

THE NEMEAN WELLS: SANCTUARY CONTEXT AND RITUAL ACTIVITY IN
THE NORTHEAST PELOPONNESE.

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In Partial Fulfillment

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Doctor of Philosophy

by

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THE NEMEAN WELLS: SANCTUARY CONTEXT AND RITUAL ACTIVITY IN
THE NORTHEAST PELOPONNESE.

presented by Stephanie M. Kimmey,

a candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy,

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*For my family who have supported
me throughout every step of this journey.*

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INTRODUCTION

The Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea is a small panhellenic sanctuary in the northeastern Peloponnese. While it was part of the larger Greek athletic cycle, holding games every two years, it has received little attention, both in ancient times and in the present. In modern scholarship, Nemea is often overshadowed by the larger panhellenic sites of Olympia and Delphi. Nevertheless, the site has an interesting history that gives a different perspective of Greek religion and sanctuaries in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. Nemea is the only panhellenic center where the festival and games were removed from the sanctuary for a period of time during the Greek period, resulting in two separate phases of large-scale ritual activity: the first in the 6th and 5th centuries and the second in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE.¹ Excavation of the site has identified ten wells that preserve artifacts originating from both phases of the festival. Analysis of these two periods of site activity, documented by both the contents of the wells and evidence from the wider sanctuary, provides an unique approach to study the development of Greek religion.

This dissertation focuses on the period of festival revival at the sanctuary that occurred at the end of the 4th century and beginning of the 3rd century BCE. A holistic approach to the study the archaeological record of a sanctuary provides a comprehensive picture by which to answer specific questions about ritual and sanctuary activity and

¹ The Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia also appears to have had their games taken after Mummius sacked Corinth in 146 BCE. With Corinth's lost of authority, Sikyon became the custodians of the games, which were likely moved there. The games returned to Isthmia when Corinth became a Roman colony in 44 BCE (Gebhard 1994).

visitor engagement with the site. This approach also addresses larger issues that refine the way religious space is interpreted. The archaeological record and textual sources both play a part in reconstructing religion and ritual at Nemea during the second phase of sanctuary use.

In addition to Nemea's unique history, study of the material culture from the site shows a change in religious depositions that also occurs in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. Nemea does not provide many votive deposits, like those at Olympia, with an abundance of sculpture, figurines, or bronzes. One of the preserved exceptions is a bronze hydria from the end of the 6th century, inscribed on the rim as belonging to Zeus: $\text{TO } \Delta\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma\text{EIMI TO NEMEI}$.² Instead, votive deposits at Nemea, dating to the Archaic to Classical periods, are characterized by the abundance of ceramic vessels, especially Corinthian kotylai. These deposits have been found in several contexts, such as within the heroön and at a nearby spring.³ There are no clearly identified votive deposits from the second phase of the festival. Even with the paucity of votive evidence from Nemea, there is a change between the Archaic/Classical periods and the Late Classical/Hellenistic periods clearly preserved in the archaeological record. This change in votive habits has been noted also at other sanctuaries and suggests a wider development across the Greek world.⁴ A change in votive behavior at Nemea was an early question driving this

² Miller 1978, 84. For further discussion of the hydria (92), see Well L17:2 in Chapter 3. Additional fragments of bronze hydriai, mostly bases, have been found in the wells, suggesting the presence of other similar vessels.

³ For the heroön, see *Nemea* IV and Bravo 2006, 24-30, 51-3. For the spring, see Barfoed 2009; 2017.

⁴ See Alroth 1998, who notes that the custom of dedicating figurines did not continue into the Hellenistic phase in some sanctuaries, but it continued and even increased in others or started anew. See also Hammond 1997, who traces the development and change of votive miniatures at the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.

dissertation, which seeks to explore larger issues concerning ritual and religious activities at Nemea and nearby sanctuaries.

Unfortunately, a diachronic study of specific deposit types, such as votives, at Nemea is difficult because of the preservation of the archaeological material. As Stephen Miller has noted:

Nemea is a difficult and frustrating site to excavate. Unlike city-states with continual habitation and a fairly uniform buildup of layers of construction or destruction or habitation debris, Nemea was occupied only once every two years for a few days or weeks at the most. In the meantime the weeds grew up, and with the advent of the games it was necessary to chop them down (thus retaining the same basic ground level), whitewash the buildings, and generally clean up. Since such activities inevitably destroyed the layers on which archaeologists depend, the wells which were not so easily cleaned up are particularly important to our understanding of the history of Nemea.⁵

Therefore, this dissertation focuses on ten wells as a record of sanctuary activity and upkeep at Nemea. These wells span the topography of the site and represent a wide chronological range.⁶ Due to Nemea's history during the Late Roman, Byzantine, and Early Modern periods, very few deposits associated with the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE have been preserved intact. The wells, as relatively undisturbed closed deposits, are the best contexts with which to study this period of the sanctuary and the transition between the two phases of the festival and games. These deposits allow for comparison between the 6th/5th century (first phase) and the 4th/3rd (second phase) in order to view life in the sanctuary over time, including ritual activity and the use of space as both dynamic and

⁵ Miller 2004, 47.

⁶ Two additional wells from the site (Well K14:3 and K17:1) are not included in the study as both date to a much later phase of the sanctuary. K14:3, next to the temple, was dug in the 3rd and 4th centuries CE. K17:1, due to its location near the xenon, was most likely dug in the 4th century like the others nearby, but was very shallow and thus must have been cleaned out for later reuse as the material dates to the Byzantine period.

adaptive. This dissertation provides a new methodology that relies on wells as discrete, individual units within a larger functional context. This novel treatment of wells recognizes their usefulness to the discussion of Greek sanctuaries as they aid in the recreation of a more nuanced history of activities, ranging from ritual and festival events to routine sanctuary occurrences, like the maintenance of dedications and site cleaning.

Previous incomplete study of these wells was used by Miller to construct a narrative of destruction and abandonment at Nemea. Two wells had been presented as having clear stratigraphy with material from the 5th century at the bottom, a gap in the material representing the period of abandonment, and 4th century material at the top. My reconstruction of the wells does not support this narrative as the contents were more mixed than had been acknowledged. While external evidence, such as inscriptions found at Argos and historical texts, supports the move of the games to Argos, the wells simply can not be used as evidence for that abandonment of the site. This dissertation focuses on the complete contents of the wells as witnesses to Nemea's history.

Methodology

As part of my examination of the ten well deposits, I studied both unstudied material stored in the basement of the Peterson Museum at Nemea and the finds registered as museum objects. I conducted most of my research during the 2014 and 2015 summer study seasons. During the fall of 2015, I re-examined the previously

studied Wells L17:1 and L17:2 and sampled the reservoir.⁷ I completed my study of the well deposits in the summer of 2016. I consulted both the original notebooks and preliminary reports published in *Hesperia* for excavation history and physical details of the wells. All the wells are currently covered/sealed with large concrete slabs for safety of visitors to the site or covered over with backfill; thus all physical descriptions come from the excavation notebooks and reports. The differences in excavation conditions and study are fully detailed for each well in Chapter Three.

I began my study by examining the contents of each well by layer and lot in an attempt to recreate the excavation process and see if any stratigraphic units could be identified or confirmed. This approach was helpful for the reconstruction of vessels or the identification of possible whole vessels. Within each lot, all artifacts were studied by type with the ceramic contents making up the largest quantity of material. During the excavation seasons, the ceramic assemblages of some wells were studied in order to find and reconstruct whole vessels, which were registered with a museum find number. Thus the first step in my study was to separate the contents of the tins into object categories, as these artifacts were previously unstudied beyond preliminary observations. The faunal remains were separated from the ceramics and marked for future study.⁸

In this dissertation, I divide the ceramic contents into five fabric groups: fine

⁷ I studied both L17 wells as an undergraduate participant of the field school in 2006 and 2007. They were restudied in the fall of 2015 to ensure continuity and to update records to adhere to parameters established for this dissertation. The reservoir is located to the northwest of the heroön and Well E18. Miller had suggested a connection between Well E18 and the reservoir, and thus I sampled the contents of the reservoir for a general picture to compare with the well, rather than a complete study of the contents. It is my intention to conduct a full study of the reservoir at a later date.

⁸ Preliminary observations of the faunal remains from five of the wells (Well L17:1, L17:2, M17:1, K14:4, and L19) were carried out by the zooarchaeologist, Dr. Jackie Meier, in the summers of 2014 and 2017.

ware, blisterware, kitchen/cooking ware (utilitarian ware), semi-coarse, and coarse. All excavated pottery at Nemea is routinely sorted and recorded by these five groups.⁹ While blisterware is a sub-group of fine ware, it has been treated as its own category here because it frequently occurs at Nemea. In these deposits, kitchen and cooking wares are only differentiated by the identification of shape; kitchenware is used for pitchers and other service vessels, while cooking ware is used for heat proof pots and dishes (chytrai and lopas). These two categories have been grouped together as utilitarian ware, characterized by their service function and uniformity in fabric, which is distinguished by the abundance of inclusions and orange to reddish orange or gray fabric color. These vessel fragments stood in stark contrast to the fine ware fabrics, which ranged from cream/buff to tannish/reddish brown.¹⁰ Semi-coarse and coarse ware fabrics were the least represented in the wells. A much larger, more general term, domestic ware, was used to distinguish kitchen/cooking, semi-coarse, and coarse wares from fine and blister wares. Tiles were cataloged separately from the ceramic vessels.

During the study phase, the sherds were divided into groups by element type - base, handle, rim, and body - and then counted by type, with totals produced for each fabric group. These counts are meant to give a general picture of fabric proportion between the wells, rather than to be used for any quantification studies. Any joins, especially ones that resulted in a single vessel, were noted. Diagnostic sherds from these

⁹ This study of the ceramics corresponds with the parameters established when Shelton became director of excavations in 2006 in order to ensure continuity with her study of the ceramics, which will be published as a Nemea volume.

¹⁰ The majority of the fine ware fabrics found at Nemea correspond to major production centers - Corinth, Argos, and Attica. The only other fabric group is local, mostly corresponding to the kitchenware vessels, which was recently presented in Graybehl's dissertation (Graybehl 2014). She suggests that some vessels were produced in the kiln in addition to the tile and other building materials.

groups were further cataloged to include vessel type, date, measurement, description, and comparanda, and given a unique number consisting of the deposit, lot, and a running number. Most diagnostic sherds were from the base or rim rather than body, as very few were decorated beyond a monochrome glaze. The exceptions are body sherds of Corinthian kotylai and moldmade bowls, both of which have distinctive decoration. Cataloged pieces were then photographed and drawn.

Following the study of the ceramics, any additional artifacts found in the tins were processed and registered with Nemea Museum numbers, including any whole pots that were reconstructed from the sherd study. In general, these included objects overlooked in the original excavation or materials that would result in further damage to the pottery sherds if continued to be stored together. Such artifacts as lamp fragments, kiln wedges, loom weights, glass shards, and metal objects, as well as stone samples, were cataloged according to the Nemea Museum system, assigned museum and excavation numbers, and moved to the apotheke for storage.

For the dissertation, the catalog of artifacts (Appendix B) is organized by well, allowing each deposit of material to be studied as a group. The order of the wells in the catalog mirrors the order discussed in Chapter Three. The organization proceeds by the overall characteristic stratigraphic or deposition sequence of the well. Wells L17:1, L17:2, and M17:2 have a higher proportion of 6th/5th century material deposited from sanctuary clean-up with 4th/3rd material. The remaining wells, K14:4, E18, L19, N17:2, O16:1, O17:1, and O17:2, have mostly 4th/3rd century material.

Format

The topographical and chronological range of the wells presents the most promising picture of activity at the sanctuary and provides the clearest evidence to identify ritual. In addition, the wells preserve a wide range of material from ceramics to inscriptions, allowing for a more holistic study of this period at this site. To allow for a wider scope of study, the building program that occurred at the end of the 4th century is also addressed. This includes the temple, altar, heroön, sacred grove, houses, bathhouse, xenon, and stadium. By including the associated building program, I show how the remodeling of the sacred space deliberately mirrors the changes in sanctuary life. The locations of the buildings, their relationship with one another, and the types of activities they supported are analyzed with an emphasis on movement and ritual dynamics. The literary references, as external sources, can fill lacunae left by the archaeological record. Thus this chronologically restricted, cross-media study of Nemea addresses a unique second phase of a panhellenic sanctuary that was different from the century prior.

By relying on the role of material culture within a larger study of the archaeology of ritual activity, this project aims to refine our understanding of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea. Chapter One outlines the history of the sanctuary, including the history of excavations and the mythical traditions associated with Nemea. It also reviews the history of scholarship on Greek religion and sanctuaries, the archaeology of religion and ritual and the corresponding role of material culture, and the individual and lived religion. In addition, a discussion of well archaeology is included to present my methodology for the identification of depositional events.

Chapter Two introduces the Sanctuary of Zeus. It surveys the history of the site during its development in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. The historical evidence for the removal of the games by Argos at the end of the 5th century BCE is explored in order to recreate the circumstances under which the games were transferred from and returned to Nemea. The chapter also presents the 4th century BCE rebuilding program, with an emphasis on the changes to the architecture and the surrounding landscape. This chapter provides the historical framework for the following discussion of the wells as evidence of sanctuary activity. It also shows the deliberate choices made in regards to the landscape and the space, such as the placement of religious and athletic facilities.

Chapter Three presents the ten individual well. For every well, I have determined the different depositional events and discussed the artifacts within these contexts. The contents of each well are presented to reflect the deposition of the artifacts rather than by excavation history. My aim is to present a full narrative of the use of each well and how the objects of a given period ended up in the well. I begin with the wells that have a higher proportion of 6th and 5th century BCE material and continue to those with more evidence of 4th and 3rd century BCE use. Each well narrative is also shaped by its location within the sanctuary by taking into consideration the nearby buildings or empty spaces.

Chapter Four presents the interpretations of the well assemblages as a single group and places Nemea into a larger context. The analysis and interpretations of the ten wells as a group to discuss the types of activities occurring at the sanctuary, highlighting both continuity and change. The history and character of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea

has often been represented as a smaller version of the larger panhellenic games. In this chapter, I bring Nemea back into the larger discussion of panhellenic sanctuaries to demonstrate how Nemea functioned as a sanctuary separate from the athletic competitions. The goal of this case study is to provide the foundation for future work on sanctuaries and religion within the northeast Peloponnese. Comparisons between Nemea and other regional sanctuaries can shed light on religious practice on a wider scale to consider if activities are site specific, driven by sanctuary type, or more generalized throughout the northeastern Peloponnese.

The Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and the study of wells are both overlooked, but this dissertation provides a new way to understand the site and the activities which took place there, and their treatment in this dissertation breaks new ground in recognizing the usefulness of wells within the discussion of Greek sanctuaries and religion.

CHAPTER 1: HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea

The Sanctuary of Zeus in the Nemea valley was the site of a panhellenic festival that had great religious, political, and social importance within the Greek world aided by its location on the border of the Corinthia and Argolid. The long and narrow valley is surrounded by mountains on all sides, resulting in strong winds that keep the valley cool during the summer months of July and August, when the games were held. Through the valley runs the Nemea River, which extends north to the Gulf of Corinth, and served as a route for travelers to the site or continuing from the Argolid.¹¹ Unlike the other panhellenic sanctuaries, there was no major polis near Nemea. Thus the location for the sanctuary was centered in the crossroads of four major political areas - the Corinthia to the northeast, the Argolid to the south, Arcadia to the west, and Achaea to the northwest.¹² (**Pl. 1a**) No one polis controlled the games; the traditional custodian of the games is often identified as nearby Kleonai, to the east of Nemea and separated from the

¹¹ Marchand (2002, 171) has noted that the Nemea valley is ringed by these mountains and was created by erosion from water that ran down the mountains to the Nemea River. The river had an outlet to the north towards the Corinthian Gulf, but blocked up over time, requiring manual clearing. This blockage would result in the valley becoming marshy, as was noted by Dodwell during his 1805 visit. In fact, Miller (2015, 279) records that the modern Nemea River only came into existence after the French engineering team drained the valley in 1883. The Nemea River has ebbed and flowed over time, changing course several times. Its change in path damaged several features in the sanctuary, including the heroön, bathhouse, and early stadium (Miller 2015, 279-86). There are several examples of ancient manipulation of the river's course through a series of embankments and drainage features found to the west of the heroön (Shelton 2011; 2010 excavation season) and an Early Christian dam north of the bathhouse (Miller 2015, 284-5).

¹² Miller (1992, 81) suggests that, "Nemea was an international no-man's land in antiquity," thus the sanctuary's location was deliberately chosen for its political ambiguity. While this is apparent from the chosen location, with no obvious major polis to control the games, it does not fully explain why this no-man's land would be suitable for the site of a panhellenic sanctuary, especially considering that Olympia, Delphi, and Isthmia were so clearly associated with specific custodians. Perhaps its status as the youngest of the four games dictated the need for a truly neutral location.

valley by the foothills of Mt. Apesas.¹³

The placement of the sanctuary within the valley was deliberate as regional travel for the competition was aided by the roads that extended through it. A study of the extensive network of roads between Kleonai and Nemea by Jeannette Marchand supports that they were constructed to allow easy access between the two sites.¹⁴ This network would have extended in all directions for visitors, spectators, and competitors of the Nemean Games. Therefore, the sanctuary was placed in an excellent geographical location to promote communication, economic trade, and cultural exchange throughout the region.

In fact, Pausanias' visit to Nemea is presented on his way from Kleonai to Argos.

Though by his time the sanctuary was in ruin, and he had very little to say about it.

From Cleonae to Argos are two roads; one is direct and only for active men, the other goes along the pass called Tretus, is narrow like the other, being surrounded by mountains, but is nevertheless more suitable for carriages. In these mountains is still shown the cave of the famous lion, and the place Nemea is distant some fifteen stades. In Nemea is a noteworthy temple of Nemean Zeus, but I found that the roof had fallen in and that there was no longer remaining any image. Around the temple is a grove of cypress trees, and here it is, they say, that Opheltes was placed by his nurse in the grass and killed by the serpent. The Argives offer burnt sacrifices to Zeus in Nemea also, and elect a priest of Nemean Zeus; moreover, they offer a prize for a race in armor at the winter celebration of the Nemean games. In this place is the grave of Opheltes; around it is a fence of stones, and within the enclosure are altars. There is

¹³ To the west of the valley is ancient Phlious, placing the sanctuary nearly equidistant between Phlious and Kleonai. But there are no ancient sources that suggest the sanctuary and games were ever under the control of Phlious or that the valley was in Phliasian territory. Some finds at the sanctuary, specifically coins, show Phlious' participation in the festival. A total of 148 coins from Phlious were found at the sanctuary, spanning the 5th to 3rd centuries BCE (*Nemea* III, 6). The majority show a bull on the obverse and a Φ on the reverse. A single example depicts a female head on the obverse, possibly Hebe, and six from the end of the 4th century had an Athena head in a crested helmet on the obverse and a bull below Φ on the obverse. From the literary evidence, Pindar's *Nemean* 6 celebrates a Phliasian victor at the games.

¹⁴ Marchand (2009, 43) notes that Greek roads did not function only for military purposes, as the ones between Kleonai and Nemea were too narrow, which is often the case with local roads. Thus these were designed for "aqueduct construction and maintenance, quarry and construction transport, access to the springs," and the Sanctuary of Zeus.

also a mound of earth which is the tomb of Lycurgus, the father of Opheltes. The spring they call Adrastea for some reason or other, perhaps because Adrastus found it. The land was named, they say, after Nemea, who was another daughter of Asopus. Above Nemea is Mount Apesas, where they say that Perseus first sacrificed to Zeus of Apesas.¹⁵

Tradition places the first games at the sanctuary in 573 BCE, but the site preserves evidence of sporadic activity spanning from the Early Neolithic to the end of the Bronze Age.¹⁶ The low-lying hill of Tsoungiza to the west of the sanctuary was occupied by a prehistoric settlement preserving Neolithic, Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Age remains.¹⁷ Late Geometric pottery has been found throughout the sanctuary, often mixed with contexts from other time periods, though a higher quantity has been found near the heroön.¹⁸ These early remains support a much longer use of the valley prior to the establishment of the sanctuary, though no major settlement occurred until the Early Christian period.¹⁹ Unlike the other three panhellenic sanctuaries, Nemea did not have a

¹⁵ Paus. 2.15.2-3, trans. W.H.S. Jones, et al., Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1918. ἐκ Κλεωνῶν δὲ εἰσιν ἐς Ἄργος ὁδοὶ δύο, ἡ μὲν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίτομος, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Τρητοῦ, στενὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ περιεχόντων ὁρῶν, ὀχθήμασι δὲ ἔστιν ὅμως ἐπιτηδειότερα. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὄρεσι τὸ σπήλαιον ἔτι δείκνυται τοῦ λέοντος, καὶ ἡ Νεμέα τὸ χωρίον ἀπέχει σταδίου πέντε πηγῶν καὶ δέκα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ Νεμείου τε Διὸς ναὸς ἔστι θεᾶς ἄξιος, πλὴν ὅσον κατερρυήκει τε ὁ ὄροφος καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο· κυπαρίσσων τε ἄλσος ἔστι περὶ τὸν ναόν, καὶ τὸν Ὀφέλτην ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῆς τροφοῦ τεθέντα ἐς τὴν πόαν διαφθάρηνα λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος. θύουσι δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Νεμείου Διὸς ἱερέα αἰροῦνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα ἀνδράσιν ὀπλισμένοις Νεμείων πανηγύρει τῶν χειμερινῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν Ὀφέλτου τάφος, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν θριγκὸς λίθων καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου βωμοί· ἔστι δὲ χῶμα γῆς Λυκούργου μνήμα τοῦ Ὀφέλτου πατρός. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν Ἀδράστειαν ὀνομάζουσιν εἴτε ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ αἰτίᾳ εἴτε καὶ ἀνευρόντος αὐτὴν Ἀδράστου· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα λέγουσι τῆς χώρας Νεμέαν δοῦναι θυγατέρα Ἀσωποῦ καὶ ταύτην. καὶ ὄρος Ἀπέσας ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἔνθα Περσέα πρῶτον Διὶ θύσαι λέγουσιν Ἀπεσαντίῳ.

¹⁶ Miller 1977, 20; *RE* 32, 2322-7; Shelton 2013b, 348.

¹⁷ Pullen 1990, 331.

¹⁸ Shelton 2013b, 347.

¹⁹ The Early Christian period at Nemea is, more precisely, the period of the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries CE, when an agricultural settlement, of demonstrably Christian faith, grew up among the ruins of the old Sanctuary of Zeus. Due to the nature of the valley and river, the low-lying area, where the sanctuary was built, was often flooded becoming more like a marsh. The water table's fluctuation is well recorded by both travelers to the site and recent excavation efforts. Also see Shelton (2013, 347).

history of pilgrimage and cult activity prior to the establishment of the games in the 6th century BCE. In fact, the construction of the first temple dates to the first half of the 6th century, corresponding with the founding of the games and leading scholars to suggest their close connection.²⁰

Once the games were established, building on site accommodates the needs of a panhellenic sanctuary. What sets Nemea apart from the other three panhellenic sanctuaries are the two separate use-phases of the site for the Nemean Games. The panhellenic festival was held at the sanctuary in the 6th to 5th centuries BCE, transferred to Argos for the majority of the 4th century, returned to Nemea from the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd, and then finally, relocated permanently to Argos until the games were no longer celebrated.²¹ According to Miller, “all major structures at Nemea are automatically to be dated either to the general period between roughly 573 and 410 B.C. or to the years from ca. 330 to ca. 270 B.C.”²² While this statement is correct, as there were two clear phases of building at the sanctuary, it oversimplifies the history of Nemea and the use of the sanctuary. This current study shows that the history of the sanctuary is more complicated than has previously been acknowledged, as there is no secure evidence for these specific dates.

In the 6th century, the sanctuary was equipped with a temple, altar, oikoi, stadium track, and heroön.²³ Nemea does not have abundant evidence as a pilgrimage site in the

²⁰ Morgan 1993, 36. Shelton (2014) suggests that the festivals may have helped to finance the building.

²¹ This complicated history will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

²² *Nemea* I, xxx.

²³ The oikoi are a series of nine building to the south of the temple that have been identified as “treasuries” or club houses.

Early Iron Age.²⁴ Two locations within the sanctuary suggest local religious activity just prior to the addition of the permanent structures. The area around the altar and the eastern part of the sanctuary preserve Late Helladic artifacts, primarily LH III, and Late Geometric, mostly of the late 8th century.²⁵ The same can be seen near the heroön in the southwestern area of the sanctuary. While cult continuity cannot be argued from the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age, it is possible that these two locations held significance for locals, therefore, encouraged the placement of two significant ritual buildings, the altar and heroön.

In the 4th century, many of the earlier building types were maintained, but a few new structures were added. The temple was rebuilt, the altar was extended, and the heroön was refurbished with a new retaining wall. The exact history of the oikoi is unclear, due to limited preservation, but it appears that many were either destroyed or remodeled.²⁶ The new buildings included the xenon, a bath complex, and stadium. Those buildings with strong religious importance, such as the temple, altar, and heroön, were rebuilt in their original location. Meanwhile, the buildings that enhanced the athletic nature of the site were built without restrictions attached to their placement.²⁷

²⁴ Much of the excavations by Miller were focused on the years of the games and did not reach the depths of the pre-6th century stratigraphic levels, leaving the early history of the site unclear. The early history of Isthmia is more clear, with evidence of dining assemblages, terracotta figurines and jewelry from the 9th century and by the middle of the 8th century, an increase in metal dedications, such as weapons and tripods (Morgan 1998).

²⁵ Shelton 2013b, 347-8.

²⁶ Miller 2004, 139.

²⁷ Both phases of the sanctuary must have had a hippodrome, since chariot races were an event at the games. Excavation and geophysical survey have not securely identified the location of the race track.

Mythical Traditions

Two mythical traditions are associated with the sanctuary and the games: the myth of Opheltes and Herakles defeating the Nemean lion. While both have strong connections to the site, it is the death of Opheltes that provided the aetiology for the games and influenced the topography of the sanctuary. The myth of Herakles and the Nemean lion is one of the oldest myths associated with the site of Nemea, attested in Hesiod's *Theogony*, and continues to hold significance for the valley in the present day.²⁸ The Herakles myth was not associated in literature with the games until the 1st century CE.²⁹ Both myths have influenced the traditional history of the site and deserve some attention, especially in regards to site ritual.³⁰

The myth of Opheltes and the connection to the Nemean Games were established prior to the 5th century. Aeschylus' play *Seven Against Thebes*, of which only the title survives, and the fragmentary play of Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, attest to this.³¹ In the territory of Nemea, King Lycurgus, a priest of Zeus, and his wife, Eurydike, had a baby boy, Opheltes. The Pythian oracle had told them that the child should not touch the ground until he learned to walk. Lycurgus thus hired a slave nurse, Hypsipyle, the exiled Lemnian princess, to care for the baby. While the Seven Against Thebes were traveling from Argos, their march took them through the Nemea Valley, and there they encountered the nurse Hypsipyle with the baby Opheltes. Asking for water from the

²⁸ Hes. *Theog.* 327-332; Sutton 2010.

²⁹ Pache 2004, 97; Marchand 2002, 199. The connection is mentioned in Kallimachos' *Aitia* 3 - *Victory Song for Berenike*, from the 3rd century BCE and is discussed further below.

³⁰ See *Nemea* IV (224-314) for a full discussion of the myth of Opheltes and the mythical connection to the games.

³¹ In this play, Hypsipyle is rescued from Nemea by her two sons, Euneos and Thaos, by Jason.

nearest spring, Hypsipyle set Opheltes down, where he was killed by a serpent's bite. No one was able to act fast enough to save the baby. The Argive seer, Amphiaros, warned this was an omen, and the Seven instituted the Nemean Games in Opheltes' honor and to appease the gods. In addition, Amphiaros bestowed a new name upon the baby - Archemoros, meaning "the beginner of doom," a compound of ἀρχή and μόρος. Each of the Seven won one of the events, and they continued on their way to Thebes.³²

The myth of Opheltes' death thus establishes several *aetia* for the Nemean Games. The funeral games became a ritualized event occurring every two years at Nemea. The judges of the games wore black as a sign of mourning, and the victors were crowned with a wreath of wild celery, the plant in which Opheltes had been set.³³ Within the physical landscape of the sanctuary, the site of Opheltes' grave became a location of ritual activity at the heroön constructed for the newly created hero.³⁴ Most importantly, the foundation of the Nemean Games was situated into the larger narrative of the Seven Against Thebes, an important Argive myth. Thus the games and the hero cult of Opheltes were linked to the Argives, creating a strong political connection between Nemea and Argos, a relationship that would impact the history of the sanctuary and games in the 4th and 3rd centuries.

³² Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.4; Hyg. *Fab.* 74.

³³ Bravo (*Nemea* IV, 309) points out that the evidence for the invention of the wild celery crown was not attributed to either Opheltes or Herakles until the Hellenistic period. He suggests that the crown was not originally associated with myth, but rather chosen based upon local availability, only to be incorporated into the myths later on to more fully develop the legend of Opheltes. In personal communications, I have been told that the modern species of wild celery can be seen in the hillside today, suggesting its presence in the Nemea Valley in antiquity.

³⁴ Bravo (*Nemea* IV, 229) notes that the earliest sources for the myth of Opheltes are about 100 years after the construction of the heroön, leaving the origin of the myth somewhat obscure. He concludes that the myth must have existed in some form prior to the establishment of the cult in the 6th century.

Unlike the myth of Opheltes, which is rather obscure in the Classical tradition, the myth of Herakles and the Nemean lion, his first of the canonical 12 labors, was well represented in Archaic and Classical art and literature. Herakles was sent to Nemea to kill the lion that had been ravaging the countryside. Of course, as befits a hero's labor, the lion was not ordinary but endowed with an impenetrable hide. Herakles was able to kill the lion with its own claws, keeping the hide as a protective mantle for future labors. The tradition continues with Herakles completing five other labors in the Peloponnese before moving to the larger Greek world.³⁵ While this myth would have been well known to locals, archaeologically, the only evidence of the myth found at Nemea is a small bronze attachment in the shape of a lion's head and a piece of gold foil with the representation of Herakles' face wearing the lion's skin.³⁶ While ancient literary sources may suggest a connection between Herakles and the games, no visitor to the sanctuary acknowledged his importance through votive imagery.

One of the clearest connections between Herakles and the Nemean Games is recorded in the fragmentary poem of Kallimachos, *Aitia 3 - Victory Song for Berenike*. The poem celebrates the victory of Queen Berenike II (227/6-221 BCE) in the chariot race in the Nemean Games.³⁷ It opens with a gift of thanks to Zeus and Nemea for her

³⁵ Herakles' connection to the Peloponnese is seen through the location of the first six labors. Pindar connects Herakles to the foundation of Olympian games (Pind. *Ol.* 2.3-4, *Ol.* 3.36-38).

³⁶ Conversations recorded by Sutton (2010, 118-9) with locals in the modern village of Ancient Nemea show the continued importance of the myth of Herakles. In her experience, Herakles and the cave of the Nemean Lion hold more interest to modern residents than any other ancient past, mythical or historical. To this day, the youth of Ancient Nemea have shown me the location that villagers agree is the site of the lion's cave, tucked into the hillside behind the modern cemetery, near the road to Kleonai. The continued importance of Herakles to the locals is most evident in the official name of the village, Heraklion. Nemea Museum BR 1040 and GJ 26.

³⁷ Nisetich 2001, 130. Queen Berenike married Ptolemy III Euergetes, who reigned from 246-222 BCE, thus placing her victories in a time when the games were shuffled back and forth between Nemea and Argos. See Chapter Two for a more in depth discussion of the transfer of games.

victory, and the chariot that “ran past the tomb of Opheltes.”³⁸ The tomb is the only topographical location preserved in the ode, demonstrating its importance to the sanctuary landscape.³⁹ In the mode of Pindar, Kallimachos’ poem mostly recounts a myth associated with the victory location - Herakles and the Nemean lion. Although fragmentary, it records Herakles’ journey into the Nemea Valley through Kleonai before and after the labor, where he stayed with Molorchos, a poor old farmer.⁴⁰ During his stay with Molorchos, Kallimachos juxtaposes the Nemean lion raging the countryside to the mice infesting Molorchos’ home and thus, Herakles’ club against the lion to mousetraps. Thus the minor *aition* complements the major *aition* of Herakles, which is alluded to in the last preserved line of text. “And to this day/the sacred rite, never ceasing.”⁴¹

Although not explicit, Kallimachos appears to associate a sacred rite with Herakles at Nemea. According to a Latin commentary on Virgil’s *Georgics*, these lines record Herakles’ establishment of the games, which were later renewed by the Seven Against

³⁸ Callim. *Aet.* 3.8- 9, trans. Nisetich 2001.

³⁹ The inclusion of the tomb also presents a potential location for the hippodrome at Nemea. Since the chariot team races past the tomb, the suggestion would be that the two were located near one another. The topography of the sanctuary does allow for a hippodrome near the hero shrine, and Miller (2004, 131-3) has suggested that it ran next to the early stadium. But caution is needed when using literary sources to recreate the archaeology of the site. More importantly, Berenike’s victory most likely occurred while the Nemean Games were celebrated in Argos, not at the Sanctuary of Zeus. Thus her chariot would not have run past the tomb, as there is no evidence that worship of the hero Opheltes was transferred to Argos, let alone his tomb. It is most likely that Kallimachos is employing literary freedom to recount Berenike’s victory. Thus while the games had returned to Argos by the 3rd century, Kallimachos places Berenike’s victory in the Nemean Games at the sanctuary in Nemea.

⁴⁰ This version of the myth is also preserved in Apollodorus, who records Herakles going to Kleonai for the lion, staying with Molorkos, and the details of the lion’s death. It ends with “so laying it on his shoulders he carried it to Cleonae. And finding Molorchos on the last of the thirty days about to sacrifice the victim to him as to a dead man, he sacrificed to Saviour Zeus” (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5, trans. J.G. Frazer, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1921.) There is no reference in Apollodorus to Herakles’ relationship to the founding of the Nemean Games.

⁴¹ Callim. *Aet.* 3.123-4, trans. Nisetich 2001.

Thebes.⁴² Since there is no archaeological evidence at Nemea to support a connection between Herakles and the games, it perhaps should be interpreted as Herakles' involvement with the sacred rites already established by the Seven Against Thebes. Nonetheless, a connection between Herakles and Nemea is forged beyond his victory over the lion.

Kallimachos' poem also emphasizes the connection between Herakles and Kleonai, which is equally relevant to the Nemean Games. While in Kleonai, Molorchos entertains Herakles, tells him how to kill the lion, and gives him a club, which becomes Herakles' iconic weapon. This strong relationship between Herakles, Kleonai, and Nemea was evident in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁴³ At the major crossroads in Kleonai between Corinth and Argos, at the fork which leads west to Nemea, stands the Temple of Herakles.⁴⁴ While the temple dates to ca. 200 BCE, worship of Herakles began earlier, as seen on 5th century coins, which depicted Herakles.⁴⁵ The clear

⁴² Probus on Verg. *G.*3.19, trans. Nisetich 2001, 130-1. Molorchos was the host of Herakles, with whom he stayed when he was on his way to kill the Nemean lion. On the point of sacrificing the one ram in his possession in order that he might entertain his guest more generously, he was interrupted by Heracles who asked him to keep the ram in reserve, to sacrifice later, either to him as a god if he were victorious or to his spirit if he were defeated. When, after slaying the lion, Heracles had fallen asleep (either through the hatred of Hera, who begrudged him divine honors, or through mere exhaustion), he awoke and made up for the loss with marvelous speed, and donning a garland of wild parsley, the same that is used by Nemean victors [...] he came upon Molorchos preparing a sacrifice to the dead (the ram, indeed having already been sprinkled with the preliminary barley meal). Heracles then established the Nemean festival which was renewed, in later times by the Seven Against Thebes to honor the dead Archemoros. But mention is made of Molorchos in Callimachus, in the books of his *Aitia*.

⁴³ Marchand 2002, 199-208.

⁴⁴ First excavated by A. Frickenhaus in 1919 and later re-examined by T. Mattern of Marburg University (Marchand 2002, 111, n. 180; 2009, 41).

⁴⁵ 5th century coins of Kleonai depicted Herakles in the lion skin or the Nemean lion on the obverse and an incuse K on the reverse (Marchand 2002, 481, 2009, 41-2). In addition, a total of 31 bronze coins from Kleonai have been found at Nemea, with a high percentage found in the stadium directly opposite the tunnel entrance. Knapp argues that their location would have given the Kleoniaians the best view of the athletes entering the stadium (*Nemea* III, 53). The coins depict the head of Herakles with the lion skin on the obverse and ΚΛΕΩ in a wild celery wreath on the obverse. All 31 coins found at the sanctuary date to the 4th century and therefore are related to Kleonai's continued supervision of the games during their return to Nemea. A single example of this kind of coin was found in Well N17:2 (536).

connection between Kleonai and Nemea is most evident through Kleonai's role as the custodian of the games while celebrated in Nemea. The inclusion of Kleonai in the myth of Herakles at Nemea strengthens the city's connection to the festival, similar to how the Seven Against Thebes provided a connection to Argos.⁴⁶

While major Greek heroes, like Herakles, have been associated with Greek athletics, it is clear that the child heroes are the most important to the rituals of the panhellenic sanctuaries. As Corinne Pache notes:

This mixture of initiation and mourning practices is also imbedded in the Panhellenic athletic competitions at Olympia, Nemea, and Isthmia, which are founded in honor of dead child heroes and play an important role in the formation of Greek youth. While the connections between Greek athletics and heroism are made explicit in the associations of such figures as Achilles and Herakles with the Panhellenic festivals, the more modest narratives of child heroes are in fact at the heart of the myths and rituals at Olympia, Nemea, and Isthmia.⁴⁷

A Nemea, the relationship of myth to religion and ritual can be seen in another way. Jennifer Larson, who examines Greek religion from a cognitivist perspective, aims to understand religion's role in daily practice, since it is a by-product of human behavior and mental processes. She argues, "There is a broad subset of myths which we may legitimately call religions, even if they were not regarded as 'sacred' or paired with rituals."⁴⁸ In her discussion of myth, religion, and ritual, she singles out the Labors of Herakles as an example of a myth that appears to have little religious content, and yet

⁴⁶ Marchand (2002, 201) argues that the existence of two myths should not be seen as a rivalry between Argos and Kleonai, but rather that the Nemean lion myth promoted Kleonai's role at Nemea during the return of the games to the sanctuary. She sees the myths connecting Herakles to Kleonai as already associated with the games in the 5th century in order to validate Kleonai's custodianship and as a way to express rivalry with the other three panhellenic games.

⁴⁷ Pasche 2004, 182.

⁴⁸ Larson 2016, 84.

Herakles was worshiped from the 6th century, suggesting his myths could be refashioned for cultic context.⁴⁹ Thus Herakles at Nemea represented myth as religion; a figure associated with the Nemea Valley, the sanctuary's nearby custodians, and the sanctuary itself as a possible participant of the games. In direct contrast stood the myth of Opheltes, whose death in the mythic past provided the impetus for the ritual in the present.⁵⁰

History of Excavations

By Pausanias' time in the 2nd century CE, the Sanctuary of Zeus had been completely abandoned, with the temple in partial ruins.

In Nemea is a noteworthy temple of Nemean Zeus, but I found that the roof had fallen in and that there was no longer remaining any image. Around the temple is a grove of cypress trees, and here it is, they say, that Opheltes was placed by his nurse in the grass and killed by the serpent. ... In this place is the grave of Opheltes; around it is a fence of stones, and within the enclosure are altars. There is also a mound of earth which is the tomb of Lycurgus, the father of Opheltes.⁵¹

Later destruction of the site occurred in the 5th century CE with the development of the Early Christian community that reused building materials in their basilica and other structures. Nevertheless, three columns of the temple were left standing throughout antiquity that acted as a beacon to travelers of the 18th to 20th centuries.⁵² The earliest account to provide a substantial description was Robert Chandler, who visited the site in

⁴⁹ Larson 2016, 84.

⁵⁰ This relationship between the myths of Opheltes and Herakles in the context of the Nemean Games is also discussed by Bravo (*Nemea IV*, 226-7, 300).

⁵¹ Paus. 2.15.2-3.

⁵² Sutton (2001, 177) found no fewer than 78 accounts of Nemea in travel narratives spanning from 1760 to 1930. The most extensive accounts were provided by Chandler 1776; Clarke 1814; Dowel 1819; Gell 1817; Leake 1830; and Poueuqville 1826 (Sutton 2001, 298, n. 16).

1766 on behalf to the Society of the Dilettanti, to conduct the first excavations of the temple.⁵³

In 1883 a French team drained the valley, and in 1884 archaeologists excavated the Temple of Zeus and part of the Early Christian basilica. Some additional work was conducted in 1912, but none of these campaigns excavated in earnest, leaving the site mostly untouched.⁵⁴ In 1924, the French gave the rights to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Excavation of the site was carried out by Carl W. Blegen and Bert Hodge Hill under the sponsorship of the University of Cincinnati between 1924 and 1926.⁵⁵ During the three-year campaign, Blegen focused his efforts on the temple and altar, the bathhouse, which he misidentified as a gymnasium, the basilica, xenon, and the settlement on Tsoungiza. No major work at the site occurred until Charles K. Williams's 1962 study of the Temple of Zeus.⁵⁶ In 1964, he conducted a full season of excavation focusing on the area around the basilica and xenon.⁵⁷ Control of the excavations was transferred most recently to the University of California, Berkeley, and a full-scale, multi-year project began in 1973 under the direction of Stephen G. Miller. Miller's excavations of the site focused on all areas, most importantly contributing to our understanding of the topography of the sanctuary by discovering the heroön and the 4th century stadium, and conducting more complete studies of the other major buildings.⁵⁸

⁵³ Chandler *Travels in Greece* (Oxford 1776), *Antiquities of Ionia II* (London 1797); Kelly 2015.

⁵⁴ Cousin and Dürrbach 1885; Vallois and Becker 1925.

⁵⁵ Blegen 1925, 1926, 1927.

⁵⁶ Williams's study supplemented the previous work of Hill (1966).

⁵⁷ Williams 1964, 1965.

⁵⁸ Miller, Stephen 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982b, and 1986; Miller, Stella 1983, 1984.

Excavations by the University of California, Berkeley have continued with two more major campaigns in recent years. Miller resumed excavations from 1997-2001 to focus on the area west of the Nemea River to explore the early stadium and the heroön. In addition, a few small test areas were opened near the temple to recover information on the early phases.⁵⁹ While excavations stopped for several years, the next director, Kim Shelton, began study seasons of the previously excavated material in 2006. These study seasons have continued annually to the present with a primary focus on a complete catalog of the ceramic materials.⁶⁰ During this project, Shelton conducted three years of excavation from 2010 to 2012. As with the previous campaign, these most recent years focused on the southwest area of the sanctuary around the heroön, especially the pre-Achaic phases of the sanctuary. Deep probes revealed activity of both the LH IIIC and Geometric periods in the area around the heroön, providing additional evidence for site activity prior to the establishment of the games.⁶¹ The continuation of the study seasons have allowed for more specialized research projects utilizing the excavated materials, including Heather Graybehl's petrographic dissertation on the Hellenistic cooking wares and Effie Athanassopoulos' ceramic study of the Medieval deposits.⁶²

This dissertation stems from a project conducted from 2006-2016 to re-examine the contents of the wells to document and refine the chronology of the site through a comprehensive ceramic study. Study of the artifacts in the wells established that they

⁵⁹ Miller 2015.

⁶⁰ A future volume of the *Nemea* series has been planned to publish the full study of the ceramics and chronology of the site (Shelton, University of California Press).

⁶¹ Shelton 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2013b.

⁶² Graybehl 2014; Athanassopoulos 2012; Athanassopoulos and Shelton 2016.

were not suitable for chronologically based research. Rather, by focusing on the types of object and the processes through which they were deposited into the wells, the artifacts shed light on sanctuary activities and document the changes to the types of activities over time. By applying new approaches that emphasize the individual within religion, the well deposits can be placed into the larger framework of the sanctuary's history to provide a more nuanced narrative of Nemea.

Methodology and Approaches

Greek Sanctuaries

The study of Greek religion has always been tied to the study of Greek sanctuaries. As John Pedley begins his book on sanctuaries:

Why investigate Greek sanctuaries? A cursory answer might be that these places were central to the practice of Greek religion, that they constituted the main physical manifestations of the belief system of the ancient Greeks... Studying sanctuaries therefore clarifies our understanding of how Greek religion was practiced.⁶³

Early scholarship on Greek religion, sanctuaries, and ritual is extensive, with a focus on the great panhellenic sanctuaries, especially Olympia and Delphi due to their size and history. Aside from site-specific studies, the general discussions of Greek religion tried to create a single concept of religion, such as Walter Burkert's *Greek Religion*.⁶⁴ At the time of publication, Burkert's work was innovative for the study of Greek religion; since then, it has become the traditional place to begin discussion of sanctuaries and religion.

⁶³ Pedley 2006, 1.

⁶⁴ Burkert 1985, originally published in 1977 as *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*; Ehrenberg, V. 1960. *The Greek State*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Burkert set out to discuss all major components of Greek religion. Aside from the Bronze Age, which received its own treatment, the rest of the book followed major topics, such as gods/deities, rituals, the role of the polis, mystery cults, and philosophical religion. While he explored several different aspects of religion, it was mostly focused upon the components of religious structure of the Archaic and Classical periods rather than practice. He explained the practices of religion by referring to an internal cultural system, conceived as the archaic and classical Greek polis. This resulted in the emergence of the idea of “polis religion” during the 1960s and 1970s. This approach to ancient Greek history relied on the polis as a uniting factor through which to discuss Greek religion.

François de Polignac’s *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State* capitalized on this new interpretive model by connecting the development of sanctuaries on territorial borders to the rise of city-states in the 8th century BCE as a way to control space and integrate the community through cult.⁶⁵ This supported the polis-driven approach to religion, and therefore subsequent work on Greek religion has focused on the role of the polis and its community. In a later article reexamining the issue, de Polignac continued to argue that “the territory of a city is understood as the ‘space of the citizens’,” and sanctuaries functioned as “rallying and meeting points for the local populations.”⁶⁶ These views of sanctuaries result in a narrow understanding of their functions, primarily as places for the local polis rather than the larger Greek population.

⁶⁵ de Polignac 1995, originally published in 1984 as *La Naissance de la cité grecque*.

⁶⁶ de Polignac 1994, 3 and 5.

The work of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood in the 1990s built on de Polignac's work to officially coin the term "polis religion," which described the relationship between Greek religion and the polis as the basic unit of Greek social and political life. She argued that the polis provided the basic framework in which Greek religion operated, and thus the polis articulated and was articulated by religion. Polis religion operates on three levels of society: the polis, the "world-of-the-polis" system and the panhellenic dimension.⁶⁷ She concluded that the similarities between different city-states' religion was due to their shared past and the spread of epic poetry, specifically Homer and Hesiod, which united and structured the Greek pantheon.⁶⁸ She argued that, "The *polis* anchored, legitimated, and mediated all religious activity. This is true even in the panhellenic sanctuaries where the *polis* mediated the participation of its citizens in a variety of ways."⁶⁹

While the polis approach has been productive for the study of religion by focusing on the relationship between religion and the socio-political aspects of Greek life, it restricts the narrative to a binary relationship between religion and the polis and it excludes other aspects of Greek religion. Scholarship has come to criticize the polis model because of its restrictive view, the exclusion of non-polis sanctuaries from the model and the assumptions of a cohesive religion. There are plenty of examples of religious practices that are not aligned to the polis, for example personal religion, such as the consultation of oracles or the use of healing sanctuaries. As is the case with Nemea,

⁶⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 295.

⁶⁸ Sourvinou-Inwood 2000, 47.

⁶⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 297.

which never had a strong, controlling polis attached to it, the sanctuary could not be included in discussions based upon the “polis religion” model. In addition, the polis-model of religion excludes the discussion of Greek religion in the Hellenistic period, since the general view is that the polis collapsed in the 4th century. Thus much of the scholarship on Hellenistic religion was dealt with separately from the religion that came before and after it.⁷⁰ A recent trend in scholarship has been to move beyond the polis model.

Julia Kindt has recently pushed back against the model of polis religion. She first criticizes the approach in a 2009 article, which led to the publication of her 2012 book, *Rethinking Greek Religion*. She not only explores the limitation of polis religion but also argues that the weaknesses of the model are due to its focus on the polis as the primary discourse of power relevant for the study of ancient Greek religion.⁷¹ Her book advocates for more complex discussions of religious components. She argues that:

Religion ... did not just map on to the structures of Greek culture and society but was actively involved in shaping this society and in the negotiations of its structures over time. ...we must avoid the temptation to structure ancient Greek religion around a set of simple dualities: between centre and periphery, for example, or between belief and practice; or between the local and the universal/panhellenic. On the most abstract level this also applies to the study of ancient Greek religion beyond polis religion itself. In moving towards a broader conception of the religious culture of ancient Greece we should not assume a simple duality between civic religion and Greek religion beyond the polis either. The reality of lived religion was much more complicated than that.⁷²

While I will return to the idea of “lived religion” below, the importance here, especially

⁷⁰ Mikalson 1998.

⁷¹ Kindt 2009, 9.

⁷² Kindt 2012, 190, 193.

for any work on Nemea, is the need to depart from the traditional view of “polis religion.” Since Nemea was never traditionally associated with a single polis, this model could never be applied, explaining Nemea’s limited treatment in the scholarship on Greek religion and sanctuaries.

The polis religion model emerged in scholarship at the same time that studies focused on the rise of the polis, and it is important to note the part that religion played in the development of the polis. Religion’s role in Greek culture equally influenced and was influenced by society. The relationship requires a more nuanced approach to the study of religion. While Kindt presents her book’s major contribution as the criticism of the polis model, it can also be accused of as oversimplifying the model.⁷³ I am not suggesting a complete disposal of the polis model but argue that the strength of Kindt’s contribution is that it demonstrates how treatments of Greek religion can move beyond religion’s relationship to the polis.

As the scholarship on sanctuaries developed in the late 1980s and 1990s, the corpus devoted to the study of Olympia and Delphi also grew. The emphasis on these two larger panhellenic sites pushed smaller rural sanctuaries like Nemea into the margins. Nevertheless, a few sources presented new ways to discuss the evidence in order to interpret the role of the sanctuary within Greek religion. In 1990, *Athletes and Oracles: the Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century BC*, Catherine Morgan reassessed sanctuary development by analyzing material evidence through the lens of social behavior to stress the sites’ oracular and athletic natures. Through this view, a new

⁷³ This view is shared by some reviewers of the book (Bravo 2014), while other support her approach to Greek religion (Kearns 2014).

approach was applied, but the focus remained on Olympia and Delphi. Moreover, Morgan saw it necessary to place Olympia and Delphi into a wider context, including the relationship between sanctuary and state, showing how ingrained the polis model had become to a discussion of religion.

The focus on Olympia and Delphi continued in recent scholarship, most notably in Michael Scott's *Delphi and Olympia: The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (2010). This book further advances the discussion by questioning assumptions about the development and roles of Greek sanctuaries and encourages the need for and usefulness of including the material evidence within the discussion. While he still focused on the two major sanctuaries, he did propose some new views that bear further discussion. Scott notes that most of the work on Delphi and Olympia focuses on the oracle or the games and not on the whole of the sanctuary. He argues that the focus should include how they developed and how they were used over time, especially looking at the role of the individual visitor. This "role of the individual" is a concept that is growing in the studies of Greek religion, which will be discussed more fully below. In addition, Scott "offer[s] a new level of spatial analysis which is capable of engaging with the vast array of material evidence and of unraveling the complex ways in which visitors interacted with these sanctuaries."⁷⁴ While his book presents new approaches to these specific sanctuaries, it continues to marginalize Isthmia and Nemea and stops at 300 BCE, showing the lasting influence of the polis model.

⁷⁴ Scott 2010, 1.

The broad arc of Greek religion, especially in relation to the polis model, focuses on the changes from the Archaic period to the Hellenistic. In the Archaic period, as the polis grows, so do the sanctuaries. The canonical view of religion and sanctuaries is often based upon evidence from the Classical period. Due to the turmoil of the 4th century and the rise of Alexander the Great, Hellenistic religion is marginalized from the discussion of Greek religion. This narrow focus is seen in Jon Mikalson's book, *Ancient Greek Religion* (2005). While the title suggests a comprehensive view of Greek religion, he states that his intention is to make the subject "more intelligible" by limiting himself to the Classical period, devoting a single chapter to the Hellenistic period, and centering the discussion on Athens where the evidence is more abundant.⁷⁵ The Athenocentric, Classical view of religion has often dominated the narrative of Greek religion.

As a result, Hellenistic religion has often been simplified as state religion continuing in an archaic fashion with new magical and eastern cults, such as Orphism or the cult of Isis, arising to allow for individual salvation. Attempts to break Hellenistic religion out of this view are often too focused, such as Mikalson's earlier work, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (1998). While he argued that there was a continuity of religion in Athens in the Hellenistic period, he relied on the abundant inscriptional evidence, which resulted in a historical approach to religion through the key figures in Hellenistic Athens. As discussion of Greek religion marginalized Hellenistic religion, the Hellenistic sanctuaries were marginalized as well. To discuss sanctuaries of the 4th century and

⁷⁵ Mikalson 2005, xv.

Hellenistic periods, a new approach was necessary, best seen in the attempts to emphasize the role of archaeology in the discussion of sanctuaries and religion.

The Archaeology of Religion and Ritual and the Rise of Material Culture

Since Colin Renfrew's 1985 publication, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, the relationship between archaeology and religious sites has been tied to the material culture.

The archaeologist has no direct access to the cult practice of early times: his knowledge of them must come, by a process of inference, from the study of the material remains. Still less does he have direct access to the meaning which these cult practices held for their practitioners, or to the religious beliefs of the time. ...Despite the excellently systematic and scholarly work carried out over many decades on various early religions on the basis of archaeology, the process of inference employed by contemporary scholars has generally received less attention than the conclusion which they have reached. ...What I am arguing for, therefore, is a framework of inference, of the kind which Lewis Binford (1977) terms 'middle range theory,' which would allow one to make warranted statements about the past, in this case about past cultic practice and religious belief, on the basis of the archaeological evidence.⁷⁶

The role of the archaeologist has been to move beyond the objects to record the history of cult practice and, thus, Greek religion. Several works have focused on this relationship so clearly presented by Renfrew, especially in an attempt to create a framework for how to identify ritual within the archaeological record. A collection of papers, *The Archaeology of Ritual*, edited by Evangelos Kyriakidis, aims to address this issue. In the introduction, Kyriakidis notes the lack of a definition of ritual and intends that the volume works towards defining one.⁷⁷ By the conclusion, he defines ritual as a set of

⁷⁶ Renfrew 1985, 11.

⁷⁷ Kyriakidis 2007a.

crystallized actions, which is the link between people and things, placing the responsibility on the archaeologist to find what is “normal” and compare it with what is not.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, this is not a helpful definition for an archaeologist trying to reconstruct ritual and cult when the evidence is limited.

It has been noted by scholars, that archaeologists, especially in the study of ancient religions, have used the term ritual to stand in for religion. This is often due to the fact that ritual is more tangible within the archaeological record than religion. Julian Droogan has observed that ritual has been used for religion “because ritual can be described as an embodied practice that may leave distinct and durable material traces.”⁷⁹ Timothy Insoll further suggests that archaeologists are actually afraid of the term religion and argues that using ritual to describe religion is the same as using the part to describe the whole.⁸⁰ But as Renfrew has argued, not all ritual is religious and not all religious acts are rituals.⁸¹ Caution is needed when reconstructing a religion that does not leave concrete evidence, and thus ritual, which leaves a physical record, is often safer to discuss. But scholars are correct that the part, ritual, cannot stand for the whole, religion.

While this dissertation does not aim to create a single definition of religion, it is important to establish the relationship between religion and ritual, especially in regards to Greek religion. I define religion as a system of beliefs that recognizes agreed upon entities; rituals are the actions through which that belief system is practiced. In the

⁷⁸ Kyriakidis 2007c, 294.

⁷⁹ Droogan 2014, 49.

⁸⁰ Insoll 2004, 3.

⁸¹ Renfrew 2007.

introduction to a volume on the study of ritual through the lenses of agency, emotion, gender, and representation, Angelis Chaniotis coined the term “ritual dynamics”:

This term expresses the understanding of rituals as complex socio-cultural constructs that are connected with tensions: tensions within the cult community; tensions between norm and performance, expectation and reality, traditional significance and re-interpretation, stereotype and variability.⁸²

When studying ritual to understand religion, the emphasis must be placed on change, since ritual is subject to change due to human agency and has the power to change those who perform rituals.⁸³ Chaniotis argues that scholarship must move beyond the static representations of human action to study the movement of bodies in sacred spaces; in order to do so, he specifically points to animal sacrifice, participants in procession, dances, and the individuals within the context of sanctuaries.⁸⁴

While rituals for established cults rely on notions of static and known process, it is also conceivable that they maintain the *appearance* of tradition. The movement of people through a sanctuary could never be truly the same every time. The stages of ritual might be codified, but the execution of them could continually change. Placing the emphasis on change is important for any discussion of Nemea, as the sanctuary saw a major period of change when the games were removed and later returned. By focusing on the changes at Nemea, in conjunction with how those changes impacted visitors to the site, the study of religion, as practiced in Nemea, becomes more nuanced.

⁸² Chaniotis 2011, 10.

⁸³ In relation to Greek religion, the human agent is changed through the action, such as taking oaths, performing a rite of passage, being initiated into a mystery cult, or simply being a spectator (Chaniotis 2011, 10).

⁸⁴ Chaniotis 2011, 13-4.

Emerging from the discussion around the archaeology of religion is the more frequent use of the term “material culture.” While from an archaeological perspective material culture corresponds to the archaeological record, the importance of material culture and its relationship to archaeology is particularly relevant to the study of ancient Greek religion, where there is no associated canonical text. Recent scholarship in religion, anthropology, and classical archaeology has called for new methodologies to study ancient religion and ritual that move beyond the traditional approaches using primarily literature and history. The materiality of life is important to the understanding of Greek religion. In order to fully understand religion in the Greek world, it is also necessary to look beyond the textual evidence to what was created to mediate the practice of religion and what was left behind.

In the introduction to *Beyond Belief: Archaeology of Religion and Ritual*, anthropologist Yorke Rowan stated:

Rather than viewing people as active and artifacts as passive, material culture is now recognized as fundamental to an investigation...in the recognition that any understanding of the past...must be grounded in the materiality of human life and activity.⁸⁵

Speaking more specifically to ancient Greek religion, Scott has argued that the material evidence of sanctuaries provides a way to create a more flexible and integrated understanding of the roles sacred spaces had in the articulation and development of the Greek religious landscape.⁸⁶

A recent book by Droogan, *Religion, Material Culture, and Archaeology*, explores

⁸⁵ Rowan 2012, 4.

⁸⁶ Scott 2010, 273.

the relationship between these three fields, arguing for the “materiality of religion”:
“understanding of some of the ways in which religious life, actions and experiences are intimately connected with the material aspects of the world.”⁸⁷ He asserts that religion is a series of relationships that are created between the people and their material world.⁸⁸ It is important to explore the material culture associated with religion to understand the people who practiced it. Droogan is not the first to acknowledge the important relationship between these three fields, and his work is part of a recent trend to explore religion through archaeological and material lenses. In fact, the editorial statement of the journal *Material Religion*, first published in 2005, states that material religion is an acknowledgment of “what the images or objects or spaces themselves do, how they engage believers, what powers they possess.”⁸⁹

In this dissertation, material culture includes the objects, the built architecture, and the manipulated landscape. All three areas record different aspects of an individual’s interaction with a sanctuary. The architecture is an important factor in the spatial and visual organization of any sacred space, which was defined by the ritual activity.⁹⁰ Thus, within the sacred space, the built architecture accommodated various activities, such as dedications, processions, competitions, and sacrifices. The landscape was purposely chosen and manipulated for each sanctuary. How the landscape was shaped would

⁸⁷ Droogan 2014, 8.

⁸⁸ Droogan 2014, 170.

⁸⁹ Plate et al. 2005, 7.

⁹⁰ Mylonopoulos (2015) questions the relationship between architecture and ritual, whether the nature of cults and rituals, including their performative aspects, affected the decision to celebrate religion in a natural or built environment. He notes that while ritual space and architectural space were not always identical, they both relate to the construction of sacred space.

subsequently impact an individual's route to the sanctuary and the path through it.⁹¹ Joan Connelly, in her contribution to the study of ritual dynamics, argues for the strong relationship between landscape and ritual dictated by the movement of the human body through space, more specifically, during processions.⁹² Both landscape and architecture were features that all individuals encountered and aided in the construction of collective identity shaped by the shared experience within a sacred space. Scholarship of the past few decades has focused on acknowledging the importance and place of material culture in the study of religion, but very little work has been done to apply these new theories to ancient Greek religion. The main contribution of this dissertation is the complete presentation of the material culture from the ten well deposits. The in-depth study of these artifacts explores the depositional processes through which they entered the wells and the distribution of material across the sanctuary in order to reconstruct ritual and sanctuary activities and shed light on the individual visitors.

The Individual and Lived Religion

The aim of placing the individual back into the study of religion has grown recently and is an important aspect of my methodology. Jörg Rüpke, in a study of the

⁹¹ Droogan (2014, 137) asserts that landscape structures social life through exerting an influence on its inhabitant's thoughts, expectations and physical movement.

⁹² Connelly (2011, 314-6) contends that archaeologists have focused on the materiality of buildings more than the voids left between them, since these open spaces were where the action took place. She argues that ritual movement should be studied in conjunction with visual, material, and textual evidence in order to fully examine Greek culture. While ritual movement is yet another lens through which to study religion, it does not leave a physical mark in the archaeological record and must be reconstructed through the voids of space left between the buildings. Nevertheless, Connelly (2011, 338) argues the ancient Greek landscape was a dynamic place, full of movement, and ritual movement was the lifeblood of the landscape, binding the generations of Greeks together with one another, with their divinities, their monuments, and their memories.

individual within Greek religion, argued that ideas of “‘civic’ or ‘polis’ religion work on the assumption that all members of ancient societies were in principle equally religious.”⁹³ He points out that this type of approach results in an analysis of religion bound up in a political interpretation, which in turn results in religion as a given within every biography. Thus, the life of the individual is structured by rites of passage and changes of status are governed by domestic cult, family cult, or burial and death rites. Rüpke’s work cautions the scholar to bring the individual back into the discourse to avoid assumptions associated with a collective identity.

While it is true that a large part of Greek religion was state run, this view eliminates the individual from both panhellenic religion and personal religion. For the study of Greek religion, it is important to acknowledge the individual, since they are frequently the ones responsible for dedications.⁹⁴ At the same time, sacred travel was most often aimed at sites with state-run festivals. Therefore, a balance between the individual and the collective identity needs to be struck. Chaniotis suggests that the community established at a sanctuary is an emotional one stemming from the shared relationship between the worshippers and the divinity. He argues that “a community of people who were expected to feel the same emotions in the worship of a deity” was

⁹³ Rüpke 2013, 3.

⁹⁴ Rüpke (2013, 12-4) identified five types of individuality within the ancient Mediterranean: practical, moral, competitive, representative, and reflexive. The most basic is practical individuality, which emphasizes that people have to act on their own rather than tradition, especially in a situation where social bonds are temporarily ruptured, like travel or migration. A moral individuality involves the responsibility for one’s own behavior, such as specific duties or an obligation of participation in rituals. Competitive individuality applies to the aristocratic struggle for distinctiveness and would be noticed by contemporary observers, as seen in dedications by city-states or athletes at panhellenic sanctuaries. Representative individuality is related to both moral and competitive individuality and can be seen in individuals that strive to become examples, having perfectly fulfilled a social or religious role. Reflexive individuality is the formation of a reflection of self, such as a Stoic figure. While all these types of individuality rely on gender and social position, practical and competitive individuality are most applicable to this discussion.

founded on the shared emotional experience.⁹⁵ The larger collective community is created as a result of the emotional community formed when worshipping a shared deity or participating in the same festival, but the individual experience is equally important and can be separate from the shared one.

Scholarship in sociology and religious studies has examined the relationship between the individual and the community prior to their treatment within Greek religion. In the end of the 19th century, Émile Durkheim proposed theories regarding the development of a society that relied on the relationship between the individual and society.⁹⁶ Also influential is the work by Victor Turner, who coined the term “communitas” to refer to the unstructured state where members of a community are equal allowing them to share a common experience. This unstructured state would occur during rites of passage, which, for Turner, were pilgrimages.⁹⁷ For this reason, early attempts to identify the individual in Greek religion was to locate the pilgrim. As this is a Christian term that specifically refers to a religious individual, it was difficult to define the term within the context of ancient, pre-Christian religion.

Matthew Dillon’s book, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Ancient World*, was the first major work to study the pilgrim in ancient Greece, a phenomenon that had been previously neglected. He defined pilgrimage as “paying a visit to a sacred site outside the boundaries of one’s own physical environment.”⁹⁸ Dillon’s broad definition allows for

⁹⁵ Chaniotis 2011, 265.

⁹⁶ Durkheim 1995.

⁹⁷ Turner and Turner 2011. Turner’s definition of communitas is built upon van Gennep’s (1961) structure of rites of passage and the term ‘liminality’.

⁹⁸ Dillon 1997, xviii.

most Greek religious events to be categorized as pilgrimage, since any journey with a religious intent can be labeled a pilgrimage. Dillon's definition draws upon Turner's study of pilgrimage, yet Dillon did not engage with any of the theoretical work of pilgrimage.⁹⁹ This is one of several problems with his methodology. Additionally, his treatment was not chronologically driven; his study focused on the Archaic and Classical periods and ignored the differences between the Classical and Hellenistic periods.¹⁰⁰ In this way, his treatment of Greek pilgrims was similar to the contemporary treatment of Greek religion. To support his thesis, he pulled evidence from peripheral topics and relied on nearly all types of panhellenic sanctuaries, including mystery, oracle, and athletic sites.¹⁰¹ Even with this general treatment of pilgrimage, Dillon failed to include major categories of evidence. Most notable was the absence of Kos and Pergamon as major panhellenic sites of healing, which received a high quantity of visitors from throughout the Mediterranean world, especially during the Hellenistic period. While Dillon set out to write about Greek pilgrimage, he presented a narrative that focused on the Classical period and the Greek mainland. Dillon's broad definition of pilgrimage is equally problematic; since most Greeks participated in religious journeys, every Greek could be identified as a pilgrim.

Ian Rutherford, while studying Pausanias, argued, "Pilgrimage is the movement from the local to a Panhellenic center."¹⁰² He contrasts pilgrimage, which concerns piety

⁹⁹ This was one of many criticisms raised with the work. See Hanges 2000 and Rutherford 2000.

¹⁰⁰ This criticism was pointed out by several reviewers, especially Rutherford 2000 and Graf 2002.

¹⁰¹ Kadletz's (1998) main critique was the unsuccessful attempt to support this thesis, though her review was one of the kinder views of Dillon's work.

¹⁰² Rutherford 2005, 44.

and religious celebration, with tourism, which is a visit for the sake of a visit. For Rutherford, pilgrimage created a sense of connectedness and could foster religious learning.¹⁰³ Also of interest is the emphasis that Rutherford places on the role of the panhellenic center in the definition of a pilgrim. The downfall of this definition is that since not all sites are panhellenic, the definition is too narrow. Other scholars have argued that there must be more involved than a journey in order to call it pilgrimage. For example, Jas Elsner, in his study on Pausanias, defined pilgrimage as a “journey into one’s identity in its topographic, cultural and spiritual resonances.”¹⁰⁴ Pilgrimage is not only a physical journey but also a spiritual journey.

Simon Coleman and Elsner's diachronic study on pilgrimage of the world’s religions defines it as, “not just a journey; it also involves the confrontation of travelers with rituals, holy objects and sacred architecture.”¹⁰⁵ This definition allows for more aspects of religion to be associated with pilgrimage, since it can encompass a wider range of activities, including sports, drama, art, competition, and foreign visits.¹⁰⁶ While broad, Coleman and Elsner’s definition maintains boundaries allowing for pilgrimage to include both specific locations and the actions carried out within those spaces. For the Greek period, this emphasizes the lack of separation between the secular and the sacred inherent in Greek religion. Some have argued against the validity of the term pilgrimage within a

¹⁰³ Rutherford (2005, 45 and 48) argues that the sense of a local identity within a polis is fostered through pilgrimage because it encouraged a feeling of connectedness among the different groups that attend the festivals.

¹⁰⁴ Elsner 1992, 10.

¹⁰⁵ Coleman and Elsner 1995, 6.

¹⁰⁶ Coleman and Elsner (1995, 15) argue that the range of activities that occur in conjunction with Greek religion, sports, drama, art, and competition, is evidence for a lack of separation between the secular and the sacred. Thus a definition of pilgrimage in relation to Greek religion must also take into consideration this lack of separation.

pre-Christian context, but this is often the result of using a definition created through a Christian lens. As Troels Kristensen points out, the use of the term pilgrimage allows “sacred travel to participate in an insightful multi-disciplinary and cross-cultural dialogue that is of importance to the study of religious traditions at large.”¹⁰⁷

The attention and focus on pilgrims and pilgrimage may seem a bit out of place, yet pilgrimage and sacred travel are inherent aspects of lived religion. The concept of lived religion was introduced by Meredith McGuire, a scholar of sociology and anthropology. She argues that the study of religion must move beyond the definitions of religious organization to study religion as it is actually lived in peoples’ everyday lives, essentially focusing on the individual’s use of religion rather than starting from an elaborated belief system. McGuire also notes, “Although lived religion pertains to the individual, it is not merely subjective. Rather, people construct their religious worlds together, often sharing vivid experiences.”¹⁰⁸ Lived religion is another method to negotiate between the individual and the collective experience.

This emphasis on experience was explored in a very recent conference, *The Emergence of Sacred Travel (EST): Experience, Economy, and Connectivity in Ancient Mediterranean Pilgrimage*, organized by Kristensen, Rutherford, and Coleman.¹⁰⁹ The conference stems from a larger project on sacred travel at Aarhus University. In the introduction to *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World* (2015), Rubina Raja and Jörg Rüpke address the idea of “lived ancient religion” and note that,

¹⁰⁷ Kristensen 2012, 69.

¹⁰⁸ McGuire 2008, 12.

¹⁰⁹ This conference was held 17-19 May 2017 Aarhus University, Denmark.

“by including such a spectrum of human ways of communication with super-human or transcendent agents along with an analysis of the role of material culture in this spectrum, a new way of approaching archaeological material is opened.”¹¹⁰ As such, the volume focuses on topics like experiences, creating spaces of experiences, and agents to explore the different dimensions of religion and to reflect on the role of material culture. These recent projects show the current emphasis and application of lived religion and sacred travel within the ancient world.

The lens of pilgrimage is still used in the study of ancient religion, especially with the growing focus on the material culture of pilgrimage that shifts the evidence from epigraphic and textual sources to the archaeological record. *Excavating Pilgrimage: Archaeological Approaches to Sacred Travel and Movement in the Ancient World* is a recent collection of essays that focus on the ancient world, Classic and Hellenistic Greece, the Roman empire, and Late Antiquity, with an aim to develop “a place for archaeological methods in scholarship on sacred travel more broadly.”¹¹¹ My dissertation aligns with this aim as it acknowledges the importance of the archaeological evidence of travel and movement. Travelers from the Greek world visited the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea for athletic and religious events. While the majority of site activity is associated with the panhellenic festival, religious visitors also used the sanctuary when the games and festival were not occurring.

¹¹⁰ Raja and Rüpke 2015, 4.

¹¹¹ Kristensen and Friese 2017, 1.

The Archaeology of Wells

The archaeological record at the Sanctuary of Zeus, Nemea was greatly disturbed by activity in the Early Christian and Modern periods, when the site of the sanctuary was transformed into an agricultural valley. The agrarian activity produced deep planting trenches and the mixing of stratigraphic levels. This disturbance and elimination of levels on the higher strata resulted in very few discrete contexts and deposits that preserve Late Classical and Early Hellenistic artifacts. For this reason, I relied on ten well deposits that were not greatly disturbed by later activity. These wells are the best contexts with which to study this period of the sanctuary and the relationship between the two phases of the Nemean festival and games. This treatment acknowledges the wells as discrete, individual units within the larger context of the sanctuary that preserve artifacts from a range of activities occurring at the site.

The first consideration for the study of a well is its use as a context. As a large volume of open space, wells are a convenient place for artifacts to accumulate. Wells have usually provided troves of material for archaeological studies, usually typological or chronological studies of specific types of artifacts. While wells were common in the ancient world, many are not treated in modern studies and publications as a single context. For example, wells at Corinth are more often referenced in publications of ceramic studies, with only the Anaploga Well receiving individual treatment.¹¹² Wells identified as closed deposits where the fill represents a single deposition have received

¹¹² Pemberton (*Corinth* XVIII.1) used 41 wells for her discussion of Greek pottery from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, while Edwards (*Corinth* VII.3) used 49 in his discussion of Corinthian Hellenistic pottery. The Anaploga Well (*Corinth* VII.2) was only half of the volume, sharing with the publication of Archaic ceramics.

the most attention in scholarship. The result is that only wells with homogeneous fills “warrant the publication of the whole collection.”¹¹³ This approach marginalizes the impact of well assemblages with more diverse fills to typological studies. With this methodology, the Nemean wells would only be studied for the types of artifacts with little attention to the larger implications of the assemblage. Instead, I study each well individually and then conduct a comparative study across the ten wells to establish the larger patterns of activity at Nemea that were preserved in the wells.

The second consideration is the reconstruction of the depositional processes through which artifacts ended up in wells. There are two main ways for this to happen; the artifact fell in accidentally or it was placed there intentionally. Either action can represent a primary or secondary deposition of the artifact. Wells were used in antiquity as today, as a source of water. Some artifacts found in wells are a direct result of use. A pot that breaks while fetching water or a cup sitting on the wellhead that was knocked in are examples of accidental and primary deposition. In the case of a well, most accidental deposition will be primary. At times, sherds or other small objects dropped on the ground could be “kicked in” by accident, which is secondary deposition. This type of occurrence would be less frequent, since most Nemean wells had a built wellhead so the openings were not at ground level. Primary and intentional deposition is placing an object directly into the well, such as a dedication. While there were no artifacts in the Nemean wells that could have represented such an action, the possibility does exist. Throwing waste

¹¹³ Pease 1937, 257. Anderson-Stojanovic (1993, 257) begins the publication of the well from the Rachi settlement at Isthmia in a similar fashion, stating, “The rarity of closed and stratified deposits of Hellenistic pottery in the Corinthian lends particular interest to the contexts of the a well excavated in 1955 and 1956 in the Rachi settlement.”

directly into a well, either refuse or an abandoned object, is intentional and primary. For example, the potters' dump in the Anaploga Well is an example of intentional and primary deposition of spoiled pots that were discarded.¹¹⁴ Finally, the clean up of debris is intentional and secondary. Cleaning could occur at any point in time, such as a pot that broke near a well and was immediately thrown into the well or a debris pile that accumulated over time and was later moved to a well. This is best seen in the wells of the Athenian Agora that were filled after Persian destruction.¹¹⁵ While pottery can enter a well through all types of depositional processes, the other types of artifacts are more often the result of intentional secondary deposition.

Use deposits in wells are different in character from well fills because of the difference in processes. The filling of a well directly corresponds to the abandonment of the water source. Wells could be abandoned for several reasons, including changes in the water table, accidental collapse, pollution of the water source, or intentional disabling.¹¹⁶ Once a well was abandoned as a water source, it could be a danger if left open. The deep shafts are convenient receptacles for disposing trash and other debris. The character of the fill can determine how the well was filled. A homogenous deposit would indicate that the material was thrown in at one time. Any earlier material, often no more than a few sherds or a small part of an object, would suggest that the refuse for the fill contained a small portion of earlier material because the source of the fill was not homogeneous.

Two chronologically distinct strata would represent two distinct types of deposits or two

¹¹⁴ *Corinth* VII.2, 69-70.

¹¹⁵ Lynch 2011.

¹¹⁶ Lynch (2011, 26-7) discussed the intentional disabling and filling up of wells in the Agora after Persian sabotage and pollution.

distinct deposit events.¹¹⁷ Wells could also be filled gradually over time resulting in dissimilar kinds of contents.¹¹⁸ While ceramics are often the most common artifact found in well fills, other materials includes animal bones that represent disposal of organic garbage, architectural elements from damaged buildings, fragmentary inscriptions, coins, other metal objects, and byproducts of industrial production.

Since pottery is the most common artifact type found in wells, it is necessary to discuss aspects regarding their deposition in wells. Any whole pot thrown into a well, assuming it was dropped vertically and did not hit the sides while falling, would likely fall right side up. Depending on the water level or type of fill, the whole pot could remain intact or, more likely, the body of the vessel would shatter on impact. Body fragments could move lower in the fill than the larger mouth and neck fragment.¹¹⁹ These mouth and neck fragments could also function like funnels within the well, allowing smaller material to fall through them until filled or blocked. If a whole pot with a wide mouth, such as a chytra, landed right side up, it would catch small objects that fell into it, hindering their movement down the well. In these cases, smaller artifacts or fragments from a single deposition could end up in different strata. For example, broken fragments of a cup could fall further down the shaft, while other fragments were contained by a vessel higher in the fill. In general, smaller fragments associated with intentional fills can be scattered throughout the well.¹²⁰ The last factor to consider is the differences in fabric.

¹¹⁷ This is seen in the Athenian Agora wells, where Lynch (2011, 22, 36, 34) notes both immediate cleanup of Persian destruction deposits and a secondary clean up about a decade later.

¹¹⁸ Lawrence (*Corinth* VII.2, 67) concludes that the Anaploga Well was filled in such a way.

¹¹⁹ *Corinth* VII.2, 67, n. 24.

¹²⁰ B. Erikson (pers. comm.); Lawrence (*Corinth* VII.2, 67) notes, “The smaller and simpler the sherd, the farther it could go.”

Fine wares, often thin and delicate, would break more easily than domestic wares that are tougher. A whole kitchenware pot would scatter any fine ware it fell on. Even within a restricted space, identifying the extent to which pottery fragments can move within a well deposit is not an exact science, but the distribution of artifacts can impact the reconstruction of depositional processes.¹²¹

Internal disturbances to both use-deposits and dumped fills can obstruct the different strata in a well. During the use of a well, the bottom levels would contain water, and smaller sherds would be abraded by water action. Additionally, fluctuations in the water table could mean that wells were found dry and abandoned, only to produce water in later years. The rise and fall of the water level within the well would disrupt its contents. While a well was active, it could be cleaned, either partially or completely, which would remove any accumulated material. This type of activity within a well would not leave a trace in the archaeological record. Finally, fills settle over time leading to compaction. An abandoned well filled to the top could later be found to have space in the upper level of the shaft, allowing for the addition of more fill. The compaction of fills over centuries also explains why some of the Nemean wells were found to be empty at the upper levels. The result of such activities is the disturbance to the contents of a well deposit that cannot be clearly identified in the remains.

Due to these factors, examination of the condition of the artifacts, especially the pottery, is the best way to reconstruct the different deposition processes. Primary

¹²¹ In the Anaploga Well, Lawrence (*Corinth* VII.2, 68, n. 26) reported, “No pot has constituent sherds from a much wider range of basket numbers than the kotyle **An86**, from 27 to 62, representing about (not more than) 3.35 meters of fill.”

deposition, whether intentional or accidental, results in complete artifacts or at least reconstructible artifacts. Objects found on or near the bottom of a well were intentionally put there. Vessels used to fetch water, like kitchenware pitchers, could be lowered into the well by a rope. If it broke on the way up, either due to weight or hitting the side of the well, then the vessel would fall to the bottom of the well with the handle fragment still attached to the rope. The handle would be disposed of, since it no longer held any functional value, either into the well or elsewhere on site. Any complete vessel intentionally deposited into a well could remain intact, falling either into water or upon a softer stratum that cushioned its fall. Conversely, secondary deposition, most commonly intentional, is characterized by smaller non-joining fragments indicating that the artifact did not break in the well but came from mixed-refuse material accumulated elsewhere. Partial artifacts, such as half a loom weight or a fragment of a roof tile, which cannot be reconstructed from within the well assemblage are the strongest indicator that the artifact was deposited elsewhere first and later moved into the well. By taking into account the types of artifacts and their condition, I discerned the difference between intentional versus accidental and primary versus secondary deposition. This type of analysis allows for a more comprehensive picture of the life of both the artifacts and the well as well as the types of activities occurring within the sanctuary.

Application

The study of the Nemean well deposits is two-fold. First, a microanalysis of each well demonstrates the narrative of the well (Chapter Three). I studied the heterogeneous

assemblages to identify and date the objects. Then, taking into account the condition of the artifacts, I identified the different depositional processes that created the well fills. Second, a microanalysis is applied to examine all ten wells (Chapter Four). By investigating the dates and types of artifacts found in the wells, I reconstructed the larger patterns of the activities occurring at the sanctuary. The results show that the well assemblages preserve information about the history of the site that is not clearly seen in other contexts. This allows the history of Nemea to be placed into a larger context of regional sanctuaries and Greek religion. In order to do so, this dissertation places Nemea into specific frameworks for the study of religion, moving beyond polis religion to embrace and recognize the individual through the importance of sacred travel and lived religion. By using the archaeological record and material culture preserved in the wells, the built architecture, and the manipulation of the landscape, a narrative of the sacred space emerges that spans both the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods. The architecture and objects played an important role in framing the experience of the sanctuary's visitors. This dissertation will explore the archaeological evidence for sacred activity at Nemea by focusing on the material footprint of activities, the spatial organization of the site, and the relationship between architecture and artifact. Placing the emphasis on the individual by applying the concepts of lived religion brings the human aspect into the physical space for a more comprehensive understanding of religion and ritual at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea.

CHAPTER 2: THE SANCTUARY OF NEMEAN ZEUS

The Sanctuary of Nemean Zeus was active from the 6th to mid 5th centuries BCE as the site of the biennial festival and games, as well as religious pilgrimage. The 6th and 5th century sanctuary was small with the buildings clustered near one another. After a destructive event at the end of the 5th century, the festival and games were moved to Argos. They returned to Nemea at the end of the 4th century and were held until ca. 270 BCE, when they once again were transferred to Argos. They remained in Argos throughout the Hellenistic period, with a few instances of attempted revivals at Nemea. After the 1st century BCE, when another destruction may have occurred, there is little evidence for the festival and games other than references in literary sources.¹²²

This chapter explores the historical background of the Nemean Games, relying on literary and textual sources, and discusses the major building program that occurred at the end of the 4th century. Many of the dates relating to the sanctuary, the establishment of the festival in 573 BCE, abandonment in 415 BCE, the revival of the festival in 330 BCE, and final abandonment in 270 BCE, have been presented as secure dates. While textual sources aid in pin-pointing possible dates, the narrative of events is not this specific. A review of the historical sources provides the background for the events that occurred in the 5th to 3rd centuries and expose the questions that still remain regarding Nemea's history. Moreover, the application of the approaches discussed in Chapter One to the building program in the 4th century will present a different way to interpret the sanctuary without relying on a secure historical narrative. Rather it will show the extent to which

¹²² Miller 1977, 22.

the sanctuary's history and its activities can be reconstructed relying on the archaeological record, even with its limited preservation.

6th and 5th Century Sanctuary

In the middle of the 6th century, the Temple of Zeus was constructed with a long altar to the east (**Plan 1**). The early temple was largely incorporated into the later 4th century temple, and thus, it is difficult to reconstruct the original plan and design.¹²³ It is clear that the early temple was built on the same east-west orientation, but was slightly smaller and longer than the later temple. Rather than a surrounding colonnade, a study of what remains below the later temple's foundations shows that it was distyle in-antis, and architectural remains suggest it had a hipped roof on the west end and painted pediment on the east end.¹²⁴ The altar was constructed 10m to the east of the temple, which runs the full length of the temple facade. The date of the altar falls in the late Archaic period; below the northern foundations, pottery of the middle of the 6th century was found.¹²⁵ During Blegen's excavation in the 1920s, the altar measured 40.58m with the full width preserved at the south end at 2.42m; Miller confirmed these dimensions.¹²⁶ The Sacred Square was paved around these two main structures and several lesser monuments, including dedications, essentially creating the *temenos* space.¹²⁷

To the south of the temple was a group of nine buildings, which have been labeled

¹²³ Miller 2013.

¹²⁴ Miller 2004, 155-6; see also Hill 1966.

¹²⁵ *Nemea* I, 23; Miller 1975, 160.

¹²⁶ Blegen 1927, 422, fig. 1; see also Miller 1976a, 178 and 180.

¹²⁷ *Nemea* I, 1. Birge explains that the Square Square surrounds the Temple of Zeus extending south to the oikoi, to the north and east, and probably west to the river, covering an area approximately 140x95m.

the oikoi (**Plan 2a**). The exact function of these buildings is unclear, but Miller suggests that they “may have served more than one purpose - as a combination treasury and meeting hall,” connecting them to the treasuries at Olympia.¹²⁸

The Nemean *oikoi*, like the treasuries at Olympia, are similar buildings in a line defining one boundary of the sacred area of the sanctuary. Simple architecturally, the *oikoi*, like the Olympian treasures, were meant to be impressive only from the front facing the square, in this orientation proclaiming to visitors the wealth of the city-state, which had erected each one.¹²⁹

That these buildings are considered by Miller to be outside of the Sacred Square is telling of their functions. From the excavations, two inscribed blocks were found: one inscribed “of the Rhodians” and the other “of the Epidaurians.”¹³⁰ These have been used as possible identifications of ownership for the individual oikoi, implying that each belonged to a different polis. The ten buildings were all built around the same time, roughly in the first half of the 5th century, with evidence of remodeling and reuse on an individual basis, destruction in the later 5th century, and possible remodeling in the late 4th century. The remains found within the structures do not aid in clarifying their identification, and thus they have continued to be called the oikoi in literature.

Just south of oikos 7 and attached to oikoi 8 and 9 is a building that has been labeled the Dining Establishment. Primarily excavated in 1975, the building appears to belong to the first phase of the festival but also has larger implications for the second phase. The construction of the building has been placed in the early Classical period with use of the building dating to the second quarter of the 5th century, based upon ceramic

¹²⁸ Miller 2004, 136.

¹²⁹ Miller 2004, 136-7.

¹³⁰ Miller 2004, 137; Nemea Museum I 105 and I 31.

evidence.¹³¹ By the early 3rd century, it appears that a plateia was constructed in this area, essentially covering the 4th century kiln complex, discussed below, and the Dining Establishment.¹³² Miller does not address the use of the building in the end of the 4th century, prior to it being paved over. Since the building was intentionally leveled off and filled in when the plateia was paved, it is possible that the Dining Establishment was intact and functioning during the early festivals in the second phase. If this is the case, then the Dining Establishment would have had a longer life than previously thought, especially when associated with Well N17:2, discussed in full in Chapter 3. Miller did suggest that the building may be associated with the xenon if the same area was used for the same functions, namely a dining facility.¹³³

The Dining Establishment is rectangular, divided by a north-south wall creating two chambers, the western room smaller than the eastern (**Plan 2b**). Aligned, off-center doorways in the west of each of these rooms suggests its identity as a dining room with 11 couches fitting around the perimeter of the eastern room.¹³⁴ This restored plan is similar to the dining complexes found at Sanctuary of Hera at Perachora and similar to those at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth.¹³⁵ Aiding in the identification are the artifacts relating to food preparation and consumption, specifically fine ware drinking vessels found in pits mixed with the remains of ash and bones.¹³⁶ Miller had originally

¹³¹ Miller 1975, 167; 2004, 151.

¹³² Miller 1975, 167.

¹³³ Miller 1975, 166-7.

¹³⁴ Miller 2004, 150.

¹³⁵ Tomlinson 1969, 164-172, fig. 5; Bookidis, 1993.

¹³⁶ Miller 2004, 151.

associated the nearby well (Well N17:2) with the Dining Establishment as evidence of a water supply relating to dining, though later excavation of the well and kiln complex showed these structures dated after the construction of the building.¹³⁷ It is possible that the Dining Establishment had a longer life and could be one of the structures that functioned in both phases of the festival.

As the location of worship for the child-hero Opheltes, the heroön was a feature of the sanctuary at the beginning of the games, through the second phase of the festival, and remained identifiable at the time of Pausanias' visit. He noted, "Here there is Opheltes' tomb; around it is a stone fence, and within the enclosure are altars."¹³⁸ The Archaic heroön was a large earth mound, artificially constructed, surrounded by a rubble wall.¹³⁹ Excavation revealed alternating layers of red and white earth, which are not natural accumulations but appeared to have been the deposition of deliberately cleansed earth. This led Miller to conclude that, "ritual sanctification of the previously purified earth [was] used to create the tumulus."¹⁴⁰ This is not unexpected for a hero shrine, as the Pelopion at Olympia has a similar tumulus and enclosure wall. From the sealed foundation deposits, containing mostly complete Corinthian kotylai, the *terminus post quem* for the shrine is the second quarter of the 6th century. Over time, the earthen mound was refurbished. Ceramic evidence suggests one such refurbishment occurred in

¹³⁷ Miller 1975, 167; 2004, 151

¹³⁸ Paus. 2.15.3, trans. W.H.S. Jones, et al., Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1918. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν Ὀφέλτου τάφος, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν θριγκὸς λίθων καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου βωμοί.

¹³⁹ *Nemea* IV, 92; see also Miller 2002, 246; 2004, 127.

¹⁴⁰ Miller 2002, 246.

the middle of the 5th century.¹⁴¹ From within the shrine, over 6,800 animal bone fragments were recovered; the majority showed evidence of burning. Those that were identified showed an overwhelming preference for sheep/goat, about 75%, and a preference for the upper part of the limb, specifically the left hind limb.¹⁴² In addition to the faunal remains, a great quantity of ceramic drinking vessels attests to ritual drinking and libations that would have occurred in the shrine. The heroön in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, covering roughly 600 square meters, was a site of religious and ritual activity associated with the tomb of Opheltes and his shrine.¹⁴³ The shrine's importance is clear in the amount of labor required to construct and maintain the earthen mound, to protect it from the Nemea River, and in the evidence of ritual dining, libation, and sacrifice.

The first phase of the festival included the early stadium, which was located to the west of the temple and northeast of the heroön.¹⁴⁴ The remains of a pure, white clay layer, about 0.10m in thickness, is all that survives of the early stadium.¹⁴⁵ It is very fragmentary as it was damaged by later constructions, including the bathhouse, and the Nemea River. In addition to the track itself, several artifacts were found in the area to confirm the identity as the early stadium. This includes several starting blocks, jumping

¹⁴¹ *Nemea IV*, 152.

¹⁴² *Nemea IV*, 128; see also MacKinnon's contribution to the volume on the faunal remains. In a comparison between the faunal remains associated with the altar and the heroön, he concludes that the heroön bones were not burnt as completely as the altar remains, and while the altar has younger animals, there were older sheep/goat at the heroön. In addition, pigs were found at the heroön and not at the altar suggesting a difference in preference for sacrifice for either location (*Nemea IV*, 215-7).

¹⁴³ *Nemea IV*, 117.

¹⁴⁴ Miller 2002, 247.

¹⁴⁵ Miller 2015, 323-31.

weights, and athletic paraphernalia.¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately not much of the early stadium survives today.

At some point towards the end of the 5th century, a violent event occurred resulting in destruction of the site, including fire damage to the temple.¹⁴⁷ Miller begins to shape a specific narrative of this event in the excavation report for the 1977 season, where he states, “Ancient sources are silent about any battles or other violations of the Sanctuary of Nemean Zeus during this period, but there are two events implicit in the sources which might explain the evidence.”¹⁴⁸ His first event is the disturbance associated with the Argive takeover of Nemea during the Peloponnesian War, which “was carried out with a certain degree of force.”¹⁴⁹ In a footnote, Miller acknowledges that “although no mention is made of violence in Nemea itself, one should note the extensive Spartan military maneuvers against Argos in 418 B.C. There can be no doubt of a large military presence at Nemea during that campaign.”¹⁵⁰ This military event is recorded in Thucydides and serves as the sole basis for the 415 BCE date of the sanctuary destruction.¹⁵¹ While Thucydides mentions the Spartan army united in the forests of

¹⁴⁶ One block was reused as a threshold in the xenon (Romano 1977), others as covers for a drain (Miller 2015, 324.) Two fragmentary *halters* (jumping weights) were found; one of which is inscribed by a victor from Sikyon, with letters that would suggest a mid-6th century date (Miller 2015, 328.) Both were found in the embankment on the east side of the track. A votive deposit found in a pit included broken drinking vessels of the late Archaic period and an iron discus, parts of the iron head of a javelin, a bronze strigil, and a lead jumping weight. Miller notes that it was possibly the deposit of a pentathlete (1992, 81-2).

¹⁴⁷ Miller (2004, 61) attributes the damage to a battle that occurred within the sanctuary, though he also notes that no ancient author records such a battle; see also Miller 1982a; *Nemea* I, xxx.

¹⁴⁸ Miller 1977, 9.

¹⁴⁹ Miller 1977, 10.

¹⁵⁰ Miller 1977, 10, n. 17.

¹⁵¹ Thuc. V.60.3, trans. R. Crawley, New York, Random House, 1982.

ὄφθη δὲ μάλιστα ἕως ἔτι ἦν ἀθρόον ἐν Νεμέῃ, ἐνϋ̅ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε πανστρατιῶ̅ ἦσαν (and it should have been seen while it was still united at Nemea, with the Lacedaemonians in full force.)

Nemea, it is a statement made by the author as a commentary on the glory of the army. There is no mention of a battle occurring at the site and thus should not be used to explain the damage found at Nemea. Miller's second event is in 388 BCE when the Spartans marched through the Nemea Valley to defeat the Argives.¹⁵² Xenophon records this event in book IV of the *Hellenica*, noting that when the Spartan army marched through the Nemea Valley from Phlious, Argos tried to use the Nemea truce as an excuse to avoid battle.¹⁵³ These two historical events have been presented by Miller as the evidence for the destruction debris found in the sanctuary and, subsequently, has resulted in a "battle" becoming part of Nemea's history.¹⁵⁴ This narrative is based the textual sources that report movement through Nemea rather than an actual military event occurring within the sanctuary. Rather than stretch the textual evidence, it is equally possible that the destruction to the temple and sanctuary can be explained by natural causes or human error; both of which are more plausible than a battle occurring within the sanctuary.

Nevertheless, the result of this violent event is the abandonment of the site for nearly a century, as the games were transferred to Argos. According to Miller, the site's

¹⁵² Miller 1977, 10.

¹⁵³ Xen. *Hell.* IV.7.3, trans. C. L. Brownson, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1918.

καὶ οὕτω δὴ Ἀγησίπολις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ Φλειούντος τὸ στράτευμα, ἐκείσε γὰρ αὐτῷ συνελέγετο, ἕως πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεδήμει, ἐνέβαλε διὰ Νεμέας. οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι ἐπειῆγωσαν οὐ δυνησόμενοι κωλύειν, ἔπεμψαν, ὡς περ εἰώθεσαν, ἐστεφανωμένους δύο κήρυκας ὑποφέροντας σπονδάς. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις, ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι οὐ δοκοῖεν τοῖς θεοῖς δικαίως ὑποφέρειν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς σπονδάς, ἀλλ' ἐνέβαλε καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ ἔκ πληξίν κατὰ τε τοὺς ἀγρούς καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐποίησε (Under these circumstances Agesipolis led forth his army from Phlius—for it had been assembling for him there while he was away visiting the holy places—and entered the territory of Argos by way of Nemea. And when the Argives realized that they would not be able to hinder the invasion, they sent, as they were wont to do, two heralds, garlanded, pleading a holy truce. But Agesipolis in reply said that the gods did not think they were making this plea justly, and so he refused to acknowledge the truce, but advanced into their territory and caused great distress and terror both in the country and in the city.)

¹⁵⁴ *Nemea* I, 71, n. 214; see also Miller 1977, 8-10; 1978, 65; 1979, 82; 1980, 179-180, 186; 1981, 50-2; 1982b, 22; 1992, 82-3.

abandonment is supported by the paucity of material remains from the sanctuary in the years ca. 400-330 BCE.¹⁵⁵ Around 330 BCE, Nemea witnessed a resurgence in building activity that included rebuilding the temple, refurbishing the altar and heroön, and constructing new buildings, such as the bathhouse, xenon, and stadium. This renewed activity has been associated with the Macedonians, who had an interest in retaining and renovating the panhellenic sites as a way to gain control in Greece.¹⁵⁶ The festival's return to the sanctuary at Nemea would be short lived, as the games were once again transferred to Argos by 270 BCE.¹⁵⁷

Historical Evidence

To further support the period of site abandonment in the beginning of the 4th century, Miller pointed to two wells as evidence.¹⁵⁸ He states:

Both [wells] were constructed in the second half of the 5th century and were used for a relatively brief period; near the end of the same century both were filled with the debris of a destruction or a cleanup following a destruction near the end of the 5th century. Then for more than half a century—until the last three decades of the 4th century—neither well shows evidence of any activity. Before long, both wells were closed and put out of use. These data are significant because they suggest that for more than the first half of the 4th century B.C. the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea was not being used; that is, the Nemean Games were not at Nemea during that period. The suggestion is reinforced, moreover, by the lack of artifacts of the first half of the 4th century over the whole of the sanctuary. Virtually none of the coins or the pottery, for example, can be dated to that period. A picture thus emerges of a destruction in the late 5th century B.C., followed by some two generations of silence and desolation at the Panhellenic

¹⁵⁵ Miller 1977, 21-2; 1978, 83; 1979, 79-81, 90, 92-3; 1988, 162; 1992, 82.

¹⁵⁶ Miller, Stella 1988, 145.

¹⁵⁷ *Nemea* I, xxx.

¹⁵⁸ Well L17:1 see Miller 1978, 82-4; Well L17:2 see Miller 1979, 89-90.

center of Nemean Zeus.¹⁵⁹

These two wells, Well L17:1 and L17:2, are primary deposits for my study and are discussed in-depth in Chapter Three, along with the other eight wells with material from this period. While the archaeological evidence supports a destruction of the temple, the transfer of the games, and thus abandonment of the site, this history of the site is better recorded in the historical and textual evidence. The exact narrative of the Nemean Games and site occupation is difficult to pinpoint due to the spotty evidence. Some dates are preserved in the textual evidence that help to create a working timeline of events. The following section compiles the primary and secondary sources in order to present the current view of Nemea in the 5th to 3rd centuries BCE.

Scholars agree that Kleonai was the custodian of the games and controlled the territory of the Nemea Valley.¹⁶⁰ Pindar's *Nemean* odes provide literary evidence of Kleonai's control. For example, *Nemean* 4, written ca. 473 BCE, records the wrestling victory of Timasarchos of Aigina at the contest of Kleonai.¹⁶¹ About ten years later, ca. 464/3 BCE, *Nemean* 10 records the continuing Kleonian control of the games.¹⁶² Diodorus Siculus records that in the seventy-eighth Olympiad, ca. 464 BCE, a war broke out between the Argives and Mycenaeans, which included a dispute over control of the

¹⁵⁹ Miller 2004, 49-50.

¹⁶⁰ Marchand (2002, 172-98) provides the most in-depth discussion of the relationship between Kleonai and the games.

¹⁶¹ Pind. *Nem.* 4.17, trans. D. A. Svarlien, 1990. Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγώνος ὄρμον στεφάνων πέμψαντα (he had sent back from the contest at Kleonai a chain of garlands).

¹⁶² Pind. *Nem.* 10.42, trans. D. A. Svarlien, 1990. καὶ Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τετράκις (and four times from the men of Kleonai).

Nemean Games.¹⁶³ By ca. 388 BCE, Argive control is implied by Xenophon, though the site of the games is not clear.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, it is clear that the Nemean Games continued to be celebrated in the middle of the 4th century as shown by a number of references to the victories of athletes, such as Eupolemos of Elis, Damiskos of Messene, Hegesarchos of Arkadia, and Sostratos of Sikyon.¹⁶⁵ As historical texts show, the exact date for the transfer of control to the Argives and the location to Argos is unclear.

There are two views presented in scholarship regarding when the shift to Argos occurred.¹⁶⁶ Miller has suggested, based upon the archaeological record, that the games were held in Argos, and thus under Argive control, between 410 and 330 BCE.¹⁶⁷ Paula Perlman in her in-depth study of the *theorodokia* in the Peloponnese argues that Kleonai was independent until 325 BCE, evidenced by her minting of coins, and only fell into Argive control in 315 BCE.¹⁶⁸ Thus in her view, the Nemean Games, while not celebrated in Nemea, only came under full Argive control after the incorporation of Kleonai.¹⁶⁹

This raises several questions. Was the control of the Nemean Games determined

¹⁶³ Diod. Sic. 11.65.2, trans. C. H. Oldfather, Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1989.

ἡμφισβήτουν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Ἥρας, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Νεμέων ἡξίουσαν αὐτοὶ διοικεῖν (they kept disputing with them also over the shrine of Hera and claiming that they had the right to administer the Nemean Games by themselves.)

¹⁶⁴ supra n. 36.

¹⁶⁵ Eupolemos won the pentathlon in Nemea in 397 BCE (Paus. 6.3.7.). In 365 BCE, Damiskos won the pentathlon both at Nemea and Isthmia (Paus. 6.2.11.). Hegesarchos won the boxing match (Paus. 6.12.8.). Sostratos won a total of 12 crowns at Nemea for pankration in the middle of the 4th century (Paus. 6.4.1-3.).

¹⁶⁶ Buraselis (2014, 170-5) presents the most recent discussion of the games in their 4th century context.

¹⁶⁷ *Nemea* I, 31, 128, 184, 244, n. 668.

¹⁶⁸ Perlman 2000, 138-49.

¹⁶⁹ Marchand (2013, 314) points to inscriptional evidence that shows Kleonai was “fully integrated into the Argive state already by the early 4th century BCE.” See also Kritzas 2006.

by their location? Kleonai controlled the games while celebrated at the sanctuary in Nemea; the Argives controlled them in Argos. Did control remain with Kleonai until the city was incorporated into Argive territory? If so, the games would be seen as property of Kleonai to be absorbed with the city. Scholarship seems to span several views. Miller argues that Kleonai only controlled the games while in Nemea in the 5th century, and the action of moving the games to Argos was the result of the Argives assuming control. He believes that when the games returned in the 4th century to Nemea, Kleonai did not regain control, but Argos retained that right.¹⁷⁰ Although Perlman does not explicitly say, she seems to suggest that while the games were in Argos in the beginning of the 4th century, Kleonai remained in control until the city was incorporated into Argive territory, at which point the games were transferred to Argos as well. Complicating Perlman's interpretation is her date of 315 BCE. If the Argives took control of the games at that date, then the Nemean Games would already have returned to Nemea. Perlman's study of the games appears to be less about their location and more about Kleonaian independence.

Control or custodianship of the games is important to understand. Not only would the custodians be responsible for the logistics of the festival, they would also receive economic gains from the role, prospering from the influx of Greeks to watch the games. Unfortunately, no source has preserved a clear identification for custodianship of the Nemean Games. Late 4th century inscriptions point to a clear connection between Argos and the Nemean Games; they record that the *theoroi* announced the celebration for both

¹⁷⁰ Miller 1982a, 107.

the Argive festival for Hera, the Heraia, and the Nemean Games. An inscription found in the agora of Argos and a copy found in the sanctuary at Nemea (352) record the office of *theorodokos* for the games τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμέαι καὶ τᾶς Ἥρας τᾶς Ἀργείας.¹⁷¹ This suggests certainly by the end of the 4th century, a clear relationship was established between the Argive festival of Hera and the panhellenic festival at Nemea.¹⁷²

The most convincing argument is presented by Marchand, who argues for a middle ground that does not see the transfer of the games as hostile. Instead, Marchand suggests that the move of the games to Argos at the end of the 5th century was a result of Argos wanting to draw the games to the city for safety.

It is of some importance to note that the Nemean games were conducted in the Ancient Nemea valley in those periods in which Argos was at its most powerful and stable; the need to draw the games into the city in this period is a sign that Argos was on the defensive, and therefore I have interpreted the return of the games to Nemea in the mid fourth century as a move encouraged and welcomed by the Argives as a sign of their renewed territorial status. For Kleonai, the financial effects of the change of venue of the games and the ongoing military actions in the region is illustrated by the fact that in the last quarter of the century, it stopped minting coins.¹⁷³

Her suggestion acknowledges an alliance between Kleonai and Argos with the games as something to protect rather than a commodity to seize. Thus while in Argos, the Nemean Games were celebrated in conjunction with the Heraia, emphasizing their importance, but also bringing more prestige to the Argive festival for Hera.

Scholarship seems to agree that the games were returned to Nemea around 330 BCE, possibly through the patronage of the Macedonian leaders. Their involvement in

¹⁷¹ Perlman 2000, 99; see also Miller, Stephen 1988.

¹⁷² Additional evidence that supports the close relationship between the Nemean Games and the Heraia are discussed below.

¹⁷³ Marchand 2002, 485-6, n. 96

the Corinthia is evident at other sites, including Isthmia, and thus seems to be the clearest answer for the return of the games to Nemea.¹⁷⁴ The date of the building program on the site also corresponds with Philip II's establishment of the Corinthian League in 338/6 BCE. This league was an offensive and defensive alliance of Greek states, including Corinth, Argos, and most of the states throughout Arkadia, Attica, and Thrace; notably, Sparta was not included. Interpretation of Macedonian action is also hypothetical as there is no evidence at Nemea of Macedonian involvement in the return, other than a single coin of Philip II used to date the construction of the new stadium.¹⁷⁵ Historical sources do record subsequent use of the site by Macedonians; Kassandros acted as the president of the games in 315 BCE and Demetrios Poliorketes used the site as a meeting place for his league in 311 and 303 BCE.¹⁷⁶ An inscription from Well L17:2 dating to 312/1 BCE (9) records the alliance of Demetrios Poliorketes' father, Antigonos, and its display within the sanctuary further supports Macedonian involvement with the site.

The Macedonians most likely returned the games to Nemea from Argos in order to reestablish the festival in its "rightful" place, thus keeping with their tradition of renovating panhellenic sites. This would have aided them in gaining control of the Peloponnese, unifying the region physically and spiritually.¹⁷⁷ Marchand suggests that the arrival of the Macedonians to the region would have provided stability needed for

¹⁷⁴ Buraselis 2014, 170-2; Marchand 2002, 501; Miller, Stella 1988, 145; Miller, Stephen 1982a, 1992, 2004; *Nemea* II, 90.

¹⁷⁵ *Nemea* I, 90. A coin minted by Alexander the III (535) found in Well N17:2 may also add to the evidence of Macedonian involvement.

¹⁷⁶ *Nemea* III, 16, n. 41; see also Dio Sic 19.64.1 for Kassandros; see also *IG* IV² 1:68 for Demetrios Poliorketes in 311 and 303.

¹⁷⁷ Miller, Stella 1988, 145; Marchand (2002, 501) notes the emphasis placed by Macedonians on the panhellenic sanctuaries as symbols of and meeting places for the new League.

Argos to return the games to the sanctuary. She argues that the rebuilding could be seen as Argive confidence in the new Macedonian regime.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, even with very little concrete textual or archaeological evidence, the Macedonians are the most likely candidates for facilitating the move of the games back to the sanctuary at Nemea in the end of the 4th century, providing both security and financial support.

The games at Nemea thus prospered for about a generation until they were relocated back to Argos in 271/0 BCE, though there is no historical evidence for exactly why and how this occurred.¹⁷⁹ By ca. 251 BCE (or earlier) the Nemean Games are securely back in Argos, as attested by an Argive inscription that records a decree in honor of Alexander of Sikyon.¹⁸⁰ The games appear to have remained in Argos for the duration of their history, as several historical sources record the Nemean Games at Argos during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE.¹⁸¹ One piece of evidence to support the second abandonment of the sanctuary after 270 BCE comes from the stadium. Of the 152 identifiable coins found at the stadium, 98% of them should have been minted and in circulation before 270 BCE.¹⁸² Robert Knapp and Miller concluded that “the excavation

¹⁷⁸ Marchand (2002, 501) suggests that the move from Argos to Nemea is unlikely to represent a loss of Argive prestige or to have been carried out by the Macedonians without full Argive assent.

¹⁷⁹ Buraselis (2014, 174-5) connects it specifically to the tyrannic family of Aristippos I and his descendants, even suggesting that Antigonos Gonatas, who controlled the northeast Peloponnese until 229 BCE, may have been instrumental in putting the Nemean Games back into Argive control and territory; see also *Nemea II*, 93, n. 213.

¹⁸⁰ *SEG XXV*, 362.16-18: τὸν δὲ Ἑλλανοδί[κα]ν τῶν Νεμέων καὶ Ἡραίων τῶν ποτεχεῖ καρπύξαι ἐν τῷ ἀγῶν[ν] τῶν Ἡραίων καὶ Νεμέων; see also Vollgraft 1916, 65-9, Stroud 1984, 204, n. 35.

¹⁸¹ 227/6-221 BCE: Queen Berenike II's victory (Callim. *Aet.* 3); 225 BCE: Kleomenes took advantage of the crowds at the Nemean Games at Argos to infiltrate the city (Plut. *Cleom.* 17.4-5); 221 BCE: Antigonos arrived in Argos in time for the Nemean Festival (Polyb. 2.70.4); 217 BCE: Philip V hurried to the Nemean Festival at Argos (Polyb. 5.101.5); 209 BCE: Philip V's behavior during the Nemean Games (Livy 27.30.9-27.31); 195 BCE: Flamininus went to Argos as *agonothetes* of the Nemean Games (Plut. *Flamininus* 12.2); 185 BCE: W. Caecilius Metellus went to Argos when the Nemean Games were at their height (Polyb. 22.10).

¹⁸² *Nemea II*, 96-7, n. 228.

of the Stadium has produced no coins that must be dated to the roughly 250 years after the shift of the Nemean Games to Argos in the first half of the 3rd century [emphasis in the original].”¹⁸³ But there is some external evidence of activity at the Sanctuary of Nemea in the 3rd to 1st centuries BCE.

The first instance was a game held as a rival to the Argive Nemean Games in 235 BCE by Aratos of Sikyon. While Macedonia controlled the region in the 3rd century, in 251 BCE, Aratos liberated Sikyon from Macedonian rule. He entered the city into the Achaean League for political and economic stability.¹⁸⁴ In 243 BCE, Aratos captured Akrocorinth, also liberating the city from Macedonian rule. Afterwards, he focused on the liberation of Argos, which he saw as his duty to the city that sheltered him during his exile.¹⁸⁵ Plutarch notes, “The day came and the tyrant attacked him from all sides, while the Argives, as though it were not a battle to secure their liberties, but a contest in the Nemean games of which they were the judges, sat as just and impartial spectators of what was going on, without lifting a finger.”¹⁸⁶ Through several attempts with insufficient forces, he failed at taking control of Argos. Finally, in 235 BCE, Aratos was successful in gaining control of Kleonai, bringing it into the Achaean league, which gave Kleonai *polis* status.¹⁸⁷ It was at that point that Aratos celebrated the Nemean Games in Nemea, while

¹⁸³ *Nemea* II, 97, n. 229.

¹⁸⁴ Walbank 1933, 244; Tomlinson 1972, 156.

¹⁸⁵ According to Plut. *Arat.* 25.1, “And so, whence he saw that the best of the neighboring peoples were autonomous, and was distressed at the servitude of the Argives, he plotted to kill Aristomachus the tyrant of Argos, being ambitious to restore its freedom to the city as a reward for the rearing it had given him, as well as to attach it to the Achaean League” (trans. B. Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, 1926).

¹⁸⁶ Plut. *Arat.* 27.1, trans B. Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, 1926; Buraselis (2014, 178) argues that Plutarch’s remark shows “Argos had become through the Nemeia an interstate centre in the Greek world, which undoubtedly added to the entertainment and prospect of its whole population.”

¹⁸⁷ Buraselis 2014, 179.

they were also held in Argos.

Plutarch records the event as follows:

Nevertheless, by his skill in dealing with men and public affairs, and by the favor in which he stood, he retrieved this failure, brought Kleonai into the Achaean League, and celebrated the Nemean games in that city, on the ground that it had an ancient and more fitting claim upon them. But the games were also celebrated at Argos, and then for the first time the privilege of asylum and safe-conduct which had been granted to contestants in the games was violated, since the Achaeans treated as enemies and sold into slavery all contestants in the games at Argos whom they caught traveling through their territory.¹⁸⁸

Plutarch's discussion of Aratos preserves the best evidence for the possible activity at the Sanctuary of Nemea in the second half of the 3rd century BCE, which corresponds with artifacts on the site. There is no evidence that speaks to what happened with the festival and games in the years following, which may suggest that they were only held in Argos.

But Kostas Buraselis believes that "it would be wrong to suppose that the double Nemeia appears for the first and last time in 235. ...it was a question of prestige for both the Achaeans and Argos with Macedonian support to go on with the organization of rival games in the next years."¹⁸⁹ Miller, by contrast, notes that there is little activity that appears in the archaeological record to support a full-scale revival of the sanctuary at this time. While some artifacts have been found in the sanctuary dating to around 235 BCE, Miller points out that there was no attempt to reactivate the aqueduct for the bathhouse, the houses were not rebuilt, and only light, scrappy walls were built within the xenon.¹⁹⁰

It is also likely that a single festival might not have left a mark in the archaeological

¹⁸⁸ Plut. *Arat.* 28.3-4, trans B. Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, 1926.

¹⁸⁹ Buraselis 2014, 180.

¹⁹⁰ *Nemea II*, 97, n. 232-4. In a more in-depth discussion, Miller (*Nemea II*, 99) argues that based upon Plutarch's narrative, the games in 235 BCE did not have to be held in Nemea, and he posits that they could have occurred in Kleonai.

record. By 225 BCE, the games were certainly celebrated in Argos as recorded in Plutarch's *Life of Kleomenes*, when Kleomenes used the games as cover to capture Argos.¹⁹¹ It appears that 235 BCE is the only date that can securely support the celebration of two rival games, likely occurring in Argos and Nemea.

Textual evidence supports the close relationship between Nemea and Argos and their two festivals, the Nemean Games and the Heraia. The earliest evidence is the 4th century inscription discussed above (352), which records the *theoroi* who announced the celebration for both festivals. A second inscription from Nemea (350), dated to the end of the 4th to early 3rd century, records that the Aspendian *theoroi* were sent to Nemea to sacrifice to Zeus and to Argos to give offerings to Argive Hera.¹⁹² In line 10 of the inscription, the Aspendian *theoroi* are granted a further honor, as Stroud has restored [ἐπιμέλε]σθαι on the basis of ἐπιμέλεσθαι δὲ καί in line 12. ἐπιμέλεσθαι generally means “to take care of” something, but for public commission could mean “to have charge of” or “be curator of.” In this restoration, Stroud has suggested that lines 10-11 would imply that the same officials had both the Nemeia and Heraia festivals under his care.¹⁹³ Other

¹⁹¹ Plut. *Kleom.* 17.4-5, trans. B. Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, 1921. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντες οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ προδοσίαν τινὰ πραπτομένην ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Σικυῶνι τοὺς [p. 88] ἰππεῖς καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπέστειλαν ἐξ Ἄργους ἐκεῖ παραφυλάζοντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ Νέμεια καταβάντες εἰς Ἄργος ἤγον, ἐλπίσας, ὅπερ ἦν, ὁ Κλεομένης, ὄχλου πανηγυρικοῦ καὶ θεατῶν τὴν πόλιν γέμουσαν ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπελθὼν μάλλον ταράζειν, νυκτὸς ἦγε πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τόπον καταλαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου... (Presently the Achaeans, who were afraid that some treachery was afoot in Corinth and Sicyon, sent their horsemen and their mercenaries out of Argos to keep watch over those cities, while they themselves went down to Argos and began celebrating the Nemean games. So Cleomenes, expecting, as was the case, that while the throng was holding festival and the city was full of spectators, his unexpected approach would be more apt to cause confusion, led his army by night up to the wall, occupied the region about the Aspis overlooking the theatre...)

¹⁹² Stroud 1984, 203.

¹⁹³ Stroud 1984, 204; see also *SEG XIX*, 317.19-21, a decree honoring the Rhodians that records their crown is announced by the agonothetes at the *gymnikoi agones* of the Hekatomboia and of the Nemeia: καρῦξαι δὲ τὸν στέφανον Ἑκατοβούοις τὸν ἀγωνοθέταν ἐν τῷ ἀγωνί τῷ γυμνικῷ, καρῦξαι δὲ καὶ Νεμέοις τὸν ἀγωνοθέταν ἐν τῷ ἀγωνί τῷ γυμνικῷ.

sources record the relationship between Argos and Nemea. Argive honorary decrees for foreigners, beginning in the end of the 4th century, record that they make their πρόξενοι θεαροδόκοι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμέαι καὶ Ἑράας τᾶς Ἀργείας.¹⁹⁴ A 3rd century decree honoring Alexandros of Sikyon records that the same ten Argive *Hellanodikai* also officiated at both festivals.¹⁹⁵ Philip V of Macedon is associated with the Nemean Games twice in literature. In 218 BCE, Polybius recounts Philip's visit to the games in Argos: "but having caused the rest of his vessels to be dragged across the Isthmus, he ordered them to anchor at Lechaem; while he went in haste with his friends to Argos to attend the Nemean festival."¹⁹⁶ In 209 BCE, Philip was the *curatio* of both festivals.¹⁹⁷ An inscription found at the Argive Heraion records that in ca. 114 BCE, King Nikomedes Euergetes of Bithynia was *agonothetes* of both celebrations.¹⁹⁸ This practice of having one *agonothetes* for both festivals continued in Roman times.¹⁹⁹ A list of agonistic officials of the 2nd to 3rd centuries CE from Argos records γροφεὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρ[ων] τῶν ἀγῶνων.²⁰⁰ This evidence supports that officials were in charge of both the Nemean Games and the Heraia. From a logistical view, this would make sense if both festivals were held in the same place, Argos.

The other relationship to consider relating to the continued activity of the

¹⁹⁴ Stroud 1984, 204, n.37.

¹⁹⁵ *supra* n. 180

¹⁹⁶ Polyb., 5.101.4-6: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν πλοίων ὑπερισθίσας ἐν Λεχαίῳ παρήγγελλε πᾶσιν ὄρμειν. αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἦκε μετὰ φίλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Νεμέων πανήγυριν εἰς Ἄργος.

¹⁹⁷ Livy, 27.30.9: *ibi curatione Heraeorum Nemeorumque*

¹⁹⁸ *SEG II*, 53.

¹⁹⁹ Stroud 1984, 204; *IG IV*, 589, 597.

²⁰⁰ Stroud 1984, 204, n. 36.

Sanctuary of Nemea is between Nemea and Kleonai. In regards to the 235 BCE festival at Nemea, Marchand suggests that the later 3rd century Temple of Herakles may be related to Aratos' rival games or possibly as a "bid to return the games to Nemea once again after a reconciliation between Kleonai and Argos after joining the Achaean League."²⁰¹ Kleonai may have seen a possibility for the return of the games, which would have aided in her own prosperity. Two inscriptions found at Nemea during Blegen's 1920s excavations, but now lost, reference a further relationship between Nemea, neighboring Kleonai, and Argos in the 3rd to 2nd centuries BCE. The first inscription, dating to ca. 229 BCE, appears to concern relations between Kleonai and Argos in regard to boundaries.²⁰² Donald Bradeen's study of the inscription suggests that the inscription records more than a boundary dispute, but rather it is a general settling of differences after a period of hostility.²⁰³ In the context of the 235 BCE rival games, this inscription would suggest that Argos and Kleonai remained at odds until 229 BCE when Argos was brought into the Achaean League, which would allow the two cities to settle their disagreements.

A second inscription from Nemea further expands on this relationship.²⁰⁴ Line 10 of the inscription preserves the name Μομμίου and his position as proconsul, which he held in 145 BCE, thus dating the inscription. It records that Mummius tried to "settle again the old quarrel between Argos and Kleonai over the Nemean Games."²⁰⁵ While

²⁰¹ Marchand 2002, 208.

²⁰² Blegen 1927, 429-30.

²⁰³ Bradeen 1966, 326.

²⁰⁴ Nemea Museum I 10; see also Blegen 1925, 182; Bradeen 1966, 326-7.

²⁰⁵ Bradeen 1966, 328.

only the Argives are in the preserved text, the context suggests that the dispute must be with the Kleonaians. Although Mummius' decision is not preserved, Bradeen suggests that it could have been a shared custody of the games.²⁰⁶ There are three possibilities for the shared custody. Bradeen has restored line 6 to suggest that the games were held in Nemea (τῶν ἐν Νεμέαι ἀγώνων), which would be the only evidence that the festival had returned to the Nemean sanctuary in the 2nd century.²⁰⁷ The second possibility would be that two sets of games were held, one in Nemea and one in Argos, as in 235 BCE.²⁰⁸ The third possibility, not suggested by Bradeen, would be that the games continued in Argos, but now Kleonai shared in the custodial role. What is clear is that these two inscriptions show a strong and continued relationship between Nemea, Argos, and Kleonai, especially after the 235 BCE rival games of Aratos.

The Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea witnessed two large periods of activity: the first phase from the early 6th to end of the 5th century (ca. 573-415 BCE) and the second phase from the end of the 4th to the early 3rd century (ca. 330-270 BCE). In the rest of the Hellenistic period, the exact use of the sanctuary is unclear, while the games themselves continued in Argos. In 235 BCE, the sanctuary was used for Aratos' rival games. At other points in the 3rd and 2nd centuries, there may have been additional

²⁰⁶ Bradeen 1966, 328.

²⁰⁷ Bradeen (1966, 328-2) also points to the excavations by Williams in the xenon that includes Hellenistic pottery, especially moldmade bowls. Miller (*Nemea* II, 100) argues that the text is "another indication that the Argives consolidated their authority over the Nemean Games and administered them in combination with the Games of Hera. In other words, the text published by Bradeen does not prove "that the Nemean Games were now actually held at Nemea." No proof, perhaps not even any evidence for Games - or activity of any kind - in the Stadium at Nemea, can be derived from this text, and the picture remains of a Stadium long abandoned, fallen ever further into disrepair, and never again to be used for the Games."

²⁰⁸ To support this, Bradeen (1966, 329) points to Pausanias who refers to a Winter Nemeia (2.15.2 and 4.16.4), thus a festival could be held at Nemea in the winter with the regular games held at Argos.

activity at the sanctuary, but these are more difficult to prove. Nevertheless, the eventual abandonment of the site due to transfer of the games to Argos resulted in it slowly falling into ruin until the valley was resettled as an Early Christian community. It is in the context of the historical turmoil of the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE that this dissertation is founded. As the above review of the historical and textual evidence has shown, the timeline of Nemea's history is by no means clear nor secure. Yet there is ample evidence from the sanctuary, specifically the material record left by the rebuilding and short flurry of activity in the end of the 4th century, that can be interpreted to reconstruct a narrative of the sanctuary independent from the historical narrative.

The 4th Century (Re)-Building Program

When the games returned to Nemea at the end of the 4th century, the sanctuary had fallen into somewhat of a ruin. In order to properly host the festival and games, it was necessary to rebuild the vital structures, which allowed the opportunity for the custodians of the sanctuary to build new facilities and make changes to the layout. While the temple, altar, and heroön were rebuilt and refurbished in their original locations, the stadium was moved to a new space, outside of the sanctuary proper. In addition, three new facilities were added: the bathhouse and xenon for the athletes and trainers and a series of houses for the officials and caretakers. This massive building program, which touched all main areas of the sanctuary, was a unified effort to revive the site for the return of the festival.

