The City of Corinth and Urbanism in Late Antique Greece

by

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Abstract

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This dissertation is a history of the city of Corinth in Late Antiquity, an examination of urban life between the third and sixth centuries after Christ. Published histories chart earlier periods of Corinthian civic life, but few extend into Late Antiquity, though Corinth was then still central to political, economic and cultural life in the Roman province of Achaia, modern southern Greece. Beyond this regional importance, Corinth forms an important benchmark for other Mediterranean cities in its mix of Ancient Greek, imperial Roman and developing Christian institutions. Many relevant Ancient authors have only recently been analyzed by archaeologists, however, while published material culture is organized separately from history in most archaeological field reports. This evidence has varying utility for the writer of history, and the genre and biases of Ancient authors, the conditions of the early excavations at Corinth, and recent academic work on Late Antique Greece all receive mention.

Beyond an organized account of urban life in the Agora, city and countryside of Late Antique Corinth, this dissertation also asks why such life was changing so dramatically in Late Antiquity, and explores some of the factors responsible. In Achaia, as elsewhere in the Later Roman Empire, political, economic and cultural conditions were undergoing significant change, resulting in new leaders at Corinth, new products for sale, old buildings abandoned or reused, and a new religion with its own new buildings. Some of these changes happened abruptly in the fifth century, but most were gradual, and emerged from institutions which existed in the third century. Finally, many elements essential to urban life such as local leaders, roads, water supplies and a capacity to recover after disasters are still present in Late Antiquity, and confirm that Corinth was a city throughout that era.

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Preface

For Greek words in this dissertation I use mainly familiar Latinized or Anglicized forms, with occasional direct transliteration of Greek; the latter is internally consistent except for the transliteration of eta (i/e), ypsilon (y/u/v) and beta (b/v).

I have mainly used *AJA* or *OCD* abbreviations, with the following additions:

Corinth NB	=	Corinth Excavation Notebook
I-	=	Corinth Inscription
S-	=	Corinth Sculpture
A-	=	Corinth Architecture

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For Graham, Jimmy and the Captain.

I. Introduction

The city of Corinth provides a unique opportunity to investigate the urban life of a Roman provincial capital of Greece in Late Antiquity, and draw new conclusions on the wider implications of that urban life for Greek history during the eventful third to sixth centuries after Christ.[1] Although a few modern works of history consider Roman Corinth, none extends very deeply into Late Antiquity.[2] However the textual and archaeological sources exist for writing the history of the city in that era, and current scholarship provides important parallels and provocative theories for interpreting that history.

Corinth was throughout Late Antiquity central to civic, commercial and cultural activities in her territory of the Corinthia, in the Peloponnese and in the entire Roman province of Achaia, modern southern Greece. The city forms an important benchmark for other cities of Roman Achaia in its shifting mix of ancient Greek, imperial Roman and developing Christian institutions, illuminated by uniquely extensive modern excavation. Outside of Corinth, many cities of southern Greece still fail to attract much interest even in their Roman phases, and Greece as a whole often slips through the gap in scholarship between Late Antiquity in West and East. Thus besides filling in a gap on scholarship about Corinth, this dissertation also makes an important contribution to the study of Greek cities under the Later Roman Empire.

In Late Antiquity Corinth was always a city, a community of people living in close proximity and

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[1] All dates are after Christ unless otherwise noted. Late Antiquity is, for the purposes of this dissertation, contemporary with the era of ancient history variously called Late Roman, Early Christian, Early Byzantine or Early Medieval, extending from the end of the Severan Dynasty of Roman emperors in 235 through the murder of the usurper emperor Phocas in 610. The subsequent emperor Heraclius founded a new dynasty, adopted the Greek title Basileus, and lost political control over the majority of the Later Roman Empire to the Arabs. These political events along with contemporary changes in material culture signal a decisive shift to the Byzantine Empire, and the Byzantine or Medieval era in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean.

[2] There is no surviving Ancient narrative of Greek, Roman or Late Antique Corinth. Modern historical narratives of Roman Corinth may be found in Darrow (1906) through Herodes Atticus, Walbank (1986) through the Antonine Dynasty (death of Commodus, 192), Wiseman (1979) up to the Herulians in 267, and Engels (1990) with a thematic treatment extending patchily into the third and fourth centuries. For Late Antiquity itself there are a number of short historical and archaeological overviews which also include the Middle Ages: Finley 1932; Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI); Rothaus 2000; Sanders 2002 (*EHB*), 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 2004, 2005.

maintaining common institutions who identified themselves as Corinthians. But over these centuries they transferred their civic allegiance and office-holding from a local council under an imperial governor to a Christian archbishop under an imperial general. From the third to the sixth centuries, they changed slightly what they bought and where, how they decorated their city, and how they honored their leaders. Then abruptly in the later sixth and early seventh centuries they ceased to do any of these things in the traditional way.

Throughout Late Antiquity they continued to patronize public baths and introduced Christian festivals while abandoning centuries-old communal gatherings at the theater, odeum, amphitheater and stadium along with the artistic, athletic and spectacular events once held there. And at the same time, connected to all of these but clearly not the only cause, was the growing practice of Christianity: the abandonment or destruction of age-old and relatively new temples, sanctuaries, cults, festivals and ritual practices of myriad deities, and the emergence of new basilica church buildings and new rituals. I do not aim to untangle all these elements from one another in the work that follows, only as far as possible to indicate what happened in one city in Late Antiquity, and contribute to the wider discussion of these issues as they relate to Greece and the end of Antiquity in the eastern Mediterranean.

In Chapter II, the relevant primary sources for the history of Late Antique Corinth are discussed: geographic, literary, archaeological and epigraphic. Alongside certain constants of topography, geology and climate, there is quite a wide range of available textual and archaeological source material. But some relevant Late Antique authors have only recently been edited or closely studied, let alone questioned on their presentation of history by archaeologists. The published material culture is on the whole organized separately in catalogues, with chronology particularly of pottery often subject to revision. Important new studies have occurred since most of the material from the city center of Corinth was first excavated and published in the early twentieth century. Excavations are also ongoing at the site, and important discoveries from Late Antiquity have been made in the last decade. All this available evidence has varying utility for the writer of history, and the genre and biases of ancient authors, the conditions of the early excavations, and recent academic work on Late Antique Greece all receive mention. In conclusion selected studies of other Late

Antique urban areas offer helpful methodologies and comparative material for the organization of this work.

Chapter III then forms a history of Late Antique Corinthian civic administration, infrastructure and external challenges, based on a combination of textual and archaeological evidence. Part A treats imperial and local administration, Part B the Christian hierarchy which gradually grew up alongside this traditional administration and then to a certain extent absorbed it. Part C examines the important continuities in civic infrastructure constructed and maintained by these authorities: networks of public and private property, roads, water systems and fortifications. Part D covers the main external human challenges to the city in Late Antiquity, the barbarian invasions and the imperial response to them. Part E concludes by placing the main natural challenges of earthquakes and plague alongside these.

Finally Chapters IV-VI tour Corinth's Agora and city center, periphery, and wider territory as they changed in Late Antiquity. I examine each area throughout the centuries, and draw conclusions on the meaning and importance of those changes. Beyond this organized account of urban life in Late Antique Corinth, this dissertation continually asks why that life was changing so dramatically between the third and sixth centuries, and explores some of the factors responsible. For while awareness of a civic identity as Corinthians doubtless remained, by the early seventh century the components and birth-rights of that identity were significantly changed.

II. Sources for Late Antique Corinth

The sources for the history of the city of Corinth in Late Antiquity fall into three broad categories. The first body of evidence is inherent in the landscape itself, and encompasses the topography, geology, climate and natural features of the Corinthia. The second set of sources embraces all those texts relevant to Corinth in Late Antiquity: the works of Ancient and Late Antique authors, relevant later Byzantine, Ottoman and Early Modern accounts, and inscriptions. Finally, there are the material remains under excavation since the end of the nineteenth century, and the evolving corpus of modern archaeological and historical scholarship based at least in part upon them. Each of these categories of evidence is fragmentary and partial, yet each also has its own insights to offer for writing the history of the city in Late Antiquity.

A. Corinthian Landscapes

Geographers, generals, poets and historians alike have long admired the unique situation of the city of Corinth, commanding two seas and two landmasses from the shelter of rocky Acrocorinth (Figs. 1-3, 12-14, 17).[3] But basic topography only scratches the surface of the natural features of geology and climate relevant for following the course of Late Antique history there. Stones and sediments, springs and earthquakes, rainfall, flora and fauna: these also shape the possibilities and limitations of life on the Isthmus today as in millennia past.

The Corinthia, the territory of the city of Corinth, occupies the northeastern corner of the Peloponnesian peninsula of present-day Greece.[4] Here the narrow Isthmus

[3] Topography of Corinth: Thucyd. 1.13.2-6; Strabo 8.6.20-22 (378-380); Paus. 2.1-5; Miliarakis 1886; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 18-114; Sakellariou and Faraklas 1971; Wiseman 1978; Kordoses 1981. On the significance of landscape for Ancient History: Avraméa (1997, 41-50) on earthquakes and erosion in the Byzantine Peloponnese, based on Zangger (1996) for the Argolid; also Rackham and Moody 1996 (Crete); Rackham 1983 (Boeotia); Cary 1949 (Greece).

[4] The Corinthia has been a political and administrative entity as well as a geographic one since Antiquity, always including the Isthmus but varying in its exact borders in the mountains to north and south. Greek City-state: O'Neill 1930, 1-58; Will 1955; Salmon 1984. Roman Corinth, *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*, briefly under the Flavians *C. Iulia Flavia Augusta C.*: Earle Fox 1903; Darrow 1906; Broneer 1941; Wiseman 1979; Walbank 1986, 1997; Engels 1990; Romano 2000, 2003. Byzantine Corinth: Avraméa and Kyrkou 1988; Sanders 2002 (*EHB*). Ottoman Korintos or Kordos: Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1986; MacKay 1968. Modern Greek nomos of the Corinthia: Miliarakis 1886; Kordoses 1981.

forms a natural landbridge between the Peloponnese and Attica, dividing the Corinthian Gulf on the west from the Saronic Gulf to the east.[5] North of the Isthmus, the Geraneia mountains and Perachora (or Peraea) peninsula stab westward into the Corinthian Gulf forming the border with Megara, today part of Attica.[6]

To the south, Mt. Cyllene's foothills step down from the west at Mt. Apesas (Phokas) and then curl around to cradle the Corinthian plain, reaching the Saronic Gulf at Mt. Oneion (with its eastern peak Stanotopi) and the steeper peaks to its south, all together separating off Arcadia, the Argolid and Epidauria, with their upland valleys and ancient cities of Phlius (Agios Giorgos, Modern Nemea), Cleonae (Agios Nikolaos, inc. Ancient Nemea), Solygeia (Galataki, part of Corinthia) and Epidaurus.[7]

To the west the deep gorges of the seasonal torrents of the Longopotamos (Rachiani) and Nemea (Koutsomadiou, Zapantis) Rivers separate Corinthia from ancient Sicyonia (with ancient Sicyon (Vasiliko) and its harbor Kiato), the Asopos (Agiorgitikos) River valley, and the narrow coastal plain of Achaea, with its "ever changing mixture of bold promontory, gentle slope, and cultivated level…crowned on every side by lofty mountains," which Colonel Leake once praised.[8] At the heart of the Corinthia, the solitary crag of Acrocorinth rises up above a skirt of rocky terraces descending unevenly to the coastal plains below, cut off from Mt. Oneion by the Leukon valley to the east.[9]

Today the village of Ancient Corinth occupies the area of the ancient city of Corinth, twin terraces north of Acrocorinth with a panoramic view of the Gulf of Corinth and the Isthmus, stepping down to a proverbially fertile coastal plain extending west towards the Asopus and Sicyon, and east as far as Loutraki (Figs. 3, 14, 17).[10]

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[5] The Corinthian Gulf north of Corinth is split by the Perachora (or Peraean) peninsula into the Halcyonian (Livadostra) Bay to the north and the Lechaion (Corinthian) Bay to the south; Lechaion and modern Corinth border on the latter, along with the small harbor of the Heraion west of Loutraki.

[6] Strabo 8.6.21-2, 9.1.8; Paus. 1.1.3?, 1.44.4-10, 2.1.1-5; Scylax *Periplus* 55. Wallace (1969, 496) on the accuracy and organizing principles of Strabo's description of the Corinthia based on the view from Acrocorinth, with the text extended by Aly 1956. Wiseman (1978, 20-2) on the Corinthia north of the Isthmus.

[7] On Mt. Oneion to the south of the Isthmus: Xenophon *Hellenica* 4.4.5; Stroud 1971a; Caraher and Gregory 2006.

[8] Leake 1830, 3.397; Strabo 8.6.23-5 (382); Paus. 2.5.4-5.

[9] Acrocorinth: Blegen et al. 1930 (*Corinth* III.1); Carpenter and Bon 1936 (*Corinth* III.2).

[10] On the natural terraces or tables of Ancient Corinth and this fertile plain: Strabo 8.6.21. More on the good agriculture of this plain, the

Below and to the north of Ancient Corinth lie modern Corinth, today's regional political and population center founded after an 1858 earthquake, and the ruins of Lechaion, western port of ancient Corinth (Figs. 3, 14). Here mounds of dredged sand and a shallow lagoon mark the artifical harbor which once served the Corinthian Gulf, the Ionian and Adriatic Seas, and the Western Mediterranean.[11]

On the east side of the Isthmus, the rocky cove of Cenchreae south of Poseidon's Sanctuary at Isthmia forms a more sheltered port for accessing the Saronic Gulf, the Aegean Sea and the eastern Mediterranean (Figs. 10-11).[12] Before the cutting of the Corinthian Canal across the Isthmus between 1881/2 and 1893, ships and goods were transported between east and west by the Corinthians on the diolkos, a paved drag-way which ran between Poseidonia in Modern Corinth and Schoenus (Kalamaki), the port of Isthmia.[13]

Land routes from the north joined at the Isthmus, and from Acrocorinth led west, south and southeast to the coasts and interior of the Peloponnese.[14] Besides the ancient city center, its two ports and Acrocorinth, other subsidiary centers of population dot the Corinthian coasts and slopes, some existing since Antiquity, others emerging and vanishing around springs and at important crossroads.[15]

Geologically, the Corinthia like most of Greece is a skeleton of mountains, with a body of uplifted and folded seabeds stacked against them and a skin of recently-

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modern Vocha: Aristophanes *Birds* 967-8; Livy 37.31.1; Lucian *Icaromen* 18; Athenaeus 5.219.

[11] Lechaion: Georgiades 1907; Paris 1915; Shaw 1969; Rothaus 1995; Stiros et al. 1996.

[12] Cenchreae: Thucyd. 4.42, 8.20; Ovid *Trist.* 1.10.9; Strabo 8.6.22 (380); *Acts* 18:18, Rom. 16:1-2, *Constitutiones Apostolorum* 7.46.10; Pliny *NH* 4.4.10, 4.5.12; [Dio Chrys.] Favorinus 37.8; Paus. 2.2.3; Apul. *Met.* 10.35-11.25; Ptol. 3.16.13; Ambraseys 1962, 899-900; Hohlfelder 1976; Scranton et al. 1978 (*Kenchreai* 1); Bousquet, Dufaure and Pechoux 1983; Mourtzas and Marinos 1994; Noller et al. 1997; Rife et al. 2007.

[13] The use of the diolkos is attested throughout Antiquity and into Byzantine times; several sections of it were excavated by Verdelis (1962 (1966), 1960 (1966), 1960 (1962), 1956 (1959), 1958, 1956), and it is still clearly visible today at its western end just south of the Canal. See: Papaphotiou 2007; Raepsaet 1993; Cook 1986; MacDonald 1986; Wiseman 1978, 45-50. Ancient sources: Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I.1), 49-51, n. 1; Baladié 1980, 250-63. The cutting of the canal was matched to a certain extent by heaping up of excavated earth mainly to its south, deforming the natural landscape and making the Isthmus higher: Gerster 1884.

[14] Pritchett 1969, ch. 6, 1980, ch. 5; Hammond 1954; Wiseman 1978, 17-27, 113-26; Sanders and Whitbread 1990.

[15] Sakellariou and Faraklas 1971; Wiseman 1978.

deposited coastal sediments. The limestone crag of Acrocorinth is ringed with layers of uplifted and tilted former seabeds now limestones, conglomerates and corals overlie softer marls. The precise geology of the region is still a cause for delight and dispute among geologists, but the essential items of interest are the natural resources and dangers of the landscape little changed since Late Antiquity.[16]

The limestones are quarried directly from the surface or very near it, particularly from a coastal band of uplifted fossilized sand dunes of oolithic limestone which run straight through the ancient city center and extend to the east.[17] At the broken or eroded edges of these limestone and conglomerate terraces, the exposed underlying marls yield clays suitable for ceramics.[18] These lower layers are also relatively impervious to water, unlike the limestones and conglomerates, and thus channel groundwater out along the northern edges of the terraces to form east-west bands of natural springs. These springs and their elaboration by the Corinthians have been closely documented; atop Acrocorinth, along its northern base and along the northern edges of the upper and lower terraces of the ancient city some twenty-four freshwater springs emit cool water year-round.[19]

Medium-sized earthquakes (ca. 4-5) are common in Poseidon's Corinthia, but only rarely do earthquakes here generate tsunamis, dramatic uplift or subsidence, or extensive damage to ancient structures. A series of segmented faults lines the south side of the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs; these gulfs are *graben* or rift valleys filled with water, part of the larger Africa-Europe plate boundary.[20] Individual earthquakes cause surface deformation only along the line of the fault itself; vibrations can

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[16] Geology of the Corinthia: Hayward 2003 (*Corinth* XX); Higgins and Higgins 1996, 40-5; Landon 1994, 13-20; Collier and Dart 1991; Collier and Thompson 1991; Collier 1990; Koukis 1990; Keraudren and Sorel 1987; Vita-Finzi and King 1985; von Freyberg 1973; Admiralty 1945, vol. 3:161-6.

[17] Hayward 2003 (*Corinth* XX). Corinthian stone was exported in Antiquity to Delphi (*FD* 3.5 (1970), no. 19.27-8) and Epidaurus (Burford 1969, 142-3, 179).

[18] Whitbread 2003 (*Corinth* XX).

[19] H.S. Robinson 1962, 126; Landon 1994, 3-20, 2003 (*Corinth* XX); B.A. Robinson 2001.

[20] Tectonics and faulting in the Corinthia and Central Greece: Ambraseys and Jackson 1997; Ambraseys 1996; Armijo et al. 1996; Roberts and Jackson 1991; Taymaz et al. 1991; Ambraseys and Jackson 1990; Papaphotiou 2002; Stiros and Pirazzoli 1995; Pirazzoli et al. 1994; Guidoboni et al. 1994; Collier et al. 1992; Pirazzoli 1988; Flemming and Webb 1986; Papadopoulos and Chalkis 1984.

travel farther, but are limited both by the length of the fault and the composition of the earth around and above it. Ambraseys claims no earthquake of the past 300 years in Central Greece has exceeded 7.5, and the 15-20 km. length of the faults probably makes this an upper limit.[21] Miller has pointed out that though the quakes of 1858 and 1861 (7.0, 7.3) caused extensive damage to houses in Ancient Corinth (leading to the creation of Modern Corinth) and Ancient Nemea, the three standing columns of the Temple of Zeus at Nemea were unharmed; the arrangement of that temple's fallen columns neatly splayed outwards along with the flexibility of multi-drum columns means the destruction of that temple was largely human, with implications for other colonnades throughout the Corinthia.[22] Specific pre-modern earthquakes mentioned by texts or visible in the landscape are rarely precisely datable, and the types of tectonic activity actually possible in the Corinthia must be carefully combined with any ancient account.[23]

The climate of the Corinthia is Mediterranean, with hot dry summers and cool wet winters.[24] On the mountains, terraces and coastal plains natural vegetation and agriculture coexist, watered by the springs, seasonal torrents and a low level of annual rainfall which tends to fall in short, intense cloudbursts. The range of natural vegetation is unlikely to be greatly changed since Antiquity, at least away from the population centers, with pine, fir and oak forest and woodland on the mountain slopes changing to shrubby maquis or low lying phrygana (garrigue) lower down.[25] The large trees necessary for ancient ship-building and architecture were once common on many slopes, particularly on the north side of Mt. Geraneia.[26] Uncultivated areas of the Corinthia have long provided such timber for construction and fuel, as well as wild herbs, nuts and berries for consumption and medicine,

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[21] Ambraseys 1996, 30-2. Range and effects of modern earthquakes in Corinthia: Ambraseys and Jackson 1997; Ambraseys and Jackson 1990; Jackson and White 1989; Stiros 1988 ("Earthquake Effects").

[22] Miller 1986, with quake data from Drakopoulos (1983, 17-23).

[23] Noller 2001, 143-70; Ambraseys and White 1997; Vogt 1993; Rapp Jr. 1986, 365-79.

[24] For Ancient belief in the effects of the climate of Greece on its inhabitants: Aristotle *Pol.* 1327b29-33; [Hippocrates] *de aëre aquis et locis* (*Airs, Waters and Places*) 1-24; for the winds of the Corinthia: Aristotle *Metrologika*; Hesychius s.v. Ἀνεμοκοῖται.

[25] Climate and vegetation of the Corinthia: Dallman 1998, 169-202; Mariolopoulos 1961; Philippson 1948. More detailed studies have been done on Boeotia (Rackham 1983), Crete (Rackham and Moody 1996) and Attica (Thompson and Griswold 1982).

[26] Stroud (pers. comm.) recalls "very substantial logs" still being cut from the fir trees east of Perachora village and Bissia in the 1960s.

and other more esoteric materials like red cocchineal dye from the Kermes oak insect (*pinokokki* on *quercus coccifera*), mulberry leaves for hungry silk worms and acorns for tanning hides.[27]

Alongside the native vegetation, a mixed agriculture of fields, flocks and groves was practiced in the Corinthia since long before Late Antiquity, shaped by near-constants of landscape like altitude, available water and soil quality.[28] The major division in planting has long been between the drier, poorer soils of the lower mountain slopes and terraces, and the thicker, better soils of the more well-watered coastal plain.

Today the traditional Mediterranean triad of grains, olives and vines still coexists with smaller quantities of pulses/legumes, fruits and vegetables around the village of Ancient Corinth and in the southern Corinthia. In the 17th c., the village gardens were famous for their lemons and oranges (as now), while the plain was divided into large estates with tenant farmers, and planted in grains, lentils and vegetables.[29]

These were broken up after Greek independence, and since then the plain has been employed for cash crops, shifting from currants to tobacco and then since EU accession to a mix of vineyards, orchards and green houses for tomatoes, flowers and vegetables.[30] Since the 1970s bulldozers have also been used to create new agricultural terraces and reorient communication routes.[31] But flocks of sheep mixed with a few goats still graze alongside many fields and groves, and while tractors have replaced the bovines and equines once kept in small numbers for traction and transport, chickens and turkeys are still kept domestically.[32]

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[27] Leake 1830, 1:76-7, 132, 258, 349-50; Forbes 1976; Foxhall et al. in Alcock and Osborne 2007, ch. 3.

[28] For the great antiquity and continuity in Greece and the Corinthia of mixed agriculture (or mixed farming, or polyculture) of annual field crops, perennial grove crops and herd animals to reduce risk: Hjohlman 2002 (Berbati Valley); Palmer 2001; Forbes 1976, 1995; Halstead and O'Shea 1989; Fotiadis 1985; Renfrew 1972.

[29] Çelebi *Travel Journal* (MacKay 1980, 12).

[30] Corinthian crops: radishes in Antiquity (Theophrastus in Athen. 2.56); currants in Medieval Times (Sanders 2002; Chrysostomides 1995, 497, no. 253, 1402.5.23). 19th-20th c. Corinthia: Stroud pers. comm.; Sanders "Panayia Agriculture"; Leake 1830, vol. 3:262-3.

[31] Stroud (pers. comm.) points particularly to the area around Penteskouphia village, where this sort of earth-moving has created new fields but led to the abandonment of old roads.

[32] Byzantine food and drink: papers collected in Brubaker and Lindardou 2007. Ottoman Corinthia: Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1980. For agriculture of neighboring areas since Antiquity: Forbes 1982; Mee and Forbes 1997 (Methana); Forsell 2002; Alcock in Alcock and Osborne 2007,

While the intensity of agriculture and the relative proportions of crops and domestic animals have certainly changed frequently since Late Antiquity, farming methods and technologies advanced but little before the middle of the 20th century.[33] Thus Sanders argues convincingly that historians like Salmon and Engels underestimate the fertility of the Corinthia in Antiquity by offering estimates for average cereal-yields well below early modern or even ancient data from the Corinthia as well as the better-documented Argolid and Attica.[34] Ancient authors specifically mention Corinthia's abundant vineyards, and the harsh wine produced by them.[35] Comparisons between the Corinthia, the Argolid and Attica also yield guesses that the Corinthia supported a population of around 100,000 in Antiquity.[36]

Thus many basic elements of topography, geology and climate, with their resulting natural resources, vegetation and possibilities for agriculture have not changed dramatically in the Corinthia since Antiquity. The range of natural disasters possible today also faced the ancient

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ch. 4 (Argolid); Zarinebaf, Bennet and Davis 2005, 9-48 (18th c. Messenia).

[33] Laiou 2002 (*EHB*); Laiou and Morrison 2007.

[34] I agree with the arguments of Sanders "Panayia Agriculture" that in their respective histories of ancient Greek and Roman Corinth, Salmon (1984, 130) and Engels (1990, 27) give much too-high cereal sowing densities (20 okes/hectare) for much too-low yields (only 3:1, with 12hl/563okes per hect for wheat and 18hl/890okes per hect for barley, 1 oke = about 2.8 lbs, 1.25 kg). For an average yield instead of 5:1 to 10:1 of grain:seed for the Corinthia in the 19th and 20th centuries, Blegen (1920, 13) enumerates the production of the village of Ancient Corinth, Pouqueville (1805, viii-ix) says the Corinthia provides 18% of Peloponnesian wheat exports ca. 1800. Throughout the 20th c. the yields of wheat and barley for the Corinthian nome have been similar to those for the Argolid or Attica (Gallant 1991, 77); a figure of 5:1 from Demosthenes and other Ancient authors is widely used as average Ancient yield for Attica (Osborne 1985).

[35] Vineyards: Strabo 12.3.36. Harsh wine: Athen. 1.30f (Kock 1884 (*CAF*), 2.401) for quotation from Alexis, Middle Comedy playwright, on Corinthian wine, also preserved in Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 2, 180 on 13.664.

[36] While Engels (1990, 79-84) introduces some questionable figures on urban density and demography to arrive at this number for the Roman Corinthia, he also cites the 85,000 of Salmon (1984, 165-9) for Classical Corinth. Previous estimates also focused mainly on the 5th-4th c. BC: Wiseman (1978, 10-12) believed the Roman city similar or larger than the Classical one, and cited the Cyrenean grain distributions of *SEG* IX 2 (Tod 1962 (*GHI*), 2.196) to estimate 130,000 in 330-326 BC, Sakellariou and Faraklas (1971, 83-7) for an estimate of 66-73,000 in 400-390 BC based on the 19th c., and Beloch (1886 (1968), 86, 119-23) for an estimate of 80-100,000 at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War based on hoplite numbers. For strategies of making estimates of Greek city-state populations: Hansen 2006b.

Corinthians. However tectonic episodes, exploitation of natural resources and variations in agriculture have all left their mark on the landscape in small and large ways. Next to these landscape features of Corinth itself we must add the textual sources for its history in Late Antiquity, along with the discoveries of archaeology.

B. Ancient Literary Sources

In the section that follows, I briefly survey the ancient writers who mentioned Late Antique Corinth in their works. In this surviving literature there is no narrative history of Corinth, but rather an assortment of comments in passing contained in a wide variety of texts. I employ these excerpts as primary evidence for the history and appearance of Corinth in Late Antiquity. But awareness of the era, context and genre of these authors is vital for understanding their attitudes towards Corinth, the use they made of the city in their writing, and thus their strengths and weaknesses as historical evidence.

Overall most of the relevant texts are closely dated, and some are nearly contemporary with events they describe. All were written for an appreciative audience who distributed and recopied them widely enough to survive the centuries. But every ancient author also wrote within a shifting framework of literary genres established through education, emulation and ambition, which affected their presentation of ancient events and society at Corinth as elsewhere. A significant issue is the differentiation between references to contemporary Corinth and the city of the past, particularly in Classicizing literature. Thus the remainder of this section is devoted to examining the authors who crafted the main literary sources for Corinth in Late Antiquity, organized in chronological order.

Although his lifetime falls before the scope of this study, Pausanias must take first place among the authors of literary sources for Late Antique Corinth. His detailed description of the city and the Corinthia at the beginning of the second book of his *Description of Greece* (Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος) forms both a fundamental text for their topography at the beginning of Late Antiquity, and the last detailed description of Corinth before the works of early modern travelers.[37] Pausanias hailed from Ionia but traveled

[37] Pausanias at Corinth: Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885, 59-77; Frazer 1913; Roux 1958; Papachatzis 1963; Hohlfelder 1970a; Jones 1975; Levi 1979; Musti and Torelli 1986; Rocha-Pereira 1989; Walbank 1989. On his more general dates, methods and biases: Habicht 1985; Arafat 1996, 2000; Alcock et al. 2001; Pretzler 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b; Akujärvi 2005; Hutton 2005; Georgopoulou et al. 2007.

extensively in southern Greece, writing his *Description* of its monuments in ten books over at least two decades (ca. 155-175).[38] He must have visited Corinth often, if only to pass through to the Peloponnese, and he enumerates certain carefully-chosen elements of the city in his second book.

His description of Corinth follows his usual pattern of composition: monuments of interest (mainly sanctuaries and statues) are enumerated in sequence as they would be seen by a contemporary traveller, and juxtaposed with the mythology and (mainly Classical and Hellenistic) history associated with them. He begins his description of the Corinthia upon crossing the border from Megara, and concludes it after detailing the monuments of several routes in, around and out of the city center of Corinth. Despite the multiple visits he must have made in real life, he penned only a relatively short description of the city, both because it was so well-known and easily accessible in his day, and because he considered that, "worthy of mention in the city are the things still left of the ancients, and most of these were made later than their acme."[39] There is considerable room for debate about what exactly Pausanias means by this, but in practice he focuses on statues he belives to be pre-Roman in the Roman-built West Temples of the Agora (whether we would call them originals or copies), but rarely the buildings themselves.

Although Pausanias was once widely criticized as to his accuracy and reliability, scholarship of the last twenty years has re-emphasized that he had access to many histories which no longer survive, actually visited almost all of the places he describes, and is careful if selective in his presentation of both current topography and related history. Though his favoring of the old and obscure is clear at Corinth, as elsewhere, he does present monuments and stories topographically, occasionally makes remarks on the contemporary landscape, and even notes some entirely Roman buildings like the Corinthian Odeum. He was used as a guidebook by early travellers and excavators of Corinth alike, and his account has remained fundamental for

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[38] Pausanias' dates in Corinth are estimated narrowly as ca. 152-early 160s by Puech (1983, 32), more broadly by Hutton (2005). Passages which date his overall era of composition: Paus. 2.26.9, 2.27.6, 5.1.2, 7.5.9, 7.20.6, 8.9.7, 8.43.6, 10.34.5.

[39] Paus. 2.2.6: Λόγου δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν λειπόμενα ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐποιήθη τῆς ὕστερον. Pausanias (7.17.1-4) concludes his own account of the sack of Corinth with an explanation for how Greece became weak and subject to Rome from her own people's failings and the *daimon*, first city by city and then as a whole, running from the Dorian invasion of Argos down to Vespasian's repeal of Nero's freedom of the Greeks.

describing the ancient city up until the present day. But excavated buildings are sometimes too closely linked with his description for their identification, and several important controversies remain unresolved. He must be read in combination with earlier geographers and contemporary authors who mention Corinth more briefly, and used with awareness of the limits he placed on his own composition.[40]

Pausanias' Second Sophistic contemporaries and the writers of the next generation under the Severans have left quite a few further references to Corinth, but in a very wide range of genres and most often to the city of the past. Even the authors who do clearly reference details of contemporary Corinth all embed these in literary constructs for their own wider purposes, within long-established genre conventions. Yet the unique character of Corinth as both Greek and Roman city attracted notice, and resisted some of the tendency to elide difference between ancient and contemporary in other oft-mentioned cities like Athens.

Dio Chrysostom, Aelius Aristides and other philosophizing orators made occasional reference to Corinth in late first and second-century performance speeches, usually contrasting its current Roman character with its glorious Greek past, or with contemporary Athens.[41] Roman Corinth and its festival of Isis figure prominently in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (*The Golden Ass*) of the mid to late second century; though this adventure of a man who becomes an ass in Thessaly and is saved by Isis in Corinth is comic fiction drawing deeply on lost earlier Greek novels, the action is situated in the author's own era and seems designed to engage with but not totally contradict audience assumptions about contemporary Greece.[42]

With the *Learned Banqueters* (*Deipnosophistae*) of Athenaeus we face a similar situation: the banquet in question is set in his contemporary Rome ca. 200, and contemporary Corinth is explicitly referenced, but the style imitates earlier Symposia, and added complexity is introduced by the majority of the dialogue consisting of quotations from literature written before Corinth's

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[40] Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy are also important for the topography of Roman Corinth. Strabo's description has had 8 lines of text added since the Loeb translation: Aly 1956.

[41] Dio Chrysostom on Roman Greece: Jones 1978; Moles 1995; Whitmarsh 1998. Aelius Aristides on Roman Athens: Oliver 1968; Day 1980. Second Sophistic public oratory and philosophy in Greece: Swain 2000; Whitmarsh 2001.

[42] Apuleius *Met.* as a source for Corinth and contemporary provincial life: Birley 1968; Shumate 1996; Millar 1999; Ruebel 2000; Harrison 2000. Collected papers on the context, sources and genre of Apuleius *Met.*: Schmeling 1996, ch. 12G; Harrison 1999, chs. 7-11; Hofmann 1999.

destruction.[43] Roughly contemporary with Athenaeus but even more firmly rooted in past literature was Alciphron, who composed collections of letters purporting to be written by courtesans, parasites and other visitors of 4th c. BC Corinth; there may be traces of the contemporary in these, but it is almost impossible to extract them.[44] The situation is similar for letter collections of Philostratos and Aelian, or the philosopher biographies of Diogenes Laërtius, all written ca. 200 but largely set in the Classical past, the world of pre-sack Corinth.[45] Philostratus' own philosopher biographies span the first two centuries, and occasionally touch on Corinth. Finally, Ampelius praised the baths and temples of Corinth ca. 230 in his didactic *Liber memorialis*, supposedly a primer for his ten-year-old son, assembled from sources of unknown age.[46]

In the following discussion, I treat those Late Antique writers who mention Corinth in chronological order of their era of composition. I also maintain a distinction between texts employed by writers of narrative histories for their historical content and texts excerpted by compilers who selected substantial passages for their literary, political or other content. Many writers who likely made reference to Corinth in their contemporary works are lost, so we must make do with what we have to read today.[47]

After the Second Sophistic authors of the early third century, P. Herennius Dexippus, Athenian archon, benefactor, rhetor and historian, was probably in Late Antiquity the most influential historian of third-century southern Greece. Dexippus came from a wealthy and well-connected Athenian family, held civic magistracies up through the Eponymous Archonship, endowed the Panathenaia, and wrote three works of history in the 250s-270s, two of which concerned contemporary Greece.[48] His works are described by Photius as, "the *Events after Alexander* (*τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*) in four books,…a *History* (*Σύντομον Ἱστορικόν*) covering the chief imperial deeds up through Claudius (II

[43] Athenaeus' elements of contemporary life: Braund and Wilkins 2000; McClure 2003; Olson 2007.
[44] Alciphron: Wright 1923; Haight 1948; Benner and Fobes 1949 (1979); Ozanam 1999; Konig 2007.
[45] Letters: Benner and Fobes 1949 (1979). Diogenes Laertius: Hicks 1925 (2000); Marcovich 1999; Goulet 2001.
[46] Ampelius: Arnaud-Lindet 1993.
[47] Third-century historiography: Millar 1969, 12-16.
[48] *IG* II^2 3669 (statue from city and children), 3198 (Patron of Panathenaia), 3670 (honors from children); Millar 1969; Jones et al. 1971 (*PLRE* 1), Dexippus 2.

Gothicus, 268-70),…and the *Scythica* (*Τὰ Σκυθικά*), in which the battles between the Romans and the Scythians and worthy deeds are written down by him."[49] Evagrius specifies further that the *Scythica* focused on the "Karpoi and other barbarian tribes fighting against Hellas, Thrace and Ionia," probably from Maximus and Balbinus to Aurelian (ca. 238-275) from the content of the fragments.[50] Thus events in Dexippus' own third century in Greece and doubtless Corinth, particularly regarding northern barbarians, received extensive coverage in his works. Today only excerpts survive in the tenth-century *Suda* encyclopedia and Constantinian collections, none mentioning Corinth.[51] But before these collections were made, Dexippus' works were widely used, adapted or continued by most Late Antique historians, and along with elements of his very Thucydidean prose and annalistic style they also often perpetuated information about third-century Greece.[52]

Millar makes the argument that Dexippus represents the first of a new generation of Greek historians, who present "a 'Byzantine' viewpoint," history told from the point of view of Greeks, "embattled against the barbarian threat."[53] Thus Dexippus' literary scenarios were repeated by writers on Greece to characterize interactions with invading 'barbarians' from the Balkans throughout Late Antiquity, and then from an emphasis upon the peacetime applications of Hellenic heritage under the high Roman Empire, Greek leaders and writers followed Dexippus in successfully adapting themselves anew to confrontation and documentation of renewed conflict in Greece.[54]

Far more historians are preserved for the fourth century, but most are imperial annalists with little to say about Greece aside from the occasional spectacular disaster.[55] The situation is similar for Eusebius' ground-breaking works of Christian history; only the visits of Paul, the names of a few early bishops and Constantine's sculpture-acquiring agents touch on Corinth.[56] From the orators Libanius and Themistius and the emperor Julian come

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[49] Photius *Bibl.* 82 = Jacoby *FGrH* 100 T5.
[50] Evagrius *HE* 5.24 = Jacoby *FGrH* 100 T6; Millar 1969, 23-4.
[51] Jacoby *FGrH* 100.
[52] Photius *Bibl.* 82; Stein 1957, 10; Millar 1969, 14-6.
[53] Millar 1969, 25.
[54] Millar (1969, 14) cites Plutarch's *Praecepta rei publicae gerendae, Mor.* 814 B-C as an example of peacetime writing.
[55] For fourth century historiography see recent articles by Averil Cameron (in Cameron and Garnsey 1998, 684-91 (*CAH* 13); Bowersock et al. 1999, 1-20), and with caution the uneven papers collected in Rohrbacher (2002) and Marasco (2003).
[56] Eusebius: Grant 1980; Cameron and Hall 1999; Maier 1999. For Paul at Corinth see below.

occasional references to Corinth, and to Corinthians in public life.[57] Important controversies remain about the relationship of all these writers to lost predecessors, and to the enigmatic writers of the *Historia Augusta*.[58] This set of imperial biographies covers Hadrian through the accession of Diocletian, and though claimed as the work of six different authors writing under Diocletian and Constantine, most hold on the basis of varying style and content that it was compiled ca. 400 from a range of earlier material, including the works of Dexippus.[59]

Ammianus Marcellinus is the most important contemporary historian of fourth-century Greece, though his references to events there are widely scattered. He was first on the staff of general Ursicinus under Constantius II, then with Julian ca. 360-3. After the latter's death he returned to his home city of Antioch, and probably began his *History* (*Res gestae*), which he continued to work on in Rome in the 380s. It was published there in parts, the last section after 391, and covered Roman history from the acession of Nerva to the death of Valens at the Battle of Adrianople (378). Though he chose to write in Latin, Ammianus certainly visited Greece and drew on his own experiences there.[60]

Not until 395, however, did southern Greece figure prominently in imperial events, with the descent and departure two years later of Alaric and his forces. This episode was described at the time and just afterwards in both east and west, but as with the Herulians the surviving accounts must be carefully assessed as sources for events at Corinth.

Claudian was a Greek poet who moved to Rome, quickly made his name in Latin poetry and followed the newly-crowned emperor Honorius to Milan in 395. For the next nine years he composed, performed and published intricate Latin poems, many in honor of the young Emperor of the West and his regent, the Vandal general Stilicho. Claudian wrote panegyrics, invectives, verse histories and other forms, responding directly to events as they happened and pitching them to his audience for the benefit of his patrons and his own glory. He consistently lionized Stilicho and celebrated his military engagements, including his two campaigns

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[57] Spawforth 1994, 1995.

[58] See e.g. Barnes (1970) on the *Kaisergeschichte.*

[59] Syme 1971; Barnes 1978; Callu 1992; Chastagnol 1994; Lippold 1998 (favors a date under Constantine in contrast to others). For Dexippus as an important source for the *Historia Augusta* see *SHA Vita Sev. Alex.* 49.3, *Max. Iun.* 6-7, *Gord.* 2, 9, 19, 23, *Max. et Balb.* 1, 15-6, *Tyr. Trig.* 32, *Claud.* 12; Altheim 1948, 175-92.

[60] Matthews 1989; Tritle 1997; Barnes 1998; Drijvers and Hunt 1999.

against Alaric in Greece, Thessaly in 395 and the western Peloponnesus in 397. A pagan according to Augustine and Orosius, he wrote too on Christian subjects like Easter.[61] He received a statue in Rome and his poems were widely read, but their historical content must always be placed in the context of his poetic and political goals.[62]

These same years in Greece were also treated in the east by Eunapius, who left Sardis to study in Athens with the sophist Prohaeresius the Armenian, probably in 362-7, then returned home to write and teach with the sophist Chrysanthius until after 414.[63] He wrote an extant set of biographies called the *Lives of the Sophists* (*VS*) after 395, and works of history excerpted in the tenth-century *Suda* and Constantinian collections, highly influential for later historians, particularly Zosimus.[64] Photius summarized what he read as the *History after Dexippus, new edition* (Χρονικὴ ἱστορία ἡ μετὰ Δέξιππον, νέα ἔκδοσις), explaining that in that edition Eunapius wrote a continuation of Dexippus' *History* covering the years 270 through 404.[65] This ended with the exile of John Chrysostom and the death of the Empress Eudoxia, but there was at least one earlier edition ending in 378, and a third as well with the attacks on Christianity removed.[66] Eunapius was particularly interested in Athens and Attica, the place of his schooling and the venerable Hellenic monuments and traditions which he celebrated and mourned as they passed away; he mentioned Corinth only as events there touched on the lives of his sophists, the events of his political history or his particular concern with the decline of Hellenic culture in the face of increasingly militant Christianity.

In contrast with the fourth century, by the fifth-century many authors on Corinth were writing in literary

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[61] Augustine and Orosius refer to Claudian's *Panegyric on the Third Consulship of the Emperor Honorius* (*3 Hon.* l.96) of 395 as evidence for divine aid to his father Theodosius; Augustine (*De civ. Dei* 5.26) calls him *poeta Claudianus…a Christi nomine alienus*, Orosius (*Adv. pag.* 7.35.21) *paganus pervicacissimus.*

[62] Besides Augustine and Orosius, Jerome also read Claudian (Levy 1948; Cameron 1965). For Claudian as poet and historical source: Crees 1908; Cameron 1970, 156-88; Hall 1986; Long 1996.

[63] Goulet 1980; Blockley 1981; Baldini 1984; Sacks 1986; Banchich 1987; Penella 1990. For Eunapius in Athens: *VS* 493; Goulet 1980 (from 364-9); Banchich 1987 (from 362-7); Fornara 1989; Banchich 1996, 1998.

[64] Banchich (1984, 183-92) dates the *Lives* to 399.

[65] Photius *Bibl.* 77, ed. Henry 1959, 1.158-60.

[66] Evidence for the publication and authorship of the editions of the *History*: Chalmers 1953; Barnes 1978, 114-7; Blockley 1981, 1.1-28; Baker 1988; Banchich 1985, 1988, 1998; Penella 1990, 9-13; Liebeschuetz 2003.

genres recast in the service of Christianity.[67] The commentaries of St. John Chrysostom on Paul's *Letters to the Corinthians*, like those of most subsequent writers on Paul in Corinth, were focused on theology and exegesis, only rarely the contemporary city. Ecclesiastical historians after Eusebius maintained his interest largely in events outside of Greece. But by far the best body of contemporary Christian literary evidence consists of surviving clerical letters and acts of church councils, where the bishops of Corinth increasingly begin to appear as players in struggles between the Archbishops of Rome and Constantinople.[68]

The author of the longest surviving narrative history of Late Antique Greece is Zosimus, *comes* and lawyer for the fisc, known solely from his *New History* of mythical times down to 410.[69] He seems to have written ca. 500; the latest works he refers to are by authors who wrote ca. 430, and some of the *New History* was published before Eustathius of Epiphania used it ca. 503.[70] Zosimus is our most extensive historical narrative for 238-270, relying on Dexippus, and then 378-410, relying on Eunapius and then Olympiodorus of Thebes. He adapted the accounts of these lost historians to fit his own Polybian style and anti-Christian agenda, but otherwise seems to have preserved much of their content and historical conclusions, though the degree of his dependence remains debated.[71] He is thus essential for the history of Corinth from the third century through 410, after which we have only ecclesiastical sources until the works of Procopius.

Zosimus' younger contemporary Procopius of Caesarea came from that Levantine port city to Constantinople as a young man, and by 527 he was a secretary of Justinian's general Belisarius, with whom he traveled extensively on campaigns to the East (527-31), North Africa (533-4), and Italy (534-40), before settling down in Constantinople, where he died after about 560.[72] He became during his

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[67] For the emergence of Christian literature: Cameron 1991.
[68] For the use of Church Councils by historians: Millar 2006, appendix.
[69] Zosimus *NH* 1.1, 2.30; Goffart 1971. Photius (*Bibl.* 98) interpreted 'New' as meaning second edition, while Goffart concludes that Zosimus chose the title 'New' in opposition to 'Christian' history.
[70] Paschoud (1971-1989) prefers 498-520, Cameron (1969) ca. 501, Chastagnol (1964/5) the second half of the reign of Anastasius (ca. 505-18).
[71] Goffart 1971; Ridley 1969, 1972, 1982; Paschoud 1975, 1971-1989, 2006; Liebeschuetz 2003.
[72] Procopius calls himself ξύμβουλος, πάρεδρος and ὑπογραφεύς to Belisarius, from the time the latter was appointed Dux of Mesopotamia in 527 (*Bell.* 1.12.24). Procopius was back in Constantinople by 541/2, if his claim to autopsy of the plague there is true; he may have been with

lifetime and afterwards the most widely-read chronicler of the reign of Justinian, and is our primary literary source for Greece in that era. He first published in 551/2 a *History of the Wars* (*Bell.*) describing the context and conduct of Justinian's contemporary wars against the Persians (2 books), Vandals (2 books) and Goths (3 books); then in a final one-book summary written some years later he brought political events up to 552.[73]

But besides this traditional history and apparently as a supplement to it, he then composed the *Anekdota* (*Unpublished* or *Secret History*, *Anek.*), a catalogue of the sins omitted from his works so far, both of his boss Belisarius with his wife Antonina, and the emperor Justinian with the empress Theodora.[74] The similarity of the beginning of the *Anekdota* and that of the eighth book of the *Wars*, and the many references back to the events of the *Wars* in the *Anekdota*, clearly link the composition of the two.[75] Procopius also tells us four times near the very end of the *Anekdota* that 32 years have passed since Justinian took up power and certain abuses began, so I agree with the minority opinion that he was then writing in 558/9, and that he began the *Anekdota* around the same time or just after Book 8 of his *Wars*, that is ca. 554-7.[76] He certainly

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Belisarius in the west again after that, or always in the capital. He is likely the Procopius made *vir illustris* in 560, and Prefect of City in 562.

[73] There is widespread scholarly agreement on the publication of the first 7 books of the *Wars* in 551/2, because they end in 551, but though book 8 also clearly ends in 552, it likewise may have been published in 553/4 (Bury 1923 (1958), 2.422; Stein 1949, 2.717; Rubin 1954, 81; Cameron 1985 (1996), 8; Greatrex 1994, 2003, 52-7; Croke 2005, 425), or only in 556/7, as Procopius puts it 11 and a half years after the beginning of payments to the Persians in 545 (*Wars* 8.15.17; Evans 1972, 43, 1996, 306). I do not understand the precise basis for widespread acceptance of separate later publication of just this book, rather than the whole *Wars*.

[74] *Anek.* 1.1-2. The *Suda* (s.v. Prokopiuos) first records its existence as his ninth book, *τὰ καλουμένα Ἀνέκδοτα* (the so-called unpublished things). *The Secret History* is a widely-used translation of *Arcana Historia*, coined by Alemannus, editor, abridger and translator into Latin of the *editio princeps* (Lyon 1623).

[75] See Procopius *Bell.* 8.1.1, *Anek.* 1.2; Bury 1923 (1958), 2.422. Williamson (1966, 27-8) mentions a connection rather between the end of *Bell.* 7 and the beginning of *Anek.*, and sees the latter as the result of a desire for exposure of "the other side of the truth" on the part of Procopius; his psychological interpretation of the work is echoed in much other scholarship.

[76] References to 32 years: *Anek.* 18.33, 23.1, 24.29, 24.33. Justinian's reign began April 1, 527 (Justinian *Nov.* 47 (537)), as Procopius elsewhere accepts and always references (e.g. *Bell.* 1.22.17, 8.15.12). Arguments and support for dating the *Anekdota* to 558/9, from Justinian's accession: Gibbon 1788 (1994), 4.40.561-2; Dahn 1865, 485;

meant to keep it unpublished until the death of Justinian, and in fact it was transmitted in a separate tradition: he explicitly states that he waited to write until his main protagonists were gone (*Anek.* 1.2), refers to Justinian, Theodora and Belisarius in the past tense (*Anek.* 8.22), and only at the very end calls Justinian alive and promises truth at his death (*Anek.* 30.34).

Other than this combination of history and invective, though, he also turned his hand to panegyric: his final surviving work is *On the Buildings* (*Aed.*), a flattering enumeration of Justinian's building program throughout the empire in six books written in 554 or ca. 560.[77]

In all these works, Procopius like many of his predecessors made use of a style of Greek which Atticized, and was deeply indebted to the language, sentiments and style of the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato and other Classical authors. Theopompus' lost *History of Philip of Macedon* has been put forward as a parallel for the *Anecdota*, but the more recent tradition of rhetorical invective demonstrated by Claudian, for example, is perhaps

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Mallet 1887, 4; Comparetti and Bassi 1928; Downey 1960, 156-9; Evans 1969, 1975; Scott 1987; Cataudella 2003, 400-4; Croke 2005. Many, however, still follow Haury's arguments for interpreting the 32 years as indicating 550/1, from the accession of Justin: Haury 1891, 9-27; Bury 1923 (1958), 2.422; Dewing 1914; Stein 1949, 2.720-1; Veh 1950/1, 1.9; Rubin 1954, 81, 1960, 1.468; Cameron 1985 (1996), 8-9; Greatrex 1994; Evans 1996; Signes Codoñer 2000, 48-53, 65-7, 2003. Kaldellis (2004, 3, 46) basically ignores the question of precise and relative dating of the works of Procopius as immaterial to his study. Evans (2000, 4-5) accepts Scott's arguments for a 552/3 ban on celebrating Passover before Easter and thus apparently the 558/9 date for Justinian's 32nd year, but concludes that the *Anekdota* is an unpublished "malevolent commentary" on Procopius' own work begun after Theodora's death in 548 but added to over the years up to the author's own death ca. 561.

[77] Those who favor a date of 554/5 point to the unmentioned collapse of St. Sophia's first dome in 558, Samaritan revolt of 555 and succesful use of the Chersonnese Long Wall in 559: Stein 1949, 2.837; Cameron 1985 (1996), 9-18, 86; Greatrex 1994, 1995, 2003; Croke 2005. Those who favor ca. 560 follow the reference to the Sangarius bridge under construction: Haury 1891, 27-8; Bury 1923 (1958), 2.428; Downey 1947, 182-3; Whitby 1985 (560/1); Evans 1996, 305-6; Cataudella 2003, 400-4 (558). The Sangarius bridge near Nicomedia, described as under construction in *Aed.* 5.3.8-10, was begun not much before 559/60 (Theophanes AM 6052, De Boor 1883 (1963), 234, 15-18) and finished by 562 (Agathias in *AnthPal* 9.641; Paul Sil. *Ekphrasis* 928.33). Otherwise only the rebuilding of the walls of Topirus in Thrace following a Slav sack of 550 (Procopius *Aed.* 4.11.14-7, *Bell.* 7.38.9-23) and the building of the walls of Chalchis in Syria in 550/1 (Procopius *Aed.* 2.11.1, 8; Prentice 1908, nos. 305-6) can be securely dated after 545. Evans (1969; 1972, 43-4; 1996, 303) prefers to see *Aed.* 1 as an encomium delivered before 558, and the remainder of the work as finished by 561.

a better basis for comparison.[78] Procopius like previous and indeed subsequent Classicizing historians signposts contemporary, Christian or Latin words, and makes extensive credited and uncredited quotations from Classical authors.[79]

He mentions Greece only infrequently, since his focus is mainly on the wars, the politics of the capital or buildings elsewhere. Interestingly, he is clearly aware of the emerging double meaning of Hellene as resident of Greece and polytheist, and refers to problems associated with this.[80] Cities in Greece including Corinth are specifically referenced when he enumerates fortifications in his survey of Justinian's building program, in quotations from ancient authors and in programmatic statements which likely derive from them.[81] Corinth otherwise figures only, like most other provincial cities, when subject to some notable disaster (in our case earthquake, plague) which Procopius can seize upon to indicate divine disapproval for Justinian.[82] Besides Procopius, only a few other sixth-century authors mention Late Antique Corinth or Greece, mainly as the site for an episode picked up by Byzantine chroniclers.

The texts of Byzantium itself span historical and literary texts, *ekphraseis* and military manuals, saints' lives and official documents.[83] Registers of style based on sentence structure, vocabulary and allusions to Classical and Christian authors persisted.[84] Though the focus of most Byzantine texts is Constantinople and its vicinity, several chronicles and hagiographies incorporate unique information from older texts or new observations relevant to Late Antique Corinth.

Most important of the *Chronicles* are those of Syncellus and Theophanes. George (the) Syncellus, an advisor (literally cellmate, *synkellos*) of the Patriarch Tarasios (784-806), worked on his *Chronicle* (Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας)(perhaps with other *Synkelloi*) in

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[78] Rubin (1960, 1.470) and Angold (1996, 21-2) suggest that the genre of *anecdota* was devised by Theopompus, and this is the only surviving example; Kaldellis (2004, 260 n. 75) rejects both that this was a genre, and that the *Anek.* conforms to any genre at all.

[79] Kaldellis (2004) reappraises Procopius' literary style and philosophy as complex, creative and deeply familiar with Classical literature. For such 'signposting': Cameron and Cameron 1964.

[80] *Anek*. 24.

[81] For example Procopius (*Bell.* 3.1.17) defines a day's journey as 210 stades, Athens to Megara, "ὅσον Ἀθήνηθεν Μέγαράδε ἰέναι."

[82] Meier 2003, 86-9.

[83] Byzantine literature: Mango 1975; Hunger 1978; Kazhdan 1999; Odorico and Agapitos 2002. For *Ekphraseis* see Webb (1999), and for Military handbooks see Teall (1977).

[84] Sevcenko 1981; Trapp 1993.

Constantinople from 808 until his death sometime after 810, finishing from the creation of the world up to the reign of Diocletian (284).[85] After his death, the *Chronicle* was carried up through the ninth century by his successor Theophanes Confessor, and then translated into Latin in the ninth century by Anastasius Bibliothecarius.[86] For the third century, Syncellus drew on Eusebius, Dexippus and other unnamed historians, and from the fourth to sixth centuries Theophanes also consulted a range of earlier sources.[87] Later Byzantine chroniclers like Zonaras also occasionally include unique information on Greece.[88]

Works of Christian hagiography feature characters from Corinth's Christian community from its earliest days through the early fourth century. However the texts we have today are largely Byzantine, and lack clear origin, date or historicity, particularly when they purport to describe the lives of third-century martyrs.[89] Among hagiographies of Corinthian saints, the important divisions are between Latin and Greek texts, and within the latter, between accounts from before and after the late-tenth century work of Symeon Metaphrastes. His *Menologion* arranged according to the calendar contained saints' lives and martyria rewritten in 'purified' high style Greek; it was immediately highly influential, and displaced most earlier hagiographies or led to their rewriting in turn.[90]

From the Crusades until the arrival of academics and archaeologists at Corinth in the late 19th century the textual sources for Corinth fall into two general categories, Ottoman or Western documentary records and travelogues. From the locals of Corinth themselves we have almost nothing, as is typical for Greece as a whole in that era. A few of the Ottoman and Venetian documentary records are published or translated, but their potential contribution to Late Antique history remains largely unexplored.[91] On the other hand, almost 300 travelogues, most published in the 19th century but a few of the 15th-18th c., give shorter or longer descriptions of the

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[85] Adler and Tufflin 2002, lxxxii-iii.

[86] Mango and Scott (1997, xliii-lxiii) address some of these complex questions of authorship, and give Syncellus much of the credit for the preparation of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, as Theophanes himself did.

[87] Adler and Tufflin 2002, xlviii; Mango and Scott 1997.

[88] Zonaras: DiMaio 1988; Grigoriadis 1998; Banchich 2008.

[89] Martyria: Musurillo 1954; Delehaye 1966. Greek hagiography up to the tenth century: van Uytfanghe 1993; Høgel 2002, 20-60.

[90] Sevcenko 1990; Høgel 1996, 2002. Appreciation by contemporaries in an encomium by Psellos (*Scripta min.* 1.94-107).

[91] Ottoman and Ventian records: Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1986 (Corinth); Zarinebaf, Bennet and Davis 2005 (Messenia); Kiel 1997 (Boeotia).

Corinthia in those days (Figs. 17-18).[92] The lone Ottoman traveller, Evliya Çelebi, visited the Morea on his way to Crete in 1668, then ca. 1680 wrote up his *Travel Journal* for an audience back in Istanbul.[93] For Corinth as elsewhere he offers a combination of geographic, practical, exotic and antiquarian information, describing (generally favorably) the roads, castle and town, along with the authorities, magnates and general population, with their public and private buildings, agriculture, dialects, clothing and slaves. He copies down Ottoman inscriptions, recounts colorful stories like the cutting of the Corinth canal, and has a passion for numbers and personal detail common to other travel literature of the Islamic world. All together he forms a unique though brief snapshot of the political, economic and cultural details of everyday life in the Peloponnesus and Corinth just before the Venetian invasion. Our other accounts were composed mainly for Western Europeans, and are often brief, picturesque, and lacking in long-term observation. However they do preserve important evidence about monuments long-vanished today, though the interests of most European travellers followed their education in focusing on the Corinth of Pausanias or before.[94] The early account of Spon and Wheler and the detailed observations of Colonel Leake are particularly helpful for 17th-19th c. topography, culture and now-vanished monuments.[95] In contrast to Çelebi's fulsome praise for the land and people of Corinth, a critique of present Corinth in comparison with its past glories was a persistent trope from the Grand Tour travellers onwards.[96]

C. Material Culture, Epigraphy and Scholarship on Corinth

Besides the literary texts and early travellers, the historian of Late Antique Corinth can also draw on the

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[92] Early travellers who mention Corinth include: Thompson 1752, 1.364; Le Roy 2004, 431; Quinet 1830, 288; Temple 1836, 1.63; Malherbe 1846, 1.162; Denison 1849, 176; Curtius 1851/2, 2.529; Boullier 1854, 226; Beulé 1855, 454; Baird 1856, 157; Clark 1858, 58; Wyse 1865, 2.322; Schliemann 1869, 83; Jerningham 1873, 83; Vischer 1875, 262; Mahaffy 1878, 369; Belle 1881, 260; Farrer 1882, 453. Lists of travellers to Greece including Corinth are collected in Weber 1952, 1953; Simopoulos 1979, 1984-1985.

[93] Partially translated for Corinth in McKay 1967, 1968; full unpublished translation MacKay 1980 in Corinth library.

[94] Analysis of travellers to Corinth: Kaplan 2001; van der Vin 1980, 615-20. Travellers to Greece: Kourelis 2004; Eisner 1991; Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990; Stoneman 1987; Swinglehurst 1982; Tsigakou 1981.

[95] Spon and Wheler 1678 in Carpenter and Bon 1936 (*Corinth* III.2), 146-8; Leake 1830, 3.229-323.

