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THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN CORINTH
TO THE END OF THE ANTONINE PERIOD

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CHAPTER FIVE
The Districts of the City

Introduction

In this chapter I shall be dealing with those parts of the city which lie beyond the central, excavated area round the forum. It comes as something of a surprise to realise how little of the city has been excavated outside this comparatively small area. Notable exceptions are the Asclepieium, the Sanctuary of Demeter and Core, and the Craneum and Stikas Basilicas, but these sites have been excavated in isolation and we still have only a sketchy idea of the organization of the city as a whole. A detailed, long-term topographical survey was planned, and actually started in 1966, under the direction of H. S. Robinson, but it was not continued beyond the initial stages. New farming methods and extensive construction are obliterating surface remains to such an extent that it seemed advisable to carry out as thorough a surface survey as was within my capacity, although it could not compare with the major project originally envisaged.

I have, nevertheless, been able to use the topographical maps prepared for the American School survey. The sheets of this map are divided into squares measuring 200 m. a side, marked with letters and numbers. Each of these large squares can then be divided, if necessary, into subsidiary squares measuring 20 m. a side. Thus, features can be pinpointed to within 20 square metres. Two series of aerial photographs were shot in connection with the preparation of the map and, although not intended for archaeological purposes, they provide a valuable additional source of information, particularly now that much of the terrain has been built over or is otherwise inaccessible. One set of photographs was shot in April 1964 at 6,000' (Pls. 8 and 9), and the other set in January and February 1962.
at 3,000' (Pls. 10-12). In both cases the photographs were taken between 11:30 and 12 noon; the overlap varies, but it is usually about 60%. I have also made use of a small number of photographs taken by the Royal Air Force in August 1945 (Pl. 7). Although they were shot at 23,000' and are not, therefore, as useful for detail, they do confirm some of the traces of roads and other features that appear on the later photographs. They also provide the only source of information now available on areas of ancient Corinth that were built over already by the early sixties.¹

The map covers the site of ancient Corinth and its surroundings from Lechaeum, on the coast, to Solomos, south of Acrocorinth; and from the Xerias valley, in the east, to the Mavrospilies hills, west of the Potters' Quarter. My objective was limited to the area identified as the Roman city of Corinth and the immediate suburbs. The area surveyed stretches from just below the cliff of the lower plateau to just south of (i.e. above) the Sanctuary of Demeter and Core; and from the Greek city walls in the east to the North Ravine and the site of the Roman Villa in the west. This is an area of approximately 3,000 m. x 1,600 m. It was not considered worthwhile to investigate the plain below the site of ancient Corinth because of the development there. It was clear from a preliminary look that even the Venetian forts and earth works, which show magnificently on the aerial photographs, had been partially obliterated, so the hope of finding traces of Roman structures seemed remote.

The method used was to walk over each area, noting the surface features; next, to study the aerial photographs of that particular area, ruling out constructions that were obviously modern or later than Roman; then, to go over the ground again, checking the information gained from the photographs against what could be seen on the ground. This was done, if possible, in both dry and wet weather. The Greek city walls and known sites
proved useful points of reference. Also helpful was the fact that certain sites, such as the Sanctuary of Demeter and Core, and the villa at Anaploga, had not been excavated when some of the photographs were taken, which provided a guide as to what to look for in searching for other possible sites.

Apart from the difficulties normally inherent in using aerial photographs, particularly when there is no opportunity to take more detailed or differently angled shots when desirable, there are two problems peculiar to Corinth. First, there is the familiar difficulty of disentangling Roman, from Greek, Byzantine and Turkish remains, particularly in areas where buildings or building materials have been re-used extensively. Secondly, there is an enormous variation in the accumulation of earth over the site as a whole. On the slopes of Acrocorinth, there is practically no accumulation at all; sometimes traces of what looked like buildings turned out to be exposed rock. In other areas, there has been a massive accumulation of silt, washed down by the torrential rains which occur at certain times of the year. The depth of earth is particularly great below a natural water source, such as Hadji Mustafa. The absence of information on the photographs does not, therefore, necessarily indicate that there is nothing there, but rather that it may be too far below the surface for any traces to be seen. Also, the water rushing down the gullies and overflowing causes patterns on the ground which can be misleading when seen only on the photographs. The only way to deal with these problems was to check continually between the photographs and the actual ground. I have been very cautious, perhaps unnecessarily so, in suggesting the existence of roads or buildings unless there is some corroborative evidence on the ground.

The surface survey was carried out, usually by two people, for approximately six weeks in total during October and November 1983, and
February and March 1985. The information was then put on the topographical maps, with grid references. The limitations of this method are obvious. In particular, it would have been helpful to sherd selected areas, but this was beyond my capacity. It seemed more important to record as much as possible over as wide an area as possible. With regard to the architectural fragments, as many as possible were noted, measured and photographed. Sometimes they were inaccessible, at the bottom of a gully, under a heap of rubble, or in a fenced-off plot of ground. Often one could do little more than record the existence of large numbers of poros blocks. Elsewhere, as happened with the large Christian basilica by the amphitheatre, the frequency of the remains, together with the architectural detail and decoration of the blocks, made it possible to determine the location and the type of building; the outline of it could also be seen, in this case, on the photographs.

Another very important source of information is the field notebooks of the American School excavations, which have been carried out over the last ninety years. Buried in them are the details of chance discoveries and excavations all over the ancient site, which have not been included in the publications nor in the plans of the major excavations. Some of these sites have now totally disappeared. This information, with grid references where possible, has been included on the map and in the text. Similarly, information from the test trenches and rescue excavations of the Greek Service has been recorded, when it is available.

I have divided the city and the surrounding area into quadrants based on the north/south and east/west lines through the **groma** in the forum. I shall describe each quadrant in turn, with reference to the grid squares, and, in general, working from the central forum area outwards. Major sites
which are published will be mentioned only in respect of their relationship to the district as a whole.

The North West Quadrant

(Sheets 7 and 8, grid sqs. E-M, 14-17 approx. Plates 8 and 11)

This quadrant is bounded to the east by the Lechaeum Road, and to the south by the line drawn through the groma, which passes south of the excavation house and Agia Paraskevi to Vrysoula in E17. More excavation outside the city centre has taken place in this section than in other parts of the city: it includes the odeum, the theatre, the Asclepieium, the bathing establishment of Lerna, part of a large gymnasium and, to the west, the site of the Roman Villa. There remain, however, large areas that have not been investigated at all. With the exception of the site opposite the modern excavation house, the area west of Temple E, which is now covered by houses and orchards, could not be investigated properly, nor could the areas between the Asclepieium and the Lechaeum Road, which is the lower part of the modern village. Here a great quantity and variety of ancient blocks, column bases and drums, are built into the walls or lie scattered in the gardens. There is no obvious location, but they must have come from buildings in the vicinity. A small number of exploratory trenches has been dug in the course of rebuilding or renovation, revealing ancient house walls and pottery with a wide range of dates. In one case (L14/f-7), Roman walls and pottery of the 1st and 2nd centuries overlaid a classical pebble floor and pottery of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. There was also pottery of the 5th and 6th centuries. In the same area a large building of the late Roman period, probably 4th century, with a handsome mosaic floor, was partially excavated (L15/c4-5). One of the two figured panels was inscribed, and showed two winged figures between trees crowning a third figure. It may
have been an early Christian basilica. That there was more than one period of occupation was evident from the quantity of 1st and 3rd century pottery found, as well as a little from the Greek period. One can reasonably assume that this area, near the centre of the city and the main route from the port of Lechaeum, was always heavily populated and built up.