*The Temple*²⁰⁹

The temple that partially stands today was built in the last part of the 4th century, beginning ca. 330 BCE and finishing about ten years later.²¹⁰ Since the earlier temple had sustained damage, including fire, the effort first concentrated on rebuilding the most important structure within the sanctuary.²¹¹ While the major study of the temple was undertaken by Hill, the most recent excavation campaigns of Miller shed additional light on the plan and relationship between the two temples.²¹² The most significant observation was that the early temple plan is closely reflected in the cella plan of the later temple.²¹³ Miller was able to conclude that the cella walls of the later temple were not constructed over those of the early temple, but rather that the early temple served as a foundation for the exterior parts of the later temple.²¹⁴ It is clear that the new Temple of Zeus was built upon its predecessor, preserving the sacredness of the locale.

Since the foundations of the temple are in situ and many of the fragments have been found on site, the overall plan can be reconstructed. Adhering to the traditions of post-Classical temples, the Temple of Zeus is long and narrow with six columns across the facade and 12 along the sides. A ramp was built on its east end. The plan of the temple was pronaos *in-antis* with a cella, an adyton with a crypt, and no opisthodomos.

²⁰⁹ Hill 1966; Miller 2004, 156-70.

²¹⁰ This date is based upon the stylistic features of the architecture but also the coins and pottery found in the kiln complex that manufactured the tiles for the temple roof (Hill 1966; Miller 2004, 154).

²¹¹ Stone from the earlier temple was recycled. Destruction debris was used to level the ground prior to building the bathhouse (Miller 2004, 124), and the blocks were reused throughout the sanctuary as scaffolding support for the later temple and the west wall of the later temple, well heads and the closing of wells (Miller 2013, 374). Additional blocks were used for the xenon (*Nemea* I, 104-6, 125-8) and stadium (*Nemea* II, 91).

²¹² Hill 1966.

²¹³ Miller 2013, 373.

²¹⁴ Miller 2013, 373, n. 9.

The Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders were used throughout the temple: an exterior Doric peristyle and an interior Corinthian colonnade topped by a second story using the Ionic order.²¹⁵ The exterior Doric colonnade was topped with a Doric entablature with epistyle, frieze of triglyphs and metopes, pediments, and raking sima (**Pl. 1b**). The marble sima was decorated with a central lion's head spout and ends with spiraling acanthus tendrils; marble palmette antefixes were placed into cuttings at the joint between sima blocks.²¹⁶ The Corinthian interior colonnade had six columns along the sides and four across the western end.²¹⁷ The Ionic order in the upper story, which was to help support the roof and let in light rather than a gallery, followed the lower story with quarter-round columns in the corners and half-round columns along the walls. The walls were constructed with a toichobate above the peristyle paving, orthostate blocks, a plinth, and an epikranitis. On the east wall of the cella were parastades with an opening for the door that measures 4.16m.²¹⁸ The temple also has refinements, including horizontal curvature on the platform and entasis of the exterior Doric colonnade.

At the rear of the temple in the adyton is a crypt (**Pl. 2a**). It is rectangular in shape with six steps on the east side to descend to a depth of ca. 2m. The floor was coated with a very thin layer of cement plaster. An east-west wall in the crypt had previously been thought to be part of the early temple, but work in 2001 showed that the wall and the south wall of the crypt are contemporary, dating both to ca. 330 BCE.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Miller 2004, 156.

²¹⁶ Miller 2004, 167; Hill 1966, pl. XIII. Hill (1966, 19, n. 48) notes that the lack of crown molding on the sima is an Argive and Corinthian detail.

²¹⁷ Miller 2004, 161.

²¹⁸ Miller 2004, 162.

²¹⁹ Miller 2013, 371.

The crypt is unique to Greek temples, and its exact function is unclear. While sunken *adyta* are preserved elsewhere, they are often associated with oracles, such as at the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. There is no internal or external evidence that would support an oracular function for the temple at Nemea. It is likely that the crypt is a feature continued from its predecessor and perhaps has a longer tradition associated with Nemean Zeus.

The building materials for the temple were mostly local, but some stone came from farther away. The limestone quarry in the low ridge between Nemea and Kleonai supplied the majority of the stone; this limestone is slightly reddish when first quarried, thus the finished elements were coated with a white marble-dust stucco, which both protected and decorated the stone.²²⁰ The foundation blocks were both recycled from the earlier temple and newly quarried. Black marble was used in the threshold of the cella door and white Pentelic marble was used for the sima.²²¹ A soft, finer limestone was used for the interior orders, the Corinthian capitals and Ionic order, which were also covered with stucco. Traces of red and blue decoration were found, especially on the triglyphs (blue) and metopes (red), blue mutuels and red fascia.²²² The roof was constructed with wooden rafters and terracotta tiles, manufactured on site. While no sculptural decoration was used on the temple, it is clear that the use of different colored building materials and

²²⁰ Miller 2004, 158.

²²¹ Miller (2004, 159, n. 119) notes that the stone for the threshold is similar to that employed in the Tholos at Epidauros, which is referred to as “black Argive stone” in the building accounts (*JG IV*², 103.15).

²²² Miller 2004, 159, n. 120.

the added paints helped to decorate the otherwise austere structure.²²³

No fragments found at Nemea can be associated with a cult statue. When Pausanias visited, he noted “there was no longer remaining any image.”²²⁴ From the remains of the temple, Miller suggests, “It was probably located in front of the western columns of the cella where the paving slabs are missing.”²²⁵ Pausanias also notes that in Argos “is a sanctuary of Nemean Zeus, and an upright bronze statue of the god made by Lysippus.”²²⁶ Numismatic evidence from Argos depicts a statue of Zeus standing with a scepter in his right and an eagle at his feet.²²⁷ It is possible that when the Argives moved the games back to Argos in the 3rd century, they took the statue with them.

The rebuilding of a temple for Zeus was a high priority when the games returned to Nemea in the end of the 4th century. The temple fits well into this period stylistically, but some features, especially the crypt, may demonstrate continuity with the earlier temple.²²⁸ While the temple recycled materials from the earlier temple, the decision was more than a way to reuse resources. The builders made the conscious decision to keep the temple in this location within the sanctuary, with the early temple literally providing

²²³ In Euripides’ fragmentary play, *Hypsipyle*, set at Nemea, the nurse tries to quiet Opheltes by saying “look at the painted maidens in the pediment,” which suggests there may have been painted decoration that has not survived. Eurp., *Fr.* 764 N: ἰδοῦ, πρὸς αἰθέρ ἑξαμίλλησαι κόπας γραπτούς <τ ἐν αἰετ>οἶσι πρόσβλεψον τύπο.

²²⁴ Paus., 2.15.2: καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο

²²⁵ Miller 2004, 164.

²²⁶ Paus., 2.20.3: Νεμείου Διός ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου.

²²⁷ Miller 2004, 164, n. 127.

²²⁸ Similarities between the temples at Nemea and at Tegea have led scholars to connect the two through the architect, Skopas, who built the Tegea temple (Hill 44, n. 107). Miller suggests that rather than having the same architect, it is more likely that the same artisans worked on both temples, who repeated techniques and styles. (2004, 169). The possible connection to Sikyon, if Lysippus did create the cult statue, would provide another connection within the greater northeastern Peloponnese. While the architect of the Temple of Zeus at Nemea may never be known for certain, it is clear that there are strong connections between the sanctuary at Nemea and the wider Peloponnese.

the foundations for the new temple.

*The Altar*²²⁹

The long altar to the east of the temple has two phases, an earlier phase, as discussed briefly above, and 4th century renovations to extend its length (**Pl. 2b**). It is important to note that the altar was greatly damaged in later history. In the Early Christian period, this area of the sanctuary was converted into agricultural land, and many of the blocks were removed. In fact, when Miller's excavations began in the 1970s, the area around the altar had remains of vines and apricot orchards.²³⁰ The Early Christian disturbance also affected the preservation of any religious evidence, as none survive that dates the construction or use.²³¹ In the discussion that follows, I will strive to emphasize the 4th century activity, but it will mainly be a general treatment of the structure.

The altar is very long rather than built up with several courses, with the closest parallel found at the panhellenic Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia.²³² While the southern end of the altar is intact, the north end has been removed, as evidenced by the anathyrosis on the end block. The altar currently measures 40.41m in length, while the ancient length would have been longer.²³³ Blegen noted that the construction techniques of the blocks

²²⁹ *Nemea* I, 5-31; Miller 2004, 178-84.

²³⁰ *Nemea* I, 5-6.

²³¹ *Nemea* I, 20.

²³² The Isthmian altar was also built in two phases, with only full course of foundations that held orthostate blocks and belongs to the Classical temple. It measures c. 40m in length. See also *Isthmia* I, 55-6, 98-101, 103; *Isthmia* II, 20-1, 73, 85.

²³³ *Nemea* I, 5.

changed at the point where the altar aligns with the north side of the temple; therefore, he suggested that the northern part of the altar was later in date, “belonging to a second period of building when it was found necessary for some reason to enlarge the altar.”²³⁴ The evidence for a second course of blocks is minimal, but the spacing of pry marks suggests that there was at least one upper course of blocks of the same length and width of those preserved. In addition, there is no evidence for any decorative elements associated with the altar.²³⁵ The altar of Zeus was long and narrow with at least two courses of limestone blocks.

Some evidence can aid in dating the altar. Near the northern end of the altar are scattered small votive vessels, traces of burning, and fragments of burnt bone, increasing in number closer to the altar, which are testimony to sacrificial ritual at an early period.²³⁶ These remains include Geometric pottery, such as a late Geometric krater, found in late Hellenistic fills, Archaic and Classical pottery, such as a fragment of a “Pheidias” mug that dates to the second half of the 5th century.²³⁷ From this evidence, Darice Birge suggests, “The northern part of the altar seems to have been constructed in the middle of the 6th century BC or later on.”²³⁸ She agrees with Blegen that two periods of construction occurred, as seen in the different techniques, but she argues that the northern part should be associated with the early temple and the southern part was built during the 4th century reconstruction. This is opposite to the conclusion reached by Blegen, but

²³⁴ Blegen 1927, 422-3.

²³⁵ *Nemea* I, 18.

²³⁶ *Nemea* I, 22.

²³⁷ Geometric krater: *Nemea* I, 22, fig. 29; Nemea Museum P 123. Pheidias mug: *Nemea* I, 24.

²³⁸ *Nemea* I, 26-7.

Birge's argument is supported by the additional ceramic evidence found during the 1970s excavation.

The altar of Zeus is atypical in the corpus of Greek altars, most notably due to its long length and low construction. Constantine Yavis' early catalog of altars placed the Nemea altar in the Classical/post-Classical type of stepped monumental altars.²³⁹ Having Blegen's report, Yavis was only able to discuss two phases of construction: the southern section that corresponded to the width of the temple, and the second, northern, part of an indefinite later date. In David Rupp's dissertation on Greek altars, Nemea's altar is the only example of his Type VI B1, a subcategory of Type VI (long low rectangular altars), which has 13 examples from the northeastern Peloponnese.²⁴⁰ While other 4th century temples have some similarities with Nemea, best seen at Stratos and Tegea, none is a direct parallel to the altar at Nemea.²⁴¹ As stated above, the best parallel is at nearby Isthmia, further supporting a close relationship between the two sites as smaller panhellenic sanctuaries. Nevertheless, it is clear from recent excavation that the southern extension of the altar corresponds with the shift of the temple to the south during the building program in the end of the 4th century. Therefore, the altar retained its location and general type from the first phase of the festival to the second phase.

*The Sacred Grove*²⁴²

²³⁹ *Nemea* I, 27; see also Yavis 1949, 188.

²⁴⁰ Rupp 1974, 274, 307-8; Rupp also places Isthmia's altar within Type VI, subtype C1.

²⁴¹ *Nemea* I, 29, n. 84.

²⁴² *Nemea* I, 85-96; Miller 2004, 185-88; see also Birge 1982.

The sacred grove, ἄλσος, is located to the south of the altar. Twenty-three planting pits were found in the excavation, clearly visible by the dark, soft soil that filled them. Two groups of planting pits were found. The first was between the southern end of the altar and oikos 7, oriented in line with the altar, with 16 pits in three rows.²⁴³ The remaining seven pits were located about 20m to the west of the first group. These pits ranged in diameter from 1.5m to 2m, and four of the pits had stone rings at the bottom, possibly as a support for the growth of the tree.²⁴⁴ In addition, some of the pits had two to three layers of earth with artifacts from the different phases of the festival; this would suggest that the sacred grove was present at both points in Nemea's history. While archaeological evidence supports its inclusion in both the 5th and 4th century phases, literary evidence further supports the 5th century date. Both Pindar and Euripides mention an ἄλσος at Nemea.²⁴⁵ In Pindar's *Nemean 2*, he honors Timodemus of Acharnae; "So this man has received a first down-payment of victory in the sacred games by winning in the grove of Nemean Zeus."²⁴⁶ A fragmentary play by Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, records two mentions of the Nemean grove.²⁴⁷ These sources make clear that in the 5th century the grove was a well-known feature in the Nemean sanctuary. The additional archaeological evidence shows that the grove was replanted in the 4th century.

²⁴³ *Nemea I*, 89, 91, fig. 98; Miller 2004, 186, fig. 136.

²⁴⁴ *Nemea I*, 91.

²⁴⁵ *Nemea I*, 94, n. 292; see also Miller 2004, 157.

²⁴⁶ Pind. *Nem.* 2.4-5: καὶ ὄδ' ἀνήρ καταβολὰν ἱερῶν ἀγῶνων νικαφορίας δέδεκται πρῶτον Νεμεαίου ἐν πολυμνήτῳ Διὸς ἄλσει.

²⁴⁷ Eur., *Hyps.* *TrGF* 71 F 752h.13-4: πρὸς τούσδε δόμους στείχοντας ἔρημον ἀν' ἄλσος; (who toward this house march through your desolate grove?); Eur., *Hyps.* *TrGF* 71 F 757.940: Νεμέας κατ' ἄλσ[ος] (throughout Nemea's grove).

Groves can be associated with other sanctuaries, and they specifically bring the landscape into the sacred space. While Nemea is surrounded by mountains and the natural landscape, there is very little wildlife in the sanctuary itself. This grove was not natural, but purposefully planted near other sacred structures, especially the temple and altar. From a practical view, the grove provided shade and coolness for the visitors. But the grove had a larger, sacred function as well. In her dissertation, *Sacred Groves in the Ancient Greek World*, Birge discusses the function of the groves as follows:

The sacred grove relates to its surrounding in two ways. Tangibly, it is part of the landscape, in an urban sanctuary or unfrequented hilltop, and is associated with construction around it. It also established connections with the secular world through certain intangible characteristics, indicative neither of secularity nor of sacredness: its natural or artificial origin; its quiet and beauty; the connotation that different terms for greenery imply.²⁴⁸

Planting a grove brought the landscape into the ritual space as a symbolic union of the natural world and the sacred. The purposeful manipulation of the landscape, by bringing the trees into the sanctuary, shows that nature was not working in isolation but in conjunction with the building around it and the people who populated it.

The analysis of the organic material found in the pits indicated the presence of either cypress or fir trees.²⁴⁹ This would correspond with Pausanias' description that "around the temple is a grove of cypress trees, and here it is, they say, that Opheltes was placed by his nurse in the grass and killed by the serpent."²⁵⁰ The use of the cypress, a tree associated with death and mourning in Greek culture, would be appropriate for

²⁴⁸ Birge 1982, 189.

²⁴⁹ *Nemea* I, 91.

²⁵⁰ Paus. 2.15.2: κυπαρίσσων τε ἄλσος ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν ναόν, καὶ τὸν Ὀφέλτην ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῆς τροφῆς τεθέντα ἐς τὴν πόαν διαφθαρήναι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος.

Opheltes.²⁵¹ Birge points out that the literary history of Nemea is connected to groves, both the death of Opheltes and Herakles' slaying of the lion. She argues, "Perhaps the trees of historic times also help to establish a connection in visitors' minds between their own time and the legendary past."²⁵² She notes that Pausanias only locates Opheltes' death with the grove and not his tomb, and that the choice of the cypress tree "may not have been by chance."²⁵³ I argue that the choice was a deliberate decision to show its sacred relationship to Opheltes, whose death initiated the Nemean Games. Although there would have been space for a sacred grove near the hero shrine, its location near the Temple of Zeus was a deliberate decision. The sacred grove acted as a physical connection between the two deities honored by the games. In addition, its proximity to the processional way from the altar to the stadium would also recall the link between the hero's death and the creation of the games. Thus the sacred grove functions as a physical link between the mythical past and the present time of those who considered the area sacred.

*Heroön*²⁵⁴

The heroön was one of the structures from the first phase that was refurbished during the 4th century. It was included in Pausanias' description of the sanctuary, which

²⁵¹ According to Greek mythology, Kyparissos, a boy beloved by Apollo, accidentally killed his stag by a javelin. Consumed by grief, Kyparissos was transformed into the cypress tree. From this myth comes the aetiological reasoning behind the cultural significance of the tree as a symbol for mourning. The myth is best preserved in *Ov. Met.* 10.106-142.

²⁵² *Nemea* I, 96; Birge (1982, 195) also argues "the stories connected with the plantings of groves around heroes' tombs suggests that the continued existence of the trees provided a visible connection between the beginnings of civilization in their region and the historic, fully urbanized city state."

²⁵³ *Nemea* I, 96.

²⁵⁴ *Nemea* IV; Miller 2002; 2004, 124-31; see also Bravo 2006.

most likely aligns with the shrine's 4th century features. Over time, the shrine was covered and hidden to the visitors of the late 17th to 19th centuries. Both Miller and Shelton excavated the heroön. It was partially uncovered in 1979 and work continued in 1980 to reveal the full outline of the shrine.²⁵⁵ In 1983, the focus shifted to the interior space of the shrine, only to be continued between 1997 and 2001.²⁵⁶ Shelton's campaigns between 2010 and 2012 focused on both the interior and exterior areas of the shrine, with an aim to find evidence of activity that predated the Archaic construction.²⁵⁷

In the 4th century rebuilding, the heroön retained its tumulus shape from the Archaic period, but a new enclosure wall was constructed that focused the cult activity in the southern end of the shrine (**Pl. 3a**).²⁵⁸ It encompassed an area of nearly 800m², but the shape of the mound dictated the layout of the new walls, which resulted in a roughly pentagonal shape.²⁵⁹ The foundations of the walls were built with a single course of yellow poros limestone with red limestone orthostate blocks, which are only preserved at the south end of the east wall.²⁶⁰ It is possible that mud brick was added to the height of the walls; if that was the case, it was clearly gone by the 2nd century CE, since Pausanias calls the wall a θριγκὸς λίθων, a fence of stones.²⁶¹ There is no evidence for a roof, and since sacrificial fires appear to have been lit within the shrine, it would make sense to

²⁵⁵ Miller 1980, 194-8; 1981, 60-5.

²⁵⁶ Miller 2015, 315-23.

²⁵⁷ No publication yet, so the notebooks are the best sources of evidence; I also participated in these excavations.

²⁵⁸ *Nemea* IV, 159.

²⁵⁹ *Nemea* IV, 160.

²⁶⁰ *Nemea* IV, 164; Miller 2004, 126.

²⁶¹ Paus., 2.15.3.

have it open to the air.²⁶² The door or entrance to the shrine is difficult to locate. Based upon the geography, Bravo has suggested that the “logical means of approach would have been from the north, along the embankment, as was the case in Archaic and Classical times.”²⁶³

One major difference between the Archaic and the early Hellenistic constructions of the heroön is the apparent lack of deposits that can be associated with the new enclosure wall. The only possible deposit to date to this period is a bell krater that was covered with a stone slab near the easternmost block of the north wall.²⁶⁴ In general, the dating of the phases of the heroön is difficult, especially within the shrine itself, as no new surface was added that would have sealed any new deposits.²⁶⁵ The dating of the 4th century renovations relies upon coins and pottery found in the foundation trenches. The best piece of evidence is a coin from Chalkis, minted in 337 BCE, while the ceramics suggest a construction closer to the end of the 4th century.²⁶⁶ Within the shrine, the excavation of the sacrificial layers showed a mix of artifacts, dating from the 6th to early 3rd centuries.²⁶⁷ As Bravo notes, “The ceramic and numismatic material attests to the revival of the heroön along with the rest of the Sanctuary after the hiatus of the first half of the 4th century.”²⁶⁸ The remodeling of the heroön may have been one of the later

²⁶² *Nemea IV*, 163-4.

²⁶³ *Nemea IV*, 166.

²⁶⁴ *Nemea IV*, 162.

²⁶⁵ *Nemea IV*, 168.

²⁶⁶ *Nemea IV*, 167.

²⁶⁷ The archaeological record for the heroön was greatly disturbed by agricultural activity and the Nemea River. From the surface layers of the heroön, the majority of the ceramics are Corinthian kotyle of the Archaic period, showing how turned up the soil was over time. Due to this mix of material and a complete study of all the ceramics from within the shrine, it is difficult to know the extent of any gap in material.

²⁶⁸ *Nemea IV*, 167.

projects within the 4th century rebuilding program, since worship within the old heroön could have continued before a new peribolos was constructed. Important here is that the work on the shrine was meant to renew and augment the mound that already existed, preserving the history of the site as the tumulus for the burial of the child-hero, Opheltes.

*The Kiln Complex*²⁶⁹

At this point, it is necessary to address the kiln that was constructed in order to manufacture roof tiles for the temple and several of the other buildings erected in the end of the 4th century. The kiln complex is located for the most part in Grid Square N17, between the Dining Establishment and xenon.²⁷⁰ The first kiln was discovered by Williams in 1964, south of the temple, which he concluded manufactured tiles for the roof of the temple. When Miller returned in 1973 and 1974, he continued work in the area, which revealed that Williams' 1964 kiln was part of a much larger complex.²⁷¹ The complex consisted of three different kilns: two rectangular and one circular, a well (Well N17:2), and a bothros, possibly functioning as a settling basin for clay. The kilns are designated by location and shape: the South Kiln, the North Kiln, and the Circular Kiln. At present, the kiln complex is not visible as it was covered over by Miller in order to preserve it; thus any discussion of the complex relies on the excavation notebooks, *Hesperia* reports, and subsequent publication, specifically the guide to the site.

Miller's excavation also resulted in new evidence for the length of use and the

²⁶⁹ Miller 1975, 147, 161-7; 1976a, 188-92; 1976b, 71-3; 1978, 80-1; 2004, 151; Graybehl 2014, 187-97.

²⁷⁰ The importance of the structures in Grid Square N17 is discussed below.

²⁷¹ Miller 1976b, 71.

function. Regarding the date, Miller found that much of the kiln complex was “filled with a heavy debris of tiles, bricks, loom weights, kiln separators, and terracotta wedges... Within this fill were large quantities of pottery... [that] cover a long span of time, and continue through the fourth century and into the first quarter of the third century.”²⁷² Among the tile fragments, Miller was able to identify at least six other sizes of tile in addition to those identified as roof tiles for the temple, which suggested that a potential six other structures were being constructed at the same time as the temple.²⁷³ From what is now known about the sanctuary, the other structures that may have potentially received tiles from the kiln include: the bathhouse, the xenon, the houses, the *oikoi*, and the *apodyterion*, located next to the stadium. Since many of these buildings are preserved only at the foundation, it is impossible to connect a specific tile to a specific structure.²⁷⁴ The most recent work on the kiln complex was carried out by Graybehl during her petrographic study of material from the kilns. She was able to show that while the kilns mainly produced tile, “the production of loom weights and vessels such as *lekanai*, *mortaria*, and *pithoi* may have been important as well, and perhaps more important once copious amounts of new tiles were no longer needed.”²⁷⁵ The kiln complex was not only constructed to facilitate the 4th century building program, but clearly other craft production occurred in the area, taking advantage of the industrial

²⁷² Miller 1975, 164.

²⁷³ Miller (1976b, 72) does not include the identity of the other buildings, which is reasonable considering this discovery occurred early in his excavations.

²⁷⁴ The one exception are the stamped tiles that are associated with the *apodyterion*, which will be discussed in full with the stadium, below.

²⁷⁵ Graybehl 2014, 197. In her dissertation, Graybehl conducted petrographic analysis on 72 samples taken from contexts relating to the kilns, or tiles attributed to the kilns.

space.

The South Kiln appears to have been the earliest of the three kilns. Williams dated the kiln to the period between ca. 340 and 320 BCE to correspond with the completion of the temple rebuilding.²⁷⁶ During Williams' excavation, the kiln had a "large rectangular (ca. 8.5x10m) firing chamber, later cut through by the north wall of the xenon, with two arched passageways for stoking the kiln. These passageways were entered from the north at a subterranean level. The upper chamber of the kiln was apparently built of bricks, but most evidence had been removed with the construction of the xenon" (**Pl. 3b**).²⁷⁷ Miller excavated artifacts from the kiln that suggest it did not go out of use around 320 BC as Williams postulated, but in the early part of the third century BC.²⁷⁸ It is by pure chance that Williams excavated the earliest kiln, but further work by Miller suggests that it continued to be used past the completion date of the temple, associating it with the other construction projects.

The North Kiln was excavated in 1975 and is located just north of the South Kiln (**Plan 2b**). It was clear during Miller's excavation that the North Kiln was built after the South Kiln, possibly as a replacement for the latter.²⁷⁹ This kiln, which was better preserved than the South Kiln, included a combustion chamber with the stoking chamber (dromos) preserved.²⁸⁰ The kiln had a long history with several major and minor changes

²⁷⁶ Williams 1965; Miller 1976b, 71.

²⁷⁷ Miller 1975, 162.

²⁷⁸ Miller 1976b, 72.

²⁷⁹ Miller 1976a, 188.

²⁸⁰ According to Miller (1976a, 188), "each chamber had its own entrance divided by a mud-brick wall some 0.40 m wide and each was coated with a heavy coarse stucco... A low stone socle facing the forechamber marked the western edge of the entrance to the west chamber and another socle marked the eastern edge of the entrance to the east chamber."

to its architectural form including at least five different floors identified in the east stoking chamber; originally built in the end of the 4th century, it continued to be used until the first quarter of the 3rd century, when it was filled with debris.²⁸¹

The Circular Kiln was excavated in 1977 and is located in the neighboring grid square, M17. The kiln has average diameter of about 2m and a preserved height of almost 1m, with only the stoking chamber preserved with a narrow passageway to the sunken forechamber. The significance to the circular form is unclear. It was built later than the xenon, for it extends over the top of the foundation trench of the north wall. Miller suggests that due to this stratigraphy, the circular kiln was a replacement for the south kiln, which was put out of service due to the construction of the xenon.²⁸²

The history of the kiln complex may be summarized as follows. The South Kiln was first constructed to manufacture tiles, primarily for the temple. Soon after the North and Circular Kilns were constructed, with the North Kiln receiving several modifications over its history, when the construction of the xenon began, which partially obstructed access to the South Kiln. The debris fill found within all the kilns suggests they went out of use in the early 3rd century, when the area was covered over as a plateia.²⁸³ Since the building program was completed by the early 3rd century, this dating would be reasonable. Graybehl's dissertation also shows that the kilns were used to produce more than tile, including loom weights and vessels, such as lekanai, mortaria, pithoi, and

²⁸¹ Miller 1976a, 188-9.

²⁸² Miller 1978, 81.

²⁸³ Miller 2004, 151.

jugs.²⁸⁴ These other artifacts produced within the sanctuary demonstrate a wider range of crafts and industries than previously recognized, such as weaving and potting. While the kilns themselves are important for the production of the materials needed for the 4th century building program, they also demonstrate that the sanctuary was producing artifacts for a larger range of consumption, representing the variety of activities occurring with the site.

*Xenon*²⁸⁵

The xenon lies south of the temple and the oikoi on a long east-west axis. Its excavation history is extensive, but it should be noted that the Early Christian basilica was built over approximately a third of the xenon, which has obstructed a complete understanding of the structure. The foundations were found relatively intact with some finds preserved, which allows for a fairly full reconstruction of the plan and function of the building. When the French scholars explored the valley in 1884, they found the basilica under a small mound of dirt, upon which stood a small chapel.²⁸⁶ Blegen explored the area in his excavation, exposing the basilica, and upon finding an earlier building below the basilica, he concluded that it was a gymnasium complex to be

²⁸⁴ Graybehl (2014, 216-20) discovered two fabrics, Mudstone and Micrite, through petrographic analysis that were used in the Nemean kilns to produce a range of products beyond tiles. She argues that within the sanctuary, these vessels were related to craft production, food storage, and preparation. The kiln was producing vessels in the same style as those from Corinth and the Argolid, especially the lekanai, pithoi, and mortaria, vessels primarily used for food storage and preparation but some that suggest a more industrial contexts.

²⁸⁵ *Nemea* I, 99-187; Miller 2004, 110-6.

²⁸⁶ *Nemea* I, 99, n. 315. While the French removed the chapel, they did not focus much on what was below it, turning their attention to the temple. The chapel suggests some continuity from the Early Christian period.

associated with the bathhouse.²⁸⁷ During Williams' excavation in 1964, the focus was on the east end of the xenon, which revealed the kiln.²⁸⁸ Miller continued to work on the xenon in 1977, which revealed more of the building at the east end; in 1980, work focused on digging within the basilica.²⁸⁹ Although the xenon has not been explored fully, due to the decision to preserve the basilica foundation, much can be concluded about the building.²⁹⁰

The building is about 20m wide, extending for a total length of 85m.²⁹¹ A wall runs east-west down the middle of the building, essentially dividing it in half. The rooms on the north half of the building have a row of columns, which most likely served to support extra weight, while there were no columns found in the southern half. Miller has reconstructed the building to have a second story over the northern part with recessed balconies above the off center columns of Rooms 5, 10, and 12; meanwhile, Room 7 has been interpreted as a stairwell to give access to the second story (**Plan 3a**).²⁹² Doorways were found along the southern facade, with five doors opening onto the road, and the northern facade has at least two doors, but none were found on the shorter, east or west walls.²⁹³ Essentially, the building has six units as dictated by the internal doorways, grouping the rooms: Unit 1 = Rooms 1-2; Unit 2 = Rooms 3-8; Unit 3 = Rooms 9-10;

²⁸⁷ Belgen 1925, 175-84; 1927, 421-40.

²⁸⁸ Williams 1964; 1965; *Nemea I*, 102, fig. 113.

²⁸⁹ Miller 1978, 78-80; 1981, 55-59; *Nemea I*, 102.

²⁹⁰ No deep probes below the xenon floor level were made, so it is unclear if any earlier building lies below, such as a predecessor to the xenon.

²⁹¹ *Nemea I*, 99; Miller 2004, 112.

²⁹² Miller 2004, 112.

²⁹³ *Nemea I*, 104.

Unit 4 = Rooms 11-12; Unit 5 = Rooms 13-14; Unit 6 = Rooms 15-16.²⁹⁴ The last two rooms, 15 and 16, were an addition of a later phase.²⁹⁵ The exterior walls were constructed with soft poros ashlar foundation blocks and two courses of reddish limestone blocks for the toichobate and orthostate courses.²⁹⁶ The interior walls had a foundation of unworked fieldstones and a stone socle made from recycled blocks of varying sizes, with plaster applied over to hide the irregularities.²⁹⁷ The difference in the two types of wall construction resulted in the interior walls not being able to bond with the exterior walls. The rest of the walls and superstructure were made from mud bricks, while the floors were made from packed earth with a few rooms receiving a pebble or gravel layer.²⁹⁸ The roof has been reconstructed as a pitched roof for the north side with Lakonian tiles and a shed roof on the south side with Corinthian tiles and recycled antefixes from the oikoi.²⁹⁹ The plan of the second story is less certain, but it probably mirrored the lower story. This long building with several rooms was built with a single function in mind as the plan and construction techniques are fairly similar throughout.

As with the other structures associated with the 4th century building program, the original date of construction for the xenon is during or after the last third of the 4th century. This is supported by the date of the southern kiln as well as ceramic and numismatic evidence. Unit VI, which was added during a period of remodeling, occurred

²⁹⁴ For an in-depth discussion of all the rooms see *Nemea I*, 135-73.

²⁹⁵ *Nemea I*, 104. Kraynak (*Nemea I*, 169-72) explains that these two rooms were later additions due to its poor construction, such as the use of rubble walls, and suggests that this addition may reflect an “immediate, unanticipated need for more room in the xenon, and an increase in popularity of the games.”

²⁹⁶ *Nemea I*, 104. Many of the stone blocks were recycled from earlier buildings.

²⁹⁷ *Nemea I*, 113.

²⁹⁸ *Nemea I*, 113 and 116.

²⁹⁹ *Nemea I*, 121.

within the lifetime of the xenon, as the western wall of Room 16 was later robbed.³⁰⁰ The exact date of remodeling is unclear, but most probably occurred in the early 3rd century, possibly as more space within the building was needed. The xenon appears to have been abandoned around when the games moved once again to Argos, with only scant evidence of activity dating to the end of the 3rd century, possibly during Aratos' rival games in 235 BCE.³⁰¹ The xenon was eventually covered over by the Early Christian basilica, which used some of the xenon foundations. It is clear that the xenon was part of the 4th century building program and built to serve those who came to Nemea for the festival and games.

It has been suggested that this building was a hotel for the athletes and trainers. Miller's excavations have shown that the building could not have been part of a gymnasium complex as Blegen had first postulated. Not only does the function of a hotel make sense as a place to house those who came to Nemea every two years for the games, but other 4th century 'hotels' have been found at other sites, such as the Leonidaion at Olympia and the *katagogeion* at Epidauros. The main difference at Nemea is that the xenon is long and rectangular rather than the square examples at Olympia and Epidauros.

Finds from within the rooms themselves also help to aid in the identification of the building. Pottery from the xenon is mostly utilitarian wares and domestic shapes, such as skyphoi and echinus bowls, lekanai and lamps, which support eating and drinking.³⁰² Hearths, such as the one found in Room 4, also support the conclusions that

³⁰⁰ *Nemea* I, 175-6.

³⁰¹ Kraynak (*Nemea* I, 182) notes that the absence of later material directly above the floor suggests a date not later than the 280s or perhaps the 270s B.C. for the destruction of the original xenon.

³⁰² *Nemea* I, 185.

cooking and dining occurred throughout the southern rooms.³⁰³ The paucity of such evidence in the northern rooms may suggest that they were for living and sleeping.³⁰⁴ The lamps, found in a greater quantity within the xenon than the rest of the sanctuary, suggests that the xenon would be used long after sunset, further supporting the identification as a place for overnight shelter for athletes and trainers.³⁰⁵ In Room 12, a jumping weight and *strigils* have been found, possibly left by an athlete.³⁰⁶ At the east end of the building, in Rooms 13 and 14, a circular limestone altar and a circular black marble *perirrhanterion* were found, which may suggest some additional religious activities may have occurred in the xenon.³⁰⁷ The artifacts found all support the identification of a xenon for dining and sleeping, most likely for the athletes and trainers.

The location of the xenon took advantage of the space. While it is unclear if there are any earlier buildings below the xenon, its location along the main east-west road through the valley suggests its importance to the sanctuary. It was built along the same alignment as the oikoi, which are to the north of the xenon, and perhaps the xenon was meant to interact with or complement the oikoi.³⁰⁸ Since most of the doors were found on the south facade, along the road, this does not seem to be the best interpretation. The proximity and similarity to the bathhouse, which Blegen noted in the 1920s, are more

³⁰³ Miller (2004, 113) notes that Room 4 was a kitchen where food was prepared with consumption in Room 3, on the other side of the wall. In Room 3, a group of drinking cups and cooking pots was found, pressed into the dirt floor, when the wall and roof fell on them.

³⁰⁴ Miller 2004, 111; see also *Nemea* I, 185.

³⁰⁵ *Nemea* I, 185.

³⁰⁶ Miller 2004, 111.

³⁰⁷ Miller 2004, 115.

³⁰⁸ Kraynak (*Nemea* I, 185) suggests a relationship with the oikoi, stating that the xenon may have taken over some of their functions or was a replacement for them. Differences in plan and layout, the oikoi as separate buildings and the xenon as a single building with divided space, works against this suggestion, which Kraynak also alludes to.

suitable for the xenon. The aqueduct that runs along the side of the xenon to the bath also ties these two buildings together and to the larger building program for the return of the festival and games from Argos.³⁰⁹ While the bath provided space for athletes to clean after events, the xenon would have functioned as their primary location for shelter during the duration of the games.

Before moving to the bathhouse, the importance of Grid Square N17 should be addressed. Within this square are the kiln complex, Dining Establishment, the back room of oikos 8, walls of the xenon, and Well N17:2. Even at the time of excavation in 1975, Miller noted:

Much work remains to be done in and around Section N 17, but a general outline of the history of the area can be summarized at this point. During the early Classical period a rectangular (dining?) building was constructed in the area with a well outside it. During the second half of the fourth century B.C. the kiln complex was constructed in the southwestern part of the area together with a clay settling basin to the east. In the third century, probably in the first quarter, all these structures were leveled off, filled in, and the xenon was constructed with an open square or plateia to the north over the earlier buildings.³¹⁰

While subsequent excavation showed that the well's construction was associated with the kiln and not the dining building, the variety of structures within this single square is significant. It also shows the possibility of direct links between the first phase of the festival and the second, especially if the plateia in front of the xenon was constructed as an open gathering space for dining in the location where the Dining Establishment once stood.

³⁰⁹ Miller 2004, 115.

³¹⁰ Miller 1975, 167.

*Bathhouse*³¹¹

The bathhouse, directly to the west of the xenon, was a newly added feature to the sanctuary.³¹² It was first discovered in 1924 during Blegen's excavations, who identified it as a gymnasium and then later as a palaestra.³¹³ Miller returned to the bathhouse in his 1982 excavation, where he discovered the water systems south of the complex that fed the bath.³¹⁴ Work continued in the bath in the 1983 and 1987 seasons.³¹⁵ The preservation of the bathhouse is not very good, except for the bathing chamber, having been greatly disturbed by Early Christian activity and the Nemea River.

The bathhouse is a square building about 80m south of the temple. It has the same width (north-south) dimensions as the xenon, ca. 20m, with a length of 36.65m.³¹⁶ The building was divided into two distinct spaces (**Plan 3b**). On the east was a large open space, about 20m², with four central supports for the roof.³¹⁷ The west room was further subdivided into thirds with a long colonnade in the north and a wall to the south.³¹⁸ The northern part may have functioned as a locker room, where athletes could undress before entering the bath. The southern part was the formal bathing area with a central, sunken pool flanked by two rooms with tubs. The bathing chamber was reached

³¹¹ *Nemea I*, 188-261; Miller 1990; 2004, 116-24.

³¹² Although the Early Christian community greatly disturbed the area around the bath, some evidence for 6th and 5th century activity was found, including a 6th century road and some architecture, mainly small rubble walls, from the early 5th century. This has led Miller to suggest that the 5th century constructions were meant to be temporary structures, built one after another and used for short periods of time, perhaps on the festival cycle. Thus this area of the sanctuary may have provided a relatively empty space for the construction of the new, permanent structure (*Nemea I*, 250-61).

³¹³ Blegen 1925, 176-9; 1927, 430-1; see also *Nemea I*, 188; Miller 1990, 253.

³¹⁴ Miller, Stella 1983, 88-92.

³¹⁵ Miller, Stella 1984, 179-82; 1988, 19.

³¹⁶ *Nemea I*, 192.

³¹⁷ *Nemea I*, 194; Miller 2004, 117.

³¹⁸ *Nemea I*, 195.

by a broad staircase at the intercolumniation between the central columns. All the walls within the bathing chamber were coated with a heavy layer of hydraulic cement.³¹⁹ The central pool was separated from the two flanking rooms by a low wall, about hip height (Pl. 4a). The two flanking rooms were nearly identical with four tubs along the short walls, which were fed with a water channel pierced by holes.³²⁰ The tub room was able to be drained as the floor sloped towards the northwestern corner to a terracotta channel that ran below the stairs.³²¹ A series of reservoirs fed water to the bathhouse, which allowed the three parts of the bathing chamber to be fed independently of one another.³²² Prior to this construction, the ground level at the west needed to be raised about 2m, which was accomplished by dumping debris from the early temple over the layer of fine, white clay, the running surface of the earlier stadium.³²³ It is clear from the effort to build the bathhouse and to supply it with water that the structure was an important addition to the sanctuary as a facility for the athletes and trainers.

The bathhouse can firmly be dated to the last third of the 4th century, along with all the other structures associated with the building program, and appears to be one of the

³¹⁹ Miller 2004, 119.

³²⁰ *Nemea* I, 207. The western tub room was partially destroyed by the Nemea River, but enough remained that there is no doubt that the two rooms were similar in layout (*Nemea* I, 213).

³²¹ *Nemea* I, 211, n. 602.

³²² *Nemea* I, 216-20. Miller (*Nemea* I, 220) suggests that this system implies there was not enough water to fill the full chamber at any one time, thus the central pool was not filled and drained frequently, but only refilled when needed.

³²³ Miller 2004, 124.

earliest preserved bathing systems in the Greek world.³²⁴ Numismatic and stratigraphic evidence shows that the aqueduct that fed the reservoirs was constructed in the second half of the 4th century and went out of use in the first half of the 3rd century, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the bath.³²⁵ After its abandonment and destruction, the next phase of activity is preserved through a large quantity of Roman Imperial coins, including those of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Septimus Severus, Caracalla, Constantine, and Justin II, which suggest that limited activity occurred in the sanctuary in the later 3rd or early 4th century CE.³²⁶

The bath was a planned part of the monumental building program at the end of the 4th century, suggesting that it fulfilled a specific role within the Nemean sanctuary. Scholars note that the development of the gymnasia from the 6th to 4th centuries BCE is accompanied by the development of the necessary bathing facilities.³²⁷ While Blegen had identified it as a palaestra, it does not have the other features that usually accompany formal gymnasia, like the *dromos* or the *xystos*, which have been found at Delphi, Olympia, Delos, Pergamon, and Priene.³²⁸ The lack of a formal gymnasium at Nemea suggests a deviation from the traditional development of baths as accompaniments to

³²⁴ Miller 1990, 225. Blegen (1925, 179) was even able to date it to the 4th century during his 1924 season. The discussion of Greek baths is limited. In Wassenhoven's (2012) book, the focus is on baths in Classical antiquity, and thus while the emphasis is on the Peloponnese, her larger project is the development of the bath from the Greek to the Roman world. As Trümper (2013, 1) notes in the introduction of her edited volume, the "subject has been largely neglected since the only comprehensive study on this topic was published in French in 1962...[and Greek baths] still await a comprehensive reassessment." Yet in both of these works attention on the Nemea bathhouse is minimal or excluded (infra n. 327)

³²⁵ *Nemea* I, 237.

³²⁶ *Nemea* I, 240-3.

³²⁷ Wassenhoven 2012, 56-7.

³²⁸ *Nemea* I, 244, n. 671-675.

these athletic facilities.³²⁹ Had a gymnasium been part of the athletic facilities at Nemea, it should have left a mark in the archaeological record. A common feature of these 4th century bathing establishments was the use of the hip-high, though often the accompanying pool was larger, such as at Delphi.³³⁰ As Maria-Evdokia Wassenhoven notes in her study of Peloponnesian baths, bathing by immersion, which was popular in the Bronze Age and possibly the Archaic, was replaced by partial immersion in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.³³¹ Thus even without a formal gymnasium, the bathhouse at Nemea corresponds to the larger trend of bathing in the region, finding similarities with the other panhellenic sanctuaries, specifically the use of a central pool, which have been found at Olympia, Delphi, and possibly Isthmia.

As the Nemea bathhouse belongs to the very beginning of the Hellenistic period, exact comparisons are more difficult to make. Miller suggests that it was built in a period of experimentation and should be “understood as a structure that answered particular needs at a particular place and time.”³³² While the building plan does not appear to have any direct parallels in the Greek world, its function is inherently clear as a bathing facility, an activity associated with athletics.³³³ As a new structure to the sanctuary along

³²⁹ For Wassenhoven (2012), the Nemea bathhouse is cataloged as part of the larger development of *gymnasia*, both within the polis and sanctuaries contexts. In Lucore and Trümper’s (2013, 265) catalog, Nemea is not included because the focus is on large Greek public baths and the Nemea sanctuary was excluded because it “most likely provide cold water bathing facilities (basins and immersion pools) that are typical of *gymnasia* and *palaistrai*.” Both ignore the fact that no gymnasium has been found at Nemea.

³³⁰ Nemea I, 246; see also Jannoray 1953; Pentazos 1992.

³³¹ Wassenhoven 2012, 48.

³³² *Nemea* I, 250; Miller 1990, 258.

³³³ Wassenhoven (2012, 47) states that “the presence of a bath in narratives of Greek antiquity can be classified in four categories of ritual, i.e. daily, healing, religious, and, finally, athletics and education.” She notes that these categories are not mutually exclusive; thus the bath at Nemea would be both religious and athletic in nature.

with its neighbor, the xenon, these buildings can shed light on the activities and necessary facilities for this period of the Nemean festival and games.

*Houses*³³⁴

A group of buildings south of the xenon have been identified as houses, most likely for the priests/judges/caretakers of the sanctuary. They were excavated over the course of several seasons: 1978, 1981, 1980, 1984-1985, and 1997.³³⁵ This range of excavation dates has resulted in difficulties in reconstructing the stratigraphy and any contextual evidence associated with them as a group, as no single study has examined the houses as a unit. House 3 is the most important to this study as it is the location for Well L19. These structures were built very close together, resulting in a large and complex structure (**Plan 4a**). They were constructed mostly with rubble walls and reused blocks, with a leveling course of tiles before the upper wall constructed in mud brick. They face to the north and open up onto the east-west road. The majority was constructed in the last quarter of the 4th century and appear to have fallen out of use by the second quarter of the 3rd century, around the time of the relocation of the games to Argos. Only minimal evidence suggests any later use of these buildings, In the second half of the 3rd century an area in the west was built over and used, while in the 2nd century a small and isolated part of House 1 was reused.³³⁶ If these two periods of reuse are correctly dated, they would correspond with Aratos' rival games in 235 BCE and Mummius' activity in the

³³⁴ Miller 2004, 91-4; Graybehl 2014, 29-36.

³³⁵ Miller 1979, 93; 1986, 9-16.

³³⁶ Miller 2004, 91.

region in 145 BCE.³³⁷ Otherwise, the houses fell out of use, as did the rest of the buildings, when the festival left the sanctuary.

These buildings have been identified as houses because of the overwhelming domestic nature of the artifacts found within them, such as cooking remains, hearths, cooking vessels, and loom weights. Miller's excavation identified at least seven different houses, numbered from west to east. The first three houses seem to form a single unit, with a 2m narrow alley running between it and House 4.³³⁸ Houses 6 and 7 are poorly preserved and were never fully excavated. Some of the houses do have unique features that aid in their identification as residencies, even if on a temporary basis. In House 4, a small stand for cook pots was made from Lakonian tiles.³³⁹ Well L19 was constructed into the floor of House 3. Even with these artifacts and finds, Miller cautions:

In using the word "houses" to describe the buildings now known, we should be aware that our buildings are, for the most part, much larger and stratigraphically much simpler than a typical house of the same period in an older city-state. Fundamental to our understanding of Nemea is always, of course, that it was a religious and athletic festival center and not a city-state. This does not, however, deny the basically domestic character of the houses, including hearths and ovens, wells and hydraulic arrangements, grinding stones and tools, etc.³⁴⁰

Among the finds, there was nothing obviously associated with athletes, which would suggest that the competitors had no relationship with the houses. It seems like the most likely explanation of these buildings was to provide space for the officials and custodian to administer the games and maintain the sanctuary. Some finds support the connection

³³⁷ I have not studied the ceramics and other remains from the houses themselves, and thus can neither support nor refute these scenarios.

³³⁸ Miller 1986, 14.

³³⁹ Miller 2004, 91.

³⁴⁰ Miller 1986, 18.

with the sanctuary and officials, such as a mug inscribed as belonging to Zeus (τοῦ Διός).³⁴¹ It is reasonable to connect the houses with the priests, Hellenodikai (judges) or caretakers rather than an interpretation as domiciles for a permanent population.³⁴²

*Stadium*³⁴³

The final structure to be added to the sanctuary in the 4th century was a new stadium. Rather than continuing to use the same space as the earlier stadium, the new one was constructed well outside the sanctuary proper, nearly 450m to the southeast.³⁴⁴

The stadium, with a track that ran north-south, was created by using the natural amphitheater between two ridges in the hillside, with the southern end hollowed out to create an artificial terrace nearly 8m high (**Pl. 4b**).³⁴⁵ Along with the stadium, a formal tunnel was built through the hillside to connect the track to the *apodyterion* to the west. Miller notes that the “location of the tunnel, much further south than necessary if one approaches the Stadium from the Temple of Zeus, shows that considerable effort was expended for this entranceway.”³⁴⁶ Therefore, not only was the stadium moved, which resulted in a new procession route from the temple to the stadium, but the surrounding landscape was purposefully manipulated to accommodate the larger and more formal

³⁴¹ Miller 2004, 94.

³⁴² Miller (1986, 18) also suggests that the houses may have served as a meeting site for larger delegations visiting the sanctuary. He notes that “Nemea was serving as one meeting site of the league of Demetrios Poliorketes and had received a visit by Kassander as president of the Nemean Games in 315 B.C.” Thus these houses could have also provided shelter for those attending such meetings; see also *IG IV*², 1.68.69 for Demetrios Poliorketes; Diod. Sic., xix.64.1 for Kassander.

³⁴³ *Nemea II*; Miller 1992, 1994, 2002.

³⁴⁴ Not only was the stadium moved, but it is clear from the excavations of the bathhouse that it was built over part of the earlier stadium track, essentially making it non-functional.

³⁴⁵ Miller 2004, 171.

³⁴⁶ Miller 1992, 84.

stadium.

The modern history of the stadium is substantial. It was first recognized by Colonel Leake in 1806 during his visit to Nemea. He notes, “The circular end is the only part of which the form is well preserved; this made me think it at first a theater; but the parallel sides of the stadium...are still perfectly traceable.”³⁴⁷ Subsequent travelers to the site also noted the stadium’s location in the hillside.³⁴⁸ Excavation in 1925 and 1926 by Blegen, through test trenches, confirmed the identity as a stadium and not a theater, as some sources had reported.³⁴⁹ Full scale excavation on the stadium did not begin until Miller’s campaigns in 1974-1980, 1989-1991, and 1995.³⁵⁰

There is abundant evidence to help date the construction of the stadium.

Numismatic evidence, such as a coin of Philip II of Macedonia, and ceramics support a construction date between 340 and 300 BCE. Miller notes that since the stadium was never fully completed, “construction went on over a number of years, and that - for the most part - there was no great hurry to finish the project.”³⁵¹ When the games returned to Argos, the stadium was abandoned.³⁵² Over time, some activity took place in the area of the stadium, including a terracotta aqueduct constructed in ca. 86 BCE.³⁵³ After a period

³⁴⁷ Leake, W. M. *Travels in the Morea* III (London 1830) 330.

³⁴⁸ Wordsworth, C. *Greece* (London 1844) 349; Clark, W.G. *Peloponnesos* (London 1858) 63; Curtius, E. *Peloponnesos* II (Gotha 1852) 509; Vischer, W. *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* (Basel 1875), 285; Frazer, J.G. *Pausanias’s Description of Greece* II (London 1913) 91.

³⁴⁹ Blegen 1926, 127-8; 1927, 435-6; Miller (*Nemea* II, 8, n. 13) provides the sources that mention a theater in connection to the Nemean Games.

³⁵⁰ Miller 1975, 169-72; 1976, 193-202; 1977, 22-6; 1978, 84-8; 1979, 93-103; 1980, 198-203; 1981, 65-7.

³⁵¹ *Nemea* II, 92.

³⁵² Miller (*Nemea* II, 96-97) points to a lack of artifacts that date later than 270 BCE as evidence for the abandonment of the stadium. He notes that only two pottery sherds could be of Middle Hellenistic date and that among the 152 identifiable coins found in the stadium, none must be dated to after 270 BCE.

³⁵³ *Nemea* II, 101-9.

of nearly 300 years, in the middle of the 4th century CE, an abundance of ceramic material marks the return of activity to the area, but not for use as a stadium; rather this activity is connected to the Early Christian community that built the basilica over the xenon and turned the hillside into agricultural land.³⁵⁴ In the 6th century CE, when Slavic invaders arrived, the tunnel became a place of refuge.³⁵⁵ The stadium hillside again lay dormant until the 11th century CE farmers returned.

The 4th century stadium was constructed with formal elements that were typical for the time. A hydraulic system was added to the outline of the track with a stone water channel and basins, which functioned as settling tanks for sediment, to provide drinking water for the athletes and spectators, and to provide water to dampen the track.³⁵⁶ A secondary phase of the water system helped with drainage.³⁵⁷ While no formal seating was constructed, two rows of stone seats, informal in nature, were added; the majority of the spectators sat on the slopes of the hillside.³⁵⁸ The local limestone blocks of were reused to construct the *balbis*, or starting line, at the southern end of the track.³⁵⁹ On the upper face of the stones parallel grooves were carved for the placement of the runners' feet. Additional cuttings in the *balbis* were made for the *hysplex*, the starting mechanism that was made from wood and fiber cords.³⁶⁰ This mechanism not only ensured that the runners were in place but allowed the judges to start the races fairly.

³⁵⁴ *Nemea* II, 122-3, 131.

³⁵⁵ *Nemea* II, 132-4.

³⁵⁶ *Nemea* II, 15-8.

³⁵⁷ *Nemea* II, 21-2.

³⁵⁸ *Nemea* II, 25-6.

³⁵⁹ *Nemea* II, 45-50.

³⁶⁰ *Nemea* II, 50- 8.

The entrance to the stadium was a long passageway that led to the formal tunnel cut into the hillside. The entrance passageway was constructed about 54m from the starting line and was about 19m in length, connecting the track to the vaulted tunnel.³⁶¹ The well preserved tunnel is about 36.4m in length with a height of about 3.25m.³⁶² It was constructed with eight voussoirs and a keystone in soft limestone, with the walls constructed of a slightly harder limestone.³⁶³ Within the tunnel itself are examples of graffiti, at least on 35 different blocks with a total of 57 examples preserved. Most of these are clustered at the eastern end, closer to the track, and record names, autographs, and *kalos*-names, expressing admiration of another.³⁶⁴ While some may be of later date, the majority, on the basis of letter-forms, belong to the Classical to Hellenistic periods, dating between 330 and 270 BCE when the stadium was in use for the games.

In addition to the stadium, an auxiliary building was added to the west of the track. This building has been identified by Miller as an *apodyterion*, or locker room. The bedrock along the eastern, western, and southern sides had to be cut back to allow for the construction of the building.³⁶⁵ It was a rectangular, roughly 13x16m, with a main entrance on the long, north side, and a small door for easy access to the stadium in the south east corner (**Plan 4b**).³⁶⁶ The foundations were constructed with well-worked limestone blocks; a second course of stone blocks and mudbrick orthostate course

³⁶¹ *Nemea* II, 62.

³⁶² *Nemea* II, 75.

³⁶³ *Nemea* II, 76. Miller notes that there does not appear to be any use of recycled blocks, suggesting that all the blocks for the tunnel were specifically quarried for it.

³⁶⁴ *Nemea* II, 84-90.

³⁶⁵ *Nemea* II, 139.

³⁶⁶ Miller 1994, 85.

completed the walls.³⁶⁷ The central area was hypaethral and surrounded by Doric columns on three sides that supported a wood entablature and a sloped roof, from which a great number of Lakonian tiles have been recovered.

The tiles recovered from this building not only shed light on the *apodyterion* but the sanctuary as well, including a possible named architect associated with the building project. The destruction debris was relatively undisturbed, and the tiles were found where they had fallen, allowing Miller to reconstruct several of them.³⁶⁸ Only half of the pan tiles were recovered and no complete cover tile was found, possibly because they had been removed. As with the stadium, the *apodyterion* was constructed at the end of the 4th century and ceramic evidence shows that it had collapsed in the first half of the 3rd century.³⁶⁹ This provides a date for the manufacturing of the tiles as well, which were made on site in the kiln complex.

Many of the tiles found at the *apodyterion* were stamped with a personal name and can be placed into two groups. Type 1 has the genitive form of Sosikles (ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΟΣ), preserved in 56 examples: 12 have a double impression, one that frames the word and another with little ivy-leaf-shaped tabs at the ends; 44 have a single impression which is slightly convex on the long axis.³⁷⁰ Type 2, of which 40 examples are preserved, has the genitive form of Sokles (ΣΩΚΛΕΙΟΣ), a generally accepted shortened form for Sosikles.³⁷¹ There is a Sokles that held a contract for painting ceiling

³⁶⁷ *Nemea* II, 145.

³⁶⁸ Miller 1994, 87.

³⁶⁹ Miller 1994, 88.

³⁷⁰ Miller 1994, 88, 92.

³⁷¹ Miller 1994, 92.

coffers and moldings on the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros.³⁷² But Miller believes that the Argive Sokles is the best candidate for the Nemea tiles, since the two sites are so close together and both were under the control of Argos.³⁷³ These stamped tiles may be the best evidence from Nemea for a named architect or craftsman associated with the building program.³⁷⁴

The coins found in the stadium also shed light on the Greeks who attended the games. While coins from more than 90 different places and monarchs were found in the sanctuary, only 24 mints were found in the stadium. Although fewer mints are represented in the stadium coins, the distribution is more “local” in nature, since 75% were minted in Argos, Corinth, Phlious, Kleonai, and Sikyon.³⁷⁵ The specific find spots

³⁷² *IG IV²* 102.

³⁷³ Miller (1994, 95) believes that Sosikles-Sokles is something like the “city architect” envisioned by J. J. Coulton as a development of the Hellenistic period.

³⁷⁴ These are not the only stamped tiles from Nemea, as three other types have been found within the sanctuary that are associated with the 4th century building program. Six fragments are inscribed by ΔΑΜΟΙΟ— a form of *damosios*, which marks them as public property. Two examples from wells are stamped with the genitive adjectival form ΝΕΜΕΙΟΥ, and restoring [Διὸς] Νεμείου would mark them as public or official property of the sanctuary. One came from Well K14:3, not included in this study, and the other from the 1964 excavation of Well L17:1 and was not included in this catalog. Finally, a single example from the xenon is stamped with ΝΕΜ-, marking it as the property of the sanctuary. These examples stand in strict contrast to the Sosikles-Sokles stamped tiles from the *apodyterion*, which have a personal name (Miller 1994, 93). Miller (*Nemea II*, 168) suggests that “the tiles for the *apodyterion* were not official because of the status of that structure, at some remove from the Sanctuary of Zeus, was itself different from that of buildings in the Sanctuary.” This explanation cannot hold, however, because three examples of the Sosikles series have been found in the Sanctuary of Zeus itself.

While the Sosikles tiles from the sanctuary were found near the tiles stamped with ΔΑΜΟΙΟ, clustered near the Rectangular Building east of the temple (*Nemea II*, 167, c. 362), I do not think this should discount a different status for the sanctuary buildings from those of the stadium. I propose that the tiles found in the sanctuary proper, all stamped as public or private property, belong to the sanctuary, while the great majority stamped with the personal name was used outside of the sanctuary proper. This may indicate a difference between how the sanctuary and stadium were viewed by the builders. Three examples of the Sosikles tiles used within the sanctuary may have been leftovers as all tiles were manufactured in the kiln complex.

³⁷⁵ *Nemea II*, 233. 55% of those found in the sanctuary were represented by more than one coin; 58% from the stadium had more than one. Knapp suggests three reasons for the differences in the distribution of coins between the stadium and the sanctuary: first, the sanctuary was a destination for pilgrimage when the games were not held; second, the games would have attracted a higher proportion of the local population because of ease of access; and third, the majority of sanctuary economy, buying and selling of goods, would have taken place in the sanctuary proper.

of the coins within the stadium itself suggest that festival attendees divided themselves into political/ethnic groups, since coins were grouped by polis.³⁷⁶ The plotting of the coins from common local mints shows that Argive coins were concentrated around the judges' stand (on the eastern side of the track), while the Kleonaian coins were located across from the tunnel. These two cities were given prime locations within the stadium; the Kleonians had a clear view of the athletes' entrance to the stadium and the Argives had prime view of both the entrance and starting line. These locations may be a sign of prestige for the two cities that functioned as custodians of the festival.

The history of the stadium adds to the understanding of the sanctuary in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. As a whole, the stadium, tunnel, and *apodyterion* fit into Hellenistic period trends but also show different characteristics, like the bathhouse and xenon, which do not fully conform to standards of the period.³⁷⁷ The addition of extra features, such as the *apodyterion*, shows that facilities were built specifically for the athletes, since they were no longer near the xenon and bathhouse. Yet, rather than maintain the stadium closer to the temple, where the early stadium had been, the builders chose to move it outside the sanctuary. The move of the stadium had the added benefit of accommodating a larger crowd of spectators. As Miller notes, "The situation is, then, very like that at Olympia and Isthmia where the original stadia were relatively close to the religious and cult center of the sanctuaries, but were moved away late in the Classical

³⁷⁶ *Nemea* II, 232-5, fig. 364. Knapp (*Nemea* II, 232) notes that 153 coins have been found in the stadium and apodyterion. While the distribution of Argos and Phlious mints are proportionate to the entire site, those of Corinth, Kleonai, and Phillip II are disproportionately frequent.

³⁷⁷ Miller (*Nemea* II, 222) points to similar complexes at Epidauros, Olympia, and possibly Athens. He postulates that later excavation at Isthmia and Sikyon would produce similar complexes, as it was a type that became popular in the generation after Alexander the Great.

or early in the Hellenistic period to positions which allowed for more spectators.”³⁷⁸ But this undertaking required a great amount of human labor, which attests to the importance of the stadium, even though it was never completed and would have only been used about 30 times. Thus there must be another factor for its move. I argue that it also signals a change in the ritual of the games by creating a physical separation between the religious aspects of the festival and the athletic ones.³⁷⁹ A new procession route was created from the temple to the stadium, one in which the athletes and spectators participated in a mini-journey.

Conclusion

The history of Nemea is complicated and must be reconstructed through both archaeological and textual evidence. Tradition places the first game in 573 BCE, while the sanctuary developed. The Temple to Zeus, an altar, and the heroön for Opheltes were the main religious structures. Auxiliary buildings were constructed to facilitate the activities of the festival, such as the oikoi, possible “treasuries” for various city-states, and a formal Dining Establishment.

The archaeological record aligns with textual evidence that the games were transferred to Argos, at the end of the 5th century. The sanctuary preserves evidence of destruction, including fire damage, and eventual disrepair of the buildings as the

³⁷⁸ Miller 1992, 82.

³⁷⁹ Miller (*Nemea* II, 248) also suggests that the new stadium type reflected the new corps of athlete entertainers, different from the citizen athletes, since Alexander was known to travel with athletes to put on contests for the others. This group of athletes would become the “basis of the athletic guild that needed an undressing room and an entrance that could maintain their separation from the spectators, even as they prepared to entertain those spectators.”

sanctuary was no longer needed to accommodate large crowds arriving for the games.

The exact date of the transfer to Argos is difficult to pinpoint, but it is clear that in the 4th century there was a connection between the Nemean Games and the Argive festival for Hera, the Heraia. Scholarship disagrees on whether the games were moved or taken, but an eventual return to Nemea occurred by the end of the 4th century. Not only does the major rebuilding program attest to the return to the sanctuary, inscriptions found at Nemea also support their return. By the middle of the 3rd century, the games were once again held in Argos, and their history becomes even more complicated. Only the Nemean Games were held in a different city, Argos, but maintained their panhellenic importance.

The building program that accommodated the return of the festival and games at the end of the 4th century was a massive undertaking. This required large quantities of materials as well as great amount of human labor. Several buildings were refurbished or newly constructed at the same time. Builders strove to recycle materials as often as possible, but also quarried new limestone and constructed a kiln complex for the local manufacture of tiles for several buildings. The creation of the stadium alone, hollowing out the hillside and cutting in the bedrock to change the surrounding landscape, attests to the labor needed to complete this task. Yet the rebuilding also allowed for experimentation in building forms and clear decisions on how the festival would be celebrated and what impact it would have on the athletes, spectators, and religious visitors who made their way to Nemea every two years.

Three structures - the temple, the altar, and the heroön - were restored or augmented but not moved from their sacred locations. These structures continued the

ritual traditions established in the 6th century at the beginning of the festival. Since Nemea did not have a long history like the other panhellenic sanctuaries, the 4th century rebuilding sought to preserve religious traditions. These three structures formed the religious heart of the sanctuary; they maintained their sacred function and identity by remaining in the same place as their predecessors. The altar, the symbolic center of the sanctuary, was extended to mirror the slight shift of the temple. The temple functioned as the representative house of the deity that oversaw the games, and the heroön symbolized the tomb of Opheltes, whose death initiated the games. The decision to augment rather than move these structures shows that their specific positions within the sanctuary were important to their individual religious functions; not only were the structures sacred, but their locations were as well. While the physical changes to the sanctuary are evident, the conscious decision to maintain older sacred aspects shows the human agency within Greek religion.

The sacred grove holds a unique position within the layout of the sanctuary. This organized use of space manipulated the landscape. The custodians intentionally planted the grove of cypress trees by the altar and temple. This artificial grove connected Opheltes and Zeus, the two deities worshipped at the sanctuary, by reminding the visitor of the dead child-hero while standing near the temple. It also connected the religious center, the altar, to the athletic center, the stadium, as it was placed on the processional way between these two structures. As the individual navigated the sacred space, the grove was a visual reminder of the duality inherent in sanctuary: religion and athletics, death and celebration. Opheltes' death was the impetus for the games, and thus the

festival mixed aspects of ritual, commemoration, and competition. The decision to use cypress trees and the deliberate placement of the sacred grove ensured that it acted as a physical reminder of the nature of the festival to the visitor.

The return of the festival presented the opportunity to build new structures, including the bathhouse, xenon, houses, and a new, much larger stadium. Some of these buildings show evidence of architectural experimentation, especially at the bathhouse and the stadium complex, which included a vaulted tunnel and *apodyterion*. While experimentation was common at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, these structures need to be interpreted as a planned part of the monumental rebuilding. Despite any experimentation, each building fulfilled a specific role in the new layout of the festival center. Both the new bathhouse and xenon had no 6th or 5th century predecessors.³⁸⁰ These buildings were located outside the Sacred Square, the formal space around the temple and altar, but their proximity to the heart of the sanctuary suggests their importance.³⁸¹ There are additional implications to consider. First, these types of buildings were only used by the athletes, which separated the athletic participants from the spectators or religious participants. Second, they created physical obstacles that visitors confronted on their way to the temple and altar. Just south of the xenon was the main ancient road through the Nemea Valley. While traveling the road, all visitors to the site would have passed by the xenon for athletes on one side and the houses for the

³⁸⁰ Kraynak (1992, 173) notes that no deep soundings through the ground of the xenon were taken, so we do not know if a major building preceded, but fragmentary walls dating to the last quarter of the 5th century were found under the bath. It has been suggested that before the xenon, the area was an auxiliary area appropriate for 5th century votive pits, which later were repurposed for industrial activity, such as the kiln.

³⁸¹ Miller 2004, 98.

officials on the other side. They were forced to see and interact with these buildings as their placement determined the path through the site.

The formal stadium complex also had an impact on the visitors to Nemea, as it created further divisions of space. Not only was it far removed from the sanctuary proper, but the addition of an *apodyterion* and vaulted tunnel made the athletic competition much more of a spectacle. Spectators and athletes alike had to make the journey from the sanctuary center to the stadium, unifying these individuals in a shared experience. Yet, the athletes were removed from the spectators as they used the *apodyterion*. Their entry through a tunnel would look like they appeared out of the hillside, thus heightening the excitement of the competition.

The decisions made during the course of construction all point to the importance of the return of the games to their place of origin. As Scott argues, “The builders thus ensured that there was a direct connection between the new and old temples, a connection that revealed the continuity of worship at the sanctuary.”³⁸² Like the sacred grove, the temple, altar, and heroön provided a visual reminder of the past for each individual. This would have been especially important considering the circumstance under which the sanctuary was revived. The games had been taken from the place of their origin, essentially demonstrating that the event was more important than the location. When rebuilding the sanctuary, the custodians of Nemea strove to make connections with the past while looking forward to a new future that accommodated recent changes in ritual behavior.

³⁸² Scott 2009, 13.

The historical narrative of Nemea is complex and unclear, but an interpretation of the archaeological record based upon lived religion can reconstruct the individual experience and the evolution of the sanctuary. The individual experience when visiting the sanctuary was different for each visitor of any given time. Any visitor to the sanctuary after ca. 300 BCE would not only navigate a different space than a century prior but might also recall the turmoil of the 4th century that resulted in the removal of the games from the sanctuary. Differences in individual experiences would be especially true for anyone with two different experiences of the Nemea games, whether having first participated in the festival at Nemea and then in Argos or vice versa. Sanctuaries were not fixed places but were dynamic and changing. The Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea preserves an extreme example of change, including foundation, abandonment, return, and a second abandonment. Within each period of use are many other examples of change that survive in the objects left behind and their treatment.

CHAPTER 3: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE WELLS

This chapter presents a discussion of the wells that focuses on the assemblages with a general view of dates, rather than a revision of the excavation history or a detailed chronological examination. The purpose is to show how the location of the wells and the general dates of their contents preserve patterns of ritual and site activity. The artifacts preserved in the wells cannot support a detailed re-examination of dating or their specific use-dates, because of the fragmentary nature of the contents. Although some stratigraphy was associated with depositional events, these levels are not always discrete. Several vessels were mended with joins found throughout a single well, demonstrating the difficulties in identifying clear levels of stratigraphy. My intention is not to refine the dating of the sanctuary as presented in the excavation publications, but to show how the contents of the wells and reconstructing the depositional processes through which they were filled can provide more detailed information about the activities that took place here.

Excavation and Study - An Overview³⁸³

Twelve wells were excavated at Nemea between 1964 and 2000. From the present extent of excavation around the main part of the sanctuary, it appears that these

³⁸³ Excavations under Miller, and continued by Shelton, were carried out in a trench system within the overall grid square. The majority of the wells are identified as a deposit within their individual grid square, in a running sequence with all deposits for the square. Each context was excavated through a series of layers and lots. The layer corresponds to the stratigraphic changes, while the lot is the designation for the material finds. As for the wells themselves, it appears that the layers remain mostly stratigraphic, but the lots may have been defined by arbitrary changes. These changes are only known in the cases where they were reported in the field notebooks.

12 represent all the wells dug in antiquity. Of these, ten are included in this study. Many lie in close proximity to one another and nearly in a line, suggesting ancient knowledge of an underground water course that was tapped to provide water for the sanctuary.³⁸⁴ Wells L17:1, L17:2, and M17:2 were dug to an elevation around 322.70, while K14:4 and N17:2 were around 323.60. The other wells varied in their depth, influenced by their locations, such as Well L19 that has a higher top elevation than the other wells.³⁸⁵ Most of the wells were dug to the same depth, between 7 and 10m, with an average of 8.1m.³⁸⁶ In addition to the wells, several other water features throughout the sanctuary demonstrate the abundance of the natural resource. Water management can be seen through the ancient manipulation of the Nemea River, the construction of a large reservoir in the southwest area of the sanctuary to provide access to ground water, and the simple aqueduct that fed the bath with water from a spring to the east of the sanctuary.

Most of the wells, located between the oikoi and the xenon, have been associated with both of these buildings and later with the baptistery of the basilica (**Plan 1**). These wells are located in squares L17, M17, N17, O17, with an additional well in O16. Two were found near the SW corner of the temple in K14.³⁸⁷ These two wells are the only ones that can be placed within the space of the Sacred Square. The final two wells are not associated with the central group of buildings but are on the edges of the excavated

³⁸⁴ There are seven wells that were constructed within the East-West grid line 17 - K17:1, L17:1, L17:2, M17:2, N17:2, O17:1, and O17:2. An eighth well was found in K17 but had collapsed badly and thus not excavated (Miller 1979, 87). Well K17:1 was not included in the study as the material is mostly non-diagnostic, but the few datable artifacts are from a reuse phase in the Late Roman or Byzantine period (Miller 1978, 81-2).

³⁸⁵ See Appendix A for all elevations of the wells.

³⁸⁶ This average was calculated without O17:2, which was barely 1 meter in depth, and least likely of all ten wells to actually have been a well. If included in the calculation, the average is 7 meters.

³⁸⁷ Well K14:3 was not included in the study as it dates to the 3rd and 4th centuries CE.

area of the sanctuary. Well L19 is located in House 3 south of the xenon; Well E18 is located to the NW of the heroön.

Due to the dates of excavation, many of the wells were excavated by different archaeologists and although all adhere to the general protocols established by Miller, different choices in the excavation and collection of artifacts occurred. Each well has its own issues that were addressed when studying the deposit. In general, excavation of the wells observed stratigraphic changes, with each stratigraphic unit given a layer number. The artifacts were removed from the well by bucket, which were not always recorded. At some later point, these bucket-units were collapsed into lots. Since the record of buckets excavated and the designation of buckets into lots was not recorded, this study focused on the lots as the smallest unit, followed by the layer, and finally by the well. At least part of most wells was sieved. In these cases, the sifted lots were studied with their corresponding excavated lots. The one exception was the sifted lot of Well N17:2, which consisted of very small, battered sherds, often smaller than a centimeter. The material of this sifted lot represents the full depth of the well, thus losing any nuances for dating layers. Even more problematic were the instances where the only sifted lot corresponded with multiple layers, causing contamination of the contents.

After excavation, any complete or reconstructed vessels and other identifiable objects (lamps, coins, or architectural features) were registered as a find and given a Nemea Museum number. Once registered, these objects were either exhibited in the museum or stored in the apotheke, where finds are organized by material rather than context. The remaining contents of the wells, mostly pottery sherds, but also smaller,

unidentified artifacts of metal, glass, or stone, as well as any faunal remains, were generally summarized in the excavation notebooks by lot. These artifacts are stored in tins by lot in the museum basement. My study of the wells included the cataloged fragments of pottery in addition to the museum registered finds. These whole vessels, sherds, lamps, terracotta objects, coins, inscriptions, and architectural features provide the general dates for each lot, layer, and well, and make up the contents of the catalog for this study (Appendix B).

I assigned the lots of each well to contexts that represent different deposition events. Sixteen contexts were determined by the date range of the artifacts in the ten wells. when there was no clear distinction in date between excavated layers or when the well was excavated as a single layer, I assigned the full contents of a well to a single context. In these cases, the contents of the well either represented a single depositional event or slow accumulation over time, without any clear difference in the material remains. Wells with multiple contexts represent filling through two to three events. It is clear from the excavation notes and the distribution of vessel fragments that there were no true stratigraphic layers in the wells, at least not to the extent that layers were assigned. Therefore, the purpose of this approach is to look beyond the original excavated units in order to examine the contents in larger phases, identifying possible deposition events over time.

Well Narratives

Well L17:1

Well L17:1 is the most easterly of a pair of two wells located to the north of the basilica baptistery (**Plan 1; Pl. 5a**) and was primarily excavated between May 13 and June 15, 1977 (**Fig. 1a**).³⁸⁸ The well measures 9.95m in depth (332.76 to 332.72m) with a diameter widening from 0.54m at the top to 1.30m near the bottom and was completely constructed of rubble.³⁸⁹ While the well was first discovered during the 1964 season, only the area around the wellhead and upper 7.2m of the well were excavated, as the water level limited work.³⁹⁰ When work resumed in 1977, the excavator removed the wellhead stones to place a cement collar and “clean[ed] the fill of 1964.”³⁹¹ This suggests that at the end of the 1964 season, the wellhead was consolidated in place and the shaft was backfilled to some extent.³⁹² The excavation of the well in 1977 was completed to a depth of 9.95m with aid of a water pump. The lowest 2.75m was dug in two semi-circular sections, east and west.³⁹³

The 1964 work in the upper part of the well found only Roman pottery, which was discarded.³⁹⁴ Of the finds, only two inscriptions, which appear to date to the 4th century

³⁸⁸ Miller 1978, 82-4; see also Geagan 1964; Connelly 1977; Miller 2004, 40-2.

³⁸⁹ Miller 1978, 82.

³⁹⁰ The earlier excavations occurred on a different grid system. Well L17:1 is in grid square J24 in the 1964 notebook. Not included in this study are Lots 1 and 2, which were located outside the well and around the wellhead, which had been reconstructed in 1964. While not explicit, it appears that the 1977 excavation within the well began where the 1964 excavation stopped, roughly around 325.4 (7.2m from the top of the well is 325.47). According to the notebook, the depth of fill at start of excavation was 325.468 (Connelly 1977, 19). There is no record in the 1964 notebook that indicates the well was excavated to a depth of 7.2m, as it only records excavation to a depth of 2m (Geagan 1964, 47).

³⁹¹ Connelly 1977, 11, 15.

³⁹² There is nothing in the 1964 notebook that records any backfilling of the well.

³⁹³ Connelly 1977, 25.

³⁹⁴ Geagan 1964, 47.

BCE, were kept.³⁹⁵ These inscriptions led Miller to conclude that, “the well cannot have been closed before the very end of the 4th century at the earliest.”³⁹⁶ His study of Well L17:1 assigned the two layers to separate phases: Layer 1 (Lots 3 and 4) dated to the 4th/3rd century, and Layer 2 (Lots 5-12) dated to the 5th century.³⁹⁷ Miller further subdivided Layer 2 into two groups; the upper part of Layer 2 was dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BCE, followed by a transition level marked by a monolithic unfluted limestone column (**103; Pl. 19**), and finally, the lower part of the well was dated to the third quarter of the 5th century.³⁹⁸ Problematic is Miller’s “gap of about a century in the material” located within his Layer 2, corresponding to Lots 7/8. The elevations recorded during excavation seem to contradict this, as Lots 6, 7 and 8 comprise the same 1.08m within the well as Lot 5. Therefore, Lot 6 is sifted material solely associated with Lot 5, while Lot 8 is the sifted material for both Lots 5 and 7. In terms of identifying

³⁹⁵ Geagan 1968.

³⁹⁶ Miller 1978, 82.

³⁹⁷ During excavation, the well was emptied by bucket, counted daily. These buckets were consolidated into lots and layers. It is unclear how the five sift lots were created. It is possible that the non-sift lot represents material pulled from the well itself, while the sift lots represent the artifacts collected after sifting. For the lowest part of the well, the lots are paired as such. Thus Lots 9/10 and Lots 11/12 are paired lots that make up the same elevation and bucket count. For Lots 3/4, 5/6, and 7/8, the pairing is not exact nor clear. In addition, the elevations for each unit appear to have some discrepancies, which are not fully explained in the notebook, and the section drawing (**Fig. 1a**) makes the excavation layers appear more concise than what was recorded.

My understanding of the layers and lots is as follows. Upon resuming excavation within the well, Lot 3 began at 325.468 and continued to 324.668, resulting in six buckets. The first four of these buckets, from 325.468 to 325.000, were sifted and became Lot 4. The two additional buckets from Layer 1 were added to Lot 3. The next group of buckets, 13 in total, comprises the elevation of 324.668 to 323.588. This full elevation range was given to Lot 5 but only the material from the first 11 buckets were assigned to the lot. Of these 11 buckets, the first six buckets, excavated between 324.668 to 323.948, were sifted and became Lot 6. The remaining depth of Lot 5’s elevation (323.948 to 323.588) appears to overlap with Lots 7 and 8. From the seven buckets excavated, the first five were associated with Lot 5, and the final two buckets were assigned to Lot 7. But all seven comprise the identified buckets that were sifted for Lot 8. Thus the seven buckets from 323.948 to 323.588 have been assigned to three different lots. Further complicating the issue is that Lots 9/10 were recorded with a top elevation of 323.738, higher than the bottom elevation for Lots 7/8. This may be a result of the semi-circular, east and west, excavation necessitated by the water pump.

³⁹⁸ Miller (1978, 82-3) divided Layer 2 into three distinct groups by Lots. Thus Lots 5 and 6 represent the last quarter of the 5th century, Lots 7 and 8 are the transition containing the column, and Lots 9-12 date to the third quarter of the 5th.

groups within the well, as is indicated in the section drawing produced during excavation (**Fig. 1a**), Lots 5-8 should be grouped as one unit according to the way in which it was excavated. Miller suggests that there are two scenarios for the well. The first is that it was incompletely cleaned in the late 4th century, thus explaining the remains of the 5th century without any from the beginning of the 4th century. The second is that it supports the abandonment of the sanctuary when the games were shifted from Nemea to Argos and back.³⁹⁹ This division of use-phases is one of Miller's primary reasons for interpreting a chronological gap at Nemea between the end of the 5th and the end of the 4th centuries.

After examining the finds, I concluded that the well and its contents could not support any such precise dating of site occupation. The stratigraphy is not as clear in this well as in other excavation contexts. My study does not refute the abandonment of the site from the end of the 5th to end of the 4th century, but rather demonstrates that the wells can provide more information about the types of activities occurring in the 6th and 5th centuries in contrast with the 4th and 3rd centuries as evidenced by the types of artifacts dating to each phase.

I have divided Well L17:1 into two contexts: the Upper Fill and the Lower Fill.⁴⁰⁰ While both contexts have a similar date range of the 6th to early 3rd century BCE, the division into two contexts reflects the distribution of artifacts in the well, specifically four reconstructed vessels. Fragments of these vessels were found either in the upper part of the excavated depth or the lower part, rather than throughout, suggesting two separate depositional events. A nearly complete round mouth pitcher (**1; Pl. 10**), mended from

³⁹⁹ Miller 1978, 83.

⁴⁰⁰ Upper Fill - Layer 1, Lots 3 and 4; Layer 2, Lots 5 and 6; Lower Fill - Layer 2, Lots 7-12.

several fragments, and a late 4th or early 3rd century BCE unguentarium (**3**) partially mended from 13 fragments, were found in Lots 3-6 supporting the grouping of these lots into a single context, the Upper Fill. From Lots 7-12, part of a blisterware oinochoe (**30**; **Pl. 13**) and a large Corinthian blisterware amphora (**31**), mended from 88 sherds, determined the allocation of a second context, the Lower Fill. There appear to be two depositional events, as the presence of the 4th century vessels throughout the depth of the well would suggest another narrative than presented by Miller.

Lower Fill

Most artifacts from Well L17:1 were recovered in the bottom 2m of the well. In fact, the contents of the Lower Fill represent 89% of the total number of ceramics of the whole well. The majority of the ceramics are fine wares with the number of open shapes increasing drastically when compared to the Upper Fill. The latest datable artifacts are the fragment of a deep bowl (**22**; **Fig. 5**; **Pl. 12**), which dates to the later 3rd or early 2nd century BCE, and a saucer (**23**; **Fig. 5**; **Pl. 12**) that dates to the early 3rd century BCE. Their presence in the well, especially at this depth, is slightly suspect. The deep bowl most likely dates closer to the 3rd century, placing it near to the unguentarium from the Upper Fill, both in date and location. The fragmentary nature of these objects supports the conclusion that the well was filled during a clean up event.⁴⁰¹

The artifacts from the Lower Fill are mostly fine ware open shapes, most pottery can be dated to the 6th and 5th centuries. Finds of 4th century date are found throughout

⁴⁰¹ It should also be noted that the deep bowl fragments come from Lot 7, while the unguentarium came from Lots 4 and 6. These lots are part of the problematic excavation record of the well, and thus may have been in closer proximity than the find locations suggestions. If this is the case, it is possible that part of the Lot 7 may be more aligned with the Upper Fill than the Lower.

the Lower Fill, intermixed with earlier material. The 4th century finds represent a full range of shapes and materials. The fine wares are all open shapes, except for the fragment of a lidded askos (29). Aside from the lekane (24), two skyphoi (25-26), and a salt-cellar (28), a nearly complete mug (27; Fig. 5; Pl. 12) was reconstructed from several fragments found throughout the Lower Fill. This mug is typical of the 4th century and very similar to several other examples found at Nemea.⁴⁰² The remaining 4th century materials are other examples of more than half to nearly complete vessels: a blisterware oinochoe (30), two Corinthian type A amphorae (31-32), and a kitchenware pitcher (34) and casserole (35). The two Corinthian type A amphorae are very similar in shape and are characterized by their fabric, a type similar to blisterware.⁴⁰³ These amphorae were produced in Corinth from the early 7th century to the middle of the 3rd century.⁴⁰⁴ The angle of the rims of the two examples from the well would place them in the end of the chronology. The impervious fabric used for the Corinthian type A amphora has led scholars to suggest that these were used for oil, but McPhee and Pemberton have proposed that a variety of commodities could have been transported in them, including wine.⁴⁰⁵ This suggests that Corinthian amphorae transporting commodities were brought to the sanctuary for the festival, for which wine and olive oil would have been in use. While it was recorded that one amphora (32) was reconstructed from fragments within a

⁴⁰² This includes not only examples from the other wells, but also mugs found at the sanctuary from other contexts. Nemea Museum find numbers for comparative materials can be found in the catalog. A total of 17 mugs have been found in the wells, with at least one example preserved in each well.

⁴⁰³ *Corinth* VII.6, 48.

⁴⁰⁴ As Koehler (1992) notes, the changes in the shape include a more downward slanting rim by the first quarter of the 5th century and by the mid-fifth century, the handles are more sharply pinched at the top..

⁴⁰⁵ *Corinth* VII.6, 49, n. 11.

single lot, the other amphora (31) was reconstructed from the full extent of the Lower Fill. Thus it is most likely that these two amphorae were thrown in the well complete and broken upon impact. The ceramics from the 4th century within the Lower Fill represent a wider range of vessels and fabric types than those dating to the first phase, which is characteristic of the 4th century remains among the ten wells.

The most convincing evidence for the use of Well L17:1 in the 4th century is a single coin (36) that preserves a dove on the obverse, which identifies it as Sikyonian and dates it to ca. 365-330 BCE. Though as coins are small and easily movable within the well, this coin may have fallen in at a later date. It is equally possible that this coin entered the well during the clean up of the sanctuary prior to the return of the games. This provides evidence of activity in the sanctuary prior to the revival of the festival.

The ceramics from the 5th century dominate the assemblage. The abundance of material from the first phase of use, coupled with the mostly fragmentary nature of the remains, suggest that these vessels were deposited in the well during clean up of the sanctuary prior to rebuilding. There are six closed vessels and 34 open vessels, a greater number of drinking vessels than seen in the 4th century. A fragment of a trefoil oinochoe (37) and a complete olpe (38), both possibly of Corinthian origin, are perhaps evidence of well use, but the two fragments of a kitchenware pitcher (74-75), possibly from the same vessel but non-joining, are the clearest evidence for the use of the well. The final two closed vessels from the 5th century are specialty shapes and have no direct association with well use. A nearly complete lekythos (72; Pl. 16) and the lid of a pyxis (73; Fig. 8; Pl. 15) are likely from a secondary deposition of personal dedications from the sanctuary.

Their presence in Well L17:1 is good evidence for the types of personal vessels that could be dedicated in the sanctuary. Thus, the variety of shapes suggest the deposition of individual objects within the well through use and secondary deposition.

The remainder of the 5th century vessels are fine ware shapes associated with drinking and eating. These include a lekane (39), 11 Corinthian kotylai (40-50), a skyphos (51), seven cups (52-58), two stemless cups (59-60), seven cup skyphoi (61-66), two one-handled cups (67-68), and three salt-cellars (69-71). Due to the fragmentary nature of the remains, it is possible that the total vessel count could decrease. Taking the kotylai for example, there is one complete example (40; Pl. 14) and a minimum number of seven (41-47) when counting base fragments. Nevertheless, it is clear that the number of drinking vessels that date to the 5th century occur in higher quantity than the 4th century.

Two coins are the only non-pottery artifacts from the 5th century in the Lower Fill. One coin (77) is Argive, while the other (78) is Corinthian. Both were minted after the middle of the 5th century. The scarcity of coins from the well, only three in total, and their location in the Lower Fill is notable. It is most likely that the coins were gathered with the ceramics as they were moved from one location in the sanctuary to the well.

The 6th century artifacts from the Lower Fill support the function of Well L17:1 as a site of secondary deposition. The ceramics mirror what was seen in the 5th century, but only fine ware vessels could be securely dated to this period. Two examples of trefoil oinochoai (79-80) were partially mended with fragments from throughout the Lower Fill. The remaining vessels were open shapes, including the base of a lekane (81) and two

fragments of a basin (82-83). Six kotylai (84-89) and two cups (90-91) round out the rest of the datable ceramics from the Lower Fill. All of these examples are incomplete vessels and their fragmentary nature suggests that they were broken prior to entering the well.

Many additional artifacts were found in the well that date to the 6th and 5th centuries. The most important is a complete bronze hydria (92; Pl. 17) with a female protome attached to the shoulder at the handle join. From all ten wells, this is the only example of a complete bronze vessel. The shape of the hydria and the style of the kore head place it at the end of the 6th century, providing a general date and comparandum for all the bronze bases found in the wells of similar size and shape. The hydria is unique as it preserves an inscription on the rim: TO ΔΙΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟ ΝΕΜΕΑΙ. The inscription was incised at a later date, possibly in the 5th century.⁴⁰⁶ The inscription marks the vessel not only as belonging to Zeus, but also a permanent possession of the sanctuary. As such, it could not be intentionally destroyed. It was found in pieces and restored, which suggests that it was damaged prior to entering the well.⁴⁰⁷ In the tradition recorded on temple

⁴⁰⁶ Miller 2004, 48.

⁴⁰⁷ J. Connelly (pers. comm.). In a discussion of deliberately damage of bronze vessels at Olympia, Frielinghuas (2003, 36-8) argues that deliberate damage to bronzes occurred in the Archaic and Classical times. While no clear system could be detected, she does agree that some damage to bronze objects could be the result of ritual. "It might be possible, for example, that the particular votive was meant to be sanctified more effectually or that it was to be marked as votive, to prevent its being turned to profane use" (Frielinghuas 2003, 38).

treasuries, such damaged objects would be removed from display.⁴⁰⁸ For this reason, the hydria was likely deposited in a sacred act. Along with this hydria, three additional hydria base fragments (**93-95**) were recovered from the Lower Fill. A total of five bronze hydria from the end of 6th/early 5th centuries were dedicated in the sanctuary and later deposited within Well L17:1. The only other bronzes from the well are three lotus-bud finials (**105-107**), which may have been attachments to larger objects or the handles of vessels, like the kore protome.⁴⁰⁹ The lack of any significant additional amount of bronze in the well suggests that the original vessels may have been melted down with only the bases to stand in for the sacred objects.⁴¹⁰ This adds additional support that the complete hydria was preserved because of its inscription and not its status as a dedication, a tradition found in other Greek sanctuaries.⁴¹¹

A fragment of a raking sima (**96; Pl. 18**) can also be dated to the first phase of the

⁴⁰⁸ The function of temple treasuries, which are frequently preserved as inscriptions, has been debated among scholars. Some believe them to be both practical and symbolic (Brøns 2015, 25; Scott 2011, 241); whereas others have argued that they were more symbolic than a record, acting as a gift to the gods themselves (Linders 1992, 31). Nevertheless, most agree that the temple inventories' importance was in commemorating the benefactor through public display of their dedication (Brøns 2015, 45; Dignas 2002, 241; Harris-Cline 2005). Recently, Shaya (2015) has looked at the Greek temple as a museum, and thus the inventories would record the objects that the communities used to express their ideas and interests. Linders (1972, 54), in her discussion of the Artemis Brauronia inventories, notes that compensation to the dedicator is very uncommon as defective offerings in gold and silver were usually melted down and recast. Other defects occur in the Brauronian inventories, while inventories from Eleusis note defective objects of gold and silver (Linders 1972, 54 n. 26).

⁴⁰⁹ There are no published photos of the finials, and they were not available for my study. Thus I am limited to the original records for any conclusions of their function.

⁴¹⁰ Lindenlauf (2003, 31) argues that "the relative absence of Geometric cauldrons and the comparatively high proportion of griffin heads and tripod-handles in the pre-Hellenistic deposits of the panhellenic sanctuaries at Samos, Delphi, and Olympia may be significant, perhaps indicating the large-scale recycling of cauldrons." Just as the protomes and handles seem to have been saved from reuse, the bases of these hydria may have survived the melting and recasting process.

⁴¹¹ Temple treasuries, such as those from the Athenian Acropolis and Delos, record the reuse of older or damaged dedications, especially ones in metals that could be melted and repurposed. Scott (2011, 248), in an article, argues that "[inventories] create a history of the objects themselves, particularly in those lists which record damage done to objects and their subsequent melting down and reforming, which at the same time stressed the strong degree of attachment to these objects and piety to the gods displayed by their owners."

festival. Decorated with a lion's head spout and painted motifs, it was an architectural element from a nearby building, one of the oikoi. It is not complete and must have been broken as the building, which it adorned, was damaged. The painted decoration, bead and reel, floral motifs, and running meander, place it in the 6th/5th century. A fragment preserving a column and base (**103**) was found in the Lower Fill but could not be dated. The column is very worn and unfluted, but is more likely to be from the oikoi than the temple. Both of these architectural elements support the idea that the majority of the artifacts come from the area's clean up, such as the one prior to the rebuilding program of the 4th century.

The final artifacts from the Lower Fill were dated by context (6th to 4th century). Two fragments of fine ware drinking vessels (**97-98**) could not be assigned a vessel type because the fragments lacked diagnostic features. Three kitchenware pitchers (**100-102**) were very fragmentary. Due to the generic nature of kitchenware vessels that rarely change shape, it is hard to date without preservation of the overall profile. The fragments and the fabric more likely suggest a date in the 4th century rather than the early 6th/5th century. A single apparently intact bone ornament (**104**) was recovered. Circular in shape with the middle drilled out, it is possible this was meant to be a piece of jewelry or an adornment. No other parallels have been found in the wells or elsewhere at Nemea. An iron nail (**108**) fragment and a stone lekane (**109**), preserving the full profile, are the final cataloged objects from the Lower Fill. In addition, 16 general tile fragments were recovered with the ceramics and animal bones were found throughout the well.⁴¹² These

⁴¹² Not included in the catalog.

fragmentary artifacts support a random deposition of the materials within Well L17:1.

Upper Fill

Without the artifacts from the upper 7.2m fill of the well, it is vital that the two inscriptions excavated from the well in 1964 be discussed first. The two fragmentary inscriptions carved in white marble are roughly square in shape. Geagan's 1968 study of these inscriptions dated both to the late 4th century due to the lettering and contents.⁴¹³ The first inscription (8) was recovered about 2.20m from the top of the well is preserved on a 0.12x0.11m square fragment. It appears to commemorate an expedition of Greek troops from free and autonomous cities at the behest of Antigonos, which would have been displayed in the sanctuary.⁴¹⁴ The second inscription (9) is opisthographic and non-stoichedon on a 0.11x0.15m fragment and was found between 4.30m and 5.20m from the top of the well.⁴¹⁵ Anathyrosis suggests the presence of a second stele on the right of Side A, so that the inscription may have run across the two stones. The texts appear to be by different hands. What remains of the text is very minimal, but seems to refer to a festival. In line 7, ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΝ refers to an assembly, either in general or of a festal nature, such as in honor of a god. Other lines preserve reference to the duration of such gatherings as well as formulas found in honorary decrees.⁴¹⁶ The text suggests the inscription was set up in the sanctuary to commemorate a Nemean festival.

Both inscriptions support the importance of the sanctuary at the end of the 4th

⁴¹³ Geagan 1968, 381. While dating by letter is controversial, the content of both inscriptions supports the 4th century date.

⁴¹⁴ Geagan 1968, 383.

⁴¹⁵ This is about half of the full depth of the well, and ca. 2-3m below the first inscription recovered.

⁴¹⁶ Geagan 1968, 385.

century, directly after the revival of the games. Two honorific inscriptions were most likely installed in the heart of the sanctuary and would have been seen by those who came for the games. Their final deposition in the well most likely occurred after the games had left Nemea once again and the inscriptions no longer held any importance.⁴¹⁷

The total number of ceramics from the Upper Fill represents only 11% of all the ceramics found in the well during the 1977 excavation. The two latest datable objects are kitchenware pitchers, a nearly completely mended pitcher (**1**) that dates to the early 3rd century and a handle (**2**) that can only be dated generally to the Hellenistic period. As stated above, a partially preserved unguentarium (**3**), one of two found in the ten wells, dates from the end of the 4th to early 3rd century.⁴¹⁸ Additional fine ware ceramics from the 4th century include: an oinochoe (**4**), a skyphos (**5**), and two kantharoi (**6-7**).⁴¹⁹ From the 6th and 5th centuries, the fine wares are open shapes: a skyphos (**10**), two cups (**11**, **15**), a bowl (**13**), and a salt-cellar (**16**). Also from this period are two unique vessels to the well assemblages. The only example of a kalathiskos (**14**) is preserved as a complete base. It is possible that this vessel could be identified as another salt-cellar, but a small pierced hole in the floor of the vessel may suggest ritual destruction. Also from the 6th/5th century is a complete handle of a miniature kotyle (**17**; **Fig. 5**).⁴²⁰ These two artifacts

⁴¹⁷ Due to the distance between the two inscriptions within the well, it is conceivable that they went into the well during two different events. Since **10** is more generic in content and deeper in the well, it is possible that it was deposited closer to the end of the 4th century. Whereas inscription **9**, with a more secure date of ca. 312/1 BCE, it more likely to have been disposed in the well during the beginning of the 3rd century.

⁴¹⁸ The other unguentarium is found in Well N17:2 (**494**); both in a similar gray fabric, but slight different in shape.

⁴¹⁹ The date of these kantharoi to the end of the 4th century are somewhat tenuous. While Edwards (*Corinth* VII.3) dates some kantharoi to 4th century, Pemberton (*Corinth* XVIII.1, 35) states that all Hellenistic forms of Corinthian kantharoi “may not have appeared in Corinth until ca. 300 or later.”

⁴²⁰ Other miniatures appear in the wells, with the highest concentration occurring in Well E18 next to the heroön.

are the only two examples of ritual vessels from the entirety of Well L17:1. While their fragmentary nature may call the identification into question, especially the kalathiskos, if they are evidence of votives, then they would be unique for this assemblage. The ceramics from the Upper Fill range in date and shape with the majority being fine ware drinking vessels, but the overall incomplete state of the ceramics suggests they were deposited into the well during a disposal event.

In addition to the inscriptions and ceramics, four other artifacts from the Upper Fill probably date to the 6th/5th centuries BCE. A bronze hydria base (**18**) is nearly identical to those found in the Lower Fill (**93-95**). Several bases of bronze vessels were deposited into the wells as a ritual event, possibly to preserve the sacred nature of the dedication while also allowing for the reuse of the majority of the vessel.⁴²¹ Part of a terracotta sima (**19**) and two worked poros blocks were also found. One of the block (**20**) was registered as a possible part of the wellhead. The other block (**21**) more likely was an architectural element as suggested by the preservation of applied plaster and traces of painted horizontal bands on one face. This block and the sima are both fragments of larger elements and were purposefully dumped in the well, like the bronze base and the ceramics.

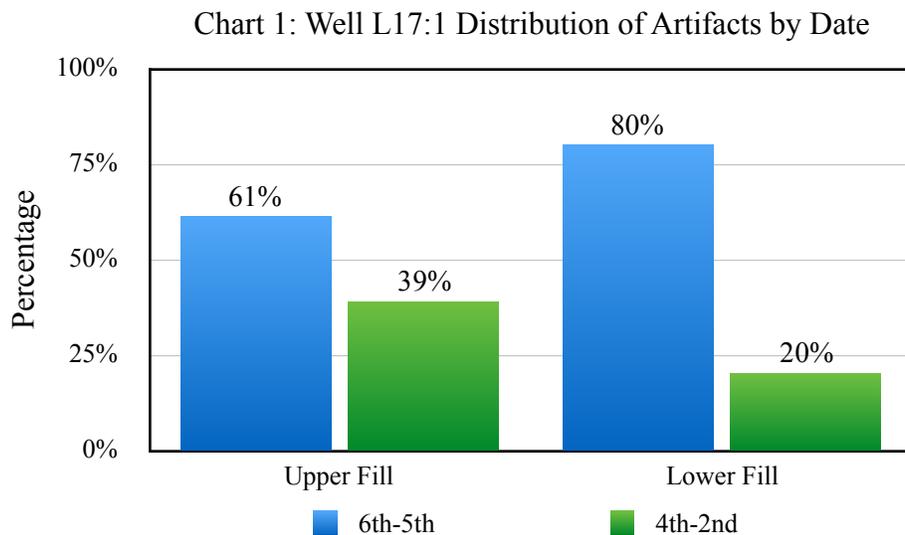
The artifacts from the Upper Fill of Well L17:1 support the use of the site in the 4th century, although not necessarily the well itself. The most secure 4th century date

⁴²¹ While the practice of recycling in ancient Greek sanctuaries is minimal, some scholars have discussed how objects might be reused. Lindenlauf (2003, 30) notes that the only kind of recycling mentioned by the ancient sources is the melting down of the object to create something new. She points out that the sources usually use the word *kat(h)airein* in reference to this act, which would suggest that the whole object is destroyed and repurposed. These objects that were melted were characterized as votives that has lost their purpose or were in need of repair, as recorded in the inventories of Artemis Brauronia in Athens (Linders, 1962, 54-56).

comes from the two inscriptions. These inscriptions must have been displayed in the sanctuary, while the games were occurring from the end of the 4th and early 3rd centuries. After the second removal of the games to Argos, they would have entered the well. The fragmentary nature of the artifacts from the Upper Fill supports their deposition in the well during a clean up of the site. Since no ceramic vessel is complete, it is possible that soil was dumped into Well L17:1 from multiple locations.

Overview

Well L17:1 preserves artifacts from both phases of the festival with a higher percentage of material from the first phase of the festival, seen throughout the fill of the well (**Chart 1**). The high percentage of 6th and 5th century material in the Lower Fill, 80%, may indicate that some of the artifacts in the well were deposited during the first phase of the festival. But the presence of 4th and 3rd century material in the bottom of the well more strongly supports secondary deposition rather than use of the well, which is also seen in the fragmentary nature of the majority of artifacts. The continuation of this distribution in the Upper Fill supports this scenario. An increase in 4th and 3rd century

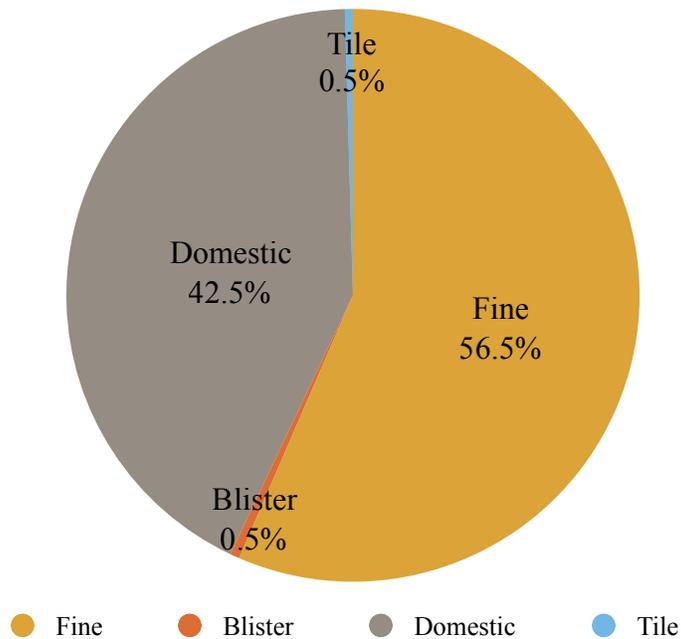


material to 39% would correspond with cleanup of the sanctuary during the second phase when a mix of material would be present.

As there was no clear stratigraphy in the layers of the well and since artifacts from the 6th to 4th centuries can be found throughout the well, the most likely narrative is that a cleaning event resulted in several depositions of earth and artifacts into the well. This is supported especially by the architectural elements, the presence of votive objects, and the overall fragmentary nature of the vessels. 4th century material found through the full depth of the well further supports that this cleaning event occurred prior to the building program around 330 BCE for the return of the festival and games to the sanctuary.

Looking specifically at the distribution of fabrics, the assemblage is mostly fine ware (**Chart 2**).⁴²² As will be seen in a majority of the wells, a higher percentage of fine

Chart 2: Well L17:1 Fabric Distribution



⁴²² All fabric distribution charts represent the percentage of each fabric by count of individual sherds/objects. While not statistically representative of exact counts, each well was treated in the same way, ensuring continuity between the wells. Additionally, “Domestic” refers to kitchen/cooking, semi-coarse, and coarse wares.

wares will correspond with a higher percentage of 6th and 5th century artifacts. Of the cataloged fine wares, 74 vessels were identified, with the drinking shapes appearing the most frequently, accounting for 48 examples (**Table 1**).⁴²³

Table 1: Well L17:1 Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

	Upper	Lower	Total
Fine Wares (Total: 74)			
Amphora			0
Hydria			0
Oinochoe/Decanter	1	3	4
Pitcher			0
Olpe		1	1
Krater			0
Lekane		3	3
Basin		2	2
Kylix			0
Kotyle		17	17
Skyphos	2	3	5
Cup	2	19	21
Kantharos	2		2
One Handled Cup		2	2
Mug		1	1
Bowl	2	1	3
Mold Made Bowl			0
Salt-cellar	1	4	5
Saucer		1	1
Plate			0
Lekythos/Arballos		1	1
Unguentarium	1		1
Askos		1	1

⁴²³ Drinking shapes for this study include: kylix, kotyle, skyphos, cut, kantharos, one-handed cup, and mug.

Strainer Pot		1	1
Pyxis		1	1
Kalathiskos	1		1
Miniature	1		1
Lamp			0
Blister Wares (Total: 4)			
Amphora		3	3
Oinochoe		1	1
Aryballos			0
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 10)			
Amphora			0
Hydria			0
Pitcher	2	6	8
Lekane		1	1
Chytra			0
Lopas		1	1
Dish/Plate			0
Pot			0
Lid			0
Pithos			0
Mortar			0
Well Total	15	73	88

The distribution of the drinking vessels by date show a preference for the 6th/5th century phase, as 40 vessels date to the earlier period, with only six dating to the 4th/3rd century and the final two were not datable. Thus 83% of the drinking vessels date to the first phase of the festival. This can be interpreted in two ways. The first is that there were more drinking vessels deposited in the sanctuary during the 6th/5th centuries than in the 4th/3rd. These 6th/5th century examples were also mostly found in the Lower Fill, possibly indicating that some deposition of material in the first phase of the festival. For

this well in particular, the second possibility is that the overwhelming majority of fine ware drinking vessels can be attributed to the fact that the well contains a larger amount 6th/5th century refuse.

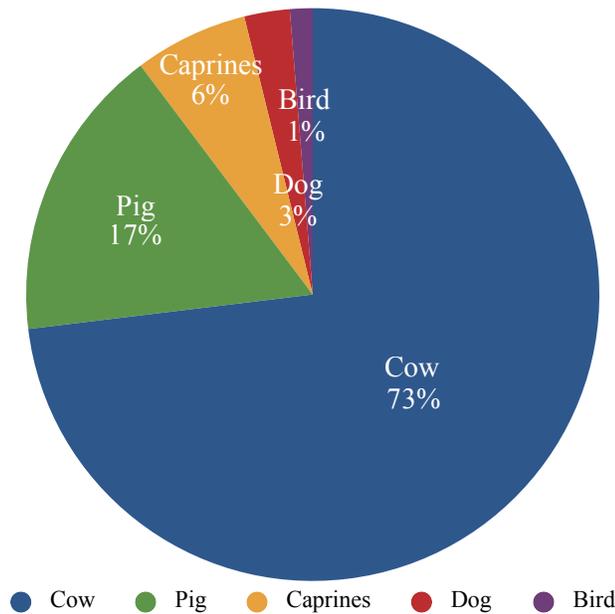
The blisterware vessels are mostly Corinthian A Amphorae found in the Lower Fill. These amphorae would indicate the importation of goods to the sanctuary for the festival and games, with the amphorae themselves representing refuse after the goods were consumed. As no other amphorae were found in Well L17:1, the three Corinthian A Amphorae most likely preserve activities of the second phase, since these amphorae were more common in the 4th century. Their appearance in the Lower Fill further supports that the well was filled at the end of the 4th century when activity resumed within the sanctuary.

The faunal remains were nearly all found in the Lower Fill, with significant remains found in only one lot of the Upper Fill (**Chart 3**).⁴²⁴ While 11 fragments were identified from the Upper Fill, 67 were identified in the Lower Fill, with the majority found at the very bottom of the well (81%).⁴²⁵ Of these fragments, the highest percentage belongs to cows (73%), followed by pig (17%), and then caprines (6%). Additionally, a few fragments of dog (3%) and bird (1%) were identified. The majority of the wells at Nemea will have a high percentage of cow, but the second most common animal will vary. Here, the presence of pig may reflect a diet preference. For the cow, both infant and adult aged bones were recovered, and diverse parts of all taxa were found, including

⁴²⁴ All charts regarding the faunal remains reflect the overall well assemblage rather than by fill.

⁴²⁵ Bones were recovered in Lot 9-12, the very bottom of the well, and from Lot 5 in the Upper Fill.

Chart 3: Well L17:1 Species Abundance



heads, limbs, and vertebrae parts.⁴²⁶ This may suggest that the animals were not disposed after consumption but rather may represent deceased animals gathered during cleaning, which would most likely explain the presence of a few dog and bird bones. While this represents preliminary work on the faunal remains, it can be said that faunal remains within Well L17:1 were significant enough to identify 78 fragments from five different species. Since the majority were found at the bottom of the well, it is most likely that these bones were gathered during cleaning and deposited into the well during one of the earliest deposition of fill.

While there is a higher percentage of 6th and 5th century material, the smaller percentage of 4th century material supports a clean up and deposit of earlier material during the 4th century at the beginning of the return to the site. This clean up event

⁴²⁶ J. Meier (pers. comm.) Unless specifically stated, these results reflect a cursory study of the material to identify species abundance per well. Future work will include a more in-depth study in order to say more about the use of these animals within the sanctuary.

would have occurred very early in the second phase and thus less 4th century material would be on site during the deposition of artifacts within the well. The presence of the 4th and 3rd century objects may be explained by a secondary clean up of the sanctuary at some point after the middle of the 3rd century, recalling that the 1964 excavation of the well recovered primarily Roman artifacts. With this in mind, the well must have been dug during the first phase of the festival for use as a well and then designated as a dump-site during the clean up prior to the return of the games to Nemea.

Well L17:2

One of three wells discovered and excavated in the 1978 season, Well L17:2 is located immediately west of Well L17:1 (**Plan 1; Pl. 5a**).⁴²⁷ It was also very similar in construction and dimensions to L17:1, measuring 9.90m in depth and 0.54m in diameter at the mouth and widening to 1.35m at the bottom (**Fig. 1b**). When the well was first discovered, it was clear that the foundation blocks for the wellhead were still in place, with one block having fallen to the east from its original position. The largest block, fallen to the west, may have been reused from the 5th century temple, and if so, then it is possible that this well was dug in the second phase of the festival.⁴²⁸ The well was found to be empty for the first 2.38m, at which point the fill began.⁴²⁹ Nearly one meter from the top was a cutting into the side of the well with a Lakonian type tile used as a gutter. It

⁴²⁷ Miller 1979, 89-90; see also Clauss 1978a; Miller 2004, 47-50.

⁴²⁸ Clauss (1978, 105-7) notes that the block had holes made for lifting the block are “of the archaic style - to be lifted as if by ice tongs.”

⁴²⁹ The first excavated lot, Lot 31, began at 330.257, which corresponds with the well being empty for the first 2.38m (from the top elevation of the well - 332.637).

appears that at some point a drain was cut from the baptistry to the well to act as a drain for the baptismal pool. For this reason, material dating to the Roman and Early Christian period was found in the upper part of the well.

As with Well L17:1, there appeared to be a clear transition in the well. Around 7m in depth was a fallen wellhead block that excavators saw as a division within the well, with the majority of material below it dating to the late 4th century BCE and earlier.⁴³⁰ Similar to Well L17:1, Miller has suggested two phases of use below the large conglomerate block: Layers 6 and 7 dating to the later 4th century; Layer 8 jumps in date to the middle of the 5th century BCE.⁴³¹ This differentiation of dates to two phases would align with the two phases of the festival, and thus would support Miller's narrative of site abandonment between the two periods of sanctuary occupation.

I first undertook study of Well L17:2 in the 2007 study season and restudied the material in 2015.⁴³² The outcome of this study had similar results to Well L17:1, as the range of ceramics from the lower part of the well dated from the 6th century to the 2nd century BCE, with no clear division between the layers as previously suggested.⁴³³ The proximity of the two wells may also explain the similarities in the assemblages, but the

⁴³⁰ Miller 1979, 90. According to Clauss (1978a, 427), the blocks were found in the well at an elevation that corresponded with the water level current at that time, but that elevation was not recorded. Although they were removed from the well, the wellhead block does not appear to be kept as a recorded museum find.

⁴³¹ Miller 1979, 90.

⁴³² At some point in storage between 2007 and 2015, the contents of Lot 45 (the corresponding sift lot for Lot 38, Layer 7) broke out of the bags and mixed in the bottom of the tins. The contents that remained in the proper bag were studied but there were no diagnostics. While the material in the bottom of the tin may have come from this one context, there was still the possibility of contamination as several lots were stored in the single tin. None of the ceramics from Lot 45 were included in overall counts from the well, and due to the lack of diagnostic material, there was no contribution to dating. Thus Lot 45 does not appear in this study.

⁴³³ From the excavation notebooks for the well, Clauss (1978, 433-435) recorded that soil changes seen within the well dictated changes in layers and lots, but the contents within these layers were clearly mixed.

Early Christian disturbance from the basilica baptistry results in slightly different contents for the upper part of the well.⁴³⁴ For these reasons, Well L17:2 has been divided into two contexts: the Upper Fill and the Lower Fill.⁴³⁵ The Upper Fill (330.257 to 326.797) corresponds with excavated Layers 1 and 2, dating from the 6th century BCE to the 1st century CE, with clear evidence of later disturbance. The Lower Fill (326.79 to 322.737) corresponds with excavated Layers 3-8 with a date range of the 6th to 3rd century BCE. This division corresponds with the date ranges of the artifacts, rather than the using the fallen well block, which could have occurred at any point in the 3rd century or later.⁴³⁶ There appears to have been several small, depositional events within the well, but the only clear division between the artifacts is the later disturbance that occurred among the upper layers of the wells.

Lower Fill

The Lower Fill contains more material than the Upper Fill, even though it is only the lowest 4.06m of the shaft. The ceramics account for 75% of the total assemblage, with a more diverse range of fabrics and shapes. As noted above, the wellhead block that seemed to signal a transition to the excavators was not kept, but the Lower Fill also contains a greater diversity of artifacts than the Upper Fill, such as architectural remains and metal objects. Not only do the types of artifacts suggest a change in context, so does

⁴³⁴ For this reason, several comparisons are drawn between Well L17:2 and Well L17:1. While probably not an intentional pairing in antiquity, their proximity to one another has resulted in similar size of the well and contents.

⁴³⁵ Upper Fill - Layer 1, Lots 31 and 40; Layer 2, Lots 32 and 41; Lower Fill - Layer 3, Lots 33 and 42; Layer 4, Lot 34; Layer 5, Lots 35 and 43; Layer 6, Lots 36, 37, and 44; Layer 7, Lots 38 and 45; Layer 8, Lots 39 and 46.

⁴³⁶ If the wellhead block was kept or its exact elevation recorded, it could have been used as a clear division between the lower and upper parts of the well. As a single block, it could not have filled the full diameter of the well, and therefore it could not have sealed the contents below it.

the date range. The majority of the Lower Fill appears to have been deposited primarily during the second phase of the sanctuary.

The latest datable artifacts are two ceramic vessels from the 3rd century BCE: a fine ware bowl (**137**) fragment and a kitchenware pitcher (**138**) identified by a nearly complete base. Due to the quantity of kitchenware body sherds found in the Lower Fill, it is very likely that the rest of the pitcher is present and may be associated with one of the other pitchers from the Lower Fill. The lack of physical joins is problematic for any secure identification, as well as the pronounced concave shape of this base, which is more characteristic of the 3rd-2nd centuries. It is possible that it should be moved to a 4th century date, since the overwhelming majority of the pitchers in Well L17:2 are from that period. In fact, all three vessels are similar to those that date to the 4th century; thus they should be grouped together to examine use and activities within the second phase of the games.

The vessels from the 4th century expand the range of vessels present in the well, but generally remain within the category of drinking and food service. While the open shapes continue to dominate, there are a few fine ware closed vessels, including four fragments of pitchers (**140-143**) and a nearly complete, reconstructed ribbed oinochoe (**139; Pl. 21**). Among the fine ware open shapes, fragments of drinking vessels are the majority: skyphoi (**145-149**), a kantharos (**150**), two one-handled cups (**151-152; Fig. 12; Pl. 21**), and two bowls (**154-155**).⁴³⁷ A mug (**153; Pl. 22**) is the only nearly complete vessel from the 4th century. A rim fragment of a lekane (**144**) is the only suggestion of a

⁴³⁷ **153** is similar in shape to several found in the other wells. cf. **12, 13, 437, 595, and 596.**

service item in a fine ware fabric. The fine ware is consistent with the types of vessels found in the wells during the 4th century, but their fragmentary states indicate a secondary deposition rather than evidence of use.

The final three vessels are larger storage and pouring vessels. Two Corinthian A amphora handles (**158; Pl. 22**) are likely from the same vessel and why they were registered as a single example.⁴³⁸ One preserves a stamped palmette at the base of the handle, which dates it to the second half of the 4th century.⁴³⁹ In addition, a second Corinthian A amphora rim (**159**) with a different fabric matrix is also present. Two oinochoai (**160-161**) are examples of larger serving vessels in blisterware. Blisterware sherds only account for 0.6% of the total quantity of ceramics in Well L17:2 and the rest of these vessels are not present in the well. Their presence further supports the contact with Corinth for both transportation of goods and vessels for service.

The kitchenware sherds dominate the overall fabric distribution within the well, and thus the number of 4th century vessels is not surprising. There are at least six examples of pitchers (**162-167**) with wide mouth rims. Nearly all bases have a concave underside. The large number of kitchenware sherds probably came from pitchers used to gather water from the wells when they broke and fell into the well. A single rim of a chytra or lopas (**168; Fig. 13**) has an inner flange for a lid. This is the only evidence in the well for the production of food.

⁴³⁸ Due to the similar shape and fabric, they were cataloged by the excavators as a single find (P 401 a-b). I agree that the two fragments are most likely from the same amphora, and thus I have kept them as a single catalog entry.

⁴³⁹ Koehler (1992) notes “A palmette is sometimes stamped at the base of one or both handles in the second half of the 4th century.” McPhee and Pemberton (*Corinth* VII.6, 49) also note that the palmette is the most common stamp on type A amphoras.

Also from the 4th century are kiln wedges in a variety of fabrics (**156-157; Pl. 22**). They must date to the 4th century because of the date of the kiln.⁴⁴⁰ They are evidence for the industrial and commercial activity that was occurring nearby.⁴⁴¹ There would be no secondary use for a kiln wedge, and once they were no longer needed for ceramic production, they most likely went directly into the well. Had they been tossed into a larger discard pile of kiln waste and later dumped, there would have been more examples, but these are the only two that were found in Well L17:2.

The 6th and 5th century ceramics represent the pattern of fabrics and shapes seen in the wells during the first phase of the festival. An oinochoe (**166**) and a decanter (**170; Fig. 13**) comprise the fine ware closed vessels from the 5th century, while there are no closed vessels of any fabric type that date to the 6th.⁴⁴² One complete kotyle (**171; Pl. 23**) and three fragments of additional kotylai (**172-174**) represent the 5th century drinking vessels, while additional fragments of seven kotylai (**181-187**) date from the end of the 6th/early 5th century. A small bowl (**175**) and a plate (**176**) round out the fine ware open shapes. The 5th century blisterware and kitchenware vessels are all closed shapes. A fragmentary blisterware oinochoe (**178; Fig. 14; Pl. 23**) was reconstructed from many fragments in the lowest part of the well. Two additional kitchenware pitchers (**179-180**) can be added to the total number of vessels for retrieving water, bringing the total number of pitchers in Well L17:2 to nine. Two fragments, possibly from the same vessel, of a

⁴⁴⁰ See discussion in Chapter 2 for the construction of the kiln in the 4th century.

⁴⁴¹ Graybehl (2014, 209, 213-5). The kiln is located in square N17, which is along the same E-W axis as Well L17:2.

⁴⁴² The decanter is a term given by Edwards to Corinthian oinochoai with two handles, separating them from the single handled oinochoai (*Corinth* VII. 3, 57).

coarse ware mortar (**189-190; Pl. 24**) can be dated from the 6th to early 4th century and is the final example of food preparation from Well L17:2.⁴⁴³ The first phase of the festival is represented by a majority of fine ware drinking vessels, but the overall fragmentary nature of all the ceramics suggests a secondary deposit in the well.

Two lamps were found in the Lower Fill. One lamp (**177; Pl. 25**), which is nearly complete, can be securely dated to the middle of the 5th century, and the second lamp (**188; Pl. 24**), which is more than 50% complete and dates to the late 6th/early 5th century. The more complete nature of these two lamps suggests that they were deposited into the well complete. Also from the first phase of the festival is a bronze hydria base (**191; Pl. 24**), similar in shape and size to those found in Well L17:1.⁴⁴⁴

The remaining artifacts in the well vary in type and cannot be securely dated. Several metal artifacts were recovered from the well; the majority was fragmentary with the exception of an intact bronze ring (**197**), possibly a finger ring. Aside from these objects, the most important artifacts for understanding this well are the fragments of architectural members. An akroterion (**193; Pl. 24**) with floral motif was mended from two pieces but clearly shows a break on the back, indicating that it was broken from its attachment. Two similar fragments of raking sima probably associated with one another, come from a single building. One preserves the front, decorated face (**194; Pl. 24**), and the other is a fragment of a backing piece (**195**). The sima is decorated with running

⁴⁴³ Although possibly from the same mortar, they have been given two catalog entries because **189**, a rim fragment, was studied and cataloged in 2007 but not found in 2015. It was removed by Graybehl for petrographic study and not returned. The base fragment, **190**, appears to be of the same fabric as the rim. It is probable that these two fragments come from the same vessel, since very little coarse ware sherds were found in the well, but cannot be confirmed without further study.

⁴⁴⁴ Stylistically, this base's closest parallel is from Well M17:2, which has the same fluting along the exterior face. This will be discussed in depth in the narrative of Well M17:2.

meander, bead and reel, and lotus and palmettes. A tile (196; Pl. 24), from either a roof or antefix, is the final architectural fragment. As with those found in Well L17:1, these pieces were clearly broken and damaged, separated from their original location, and finally deposited in Well L17:2 during the clean up of the sanctuary. Since these were all found at the bottom of the well rather than the middle, they were some of the first objects deposited.⁴⁴⁵

The overwhelmingly fragmentary nature of ceramics in the Lower Fill is suggestive of two types of deposition. The kitchenware vessels, especially the pitchers, appear to have broken within the well, since all parts of the vessels are present, or at least very close to the well so that the complete, broken vessel was scooped up and thrown into the well. Though none can be fully reconstructed, the proportion of bases to neck/rim fragments is nearly the same.⁴⁴⁶ Meanwhile, the notable lack of blisterware sherds that correspond with the diagnostic fragments suggests that these vessels were broken prior to entering the well. The fine wares seem to represent both scenarios. Thus there appears to be a mix of activities resulting in both primary and secondary deposition of the fill.