[96] Edward Capps (1896, 233) described the contemporary village of Ancient Corinth as "a little handful of wretched hovels."

evidence of material culture and inscriptions, mainly recovered in archaeological excavations. The analysis of this material culture in combination with the texts constitutes most of the relevant secondary scholarship on Corinth, as well as other cities of Late Antique Greece. Thus a survey of the history of excavation in and around Corinth, the epigraphic record it has recovered, and finally this relevant scholarship on Corinth and other cities concludes my overview of the sources for the history of Late Antique Corinth.

1. Archaeology of Late Antiquity in Corinth

The history of excavation at Ancient Corinth includes first and foremost the extensive excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, then those of the Greek government and other institutions working in and around the city. The areas excavated, methods used and interests of the archaeologists on site have all changed significantly over the last century; this is crucial for understanding the strengths and weaknesses of material culture for writing the history of Late Antique Corinth.[97] In particular, scholarship on Late Antique material culture at Corinth has undergone important shifts in emphasis and understanding from marginalization to fundamental early work to equal study with other periods. It also must be emphasized that Corinth has always been and remains an exceptional place in Greece for archaeological research. Almost all excavated material of all periods was catalogued from the very beginning and is still accessible, excavation has occurred in almost every region of the city, and since the Directorships of Morgan and particularly Robinson post-Roman eras have received significant attention in their own right.

While the seven standing columns of the Archaic Doric Temple (of Apollo) on Temple Hill and other scattered

[97] The best overview of the history of the Corinth Excavations is Landon 1994, 94-148. The early years were described in print briefly by Seymour (1902) and Wilisch (1908), then by Fowler (1922) from work by B.H. Hill, and finally by Fowler in Fowler and Stillwell (1932 (*Corinth* I), 3-13). The official ASCSA histories of Lord (1947) and Meritt (1984) and the scrapbook of Langridge-Noti (1996) also shed light on the excavations up to their Centenary. Preliminary excavation reports are mainly in *AJA*, then from 1932 in the School's annual journal *Hesperia*; final results are published in the series of *Corinth* volumes. Preliminary reports are generally organized by area(s) under excavation in a given season, including (at least in brief) most archaeological work carried out at Corinth by the American School; *Corinth* volumes are organized either thematically or geographically, publishing catalogues and conclusions for a much more limited number of artifacts and areas of excavation.

remains to the north of the village of Ancient Corinth were always visible, archaeological excavation began only in the late 19th century (Figs. 17-18). In 1886, W. Dörpfeld of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) sunk the first scholarly trenches below the standing columns, and immediately published an account of this work with a history of the Temple and a plan; he also noted members of a second monumental Doric temple built into Roman or Byzantine walls along the north edge of the city's lower terrace.[98] His work was followed in 1892 by that of A.N. Skias of the Archaeological Society of Athens (the Society), who dug a number of trenches east of the village center, exposing walls but not the Agora he had sought with the guidance of Pausanias, and early travellers documented above.[99]

Both Dörpfeld and Skias would return occasionally in later years to dig, but the American Excavations at Corinth begun in 1896 by R.B. Richardson would represent the greatest continuity and continue the longest, reveal an unprecedented area of the Ancient city, and catalogue by far the majority of the material accessible to scholars today.[100] The history of the American School Excavations at Corinth falls roughly into five eras based on areas under investigation, methods used, and expertise of the directors and archaeologists involved: Discovery (1896-1924), Inter-War (1925-1945), War/Post-War (1946-1964), Williams (1965-1997) and Sanders (1995-).

The first era of discovery included a decade of well-documented annual excavation campaigns (1896-1905), a decade of more sporadic excavation and sparse publication (1906-1916) and a series of study seasons devoted largely

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[98] Dörpfeld (1886, 306) noted that in the 18th c. the English antiquarian, architect and artist Stuart had found 11 columns still standing from the Temple, but by the *Expédition scientifique de Morée* of 1829 there were only the 7 still standing to this day. He hesitated to assign a deity to the Temple, though Athena Chalinitis had been suggested by travelers in the past from Pausanias, and he mentioned Apollo in connection with the monumental Doric temple on the lower terrace. This is the area which came to be known from Pausanias as the Gymnasium area, near the Epistyle Wall; he suggested walls there belonged to a church, also seen by Leake and Curtius, the Quadratus basilica? It would make sense to have a church associated with the Asklepieion and Lerna burials, and possibly near an athletic facility in the Gymnasium to honor a martyr.

[99] Skias 1892 (1894).

[100] Skias (1906 (1907)) mentions his trenches of 1892, the American Excavations of 1896-1905 and their discovery of the Ancient Agora (Forum) following from the identification of Peirene, the Lechaion Road and the Propylaia. In the summer of 1906 his trenches down on the north plain found parts of the western Long Wall to Lechaion, and two of the N-S roads to Lechaion to its east.

to non-archaeological issues (1917-1924), before excavation began again in 1925 under changed direction and with rather different expectations.[101] The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA, the School) was established in the early 1880s with the assistance of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) as a center for American students and faculty of the Classics to study on site in Greece.[102] At first individual directors, students and faculty ran independent excavations at ancient sites during their time at the School's headquarters in Athens, but by 1896 the School was ready to initiate a long-term excavation, for the first two years with the financial support of the AIA, and then later with sporadic funding from private donors and the archaeologists themselves. R.B. Richardson, Director of the School, was also thus Director of the Corinth Excavations, which became the usual pattern until 1966. He was replaced as director in Athens and Corinth first by T.W. Heermance (1903-5), and then after the latter's sudden death by B.H. Hill (1906-26).

In the first decade of the dig (1896-1905), Richardson and then Heermance sought and indeed promptly found ancient buildings which they could relate to Pausanias' itinerary and thus back to the Greek city of Corinth, or at least to that of St. Paul.[103] Their primary professional interest as Classicists was in the Greek city before the Roman sack of 146 BC, but important secondary interests included the refounded Roman city in its first two centuries, early Christianity and Ancient Art History. In the first season they identified the Theater, then in the next years Pausanias' Forum/Agora and Road to Lechaion extending north from its northeast corner, with the expected Propylaia in between, Peirene Fountainhouse to the east, and Glauce Fountainhouse to the west. The Temple's standing columns were assigned to Pausanias' Temple of Apollo in 1896 (not without later doubts), while bare foundations of other temples were identified only by letters as they were found.

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[101] Origins and first era of the Corinth Excavations: preliminary excavation reports in the *AJA* (Richardson 1897-1902; Heermance 1903-1904; Wheeler and Hill 1907-1908, 1910), *Carnegie Institution Yearbook* (Wheeler 1909-1910), and non-*AJA* ASCSA *Annual Reports* by Richardson and Hill. Overviews of this era: Capps 1896; Seymour 1902; Skias 1906 (1907); Wilisch 1908, 414-39; Fowler 1922 (written by B.H. Hill); Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 3-13; Lord 1947, 89-98, 103-6; Langridge-Noti 1996, 1-16.

[102] Lord (1947, 92-3) mentions Emerson's Byzantine interests, unusual among the early ASCSA professors. On the tension at the ASCSA from its very beginnings between broad-based archaeology of all periods and professional, narrowly-focused Classical archaeology, with the latter more often practiced: Turner 1999, 315, 369; Kourelis 2007, 394.

[103] Shear 1925, 381.

Temples were only the most easily-categorized of the many other ruins emerging from the ground which could not easily be matched up with the account of Pausanias or that of any other ancient author, and so building names were assigned on the basis of location and architecture, usually with reference to the Agora (Forum), and not without some confusion and later changes. By the time Heermance died of typhoid in 1905, the Lechaion Road Basilica and Shops, Captives' Façade, Northwest Shops, Northwest Stoa, West Shops and South Stoa had all been partially uncovered and named (Figs. 4-6, 15-16).

The excavation of all these buildings followed the same basic methodology. For a few months each spring a network of long, narrow exploratory trenches was excavated out from around the Temple and later farther afield; these were widened only if a physically solid and recognizably Ancient monument was encountered. The monuments were then cleared of earth and sometimes masonry deemed post-Roman, and identified as to age, use and Ancient name on the basis of Pausanias, their architecture and the artifacts found around them. The emphasis was on discovery, and the archaeologists were generally quick to assign a title to buildings associated with their function and first use. Actual digging was done by large (100+) teams of locals working with picks and shovels, supervised by one archaeologist per trench. He (or more rarely she) recorded in greater or lesser detail the area and progress of the digging along with notable sculpture, coins, fine whole ceramics and other obvious artifacts in a numbered notebook. Artifacts from Neolithic pottery to Byzantine inscriptions were numbered separately according to genre and sent to a local house turned museum and storeroom. Then the earth and stone removed from the trenches was taken away in railroad cars along narrow-gauge track and dumped in a rented beanfield to the north of the Temple. Many walls and artifacts were drawn, and specific relationships between items described, but recording style varied enormously at the beginning, from bare weekly lists to detailed diaries of daily discoveries.[104]

Richardson and the other early excavators were generally professional Classicists, and, along with their students, interested in specific Ancient historical eras, authors and art. The explicit goal for most was the recovery of buildings and artifacts from the Greek city of Corinth, the city before its destruction and refounding, with remains from the Roman colony and later periods inevitable, more easily identifiable and still of interest,

[104] Early methods of excavation: Capps 1896, 235.

but less preferable for most. This attitude was (and to a large extent still is) tied in with wider issues in Classical Archaeology, and a whole range of Enlightenment attitudes about the relative value of Greek, Roman and Byzantine literature, philosophy, architecture, art, politics and ethics, as well as the perceived loss of dominance in these fields by the Greeks under the influence of Rome and then Christianity.[105]

Though Hill was director from 1906-1926, actual seasons of excavation took place only in 1907-11 and 1914-16, and several Roman buildings were added then to the map: Philostratus' Odeum above the Theater, and Pausanias' Peribolos of Apollo and Baths (of Eurycles?) north of Peirene. There were many more non-Pausanian buildings too, like the Julian Basilica and Southeast Building on the east side of the Agora. Archaeological progress was first slowed and then stopped, however, by a combination of factors: the perennial problems of funding and publication, and the more specific challenges of wars and water. Specifically the latter flowed constantly and often copiously out from Peirene, but its interruption by archaeology lead to flooding and pestilence only stopped at great cost.[106] No digging at all took place at Corinth from 1917 to 1924, but Hill continued to study what had been found, and to enlist others to assist as well. He is credited with introducing more modern excavation methods to the excavations at Corinth at the end of this era, and remained working at the site and contributing to its study long after his replacement as director.[107]

A few early scholars, like E.H. Swift, were interested in 'Byzantine' Corinth, which began for them with Constantine, but their ability to differentiate its archaeological remains from Roman or even post-Byzantine

[105] This attitude can be traced to some extent back to ambivalent Roman reactions to Greek culture (e.g. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.157, "Graecia capta…" with Henrichs 1995, other articles in the same volume), then to Greek response to becoming Roman (Swain 1996; Goldhill 2001), and finally to Byzantine ambivalence with the Greco-Roman heritage (e.g. Mango 1981, and other articles in the same volume). But certainly in modern times the moralizing tension between Greek, Roman and Byzantine when studying Greece is present in authors from Gibbon (1994, with Jordan 1971) to Jones (1940) to the dichotomies of current Classical archaeology (Alcock and Osborne 2007).

[106] Landon 1994; B.A. Robinson 2001.

[107] On Hill's modern methods, role as teacher, administration and emphasis on accuracy: Blegen 1959, and Blegen's introduction to Hill 1964 (*Corinth* I.6), vii. On his removal for failure to publish: Lord 1947, 190-2; Davis 2007.

was not yet well-developed.[108] There was at first little dating by stratigraphy or seriation; readable coins, generalizations about construction methods and broad categories of ceramic decoration helped locate the excavators in time, at Corinth as elsewhere in that era. Thus Byzantine coins, glazed pottery and Christian symbols betrayed 'late' levels; rubble masonry, vaulting and *spolia* 'late' architecture, but the transition between Roman and Byzantine was never well defined. Almost all 'late' artifacts were catalogued and kept regardless of their Antiquity, but some 'late' architecture- walls, graves, roadways, churches or parts of standing buildings- was demolished, albeit with considerably more documentation than at other contemporary excavations in Greece, particularly after Hill assumed the directorship.

Thus the results of this first era of excavation for Late Antiquity were mixed. Hundreds of inscriptions and works of sculpture from the third-sixth centuries were uncovered and catalogued, though many could not be securely linked to a specific building or stratum; the situation was similar for Late Antique coins, pottery and other small finds, many of which came from Byzantine levels.[109] As for the buildings themselves, much Roman and Late Antique masonry vanished into the beanfields along with that from Byzantine or later eras. Most notably gone today are the 5th-6th c. and later phases of the Peirene fountainhouse, and the 3rd c. vaults of the north section of the West Shops. The emphasis during excavation season was to clear ancient buildings of overlying dirt and sometimes post-Antique modifications. Architectural plans of the building in its first phase were then drawn, subsequent phases noted, and catalogues of artifacts compiled, but stratigraphic sequences or complex histories of use were not yet possible.

In 1925 the second era of the excavations was inaugurated, with several important changes. Hill was replaced as American School and Corinth director first by his student C.W. Blegen (1927), then by R.C. Carpenter (1928-31), R. Stillwell (1932-35) and C.H. Morgan II (1936-38) up through World War II. In the Agora, buildings only discovered in part were exposed by intensive clearance excavations right up to the outbreak of World War II, and

[108] Swift wrote his dissertation (1921a, 1921b, 1921c, 1922) on the Roman sculpture from the Julian Basilica, taught Roman art at Columbia, then published on St. Sophia in Constantinople and other Byzantine topics (1934, 1935, 1940, 1951).
[109] Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI).

most Byzantine levels were recorded before removal.[110] But while the director still supervised the main excavations, other archaeologists like T.L. Shear and O. Broneer began to work semi-independently on the site under American School auspices, and the area under exploration thus widened significantly leading to the discovery of Late Antique buildings outside the Agora (Forum).[111]

Just to its west Broneer uncovered the Odeum, while Shear first dug out the skene and orchestra of the Theater and started on the cavea.[112] He also uncovered part of a Late Roman Villa at the northwest corner of the lower terrace at Kokkinovrysi in 1925, and a series of Roman and earlier tombs farther north.[113] Blegen also branched out with his own team, conducting excavations up on Acrocorinth in 1926 which yielded much medieval material which was carefully studied. In 1928, Carpenter also found the first Late Antique church of the excavations, the Cenchrean Gate (Kraneion) Basilica, while looking for the East gate of the Classical city walls (Fig. 9). On the north edge of the lower terrace, de Waele dug the Sanctuary of Asclepius, along with its numerous Late Antique burials, and the fountain court to its west which was associated with Pausanias' Lerna (Fig. 3). An urban plan of Corinth thus began to take shape, and it was primarily the city as it was at the end of Late Antiquity, with one large excavated area still widening out from around the Temple, and many smaller windows onto the city opening up all around it. Corinth thus became and indeed remained one of the most extensively-excavated cities in all of Greece.

Methods remained massive in scale, with 5-10 archaeologists overseeing over 100 workmen most seasons, and dirt carried away by the railroad carload. There were institutional and financial pressures to remove Byzantine remains, to publish the Classical and Roman periods of the Central Area and then make it accessible and intelligible to visitors. But recording became more scrupulous too in these years, as Hill, Blegen and then Carpenter introduced and advanced Dörpfeld's and Wheeler's methods of recording all that was recovered by stratigraphic excavation.[114]

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[110] Hill 1926; Weinberg 1939, 1948; Weinberg and Weinberg 1946.
[111] For the Corinth Excavations after 1925 up to WWII see the authorized American School histories of Lord 1947; Meritt 1984. Unauthorized histories by Oscar Broneer and Dorothy Thompson are said to exist.
[112] Broneer 1926, 1928, 1932 (*Corinth* X: Odeum), 1933, 1935; Shear 1925, 1926, 1928a, 1928b, 1929, 1931b.
[113] Shear 1925, 1928b, 1929, 1930, 1930 (*Corinth* V: Roman Villa), 1931a.
[114] Methods: Carpenter 1933, 10, 103; Trigger 1989, 196-200; Dyson 2006, 112-3.

But while the area under excavation was quick to expand and deepen in the Inter-War era, scholarly interests and publications were slower to follow suit. Carpenter emphasized in his excavations, directorship, scholarship and publications "things Greek," and it is clear that he saw these as anterior to the Roman sack of Corinth. But he still devoted considerable attention to his excavation of a Christian basilica and much of the Byzantine city center, built a 'Byzantine Museum' in a 10th c. house found on the far eastern side of the Central Area by Peirene, and supervised the publication of Byzantine landmarks elsewhere in Greece.[115] Long-time Corinthians also left much promising material for the next generation in this era: Shear had the unique opportunity to initiate excavations in Athens at the Agora in 1932, while in 1927 Blegen followed his interest in prehistory to Troy and then Pylos.

Yet in this second era of excavation, Corinth also began to attract attention from scholars specifically for its Roman and Byzantine monuments and well-organized artifacts. Recently K. Kourelis has argued that scholarship on these eras emerged at Corinth between 1925 and 1940 as part of a "modernist aesthetic" which Byzantine art historians shared with modernist artists and writers in the US and Greece.[116] The most important of the scholars working at Corinth on Byzantine archaeology was C.H. Morgan II. Though a specialist in Classical art, he pioneered the rigorous analysis of Corinth's Byzantine pottery, creating a unique, original typology which was impossible at other sites, and then publishing his study of that pottery in what immediately became a standard reference work.[117] E.

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[115] Carpenter's Director's Report of 1927-1928 in Lord 1947, 208-9; Cullen 2007, 7. The first ancient church discovered at Corinth, the Cenchrean Gate (Kraneion) Basilica: Carpenter 1929; Pease 1928 (Corinth NB98); de Waele 1928 (Corinth NB99); de Waele 1930, 442 n. 1. The 'Byzantine Museum' or 'Carpenter's Folly', a 10th-12th c. house found in 1917, rebuilt with Byzantine spolia and re-roofed 1928-1930, unroofed WWII, some sculpture now in West Shops or stuck in situ: Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 39-41; Kourelis 2007, 403-10. The publication of Hosios Loukas and Daphne monasteries by the ASCSA: Diez and Demus 1931.

[116] Kourelis (2007, 393) discusses the famous Paris Byzantine exhibit of 1929 and argues that Byzantine art particularly attracted modernists with its "perceived artistic otherness, abstraction, and spirituality." For an example of the rise of study of Byzantine art in this era see the dissertation of Weitzmann (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930); for the relatively late emergence of Byzantine art history and archaeology in western scholarship especially among Classical archaeologists working in Greece: Nelson 1996; Bullen 1999, 2003.

[117] Morgan 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939; Thompson 1984. Byzantine Pottery: Morgan 1935, 1942 (*Corinth* XI: Byzantine Pottery). Before Morgan the Byzantine pottery was given to the Greek Society of Christian

Capps Jr. also studied Late Antique ivories before coming to work at Corinth, then focused on the Hellenistic and Roman city and its sculpture.[118]

This second era also brought the first articles on Late Antique Corinth in *AJA*, and in the ASCSA's own new journal *Hesperia*.[119] Beyond renewed excavation, comprehensive publication of the work already done at Corinth was a major priority for E. Capps, Chair of the Managing Committee of the ASCSA, and he pursued it by removing B.H. Hill from his directorship in 1926, getting his replacement Carpenter to bring out a guidebook to Corinth in 1928, and assigning H.N. Fowler to organize publication of the finds from Corinth in the first of the *Corinth* volumes.[120] Carpenter's guidebook was subsequently revised by Broneer and then Robinson, but no new version has appeared since the 1960s, leaving tourists at the site cut off from scholarship since

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Archaeology (ChrAE) to publish, apparently out of lack of American interest: Philadelpheus 1924. Minor date changes, importance of the work: Sanders 2000.

[118] Early interest in Late Antique art: Capps Jr. 1927a, 1927b; also reviews of relevant books, especially on ivories: Capps Jr. 1942, 1956a, 1956b. His work on Corinth: Capps Jr. 1934, 1936, 1938, 1949, 1950. His break with his Princeton advisor Morey over the latter's schema of Late Antique Art: Weitzmann 1986, 14. Unfortunately at his death in 1969 he left *Corinth* IX.2, a planned continuation of Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX) unfinished; thus sculpture from the site found since 1923 has appeared in *Corinth* volumes only in M. Sturgeon's (1977, 2004, *Corinth* IX.2-3) comprehensive work on pieces from the Theater, and otherwise in a series of selective articles (e.g. Bookidis 1970; Ridgway 1981).

[119] For *Hesperia*: Waagé 1934 (whose work was taken up by Morgan); Davidson 1937. But as Cullen (2007, 8) recently noted, most articles in *Hesperia* (and thus most of the articles published on Corinth) focused on the presentation of primary archaeological data rather than its analysis or significance to larger historical (or methodological) issues. This tendency is criticized by Dyson 1989, 1993, 204-6; Davis (2007) cmments on the founding of *Hesperia* and the impact it has had on the research and image of the School, in particular its marginalization of some to prehistoric to Classical Archaeology alone (Snodgrass 1987; Dyson 1989).

[120] On the importance of publication of Corinth to Capps from the beginning of his tenure as Chair see his *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report, 1919-1920*, 14-15, and the circumstances surrounding his removal of Director B.H. Hill in 1926 (Lord 1947, 146, 171-2; Davis 2007, 25-6). After abandoning publication of excavation updates in the *AJA* in 1908, and *Annual Reports* in 1917, Hill next produced a report on his work on Corinth only in 1922, published by Fowler (1922) in the AIA's popular magazine *Art and Archaeology*; no other articles, reports or the desired Corinth guidebook followed, though, and so first H.N. Fowler was made Corinth editor (1925), then Hill was "retired" (1926), then in 1928 the Guide and from 1929 on Corinth articles and volumes began to appear once again, under Carpenter as both director and general editor.

then.[121] The *Corinth* volumes were originally intended to form a complete record of the American excavations, but in practice they represent an impressive yet partial publication of masses of material filtered through frameworks of topograpy, artifactual typology, and scholarly interest. Several include brief sketches of Corinthian history, but the emphasis throughout is on the description and analysis of specific buildings (mainly of the Agora) and types of material (pottery, lamps, inscriptions, sculpture).

The first generation of *Corinth* volumes issued up through World War II was largely focused on the publication of the "Early Excavations," those of Richardson, Heermance and Hill through 1926. Among the general architectural volumes, Late Antique Corinth frequently appeared as the last phase of a building or area being described; but almost all of the artifactual corpora included Late Antique material, a substantial amount in the case of Morgan's Byzantine pottery volume, as well as the inscription and lamp volumes.[122] The coin volume unusually contained all coins from the excavations, through the Byzantine and even Ottoman issues, and was soon supplemented by regular reports which have made Corinth one of the only sites in the world with extensive numismatic publication.[123] Two volumes of this first generation focused exclusively on Roman buildings, and the general preference in publication remained Greek and early, typology rather than narrative.[124]

In the 1940s many scholars devoted more time to publication because excavation in Greece was closed down by the War; some material from after 1926 crept in to the *Corinth* volumes, and closer dating became possible. The

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[121] Guidebooks: Carpenter 1928 (1st ed.); Broneer 1954 (6th ed.); Robinson 1969a. Greek guides have been translated into English more recently: Kasas 1974; Papachatzis 1985. A new Corinth guidebook was announced by Millis (2004).

[122] Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I: Architecture); Stillwell, Scranton and Freeman 1941 (*Corinth* I.2); Blegen et al. 1930 (*Corinth* III.1: Acrocorinth); Carpenter and Bon 1936 (*Corinth* III.2); Broneer 1932 (*Corinth* IV.2: TC Lamps); Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1: Greek Insc.); West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2: Latin Insc.); Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX: Sculpture); Morgan 1942 (*Corinth* XI: Byzantine Pottery).

[123] Some 90,000 coins have been excavated at Corinth, of which about 2/3 are published, according to M. Ierardi. Publications include: Bellinger 1930; Shear 1931; Edwards 1933 (*Corinth* VI: Coins), 1937; Harris 1941; Price 1967; Dengate 1981; Fisher 1980 (and further addenda to Williams' excavation reports in *Hesperia*); Zervos 1986, 1997 (and further addenda to Williams' excavation reports in *Hesperia*); Mac Isaac 1987; Walbank 2003 (*Corinth* XX).

[124] Shear 1930 (*Corinth* V: Roman Villa); Broneer 1932 (*Corinth* X: Odeum). Broneer often characterized the remains of the the Roman city and its cults as the final stage of a decline (Broneer 1942, 161).

fruit of this wartime work was thus a second generation of *Corinth* volumes which appeared in the two decades after the end of the War; these filled out the architectural publications so that almost every building dug was now represented in print, but they brought only two sets of artifacts up to the War itself, minor finds and inscriptions.[125]

In 1957, Scranton devoted an entire volume to the architecture of Late Antique and Byzantine Corinth (Fig. 6). Though this volume did not appear until sixty years after excavation began, there was more than enough architectural material to fill it, primarily from the early excavations alongside short historical summaries drawn from Bon and Finley's works of the 1930s.[126] Though the dating of the various phases was loose and largely based on coins, Scranton's volume was also unique for its era, and represented a desire to see all the excavated architecture of Corinth's center published at a time when this was still not typical for sites in Greece. It also collected almost all of the clearly post-Antonine and pre-Ottoman architecture from the city center in one volume, at the cost of considerable effort from the author. Most of the Byzantine walls he described were gone by then; and a huge mass of artifacts, especially sculpture, was presented systematically.[127]

Besides publication, formal excavations at Ancient Corinth were briefly renewed after World War II under Acting Director Broneer (1946-1950) and then again on a large scale only in 1959 under Director H.S. Robinson.[128] Broneer had returned with much of the pre-War Corinth crew in 1946 to clean up the site, restore the Museum, complete publication of the Central Area and the Asklepieion, and continue excavation on a necessarily smaller scale, first

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[125] Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3); Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4); Weinberg 1960 (*Corinth* I.5); Hill 1964 (*Corinth* I.6: Fountains); Stillwell 1952 (*Corinth* II: Theatre); Blegen et al. 1964 (*Corinth* XIII: North Cemetery); Roebuck 1951 (*Corinth* XIV: Asclepium and Lerna); Davidson 1952 (*Corinth* XII: Minor Finds); Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3: Insc.).

[126] Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI: Mediaeval Center), preface, cites Carpenter and Bon 1936 (*Corinth* III.2) and Finley 1932 as his sources for mediaeval Corinthian history.

[127] Favorable review, some idea of huge challenge he faced: Swift 1958, 352. Additions to his map of Medieval Corinth: Robinson and Weinberg 1960, 229 fig. 2; Robinson 1962, 97, 106, figs. 2, 6; Williams and Bookidis 2003 (*Corinth* XX); Sanders 2005, 427, fig. 16.5

[128] Corinth during WWII: Broneer 1945, 416. On the retreat from modernism and medieval studies in Greece by Americans and a return to hard-core classicism after WWII as part of a Cold War culture-clash: Saunders 1999.

in the Panagia Field.[129] But then from 1950-1958, American School Director Caskey chose to pursue excavation at prehistoric Lerna in the Argolid rather than renew digging at Corinth himself as previous directors had done. Broneer moved to Isthmia (see below), and work by those remaining at Corinth concentrated on publication. But when new director H.S. Robinson reopened excavations in the Corinthian Agora (Forum) in 1959, it was with an unprecedented goal: the excavation and recording of Byzantine Corinth in its previously unexcavated southwest corner.[130] Robinson also revived the pre-War tradition of separate excavations outside the city center under School auspices but led by other directors.

Thus on the slopes of Acrocorinth south of the Central Area, R.S. Stroud began a small excavation in 1961 where Ancient material had previously turned up. This quickly proved to be the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore mentioned by Pausanias, and excavation continued through 1975 with a final clean-up in 1994, first under Stroud and then Corinth Assistant Director N. Bookidis.[131] The modern excavation methods, prompt publication and interest of the excavators in the Roman phases of the sanctuary lend this small and shallow area of the city of Corinth extra weight in the archaeological record for Late Antiquity. The volumes and a number of final articles admirably take architecture and artifacts from the site up to Late Antiquity, although the exact dating and preferred interpretation of these is still being revised in several recent and forthcoming works.[132]

Although work continued in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the second half of the 1960s otherwise witnessed major changes in areas, goals and methods for the American School Excavations at Corinth. American universities were invited to open up new areas of the city, and the main excavation in the city center was for the first time under its own director, C.K. Williams II, who held a position separate from the director of the School in Athens, and trained many fellows of the ASCSA in archaeology yearly,

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[129] Broneer 1947, 1951b; Weinberg 1949. Vogeikoff-Brogan 2007 reprints the film Broneer made of Greece and the American School in 1947, including the excavations at Corinth.

[130] Goals and results: Robinson and Weinberg 1960; Robinson 1962. Robinson's Roman interests: Robinson 1943, 1969a, 1972, 1974.

[131] Stroud 1965 (1st, 1961-62), 1968 (2nd, 1964-65), 1993; Bookidis 1969 (3rd, on 1968); Bookidis and Fisher 1972 (4th, on 1969-70), 1974 (5th, on 1971-73); Bookidis 1987, 1990, 1993; Pemberton 1989 (*Corinth* XVIII.1); Slane 1990 (*Corinth* XVIII.2); Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 1997 (*Corinth* XVIII.3); Merker 2000 (*Corinth* XVIII.4); Bookidis et al. 1999.

[132] Late Antiquity at Demeter and Kore: Dunbabin 1990; Slane 1990 (*Corinth* XVIII.2); Stroud 1993; Bookidis and Stroud 1997 (*Corinth* XVIII.3); Merker 2000 (*Corinth* XVIII.4); Bookidis et al. 1999.

with a few invited to stay on longer-term.[133] In the city center he sought again the Greek levels of the city below the level of the early excavations, then turned to the mostly Roman material east of the Theater, and finally explored Frankish levels southwest of the Forum/Agora up until his retirement in 1997.[134]

He thus excavated and published on all eras of the city, and also worked to make the Corinth Museum and Library suitable for scholarship on all eras.[135] Though his own scholarly interests lay initially in the Greek city, its architecture and cults, he studied the Roman city extensively too, especially its religion and architecture too. He published preliminary reports of his work yearly in *Hesperia*, and introduced School members every year to modern excavation methods, the long span of Corinthian history and the detailed system of Corinth notebooks as developed by himself and N. Bookidis. He also designed and built new facilities for the Corinth Excavations, and encouraged a new generation of scholars to take on dissertations and publication projects of every era left by the pre-War generation, now largely deceased or no longer on-site.

As mentioned, this was also an era of renewed expansion of excavation, for the first time under separate University sponsorship and School auspices. In 1965 J.K. Anderson brought a team from U.C. Berkeley to the north side of the temenos of Temple E, while J.R. Wiseman of U.T. Austin opened up excavations north of the Theater at the edge of the lower terrace, where Pausanias had located the ancient Gymnasium.[136] While Anderson chose not to return, Wiseman dug in this northern Gymnasium area yearly through the summer of 1970, generating a mass of Late Antique buildings and artifacts published up until now only in preliminary reports.[137] The uneven publication of this northern area of Corinth remains an impediment to understanding the urban landscape between the Theater and the Asklepieion (Fig. 3).

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[133] Meritt 1984, 162.

[134] Agora: Williams 1969 (1970), 1969, 1970, 1971 (1974), 1972 (1976), 1973 (1977), 1978a, 1979, 1980; Williams and Fisher 1971, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1976; Williams et al. 1974; de Grazia and Williams 1977; Williams and Russell 1981; Williams and Zervos 1987, 1988, 1990, 1991. East of Theater: Williams and Zervos 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989. Frankish Corinth: Williams and Zervos 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996; Snyder and Williams 1997; Williams et al. 1998.

[135] He has evinced interest in the Greek city (Williams 1981, 1995) and also the Roman one (Williams 1987a, 1987b).

[136] Anderson 1967; Wiseman 1967.

[137] Wiseman 1967a, 1967b, 1969a, 1969b, 1970, 1972; Dengate 1981.

Director Emeritus H.S. Robinson returned to Corinth like Hill before him, conducting salvage excavations along the north edge of the lower terrace in advance of the construction of an aqueduct (1960s), and then bringing a team from Case Western University to dig on Temple Hill, where he discovered a Middle Byzantine church (1968-78).[138] In this era two more churches were investigated on the north side of the city by Stikas of the Archaeological Society of Athens; both are cemetery basilicas originating in the 6th c., he named one Skoutela from its area and the other Quadratus/Kodratos from its likely dedicatee, and published plans and general descriptions of them (Fig. 9).[139]

Williams passed the torch in 1997 to current Director G.D.R. Sanders, inaugurating the fifth and current chapter in the Corinth Excavations. In 1995 Sanders had reopened excavation in the Panagia Field, southeast of the Central Area, and in regular seasons of excavation there since 1998 he has exposed (among monuments of many other eras) several of the important Late Roman buildings and contexts hinted at by the one earlier American School trench, in particular a 3rd-4th c. urban domus, a small 6th c. bath, and what may be part of a 6th c. basilica or other ecclesiastical building (the "Long Building")(Figs. 7-8).[140] He has pursued modified open-area single-context excavation to bring unity to excavation of whole buildings and contexts, and analyzed stratigraphy and assigned dates on the basis of pottery chronologies established by the latest on-site and external research.[141] These excavations have been carried out by 10-15 local professional excavators alongside 5-10 American School members working on a volunteer basis and recording baskets and finds in traditional numbered Corinth notebooks. Although Sanders' own research interests lie in the fields of geography, archaeological science and post-Roman pottery, he has also strongly promoted research into material from all eras of archaeology at Corinth.[142] In the spring of 2007 he closed excavation at Panagia and began work south of the South Stoa, another area with great potential for Late Antiquity. In the Corinth Museum, Curator I. Tzonou-Herbst replaced Assistant Director N. Bookidis in 2003, and has welcomed a new generation of scholars alongside the old.

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[138] Robinson 1964 (1966), 1965 (1967), 1966 (1968), 1969a, 1971 (1974), 1976a, 1976b.
[139] Stikas 1961 (1964), 1962 (1966), 1965.
[140] Broneer 1947; Sanders 1999, 2002, 2002 (*EHB*), 2003, 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 2004, 2005; James 2005.
[141] Slane and Sanders 2005.
[142] For example in the collected papers of Schowalter and Friesen 2005.

Finally, there is one last other source of archaeological data in the city center, the salvage excavations in advance of construction since the aqueduct, most notably along the new Athens-Patras railway and highway line just to the north of the lower terrace edge (2000s), and in the quickly expanding village of Ancient Corinth. These excavations by the Archaeological Service yield mainly graves, fragments of walls and occasional finds. This material is often visible in open trenches, and sporadically published in newspapers, the *Deltion*, or surveys of the archaeology of the Corinthia as a whole.[143]

Even as all this excavation has been underway since World War II, and appearing in preliminary articles, a third generation of *Corinth* volumes also appeared in very small numbers from the second half of the 1970s onwards. The sole architectural volume (aside from the results of Demeter and Kore mentioned above) included the Late Antique building phase of the Great Bath on the Lechaion Road; the two sculpture volumes devoted to the theater surveyed the Late Antique sculpture from that area as well.[144] Every other artifactual volume to appear to date is of pre-Roman pottery, leaving Roman artifacts published not at all, only up to the 1920s in the first generation volumes, or in the case of inscriptions, 1950. The short articles in the Corinth Centenary volume along with the work in progress list on the Corinth website give an idea of those areas related to Late Antiquity where work is ongoing.[145] Chief among the latter is an up-to-date history of the city after the second century through the end of Antiquity, a gap which the present work seeks to fill.

2. Archaeology of Late Antiquity in the Corinthia

The Corinthia outside the ancient city has also been explored archaeologically in greater or lesser detail by survey or excavation under archaeologists representing the American School's excavations at Corinth, other academic institutions (usually under American School auspices), or the Archaeological Service of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture. These efforts have provided important evidence on the Late Antique buildings and landscape which supported the city. Overviews of the ancient topography and visible archaeology of the Corinthia as a whole relevant to Late

[143] See the new exhibit from the OSE (Railroad) excavations at the new Corinth train station.
[144] Biers 1985 (*Corinth* XVII); Sturgeon 1977 (*Corinth* IX.2), 2004 (*Corinth* IX.3).
[145] Biers 2003, Landon 2003, Romano 2003, Sanders 2003, Sturgeon 2003, Vanderpool 2003, all in Williams and Bookidis 2003 (*Corinth* XX).

Antiquity were assembled somewhat unevenly by N. Faraklas in 1971 for Doxiadis' project at the Athens Center of Ekistics, and somewhat more comprehensively by J. Wiseman in 1978 based on his own walks and those of American School colleagues, especially R.S. Stroud, in the 1960s.[146]

More recently, T.E. Gregory and colleagues have initiated a number of intensive survey projects outside the area of the OSU excavations at Isthmia, on islands in the eastern Corinthian Gulf (1981-1984), along the Saronic Gulf coast between Isthmia and Cenchreae (1982-1983), on islands in the western Saronic Gulf (1986-1992), at a number of locations in the Eastern Corinthia with the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey (EKAS, 1997-2003), and in the southeastern Corinthia with the Saronic Harbors Archaeological Research Project (SHARP, 2007-).[147] At the same time more traditional, long-running excavation campaigns guided by literary sources, historical significance and standing remains have taken place outside the city of Corinth atop Acrocorinth, and in the ancient harbor areas of Isthmia, Cenchreae and Lechaion.

The most intensive excavations in the Corinthia outside of the ancient city center lie on the eastern side of the Isthmus, at the ancient sites of Isthmia and Cenchreae (Figs. 10-11). The general area of Ancient Isthmia (modern Kyras Vrysi) was identified early on from standing stretches of the eastern end of the Late Antique Hexamilion Wall and its prominent tetragonal fortress.[148] But the actual Sanctuary of Poseidon, site of the Isthmian games, was only disconnected from this fortress when the latter was recognized as Late Antique in 1932-33 by R.J.H. Jenkins and H. Megaw digging there for the British School at Athens.[149] The Sanctuary itself was discovered when Broneer famously hit the foundations of the Temple of Poseidon with his very first trench for the new University of Chicago excavations there in 1952.[150] He thus initiated the first of several post-War excavations in the Corinthia, all under the auspices of the American School and combining short excavation campaigns with long-term study and publication by large teams of scholars. Between 1952 and 1967, Broneer uncovered the Temple of Poseidon and adjacent religious, athletic and domestic buildings, confronting the

[146] Sakellariou and Faraklas 1971; Wiseman 1978. For Doxiadis' project at the Athens Center of Ekistics: Doxiadis 1967; Toynbee 1971.
[147] Gregory 1985; Kardulias, Gregory and Sawmiller 1995; Caraher and Gregory 2006; Caraher, Nakassis and Pettegrew 2006; Tartaron et al. 2006.
[148] Gerster 1884.
[149] Jenkins and Megaw 1931-1932 (1934).
[150] Broneer 1953.

challenges of a site largely leveled by construction of the Hexamilion and its fortress.[151] He initiated a numbered series of final volumes like the *Corinth* series for Isthmia divided by building and artifact-type; his interest in Late Antiquity ranged from publication of lamps and Roman buildings to research on St. Paul.[152] Since his retirement in 1976, E.R. Gebhard has overseen the ongoing University of Chicago project, including the production of more volumes, a 1989 excavation co-directed with F. Hemans and further research on the Late Roman phases of the Sanctuary.[153]

From 1967 a second team also began work by the fortress alongside Broneer, at first under P. Clement of UCLA (a war-time colleague of Broneer at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton), and since 1987 under T.E. Gregory of The Ohio State University. These scholars both had a professional interest in the Roman Sanctuary, the Hexamilion Wall and its fortress, and especially under Gregory excavated with an emphasis on the Late Antique period and contributed their own volumes.[154] Their work was fundamental for exposing and elucidating the Roman to Byzantine aspects of Isthmia. Both teams co-operated in the construction of a museum at the site which opened in 1978, but both museum and site are currently closed to the public by the 37th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, though work by that ministry and both teams continues.[155]

American excavation expanded south from Isthmia in 1962 when R.L. Scranton and Ramage began joint University of Chicago and University of Indiana excavations at the ancient harbor of Cenchreae (1962-1969), digging mainly around masses of Roman masonry on the northeast and southwest sides of the cove and making finds both spectacular and ordinary which they soon published in a series of popular and scholarly articles and five excavation volumes.[156] The most important find for Late

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[151] Broneer 1955, 1958, 1959, 1962b. For the history of the UChicago excavations at Isthmia and Broneer: Gebhard 1990, 1992, 2007.

[152] Broneer 1962a, 1971, 1976 (St. Paul), 1971 (*Isthmia* 1: Temple of Poseidon), 1973 (*Isthmia* 2: Topography and Architecture), 1977 (*Isthmia* 3: TC Lamps).

[153] Gebhard 1973, 1979, 1993, 2005; Gebhard and Dickie 1999; Gebhard and Hemans 1992, 1998; Raubitschek 1998 (*Isthmia* 7: Metal Objects).

[154] Clement 1968 (1969), 1969 (1970), 1970 (1972), 1971 (1973), 1972 (1976), 1973 (1977), 1977a, 1977b, 1980, 1987; Gregory and Mills 1984; Gregory and Kardulias 1990; Gregory 1993, 1993 (*Isthmia* 5: Hexamilion and Fortress), 1995; Lattimore 1996 (*Isthmia* 6).

[155] On the opening of the Museum: Gebhard 1979.

[156] Scranton and Ramage 1964, 1967; Scranton 1965; Shaw 1967a, 1967b, 1970, 1972; Hohlfelder 1970a, 1970b, 1973, 1975, 1976; Scranton, Shaw and Ibrahim 1978 (*Kenchreai* 1: Topography and Architecture); Hohlfelder

Antiquity was a series of unique glass panels dated to the late fourth century and probably imported to Corinth from Alexandria.[157] Work then continued to the north of the harbor under Scranton, and most recently was renewed by J. Rife in the looted cemetery on the Koutsongila Ridge farther north (2002-).[158] The mostly Roman and Late Antique archaeological material from Cenchreae was analyzed to a certain extent by the excavators, who also had professional interests in the Roman period, but the identifications of the buildings uncovered and their historical significance could bear further scrutiny.

While American projects at Isthmia and Cenchreae have thus been relatively constant since the 1950s and 1960s and uncovered extensive Late Roman settlements and monuments, excavation at Corinth's ancient western port of Lechaion have been much more sporadic, but almost entirely Late Antique (Figs. 3, 9). Greek and American archaeologists cleared small parts of the artificial harbor and its town, but rarely completed the excavation of an entire building.[159] Then the most extensive excavations, by D. Pallas for the Society, exposed the foundations of the largest Christian basilica in all of Greece, but were published only in preliminary reports before his death.[160] Pallas also conducted other small but important Late Antique investigations all over the Corinthia in the 1950s-70s, including further work on the Kraneion Basilica.[161]

D. The Epigraphic Corpus

The second set of textual sources for Corinth in Late Antiquity includes the surviving public and private epigraphic record. The inscriptions recovered from Corinth to date relating to Late Antiquity are relatively large in

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1978 (*Kenchreai* 3: Coins); Adamsheck 1978 (*Kenchreai* 4: Pottery); Williams 1981 (*Kenchreai* 5: Lamps); Stern and Thimme 2007 (*Kenchreai* 6: Ivory, Bone, Related).

[157] Scranton 1967; Ibrahim, Scranton and Brill 1976 (*Kenchreai* 2: Glass Panels).

[158] Rife et al. 2007.

[159] Harbor: Shaw 1969, 1972. Villa: Philadelpheus 1918 (1921); Stikas 1957 (1962).

[160] Lechaion Excavation reports and dating: Pallas 1956 (1961), 1957 (1962), 1958 (1965), 1959 (1965), 1961-1962 (1963a), 1962, 1965 (1967), 1970. The pottery from this dig is being re-studied for publication by N. Poulou of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, the architecture by A. Papaphotiou.

[161] Kraneion Excavation reports and dating: Pallas 1970 (1972), 1972 (1974), 1976 (1978), 1977 (1980). Other Late Roman excavations: Pallas 1955 (1960) (3rd c. Villa), 1961-1962 (1963a)(Hexamilion Wall). Summaries of his digs at the basilicas and Corinth between 1956 and 1973: Pallas 1959, 1977.

number but lopsided in character and very fragmentary compared to other cities. Some 638 texts written on stone or in a few cases other media (mosaic, lead) were composed in Corinth between the third and sixth centuries and have survived to the present day.[162] A few have been known for centuries, or were discovered in recent decades, but the great majority were recovered in the excavations of the American School in its first half-century, especially in the Agora. However only a minority were in their original location there or elsewhere in Ancient Corinth; most had been reused as building material or smashed into small pieces long ago, and were recovered an unknown distance from their original site of display and use.[163] Despite these limitations, a great strength of the collection is its thorough publication and study. Texts recovered in the American School excavations through 1950 (and collected from before they began) are published in three volumes of the *Corinth* series, while many of those found since that time, or restudied, are published in short articles, excavation reports and *SEG*.[164] Corinth is the only Greek city treated to a volume of Christian inscriptions in the *CG-CIH*; this work along with the research of Robert, Feissel and Sironen means that Corinth's Late Antique epigraphic record has received unparalleled attention.[165]

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[162] I base these calculations on an unpublished list of 'Late Roman' (later third to sixth c.) inscriptions of 'Corinth and environs' compiled by E. Sironen and deposited in the Corinth Library (Sironen 1992-1994).

[163] Kent (1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 17-8) well describes the almost incredible degree to which Corinthian inscriptions of all Ancient periods are smashed and dispersed about the site. I cannot, however, agree with his placing the blame for this on the Herulian and Gothic sacks.

[164] The relevant Corinth volumes are: Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1) publishing the Greek inscriptions of 1896-1927, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2) with Latin inscriptions of 1896-1926, and Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3) containing those of both languages excavated from 1926 to 1950, as well as many from outside the Corinth excavations which came into the collection in those years, and re-readings of many of the older texts. Kent benefitted from the work of many who published significant contributions to the Late Antique epigraphy of Corinth after the compilations of Meritt and West: Hiller von Gaertringen 1932 (review of Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1)); Broneer 1939; Kent 1950; Dow 1951. Likewise important works on Corinthian epigraphy have appeared since Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3) and his reviews: Clement 1974, 1980; Pallas and Dantis 1977 (1979); Martin 1977; Jordan 1982, 1994a, 1994b; Noy et al. 2004, 181-9 (Jewish insc.); Walbank and Walbank 2006.

[165] Bees 1941 (*CG-CIH* 1.1, though no more ever appeared); Robert 1966 (more than just a review, along with Dow 1967, of Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3)); Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985; Sironen 1992, 1992-1994, 1997; Feissel 2006.

In genre the inscriptions may be divided between a few public texts and hundreds of private ones, mainly epitaphs. Though the public inscriptions are small in number, fewer than those surviving from Early Roman times, they are still a rich source for public life in the third to fourth century city, after which they become very rare, with one important exception, the Victorinus inscriptions from the Hexamilion. They include at least five edicts or regulations, sixteen statue bases and plaques honoring members of the elite and emperors, and six building inscriptions derived from structures.[166] Though few, these public documents provide glimpses of the government of the city and province at work, and the people involved, particularly the Governor of Achaia and the Boule. Many of the statue bases are very well-preserved, and were recovered in promximity to marble portrait heads and bodies on the Agora or along the Lechaion Road. Yet unfortunately close dates are rare in this assemblage, established only for a few texts with emperors' regnal years or names known from outside Corinth.

By far the majority of the recognizably Late Antique inscriptions from Corinth are private and memorial: twelve traditional and at least 372 Early Christian epitaphs, ranging from a few letters to many whole gravestones, most often of schist. This material, the letter forms and the formulae of the epitaphs are all very distinctive, and their concentration in certain areas of the city provides a clear indication of the sites of Early Christian cemeteries. They yield many names, professions and details on the business of burial, but the lack of dates on most enables dating only broadly by style, or before or after the indiction became usual. By contrast the traditional epitaphs from Late Antiquity are few, though they were uncommon at Corinth in Early Roman times too. The remainder of the private inscriptions consist of 28 Christian acclamations or invocations, two dedications to pagan gods, and miscellaneous graffiti and incerta.[167] Though fragments and medieval Hebrew and Arabic inscriptions remain unpublished, most of the Corinthian inscriptions have thus been classified and edited in print, and many have been studied in great detail.

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[166] Sironen (1992-1994) counts: 5 edicts or regulations, 7 dedications to emperors, 6 honors for Roman nobles (to which I add 3 from Rizakis), 6 building inscriptions proper (not counting 3 Byzantine building inscriptions).

[167] Sironen (1992-1994) counts: 2 traditional dedications to gods, 6 acclamations, 22 Christian invocations or prayers, 12 traditional epitaphs, 372 Early Christian epitaphs, 5 Christian misc., 24 Early Christian incerta, and 170 Late Roman/Byzantine incerta.

E. Scholarship on the History of Corinth in Late Antiquity

Besides the inscriptions, the written fruits of the excavations at Corinth have largely been the preliminary articles and final *Corinth* publications already referenced. But alongside and frequently drawing on some of the archaeological scholarship are works of scholars of ancient history too, more often focused on Greek Corinth than the Roman city, but increasingly over the last thirty years reaching forward into Late Antiquity too.

Historical research on Corinth before excavation began at the site included important histories of the city by Curtius and Wilisch.[168] These drew mainly on the ancient literary sources, particularly Pausanias, focused on the history of the Greek city, and rarely used material evidence outside of topography, a few inscriptions and Archaic painted pottery. After excavation started, historians gradually began to consider the Greek and then Roman and Late Antique urban history of Corinth with reference to ongoing archaeological discoveries. But the archaeologists on site were reading Pausanias too, and so historians drew not on separate strands of evidence but on ancient texts, and material culture dated and interpreted with reference to them. Of these historical works, Will was particularly notable for his history of the city down to the Persian Wars, which explored both topography and mythology in depth.[169] His book and other historical works on the pre-Hellenistic city remain significant for Late Antiquity for their study of these topics and interpretation of Pausanias.[170]

The development of Classical scholarship on Greeks under Rome, however, which I mentioned in reference to the early excavations, also hindered historical writing on Roman and Late Roman Corinth, the 'Romanized' Greek city *par excellence*. Debates on the relative superiority of Greek over Roman, free over subordinate, creative over derivative art and literature, and especially the end of 'Greek' history at Alexander or Actium all discouraged Classical historians from studying Roman Greece or Corinth, the Romanized Greek city *par excellence*.[171] Until the 1970s there were a few short articles on the history of Roman Corinth, either summaries of ancient texts alongside

[168] Curtius 1851/2, 2.514-56; Wilisch 1887.
[169] Will 1955.
[170] O'Neill 1930; Salmon 1984.
[171] On these debates and the long-standing methodological gap between Greek and Roman history and archaeology which has slowed down scholarship on Hellenistic and even more so Roman and Late Antique Greece: Alcock 1989, 1994.

archaeology in guidebooks or *Corinth* volumes, or exploration of very specific questions, most often the Slavic invasions and the end of Antiquity.[172] The sole longer study on Roman Corinth was an unpublished 1906 Harvard dissertation ending with Herodes Atticus.[173]

From the late 1970s on, however, a few longer studies on the history of the Roman city of Corinth began to appear: Wiseman wrote a survey article on the history of the Roman city to 267, M.H. Walbank an unpublished dissertation on the history of the Roman city to the Antonines, Amandry a study of the Roman administration largely from its coinage, and most recently Engels an economic treatise on the Roman city organized thematically and focusing mainly on 1st-2nd c. evidence with occasional use of 3rd-4th c. material.[174] Alongside these historical works and often by the same authors have appeared a number of shorter articles on specific questions, focusing particularly on the foundation of the colony and Pausanias' second-century visits.[175] Thus the historiography of Corinth suffers from the same lacunae as the history of Greece as a whole: the Hellenistic and Late Antique periods are under-represented in both synthetic studies and narrative accounts.

However the history of Late Antique Corinth has been examined in brief by three archaeologists directing work in the Corinthia: D. Pallas, T. Gregory and G.D.R. Sanders, followed by several of their students and a few foreign scholars. Pallas used his excavations of two Christian basilicas as the basis for a series of articles summarizing the archaeology of Late Antique Corinth as it was evolving through his and others' work.[176] Avraméa and Kyrkou continued this interest with work in French on Late Antique and Byzantine Corinth.[177] Gregory has frequently tackled historical questions, especially relating to the Slavic invasions and Christianization, both in his publications of material from his excavations and research around Isthmia and in a few broader articles.[178] Several of his students

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[172] Finley 1932; Davidson 1937; Charanis 1952; Davidson Weinberg 1974; Davidson Weinberg 1975.
[173] Darrow 1906.
[174] Wiseman 1979; Walbank 1986; Amandry 1988; Engels 1990.
[175] Williams 1989; Walbank 1989, 1996, 1997.
[176] Pallas 1954 (1957), 1957, 1967, 1979 (1981), 1990.
[177] Avraméa and Kyrkou 1988; Avraméa 1997.
[178] Besides the publication of his excavations and surveys focusing particularly on Roman and Late Antique material at and around Isthmia (see above), he has also published extensively on Late Antique history, especially as it relates to Corinth: on popular violence (Gregory 1983, 1984), fortifications (Gregory 1979, 1982), the Slavic invasions (Gregory 1992, 1994), and the Christianization of Greece (Gregory

have followed up on his interest in both this period and this region, and written related dissertations and sometimes further articles or books, in particular P.N. Kardulias, R. Rothaus and D. Pettegrew.[179] As Director of the Corinth Excavations since 1997, Sanders has published several short articles on Late Antique Corinth presenting areas of challenge to the traditional coin and text-based historical interpretations of previous excavations, particularly from his revised pottery chronologies and excavations southeast (1997-2007) and south (2007-) of the Agora.[180]

Finally, it is also important to mention the contribution of Christian scholarship to Corinthian studies. Scholars and clerics engaged in exegesis of the letters of St. Paul to the Corinthians and the chapter of *Acts* on his visit to Corinth often move beyond those texts to examine Corinthian archaeology and its relevance for New Testament studies.[181] This interest was recognized early on among archaeologists at Corinth, particularly Broneer, though not often addressed directly.[182] Some of their results are more theological, and others more historical, but the goal of most of this work is to set Paul and his texts in their historical context, the better to understand him, his goals, his religion, his texts and their contemporary impact. While these scholars thus focus closely on the mid-first century, they do frequently also expand their focus to Corinth in earlier and later periods if there is some relevance for Paul and his ministry.

It is thus the intention of this dissertation to take up the challenges represented by this recent scholarship, and the opportunities it presents for Late Antiquity, interweaving the redated archaeological material with a modern reading of the literary sources. There is a unique depth and breadth of evidence at Corinth for such a study in the Peloponnesus. The fate of Corinth is also likely connected with that of its trade parteners to the west in southern Italy, Sicily and the Adriatic and to the east in the Cyclades and coastal Asia Minor. Thus a better understanding of the history of Corinth in Late Antiquity not only fills a gap in scholarship on the city itself, it

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1986). He has recently moved even farther forward, into the study of the Early Modern Corinthia: Gregory 2007.

[179] Kardulias 1995, 2005; Rothaus 1992, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2000; Pettegrew 2004, 2006, 2007a, 2007b.

[180] Sanders 2002 (*EHB*), 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 2004, 2005.

[181] McDonald 1942; Meeks 1983; Murphy-O'Connor 1983; Furnish 1988; Blue 1994; Gill 1994; Downing 1998; Thiselton 2000, 1-16; Adams and Horrell 2004; Horrell 2004.

[182] Broneer 1951a, 1962a, 1971, 1976; de Waele 1961.

also casts light on the other cities of the Roman Peloponnese and the Mediterranean, and the questions which face all who study urbanism there in Late Antiquity.

F. Scholarship on Late Antique Cities and Activity Areas

When we look beyond Corinth at the broader scholarship on cities and urbanism in Late Antiquity, especially in Greece, a pattern of primary archaeological reports organized by material, short conference papers and a few broad synthetic works emerges.[183] Though many archaeological reports cover whole buildings, and there is important new evidence appearing constantly, this body of scholarship is still often divided up narrowly by media, with the understandable desire to employ specialist skills but also the tendency to (sometimes artificially) link material culture too closely to documented historical events.[184] Beside archaeological reports, the numbers of Late Antique conference volumes with a civic theme are steadily rising, combining bibliographic essays, archaeological reports on individual parts of cities and analyses of specific phenomena across cities.[185]

Most significant for the present work are the long articles or books charting the course of one city in Late Antiquity or surveying the entire phenomenon of urban life in that era. Among the former are recent histories of Athens, Thessaloniki and Rome, all integrating archaeology and texts to construct an urban narrative.[186] Among the latter, surveys of the Ancient city tend to start early in Antiquity and so devote less space to its Late era, while the authors who do spend some time on Late Antiquity largely emphasize decline.[187] Recently however several books and long articles have focused specifically on the Late Antique city; these usually include both textual and archaeological sources, and most make an explicit argument not only on how but also why it declined or more neutrally changed.[188] The effects of the Mediterranean Sea itself are

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[183] Overview of scholarship on Late Antique cities: Lavan 2001a.

[184] Archaeological-style report on a Late Antique city describing buildings and linking them with short historical summaries: Frantz 1988 (*Agora* 24). For the often forced links between such reports and historical events: Snodgrass 1987.

[185] Conference volumes on Late Antique urbanism: Lavan 2001c; Lavan and Bowden 2003; Bowden, Gutteridge and Machado 2006.

[186] Synthetic studies of specific Late Antique cities: Di Branco 2006 (Athens); Spieser 1984 (Thessaloniki); Curran 2000; Lançon 2000 (Rome); Poulter and Blagg 1995 (Nicopolis ad Istrum); Hattersley-Smith 1996 (5 Macedonian cities).

[187] The Ancient Greek city through Late Antiquity: Jones 1940; Tomlinson 1992.

[188] The Late Antique City: Spieser 1982 (Greece); Liebeschuetz 2001.

contested, as are the qualities that make a city deserve the name, and the relative importance of politics, economics or religion in the changes happening in Late Antiquity which lead to the disappearance of many aspects of the Ancient way of life and what C. Mango has dubbed 'monumentality.'[189] Major differences of opinion and argument remain within scholarship on all these issues, while most conference volumes prefer to emphasize regional variation above all.

Outside of Athens and Thessaloniki however there is still a clear need for historical narratives on Greek cities rarely found in archaeological reports or conference papers. The majority of archaeologists in Greece have focused (and many continue to focus) on excavation of cities known from texts, with the expectation of finding the city of a specific text, and these expectations have hindered the study or even preservation of remains of other eras, particularly Late Antiquity. The development of Survey Archaeology, the rise in popularity of social-science theories, and broader interest in pottery chronologies, stratigraphy and attention to all eras under excavation has yielded masses of new data and interpretations, unevenly and separately published, often juxtaposed uneasily with older evidence and assumptions.[190] For historians, there is a renewed interest in social history, the history of the female, poor, rural folk passed over in the past (by scholars and Ancient writers), along with greater scepticism about the reliability of texts.

There is also a problemmatic and in fact growing issue in scholarship on Greek cities, that is study set only within modern socio-political boundaries of Greece, Turkey, Italy and the Balkan countries. Moreover the main thrust of historical writing on Greek cities, like the *Polis* project, is still on Classical cities.[191] For all these reasons (along with the few British archaeologists in Greece) only one of the recent conference volumes cited before on Late Antique cities includes case-studies in modern Greece.[192] There is thus a need for more integrated studies of specific Greek cities in Greece and elsewhere, set against the backdrop of the continuing search for a convincing framework for Late Antique urban change.

Before moving into the Corinthian Agora, a few words on chronology and theory are also necessary. Chronology at

[189] Mango 2008. Different views on the role of the Mediterranean: Braudel 1995, 2001a, 2001b; Horden and Purcell 2000.
[190] History of Late Antique Archaeology: Lavan 2003a.
[191] Hansen and Nielsen 2004; Hansen 2006a.
[192] Lavan 2001c.

Corinth rests, as at other Ancient cities, on arguments based on literary sources, inscriptions, coins and the stylistic analysis of pottery. The literary sources have been examined above, and only a few buildings at Corinth bear closely dated inscriptions. Those buildings without inscribed texts are dated by associated coins and pottery, stratigraphy and construction style. As mentioned before, many building phases or elements considered 'late' by the early excavators are gone today. While coins do not generally change in date, many interpretations may be given to most single coins and even some hoards.[193] Finally, the detailed chronology of Late Antique pottery is the subject of energetic study at Corinth now, but can provide close dating for associated buildings only if recently excavated or kept in the past to be restudied.[194] Sanders argues that pottery and stratigraphy from the recent Panagia Field excavations reveal that the fourth-century coins found in large numbers at Corinth provide only a *terminus post quem* for associated structures, not necessarily a dating or destruction in the fourth century.[195] Yet pottery styles and chronologies are constantly shifting, and further work on specific types may yield new dates.

