roof construction, depends on whether it is possible to establish the fact that the court of this Basilica had an order superimposed upon the lower one. A number of smaller Aeolic capitals similar in pattern to the large one above mentioned may be associated with this building, but they can be assigned to it only upon rather general grounds.



FIGURE 143. TOP VIEW OF CORNICE SHOWN IN FIGURE 142

The plan of the later Basilica seems to have been simply a long, central hall with colonnades on all four sides without the additional halls at the end, although the whole building is so long relatively to its width (about 74.00 m. by 27.50 m.) that according to the Vitruvian canon the halls are quite as much needed as they were in the earlier Basilica. They did not, at any rate, exist at the south end of the new building, and the north end can be most easily restored as symmetrical with the south. The spacing of the foundation piers gives for the sixteen columns along the sides of the hall an axial distance of 3.75 m. and for the four at the ends 4.70 m. or, if the indication of the pilaster piers against the south end wall be accepted, 4.60 m. for the two side intercolumniations and 4.90 m. for the one in the centre.

There is no direct evidence for the date of the Basilica in either of the two chief periods. It is certain, however, that it was built at the same time as the shops along the west side of the Lechaem Road, and these have been shown to antedate slightly the construction of the *poros Propylaea*. Sufficient time must be allowed for the erection and subsequent abandonment of the early Roman system of terracing which has been observed under the courtyard in front of the Basilica. As has been suggested above, from the style of workmanship and its similarity to other monuments of Corinth which appear to date from the Augustan era, it would be reasonable to assume a date in the last quarter of the first century B.C.

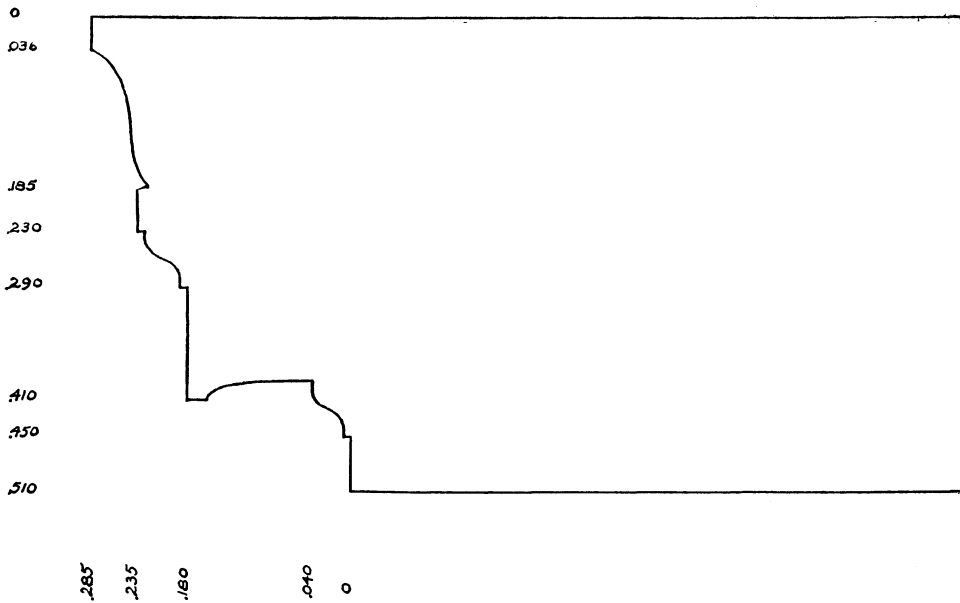


FIGURE 144. CORNICE FROM LATER BASILICA

If we can assume that the earthquake of 79 A.D. was the cause of a very considerable amount of reconstruction in Corinth, it would be reasonable to place the reconstruction of the Basilica after that date. A large piece of revetment found in the building bears a dedication to Hadrian or to one of the Antonines.<sup>1</sup> Trajan's name occurs in the genitive in the statement of the Emperor's relations. Were the Emperor identified and the attribution of the inscription to this building assured, the inscription would give a *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the marble structure. The early part of the second century A.D. would be a reasonable date to assume. The later rebuilding, represented by the rather poor cornices and the second series of dowel holes in the stylobate of the Basilica, can hardly be earlier than the third century.

<sup>1</sup> See *Corinth*, Vol. VIII, Part II, *Latin Inscriptions*, No. 21.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE NORTH BUILDING

BY RICHARD STILLWELL

BELOW the ruined foundations of the Roman Basilica, and behind the shops that flank the west side of the Lechaem Road, lie the remains of a Greek building of an unusual plan. In its earliest form it appears to have been a stoa, possibly with a double colonnade behind which lay shops. Each shop was entered by its own doorway, and was equipped with a counter or counters next to the door for the display of the wares which were offered for sale. The building faced east, toward the Greek approach to the Agora, and formed the eastern limit of the hill on which stood the Temple of Apollo. The rear wall is set before the vertically cut conglomerate of the temple hill, and extends from 0.50 m. to 1.50 m. into the underlying clay stratum. In Roman times, when the Basilica and the West Shops were erected, the entire east face of the building was removed. The clay stratum on which the foundations of this part once stood was cut down for a distance of over a metre, and consequently no trace of this section of the structure can be seen. It is, however, permissible to suggest the original disposition of the building on the basis of what survives, but, as will appear later, there are several possible alternative restorations.

The problem of the North Building, as it is generally called, is further complicated by the fact that the remains belong quite evidently to two periods of construction. Toward the end of the fifth century, or early in the fourth century before our era, an imposing colonnade was added to the earlier form of the structure, or possibly replaced a colonnade which had become obsolete. The technique and column spacing of the work of the two periods makes it impossible to assign them to the same date, and their physical disposition is such as to preclude any attempt to restore two separate buildings from the existing remains.

As may be seen from the plan (PLATE XIX) there are two nearly parallel walls running approximately north and south. The western forms the rear wall of the shops, and the eastern, with small pilasters, the front wall. At the north end of the building is a wall, with a broad foundation extending 1.56 m. west of the line of the rear wall, and then turning north for a distance of 2.37 m. before it is lost in late filling. East of the front wall and parallel with it is a row of column foundations, their axis falling about 3.25 m. from the face of the wall. Toward the south, the front wall runs for some six metres along the face of the rock, and ends against a rather thin transverse wall, which extends over two metres to the east before all trace of it is lost. Parallel to this latter wall, and 5.36 m. from its face, is a



stylobate 0.965 m. wide and 0.271 m. high, at a level corresponding with that of a floor indicated by a line of waterproof cement on the southern side of the wall just mentioned. Only the west end stone and part of the next are preserved, and also one step 0.335 m. wide, cut in the natural rock and smoothly faced with cement. *In situ* on the stylobate is a Doric column drum 0.85 m. in diameter and 0.60 m. high (Fig. 145). It has seven and a half channels completely finished and four left as sides of a polygon. The remainder of the circumference is circular. This variety of treatment could be given without offence as the



FIGURE 145. NORTH BUILDING. VIEW SHOWING COLUMN

column, at least in its lower portion, was set so close to the rock that only its south and east sides were visible. From other column drums found in the vicinity of the building and belonging to this order, it is evident that at least the lower part of the columns had the rear half finished as a polygon. This arrangement is found also in the long stoa on the north side of the Agora, to which, however, on the basis of the style of clamps used, a slightly later date must be assigned. The drum still *in situ* shows a square *empolion* cutting in its top (Fig. 146).

A detailed survey of the walls just listed shows the following characteristics.

The rear wall of the shops stands on a single foundation course and is built of orthostates, 0.725 m. high, *ca.* 0.50 m. wide, and of varying lengths. These are surmounted by

blocks of two higher courses which may be seen somewhat south of the middle of the building, at a point where the built wall ceases and is succeeded by rock and clay merely stuccoed over. Between this rear wall and the native rock there is a broad cemented water-channel which may have served as a drain to carry off the water that collected against the

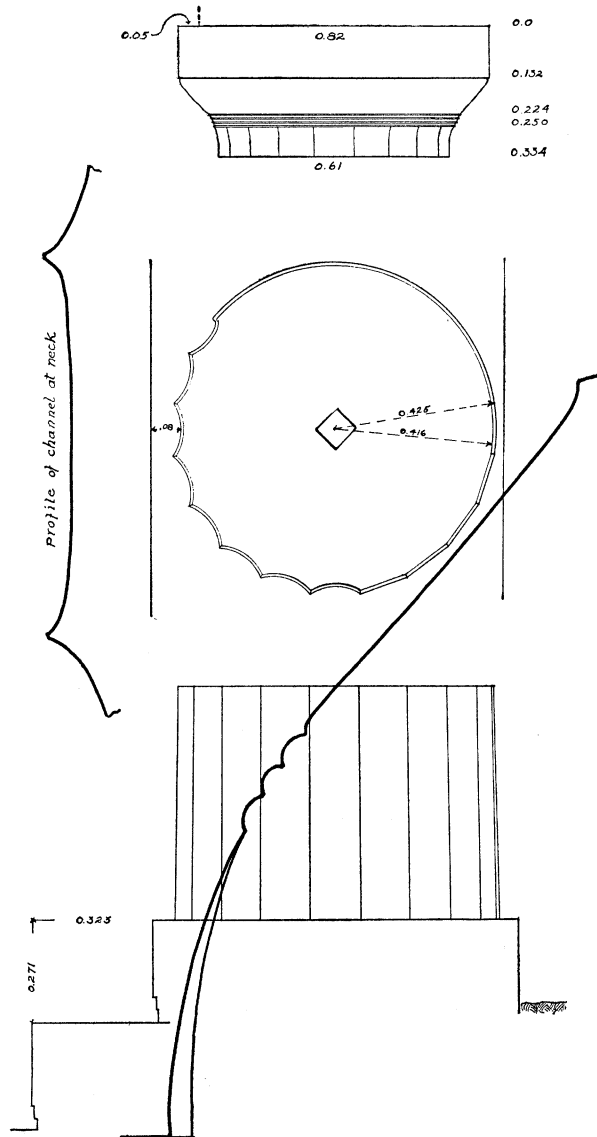


FIGURE 146. DETAILS OF EXTERIOR COLUMN. PROFILE OF ECHINUS AND CHANNEL ARE ABOUT ONE-HALF FULL SIZE

back of the wall. The line of the rear wall is not parallel to that of the front of the shops, but diverges from it toward the north by 0.95 m. in a distance of 25 m.

The front wall of the shops at its north end is 4.04 m. from the rear wall, and this distance is eventually reduced to 3.09 m. as it runs southward. It rests on a single founda-

tion course bedded in the hard clay, and consists at present of orthostates generally 0.64 m. high, and of one stone of the third course, *in situ*, toward the southern end of the wall. The orthostates were dressed on the back into shallow bowl-like panels. This cutting was evidently made before the blocks were laid, for it is quite apparent that the door openings were cut through the blocks with no regard for the depression on their backs (Fig. 147). The thickness of the wall varies from 0.42 m. to 0.48 m. At frequent intervals it was pierced

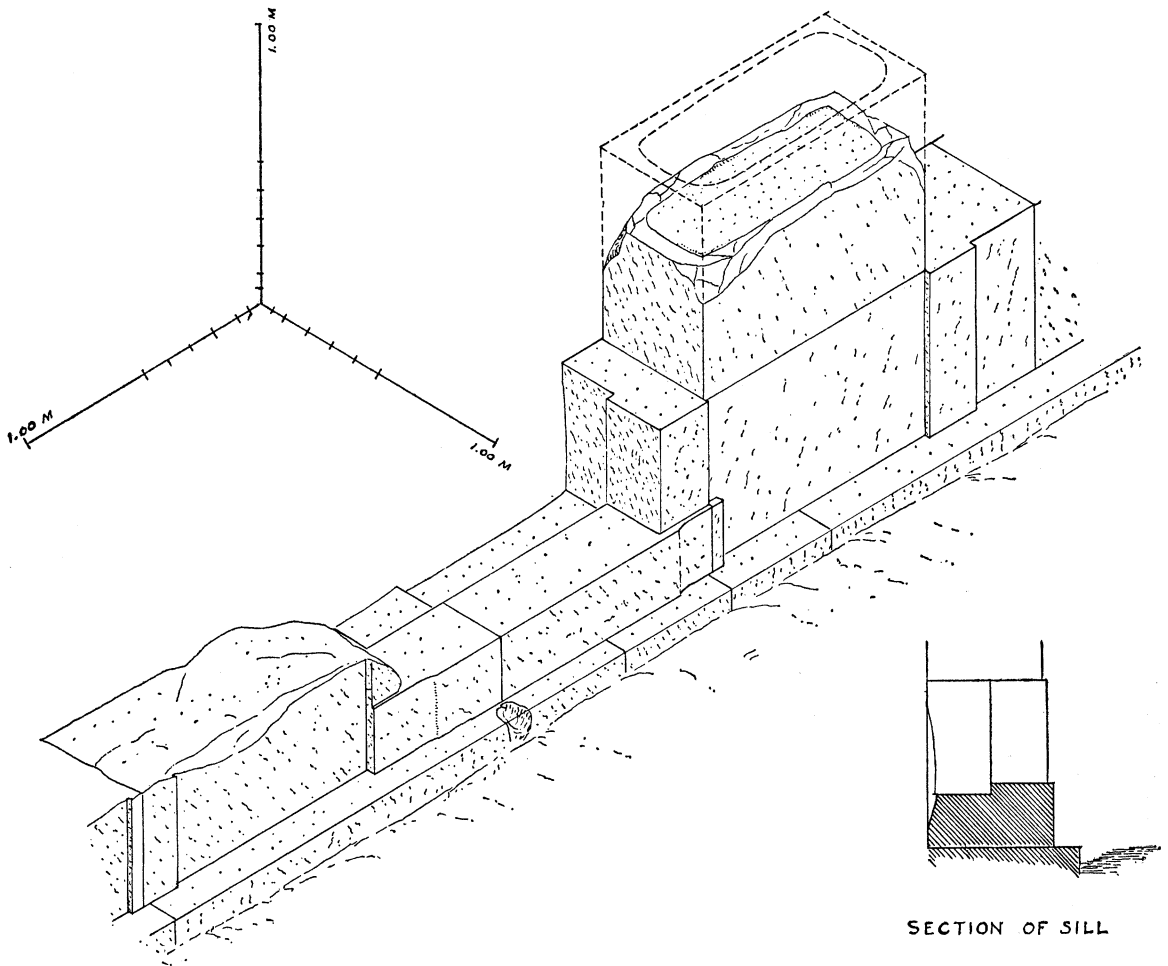


FIGURE 147. ISOMETRIC VIEW OF THE DOOR TO ONE OF THE SHOPS AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE WINDOW TANK

by doors, which, from the rather scanty remains, may be reckoned as 1.07 m. wide, with the space between each pair 2.46 m. There were ten doors in all. Each was framed by jambs or pilasters 0.205 m. to 0.219 m. in width, with a projection of 0.015 m. (Fig. 147). The doorsills have a projection a little greater than that of the jambs, and are swayed out in the centre to give better protection against wear. No door-pivot cuttings are to be seen in the sills, the excellent preservation of which indicates that there was an additional block

above them to take care of the door fittings. Midway between each pair of doors, and at a corresponding interval south of the last door, the wall was adorned by a flat pilaster 0.195 m. to 0.205 m. wide and 0.021 m. in projection. The jambs and pilasters were dressed smooth and coated with fine white stucco; the space between them, on the contrary, was brought to a smooth surface for the stucco, not by tooling, but by a hard waterproof cement filled with coarse sand. In the spaces between the jambs of the doors and the intermediate pilasters, the wall was cut so as to leave an opening considerably higher than the level of a man's waist and extending the full width of the panel. In the single case where this arrangement is preserved, the block of the third course is cut into a rectangular tank, 0.78 m. long and 0.29 m. wide, with sides 0.08 m. thick, and waterproofed with a lining of cement. The block is cemented to its place in the wall, where it precisely fills the panel. The bottom of the tank is 1.03 m. above the euthynteria of the wall, and its depth, if we restore a block of normal height, would have been from 0.22 m. to 0.27 m. A second tank, very likely from a position similar to this one, was at least 0.41 m. deep. Only a fragment of the side has been found. A series of these tanks may well have occupied the panels of the front wall. Each room would have had two, one on either side of the doorway.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted, however, that if we assume this arrangement, it would be impossible to restore masonry partitions between the shops, as the width of the pilasters is not great enough to act as a face for such construction. As a matter of fact no trace of stone partition walls can be found save in the case of the two northernmost shops. Here conditions may well have been different. We find in the last shop a hard waterproof cement floor, but elsewhere no such floor is preserved. A rock cutting in the southernmost shop gives a ceiling height of 2.38 m. above the euthynteria of the rear wall. It is interesting to note that beyond the south door there is only one more wall pilaster. The orthostate block on which it occurs extends south so far that if the pilasters had been continued there would have been at least a part of a second pilaster visible. This, however, is not the case. The last one visible agrees approximately with the rock cutting that forms the southern wall of the last shop, and inasmuch as the further extension of the wall was merely a facing for the scarp behind, there was no logical reason to carry the pilasters farther. One is inclined to see in this a matter of functional decoration.

At right angles to the south end of the front wall of the shops, 6.65 m. beyond the last door, is a wall 0.46 m. thick, reaching back to the scarped rock and extending 2.28 m. to the east. Parts of two courses exist, each consisting of a single block set on edge; the lower course is bedded directly in the clay without any foundation. In spite of its thinness it must be regarded as the end wall of the building. On its outer face is brown waterproof stucco with the floor line clearly marked, 1.22 m. below the top of the wall as at present preserved.

<sup>1</sup> A similar arrangement, with plain counters instead of bowls in the window openings, may be seen at Assos in the Bazaar, so called; Bacon, *Investigations at Assos, 1881-1883*, pp. 78 ff.; *op. cit.* p. 105: "the building bears great resemblance to one at Alinda." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 106 for Aegae. See also Bohn, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 11, Alterthümer von Aegae*.

As was mentioned above, the north wall of the building extends westward of the rear wall of the shops, and then turns at right angles toward the north. From the line of intersection with the rear wall to a point 1.50 m. eastward of the lines of the front wall this north end is represented only by its foundations. Setting lines, however, remain to define its position. It was 0.65 m. thick at the base. The construction in the angle at the west end of this wall may be more readily understood by reference to a diagram (Fig. 148), and

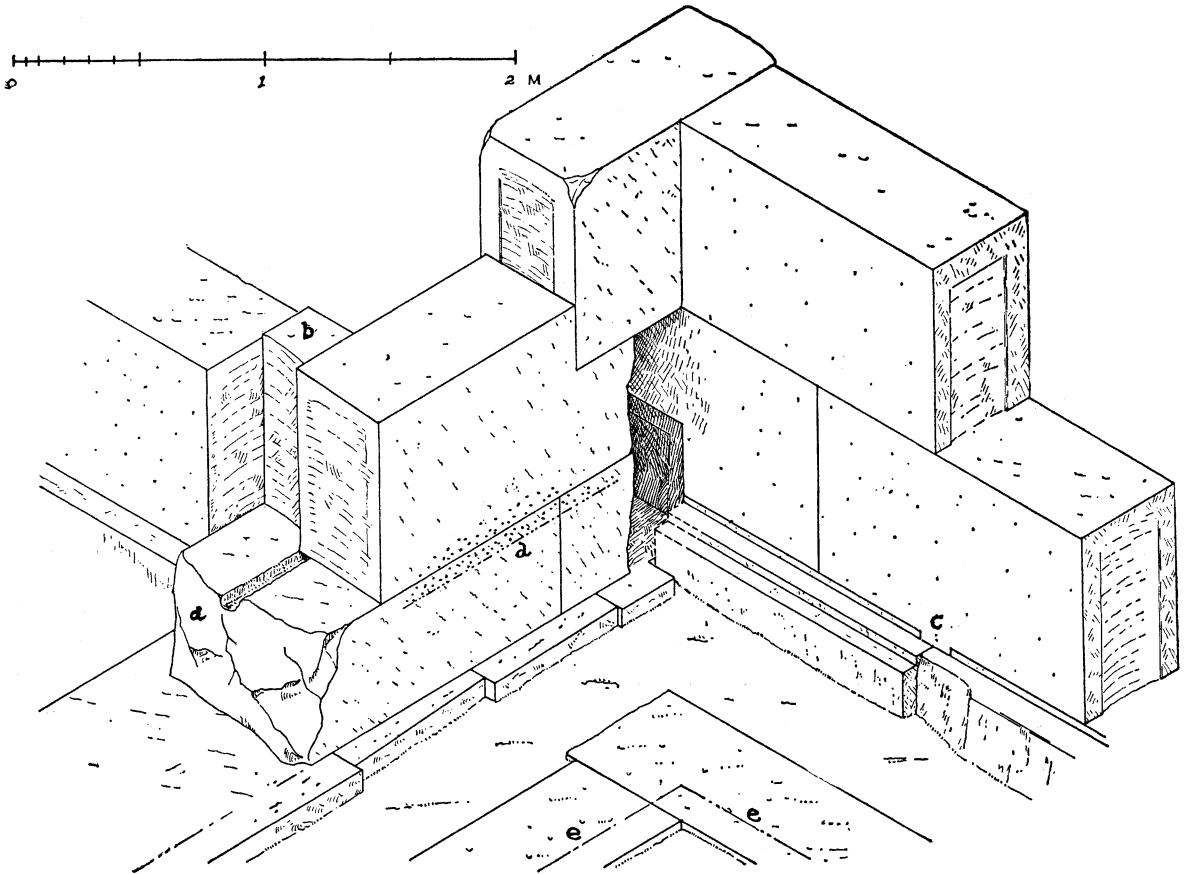


FIGURE 148. ISOMETRIC VIEW OF THE CONSTRUCTION AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER

the following points should be noted. The top of the second course above the foundation is some 0.07 m. higher than the orthostate of the rear wall. The foundation block (a) has been chipped off at its southwest corner so as to allow it to be fitted up against the socle of the rear wall. The small block (b) is nothing more than a space filler. It is clear from the construction that the north wall and its return are contemporary. The lug (c) on the bottom of the second block of the return shows the care that was taken in constructing this wall to prevent slipping, and the fact that this was considered a weak point may furnish a reason for the reconstruction of the north end of the building at the time, presumably, when the later colonnade was erected. The two lower courses of the wall, next

to the angle, were cut through at some period, and if we recall the fact that there was a cemented drain behind the rear wall of the shops, the explanation is simple. In the reconstruction it appears that the presence of the drain, possibly filled by years of seepage, was ignored. Perhaps the waterproofing of the floor in the last shop was the result of an effort to keep out the water which must have forced its way into the building at that end. In any case, drastic measures were taken and an exit ultimately provided. In the angle may be seen the face of a block showing anathyrosis. Actually this has sunk down at its western end so that it now supports nothing, and this settlement is further proof of the drainage difficulties that were experienced in this corner.

At the level (d) there remains a small patch of stucco showing red color. This occurs about 0.16 m. below the level of the outer stylobate. In the angle there is a narrow foundation having a true edge exactly parallel with the north wall, and, after turning, with the northward extension, 0.875 m. from the face of the two walls, the foundation bears a setting line (e-e), presumably for some construction which formed a sort of base for the walls. The somewhat unequal surface of the lower part of the north wall and the irregular bottom course of the return would thus have been hidden. The level of the outer foundation is 0.065 m. lower than that of the top of the lowest course or euthynteria of the north end wall. Where this foundation runs under the end of the northernmost block of the front wall foundation, or euthynteria, it is apparent that the latter was chipped away below so as to allow the foundation of the new wall to be slipped underneath it for a distance of about twelve centimetres. The inserted block is also slightly cut away, and the joint between it and its neighbor is not a tight one, but is some three or four millimetres wide. Apparently, as the old euthynteria block was a long one, and there was a wall built on it when the reconstruction took place, it was not possible or desirable to shift it. The thickness of the north wall exactly fits the space left between the end of the earlier foundation block and the setting line on the later foundation. That we are dealing with an alteration is also apparent if we consider the spacing of the row of column foundations which runs parallel to the front wall of the shops. A restoration of the missing bases shows that they are in no way symmetrical in respect to the end walls of the building as now preserved. Neither, for that matter, are they symmetrical to the spacing of the shops, but this is less important, as it is quite possible that they were added to provide a portico in front of these.

Nine of the bases are preserved. They consist of blocks of *poros* ranging from 0.80 m. to 1.00 m. in size, some bedded directly in the hard clay, others resting on a lower course thus bedded. Their distance from centre to centre is 2.995 m. as compared with a spacing of *ca.* 3.53 m. for the doors of the shops. An unfluted drum of *poros*, 0.627 m. in diameter and 0.249 m. high, was found in its original place on the most southerly base preserved (Fig. 149). It has been largely cut away by the builders of the later basilica. There is no empolion cutting on the top of this drum, and to judge by its shallowness it may have formed a circular plinth for the column placed above it. Whether this column was of wood

or stone does not appear, but the wear on the upper edge of the drum implies that it was of smaller diameter than the drum itself. The absence of the empolion is not an indication of the material, as a similar condition is frequently met with in the buildings of the Greek period in Corinth. Midway between the several pairs of bases may be seen smaller blocks, averaging 0.48 m. by 0.60 m. The top of the blocks is 0.03 m. above the tops of the square bases, and they are aligned with the eastern part of the bases rather than with



FIGURE 149. VIEW OF THE FOUNDATION AND BOTTOM DRUM OF THE INTERIOR COLONNADE *in situ*. THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ROMAN BASILICA SHOW IN THE BACKGROUND

their axis. The purpose of these intermediate blocks is uncertain. They may have been used as supports for a barrier or rail running between the columns, or they may also be for piers to help support a floor above. From the fact that they are not on the same level as the bases we may infer that they are not contemporary with the latter but represent a remodelling of the building.

Two other features of the plan (PLATE XIX) should be noted, as they must be associated with the building that we are considering. The first is a flight of *poros* stone steps, very much worn, that leads up to some level behind the shops. The foundations of a terrace

wall run northeasterly towards the southwest corner of the building, and if the wall were prolonged, it would cut the south colonnade at about the third column from the end. Apparently this retaining wall must have returned before it ran so far, but the exact point of its change of direction is not apparent. It is important to note that it indicates the presence in Greek times of an accessible level behind the Northeast Building. It is also significant that the fourth century stoa on the north side of the Agora is clearly later than the steps, for the disposition of levels at the east end of the stoa shows that the steps were no longer used after its construction. This point will be discussed in detail in connection with the publication of the Northwest Stoa in a later volume of this series.

The second feature that may have significance in our present study is the trace of a wall, shown both by blocks and rock cuttings, running parallel with the rear wall of the shops, at a distance of about 1.90 m. from its east face. If we project the line of this westernmost wall to the north, it meets the angle formed by the north end wall and its northward extension. At a point opposite the centre of the building it is curious to note that the distance, *ca.* 8.30 m., between the face of this wall and the interior colonnade very nearly equals the distance from the central colonnade to the restored east stylobate. This suggests immediately that the western wall of the remodelled building may have been placed *behind* the rear wall of the earlier shops. It is impossible, however, to make the width of the two ends of the building symmetrical, and there is no indication as to what became of the western foundation as it ran toward the end of the southern colonnade. Moreover, if we project the line of this wall southward it is difficult to reconcile it with the existing arrangement as shown by the column drum *in situ*. The southwest angle of the building in its latest form must have been quite irregular, and the roofing problem may best be described as "tricky." A less disturbing alternative is to regard the west wall as a retaining wall, added perhaps to lessen the pressure on the rear wall of the shops.

The restoration of the North Building just described is complicated by the diversity of elements involved. The first question that arises is how many columns there were along the east façade. By actual measurement along the face of the front wall of the shops, the distance from the face of the north wall to the face of the return of the stylobate along the south end of the building is 47.24 m. The wall and stylobate, however, are not parallel, but diverge slightly. If we assume that there were seven columns on the south side, and that their spacing was 2.135 m., with 2.02 m. at the corner, and prolong the south stylobate accordingly, we get 47.58 m. as the distance from the prolongation of the north wall of the building to the south end of the restored east stylobate. Recalling the fact that the step on the south side has a width of 0.335 m., and also that the drafting at the under edge of the stylobate is 0.012 m. deep, we get  $2(0.335-0.012)$  equals 0.646 m., the combined width of the two lower steps. The following calculation gives the length of the building as measured along the euthyneria, but it must be said here that two important assumptions are made. First, that the north end of the colonnade ended in a column, so as to



balance the south end; and second, that there were actually three steps, with a euthynteria below.

47.58 m.	restored distance from southeast corner of stylobate to projection of north wall
1.292 m.	$(2 \times 0.646)$
0.16	$(2 \times .08)$ for euthynteria
49.032 m.	

If we further assume that the stoa was, as seems to be commonly the case in Corinth at least, designed in units of 50 feet, we find that 49.032 m. divided by 150 equals 0.3269 m., or very nearly the length of the Attic foot.<sup>1</sup>

There are two lengths of epistyle preserved which may be assigned to this colonnade. One, which measures 2.135 m., is represented by several fragments built into the wall which continues the front wall of the Roman Shops southward to the Propylaea. The other, with a measurement of 2.04 m., is seen in a frieze block that combines triglyph and metope, and also in the fragment of an architrave block. Both these pieces lie in the area occupied by the building. If we make use of the longer epistyle, which gives an intercolumniation of 2.135 m., we must restore twenty-three columns along the east side, seven at the south. The north end may be finished with an anta behind the corner column, or with a column on the return. A study of the diagrams (PLATE XV, B) will show the relations of the parts, based on the calculation below.

22 × 2.135	plus 0.44 (the width of a triglyph)	equals 47.41 m.
0.48 m.	edge of stylobate to centre of column	
Less 0.36 m.,	i.e. 0.41 m. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ width of abacus) less 0.05 m. (setback of architrave as shown by line on cap)	
0.12 m.	equals setback of architrave from stylobate if axis of corner column is vertical	
Plus 47.58 m.	corner of stylobate to north wall	
47.70 m.	equals restored length of stylobate	
47.70 m.		
Less 47.41 m.		
0.29 m.	equals difference between stylobate and epistyle	
Less 0.24 m.	two times setback of architrave	
0.05 m.	which is the distance that the restored architrave falls short of fitting the restored stylobate.	

This may be accounted for by giving an inward inclination to the columns at either end, and, necessarily, to the north wall. If this is done we shall have an inclination of 0.025 m. in each case.

If we use the shorter epistyle, again with seven columns on the south side, we can restore a length of only 47.50 m. from the south end of the stylobate to the projection of the north wall. Furthermore, we must restore twenty-four columns along the east side, and we find that again the colonnade will fit existing conditions.

<sup>1</sup> Doerpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, p. 172: "dürfen wir die Grösse des attischen Fusses in maximo auf .328 m. festsetzen."

	23 × 2.04 m. plus 0.40 (the width of the triglyph) equals 47.32 m.
	47.50 m.
Plus	<u>0.12 m.</u>
	47.62 m. equals restored length of stylobate
	47.62 m.
Less	<u>47.32 m.</u>
	0.30 m. equals difference between stylobate and epistyle
Less	<u>0.24 m.</u> two times setback of epistyle from stylobate
	0.06 m. the distance that the restored architrave falls short of fitting the restored stylobate.

If we give the end columns an inward inclination of one-half of 0.06 m., or 0.03 m., we find that again the requirements of the case are fulfilled.

There remains a discrepancy that must be explained in the foundation with a setting line 0.875 m. north of the face of the north wall, where it is preserved in the angle. Subtracting 0.12 m. from 0.875 m. gives 0.755 m., which is more than the width (0.646 m.) of two steps as calculated at the south end. It would seem natural for the setting line to have some relation to the hypothetical steps, but this does not seem to be the case. A comparison of the levels of the various elements, however, and a consideration of the location of this small foundation on the plan tend to show that the construction at this corner against the north wall was an accretion, and not part of the actual scheme of the new colonnade. The level of the stylobate at the south end is 10.875 m. below the stylobate of the Temple of Apollo, the datum level for all buildings in the excavations.

The level of the next step preserved is -11.146 m., giving a drop of 0.271 m. The level of the foundation course of the north wall is -11.42 m., and deducting 11.146 m. we get 0.274 m., which, assuming that there were three steps, would give a reasonable height for the next step. The fact that we must restore the location of the east colonnade some fourteen metres beyond the line of any preserved remains gives ample room for a drop in level and helps to explain why only two steps are to be seen at the south end. The small foundation with the setting line is at a level -11.485 m., and the remains of colored stucco on the north wall show at a level of -11.035 m. The difference, 0.450 m., does not coincide with the measurement of the step heights which may actually be made at the south end of the building, nor, if we attempt to restore two steps, will the top step fit with the arrangement farther east. It seems more probable that this foundation represents all that remains of a bench or seat which was placed in the relatively shady angle at the north end of the building, and that the steps which returned at the north end of the colonnade ran no farther than the anta which lay behind the corner column. The return of the setting line and foundation in question to the north seems to be further proof that there were no steps involved.

The restoration of the plan of the North Building in its final state is based on the evidence just considered for the exterior colonnade, and also upon the following considera-

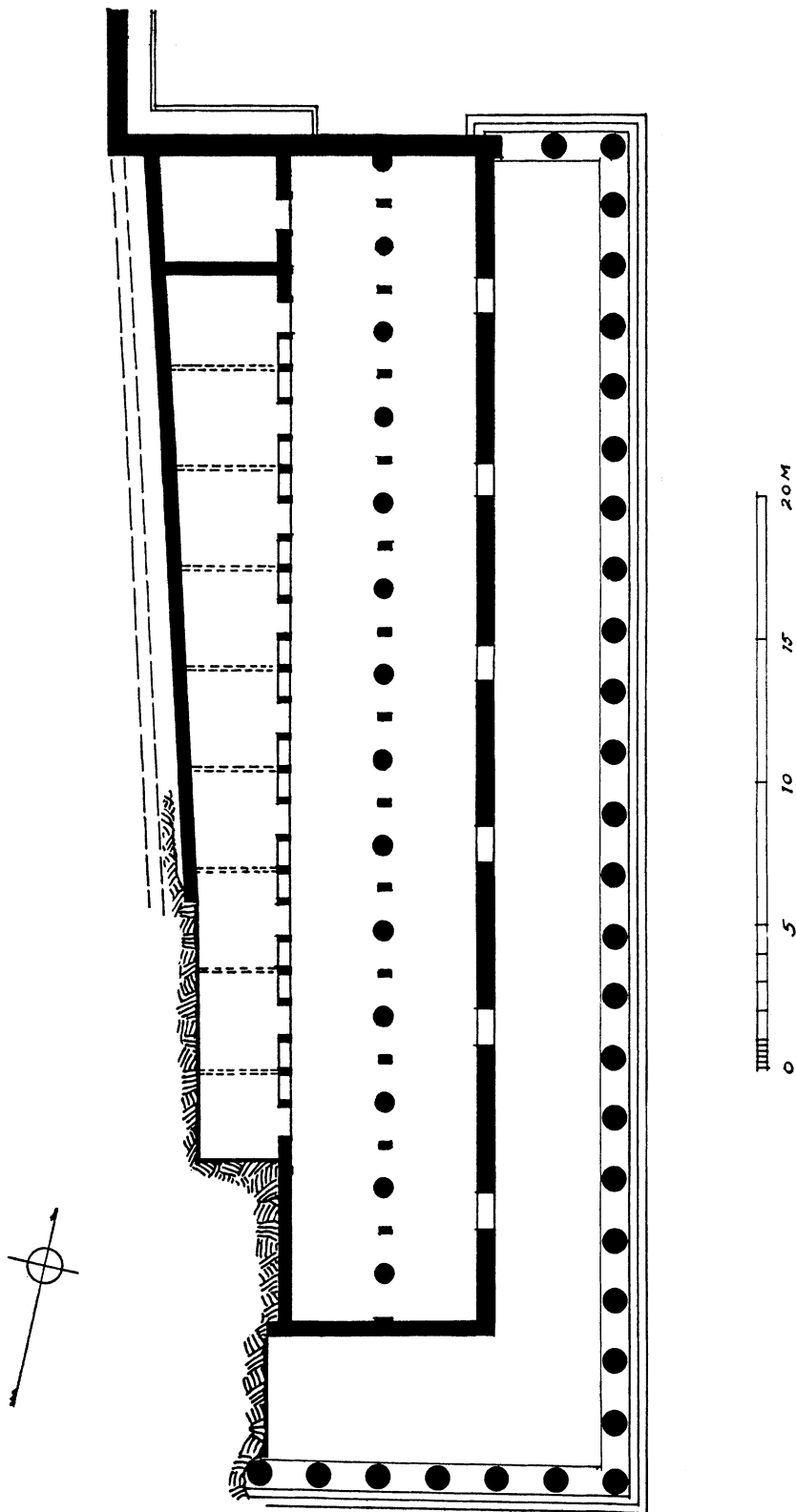


FIGURE 150. RESTORED PLAN, SHOWING THE BUILDING IN ITS FINAL STATE

tions (Fig. 150). The row of columns whose bases are still *in situ* east of the front wall of the shops is clearly marked as belonging to the interior of the building, if only by the lack of a continuous stylobate. There must have been, therefore, beyond these columns to the east an outer wall or other columns upon a stylobate. There are two possible alternatives. One is to make the outer colonnade return on the east at a distance from the inner row equal to that which separates the latter from the front of the shops. The line of small intermediate bases would thus have a plausible explanation, and would act as supports for a barrier to prevent unauthorized persons from penetrating past the interior colonnade. But the fact that the spacing of the interior colonnade is not considered at all in the construction of the outer one, and that the floor level indicated by the interior bases is 0.25 m. lower than the outer stylobate, makes such a restoration difficult (PLATE XIX). If, on the other hand, we restore a wall parallel to the inner line of bases, so placed as to make them form a row of supports along the centre of a long hall, and return the outer colonnade east of this hypothetical wall, we at least have an arrangement that would account for the difference of floor levels, and also furnish a more pleasing appearance. This wall behind the outer colonnade would have been pierced with openings, presumably both doors and windows, to light the space within.

The elevation and section of the building, as will be seen from the drawing (PLATE XV, A), cannot be restored save by conjecture. The height of the exterior order may be placed between 4.90 m. and 5.25 m. The diminution as measured on the only drum *in situ* is 0.018 m. in a height of 0.60 m. If this is applied to the upper diameter as indicated by a surviving capital which, from its workmanship and place of finding, seems to belong to the colonnade, we should have columns nearly thirteen diameters high, an obvious impossibility. A fragmentary column drum from this building shows a diminution of about 0.022 m. in 0.68 m. This still is not sufficient, and the state of the drum makes a really accurate measurement impossible. In order to bring the columns down to a reasonable height we are compelled to assume that they had rather pronounced entasis.<sup>1</sup>

In any case, the cutting for a ceiling that shows in the southernmost shop at a height of *ca.* 2.38 m. above the sill gives indication that in this part, at least, the building was in two stories, the upper one entered, perhaps, from the level of the terrace to the west. The main hall may have occupied the entire height of the structure to the roof, or, as another explanation for the narrow intermediate supports, may have been remodelled with an interior floor as suggested in the restoration.

A single block of frieze is preserved. It is of excellent workmanship and was covered by a fine coat of stucco, of which traces remain. Two T-clamps are visible in the top. As will be seen from the drawing, this block and the fragment of architrave (Fig. 151) belong to the shorter series of entablature fragments, with an axial spacing of 1.02 m. for the triglyphs, or 2.04 m. for the columns. There is heavy waterproof stucco on the soffit

<sup>1</sup> Or else that the capital found in the ruins of the building, and assigned to it, does not belong to the order.

and back of the architrave. The epistyle blocks belonging to the longer series and built into the Roman wall have the following dimensions.

Width of Regula	0.435 to 0.440 m.
Width of Metope	0.63 m.
Height of Taenia	0.070 m.
Height of Regula	0.052 m.
Height of Architrave	0.645 m.

These blocks were fitted with T-clamps. Iron pins and dowels for fastening some sort of object to the face of the epistyle have been observed on four of the blocks. There is also a fragment of cornice where the half mutule measures 0.21 m. in width and the via 0.11 m. Bright red paint was found on the outer surface of the viae (Fig. 152).

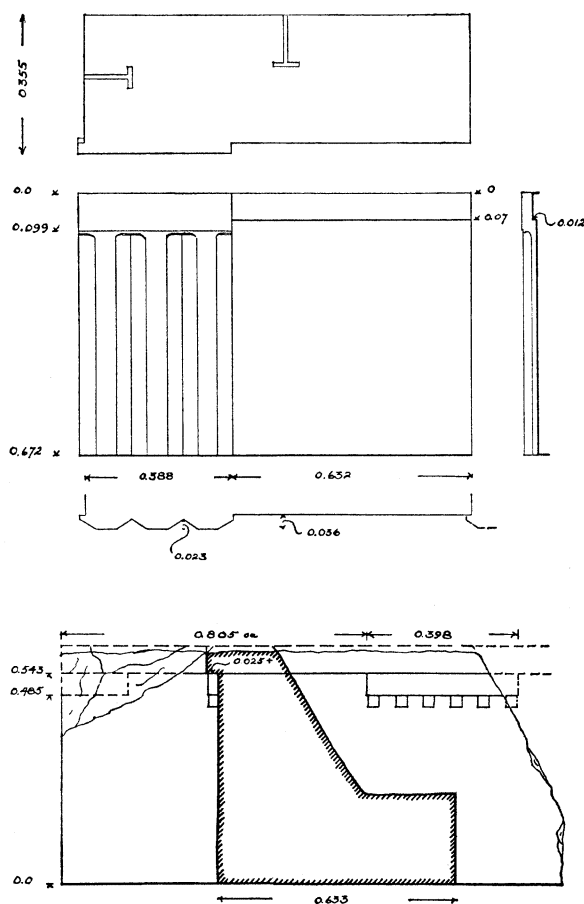


FIGURE 151. ARCHITRAVE AND FRIEZE BLOCKS

An interesting fragment that may belong to this building is shown in PLATE XXI, No. 10. It is the capital for some sort of pilaster, measuring 0.225 m. wide on the face, and presenting an ear, resembling the bolster of an Ionic volute, to the spectator. A slightly raised, rough surface on one face of the block (shown by the dotted line) seems to show that originally there was an extension of some sort. A possible position would be on

the top of one of the pilasters flanking the doorways to the shops, the section now lost acting as a lintel over the window panel that flanked the shop door. There is, however, a series of small pilaster or anta capitals that were found in and about the remains of the building and may be assigned, in part, to the pilastered front wall of the shops. As will be seen, they are of various types and profiles and probably do not all belong to the same structure, but it is quite possible that some of them may have come from it.

They fall into three groups which may be classified as follows.

Type A Moulded on all four sides. PLATE XXI, No. 8, measuring 0.422 m. by 0.175 m. A second example of this type measures 0.422 m. by 0.158 m.

Type B With single rebate. PLATE XXI, No. 1, measuring 0.181 m. by 0.48 m. (?); No. 2, measuring 0.392 m. by 0.209 m.; No. 5, measuring 0.198 m. by 0.45 m.; No. 7, measuring 0.212 m. by 0.440 m.

Type C With double rebate. PLATE XXI, No. 6, measuring 0.49 m. by 0.26 m. No. 4 may also belong in this class, but one end is broken away.

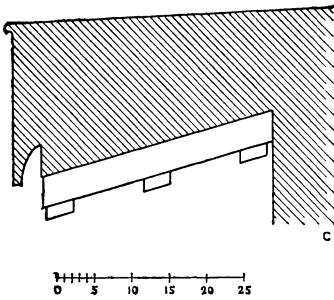


FIGURE 152. PROFILE OF CORNICE FRAGMENT

As may be seen, the profiles differ considerably, four of the best preserved being shown in the plate.

Certain other fragments of *poros* architecture have been found in the area occupied by the North Building and are here listed, although it is not at all certain that they came originally from this structure. They seem to belong to the Greek and not the Roman period of construction in Corinth.

A Doric capital, diameter *ca.* 0.33 m., height 0.24 m. The neck is fluted, the rings well cut, and the echinus of good profile. A square empolion cutting is in the bottom of the capital. The top of the abacus shows two wedge-shaped holes, 0.18 m. apart. They may be intended as lifting holes, although the capital is so small that these do not seem necessary, or they may be for the attachment of a wooden beam resting on the top of the capital.

A Doric capital, fragmentary, having a diameter of about 0.46 m. and a height of 0.265 m. The neck is fluted, and the echinus is well cut with a firm profile.

Column drum 0.68 m. high from exterior colonnade. Lower diameter, 0.783 m.; upper diameter, *ca.* 0.76 m. Only eleven channels are finished, the remaining nine being flat. Two rectangular holes, 0.115 m. by 0.09 m., are cut in opposite sides of the drum *ca.* 0.40 m. above the bottom. They would seem to have been for beams running from column to column and providing a fence or screen.

Two other drums of this series are to be noted. One is built into the foundation wall of the Roman shop partitions, and the other lies just north of the end of the earlier Roman basilica.

Fragment of a column drum with 16 very shallow channels. It is about 0.89 m. long, with an upper and lower diameter of 0.332 m. and 0.356 m. respectively.

An unfluted column drum with a badly chipped astragal on top. Height, 0.895 m.; lower diameter, *ca.* 0.36 m.; upper diameter, 0.34 m. Square empolion in top, and two square notches at opposite sides, measuring 0.095 m. square by 0.05 m. deep. These occur at the top of the shaft directly underneath the capital.