Upper Fill

The Upper Fill of Well L17:2 can be characterized by the wide range of dates and materials, including high levels of disturbance, evidenced by the presence of a small medallion advertising “22” brand filter cigarettes from the modern era.⁴⁴⁷ Although the

⁴⁴⁵ It is also possible that due to their heavy weights they sunk to the bottom of the well.

⁴⁴⁶ Since many pitchers were made in the same fabrics, sherds cannot be attributed to individual vessels based upon fabric. In additions, sherds recovered from the wells tend to be small to medium in size (thumb nail to palm) with very worn and rounded edges making joins difficult to ascertain.

⁴⁴⁷ Miller 1979, 89.

Upper and Lower Fills represent roughly the same amount of space within the well, the percentage of ceramics from the Upper Fill only constitutes 25% of the total. These ceramic fragments are mostly small to medium in size and battered, with very few sherds that were securely identified. All the cataloged ceramics are fine ware open shapes, except for a blisterware amphora (117) from the 5th century BCE. These open vessels range in shapes and dates, including a plate (111; Fig. 11) from the 1st century BCE to 1st century CE; a moldmade bowl (112) from the middle of the 2nd century; a kantharos (113) from the 3rd century; a salt-cellar (114; Fig. 11; Pl. 20) from the end of the 4th century; a cup (115) from the early 5th century; and a kotyle (118) from the late 6th century. All these shapes are commonly found in the wells, and thus it is not surprising to see them here.

Two lamp fragments were found in the Upper Fill; one fragment is a rim (110; Pl. 20) from the Roman period and the other is a lamp spout (116; Pl. 20) from the 5th century. A total of four lamps are present in Well L17:2, which is a distinct difference from the nearby Well L17:1.⁴⁴⁸ The Roman lamp is the latest datable artifact from the well and further supports later activity in and around the well. The Classical lamp fragment is similar to others found within the sanctuary.⁴⁴⁹ Unlike the two lamps found in the Lower Fill, these two lamps are each represented by a single sherd.⁴⁵⁰ This suggests that while lamps were in use at the sanctuary, these two examples were damaged

⁴⁴⁸ Ten lamps were found in five of the wells: 4 from Well L17:2; 3 from Well M17:2; 1 from Well E18; 1 from Well O16:1; and 1 from Well O17:1.

⁴⁴⁹ In fact the closest comparandum was another lamp from Nemea, L 168.

⁴⁵⁰ I noted a possible third fragment of a lamp disc in Lot 31, but it was too worn to determine any secure date or identification in type.

and later partially deposited within the well.

Eleven coins (**119-129**) were found in the Upper Fill.⁴⁵¹ All 11 are bronze and in various states of preservation, from complete to only 1/4 preserved. The coin faces are poorly preserved with no image is visible to aid in identification or dating. Ten shards of glass were found in the Upper Fill. The glass varies in shape but is in every case clear with a range of blue to green hues. The majority of the glass fragments are vessel rims (**133, 134, 136**), but one is a base of a possible unguentarium (**135; Pl. 20**). Though not securely dated, they all appear to be late in date, most likely Roman, ca. 1st century CE or later. Without additional pieces of these vessels, it is impossible to say more, but their presence in the wells, at this higher level, again supports the later activity.

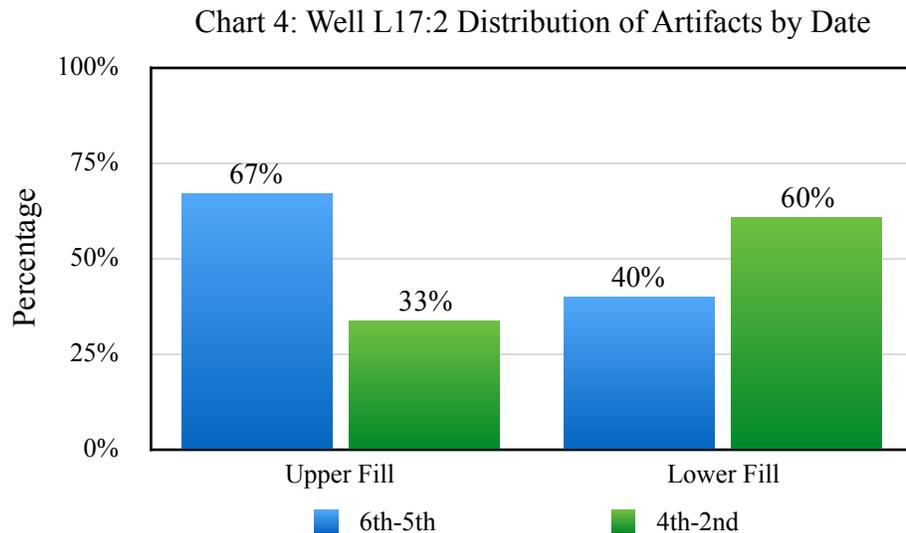
Due to the later disturbance of the gutter drain from the baptismal pool, contamination was more obvious than in the other wells. While the ceramic vessels are characteristic of those found in the other wells, the other artifacts present a different assemblage. Well L17:2 has the greatest number of lamps, coins, and glass of all the wells, and their presence within the Upper Fill is notable. Their deposition could be a result of the later contamination and possible cleaning of the well associated with the Baptistery, but, as with Well L17:1, the fragmentary nature of the artifacts supports the use of this well as the location for secondary deposition of remains from the sanctuary.

Overview

While Well L17:2 shares physical characteristics and general location with Well

⁴⁵¹ This is the largest amount of coins from all a single well. The other two significant deposits of coins occurred in Well K14:4 and L19, both with a total of 10. Four other wells have coins but at a much lower number, ranging from 1-3. Three wells had no coins at all.

L17:1, there are some striking differences that suggest its own distinct narrative. The first is the difference in distribution of the artifacts (**Chart 4**). While the Upper Fills of the wells have a similar distribution between the two phases, with more material from the first phase than the second phase, the Lower Fills exhibit the opposite. In the Lower Fill of Well L17:2, 60% of the material is from the second phase of the festival, versus only 20% in Well L17:1. This would suggest that the deposition of the fill in Well L17:2 occurred in the second phase, with the 6th and 5th century material representing debris from the sanctuary.

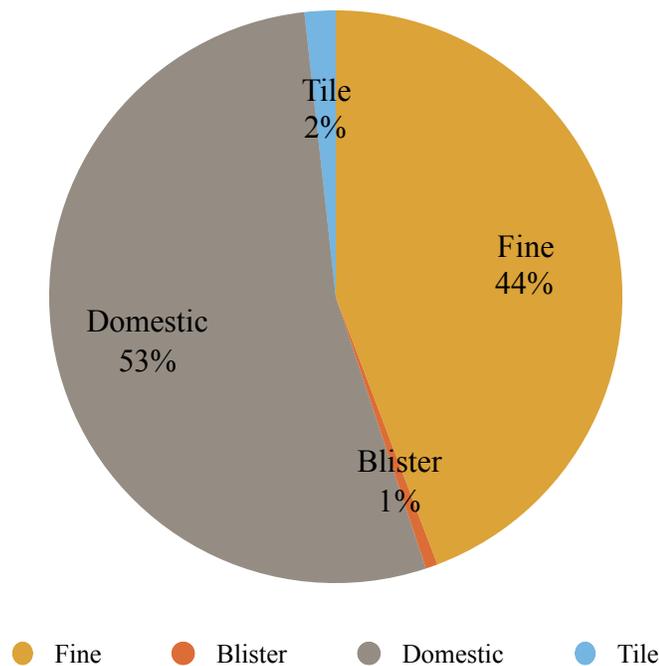


Well L17:2 must have also been designated as a dump site, as evidenced by the architectural members and fragmentary ceramics, but the slightly lower number suggests that it was a secondary location to Well L17:1. Also supporting this view is the difference in quantity and types of finds, the most telling is that Well L17:2 only had one bronze vessel base, while Well L17:1 has five, including the complete hydria. After the sanctuary had been cleared and rebuilt for the return of the games, Well L17:2 continued to be used as a trash dump, more-so than as a source of water. The presence of the kiln

wedges, waste associated with ceramic production, best supports this conclusion. Well L17:2 can be seen as an overflow dump site that continued to be used during the second phase of the festival.

When looking at the fabric distribution, the percentages of fine ware sherds compared with that of the domestic wares mirror the change seen in percentage by date. Well L17:2 has 53% domestic wares and 44% fine ware (**Chart 5**), whereas Well L17:1 was 43% domestic and 57% fine ware. Similar to the distortion by date, these two wells show nearly the opposite distribution of fabrics. Thus Well L17:2 can be characterized by a majority of 4th and 3rd century artifacts and a majority of domestic ware ceramics.

Chart 5: Well L17:2 Fabric Distribution



The relationship between these two trends is clear when looking at the types of vessels in the well (**Table 2**). Although the overall number of identified vessels in Well L17:2 is fewer than in Well L17:1, percentages can show that the vessel types changed.

For example, only 23 drinking vessels were found in the Well L17:2, which accounts for 53% of the fine ware assemblage, whereas in Well L17:1, drinking vessels were 65% of the assemblage. Well L17:2 also preserves slightly more kitchenware pitchers from the 4th century and more blisterware vessels than Well L17:1. In all categories of there is a clear difference between Wells L17:1 and L17:2. Despite their close proximity, the deposition of their fill was different. An increase in second phase material may suggest that the deposition of Well L17:2 occurred after Well L17:1, or that the fill was gathered from a different location within the sanctuary. Overall, the fragmentary nature of other artifacts from this period, such as the blisterware vessels and drinking cups, indicate that the well still functioned as a trash site.

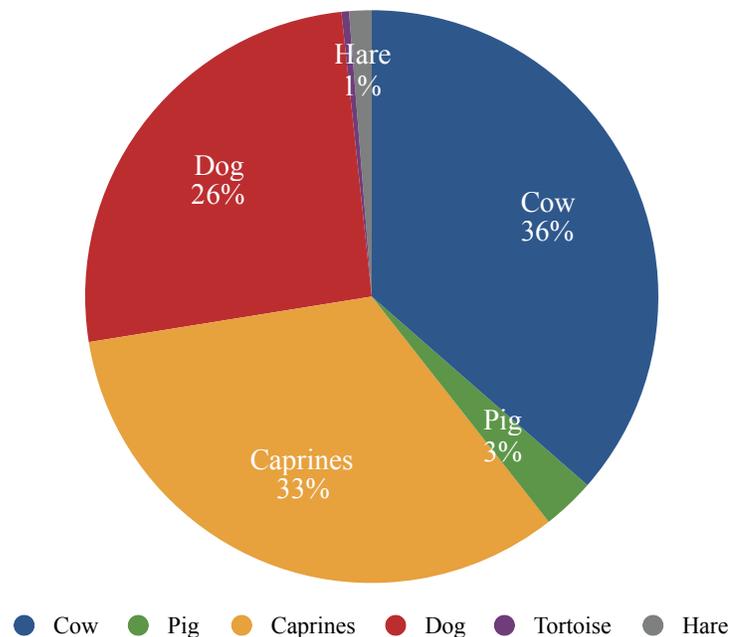
Table 2: Well L17:2 Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

	Upper	Lower	Total
Fine Wares (Total: 43)			
Amphora			0
Hydria			0
Oinochoe/Decanter		3	3
Pitcher		4	4
Olpe			0
Krater			0
Lekane		1	1
Basin			0
Kylix			0
Kotyle	1	11	12
Skyphos		5	5
Cup	1		1
Kantharos	1	1	2
One Handled Cup		2	2
Mug		1	1

Bowl		4	4
Mold Made Bowl	1		1
Salt-cellar	1		1
Saucer			0
Plate	1	1	2
Lekythos/Araballos			0
Unguentarium			0
Askos			0
Strainer Pot			0
Pyxis			0
Kalathiskos			0
Miniature			0
Lamp	2	2	4
Blister Wares (Total: 6)			
Amphora	1	2	3
Oinochoe		3	3
Aryballos			0
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 12)			
Amphora			0
Hydria			0
Pitcher		9	9
Lekane			0
Chytra		1	1
Lopas			0
Dish/Plate			0
Pot			0
Lid			0
Pithos			0
Mortar		2	2
Well Total	9	52	61

All faunal remains recovered from Well L17:2 were found throughout the Lower Fill (**Chart 6**). Well L17:2 had a total of 236 identified fragments comprising six species. Cow had the greatest representation at 36%, followed by caprines at 33%, and dog at 26%. In much smaller quantities, pig represented 3%, hare 1%, and one identified fragment of tortoise (less than 1%). The caprines distribution included both neonate and adult examples represented by diverse parts, while there were both juvenile and adult examples from cows and pigs. The cattle bones were mostly limb and head fragments. Similar to Well L17:1, this distribution of remains might suggest refuse rather than consumption. Supporting this view is the high number of dog bones, including limb, vertebrae, and head parts, 61 fragments in total, with 92% of these recovered from a single lot in the Lower Fill. From this lot, the major of the caprine bones were also recovered, 63%. It seems that slightly more than half (55%) of the total faunal remains

Chart 6: Well L17:2 Species Abundance



were recovered from this one lot. This lot, Lot 34, had no corresponding sift lot and had no identified vessels. The excavation notebook records that “many bones are found.”⁴⁵² While not specifically stated, it would seem that the amount of bone present in this level was significant, with very little ceramic remains. This layer of bones could represent a single dump event from a clean up. It is more likely that the dogs died around the sanctuary rather than evidence of intentional killing.⁴⁵³ Well L17:2 represents the most diverse distribution of species of all the wells, which also supports the conclusion that the fill is mostly from secondary deposition of materials.

The final use of Well L17:2 would occur several centuries later when a gutter was deliberately added to facilitate the use of the baptismal pool for the Early Christian basilica. During this construction, the well was subject to disturbance in the upper levels.

Well M17:2

Well M17:2 was also discovered and excavated in 1978 (**Plan 1**).⁴⁵⁴ On the surface, a deposit of stones was cleared to reveal the boundaries of a pit, which the excavator hypothesized sat on top of a well.⁴⁵⁵ Once the pit was cleared and the well became more clear, it was officially designated as Well M17:2. The well was constructed with rubble and measured 9.80m in depth, with a diameter widening from 0.7m at the top

⁴⁵² Clauss 1978a, 423.

⁴⁵³ In MacKinnon’s (2013) study of faunal remains from various deposits across the sanctuary, he did not identify any dog remains.

⁴⁵⁴ Miller 1979, 87-9; see also Clauss 1978b.

⁴⁵⁵ Clauss 1978b, 415. The pit was excavated as Layer 4a, Lot 45 and mostly contained Byzantine material. Lot 45 was not studied in conjunction with the well.

to 1.21m at the bottom (**Fig. 2a; Pl. 5b**).⁴⁵⁶ The well appeared to have been deliberately closed at ground level (**Pl. 6a**) and packed with several small stones, a moulding fragment (**214**), and an unfinished Ionic column (**215**).⁴⁵⁷ During excavation, the well was found empty for the first 3.26m. Miller concluded that about 5.7m of material was dumped fill from the 4th century with a use level of less than a meter from the second quarter of the 5th century at the bottom.⁴⁵⁸ Miller also used Well M17:2 to speculate about the history of wells at Nemea in general.

The limited use of this well and its closure as much as 300 years later raise questions not only about the history of Nemea, but also about the control of these wells. One begins to wonder if their control lay not with the general supervision of Nemea, but with individual oikoi, or rather with the city-states who controlled the individual oikoi. Improbable as such a suggestion may be, it is strange that other, nearby wells should be constructed and used at times when a perfectly usable well such as that in M17 was open.⁴⁵⁹

While an interesting proposal, the use-dates for wells as a water source, rather than dump, are unclear from the contents. Also problematic is that this proposal does not take into consideration wells located outside the scope of the oikoi. Miller's proposal about control of wells was also suggested early during his excavation at Nemea and with one of the first excavated wells. It should be noted that he does not return to this idea at any later point. Control of wells by different parties would be an avenue for future research, but at Nemea it is clear that the functions of the wells may have been controlled more by

⁴⁵⁶ Miller 1979, 89. This empty space within the well is not clearly identified. The top of the well lies at 332.676, and 3.26m of empty space would end at 329.416, which lies within Lot 47 (329.976 to 327.976). According to the notebook, the fill began 3.3m below the foundation block of the wellhead at 329.316 (Claus 1978b, 433). There is no explanation as to why Lot 47, the excavation of the well, began at 329.976.

⁴⁵⁷ Clauss 1978b, 431.

⁴⁵⁸ Miller 1979, 89.

⁴⁵⁹ Miller 1979, 89.

location within the sanctuary rather than any one group of people.

Due to the abundance of artifacts collected from the surface and closing of the well, I included Lot 46 in the study, which became a single context: Well Closing.⁴⁶⁰ It was kept separate from the contents of the well itself to avoid any possible contamination in date. Well M17:2 contained material from the 6th century, present in all excavated layers, thus the distribution of context was determined by the latest datable artifact resulting in three additional contexts: the Upper Fill, the Middle Fill, and the Lower Fill.⁴⁶¹ The Upper Fill contained post-Roman material; the Middle Fill ranged from 6th to Hellenistic; the Lower Fill ranged from the 6th to 4th centuries.

Lower Fill

The Lower Fill has the greatest amount of ceramics at 67.4%, but only comprises about 0.8m at the very bottom of the well. In this context, the ceramics favor the first phase of the festival, especially the 5th century. Adding to the complexity of the Lower Fill is the abundance of utilitarian ware fabrics, many of which contributed to the identification of 11 pitchers. Although six of these pitchers are fairly complete, they cannot be securely dated beyond the general context date of the 6th to 4th centuries.

Through comparisons with the other wells, Nemea as a whole, and nearby Corinth, these pitchers are most likely from the 4th century. When taking these vessels into consideration, the well becomes more balanced between the first and second phases of

⁴⁶⁰ Well Closing - Layer 6, Lot 46. Lot 46 covers 332.556 to 332.341. According to Clauss (1978b, 429), Lot 46 was a rectangular area around the opening of the well, dug partially to allow for the pouring of concrete to support the wellhead stones. Thus the artifacts came from above and around the wellhead but also from below the wellhead.

⁴⁶¹ Upper Fill - Layer 1, Lots 47 and 56; Middle Fill - Layer 2, Lots 48 and 57; Layer 3, Lots 49 and 58; Lower Fill - Layer 4, Lots 50-54; Layer 4/5, Lots 55 and 59.

the festival.

The 4th century ceramic vessels represent a wide range of fabrics and shapes. Only one fine ware vessel is securely dated - a nearly complete one-handled cup (**258; Pl. 29**), missing sherds from the rim and body. Due to the complete state, this cup must have entered the well intact, perhaps breaking upon impact.

Also from the 4th century are vessels in blisterware and kitchenware fabrics. In blisterware is the complete rim and neck of an oinochoe (**259; Fig. 18; Pl. 29**) and a fragment of an aryballos (**260**). It is possible that the rim could also be from an aryballos, and thus both fragments could come from the same vessel.⁴⁶² Blisterware is very fragile, which is why many of these vessels are fragmentary, but the overall percentage of blisterware in the well is very low (about 1.3%). Therefore, it is more likely that these two vessels were damaged prior to deposition. Two nearly identical cooking pots were recovered from the well; one was found intact (**261; Pl. 29**) and the other is nearly complete and reconstructed (**262; Pl. 29**). The exact identification of this vessel shape is difficult as the height appears to fall between a pitcher and cooking pot. The fact that one pot was completely intact means that its deposition in the well was a primary action. Perhaps the cooking pot was used to fetch water or was placed on the wellhead when it fell into the well. A similar narrative can be applied to the second pot as it was almost fully reconstructed, and the high percentage of kitchenware sherds within the well (74% of the Lower Fill) would suggest that the remaining fragments are also in Well M17:2.

⁴⁶² Pemberton notes that while oinochoe are rare in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, those made in blisterware from the 4th century are common, as “it is the most popular shape for this fabric in the Sanctuary, but aryballoi and askoi also appear” (*Corinth XVIII.1, 15-7*).

Thus the blisterware and kitchenware vessels present two distinct narratives for the use of the well. The oinochoe and aryballos were more likely broken within the sanctuary and deposited in the well during a cleaning event. The cooking pots are evidence of primary deposition of vessels into the well, possibly during use of the well to retrieve water for food preparation. These 4th century vessels seem to suggest that Well M17:2 during the second phase of the festival was used as a water source and as a dump site.

Turning to the first phase of the festival, the majority of the ceramic vessels from the 6th and 5th centuries are fine ware drinking vessels. Five kotylai (**265-268, 272**), two skyphoi (**273-274**), and a one-handled cup (**275**) from the 5th century are all identified by their complete bases. Three kotylai handle and rim fragments (**269-271**) may be added to the count and may go with one of the bases. Three more kotylai, one base (**278**) and two handle/rims (**279-280**), may be added to the count when the 6th century examples are included. The number of bases of drinking vessels, seven in total, preserved in the Lower Fill is notable, perhaps an indication of once complete vessels deposited into the well.

The four other vessels from the first phase of the festival are also fine ware and can be grouped by their function as service vessels. This includes the single rim fragment of a lekane (**264; Fig. 18; Pl. 29**), but also a nearly complete 5th century Corinthian oinochoe (**263; Fig. 18**), which was reconstructed from sherds in the Lower Fill.

Additional fragments of another oinochoe were also recovered. This includes a complete rim and handle (**276; Pl. 30**) and a nearly complete base (**277; Fig. 20**). While they are similar in fabric, it is unclear whether they belong to a one or two vessels. The base can be dated to the first half of the 6th century, while the rim and handle segment can range in

date from the the late 6th to early 5th. It is possible that the oinochoai and drinking vessels, especially the Corinthian kotylai, were deposited in the well after use during the festival, becoming part of the ritual narrative of the sanctuary.

While not securely dated, the rim of a krater or lekane (**283; Pl. 30**) decorated with stamped oval on the lip and a rope pattern on the interior of the rim should be discussed with the other fine wares. The decoration and shape are very similar to a rim fragment found in the Well Closing (**213**). Although there is no physical join between the two fragments, the nearly identical decoration argues that they came from the same vessel. If this is so, then the most likely scenario is that the broken vessel was dumped in the well, but some fragments did not quite make it in. Since the rim fragment found in the Lower Fill is fairly small, it is also possible that it moved towards the bottom of the well over time.

The final object that can be dated to the first phase of the festival is the base of a bronze vessel, most likely a hydria (**281**). As with the base fragments from Wells L17:1 and L17:2, this base appears to have been separated from the rest of the vessel, and no other fragments of bronze were recovered from the well.⁴⁶³ The closest stylistic comparison is the bronze base from Well L17:2 (**191**), as both were decorated with fluting on the exterior surface. Due to this similarity, the base likely dates to the 6th/5th century. Since this is the only bronze in the well, the base was more likely to have been thrown in the well at a later date, rather than as evidence of use of the well.⁴⁶⁴ This base

⁴⁶³ The only other metal from the well is a small lump of iron (**296**).

⁴⁶⁴ Miller (1979, 89) suggested that this base be evidence for the second quarter of the 5th century use fill near the bottom of the well. While he states that the use fill was “less than a meter”, he cites Lots 50-55, 59 (Layer 4) as evidence for the fill, which also includes 4th century material.

may be another example of ritual deposition, thrown into the well to represent the dedicated vessel after the original was melted down and reused.

Finally, the kitchenware pitchers need to be examined in more detail. Due to the similarity of pitcher profiles, the full vessel is needed to accurately assign a date. I would argue that the majority of these pitchers date to the 4th century and the second phase of the festival. These pitchers, and the high number of sherds in corresponding fabrics, are more prominent in wells with a greater amount of 4th/3rd century materials. There are two main profiles that appear in the wells, those with a trefoil mouth (**285-291; Pl. 31**) and those with a wide round mouth (**292-293; Fig. 21**). The bottoms range from flat to concave, but all have a globular body and a single oval strap handle attached at the shoulder and rim. There does not appear to be any correspondence between the treatment of the bottom and the type of rim. There are at least six nearly complete examples of the trefoil mouth type, with an addition seventh rim fragment identified.⁴⁶⁵ Trefoil mouth pitchers were not found in Drain 1971-1 in the forum at Corinth, which is dated to the end of the 4th century. The closest comparison are those discussed by Edwards, who identifies two types of trefoil pitchers; Type I has a constricted disc foot and wide pouring aperture, dating to ca. 300 BCE, while Type II has a deep, indented bottom with a narrower pouring aperture, dating to ca. 200 BCE.⁴⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the Nemea examples do not fit this profile as all of them have a flat base rather than the disc foot or concave bottom. While the trefoil mouths are similar, the difference in the lower part of the vessel

⁴⁶⁵ Only two (**285-286**) have been reconstructed, and thus the identification as complete vessels is secure. The others have not been reconstructed, but joins and similarities in fabrics were used to identify individual examples.

⁴⁶⁶ *Corinth* VII.3, 142-3.

may have been a local variation.

Of the wide mouth type, one example is nearly complete and a second example is attested by the rim and several associated body sherds. There are two more handles that could not be joined or associated with the other pitchers (**294-295**). Since these pitchers are characterized by a single handle, the minimum number of pitchers can also be counted by the number of handles present. In the Lower Fill, there are 11 pitchers made in a range of kitchenware fabrics.⁴⁶⁷ In addition to these examples are two nearly complete pitchers of identical shape, but in different fabrics: a trefoil mouth pitcher (**282; Pl. 30**) made in fine ware, though with some inclusions, and a pitcher (**284; Pl. 31**) made in blisterware. The similarities in profiles between these pitchers with those made in kitchenware imply a relationship, perhaps one of imitation. The fine ware and blisterware pitchers may have been produced in Corinth and brought to the sanctuary, where the shape was imitated by local artisans.⁴⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the nearly complete condition of these 13 vessels does suggest that they entered the well intact or nearly so. The fact that bases and handle/rim fragments seem to be equally present in the well suggest that many of these pitchers may have broken during use, especially those in the grittier kitchenware fabrics.

The nearly all of the artifacts from the Lower Fill are ceramic vessels, with many of them almost completely reconstructed. This presents a slightly different picture from

⁴⁶⁷ Due to the overwhelming number of kitchenware fabrics, varying in color and types of inclusions, it is possible that some of these may represent a local production, even at the sanctuary itself. Further study is necessary, but visually, these fabrics appear to be different from those produced in Corinth and Argos.

⁴⁶⁸ I suggest Corinth as the origin for these two pitchers because of the fabrics. The trefoil pitcher is made in a buff clay similar to Corinthian fabrics, while blisterware was commonly produced in Corinth.

the upper levels of this well and two wells in L17. The ability to reconstruct these vessels indicates that they entered the well complete, or broke very close to the well, so that all pieces were easily collected and then thrown into the well. Since the artifacts from the Lower Fill are mixed in date, especially if the pitchers date to the 4th century, then it is possible the well was used as a water source in both periods of the games.

Middle Fill

While the Middle Fill accounts for the greatest depth, around 3.5m, it only accounts for 21.2% of the ceramic total, but has the highest amount of non-ceramic artifacts. The Middle Fill has ceramics that continue to favor the first phase of the festival, especially the 5th century. Artifacts within this context also continue the general patterns found in the other wells. The latest vessels in the Middle Fill have been dated, more generally, to the Hellenistic period because they are utilitarian objects, which tend to use similar shapes and fabrics over time. This includes a rim of a baking dish (**229; Fig. 17**), a plate (**230**), and a pitcher (**231**). While fragmentary, there is a high enough percentage of kitchenware sherds from the Middle Fill that could correspond with these vessels. In addition to these three vessels, there is a rim of a casserole/lopas (**235; Fig. 17**) and a base of a miniature chytra (**236; Fig. 17**) that date to the end of the 4th century. It is likely that the three Hellenistic vessels are closer in date to these other utilitarian ware vessels. Together all five support food preparation taking place within the sanctuary, possibly near the well itself.

Most of the datable pottery is open shape fine ware. Two complete bases of

bowls (232-233) of similar size round out the 4th century vessels.⁴⁶⁹ The most prevalent shape from the 5th century is drinking vessels, including a kotyle (238; Fig. 17; Pl. 27), three cups (239-241), and two mugs (242-243). Aside from two cups, these vessels are represented by only their bases, which means at least four drinking vessels of 5th century date are present in the Middle Fill. This trend continues in the 6th century with two kotylai (247-248) and a cup (249). From the 5th/6th century are two oinochoai (237, 246), and these are the only closed vessels that can be securely dated in fine ware fabric. These remains mirror the patterns in other wells, where a high occurrence of drinking shapes corresponds with a higher number of artifacts from the first phase of the festival.

Three other ceramic artifacts were found in the Middle Fill. A loom weight (234; Pl. 27), which appears to have been divided vertically in half, dates to ca. 350-330 BCE. While not completely smooth, the fracture down the middle of the loom weight seems suspicious, possibly intentional. The two other artifacts are lamp fragments (244-245; Pl. 28), both dating to the 5th century. With an additional lamp fragment from the Upper Fill, it seems like the lamps were deposited into the well in a secondary act. In fact, there are no sign of use accumulation in the Middle Fill.

A few remaining ceramic vessels were identified in shape but are not closely dated. These include a large vertical strap handle of a fine ware amphora/oinochoe (250; Fig. 18), a nearly complete vertical strap handle of a cooking pot (251; Fig. 18), and the rim of a semi-coarse amphora/oinochoe (252; Fig. 18). Their presence does not change the nature of the context, but simply adds additional examples of food preparation and

⁴⁶⁹ The closest comparanda are Corinthian two-handed bowls (*Corinth* VII.6, 114-5), but since no handles can be associated with these bases, I have identified them as bowls.

storage associated with the festival.

Additional artifacts were found in the Middle Fill. A second terracotta stopper (253; **Pl. 28**) was reworked from a pithos or tile of semi-coarse fabric to close the opening of a larger storage vessel. Several small fragments of iron (257), including a possible nail shank, are the only metal objects from the Middle Fill. Three architectural fragments were found. A fragment of a Doric capital (254; **Pl. 28**) and a nearly complete antefix (256; **Pl. 28**) are mostly like to be from the first phase of the festival, probably Classical in date. The antefix is well preserved in shape and decoration with most of its paint preserved. The front face was slipped in a buff color with brownish red to brownish black paint on the palmette with vertical spirals along the sides. In addition to these is a small tile fragment (255; **Pl. 28**) decorated with a meander in brownish black to red paint. The decoration is similar to the simas from Well L17:1 (96; **Pl. 18**) and Well L17:2 (194; **Pl. 24**), and thus may also dates to the 6th/5th century. These are fragmentary and show evidence of wear, especially the capital and tile fragment; all of which indicates that they were deposited into Well M17:2 after being removed from their original context. The fragmentary nature of all the artifacts in the well supports a secondary deposition in the well from cleaning of the sanctuary.

Upper Fill

The Upper Fill of Well M17:2 only represents 11.4% of the total ceramic assemblage, comprising about 2.75m of the well. It is most likely that the Upper Fill and Middle Fill are the same context, but a single sherd of a white glaze ware bowl (219; **Fig. 16; Pl. 26**) dating to the 7th-11th centuries CE, was found within the Upper Fill. No

other sherds of this vessel or of similar date were found in the well, and thus this fragment is most likely an anomaly that may have fallen into the well at a later date.⁴⁷⁰ The only other artifact that may be of a later date is the rim of a glass vessel (**228; Pl. 26**). Nevertheless, due to the presence of later material, the Upper Fill will be kept separate from the Middle Fill.

The ceramic vessels from the Upper Fill are fairly standard regarding the range of shapes and fabrics, but, due to the lower percentage of ceramics, there were fewer datable fragments. The majority of the artifacts date to the 4th century. The vessels include a skyphos (**220**), a blisterware aryballos (**222**), and a lopus (**223**). From the 5th century are a mug (**224**) and a kitchenware pitcher (**225**). A black figure kylix (**226; Fig. 16; Pl. 26**) decorated with a rooster tail from the 6th century rounds out the vessels from the Upper Fill. As expected, the shapes range from drinking to food preparation.

Along with the vessels were two other ceramic finds. A lamp fragment (**221; Pl. 26**) from the middle of the 4th century is the latest datable lamp from Well M17:2, making this the second highest number of lamps after Well L17:2, which had four. The other artifact is a thick ceramic stopper (**227**), likely fashioned from a tile fragment. The stopper, circular in shape, was fashioned to close the top of a vessel, such as an amphora. No other types of materials were present, other than the single glass rim. The Upper Fill is probably a product of mostly secondary deposition of artifacts into the Well M17:2.

Well Closing

The excavation around the wellhead may provide some possible context for the

⁴⁷⁰ This is not surprising given the way in which the well was sealed in the 3rd century.

closing or possibly the construction of the well, since the excavators dug into Layer 6 to pour concrete to stabilize the wellhead. The artifacts from this context range from the 6th century to the 3rd/2nd century. Two fragments of moldmade bowls are the latest datable artifacts; one is decorated with an ivy-leaf guilloche (**205; Fig. 15; Pl. 25**), while the other is decorated with lotus petals (**206; Fig. 15; Pl. 25**). Due to their fragmentary nature, these two sherds can only be generally dated to the 3rd to 2nd century. The majority of the ceramics date to the 4th century, including: a pitcher (**207**), a salt-cellar (**208**), and a blisterware aryballos (**210**). From the end of the 5th to 4th century is the base of a bowl (**211**) and a skyphos from the 6th century (**212**). A krater or deep lekane (**213; Fig. 16; Pl. 25**) rim with stamped ovolo pattern proves difficult to date.⁴⁷¹ The closest parallels are kraters from the Athenian Agora in gray ware, which have been found in mixed contexts.⁴⁷² Each vessel represents a slightly different activity, though the majority is related to dining, with the aryballos more often associated with personal activities.

In addition to the ceramic vessels, a nearly complete conical loom weight was found (**209; Pl. 25**), which also dates to the 4th century. While over 70 loom weights have been found at Nemea, only eight were found in the wells.⁴⁷³ This loom weight is one of two associated with Well M17:2. Along with the ceramic objects is the moulding fragment (**214; Pl. 25**) and column (**215; Pl. 25**) used to close the well. Both are very

⁴⁷¹ This fragment is very similar to another found in the Lower Fill of Well M17:2 ().

⁴⁷² Rotroff (*Agora* XXIX, 235) notes that the “overhanging rim with impressed ovolo is particularly characteristic.”

⁴⁷³ The majority of the loom weights have been found in the central area of the sanctuary, around the xenon and the houses with a few found near the hero shrine and temple.

battered and damaged, which indicates that they may have been long out of use prior to their deposition in the well mouth.⁴⁷⁴ A small terracotta mold (**216; Pl. 25**), fragments of iron (**217**), and the rim of a glass vessel (**218**) round out the artifacts found around the wellhead. Most of these artifacts date to the second phase of the festival and support the conclusion that activity around the well ended about the same time as the end of the second phase.

Overview

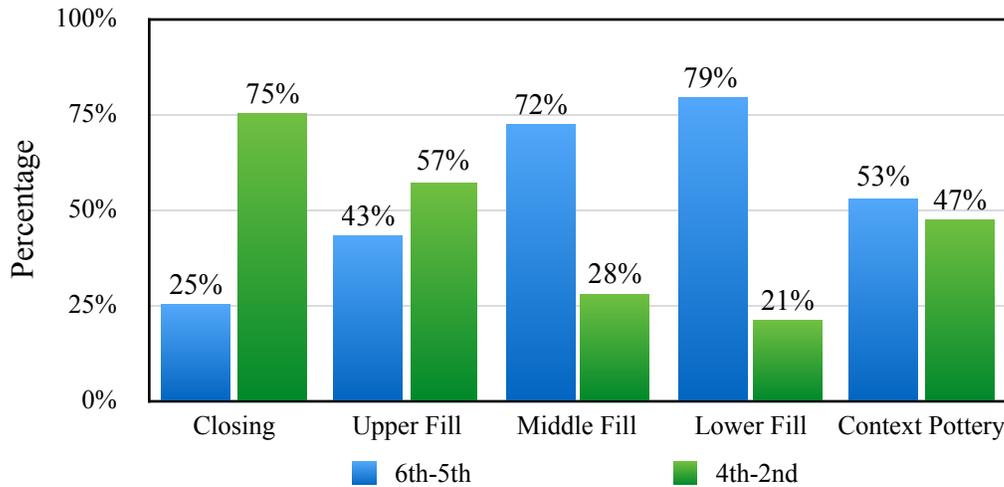
Well M17:2 is the only one of the ten wells with four contexts. Aside from the Well Closing, three different contexts were identified in the well: the Upper Fill, which had possible post Roman activity, the Middle Fill, which saw activity into the Hellenistic period, and the Lower Fill, which seemed to center on the two main periods of the festival activity.⁴⁷⁵ When looking at the ceramic evidence, most notable is that complete vessels were found only in the Lower Fill. Therefore, unlike Wells L17:1 and L17:2, Well M17:2 preserves more evidence of use and primary deposition of materials.

The distribution of artifacts within Well M17:2 must be examined in two ways. When comparing the distribution between the two phases within the individual fills, it appears that the second phase is more abundant in the upper half of the well, while the lower half preferences the first phase (**Chart 7**). This would suggest that the lower part of the well could represent some use in the first phase of the festival with 4th-2nd century

⁴⁷⁴ What remains unclear is the exact relationship between these two architectural fragments and the upper part of the well. The column and moulding fragments were used to fill in the opening of the well, fairly close to the surface. Recalling that the well itself was found to be empty for the first 3.26m, these fragments and other stones must have been forced into the mouth of the well to seal the opening.

⁴⁷⁵ While other wells have a lot associated with the closing of the well, Well M17:2 is the only one that appears to have been isolated to the area around the wellhead. Other excavated areas around the mouth of the wells were not as clearly defined and thus are not included in my catalog and study.

Chart 7: Well M17:2 Distribution of Artifacts by Date



ceramics entering the well when it was closed, which are represented by the Upper Fill and Closing. But when the ceramics that were not securely dated, notably the kitchenware pitchers, are added to the Lower Fill, the distribution changes. 6th and 5th century pottery decreases from 79% to 53% of the Lower Fill, meanwhile the 4th to 2nd century pottery increases from 21% to 47%. In this case, the fill more likely was deposited in the second phase of the festival, with 6th and 5th century material included. Most telling is that the well was likely closed after the festival left Nemea in the 3rd century.

When paired with fabric distribution, the domestic wares are the most prevalent at 67.5% compared to 31% for the fine wares (**Chart 8**). A slight increase of blisterware, 1.4%, from the first two wells may also reflect the 4th and 3rd century use of the well. Of the types cataloged, regardless of date, the fine ware drinking shapes dominate the assemblage with 28 examples, 57% of the fine wares (**Table 3**). The kitchenware pitchers, a total of 13, represent 59% of the domestic wares. The general trend at Nemea is that wells with a majority of the artifacts dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries have a

Chart 8: Well M17:2 Fabric Distribution

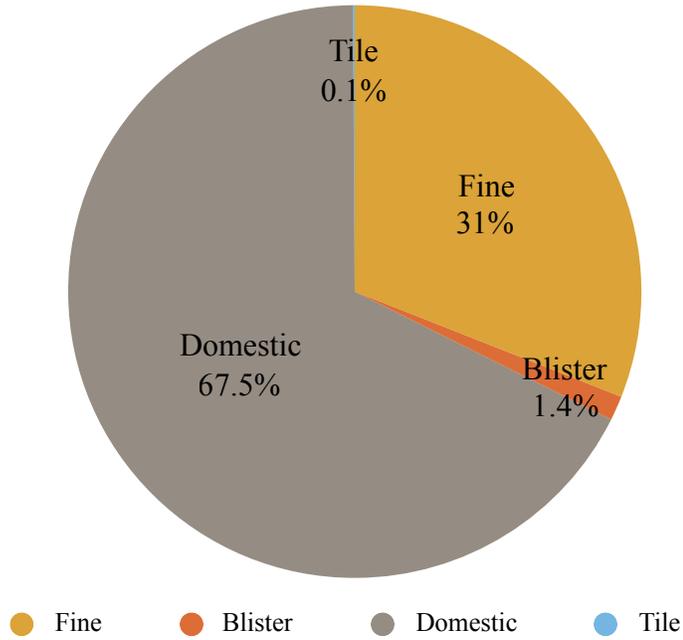


Table 3: Well M17:2 Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

	Closing	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
Fine Wares (Total: 49)					
Amphora					0
Hydria					0
Oinochoe/ Decanter			3	3	6
Pitcher	1			1	2
Olpe					0
Krater	1			1	2
Lekane				1	1
Basin					0
Kylix		1			1
Kotyle			3	11	14
Skyphos	1	1		2	4
Cup			4		4
Kantharos					0
One Handled Cup				2	2
Mug		1	2		3

Bowl	1	1	2		4
Mold Made Bowl	2				2
Salt-cellar	1				1
Saucer					0
Plate					0
Lekythos/ Araballos					0
Unguentarium					0
Askos					0
Strainer Pot					0
Pyxis					0
Kalathiskos					0
Miniature					0
Lamp		1	2		3
Blister Wares (Total: 5)					
Amphora					0
Oinochoe				2	2
Aryballos	1	1		1	3
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 22)					
Amphora			1		1
Hydria					0
Pitcher		1	1	11	13
Lekane					0
Chytra			1		1
Lopas		1	1		2
Dish/Plate			2		2
Pot			1	2	3
Lid					0
Pithos					0
Mortar					0
Well Total	8	8	23	37	76

higher percentage of domestic ware compared to fine ware.⁴⁷⁶ Moreover, the reverse may also hold true; a well with more domestic wares should date in the second phase of the festival. Nevertheless, the clearest evidence for well activity is the overwhelming number of nearly complete or complete pitchers and cooking pots that date to the 4th century. Therefore, a large portion of the assemblage in Well M17:2 was deposited through use and activity around the well in the second phase of the festival, with a smaller amount of material entering through secondary depositional events.

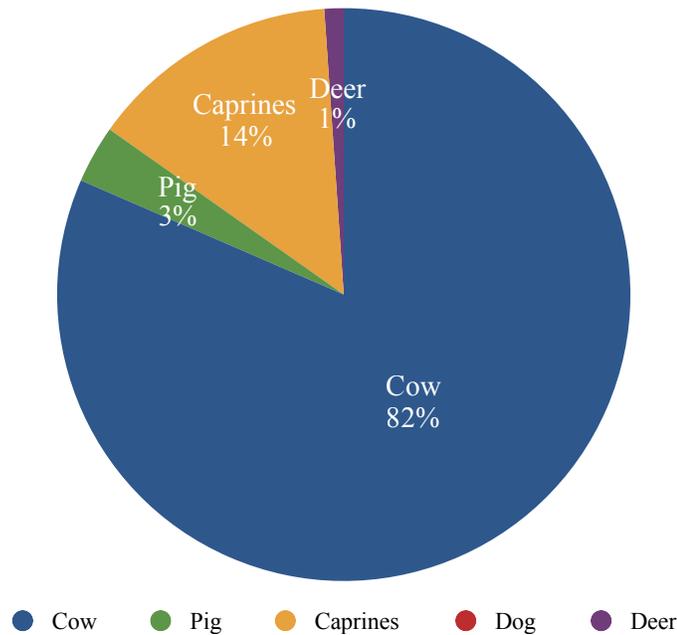
The final factor to consider for the well is the abundance of faunal material recovered. The animal bones found were concentrated in the Lower Fill. A small amount was recovered from the Well Closing, but, due to their small size, only two were identified.⁴⁷⁷ Although none were found in the Upper Fill, 15 bones were identified in the Middle Fill, none were collected through sifting. In comparison, 80 fragments were identified in the Lower Fill. When considering the well, 82% of the fragments could be identified as cow (**Chart 9**). The next largest group is caprine (14%) followed by pig (3%) and deer (1%) at a much smaller percentage. Looking more specifically at the cow fragments, the minimum number of individuals is three, including one young and two adults.⁴⁷⁸ The size and number of fragments indicates that these remains were purposefully thrown into the well. This is especially true when considering that the

⁴⁷⁶ There are three wells that do not adhere to this trend. Wells O16:1 and 17:1 preference 4th century and fine wares, but these two wells were possibly one time use wells or even aborted attempts at a well and did not have the same type of deposition. The third well is Well N17:2, which also preferences 4th century and fine wares, but as a well specifically used with the kiln, its function is different than the others.

⁴⁷⁷ J. Meier (pers. comm.) compiled this data taking all samples into consideration, and thus I cannot remove data included from the Well Closing. But since there were only two identified fragments, it would not have a significant impact on the analysis.

⁴⁷⁸ J. Meier (pers. comm.) notes that at least one of the adults is female.

Chart 9: Well M17:2 Species Abundance



majority are large animals that could not have simply fallen into the well by accident.

The cow and caprine fragments must be the remains from sacrifice and feasts associated with the festival. In addition, the majority of these bones were found throughout the Lower Fill and can be associated with the pitchers and cooking pots, further evidence for food preparation occurring within close proximity of Well M17:2.⁴⁷⁹ Since these vessels date to the second phase of the festival, the faunal remains are probably contemporary.

Thus the artifacts and animal bones from the Lower Fill work together to reconstruct the type of activity occurring in the area around the well.

The history of Well M17:2 is most likely as follows. Since there are mostly fragmentary artifacts that date to the first phase of the festival, it is possible that this well was dug prior to the reestablishment of the games in the end of the 4th century. Unlike other wells, there are no architectural fragments at the bottom of the well that would

⁴⁷⁹ If a larger concentration of them were associated with the Middle or Upper Fill, then it could be argued that these bones were gathered up from the sanctuary and deposited in the well as it was deliberately filled.

indicate a deposition of material from sanctuary cleaning. The majority of the artifacts from the Lower Fill is complete or nearly complete vessels from the 4th century. While some earlier material may have found its way into the bottom of the well, such as the bronze base, the majority of it accumulated by use of the well during the second phase of the festival. When the games returned to Argos in ca. 270 BCE, the well would fall out of use. At some point, either around this time or perhaps later in the 3rd century, the well was used as a dump, where fragmentary ceramics and architectural elements from the first and second phases of the festival entered the well through secondary deposition. This activity most likely explains both the Middle and Upper Fills, as all artifacts of the Upper Fill correspond to the dates of the festival except the single post-Roman sherd.⁴⁸⁰ Finally, the well was deliberately closed with larger architectural elements found within the sanctuary, effectively ending its use as a water source and/or dump.

Well K14:4

Well K14:4 is the only one in this study located close to the temple, lying near the SW corner. (**Plan 1; Pl. 6b**) Two wells were dug very close to one another in a N-S alignment; Well K14:4 is the more southerly one.⁴⁸¹ It was the third well discovered in 1978 with its mouth deliberately sealed in antiquity with a heavy stone and smaller stone packing (**Fig. 2b**).⁴⁸² The well mouth was formed by five worked blocks around a

⁴⁸⁰ While one sherd is not evidence of Early Christian or Byzantine activity within Well M17:2, I chose to keep that layer separate from the rest of the possible 'fill' layers for security.

⁴⁸¹ Well K14:3 is the northern well, closer to the temple, but the contents all date to the 3rd and 4th century CE. Therefore, it is not included in this study of the well.

⁴⁸² Miller 1979, 77-81; see also Lewis 1978.

diameter of 0.88m (**Pl. 7a**).⁴⁸³ The well wall was lined with rubble to its bottom at 8.05m, where its diameter expanded to 1.46m.⁴⁸⁴ The well was empty for the first 1.67m.⁴⁸⁵ A surface cleaning was excavated but this lot was not included in the study as it had very little historical material, some of which was discarded.⁴⁸⁶

In the *Hesperia* publication of the well, there is no discussion of Layers 1-4 (Lots 122-128). Miller begins with Layer 5 (Lots 129-138), about 5.25m below the mouth of the well.⁴⁸⁷ Problematic is his association of these different lots, which were excavated as a single layer, to separate depositional events: closing of the well; deliberate filling of architectural debris associated with turmoil; and a use phase.⁴⁸⁸ Miller dates the closing to the late Hellenistic period due to the presence of two inscriptions (**352; 410**), but also a boukranion (**403; Pl. 41**) and bronze locket (**406; Pl. 41**).⁴⁸⁹ The architectural/epigraphic debris layer was dated to the 240s BCE or later and was associated with the violent, anti-

⁴⁸³ Miller 1979, 77.

⁴⁸⁴ Miller 1979, 77.

⁴⁸⁵ According to Lewis (1978, 557), Lot 121 began at the surface with an elevation of 332.18 and closed at 329.99. They concentrated on a specific area around the well, 2.0 x 1.50 rectangle (Lewis 1978, 429.) It is most likely that Lot 121 dug to an elevation of 329.99 around the outside of the well. Complicating this conclusion is the section drawing provided by Lewis, in which Lot 121 appears that it may have been located within the well. Miller's report (1979, 77) states that the top of the well was empty for the first 1.67m to an elevation of 329.98. Thus it is possible that the artifacts from Lot 121 may have come from the surface around the well, rather than from within the well itself. This assumes that by 'empty' Miller means devoid of soil and artifacts; Lewis' notebook entry for the lot does not shed any additional light.

⁴⁸⁶ Lewis 1978, 557. My study of the remains suggested a mixed date of 5th to 3rd century, but most characteristic was the high percentage of blisterware sherds present within this lot, possibly suggesting a date more aligned with the 4th and 3rd centuries.

⁴⁸⁷ Lots 129-138 were all assigned a top elevation of 326.41 and a bottom elevation of 323.71. From the lot summaries, it is clear that the excavated buckets were assigned to the lots, but no explanation for these attribution was given. Miller 1979, 78.

⁴⁸⁸ According to Miller (1979, 78), the abandonment or deliberate filling occurred between 325.16 and 323.86. Since there is no recorded difference in elevation for the lots within Layer 5, the deliberate filling cannot be matched to specific lot contents. Recalling that Layer 5 ranges from 326.41 to 323.71, the elevations would dictate that that the first 1.25m (326.41 to 325.16) of Layer 5 would represent the closing event, followed by 1.3m (325.16 to 323.86) of deliberate fill; and finally a possible use phase in the remaining 0.15m (323.86 to 323.71) of the layer.

⁴⁸⁹ Miller 1979, 77. There is no way to date the boukranion, nor is there any clear parallel for the bronze locket. Thus the dating for Miller is solely based upon the date of the two inscriptions.

Argive shift of the games back to Nemea by Aratos of Sikyon in 235 BCE. Miller even argues that this layer represents “Aratos dumping Argive monuments and inscriptions down the well.”⁴⁹⁰ He continues by citing the presence of bronze objects at the bottom of Layer 5 as evidence of water vessels showing that “immediately before the architectural/epigraphic debris were dumped into the well, there was a period of use which included many bronze pots.”⁴⁹¹ Though as will be seen below, none of these bronze objects are complete vessels, rather they are individual fragments. Finally, the report concludes with a brief discussion of Lot 139 at the very bottom of the well, attributed to the original period of use during the late 4th century.⁴⁹² There is no clarification between the difference in the “original” period of use and the period of use associated with the bronze pots.

The artifacts do support at least two depositional events, and thus for this study, Well K14:4 has been divided into two contexts: the Upper Fill and the Lower Fill.⁴⁹³ The Upper Fill ranges in date from 6th century to Roman suggesting disturbance or a possible later cleaning event, while the Lower Fill dates from the middle of the 5th to 3rd century, preserving artifacts from both periods of the festival. Overall, Well K14:4 preserves the shift of more artifacts dating to the revival period, but also represents a unique distribution of artifacts from the first phase due to its proximity to the temple.

⁴⁹⁰ Miller 1979, 80.

⁴⁹¹ Miller 1979, 80.

⁴⁹² Miller 1979, 81. Elevations show that Lot 139 (Layer 6) ranges from 323.71 to 323.61, only 0.10m in depth. According to Lewis (1978, 457), the layer was changed “because pottery seems earlier, or at least... clearly 4th c. B.C., and [soil] seems more tightly packed though not clearly of different consistency.”

⁴⁹³ Upper Fill - Layer 1, Lots 122 and 123; Layer 2, Lots 124 and 125; Layer 3, Lots 126 and 127; Layer 4, Lot 128.

Lower Fill - Layer 5, Lots 129-138; Layer 6, Lot 139.

Lower Fill

The Lower Fill is the lowest 2.8m of the well and represents 94.3% of the total ceramic assemblage, ranging from the 5th to middle of the 3rd centuries. The latest datable artifacts range in date within the Hellenistic period and are dominated by fine ware vessels. A fragment of a pitcher/amphora (310) is the single closed shape. The open vessels include larger service shapes, a bowl (311; Fig. 22), a lekane (312; Fig. 22; Pl. 32), and a saucer/plate (313; Fig. 22; Pl. 32); all are bases and thus represent the minimum number of three fine ware vessels from the early Hellenistic period. The remaining 3rd century vessels are drinking, open shapes, a skyphos (314; Fig. 22), a nearly complete kantharos/cup (315; Pl. 32) with three additional kantharoi (316-318), a reconstructed bowl (319; Pl. 33) and the base of a small bowl (320; Fig. 22; Pl. 33). The knob of a cooking ware lid (321) is the only example of a vessel that can date to this later period not in fine ware. This vessel distribution is similar to what is found for the 4th century, with the majority being open shapes.

In addition to the ceramics were a few other artifacts from the Hellenistic period. Several fragments of a terracotta sima (322; Pl. 33) were joined together, yet it is not complete. It was made in a semi-coarse fabric and painted with a white slip and reddish brown paint. Both the production and decoration suggest a later date, probably in the Hellenistic period. It is not similar to any of the architectural elements from the sanctuary that date to the first phase of the festival, thus most likely belong to the second phase. Building construction occurred within the sanctuary from the end of the 4th

century into the 3rd century, which is probably when this sima should be dated.⁴⁹⁴ The other artifacts are coins. A silver hemidrachm (**323**) with a dove on the obverse and a Σ on the reverse. The combination of a dove and sigma identifies it as a Sikyonian coin from the Hellenistic period.⁴⁹⁵ From Egypt is a bronze coin of Ptolemy III Euergetes (**324**) from the end of the 3rd century. This is one of two coins of Ptolemy III, as another one was found in the Upper Fill (**302**). The third coin is also bronze (**325**) but is illegible. Due to the other coins found in the well, especially the Ptolemy III coins, it was dated to the 3rd century, though this is not a secure identification, it can still aid in dating the well.⁴⁹⁶ The fragmentary sima may indicate a longer life of the well, as it is more likely a secondary deposition rather than primary. The coins, which can easily move within the well, also indicate later 3rd century activity, perhaps relating to the attempt by Aratos of Sikyon to return the games to the Nemean sanctuary.

In the 4th century, the ceramic vessels continue to be mostly fine ware, open shapes. Two possible Corinthian B amphorae (**326-327**; **Fig. 23**) were found in the well. While there may be several additional fragments within the well, there were no joins between the two cataloged examples, which is why they were given two numbers. Three oinochoai were found in the well. One was reconstructed from several fragments (**328**; **Pl. 34**) but is still missing the upper part of the vessel. It appears to be an imitation of a blisterware oinochoe, due to the type of gray wash that was applied over the orange

⁴⁹⁴ The last building to be finished seems to have been the xenon.

⁴⁹⁵ Knapp places the coin under his 'Unidentified Dove/Wreath type' and dates this coin to after 146 BCE, probably 1st century BCE based upon Warren's publication of Sikyonian coins (*Nemea III*, 143).

⁴⁹⁶ *Nemea III* places it as an illegible coin in the general 4th to 1st century range, but the context allowed Knapp to date it to the middle of the 3rd century. He also notes that it may be from a Macedonian king or Ptolemy (174).

fabric, resulting in the color scheme often found on blisterware vessels. It was decorated on its shoulder with rouletting and ivy leaf patterns, a common motif for blisterware oinochoai from Corinth.⁴⁹⁷ The two other oinochoai are fragmentary: one is a complete base with part of the lower body (**329; Fig. 23; Pl. 33**) and the other is part of a rim (**330; Fig. 23**). The final closed shape is a nearly reconstructed askos (**343; Pl. 35**). One other askos was found in Well L17:1 but is only preserved in a single sherd, thus this is the most complete example of an askos in any of the ten wells. It is unique both in shape and preservation. There is a high probability that the remaining fragments can be found in the sherds. The askos and oinochoe with ivy are the two most complete examples but not vessels used for fetching water due to their small mouths. Thus, they may have entered the well complete, breaking upon impact, or were broken and later deposited with the majority of their fragments. The askos, especially, may have been a personal dedication, later deposited into the well.

The remaining ceramics are drinking or service vessels in fine ware. This includes three skyphoi (**331-333**), three kantharoi (**334-336**), a mug (**337**), three bowls (**338-340**), a saucer (**341**) and a fish plate (**342**). A few of these vessels deserve a more detailed discussion. One of the skyphoi (**331; Pl. 34**) is nearly complete having been reconstructed from several fragments, while the other two are bases. Two kantharoi are complete, having been mended from fragments; one (**334; Pl. 34**) is almost complete and decorated with incised grooves framing a scroll pattern, while the other (**335; Pl. 34**) is still missing about half but decorated with four palmettes within rouletting on the floor.

⁴⁹⁷ Specifically see *Corinth* VII.3, p. 149, no. 777, pl. 64 for design.

Both date to the end of the 4th century. The presence of both skyphoi and kantharoi are to be expected in the 4th century as the kantharos begins to grow in popularity as the main drinking vessel. The fish plate (**342; Pl. 35**) is very much reconstructed, but the central depression and overhanging rim are preserved, which are characteristic of the shape and date it to the middle of the 4th century. While several of these vessels are nearly complete, the fragmentary nature of the others suggests multiple depositional events - intentional and accidental.

Also from the 4th century are several blisterware vessels; all are closed shapes as is common with blisterware fabrics. A large oinochoe (**345; Pl. 35**) with a complete base and several fragments of the lower body is the best preserved example. It is very possible that additional fragments could be found within the well among the blisterware sherds. In addition to the pitcher, the blisterware includes a Corinthian A amphora (**344; Fig. 24; Pl. 35**) and two aryballoi (**346-347; Fig. 24**). Although blisterware only accounts for 2% of the total ceramic assemblage, Well K14:4 has the greatest amount of identifiable blisterware vessels. In addition to these four, two more are from the Lower Fill but date to the 5th century and are discussed below.

Coins and inscriptions are the final artifacts that date to the 4th century. Both coins are Corinthian with the Pegasus on the obverse but slightly different on the reverse. One coin (**348**) has the trident on the reverse with a date of ca. 335-306 BCE. The other coin (**349**) has the trident on the reverse with an *M* to the left and a wreath to the right. This coin dates to ca. 306-303 BCE. Three inscription fragments found in the well can be dated to the 4th century based upon their content. The first (**350; Pl. 35**) was mended

from three pieces but is still fragmentary, square in shape, and records an Argive decree honoring the people of Aspendos with privileges at the sanctuary.⁴⁹⁸ In Stroud's study of the inscription, he notes that the *theoroi* from Aspendos, in southwestern Turkey, were sent to Nemea to sacrifice to Zeus and to Argos to present offerings to Argive Hera, and this honor permits them to share in these activities with the Argives.⁴⁹⁹ The second inscription (**351**) is also fragmentary, made from limestone, and preserves worked surfaces on both sides but text on one face. It records an inscription regarding the *theoroi*, who were the official ambassadors that announced the festival.⁵⁰⁰ The most interesting thing about this inscription is that it physically joins to a smaller fragment found two years prior to the excavation of the well, about 40m to the east. The smaller fragment joins at the bottom and preserves the letters AKAPN. Thus, this inscription preserves several acts. First, it was installed in the sanctuary, probably in the end of the 4th century. Then at some point in the 3rd century, when the inscription no longer held importance, it was taken down and perhaps destroyed. While a large fragment ended up in the well, possibly soon after it was removed from the sanctuary, it was not thrown into the well in its entirety, as smaller portions were strewn around. It is worth noting that none of the inscriptions found in any of the ten wells is complete.

The third inscription (**352; Pl. 36**) is a marble stele, broken at top, with two columns of text in at least two different hands. The inscription records a list of names and towns divided into geographical regions presenting the *theorodokoi*, who received

⁴⁹⁸ Miller (1979, 78, n. 15) notes that there are similarities between this text and inscriptions from Argos; see also Stroud 1984.

⁴⁹⁹ Stroud 1984, 203.

⁵⁰⁰ Miller 1979, 77-8.

and hosted the *theoroi*, of the Nemean Games.⁵⁰¹ Miller has suggested several dates, all in the end of the 4th century, but settles on the festival of 323/2 BCE.⁵⁰² As with the other two inscriptions, its fragmentary condition suggests it was broken prior to being thrown into Well K14:4 as much of the inscription is still missing. Like the inscriptions found in Well L17:1, these fragments were deposited into the well after they no longer needed to be on display. The inscriptions and the coins both show that the sanctuary was active when the festival returned but are not direct evidence for use of the well. Rather they suggest that the well remained open for disposal into the end of the 3rd century.⁵⁰³

Turning to first phase of the festival, there are a number of 5th century artifacts. There is nothing from the well that could securely be dated to the 6th century, although a few artifacts have been dated to the 6th/5th century, specifically the bronze elements. The 5th century ceramic artifacts are similar to those from the 4th century with only fine ware and blisterware present, though the overall quantity of datable vessels is less. In fine ware, there are two oinochoai (353-354) represented by two different rim profiles, a kantharos (355), three mugs (356-358), and two salt-cellars (359-360; Fig. 24). One of the mugs (356; Pl. 36) has been reconstructed from several fragments but is still missing parts of the body, rim, and handle. It is similar in shape, with a low disc foot and baggy body, to many other mugs found in the wells and Nemea.⁵⁰⁴ Two blisterware oinochoai

⁵⁰¹ Miller (1988) provides the full text and commentary for the inscription.

⁵⁰² Miller (1988, 160-1) suggests a date between 331 and 310 BCE due to prosopographical evidence, which he narrows to two periods of time, either 331-325 or 323-315.

⁵⁰³ I would not go so far as Miller, suggesting that this is evidence of Aratos disposing of Argive monuments when he tried to restore the games in 235 BCE. While the inscriptions and coins can support return of activity around the time of Aratos' restoration attempt, there is no way to assign an exact date to the deposition of them in the well.

⁵⁰⁴ The closest parallel to a mug from a well is 433 from Well E18, though it is similar to at least four other examples from Nemea.

could be identified by the difference in body decoration. One fragment (**361; Fig. 25**) has raised circle on the shoulder of the vessel; while the other (**362; Fig. 25**) is decorated with thick, vertical ribbing. These two types of decoration would not appear on the same vessel, thus there are at least two blisterware oinochoai present in the well. With the exception of the reconstructed mug, which could possibly date to the 4th century, all the remains from the 5th century are fragmentary, and thus indicate secondary deposition in the well.⁵⁰⁵ It is not likely from these remains that there is evidence for use of the well in the first phase of the festival.

The bronze artifacts generally date to the 6th/5th centuries. Eight bronze fragments in total were found in the Lower Fill. Three (**363-365; Pl. 36**) are very similar in size and profile to the bronze bases found in Wells L17:1 and L17:2, especially the complete hydria. For this reason, these three have been identified as bases of hydria. Two more bases (**366-367; Pl. 37**) were found but have a different profile than those of the hydria, instead they may belong to a kantharos and a bucket. Several handles were also found in the well. Two (**368; Pl. 37**) were cataloged as a single entry because they are identical in size and shape, most likely from a single vessel. Two more handles (**369-370**) were also found complete with only small chips at the ends. These are all possibly from a bucket shaped vessel as the ends of the handles curve up, like modern day bucket handles. Finally, an intact rim of a vessel (**371; Pl. 38**) rounds out the bronze fragments of vessels that date to the 6th/5th century. While Miller suggested that “these artifacts were originally parts of water vessels and show that ...there was a period of use

⁵⁰⁵ The mug would be comfortable in the end of the 5th or the 4th century.

which included many bronze pots,” it seems unlikely that these are evidence of bronze pots used to fetch water from the well.⁵⁰⁶ As with the bronzes found in Well L17:1, Well K14:4 does not have other bronze fragments that would correspond with these vessels. Like the inscribed hydria, I suggest that these are fragments of dedicated vessels that were later recycled, leaving a single part behind to stand in for the whole. The rim and two bases show some evidence of breakage from the original vessel, while the hydria bases do not. This suggests that these fragments more likely were the result of intentional separation rather than accidental breakage. How these fragments were deposited into the well is especially relevant when considering the proximity to the temple. Not only is Well K14:4 the closest well that dates to when the festivals were occurring, but it is also the closest to the temple. If these bronzes were once dedications to Zeus, then ritual deposition in a well close to the temple would carry more sacred weight.

Finally, there are several artifacts that could only be dated generally by the context of the well. The ceramics represent a wider range of fabrics than seen in the dated examples. A partially reconstructed pointed amphora (**372; Pl. 38**), missing over a third of the body and everything above the shoulder, and a hydria (**373; Fig. 25**) are the only closed, fine ware vessels. The open, fine ware shapes include a kantharos (**374; Fig. 25**), a reconstructed bowl (**375; Pl. 38**) and a fragmentary bowl (**376; Fig. 25; Pl. 38**). Aside from the amphora, these artifacts do not provide new information about the well. The amphora most likely was used for a single festival to provide oil or wine and then disposed of. The others were clearly deposited into the well through secondary

⁵⁰⁶ Miller 1979, 80.

deposition.

Fourteen utilitarian ware vessels were cataloged from the well. The majority of these, while reconstructed, are not complete. Many of these most likely date to the 4th or 3rd centuries but are difficult to date since the profiles rarely change. If these are local productions, even from the sanctuary itself, nuances in the profile that could be used to date vessels at other sites are not helpful for these examples. A single example of an amphora (**377, Fig. 25; Pl. 38**) preserves the upper part of the vessel. A complete handle (**389**) was cataloged because it was the only horizontal handle in kitchenware from the whole of the well, suggesting a different vessel type, such as a pot or hydria. The rim of a cooking ware pot (**390**) preserves the lipless rim with interior flange. This is one of the only examples from the well of a cooking vessel. These three fragments suggest some variety in the vessel types used within the sanctuary and more likely represent secondary deposition in the well.

The pitchers cataloged for the well deserve some individual treatment; the minimum number of pitchers is 11. Three pitchers (**378-380; Pl. 30**) were reconstructed from several fragments during the excavation; these pitchers preserve the upper part of the vessel from the rim to the shoulder and the handle. All three are in slightly different fabrics and have slightly different profiles that demonstrate the variations in shape that can occur. I was able to identify at least eight more pitchers by joins and fabric similarities among the diagnostic parts of the vessel. Additional body sherds are surely present within the well assemblage, as utilitarian ware fabrics account for 59% of the total ceramic assemblage (**Chart 11**). Two pitchers (**381; Fig. 25; 382; Pl. 39**) have

concave bases, strap handles attached at the shoulder and rim, one of which has a horizontal lip and the other is rounded. A third pitcher (**383; Fig. 26; Pl. 39**) has a concave base and a trefoil rim, but no identified handle. Three additional pitchers (**384-386; Fig. 26; Pl. 39**) were identified by their concave bases. It is possible that one of these bases matches one of the pitchers above without a base, but without physical joins it cannot be said for certain. Two final pitchers (**387; Fig. 26; 388; Pl. 39**) were cataloged, again preserving only the upper part of the vessel. Thus, at least 11 kitchenware pitchers were found in the well with differences in fabric and profile. Because of the many joins among the range of fabrics, it is most likely that the pitchers broke during use of the well or broke nearby the well and were deposited as a broken vessel. As with Well M17:2, this high quantity of kitchenware vessels most likely date to the second phase of the festival and perhaps suggest that water jugs were frequently broken and replaced during the festival cycle.

The final ceramic vessels from the well are semi-coarse examples. Two amphora fragments (**392-393**) and a reconstructed mortar (**394; Pl. 40**) were cataloged but no clear comparanda was found. The mortar, while reconstructed, is still missing the majority of the vessel, but the unique fabric would make any additional sherds stand out. As none did, the current state is most likely all that was deposited in the well. Similar to the other utilitarian ware vessels, these fragments were deposited in the well during a secondary event, such as cleaning between festivals.

The non-ceramic artifacts that remain range in both material and type. A bronze coin (**395**), the sixth in the Lower Fill, is complete but illegible. If it entered the well

with any of the other coins found, then it most likely dates to the 4th or 3rd century. A bull's horn (**403; Pl. 41**) was cataloged during excavation; its significance will be discussed later with the rest of the faunal remains. Several unique bronze objects were recovered from the well. Two possible weights (**404; Pl. 41; 405; Pl. 42**) and a locket (**406; Pl. 42**) are nearly complete with only a little damage. While the weights may have been used in the sanctuary, the locket could have been a personal dedication. Two identical bronze objects (**407; Pl. 42**), possibly attachments of a larger object, eight nearly identical rings (**408; Pl. 42**) and a single fragment of bronze (**409**) round out the bronze artifacts from the well. Some iron objects were also deposited in the well. A complete ring (**413**) and 34 fragments of iron (**414**), mostly nails, were found. The most notable iron artifact is the nearly complete, mended, sword (**412; Pl. 43**). During the excavation, the sword was dated to the 4th or 3rd century, which Miller used to support the violent events that occurred in the sanctuary.⁵⁰⁷ The presence of the sword in the sanctuary, let alone the well, cannot support any violent event. This is the only sword found at Nemea, and it is more likely to have been a dedication, rather than the remains of troubled times.⁵⁰⁸ Overall, Well K14:4 had more metal objects than any of the other wells. This may be a result of its proximity to the temple, if some of these objects began as dedications before their final deposition in the well.

Several architectural features were found in the Lower Fill. Two column

⁵⁰⁷ Miller (1979, 80) states that the “troubled nature of this period, as suggested by the [architectural/epigraphical debris layer] itself, is emphasized by the sword.”

⁵⁰⁸ A recent (2016) study conducted by J. Kysela suggests that the sword may be Celtic in origin or have Celtic connections. He argues that the sword dates to the 4th to mid. 3rd century, connecting it to the Celtic present in the Greek world at that time (pers. comm.).

fragments (396-397; **Pl. 40**) are of limestone and were not complete, as one is unfluted and the other is partially fluted. A Corinthian capital (398; **Pl. 40**) and a Doric capital (399; **Pl. 41**) are both fragmentary and possibly unfinished. The Corinthian capital more likely dates to the 4th to 3rd century, while the Doric capital may be slightly earlier. In terracotta, an antefix (400; **Pl. 41**) with floral motif, a sima molding (401; **Pl. 41**) with lotus, palmette, meander, and bead and reel decoration, and a roof tile (402; **Pl. 41**) are more likely to date from the first phase of the festival when compared to other architectural elements found in the wells. It appears that these architectural elements represent both phases of the festival. The four stone architectural elements do not appear to be completely carved, while the terracotta elements are broken from a larger architectural features. But the stone columns and capitals suggest that either craftsmen were carving or finishing the elements at the sanctuary or some buildings had elements that were not finished.

Two additional inscriptions were found in the well, but were so fragmentary that they could not be dated. One inscription (410; **Pl. 43**) preserves an incomplete text on the worked face, while the other (411; **Pl. 43**) is a base for a stele. Both are made of limestone. In addition to these are two other stone objects. A nearly complete grinding stone (415; **Pl. 43**) has been identified as volcanic stone, possibly andesite. No scientific studies have been conducted on it, but it is a unique stone to Nemea and the valley. Finally, several smaller fragments of marble (416) were recovered, both blue Argive marble and white marble. These appear to be the remnants of stone carving, further supporting the possibility of stone craftsmen working within the sanctuary.

While ceramic vessels are the majority of the identified, dated, and cataloged artifacts from the Lower Fill, the other artifacts, especially the coins, inscriptions, and bronzes, expand the narrative of Well K14:4. The 4th and 3rd century ceramics seem to indicate both use of the well, with the abundance of pitchers, and secondary deposition. The inscriptions, which date to the end of the 4th century, were more likely to be disposed of in the well in the following century when they were no longer relevant to the sanctuary. The majority of the 5th century ceramics are in such fragmentary state that they cannot support use of the well but are secondary depositions of sanctuary cleaning. The fragmentary terracotta architectural elements, which might be from the first phase of the festival, were also a result of sanctuary cleaning. While the coins can only suggest a terminus post quem, the diversity in type and city of origin, especially two identical Egyptian coins, can speak to the visitors to the sanctuary. Finally, the bronze vessels from the 6th/5th century do not seem to support use of the well but could represent ritual activity near the temple relating to the recycling of votives. The contents of the Lower Fill of Well K14:4 preserve several types of activities that are not represented in the other wells.

Upper Fill

The Upper Fill corresponds to 3.58m of the well but only 5.7% of the total ceramic assemblage. These layers of the well were not addressed in Miller's publication, which stated that the well was empty for 1.67m and then dated the closing by the finds from the upper portion of the Lower Fill. Studying the material that was overlooked indicates that the well was not closed as suggested. Some of the artifacts that

accumulated in the Upper Fill date as late as the Roman period. Therefore, the well may have been abandoned, but remained open in later periods.

Three ceramic vessels date to the Roman period: the rim of a bowl (**297**), a handle of a pitcher (**298**), and the rim of another pitcher (**299; Fig. 22**).⁵⁰⁹ While the bowl is a fine ware vessel, the two pitchers are in kitchenware fabric. Roman activity at Nemea is known, but it was not as substantial as during the festival years, nor has it received much attention.⁵¹⁰ These fragments should not be taken as use of the sanctuary but possible activity in the valley. It does suggest that the well was somewhat open rather than completely sealed. Two additional ceramic finds add to the later narrative of the well. The rim of a bowl (**300; Fig. 22**) and a fragment of a moldmade bowl (**301; Fig. 22; Pl. 32**) both date to the Hellenistic period. While the bowl may be from the 2nd century, the moldmade imbricate bowl with leaf/petal decoration can date from the 3rd to the 1st century.

Four bronze coins were found in the Upper Fill, two of which were datable. The latest coin is from Egypt (**302**) minted during the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes on Cyprus, identical to a coin from the Lower Fill (**324**). It has a bust of Ptolemy on the obverse and ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the reverse with an eagle and cornucopia. It dates to the end of the 3rd century and may be evidence of activity at the sanctuary at that time corresponding with attempts to return the festival from Argos. The second coin is

⁵⁰⁹ K.W. Slane (pers. comm.) identified these three fragments as Roman on 7/22/14.

⁵¹⁰ Some evidence of Roman activity was found in the southern part of the sanctuary (K19, L19, L20, M19, M20,)19, Q19, and Q20) in the form of long, narrow parallel trenches dated to the 1st century BCE. These trenches were identified as vineyard planting, suggesting that in the early Roman period, the sanctuary had been converted for agricultural use (Miller 2015, 300). The other evidence for Roman activity is the deposit of 20 lamps from the 2nd to 3rd century CE found in the reservoir near the heroön (Miller 2015, 298).

Argive (**303**) with the crowned head of Hera on the obverse and an *A* on the reverse. It dates to ca. 425-350 BCE. This coin could have reached the sanctuary during the first phase or the second phase of the festival. The final two coins (**306-307**) in the Upper Fill could not be dated or identified due to their state of preservation. These four coins, when added to the six from the Lower Fill, result in a total of ten coins in Well K14:4, the second greatest quantity from a single well.⁵¹¹ The two coins of Ptolemy III Euergetes most likely entered the well at the same time, with one moving down the depth of the well more so than the other. This demonstrates that coins cannot be used to date the stratum of the well in which it is found but can be used to generally date the well, providing a terminus post quem for activity associated with the well.

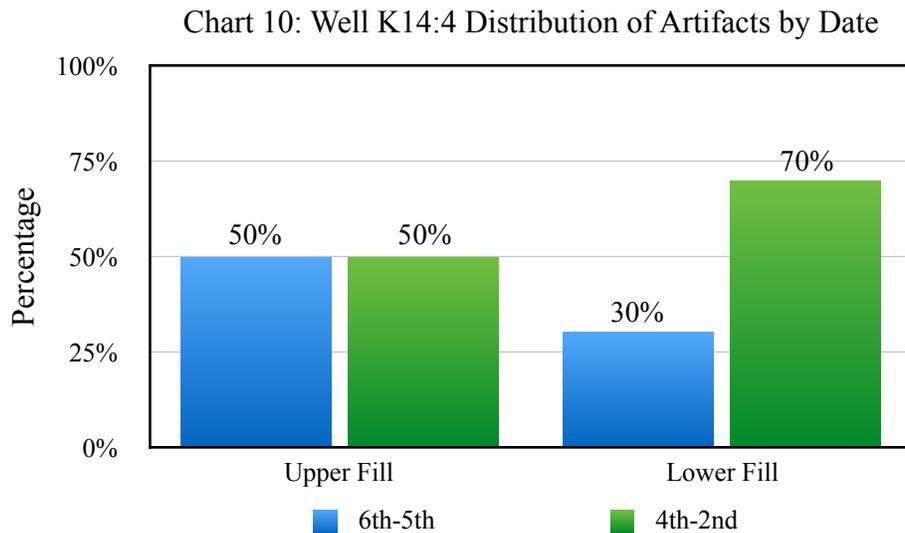
The final artifacts from the Upper Fill were dated with a general date range or by context as no comparandum was identified. The handle of a fine ware pitcher/oinochoe (**304**) is generic in shape that it could date from the 6th to 4th century. The complete rim, neck, and handle of a pitcher (**305**; **Pl. 32**) reconstructed from several fragments of kitchenware fabric could only be dated by context, 6th century to Roman. The profile with a narrow diameter and tall neck is unique among the kitchenware pitchers found in the wells. Because of this, it is more likely that the pitcher dates later than the festivals, in the Hellenistic or Roman periods. In addition to these vessels are two metal fragments, a bronze strip (**308**) and a lead strip (**309**). While these artifacts do not add much to the understanding of the well, they do support the suggestion that the well remained open, accumulating trash and debris. Although the well was found to be deliberately closed

⁵¹¹ Well L17:2 has the most at 11 coin; Well L19 ties with ten total.

with a “heavy stone slab and smaller stone packing,” there is no evidence that this action occurred in the 3rd century.⁵¹² It very well could have corresponded with activity associated with the nearby well, Well K14:3, which dates to the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, thereby explaining the much later Hellenistic and Roman artifacts.

Overview

From the distribution of vessel types and dates, it seems most likely that Well K14:4 was constructed in the 4th century, at the beginning of the second phase of the festival. In the Lower Fill, 70% of the material dates to the second phase, which can support its use at that time (**Chart 10**). While the distribution of artifacts in the Upper Fill is equal, this most likely represents a later, intentional deposition of the fill when the well was not in consistent use. Additionally, the low quantity of material that can be dated to the 6th and 5th centuries was very fragmentary, suggesting secondary deposition of the material. The most complete artifacts from the first phase are the fragments of bronze vessels and the architectural elements, but even these cannot provide evidence of

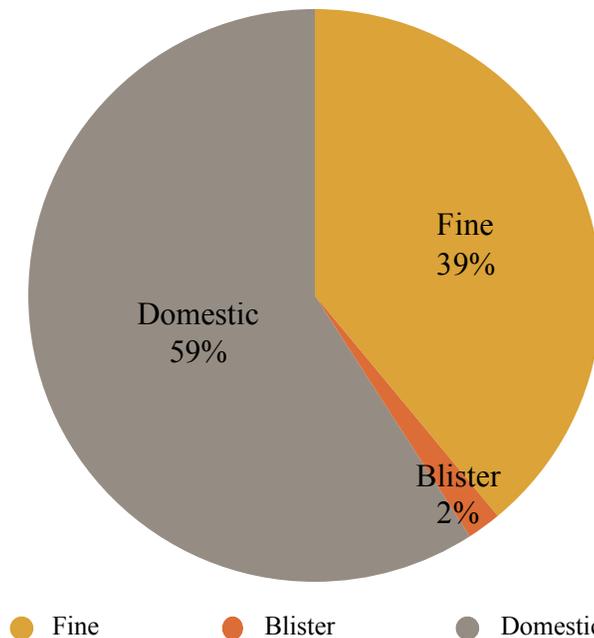


⁵¹² Miller 1979, 77.

use during the first phase. Therefore, any 6th and 5th century material in the well was deposited through secondary deposition relating to sanctuary maintenance.

Corresponding with the high amount of 4th and 3rd century materials is the high quantity of domestic ware vessels, 59% of the ceramic assemblage (**Chart 11**). Thus Well K14:4 shows a slightly different distribution of vessels than the other wells that favor the second phase. This may be due to the well's proximity to the temple, a location that was well trafficked and thus a convenient location for any disposal, either primary or secondary.

Chart 11: Well K14:4 Fabric Distribution



The impact of the blisterware vessels can be seen in both the fabric distribution and in the overall count of vessels (**Table 4**). Well K14:4 has the greatest number of blisterware vessels, a total of six. Although their percentage within the ceramic assemblage is low, only 2%, it is higher than that seen in the wells discussed thus far.⁵¹³

⁵¹³ While the wells in O16 and O17 have a higher percentage of blisterware, these three were all abandoned during their construction, showing a different nature of assemblage. Of the wells that reach a significant depth, Well K14:4 has the second highest amount of blisterware, with Well E18 having the greatest at 13%.

As expected with the dated vessels, there is a much higher quantity of domestic ware and fine ware sherds: 59% and 39% respectively. The combination of pouring vessels, both in kitchenware and blisterware, and the drinking vessels, may indicate a higher frequency of liquid and food consumption. Additionally, Well K14:4 has the greatest amount of amphorae of all the assemblages, a total of 10 across all fabrics. The blisterware vessel is a Corinthian A amphorae, while two of the fine ware examples are Corinthian B amphorae. Well K14:4 shows the closest connection between the importation of Corinthian amphorae and goods. The high number of amphorae would also support the hypothesis that food and liquid consumption was occurring at a higher frequency in this part of the sanctuary. As the only well located within the Sacred Square, the contents would reflect a different type of activity than the other wells associated with the auxiliary buildings.

Table 4: Well K14:4 Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

	Upper	Lower	Total
Fine Wares (Total: 46)			
Amphora		3	3
Hydria		1	1
Oinochoe/Decanter	1	5	6
Pitcher		1	1
Olpe			0
Krater			0
Lekane		1	1
Basin			0
Kylix			0
Kotyle			0
Skyphos		4	4

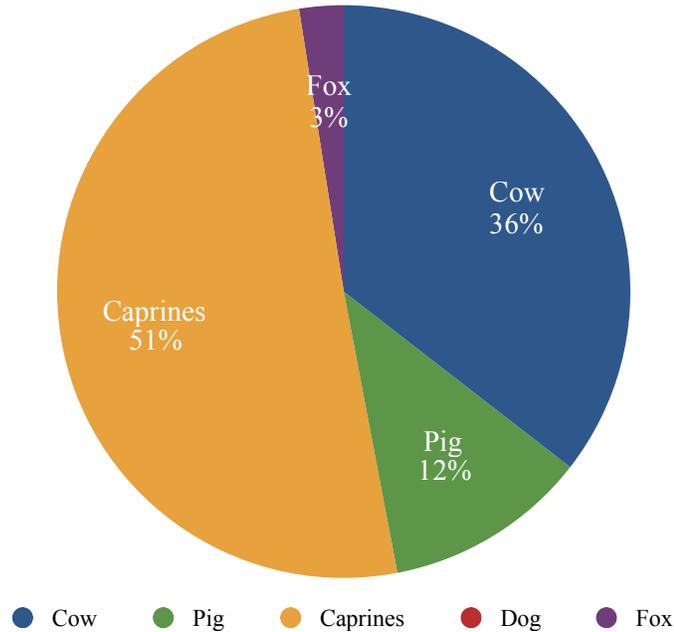
Cup			0
Kantharos		9	9
One Handled Cup			0
Mug		4	4
Bowl	2	8	10
Mold Made Bowl	1		1
Salt-cellar		2	2
Saucer		2	2
Plate		1	1
Lekythos/Araballos			0
Unguentarium			0
Askos		1	1
Strainer Pot			0
Pyxis			0
Kalathiskos			0
Miniature			0
Lamp			0
Blister Wares (Total: 6)			
Amphora		1	1
Oinochoe		3	3
Aryballos		2	2
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 22)			
Amphora		4	4
Hydria			0
Pitcher	3	11	14
Lekane			0
Chytra			0
Lopas			0
Dish/Plate			0
Pot		2	2
Lid		1	1
Pithos			0
Mortar		1	1
Wel Total	7	67	74

The artifacts from the well also demonstrate that it was open for a longer period than previously thought. The presence of late Hellenistic and Roman material suggests that the well was not closed in the end of the 3rd century allowing for the later material to enter. It is very likely that Well K14:4 was finally sealed with the large cover slab and stone packing closer to the 3rd century CE, when the neighboring well, K14:3, was being used. This may account for the high number of Hellenistic and Roman artifacts, which are not present in the other wells. But the well also boasts a great amount of fine ware open shapes, especially drinking vessels. While some of these are from the 5th century, the majority are 4th and 3rd century vessels.

In addition to the vessel distribution, Well K14:4 had an abundance of faunal remains, mostly from the Lower Fill. Bone fragments were collected from each of the lots from the Lower Fill, except one, and only two lots from the Upper Fill. The context with the greatest quantity of identifiable fragments is the sift lot for Layer 5, which is the majority of the Lower Fill. From a study of the different species, the majority of the fragments was caprines, 51%, with cow as the second most common, 36% (**Chart 12**).⁵¹⁴ In addition, there were elements of a fox and pigs. This distribution contrasts with the faunal remains in Well M17:2, where cow bones represent more than half of the total assemblage. While sheep/goat and pigs were present, Well M17:2 had deer, which were not found in Well K14:4. This may represent a difference in sacrifice and feasting depending on location within the sanctuary. Looking specifically at the individual species, at least three cows were present, one of which was an adult female. This was

⁵¹⁴ J. Meier (pers. comm.).

Chart 12: Well K14:4 Species Abundance



identified by the horn and pelvis. The “bull horn” (403) that was registered is also from an adult female, possibly the same animal. The other identified species included: two pigs, one juvenile and one adult; two goats, one young and one adult; five sheep, two young and three adults, including at least one male; three sheep/goats, two young and three adult; one adult fox. From this distribution it seems as if both juvenile and mature animals were sacrificed and consumed within the sanctuary, with cows and sheep/goats as the most common. When adding this to the distribution of vessels in the well, it is clear that food and drink were consumed around the well or nearby and dumped together.

Well K14:4 appears to have been constructed in the 4th century and used over the duration of the second phase of the festival. The number of artifacts from this period suggest activities that would have occurred during the festivals, with several examples supporting primary use of the well. The earlier, 6th and 5th century materials are fragmentary and the result of secondary deposition, either from sanctuary clean up or

perhaps ritual disposal, for the bronze vessels. When the festival was returned to Argos ca. 271/0 BCE, the well was dormant. In the end of the 3rd century, there may have been another flourish of activity as indicated by the disposal of “old” inscriptions and coins that would have fallen in accidentally. Finally, the well was intentionally sealed with a large stone slab and several smaller stones, either in the Hellenistic or Roman period, perhaps even in conjunction with the use of the neighboring well, K14:3 in the 3rd and 4th centuries CE.

Well E18 (Heroön)

Well E18 is one of three wells located away from the main cluster, though roughly on the same E-W alignment (**Plan 1**). This well is west of the heroön and was excavated in 1999 and 2000.⁵¹⁵ The well was unlined and measured to a depth of 8.05m with a diameter ranging from 3.2m at the top to 0.95m at the bottom.⁵¹⁶ This is unique for wells at Nemea, as it is the only one to narrow at the bottom. Miller has suggested that the well’s diameter was meant to be less than a meter, but “that the edges collapsed, creating the larger diameter at the top.”⁵¹⁷ Also notable in the construction of the well is that it was unlined, which is rare for the wells at Nemea and suggests a temporary use.

Excavation resulted in three layers, 12-14, which were assigned from the excavation of the square E18, since the well was not given an individual deposit number.⁵¹⁸ It is evident from the excavation notebook that the well was first identified as

⁵¹⁵ Miller 2015, 333-5; see also Szafranski 1999-2000.

⁵¹⁶ Miller 2015, 333. For a section drawing, see Miller 2015, 334, fig. 75.

⁵¹⁷ Miller 2015, 333.

⁵¹⁸ Layer 12, Lot 21; Layer 13, Lot 22; Layer 14, Lot 28-34.

a pit due to the large diameter (**Pl. 7b**). The switch in identification also corresponds with the excavation date; Layers 12 and 13 were excavated in 1999, while upon returning in 2000, Layer 14 was assigned to the pit/well.⁵¹⁹ It is difficult to understand Miller's decision to divide the well into two phases: Layers 12 and 13 were assigned to the earliest Hellenistic period and Layer 14 represented the use of the well in the late Classical period.⁵²⁰ The possibility of two phases was first raised by the excavator who recorded, "I imagine [the well] collapsed in the Hellenistic period, at which point it was probably used as a dump for items from the neighboring heroön of Opheltes; this would explain the abundance of fine ware and votive-type items in Layers 12 and 13 in 1999."⁵²¹ It is definitely the case that these types of vessels were found in the well, but there is no clear evidence to support two different phases of activity for Well E18.

My study of the contents agrees with the distribution of dates, but also emphasizes that 4th century material was found throughout the full depth of the well. In addition, when taking into consideration the depth of each excavated layer (0.85m for Layers 12 and 13 versus 6.25m for Layer 14) and lack of stratigraphy, the distribution into two phrases is not fully supported. Therefore, Well E18 is assigned to a single context and provides evidence of use in the 4th century corresponding to the use of the nearby

⁵¹⁹ Szafranski 1999-2000. The pit is first called a well on page 135 of E18 NB I. Beginning a new season of excavation with a new layer and lot assignment is good excavation practice, but it should not exclude the possibility that the continued excavations could occur in the same context as the previous year. Therefore, there is no clear evidence to suggest that Layer 14 cannot be the same as Layers 12 and 13. In fact, during excavation in 2000, Szafranski notes that "it is increasingly apparent that there is no clear stratigraphy" (1999-2000, 129).

⁵²⁰ Miller 2015, 335. Szafranski (1999-2000, 174) also notes that Layers 12 and 13 are probably the same context.

⁵²¹ Szafranski 1999-2000, 135.

heroön.⁵²²

Fill

The fill of the well supports the narrative that the well was dug and used in the 4th century. No artifacts could securely be dated to later than the 4th century, which supports the short period of use. In addition to the 4th century material are examples of 5th century material, though the majority of it covers both centuries. This should not be taken as evidence for a 5th century date of construction, rather evidence for 5th century material circulating within the sanctuary at the time of its use and fill.

The 4th century ceramics represent the largest percentage of the assemblage and include a range of vessel shapes and fabrics. Of the fine ware vessels, the majority is drinking vessels but also include a few closed shapes. Several fragments of a Corinthian B amphora (**417; Pl. 44**) and the lower portion of an olpe (**418; Fig. 26; Pl. 44**) are the only two closed vessels. Although both had joins from within the well, neither was fully reconstructed suggesting that only parts of the complete vessels were deposited into the well. Turning to the open shapes, there is a single example of a service vessel, a krater/large bowl (**419; Fig. 26; Pl. 44**). The remaining fine ware vessels include a kotyle (**420; Fig. 27; Pl. 44**), nine skyphoi (**421-429**), a kantharos (**430**), two one-handled cups (**431-432**), a mug (**433**), a small bowl (**434**), two bowls (**435-436**), and a miniature kotyle (**437**). While there is nothing exceptional about these vessels, a few require a more in-depth discussion.

⁵²² Lot 34 (Layer 14) was not included in the study because it was contaminated within the storage tin. Non-well lots were in the same tin, and thus I could not be sure that what was sitting in the bottom of the tin (not in a bag) could be completely associated with the well deposit.

Of the nine skyphoi, one is nearly complete (**421; Fig. 27; Pl. 44**) having been reconstructed from more than 30 fragments. It is most likely that the skyphos was thrown into the well intact, braking upon impact within the well. In addition to this example, four of the skyphoi were identified by their bases, indicating that the minimum number of skyphoi in Well E18 is five. The additional four cataloged examples could be associated with the bases. Many of these drinking vessels are nearly complete and were able to be reconstructed. The kantharos (**430; Fig. 28; Pl. 45**) preserves its base and most of the body, but both handles are missing. The floor is decorated with stamped decoration of six palmettes linked with a ring of rouletting, very similar to kantharoi found in the Athenian Agora. The mug (**433; Fig. 28; Pl. 46**) has a nearly complete base and handle with several body sherds associated but is missing the rim. This type of mug is common in Nemea and found in at least five of the ten wells.⁵²³ No clear comparandum has been found outside Nemea of a mug with the low disc foot and baggy body, though the closest examples may be Lakonian.⁵²⁴ The final complete vessel is the small bowl (**434; Fig. 28; Pl. 46**). These examples support intentional, primary deposition of the vessels, supporting ritual activity around the heroön that included drinking and possible dedication of those vessels in this area.

The remaining 4th century vessels are closed vessels in either blisterware or utilitarian ware fabrics. All three examples of blisterware are oinochoe, including one

⁵²³ See **26, 153, 356, 520, and 521** for other well examples of this mug.

⁵²⁴ Williams (1979, 140-2) discusses the Lakonian mugs found at Corinth as a cup with a round-bottom with squat, baggy body and a proportionately long, flaring rim and vertical handle. He notes they begin in the beginning of the 6th century. In the fifth century, the mug is more elongated with a less sack-shaped body and the rim has been shortened. By the 4th century, they have an articulated base and more elongated, which best parallel those found at Nemea.

nearly complete example (**438; Fig. 29; Pl. 47**), missing only the neck and mouth, and two fragmentary oinochoai (**439-440**). While the nearly complete oinochoe is missing the upper part of the vessel, neither of the fragmentary neck/mouth fragments join, most evident by the differences in fabric color. There is a large percentage of blisterware in the well, about 13% of the total ceramic assemblage (**Table 18**), which may provide associated pieces for the oinochoai. Nevertheless, while one example appears to have entered the well nearly intact, the other fragments were most likely the result of secondary deposition.

In addition to these are two vessels in utilitarian wares. A wide mouth pitcher (**441; Fig. 29; Pl. 47**) is preserved as a complete handle and part of the rim. It is similar to many of the other kitchenware pitchers found in the other wells, and the remaining fragments are most likely within the well. The final 4th century vessel is an almost complete stew pot (**442; Fig. 29; Pl. 47**), which was reconstructed though some fragments are still missing. Although the fabric is similar to the pitchers found, this vessel was assigned a cooking ware fabric due to the shape, which is more suitable for cooking than food service. The base, which appears to be rounded, was reconstructed from a few fragments, but the profile of the vessel is secure. Comparanda for this shape usually have two round, horizontal handles. This example appears to have no handles, as there is no evidence for them on the body. Together, these five vessels do suggest use of the well as a water source, with possible cooking occurring nearby. In addition, the fragmentary nature of several of these vessels may also represent the final filling of the well with secondary debris.

The remaining vessels that could be identified and dated with confidence are from the 5th century, though some are vessel shapes that continue into the 4th century. Nevertheless, these vessels are remains from the first phase of the festival with no evidence of 6th century material. All the vessels are fine ware open shapes. Two lekane bases (**443-444**) date from the end of the 5th to early 4th centuries, while a handle from another lekane (**445**) is more likely to be of the 5th century. The base of a small bowl or salt-cellar (**450; Fig. 30; Pl. 48**) was reconstructed from several fragments, also from the 5th century. Several of the vessels were found intact or were able to be reconstructed. A partially complete stemless cup (**446; Pl. 48**) preserving a complete base and one handle dates to the early 5th century. A nearly complete salt-cellar (**449; Fig. 30; Pl. 48**), missing only a small part of the lip, was found in one piece. A fragment of a bowl base (**448; Fig. 30; Pl. 48**) is similar to five other examples from various wells, though due to the minimal preservation exact dating is unclear. The combination of both fragmentary and reconstructed nature of these vessels shows a mixture of depositional processes.

Some of the vessels from the 5th century require additional discussion. A nearly complete bowl (**447; Fig. 30; Pl. 48**) is unique in shape, with no direct parallels, but is closest to a deep lebes due to the low neck and lack of foot. A complete votive skyphos (**451; Fig. 30; Pl. 48**) with no damage is a rare example of an intact vessel, especially as a miniature. A second votive, a krateriskos (**454; Fig. 30; Pl. 48**), was mended from two fragments, but is still missing about 20% of the body/rim. A third votive, a cup/bowl (**455; Pl. 49**), was reconstructed from five fragments, preserving the full profile of the vessel. While the skyphos and krateriskos are similar in shape, they do have slight

differences in the type of handles used. The skyphos has two rounded, horizontal handles, while the krateriskos has two lug handles; both votives have the type of handle used for the normal size. From what remains of the cup/bowl votive, there is no clear attachment for a handle, which means it either had a single handle or none. Moreover, due to the relatively generic shape, dates are difficult to determine. The krateriskos and cup/bowl may be slightly earlier, Archaic/Classical, while the skyphos may date to the end of 5th to 4th century. Nevertheless, these four vessels, the bowl (lebes) and three votives, stand apart from the rest of the well's assemblage and the site as a whole. Their presence in Well E18 may mirror the activities occurring in the nearby heroön, such as libation, sacrifice, and votive offerings. Overall, the remains from the 5th century appear to be remains from the first phase of the festival, deposited in the well after a cleaning of the shrine.

In addition, two more artifacts were found that could date to the end of the 5th to early 4th century. A fragment of a lamp (452; Pl. 48) preserves about half of the body, but is very battered and the breaks are well worn. It is the only lamp found in the well. Six ceramic lamps from the Classical and Early Hellenistic period were found in the deposits within the heroön and in disturbed layers above them.⁵²⁵ In his study of the heroön, Bravo suggests that the “presence of the lamps may point to occasional nocturnal rituals and the need for light, but another plausible use for the lamps was to start the fire for the burnt offerings.”⁵²⁶ The single lamp found in the nearby well should be included

⁵²⁵ *Nemea* IV, 141.

⁵²⁶ *Nemea* IV, 141. Bravo also notes that the paucity of lamps found near the heroön stand in contrast to the great number found at the hero shrine of Palaimon at Isthmia, but from the Roman Imperial Period (note 171).

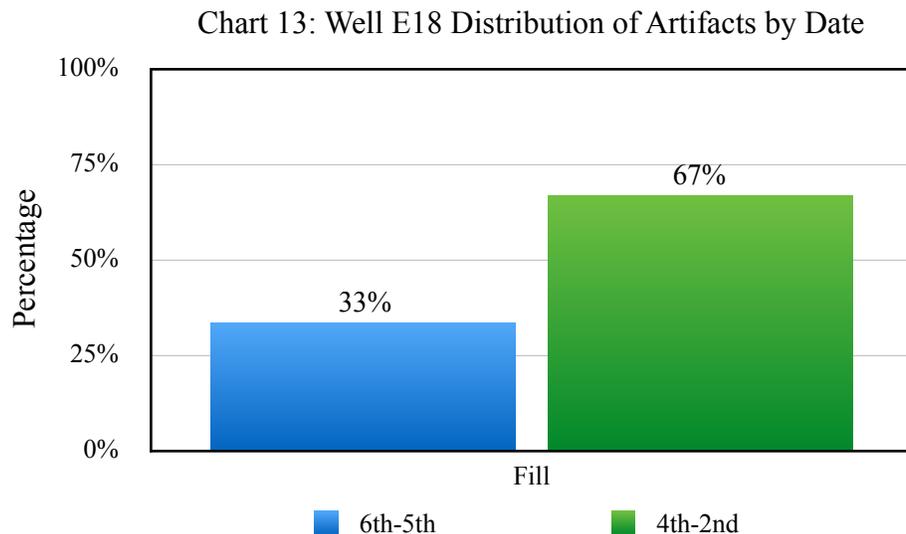
in this group, and thus may have originated from the heroön. A single bronze coin (**453**) was found in the well, from Corinth with a Pegasus on the obverse and a trident on the reverse. Corinth minted coins with a Pegasus and trident between the late 5th century and 248 BCE, with additional symbols used to narrow the date.⁵²⁷ Since no additional symbols are visible on this coin, it cannot be dated more securely. A single coin in the well suggests that it was deposited accidentally, either during use or at a later fill date. While the lamp provides further evidence for a connection between the well and the heroön, the coin simply supports activity in the area.

The final group of artifacts is those that do not have an independent date but are dated by context. Several joining fragments of an amphora (**456; Pl. 49**) and the base of a bowl (**457; Fig. 30**) are in fine ware. Five kitchenware pitchers (**458-462; Fig. 31; Pl. 49-50**) were reconstructed from the well. Two are in a reddish brown fabric, and three are in the blueish gray fabric; all five are similar in profile with slight differences. Unfortunately many are missing their bases, which have been reconstructed, but the base would provide more information for dating. Due to the overall shape and comparisons to those in other wells, these pitchers are more likely to date to the 4th century. There are two non-ceramic artifacts from the well: a fragmentary orthostate block (**463**) and a small strip of bronze (**464; Pl. 50**). The lack of additional 'other' artifacts in this well suggests that it was never used as a general trash dump, but the fill must have come from the heroön and surrounding areas as the majority of the contents are ceramic.

Overview

⁵²⁷ *Nemea III*.

Well E18 was dug to a rather deep depth, 7.1m, yet was unlined, which is suggestive of its temporary use. The combination of its construction and artifacts indicate that the well dates to the second phase of the festival, most likely dug, used, and filled at the end of the 4th century. The lack of any 6th century and 3rd century material demonstrates the narrow lifespan of the well. Had the well been opened in the 5th century, there would be a higher probability of 6th century material. The distribution of artifacts also supports a 4th century date, as 67% of the assemblage is from the second phase of the festival (**Chart 13**). Well E18 was dug in the end of the 4th century, used for several cycles, but then closed before the 3rd century, or at the very beginning of it. This dating is also supported by the construction of the nearby reservoir, which was built with isodomic masonry to have three chambers, each 8m deep.⁵²⁸ Miller has dated the majority of the artifacts in the reservoir to the first quarter of the 3rd century.⁵²⁹ While I



⁵²⁸ Miller 2015, 335.

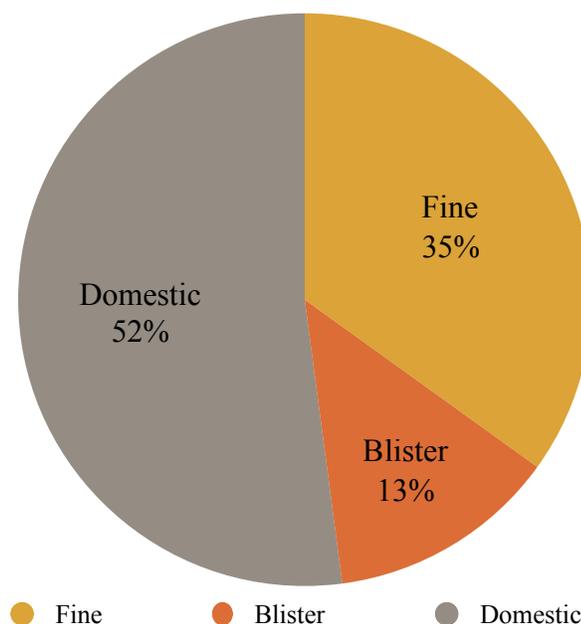
⁵²⁹ Miller 2015, 340. Miller also notes that the monumental structure would have required “considerable expenditure to construct. It had a maximum capacity of 112.72 m³ or 112,720 liters. Its closing date in the second to third quarter of the 3rd century fits with the removal of the Nemean Games to Argos in...271 BCE.”

only sampled the material in the reservoir, the early 3rd century date is appropriate for the artifacts. In addition, the types of vessels and fabric distribution are also very similar to this well. Taken together, it is very reasonable to assume that the well was quickly dug and used for a short period of time corresponding with the return of the festival in the 4th century and then filled when the more formal reservoir was completed.

Even with the higher number of fine ware shapes, more than half (52%) of the ceramic assemblage is domestic ware sherds (**Chart 14**), which is typical for wells that date to the second phase of the festival. Well E18 also stands apart from the other wells in the amount of blisterware. Blisterware fragments are found in every well, though usually it only represents between 1% and 3% of the total ceramic assemblage.

In this well, blisterware is 13% of the ceramic assemblage, which also supports a 4th century date. While blisterware was produced in the 5th century, blisterware oinochoai are more commonly found in 4th century contexts. Pemberton notes that, “blisterware

Chart 14: Well E18 Fabric Distribution



oinochoai are common. It is the most popular shape for this fabric in the Sanctuary [of Demeter and Kore].”⁵³⁰ The same can be said of the blisterware from Nemean wells. From Well E18, the three identified blisterware vessels are all oinochoai (**Table 5**). This must represent a correlation between the location of the well, near the heroön, and the high percentage of blisterware. Additionally, when considering the distribution of vessels types, it is clear that the majority of the assemblage is drinking or open shapes, which is represented by 21 of the cataloged vessels. The nature of Well E18’s contents reflects its location, as the artifacts in the well were surely influenced by the proximity to the heroön.

Table 5: Well E18 Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

Fine Wares (Total: 35)	
Amphora	2
Hydria	
Oinochoe/Decanter	
Pitcher	
Olpe	1
Krater	1
Lekane	3
Basin	
Kylix	
Kotyle	1
Skyphos	9
Cup	1
Kantharos	1
One Handled Cup	2
Mug	1
Bowl	6

⁵³⁰ *Corinth* XVIII.3, 15-7.

Mold Made Bowl	
Salt-cellar	2
Saucer	
Plate	
Lekythos/Araballos	
Unguentarium	
Askos	
Strainer Pot	
Pyxis	
Kalathiskos	
Miniature	4
Lamp	1
Blister Wares (Total: 3)	
Amphora	
Oinochoe	3
Aryballos	
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 7)	
Amphora	
Hydria	
Pitcher	6
Lekane	
Chytra	
Lopas	
Dish/Plate	
Pot	1
Lid	
Pithos	
Mortar	
Well Total	45

The fill of the well indicates several types of depositional events. Some of the vessels are evidence for the use of the well, most notably the nearly complete kitchenware pitchers. The quantity of drinking vessels and open shapes, representing

42% of the fine ware vessels, may correspond with activities in the or near the heroön, such as ritual drinking and libations. Thus some of these vessels may have been deposited in the well after they were no longer needed or could represent cleaning of dedications within the heroön. The few 5th century vessels are most likely evidence for the second scenario, vessels dedicated during the first phase of the heroön or a 4th century dedication of an 'heirloom', though this is less likely, as the 5th century vessels are commonplace. The miniature votives also support the relationship between the well and the heroön. While a few wells have one miniature, Well E18 has four, which is the greatest quantity found in a single well deposit.⁵³¹ Finally, the overall lack of other artifacts suggests that the well was never used as a general trash dump. The orthostate block may have been debris from construction of the reservoir, while the bronze strip could have entered the well at any point in time. Therefore, the nature of the assemblage also supports the focused and short period of use of Well E18.

Although some organic and faunal remains were recovered during the excavation, it was very minimal, mostly a few handfuls of very small fragments of bone. None of the bone fragments were significant enough in size to suggest eating, which contrasts to the bones found in the heroön itself. Burnt bones from sacrifices, especially the left thigh of sheep and goat, were found in great quantity in the heroön.⁵³² Thus, while sacrifice occurred in or around the shrine, there is little evidence of feasting in the wider area around the heroön, as attested by the very minimal faunal remains in the well and a lack

⁵³¹ Well L17:1, Well L19, and Well N17:2 each have a single example of a miniature.

⁵³² Miller 2015, 318; see also MacKinnon 2013; *Nemea* IV, forthcoming.

of any food preparation vessels.⁵³³ The ceramic assemblage suggests that any ritual activity in the area revolved around liquid rather than food consumption.

Overall, it appears that Well E18 was dug in the end of the 4th century around the time the festival returned to Nemea. The hasty construction is seen in the lack of formal lining of the walls and the wide diameter. The well was used throughout the end of the 4th century and interacted with the heroön and localized activity. Once the more formal reservoir was constructed, the well was closed. The closing of the well did not include sanctuary debris but rather only soil and clay, which contained some pottery sherds.⁵³⁴ Unlike the other wells, the closing did not include large architectural fragments or a large quantity of stones to pack the opening. By the early 3rd century, Well E18 was not used as a water source, but was fully closed off, probably as a safety precaution, since the top of the well corresponds with the early Hellenistic surface level. Without a formal wellhead, the well opening would have been dangerous and therefore, closing the well to the elevation of the surface level is to be expected.

Well L19 (House 3)

Well L19 is also located outside the main grouping of wells to the southern limit

⁵³³ MacKinnon (2013, 139) notes that there were no holocaust sacrifices at the heroön, but rather the preference was for *thysia* sacrifice, in which parts of the animal were burnt at the altar. He also discusses the differences in faunal assemblages between the “sacred” and “secular” contexts. His study concludes that the sacrificial assemblages consisted of burnt offerings commonly found from altars and ritual contexts, with a preference for sheep, while the secular contexts, identified by a lack of associated “ritual” paraphernalia, preference the remains of wild animals and fish. In addition, a difference can be seen between the heroön sacrifices and those at the altar, where the bones were burned at a higher temperature and for longer, resulting in a higher frequency of calcined bones.

⁵³⁴ The majority of these sherds were in Layers 12 and 13.

of the excavated area within a row of buildings that have been called houses (**Plan 1**).⁵³⁵ The well is located in the middle of House 3 and was excavated in 1985 (**Pl. 8a**).⁵³⁶ While the well was about 7.10m in depth, the rubble construction of the walls only continued to a depth of 5.75m, below which the well was unlined.⁵³⁷ The well appears to have had a large block as the wellhead surrounded by cement and pebble flooring suggesting the well was integrated into the construction of the house. The diameter of the well at the mouth was about 1.15m, but no measurement at the bottom was recorded in the notebook.⁵³⁸ From the section drawing included in the notebook, it looks like the well's diameter was consistent with fairly vertical walls for the depth of rubble construction, while the lowest 1.25m was more ovoid in section (**Fig. 3a**). Miller concluded that the well was constructed in the 4th century, used in the second half of the 4th century (Layer 4), and filled in the 3rd century (Layers 1-3), with a layer of red clay about 0.65m in thickness between the use and fill layers.⁵³⁹ While Layer 1 may support a closing in the 3rd century, the majority of the datable material, which ranges from the 5th to 4th centuries, comes from the sift lot of Layer 4. Therefore, Well L19 was assigned to a single context due to the lack of any clear depositional events.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁵ These structures accommodated the priests, judges, and caretakers of the sanctuary, which is why they have been given the label 'house' by Miller.

⁵³⁶ Miller 1986, 13-14; see also Themis 1985.

⁵³⁷ Miller 1986, 13.

⁵³⁸ Themis 1985, 619.

⁵³⁹ Miller 1985, 13-14. The difference between the unlined walls at the bottom and the lined, rubble walls for the majority of the well did not seem to have any relevance to Miller's conclusion, nor did he provide any suggestions for the difference in construction.

⁵⁴⁰ Layer 1, Lots 149-153; Layer 2, Lots 153-156; Layer 3, Lots 157-158 and 162; Layer 4, Lots 159-161 and 163-164.

Fill

The contents of the well appear to be very mixed with 5th century to early 3rd century material found throughout its depth. While a few datable artifacts are found in the lined, 5.75m of the well, the majority is from the bottom, unlined portion of the well. The majority of the ceramics vessels dates to the 4th century, including several relatively complete vessels. The earliest possible example is an amphora base (**465; Fig. 31; Pl. 50**) most likely dates to the Hellenistic period, although no comparandum was found.⁵⁴¹ An amphora (**473; Pl. 50**), reconstructed from many fragments, may be Thasian made in fine ware fabric with gold mica inclusions. A complete, intact oinochoe (**473, Pl. 50**) also dates to the 4th century, only missing a small chip from the rim. Both of these vessels were found at the bottom of the well. While it appears that the amphora entered the well in fragments, the oinochoe was not only complete but also fully intact. It must have fallen into the well by accident. The rim fragment of a deep bowl (**468; Fig. 31; Pl. 50**) may date from the end of the 4th or possibly in the early 3rd century. The final fine ware vessel is a skyphos (**469; Fig. 31; Pl. 51**). A loom weight (**470; Pl. 51**) was found fairly high in the well and is possibly made in blisterware. Its profile places it within the 4th century. The final vessel is a lopus (**471; Fig. 31; Pl. 51**) in cooking ware fabric, dating to the end of the 4th century. The amphora, lopus, and loom weight all support the identification of the structure as a possible temporary domestic space, as evidence of both cooking and possibly weaving. Although the skyphos is fragmentary, when paired with the complete oinochoe, these vessels would indicate dining, perhaps on a smaller scale,

⁵⁴¹ No other artifacts were found in Lots 149-158, 162 (Layers 1-3) that could date to the first half of the 3rd century, as Miller has suggested (1986, 13).

for one or two individuals.

Also from the middle of the 4th century to the middle of the 3rd century are six bronze coins. Five are from Argos (**472-476; Pl. 51**) with a wolf head on the obverse and an *A* on the reverse. A single coin from Chalkis (**477**) preserves a Hera head on the obverse and an eagle flying on the reverse. This coin has a longer mint date, ca. 337 to 196 BCE, but probably does not date to the end of the minting period. Two other coins were found in the bottom of the well that date to the 4th century. The first is a complete silver hemidrachm from Corinth (**478; Pl. 51**) with a half Pegasus on the obverse and a female head on the reverse. This coin was minted in Corinth between 350 and 338 BCE. A second coin, bronze, from Hermione (**479**) with a Demeter head on the obverse and *EP* and a torch in a wreath on the reverse, dates to ca. 360-325 BCE. Both of these coins securely date to the beginning of the second phase of the festival and are probably evidence of construction or early use of the well. While these eight coins were found in the bottom of the well, they are small enough to have sunk to the bottom. Their presence can support use or fill of the well in the early 3rd century and represent the population of visitors to the festival. While Argos and Corinth are to be expected, the coins from Chalkis and Hermione are unique to the well assemblages.

The remainder of the artifacts date to the 5th century. A fine ware oinochoe (**480; Pl. 52**) preserving a complete base and lower part of the body was reconstructed from many fragments, and it is likely that the rest of the vessel could be found in the well assemblage. Two joining body fragments of another oinochoe (**485; Fig. 32; Pl. 52**) can only be dated generally to the Archaic period. These two fragments were found in two

parts of the well, one towards the upper half and one near the end of the lined portion of the well. It is most likely that the pieces traveled down the depth of the well, but no other sherds with a similar decoration were found in the well. This suggests that these two fragments may be the only pieces of the vessel and thus are evidence that the fill of the well may have come from various areas within the sanctuary. A rim of a mug (**481**) and a miniature kotyle (**482; Pl. 52**) are the final two vessels that date to the 5th century. The miniature votive is smaller than those found in Well E18 by the heroön. While only a few ceramics could be dated to the 5th century, their fragmentary nature suggests they entered the well during the closing fill, which may have come from outside the house.

In addition to the ceramics are two bronze Corinthian coins (**483-484**). Both have the Pegasus on the obverse and a trident on the reverse. These types of coins were minted from the late 5th century to 248 BCE. The additional symbols on the reverse are needed to narrow the date, but this is not legible on either coin. As with the six coins above, these two most likely date to the second phase of the festival and further support the use of the well during that time. If they date to the late 5th century, then they may have entered the well in a secondary deposition during the fill. If they date to the 3rd century, they also could have fallen into the well by accident as it was filled. Taken all together, Well L19 has ten coins, which is fairly high for the well assemblages.⁵⁴²

Finally, there are seven other artifacts that were dated by context. These artifacts were found throughout the full depth of the well. Three architectural fragments include a sima (**486; Pl. 52**) with a painted palmette, a pan tile (**487**) and a cover tile (**488**). From

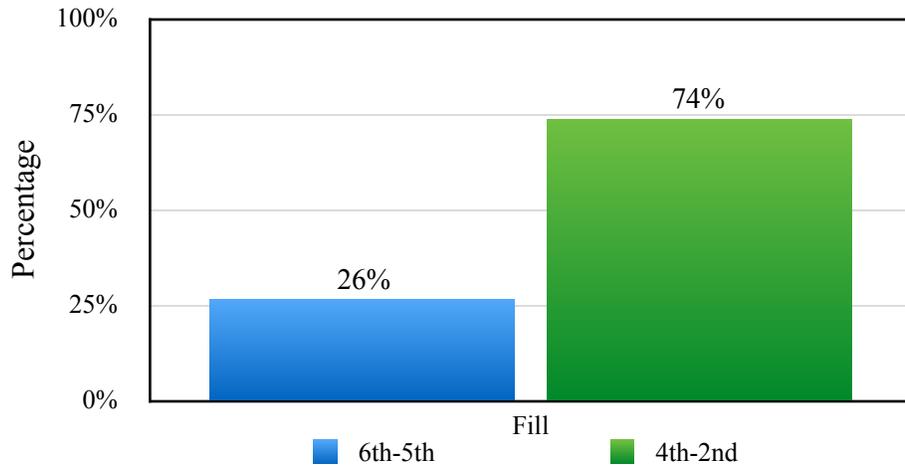
⁵⁴² Well L17:2 has the highest quantity of coin at 11; Well K14:4 also has ten coins.

similar architectural elements found in the other wells, these may date to buildings from the first phase of the festival, especially the sima fragment. If that is the case, then these building debris may have lain around the sanctuary for the early 3rd century filling of the well. Since the sima was found near the middle of the well, it must have gone in at a later date than any artifacts from the use of the well. Had it been thrown into the well around the time of construction, it would more likely have been found at the bottom. A roughly rectangular sandstone fragment (**489; Fig. 32; Pl. 53**) with an inscribed letter, either a lambda (Λ) or alpha (A), was found near the sima. It does not appear to have been an inscription. Two iron nails (**490-491**) were found, one at the top of the well and one at the bottom. The final artifact is a small fragment of a millstone (**494**) found near the top of the well. Although not as large as the cover tile, it most likely came from the house rather than from further afield as it is substantial in size. If it is from the house, then it would support cooking or food preparation within the house.

Overview

The distribution of artifacts does favor the second phase of the festival over the first. While 74% of the total assemblage can be dated to the 4th and 3rd centuries, 26% dates to the first phase, although only the 5th century is represented (**Chart 15**). This distribution would change slightly depending on the date of some of the coins, which range from the late 5th to early 3rd century. It is difficult to narrow the date of the coins because of the wide minting dates, in addition to the fact that coins could continue to circulate long after their original minting. Nevertheless, the well's contents and location within House 3 support its construction in the end of the 4th century, corresponding with

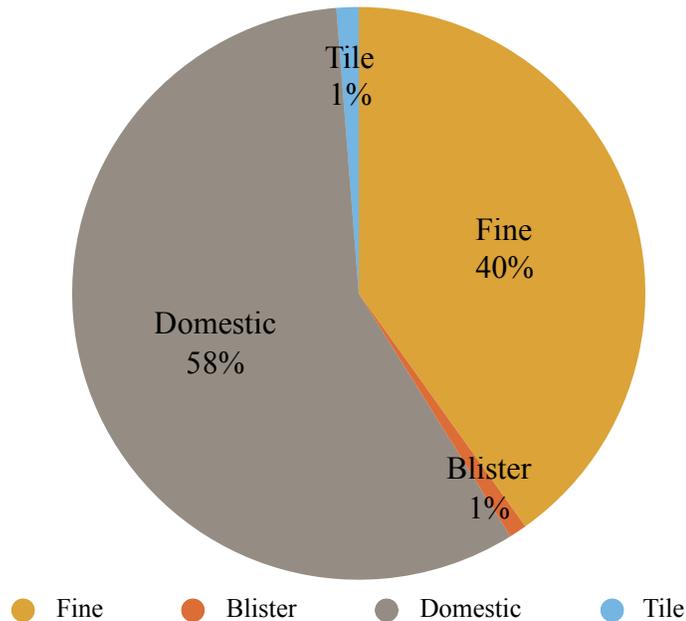
Chart 15: Well L19 Distribution of Artifacts by Date



the return of the festival.⁵⁴³

When looking at the complete assemblage without find spots within the depth of the well, it appears that material from the late 5th to early 3rd century are found throughout. Supporting the domestic nature and all the overall trend of the second phase is that 58% of the total ceramic assemblage is domestic ware fabrics (**Chart 16**).

Chart 16: Well L19 Fabric Distribution



⁵⁴³ Miller (2004, 91) notes that the houses, at least five but possibly seven in total, were built in the end of the 4th century and all were out of use by the second quarter of the 3rd century, the range of the second phase of the festival.

The majority of the finds date to the 4th century, supporting the construction and main use at that time. Unlike other wells, there are slightly more closed vessels than open, though it should be noted that only 10 vessels were identified (**Table 6**). Many of the open vessels are complete, reconstructed, or have several joining fragments, suggesting that these types of vessels went into the well intact or were broken nearby (within the house itself) and then deposited into the well. The minimal amount of blisterware is also telling. While blisterware only accounts for 1% of the well's assemblage, no vessels were identified, which might support the view that blisterware is more traditionally a sanctuary fabric. The lack of blisterware vessels in Well L19 may suggest that none were used in House 3. Rather fine ware amphorae and oinochoe were used for oil or wine storage and service.

Table 6: Well L19 Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

Fine Wares (Total: 8)	
Amphora	1
Hydria	
Oinochoe/Decanter	3
Pitcher	
Olpe	
Krater	
Lekane	
Basin	
Kylix	
Kotyle	
Skyphos	1
Cup	
Kantharos	
One Handled Cup	

Mug	1
Bowl	1
Mold Made Bowl	
Salt-cellar	
Saucer	
Plate	
Lekythos/Araballos	
Unguentarium	
Askos	
Strainer Pot	
Pyxis	
Kalathiskos	
Miniature	1
Lamp	
Blister Wares (Total: 0)	
Amphora	
Oinochoe	
Aryballos	
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 2)	
Amphora	1
Hydria	
Pitcher	
Lekane	
Chytra	1
Lopas	
Dish/Plate	
Pot	
Lid	
Pithos	
Mortar	
Well Total	10

The contents of the well would support that the houses were the official quarters of the priests, judges, or caretakers of the sanctuary. Between five and seven houses date to the second phase of the festival, and perhaps, were assigned each to a different official. Thus, there would be no need for an abundance of personal vessels, for a single cup and bowl would suffice for a single official.⁵⁴⁴ The nearly complete 4th century vessels were found in the bottom, unlined portion of the well. These vessels most likely entered the well during primary use of it or represent ceramic debris from within the house. Other 4th century vessels, which are fragmentary in nature, the skyphos base and lopus rim, were found in the upper, lined part of the well. Therefore, their fragmentary nature supports secondary deposition in the well but may have come from clean up of the house itself. Early 5th century remains, which are also fragmentary except for the miniature kotyle, are found in the upper, lined part of the well. This suggests that they entered the well during secondary deposition, and the earlier date suggests that they may have come from another part of the sanctuary. The complete lack of 6th century material is notable and may suggest that some of the 5th century ceramics were used in the house. Nonetheless, the contents of the well do support use in the 4th century and later filling to nearly the mouth of the well, which is unusual for the wells at Nemea.

Another factor to consider is the “clay” layer excavated at the top of the unlined portion of the well. For a range of about 0.68m, excavators found no artifacts, but were digging through mud since the water table had been reached prior to this point in the

⁵⁴⁴ Of course all the finds from the houses themselves would need study in order to fully reconstruct the number of inhabitations per structure or to see if different activities occurred in different houses.