Besides these issues of chronology are further real challenges in recovering the ancient uses of urban spaces. I am inspired by Lavan's Late Antique activity areas of overlapping civic, commercial and cultural space.[196] Ideally the study of such activity areas stays connected to evidence both textual and archaeological, and restores change over time to the study of buildings, placing them back into landscapes filled with artifacts and people to occupy and use them.[197] Thus within each tour I try to revive the multiple and overlapping uses which are likely for ancient spaces, based on building type, location, artifacts and chronology. Civic space spans imperial and local politics, civil and military construction and activity.[198] Commercial space encompasses the economy of Corinth, its professions, workshops, shops and trade.[199] Cultural space

[193] Hoards: Avraméa 1997, 72-9; Sanders 2003 (*Corinth* XX).
[194] Morgan 1942 (*Corinth* XI); Hayes 1972; Slane and Sanders 2005.
[195] Sanders 2003 (*Corinth* XX).
[196] Late Antique theories of Urban Activity Areas: Lavan 2003b, 2003c.
[197] For the recovery of processes (and post-processes) not just spaces and objects in Greece: Pettegrew 2001, 2002.
[198] Late Antique Urban Political Life and Administration: Jones 1964; Matthews 1985; Avraméa 1997; Lavan 2006; Lenski 2006.
[199] Late Antique Urban Economy: Jones 1964, 1974; Whittaker 1983; Wickham 1988; Hendy 1985, 1989; Reynolds 1995; Fulford 1996; Hodges and Bowden 1998 (Conf.); Parkins 1997; Moore 2000; Kingsley and Decker 2001 (Conf.); Ward-Perkins 2001; Cartledge et al. 2002 (Conf.); Kingsley 2003, 120-5.

covers every other aspect of public life, religious and (for lack of a better term) secular: artistic and athletic spectacles, public bathing, temples and their cults, synagogues and churches of the city.[200]

[200] Late Antique Urban Religion: Lane Fox 1987; Trombley 1993; Lieu 2004; Frakes and Digeser 2006 (Conf.). Late Antique Urban Culture and Society: Jones 1964; Storey 1999; Wickham 2001.

III. Corinthian Administration, Infrastructure, Challenge

In this chapter I examine the history of Late Antique Corinth from two overlapping perspectives. First is the shift in urban authority from the traditional Roman administration of the city to one that was both Christian and Byzantine. I examine this from the perspective of the Roman authorities, rise of Christianity, and urban infrastructure which must be connected to both, specifically the fortifications of Corinth and the Corinthia. Next I treat the historical 'disaster' episodes which form the bulk of references to Corinth in the Late Antique literary sources, and are usually credited with the decline and destruction of the city: the 'invasions' of the third-century Herulians and late fourth-century Goths, the fourth and sixth-century earthquakes and the Justinianic plague. The analysis of these historical questions is then followed in Chapters IV-VI by a tour through the shifting cityscape of Late Antique Corinth.

A. Roman Administration and Authority

Civic administration in Late Antique Corinth was initially split between the imperial government and the local colonial government; both largely disappear from the written record in the fifth century.[201] At the top of the imperial level in the province of Achaia was first of all the Governor, generally *proconsul* (ἀνθύπατος) of a senatorial province, and *vir clarissimus* (λαμπρότατος), sometimes called *procurator* (ἡγεμών), and under Diocletian *corrector* or *praeses* (*vir perfectissimus*).[202] Under the Diocletianic reforms Corinth became part of a new three-tiered system of political and military imperial administration in the Balkans under the Emperor of the East: the Prefecture of Illyricum, with its capital at Sirmium, contained the diocese of Moesia, later Macedonia, with its capital at Thessaloniki, which then included Achaia, still with Corinth as its capital city. Achaia extended as before from the Peloponnesus north through Ancient Locris and Phocis to the frontier on the northwest with Epirus and on the Northeast with Thessaly. According to Groag, Constantine elevated Achaia once again to a province of senatorial rank after Diocletian had demoted

[201] Administration of Corinth through 267: Wiseman 1979.
[202] Governors of Achaia collected by Groag (1939, 1946). Achaia established as a senatorial province in 27 BC, then taken away and returned to the Senate by Claudius in 44: Dio 60.24.1; Suet. *Claud.* 25; Larsen 1933, 437-8.

it; at least all our evidence after 305 until the last attested governor in 435 is for a proconsular Governor of Achaia.[203] Constantine made no other known benefaction at Corinth, though he did make benefactions to other cities in Greece, especially Athens according to Julian.[204] Inscriptions erected in honor of Constantine or his sons, often along with fellow tetrarchs, are found throughout Greece.[205] But at Corinth there is nothing but a controversial statue base in honor of Constans, probably the son of Constantine rather than the seventh-century visitor.[206]

As the official representative of Roman authority in the province, the governor and his staff were responsible for collecting imperial taxes, judging legal cases, hearing petitions and handling a steadily growing number of local issues.[207] Literary and epigraphic sources help to establish the role of this governor in Corinth and Achaia both before and after the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, and then up through the fifth century.[208] Only one edict of the governor is well-preserved: a fourth-fifth c. declaration on correct procedure in law courts from Fl. Ulpius Macarius.[209] Military officials appear only fleetingly, in the form of Gerontius during the visit of Alaric (395-6, see below) and then the Comes (in Achaia?) Diogenes under Leo or Zeno, the last attested official of the imperial government in Achaia before Victorinus (see below) and then the fruits of Byzantine sigillography. It is probably

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[203] Groag 1946, 22.

[204] Julian *Panegyric to Constantius* 18D, *Or.* 1.6, 1.8; Millar 1969, 15; Frantz 1988 (*Agora* 24), 16-7.

[205] Deligiannakis 2005, 399: Tegea: *IG* V.2.139; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, no. 1, 272, no. 4 (Constans); Thespiae: *AE* 1928, no. 57 (Constantine as Caesar); *IG* VII 1848-1849 (Constantine II, Constantius II); Delphi: Vermeule 1968, 428, nos. 2-3; *AE* 1948 no. 50 (Dalmatius); *SEG* 22 no. 469 (Constans); Aegosthena: Vermeule 1968, 432, no. 1 (with Licinius); *SEG* 23 no. 267 (Constantine II); Gargalianoi: Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 270, no. 2 (Constantine and Caesars, 323-6); Priniko, Laconia: Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 272, no. 5a (Constantine with Caesars); Amarynthus, Euboea: *IG* XII.9 146; Athens: Sironen 1994, 26, no. 10, 2001, no. 5 (Constantine?), no. 2 (Dalmatius?), no. 1 (Constantine II), nos. 3-4 (Constantius II, with Julian), nos. 2-4 (Constans); Aidepsus: *SEG* 29, no. 801 (Constantine II).

[206] Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 271 no. 3.

[207] Oliver 1953; Burton 1975; Lintott 1993.

[208] Roman Achaia included the Peloponnesus, Attica, Boeotia, Locris and Phocis; the name was taken from the Hellenistic Achaian League, as the Romans defeated them last of the southern Greeks: Paus. 7.16.10.

[209] I-902, Philadelpheus 1918 (1921a), 5, no. 8; *SEG* 1 (1923) 64; Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 10; *IG* IV 364; *Syll.*[3] 904; Bees 1941, 13-5, no. 5; *SEG* 11 (1950) 59a; Groag 1946, 58-9; Jones et al. 1971 (*PLRE*), 1.525 s.v. Fl. Ulpius Macarius (6); Rizakis 2001, 318, COR 275.

significant that Diogenes is honored for restoring towers and baths in Megara, and other Hellenic cities.[210]

Both Wiseman and more recently Haensch have questioned the general assumption that Corinth was in fact the official seat of the Governor of Achaia, and hence the capital city of that province, on the grounds of insufficient evidence.[211] Yet Corinth's status as capital of Achaia seems clear from the literary and epigraphic record, particularly from the later first century and in context with other cities of Achaia.[212] Gallio famously rejected the Jews' bid to bring Paul to trial when he was sitting in judgement at Corinth, on the bema in the Agora in Broneer's reconstruction or in the Julian Basilica according to Scotton.[213] Corinth is "the head of the whole province of Achaia" in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*; Aelius Aristides praises it as: καὶ κοινὸν ἄστυ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἷον μητρόπολίς τις ἀτεχνῶς καὶ μήτηρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο.[214] A third-century statue base and at least two sixth century authors also call Corinth the metropolis of Hellas.[215]

In epigraphy, governors appear frequently in inscriptions as benefactors of the city, the recipients of honors from it or the initiators of honors for the emperors, from the foundation of the colony through the third century.[216] Members of their staff, for example a quaestor, also appear in such texts.[217] These inscriptions decrease in numbers in Late Antiquity, but there are still several for the third to early fifth centuries.[218] Most demonstrate the actual presence of the governor in Corinth. No other city in Achaia has so many gubernatorial honors or attestations of presence from the first through the fourth centuries.

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[210] *IG* VII 26; *SIG* II^3 909; Groag 1946, 77-8.

[211] Wiseman (1979, 501) says the evidence is "still not conclusive" that Corinth was the capital of Achaia, and he is followed by Haensch (1997, 322-8).

[212] Oliver 1978, 191.

[213] *Acts* 18.11-2; Broneer 1951a, 91-2.

[214] Apuleius *Met*. 10.18.1 (*caput est totius Achaiae provinciae*); Ael. Aristides 46.24. Further support: Dio Chrysostom *Or*. 31.105-6.120-123; Cass. Dio 55.27.6;

[215] I-1205; Broneer 1933, 562; *SEG* 11.125; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 109-10, no. 269. Malalas *Chron.* 10, *CSHB* 261 (in era of Vespasian), Theophanes 168 following Malalas 17.15 (418) (for sixth century); Hierocles *Synecdemus* 10: Κόρινθος ἥ ποτε Ἐφύρα μητρόπολις πάσης Ἑλλάδος.

[216] See below, Ch. IV.

[217] Procurators, proconsuls, Quaestor: Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), nos. 75-6, 80-3; West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), nos. 64, 53-75; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), nos. 137, 322, 119-48.

[218] I-1354, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 53 no. 118; Sironen 1992-1994 (Honors for proconsul Illyrius, late third c.);.

Inscriptions and testimonia of the fourth through early fifth century continue to reveal the Governor of Achaia's interest in Corinth.[219] Though Corinth is not specified, it is interesting that Achaia is listed ca. 395 in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as one of two provinces in the east with a proconsular Governor (the other is Asia); he is also served by a quite extensive staff of assistants and secretaries, and entitled to four uses of the *cursus publicus*.[220] About the same time that very Governor is attested at Corinth, allowing Alaric to invade the Peloponnesus.[221] Several important inscriptions place the Governor of Achaia at Corinth over the next few years. A fragment of a public document from near the Amphitheater records a *diatyposis* or regulation passed and publicized at Corinth under a Theodosius.[222] Sironen argues that it may be the Corinthian copy of a better-preserved *diatyposis* from Megara, which records a meeting of the Hellenic cities held by the Governor Cl. Varius at Corinth in 401/2 to discuss grain levies to be deposited at Corinth's *horrea* by the cities of the Peloponnesus, and administered by a *praepositus horreorum* at Corinth.[223]

However there is little evidence for the Governor of Achaia in Corinth after these early fifth century documents. Instead, under Theodosius II the focus of imperial patronage in southern Greece shifted to Athens. A large public building south of the Little Metropolis, possibly the Diogenion or Gymnasium of the Ephebes, is known from an inscribed epistyle block to have been "built up from the foundations by the Proconsul of Hellas, Severus Aëtius," between 396-401; the formula honoring the emperors first is the same as that on the rebuilt West Shops and South Stoa in Corinth.[224] But next came the construction of a monumental palace in the Agora ca. 410-25, the so-called Gymnasium of the Giants, and contemporary benefactions by

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[219] Max 1918, 90.

[220] *NotDig*. 1.21. His staff and rights: *Sub dispositone viri spectabilis proconsulis Achaiae provincia infrascripta: Achaia. Officium autem habe ita: Principem de scola agentum in rebus ducenarium, qui adorata clementia principali cum insignibus exit transacto biennio. Cornicularium, Commmentariensem, Quaestorem, Adiutorem, Ab actis, Numerarios, A libellis, Exceptores et ceteros apparitores. Proconsul Achaia IIII*. See: Mierow 1926; Roueché 1998, and other articles in the same volume; Slootjes 2006.

[221] Zosimus, see below.

[222] I-2684, Sironen 1992, 223-6, no. 2; *SEG* 42.262.

[223] *IG* VII 24; *SIG*^{3} 908; Sironen 1992, 225-6.

[224] *IG* II^2 5205, Frantz (1979) suggests that it is the Diogenion refurbished as a gymnasium ca. 400, and also brings in EM 1861, of similar lettering found nearby possibly from same building or another also restored in early 5th c. ([θειο]τάτων δεσποτῶν, pl. 64:f).

the *PPI* Herculius, Theodosius II and the native Empress Eudocia.[225]

Procopius then claims that in the name of Justinian and the preservation of security in the Peloponnesus, the official Alexander "Snips" transferred all civic and spectacle funds of Greek cities to the Imperial Treasury for the support of 2000 troops at Thermopylae.[226] Thereafter in all Greece, and Athens is also name-checked, "no public building was restored." It is noteworthy that Procopius picks out Greece specifically where this money was extracted, and he seems clearly to be referring to the cities of provincial Achaia, south of Thermopylae.

However the transition in authority from the local officials and the Governor of Achaia to the Archbishop of Corinth deserves further exploration.

B. Christian Administration and Authority

The beginnings of Christianity at Corinth are preserved first in early ecclesiastical literature concerning the mid-first-century mission of Paul, then in contemporary and later textual references to subsequent bishops and martyrs.[227] The clergy of Corinth early on established a position of superiority within the nascent Christian church over those in cities of southern Greece, by virtue of Corinth's status both as capital of Achaia and as receipient of Paul's ministry and letters.[228] As a church hierarchy solidified in the second century around such political and historical factors, the Archbishop of Corinth maintained his primacy in Achaia and was himself subservient to the Archbishop of Thessaloniki, officially part of the Western sees under the Archbishop of Rome

[225] Thompson 1950, 131-41, 1959, 67-8, 1972 (*Agora* 14), 211; Travlos 1971, 233 fig. 37; Frantz 1965, 1969, 1979, 400 (Herculius as statue, patron of Palace), 1988 (*Agora* 24), 21-3 (ceramic, coin evidence for Palace construction).

[226] Procopius *Anec.* 26.

[227] For Paul at Corinth and in Greece, see above under Sources. First to second-century Corinthian bishops and martyrs: Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 3-5; *Acta Sanctorum* April vol. 2, 619 for Timon of Veroia, first martyr to be burned at Corinth by the Jews; 1st c. Bishops Apollo, Sosthenes and Silas; late 1st c. letter of Clement to the Corinthians (tr. Kleist 1961); Eusebius *HE* 3.4, 4.21, 4.23, 4.24, 5.23 on 2nd c. bishops Apollonius, Primus, Dionysius, and Bacchylos, who held the first Synod at Corinth. For the history of the church at Corinth: Gritsopoulos 1972.

[228] Paul and his editor-biographers were also certainly not unaware of the importance of focusing their efforts on such provincial capitals and locally-prominent cities.

throughout Late Antiquity.[229] In our texts, conflict between Christians and Jews in the second and early third century shifts to conflict between Christians and Roman authorities in the later third and early fourth century, then between Christians and polytheists in the later fourth and fifth centuries.[230]

For the third century we have little more than the names and dates for a few martyrs and the governor who supposedly ordered their execution.[231] Limberis is only the most recent to point out how late and problemmatic are these lists of names and dates, and how subject to confusion with other martyrs; yet what we do have is well worth presenting and analyzing in line with the cautions on hagiography expressed in Ch. II.[232]

Only two Corinthian saints seem to have achieved long-lasting notoriety in the wider church. Most well known was Leonidas and his seven (or more) female followers, originally honored on April 16 for their execution by the procurator Venustus (ca. 240).[233] Four versions of their martyrdom exist, ranging in date from the fifth to the tenth centuries, of unclear relations to one another.[234] Leonidas and his virgin companions are said to have fasted, prayed, and preached in Corinth; they were then arrested, separated, interrogated and asked to sacrifice. Once they had given fairly stock philosophical and Christian answers and refused, Leonidas was tortured then hung, while the ladies were flogged, chained, weighted down with rocks and dropped in the Gulf of Corinth. Upon washing up at Lechaion, all were then buried by fellow Christians together under a shrine which then displayed healing powers, and has been associated with the much later Lechaion Basilica.

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[229] Only in the Middle Byzantine period were the sees of Illyricum including Corinth transferred to the authority of the Archbishop of Constantinople: Avraméa 1997, 100-1.

[230] Rothaus 1992, 1996, 2000.

[231] Third century Corinthian martyrs: Max 1918, 51-5; Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 3-5; Limberis 2005.

[232] Delehaye 1907; Grégoire 1950; Limberis 2005.

[233] Halkin 1971: Leonidas of Corinth was then conflated with the Archbishop of Athens of the same name and feast on April 15 in the 13th c.

[234] See Limberis (2005, 450-2) and Delehaye (1933, 262) for the dates. The versions are: Mss Patmos 254, ed. Halkin 1971; *Acta Sanctorum* April 16, 2.399-402 (*de SS. Callisto, Charisio, Leonide, Christiana, Galla, Theodora, Lota, Tertia, Caristo, item Chariessa, Nice, Gallena, Nunechia, Basilissa, Cali. Martyribus Corinthi in Achaia*); *Menologion* in *PG* 117.405; *Parvum Romanum*, ed. Quentin 1908 (1969), 330, Florus of Lyons recension (*apud Corinthum, Calisti et Carisi, cum alius septum, omnum in mare mensorum*).

The mountain-sage and martyr Quadratus, beheaded along with several others on March 10, 258, taught a student who also became a martyr, and developed a cult known outside Corinth; at the city he has been connected with a Christian basilica which may be situated at his burial site in the North Cemetery just east of the Asclepium.[235] In the era of Gordian III and Philip the Arab (238-249), we hear of Helikonis of Thessaloniki tortured and martyred at Corinth, also on March 10 under the procurator Justinus, then Victorinus and six more martyrs tortured to death on 31 January under the procurator Tertius, probably in the Decian era.[236] The undated Deacon Tymonis was remembered April 19, with Crispus and Gaius on October 4.[237] Finally, Corinth's last martyr, apparently under Diocletian, was the young magistrate who freed the virgin desired by the proconsul from the brothel and was thence thrown to the beasts.[238]

Thus among Greek cities with contemporary martyrdom stories, Corinth is notable for the fact that most concern large groups of martyrs executed in March/April; there is a possible connection here with the celebration of Easter and Passover provoking negative attention from the Jewish community and Roman authorities, the biennial Isthmian springtime games, or the usual time for the governor to hold court at Corinth when he arrived at the beginning of the sailing season.[239] We also see a combination of Latin and Greek names, and a number of Christians from outside the city, mostly from Achaia or southern Illyricum. The Christian community in Corinth is known solely by names for

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[235] Halkin 1957 (*BHG* 3rd ed.), 1.119; *Acta Sanctorum de Sanctis Martyribus Codrato, Dionysio, Cypriano, Anecto, Paulo, Crescente, Corinthi in Peloponneso* 10 March, 4-11 (2nd ed. 696-700, 3rd ed. 895-8); *Menologion* in *PG* 117.345-8, for March 10: Ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Καδράτου, Κυπριανοῦ, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς. He is confused with 3 other Quadrati according to Grégoire (1950, 158-60), who also argues that the Decian martyr Isocrates in Pseudo-Pionius *Life of Polycarp* may be Quadratus of Corinth, though there is an Athenian apologist in Eusebius *HE* 4.3, and an Athenian bishop in Jerome *de vir. illust*. 19-20. *Parvum Romanum*, ed. Quentin 1908 (1969), 428 has Quadratus on May 26; the Carthaginian Martyrology (ed. Lietzmann 1911, 5) has Quadratus Aug. 20. The *Menologion* story is given in Limberis 2005, 453; that of his student in Engels 1990, 119.

[236] Helikonis: *Acta Sanctorum* March 10, vol. 2, 4; *Acta S. Synaxarum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* 1902 (9th-10th c.), 435. Victorinus et al.: *Menologion* in *PG* 117, 288.

[237] Tymonis, Gaius, Crispus: *Parvum Romanum*, ed. Quentin 1908 (1969)(9th c.).

[238] The young magistrate: Palladius *Lausiac History* 65, tr. Clarke 1918, 171-3.

[239] The opening of the sailing season. Easter? The annual assizes of the Governor? The festivals of the Caesarea?

the fourth century too: Archbishops Hesiodos, Epictetus, Dionysius II, Dorotheos and finally Alexander had 46 'suffragan' bishops under their aegis in Achaia.[240]

But in the fifth century the previously shadowy clergy of Corinth finally emerge into the wider discourse of Christianity outside Achaia. John Chrysostom corresponded with Archbishop Alexander, then ca. 400 called Corinth the first city of Greece in his homily on Paul's *Letter to the Corinthians*.[241] It is perhaps significant that later on in this same homily he also judges Paul similar yet superior to Diogenes the Cynic, who spent much of his life at Corinth, as he would have known.[242]

Shortly after this a scandal arose at Corinth regarding Perigenes, a Corinthian clergyman first appointed bishop of Patras, refused by his new flock there, and then accepted as Archbishop of Corinth by his legitimate higher authority Pope Boniface, but not by his fellow bishops.[243] In 419, the bishops of Achaia, Thessaly and Epirus subject to the Vicar of Thessaloniki held a Synod at Corinth to resolve what they called an illegal double-bishopric. The Thessalian bishops called on Perigenes to resign from Corinth, while those of Achaia appealed to Pope Boniface, who confirmed Perigenes as long as Rufus, his Vicar in Thessaloniki, approved.[244] He seems to have done so, and Perigenes remained in office. However two years later, the Thessalian bishops apparently saw an opening to appeal to Archbishop Atticus of Constantinople and Arcadius' son Theodosius II over the head of the Pope. And while Boniface and Atticus exchanged accusatory letters, Theodosius sent a decree in his and his uncle Honorius' name to the relevant high official Philip on July 14, 421.[245] This law includes the customary fervent endorsements of the old and traditional, but also a very new and unusual defense of the authority of the Archbishop of Constantinople in Illyricum, as if he were Archbishop of Rome:

> The same Augusti (Honorius and Theodosius) to Philippus, Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum. We command that the ancient practice and the pristine ecclesiastical canons which have been in force up to the present shall be observed throughout all the provinces of Illyricum and that all innovations shall

[240] Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 1-7.
[241] John Chrysostom *Homiliae in 1 Cor. (Homily on the First Epistle to the Corinthians)* Argument 1-2 (*PG* 61, 9), ed. Schaff 1898 (*NPNF* 12).
[242] John Chrysostom *Homiliae in 1 Cor.* 35.4 (PG 61, 302), ed. Schaff 1898 (*NPNF* 12), 212.
[243] Millar 2006; Limberis 2005.
[244] Pietri 1976, 2.1106-8, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers 2nd ed. 14.21.
[245] Letters: Boniface *Ep.* 13, *PL* 20.770; Pietri 1976, 2.1113.

> cease. Then, if any doubt should arise, such cases must be reserved for the synod of priests and their holy court, not without the knowledge of the most revered man of the sacrosanct law, the Bishop of the City of Constantinople, which enjoys the prerogative of ancient Rome. Given on the day before the ides of July in the year of the consulship of Eustathius and Agricola (July 14, 421).[246]

Meanwhile back in Italy Pope Boniface and Honorius were exchanging letters as well, and at last Honorius persuaded Theodosius and Atticus in Constantinople to defer to Rome's ecclesiastical authority in Illyricum, and let Perigenes stay on as bishop of Corinth.[247] Perigenes then represented Corinth at the Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431, and died in office in 435.[248] This law, however, remained on the books, and the letters of Popes to Greek bishops and to the Emperors in Constantinople in the fifth and sixth centuries are full of more and more angry expressions of authority over Illyricum, authority which was clearly waning as the bishops of its provinces turned to Constantinople whenever they objected to something.

Clearly then, in the mid-fifth century Corinth had the resources as a city to host a synod of Bishops from Achaia and other provinces too. Her Archbishops were conscious of a special status in the emerging political and ecclesiastical struggle between West and East, but do not consistently pick sides. Archbishop Peter of Corinth called another synod of Achaian bishops to his city in 446, this time for the Emperor Leo, and he was chided by the Pope for it; he was also at Chalcedon in 451 and again favored the Emperor over the Pope.[249] His nephew Kyriakos the Anchorite, whose father was also a priest, became a monk in Palestine.[250]

Archaelogically, however, Christians at Corinth were apparently still meeting in house-churches throughout the fifth century as they had been before. A trapezophoron of Christ as the Good Shepherd (dated. ca. 400 from style alone) probably belongs to the altar of one such structure, but it has no provenance beyond Corinth, so such house-churches as must have existed are so far indistinguishable from all those excavated which contain no clearly pagan remains.[251] Other everyday items marked during manufacture or

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[246] *CTh* 16.2.45 (*CJ* 1.2.6, 11.21.1), tr. Pharr 1952, 449.
[247] Boniface *Ep*. 10-11, *PL* 20.769-71; Pietri 1976, 2.1118-9.
[248] Carpenter 1929, 359.
[249] Bon 1951, 8-9; Letters to Pope Leo VII tr. Hunt 1957, 149-50.
[250] *PG* 115.919-44; Limberis 2005, 455-6.
[251] Byzatine Museum of Athens BXM 2, BM 556, T92, Stephanidou-Tiveriou 1987-1990, 249 n. 7, 1993b, 21, 25; Sklavou Mavroeidi 1999, 25 no. 12;

afterwards with Christian symbols begin to appear in Athens ca. 425, and probably elsewhere in Greece too about that time.[252]

Some of the destruction of pagan statuary in Corinth happened as early as the late 4th or early 5th c., but most of the crosses marked on pieces are clearly later, Byzantine or even early modern. The legislation of Theodosius and his sons against pagan cult was probably just beginning to be felt in Corinth in the very late fourth and early fifth century. But temples probably closed only slowly over the course of the fifth century, as at Athens, with mass-baptisms and imperial persecution of 'Hellenes' following, particularly under Justinian. Sanders has pointed out what large baptisteries Corinthian churches have, suitable for adult-baptism and large-scale education of catecumens.

It was apparently in the fifth and sixth centuries that Corinth's Bishop and Christian officials gradually supplanted the old Boule as the responsible local civic authorities. No sources attest the continued presence of either a boule or a Governor in Corinth in that era. The bouleuterion was still usable, and some sort of local authority must have maintained the public infrastructure. A Governor of Achaia was doubtless still appointed, and could have occupied one of the fine fifth or sixth-century houses in the city center. But were the Christian officials of these centuries drawn from the same families as the Councillors had been? How did the Governor of Achaia handle this shift? Were the Bishops locals or outsiders, and was it a sudden replacement or a gradual shift?[253] Certainly the old aristocracy did slowly give up in this era on honoring one another with statues and inscribed poems, as far as we can tell. But they may have been becoming bishops and building basilicas, while maintaining Peirene and fortifying Corinth. A tantalizing text on a column fragment from the area of the Kraneion Basilica and Pallas' church honors Ianuarius and Paulus, λ]αμπρό[τατοι, for construction work in fifth-sixth c. script.[254]

Only the evidence of churches, fortifications and other infrastructure construction provides any clue at Corinth for answering these questions in the absence of further texts. The Corinthian churches built anew in the

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Ensoli and La Rocca 2000, 343 no. 634; Stirling 2008, 138. Search for House-Churches: Blue 1994.

[252] Binder 2008 pers. comm., revising her book, and with ref. to Karivieri 1996.

[253] Rapp 2005.

[254] I-1044; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 509; *CIG* 8824; Sironen 1992-1994.

early and mid-sixth century were doubtless financed as elsewhere by a combination of private individuals, clergy and imperial officials, supported sporadically by the state and the transfer of funds and land from religious organizations deemed polytheist or heretical (Fig. 9).[255] Justinian passed legislation aimed at directing potential church founders to the repair of existing churches, or the construction of new ones only if there was money for maintenance.[256] West of Corinth, the "Archpriest Dometios" recorded his patronage of Nikopolis Basilica A in flowery poetry on its floor, while to the north the basilica at Daphnousia near the Lamian coast of Locris was entirely financed for the sake of the *illustris* Evgeneios, his wife Dionyseia and their children.[257]

The placement of these churches will be discussed below, but it is also worth enquiring into their purpose and use. Distinction is drawn in scholarship between the Cathedral of the city, almost certainly Lechaion from its size alone, parish churches and cemetery churches. Bishops were more often the patrons of the former, and non-clergy the latter. At least in modern Greece, services are held at the former weekly and during festivals, while the latter only see activity during services for the dead. Besides services, Corinth's sixth-century churches must also have acted as nodes for processions, and the celebration of *panegyreis*, Christian festivals featuring markets and communal open-air eating.[258]

The Corinthian archbishop Photius sent the deacons Dionysius and Callinicus to the Fifth Church Council in Constantinople in 553; he is also known from an invocation discovered in Corinth itself.[259] In 591 Archbishop Anastasius of Corinth was named in letters of introduction from Pope Gregory the Great to his emissary to the Patriarch, and later removed from his seat after a dispute with Hadrian, the Archbishop of Thessaloniki.[260] Another correspondent of Gregory, regarding clerics avoiding military service, is the Archbishop John of Corinth.[261] An Archbishop Epiphanius of Corinth also appears in a 6th c. inscription.[262] As late

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[255] Jones 1960; Kaplan 1976, 64-5 no. 43.
[256] *Nov.* 67 (538), 344-7.
[257] Spiro 1978, 658 (Nikopolis), 656 (Daphnousia). Other family dedications of mosaics alone come from the basilica at Kallion.
[258] Vryonis 1981.
[259] *SEG* 29 302, dated ca. 536.
[260] Letters of Gregory, Ind. 11, nos. 6, 38, 39; Max 1918, 92; Setton 1950, 519. For further on Gregory's emissaries to the Patriarch: Marcus 1970.
[261] Letters of Greg., Ind. 13, nos. 52, 57-8; Setton 1950.
[262] *CG-CIH* 7.

as the 680s Corinthian bishops are still recorded acting as emissaries between the Pope and the Patriarch, so Corinth as a city was still in touch with both Rome and Constantinople even after the Slavic and Arab raids of the seventh century.[263]

In conclusion, there is no evidence for any sort of monastic institutions functioning in Corinth in Late Antiquity, as Snively points out is typical for Greece as a whole.[264] Besides the sole reference of Eunapius to the men in black with Alaric, the earliest monks established in Greece seem to be those of St. Matrona outside Thessaloniki, a fortified monastery supposedly besieged by Slavs who mistook it for a city in 586.[265]

C. Public Infrastructure: Land, Roads, Water, Walls

From a modern perspective the most recognizable role of all these civic officials, whether imperial, local or ecclesiastical, was the collection of taxes (or tithes) and the provision of some services in return. At a very basic level, imperial taxes paid the Roman army, local benefactions and liturgies maintained the city, and Christian offerings supported their gatherings, clergy, and good works. But the relative authority and funds available to all these officials was shifting throughout Late Antiquity, as was their degree and kind of interventions in Corinthian urban life. Continued maintenance of some urban institutions in Late Antiquity and the abandonment of others is apparent in archaeology, as discussed below in Chapters IV-VI, but the most basic introduction to the issues is to follow the authority and the money for urban infrastructure.

The ancient Corinthians explicitly honored imperial, local and then Christian officials for their honesty and generosity in surviving inscriptions, particularly on the monumental constructions. Basic infrastructure which characterized the city throughout Late Antiquity and required initiative to maintain included property division, roads, water supplies and fortification walls. Each of these helps to document the shifts in authority at Corinth throughout Late Antiquity, and also constitutes fundamental physical evidence for continued urban existence.

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[263] Stephanos at 6th council of 680 as representative of the Pope; another Archbishop of Corinth in 689 on an embassy of the Patriarch to Rome (Bon 1950, 103-4). No Archbishop of Corinth is recorded at the 787 7th council, but this may be because of their attitude on icons rather than their nonexistence.

[264] Snively 1984.

[265] Lemerle 1979, 1.13.119.

The issue of land division or centuriation of the Roman Corinthia has recently become very controversial (Figs. 1-3, 12).[266] Romano and his team have argued for a widespread early colonial scheme of division extending all across the Corinthia on the basis of modern fields, roads, and certain ancient monuments. But whatever division of land was made in the first century BC among the colonists, or remade in the Flavian era, would surely have changed by the third century as families bought and sold land around the Corinthia. Parallels with other Roman colonies suggest that the general trend was for this land to be held by gradually smaller numbers of wealthy families.[267] Support for this idea comes from references in third and fourth c. inscriptions to families owning land in both Patras and Corinth.[268] The solid agricultural potential of the Corinthia and the northern plain in particular were examined in Chapter II, and that land in particular has always been desirable.

That the city of Corinth was in fact built up on a fairly regular grid of streets in Roman times is certain, and many were paved and/or provided with sidewalks and colonnades throughout Late Antiquity (Figs. 3-8). The precise details of the placement of the grid, however, beyond the excavated sections of road have attracted much debate, linked to the research on centuriation.[269] Most excavated roadways, like the Lechaion Road, the N-S Road in the Panagia field (Figs. 7-8), and the E-W Road south of Temple E (Fig. 5), were continuously serviced and resurfaced in the sixth century, with drains kept clear under them. The monumental ramp from the Lechaion Road up to the Agora was built in the Middle Byzantine era to judge from coins found within it.[270]

There was apparently a decline in communication between the governments of East and West after the sack of

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[266] Initial layout of colony of Corinth, countryside and centuriation: Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 20-1; Wiseman 1979, 509-21; Urse 1988; Romano 1993b, 1994, 1996, 1998a, 2000, 2003; Romano and Schoenbrun 1993; Romano and Tolba 1995; Romano and Stapp 1998; Mi. Walbank 1986; Walbank 1986, 1997; Doukellis 1994; Rothaus 1994.

[267] Engels 1990.

[268] Rizakis 2001.

[269] For the roads by the Theater see below. Other excavated urban roads: Williams (and Zervos 1983, 8, 1987, 1-3, 1988, 95-100) on an E-W road with Ionic spolia colonnade excavated in 1973 about 470 m. N of Agora (NB565), and along with an E-W paved road south of the South Stoa running for 400 m west of Agora, used into the sixth c.; Palinkas (2005), and Palinkas and Herbst (2005) describe the N-S Panagia Road, unpaved but with sidewalks on both sides used through the sixth century along with a drain underneath it too.

[270] Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI).

Rome in 410, as milestones were no longer updated by emperors along the Via Egnatia.[271] This may mean that less-trafficked roads like those in the Corinthia received fewer repairs from the central government. Yet bishops continued to go to Church councils and neighboring sees; aristocrats still traveled between far-flung properties. New luxury goods and imported fine pottery continue to appear in the fifth-sixth centuries not only in Corinth, but in relatively remote inland areas to the south of the Corinthia like the Berbati Valley Villa.

Corinth's water supply systems were also continuously maintained throughout Late Antiquity. Below I will examine B.A. Robinson's work on the Agora's fountainhouses in context, but M. Landon and Y. Lolos have also extensively charted the natural springs tapped by the Corinthians throughout Antiquity and up to the present. Some water systems did go out of use in Late Antiquity, particularly it seems the Hadrianic aqueduct from Stymphalus; others like the Lerna fountainhouse and Fountain of the Lamps west of the Asklepieion were seemingly converted to Christian use already in the fifth century.[272]

Finally, an extensive system of fortification walls is certainly the largest new infrastructure built at Corinth in Late Antiquity. The construction of the Hexamilion (six-mile) Wall across the Isthmus, and walls around both Corinth's lower city and on Acrocorinth involved the extensive demolition of older urban buildings and extended into the middle of the sixth century (Figs. 2, 10). After the reign of Justinian, the three walls then had very different fates, impacting our ability to date their construction. The Hexamilion was sporadically repaired through the fifteenth century (see below), then replaced by an ambitious but unfinished new system of walls to its south by the Venetians in the late seventeenth century. It is still prominent in the landscape across the Isthmus, and parts of its Eastern Fort are excavated, while its Western Fort is largely destroyed. The enceinte of Acrocorinth was well-maintained all the way up until Greek Independence, but Late Antique repairs to the Hellenistic wall are difficult to separate out. Finally, the Late Antique wall of Corinth's lower city is almost totally gone today, excavated only in two short stretches; important questions remain on its exact line.

In general at Corinth there are probably at least two Late Antique phases of construction of all these

[271] Collart 1976.
[272] Landon 1994, 247-80.

fortifications.[273] The first fifth-century phase is postulated purely on the basis of archaeology, but hard to dismiss given the demolition of important structures in this era, like the Theater at Corinth and Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, the sporadic appearance of purely fourth century material under walls and fifth century material up against them, and the existence of earlier phases in sixth-century walls.[274]

Across the Isthmus and in Isthmia a significant and permanent change certainly occurred in the landscape between the fifth century and the 550s of the reign of Justinian. It was then that Procopius credited Justinian with the Hexamilion, and an official of the emperor, Victorinus, claimed responsibility in two large inscriptions on the Wall for protecting those who dwell according to God in Corinth and Greece, on behalf of Justinian, Christ and Mary the Theotokos.[275] Whether mainly a fifth or sixth-century construction, however, the massive Hexamilion trans-Isthmian Wall and its surviving eastern Fortress undeniably eradicated most of the Sanctuary of Poseidon (and many other ancient monuments) from the landscape and ensured that travellers would henceforth traverse the Isthmus only through certain selected gateways at east or west. The construction of both Wall and Fort thus caused a clear rupture with the past history of the Isthmus, and particularly with its centuries-long connection with the worship of Poseidon and other maritime deities.

The Hexamilion Wall itself was about 3 m. thick and constructed, like Corinth's city wall, of two faces of squared off spolia blocks filled in between with rubble and mortar. A number of square towers projected from its northern side, in front of which were once a lower proteichisma, ditch and earthen antiteichisma.[276] It replaced

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[273] For a trans-Isthmian wall under Valerian, see below under the Herulians.

[274] Gregory 1993 (*Isthmia* 5); Frey 2006.

[275] Justinian is credited by Procopius with restoring the circuit wall of Corinth (*Aed.* 4.2.23-6) and building the Hexamilion Wall and Forts across the Isthmus (*Aed.* 4.2.27-8). Victorinus inscriptions: I-1390, *IG* IV 204; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 168-9 no. 508; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 279-80; Rizakis 2001, 397 COR 644; *IG* IV 205, Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 281. Victorinus as a new kind of imperial official and architect in the Balkans, and his constructions for Justinian in Greece: Gregory 1982, 1992; Wozniak 1982; Lawrence 1983; Anamali 1987 (Bylis); Feissel 1988; Fowden 1995; Cuomo 2007.

[276] First excavation of the Fort in 1883: Monceaux 1884, 1885. Fort ascribed to the temenos wall of the Sanctuary of Poseidon: Leake 1830; Curtius 1851/2; Frazer 1913; O'Neill 1930, 13-19; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 59. Fort as Sanctuary questioned first by Fimmen *RE*

a number of earlier trans-Isthmian Walls, perhaps repaired as recently as the mid-third century (see below). But near the eastern coastal end of the Wall (and probably on the western end as well), an all-new rectangular Fortress of similar construction but narrower wall-width, also with external square towers, was attached to the inner southern face of the Wall, just east of and below the Sanctuary of Poseidon.[277] The entire Wall and particularly this Fortress incorporated so much spolia from the Sanctuary, including almost all of the Temple of Poseidon, that the construction of both must have necessitated the demolition of every stone building in the vicinity down below foundation levels.

Yet as Frey has recently established, practically all these architectural members were carefully cut into trapezoidal headers and stretchers and laid in regular courses with the smoothed face out; visible spolia, mortar and tile were kept largely underground in the foundations; on the west side mortar was used to smooth the outher face, while on the south side a claw-chisel was used likewise, testifying to at least two teams of workmen.[278] Graffiti in the wet mortar made by these workmen include fish like those at Lechaion and the Panagia Long Building, crosses, palm branches (or possibly menorahs?) and, most suggestively, a scene of ships with a woman near Tower 15.[279]

Such images surely sacralized the Wall and Fort, and combined with the Victorinus inscriptions suggest that this military construction project also was intended on some level to replace Poseidon's Sanctuary in the religious

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s.v. Isthmos, and then definitively rejected by Jenkins and Megaw 1934, 69-83, who linked it with Justinian, and excavated sections of both Fort and Wall. Other excavations in Fort: Broneer 1953, 182-5, 1955, 124, 1958, 20-2, 1959, 320-1. While Pallas (1961-1962 (1963b), 78-83) argued for the completion of the Wall only in the late sixth or even early seventh c., Wiseman (1978, 63-4) followed up on his 1966 dissertation by suggesting the Hexamilion was begun under Valerian (see below). Construction of Fort and Wall thus mainly stayed with Justinian on the basis of the epigraphy, literary sources and archaeology until the work of Clement and then Gregory: Clement 1977b; Gregory and Kardulias 1990, Gregory 1993, and especially Gregory 1993 (*Isthmia* 5), 80-3, 97, 101-2, 144-5. They promoted the idea of early fifth century construction based on pottery, coins, lamps, and burials against the wall, with Justinianic rebuilding only on the north side of the Fort, followed by Kardulias 1995, 2005; Frey 2006, 271-347. Most recently Sanders (and Boyd 2008) favors a sixth c. date for the Hexamilion and Fort again.

[277] A similar fortress secured the west end of the Wall, and is visible in drawings of the Venetian fortifications, but was likely destroyed by the construction of New Corinth and the railway line through it.

[278] Frey 2006, 299-347.

[279] Gregory 1993 (*Isthmia* 5), 98, 100, 113, 120; Frey 2006, 341-3.

landscape of the Isthmus too. But the spolia was not triumphally displayed; rather it was cut to resemble the grand fortification walls of the Hellenic past, and reference their intimidation of the enemy like the Theodosian Walls of Constantinople. Indeed, the Roman Arch which once led into the Sanctuary of Poseidon was now completely encased in new towers, replacing its past history of triumphal entrance to the Sanctuary with a statement of purely military might.[280] Though some form of wall across the Isthmus was likely already standing, in all the surviving epigraphic and literary texts it is Justinian who built the trans-Isthmian Wall, the series of forts (*phrouria*) and the 153 bastions/towers (*phylakteria*), the latter number given in connection with Manuel Palaeologus' repairs to the Wall and its Eastern Fort undertaken in 1415.[281] Comparison with other fortification projects in the fifth-sixth centuries suggests that the Hexamilion itself would not have taken more than ten years to build.[282] Certainly placed alongside the Lechaion Basilica these texts indicate a powerful interest on the part of Justinian's government in fortifying the Corinthians both spiritually and militarily.

Up in the city of Corinth, however, two very different kinds of fortification wall have been excavated, and their connection to one another and to Procopius' claim that Justinian rebuilt Corinth's circuit wall remains speculative (Fig. 3).[283] The first kind is represented only by three short stretches of wall built of large uncut *spolia* elements northwest of the Agora; of these only the Epistyle wall is published. Along with a second *spolia* set of walls to its west with a round tower and gate, the Epistyle Wall was built just back from the north edge of the Lower Terrace west of the Asklepieion, aligned roughly E-W, and composed of Archaic Temple *spolia* and thick mortar.[284] These *spolia* likely originated in the Temple of Olympian Zeus which once stood near this area; a monumental epistyle block is prominent among the elements of the wall, hence the name. Parts of this set of *spolia* walls have always been visible; Shear called them "the mediaeval

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[280] The Golden Gate in Constantinople also began as a Roman triumphal arch: Bardill 1999; C. Mango 2000.
[281] Procopius *Aed.* 4.2.27-8. Manuel's repairs: Phrantzes in Niebuhr 1968 (*CSHB*), 96-7, 108; Gregory 1993 (*Isthmia* 5).
[282] Walls of Dara (about 3 km) built by Anastasius in 2-3 years in Ps.-Zachariah of Mytilene *EH* 7.6.
[283] Late Antique Fortification Wall(s) of Corinth: Procopius *Aed.* 4.2.23-6; Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 8; Gregory 1979; Dengate 1981; Sanders and Boyd 2008.
[284] Wiseman 1972.

fortifications."[285] A concreted mass of late fourth c. coins was found "associated" with the Epistyle Wall, and was interpreted as dating it, though questions have been raised about the connection between hoard and Wall.[286] There remains a strong possibility that these walls belong to a detached bastion or gate complex, possibly one built as late as the Ottoman or Venetian era, as old maps show fortifications there.[287] A third stretch of *spolia* wall runs for a few meters near the Theater stage, and was built from parts of the stage-building set in mortar, apparently shortly after the stage was robbed out ca. 425-50.[288] These three *spolia*-based stretches of wall are thus of similar construction and perhaps date, but they are difficult to connect with one another or any other walls. The only potential links on this northwestern side of Corinth are the E-W Terrace wall above the Theater which relaced the Terraced Building/Buildings 5-7 in the early fifth century, and masses of concrete and masonry in the scarp above and to the east of the Julian Basilica.[289]

On the east side of Corinth, however, a completely different N-S wall has been traced for some 800 m., built of cut-down *spolia* limestone blocks set in two faces with rubble and mortar in between, about 3 m. thick (Fig. 3).[290] Numerous burials along its outer face place it in the fifth or sixth century, but unlike the northwestern segments of wall it is continuous, features exterior square or triangular towers, and closely matches the careful construction technique of the Hexamilion. Service excavations (1985) and a resistivity survey conducted by M. Boyd (2000-2005) revealed the northeast and southeast corners, along with a possible gate on the south side. Gregory linked this eastern wall with the Epistyle Wall to create a large Late Roman circuit, and dated the whole construction in the early fifth century on the basis of the hoard already mentioned and fourth century material under an eastern tower.[291] Sanders, alternatively, dismisses the Epistyle Wall, and links this eastern wall with traces by the Julian Basilica and elsewhere to make a small circuit wall of the mid-sixth century which excluded the Agora. He also estimates the length of the entire wall as 3 km and its height as 5 m., thus enclosing 16-20 hectares, and demanding some 30,000 sqare meters of *spolia* blocks and

[285] Shear 1925, 382.
[286] Dengate 1981; Sanders and Boyd 2008.
[287] Venetian walls: Carpenter and Bon 1936 (*Corinth* III.2), 268-71.
[288] Williams pers. comm.
[289] Williams and Zervos 1984, 88 fig. 5; Sanders and Boyd 2008.
[290] 1930 Corinth NB111; Gregory 1979; Sanders and Boyd 2008.
[291] Gregory 1979.

30,000 cubic meters of cement, largely melted down from marble and hard limestone. Here he sees the destination for art, epigraphy and architecture of the Central Area, with most of the blocks then robbed out in turn to serve for Medieval and Early Modern construction in Ancient Corinth.

It is worth noting at this point that Procopius blames Justinian in the *Anekdota* for taking public funds from the Greek cities to support a garrison of 2000 unnecessary troops at Thermopylae. In fact by far his longest references to Greece in all his works concern the fortification of Thermopylae.[292] In his *Buildings*, he devotes all of his chapter on Greece to fortification, and about a third of it to Thermopylae, where he claims Justinian walled high passes, repaired the fort at the main pass, and installed cisterns, granaries and a 2000-man garrison. This was a great improvement on the peasants who previously: "when the enemy came down, would suddenly change their mode of life, and becoming makeshift soldiers for the occasion, would keep guard there in turn; and because of their inexperience in the business they, together with Greece itself, proved an easy prey to the enemy."[293] South of Thermopylae, he specifically mentions repairs only to the walls of Athens, Plataia and Corinth, and a new wall across the Isthmus of Corinth, with forts and garrisons there too.[294]

In the *Anekdota*, Thermopylae also gets the most attention, but for a completely different reason. Indeed, there Procopius credits the hapless peasants of his own *Buildings* with completely capable service in times of war, and condemns Justinian for approving his official's wasteful decision to station 2000 troops there, and even more terrible, pay for it not from the imperial treasury, but rather from "the entire civic funds and the funds for the spectacles of all the cities of Greece, on the pretext that these soldiers were to be maintained therefrom, and consequently in all Greece, and not least in Athens itself, no public building was restored nor could any other needful thing be done."[295] Thus the clever construction and concern for his subjects shown by Justinian in the *Buildings* is overshadowed by the lack of need for the garrison and disastrous misallocation of funds.

Procopius more generally accused Justinian elsewhere of stripping other cities all over the empire of their civic and spectacle funds, thus depriving them of public

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[292] MacKay 1963.
[293] *Aed.* 4.2.2-15, tr. Dewing and Downey 1941.
[294] *Aed.* 4.2.16-28.
[295] *Anek.* 26.31-4, tr. Dewing 1935.

servants like teachers and doctors, public services like street lamps and most dramatically public spectacles:

> For the theatres and hippodromes and circuses were all closed for the most part — the places in which, as it happened, his wife had been born and reared and educated. And later he ordered these spectacles to close down altogether, even in Byzantium, so that the Treasury might not have to supply the usual sums to the numerous and almost countless persons who derived their living from them. And there was both in private and in public sorrow and dejection, as though still another affliction from Heaven had smitten them, and there was no laughter in life for anyone.[296]

The evidence for closure of theaters all over the empire is patchy, and Justinian issued at least one *Novel* supporting theatrical professionals. However one looks almost in vain for evidence of civic funds or spectacles in Corinth or southern Greece in the sixth century. Funds and spectacles tied to traditional religion mostly disappeared in the early fifth century, while those for civic or imperial festivals do not survive the early sixth. But there are hundreds of new churches constructed all over Greece under Justinian, and repairs to public stoas, fountains and baths as well as fortifications. Surely not all the public funds of every city could have been taken for the support of one garrison. Even if they were, it was a short-lived commitment, for these are most likely the same troops sent to Croton from Thermopylae just a few years later to help with the war against the Goths in Italy.[297] It is worth noting too, that Çelebi tells us that in the 15th c. the Corinthia alone supplied 3000 Ottoman troops.[298]

D. Barbarian Invasions

Two specific episodes of 'barbarian' incursion into the Corinthia are recorded for Late Antiquity, and others are likely. The first is the 'Herulian' invasion of the mid-3rd c. and the second is the 'Gothic' invasion of 395-7.

The textual evidence for the Herulians in Greece and Corinth in 267/8 consists of collected excerpts from the contemporary Athenian historian P. Herennius Dexippus, narratives from later historians who had access to his works, and comparative material on northeast Balkan tribes and their attested raiding activities southward in the later third century.[299] As in Antiquity, many mysteries

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[296] *Anek.* 26, tr. Dewing 1935.
[297] Procopius *Bell.* 8.26.1-2.
[298] MacKay 1980, 3.
[299] Frantz (1988 (*Agora* 24), 1-2, n. 7-8) collects most literary sources.

surround these raids and those which followed throughout Late Antiquity. Were they caused by natural disasters, overpopulation, pressure from nomadic tribes farther north, or simple desire for plunder?[300] Were the people identified by the Greeks and Romans as barbarians coming in well-organized armies, small piratical raiding parties, or whole tribes on the move with all their possessions?[301]

Strabo tells us that it was difficult to fix the precise location of the tribes of northern Europe in his day, and the situation was similar for Pliny, Tacitus and Ptolemy, all of whom vaguely describe one tribe of northeastern Europe as Goths.[302] In Greece, these people first appear unequivocably and as more than names in the works of Dexippus, who calls them Scythians, and names the *Helouri* as one *Skythikon ethnos* (Scythian tribe).[303] Thus he places the Herulians north and west of the Black Sea, in the area known to Greek writers as ancient Scythia, and along with other Goths anachronistically calls them Scythians.[304] The Herulians shared material culture with the Goths, cooperated with them in southern raids, and spoke a Gothic language; only in the works of Dexippus are they distinguishable as a separate group in the third century.[305] After the raid of 267/8, the Herulians next appear in Procopius as a warrior band with hereditary royalty, servants and accompanying families, some of whom settled in Pannonia in the late fifth century.[306]

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[300] All of these factors are cited by ancient as well as modern authors as reasons for barbarian invasion or migration across Roman borders: Ellegård 1986, 32-62.

[301] Kulikowsky (2002, 69-84) points out how difficult it is to distinguish between types of groups of barbarians from the sources. There is a helpful comparison with the material in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* in Ellegård (1986, 32-62).

[302] Strabo 7.2.4. For the hotly disputed prehistory of the Goths before the third century: Heather 1991; Wolfram 1988, 1-18, 1997. Whether the Goths and their subdivisions of the third century are to be identified with the first-second century *Gutones* of Pliny (*NH* 4.14), the *Gothones* of northeastern Germany of Tacitus and the Goths of the lower Vistula of Ptolemy is disputed by Goffart (1996). Gothic tradition in Cassiodorus and Jordanes supposedly told of a homeland on the "island of Scandia," from where they migrated to the area around the Black Sea in ca. 1490 B.C., but there is absolutely no proof this is anything more than a legend, and it may be a complete fabrication of the late fifth century: Christensen 2002, 250-300; Merrills 2005, ch. 2.

[303] Dexippus in Jacoby *FGrH* 100 F5. The name *Helouri* was later corrupted by Syncellus or his source into an invasion of *Ailouroi*, or cats.

[304] Ellegård 1986, 49-50.

[305] On their common material culture, the so-called Sîntana de Mures-Cernjachov Culture, see Heather and Matthews 1991, 51-101.

[306] Procopius *Bell.* 2.25.28, 3.8.12, 6.14, 6.15.29.

While the Herulian raid along the coast of Greece is often seen as the beginning of a recurrent cycle of barbarian invasions of late antique Greece, most came neither to conquer nor to stay. Neither the Herulians, nor the later incursion of Goths under Alaric can be described as a part of a migration (*Völkerwanderung*). The Herulian raid was however contemporary with an unusually large number of new tribal alliances, movements and raids into Roman territory from beyond the Rhine and Danube in the middle to late third century. The Alamanni, an alliance of various tribes, invaded Upper Germany in 215, were driven back, then raided and finally overran the *agri decumantes* between the upper Rhine and upper Danube, with a new Roman frontier subsequently established behind those two rivers. Franks crossed the lower and middle Rhine in 257/8; Goths (or Scythians) appear in the sources in 238, and after being defeated by Roman Emperors in 269 and 271 they were still allowed to settle in Dacia north of the Danube.[307] When the Herulians conducted their piracy from the Black Sea in the 250's and 260's, they were only one of many tribes sending out raiding parties, then retreating with their plunder back home.

They passed into written history, however, as the only such third-century raiders to reach Greece. Several writers record Scythian or Gothic incursions into Greece (or Achaia) in very general terms and a few go into more detail; most or all of these accounts appear to descend from accounts of the raid given by P. Herennius Dexippus, Eponymous Archon of Athens in 267/8, composer of a (mostly lost) *History* and *Scythica*.[308] Three surviving histories- the *Historia Augusta*, Zosimus' *New History* and the *Chronography* of George the Syncellus- cite Dexippus by name as their source and offer narrative accounts based on his work

[307] Schönberger 1969, 144-97; Wolfram 1988, 43-57, 1997, 39-50.

[308] Fourth-century sources which mention Scythians invading third-century Greece (Hellas) or Achaia: Aurelius Victor 33.3; Eutropius 9.8.2; Orosius 7.22.7; Ammianus 31.5.15-7; Jerome *Chronikon* Olympiad 260. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius and Orosius were probably all using a common source, perhaps a Latin one of ca. 340, itself dependant on Dexippus (Barnes 1970); they uniformly describe a Scythian attack on Hellas due to Gallienus' casual disregard for the safety of his subjects. Likely based on Orosius is the brief notice of Goths in Greece under 4 Aera 294 (Valerian and Gallienus) in Isid. *Historia De Regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum Et Suevorum*. Byzantine writers also preserve an episode from an undated Scythian sack of Athens, usually associated with the third century Herulians: Anonymous Continuator of Cassius Dio (Petrus Patricius?) in Müller *FHG* 4.196.9 F1; Zonaras 12.26; Cedrenus 259A.

describing Herulians in Greece.[309] Confusion crept into these later sources, however, for a number of reasons. Dexippus wrote throughout in a highly atticizing Thucydidean style, full of unusual grammatical constructions.[310] There was also a transfer of imperial power in just these years: first Gallienus was murdered in 268, and then his successor Claudius II Gothicus died in 270, creating problems for the dominant Chronicles or Annals model of historiography employed by these authors.[311] Moreover though both these emperors seem to have fought Goths in the Balkans, the former was widely vilified by later historians, while the latter was celebrated as a putative ancestor of Constantine.

The author of the *Historia Augusta* mentions Herulian raids into Achaia, and Zosimus puts them in the Peloponnese, but only George the Syncellus writing in the eighth century mentions the city of Corinth by name.[312] He prefaces his account by giving much the same story as Zosimus (and Zonaras) for events in Greece under the reign of Valerian: the refortification of Thermopylae, Athens and the Isthmus, in anticipation of possible Scythian incursions.[313] For these preparations before an invasion, a precursor for all these historians is most likely Dexippus consciously echoing the preparations for the Persians made in these places in Herodotus 7-9. This Valerianic wall across the Isthmus has never been located in excavations, while fortification walls at Thermopylae are now dated in the fifth century.[314] In Athens, sections of the Themistoklean wall may have been repaired under Valerian as reported, but the Acropolis seems to have survived the Herulians intact with its existing defenses, and the 'Post-Herulian' wall around the Acropolis and North Slope dates from the later third century.[315]

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[309] S.H.A. *Gal.* 13.6-9; Zosimus *New History* 1.29, 1.39.1, 1.43.2; George the Synkellos (Syncellus) *Chronographia* in *CSHB* 381C p. 715, 382D p. 717.
[310] Stein 1957.
[311] Millar 1969, 26-8.
[312] Achaea: S.H.A. *Gal.* 13.6-9; Peloponnesus: Zos. *NH* 1.39.1, 1.43.2; Corinth: Syncellus *CSHB* 381C, p. 715, 382D, p. 717.
[313] Syncellus 381C (Bekker *CSHB*, 715; Adler and Tufflin 2002, 466); similar accounts in Zos. *NH* 1.29, Zonaras 12.23 (Bekker *CSHB*, 593).
[314] Gregory (1993 (*Isthmia* 5), 11-2, 141-3) asserts that no third century or Valerianic era wall is now locatable on the Isthmus, but Wiseman (1978, 63-4) argues that the Hexamilion Wall is based on a Valerianic wall. Thermopylae: Burns 1994, 339, n. 29.
[315] Paschoud (1971-1989, 1.150-1) dates the repairs in Athens to 254 under Valerian, with Wilkes (1989, 190-2), Frantz (1988 (*Agora* 24), 1-11).

After the mention of the walls, George the Syncellus then follows the *Historia Augusta* for events under the reign of Gallienus, except for the name of the barbarians: "Goths and Scythians" in the *Historia Augusta*, but *Ailouroi*, or cats, evidently a corruption from Dexippus' *Helouroi*, in George the Syncellus alone, but a clear sign that here as elsewhere he was depending on Dexippus' work.[316] Under Gallienus, these raiders set sail from the north coast of the Black Sea (Lake Maeotis), pass by Byzantium, Cyzicus and the Hellespont, and cross the Aegean to unsuccessfully besiege Thessaloniki. Then in the *Historia Augusta* they retreat back to the Black Sea(?), first after a defeat in Achaia by Marcianus, and then after a defeat (near Athens?) by troops led by Dexippus himself.[317] There is also a plague under Gallienus "in Achaicis urbibus."[318]

In Zosimus and George the Syncellus, though, these barbarians sack Athens; here Syncellus diverges from the two other historians, and becomes the only (preserved) ancient author to specify that Corinth, Sparta and Argos were also sacked, and "all Achaia" overrun. He then adds the also unparalleled information that the Herulian commander surrendered to Gallienus and was rewarded with a suffect consulship.[319] How to reconcile these accounts? The unique information and nomenclature of George the Syncellus can be placed alongside the account of Zosimus, in particular, to suggest that Dexippus probably originally described 'Scythians' plundering and burning mainly in the countryside south of Athens, before being driven off, killed, taken into the army or settled down in the north by his own forces along with those of the imperial government.