A fragment of a Doric shaft with 16 very shallow channels. The diameter, measured at the lower end, is 0.425 m. and the length of the fragment is *ca.* 0.54 m. A vertical groove, 0.11 m. wide by 0.04 m. deep, as for a parapet, runs for 0.38 m. from the bottom of the drum. Several other fragments of similar shafts exist.

A wall block (orthostate?), 0.72 m. high, with anathyrosis on the two ends and also on one side adjacent to the end. The length of the block is 1.02 m., suggesting that it belongs to the same building as the shorter series of epistyles (Fig. 153).

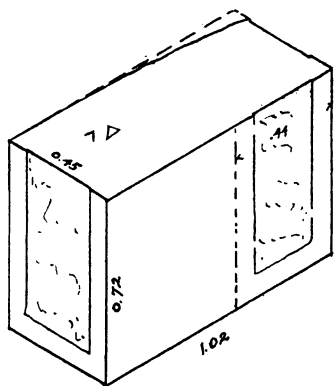


FIGURE 153. BLOCK ATTRIBUTED TO NORTH BUILDING (UPSIDE DOWN)

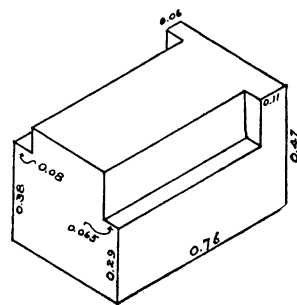


FIGURE 154. BLOCK ATTRIBUTED TO NORTH BUILDING

A block 0.76 m. long with two unequal rebates in opposite sides (Fig. 154).

A fragment of cornice, or *epikranitis* (PLATE XXI, No. 9) with remains of a painted leaf pattern (?) on the cavetto.

From its form and dimensions it is evident that the North Building was of a public character. The small rooms looking out into the main hall, with their front walls arranged for the display of wares, more convenient perhaps to the eye than to the hand, and the tanks with waterproof cement that were provided for those wares, would imply a market, perhaps for the display of fish, or whatever else requires a watertight bowl for exhibition purposes. Besides the tanks that were built into the walls, there remains another similar tank which was free standing, one of many, doubtless, that served a similar purpose. The Northeast Building was thus the very direct predecessor of the Roman Shops and the Basilica which was built above it, and it is interesting to note that in the Roman plan of Corinth a site was provided north of the Basilica, where, as has been suggested, there was a market for fish. See above, p. 147, n. 1.

In the centre of the building, after it was in ruins, but before the level had been raised to that occupied later by the Roman Basilica, certain very poor stone floors and founda-

tion walls were constructed. The chief of these occupied the line of the former front wall of the shops, others, at right angles to this wall, partitioned off the area before and behind it. In this same period necessary repairs were made at the rear of the old building, where the scarp rock and the clay had been worn and broken away at their line of juncture. The material for these repairs was old Greek blocks and tiles, procured for the most part, doubtless, from the North Building itself. The free standing stone tank already referred to found a new use in one of these poor later rooms. Though it is certain that there was no regular renewal of the structure, as was the case with the Northwest and the South Stoas, as well as many other Greek buildings in Corinth, it is likely enough that its heavier walls did survive in part through the earliest Roman period, to which the inferior constructions on the site must be assigned.

The complete removal of the eastern half of the building explains the paucity of material now available for reconstruction. From the fact that there are relatively few elements available for study from this part, and especially from the colonnade, we may surmise that the destroyers of Corinth in 146 B.C. did their work efficiently, and that whatever material had not been removed by plunderers during the century of desolation was immediately made use of in the years when the city was first being reconstructed. In most cases the earlier Roman builders were careful to redress their blocks, and it is only rarely that a fragment remains in recognizable form. The soft, readily cut *poros* stone of which the buildings were for the most part constructed lends itself to reworking in a manner most disconcerting to the archaeologist.



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   temple of, 34, 89; temple at Olympia, 116  
 Ziebarth, E., 127  
 Zosimus, 55

# CORINTH

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS

CONDUCTED BY

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME I

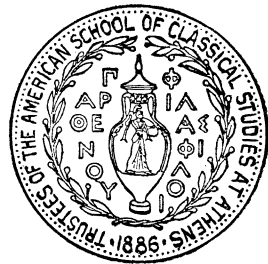
## INTRODUCTION · TOPOGRAPHY ARCHITECTURE

BY

HAROLD NORTH FOWLER AND RICHARD STILLWELL

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

CARL WILLIAM BLEGEN, BENJAMIN POWELL, AND  
CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR.



PUBLISHED FOR

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

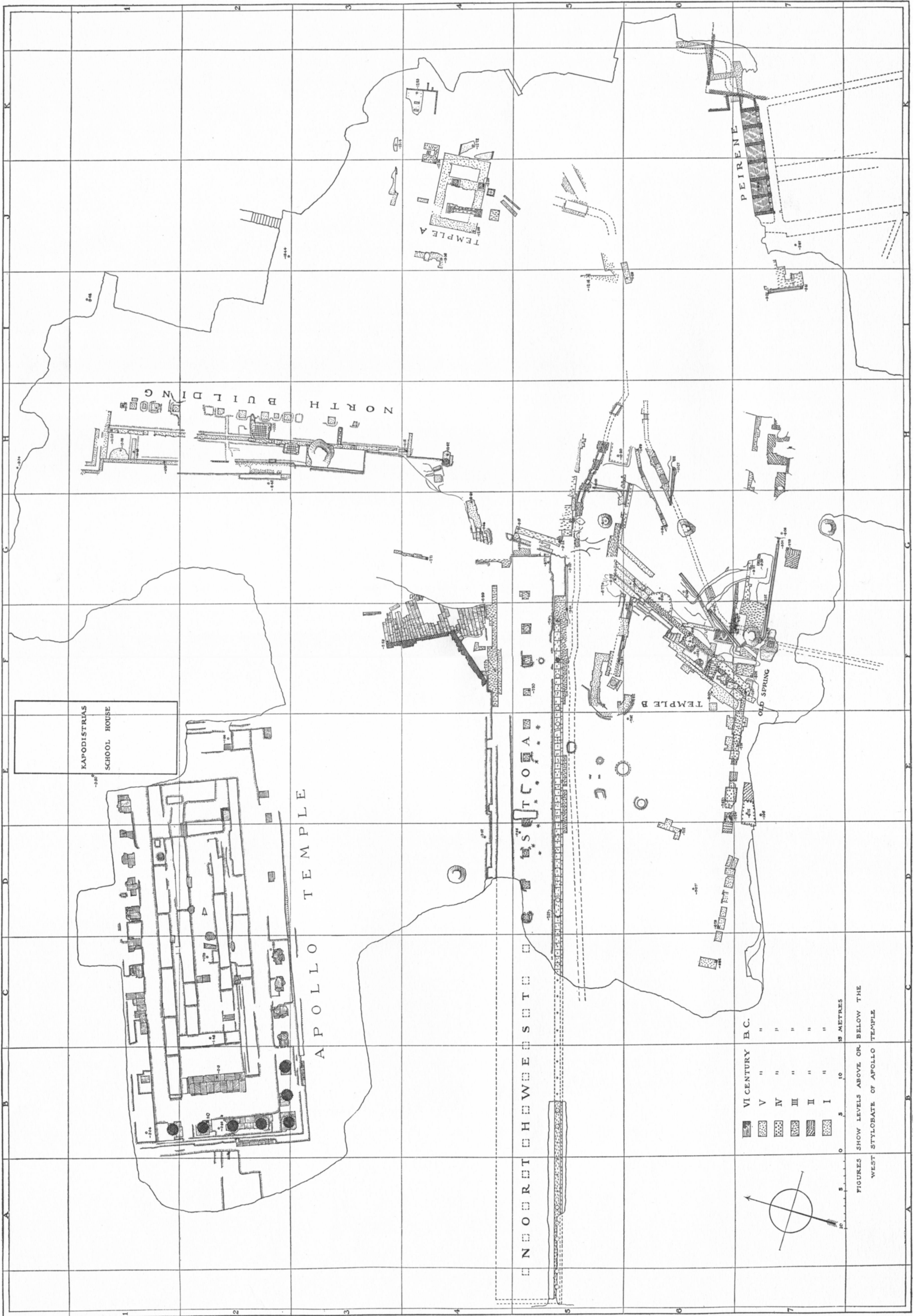
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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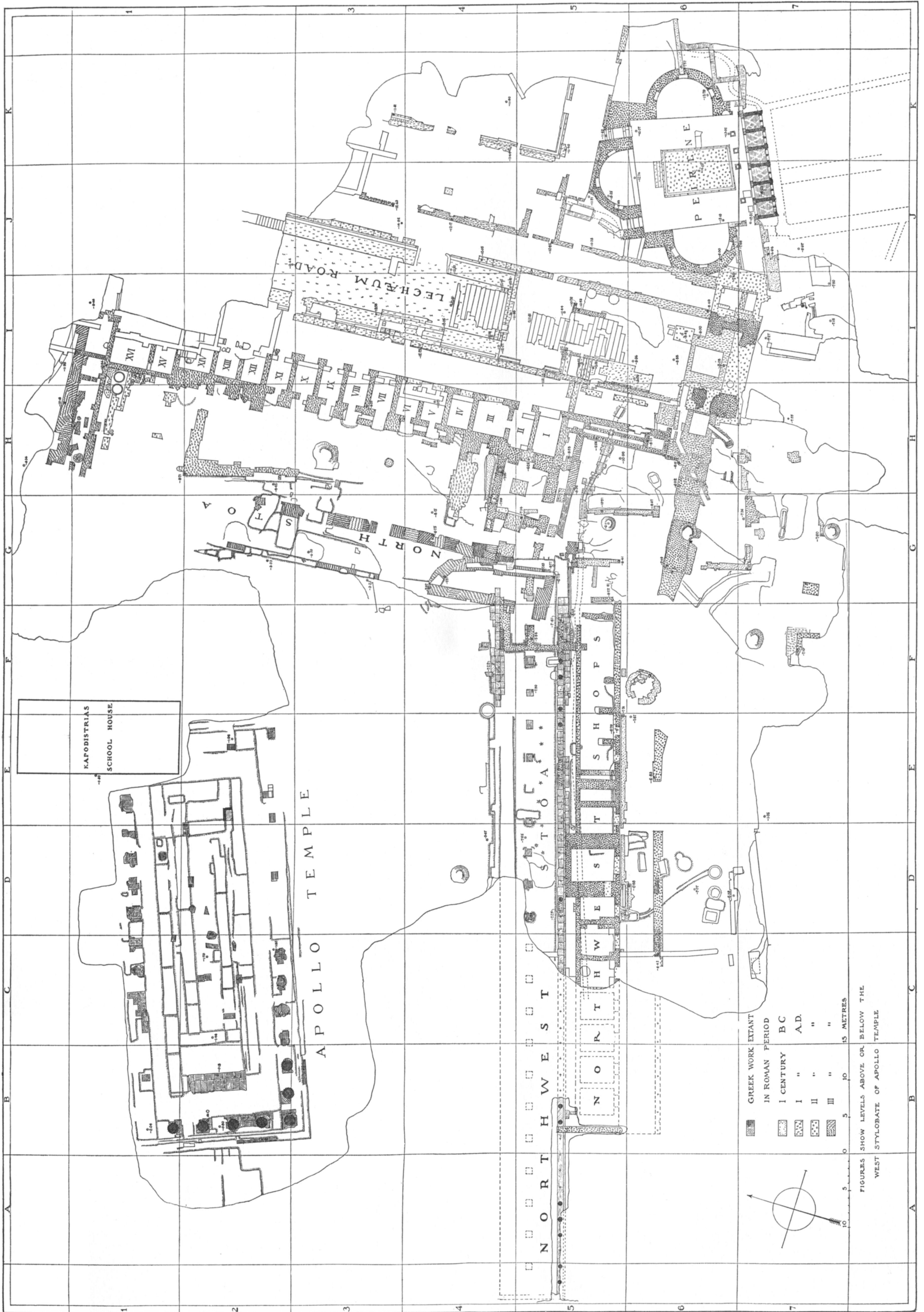
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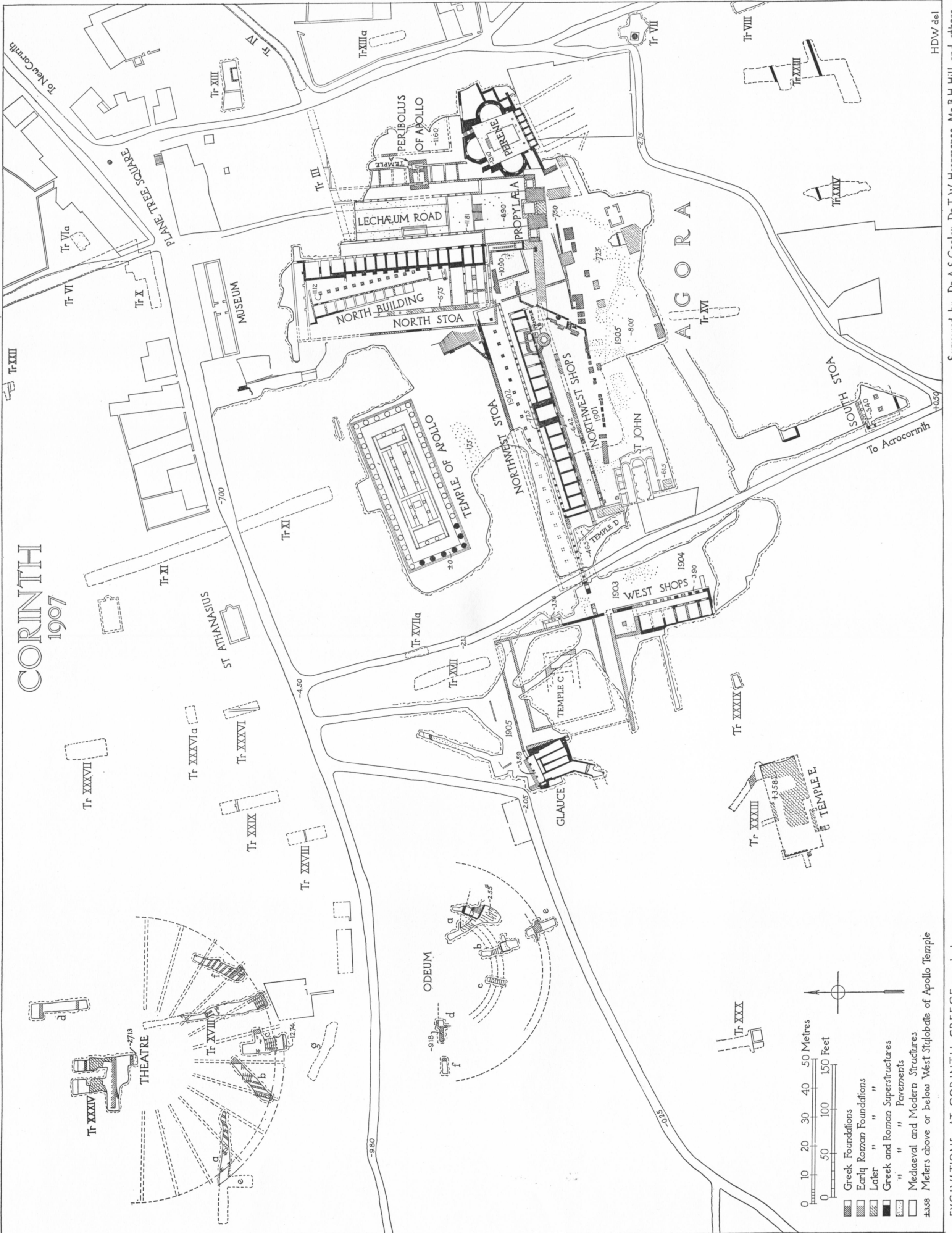
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PLATE I



MAIN FIELD OF EXCAVATIONS, 1902

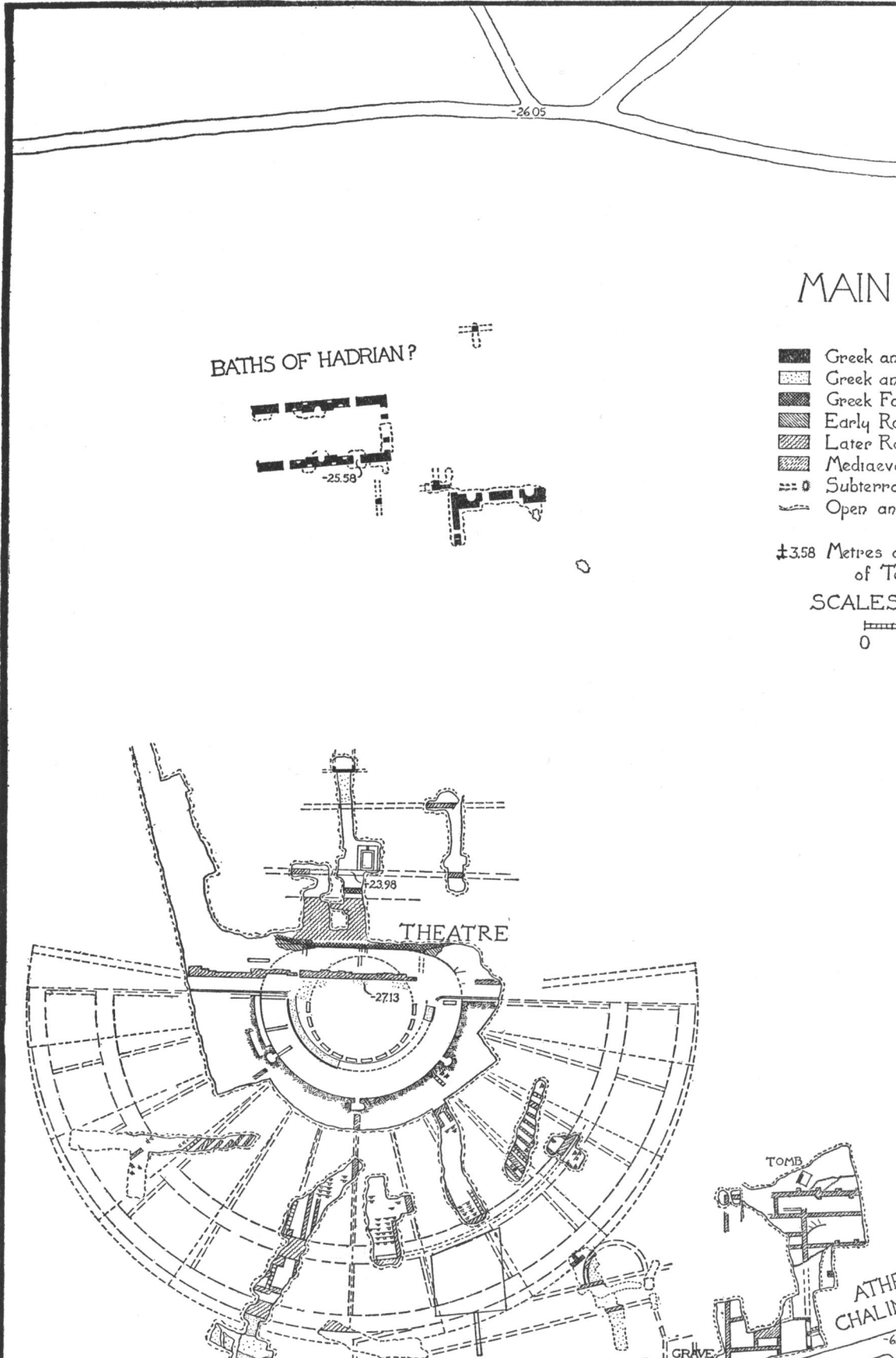




Surveyed by Dr. A. S. Cooley, Dr. T. W. Heermance, Mr. B. H. Hill and others  
Drawn by Henry D. Wood, Fellow in Architecture of The School 1906-1908

PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS, 1907

EXCAVATIONS AT CORINTH GREECE made by  
the American School of Classical Studies at Athens



BATHS OF HADRIAN?

-25.58

-26.05

-23.98

-27.13

THEATRE

TOMB

ATHLON  
CHALICE

GRAVE

MAIN

- █ Greek an
- ▨ Greek an
- ▩ Greek Fo
- ▧ Early Ro
- ▦ Later Ro
- ▥ Mediaev
- ⋯ Subterra
- Open an

±3.58 Metres of  
of T

SCALES










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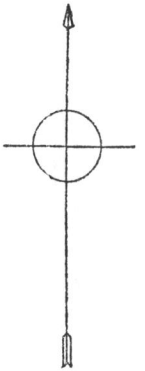
# CORINTH

## MAIN EXCAVATION AREA ÷ 1896-1927

William B. Dinsmoor del.

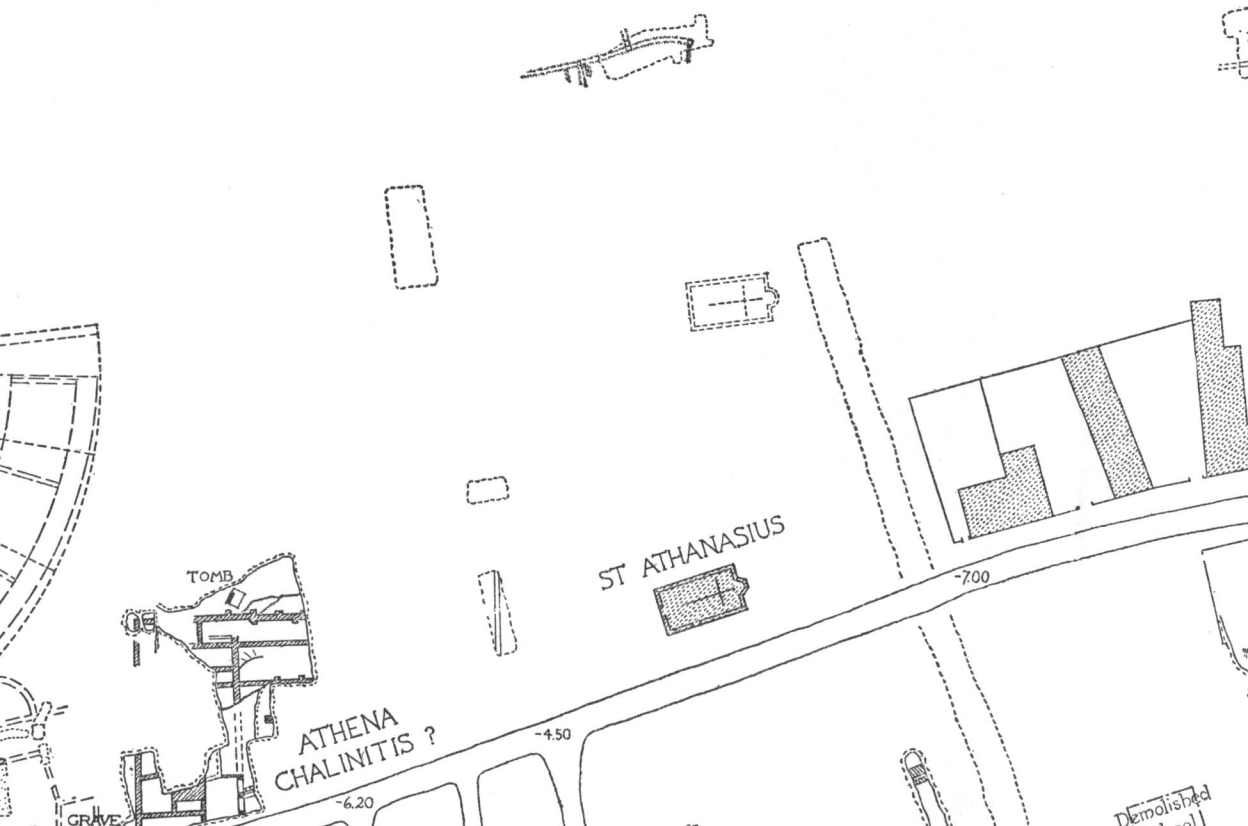
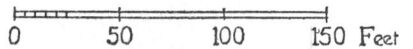
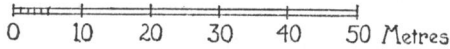
-  Greek and Roman Superstructures
-  Greek and Roman Pavements
-  Greek Foundations
-  Early Roman Foundations
-  Later Roman Foundations
-  Mediaeval and Modern Structures
-  Subterranean Conduits and Wells
-  Open and  Filled Excavations

- 1 North Building
- 2 Captives Façade
- 3 Triglyph Wall
- 4 Temple "B"
- 5 Steps to Temple "E"
- 6 Arch of Sicyonian Road
- 7 Temple "C"
- 8 Propylon of Temple "C"
- 9 Temple "A"
- 10 Apse of Peribolus of Apollo
- 11 Southeast Building



±3.58 Metres above or below West Stylobate of Temple of Apollo

SCALES: 1 : 1200, or 1 inch = 100 feet



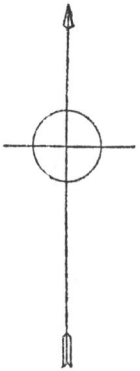
1896-1927

Side

le "E"  
nion Road

mple "C"