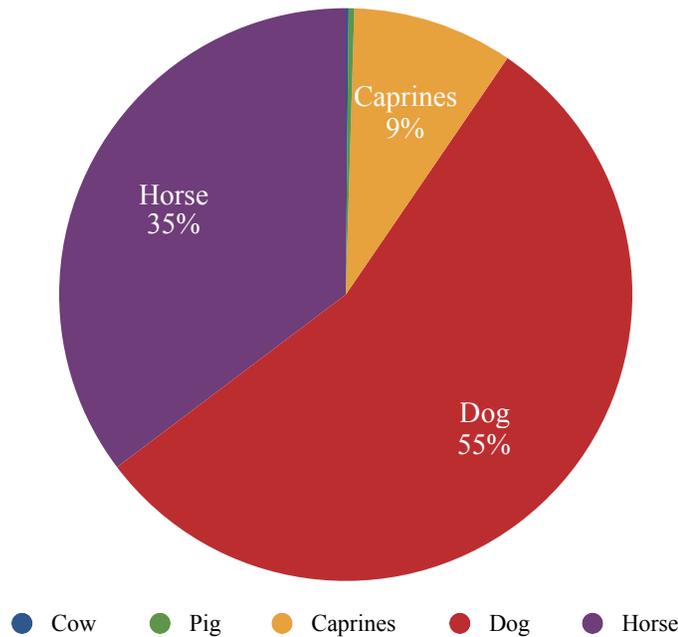
well's excavation.⁵⁴⁵ In my study, I found no joins above and below it, which may support Miller's conclusion that the clay layer separated the use level from the fill level.⁵⁴⁶ If this were the case, then material thrown in after the temporary abandonment of the well would not pass through the clay layer. This would mean that some of the 5th century material found at the bottom of the well (miniature kotyle, coins, oinochoe) entered during the use of the well rather than during later filling. It would also provide a terminus ante quem for all ten coins (**483-484**) to the end of the 4th century, rather than the 3rd century, as they would not have been able to pass through the clay layer to reach the bottom of the well. The excavation of the well did demonstrate that water could rise above this layer, and thus the layer cannot fully support disuse of the well. It is possible that during a period of inactivity, the clay layer formed, but then the well was reused at a later point prior to the final filling. There is no evidence within the well to support or refute this scenario.

The final factor to consider is the faunal remains (**Chart 17**). Animal bones, including small to large fragments and some long bones, were found in the well. The amount is substantial enough to support intentional primary deposition. Yet all 629 fragments were found above the unlined part of the well, above the clay layer, with the majority (61%) found near its top in Lot 151. If the part of the well below the clay represents the use of the well, then the complete absence of faunal remains may suggest that meat was not prepared or consumed around the are of the well. Since the remains are

⁵⁴⁵ Elevations: 328.837 to 328.157; between Layers 3 and 4. No lot or layer was assigned to this range as there were no artifacts found. From the excavation notebook, it appears that the water table was hit at some point between Layers 2 and 3, within the lined portion of the well (Themos 1985, 631.)

⁵⁴⁶ Miller 1986, 13.

Chart 17: Well L19 Species Abundance



all within the upper, lined part of the well, it is possible that this may be a case of observing healthy practice. Supporting this view is the distribution of the species found in the well. The majority of the bones belonged to dogs (55%), followed by horse (35%) and finally a smaller portion of caprines (9%) and only two fragments of pigs (less than 1%). The lack of consumable animals, cows, pigs, and caprines, supports that the faunal remains reflect trash disposal rather than refuse from food consumption. Rather than dispose of bones in the well during its use as a water source, the bones were later deposited during a clean up or when the well was designated as a trash site.

The distribution of the bones within the well suggests intentional deposition in a stratified way. Since all the bones were recovered from above the clay layer, it is more likely that these remains were deposited after the well went out of use, possibly a significant amount of time later. The horse bones were deposited first as they were found in lots closer to the clay layer. Both juvenile and adult horse fragments were found

represented by diverse body parts. At least one neonate and one adult were identified. Above the horse remains, the dog bones were concentrated together. Both juvenile and adult dogs were found, with at least three individuals represented. Diverse body parts were found, including some feet bones that showed healed fractures suggesting they were cared for.⁵⁴⁷ The caprine fragments were found mixed in with the horse and dog remains, but with a higher concentration towards the top of the well. Meanwhile the pig remains were mostly towards the bottom. This distribution within the well suggests two possible depositional events, one for the horses and one for the dog. Since the dog remains show evidence of care, it is possible these were pets rather than wild dogs. The striking difference in the represented species from the other wells and their deposition might suggest that the Well L19 remained open, allowing the animals to be deposited within it rather than buried or disposed of elsewhere.

Well L19, built into the floor of House 3, was built contemporaneously with the house in the end of the 4th century, when the festival returned to the sanctuary. As is seen in other houses, cooking did occur as a hearth was found in House 4.⁵⁴⁸ It is possible that the different houses served different functions, and thus activity occurring within House 3 would need an easily accessible source of water. The well was used through the end of the 4th century and possibly into the beginning of the 3rd century. But by the time the games moved back to Argos in 271 BCE, the well was out of use and was eventually filled, mostly with soil and stones but also tiles, general sanctuary debris, and animal remains.

⁵⁴⁷ J. Meier (pers. comm.).

⁵⁴⁸ Miller 2004, 91.

Well N17:2 (Kiln)

Well N17:2 belongs to the central grouping of wells (**Plan 1**).⁵⁴⁹ It was excavated by James Wright in two phases in the 1975 season due to the need of a water pump. Although associated with the underground water course in this area of the sanctuary, this well was built to service the nearby kiln complex, discussed in Chapter 2. (**Plan 2a**) The well measures exactly 10m, from the top of the wellhead to its bottom, which is similar to the other wells along this grid line, also reaching a similar lower elevation (**Fig. 3b**). Two wellheads were constructed. The first consisted of two worked rectilinear blocks with circular cuttings for the mouth of the well, while the second one used roughly worked, small limestone blocks radiating out from the opening and then packed with rubble, mud brick, and tile fragments.⁵⁵⁰ (**Pl. 8b**) Miller concluded that the two wellheads suggested two major periods of use and that the “installation of the secondary head followed the dismantling of the kiln complex.”⁵⁵¹ The walls were constructed with lined rubble and packed with clay with a diameter that widens from 0.74m to 1.40m. Of the ten wells, this is the only one with the additional clay packing noted in the wall construction. The bottom of the well was cut into the bedrock with a 0.86m diameter settling basin at the center.⁵⁵² The settling basin, a unique feature for Nemean wells, the careful wall

⁵⁴⁹ Miller 1976, 189-93; see also Wright 1975.

⁵⁵⁰ Miller 1976, 189. Although not part of my study, the foundation trench for the well was excavated. From the pottery summary, the contents range from the early 5th to the early Hellenistic, with a fragment of a moldmade bowl present (Wright 1975, 497; Lot 45). This may support that the well was dug and constructed in the second phase of the festival, but more study would need to be done. After finishing the well, additional work was conducted around the wellhead. Although some of the collected pottery was thrown, what was kept seems to support that the second phase of the wellhead was constructed in the 3rd century (Wright 1975, 533-7; Lot 53).

⁵⁵¹ Miller 1976, 189.

⁵⁵² Wright 1975, 525.

construction, especially the added clay, and second wellhead suggest the importance of the well and its continual use for the industrial activities occurring at the kiln and afterwards.

During excavation, the first 7m were dry, while the final 3m retained water, necessitating the use of a water pump to finish excavation. Throughout the notebook, Wright recorded that material was thrown, mostly tile fragments but also “crushed” pottery, during the first phase of excavation.⁵⁵³ The pottery was measured by hand-full, while the tile was usually counted, though not always. It appears that once the pump was installed, everything was kept. Mud from the well was collected and sifted with all artifacts assigned to a single sift lot (Lot 65). From previous records, it is clear that any joining fragments found in the sift lot were removed and used in the reconstruction of a large proportion of the vessels. It is entirely possible that all diagnostic and datable material from the sifted soil had already been removed. The remaining sherds were small and battered nature of the ceramics, so this lot was not included in my study.

In the *Hesperia* report, the well was divided into two parts, the upper fill associated with the closing of the well, and the lower fill was assigned to the period of use. Miller notes that the upper 7m, those that were dry, were filled deliberately with a “dumped sandy earth which represented the closing of the well. This fill contained little pottery but many stones...”⁵⁵⁴ While the pottery was extremely meager, “it is adequate to show that the well was filled in the very late Hellenistic if not the Early Roman Period.

⁵⁵³ It is unclear in regards to tile what determined the decision to throw away fragments. Even if tile was discarded only at the beginning of excavation, six tins of tile (203 fragments) were collected for Lot 55.

⁵⁵⁴ Miller 1976, 190.

Certainly a date after the middle of the second century B.C. is indicated and a date in the early first century B.C. is not excluded.”⁵⁵⁵ The pottery recovered from this part of the well is very poorly preserved, characterized by their small and battered nature. My study did not identify any diagnostic pieces to aid in dating. Therefore, the closing of the well cannot be dated based upon the ceramic evidence, leaving only the other artifacts, which are equally undatable.⁵⁵⁶

The bottom 3m of the well contained very large quantity of ceramics. Miller suggested that the “various layers seem to belong to three general periods with long gaps between which probably reflect the periods of inactivity at Nemea in the Hellenistic period when the games had been transferred to Argos.”⁵⁵⁷ He divided the well into three periods: middle of the 2nd century, late 3rd century, and last quarter of the 4th to the first third of the 3rd century. These would correspond to the different periods of activity at Nemea, but as I have shown from several wells that this kind of conclusion is incorrect. While there are a few vessels that join across these layers, it has also been shown that the wells do not have clear stratigraphic layers. Dated layers appear to be somewhat different from the excavated layers. For example, Miller’s middle of the 2nd century layer includes lots from both Layer 5 and Layer 6, suggesting the dating of the artifacts dictated the layers. These three periods are represented by the artifacts, but do not correspond to three distinct layers within the well, nor can individual lots be assigned to a

⁵⁵⁵ Miller 1976, 190.

⁵⁵⁶ Miller’s (1976, 190, n. 27) analysis is problematic as it has the pottery Lots 55 and 56 as corresponding with the 7m, which ranges from 333.19 to 326.18. Lot 56, according to the excavation notebook, ranges from 326.09 to 325.69, which would lie below the first 7m of the well. In a later footnote (191, n. 29), he lists Lot 56 as part of the lower 3m. One of these is incorrect. This is yet another discrepancy. I should note that I did not study Lot 56, which was missing.

⁵⁵⁷ Miller 1976, 190.

single period. Therefore, I have divided Well N17:2 into an Upper Fill and a Lower Fill.⁵⁵⁸ My study supports that the upper 7m of the well had very little datable material; this is the Upper Fill, which is not dated. I assigned the lower 3m of the well to the Lower Fill, which dates from the 5th to 1st centuries BCE.

Lower Fill

94.05% of the total ceramic assemblage was found in the Lower Fill, excluding the sifted lot. The construction of the well as a water source directly relates to the construction of the kiln. This is most evident in the proximity to the kilns and the additional features, such as clay lining and a settling basin. In addition, the contents of the well both correspond with the kiln activities and the other surrounding buildings. The artifacts from the Lower Fill range in date from the 5th century to the 1st century BCE.

The latest datable material from the well ranges in date from the 3rd to 1st centuries and has been grouped with those artifacts that could only be dated to the Hellenistic period. All of these are fine ware vessels and the majority is open shapes. These 12 vessels were all registered during the original excavation. The closed shapes include a nearly complete 3rd century unguentarium (**497; Pl. 52**), which is very similar to one found in Well L17:1 (**3**), a partially reconstructed oinochoe (**498**), and the upper part of a small pitcher (**499**). The oinochoe and pitcher could only be dated to the Hellenistic period. The open shapes are dominated by moldmade bowls, but there are two other vessels to discuss, both from the 3rd century. One is a mug (**500; Pl. 54**) of the

⁵⁵⁸ Upper Fill - Layer 5, Lots 55.
Lower Fill - Layer 5, Lots 56-57; Layer 6, Lot 58-64.
Layer 5 and 6, sift; Lot 65 (not included in this study)

Hexamilia shape, which is nearly complete having been mended from several fragments. A plate (**507; Pl. 55**), preserving the full profile, also dates to the 3rd century. Even though some of the vessels have been reconstructed, the majority is still fragmentary. The ease, however, with which joins and associated fragments were identified suggests that these vessels entered the well complete, or nearly so.

Seven moldmade bowls were found in the well with various types of decoration and preservation. Moldmade bowls were a product of the Hellenistic period, and their presence in the well aids in the dating, especially considering that Well N17:2 has the greatest quantity of these bowls.⁵⁵⁹ Most of these have been reconstructed, but they vary in preservation. The latest example is a long petal type (**496; Pl. 53**) with a rosette medallion, dating to the middle of the 2nd to early 1st century. The remaining five examples all date from the end of the 3rd century to the 2nd century. One is the imbricate type (**501; Pl. 54**) with a gorgon in the medallion, rings of petals topped by rosettes, and a band of stylized ivy leaves; this bowl can be dated to the end of the 3rd to early 2nd century. Three are the figured type bowls: the first (**502; Pl. 54**) had a rosette medallion with armed centaurs and rosettes in the field; the second (**503; Pl. 54**) has a gorgon medallion surround by acanthus leaves with gods and rosettes in the field and birds flying above them; the third (**504; Pl. 54**) also has a gorgon medallion with erotes flanking column kraters in the field. The final two examples are preserved in one or two sherds: the first (**505; Pl. 54**) is decorated with concentric circles and acanthus leaves; the second

⁵⁵⁹ There are three examples in Well L17:2 and one example from K14:4, both of which have evidence for activity dating later than the 3rd century. As Rotroff (*Agora* XXII, 2, 10) notes that the chronology of the bowls is beset with problems and as such the context in which the bowl was found is the most important piece of information. Moldmade bowl were first manufactured in Athens, Corinth, and Argos in the last quarter of the 3rd century.

(506; Pl. 55) is decorated with bands of rosettes and palmettes, with bucrania between lozenges and pendant rosettes. Not only is the number of moldmade bowls telling of the date of the well, the variety of them suggests a great diversity was present in the sanctuary - no two examples from Nemea are alike, and while these from the well are similar to published examples from Athens and Corinth, none are direct parallels. As with the other finds from the Hellenistic period, their fragmentary nature may suggest that they were broken prior to entering the well.

The next group of artifacts date to the 4th century, with some more generally dating to the 4th to 3rd centuries. In this group, there is a wider range of fabric types and vessels shapes. The fine ware open vessels include a nearly complete amphora (508; Pl. 55), a partially reconstructed amphora (509; Pl. 55), and a Corinthian B amphora (510; Pl. 55). Two partially reconstructed skyphoi (511- 512; Pl. 55-56), a base of another skyphos (513; Fig. 32; Pl. 56), four partially reconstructed kantharoi (515-517; Pl. 56-57),⁵⁶⁰ two one-handled cups (518-519; Fig. 32; Pl. 57), a complete mug (520; Fig. 33; Pl. 57), and one 2/3 preserved mug (521; Fig. 33; Pl. 57) represents the drinking vessels from the end of the 4th century to the early 3rd century. One of the kantharoi (515; Pl. 56) is decorated with four palmettes stamped into the floor of the vessel, which is very similar to a kantharos in Well K14:4 (335). The remaining open shapes are bowls: a nearly complete hemispherical bowl (522; Pl. 57), about a third of a small shallow bowl (523; Fig. 33; Pl. 58), the base of a small bowl (524; Fig. 33; Pl. 58), and half of a salt-

⁵⁶⁰ A fifth kantharos was also found in the well, which was erroneously left out of the catalog and data discussion. It is an articulate kantharos, very similar to 516, with a ring base, slightly flaring foot, flaring lower body with a sharp carination and vertical upper body, lipless rim, and a handle attach for an oval vertical handle attached at rim and upper body; it preserves traces of a full reddish brown monochrome wash in and out.

cellar (**525; Fig. 33; Pl. 58**). The majority of these drinking vessels seems to correspond with the second phase of the festival, but more important is their relatively complete status. More so than any other well, the vessels in Well N17:2 are nearly complete or were easily reconstructed. This is different than any of the other ten wells, which suggests that the majority of the Lower Fill entered the well through primary deposition.

Also from the 4th century are vessels in blisterware and kitchenware.

Reconstructed from many fragments, but still missing more than half the vessel is a blisterware oinochoe (**528; Pl. 58**). A second blisterware vessel, an oinochoe (**529; Pl. 59**) with raised bumps around the upper body and broad vertical ridges on the shoulder, was also partially reconstructed. The rim of a blisterware aryballos (**530; Fig. 33; Pl. 59**) is the third vessel. These vessels date to the 4th century. The kitchenware vessels are mostly pitchers in various fabrics and with different profiles. While similar vessels have been found in the other wells, where they were generally dated by the context of the individual well, in this case, the pitchers have been placed in the 4th century. The well was not constructed until the end of the 4th century, and thus it provides a terminus post quem for these kinds of vessels, which generally seem to date to the 4th and 3rd centuries. Four pitchers were reconstructed during the excavation, resulting in nearly complete vessels (**531-534; Pl. 59**), while two more were added in my study (**535-536; Fig. 33; Pl. 59**). The final kitchenware vessel is a flanged chytra (**537; Pl. 60**), which has the flanged rim and complete handle. As with the pitchers, it is very likely that the rest of the chytra is in the well. These vessels present a similar narrative as the fine ware vessels. Their nearly complete nature supports primary deposition in the well. Several of

the pitchers in Well N17:2 are similar to those in Well K14:4. With the proximity to the kiln, it is possible that some of these pitchers were used to fetch water for the industrial activities rather than food preparation or consumption.

The well has four loom weights; the most found in any well and all made in fine ware fabrics.⁵⁶¹ While the dating of loom weights by profile is not as exact as ceramics, general dates can be applied. Two from the end of the 4th century have no visible inclusions; one is complete (**526; Pl. 58**) and the other preserves only the lower half (**527; Pl. 58**). These two loom weights appear to correspond with profile X as presented in *Corinth XII*, which would date them to ca. 350-300 BCE.⁵⁶² The other two loom weights are nearly complete and date from the middle to the end of the 5th century, and these have visible, red angular inclusions. One (**547; Pl. 60**), missing only a few chips from the bottom, is more conical in shape, corresponding to *Corinth XII* profile VIII.⁵⁶³ The other (**548; Pl. 61**) is a pyramidal type loom weight. Those that date to the 5th century were most likely kept safe for possible dedication and were later deposited in the well, as these two are the better preserved examples.

The 4th century artifacts also include three coins that represent locations not attested in the other wells. The first is a silver drachma (**538**) from Macedonia of Alexander III depicting Herakles in the lion's skin on the obverse and Zeus enthroned left holding eagle and scepter on the reverse with ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ vertically to the right. This coin dates to ca. 325-300 BCE and may support the argument that the Macedonians

⁵⁶¹ Well M17:2 has two loom weights.

⁵⁶² *Corinth XII*, p. 155, profile X, fig. 23.

⁵⁶³ *Corinth XII*, p. 152-3, profile VIII, fig. 23.

had a hand in returning the games to Nemea. The second is a bronze coin from Kleonai (539) with Herakles in the lion's skin on the obverse and ΚΛΕΩ in wild celery wreath on the reverse. This coin dates to ca. 320 BCE. The third coin (540) is bronze and from Arkadia with Pan's head on the obverse and *AR* on the reverse. It also dates to ca. 325-300 BCE. These three coins, found in different lots, all date to the end of the 4th century and are probably from visitors to the sanctuary at that time. The most interesting aspect is the range of cities, from Kleonai, the neighboring custodian of the games, to Arkadia and Macedonia.

Artifacts from the 5th century are also present and are more complete than those found in the other wells. Three fine ware oinochoai (541-543; Pl. 60) were almost completely reconstructed. All are very similar in shape with a slightly concave or flat bottom, a broad belly, slightly concave neck, out-turned rim, and a single medium-sized oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder. A base of another oinochoe (549; Pl. 61) with several associated body sherds was also found, and it is very possible that this oinochoe has the same profile as those dated to the 5th century. Two olpes (544-545; Fig. 34; Pl. 60) are represented by their bases and a 2/3 complete salt-cellar (546; Pl. 60) round out the fine ware vessels from the 5th century. These seven vessels and the two loom weights are the only objects from the 5th century.

Only two artifacts were generally dated to the 6th/5th century. A fragment of a larger vessel, probably a pitcher, was reworked as a stopper (550; Pl. 61). While the original vessel probably dates to the 5th century, it could have been reworked at any later point. The base and a handle from a bronze vessel (551) could possibly be items that

were left around the sanctuary only to be deposited in the well at a later date. The bronze base could have a story like those found in Well L17:1, L17:2, and K14:4. The stopper could have been reworked for any larger storage vessel that needed to be sealed. None of these artifacts can add much to the narrative of the well, but it is clear that the well was constructed in the end of the 4th century as there is no evidence of use in the first phase.

Several more artifacts could only be dated by the general context of the well. Most of these objects are fragmentary and thus no comparanda were found. Two stamped amphorae handles (**552-553; Pl. 61**) are the only stamped fragments from the wells. Other closed fine ware vessels include an oinochoe (**554**) and two pitchers (**555-556; Pl. 62**). In addition to these is a cup (**557; Pl. 62**), a shallow bowl (**558**), and a nearly complete miniature basket (**559, Pl. 62**). This is the only miniature vessel found in the well and the fact that it is only missing a small fragment from the handle suggests that it was deposited into the well whole. There are several more kitchenware vessels that have a more generic profile or are less preserved and thus cannot be securely dated. This includes a hydria (**560**), a stew pot (**561; Pl. 62**), and two pitchers (**562-563; Pl. 62**). The final ceramic object is a pithos fragment (**564; Pl. 63**) that was mended with a large lead clamp. No other vessel shows this kind of ancient repair. Perhaps the vessel was repaired by craftsmen working the kiln. Architectural elements include an altar finial (**565**), cover tiles (**566-567**), and an antefix (**568**).

The abundance of metal objects is distinctive, which might be associated with the industrial activities occurring around the kiln, as this is not seen in the other wells. The metal objects include sheets of bronze (**569**), an iron ring (**570**), two iron pins (**571-572**),

an iron sickle (573), fragments of lead slag (574), several iron nails (575-578) and iron fragments (579-582). An intact stone grinder or pounder (584; Pl. 63) was found with the ceramics. Nearly 20 pieces of rock crystal (583), 11 fragments of blue Argive limestone (585), and two fragments of white marble (586) may all be the byproducts of production and stone carving. The high quantity of artifacts found in the well speaks to the industrial and craft production occurring around the well and the kiln.

Taken as a whole, the Lower Fill has artifacts from all periods of activity at Nemea: the 6th and 5th centuries (first phase of the festival), the end of the 4th and early 3rd centuries (second phase of the festival), later 3rd century and Hellenistic (possible attempts to return the games to Nemea). As the only well securely dated to the end of the 4th century, the preservation of the artifacts is telling. The 5th century material is not evidence of earlier use, but rather artifacts that remained within the sanctuary until the festival returned, or possibly 'heirloom' objects.⁵⁶⁴ The overall preservation of the ceramics is extremely important. Nearly all could be reconstructed, though none are fully intact. This suggested that the majority of these vessels entered the well whole, during primary deposition, either intentional or accidental. Alternatively, these vessels were used and broken close to the well, with all the fragments were disposed of in the well. Well N17:2 is unique not only in the vessel presentation but the range of artifact distribution.

Upper Fill

The Upper Fill comprises the highest 7m of the well, which was identified as

⁵⁶⁴ This is less likely as the majority of these vessels are oinochoe or similar shapes, which do not seem like likely candidates.

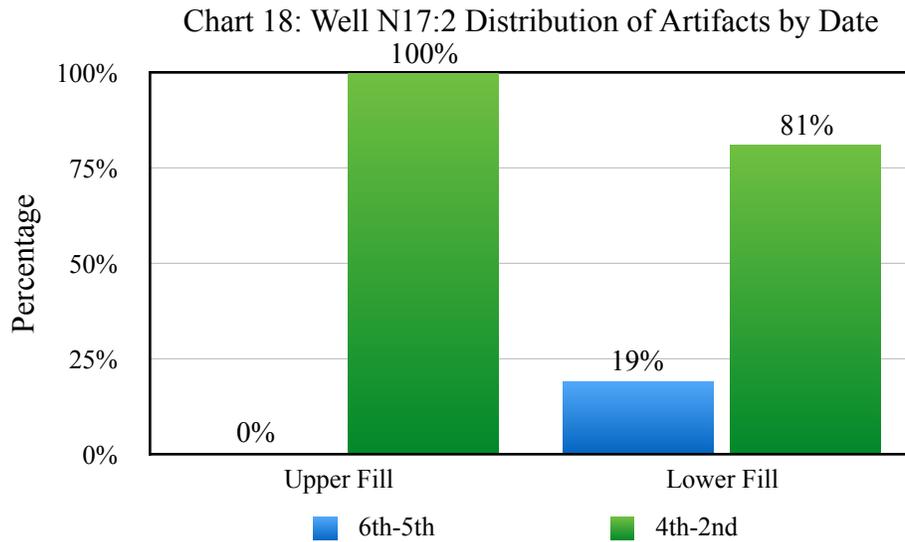
deliberate dump to close the well. Very little pottery was found other than battered sherds. Some fragments of fine ware, blisterware, and kitchenware fabrics were found. Pottery in the Upper Fill accounts for 5.95% of the well's total. While fabrics and vessel parts were identified, none of the ceramics were diagnostic. There are only three other finds from the Upper Fill. The first is a fragment of an inscription (493) that appears to discuss the finances between two Doric states. It was dated by excavators to the 4th century. The inscription is one of many worked stones that were used to fill the well, which suggests that once an inscription regarding festival business was no longer relevant it could be broken and disposed of. In addition to the inscription is a wall block (494) and a column drum (495), both made of the local limestone. The wall block preserves U-shaped lifting and other cuttings. Neither of these pieces can closely be dated. The only conclusion to be made is that the Upper Fill of the well was closed with fragments of worked stone and mostly soil. The general lack of ceramic remains within the 7m of fill suggests that the origin of the soil was pristine with very little evidence of activity from any period of the festival.

Overview

Well N17:2 is not only the deepest of the Nemean wells, it also seems to have been the most carefully constructed. If the well truly was built for the industrial needs of the kiln, then it would have seen constant and repeated use. Most telling is the addition of the settling basin at the bottom of the well. None of the other wells appear to have had this feature, which would have aided in providing a clean water source for the kiln.⁵⁶⁵ Its

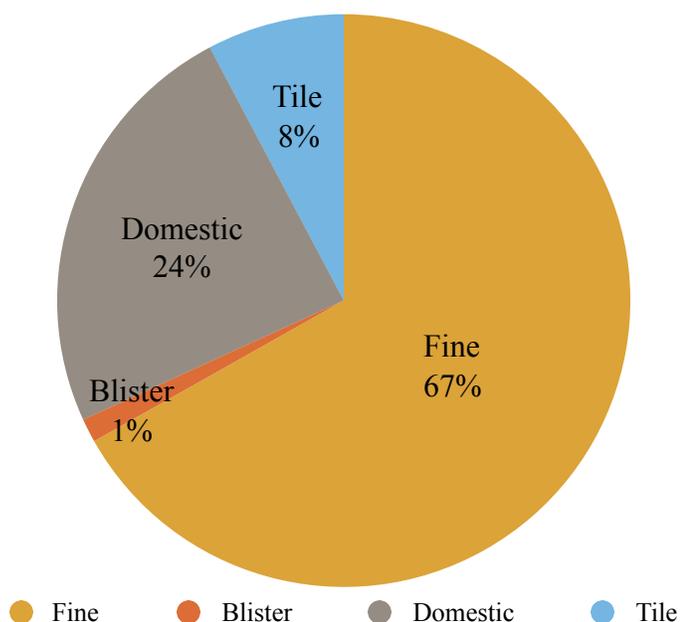
⁵⁶⁵ None of the other wells report having a settling basin cut into the bottom of the well.

connection to the kiln indicates that the well was constructed and mainly used in the end of the 4th century and early 3rd century. This corresponds with the distribution of artifacts; the Upper Fill only has material from the second phase, while in the Lower Fill 81% belongs to the second phase and 19% to the first phase (**Chart 18**). It is clear from this distribution alone that Well N17:2 is different from the other nearby wells.



Fine ware accounts for 67% of the total ceramic assemblage with domestic wares only accounting for 24% (**Chart 19**). This is the opposite of what is seen in the other wells, which tend to favor domestic wares when there is a high percentage of 4th and 3rd century material. In addition to this, Well N17:2 had the largest amount of tile fragments, 8% of the ceramic assemblage. Just over 1,800 fragments of tile, in various fabrics and sizes, were kept, and this does not include the tile that was thrown during excavation. The amount of tile found in this well alone is the clearest connection between the assemblage and the kiln. One would expect that the majority of these tile fragments were waste or surplus tiles produced in the kiln.

Chart 19: Well N17:2 Fabric Distribution



With a high percentage of fine ware, the number of open and closed vessels is not surprising (**Table 7**).⁵⁶⁶ Of the 46 fine ware vessels, 13 are drinking shapes (only 29%), but more striking is the number of moldmade bowls, which support the later date of the well. The addition of metal and stone artifacts may add evidence for the industrial activities occurring in this area of the sanctuary.

Table 7: Well N17:2 Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

	Lower
Fine Wares (Total: 46)	
Amphora	5
Hydria	
Oinochoe/Decanter	6
Pitcher	4
Olpe	2
Krater	
Lekane	

⁵⁶⁶ The Upper Fill is not included in the table as none of the artifacts were ceramic.

Basin	
Kylix	
Kotyle	
Skyphos	3
Cup	1
Kantharos	4
One Handled Cup	2
Mug	3
Bowl	4
Mold Made Bowl	7
Salt-cellar	2
Saucer	
Plate	1
Lekythos/Araballos	
Unguentarium	1
Askos	
Strainer Pot	
Pyxis	
Kalathiskos	
Miniature	1
Lamp	
Blister Wares (Total: 3)	
Amphora	
Oinochoe	2
Aryballos	1
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 12)	
Amphora	
Hydria	1
Pitcher	8
Lekane	
Chytra	1
Lopas	
Dish/Plate	
Pot	1

Lid	
Pithos	1
Mortar	
Well Total	61

In Well N17:2 there were very little faunal remains. While it was the earliest well excavated, the lack of faunal material does not appear to be due to collection techniques. In the notebook, Wright, who appears to record all material recovered from the well, does not mention the presence of any bones in the fill until a few were found by the fourth day of excavation.⁵⁶⁷ It appears that the minimal presence of faunal material is intentional rather than a result of excavation. The lack of ancient deposition of bones into the well is most likely due to its relationship to the kiln and ceramic production. It would appear that the well was kept clean during its use and after it stopped functioning as a water source. It is also conceivable that no animal consumption occurred nearby or no trash of this type was dumped here.

What might explain the large quantity of fine ware and the good preservation of the vessels may be the other building in N17. The kiln was out of use and covered over by the middle of the 3rd century.⁵⁶⁸ Yet it is clear from the ceramic vessels that the well remained open for at least another century. Directly next to the well is the so-called Dining Establishment. While it dates to the second quarter of the 5th century, it is very possible that it continued to be used in the second phase of the festival. This would account for the 5th century material that might have been cleaned out of the Dining

⁵⁶⁷ Wright 1975, 457.

⁵⁶⁸ Miller 1004, 151.

Establishment when the festival returned in the 4th century. The building could have continued to be used for formal dining in the 4th and 3rd century, thus accounting for the high number of drinking vessels from that period. When the building was covered over to allow for a formal square outside the xenon, the location continued to be associated with drinking. All these vessels associated with this activity were later deposited into the well. It seems that the well had two lives, as it had two wellheads; one associated with the kiln and the other with dining.

Well O16:1

Discovered in 1976, Well O16:1 was excavated in 1977.⁵⁶⁹ The well is located slightly to the north of the line of wells in grid line 17 and thus has been more closely associated with oikos 8, and possibly the Dining Establishment, rather than the xenon (**Plan 1**).⁵⁷⁰ It was excavated to the full depth of 4.91m with no traces of wall lining in the construction.⁵⁷¹ First identified as a pit, it was quickly changed to an unlined, poorly constructed well. The diameter grew from 1.4m to 2.5m, which is considerably wider than the other wells in the sanctuary. During excavation, Wright notes that there was no period of use, perhaps due to collapse during construction, and thus, the well was

⁵⁶⁹ Miller 1978, 72-3; see also Wright 1977.

⁵⁷⁰ The oikoi at Nemea were labeled as such after the whole series was uncovered in the 1970s, even though excavation in the 1920s and 1964 first found the structures. While these architectural units have no fixed features, they were probably used as a combination treasury and meeting hall. Miller has suggested that they functioned like the treasuries at Olympia, although much larger in size and no dedications, as would be found in a treasure, have survived. Therefore, it is possible that the oikoi at Delos are a closer parallel, which served as a location for meetings and ritual banquets (Miller 2004, 136-7). Nine in total, they appear to have been constructed in the first half of the 5th century, during the first phase of the festival.

⁵⁷¹ No section of the well was drawn during excavation.

abandoned and filled in all at once.⁵⁷² Miller suggests that the well could have been used for only a short period of time when the water table was high.⁵⁷³

The well was filled with roof tiles and stones, which were discarded during excavation, but all the pottery was kept.⁵⁷⁴ The overall number of artifacts from the well is relatively low but support a date in the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century. There is no clear distinction in the accumulation of material, so the well was assigned to a single context to reflect a single period of deposition.⁵⁷⁵

Fill

The latest artifacts date to the early 3rd century represented by two fine ware vessels, the complete base of an amphora (**587; Fig. 34; Pl. 64**) and a kotyle (**588; Fig. 34; Pl. 64**). A fragment of a fine ware mortar (**590; Fig. 34; Pl. 64**) with large, heavy inclusions could also be placed in this period, as its profile is generic enough to date from the middle of the 4th to the 3rd century. These three ceramic vessels do not tell much about the use of the well. Their fragmentary nature again supports a secondary deposition. Also from this period is a fragment of a Doric capital (**589; Pl. 64**) whose profile suggests a Hellenistic date due to the angular profile of the echinus. It is unclear what building this would have come from, especially if it dates to the second phase of the festival. Its inclusion in the well suggests the well had, in the 3rd century, been designated a trash site.

The remains from the 4th century are nearly all common drinking vessels,

⁵⁷² Wright 1977, 425; Miller 1978, 73.

⁵⁷³ Miler 2004, 147.

⁵⁷⁴ Wright 1977, 600.

⁵⁷⁵ Layer 4, Lots 84, 90, and 91.

including a skyphos (591; Fig. 34; Pl. 64) and a one-handled cup (592; Fig. 34; Pl. 64). A nearly complete reconstructed shallow bowl (593; Fig. 34; Pl. 64) and the complete base of another (594; Fig. 35; Pl. 64) round out the fine wares from the 4th century. The only other ceramic vessel is a rim fragment of a cooking ware lopus (595; Pl. 65) from the late 4th century. Combined with the mortar, these two vessels support food preparation. But since all the finds are fragmentary, the artifacts were most likely deposited in a secondary act.

Two coins are the only non-ceramic artifacts from the 4th century. The first (596) is a silver hemidrachm from Argos with a wolf on the obverse and *A* in a shallow incuse square with ivy below on the reverse. It has been dated to after 343 BCE.⁵⁷⁶ The second (597) is a bronze coin from Phokis with a bull's head on the obverse and laurel wreath on the reverse. It is dated to ca. 357-346 BCE.⁵⁷⁷ Given the time frame of the second phase of the festival, it is most likely that these two coins were in circulation into the 330s BCE and must have come to the sanctuary when the games began again. Since many of the artifacts are fragmentary, suggesting a secondary deposition in the well, it is possible that these coins were also in the sanctuary for a while prior to entering the well. It is also possible that they show the well was dug for one of the first festivals of the second phase, which would place the digging of the well in the very end of the 4th century.

There are even fewer datable examples from the first phase of the festival. Nearly all are fine ware vessels, both open and closed shapes, including the complete base of an

⁵⁷⁶ *Nemea III*, cat. 1762.

⁵⁷⁷ *Nemea III*, cat. 186.

amphora or pitcher (**589; Fig. 35; Pl. 65**), the complete base of a kotyle or bowl (**599; Fig. 35; Pl. 65**), and a mug (**602; Fig. 35; Pl. 65**). Also from the 5th century are two examples of a bowl type that is more commonly found in the wells rather than the full site. These two bowls (**601-602 Fig. 35; Pl. 65**) are characterized by their tall ring base and slightly convex underside, decorated with a monochrome glaze only on the interior.⁵⁷⁸ Generally dated to the Classical period is a large fragment of a pithos (**604; Fig. 35; Pl. 66**). It is nearly vertical in profile with molded decoration on the exterior, three raised horizontal and one curved ridge, possibly the lower part of a circle. It was made in a very coarse fabric with small inclusions, and a slip or wash applied to the exterior. This fabric and decoration are striking, and no other sherds recovered match, which suggests it is the only fragment deposited in the well. In addition to these vessels is an nearly complete, intact lamp (**603; Pl. 65**), which appears to date from the late 5th to early 4th century, and a nearly complete loom weight (**605; Pl. 66**), from the end of the 6th to early 5th century. While lamps from other wells have been reconstructed, this one is the most complete example, missing only the handle and front of the nozzle. It most likely did not travel far from its original use context, which may be the nearby oikoi or Dining Establishment. Overall, the artifacts from the first phase continue to support secondary deposition, mostly likely when the well was filled after abandonment or a period of disuse.

Six additional artifacts could only be dated by context. A third amphora base

⁵⁷⁸ There appear to be at least six examples of this bowl from the ten wells. No complete example is preserved and thus it is difficult to identify and date. They are characterized by the tall ring foot and the application of a monochrome glaze on the interior. But since no complete examples have been found, it is unknown if the bowl is similar to the semi-glazed examples found in Corinth (*Corinth* VII.3, nos. 1-14).

(606; Pl. 66) fine ware fabric may suggest that the location of the soil for the fill was likely of a domestic/storage nature. Supporting this is the presence of faunal material. The amount of bone from the well is relatively small in comparison with other wells, but their presence seems to correspond with nearby activities. Several architectural elements were recovered, including a molding (607) and epicranitis (608) fragments, part of a base (609), and fragment of a stamped roof tile (610; Pl. 66). These may be the debris from nearby buildings, such as the oikoi. Finally a small intact bronze ring (611) was also found in the well. It is circular and more likely a personal ring than ornamental fragment. This is the second ring found in the Nemean wells; the other, slightly larger in diameter, was found in Well L17:2. The ring and the architectural fragments are most likely from the first phase of the festival and were deposited into the well as fill after it was no longer useful.

Overview

There are several factors that make Well O16:1 stand out from the other wells. The first is the shallow depth, ca. 4.91m, which is about half the normal depth of wells. Due to this, questions concerning function and length of use arise. Since the well was not lined during construction, excavators had suggested it was either abandoned and never used or used for a single festival cycle and then filled. At this shallower depth, the well may not have produced water, regardless of any flaws in construction. Nevertheless, the depth, construction, and characteristics of the fill all suggest that the well did not have a long period of use. Thus the contents of the fill best represent an intentional, secondary depositional event.

Even with the smaller assemblage, some conclusions can be made about the fill. The majority of the artifacts date to the second phase of the festival, 59% versus 41% (**Chart 20**). Similar to Well N17:2, while there was a higher percentage of second phase materials, Well O16:1 has a larger percentage of fine wares (**Chart 21**). In fact, at 73% it is the largest percentage of fine wares for any of the 10 wells. While blisterware sherds account for about 3% of the total assemblage, all the sherds were body fragments with a single example of a handle and no vessels were identified.

Chart 20: Well O16:1 Distribution of Artifacts by Date

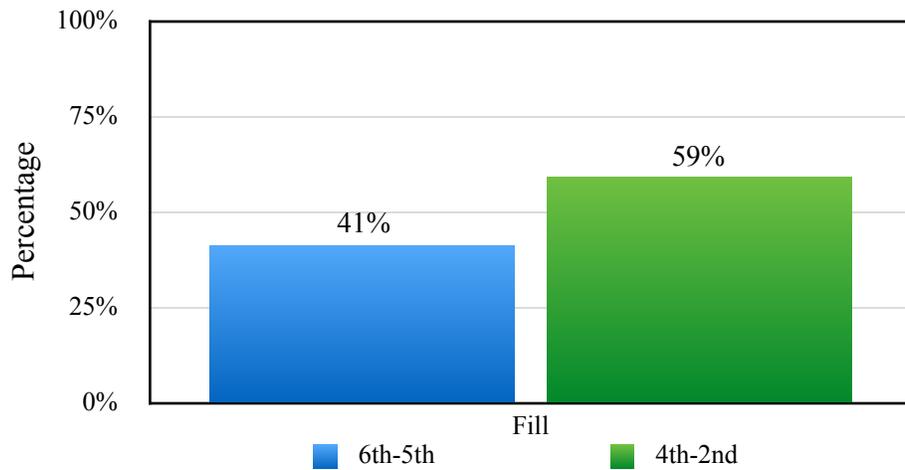
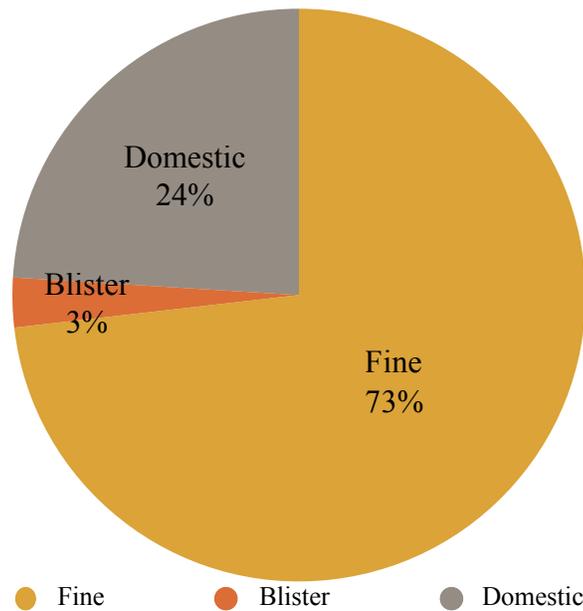


Chart 21: Well O16:1 Fabric Distribution



As with other wells, when the fine ware is plentiful, so is the amount of drinking and open vessels (**Table 8**). In this case, drinking vessels account for 36% of the fine ware vessel distribution. But the overall nature of the artifacts, regardless of their material, is fragmentary, with the exception of one small bowl, the coins, and the bronze ring. Thus the artifacts within the fill, the fragmentary ceramics and architectural members, all support that Well O16:1 was intentionally filled with nearby debris, possibly a combination of first phase debris and debris that accumulated when the sanctuary held a festival.

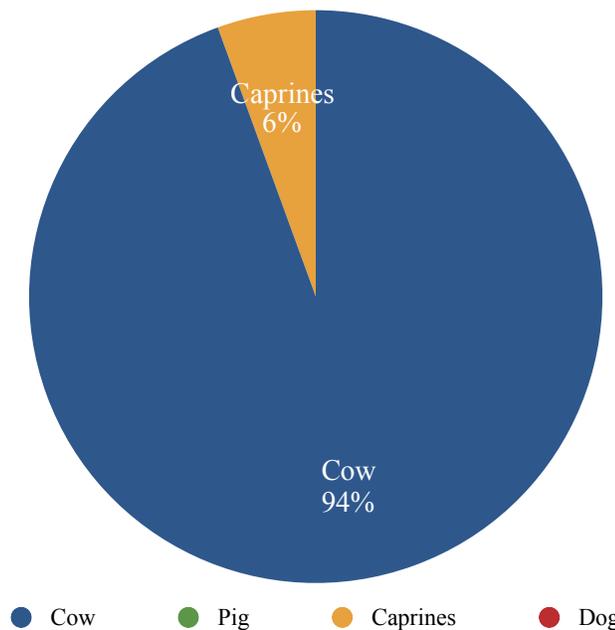
Table 8: Well O16:1 Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

Fine Wares (Total: 14)	
Amphora	3
Hydria	
Oinochoe/Decanter	
Pitcher	
Olpe	
Krater	1
Lekane	
Basin	
Kylix	
Kotyle	2
Skyphos	1
Cup	
Kantharos	
One Handled Cup	1
Mug	1
Bowl	4
Mold Made Bowl	

Salt-cellar	
Saucer	
Plate	
Lekythos/Araballos	
Unguentarium	
Askos	
Strainer Pot	
Pyxis	
Kalathiskos	
Miniature	
Lamp	1
Blister Wares (Total: 0)	
Amphora	
Oinochoe	
Aryballos	
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 2)	
Amphora	
Hydria	
Pitcher	
Lekane	
Chytra	
Lopas	1
Dish/Plate	
Pot	
Lid	
Pithos	1
Mortar	
Well Total	16

The faunal remains from Well O16:1 were significantly less than in the other wells, but some preliminary results were still possible (**Chart 22**). Eighteen fragments were identified, with nearly all belonging to adult cattle. The caprine remains was a

Chart 22: Well O16:1 Species Abundance



single tooth, whereas the cattle included both head and limb fragments. All the fragments were recovered from the top of the well, suggesting that they were thrown in last. Even considering the small amount of identified fragments, these remains can fit with the general trends for the faunal remains. With only cow and caprine remains, these may have been the by-product of food production, seen through the presence of head fragments. It is most likely they were deposited in the well during the deposition of the other artifacts, during a cleaning event.

What is striking is the nature of some of the ceramic artifacts, especially when paired with the location of the well. The three closed vessels in fine ware fabrics are all most likely amphorae, indicating that these remains possibly came from a storage location. Adding to this is the fragment of a pithos. If the krater/mortar and the lopas are also taken into account, then these artifacts present a picture of food storage and preparation, which is further supported by the presence of faunal material, including

some larger fragments. The well is located closer to the oikoi than the xenon, and perhaps some of fill came from those buildings, specifically oikos 8 and the Dining Establishment.⁵⁷⁹ Miller notes, “The suggested use of the area behind Oikos 8 as a kitchen facility is in no way contradicted by an ancient attempt to excavate a source of water in it.”⁵⁸⁰ Rather the more important question is the chronological relationship of the well and these buildings. While the oikoi and Dining Establishment were built in the first half of the 5th century, during the first phase of the festival, the well itself most likely dates to the second phase of the festival.⁵⁸¹ The fact that oikos 8 was remodeled to function as a bronze sculpting workshop in the third quarter of the 5th century should not play into the interpretation of Well O16:1, but does add to the larger picture that this area of the sanctuary was slowly transitioning into an area of industrial production.⁵⁸² But by the early 3rd century, the Dining Establishment was covered over by a layer of gravel to serve as a plateia for the xenon. If the well was dug as a water source in conjunction with this courtyard space, to be used for feasting, then the artifacts of food production, storage, and consumption would be reasonable. The wells in N17 and O17 would also factor into this narrative. Thus while Well O16:1 might not have a secure date of creation, its final filling must have occurred in the early 3rd century, which supports its limited and short

⁵⁷⁹ Miller (2004, 149) argues that the back rooms of oikoi 1, 8, and 9 all functioned as cooking areas and thus could only be explained by their relationship with the Dining Establishment, since it “is unprecedented in connection with other treasures and *oikoi*.”

⁵⁸⁰ Miller 1978, 73. The use of the back space as a kitchen facility would link it even more closely to the Dining Establishment.

⁵⁸¹ Miller 2004 (146) notes that the walls behind oikos 8 join it to the Dining Establishment behind oikos 9. All built in the first half of the 5th century. Since the contemporary walls connect the three buildings and the areas between them, they must have functioned as a unit.

⁵⁸² Miller 2004, 146-7. Evidence suggested that this remodeling occurred at some point after 450 BCE. Both oikos 8 and the back room, which contains Well O16:1, were remodeled and several pits were cut into the floor of the limos as casting pits. There is no evidence of remains from bronze working in the well, and if the well was dug in the 4th century, it would post-date the use of the area for bronze casting.

term use. The nature of the fill represents the nearby activities, which if traditions from the first phase were continued, would be connected to dining and refreshments for the visitors to the festival.

Well O17:1

Two unlined wells lie behind oikos 9. Well O17:1 was excavated in 1977 (**Plan 1**).⁵⁸³ It was 6.8m in depth and constructed without a lined wall (**Pl. 9a**).⁵⁸⁴ There was no period of use and was filled in all at once.⁵⁸⁵ Miller suggested that the well may have been used for a single festival season.⁵⁸⁶ In the *Hesperia* excavation report, Miller emphasizes the well's location within the kitchen area behind oikos 9, but does not clearly state that the well and the building are from two different time periods.⁵⁸⁷ He simply notes that the well was closed in the late 4th century.⁵⁸⁸ When discussing the function of the back room, Miller notes that it was a cooking area, citing the presence of a roasting pit filled with carbon, ash, and bone, and the two wells as evidence.⁵⁸⁹ Unlike Well O16:1, no artifacts from the fill, which included field stones, tiles, and worked blocks, were discarded. Due to the construction and excavation history, Well O17:1 was

⁵⁸³ Miller 1978, 78; see also Lazarus 1977.

⁵⁸⁴ No section of the well was drawn during excavation.

⁵⁸⁵ Lazarus 1977, 186.

⁵⁸⁶ Miller 1978, 78.

⁵⁸⁷ From exaction within the oikos, it had a similar history as oikos 8. By the third quarter of the 5th century, it had also been remodeled to accommodate bronze-casting activities, as seen in the two pits cut into the west wall of the oikos, though Miller suggests that the back room continued to be used after the oikos was destroyed (Miller 2004, 148-9).

⁵⁸⁸ Miller 1978, 78.

⁵⁸⁹ Miller 2004, 149.

also assigned to a single context dating to the 5th and 4th centuries.⁵⁹⁰

Fill

The contents favor the second phase of the festival, but only by a very small percentage. Most of the diagnostic ceramics are fine ware open shapes. The latest artifact is a lekane rim (**612; Fig. 35; Pl. 67**), which could date from the end of the 4th to beginning of the 3rd century. From the 4th century is a skyphos (**613; Fig. 36; Pl. 67**) and two cups (**614-615; Fig. 36; Pl. 67**). The single non-fine ware vessel is a 4th century lekane (**618; Pl. 67**) in a semi-coarse fabric and preserves the full profile. In addition to the vessels is the nozzle of a lamp (**616; Pl. 67**) and a kiln wedge (**617**), perhaps from the nearby kiln. The first phase of the festival is represented by ceramics from the 5th century; once again all fine ware vessels in open shapes. This includes a kotyle (**619; Fig. 36; Pl. 67**), a cup (**620; Fig. 36; Pl. 67**), a stemless cup (**621; Fig. 36; Pl. 67**), and a mug (**622; Fig. 36; Pl. 68**). As with the ceramics from the 4th century, these are all fragmentary, mostly preserving the bases of vessels. There is no evidence of 6th century material in the well. The number of fine ware sherds in the well represents the largest quantity, and thus the rest of the vessels may be present. Overall, the sherds are small and battered making reconstructions difficult and represent an intentional fill of the well rather than its use. The well was most likely used for a short period of time due to the poor construction or lack of water supply. Nonetheless, the sherds used to fill it appear to have been tossed around the site prior to their use in the fill.

Several other artifacts maybe dated by context. Five architectural limestone

⁵⁹⁰ Layer 1, Lot 24.

blocks (623-627) were found in the well preserve the full size and shape with unfinished working surfaces. The function of these is unclear, but three of them (624-626) are about the same size, about 0.5m in height and 1m in length, and seem to have a shared function or identification. Aside from the architectural members, Well O17:1 contained a bronze arrowhead (628), a lead object (629), possibly a tool, and a grinding stone (630) in limestone. The arrowhead is most likely an ornamental part of a larger bronze object rather than a weapon. These finds all support the filling of the well with nearby debris.

Overview

Of the identifiable artifacts, 19 in total, only 11 could be securely dated. The distribution of the dated objects continues to favor the second phase of the festival over the first phase, 64% to 36% respectively (**Chart 23**). Well O17:1, like the previous wells, has a higher percentage of fine ware sherds, which account for 71% of the total ceramic assemblage (**Chart 24**). Very similar to Well O16:1, domestic wares account for 26%, while blisterware is 3%. Of the blisterware, no vessels were securely identified as nearly all body sherds with a single handle, a similar distribution to Well O16:1.

Chart 23: Well O17:1 Distribution of Artifacts by Date

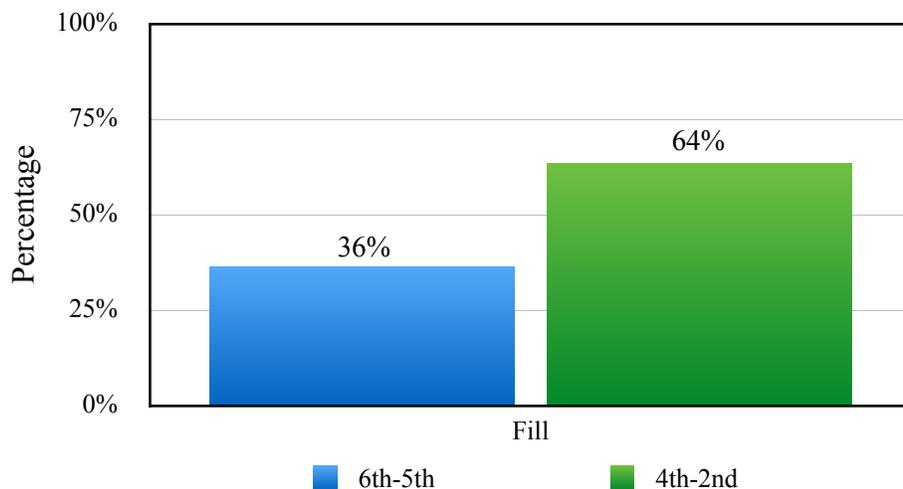
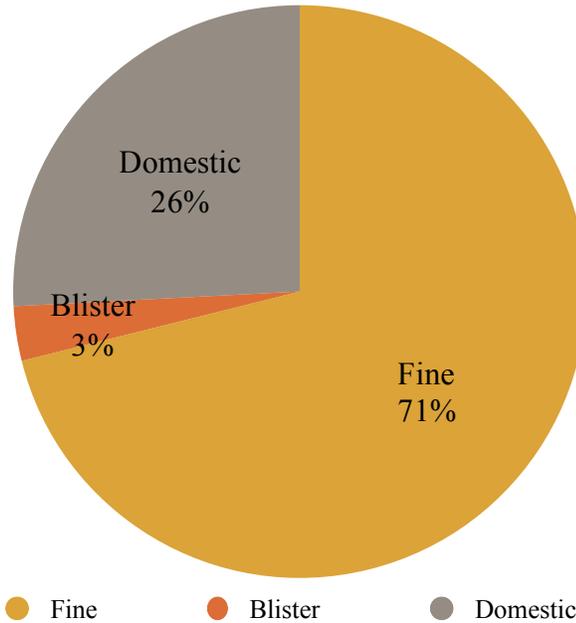


Chart 24: Well O17:1 Fabric Distribution



Of the fine ware vessels, drinking shapes dominate (77% of the total fine ware vessels) (**Table 9**). Although there are seven drinking vessels, four are from the 5th century, which does mirror the general trend that the first phase tends to favor fine ware drinking vessels. These four drinking vessels are the only objects securely dated to 5th century (**619-622**). Overall, it is clear that the ceramics and their fragmentary nature, with no evidence of any complete vessels, support that the well was intentionally filled with debris, resulting in the secondary deposition of these artifacts.

Table 9: Well O17:1 Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

Fine Wares (Total: 9)	
Amphora	
Hydria	
Oinochoe/Decanter	
Pitcher	
Olpe	
Krater	

Lekane	1
Basin	
Kylix	
Kotyle	1
Skyphos	1
Cup	4
Kantharos	
One Handled Cup	
Mug	1
Bowl	
Mold Made Bowl	
Salt-cellar	
Saucer	
Plate	
Lekythos/Araballos	
Unguentarium	
Askos	
Strainer Pot	
Pyxis	
Kalathiskos	
Miniature	
Lamp	1
Blister Wares (Total: 0)	
Amphora	
Oinochoe	
Aryballos	
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 1)	
Amphora	
Hydria	
Pitcher	
Lekane	
Chytra	
Lopas	
Dish/Plate	

Pot	
Lid	
Pithos	
Mortar	1
Total	10

When discussing the well in publications, Miller has implied a connection between it, the back room of oikos 9 and the Dining Establishment.⁵⁹¹ This does not take into full consideration the dates of these buildings, which he places in the 5th century, and the well, which most likely dates to the end of the 4th century. Since the well was unlined, it was only used for a short period of time; therefore, dug, used, and closed all in the second phase of the festival at the end of the 4th and early 3rd centuries. Some of the fill clearly comes from debris in the area from the first phase of the festival. Oikos 9 was converted into a bronze workshop by the third quarter of the 5th century. Remains from this industrial activity may have made their way into the well, as seen by the arrowhead and lead tool. The high percentage of 5th century drinking vessels in the well may be debris from the nearby Dining Establishment.

There is also evidence within the fill of Well O17:1 that would support a connection to the kitchen area in the back of oikos 9. The grinding stone (**630**), semi-coarse lekane (**617**), cooking ware sherds, and faunal remains, including some large fragments of bone, can be associated with food production and consumption. If the life of the well is all within the second phase of the festival and the lekane is also a 4th century vessel, then any food production would also date to this time. This would

⁵⁹¹ Miller 2004, 149.

indicate that the kitchen behind oikos 9 continued to be used in the end of the 4th century, which Miller does not make clear.⁵⁹² Functioning as a well for only a short period of time, the fill represents debris from the area more so than any use as a water source. Thus, similar to Well O16:1, Well O17:1 may be associated with the continued use of the area for production, both crafts and food, and consumption.

Well O17:2

Well O17:2 was excavated immediately after Well O17:1 in 1977 (**Plan 1**).⁵⁹³ The lack of lining demonstrates the poor construction and was also very shallow, 0.93m (**Pl. 9b**).⁵⁹⁴ This is the shallowest of all ten wells and the most likely candidate as an aborted attempt at digging a well. As with Well O17:1, it was also associated with the kitchen area behind oikos 9. The well was filled with rubble and pottery and then purposely closed with several large stones, including a fragment of a column (**634**).⁵⁹⁵ Miller noted that the rubble fill and pottery established a date “in the latter part of the first half of the 5th century.”⁵⁹⁶ Since the well was most likely abandoned and used as a dump, it was assigned to a single context for this study.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹² Investigation of the roasting pit found in the back room of oikos 9 would help to clarify the dating.

⁵⁹³ Miller 1978, 78; see also Lazarus 1977.

⁵⁹⁴ No section of the well was drawn during excavation.

⁵⁹⁵ While excavating the well, in the SE area of the deposit, a layer of light red soil appeared to intersect the outer most stones of the deposit. After the column was removed and Well O17:2 was cleaned for final photographs, Lazarus excavated the pit, called “Wall Pit” (Layer 1, Lot 27). She concluded that the soil did not appear to extend into the stones of Well O17:2 and thus could not determine the chronological order of the two features. (Lazarus 1977, 117-119).

⁵⁹⁶ Miller 1978, 78.

⁵⁹⁷ Layer 1, Lot 26.

Fill

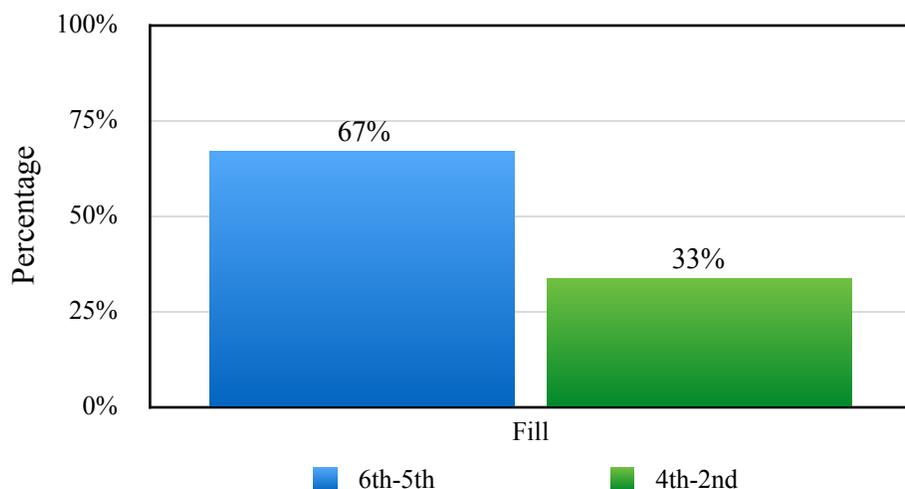
The assemblage associated with this well is not only the smallest but also had very few diagnostic fragments. A single fragment of a kotyle base (**631; Fig. 37; Pl. 68**) is evidence for the 4th century and second phase of the festival. Two fragments of fine ware vessels date to the 5th century: a cup (**632; Fig. 37**) and a mug or small bowl (**633; Fig. 37; Pl. 68**). These three fragments were the only sherds that could be identified and dated with any certainty. The remainder of the ceramics were body sherds and thus not diagnostic. Two non-ceramic artifacts were recovered and saved. This includes the fragment of a half-column (**634**) and a very small piece of bronze (**635**). These two objects do not add much to the overall narrative of the well. As with its neighbor, Well O17:1, the total amount of objects within the well is significantly less than the other wells. This is most likely a result of the very shallow depth and short period of use. This well probably never hit the water table and thus was quickly filled. With the limited evidence, it is difficult to determine the exact date of these actions, but probably in the 4th century.

Overview

As with the two previous wells, Well O17:2 follows similar patterns in use. Due to the very shallow depth of the well, very little material was recovered, about half the amount found in Well O17:1. Therefore, all conclusions made about the well are speculation. The well favors the first phase of the festival, 67% to 33%, but this distribution only takes into consideration three identifiable objects (**Chart 25**).

While all three registered ceramics are fine ware open vessels, the distribution of sherds

Chart 25: Well O17:2 Distribution of Artifacts by Date



by fabric is slightly different than Well O16:1 and O17:1. Well O17:2 continues to be dominated by fine ware at 62% of the assemblage, but blisterware now accounts for 21% and domestic wares are 17% (**Chart 26**). The higher amount of blisterware in the well may help to date the fill itself. While blisterware was produced from the 5th to 3rd centuries, more of it is found in wells that favor the second phase.⁵⁹⁸ For example, very little can be found in Well L17:1, which represents clean up of the 5th century debris, but Well E18 by the heroön has a significant amount. This may have implications for the date of the well. The only fragment that dates to the 4th century is the kotyle base, which most likely dates to the early 4th century. The kotyle and high percentage of blisterware may support a date in the second phase rather than the first, which Miller proposed (**Table 10**).

⁵⁹⁸ Thompson (1934, 470-1) was the first to identify blisterware in his study of Hellenistic pottery from the Athenian Agora. He dates the fabric to the fourth and third centuries. The next discussion was by Pease (1937, 259), who was the first to suggest that it was a Corinthian fabric, in her publication of a well that is securely dated to 460-420 BCE. Blisterware continued to be used in the Hellenistic period, though with a difference in fabric with thinner walls and has warmer tones, more mottled grey to orange or pinkish red in color (*Corinth* VII.3, 145).

Chart 26: Well O17:2 Fabric Distribution

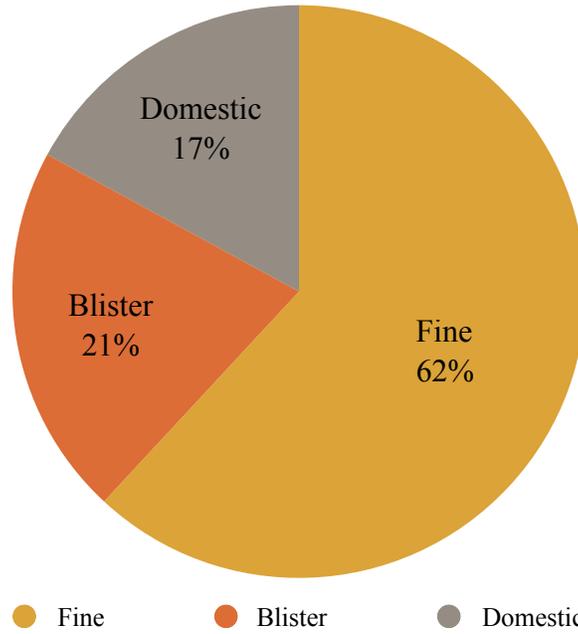


Table 10: Well O17: 2 Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

Fine Wares (Total: 3)	
Amphora	
Hydria	
Oinochoe/Decanter	
Pitcher	
Olpe	
Krater	
Lekane	
Basin	
Kylix	
Kotyle	1
Skyphos	
Cup	1
Kantharos	
One Handled Cup	
Mug	1

Bowl	
Mold Made Bowl	
Salt-cellar	
Saucer	
Plate	
Lekythos/Araballos	
Unguentarium	
Askos	
Strainer Pot	
Pyxis	
Kalathiskos	
Miniature	
Lamp	
Blister Wares (Total: 0)	
Amphora	
Oinochoe	
Aryballos	
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 0)	
Amphora	
Hydria	
Pitcher	
Lekane	
Chytra	
Lopas	
Dish/Plate	
Pot	
Lid	
Pithos	
Mortar	
Total	3

Since it is less than a meter in depth, it is clear that the attempt was quickly abandoned. It was then filled completely, including the half column and large stones. If

this activity dates to the second phase of the festival, then it may have been dug prior to Well O17:1, which was dug when this one failed. No joins or associated finds were found between O17:1 and O17:2 suggesting that they were filled at two different times or the fill originated from different locations. It is also possible that this was never meant to be a well and simply dug as a pit for another function, perhaps associated with the production of food in this area. Nevertheless, the narrative of the well can be associated with the activities in the area. The fill was intentional, and all artifacts were deposited in a secondary event rather than from use as it is clear that Well O17:2 never functioned as a water source.

Conclusion

The ten wells that comprise this study were excavated over several decades, from 1964 to 2000. Due to both the location of the wells and the dates of excavation, each well was treated in slightly different ways. Nevertheless, by looking at each well individually, the types of artifacts and their states of preservation, as well as depositional events, each well's narrative can be reconstructed to record its use, activities around the well, and sanctuary upkeep. Through an in-depth study, patterns have emerged among the ten wells that can demonstrate similarities in the contents but also the differences between them.

From the ten wells, a total of 635 artifacts were cataloged. These artifacts ranged in date, from 6th century to early Modern, and in material, from ceramics to metal.

While not part of the formal catalog, all sherds kept from the excavation were sorted by

fabric and vessel type, counted, and recorded in each general well overview. Excluding the tile fragments, the majority of the catalog is dedicated to the ceramic vessels, especially the fine wares. The range of vessel shapes includes both closed and open shapes, but the majority is drinking vessels, especially kotylai and skyphoi. For the closed shapes, the oinochoe is the most common shape in fine ware and in blisterware. Turning to the utilitarian wares, the pitcher is the most frequent vessel. As discussed above for the individual wells, the majority of the kitchenware pitchers appears to date to the second phase of the festival, while the kotylai are representative of first phase remains.

The ceramic vessels found in the wells mirror the activities that were taking place in the sanctuary. As a whole the majority of the shapes correspond to drinking and eating, with a large proportion of drinking shapes as well as vessels that would correspond with the preparation of food. This is not unexpected in a sanctuary context. The ceramics are more often fragmentary or broken than whole, suggesting their use elsewhere in the site with later deposition into the wells during clean up. Those vessels that are more often found complete, such as the pitchers, reflect direct use of the well. Looking at the assemblage over all ten wells, the ceramics suggest that deposition into the well was during use or secondary actions, and none appear to have been ritual deposition.

In six of the ten wells, a substantial amount of faunal remains were recovered, allowing for some preliminary observations about the species found in each. The two wells with the least faunal remains are Well E18 by the heroön and Well N17:2. The

function of the well and the types of activities around them could have a direct impact on the deposition of faunal material. While faunal remains were found in the heroön itself, especially from sacrifices, the lack of bones in the well may suggest that the consumption after sacrifice did not take place near the shrine.⁵⁹⁹ The lack of faunal material in Well N17:2 is best explained by the need for a clean water source for the ceramic production. This suggests that even after the kiln stopped functioning, the well remained 'off limits' for animal debris. Of the remaining six wells, cow and caprine bones were found in each, with pig found in five. These three species are the most likely candidates as food sources from sacrifices. Wells M17:2 and K14:4 have a distribution of species that would suggest refuse from food consumption. Wells L17:2 and L19 are more likely to represent disposal of animal remains from a wider context, especially reflecting how custodians of the site disposed of deceased animals, such as horses and dogs. Finally, across all six wells, a total of ten different species were identified, which is a greater diversity than had previously been noted at Nemea.⁶⁰⁰ The sources of the faunal refuse found in the wells included sacrifice, general food consumption, and natural death of local species. Although these are preliminary observations, it seems that the wells were used as locations to deposit refuse from food consumption and general cleaning.

A broad comparison of the wells results in conclusions about patterns in deposition. Well L17:1 has the greatest diversity and range of objects represented in the fill, which supports the conclusion that the majority of the fill came from sanctuary clean

⁵⁹⁹ MacKinnon 2013; *Nemea* IV.

⁶⁰⁰ Mackinnon (2013) only notes six species. While he found cattle, caprines, and pig, he also found evidence of fowl, hare, and fish.

up, over a wide space. This is the one well that has the highest probability of a 6th century construction, with some artifacts having entered the well through use during the first phase. The majority though was deposited in the well during the secondary act of sanctuary clean up prior to the return of the festival in the 4th century. The nearby well, Well L17:2, shows a slightly different distribution of artifacts. The difference between these two wells would suggest two different uses, possibly at different times.

Four of the wells are likely candidates for a 4th century construction. Well N17:2 has the greatest amount of second phase artifacts, but this is to be expected considering it was constructed in conjunction with the kiln. Looking for similar distributions, Well K14:4, E18, and L19 have high percentages of artifacts from the second phase. If the high proportion of second phase material is an indication of construction, then these four wells would be the most likely. In addition, Wells O16:1, O17:1, and O17:2 are certainly one use wells, which may also have been dug in the second phase. The overall construction of the well cannot distinguish a construction date; therefore, the contents must be used to reach this conclusion.

Additionally, Wells N17:2, O16:1, O17:1 and O17:2 may be grouped together by function. It is very possible that these four had some kind of connection to the Dining Establishment in square N17 and oikoi 8 and 9. The Dining Establishment was not covered over until the early 3rd century, and thus may have been used in the beginning of the second phase, in the end of the 4th century. This would explain the higher quantities of fine wares in these four wells that appear to date to the 4th century, especially the amount of nearly complete fine ware drinking vessels from Well N17:2. The three

temporary wells may be a result of the water supply in that area, so that the wells dried up quickly or water was not found during construction. Thus, they were soon filled in with debris from the nearby areas. Well N17:2 had a longer life due to its high quality of construction. When the Dining Establishment was covered over to create an open courtyard space in front of the xenon, the space might have retained its function for food and drink. Well N17:2 has a greater quantity of drinking vessels than expected for a well simply associated with the kiln and ceramic production. Local activity must have influenced the final contents.

The in-depth study of the ten wells shows that they cannot be used as evidence for the abandonment of the sanctuary based on the well stratigraphy. Instead, the contents of the wells are very mixed, often with artifacts from both festival periods, from the 6th century to 3rd century BCE. The majority of the 6th and 5th century artifacts are fragmentary suggesting their deposition in the wells at a later date, or the artifacts were damaged and disposed of but with some fragments not making the journey to the well. By looking at the depositional processes of each well, it appears that the major differences in content are determined by the function and location of the well, which resulted in each well presenting a slightly different narrative. While some wells may represent general clean up or disposal of sanctuary waste, the majority of the wells preserve contents that directly correspond to the closest building, especially seen Well K14:4 and the temple, Well E18 and the heroön, Well L19 and the house, and Well N17:2 and the kiln/Dining Establishment. This suggests that activity was localized within the sanctuary. The holistic study of all artifacts within a well presents a much fuller

depiction of the well's history and a more nuanced history of activities occurring within the sanctuary, ranging from ritual and festival events to routine sanctuary acts, like the maintenance of dedications and site cleaning. This will be discussed in depth in Chapter Four. The assemblages of the wells provide more information about the Sanctuary of Nemea than previously acknowledged.

CHAPTER 4: CONTEXT AND CONCLUSIONS

Having explored the individual narratives of each well in Chapter Three, this chapter will present an in-depth interpretation of the trends seen throughout the ten wells. Particular attention will be paid to the 4th century materials, specifically the ceramic vessels, to discuss the extent to which the sanctuary was abandoned between the two phases of the games. Additionally, I will present the distribution of artifacts across the wells to draw conclusions about activities that occurred in the sanctuary as can be reconstructed from the types of artifacts. In doing so, these conclusions will show the usefulness of well assemblages when interpreting the history and activities of a sanctuary. I will broaden my perspective to place Nemea back into a larger context to highlight the importance of the Sanctuary of Zeus as a panhellenic sanctuary and its contributions to understanding Greek religion in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods.

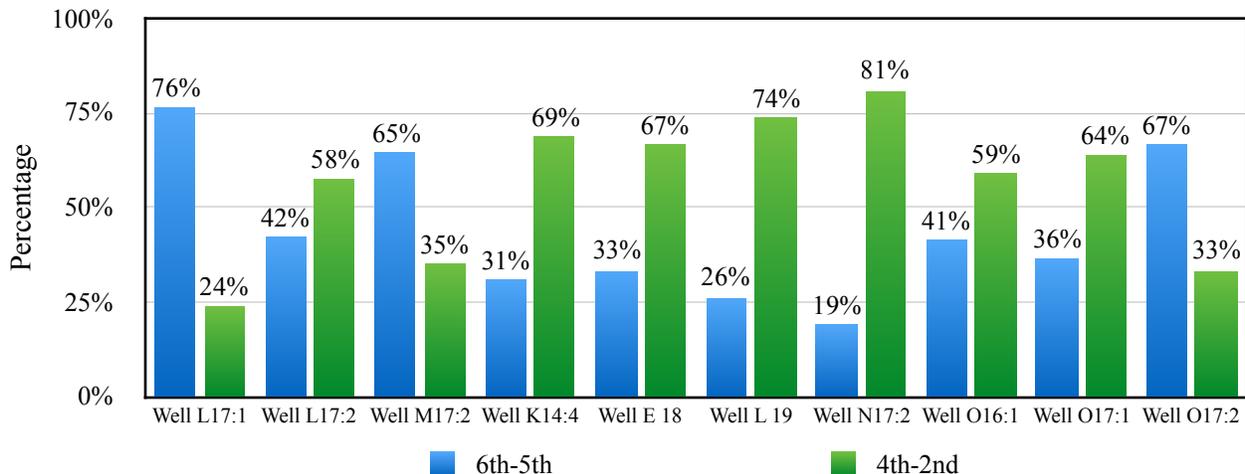
Interpretation of the Nemean Wells

Each Nemean well tells a different story of deposition, but the artifacts reveal more about the sanctuary as a whole and the activities occurring throughout the sanctuary. As was seen in Chapter Three, the ten wells preserve artifacts from all periods of the games at Nemea. While some wells had material mostly from the first phase, the 6th and 5th centuries, others had material mostly from the second phase, the 4th and 3rd centuries. Looking at the date distribution of objects, some conjectures can be made about the date of construction, with Wells K14:4, E18, L19, and N17:2 being the most

likely candidates for a 4th century construction. Meanwhile, Wells L17:1, M17:2, and possibly L17:2 were more likely to have been constructed during the first phase of the festival. The remaining three, Wells O16:1, O17:1, and O17:2, are more difficult to place because of their short-lived nature. This allocation is based upon the distribution of datable artifacts (**Chart 27**).

Due to the presence of 4th and 3rd century artifacts in all ten wells, the conclusion must be that all wells were open during the second phase of the festival. The abandonment of a well as a water source might occur for various reasons that will not always leave a trace in the archaeological record. Reasons for abandonment can range from a change in the water table, accidental collapse, and intentional abandonment. The histories of the wells along grid line 17 may reflect change in the water table and intentional abandonment. The proximity and assemblages of Wells L17:1 and L17:2 suggest that Well L17:1 was constructed first and then abandoned, which required the construction of Well L17:2. In the case of Well N17:2, this is the only well that was clearly constructed for a specific function, to provide water for ceramic production and

Chart 27: Distribution of Artifacts by Date



the kiln, and intentionally abandoned. Well E19 is an example of a temporary water source, functioning while the nearby reservoir was constructed. Wells O16:1, O17:1, and O17:2 are the most likely candidates for accidental collapse leading to abandonment, since these wells were not reinforced with rubble. All three of these wells had a bottom elevation that might not have reached the water course.⁶⁰¹ It is equally conceivable that they were abandoned due to collapse during construction. While the majority of the ten wells were constructed with time and skill, as most are lined with rubble, there is no way to date the well by construction techniques. Only suppositions can be made about dates of construction, use, and abandonment based upon the contents. In addition, the assemblages are more useful for reconstructing the ritual activities and practices of the sanctuary.

Distribution of Ceramics within the 4th Century

Applying a macro-analysis to the artifacts, especially the ceramic vessels, that takes into consideration all ten wells can demonstrate a range of human activities occurring at the sanctuary. Looking specifically at the ceramic vessels that date to the end of the 5th century through the beginning of the 3rd century, their distribution shows a decline of activity corresponding to the move of the games to Argos at the end of the 5th century (**Table 11**). A total of 165 vessels could be dated to this two hundred year span from ca. 450-250 BCE, which is about 37% of all datable ceramic vessels found in the

⁶⁰¹ Wells along the 17 grid line reached a bottom elevation of ca. 323.19-322.72. Wells O16:1 and O17:1 reached a bottom elevation of 328.10 and 325.85, respectively.

wells. When possible, the dates were assigned as closely as possible, but due to the fragmentary nature of a majority of the vessels, dates are often necessarily general.

Table 11 takes into consideration only the vessels that are securely dated, thus most of the kitchenware pitchers, which most likely date to the 4th and 3rd centuries, are not included. The general dates are best seen by the 41 vessels (25%) that could only be placed broadly within the 4th century, representing a wide range of dates.

The distribution of these vessels shows the majority date to the second half of the 4th century, with the greatest proportion dating to the last quarter of the 4th century. A total of 63 vessels, 38% of those from this period, are dated to ca. 325-300 BCE.⁶⁰² An additional seven date from ca. 330-300 BCE. These 70 vessels are the best indication of activity at the sanctuary at the end of the 4th century, around the time when the festival returned. If the rebuilding began closer to the middle of the 4th century, then 18 more vessels could be added, resulting in 88 vessels (53%) that date to the second half of the 4th century. The amount of vessels would support the historical narrative that activities returned to Nemea around 350 BCE and an increase of activity occurred by the end of the century.

When looking at the material from the first half of the 4th century, there are a few vessels that might represent activity at the sanctuary, but it is significantly less. Eight vessels can be dated from ca. 375-325 BCE, but without more specific dates, it is equally

⁶⁰² It should be noted that this high percentage might be due to the number of vessels dated in comparison to pottery from *Corinth* VII.6, which published the material from the drain deposit in the forum southwest. This deposit was dated by McPhee and Pemberton to the last quarter of the 4th century, perhaps around 310 BCE (14-7), providing a *terminus ante quem* for the homogenous fill. The authors note that “the deposit includes some material earlier than the 4th century, but the number of sherds is small, all of it is fragmentary, and much of it came from a restricted area” (12, n. 55).

Table 11: Distribution of 4th century Ceramic Vessels

	L17:1		L17:2		C	M17:2		K14:4		E 18	L 19	N17:2		O16:1	O17:1	O17:2	TOTAL
	U	L	U	L		L	U	L	U			L					
Ceramic Vessels																	
5th to 4th century	425-400	2	7	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	21
	450-350		1										1				2
	450-300				1			2	2								5
	425-350	1	1														2
4th Century	400-375			1					2	1					1		5
	400-350																0
	400-325		1														1
	400-300	6	6	7	1	1	1	2	8	1	1	15					41
	375-350	1		1													2
	375-325				1					2			2				5
	375-300			1													1
4th to 3rd century	350-325						1	1	3				1				7
	350-300	3		2				1	1	1		2	1	1			11
	330-300			3	1	1	1						1				7
	325-300	3	1	14	1	4	3	12	12	3	3	4	3	3			63
4th to 3rd century	350-200											2	1				3
	325-275		1					1			1						3
	325-250									1							1
	325-225	1										1					2
	300-250		1					1				1	1				4
																Total:	165

possible that they could have come to the sanctuary during the second half of the 4th century as during the first half. Looking at the end of the 5th century, 35 vessels were dated to ca. 450-350 BCE.⁶⁰³ Twenty-five of these vessels would fall into the so-called “period of abandonment,” ca. 420-350 BCE. When compared to the number dating to the second half of the 4th century, 25 vessels would not support large scale activity at the sanctuary. Although, their presence suggests that the transfer of festival and games might not mean that the sanctuary was completely abandoned. It is conceivable that small-scale ritual activities occurred at the sanctuary without the presence of the panhellenic festival, especially considering that most of these vessels that date to the end of the 5th century are drinking shapes (Row 1 of Table 11).

It is important to remember that the sanctuary would see some activity, probably local, during the time in-between the Nemean Games, which were held every two years. On the “off” months and years, the site as a sacred place to Zeus and Opheltes would receive religious visitors. The study of sanctuary activity must not perpetuate the narrative that a panhellenic sanctuary was only active during the festival and games. This view is not applied to major sanctuaries, like Olympia, Delphi, Epidauros, or the Athenian Acropolis. The Nemea Games may have moved to Argos between the end of the 5th and end of the 4th centuries, but the sanctuary was not completely abandoned.

While the distribution of ceramic vessels in **Table 11** is not precise due to the nature of the remains and precautions taken in dating the material, the general trends do suggest that most of the 4th century activity occurred during the second half of the

⁶⁰³ See the first five rows of **Table 11**.

century. This would correspond with the generally accepted historical interpretation of the sanctuary's use.

Distribution of Ceramic Vessels by Type

Similar trends regarding vessel types found in the individual wells can also be seen in the overall assemblage (**Table 12**). The vessel type that occurs with the greatest frequency is the kitchenware pitcher with 58 examples identified. This is followed by nearly all types of fine ware drinking vessels, kotylai, skyphoi, and cups, occurring in numbers from 33 to 48. The closed fine ware vessels occur frequently, though in fewer numbers, with only 28 examples of oinochoai/decanter. Most other vessels occur in numbers between 10 and 20, with more than half of the vessel types represented by fewer than 10 examples. By looking at the distribution of vessels types, and some by date, specific trends in activities are made clear throughout the history of the sanctuary.

Table 12: Distribution of Ceramic Vessels

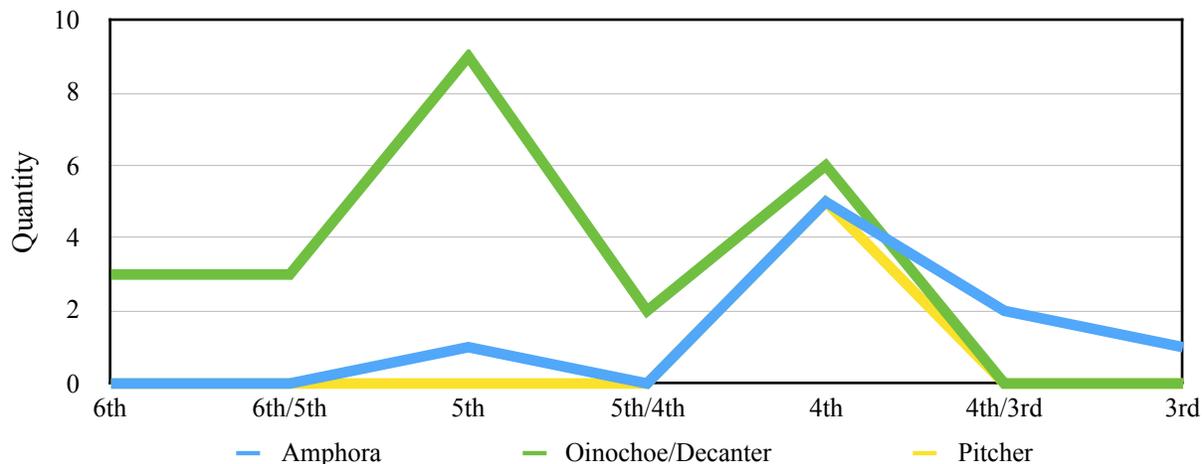
	L17:1	L17: 2	M17:2	K14:4	E 18	L 19	N17: 2	O16:1	O17:1	O17: 2	Total
Fine Wares (Total: 327)											
Amphora				3	2	1	5	3			14
Hydria				1							1
Oinochoe/ Decanter	4	3	6	6		3	6				28
Pitcher		4	2	1			4				11
Olpe	1				1		2				4
Krater			2		1			1			4
Lekane	3	1	1	1	3				1		10
Basin	2										2
Kylix			1								1

	L17:1	L17:2	M17:2	K14:4	E 18	L 19	N17:2	O16:1	O17:1	O17:2	Total
Kotyle	17	12	14		1			2	1	1	48
Skyphos	5	5	4	4	9	1	3	1	1		33
Cup	21	1	4		1		1		4	1	33
Kantharos	2	2		9	1		4				18
One Handled Cup	2	2	2		2		2	1			11
Mug	1	1	3	4	1	1	3	1	1	1	17
Bowl	3	4	4	10	6	1	4	4			36
Mold Made Bowl		1	2	1			7				11
Salt-cellar	5	1	1	2	2		2				13
Saucer	1			2							3
Plate		2		1			1				4
Lekythos/Araballos	1										1
Unguentarium	1						1				2
Askos	1			1							2
Strainer Pot	1										1
Pyxis	1										1
Kalathiskos	1										1
Miniature	1				4	1	1				7
Lamp		4	3		1			1	1		10
Blister Wares (Total: 27)											
Amphora	3	3		1							7
Oinochoe	1	3	2	3	3		2				14
Aryballos			3	2			1				6
Domestic Wares (Kitchen/Cooking, Semi-Coarse, and Coarse) (Total: 90)											
Amphora			1	4		1					6
Hydria							1				1
Pitcher	8	9	13	14	6		8				58
Lekane	1										1
Chytra		1	1				1				3
Lopas	1		2			1		1			5

	L17:1	L17:2	M17:2	K14:4	E 18	L 19	N17:2	O16:1	O17:1	O17:2	Total
Dish/Plate			2								2
Pot			3	2	1		1				7
Lid				1							1
Pithos							1	1			2
Mortar		2		1					1		4
Well Totals	88	61	76	74	45	10	61	16	10	3	444

Although the number of closed fine ware vessels is fewer than those of open shapes, amphorae, oinochoai/decanter, and pitchers do appear in quantities greater than ten. When the identified examples are plotted by date, there is a change in frequency that corresponds with time period (**Chart 28**). The oinochoai and decaners appear in greater quantity in the 5th century with a slight decrease in the 4th century. Pitchers and amphorae present the opposite trend, a few in the 5th century with an increase in the 4th century. The decrease from the end of the 5th to beginning of the 4th century and then the complete drop off of all three shapes by the 3rd century would correspond with the periods when little to no activity was occurring at the sanctuary. The kitchenware pitchers, discussed in full below, present a similar trend to the fine ware pitchers as they

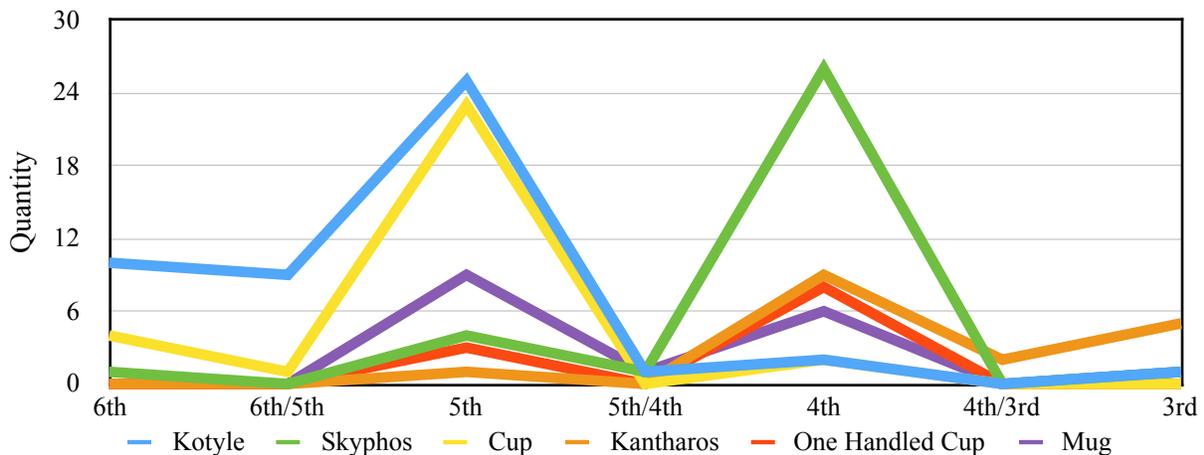
Chart 28: Distribution of Fine Ware Closed Vessels by Date



also saw an increase in quantity in the 4th and 3rd centuries. From the wells, it would appear that the use of oinochoai and decanters were the most commonly used vessel in the 5th century, but in the 4th century, all three shapes, including the pitchers made in kitchenware fabrics, were used. As a single group, 16 closed vessels date to the 6th-5th centuries, while 21 date to the 4th-3rd centuries. Though not significant, an increase in the use of closed vessel did occur at the sanctuary.

A similar study of the drinking vessels shows preferences of type by date that corresponds with the production of these shapes in Greece (**Chart 29**). A total of 160 fine ware drinking vessels were identified in the wells. The kotyle is the most frequent, with a total of 48 examples, about 30% of the drinking vessels. The kotyle is more common in the 5th century with a major decrease in the 4th century. Notable is that no kotylai appear in wells that have predominantly material from the second phase of the festival, Wells K14:4, L19, and N17:1, and only one was found in Well E18. There are 33 examples of cups and skyphoi across the wells, about 21% of the total drinking vessels, but these shapes present opposite trends. Cups appear in great quantity in the 5th

Chart 29: Distribution of Fine Ware Drinking Vessels by Date



century and decrease in the 4th century, while skyphoi grow to be more abundant in the 4th century. With the exception of Well M17:2, the wells either attract cups or skyphoi, though the majority of the cups are found in Well L17:1. An increase is also seen with the kantharoi and one handled cups, which are shapes that became more common in the 4th century and into the Hellenistic period. Since drinking vessels can be found through all periods of the festival, the change in drinking cup types was not due to personal choice but based upon the production or preferred use of shapes.

While domestic wares, which include kitchen, cooking, semi-coarse, and coarse fabrics, frequently occurred in high proportion within the individual wells, the amount of whole vessels identified was low. Ninety domestic ware vessels were identified across the ten wells, which is 20% of the total number of identified vessels. But the pitchers correspond to 13%, representing their popular nature within the sanctuary. The majority of these pitchers could not be associated with a specific production center, quite possibly because some are of local production, either within the sanctuary or within the Nemea Valley. Pitchers are found in nearly all the wells with a higher quantity found in those located in the center of the sanctuary. It would seem likely that these pitchers were used in a variety of activities, from fetching water from wells to pouring liquids during the festivals.

As a whole, the well assemblages find parallels with both domestic and sanctuary contexts. There are no clearly marked votives in the deposits, with a few exceptions, or types that could be considered ritual objects, such as the cakes or kalathoi found at the

Sanctuary of Demeter in Corinth.⁶⁰⁴ When looking to domestic contexts, often marked by sympotic vessels, there is a noticeable lack of specific vessels types, such as kraters, associated with communal drinking. The assemblage at Nemea shows a mix; while drinking vessels are prolific, distribution of liquids must have been delivered in a different way. Most likely, this was done by pouring directly into the cups, which is supported by the numbers of pouring vessels found at Nemea. Rather than using large mixing kraters to distribute liquids, it would appear that liquids went from the pitcher to the cup directly, which would allow for their quicker distribution. Food was most likely distributed in some form that could be eaten by hand, as there are very few vessels that could be used for eating or serving. Again, if we are to imagine a large festival with great crowds of people, then hand-held food would be the most convenient method for food distribution. The wells as a group most clearly preserve evidence for primarily liquid consumption and ritual during the festivals and games.

The amount of blisterware in the wells is significantly less than both fine and domestic wares, but a few points must be raised. Of the 27 identified vessels, more than half (52%) were oinochoai. The remaining vessels were either amphorae, mostly Corinthian type A amphorae, or aryballoi. Blisterware is a Corinthian fabric, so many of the parallels to the Nemean examples were found at Corinth, especially from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. In the publication of the Greek ceramics from the sanctuary, Pemberton notes that “blisterware oinochoai are common. It is the most popular shape for this fabric in the Sanctuary.”⁶⁰⁵ The same can be said of the blisterware

⁶⁰⁴ *Corinth* XVIII.1; *Corinth* XVIII.7; Brumfield 1997.

⁶⁰⁵ *Corinth* XVIII.3, 17.

from Nemea. While Edwards provides a detailed discussion of the fabric type in his study of the Hellenistic ceramics from Corinth, he does not have any examples of oinochoai.⁶⁰⁶ Drain 1971-1 in the forum southwest had 12 blisterware oinochoai, and although the deposit was found in a public context, the authors did conclude that it may have been associated with dining and cultic activity. “This dining may have been communal and cultic, rather than private and secular, possibly in conjunction with periodic festivals and associated contests involving the racecourse, or with one or more of the shrines in the area.”⁶⁰⁷ This could suggest that the blisterware oinochoe had a specific cultic function, explaining its common occurrence in sanctuary contexts within the Corinthia.⁶⁰⁸

None of the oinochoai at Nemea is complete, but from what can be reconstructed, they are quite large.⁶⁰⁹ Of those that preserve a base, the diameters range from 0.07m (178) to 0.268m (284). The oinochoai found at Corinth at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and within Drain 1971-1 have bases with diameters from 0.074-0.118m. Five of the Nemean oinochoai fall into this more common range, with only two within the 0.20-0.30m range (30; 284). McPhee and Pemberton suggest that the larger examples might have “contained oil-based sauces or special wines that required slow pouring.”⁶¹⁰

These vessels, which mostly date to the 4th century, would have accompanied the

⁶⁰⁶ *Corinth* VII.3, 144-50.

⁶⁰⁷ *Corinth* VII.6, 14.

⁶⁰⁸ This conclusion should be tested by looking at a wider geographical area, but since blisterware is primarily a Corinthian product, it is conceivable that the connection between the blisterware oinochoai and sanctuaries is a local phenomenon.

⁶⁰⁹ For the reconstructed oinochoai see 30, 160, 178, 284, 328, 345, 438, and 528. The remaining six examples are fragments, 161, 259, 354, 439, 440, and 529.

⁶¹⁰ *Corinth* VII.6, 154.

kitchenware pitchers to assist with the pouring of specialized liquids.

Returning to the lack of votives in the wells, it is important to note that votive offerings do not seem to be a common practice at Nemea; the two exceptions are found at the heroön and by the spring (Rawson Deposit) where Corinthian kotylai/skyphoi were deposited in great quantity.⁶¹¹ In both the heroön and the Rawson Deposit, as with the few other deposits found, the votives date to the 6th and 5th centuries, corresponding with the first phase of the festival.⁶¹² In both contexts, kotylai are the most common vessel shape. A comparison to those from the wells shows that the number of kotylai does not mirror the numbers found in the heroön or the nearby spring deposit.⁶¹³ But the presence of kotylai does explain behaviors during the first phase of the festival. The dedications of kotylai in great number, either over time in the heroön or at once in the Rawson Deposit, indicate the importance of libations and drinking to the rituals at Nemea.⁶¹⁴ In her study of the spring shrine, Signe Barfoed suggested the important link between the deposit and the water source and “that the shrine of the deposit lost its

⁶¹¹ According to Bravo (*Nemea* IV, 131), aside from the inventoried examples, the heroön possessed a minimum of 190 vessels, of which 81 were kotylai/skyphoi. About 20 additional kotylai were inventoried in his study. Barfoed (2009, 19-20) notes that when the deposit was first found, more than 1,000 vessels were found, but by the time of her study, there were 229 whole or restored vessels available, the majority being full sized kotylai and skyphoi. Of the Rawson Deposit, 77% of the assemblage are miniatures (kotylai, hydriai, and kalathiskoi), which does not parallel the amount of miniatures found in the wells, let alone the sanctuary proper.

⁶¹² The Rawson Deposit has been dated to the middle of the 5th century as a single deposition of material and thus would not include any material from the 4th or 3rd centuries. The heroön continued to be used in the second phase of the festival, as attested by the architectural remains. Due to later disturbance from the Nemea River and Early Christian and Modern farming, the upper strata of the shrine does not preserve many artifacts from the second phase. As Bravo (*Nemea* IV, 159-170) notes only one deposit can be associated with this period, a bell krater covered with a stone slab. The layers of sacrificial debris inside the new enclosure contained material that dates from the 6th to 3rd centuries. Thus comparisons between the 4th century contents of the wells cannot be made with the heroön.

⁶¹³ Heroön - 101 kotylai/skyphoi; Rawson Deposit - 41 regular sized kotylai/skyphoi and 146 miniature kotylai/skyphoi; 10 wells - 48 kotylai (a total of 64 when the Corinthian skyphoi are included in the count).

⁶¹⁴ Barfoed (2009, 96) suggests the vessels were deposited all at once, perhaps around 450 BCE.

significance when the wells were dug in the sanctuary of Zeus in the 5th century B.C.”⁶¹⁵ Since there is no secure evidence for the date of the wells’ construction, this relationship between the two water sources cannot be proven. While the wells in the sanctuary may have replaced the spring as a primary water source, the artifacts found within them do not support ritual activities directly corresponding with the wells themselves.

In order to reconstruct ritual activities, the well assemblages must be compared to the sanctuary assemblage. The disappearance of votive deposits, specifically large dedications of kotylai, in the sanctuary in the second phase of the festival is not directly mirrored in the wells. Rather the wells show that certain activities remained consistent. The decrease in kotylai seen in the wells is explained by the shift in the type of drinking vessel produced to favor the skyphos and kantharos. Therefore, the well assemblages do not show a decrease in drinking vessels from the first phase to the second phase but preserve the change from one type to another.

Looking to the sanctuary as a whole, there are no deposits from the 4th century of skyphoi and kantharoi that would mirror the deposits of kotylai seen in the 5th century. This suggests a change in ritual practice. In the 5th century, kotylai were the most common vessel type for drinking and was frequently left at the sanctuary, perhaps indicating a ritual of drinking and dedicating. By the 4th century, the type of vessel used for drinking had changed, as had the practice of leaving it behind. With an increase of pouring vessels in the 4th century, such as the kitchenware pitchers and blisterware oinochoai, it is clear that the practice of drinking did not cease, but perhaps even saw an

⁶¹⁵ Barfoed 2009, 98; 2017. The loss of significance may relate to a larger pattern of Greek religion where votives were dedicated in smaller quantities rather than the shrine losing significance.

increase in the number of participants, as these pitchers would allow for easy distribution of liquids to large groups. The lack of deposits of 4th century drinking vessels within the sanctuary suggests that the practice of dedicating the vessels ceased. While the ritual activity in the 5th century involved both drinking and dedicating, in the 4th century, the ritual activity emphasized the drinking component over the dedication. This new ritual focus on consumption would leave a less obvious mark in the archaeological record.

Distribution of Other Artifacts

When looking at the other artifacts found in the wells, other activities emerge that are not as clear in the larger archaeological context (**Table 13**).

Nine inscriptions were found in four of the wells: Well L17:1, K14:4, L19, and N17:1. Six of the inscriptions appear to date to the 4th century, while the remaining three are not datable.⁶¹⁶ The inscriptions that preserve enough to reconstruct the text demonstrate that these inscriptions held both political and religious importance. Two of the inscriptions record political texts. From Well N17:2 is a non-stoichedon inscription for an agreement between two Doric states regarding finances (**493**). The second was found in Well L17:1, which is a memorial of an expedition of Greek troops from free and autonomous cities at the behest of Antigonos (**8**). Both would have been displayed in the sanctuary as a way to preserve the political act and display it to the panhellenic visitors of the festival. The remaining four inscriptions are of a religious nature.

⁶¹⁶ Of these three, one has a single inscribed letter (**489**), one is a stele base (**411**), and the third is too fragmentary to reconstruct the text (**410**).

	L17:1	L17:2	M17:2	K14:4	E 18	L 19	N17:2	O16:1	O17:1	O17:2	Total
Kiln Wedge		3							1		4
Loom Weight			2			1	4	1			8
Stopper			2								2
Mold			1								1
Coin	3	11		10	1	10	3	2			40
Inscription	2			5		1	1				9
Bronze Vessel	5	1	1	9			1				17
Bronze Object*	3	11		16	1		10	1	1	1	44
Architecture	1		3	4	1		3	4	5	1	22
Architectural Terracotta	2	3		3		1	1				10
Architectural Tile		1	2	1		2	2	1			9
Tile (fragments)	16	39	2	13	2	10	1854				1936
Bone Object	1			1							2
Iron Object*	1	11	12	37		2	40		1		104
Stone*	1	1		5		1	33		1		42
Glass*		11	2								13

*individual artifacts counted - often multiple artifacts were grouped into a single catalog entry

Although fairly incomplete, Side A of the second inscription (9) from Well L17:1 does appear to refer to a festival, $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\eta\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\nu$, in the 7th line of text and $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron[v]$ in the 3rd line. It is possible that this refers to the Nemean and Isthmian games, which occurred every two years.⁶¹⁷ Three inscriptions found in Well K14:4 record religious content. One appears to be an Argive decree that honors a specific person with rights at the Nemean sanctuary (350). The second text references the *theoroi* (351), while the third one records a list of *theorodokoi* (352). These four inscriptions, as with the political ones, were displayed in the sanctuary to be seen by the Greek population.

⁶¹⁷ Geagan 1968, 385.

Even with high rates of illiteracy, the visual importance of an inscription on an erected stele is clear to any visitor. Of the four well contexts, Well K14:4, next to the temple, had the greatest quantity, five in total. This may indicate that the inscriptions were located close to the temple, a high trafficked area for the visitors, ensuring that the stelae would have been seen. Some were more logistical in nature, recording the officials in charge of the festival, while others recorded honors. Since all were found in a fragmentary state, it is clear that once an inscription was not relevant, it was taken down and destroyed. These fragments must have been deposited throughout the sanctuary or reused as only one join between two fragments has been made in the whole corpus of inscriptions from Nemea.

A total of 40 coins were cataloged from seven of the wells: L17:1, L17:2, K14:4, E18, L19, N17:2, and O16:1 (**Table 14**). The majority are bronze coins, but five are silver. Well 17:1 had the most, with 11 bronze coins. Wells K14:4 and L19 both had 10 coins, while the remaining wells had anywhere between one and three coins. Of the total, 15 coins were not identifiable and thus, not dated. The 25 coins that can be identified range in origin, from Kleonai to Cyprus, and in date, to the 5th century to 2nd century BCE. It is not surprising that the majority came from Argos and Corinth, eight and seven respectively. Of the wells with a high quantity of coins, many of them were illegible, thus reducing their usefulness in dating or discussion. The end result is that Well L19, with 10 identified coins, has the greatest quantity. If House 3, in which Well L19 was dug, is correctly interpreted to be a house or building for the custodians of the festival, then the high amount of coins could support this. Five Argive coins are identical and

were minted between 350-228 BCE, which corresponds with the house and well having been built for the second phase of the festival.

	L17:1	L17:2	M17:2	K14:4	E 18	L 19	N17:2	O16:1	O17:1	O17:2	Total
Kleonai							1				1
Corinth	1			2	1	3					7
Argos	1			1		5		1			8
Hermione						1					1
Sikyon	1			1							2
Arkadia							1				1
Chalkis						1					1
Phokis								1			1
Macedonia							1				1
Cyprus/Egypt				2							2
Not Identifiable		11		4							15
Totals	3	11	0	10	1	10	3	2	0	0	40

The five silver coins deserve a little more discussion, as each is different. One silver obol from Argos from Well L17:1 (77) is one of the earliest coins in the well assemblages, dating before ca. 421 BCE. The coin depicts a wolf head on the obverse and an *A* on the reverse. This is fairly standard for Argive coins, as five identical, Argive bronze coins found in Well L19 (467-471) also have the same image. Three silver hemidrachms from three different cities were found: Sikyon in Well K14:4 (323), Corinth in Well L19 (478), and Argos in Well O16:1 (598). While the two from Corinth and Argos date to the second half of the 4th century, the hemidrachm from Sikyon could only be dated to the Hellenistic period. Finally, a silver drachm from Macedonia was found in Well N17:2 (535), which dates to the last quarter of the 4th century. The coin is one of

the few pieces of evidence that may suggest Macedonian influence in the return of the games to Nemea in the end of the 4th century.

A close study of the coins by polis, even though the assemblage is small, can indicate the origin of the visitors to the sanctuary. Most of the coins date to the 4th century and thus came to the sanctuary during the second phase of the festival. A few can date to the later 3rd and 2nd centuries suggesting possible periods of activity at the sanctuary, even if the games were held in Argos. As expected, coins from the surrounding major centers were found in the wells. It is notable that only one coin from Kleonai (**536**) was found, dating to one of the early festivals of the second phase, ca. 320 BCE.⁶¹⁸ The connection between Kleonai and the sanctuary, and its role as custodian, is clear in the imagery chosen for the coins: Herakles wearing the lion's skin on the obverse and ΚΛΕΩ in a wild celery wreath. An important figure for Kleonai, Heracles was depicted on their coins as early as the 5th century.⁶¹⁹ Meanwhile, the celery wreath was the prize given to the victors of the Nemean Games. Argive and Corinthian coins were the most prolific in the assemblage.⁶²⁰ But the range of visitors to the festival spread throughout the Peloponnese to include Sikyon, Arkadia, and Hermione.⁶²¹ From central

⁶¹⁸ In the sanctuary itself, 30 more coins from Kleonai were found, all dating to the 4th century (*Nemea* III, 7).

⁶¹⁹ The connection between Herakles and Kleonai spans centuries. His temple, in the lower valley below the city, dates to ca. 200 BCE, with worship of Herakles beginning earlier. Several myths connect Herakles with Kleonai, including Pindar, who located the murder of twins Eurytos and Kteatos by Herakles on the road below Kleonai (Pind. *Ol.*10), and Kallimachus, who records the fullest version of Herakles' first labor, during which he began and ended his journey with the hospitality of a Kleonaian farmer (Callim. *Aet.* 3).

⁶²⁰ From the sanctuary, an addition 621 coins were from Corinth and an addition 230 from Argos (*Nemea* III, 6-7).

⁶²¹ From the sanctuary, an addition 356 coin from Sikyon, 29 from Arkadia, and 21 from Hermione (*Nemea* III, 6-8).

Greece are coins from Chalkis and Phokis.⁶²² The furthest afield are the two identical coins of Ptolemy III Euegetes of Cypriot mint (302, 324). The Ptolemaic coins are not unexpected as his wife, Berenike II, was a victor of the Nemean Games, best recorded in Kallimachos' *Aitia 3 - Victory Song for Berenike*. What is unclear is where her victory occurred, as it dates to the end of the 3rd century, when the games were held in Argos. If her victory occurred at Argos, could the presence of these coins indicate that the Egyptian team visited the sanctuary while in Greece? Nevertheless, these two coins can tell more about the sanctuary than previously acknowledged. The coin assemblage adds to the narrative of each well but also to that of the sanctuary as a whole.

Bronze artifacts were common finds in the well assemblages. Five of the wells produced a total of 17 bronze vessels, ten of which can be identified as hydriai (**Table 15**). The well with the greatest quantity of bronzes is Well K14:4, possibly due to its proximity to the temple. While 44 other bronze fragments were cataloged, these were either small fragments or other smaller objects, such as weights or jewelry, which cannot be associated with the bronze vessels. Nearly every well had at least one bronze object, except for Well L19. But within the discussion of the wells, the most informative find is

	L17:1	L17:2	M17:2	K14:4	E 18	L 19	N17:2	O16:1	O17:1	O17:2	Total
Hydria	5	1	1	3							10
Other				6			1				7
Fragments or Small Objects	3	11		16	1		10	1	1	1	44
Totals	8	12	1	25	1	0	11	1	1	1	61

⁶²² From the sanctuary, an additional 33 coins from Chalkis and 5 from Phokis (*Nemea* III, 5).

the remaining fragments from larger bronze vessels.

The complete hydria from Well L17:1 (92) is unique to the sanctuary. Not only is it the only complete bronze vessel, the inscription on the rim also marks it as belonging of Zeus and possession of the sanctuary. The nine remaining hydriai fragments are all bases. The bases are of similar profile and size, with diameters consistently ranging between 0.099m and 0.151m and an average diameter of 0.128m. The similarities among these bases and their state of preservation support that they all were treated in the same way. If the original bronze hydriai were melted down and reused, then it would explain why there is a lack of bronze found within the sanctuary as a whole. These bases could then represent an intentionally preserved part of a whole dedication.

What is difficult to reconstruct is when the recycling of the dedications occurred. The original bronze vessels appear to date to the end of the 6th century or early 5th century. They may have been dedicated and displayed throughout the first phase of the festival. I would like to present two possible scenarios. The first is that the dedications were on display when the temple caught fire, possibly sustaining damage at that point, but left among the sanctuary debris. At a later date, being damaged, they could not be displayed but were recycled, melted down to reuse the metal. As later Hellenistic inscriptions show, the recycling of sanctuary dedications was a common practice, often recording that the material held more importance than the object.⁶²³ At the time of recycling, the bases were preserved to represent the dedicated object and ritually deposited. The second scenario is that these objects were melted down in the 5th century,

⁶²³ Linders (1989, 284) notes that dedicated “ingots were as respectfully treated as more splendid offerings.” Thus she argues, “Votives were regarded as remaining votives as long as the material existed.”

at the end of the first phase. In the third quarter of the 5th century, oikoi 8 and 9 were converted into a bronze sculpting workshop, evidenced by the large circular casting pits, bronze drippings, tools, and furnace.⁶²⁴ Once again, the bases were not reused, possibly due to differences in the metal composition. When they were deposited into the individual wells is unclear, but it is clear that they were mostly deposited as groups. Four were thrown into Well L17:1, while three were thrown into Well K14:4. The individual examples in Wells L17:2, M17:2 and N17:2 suggest deposition at different times. Thus, it is possible to reconstruct at least five different depositional acts during which bronzes were discarded into the wells.

A macro-analysis of the well assemblages helps to reconstruct the activities occurring within the sanctuary during the festivals. The ceramics can be characterized as a combination of cultic and secular nature. Since the sanctuary never received an abundance of permanent offerings and dedications that could be preserved in the archaeological record, it would appear that the majority of the activities were communal actions. The number of vessels that support the distribution and consumption of liquids suggest the importance of drinking. While there is not a large assemblage of cooking vessels in the wells, the amount of faunal material does support the offering of animals and their consumption by the visitors. The remains of these activities were not deposited into the wells through intentional acts of dedication, rather they are more often the result of secondary deposition, cleaning after the activities occurred. During the maintenance of the sanctuary, other artifacts were deposited in the wells. While fragmentary

⁶²⁴ Miller 2004, 146-7; 148.

inscriptions were likely thrown away in the wells, the remains of bronze vessels, which likely began as sanctuary dedications, might have been ritually deposited. A study of the entire assemblage of all ten wells reveals activities by the visitors and custodians that are not preserved elsewhere.

Wells in Sanctuaries

The evidence from Nemea demonstrates how wells can be used as discrete units of information to trace patterns of activity within the sanctuary. Since the well fills originated from within the sanctuary, either due to well use or intentional filling from sanctuary refuse, the contents of the well are directly connected to the activities that would have occurred. The study of wells in sanctuaries involves several factors, including natural water sources, well management, and methodological approaches. In seeking comparative material, I was struck by the lack of studies of wells in groups.⁶²⁵ The main reason for this might be differences in ancient approaches to water supply and management at sanctuaries.

Examining three of the panhellenic sanctuaries reveals three different approaches to water management were used by the custodians.⁶²⁶ The Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia has very few wells. A nearby spring west of the sanctuary would have provided

⁶²⁵ Through personal communication, Brice Erickson shared his work on the Lerna wells, where he also studies ten wells. It appears that the Lerna wells can be dated to specific periods (Late Archaic/Early Classical, Classical and Hellenistic wells), and his treatment of them is mostly chronological. While helpful, the Lerna wells are from a domestic context, even if no architecture remains.

⁶²⁶ Due to time constraints, I was unable to fully explore the archaeological record at Delphi for excavated wells. Considering the geography of Delphi, sitting on the slopes of Mt. Parnassus, wells were likely not dug. Additionally, the Castalian Spring could have provided the water necessary for visitors to the sanctuary.

ample water, and to the north was an elaborate system of water works that date to the Classical period.⁶²⁷ It is possible that these water channels provided the sanctuary with the necessary water during the festival season, rather than necessitating the construction of wells. By contrast, at Olympia, the sheer number of wells and their construction, mostly earthen shafts, speaks to their temporary nature.⁶²⁸ Many were dug and used for a few festival cycles. In general, the number of wells increased as the Olympian games grew in popularity, with a greater number in the first quarter of the 5th century (21) than in the early 7th century (7).⁶²⁹ None appear to have been constructed within the Altis, suggesting oversight and control of where wells were allowed to be dug. Clearly, the sacred temenos was not a suitable location for a well. Meanwhile, at Nemea, the wells were dug and reinforced with rubble construction to take advantage of the underground water source. Choices were influenced by the availability of water sources and decisions of how to provide water to the visitors.

Within the sanctuary at Isthmia, a large circular pit may have served a similar function as the Nemean wells and was found about 43m from the SW corner of the temple; it was 5m in diameter and 19.75m in depth.⁶³⁰ The pit was eventually abandoned and filled with stones, earth, and dedications of bronze and terracotta, sculpture fragment, archaic inscriptions, and pottery. Since the artifacts were listed in an appendix that

⁶²⁷ *Isthmia* II, 2. Broneer notes that the source of these channels is not clear as they have not been traced beyond the excavated area.

⁶²⁸ Mallwitz 1988.

⁶²⁹ *OIForsch* VIII, 243.

⁶³⁰ *Isthmia* II, 22. Broneer (135) discusses the excavation history of the well. It was dug in three seasons. During the second season, work stopped at a depth of 15.25m because there was too much water, which Broneer saw as evidence that the pit would have contained an abundance of water at the end of the rainy season. In the third season, they reached the bottom of the pit, at 19.75m.

provided a summary of the contents rather than a complete catalog, direct comparisons to Nemea must remain general.⁶³¹ Broneer noted that it is possible that the contents were dumped at one time, during the middle of the 5th century, “when the area of the temenos was landscaped some time after the construction of the Classical Temple.”⁶³² The circular pit appears to have been filled with sanctuary debris associated with clean up of the sanctuary during construction on the temple. If this is the case, then the pit would be very similar to the wells at Nemea that were filled during preparation for the festival to return in the end of the 4th century.

A second well at Isthmia is located in the Sacred Glen, which held sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, Dionysos, Eueteria, Artemis and Kore, about 300m southwest of the temenos for the Sanctuary of Poseidon.⁶³³ The contents were a mix of Greek and Roman objects.⁶³⁴ A krater from the well has a dedication to Demeter, Σόφα Δάματρι, suggesting that the contents of the fill originated from the nearby Sanctuary to Demeter and Kore.⁶³⁵ Additional evidence supporting a cultic identification is the presence of two bronze armlets or anklets, a possible paired dedication. The pottery and terracotta figurines date to the second half of the 4th century.⁶³⁶ The deposition of these objects

⁶³¹ *Isthmia* II, Appendix I, 135-6. The pit included 712 inventoried pottery artifacts and 260 inventoried miscellaneous objects (terracotta figurines, bronze figurines, and metal objects). Broneer (135) noted that the pottery is being studied by D.A. Amyx, but no publication seems to have resulted from this study.

⁶³² *Isthmia* II, 24, 135.

⁶³³ Caskey 1960; *Isthmia* II, 113-5.

⁶³⁴ Caskey's catalog only discussed 17 objects, which may represent the well's contents. It begins with ceramics (1-6), water jugs (7-11), lamps (12-14), figurine (15), and ends with the two bronze armlets/anklets (16-17, a pair). It seems unlikely that in a 12m well, only 17 objects were found or cataloged. It is unclear as to what else was in the well or why Caskey focused upon these specific finds.

⁶³⁵ Caskey 1960, 168-72, no. 1.

⁶³⁶ Caskey 1960, 176.

into the well is surely associated with general sanctuary maintenance, either due clearing out the shrines, disposal after a disaster, or general overcrowding.

The Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, well known for its the building program and finds, especially the bronzes, has no single publication of the sanctuary's wells. Olympia had literally hundreds of wells, which were mostly earthen shafts, with short periods of use, all placed outside the Altis. By comparison, Nemea's wells were mostly rubble-lined, used over several festival cycles, and located throughout the sanctuary.

In the 1961 excavation reports from Olympia, Emil Kunze, in a study of the bronze helmets, discussed nine wells near the stadium as find spots.⁶³⁷ By the excavation report of 1981, 97 wells were included on a plan of the eastern part of the sanctuary.⁶³⁸ At the time of Alfred Mallwitz's article in 1988 on cult locations within the sanctuary, a total of nearly 200 wells had been uncovered by the German archaeological team.⁶³⁹ He demonstrates that their locations within the sanctuary were deliberately chosen. While 43 were found in the northern embankment of the stadium, nearly four times that number were found to the south of the stadium.⁶⁴⁰ Though there are a few locations where wells appear in groups, such as around the workshop of Pheidias, the eastern part of the sanctuary has the greatest number.⁶⁴¹ This concentration is not necessarily due to the geography but rather due to the proximity to spectators and participants of the games.

⁶³⁷ *OIBer* VII, 118-25.

⁶³⁸ *OIBer* X, pl. 1; Mallwitz (1988, 108, n. 91) states that the number of wells in the southeast area increased from 97 to 129 during the excavations from 1978 to 1980.

⁶³⁹ Mallwitz (1988, 108, n. 85) notes that the 200 include ca. 30 wells found before 1953 and that the majority are only mentioned in the field notebooks.

⁶⁴⁰ Mallwitz (1988, 98) cautions that this might be somewhat misleading as the northern part of the sanctuary had not been adequately examined.

⁶⁴¹ *OIForsch* V, fig. 5.

The majority of these wells were simple, earthen shafts that were not reinforced, planned for a short period of use.⁶⁴² After the festival, these wells were filled with discarded votive offerings, trash, and earth, which could contain material from other deposits or older artifacts.

The number and date of the wells correspond with the growth of the panhellenic festival and games. Presently, the earliest wells date to the beginning of the 8th century. Along the northern embankment, the latest wells are from the second quarter of the 5th century BCE, but in the south, the wells date to the middle of the 4th century. This is due to the change in the location of the stadium. Since the northern embankment became the space for spectators in the early Classical period, it could no longer be the site of wells.⁶⁴³ After the middle of the 4th century, open channels provided water to the sanctuary, and wells were no longer needed.⁶⁴⁴ Wells at Olympia were clearly dug as temporary water supply, most likely for the festival and games, rather than for religious visitors to the site in the years when the games were not held.

In a recent paper, Heide Frielinghaus argued for reconstructing depositional processes at Olympia by examining wells as a primary deposit.⁶⁴⁵ Her discussion, as with most regarding wells, focuses on specific finds within them rather than the well as a single assemblage or context. By building upon her study of the helmets, specifically their role as weapon dedications, she also presented the benefits in tracking geographical

⁶⁴² Mallwitz 1988, 98; see also Frielinghaus, 2016; *OIBer* X, pl.1, num. 2, 8, 84, and the well in A15 are masonry wells, indicated by the additional circle around the well symbol.

⁶⁴³ Mallwitz 1988, 98; see also *OIBer* VIII, 25-7.

⁶⁴⁴ Mallwitz 1988, 98.

⁶⁴⁵ Frielinghaus 2016.

patterns relating to the discarding of bronzes within the wells east of the Altis.⁶⁴⁶ Focusing on the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, she shows how the location of deposition within wells changes over time. In the first half of the 7th century, in the southeast, only half of the wells were used to discard offerings, with armor and vessels discarded elsewhere. By the second half of the 7th century, the wells in the southeast are all used to discard dedications with many having both armor and pottery. In the first half of the 6th century, the armor and vessels continue to be deposited in the southeast wells, but some are also found in the northeast wells. Finally, a radical change occurred in the second half of the 6th century, when only half of the southeast wells were used for votive disposal but nearly all those in the northeast were used. Thus in this final period of her study, the deposition had shifted from one area to another.⁶⁴⁷ While she does not offer any reasons for these changes, this pattern seems to suggest that the deposition of votive offerings can be geographically specific, perhaps even organized by the caretakers of the sanctuary. Applying this view to the Nemean bronze vessels, which might have begun as dedications, a similar conclusion is reached. There may be no explanation for how they ended up in specific wells, but their distribution suggests that deposition was organized.

When comparing Isthmia or Olympia to Nemea, there is simply no parallel.

Aside from the contents of the wells, the most important factor is that each sanctuary had a different approach to water management. Isthmia relied on a sacred spring and water channels, Olympia used temporary wells until a more permanent water system was installed, and Nemea constructed permanent wells relying on knowledge of an

⁶⁴⁶ *OIForsch* XXXIII.

⁶⁴⁷ Frielinghaus 2016.

underground water course. As a result of difference in water management, the contents of the wells would differ. At Olympia, the temporary nature suggests that the contents of the wells would represent deposition of material contemporary to the intentional abandonment of the well. The constant cycle of opening and closing wells would allow for many opportunities to dump fill from various locations within the sanctuary. Meanwhile at Nemea, due to the more permanent construction of the wells, their filling was likely a result of the well no longer functioning as a water source and becoming a trash receptacle for deposition over a longer period of time. The obvious exceptions would be the four earthen wells that were either temporary or a result of accidental collapse (Wells E18, O16:1, O17:1, and O17:2). Thus while the methodologies of well studies that I applied to the Nemean wells might be unique, it does show that a holistic approach of both micro and macro analyses can be useful for the reconstruction of ritual activities.

Nemea in Context

The Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea is a small and often overlooked site, both in scholarship and by current visitors, in the northeastern Peloponnese. In antiquity, it held significance as the site of a panhellenic sanctuary, holding games every two years in the larger *periodos* cycle. While the larger sanctuaries at Olympia and Delphi have been the main focus of the panhellenic discussion, Nemea would also have played a role in shaping the identity of the larger Greek community from the Archaic period through the beginning of the 3rd century BCE. As Pindar's victory odes attest, many of the famous

Greek athletes were victorious at the Nemean games. Through these festivals and games, Greeks participated in sacred travel from poleis to neutral territories where their competitive nature was seen in both the competition and the dedications left behind, yet they all participated in the shared experience. Over the centuries, the nature of these dedications changed from elite goods associated with a warrior class and personal dedications to larger statements of poleis' power and authority over the Greek world. These typical dedications were never part of the Nemean landscape.