However, apart from Syncellus (based on the account of Dexippus at some remove), there is no more specific evidence for a Herulian invasion at Corinth or anywhere farther south in the Peloponnese. Some fifty years ago Scranton wrote in his Corinth volume that, "So far as can be seen Corinth was little affected by the political and economic shocks of the third century, and even if the Herulians did work some damage on the city in 267-268 (which could be disputed), it must have been limited."[320] More recent archaeological publications concerning the city center are even more categorical. Three coin hoards dating to the period of the Herulian raid have been found in the Corinth excavations, but K. Slane argues that only the

[316] Adler and Tufflin 2002, lxi.
[317] S.H.A. *Gal.* 6.1, 13.6-9.
[318] S.H.A. *Gal.* 5.5.
[319] Syncellus, tr. 467, *CSHB* 382D, 717.
[320] Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 3.

hoard from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was accompanied by third-century pottery and destruction debris as well.[321]

A coin hoard found in the Theater in 1930 ending with coins of 268 had no accompanying material that was recorded; a second similar hoard was discovered in the rear room of Shop XX of the South Stoa, and interpreted along with a burnt layer by Broneer as evidence of a Herulian sack of the entire city.[322] Though the latter is unlikely, it is clear that after a 'Late Roman' extension and new floor had already been built to the south of Shop XX, "a well marked layer of ash was found above the floor, and near the center of the rear room was found a cache of 64 coins, much corroded and damaged by fire. Fifty of the coins could be identified."[323] They were of Marcus Aurelius through Gallienus, with the majority of Gallienus or his wife Salonina (39 from the years 253-68). Iron fittings, presumably from a cash box, were also found with the coins, along with a burned limestone base set against the east wall of the room, and a constructed base against the south wall of the extension, where a head of Serapis was found, also burnt.[324] The adjacent Shop XXI also showed evidence of burning, and further use and renovation afterwards. Broneer was ambivalent as to whether the South Stoa served mainly religious, civic or commercial functions at the time.[325] The pottery and lamps from this burned layer have subsequently been dated to the late fourth century by Slane, who suggests that the third-century hoard may have been hidden in roof beams, forgotten and only burned with those beams much later.[326] But such a hoard would only be left in such a public place for fear of thieves or bandits, and only not recovered if its owner met with trouble. Most other parts of the South Stoa, however, show continuous use throughout the third century, and in fact into the sixth, with frequent modifications and the deposit of subsequent hoards as well.[327]

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[321] Slane (1994, 163, n. 45) summarizes the information on the hoards and the sources for the Herulians at Corinth.
[322] Theater hoard: Shear 1931, 146-51. South Stoa hoard: Harris 1941, 145; Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4), 134-7, 143, 151, 159.
[323] Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4), 134.
[324] Serapis: S-2387, Capps Jr. 1938, 548-51, fig. 8; Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4), 132-8.
[325] Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4), 137.
[326] Slane 1994, 163, n. 45. The redating of this burned layer would also correct the dating of a smashed plaque from the floor, the letter forms of which are Diocletianic, but which was dated to pre-267 on the basis of the Herulian destruction by Kent: I-1835, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 37 no. 67, 161 no. 497.
[327] Broneer 1954, 159.

The third hoard dating to the period of the Herulian raid was found in the lower fill of a cistern filled with debris in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, on the slopes of the Acrocorinth south of the city.[328] Like the hoard in the South Stoa, this third hoard was of second-third century bronze coins, with a preponderance (7/16) from Gallienus and Salonina (253-68). While the preliminary report blamed this deposit of coins and debris, and hence the destruction and subsequent clean-up of some part of the sanctuary, on the Herulian raid, the date of the accompanying pottery remains disputed; no other aspect of the excavated sanctuary shows clear evidence of Herulian destruction, but clean-up after Gallienus is certainly attested by this hoard and its context, so in 267/8 unrest in the outskirts of Corinth seems likely.[329] Several other late third century destruction deposits excavated at Corinth contain pottery dated at or just after the time of these raids, but have been attributed to Herulians, an earthquake or a localized disaster.[330]

Even in Athens, where the sack of the city is the focus of most of the surviving accounts, archaeology is slowly being liberated from the seductively few and dramatic texts, to reveal destruction debris but also quick recovery in production of sculpture, pottery and building repair.[331] A large wall was swiftly erected in the 280s around the center of Athens, but figures like Dexippus and perhaps the emperor Claudius II were also honored in traditional fashion with statues and inscriptions.[332] At Olympia, a fortification wall erected around the temple of Zeus has been down dated to at least the fifth century, and

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[328] First excavation report by Stroud (1968, 309-10).

[329] Stroud 1968, 309-10 (Herulian date); Slane 1990, 4-5 (date uncertain); Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 437: "The Sanctuary may have suffered some damage…no other evidence, however, indicates widespread destruction of buildings or disruption in the life of the Sanctuary at this time. Worship and other activities apparently continued undiminished until the end of the 4th c. after Christ."

[330] Slane (1994, 127) is firm in rejecting Herulian damage in favor of a slightly later episode of destruction at Corinth: "The Herulian invasion…seems not to be witnessed at Corinth," and (163) "Corinth was untouched by the Heruli." Debris moved to the later third century from East of Theater: Slane 1994, 163-4, n. 48-50; Williams and Zervos 1987, 27-8.

[331] Stirling 2008, 147-50 (sculpture, pace Stephanidou-Tiveriou 1993a, 135-6, 1993b); Castrén 1994, 1-2, 1999, 211-4. Old story of massive destruction: Thompson 1959; Frantz 1988 (*Agora* 24), 208.

[332] Dexippus base: *IG* II^2 3669. Riccardi (2008) even posits a victory statue of Claudius II Gothicus with a northern barbarian alongside, though only the head of the latter has been found.

Dexippus recorded the holding of the games in 269/70.[333] In light of the lack of destruction deposits in the Central Area of Corinth, it is probably safe to conclude that these third-century hoards were hidden from piratical raiders appearing only sporadically and briefly in the coutryside or nearby eastern shores.

Evidence from Pontus also suggests that these third-century raiders took people and property preferentially from the fields and countryside, and rarely if ever besieged or took walled cities. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocaesarea, composed a letter ca. 260 specifically answering questions about how Christians should behave after such piratical activity had occurred on the southern shores of the Black Sea. It is suggestive of many things that went on in such a situation, such as theft and rape, the taking of prisoners and the use of the disturbance to settle local scores.[334] Such raids caused rural damage, most especially to crops and people seized as plunder, and certainly resulted in feelings of uncertainty among the Corinthians, hoarding, and the need for renewed investment in the peripheral areas of the city which had suffered. These third-century raiders did not, however, sack the city center itself.

In contrast to the Herulian invasion, quite a few contemporary literary sources mention Corinth by name in relation to the Goths in Greece under Alaric. However the fragmentary historians have significant political and religious biases, while the main surviving source for Alaric in Greece is a poet. Furthermore, the 'invasion' of the Goths itself and the man who led it, Alaric, are the subject of intense scholarly debate which continues up to today. Far from a raiding warrior band like the Herulians seem to have been, or indeed a migrating tribe, Alaric's Goths were, "an army of imperial federates," Christian, Romanized troops who had fought previously for (and against) the Roman army; Alaric himself certainly held a Roman dignity, and may even have been the Roman provincial military commander (*magister militum per Illyricum*) when he went into Greece.[335]

First, some essential background on the ancient Goths. Between the late third century raiding activities of the Herulians (and other Goths or Scythians), and the late

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[333] Eusebius *Chronikon* Olympiad 262 (Jacoby *FGrH* 100 F2); Sinn 1991, 365-71.

[334] Gregory *Canonical Epistle*, *PG* 10.1019-48, tr. Heather and Matthews 1991, 1-12; Slusser 1998.

[335] Alaric's troops: Wolfram 1988, 137-46; Alaric's office: Burns 1994, 165-7.

fourth century incursion of Alaric into Greece, some of the Goths living north of the Danube moved south over the river, converted to Arian Christianity, and joined the Roman army or settled down there.[336] Ancient and modern historians blamed this movement south on pressure from nomadic Huns to the north, but the Roman authorities also shared responsibility for incorporating these Goths into the empire and the army rather than repelling them as they had done in the third century.[337] In 376 a Gothic tribe called the Tervingi were given permission by the Eastern Emperor Valens to settle on the south bank of the Danube; according to the contemporary historian Ammianus, their subsequent mistreatment by Roman officers led to rebellion, the formation of a rogue army under their control, the defeat of much of the Roman army in the east and the death of Emperor Valens with many of his soldiers near the city of Adrianople in 378.[338]

The general Theodosius was then appointed Emperor of the East, and became sole Emperor in 379; three years later he settled some Goths in Moesia and Scythia south of the Danube under new terms, and incorporated others into the Eastern army.[339] During these events and later it is generally impossible to distinguish between Gothic armies or warrior bands and tribes or family groups containing women and children.[340] Rebellious 'barbarian' raiders suppressed by Theodosius in 391 outside Thessaloniki in Macedonia were Goths too; this engagement seems to mark the

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[336] Arians, like the converter of the Goths Ulfila and the Emperor Valens, believed that the Son was created by the Father, while Catholics argued that the trinity were all equal in power and godhood. On the Christianization of the Goths: Fletcher 1998, 66-77; Thompson 1966.

[337] Hunnic pressure as the cause of the Gothic invasions: Eunapius *History* frg. 41; Zos. *NH* 4.20 (using Eunapius); Sozomen 6.37; Jordanes *Get.* 24.123-5 (using Priscus); Procopius *BG* 8.5.7; Agathias 5.11; Philostorgius 9.17. The reasons for this Hunnic pressure in are sought by the Eunapian sources in myth, and by the Christian sources in just punishment for sins (Orosius 1.2.45, 7.33.9). The fundamental question is why the Huns attacked the Goths in the fourth century. Goffart (1981) suggests that the Eastern emperors welcomed the Goths because they saw a greater danger in western usurpers than in barbarian federates; he also (1980, 3-39) notes that the Goths were not generally nomads in any way, nor unified before their entry into the Roman empire. See also: Thompson 1948, 15-40; Vasiliev 1936.

[338] Amm. Marc. 31.4; Wolfram 1997, 79-89.

[339] This settlement of 382 was widely criticized at the time, but its terms remain vague to modern historians. In Moesia and Scythia the Goths lived according to their own traditional customs according to the hostile Synesius (*De regno* 19.43.5), and with the support of public liturgies according to Themistius (*Or.* 16, 34). Settlement: Pacatus *Pan. Lat.* 12.22.3; Goths in the army: *Not. dig. Or.* 5.61, 6.61.

[340] The range of options is explored by Kulikowsky (2002, 69-84).

first appearance in history of a man named Alaric, their leader.[341] In 394 Alaric appears again, still in command of barbarian warriors, but now as an ally or at least employee of Theodosius, at his battle against the usurper Eugenius on the Frigidus river east of Aquileia. Theodosius won this battle, and Alaric was rewarded for his support with a Roman dignity, probably the title of count (*comes*).[342]

In January of 395, though, Theodosius died and left the Empire to his two young sons and a host of ambitious officials. Alaric marched at once to Constantinople, evidently with his army from the battle on the Frigidus, and met once there with Rufinus, Praetorian Prefect of the East, and now regent for the young Eastern Emperor Arcadius as well. Zosimus records that Alaric wanted a proper Roman military command, and Rufinus may have given him one.[343] Alaric may also have been elected king by his own men around this time; much later the Gothic historian Jordanes noted that it happened after the death of Theodosius but before the invasion of Italy (402?), although the office of Gothic king was doubtless much changed by his era, the sixth century.[344] In any case Alaric soon left Constantinople with his men, marched back into Macedonia, and then turned south for Greece.

Like Dexippus for the Herulians, Alaric's 'invasion' of Greece has its own influential chronicler, Claudian. But his contemporary material on Alaric in Greece is not the work of an historian, but the invectives, panegyrics and poetic histories performed publicly as court poet of the young Western Emperor Honorius and his Vandal regent Stilicho. Claudian first deals with Alaric and Corinth in the invective *Against Rufinus* (*In Rufinum*, *Ruf.)*, an encomium of his patron Stilicho and a bitter invective against Stilicho's nemesis Rufinus, Praetorian Prefect of the East and regent for the young Eastern Emperor Arcadius after the death of Theodosius in January 395. The poem is also a justification and celebration of Stilicho's actions in 395-6, and a posthumous demonization of Rufinus;

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[341] Zosimus (*NH* 4.48-9) records the attack on Theodosius but not the name of the barbarian leader; Claudian (*de bello Get.* 524, *de IV cons. Hon.* 107-8) gives Alaric as the leader of an early attack assumed to be the same event.

[342] Socrates *HE* 7.10; Zos. *NH* 5.5.4; Jord. *Get.* 145; Jones 1964, 3.29, n. 54.

[343] Zos. *NH* 5.5.4; Socrates *HE* 7.10.

[344] Alaric's family and election as king: Jordanes *Getica* 29.146. The Visigoths or western Goths at least by the fifth c. considered Alaric's family the Balthi as their royal family, and reckoned their kings' descent from Alaric, who was by then called *magnus*: Jordanes *Getica* 32.164, 47.245. On Gothic kingship: Wolfram 1988, 143-6. On Jordanes *Getica* as a source for Alaric: Christensen 2002, 320-3.

Claudian first performed and published it in Milan in 396, and then gave it a new preface in 397. In Claudian's version of events, the diabolical Rufinus in concert with demons allows unnamed barbarians to invade the southern Balkans for his own nefarious purposes.

When Stilicho nobly goes to stop them in Thessaly with the combined armies of West and East, Rufinus convinces his ward Arcadius to order Stilicho to withdraw back to the West, since he is guardian only for Honorius, and send the Eastern army to Constantinople where it belongs. Thus just as Stilicho is about to join battle with the barbarian army, now said to be commanded by Alaric, he receives the message from Rufinus, obeys, returns to the West, and sends the Eastern army to Constantinople. The soldiers of that army, mustered on the plain before the walls of Constantinople on November 27, 395, tear Rufinus to pieces and parade his head on a stick in anger at their battle denied. Meanwhile, the barbarians under Alaric are free to spend the fall in southern Greece, where according to Claudian they devastate not only Corinth, but Athens, Arcadia and Sparta as well.[345]

Claudian is the only author to mention a burning of Corinth by Alaric, probably inspired by Vergil's account of the sack of Troy, on which he often drew.[346] Claudian as elsewhere also obscures the late antique geography of Greece behind highly archaizing and poetic toponyms. The use of Pelopeia for the Peloponnesus also recalls Vergil, and the "twin seas" (*mare…geminum*) of Corinth were another common silver Latin poetic circumlocution.[347]

This list of toponyms given by Claudian corresponds closely with one in a letter of St. Jerome written in the summer of 396; it is likely that both the list and his content on the barbarian invasion of Greece in that letter were drawn directly from Claudian's *Against Rufinus*, published in early 396 apart from the later preface to part 2.[348] Jerome's letter, addressed to Heliodorus, is a letter of consolation or rather lamentation for a common friend, the moral decay of high officials like Rufinus, and the

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[345] Claudian *Ruf.* 2.186-196; the description of an aborted battle here is a formula used by Claudian again to describe Stilicho (almost) fighting against the Bastarnae (*Stil.* 1.112-3).

[346] Claudian *Ruf.* 2.190; Vergil *Aeneid* 2.56; Lucan 6.306-11.

[347] *Pelopeia*: Claudian *Ruf.* 2.188; Vergil *Aeneid* 2.193. *Mare geminum*: Ovid *Ep.* 12.104, *Tr.* 1.10.32; Statius *Theb.* 7.106; Levy 1971, 171-2, 225-44.

[348] Levy (1948, 62-8) gives the dates, Jerome's other uses of the *Against Rufinus* and his personal hostility towards Rufinus; Cameron (1965, 111-13) comments on Jerome's use in 399 of Claudian's *Against Eutropius* (he was evidently a fan). Also on Jerome's letter: Kelly 1975, 215.

general downfall of the age, one sign of which is the presence of barbarians everywhere.[349] He recalls the recent plundering of Thessaly and all the provinces of Pannonia by the Goths, quoting Vergil's *Aeneid* (2.369) for what they leave in their wake: *et plurima mortis imago* (death in many a shape). His climax, then, is a call for humility seeing that now barbarians rule the once-powerful cities of the Corinthians, Athenians, Lacedaemonians, Arcadians and indeed all Greece.

Claudian refers again to the burning of Corinth, but also to the swift 'salvation' of Greece, in a preface written for the *In Rufinum* in 397, and then in his *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of Honorius* (*Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, *4 Hon.*).[350] This oration was composed like the preface after Stilicho's expedition to the Peloponnesus and engagement with Alaric there near Elis in 397, which Claudian makes a resounding victory for Stilicho. As Claudian ostensibly praised the young consul Honorius in a public ceremony(?) at Milan in January of 398, he also provided some details about Stilicho's expedition by sea, his encirclement of Alaric and his forces near Elis in the northwest Peloponnese, and his bloody and highly exaggerated defeat of them.[351]

The exaggeration of this defeat is apparent in the fact that four years later, Claudian was again performing a poem in praise of Stilicho for defeating Alaric, this time in Pollentia near Milan. *The Gothic War* (*De bello Getico*, *Gothico* or *Pollentino*, *Get.*) was written in Rome, and first performed at the Temple of Apollo there in 402, after Stilicho's first actual clear victory over Alaric.[352] In several passages of this short historical epic, Claudian again makes reference to the sack of the Greek cities, employing picturesque language and archaic toponyms. Perhaps to make the defeat at Pollentia even more impressive, he is at pains to demonstrate that in 397, despite their defeat in Elis, Alaric and his troops were free to withdraw from Greece to Epirus with all their booty, only now just recovered from them in Italy.[353]

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[349] Jerome *Epist.* 60.16: *Romanus orbis ruit et tamen cervix nostra erecta non flectitur. Quid putas nunc animi habere Corinthios, Athenienses, Lacedaemonios, Arcadas, cunctamque Graeciam, quibus imperant barbari? Et certe paucas urbes nominavi, in quibus olim fuere regna non modica.*
[350] Claudian *pr. Ruf.* 2.1-12.
[351] Cameron 1970, App. C, 474-7.
[352] Claudian (*pr. Get.* 4) describes his performance space as the Pythian house (*Pythia…domus*), and would have been in front of doors depicting the defeat of the Gauls described in Propertius *Elegies* 2.31.1-16; Cameron 1970, 1-62, 156-88.
[353] *Get.* 188-93, 511-17, 610-15, 629-34.

Corinthian booty appears frequently, sometimes in combination with that from Argos and/or Sparta, drawn in part from the accounts of treasures carried off from the city by Mummius' troops in 146 BC.[354] Claudian's poetic language and desire to praise Stilicho interfere with any more detailed historical reconstruction of Alaric's activities in Corinth on the basis of him alone. He tells us only that for some two years Alaric's armed forces harrassed a number of historically famous cities and sanctuaries of Greece, took plunder with them when they left, and were accompanied throughout by wagons, wives and at least a few other Gothic noncombatants.[355]

Self-identified historians of the period are no less dramatic, but unfortunately much more confused (at least for us today) in their accounts of what occurred after Alaric's visit to Constantinople in the summer of 395. Eunapius of Sardis in his slightly later *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* makes two references to the Goths in Greece. In the first, he recalls how the hierophant at Eleusis once foretold the overthrow of the temples in his presence, and states that it came to pass after Alaric entered Greece easily with the assistance of men in black (traditionally considered to be monks, possibly sent by Rufinus).[356] The second has been used to argue for a sack of Corinth by Alaric, even though he says only that his friend the painter Hilarios was staying near Corinth when he was captured and killed by barbarians.[357] Both of these references are embedded in biographical accounts focusing on Eunapius' own friends, acquaintances and heroes, and decidedly anti-Christian, though only written a few years later.[358] Photius tells us that Eunapius wrote mainly "an encomium on that last hope of the pagan world," the Emperor Julian, and so it is not surprising that Eunapius blamed Alaric's coming on Christian help, both in these biographies and in his *History*.[359] Alaric's men certainly caused damage at sanctuaries in Corinth, at the Temple of Eleusis near Athens and in other temples; most of them were probably Christians, searching for valuable booty, food and slaves, and uneducated in the legacy of Classical Greece.[360]

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[354] Treasures carried off by Mummius: Strabo 6.381, 8.6.23; Vell. Pat. 1.13.4-5; Pliny *NH* 33.150, 34.6-8, 34.36; Florus 1.32.
[355] Wagons: Claudian *Ruf.* 2.124-9, *4 Hon.* 466, *Stil.* 1.94-5; Wives: *Eutr.* 2.196-201, *Get.* 629-34.
[356] Eunapius *VS* 475-6 (7.3.4).
[357] Eunapius *VS* 482 (8.2.2).
[358] Wright 1921, 319-22.
[359] Photius *Bibl.* 77 (Eunapius), 98 (Zosimus).
[360] Eleusis destruction by Alaric: Mylonas 1961, 8, 186; Miles 1998 (*Agora* 31), 93; Castrén 1989.

Blockley, recent editor of the surviving excerpts of Eunapius' lost *History*, judges that he wrote it with a "tone of bitter sarcasm," is prone to "superficial and hysterical judgments," and in general shows a "lack of detailed information."[361] This opinion, however, seems not to properly approach Eunapius in his early fifth-century context. Like the author(s) of the *Historia Augusta*, he focused on imperial character and scandals; in the preserved introduction to his history he also states that he will date only by imperial reigns, and no more precisely.[362] He was hostile not only to Christians, but also to Rufinus and Stilicho, and this colored further his description of events in Greece.[363] However his *History* dealing with Alaric in Greece is lost, so we must now move on to Zosimus a century later, who wrote the only history surviving today for that era, and names Eunapius as a source.

By comparing Zosimus with excerpts from John of Antioch (7th or 10th c., compiled in 10th c.), we may arrive at some idea of Eunapius' account of Alaric in Greece in his *Histories*.[364] It seems clear that Eunapius like Claudian blamed Rufinus for Alaric's invasion of Greece, but Eunapius all on his own then portrayed Stilicho as only incidentally driving the barbarians out, and mainly plundering the Greeks himself during his expedition of 397.[365] Moreover, Eunapius also conflated Stilicho's two confrontations of Alaric into one; the evidence of Claudian shows that Stilicho came first to Thessaly in summer 395, and then again to the Peloponnesus in summer 397, not in Eunapius' single expedition recast by Zosimus, Philostorgios and John of Antioch.[366]

Indeed, Zosimus' account drawn from Eunapius portrays both Alaric and Stilicho quite differently from the poems of Claudian. While Claudian's Stilicho sends the Eastern army to Constantinople from the very battlefield in Thessaly because Rufinus wants Alaric to enter Greece, Zosimus' Stilicho actively persuades Honorius that it is

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[361] Blockley 1983, vii. Blockley (1981, 10-28) also offers a thorough catalogue of the technical, linguistic and Classicizing issues which he thinks hampered the use of Eunapius as an historical source.
[362] Blockley 1983, Eunapius F1, 1981, 5-7.
[363] Photius *Bibl.* 98 (Eunapius hostile to Stilicho); Suda s.v. Eunapius (Eunapius hostile to Rufinus); Blockley 1983, 91-3, Eunapius F62.
[364] For John of Antioch, a name given to 10th c. excerpts which probably conflate two 7th-10th c. authors: Hunger 1978, 1.326-8; Walton 1965.
[365] Blockley 1983, 93-5, Eunapius F64 = *FHG* 4.610a F190 = John of Antioch in *Excerpta de Insidiis* 80, ed. de Boor 1905.
[366] The evidence for each separate expedition is untangled by Cameron 1970, App. C, 474-7.

needed in the East against the Huns (which it was).[367] At Athens, far from Claudian's enslavement of matrons, a vision of Athena prompts Alaric to approach peacefully, and his subsequent reception in the city is the civilized treatment of a visiting dignitary.[368] After crossing the Isthmus, although Corinth is taken by force (κατὰ κράτος ἡλίσκετο), there is no mention of the burning or looting of Claudian's poems; rather all the cities of the Peloponnesus are handed over to Alaric by imperial or local officials, without seizure by struggle or battle (δίχα πόνου καὶ μάχης ἁλώσιμα).[369]

It is unclear whether Alaric was already holding a formal Roman provincial military office given him by Theodosius or Rufinus when he entered Greece in 395. When he is given a title by historians other than barbarian, it is Phylarch of the Goths (ὁ τῶν Γότθων φύλαρχος), Governor of the Goths (ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἡγούμενος), General of the Goths (*dux Gothorum*) or occasionally King (*rex*).[370] That he eventually held the position of *magister militum per Illyricum* is assumed by scholars from indirect references in Claudian's works of 399; thus the formal position is dated as beginning in 398.[371] However, ever since the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine the province of Achaia, in the diocese of Macedonia, in the prefecture of Illyricum, had sat uneasily between the Eastern and the Western Empire, with the prefecture sometimes belonging to the one, sometimes to the other, and sometimes split between them. In 395 both Illyricum and Achaia belonged to the East, and Alaric, by all accounts at least just after his visit to Constantinople, was in the service of Rufinus, Praetorian Prefect of the East, whether as evil tool or legitimate official.[372] Rufinus was killed by the Eastern army when they returned to Constantinople in the fall of 395, but after the eunuch chamberlain Eutropius assumed the regency of the

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[367] Claudian *Ruf.* 2.186-96; Zos. *NH* 5.7.2-3. Cameron (1970, 159-68) argues that the real reason was that the Eastern army was rebellious and threatening to Stilicho.

[368] Claudian *Ruf.* 2.191; Zos. *NH* 5.5-6; Frantz 1988 (*Agora* 24), 49-56.

[369] Zos. *NH* 5.6.4-5.

[370] Martindale (*PLRE* vol. 2, s.v. Alaricus 1) points out that Olympiodorus calls him phylarch (fr. 3), while neither Zosimus nor Sozomen ever call him king. It is doubtful whether such a formalized institution as king even existed among the Goths or in the Roman army at the time.

[371] Claudian *Eutr.* 2.214-18 (*Vastator Achivae gentis et Epirum nuper populatus inultam praesidet Illyrico*), *Get.* 496-7, 535-9.

[372] Political geography: Jones 1964, 1.101-2, 2.1451-61; Libanius (*Or.* 14.15) describes Anatolius, Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum (PPI) from 357-60 as having jurisdiction over Corinth and Achaia.

Eastern empire in his place, he took the Eastern army off to Asia Minor to fight the Huns in 396, not into Greece against Alaric. When his western counterpart Stilicho finally did attack Alaric in Greece, probably early in 397, Eutropius declared him a Public Enemy (*hostis publicus*), and Stilicho closed western ports to eastern shipping.[373]

Clearly there was tension between the officials of the Eastern and Western Emperors, as officials of the Eastern Emperor either gave Alaric titles or ignored him, but never fought him or seemingly believed it was necessary to do so.[374] Even if he simply accepted large bribes from them which those in the West were later unable or unwilling to produce, surely they would have responded in some way if he was truly (and ungratefully) laying waste to all the Balkans. Furthermore, Eunapius comments in a fragment of his *History* that he had difficulty even finding out what was going on in the West, and this difficulty surely extended to finding information on events in Greece in 395-7 (especially for Claudian in Milan).[375]

The literary sources, then, are divided between the Western, anti-Eastern poetry of Claudian portraying Alaric and his army as skin-clad rampaging barbarian hordes, and the Eastern, fragmentary histories which position Alaric, at least in 395-7, as a Roman official in charge of a federate army in his legitimate territory.

When we turn to archaeological evidence for Alaric and his army in Corinth, the picture is similarly split. Indeed, for the last century excavators at Corinth have had an embarrassment of explanations to choose from for late fourth century destruction debris: two earthquakes (365, 375), Alaric's Goths, zealous Christians, and, most prosaically, deliberate renovation or replacement of buildings.[376] In his *Corinth* volume on the Medieval Architecture of Corinth, which begins not coincidentally in 395, Scranton generally refers to a combination of earthquakes, Alaric and deliberate construction in his description of a large number of distinct changes to the architecture of the Central Area, which he believed on the

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[373] Cameron 1970, 93 (*hostis publicus*); Cod. *Theod.* 7.16.1 (closing of Western ports to Eastern trade before 408).
[374] Burns 1994, 165-8.
[375] Cameron (1970, 246-7) compares the situation to Cold War Europe and gives a translation of Eunapius' passage, frg. 74 (*FHG* 4.46b).
[376] Earthquake of 365: Ammianus 26.10.15-19; earthquake of 375: Zos. *NH* 4.18; *IG* IV 674. Only the latter is likely to have shaken Corinth, due to the reference in the inscription (see below).

basis of the historical sources and some numismatic finds took place in the late fourth century.[377]

Several archaeologists have tried to link Corinth's fortification walls with Alaric. As the circuit wall east of the city center with a triangular tower on the outside was built with reused blocks over burned houses and a layer of debris containing coins of the late 4th c., it and its course visible elsewhere were dated by Gregory to c. 400-420, supposedly after a sack of the (unwalled) city by Alaric.[378] However, a single piece of the spolia wall on the north side of the city, the Epistyle or Gymnasium Wall, was associated with a fourth century coin hoard, indicating it could have been built before 395.[379] The excavator Wiseman was followed by Gregory and then Dengate in suggesting that the wall was built as an ineffective barrier against Alaric's assault, before the rest of the Late Roman Wall was constructed. However the close proximity of a severe drop in the terrain, the shrinking of the circuit of the Late Roman Wall in recent scholarship leaving the Epistyle Wall far from any other fortification, and the reconstruction of a track (more likely than a circus, given its width) just to the south all suggest that the Epistyle Wall should be separated from any defensive function.

The Hexamilion Wall across the Isthmus was only constructed at the earliest in the fifth century, to judge from spolia in it, and according to Zosimus Alaric's forces were allowed to cross the Isthmus freely in any case by imperial officials, walled or not.[380] At Isthmia itself the end of use of the sanctuary of Poseidon has consistently been dated to ca. 395 and blamed on Alaric, despite Claudian's inclusion of the cult center of Poseidon and Palaimon in a list of places restored after Alaric's departure.[381] A coin hoard ending in 395 found with a deposit of small-scale pagan sculpture suggests raiders were looking for loot.[382] However the construction of the trans-Isthmian Hexamilion Wall and Fort were clearly also important in the destruction of the Sanctuary and the end

[377] Scranton (1957, 9) describes an intentional program of urban renewal motivated by earthquake destruction, Alaric and an awareness of the needs of time.
[378] Gregory 1979, 264-80.
[379] On a hoard of 18 fourth century coins found hidden by the wall providing a *terminus ante quem* for its construction: Wiseman 1969, 87-92; Gregory 1979, 276; Dengate 1981, 149-53.
[380] Zos. *NH* 5.6; Gregory 1993 (*Isthmia* V), 141.
[381] Claudian *4 Hon.* 464-5; Clement 1976, 267-9, 1977a.
[382] Beaton and Clement 1976; Lattimore 1996 (*Isthmia* 6).

of the Games, as was possibly the Christianity of the constructors.[383]

In the Central Area of Corinth, the destruction of the Theater, Central Shops and North Market were originally laid at Alaric's feet, along with parts of the Odeion, South Stoa and Asklepieion.[384] More recent excavations in the Theater and east of it have revealed further evidence for late fourth century destruction which awaits full dating and publication.[385] The Panagia Domus was also destroyed after ca. 365, perhaps by an earthquake and ensuing fire.[386] Ash and coins of the late fourth century were found in the remains of the Central Shops, which were converted in the fifth century into a monumental set of marble stairs with ornamental fountains.[387] The North Market seems to have been replaced immediately after its destruction by a Nymphaeum and another large building.[388] But buildings like the Peirene Fountain, the Peribolos of Apollo and the West Terrace Temples have not revealed any signs of destruction ca. 395; buildings like the Hemicycle and the aforementioned monumental Agora staircase were only constructed in the fifth century, and the Agora continued in use as public space into the sixth century.[389]

Outside of the Epistyle Wall and Central Area, a mass grave in a chamber tomb from the North Cemetery was once thought to date to the aftermath of Alaric, but contains later lamps and even coins.[390] The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, on the other hand, seems to have suffered more from the 375 earthquake or anti-pagan violence than from Alaric. The priestess heads were smashed and thrown down a well, and the head of the goddess was stripped of gold and precious eyes, but this could have been done by Christians with Alaric or after his occupation, and the temples themselves certainly collapsed as well.[391]

After Alaric, Corinth is never again specifically mentioned in the context of a Late Antique barbarian invasion. But in the fifth and sixth centuries several authors do record piracy by sea and plunder by land as touching the Peloponnesus, and thus possibly Corinth or its

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[383] Gregory 1993 (*Isthmia* V); Frey 2006.
[384] Scranton 1957, 5, n. 19.
[385] Williams and Zervos 1982, 118, 1983, 23-4.
[386] Stirling 2008.
[387] Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 10-20.
[388] Fowler and Stilwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 153, 183, 192.
[389] Scranton 1957, 10-50.
[390] Shear (1931, 424-41) excavated 150 out of 162 Broneer type XXVIII lamps (many with a Chi-Rho monogram) and 35 fourth c. coins, the three latest from the reign of Arcadius.
[391] Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 438-40.

vicinity. Accounts of raids by Vandals from North Africa under their king Geiseric ca. 455-77 include the western Peloponnesus, and Procopius specifies an unsucessful siege of Taenarum at the southern tip of the Peloponnese and a successful raid resulting in the murder of 500 men on Zakynthos, the southernmost Ionian island.[392] This activity along the western coast is unlikely to have touched Corinth directly, but it certainly may have interrupted western trade and travel from the Gulf of Corinth.

Finally, in the *Secret History* Procopius also makes reference to "Huns, Sclaveni and Antae" killing and enslaving as far south as Greece, enumerating the many areas depopulated since Justinian came to power.[393] For Greece as for the other regions he lists, this depopulation is blamed on a combination of death from war, famine and disease, and active removal of inhabitants, particularly women and children, by raiders who then return home with them.

In conclusion, then, from the later third up until the later sixth century Corinth was located in a region subject to occasional raids for men and valuable materials by land or sea. The city was singled out only twice for special attention, in 267/8 and 395-7, when notably large and well-organized invaders described by our literary sources as barbarians were confronted by imperial forces in Greece itself. In both cases the description of what happened at Corinth is made subordinate to events at Athens and lacking in any detail. But in the case of the Herulians, coin hoards and comparanda from elsewhere suggest raids in the Corinthia and renewed recognition there of the end of the *pax Romana*. In the case of Alaric, the sources clearly indicate a long stay with the permission of the imperial authorities, during which the Corinthia was more lawless than usual and the city subject to unforseen economic, political and religious disruption.

E. Earthquakes, Plague

From human threats to Corinth in Late Antiquity we must now consider those of nature, namely the earthquakes, plague and natural disasters recorded in the literary sources and occasionally visible in the archaeological record. To assess the contribution of such long-known and singular events to Corinthian history one must carefully analyze the

[392] Procopius *Bell.* 3.5.23, 3.22.16-18. For recent biographies of the Vandal King Geiseric (or Genseric): Quast 1987; Mabrouk 1998; Gourdin 1999.
[393] Procopius *Anec.* 18.20-21.

written record, the material evidence and relevant comparative historical and theoretical work.

Damage or destruction of buildings at Corinth, when not associated with barbarians, has customarily been ascribed to later fourth or early sixth century earthquakes recorded in a few Ancient literary sources and one inscription. Growing awareness that it is difficult to separate out earthquake damage from other sorts of natural and human agency, skepticism on the accuracy of literary sources, and shifting pottery chronologies have all led authors like Rothaus and Sanders to question the true impact of these earthquakes at Corinth. For the history of Late Antiquity it is worth not only examining the evidence for each one, but also reminding the reader of the seismic geology of the Corinthia explored in Ch. II.A and the rebuilding in most cases of the structures said to have been brought down by Poseidon.

None of the accounts of fourth-century earthquakes specifically names Corinth. Libanius refers to earthquakes in 363 in Greece and Palestine in his Funeral Oration for Julian; his phrasing is echoed in Zosimus who uses it for a 375 earthquake in Greece after the death of Valentinian.[394] In both cases the same topos of "every city in Greece but one" is used; Rothaus thus suggests the second quake is a fabrication, but in any case this is too vague for localizing damage at Corinth. Jerome in a commentary on Isaiah also recorded the 363 quake in Palestine, then makes fuller reference to a quake of July 21, 365 affecting Sicily, many islands and the coast of Epirus in this and several of his works.[395] The longest account for this 365 quake and its tsunami is Ammianus, who dates it in the second year of the joint reign of Valens and Valentinian (365/6), and names Alexandria, Sicily, Crete and the western coast of the Peloponnesus and Epirus.[396] This has been linked by geologists with dramatic uplift in western Crete, particularly at the site of Phalasarna. Such a quake out in the Ionian Sea would be unlikely to shake Corinth, but perhaps the tsunami caused flooding in Lechaion.

For the entire late fourth century, actually the best piece of textual evidence for an earthquake affecting Corinth comes in the form of an inscription built into the city gate at Navplion, origin unknown, which honors an anonymous *scholastikos* and his students for repairing a basilica there κατὰ σισμοὺς καὶ τοὺς θαλαττίο[υς κατακλυσμοὺς] under

[394] Libanius *Or.* 18.292; Zos. 4.18.
[395] Jerome *Comm. Is.* (*PL*) 24.15.168, *Vita Hill.* 29.1, *Chron.* 244c.
[396] Ammianus 26.10.15-19.

Valentinian and Valens.[397] But, again, Miller has argued, and well-demonstrated at least for the past 200 years, how unevenly earthquakes are felt even across the Argolid and Corinthia.[398]

For the sixth century we are on somewhat firmer ground. Several sources name Corinth specifically as suffering an earthquake in 521/2, the third year of Justin's reign, when the emperor sent aid to the city.[399] Procopius invokes Corinthian earthquakes twice for rhetorical value. He uses them to give the negative side of Justinian's era of authority in the *Anecdota*; when he mentions earthquakes at Corinth he is enumerating the natural disasters which either Justinian caused as a demon incarnate or God caused as punishment for the Roman Empire from 518 to about 558/9.[400] He emphasizes in particular the loss of life in Corinth and eight other cities, first victims of earthquake then plague ca. 541/2. It seems Corinth is significant enough to be listed last, a pendant to Antioch listed first; certainly the city needed no distinguishing adjective or locator like the preceeding "Lychnidus in Epirus." Procopius here emphasizes the scale and range of the diasters and ἀνθρώπων...φθόρος, not recovery, generalizing about a very long list of places.

But he then also refers to undated quakes at Corinth while praising Justinian for building the Hexamilion wall in his *Buildings*.[401] It is likely that he is referring in the *Anecdota* and this passage from the *Buildings* to the quake of 521/2, for which Justin sent relief. But he may also, in the latter passage at least where he speakes of plural quakes, be including lesser damage caused by a quake in 551/2. He referred to this in the last book of his *Wars* as hitting Boeotia, Achaia and the Crisaean (Corinthian) Gulf, Chaeronea, Coronea, Patras, Navpactus and Delphi, causing a tsunami in the Gulf between Boeotia and Thessaly.[402] This sounds like a quake or series of quakes along the faults west of Corinth; like the quake of 365, it may have flooded

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[397] *IG* IV 674; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 288, no. 26; Avraméa 1997, 44:
[ἐπὶ Καισάρων Αὐ]τοκρατόρων Κλαυδίων Βαλέντων
[*praenomen, nomen*] σχολαστικός, ἅμα τοῖς φιλτάτοις
[φοιτηταῖς αὐτοῦ] κατὰ σισμοὺς καὶ τοὺς θαλαττίο[υς]
[κατακλυσμοὺς σκευ]ασάμενος τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ τὰ
[- - - - -, ὧ]ν εὐνοίας ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκἀγαθίας ἡ
[πόλις ἀνέστησε].

[398] Miller 1986.

[399] Malalas 17.15, 418.

[400] Procopius *Anec.* 18.41-5.

[401] Procopius *Aed.* 4.2.23-4.

[402] Procopius *Bell.* 8.25.16-23.

Lechaion, but it is unlikely to have destroyed the city, which is, again, not mentioned specifically by name.

Procopius had earlier given an extended description of the plague's emergence in Egypt and spread from there to Constantinople and every other land killing many in and after the year 541.[403] Primary textual evidence is also seemingly contained in a number of novels of Justinian, certainly one of 542 assisting bankers because all know there is currently "a danger of death spreading in every place," and probably also in others issued soon after legislating on those who die without heirs and combatting increases in both prices and wages.[404]

This Justinianic plague of 541/2 continues to attract attention throughout the Mediterranean, as archaeologists search for solid evidence of its impact, and historians use comparative approaches to expand our understanding of it beyond these texts.[405] Most agree that it was bubonic plague, the killer of as much as a third of the population in some cities, and a serious factor in the decline of the Eastern Empire's economic complexity and military potential.[406] Corinth is one of the few cities to be explicitly linked with severe effects from it, which at least indicates that despite the earthquake, in 540 the city was still the sort of densely populated and maritime-oriented city most affected by the plague. Moreover, it is likely that as in Constantinople, the plague would have recurred throughout the rest of the sixth century in Corinth too, further reducing the population.[407] Yet papyrus business documents in Egypt, the source of the plague, scarcely show any change at all in the 540s, and some of the comparative studies

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[403] Procopius *Bell.* 2.22-23, tr. Dewing 1914, 450-73.

[404] *Nov. Ed.* 7 Pref. (542): *mortis enim periculum per omnia loca propagatum*; *CIC Nov.* 118 (543), 122 (544).

[405] Rubini (2008) is the most recent announcement of a supposed Justinianic plague mass grave near Rome at Castro dei Volsci. Elsewhere a slight rise in dated epitaphs in Palestine between 541 and 544 (Meimaris 1992, 129-30, 236-8), and mass inhumations in Valencia and Cartagena in Spain of early to mid-6th c. date (Kulikowski 2007) have both been linked with the plague. Comparative material on the economic and social effects of other plagues: Hope and Marshall 2000 (Peloponnesian War); Duncan-Jones 1996; Scheidel 2002; Bagnall 2002; Greenberg 2003; Bruun 2003 (Antonine 2nd c.); Congourdeau 1998 (14th c. Byzantium); Cipolla 1973 (Renaissance Italy), 1979, 1981 (17th c. Italy).

[406] Seibel 1857; Russell 1968; Patlagean 1977, 85-91; Allen 1979; Durliat 1989; Sallares 1991, 263-71; Whitby 1995; Conrad 1996; Stathakopoulos 2000, 2004; Meier 2002; Sarris 2002; articles collected in Little 2007.

[407] In Constantinople the plague recurred in 558 (Malalas *Chronicle* 18.127; Agathias *Histories* 5.10) and 573 (John of Biclar *Chronicle* 33, *CCSL* 173A.66; Agapius of Menbidj *Universal History*, ed. Vasiliev 1910 (*PO* 8), 437).

undertaken recently suggest that a loss of manpower can actually have a stimulating effect on the economy of a city.[408]

A mysterious cloud, perhaps a volcanic eruption, adversely affected harvests from Italy to Greece and Asia Minor with cold and drought in 536/7.[409] Though Justinian issued three laws in 535 or 536 responding to a crop failure in Thrace and Illyricum (including Greece and Corinth), no other long-term effects are apparent.[410] Other ancient sources link the cloud with famine in North Italy, drought in Persia, and a snowy winter in Mesopotamia, but only in that year.[411] However ancient as modern farmers in Greece were accustomed to constantly shifting environmental conditions, as noted in ch. 2.[412] Blaming climatic effects for the end of Antiquity is a growing trend, however, and consistent with wider trends in scholarship blaming outside barbarian or military forces for undeniable economic and military decline in Late Antiquity.[413] But besides this particular year there is no other ancient evidence and no definitive modern evidence for sudden climate change in Late Antique Greece.[414]

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[408] Casanova 1984 (Egypt); Sarris 2002 (economy).

[409] Kouroumali 2001/2; Arjava 2005. Sources: Procopius *Bell*. 4.14.5-6 (Theophanes *Chronographia* AM 6026, ed. de Boor 1883 (1963), 202); Cassiodorus *Variae* 12.25; John Lydus *On Portents* 9c, ed. Wachsmuth 1897, 25; Ps.-Zachariah of Mytilene, tr. Hamilton and Brooks 1899, 9.19; accounts depending on John of Ephesus: Michael the Syrian *Chronicle* 9.26.296, ed. Chabot 1899-1910, 2.220-1; Bar Hebraeus *Chronicle* 79-80, tr. Budge 1932 (2003), 1.74-5; Ps.-Dionysius of Tel Mahre 530/1, tr. Witakowski 1996, 65; Agapius of Menbidj *Universal History*, ed. Vasiliev 1910 (*PO* 8), 429. Arjava (2005) also critiques the energetic catastrophism of some recent work on this phenomenon: Stothers and Rampino 1983, 6357-71; Gunn 2000.

[410] *CIC Nov.* 32-4, ed. Krueger et al. 1954, 239-41.

[411] Cassiodorus *Variae* 10.27, 12.27-8; *Liber pontificalis, Vita Silverii* 100, ed. Duchesne 1955 (1981), 1.291 (Paulus Diaconus 16.18, MGH *AA* 2.222)(famine); Marcellinus Comes MGH *AA* 11.105 (drought); Ps.-Zachariah of Mytilene, tr. Hamilton and Brooks 1899 (1979), 10.1 (snow).

[412] Garnsey 1988, 1998; Gallant 1991.

[413] Liebschuetz 2001; Heather 2005; Ward-Perkins in Cameron et al. 2000 (*CAH* 14), 315-91.

[414] Koder 1996; Stathakopoulos 2003; Telilis 2004.

IV. The Agora and Central Area of Late Antique Corinth

In the following chapters, I imagine what it would be like to walk around Corinth in the city center and then from there outwards throughout Late Antiquity. In this I follow, *mutatis mutandis*, the methodology of Pausanias, which provides an excellent way to integrate the diverse archaeological and literary source material into a coherent narrative of urban change from the third to the sixth centuries. Unlike Pausanias, my own description of Corinth lacks first-hand contemporary observation, aims to encompass all the available evidence and traces each path over several centuries. I begin at the northeast corner of the Agora, its most elaborate and primary entryway, and move first clockwise in the Agora, and then counter-clockwise around Temple Hill. I then follow this same model of physical narrative and related historical change clockwise for the city and then environs of Corinth.

Both the excavations and the ancient city of Corinth itself fall naturally into three broad geographic areas, which I shall follow in these chapter-tours of the changing urban topography of Corinth. The first is the city center, the broad open space of the Roman Forum or Late Roman Agora south of Temple Hill and its surrounding public and private buildings (Figs. 3-6, 15-16). On modern plans this is often labeled the Central Area; the Ancient nomenclature for this Agora and many of its surrounding buildings would certainly have varied with use and language (usually Greek in Late Antiquity). In this dissertation I have used in general the names of the buildings proposed by previous archaeologists, while sometimes disagreeing with their suggested uses, and Greek rather than Latin in deference to the majority language of Corinthians after the second century.

My second area is the Ancient city beyond this center, geographically terraces above and below the Agora (Figs. 3, 7-8, 14). On the north the lower terrace ends in a cliff above the coastal plain, while to the south the upper terrace soon rises steeply to become the slopes of Acrocorinth; on east and west seasonal torrents in north-south canyons cut both terraces and provide Corinth with distinct natural boundaries, steep drops which once supported the Ancient city wall. Above these two terraces is the citadel of Acrocorinth. Finally, all around is my third area of discussion, the Corinthia, with its harbors, towns, fertile agricultural land and wild mountain slopes (Figs. 1-3, 10-14). In the next three chapters, the urban infrastructure and activity in each area is briefly traced from the third to the sixth centuries. Juxtaposition of

excavated buildings, statues and other artifacts with relevant texts and comparanda from other cities sheds light on overlapping and shifting landscapes and activity areas. Each chapter then ends with conclusions on the significance of changes in each area for urban life in Corinth.

A. The Agora up to the Third Century

By the third century the Corinthian Agora was already an architectural palimpsest: a few monumental Greek public buildings embedded in an early Imperial Roman colonial Forum, which had itself been further transformed over two centuries by extensive renovations and additions (Figs. 4-6, 15-16). The resulting complex served Corinthians and visitors alike as the civic, commercial and cultural center of the city, the architectural framework for a wide range of ordinary and extraordinary public activities. The 'clearing' of the Agora was the particular focus of the early excavations, but digging has also continued sporadically there down until the present day along with scholarship, particularly on individual buildings.[415] I aim to combine this ongoing research with the testimony of ancient authors, notably Pausanias, to discuss the Agora's overall appearance and uses in Late Antiquity. But as Pausanias was mainly interested in Greek religion and antiquities, and the early excavators in early architecture and artifacts, it is often hard to restore what Pausanias passed over, and recombine what was dug and studied separately over the last century.

In the following chapter I thus first present a brief summary of the development of the Central Area before the third century. I then discuss in more detail the evidence for political, religious, commercial and spectacle buildings and activity throughout Late Antiquity. After the early third century only a few new buildings were added to the Agora, but stoas, fountains, baths and shops were constantly redecorated, and new public portraits were erected fairly often. Fragments of public documents, imported and unfinished goods, and thousands of coins testify to cases judged, commerce conducted, crowds of people coming and going. Some buildings were ruined, notably those for spectacles in the fifth century, but the

[415] The editors of the *Corinth* volumes focused on publishing at least a bare description of every Ancient building in the Agora uncovered in the early excavations, which they accomplished with the posthumous Hill 1964 (*Corinth* I.6), on the fountains. Robinson and Williams then returned to excavating in the Agora from the 1960s on, and, besides their archaeological reports, graduate students like Scotton (Julian Basilica, 1997) and Robinson (fountains, 2000) have made studies of specific buildings.

majority were repaired again as far as can be determined today. In the sixth century a sea change began with the gradual disappearance of portraits and inscriptions, then the appearance of burials and the installation in Middle Byzantine times of chapels on the Agora. But through the end of Late Antiquity the Central Area was ringed with public buildings, maintained as the city center it had been for generations.

Though Caesar made the decision to refound Corinth in 44 BC before the Ides of March, he left most of the actual settlement and re-establishment of the city sacked a century before to his heir along with his name.[416] Thus the Forum (Roman Agora) of the refounded *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* was laid out soon after 44 BC as a paved rectangular area, placed as was traditional at the intersection of the new colony's main north-south and east-west roads.[417] However its plan also intentionally accommodated significant pre-existing natural and architectural elements of the landscape.[418] The open space occupied a low natural east-west valley, formerly the site of Classical and Hellenistic racecourses, and perhaps the Greek Agora (see below).[419] An Archaic Temple dedicated to Apollo filled most of the small plateau of higher ground to the north of this valley (Temple Hill); a monumental Hellenistic stoa extended all along its south side atop a low ridge (the South Stoa). Other pre-Roman buildings were restored on the sloping ground near the short sides of the new Forum: the Glauce Fountainhouse, Theater and perhaps Sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis on the west, and the Peirene Fountainhouse on the east.[420]

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[416] Caesar's refounding: Diodorus 32.27, from *Excerpta de Sententiis*, ed. Boissevain 1906, 380-1, *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, ed. Büttner-Wobst 1906, 293-4; Crinagoras of Mytilene *Anth. Pal.* 9.284; Strabo 8.4.9, 8.6.23, 17.3.15; Plutarch *Caesar* 57.5; Appian *Punica* 136, *Roman History* 8.20; Paus. 2.1.2; Dio 43.50.3-5; Zonaras 9.31; Walbank 1986.

[417] Under the Flavians briefly *C. Iulia Flavia Augusta C.* in gratitude for earthquake relief. Epigraphic evidence: Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), nos. 82 (*Flavia*), 96, 130, 314. Earle Fox (1903) favored *Corinthus*, followed by the early excavators, but corrected by Broneer (1941) to *Corinthiensis* after the inscriptions, and further discussed by Romano 2000, 2003.

[418] Initial layout of Corinth's colonial Forum: Wiseman 1979, 509-21; Walbank 1986, 1997. Romano (1998b) argues that the colony of Corinth was made up of four centuries, each 32x15 actus, 240 iugera, with the Forum at the center, made up of 6 actus from each, for a space of 24 sq actus, or 12 iugera, a fairly small proportion of the urbanized area. As Vitruvius 5.2.1 recommends, the Forum had a 3:2 proportion.

[419] Racecourses: Morgan 1937, 549-51; Broneer 1942; Williams and Russell 1981; Romano 1993a.

[420] These are, of course, only the pre-existing buildings that we know about from excavation and Pausanias; there were likely others, for

The reuse of all these Greek buildings in the newly laid-out colonial Forum, and its placement on open space in between them provokes the question of whether this area previously held the Agora of the Greek city. The identity of Greek Agora and Roman Forum was accepted without question by most early excavators, particularly after the discovery of Peirene, the Theater and the South Stoa.[421] Then Scranton theorized that it was only the Hellenistic Agora, and next C.K. Williams II challenged this entire identification on the basis of a lack of water, flat space and any other civic buildings, preferring the unexcavated ground north of Temple Hill and downhill from Peirene as the location for the Greek Agora.[422] However, J. Donati now argues that the concentration of the Temple of Apollo, Racecourses, Fountainhouses, Theater and monumental South Stoa, along with literary testimonia, epigraphic finds and pre-Roman buildings excavated by Williams do indeed favor locating the Greek Agora beneath the Roman Forum.[423] But while the pre-Roman terrain of the Forum is now better defined and seems favorable for an Agora, the position of Peirene and absence of excavation under the modern village to the north and east still pose an important challenge for reconstructing the Greek city center.[424]

However, each side of the new colony's Forum was soon further elaborated architecturally with newly-built structures common to other contemporary Roman colonies. A long, narrow stoa divided the north side of the Forum from Temple Hill (Northwest Stoa); on the south a line of small chambers (the Central Shops) with benches and a speaker's platform at the center (the Bema) fronted the refurbished South Stoa.[425] The first civic basilica was placed laterally along the east side of the Forum (the Julian Basilica),

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example on the heights to the east or south of the South Stoa. But in absence of archaeological evidence we don't know if pre-Roman cults like Athena Chalinitis were revived in their original location or moved in from elsewhere to the new Forum. General continuity of cult deities and architecture if not rituals between Greek and Roman Corinth has been well demonstrated by Lisle 1955 and Bookidis 2005. Though Walbank 1986 emphasized the *romanitas* of the early colony's cults, and question how much knowledge of the old gods survived, by Late Antiquity the religious landscape appears thoroughly re-Hellenized, with connections actively sought with the old religion.

[421] Among the early excavators only Skias (1892 (1894)) sought both Agora and Forum east of the modern village, while at least from Richardson (1900a, 1900b) through Morgan (1939, 255), American excavators placed the Greek Agora under the Roman Forum.

[422] Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 74-6, 134; Williams 1970, 32-7, 1987, 474.

[423] Donati 2008, forthcoming.

[424] Terrain: Hayward 2003 (*Corinth* XX).

[425] Northwest Stoa: Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2).

with a smaller public building to its south (the Southeast Building); civic basilicas were also built to the south and west of the South Stoa (the South Basilica, the Southwest Basilica) and later along the east side of Temple Hill with an entry from the north side of the Forum (the Lechaion Road Basilica).

Roman-style podium temples were constructed on two levels at the west end of the Forum; three small temples (Temples F, G, K) and a fountain (the Fountain of Poseidon) were right on the west flank of the Forum. Two larger temples behind them were set within peribolos walls, with another row of small chambers in front of these on the Forum side (Temple E, Temple C, West Shops). Finally, Roman arches covered roads exiting from the northeast (Propylaia), northwest, and southwest corners of the Forum, the roads identified by Pausanias as leading northeast to Lechaion, northwest to Sicyon and southwest to Acrocorinth respectively.[426] The Lechaion Road just below the Propylaia (northeastern Arch) was wide enough to form a sort of subsidiary lower Agora, with stoas fronting shops on both sides (the Lechaion Road Shops), and a meatmarket (the Macellum), bronze foundry and baths (the so-called Baths of Eurycles) on the east side along with the venerable Peirene Fountainhouse.[427]

Throughout the first two centuries after the founding of the colony, local and imperial donors alike added extensively to this mix of old Greek and new Roman buildings in the city center, particularly after an earthquake in 77.[428] A peribolos with an apse at the south replaced the Macellum on the Lechaion Road (the Peribolos of Apollo), and a small set of public baths with latrine stood to its north (the so-called Baths of Eurycles).[429] At the west side of the Agora by the temples, a square monument with a dolphin was given by Babbius, and the Poseidon Fountain was replaced by the emperor Commodus with two more podium temples (Temples H, J), and the small south-facing Temple K was replaced with the east-facing

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[426] Paus. 2.3.2 (Lechaion Road, Propylaia), 2.3.6 (Sicyon Road), 2.4.6 (Acrocorinth Road).

[427] Macellum: built by Q. Cornelius Secundus under Augustus or Tiberius in Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 321; West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), no. 124. Bronze foundry: Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 27-31.

[428] Earthquake of 77: I-14, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 18-9, no. 20; Suetonius *Vesp.* 17; Malalas 10.46, ed. Dindorf 1831, 261, tr. E. Jeffreys et al. 1986; Scotton 1997, 192-5 (Julian Basilica cryptoporticus reinforced, Agora NE repaved); Williams and Zervos 1984 (Theater east vomitorium, Terrace Building restored).

[429] Peribolos of Apollo: Paus. 2.3.3; Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 1-54; Slane 1994.

Temple D slightly to its north. The Lechaion Road Basilica gained a massive new sculpted façade (the Captives Façade), and adjacent to this the North Stoa was replaced by the vaulted line of Northwest Shops ca. 200.[430] The Theater gained a new stage building faced with relief sculpture under Hadrian; Herodes Atticus endowed an Odeum just to its south. Massive public baths went up to the north of the Theater (Theater Baths) and along the Lechaion Road north of the modern Plateia (Great Baths). The Agora and the Lechaion Road were lined with marble bases holding statues of civic honorands, gods and heroes; their buildings were faced with inscribed decrees and dedications, with Greek largely replacing Latin under Hadrian as the language of public and private texts.[431]

B. The Agora and Political Activity in Late Antiquity

Thus the person who entered the Agora at Corinth in the third century through the monumental triumphal Arch (or by then Propylaia, Fig. 15) in its northeast corner encountered the open rectangle described in the previous section, a civic center ringed with old and new buildings and monuments with varied (often overlapping) civic, commercial and cultural functions.[432] And although this space is indeed now dusty open ground with traces of pavement, in Late Antiquity literary sources and statue bases allow us to restore a forest of statues both human and divine, temporary market stalls, produce, animals and crowds of people. The Propylaia would remain the entryway for the Agora from the Lechaion Road throughout Late Antiquity and indeed through at least the tenth century.[433]

The authority of the local government, the Emperor and his local representative the Governor of Achaia was expressed through architecture, sculpture and activities taking place in the Agora. The Propylaia itself bore relief sculptures of weaponry and scenes of imperial sacrifice and barbarian submission, perhaps celebrating Trajan's Parthian campaign, and was crowned by statues of Corinth's patron gods Helios and Phaethon in their chariots.[434] These themes

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[430] Northwest Shops: Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2).
[431] Latin to Greek: Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 19.
[432] Propylaia: Paus. 2.3.2; Sears 1902, 439-54; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 159-92; Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 151. The most recent study is Edwards 1994; he argues for an Augustan triple-arch, rebuilt as a single arch and decorated ca. 117, with coins of Hadrian likely depicting this second phase in honor of Trajan's Parthian campaign (in Edwards 1933 (*Corinth* VI), 30, no. 129).
[433] Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 191; Scranton.
[434] One of the many legends connected with the bronze horses of San Marco in Venice has them coming from this Propylaia under Constantine, and

of victory over eastern barbarians were echoed in the Captives Façade concealing the Lechaion Road Basilica just right or west of the Propylaia, a row of monumental Parthian captives standing on bases depicting Nikai, captives and trophies, celebrating the victorious eastern campaign of some second or early third century emperor, Lucius Verus by one recent suggestion.[435] Below or north of the Propylaia on the Lechaion Road itself was a post-Hadrianic monument to Roma, with a female personification of the city seated on a marble throne formed from the seven hills of Rome carved in relief.[436] Just opposite and above the Propylaia in the center of the south side of the Agora, the Bema in the middle of the Central Shops was used by the proconsul or others to address crowds in the Agora.[437]

Scotton places the proconsul's main tribunal in the apse of the Julian Basilica just to the left or east as one entered the Agora from the Propylaia, with an *aerarium* or *tabularium* in its basement.[438] The governor also, however, had the choice of the Lechaion Road Basilica on the right or west, or the South and Southwest Basilicas beyond the Bema and South Stoa for his public business, legal judgements and petitions.[439] But the greatest concentration

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though this is probably specious, it is possible that this emperor took statuary from Corinth to Constantinople as from many other areas of Greece: Enea Vico in 1558 attributed the horses to Corinth, along with other bronzes in Italy like the doors of the Pantheon (quoted in Perry 1975, 207).