Most of the rest of the area, as far as Cheliotomylos, where the large number of tombs marks the limit of the city, is still being farmed and is fairly accessible, except where it has been enclosed for gardens and orchards. Up to the line of the line of the Late Roman wall, the frequency of building blocks, sometimes of massive proportions, and significant concentrations of tiles and sherds, showed that much of the area must have been residential, but that there were also some large public buildings, the dates of which range from Greek to late Roman.

The road system is fairly clear. The theatre is connected to the Lechaeum Road by a paved and colonnaded street, known as Theatre Street. It must have been the main access road to the theatre for people entering the city by the Lechaeum Road. To the west, traces of an unpaved road, similar to that which underlies the later paved road to the east, were discovered in 1929. The excavator was uncertain how far it extended, but traces on the aerial photographs suggest that it ran west for some distance, parallel with the road to the north. Another minor road, Theatre Street East, runs north/south along the east side of the theatre and the odeum, providing access from the city centre, but it does not continue north. Below the theatre are the remains of a large building of the 2nd century which is generally thought to be a bath. The fact that the minor access road does not continue on the north side of Theatre Street suggests that the bath complex was extensive, filling most of this block. Approximately 60 m. west of the visible remains of the bath, on the same line, is a large square
construction with walls of concrete and tile courses, and waterproof stucco on the interior surfaces (K15/f10). It may be connected with the bath complex. To the north of the bath, in Sq. K15, are traces of an important road running east/west right across the city, on the same line as, but to the south of, the modern road. In this quadrant it passes the bath building, as well as another large bath on the far side of the Lechaenum Road. For convenience, therefore, it will be called Bath Road. Investigations at several points along this road have shown that it existed from Greek through Byzantine times. It runs on level ground and must always have provided the main line of east/west communication on the lower plateau of the city. A test trench in this quadrant revealed a late Roman roadway with a colonnade (J15/j-k8). The Ionic bases of the colonnade have a variety of profiles, which indicates that they were re-used in the late period. The dates of the pottery ranged from Greek to Byzantine. Rooms opened off the colonnade to the south. The walls were built of re-used material, and a herm, inscribed ΠΛΑΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΣ was built in to the floor.

Traces of a road were excavated under the old church of Agia Paraskevi J17/c-2). The road metal is very hard and it appears to have been in use over a long period in Greek times. It does not seem to have been put into condition for heavy traffic, however, after the foundation of the colony. All the wheel ruts are oriented approximately 10 degrees south of east, which suggests that the road ran south of the odeum. It must have been an important road, in that it provided access for wheeled traffic coming in from the direction of Sicyon to the centre of the city. To the west, it probably followed the line of the modern track down to the Roman Villa.

Another east/west road in use over a long period ran from the temenos of the Archaic Temple, on the axis of the temple and entrance, past the forecourt of the Fountain of Glauce and the back of the odeum. There was
probably access from the road to the exterior staircase leading into the cavea of the odeum. The line of the road cannot be identified further west, but it must have met, at right angles, the north/south Roman road known to run along the west side of the annexe of Temple E in the direction of Acrocorinth (K17/j-5). This road was constructed after the quarry here was filled in, which was about 30. To the west of this road, opposite the modern excavation house, a building of the early Roman period has been partially excavated. It is a confusing site and has not been published. The building was well constructed in soft poros blocks coated with plaster. In the excavated area there were at least three large pithoi, half sunk in the ground and presumably intended to contain foodstuffs (Pl. 21). Fragments of other large storage vessels, such as amphorae, were found in the vicinity. Too little has been excavated to form a proper idea of what type of building it might be. It is not a private house, nor does it seem to resemble a macellum, but it could be a warehouse of some kind. The excavation notebook also reports traces of an east-west road. If the building is a warehouse, it would be well-situated for the storage of provisions being brought in from the west of the city.

It is clear from Pausanias' description of Corinth that he came along the road past the Archaic Temple, Glaucce and the Odeum. He then turned north in the direction of Lerna. No traces of this road have been excavated, but the line of an ancient road shows up very distinctly on the aerial photographs (Pls. 10 & 11). It runs straight towards Lerna, while, to the south, traces on the photographs and cuttings in the scarp indicate that it continued in the direction of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Core, with which it is directly in line. From what Pausanias goes on to say, it appears that we should now be looking for the memorial to Medea's children, which is "beside the odeum," and the Sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis which is
both "not far from the memorial" and "by the theatre," to the west of the odeum, and probably along the line of the road to Lerna. The only building that has been excavated in this region, though, is a small, late bath to the west of the excavation house (K17/f-g,3-4).14

Also in this area, to the left of the road (Sq. K16) was a Roman nymphaeum, discovered in 1909 and mentioned briefly in Corinth I, 1, p. 11. It is described as being 150 m. west of the theatre. The chambers had mosaic floors and elliptical vaulted ceilings cut in the rock; there was also an elaborate underground water system. For such a building to have been cut into the rock means that it must have been located somewhere along the scarp, but it has now completely disappeared. The whole of this area, which is still fairly accessible, warrants further investigation.

From Pausanias' precise description of the monuments in this area, it seems almost certain that he came down the road to Lerna and actually saw them. It is less certain whether he then went on to visit the places he mentions next; the spring of Lerna, the temples of Zeus and Asclepius, the old gymnasium, and the Sanctuary of Zeus Capitolius or Koryphaeaeos. His description is both brief and general, and he may have relied on his guide and turned left along Bath Road, which is the obvious choice for the road to Sicyon.

To the north of Bath Road (Sqs. L14 & 15) is the Asclepieium, one of the important sanctuaries of Greek Corinth which was brought back into use soon after the foundation of the colony. Indeed, it may never have been completely abandoned.15 As far as one can tell, from the small size of the buildings and the absence of literary references, the Asclepieium seems to have served the needs of the local population and not to have had the international clientele of Epidaurus, Cos and Pergamum. On the other hand, the appearance of Asclepius and/or Hygieia on coins of the Antonine and
Severan periods suggests that the cult was popular locally, at least in the 2nd century and early 3rd century.  

Approximately 200 m. to the west of the Asclepieium, on the edge of the cliff, an elaborate bath and fountain house were excavated by Wiseman in the 1960s, and it now seems clear that this complex, and not the courtyard and fountain of the Sanctuary of Asclepius, is the Lerna referred to by Pausanias. It has no connection with the Asclepieium, nor, until very late in antiquity, was it thought to have sacred associations. The site was sumptuously remodelled inside and outside by the time of Tiberius, when it consisted of a large open courtyard, containing a swimming pool, and three underground rooms cut into the north-facing cliff. The central, vaulted chamber contained a fountain and was decorated to give the impression of a natural grotto. The chamber to the west was a bath, and also had six permanent wash-basins; and the remaining chamber was a reservoir. Fresh water was supplied, by means of a network of tunnels and drains, from the same source as that which provided water for the Asclepieium. Either in the late 1st century, or more probably in the time of Hadrian, the court was revetted in marble. The quality of the furnishings, the portrait statues and the dedications suggest that this was a popular resort frequented by wealthy Corinthians. 

To the south of Lerna and the Asclepieium, Wiseman also excavated part of a large colonnade, which he identified as belonging to the ancient gymnasium that by Pausanias said was near both Lerna and the temples of Zeus and Asclepius. Wiseman suggested that the fountain house of Lerna and the Asclepieium were incorporated in the gymnasium. However, only a small part of the colonnade has been excavated and it is also possible that it may form part of another building, such as the precinct of a temple.
Just to the south of the west end of the excavated portion of the colonnade, a casting pit, and possibly a foundry, dating to the 1st century, were found, but it is not clear how long they were in use. An apsidal building, which was excavated at the same time (Sq. K15/f-g2), has now been identified by C. K. Williams as a shrine containing a sacred, conical pillar (Pl. 22). He has put forward the theory that the shrine was sacred to Diana Nemorensis, and that it probably dates from the early years of the colony. Although a number of structures have been partially excavated in this area, the overall organisation is not at all clear. This is partly due to the devastation which occurred in the 4th century, the plundering of building materials, and the subsequent habitation, burials and accumulation of rubbish dumps during the 5th and 6th centuries.