After the Peloponnesian War and in the 4th century, the Greek identity and community were changed and so too were the sanctuaries. With the games being returned, Nemea was dramatically changed in the 4th century in a way that was similar to the other three sanctuaries but also different. Nemea was the first panhellenic sanctuary where the festival and games were removed, signaling that the festival was more important than the location in which it was held.⁶⁴⁸ Argos could have asserted its power and taken over custodianship of the sanctuary as well as the festival but chose to move the games instead. Upon their return, the sanctuary had the opportunity to be rebuilt and reorganized, which the builders took advantage of. The decisions to maintain features, such as the temple, altar, heroön, and sacred grove, while also adding new ones, the bathhouse, xenon, and transfer of the stadium, is telling of the planning that went into the preparation for the return of the festival. As seen at the other sites, in the 4th century,

⁶⁴⁸ After Mummius' sack of Corinth in 146 BCE, Corinth lost its autonomy and most likely the control of the Isthmian games. Pausanias (2.11.2) reports that the games did not lapse but continued under the administration of Sicyon as long as Corinth lay deserted. Although Pausanias is not clear as to where the games were held, they were likely held in Sicyon as well. Gebhard (1994) notes that "the absence from the mid 2nd c. B.C. to the third quarter of the 1st c. A.D. of any significant quantity of pottery in the area of the temple and theater is a further indication that the sanctuary did not act as host to major festivals during that period." The games were likely returned to Isthmia after Corinth became a Roman colony in 44 BCE.

stadia moved further from the religious center of the temple. This move is most dramatic at Nemea aided by the “clean slate” provided by the rebuilding program. The gradual moves at Isthmia and Olympia is instantaneous at Nemea.

The balance between the sacred spaces and the athletic spaces at Nemea is also more striking. At Isthmia, Olympia, and Delphi, in the center of the site stood the religious facilities, demarcated by temenos walls. The athletic facilities grew on the periphery. At Olympia, the stadium moved to the east of the Altis, while the Leonidaion, gymnasia, and palaestra were on the west side of the Altis. In Delphi, the stadium was located to the north of the temple, up the steep slope of Mount Parnassus and the gymnasia and bath complexes were far to the south, closer to the Sanctuary of Athena. Similarly at Isthmia, the stadium moved to the south of the temple and the bath was located to the north. In these three sanctuaries, the athletic facilities were separated from the religious ones. Meanwhile, at Nemea, the stadium was moved from the religious center, but the accompanying facilities, the xenon and bathhouse, were located directly next to the Sacred Square and in the path of any visitor to the temple. These differences could be explained by the location of natural resources, such as water access, or due to available space. I argue, however, that these changes at Nemea were more deliberate because the builders in the 4th century had options when planning the organization of the sanctuary. The locations of the buildings hold more significance because of their deliberate placement.

Each of the panhellenic sanctuaries had a nature of its own. This is not surprising, as different cults established traditions and rituals specific to the identity of the deity and

worship. At Olympia, the sanctuary could be characterized by its competitive nature, receiving dedications by athletes and from spoils of war. Delphi, with its oracle, took on a greater political significance with many dedications made to display personal or polis power. Meanwhile, Isthmia grew from its position on the coast and emphasized its relationship with Poseidon. Nemea, as the youngest of the four panhellenic sanctuaries, never quite developed a “Nemean” identity. If anything, what characterizes Nemea is the lack of a quintessential dedication type; the result is that the sanctuary grew in a more generalized or organic way.

While later destruction and dismantling of the site should be taken into consideration, the fact remains that there are no troves of specific dedication or votive types. Statue bases attest to this type of dedication, but little of the sculpture remains, preserving only bronze fragments that can generally be identified, such as leaves from crowns. Figurines have been found, but with only 52 terracotta objects identified as figurines or figurine fragments, they do not allow for a definitive statement on type or preference.⁶⁴⁹ Corresponding to these objects are artifacts relating to their production, including 26 molds for bronze statues and figurines. With the exception of one, all were found on the eastern side of the sanctuary near oikoi 8 and 9 and the kiln complex (**Plan 1**).⁶⁵⁰ Aside from pottery, the most common object found is loom weights; 95 examples were found throughout the sanctuary, which suggests the importance of weaving. The

⁶⁴⁹ I have not studied these figurines and thus dates and identification are those of the original excavators. Currently, 52 terracotta objects have been identified as figurines or figurine fragments with about 24 examples of molds, which indicates production of figurines within the sanctuary.

⁶⁵⁰ Specifically, they were found in squares M17, N15, N16, O15, and O16. The one outlier was found in S17, which is further to the east.

largest accumulation was found in the kiln fills and in the houses. The location of the loom weights, as well as the molds, by the kilns reinforces the conclusion that this area of the sanctuary was dedicated to craft production, in all periods. The loom weights found in the houses suggest a secondary location for weaving. The one category of votive that can be identified in large deposits at Nemea is drinking vessels from the Archaic and Classical periods at the heroön and nearby spring. Similar deposits of drinking vessels are not found in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods. What circumstances would lead to a change in votive practices at Nemea?

When trying to understand these changes at Nemea, the 4th and 3rd century pieces of the puzzle are missing. While the architectural remains are helpful, without many deposits of material from that time, it is difficult to reconstruct the daily activities of the sanctuary. It is in this regard that the wells are most useful. Each well has its own narrative of construction, use, and abandonment. Many of the Nemean wells were constructed taking advantage of an underground water course to aid in water management. Yet some were dug for specific purposes, such as Well N17:2 that provided water for ceramic production in the kiln complex, or Well L19 that was built into the floor of a house used by the custodians of the games. The majority of the wells were lined with rubble, ensuring their stability over several festivals as a source of water for the athletes and visitors. Over time, these wells were filled with sanctuary trash, produced in large amounts during the festival and during the hiatus between festivals. Thus the wells, after abandonment, were converted to disposal locations for the different sanctuary activities that would have occurred over time.

Many of the wells were filled with sanctuary debris, including architectural elements and fragmentary vessels, deposited through clean-up and up-keep of the sanctuary space. Other objects entered the wells during use, such as the water pitchers. Overall, the picture of the well assemblages mirrors the finds from the rest of the sanctuary. None of the artifacts within the wells can be securely identified as a primary dedication or votive. The one possible exception is the inscribed bronze hydria (92) from Well L17:1. The material from the wells can help to fill in gaps in sanctuary will of debris when reconstructing ritual and sanctuary activities. The most common activity was the distribution and consumption of liquids. From the 6th to 3rd centuries, pouring vessels were used for the distribution of liquids rather than the use of large serving vessels, like kraters. This implies the importance of mobility rather than a stationary activity and perhaps more individual experience rather than communal participation. In the 6th and 5th centuries, kotylai were used for drinking and then often dedicated in the sanctuary at the heroön or at the nearby spring. Those that were simply left behind found their way into the well fills. While the intentional dedication of drinking vessels ceased in the 4th and 3rd centuries, the practice of leaving drinking cups behind continued, as seen in the similar amount of skyphoi and kantharoi found in the wells. There is no clear explanation for the change in votive behavior, but without the study of the wells the more general custom of drinking and the vessel disposal would not have been identified.

Identifying the different depositional processes for the well fills provide more context for the objects than if they were studied separately from their original context. If these Wells L17:1, L17:2 and M17:2 were abandoned as water sources and their

function changed to trash receptacles, evidenced by greater quantities of debris than use material. Wells O16:1, O17:1, and O17:2 were likely never completed and their filling occurred in one quick action. All six of these wells are located in the center of the sanctuary, between the oikoi and the xenon. This area was high trafficked by all visitors, especially by the early 3rd century when the area was paved with a plateia, creating an open space for the gathering of large crowds.

The remaining four wells show relationships to the closest building: Well K14:4 and the temple; Well E18 and the heroön; Well L19 and the house; and Well N17:2 and the kiln/Dining Establishment. Well K14:4 has the greatest number of non-ceramic artifacts, including many bronze vessels and inscriptions. Considering proximity to the temple, it is likely these artifacts originated in the well's vicinity. The bronze vessels may have been dedications in the temple, while the inscriptions may have been erected near the temple. The faunal remains Well K14:4 correspond to the types of animals most likely sacrificed, caprines and cow, which could have originated from the altar. Well E18 was filled with mostly soil and clay, some ceramics, three non-ceramic objects, and a very small quantity of faunal remains. Since the heroön was a location for dedication and large quantities of faunal remains were found within the walls of the shrine, the difference between Well E18 and the heroön is striking. Rather the fill of Well E18 did not originate from the heroön but was from nearby, as many of the complete vessels in the well have parallels from the heroön. Well L19 is characterized by its more secular nature than the other wells suggesting that its fill directly came from the house. Well N17:2 has the greatest percentage of fairly complete fine ware vessels that date to the 4th

and 3rd centuries. This difference is best explained by its original function as a water source for the kiln. The fill may have been deposited after the construction of the plateia. Could this mean that Well N17:2 was the place to leave drinking vessels after the festival was over?

As Brita Alroth has noted in her study of figurine dedications, “if the custom of dedicating figurines did not continue into the Hellenistic phase in some sanctuaries, it continued and even increased in others or started anew.”⁶⁵¹ If changes to the practice of figurine dedication varied by sanctuary throughout Greece, then it is possible that changes at Nemea were also site specific. The artifacts from the wells are important for the reconstruction of sanctuary activities because the wells themselves were part of the action. The well assemblages can be characterized by their cultic and secular nature, a characterization that can be applied to the sanctuary as a whole. Perhaps Nemea never developed a clear and unique identity, but rather functioned as a more authentic panhellenic sanctuary. The ritual activities, cultic traditions, and the custom practices were generic so that all visitors to the sanctuary, whether athletic or religious, could engage in a similar and communal experience. If any local religion was practiced, it did not leave a clear mark on the archaeological record. Or if it did, such as the temple crypt, it remains a mystery to modern visitors.

⁶⁵¹ Alroth 1998, 228. She looks at the mainland, Crete, and western Asia Minor.

Conclusions & Looking Forward

My aim was to present the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea as a case study for the investigation of the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, a time less well-known at Nemea and within Greek religion. The only way to study this specific period was to look at the ten well assemblages that preserve material from the 4th and 3rd centuries with the least amount of disturbance. The quantitative and qualitative study of the ceramic vessels led to conclusions that have been identified also in the larger archaeological record of the sanctuary. The most important conclusion for this period was the overall increase in domestic wares that were used within the sanctuary, indicating an increase in participants for the festival and games. The finds highlight that activities during the festival shared in both a cultic and secular nature.

In this study, the historical narrative of Nemea played a major role. The finds from the wells correspond to two main periods of activity associated with the festival. The first was in the 6th and 5th centuries, with a gap or remarkable decrease in activity from the end of the 5th to the middle of the 4th, before the second period in the end of the 4th to the 3rd centuries. While pottery was found that dates to the gap, when the festival and games were held in Argos, the amount is significantly less than during the two periods when the festival was held in Nemea. Artifacts dating to the so-called “period of abandonment” suggest that the activities at the sanctuary were similar to those in other periods; the emphasis placed on drinking. This suggests that local activity continued in the sanctuary without the presence of the large panhellenic games. The sanctuary continued to hold religious value when the festival was in Argos, in the same way it held

value during the “off-season” years when the festival was held every other year at Nemea. The most significant conclusion from this case study of Nemea is that the sanctuary’s importance and history should not be tied to only the panhellenic Nemean festival. A study of the up to now overlooked wells shows that Nemea has too often been simplified in the narrative of Greek religion, as only an athletic panhellenic sanctuary.

Looking forward, Nemea’s history needs to be placed into a regional context to explore religious trends within the Corinthia and Argolid. A selection of sanctuaries that were active in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods would be most fruitful for comparison, including the panhellenic Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, the Sanctuary of Hera at Perachora, and the Argive Heraion. The aim of the comparative study would be to draw conclusions about religion on a wider scale to consider whether choices regarding the architecture, landscape, and site planning were site specific, driven by sanctuary type, or more generalized throughout the northeastern Peloponnese. Currently, a comparative study of this nature would only be able to focus on the layout of the sanctuaries, especially the built architecture and landscape, rather than the individual artifacts. For many of these sites, the majority of the artifacts from the 4th and 3rd centuries are not yet published.⁶⁵² In order to see if trends from the Nemean well assemblages are similar or different to other regional sanctuaries, the ceramics and other finds would be a necessary point of comparison.

Nevertheless, the choices regarding the architecture, landscape, and site planning can provide preliminary conclusions about religion on a wider scale to consider whether

⁶⁵² The exception is the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, which has several volumes dedicated to the Greek material.

these choices were site specific, driven by sanctuary type, or more generalized throughout the northeastern Peloponnese. By focusing on sanctuaries as spaces, the site plan and the specific facilities will provide the best information about the individual visitors' experience and interaction with the site. All sanctuaries relied on the natural landscape, either working with it to make the layout of the sanctuary conform to nature or greatly manipulated it to fit with the specific needs of the cults. These decisions had an impact on the visitors to the sanctuary and their movement through the space. When studying their layouts, the application of individuality and lived religion aid interpretations of movement through the space. By tracing the paths visitors would have taken, sanctuaries helped dictate that movement. The use of the space had a direct relationship to the rituals occurring, such as processions or acts of communal dining. The direction of the influence is unclear, ritual on space or space on ritual, but tracing potential behaviors and actions through the built architecture and manipulation of the landscape can reconstruct these past experiences.

Sanctuaries are a major part of Greek religion and play a significant role in the creation of Greek identity and community. While different groups of people interacted with panhellenic sanctuaries, there was a shared experience that occurred on site. Identifying the individual experience, as well as the communal one, sheds light on the diverse nature of religion and sacred spaces. I argue that a new look at sanctuaries, through the approaches of lived religion, sacred travel, and the individual experience, shows the nuanced history of these sites. The methodological approach to well

assemblages and their depositional processes also helps to reconstruct and interpret the religious experience. Sanctuaries changed, as did the people who populated them, so that religion and sanctuaries cannot be easily discussed either in isolation or as a cohesive group. Placing the individual back into the sacred spaces, and employing wells, often overlooked as contexts, reconstructs activities that may have left no other trace in the archaeological record. A holistic study of sanctuaries, using the archaeological record, the historical and literary sources, and the individual is the only way to fully reconstruct the history of these sites and their activities.

APPENDIX A: DEPOSITS

This appendix contains information about the deposits used and referenced in this study. The ten primary deposits are the wells from Nemea and are organized in accordance with their discussion in the text (Chapter Three) and the catalog (Appendix B). The nine secondary contexts/deposits, which provided comparanda from Nemea, are organized by location at the site a. Many of the secondary deposits have not been studied in full and are not published. Descriptions of these deposits rely on the *Hesperia* reports.

Primary Deposits

Well L17:1

Excavated in two seasons in 1964 and 1977, the top of the well was identified at 332.67 and its bottom at 322.72 for a depth of 9.95 meters. Ten excavated lots were assigned to two layers. Five lots were sifted. The well is divided into two contexts. Material found in the 1964 excavation is included in the Upper Fill.

Context	Date Range	Lots
Upper Fill	late 6th - early 3rd	3-6
Lower Fill	6th - early 3rd	7-12

Well L17:2

Excavated in 1978, the top of the well was identified at 332.637 and its bottom at 322.737 for a depth of 9.9 meters. Sixteen excavated lots were assigned to eight layers. The lots were paired with an excavated lot and a sift lot. The well is divided into two contexts.

Context	Date Range	Lots
Upper Fill	late 6th - Roman	31, 32 40, 41
Lower Fill	6th - 2nd	33-39, 42-46

Well M17:2

Excavated in 1978, the top of the well was identified at 332.676 and its bottom at 322.876 for a depth of 9.7 meters. Thirteen excavated lots were assigned to five layers. Five lots were sifted. Lot 46, which was excavated as the closing of the well, was included. The well is divided into four contexts.

Context	Date Range	Lots
Well Closing	6th - 2nd	46
Upper Fill	6th - post Roman	47, 56
Middle Fill	6th - Hellenistic	48, 49, 57, 58
Lower Fill	6th - 4th	50 - 55, 59

Well K14:4

Excavated in 1978, the top of the well was identified at 331.66 and its bottom at 323.61 for a depth of 8.05 meters. Nineteen excavated lots were assigned to seven layers. The lots were paired with an excavated lot and a sift lot. Lot 121, surface cleaning, was not included. The well is divided into two contexts.

Context	Date Range	Lots
Upper Fill	6th - Roman	122 - 128
Lower Fill	5th - mid 3rd	129 -139

Well E18

Excavated in 1999 and 2000, the top of the well was identified at 332.134 and its bottom at 324.934 for a depth of 7.1 meters. Nine excavated lots were assigned to three layers. Only lot 34 was sifted. The well is treated as a single context.

Context	Date Range	Lots
Well E18	5th - end of 4th	21, 22, 28-34

Well L19

Excavated in 1985, the top of the well was identified at 334.556 and its bottom at 327.457 for a depth of 7.1 meters. Eighteen excavated lots were assigned to four layers. Lots 162 - 164 were sifted. The well is treated as a single context.

Context	Date Range	Lots
Well L19	5th - early 3rd	149 - 164

Well N17:2

Excavated in 1975, the top of the well was identified at 333.19 and its bottom at 323.19 for a depth of 10 meters. Eleven excavated lots were grouped and assigned to two layers. Lot 56 was not found during the most recent study season and thus not included in this study. Lot 65 was the only sift lot for the whole well and was not included in the study. The well is divided into two contexts.

Context	Date Range	Lots
Upper Fill	-	55
Lower Fill	5th - 1st	56-64

Well O16:1

Discovered in 1976, but excavated in 1977. The top of the well was identified at 333.01 and its bottom at 328.100 for a depth of 4.91 meters. Three excavated lots were assigned to one layer. The well is treated as a single context.

Context	Date Range	Lots
Well O16	5th - mid 3rd	84, 90, 91

Well O17:1

Excavated in 1977, the top of the well was identified at 332.65 and its bottom at 325.85 for a depth of 6.8 meters. The single excavated lot was assigned to one layer. The well is treated as a single context.

Context	Date Range	Lots
Well O17:1	5th - 4th	24

Well O17:2

Excavated in 1977, the top of the well was identified at 333.64 and its bottom at 332.710 for a depth of 0.93 meter. The single excavated lot was assigned to one layer. The well is treated as a single context.

Context	Date Range	Lots
Well O17:2	5th - 4th	26

Secondary Deposits

Heroön Deposit G19:1

Excavated in 1988. Heroön deposit from the eastern section of the shrine found in the excavation of a test trench.

Date: Archaic to 4th century

Publication: Miller, Stella 1984, *Hesperia* 53

Bathroom Deposit J18:1

Excavated in 1983, the deposit is located in the southeast part of the bathhouse. It has been described as a “mounded votive deposit rich in finds.” The votive mound was cut through on the south by the foundation of the bathhouse and further distributed by a later pit. The deposit was formed in two layers placed over a shallow pit. The upper layer dates to the later 5th century, while the lower layer dates to the first half of the 5th century. Within the deposit, about six skyphoi were found sitting right side up with a stone place within the shattered walls of the cut, identifying it as a sacrificial deposit.

Date: 5th century

Publication: Miller, Stella 1984, 181-2.

Deposit K20:1 Pit 1

Excavated in 1981, the pit was found within a structure that has been identified as a domestic building, indicating that it had a more secular function. Within the western area of Square K are a series of pits of different sizes and shape. Excavation did not identify a purpose of these pits.

Date: 3rd century BCE

Publication: Miller 1982b, 29-7.

K17, Pit B

Excavated in 1983, a trench was opened to discover the date of the cement-like paving south of oikos 1. Two pits were found boarding the paving on the south and southwest. The pits were filled at the same time around the 5th to 6th centuries CE but contained materials from earlier periods, which excavators attributed to the disturbance of Classical remains in the area.

Date: 5th to 6th centuries CE with disturbance of Classical levels

Publication: Miller, Stella 1984, 177-8.

K19, House 1 Pit

Excavated in 1985, the house that lies in K19 and K20 is part of a series of houses in the south of the sanctuary. The final phase of the house is represented by a pit that cut into the south and east walls. The pit was covered by a layer that included material from the 2nd century.

Date: 2nd century BCE

Publication: Miller 1986, 11.

M 20, House 5

Excavated in 1985, no deep probes were carried out to discover the date of the building. Additionally, the house distributed by the river and later activity. The house forms the east wall of the entranceway for House 4, establishing its construction prior to House 4. No clear destruction level was found, though the highest levels continued material dating to the first half of the 3rd cent BCE.

Date: second half to the 4th century to 3rd century BCE

Publication: Miller 1986, 15-6.

Deposit N17:4, "Classical Pit"

Excavated in 1977, a small pit located north of the kiln complex. The pit measures 0.70x1.35m with a depth of a little more than a meter (332.95 to 331.92). The pit was lined with stones and packed, indicating a deliberate closing. The fill contained a mix of ash and bone, including jaw of a boar, and a large amount of pottery. The excavators determined that the pit had nothing to do with the kiln, rather they characterized it as being sacrificial in nature, possibly associated with the Dining Establishment.

Date: second quarter of the 5th century BCE

Publication: Miller 1978, 80-1.

Deposit Q19:1

Excavated in 1981, a building was found in the southern half of the excavated area of Q19 and Q20. The building, which faces northward, was not completely excavated and disturbed by later channels from the 1st century BCE. While the stratigraphy for construction of the building was not clear, it does appear to have fallen out of use by the second half of the 3rd century. The pottery found in use levels of the building, within the north-central room, date to the second half of the 4th century to the very early 3rd centuries.

Date: second half of the 4th century to early 3rd century BCE

Publication: Miller 1982b, 32-3

Deposit PP-10; Rawson Deposit

Excavated in 1925 by Charles Blegen, the votive deposit is located to the east of the sanctuary. The deposit was first studied by Marion Rawson in 1933–1934, for whom the deposit is named, but the complete study of the material was conducted by Signe Barfoed. The deposit has about 1000 pieces of pottery, primarily of Corinthian production. While different shapes of miniature vessels predominate, the deposit also contains lamps and terracotta figurines.

Date: Archaic

Publication: Barfoed 2009, 2017; Blegen 1926, 131–3.

APPENDIX B: CATALOG

This catalog is organized by individual well, but is a running list for all studied wells. Although not a comprehensive list of contents of the wells, it does include all inventoried items during the original excavation and subsequent study seasons; these items were given a unique excavation number and Nemea Museum number when registered, which are included in the catalog entry. Excavation find numbers were assigned in numerical sequence within the square (L17-7; L17-8; L17-9) with coins often given their own sequence (L17 - coin 5; L17 - coin 6). The Nemea Museum numbers were assigned by material type (A: Architecture, IL: Iron/Lead; P: Pottery) and are in running sequence for the whole site; thus L17-7 is IL 200 and L17-coin 5 is C 1020.⁶⁵³ All diagnostic sherds studied during the course of this dissertation research are included in the catalog; these items do not have an excavation nor Nemea Museum number, but are given unique study season catalog numbers. Cataloged items are given numbers that include the square/deposit.lot.running number - L17:1.12.01. Measurements are given in meters; descriptions are those of the author.

The terminology used for the vessel shapes is based upon the standard shapes used at Nemea and based upon the established names used at Corinth, as many of the vessels from Nemea are Corinthian in origin. Since many of the cataloged items are fragmentary, often missing the essential diagnostic part, I assigned the most basic vessel shape. For example, “cup” or “bowl” rather than specific types of cups and bowls. The most notable example of this is the use of the term “pitcher” when a closed vessel could not be identified specifically as an “oinochoe” or “decanter,” which is especially the case for those in kitchenware fabrics. For many of the comparanda of shapes and dates, I first consulted McPhee and Pemberton (*Corinth* VII.6, 2012) because of their deposit has a *terminus per quem* of Late Classical period, ca. end of the 4th century. When comparanda was not found, Edwards (*Corinth* VII.3, 1975) was consulted for the wider Hellenistic period. Finally, Pemberton’s publication of the Greek pottery from the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary (*Corinth* XVIII.1, 1989) was consulted. For non-Corinthian vessels, publication from the Athenian Agora were used as comparanda, especially Sparkes and Talcott (*Agora* XII, 1970). All dates for the ceramics in this catalog are based upon the published comparanda.

The organization of deposits is as follows: Each well is presented as a unit, with the material assigned to contexts based upon the results of my study. All objects that provide the date range for the context are presented first followed objects dated by the span of the well deposit. Catalog entries are arranged to prioritize the objects that date the context and thus are in the following order - all ceramics, which include vessels, lamps, and terracotta objects (fine ware, blisterware, kitchenware, semi-coarse, and coarse), coins, inscriptions, bronzes, and architectural features.

All entries correspond to the following layout:

Object Study Number/Museum Number (Find Number); Well no. (Fig. ; Pl.)

⁶⁵³ Finds registered in the 1920s excavations are preceded by NEM.

Layer; Lot
Measurements
Publications
Conservation
Description
Material⁶⁵⁴
Comparanda
Date

Abbreviations - measurements:

H: height	Diam: diameter
W: width	P: preserved
L: length	Max: maximum
Th: thickness	Min: minimum

Abbreviations - Nemea Museum Numbers:

A: architecture	IL: iron/lead
AT: architectural terracotta	L: lamp
BR: bronze	P: pottery
C: coin	ST: stone
GL: glass	TC: terracotta
I: inscription	

Well L17:1

CONTEXT: Upper Fill

1. Pitcher P 293 (L17-22); Well L17:1 (Pl. 10)

Layer 1 and 2 sift; Lots 3 and 6

H: 0.21; Diam (base): 0.075; (mouth): 0.122;

Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 25a

Mended from numerous fragments; preserves complete profile, 90% of body.

Pitcher with concave underside, flaring outwards to squat, heavy body, short concave neck and projecting rim with rounded lip; medium oval vertical handle attached at rim and upper body.

Grayish brown to red brown kitchenware fabric with small white inclusions, very brittle.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 68, no. 152, pl. 17

Date: early 3rd century

2. Pitcher L17:1.06.01; Well L17:1

Layer 2 sift; Lot 6

PH: 0.073; PW: 0.019; Th: 0.010

⁶⁵⁴ Under material, I have included possible origins of the vessel, though all attributions are from visual observations. In addition, Nemea soil is very harsh on the preservation of decoration, thus I have only included secure decoration, but many of the vessels were originally slipped.

- Complete handle, mended from two fragments; 24 possible body sherds in lot, associated by fabric.
 Pitcher with oval vertical strap handle with rim and body attach.
 Gray kitchenware fabric with medium white inclusions.
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 68, no. 646, fig. 23, pl. 58
 Date: Hellenistic
- 3. Unguentarium** P 281 (L17-17); Well L17:1
 Layer 1 sift and 2 sift; Lots 4 and 6
 PH: 0.084; Diam (rim): 0.030
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 25a
 Reconstructed, mended from 13 pieces, preserves uppermost part of body, shoulder, neck, and rim profile.
 Unguentarium with rounded body to tall neck widening in diameter towards rim, projecting down-turned rim, possible traces of wheel painted lines in red and black on body.
 Gray brown fine ware fabric.
 cf. **497** (P 118; Well N17:2); *Agora* XXXIII, p. 289, no. 409, fig. 62, pl. 52
 Date: ca. 320-220 (Hellenistic)
- 4. Oinochoe** L17:1.05.13; Well L17:1 (Fig. 4)
 Layer 2; Lot 5
 H: 0.145; W: 0.07; Th: 0.009
 Complete handle.
 Pitcher with large flat vertical strap handle attached at spreading rim and body, slight central groove down middle of handle; traces of glaze monochrome in/out.
 Tan buff fine ware fabric.
 McPhee 2005, p. 64, no. L-1978-53-6, fig. 22
 Date: last quarter of the 4th century
- 5. Skyphos** L17:1.05.01; Well L17:1 (Fig. 4; Pl. 10)
 Layer 2; Lot 5
 PH: 0.036; PW: 0.058; Diam: 0.050
 Complete base.
 Skyphos with ring foot with convex underside; monochrome in/out with reserved resting surface and juncture of wall and foot; underside reserved with central circle and black band at outer edge and onto inner face of foot.
 Buff brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out with reserve bands.
Agora XII, p. 259-60, nos. 346, 349, 350, pl. 16
 Date: ca. 420-350
- 6. Kantharos** L17:1.05.02; Well L17:1 (Fig. 4)
 Layer 2; Lot 5
 PH: 0.017; PW: 0.063; Diam: 0.065
 Nearly complete base.
 Kantharos with ring foot with ridged exterior face, short stem; monochrome in/out with reserved resting surface.
 Pink buff fine ware fabric.

Corinth VII.3, p. 76, no. 380, pls. 15, 52. The closest parallel are early Corinthian kantharoi when the stem is small, later the stem becomes more prominent.
Date: ca. 325

7. **Kantharos** L17:1.05.09; Well L17:1 (Pl. 10)
Layer 2; Lot 5
PH: 0.026; PW: 0.043; Diam: 0.042
Nearly complete base.
Kantharos with tall spreading ring foot, conical within and slight nipple on underside; flat resting surface; outer foot is grooved; short concave stem between foot and lower wall monochrome in/out with reserved resting surface.
Tan buff fine ware fabric.
Corinth VII.3, p. 82, no. 453, pls. 15, 53
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)
8. **Inscription** I 104 (NEM-I-3); Well L17:1 (Pl. 10)
Excavated June 9, 1964 (Area J-24)
PH: 0.12; PW: 0.11; Th: 0.08; Letter H: 0.008-0.009
Letter H: 0.008-0.009
Hesperia 37 (1968), p. 381-4.
Fragmentary; broken away at top, bottom, both sides, and back.
Greek inscription, non-stoichedon, memorial to commemorate this expedition of Greek troops from free and autonomous cities at the behest of Antigonos.
White marble.
Date: ca. 312/1
9. **Inscription** I 103 (NEM-I-2); Well L17:1
Excavated June 18, 1964 (Area J-24)
Side A - PH: 0.11; PW: 0.12; Th: 0.137; Letter H: 0.009-0.011
Side B - PH: 0.10; PW: 0.152; Th: 0.137; Letter H: 0.008-0.010
Th: 0.137
Hesperia 37 (1968), p. 384-5.
Fragmentary, broken away on top, bottom and one side.
Greek inscription, opisthographic, non-stoichedon; two sides represent different documents. Side A perhaps refers to regulations for the Nemean games; note in the 3rd line διὰ τρίτο[v] and in the 7th line π]ανήγυρτιν, “festival.” Side B seems to be about groups of people.
White marble with blue and yellow veins.
Date: late 4th century
10. **Skyphos** L17:1.05.03; Well L17:1 (Fig. 4)
Layer 2; Lot 5
Diam (rim): 0.08; W (handle): 0.034 - 0.043
Complete handle.
Skyphos with small oval horizontal triangle handle attached below the lipless rim.
Buff brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.
Agora XII, p. 259, no. 342, fig. 4, pl. 16
Date: ca. 470-460

- 11. Cup (vicup)** L17:1.05.11; Well L17:1 (Fig. 4)
Layer 2; Lot 5
PH: 0.037; PW: 0.03; Diam: 0.072
Nearly complete base.
Vicup with broad convex foot curving down to outer face, broad conical underside with central dome; short concave stem; glaze preserved on foot, not enough of interior preserved; walls of vessel not preserved, only small part of interior of vessel.
Gray buff to orange brown fabric; monochrome black brown out.
Agora XII, p. 436, no. 436, pl. 20
Date: ca. 470-460
- 12. Bowl** L17:1.05.15; Well L17:1 (Pl. 10)
Layer 2; Lot 5
PH: 0.027; Diam: 0.10
Fragment of base.
Saucer or bowl with tall ring foot with broad resting surface, square in profile.
Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black to reddish brown in/out with reserved resting surface and underside.
cf. **13** (L17:1.05.10; Well L17:1), **153** (L17:2.42.01; Well L17:2), **448** (E18.22.04; Well E18), **601** (O16:1.84.08; Well O16:1), and **602** (O16:1.84.09; Well O16:1); *Agora* XII, p. 293, nos. 794, 797, pls. 32, 58
Date: ca. 410-400
- 13. Bowl** L17:1.05.10; Well L17:1 (Fig. 4)
Layer 2; Lot 5
PH: 0.02; PW: 0.075; Diam: 0.11
Fragment of base.
Bowl with ring base with wide resting surface and square profile.
Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black in with exterior and underside reserved.
cf. **12** (L17:1.05.15; Well L17:1), **153** (L17:2.42.01; Well L17:2), **448** (E18.22.04; Well E18), **601** (O16:1.84.08; Well O16:1), and **602** (O16:1.84.09; Well O16:1); *Agora* XII, p. 293, nos. 794, 797, pls. 32, 58
Date: ca. 410-400
- 14. Kalathiskos** L17:1.05.06; Well L17:1 (Fig. 4; Pl. 11)
Layer 2; Lot 5
PH: 0.016; Diam: 0.042
Complete base, mended from three pieces.
Kalathiskos with flat string cut base; hole in middle, possibly intentional; wall fairly vertical only slightly concave; appears to be monochrome in/out. The hole in the center of the base was probably made intentionally for votive purpose if it is a kalathiskos.
Tan cream fine ware fabric; monochrome brown in/out (very fugitive).
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 171, no. 526, pl. 51
Date: late 6th century
- 15. Cup Skyphos** L17:1.05.07; Well L17:1 (Fig. 4; Pl. 11)
Layer 2; Lot 5
PH: 0.028; PW: 0.12; Diam: 0.088
Three joining fragments of base and one body sherd.

Cup-skyphos with rounded torus ring foot; slightly concave underside; two wide grooves on floor; monochrome in/out with reserved resting surface and underside, wide band at outer edge and onto inner face of foot.

Brown orange fine ware fabric with very few medium angular inclusions; monochrome red brown to brown black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 276, no. 568, pl. 25

Date: ca. 500

16. Salt-cellar L17:1.05.05; Well L17:1 (Fig. 5; Pl. 11)

Layer 2; Lot 5

PH: 0.012; Diam: 0.03

Complete base.

Salt-cellar with flat raised base.

Buff cream fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out, (very fugitive).

Agora XII, p. 303, no. 952, pl. 34

Date: ca. 525-500

17. Kotyle, miniature L17:1.05.08; Well L17:1 (Fig. 5)

Layer 2; Lot 5

PH: 0.019; PW: 0.035; Diam: 0.06

Complete handle.

Miniature kotyle with small round horizontal handle attached at lipless rim; handle placed slightly at an angle so it rises above the rim; handle is triangular though irregular in shape.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Date: 6th/5th century

18. Hydria BR 377 (L17-5); Well L17:1 (Pl. 11)

Layer 2; Lot 5

PH: 0.018; PW: 0.021-0.025; Diam: 0.150

Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26b

Complete base, foot intact; surface discolored and blistered by bronze disease and corrosion before cleaning.

Bronze hydria with ring base; sides slope, flaring out from upper circular surface to wider lower circular surface.; upper surface is slightly concave for reception of hydria.

Date: 6th/5th century

19. Sima AT 54 (L17-4); Well L17:1

Layer 2; Lot 5

PL: 0.69

H: 0.21; PW: 0.95

H (fascia): 0.055; (cyma reversa): 0.111; (cavetto): 0.04

Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 25c

Preserved above, on its right side; broken at rear beneath and long its left side.

Terracotta sima with cavetto decorated with Lesbian leaf; cyma reversa with lotus and palmette; fascia with running meander; soffit with meander and black band extending to approximately 0.08m on bottom surface.

Pinkish-red semi-coarse fabric with many inclusions; black and red pigment with greenish-white stucco.

Date: 6th/5th century

20. Worked Poros Blocks A 126a-c (L17-23); Well L17:1 (Pl. 11)

Layer 1; Lot 3

a) Diam: 0.35; Th: 0.18

Preserves two sides, broken on all other surfaces. Poros block smoothed above and below. Concave on one side, convex on the other.

b) Diam: 0.31; Th: 0.15

Preserves profile of curved edge. Broken badly on three sides. Curved poros block with one concave surface and one convex surface. Smooth above and below.

c) Diam: 0.24; Th: 0.09

Preserves three adjoining sides; above, below and rim. Broken at side. Worked poros block; smoothed concave lower surface, convex upper surface.

A, B, and C surely belong together and are probably fragments from the well head. Yellow poros.

21. Worked Poros Blocks A 127 (L17-24); Well L17:1 (Pl. 11)

Layer 1; Lot 3

PH: 0.17; PL: 0.192; PW: 0.118

Preserves parts of four sides; broken completely on three sides.

Worked block, concave on front surface, flat on back, flat on side and inclined surface below. Architectural member. Traces of painted horizontal bands on face.

Gray poros block with plaster on face and underside.

CONTEXT: Lower Fill

22. Deep Bowl L17:1.07.04; Well L17:1 (Fig. 5; Pl. 12)

Layer 2; Lot 7

PH: 0.021; PW: 0.081; Diam: 0.10

Two non-joining fragments of base.

Deep bowl with ring foot.

Blue gray to brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in.

Agora XXIX, p. 341, no. 1005, pl. 76; *Agora XXIX*, p. 349, no. 1101, fig. 67, pl. 79

Date: ca. 250-175 (second half of the 3rd to early 2nd century)

23. Saucer L17:1.09.12; Well L17:1 (Fig. 5; Pl. 12)

Layer 2; Lot 9

PH: 0.023; PW: 0.085; Diam: 0.055

Complete base, mended from two fragments.

Saucer with ring foot with central nipple; shallow concave wall; monochrome in/out, possible reserved resting surface.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 47, nos. 466, 467, fig. 15, pl. 48

Date: ca. 300-265 (early 3rd century)

24. Lekane L17:1.07.06; Well L17:1 (Fig. 5; Pl. 12)

Layer 2; Lot 7

PH: 0.019; Diam: 0.06

Fragment of base.

Lekane with disc foot with slightly concave underside.

- Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown to black in/out.
Agora XII, p. 364, no. 1820, fig. 15, pl. 85
 Date: ca. 320-290 (late 4th century)
- 25. Skyphos** L17:1.09.01; Well L17:1 (Fig. 5; Pl. 12)
 Layer 2; Lot 9
 PH: 0.024; Diam: 0.065
 Complete base.
 Skyphos with torus ring foot with slightly convex underside with slightly raised floor; preserved walls are nearly vertical, slightly concave; monochrome in/out with reserved resting surface and circle on underside.
 Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown to black in/out (dull but lustrous).
Agora XII, p. 260, nos. 349-352, fig. 4, pls. 16, 17
 Date: ca. 400-330
- 26. Skyphos** L17:1.09.11; Well L17:1 (Fig. 5)
 Layer 2; Lot 9
 PH: 0.029; PW: 0.067; Diam: 0.10
 Fragment of rim and handle.
 Skyphos with out-turned rim with small round horizontal handle attached below rim; monochrome in/out with possible reserve band on exterior lip.
 Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.
Agora XII, p. 260, nos. 350, 351, pls. 16, 17
 Date: ca. 375-340
- 27. Mug** P 1747 (L17-86); Well L17:1 (Fig. 5; Pl. 12)
 Layer 2 sift; Lot 8 (with additional fragments from Lot 9)
 PH: 0.065; PW: 0.056; Diam (rim): 0.065; (base): 0.050
 Mended from several fragment of rim and handle.
 Cup or mug, baggy profile with flat base, slightly concave with slightly out-turned rim and small flat vertical strap handle attached at rim to body.
 Orange fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.
 cf. **153** (P 339; Well L17:2); **356** (P 386; Well K14:4); **433** (P 1665; Well E18); **520** (P 156; Well N17:2); **521** (P 157; Well N17:2); Nemea Museum, P 778 (K20-60; Deposit K20:1, Pit 1); Williams 1979, p. 142, C-1936-2461, C1937-223, fig 7, pl. 52
 Date: 4th century; William's comparanda date from the middle to the second quarter of the 4th century.
- 28. Salt-cellar** L17:1.11.04; Well L17:1
 Layer 2; Lot 11
 PH: 0.02; PW: 0.035; Th: 0.006
 Fragment of body.
 Salt-cellar body fragment, convex, with vertical incised lines on upper half but not below the change in wall direction.
 Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red to brown in/out (fugitive), vertical incisions.
 Nemea Museum, P 405 (L20-27; L20, Lot 33)
 Date: late 4th century
- 29. Askos** L17:1.09.15; Well L17:1 (Fig. 5; Pl.12)

- Layer 2; Lot 9
 PH: 0.015; PW: 0.065; Diam: 0.025
 Two joining fragments of lid.
 Askos with tall rim around perforated center, nearly flat shoulder; handle attach.
 Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out; incised.
 Date: 4th century
- 30. Oinochoe P 1745 (L17-85); Well L17: 1 (Pl. 13)**
 Layer 2; Lots 7-12
 PH: 0.170; Diam (base): 0.2; (rim): 0.09
 Fragmentary; missing half of body, all of neck, rim and handle.
 Blisterware oinochoe with incised grooves and ribbing around the shoulder up to the neck.
 Gray blisterware fabric with a pinkish orange biscuit; dark mottled reddish brown and black glaze.
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 92, nos. 76, 77, pl. 10
 Date: 4th century
- 31. Corinthian A Amphora P 1744 (L17-84); Well L17:1**
 Layer 2; Lots 7-12
 MH: 0.427; MDiam (body): 0.414
 Fragmentary, mended from about 88 pieces from lots 7-12 with the majority from lot 11; rim, handles and most of neck missing and about half of the toe is also missing.
 Corinthian A amphora; large ovoid body with sloping shoulder and knobby toe.
 Grayish blisterware fabric with orange and gray mottling inside and out; unevenly fired causing blisters throughout the vase's broad uneven body.
 cf. **32** (P 411; Well L17:1) and **157** (P 401; Well L17:2).
 Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of 4th century)
- 32. Corinthian A Amphora P 411 (L17-77); Well L17:1 (Pl. 13)**
 Layer 2; Lot 7
a) PH: 0.270; Diam (rim): 0.115-0.18
b) PH: 0.370; Diam 0.470
 Substantially preserved in two major joining parts.
 Corinthian A amphora; peglike toe, round squat body to tall slightly concave neck, sharply downturned rim; two large oval vertical handles attached below rim and on shoulder; additional fragments in lots.
 Unevenly fired with blistered surface - heavy uneven gray-red fabric.
Corinth VII.6, p. 59, nos. I-1, I-2, fig. 1, pl. 1; *Corinth* VII.6, p. 60, nos. I-12, I-13, fig. 2, pl. 3
 Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of 4th century)
- 33. Amphora L17:1.11.17; Well L17:1**
 Layer 2; Lot 11
 PH: 0.070; PW: 0.066; Th: 0.007-0.010
 Fragment.
 Blisterware amphora with full height of concave neck with very little of neck and shoulder preserved.
 Blue gray core and orange red blisterware fabric; mottled red to gray black

- cf. **32** (P 411; Well L17:1) and **157** (P 401; Well L17:2)
Date: 4th century
- 34. Pitcher** P 277 (L17-15); Well L17:1 (Pl. 13)
Layer 2; Lot 11
H: 0.230; Diam (body): 0.185; (rim): 0.117; (base): 0.085
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26a
Reconstructed, mended from 12 fragments; a few fragments of lip missing.
Kitchenware oinochoe with slightly concave underside, flaring outwards to rounded body, short concave neck to projecting rim with rounded lip; complete oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder, extends above rim. Thumb indentation at handle attach at shoulder.
Orange gray kitchenware fabric with inclusions.
Corinth VII.6, p. 98-99, nos. III-33, III-43, figs. 14, 15, pl. 13
Date: 4th century
- 35. Casserole/Lopas** L17:1.07.07; Well L17:1 (Pl. 13)
Layer 2; Lot 7
PH: 0.027; Diam: 0.24
Fragment of rim.
Casserole or lopas with spreading rim with flange.
Red brown cooking ware fabric with very few small inclusions.
Nemea Museum, P 756 (Q19-34; Deposit Q19:1); *Corinth* VII.3, p. 125, no. 666, pl. 29;
Corinth VII.6, p. 97, no. III-29, fig. 13, pl. 12
Date: 4th century
- 36. Coin** C 908 (L17-Coin 5); Well L17:1
Layer 2 sift; Lot 8
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 25d; *Nemea* III, cat. 1253, pl. 17, b.
Coin, Sikyon; Obv: dove; Rev: wreath.
Bronze.
BMC Pel., p. 44, nos. 94-102, pl. 8.12,13; *Corinth* VI, p. 52, no. 314
Date: ca. 365-330
- 37. Trefoil Oinochoe** L17:1.07.03; Well L17:1
Layer 2; Lot 7
PH: 0.023; PW: 0.030; Th: 0.003
Fragment of rim.
Oinochoe with trefoil mouth with out-turned rim; monochrome out with possible traces on interior of rim, possibly smaller than normal.
Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black out.
Corinth XIII, p. 312, no. D 49h-j, pl. 57; *Corinth* XIII, p. 279, no. 445-2, pl. 71
Date: third quarter of the 5th to mid 4th century
- 38. Olpe** P 276 (L17-11); Well L17:1 (Pl. 13)
Layer 2; Lot 9
H: 0.098; MaxW (belly): 0.048; Diam (base): 0.038
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26a

- Reconstructed, mended from three fragments; missing handle and several fragments of neck and lip.
 Olpe with flat base with very slightly concave underside, tall convex wall to short concave neck and flaring trefoil rim. Handle completely reconstructed.
 Buff fine ware fabric with reddish brown glaze; monochrome out.
Corinth VII.3, p. 52, no. 234 ; *Agora* XII, p. 255, no. 272, pl. 13
 Date: ca. 425-350 (end of 5th to mid 4th century)
- 39. Lekane** L17:1.07.05; Well L17:1 (Fig. 6; Pl. 13)
 Layer 2; Lot 7
 PH: 0.035; PW: 0.162; Diam: 0.23
 Two joining fragments of rim and complete handle.
 Lekane with incurving rim, double grooves on outside below lip; medium oval horizontal handle attached directly below rim.
 Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.
 Date: 5th century
- 40. Kotyle** P 278 (L17-16); Well L17:1 (Pl. 14)
 Layer 2 and 2 sift; Lots 11 and 12
 H: 0.085; Diam (base): 0.064; (rim): 0.10
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26a
 Complete, mended from 17 fragments; missing chips from body and rim, part of one handle.
 Kotyle with slightly convex base with spreading foot, gently swelling sides coming to fullest diameter just before slightly inward turning rim; two small round horizontal ring handles. Base decorated with black band encircling convex surface, enclosed by red band encircling resting surface of foot; exterior of foot bordered by red band, reserve and thin red band; body decorated with series of alternating black and red bands, extending to rim or lower reserve zone and semi-glazed upper two thirds.
 Buff clay with red brown to black brown glaze.
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 86, nos. 40-42, fig. 6, pls. 6, 7
 Date: ca. 475-450 (second quarter of the 5th century)
- 41. Kotyle** L17:1.09.02; Well L17:1 (Fig. 6; Pl. 14)
 Layer 2; Lot 9
 PH: 0.035; PW: 0.057; Diam: 0.03-0.042
 Complete base.
 Kotyle with ring foot with rounded profile, convex underside with pronounced nipple; convex lower body; band around foot, reserved interior foot, large band or monochrome underside; wide reserve band above foot on lower wall, then thick band; decoration otherwise not preserved.
 Gray blue/pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/banded.
 Date: 5th century
- 42. Kotyle** L17:1.11.10; Well L17:1 (Fig. 6)
 Layer 2; Lot 11
 PH: 0.017; Diam: 0.045
 Complete base.

- Kotyle with ring root with slightly convex underside; monochrome foot with concentric circles and dot on underside; two bands above foot before decorative zone (not preserved); monochrome interior.
Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to black brown in/banded out, concentric circles.
Corinth XIII, p. 225, no. 285-2, pl. 40; *Corinth XIII*, p. 205, no. 356-3, pl. 56; similar in decoration to **43** (L17:1.11.14; Well L17:1)
Date: 5th century
- 43. Kotyle** L17:1.11.14; Well L17:1 (Fig. 6; Pl. 14)
Layer 2; Lot 11
PH: 0.023; Diam: 0.03
Complete base, mended from two joining fragments.
Kotyle with ring foot with slightly convex underside; band around foot with concentric circles on underside and central dot; wide reserve band above foot then band below decorative zone (not preserved); monochrome in.
Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown in/band out, concentric circles.
Similar in decoration to **42** (L17:1.11.10; Well L17:1)
Date: 5th century
- 44. Kotyle** L17:1.11.12; Well L17:1 (Fig. 6; Pl. 14)
Layer 2; Lot 11
PH: 0.026; Diam: 0.055
Complete base.
Kotyle with ring foot with slightly convex underside; monochrome foot with reserved resting surface and band on interior, circle on underside; reserve band above foot, band then closely drawn thin vertical lines; monochrome in.
Pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown red in/band and rays out, concentric circles.
Nemea Museum, P 1578 (F19-61; heroön), P 1579 (F19-62; heroön), P 1584 (F19-60; heroön), and P 1587 (F19-70; heroön); *Corinth XVIII.1*, p. 86, no. 43, fig. 7, pl. 7
Date: early 5th century
- 45. Kotyle** L17:1.12.01; Well L17:1 (Fig. 6; Pl. 14)
Layer 2 sift; Lot 12
PH: 0.036; Diam: 0.059
Complete base.
Kotyle with ring base with slightly convex underside and slight nipple on floor; monochrome glaze in; band around foot, possible circles on underside (very worn); very close, thin rays from base.
Bluish pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black to reddish brown in, rays and bands out.
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 86, no. 40, fig. 6, pl. 6 (for foot); *Corinth XVIII.1*, p. 86, no. 43, fig. 7, pl. 7 (for rays)
Date: ca. 500-450 (first half of the 5th century)
- 46. Kotyle** L17:1.08.08; Well L17:1 (Fig. 6; Pl. 14)
Layer 2 sift; Lot 8
PH: 0.008; Diam: 0.04

- Fragment of base.
 Kotyle with ring foot with fugitive dark brown glaze; possibly monochrome in/out with reserved resting surface and underside.
 Blue pink to buff fine ware fabric; monochrome dark brown in/out.
 cf. **61** (L17:1.11.13; Well L17:1) and **87** (L17:1.12.08; Well L17:1)
 Date: 5th century
- 47. Kotyle** L17:1.12.06; Well L17:1 (Fig. 7)
 Layer 2 sift; Lot 12
 PH: 0.015; Diam: 0.05
 Fragment of base.
 Kotyle with ring foot with very small part of wall intact; bands on exterior and interior of foot; too little of underside and wall to see decoration.
 blue pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown in/band out.
 Nemea Museum, P 1338 (J18-66; bathhouse Deposit J18:1), P 1340 (J18-68; bathhouse Deposit J18:1)
 Date: early 5th century
- 48. Kotyle** L17:1.11.16; Well L17:1
 Layer 2; Lot 11
 L: 0.027; W: 0.026; PH: 0.017
 Complete handle.
 Kotyle with small round horizontal bell handle with body attach.
 Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown.
Corinth XIII, p. 258-9, no. 384-1, pl. 62
 Date: ca. 450-425 (third quarter of the 5th century)
- 49. Kotyle** L17:1.12.04; Well L17:1 (Fig. 7)
 Layer 2 sift; Lot 12
 PH: 0.032; Diam: 0.010
 Fragment of rim.
 Kotyle with incurving lipless rim with small round horizontal handle attach below rim.
 Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome dark brown in/out.
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 86, no. 43, fig. 7, pl. 7
 Date: early 5th century
- 50. Kotyle/Bowl** L17:1.09.05; Well L17:1 (Fig. 7; Pl. 14)
 Layer 2; Lot 9
 PH: 0.034; PW: 0.102; Diam: 0.073-0.090
 Fragment of base; almost complete.
 Kotyle or bowl with wide ring foot with rounded profile, slightly concave underside; part of wall preserved; most likely monochrome in/out with reserved underside, but decoration very fugitive, difficult to tell.
 Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown to red brown in/out.
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 131, no. 292a, fig. 34, pl. 32
 Date: late 5th century to early 4th century
- 51. Skyphos** L17:1.09.08; Well L17:1 (Fig. 7; Pl. 15)
 Layer 2; Lot 9

PH: 0.023; PW: 0.047; Diam: 0.04-0.048

Nearly complete base.

Skyphos, Attic type, with ring foot with convex underside, slight nipple; slightly concave wall. Appears to be monochrome in/out with reserved foot; wide band on interior of foot spreading onto the underside (irregular); very worn.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown in/out (fugitive).

Nemea Museum, P 404 (L20-26; L20, Lot 32), P 408 (L20-30; L20, Lot 51), P 752 (K20-29; K20, Lot 13), P 1163 (NEM-P-365; xenon), and P 1510 (M20-33; M20, House 5)

Date: late 5th century

52. Cup L17:1.09.24; Well L17:1 (Fig. 7)

Layer 2; Lot 9

PH: 0.018; PW: 0.09; Diam: 0.042

Two joining fragments of base.

Cup with concave raised base with low set walls; appears to be monochrome in/out with possible reserved underside.

Tan buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out (fugitive).

cf. **98** (L17:1.08.19; Well L17:1); *Agora* XII, p. 266, no. 449, pl. 21

Date: ca. 500-480 (early 5th century)

53. Cup L17:1.10.08; Well L17:1 (Fig. 7)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 10

PH: 0.022; PW: 0.042

Complete handle.

Cup with small round horizontal handle, slightly pinched together near attach and squared at ends; body attach; attached at a slightly angle; groove on body above attach.

Orange brown fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to brown black to black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 267, no. 453, pl. 21

Date: ca. 480 (early 5th century)

54. Cup L17:1.10.03; Well L17:1 (Fig. 7)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 10

PH: 0.020; L (handle): 0.035; W (handle): 0.022

Complete handle.

Cup with small round horizontal handle with body attach; handle slightly pinched at attach; groove at wall above handles, possibly near rim.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 267, no. 461, pl. 21; *Agora* XII, p. 274, no. 548, pl. 24

Date: ca. 420-400 (end of 5th century)

55. Cup L17:1.10.02; Well L17:1 (Fig. 7)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 10

PH: 0.022; Diam: 0.10

Fragment of rim.

Cup with convex wall to tall inset spreading rim with deep groove at join between rim and wall.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out, reserved lip.

- Agora* XII, p. 279, no. 617, fig. 6, pls. 27, 55; associated with **56** (L17:1.09.16; Well L17:1)
Date: ca. 410 (end of the 5th century)
- 56. Cup** L17:1.09.16; Well L17:1 (Fig. 7)
Layer 2; Lot 9
PH: 0.036; PW: 0.035; Diam: 0.13
Four non-joining fragments of rim, some mended from multiple pieces.
Cup with convex wall to tall inset spreading rim; groove at join between rim and wall.
Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out, reserved lip.
Agora XII, p. 279, no. 617, fig. 6, pls. 27, 55, associated with **55** (L17:1.10.02; Well L17:1)
Date: ca. 410 (end of the 5th century)
- 57. Cup** L17:1.11.08 a-b; Well L17:1 (Fig. 7)
Layer 2; Lot 11
a) PH: 0.020; PW: 0.025; Diam: 0.12
b) PH: 0.013; PW: 0.018; Diam: 0.12
Two non-joining fragments of rim.
Cup with convex body to narrow inset spreading rim; pronounced groove between rim and wall.
Orange buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.
Nemea Museum, P 153 (N16-50; N16, Lot 4), P 169 (O16-13; O16, Lot 3), P 269 (N16-64; N16, Lot 3); *Agora* XII, p. 279, no. 617, fig. 6, pls. 27, 55; associated with **58** (L17:1.11.09; Well L17:1)
Date: ca. 410 (end of the 5th century)
- 58. Cup** L17:1.11.09; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8)
Layer 2; Lot 11
PH: 0.03; PW: 0.025; Diam: 0.12
Fragment of rim.
Cup with convex body to narrow inset spreading rim; pronounced groove between rim and wall.
Orange buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.
Nemea Museum, P 153 (N16-50; N16, Lot 4), P 169 (O16-13; O16, Lot 3), P 269 (N16-64; N16, Lot 3); *Agora* XII, p. 279, no. 617, fig. 6, pls. 27, 55; associated with **57** (L17:1.11.08; Well L17:1)
Date: ca. 410 (end of the 5th century)
- 59. Cup, Stemless** P 290 (L17-19); Well L17:1
Layer 2; Lot 9
H: 0.045; Diam (base): 0.063; (rim): 0.11
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26a
Reconstructed, mended from two fragments; preserving complete profile; missing about 1/2 of body, one handle is preserved.
Stemless cup with slightly convex base, low ring foot with thin resting surface; foot separated from body by narrow groove; rather deep body, with spreading rim; small round rectangular handle attached on widest diameter of body and set at an angle, rising above the level of the rim.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 268, no. 472, pl. 22

Date: ca. 470-450 (second quarter of the 5th century)

60. Cup, Stemless P 291 (L17-20); Well L17:1 (Pl. 15)

Layer 2; Lot 9

H: 0.057; Diam (base): 0.07; (rim): 0.116

Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26a

Reconstructed, mended from nine fragments, preserving complete profile; missing about 1/3 of body, one-handled preserved.

Stemless cup with slightly convex base, low ring foot with thin resting surface; convex walls to spreading rim; small round rectangular handle attached on widest diameter of body and set at an angle, rising above the level of the rim.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 268, no. 472, pl. 22

Date: ca. 470-450 (second quarter of the 5th century)

61. Cup Skyphos L17:1.11.13; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8; Pl. 15)

Layer 2; Lot 11

PH: 0.023; Diam: 0.045

Fragment of base.

Cup skyphos with ring foot with slight groove between foot and wall; decoration is very worn but it appears to have a band around foot, reserve band above foot, thin band.

Blue pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown in/ bands (very fugitive).

Date: 5th century

62. Cup Skyphos L17:1.08.04; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8; Pl. 15)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 8

PH: 0.022; PW: 0.026; Diam: 0.13

Fragment of rim.

Cup skyphos with tall inset spreading rim; convex wall; deep groove between rim and wall join; possible reserve band at lip.

Brownish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

cf. **63** (L17:1.08.05; Well L17:1), see also Nemea Museum, P 153 (N16-50; N16, Lot 4), P 169 (O16-13; O16, Lot 3), P 269 (N16-64; N16, Lot 3); *Agora* XII, p. 267, no. 455, pl. 21

Date: 5th century

63. Cup Skyphos L17:1.08.05; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 8

PH: 0.02; PW: 0.035; Diam: 0.14

Fragment of rim.

Cup skyphos with convex body to tall inset spreading rim; groove between rim and wall. Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

cf. **62** (L17:1.08.04; Well L17:1), see also Nemea Museum, P 153 (N16-50; N16, Lot 4), P 169 (O16-13; O16, Lot 3), P 269 (N16-64; N16, Lot 3); *Agora* XII, p. 267, no. 455, pl. 21

Date: 5th century

- 64. Cup Skyphos** L17:1.09.09; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8)
 Layer 2; Lot 9
 PH: 0.034; PW: 0.051; Diam: 0.15
 Fragment of rim.
 Cup skyphos with convex body to slightly projecting rim with rounded lip, possible reserve band on outer lip; incised horizontal lines on interior below rim.
 Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.
Agora XII, p. 276, no. 571, pl. 25
 Date: ca. 500-480 (early 5th century)
- 65. Cup Skyphos** L17:1.12.11-14; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8)
 Layer 2 sift; Lot 12
 PH: 0.022; Diam: 0.10
 Four non-joining fragments of rim.
 Cup skyphos with tall inset spreading rim, out-turned.
 Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.
 Nemea Museum, P 153 (N16-50; N16, Lot 4), P 169 (O16-13; O16, Lot 3), P 269 (N16-64; N16, Lot 3); *Agora* XII, p. 267, no. 455, pl. 21
 Date: 5th century
- 66. Cup Skyphos** L17:1.12.10; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8)
 Layer 2 sift; Lot 12
 PH: 0.023; PW: 0.028; Diam: 0.14
 Fragment of rim.
 Cup skyphos with tall inset spreading rim, slightly out-turned; very shallow concave wall.
 Tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.
 Nemea Museum, P 153 (N16-50; N16, Lot 4), P 169 (O16-13; O16, Lot 3), P 269 (N16-64; N16, Lot 3); *Agora* XII, p. 267, no. 455, pl. 21
 Date: 5th century
- 67. One-handled Cup/Skyphos** L17:1.10.07; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8)
 Layer 2 sift; Lot 10
 PH: 0.013; PW: 0.041
 Complete handle.
 One-handled cup or skyphos with small round horizontal handle, slightly pinched together near attach; body attach; attached at a slightly angle.
 Orange brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown to black in/out.
Agora XII, p. 290, no. 753, pl. 21, 56 (one handler); *Agora* XII, p. 258, no. 312, pl. 14 (skyphos)
 Date: 5th century
- 68. One-handled Cup** L17:1.11.03; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8)
 Layer 2; Lot 11
 PH: 0.012; Diam: 0.048
 Two joining fragments of base.
 One-handled cup with torus base, possible disc on underside but fragmentary; decoration is too fugitive to tell but appears to be monochrome in.
 Pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown in (very fugitive).
 Nemea Museum, P 302-307 (N17-156 - N17-161; Deposit N17:4 "Classical Pit")

Date: ca. 475-450 (second quarter of the 5th century)

69. Salt-cellar P 282 (L17-18); Well L17:1 (Pl. 15)

Layer 2; Lot 7

H: 0.024; Diam (base): 0.03; (rim): 0.053

Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 25d

Reconstructed, mended from two fragments; preserving complete profile; missing about 1/3 of body and rim.

Salt-cellar with flat underside, echinus wall; incurving rim; swirl design on underside made with finger in moist clay.

Pinkish tan clay; black glaze.

Agora XII, p. 301, no. 915, pl. 34

Date: ca. 425-400 (end of 5th century)

70. Salt-cellar L17:1.08.07; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 8

PH: 0.015; PW: 0.050; Diam: 0.04

Nearly complete base, mended from two non-joining fragments.

Salt-cellar with flat base; slightly concave wall; sharp angle between wall and foot; most likely monochrome.

Cream fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out (very fugitive).

Date: 5th century

71. Salt-cellar, Echinus type L17:1.09.17; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8)

Layer 2; Lot 9

PH: 0.012; PW: 0.037; Diam: 0.03

Fragment of base.

Salt-cellar of Echinus type with flat string cut base.

Orange brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 301, nos. 913, 914, fig. 9, pl. 34

Date: ca. 430-400 (late 5th century)

72. Ribbed Lekythos P 292 (L17-21); Well L17:1 (Pl. 15)

Layer 2; Lot 11

PH: 0.087; Diam (shoulder): 0.056

Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26a

Partially reconstructed, mended from two fragments; preserving profile of foot, body and handle attach; missing upper part of vessel.

Lekythos with ring foot with flat resting surface, beveled on exterior surface; foot separated from body by narrow groove; slender body rising to narrow neck; small oval vertical handle attach on shoulder; deep vertical ribs decorate body, band with ovule pattern surrounds base of neck.

Buff brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown red (slightly purple in hue) out; traces of red band along beveled edge of foot and again on underside where foot meets exterior of floor.

Corinth XIII, p. 312, no. D 49-f, pl. 57; *Agora* XII, p. 255, no. 272, pl. 13. The comparanda are based upon shape but do not have the vertical ribbing. Similar ribbing can be seen on a chous in *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 154, no. 386, fig. 3, pl. 44 but with a more globular body and dating later in the 4th century.

Date: ca. 480-450 (first half of the 5th century)

73. Pyxis L17:1.11.01; Well L17:1 (Fig. 8; Pl. 15)

Layer 2; Lot 11

PH: 0.027; PW: 0.093

Fragment of lid.

Pyxis lid, concave; convex handle with top missing; handle is hollow.

Orange buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out (streaky).

Agora XII, p. 323, no. 1235, pl. 41

Date: ca. 480-450 (second quarter of the 5th century)

74. Pitcher L17:1.09.03; Well L17:1 (Fig. 9; Pl. 16)

Layer 2; Lot 9

PH: 0.020; PW: 0.096; Diam: 0.082

Complete base.

Pitcher with flat raised base; small part of lower wall preserved.

Reddish brown kitchenware fabric with few small angular inclusions.

Nemea Museum, P 1702 (E18-135; South reservoir), P 1734 (E18-178; North reservoir);

cf. **75** (L17:1.09.04; Well L17:1) may be from the same vessel based on fabric.

Date: 5th century

75. Pitcher L17:1.09.04; Well L17:1 (Fig. 9; Pl. 16)

Layer 2; Lot 9

PH: 0.068; PW: 0.087; Diam: 0.103

Fragment of rim.

Pitcher with horizontal projecting rim with concave neck and part of shoulder; partially covered with a white material, possibly lime.

Reddish brown kitchenware fabric with few small angular inclusions.

Agora XII, p. 339, nos. 1478, 1482, pl. 62; cf. **74** (L17:1.09.03; Well L17:1) may be the same vessel based on fabric.

Date: 5th century

76. Lekane L17:1.08.11; Well L17:1

Layer 2 sift; Lot 8

PH: 0.03; Diam: 0.32

Fragment of rim.

Lekane with projecting rim, slightly spreading; handle attach on rim.

Reddish brown kitchenware fabric with very few small rounded inclusions.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 153, no. 381, fig. 2 (from an early 3rd century lot, but vessel has been dated to the Classical period)

Date: 5th century

77. Coin C 1020 (L17-Coin 6); Well L17:1

Layer 2 sift; Lot 8

Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 25d; *Nemea* III, cat. 1592.

Coin, Argos, obol; Obv: wolf head; Rev: A in incuse square; in upper part, two deeper incuses.

Silver.

BMC Pel., p. 137, no. 24, pl. 27.4

Date: ca. before 421

- 78. Coin C 1097 (L17-Coin); Well L17:1**
Layer 2 sift; Lot 8
Weight: 0.196
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 25d; *Nemea* III, cat. 772.
Coin, Corinth; Obv: Pegasus; Rev: trident.
Bronze.
BMC Cor., p. 53-56, nos. 423-471, pl. 14.1-8; *Corinth* VI, p. 14-15, no. 11, pl. 1
Date: late 5th to 4th century (minted in the late 5th century - 284 BCE)
- 79. Trefoil Oinochoe** L17:1.07.08a-c; L17:1.08.18a-b; L17:1.09.14; L17:1.11.06 a-b; Well L17:1 (Pl. 16)
Layer 2 and 2 sift; Lots 7-9, and 11
PH: 0.143; PW: 0.030; Th: 0.015
Complete handle, mended from four fragments, plus non-joining fragments of rim and body.
Oinochoe with medium oval vertical strap handle with central ridge, out-turned trefoil rim; concave neck fragment with grooves and ridge where it joins to shoulder.
Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.
cf. **140** (P 398; Well L17:2) and **474** (P 1439; Well L19), see also Nemea Museum, P 1725 (E18-173; North reservoir)
Date: 6th century
- 80. Trefoil Oinochoe** L17:1.09.22; Well L17:1 (Fig. 9; Pl. 16)
Layer 2; Lots 9, 11 and 12
PH: 0.057; (with handle): 0.095
D (neck): 0.059
Complete handle, mended from two fragments, plus two joining fragments for complete neck diameter, and six additional fragments of rim and body.
Oinochoe with trefoil rim, slightly concave neck to horizontal shoulder; two ridges around join between neck and shoulder; small oval high swung vertical strap handle with deep central groove attached at rim and shoulder.
Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to brown black in/out (streaky), on interior lip and dripping down neck onto parts of shoulder.
No direct parallels, but similar to *Corinth* XIII, p. 186, no. 160-6, pl. 24; *Corinth* XIII, p. 233, no. 308-1, pl. 45; **80** appears to be smaller than published examples.
Date: ca. 590/580 - 465/455 (early 6th/middle of the 5th century)
- 81. Lekane** L17:1.10.04; Well L17:1 (Fig. 9; Pl. 16)
Layer 2 sift; Lot 10
PH: 0.016; Diam: 0.065
Complete base.
Lekane with flaring ring foot with slightly convex underside; monochrome in/out with reserved resting surface.
Orange brown fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to black in/out.
Agora XII, p. 321, no. 1207, pl. 40
Date: ca. 575 (early 6th century)

- 82. Basin** L17:1.09.25; Well L17:1
 Layer 2; Lot 9
 PH: 0.052; Diam: 0.32-0.35
 Two non-joining fragments of rim.
 Basin with horizontal projecting rim with almost vertical exterior lip; groove below rim on exterior; thick walled.
 Pink buff fine ware fabric with very few small angular inclusions.
Corinth VII.2, p.153, no. AN 281, pls. 82, 100; associated with **83** (L17:1.08.03; Well L17:1)
 Date: 6th/5th century
- 83. Basin** L17:1.08.03; Well L17:1
 Layer 2 sift; Lot 8
 PH: 0.044; PW: 0.067; Diam: 0.35-0.40
 Fragment of rim.
 Basin with horizontal projecting rim with almost vertical exterior lip, slightly bevelled; groove below rim on exterior; thick walled.
 Pink buff fine ware fabric with very few small red angular inclusions. Exterior has a cream color, possibly from firing or a white cream slip applied; possibly a non-joining piece to those in Lot 9, though the rim is slightly larger.
Corinth VII.2, p.153, no. AN 281, pls. 82, 100; associated with **82** (L17:1.09.25; Well L17:1)
 Date: 6th/5th century
- 84. Kotyle** L17:1.11.02 a-c; Well L17:1 (Fig. 9)
 Layer 2; Lot 11
 PH: 0.017; Diam: 0.045
 Nearly complete base, mended from three joining fragments.
 Kotyle with ring base, center of floor missing; little part of wall preserved; monochrome exterior of foot and band on interior, circle on underside; band above foot on lower wall, reserve band, decorative zone (not preserved).
 Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to black brown in/out; bands.
 Nemea Museum, P 1338 (J18-66; bathhouse Deposit J18:1)
 Date: late 6th century
- 85. Kotyle** L17:1.11.11; Well L17:1 (Fig. 9; Pl. 16)
 Layer 2; Lot 11
 PH: 0.036; PW: 0.070; Diam: 0.050
 Complete base.
 Kotyle with ring foot with flat underside and part of wall preserved; monochrome foot, wide circular band on underside, reserve band above foot, band, then faint traces of thin vertical rays.
 Blue pink to buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to brown black in/band and rays out.
 Nemea Museum, P 943 (NEM-P-110; PP-10 Rawson Deposit)
 Date: late 6th century
- 86. Kotyle** L17:1.11.15; Well L17:1 (Fig. 9; Pl.16)
 Layer 2; Lot 11

PH: 0.012; PW: 0.057; Diam: 0.052

Complete base, mended from two joining fragments.

Kotyle with ring foot with flat underside, deep groove on top of foot; slightly convex floor with raised center; band around foot, one circle on underside; reserved exterior face of foot; wide band in groove, reserve band, thin band below decorative zone (not preserved).

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/bands out, concentric circles.

Nemea Museum, P 951 (NEM-P-118, PP-10 Rawson Deposit), P 1082 (NEM-P-343, PP-10 Rawson Deposit).

Date: late 6th/early 5th century

87. Kotyle L17:1.12.08; Well L17:1 (Fig. 9)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 12

PH: 0.02; Diam: 0.04

Fragment of base.

Kotyle with ring foot with fugitive glaze above foot on lower wall and on interior of foot, otherwise decoration is unclear.

Blue gray to pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Date: late 6th/5th century

88. Kotyle L17:1.11.05; Well L17:1 (Fig. 10)

Layer 2; Lot 11

PH: 0.019; PW (body): 0.041; (handle): 0.027

Complete handle.

Kotyle with small round horizontal loop handle attached to body.

Pinkish buff to grayish blue fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 257, no. 311, fig. 4, pl. 14; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 86, no. 43, fig. 7, pl. 7

Date: late 6th (ca. 530-500) to early 5th century

89. Kotyle L17:1.12.05 a-b; Well L17:1 (Fig. 10)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 12

PH: 0.025; Diam (rim): 0.10

Complete handle, mended from three fragments.

Kotyle with incurving lipless rim with small round horizontal handle attached below rim.

Cream fine ware fabric; monochrome brown in/out (very worn).

Corinth VII.2, p. 129, no. AN 161, pls. 64, 112

Date: late 6th/5th century

90. Cup L17:1.12.16 a-c; Well L17:1 (Fig. 10)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 12

PH: 0.011; Diam: 0.035

Nearly complete base, mended from three non-joining fragments.

Cup with tall, flaring ring foot with concave underside; very little wall preserved.

Orange brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out, with reserved resting surface and underside with a single band at interior of foot.

Agora XII, p. 262, no. 378, fig. 4, pl. 18

Date: ca. 575-550 (second quarter of the 6th century)

91. Cup L17:1.10.06; Well L17:1 (Fig. 10)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 10
PH: 0.022; PW: 0.029; Diam: 0.130
Fragment of rim, two joining fragments.
Cup with tall inset spreading rim with deep groove at join with convex wall; lip possibly reserved.
Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.
Agora XII, p. 262, no. 380, pl. 18
Date: ca. 575-550 (second quarter of the 6th century)

92. Hydria BR 379 (L17-12); Well L17:1 (Pl. 17)

Layer 2; Lot 9
PH: 0.38; Diam (base): 0.148; (body): 0.285; (rim): 0.191
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26b
Complete, restored.
Bronze hydria with round ring base to tall body with widest point of body set high on the vessel, concave tall neck to projecting rim; medium oval vertical strap handle attached at rim and on top of shoulder, decorated with a protome of a kore. On the rim of the hydria, which is attached to the handle by two substantial rivets (the central rivet is entirely decorative), are a pointille tau, perhaps relevant to the original owner of the hydria, and a nicely cut inscription, dating from the 5th century, which clearly makes this a sacred vessel and a part of the sanctuary's wealth. The kore, and thus the hydria, are to be dated to the very end of the 6th century B.C.
Inscription: TO ΔΙΟΣ ΕΙΜΙ ΤΟ ΝΕΜΕΑΙ.
Date: end of 6th century

93. Hydria BR 378 (L17-6); Well L17:1 (Pl. 18)

Layer 2; Lot 9
PH: 0.018; Diam: 0.131
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26b
Complete base, foot intact.
Hydria base with sloping sides, flaring slightly from upper circular surface to wider lower circular surface; upper surface is slightly concave for reception of hydria; thin circular groove inscribed on bottom surface.
Date: 6th/5th century

94. Hydria BR 380 (L17-13); Well L17:1 (Pl. 18)

Layer 2; Lot 11
PH: 0.012; Diam: 0.122
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26
Complete base, foot intact; slightly corroded and blistered prior to cleaning.
Hydria ring base; sloping sides decorated with raised vertical ridges at approx. 0.010 intervals; rim bordered by narrow band; concave upper surface; open interior.
Date: 6th/5th century

95. Hydria BR 381 (L17-14); Well L17:1 (Pl. 18)

Layer 2; Lot 11
PH: 0.016; Diam: 0.143
Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 26

Complete base, foot intact; highly blistered and infected with bronze disease before cleaning.
Hydria ring base with sloping sides, lipped rim, and concave upper surface; open interior.
Date: 6th/5th century

96. Raking Sima AT 55 (L17-9); Well L17:1 (Pl. 18)

Layer 2; Lot 9

L: 0.55; PW: 0.345; H: 0.125

H (half round): 0.015; (cavetto): 0.055; (cyma reversa): 0.03; (fascia): 0.045

Preserves three sides; lion's head water spout broken into three pieces prior to mending. Terracotta raking sima with lion's head spout emerging from short side; triple-tiered lion's mane decorated with red pigment; red pigment preserved in protected crevices of right eye. Mold-made. On lower surface of sima block, a rectangular, movable stop is preserved. Lower surface has two inscribed graffito patterns, drawn with a compass in floral designs. One of these designs is inscribed within the painted segment of the soffit, the other extends beyond the painted surface into the area which would have been hidden by a crowning architectural member.

Pinkish buff semi-coarse fabric with dark red inclusions; polychrome black and red: half round - possibly bead and reel; cavetto - lotus and palmette; cyma reversa - lesbian leaf; fascia - running meander with checker board alternating with swastikas; soffit painted to a distance of approx. 0.055, bead and reel pattern extends to approx. 0.025.

cf. **194** (AT 75; Well L17:2) and **255** (AT 64; Well M17:2)

Date: 6th/5th century

97. Cup L17:1.12.02; Well L17:1 (Fig. 10)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 12

PH: 0.013; Diam: 0.048

Complete base, mended from two fragments.

Cup or kotyle with flat concave base, convex lower wall.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Date: context 6th to 4th century

98. Cup/Salt-cellar L17:1.08.19; Well L17:1 (Fig. 10)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 8

PH: 0.013; PW: 0.04; Diam: 0.035

Fragment of base.

Cup or salt-cellar with flat, slightly raised base with low wall; monochrome in, no traces of glaze out - either worn or reserved.

Brown buff to orange brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black in.

Date: context 6th to 4th century

99. Strainer Pot P 412 (L17-78); Well L17:1 (Pl. 19)

Layer 2; Lot 7

n/a

Complete, mended from numerous pieces; reconstructed, missing some body fragments.

Strainer pot with low ring base, tall globular body to short concave neck and out-turned rim, medium oval basket handle attached at upper lip, elongated spout with strainer.

Brown buff fabric, traces of red brown to black brown glaze.

Date: context of 6th to 2nd century

100. Pitcher L17:1.09.06; L17.09.19; Well L17:1 (Fig. 10; Pl. 19)

Layer 2; Lot 9

PH: 0.075; Diam (base): 0.10; (neck-rim): 0.075 - 0.115

Fragments of base, handle, and rim; two non-joining base fragments, neck mended from two fragments; handle mended from two fragments; and 20 body sherds.

Kitchenware pitcher with flat raised base; globular body; nearly vertical neck with trefoil or out-turned rim with complete medium oval strap handle joining at rim and shoulder; several fragments possibly associated with the same vessel, joined by fabric type, several body sherds other lots.

Gray brown to orange brown kitchenware fabric with small angular white inclusions. cf. **462** (P 1681; Well E18) and **292** (P 1820; Well M17:2); Nemea Museum, P 1694 (E18-93; North reservoir)

Date: context 6th to early 3rd century

101. Pitcher L17:1.07.01; Well L17:1 (Pl. 19)

Layer 2; Lot 7

PH: 0.093; Diam: 0.08

Complete handle and fragment of rim, mended from five fragments.

Kitchenware pitcher with globular shoulder to concave neck with spreading rim; medium oval vertical strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.

Brownish orange kitchenware fabric with small rounded black and very few white inclusions.

cf. **458** (P 1677; Well E18)

Date: context of 6th to early 3rd century

102. Pitcher L17:1.09.20; Well L17:1

Layer 2; Lot 9

Rim PH: 0.069; PW (neck): 0.074; Diam (rim): 0.12

Handle PL: 0.060; W: 0.023

Fragments of handle and rim; several fragments associated by fabric type, some joining (54 body sherds; two non-joining rim frags; one rim with partial handle attached)

Kitchenware pitcher with wide mouth; medium oval vertical strap handle attached at rim; projecting rim, slightly convex neck; possibly globular body; possible fragment of a base - slightly concave.

Gray to gray brown kitchenware fabric with small angular white inclusions.

cf. **462** (P 1681; Well E18) and very similar fabric and shape to **292** (P 1820; Well M17:2); Nemea Museum, P 1694 (E18-93; North reservoir)

Date: context 6th to early 3rd century

103. Column and Base A 115 (L17-3); Well L17:1 (Pl. 19)

Layer 2; Lot 9

PH (total): 0.6

Base: PH: 0.3; PW: 0.3; Column: PH: 0.315; PW: 0.28

Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 25e

Broken above at column shaft. Much worn all around; pitted.

Column and square base, worked on all surfaces; column shaft is unfluted.

Poros limestone.

104. Ornament BI 9 (L17-8); Well L17:1 (Pl. 19)

Layer 2; Lot 9

H: 0.012; W: 0.02; Diam 0.20

Intact; smoothed on all surfaces.

Small bone ornament; circular in section with interior hole for attachment or possible stringing; rounded and slightly bulbous in profile with flat top or bottom; bordered by a thin, carved band above and below.

Bone.

105. Finial BR 1448 (L17-81); Well L17:1

Layer 2; Lot 9

PL: 0.057; PTh: 0.022

Fragmentary.

Curved finial in a tapered lotus-bud motif which is articulated from shaft by a single groove; faceting, interrupted by groove, extends from break to blunted, conical tip.

Attachment or handle of large bronze vessel.

cf. **106** (BR 1449; Well L17:1)

106. Finial BR 1449 (L17-82); Well L17:1

Layer 2; Lot 9

PL: 0.064; PTh: 0.020

Fragmentary.

Curved finial in a tapered lotus-bud motif which is articulated from shaft by a single groove.; faceting, interrupted by groove, extends from break to blunted, conical top.

Attachment of handle of large bronze vessel.

cf. **105** (BR 1448; Well L17:1)

107. Finial BR 1450 (L17-83); Well L17:1

Layer 2; Lot 9

PL: 0.055; PTh: 0.021

Fragmentary.

Curved finial in a tapered lotus-bud motif which is articulated from shaft by a single groove.; faceting, interrupted by groove, extends from break to blunted, conical tip.

Attachment or handle of large bronze vessel.

cf. **106** (BR 1449; Well L17:1)

108. Nail IL 1102 (L17-139); Well L17:1

Layer 2; Lot 9

PH: 0.074; PW: 0.016; Diam (head): 0.021

Fragmentary, two joining fragments of iron nail with one additional large fragment and several smaller ones, probably from same nail.

Nail head rounded with round shaft; shaft is not vertical but slightly bent.

Iron.

109. Lekane ST 365 (L17-10); Well L17:1

Layer 2; Lot 9

H: 0.12; PDiam 0.36

Broken as both sides and floor, full profiles preserved.

Stone lekane, very large, roughly cylindrical ring foot; flattened at resting surface; rim worked to flat surface, concave floor.
Light gray polos stone.
Date: context 6th to early 3rd century

Well L17:2

CONTEXT: Upper Fill

110. Lamp L 294 (L17-107); Well L17:2 (Pl. 20)

Layer 2 sift; Lot 41

PL: 0.033; PW: 0.029

Fragment of rim.

Lamp with no clear decoration on outer rim; three raised circles and two grooves near inner rim.

Orange brown fine ware fabric.

Lampes d'Argos, p. 71, no. 482, pl. 12

Date: Roman

111. Plate L17:2.32.01 a-b; Well L17:2 (Fig. 11)

Layer 2; Lot 32

PH: 0.017; PW: a) 0.07; b) 0.045; Diam: 0.13

Fragment of base, two non-joining.

Plate with ring foot, flat underside; three grooved circles on floor of vessel, possibly rouletting.

Orange fine ware fabric; monochrome orange red with purple hues in/out.

Hayes 1973, p. 464, no. 208, pl. 91

Date: 1st century to 1st century CE

112. Moldmade Bowl L17:2.32.02; Well L17:2 (Fig. 11)

Layer 2; Lot 32

PH: 0.021; PW: 0.031

Fragment of body.

Moldmade bowl with convex wall decorated on exterior with pointed petal tips.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out.

Corinth VII.3, p. 161, no. 791, pl. 65

Date: ca. 146 (middle of the 2nd century)

113. Kantharos L17:2.31.01; Well L17:2 (Fig. 11)

Layer 1; Lot 31

PH: 0.024; PW: 0.023

Fragment of body.

Kantharos body sherd with vertical ribbing on exterior below slight carination, probably near rim.

Gray buff to orange buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.

Agora XXIX, p. 274, no. 304, fig. 19, pl. 31

Date: ca. 250-225 (third quarter of the 3rd century)

114. Salt-cellar L17:2.32.03; Well L17:2 (Fig. 11; Pl. 20)

Layer 2; Lot 32

- PH: 0.027; Diam (base): 0.05; (rim): 0.07
 Fragmentary, preserving full profile.
 Salt-cellar with ring foot, convex wall with incurved rim; monochrome with possible reserve resting surface and lip.
 Pink cream fine ware fabric; monochrome red to red brown in/out.
Corinth VII.3, p. 32, no. 55, pls. 2, 44
 Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of 4th century)
- 115. Cup** L17:2.40.02; Well L17:2
 Layer 1 sift; Lot 40
 PH: 0.01; PW: 0.012; Diam: ca. 0.15
 Fragment of rim.
 Cup with slightly out-turned rim.
 Pink gray fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out, reserved band on exterior below rim, possible burning.
Agora XII, p. 266, no. 446, pl. 21
 Date: ca. 500-480
- 116. Lamp** L 295 (L17-114); Well L17:2 (Pl. 20)
 Layer 1; Lot 31
 PH: 0.026; PW: 0.015; PTh: 0.006
 Fragment of spout.
 Lamp spout of Athenian origin; rounded.
 Brown red fine ware fabric; monochrome black glaze is well preserved with some wear on the bottom and near the spout opening.
 Nemea Museum, L 168 (J18-3, bathhouse); *Agora* IV, p. 47, no. 169 (type 21b), pls. 6, 34
 Date: ca. 475-425 (second and third quarters of the 5th century)
- 117. Amphora** L17:2.41.03; Well L17:2
 Layer 2 sift; Lot 41
 PH: 0.028; PW: 0.02; Diam: 0.14
 Fragment of rim.
 Amphora or pitcher with thickened lipless rim.
 Orange red to gray blisterware fabric.
 Date: late 5th century
- 118. Kotyle** L17:2.40.01; Well L17:2 (Fig. 11)
 Layer 1 sift; Lot 40
 PH: 0.036; PW: 0.022
 Fragment of body.
 Kotyle with nearly vertical wall, decorated with bands.
 Light pink buff fine ware fabric; banded pink red to brown black in/out.
Corinth VII.5, p. 60, no. 128, fig. 7, pl. 10
 Date: late 6th century
- 119. Coin** C 1230 (L17-coin 50); Well L17:2
 Layer 1; Lot 31
 Weight: 0.76; Diam: 0.009
 Complete coin.

Round; no image visible.
Bronze.

120. Coin C 1231 (L17-coin 51); Well L17:2

Layer 1; Lot 31
Weight: 0.62; Diam: 0.011
Nearly complete coin.
Round, but all edges are rough; no image visible.
Bronze.

121. Coin C 1270 (L17-coin 56); Well L17:2

Layer 2; Lot 32
Weight: 0.25; Diam: 0.009
Fragmentary.
Nearly round fragment, some edges missing a bit; no image visible.
Bronze.

122. Coin C 1271 (L17-coin 57); Well L17:2

Layer 2; Lot 32
Weight: 0.31; PH: 0.009; PW: 0.007
Fragmentary.
Triangular fragment with two straight edges and one rounded edge; no image visible; not necessarily a coin.
Bronze.

123. Coin C 1226 (L17-coin 46); Well L17:2

Layer 1; Lot 31
Weight: 0.88; Diam: 0.009-0.011
Fragment of coin; only partially preserved, half of edge is rough - damaged.
No image visible.
Bronze.

124. Coin C 1227 (L17-coin 47); Well L17:2

Layer 1; Lot 31
Weight: 0.29; Diam: 0.007
Fragment of coin.
Round fragment, rough edges, no image visible.
Bronze.

125. Coin C 1228 (L17-coin 48); Well L17:2

Layer 1; Lot 31
Weight: 0.16; Diam: 0.006-0.007
Fragment, about 1/4 of a coin.
One edge rounded, while the others are rough; no image visible.
Bronze.

126. Coin C 1229 (L17-coin 49); Well L17:2

Layer 1; Lot 31
Weight: 0.54; Diam: 0.008

Fragment of coin; one side slightly broken.
Nearly round, very small coin; no image visible.
Bronze.

127. Coin C 1232 (L17-coin 52); Well L17:2

Layer 1; Lot 31
Weight: 0.24; Diam: 0.010
Fragment of coin.
Nearly round, one half with smooth edge, while other half is rough; no image visible.
Bronze.

128. Coin C 1233 (L17-coin 53); Well L17:2

Layer 1; Lot 31
Weight: 0.26; Diam: 0.008
Fragment of coin.
Almost round with rough edges; no images visible.
Bronze.

129. Coin C 1269 (L17-coin 55); Well L17:2

Layer 1; Lot 31
Weight: 0.07; PH: 0.005; PW: 0.006
Fragment of coin.
Triangular fragment with two straight edges and one rounded; no reason it has to be a coin.
Bronze.

130. Fragments BR 1606 (L17-110); BR 1737 (L17-109); Well L17:2

Layer 2; Lot 32
PH: 0.015-0.27; PW: 0.002-0.013
Fragmentary, two pieces.
Thin bronze fragment curved in a hook shape and broken; and very thin sheet with no finished edges, very sharp.

131. Nail IL 911 (L17-108); Well L17:2

Layer 2; Lot 32
PH: 0.022; PTh: 0.003; Diam: 0.017
Fragmentary, five pieces.
Nail head and shaft fragments, irregular in shape.
Iron.

132. Strip IL 264 (L17-52); Well L17:2

Layer 1; Lot 31
PL: 0.09; PW: 0.014; PTh: 0.007
Fragmentary; very rough surface; twisted on one side.
Strip of lead rectangular in section; two slashes at the widest end and a letter which seems like an omicron ($\frac{1}{2}$); one wide end, other end narrows and flattens to a small rounded point, but now bent back and twisted.
Lead.

133. Bottle GL 81 (L17-106); Well L17:2 (Pl. 20)

Layer 1 sift; Lot 40

PH: 0.019; PW: 0.02; Th: 0.001

Fragment of rim.

Glass bottle; banded decoration of an applied tape.

Clear glass, light blue decoration.

134. Vessel GL 82 a-b (L17-11); Well L17:2 (Pl. 20)

Layer 2; Lot 32

a) PH: 0.011; PW: 0.025; D: 0.004

b) PH: 0.018; PW: 0.02; D: 0.04

Fragments of rim, two shards.

Two fragments of rounded rims from different vessels; probably from bottles.

a) is blue green, b) is lighter blue with very little green.

135. Vessel GL 84 (L17-113); Well L17:2 (Pl. 20)

Layer 1; Lot 31

PH: 0.025; PW: 0.019; PD: 0.015

Fragment of base.

Possible unguentarium; round base.

Blue green in color.

136. Bottle GL 83 (L17-112); Well L17:2

Layer 1 and 2; Lots 31 and 32

PH: 0.029; PW: 0.03; D: 0.07

Fragments of rim, six shards.

Rims are slightly flared and out-turned; probably of a bottle; not all of the same vessel but some might be. Two of the fragments are from lot 32, while four are from lot 31.

They were all inventoried together because of their similar color and shape of rim.

Vary in color, mostly translucent with some green.

CONTEXT: Lower Fill

137. Bowl L17:2.42.02; Well L17:2

Layer 3 sift; Lot 42

PH: 0.026; PW: 0.04; Diam: 0.18

Fragment of rim.

Bowls with out-turned rim, slight groove on interior lip.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown to brown black in/out (very matte).

Agora XXIX, p. 331, nos. 879, 883, fig. 59, pl. 145

Date: ca. 275-240 (second quarter to middle of the 3rd century)

138. Pitcher L17:2.36.06; Well L17:2

Layer 6; Lot 36

PH: 0.019; Diam: 0.11

Nearly complete base.

Pitcher with convex, almost domed, underside.

Red brown to brown orange kitchenware fabric with small angular white and black inclusions.

Corinth VII.3, p. 141, no. 727, pls. 34, 63

Date: ca. 225-146 (end of the 3rd to middle of the 2nd century)

139. Ribbed Oinochoe P 398 (L17-64); Well L17:2 (Pl. 21)

Layer 7; Lot 38

H: 0.14; Diam (base): 0.104

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 31c

Nearly complete, mended from three pieces; missing about 1/2 of rim.

Oinochoe with low flaring ring foot and concave underside; tall globular body with thin, closely set vertical ribbing; short concave neck to trefoil rim; complete small/medium oval vertical handle with central ridge attached on lip with slight projection into the mouth, and on body slightly above widest diameter; around the neck is a ring of palmettes and a ring of leaf-like decoration (stamped).

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black out.

cf. **474** (P 1439; Well L19); *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 154, no. 386, fig. 3, pl. 44

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

140. Pitcher L17:2.37.04 a-d; Well L17:2 (Fig. 11)

Layer 6; Lot 37

PH: 0.085; PW: 0.185; Diam: 0.098

Complete base, mended from five fragments.

Pitcher with ring foot and flat underside with groove at join with inner foot; floor is convex; wheel marks still visible on interior.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown out (very fugitive).

Corinth VII.3, p. 60, no. 291, pl. 12, although Edwards' example is a decanter, **140** does not preserve its handles, which are needed to identify it as such.

Date: early 4th century

141. Pitcher L17:2.36.02 a-d; Well L17:2 (Fig. 11)

Layer 6; Lot 36

PH: 0.077; PW: 0.013; Diam: 0.085

Fragment of base, two joining and two associated non-joining fragments.

Pitcher with flat raised base slightly concave underside with convex wall.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown out (very fugitive).

McPhee 2005, p. 67, no. C-1931-280, fig. 25

Date: end of the 4th century

142. Pitcher L17:2.37.05-06; Well L17:2 (Pl. 21)

Layer 6; Lot 37

Base: PH: 0.018; PW: 0.085; Diam: 0.081

Neck/Rim: PH: 0.118; PW: 0.057; Diam: 0.06

Complete base and handle; two non-joining fragments.

Pitcher with splaying ring foot and convex underside; small/medium oval vertical strap handle attached at shoulder and below rounded out-turned rim with nearly vertical neck.

Cream fine ware fabric.

Date: late 4th century

143. Pitcher L17:2.38.08; Well L17:2

Layer 7; Lot 38

PH: 0.043; PW: 0.065; Diam: 0.10

- Fragment of rim.
Pitcher with projecting rim and vertical neck.
Cream fine ware fabric; no traces of decoration preserved, probably monochrome out.
Corinth VII.6, p. 99, no. III-46, fig. 15
Date: end of 4th century
- 144. Lekane** L17:2.33.05 a-c; Well L17:2
Layer 3; Lot 33
PH: 0.036-0.079; PW: 0.044-0.08; Diam: +0.21
Fragment of rim, two joining and one non-joining.
Lekane with horizontal projecting rim with two incised lines on lip, one in middle, one near inner face; vessel wall are nearly straight.
Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out (water damaged and worn).
Corinth VII.6, p. 161, no. V-26-V-29, figs. 26, 27, pl. 22
Date: end of 4th century
- 145. Skyphos** L17:2.37.02; Well L17:2 (Fig. 11; Pl. 21)
Layer 6; Lot 37
PH: 0.044; PW: 0.056; Diam: 0.037
Complete base.
Skyphos with ring foot and flat underside; concave lower body then beginning to change to convex.
Brown orange fine ware fabric; monochrome brown red to black in/out, possible reserved resting surface.
Nemea Museum, P 1212 (NEM-P-652); *Corinth* VII.3, p. 71, no. 363, pl. 14
Date: ca. 325 (end of the 4th century)
- 146. Skyphos** L17:2.36.01; Well L17:2 (Fig. 12; Pl. 21)
Layer 6; Lot 36
PH: 0.054; PW: 0.063; Diam: 0.06
Fragment of base.
Skyphos with ring foot with slightly convex underside; concave wall from foot then begins to switch to convex, so that it appears to have a wide stem before the bowl.
Brown orange fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out with reserved resting surface, concentric circles on underside.
Agora XXIX, p. 257, no. 150, pl. 14; *Corinth* VII.6, p. 126, no. VI-18, fig. 20
Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of the 4th century)
- 147. Skyphos** L17:2.44.01; Well L17:2 (Fig. 12)
Layer 6 sift; Lot 44
PH: 0.018; PW: 0.018; Diam: 0.10
Fragment of rim.
Skyphos with rounded rim, slightly out-turned.
Tan orange fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.
Nemea Museum, P 1212 (NEM-P-652); *Corinth* VII.3, p. 71, no. 363, pl. 14
Date: ca. 325-300 (end of the 4th century)
- 148. Skyphos** L17:2.36.04; Well L17:2 (Fig. 12)

Layer 6; Lot 36
PH: 0.044; PW: 0.029; Diam: 0.085
Fragment of rim.
Skyphos with out-turned rim with slightly convex wall.
Buff orange fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out (slightly matte).
Corinth VII.6, p. 126-7, nos. VI-15, VI-30, fig. 20; *Agora* XXIX, p. 258, no. 160, fig. 12, pl. 15
Date: ca. 315-300 (end of the 4th century)

149. Skyphos L17:2.44.02; Well L17:2 (Fig. 12)

Layer 6 sift; Lot 44
PH: 0.02; PW: 0.02; Diam: 0.10
Fragment of rim and handle.
Skyphos with rounded out-turned rim with part of small round handle attached below the rim.
Tan orange fine ware fabric; monochrome brown to black in/out.
Nemea Museum, P 1212 (NEM-P-652); *Corinth* VII.3, p. 71, no. 363, pl. 14
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

150. Kantharos L17:2.42.03; Well L17:2

Layer 3 sift; Lot 42
PH: 0.02; PW: 0.013
Fragment of handle.
Kantharos small flat vertical strap handle with spool shaped decoration at top.
Blue gray fine ware fabric.
Agora XXIX, p. 252, no. 101, fig. 9, pl. 10; also published as *Agora* XII p. 287, no. 719, pl. 29
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

151. One-handled Cup P 402 (L17-70); Well L17:2 (Pl. 21)

Layer 8; Lot 39
H: 0.048; Diam (rim): 0.09
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 32b
Complete, mended from five fragments.
One-handled cup with disc foot and concave underside; convex body to slightly incurved rim; small round horizontal handle attached below rim.
Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown interior and upper part of exterior glazed.
Corinth VII.6, p. 190, no. VI-57, fig. 39, pl. 31
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

152. One-handled Cup L17:2.39.09; Well L17:2 (Fig. 12; Pl. 21)

Layer 8; Lot 39
PH: 0.011; PW: 0.037; Diam: 0.04
Fragment of base.
One-handled cup with splaying ring foot with interior disc; concave outer foot then wall attach.
Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown to brown black in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 1659 (F18-96; heroön); *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 160, no. 439, fig. 11, pl. 47

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

153. Mug P 399 (L17-65); Well L17:2 (Pl. 22)

Layer 7; Lot 38

H: 0.07; Diam: 0.069

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 31d

Reconstructed, preserving full profile; missing about 1/3 of body.

Mug with flat bottom with groove around circumference of underside; squat body with convex wall to spreading rim; small flat vertical strap handle attached at rim and mid point of body.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out, reserved underside and part of wall at bottom.

cf. **27** (P 1747; Well L17:1); **356** (P 386; Well K14:4); **433** (P 1665; Well E18); **520** (P 156; Well N17:2); **521** (P 157; Well N17:2)

Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of the 4th century)

154. Deep Bowl L17:2.42.01; Well L17:2 (Fig. 12)

Layer 3 sift; Lot 42

PH: 0.026; PW: 0.057; Diam: 0.11

Fragment of base.

Echinus bowl with ring foot with wide resting surface, no remains of wall or floor of vessel; faint traces of glaze out, but only monochrome in is clear; from wall break it appears that it would have been a broad shallow shape.

Pink brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in.

cf. **12** (L17:1.05.15; Well L17:1), **13** (L17:1.05.10; Well L17:1), **448** (E18.22.04; Well E18), **601** (O16:1.84.08; Well O16:1), and **602** (O16:1.84.09; Well O16:1); *Agora* XII, p. 293, nos. 794, 797, pls. 32, 58)

Date: 4th century

155. Bowl L17:2.33.02 a-b; Well L17:2

Layer 3; Lot 33

PH: 0.026; PW: 0.055; Diam: 0.24

Fragment of rim, two joining.

Bowl with thickened rounded rim, convex wall.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Corinth VII.3, p. 34, no. 72, pl. 3

Date: ca. 375-350 (second quarter of the 4th century)

156. Kiln Wedge TC 298 (L17-93); Well L17:2 (Pl. 22)

Layer 8; Lot 39

PH: 0.017; PW: 0.034; Th: 0.01

Two joining fragments, broken on all sides.

Rectangular in section.

Green gray fabric.

Date: 4th century

157. Kiln Wedges TC 301a-c (L17-98); Well L17: 2 (Pl. 22)

Layer 7; Lot 38

a) PH: 0.022; PW: 0.04; PTh: 0.045

b) PH: 0.012; PW: 0.034; PTh: 0.036

c) PH: 0.017; PW: 0.037; PTh: 0.046

Fragments of three separate kiln wedges.

a) rectangular in section with square edges; pink fabric

b) rectangular in section with rounded edges; beige green fabric

c) rectangular in section with one end coming to a narrow point; pinkish cream fabric

Date: 4th century

158. Corinthian A Amphora P 401a-b (L17-67); Well L17:2 (Pl. 22)

Layer 7; Lot 38

a) PH: 0.195; PW: 0.14

b) PH: 0.094; PW: 0.065

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 31c

Complete handle attached to neck (a) and one fragmentary handle (b) missing about 3/4.

Corinthian A type amphora large round vertical handles attached below rim and on

shoulder, rises slightly above rim attach to join lower part of rim; tall, vertical neck with a thick sharply down turned rim; palmette stamp on a.

Orange-blue blisterware, fired dark blue.

Corinth VII.6, p. 59-60, nos. I-6, I-12, fig. 2, pls. 2, 3

Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of the 4th century)

159. Corinthian A Amphora L17:2.38.04; Well L17:2 (Fig. 12; Pl. 22)

Layer 7; Lot 38

PH: 0.049; PW: 0.078; Diam: 0.10-0.20 (inner to outer)

Fragment of rim.

Amphora with thickened projecting rim with convex sloping lip; slight inner ledge.

Pink brown coarse ware fabric with medium angular black and brown inclusions.

Corinth VII.6, p. 59, nos. I-2, I-4, fig. 1, pls. 1, 2

Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of the 4th century)

160. Oinochoe P 400 (L17-66); Well L17:2 (Pl. 22)

Layer 6; Lot 37

PH: 0.027; Diam: 0.27

Nearly complete, mended from many fragments; missing neck and rim.

Blisterware oinochoe with flat bottom, very slightly concave; body is wide almost rectangular in section; near the top, where the sides begin to turn inward, there are three ridges forming three concentric circles around the shoulder. The single handle attach identifies it as an oinochoe.

Orange brown blisterware fabric with blue gray wash, poorly applied, very streaky.

cf. **467** (P 1439; Well L19); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 162, no. V-36, fig. 28, pl. 23

Date: 4th century

161. Oinochoe L17:2.38.03; Well L17:2

Layer 7; Lot 38

PH: 0.049; PW: 0.07

Fragment of body.

Blisterware oinochoe shoulder fragment near neck attach; possibly imitation blister as the fabric does not pucker much and the color is achieved by an applied slip out.
Orange buff to orange blisterware fabric; monochrome gray black out.
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 154, no. 387, pl. 44
Date: ca. 360-300 (late third to fourth quarter of the 4th century)

162. Pitcher L17:2.38.05 a-b; Well L17:2 (Fig. 12)

Layer 7; Lot 38

a) PH: 0.06; Diam: 0.083

b) H: 0.086; W: 0.027; Th: 0.014

Complete handle and neck, two joining fragments.

a) neck with part of shoulder and nearing rim, slightly concave.

b) medium oval strap handle attached at spreading rim and shoulder.

Orange to brown kitchenware fabric with small angular white and black inclusions.

cf. **461** (P 1680; Well E18) and **462** (P 1681; Well E18)

Date: 4th century

163. Pitcher L17:2.37.03 a-d; Well L17:2 (Fig. 12)

Layer 6; Lot 37

Handle: H: 0.08; W: 0.023

PH: 0.11; PW: 0.136; Diam: 0.12

Complete handle, mended from two fragments; fragment of rim.

Pitcher with rounded out-turned rim with slight groove on exterior of lip; concave neck;

medium oval vertical strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.

Brown gray kitchenware fabric with small white inclusions.

Corinth VII.3, p. 142, no. 736

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

164. Pitcher L17:2.33.03 a-b; Well L17:2 (Fig. 13)

Layer 3; Lot 33

PH: 0.053; PW: 0.08; Diam: 0.13

Fragment of rim, two joining.

Pitcher with rounded lip with out-turned rim, slightly concave neck.

Brown gray to red brown kitchenware fabric with some small white inclusions.

cf. **461** (P 1680; Well E18)

Date: 4th century

165. Pitcher L17:2.36.05; Well L17:2

Layer 6; Lot 36

PH: 0.046; Diam: 0.14

Fragment of rim.

Pitcher with rounded horizontal rim to straight, slightly concave, neck; appears to have decorated with a wash, fugitive and uneven.

Red brown kitchenware fabric with possible mica inclusions; monochrome brown wash in/out.

cf. **461** (P 1680; Well E18)

Date: 4th century

166. Round Mouth Pitcher L17:2.38.06; Well L17:2 (Fig. 13)

Layer 7; Lot 38
PH: 0.06; Diam (rim): 0.013; (neck): 0.087
Fragment of rim, mended from two fragment.
Pitcher with complete neck and almost complete rim; projecting rim, slightly thickened at end; concave neck.
Brown red kitchenware fabric with small black, white and gray inclusions.
cf. **462** (P 1681; Well E18)
Date: 4th century

167. Round Mouth Pitcher L17:2.38.07; Well L17:2 (Fig. 13)

Layer 7; Lot 38
PH: 0.075; PW: 0.105; Diam: 0.11
Fragment of rim.
Pitcher with out-turned rim slightly rounded and concave neck; appears to have a brown black slip/wash on in/out of neck.
Orange brown kitchenware fabric with few small white and black rounded inclusions; possible brown black slip.
cf. **461** (P 1680; Well E18)
Date: 4th century

168. Chytra/Lopas L17:2.33.04 a-b; Well L17:2 (Fig. 13)

Layer 3; Lot 33
PH: 0.029; PW: 0.04; Diam: 0.15
Fragment of rim, two non-joining.
Chytra or lopas with spreading rim with thickened lip, interior flange.
Red brown cooking ware fabric with few small white inclusions.
Corinth VII.6, p. 97, no. III-25, fig. 13
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

169. Oinochoe L17:2.38.02; Well L17:2 (Fig. 13)

Layer 7; Lot 38
PH: 0.026; PW: 0.076; Diam: 0.011
Fragment of base.
Oinochoe with flat raised base, groove at join between foot and lower wall; wheel marks still visible on interior; globular body.
Tan buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown out (very fugitive).
Corinth VII.3, p. 60, no. 287, pl. 12
Date: ca. 425 (end of 5th century)

170. Decanter L17:2.39.05 and L17:2.46.01; Well L17:2 (Fig. 13)

Layer 8 and 8 sift; Lots 39 and 46
PH: 0.055; Diam: 0.10
Handle: H: 0.071; W: 0.018
Complete handle and partial rim, mended from two fragments.
Pitcher with projecting rim with concave neck; small oval vertical strap handles with central ridge attached at rim and on shoulder; one complete plus half of second.
Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red in/out.
Corinth VII.3, p. 58, no. 283, pl. 11
Date: ca. 460-420 (middle of the 5th century)

171. Kotyle P 397 (L17-63); Well L17:2 (Pl. 23)

Layer 8; Lot 39

H: 0.075; Diam: 0.095

Hesperia 48 (1979), p. 32b

Complete except for a chip on the rim.

Kotyle with ring foot and convex underside, groove where the foot meets the wall of the cup; slightly convex wall to lipless slightly incurved rim; two small round horizontal ring handles attached below rim. Monochrome foot with red brown band in groove between foot and wall, reserve band, then thin brown band, followed by possible reserved zone (or area for rays), upper 2/3 of body monochrome; foot appears to have been monochrome with a reserved underside and single band.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown to reddish brown in/out (very fugitive).

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 86, nos. 40-42, fig. 6, pls. 6, 7

Date: ca. 475-450 (second quarter of the 5th century)

172. Kotyle L17:2.46.04; Well L17:2 (Fig. 13)

Layer 8; Lot 39

PH: 0.01; Diam: 0.055

Complete base.

Kotyle with ring foot and flat underside.

Blue gray to pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out, underside with single reserved band.

Nemea Museum, P 1388 (J18-66; bathhouse Deposit J18:1)

Date: 5th century

173. Kotyle L17:2.39.01; Well L17:2 (Fig. 14; Pl. 23)

Layer 8; Lot 39

PH: 0.015; PW: 0.045; Diam: 0.06

Fragment of base.

Kotyle with ring foot with flat underside; monochrome in/out; band on inner foot and circle on underside.

Blue gray to pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to brown black in/out, concentric circles.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 86, nos. 40-42, fig. 6, pls. 6, 7

Date: ca. 475-450 (second quarter of the 5th century)

174. Kotyle L17:2.39.10; Well L17:2 (Fig. 14)

Layer 8; Lot 39

H: 0.007; W: 0.03; Diam: 0.04

Complete handle.

Kotyle with small round ring handle attached below lipless rim.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 1340 (J18-68; bathhouse Deposit J18:1)

Date: 5th century

175. Small Bowl L17:2.44.03; Well L17:2 (Fig. 14)

Layer 6 sift; Lot 44

PH: 0.01; PW: 0.015; Diam: 0.04

Fragment of base.

Small bowl with flat, slightly raised base.

Pink tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/and semi-glazed out.

Nemea Museum, P 1331 (P16-12; P16, Lot 1); *Agora* XII, 298, no. 877, pl. 33

Date: ca. 440-400 (second half of the 5th century)

176. Plate L17:2.33.06; Well L17:2

Layer 3; Lot 33

PL: 0.052; PW: 0.041

Fragment of body.

Plate body sherd, wall, low on body; underside has a break from where the foot was attached.

Pink brown fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to brown black out; interior possibly figural or very worn.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 128, no. 283a, fig. 16, pl. 30

Date: second half of the 5th century

177. Lamp L 45 (L17-68); Well L17:2 (Pl. 25)

Layer 8; Lot 39

H: 0.022; Diam: 0.077

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 32c

Reconstructed, mended from five fragments; missing parts of sides.

Lamp with flat raised base with floor inside the lamp also flat; simple curved sides; small oval horizontal handle set at a slight angle up from the body.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out (worn away), underside reserved.

Agora IV, p. 46-8, nos. 164-170 (type 21b), pls. 6, 34

Date: ca. 475-425 (second and third quarters of the 5th century)

178. Oinochoe P 1749 (L17-92); Well L17:2 (Fig.14; Pl. 23)

Layer 6, 8 and 8 sift; Lots 37, 39, and 46

PH: 0.145; PW: 0.103; Diam (base): 0.07; (rim): 0.065

Fragmentary, mended from several fragments, preserving full profile; missing most of body.

Blisterware oinochoe with flat base; body with vertical ribbing that ends at the point of greatest diameter of body; small vertical strap handle attached at shoulder up to rim; wide lipless rim for narrow neck.

Beige pinkish gray blisterware fabric.

Nemea Museum, P 586 (G19-64; heroön Deposit G19:1); *Corinth* XIII, p. 253, no. 364-6, pl. 58

Date: middle to third quarter of 5th century

179. Pitcher L17:2.39.06; Well L17:2 (Fig. 14)

Layer 8; Lot 39

PH: 0.081; Diam (rim): 0.10; (neck): 0.081

Handle: H: 0.08; W: 0.016

Complete handle and rim, mended from four fragments.

Pitcher or oinochoe with rounded projecting rim, concave neck to globular shoulder; small oval vertical strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.

Brown gray kitchenware fabric with white inclusions.
cf. 7 (P 293; Well L17:1), 458 (P 1677; Well E18), 460 (P 1679; Well E18), and 461 (P 1680; Well E18)
Date: 5th century

180. Round Mouth Pitcher L17:2.37.01 a-d; Well L17:2 (Fig. 14)

Layer 6; Lot 37
PH: 0.082; Diam (rim): 0.13; (neck): 0.09
Handle: H: 0.092; W: 0.027
Complete handle and fragment of neck and rim, mended from three fragments.
Pitcher with horizontal projecting rim with concave neck and globular body; medium oval strap handle attached a rim and shoulder.
Red orange kitchenware fabric with small white and gray inclusions.
Corinth VII.3, p. 141, no. 733, pls. 34, 63
Date: ca. 450 (middle of the 5th century)

181. Kotyle L17:2.39.04; Well L17:2 (Fig. 14; Pl. 23)

Layer 8; Lot 39
PH: 0.035; PW: 0.072; Diam: 0.06
Complete base.
Kotyle with ring foot and flat underside; monochrome base and underside; thick band above foot then thin, closely placed rays.
Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown red to black brown in/band and rays out.
Corinth XIII, p. 251, no. 261-1, pl. 34
Date: 6th/5th century

182. Kotyle L17:2.39.07 a-b; Well L17:2 (Fig. 15; Pl. 23)

Layer 8; Lot 39
PH: 0.047; PW: 0.074; Diam: 0.06
Complete base, three joining body sherds.
Kotyle with ring foot and slightly convex underside; grooves at join between foot and wall; monochrome foot with possible reserved resting surface; band on inner foot and outer circumference of underside; band above foot and wide band on middle of wall; possible rays between, but very fugitive.
Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to brown black in/out, possible rays.
Corinth VII.2, p. 75-8, AN type II, fig. 1
Date: 6th/5th century (Early Corinthian, ca. 620-590)

183. Kotyle L17:2.46.02; Well L17:2 (Fig. 15; Pl. 24)

Layer 8 sift; Lot 46
PH: 0.017; PW: 0.039; Diam: 0.05
Complete base.
Kotyle with ring foot with thick profile, appears to have flat underside.
Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown in/out.
Nemea Museum, P 1077 (NEM-P-338; PP-10 Rawson Deposit); *Corinth* XV.3, p. 298, no. 1627, pls. 65, 120
Date: middle of the 6th century (Late Corinthian II, ca. post 550)

- 184. Kotyle** L17:2.33.01; Well L17:2 (Fig. 15; Pl. 24)
 Layer 3; Lot 33
 PH: 0.012; PW: 0.055; Diam: 0.05
 Nearly complete base, mended from three fragments.
 Kotyle with splaying ring base with very slightly concave underside; walls not preserved.
 Gray buff to pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out (underside is very fugitive).
Corinth XIII, p. 210, no. 249-2, pl. 34
 Date: ca. 560-540 (late third to early fourth quarter of the 6th century)
- 185. Kotyle** L17:2.36.03; Well L17:2
 Layer 6; Lot 36
 PH: 0.016; PW: 0.038; Diam: 0.11
 Complete handle.
 Kotyle with small round ring handle attached below lipless incurving rim.
 Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.
 Date: 6th/5th century
- 186. Kotyle** L17:2.43.01; Well L17:2
 Layer 5 sift; Lot 43
 PH: 0.01; PW: 0.022
 Fragment of body.
 Kotyle body sherd of ray based kotyle; ray are either vertical or slightly curved and closely placed; orientation of the sherd is difficult due to size - rays could be above band close to foot, below a large monochrome zone, or above a band and extending to rim.
 Buff fine ware fabric; rays and bands/monochrome brown black in.
 Nemea Museum, P 1104 (NEM-P-365; PP-10 Rawson Deposit); *Corinth* XIII, p. 179, nos. 155-4, 155-5, pl. 18; *Corinth* VII.5, p. 112, no. 108, fig. 7, pl. 9
 Date: ca. 595-550 (first half of the 6th century)
- 187. Kotyle** L17:2.46.03; Well L17:2
 Layer 8 sift; Lot 46
 PH: 0.037; PW: 0.05; Diam: 0.09
 Fragment of rim.
 Kotyle with lipless slightly incurving; convex wall.
 Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out (very worn).
 Date: late 6th/5th century
- 188. Lamp** L 46 (L17-69); Well L17:2 (Pl. 24)
 Layer 8; Lot 39
 H: 0.018; Diam: 0.082
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 32c
 Fragmentary, mended from two fragments; missing base and nozzle.
 Lamp with broad, flat overhanging rim which is nearly flat.
 Orange brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out (not fully preserved).
Agora IV, p. 31-5, nos. 94-105 (type 16B), pls. 4, 22, 32
 Date: ca. 525-480 (late 6th to early 5th century)
- 189. Mortar** L17:2.39.03; Well L17:2 (Pl. 24)

- Layer 8; Lot 39
 Diam: 0.21
 Fragment of base.
 Mortar with flat raised base, broad set body.
 Pink-beige orange coarse ware fabric with inclusions.
Agora XII, p. 369, nos. 1887, 1897, p. 90; *Corinth* VII.3, p. 110, no. 620
 Date: ca. 500-375 (end of 6th to early 4th century)
- 190. Mortar** L17:2.39.02; Well L17:2
 Layer 8; Lot 39
 PH: 0.097; Diam: 0.30
 Fragment of rim.
 Mortar with horizontal projecting rim with fairly vertical wall before sloping inwards at base.
 Pink-beige orange coarse ware fabric with inclusions.
Agora XII, p. 369, nos. 1887, 1897, pl. 90; *Corinth* VII.3, p. 110, no. 620
 Date: ca. 500-375 (end of 6th to early 4th century)
- 191. Hydria** BR 639 (L17-62); Well L17: 2 (Pl. 24)
 Layer 6; Lot 36
 H: 0.012; Diam : 0.151
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 30e
 Complete base, foot intact; surface is pitted.
 Hydria base with fluted design on the exterior.
 Bronze.
 cf. **282** (BR 529; Well M17:2)
 Date: 6th/5th century
- 192. Lekane** ST 390 (L17-73); Well L17:2
 Layer 8; Lot 39
 PH: 0.103; PW: 0.15; PTh: 0.084
 Fragment of rim and part of handle; broken on all sides and bottom.
 Lekane with ride, horizontal rim with rounded handle attached; possibly a stone perirrhanterion.
 Limestone.
 Date: Archaic (?)
- 193. Akroterion** AT 74 (L17-71); Well L17:2 (Pl. 24)
 Layer 6; Lot 36
 PH: 0.128; PW: 0.185; Th: 0.065
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl.31d
 Fragmentary, mended from two pieces; broken on all sides and chipped on the face.
 Akroterion preserving part of the tendrils which spring from a horizontal zone which is painted with bead and reel design (faint); at right is a large protruding red eye in tendril; at top center is part of a painted lotus.
 Buff pink clay with inclusions; buff slip with dark red paint.
- 194. Raking Sima** AT 75 (L17-72); Well L17:2 (Pl. 24)
 Layer 7; Lot 38

L: 0.55; H: 0.122; Th: 0.283

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 32a

Broken at back; chipped in several pieces.

Raking sima decorated with bead and reel on half-round, lotus and palmette on cavetto,

Lesbian leaf on cyma reversa, running meander on fascia, and bead and reel on soffit;

preserved on left end is a piece which protrudes to interlock with another segment of sima and on right end is an indentation to receive a similar lock.

Buff tan fine ware fabric with few small inclusions.

cf. **96** (AT 55; Well L17:1) and **255** (AT 64; Well M17:2); most likely associated or joins to **195** (AT 530; Well L17:2)

195. Raking Sima AT 530 (L17-100); Well L17:2

Layer 7; Lot 38

PH: 0.064; PW: 0.25; PTh: 0.375

Fragmentary; traces of mortar are preserved on the top.

Raking sima block, fragment from back, rectangular in shape; from one edge towards the other edge, thickness increases in height from 0.032 to 0.045; one edge appears to have a ledge.

Pinkish buff fine ware fabric with few small inclusions.

Most likely associated or joins to **194** (AT 75; Well L17:2).

196. Tile AT 529 (L17-94); Well L17:2 (Pl. 24)

Layer 8; Lot 39

PH: 0.111; PW: 0.018; PTh: 0.075

Fragment of tile (possible roof tile/antefix).

Top is composed of two surfaces which meet at a ridge; only one end is preserved with flat surface; underside is curved; below top ridge is a rectangular block.

Pinkish orange semi-coarse fabric with angular red inclusions.

197. Ring BR 658 (L17-75); Well L17:2

Layer 6; Lot 36

W: 0.004; Diam: 0.029

Intact.

Ring, rectangular in section.

198. Strip BR 621 (L17-76); Well L17:2

Layer 7; Lot 38

PL: 0.056; PW: 0.042

Fragmentary.

Strip of bronze, paper thin, which is torn in several places and ragged on the edges; hammered; one curved edge preserved; no traces of holes or design.

199. Fragments IL 904 (L17-99); Well L17:2

Layer 7; Lot 38

PH: 0.045; PW: 0.027; PTh: 0.020

Fragmentary, seven pieces.

Fragments of iron irregular in shape; no is any shape apparent.

Iron.

200. Strip IL 905 (L17-101); Well L17:2

Layer 6; Lot 36

PH: 0.079; PW: 0.041; PTh: 0.011

Fragmentary.

Strip of irregular shape; possibly two sheets stuck together.

Lead, blueish-gray color.

201. Handle IL 294a-b (L17-74); Well L17:2

Layer 6; Lot 36

a) PL: 0.25; W: 0.011; Th: 0.008

b) PL: 0.29; W: 0.011; Th: 0.008

Fragmentary, two joining fragments of the handle-like object; surface is very pitted.

Long, thin strip of iron, rectangular in section, which at one end was twisted around to form a small bulge and then after an interval of 0.152 was bent twice.

Iron.

202. Nail IL 906 (L17-103); Well L17:2

Layer 5 sift; Lot 43

PH: 0.045; PTh: 0.01; Diam: 0.029

Fragmentary, very corroded and rusted.

Nail head.

Iron.

203. Fragments IL 293 (L17-61); IL 908 (L17-105); Well L17:2

Layer 3; Lot 33

a) PL: 0.09; W: 0.025

b) PH: 0.025; PW: 0.012

Fragmentary.

a) Bar of iron, rectangular in section whose surface is very pitted.

b) Possibly a nail; Very rusted and corroded.

Iron.

204. Bottle GL 80 (L17-104); Well L17:2

Layer 5 sift; Lot 43

PH: 0.015; PW: 0.019; Diam: 0.05

Fragment of rim and wall.

Rounded rim, possibly of a bottle.

Blue green color.

Well M17:2

CONTEXT: Well Closing

205. Moldmade Bowl M17.46.07; Well M17:2 (Fig. 15; Pl. 25)

Layer 6; Lot 46

PH: 0.028; PW: 0.041

Fragment of body.

Moldmade bowl with ivy-leaf guilloche and two solid lines bordering decoration.

Pinkish orange fine ware fabric; moldmade decoration.

cf. **503** (P 139; Well N17:2)

Date: 3rd to 2nd century

206. Moldmade Bowl M17.46.08; Well M17:2 (Fig. 15; Pl. 25)

Layer 6; Lot 46

PH: 0.031; PW: 0.028

Fragment of body.

Moldmade bowl with lotus petal pattern below two vertical lines

Gray black fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out; moldmade decoration.

cf. **501** (P 129; Well N17:2), see also Nemea Museum, P 1306 (P15-53; P15, Lot 2) and P 1438 (K19-99; K19, House 1 Pit); *Agora* XXII, p. 46-7, nos. 18, 21, pls. 3, 4; *Agora* XXII, p. 49, no. 40, pl. 7

Date: ca. 225-175 (fourth quarter of the 3rd to first quarter of the 2nd century)

207. Pitcher M17.46.09; Well M17:2 (Fig. 15)

Layer 6; Lot 46

PH: 0.035; PW: 0.069; Diam: 0.165

Pitcher with sloping rim with interior concavity.

Orangish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black to reddish brown on lip and interior rim.

Corinth VII.6, p. 163. no. V-40, fig. 29, pl. 24; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 154-5, no. 392, pl. 45

Date: late 4th century

208. Salt-cellar M17.46.06; Well M17:2 (Fig. 15)

Layer 6; Lot 46

PH: 0.015; PW: 0.042; Diam: 0.05

Fragment of base.

Salt-cellar with flat raised base and convex body.

Buff tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 301, nos. 918, 920, fig. 9, pl. 34

Date: ca. 375-325 (second to third quarter of the 4th century)

209. Loom Weight TC 340 (M17-93); Well M17:2 (Pl. 25)

Layer 6; Lot 46

PH: 0.078; Diam (base): 0.063; (of hole): 0.006

Nearly complete; missing part of bottom, top appears to be smoothed down.

Conical loom weight; suspension hole visible on both sides.

Pinkish/orange buff fine ware fabric.

Corinth XII, p. 155, between profile IX and X, fig. 23

Date: 4th century

210. Aryballos M17.46.04 and M17.46.05; Well M17:2 (Fig. 15)

Layer 6; Lot 46

Handle) PH: 0.019; PW: 0.017

Neck) PH: 0.017; PW: 0.023; Diam: 0.017

Fragment of handle and neck, non-joining.

Blisterware aryballos with small flat strap handle with two grooves and narrow neck that widens to the rim and the shoulder.

Blueish gray with orange blisterware.