olus of Apollo  
lding



0 100 150 Feet

TO LECHAEUM

Fountain

BATHS

Plane  
Tree

Fountain

Entrance

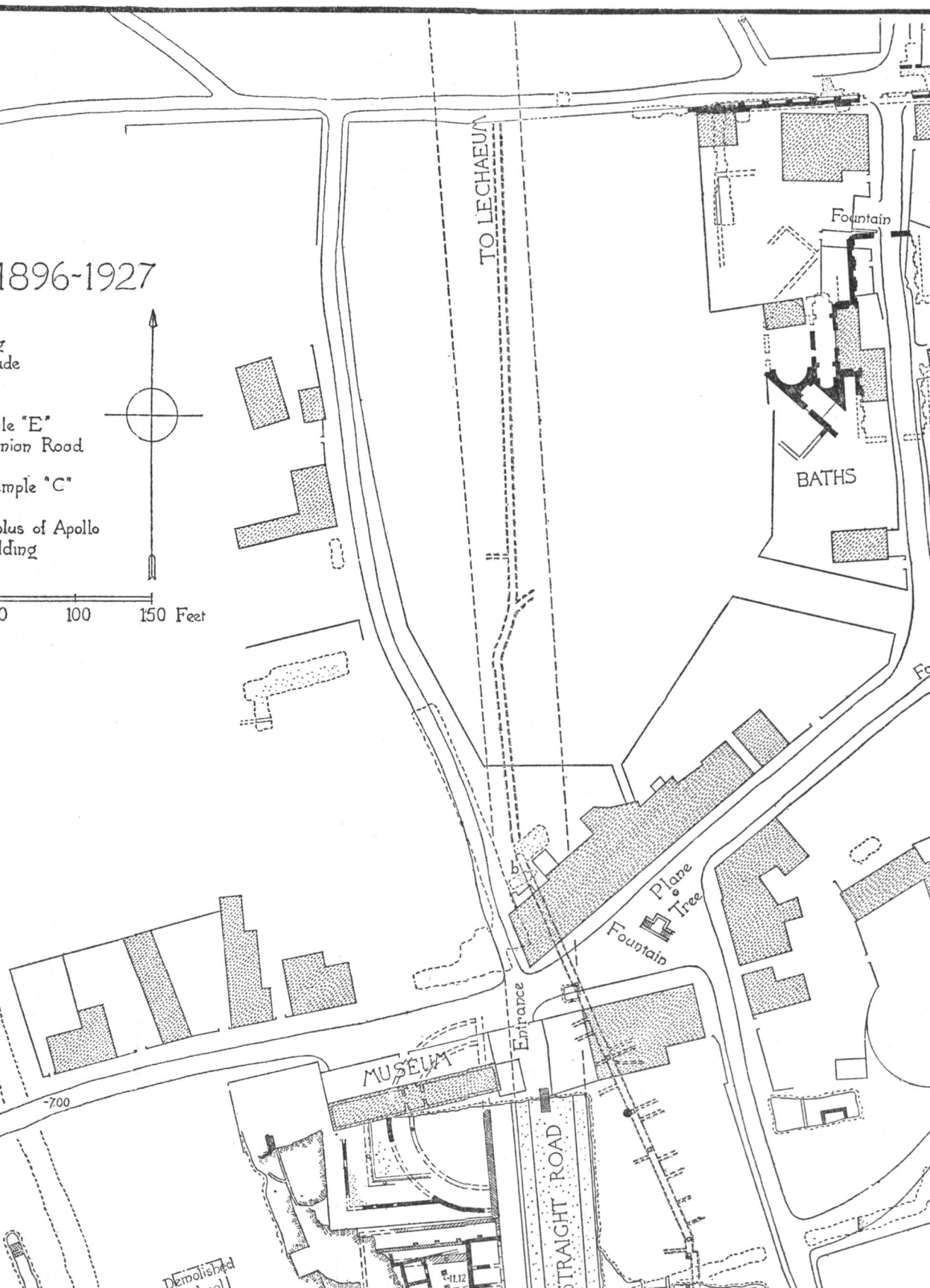
MUSEUM

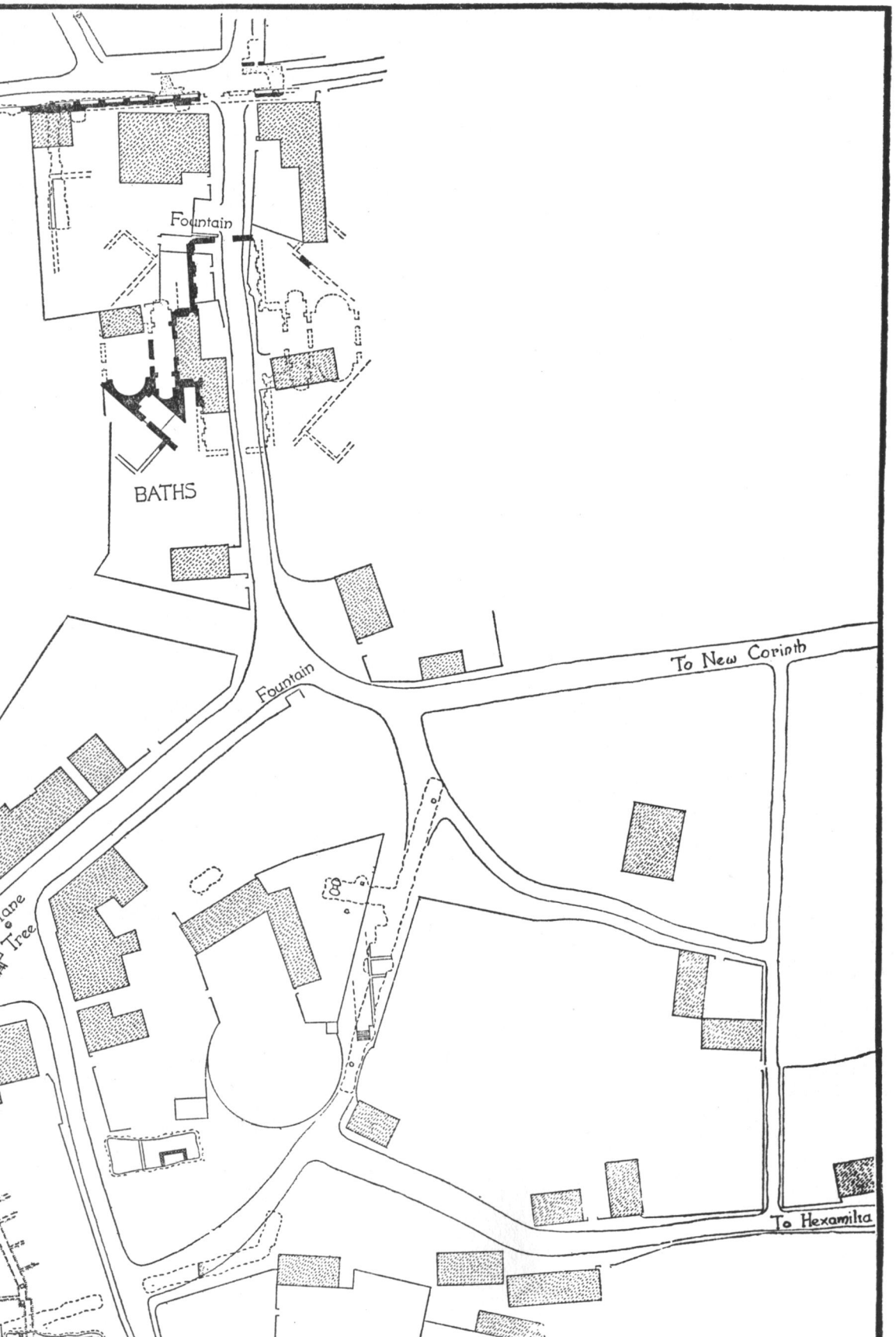
STRAIGHT ROAD

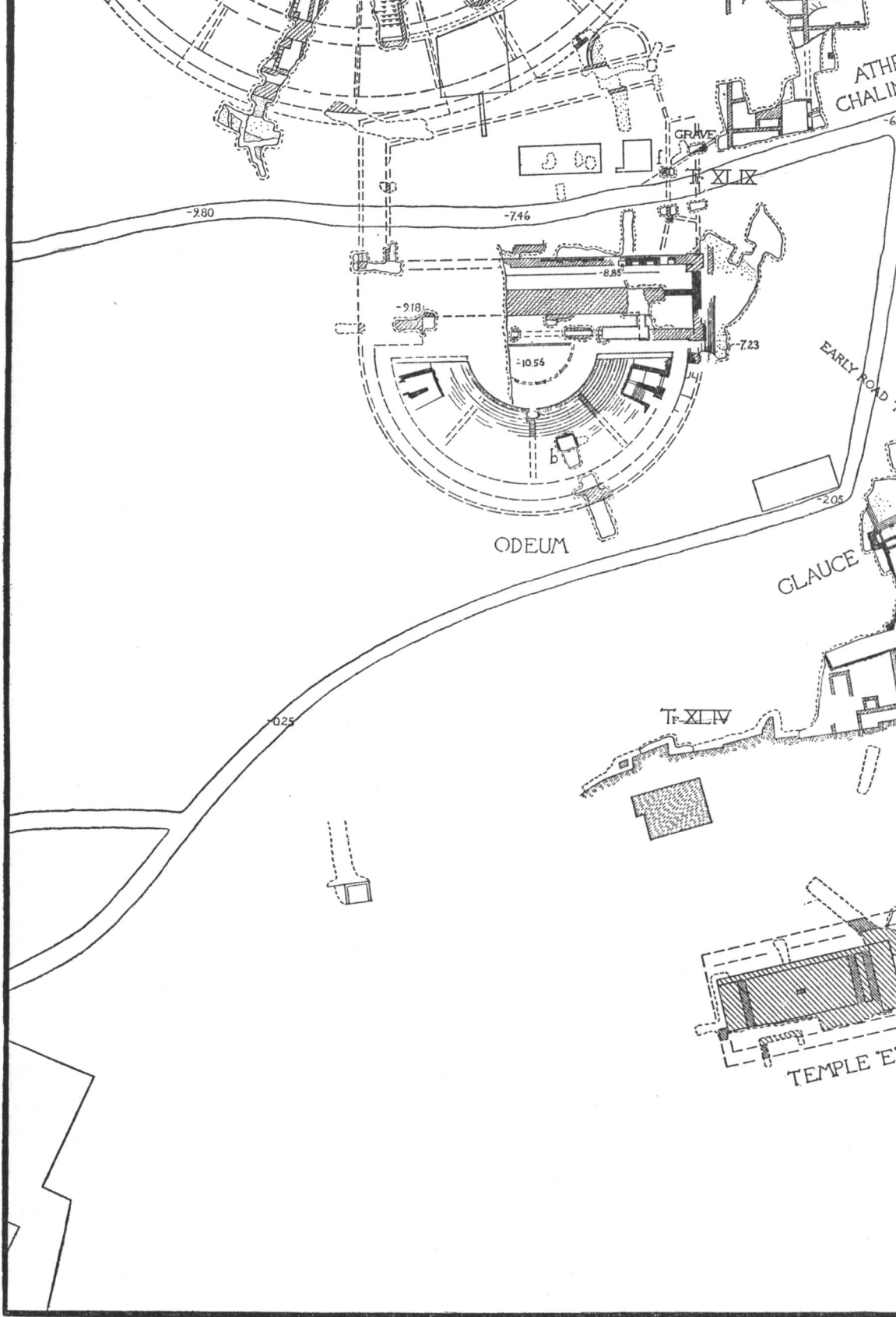
-700

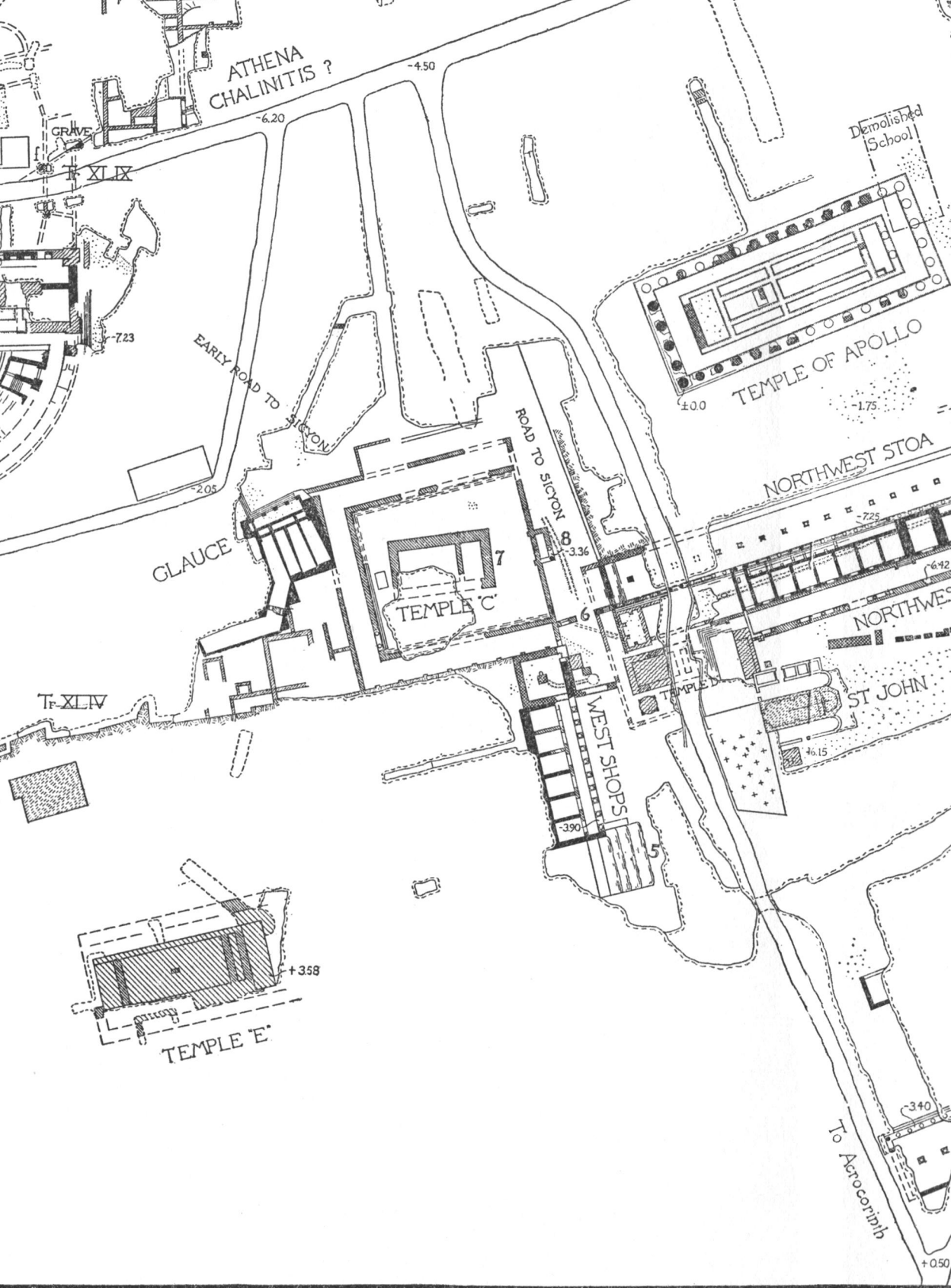
Demolished

-11.12

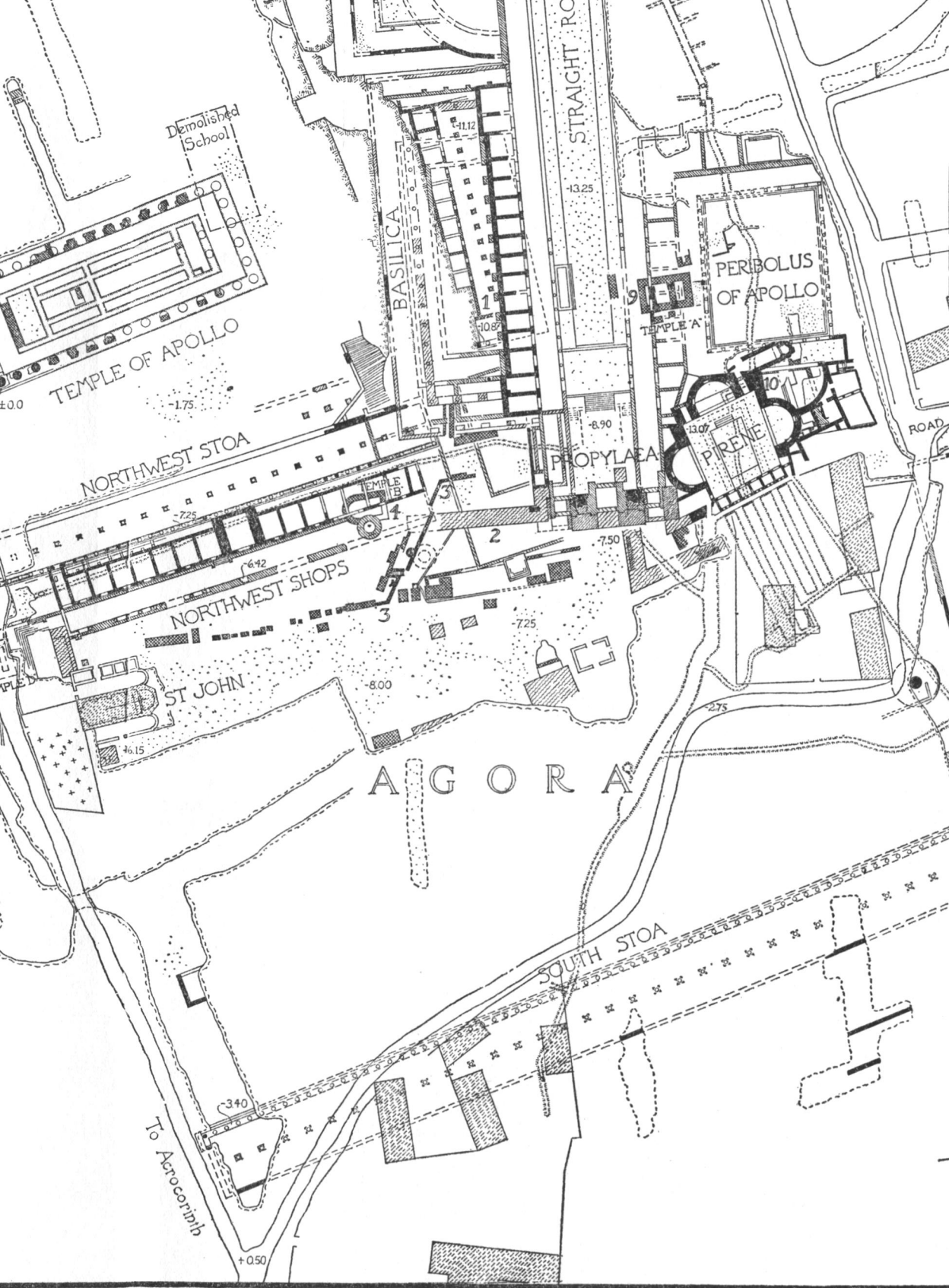


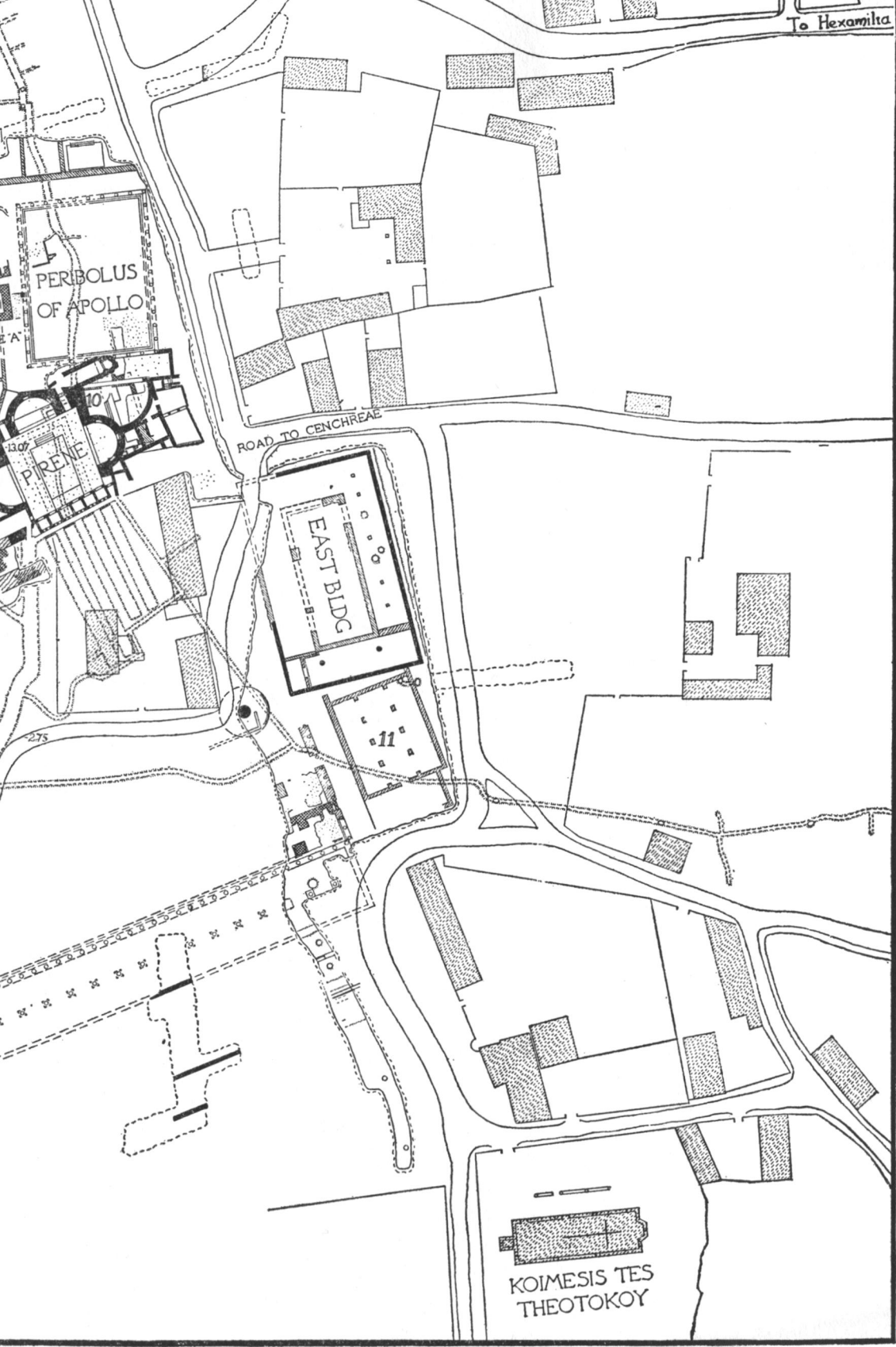






MAIN EXCAVATION AREA, 192





PERIBOLUS  
OF APOLLO

PIRENE

ROAD TO CENCHREAE

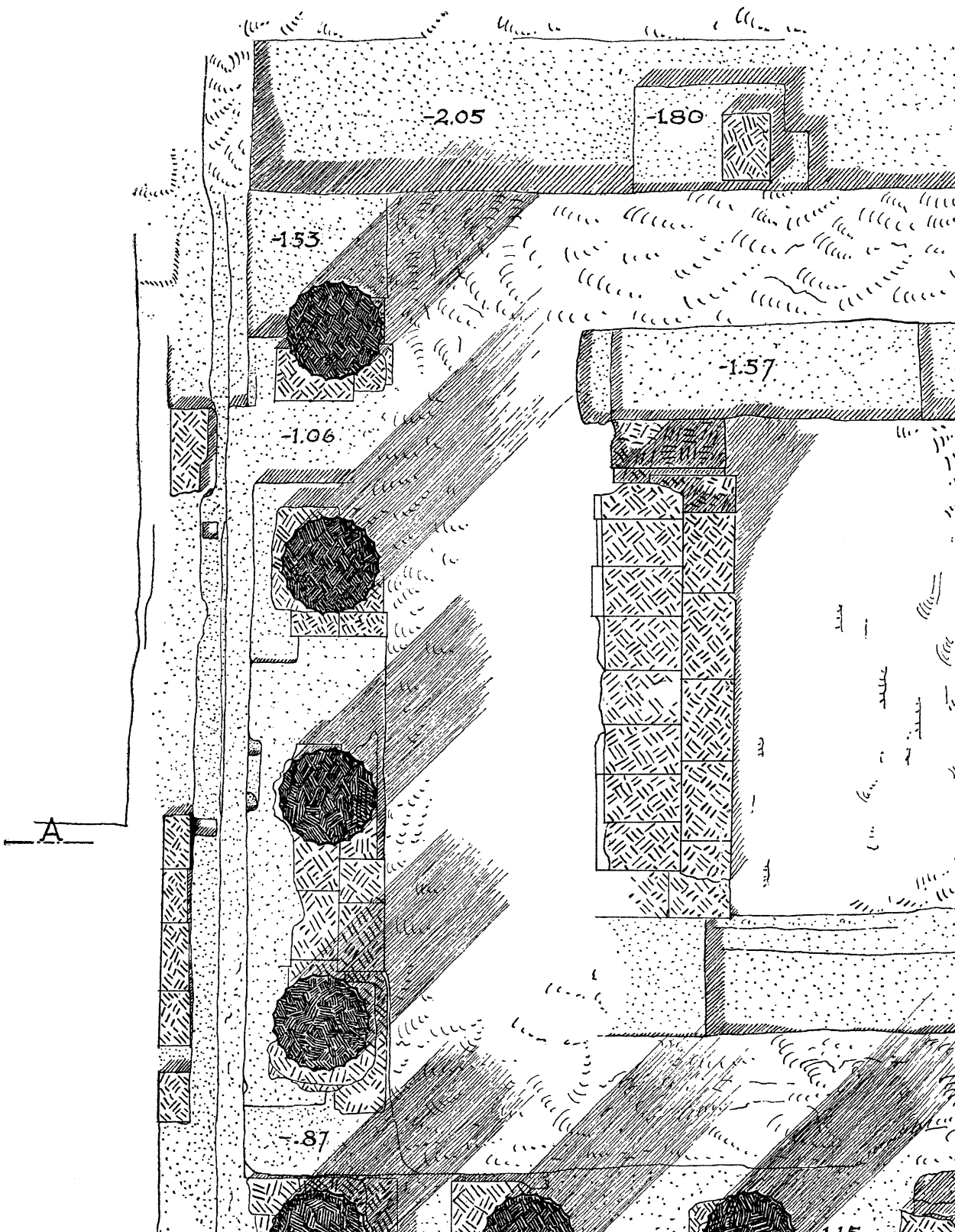
EAST BLDG

11

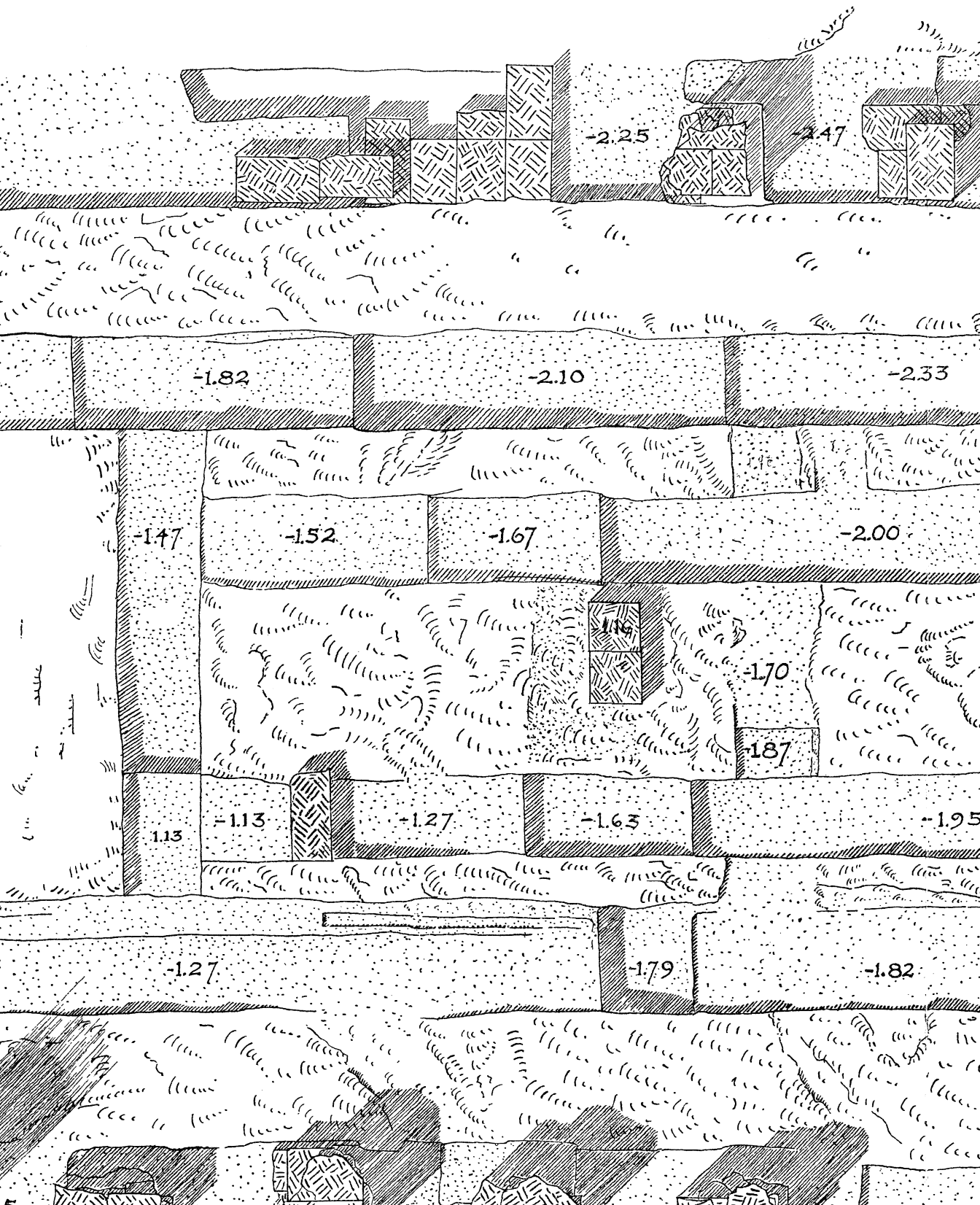
KOIMESIS TES  
THEOTOKOY

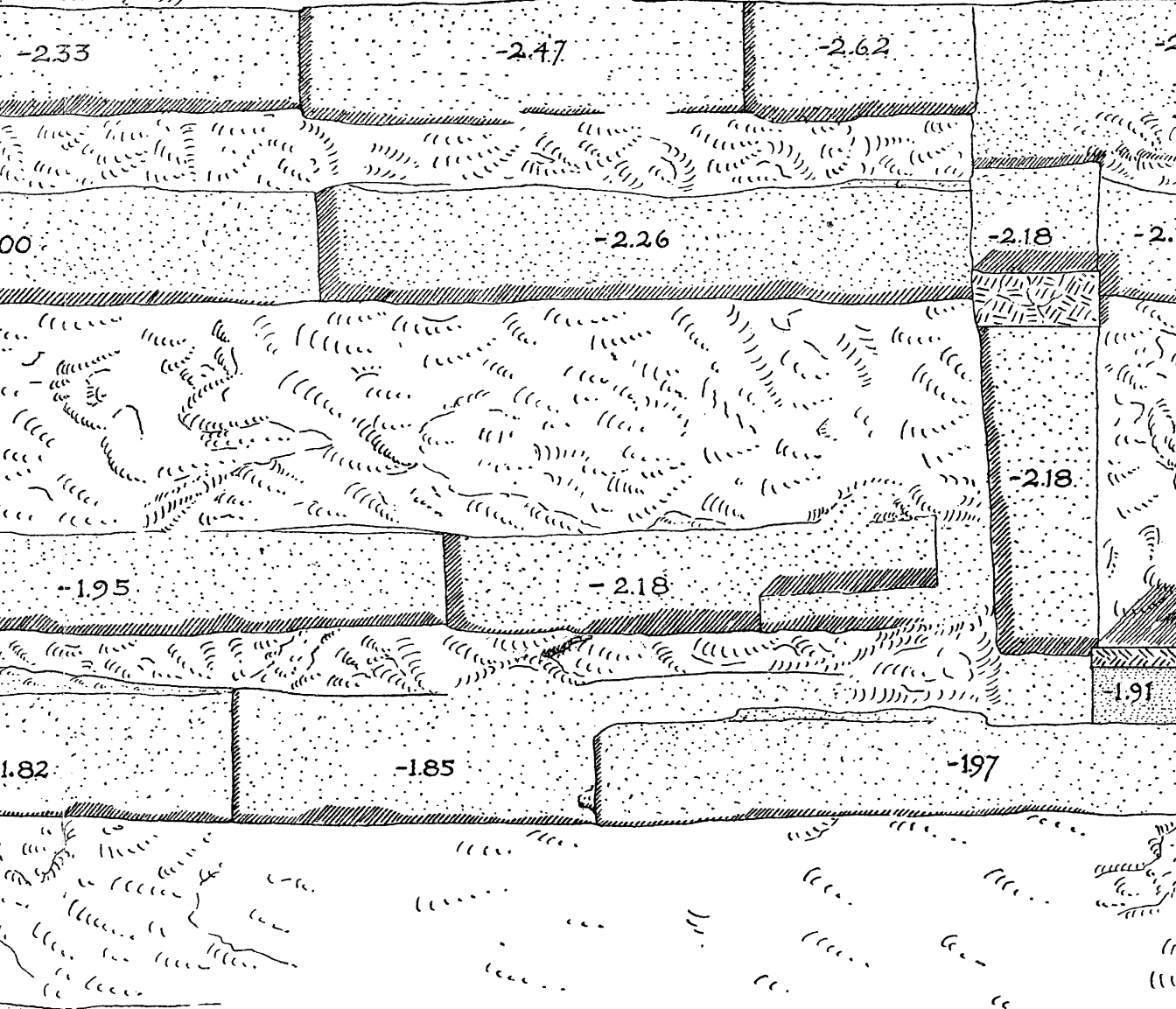
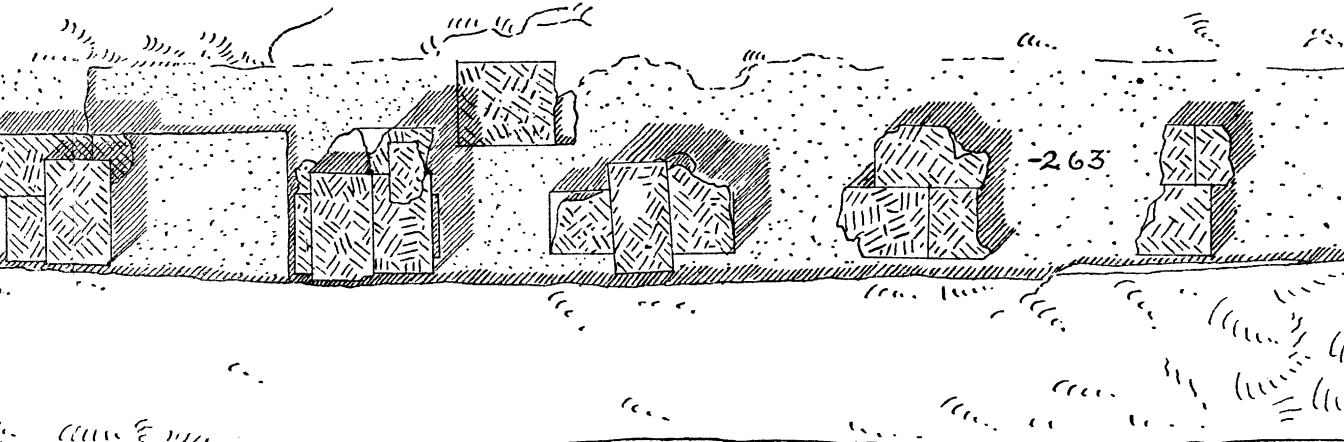
275

1307









-233

-247

-2.62

00

-2.26

-2.18

-2.

-1.95

-2.18

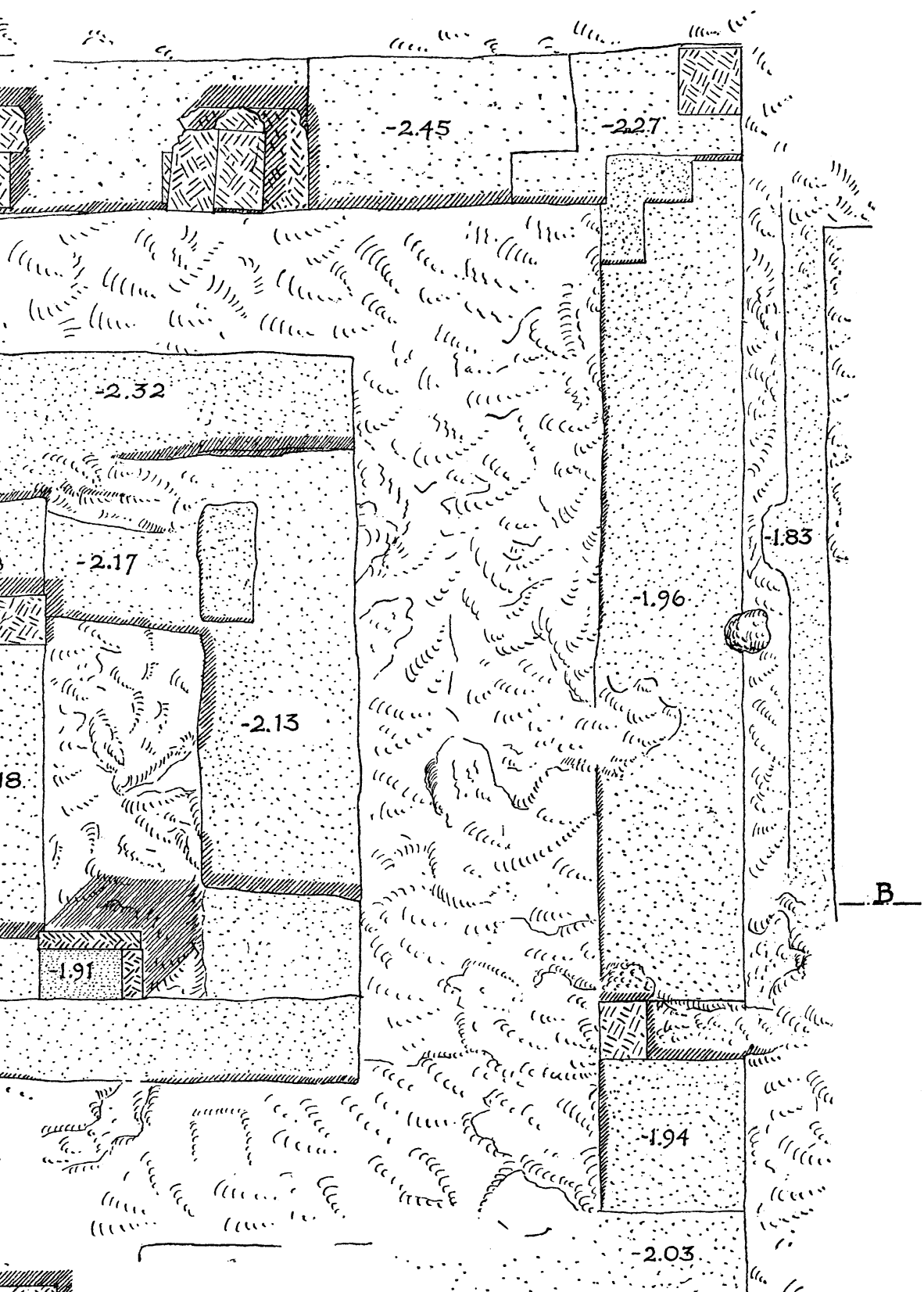
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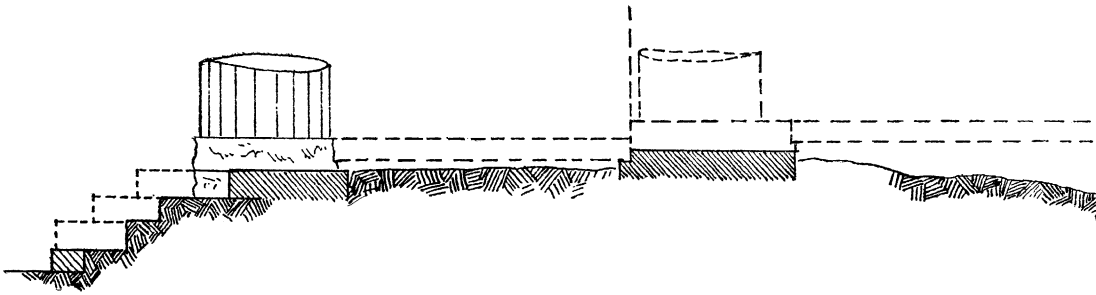
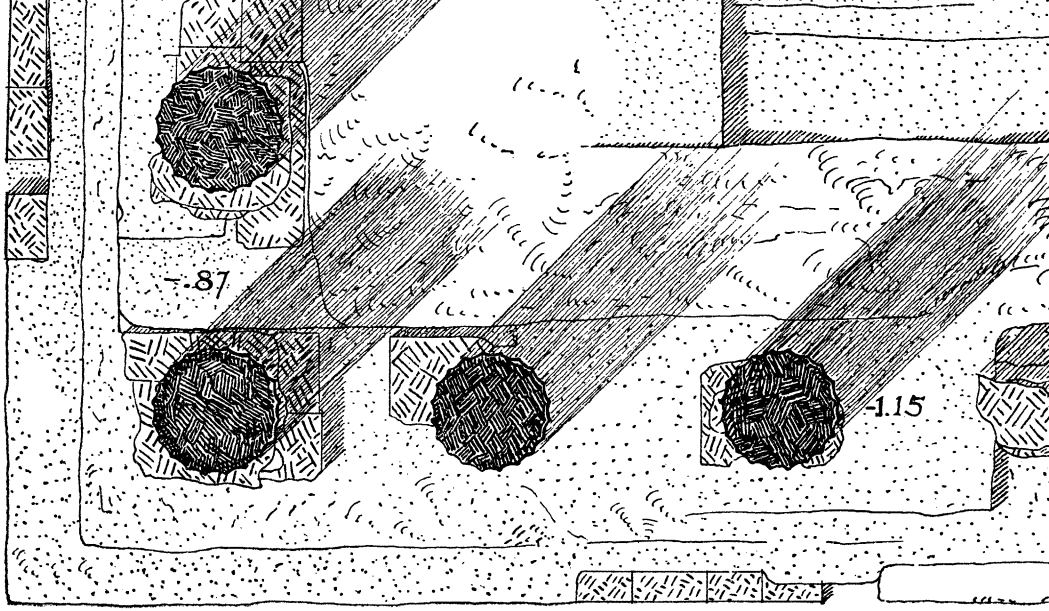
-1.91

1.82

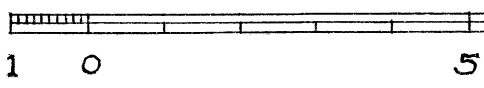
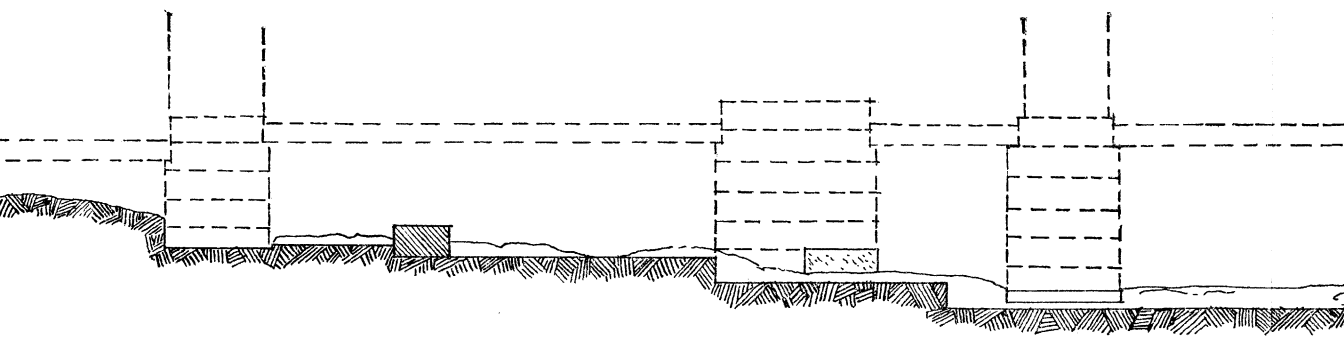
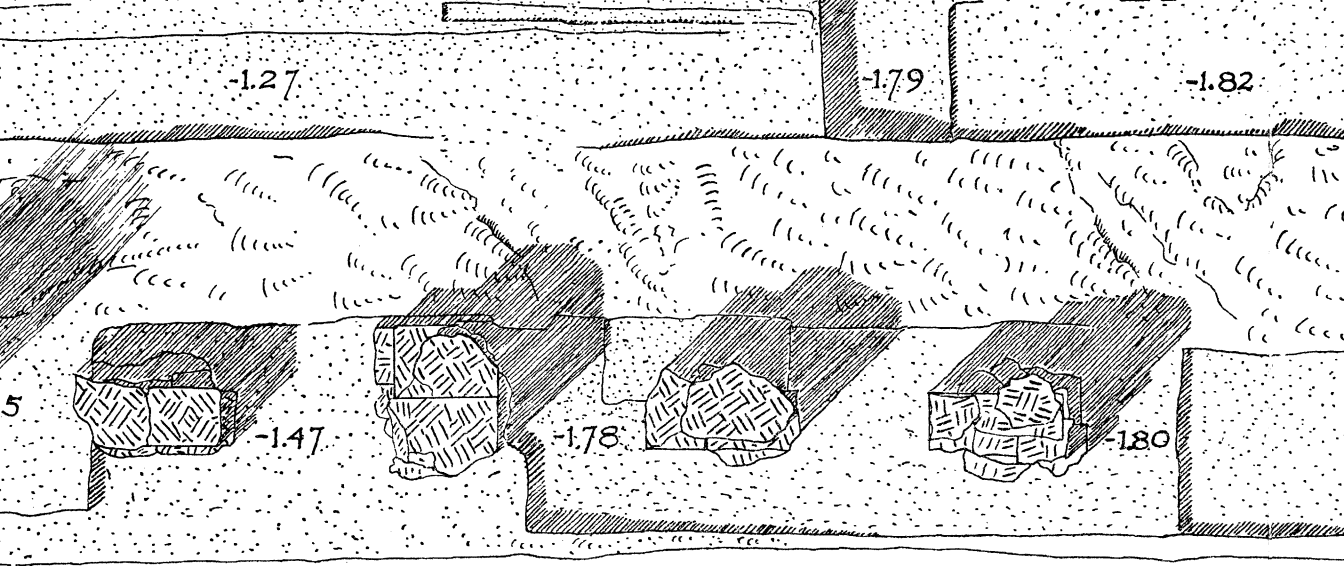
-1.85

-1.97

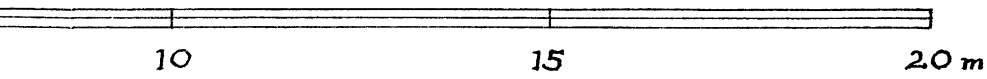
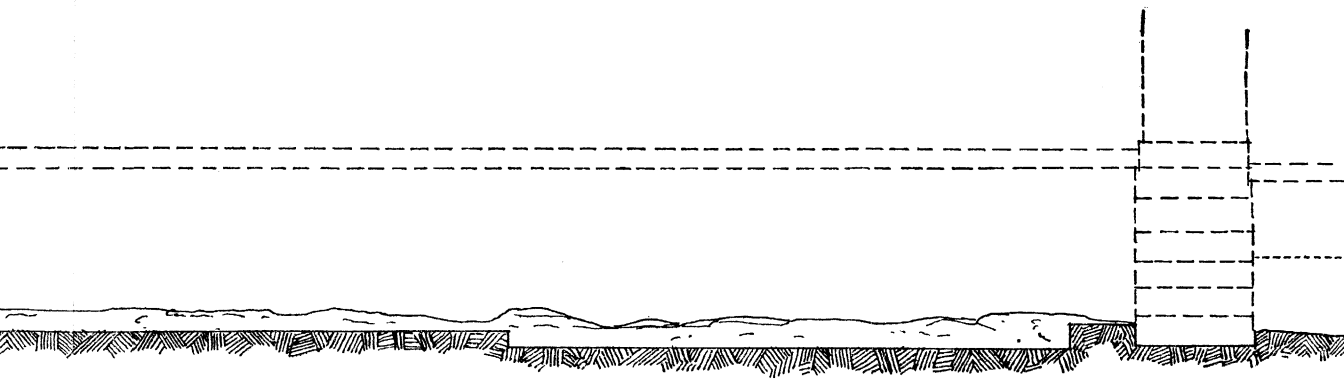
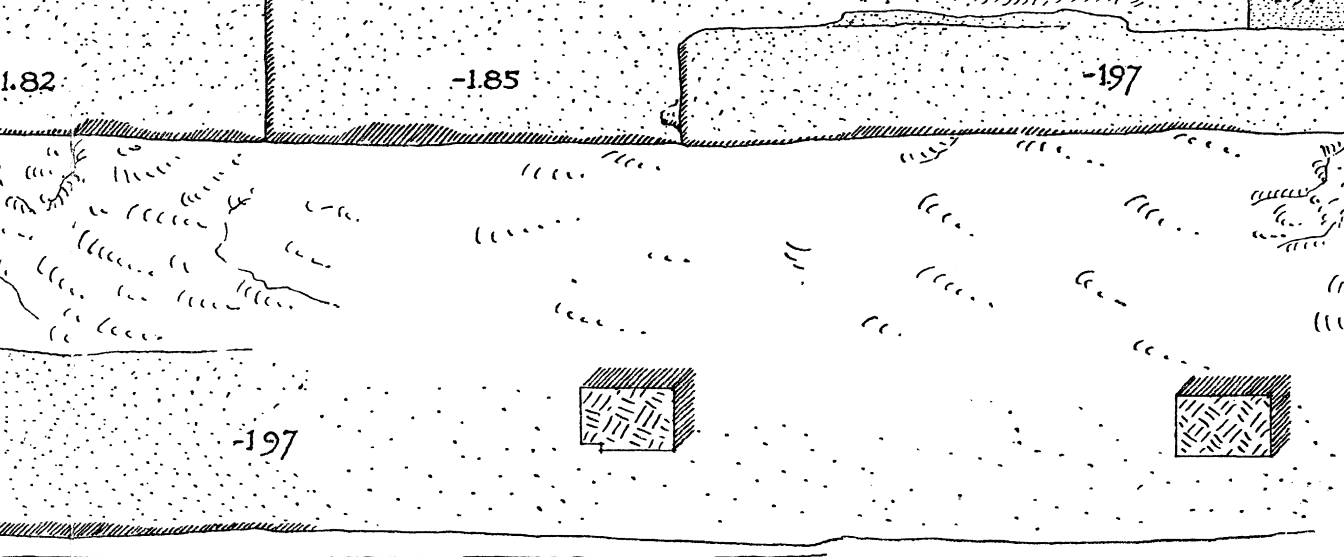




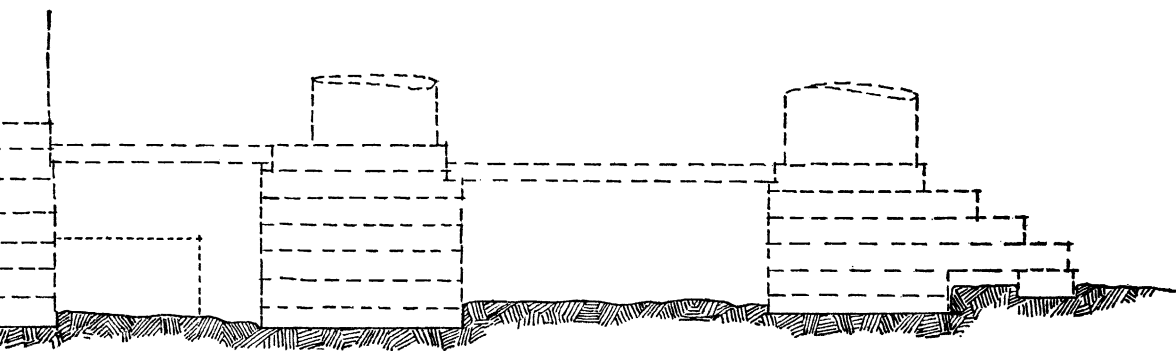
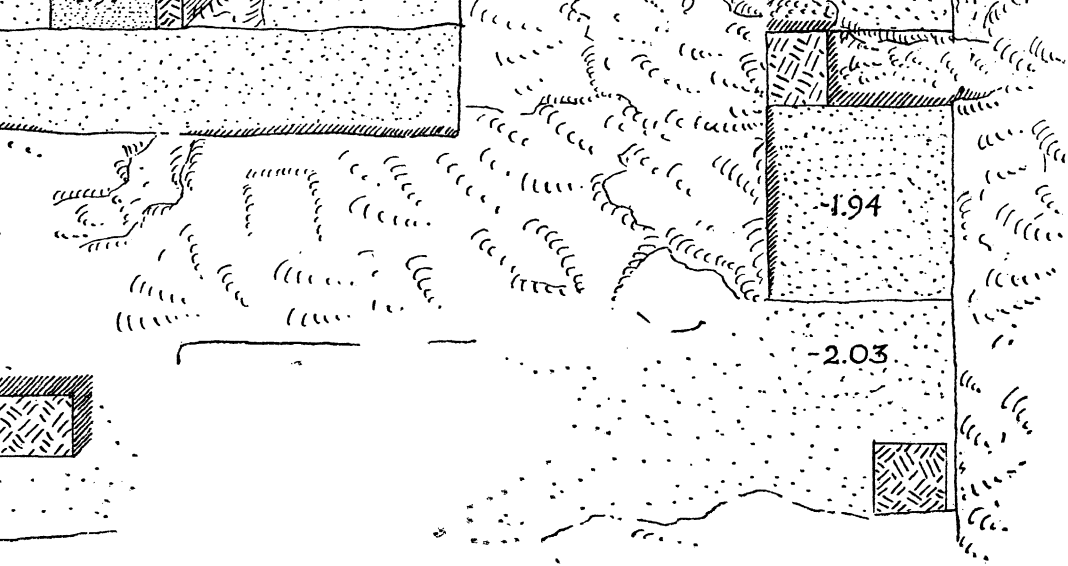
A



PLAN AND LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF TEMPLE



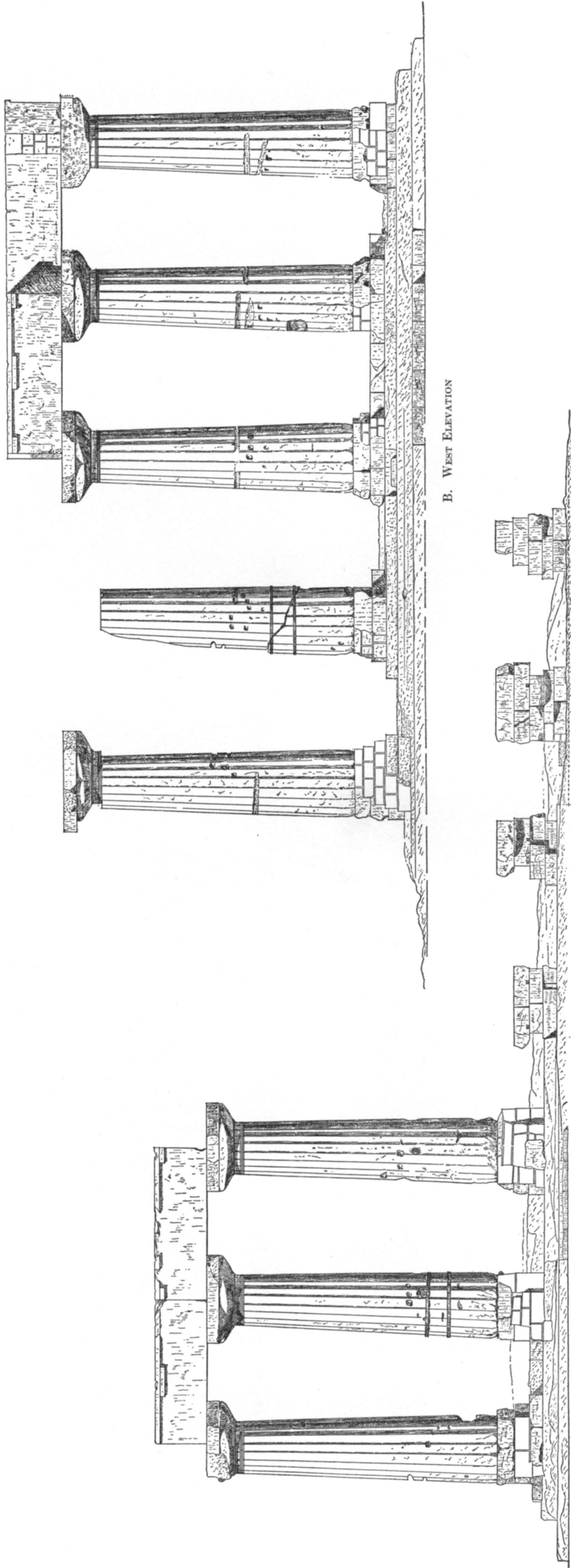
OF TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN ITS PRESENT STATE



B

RS

PLATE VI



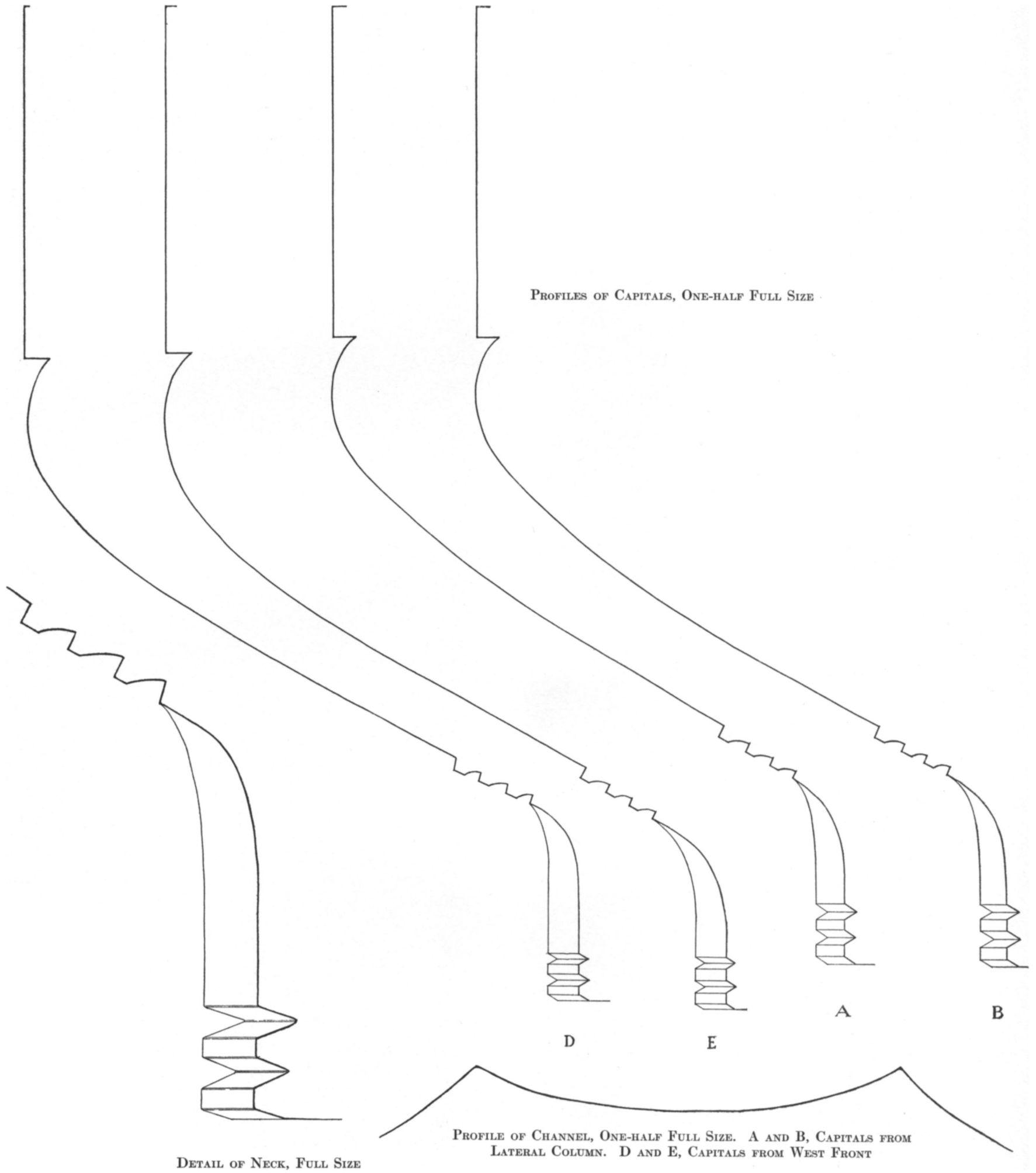
A. SOUTH ELEVATION

B. WEST ELEVATION

ELEVATIONS OF TEMPLE OF APOLLO



PLATE VII



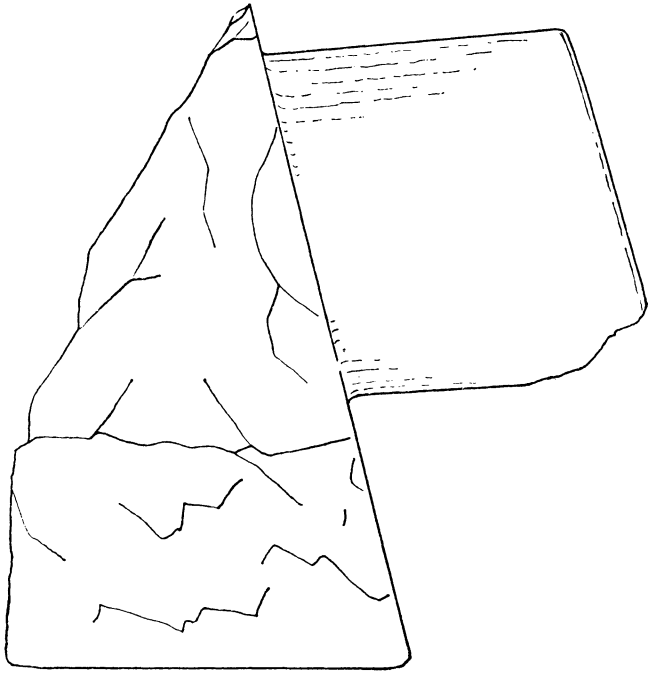
PROFILES OF CAPITALS, ONE-HALF FULL SIZE

DETAIL OF NECK, FULL SIZE

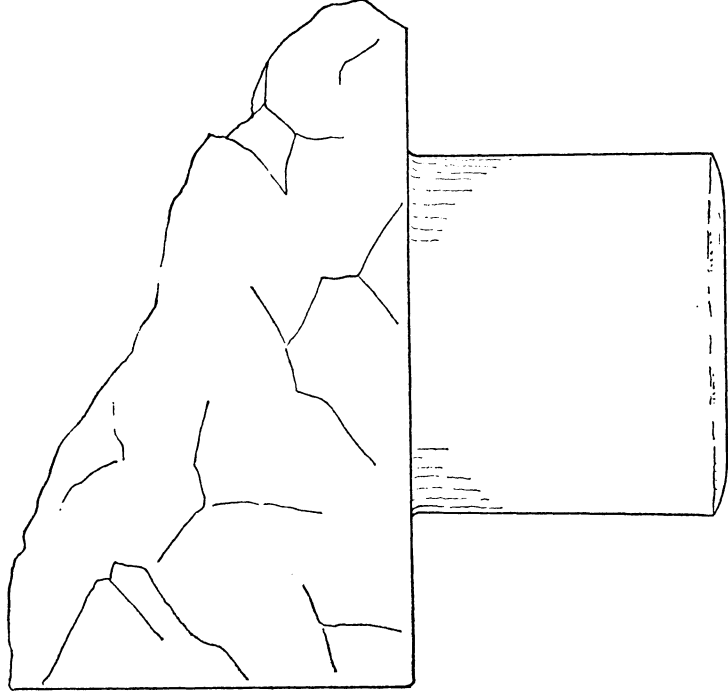
PROFILE OF CHANNEL, ONE-HALF FULL SIZE. A AND B, CAPITALS FROM LATERAL COLUMN. D AND E, CAPITALS FROM WEST FRONT

DETAILS OF CAPITALS AND CHANNELS

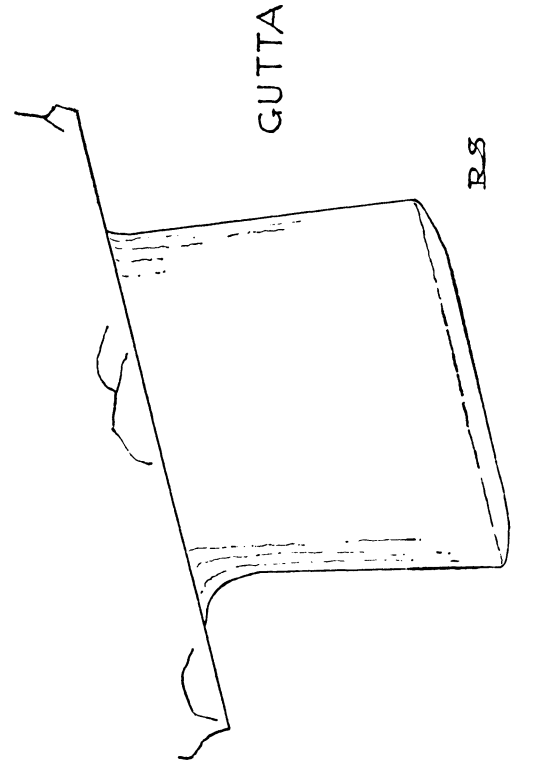
PLATE VIII



GUTTA END OF MUTULE

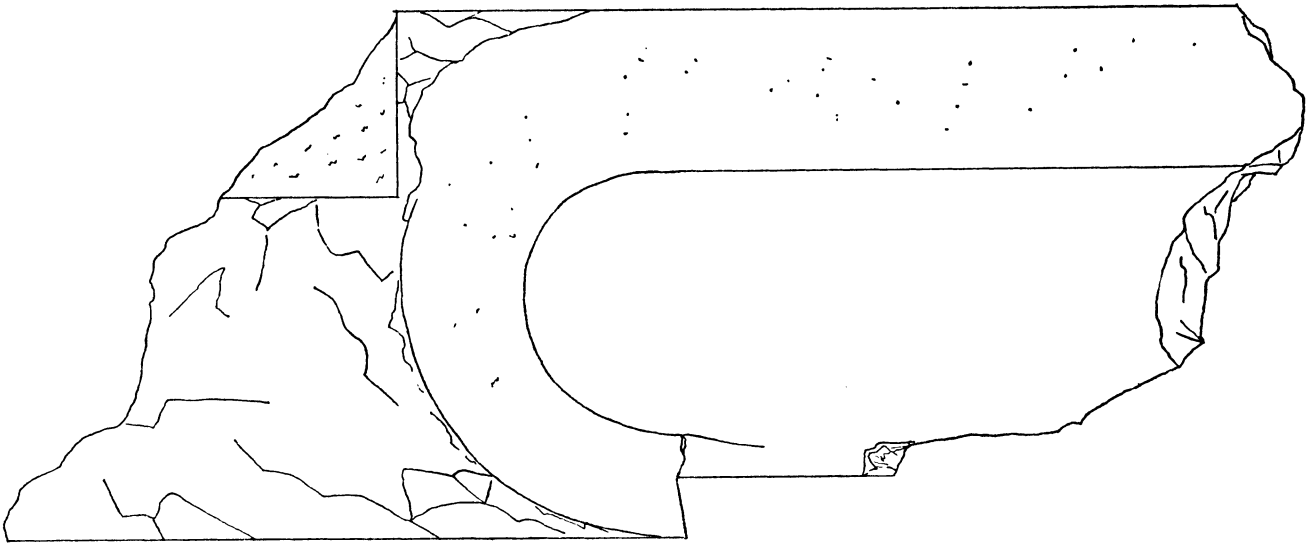


GUTTA ~ SIDE OF MUTULE

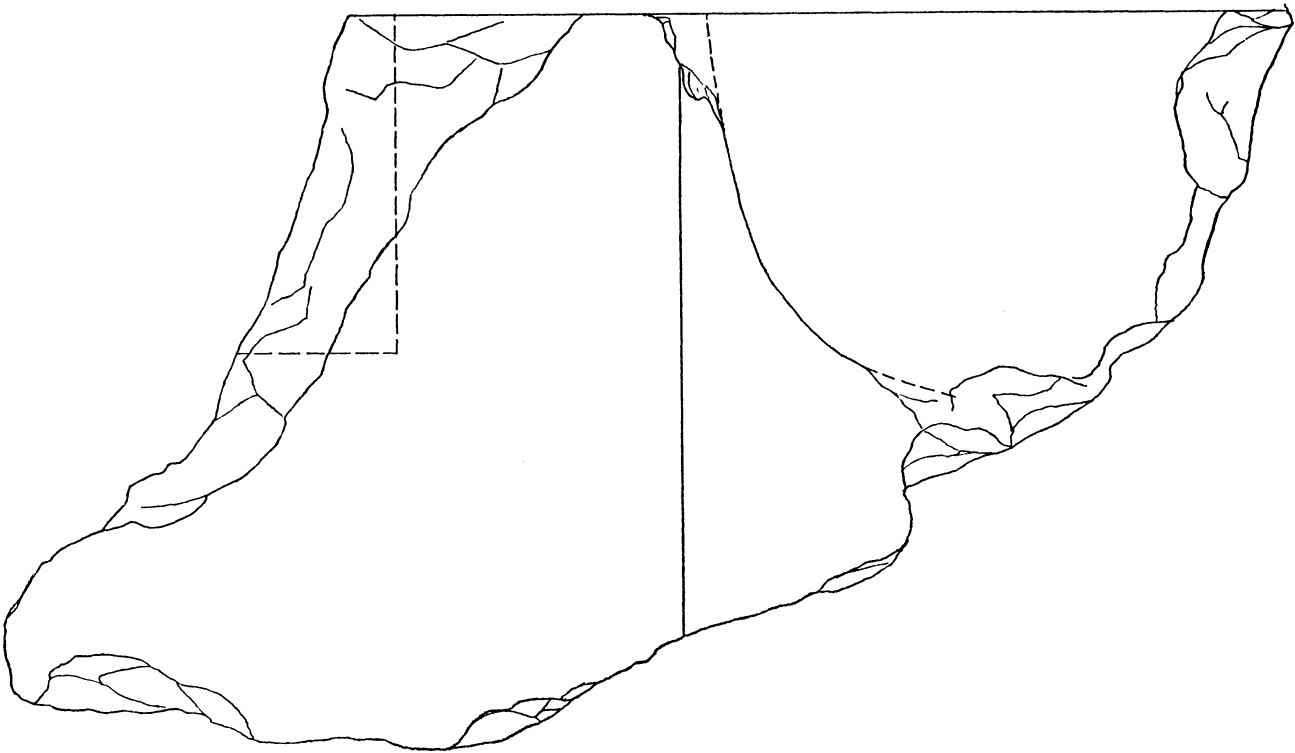


GUTTA

R.S.