Returning to the church of Agia Paraskevi in Sq. J16, we noted very heavy concentrations of roof tiles and pottery in the fields to the east and north of the church. The footpath running north-west from the church leads to a small section of the Late Roman wall (J16/a,6-7). The massive poros blocks, which were used in the construction of the wall, must have been taken from an earlier building in the vicinity. This wall is now the water-line leading to a modern cistern, which may be on the site of a Hellenistic one (K16/a-5). The Late Roman wall then continues north at a slight angle, forming part of a modern, walled enclosure. The walls of this enclosure, particularly the one to the east, contain a significant number of architectural fragments, and there are others on the ground nearby. These pieces may have been brought some distance, but it is more probable that they have come out of the ploughed fields to the east, that is, between the modern wall and the ancient road to Lerna. The fields have been cleared and ploughed, and the village football field now covers the ancient road, but the photographs suggest that a number of buildings existed in this area.
The road from the theatre also cuts across it. The building blocks appear to have come from several different buildings. Some fragments suggest the existence of a small Doric building, either a temple or a shrine, of the Greek period. The large number of poros building blocks, some of which are very big, could belong to this or, more probably, to another building. Mixed with these blocks were numerous marble fragments of an early Christian church; the concentration of fragments suggests that it may have been sited to the north-east of Agia Paraskevi on the other side of the modern road. In addition to these buildings, the very large concentration of Roman roof tiles suggests that it was also a residential area. A test trench was dug just west of the football field, but revealed only Byzantine fill, with no indication of occupational use. It was, however, very small, only 2 x 2 m. and 1 m. deep, so the absence of information is probably not significant. No other excavation has taken place.

Continuing north again, just before one reaches Bath Road, there is the section of colonnaded street referred to earlier. The colonnade and rooms are on the south side of the road. Presumably the Ionic column bases and other re-used material came from nearby. A few feet from the modern road on the opposite side, a single test trench revealed part of a large public building. It is basically poros construction with tile courses. The fragments of marble columns, and a small whole column now in the trench, were either excavated at the same time or else dumped there subsequently. In the latter case, they must have come from nearby. A large and very handsomely carved marble Corinthian column capital of the late 1st or 2nd century was also found in the trench (J15/K6-7), but it has now been moved to the museum courtyard (Pl. 25).
Still continuing north, in Sq. J14, the ground rises towards the edge of the cliff. W. B. Dinsmoor suggested that this might be the site of "the largest temple in the Peloponnesos". Several fragments of the temple were incorporated in the defensive Epistyle Wall built just south of Lerna in the late 4th century. More fragments were found in Wiseman's excavations, which confirmed the enormous size of the temple, and which showed that it was built in the early 6th century BC, and not in the late 5th century as proposed originally by Dinsmoor. Roman stucco on one of the buildings blocks indicates that it was still in use in the Roman period. I have suggested elsewhere that this could also be the site of Pausanias' temple of Zeus Koryphaios or Capitolius, which he described as situated beyond the theatre. The two may, indeed, be synonymous. Dinsmoor was reluctant to accept this identification, considering that Pausanias could not have seen "the largest temple" without commenting on its size. However, it does seem likely that Pausanias did not actually come this far north. Since we now know that there was at least one large, public building, and probably others, between the road and the buildings he mentions, he would not have been able to see either Lerna or the temples from a distance. It is also curious that he did not say more about the ancient site of the Asclepieium if he had actually visited it. Unfortunately, the ground here had been thoroughly cleared and planted, so our examination was of little help. In the fields to the west, however, there were some enormous poros blocks, evidently too large for the farmer to move. Here, in Sqs. J14 and 15, the line of the Late Roman wall is clearly visible, running slightly east of north towards the scarp. (Not directly north as reported by Gregory.) The raised line of the wall is thickly scattered with mauve pebbles, which are left in place as the concrete disintegrates. The wall dries out more quickly than the ploughed land on either side and it is especially clear.
after heavy rain. The huge poros blocks were, no doubt, used in the wall, but they must have come originally from some earlier, very large building in the vicinity, for example, a temple on the rise by the cliff. There was also a heavy concentration of Roman tiles and pottery, including a noticeable quantity of wheel-ridged sherds.

Somewhat further to the west on the edge of the scarp were two small pedimental stelai, with faint traces of stucco (Pl. 28). They had just been turned up by the plough. They resemble in type the stelai of the Potters' Quarter, suggesting that there was some sort of sacred enclosure of the Greek period nearby. They were small enough, however, to have moved some distance. Further west again, on the edge of the scarp, aerial photographs showed possible traces of a tower and two small structures.

Little more could be observed on the ground. If, however, one looks at this area as a whole, and with reference to the aerial photographs, then one or two further general observations can be made. There does seem to be a fairly regular pattern of roads running approximately east/west and north/south. Those running east/west, are more or less parallel with the line drawn through the groma, as one might expect, since this is one of the axes on which the city was laid out. One complicating factor here, and it is one which it is not easy to appreciate, either from maps or from the aerial photographs, is the differences in level from one part of the city to another. The other factor which the Romans had to take into account in laying out the city was that they were making use of some existing Greek structures, which had to be incorporated into their plan. In the area under discussion, the theatre was the important feature. Like all Greek theatres, it is built into the hillside and, because of the lie of the land, faces due north, but it is on a different axis from the Archaic Temple and the South Stoa, which both influenced the layout of the forum. The theatre fits
neatly into the surrounding grid of roads, which does not, however, match that of the roads round the forum. The odeum was a later addition to the area, and the site had been partly used as a quarry. There are, however, faint traces of two early Roman roads cutting across the area. That they were used by wheeled traffic over a long period is shown by the way in which the rock is cut down to make passage easier, and by the depth of the wheel ruts. One road, noted by Broneer, crosses the cavea from east to west, on the same line as that through the axis of Temple E, so it appears to be part of the system round the forum. The other road runs south-east/north-west and seems to relate to the grid on the lower plateau, but running at an angle, to make the ascent easier for wheeled traffic. In other words, the Romans seem to have compromised in laying out roads round the forum, to take account of the existing buildings and the steep slope between the upper and lower plateaux. Once the odeum was built, in the late 1st century, the road system had to be changed. There was, for a time, a road running down the east side and then turning west between the odeum and theatre, on much the same lines as the modern road, but once the colonnaded court was built between the odeum and theatre, this ceased to exist. Foot traffic then came straight up the slope, while wagons must have taken another route.

To the west of the theatre and on the lower plateau, the aerial photographs, as well as the frequency of architectural fragments, tiles and pottery, indicate that the area was heavily built up. It also seems that the traces of buildings on the photographs are aligned within the rectangles formed by the road, and the visible remains of the bath building are certainly aligned with the theatre and odeum, as well as with the remains of the gymnasion to the north. I believe that the Late Roman wall marks the original formal city limit, but that it would have been natural for the city to have spread gradually at least as far as Cheliotomylos and the North.
Ravine, which form a natural boundary. The ravine above Cheliotomylos is full of architectural fragments, including marble columns, blocks from Greek buildings mixed with Roman cement, and pieces of marble revetment. It has been used as a dump for material being cleared from the fields nearby; one can deduce that there were a number of substantial buildings, either public or private, in the area.31

The line of Bath Road runs straight in the direction of Cheliotomylos. Just before it reaches the gully, traces of the road again become visible to the south of the modern road (H15/e-f/8-9). It passes through a natural outcrop of rock with a central depression, where there are abundant traces of Roman cement. It was at this point that Carpenter suggested locating the Greek Sicyonian Gate. The road then crosses the gully and winds up and round the little hill of Cheliotomylos, using it as a pivot, before descending to the plain below (Pl. 29). The excavators noted that the Romans had widened the cutting by 4 m. to a width of 14 m.32 The carefully constructed embankment and retaining walls of the Greek period, reinforced by the Romans, testify to the continuing importance of this entrance to the city. Ruts in the road where it descends to the plain, and the long, carefully graded ascent, show that it was used by wheeled traffic and that it must certainly have been the main entrance to the city from the west. Large numbers of tombs cut into the sides of the cliff and the little hill of Cheliotomylos, as well as the mass of graves in the plain below, confirm that this was the accepted limit of the city (Pls. 30-31).