[435] Captives Façade: Richardson 1902b; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 150; Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 55, 88; Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 5; Hill 1964 (*Corinth* I.6), 118; Vermeule 1968, 83-8, 1986 (favors Alexander Severus); Ajootian 2008 (favors Lucius Verus). Von Hesberg (1983, 234-6) and Schneider (1986, 130, 1998, 115) argue the relief bases used in this Façade were reused from an Augustan monument linked to the recovery of the Standards from the Parthians (20 BC), while Rose (2005, 53-4) links it rather with Gaius' campaigns of ca. 10-1 BC. Was there still a monopteros over the Sacred Spring in the third century in this area, the one Williams (and Fisher 1975, 28) identifies as the Dionysion? Roman tripod base in Shoe 1964, 300-3; Williams 1970, 29 fig. 8; Maenad base S-193, Richardson 1904; Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 131-2 no. 275 (drilled, 2nd c.?); Maenad relief S-2597, Broneer 1951, 297-9 (SStoa/NWShops, Antonine). Dionysos heads: S-194, Richardson 1904; Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 25 (overlifesize, Sacred Spring); S-987 (Great Drain); S-69 (Peribolos of Apollo); S-426 (NW Stoa).

[436] Roma Monument, erected after Hadrian's Roman statue of 136/7: Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 139 no. 352; Robinson 1974; Stirling 2008. Possibly to be linked to this base, or a second free-standing statue of Roma is a fragment of bare shoulder with drapery: S-158, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 67 no. 116; Ridgway 1981, 443.

[437] Broneer 1951a.

[438] Scotton 1997, 262-7, with reference to David 1983.

[439] Julian Basilica, Southeast Building: Weinberg 1960 (*Corinth* I.5); Scotton 1997. South Basilica: Weinberg 1960 (*Corinth* I.5). Southwest

of imperial portraits and early dedications at Corinth also comes from the Julian Basilica, securely identifying it as an imperial Lararium containing dedications to family members, the Augustal Nemesis and the Genius of the Colony.[440] While Augustus, his grandsons and Nero kept their portrait heads intact until the destruction of the building in the 5th c., as apparently did two partially nude emperors with necks now remaining, the two cuirassed bodies from the building were repeatedly recut around their neck sockets to receive the heads of subsequent emperors.[441] Thus in the third to fourth centuries the proconsul and other living magistrates were flanked by statues of the founders of the Empire and probably the current Emperor as well.

Late fourth century coins found among the statues in the rubble of the Julian Basilica indicated that the building did not survive long into the fifth century in its original form with its Julio-Claudian statuary; this is seemingly confirmed by the rebuilding in the fifth or sixth century of the Southeast Building over its south aisle.[442] However that very rebuilding attests to continued public building on this eastern side of the Agora, where at least the Southeast Building survived in the sixth century. A late bust was found here which seems to be wearing a

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Basilica: Robinson and Weinberg 1960; Robinson 1965, 27. Lechaion Road Basilica: Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 150; Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2); Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 5; Hill 1964 (*Corinth* I.6), 118.

[440] The identification is based on this concentration and a fragmentary text, collected with others from the Julian Basilica by Scotton (1997, 244-55): laRIBVS AVGVSTIS, I-632+, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 11-2, no. 13. Dedications to the imperial family: I-653/689, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 38, no. 69 (Augustus); I-688, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 15-6, no. 17 (Gemellus, Antonia, Gens Augusta); I-694+, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 41-2, no. 81 (Nero); I-725, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 27 no. 44 (auGVST); I-711, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 27-8, no. 45 (aVGVST); I-695, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 29 no. 51 (caeSARI); Weinberg Corinth NB201, 36 (auguSTO, imPERAtori). Other deities: I-585, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 6, no. 4 (Apollo?, Genius of Colony and colonists); I-726, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 7, no. 5 (Genius of Colony); I-699, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 9-10, no. 10 (Nemesis); I-567, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 34 no. 61 (SACRVM).

[441] The recognizable imperial portraits are Augustus (S-1116), Gaius and Lucius (S-1080, 1065), and Nero (S-1088), but there are also two partially draped nude male torsos (S-1098, 1052), perhaps Claudius or Caesar and an Antonine heroized emperor, and many fragments of togati and limbs. Two cuirassed torsos (S-1125, 1081), originally Claudius? and Antoninus Pius? both have deeply recarved neck holes. On this sculpture: Swift 1916, 1921a, 1921b, 1921c, 1922, 1923; Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 70-85, nos. 134-58; de Grazia 1973, 16-20, 87-121, 302-4, 314-9, 328-33, nos. 10-13, 99, 103, 107-8; Pollini 1987; Scotton 1997, 255-61.

[442] Weinberg 1960 (*Corinth* I.5), 3-31; Scotton 1997, 140.

fourth-sixth c. chlamys and was also carved for the insertion of multiple portrait heads; this could be a mount for later imperial portraits for the use of the Governor when holding court, though only one very battered head was found.[443] Scranton thought the Julian Basilica was modified in the fifth century to serve as a church, but Scotton judges that the apse on the east and vaulted tombs here are from after Late Antiquity.[444]

In the second half of the third century the Julian Basilica and the other civil basilicas of Corinth were likely also the scene for the trials of Christians already mentioned, where incense was required to be offered to the genius of the reigning emperor, present in portrait-form.[445] Christians certainly existed in third-century Corinth, but the evidence for their presence is entirely textual, extrapolated from the names of a few bishops and the later stories of a few who fell afoul of the authorities and were executed. Also in the third century, and apparently after the toleration of Christianity in 313 up through the early sixth century, Corinth's Christians conducted their services in private houses.[446]

The Southeast Building just south of the Julian Basilica has also been identified as the *Tabularium* or archives of the colony, and significantly outlasted the Julian Basilica as a public building.[447] An oration published among those of Dio but attributed to Favorinus, a Hadrianic sophist, has him delivering it in Corinth, complaining of the removal of a statue of himself from the Library (8. *ta biblia*) of the Corinthian Agora where it has been erected at public expense, just because he is out of favor with Hadrian. Whether this is an imaginary address, or was actually given by Favorinus, it testifies to a library or archives on the Agora.[448] This oration also forms an important piece of evidence for Hellenic education and

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[443] Bust: S-1141, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 322 (4th c.); de Grazia 1973, 339-40, no. 113, pl. 112 (5th/6th c.); Ridgway 1981, 448 n. 103. The very battered head is S-1118, which de Grazia (1973, 121-2, no. 14) suggested was Julio-Claudian. One other bust from Corinth may be wearing a *chlamys*, S-1991-2 from Agora SW.

[444] Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI); Scotton 1997, 67-106.

[445] Christian trials in the third century: Lane Fox 1987.

[446] The visit of St. Paul has provoked a lively interest among Biblical historians in house-churches at Corinth. Blue (1994, 157-61) surveys four Corinthian houses, but finds evidence of Christianity at none (Shear's Villa, the 'House' by Temple E, the Anaploga Villa, the Mosaic House).

[447] Weinberg 1960 (*Corinth* I.5), 3-31. Cybele S-1124 came from the "early medieval" levels of the SE Building; is there a connection with Mater as supervisor of archives in Athens?

[448] [Dio Chrysostom] Favorinus *Or.* 37.

sophistic display in Roman Corinth, activities present at least since Philostratus placed a Cynic philosopher and his students there in the mid-first century.[449] The famous doctor Galen is said to have studied at Corinth in the late second to early third century; Athenaeus then featured both him and an otherwise unknown colleague from Corinth named Myrtilus in his *Learned Banqueters*.[450]

Turning west or right at the southeast corner of the Agora, the entire south side was flanked by the South Stoa and the parallel Central Shops just to the north, with an open corridor in between.[451] Broneer suggested that several rooms in the refurbished South Stoa were imperial offices, and this upper Agora was specifically dedicated to politics.[452] It may have held offices for the local government as well; one 'shop,' heavily renovated to form a horseshoe-shaped chamber with a bench along the back wall, fits the format of a Roman colonial bouleuterion or Councilhouse.[453] The highest honor of service in the local government was Agonothete of the Isthmian Games, though there were also annual duovirs and several lesser offices.[454] An early second-century mosaic of an athlete and seated lady with a shield bearing the legend [Ἐυτυ]χία (Good Luck) in another 'shop' of the South Stoa suggested to Broneer that the office for the Agonothete should be placed there.[455] He also identified a built round base supporting a central column at the east end of the Central Shops as the base for a Corinthian statue of an emperor (or deity) holding a scepter flanked by horses known from a coin of Lucius Verus.[456] The horses could indicate an imperial victory monument for the Isthmian games placed appropriately close to the Agonothete's offices. More than half of all the inscriptions referring to the Agonothete found at Corinth are concentrated in this southeast corner of the Agora.[457] A long second-century decree honoring a certain Priscus for

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[449] Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 4.25.
[450] Galen *De anat. admin.* 40, vol. 2, 217, and in Athenaeus. Myrtilus: Athen. 13.567c.
[451] South Stoa: Broneer 1951; Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4); Weinberg 1960 (*Corinth* I.5); Price 1967; Hayes 1973; Scotton 2006. Central Shops: Broneer 1935, 57; Broneer 1947; Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3).
[452] Broneer 1951a, 1954 (*Corinth* I.4), 114.
[453] Sakellariou and Faraklas 1971, 140.
[454] Wiseman 1979, partly based on Bagdikian 1953.
[455] Broneer 1962c; Waywell 1979, 297 no. 19.
[456] Broneer 1942, 145, 153-4; Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 79, 127. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner (1885, 64) connect this coin and several others which seem to depict the same monument with Pausanias 2.2.2, the Isthmian Games and a stadium or hippodrome.
[457] West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 29-31, 48-53, 68-9; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 28-31; Scotton 1997, 254-5.

building a stoa with fifty *oikoi* for housing athletes, perhaps at Isthmia, was found here.[458] Nearby was found a statue base honoring a man for his involvement in Caesarean, Augustan, Asclepean and Isthmian games in the mid-third century, our latest notice that the celebration of those festivals continued until then.[459]

But both before and after the late fourth-century the South Stoa and Central Shops were used for more than just offices or official business. In the center of the South Stoa a marble-encrusted fountain supplied fresh water to the public, and may have held statues on either side of the deep basin; just north in the Central Shops were cool exedrae with benches to either side of the Bema, and then the fountains installed there in later years.[460] A new bath revetted in marble was constructed in the west section of the South Stoa in Late Antiquity too.[461] Finally, the Great East-West Drain under the South Stoa contained coins through the reign of emperor Leo I.[462]

The most significant architectural modifications to the Agora in Late Antiquity were the repair and rededication of the West Shops and South Stoa in the late fourth century, and then the replacement of the Central Shops with a set of broad stairs and fountains in the fifth century (Fig. 5).[463] Though linked in terminology and scholarship, the inscribed dedications on the West Shops' epistyle and South Stoa epistyle are in very different lettering, and may not belong to the same campaign of renovation. The West Shops inscription is carefully engraved in one line over two fascia of the original epistyle blocks of this building; it was certainly done by the governor, but his name is not currently recoverable beyond T. Flav. ?-nos.[464] The South Stoa inscription, however, lacks any dedicating name and is carved in two

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[458] I-2194, IS-261, Broneer 1939, 1955, 124; Robert 1940, 45-53; Broneer 1955, 124; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 306. A small part of the upper edge of this decree was found in the Hexamilion Fort at Isthmia, and though Broneer thus thought it came from there, I think it more likely that it traveled to Isthmia with other spolia, especially considering that the decree is of the boule and demos of Corinth, it is said to have been read from the rostra there, and the majority was found in the South Stoa.

[459] I-1426, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 230.

[460] Stillwell 1936, 31-9; Broneer 1942, 154-6; Robinson 2001.

[461] Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4), 145; Biers 2003; Sanders 2004.

[462] Williams et al. 1973, 43.

[463] Central Shops: Broneer 1935, 57; Scranton 1957.

[464] I-475+, Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 113; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 165-6, no. 504; Williams 1977, 63; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, no. 6; Rizakis 2001, 316-7 COR 270.1; Sanders 2003, 395 n. 35.

lines of sloppy lettering across both the epistyle and frieze sections of two reused blocks (out of a likely original three) which were erected to span the road to the South Basilica running through the center of the South Stoa.[465] Kent made the argument that both epistyles represented repair work of 366/7 after the earthquake of 365, but there is no evidence that earthquakes damaged either building, and the rebuilding may be linked to sudden damage, the age of both buildings, or the interests of the governor. Both certainly took place under the reign of at least two emperors, likely three in the case of the West Shops (as there are three fragments with Fl. besides the governor); on both epistyles the first emperor was 'Vallentinian' (sic). Thus we have a range of 364-378 (Valentinian and Valens, with Gratian after 367) and 383-392 (Valentinian II and Theodosius, with Arcadius after 383).

These modifications to West and Central Shops and South Stoa have been connected with widespread evidence across the Agora for significant architectural reconstruction in the Central Area in the later fourth and early fifth centuries.[466] As noted above, this era was long-connected with the end of Ancient Corinth resulting from the earthquakes of 365 and 375 and invasion of Alaric of 395-7. Much of this is poorly dated independently, however, usually by associated fourth-century coins. It is important that Broneer's fire in the South Stoa has been redated by K. Slane from the later third to the later fourth century on the basis of pottery in the destruction layer.[467] The fine condition of the South Stoa, West Shops and Northwest Shops today signals that throughout Late Antiquity they formed the core infrastructure for the western end of the Agora. To judge from some extremely small fragments of decrees, the western side of the Agora was also used for posting

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[465] I-1499, Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4), 113; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3) 166-7 nos. 505a-b; Rizakis 2001, 316-7, COR 270.2. Kent and Rizakis restore by comparison with West Shops, but do not indicate block breaks, which I add:
505b, line 1: [Τ(ίτος) Φλάβ(ιος) Ὀλυμπιανὸς ὁ λαμ(πρότατος) ἀνθ(ύπατος)]
505a, line 1: [(ὑπ]ὲρ σωτηρίας κ(αὶ) νείκης κ(αὶ) αἰω[νί–
Lost, line 1: [ου διαμονῆς τῶν μεγίστων κ(αὶ)]
505b, line 2: [τὰ π]άντα νεικώ[ντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν]
505a, line 2: [Φλαβ(ίου)] Βαλλεντινιανοῦ κ(αὶ) Φ[λαβί(ου) Βά–
Lost, line 2: [λεντος τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων].
[466] Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI); Weinberg 1960 (*Corinth* I.5), 57, 76-7, 122; Robinson 2001, 125; Sanders 2004, 170-2.
[467] Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4), 134, 143, 151, 159.

public documents through Late Antiquity; the only datable one is a probable cadaster of ca. 394-408.[468]

The largest concentration of well-preserved honorific inscriptions, portrait heads, newly-carved *chlamydati* and reused marble bodies comes from the southern and northwestern sides of the Agora, conveying quite a bit about those honored publicly in Late Antiquity by the city of Corinth or Governor of Achaia.[469] The colonnades in front of the South Stoa, West Shops and Northwest Shops were already crowded with marble and bronze men and women in the third century, but their numbers were clearly added to in Late Antiquity as well.

Honorific texts erected by the *Boule* or *polis* are generally in verse; emperors, governors and local officials are those who receive statues most often. Diocletian, Galerius, and Theodosius with his sons are honored in Latin by the Governor of Achaia; Trebonianus Gallus, Constans, Justin II and Tiberius, and possibly Justin in Greek by the city.[470] Of these only the dedications to Trebonianus and Constans are bases, the others are all marble plaques. Though the base for Constans is a reused garland altar, comparison with other garland altars reused in Greece in the second-fourth centuries suggests that no particular anti-pagan message was intended.[471] A fragmentary text containing the suggestive words μαρ]μαράριοι and Θεοδόσ[ιος may represent a material benefaction by emperors I or II of

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[468] I-817+, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 507; Feissel and Philippides-Braat 1985, 276, no. 11. Compare also a list of names in fourth-fifth c. script: I-1998, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 689.

[469] For Roman portrait statues and associated dedicatory inscriptions before Late Antiquity: de Grazia 1973; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 38-100.

[470] Diocletian and Galerius: I-193+, Groag 1946, 15; Dean 1922, 467 no. 48 fig. 13; West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), no. 23; Jones et al. 1971 (*PLRE*), I.685 s.v. Lucius Sul Paulus II; Rizakis 2001, 385 COR 578; I-158+, Dean 1922, 467 no. 49 fig. 14; West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), no. 24; I-225+, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), no. 25. Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius: I-228/754, 295; West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), no. 26; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 506; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 275-6 no. 10; Rizakis 2001, 248 Corinthia no. 4. Trebonianus: I-1751, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 116. Constans: I-2143, Kent 1950; Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 147, pl. 67.3; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 510; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985; Sanders 2003. Justin II and Tiberius: I-435, Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 195; Hiller von Gärtringen 1932; Bees 1941, no. 9; Sironen 1992-1994. Possibly Justin: I-1987-3, Sironen 1992-1994 (unpublished).

[471] Against the triumphal interpretation of Rothaus (2000, 125, n. 64), who also thinks with Kent that this is Constans II, which is highly unlikely on the basis of letter forms, see a garland altar of 35 BC reused as a statue base for a statue of Isis in the Thessaloniki Serapeum (MTh 986).

that name.[472] But besides these emperors, only governors and certain local officials warranted statue bases from the third to early fifth centuries, in most cases from the Boule or fellow officials.

The most complete base is in honor of Memmius Pontius Ptolemaeus Parnasius, patron of the city of the Corinthians, erected by Aur. Eutychianos, ἀποστρά(τηγος) (*praetorius*), and by a decree of the city council, with an original Psi Beta.[473] This is likely the same Parnasius of Corinth who was prefect of Egypt under Constantius (357-9), and exiled from that post along with his colleague the sophist Aristophanes of Corinth of the *agentes in rebus* for consulting an astrologer. Aristophanes was reinstated under Julian by the good offices of Libanius, and both men returned to Corinth later in life.[474] Thus in the later fourth century this was an appropriate place for Parnasius to receive a statue, but the lack of detail concerning the exact reason for it is frustratingly typical. Many other bases and plaques honoring proconsuls and local officials from the south and west Agora are more fragmentary, but dated on the basis of their script to the third-fifth centuries.[475]

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[472] I-276, Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), 141 no. 245; Sanders 2003, 395 n. 35.

[473] I-1115, Groag 1946, 98, 111; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 502, pl. 42; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, no. 31; Jones et al. 1971 (*PLRE*), I.667-8 s.v. Parnasius I; Rizakis 1995, 69, no. 20, 2001, 271-2, COR nos. 102.1, 422.

[474] Libanius *Or.* 14, 16, *Ep.* 734, 1228, 1264, 1399 (ed. Foerster 1903-1927, 822, 1214); Amm. 19.12.10; Julian *Ep.* 28, 74; Themistius *Or.* 23.295a-296b.

[475] Southern Agora: I-1211, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 170-1, no. 514 (construction?); I-1354, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 53 no. 118; Sironen 1992-1994 (proconsul (ἡγ[εμών) Illyrius); I-1768, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 517 (Theodorus); I-1205, Broneer 1933, 562; *SEG* 11.125; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 109-10, no. 269 (Pedoukaios Kestianos); I-1381b+, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 274 (L. Vet. Pop.); I-1471, 1472, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 273; Rizakis 2001, 265, Corinthia no. 73 (]ωνίου · Στακτ[η); I-2111, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 473; Sironen 1992-1994 (official of the East?); I-2118/1974-4, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 159 no. 486 (2118); Martin 1977, 189-95, no. 10, pl. 52 (*cursus honorum*); I-2249, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 501 (τὸν κρ]άτιστο[ν).
Northwestern Agora: I-777, Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), 77 no. 110d (ἀν]θύπατ[ον); I-146, Powell 1903, 60 no. 39; Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 92; Hiller von Gärtringen 1932; Sironen 1992-1994 (Hesychius); I-1905, 2149, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 516 (2149); Sironen 1992-1994 (unpublished)(Genethlidius); I-939, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 519.
Exact findspot uncertain: I-494, Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 96 ([Αὐτο]κράτ[ορα); I-2322, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 518 (G.

The surviving heads of that era from the Agora are mostly male and shaped for insertion into separate bodies; from a peak in the third century the number of surviving heads decreases sharply in the fourth-fifth centuries, though dating largely by hairstyle and carving technique means portraits do sometimes shift in scholarship.[476] The other center for new portrait erection was clearly the Peribolos of Apollo and along the Lechaion Road, where most of the other third-fifth century male heads were uncovered, mainly from the Peirene drain.[477] Only two heads of ladies from the Central Area wear the headscarf which became fasionable in the fifth-sixth centuries.[478] Most earlier togati and palliati bodies from the Agora were recut to take new heads, while a few are judged as 'late' creations by their small size or schematic carving.[479] Also, one Large Herculaneum Woman was recut as a man, probably in Late Antiquity, and found by the Bouleuterion, perhaps its last place of dedication.[480]

Ioulius); I-732/740, Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), 155, no. 294; Hiller von Gärtringen 1932; Sironen 1992-1994 (building activity?).

[476] Third-century heads: S-1155, Johnson 1931, no. 159; de Grazia 1973, 65-9 no. 3; Ridgway 1981, 447, n. 99; S-1181, de Grazia 1973, 178-83 no. 37; S-1802, de Grazia 1973, no. 45; Ridgway 1981, 447; S-1972-5, Vanderpool 2003, 370 n. 7 fig. 22.4; S-1972-22; S-1974-30, Williams and Fisher 1975, 14 n. 28; Ridgway 1981, 438-46; Vanderpool 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 370, n. 7, fig. 22.3. Fourth-century head: S-1977-13, Vanderpool 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 379-80, n. 55-8, fig. 22.13. Third-fourth c., no provenance but probably Agora: S-72, Tucker 1902, 437-8 fig. 1; Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 92 no. 181; S-363, Johnson 1931, 92 no. 180; S-1202, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 182; de Grazia 1973, 207-11, no. 50; Comstock and Vermeule 1976, no. 381; Weitzmann 1979, no. 270; Smith 1990, 144, n. 70; Kondoleon 2000, no. 97. Fifth-century heads: S-2186, de Grazia 1973, 235-6 no. 60; S-2195, de Grazia 1973, 228-9 no. 57.

[477] Third-century heads: S-22, de Grazia 1973, 141, no. 25; S-1470, Ridgway 1981, 445, n. 96; S-2771, de Grazia 1973, 77-80, no. 7; Datsouli-Stavridi 1970, 109-10, fig. 1D; Ridgway 1981, 430, n. 31; S-1047, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 179; de Grazia 1973, 205-6, no. 49. Fourth-century heads: S-1073, de Grazia 1973, 211-2, no. 51; S-2749, de Grazia 1973, 204-5, no. 48; S-1199, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 88, no. 168; de Grazia 1973, no. 52; Ridgway 1981, 448, n. 104, pl. 97:c; Meischner 1988, 381, pl. 6, 1990, 308, pl. 10; Jesse 1992; Vanderpool 2003, 381, n. 60-1, fig. 22.15. Fifth-century heads: S-909, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 183; de Grazia 1973, no. 59; S-919, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 178; de Grazia 1973, no. 58; S-920, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 148-9 no. 321; de Grazia 1973, 217-23, no. 53, pls. 69-70; Ridgway 1981, 448, n. 105, pl. 97:d; Vanderpool 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 380-1, n. 59, fig. 22.14; S-1454, de Grazia 1973, no. 54.

[478] S-2474, de Grazia 1973, no. 64 (NW Shops); S-986, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 164; de Grazia 1973, 238-42 no. 63; Ridgway 1981, 448 n. 106; Jesse 1992 (Peribolos of Apollo).

[479] For an example of the latter see: S-47, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 202; de Grazia 1973, 278, no. 86.

[480] S-2224, de Grazia 1973, 292-4, no. 94, pl. 98; Ridgway 1981, 448.

Despite their manufacture from reused marble, the most skillful Late Antique creations of Corinthian sculptors are clearly the numerous bodies of men wearing the *chlamys*, crossbow fibula, long-sleeved tunic and belt of post-third-c. imperial office. More of these figures were excavated at Corinth than have come to light at any other site. Four were found in the western Agora, with another one each from the Theater, Lechaion Road and Kraneion Basilica. Most seem to be carved from previously-worked marble, but they all had their portrait heads carved in one piece, and the Theater and Lechaion Road figures display a lively naturalism. The Theater man is likely pre-425, if erected in the Theater originally; a hand from the same area shows a second tunic-clad figure stood there too.[481] The Lechaion Road man had a scroll bundle beside his foot, probably advertising his excellence as a bureaucrat, or man of letters.[482] The other four from the Agora and the man built into the Kraneion Basilica are all stiffer in execution, difficult to date precisely or identify, but clearly newly carved in Late Antique Corinth and marked out from other older portrait bodies by their contemporary costume.[483]

With reference to the bases from the same general area, the *chlamydati* should be fourth-fifth century in date, governors of Achaia or local grandees in imperial service. The fourth-century emperors commemorated in inscriptions are more likely to have worn the toga; fifth to sixth-century emperors wore military costume or the chalamys with a more elaborate circular brooch. Governors of Achaia as elsewhere had a very high turnover in Late Antiquity, rarely serving more than a few years at most, so these statues though numerous may belong to a relatively short period of time.[484] In light of the *chlamydati* known to

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[481] S-903, Johnson 1924, 253, no. 1, 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 150, no. 325; Kollwitz 1941, 89, no. 13; de Grazia 1973, 282-6, no. 89; Sturgeon 2004 (*Corinth* IX.3), 163-5, no. 54 (with comments on the other Corinth *chlamydati*). Hand: T-863/Sc. 62, Sturgeon 2004 (*Corinth* IX.3), 165-6, no. 55.

[482] S-314, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 149, no. 323; de Grazia 1973, 283-4, no. 88 (before join with foot, scrolls). For scroll supports: Smith 1999.

[483] Agora: S-819, Johnson 1924, no. 3, 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 327; Kollwitz 1941, 90, no. 15; de Grazia 1973, no. 90; Sande 1975, 84; Foss 1979 (1996), 213; S-822, Johnson 1924, no. 2, 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 326; Kollwitz 1941, 89-90, no. 14; de Grazia 1973, no. 91; Sande 1975, 84; Foss 1979 (1996), 213; Ridgway 1981, 448; S-925, Johnson 1924, no. 4, 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 328; Kollwitz 1941, 90-1, no. 16; de Grazia 1973, no. 93; Sande 1975, 84; Foss 1979 (1996), 213; Ridgway 1981, 448; S-2046, de Grazia 1973, no. 92. Kraneion: S-3788, Pallas 1970 (1972), 98-9, 102-4, 113, fig. 2, pls. 144a, 145b, 157b; Brown 2006.

[484] Groag 1946.

him, C. Foss suggested that the governor of Achaia was depicted in the chlamys rather than the toga since he was subordinate to the Vicar of Macedonia and the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum (PPI).[485] The latter more often wore the toga in depictions; the sole full-length Late Antique portrait from the Ancient Agora in Athens most likely depicts the patron of the Palace of the Giants in which it was found, either PPI Herculius (408-10, Frantz 407-12), or less likely the emperor Theodosius II, both honored in nearby inscriptions.[486]

Finally, unfinished portrait heads with hairstyles dated to the second half of the fifth century and found in the Agora securely represent continued production of new portrait sculpture in Corinth at least through that era.[487] On the basis of the heads and *chlamydati*, Vanderpool characterizes Corinthian sculptural style by the fifth century as "an idiosyncratic, highly localized version of a debased Greco-Roman tradition, often using marble cannibalized from other works."[488] The first of the unfinished heads was in fact found oddly placed in a much-too-small third-century palliatus body and marked on top with a cross, with the whole ensemble then built into a late wall at the West end of the Agora; if head and body represent a serious dedication then it appears to be a very poor one indeed by comparison with the finished fifth-century heads and *chlamydati*.[489] But through the end of the fifth century, Corinth was still a city creating and

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[485] For identification of these higher officials: Sande 1975, 84; Foss 1979 (1996).

[486] This headless statue, now at the north end of the porch of the Stoa of Attalos, is the only togatus from Greece who wears the Late Antique toga. For the statue as Herculius: Hattersley-Smith 1996, 201. For Herculius as patron of the Palace: Frantz 1969, 1979, 400. For the Palace: Travlos 1971, 233 fig. 37; Frantz 1988 (*Agora* 24), 21-3 (ceramic, coin evidence for Palace construction). Sironen 1995, 1997 for the inscriptions. For earlier togati from Greece: Havé-Nikolaus 1998.

[487] Sturgeon (2003 (*Corinth* XX), 362, n. 42) mentions unfinished heads S-697 (Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 88-9, no. 170; de Grazia 1973, 226-7, no. 55, pl. 72) and S-1610 (de Grazia 1973, 227-8, no. 56, pl. 73). Of unknown provenance but probably from the Agora, and also unfinished is S-362, de Grazia 1973, no. 62.

[488] Vanderpool 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 375.

[489] S-696 (body), Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 96 no. 198; de Grazia 1973, 279-80 no. 87 pl. 94; S-697 (head), Johnson 1931 (Corinth IX), 88-9 no. 170; de Grazia 1973, 226-7 no. 55 pl. 72. Head dated by L'Orange (1933, 89) to 450-500, and put with Vienna group; Sturgeon (2003, 362 n. 42) and then Vanderpool (2003, 375 n. 33 fig. 22.7) both call it an unfinished head, date it second half of fifth c., but neither mention cross on top of it nor regard its matching with the body as original.

erecting marble statuary in the Agora for imperial and local benefactors.

C. The Agora and Religion in Late Antiquity

In the center of the South Stoa, just adjacent to the Bouleuterion, there was a small shrine: a life-sized acrolithic statue or herm of Serapis with a gilded marble head, an altar in front of him used at least through the third century, and a Diocletianic dedication to the *Genius Augusti*.[490] This seems to be the best-preserved *in situ* find of a statue, altar and associated architecture in the Agora. Much more common are single fragmentary pieces of sculpture in later constructions or fills, or less often suggestive pairs, like small busts of Serapis and Isis from the rooms behind the Hemicycle.[491] But the occurrence of these finds among the offices, baths and fountains already described brings us to the monuments and mostly lost rituals of polytheism present all over the Agora, particularly along its west side and on the heights overlooking it. Most scholarly efforts have been aimed at reconciling Pausanias with archaeology, or connecting Roman cults with their Greek predecessors, and I am not innocent of either in what follows. But for this work it is surely most important to consider the full range of Late Roman evidence for cults in the Central Area.[492]

Considering its importance and brevity, it is worth beginning with and quoting Pausanias' topographic description of the Corinthian Agora in full:

> Worthy of mention in the city are the things still left of the ancients, and most of these were made later than its acme. There are then on the Agora- for that is where most of the holy things (*hiera*) are- Artemis called Ephesia and *xoana* of Dionysos gilded but for their faces, the faces are decorated with red varnish. They call one Lysios, the other Baccheios. And what is said about the

[490] Serapis: S-2387, Capps Jr. 1938, 548-51 fig. 8; Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4), 132-8. Dedication: I-1835, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 37 no. 67, 161 no. 497. Also in this space, the former Shop XX, were found a hoard of second-third century coins and a second-century base with a dedication to *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthienses*. For dispute about the burning of this shop in the later third or fourth centuries see above. A statuette head of a bearded male deity, perhaps also Serapis, came from shop XXV just to the west: S-2268, Capps Jr. 1938, 545-7, figs. 5-6.

[491] I-1457, 1458; only Serapis published: Broneer 1926, 56-7; Brady 1941, 64; Smith 1977, 224-5; Milleker 1985, 124-7.

[492] Walbank 1986; Bookidis 2005.

> *xoana* I also write. (story of Pentheus' spying from tree, death). And later, as the Corinthians say, the Pythia prophesied to them to find and worship that tree equal to the god.[493] And from it therefore they have made these images. There is also a Temple of Tyche: upright statue of Parian stone. And beside this there is a *hieron* for all gods. And nearby is built a fountain, and a bronze Poseidon atop it and there is a dolphin under the feet of Poseidon spouting water. And there is a bronze Apollo called Clarios and a statue of Aphrodite made by Hermogenes of Cythera. And of Hermes there are statues of bronze, both standing, and for one also a temple has been made. Those of Zeus, also these are in the open air, the one did not have a title, the other of these they call Chthonios and the third Hypsistos. In the middle of the Agora there is a bronze Athena, and on her base there are carved statues of Muses. And over the Agora there is a *naos* of Octavia, sister of Augustus, ruler of the Romans after Caesar founder of current Corinth.

Thus for Pausanias the statues of Artemis Ephesia and Dionysos were the most important *hiera* on the Agora, the Temple of Octavia the least before leaving via the Propylaia onto the Lechaion Road. Statues of gods were the focus of his attention, their material and what the Corinthians said about them; all were given their Greek names, and only two were specified as standing in temples, Tyche and Hermes.

Now seven temples stood on the west side of the Agora in the third century, and one on the north, but only five were on the west when Pausanias visited, and we shall leave the Temple of Apollo for last, as he marked it on his

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[493] Paus. 2.2.6–2.3.1: Λόγου δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν λειπόμενα ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐποιήθη τῆς ὕστερον. ἔστιν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς—ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πλεῖστά ἐστι τῶν ἱερῶν—Ἄρτεμίς τε ἐπίκλησιν Ἐφεσία καὶ Διονύσου ξόανα ἐπίχρυσα πλὴν προσώπων· τὰ δὲ πρόσωπα ἀλοιφῇ σφισιν ἐρυθρᾷ κεκόσμηται· Λύσιον δέ, τὸν δὲ Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσι. τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα ἐς τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἐγὼ γράφω. Πενθέα.... ὕστερον δέ, ὡς Κορίνθιοι λέγουσιν, ἡ Πυθία χρᾷ σφισιν ἀνευρόντας τὸ δένδρον ἐκεῖνο ἴσα τῷ θεῷ σέβειν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τόδε τὰς εἰκόνας πεποίηνται ταύτας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναός· ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν Παρίου λίθου· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν θεοῖς πᾶσίν ἐστιν ἱερόν. πλησίον δὲ ὠκοδόμηται κρήνη, καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς καὶ δελφὶς ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφιεὶς ὕδωρ. καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐπίκλησιν Κλάριος χαλκοῦς ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης Ἑρμογένους Κυθηρίου ποιήσαντος. Ἑρμοῦ τέ ἐστιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ μὲν καὶ ὀρθὰ ἀμφότερα, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ καὶ ναὸς πεποίηται. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Διός, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπίκλησιν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὕψιστον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶ χαλκῆ· τῷ βάθρῳ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστι Μουσῶν ἀγάλματα ἐπειργασμένα. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν ἐστιν Ὀκταβίας ναὸς ἀδελφῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλεύσαντος Ῥωμαίων μετὰ Καίσαρα τὸν οἰκιστὴν Κορίνθου τῆς νῦν.

Sicyonian route rather than with reference to the Agora (Figs. 3-5).[494] Of the two small temples right on the Agora itself in the second century, the southern (Temple F) is the only one from his visit independently identifiable from epigraphic evidence. The dedication on the pediment to Venus (V]ENERI) confirmed to Williams that Pausanias' statue of Aphrodite by Hermogenes of Cythera should be located inside, and I find his arguments convincing.[495] The immediately adjacent temple (Temple G) should then be dedicated to Apollo Clarius, the site of his neighboring statue.[496] These temples to Augustus' patron deities of Venus and Apollo on the Agora at Corinth may be related to his role as developer of the colony for his benefactor Caesar.[497]

The second pair of small temples visible now to the north of these are ascribed epigraphically to the patronage of Commodus in 191; Scranton suggested from his habits elsewhere that they were dedicated to Commodus as Herakles (Temple H) and as Poseidon (or Helios)(Temple J).[498] They replaced Pausanias' Fountain of Poseidon described above.[499] The connection of Temple H with Herakles is bolstered by the discovery in a nearby drain of a bearded nude male torso identified by Sturgeon as Herakles, and the hero was otherwise quite popular in Roman Corinth.[500] The adjacent Babbius monument, unrecognizable in Pausanias, bore a dolphin and perhaps other statuary under its marble canopy; it may have been dedicated to Palaimon as a pair with

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[494] Paus. 2.2.8; Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 65-72; Williams 1989; Millis 2004.

[495] Temple F identified as housing Pausanias' statue of Aphrodite by Hermogenes of Cythera: Williams and Fisher 1975, 25-7. Previously Scranton (1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 61-2) with the same epigraphic evidence had made a rather labored argument for the Temple as dedicated to Venus Victrix, Pausanias' Tyche. Gilded marble Aphrodite statuette head from a drain just to the west (S-72-18, Sturgeon 1975, no. 4, mid to second half of 2nd c.); for coin evidence and Hermogenes as a Roman sculptor: Seltman 1928.

[496] S-2704 and S-71-3, Sturgeon 1975, no. 6, belong to a statuette of Apollo (or perhaps Asclepius) with snake and omphalos from just south and east of Temple G.

[497] Walbank 1986.

[498] Scranton 1944, 1951 (Cor I.3), 51, 67, 70.

[499] Robinson 2001, 244-63.

[500] S-72-1, Sturgeon 1975 no. 5; the statue lacks head and feet, and was deposited in the drain along with other statues of divinities and a male portrait head in the 5th/6th c. Herakles at Roman Corinth: S-157, Johnson 1931, 57, no. 79 (Herakles Farnese); Lisle 1955, 155; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 36, no. 65 (epigram for H?); Meritt 1931 (Cor. VIII.1), 53 no. 69 (1st c. dedication to H); Capps Jr. 1936; Sturgeon 1977 (*Corinth* IX.2)(Theater reliefs, 15 other H sculptures).

Poseidon. These shrines would thus form a counterpart to the sanctuary at Isthmia on the Corinthian Agora.[501]

The final small temple foundation on the Agora visible today is Temple D in the northwest corner. However like Temples H-J it was not present when Pausanias visited; Millis places it for stratigraphic reasons in the early third century, possibly a replacement for the demolished Temple K just adjacent.[502] Thus it should house (if K before it) Pausanias' bronze statue of Hermes (Mercury), the second and only lone statue he explicitly places in a temple, the god of the Agora and commerce.[503] This may also be the statue of Hermes in a temple on Corinthian coins; several depictions of the god were also found in the vicinity.[504] A pedimental relief bearing a medallion portrait of a bearded man wearing a filet and ivy wreath was found by Temple D and could come from it, though the hairstyle and drilled pupils place him in the third or fourth century.[505] Fragments of two other medallion portraits also derive from the immediate area.[506]

The three-apsed north-facing chamber at the west end of the Central Shops likely also served as a shrine; it had an altar outside in front of it, marble paving and a number of tables, altars or statue bases along its back wall.[507] Scranton placed some of Pausanias' *xoana* of Dionysos in a hieron here, while Williams preferred to locate the 'bronze statue of Hermes in a temple' here; but since this is not a traditional temple like the small Temple K, I would prefer to put Hermes there and leave this apsidal chamber along with other chambers in the South Stoa, Central Shops and Northwest Shops available for Pausanias' other sculptures

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[501] Robinson 2001.

[502] Millis (2004) argues for construction of Temple D as a replacement for K in the early third c.

[503] Pausanias 2.2.8. Scranton (1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 67-72) made this the temple of Hermes too, but for reasons of itinerary not elimination.

[504] Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner (1885, 72-3) connect the coins rather with the bronze statue of Hermes with the Ram on the Lechaion Road (Paus. 2.3.4). Severe-style Roman head of Hermes (or Perseus) with winged cap from a drain under Central Shop 5 filled in the 5th/6th c. (S-72-4, Sturgeon 1975 no. 1, ca. 100-150 from drillwork); frg. head of Hermes (or Perseus) with winged cap from Agora SW (S-1934A-B, Sturgeon 1975 no. 3, Antonine or later); Archaistic Hermes Kriophoros from Agora SW (S-686).

[505] S-890, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 173; de Grazia 1973, no. 21; Ridgway 1981, 436 n. 59, citing Winkes 1969, 68-71, 175-6; Delbrueck 1933, pl. 121.

[506] S-324, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 174; S-687, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), no. 175. Frame fragments: S-640, 941, 942, 946, 947.

[507] Central Shops Shrine with central hemicycle: Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 85, 89-90, 125; Roux 1958, 109; Williams and Fisher 1975, 28; Williams 1989; Williams and Zervos 1990, 351-6.

of divinities, particularly the wooden ones which must have been kept under shelter.[508] A half lifesize Artemis Rospigliosi was found over the Central Shops marked with a cross; she was perhaps once accompanied by other statues of the goddess found scattered about the Agora in a shrine referenced by coins and statuettes at Corinth.[509]

When we turn from these small temples and chambers to the two larger temples in peribolοi behind them on the west, it becomes highly relevant that Pausanias only mentions a few actual buildings in his account of shrines on the Corinthian Agora, and only ONE pair, the *naos* of Tyche with the *hieron* of all gods beside (παρὰ) it.[510] If we accept that by *naos* and *hieron* Pausanias was indicating two structures side by side, and we rule out Temples F and G (on the epigraphic evidence), then only Temples E and C are left as a pair of identifiable religious structures on the excavated Agora. Temple E thus seems likely to be Pausanias' Temple of Tyche (Fortuna), with Temple C the subsidiary *hieron* of all gods (Pantheon) next to it. Though there were small temples, shops and a N-S road between these Temples and the Agora, they were entered from the east alone, and are clearly built to face towards the Agora.

Temple E, from its placement above the central western side of the Agora, almost certainly was first built as the Capitolium of Corinth, as Walbank argues, but it was then largely rebuilt in the Flavian era.[511] By ca. 150-75, Temple E had also recently been decorated with idiosyncratic marble pedimental sculpture featuring Aphrodite (Venus), Roma, a River God, Omphalos Apollo and another Young Man,

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[508] Ajootian (2000, 500-2) presents this as one of the possible original locations for the Hermes with the infant Dionysos trapezophoros S-1993-2, the others being a predecessor of the Byzantine bath southwest of Temple E, or that Temple itself.

[509] Artemis Rospigliosi cult statue?: Corinth S-2392, Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 70 pl. 27:1; Kahil 1984 (*LIMC* s.v. Artemis), 2.1.646 no. 277 pl. 469. Body from Byzantine wall of Central Shops (S-2392; 1938, Corinth NB176, 85); foot from Byzantine wall 13 of Forum SW (S-1997-1, #lapsed: 1997, Corinth NB898, 114). Morgan (1939, 266-7, fig. 9) dates late 1st c. and comments that, "the statue attracted the attention of the Early Christians, who incised a large cross upon the left thigh." Rothaus (2000) doesn't cite her in his examination of statuary defacement. Other Artemises from Corinth: Coins in Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885 (1964), 18 no. 12 fig. D:66-7; S-1313 (Odeum); S-1594, Ridgway 1981, 446; Kahil 1984 (*LIMC* s.v. Artemis), 2.649 no. 325 pl. 472; S-1628; S-2408; Sturgeon 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 363; Stirling 2008, nos. 4, 7.

[510] Paus. 2.2.8.

[511] Walbank 1989. Temple E excavations and studies: Freeman in Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 210-36; Anderson 1967; Haskell 1980; Walbank 1989; Williams 1989, 1996; Williams and Zervos 1987, 1988, 1990, 1991.

perhaps Athena and other figures.[512] As to the identity of this Temple, Pausanias later mentions a Temple of Zeus Capitolios (Jupiter Capitolinus) over or beyond (ὑπὲρ) the Theater, and Freeman thus associated this with Temple E.[513] But Pausanias is by then on his way to Sicyon past Glauce and would not be likely to refer to temples with entrances on the Agora this way; it is more likely unexcavated, the origin of a fragmentary altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus from the Odeum.[514]

More recently most scholars have agreed that Temple E was the temple of the Imperial Cult at Corinth, what Pausanias called the Temple of Octavia.[515] However there are almost no imperial portraits and few dedications from this side of the Agora, and the location of that Temple much later on Pausanias' itinerary suggests a different explanation.[516] I would suggest rather that from its position next to Temple C, pediment sculpture, and associated finds, Temple E is his Temple of Tyche. It is the first temple he mentions on the Agora, and the most prominent in the landscape today after the Temple of Apollo (on which more below).

Coins of Corinth show both Tyche with the rudder of commerce or Aphrodite with the city-crown, clues that both were distinctive emblems of the city.[517] A concentration of finds related to the cult of Fortuna or Tyche come from late contexts in the Western Agora: a base inscribed VICTORIAI SACRUM (sacred to Victory), a monumental female statue, a standing Tyche with wheel, and the head of a mural-crowned Tyche.[518] A base once bearing a statue of

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[512] Possible pediment sculptures include: S-2335 (Athena). Some are discussed by: Johnson 1931, 2203 no. 11 (S-827=Enyo or Nike); Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 210-30; Robinson 1974, 482, followed by Loreti 1985, 179 (S-827=Roma); Williams 1987, 30-1 (pre-Hadrianic); Walbank 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 347 (late Hadrianic/Antonine); Stirling 2008, 112-3, 131, 137 (S-827=Roma, or less likely Virtus, copied in Panagia statuette; Sturgeon to study pediment). Capps Jr. (1950) thought the Youth on the pediment resembled Antinous. No evidence from Corinth is cited for the cult of Roma in Mellor 1975; Fayer 1976.

[513] Paus. 2.4.5; Freeman in Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 165, 235-6; Broneer 1951a, 85; Musti and Torelli 1986, 222.

[514] I-886, Broneer 1932 (*Corinth* X), 134 no. 2.

[515] Dinsmoor 1949; Roux 1958, 13; Wiseman 1979, 522; Williams 1987, 29.

[516] Only de Grazia (1973, 58-) nos. 1, 3 (S-1155), and 5 (S-706) come from the West Agora and date from before the third century; none is an emperor, and I know of no non-architectural dedications to emperors from this end of the Agora either.

[517] Edwards 1933 (*Corinth* VI), 8 nos. 209, 218.

[518] I-427, West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), 10-1 no. 11 (base insc. VICTORIAI SACRVM); S-1804, Stillwell 1936, 41; Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 68 n. 42 (Nike, Athena or Regilla-Tyche); S-, Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 69 (Standing Tyche, though Pentelic rather than Pausanias' Parian, so not

Herodes Atticus' wife Regilla was also found in the west Agora; she was depicted as Tyche, and the *Boule* of Corinth commanded the statue to be erected in a *temenos*, ruling out any of the small temples.[519] A second base found in the South Stoa with similar lettering and phrasing and a dedication by the proconsul may represent a pair to the Regilla base; the name of the honoree is not preserved, but Kent suggested Herodes Atticus.[520] By comparison with Athens and Herodes' placement of a Tyche temple above the Panathenaic Stadium there we may connect this base in honor of Regilla with Temple E too, and even speculate that she had some role in Temple E's renovation or cult.[521] The new second-century pedimental sculpture of Temple E also seems likely to evoke that of Hadrian's Temple of Venus (Aphrodite) and Roma in Rome; the Roma in the pediment is said to be based on the statue there.[522] Local Corinthian mythology is likely invoked too, and a pair of Erechtheion Caryatids found here also recall Augustus' Forum and Temple of Mars Ultor in Rome, or Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.[523]

Temple C was built in the mid-1st c. just adjacent to and north of Temple E, on the west side of the road leading out of the northwest corner of the Agora.[524] I suggest it represents Pausanias' Temple of all gods, or Pantheon. Perhaps the Archaizing piers with multiple deities in relief discovered in the southwest Agora come from here, though the connection is tenuous.[525] But any other identification of Temples E and C requires that Pausanias

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the cult statue); S-802, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 46-7 no. 54; Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 69 (Head). Tyche was previously placed by reference to Pausanias in Temple F by Scranton (1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 69), Temple D by Williams (and Fisher 1975, 27) or Temple K by Edwards (1990), who also identifies S-1804 as Regilla-Tyche.

[519] I-1658; Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 69; *SEG* 13 (1956) 226; Bousquet 1964, 609-13; Robert 1966, 369/71 no. 186, 742 no. 177; *SEG* 22 (1967) 216; *BullÉpigr* 1966, 186; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 128; *SEG* 23 (1968) 64 no. 171; *SEG* 35.255; Edwards 1990, 537; *SEG* 40.302; Rizakis 2001, 374-5 COR 528.

[520] I-1752/2264; Kent 1966, *Corinth* VIII.3.129; Robert *REG* 79 (1966) 742-3 = *OMS* 6, 1989, 560-561; Rizakis 2001, 290-1, COR 174.3. Intriguingly, the letter-forms of both these bases have been dated to the third-fourth century, so they may be replacements of originals.

[521] Tobin 1993, 1997; Pomeroy (2007) has pointed out how often her own dedications were attributed to Herodes, for example the Nymphaeum at Olympia in Lucian *Peregr*. 19.

[522] Rose 2005.

[523] Caryatids: S-1974-26/1797/1815, S-1768, Williams and Fisher 1975, 22-3 nos. 26-27 pls. 7-8.

[524] Temple C: Scranton in Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 131-65; Williams and Zervos 1984, 97-8. Sakellariou and Faraklas (1971) call Temple C the Temple of Hera Akraia, but this should be at Perachora.

[525] Archaizing Piers: S-1974-27/1935, Williams and Fisher 1975, 23-5 no. 28 pls. 9-10; Williams 1982.

omit one entirely, and mention some other pair of temples on the Agora which are completely undiscovered.

Beyond these temples and the Roman arch over the Road to Sicyon, just west of the Agora and above the Theater and Odeum were a number of pre-Roman monuments described by Pausanias as along the Road to Sicyon or near the Theater, only one of which has been located.[526] That is the Glauce Fountainhouse, carved from the living bedrock and always visible, which Pausanias says bore the name of Glauce, the princess who threw herself in a fountain when poisoned by Medea.[527] This area also held the Tomb of Medea's children, and a statue of Terror probably associated with it; though Pausanias denies that the cult of Medea's children continued in the second century, Aelian states that the Corinthians still offered sacrifice to the murdered children.[528] Whether or not the Corinthians still sacrificed to Medea's children, this concentration of monuments above the Theater devoted to Corinth's mythical history probably centered on the Sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis, the bridler who assisted Bellerophon in taming Pegasus.[529] Ajootian

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[526] NW Arch: Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 109. For relief sculpture of a sacrifice and fasces that could have come from this arch see Edwards 1994, 295-6: a fragmentary Roman sacrifice relief from Agora W, SW (S-1626, S-2518) and fasces from decoration or a procession (S-3622, A-74-29).

[527] Glauce: Paus. 2.3.6; Richardson 1900; Elderkin 1910 republished with minor modifications in Hill 1964 (*Corinth* I.6), 200-27; B.A. Robinson 2001, 207-33. Generally considered Archaic, Williams (and Zervos 1984, 98-101) then suggested first c. or Hellenistic; the latter dating was confirmed by Siddall's mortar studies in Sanders 1999, and B.A. Robinson's stylistic analysis.

[528] Sacrifice to Medea's Children: Paus. 2.3.7; Aelian *Var. Hist.* 5.21: μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐναγίζουσι τοῖς παισὶ Κορίνθιοι, "Up until now the Corinthians try to make up for killing the children"; Philostratos *Her.* 53.4; Scranton in Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 164.

[529] Paus. 2.4.1, 2.4.5. Since the Sanctuary is undiscovered it is not clear if it was in its original Greek location, but comparison with the Athena Chalkeoikos temple at Sparta above the theater suggest it was; this Athena may, given the connection with Pegasos, be the same as Athena Hippia (Pindar *Ol.* 13.76-9), and less certainly Athena Hellotis (Pindar *Ol.* 13.39; Schol. Pindar *Ol.* 13.56; Ath. *Epit.* 15.22; Athen. 15.678a-b; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἑλλωτίς or Hellotia; Graf *KlPauly* 5.326-7 s.v. Hellotis), in whose temple the princess Hellotis was burned during the Dorian sack provoking a rebuilding afterwards and festival with torch races in her honor in Classical Corinth, perhaps on the Agora racecourse (Herbert 1986). The statue of Athena Chalinitis was acrolithic, and held the bridle in her right hand, spear and shield in left, as on a coin of Hadrian in Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885, 73-4. Stirling (2008, 137) argues that the statue type of Europa-Sosandra could be Hellotis given the large number of copies of this rare type from Corinth and neighboring cities: S-1999-4, Stirling 2008, no. 1 (Panagia Villa); S-1051 (Julian Basilica); S-1904/2446, S-1897, Ridgway 1981, 442 (Mosaic House); S-3575, Sturgeon (*Corinth* IX.3), 151-2 no. 42

suggests that this particularly local and venerable Sanctuary of Athena should be above and south of the Odeum.[530] She points in support of this to a colossal third-century Archaizing Athena and fragment of a second found in the Odeum ruins, not necessarily part of that building, and a statue of Athena found in the field to its south.[531] Excavations in this area yielded a Roman atrium house and fragmentary elements of colossal sculptures; it is thus highly likely that other sanctuaries were also located just south of the Odeum and west of Temple E along with that of Athena Chalinitis.[532]

Though Athena was long-connected with the enigmatic frescoed 'Terraced Building' or 'Building 5' to the east of the Odeion, this should rather be identified in the Roman period with worship of the Egyptian gods on the basis of finds from in and around it.[533] A rectangular building with its entrance on the short north side built in the early years of the colony, it was maintained until late in the third century.[534]

Returning to the Agora, the view from the Sicyon Road was dominated in Late Antiquity as it is today by the Archaic Temple of Apollo on Temple Hill.[535] Though the

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pl. 51:a; Katakis 2002, 93, 154 no. 92 (Epidaurus); Kritsas 1979, 222-6 pl. 156:a-b (Argos baths).

[530] Ajootian 2008.

[531] Archaizing Athenas: S-1368, 1348, Broneer 1928, 466-8, pl. 6 fig. 8, 1932 (*Corinth* X), 117-24 nos. 1-2; Ridgway 1981, 446; Williams 1982, 177. Athena from south of Odeum: S-1436, Broneer 1932 (*Corinth* X), 124 no. 3; Ridgway 1981, 442.

[532] Dow's dig of 1933 in this area was unpublished; he was followed by Robinson in 1953 (1964, 6-7 fig. 4) and Anderson in 1965 (1967).

[533] For these remains as the Athena Sanctuary: Shear 1925, 388, 1926, 444, 1928b, 489. For a cult: Williams 2005: Terrace Building/Building 5 'cultic room': gilded head of Serapis, from a separate body or acrolithic statue: Corinth S-2387, Milleker 1985. Statue from the Theater identified as Telesphoros, perhaps Harpocrates: Sturgeon (*Corinth* IX.3), 158-9 no. 49 pl. 52:g. Williams and Zervos 1985, 67-8: bone pyxis with obelisk/pyramid on altar, filled basket, hand with torch comp. Marangou 1976, pl. 68 no. 219, from N entry corridor, prob. below last floor; Egyptian bone revetment plaque with garland-encircled head, nail hole, comp. Marangou 1976, pl. 65 no. 215-6, 4th c., though Williams dated end of 2nd c.; Williams and Zervos 1985, 79-80 no. 49 pl. 17: Osiris Hydreios steatite jar fr. robbing trench of west wall of building 5, dumped ca. 400, probably mutilated, comp. Wild 1981, 113-28, pls. 16-24; Columnar shaft with dedication to Serapis and Isis fr. late wall over theater; Williams and Zervos 1986, 148-59: tc bust of helmeted Athena (=Armed Aphrodite?, MF-1983-41), Aprodite tc figs, Artemis tc fig, boat lamp, frescoes with Hermes, Hercules, Lares, from 2nd and 3rd c. contexts.

[534] Williams (and Zervos 1984, 89-92) originally gave it a vague domestic-industrial function; Williams 2005 gives it a cultic one.

[535] Temple of Apollo: Dörpfeld 1886; Richardson 1898, 236 (identified from Peirene); Powell 1905 (condition before excavation); Weinberg

preserved west end of the Temple now looms over the Agora, in Antiquity the complete temple would have been much less visible from the Agora, its lower half hidden behind the intact colonnade of the Northwest Shops, but still imposing to those approaching from west, north or east. Several pieces of evidence support its identification as a Temple of Apollo, beyond its placement by Pausanias on his right when leaving the Agora towards Sicyon.[536] It replaced a seventh-century temple, one of the earliest monumental buildings ever found in Corinth.[537] Apollo was the patron god of their market, political life and adjacent athletic games, and temples placed by the Agora in Corinthian colonies like Syracuse were largely dedicated to Apollo.[538] Though Corinth was refounded by Caesar, its actual redevelopment happened under Augustus, a well-known patron of Apollo; he and his colonists are likely to have revived the pre-existing cult as elsewhere in Corinth. But the prominence of this temple at Corinth also suggests to me that Julio-Claudian Corinthian coins which bear a temple labeled CAESAR or AUGUSTUS could be identified with this building.[539] Perhaps it was restored by Augustus himself as part of the colonial founding, and rededicated in part to his divine adopted father or family.

However, I would argue that Pausanias' last-named and most mysterious temple "above (ὑπὲρ) the Agora" has not been excavated; rather this "*naos* of Octavia, sister of Augustus, ruler of the Romans after Caesar founder of current Corinth" was on the heights east of the Agora, near the modern church of Ancient Corinth.[540] Now no temple specifically dedicated to Augustus' sister Octavia is known from any other ancient city, so scholars have cast around for a more traditional dedication hidden in this. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, before excavations began, sensibly suggested that the temple of the Gens Julia known from

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1939b (date of construction); Broneer 1954 (*Corinth* I.4), 124; Robinson 1971 (1974); Robinson 1976a, 1976b; Williams 1984 (capitals); Dengate 1988; Bookidis 2000 (terracotta sculpture); Bookidis and Stroud 2004 (identification confirmed). Capps Jr. (1950) and Bookidis (1970) have worked on the poros stone sculpture of the temple, remortared in Roman times.

[536] Paus. 2.3.6.

[537] Rhodes 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c.

[538] Apollo of the Agora at Greek Corinth: Hdt. 3.52; Simonides in *Anth. Pal.* 6.213 (Loeb Lyr. Gr. 2, p. 400 no. 194)(Dedication to Apollo of the Agora: Εὔχεο σοῖς δώροισι, ...); Plutarch *Aratus* 40.2-4 (1046)(Aratus avoids an ambush in the Sanctuary of Apollo (ca. 224-3 BC); Bookidis and Stroud 2004.

[539] Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885, 71.

[540] Paus. 2.3.1: ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν ἐστιν Ὀκταβίας ναὸς ἀδελφῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλεύσαντος Ῥωμαίων μετὰ Καίσαρα τὸν οἰκιστὴν Κορίνθου τῆς νῦν.

coins perhaps had a cult statue of the Gens depicted as Octavia.[541] Temple E and the Temple of Apollo could both be described as over the Agora, as could any building either south or east of it, since it lies in a valley. But with all our excavated temples accounted for already in my interpretation of Pausanias' description, we are still left with the unexcavated heights to the east (or south) of the Agora for this temple. After his statue-stuffed tour of the west side of the Agora, Pausanias describes a monument to Athena in the middle of the Agora, then mentions the Temple of Octavia and immediately moves on a description of the Propylaia and then outside it the monuments on the Road to Lechaion. Now if you pass the bases in the middle of the Agora and stand by the Propylaia today, the only things you can see ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν are the Temple of Apollo to your left and the modern church of Ancient Corinth to your right (Fig. 16, 18). It thus makes sense in the context of Pausanias' itinerary and the later history of that spot to locate what he called Octavia's Temple on this commanding ridge opposite and east of the Temple of Apollo, heights where the city's central mosque also once stood, and perhaps an older church before that.[542]

However among the finds from the early excavations is a large quantity of Byzantine architectural and liturgical material which seems neither to belong to the church on Temple Hill nor to any converted Roman building, but comes mainly from north of the Peribolos of Apollo.[543] This material may signal the presence of a sixth-century cathedral basilica somewhere on the heights east of the Agora, where the modern village's church now stands in the place of the Medieval mosque, and where I suggested Pausanias' Temple of Octavia once stood.

Thus suprisingly, especially with reference to Athens, no temple of Corinth's civic center can with certainty be said to have been converted to a church in Late Antiquity.[544]

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[541] Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885, 71.

[542] The Mehmet Çavush mosque on the Agora is briefly described by Çelebi (MacKay 1980, 10) as without a lead roof but with many parisioners. It is also visible in old engravings and pictures of Corith. Finds from the mosque from north of the Peribolos of Apollo (Morgan 1929, Corinth NB103): marble basin, painted gravestone (A-739), fragment of Arabic inscription (I-957). Some digging on this ridge with trenches 4, 13.

[543] Morgan 1929, Corinth NB103: Byzantine architectural members (A-735, A-733, AM-247, AM-280, etc.), Late Antique lamps (CL-2070, 2071, 2072, 2079, 2058, 2053), dipinti with θεοῦ A-741, lead seal MF-2344, bread stamp, S-1403.

[544] Temples in the center of Athens converted to churches include the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, the Asklepieion and the Temple of Hephaestus: Frantz 1988 (*Agora* 14); Hattersley-Smith 1996, 210.