- cf. **284** (P 393, Well M17:2), see also Nemea Museum, P 1512 (M20-37; M20, House 5); *Corinth* VII.3, p. 148, no. 761, pl. 35; *Corinth* VII.6, p. 205, no. VII-14, fig. 42, pl. 34
Date: 4th century
- 211. Bowl** M17.46.02; Well M17:2 (Fig. 15)
Layer 6; Lot 46
PH: 0.011; PW: 0.05; Diam: 0.05
Fragment of base, two joining.
Bowl with ring foot.
Reddish orange fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish red in/out.
Nemea Museum, P 1334 (P16-17; P16, Lot 2); *Agora* XII, p. 281, no. 751, pl. 31
Date: ca. 450-300 (middle of the 5th to 4th century)
- 212. Skyphos, Attic Type** M17.46.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 16)
Layer 6; Lot 46
PH: 0.02; PW: 0.042; Diam: 0.10
Complete handle and fragment of rim.
Skyphos of Attic type with lipless rim with a round ring handle attached below rim.
Reddish orange fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown in/out.
Nemea Museum, P 1588 (F19-70; heroön); *Corinth* XIII, p. 198, no. 193-1, pl. 27
Date: ca. 575-550 (second quarter of 6th century)
- 213. Krater/Deep Lekane** M17.46.03; Well M17:2 (Fig. 16; Pl. 25)
Layer 6; Lot 46
PH: 0.051; PW: 0.098; Diam: 0.31
Fragment of rim.
Krater or deep lekane with horizontal sloping rim decorated with stamped ovolo on lip and rope pattern on interior of rim.
Pinkish orange fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out; stamped decoration.
Agora XXIX, p. 402, no. 1600, fig. 97, pl. 125 (probably Classical but from a mixed fill); very similar to **283** (M17:2.59.06; Well M17:2)
Date: context 6th to 2nd century
- 214. Cyma-Recta Moulding** A 137 (M17-62); Well M17:2 (Pl. 25)
Layer 6; Lot 46
PH: 0.11; PW: 0.165; Th: 0.17
Fragmentary; broken on top, bottom and both sides.
Cyma-recta moulding preserving part of fascia above and below.
Soft, yellow poros limestone.
- 215. Column** A 138 (M17-63); Well M17:2 (Pl. 25)
Layer 6; Lot 46
H: 1.51; Th: 0.37-0.495
Fragmentary, mended; missing part of the base and 1/4 of the height of the column was broken off from the whole; two pieces join physically; surface is very battered.
Column, only the bottom of base is finished; part of the column was worked down in preparation for fluting; the base is a standard Attic type with empolion cutting; at the top is a roughly cut square: 0.15 x 0.15, with a depth of 0.06.
Yellow limestone.

216. Mold TC 88 (M17-69); Well M17:2 (Pl. 25)

Layer 6; Lot 46

PH: 0.054; PW: 0.040; PDiam: 0.012

Fragmentary, two pieces mended with epoxy; broken all around.

Mold for bronze state, no recognizable design.

Pinkish brown fabric with yellowish interior; uneven, bumpy surface; outside has a bit of bronze casting attached.

217. Fragments IL 1099 (M17-132); Well M17:2

Layer 6; Lot 46

PL: 0.037; PW: 0.024

Fragments, eight total.

Fragments of iron, all lumps without clear shape; possibly slag.

Iron.

218. Vessel GL 184 (M17-131); Well M17:2 (Pl. 25)

Layer 6, Lot 46

PL: 0.019; PH: 0.007; D: 0.06

Fragment of rim.

Glass vessel with rolled rim.

Clear, greenish glass.

CONTEXT: Upper Fill

219. Bowl M17:2.47.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 16; Pl. 26)

Layer 1; Lot 47

PH: 0.021; PW: 0.018; Diam: 0.12

Fragment of rim.

White glaze ware bowl with hollow rim and rounded lip.

Brownish yellow fine ware fabric; glazed white in/out.

Date: post Roman, ca. 7th-11th century

220. Skyphos, Attic Type M17:2.47.02; Well M17:2 (Fig. 16; Pl. 26)

Layer 1; Lot 47

PH: 0.07; PW: 0.018; Diam: 0.064

Fragment of base.

Skyphos, Attic type, with a torus ring base.

Orangish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown in/out, circles on underside.

Nemea Museum, P 752 (K20-34; K20, Lot 13); *Corinth* VII.6, 185, no. VI-8, fig. 34

Date: late 4th century

221. Lamp L 315 (M17-95); Well M17:2 (Pl. 26)

Layer 1 sift; Lot 56

PH: 0.019; PW: 0.038; Diam: 0.070

Fragment.

Lamp wall with handle attachment; smoothly curving wall and round lip.

Tannish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.

Isthmia III, p. 10-1, no. 48 (type IV B), pls. 2, 5. While Type IV B occurs from the end of the 6th century to the 4th century, no. 48 is a later development of the type and can be dated to “probably not earlier than the middle of the 4th century BC.”
Date: middle of 4th century

222. Aryballos M17:2.56.03; Well M17:2 (Fig. 16)

Layer 1 sift; Lot 56

PH: 0.024; PW: 0.021

Fragment of body.

Blisterware aryballos convex body with seven grooves down to base.

Bluish gray to orange blisterware fabric; linear ribbing.

Nemea Museum, P 1512 (M20-37; M20, House 5); *Corinth* VII.3, p. 148, no. 768, pl. 64

Date: ca. 350-325 (second quarter of the 4th century)

223. Lopas M17:2.47.03; Well M17:2 (Fig. 16; Pl. 26)

Layer 1; Lot 47

PH: 0.023; PW: 0.035; Diam: 0.18

Fragment of rim.

Lopas with out-turned rim with flange.

Brownish red to grayish black cooking ware fabric.

Corinth VII.6, p. 97, no. III-29, fig. 13, pl. 12

Date: ca. 325-300 (last quarter of the 4th century)

224. Mug M17:2.56.02; Well M17:2 (Fig. 16)

Layer 1 sift; Lot 56

PH: 0.016; PW: 0.032; Diam: 0.05

Fragment of base.

Mug with flat raised base, inset from wall.

Brownish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out; reserved underside.

cf. **542** (P 157; Well N17:2); *Agora* XII, p. 249, no. 192, fig. 3

Date: ca. 480 (first half of the 5th century)

225. Pitcher M17:2.47.04 and M17:2.47.05; Well M17:2 (Fig. 16)

Layer 1; Lot 47

Base) PH: 0.03; PW: 0.08

Handle) PH: 0.049; PW: 0.06; Diam: 0.25

Pitcher with hollowed base with concave underside, foot not preserved; spreading rim with medium flat strap handle attached.

Brownish orange kitchenware fabric.

Agora XII, p. 350, no. 1615, pl. 73

Date: ca. 410-390 (end 5th century to early 4th century)

226. Kylix M17:2.56.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 16; Pl. 26)

Layer 1 sift; Lot 56

PH: 0.015; PW: 0.022

Fragment of handle.

Kylix with rounded horizontal upturned handle, possibly a rooster tail.

Pale orange fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out with figural motif next to the handle.

Nemea Museum, P 1796 (G19-203; heroön); Boardman (1974), p. 41, fig. 45.1,2
Date: middle of 6th century

227. Stopper M17:2.47.06; Well M17:2

Layer 1; Lot 47
PH: 0.061; PW: 0.034
Fragmentary.
Stopper rounded reworked from a tile fragment.
Date: context 6th century to Roman

228. Vessel GL 143 (M17-96); Well M17:2 (Pl. 26)

Layer 1, sift 56
PL: 0.018; PW: 0.02; D: 0.12
Fragment of rim.
Glass vessel with lipless rounded rim.
Clear glass, very pale greenish blue.

CONTEXT: Middle Fill

229. Baking Dish M17:2.48.02; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17)

Layer 2; Lot 48
PH: 0.017; PW: 0.022; Diam: 0.12-0.15
Fragment of rim.
Baking dish with rounded thickened rim.
Dark gray cooking ware fabric.
Corinth VII.3, p. 133-4, no. 704, pls. 32, 62
Date: Hellenistic

230. Plate M17:2.48.03; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17)

Layer 2; Lot 48
PH: 0.010; PW: 0.035; Diam: 0.060
Fragment of base.
Plate with ring foot with part of convex body wall.
Dark gray cooking ware fabric.
Corinth VII.3, p. 136, no. 71, pls. 32, 62
Date: Hellenistic

231. Pitcher M17:2.49.08; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17)

Layer 3; Lot 49
PH: 0.029; PW: 0.069; Diam: 0.12
Fragment of rim.
Pitcher with splayed rim and thickened lip.
Reddish brown kitchenware fabric.
Date: Hellenistic

232. Bowl M17:2.49.05; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17; Pl. 27)

Layer 3; Lot 49
PH: 0.017; PW: 0.08; Diam: 0.06
Complete base.
Bowl with splaying ring foot, convex underside, and convex wall.

Greenish gray fine ware fabric (misfired); monochrome blackish brown in/out.
Corinth VII.6, p. 129, no. VI-51, fig. 22
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

233. Bowl M17:2.49.07; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17; Pl. 27)

Layer 3; Lot 49
PH: 0.017; PW: 0.063; Diam: 0.056
Complete base.
Bowl with ring foot, slightly convex underside; convex wall.
Reddish brown fine ware fabric.
Corinth VII.6, p. 129, no. VI-50, fig. 22
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

234. Loom Weight TC 352 (M17-99); Well M17:2 (Pl. 27)

Layer 3; Lot 49
PH: 0.105; PW: 0.070
Fragment; half preserved, sliced vertically.
Loom weight with one side preserved with hole on top, not all the way through.
Pink buff fine ware fabric.
Corinth XII, p. 155, profile X, fig. 23
Date: ca. 350-330 (second half of the 4th century)

235. Casserole/Lopas M17:2.49.09; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17)

Layer 3; Lot 49
PH: 0.020; PW: 0.23; Diam: 0.080
Fragment of rim.
Casserole with spreading rounded rim and interior flange.
Reddish orange cooking ware fabric.
Nemea Museum, P 747 (K20-29; Deposit K20:1, Pit 1); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 97-8, no. III-29, fig. 13, pl. 12
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

236. Chytra, miniature M17:2.49.06; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17; Pl. 27)

Layer 3; Lot 49
PH: 0.01; PW: 0.30; Diam: 0.0275
Complete base.
Chytra, miniature, with raised flat, slightly concave underside.
Reddish brown kitchenware fabric.
Agora XII, p. 372, no. 1940, pl. 93
Date: end of 4th century

237. Oinochoe M17:2.57.02; Well M17:2

Layer 2 sift; Lot 57
PH: 0.015; PW: 0.017; Diam: 0.05
Fragment of rim.
Oinochoe with splaying lipless rim, small ridge below lip.
Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome dark brown in/out around mouth.
Corinth XIII, p. 304, no. D15-c, pl. 92
Date: ca. 460-425 (middle or third quarter of the 5th century)

- 238. Kotyle** M17:2.58.02; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17; Pl. 27)
 Layer 3 sift; Lot 58
 PH: 0.032; PW: 0.043; Diam: 0.050
 Fragment of base, about 1/3.
 Kotyle with ring foot, slightly convex underside; convex vertical body; wide band above foot on lower wall.
 Cream buff fine ware fabric; banded exterior/monochrome reddish brown in; concentric circles on underside.
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 86, no. 41, fig. 6, pl. 7; Nemea Museum, P 341 (L20-15; L20, Lot 14), P 1080 (NEM-P-341; PP-10 Rawson Deposit)
 Date: ca. 475-450 (second quarter of the 5th century)
- 239. Cup** M17:2.49.04; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17; Pl. 27)
 Layer 3; Lot 49
 PH: 0.015; PW: 0.084; Diam: 0.065
 Nearly complete base, mended from two joining fragments.
 Cup with ring foot, convex underside and flat resting surface; low convex wall.
 Pinkish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.
Agora XII, p. 267, no. 456, fig. 5, pl. 21
 Date: ca. 480-470 (5th century)
- 240. Stemless Cup** M17:2.57.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17)
 Layer 2 sift; Lot 57
 PH: 0.035; PW: 0.011
 Fragment of handle.
 Stemless cup with small rounded handle.
 Tannish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black.
 cf. **447** (P 1683; Well E18, dates to ca. 500-470); *Agora* XII, p. 269, no. 487, figs. 1, 5, pl. 22 (ca. 430)
 Date: 5th century
- 241. Stemless Cup** M17:2.58.05; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17)
 Layer 3 sift; Lot 58
 L: 0.037; W: 0.014
 Complete handle.
 Stemless cup with small oval horizontal handle, pinched together at attach; horseshoe shaped.
 Pinkish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black.
 cf. **60** (P 291; Well L17:1), see also Nemea Museum, P 1278 (K17-57; Pit B); *Agora* XII, p. 267, no. 460, fig. 5
 Date: middle of the 5th century
- 242. Mug** M17:2.49.10; Well M17:2 (Fig. 17; Pl. 27)
 Layer 3; Lot 49
 PH: 0.010; PW: 0.070; Diam: 0.059
 Complete base, mended from two fragments.
 Mug with flat raised base; very small part of wall preserved.
 Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 296 (M17-48; xenon) and P 1277 (K17-56; Pit B)
Date: ca. 480 (5th century)

243. Mug M17:2.58.06; Well M17:2 (Fig. 18; Pl. 27)

Layer 3 sift; Lot 58

PH: 0.024; PW: 0.057; Diam: 0.050

Fragment of base.

Mug with flat raised base, slightly concave underside; body extends out then curves up.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

cf. 542 (P 157; Well N17:2)

Date: late 5th century

244. Lamp L 316 (M17-101); Well M17:2 (Pl. 28)

Layer 3; Lot 49

PH: 0.028; PW: 0.027

Fragment, preserving full profile.

Lamp with flat raised, slightly concave base; curved wall with an incurving sloping rim; pronounced ridge where the wall and rim meet; open shape evidenced by the slip on interior under rim.

Reddish buff fine ware fabric; reddish buff with reddish brown in/out.

Date: 5th century

245. Lamp L 317 (M17-103); Well M17:2 (Pl. 28)

Layer 3 sift; Lot 58

PH: 0.015; PW: 0.030

Fragment of nozzle.

Lamp nozzle with curved wall; open shape evidenced by the slip on the interior.

Blueish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome dark blackish brown in/out.

Agora IV, p. 47, no. 169 (type 21b), pls. 6, 34

Date: ca. 475-425 (second and third quarters of the 5th century)

246. Oinochoe M17:2.49.01 and M17:2.58.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 18; Pl. 28)

Layer 3 and 3 sift; Lots 49 and 58

PH: 0.021; PW: 0.015; Diam: 0.125

Fragment of rim, two joining fragments.

Oinochoe with rounded horizontal rim and flaring lip.

Bluish gray to orange buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 246, nos. 140-151, figs. 3, 22, pl. 8

Date: ca. 575-480 (6th to early 5th century)

247. Kotyle M17:2.48.04; Well M17:2 (Fig. 18)

Layer 2; Lot 48

PH: 0.014; PW: 0.035; Diam: 0.06

Fragment of base.

Kotyle with torus ring base; convex wall preserved.

Pinkish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 256, no. 304, pl. 14

Date: early 6th century

248. Kotyle M17:2.58.03; Well M17:2 (Fig. 18)

Layer 3 sift; Lot 58

PH: 0.021; PW: 0.027; Diam: 0.016

Fragment of rim and handle.

Kotyle with spreading, lipless rim with a round ring handle attached below rim.

Tan buff fine ware fabric; monochrome blackish brown in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 1800 (G19-210; heroön)

Date: 6th century

249. Cup M17:2.58.04; Well M17:2 (Fig. 18)

Layer 3 sift; Lot 58

PH: 0.029; PW: 0.025; Diam: 0.150

Fragment of rim.

Cup with convex body to spreading rim; groove between rim and body.

Bluish gray fine ware fabric (misfired); monochrome brownish black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 262, no. 378, fig. 4, pl. 18

Date: ca. 575-550 (early 6th century)

250. Oinochoe M17:2.49.02; Well M17:2 (Fig. 18)

Layer 3; Lot 49

PH: 0.095; PW: 0.040

Fragment of handle.

Oinochoe with ovoid strap handle; depression on top surface and central groove on bottom surface.

Cream buff fine ware fabric.

Date: context 6th to 4th century

251. Pot M17:2.48.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 18)

Layer 2; Lot 48

PH: 0.085; PW: 0.045

Fragment of handle.

Cooking pot with flat strap handle with ridge from top to bottom on outside; part of wall preserved at body attach.

Reddish brown cooking ware fabric.

Agora XII, p. 372, no. 1941, pl. 94

Date: context 6th to 4th century (possibly ca. 575-540)

252. Amphora/Oinochoe M17:2.49.03 a-d; Well M17:2 (Fig. 18)

Layer 3; Lot 49

PH: 0.173; PW: 0.142; Diam: 0.110

Fragment of rim, three joining.

Amphora or oinochoe with tall, vertical neck preserving part of the shoulder continuing to one joining fragment of a spreading rim to a thickened lip.

Pinkish tan semi-coarse fabric.

cf. **498** (P 247; Well N17:2)

Date: context 6th to 4th century

253. Stopper TC 353 (M17-100); Well M17:2 (Pl. 28)

Layer 3; Lot 49

PH: 0.100; PW: 0.090; Th: 0.035

Fragment.

Stopper reworked from a large sherd of a pithos or tile reworked as circular; edges are rough. Reddish buff semi-coarse fabric with small angular black and white inclusions; one side is slipped with a pinkish cream and the other is not.

Date: context 6th to 4th century

254. Doric Capital A 139 (M17-72); Well M17:2 (Pl. 28)

Layer 3; Lot 49

PH: 0.173; H (abacus): 0.098; H (echinus): 0.059

Fragmentary, broken at bottom just below third annulet, at both sides and toward center.

Doric capital with shallow, straight echinus.

Soft yellow poros limestone.

255. Tile AT 64 (M17-70); Well M17:2 (Pl. 28)

Layer 3; Lot 49

PH: 0.046; PL: 0.162; PW: 0.091

Fragmentary, broken on both sides, back, top surface.

Tile with one flat, rectangular face decorated with meander; top surface also square.

Pink to buff clay with heavy orange inclusions; brownish black to red paint.

cf. **96** (AT 55; Well L17:1) and **194** (AT 75; Well L17:2)

256. Antefix AT 65 (M17-71); Well M17:2 (Pl. 28)

Layer 3; Lot 49

PH: 0.13; W: 0.195; PL: 0.107

Nearly complete; broken off at the bottom of the face and in the back, face of the antefix has been chipped in several places, but retains much of its original color and design.

Antefix, rectangular in shape, curving to a peak at the top; decorated with a palmette with spiraling forms to each side.

Buff clay; buff slip with brownish red to brownish black paint.

257. Nail/Strips IL 1082 AT 65 (M17-104); Well M17:2

Layer 3; Lot 49

PH: 0.023; PW: 0.014; PTh: 0.007

Fragments, three total; all corroded.

Possible nail shank and two possible strips.

Iron.

CONTEXT: Lower Fill

258. One-handled Cup P 358 (M17-77); Well M17:2 (Pl. 29)

Layer 4/5; Lot 55

H: 0.05; Diam (base): 0.05; (rim): 0.091

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl 30d

Complete, mended from mended from nine fragments, missing several small gaps.

One-handled cup with low flaring disc foot with central disc; body has continuous curve to slightly incurved lipless rim; small round horizontal ring handle attached slightly below rim.

Buff (Corinthian) fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out, reserved underside.

Corinth VII.6, p. 190-1, nos. VI-57, VI-63, fig. 39, pl. 31
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

259. Oinochoe M17:2.55.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 18; Pl. 29)

Layer 4/5 sift; Lot 59

PH: 0.045; PW: 0.093; Diam (rim): 0.078

Complete rim and neck.

Blisterware oinochoe with fully preserved vertical neck with tall spreading rim with thin flat strap handle attached at rim.

Bluish gray to orange gray blisterware fabric.

Nemea Museum, P 1315 (J18-57; bathhouse Deposit J18:1); *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 92, nos. 76, 77, pl. 10; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 154, no. 387, pl. 44

Date: 4th century

260. Aryballos M17:2.59.01; Well M17:2

Layer 4/5 sift; Lot 59

PH: 0.041; PW: 0.049; Th: 0.004

Fragment of body.

Blisterware aryballos with thin vertical ribbing on body; body sherd from shoulder of vessel possibly near beginning of the neck.

Bluish gray to orange (exterior) and brownish tan (interior) blisterware fabric.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 94, no. 97, fig. 17, pl. 13

Date: ca. 350-325 (third quarter of the 4th century)

261. Cooking Pot P 332 (M17-73); Well M17:2 (Pl. 29)

Layer 4; Lot 51

H: 0.172; Diam: 0.172

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 30d

Complete; missing a few chips on the rim and a very tiny hole in the side.

Cooking pot with flat, only slightly rounded underside to globular body; short neck to lipless, slightly out-turned rim; complete medium oval vertical strap handle attached at rim and widest part of body, swings slightly above rim; the handle is irregular, narrowing slightly where it attaches at body.

Brown orange kitchenware fabric with small white and black angular inclusions.

cf. **262** (P 376; Well M17:2); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 99-100, no. III-51, fig. 16

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

262. Cooking Pot P 376 (M17-81); Well M17:2 (Pl. 29)

Layer 4; Lot 53

H: 0.19; Diam: 0.169

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 30d

Nearly complete, mended from several pieces; missing one large gap near the bottom.

Cooking pot with very slightly convex/rounded base to squat rounded body with short concave neck to rounded rim, slightly out-turned or tall spreading rim; complete small oval vertical strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.

Orange to reddish brown kitchenware fabric with small white inclusions; core fired dark gray.

cf. **261** (P 332; Well M17:2); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 99-100, no. III-51, fig. 16

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

263. Oinochoe P 377 (M17-82); Well M17:2 (Pl. 29)

Layer 4; Lot 53

H: 0.23; Diam: 0.018

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl 30d

Fragmentary, mended from many pieces; missing about 1/5 of body plus several small gaps and 1/2 of rim.

Oinochoe with disc foot, slightly concave at center, so that floor of vessel is slightly domed; globular body; fairly straight neck to out-turned rim; complete medium flat vertical strap handle attached at rim and shoulder; swings up slightly from rim.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black out (very worn).

Date: 5th century

264. Lekane M17:2.59.03; Well M17:2 (Fig. 18; Pl. 29)

Layer 4/5 sift; Lot 59

PH: 0.023; PW: 0.047; Diam: 0.21

Fragment of rim.

Lekane with thickened rim with flat horizontal lip, on exterior below rim are three parallel grooves; below rim is a single small conical nubbin.

Orange buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black to black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 321-2, nos. 1211, 1212, 1225, fig. 11, pls. 40, 41

Date: ca. 525-425 (late 5th to late 4th century)

265. Kotyle M17:2.51.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 19; Pl. 29)

Layer 4; Lot 51

PH: 0.011; PW: 0.033; Diam: 0.04

Nearly complete base

Kotyle with ring foot; slightly convex underside; small part of convex body preserved; band around inner foot and around widest diameter of underside, band at join between foot and lower wall.

Buff fine ware fabric, bluish gray misfire; banded dark brownish black to reddish brown out/monochrome in; concentric circles on underside.

Nemea Museum, P 308 (N17-152; Deposit N17:4 "Classical Pit")

Date: 5th century

266. Kotyle M17:2.50.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 19)

Layer 4; Lot 50

PH: 0.011; PW: 0.043; Diam: 0.046

Complete base.

Kotyle with splaying ring foot with wide resting surface; slight groove between foot and wall.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out (very fugitive).

Nemea Museum, P 953 (NEM-P-120; PP-10 Rawson Deposit)

Date: second half of 5th century

267. Kotyle M17:2.54.02; Well M17:2 (Fig. 19)

Layer 4; Lot 54

PH: 0.028; PW: 0.067; Diam: 0.050

Complete base.

Kotyle with splaying ring foot with slight convex underside; convex body.
Buff fine ware fabric; banded brownish black out/monochrome in, circle on underside.
Nemea Museum, P 958 (NEM-P-125, PP-10 Rawson Deposit); *Corinth* VII.5, p. 64, no. 163, fig. 8
Date: ca. 475-440 (second quarter to middle of the 5th century)

268. Kotyle M17:2.55.02; Well M17:2 (Fig. 19; Pl. 29)

Layer 4/5; Lot 55

PH: 0.020; PW: 0.057; Diam: 0.055

Complete base; missing small chips.

Kotyle with splaying ring foot, flat underside; convex body with slightly concave interior floor; wide band on resting surface; band on outer foot.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; banded brownish red to blackish brown out/monochrome in.
Corinth XIII, p. 252, no. 363-1, pl. 58

Date: ca. 450-425 (third quarter of the 5th century)

269. Kotyle M17:2.52.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 19)

Layer 4; Lot 52

PH: 0.04; PW: 0.046; Diam: 0.10

Complete handle and fragment of rim.

Kotyle with lipless rim with complete small round horizontal ring handle attached below rim.

Pinkish buff fine ware fabric; banded blackish brown to reddish brown out/monochrome in.

Nemea Museum, P 967 (NEM-P-125; PP-10 Rawson Deposit)

Date: 5th century

270. Kotyle M17:2.54.03; Well M17:2 (Fig. 19)

Layer 4; Lot 54

PH: 0.018; PW: 0.048; Diam: 0.10

Complete handle and fragment of rim.

Kotyle with lipless rim, fully preserved small oval ring handle attached below lip.

Buff to pinkish buff (from firing) fine ware fabric; monochrome blackish brown in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 957 (NEM-P-124; PP-10 Rawson Deposit)

Date: 5th century

271. Kotyle M17:2.51.02 a-b; Well M17:2 (Fig. 19)

Layer 4; Lot 51

PH: 0.05; PW: 0.077; Diam: 0.09

Fragment of rim, two joining.

Kotyle with lipless rim.

Buff fine ware fabric; banded blackish brown out/monochrome in (very fugitive).

Nemea Museum, P 1083 (NEM-P-344; PP-10 Rawson Deposit)

Date: middle to late 5th century

272. Kotyle/Small Bowl M17:2.59.05; Well M17:2 (Fig. 19; Pl. 30)

Layer 4/5 sift; Lot 59

PH: 0.013; PW: 0.041; Diam: 0.044

Complete base, mended from two fragments.

Kotyle or small bowl with ring foot, flat resting surface, convex underside with slight nipple; convex wall of body; band on foot; possible band on underside.
Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome blackish brown in/out.
Nemea Museum, P 953 (NEM-P-120; PP-10 Rawson Deposit); *Corinth* VII.5, p. 66, no. 174, fig. 9, pl. 12
Date: second half of 5th century

273. Skyphos, Attic Type M17:2.53.03 a-b; Well M17:2 (Fig. 20; Pl. 30)

Layer 4; Lot 53

Base) PH: 0.015; PW: 0.063; Diam: 0.063

Rim) PH: 0.047; PW: 0.052; Diam: 0.090

Complete base.

Skyphos, Attic type, with torus ring base with convex foot and convex underside; groove at join between foot and lower wall; small part of wall preserved; lipless rim.

Pinkish buff to bluish gray fine ware fabric; banded reddish brown to brownish black out/monochrome in; concentric circles on underside.

Nemea Museum, P 941 (NEM-P-108; PP-10 Rawson Deposit) and P 1080 (NEM-P-341; PP-10 Rawson Deposit); *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 86, no. 43, fig. 7, pl. 7 (dates to the middle of the 5th century)

Date: early to middle 5th century

274. Skyphos, Attic Type M17:2.55.03; Well M17:2 (Fig. 20; Pl. 29)

Layer 4/5; Lot 55

PH: 0.017; PW: 0.059; Diam: 0.060

Complete base.

Skyphos, Attic type, with torus ring foot with flat underside; slight groove between foot and body; convex body.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; banded reddish brown to blackish brown out/monochrome in, underside possible monochrome with band on resting surface.

Nemea Museum, P 941 (NEM-P-108; PP-10 Rawson Deposit) and P 1080 (NEM-P-341; PP-10 Rawson Deposit); *Corinth* XIII, p. 238-9, no. 328-1, pl. 45 (dates to the middle of the 5th century)

Date: early to middle 5th century

275. One-handled Cup M17:2.59.04; Well M17:2 (Fig. 20; Pl. 30)

Layer 4/5 sift; Lot 59

PH: 0.010; PW: 0.052; Diam: 0.045

Complete base.

One-handled cup with concave raised base with central disc; part of convex wall preserved.

Tannish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome blackish brown in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 302 (N17-156, Deposit N17:4 "Classical Pit") and P 532 (F19-25; heroön)

Date: 5th century

276. Oinochoe M17:2.53.01 a-b; Well M17:2 (Pl. 30)

Layer 4; Lot 53

Handle) PH: 0.130

Rim) Diam: 0.098

Complete handle, neck and rim, mended from seven fragments.
Oinochoe with nearly vertical neck preserving partial shoulder, horizontal projecting rim;
medium oval high swung strap handle.
Cream buff fine ware fabric.
Nemea Museum, P 1520 (N19-30, N16, Lot 7); *Corinth* VII.2, p. 105-6, no. AN 34, pl. 60
Date: late 6th century (Late Corinthian, ca. 570-550)

277. Oinochoe M17:2.54.01; Well M17:2 (Fig. 20)

Layer 4; Lot 54
PH: 0.021; PW: 0.080; Diam: 0.098
Fragment of base, about 50% preserved.
Oinochoe with splaying ring foot with flat resting surface and convex underside; possible
groove between foot and wall.
Cream buff fine ware fabric; possible reddish brown band on foot.
Nemea Museum, P 1623 (F19-91; hHeroön); *Corinth* XIII, p. 175-6, no. 147-5, pl. 21
Date: first half of 6th century

278. Kotyle M17:2.53.02 a-b; Well M17:2 (Fig. 20; Pl. 30)

Layer 4; Lot 53
Base) PH: 0.040; PW: 0.075; Diam: 0.06
Rim) PH: 0.050; PW: 0.035; Diam: 0.095
Complete base and fragment of rim.
Kotyle with splaying ring foot, flat underside with deep groove next to inner foot; convex
body, lipless rim; reserved resting surface, concentric circles on underside, band on foot,
lower wall with thinly closely placed rays below a thick band on body.
Tan buff fine ware fabric; brownish red to blackish brown rays and band out/
monochrome in; concentric circles on underside.
Corinth VII.5, p. 60, no. 129, fig. 7
Date: late 6th century

279. Kotyle M17:2.55.04; Well M17:2 (Fig. 20)

Layer 4/5; Lot 55
PH: 0.019; PW: 0.032; Diam: 0.105
Complete handle and fragment of rim.
Kotyle with complete small oval ring handle attached below lipless rim.
Tannish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.
Nemea Museum, P 1776 (G19-120; heroön)
Date: 6th century

280. Kotyle M17:2.55.05; Well M17:2 (Fig. 20)

Layer 4/5; Lot 55
PH: 0.074; PW: 0.043; Diam: 0.11
Complete handle and fragment of rim.
Kotyle with complete small oval ring handle attached below lipless rim.
Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome blackish brown in/out.
Nemea Museum, P 1793 (G19-201; heroön)
Date: 6th to early 5th century

281. Hydria BR 529 (M17-76); Well M17:2

- Layer 4; Lot 52
H: 0.014; Diam: 0.107
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 30e
Complete base, foot intact; surface is pitted.
Hydria with a solid bronze base with fluted design on exterior.
cf. **191** (BR 639; Well L17:2)
Date: 6th/5th century
- 282. Trefoil Mouth Pitcher** P 357 (M17-78); Well M17:2 (Pl. 30)
Layer 4; Lot 53
H: 0.255; Diam: 0.235
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 30d
Nearly complete, mended from many pieces; missing small gaps on body and rim, no handle preserved.
Pitcher with flat base, wide globular body; tall, slightly concave neck to trefoil rim with rounded lip; handle attach for round handle preserved at rim and upper body.
Buff to pink buff fine ware fabric with small angular red brown inclusions; possible buff slip.
Date: context 6th to 4th century
- 283. Krater/Lekane** M17:2.59.06; Well M17:2 (Pl. 30)
Layer 4/5 sift; Lot 59
PH: 0.013; PW: 0.024
Fragment of rim.
Krater or deep lekane with horizontal sloping rim decorated with stamped ovolo with lip and rope pattern on interior of rim.
Pinkish orange fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black out; stamped.
Agora XXIX, p. 402, no. 1600, fig. 97, pl. 125; very similar but no physical joins with **213** (M17.46.05; Well M17:2).
Date: context, closest comparanda from mixed fill
- 284. Oinochoe** P 393 (M17-83); Well M17:2 (Pl. 31)
Layer 4; Lot 54
PH: 0.285; Diam: 0.268
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 30d
Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing many fragments from body, part of neck and all of the mouth.
Blisterware oinochoe with flat bottom, slightly concave; squat body; short, nearly vertical, narrow neck; large oval strap handle with two deep grooves attached at rim and shoulder.
Blue gray blisterware fabric with red orange core.
Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th century
- 285. Trefoil Mouth Pitcher** P 359 (M17-79); Well M17:2 (Pl. 31)
Layer 4; Lot 53
H: 0.298; Diam: 0.267
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 30d
Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing parts of body.

Pitcher with flat base; large rounded body; tall almost vertical neck to out-turned trefoil rim with rounded lip; complete medium oval vertical strap handle attached at rim and top of shoulder; handle has a small thumb impression at bottom where it attaches to shoulder. Brown gray to orange brown kitchenware fabric with few small angular inclusions.
Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century

286. Trefoil Mouth Pitcher P 375 (M17-80); Well M17:2 (Pl. 31)

Layer 4; Lot 55

PH: 0.22; Diam: 0.179

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 30d

Reconstructed, mended from 12 fragments; missing most of the mouth and neck.

Pitcher with flat base; tall rounded body to short concave neck with out-turned rim and rounded lip; complete medium oval vertical strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.

Reddish brown kitchenware fabric with few small white inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century

287. Trefoil Mouth Pitcher P 1818 (M17-119); Well M17:2 (Fig. 21; Pl. 31)

Layer 4; Lot 51

Base) PH: 0.107; Diam: 0.12-0.13

Handle and Rim) PH: 0.085; Diam (neck): 0.085

Complete rim and handle, with several additional base and body sherds, some mended.

Pitcher with flat base; wide globular body; trefoil rim with rounded lip; complete medium ovoid strap handle attached at the rim and shoulder.

Orange-red to brown on exterior kitchenware fabric with small white angular and slightly larger rounded blackish brown.

cf. **283** (P 357; Well M17:2) and **285** (P 359; Well M17:2)

Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century

288. Trefoil Mouth Pitcher P 1821 (M17-124); Well M17:2

Layer 4; Lot 53

Diam (base): 0.12; (rim): 0.11

Complete base and handle, fragment of rim, mended from several fragments; missing most of body.

Pitcher with flat base; convex well and vertical neck; oval strap handle attached to the rim and body.

Brownish gray to orange gray kitchenware fabric on exterior, darker brownish gray interior (unevenly fired) with many very small to medium sub-angular white inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century

289. Trefoil Mouth Pitcher P 1819 (M17-120); Well M17:2 (Fig. 21; Pl. 31)

Layer 4; Lot 51

PH: 0.150; PW (base): 0.10; (body): 0.09; (neck): 0.065.

Fragmentary, partially mended from several fragments.

Pitcher with flat base; wide body; trefoil rim with complete medium oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder.

Gray to orange kitchenware fabric with small angular inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century

290. Trefoil Mouth Pitcher M17:2.52.02; Well M17:2 (Fig. 21)

- Layer 4; Lot 52
 No measurements possible.
 Fragment of base and rim, 56 body sherds.
 Pitcher with flat base and trefoil mouth; no clear handle or handle attach.
 Reddish brown kitchenware fabric with no visible inclusions.
 Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century
- 291. Trefoil Mouth Pitcher** M17:2.52.03; Well M17:2
 Layer 4; Lot 52
 PH: 0.083; PW (mouth): 0.133; Diam (neck): 0.102
 Nearly complete rim, 19 body sherds.
 Pitcher with trefoil mouth; handle attach for medium oval strap handle on body and rim.
 Greenish gray to orange gray kitchenware fabric (from firing) with small white sub-angular inclusions.
 Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century
- 292. Wide Mouth Pitcher** P 1820 (M17-121); Well M17:2 (Fig. 21)
 Layer 4; Lot 53
 PH (base): 0.078; PW (body): 0.19; Diam (base): 0.115; (rim): 0.13
 Complete base, rim and handle, mended from several fragments; most of body not mended.
 Pitcher with flat base; convex body; vertical neck with spreading horizontal rim and medium oval strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.
 Greenish-gray kitchenware fabric with very small white buff inclusions.
 Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century
- 293. Wide Mouth Pitcher** M17:2.52.04; Well M17:2 (Fig. 21)
 Layer 4; Lot 52
 PH: 0.123; PW (body): 0.232; Diam (rim): 0.145
 Complete handle and rim, 19 body sherds.
 Pitcher with flat horizontal rim with wide neck; full medium oval strap handle attached to rim and shoulder.
 Orange brown kitchenware fabric with small white and brown rounded inclusions
 Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century
- 294. Pitcher** M17:2.53.04; Well M17:2 (Fig. 21; Pl. 31)
 Layer 4; Lot 53
 PH: 0.064; PW (at lip): 0.056; (handle): 0.027
 Fragment of handle and rim.
 Pitcher with thickened spreading rim; medium oval strap handle attached; near apex of the handle is an incised 'X' mark.
 Tannish brown kitchenware fabric with small white rounded inclusions.
 Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century
- 295. Pitcher** M17:2.59.02; Well M17:2
 Layer 4/5 sift; Lot 59
 PH: 0.067; PW: 0.031; Th: 0.016
 Fragment of handle.

Pitcher with medium oval vertical strap handle with two raised ridges running down center of exterior.

Reddish brown kitchenware fabric.

Date: context 6th to 4th century, most likely 4th to early 3rd century

296. Lump of Iron IL 1089 (M17-117); Well M17:2

Layer 4 and 5 sift; Lot 59

PH: 0.032; PW: 0.014

Fragment.

Small lump of iron, no definite shape; one end appears to have a break and a small hollow area is visible.

Iron.

Well K14:4

CONTEXT: Upper Fill

297. Bowl K14:4.122.02; Well K14:4

Layer 1, Lot 122

PH: 0.013; PW: 0.031; Diam: 0.10

Fragment of rim.

Bowl with horizontal rim with groove on exterior at rim and body join.

Tan brown fine ware fabric.

Date: Roman

298. Pitcher K14:4.124.04; Well K14:4

Layer 2, Lot 124

PH: 0.092; PW (handle): 0.029

Fragment of handle.

Pitcher with oval vertical handle with two ridges/three grooves; small depression where handle attaches to body; small part of body preserved, thin wall.

Gray to orange brown kitchenware fabric with small angular white inclusions.

Date: Roman

299. Pitcher K14:4.124.03; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22)

Layer 2, Lot 124

PH: 0.033; Diam (rim): 0.085

Fragment of rim, two joining.

Pitcher with neck to wide everted rim, flat lip; handle attached directly below rim for a medium oval vertical handle.

Orange brown kitchenware fabric with small angular white inclusion.

Corinth XVIII.2, p. 102, no. 223, fig. 26

Date: Roman

300. Bowl K14:4.122.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22)

Layer 1, Lot 122

PH: 0.014; PW: 0.019; Diam: 0.09

Fragment of rim.

Bowl with beveled rim to incurved lip; angular profile from rim to body.

Pink buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out (lustrous).

Agora XXIX, p. 344, no. 1037, fig. 64, pl. 78 (dates to ca. 175)
Date: Hellenistic (early 2nd century)

301. Moldmade Bowl K14:4.124.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22; Pl. 32)

Layer 2, Lot 124

PH: 0.019; PW: 0.018; Th: 0.002

Fragment of body.

Moldmade imprecate bowl with possible leaf/petal decoration.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out

Agora XXII, p. 46-50, nos. 13-48, pls. 3-8

Date: Hellenistic (3rd to 1st century)

302. Coin C 1287 (K14-coin 47); Well K14:4

Layer 3, Lot 126

Weight: 4.49

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 23b; *Nemea III*, cat. 2002.

Complete.

Coin, Egypt, Ptolemy III Euergetes, Cyprus mint; Obv: Ptolemy III bust right; Rev:

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, Eagle left on thunderbolt, Cornucopia right.

Bronze.

BMC Ptol., p. 56, nos. 100-101, pl. 12.2

Date: ca. 228-221 (end of 3rd century)

303. Coin C 1310 (K14-coin 46); Well K14:4

Layer 1 sift, Lot 123

Weight: 1.49

Nemea III, cat. 1614.

Complete.

Coin, Argos; Obv: Hera head left wearing crown; Rev: *A*.

Bronze.

BMC Pel., p. 125, nos. 51-53, pl. 27.16

Date: ca. 425-350 (fourth quarter of the 5th to middle of the 4th century)

304. Oinochoe K14:4.124.02; Well K14:4

Layer 2, Lot 124

PH: 0.093; PW: 0.047

Fragment of handle.

Oinochoe with large flat vertical strap handle with body attach; right side of the handle is slightly lower than the left side; the nearly complete verticality of the handle from its body attach makes the fragment stand out.

Tan buff fine ware fabric.

Date: 6th to 4th century (Possibly early in date (Archaic), but it seems that similar handles do appear in the 4th century.)

305. Pitcher P 508 (K14-203); Well K14:4 (Pl. 32)

Layer 2, Lot 124

PH: 0.077; Diam (rim): 0.077

Complete rim and handle, mended from 15 fragments; missing most of lower body

Pitcher with concave, narrow neck to a horizontal rim; a depression, marked by a carination at the upper edge, runs below the rim on the interior; medium oval vertical strap handle with wide ridge attached below rim and probably to upper wall of body. Orange gray kitchenware fabric with a large number of white inclusions; very brittle fabric

Date: context 6th century BCE to Roman

306. Coin C 1266 (K14-coin 44); Well K14:4

Layer 1, Lot 122

Weight: 0.35; PH: 0.01; PW: 0.008

Fragmentary, preserving about 1/4.

Coin with no visible image on either side.

Bronze.

307. Coin C 1267 (K14-coin 45); Well K14:4

Layer 1, Lot 122

Weight: 0.61; PH: 0.009; PW: 0.007

Complete, bent in half.

Coin with no visible image.

Bronze.

308. Strip BR 586 (K14-118); Well K14:4

Layer 4, Lot 128

PH: 0.096

PW: 0.004

Th: 0.001

Fragmentary, broken on ends.

Strip of bronze.

309. Strip IL 274 (K14-85); Well K14:4 (Pl. 32)

Layer 3, Lot 126

PL: 0.076; Max Th: 0.006

Fragmentary; one end clearly broken.

Strip rolled into long narrow roll, somewhat bent in middle.

Lead.

CONTEXT: Lower Fill

310. Pitcher/Amphora K14:4.139.09; Well K14:4

Layer 6, Lot 139

PH: 0.035; PW: 0.103; Diam: 0.19

Fragment of rim.

Pitcher or amphora with nearly vertical neck to hollow rim with down turned lip.

Tan buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out, possibly reserved rim.

Agora XXXIII, p. 249, nos. 42, 44, fig. 8, pl. 8 (dated by context to ca. 225-150)

Date: Hellenistic

311. Bowl K14:4.137.05; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22)

Layer 5, Lot 137

PH: 0.013; PW: 0.057; Diam: 0.042

- Complete base.
Bowl with flat raised base, slightly concave underside; small nipple in floor of vessel; part of convex wall preserved.
Brownish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in.
Agora XXIX, p. 420, no. 1737, fig. 103, pl. 137
Date: early Hellenistic
- 312. Lekane** K14:4.134.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22; Pl. 32)
Layer 5, Lot 137
PH: 0.03; PW: 0.115; Diam: 0.082
Complete base.
Lekane with ring foot, slightly convex underside; convex body; interior preserves wheel marks and appears to be undecorated.
Tannish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome pinkish red in.
Agora XXXIII, p. 270, no. 238, fig. 39, pl. 33 (dated by context to middle of the 3rd to middle of the 2nd century)
Date: Hellenistic
- 313. Saucer/Plate** K14:4.129.02; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22; Pl. 32)
Layer 5, Lot 129
PH: 0.039; PW: 0.11; Diam: 0.057
Fragment of base, about 1/2.
Saucer or plate with ring base with wide, flat resting surface and slightly convex underside; convex wall, wide spreading body; possible attempt at groove on interior floor
Gray buff to pinkish buff fine ware fabric (possibly from firing or burning).
Corinth VII.3, p. 43, no. 168, pls. 5, 46; *Corinth VII.3*, p. 38, no. 109, pls. 4, 45
Date: Hellenistic (ca. 146, middle of the 2nd century)
- 314. Skyphos, Attic Type** K14.137.04; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22)
Layer 5, Lot 137
PH: 0.015; PW: 0.038; Diam: 0.044
Nearly complete base; missing small fragment.
Skyphos, Attic type, with ring foot, nearly flat underside; body joins rim vertically with a very thick wall.
Pinkish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish red in/out.
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 97, no. 116, fig. 7, pl. 15
Date: ca. 280-250 (late first or second quarter of the 3rd century)
- 315. Kantharos** P 382 (K14-148); Well K14:4 (Pl. 32)
Layer 5, Lot 130
H: 0.095; W: 0.084; Diam (base): 0.042; (rim): 0.078
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 23a
Reconstructed, mended from two fragments; missing about 1/3 of body, 2/3 of rim, and both handles.
Kantharos with tall flaring foot with concave underside and central nipple; globular body to lipless rim, offset by an incised line 0.006 from top; widest point of vase occurs at midpoint of total height. Both handles fully reconstructed.
Tan brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out (poorly preserved)
Agora XXIX, p. 261, nos. 179-181, fig. 14, pl. 17

Date: ca. 285-260 (first half of the 3rd century)

316. Kantharos K14:4.135.02; Well K14:4 (Pl. 33)

Layer 5, Lot 135

PH: 0.03; PW: 0.05; Diam: 0.035

Nearly complete base.

Kantharos with tall ring foot, molding at bottom of foot with very pronounced concave underside; concave stem to convex body.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown to brownish black in/out.

Corinth VII.3, p. 76, no. 379, pls. 15, 52

Date: ca. 250 (middle of the 3rd century)

317. Kantharos K14.139.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22)

Layer 6, Lot 139

PH: 0.031; PW (body): 0.029; (handle): 0.010

Complete handle.

Kantharos with small flat strap handle with spur attached to body.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

Corinth VII.3, p. 76, nos. 378, 379, pls. 15, 52

Date: ca. 300-250 (early 3rd century)

318. Kantharos K14:4.138.02; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22)

Layer 5 sift, Lot 138

PH: 0.024; PW: 0.033; Th: 0.003

Fragment of body; seven additional body sherd in the lot and two in Lot 136.

Kantharos body with vertical ribbing on exterior; probably at lower part of the vessel.

Pinkish orange fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out, ribbing.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 159, no. 434, pl. 46

Date: ca. 250-225 (second quarter of the 3rd century)

319. Bowl P 426 (K14-186); Well K14:4 (Pl. 33)

Layer 5, Lot 131

H: 0.053; PW: 0.138; Diam (base): 0.035; (rim): 0.168

Reconstructed, mended from four fragments, preserving full profile; missing large portions of rim and walls.

Bowl with false ring foot, flaring walls, lipless rim; incised egg and dart above two incised bands which encircle the lower diameter of the vessel, incised meander design below rim.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome blackish brown glaze in/out (fugitive).

Corinth VII.3, p. 91-2, nos. 532, 534, fig. 17, pl. 55

Date: ca. 250-225 (third quarter of the 3rd century)

320. Small Bowl K14:4.136.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22; Pl. 33)

Layer 5, Lot 136

PH: 0.018-0.020; Diam: 0.04

Complete base, mended from four joining fragments.

Small bowl with high ring foot and molding; floor of vessel completely missing; small portion of body preserved, fairly vertical.

Pinkish tan to pinkish gray fine ware fabric (from firing); monochrome black in/out.

Agora XXIX, p. 336, no. 937, fig. 61, pl. 73
Date: ca. 275 (early 3rd century)

321. Lid K14:4.138.08; Well K14:4 (Fig. 22)

Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
PH: 0.031; Diam (at top): 0.028; (at join): 0.015
Fragment of lid, complete diameter preserved.
Lid with flaring button knob.
Light reddish brown cooking ware fabric.
Agora XXXIII, p. 320, no. 719, fig. 90
Date: ca. 250-175 (middle of the 3rd to early 2nd century)

322. Sima AT 70 a-b (K14-122); Well K14:4 (Pl. 33)

Layer 5, Lot 132
PH: 0.199; PW: 0.693; PDiam: 0.32
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 21f
Fragmentary, mended from four fragments; broken on both vertical sides, in rear and chipped across top and face.
Molding of terracotta sima with slanting surface (not cyma reversa) painted with Lesbian leaf; large cyma reversa painted with lotus and palmette; fascia decorated with painted meander; substitution of simple slanting surface for Lesbian leaf suggests a late-ish Hellenistic date.
Reddish orange semi-coarse fabric; white cream slip on face with reddish brown paint.
Date: Hellenistic

323. Coin C 1288 (K14-coin 48); Well K14:4

Layer 5, Lot 129
Weight: 2.35
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 23b; *Nemea III*, cat. 1536, pl. 18, p.
Complete.
Coin, Sikyon, hemidrachm; Obv: dove flying left; Rev: Σ in shallow incuse square, ΠΡΟΜΑΧΙΔΑΣ.
Silver.
Date: Hellenistic

324. Coin C 1314 (K14-coin 58); Well K14:4

Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
Weight: 4.94
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 23b; *Nemea III*, cat. 2003.
Complete.
Coin, Egypt, Ptolemy III Euergetes, Cyprus mint; Obv: Ptolemy III bust right; Rev: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, Eagle left on thunderbolt, Cornucopia right.
Bronze.
BMC Ptol., p. 56, no. 100-101, pl. 12.2
Date: ca. 228-221 (end of 3rd century)

325. Coin C 1311 (K14-coin 49); Well K14:4

Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
Weight: 5.02

Nemea III, cat. 2033

Coin; illegible, perhaps Macedonian king or Ptolemy.

Bronze.

Date: 3rd century

326. Corinthian B Amphora K14.130.02; Well K14:4 (Fig. 23; Pl. 34)

Layer 5, Lot 130

PH: 0.132; Diam: 0.032; PDiam (body): 0.165

Complete base, joining body fragment; additional fragments in Lot 132.

Corinthian B Amphora toe and lowest part of body; round toe with flat resting surface that continues to profile of the body.

Tan buff fine ware fabrics with no visible inclusions.

Corinth VII.6, p. 60-1, no. I-18, fig. 3, pl. 5

Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of the 4th century)

327. Corinthian B Amphora K14.139.10; Well K14:4 (Fig. 23)

Layer 6, Lot 139

PH: 0.102; PW: 0.077; Th: 0.009

Fragment of body.

Corinthian B Amphora with convex body sherd preserving grooves, probably from shoulder; clear wheel marks on interior.

Buff to pale tan brown fine ware fabric; combed grooved on exterior.

Corinth VII.6, p. 62, no. I-29, fig. 5, pl. 6

Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of the 4th century)

328. Oinochoe P 389 (K14-160); Well K14:4 (Pl. 34)

Layer 5 and 5 sift, Lot 135, 137 and 138

PH: 0.151; PW: 0.103-0.166; Diam (base): 0.102m

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 23a

Reconstructed preserving full profile, mended from many fragment, additional fragments could not be mended; missing several small areas of body, handle and neck.

Blisterware oinochoe with a flat base; wide globular body with a rounded shoulder set high on the pot. Wide decorative zone on the shoulder with rouletting at the shoulder, ivy leaf pattern, diagonal lines, then another circle of ivy leaf pattern.

Orange fine ware fabric with gray wash, typical of imitation blisterware.

Corinth VII.6, p. 166, no. V-74, fig. 33, pl. 25 (for shape); *Corinth* VII.3, p. 149, no. 777, pl. 64 (for design)

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

329. Oinochoe K14.134.02; Well K14:4 (Fig. 23; Pl. 33)

Layer 5, Lot 134

PH: 0.13; PW: 0.219; Diam: 0.116

Complete base.

Oinochoe with disc foot with slightly concave underside; part of convex body preserved; height nearing widest part of body.

Pale buff cream fine ware fabric with small to medium angular brown and black inclusions.

Corinth VII.3, p. 62, nos. 302, pls. 12, 49 (decanter, but without handles cannot identify as such)

Date: end of the 4th century

330. Oinochoe K14.139.04; Well K14:4 (Fig. 23)

Layer 6, Lot 139

PH: 0.077; PW: 0.057; Diam (rim): 0.07

Fragment of rim.

Oinochoe with partial rim and neck of a possible trefoil mouth with a flat horizontal lip.

Orange tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black out and on lip.

Agora XII, p. 245, no. 132, pl. 7

Date: ca. 325-310 (late 4th century)

331. Skyphos P 438 a-c (K14-189); Well K14:4 (Pl. 34)

Layer 5, Lot 135

PH: 0.096; PW: 0.106; Diam (base): 0.057; (rim): 0.10

Nearly complete, mended from several fragments.

Skyphos with full profile, mended into three portions, a-c; torus ring foot with slightly convex underside; walls have continuous, concave-convex profile to an out-turned rim; small round horizontal loop handles slightly below the lip; two thin grooves incised around widest diameter of the body.

Brown tan fabric with black glaze monochrome black in/out, streaky on interior.

Corinth VII.6, p. 188-9, no. VI-41, fig. 37

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

332. Skyphos K14.136.02; Well K14:4 (Fig. 23; Pl. 34)

Layer 5, Lot 136

PH: 0.015; Diam: 0.07; Th: 0.006

Complete base, mended from two fragments.

Skyphos with ring foot with mostly flat underside; vertical body attach.

Tannish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.

Corinth VII.6, p. 187, no. VI-21, fig. 36, pl. 28

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

333. Skyphos, Attic Type K14.137.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 23)

Layer 5, Lot 137

PH: 0.03; PW: 0.045; Diam: 0.036

Complete base.

Skyphos, Attic type, with torus base and deep, concave underside with pronounced nipple; resting surface reserved, vertical then convex body.

Tannish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

Corinth VII.3, p. 69, no. 320, pl. 13; *Corinth* VII.6, p. 188, no. VI-39, fig. 37, pl. 29

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

334. Kantharos P 383 (K14-151); Well K14:4 (Pl. 34)

Layer 5, Lot 133 and 134

H: 0.14; W: 0.093; Diam (base): 0.051; (rim): 0.103

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 23a

Nearly complete, mended from several fragments; missing small parts of body and rim.

Kantharos with molded, tall spreading foot with flat resting surface and concave underside; convex lower half body then a sharp change to concave upper body continuing

to flaring rim; small double round vertical ring handles attached below rim and at widest part of body with two pairs of knobs flanking the handle attach at upper body. On upper wall are two incised grooves frame a frieze of incised scroll pattern.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black out for upper 2/3 of body then drips on lower half and wide band on interior around rim, incised decoration; on exterior.

Agora XII, p. 287, no. 721, fig. 7, pl. 29

Date: ca. 325-310 (end of the 4th century)

335. Kantharos P 385 (K14-153); Well K14:4 (Pl. 35)

Layer 5 and 6, Lot 138 and 139

H: 0.08; W: 0.082; Diam (base): 0.050; (rim): 0.079

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24c

Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing nearly half of foot, part of body, 1/3 of lip, and one handle.

Kantharos with molded foot, concave underside so the foot is stemmed with grooved resting surface with scraped line at junction of two moldings on lower part of foot.; convex lower wall, concave upper wall; molded lip; and spurred vertical handles attached at body and rim with a horizontal dumb rest. Interior is stamped with four palmettes within rouletting.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to black in/out.

cf. **515** (P 204; Well N17:2); *Agora* XII, p. 286, no. 699, pl. 29

Date: ca. 350-330 (second half of the 4th century)

336. Kantharos K14.133.03; Well K14:4

Layer 5, Lot 133

PH: 0.045; PW: 0.014

Fragment of handle.

Kantharos with small flat handle with slight central groove.

Orange brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 490 (G18-20; G18, Lot 7); *Agora* XXIX, p. 255, nos. 127, 132, fig. 11, pl. 12

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

337. Mug K14.139.02; Well K14:4 (Fig. 23)

Layer 6, Lot 132

PH: 0.013; PW: 0.054; Diam: 0.042

Nearly complete base.

Mug with flat raised base, small part of convex wall preserved; concentric circles clear on underside and interior of base.

Brownish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.

cf. **542** (P 157; Well N17:2;), **356** (P 386; Well K14:4), **153** (P 399; Well L17:2), **433** (P 1665; Well E18), see also Nemea Museum, P 904 (G14-5; G14, Lot 3), P 1700 (E18-133; North reservoir), and P 1703 (E18-136; middle reservoir)

Date: 4th century

338. Bowl K14.133.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 23)

Layer 5, Lot 133

PH: 0.046; PW: 0.13; Diam: 0.076

Fragment of base, nearly 1/2 preserved.

Bowl with ring base, convex underside and central nipple; broad flaring convex body. Tannish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown to brownish black in/out (very streaky), reserved lower body and base, semi-glazed or dipped.

Corinth VII.6, p. 129, no. IV-52, fig. 22, pl. 18

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

339. Bowl K14.137.03; Well K14:4

Layer 5, Lot 137

PH: 0.031; PW: 0.008

Fragment of rim.

Bowl with sloping rim with part of body preserved; most likely monochrome in/out but there is the possibility of a reserved band on interior below rim.

Tannish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 161, no. 449, fig. 12, pl. 47

Date: early 4th century

340. Bowl K14.136.03; Well K14:4

Layer 5, Lot 136

PH: 0.019; PW: 0.020; Diam: 0.15

Fragment of rim.

Bowl with flat horizontal rim preserving part of body; slight inset of wall below rim.

Tannish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black out and on lip.

Corinth VII.6, p. 129, no. IV-54, fig. 12

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

341. Saucer K14.138.07; Well K14:4

Layer 5 sift, Lot 138

PH: 0.015; Diam: 0.07; Th: 0.008

Fragment of base; more than half the base preserved with full diameter.

Saucer with splaying ring foot with molding; convex underside with nipple at center; interior of vessel nearly flat; almost none of the wall is preserved.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out; reserved resting surface.

Corinth VII.6, p. 131, no. IV-75, fig. 23

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

342. Fish Plate P 391 (K14-162); Well K14:4 (Pl. 35)

Layer 5 sift and 6, Lot 138 and 139

H: 0.036; Diam (base): 0.72; (rim): 0.15

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24c

Reconstructed, mended from two fragments, preserving complete profile; missing large parts of foot and body.

Fish plate with ring foot and flat underside; broad floor sloping to a central depression; rim of plate is overhanging with slight ridge around diameter of bowl.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome traces of reddish brown wash in/out.

Agora XII, p. 311, no. 1071, fig. 10

Date: ca. 350 (middle of 4th century)

343. Askos P 384 (K14-152); Well K14:4 (Pl. 35)

Layer 5 and 5 sift, Lot 131 and 138

PH: 0.09; Max W: 0.088; Diam (base) 0.05; (rim): 0.036

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 23a

Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing handle and several small areas of body and neck.

Askos, guttus type, with ring base with concave molding above foot; concave underside with a pronounced nipple in center; body has sharp angle, squat body; tall, narrow concave neck, offset from body, to a flaring mouth with rounded profile. Decorated on upper side of body with inscribed scroll pattern.

Tan buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black exterior with reserved resting surface.

Agora XII, p. 319, nos. 1194, 1195, fig. 11, pl. 39

Date: ca. 350-330 (second half of the 4th century)

344. Corinthian A Amphora K14.129.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 24; Pl. 35)

Layer 5, Lot 129

PH: 0.063; Diam (neck): 0.13; (outer rim): 0.20

Fragment of rim, preserving about 10% of diameter.

Corinthian A Amphora with vertical neck to sharply down sloping rim with a flat horizontal lower edge.

Blue gray (core) to pinkish red blisterware fabric with very few medium angular white and brown inclusions.

Corinth VII.6, p. 59, no. I-2, fig. 1, pl. 1

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

345. Oinochoe P 1823 (K14-212); Well K14:4 (Pl. 35)

Layer 6; Lot 139

PH: 0.155; PW (body): 0.235; Diam: 0.095

Fragmentary, mended from 12 fragments, additional non-joining fragments; missing neck, rim and handle.

Blisterware oinochoe with concave base with a pronounced raised interior; convex body, but not uniform in thickness.

Blue gray blisterware fabric with very small sub-angular white inclusions; wheel marks visible on interior.

Date: 4th century

346. Aryballos K14.138.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 24)

Layer 5, Lot 138

PH: 0.048; PW: 0.051; Diam (rim): 0.041

Complete rim.

Blisterware aryballos with fairly vertical neck to spreading rim; possible handle attach where rim is broken; vertical ribbing visible on lowest part of body.

Blue gray to reddish orange blisterware fabric vertical ribbing.

Nemea Museum, P 1512 (M20-37; M20, House 5); *Corinth* VII.3, p. 148, no. 761, pl. 35

Date: ca. 400-375 (first quarter of 4th century)

347. Aryballos K14.138.04; Well K14:4 (Fig. 24)

Layer 5, Lot 138

PH: 0.031; Diam: 0.018- 0.028

Complete neck.

Blisterware aryballos neck widening at bottom of neck; no visible attach for handle.
Reddish brown to brownish gray blisterware fabric.
Agora XXXIII, p. 286, nos. 386-387, fig. 60, pl. 49 (dated by context to ca. 350-200)
Date: end of 4th to 3rd century

348. Coin C 1312 (K14-coin 51); Well K14:4

Layer 5, Lot 136
Weight: 1.64
Hesperia 48 (1970), pl. 23b; *Nemea III*, cat. 562
Complete.
Coin, Corinth; Obv: Pegasus left; Rev: trident.
Bronze.
BMC Cor., p. 53-6, no. 423-471, pl. 14.1-8
Date: ca. 335-306 (end of the 4th century)

349. Coin C 1313 (K14-coin 52); Well K14:4

Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
Weight: 1.52
Hesperia 48 (1970), pl. 23b; *Nemea III*, cat. 604, pl. 11, p.
Complete.
Coin, Corinth; Obv: Pegasus left; Rev: trident, *M* left, wreath right.
Bronze.
BMC Cor., p. 53-6, no. 423-471, pl. 14.1-8; *Corinth VI*, p. 14, no. 11, pl. 1
Date: ca. 306-303 (end of 4th)

350. Inscription I 75 (K14-123); Well K14:4

Layer 5
PH: 0.506; PW: 0.566; PTh: 0.134
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 22b; *Hesperia* 53 (1984), 193-216.
Fragmentary, mended from three fragments, broken at top and bottom and on all rear surfaces; missing triangular piece from center; preserving fascia in upper right hand area; letters very indistinct.
Inscription, square in shape, with an Argive decree honoring a person or persons from Aspendos with privileges to include some rights at the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea: τοι Δι τοι Νεμεαι.
Stone, heavily grained with many surface imperfections.
Date: end 4th to early 3rd century

351. Inscription I 73 (K14-94); Well K14:4 (Pl. 36)

Layer 5, Lot 129
PH: 0.196; PW: 0.140; Diam: 0.150
Hesperia 48 (1979), p. 77-78, pl. 21d
Fragment broken on all sides.
Inscription, rectangular in shape, with worked surfaces preserved on both vertical sides; one face inscribed with letters referencing the *theoroi*.
- -] ΝΕΣΟΛ [- -
.] ΑΣ τοὺς Παρον [- -
ἔξ μὲν εἰς Πελοπ [όννησον - -

λων, ἔξ δὲ εἰς Ἀμβ[ράκιαν - -

[.] Ἀκαρν[άνιαν - -

Hard limestone.

Joins with I 29, found in 1976 about 40 meters east of the well, which preserves the letters: AKAPN.

Date: 4th century

352. Inscription I 85 (K14-106); Well K14:4 (Pl. 36)

Layer 5

PH: 0.77; PW: 0.395-0.428; Th: 0.094-0.104

Hesperia 48 (1979), p. 78-80, pl. 22c; Miller 1988.

Fragmentary, broken across the top.

Stele with a list of names and places in two columns; two hands are visible listing towns divided into geographical region; list of the theorodokoi of the Nemean Games.

Marble, gray-white, fine crystal; some traces of red paint preserved in the lettering.

Date: 4th century (ca. 331-325 or 325-315)

353. Oinochoe K14.137.02; Well K14:4

Layer 5, Lot 137

PH: 0.03; PW: 0.032

Fragment of rim.

Oinochoe with splaying trefoil rim and neck.

Orangish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

Corinth XV.3, p. 199, no. 1063, pl. 117

Date: middle of 5th century

354. Oinochoe K14.139.07; Well K14:4 (Fig. 24)

Layer 6, Lot 139

PH: 0.048; PW: 0.049; Diam: 0.1

Fragment of rim.

Blisterware oinochoe spreading rim with small part of narrow vertical neck.

Bluish gray to reddish orange fine ware fabric; monochrome grayish black in/out.

Corinth VII.6, p. 166, nos. V-73, V-74, fig. 33, pl. 25 (closest parallels are in blisterware fabrics)

Date: end of 5th century to 4th century

355. Kantharos K14.138.03 a-b; Well K14:4 (Fig. 24)

Layer 5 sift, Lot 138

PH: 0.025; PW: 0.039; Diam: 0.075

Fragment of rim, two non-joining.

Kantharos with a slightly out-turned rim; below the lip is a single groove; stamped below this groove are ovules.

Pinkish orange fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out, grooved and stamped out.

Agora XII, p. 281, nos. 633, 637, fig. 7, pls. 27, 47

Date: ca. 450-425 (middle of the 5th century)

356. Mug P 386 (K14-154); Well K14:4 (Pl. 36)

Layer 5

MH: 0.079; MW: 0.063; Diam (base): 0.045

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 23a

Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing portions of body, half of rim, and handle.

Mug with low disc foot, convex body with heavy lower body, continuous to flaring rim.

Tan brown fine ware fabric with monochrome red brown to brown black glaze in/out.

cf. **27** (P 1747; Well L17:1); **153** (P 339; Well L17:2); **433** (P 1665; Well E18); **520** (P 156; Well N17:2); **521** (P 157; Well N17:2); Nemea Museum, P 904 (G14-5; G15, Lot 3), P 1700 (E18-133; North reservoir), and P 1703 (E18-136; middle reservoir)

Date: late 5th century/4th century

357. Mug K14.138.05; Well K14:4 (Fig. 24)

Layer 5 sift, Lot 138

PH: 0.040; PW: 0.034

Nearly complete handle.

Mug with medium oval horizontal handle with a central groove.

Orange buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black.

cf. **541** (P 156; Well N17:2), see also Nemea Museum, P 1595 (F19-81; heroön)

Date: early 5th century

358. Mug/Cup K14.135.03; Well K14:4 (Fig. 24)

Layer 5, Lot 135

PH: 0.02; PW: 0.03; Diam: 0.07

Fragment of rim, two non-joining.

Mug or cup with spreading rim; preserves part of convex body;

Brownish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out, very worn around lip.

cf. **541** (P 156; Well N17:2) and **542** (P 157; Well N17:2;), see also Nemea Museum, P 296 (M17-48; xenon).

Date: late 5th century

359. Salt-cellar K14.139.03; Well K14:4 (Fig. 24)

Layer 6, Lot 139

PH: 0.019; PW: 0.041; Diam: 0.08

Fragment of base.

Salt-cellar with flat base joins to a fairly vertical convex wall.

Orange tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 1294 (J18-53; bathhouse Deposit J18:1); *Agora* XII, p. 301, no. 913, fig. 9, pl. 34

Date: ca. 430-400 (end of the 5th century)

360. Salt-cellar K14.137.06; Well K14:4 (Fig. 24)

Layer 6, Lot 139

PH: 0.023; PW: 0.052; Diam: 0.06

Fragment of rim, two non-joining.

Salt-cellar with pronounced concave walls to lipless incurving rim; profile suggests a very shallow vessel.

Tannish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out.

Agora XII, p. 302, no. 939, fig. 9, pl. 34
Date: ca. 500-480 (early 5th century)

361. Oinochoe K14.139.05; Well K14:4 (Fig. 25)

Layer 6, Lot 139
PH: 0.046; PW: 0.075
Fragment of body.
Blisterware oinochoe body sherd with four raised circles on the shoulder of the vessel.
Blue gray blisterware fabric.
Corinth VII.3, p. 145, n. 8, no. C-60-244
Date: ca. 425-400 (fourth quarter of the 5th century)

362. Oinochoe K14.139.08; Well K14:4 (Fig. 25)

Layer 6, Lot 139
PH: 0.035; PW: 0.052
Fragment of body.
Blisterware oinochoe body sherd with thick vertical ribbing.
Bluish gray to reddish tan blisterware fabric; monochrome black out, either partially reserved or large band, with wide vertical ribbing below.
Corinth VII.3, p. 148 nos. 751, 754
Date: ca. 450-400 (second half of the 5th century)

363. Hydria BR 652 (K14-133); Well K14:4 (Pl. 36)

Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
H: 0.011; Diam: 0.099
Intact base; some pitting on underside.
Hydria base with simple profile, nearly vertical with only a hint of a slant from top to bottom; on top, surface slants gradually from top of base to edge of circular hole.
Date: 6th/5th century

364. Hydria BR 656 (K14-139); Well K14:4 (Pl. 36)

Layer 6, Lot 139
PH: 0.006; Diam: 0.114
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24a
Intact base.
Hydria base concave underside; upper side is horizontal from outer edge; profile slants in somewhat from top to bottom; incised line around circumference.
Date: 6th/5th century

365. Hydria BR 657 (K14-140); Well K14:4 (Pl. 36)

Layer 6, Lot 139
PH: 0.006; Diam: 0.114
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24a
Intact base.
Hydria base with slight concave underside; upper side is horizontal from outer edge, then slants in concavity to center hole; profile slants outward somewhat from top to bottom.
Date: 6th/5th century

366. Kantharos BR 650 (K14-131); Well K14:4 (Pl. 37)

- Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
 PH: 0.001; Diam: 0.053
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24a
 Intact base.
 Kantharos base with flat, wide foot; concave outer face to wall of vessel; incised line around the exterior of the foot.
 Date: 6th/5th century
- 367. Vessel BR 651 (K14-132); Well K14:4 (Pl. 37)**
 Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
 PH: 0.01; Diam: 0.078
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24a
 Fragment of base; missing about 1/4; edges bent.
 Vessel with round base, outer diameter of base is flat while the center is concave; lower body extends up from base.
 Date: 6th/5th century
- 368. Bucket Handles BR 653 a-b (K14-134); Well K14:4 (Pl. 37)**
 Layer 5
 L: 0.20; H (of arc, from midpoint): 0.082; W: 0.010
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24b
 Complete, two handles.
 Bucket handles of same dimensions; simple arc, ends have rectangular cuttings; rectangular in section; inscribed E preserved on one end of (a).
- 369. Handle BR 647 (K14-128); Well K14:4 (Pl. 37)**
 Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
 Max H: 0.039; PW: 0.015-0.031
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24b
 Complete, ends slightly chipped.
 Handle shaped with a large partial circle; ends form concave curves on each side, then curve continues outward and hooks back; four sided in section.
- 370. Handle BR 654 (K14-135); Well K14:4 (Pl. 37)**
 Layer 6, Lot 139
 L: 0.0235; H: 0.010; W: 0.005
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24b
 Complete, with one end possibly broken.
 Bucket handle with simple arc with ends bent back, one decorated with a bowling pin shaped finial; rectangular in section.
- 371. Vessel BR 649 (K14-140); Well K14:4 (Pl. 38)**
 Layer 6, Lot 139
 PH: 0.017; Diam: 0.143
 Intact rim; broken at lower edge.
 Vessel with rim with horizontal lip; decorated with four incised lines in groups of two.
 Date: 6th/5th century
- 372. Pointed Amphora P 373 (K14-115); Well K14:4 (Pl. 38)**

- Layer 5, Lot 130
 PH: 0.334; PW: 0.264; Diam (base): 0.003
 Fragmentary, complete base, mended from several fragments; missing over a third of walls and everything above shoulder.
 Pointed amphora with rounded toe and concave underside to tall ovoid body; narrowest point is foot.
 Orange fine ware fabric; possible white wash out, or lime accretions from well water.
 Date: context 6th to 3rd century
- 373. Hydria** K14.138.06; Well K14:4 (Fig. 25)
 Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
 PH: 0.048; PW: 0.088
 Fragment of body, two joining.
 Hydria shoulder set at a very sharp angle; horizontal oval handle attach visible; groove below the shoulder.
 Bluish gray fine ware fabric (misfired); monochrome black out.
 Date: context 6th to 3rd century
- 374. Kantharos** K14.129.03; Well K14:4 (Fig. 25)
 Layer 5, Lot 129
 PH: 0.04; PW (body): 0.025; (handle): 0.016
 Complete handle.
 Kantharos with small flat vertical handle attached to body; slightly high swung.
 Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome blackish brown in/out.
 Date: context 6th to 3rd century
- 375. Bowl** P 381 (K14-147); Well K14:4 (Pl. 38)
 Layer 5, Lot 130
 H: 0.064; Max W: 0.14; Diam (base): 0.03; (rim): 0.10
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 23a
 Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing parts of body and over a third of rim.
 Bowl with slightly concave bottom, squat globular body with tall spreading rim, slightly inset from body.
 Tan buff fine ware fabric with monochrome brown black in/out (very poorly preserved).
 Date: context 6th to 3rd century
- 376. Bowl** K14.129.04; Well K14:4 (Fig. 25; Pl. 38)
 Layer 5, Lot 129
 PH: 0.027; PW: 0.078; Diam: 0.089
 Fragment of base, slight more than half preserved.
 Bowl with heavy ring foot, pronounced convex underside, center is almost level with resting surface; groove at foot/wall join; nearly none of the wall is preserved.
 Orangish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black in (lustrous).
 Date: context 6th to 3rd century
- 377. Amphora** K14:4.136.04; Well K14:4 (Fig. 25; Pl. 38)
 Layer 5, Lot 136
 PH: 0.108; PW (rim): 0.038; Diam: 0.085

Fragment of handle and rim, two joining.

Amphora with wide body, very narrow neck that flares to a sloping rim; small oval strap handle attached at neck below rim and probably continues down to body; incised band at shoulder.

Buff orange (exterior) to orange (interior) kitchenware fabric; possible brownish black band at rim.

Nemea Museum, P 1734 (E18-178; North reservoir)

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

378. Pitcher P 458 (K14-191); Well K14:4 (Pl. 38)

Layer 5, Lot 132

Diam (rim): 0.079-0.129

Fragmentary, mended from 14 joining fragments, preserving nearly complete rim and complete handle; missing most of body.

Pitcher with flattened resting surface with a slight concavity, globular body to concave neck with continuous curve to thickened, out-turned rim, mouth is irregular, either misshapen trefoil or intentional oval shape; medium flat vertical strap handle attached to rim

Gray brown to red orange kitchenware fabric with small white inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

379. Pitcher P 459 (K14-192); Well K14:4

Layer 5, Lot 134

PH: 0.1225; Diam (max): 0.232; (mouth) 0.126

Fragmentary, mended from 19 joining fragments, preserving 1/3 of body, nearly half of rim preserved; additional non-joining associated sherds.

Pitcher with convex upper wall with continuous curve to concave neck, thickened projecting rim; medium oval vertical handle attached at shoulder and rim.

Red orange to yellow brown kitchenware fabric with red core and medium sized white inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

380. Pitcher P 505 (K14-200); Well K14:4 (Pl. 39)

Layer 5, Lot 134

PH: 0.245; PW: 0.289; Diam (rim): 0.142

Fragmentary, mended from 22 fragments, preserving complete neck, rim, and handle, about half of the body.

Pitcher with globular body with continuous curve to slightly concave neck, a small convex band between neck and rim; flaring, nearly horizontal rim with slightly concave underside, vertical face and a depression running along the center of the upper horizontal surface; medium flat vertical strap handle attached at the rim and shoulder.

Orange-brown kitchenware fabric with small white inclusions

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

381. Pitcher K14:4.132.02; Well K14:4 (Fig. 25)

Layer 5, Lot 132

Base) PH: 0.042; PW: 0.16; Diam: 0.082

Handle) PH: 0.117; PW: 0.037

Rim) PH: 0.079; PW: 0.07; Diam: 0.13

Fragment of base and rim, complete handle.

Pitcher with concave base; convex neck to horizontal rim, slight groove below rim on exterior neck; medium flat strap handle with non-joining body attach and rim. Blue gray to tannish brown kitchenware fabric with very few small round white inclusions.

Corinth VII.6, p. 98, no. III-33, fig. 14, pl. 13

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

382. Pitcher K14:4.137.08 a-d; Well K14:4 (Pl. 39)

Layer 5, Lot 137

Base) PH: 0.011; Diam: 0.055

Rim/Neck) PH: 0.103; Diam: 0.11

Complete base and handle, fragment of rim.

Pitcher with concave base, spreading rim with rounded lip; full small oval strap handle attached to lip and body.

Reddish brown kitchenware fabric.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

383. Pitcher K14:4.137.09; Well K14:4 (Fig. 26; Pl. 39)

Layer 5, Lot 137

Base) PH: 0.06; PW: 0.162; Diam: 0.07

Rim) PH: 0.118; PW: 0.146

Complete base and rim, mended from several fragments; additional associated non-joining sherds.

Pitcher with concave base, convex wall to concave neck; pronounced trefoil rim,

Orange kitchenware fabric.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

384. Pitcher K14:4.132.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 26)

Layer 5, Lot 132

PH: 0.08; PW: 0.099; Diam: 0.09

Fragment of base; additional body sherds throughout Layer 5.

Pitcher with convex base to wide globular body; wheel marks very pronounced on interior surface.

Brown to gray kitchenware fabric with small angular white inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

385. Pitcher K14:4.132.03; Well K14:4 (Fig. 26)

Layer 5, Lot 132

PH: 0.02; Diam: 0.087

Complete base.

Pitcher with concave base, small part of body preserved; small hole in floor from wear or water damage.

Brownish orange kitchenware fabric with very few small round black inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

386. Pitcher K14:4.135.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 26; Pl. 39)

Layer 5, Lot 135

PH: 0.080; PW (body): 0.137; Diam: 0.082

Fragment of base, two joining, mended from several fragments; seven additional joining body sherds.

Pitcher with raised concave base, convex body.

Reddish brown kitchenware fabric.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

387. Pitcher K14:4.134.03; Well K14:4 (Fig. 26)

Layer 5, Lot 134

Rim) PH: 0.074; PW: 0.083; Diam: 0.096

Handle) PH: 0.035; PW: 0.017

Fragment of rim and handle, four joining and one non-joining; additional non-joining body sherds.

Pitcher with vertical neck, spreading rim; small groove between neck and shoulder; one non-joining small oval handle attributed to vessel by fabric.

Brownish red with very small rounded white inclusions; possible slip but more likely evidence of possible burning.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

388. Pitcher K14:4.137.07; Well K14:4 (Pl. 39)

Layer 5, Lot 137

PH: 0.095; PW (mouth): 0.094-0.104

Nearly complete rim; missing part of rim where handle attached.

Pitcher with a slightly concave neck to trefoil rim but only one inset produced rim missing.

Bluish gray kitchenware fabric.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

389. Pot/Hydria K14:4.136.06; Well K14:4

Layer 5, Lot 136

PH: 0.064; PW: 0.147; L (handle): 0.116

Complete handle.

Pot or hydria with medium round horizontal handle with body attach; only complete horizontal from the well suggesting a different type of vessel.

Buff orange kitchenware fabric.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

390. Pot K14:4.132.04; Well K14:4

Layer 5, Lot 132

PH: 0.05; PW: 0.046; Diam: 0.20

Fragment of rim.

Pot, lidded, with nearly vertical wall to lipless rim with interior flange.

Brownish orange to red orange kitchenware fabric with small round and angular black inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

391. Amphora P 460 a-b (K14-193); Well K14:4 (Pl. 40)

Layer 5, Lot 135

a) PH: 0.254; Diam (rim): 0.129-0.154

b) PH: 0.34; Diam (base): 0.038

Fragmentary, mended from 16 fragments; a and b are non-joining.
Amphora with rounded toe to conical body (b); tall, slightly concave neck to projecting, slightly down turned rim (a); complete large oval vertical hand attached below rim and upper shoulder.

Brown buff semi-coarse fabric with large orange inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

392. Amphora K14:4.139.06; Well K14:4

Layer 6, Lot 139

PH: 0.146; PW: 0.047

Fragment of handle.

Amphora with large round strap handle attached to body near rim; perseveres wall that curves slightly then fairly vertical.

Pale orange semi-coarse fabric with very small brown and white rounded inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

393. Amphora K14:4.130.01; Well K14:4 (Fig. 26; Pl. 40)

Layer 5, Lot 130

PH: 0.096; W (handle): 0.042; Diam: 0.14

Fragment of handle and rim.

Amphora with convex neck to rounded horizontal rim; double oval strap handle attached at neck, approximately 0.025 below rim.

Tan brown semi-coarse fabric with frequent very small angular white and black inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

394. Mortar P 388 (K14-157); Well K14:4 (Pl. 40)

Layer 5, Lot 130

H: 0.098; Diam: 0.111

Reconstructed, mended from four pieces; missing half of base, most of body and rim.

Mortar with disc foot, slightly concave underside; deep groove between foot and wall.; wide set body to a tall thickened lipless rim with thick projecting, down turned ridge below.

Reddish buff to gray brown coarse ware fabric with large angular reddish inclusions.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

395. Coin C 5098 (K14-coin 54); Well K14:4

Layer 5 sift, Lot 138

Diam: 0.017

Heavily encrusted with dirt.

Coin, no visible image.

Bronze.

396. Column A 145 (K14-104); Well K14:4

Layer 5

Max PH: 0.68; Max W: 0.34

Fragment, broken at top and bottom.

Column, unfluted.

Limestone.

397. Column A 146 (K14-105); Well K14:4 (Pl. 40)

Layer 5

Max PH: 0.961; Max PW: 0.378

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 21g

Fragment, broken at both ends but with part of base preserved.

Column and base; base consists of podium and torus; column is fluted on one side, but not on the other; vertical cutting on fluted side as if for insertion,
Limestone.

398. Capital, Corinthian A 147 (K14-121); Well K14:4 (Pl. 40)

Layer 5

PH: 0.19; PW: 0.251; PDiam: 0.211

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 21c

Fragment, broken on all sides.

Corinthian column capital roughly circular with two faces preserving carved acanthi.
Limestone.

399. Capital, Doric A 148 (K14-156); Well K14:4 (Pl. 41)

Layer 5, Lot 130

a) PH: 0.116; PW: 0.230; H (abacus): 0.094

b) PH: 0.124; PW: 0.180

Fragment, broken on all edges and other sides; some stucco preserved.

Doric column capital preserving full height of abacus and echinus (a) and horizontal face or abacus and adjacent portion of echinus (b).

Limestone.

400. Antefix AT 68 (K14-117); Well K14:4 (Pl. 41)

Layer 5

PH: 0.179; PW: 0.118; PDiam: 0.093

Fragment, broken on lower edge and at back.

Antefix with rectangular face with rounded top decorated with a floral motif.

Pinkish tan semi-coarse fabric with reddish brown inclusions; black and red paint.

401. Sima Molding AT 69 (K14-120); Well K14:4 (Pl. 41)

Layer 5, Lot 130

PH: 0.199; PW: 0.117; PDiam: 0.13

Fragment, broken vertically on each side and in rear.

Sima molding with small fascia, followed by small cyma reversa and large cyma reversa; decorated with lotus and palmette on small cyma reversa and meander pattern on large cyma reversa; traces of bead and reel.

Tan green semi-coarse fabric with black inclusions; cream slip with greenish brown paint.

402. Roof Tile AT 78 (K14-165); Well K14:4 (Pl. 41)

Layers 5 and 6, Rock Piles

PH: 0.091; PL: 0.15; PW: 0.181

Fragmentary, end fully preserved; broken off along horizontal length.

Corinthian cover tile with bowed shape end on upper surface.

Tannish buff semi-coarse fabric; traces of black wash.

- 403. Bull's Horn** BI 10 (K14-158); Well K14:4 (Pl. 41)
 Layer 5, Lot 129
 PH: 0.305; PW: 0.013-0.22
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 21a
 Fragment, broken on skull end and battered.
 Bull's horn.
- 404. Object, Weight (?)** BR 584 (K14-103); Well K14:4 (Pl. 41)
 Layer 5, Lot 134
 Max H: 0.041; Max W: 0.038; Diam: 0.015
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24d
 Complete.
 Bronze object shaped with a rectangular base, surmounted by two extensions set at right angles to one another; ends of extensions have a roundish thickening; back is flat except for thumb size depression; possibly a weight.
- 405. Object/Weight (?)** BR 646 (K14-127); Well K14:4 (Pl. 42)
 Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
 Max H: 0.016; PW: 0.017-0.029; Th: 0.007
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24d
 Complete.
 Object, possible weight, one edge has a slightly convex curve, the other has a more pronounced concave curve; the sides are concave, nearly semi-circular; two vertical faces are flat.
 cf. **404** (BR 584; Well K14:4), see also Nemea Museum, BR 1020 (J19-11, J19, Lot 35)
- 406. Locket (?)** BR 648 (K14-129); Well K14:4 (Pl. 42)
 Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
 Max H: 0.031; Max W: 0.021; Max Diam: 0.005
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 21b
 Nearly complete; missing large piece from upper part of one side
 Locket egg shaped with a hinge at narrowest point; front and back made from separate pieces; the back is flat with edges curving up slightly over front piece, front piece has slightly rounded surface; sides slightly overlap; hollow interior which contained many fibers of unknown substance.
- 407. Attachments** BR 655 a-b (K14-138); Well K14:4 (Pl. 42)
 Layer 5 sift, Lot 138
 Max H: 0.039; W: 0.015-0.042
Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 24b
 Complete.
 Bronze objects, two, of identical shape and dimensions; four-sided in section, formed into triangular shape with curved edges; bottom area is overlaid with second piece of bronze, flat on one side, curved on the other; possible attachments.
- 408. Rings** BR 644 a-h (K14-125); Well K14:4 (Pl. 42)
 Layer 5, 5 sift, and 6, Lots 138 and 139
 Diam: 0.02

Complete.

Rings, eight, of nearly identical diameter and shape; partially circular and partially flat; each surface slants and meets in a ridge on the interior.

409. Fragments BR 645 (K14-126); Well K14:4

Layer 6, Lot 139

PL: 0.071; PW: 0.010; Th: 0.0015

Fragment; broken off along both short sides and one of long.

Fragment of bronze, curved and very thin; one edge appears worked; possible rim of small vessel.

410. Inscription I 74 (K14-95); Well K14:4 (Pl. 43)

Layer 5

PH: 0.221; PW: 0.226; Th: 0.132

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 21c

Fragment, broken on all sides.

Stone with one worked surface preserved on one vertical side inscribed with letters.

ΣΡΑ

ΓΑΝΣΙΤ

ΙΣΑΛΛΟ

ΙΤΟΔΟ

ΕΑ

Limestone.

411. Stele Base I 76 (K14-124); Well K14:4 (Pl. 43)

Layer 5

Base - PH: 0.03; PW: 0.0385; Th: 0.096

Holder - PH: 0.19; PW: 0.55; Th: 0.283

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 22a

Fragmentary, broken along top; worked surfaces of sides and front and rear preserved.

Stele base with holder and bottom of stele resting in holder, secured by lead; one face of stele is less finely chiseled than others; holder has horizontal and three vertical surfaces, all roughly worked.

Limestone.

412. Sword IL 296 (K14-142); Well K14:4 (Pl. 43)

Layer 5

PH: 0.815; L (handle): 0.09; Max W (blade): 0.05

Hesperia 48 (1979), pl. 22 d-e

Nearly complete, mended from several pieces with epoxy; missing tip and bottom quarter is rotted.

Sword with slight ridge down blade; at top of blade is design in gold, arabeque-like; handle is thin iron cylinder; pin at top once probably held a pommel.

Iron

Date: possibly 4th to mid 3rd century

413. Ring IL 298 (K14-159); Well K14:4

Layer 5 sift

Max Diam: 0.045; Max Th: 0.006

Complete.
Ring.
Iron

414. Fragments IL 912 (K14-207), IL 959 (K14-208), IL 1091 (K14-209), IL 1092 (K14-210), IL 1094 (K14-215); Well K14:4

Layer 5, Lots 136 and 138

Fragmentary, most with broken edges; oxidized, 34 fragments in total.

A mixed collection of bronze fragments in various shapes and sizes, straight, curved, flatten sheets, and nail or nail head fragments.

415. Grinding Stone ST 391 (K14-164); Well K14:4 (Pl. 43)

Layer 5 and 6; Rock Pile

PL: 0.181; PW: 0.123; PTh: 0.006

Nearly complete preserving rear and front faces, broken on short sides.

Grinding stone with rounded rear face; front is flat with a design of square shapes, each surrounded by the next larger square, starting with small square in center, emanating outwards; bisected through center of square of both directions by line

Volcanic stone.

416. Fragments ST 971 (K14-205), ST 972 (K14-206); Well K14:4

Layer 5

Fragmentary; four pieces.

Several fragments of marble, some with evidence of working, others broken or flaked off larger objects.

Marble - blue Argive and white marble

Well E18

417. Corinthian B Amphora E18.22.09; Well E18 (Pl. 44)

Layer 13; Lot 22

PH: 0.068; W (mouth): 0.14

Fragment of rim and handle, partially mended from three fragments.

Corinthian B amphora with horizontal projecting rim with wide band below rim and medium oval vertical handle attached to body below rim at straight neck; handle is pressed to the exterior face of rim causing the rim to be irregular; the mouth of the vessel appears to be more oval than circular.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome red pink brown to tan brown out (poorly preserved).

Corinth VII.6, p. 60, no. I-15, fig. 3, pl. 4

Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of the 4th century)

418. Olpe P 1675 (E18-63); Well E18 (Fig. 26; Pl. 44)

Layer 14; Lot 31

PH: 0.086; Diam (base): 0.042; (shoulder): 0.058

Fragmentary, nearly full profile from base to shoulder, mended from six pieces; about 65% complete, missing handle, neck and mouth.

Olpe with flat base; continuous wall of cylindrical body to high shoulder; small oval vertical handle preserved on shoulder.

Brown buff fabric with black to brown in/out.
Corinth VII.3, p. 51, no. 198, pls. 9, 48
Date: ca. 350 (middle of the 4th century)

419. Krater E18.22.01; Well E18 (Fig. 26; Pl. 44)

Layer 13; Lot 22

PH: 0.071; PW: 0.099; Diam: ca. 0.30

Fragment of rim and handle, seven joining.

Krater with horizontal projecting rim with medium oval horizontal handle attached on body below rim, set with an upward slant so it rises slightly above rim.

Reddish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out.

Corinth VII.6, p. 129, no. IV-53, fig. 22, pl. 18 (This bowl is slightly smaller than **419**, but a close parallel for shape)

Date: 4th century

420. Kotyle E18.28.01; Well E18 (Fig. 27; Pl. 44)

Layer 14; Lot 28

PH: 0.012; Diam: 0.054

Complete base.

Kotyle with spreading ring foot, rounded resting surface with convex underside and slight nipple; very little of body preserved.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown to black brown in/out.

Corinth VII.6, p. 185, nos. VI-1, VI-5, fig. 34

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

421. Skyphos P 1684 (E18-77); Well E18 (Fig. 27; Pl. 44)

Layer 13; Lot 22

H: 0.114; Diam (base): 0.059; (rim): 0.102

Hesperia 84.2 (2015), fig. 77b

Reconstructed, mended from 32 fragments; about 70% complete, missing handles and much of rim and body; 11 fragments (including two handle and three rim pieces) certainly belong but were not included in the reconstruction.

Skyphos, Attic type, with ring foot, flat resting surface with slightly convex underside, ledge on upper face of base; vertical, slightly concave lower body which flares out to the widest part of body; concave upper body to the small out-turned rim; handles attached below the rim.

Tan buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black to reddish brown in/out, underside decorated with central dot and single circle.

cf. **425** (E18.30.03a-c; Well E18); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 188-9, nos. VI-39, VI-41, fig. 37, pl. 29

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

422. Skyphos E18.22.05; Well E18 (Fig. 27; Pl. 44)

Layer 13; Lot 22

PH: 0.046; PW: 0.072; Diam: 0.053

Complete base; missing center of floor.

Skyphos with ring foot, with flat underside, and concave lower body; center part of floor is missing, probably ancient and deliberate.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red pink to brown black in/out (very fugitive), at least one circle present on underside.

Corinth VII.6, p. 187, nos. VI-27, VI-30, fig. 36, pl. 29; *Corinth* VII.3, p. 37, nos. 367, 368, pls. 14, 50

Date: 4th century

423. Skyphos E18.28.03; Well E18 (Fig. 27; Pl. 44)

Layer 14; Lot 28

PH: 0.064; PW: 0.081; Diam: 0.065

Complete base, slight chip on foot.

Skyphos with ring foot with flat resting surface and slightly concave underside; slight concave molding on upper face of foot; concave lower body creating a slight stem to vessel before wall flares out.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out, reddish brown underside with single, black circle on center.

Corinth VII.6 p. 187, no. VI-27, fig. 36

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

424. Skyphos E18.28.04; Well E18 (Fig. 27; Pl. 45)

Layer 14; Lot 28

PH: 0.058; PW: 0.041; Diam: 0.042

Complete base, mended from two fragments.

Skyphos with ring foot, squared-off, with nipped underside; slight ledge on upper face of foot; lower body begins slightly vertical then flares to a concave profile.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out (streaky); reserved resting surface, band on inner face of foot and on center of underside, reserve band on lower body above foot.

Corinth VII.6, p. 188-9, no. VI-41, fig. 37; *Agora* XII, p. 260, nos. 352, 353, fig. 4, pl. 17

Date: ca. 330-300 (end of the 4th century)

425. Skyphos E18.30.03 a-c; Well E18 (Fig. 28; Pl. 45)

Layer 14; Lot 30

PH: 0.028; PW: 0.058; Diam: 0.06

Fragment of base, three joining fragments.

Skyphos with ring foot, possibly with flat underside, though not preserved; flat resting surface and ledge on outer face of foot; lower body flares out, straight wall.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown to black brown in/out, concentric circles on underside; reserved band on lower body.

cf. **421** (P 1684; Well E18); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 188, no. VI-39, fig. 37, pl. 29

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

426. Skyphos E18.22.02; Well E18 (Fig. 28; Pl. 45)

Layer 13; Lot 22

PH: 0.064; Diam: 0.13

Fragment of rim and two complete handles, mended from four fragments; missing about half of rim.

Skyphos with out-turned rim with two small round triangular handles, pinched together at attachment on body below rim; body is slightly concave then swells out to body.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out (streaky).

Corinth VII.6, p. 186, no. VI-18, fig. 35, pl. 28; *Corinth* VII.6, p. 187-8, no. VI-30, fig. 36, pl. 29

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

427. Skyphos E18.22.08 a-c; Well E18 (Fig. 28; Pl. 45)

Layer 13; Lot 22

PH: 0.048; PW: 0.087; Diam: 0.11

Fragments of rim and complete handle, three joining.

Skyphos with slightly out-turned rim with complete small round handle attached below rim; horizontal line incised below handle attached on body.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown to black in/out.

Corinth VII.3, p. 71, no. 368, pls. 14, 50; *Agora* XII, p. 259, no. 348, pl. 16

Date: ca. 400-375 (early 4th century)

428. Skyphos E18.22.07 a-d; Well E18 (Pl. 45)

Layer 13; Lot 22

PH: 0.047; PW: 0.085; Diam: 0.11

Fragment of rim and complete handle; two joining plus two additional rim fragments.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out (very fugitive).

Corinth VII.6, p. 186-7, nos. VI-16, VI-17, VI-27, figs. 35, 36, pl. 28

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

429. Skyphos E18.30.04 a-b; Well E18 (Fig. 28; Pl. 45)

Layer 14; Lot 30

PH: 0.044; PW: 0.075; Diam: 0.10

Fragment of rim and complete handle, two joining.

Skyphos with out-turned rim; complete small round horizontal handle attached below rim, triangular in shape with attachments placed close together.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out (streaky)

cf. **421** (P 1684; Well E18); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 186-7, no. VI-16, VI-21, fig. 35, pl. 28;

Corinth VII.6, p. 188, no. VI-39, fig. 37, pl. 29

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

430. Kantharos P 1667 (E18-56); Well E18 (Fig. 28; Pl. 45)

Layer 13; Lot 22

PH: 0.078; Diam (base): 0.051; (rim): 0.100

Hesperia 84.2 (2015), fig 77c-d

Reconstructed, mended from 14 fragments with additional joining fragments not included in the reconstruction; missing both handles, part of stem and rim.

Kantharos with tall, molded ring foot, concave underside with very slight nipple at center; deep cup with a low bowl to concave neck and molded rim; inside of bowl is a stamped decoration of six palmettes linked with a ring of rouletting.

Reddish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out (very lustrous).

Agora XXIX, p. 250, no. 79, pl. 8; *Agora* XII, p. 282, nos. 655, 658, pl. 28

Date: ca. 375-335 (middle of the 4th century)

431. One-handed Cup E18.29.01; Well E18 (Fig. 28; Pl. 46)

Layer 14; Lot 28

PH: 0.010; PW: 0.052; Diam: 0.044; (central disc): 0.024

Complete base.

One-handed cup with disc base, concave underside and central disc; very little of wall preserved, but suggests wide lower body.

Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out.

Corinth VII.6, p. 191, no. VI-70, fig. 39, pl. 31; *Corinth* VII.6, p.190, nos. VI-57, VI-60, fig. 39, pl. 31

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of 4th century)

432. One-handed Cup E18.21.01; Well E18 (Fig. 28; Pl. 46)

Layer 12; Lot 21

PH: 0.012; PW: 0.042; Diam: 0.04

Fragment of base.

One-handed cup with disc base with central disc on underside.

Reddish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown in (very streaky).

Corinth VII.6, p.190, no. VI-57, fig. 39, pl. 31

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of 4th century)

433. Mug P 1665 (E18-55); Well E18 (Fig. 28; Pl. 46)

Layer 14; Lot 28

PH: 0.071; Diam (base): 0.045

Reconstructed, mended from 15 fragments; missing about half of wall and nearly full rim.

Mug with low disc foot, globular, baggy body so widest point is near the bottom; body narrows to concave below the out-turned lip; thin flat vertical strap handle attached at rim and lower body, possibly Lakonian.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

cf. **27** (P 1747; Well L17:1); **153** (P 339; Well L17:2); **356** (P 386; Well K14:4); **520** (P 156; Well N17:2); **521** (P 157; Well N17:2); Nemea Museum, P 904 (G14-5; G14, Lot 3) and P 1700 (E18-133; North reservoir)

Date: 4th century

434. Small Bowl P 1672 (E18-61); Well E18 (Fig. 28; Pl. 46)

Layer 13; Lot 22

PH: 0.041; Diam (base): 0.053; (rim): 0.092

Reconstructed, mended from 12 fragments; missing parts of the rim and body.

Small bowl with ring foot, flat resting surface and a slight nipple at the center on underside; profile flares upward gently to a slightly in-turned rim.

Light cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 1566 (F18-80; F18, Lot 34, northwest of the heroön); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 126, no. IV-12, fig. 19

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of 4th century)

435. Bowl E18.28.02; Well E18 (Fig. 29; Pl. 46)

Layer 14; Lot 28

PH: 0.016; Diam: 0.055

Complete base.

Bowl with ring base with slightly concave underside and central nipple, concave inner face of foot; no walls of body preserved; six palmettes stamped on floor of vessel with rouletting around circumference of floor.

- Reddish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out (lustrous).
Agora XII, p. 294, no. 808 (shape), fig. 8; *Agora* XII, p. 282-3, nos. 651, 659, 660 (decoration), fig. 7, pls. 28, 56
 Date: ca. 380-310 (4th century)
- 436. Bowl** E18.30.02; Well E18 (Fig. 29; Pl. 46)
 Layer 14; Lot 30
 PH: 0.024; PW: 0.084; Diam: 0.088
 Complete base.
 Bowl with tall ring foot, slightly flaring, convex underside; none of the wall is preserved.
 Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown to brown black in/out, better preserved on interior.
Corinth VII.6, p. 125, nos. IV-9, IV-11, fig. 19, pl. 16
 Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of 4th century)
- 437. Kotyle, miniature** E18.22.03; Well E18 (Fig. 29; Pl. 46)
 Layer 13; Lot 22
 PH: 0.014; PW: 0.039; Diam: 0.003
 Nearly complete base.
 Miniature kotyle with ring base, nipple on underside, flat resting surface; concave lower body from foot to body.
 Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to brown black in/out, possible band on the lower body and foot, or not fully preserved.
 Date: 4th century
- 438. Oinochoe** P 1676 (E18-64); Well E18 (Fig. 29; Pl. 47)
 Layer 14; Lot 28
 PH: 0.099; Diam (base): 0.071; (shoulder): 0.114
 Reconstructed, mended from 43 fragments; nearly complete body, missing neck, rim, and handle.
 Blisterware oinochoe with flat base; round, globular body with its maximum diameter just under shoulder, decorated with vertical ribbing; handle attach preserved on shoulder for medium flat vertical handle.
 Orange brown to gray blisterware fabric; traces of a reddish brown slip out.
 Nemea Museum, P 1315 (J18-57; bathhouse Deposit J18:1); *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 92, no. 76, pl. 10
 Date: 4th century
- 439. Oinochoe** E18.30.05; Well E18 (Fig. 29; Pl. 47)
 Layer 14; Lot 30
 PH: 0.058; Diam: 0.123
 Fragment of rim and handle, three joining.
 Blisterware oinochoe with tall spreading rim and short concave neck; medium flat vertical strap handle attached at rim.
 Blue gray to orange brown blisterware fabric; slipped blue gray in/out.
Corinth VII.6, p.166, no. V-74, fig. 33, pl. 25
 Date: 4th century
- 440. Round Mouth Oinochoe** E18.28.06 a-c; Well E18 (Pl. 47)

Layer 14; Lot 28

PH: 0.063; Diam: 0.13

Fragment of rim, two joining and one non-joining fragment; additional associated body sherds with similar decoration found in Lot 28.

Blisterware oinochoe with tall spreading rim with ridges on outer lip; short concave neck, small depressed circles on shoulder.

Blue gray blisterware fabric with brown red biscuit; slipped blue gray in/out.

Corinth VII.6, p. 166, no. V-73, fig. 33, pl. 25

Date: 4th century

441. Wide Mouth Pitcher E18.31.04; Well E18 (Fig. 29; Pl. 47)

Layer 14; Lot 31

PH: 0.107; Diam: 0.11

Fragment of rim and complete handle, three joining fragments.

Pitcher with wide body to concave neck; projecting rim with rounded lip with complete medium oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder.

Blue gray to brown kitchenware fabric with few white inclusions.

Corinth VII.6, p. 98, no. III-32, fig. 14

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

442. Stew Pot P 1686 (E18-79); Well E18 (Fig. 29; Pl. 47)

Layer 13; Lot 22

PH: 0.173; Diam (body): 0.260; (rim): 0.160

Reconstructed, mended from 54 fragments, additional fragments not used in reconstruction; about 60% complete, missing significant portions of its body, rim, and handle.

Stewpot (unflanged) with rounded bottom; body is rounded and somewhat squat; prominent shoulder articulated from the wide, concave neck; out-turned rim with wide mouth.

Brown to orange gray cooking ware fabric, fired blue gray on bottom.

Corinth VII.6, p. 100, no. III-60, fig. 17, pl. 14; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 187, no. 654, fig. 24, pl. 59

Date: end of the 4th century

443. Lekane E18.31.02; Well E18 (Fig. 30; Pl. 47)

Layer 14; Lot 31

PH: 0.056; PW: 0.124; Diam: 0.086

Complete base, mended from two fragments.

Lekane with wide ring foot, flat resting surface and slightly convex underside; walls rises up from base, globular in shape.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out, possible reserved resting surface.

Agora XII, p. 370, no. 1833, pl. 86; *Corinth* VII.6, p. 100-1, nos. V-19-V-30, figs. 26, 27, pl. 22

Date: ca. 420-300 (end of the 5th to 4th century)

444. Lekane E18.31.03; Well E18 (Fig. 30; Pl. 47)

Layer 14; Lot 31

PH: 0.057; PW: 0.18; Diam: 0.115

Complete base, mended from four fragments.

Lekane with tall ring foot, flat resting surface and slightly convex underside; wide set lower body.

Reddish buff to buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out, possible reserved resting surface.

Agora XII, p. 370, no. 1833, pl. 86; *Corinth* VII.6, p. 100-1, no. V-19, fig. 26, pl. 22

Date: ca. 420-300 (end of the 5th to 4th century)

445. Lekane E18.21.02 a-c; Well E18 (Pl. 48)

Layer 12; Lot 21

H: 0.024; W: 0.096

Complete handle, mended from three fragments.

Lekane with medium oval horizontal handle with body attach.

Red brown to brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out (very streaky).

Agora XII, p. 361, no. 1787, fig. 15, pl. 83 (date by context to ca. 510-480)

Date: 5th century

446. Stemless Cup P 1683 (E18-76); Well E18 (Pl. 48)

Layer 13; Lot 22

H (at rim): 0.034; Diam (base): 0.041; (rim): 0.090

Reconstructed, mended from nine fragments, plus five non-joining fragments of rim and handle which certainly belong; missing most of rim and one handle.

Stemless cup with ring foot and slight nipple on underside; the wall flares outward to a wide shallow bowl; curving inward to a spreading lip; a small round handle joins at the shoulder at the widest point of the body and is set upward from the body.

Brownish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out, reserved underside but some drips of glaze.

Agora XII, p. 266-7, nos. 446 (body), 456 (base), fig. 5, pl. 21

Date: ca. 500-470 (early 5th century)

447. Bowl P 1636 (E18-29); Well E18 (Fig. 30; Pl. 48)

Layer 12; Lot 21

PH: 0.090; Diam (rim): 0.158

Hesperia 84.2 (2015), fig. 77e

Reconstructed, mended from 41 fragments; missing part of rim, body, and floor.

Bowl with no base preserved, but seems to have been footless; rounded body but essentially conical; body reaches its widest point just before it curves in slightly to a concave neck; a flared rim that curves upward to a vertical lip. Its shape seems, if not unique, difficult to parallel; most similar in shape to a dinos or deep lebes.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish black in/out with bands painted around the base, at the widest point of the body, and neck.

Agora XXIX, p. 306, nos. 609-610, fig. 45, pl. 58 (These comparanda date to the 4th to 3rd centuries)

Date: 5th-3rd centuries

448. Bowl E18.22.04; Well E18 (Fig. 30; Pl. 48)

Layer 13; Lot 22

PH: 0.023; PW: 0.084; Diam: 0.115

Fragment of base.

Bowl with ring base with wide resting surface, very little of wall preserved.
Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black in.
cf. **12** (L17:1.05.15; Well L17:1), **13** (L17:1.05.10; Well L17:1), **153** (L17:2.42.01; Well L17:2), **601** (O16:1.84.08; Well O16:1), and **602** (O16:1.84.09; Well O16:1); *Agora XII*, p. 293, nos. 794, 797, pls. 32, 58
Date: ca. 410-400

449. Salt-cellar P 1634 (E18-27); Well E18 (Fig. 30; Pl. 48)

Layer 12; Lot 21
PH: 0.029; Diam (base): 0.029; (rim): 0.050
Nearly complete, missing piece of rim.
Salt-cellar of echinus type with a flat, raised string cut base; convex body; incurving lipless rim.
Pinkish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out (mottled, slightly matte).
Agora XII, p. 301, no. 915, pl. 34 (cf. salt-cellars with echinus wall type, *Agora XII*, nos. 899-920)
Date: ca. 425-400 (end of 5th century)

450. Salt-cellar/Small Bowl E18.22.06; Well E18 (Fig. 30; Pl. 48)

Layer 13; Lot 22
PH: 0.025; PW: 0.066; Diam: 0.035
Complete base, mended from four fragments.
Salt-cellar or small bowl with ring base, concave underside with slight central nipple; groove between foot and lower wall; convex wall.
Reddish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black to reddish brown in/out with reserve band on lower wall above foot.
Agora XII, p. 302, no. 939, fig. 9, pl. 34
Date: ca. 500-480 (early 5th century)

451. Skyphos, votive P 1635 (E18-28); Well E18 (Fig. 30; Pl. 48)

Layer 12; Lot 21
H: 0.028; Diam (base): 0.023; (rim): 0.050
Complete.
Small skyphos of Corinthian type with flat raised, string cut base; convex body; lipless, slightly incurved rim; two small round horizontal handles attached at rim; probably used for votive purposes.
Pinkish, brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown to black in/out.
Agora XII, p. 333, no. 1378, pl. 45; *Corinth VII.6*, p. 225, no. VIII-29, fig. 45
Date: 5th to 4th century

452. Lamp L 289 (E18-73); Well E18 (Pl. 48)

Layer 14 sift; Lot 34
PH: 0.025; PW: 0.054; Diam (base): 0.055; (mouth): 0.028
Fragment preserving profile from base to rim and one handle attachment; about 50% preserved, missing handle and nozzle.
Lamp with flat base, interior floor rises slightly toward the center; sides are simple and curved and the filling hole is large; the handle would have been horizontal.
Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out (matte), not well preserved on base.

Agora IV, p. 48, no. 172 (type 21 c), pls. 6, 34; *Lampes d'Argos*, p. 24, no. 61, pl. 2
Date: ca. 425-390 (last quarter of the 5th to the early 4th century)

453. Coin C 4826 (E18-coin 138); Well E18

Layer 12; Lot 21

Weight: 1.58; Diam: 0.011

Complete.

Coin, Corinth; Obv: Pegasus; Rev: trident.

Bronze.

Date: late 5th to middle of the 3rd century (minted late 5th century - 248 BCE)

454. Krateriskos, votive P 1666 (E18-59); Well E18 (Fig. 30; Pl. 48)

Layer 14 sift; Lot 34

PH: 0.019; PW: 0.037; Diam (base): 0.017; (rim): 0.031

Nearly complete, mended from two pieces; about 80% preserved.

Votive krateriskos; wheel made with a string cut flat, raised base; concave lower body with convex upper body, slight carination at widest point; slightly everted rim; two lug handles attached at rim.

Tan buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown in/out (fugitive).

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 169, nos. 509, 511, pl. 50; Nemea Museum, P 1618 (F19-87; heroön)

Date: Archaic/Classical

455. Cup/Bowl, miniature E18.28.05 a-e; Well E18 (Pl. 49)

Layer 14; Lot 28

H: 0.021; Diam (base): 0.028; (rim): 0.055

Nearly complete, mended from five fragments, preserving full profile.

Miniature cup or bowl with flat raised string cut base, wide convex body that continues incurving rim; no traces of handle attach.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in with possible band on upper body or semi-glazed exterior.

Corinth XV.3, p. 330, no. 1950; pl. 71; *Corinth* VII.6, p. 225, nos. VIII-29, VIII-34, figs. 43, 44

Date: Archaic/Classical

456. Amphora E18.30.01 a-i; Well E18 (Pl. 49)

Layer 14; Lot 30

PH: 0.047; Diam: 0.16

Fragment of rim and complete handle and fragment of second handle, nine joining.

Amphora with horizontal projecting rim, wide incised band on body below rim; large oval vertical handle attached below rim and on shoulder.

Tan buff fine ware fabric.

Date: context 5th to 4th century

457. Bowl E18.31.01; Well E18 (Fig. 30; Pl. 49)

Layer 14; Lot 31

PH: 0.014; PW: 0.056; Diam: 0.051

Complete base.

Bowl with ring foot and convex underside, convex outer face of foot to concave join between foot and wall with groove; very little of wall preserved but appears to extend horizontally from base.

Pinkish buff to buff tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown to black in/out (very fugitive).

Date: context 5th to 4th century

458. Pitcher P 1677 (E18-66); Well E18 (Pl. 49)

Layer 14; Lot 30

PH: 0.189; Diam (max body): 0.166; (rim): 0.113

Reconstructed, mended from 27 fragments; missing base and parts of body.

Pitcher with globular body, curving inward sharply at the shoulder; wide and concave neck, out-turned rim; medium flat vertical strap handle extends outward from the rim and joins at midpoint of the body.

Red brown to brown orange kitchenware fabric with small white inclusions.

cf. **7** (P 293; Well L17:1), **528** (P 119; Well N17:2), and **530** (P 148; Well N17:2)

Date: context 5th to 4th century

459. Pitcher P 1678 (E18-69); Well E18 (Fig. 31; Pl. 49)

Layer 14; Lot 30

PH: 0.233; Diam (max body): 0.202; (rim): 0.121

Hesperia 84.2 (2015), fig 77a

Reconstructed, mended from 40 fragments; missing base and most of lower body.

Pitcher with rounded body tapering into a wide, concave neck, out-turned rim; groove on interior of rim below lip; small/medium oval vertical strap handle attached at the rim and the body below the shoulder.

Reddish brown kitchenware fabric with small white inclusions.

cf. **7** (P 293; Well L17:1), **458** (P 1677; Well E18), **460** (P 1679; Well E18),

461 (P 1680; Well E18), **528** (P 119; Well N17:2), and **530** (P 148; Well N17:2)

Date: context 5th to 4th century

460. Pitcher P 1679 (E18-70); Well E18 (Pl. 49)

Layer 14; Lot 30

PH: 0.157; Diam (max body): 0.091; (rim): 0.011

Reconstructed, mended from 52 fragments, preserving full profile; missing floor and about 1/3 of body.

Pitcher with concave base (only the edges of the depression are preserved), a round globular body; shoulder is somewhat sharply articulated; wide concave neck, out-turned rim; medium flat vertical strap handle extends outward from the rim and joins the body below the shoulder; the handle is poorly attached, not strictly vertical.

Blue gray kitchenware fabric with a few small white inclusions.

cf. **7** (P 293; Well L17:1), **458** (P 1677; Well E18), **460** (P 1679; Well E18), **461** (P 1680; Well E18), **528** (P 119; Well N17:2), and **530** (P 148; Well N17:2)

Date: context 5th to 4th century

461. Pitcher P 1680 (E18-71); Well E18 (Fig. 31; Pl. 50)

Layer 14; Lot 28

PH: 0.194; Diam (max body): 0.174; (rim): 0.105

Reconstructed, mended from 61 fragments, preserving full profile; missing more than half the rim and neck and part body, handle and underside fully reconstructed.
Pitcher or oinochoe with concave base; the underside the profile flares out into a round body, convex neck, out-turned rim.

Grayish brown to orange brown kitchen wear fabric with small white inclusions.

cf. **7** (P 293; Well L17:1), **458** (P 1677; Well E18), **460** (P 1679; Well E18), **528** (P 119; Well N17:2), and **530** (P 148; Well N17:2)

Date: context 5th to 4th century

462. Pitcher P 1681 (E18-72); Well E18

Layer 14; Lot 30

PH: 0.257; Diam (base): 0.092; (rim): 0.127

Reconstructed, mended from 56 pieces; missing about 1/3 of body and half of rim.

Pitcher with flat raised base to a wide globular body, curving inward at the shoulder to concave neck to a projecting rim; medium oval vertical strap handle joins at the rim and the shoulder.

Gray to orange brown kitchenware fabric with small white inclusions.

cf. **458** (P 1677; Well E18), **459** (P 1678; Well E18), **460** (P 1679; Well E18), and **461** (P 1680; Well E18)

Date: context 5th to 4th century

463. Orthostate Block A 483 (E18-68); Well E18

Layer 14; Lot 32

H: 0.645; PL: 1.360; Th (top): 0.142; (bottom): 0.166

Fragmentary, mended from 5 joining fragments; broken across one end, corners of breaks worn.

Orthostate block tapers towards top; all surfaces including bottom leveled with flat chisel; no trace of anathyrosis.

Sandy limestone, reddish-yellow; isolated patches of a thin plaster coating.

464. Strip BR 1504 (E18-40); Well E18 (Pl. 50)

Layer 14; Lot 28

PL: 0.088; PW: 0.004-0.008; PTh: 0.001

Fragmentary.

Strip, bent twice near middle; one is a twist; both ends are relatively straight, although the edges are not sharp; the wider end does not appear to be broken, but the smaller end, which is thinner in section, may not be preserved fully.

Bronze.

Well L19

465. Amphora L19.152.02; Well L19 (Fig. 31; Pl. 50)

Layer 1; Lot 152

PH: 0.112; PW: 0.0826

Diam (resting surface): 0.054; (exterior of base): 0.070; (stem): 0.049

Complete base.

Semi-coarse amphora with high concave dome, beveled foot to narrow concave stem then wall begins to flares out; above stem the wall is decorated with grooves.

Reddish brown semi-coarse fabric.

Date: mostly likely Hellenistic

466. Amphora P 1453 (L19-124); Well L19 (Pl. 50)

Layer 4 sift; Lot 164

H: 0.648; Diam: 0.373; (mouth): 0.097

Reconstructed, mended from many joining fragments (including one from Layer 3), several small pieces not joined; one handle is fully reconstructed.

Amphora with a simple pointed toe somewhat rounded on underside; body flares out from toe to the widest point on body, high on vessel, then narrow to a tall concave neck; rim is slightly spreading with a thick horizontal lip, groove between rim and neck; one large flat vertical strap handle preserved swings up slightly from just above attachment on neck then down to attach above the widest point of the body.

Orange brown fine ware fabric with inclusions with gold mica, Thasian in origin.

Monakhov and Rogov 1990, nos. 43-44, table 6

Date: 4th century

467. Oinochoe P 1439 (L19-119); Well L19 (Pl. 50)

Layer 4 sift; Lot 164

H: 0.164; Diam (base): 0.063; (neck): 0.039

Hesperia 57 (1988) pl. 18d

Complete; small chips missing from rim.

Trefoil oinochoe with low, slightly flaring ring foot; tall globular body to pinched, narrow neck; trefoil rim; small vertical strap handle with central ridge attached at rim and upper body; the handle continues beyond rim to a small thumb rest above mouth. The body is decorated with vertical ribs broken just below point of handle attachment by horizontal band, around the widest part of body, consisting of two ridged bands filled with a central band of stamped ovolo pattern. At top of vertical ribs, around shoulder, are two horizontal rows of nearly vertical gouges or rouletting. Above these is a horizontal row of stamped ovolo pattern. The shoulder decoration is somewhat interrupted in the space beneath the handle.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome red to black exterior, worn in many places. cf. cf. **158** (P 400; Well L17:2); *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 154, no. 386, fig. 3, pl. 44; *Agora* XII, p. 245, no. 130, pl. 7; *Agora* XXIX, p. 294, no. 473, fig. 33, pl. 47

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

468. Deep Bowl L19.149.01; Well L19 (Fig. 31; Pl. 50)

Layer 1; Lot 149

PH: 0.0248; PW: 0.0495; Diam: 0.20

Fragment of rim.

Deep bowl with nearly vertical wall; projecting rim.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out (slightly matte).

Agora XXIX, p. 348, no. 1090, fig. 66, pl. 79 (ca. 275-250); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 129, no. IV-53, fig. 22, pl. 18 (ca. 325-300)

Date: ca. 325-250 (end of 4th to early 3rd century)

469. Skyphos L19.155.01; Well L19 (Fig. 31; Pl. 51)

Layer 2; Lot 155

PH: 0.0276; PW: 0.0651; Diam: 0.073

Fragment of base.

Skyphos with ring base with flat underside, groove between foot and underside; slightly concave walls; on exterior of wall is a gouge which fully preserves glaze.
Reddish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish red in/brown to black out.
Nemea Museum, P 1504 (M19-73; xenon); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 187, nos. VI-2, VI-22, fig. 36, pl. 28
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

470. Loom Weight TC 202 (L19-118); Well L19 (Pl. 51)

Layer 1; Lot 153
PH: 0.092; Max Diam: 0.072; Diam (base): 0.053
Nearly complete; top broken away, two chips (one large, one smaller) off side at bevel.
Conical loom weight; bottom is slightly concave; hole pierced horizontally through the top.
Orange to blue fabric with fissures, possible blisterware.
Corinth XII, p. 155, profile X, fig. 23
Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of the 4th century)

471. Lopas L19.158.01; Well L19 (Fig. 31; Pl. 51)

Layer 3; Lot 158
PH: 0.0236; PW: 0.0641; Diam: 0.15-0.17
Fragment of rim.
Lopas was tall spreading rim slightly offset from the body, low flange on interior.
Brown orange cooking ware fabric.
Corinth VII.6, p. 96, nos. III-13, III-14, fig. 12
Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

472. Coin C 3866 (L19-152); Well L19 (Pl. 51)

Layer 4 sift; Lot 164
Weight: 1.71; Diam: 0.012
Hesperia 57 (1988), 13, pl. 19 a,b; *Nemea* III, cat. 1667, pl. 20, v.
Complete.
Coin, Argos; Obv: wolf head; Rev: A.
Bronze.
BMC Pel., p. 143-4, nos. 96-10, pl. 27.23; *Corinth* VI, p. 60, no. 375
Date: middle of 4th century to early 3rd century (minted 350-228)

473. Coin C 3867 (L19-153); Well L19

Layer 4 sift; Lot 164
Weight: 1.12; Diam: 0.012
Hesperia 57 (1988), 13, pl. 19 a,b; *Nemea* III, cat. 1668.
Complete.
Coin, Argos; Obv: wolf head; Rev: A.
Bronze.
BMC Pel., p. 143-4, nos. 96-10, pl. 27.23; *Corinth* VI, p. 60, no. 375
Date: middle of 4th century to early 3rd century (minted 350-228)

474. Coin C 3868 (L19-154); Well L19

Layer 4 sift; Lot 164
Weight: 1.88; Diam: 0.012

- Hesperia* 57 (1988), 13, pl. 19 a,b; *Nemea* III, cat. 1685.
 Complete.
 Coin, Argos; Obv: wolf head; Rev: *A* with helmet below.
 Bronze.
BMC Pel., p. 143-4, nos. 96-10, pl. 27.23; *Corinth* VI, p. 60, no. 375
 Date: middle of 4th century to early 3rd century (minted 350-228)
- 475. Coin** C 3870 (L19-156); Well L19
 Layer 4 sift; Lot 164
 Weight: 0.92; Diam: 0.012
Hesperia 57 (1988), 13, pl. 19 a,b; *Nemea* III, cat. 1750.
 Complete.
 Coin, Argos; Obv: wolf head; Rev: *A*.
 Bronze.
BMC Pel., p. 143-4, nos. 96-10, pl. 27.23; *Corinth* VI, p. 60, no. 375
 Date: middle of 4th century to early 3rd century (minted 350-228)
- 476. Coin** C 3874 (L19-158); Well L19
 Layer 4; Lot 161
 Weight: 0.92; Diam: 0.012
Hesperia 57 (1988), 13, pl. 19 a,b; *Nemea* III, cat. 1669.
 One edge damaged.
 Coin, Argos; Obv: wolf head; Rev: *A*.
 Bronze.
BMC Pel., p. 143-4, nos. 96-10, pl. 27.23; *Corinth* VI, p. 60, no. 375
 Date: middle of 4th century to early 3rd century (minted 350-228)
- 477. Coin** C 3827 (L19-151); Well L19
 Layer 4 sift; Lot 164
 Weight: 1.64; Diam: 0.014
Hesperia 57 (1988), 13, pl. 19 a,b; *Nemea* III, cat. 256.
 Complete.
 Coin, Chalkis; Obv: Hera head facing; Rev: eagle flying
 Bronze.
BMC Cent. Greece, p. 112, nos. 70-80; pl. 20.15
 Date: fourth quarter of 4th century to 3rd century (minted 337-196)
- 478. Coin** C 3871 (L19-157); Well L19 (Pl. 51)
 Layer 4 sift; Lot 164
 Weight: 1.31; Diam: 0.013
Hesperia 57 (1988), 13, pl. 19 a,b; *Nemea* III, cat. 489, pl. 10, ff.
 Complete.
 Coin, Corinth, hemidrachm; Obv: half Pegasus; Rev: female head.
 Silver.
BMC Cor., p. 43, no. 368, pl. 11.2
 Date: 4th century (minted 350-338)
- 479. Coin** C 3873 (L19-159); Well L19
 Layer 4 sift; Lot 164

Weight: 1.02; Diam: 0.014

Hesperia 57 (1988), 13, pl. 19 a,b; *Nemea* III, cat. 1852.