In the excavations of 1930, a trench to the south of the "gate" showed cuttings in bedrock suitable for bedding a wall 5 m. wide and running south. Carpenter assumed, with some misgivings, that it must then turn west and join the Greek city defences. It is clear, however, from the photographs that there is a line running south only. To the north of the "gate" and on
the line of the wall there is a large cement foundation near the edge of the scarp, possibly for a tower or look-out post (Pl. 32). The scarp of the gully opposite the hill of Cheliotomylos is also cut away; and there are substantial quantities of Roman concrete and building material on either side of the "gate". Although this is clearly the main entrance of the city in this area, it would not have been fortified at all for most of the Roman period. On the other hand, when defence of the city did become necessary, at the end of the 4th century, such a well-built road, providing easy access to the upper plateau and the city centre, could not have been left unprotected. It seems very probable that there are outer defence works of the Late Roman wall here, with a curtain wall running along the North Ravine, which would, in itself, provide some additional protection. It is likely that, at the point marked by the modern cistern referred to earlier (K16/a-5), the main wall goes north and another wall runs west. The latter may be indicated by a line of poorly growing yellowish grass running across the field to the ravine (H16/f-k5).

Pausanias mentions that, as one leaves Corinth by the road to Sicyon, there was a ruined temple on the left of the road. He describes it as either belonging to Apollo, and burnt down by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, or else as a temple to Olympian Zeus, which was destroyed suddenly by fire at the beginning of the 4th century; the Corinthians, regarding its destruction as an ill-omen, left it in its ruined state. From his subsequent reference, Pausanias seems to favour the latter story. Theophrastus, writing at the end of the 4th century, refers to a district of Corinth called τὸ Ὑλίουμνεῖον; it is likely that it took its name from the temple of Zeus Olympios. He equates this district with the suburb of Craneum on the other side of the city, referring to the fresh, invigorating air in both places. This description would fit the area near Cheliotomylos very well. In this
case, the temple "not far from the city" must have been situated either just before the road reaches the gully of Cheliotomylos or just after it. Either place would suit the references given by Pausanias and Theophrastus. A branch of the Sicyonian road probably continued on a direct line to the west, past the Roman Villa, where traces of a Greek and Roman road have been found (E15/f-g8), and where there is also an easy descent to the plain, although the line of the road has not been determined. 35

The road under the church of Agia Paraskevi, to judge by the direction of the wheel ruts, must have crossed the North Ravine in the same place as the modern road (H17/g-2) and followed much the same line. It is the obvious point for any road in this area to cross the Ravine. A variety of building blocks has been cleared from the fields and deposited along the edge of the road. Pottery and tile fragments are scattered in the fields, although not in the same quantity as nearer the centre of the city. It was not, however, possible to examine the ground properly. There appeared to be tombs in the collapsed scarp to the left of the road (H17). As the road dips down to the Roman Villa, there are large lumps of Roman masonry and worked stones on either side of the road. Just before the road junction, is a lime kiln (F15/f-9) and about 20 m. further on a kiln with a slaking pit adjoining it on the east side (F15/e-8). It is probably 4th century in date. There are sherds of early Roman date, as well as of the 4th to early 6th century. Several varieties of roof tiles, presumably made in the kiln, were found nearby. 36

The site of the building known as the Roman Villa, is well chosen, in that there is a good water supply and fertile land, as well as easy access to the plain below. The building was discovered in the 1920s and the excavated part consists of five rooms, with traces of a sixth to the south of rooms B and D (see fig. 18). 37 The most notable feature of the rooms is
their asymmetry and the general irregularity of the plan, which, as the excavator observed, cannot be attributed to the constraints of the site. A limited amount of excavation has taken place subsequently in the surrounding area, but there is insufficient evidence on which to base, or even suggest, an overall plan for the building. All the rooms had handsome mosaic floors. Room A is an approximately square atrium with a central pool, lined with marble veneer and with square column bases at the corners. Round the impluvium were set four figured panels representing pastoral or marine scenes, which were surrounded by over-all geometric patterns. Room B has a nine-panel grid design with a central figured panel, largely destroyed, but which can, nevertheless, be identified as Dionysus. The large, irregularly shaped Room C, which opened off the atrium at a lower level, had a central panel showing Europa seated on the Bull, set in an elaborate geometric frame. In the corner of this room is a rectangular element, which may have been a stair or, more probably, a lararium. The flooring of the small Room D is particularly fine. There is a "shield" of polychrome triangles in a rectangular panel, and, in the central, roundel the head of Dionysus. In the spandrels of the "shield" are kantharoi with ivy scrolls coming out of them, and round the whole rectangle, bands of triangles, and of alternating circles and lozenges. Room E, which is approximately square, is the only one without a figured panel, but it is, instead, covered with an all-over geometric design.

The excavator, T. L. Shear, originally dated these mosaics to the Hellenistic period and, since the designs do not relate particularly well to the walls of the rooms, he suggested that the latter were altered in a later reconstruction of the building. Subsequent study of the mosaics by S. E. Ramsden resulted in them being put in the Roman period. Ramsden has dated the flooring in Rooms A, B and D to the Hadrianic or Antonine period, and
the Europa mosaic, which is not the original flooring, somewhat later, possibly in the late 2nd or early 3rd century. There is no firm evidence by which to date the actual building and there are problems of chronology. H. S. Robinson has observed that it is not unusual for there to be certain irregularities in the shape of rooms in houses of the Roman period in Greece. In his opinion, the walls and floor patterns of Rooms A and B coincide well enough to suggest that they were contemporary; also that there was a later remodelling of rooms C and D, as a result of which the surrounds of the figured mosaics had to be adjusted to meet the new lines of the walls. It now seems fairly clear that there was a building on the site prior to 146 BC, and that the site was then abandoned. Fill from the forum, which seems to have been dumped to the south of the building in the Augustan period, suggests that the site was not occupied at that time. Coins found on the site date from the reign of Domitian to that of Constantine III. This indicates that the rebuilding of the villa took place at the end of the 1st century or in the first part of the 2nd century. The laying of the mosaics in Rooms A, B and D may have taken place simultaneously or else soon afterwards. At a later stage the building was remodelled and the Europa mosaic was laid. The quality and variety of the mosaics suggest that this was the residence of a wealthy family. It may also have been part of an agricultural estate. The surrounding area is fertile and well-watered. At a later period, probably in the 4th century, a cistern and various other structures, which may have been a wine press and a tank for collecting oil from an olive press, were built nearby, but their function is not entirely clear. The vaulted cistern was used for burials in the Byzantine period (E15/f-h,6-7).