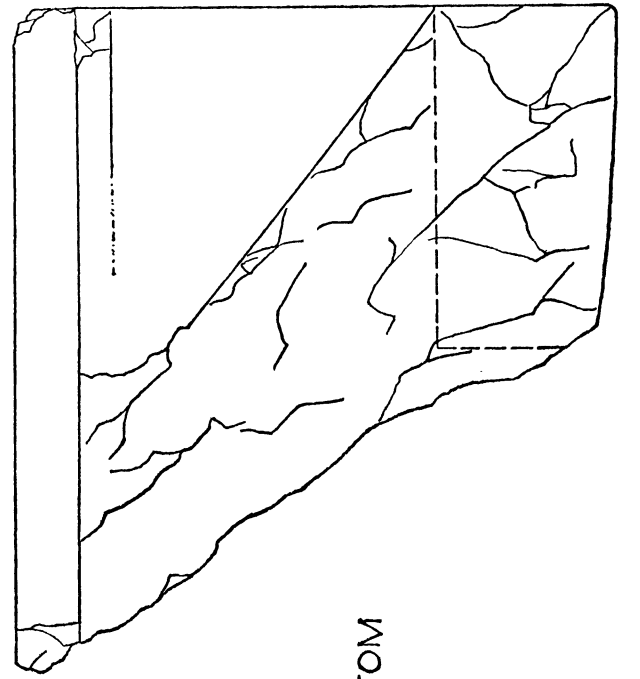


SIDE



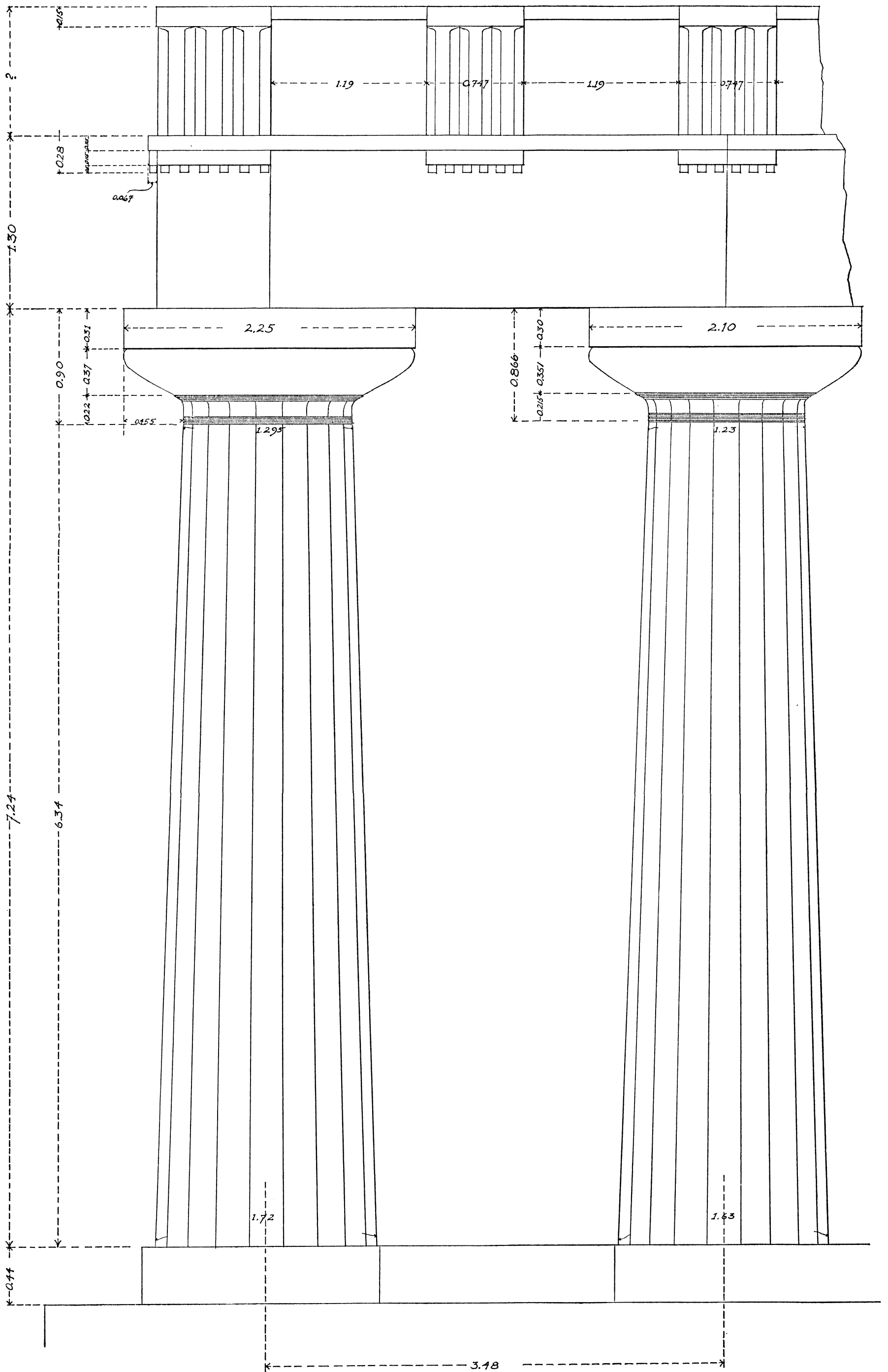
TRIGLYPH

FACE

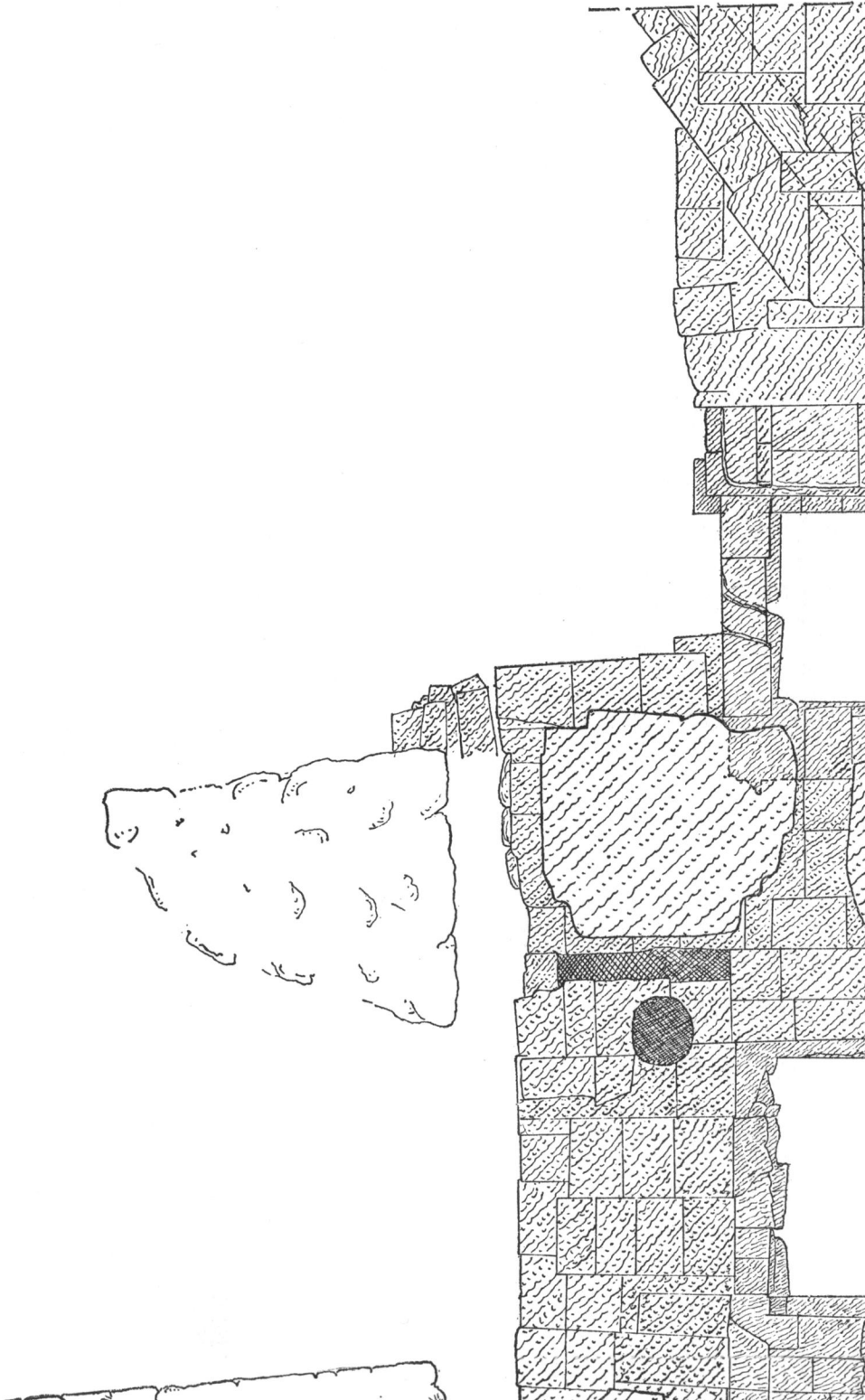


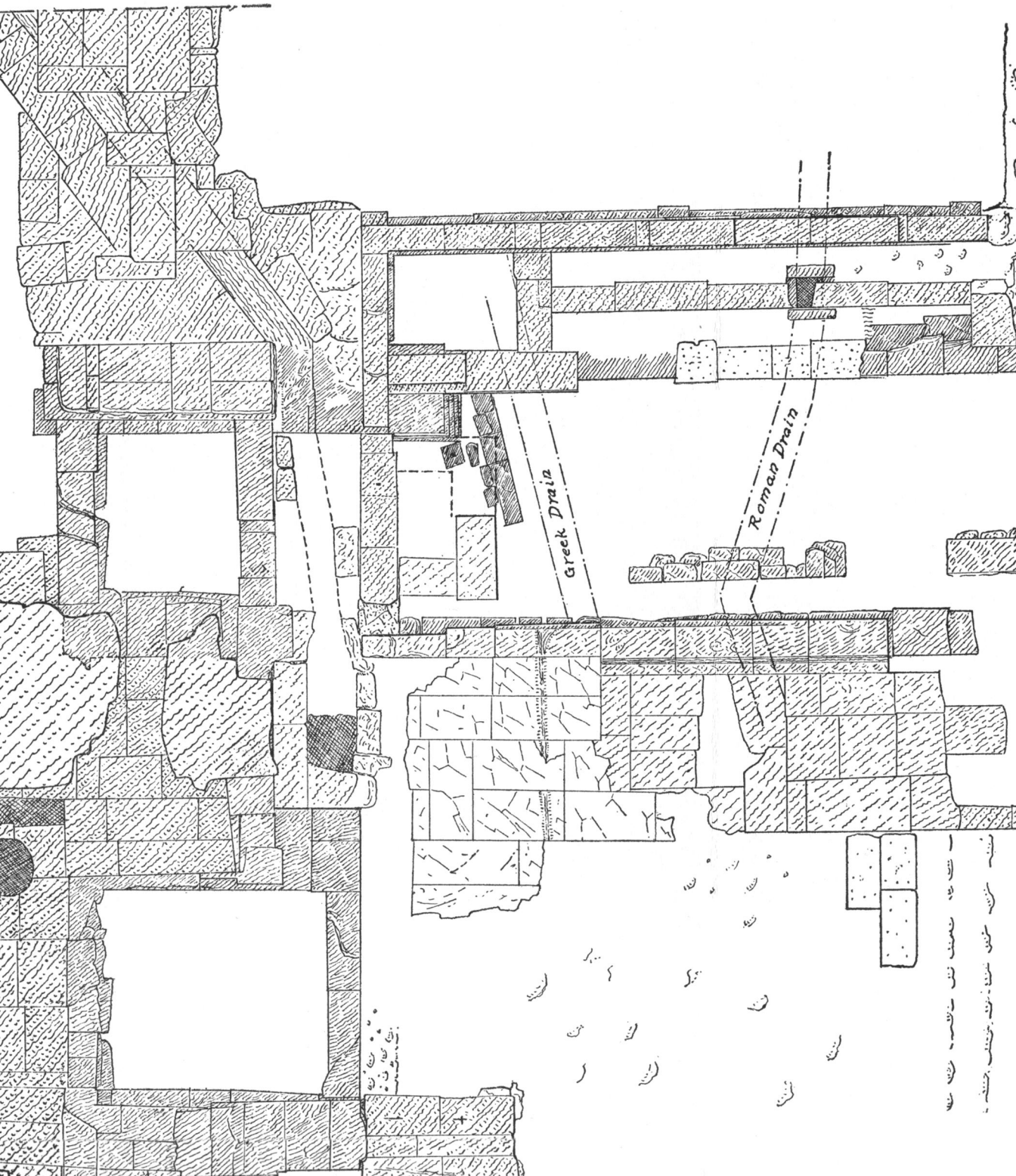
BOTTOM

PLATE IX



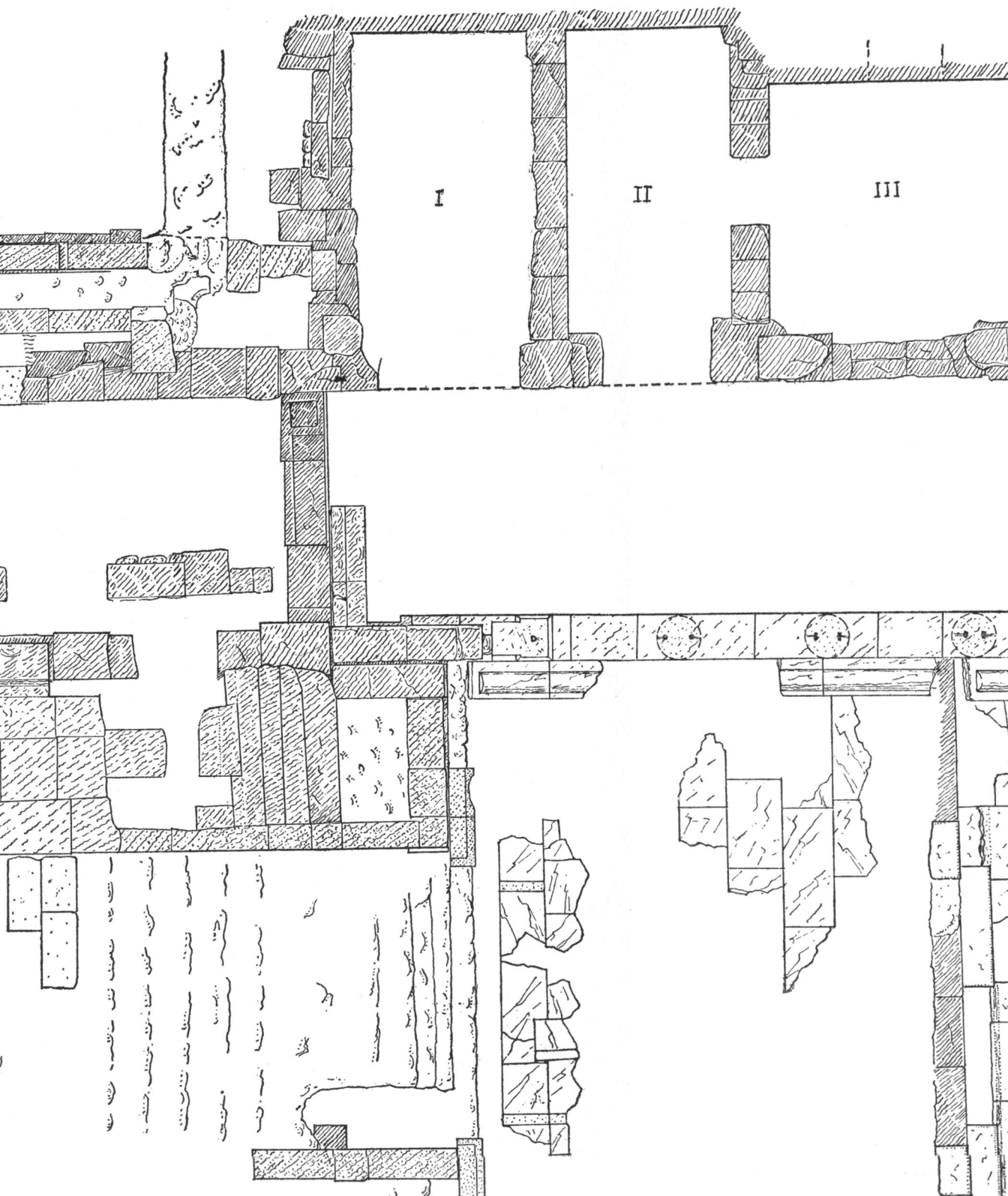
CORINTH, VOLUME I

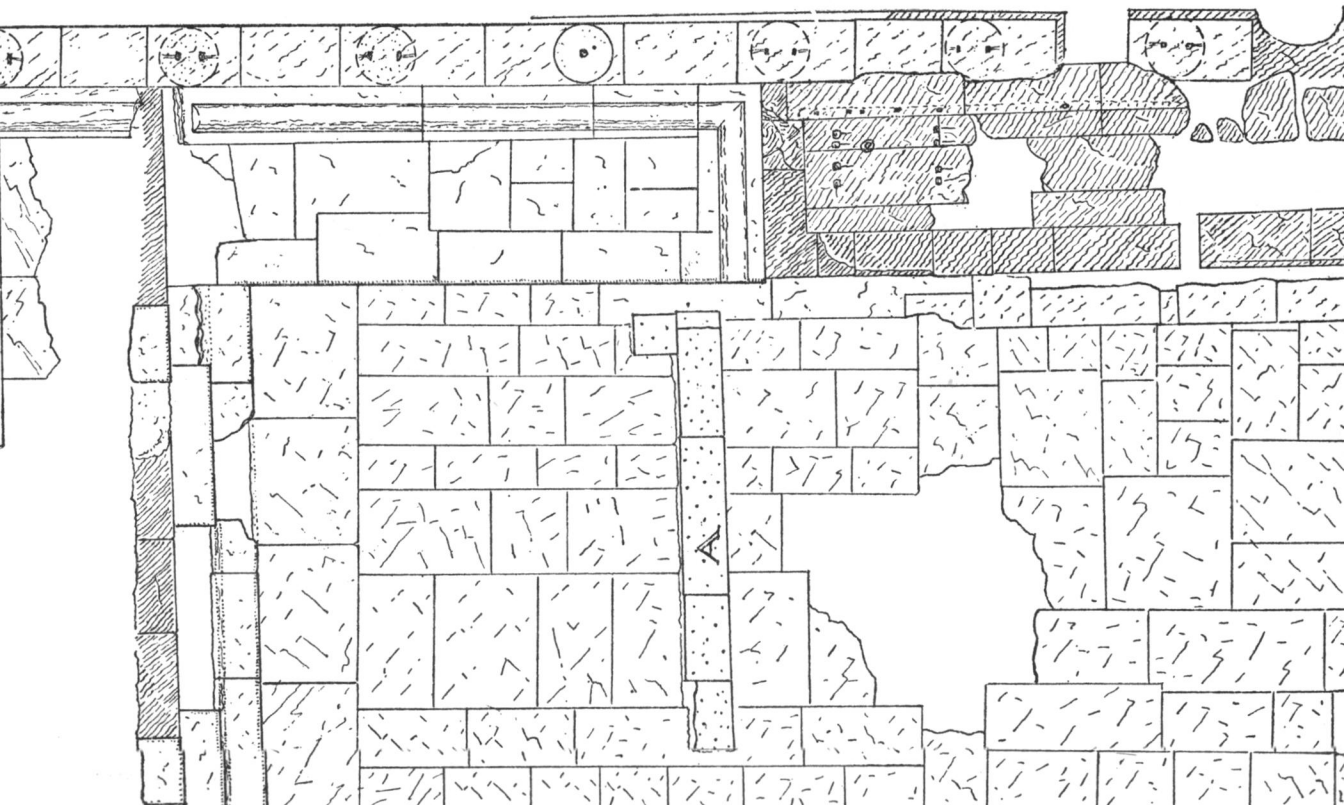
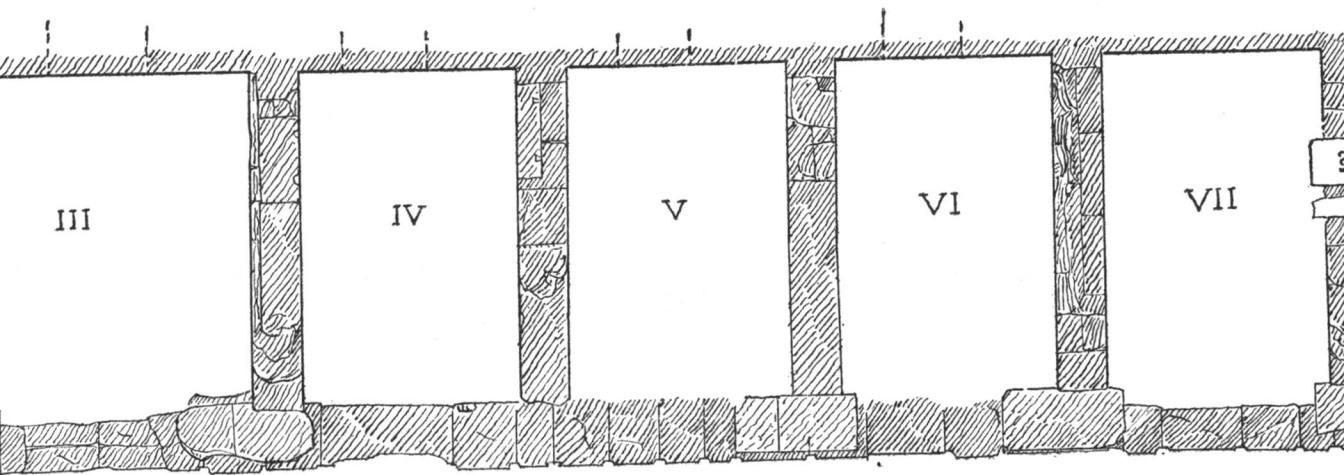


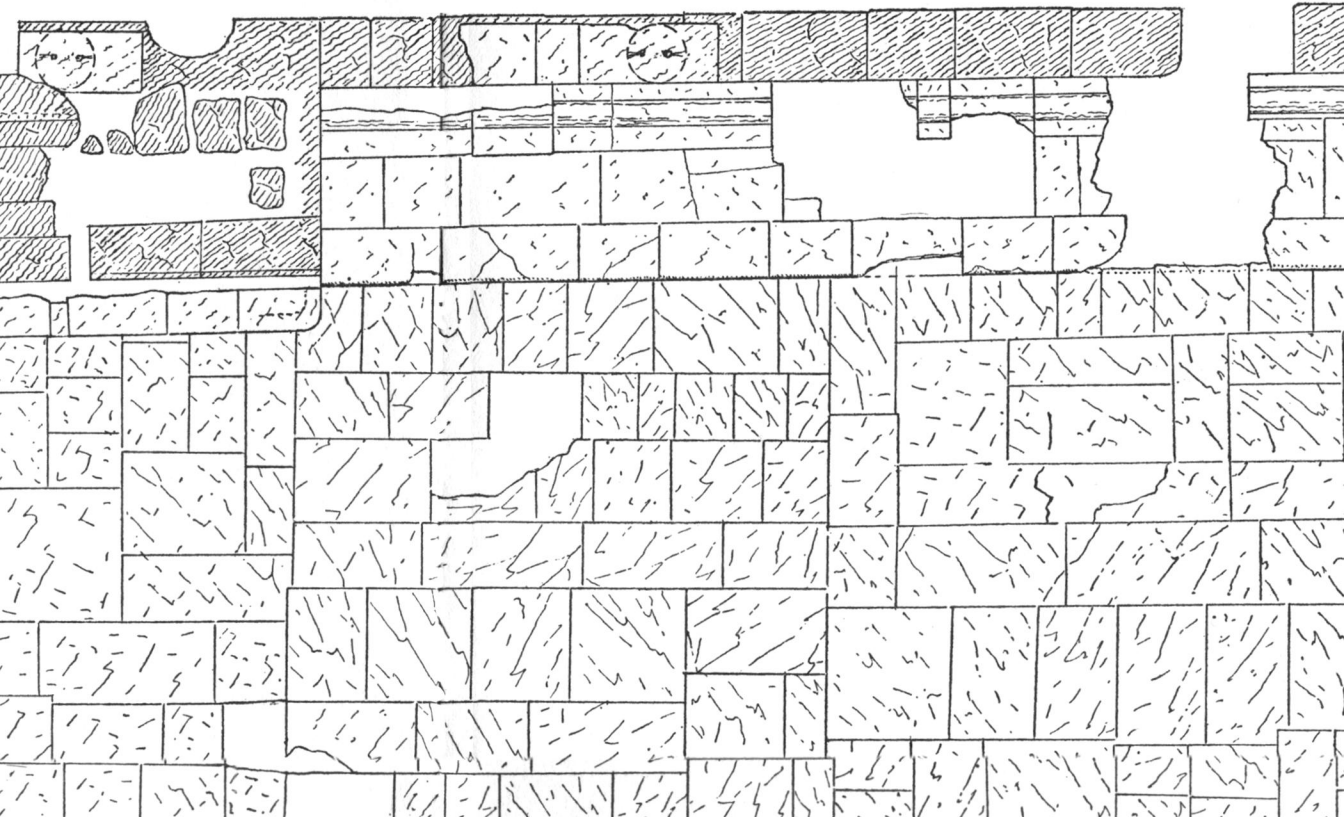
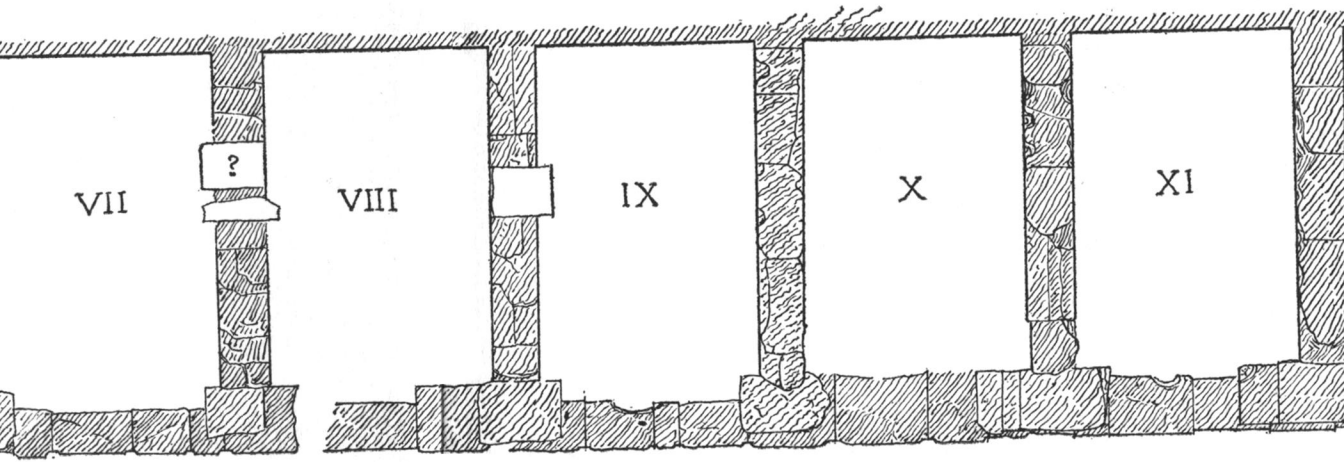


Greek Drain

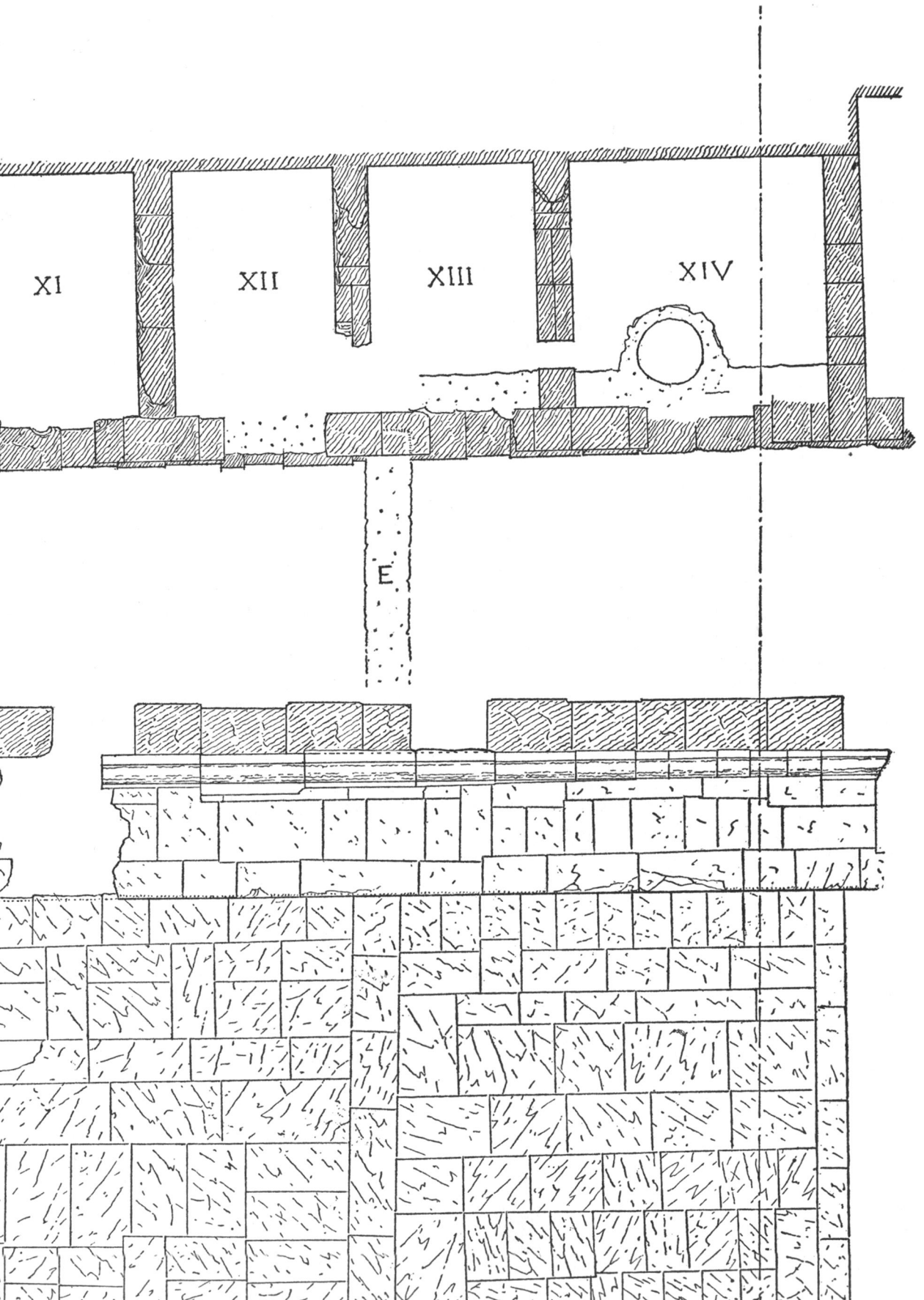
Roman Drain

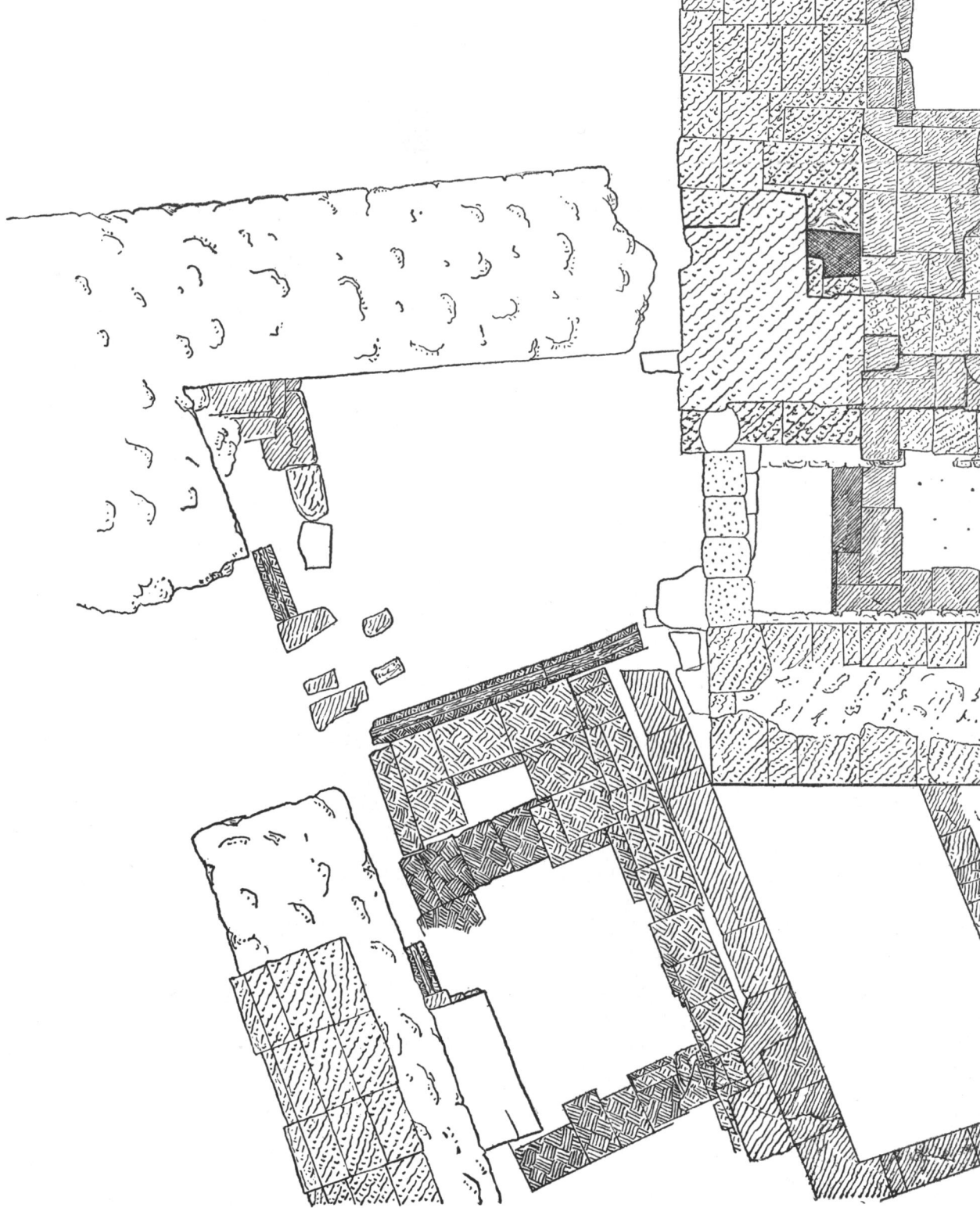


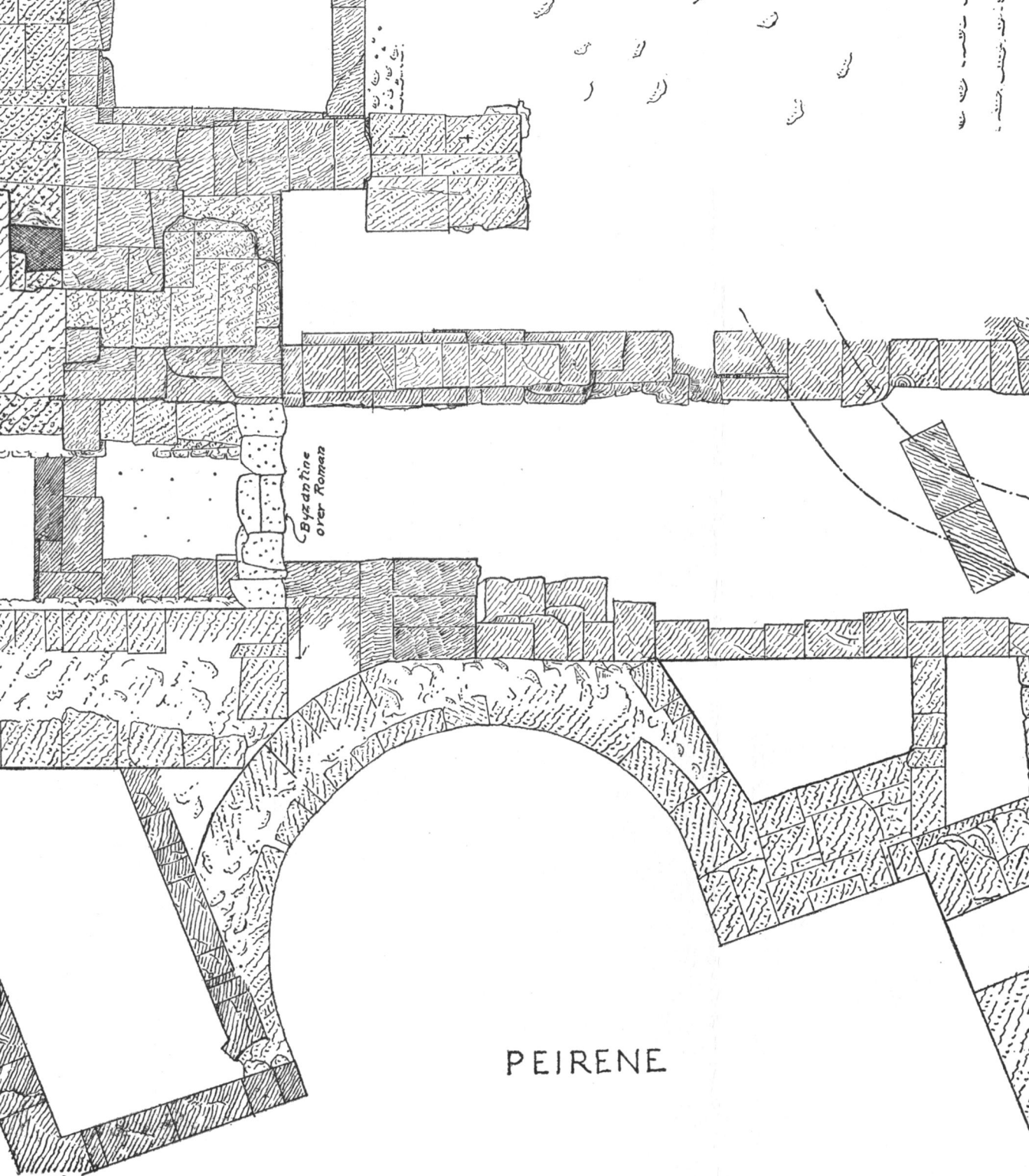










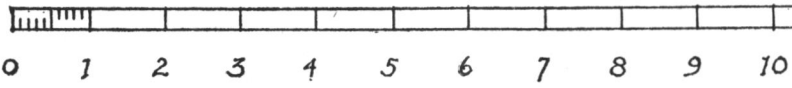
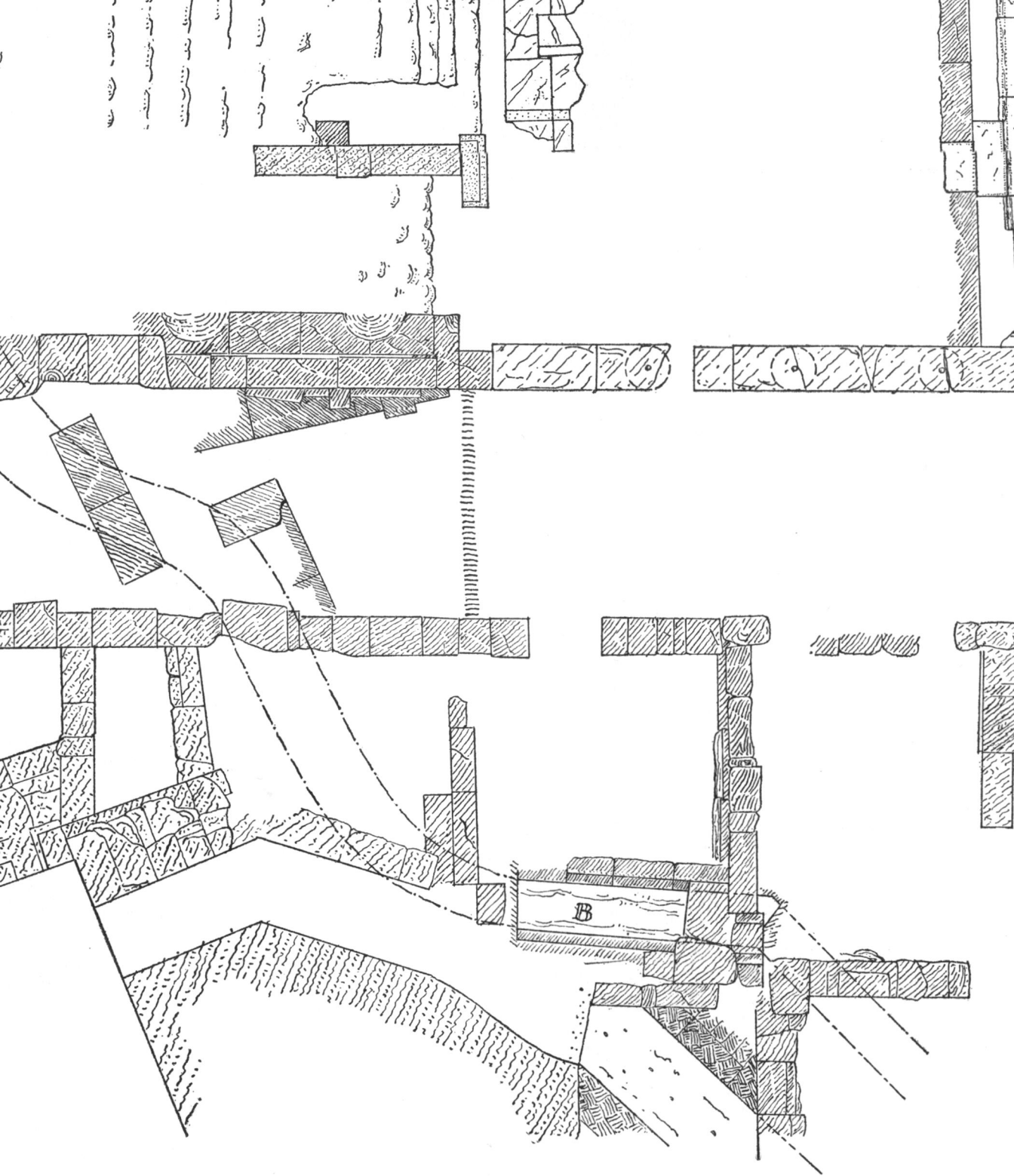