Complete.

Coin, Hermione; Obv: Demeter head facing right; Rev: EP and torch in wreath of grain.

Bronze.

BMC Pel., p. 160-1, nos. 7-13; pl. 30.4

Date: ca. 360-325 (middle of the 4th century)

480. Oinochoe P 1454 (L19-123); Well L19 (Pl. 52)

Layer 4 sift; Lot 164

PH: 0.164; Diam: 0.114

Complete base and lower body, mended from many fragments, plus additional non-mended sherds; missing upper body, rim, and handle.

Oinochoe with complete flat disc foot, slightly flaring to globular body.

Buff fine ware fabric with very small inclusions; traces of light brown out.

McPhee 2005, p. 47-8, no. C-1939-114, fig. 6

Date: ca. 475-450 (second quarter of the 5th century)

481. Mug L19.149.02; Well L19 (Fig. 32; Pl. 52)

Layer 1; Lot 149

PH: 0.0175; PW: 0.0285; Diam: 0.006

Fragment of rim.

Mug with convex to concave wall; out-turned rim, slightly down turned.

Orange tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 296 (M17-48; xenon)

Date: late 5th century

482. Kotyle, miniature P 1440 (L19-120); Well L19 (Pl. 52)

Layer 4 sift; Lot 164

H: 0.019; D (base): 0.015; (rim): 0.03

Nearly complete; missing about 2/3 of rim and one handle.

Miniature kotyle with flat, slightly raised base; continuous body to lipless rim; one small round horizontal ring handle attached at rim.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown in, alternating horizontal bands of slip and reserve bands out.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 175, no. 568, pl. 52

Date: 5th century

483. Coin C 3869 (L19-155); Well L19

Layer 4 sift; Lot 164

Weight: 1.31; Diam: 0.013

Hesperia 57 (1988), 13, pl. 19 a,b; *Nemea* III, cat. 955.

Complete.

Coin, Corinth; Obv: Pegasus; Rev: trident.

Bronze.

BMC Cor., p. 53-6, nos. 432-471, pl. 14.1-8; *Corinth* VI, p. 14, no. 11, pl. 1

Date: late 5th to 3rd century (minted late 5th century to 248)

484. Coin C 3872 (L19-158); Well L19

- Layer 4 sift; Lot 164
 Weight: 1.93; Diam: 0.013
Hesperia 57 (1988), 13, pl. 19 a,b; *Nemea* III, cat. 956.
 Complete.
 Coin, Corinth; Obv: Pegasus; Rev: trident.
 Bronze.
BMC Cor., p. 53-6, nos. 432-471, pl. 14.1-8; *Corinth* VI, p. 14, no. 11, pl. 1
 Date: late 5th to 3rd century (minted late 5th century to 248)
- 485. Oinochoe** L19.152.01 and L19.162.01; Well L19 (Fig. 32; Pl. 52)
 Layer 1 and 3 sift; Lots 152 and 162
 PH: 0.0339; PW: 0.0311
 Fragment of body, two joining.
 Oinochoe body sherds, near shoulder.
 Cream to tan fine ware fabric; black brown bands and vertical lines, closely placed
 vertical lines above, two thin lines, then either large band or monochrome section
 Date: Archaic
- 486. Sima** AT 269 (L19-114); Well L19 (Pl. 52)
 Layer 2; Lot 155
 PH: 0.077; PW: 0.097; Th: 0.045
 Fragment; preserving top, front, and back surfaces only, all edges broken.
 Terracotta sima with front surface preserving most of a palmette painted in dark brown
 with a red heart on a buff surface.
 Pink to buff fine ware fabric with large red inclusion; buff slip with dark brown and red
 paint.
- 487. Pan Tile** AT 271 (L19-121); Well L19
 Layer 4; Lot 159
 W: 0.582; PL: 0.375; Th (in center): 0.034; (at flange): 0.060
 Fragmentary, mended from 10 larger fragments and five small chips; broken across
 center.
 Corinthian pan tile preserving upper half with small flange at top, large flanges on each
 side. Pinkish fabric with large inclusions; greenish-buff slip.
- 488. Cover Tile** AT 272 (L19-122); Well L19 (Pl. 53)
 Layer 4; Lot 159
 PL: 0.410; PW: 0.186; PH: 0.055
 Fragmentary, mended from nine joining fragments.
 Laconian cover tile preserving part of one long side of lower edge; flange turned down to
 overlap next tile below.
 Reddish fabric with small inclusions.
 Similar to tiles found Well L17:2.
- 489. Inscribed Stone** I 109 (L19-115); Well L19 (Fig. 32; Pl. 53)
 Layer 2; Lot 155
 PH: 0.057; PL: 0.092; PTh: 0.023
 Fragment; broken on all edges.

Stone, rectangular in shape with two deep grooves at an angle to one another forming a lambda (Λ) or alpha (A) with a lighter impressed cross bar.
Sandstone.

490. Nail IL 563 (L19-113); Well L19

Layer 1; Lot 150

PL: 0.062; PTh: 0.007-0.010

Fragmentary, two joining fragments; broken at one end, other corroded but probably also broken.

Nail shaft, round in section.

Iron.

491. Nail IL 565 (L19-116); Well L19

Layer 4; Lot 161

PL: 0.042; PW: 0.037; PTh (at shaft): 0.013

Fragmentary; broken all around, no original finished edge preserved.

Nail head, flat thin piece with shaft of nail (?) projecting from one side and large amorphous lump on other.

Iron.

492. Mill Stone ST 759 (L19-112); Well L19

Layer 1; Lot 150

PL: 0.371; PW: 0.198; Max Th: 0.123

Fragment of one corner.

Mill stone with beveled center down to slot; sides slope slightly inward toward top; one corner of slot preserved at bottom of beveled surface; bottom surface has three parallel grooves along long side, then series of parallel grooves running diagonally toward center.
Gray stone.

Well N17:2

CONTEXT: Upper Fill

493. Inscription I 13 (N17-51); Well N17:2

Layer 5, Lot 55

PH: 0.181; PW: 0.167; PTh: 0.072

Letter H: 0.012-0.014; W: 0.009-0.015

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 35e

Fragmentary; broken at top, right and lower side; back broken at fracture line, not worked.

Inscription; non-stoich; appears to record an agreement involving finances between two Doric states.

Date: probably 4th century

494. Wall Block A 83 (N17-78); Well N17:2

Layer 5, Lot 55

ML: 0.79; MH: 0.31; MW: 0.574

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl 35f

Intact; missing chips from edges and corners, scored by ancient tools.

Wall block, rectangular in shape, possibly associated with a wall end; front face has a vertically chiseled surface; the top surface preserves a U shaped lifting cutting with channels and a pry hole towards the front face; evidence on the pry hole suggests that the block was reused; the underside has anathyrosis, but only along the short side.
Calcareous poros limestone.

495. Column Drum A 84 (N17-79); Well N17:2

Layer 5, Lot 55

PH: 0.887; MDiam: 0.537

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl 36b

Fragmentary; broken on top and bottom, fluting chipped; preserves traces of stuccoed surface.

Doric column drum preserving fourteen of an original twenty flutes; seven flutes on each side with the arrises of the other remaining flutes chiseled away.

Calcareous poros limestone.

CONTEXT: Lower Fill

496. Moldmade Bowl P 142 (N17-102); Well N17:2 (Pl. 53)

Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lots 58, 59 and 65

PH: 0.073; Diam: 0.13

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 36c

Fragmentary with full profile preserved, mended from 14 fragments.

Moldmade bowl, long petal type, with slightly concave bottom decorated with rosette medallion, probably eight-petaled, surrounded by two ridges; flaring body with long petals departed by jewelings with leaf at top; jeweled horizontal band at top of molded decoration between two ridges; horizontal groove above band; tall, non-decorated rim. Orange to brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out (very dull).

Agora XXII, p. 85, nos. 339 (dated by context to Hellenistic to late Roman), 340, 343, pls. 61, 62, 95

Date: ca. 100-86 (end of the 2nd to early 1st century)

497. Unguentarium P 118 (N17-74); Well N17:2 (Pl. 53)

Layer 6, Lot 59

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 36c

Nearly complete; missing part of neck and rim.

Unguentarium, fusiform shape; flared, flat string-cut base with wide foot; irregular narrow bulbous belly; tall flaring neck.

Gray fine ware fabric with small white angular inclusions.

cf. **1** (P 281; Well L17:1); *Agora* XXXIII, p. 291-2, nos. 435 (dated by context to ca. 250-170), 477 (dated by context to before ca. 170), fig. 63

Date: ca. 250-170 (middle of the 3rd to early 2nd century)

498. Oinochoe P 247 (N17-147); Well N17:2 (Pl. 53)

Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lots 59 and 65

H: 0.382; Diam (base): 0.105; (max body): 0.085

Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing some parts of body, neck and rim.

Oinochoe with ring base, wide resting surface and flat underside; tall globular body with wide shoulder; tall straight neck; short projecting rim with rounded lip; single medium oval vertical handle attached below rim and on shoulder.

Tan buff fine ware fabric with few small brown angular inclusions; brown black out, mostly on neck and underside, poorly preserved.
Corinth VII.3, p. 112, no. 630, pls. 23, 60. The closest parallel is Corinthian amphorae but there is no evidence of a second handle on this example.

Date: Hellenistic

499. Pitcher, narrow-necked P 244 (N17-145); Well N17:2 (Pl. 53)

Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lots 62, 63 and 65

PH: 0.095; PW: 0.12; Diam (rim): 0.09

Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing all below shoulder.

Pitcher with shoulder to narrow concave neck; flaring rim with downsloping outer face (trumpet-shaped mouth); two small oval strap handles attached below rim and at shoulder.

Cream fine ware fabric; monochrome black out (poorly preserved).

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 155, no. 393, pl. 45

Date: Hellenistic

500. Mug, Hexamilia P 149 (N17-110); Well N17:2 (Pl. 54)

Layer 6, Lot 62

H: 0.109; Diam (max): 0.095

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 38a

Complete, mended from 28 sherds; missing part of foot, wall and rim.

Mug, hexamilia type, with ring base; globular lower wall; sharp inset of vertical upper wall; lipless rim; single medium vertical flat strap handle attached below rim and shoulder.

Gray brown fine ware fabric; monochrome dull black wash (dipped) out, reserved lower body.

Corinth VII.3, p. 86-7, nos. 515, 521, pls. 16, 54

Date: ca. 275-225 (second to third quarter of the 3rd century)

501. Moldmade Bowl P 129 (N17-89); Well N17:2 (Pl. 54)

Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lot 59 and 65

H: 0.079; Diam (rim): 0.13

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37e

Reconstructed, mended from nine fragments, preserving full profile; missing about 1/3 of body and rim.

Moldmade bowl, imbricate type, concave base, medallion with molded gorgon enclosed by two raised circles; flaring wall decorated with three rings of overlapping thick petals with rosettes between them at top; band with stylized ivy leaves; flaring lipless rim.

Brown tan to pink tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black mono in/out.

Agora XXII, p. 46-7, nos. 18, 21, pls. 3, 4, 73, 94; *Agora* XXII, p. 49, no. 40, pl. 7

Date: ca. 225-175 (end of the 3rd to first quarter of the 2nd century)

502. Moldmade Bowl P 128 (N17-88); Well N17:2 (Pl. 54)

Layer 6, Lot 60

H: 0.075; Diam (rim): 0.13

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37e

Reconstructed, mended from six fragments, preserving full profile; missing almost 2/3 of body and rim.

Moldmade bowl, figured type, slightly concave base, medallion with molded rosette inside two molded circles; flaring wall decorated with band of seven circles of overlapped petals, field with centaurs and spear with rosettes in field, stylized ivy band, and band below rim; flaring lipless rim.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black to dark red in/out (dull).

Agora XXII, p. 55, no. 99, pls. 17, 75; *Agora XXII*, p. 59, no. 123, pls. 23, 77

Date: ca. 225-175 (end of the 3rd to first quarter of the 2nd century)

503. Moldmade Bowl P 139 (N17-99); Well N17:2 (Pl. 54)

Layer 6, Lot 61

H: 0.080; Diam (rim): 0.134

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37f

Reconstructed, mended from 6 fragments, preserving full profile; missing about 1/4 of body.

Moldmade bowl, figured type, concave bottom, medallion with gorgon surrounded by two raised circles; flaring walls decorated with one row of acanthus leaves; rosettes between molded representations of gods, birds above, band of stylized ivy, empty band; flaring lipless rim.

Brown tan to pink tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.

Agora XXII, p. 62, no. 152, pls. 28, 78, 94

Date: ca. 225-175 (end of the 3rd to first quarter of the 2nd century)

504. Moldmade Bowl P 143 (N17-103); Well N17:2 (Pl. 54)

Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lot 61 and 65

H: 0.666; Diam: 0.125

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37e

Reconstructed, mended from 25 fragments, preserving full profile; missing half of body and rim.

Moldmade bowl, figured type, slightly concave bottom, medallion with gorgon surrounded by two circular bands; flaring walls decorated with palmettes, erotes on either side of column krater, raised band, stylized ivy leaf, horizontal band; everted rim.

Buff fine ware fabric; traces of monochrome black in/out.

Agora XXII, p. 55-6, no. 99, pls. 17, 75; *Agora XXII*, p. 58, no. 116, pls. 21, 76

Date: ca. 225-150 (end of the 3rd to middle of the 2nd century)

505. Moldmade Bowl P 233 (N17-141); Well N17:2 (Pl. 54)

Layer 6, Lot 59

PH: 0.027; PW: 0.059

Fragmentary, two sherds.

Moldmade bowl with concave bottom with wide body; concentric circles on edge of medallion; acanthus leaves at lower body.

Pinkish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to brown black in/out (faded).

Agora XXII, p. 48, no. 30, pls. 5, 94; *Agora XXII*, p. 60, no. 125, pl. 24

Date: ca. 225-175 (end of the 3rd to first quarter of the 2nd century)

506. Moldmade Bowl P 147 (N17-108); Well N17:2 (Pl. 55)

Layer 6, Lot 61

PH: 0.069; PW: 0.06

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37e

Fragmentary.

Moldmade bowl, body fragment, decorated with band, rosettes, band, palmettes, bucrania between lozenges and pendant rosettes.

Brownish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.

Date: end of 3rd to early 2nd century

507. Plate P 140 (N17-100); Well N17:2 (Pl. 55)

Layer 6, Lot 61

H: 0.057; Diam (rim): 0.209

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37a

Reconstructed, mended from 15 fragments, preserving full profile; missing fragments from bowl and rim.

Plate with ring base, flaring foot and wide resting surface, convex underside; flaring bowl; projecting rim with beveled lip.

Brown tan to pink brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown red to black brown in/out.

Corinth VII.3, p. 42, no. 136, pls. 5, 46; Sanders 2014, p. 65, no. 57, fig. 59

Date: 3rd century

508. Amphora P 211 (N17-113); Well N17:2 (Pl. 55)

Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lots 59, 60 and 65

H: 0.37; Diam (base): 0.115; (rim): 0.12

Fragmentary, mended from many pieces; missing parts of wall and neck.

Amphora with ring base with flaring foot and convex underside; tall broad belly; straight neck with projecting rim; two medium oval vertical handles attached below rim and on shoulder.

Tan buff to pink buff fine ware fabric with traces of brown black wash out.

Agora XII, p. 338, no. 1468, pl. 61 (dated by context to ca. 350-325); *Corinth* VII.3, p. 11-2, nos. 628, 630, pls. 23, 60

Date: middle of the 4th to 3rd century

509. Amphora P 243 (N17-144); Well N17:2 (Pl. 55)

Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lots 59 and 65

H: 0.243; Diam (base): ca. 0.095

Fragmentary, mended from many pieces; missing parts of wall and neck.

Amphora with ring base, wide flat resting surface and slightly convex underside; round body; broad shoulder; narrow neck; two medium oval vertical handles attached below rim and at shoulder; single incised line around body near shoulder.

Cream buff fine ware fabric with few small brown angular inclusions; possible brown black wash out.

Agora XII, p. 338, no. 1468, pl. 61 (dated by context to ca. 350-325); *Corinth* VII.3, p. 11-2, nos. 628, 630, pls. 23, 60

Date: middle of the 4th to 3rd century

510. Corinthian B Amphora N17:2.62.01 a-d; Well N17:2 (Pl. 55)

Layer 6, Lot 62

PH: 0.12-0.58; PW: 0.105-0.15; Th: 0.009

Fragmentary; four non-joining body sherds.

Corinthian B amphora with vertical combing.

Tan buff fine ware fabric.

Corinth VII.6, p. 60-1, no. I-18, fig. 3, pl. 5
Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of 4th century)

511. Skyphos, Attic Type P 203 (N17-125); Well N17:2 (Pl. 55)

Layer 6, Lot 64

H: 0.115; Diam (base): 0.068; (rim): 0.122

Reconstructed, partially; missing parts of upper wall and handles.

Skyphos, Attic type, with torus ring base, flat underside and wide resting surface; slightly flaring lower body to wide curved upper body; slightly flaring lipless rim; two small round horizontal handles attached below rim.

Tan buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.

Corinth VII.6, p. 187, no. VI-21, fig. 36, pl. 28

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

512. Skyphos P 206 (N17-128); Well N17:2 (Fig. 32; Pl. 56)

Layer 6, Lot 64

H: 0.107; Diam (base): 0.066; (rim): 0.11m

Reconstructed, partially, full profile preserved; mended from several fragments; missing 2/3 of body and rim, both handles.

Skyphos with torus foot, slightly convex underside; lower body nearly vertical from base then flares to widest diameter; flaring lipless rim; small round horizontal handle attach below rim.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out (dull); reserved underside with three concentric rings.

Corinth VII.6, p.187-8, nos. VI-30, VI-39, figs. 36, 37, pl. 29

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

513. Skyphos N17:2.64.02; Well N17:2 (Fig. 32; Pl. 56)

Layer 6, Lot 64

PH: 0.05; Diam: 0.075

Complete base.

Skyphos with torus base, convex underside; concave body; two concentric circles and central dot on underside of base.

Light orange fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out, reserved underside with concentric circles.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 93, no. 81, fig. 7, pl. 12

Date: ca. 350-325 (third quarter of the 4th century)

514. Kantharos P 158 (N17-119); Well N17:2 (Fig. 32; Pl. 56)

Layer 6, Lot 64

H: 0.089; Diam (base): 0.050; (rim): 0.060

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 38a

Reconstructed, nearly complete, mended from 13 fragments; missing about 1/3 of base and 1/4 of rim, and parts of body.

Cup kantharos, molded ring base, flaring foot; globular lower body to concave upper body; lipless rim with projecting molding; single medium oval vertical handle attached at projection of rim and widest diameter of body.

Pink buff to blue gray fine ware fabric; monochrome black to reddish brown in/out, very worn on exterior.

Corinth VII.6, p. 189, no. VI-44, fig. 38, pl. 30 (cup-kantharoi with molded rim)
Date: ca. 375-325 (second to third quarter of the 4th century)

515. Kantharos P 204 (N17-128); Well N17:2 (Pl. 56)

Layer 6, Lot 63

PH: 0.045; Diam (base): 0.053

Reconstructed, partially, mended from several fragments; missing upper body, most of handles, and rim.

Kantharos with ring base with molded foot, incised groove on resting surface, underside slightly nipped; squat globular body; two small oval vertical handles attached at widest diameter of body. Four palmettes stamped on center of floor with rouletting around widest diameter of floor.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out, reserved resting surface.

cf. **335** (P 385; Well K14:4); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 189, nos. VI-44, VI-45, fig. 38, pl. 30

Date: ca. 375-325 (second to third quarter of the 4th century)

516. Kantharos, Articulated P 138 (N17-98); Well N17:2 (Pl. 56)

Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lots 60 and 65

H: 0.109; Diam (base): 0.052; (rim): 0.097

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37a

Reconstructed, mended from nine fragments with other non-joining, preserving full profile; missing one handle and part of body and rim.

Kantharos, articulated type, with flaring ring foot; flaring lower wall then carination to vertical body with exterior groove at lower handle attachment and below lipless rim; round handle with pinched attachments at mid-wall.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; mottled black to red brown out and band below lip in, half of foot and lower body appears reserved.

Corinth VII.3, p. 84-5, nos. 460, 463, 466, pls. 16, 53

Date: ca. 325-225 (end of 4th to third quarter of 3rd century)

517. Kantharos P 205 (N17-127); Well N17:2 (Pl. 57)

Layer 6, Lots 62 and 64

H: 0.105; Diam (base): 0.05; (rim): 0.09

Fragmentary, mended from several fragments, very brittle.

Kantharos with tall flaring foot, pronounced nipple on underside; deep rounded bowl with double groove around body at handle zone; out-turned rim; two small oval vertical handles with spurs.

Green buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out (poorly preserved).

Corinth VII.3, p. 71, nos. 401, 408, pls. 15, 39, 52. The closest comparanda for shape is Edwards' cyma kantharos, but does not have the pronounced stem foot.

Date: ca. 300-250 (end of the 4th to middle of the 3rd century)

518. One-handled Cup P 155 (N17-116); Well N17:2 (Pl. 57)

Layer 6, Lot 63

H: 0.048; Diam (base): 0.045; (rim): 0.081

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 38a

Reconstructed, partially, mended from three fragments; missing about 1/3 of wall.

One-handled cup with ring base, nipped underside; convex wall; thickened lipless rim; small oval triangular handle attached at rim.

Pinkish buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to black brown in/out.
Corinth VII.6, p. 193, nos. VI-79, VI-80, fig. 40
Date: 4th century

519. One-handled Cup N17:2.63.03; Well N17:2 (Fig. 32; Pl. 57)

Layer 6, Lot 63

PH: 0.012; Diam: 0.042

Fragment of base.

One-handled cup with disc base with concave underside and central disc; very little of wall preserved, but suggests wide lower body.

Cream fine ware fabric; monochrome black out (poorly preserved).

Corinth VII.6, p. 191, no. VI-70, fig. 39, pl. 31; *Corinth* VII.6, p. 190, VI-57, VI-60, fig. 39, pl. 31 (for disc)

Date: 4th century

520. Mug P 156 (N17-117); Well N17:2 (Fig. 33; Pl. 57)

Layer 6, Lot 63

H: 0.078; Diam (base): 0.037; (rim): 0.057

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 38a

Reconstructed, mended from 15 fragments; missing parts of body.

Mug with slightly raised concave base; low baggy body; short concave neck; out-turned rim; single medium oval strap handle attached at rim and body.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to brown black in/out, with lower body and base reserved.

cf. **27** (P 1747; Well L17:1); **153** (P 339; Well L17:2); **356** (P 386; Well K14:4); **433** (P 1665; Well E18); **521** (P 157; Well N17:2); Nemea Museum, P 904 (G14-5; G14, Lot 3), P 1700 (E18-133; North reservoir), and P 1703 (E18-136; middle reservoir)

Date: 4th century

521. Mug P 157 (N17-118); Well N17:2 (Fig. 33; Pl. 57)

Layer 6, Lots 62 and 64

H: 0.069; Diam (base): 0.045; (rim): 0.065

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 38a

Reconstructed, mended from six fragments; missing 1/2 of body and handle.

Mug with raised flat base; low baggy body; out-turned rim.

Pinkish brown fine ware fabric; matte monochrome black in/out, reserved underside.

cf. **27** (P 1747; Well L17:1); **153** (P 339; Well L17:2); **356** (P 386; Well K14:4); **433** (P 1665; Well E18); **520** (P 156; Well N17:2); Nemea Museum, P 904 (G14-5; G14, Lot 3), P 1700 (E18-133; North reservoir), and P 1703 (E18-136; middle reservoir)

Date: 4th century

522. Bowl, Hemispherical P 202 (N17-124); Well N17:2 (Pl. 57)

Layer 6, Lot 59

H: 0.07; Diam (rim): 0.15

Reconstructed, mended from several fragments; missing about 1/4 of body.

Hemispherical bowl with flat bottom; wide bow with single groove; lipless rim.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; matte monochrome red brown to black in/out.

Date: end of 4th to 2nd century

- 523. Bowl, Small Shallow** P 207 (N17-129); Well N17:2 (Fig. 33; Pl. 58)
 Layer 6, Lot 64
 H: 0.04; Diam (base): 0.048; (rim): 0.08
 Reconstructed, mended from four fragments; missing about 2/3 of body and most of rim
 Shallow bowl with raised disc base, concave underside; short shallow body; flaring lipless rim.
 Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out, reserved underside.
Corinth VII.6, p. 129, no. IV-55, fig. 22, pl. 18
 Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)
- 524. Small Bowl** N17:2.64.03; Well N17:2 (Fig. 33; Pl. 58)
 Layer 6, Lot 64
 PH: 0.023; Diam: 0.047
 Complete base.
 Small bowl with ring base and convex underside, wide set lower body.
 Brownish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black to reddish brown (from firing) in, reserved underside.
 Nemea Museum, P 1334 (P16-17; P16, Lot 2)
 Date: 4th century
- 525. Salt-cellar** P 208 (N17-130); Well N17:2 (Fig. 33; Pl. 58)
 Layer 6, Lot 64
 H: 0.046; Diam (base): 0.05; (rim): 0.10
 Fragmentary, half of bowl preserved.
 Salt-cellar with ring base, flaring foot; shallow body; incurving lipless rim.
 Orange brown fine ware fabric; matte monochrome black in/out, reserved underside.
Corinth VII.6, p. 126-7, nos. IV-16-IV-29, fig. 20, pl. 16
 Date: ca. 325-300 (last quarter of 4th century)
- 526. Loom Weight** TC 367 (N17-262); Well N17:2 (Pl. 58)
 Layer 6, Lot 58
 H: 0.075; W: 0.053; Diam (base): 0.025
 Complete.
 Conical loom weight with flat slightly concave base, rounded beveled lower body; upper body comes to a rounded top; hole pierced through vertically at top.
 Orange tan fine ware fabric with no visible inclusions.
Corinth XII, p. 155, profile X, fig. 23
 Date: ca. 350-300 (late 4th century)
- 527. Loom Weight** TC 368 (N17-265); Well N17:2 (Pl. 58)
 Layer 6, Lot 59
 PH: 0.043; PW: 0.054
 Fragmentary; mostly missing, preserving half of the lower body.
 Conical loom weight with concave base, beveled lower body, which is fairly sharp.
 Pink tan fine ware fabric with no visible inclusions.
Corinth XII, p. 155, profile X, fig. 23
 Date: ca. 350-300 (late 4th century)
- 528. Oinochoe** P 242 (N17-143); Well N17:2 (Pl. 58)

Layer 6, Lots 62-64

PH: 0.245; Diam (base): ca. 0.105; (max body): 0.075

Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing parts of body and neck, full rim and handle.

Blisterware oinochoe with slightly convex bottom; tall globular body; offset neck; six horizontal ridges at top of body.

Orange to blue gray blisterware fabric (imitation) with very few small white angular inclusions.

Corinth VII.6, p. 166, no. V-73, fig. 33, pl. 25

Date: 4th century

529. Oinochoe P 210 (N17-132); Well N17:2 (Pl. 59)

Layer 6, Lot 63 and 64

PH: 0.173; PW: 0.222

Fragmentary, mended from several sherds; preserving only 1/3 of body.

Blisterware oinochoe with wide globular body; raised bumps around upper part of body and broad vertical ridges on shoulder.

Tan pink to red brown blisterware; pale cream to blue gray wash out.

Corinth VII.6, p. 166, no. V-73, fig. 33, pl. 25

Date: 4th century

530. Aryballos N17:2.64.06; Well N17:2 (Fig. 33; Pl. 59)

Layer 6, Lot 64

PH: 0.034; Diam: (rim) 0.065; (at neck): 0.026

Complete rim.

Aryballos with tall spreading rim, narrow slightly concave neck, and attach for small flat vertical handle at rim.

Buff orange to blue gray blisterware fabric.

Nemea Museum, P 697 (Q19-24; Deposit Q19:1)

Date: 4th century

531. Pitcher P 119 (N17-75); Well N17:2 (Pl. 59)

Layer 6, Lot 59

H: 0.203; Diam (body): 0.169

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 36c

Reconstructed, mended from 12 fragments; missing fragments from body, rim and handle.

Pitcher with concave base, globular body, concave neck to a projecting rim; the handle attached above mid-belly and probably at rim.

Reddish-brown kitchenware fabric with small white and gray inclusions.

cf. **7** (P 293; Well L17:1), **458-461** (P 1677-1680; Well E18), and **530** (P 148; Well N17:2); *Corinth* VII.6, p. 98, nos. III-32-III-34, fig. 14, pl. 13

Date: 4th century

532. Pitcher P 221 (N17-137); Well N17:2 (Pl. 59)

Layer 6, Lots 60, 61 and 64

H: 0.330; Diam (base): 0.075; (rim): 0.125

Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing parts of body.

- Pitcher with concave bottom with irregular resting surface; globular body; concave neck; projecting rim; single medium oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder.
Brown to orange brown kitchenware fabric with few small white angular inclusions.
Corinth VII.6, p. 98-9, nos. III-32-III-41, fig. 14, pl. 13
Date: 4th century
- 533. Pitcher** P 148 (N17-109); Well N17:2 (Pl. 59)
Layer 6, Lot 61
H: 0.269; Diam (base): 0.085; (rim): 0.117
Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 36f
Reconstructed, mended from 17 fragments; missing pieces from belly.
Pitcher with concave bottom; wide globular body; tall concave neck; projecting rim with rounded lip; large oval vertical strap handle attached at rim and shoulder.
Brown to orange kitchenware fabric with few small brown and white angular inclusions.
Corinth VII.6, p. 99, nos. III-42, III-43, fig. 15, pl. 13
Date: 4th century
- 534. Pitcher** P 218 (N17-139); Well N17:2 (Pl. 59)
Layer 6, Lots 60, 61 and 63
H: 0.245; Diam (base): 0.073; (rim): 0.118
Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing parts of body.
Pitcher with concave bottom; globular body; concave neck; projecting rim; single medium oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder.
Red orange kitchenware fabric.
Corinth VII.6, p. 98, nos. III-35, III-36, fig. 14
Date: 4th century
- 535. Pitcher** N17:2.64.05; Well N17:2 (Fig. 33; Pl. 59)
Layer 6, Lot 64
PH: 0.122; Diam: 0.125; (at neck): 0.083
Complete rim and handle; reconstructed from eight fragments.
Pitcher with spreading lip, concave short neck to wide shoulder, complete medium oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder.
Reddish orange to gray brown kitchenware fabric with small angular white inclusions.
cf. **462** (P 1681; Well E18)
Date: 4th century
- 536. Pitcher** N17:2.64.04; Well N17:2 (Fig. 33)
Layer 6, Lot 64
PH: 0.077; Th: 0.067
Fragment of rim; partial mended from seven fragments.
Pitcher with out-turned rim with trefoil lip, slightly rounded mouth, raised band at join between rim and neck, concave neck, wide set shoulder.
Gray kitchenware fabric with small angular white and orange inclusions.
Date: 4th century
- 537. Chytra, flanged** P 209 (N17-131); Well N17:2 (Pl. 60)
Layer 6, Lot 63
PH: 0.092; PW: 0.08

Fragmentary, mended from four fragments.

Chytra with concave neck; out-turned rim with flange; medium oval vertical strap handle attached at rim and shoulder; exterior decorated with narrow horizontal grooves.

Red brown to orange kitchenware fabric with a few small black angular inclusions.

Corinth VII.6, p. 96, no. III-11, fig. 11

Date: 4th century

538. Coin C 337 (N17-coin 52); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 63

Weight: 4.13

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 38c; *Nemea* III, cat. 71, pl. 2, s.

Coin, Macedonia, Alexander III, drachma; Obv: Herakles in lion's skin to the right, Rev: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ vertically right; Zeus enthroned left holding eagle and scepter.

Silver.

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

539. Coin C 338 (N17-coin 53); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 62

Weight: 2.35

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 38c; *Nemea* III, cat. 1860, pl. 23, g.

Coin, Kleonai; Obv: Herakles head in lion's skin right; Rev: ΚΛΕΩ in wild celery wreath.

Bronze.

Corinth VI, p. 65, no. 418; *BMC Pel.*, p. 154, nos. 9-10, pl. 29.6

Date: ca. 320 (end of 4th century)

540. Coin C 339 (N17-coin 54); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 64

Weight: 3.50

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 38c; *Nemea* III, cat. 1914.

Coin, Arkadia; Obv: Pan head right; Rev: AR monogram.

BMC Pel., p. 175, no. 67, pl. 32.14, 15

Bronze.

Date: ca. 325-300 (end of 4th century)

541. Oinochoe P 141 (N17-101); Well N17:2 (Pl. 60)

Layer 6, Lot 61

H: 0.344; Diam (base): 0.115; (max body): 0.25; (rim): 0.137

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 36f

Reconstructed, mended from 41 fragments; missing pieces from wall and neck.

Oinochoe with slightly concave base; tall globular body to concave neck with horizontal projecting rim; large oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder.

Pink to brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black wash mottled, smoothing striations on exterior.

cf. **539** (P 217; Well N17:2) and **540** (P 212; Well N17:2); *Agora* XII, p. 350, no. 1616, pl. 73 (dated by context to ca. 415-400)

Date: 5th century

542. Oinochoe P 217 (N17-138); Well N17:2 (Pl. 60)

- Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lot 58, 59 and 65
 H: 0.235; Diam (base): 0.06; (rim): 0.115
 Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing parts of wall and rim.
 Oinochoe with flat bottom; tall globular body; concave neck; projecting rim; single medium oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder.
 Tan buff fine ware fabric; traces of brown to brown black wash out.
 cf. **508** (P 211; Well N17:2) and **538** (P141; Well N17:2); *Agora* XII, p. 350, no. 1616, pl. 73 (dated by context to ca. 415-400)
 Date: 5th century
- 543. Oinochoe** P 212 (N17-134); Well N17:2 (Pl. 60)
 Layer 6, Lot 59
 H: 0.281; Diam (base): 0.087; (rim): 0.115
 Reconstructed, mended from many pieces: missing parts of wall and rim.
 Oinochoe with slightly concave bottom; broad belly; slightly concave neck; out-turned rim; single medium oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder.
 Buff fine ware fabric with a few small red and brown angular inclusions.
 cf. **538** (P 141; Well N17:2), **538** (P141; Well N17:2), and **539** (P 217; Well N17:2); *Agora* XII, p. 350, no. 1616, pl. 73 (dated by context to ca. 415-400)
 Date: 5th century
- 544. Olpe** N17:2.64.01; Well N17:2 (Fig. 34; Pl. 60)
 Layer 6, Lot 64
 PH: 0.078; Diam: 0.052
 Fragment of base with joining body fragments.
 Olpe with flat base and convex body.
 Brownish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome blackish brown out, possible reserved band at bottom of wall near base and reserved underside.
Corinth VII.3, p. 52, no. 221, pls. 9, 48
 Date: ca. 450 (middle of 5th century)
- 545. Olpe** N17:2.63.02; Well N17:2 (Fig. 34)
 Layer 6, Lot 64
 PH: 0.067; Diam: 0.065
 Complete base.
 Olpe with disc foot with flat underside and low convex body.
 Brownish tan fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown out with reserved underside.
Agora XII, p. 255, nos. 276-283, fig. 3, pl. 13
 Date: ca. 500-325 (5th or 4th century)
- 546. Salt-cellar** P 159 (N17-120); Well N17:2 (Pl. 60)
 Layer 6, Lot 64
 H: 0.027; Diam (base): 0.054; (rim): 0.059
Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 38a
 Reconstructed, mended from six fragments; missing parts of floor, body, and rim.
 Salt-cellar with ring base with slight convex underside; concave wall; out-turned rim.
 Cream buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown in/out (very faint).
Agora XII, p. 301-2, nos. 929, 936, pl. 34
 Date: ca. 450-350 (middle of the 5th to middle of the 4th century)

547. Loom Weight TC 365 (N17-256); Well N17:2 (Pl. 60)

Layer 6, Lot 60

H: 0.106; W: 0.062; Diam (base): 0.038

Nearly complete; missing a few chips on body and at bottom.

Conical loom weight, slightly concave bottom with a beveled lower body; not uniform in shape, but tilts slightly; upper part comes to a narrow point at the top; hole pierced through horizontally at top.

Buff tan fine ware fabric with some small red angular inclusions.

Corinth XII, p. 152-3, profile VIII, fig. 23

Date: middle to end of the 5th century

548. Loom Weight TC 366 (N17-257); Well N17:2 (Pl. 61)

Layer 6, Lot 60

H: 0.095; W (base): 0.045; (body): 0.063

Nearly complete.

Pyramidal loom weight with flat slightly concave base, beveled lower body, upper body comes to a rounded top; two wide flat sides and two slight rounded, narrower sides; hole pierced through at the top.

Pink buff fine ware fabric with small red angular inclusions.

Corinth XII, p. 161-2, pyramidal type

Date: late 5th to early 4th century

549. Oinochoe N17:2.63.01; Well N17:2 (Pl. 61)

Layer 6, Lot 63

PH: 0.037; PW: 0.175; Diam: 0.120

Complete base, mended from two fragments; 30 associated body sherds.

Oinochoe with ring base with rounded outer edge, slightly convex underside, wide globular body.

Buff fine ware fabric.

Corinth VII.2, p. 110, no. AN 61, pls. 60, 104, 109; McPhee 2005, p. 47, no. C-1939-118, fig. 5

Date: end of the 6th to early 5th century

550. Pitcher/Stopper N17:2.62.02; Well N17:2 (Pl. 61)

Layer 6, Lot 62

Diam: 0.125

Fragmentary; two joining.

Pitcher base slightly concave underside; reworked on edges to be a stopper or lid at a later date; groove around outer edge, possibly left from original foot.

Brown tan fine ware fabric.

Date: 6th to 4th century

551. Vase BR 39 (N17-63); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 62 and 63

Diam (base): 0.117; MW (handle): 0.120; W (attachments): 0.0495-0.052

Complete base and handle; corroded.

Vessel with wide ring base, recessed underside and grooved outer face with flat horizontal upper surface; upswing horizontal handle, circular in section with two semi-circular attachment plates.

Date: 6th to 5th century

552. Amphora P 126 (N17-85); Well N17:2 (Pl. 61)

Layer 6, Lot 60

PL: 0.101; Th: 0.02

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37b

Fragment of handle.

Amphora with large oval vertical handle preserving rounded rim; circular stamp in upper handle area; a raised dot in center and inscription around outside:

[.] OK [?] TEYΣ

Pinkish orange fine ware fabric with small mica and granular inclusions.

Date: context 5th to 1st century

553. Amphora P 127 (N17-86); Well N17:2 (Pl. 61)

Layer 6, Lot 59

PL: 0.10; Th: 0.021

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37b

Fragment of handle.

Amphora with large oval vertical handle with body attach, circular stamp in upper handle area; a raised disc in center and inscription around outside:

KNIAION NIK [?]

Pinkish orange fine ware fabric with small mica and granular inclusions.

Date: context 5th to 1st century

554. Oinochoe P 213 (N17-135); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lots 59 and 60

H: 0.325; Diam (rim): 0.14; (max body): 0.081

Fragmentary; missing parts of wall and half of neck.

Oinochoe with slightly concave bottom; round body; tall slightly concave neck; projecting rim; single medium oval vertical handle attached at rim and shoulder.

Orange brown fine ware fabric.

Date: context 5th to 1st century

555. Pitcher P 245 (N17-146); Well N17:2 (Pl. 62)

Layer 6, Lot 58

PH: 0.30; Diam (base): 0.096; (body): 0.18

Fragmentary, mended from many fragments; missing parts of body, rim, and handle.

Pitcher with slightly convex bottom; tall globular body; short concave neck.

Orange tan fine ware fabric with very few small black angular inclusions.

Date: context 5th to 1st century

556. Pitcher P 256 (N17-149); Well N17:2

Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lots 59 and 65

PH: 0.33

Fragmentary, mended from many fragments; missing parts of body, rim, and handle.

Pitcher with flat bottom; globular body; narrow neck.

Tan brown to buff fine ware fabric with small brown angular inclusions.
Date: context 5th to 1st century

557. Cup P 146 (N17-107); Well N17:2 (Pl. 62)

Layer 6, Lots 61 and 64

H: 0.086; Diam (base): 0.045; (rim): 0.085

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37e

Reconstructed, mended from 16 fragments.

Cup with ring base with slightly nipples underside; curved lower body, vertical upper body; lipless rim; two small round horizontal handles, triangular in shape, attached below rim.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Date: context 5th to 1st century

558. Shallow Bowl P 200 (N17-122); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lots 63 and 64

H: 0.061; Diam: 0.154

Reconstructed, mended from many fragments.

Shallow bowl with low ring foot; shallow echinus bowl; incurving rim.

Buff fine ware fabric; dull brown wash.

Date: context 5th to 1st century (not found during current study, but most likely 4th century)

559. Basket, Miniature P 154 (N17-115); Well N17:2 (Pl. 62)

Layer 6, Lot 62

H: 0.044; Diam (base): 0.021; (rim): 0.036

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 36c

Complete, mended from three fragments; missing 1/4 of handle.

Miniature basket with raised flat string cut base; flaring wall; thickened slightly incurving lipless rim; small oval basket handle.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome red brown to brown black in/out.

Date: context 5th to 1st century (probably 4th to 3rd century)

560. Hydria P 255 (N17-148); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lots 61-64

H: ca. 0.40; Diam (rim): 0.16

Reconstructed, partially, mended from several fragments; missing fragments of body and rim.

Hydria with flat bottom; large round body; wide slightly concave neck; projecting rim with thickened lip; two round horizontal handle; one partially preserved oval strap handle with thumb depression at lower attach.

Red brown to orange kitchenware fabric with small white angular inclusions.

Date: context 5th to 1st century (closest parallels are 5th century)

561. Stew Pot P 241 (N17-142); Well N17:2 (Pl. 62)

Layer 6 and 5/6 sift, Lots 59 and 65

PH: 0.152; Diam (base): ca. 0.15; (max body): 0.05

Reconstructed, mended from many fragments, missing parts of body, neck, rim, and handle.

Pitcher with slightly convex bottom; offset lower body to rounded vertical upper body; offset shoulder; single small oval vertical handle attach on shoulder.
Red brown to red kitchenware fabric with many small white angular inclusions.
Date: context 5th to 1st century

562. Pitcher P 214 (N17-136); Well N17:2 (Pl. 62)

Layer 6, Lots 61 and 62
H: 0.235; Diam (base): 0.06; (rim): 0.115
Reconstructed, mended from many fragments; missing parts of body and handle.
Pitcher with concave bottom; rounded body; concave neck; horizontal projecting rim.
Red brown to gray brown kitchenware fabric with small white angular inclusions.
Date: context 5th to 1st century (most likely 4th century)

563. Pitcher P 232 (N17-140); Well N17:2 (Pl. 62)

Layer 6, Lot 58 and 59
PH: 0.315; Diam (base): 0.10; (body): 0.079
Fragmentary, mended from many fragments; missing upper body, neck, rim, and handle.
Pitcher with slightly concave bottom; tall round body.
Red brown to orange brown semi-coarse fabric with many small brown angular inclusions.
Date: context 5th to 1st century

564. Pithos P 1825 (N17-243); Well N17:2 (Pl. 63)

Layer 6, Lot 63
PH: 0.112; PW: 0.098; Th: 0.024
Fragmentary; mended with lead clamp.
Pithos body fragments, triangular in shape repaired with large lead clamp; one sherd is larger than the other; lead clamp of two strips over the break.
Reddish brown to gray coarse ware fabric with small angular inclusions.
Date: context 5th to 1st century

565. Altar Finial A 94 (N17-112); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 63
PH: 0.114; PW: 0.081; PTh: 0.065
Nemea I, cat. 4
Fragmentary, preserving finial and backing surface; broken at underside and at gable.
Finial with the outline of a stylized palmette on central akroterion of pediment; front surface is finished, side roughly chiseled.
White marble with gray vein.

566. Cover Tile AT 31 (N17-114); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 59
L: 0.31; PH: 0.102; PW: 0.151
Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 36d
Fragmentary, preserving three sides and two top surfaces; missing most of one side and apex of the tile; chipped and slightly worn.
Cover tile for a hip roof, long rectangular in shape with finished edges showing full length and angle of ascent.
Pinkish fine ware fabric with cream slip.

567. Cover Tile AT 25 (N17-73); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 64

PL: 0.662; H: 0.137; MW: 0.253

Intact; chips missing at bottom corners and lower inside edges; slightly worn.

Corinthian cover tile with near vertical sides, peaked top, and lower raking face; the interior is arched, the raking face on inside has a horizontal strut.

Buff fine ware fabric well fired with pink inclusions; exterior has a pale buff to orange slip.

568. Antefix AT 32 (N17-121); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 64

PL: 0.110; PH: 0.041; PW: 0.088

Fragmentary; broken along side; worn.

Antefix, triangular in shape with a molded five-leaf palmette on proper right side.

Pinkish clay with red inclusions.

569. Sheet BR 1749 (N17-240); BR 1751 (N17-247); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 63 and 64

PH: 0.009-0.028; PW: 0.011-0.02m

Fragmentary, corroded; 10 pieces.

Sheet of bronze, very thin; irregular in shape and edges broken; probably from larger object; turquoise green in color.

570. Ring IL 17 (N17-51); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 59

Diam: 0.074-0.079; Th: 0.008-0.017

Intact, very corroded.

Ring with a crack or joint at its thickest point.

Iron.

571. Pin IL 25 (N17-51); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 61

PL: 0.036; MTh: 0.002

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37d

Fragment, preserving lower end of shaft; tip broken away and part of shaft.

Pin, thin and tapering.

Iron.

572. Pin IL 26 (N17-94); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 61

PL: 0.034; MTh: 0.002

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37d

Fragment, preserving tip and part of shaft.

Pin, thin and tapering.

Iron.

573. Sickle IL 35 (N17-97); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 61

Handle) PL: 0.051; W: 0.023; Th: 0.016

Blade) PL: 0.087; MW: 0.045; Th: 0.003

Hesperia 45 (1976), pl. 37d

Fragmentary, mended from two fragments; blade broken at both ends, encrusted.

Sickle with handle and blade, handle has iron casing around wood shaft; blade fragment preserves bend of sickle arm.

Iron.

574. Slag IL 1116 (N17-264); Well N17:2 (Pl. 63)

Layer 6, Lot 59

PH: 0.033; PW: 0.053

Fragmentary; possibly three fragments joined together.

Slag, large fragment, lumpy and irregular in shape; one side is circular and flat with a conglomeration of irregularly shaped pieces attached to the other surface; color is uneven, but ranges from white gray to blue gray.

Lead.

575. Nail IL 1114 (N17-258); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 60

PH: 0.022; PW: 0.021; Th: 0.009

Fragmentary.

Nail head roughly circular with a 1.5cm square shaft from head.

Iron.

576. Nail IL 1115 (N17-263); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 60

Nail Head) PH: 0.010; PW: 0.022

Largest fragment) PH: 0.032; PW: 0.006

Fragmentary, one nail head and four possible shafts.

Nail head circular in shape with very little of the shaft preserved; the nail shafts are circular in shape.

Iron.

577. Nail IL 1113 (N17-254); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 61

PH: 0.015-0.034; PW: 0.003-0.024; Th: 0.003-0.013

Fragmentary, 10 pieces: four nail head, three possible shafts, and three lump/fragments.

Nail heads circular in shape; two preserve the beginning of the shaft; three shafts are also circular, two are straight, while the third is slightly bent at one end; of the remaining fragments, one is a large lump and the other two are irregular strips.

Iron.

578. Nail IL 1103 (N17-238); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 64

Nail Head) Diam: 0.024; PTh: 0.006

Fragment) PL: 0.028; PTh: 0.013

Fragmentary, two pieces.

Nail head circular in shape and concave; other fragment is chunky and irregular in shape, possibly broken from a larger piece.

Iron.

579. Fragments IL 1105 (N17-248); IL 1007 (N17-252); IL 1117 (N17-266); Well N17:2 Layer 6, Lot 59, 62, and 63

PH: 0.001-0.48; PW: 0.003-0.035; Th: 0.001-0.012

Fragmentary, 13 pieces.

Fragments of iron in various shapes, from nail heads to strips and those irregular in shape; mostly broken on ends suggesting fragments of larger objects.

Iron.

580. Fragment IL 36 (N17-113); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 63

ML: 0.136; MW: 0.153; MTh: 0.027

Fragmentary.

Lump with bits of imbedded carbon; no worked surfaces.

Lead.

581. Strip IL 1104 (N17-239); Well N17:2 (Pl. 63)

Layer 6, Lot 64

PL: 0.06; PW: 0.005; Th: 0.006

Fragmentary.

Strip, rectangular in section with approximately 40 degree bend at one end otherwise mostly straight with finished edges, possibly folded over.

Lead, white in color with beige to gray coloration.

582. Sheet IL 1106 (N17-251); Well N17:2 (Pl. 63)

Layer 6, Lot 63

PH: 0.028-0.032; PW: 0.016-0.022; Th: 0.001

Fragmentary, two pieces.

Metal sheets, relatively flat with slight curves or bumps on face; very thin and irregular in shape. Aluminum or tin.

583. Rock Crystal ST 977 (N17-241); ST 979 (N17-244); ST 982 (N17-250); ST 983 (N17-253); ST 986 (N17-261); Well N17:2

Layer 6, Lot 61-64

PH: 0.004-0.059; PW: 0.004-0.02; Th: 0.001-0.025

Fragmentary, 19 pieces.

Rock crystal fragments of various shapes and sizes; edges are sharp but faces are flat; ranging from translucent to semi-translucent; none of clear shape or identification, possibly from larger object.

584. Stone Object, Grinder/Pounder ST 984 (N17-259); Well N17:2 (Pl. 63)

Layer 6, Lot 61

H: 0.069; W: 0.057; Th: 0.053

Intact.

Round stone, ovoid in shape; one side is slightly abraded and lighter in color, while the other is smooth with an even surface; shape and function unknown, but possibly a grinding or pounding stone.

Gray blue stone with some white and brown-orange veining.

585. Limestone ST 978 (N17-242); ST 980 (N17-245); ST 985 (N17-260); Well N17:2
Layer 6, Lot 62-64
PH: 0.05-0.195; PW: 0.03-0.086; Th: 0.01-0.08
Fragmentary, 11 pieces.
Limestone fragments, all unworked; majority have jagged edges with no finish, some faces smooth from flaking off of a larger samples; products of stone working.
Blue limestone, Argive.

586. Marble ST 981 (N17-249); Well N17:2
Layer 6, Lot 63
PH: 0.056-0.06; PW: 0.027; Th: 0.012
Fragmentary, two pieces.
Marble with three flat faces, while the fourth is rough; one of the sides has a very smooth edge; all the edges are rough, not cut or worked; probably fragments of a larger object or production waste.
White marble.

Well O16:1

587. Amphora O16:1.84.11; Well O16:1 (Fig. 34; Pl. 64)
Layer 4; Lot 84
PH: 0.108; PW: 0.127; Diam: 0.08
Complete base.
Amphora toe, rounded profile, button like, with very broad resting surface and concave underside; short concave stem; body flares out, conical shape.
Brown buff fine ware fabric; wheel marks fully visible on interior.
Agora XXXIII, p. 300, no. 527, fig. 68, pl. 58 (dated by context to ca. 300-190)
Date: possibly 3rd century

588. Kotyle O16:1.84.06; Well O16:1 (Fig. 34; Pl. 64)
Layer 4; Lot 84
PH: 0.015; PW: 0.075; Diam: 0.058
Complete base.
Kotyle with flaring disc foot with concave underside, wide body, very little wall preserved.
Tan buff fine ware fabric; red brown paint, very fugitive, appears only as a band around lower wall and exterior of foot.
Corinth XVIII.1, p. 97, no. 114, fig. 6, pl. 15
Date: ca. 300-275 (first quarter of the 3rd century)

589. Doric Capital A 104 a-d (O16-116); Well O16:1 (Pl. 64)
Layer 4; Lot 84
a) PH: 0.175; PW: 0.324
b) PH: 0.155; PW: 0.234
c) PH: 0.086; PW: 0.268
d) PH: 0.075; PW: 0.061
estimated diameter: a+b = 0.41
Four non-joining fragments plus several associated fragments.

Doric capital with straight ended abbreviated echinus. (a) preserves about 1/3 of an entire echinus and abacus, chipped and worn. (b) preserves less than 1/4 of capital and top of abacus is broken, chipped and worn. (c) preserves corner of abacus and white stucco. (d) preserves edges of abacus.

Limestone; white stucco.

Date: Hellenistic

590. Krater/Mortar O16:1.84.03; Well O16:1 (Fig. 34; Pl. 64)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.052; PW: 0.077; Diam: 0.25-0.35

Fragment of rim.

Krater or mortar with projecting rim, slightly down turned with rounded lip; nearly vertical wall, convex.

Brown red fine ware fabric with small angular black inclusions beginning 0.025-0.032 below rim; slip red brown to black brown on rim, possibly on exterior; band around on top of lip and slightly on interior below rim.

Agora XXIX, p. 304, no. 592 (krater), fig. 42, pl. 56; *Agora* XXII, p. 369, no. 1898 (mortar), fig. 16, pl. 92

Date: ca. 350-225 (second half of the 4th to the 3rd century)

591. Skyphos O16:1.84.04; Well O16:1 (Fig. 34; Pl. 64)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.024; PW: 0.041; Diam: 0.07

Fragment of base.

Skyphos with ring foot with slight ledge on upper face; flat underside; only slightly concave wall.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black to red brown in/out.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 93, no. 81, fig. 7, pl. 12; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 156, no. 410, fig. 7, pl. 46

Date: ca. 350-300 (second half of the 4th century)

592. One-handled Cup O16:1.84.02 a-c; Well O16:1 (Fig. 34; Pl. 64)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.013; PW: 0.037; Diam: 0.042

Fragment of base, three joining.

One-handled cup with flaring disc foot, concave underside with central disc; fairly broad body.

Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out, very fugitive in.

Corinth VII.6, p. 190, no. VI-57, fig. 39, pl. 31

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of 4th century)

593. Shallow Bowl P 413 (O16-132); Well O16:1 (Fig. 34; Pl. 64)

Layer 4; Lot 84

H: 0.032; Diam (base): 0.048; (rim): 0.082

Complete, mended from several fragments; missing small parts of body.

Shallow bowl with ring foot, central nipple on underside; shallow side walls to incurved rim.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out, poorly preserved.

Corinth VII.6, p. 125, no. IV-11, fig. 19, pl. 166

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of 4th century)

594. Small Bowl P 266 (O16-111); Well O16:1 (Fig. 35; Pl. 64)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.0168; PW: 0.082; Diam: 0.065

Complete base, mended from five fragments.

Small bowl with ring foot with wide, flat resting surface, concave underside with central nipple.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown red to brown black in/out, streaky, ring on resting surface, within the hollow, and central dot on nipple.

Corinth VII.6, p. 127, no. IV-31, fig. 20, pl. 16; *Agora* XXIX, p. 348, no. 1095, fig. 66

Date: ca. 325-275 (fourth quarter of the 4th to early 3rd century)

595. Lopas O16:1.84.05; Well O16:1 (Pl. 65)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.032; PW: 0.063; Diam: 0.14

Fragment of rim.

Lopas with slightly spreading rim with rounded lip and concave interior; flange on interior; deep groove between rim and wall, which is very convex suggesting a squat body.

Black gray cooking ware fabric; burnt.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 188, no. 659, pl. 59; *Corinth* VII.6, p. 97, no. III-27, fig. 13, pl. 12

Date: ca. 330-300 (end of the 4th century)

596. Coin C 844 (O16-coin 32); Well O16:1

Layer 4; Lot 84

Weight: 2.71

Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 20f; *Nemea* III, cat. 1762, pl. 21, d.

Complete.

Coin, Argos, hemidrachm; Obv: forepart of wolf; Rev: *A* in shallow incuse square, letters *N* and *I* above, with ivy leaf below.

Silver.

Date: after ca. 343

597. Coin C 842 (O16-coin 30); Well O16:1

Layer 4; Lot 84

Diam: 0.0157

Weight: 2.4

Hesperia 47 (1978), pl. 20f; *Nemea* III, cat. 186.

Complete.

Coin, Phokis; Obv: bull's head facing bound with fillet; Rev: laurel wreath.

Bronze.

Date: ca. 357-346

598. Amphora/Pitcher O16:1.84.01; Well O16:1 (Fig. 35; Pl. 65)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.041; PW: 0.147; Diam: 0.102

Complete base.

Amphora or pitcher with ring base with convex underside and wide resting surface and rounded profile; wide low-set body; wheel marks still visible on interior; traces of glaze only visible on foot.

Brown buff fine ware fabric with very small inclusions; monochrome black brown out, very poorly preserved.

Agora XII, p. 337, nos. 1445, 1455, fig. 12, pls. 60, 61. The shape of the foot suggests an amphora, though the body may be more suited to a wide pitcher.

Date: ca. 500-480 (early 5th century)

599. Kotyle/Bowl O16:1.84.07 a-b; Well O16:1 (Fig. 35; Pl. 65)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.079; PW: 0.052; Diam: 0.036

Complete base, mended from two fragments.

Kotyle or bowl with disc foot with concave underside; very little of wall preserved.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Date: 5th century

600. Mug O16:1.84.10 a-b; Well O16:1 (Fig. 35; Pl. 65)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.041; PW: 0.054; Diam: 0.06

Fragment of base with joining body sherd.

Mug with disc foot with concave underside; very little of wall preserved.

Brown tan fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 753 (L20-36; L20, Lot 61); *Agora* XII, p. 252, no. 228, fig. 3, pl. 11

Date: middle of the 5th century

601. Bowl O16:1.84.08; Well O16:1 (Fig. 35; Pl. 65)

Layer 4; Lot 84

Diam: 0.08

Fragment of base, two joining.

Bowl with tall ring foot with slightly convex underside, groove on interior of foot between foot and underside.

Red brown fine ware fabric; monochrome black in, glaze only applied to inside, single drip on the exterior of foot.

cf. **12** (L17:1.05.15; Well L17:1), **13** (L17:1.05.10; Well L17:1), **153** (L17:2.42.01; Well L17:2), **448** (E18.22.04; Well E18), and **602** (O16:1.84.09; Well O16:1), see also Nemea Museum, P 297 (M17-49; xenon); *Agora* XII, p. 293, nos. 794, 797, pls. 32, 58

Date: ca. 410-400

602. Bowl O16:1.84.09; Well O16:1 (Fig. 35; Pl. 65)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.02; PW: 0.101; Diam: 0.085

Fragment of base, three joining.

Bowl with tall ring foot with slightly convex underside, slight groove on interior of foot between foot and underside.

Orange buff to brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome dark reddish brown in, glaze only applied to inside.

cf. **12** (L17:1.05.15; Well L17:1), **13** (L17:1.05.10; Well L17:1), **153** (L17:2.42.01; Well L17:2), **448** (E18.22.04; Well E18), and **601** (O16:1.84.08; Well O16:1), see also Nemea Museum, P 297 (M17-49; xenon); *Agora XII*, p. 293, nos. 794, 797, pls. 32, 58
Date: ca. 410-400

603. Lamp L 23 (O16-112); Well O16:1 (Pl. 65)

Layer 4; Lot 84

H: 0.0254; W (body): 0.0696; PL (with nozzle): 0.0938

Diam (base): 0.048; (mouth): 0.042

Nearly complete; missing front nozzle and handle; worn and scraped.

Lamp with raised concave base, curved rim, long wide nozzle and strap handle attach.

Buff (Corinthian) fine ware fabric; monochrome black glaze in/out (dilute).

Agora IV, p. 48-9, nos. 171-172 (type 21c)

Date: last quarter of the 5th or early 4th century

604. Pithos O16:1.91.01; Well O16:1 (Fig. 35; Pl. 66)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.265; PW: 0.21; Th: 0.0246-0.0332

Fragment of body, two joining.

Pithos with slightly curved body; three raised ridged horizontal lines and one curved - possibly lower part of a circle.

Pink red to buff coarse ware fabric with blue gray core and small angular inclusions; slipped buff to buff pink wash out and gray brown wash in with molded decoration.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 188-90, nos. 661-674, pls. 60, 61 (possibly a perirhanterion.)

Date: Classical

605. Loom Weight TC 363 (O16-148); Well O16:1 (Pl. 66)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.048; Diam: 0.05

Nearly complete; missing top and small part of side.

Loom weight with flat bottom; conical in shape.

Brown buff fabric with traces of brown black slip.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out, poorly preserved.

Corinth XII, p. 150, nos. 1072-1074 (profile III), fig. 23, pl. 74

Date: end of 6th to early 5th century

606. Amphora O16:1.84.12; Well O16:1 (Pl. 66)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.015; PW: 0.075; Diam: 0.058

Complete base.

Amphora with flaring disc foot with concave underside, wide body, very little wall preserved.

Tan buff fine ware fabric; red brown paint, very fugitive, appears only as a band around lower wall and exterior of foot.

Date: context 6th to 3rd century

607. Moulding A 102 (O16-115); Well O16:1 (Pl. 66)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.138; PL: 0.284

Fragmentary, broken at one side and at bottom; chiseled at base of moulding; edges chipped.

Cyma reversa topped by a quarter round; the top resting surface is smoothed flat. The back is cut concave and the preserved side is chiseled in an obtuse plane to the topside.

Probably part of a raking sima.

White marble.

608. Epicranitis A 105 (O16-117); Well O16:1

Layer 4; Lot 84

PH: 0.235

PL: 0.29

PW: 0.19

Broken at bottom and one side; preserves top resting surface; chipped.

Epicranitis moulding and front face, one side.

Limestone.

609. Base A 106 (O16-118); Well O16:1

Layer 4; Lot 84

PTh: 0.12; Diam: 0.62-8

Base preserving upper resting surface and sections of moulding; under surface gouged and worn; part of moulding chiseled away, remainder broken.

A circular or oblong base with a partly preserved flaring lower moulding topped by a half-round surmounted by an inward leaning fascia.

Sandstone, soft and friable.

610. Roof Tile AT 51 (O16-124); Well O16:1 (Pl. 66)

Layer 4; Lot 84

PL: 0.21; PW: 0.195; Th: 0.04

Fragmentary, broken all around.

Roof tile, stamped.

Brown red to brown tan coarse ware fabric with large black inclusions.

611. Ring BR 353 (O16-122); Well O16:1

Layer 4; Lot 84

PTh: 0.002; Diam: 0.016

Intact, worn.

Circular ring of functional rather than ornamental nature.

Bronze.

Well O17:1

612. Lekane O17:1.24.08; Well O17:1 (Fig. 35; Pl. 67)

Layer 1; Lot 24

PH: 0.06; PW: 0.098; Diam: 0.22

Fragment of rim.

Lekane with thickened down-turned rim; convex wall, possible shallow body.

Brown red fine ware fabric with few small angular black inclusion; blackish brown glaze in and on lip with brown tan wash on exterior.

Agora XXXIII, p. 276, no. 294, fig. 50, pl. 41 (dated by context to ca. 225-175)

Date: 4th to 3rd century

613. Skyphos O17:1.24.03; Well O17:1 (Fig. 36; Pl. 67)

Layer 1; Lot 24

PH: 0.035; PW: 0.05; Diam: 0.085

Fragment of base.

Skyphos with small ring foot with slight ledge on upper face, flat resting surface, and concave inner face; underside appears flat; lower body is slight concave, broken at point where body begins to widen.

Reddish brown to pink brown fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown to black in/out (lustrous), reserved resting surface, concentric circles on underside.

Corinth VII.6, p. 186, no. VI-15, fig. 35

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

614. Cup O17:1.24.05; Well O17:1 (Fig. 36; Pl. 67)

Layer 1; Lot 24

PH: 0.015; PW: 0.062; Diam: 0.04

Complete base.

Cup with ring foot, slightly flaring, flat resting surface; underside has central nipple; wide body, very little of wall preserved; the base is slightly irregular in shape, not completely circular.

Reddish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out, reserved underside.

Corinth VII.6, p. 191, no. VI-70, fig. 39, pl. 31

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of 4th century)

615. Cup O17:1.24.01; Well O17:1 (Fig. 36)

Layer 1; Lot 24

PH: 0.037; PW: 0.078; Diam: 0.10

Fragment of rim.

Cup with rounded rim with slight groove below lip, vertical upper wall to sharp convex body; probably shallow.

Reddish brown fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown to brownish black in/out.

Corinth XVIII.1, p. 93, no. 86, fig. 11, pl. 12; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 160, no. 442, fig. 11, pl. 47

Date: ca. 350-300 (third to fourth quarter of the 4th century)

616. Lamp L 323 (O17-70); Well O17:1 (Pl. 67)

Layer 1; Lot 24

PL: 0.043; PW: 0.023

Fragment of lamp nozzle; preserves attach to body of lamp.

Lamp nozzle with small circular wick hole at end; top of the nozzle is flat while the other half is rounded.

Tan buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out.

Agora IV, p. 73, no. 310 (type 25B), pls. 10, 38; *Isthmia* III, p. 17, no. 126 (type VII D), pls. 3, 17

Date: ca. 350-275 (second half of the 4th to first quarter of the 3rd century)

617. Kiln Wedge TC 363 (O17-69); Well O17:1

Layer 1; Lot 24

PL: 0.033; PW: 0.028; Th: 0.004-0.018

Fragmentary, edges very worn down and rounded.

Terracotta kiln wedge; one edge preserves rectangular surface, while the other narrows.
Cream fine ware fabric, no visible inclusions.

Date: 4th century

618. Lekane/Mortar P 273 (O17-53); Well O17:1 (Pl. 67)

Layer 1; Lot 24

H: 0.071; Diam (base): 0.20; (rim): 0.42

Fragmentary, full profile preserved, broken at both sides and floor.

Lekane or mortar with ring foot with broad resting surface; convex wall, very shallow; rounded, down-turned rim.

Reddish pink to gray buff semi-coarse ware fabric with large inclusions and buff slip.

Corinth VII.6, p. 160, nos. V-19, V-20, fig. 26, pl. 22

Date: ca. 325-300 (fourth quarter of the 4th century)

619. Kotyle O17:1.24.02; Well O17:1 (Fig. 36; Pl. 67)

Layer 1; Lot 24

PH: 0.013; PW: 0.033; Diam: 0.055

Fragment of base.

Kotyle with small flaring ring foot with very small part of wall and underside.

Gray buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown to brown in/thin closely placed rays out, band around exterior of foot and possibly underside.

Corinth XIII, p. 251, no. 261-1, pl. 34

Date: early 5th century

620. Cup O17:1.24.06; Well O17:1 (Fig. 36; Pl. 67)

Layer 1; Lot 24

PH: 0.011; PW: 0.060; Diam: 0.051

Complete base.

Cup with small ring base with slightly flaring foot; convex underside, slightly nipped; very little of wall preserved but appears to extend horizontally, suggesting a wide, broad shape.

Tan brown fine ware fabric; monochrome brownish black in/out, reserved underside.

Agora XII, p. 267, no. 462, fig. 5, pls. 21, 49

Date: ca. 425 (end of the 5th century)

621. Stemless Cup O17:1.24.07; Well O17:1 (Fig. 36; Pl. 67)

Layer 1; Lot 24

PH: 0.019; PW: 0.06; Diam: 0.045

Fragment of base.

Stemless cup with concave disc foot; groove between foot and wall; convex wall, squat lower body.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome black brown in/out.

Agora XII, p. 266, nos. 446, 447, fig. 5, pl. 21

Date: ca. 500-480 (early 5th century)

622. Mug O17:1.24.04; Well O17:1 (Fig. 36; Pl. 68)

Layer 1; Lot 24

PH: 0.034; PW: 0.028

Complete handle and rim fragment.

Mug with small flat vertical strap handle with wide groove attached at everted rim and body; the body is only slightly concave.

Brown buff fine ware fabric; monochrome reddish brown to brown in/out.

Nemea Museum, P 1277 (K17-56; K17, Pit B); *Agora XII*, p. 249, no. 194, pl. 11

Date: ca. 500-480 (early 5th century)

623. Architectural Block A 107 (O17-51); Well O17:1

Layer 1; Lot 24

PL: 0.35; PW: 0.24; Th: 0.16

Fragmentary, broken on three sides, very worn.

Architectural block worked on top and one side; curved (circular?) cutting above for insertion.

Poros limestone.

624. Architectural Block A 120 (O17-57); Well O17:1

Layer 1; Lot 24

L: 1.00; W: 0.390; H: 0.475

All surfaces preserved; badly broken at one corner; chipped all around.

Rectangular architectural block, unfinished; slightly offset bands of working surface on two sides; lifting edge remains uncut on one side. A lift, roughly square (0.25x0.25) in shape, is set 0.39 from each long side and 0.12 from each short side.

Limestone, yellow.

625. Architectural Block A 121 (O17-58); Well O17:1

Layer 1; Lot 24

L: 0.67; W: 0.41; H: 0.47

All sides preserved, chipped along one edge.

Rectangular architectural block, unfinished; offset bands of working surface remains unsmoothed along one surface.

Limestone, yellow.

626. Architectural Block A 122 (O17-59); Well O17:1

Layer 1; Lot 24

L: 1.07; W: 0.32; H: 0.465

All sides preserved, broken at three corners.

Rectangular architectural block, unfinished; offset bands of tool working remains unsmoothed on two surfaces.

Limestone, yellow.

627. Architectural Block A 123 (O17-60); Well O17:1

Layer 1; Lot 24

L: 0.77; W: 0.53; H: 0.22

Preserved on four sides, much broken along one edge.

Rectangular architectural block, highly irregular on all surfaces.

Limestone, gray.

628. Arrowhead BR 363 (O17-54); Well O17:1

Layer 1; Lot 24
PL: 0.01; PW: 0.008; Diam (shaft): 0.006
Broken at shaft.
Arrowhead, triangular in section; hollow conical base for insertion.
Bronze.

629. Lead Object, Tool IL 162 (O17-50); Well O17:1 (Pl. 68)

Layer 1; Lot 24
PL: 0.076; PW: 0.012; PTh: 0.006
Fragmentary, surface gouged and irregular.
Curved piece of lead, rectangular in section with convex surface relatively smooth; one end curved, the other tapering to a blunt and gouged tip.
Lead.

630. Grinding Stone ST 356 (O17-52); Well O17:1 (Pl. 68)

Layer 1; Lot 24
Max Diam: 0.23; Max Th: 0.065
PW: 0.17; Broken at four places, worked beneath.
Grinding stone, loaf shaped, flat beneath, rounded above.
Limestone with many black inclusions.

Well O17:2

631. Kotyle O17:2.26.01; Well O17:2 (Fig. 37; Pl. 68)

Layer 1; Lot 26
PH: 0.026; PW (body): 0.066; Diam: 0.10
Fragment of base.
Kotyle with beveled ring foot with flat underside; lower wall flares out from base.
Buff fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black to pink red in/out, concentric circles on underside.
Agora XII, p. 260, no. 349, fig. 4, pl. 16
Date: ca. 400-375 (first quarter of the 4th century)

632. Cup O17:2.26.03; Well O17:2 (Fig. 37)

Layer 1; Lot 26
PH: 0.034; PW: 0.046; Diam: > 0.05
Fragment of rim.
Cup with tall spreading, slightly out-turned rim, with globular wall, groove at join between rim and wall so that rim appears very off set from wall.
Brownish orange fine ware fabric; monochrome black in/out (lustrous)
Nemea Museum, P 659 (G19-71; heroön Deposit G19:1); *Agora* XII, p. 266, no. 442, fig. 5, pl. 20
Date: ca. 475 (early 5th century)

633. Mug/Small Bowl O17:2.26.02; Well O17:2 (Fig. 37; Pl. 68)

Layer 1; Lot 26
PH: 0.016; PW: 0.055; Diam: 0.05
Fragment of base.

Mug or small bowl with flat, slightly concave, base with convex wall; sharp carination set low on the body; floor of vessel has a raised circular ridge close to outer diameter. Brownish orange fine ware fabric; monochrome brown black in/out, reserved underside. *Agora XII*, p. 301, nos. 913-915, fig. 9, pl. 34
Date: ca. 430-400 (end of the 5th century)

634. Half-Column A 110 (O17-56); Well O17:2

Layer 1; Lot 26

MH: 0.59; MW: 0.49; MTh: 0.49

Fragmentary.

Half column preserving three flat worked surfaces: 0.24 x 0.49 x 0.24; the opposite side is half-round and preserves two flat facets, approximately 0.10 wide.

Limestone.

635. Fragment BR 427 (O17-63); Well O17:2

Layer 1; Lot 26

PW: 0.016; PDiam: 0.022

Fragmentary.

A small semi-circular piece of flat bronze.

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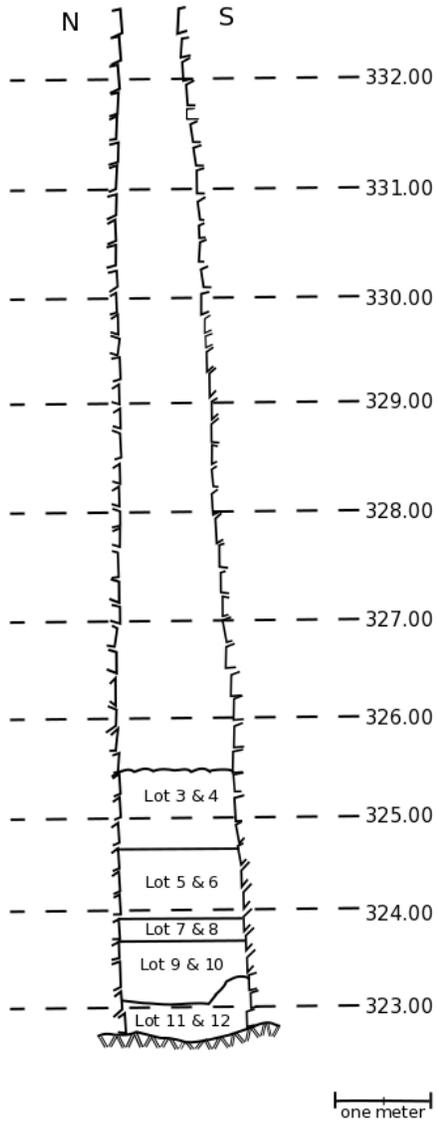
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FIGURES

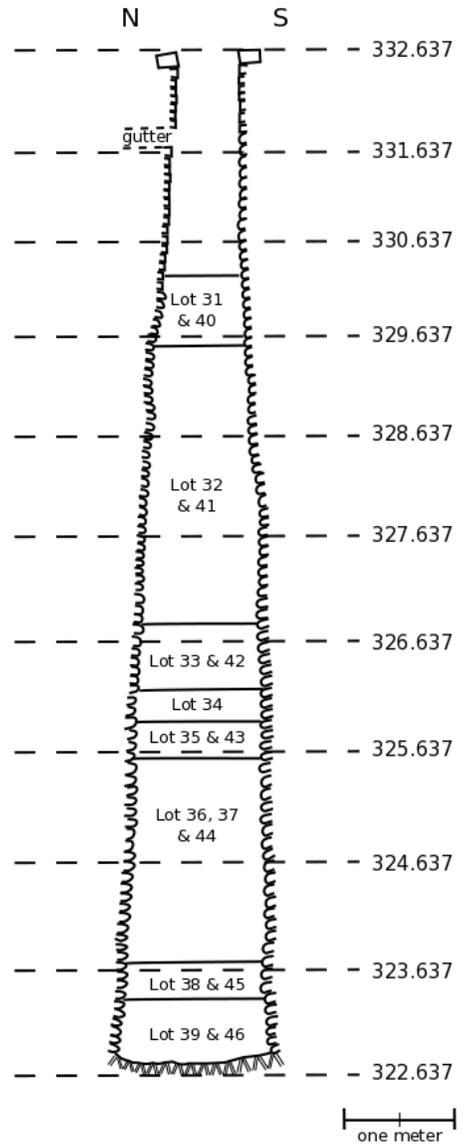
The following figures and plates contain objects listed in the catalog (Appendix B). As far as possible, the drawings were created on a 1:1 scale unless noted otherwise but are presented here at a scale of 1:2. Some formatting issues may have resulted in minor variations. Please refer to the actual dimensions given in the catalog entry for each vessel.

All figures were prepared by the author. Figures 1-3 are modifications made by the author to original excavation material, which is courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archive housed at the Nemea Center for Classical Archaeology at UC Berkeley.

Figure 1

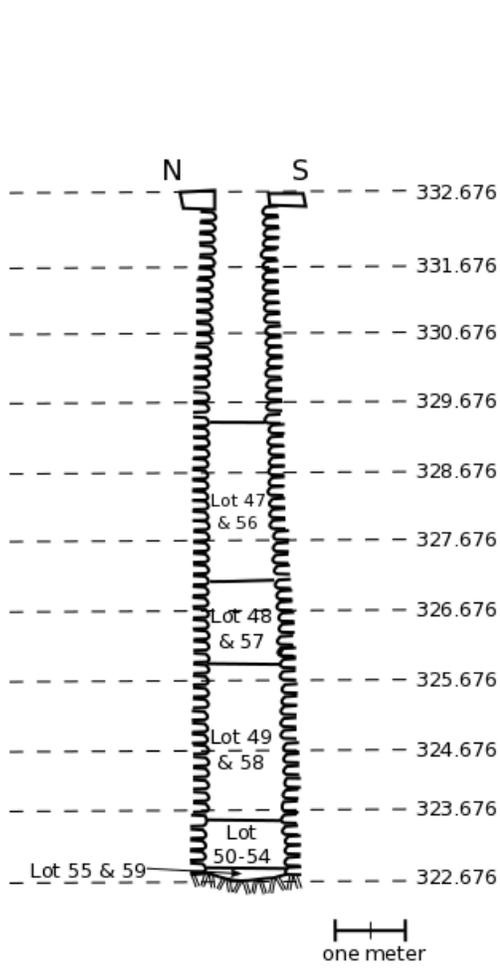


a) Section of Well L17:1 looking west (modified from Connolly 1977).

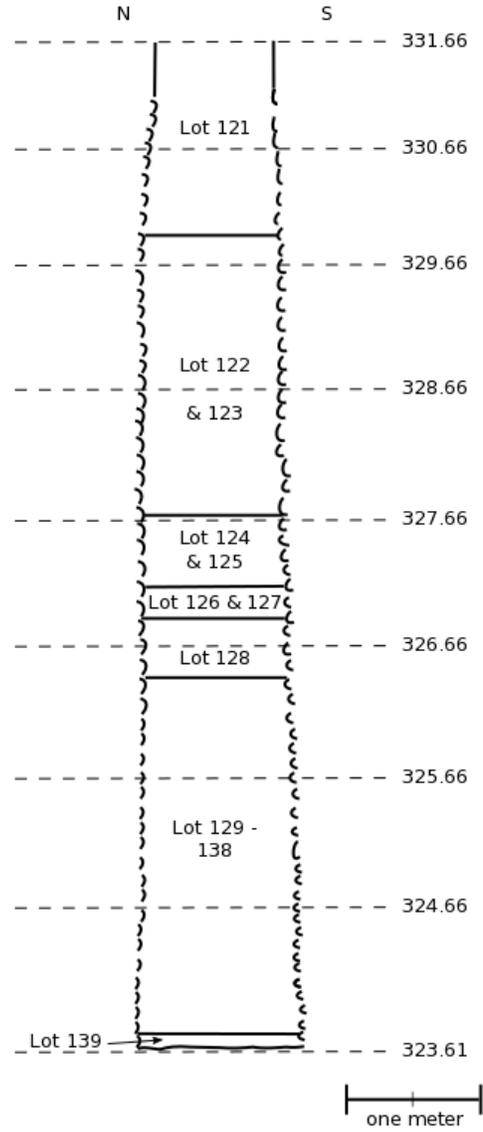


b) Section of Well L17:2 looking west (modified from Clauss 1978a).

Figure 2

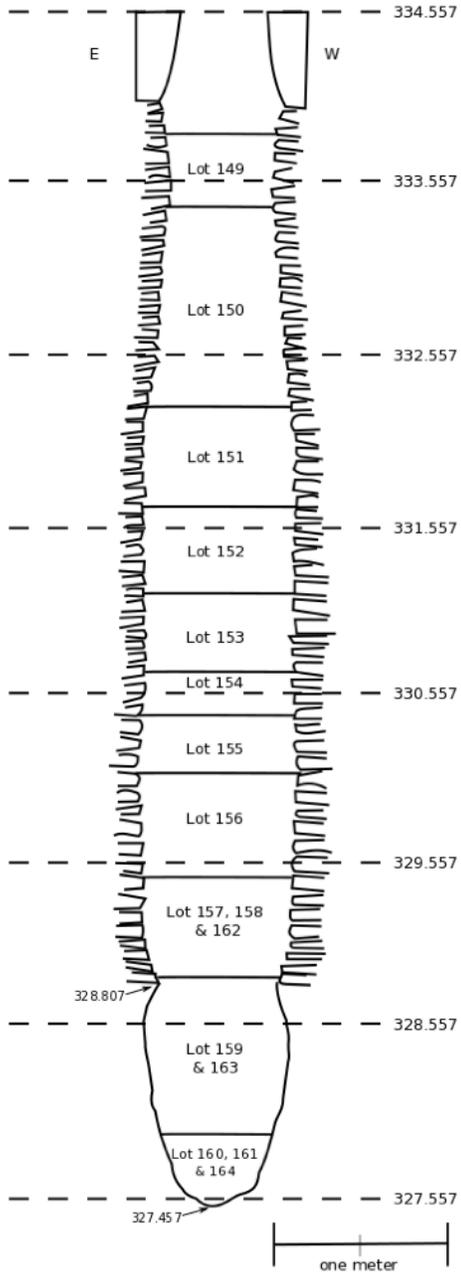


a) Section of Well M17:2 looking west (modified from Clauss 1978b).

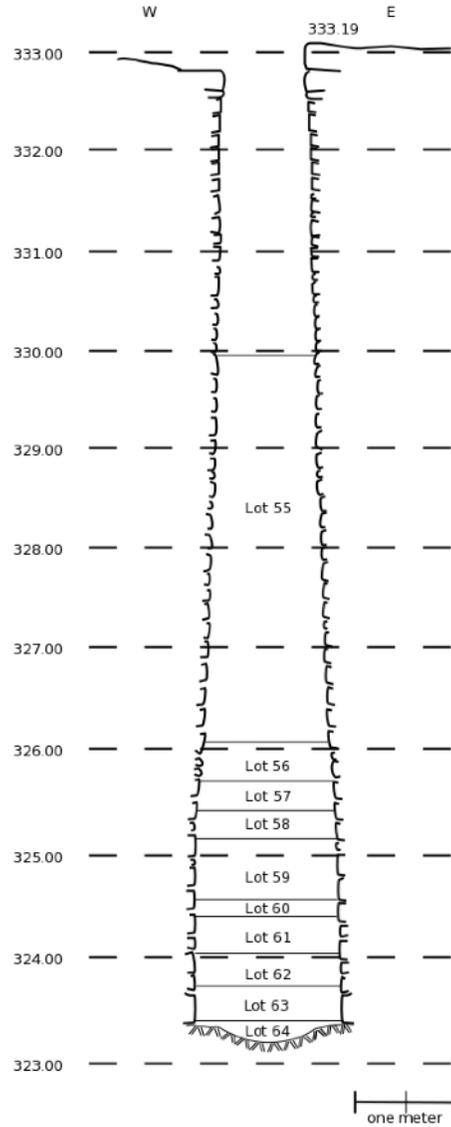


b) Section of Well K14:4 looking west (modified from Lewis 1978).

Figure 3



a) Section of Well L19 looking south (modified from Szafranski 1999-2000).



b) Section of Well N17:2 looking north (modified from Wright 1975).

Figure 4

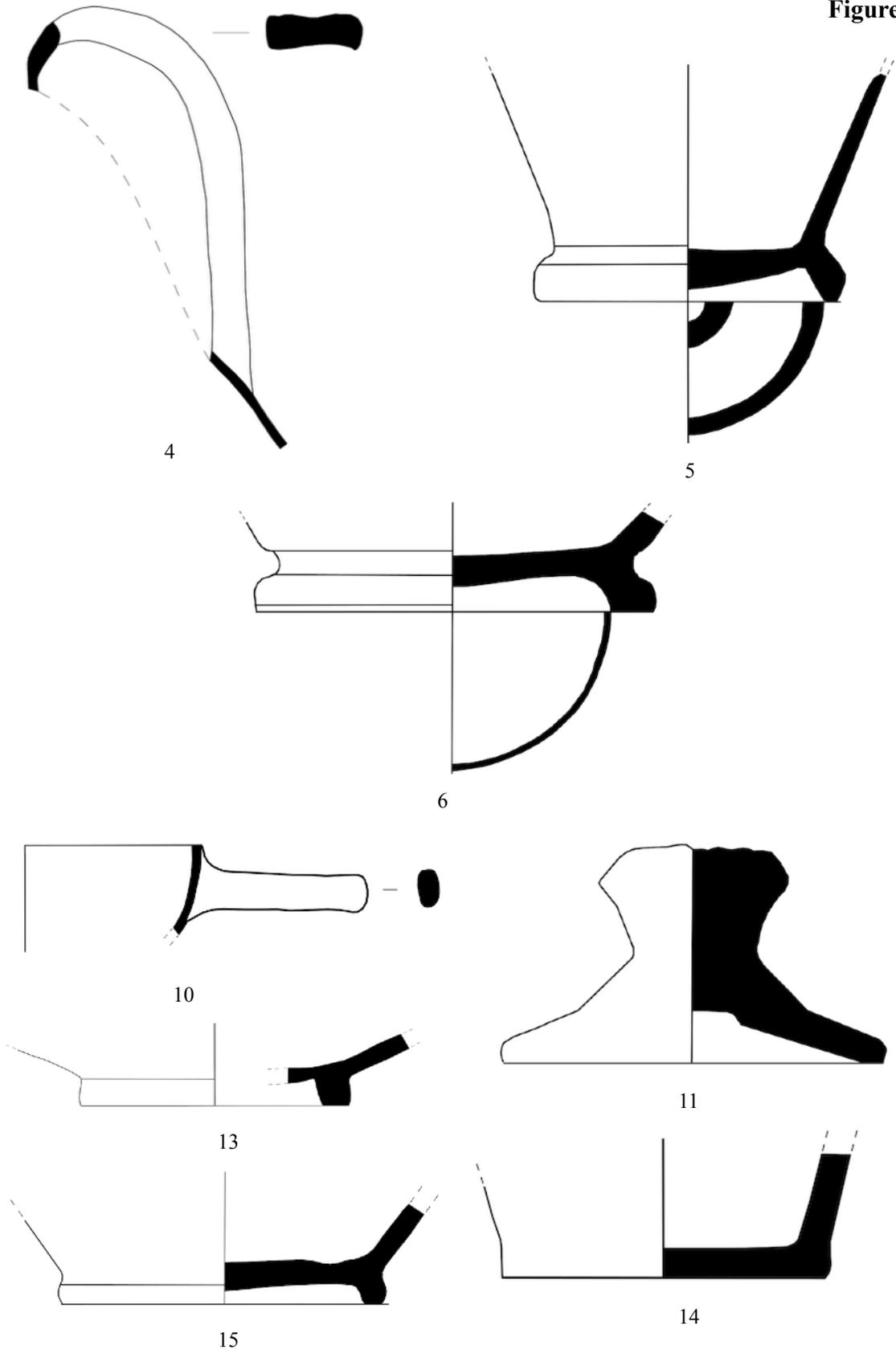


Figure 5

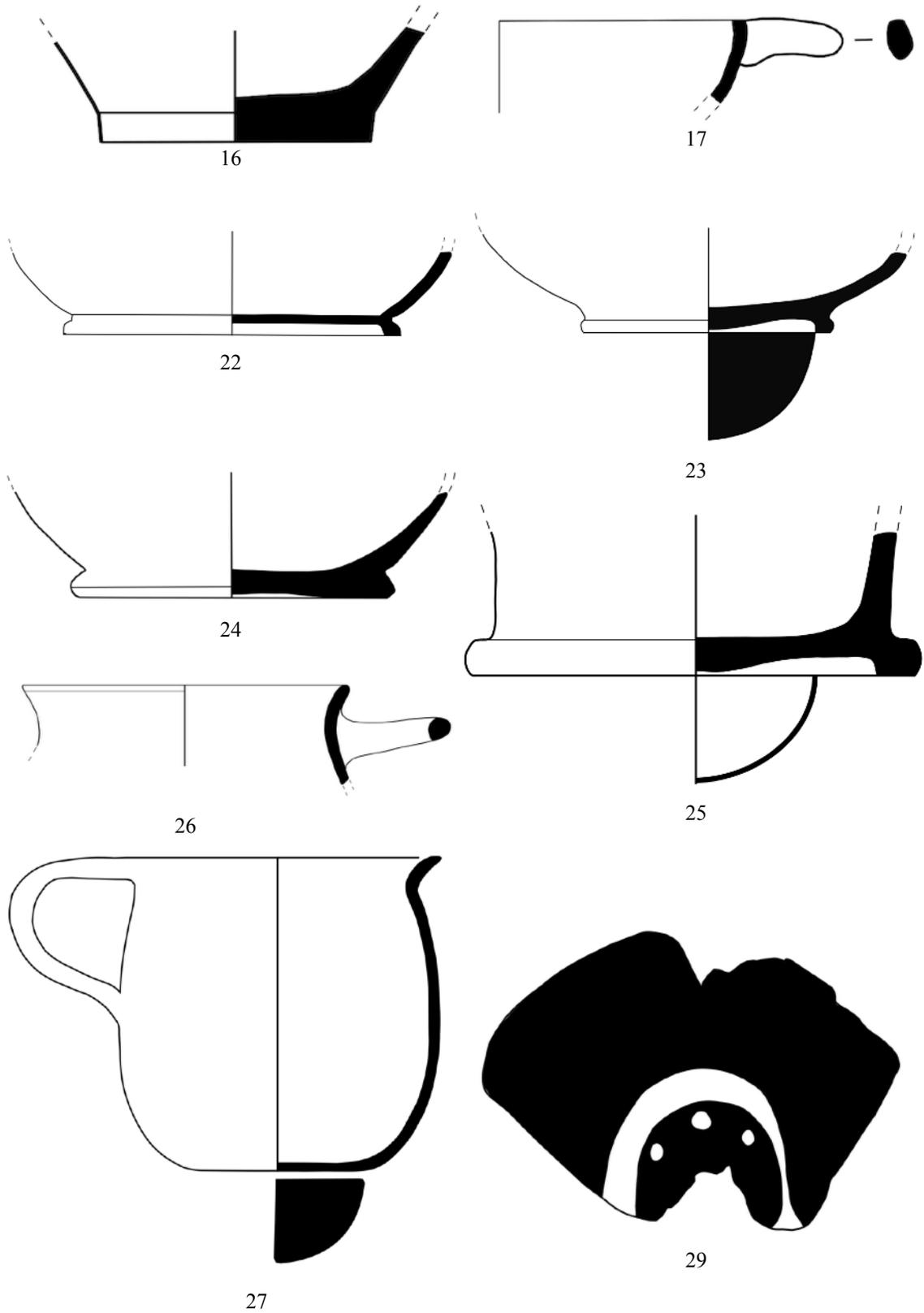


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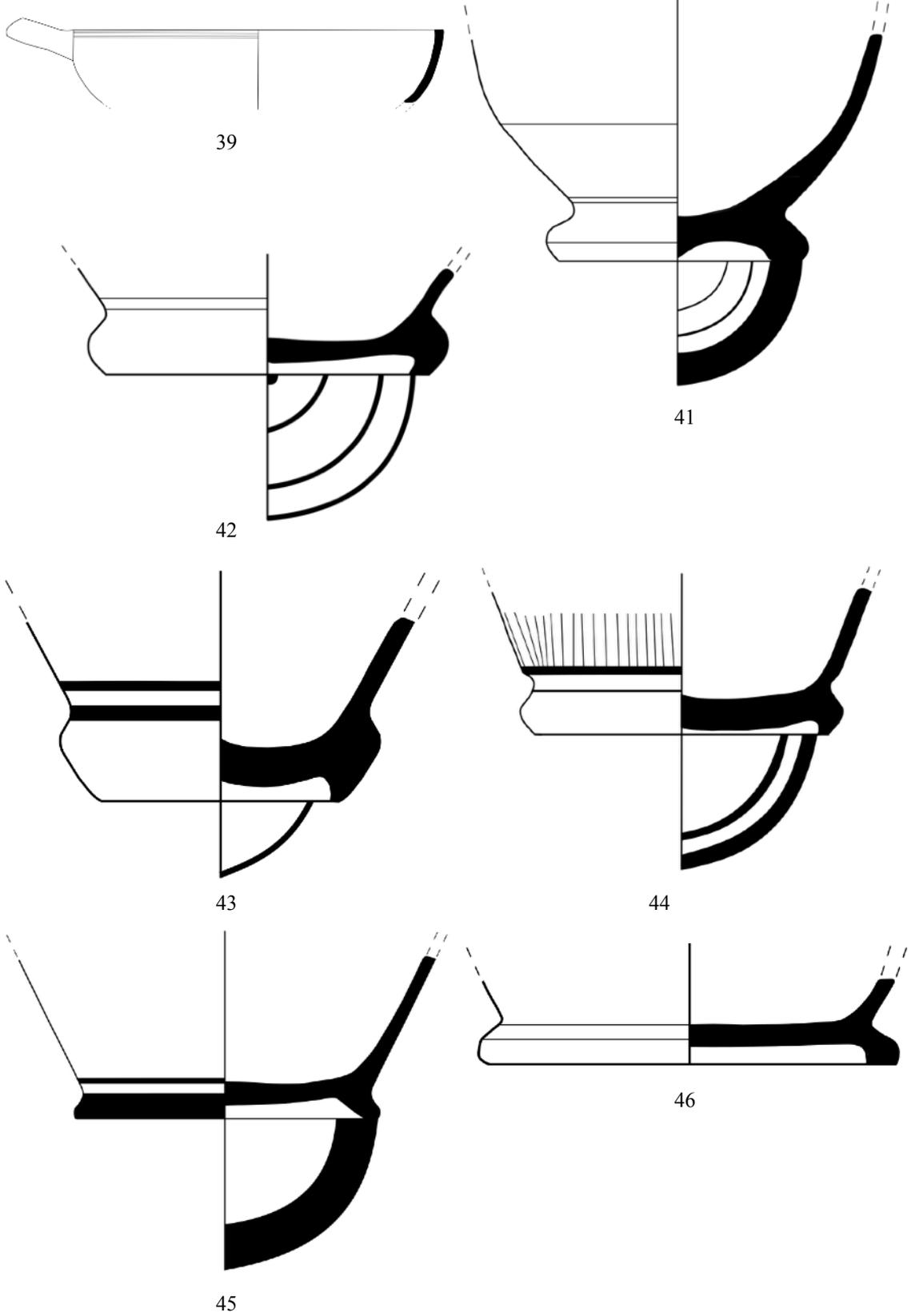


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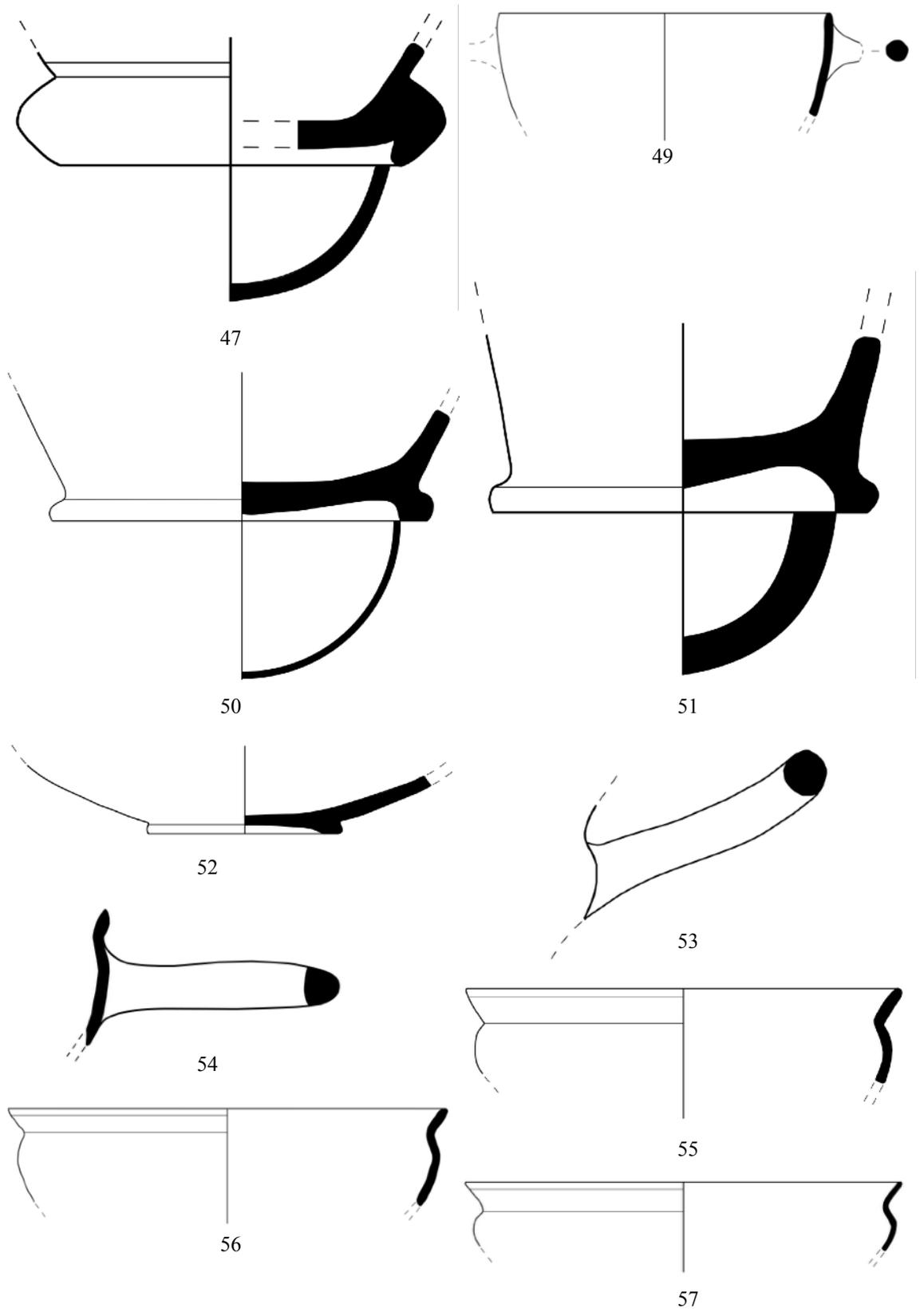


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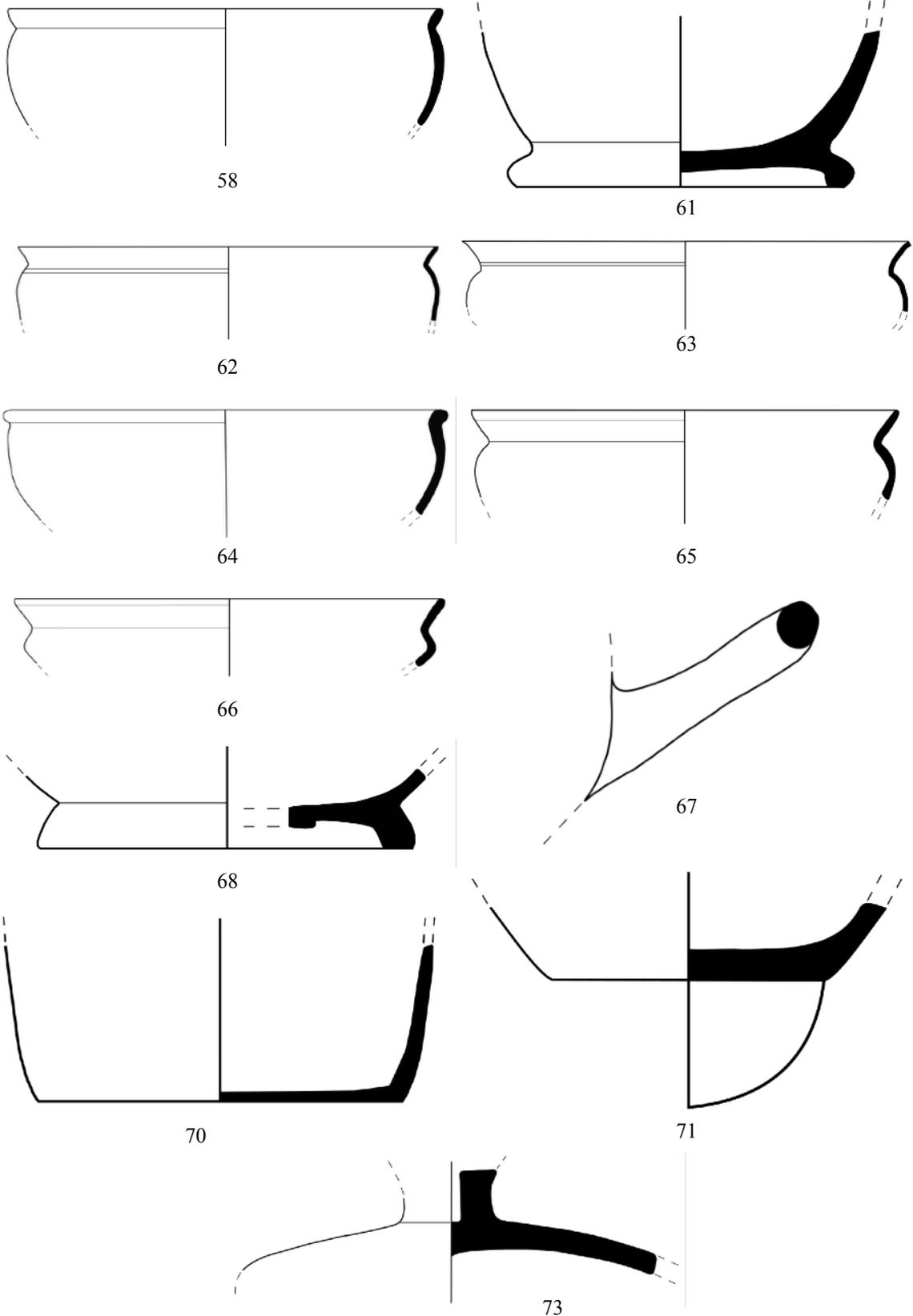


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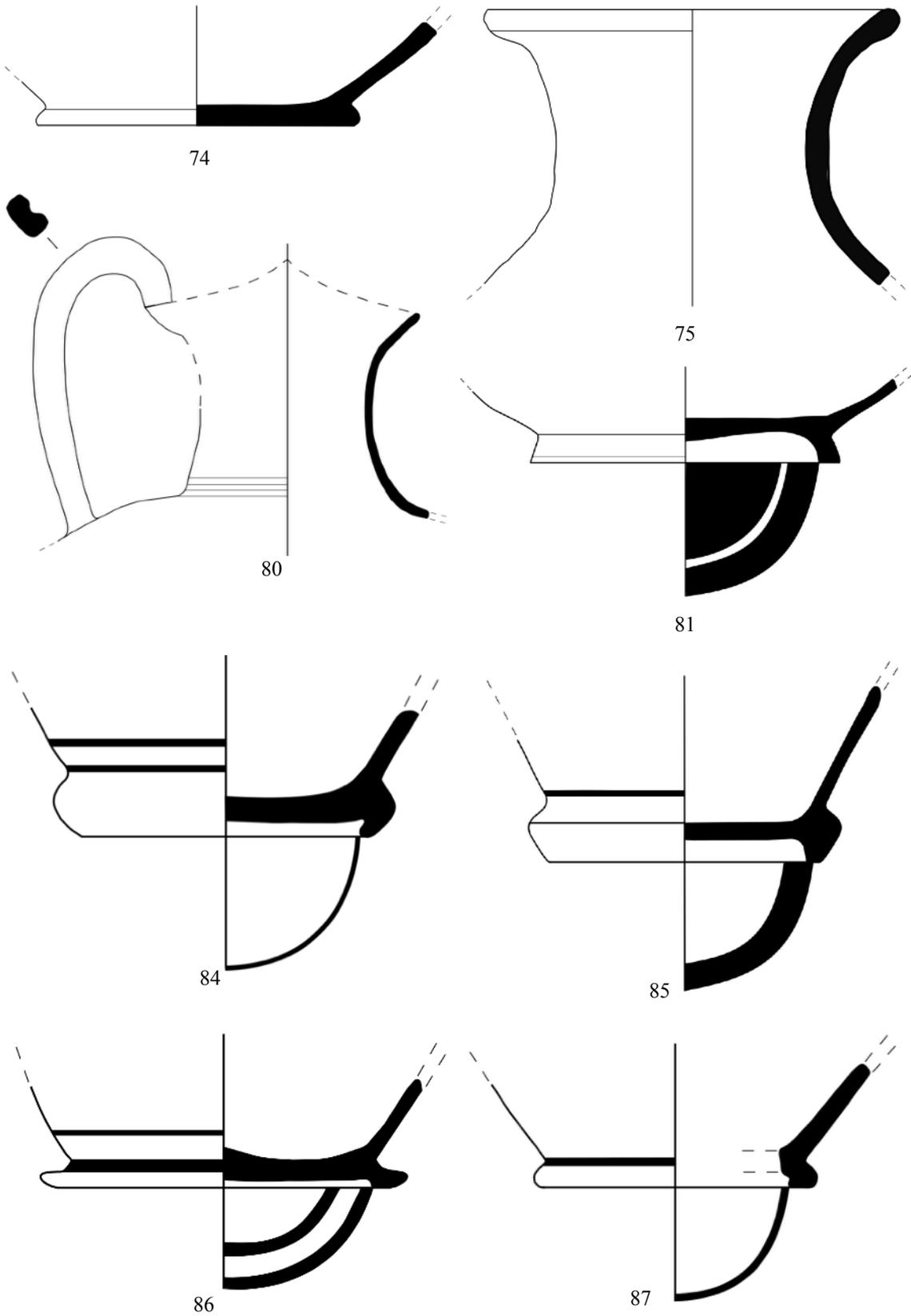


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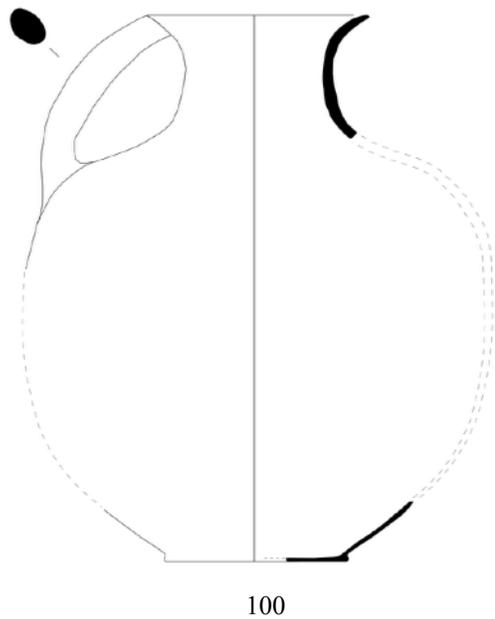
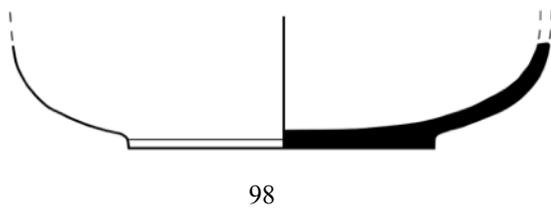
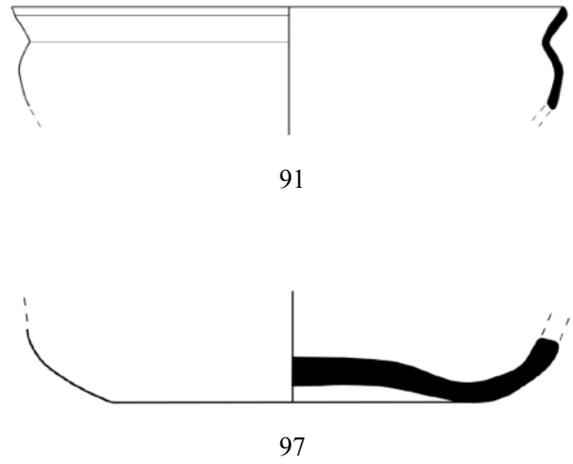
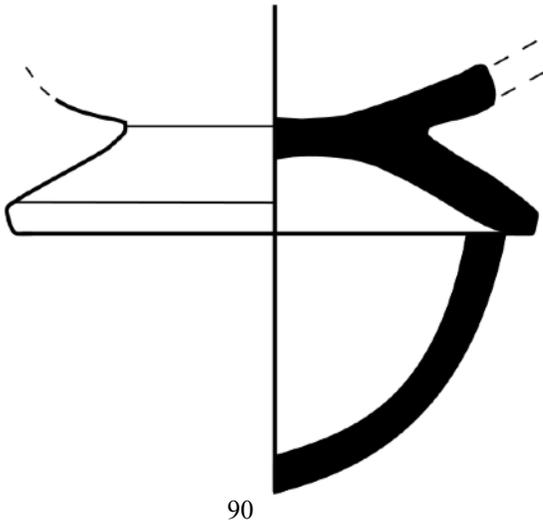
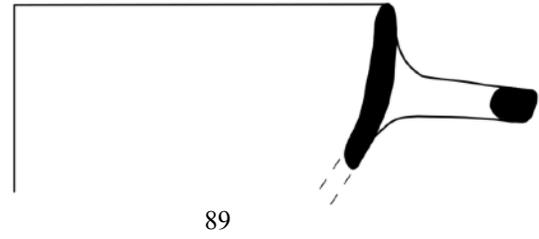
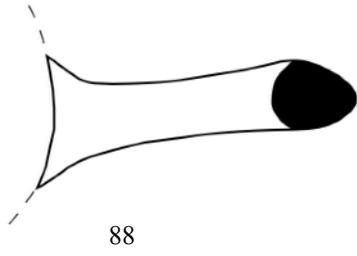


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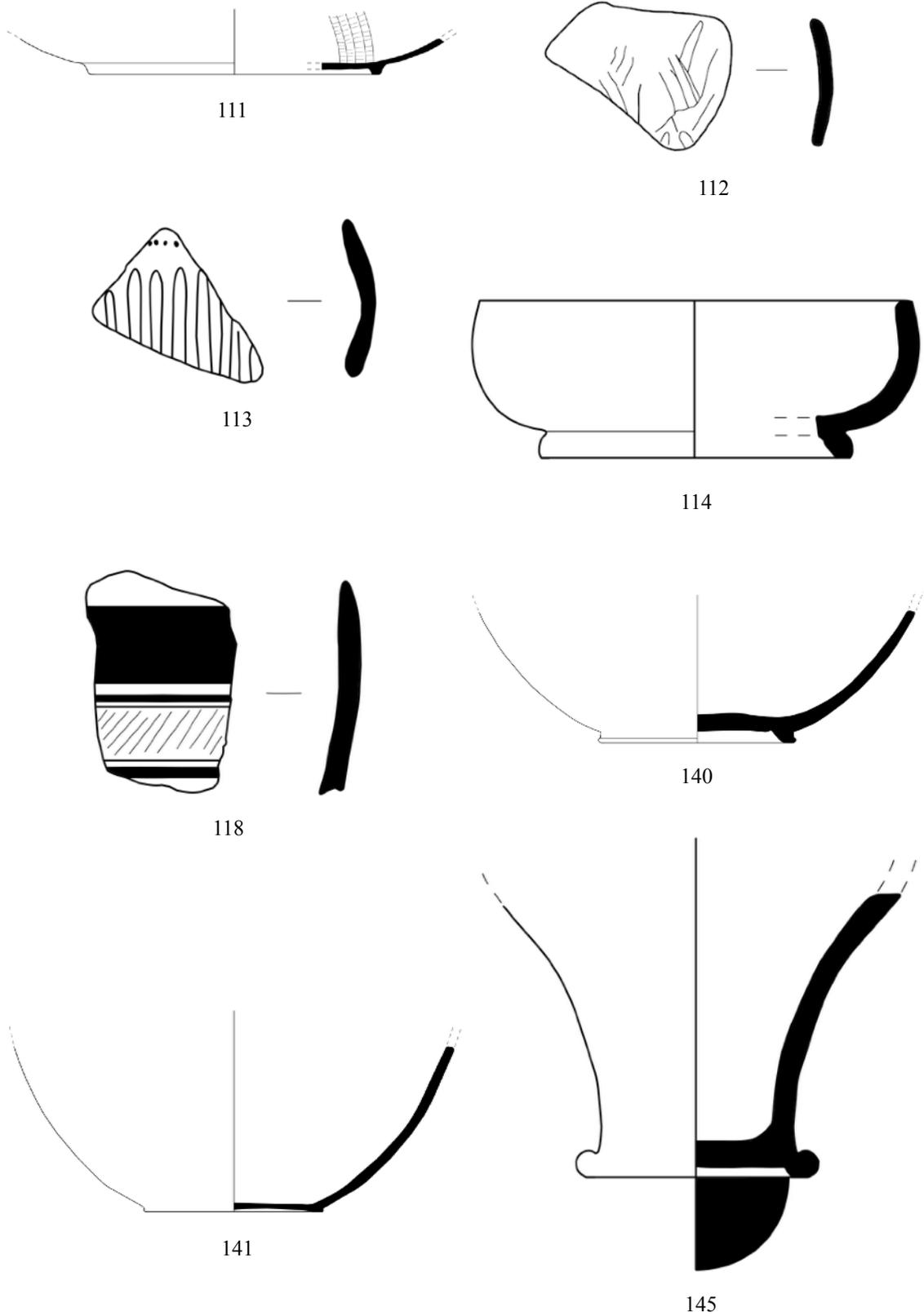


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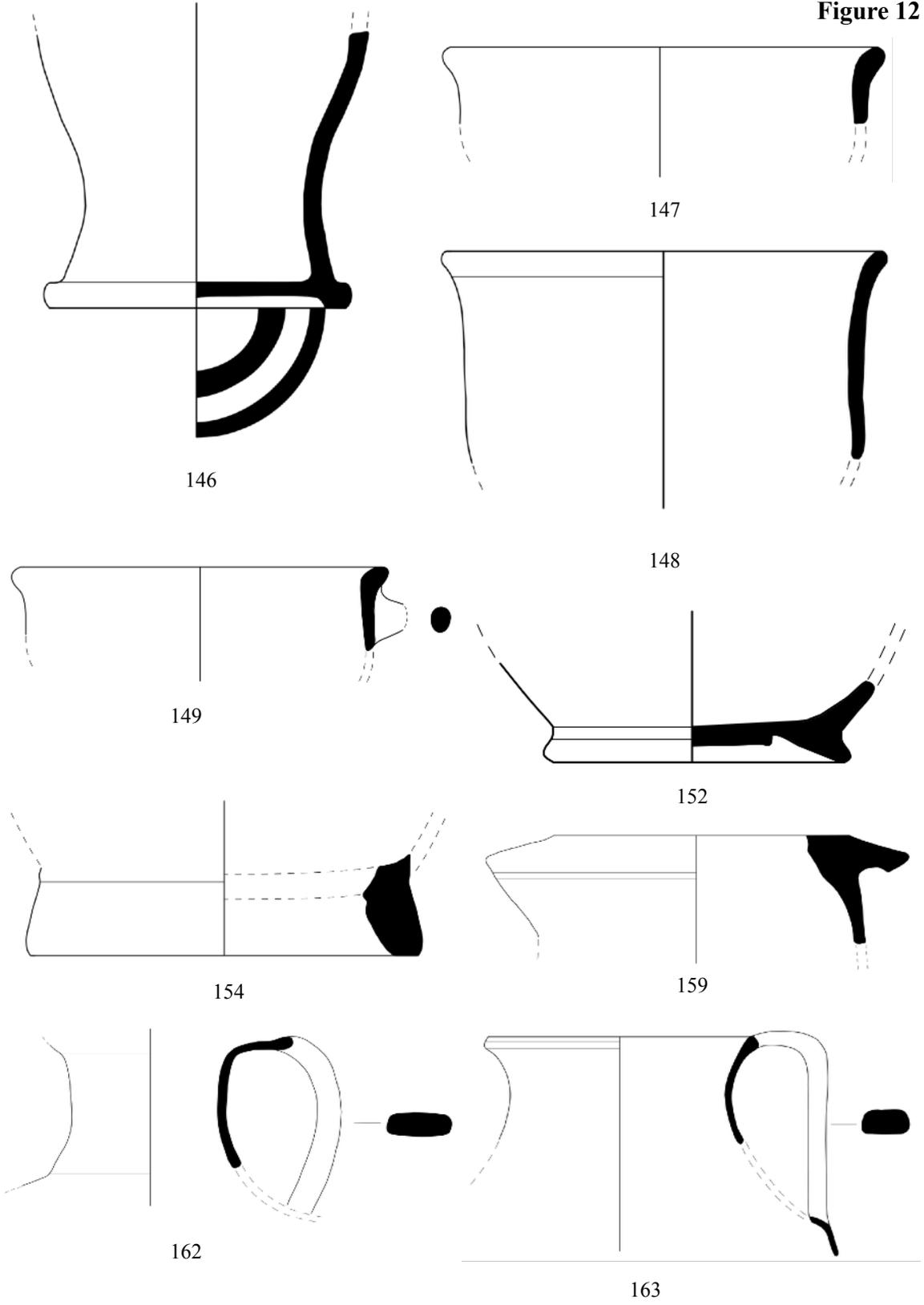
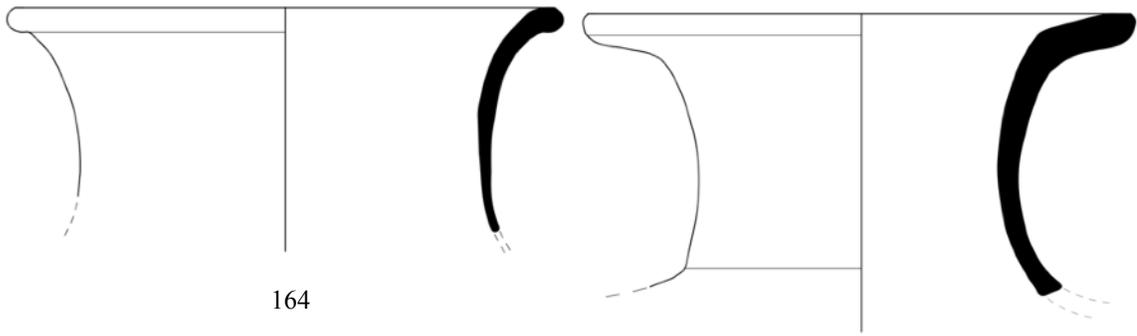
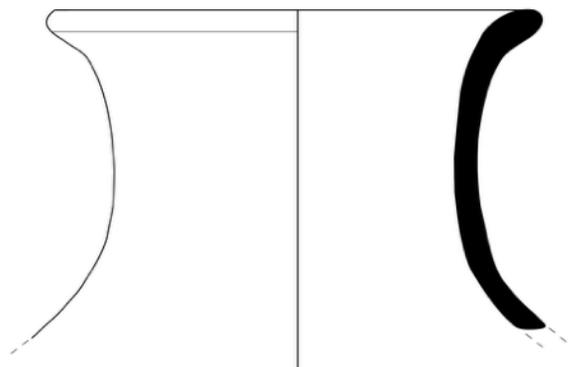


Figure 13



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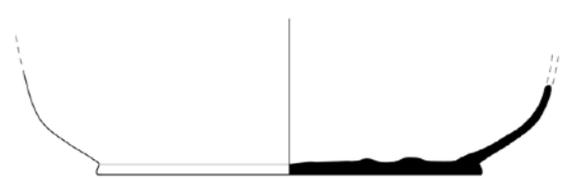
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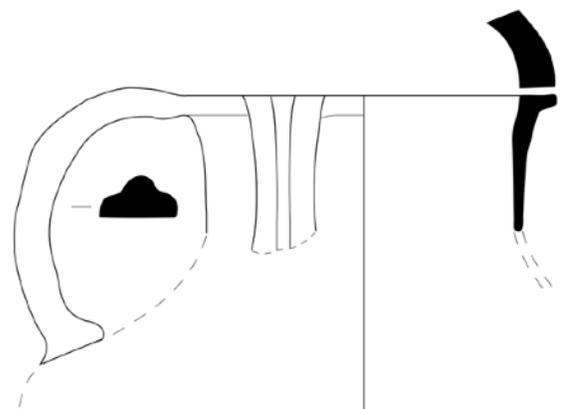
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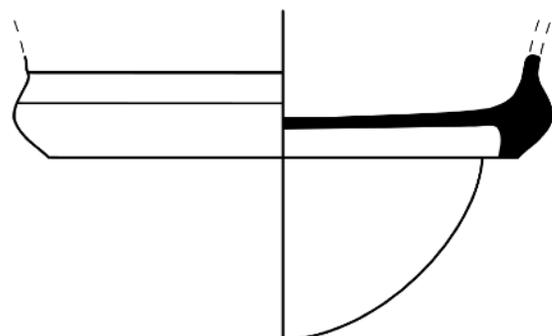
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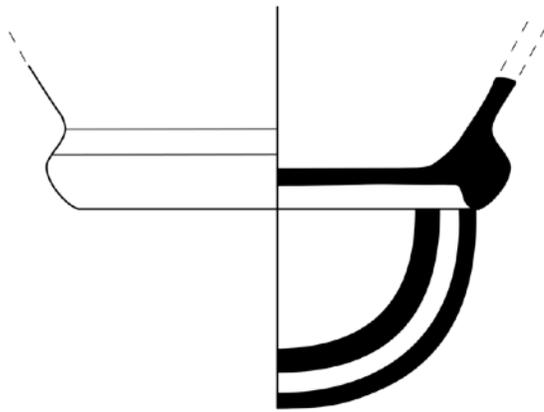


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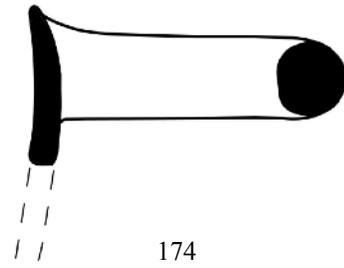