At this point one is well beyond the city limit and it was not possible to examine either the land between the North Ravine and the Potters'
Quarter, nor the area beyond the Roman Villa. In places the land has been heavily bull-dozed and built up into terraced fields. To the west, faint traces could still be seen of a road, which is probably a continuation of that which passes the Roman Villa (C15/b-c,9-10). It runs below the scarp where an elaborate chamber tomb with a mosaic floor was discovered in 1936, (B15/h-k, 8 approx.). The tomb has now completely disappeared. Another chance discovery in the area was a late Roman bath on the line of the irrigation ditch (C15/g, 5-6). It, too, has been bull-dozed away.

The South-West Quadrant
(Sheets 7-11, grid Sqs. E-M,17-21 approx. Plates 9 and 11)

Towards the south the ground slopes gently, and then more steeply, up from the forum area for about 200 m. towards the fountain of Hadji Mustafa and the line of the Late Roman wall, which must, here, mark both the original and the practical limit of the built up area of the city. Beyond it, to the south, the slopes of Acrocorinth become very steep and the ground is cut by numerous gullies. The sanctuary of Demeter and Core which, according to Vitruvius, should be on the outskirts of the city, is another 100 m. south of Hadji Mustafa on a steep, rocky slope.

The land to the south-west is fertile as far as the modern village of Agioi Anargyroi (G19). Beyond is the North Ravine and then the great finger of land jutting out to the north, on which is situated the Potters' Quarter of the Greek period. It was not possible to explore all this area thoroughly, but there are no obvious signs of important Roman occupation. It was probably farmed, as it is today, with a scattering of houses and small settlements. Roman graves in the district known as Anaploga, about 800 m. west of the forum, mark the limit of the Roman city. Both in this area and beyond, where there have been chance finds, they have nearly always
been of the Greek or Hellenistic periods, and usually graves. Ploughing in the area just beyond the Anaploga villa revealed a series of almost unbroken Corinthian pantiles from the roof of a small Hellenistic farmhouse. There were two rooms, the walls being made of fist and head-sized stones set in mud and covered with a heavy coat of lime-clay with sand-grit plaster. Room I had a well in the south-west corner. The flooring was made of small pebbles of the kind washed down by the rills from Acrocorinth; cobblestone paving was laid over this flooring, probably at a later date. The stones used in the walls are of the kind scattered everywhere naturally in the fields. This little house, made of local materials, is very similar to those built by the local Corinthians in this and the last century, and it is unlikely that the houses of the local Roman peasant farmers differed in essentials. It is worth mentioning because it is rare to find a small, unimportant house as well-preserved as this one was.

Also in the Anaploga area is an impressive Greek system of tunnels and cisterns (G-J, 18-19) intended to provide water in the small, fertile valley to the south-west. Rather surprisingly, it was not used by the Romans, with the exception of a small section between wells 12-14, which became a cistern. Elsewhere the Romans made considerable use of the same water sources and underground systems as the Greeks. The contents of the manholes suggest that the area was sacked and then abandoned in the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC, and later suffered some, though not massive, damage at the time of Mummius. Some of the architectural remains in the system suggest that there was a sanctuary here in the Greek period, but, on the whole, in the Roman period, it seems to have been farmland with the occasional house.

The eastern edge of the quadrant is, again, marked by a paved road, joining the narrow passage through the South Stoa, on the same line as the
Lechaem Road (M17/e8-10). It was built up on either side and deep wheel ruts in the limestone paving show that it carried heavy traffic to and from the forum. In the Byzantine period houses were constructed on the walls of Late Roman houses on either side of the road. It would be natural for this part of the city to be a residential area, possibly with small domestic industries, and almost certainly densely populated, since it is right by the forum and also on the main route from Cenchreae. Early excavation reports mention traces of the road in the field further south, and also heavy foundations, but it was not possible at that time, nor has it been since, to investigate further. The road probably went south for about 200 m. until it met an east-west road (in M18) on much the same line as the modern road from Kakavi to Hadji Mustafa; this is also the approximate line of the Late Roman wall. The road could not have continued much further south because the slope of Acrocorinth is too steep, and the road winding up to the summit must be further to the west.

Another important road runs south from the extension of the forum between the west end of the South Stoa and the south tower of the West Shops (L17/h-k, 8-9). The exit point of this road shifts slightly west as the area is developed in the late 1st century, but it is always on essentially the same lines and provides a direct north/south route to Acrocorinth for those coming up from the theatre district and not wishing to enter the forum. It was probably also the natural way from the forum to Acrocorinth and the sanctuaries en route. The line of an ancient road running in the direction of the fountain of Hadji Mustafa can be seen on the photographs. This fountain is an abundant natural water source (L19/b-10). It also marks the point at which the slope begins to get really steep, and the modern road to Acrocorinth starts to wind up the hillside. There is no reason to think that the ancient road followed the same long, shallow gradient, designed for
motor vehicles, as the modern road does. It would, no doubt, have taken a more direct route, which remains so far unknown.

The present fountain house dates from the 16th century, but it incorporates earlier classical and early Christian material, and the water supply is so important that it is hard to believe that there was not always a monument of some kind here, especially as there are remains of large public buildings in the vicinity. Just above Hadji Mustafa there is a quantity of Roman masonry, which was probably a gateway in the Late Roman wall. It may also have marked the exit from the city proper in earlier times. The sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias include two precincts of Isis, two of Serapis, altars to Helius, a sanctuary of Necessity and of Force, temples to the Mother of the gods, and to Demeter and Core, as well as a sanctuary of Hera Bunaea. Only the site of the sanctuary of Demeter and Core is known. Whether the other sanctuaries were located on the road between the forum and Hadji Mustafa or were to be found higher up on the hillside is one of the unsolved mysteries of Corinth. Since, in other cases, Pausanias begins his description of the various parts of the city with his exit from the forum, it is probable that one or two of them were situated just outside the forum. Higher up on the slope, one possible site for a sanctuary is about 200 m. to the east of the sanctuary of Demeter and Core, and below the modern road (L20/a-g,8-10). A small ravine separates this area from the excavated area of Demeter and Core. In general there were few tiles or sherds on these slopes, but in this area there was a noticeable concentration of tiles and pottery. The ground here had recently been ploughed which made it easier to see the sherds. They disappear before the edge of the ravine, and there was a clear distinction between the sherds and tiles here, and those to be found near the Demeter site. There is, therefore, a little evidence to suggest the existence of a small sanctuary
to the east of the sanctuary of Demeter and Core, on the same ridge, but separated by the gully.

Another north/south road is that referred to earlier (p. 301) which runs to the west of the annexe of Temple E; it, too, can be seen on the photographs. There have been no excavations in this area on either side of this road, once it has passed Temple E, but it is clear from the aerial photographs that it was heavily built up. The lines of roads can be made out, and the outlines of buildings, which are mostly square or rectangular, but there are very distinct traces of a circular construction (K17/f-8). Walking over this area, from the excavation house towards the first cross-roads, we noted a large number of marble blocks, probably wall blocks; fragments of reddish marble and green basalt; poros blocks and a re-used, poros column drum; as well as a considerable number of blocks from a late Christian building, which included a large impost block, with debased acanthus decoration. There was also a very large number of roof tiles. The remains suggest a residential area with some public buildings, and a large, late Christian basilica. After Temple E was destroyed in the second half of the 4th century, the site of the temple became a cemetery with burials ranging in date from Late Roman to Byzantine. It is likely that these tombs and graves should be associated with the large Christian building. At the first cross-roads (8d, L18/f-6) a Late Roman bath with a hypocaust was found in an exploratory excavation. It appeared to be a large building and it was not practicable to continue the excavation at that time. To the west, almost directly below the sanctuary of Demeter and Core, is a large mass of Roman concrete and a number of large, poros blocks on line with the sanctuary to the south and also going north (K18/f-6). The concrete and blocks are on the line of the road to Lerna below the theatre, and it is clear that there is a continuation of the road up the slope in the
The photographs also indicate that there is a substantial building just here. Whether these buildings are Roman or Byzantine is impossible to say. This area does seem to have been popular in the later period. The almost total lack of remains clearly identifiable as being of the Greek period suggests that this region was developed as part of the city by the Romans. This is a sweeping statement. The poros blocks could belong to the Greek period, and one must assume that some of the sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias date from the pre-Roman period, as does the sanctuary of Demeter and Core, but, as a generalization, the development of the district seems to date from the Roman rather than from the Greek period.