Instead, in the city center itself, Christian worship apparently remained in the domestic setting until the later sixth century. House-churches were doubtless modified and expanded during the fourth-sixth centuries, but none has been identified as yet. There is in fact no recognizably Christian architecture in the city center, merely the possibility that a few civic basilicas and seemingly domestic buildings like the Hemicycle or Baths of Eurycles domus were altered for Christian worship; purpose-built Christian basilicas appear only beside the Temple of Apollo and (probably) the Panagia Bath in the later sixth century. The Temple of Apollo was large enough to house a church, yet the Corinthians apparently did not follow the Athenians or Aphrodisians in continuing to worship at their city's central religious space. Whether because the Temple was not in good shape or considered too pagan to use, they instead positioned a small church alongside it on the high ground at the center of the city in Middle Byzantine times.

I would further suggest that none of the Western terrace temples were converted to churches for two reasons. First, they were all fairly small Roman-style podium temples, unsuited (except for Temple E) for gatherings of more than a few people inside. Second, none was apparently a building which inspired strong feelings of civic identity, or Christian devotion; none was preserved as the nucleus of a Corinthian Christian urban community, or housed a strong cult which was taken over by a Christian saint. This is very different from Athens, where the central Asklepieion was replaced with a church dedicated to the doctor saints Cosmas and Damian on the same site, and the Parthenon converted and redecorated to remain the house of the chief female protector of Athens. The only Western Terrace temple large enough to house a church, Temple E, was thoroughly demolished, its pediment sculpture cut down for building material like most of the other sculpture (secular and religious) from the Agora after the sixth century.

Finally, near the Agora in Late Antiquity there must have been a Jewish synagogue as well. Such a gathering place existed at Corinth at least since Philo attested to Jews there under Caligula and the expulsion of Jews from Rome by Claudius brought Paul's hosts in *Acts* 18 to the city.[545] John Chrysostom refers to Jews at Corinth during

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Basilica building versus conversion: Krautheimer 1986; Macmullen 1986; Nock 1933; Trombley 1993.

[545] Jews in Corinth or Greece: Philo *Embassy to Gaius* (*Legat.*) 281-2; 1Maccabees 15:23. *Acts* 18 mentions an *archisynagogos*, Crispus, and a god-fearer who lived next door to the synagogue, Justus. Horrell (2004)

Paul's visit burning 5000 magic books in order to cast out a demon, but the origin of his information is unclear.[546] The Corinthian community in Paul's correspondence and *Acts* was then supplemented by 6000 Jews brought by Vespasian from Tarichaeae in the Galilee to dig the Corinth canal in the 70s.[547] Of the Jews in Late Antiquity, however, we have only fragmentary material evidence, all difficult to date or associate with a building. This evidence was recovered from the Agora, the Lechaion Road or north of Temple Hill, suggesting that some Jewish gathering place was in the Central Area, perhaps north of the Hemicycle or near the Theater. A single pillar capital from the Theater excavations bears menorahs (*menorot*) and other Jewish symbols in relief, and has been dated by style to the fifth century.[548] A fragment of a *tabula ansata* with the Jewish name Sara in script of ca. 300 came up nearby.[549] The much-reused central block of a lintel was found in the 1898 excavation of the Lechaion Road Byzantine ramp bearing the text: [Συν]αγωγὴ Ἑβρ[αίων], [Syn]agogue of the Hebr[ews].[550] This piece has been dated to the late third century at the earliest, on the basis of the lank lettering and occurrence of the term Ἑβρ[αῖοι.[551] From the Central Area, there are also six fragmentary texts of Late Antique or Middle Byzantine date: four Hebrew inscriptions on stone, a bilingual Greek/Hebrew epitaph for Sus?]Anna, and a bronze Samaritan amulet.[552] But in the absence of any architecture

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argues that East of the Theater is the sort of neighborhood where the synagogue was probably located; Adams and Horrell (2004) explore the question of Corinth's Jews at the time of Paul's visit at length.

[546] *PG* 61, col. 11, in Avraméa 1997, 154.

[547] Josephus *de Bell. Jud.* (*BJ*) 3.10.10 (540). Noy (et al. 2004, 182) identifies this town with Magdala Nunayya (of the fishes), near Tiberias, modern Migdal.

[548] The capital also has lulavim or lulab (palm fronds) and etrog or ethrog (citron fruit): A-392, Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 116, pl. 130a-b; Foerster 1981; Rothaus 2000, 31, n. 79.

[549] Sara inscription: I-2283, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 119, no. 304; Robert 1966, 753-4; Frey 1975 (*CIJ* 1^2), Prol. no. 718a; Lambropoulou 1993, 667; Noy et al. 2004, 184-5, no. Ach48.

[550] Lintel: I-123, Richardson 1898, 234; Powell 1903, 60-1, no. 40; Oehler 1909, 538, no. 110a; Krauss 1922, 242-3, no. 42; Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), 78-9, no. 111; Cadbury and Lake 1933, 5.64, n. 1; Frey 1936 (1975)(*CIJ* 1), no. 718; Bees 1941, 16-9, no. 6; Gabba 1958, 111, no. 34; Barrett 1987, 50, n. 48; Boffo 1994, 361-4, no. 45; Noy et al. 2004, 182-4, no. Ach47.

[551] Most recent overview of dating options, and strong arguments for third c. as earliest possible date: Noy et al. 2004, 182-4, no. Ach47.

[552] Hebrew inscriptions: I-92, 1773 (a decree?, from the South Agora); I-257, Starr 1935-1936, 42-9 (Epitaph of Eliaqim the Dyer, from the Hemicycle); I-807/808 (Writing exercise, "Moses sent," from the Hemicycle). The unpublished Hebrew inscriptions, with I-1773 apparently mislabeled I-957, are called medieval by Noy (et al. 2004, 182).

securely associated with these various stones, evidence from elsewhere in Greece and the Balkans must fill in the picture of what the Late Antique synagogue looked like: probably a large hall with a niche at one end, decorated with marble revetment, mosaics, sculpture and frescoes.[553]

D. Down the Lechaion Road and Commerce in Late Antiquity

From the buildings around the Agora itself we now move to the remainder of the excavated city center, that is the buildings along the east, north and west sides of Temple Hill (Figs. 3-6). Along the east face of the hill, the exposed stretch of the Lechaion Road was almost all dug in the early excavations; to the west the Theater was discovered almost immediately but has only been excavated sporadically, primarily in the 1920s and 1980s. To the north, public and private peristyles and baths have only been exposed in parts due to the existence of the public center of Ancient Corinth and *spolia* heap of the early excavations.

Broad sidewalks, colonnades and shops lined both sides of the Lechaion Road from where it left the Agora at the Propylaia (Fig. 16).[554] Though the Lechaion Road Basilica fell into ruin ca. 400, the roadside shops below it on both sides of the Lechaion Road were renovated in that era, with finds of coins inside them continuing through the reign of Justin II (565-578).[555] In front of the colonnades, along the road and in the Peribolos of Apollo were found the second largest concentration of Late Antique honorific statue bases, portrait heads, and bodies. This area thus likely formed the second most important area for public

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Bilingual epitaph: I-2483, Pallas and Dantis 1977 (1979), 80-1 no. 29; *BE* 1980, no. 230; *SEG* 29, no. 309; Schürer 1986, 3.1.65-6; Levinskaya 1996, 165-6; Noy et al. 2004, 185-6, no. Ach49 (from the Panagia Church). Samaritan amulet: Davidson 1952 (*Corinth* XII), 260; Pummer 1987, 258-61, no. 4; Lambropoulou 1993, 666, fig. 5; Rothaus 2000, 31, n. 79; Noy et al. 2004, 186-9, no. Ach50. Additionally, fragmentary Roman-era inscription in Greek found on Acrocorinth was restored by Pallas (and Dantis 1977, 81, no. 30) to include reference to a synagogue and its leader, but only διδάσ[καλος] καὶ ἀρχ[?]ος τῆ[ς seems certain: I-2506, *BE* 1980, no. 230; *SEG* 29 1979, no. 300; Schürer 1973-1986, 3.1.66; Horsley 1987, 213-4, no. 113; Boffo 1994, 364, n. 7; Levinskaya 1996, 166; Noy et al. 2004, 339, no. App18.

[553] Compare the first-second-c. synagogue at Delos (Trümper 2004), or the second-third c. Synagogue I at Stobi endowed by Cl. Tiberius Polycharmus, replaced ca. 350-400 with the new mosaic-floored Synagogue II, then rebuilt as the Christian Central Basilica in the fifth c.: Poehlman 1981, 236; Moe 1977, 150-1; Kolarik 1981, 187-97, 1987; Hattersley-Smith 1996, 45-6. For the synagogues of the Late Antique Balkans: Levine 1981, 2005.

[554] Lechaion Road colonnades: Sears 1902.

[555] Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 55, 88; Williams 1969, 63 n. 30.

commemoration after the west end of the Agora. As mentioned, one chlamydatus came from a shop on the west side of the road; on the east side most of the Late Antique portrait heads were recovered from the ruins of the Peribolos of Apollo and Peirene's drain to the north. Several well-preserved Late Antique bases also came from this area, with most reused in the monumental marble ramp leading from the road up to the Agora in the Middle Byzantine era.[556]

Two tall marble bases with mouldings at top and bottom bear verses with letter-forms of the third-fourth centuries, and reveal some further characteristics of civic honors in that era, some of which Corinth shared with other cities. Diogenes son of Hermolaos was set up by Secou[ndinos] "by Peirene" in "Ephyra," and praised for his "Periclean blood from an Attic father."[557] The text thus integrates his contemporary ancestry and statue-placement with the Homeric name of Corinth and Classical history of Athens. The proconsul Iounoros is set up by his brother and successor Eutychianos in "Ephyra" too, in the mid-fourth century if this is the same man who honored Parnasios in the Agora. His statue is praised for its resemblance to him, and the skill of the stonecutter, pride of "mother Greece."[558] Both inscriptions are engraved over previous inscriptions removed except for the ΨΒ, which is re-employed, raising questions about whether a Boule is still involved or just recalled. The upper surfaces of these bases reveal that though at least one of the earlier statues was bronze, both the Late Antique men were carved

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[556] Honors with third-fourth c. letter forms from the Lechaion Road: I-21, Powell 1903, 57-8, no. 35; Meritt 1931 (VIII.1), no. 105; I-388, Smith 1919, 388, no. 97; Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 95; Rizakis 2001, 345, COR 382; I-798/799, Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 106; Rizakis 2001, 315, COR 265; I-1973-8. Top of the ramp: I-670, Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 87; I-2760; I-2763.

[557] I-17/18, *IG* IV 1602, 1604; Powell 1903, 45, 52, nos. 22, 27; *REG* 1904, 247 (17 only); Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 88; Kent 1932, 369; Dow 1951, 96-100:

ʾΑτθίδος εἰμὶ πάτρης Περικλήϊον
αἷμα λελογχώς,
ʿΕρμολάου δ'υἱὸς οὔνομα
Διογένης.
στῆσε δὲ μ'εἰν ʾΕφύρ[η]
Πιρηνίδος ἀγχ[όθι πηγῆς]
τῇδε Σεκουν[δεινος]
εἰκόνι λαμπομεν[η].
vacat
ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς).

[558] I-19; *IG* IV 1603; Powell 1903, 47, no. 23; Wilhelm 1905, 415-6; Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 89; Groag 1946, 97-8, 111; Rizakis 2001, 271-2, COR no. 102.2.

of stone. The widespread use of Ephyra for Corinth in literature begins in the second century, and, along with a simple Κόρινθος, quickly supplants *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthienses* in the epigraphic record; a modern Roman city name thus became one evoking the Ancient past, and intelligible to those educated about the connection.[559] From praising honorands' local records in the second century, then, these texts, like those all over the eastern Empire, moved to glorifying the past and the sculpture itself.[560]

On the east side of the Road, passages through these colonnades led back into three public buildings. The first and closest to the Agora was the ancient fountain of Peirene, a natural spring elaborated architecturally since the Archaic era and renovated anew just after the refoundation of Corinth.[561] In the third century, according to Robinson, we should imagine a rectangular court faced in colorful marble extending north from the natural rock face with its row of drawbasins behind a two-storey columned façade; frescoes of fish appeared to swim below the waterline in the drawbasins, while sculpture adorned both a basin at the south side of the court (Scylla?) and an apse at the north (Bellerophon, Pegasos, Peirene, Roma, Imperial Family, Regilla, local donors?); in the center of the court steps led down to a rectangular lower level where water poured out into channels along the long sides.[562] As in the past, Peirene remained in the third century a favored location for Corinthians to demonstrate their civic euergetism, and in the third century a balustrade with a pierced marble screen inscribed in part καὶ ἐφ' ὑδά[τῶν(?) — — —] Πειρήν[ην(?) was added to the fountain, along with small water stairs below some of the spouts in the lower level.[563]

Even more elaborate than the rebuilding of the colonnades of West Shops and South Stoa in the fourth century was the construction of a new triconch court north of Peirene. Based on the destruction debris in rooms to the

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[559] Innes 2001.
[560] Smith 1999.
[561] Peirene: Pindar *Ol.* 13.61,63-6; Eur. *Medea* 67-9, *Trojan Women* 205-6; Plautus *Aulularia* 557-9 (3.6.21-3); Ovid *Epa Pont.* 1.3.75, *Metam.* 2.240, 7.391; Alexander Aetol. in Parthenios *Narr. Amat.* 14.3; Cicero *Epist. ad Atticum* 12.5; Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 36.46 (Pegasus creates Peirene with hoof); Paus. 2.3.2-3; Athenaeus 2.43b (Peirene good water to drink), 13.588c (Apelles and Laïs); Herodian 5.92.2; Alciphron *Epist. Paras.* 3.15.1; Eustathius *Comm.* 2.570 (following Strabo). Richardson 1900; Stevens 1934; Hill 1964 (*Corinth* I.6); Robinson 2000, 2001.
[562] Robinson 2001, 63-101.
[563] Robinson 2001, 63-101. Screen: I-335/831, 534, 554, 735, 844/1001, 2495, Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1) 83-4 nos. 121-4; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 136 no. 343.

east and the style of the new fountain court, according to Robinson the three apses long attributed to Herodes Atticus to the north of the spring face were built at the earliest after the middle of the third century, and most likely in the second half of the fourth century.[564] A statue of Regilla was most likely re-erected; her base in Peirene like her base as Tyche from the West Agora bears a verse text in third-fourth c. lettering.[565] Though this new structure partly used spolia from the previous fountain court and other buildings, the interiors of the apses were lined in marble and decorated with honorific portraits and female divinities, some also repaired and probably reused.[566] Also repairs were made to the Peirene drain under the Peribolos of Apollo ca. 300, and a third public latrine was built by the Glauce fountain in the mid-fourth century.[567]

It is difficult to date several further additions to Peirene more closely than fifth-sixth century, but this public fountain certainly benefitted from generous benefactions. It was first adorned with a central circular basin over the old rectangular one, complementing the half-circles of apses and arches along the spring façade and keeping the water accessible to large groups of people.[568] Then the spring façade was decorated and perhaps shaded by a parallel colonnade supporting a curious entablature composed of projecting marble beams carved with acanthus on their ends and an epistyle bearing a red-painted dedication.[569] This entire colonnade was composed of reused architectural members, with columns cut to size, beam-ends carved to match and an old epistyle's Latin inscription chiseled down to take the new paint reading: "…all the visible decoration in Peirene…."[570] It is tempting to associate this benefaction with Justin's aid to the city

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[564] Robinson 4th, Hill 2nd marble phase: Robinson 2001, 102-48.

[565] I-62, Richardson 1900b, 235-7; *AnnÉpigr* 1901, 1; *IG* IV 1599; Powell 1903, 43 no. 21; Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 86; Hill 1964 (*Corinth* I.6), 103; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 22, no. 15; Tobin 1997, 78-9; Rizakis 2001, 374-5, COR 528; Robinson 2001, 61-2, n. 4-5.

[566] S-55 (woman with repairs); S-1023 (plinth with foot); S-54 (Aphrodite with repairs); S-1024 (Nymph with shell).

[567] Slane 1994; Williams and Zervos 1984, 101.

[568] Robinson (2001, 119) suggests a series of fifth-sixth c. benefactions beginning with the circular basin. Found in 1897 and photographed (see Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), pl. 2.2), its excavator Richardson (1902a, 322) remarked that it then gave way only under "the constant application of dynamite" to reveal the rectangular lower level visible today.

[569] Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 22-3; Robinson 2001.

[570] I-24, Richardson 1899, 683, 1900, 238; *IG* IV 1606; Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), 119, no. 198: -]τὸν ὁρώμενον πάντα κόσμον τῇ Πειρήνῃ πα[-. Hill dates fifth-sixth c., Sironen (notes) fourth-fifth c., Robinson (2001) sixth c.

after the earthquake of 521/2, but it could easily be the work of a local as well, perhaps a clergyman. Peirene certainly continued to be maintained as a practical source of water and decorated as a civic building throughout Late Antiquity.[571]

Thus the building priorities made clear to the people of Corinth in Late Antiquity were the multi-purpose public colonnades of the Agora itself, and the water-supplying infrastructure of the immediately adjacent public fountains. While the former was certainly credited to the Governor of Achaia, the latter may have been a local or imperial initiatives.

Just to the north of Peirene was the colonnaded courtyard called the Peribolos of Apollo by the excavators from its identification with the *peribolos* north of Peirene where Pausanias locates a statue of Apollo and a painting of Odysseus slaying the suitors of Penelope.[572] Though no such specific statue or painting was found, the identification seems probable from the shape of the building and the lack of other similar enclosures along this road. Plenty of sculpture was indeed found here, enabling the restoration of a third-century space filled with honorific portrait statues and several groups of mythological statuary.[573] Edwards restored an Antonine group of Demeter and Kore with Dionysos and Ariadne here; the two former bodies were later recut to receive separate portrait heads, whether human or divine.[574] A round base in the center

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[571] It was probably only in the seventh-eighth centuries that its water was directed into a new channel built of spolia and diverted to a new public fountain somewhere under the modern village; the fountainhouse itself was then converted into a chapel.

[572] Paus. 2.3.3.

[573] Peribolos of Apollo third-c. portraits: S-2838 (foot and plinth discarded ca. 300 which joined theater togatus, see Sturgeon 2004 (*Corinth* IX.3)); lost male 'late' head published by Tucker 1902, 423, fig. 1, 437-8. Inscriptions found there: Slane 1994 gives in 1966 the Latin I-2669, I-2670, I-2671, I-2672, I-2673, I-2677, I-2678, of which one was of Sept. Sev. 2nd consulship in 194, and two were 3rd c.

[574] Edwards 1993 *AJA* Abstract: S-67 (Demeter), S-68 (Kore, with torch frg), S-69 (Ariadne Valentini, with panther), Dionysos Sardanapalus base. The first three were initially published by Tucker 1902, and found Northeast of Peirene, what we now know is the area of the Peribolos of Apollo's southern apse. Tucker identified S-69 as Apollo or Dionysos (Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 34-5 no. 28, Paus. 2.2.6, Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885, E77), and the two women (S-67 and 68) as Roman matrons, "late work" and poor style. Could smashed Archaistic Dionysos head S-426 (Richardson 1904, 296; Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 37 no. 31) belong with this group, or did Edwards make this connection? Also from N end of Lechaion Road. Compare Dionysos S-1294 (Sturgeon 1998).

of the courtyard may have held the statue of Apollo.[575] This was not simply a display space, however, for something had to draw people here to appreciate the statuary. Some of the mythological statues may have been arranged in small shrines to receive cult or admiration as famous works of an earlier age, as at the so-called Asklepieion at Messene, where cult-statues for various deities were placed in a series of small chambers along the west side of the peribolos of the Temple of Asclepeus and Messene.[576] But like the Stoa Poikile in Athens or other buildings which had only their paintings and sculpture noted by Pausanias, the Peribolos surely had commercial functions too, like the Macellum it replaced.

To the north of Temple Hill were two more periboloi, the Hemicycle and North Market, which complete the excavated commercial buildings of Corinth's Agora (Fig. 3).[577] This circuit of the Corinthian Agora has left aside until now in fact the original purpose for Agoras which, however, attracted very little notice from ancient authors: commerce. In the open Agora itself, in the many small chambers built along its north, west and south sides, along the Lechaion Road and in the Peribolos of Apollo the third-century Corinthian would surely have found products for sale and being manufactured.[578] Weinberg has also emphasized the commercial function of the Julian, Lechaion Road and South Basilicas, placed as they were at the north and south entrances of the Agora.[579]

Though the stoas with colonnades in front and small rooms behind are conventionally termed 'shops', their actual use as such is rarely explored. We have seen already that some were used for offices or shrines, yet not only the architecture but also the comparative evidence confirms that most were in fact used for selling goods and services, as well as for associated functions like storage, manufacturing and housing for the shopkeepers.[580] Corinth ceased to mint her own coinage under the Severans, probably in 209.[581] But literally thousands of fourth-century coins

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[575] Paus. 2.3.3; Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 33-5.
[576] Themelis 2003.
[577] North Market: de Waele 1930; Scranton 1951 (*Cor.* I.3), 180-92.
[578] West Shops: Scranton 1951 (Corinth I.3), 131; Robinson 1965, 23-; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3): Williams 1977, 62-3; Williams and Fisher 1976, 132-3, 1975, 14; Williams, MacIntosh, and Fisher 1974, 8-9 (construction of building and drain in SW Forum over part of West Shops); Rothaus 1996, 2000, 19-21 (missing text). Northwest Shops and Stoa: Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2). Lechaion Road: Sears 1902.
[579] Weinberg 1960 (*Corinth* I.5), 109.
[580] Williams 1993.
[581] Ierardi pers. comm.

have been found in the Agora excavations, more than from any other century but the twelfth, and lesser quantities of fifth-sixth century coins too.[582] An official steelyard weight in the form of an imperial bust was found by the West Shops, probably Constantine or one of his sons.[583]

Throughout Late Antiquity the colonnaded street or peribolos was a basic feature of cities throughout Greece and Asia Minor.[584] The best-preserved and published example is the street of Byzantine shops at Sardis.[585] The South Stoa, Central Shops, West Shops and Northwest Shops around the Agora were apparently at the heart of Corinth's commercial district in the fourth century and into the fifth. Both West Shops and South Stoa were rebuilt by the Governor of Achaia in the later fourth century. The Peribolos of Apollo and North Market also underwent repairs, but no benefactor is known.[586] Such permanent shops built and no doubt maintained at public expense would have been only one part of commerce in the Agora, where temporary booths and seasonal markets likely also occurred into the sixth century.[587] Diocletian's Price Edict was set up at Corinth, as at other cities in the Peloponnesus, though only one small fragment was found in the Gymnasium Excavations.[588]

In Corinth itself, archaeological evidence illuminates what was made and sold in the third-century Agora: glass made locally and imported from Egypt,[589] metal,[590] sculpture,[591] lamps, ceramics and the perishables transported and stored in amphoras.[592] Lamps were local and Attic; ceramic products used for cooking, storing and eating were mainly local, Attic or from the Aegean, with only a few

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[582] Edwards 1933 (*Corinth* VI); Harris 1941.
[583] Waagé 1935.
[584] Stoa or Embolos: Mango 2001; Segal 1997, 5-10; Lyttelton 1974, 214-6; Crawford 1990, 107-25; Ward-Perkins 1951, 297-8 n. 24 (on West where stoas attached to buildings rather than street); Downey 1937; Foss 1979, 65 n. 39; Welles in Kraeling 1938. For primary sources see Libanius *Or.* 11: *The Antiochikos*, and Festugière 1959, 33-5, 56-8, and the insc. Le Bas and Waddington 1870, 3.1878.
[585] Crawford 1990.
[586] Stillwell et al. 1941 (*Corinth* I.2), 54; Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), 180-92.
[587] Choricius *Laud. Marc*. 1.83.
[588] I-1970-13, Wiseman 1972, 40-1 no. 29; Sironen 1992, 223-6 no. 1.
[589] Davidson 1940; Matson 1948; Weinberg 1975; Whitehouse 1991, 1993; Slane 1994, 164.
[590] Mattusch 1977.
[591] Sturgeon 2003 (*Corinth* XX).
[592] For locally manufactured pottery and lamps of the third century: Slane 1994, 2000, 2003, 2004; Slane and Sanders 2005. For local production and export of amphoras and their products Koehler 1978a, 1978b, 1981, 2004; Vandiver and Koehler 1986; Newton et al. 1988.

expensive fine African wares imported from further afield, in contrast to previous and subsequent eras.[593] Epitaphs from Corinth give us some of the non-political occupations of Corinthians, while epitaphs from other similar cities add more depth to the picture of urban employment.[594]

Though the Hemicycle peribolos built in the fourth century opposite that of Apollo probably originally had a commercial function too, both periboloi were eventually subdivided in the fifth-sixth centuries, perhaps as houses. Two denizens of the rooms behind the Hemicycle were crushed when it collapsed in the late sixth century, to judge by their position buried in rubble with bags of coins at their waists.[595]

Opposite the Hemicycle and north of the Peribolos of Apollo we encounter the first of the many public bath complexes operating in Late Antique Corinth. These Small Baths on the Lechaion Road and the Great Baths farther north were both supplied with water from Peirene. Pausanias mentions Baths given by the famous Spartan Eurykles north of the Peribolos of Apollo, and Baths of Hadrian elsewhere; the former have been identified both with this small set of baths just north of the Peribolos, and also with the much grander complex farther north.[596] The Small Baths lay behind the eastern shops lining the Lechaion Road, and included a public latrine, and cold, warm and hot rooms built in rubble and mortar.[597] Decoration included a statue of Hermes.[598] They were in use through ca. 400, when they were replaced with a structures interpreted as a private house and glass-maker's quarters occupied through the rest of Late Antiquity.[599]

The Great Baths, however, were in brick, and have always been partially visible to the north of the modern village Plateia; from scale alone these are the best candidate for Pausanias' Baths of Eurycles, and were used throughout Late Antiquity.[600] Damage in the fourth century attributed to an earthquake was swiftly repaired.[601] Other smaller baths east and west of the Agora and in the South

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[593] Slane 1994, 164.
[594] Urban occupations: Egyptian cities in Alston 1998, 83-4.
[595] Broneer 1926.
[596] Pausanias on Baths: Paus. 2.3.5.
[597] Also called the Roman Baths or Baths of Eurycles in publications: Broneer 1926; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 142; Robinson 1965, 25.
[598] Hermes head S-2755 (Daux 1966, 756 fig. 9; Sturgeon 1975 no. 2), from Roman Baths' Room 2 Plunge Bath.
[599] Williams 1968, 134-8, 1969, 63; Rothaus 1993, 128 (2000, 25).
[600] Great Bath: Biers 1985 (*Corinth* XVII), 2003.
[601] Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 14-21; Biers 1985 (*Corinth* XVII), 61-2; Ivison 1996, 102; Robinson 2001, 126, n. 69.

Stoa also lasted in use through the sixth century (Figs. 5, 7).[602] A small but lavishly-appointed bath was built over part of the ruins of the Panagia domus in the sixth century. The Hill House Bath to the west of the American School house and the Odeum is similar in scale and likely contemporary.[603] These new buildings along with those baths still in use on the Agora along with the Great Bath demonstrate the continued provision of baths in Corinth despite the shift from a combination of large and small baths to many small ones, perhaps after the destruction of Corinth's aqueduct, and in line with a shift happening in other Greek cities from large to small baths.[604] Christian clerical and lay statements of approval for public baths and bathing far outnumber those of censure.[605] In fact at Thessaloniki, Philippi and Stobi baths were immediately adjacent to most of the inner-city churches built in the early sixth c.[606] The bath complexes at Corinth all would have been adorned with sculpture and marble once, and formed part of the essential public buildings of Corinth's city center.[607]

E. The Theater, Odeum, and Spectacles in Late Antiquity

A left turn before the Great Baths on the Lechaion Road led one onto a street leading west to a gate opening onto our last monumental public buildings of the Central Area, the Theater and adjacent Odeum just up the hill (Figs. 3-5).[608] Together these two performance spaces took advantage of the natural slope between upper and lower terraces, and formed an impressive complex for civic entertainment and assembly with adjacent courtyards, ramps and shops.

The Theater at Corinth in the third century was simultaneously one of its most venerable monuments and one of its most newly renovated.[609] The modifications to the

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[602] Temple E Bath: Williams and Zervos 1995, 11; Williams, Barnes and Snyder 1997, 37-40; Ajootian 2000, 501.
[603] Robinson 1965, 29.
[604] Stobi: Hattersley-Smith 1996, 66-7.
[605] Approval: Socrates 6.22.4; Sozomen 7.1.11; Procopius *Buildings* 5.15.17; Mango 1981a. Disapproval: John Chrysostom *Hom. in Joh.* 118: τὰ βαλανεῖα συνεχῶς γινόμενα τὸ σῶμα ἐξίτηλον ἐργάζεται.
[606] Hattersley-Smith 1996, 35, 123, 146 (St. Demetrios, Acheiropoeitos), 75 (Octagon, Episkopeion), 47 (Central Basilica).
[607] Public Baths and bathing: Fagan 1999; Biers 2003 (*Corinth* XX).
[608] East-West Theater-Baths Street: Williams and Zervos 1982, 128.
[609] Theater: Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.2-3; Diod. Sic. 14.86.1; Plutarch *Aratus* 17.4 (1034), 23.1-2 (1037); Paus. 2.4.5; Heermance 1903; Shear 1925, 1926, 1928a, 1928b, 1929, 1931b; Capps Jr. 1949; Stillwell 1952 (*Corinth* II); Sturgeon 1977 (*Corinth* IX.2), 1997, 1998, 2004 (*Corinth* IX.3); Mac Isaac 1987; Williams and Zervos 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988.

orchestra to fit it out as an arena for gladiators and beast-hunts have been attributed to the early third century and specifically connected with a projected visit by Caracalla.[610] In the third century the building was already full of honorific statuary and boasted a monumental *scaenae frons* covered in reliefs of the Labors of Hercules and Amazonomachy.[611] Further decorative statuary was added in the third century: Robinson identified the hind-quarters of a horse found in the Theater as Chiron the centaur, from a group of Chiron teaching Achilles to box, unfinished due to its hasty preparation for the expected visit of Caracalla, the 'New Achilles,' just before 217.[612] New Late Antique portraits were put up as well, probably to the area by the stage: a παῖδα κωμωδόν (boy comic actor) honored with a statue and list of his victories by his father with the permission of the *Boule* may be third-c., and several heads were found along with the chlamydati mentioned before.[613] A drain from the arena contained coins of Constantius II-Theodosius, and the theater stage and seats were robbed out ca. 425-50.[614]

Just uphill from the Theater was a second public performance space, the covered theater or Odeum of Herodes Atticus. This is one of the very few public buildings at Corinth which we can put a name to, since besides Pausanias' bare notice of its existence, Herodes' biographer Philostratus, writing ca. 200, mentions "a roofed theater built by him for the Corinthians, not as great as that at Athens, but without many famous things elsewhere to equal it."[615] It remained as financed by Herodes and probably used for lectures or drama until the mid-third century, when after a fire it was renovated like the Theater to serve as a small arena through at least the

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[610] Stillwell 1952 (*Corinth* II), 84-98, 140 for the conversion. Williams 2007 pers. comm. thinks the amphitheater was judged too small and thus modifications were made to the theater when the amphitheater was abandoned.
[611] Sturgeon 1977 (*Corinth* IX.2), 1997, 1998c, 2004 (*Corinth* IX.3).
[612] S-2804, Robinson 1969a. For Caracalla as the new Achilles: Rose 2005. For Theater phases after third c.: Williams and Zervos 1987.
[613] Boy: I-2433, Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 272; *SEG* 38.1934; Robert 1966, 752-3; *SEG* 41.266. Heads: S-3317, de Grazia 1973, no. 36; Sturgeon 2004 (*Corinth* IX.3), no. 32; S-3320, Sturgeon 2004 (*Corinth* IX.3), no. 33; S-364/3660/3700; de Grazia 1973, no. 61 (only 364); Sturgeon 2004 (*Corinth* IX.3), no. 1A.
[614] Shear 1926, 454; Stillwell 1952 (*Corinth* II), 140-1; Williams and Zervos 1987, 31; Sanders and Slane; Williams pers. comm. 2007.
[615] Paus. 2.3.6; Philostratus *VS* 2.1.9 (551); Graindor 1930, 25; Broneer 1932 (*Corinth* X); Ameling 1983; Willims and Zervos 1984; Tobin 1997, 296-302, 311-4.

fourth century.[616] Williams suggests that the Odeum arena was a gladiatorial practice ground for the Theater, and the Amphitheater to the northeast of the city was therefore no longer in use.[617]

But artistic and literary sources, inscriptions and comparison with other theaters of Late Antiquity all suggest a broad range of performances, spectacles and competitions held in these two arenas in the third and fourth centuries, even after they were equipped for combat. The games of the Caesarea, festivals for various deities, *munera* staged by local officials and other events not held at Isthmia or the Amphitheater once filled these buildings with crowds, and encouraged their repair and remodeling into the early fifth century.

A series of paintings uncovered on the arena wall of the Theater showed *venatores* fighting lions, a bull and a leopard, with accompanying graffiti placing the event in the Theater.[618] If a letter of Julian is genuine, Corinth gained control over neighboring Argos in the fourth c., and came to the attention of that Emperor as a result of a protest by the Argives against taxes levied on that city to finance these Corinthian beast hunts.[619] Julian certainly referred to Corinth in his secure writings. In his panegyric of Eusebia he called Corinth a center for training in philosophy.[620] He also addressed one of his letters to the city, and praised its citizens for receiving his father.[621] Since no other letters in Julian's collection

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[616] The date of rebuilding as an arena is based on a coin of Alexander Severus (222-235) as the last under an orchestra manhole. From this Robinson (2001, 122) argues for a conversion 225-250, while Broneer (1928, 1932 (*Corinth* X), 58-9, 65, 96) favored 225. Broneer (1932, 72, 145) also proposed a first-century construction date for the building on stratigraphic ground, with a renovation by Herodes. A very fragmentary cuirassed Hadrian may belong to this phase (S-1456; Broneer (1932 (*Corinth* X), 125-33, no. 6); marble coffer/screen fragments with carved masks and other decorations may belong to the stage revetment either of the first (Broneer 1932 (*Corinth* X), 111-6) or second phase, but are disassociated from the building entirely by Ajootian (2008). The screen was destroyed at the end of the third century and used along with Captives Façade fragments in 4th c. terracing to the east of the Odeum (Williams and Zervos 1984, 92). For further construction/destruction phases: Broneer 1932 (*Corinth* X), 146-7; Williams and Zervos 1987.

[617] Williams pers. comm. 2007.

[618] Robert 1971, 117 no. 60; Shear 1925, 384-5, 1926, 451-3; Stillwell 1929, 97. Conversion of Odeum to arena: Robert 1971, no. 61; Broneer 1928, 464.

[619] Julian *Ep.* 28 (198) written 362 or 363, probably to Praetextatus, Proconsul of Achaia, if genuine, which Spawforth 1994 denies, not convincingly, for none of Julian's other letters are pre-4th c.

[620] Julian *Or.* 3.119.

[621] Julian *Frag. brev.* 3; Kordoses 1981, 60; Athanassiadi 1992, 86.

have ever been dated to a much earlier period, it seems likely that the letter about Corinth is at least a genuinely fourth-century creation.

Festivals were celebrated not only with animal fights and gladiatorial combat, but also Greek drama, pantomimes, mimes, and oratory. Already at the dedication of the Theatre of Pompey in 55 BC, the first stone theatre in Rome, Greek tragedy competed for attention alongside "athletic contests, music, gladiators, races, and the hunting of wild beasts."[622] The last new plays at Athens' City Dionysia seems to have been made in the first century, but the festival continued to be held with new productions of old plays.[623] Meanwhile a second or third century re-interpreter of Euripides, Sophocles and Timotheos was in competition at Isthmia, and perhaps Corinth too.[624] Pantomime did away with actors and dialogue, presenting the story by means of a solo dancer and accompanying musician and chorus; the mime was an unmasked show presented by a troupe of male and female actors, with a selection of excerpts of plays, animal shows, music and farce.[625] Most mimes incorporated elements of classical drama, but eschewed the masks, boots and stylized gestures of traditional performances. Rhetoricians (like St. Augustine) also presented speeches or scenes from tragedy and history in competitions, as did singers and lyre-players.

The upkeep of theatres and the production of plays required money and social will, though, and perhaps the most compelling evidence concerns the details of financing of these spectacles and competitions. Evidence from outside Corinth, especially from Aphrodisias and Antioch, reveals a pattern for festivals: their growth and early support by foundations and public offices, their adoption by imperial officials in Late Antiquity, and their gradual decline as fewer public and private patrons paid for them.[626] St. Augustine described not only his love of theatre as a boy, but also the respect given to the citizens who put on the shows; consular diptychs through the reign of Anastasius feature tragic actors alongside mimes, jugglers, acrobats, hunters and charioteers.[627] Yet dwindling funds and the disapproval of Christian clergy for pagan festivals turned more and more of these events into extensions of imperial cult in the fifth century, or narrowed them down to

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[622] Dio 39.38.1.
[623] Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 82.
[624] Isthmia statue base IS-1: Broneer 1953, 192-3.
[625] Beacham 1992, 128.
[626] Roueché 1993; Ratté 2000.
[627] Augustine *Conf.* 1; Bieber 1961, 251-2.

productions in private homes. Tertullian specifically criticizes the mime, then the tragic actor's cothurni and masks and then the pantomime; Augustine berated himself for his devotion to the theater.[628] Procopius blamed Justinian above for taking Corinth's civic funds in the mid-sixth century to support a garrison at Thermopylae, but from the evidence of the Theater and Odeum, public spectacles had been gone for nearly a century by then.

[628] Tertullian 23.

V. The City: Center, North, East, South, Acrocorinth

Beyond the concentration of public buildings in the Central Area, the actual city of Corinth once covered the upper and lower city terraces in a diffuse patchwork of civic, commercial, cultural and residential buildings and cultivated land (Figs. 1-3, 7-8, 10-14, 17). The ridge immediately east of the Agora and the Lower Terrace to its north are now built over by the village of New Corinth; the remainder of the Ancient city is used largely by its inhabitants for agricultural or pastoral purposes, though much new building is currently taking place. Though many of the holes dug for these new buildings are empty, throughout the wider village of Ancient Corinth on the two terraces are also the exposed ruins of Ancient buildings, many from Late Antiquity. These range from fully excavated and published, to partially excavated and partially published, to totally unpublished. Enough has emerged from the dirt and in print, however, to expand upon the discussion of the evolution and urban character of the Central Area.

There are also, of course, many undiscovered Corinthian public buildings and toponyms for which we have Late Antique or Byzantine literary sources. It remains unclear whether or not many of these places still existed in Late Antique Corinth, as many may have existed only in Greek Corinth and literature referring to that city, which many Late Antique lexica sought to clarify. For example, there is "Kos, the gully at Corinth where they imprisoned thieves and runaways."[629] Now Corinthian topography offers many natural gullies and even more artificial water-collecting galleries which could be this place. The toponym suggests a connection with the area of the Asclepium, since Asclepius had one of his main sanctuaries on the island of Kos, but there is no era of use specified by the lexicographer.

A. Agora Neighborhoods: East of Theater, Panagia Field

Before considering the three intensively-excavated districts of north, east and south Corinth, and then Acrocorinth, it is worth exploring the neighborhoods around the Agora itself. The neighborhood called East of Theater nestled between the Theater, the Agora and the Great Bath in the angle of two well-excavated roads, the perimeter road along the Theater's eastern cavea (East Theater Road), and the road which once ran east from the gate in the

[629] Steph. Byz. s.v. Κῶς, τ'ὄρυγμα τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, οὗ καθείργνυον τοὺς φῶρας καὶ τοὺς δραπέτας.

northeast Theater courtyard to the Great Baths on the Lechaion Road and beyond (Theater-Bath Road) (Fig. 3).[630] In contrast to the large stoas around the Agora, here small separately-built shops, workshops, shrines and houses lined East Theater Road and the northeast courtyard, while the grander sidewalks and colonnades of Theater-Bath Road concealed a fine house to its south, probably the first of several along the road now buried beneath the excavation dump.[631]

In the third century, as one ascended East Theater Road up to the Agora, on the right was the Theater and on the left commercial spaces devoted to fulling, blacksmithing, food-selling and glass-production.[632] Behind the lowest (northernmost) of these shops and opening off from the Theater-Bath road, the House of the Opus Sectile Panel was a mudbrick domus decorated with frescoes, a glass opus-sectile panel with fish and eels, and a Classical pebble-mosaic floor; here a small excavated storeroom held amphoras, cooking and serving vessels and well-used lamps.[633]

Before leaving the Central Area we need to cross the Agora to the other excavated domestic neighborhood, the Panagia field, so-called from the Panagia Church which once stood there, southeast of the Agora and above it (Figs. 4, 7-8). Limited excavation in the area by the American School and the Greek Archaeological Service was significantly extended by over a decade of recent American School intensive excavation (1995-2007), yielding buildings from

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[630] East of Theater excavated 1981-1988; preliminary reports: Williams and Zervos 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989; Zervos 1988 (coins); Slane 1987; Slane and Sanders 2005 (pottery); Gadbery 1993 (frescoes).

[631] E-W Theater-Bath Road: Williams and Zervos 1982, 28, 1983, 8-9, 27-8 (650 m. east of Theater, used into sixth c.).

[632] Buildings 1-3, butchers of 2nd c., rebuilt partly in 3rd c.: Williams and Zervos 1986, 1987. Glassmaking: Williams and Zervos 1984, 90, 107-8. Forge (crucibles, furnace): Williams and Zervos 1983, 12-3. Fuller (a built trough and basins containing decaying wood): Williams and Zervos 1983, 12-3, ref. Pietrogrande 1977, figs. 2, 11; Mau and Kelsey 1902, 393-7, fig. 227.

[633] House of the Opus Sectile Panel: Williams 1976, pl. 24 (reused pebble mosaic); Williams and Zervos 1982, 134 (n. 25 for earlier exc.), 1983, 13-23, 1987, 28 (used throughout 3rd c.); Oliver 2001 (glass panel). The mid-3rd c. East of Theater burning of Williams and Zervos (1983, 23) pushed forward in Williams and Zervos 1987, 28, then redated in Slane 1994 to ca. 300 (specifically the destruction of Buildings 5 and 7 East of Theater). Support for this already in Williams and Zervos (1983, 15, 1987, 28) where AfRS dish C-1982-18 is given a parallel with Hayes 1972, 68 type 50:46 fig. 12 of ca. 300-360.

every era of Late Antiquity.[634] In the third century an urban domus there of similar scale and opulence to the Opus Sectile Panel House East of Theater should probably be reconstructed from the small garden pool, wells and a few walls which remain from that era. This third-century domus may have been decorated with sculptural finds from the area like a lost Dionysos with a Nymph and Pan, or a small marble Armed Aphrodite, patron goddess of Corinth.[635]

This was replaced by an even larger townhouse under the Tetrarchy and occupied by an elite Corinthian throughout the fourth century. Most likely occupying an entire city block, the domus had at least two peristyle courtyards, two small fountains, a courtyard with a euripus basin, marble and mosaic floors and frescoed walls.[636] A collection of nine statuettes of gods and goddesses from one small room likely represent a household shrine; these pieces are important evidence not only for sculptural taste at Corinth, but also for the continued production of at least three of them (and by extension such small-scale traditional sculpture in general) in Greece long after the Herulian invasion.[637]

The Mosaic House just south of the Agora and west of Panagia also contained a collection of small-scale sculpture, including some of the same figures as the Panagia domus.[638] The Panagia domus was destroyed by fire after 360, perhaps provoked by an earthquake.[639] However in the fifth century another town house extending out of the excavation area with an apsidal dining room was put up over its ruins.[640] Then in the sixth century the Panagia Bath already mentioned was constructed over the ruined fourth-century domus, perhaps for the use of the neighborhood, the occupants of the fifth-century house, or the Long Building

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[634] Panagia excavations: Richardson 1896; Broneer 1947, 243-6; Sanders 1999, 2002, 2002 (*EHB*), 2003, 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 2004, 2005; Sweetman and Sanders 2005; Pfaff 2007; Stirling 2008.

[635] Dionysos: Corinth S-12, Richardson 1896, 1904, 288 no. 1; Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 35-6 no. 29. Armed Aphrodite statuette, tc figs.: Corinth S-2548, Broneer 1947, 243-6; Sturgeon 2003 (*Corinth* XX); Sanders 2005, 424; Stirling 2008, 133.

[636] Sanders 1999, 2004, 2005; Sweetman and Sanders 2005. House dated from coins, pottery in well under walls, water system and particularly the concrete euripus.

[637] Stirling 2008. Late Antique domestic religion: Bakker 1994; Stirling 2005.

[638] Ridgway 1981, 442; Stirling 2008, 133; 'Europa' is S-1897, S-1904/2446.

[639] Stirling 2008, 127: From coins, pottery in destruction layers and under the next house, broken statuettes partly burned in situ.

[640] Sanders 2004. Compare Sardis house: Greenewalt and Rautman 2000.

to the south of the Field.[641] Further south of Panagia, a small section of the grandest urban domus so far discovered in Corinth was exposed by the Service, containing a brick-built nymphaeum with central pool and flanking apsidal dining rooms of unclear date in Late Antiquity.[642] However there is nothing yet found in Corinth to compare with the palace of Galerius, for example, in Thessaloniki, and so we really cannot locate a praetorium of any sort.[643]

B. The North

Natural limits to Corinth are still clearly visible today in the deep ravines to west and east, the abrupt drop-off from the lower city terrace down to the plain on the north, and the steeply rising slope of Acrocorinth to the south (Figs. 3, 13-14, 17). These liminal areas have attracted archaeologists, and excavation has been done along large stretches of these natural boundaries, with by far the most on the north along the lower terrace edge. Beginning from the west and moving clockwise we can thus gain a good sense of the public sanctuaries, churches, fountains, sporting complexes and large houses once located on Corinth's city limits, with the cemeteries and countryside just beyond. One important question for this discussion is whether those city limits changed in Late Antiquity, and another is the relationship between traditional and Christian locations for worship. A few ruins remained of the Classical city walls in the Roman era, as they do today, but no manned fortification wall in this outer area is likely.[644]

Moving westward from the Odeum on the line of the Ancient Road to Sicyon, a Roman fountain with a mosaic floor was probably still in use in Late Antiquity for thirsty travellers on the right.[645] Further on there may have been a Christian basilica on the site of the modern St. Paraskeve cemetery church, today the western edge of the village of Ancient Corinth.[646] Farther west still, the existence of a Roman temple is based only on a fragment of

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[641] Sanders 1999, 2004, 2005.

[642] Pallas 1990, 764; Sanders 1999. Compare: Ellis 1988, 1991; Curcic 1993.

[643] Croke 1981; Lavan 1999, 2001b. Arcadius in 396-407 orders repair of imperial palaces, restricts their use for other purposes: *CTh* 15.1.35, 7.10.1-2.

[644] Carpenter and Bon 1936 (*Corinth* III.2). Many stretches of the Late Roman outer line of Gregory (1979) have been called into question by Sanders and Boyd (2008).

[645] Landon 1994, 2003.

[646] Corinth NB346, 11-129; Robinson 1967 (1968); Pallas 1990, 764: Fifth-century or later E-W walls dated by pottery built into them; 12th c. burials against the walls; 13th c. osteotheke.

marble tympanum with relief medallion found just above the Vrysoula spring, one of several natural sources in the western ravines leading down to the Longopotamos gorge.[647]

Above and to the south of the Road to Sicyon, unmentioned by Pausanias, is the area of Corinth known today as Anaploga (Fig. 3).[648] A striking monumental marble head of a god (Athena?) was brought in from this region, perhaps originally from the Athena Chalinitis Sanctuary according to Ajootian; stray architectural members from the area of its supposed origin then led to the discovery of a mosaic floor.[649] This belonged to a building with frescoed walls located near a natural spring, probably an urban villa, high up away from farmland to take advantage of the fine view praised by so many Roman authors.[650] This 'Anaploga Villa' was renovated in the fourth century, the era of a very fine and expensive glass cage-cup found in the area, perhaps deriving from this Villa.[651] The Anaploga Villa was then destroyed in the early fifth century to judge from coins over the floor; unlike in Panagia Field there was no rebuilding afterwards.[652]

At the northwest corner of Corinth was another natural spring, Kokkinovrysi, just south of the now-walled road to Sicyon as it descended to the plain from the lower city terrace (Fig. 3).[653] This well-watered spot shaded by the

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[647] Robinson 1965 (1967), 144; Daux 1965, 693; Sakellariou and Faraklas 1971, 145. For this area see Newhall 1931, Potters Quarter vols.

[648] Pallas (1957) tells a popular legend behind the name of Anaploga from St. Paul 'catching his breath' there after being rolled down Acrocorinth in a barrel by Corinthians "displeased by his preaching," in Landon's words (1994, 164, n. 280); Williams in Landon offers an alternate story that Paul was escaping a demon in the barrel.

[649] Ajootian pers. comm.; Daux 1963, 725-6: head found by farmers in Anaploga, about 500 m. west of Odeum, brought in to Americans, who were asked by Greek Service to find out what building it came from. No body discovered, probably acrolithic. Digging in Anaploga then found part of a Corinthian pilaster, 2 fragments of an epistyle frieze with a Latin insc., 1st c.? Then the north wall of the Villa found, with atrium, 5x9 m. mosaic paved hall, also 1st c. BUT walls don't seem able to bear the corinthian pilaster or Latin-inscribed epistyle, statue probably not from Villa.

[650] Anaploga Villa, excavated 1962-1964: Megaw 1962-1963, 11; Daux 1963, 725-6, fig. 10; Robinson 1963 (1965), 78-9 pl. 92, 1969c (Roman water supply); Miller 1972 (mosaic, with some comments on phasing; architecture "to be published" by Robinson but never was).

[651] Miller 1972, 333 n. 5 (Phase III); Daux 1963, 727; Megaw 1962-1963.

[652] Miller (1972, 333 n. 6) on pottery and coins of Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius in the debris over the floor.

[653] T. Kopestonsky is completing a dissertation on this area excavated by R.S. Stroud in 1961 and N. Robertson in 1962-3. Though her focus is the Classical roadside stele shrine, which she suggests was dedicated to the Nymphs, she notes that pottery of the fifth-sixth c. is found

edge of the terrace was the site for another Roman villa still occupied in Late Antiquity. The Shear Villa was richly decorated with mosaics and frescoes like an urban domus, but also sited just at the edge of the best agricultural land in the Corinthia, equipped with olive and wine presses and other industrial installations.[654]

Moving east a number of public buildings were perched along the northern edge of the Lower City Terrace. Here on this Lower Terrace somewhere between the two fixed points of the Theater and the Asklepieion Pausanias located two temples of Zeus, the Lerna fountain and the old Gymnasium.[655] Combining this second-century testimony with the fragmentary and only partially-published material recovered from the area itself leads to a new conclusions about the third-century city here.

Wiseman referred to his decade of excavations in this area by reference to the 'Old Gymnasium' which Pausanias placed near the Theater.[656] The latter's description, however, leaves it unclear whether he is referring to 'old' as in pre-Roman, or 'old' in contrast to some more recently constructed Gymnasium elsewhere in the city, and even if he means a specific complex of buildings or a neighborhood. The uneven excavation and publication of this area by Wiseman hinders the drawing of many conclusions on the identity or era of the many buildings which he partially uncovered. But from excavated examples and epigraphy of Messene and Athens, as well as elsewhere, the Corinthian gymnasium of Late Antiquity should have included facilities for the young men of the city to exercise and train both their bodies and minds: a bath, palestra, running track, lecture halls and stoas.[657] Of these facilities, the uexcavated brick elements standing up in the field north of the Theater may represent a bath, while a short stretch of what appears to be a spina with a monumental truncated cone or *meta* may be a running track or *xystos*, though it is too narrow and short for the circus Roman places there.[658] The idea of a running track gains traction not only from the narrowness of the area, but also the fact that a starting-

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throughout the area in association with walls along the road and the Villa.

[654] Shear Villa: Shear 1925, 1930 (*Corinth* V). "Farm buildings" to the east of this Villa: Corinth NB239, 118-38; Robinson 1963 (1965); Daux 1963, 722: wine press and olive oil tank, 3rd c.

[655] Paus. 2.4.5.

[656] 'Gymnasium' Excavations: Wiseman 1967a, 1967b, 1969a, 1969b, 1970, 1972; Dengate 1981 (coins).

[657] Gymnasia in Roman Greece: Delorme 1960; Themelis 2003 (Messene).

[658] Theater Bath: Robinson 1965b, 29. Possible spina: Wiseman 1969b, 64-72; Romano 2005. *Meta*: A-767.

block was found reused in the spina, and an inscription mentioning a *xystarch* was found in the vicinity.[659]

One of Pausanias' 'temples of Zeus by the Theater' should be the 'Largest Temple in the Peloponnese,'actually second-largest after Olympia, reassembled by Dinsmoor on paper from pieces in the Epistyle Wall.[660] These Doric architectural members of local limestone still built into the Epistyle Wall west of the Asklepieion likely did not travel far, but rather may have belonged to a temple encircled by the monumental stoa whose columns still project from the earth nearby, partially cleared by Wiseman.[661] The monumental scale and Archaic-Classical date of this stoa suggest its association with Pausanias' fourth-c. Temple of Olympian Zeus with a bronze statue inside.[662] The other temple of Zeus remains undiscovered.

Alongside the Temple of Olympian Zeus, Pausanias also described the Lerna fountain, first identified with the Asklepieion fountain and then the complex known as the Fountain of the Lamps, which does better suit Pausanias' description of a pool surrounded by columns and seats.[663] Through the fourth century, the Fountain of the Lamps remained a pool fed by a natural spring on the north terrace edge, with niches and a walkway around it, decorated with marble sculpture.[664] However in the fifth-sixth centuries parts of the Fountain were ruined, while some 4000 lamps were deposited in the pool, some inscribed with Christian invocations. Jordan and Avraméa followed Wiseman in seeing the place as connected with baptism or other Christian rituals, and linked with the burials which take place from the later fifth century in the area.[665]

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[659] *Xystarch*: Wiseman 1979, 500 (I-70-39). Romano (2005, 587, n. 10) notes the reused block, and also lists the fragmentary sculpture and lead curse-tablets found over the spina.

[660] Paus. 2.4.5; Dinsmoor 1949; Robinson 1966 (1968), 141.

[661] Williams and Sanders both think this is a temple peribolos rather than part of the Gymnasium, though it could really be both- compare Athens' Olympieion. Stoa: Wiseman 1967a, 1967b, 409, n. 19, 1970, 1972, 4, 23.

[662] Corinth's Olympian Zeus Temple: Paus. 2.4.5 (bronze statue inside), 3.9.2 (ca. 398 BC); Theophrastus *Περὶ φυτ. αἰτ (de caus. plant., Enquiry into Plants)* 5.14.2: συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν δὲ καὶ οἱ τόποι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἐναίθριοι λεγόμενοι· πλείω γὰρ ἐκπήγυται καὶ πλεονάκις ἐν τούτοις ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν καὶ μικρὸν πάνυ διεχόντων, ὥσπερ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὸ Κράνιον καὶ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον.

[663] Paus. 2.4.5; Lucian *Historia* 3, 29 (Diogenes the Cynic going from Kraneion to Lerna with Sura in between).

[664] Fountain of the Lamps: Wiseman 1967, 31-41, 402-28; 1969, 64-106; 1972, 1-42; Garnett 1975 (lamps); Jordan 1994a (lamps).

[665] Jordan 1994a; Avraméa 1997, 151-4. A lamp inscription at first linked with Jews has been proved rather to be a Christian invocation of 'Angels who dwell on these waters': Wiseman 1972, 28-30, no. 21;

East of this Fountain, directly north of the Agora and probably just north of the Olympian Zeus Temple was a second pre-Roman temple complex, Corinth's sanctuary of the healing god Asclepius.[666] Marble cult statues of Asclepius and Hygieia were located inside it, and Roman marble dedicatory statuettes found there also include Aphrodite.[667]

Besides the elaborated natural springs of Lerna, the Fountain of the Lamps and the Asklepieion, Landon has identified several other springs along the terrace edge tapped in the Roman era, and likely used for agriculture on the plain below, and domestic or industrial use as well.[668] A bronze foundry was uncovered in Wiseman's excavations, and likely other messy and water-intensive industries were located here too.[669] Of course among these public buildings, temples, fountains and forges were more houses too; the edge of the terrace had a fine view of the sea which attracted wealthy Corinthians throughout history, as did the edge of the upper terrace moving around to the east and south.[670]

The development and the use of this northern area in the fourth century is unclear; most buildings were suppposedly destroyed in the 375 earthquake or by Alaric's Goths from coin evidence.[671] The Temples of Asclepius and Zeus apparently were used through the later fourth century, until the materials of the latter were taken for the Epistyle Wall, and the former probably for other fortifications.[672] But there are several clear exceptions to this pattern of fifth c. destruction. A large centrally-planned building of fourth-century style lay east of the dirt road and south of the Gymnasium 'Stoa' which probably formed the peribolos of the Temple of Olympian Zeus.[673] Lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps date from the 5th-6th c.,

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Lambropoulou 1993, 665-7; Jordan 1994a, 224, no. 1; Rothaus 2000, 128; Noy et al. 2004, 340, no. App18*bis*.

[666] de Waele 1933, 1935a, 1935b; Roebuck 1951 (*Corinth* XIV); Wesolowsky 1973 (Lerna cemetery); Lang 1977.

[667] Paus. 2.4.5; Roebuck 1951 (*Corinth* XIV), 144-5, pl. 59, nos. 8-10.

[668] Landon 1994, 207-18, no. 12, 'Spring of Ayios Kodratos,' used (215) in Roman times for "farmers, travelers and burial needs."

[669] Mattusch 1991.

[670] Robinson 1962, 120-32: trenches revealed possible Roman houses under the Bey's palace destroyed in the late 5th c. or later, as one had a hoard of late 4th-early 6th c. coins.

[671] Wiseman 1967a, 1967b, 409, n. 19, 1970, 1972, 4, 23.

[672] See above for Epistyle Wall. Asklepieion: Roebuck 1951 (*Corinth* XIV).

[673] Sakellariou and Faraklas (1971, 143) call it domed, "probably" public and unfinished, built fourth c., but Wiseman (1967b) says it was destroyed by the 375 quake or Alaric from a coin of Valentinian (367-75) in debris over the floor, and built in first c., with "ovens" later in debris.

and have inscriptions on a few invoking angels, perhaps identifying the fountain as a place of baptism.[674] G. Weinberg also discovered a fifth-century pottery kiln near Kokkinovrysi at the northeast corner of the city, near Shear's villa, certainly occupied in the fourth century, and perhaps the fifth too.[675] Shear's tombs on the neighboring hillock of Cheliotomylos are also fourth-sixth c. according to their lamps; one accomodated a charioteer.[676]

In the fifth century, almost immediately after the end of worship of Asclepius at his centuries-old sanctuary, and while worship of the god was still alive in Athens, burials began to penetrate his sanctuary. They continued throughout the sixth century, and many epitaphs reveal the Christian identity of the dead and their families. Finally, adjacent to these burials, perhaps for funeral services, to honor a local martyr, his spring and also perpetuate cult practice in this area, a large basilica was constructed in the early 6th c. (Fig. 9).