Byzantine  
over Roman

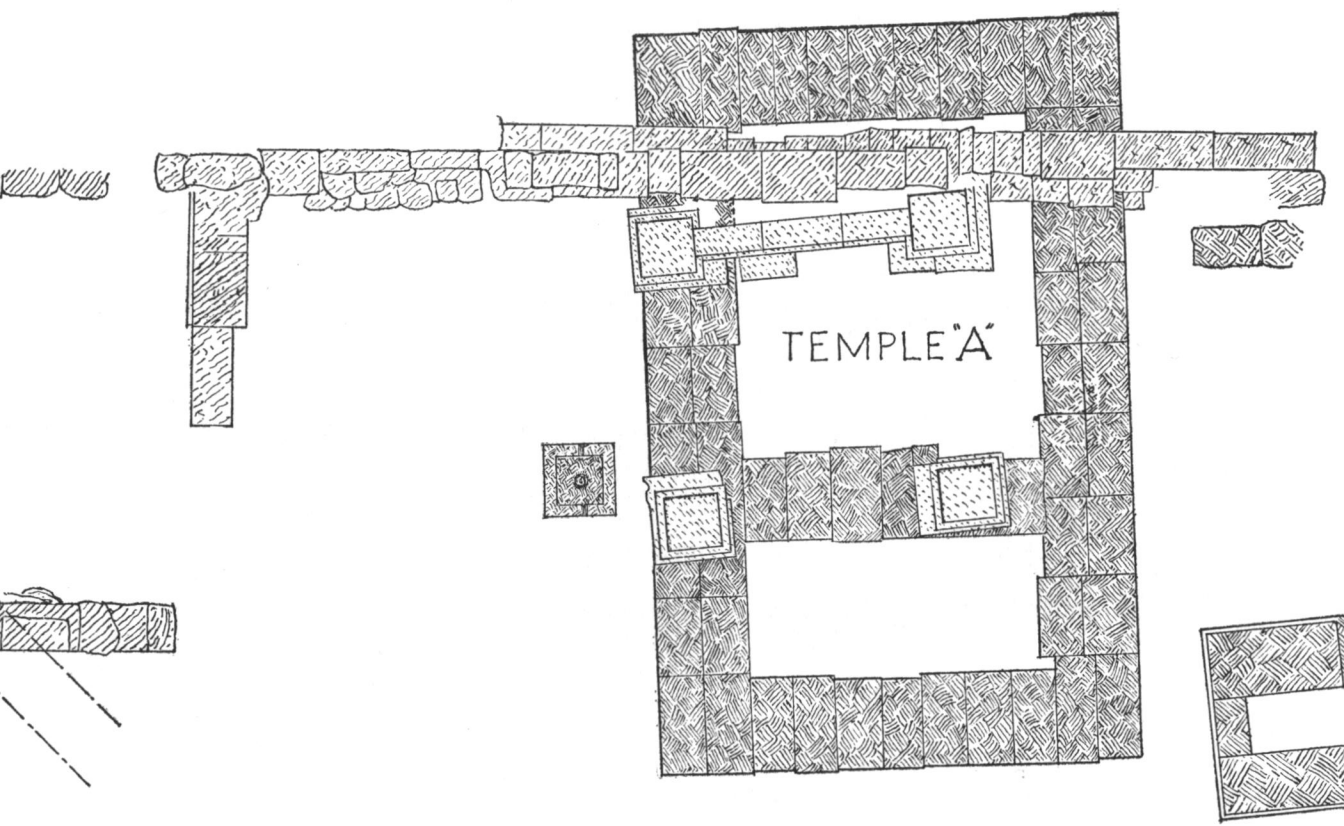
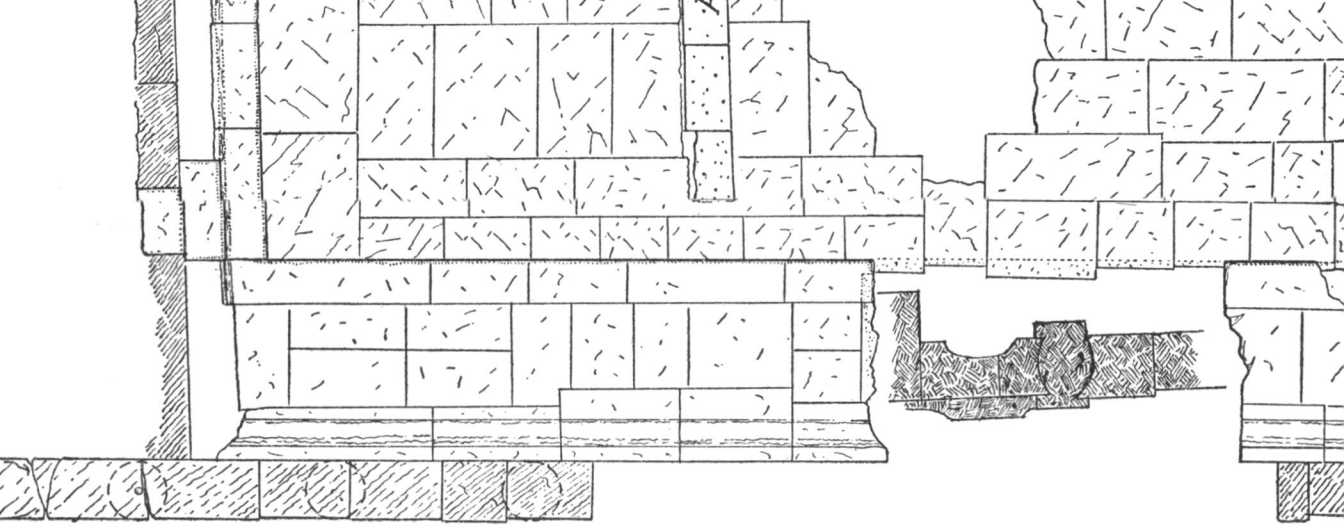
PEIRENE



o

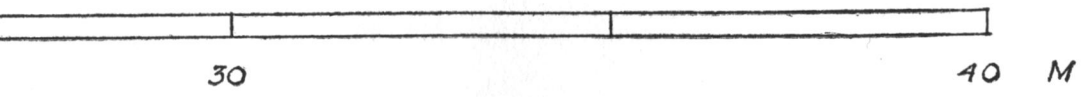
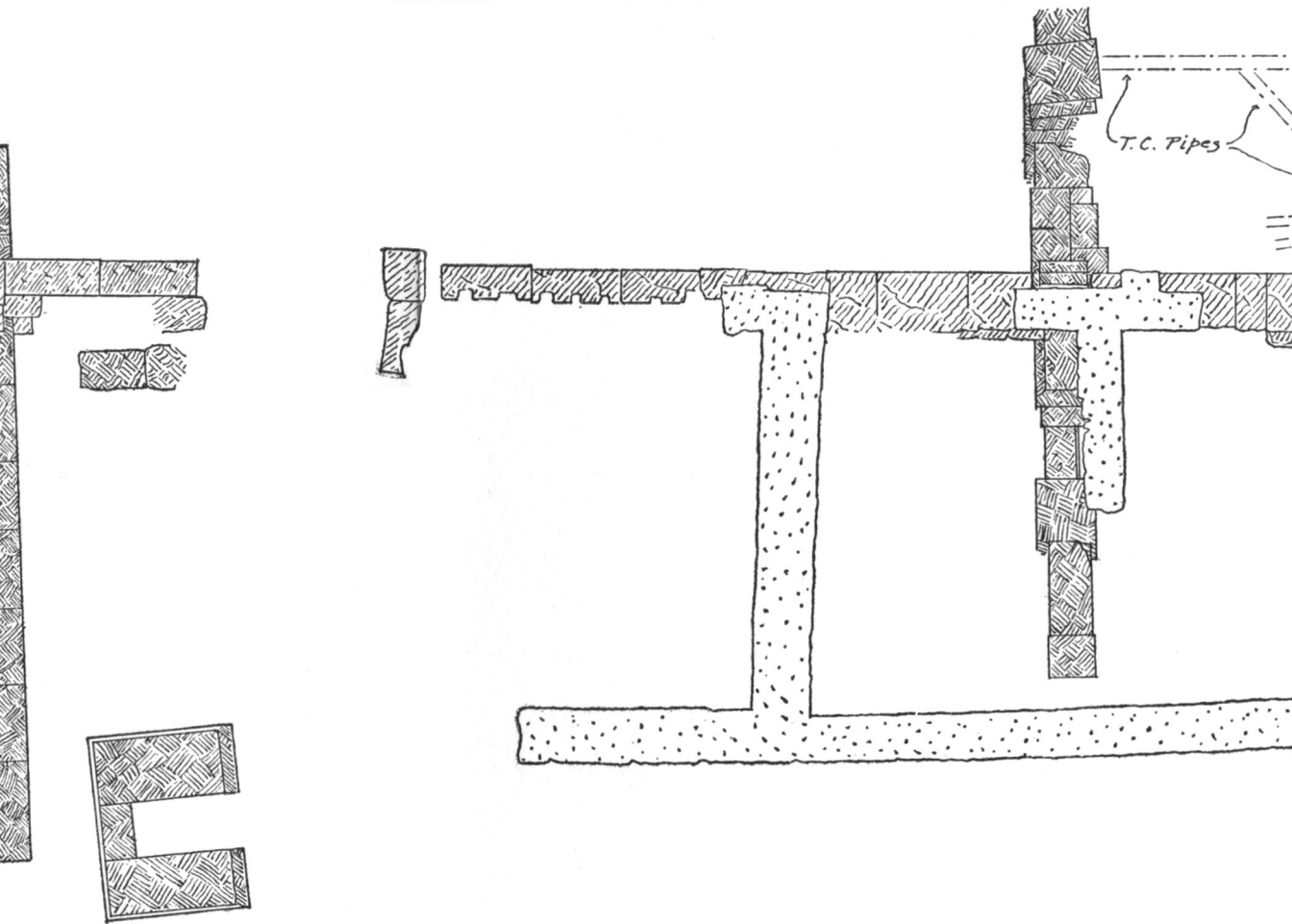
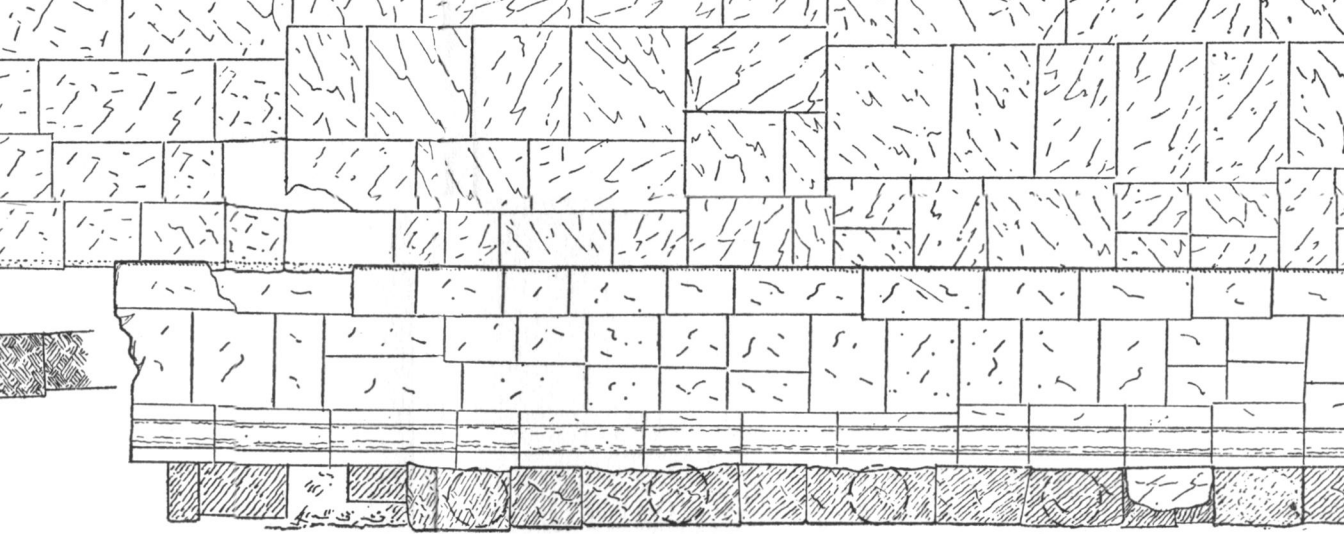


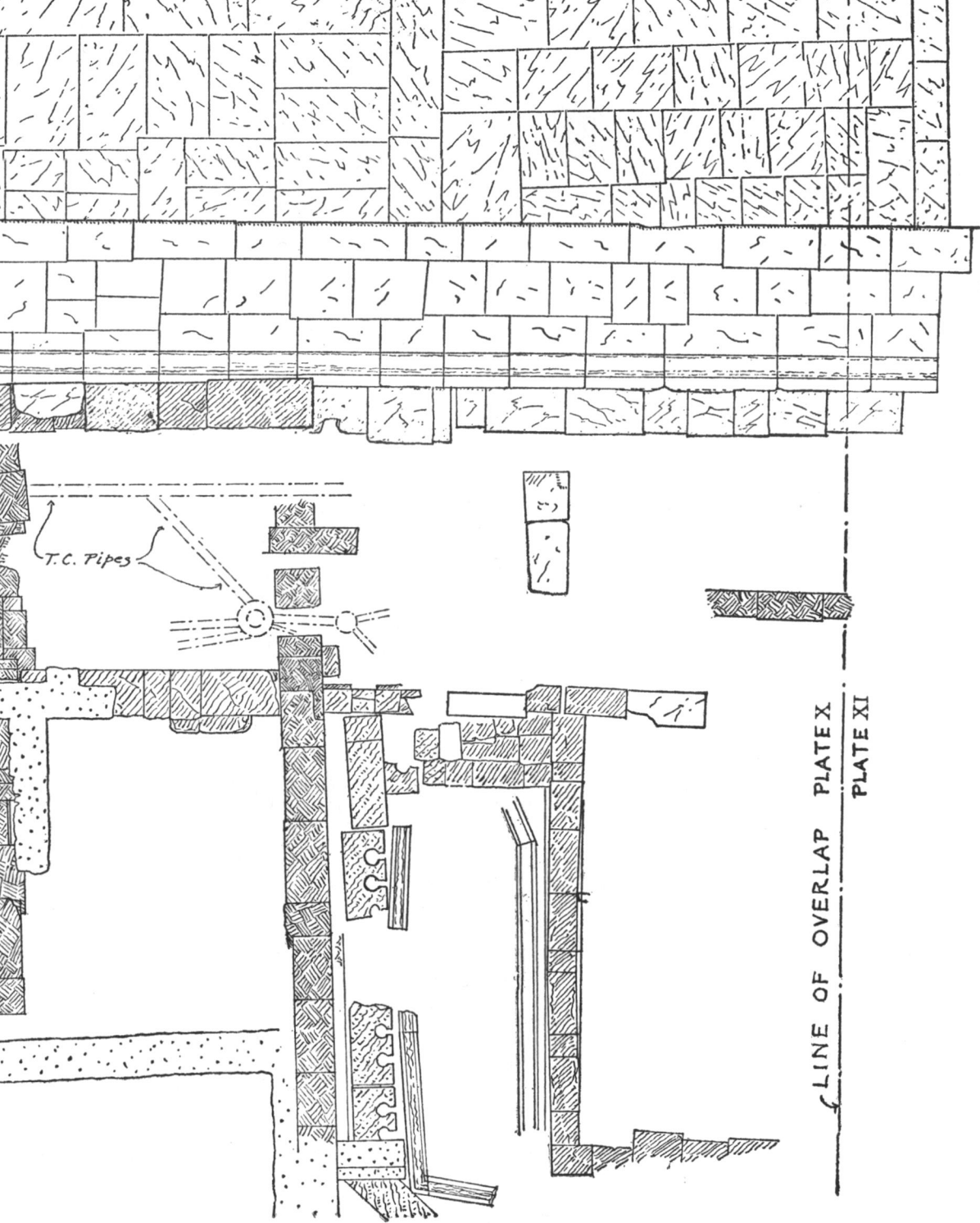
PLAN OF SOUTHERN END OF LECHA



20

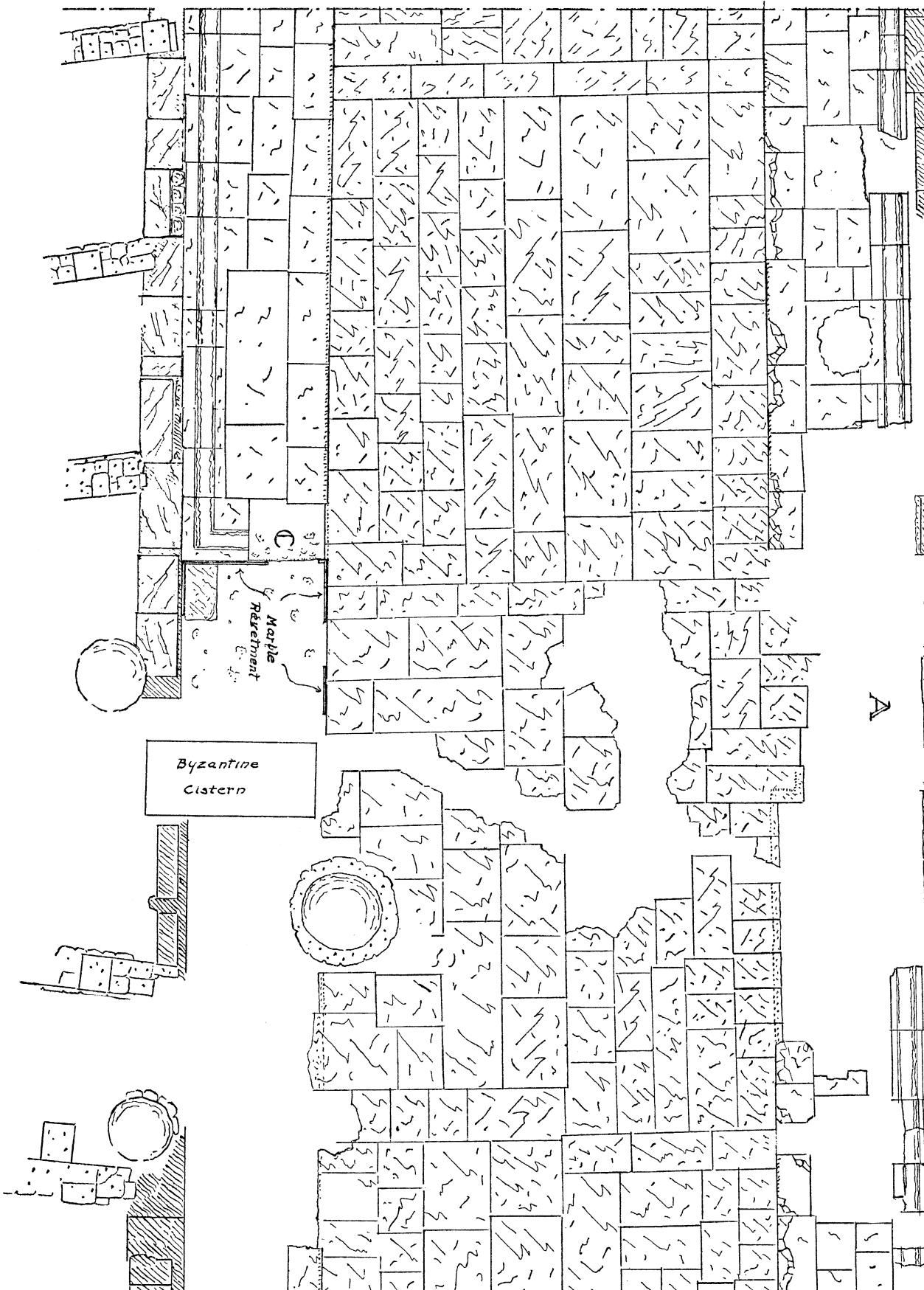
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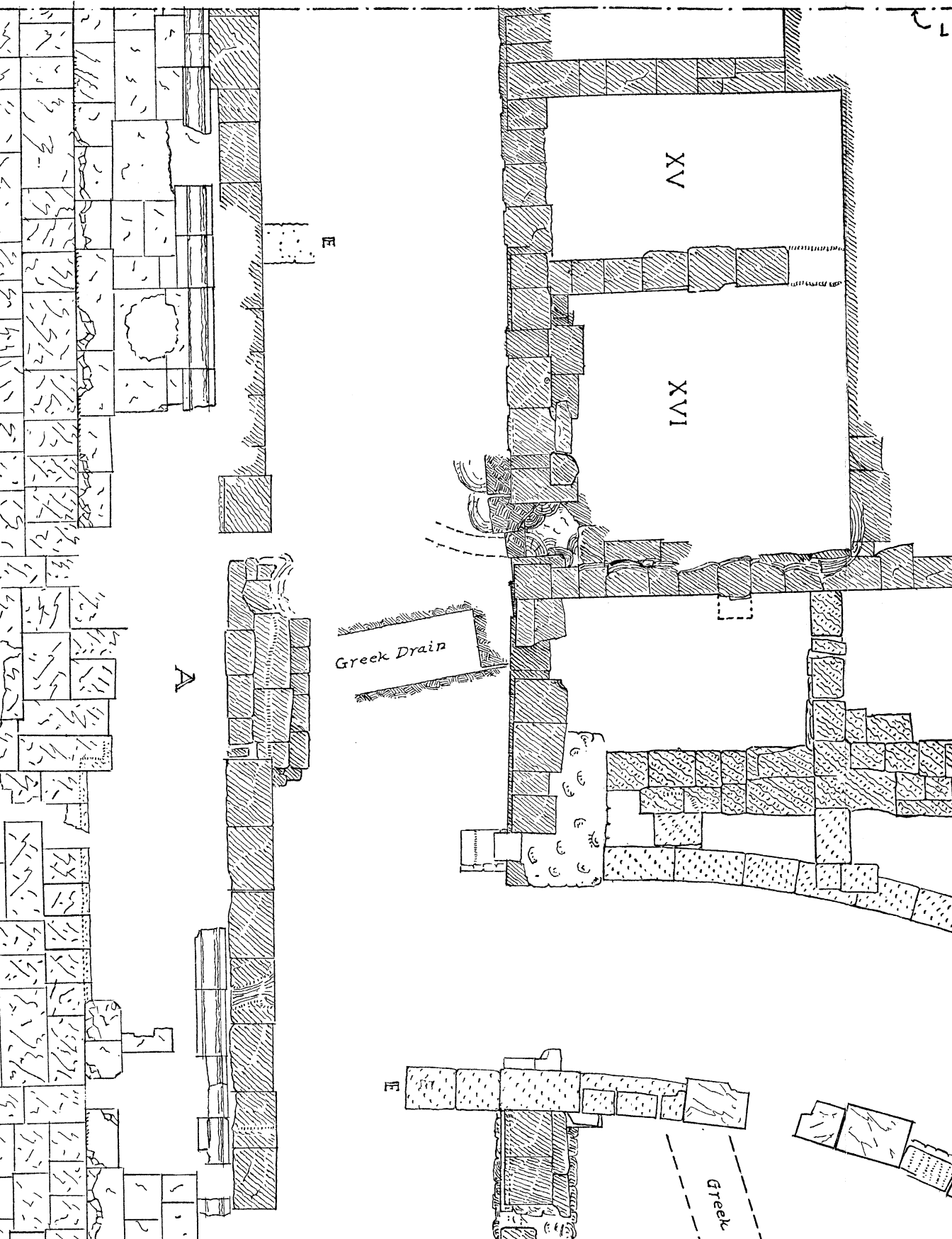


LINE OF OVERLAP PLATEX  
PLATE XI

CORINTH, VOLUME I







XV

XVI

Greek Drain

A

E

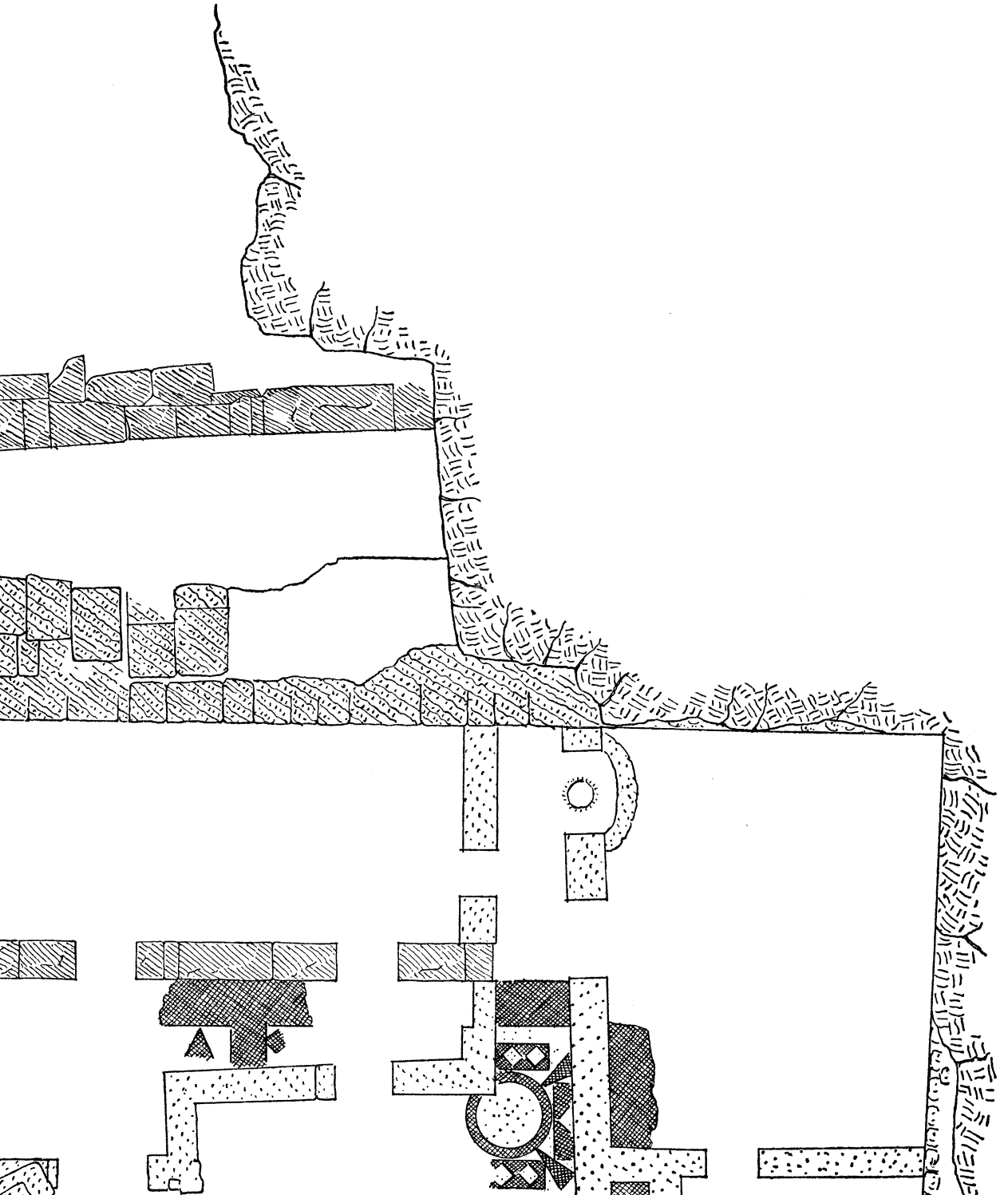
E

Greek

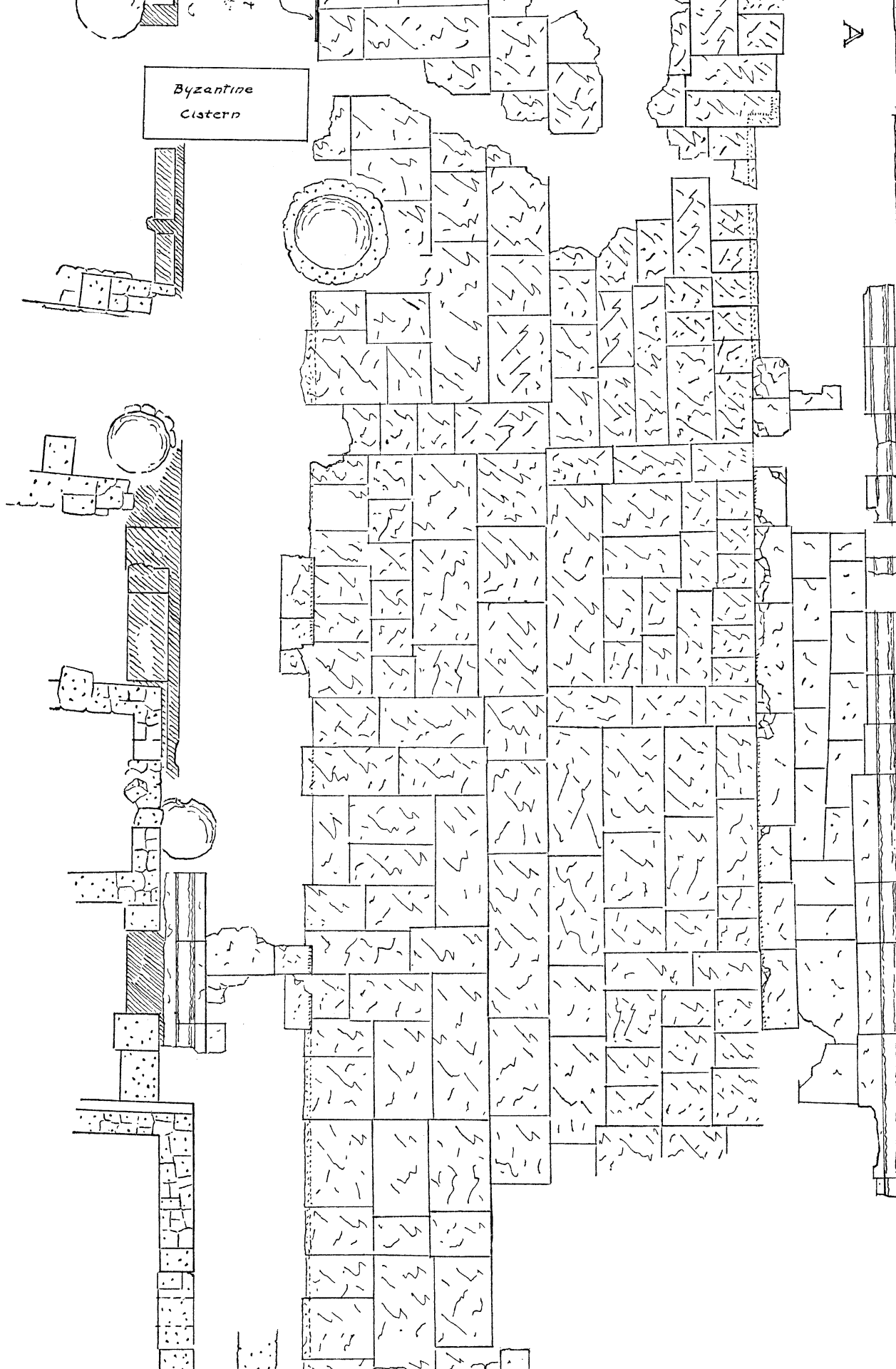
PLATE X

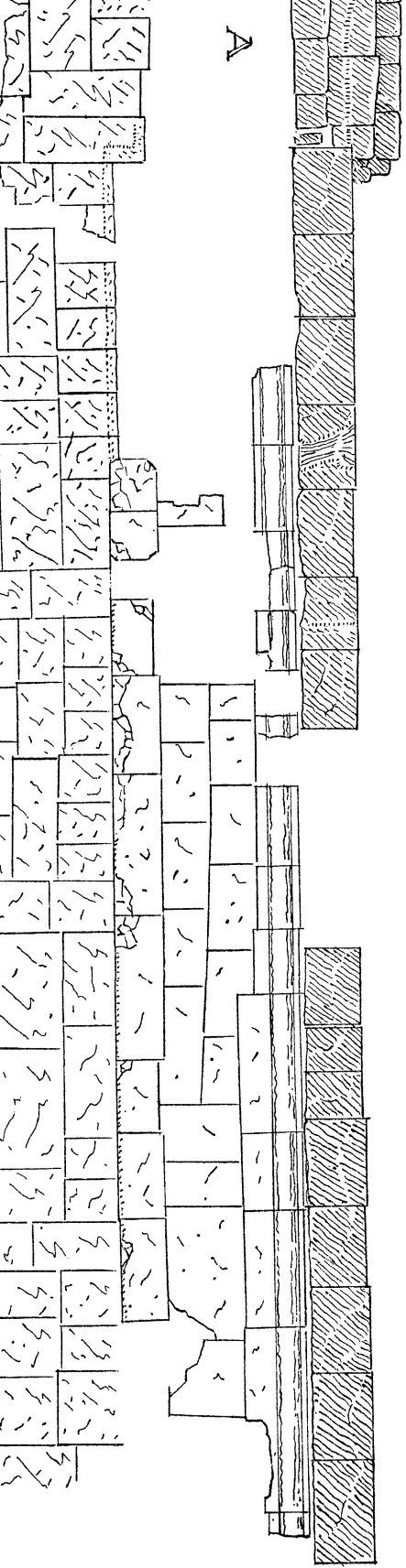
LINE OF OVERLAP PLATE XI



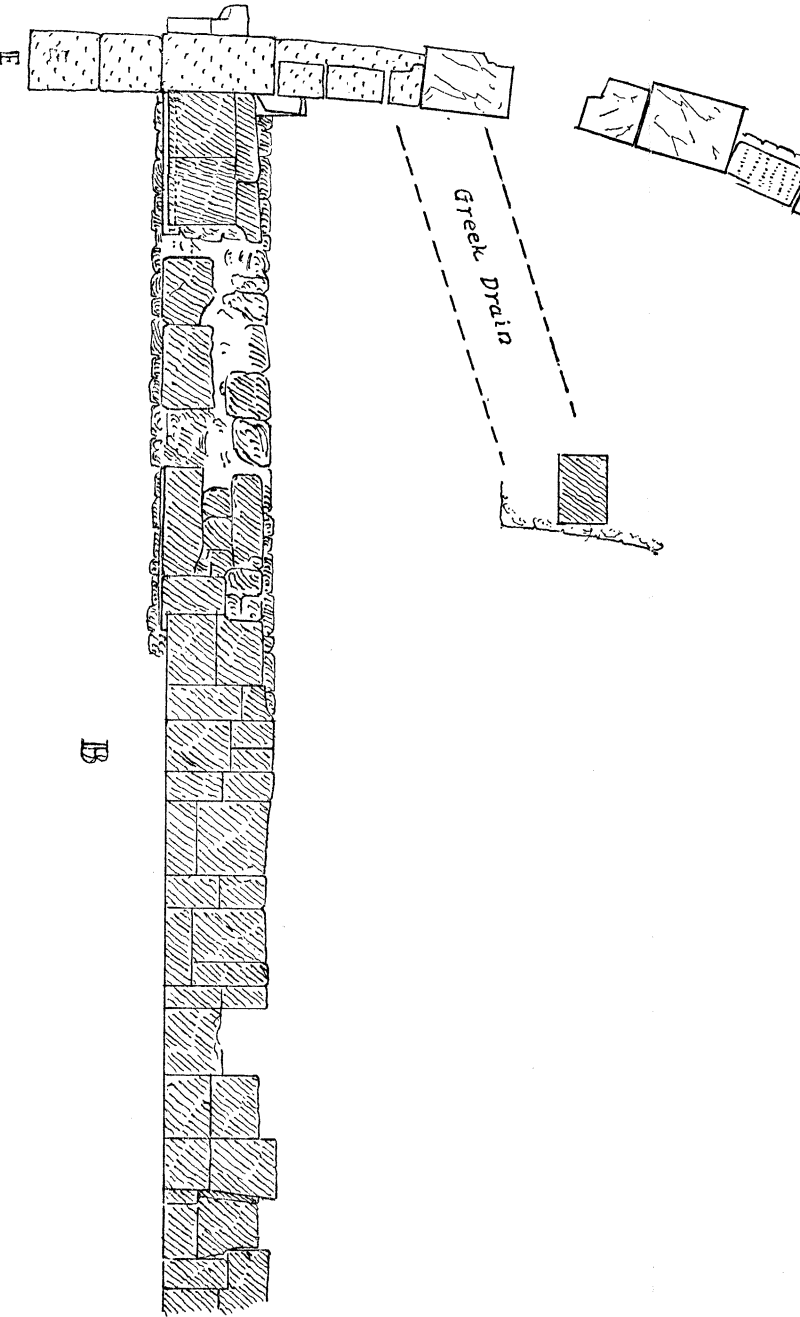
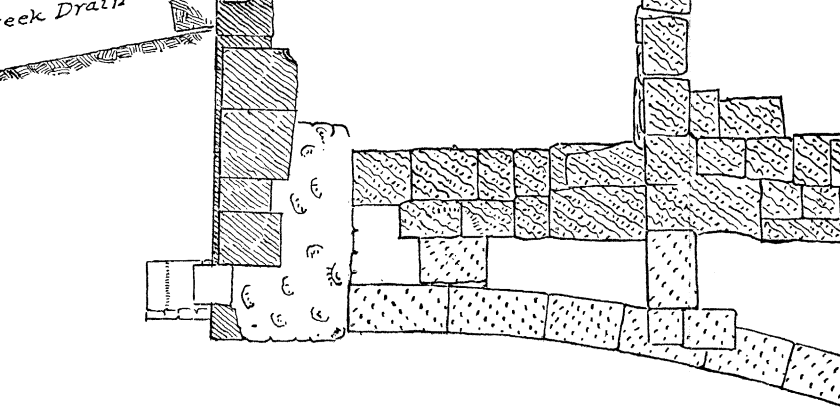