The fountain of Hadji Mustafa is a good example of the adaptation and re-use of materials that is found in Corinth generally. The natural water source probably predates the settlement of the city. It was used by both the Greeks and the Romans to supply the forum area, and it is still one of the main water sources for the modern village. Built into the fountain house are Byzantine window pillars, and ornamented marble blocks from a classical building, which were later decorated with Christian monograms. The building was put up in 1525 and the donor's inscription is written in Turkish-influenced Arabic.54

The area just below Hadji Mustafa (L19) was the only grid square properly surveyed when the major survey was started.55 At that time numerous fragments of marble columns, building blocks, large column shafts, and fragments of status, indicated that it was a built-up district of either elaborate houses or public buildings, and possibly a Christian church. The large field below the fountain has now been completely cleared of these remains, with the exception of some ancient blocks which are built into a modern cistern. Also recorded at that time was part of a large sarcophagus
of Pentelic marble, decorated with a bucranium and garland, built into a modern field wall. It may have come from the area above Hadji Mustafa, where there are other indications of a Roman cemetery. In the scarp, to the east of the fountain, there is a dromos tomb, which has been entered through the roof; and there are at least eight poros sarcophagi deposited just by Hadji Mustafa, which are too many and too heavy to have come far. On the slope above, there are several shallow graves of the Late Roman period, with a little pottery scattered round, and more graves of the same type higher up on the site of Demeter and Core. It is difficult to be certain, but the general impression given is that the cemetery is late rather than early. The sarcophagi, which are of a type to be found in Corinth at all periods, may be associated with the Christian church, the existence of which is suggested by the architectural remains.

To the north-east of Hadji Mustafa (Sheet 11, L19/e-9), a manhole was found which gives access to a very elaborate cistern of the Hellenistic period, which was re-used in part by the Romans. It is a complex system of tunnels, intersecting at right-angles. The tunnels in the original cistern are stuccoed and, in one place, the tunnel is 3 m. high. That this system was re-used by the Romans is clear from the fact that fragments of terracotta water-pipes were found on top of the Hellenistic silt filling. The new Roman tunnels were designed to carry water from Hadji Mustafa down to the area of the forum.

Also to the north-east of Hadji Mustafa, the line of the Late Roman wall is quite clear in the field below the modern road. It disappears under the plateia in front of the fountain, but then reappears in the line of concrete masonry and cut stone in the scarp to the west of Hadji Mustafa. Further to the west, the line is almost impossible to pick out, until the concrete core and poros blocks again become visible on an outcrop of rock,
which is on the western edge of a small plateau overlooking the village of Agioi Anargyroi about 450 m. from Hadji Mustafa (not 1,000 m., as T. E. Gregory says). Traces of the wall can then be seen as it descends the slope, passing the Anaploga villa on the east. (Approximately on the line J19/a1-10). Below the outcrop of rock, and before the line of the wall meets the modern road south of the Anaploga villa, there are some large chunks of concrete and a number of poros blocks, no doubt re-used in the wall. One of the poros blocks has a cutting for a roof beam, and there was also a piece of unfluted, stuccoed column drum. They suggest that there was a poros classical structure nearby.

The most important east-west road in this quadrant is that running behind the South Stoa. It is paved, with side-walks, and with drains from the houses on either side. Ruts in the paving show that it was used by wheeled traffic. There can be little doubt that this road runs out in the direction of, though not directly to, the Cenchreae Gate, and it must have taken much of the traffic, both people and goods, coming in to the city from the port. A test trench south of the precinct of Temple E, dug in the summer of 1985, revealed a stretch of the same road ca. 3.50 m. wide, with sidewalks on both sides, and with two sets of ruts which show that carts passed side by side. The street is not colonnaded, and has buildings, possibly shops, on both sides. This is now the biggest paved street, with ruts, known in Corinth. The paving date is not obtainable, but, apparently, it has under it an earlier Roman road. It goes out of use in the 4th and 5th centuries, but the same line is used again the Byzantine and Frankish periods. Although it is the same road as that behind the South Stoa, it is on a slightly different orientation, slightly more south of west. This newly discovered stretch of road is in line with the traces of a Roman road found during the construction of a new house on the modern road to Anaploga
It is probably also the same road which passes just north of the Anaploga villa (H18/j-8) some 200 m. further west. It is not clear where it leads next. If, as is likely, it leads eventually to the Phliasian Gate, then it must turn south and run through Agioi Anargyroi. At this point the pattern of the roads is dictated by the increasingly steep terrain, cut by gullies and ravines. This area is, however, well outside the city limits and beyond the scope of this investigation.

In the area between the excavation house and the Anaploga villa, there were blocks of marble and poros scattered in the fields and deposited on the roadside. Near the site of the villa the number of large poros blocks increased noticeably. There were also very large concentrations of tiles, as well as some Roman bricks. The tiles probably indicate that it was a residential area; the large number of blocks can be accounted for by the proximity of the Late Roman wall.

The villa at Anaploga was built early in the 1st century, south of the Roman road, which, at this point, is gravelled and ca. 4.5 m. wide. The main entrance to the building is from the road (see fig. 19). Four rooms are arranged round a large atrium which has an impluvium in the centre. To the west of the atrium is another large room, originally decorated with wall-paintings, which may have been a dining-room. To the south is a small room with a well and a brick-built basin which was probably a service room. A door in the south wall leads to the outside. To the east of the atrium is a large open courtyard into which Rooms 8 and 9 probably opened. Bench-like structures along one wall are of an appropriate height to have been used in the unloading of carts in the yard. The house was enlarged and improved in the late 1st century, in the course of which the cross-wall between Rooms 6 and 7 was moved to allow for the laying of a fine, figured, polychrome mosaic floor in room 7. The room also had a revetment or dado of green
marble. At the same time the impluvium was lined with marble, and in Room 6 the brick-built basin was removed, and the well set in a marble basin and surround. It is likely that Room 10, which also has a well, and Room 11, which is equipped with a basin of some kind, were added in this second phase. These rooms may have been used for some agricultural process. Traces of another courtyard to the south of these rooms suggest that the house may have extended further to the east. It is not possible to say whether there was an upper storey, nor how large the whole establishment may have been. It remained unchanged until early in the 4th century, when it underwent radical alterations, perhaps being converted into two separate establishments, before being destroyed in the latter part of the century.

The building has not yet been published, with the exception of the mosaic pavement in Room 7 which has been studied by S. G. Miller. A large part of the floor had been destroyed before it was excavated. The decoration consisted of three figured panels framed by a geometric band and two broad outer borders. The rinceau border, which has centaurs and wild animals leaping through the foliage is particularly attractive. Miller has observed that the artist was strongly influenced by Campanian artistic styles of a century or so earlier, but that there is no reason to think that it was the work of an artisan from abroad, but rather that it was made by a highly skilled local craftsman working from a pattern book. The existence of the mosaic floor suggests, at least, that the owner of the house was a man of some artistic taste, and also that he was sufficiently wealthy to pay for an expensive piece of work. The villa was clearly a working farm, which also had well-appointed living accommodation.