This, the Quadratus Basilica, is located at the north side of the largest of the depressions or bays which corrugate the northern edge of the Lower City Terrace just east of the site of the Asclepium; Skias once suggested that this low-lying area sloping down to the northern plain was used as the city's stadium, but it was rather a cemetery at least from the 2nd c. BC below a natural spring.[677] The floor of this bay has never been excavated or explored, except for the Basilica itself and surrounding tombs at its north end, and around the St. Quadratus Spring at its south end, which emerges from a (partly human-made) cavern in the Terrrace edge. Though the current size and shape of the cavern probably dates from the Byzantine era, the collecting tunnels behind the cavern are ancient, and the spring was certainly used in Late Antiquity both before and after the construction of the Basilica, probably mainly to supply farmers, travelers and funerary rites.[678]

The Basilica and some of the immediately surrounding graves were excavated in the 1961-2 by Stikas for the Greek Archaeological Service.[679] The church is a 3-aisled basilica with high parapets between the nave and aisles, and

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[674] Wiseman 1967a, 31-41, 1967b, 402-28; 1969, 64-106; 1972, 1-42; Garnett 1975; Jordan 1994a.
[675] Daux 1965, 690.
[676] Shear 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931; Blegen et al. 1964 (*Corinth* XIII), 65-313; Walbank and Walbank 2006.
[677] Skias 1892 (1894), 114-5, 1906 (1907), 153.
[678] Landon 1994, 207-18, no. 12, "Spring of Ayios Kodratos."
[679] Stikas 1961, 1961 (1964), 1962, 1962 (1966), 1965; Daux 1963; Pallas 1977, 156-63, 1981 (1979), 105-8, 1990, 778-9; Panagiotide 1970-1; Rothaus 2000, 97.

originally no narthex or atrium. Masses of graves fill the nave, aisles, adjacent chambers to north and south, and a later narthex. A large tower by the west side of the church probably is also later, and served as a bell-tower or watch-tower. While the construction of the church was initially dated by Stikas to the 4th or 5th c., Pallas corrected this to "no earlier than the beginning of the 6th c.," and this date is followed by modern scholars.[680]

The name of the church was assigned on the basis of an inscription honoring St. Quadratus on a marble lintel reused in a grave within the Basilica, which Stikas assigned to an earlier architectural phase.[681] He associated this inscription and hence the dedication of the Basilica with the martyrs St. Quadratus (also Codratus, Κοδράτος) and his companions, decapitated at Corinth under Valerian on March 10, 258.[682] That is the date of their feast still in Byzantine Corinth, and from at least the ninth to eleventh centuris a healing spring and adjoining basilica attracted pilgrims to Corinth, probably to this excavated church.[683] The spring was certainly already there in Late Antiquity, and though the literary and archaeological evidence for its use as a healing shrine is Byzantine, these practices may have begun during Late Antiquity. There is an inscription probably also for St. Quadratus from Sicyon, which may belong to a list of locally honored saints.[684] At some point during the Venetian or Ottoman era at Corinth the basilica fell into ruins, and a new burial church was built to the south, St. Anna.

Therefore the northern side of Corinth and lower city terrace retained its status as a center of healing cult throughout Late Antiquity. The polytheistic cults disappeared and their buildings were incorporated in fortification walls. Graves came closer to the city center, and moved towards Christian orientation and burial rite, but still remained outside the settled urban area and probably fortification walls. Athletic games, and whatever sort of other training went on in the Gymnasium clearly either ceased or lost an architectural framework. But the main road descending the terrace towards Lechaion did not shift; a traveler towards the harbor once passed the

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[680] Stikas 1965, 478; Pallas 1977, 161.
[681] Stikas 1966 (1962), 64, pl. 49:c, 1962, 85, fig. 97, 1965, 478-9, fig. 12.
[682] Halkin 1957 (*BHG* 3rd ed.), 1.119; *Acta Sanctorum* 10 March, 4-11 (2nd ed. 696-700, 3rd ed. 895-8); *Menologion* in *PG* 117.345-8, for March 10.
[683] Joseph the Hymnographer, 9th c., first to mention basilica and cult; Nikephoros Gregoras *PG* 149:504-20, last source to mention it, and latest coin from excavation from reign of Manuel I (1143-1180).
[684] *SEG* 41.271. For Quadratus also *EAH* 1962, 85; *BE* 1964, no. 177.

Asclepius on the left, and then later in Late Antiquity passed the new Quadratus Basilica on the right. Thus a religious building still marked the passage from the Lower City Terrace and urban space down onto the northern plain and rural space.

C. The East

The region of Corinth east of the city center on the Upper City Terrace was marked in Roman times as a transitional area between urban and rural, the expensively-appointed upper-class homes and famous Greek shrines of the Kraneion, and and the trash-filled neighborhood of the Amphitheater with its beasts, gladiators and graveyards (Fig. 3).

The Amphitheater of Corinth was carved into the living rock at the very northeast edge of the Upper City Terrace, "outside the city in a glen, a place that is able to hold a crowd but otherwise is dirty and is such that no one would even bury a free-born citizen there," in the words of Dio Chrysostom; though clearly visible today the structure has never been excavated.[685] Welch makes comparative arguments for its construction in the early days of the colony, since it is relatively small; Williams argues that the conversion of the Theater and Odeum to arenas in the mid-3rd century signaled the end of its use, but this is far from certain. Many if not most spectacles would have been staged by local benefactors as part of imperial cult celebrations, and multiple venues are in use simultaneously in many other cities in Late Antiquity.[686] The gladiatorial and animal spectacles held in the amphitheater at Corinth attracted negative attention as a foil for Athens and as symbolic of the city's Romanitas, and resettlement by veterans (Plut. *Caes.* 57) and freedmen (Strabo 8.6.23), in the works of Greek Second-Sophistic authors from the late 1st to early

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[685] Amphitheater: Welch 1999, 134-40; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 89-91, figs. 54-6, plan 79; Lampros 1877 (Grimani 1701 plan); Vischer 1875, 264-5; Curtius 1851/2, 2.527; Blouet et al. 1831-8, 3.36-7, pl. 77, fig. III (plan); Leake 1830, 3.244-5; Dodwell 1819, 2.191. Probably to be identified with the place Dio Chrysostom is describing in *Or.* 31.121 as argued, tr. in Welch 1999: "But as matters now stand, there is no practice current in Athens which would not cause any man to feel ashamed. For instance, in regard to the gladiatorial shows the Athenians have so zealously emulated the Corinthians, or rather, have so surpassed them and all others in their mad infatuation that whereas the Corinthians watch these combats outside the city in a glen, a place that is able to hold a crowd but otherwise is dirty and is such that no one would even bury a free-born citizen there, the Athenians look on this fine spectacle in their theater under the very walls of the Acropolis…" (Rhodian Oration, written in 70s).

[686] Welch 1999.

3rd centuries.[687] However the civic officials of Athens as well as other uncolonized cities of Greece began to hold such games too under the Empire, and then to modify their theaters and stadiums to better accomodate them.[688]

In Apuleius' satyrical *Metamorphoses* the narrator encounters a newly-appointed Corinthian official hiring gladiators and collecting animals in Thessaly for a three-day *munera* to be held in Corinth's Amphitheater; after being ridden to Corinth the narrator describes part of the mythological dramas, Pyrrhic dances and mimes of the event itself.[689] Animal-combats are further attested at the Amphitheater by an inscription copied by Cyriac of Ancona from a base with figures of *venatores*, once the support for a bronze statue erected by the beast fighters of Corinth (θηραίτο(ρ)ες ἄνδρες) for their doctor Trophimos near the entrances for the beasts (ἐγγὺς θηρείων ἱστάμενοι στομάτων).[690] A third-century epitaph of a gladiator from this area points perhaps to a burial place by the Amphitheater reserved for those who competed there.[691] Finally, a fourth-century geographer wrote that one of the most distinguishing

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[687] Lucian *Demonax* 57: "When the Athenians out of rivalry with the Corinthians were thinking of holding a gladiatorial show, [Demonax] came before them and exclaimed, "Don't pass this resolution, men of Athens, without first pulling down the Altar of Pity!"; Philostratus *VA* 4.22: "He (Apollonius) also corrected the following abuse at Athens. The Athenians ran in crowds to the theater beneath the Acropolis to witness human slaughter, and the passion for such sports was stronger than it is here in Corinth today; for they would buy for large sums adulterers and fornicators and burglars and cut-purses and kidnappers and such rabble, and then they would take them and arm them and set them to fight one another" (written ca. 230, set in mid to late 1st c.).

[688] Before the Empire gladiatorial games were only held by Romans in Greece; after Augustus most cities came to hold them: Welch 1999. Eastern cities with purpose-built amphitheaters in Robert 1971, 33-4: Gortyn, Antioch, Beirut, Caesarea, Alexandria, Ptolemaïs, Pergamon, Cyzicus, maybe Laodicea of Phrygia. Conversions: Athens' Theater of Dionysos converted to an arena (also in Robert 1971, 34: Philippi, Thasos, Sagalassos, Termessos, Aspendos, Myra, Patara, Aizanoi, Tralles, Magnesia, Priene, Iasos, Miletus, Ephesus, Pergamon, Assos, Troy). Gladiatorial combat though in Athens long before conversion, as in literary sources collected by Welch 1999; also 36/7 dedication to eponymous archon and games-giver Rhoimetalkas *IG* III.114=*IG* II^2 3156 (Robert 1971, 116 no. 58, each word one line, on column: Βασιλεῖ Ῥοιμητάλκᾳ ἀγωνιζόμενος Σεραπίων ταυροκαθάπτης). Messene's stadium was converted into an amphitheater, as were those of Aphrodisias, Perge.

[689] Apuleius *Met*. 10.18-19, 29-35.

[690] Kaibel 1878, 885; Dübner and Cougny 1888, 3.1.295; *IG* IV 365; *CIG* 1106; Robert 1971, 117-8 no. 61. Welch (1999, n. 36) says these could be the carceres of the porta triumphalis, but there is no other use of this word in gladiatorial inscriptions.

[691] I-2664.

features of Corinth was, "*habet et opus praecipuum amphitheatrum*," it has a work of a great amphitheater.[692]

In contrast to the grubby, populist meeting place of the Amphitheater and the monuments and graves around it, the adjacent Kraneion, or place of the skull, was famed in Greek Corinth for its expensive residences, market, Gymnasium and connection with the life and death of Diogenes the Cynic; in Roman Corinth the place preserved Greek grave monuments and probably sanctuaries along with notable new homes and burials just beyond the city limits.[693]

Among a number of texts which highlight the connection between Diogenes the Cynic and the Kraneion, the early third-century biography by Diogenes Laërtius provides the most detail. He places the Gymnasium of Corinth at the Kraneion, near the Gate to the Isthmus, and describes how Diogenes lived, died, and was buried there, with his grave marked by a column bearing a marble dog, and bronze statues with the inscription:

> γηράσκει καὶ χαλκὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου, ἀλλὰ σὸν οὔτι
> κῦδος ὁ πᾶς αἰών, Διόγενες, καθελεῖ·
> μοῦνος ἐπεὶ βιοτᾶς αὐτάρκεα δόξαν ἔδειξας
> θνατοῖς καὶ ζωᾶς οἶμον ἐλαφροτάταν.
> Even bronze ages with time, but in no way will
> all eternity destroy your glory, Diogenes;
> since you alone showed to mortals the path to
> swiftest glory, independence of life and livelihood.[694]

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[692] *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 52=*Liber iunioris philosophi in quo continetur totius orbis descriptio* 28; Rougé 1966; Di Branco 2005.

[693] Kraneion: Theophrastus (above on Olympeion); Xenophon *Hellenica* 4.4.4 (ca. 392 BC, during Corinthian War some young men stay there); Athenaeus 13.589b; Plutarch *De exilio* 6 (*Mor.* 601b)(only wealthy Corinthians can live there, like Kollytos in Athens); Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 1 (Menippus the Cynic lives there or at the Lyceum in Athens); Alciphron *Letters of Parasites* 24 (*Ep. Para.* 3.51, 60)(written ca. 200 set in 4th c. BC: morning bread, fruit market there, source of scraps for poor but proud young men in the afternoon after bathing); Timaeus *Lex. Plat.* s.v.; Themistius *Or.* 2.38; Suda s.v.; Hesychius s.v.

[694] Diogenes Laertius 6.77-8. Further connections between Diogenes the Cynic and the Kraneion: Plutarch *Alexander* 14; Diogenes Laertius 6.38 (Diogenes sunning himself in the Kraneion asks Alexander only to move from his light); Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 4.13-14 (Diogenes fond of the common (*koinoi*) places and shrines, so Alexander the Great found him there when he visited Corinth), *Or.* 6.3-4 (Corinthian appearance, breezes and Kraneion all more beautiful to Diogenes than the Ecbatana or Babylon, and compare favorably with Propylaia and Acropolis of Athens), *Or.* 8.4-5 (Diogenes after the death of Antisthenes goes to Corinth and camps out there), *Or.* 9.4 (Diogenes often seen in Corinth and around there); Lucian *How to Write History* 3, 29 (Diogenes there under Philip, going from Kraneion to Lerna with Sura in between); Brown 1949, 24-38; Dudley 1998.

This information on the Kraneion may be supplemented by the most extensive description of the northeastern city, again that of Pausanias:

> Ἀνιοῦσι δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ ἄλλα ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν μνήματα καὶ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Διογένης τέθαπται ὁ Σινοπεύς, ὃν κύνα ἐπίκλησιν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες. πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσων ἐστὶν ἄλσος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον. ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς Μελαινίδος καὶ τάφος Λαΐδος, ᾧ δὴ λέαινα ἐπίθημά ἐστι κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ποσίν.
>
> As you go up to Corinth, there are other monuments on the road and by the gate is buried Diogenes of Sinope, whom the Greeks nickname Dog. In front of the city is a grove of cypresses called *Kraneion*. Herein are a *temenos* of Bellerophon and a temple of Aphrodite *Melainis* (Black) and the grave of Laïs (the elder), on which as a marker is a lioness gripping a ram in her front feet.[695]

Neither of these famed graves has been located at Corinth, but the area is indeed full of burials which mark the eastern edge of the Roman city.[696] This Temple of Black Aphrodite is associated by Strong with the dedications and courtesans of the Greek sources more often linked with Aphrodite on Acrocorinth, on the basis of the epithet and the grove here.[697] A delicate column base with reliefs of doves and an Aphrodite statuette are thought to come from this Sanctuary, which has never been excavated.[698] This is also perhaps the place Ampelius praised in the third century, "a shrine of Venus in which is the marble basin of Laïs," given her grave's location there.[699] However, as with the monuments and references collected by Strong, we really have no clear way of telling whether this or the Sanctuary on Acrocorinth is meant.

G. Weinberg excavated a fourth-century pottery kiln in this northeast corner of the city; another larger one with basins for washing the clay has been dug by the Service on

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[695] Paus. 2.2.4; Frazer 1913, 2.18-9; Roux 1958, 105-7.

[696] Kraneion Scholarship and Excavations besides Basilica: Skias 1892, 111-2, 1906, 148-9, 165-6; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 77-80; Elderkin 1945, 4-8; Koutibas 1966, 119-21; Stroud 1972, 210-7, esp. 216 n. 42.

[697] Strong 1997 (see below).

[698] S-1366 (Aphrodite statuette from Kakavi); Soles (1976, 26) ascribes the unpublished column base in the Corinth Museum courtyard to the Temple.

[699] Ampelius 8.8: *eodem in loco (Corinth) fanum est Veneris, in quo vas marmoreum Laidos*. His most recent editor (Arnaud-Lindet 1993, 62) rather improbably connects this basin with that in the museum at Isthmia, which has no connection with a shrine of Aphrodite, or Aphrodite Tyche on the Agora.

the Kalderimi recently.[700] But grand houses clearly stood here too in Late Antiquity; one with mosaics, an opus-sectile floor, and a private bath was excavated by the Service in 1985 just at the edge of the Upper City Terrace, probably to enjoy the view of the Gulf.

In the later fifth or early sixth century the cults of Black Aphrodite and Bellerophon, both likely associated with gods who cared for the dead, were themselves supplanted by large Christian churches. One was located to the south of the house excavated by the Service, just west of the Amphitheater. Though visible as masonry on the surface, it has only been surveyed to date, and is referred to as Pallas' Church (from its discoverer) or the Amphitheater Church. Two large centrally-planned linked structures, it was likely a Martyrium or Baptistery with attached church.[701] It was certainly inside the Late Roman Wall, which makes an eastward jog just to its south, deliberately to keep it inside.[702]

South of this church and beyond the main road leading from the ancient city towards Cenchreae, just outside the line of the Late Roman city wall, the Kraneion or Cenchrean Gate Basilica was first discovered in 1928.[703] This three-aisled cemetery church is filled with graves like St. Quadratus, but also features an attached baptistery and triconch mausoleum, perhaps for the donor's family.[704] The pottery, lamps and coins in the graves, embedded in the masonry of the building and under its floors yield a date

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[700] Daux 1965, 689-90.

[701] Discovered by Pallas (1959, 1990, 764), and mentioned with reference to him by Scranton (1957, 9), and Sanders. Rothaus (2000, 95) chose instead to call it the Amphitheater Church, and with Tim Gregory observed late 5th/6th/7th c. fine and corse ware pottery, 2 impost capitals, and an inscription turned in to the Corinth museum (I-1990-3). Compare the Octagon Church in Philippi, or three in Thessaloniki, St. George, perhaps originally a mausoleum or temple converted to a church, Galerius' Palace Octagon, probably an audience hall, and the Octagon church by the Vardar west gate, perhaps a martyrium church dedicated to St. Nestor: Grabar 1972; Mango 1972 (1993), 1975 (1993); Spieser 1984, 117, 1998 (2001); Hattersley-Smith 1996, 135-9, 163-5.

[702] Gregory 1979; Sanders and Boyd 2008.

[703] Pease 1928 (Corinth NB98); de Waele 1928 (Corinth NB99); Carpenter 1929, 345-60.

[704] Shelley 1943; Scranton 1957 (*Corinth* XVI), 7; Pallas 1959, 204-5, 1962 (1964), 1970 (1972), 1972 (1974), 1976 (1978), 1977 (1979), 1977 (1980), 1990. The triconch mausoleum is convincingly interpreted as a family mausoleum and not a martyrium by Snively (1984, 117-24). Though Rothaus (2000, 98) says (n. 25) that Snively argues unsuccessfully that "the Kraneion basilica was not a martyrium," she was just discussing the triconch tomb not the whole basilica. He also still has it built early 6th and "damaged and abandoned" mid-6th, assumedly by Pallas' earthquake of 550/1, which likely did no damage to Corinth. In any case the basilica was used long into the Byzantine era.

of construction in the first half of the sixth century.[705] Like St. Quadratus this church survived into Venetian times, constantly acquiring new graves, and serving as the pagan shrines before as a marker of the eastern border of Corinth, the road to Cenchreae and the passage between the worlds of the living and dead.

D. The South

South of the Corinthian Agora was the route up to Acrocorinth, the only direction out of central Corinth which went up onto rocky ground instead of down into agricultural land (Figs. 2-3, 13). Yet here too the passage out of the city center was marked by sanctuaries. First the Upper City terrace sloped gently upwards, then turned into the steeper, rockier incline of Acrocorinth. This transition is marked today as at the other terrace-breaks by an east-west line of natural springs tapped in the Roman era.[706] Somewhere above these natural springs the Hadrianic aqueduct from Stymphalos also would have ended in a castellum or reservoir like the dexameni on Lycabettus in Athens, with pressure lines distributing the water down from there throughout the city, particularly to its public baths.[707]

The Egyptian gods had their primary sanctuaries south of the Agora on the way up to Acrocorinth according to Pausanias.[708] A small marble tripod base from this area bearing a Hellenistic dedication to Isis and Serapis suggests that their pre-Roman sanctuary was here as well.[709] Stroud points out that this location was well-watered by the Hadji Mustafa spring, which likely furnished a proper Canopus.[710] Though these divinities and many details of their cult originated in Egypt, by the third century they had been worshipped in Greece alongside the Greco-Roman pantheon for centuries. At Corinth in that era it is thus quite anachronistic to speak of them as in any way foreign

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[705] Date established by Pallas (1970 (1972), 109-10), and reaffirmed in his subsequent reports and posthumous final summary (Pallas 1990).
[706] Hadji Mustafa, Kakavi: Mackay 1967; Landon 1994, 174-8.
[707] Hadrianic Aqueduct: Biers 1978; Landon 1994, 342-65, 419-29; Lolos 1997. Sanders pers. comm. suggests the castellum may lie on the eastern side of the north slope of Acrocorinth, where a large ruin is visible in a 19th c. drawing by Gell. Much of the aqueduct has been traced by Lolos back to Stymphalos; a similar one brought water down to Argos.
[708] Paus. 2.4.6; Smith 1977; Milleker 1985; Bookidis 2003; S-2268 (bearded head) also Sarapis? Connection with Anaploga, where the church of the healing saints Cosmas and Damian is located?
[709] I-2650, Robinson 1966 (1968), 139, 1969b, 2 (findspot); Daux 1966, 756-7; Vidman 1969, 20, no. 34a; Dunand 1973, 2.18; Smith 1977, 217-8.
[710] A 'bath' excavated near Hadji Mustafa may form part of these Sanctuaries: Corinth NB576, 61-7, Biers 1985 (*Corinth* XVII), 1 n. 2.

to the Corinthians or Greece. Yet their cult always maintained distinctly Egyptian practices, and the fable of Apuleius in particular is very valuable for the cult of Isis at Corinth as it would have been practiced in the third century.[711]

The excavated urban sanctuary in Thessaloniki aids in reconstructing the undiscovered sanctuaries of Isis and Sarapis at Corinth; there their cult was particularly patronized by merchants, mariners, freedmen and those in search of healing.[712] At Thessaloniki the Sarapeum was also just above the Agora (under the modern Ptolemaion and Antigonidon Streets). In the third through fourth centuries it consisted of a peristyle enclosing a temple with naos and pronaos; in the naos an apsidal niche and altar were built into the rear wall. An underground chamber below this held a centrally-placed altar and a very worn Herm still in a niche; a 10-meter long tunnel led down into this chamber.[713] From this tunnel, the site and neighboring properties came almost one hundred Helenistic and Roman statues and inscriptions: Serapis, Isis and Harpocrates are represented along with Priapus, Aphrodite Homonia, Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, a 'Frejus' Aphrodite, a small Egyptian basalt sphinx, and portraits of cult personnel.[714] The bust of a priest of Isis at both Thessaloniki and Philippi, L. Titonius Primus, was recut in the third century from an earlier portrait.[715] Among the dedications one for Osiris Mystes testifies to mystery cult held there already in the Hellenistic era, and the appearance of his cult statue then, a beardless man leaning on his left arm wearing a himation wrapped around his waist and left arm.[716] Other inscriptions record poems in honor of Osiris and Isis, dedications to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, Hypsistos Theos and Dionysos (especially by cult personnel, giving parts of the sanctuary), and decrees of Macedonian kings and local

[711] Griffiths 1975; Millar 1999.
[712] See also Athens, Messene examples, and for Egyptian Divinities' Sanctuaries: Roullet 1972 (Rome); Tran 1964 (Pompeii); Sullivan 1975 (Italy). For cult of Isis and Serapis: Bonnet et al. 2006; Bricault et al. 2007.
[713] Herm MTh 1074. The peristyle and pronaos are also epigraphically attested, as is a Temple of Isis, repaired in an inscription from 14 St. Tegoukou St. (MTh 8173).
[714] MTh 897 (Serapis); MTh843 (Isis or Priestess), MTh 1311? (Isis), MTh 2490? (Isis); MTh 844 (Harpokrates); MTh 1132/1150 (Priapus); MTh 996 (Aphrodite Homonia); MTh 831 (Aphrodite Frejus); MTh 1957 (Aphrodite of Aphrodisias); MTh 4922 (Sphinx); MTh 839 (Priestess/devotee head).
[715] MTh 10844.
[716] MTh 997.

city officials.[717] A burial association of Anubis is also known from the western cemetery.[718] Of particular interest for comparison with Corinth are the dedication of a pair of feet carved on a marble block which find parallels at Corinth with a mosaic of feet in the Temple attributed to Kore in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore just above Corinth's Egyptian sanctuaries.[719] Thus architecture, sculpture and epigraphy all display elements which if found separately would be classified as Greek, Roman or Eastern, yet coexisted quite happily for the third (and fourth) century Thessalonicans using this sanctuary. Especially notable is the strong connection with Aphrodite, and the long continuity of the cult at the same location.

Also west or left off of Pausanias' route climbing past the Egyptian shrines was a road to Corinth's main southwest or Phliatic Gate, the beginning of the major road from Corinth south through Cleonae (with a branch there for Phlius) and on into the Argolid and deeper Peloponnesus.[720] After the sanctuaries of the Egyptian Gods, however, Pausanias noted a number of other cult monuments as he proceeded south up Acrocorinth.[721] The altars of Helios the sun god were appropriately just beneath Acrocorinth, which he won from Poseidon and then gave to Aphrodite.[722] There was next a Sanctuary (*hieron*) of personified Ἀνάγκη (Necessity) and Βία (Force), against the law to enter, and then a temple of Cybele, Mother of the Gods, with stone statue and throne. These were likely all on a single road up Acrocorinth, or at least above (south of) the Agora but below the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the only place located archaeologically so far. After Cybele's Temple, Pausanias noted temples of Demeter, Kore and the Fates (*Moirai*), with concealed statues.[723]

These are now linked with the three Roman temples and other cult buildings identified as the Sanctuary of Demeter

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[717] Inscriptions from the Sarapeum: MTh 824, 829, 859, 965, 978, 979, 986, 988, 998, 1683.

[718] MTh 1254, epitaph of Aulus Papius Cheilon. For other Thessalonikan 2nd-3rd c. burial associations see MTh 10762, 10771, 21161.

[719] MTh 841, Dunbabin 1990; *IG* X II.1 89 (2nd c.), 90, 104, 120.

[720] Carpenter and Bon 1936 (*Corinth* III.2). Road south to Cleonae from Acrocorinth in Stroud itinerary in Corinth library, drawn on by Wiseman 1978, 93 n. 3, also in Paus. 2.15; Peutinger table; Pritchett 1980, 243; Marchand 2003.

[721] Paus. 2.4.6-7.

[722] Paus. 2.4.6; Lucian *Salt.* 42. Williams (1986, 17 n. 16) links the establishment of the altars with the ejection of the Corinthians by the Macedonians from Acrocorinth during the Hellenistic era. Helios won a contest Poseidon for Corinth); Philostratos *VA* (Domitianic worship of Helios at Corinth).

[723] Paus. 2.4.7.

and Kore, and excavated from 1961-1975 and in one final season in 1994.[724] The worship of the goddesses in this place was another element of continuity from the Greek to the Roman city.[725] The cult in the third-fourth centuries was syncretized with that of other goddesses, and apparently shared with the Fates. The dedication of a mosaic with feet in one temple along with elephant tusks in marble have their closest parallels in Isis cults.[726] The elegantly delicate marble portraits of young priestesses suggest a civic cult important to upper class Corinthians throughout the third-fourth centuries.[727] This sort of cult can be paralleled in the dedications of young female priestesses to Artemis at Messene and Brauron.[728]

The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was functional until the late fourth century, and then violently destroyed, with sculpture smashed and thrown down a well, and roof collapse sealing coins, pottery and other artifacts on the floors of

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[724] Stroud 1965 (exc. 1961-62), 1968 (exc. 1964-65), 1993; Bookidis 1969 (exc. 1968), 1987, 1990, 1993; Bookidis and Fisher 1972 (exc. 1969-70), 1974 (exc. 1971-73); Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 1997 (*Corinth* XVIII.3); Pemberton 1989 (*Corinth* XVIII.1); Dunbabin 1990; Slane 1990 (*Corinth* XVIII.2); DeMaris 1995; Merker 2000 (*Corinth* XVIII.4); Bookidis et al. 1999; Pfaff 1999.

[725] Paus. 2.4.7. Greek cult: Diod. Sic. 16.66.2-5, Plutarch *Timoleon* 8.1-2 (Timoleon (345/4) is told by the priestesses of Demeter and Kore in Corinth that the goddesses have told them in their dreams that the goddesses will accompany him to their sacred island, Sicily. In Diodorus he follows a bright star in the sky, and in thanks then dedicates his best ship to them (on land or sea?, at Corinth?), calling it sacred to Demeter and Kore; in Plutarch he and his men name the ship after the goddesses at Corinth and equip it as a sacred trireme to come with them); Schol. Pindar *Ol.* 13.54 (Medea when dwelling in Corinth drove off a plague (limos) by sacrificing to Demeter and the Nymphs of the lakes (Λημνίαις)); Hesych. Ἐποικιδίη· Δημήτηρ ἐν Κορίνθῳ (Corinthian Demeter who presides over the house, connection with the colonies?).

[726] Dunbabin 1990. Possibly there is a connection with Masinissa's elephant tusk dedications at Tas-Silg on Malta to Juno-Hera-Isis-Astarte (Cicero *Verr.* 2.4.46 (103)).

[727] Vanderpool 2003 (*Corinth* XX): Two heads of girls from a well excavated in 1960 in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, one with deliberate smashing of nose and mouth by blunt instrument: S-2666 and S-2667 (late Trajanic or early Hadrianic; also Ridgway 1981, 436; Stroud 1965, 21 pl. 10:b-c). A smashed head of a goddess was also found in the well (S-266). Probably these two priestess heads should also be joined by a third head in the MFA Boston, which probably came from the same well, inv. 96.698, Caskey 1925, 215-6, n. 127. Also, I would suggest adding a very similar portrait in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, inv. no. 1052, Despinis et al. 2003, no. 278 pls. 854-5, a portrait of a girl with her hair in a decorated knot, of "Unknown provenance, 2nd c."

[728] Themelis 2003.

the temples.[729] This is the clearest example of anti-pagan action at Corinth, and the only one certainly to be dated to Late Antiquity, aside from a number of heads placed in drains under the Agora. Other breaking up of pagan statuary and marking of crosses is difficult to place before Byzantine times.

Finally, last of all before he reached Acrocorinth, Pausanias noted the Temple of Hera Bounaia, Hera of the Mountain.[730] This was a venerable cult place too, known at least from the Hellenistic period as a fortified Sanctuary above Corinth. Then on the saddle west of the citadel itself, Pausanias mentions the southern cit gate leading to Tenea in the southern Corinthia, and an adjacent sanctuary of Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth.[731] The Sisypheum or Sanctuary of Sisyphus also stood on this saddle between Acrocorinth and Penteskouphi, an appropriate locale for this famous first king of Corinth who spent eternity pushing a boulder uphill.[732]

E. Acrocorinth

Finally, towering above the city of Corinth and commanding views of the rest of the Corinthia is the citadel of Acrocorinth, the acropolis of Corinth (Figs. 2-3, 12-13, 17). Archaeology there has been limited to excavation around Upper Peirene and on the peak, along with study of the monumental circuit walls which remain to this day.[733] In Late Antiquity, the Hellenistic circuit was clearly still standing at least to the height which remains today. There were five gates in these walls leading out to roads, with the main gate always on the west where the Hellenistic wall and towers are best-preserved, and the approach easiest.

Upper Peirene Fountain was used into the 19th c., and pottery, coins and lamps show it actively maintained as a source of water throughout Late Antiquity from the natural

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[729] Pemberton 1989 (*Corinth* XVIII.1), 191; Slane 1990 (*Corinth* XVIII.2), 5 n. 15.

[730] Paus. 4.6.7. This may even be the Heraion of Hdt. 5.92.18-24 (Periander proclaims festival of Hera, but then takes all the clothes from the women who come and burns them for Melissa); it seems certain to be that of Plutarch *Aratus* 21.1 (1036)(Aratus leads men to City Gate by the Heraion) and 24.1 (1038)(Aratus takes Heraion and Lechaion first before Corinth).

[731] Paus. 2.5.4.

[732] Diod. Sic. 20.103.1-4 (walled, used by Cassander's forces 303 BC); Strabo 8.6.21 (sanctuary below Upper Peirene).

[733] Acrocorinth: Blegen et al. 1930 (*Corinth* III.1); Carpenter and Bon 1936 (*Corinth* III.2).

spring-fed pool.[734] Formulaic inscriptions on the walls of the Fountain request that a number of different people, some of whom are *marmarioi*, be remembered by an unnamed deity at the spring, perhaps as Broneer suggested Bellerophon, or Aphrodite herself; the Roman terms and letter-style of Greek put most of these graffiti in the 2nd or 3rd century.[735]

The Sanctuary of Corinth's patron goddess Aphrodite lay above Upper Peirene near the summit of Acrocorinth, and though revived by the Romans at its previous location both Sanctuary and cult are as difficult to describe in Late Antiquity as before.[736] Coin images show a schematic temple atop Acrocorinth, sometimes with the famous statue of Armed Aphrodite, nude to the waist and holding a shield.[737] Pausanias mentions only three statues standing in the temple: Armed Aphrodite (ὡπλισμένη), Helios and Eros with a bow.[738] Roman statuettes, frescoes and coins of this cult statue of Armed Aphrodite are found at Corinth, and she has also been linked by scholars with other Hellenistic (Venus di Milo) and Roman (Capua, Arles) Aphrodites, but it is disputed whether the statue seen by Pausanias was an 'original' Classical or Hellenistic cult statue or a Roman 'replacement.'[739] Such debates are based partly on

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[734] Upper Peirene: Strabo 8.6.21 (followed by Eustathius *Comm*. 2.570); Pliny *NH* 4.4.11; Paus. 2.5.1; Stillwell in Blegen et al. 1930 (*Corinth* III.1), 31-49; Landon 1994, 154-62; Robinson 2001.

[735] Broneer (in Blegen et al. 1930 (*Corinth* III.1), 50-60) gives texts and dates them second c., though the parallels range from the reign of Nero and Plut. *de Curiositate* 11 through sanctuary and cliff-side contexts all over Roman Greece and Egypt into the third c.

[736] Strabo 8.6.20; Paus. 2.5.1. Cult: Farnell 1896 (1977), 2.653, 734 n. 16, 1911 (1990), 268-83; Nilsson 1972; Will 1955, 225-33.

[737] Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885, 75; Edwards 1933 (*Corinth* VI), no. 181.

[738] Paus. 2.5.1. Blegen (1930, 26) lists only three fragments of marble sculpture excavated, an overlifesize left leg (Helios?), statuette leg, and drapery frg.

[739] Armed Aphrodite: Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 1.742-6 (Aphrodite with shield); Dio 43.43 (on ring of Caesar); Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885, 74-6 (on Corinthian coins, statue dedicated by Caesar); Fürtwangler 1895, 384-8 (is a copy of a cult statue by Skopas, late fourth century BC (Pliny *NH* 36.25), created for Corinth or elsewhere, also copied in Capua Aphrodite, Naples NM 6017, *LIMC* Aphrodite no. 627); Broneer 1930 (is not Capua Aphrodite, a nude version of a late fifth c. BC Nike, not followed), 1932 (*Corinth* IV.2), 98-9 (on lamps, tc fig.); Edwards 1933 (*Corinth* VI), 8 (on coins); Bernhart 1936, nos. 164-92 (on coins, Domitian to Commodus); Soles 1976, 41-69 (is from a bronze original by Skopas, Capua Aphrodite certainly variation of same type, as is Venus di Milo, with one or two copies erected on Roman Acrocorinth); Brinkerhoff 1978 (is connected with Capua/Arles Aphrodite original of fifth c. BC); Williams 1986, 15-20 (is Hellenistic or Roman); Gadbery 1992, 1993 (is shown in new statuettes S-2548 (Broneer

assumptions about the thoroughness of Mummius's sack, and partly on the continuing scholarly debate about 'Greek originals' and 'Roman copies.' She was probably accompanied by Eros as her son, and Helios as the winner of Acrocorinth (in his contest with Poseidon) who then gave the citadel to her.[740] But excavations in 1926 at the highest peak of Acrocorinth turned up only meager architectural fragments of a Greek Sanctuary there: the corner of a small building of the late seventh c. BC, and poros architectural members of a fifth-c. BC Doric temple without a clear foundation.[741] The revived Roman Sanctuary was perhaps an open-air peribolos with this temple and other smaller buildings and dedications inside it, like maritime city-goddess Aphrodite Sanctuaries at Cnidus or Palaipaphos.[742]

Beyond the three statues it is a great mystery what else this Sanctuary of Aphrodite still contained in Roman times. The marble vase of Laïs noted above was more likely in the Sanctuary near her monument.[743] A very fragmentary inscription is possibly a Late Antique epigram honoring Sisyphus, who received Upper Peirene from Asopus, and as noted had his sanctuary near Acrocorinth.[744] Athenaeus also had his sophist Myrtilus at dinner in Rome ca. 200 assert not only that he had been a sophist at Corinth but also that a certain epigram of Simonides and a *pinax* were still

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1947, 243-6), S-2608 (Soles 1976, 68-9), fresco from East of Theater at Corinth, and well-preserved Perge dedication of Claudius Peison (Özgür 2008, no. 17), which all clarify connections with Capua Aphrodite, Venus di Milo); Havelock 1995. There are also suggestive references to an original group of Ares and Aphrodite, perhaps at Corinth: Ovid *Tris.* 2.296 (unknown temple); Paus. 5.8.5 (Chest of Cypselus).

[740] Paus. 2.4.6.

[741] Hill 1927, 70; Blegen in Blegen et al. 1930 (*Corinth* III.1), 3-21; Williams 1986. The corner of the small building was dated from pottery; the temple members, none in situ, were placed by Blegen either on a destroyed foundation under the church, or south of it on a smoothed-down rectangular area about 16 m. long and 10 m. wide, which could have held an amphiprostyle or prostyle temple, or just a courtyard. Williams (1986, 20) summarizes Blegen's discoveries of pottery at the site as mainly third c. BC, with a scattering going back to late Mycenaean, and a mere seven fragments of terracotta figurines, one Mycenaean, the others Archaic through Hellenistic. He thus concludes the dedications were largely perishable, money for the prostitutes, or kept in the lower city. I think it more likely that the sanctuary was large and the main buildings have not yet been discovered.

[742] Cnidus: Bankel 1997. Whether or not the round temple held the Cnidia, there can be little doubt from epigraphy and terracottas that her cult was spread through the small buildings on the ridge above the harbor. Palaipaphos on Cyprus: Hdt. 1.199; Westholme 1933; Iliffe and Mitford 1952; Maier 1979; Budin 2002; Young 2005.

[743] Ampelius 8.8.

[744] Blegen 1930, 26: [-]ΩΣΚΟΡΕ[-/-]ΟΙΣΙΣΥΦ[-], "Greek letters of late Roman date." Paus. 2.5.

to be found in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite there, dedications honoring courtesans who prayed to Aphrodite for the salvation of the Greeks after the Persian invasion of 480 BC.[745] Yet the assertion of survival of the dedications comes problematically in a passage citing and perhaps quoting Chamaeleon's lost 3rd c. BC biography of Pindar, which gives as his sources the classical historians Theopompus and Timaeus. A scholion to Pindar confirms that Theopompus cited a version of the epigram and claimed autopsy of it on the left as one entered the temple, in the 4th c. BC; however Theopompus omitted the name of Simonides, and gave the honorands only as women of Corinth.[746] The third attestation of the epigram, Plutarch's *Malice of Herodotus*, must use Theopompus too, from similarities of phrasing and his interpretation of the epigram as referring to women.[747] But Plutarch, like Athenaeus, ascribes the epigram to Simonides, gives a different text from Theopompus, and adds bronze *eikones* which accompanied the epigram. Thus the possibility remains that Athenaeus and Plutarch were referring to actual surviving or renewed dedications of Roman times in a Corinthian temple of Aphrodite.[748] The further question

[745] Athen. 13.573b-e (=Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F285a, Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F10, Chamaeleon *Peri Pindarou* F31 (ed. Wehrli 1957, 56-8; ed. Koepke 1856, F16), with Athen. 13.567c for the speaker Myrtilus as a sophist at Corinth in the 3rd c. Epigram text and commentary: Simonides *Ep.* 14, in Page 1981, 207-11, no. 14; Palumbo Stracca 1985, 58-65; Brown 1991; Kurke 1996.

[746] Schol. Pindar *Ol.* 13.32b (ed. Drachmann 1903, 1.364-5)(=Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F285b). Also with Plutarch below mentions the foundation of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite by Medea, though the two texts give different stories for her reasons.

[747] Plutarch *Mor.* 871A-B *de malig. Herod.* 39. Though Plutarch's authorship has been questioned in the past, current scholarship accepts this work as genuine: Pelling 2007.

[748] Athenaeus alone calls the women of Simonides' epigram hetairai, courtesans, likely following Chamaeleon (on whom Wendling in *RE* 3, 1899, 2103; Scorza 1934; Nilsson 1957, 376). Wilamowitz (1889) and subsequent commentators joined these hetairai with Strabo's Corinthian hetairai who are also hierodouloi. Bergk (1914, 481-2), Boas (1905, 51 n. 19) and Page (1981, 207-11) all concluded that the claim of autopsy in Athenaeus is transmitted from Theopompus through Chamaeleon, and that the pinax must have been destroyed in the Mummian sack. But was the Temple of Aphrodite sacked? Is Athenaeus so clumsy as to transmit impossible autopsy? Page (1981, 207-11) is tempted to allow Athenaeus autopsy for his sophist, and a Roman reality for this, because he thinks it doubtful that Athenaeus and Plutarch's Simonidean epigrams (and Plutarch's bronzes) can come from Timaeus or be pre-2nd c. BC. van Groningen (1956) favors the epigram accompanying a pinax honoring the wives and statues honoring the hetairai, who all prayed together. Williams (1986, 18) thinks there were sacred prostitutes, hierodouloi, and priestess who prayed recorded on a stele, while Kurke (1996) favors sacred hetairai on a bronze tablet, and sees Athenaeus' epigram as the

remains as to whether the Sanctuary on Acrocorinth or the Temple by the Kraneion is under discussion.[749] Finally, while one of these Greek Sanctuaries of Aphrodite also accepted the dedication of sacred slaves (hierodouloi) and owned their income, some of which was earned by acting as hetairai (by courtesanship), that is in a sense sacred prostitution, we know nothing of any corresponding practice in the Roman sanctuary, and it would be unlikely to be revived by the colonists.[750]

There can be no doubt that the Temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth was replaced by a Christian church, though the manner and date when this happened is open to debate.[751]

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more original (Plutarch's *eikones*?); Lanci (2005, 212-3), Budin (2006) and others (see below) favor just women of Corinth as part of their project to deny the existence of sacred prostitution, and emphasize the Greekness of Corinth. Keesling (2006, 65) thinks whether a list of female names, a painting or actual statues accompanied the epigram, all were unusual enough in the 5th c. BC that paired with Corinth's reputation they might become hetairai in stories even by the 4th c. BC, and certainly by Chamaeleon's 3rd c. BC. For pinakes as inscribed (stone, bronze, wood?) tablets or panel paintings she cites Jeffrey 1988, 126, Löhr 2000, 163, both on the Priests of Poseidon pinax list of names or painting by Ismenias of Chalcis in the Erechtheion of Athens (Plut. *Lycurgus* 843e-f). Faraone (1997, 54-7, 2006, 213) brings attention to the clear verbal and situational connection made by Aristophanes *Lys*. 341-9 to the epigram, clearly well-known already by then.

[749] Strong 1997.

[750] Hierodouloi, Hetairai owned by the Greek temple of Aphrodite: Athen. 13.573e-574b from Chamaeleon adds Pindar's fragmentary *skolion* F122 (Snell, cf. Athen. 5.782d) to Pindar *Ol.* 13 (Hetairai vowed then dedicated to the sanctuary by victorious athlete Xenophon of Corinth in 464 BC, on which see Kurke 1996); Athen. 13.574b-c (Kock 1884 (*CAF*), 2.389) quotes middle comedian Alexis (Hellenistic hetairai have separate festival of Aphrodite); Strabo 8.6.20-1 (379)(1000 hierodouloi, hetairai dedicated to the sanctuary), 12.3.36 (some prostitutes of Black Sea Comana sacred, as at Corinth); Alciphron 3.60 (4th c. BC hetairai imagined in 4th c.). Kurke 1996 (also Strong 1997, Beard and Henderson 1998) convincingly refute the (continued) attempts at denial of the reality of ANY kind of sacred prostitution at Corinth, even hetairai owned by a Sanctuary of Aphrodite (as in Conzelmann 1967; Calame 1989; Lanci 2005; Budin 2006). The main point of attack is a denial of Strabo's accuracy: Baladié 1980. Hetairai in Greece: Kurke 1997 (Archaic); Neils 2000 (Classical); Keesling 2006 (monuments at sanctuaries). Prostitutes and Brothels in a Late Roman city: Leontsini 1989; McGinn 2004, 2006. In a rarely cited passage, John Lydus (4.65) in the sixth century says the form of worship at Corinth influenced that at Paphos: ἐν δὲ τῇ Κύπρῳ πρόβατον κωδίῳ ἐσκεπασμένον συνέθυον τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ -- ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἱερατείας ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Κορίνθου παρῆλθέ ποτε.

[751] Corinth NB90a, 86-127; Blegen in Blegen et al. 1930 (*Corinth* III.1), 21-8; Pallas 1990, 791-3. Blegen's suggestion of 4th/5th c. is too early for the demolition of a major urban temple, extensive recarving of its members, and construction of such a small nave and baptistery. Rothaus (2000, 98-9) pushes the church's construction date forward to Byzantine or even Frankish times from Gregory's re-examination of

Built almost completely of Temple spolia, the first phase of the basilica was roughly 20x10 meters with a central nave, single apse and side aisles separated by colonnades. The latter were constructed of temple blocks and doric columns cut down to make Ionic/Corinthian-style column bases and columns.[752] A date in the later 6th or 7th c. seems likely for the construction of this first basilica, as Corinthians mustered the manpower to demolish the Temple of Aphrodite and were present on Acrocorinth in large enough numbers to maintain the church throughout the Middle Ages.

A second church on Acrocorinth was located just inside the fortification walls by the main western inner gate, perhaps already by the end of the 6th c.; I have observed a marble basilica window-mullion and columns where MacKay suggested from Christian and Muslim graffiti placing Çelebi's "Fetihye Mosque in a converted church" of 1668.[753]

F. Conclusions on the City, its Limits in Late Antiquity

The periphery of Corinth thus forms an important contrast to the Central Area. There are three large, new sixth century churches, all immediately adjacent to pagan sanctuaries; the only sanctuary not replaced by a church (Demeter and Kore) was probably thoroughly destroyed by Christians in the late fourth century. While pagan worship practices probably ceased about that time or were thoroughly transformed as the relevant buildings were torn down for fortifications, and political and social pressures made the old ways untenable, the consecrated spaces marking the northern and eastern boundaries of Corinth first yielded to Christian graves and then in the sixth century acquired Christian basilicas. The boundary between urban and rural space, the world of the living and the dead remained marked, and major communication routes remained open and trafficked.[754] Christian churches marked routes and borders as the pagan religious builings preceeding them had done. This construction of churches in Late Antiquity on the edges of the city adjacent to former sanctuaries is followed also in Athens and many other Greek cities.[755]

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pottery illustrated in the notebooks, though it is unclear what dates he means by Byzantine; Frankish is incompatible with Blegen's 12th c. spolia in the 5th and final floor of the church, and the modifications for the 13th-c. Tower.

[752] Blegen et al. 1930 (*Corinth* III.1), 22-3.

[753] MacKay 1968.

[754] Rothaus 2000, 99-104.

[755] Athens: Temple of Artemis Agrotera to church (Travlos 1971, 112-3), also likely Olympieion and Temple of Cronus and Rhea (Frantz 1988 (*Agora* 24), 335, 403); Temple of Eukleia and Eunomia to church of St. Agathokleia (Epitaphs: Creaghan and Raubitschek 1947, 4-5, 39; Bradeen

Moreover, these peripheral churches lasted through the Dark Ages while urban churches like Pallas' church and the Long Building apparently did not. Perhaps the parishoners of these urban churches moved to Acrocorinth and rebuilt their parish churches there, while holding fast to the cemetery churches down below which probably also marked the location for their festivals, funerary rites and perhaps even continued dining rituals.

Large urban and rural villas, however, were not restored or maintained after Late Antiquity as the Basilica churches were. Perhaps the wealthy landowners moved to Acrocorinth for protection, or to elsewhere in the Corinthia.

1974 (*Agora* 17), 188-94 nos. 1063, 1081, 1087, 1091, 1093). Macedonian cities: Hattersley-Smith 1996, 197.

VI. The Corinthia

Urban life in Late Antique Corinth depended on a surrounding network of roads, towns and countryside (Figs. 2-3, 12-14). People and products came and went from two harbor towns, Lechaion and Cenchreae, rural festivals and then a fortress at the seaside sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, and subsidiary towns, villas and sanctuaries all over the Corinthia. The city remained the political, economic and communications center for the Corinthia and the Peloponnesus throughout Late Antiquity.[756]

A. Northern Plain and Lechaion Harbor

Between Corinth and the harbor town at Lechaion was a network of roads, cemeteries and proverbially-rich cultivated countryside, the Vocha plain described above (Figs. 2-3, 14, 17).[757] No public buildings have been identified there before the two or possibly three Christian basilicas constructed in Late Antiquity along two major roads, probably to serve as cemetery churches for the inhabitants of Lechaion, Corinth or villages on the plain. The sixth-century Skoutela Basilica is located northwest of the city on a road which now passes straight through the church but originally ran beside it and on to the coast and Sicyon; Pausanias noted a burnt-out temple of Apollo or Olympian Zeus on this road which may possibly precede the church, but no trace of it has ever been found.[758]

Roman ruins near the small town of Assos (Ag. Charalambos, near Zevgolatio) to the west of Lechaion beyond the Longopotamos gorge probably represent the population center of the northwest Corinthia, ancient Asae.[759] This is where the Road to Sicyon beside the Skoutela Basilica reached the coast and turned west, and before it reached the border at the Nemea river. By the church of Ag. Charalambos, a fine small bath complex was built in Late

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[756] Wiseman 1978; Sanders and Whitbread 1990.

[757] Cemeteries between Corinth and Lechaion: Blegen et al. 1964 (*Corinth* XIII); Eliot and Eliot 1968; OSE Railroad excavations. Traces of the Long Walls to Lechaion built in 460 BC also doubtless remained in Late Antiquity: Thucyd. 1.103.4; Xen. Hell. 4.4.7; Diod. 11.79.1-2; Strabo 380; Plut. *Kimon* 17.1-2; Paus. 2.2.3; Skias 1892 (1894), 112.

[758] Paus. 2.5.5; Pallas 1955 (1960); Rothaus 2000, 97 (early 6th, damaged mid-6th).

[759] Asae: Theopompus 115 *FGH* 173 in StephByz s.v. Ἀσαί; Miliarakis 1886, 110, 170; Bursian 1862, 93; *RE* II 1896 1514; Sakellariou-Faraklas 1971; Wiseman 1978, 100-5.

Antiquity and renovated as late as the sixth c.; perhaps it belonged to a rural villa or the ancient town itself.[760]

Directly north of Corinth on the line of the Lechaion Road which began in the Agora was at least one church, perhaps two. Little is known about a church discovered and partially dug by Blegen in 1916.[761] The owner of a house on the south aisle of the ruined church called him in when he hit upon some sculpture; Blegen then dug enough of the eastern single apse, nave, north aisle and external tile graves to conclude that it was a "big" church, roughly 16 m. wide to judge from his plan, and sat atop a destruction level containing headless statues of Dionysos and the Striding Poet (Alcaeus?), probably the ruins of a *villa rustica*.[762] Blegen does not specify the location of this property; Bookidis concluded the property was in the region of Bourneri east of the ancient Lechaion Road between Corinth and Lechaion, but found no trace of a building there in 1996.[763] A modern chapel on the west side of the ancient Lechaion Road just south of the area of Blegen's church may be the successor of a Late Antique Christian basilica.[764]

The artificial harbor of Lechaion was dredged in from the beach of the Corinthian Gulf directly north of Corinth itself; today it is a marshy lake cut off from the sea and flanked by high sand dunes, probably from the last Roman-era dredging, but never dated.[765] Sporadic archaeological investigation and texts show that Late Antique Lechaion was an active port with warehouses, baths, sanctuaries and fine

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[760] Ag. Charalambos (Zevgolatio) Bath: excavators Charitonidis and Ginouvès (1955) marked two phases, second/third c. construction and then fifth c. renovation, by comparison with the Great Baths of Argos. Wiseman (1978, 100) shifted this forward to construction ca. 300 and renovation ca. 400, while Sanders (1999) pushes this last phase back to the sixth c. by comparison with the Panagia Bath.

[761] Blegen 1916 (Corinth NB77), 146-50.

[762] Dionysos: S-1294; Striding Poet, perhaps Alcaeus: S-1183, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 93 no. 189; Richter 1965, 1.69, fig. 243 (makes identification as Alcaeus); Dillon 2006, 4, 34, 124, no. A14-1. Blegen also mentions finding a bust, perhaps the unprovenanced Corinth S-1210, Johnson 1931 (*Corinth* IX), 101 no. 215, found around the same time.

[763] Bookidias 1996 notes in Blegen 1916 (Corinth NB77), 146-50.

[764] Sanders pers. comm. This is the chapel at the cross roads of the ancient Lechaion Road, modern Ag. Dionysiou Road and Kleopatras Road.

[765] Lechaion: Simonides no. 545 (Campbell 1991, 3.440-1); Dionysius *Descr. Gr.* 108 (Müller *FHG* 1855, 1.242); Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.12 (Shipsheds); Polybius 5.2.4; Diodorus 14.86-15.68; Propertius 3.21; Strabo 8.6.22; Pliny *NH* 4.4.10, 4.5.12; Plutarch *Aratus* 24; Plutarch *Moralia* 146B-164D *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* (set in the age of Periander, but perhaps featuring details of Plutarch's day like the hieron of Aphrodite, fine villas, baths, a palestra and a grove by the sea); Pausanias 2.2.3.

coastal houses ringing the artificial harbor.[766] A lighthouse likely stood on the island in its center; Shaw also places Pausanias' bronze Poseidon there on a Carystian marble column, now fallen.[767] Also possibly once on this island was a statue of Fl. Hermogenes on the large triangular base which survives today, and honors him while Governor of Achaia (ca. 340-60) from the *Boule* and *Demos* of Corinth as εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην τοῦ λιμένος.[768] This base was read at Lechaion as early as 1825; to earn these titles the governor likely dredged or otherwise rebuilt Lechaion harbor. Such efforts indicate that the imperial government or at least the Governor valued Lechaion in the mid-fourth century as a port for travel and trade with the West.

Most likely Lechaion, the western and more sheltered Corinthian harbor, was the site of the *horrea* or grain warehouses referred to in the Megarian inscription of 401/2 mentioned above.[769] Large quantities of grain arranged by the Governor of Achaia in such a regulation were likely to support a garrison at Corinth (since they were collected near Thermopylae from the Aetolian, Boeotian and Euboean cities), and would be brought by sea, almost certainly to a harbor-side granary like those excavated at Patara, Andriace (port of Myra), Barbegal (France) or Caesarea Maritima.[770] A massive Classical foundation with later Roman buttressing excavated by the Service in 2003 near the south end of the western Long Wall on the plain was identified as a warehouse.[771]

A Nymphaeum constructed southeast of the harbor in the third century likely belonged to a large contemporary house.[772] The Nymphaeum and adjacent house were then renovated in the sixth century.[773] Ampelius may have been referring to Lechaion in the third century, or less likely Cenchreae, when he included in his wonders of the world: "at Corinth along the sea is the great flank of a bath,

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[766] Gerster 1884, 226; Georgiades 1907; Paris 1915; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 95; Carpenter and Bon 1936 (*Corinth* III.2), 29; Roux 1958, 103; Pallas 1959 (1965), 139, 1960 (1966), 165, 1961-1962 (1963), 75, 1965 (1967), 143-55 (=Daux 1966, 767-70: houses, bath south of Basilica atrium); Wiseman 1978; Rothaus 1995; Stiros et al. 1996. Ancient artificial harbors: Shaw 1972; Casson 1994a, 1994b.

[767] Paus. 2.2.3; Georgiades 1907; Shaw 1969.

[768] I-1391, Quinet 1830, 288; Bursian 1862; *IG* IV 209; Groag 1946, 36-8; Robert 1958, 33-5; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), 164, no. 503, pl. 42; Shaw 1969; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 285, no. 23.

[769] *IG* VII 24; *SIG*^{3} 908; Sironen 1992, 225-6.

[770] Rickman 1971; Cavalier 2007 (Andriace, Patara).

[771] The foundation was visible inside a deep hole in 2008, and the information came from the owners of the land.

[772] Philadelpheus 1918 (1921); Stikas 1957 (1962), 89-94.

[773] Philadelpheus 1918 (1921); Stikas 1957 (1962), 89-94; Daux 1963.

which a person is not able to encircle."[774] A large bath building on the north side of the harbor was built in the fifth century, perhaps along with adjacent houses, and a trapezophoros in the form of a nymph or Aphrodite probably formed part of the decoration, continuing Lechaion's bath-culture into the sixth century.[775]

By far the largest Christian basilica built in Corinth is the Lechaion Basilica, which obliterated almost all earlier buildings on the sandy spit between the inner harbor and the Gulf. It has two aisles separated from the nave by colonnades with parapets, a central ambo, a singal apse, transept, narthex and two atria, adding up to 180 m. of church complex. The inner atrium also has a large fountain, and an extensive baptistery is attached to the north aisle.[776] Several rooms with apsidal dining rooms south of the inner atrium likely represent the Bishops' quarters. After the construction of this complex visitors to Corinth from the west could certainly not avoid encountering the church arriving by sea.

Pallas, the excavator, connected its dedication to Leonidas and the seven virgins or deaconesses who were martyred at Corinth, and indeed they are the only Corinthian martyrs explicitly connected with Lechaion, so it is an attractive identification. Though he dated its construction to ca. 450-500 from coins in the foundations, coins under the floors extend through 518 and in the nonbonding outer atrium to 527, so it was most probably built or at least finished as Sanders suggests in 522-30 by Justinian as part of his restoration of the city after the quake.[777] It was used into the early 7th c. at least, as collapsed elements of the apse overly the tomb of the presbyter Thomas, whose grave goods date to ca. 600.[778]

It was not just monumental, but also lavishly decorated with polychrome mosaics and opus sectile marble, as well as custom-made marble columns and capitals. The column capitals, of the 'Theodosian' fine-toothed acanthus type, appear to be original products of an imperial

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[774] Ampelius 8.8: *Corintho ballenae costa est magna secundum mare, quam homo complecti non potest*.

[775] Pallas 1965 (1967), 143-55 (=Daux 1966, 767-70): houses, bath south of Basilica atrium dug in 1965. S-3745, Daux 1966, 769-70 fig. 8; Stephanidou-Tiveriou 1993b, no. 164.

[776] Pallas 1956 (1961), 1957 (1962), 1958 (1965), 1959, 1959 (1965), 1961-1962 (1963a), 1962, 1965 (1967), 1970, 1961 (1964), 141 (Last new plan of the Lechaion Basilica, and coin dates, 450-60 for the church, 518-27 for the atrium), 1957, 1967, 1979 (1981), 1990 (overviews of Late Antique Corinth in light of his discoveries, particularly the Lechaion Basilica); Krautheimer 1986, 131-4; Rothaus 2000, 96-7.

[777] Sanders 2003 (*Corinth* XX), 2004.

[778] Pallas 1956, 177-8, pl. 72b.

workshop which supplied the Studios Basilica in Constantinople (453/4), the Acheiropoeitos Basilica in Thessaloniki and Basilica B at Philippi, and which were widely imitated in the early 6th c. by local stonecutters too.[779]

Given these details it seems certain that it was the seat of the Archbishop of Corinth. As almost the only excavated church not in a cemetery, it also provides intriguing glimpses of Christian liturgy in the early sixth century. Certainly the scale of the baptistery and font, for full body immersion and with subsidiary chambers, suggests to Sanders a population undergoing adult mass-baptism. Besides baptism such a large basilica located in an urban environment would have accomodated the preaching of homilies and sermons, celebration of the Eucharist (Communion), the singing of hymns, choral odes and kontakia (like those of Romanos), celebrations of local and foreign Saints with readings from their miracle stories and veneration of their relics, and other regular feasts, pilgrimmage, healing or problem-solving of other kinds, incubation, veneration of icons and processions.

B. The Isthmus and Isthmia

Moving east from this fertile plain north of Corinth and the artificial harbor of Lechaion brings us to the Isthmus itself, that six-mile-wide peninsula linking the Corinthia and the Peloponnese to central Greece (Fig. 10). In the third century efforts to cut a canal through the Isthmus were mostly considered a folly of the past, though traces of first to second-century digging were still visible at the west side of the Isthmus along with a relief of Heracles adorning one scarp on the east.[780] However the far more practical diolkos or paved dragway certainly remained

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[779] For these later 5th-early 6th c. imperial column capitals and their early 6th c. imitations: Sodini 1984, 226-9; Mango 1978 (1993)(Studios); Hattersley-Smith 1996, 60-2, 146-7, 160.

[780] Canal-cutting endeavors: Diogenes Laertius 1.7.99 (Periander); Eratosthenes in Strabo 1.3.11 (54)(Demetrius Poliorcetes); Suetonius *Caesar* 44.3, Plutarch *Caesar* 58.4, Cassius Dio 44.5 (Caesar's freedman Anienus for Caesar); Suetonius *Gaius Caligula* 21 (Caligula); Pliny *NH* 4.4.10 (Demetrius, Caesar, Caligula, Nero); Suetonius *Nero* 19, Josephus *de Bell. Jud.* 3.10.10, Pseudo-Lucian *Nero s. de fossione Isthmi*, Cassius Dio 63.16-19, Philostratus *VA* 4.24 (Nero with 6000 Jews); Philostratus *Vita Soph.* 2.1.10, 2.6 (Herodes Atticus); Pausanias 2.15 (Nero or Herodes Atticus?, against the Gods); Leake 3.300 (thought he saw Nero's traces, more likely Venetians); Gerster 1884 (also attributes traces visible in 1884 to Nero: two trenches, each varying from 3 to 30 m. deep, 40-50 m. wide and on the west coming in 2000 m. and on the east 1500 m., each then giving way to a series of pits on line of planned canal every 40-45 m.).

usable for transporting cargo or even small ships from coast to coast.[781] Also crossing the Isthmus alongside the Diolkos in the third century were the traces of at least two previous trans-Isthmian walls.[782] Later texts, as mentioned above in reference to the Herulians, claim a reconstruction of a trans-Isthmian wall under Valerian which Wiseman supports and Gregory rejects as true.