Byzantine  
Cistern

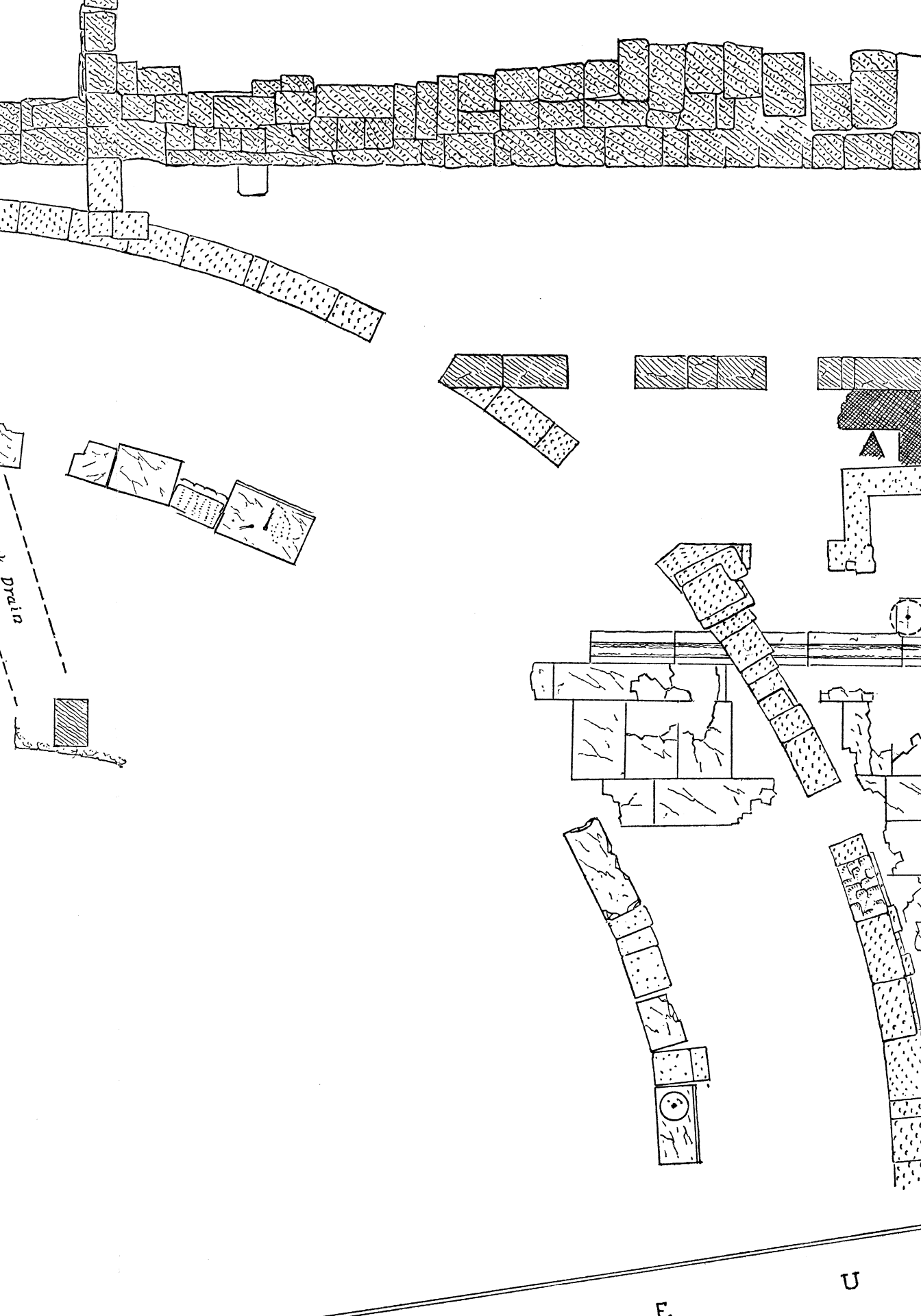




Greek Drain



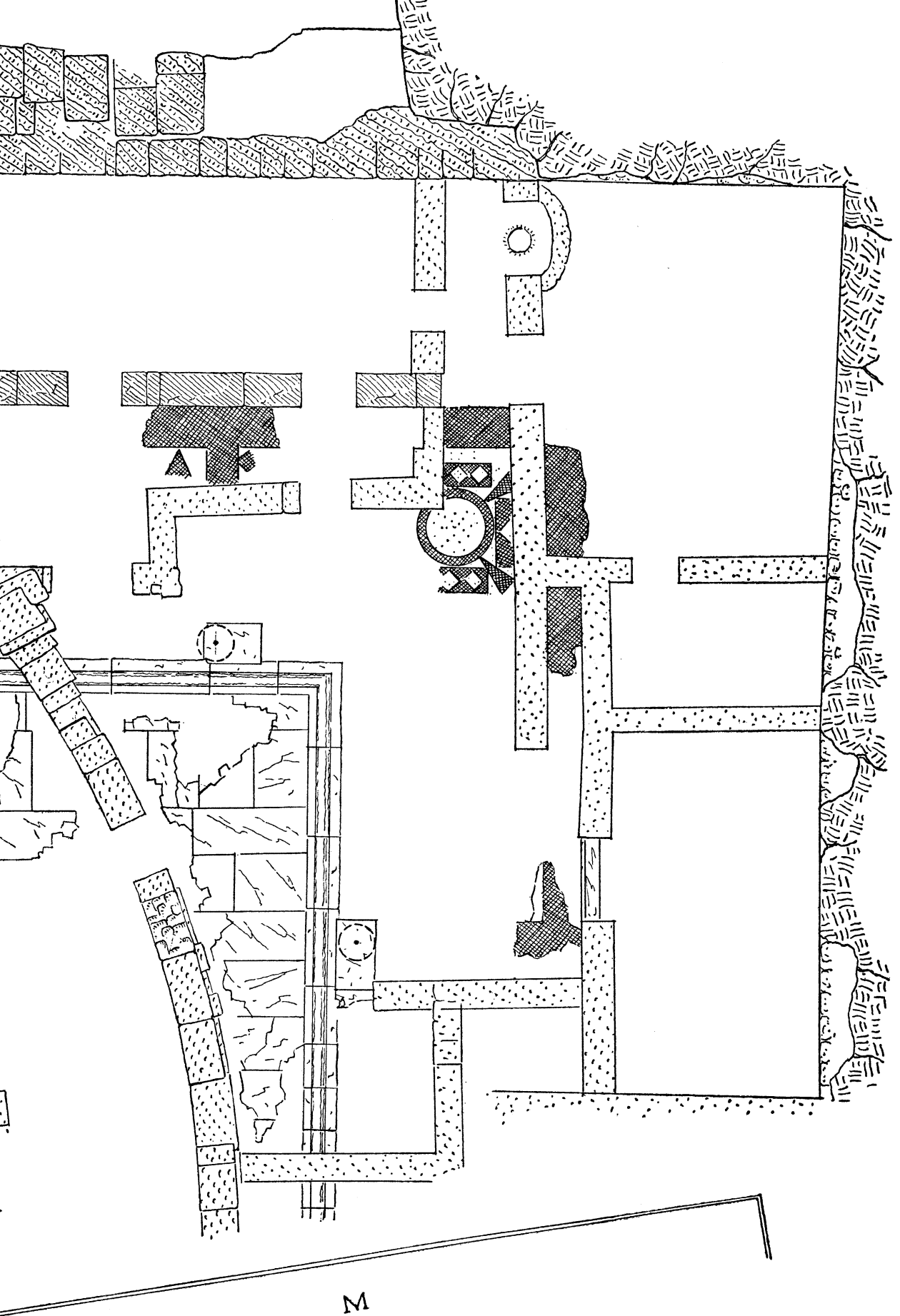
Greek Drain



Drain

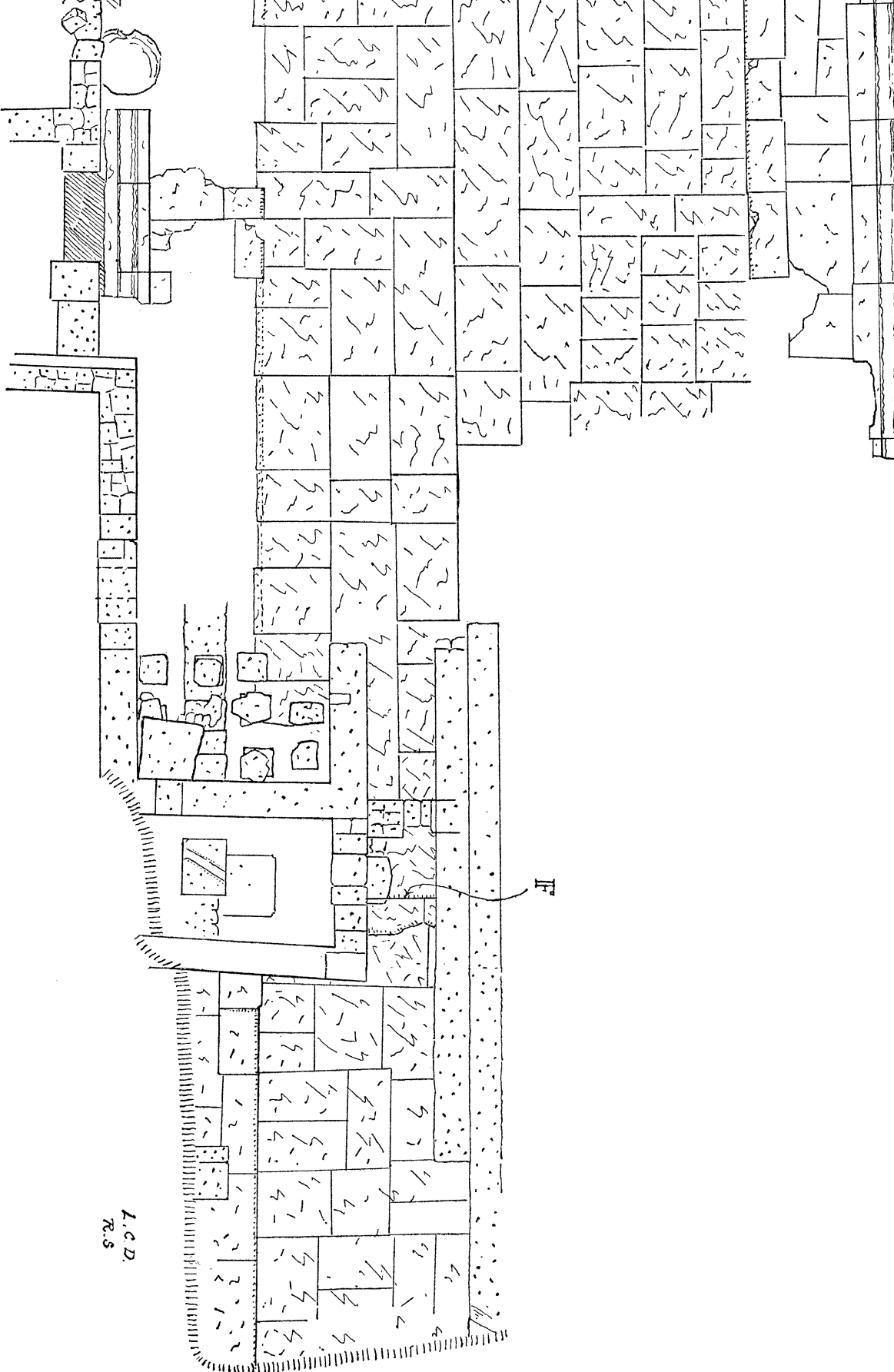
F

U



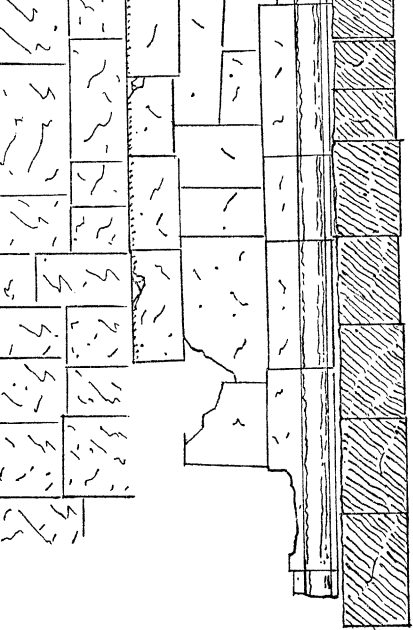
U

M

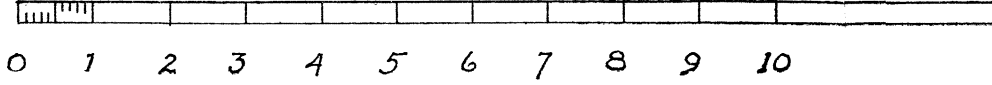
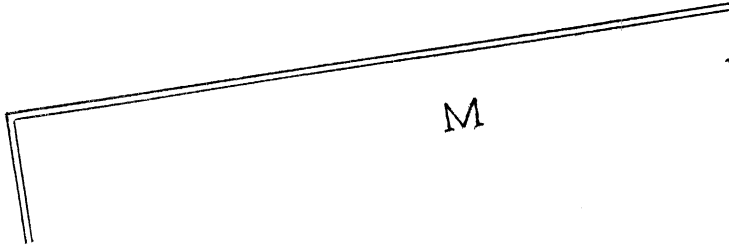
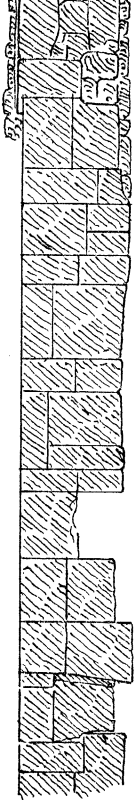


L.C.D.  
R.S

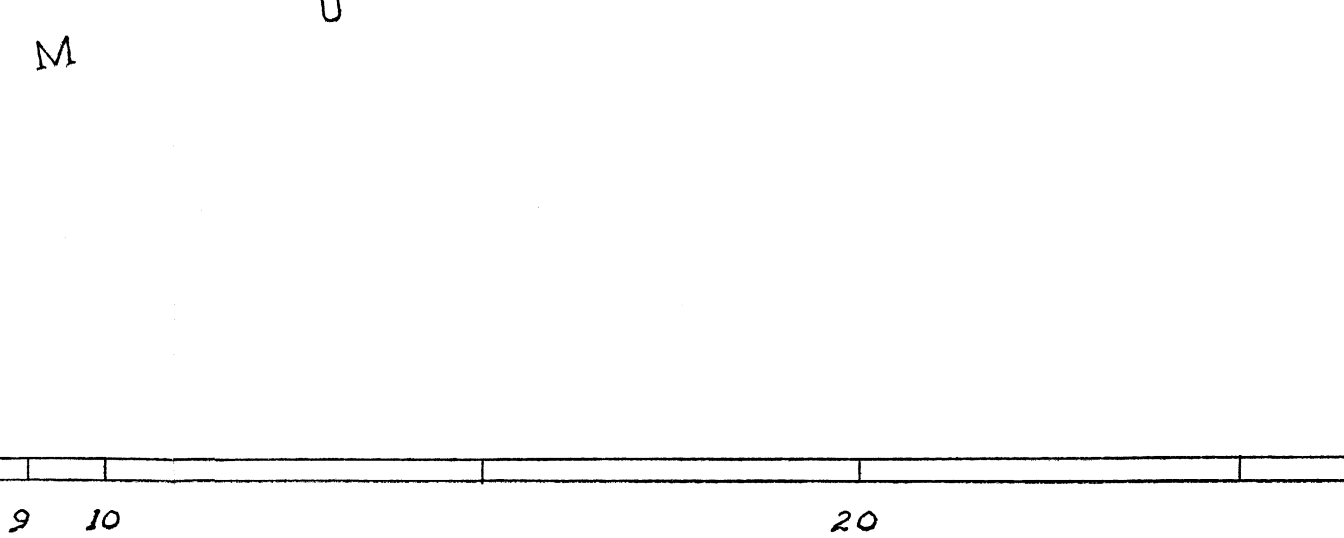
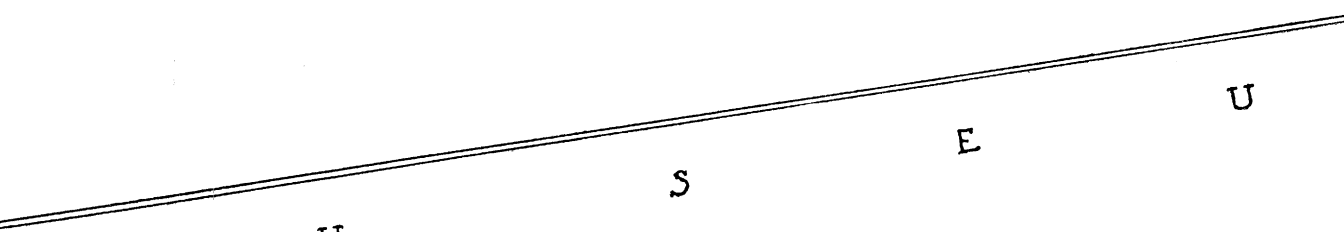
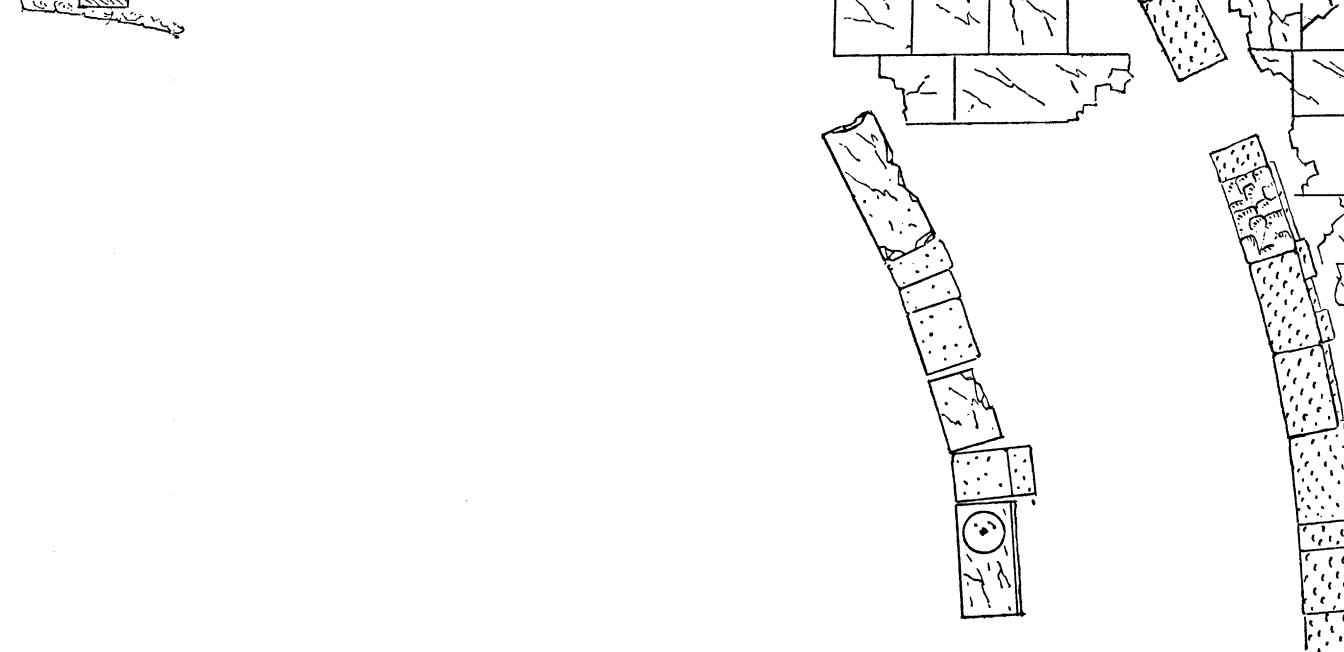




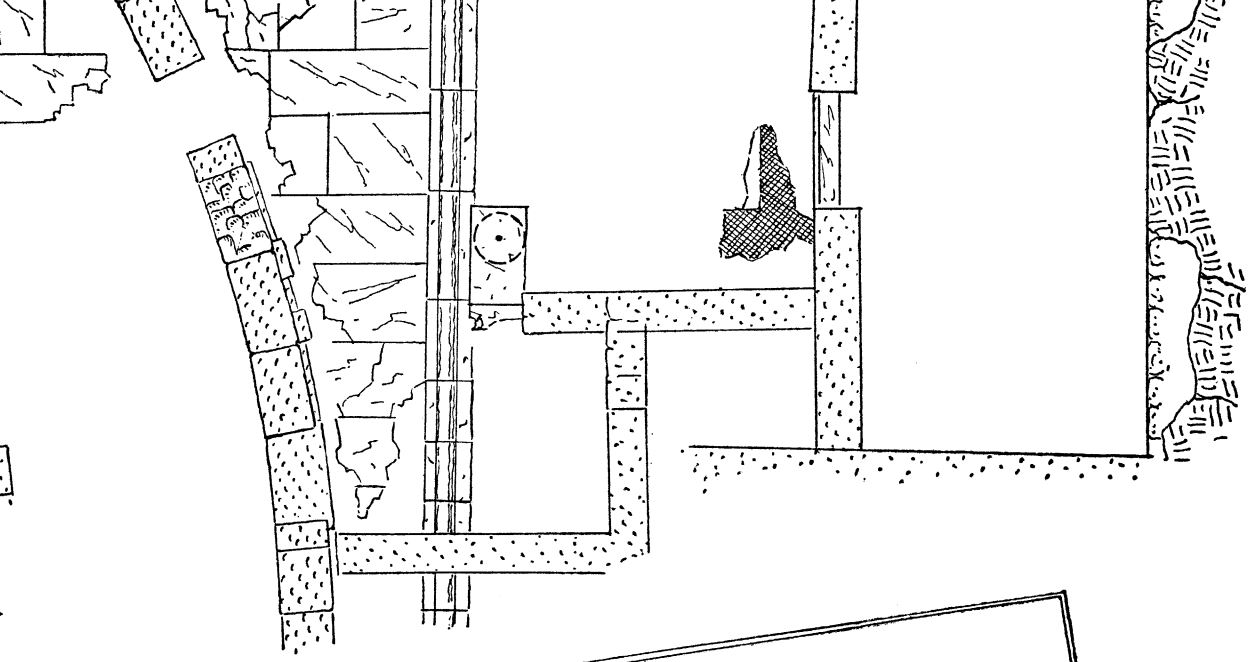
B



PLAN OF LECHAEUM ROAD AND HE

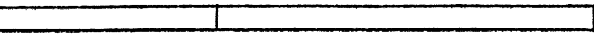


ECHAEUM ROAD AND HEMICYCLE



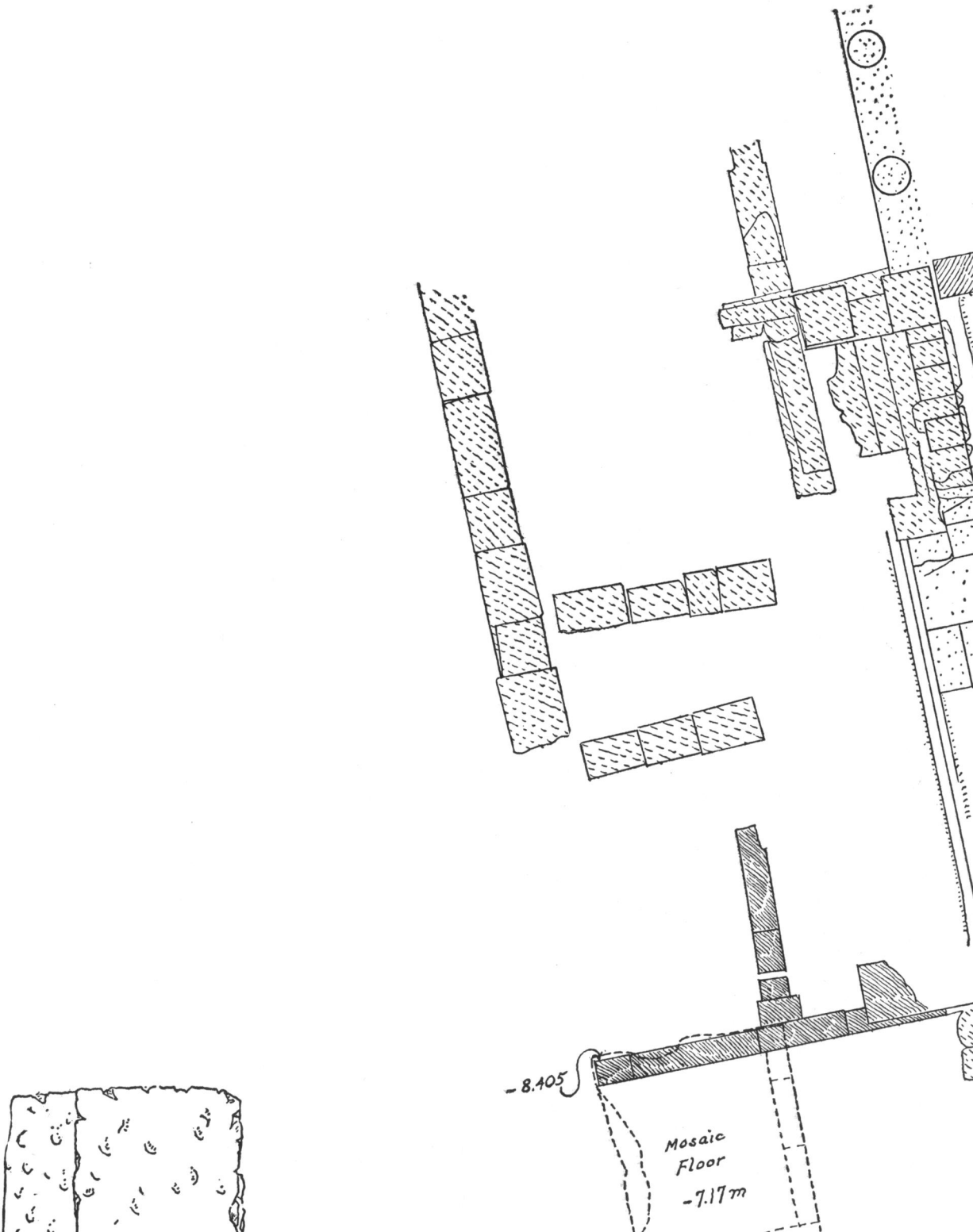
U

M



30 M

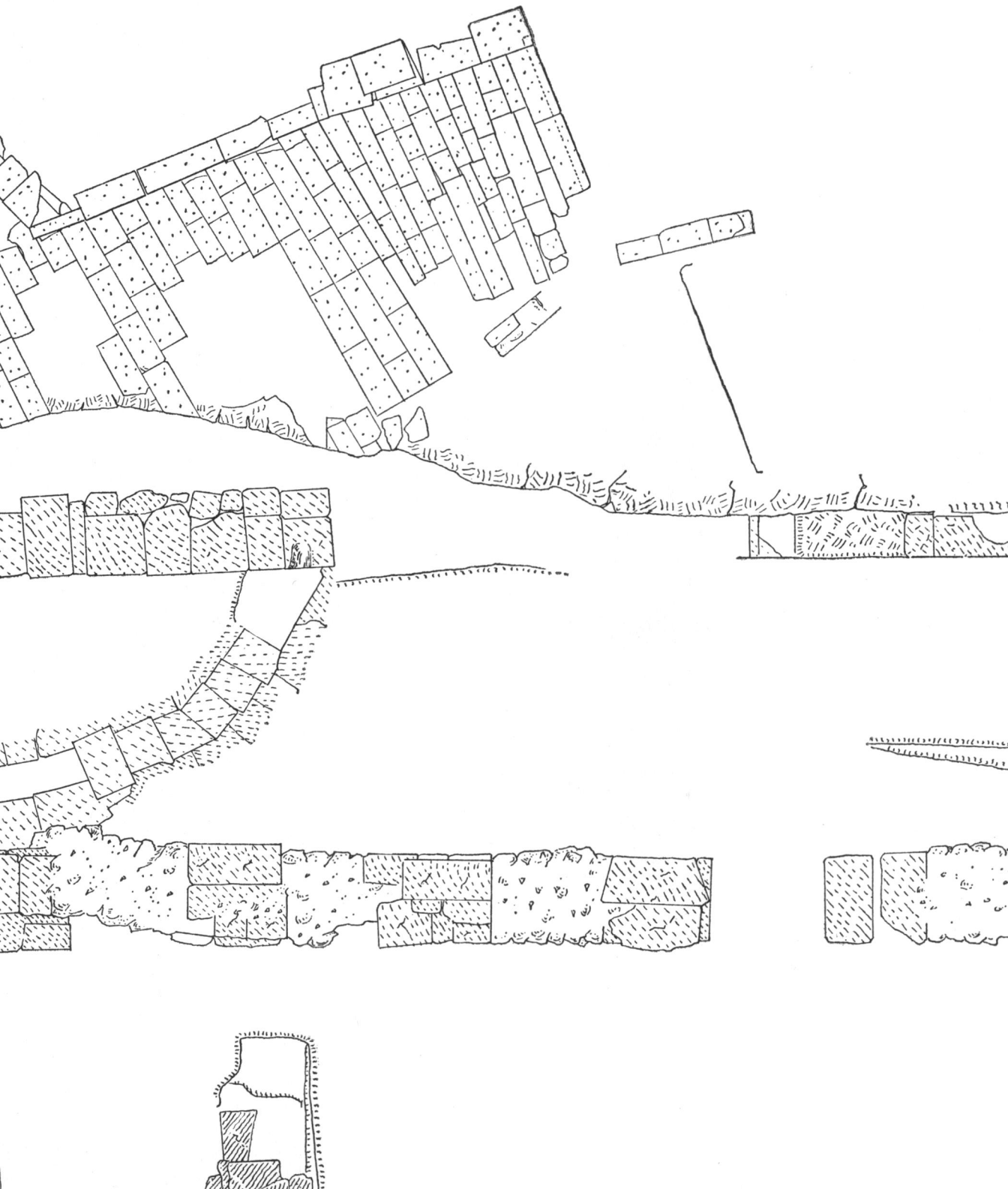
CORINTH, VOLUME I

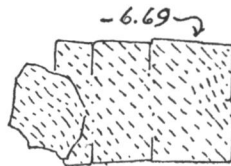
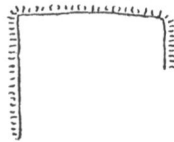
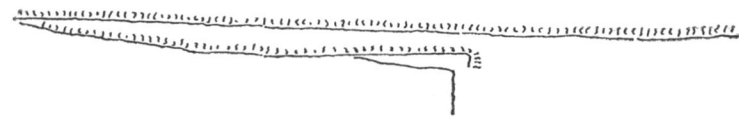