To the north of the villa, on the other side of the road, in the Greek period, was a cleaning and dye-works, but this area was cleared and levelled by the Romans for their own purposes. Further north still, there is a small
cemetery used from Greek times until the Late Roman period. The presence of Roman graves here (H18/j-6), as well as the fact that the villa is outside the Late Roman wall, indicates that this district was outside the city. The villa was probably surrounded by its own land to begin with, and there may have been insubstantial structures for farm workers and slaves nearby. The small cemetery could have been associated with this establishment. It is also probable that, as time went on, the district became a suburban, residential area, since it is so near the city. H. S. Robinson, who excavated both the villa and the irrigation system mentioned earlier (p. 315), also refers to Late Roman buildings, primarily of the 3rd century, in this area, which were destroyed in the 4th century.

A chance find suggests that there was an important temple or sanctuary in the Anaploga area. In a field close to the villa, ploughing turned up a colossal head. It is sculpted in white island marble with inset marble eyes and bronze eyelashes. The neck is cut in an oval for insertion into a body of either marble or wood. The hair comes low on the forehead and is drawn back from the centre, almost horizontally, to behind the ears, and then falls in curls over the shoulders. The top of the head is finished smoothly, either because it could not be seen or else because it was covered in some way. Traces of gilding remain on the hair at the right side. There are fittings for the attachment of a wreath or fillet, and for earrings. The back of the head is not finished and this, combined with the generally good condition of the sculpture, suggests that it stood in a niche within a building. It is possible that a colossal hand and wrist, found in the rubble construction of a late wall in the Anaploga villa could belong to the same statue. The wall in question dates from the early 4th century. The size of the hand matches that of the head; it is, however, Pentelic not island marble, and it could have been brought in with a load of building
rubble from elsewhere. Another possibility is that the statue was damaged, possibly in an earthquake, and that the hand was replaced rather than being repaired. The head has several ancient, rather clumsy repairs, which support this idea.

Neither the date nor the identity of the sculpture has been established beyond doubt. H. S. Robinson thinks that the head was part of an acrolithic statue and identifies it as an Athena of the Albani Farnese type. It is, almost certainly, a Roman copy or adaptation of a 5th century type. The features, especially the thick neck and heavy jaw, have a masculine cast, and the hair style is that of Apollo or Dionysus rather than of Athena. It could, however, be Hera. The fact that the head has fittings for earrings means, presumably, that it is female. The lock of hair on the left side of the head is closer to centre than that on the right, and the oval of the neck is shorter, which could indicate that the left arm was raised holding something, for example, a spear or sceptre. The right hand, if it does belong to the statue, is either holding something light between thumb and fingers, or else it is raised in salutation.

It is very tempting to regard the head as part of the statue of Athena Chalinitis, which Pausanias says was acrolithic, but the find spot really is too far from the theatre which, according to Pausanias, is by the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis. The head is too large and heavy to have moved far, especially as it could not have been used as a building block. There is always the possibility, though, that the statue was broken up and dumped by the Christians in the 4th century. Corinth had a flourishing Christian community and it was very probably the Christians who were responsible for the deliberate, manual destruction of the sculptures of Temple E, which happened at some time after the mid-4th century. It is probable that the statue was housed in a substantial building in the Anaploga area. The land
round the villa has not been available for excavation and so, for the time being, its whereabouts must remain unknown. All that can be said is that, in this area, there was a Roman temple or sanctuary housing a colossal statue of a female deity, which is not otherwise known from literary or epigraphic sources.

The South-East Quadrant
(Sheets 8-11, grid sqs. M-T,17-21 approx. Plates 7, 9 and 12)

This quadrant is bounded to the west by the line of the ancient road which joins the passage through the South Stoa and then continues south in the direction of Acrocorinth. The east/west line through the groma runs across the level ground of the upper plateau which extends from some 1,200m. to the west before dropping sharply into the Xerias valley. The 4th century Greek walls run along the scarp here. One of the main access points onto the plateau and the Roman city is in this quadrant, through the break in the city wall which is known as the Cenchreae Gate.70 Here there is a well-marked shallow incline suitable for wheeled traffic. On the other side of the valley, along which runs the modern highway to Argos, there are traces of an ancient road and several Roman chamber tombs. There seems little doubt that this is the road to the port of Cenchreae, which lies some 11 km. to the east (Pl. 33).

This is the least excavated quadrant of the city. The only large-scale excavation has been that of the Craneum Basilica (Sheet 8, S17/f7-8, j8-9), just inside the Cenchreae Gate (Sheet 9, T18/a-b, 3-4), which was discovered in 1928.71 In 1930 there was a limited investigation of a small part of the Late Roman wall, which is clearly visible here running north/south across the plateau some 800 m. from the forum and half-way between the city and the Cenchreae Gate (Sheet 8, Q17/d-e, 5-7).72 Other discoveries have been
chance finds or have resulted from investigations carried out prior to the granting of building permits.

The eastern side of the city was, almost certainly, the area in which there was most urban expansion. The line of the Late Roman wall, that is, the original boundary of the city, crosses the level ground of the plateau and then bears south-west up to the cross-road and modern settlement known as Kakavi (Sheet 11, P19). From just south of Kakavi it goes due west to Hadji Mustafa. Although the ground to the south rises fairly steeply and becomes the lower slopes of Acrocorinth, it is suitable for cultivation and also provides a good location for private housing. The terrain to the east between the line of the wall and the edge of the scarp is level— it actually sinks slightly before rising to the edge of the scarp to the north— and is still extensively cultivated. The absence of ravines or outcrops of rock means that there was nothing to prevent the gradual spread of the city in this direction.

The fact that the main route to Cenchreae runs through this district must have affected its development. Cenchreae was the main port of the Peloponnese for the East, and also for Athens. Anyone of importance coming to Corinth, or on his way to Rome, is likely to have come via Cenchreae rather than across the diolkos, which was mainly used for the transport of commercial goods. Isthmia, which was a centre of social as well as religious activity, was not far away; and there are indications that wealthy families had estates and villas in the countryside between Corinth and Cenchreae. We should, therefore, expect a spread of the suburban area of the city as far as the terrain permitted.

The pleasant suburb of Craneum, with its fresh air and fashionable loungers, was located in this area. It is one of the few sites in Corinth that is referred to frequently by the classical authors, in both the Greek
and Roman periods. In Roman times it was a highly desirable suburb, which Plutarch compares with Kollyte in Athens and Pitane in Sparta, saying that not every Corinthian can live in such a district. Alciphron, writing in the 2nd century, refers to public buildings and shrines, and also mentions young men looking for scraps of food where the women sell bread and fruit, so there must have been an open-air market as well. Pausanias, on the other hand, describes Craneum simply as a grove of cypresses containing sanctuaries to Aphrodite Melainis and Bellerophon, as well as the grave of Lais the courtesan. Earlier sources mention the existence of a gymnasium which was much frequented, not only by the young men of Corinth, but also by such philosophers as Diogenes and Menippus. It is most unlikely that the Romans deliberately destroyed this part of the city, although it may well have suffered from neglect during the Squatter Period, and it is probable that the gymnasium, together with the other monuments and sanctuaries, was reconditioned and brought back into use after 44 BC. In some literary references the name Craneum seems to apply solely to the gymnasium, but there is little doubt that in the Roman period the name applied to the whole suburb.