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Figure 14



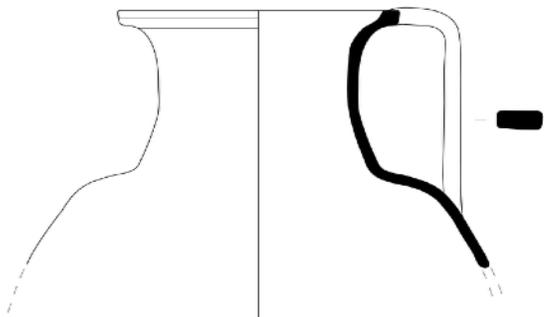
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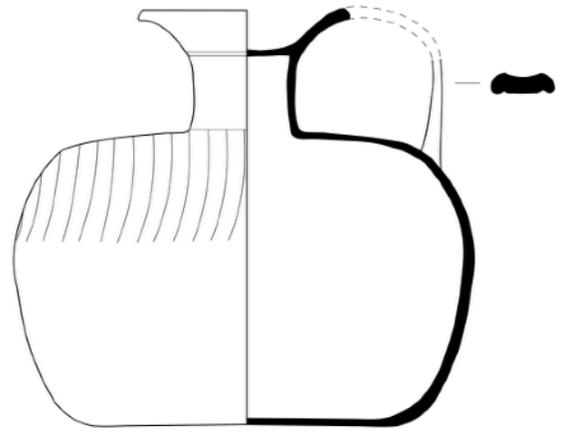
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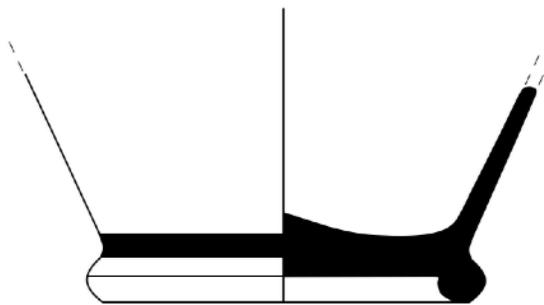
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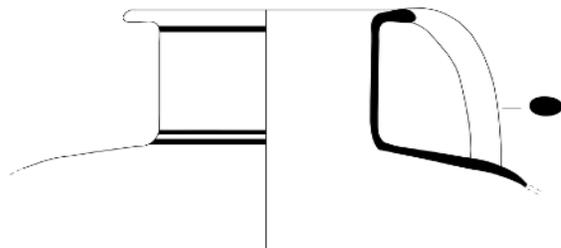
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Figure 15

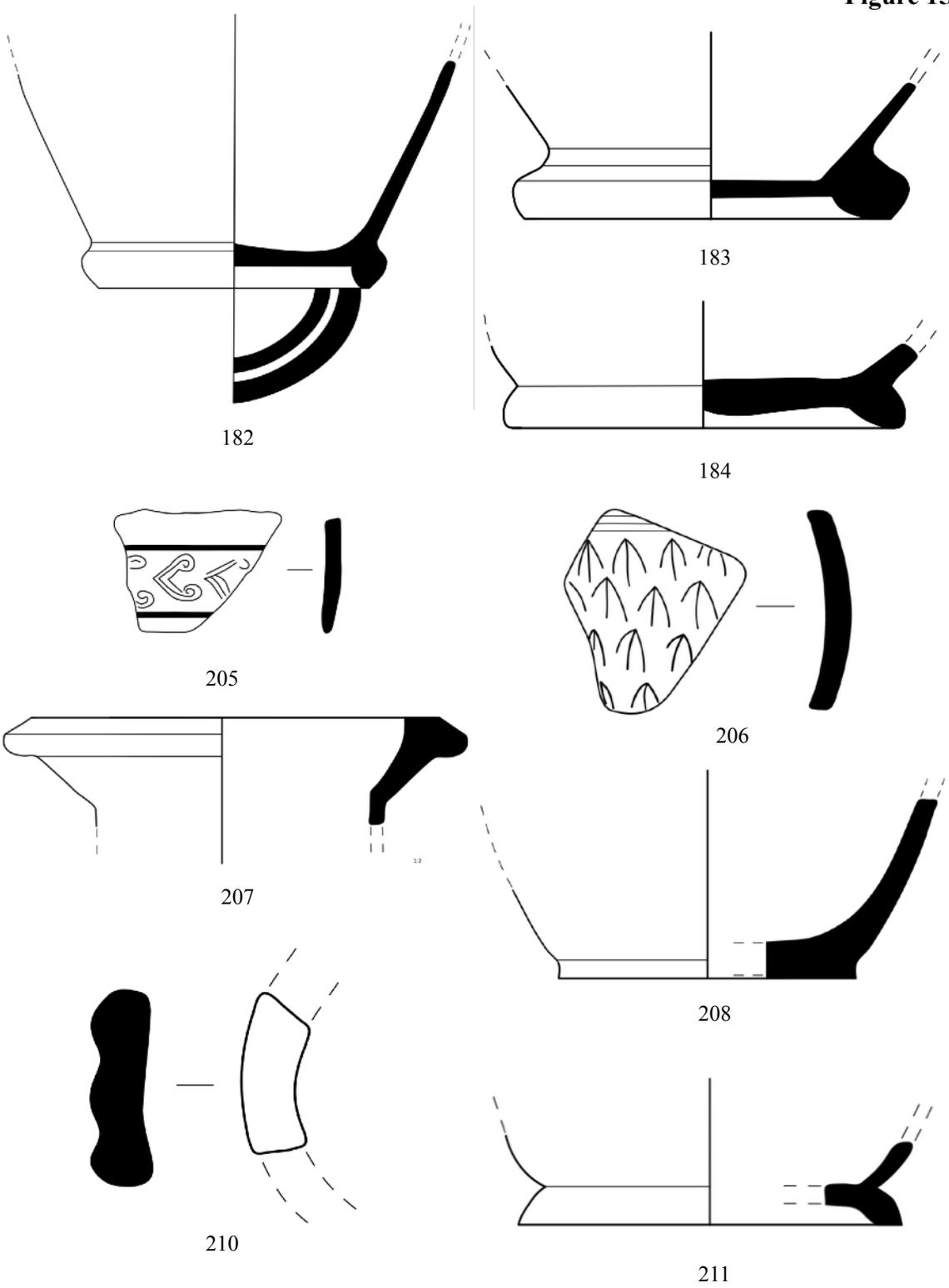


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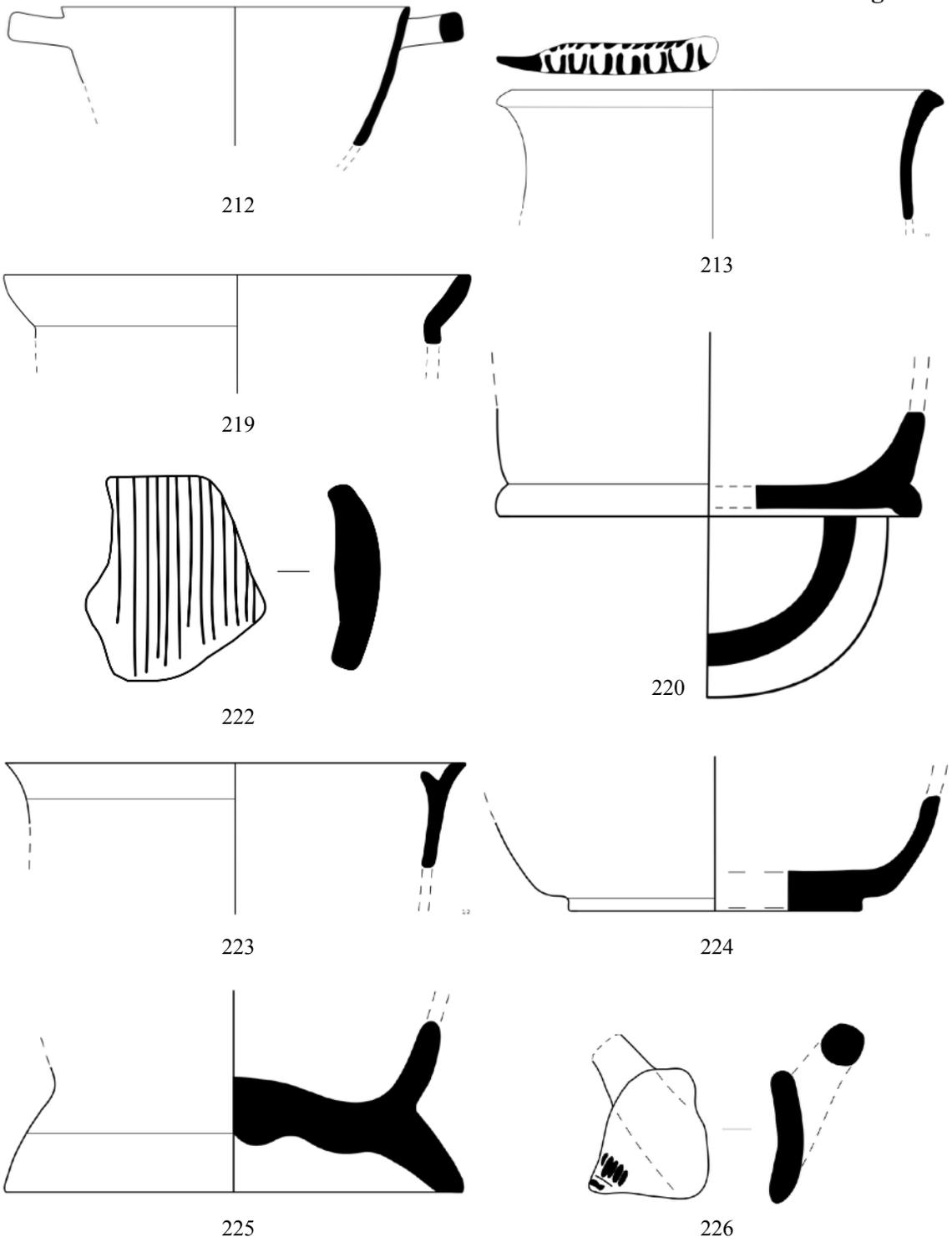


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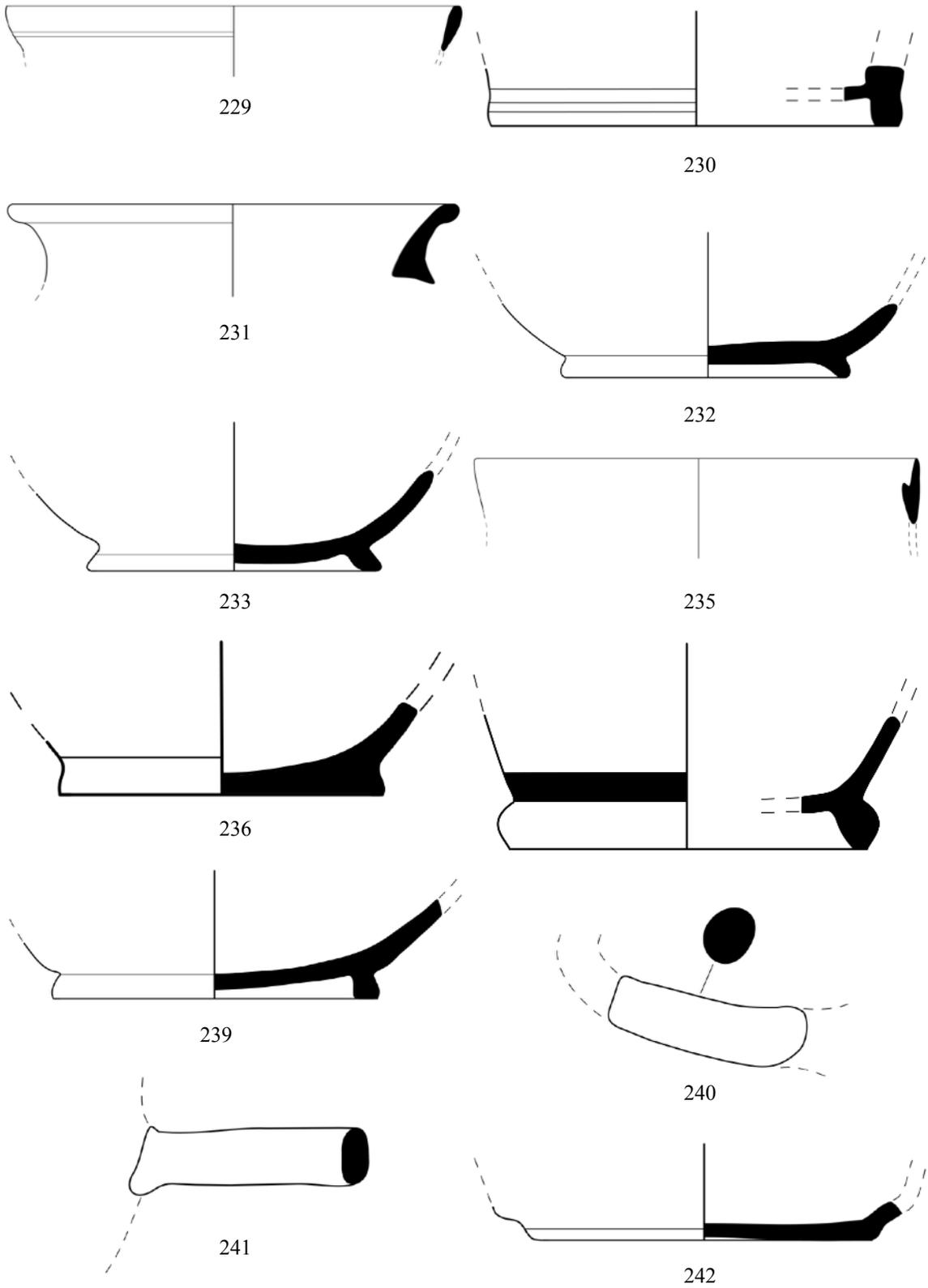


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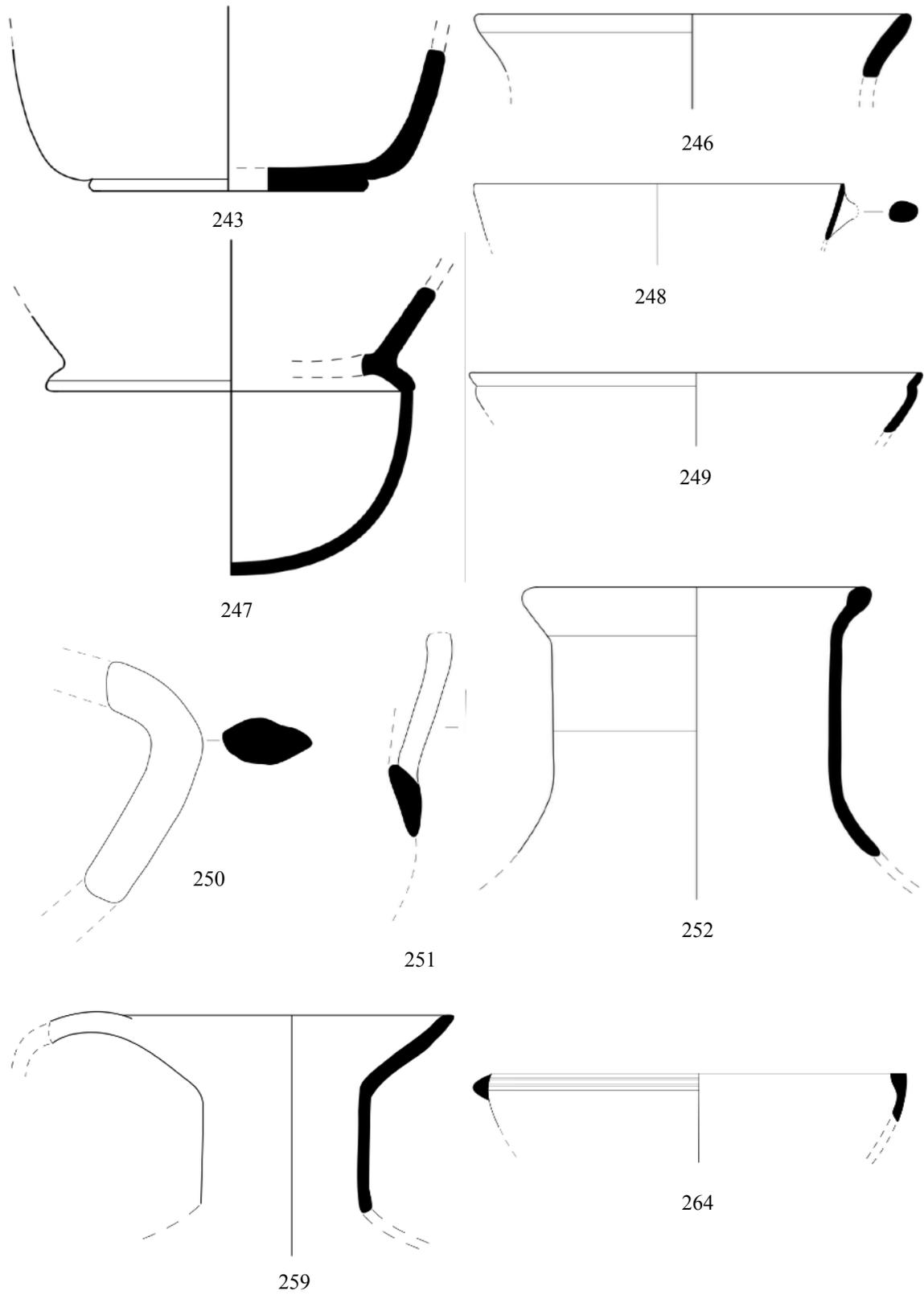


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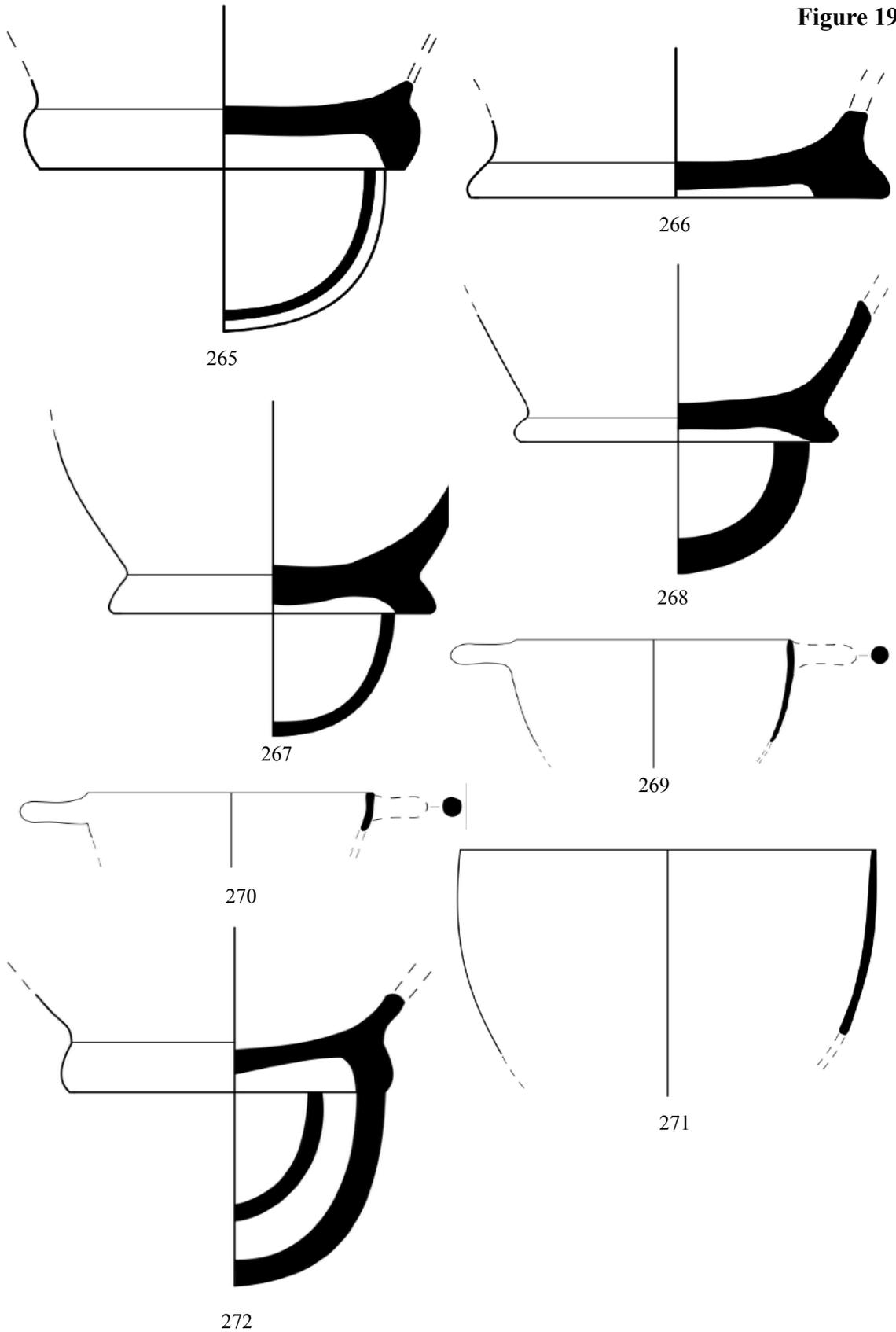


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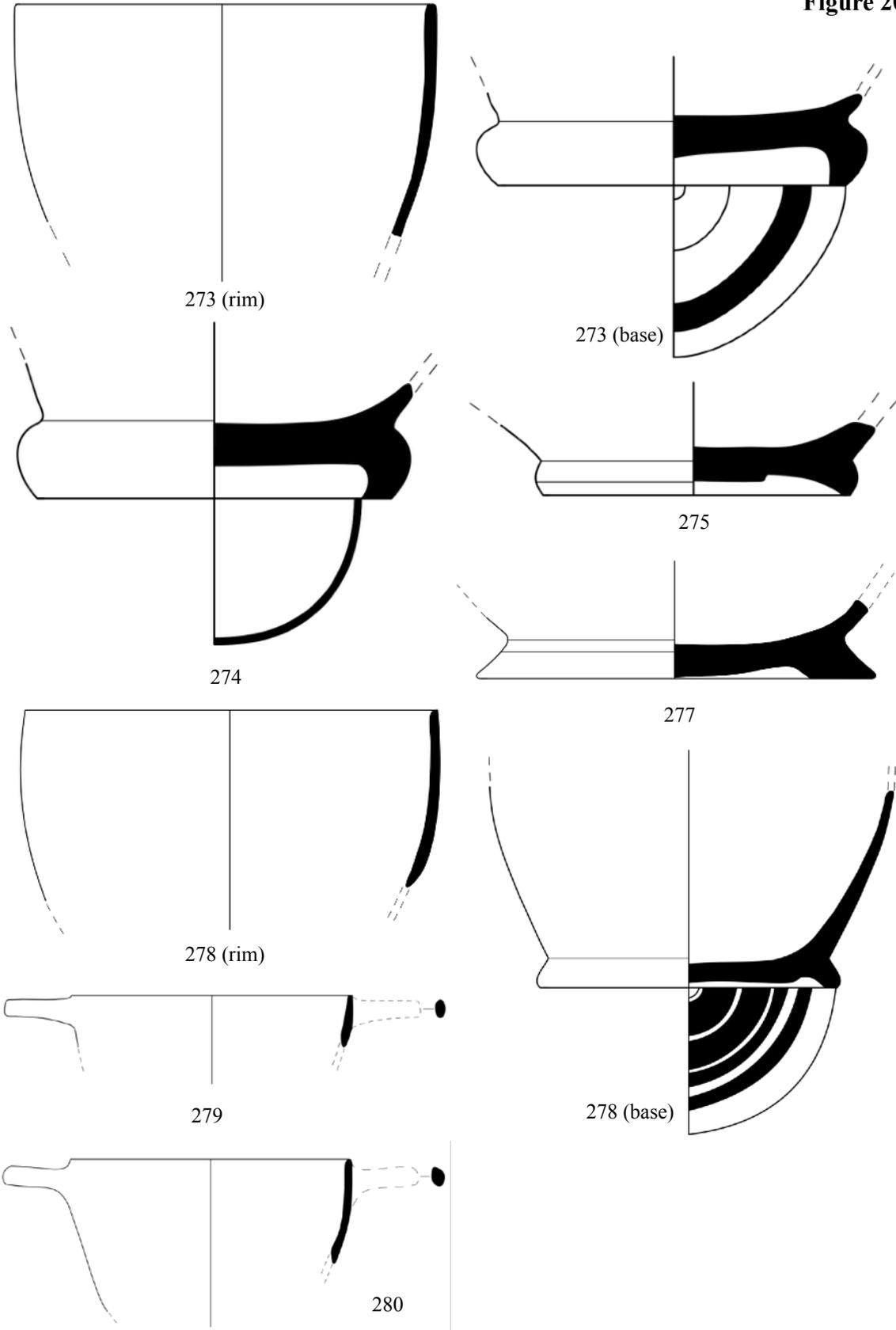


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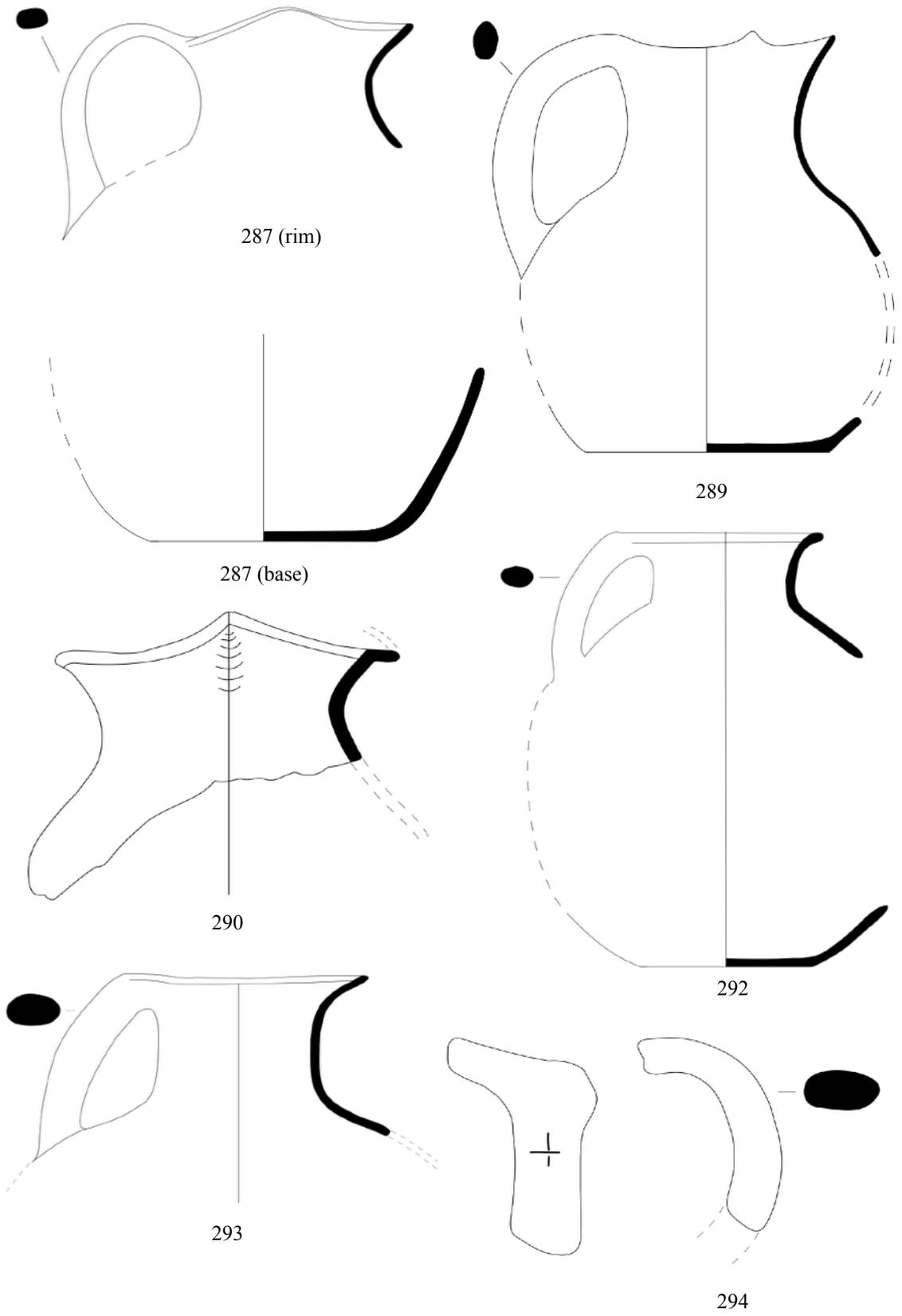


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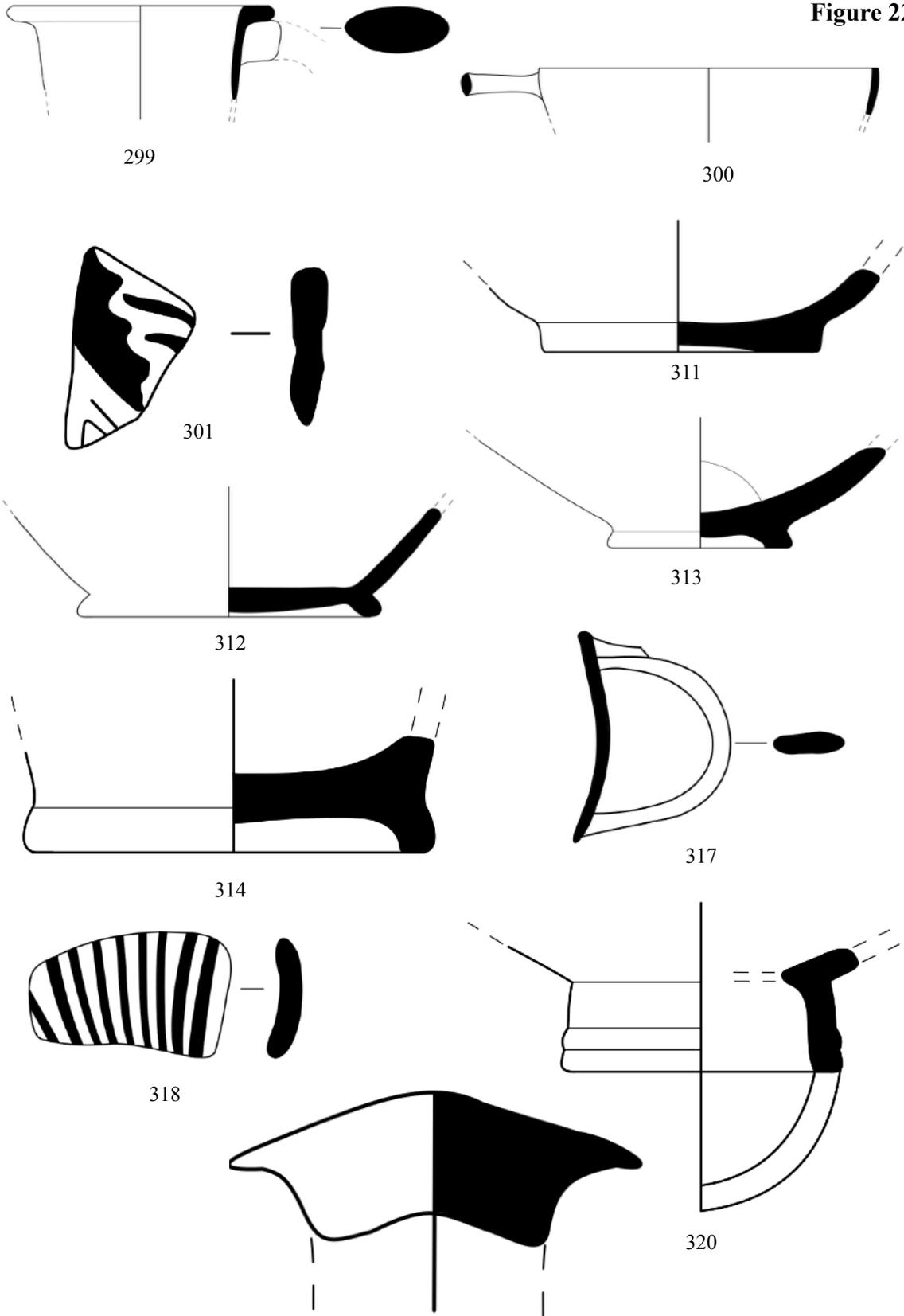


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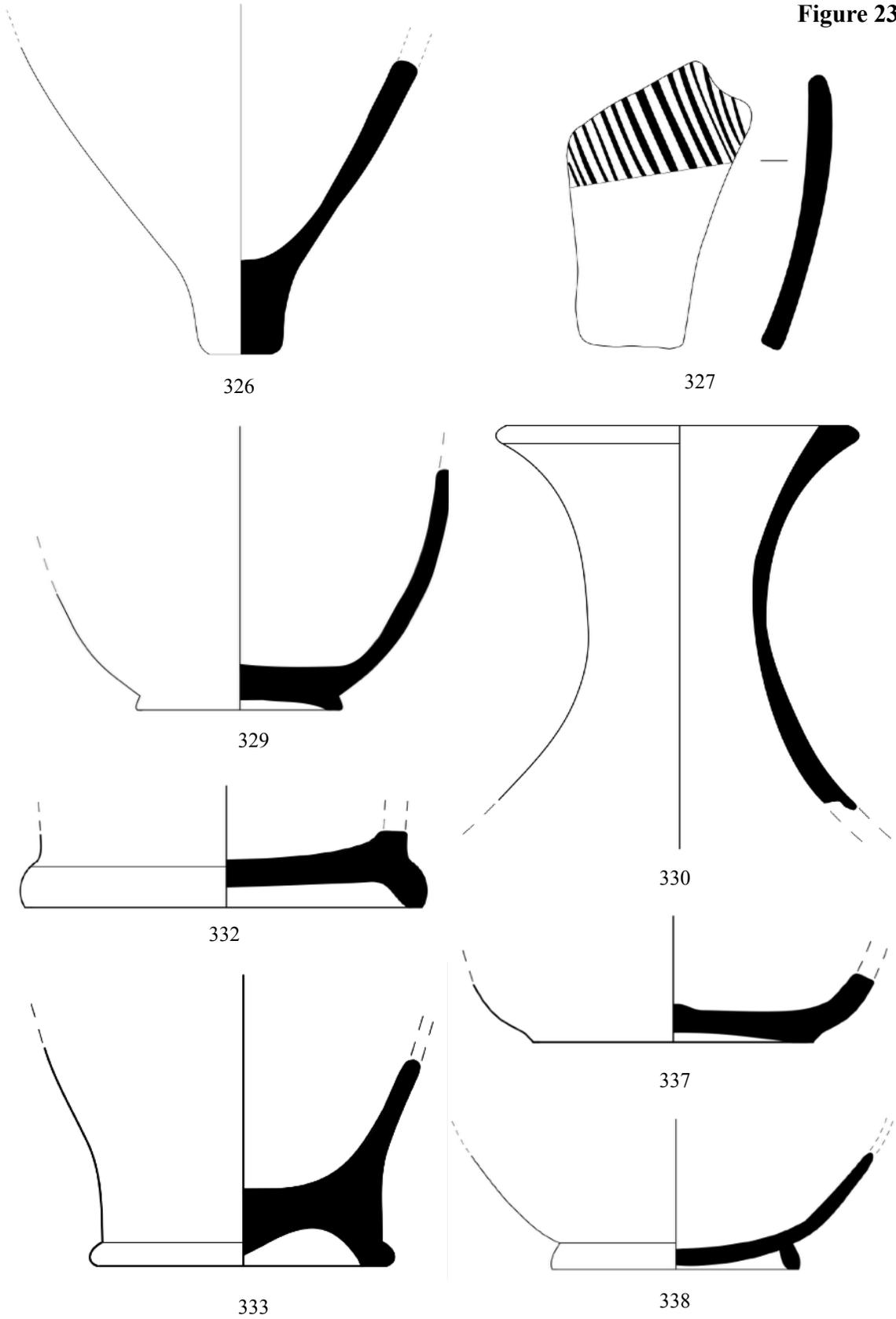


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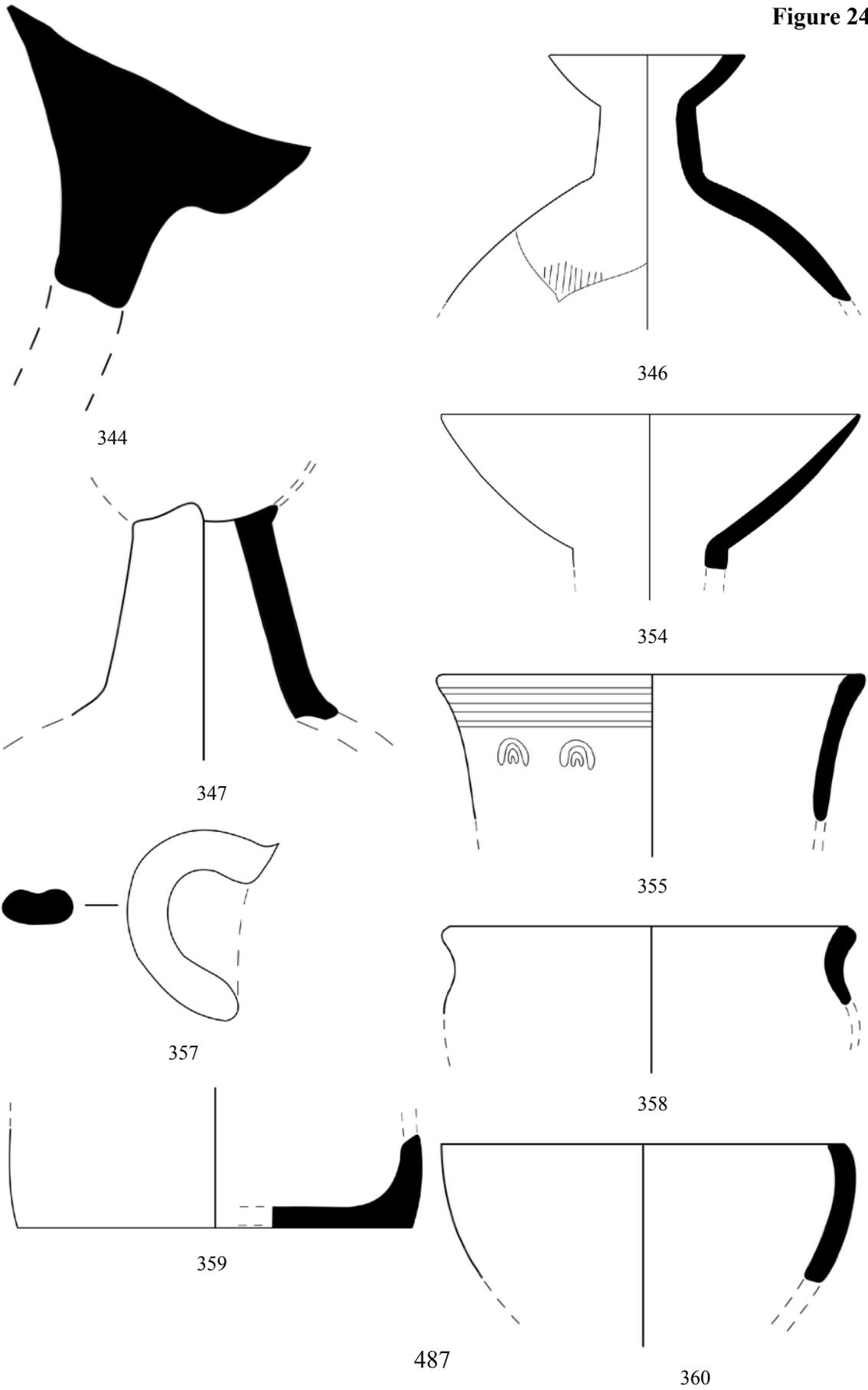
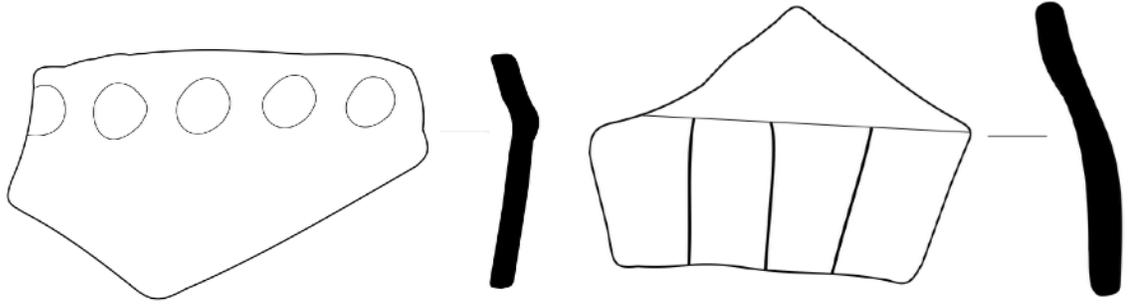


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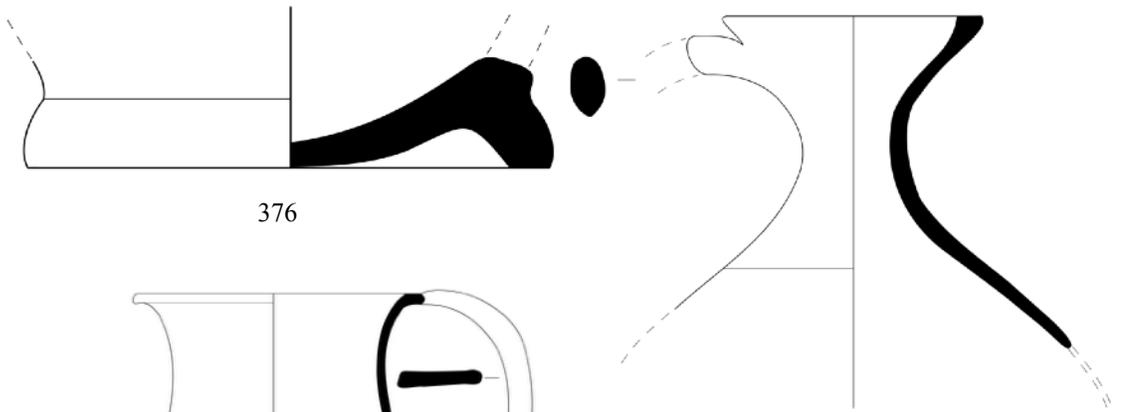
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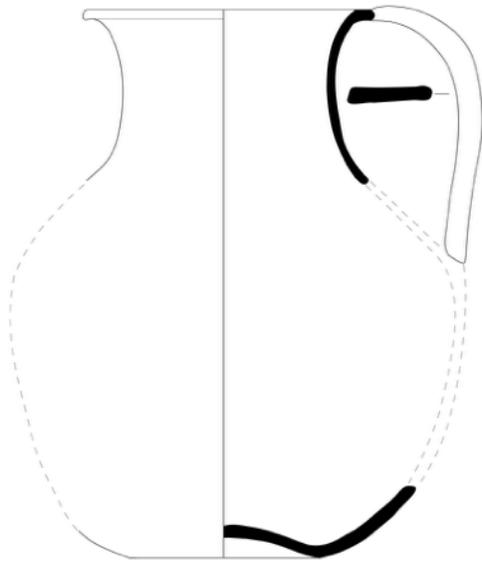
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Figure 26

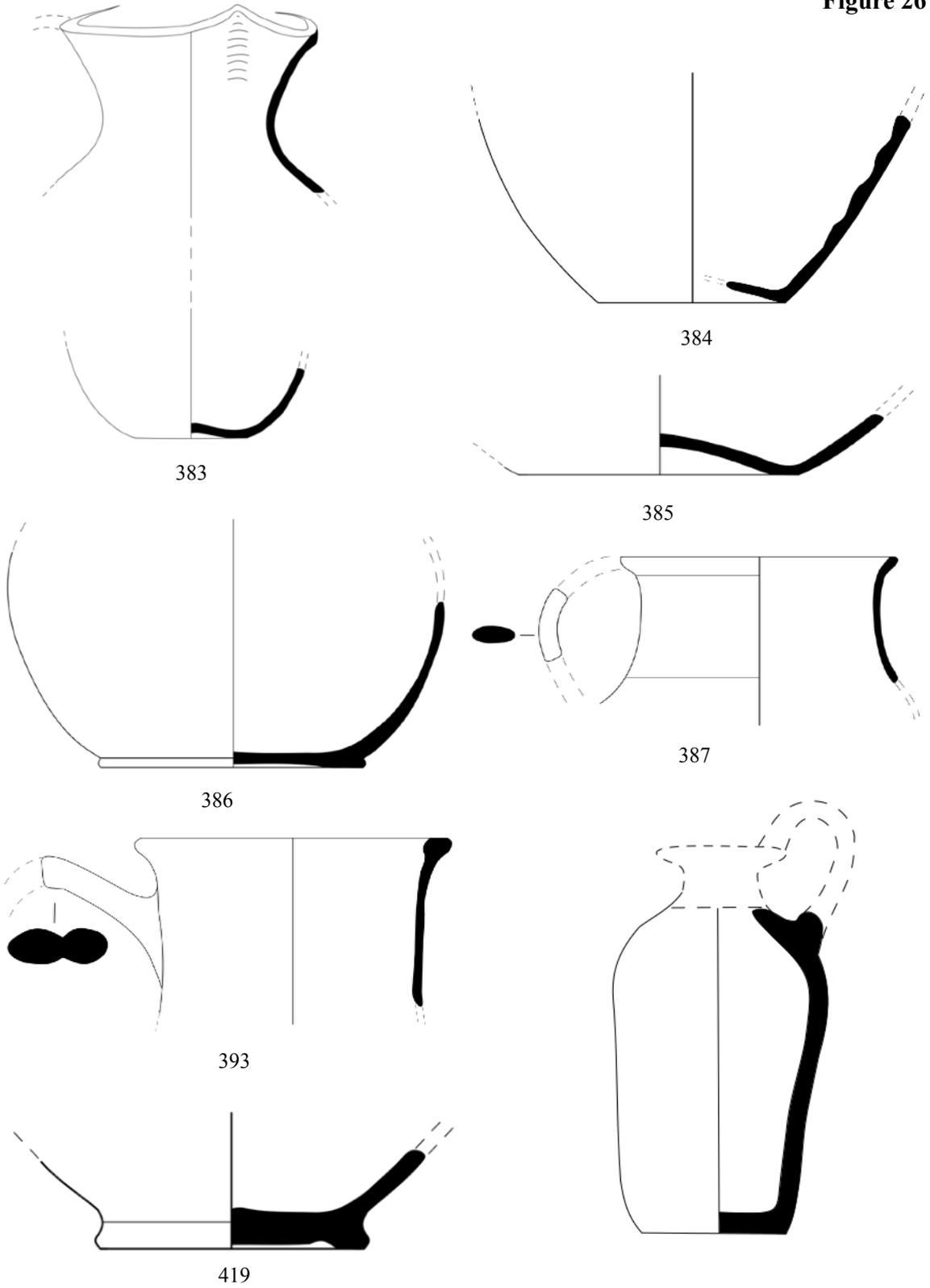
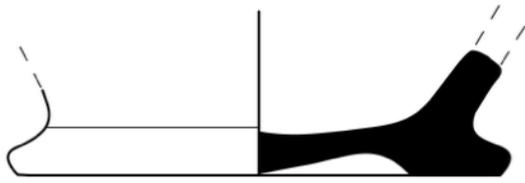
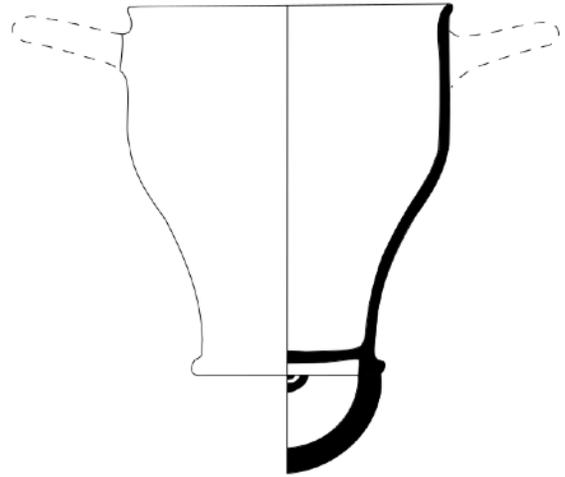


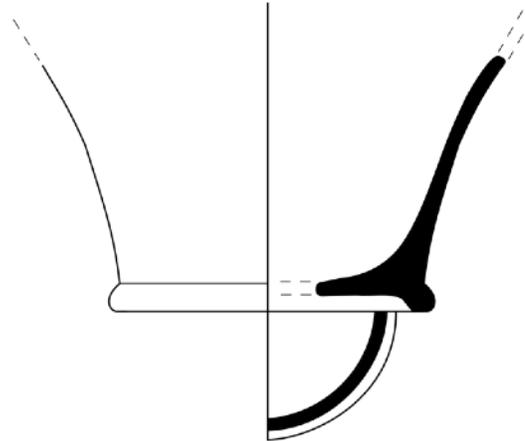
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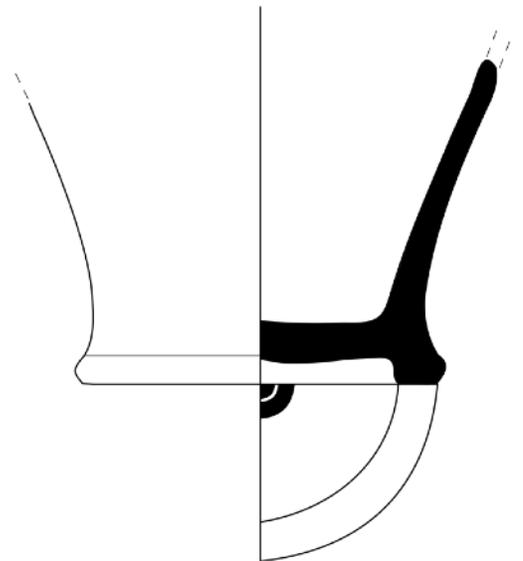
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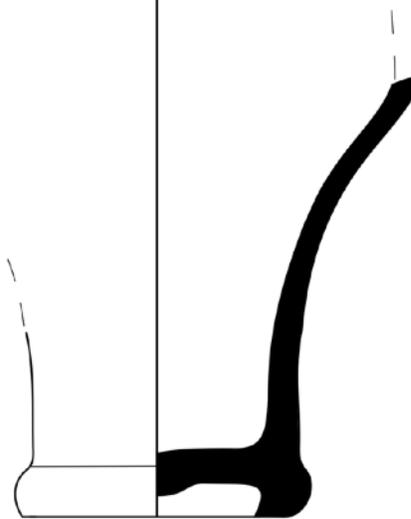
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Figure 28

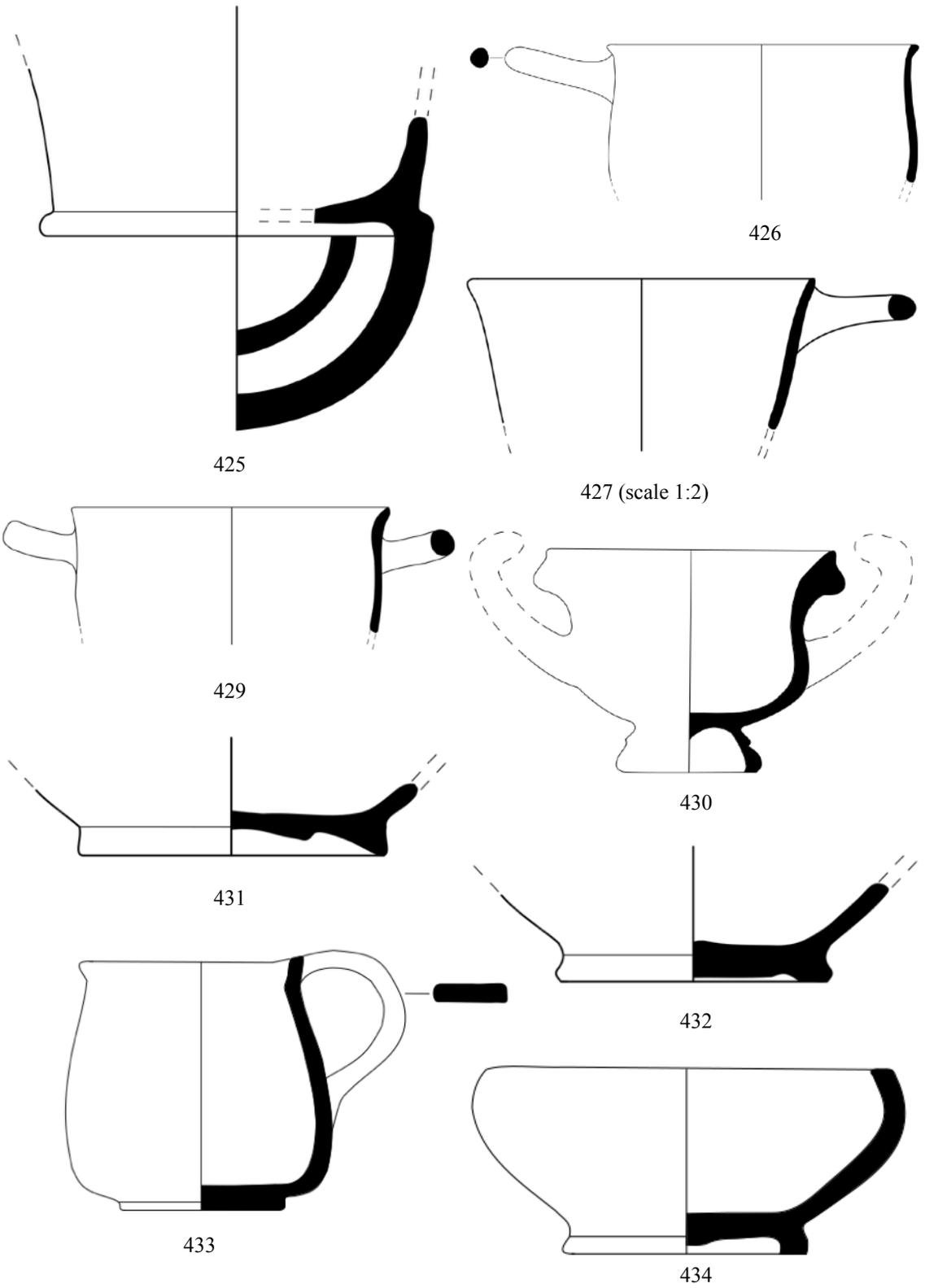
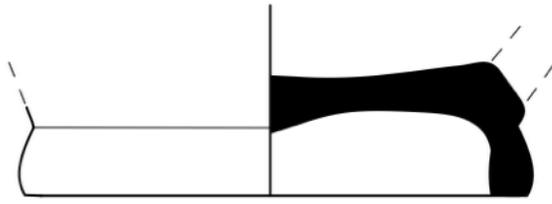
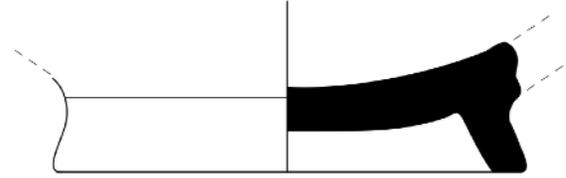


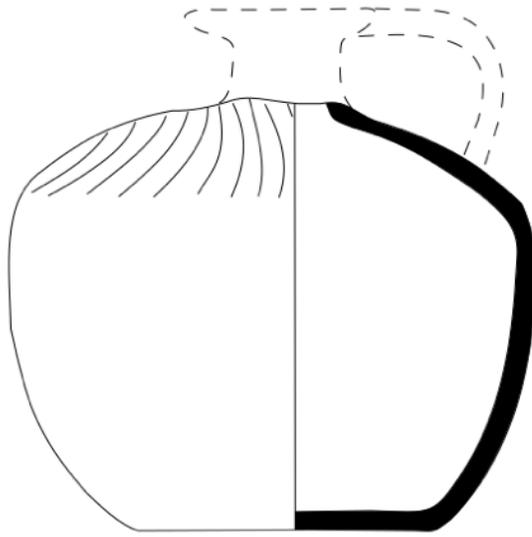
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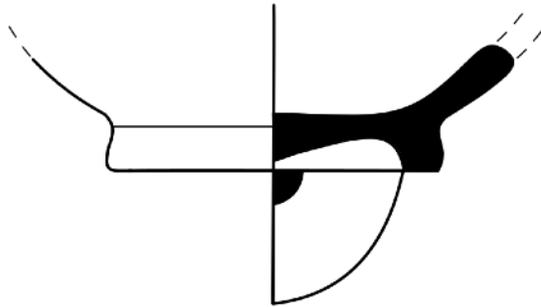
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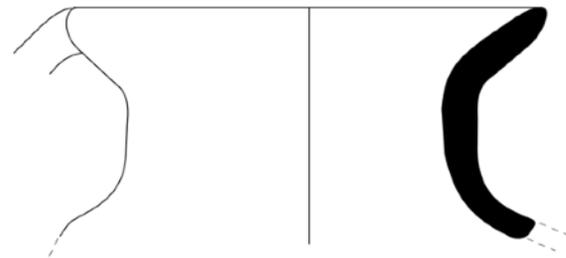
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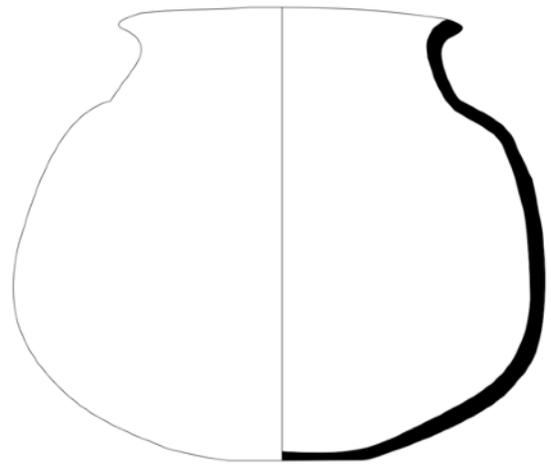
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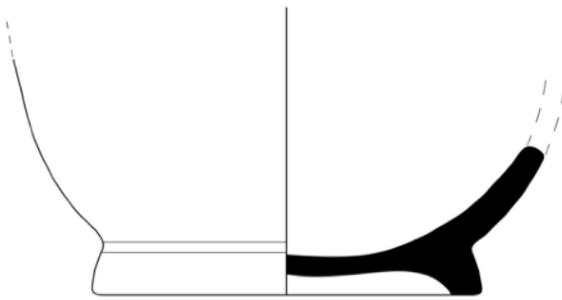


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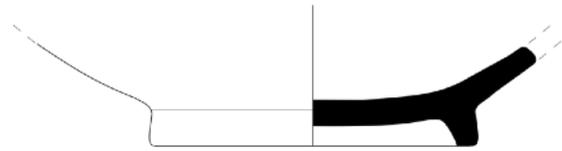


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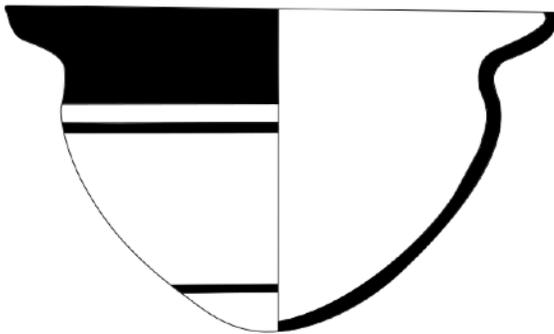
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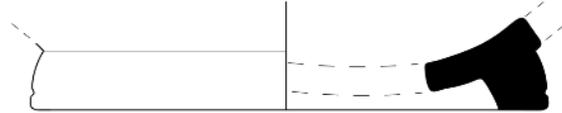
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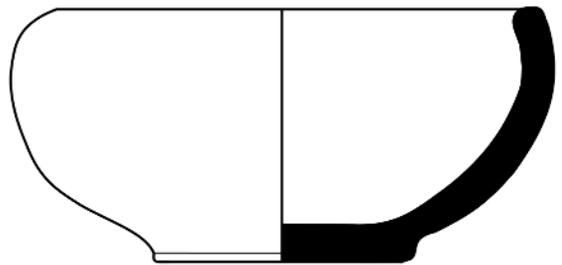
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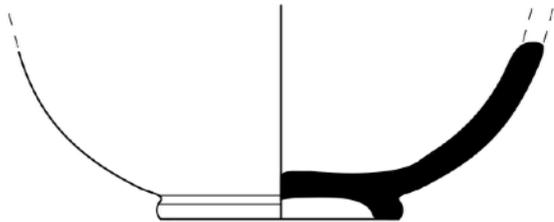
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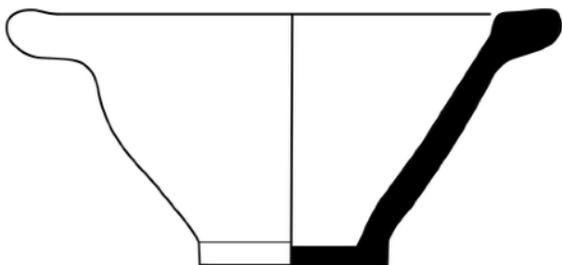
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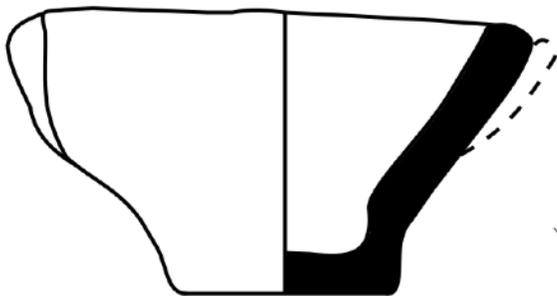
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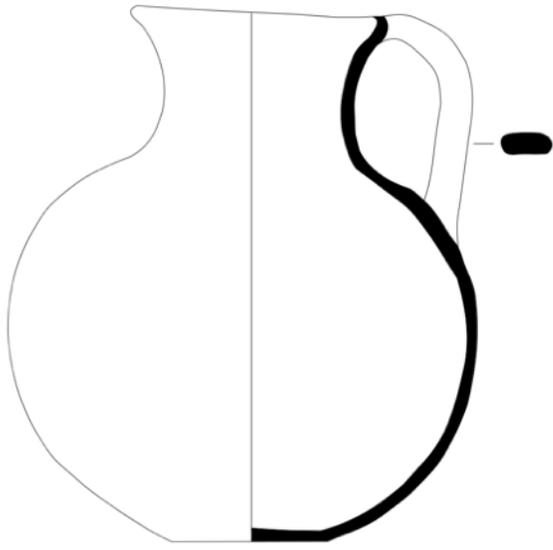


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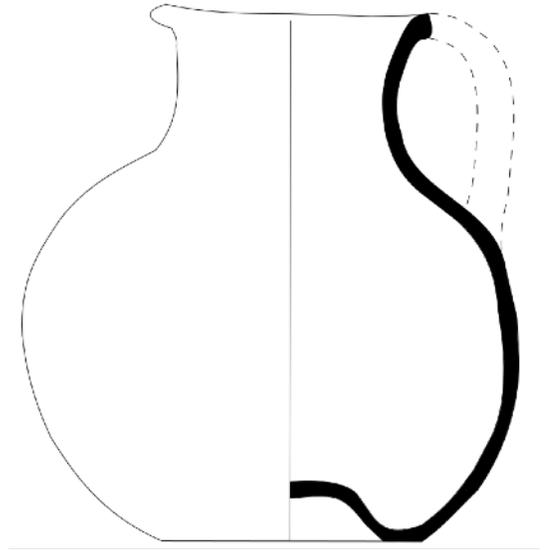


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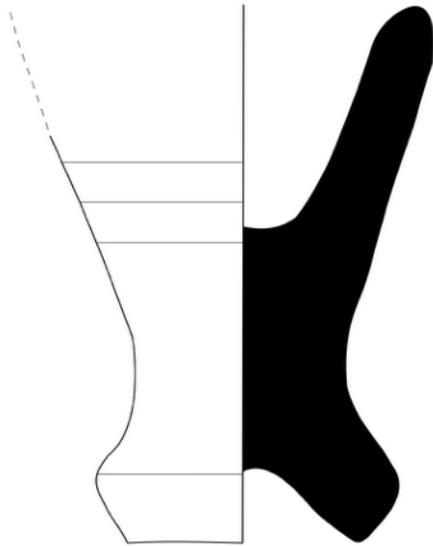
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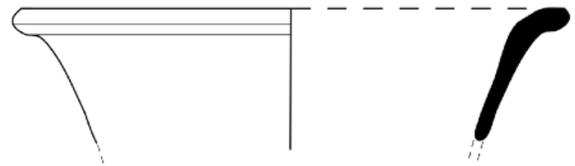
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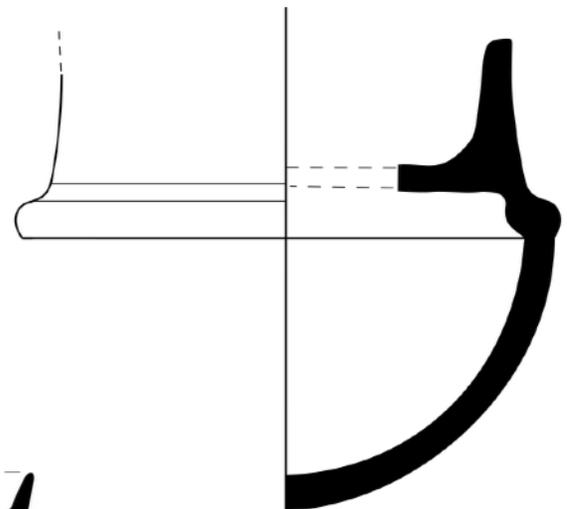
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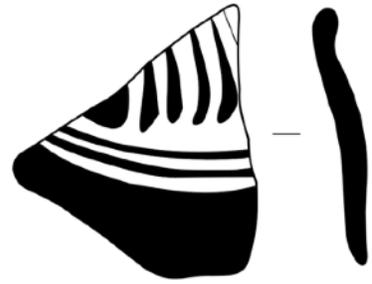
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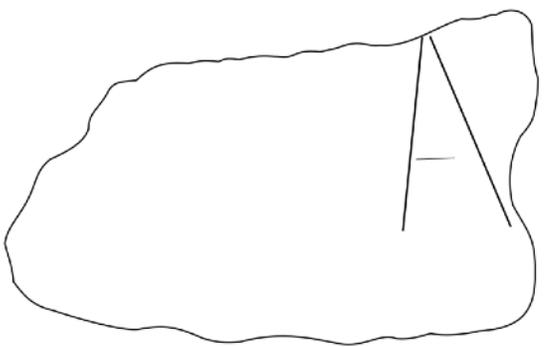
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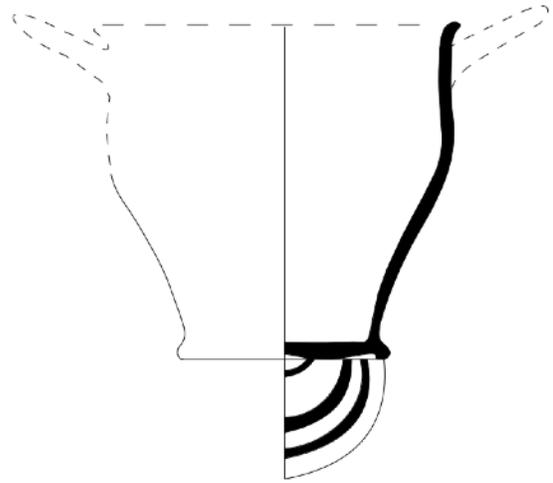
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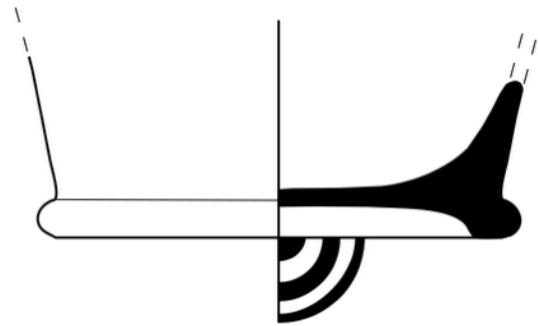
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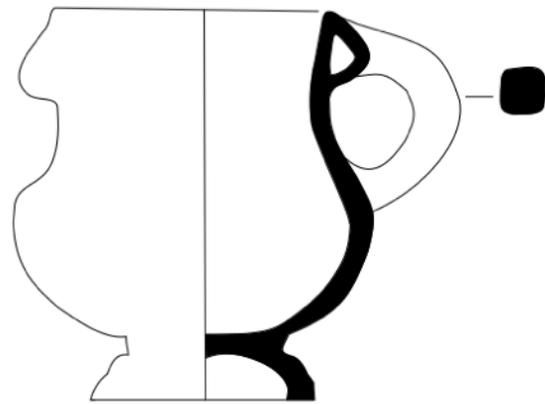
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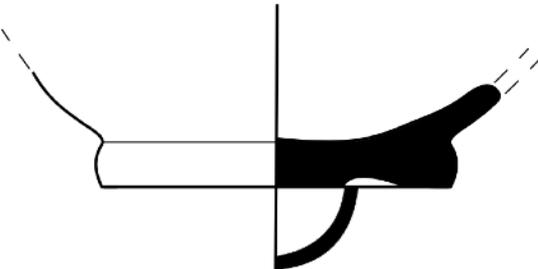
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Figure 33

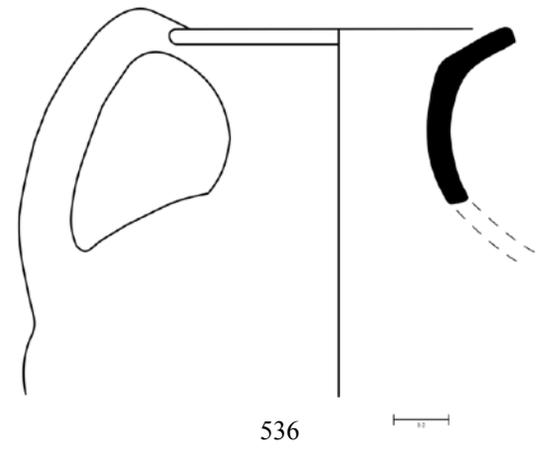
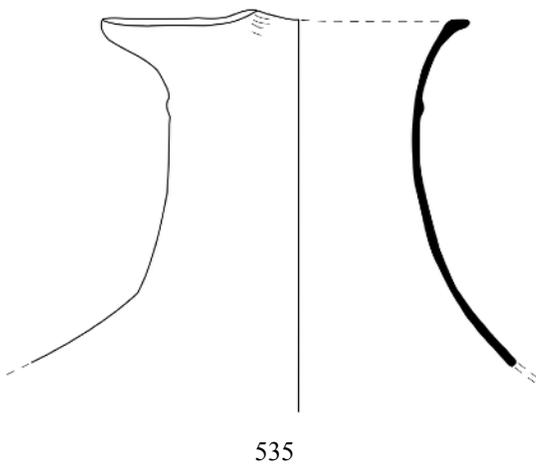
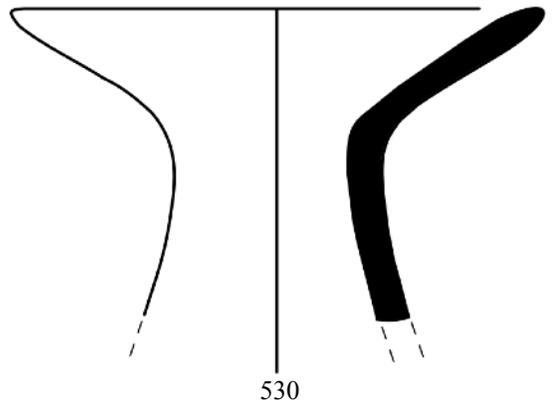
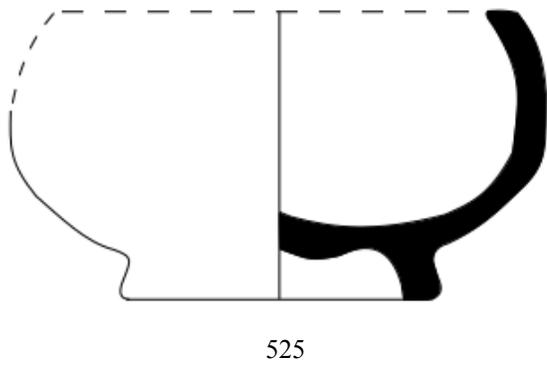
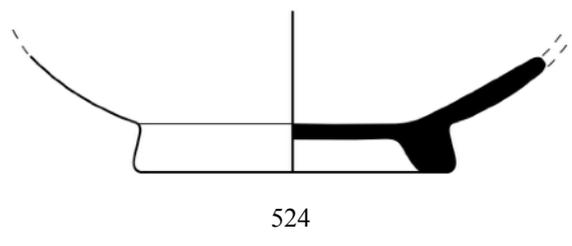
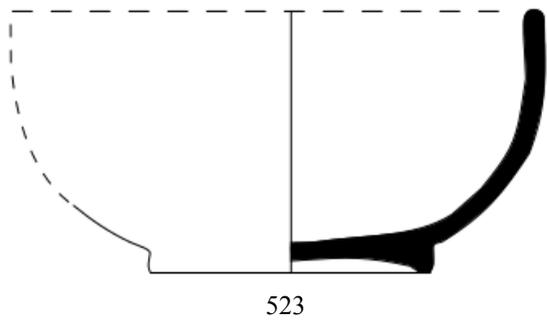
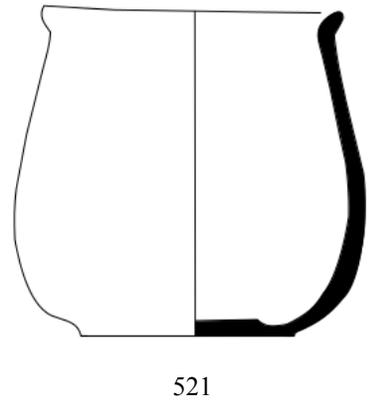
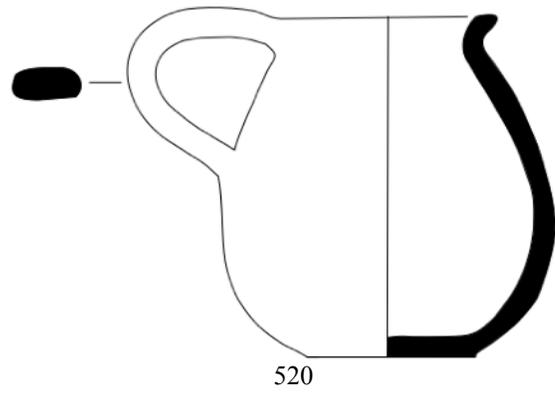
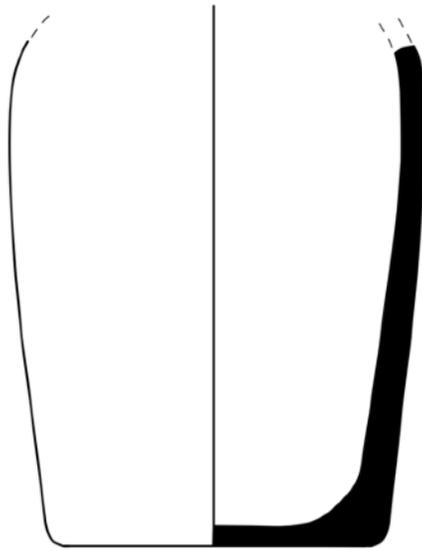
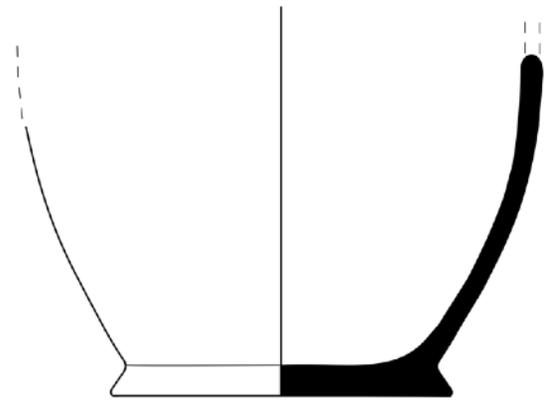


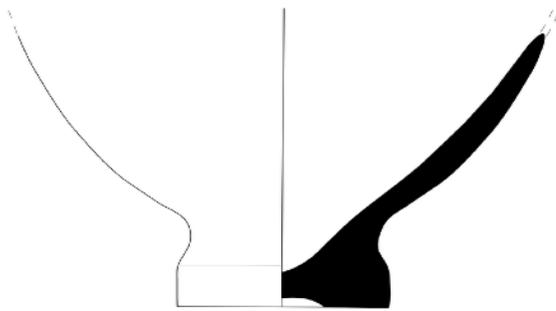
Figure 34



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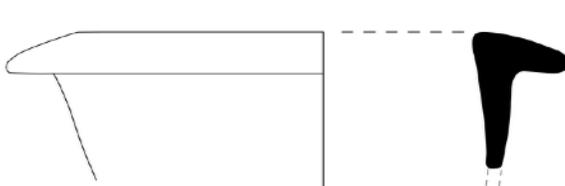
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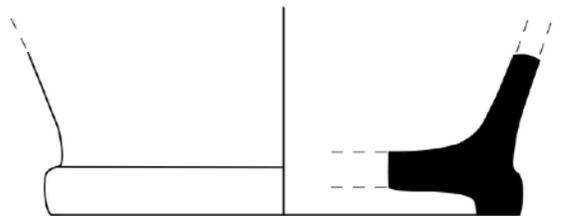
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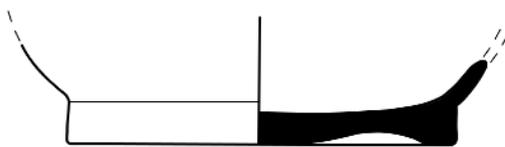
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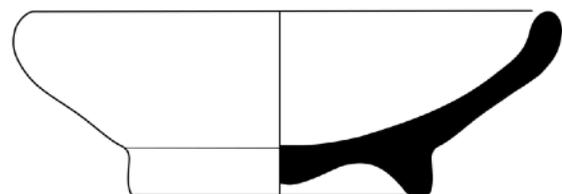
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Figure 35

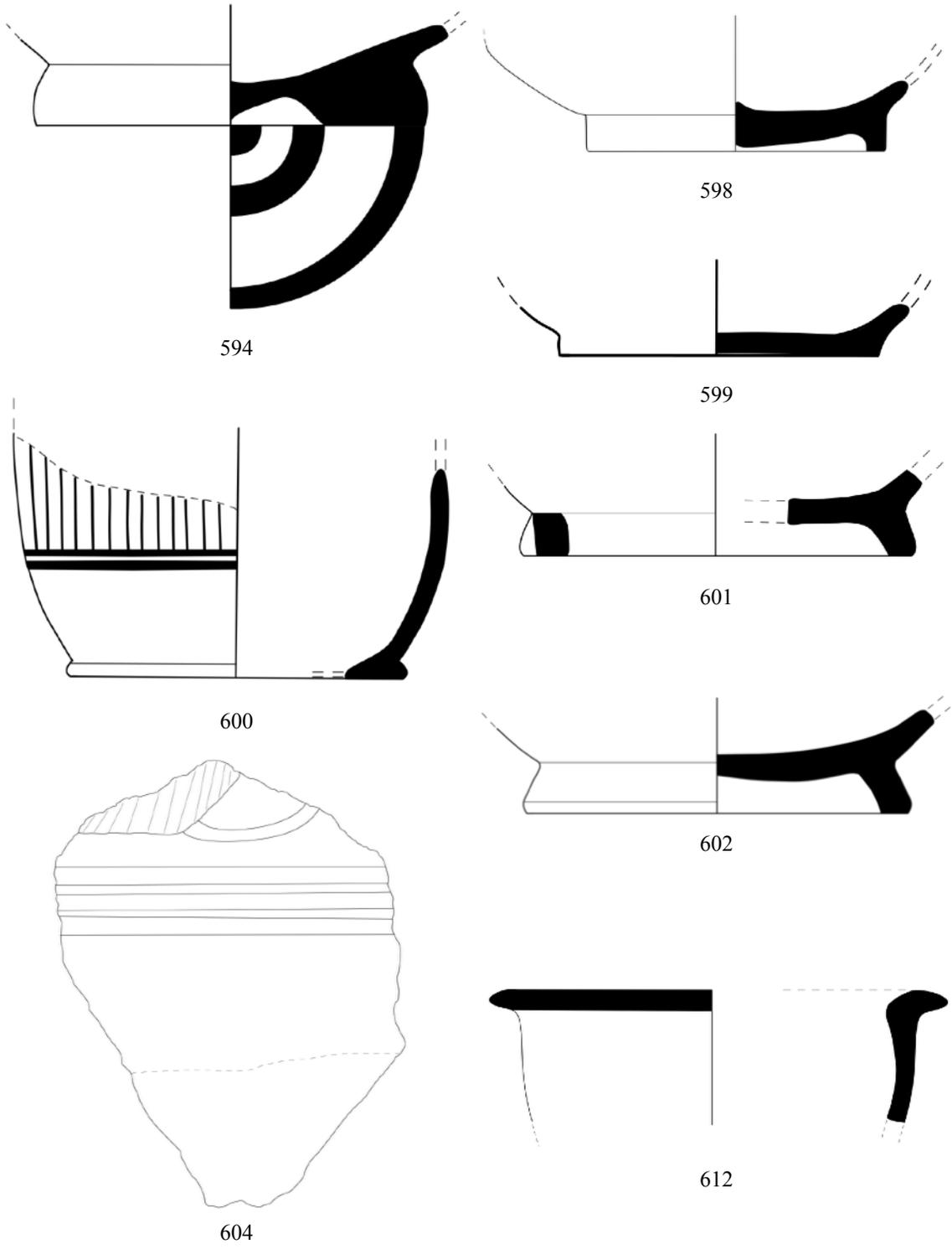
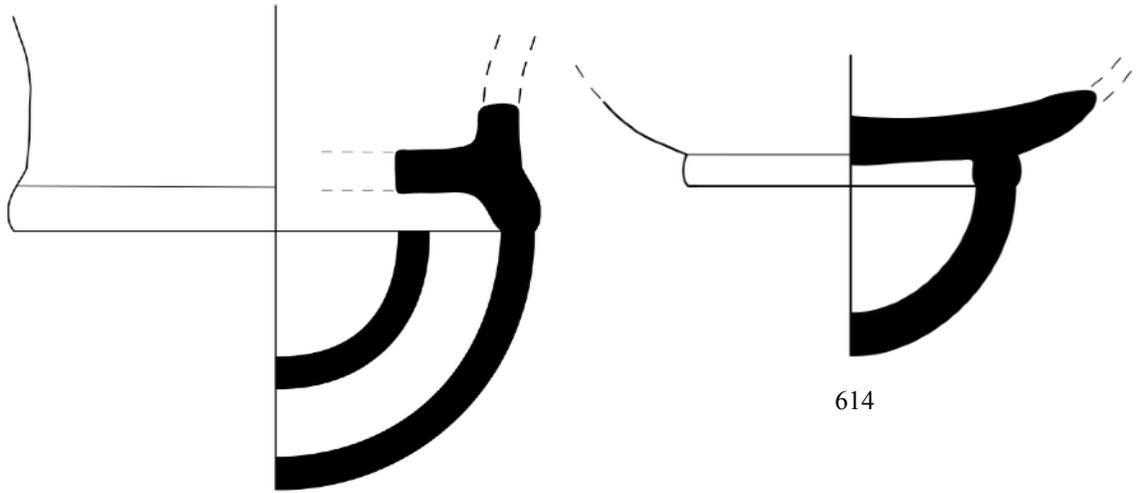
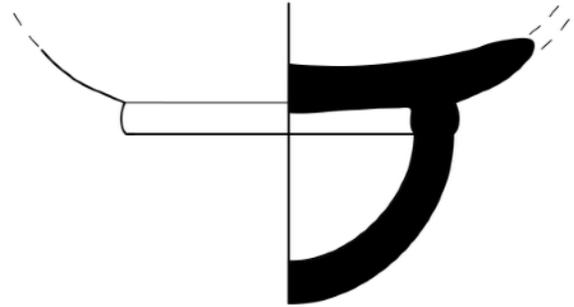


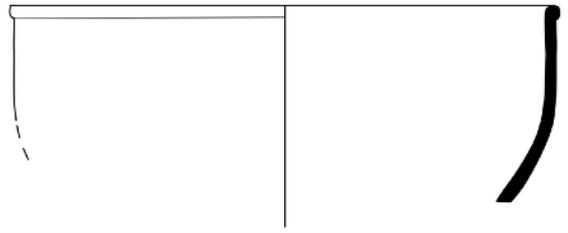
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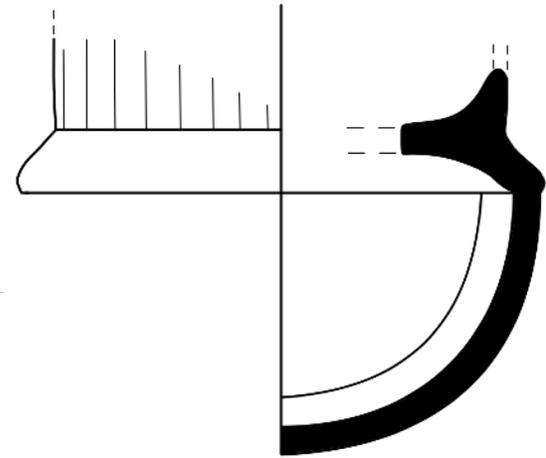
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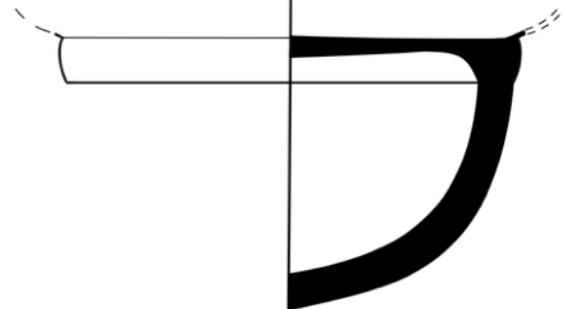
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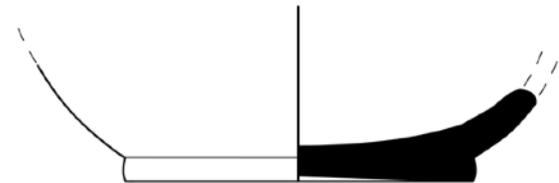
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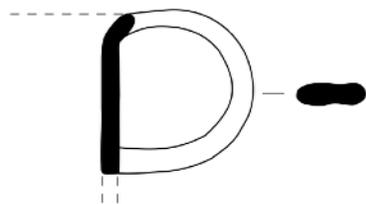
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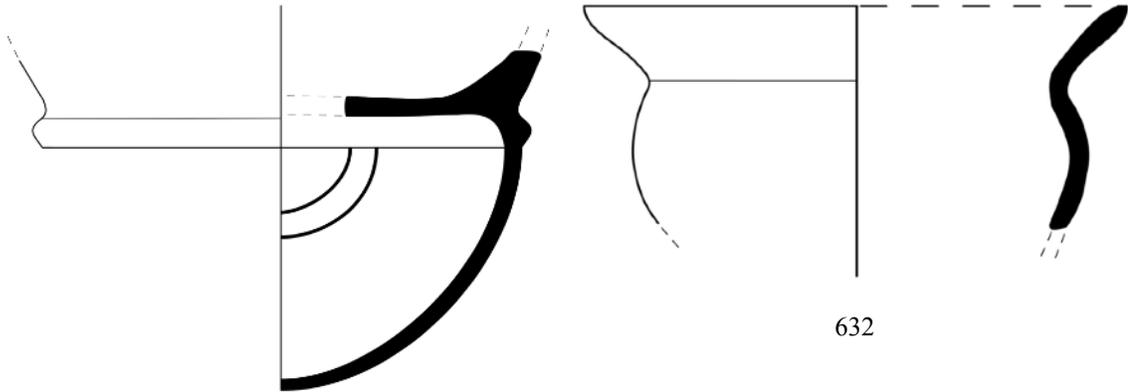


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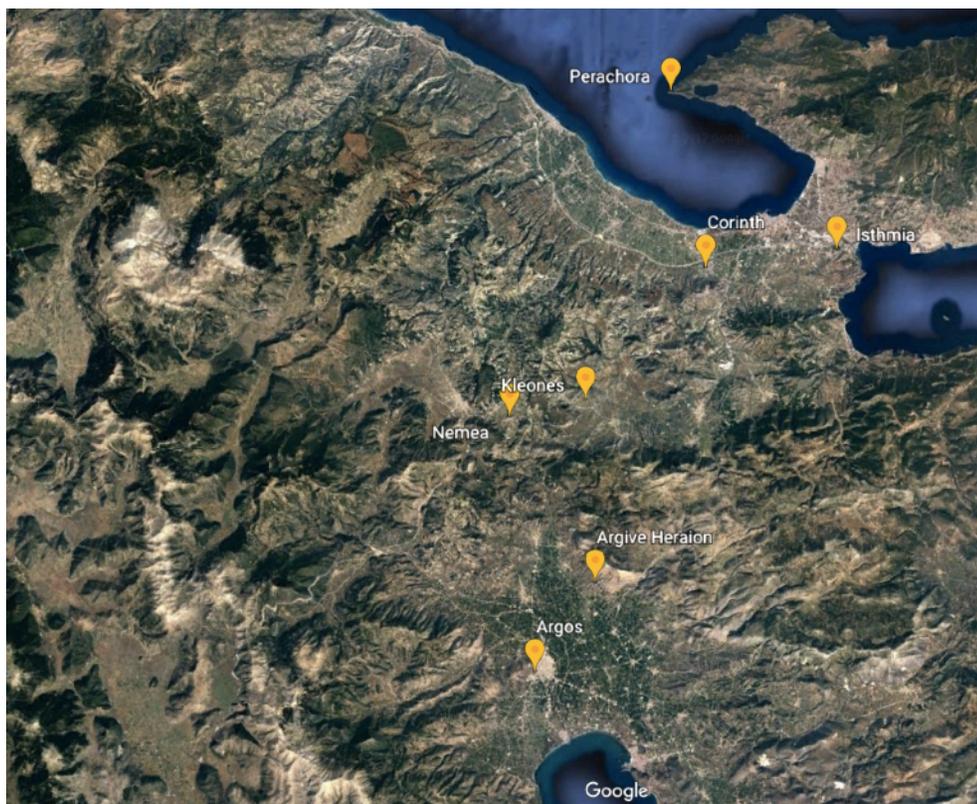
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Figure 37



PLATES

All photographs were taken by the author unless noted. Photographs taken during the original excavation are courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archives housed at the Nemea Center for Classical Archaeology at UC Berkeley.



a) Map of the Northeastern Peloponnese; From Google Earth.



b) Reconstruction of temple entablature.



a) Temple crypt, view from the SE.



b) Altar, view from the S.



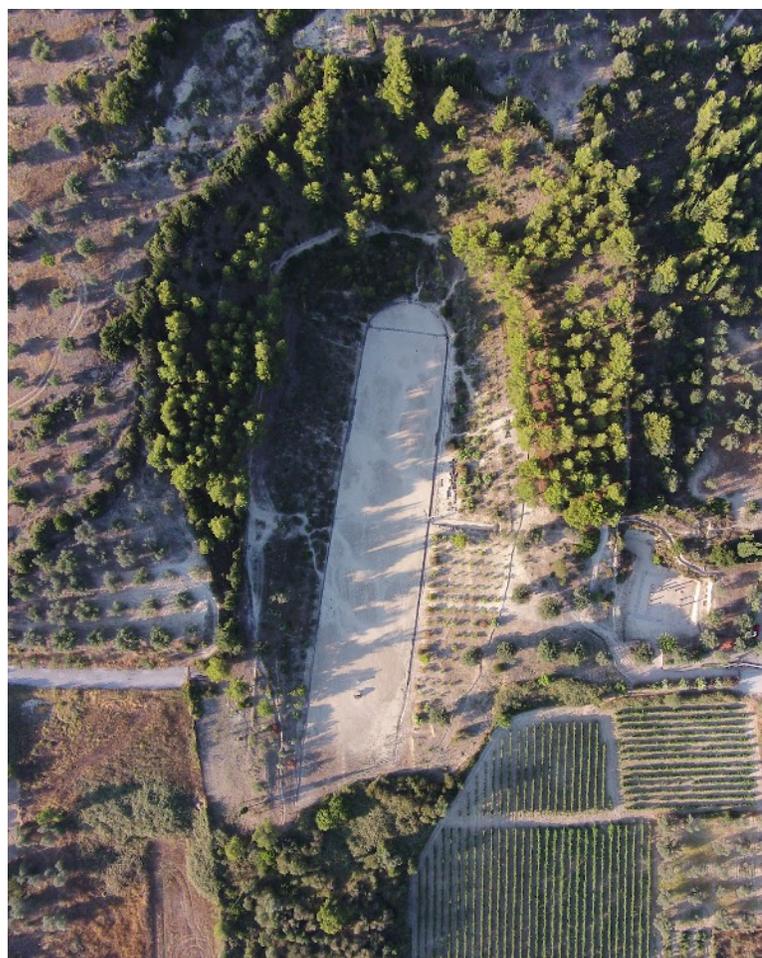
a) Heroön SW corner showing both phases of the wall, view from SE.



b) South Kiln East Stoking Chamber, view from North (photo 1975-15- 13); Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archive.



a) Bathhouse, detail of eastern room and central pool with reservoirs to the south, view from the W.



b) Stadium, view from above looking south; Courtesy of Nemea Excavation Archives.



a) Wells L17:1 (right) and L17:2 (left), view from S.



b) Well M17:2 interior of well, view from above.



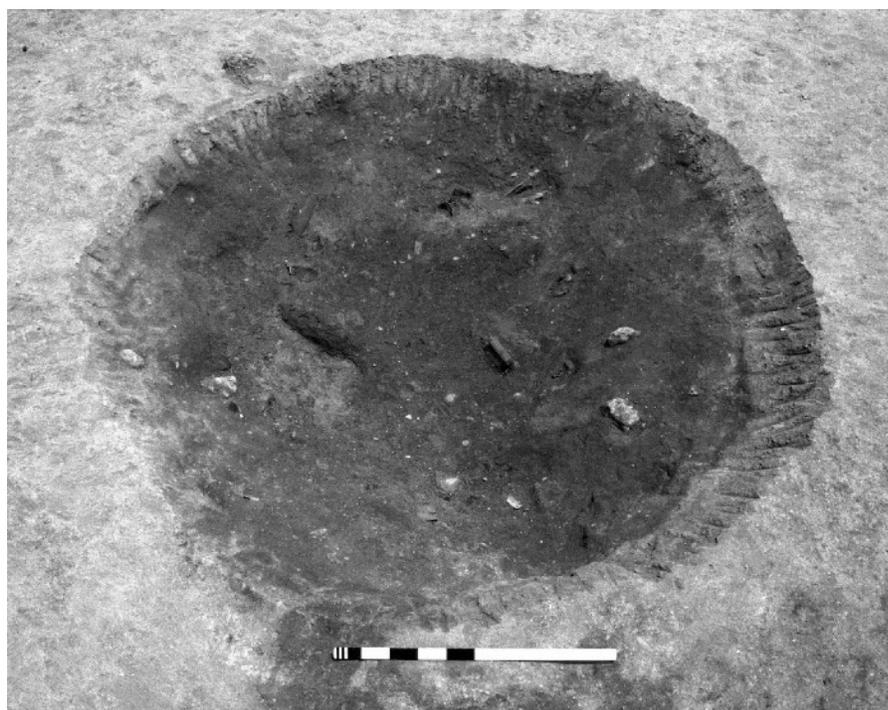
a) Closing of Well M17:2 (photo 1978-3-34), view from W; Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archive.



b) View of Wells K14:3 and K14:4 with temple, view from SW; Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archive.



a) Well K14:4 (photo 1978-19-16), view from W; Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archive.



b) Well E18 as pit (photo 1999-15-26); Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archive.



a) Well L19 in House 3, view from S.



b) Well N17:2 (photo 1975-35-5), view from W; Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archive.



a) Well O17:1 (photo 1977-23-6); Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archive.



b) Well O17-2 (photo 1977-23-6); Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archive.



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Plate 11



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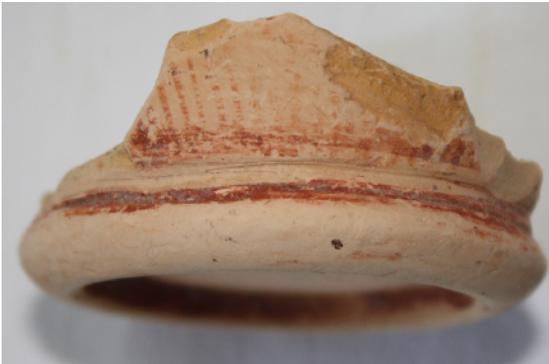
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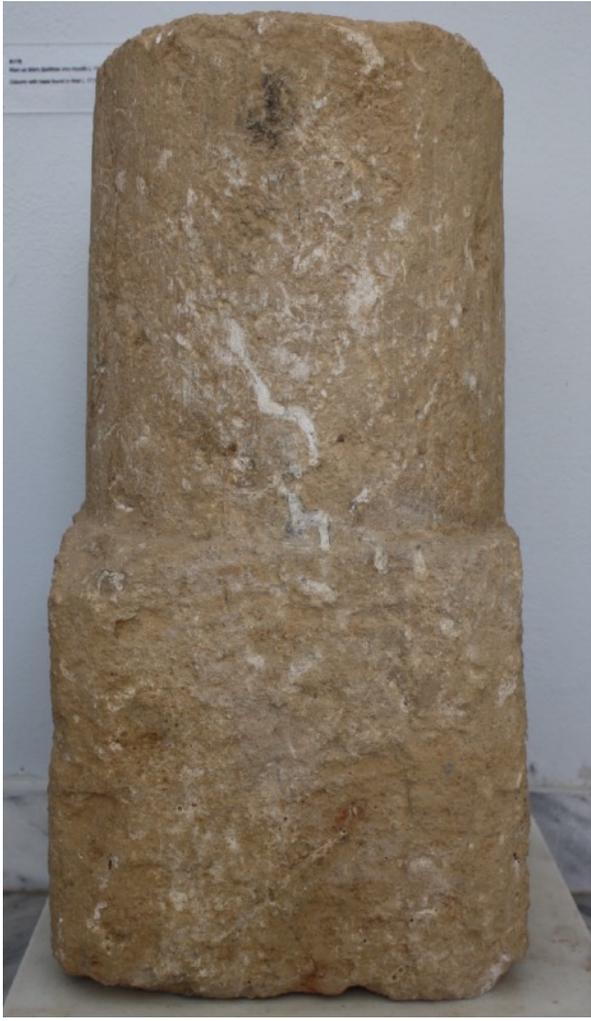
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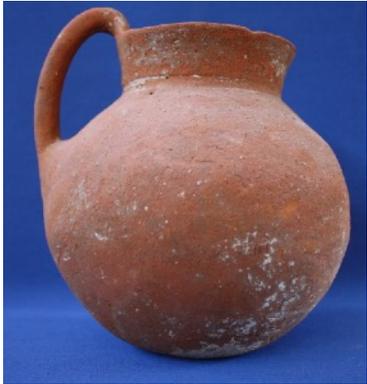
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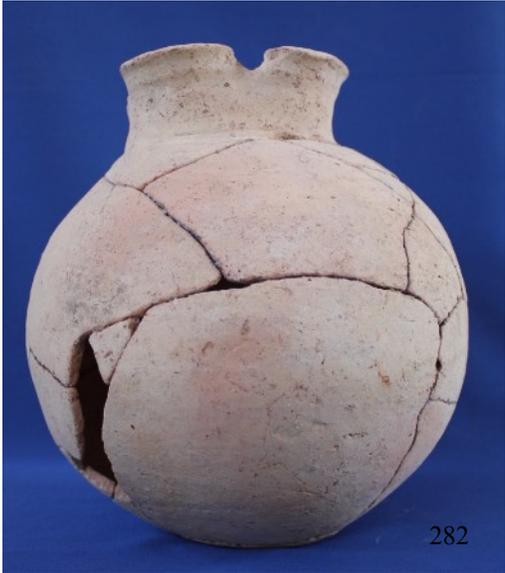
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319, detail



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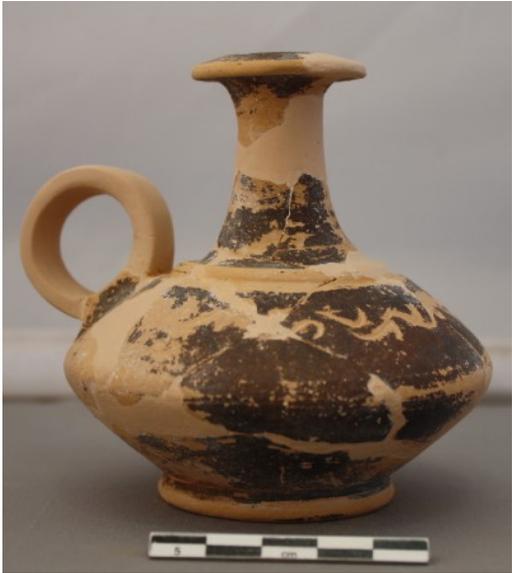
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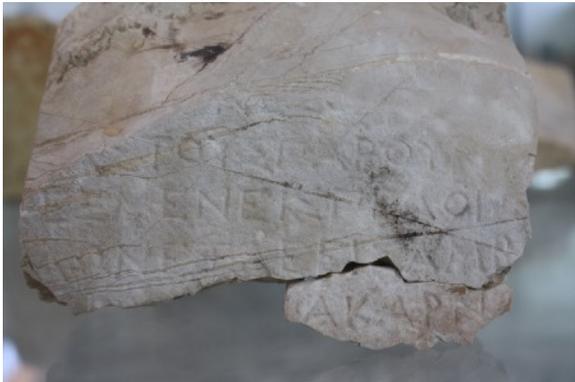
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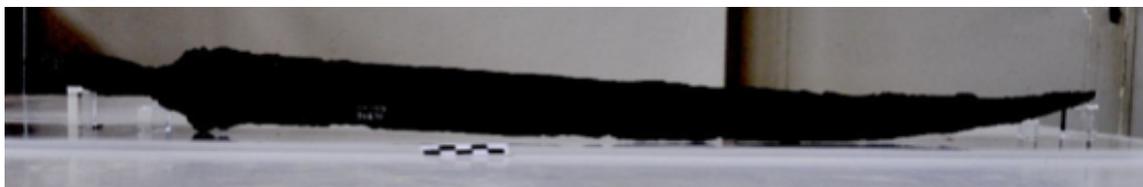
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435, interior



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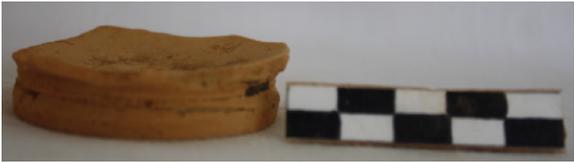
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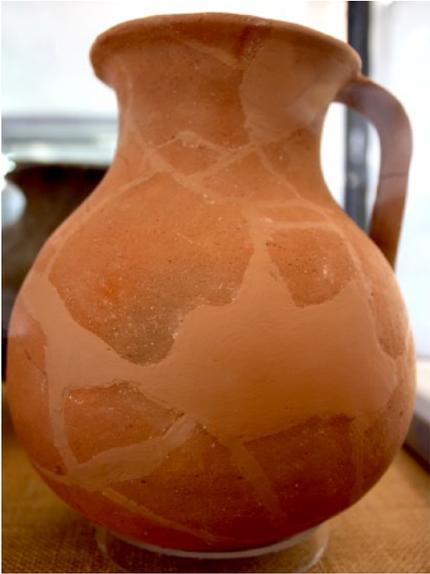
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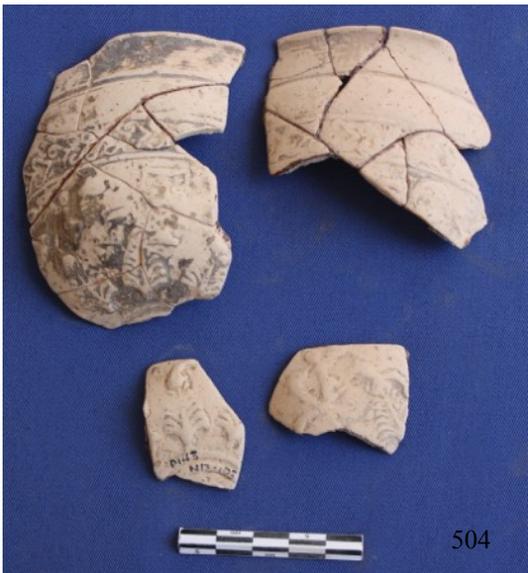
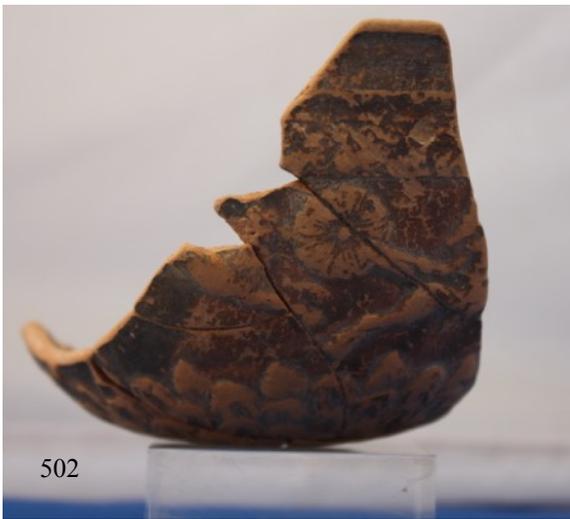
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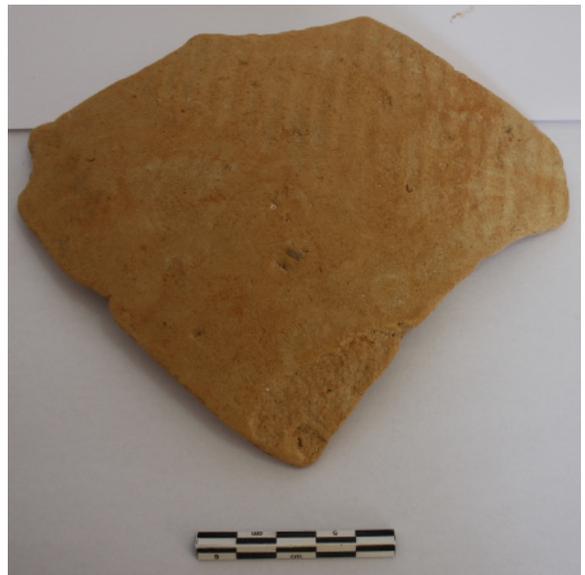
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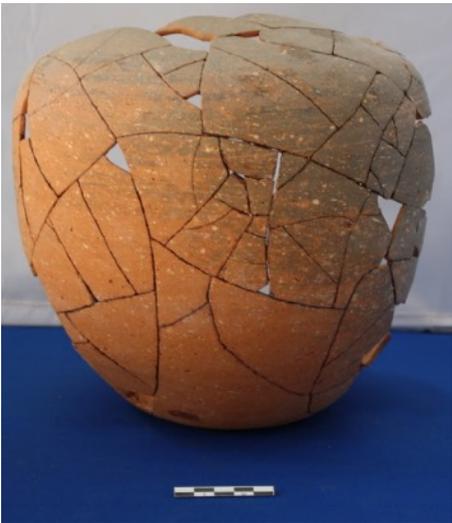
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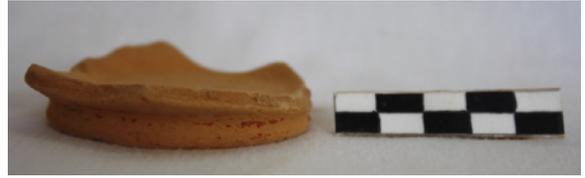
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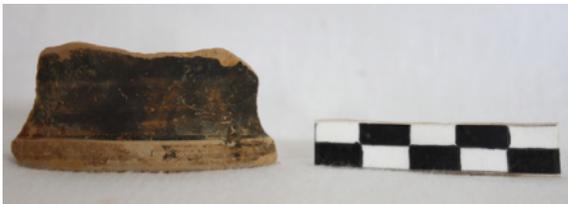
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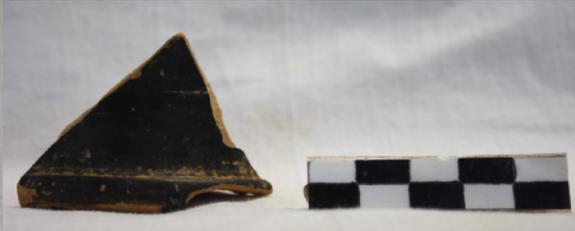
610, detail



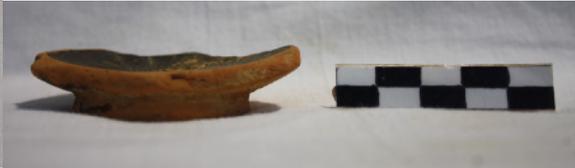
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612



613



614



616



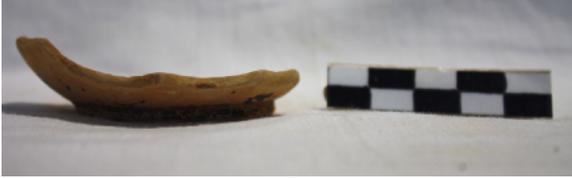
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619



620



621



622



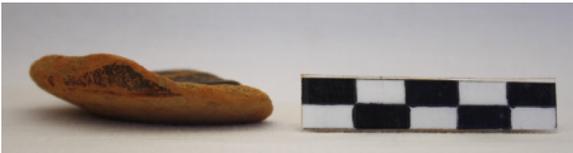
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630

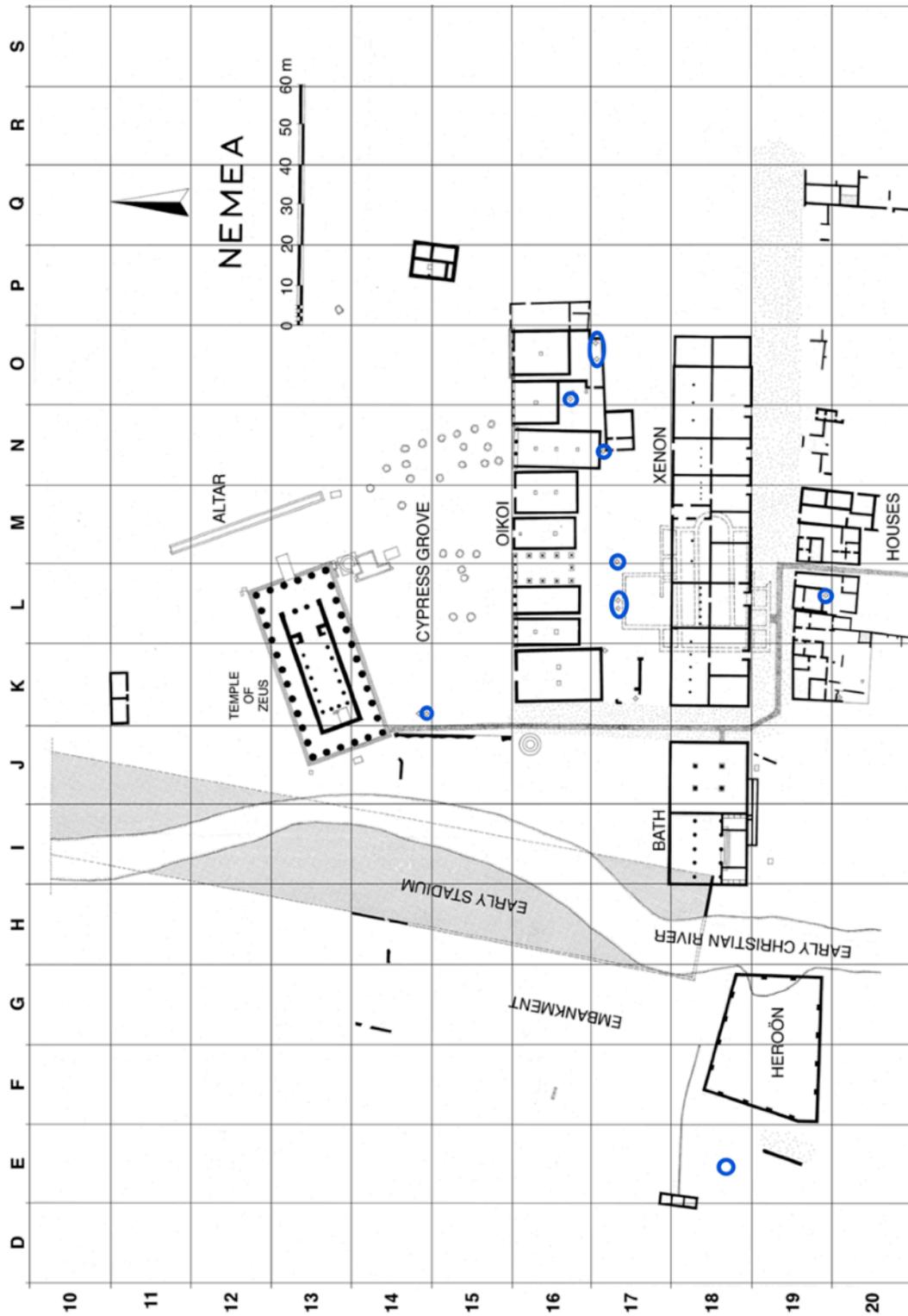


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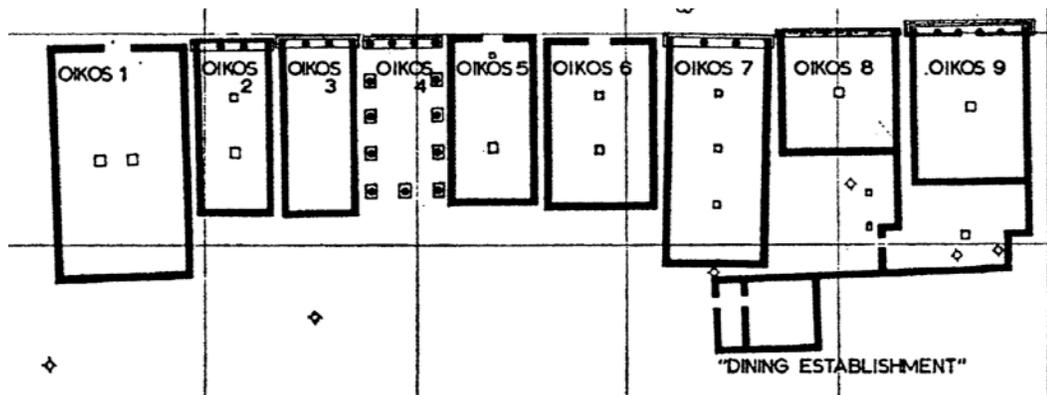


633

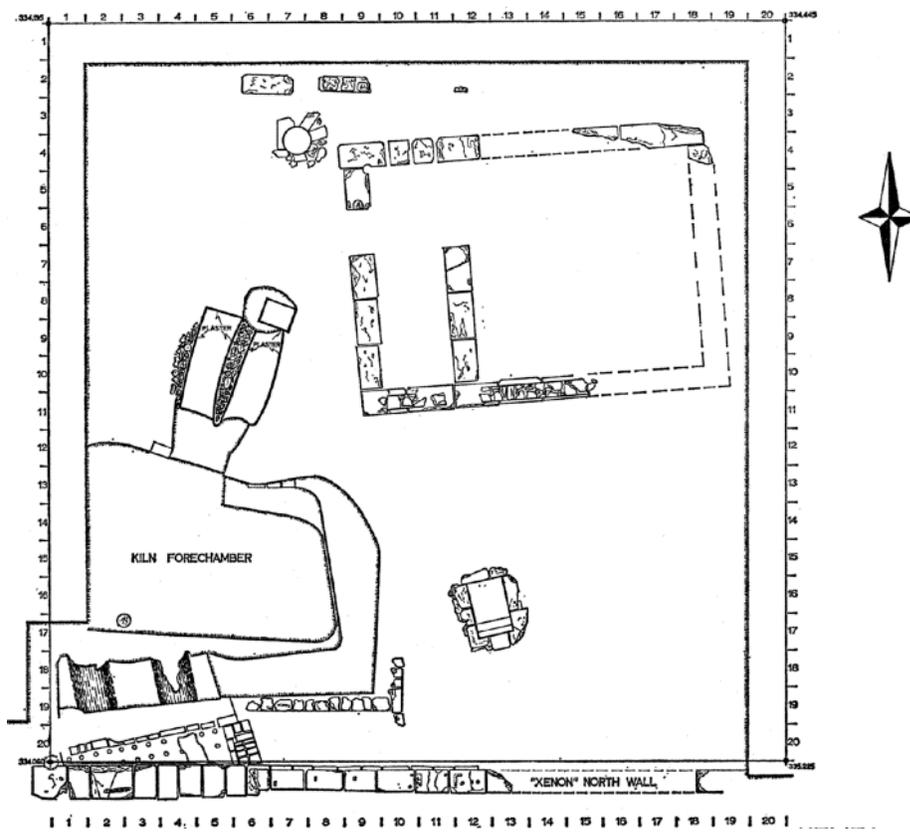
PLANS



Plan of the sanctuary with individual well locations (modified from Miller 2015, 278, fig. 1); Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archives.



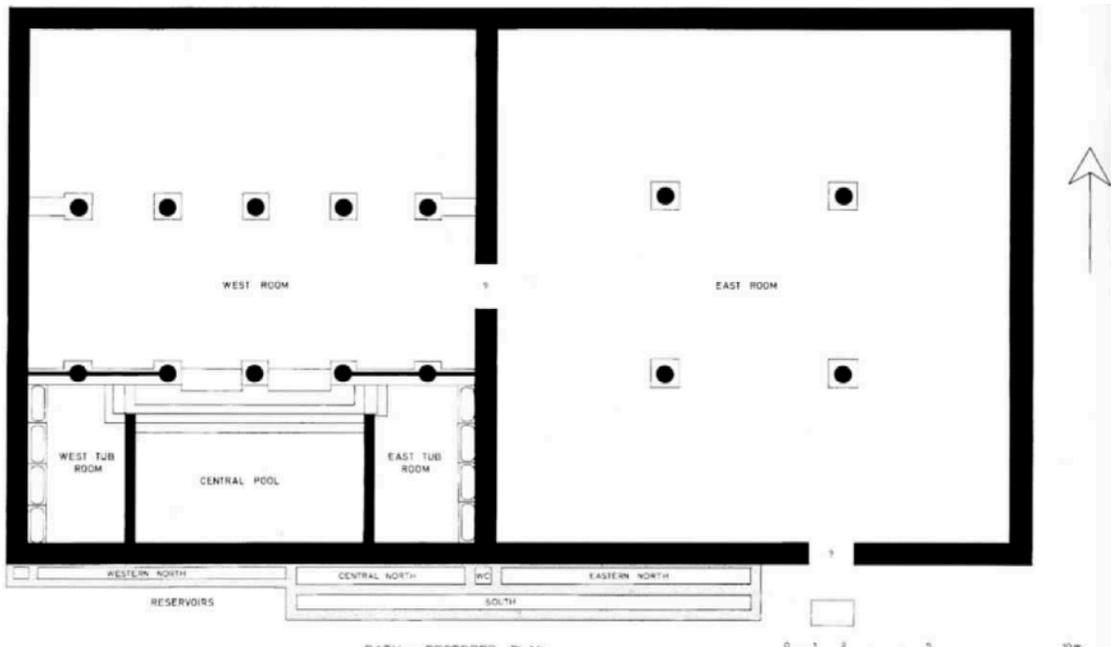
a) Restored plan of the oikoi (modified from Miller 1978, 66, fig. 2); Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archives.



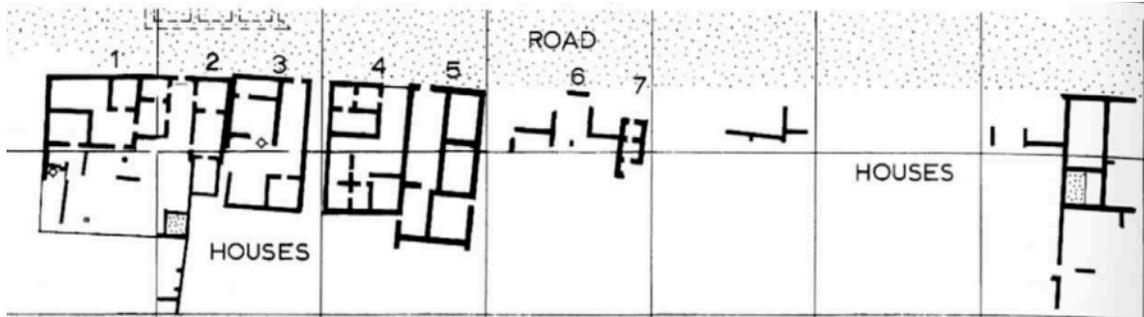
b) Remains of Dining Establishment (after Miller 1975, 163, fig. 2); Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archives.



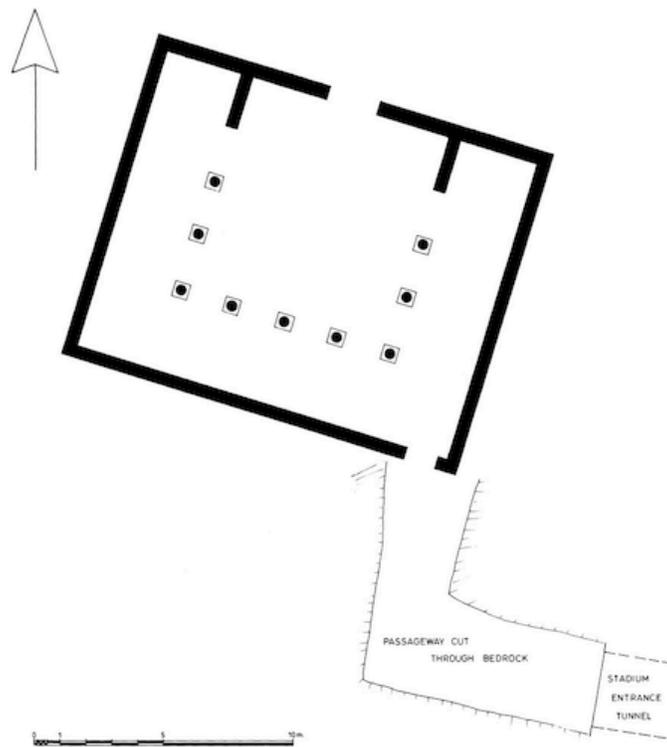
a) Reconstruction of the xenon in the first phase, with basilica outlined (after Miller)



b) Reconstruction of the bathhouse (after Miller 2004, 120, fig. 85); Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archives.



a) Reconstruction of the houses (after Miller 2004, 96, fig. 61); Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archives.



b) Reconstructed plan of *apodyterion* (after Miller 1994, 86, fig. 1); Courtesy of the Nemea Excavation Archives

VITA

Stephanie M. Kimmey was born on June 29, 1985, in Berkeley, California. She received her B.A (with High Honors) in Classical Civilizations at the University of California, Berkeley, where she began her archaeological career at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea, Greece. After receiving a post-baccalaureate certificate in Classical Languages from the University of California, Los Angeles, she began her graduate career in the Classics Department at Florida State University. She earned her M.A. in 2010 with a thesis entitled *The Reaper Group: Content and Context of Ancient Amulet Gemstones for Sciatica*. In the fall of 2010, she joined the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, Columbia for her doctoral work. After completing her coursework and comprehensive examinations, she attended the American School of Classical Studies at Athens as a Regular Member (John Pickard Fellow) in 2013. She spent the fall of 2016 in Nemea as an ASCSA Visiting Associate Member (Charles D. Folsie Fellow) to conduct dissertation research. She has participated in several archaeological projects, including excavations and study seasons in the Corinthia and Argolid at Nemea, Aidonia, and Mycenae. She earned her Ph.D. in December 2017 with a minor in Ancient Studies.