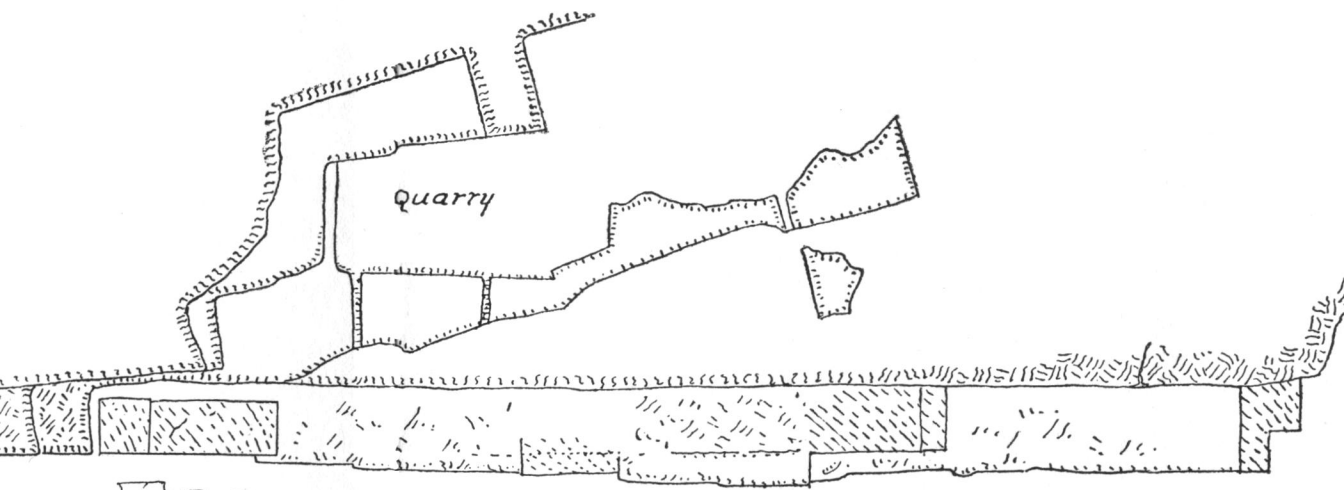


-7.275

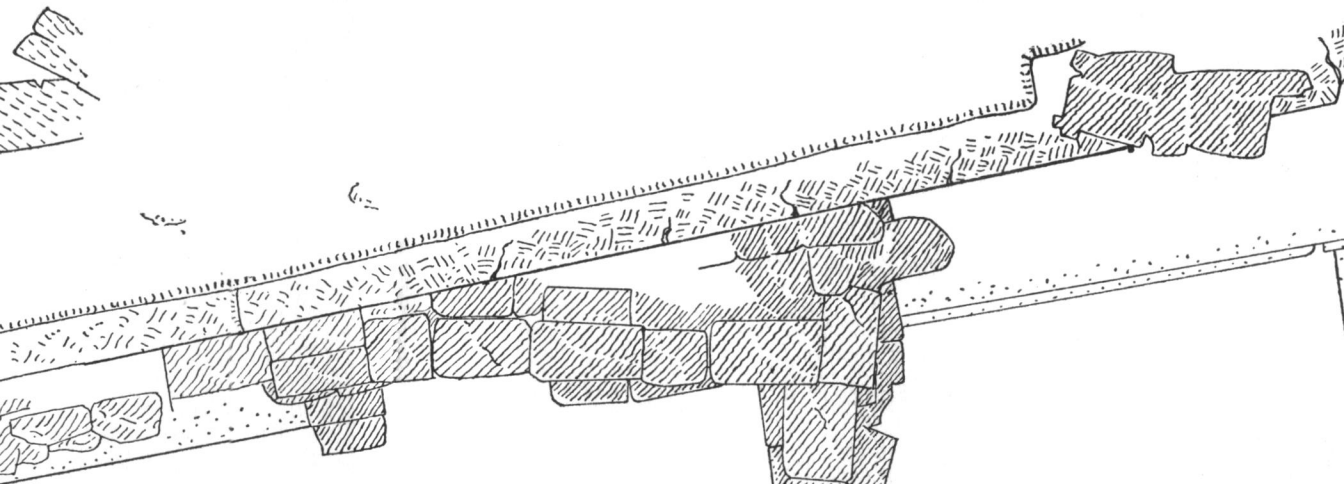
-7.93



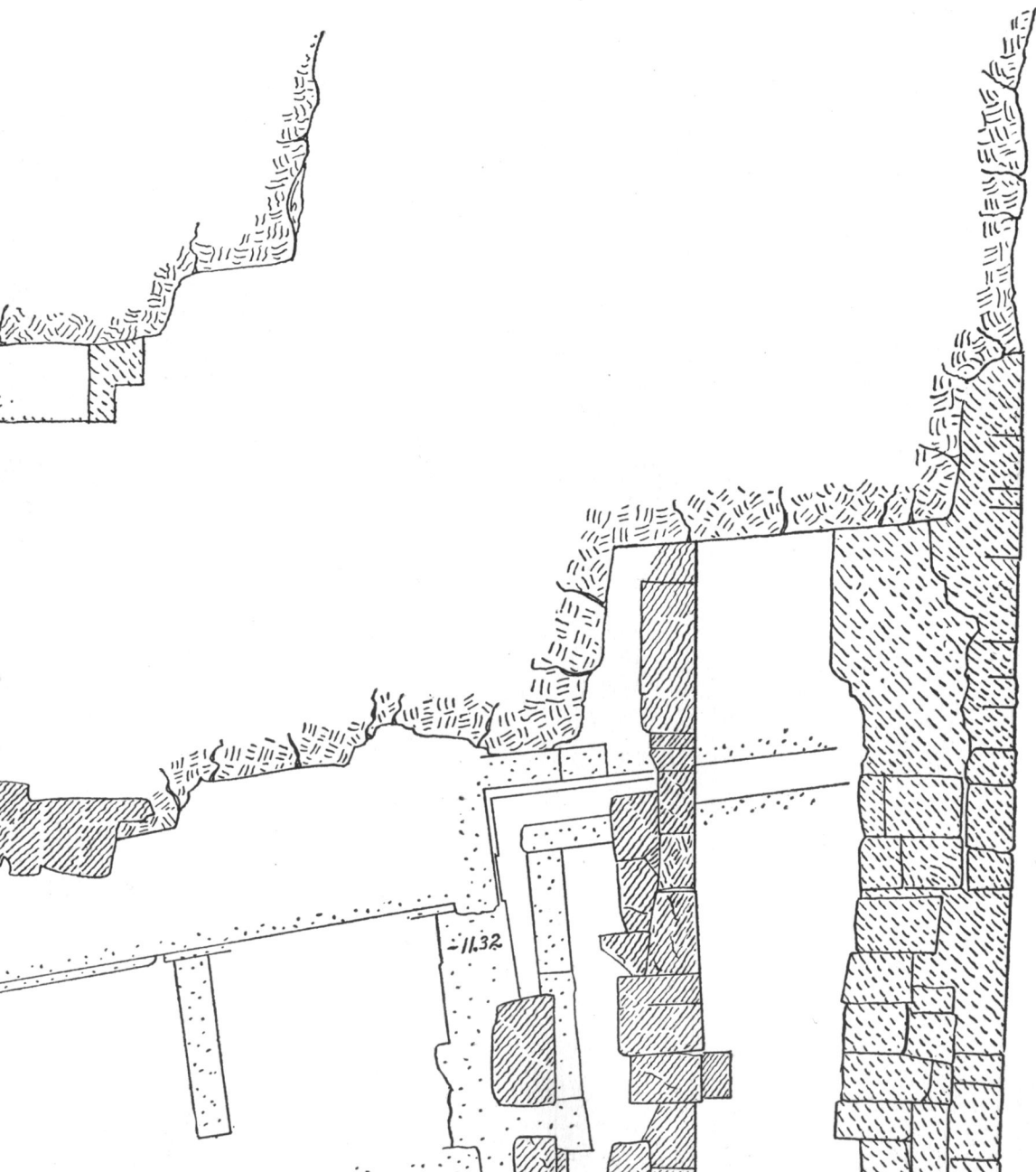


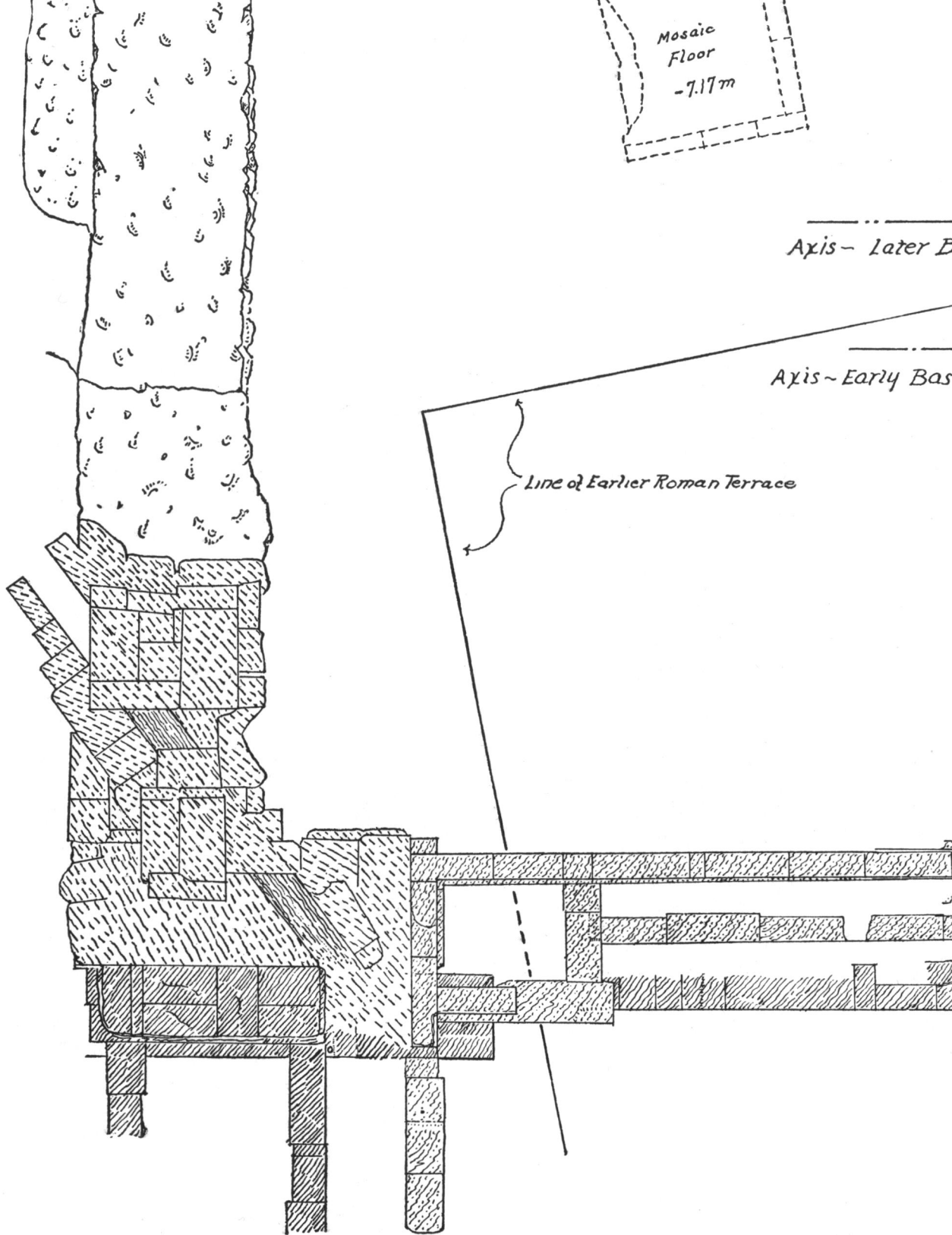


6.40









Axis - Later Basilica

is - Early Basilica

-7.345

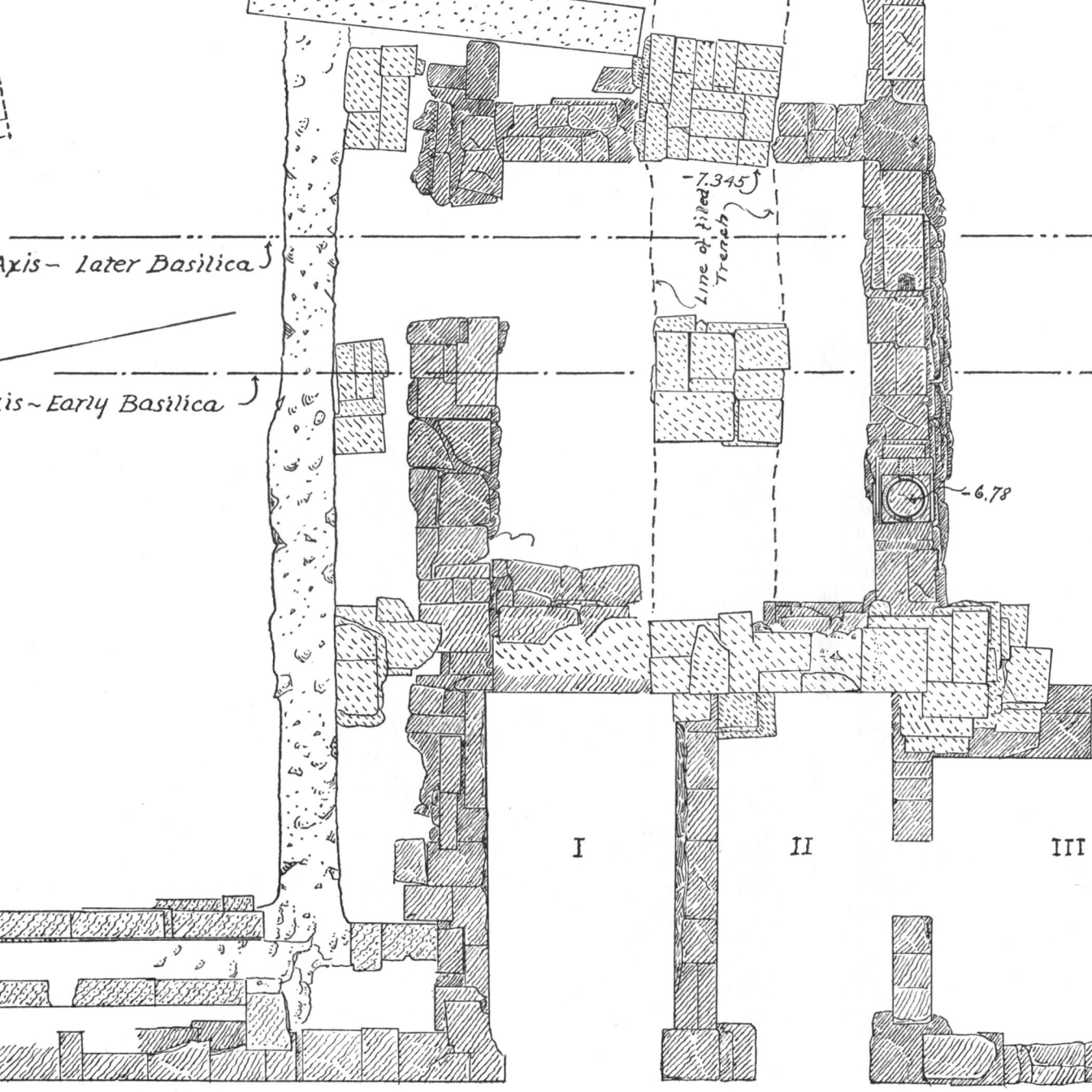
Line of Tiled Trench

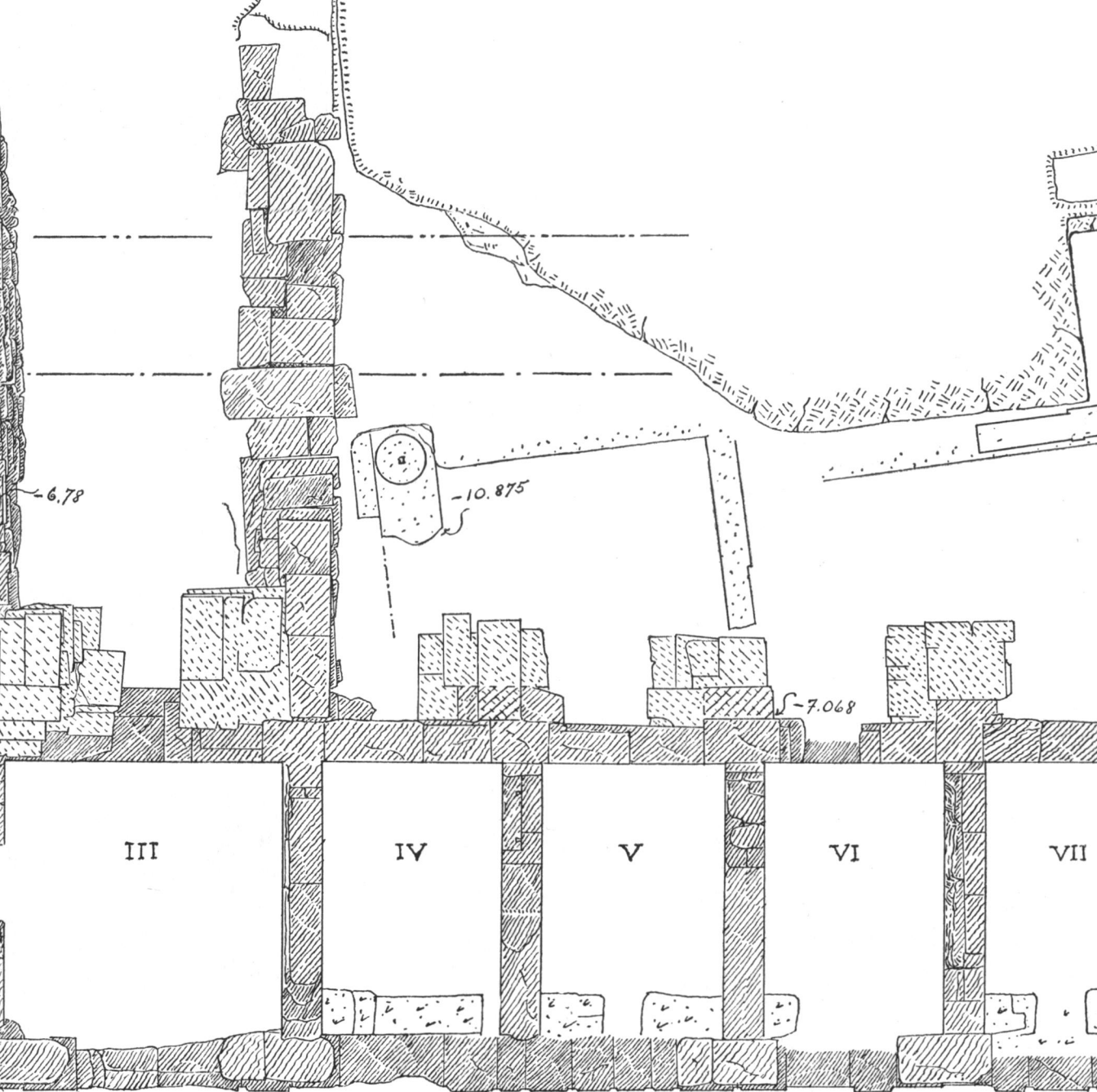
-6.78

I

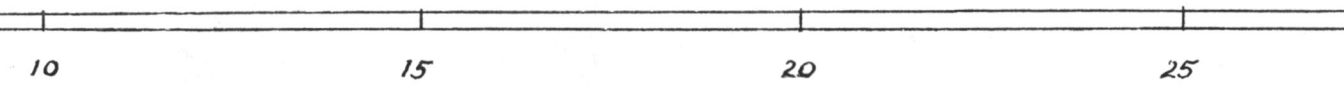
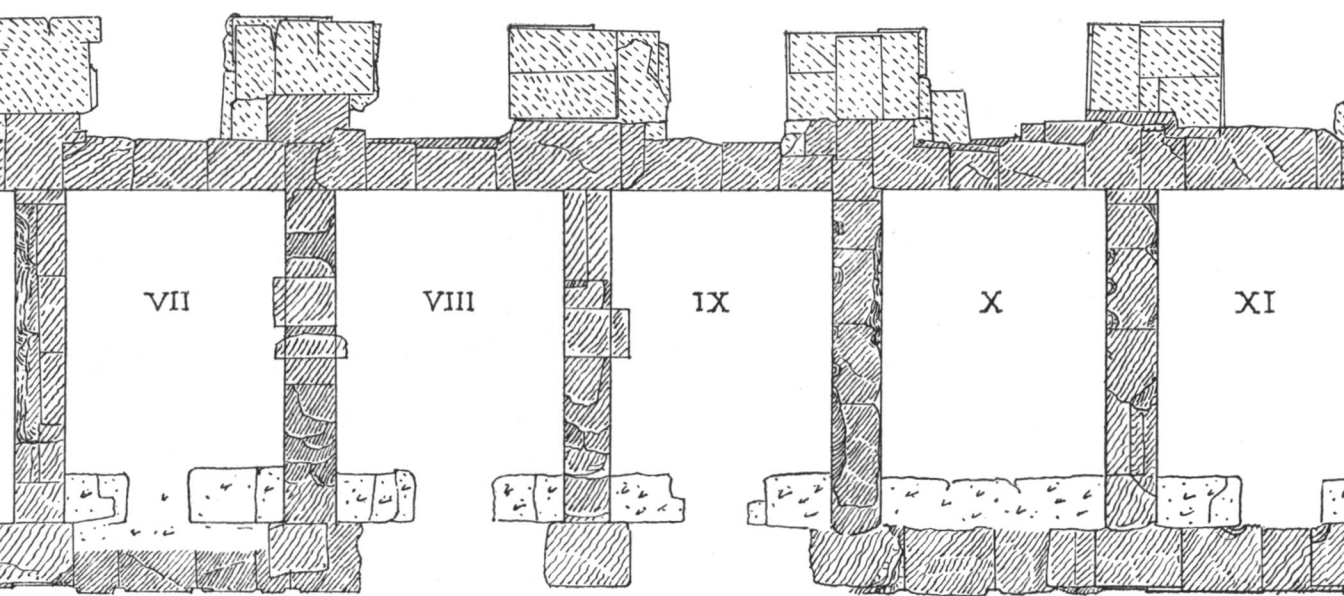
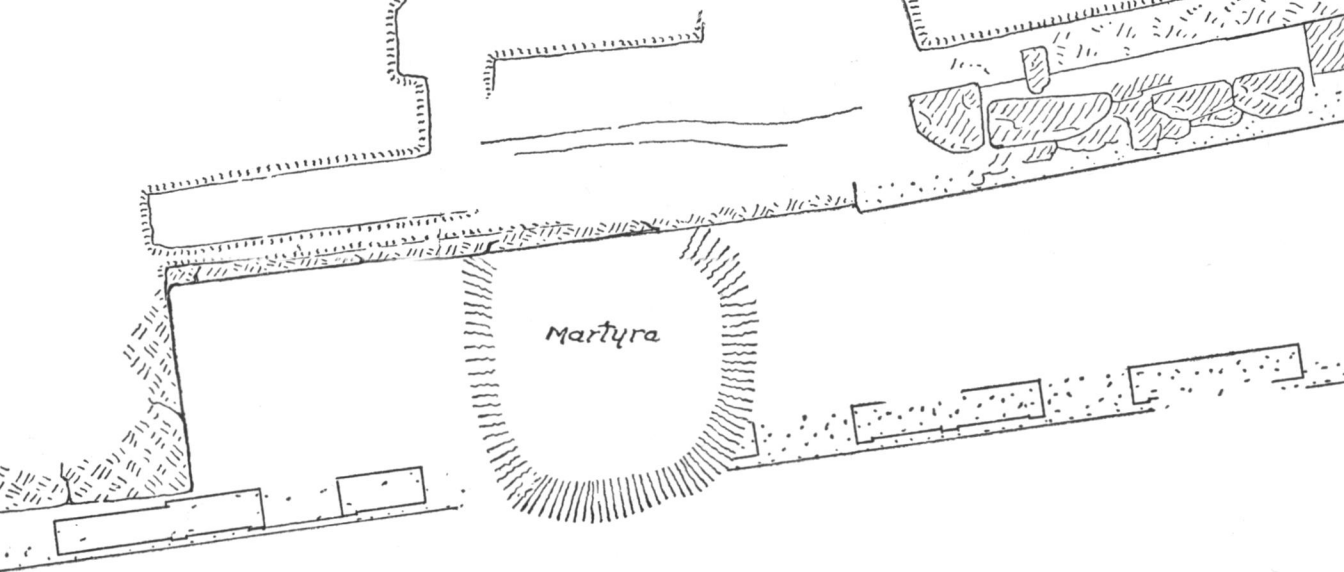
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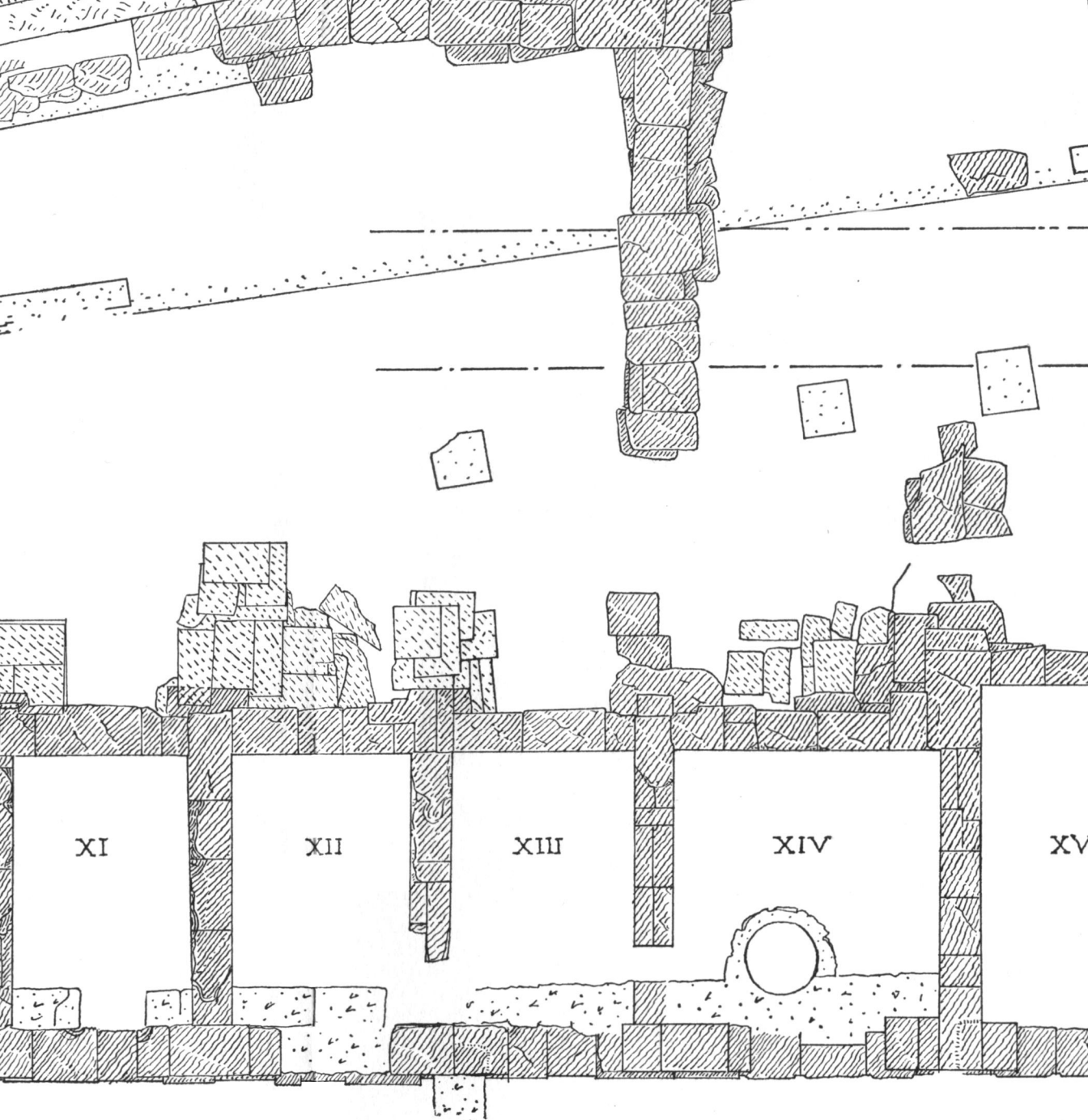
III





PLAN OF BASILICA





XI

XII

XIII

XIV

XV



Roc



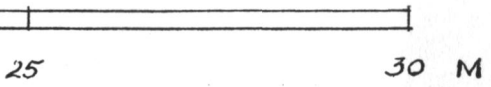
GREE



ROM

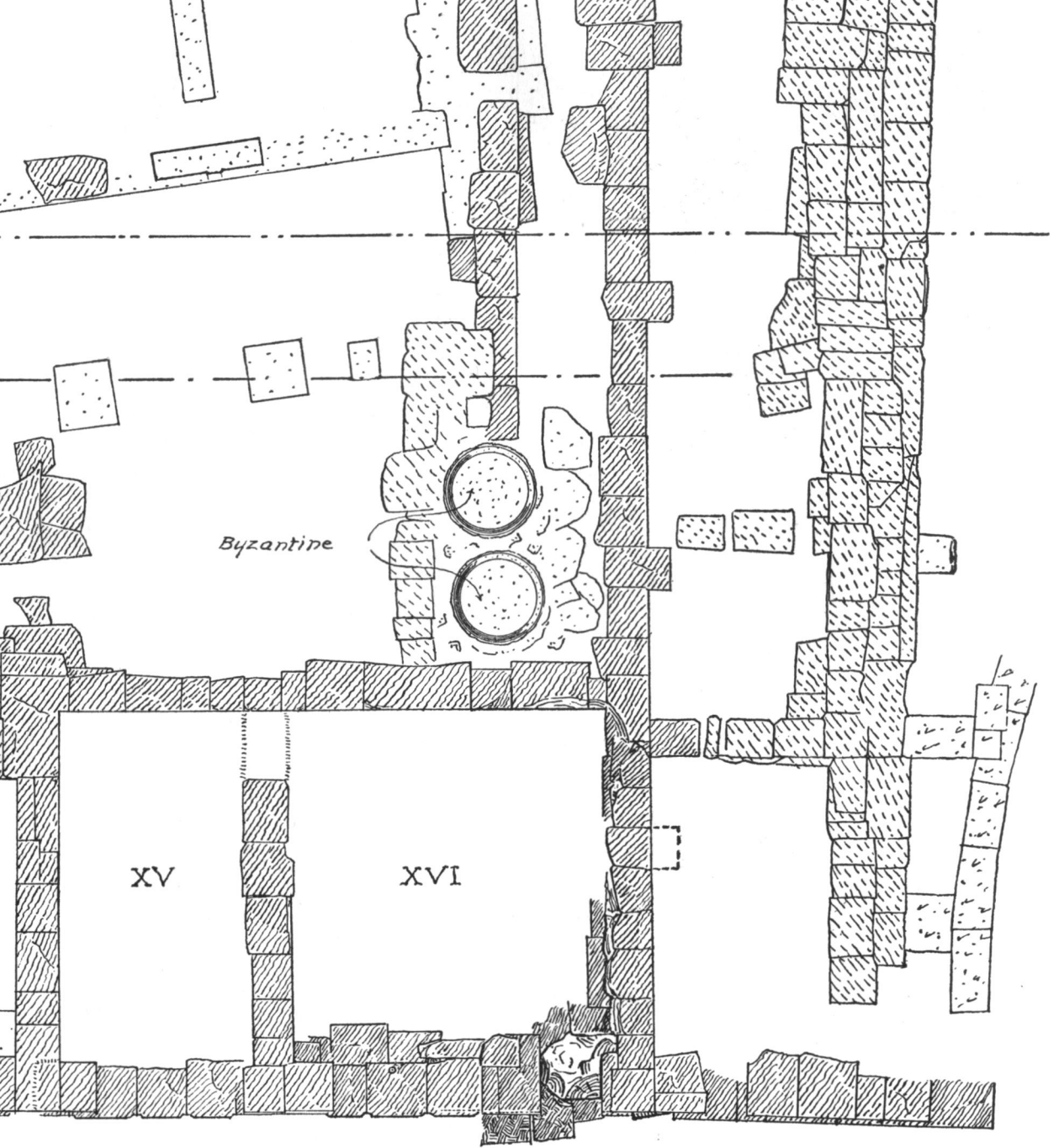


ROM



25

30 M



	ROCK		ROMAN-LATER BASILICA
	GREEK WORK		OPUS INCERTUM
	ROMAN		BYZANTINE
	ROMAN		SETTING LINES

R.S. del.

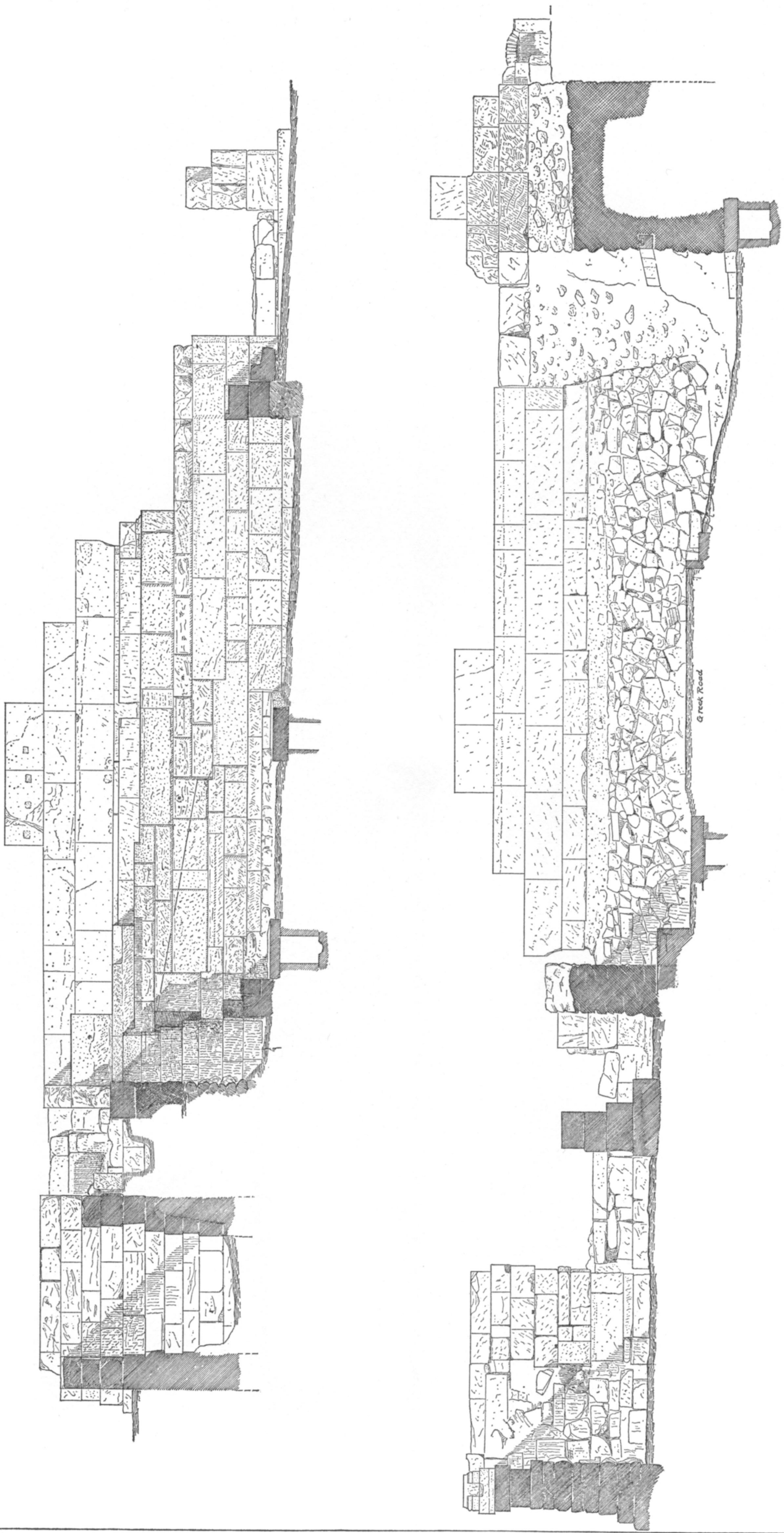


CROSS-SECTIONS, LOOKING SOUTH, OF THE BASILICA AND THE LECHAEUM ROAD



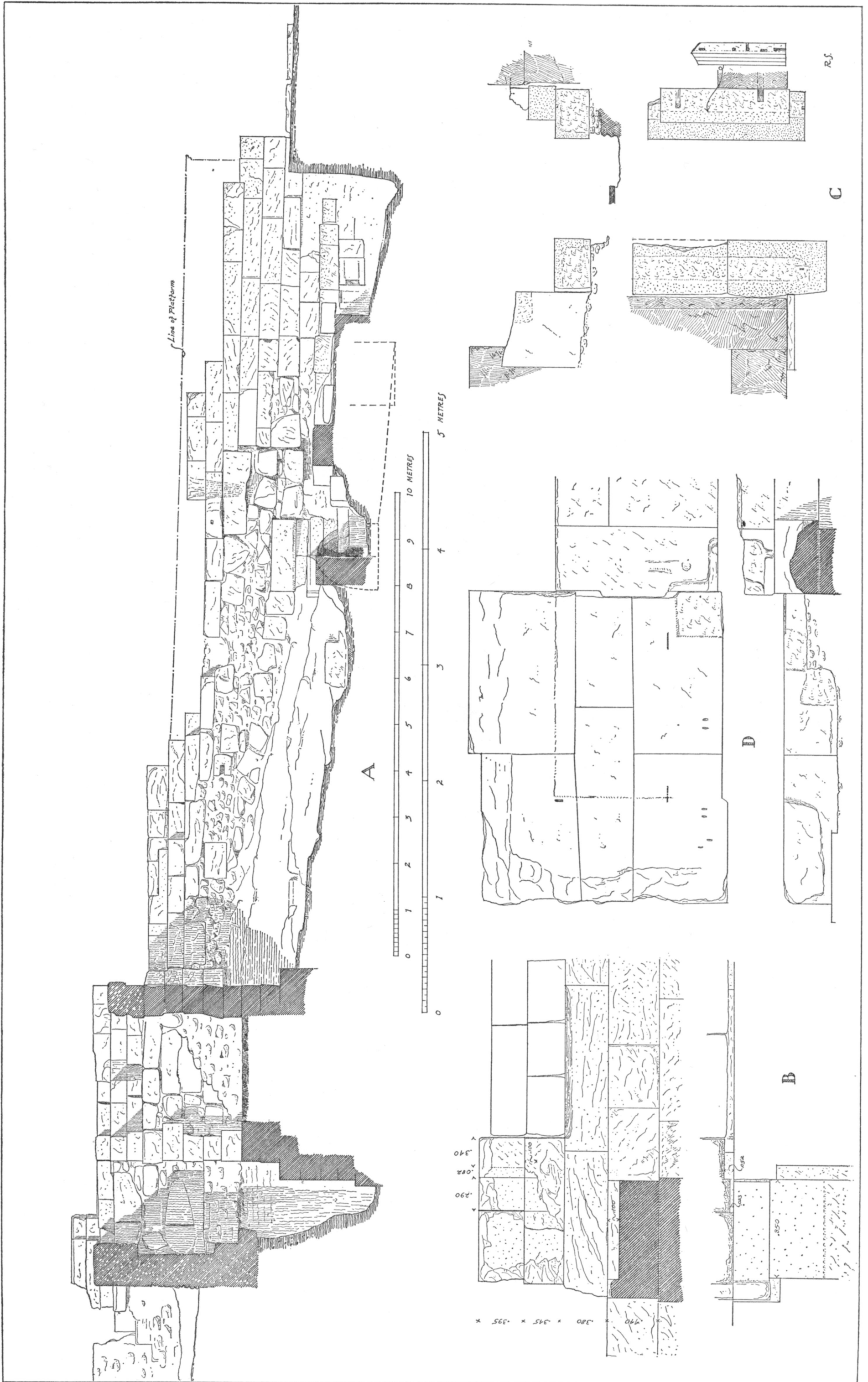


CROSS-SECTIONS OF PROPYLAEA  
 THE UPPER SECTION IS TAKEN PARALLEL TO AND LOOKING TOWARDS THE NORTH FACE. THE LOWER SECTION IS ON THE CENTRE AXIS OF THE MAIN ARCH AND PLATFORM



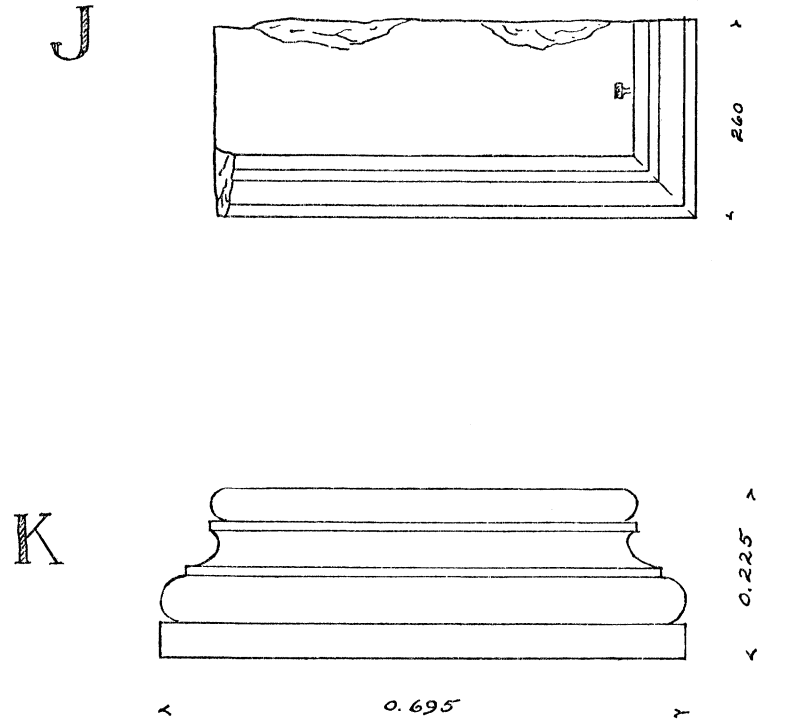
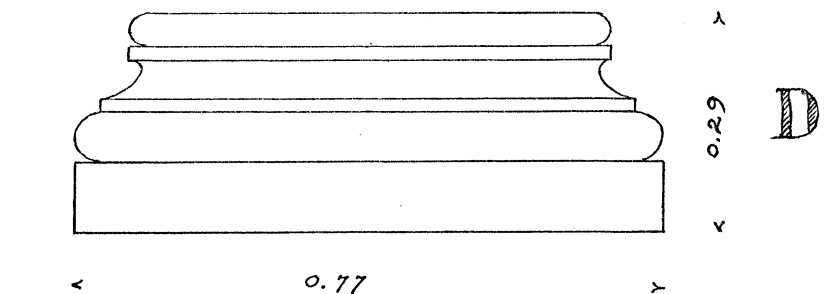
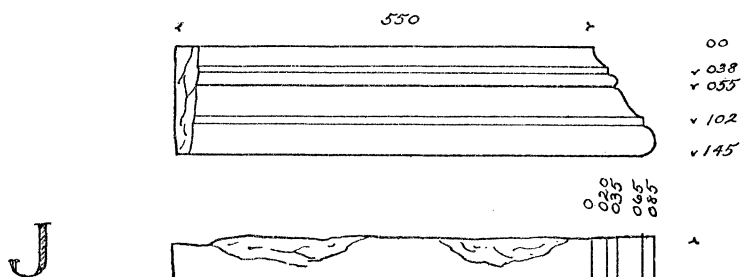
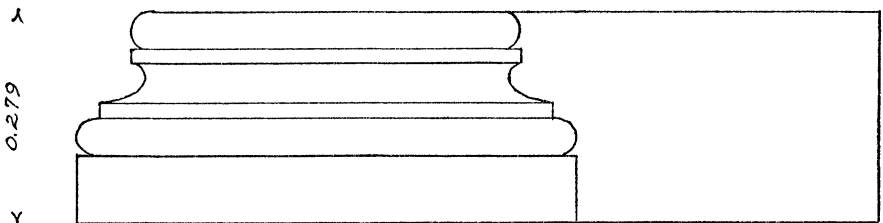
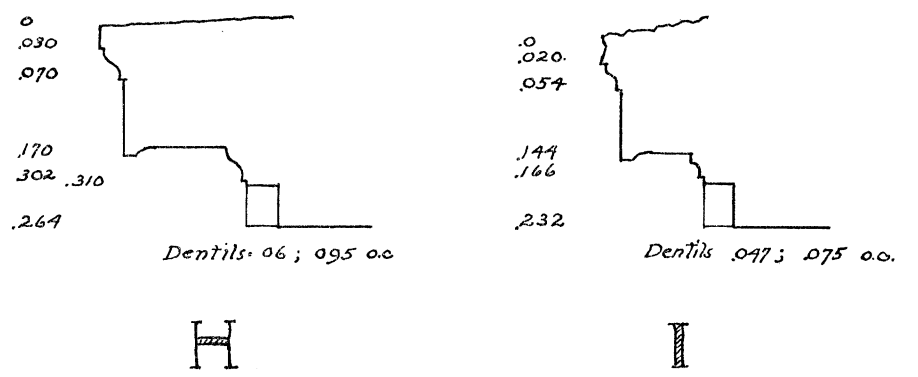
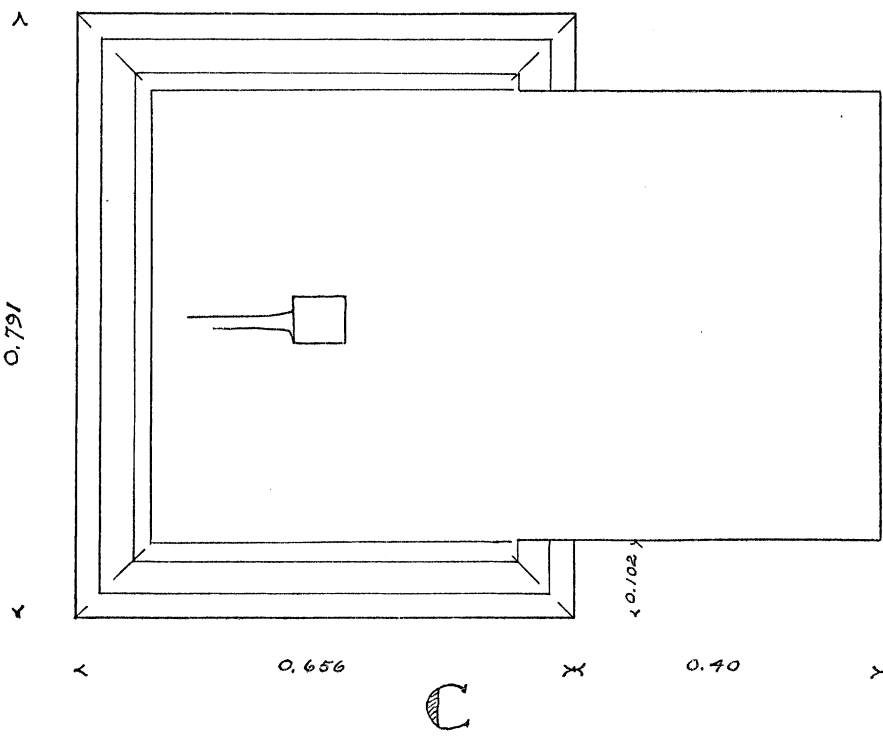
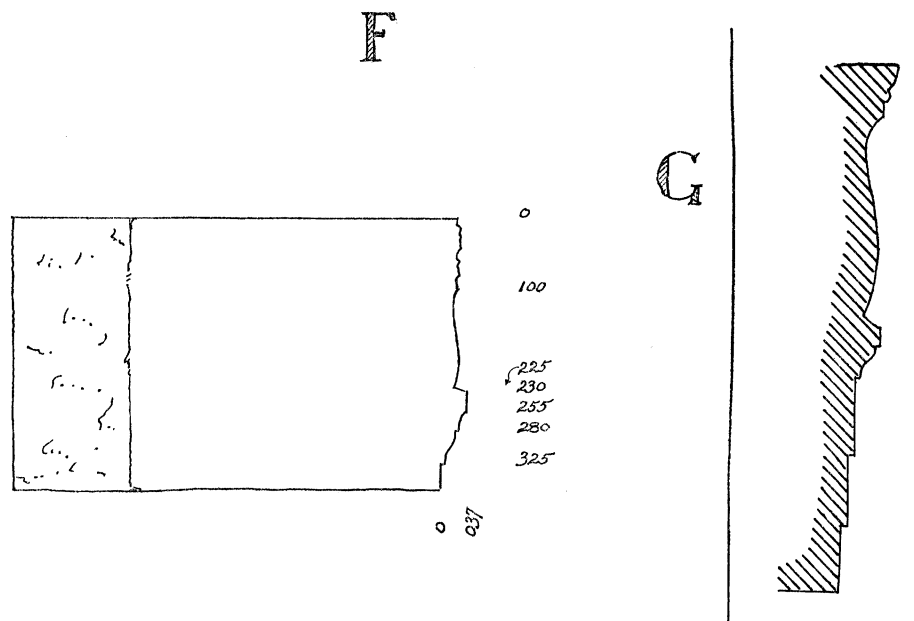
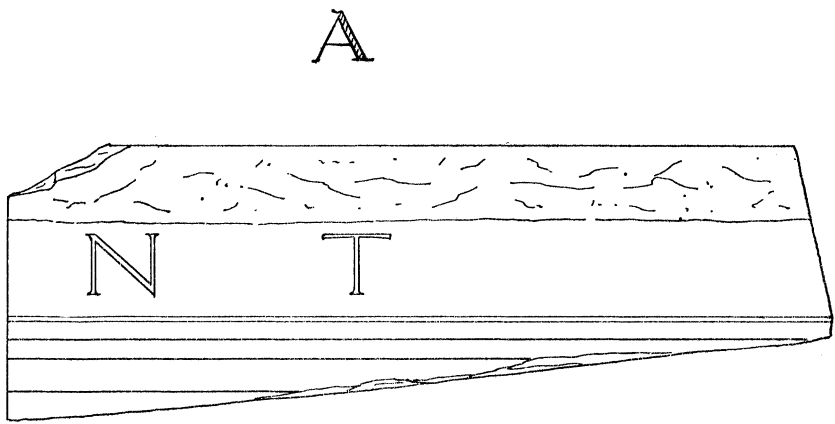
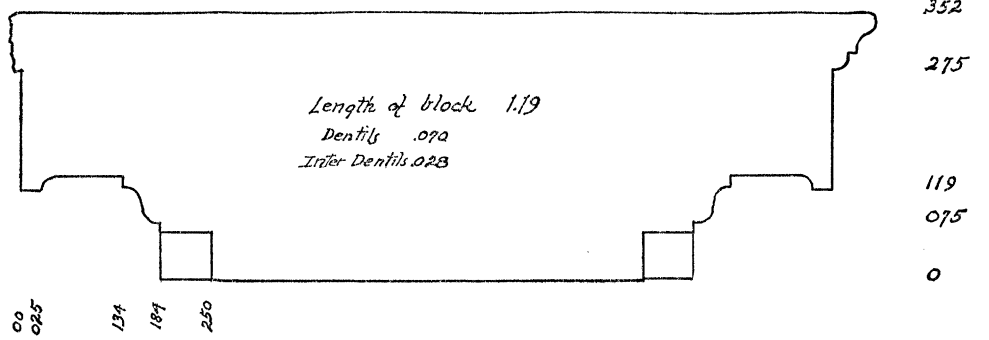
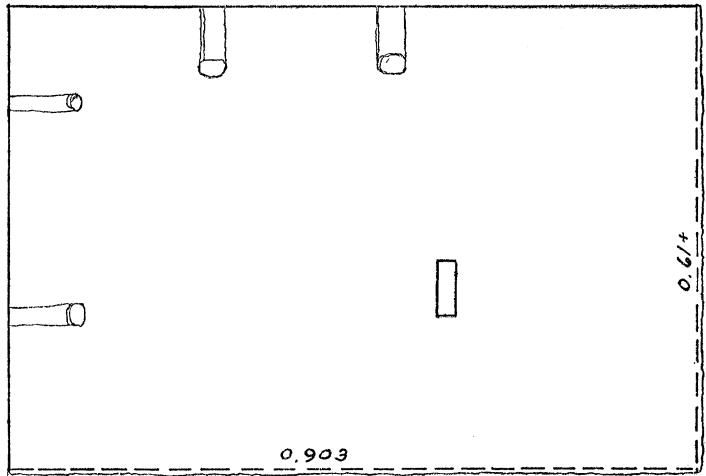
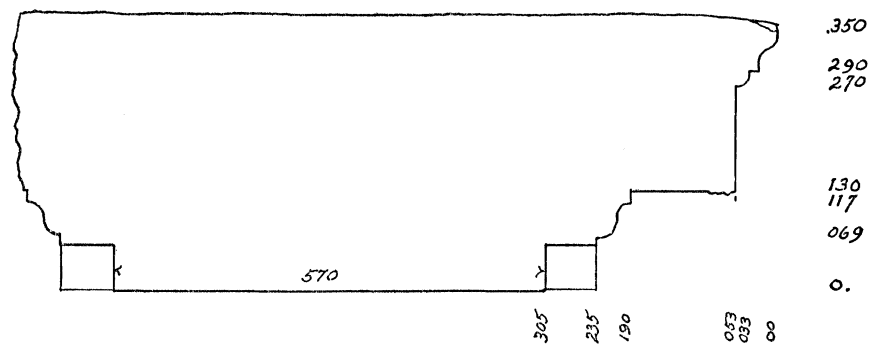
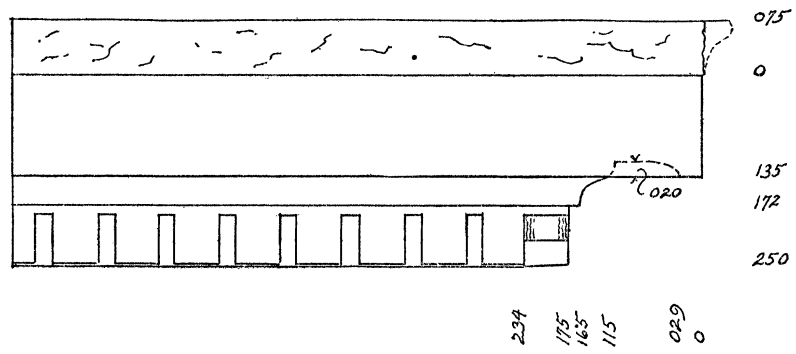
SECTIONS OF PROPYLAEA AND BASILICA

THE UPPER SECTION IS TAKEN PARALLEL TO THE EPISTYLE WALL, BETWEEN IT AND THE MAIN PLATFORM. THE LOWER SECTION IS THROUGH THE CENTRE OF THE BASILICA AND THE COURT IN FRONT OF IT, LOOKING EAST

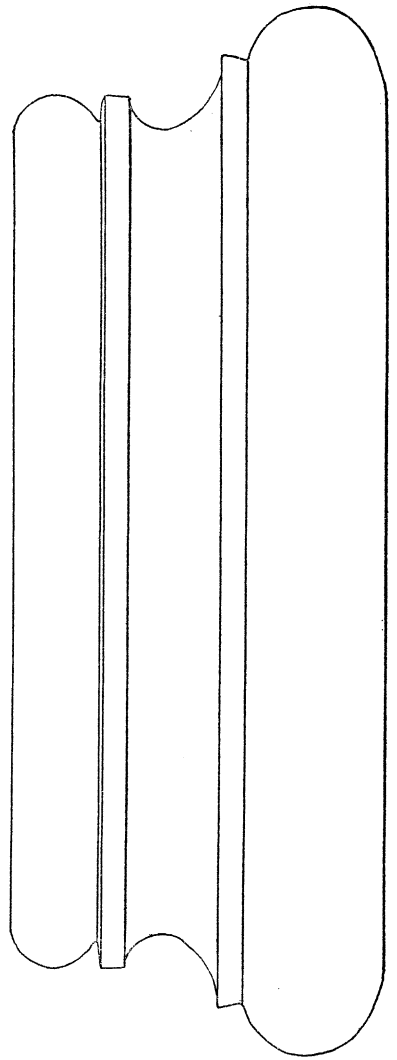
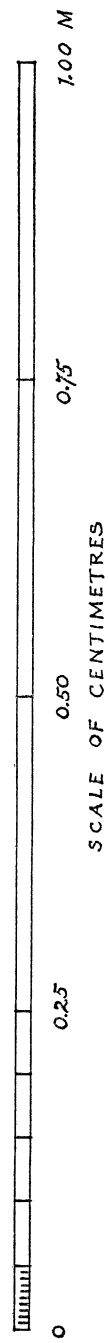
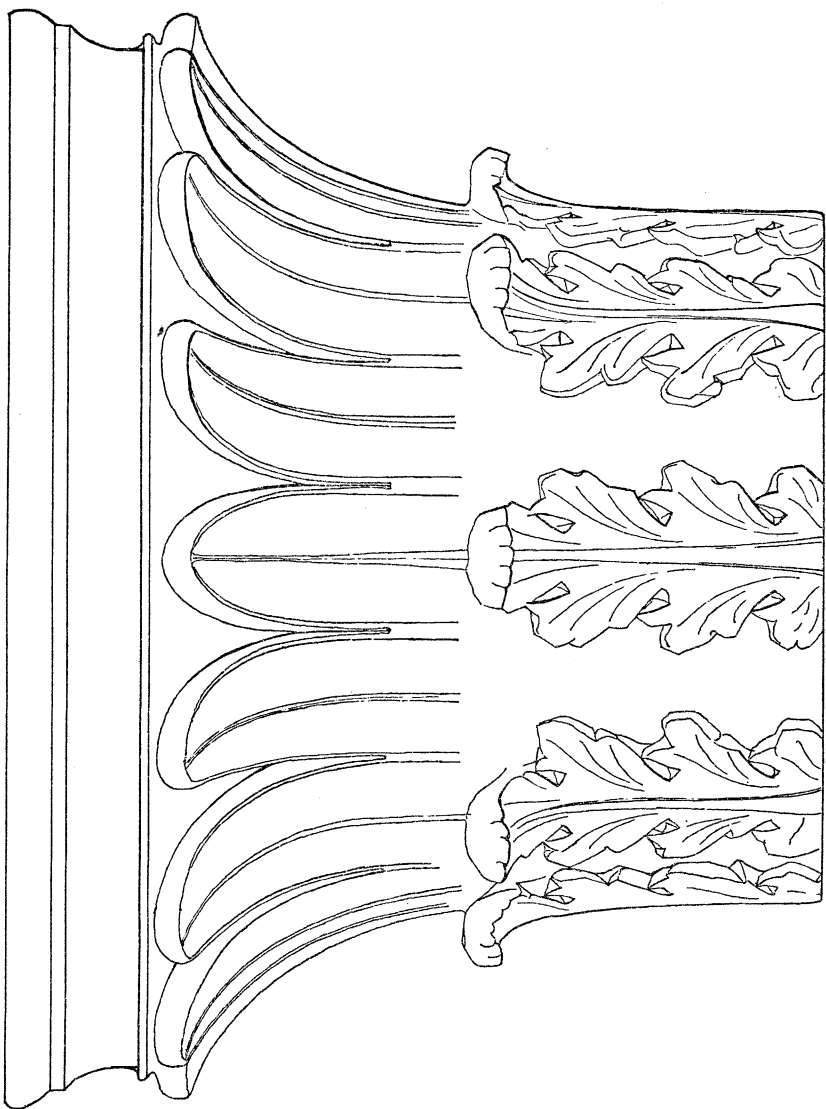
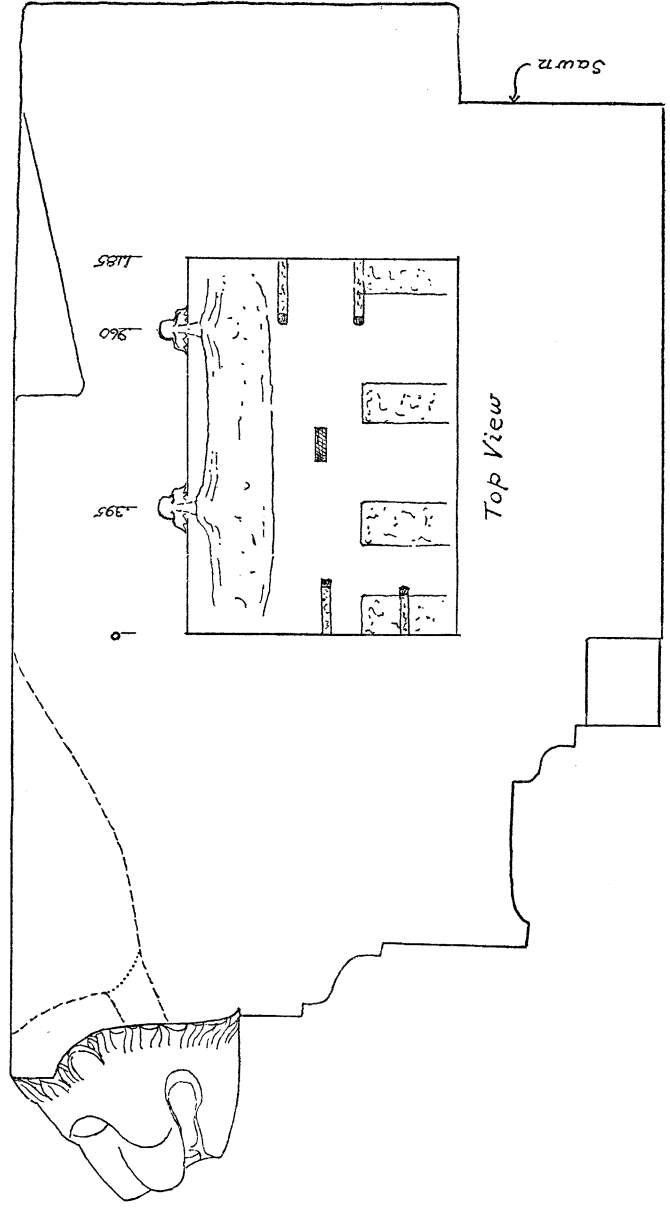
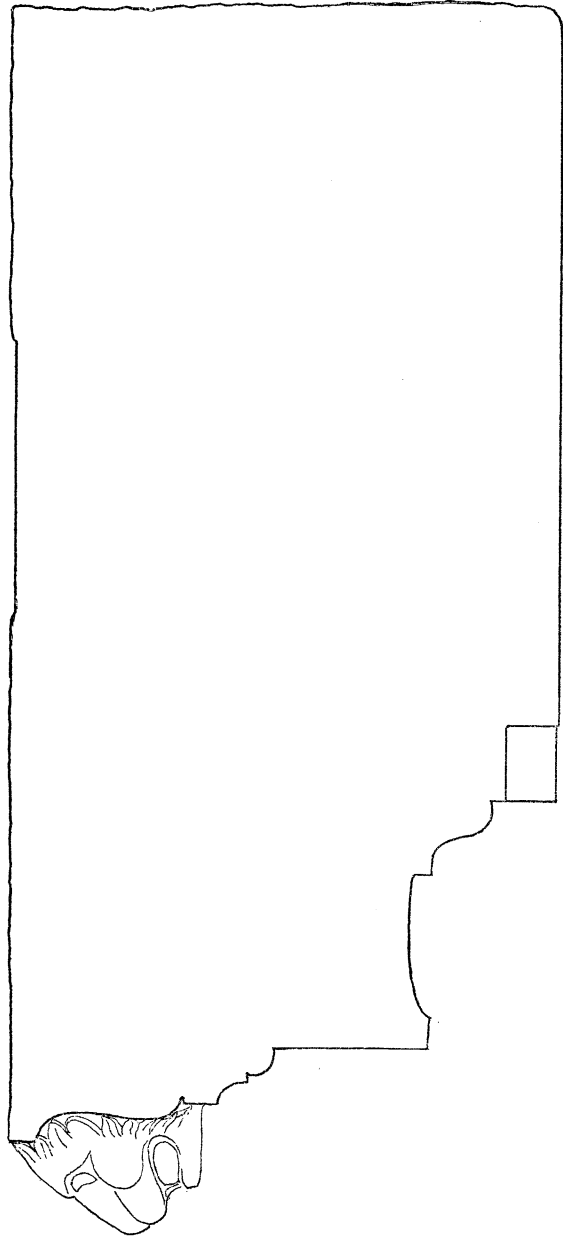


SECTIONS OF PROPYLAEA AND BASILICA

PLATE XVII



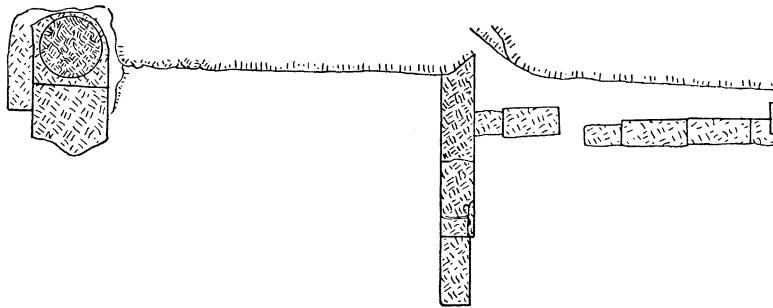
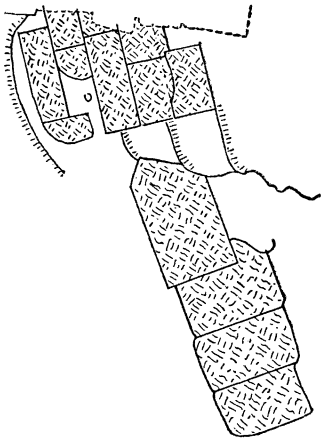
R.S.