At the east end of the diolkos was a small harbor town, ancient Schoenus, modern Kalamaki. Late Roman walls just north of the modern canal opening, and a chapel with sherds around it about a mile farther north at Ag. Charalambos may belong to the ancient settlement.[783] Several famed ancient monuments stood between here and the Sanctuary of Poseidon along the Saronic Gulf shore of the Isthmus. A cenotaph and epigram commemorated the Corinthian dead at the naval battle of Salamis in 480 BC, a counterpart to their real grave with epigram on the island

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[781] Diolkos: Thucyd. 3.15.1, 8.7, 8.8.3; Aristophanes *Thesm.* 647-55, with scholion to 648; Pseudo-Scylax *Periplus* 40 (diolkos 40 stades long); Agathermus 24 (ed. Müller 1882); Polyb. 4.19.7 (318), 5.101.4 (484); I-788 to 791 (West 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.2), no. 1), from the Byzantine Ramp: Greek insc. of the 4th c. BC (Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), no. 31) with a poetic inscription concerning Marc Antony's grandfather Marcus Antonius transporting a fleet across the diolkos as *praetor pro consule* against the pirates in 102 BC, with name ANTONI MARCI erased. In 30 BC his name was removed from the *fasti* (*CIL* I pp. 422, 439), probably provoking this erasure, but later the Antonii were restored in Rome (Tacitus *Ann.* 3.18; Dio 59.20); Cassius Dio 51.5 (Octavian 30 BC after Actium); Strabo 8.2 (335), 9.6 (369), 378; Mela *Geogr.* 2.48; Pliny *NH* 4.4.10, 4.5 (againt Gods, on which see also Tac. *Ann.* 1.79, Hdt. 1.174 for Cnidians); Hesychius s.v. *diolkos*. Also Theophanes Continuatus p. 300-1; Zonaras 4, 132; Joannes Skylitzes 152-3: in 873 the Byz. Admiral (droungarios tou ploimou) Niketas Ooryphas or Coryphas takes a fleet from east to west across the Ishmus to attack the Cretan pirate Photius, who is raiding the west Peloponnesus; George Phrantzes 1.33 (*CSHB* 20, ed. Bekker and Niebuhr 1968, 96): in 883 (the same?) Niketas takes a fleet across the Isthmus to fight the Arabs. Modern Observations and Excavations: O'Neill 1930, 10-13; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I.1), 49-51, 55-9; Verdelis 1956, 1956 (1959), 1958, 1960 (1962), 1960 (1966), 1962 (1966) (excavations of 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962); Wiseman 1978, 45-50; Cook 1986; MacDonald 1986; Raepsaet 1993; Papachatzis 1963, on Pausanias 2.22-4; Papaphotiou 2007.

[782] Broneer 1966, 1968 (Mycenaean Wall, not widely accepted). Hdt. 7.71, 8.40.2, 8.71-2, 8.74, 9.7-9, 9.10.2-3; Diodorus 11.15-16 (Classical Wall, built under command of Cleombrotus of Sparta 480-79). Diodorus 15.68 (temporary fort of 369 BC). Wiseman 1963, 1978 (Hellenistic Wall). Gregory (*Isthmia* 5, 4-6) questions whether any of these walls went across the whole Isthmus before the construction of the Hexamilion.

[783] Seen ca. 1970 by Faraklas (Sakellariou and Faraklas, App. II, 9-10). Schoenus: Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 49; Philippson 1960, I.1.959.

of Salamis itself.[784] A captured Phoenician ship dedicated at the same time here presumably did not last into Roman times.[785]

On a plateau at the southeast corner of the Isthmus, commanding the approach to Corinth from the northeast, lay the ancient Panhellenic sanctuary of Poseidon, modern Isthmia or Kyras Vrysi.[786] Centered on the classical Temple of Poseidon, by the third century the sanctuary also contained an important excavated shrine for the heroized maritime child god Melikertes-Palaemon.[787] Two temples of Melikertes-Palaimon and a number of sacrificial pits remain from the nocturnal mystery rites which likely revolved around his tomb.[788] A stadium, theater, baths and monumental stoas filled the remainder of the slopes leading down to the sea east of these Temples.[789] A monumental Arch covered

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[784] The epigram from the cenotaph at the Isthmus is given briefly by Plutarch *Mor.* 870E *de malig. Herod.* 39, and at length (spuriously?) by Aelius Aristides 2.512 (ed. Dindorf 1829), also Cambell *Loeb* 1991, no. 12. The Salamis inscription has been found: Plutarch *Mor.* 870E *de malig. Herod.* 39; [Dio Chrysostom] Favorinus 37.18; Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 24; *IG* I^2 927, *IG* I^3 1143; Wallace 1969a. Further epigrams at Corinth in honor of this Persian defeat were upon the naval spoils in the undiscovered Temple of Leto and on the grave of Adeimantus: Plutarch *Mor.* 870F *de malig. Herod.* 39; [Dio Chrysostom] Favorinus 37.19 (Adeimantus only).

[785] Hdt. 8.121-3, 9.81; Thucyd. 5.18; Curtius 1851/2, 2.541-3, 595 with A87-8.

[786] Diod. Sic. 16.80.6 (340-39 BC, Timoleon sends booty to be dedicated in hieron of Poseidon).

[787] Temple of Poseidon: Broneer 1953, 1955, 1958, 1959, 1962, 1971 (*Isthmia* 1), 1973 (*Isthmia* 2), 1977 (*Isthmia* 3). Palaemonion and the cult of Melikertes-Palaemon: Pindar 6.5(1)F (Snell), with ancient commentators in Hypothesis (a), (d) to the Isthmian Odes, and Scholia in Eur. Medea 1284 referring to foundation of Isthmian games; Paus. 2.2.1 (shrine), with myth of leap at 1.44.7-8, burial, altar, pine tree at 2.1.3, comm. Musti and Torelli 1986, 207-; Philostratus *Imag.* 2.362.30, Melikertes/Palaemon buried in a chasm opened by Poseidon; Will 1955, 169-80, 210-2; Burkert 1983, 196-9; West 1997, 58 (name, texts, Greek and Roman cult mainly without excavations); Hawthorne 1958, Koester 1990 (suggest cult is Roman invention); Vikela and Vollkommer 1992, “Melikertes” in *LIMC* 6.1-2:436-44 (iconography); Broneer 1973 (*Isthmia* 2), 99-112; Gebhard and Hemans 1992, 12-18, 52-71; Gebhard, Hemans and Hayes 1998, 405-56; Gebhard 1993, 89-93 (excavations). Beyond the similarity of the name Melikertes to the Tyrian hero Melqart, perhaps there is connection by way of Telephos in ‘temple boy’ pose with Herakles, usually the counterpart for Melqart in Greek cult.

[788] Gebhard and Dickie 1999.

[789] Isthmia Sanctuary complex: Peppers 1979 (pottery); Gregory 1995 (Bath); Gebhard 1979, 1993, 2005, 2007; Sturgeon 1987 (*Isthmia* 4), Lattimore 1996 (*Isthmia* 6) (Sculpture); Raubitschek 1998 (*Isthmia* 7)(Metal objects). UCLA 1968-1971 excavations of Clement east of the Temple: Clement 1968, 1969, 1970 (1972), 1971 (1974); Megaw 1967-1968;

the road which ran into the sanctuary from the northeast, the route from Megara, Athens and Theseus' Scironian cliffs.[790] Here every two years the Panhellenic Isthmian festival was held, in which contestants from all over the Mediterranean competed.[791] Roman coins of Corinth depict runners, wrestlers and boxers, some with the palm of victory.[792] Evidence for agonothetes and victors continues into the early fourth century, after which the Isthmia were no longer celebrated. Besides the third-c. inscription mentioned before from the Corinthian Agora, a tetrarchic male head from Corinth wears the characteristic pine wreath of an Isthmian victor, and two victor monuments from Isthmia are possibly third-century winners.[793]

Several intriguing finds partially illuminate activity in the fourth century at the area in and around Poseidon's Sanctuary at Isthmia. A bearded portrait head from the foundations of a Byzantine house in the Hexamilion Eastern Fort belongs to a group of at least nine copies of this same late 3rd/4th c. man from Greece.[794] Whether a notable philosopher or perhaps even the famously-bearded but never securely identified emperor Julian, this man was clearly widely honored in Greece, especially at ancient Sanctuaries like Isthmia, Delphi and Epidauros. The discovery of this same portrait head at these other shrines means too that it was almost certainly originally erected at Isthmia in the Sanctuary itself to reward specifically religious benefactions. Other exploration in this area has revealed luxurious Late Antique villas, particularly on headlands and out on islands in the Saronic Gulf.[795] But the only building known to have remained in use after the

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Daux 1968; Michaud 1970. UChicago 1989 excavations: Gebhard and Hemans 1992; Gebhard, Hemans and Hayes 1998.

[790] Roman Arch at Isthmia: Gregory and Mills 1984.

[791] Broneer 1962 (Isthmian crown); Geagan 1968 (agonistic institutions), 1975 (synod at Isthmia under Trajan); Biers and Geagan 1970 (victor list). See Golden 1998; Potter and Mattingly 1999; Miller 2004; Bell 2004; Futrell 2006; Kyle 2007.

[792] Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885, 64.

[793] S-340, de Grazia 1973, no. 47, brought in to Corinth Museum with S-341, de Grazia 1973, no. 41, a female head, perhaps his wife. Victor monuments: IS-69-1, Clement 1970 (1972), 166-7, pls. 140-141b; Michaud 1970, 947-9; Clement 1974, 36-9, pls. 2-4; *SEG* 29.340; *SEG* 31 293; *SEG* 33 296; *SEG* 38 1934; *SEG* 41 270; Lattimore 1996, no. 87, pls. 27-8; IS-69-2, Clement 1970 (1972), 167, pl. 141c; Michaud 1970, 949; *SEG* 29.341.

[794] Corinth S-2415, Jenkins and Megaw 1934, 82 fig. 8; de Grazia (1973, 196-201 no. 46 pl. 60. Epidaurus: Katakis 2002, no. 104. Julian?: Kastriotis 1923; Lévêque 1960; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1966, 157 no. 108 n. 5; Smith 2001. Group of Heads: Rodenwaldt 1913; L'Orange 1933; Harrison 1953, pl. 47:b; von Sydow 1969, 105.

[795] Gregory 1985; Kardulias, Gregory and Sawmiller 1995.

construction of the Wall and Fort is Isthmia's brick bath complex, now just inside the new Wall to the west of the Fort.[796]

C. Cenchreae

Continuing southeast along the Saronic Gulf coast from Isthmia brought the Late Antique traveler to Corinth's ancient eastern harbor town, Cenchreae (Fig. 11).[797] In contrast to Lechaion, here the coastline formed a natural cove which was enhanced by the construction of two long breakwaters. However in parallel with Lechaion, the shore seems to have been filled in Late Antiquity with fine houses, sanctuaries and warehouses.[798] A large double-sheaved pulley block from the Cenchreae dockside in particular testifies to the significant scale of the harbor cranes which must once have existed there.[799] A Temple of Aphrodite Euploia and a Shrine of marine Isis on opposite sides of the harbor catered to the needs of seafarers, to whom these goddesses were particular patrons; as at Lechaion there was also a colossal bronze statue of Poseidon by the harbor, attributed to Lysippos.[800] Apuleius' narrator witnesses a festive procession in honor of Isis descending to Cenchreae in the second century for the blessing of the fleet.[801] Pausanias places a Temple of Artemis in Cenchreae too, containing a *xoanon*, and a shrine of Asclepius near that of Isis.[802]

Above and beyond the harbor town to the north and west were the grandest Late Antique tombs yet uncovered at Corinth, clearly placed to be visible from the sea or at least along the roads from the Saronic coast up to the city.[803] Transition from family tombs at Cenchreae to individual burials happens late in the fourth century, and is followed in turn by reuse of the family tombs for new

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[796] Gregory 1995.
[797] Thucyd. 4.42, 8.20; Ovid *Trist.* 1.10.9; Strabo 380; Pliny *NH* 4.4.10, 4.5.12; Ptol. 3.16.13; Pausanias 2.2 (with Hohlfelder 1970a).
[798] Scranton and Ramage 1964, 135-41 (Villas); Scranton 1965; Hawthorne 1965; Scranton and Ramage 1967; Shaw 1967b, 1970, 1972; Robinson 1972; Hohlfelder 1976 (imperial history). Scranton et al. 1978 (*Kenchreai* 1); Adamsheck 1978 (*Kenchreai* 4: Pottery); Hohlfelder 1978 (*Kenchreai* 3: Coins); Williams 1981 (*Kenchreai* 5); Stern and Thimme 2007 (*Kenchreai* 6: Ivory, Bone, Wood).
[799] Shaw 1967a.
[800] Paus. 2.2.3; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885, 66-7; Edwards 1933 (*Corinth* VI), no. 149. Rife (in Gallegos 2006) has suggested one of the buildings to the north of the harbor may be the Temple of Aphrodite. For the Temple of Isis see below.
[801] Apuleius *Met.* 11.8-17
[802] Paus. 2.2.3.
[803] Cummer 1971; Rife et al. 2007; Ubelaker and Rife 2007.

burials, and looting of many earlier burials here and in the vicinity.[804]

Pausanias' shrine of Isis at Cenchreae has been identified within a partially submerged complex excavated on the southwestern pier of the harbor, where warehouses, fish-tanks and two apsidal rooms said to be shrines were crowded together on top of a long pier. The pier was supposedly damaged in the 365 quake, spurring the ordering of glass panels with Nilotic motifs which were then in crates but not yet installed when the whole complex was destroyed in the 375 earthquake, based on coins of 364-375 in the debris.[805] Now, however, the quake which sunk the mole and shrine, or at least glass panels, is put in ca. 400.[806] In any case the central apsidal buildings of the pier were quickly rebuilt, and in use into the sixth century, at least one as a church.

The Cenchreae Basilica was built in the 5th-6th c. above the sunken southeastern shrine and mole.[807] Graves and a chapel date to this era on the northern headland, once site of the Aphrodite sanctuary.[808] Later 6th c. hoards recovered from burned contexts all along the harbor contain a range of 3rd-6th c. coins.[809] If the Isis shrine is located near or on the southwestern mole, then that opposite must hold the Sanctuary of Aphrodite; a complex of buildings excavated there is used throughout the 4th century, and supposedly repaired after 365-375, to be used up to ca. 400.[810]

D. The Corinthia North of the Isthmus

The Corinthia proper is divided into two by the Isthmus. The part to the north is dominated by the Geraneia mountain, which abuts the sea and Megara on the east and south, and narrows into the Perachora peninsula on the west, forming the Halcyon Gulf with Boeotia to the north and the Lechaion Gulf to the south (Figs. 1-2).

Though the Scironian cliffs at the farthest northeast border of the Corinthia were proverbially dangerous in Antiquity, there were at least two small coastal Roman towns on the Saronic Gulf west of these cliffs, Sidus

[804] Morgan 1938, 369-70: 1st c. tomb in Hexamilia robbed in the 4th/5th c.
[805] Scranton et al. 1978 (*Kenchreai* 1), 70-1, 75-7; Scranton 1967; Ibrahim et al. 1976 (*Kenchreai* 2), 264. For Nilotic scenes in Greco-Roman art as emblemmatic of the Good Life: O'Connell 2002.
[806] Rothaus 1996.
[807] Pallas 1987-1989.
[808] Gallegos 2006; Rife et al. 2007.
[809] Hohlfelder 1970b, 1973, 1975.
[810] Scranton et al. 1978 (*Kenchreai* 1), 87.

(modern Sousaki) and Crommyon (modern Ag. Theodoroi), along with a coastal road and an inland route branching off from the latter.[811]

Across the Isthmus from these towns were two other sets of coastal towns, around modern Loutraki and over the pass to its north along the south side of the Halcyon Gulf; a road through these towns then split to go either north to Boeotia or east over the mountains to Megara.[812] As on the Saronic Gulf islands, Roman remains have also been reported from the Halcyonides Islands, the modern Kala Nesia. The major Ancient sanctuary in the northern Corinthia was that dedicated to Hera Akraia at Perachora or Peraia, in a natural cove on the south side of the long thin peninsula just across the water from Lechaion and Corinth.[813] However

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[811] Geraneia East: Simonides *Anth. Pal.* 7.496: Epitaph for shipwreck off Geraneia, by Scironian waves and ravines of snowy Methurias (Methana?). Crommyon (Agioi Theodoroi): Thucyd. 4.45.1; Xenophon *Hell.* 4.4.13, 5.19; Pseudo-Scylax 55; Strabo 8.6.22 (380, 391); Pliny *HN* 4.23; Eudoxos in Steph. Byz. s.v. Κρομμύων; boar killed by Theseus in Pausanias 2.1.3, Plutarch *Theseus* 9, Ovid *Meta.* 7.435. An emporion in Hierocles *Synecdemus* 10. Many ruins seen here by early travelers, most now gone except around church: Leake 1830, 3.347; Boblaye 1832, 35; Vischer 1875, 229; Frazer 1898, 2.3; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 46; Philippson 1952, 1.3.958-61; Roux 1958, 86-7; Sakellariou and Faraklas 1971. Excavated ruins by the train station to the north of the track and the west of the platform including the round structure in Alexandri and Verdelis 1961 (1962). Sousaki (anc. Sidus?): Wall seen by shore at Sousaki by Boblaye (1832, 35), now gone under national highway, but Faraklas (App. II, 10) also saw Roman sherds 500 m. higher up to NE of Ag. Theodora church, and all of this probably part of anc. Sidus of Xenophon *Hell.* 4.4.13, 4.5.19, Pseudo-Scylax 55, Rianus 265 *FGH* 47 in Athen. 3.82b, Apollodorus 244 *FGH* 159 in Athen. 3.82b, Pliny *HN* 4.23, Stephanus Byz. s.v. Σιδοῦς, Hesychius s.v. Σιδουντιάς. See also Leake 1846, 397.

[812] Geraneia West: Wiseman 1974 (road to Oenoe), 1978, 30-4. Oenoe or Skoinos, hill to SW of Skoinos Harbor on Halcyon Gulf, which Sakellariou and Faraklas (1971, App. II.1) say is not Oenoe; Roman sherds on surface: Payne 1940 (*Perachora* I), 8; Hope Simpson 1965, 35. Sterna at Hill to NE of Ktena at W end of Asprokambos plain, Halcyon Gulf; Roman sherds, cistern on surface: Payne 1940 (*Perachora* I), 6. Upland town by Perachora town: Ag. Vlasios hill 2.5 km N of Perachora town on Rd to Bissia; Roman walls, called at Bissia: Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 38; Payne 1940 (*Perachora* I), 6.

[813] Eur. *Med.* 1378-83; Schol. Eur. *Med.* 264 (Didymus quoting Creophylus *FGrH* 417 F3, 4th/5th c. BC); 273 (Parmeniscus 1st-2nd c. BC); 1379; 1382; Diod. Sic. 4.55.1 ("the Pythian priestess commanded them to bury the children in the sacred precinct of Hera and to pay them the honours which are recorded to heroes"); Apollodorus *Library* 1.145-6 (1.9.28)(Medea killed her children, or Medea left her infant children on the altar of Hera Akraia, and the Corinthians then took them off and killed them). Also Aelian *VH* 5.21 vs. Paus. 2.3.6-8, 2.3.11 (after Eumelus), 2.4.7, and in this connection Schol. Pindar *Ol.* 13.54 or 74? (after Eumelus)(Medea when dwelling in Corinth drove off a plague (limos) by sacrificing to Demeter and the Nymphs of the lakes (Λημνίαις),

in Late Antiquity as before in the Roman era it seems to have been used only occasionally, and no longer for a major festival or prominent dedications, though there were houses and industry in the area.[814] The Hellenistic fortified refuge of Oenoe in the northern mountains of the Perachora peninsula and adjacent modern logging may indicate the presence of forestry, particularly for shipbuilding, and a population there in Roman times (Bisia).[815]

E. The Eastern and Southern Corinthia

The Eastern Corinthia just west of Isthmia and Cenchreae has recently been partly surveyed, with the recovery of much Late Antique pottery from the fields and farms of this area (Figs. 1-2, 12).[816] A third-century villa rustica was excavated here at Pano Magoula, and is perhaps typical of the rural houses which were centers of agricultural production and also retreats for their owners from the city.[817] Additionally, Late Roman sherds and perhaps walls from the Saronic Gulf harbor at ancient Speiraion (modern Korphos), just at the Corinthia's southeast border with the Epidauria, testify to its use in Late Antiquity as a subsidiary cove southeast of Cenchreae.[818]

In the southern Corinthia, a settlement continued to exist at Ancient Tenea (probably modern Chiliomodion), where ruins of fortification walls, a theater and a third-century portrait head mark the only Corinthian town mentioned by Pausanias on the easterly route south from Acrocorinth.[819] This is the route leading towards the Agionorion or Kleisoura pass, the eastern path through the mountains to Berbati and the Argolid. South of Ancient

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perhaps in Perachora); Hesych. Αἶξ τὴν μάχαιραν: a *paroimia* from a story of Corinthians sacrificing to Hera.

[814] Dunbabin and Payne 1940, 1962 (*Perachora* 1-2); Philippson 1950-1959, I.3.954; Hammond 1954; Wiseman 1978, 33.

[815] Stroud pers. comm.; Philippson 1892, 1950-1959; Theophrastus' ship-building trees.

[816] Caraher et al. 2006; Diakopolos 2006; Tartaron et al. 2006; Tartaron, Pullen and Noller 2006; Pettegrew 2004, 2006, 2007a, 2007b.

[817] Pallas 1955, 1955 (1960); Wiseman 1978.

[818] Stroud (1985) in his review of Salmon 1984 gives evidence for heavy traffic through this area based on *IG* IV^2 1.71 l. 17. T. Gregory is studying this material in connection with SHARP, though the focus of the 2007-8 excavations was the Mycenaean era: Tartaron and Pullen 2008.

[819] Sakellariou and Faraklas (1971, 32) identify a site south of Chiliomodion village with a theater, walls, houses and Roman graves as "certainly" Pausanias' Tenea, and also (25, Appendix II) cite Papachatzis 1963, pers. comm. of Epimelete Papachristodoulou, and the reasoning that Athikia (Ag. Nikolaos) has much less arable land; Klenia B is smaller. For a third-century portrait head found between Chiliomodion and Moni Phaneromeni, and thus likely from a Tenean grave or villa: S-2605, de Grazia 1973, no. 44.

Tenea another smaller Roman village was located at Klenia, the entrance to the pass.[820] The Nyphitsa Cave at Kalyvaki south of Ano Klenia yielded Roman dedications, and rounds out the cycle of Roman-era cult sites in the Corinthia, from the grand temples of the city center and periphery through the rural sanctuaries of the countryside.[821] Finally, the 14th c. castle of Agionoros today guards the top of the pass, and *spolia* in and around the village reveal that it was a center in Roman times too, with churches built in Byzantine times.[822]

F. Conclusions

This survey of the urban areas of the Corinthia combines with the earlier observations on barbarians and infrastructure to yield some conclusions.

First, it seems clear that the eastern, Saronic gulf shore of Isthmia and Cenchreae was from the third century more susceptible to pirates and raiders than the Corinthian Gulf. Whether such invaders came by land or sea, they arrived first at the Isthmus, and this was the spot which seems to have suffered the most under Alaric's Goths. The major investment in infrastructure at Corinth in the fifth and sixth centuries was a monumental wall and fort(s) across the Isthmus, with a much smaller-scale wall around the city itself. The biggest church built at Corinth was placed at Lechaion. Finally, Thucydides' ancient observations on Greek retreat from the coast in times of trouble seems to be echoed at Corinth in the later sixth and particularly seventh century, when Cenchreae and then Lechaion are largely abandoned and settlement in the Corinthia seems to shift to Acrocorinth and into the Fort at Isthmia.[823]

Second, both harbor towns demonstrate remarkable religious continuity in Late Antiquity. Though the construction of the Lechaion Basilica destroyed the previous buildings on the site, we know from Pausanias that the spit of land once held pagan sanctuaries. At Cenchreae, a Christian basilica was built at the base of the southwestern pier which once held a sanctuary of Isis;

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[820] Sakellariou and Faraklas (1971) identify Klenia B as the Archaic to Roman town, while their Klenia A is the Bronze Age site. Klenia was long associated with Pausanias' Tenea: Frazer 1898, 2.29; Fowler and Stillwell 1932 (*Corinth* I), 96; Neill 1930, 26-7; Philippson III.1 1939, 91; Roux 1958, 130-1.

[821] Cave 60 m. deep, first investigated by N. Bertos in 1930: *BCH* 54 (1930) 479, *AA* 1939, 271, *RE* 22.2 1954 1384, *RE* Suppl. 6 1935 606.

[822] Wiseman 1978, 121-5.

[823] Thucyd. 1.2-8.

recent surveys at the northeastern pier, site of Pausanias' Aphrodite sanctuary, also show a church there.[824]

[824] Rife in Gallegos 2006.

VII. Conclusions

This close focus on Corinthian administration, infrastructure, history and topography in Late Antiquity permits some new conclusions about the city and wider trends in Greek urban life. The main questions are when, how and why things change, and what are the characteristics of Corinth before and after Late Antiquity. There are certainly underlying continuities through the sixth century, and Christianization is only one element among the changes which are apparent today.

The traditional local administrative officials and structures decrease sharply in visibility and probably in actuality in the fifth century. Local civil authorities were dissolved by law in the later fifth century, but at Corinth there is no solid evidence for their existence after the early fifth century. The imperial civil and military hierarchy as reformed by Diocletian continued to exist through the sixth century, yet no actual official of this hierarchy is clearly recognizable at Corinth after the fifth century except for Victorinus under Justinian, and he is given no title other than slave of the Emperor.

Yet surely there continued to be a Governor of Achaia present in the fifth and sixth centuries, he is just far less visible than before. Where did he live and what did he do? Fine houses are numerous at Corinth, and several appear to be used in the fifth-sixth centuries. But the only secure evidence for the presence of the governor at Corinth consists of the chlamydati, some of which may be fifth or (less likely) sixth century. Then at some point, after Late Antiquity in the seventh or eighth century, the system was reformed again and the imperial official at Corinth was given the title of *Strategos*, general. For both local and imperial traditional authorities it seems that less was supplied in Late Antiquity, but less was also expected. The focus of the hierarchy that did remain shifted clearly from Rome to Constantinople and the east after Alaric.

The rise of a Christian hierarchy alongside the traditional one is recognizable in the literary records already in the first century, with the position of leaders of the local church, and then bishops, deacons and presbyters too. The responsibilities of these officials grew slowly in some eras, faster in others. The legalization of Christianity in Achaia in 313 probably at the very least brought them out into public life more visibly. They then benefited from fourth to fifth century legislation. The criminalization of most other religious practices besides Judaism in the later fourth century left

them (along with Jewish leaders) as the only legal religious authorities. Then in the fifth and sixth centuries they took on the construction of churches, as well as some tasks previously overseen by local or imperial authorities. Christianity thus both streamlined and localized authority in Corinth. The leaders of the church in Corinth took part in setting up an empire-wide second hierarchy alongside the imperial one, but they also basically replaced certain functions of local government and let others disappear. It would be nice to be able to say something about the elites of Corinth shifting from Council leadership to Christian leadership, but in truth we do not have the evidence to say anything about the family background of bishops. Perhaps it is significant that Corinth had enough clergy to supply other places in the Peloponnesus too, like Patras. Direct literary and artistic evidence for this shift comes in some detail from Thessaloniki, but from Corinth it is present only in the form of churches and references to the holding of synods and travel of clergy to church councils. Therefore they were men of some means, particularly in the sixth century.

Clearly Christianity became part of Corinthian civic identity in Late Antiquity, but inhabitants of Corinth remained Corinthians. The name of the city and its people was never lost; bishops representing them continue to appear in literary sources throughout the seventh century. A few traditional elements of civic identity also did not shift until after Late Antiquity. A continuous water supply was maintained to the Agora and Central Area, flowing from architecturally-elaborated fountains. Public baths completed the shift from large-scale to small-scale bathing and continued to be built in the city center. Substantial fortifications for the protection of 'those who dwell in Corinth' went up in the fifth-sixth century. Though it is unclear how long those around the lower city were maintained, those on Acrocorinth and at the Isthmus became long-lasting features of the landscape.

But after the late fourth century there were no more athletic or artistic competitions in honor of the old gods at Corinth or Isthmia, and the buildings which accomodated these things also fell into ruins or were completely removed. Temples, sanctuaries and pagan divine sculpture suffered a similar fate. Monumental construction, sculpture, epigraphy: all of these things became confined to the the context of the church, except for the fortifications on the Isthmus, marked with the last monumental inscriptions of Late Antique Corinth, in the form of Christian prayers. Parts of the urban center of

Corinth became steadily less monumental in the fifth and sixth centuries; but damaged public buildings were usually rebuilt with cut spolia, less often with uncut spolia, or on a much smaller scale, rarely not at all.

Certainly the city center by the late sixth century was thus far less monumental, adorned by fewer remaining old sculptures and almost no new ones, characterized by the skeletons of old buildings hiding within more recent constructions built mainly of spolia. Most of this spolia was very well-cut so as to appear new, like the cladding of the Hexamilion Wall or the outriders façade of Peirene. But the former site of the theater was apparently partly a quarry and partly a large ruin, right off the Agora. The many temples of the West Terrace and Temple Hill were in a similar state. Yet on all sides of the Agora were decorated bath complexes still in use.

But it is also hard to believe that church services and festivals offered the range and depth of culture available in the third century from pagan festivals, artistic and athletic competitions, and even gladiatorial or hunting spectacles. Though they were more humane by our standards than some of these events, they were also more limiting to creativity and human expression. And with the loss of these very obvious buildings and events went all sort of less visible things like public education and professions dependant on them. Not that this change was entirely or even primarily the fault of the Church, there were important economic and political factors too.

This regret is not just a modern sentiment. I take Procopius as expressing real concerns when he criticizes Justinian in the *Anekdota* for "destroying the marks of distinction and all the things which confer honour and beauty both in Byzantium and in every other city," diverting provincial civic funds for public services, teachers, doctors, building repair and spectacles to Constantinople, so, "there was both in private and in public sorrow and dejection, as though still another affliction from Heaven had smitten them, and there was no laughter in life for anyone."[825]

It is still very hard to discern, however, who was driving these changes (besides Justinian in Procopius' opinion), the people or the authorities, or pressure alternately from above and below. Some shifts are clearly initiated by Emperors, Patriarchs and Popes, or their intimate officials, others seem to come from the local level. The trend from the fifth into the sixth century is less monumental, more local, less travel, fewer imports,

[825] Procopius *Anec.* 26, tr. Dewing 1935.

and the disappearance of people and products in Corinth from Rome, Italy, Gaul and Spain. It is also clear that authority in the city was shifting from the traditional authorities to the Christian ones. But it is unclear if the same families were taking on the new positions as the old were abolished or ceased to operate.[826]

In the end it matters to understand what went on in Late Antiquity in Corinth, and why, to contribute to the larger debates on civic decline in the Peloponnesus and across the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity. The evidence at Corinth was widely distributed, but brought together thematically and topographically, it makes much of what is currently written on Late Antiquity incredible if not impossible. There was decline in certain public institutions, primarily those connected to pagan religion. There were fewer new public buildings constructed, and sloppier repairs than in the past to what still stood. But the Agora was the city center into the sixth century, and there were not just public baths, fountains and markets there but fairly new public portraits. At the same time some sculpture was being used as *spolia* in the new basilicas rising on all sides of the city; along with fortifications, they represent most of the monumental construction of the sixth century. Conclusions from the mass of material at Corinth must encourage us to use even the slender evidence at other cities in the Peloponnesus to stand fast on certain continuities of civic culture in Late Antiquity.

We must not ignore regulations for the restoration of the Theater at Sparta passed in 359, or the Christian basilicas built in hundreds all across the Peloponnesus in the sixth century.[827] Christianity caused some changes, but it also emerged in a diverse urban environment of Roman colonists, freedmen, veterans, Jews and Greeks all bound together under local and imperial Roman authorities. Christianity then became visible in the landscape largely through the actions of emerging communities large enough to build and use their new basilicas. Individuals like emperors, local governors and bishops thus all took actions to change their cities, as did communities of people like the Corinthians themselves. At the end of the sixth century Corinth was still a city, but one defined in different terms, lacking much of what had made it a city two hundred years before, but in possession of new buildings and frames of reference moulded by shifts in Roman authority, economic realities and Christian religion.

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[826] Sarris 2004, 2006.

[827] Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 285-7 no. 24; Caraher 2003.

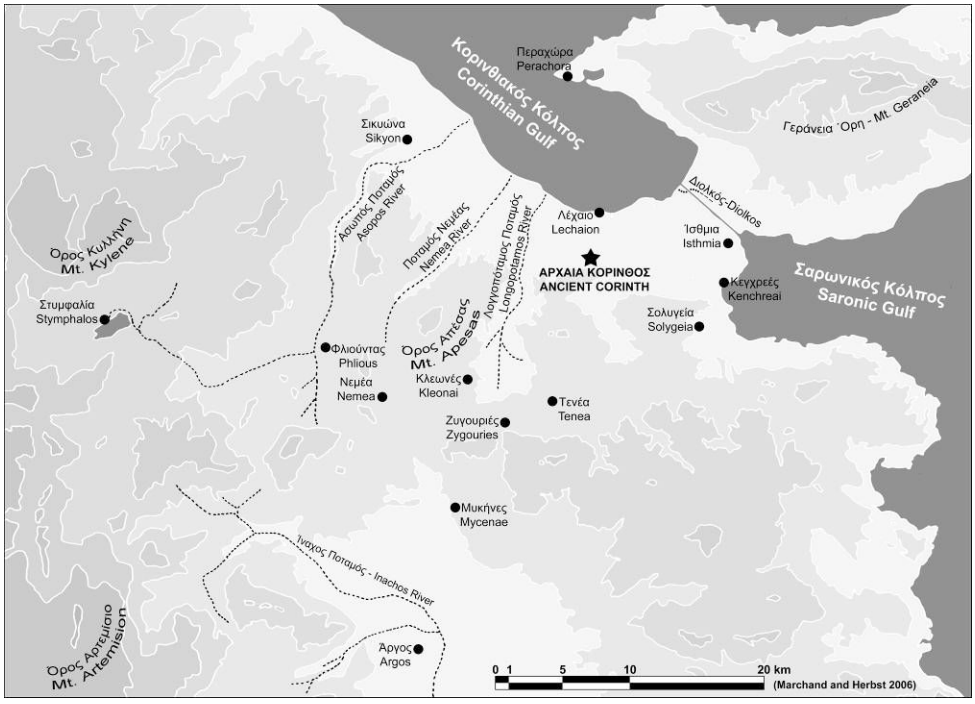
VIII. Figures, Bibliography

A. Figures

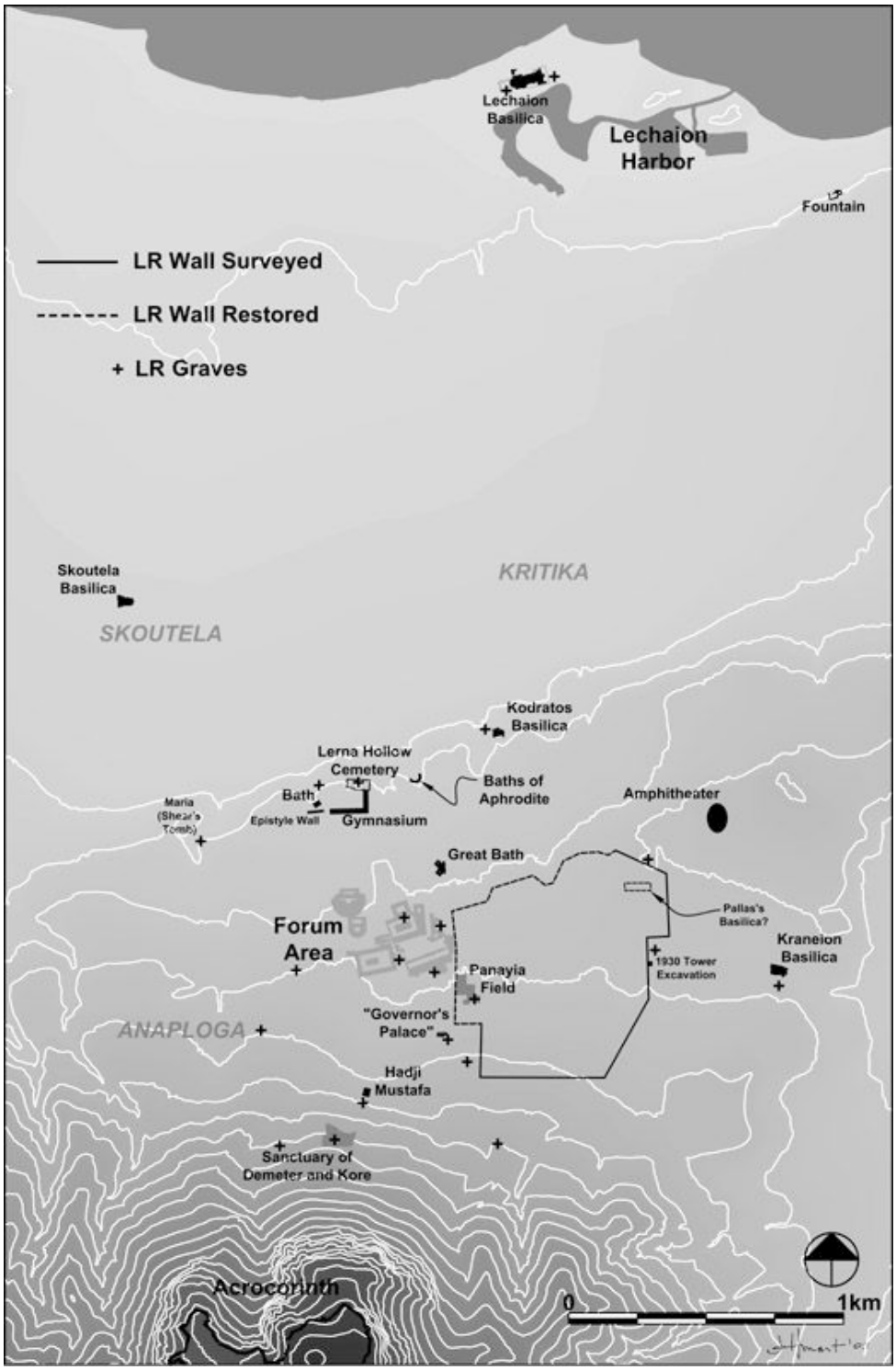
Unless otherwise stated, all plans are courtesy Corinth Excavations.

1. The Corinthia and Northeastern Peloponnese, ca. 2008.

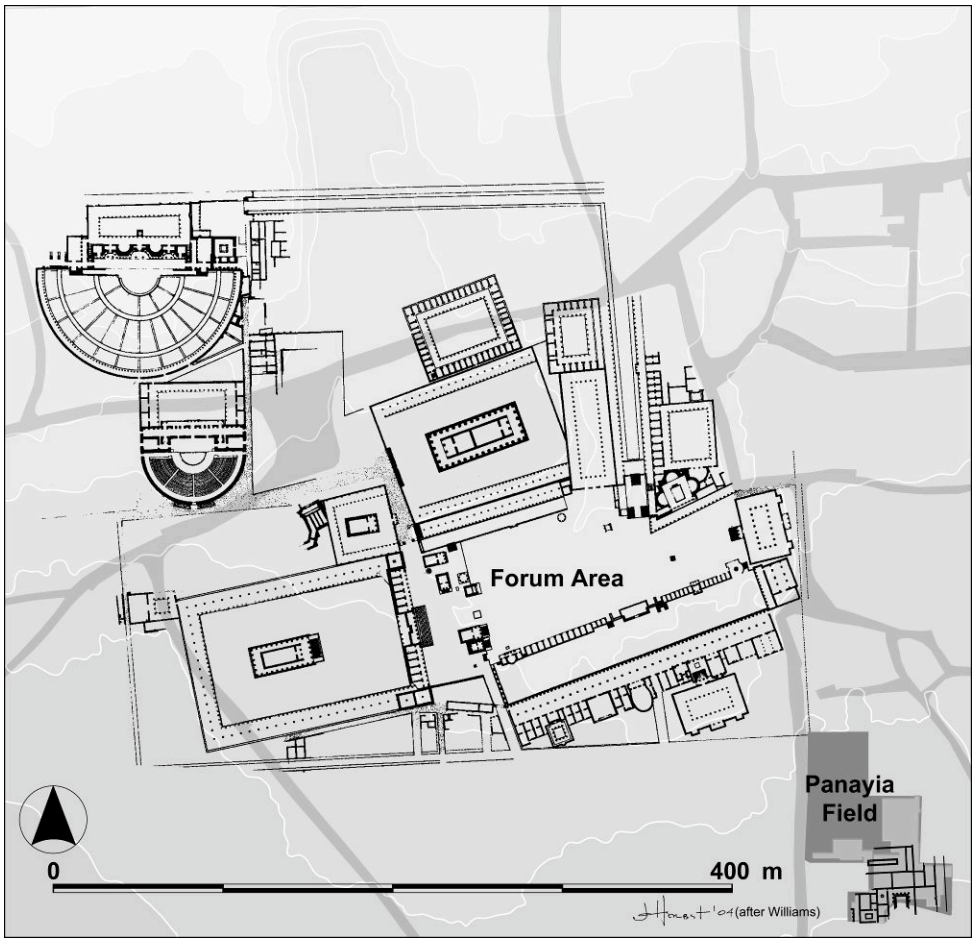
2. The Corinthia.



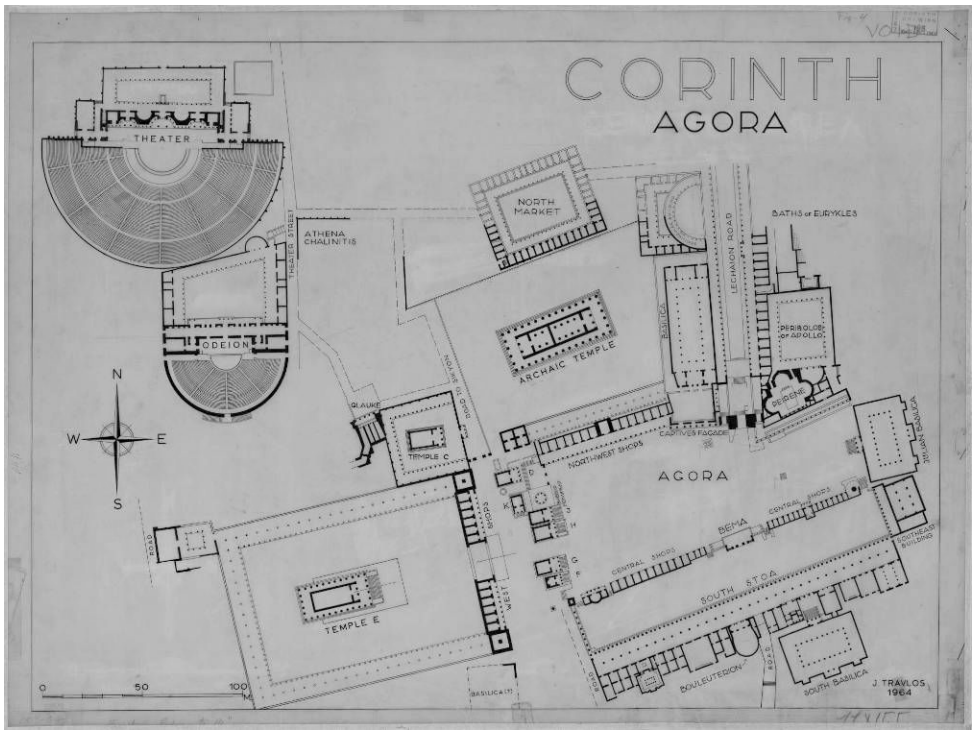
3. Corinth and Lechaion, in Late Antiquity (Late Roman, LR era).



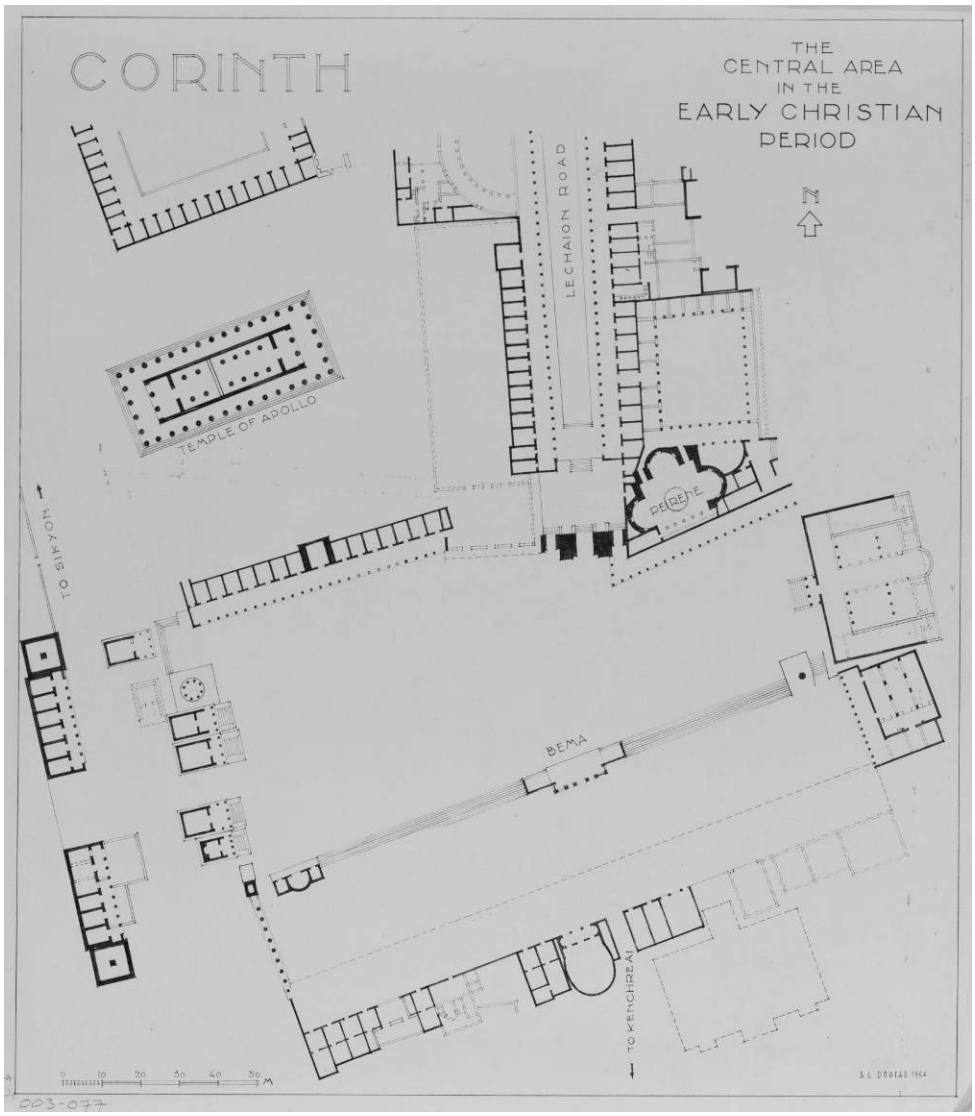
4. The Agora (Forum), Central Area and Panagia (or Panayia) Field, ca. 2nd-4th c.



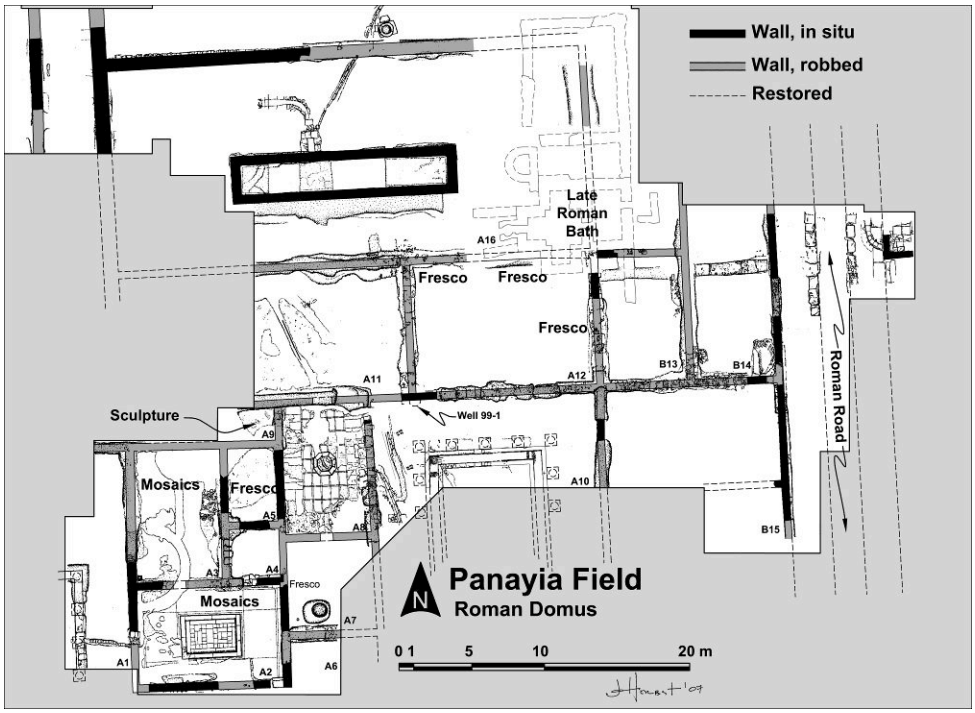
5. The Agora and Central Area, ca. 3rd-4th c.



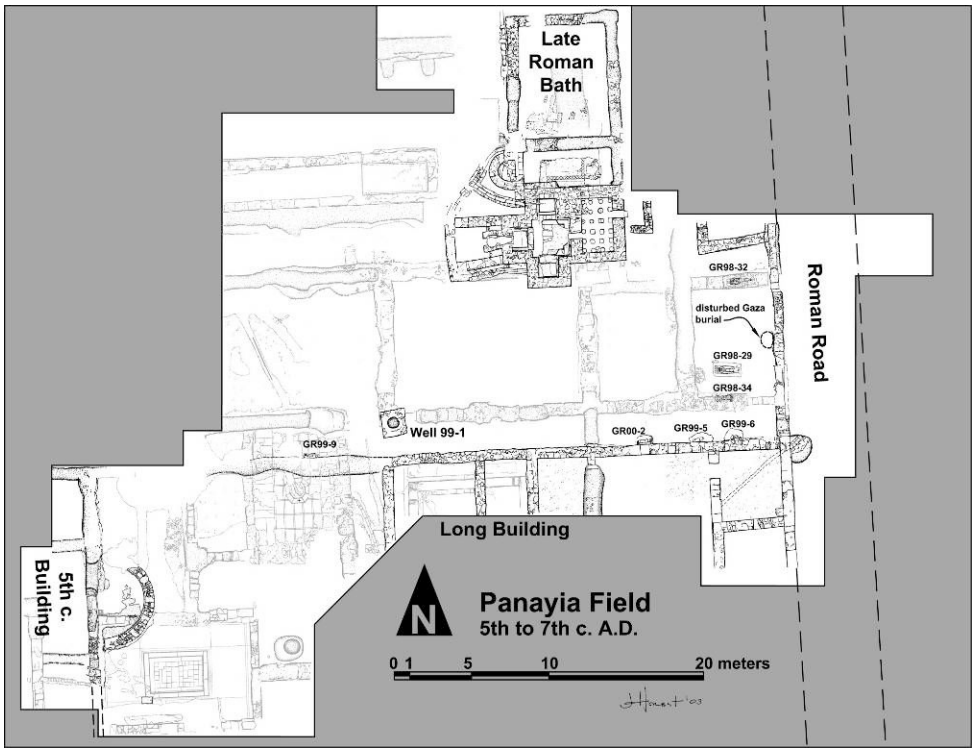
6. The Agora and Central Area, ca. 5th-6th c.



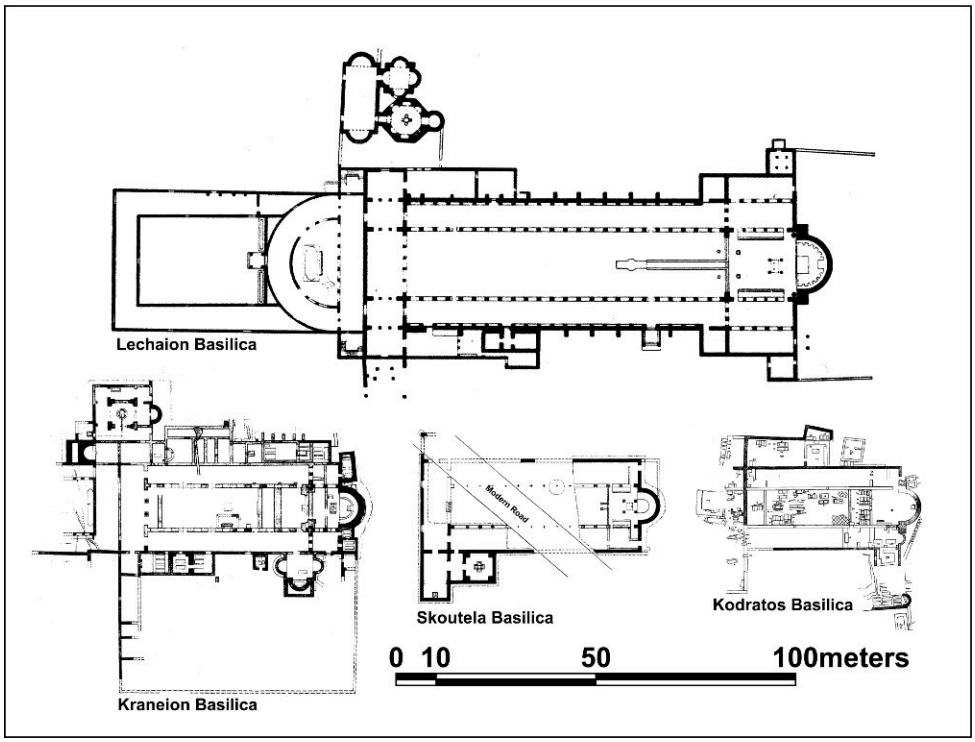
7. The Panagia (or Panayia) Field, 3rd-4th c.



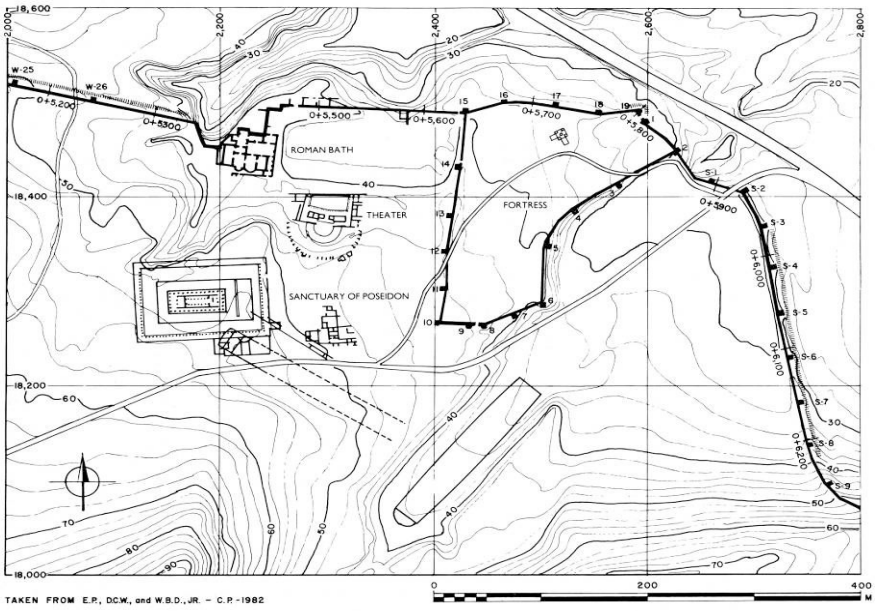
8. The Panagia (or Panayia) Field, 5th-7th c.



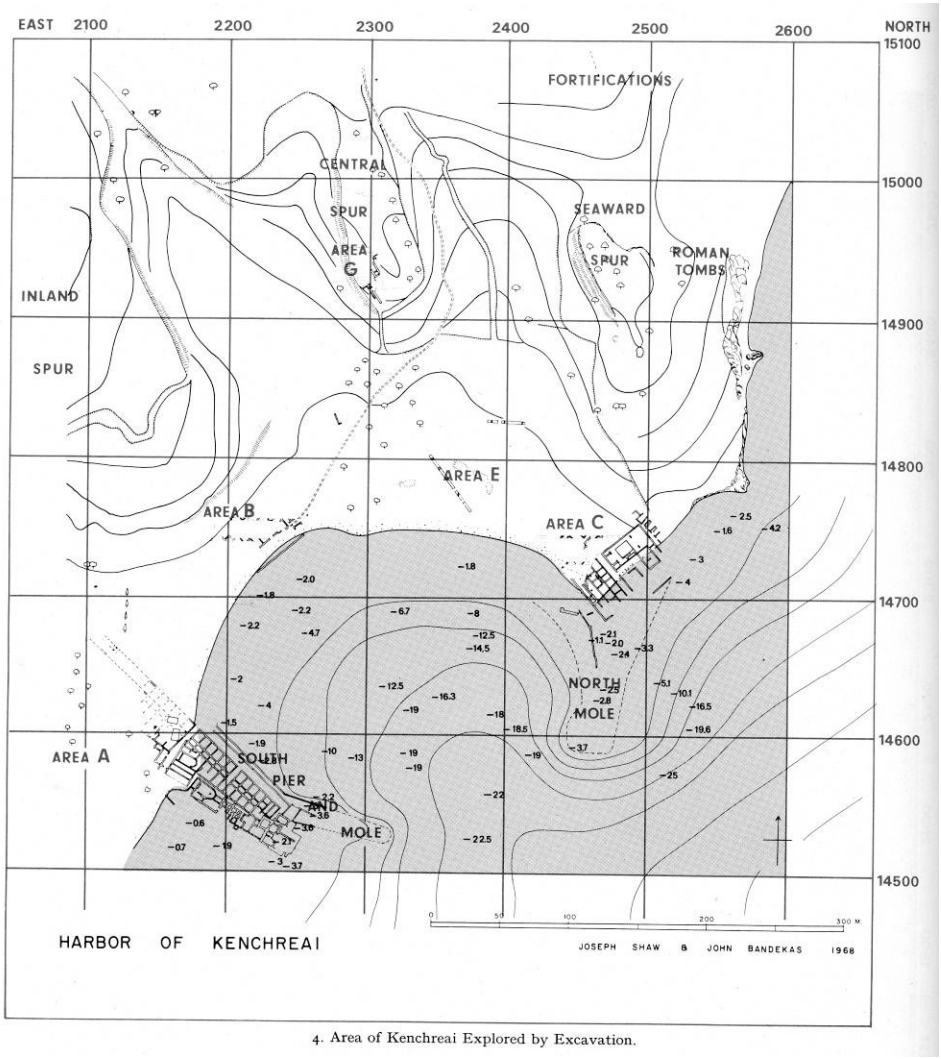
9. Christian Basilicas excavated at Corinth.



10. Isthmia in Late Antiquity, Gregory 1993 (*Isthmia* 5), Fig. 8.



11. Cenchreae in Late Antiquity, Scranton et al. 1978 (*Kenchreai* 1), Fig. 4.



4. Area of Kenchreai Explored by Excavation.

12. Acrocorinth and the Corinthia, looking west from Perdikaria.

13. Acrocorinth, looking south from Ancient Corinth.

14. The Gulf of Corinth, Perachora and Boeotia, looking North from the top of the Theater, Ancient Corinth.

15. The Agora, looking southwest from the site of the Propylaia, Ancient Corinth.

16. The Lechaion Road, looking north from the Agora and the site of the Propylaia, Ancient Corinth.

17. Ancient Corinth, from the south in the early 19th c., Von Stackelberg, in Williams 1829.

18. The Main Square (*Plateia*) of Ancient Corinth in the early 19th c., Von Stackelberg, in Williams 1829.

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