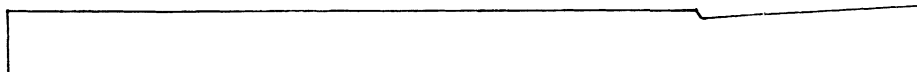
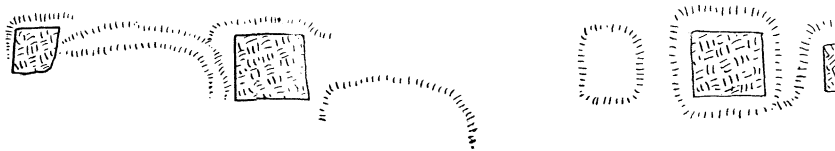
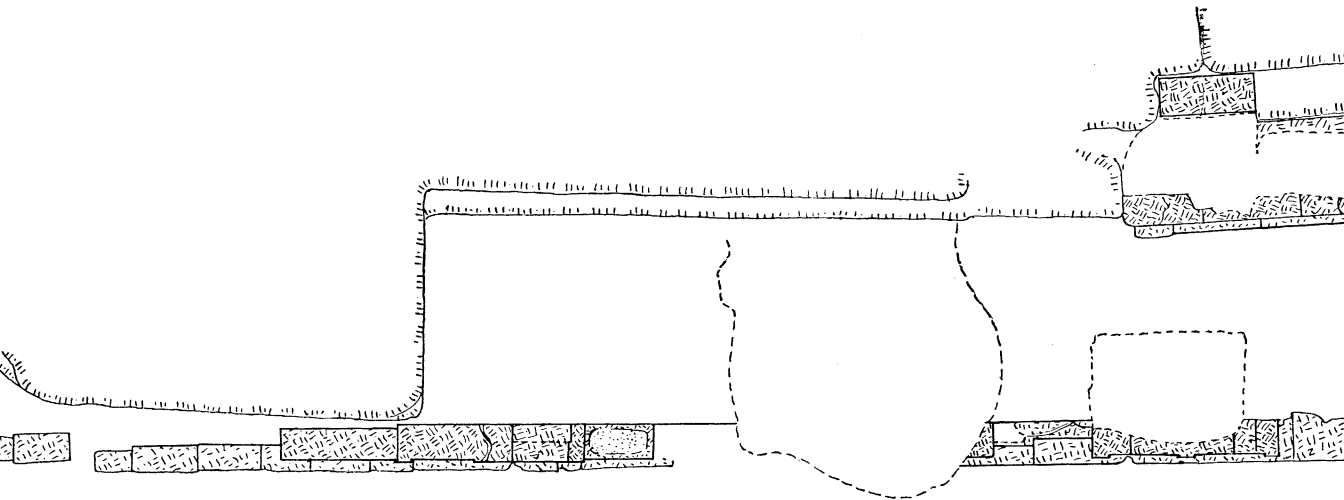


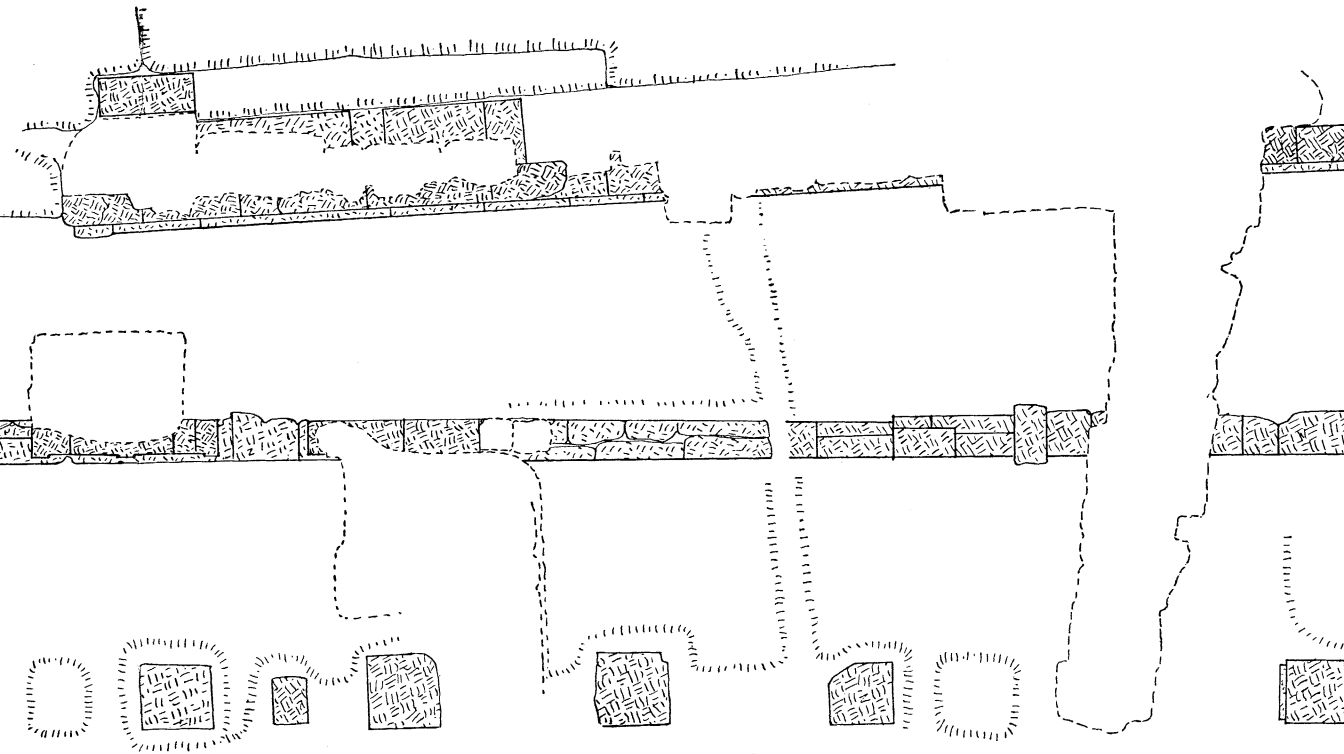
R.S.

DETAILS FROM BASILICA  
CAPITAL, BASE, INTERIOR CORNICE, EXTERIOR CORNICE

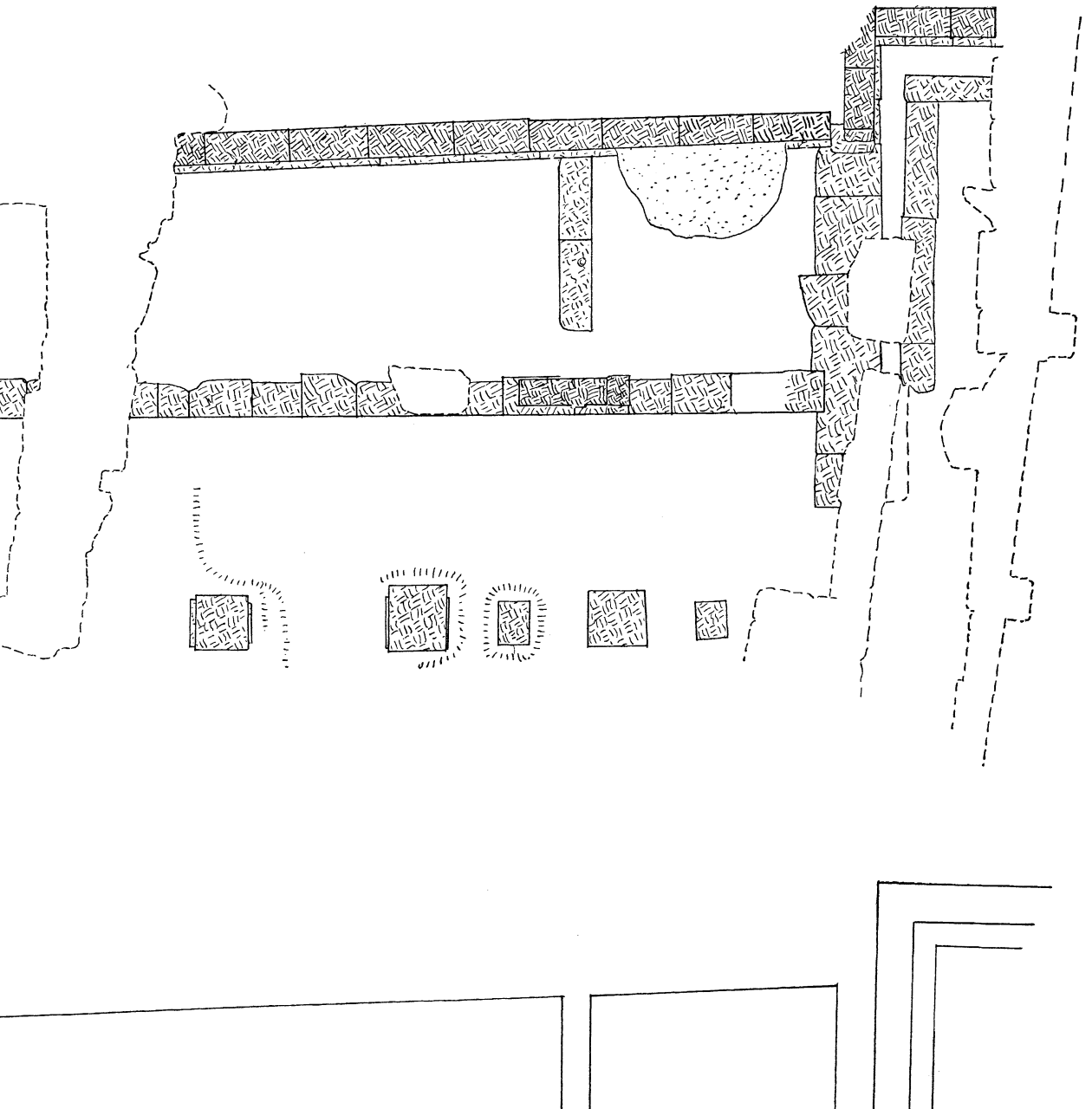
CORINTH, VOLUME I

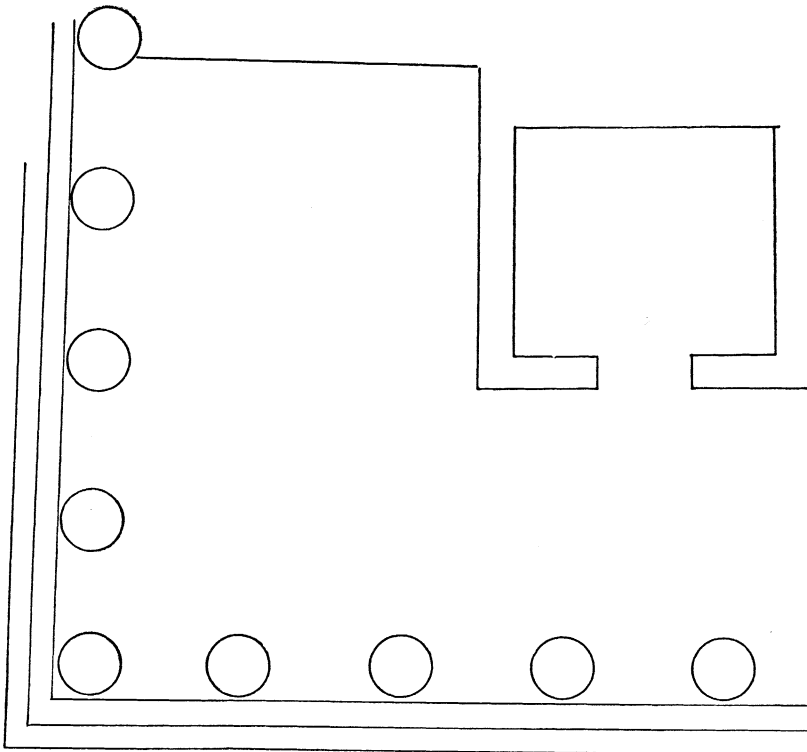
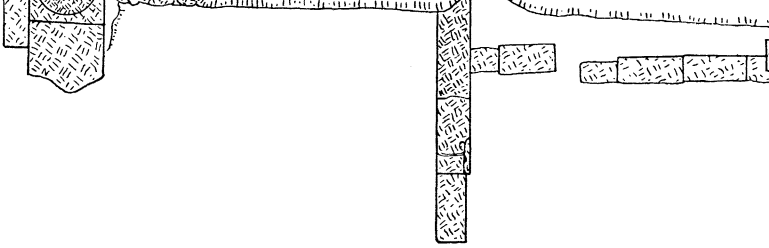


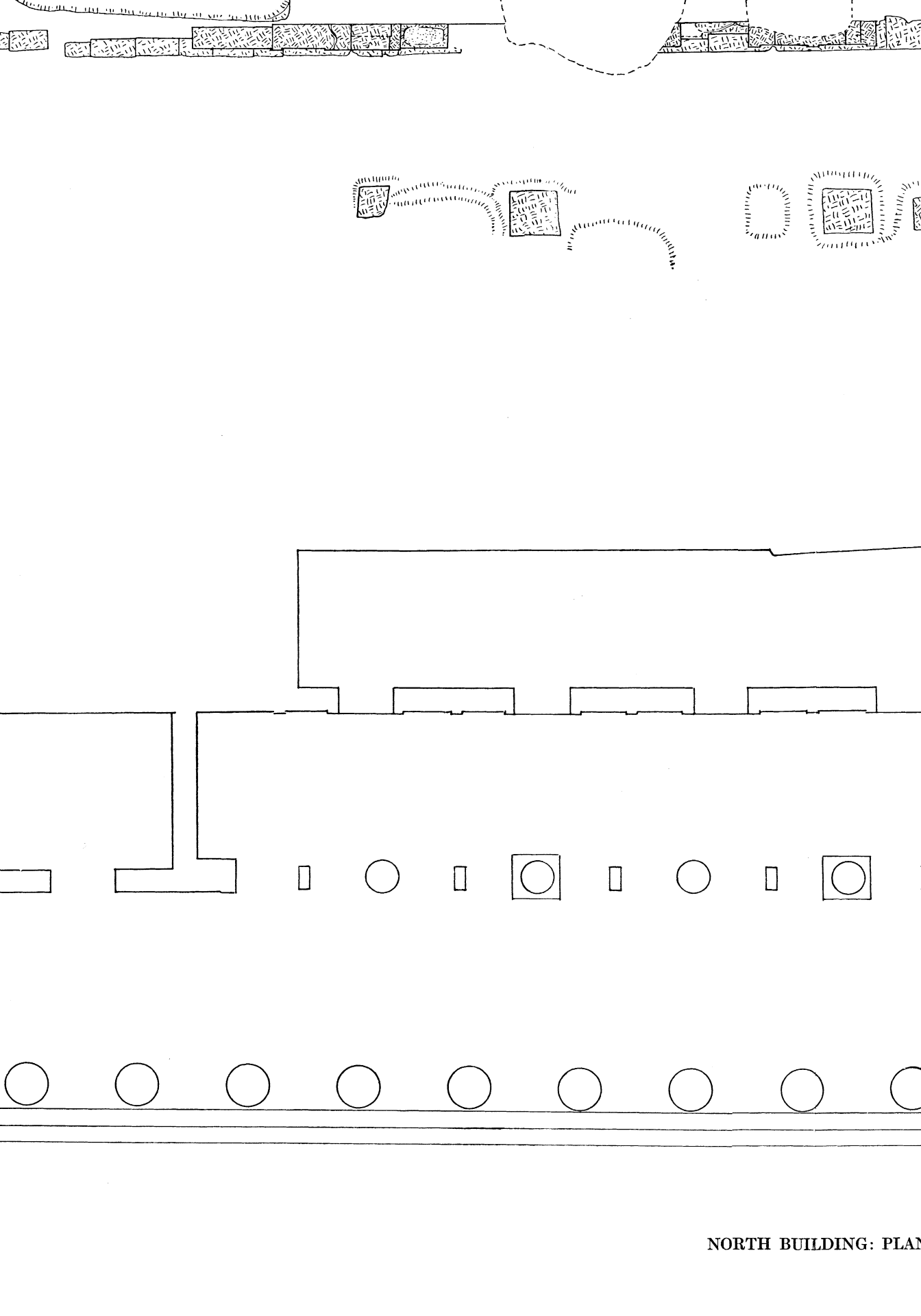




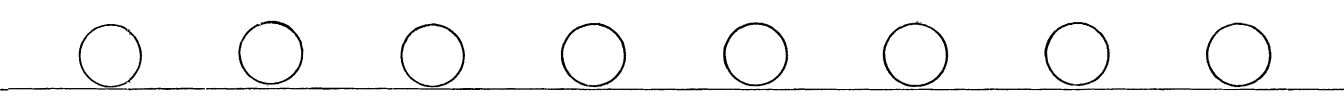
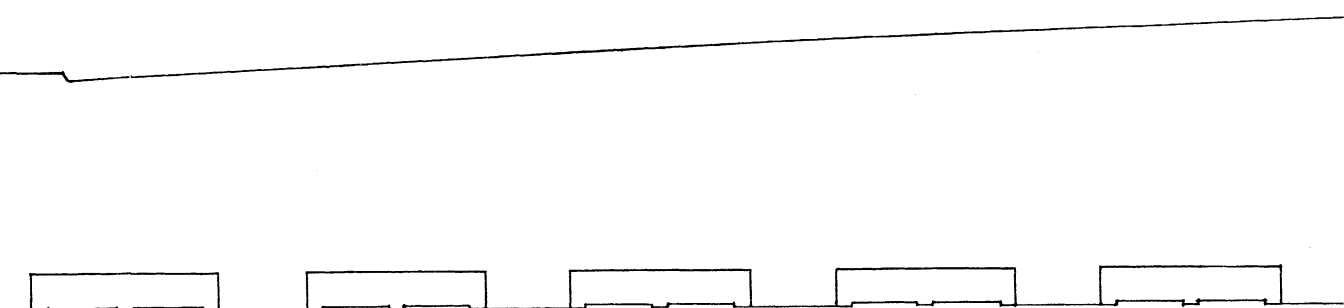
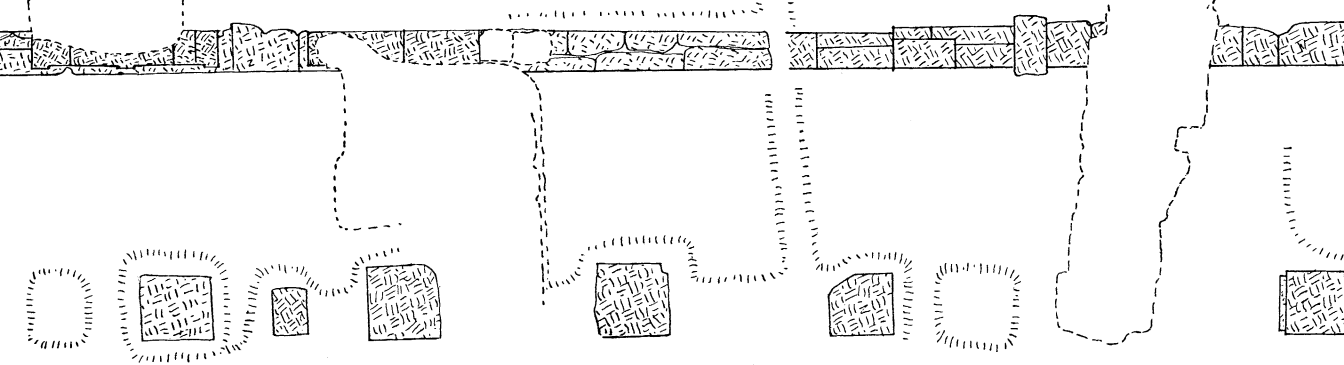




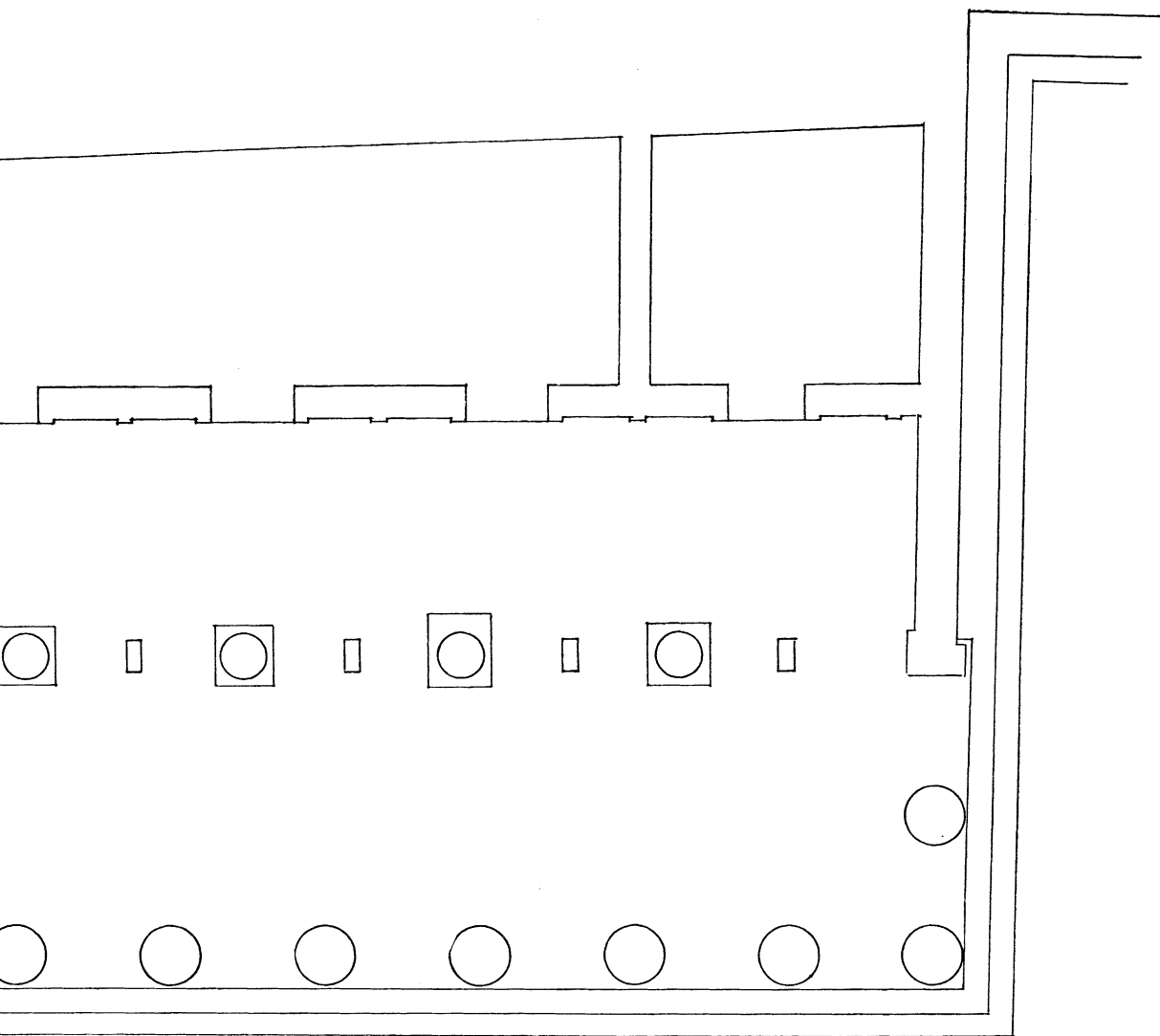
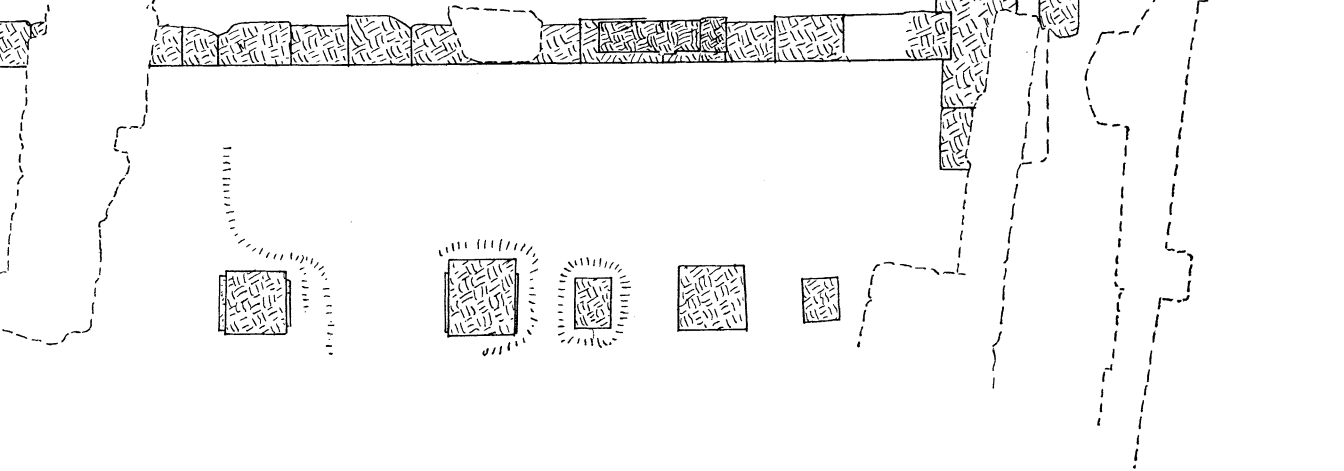


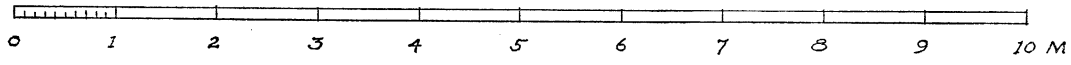
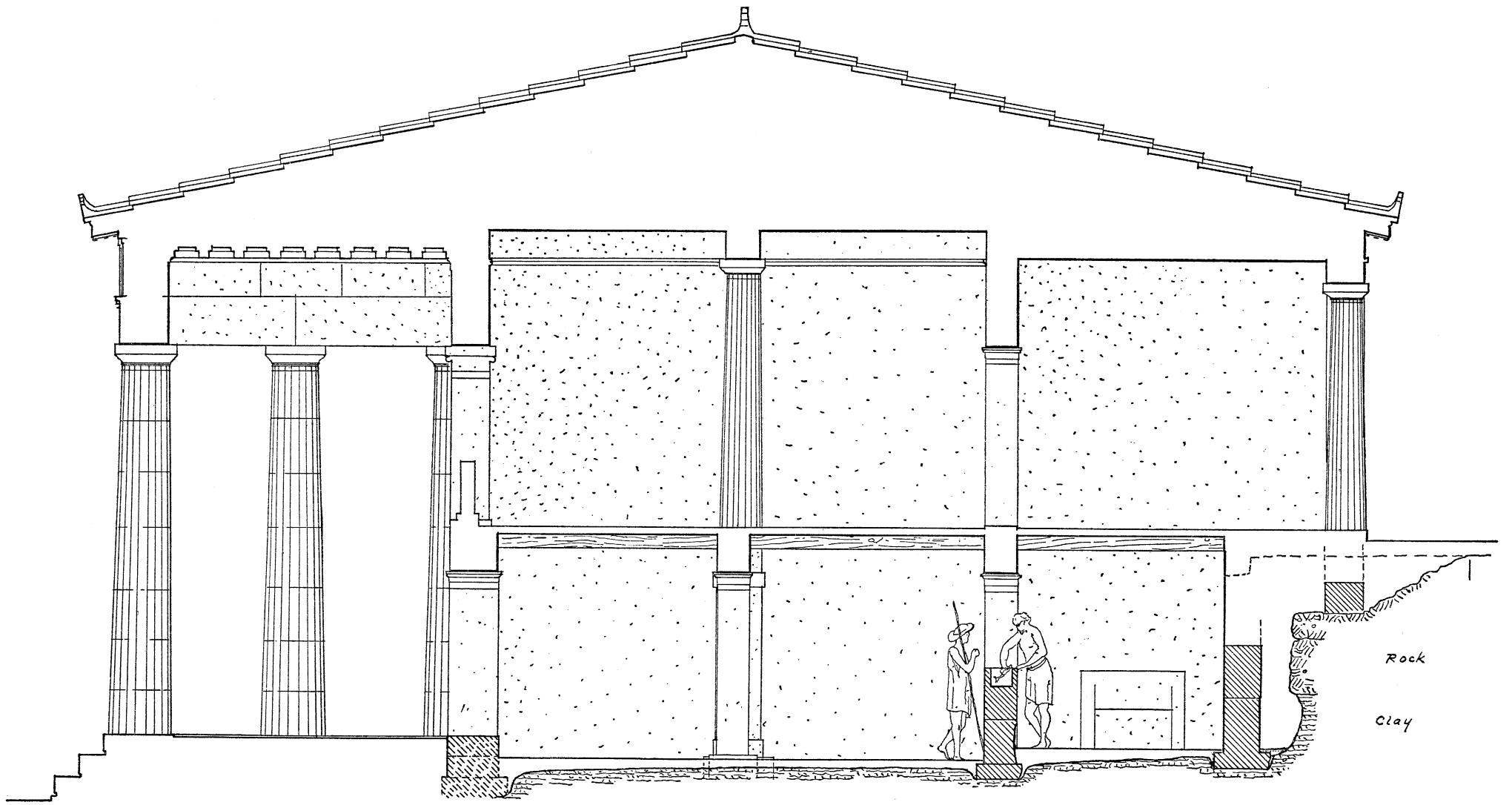


NORTH BUILDING: PLAN

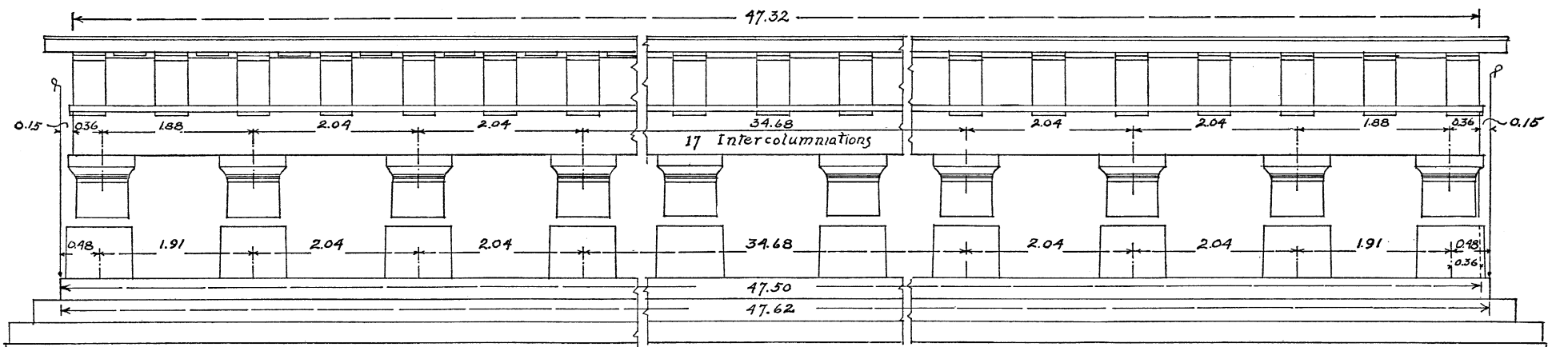
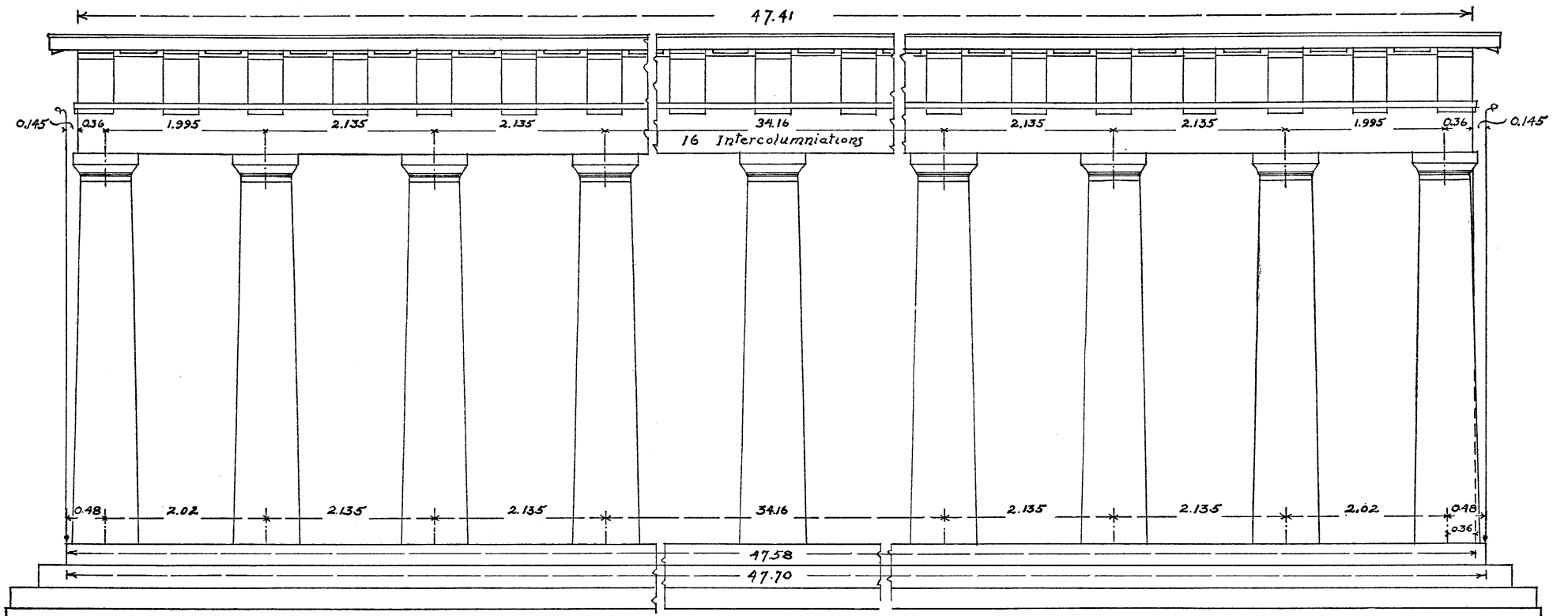


ORTH BUILDING: PLAN



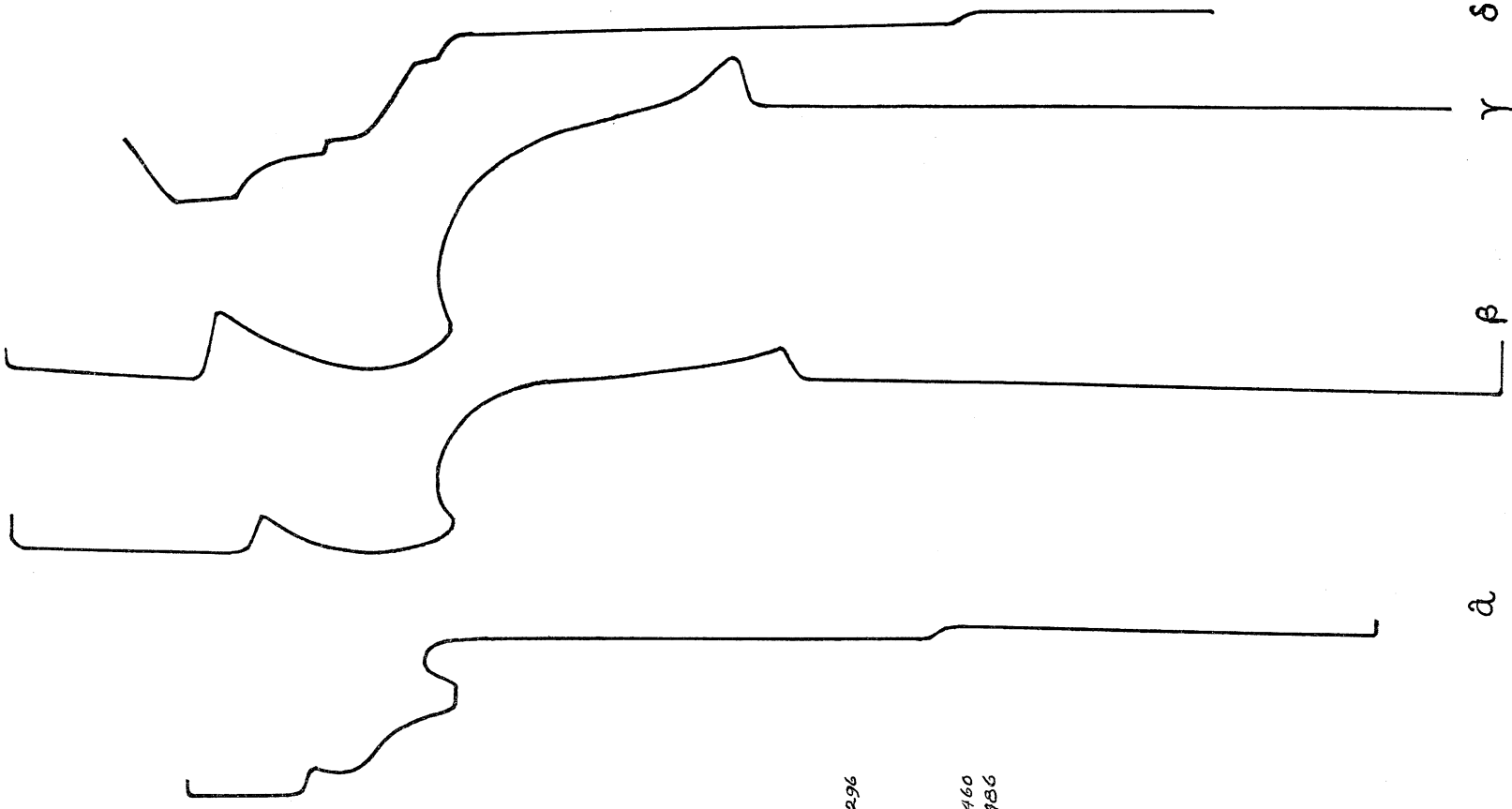


r.s.

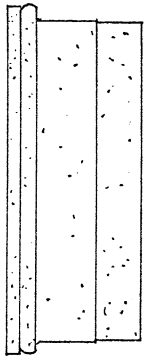


NORTH BUILDING

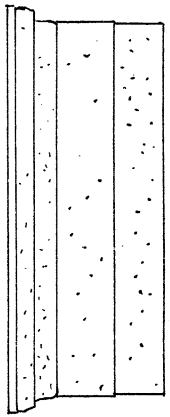
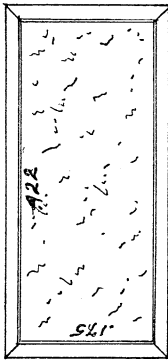
ABOVE: RESTORED SECTION. BELOW: DIAGRAM OF COLUMNS



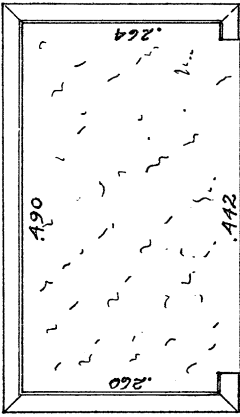
PROFILES - FULL SIZE



8



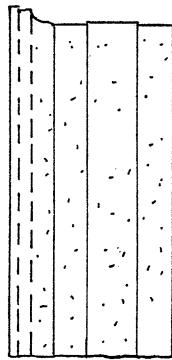
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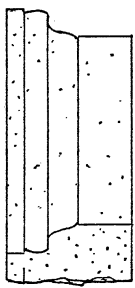
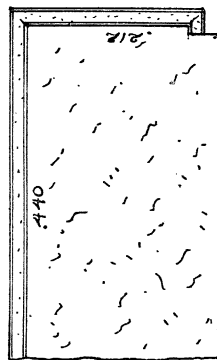
9

y .296  
y .160  
y .186

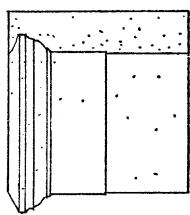
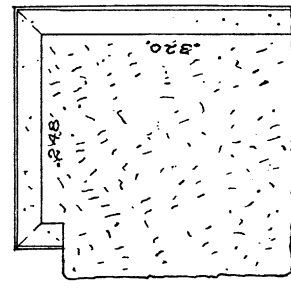
Preserved L. = 0.80



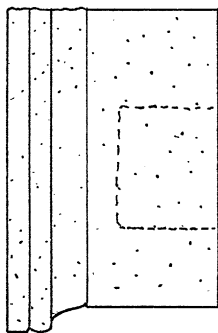
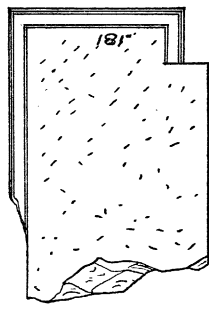
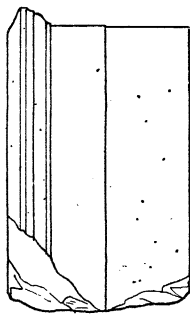
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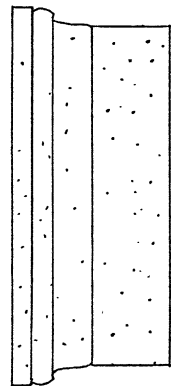
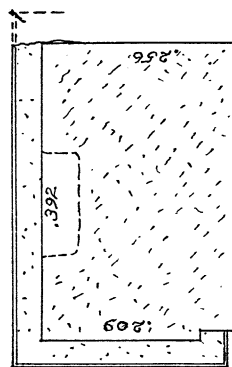
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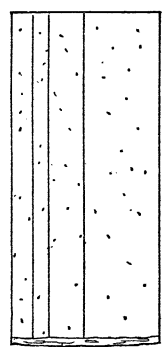
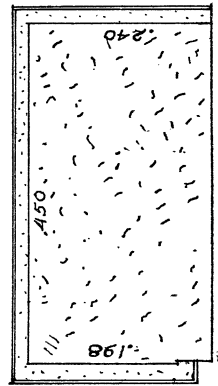
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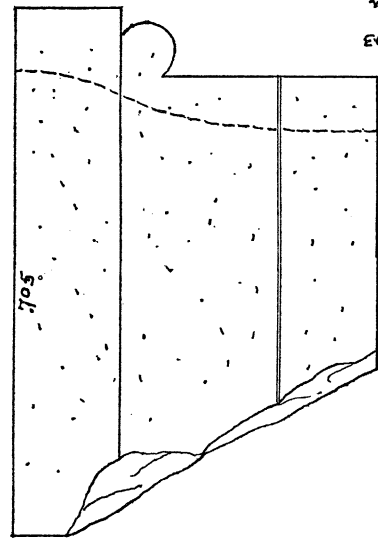
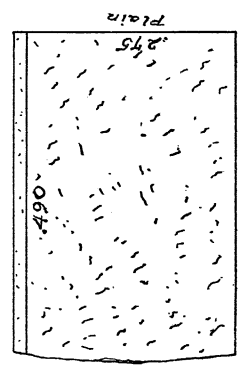
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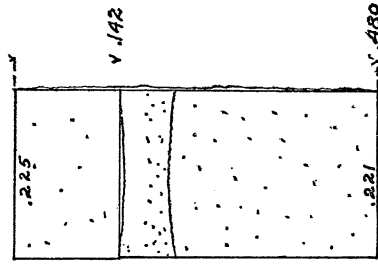
5



3



10



SCALE 0.01 = 0.10

R.S.