Various suggestions have been made as to the derivation of the name Craneum: that it took its name from a water source, or from the presence of cornelian cherry trees in the area. To judge from the groves of fruit trees growing there now, the latter derivation is very possible. An interesting theory was put forward by G. W. Elderkin, namely, that the name Craneum means "place of the skull" and takes its name from a sanctuary in which a bucranium commemorating the god Zagreus, or tauriform Zeus, in association with Aphrodite, was prominent. He draws parallels with sanctuaries elsewhere in Greece and the Mediterranean generally where the worship of Zeus and Aphrodite was closely linked. The epithet "Melainis"
certainly has sepulchral connotations and the cypress tree is sacred to both Zeus and Aphrodite in their chthonic aspects; also, one might reasonably expect to find tombs of both Lais and Bellerophon in such a setting. On the other hand, Wiseman suggests, improbably to my mind, that trees, tombs and sanctuaries were all contained within the gymnasium. In view of the number of literary references it is frustrating to have to admit that there is no real evidence as to the location of the cypress grove or the gymnasium. A small column base with delicately carved reliefs of doves was found in the area east of the city, and should be associated with Aphrodite, but there is no reliable information as to its exact provenance (Pl. 34). The consensus of most scholars is that the gymnasium must have been on the lower slopes of Acrocorinth, but even so I think that the name Craneum applied to the whole district, and perhaps included the rising ground towards the edge of the northern scarp. It may well have taken its name from a sanctuary originally, just as it seems likely that the suburb on the west side of Corinth known as the Olympion took its name from a temple to Zeus Olympios. Theophrastus refers to both these districts in similar terms, as having fresh, invigorating air, where the same sort of plants grow, so similar locations on open ground near the edge of the same scarp would seem to be appropriate.

Having made these general points, I propose to follow the procedure adopted in describing the previous quadrants and to work outward from the forum area, although the information is very sparse. The main north/south road on line with the Lechaeum Road continues for some distance to the south, according to the aerial photographs. The paved road with side-walks, already described as running east/west behind the South Basilica, continues to the east. The Basilica has now been dated in the Domitianic period, and it is reasonable to assume that the early Roman houses on the site,
traces of which were found beneath the Basilica, were occupied until their destruction to make room for the new Basilica. One may expect to find near the forum a thickly populated area of mixed residential accommodation and small domestic industry. That this remains a residential area is indicated by the fact that houses of the Late Roman and Early Christian period were excavated behind the Stoa, and south and west of the Basilica, and that there are traces of extensive building in the Byzantine period. 86

Further east, about 75 m. south-east of the corner of the forum, a trial trench, dug when the modern Church of the Virgin (M17/j-k, 8-9) was taken down, revealed heavy walls of the early Roman period, and also part of a poorly constructed building with a series of rooms opening east. 87 The excavator, Broneer, suggested that they might be shops, while Scranton thought they might be accommodation for visitors. 88 He makes the point that the building is conveniently near the forum and the road to Cenchreae; also, that in one of the rooms two terracotta figures of deities, of Egyptian manufacture (together with a statuette of Aphrodite), were found. There is, however, no solid evidence to identify the building. Later, on the same site, a large building with marble flooring was built in the late Roman or early Christian period. The site has now been left vacant and a number of large columns of different coloured marbles, as well as other architectural blocks and sections of paving, could be seen there in 1983. They may well have been used in the modern church, but they are certainly of Roman origin.

Just to the east of the South Basilica, are the remains of three rooms with elaborate mosaic floors dated to the late Antonine and early Severan period. The building is usually referred to as the Mosaic House, but its function is not really clear. 89 The line of excavation stops abruptly on the edge of the forum in this area, where the existing village school and houses have prevented further investigation.
Further south, just to the east of the north/south road, part of a large Roman building (M18/e-g, 7-8) was excavated by the Greek Service in 1979. It has not been published and there are no details available except what can now be observed on the ground (Pls. 35-37). The main excavated area, which is on an east/west axis, is 33.80 m. long. The square, central room or atrium is 8.50 m. x 12.20 into the apse on the southern side. It is paved with blue-grey marble and was originally surrounded by columns on three sides, fragments of which, also blue-grey marble, are lying nearby. The large apse has an elaborate brick-built vault with five whole sections and two half-sections, unlike any other building found so far at Corinth. It is paved with a predominantly blue and red mosaic. On either side of the main apse is a smaller apse, with a terracotta pipe in the centre of the back wall, presumably for a fountain. At both ends of the excavated area are apses, approximately 5.70 m. wide, built partly of earlier poros building blocks and partly of rubble and concrete. They are similar, but not identical. At the west end are traces of an elaborate floor mosaic. A curious feature of the west end of the site is a square hole in the floor with sketchy mural decoration on the plastered walls of the shaft. The mosaic is carefully laid round it so it must have been an integral part of the building, at least when the floor was laid. It does not seem to be a well. There is another, less carefully built hole in the centre of the site on the north side which opens into a large underground area. The two appear to connect up, but it was not safe to investigate further underground. At a later stage the building was altered and poorly constructed rubble walls cut off the central apse. The technique of the brick vaulting and the mosaics suggest a 3rd century date, but there is insufficient evidence to come to any more definite conclusion. It could have been a large villa with the apse providing an attractive, cool dining-area facing north. A much smaller
excavation some metres to the south, and possibly connected with the main building, included a hearth which, to judge by its construction, is late in date. The site is about 200 m. from the South Basilica on a direct route to the forum, and it is the type of building in which a wealthy citizen might have lived. There is no indication that it was more than a private house.

On the opposite side of the line of the ancient road to the west, a fine Seasons mosaic has been found, but it is on private ground and was not available for inspection. Its existence suggests that there was another elaborate building nearby. 91

The ground here is beginning to slope noticeably. A few metres further south is the modern road to Kakavi. It is along these slopes to the east that the ancient sources suggest the comfortable villas of prosperous Corinthians were situated. The lower slopes of Acrocorinth, with their lovely views of the gulf and Perachora, and fresh breezes in the hot weather, are a particularly attractive location. Cursory investigation of the ground in 1983 indicated that there had been a number of ancient buildings there. It is ironic that in the following two years this was precisely the area of modern Corinth that was developed. A string of large, modern villas with extensive, enclosed gardens and orchards has been built here and the land can no longer be investigated properly. 92

Actually on the modern road to Kakavi (N19/a-4), two sets of remains were uncovered close together. 93 One was a tank for liquids and the other a chamber tomb with a barrel vault on an east/west axis. The entrance shaft at the east end was covered by a limestone slab; the tomb door was closed by a similar slab sealed with soft, white stucco. In the interior there were two empty niches in the west wall and at least five adult skeletons (disturbed) lying east/west on the floor. There was very little evidence for dating, but such pottery as was found, both in the tomb and in the tank
nearby, was 5th century. There were 15th century Byzantine remains nearby. This tomb is within the proposed line of the Late Roman wall, and thus would have been within the original city boundary, but there is no evidence that it dates from before the late Empire, when prohibitions against burial within the pomerium had broken down.

Directly to the south, on the slope of Acrocorinth (M20/k6-7), and elaborately built aqueduct was discovered in 1969. The interior height of the tunnel was about 1.30 m. The aqueduct could be traced for 32.5 m., oriented 30 degrees west of north. It is then blocked by earth fallen through a break in the roof. At the south end, earth fill blocks the point where the aqueduct becomes a true tunnel cut in the rock. This tunnel is higher than the vault of the built tunnel. It runs beside a little ravine, on the other side of that is a poros channel which may be connected with it. This system was presumably built to provide water for buildings nearer the forum. It appears to be Roman, but there is no further indication of date. About 900 m. above the forum, and high on the slopes of Acrocorinth, is the church of St. George (N21/d-9). It is to the east of the modern road and on a promontory to the west of a small ravine. The old church was pulled down recently and a new building erected a few metres further to the west. It is now evident that the earlier building was erected on classical foundations. The retaining wall to the north is probably to be associated with the early church, but it also contains classical building material. The Greek foundations, which are partly cut into the bedrock, suggest that there was a small building, possibly a temple, on the promontory. To the east, on the other side of the small ravine, is another promontory scattered with Greek roof-tiles, and below it a cave which seems to be hollowed out rather than an entirely natural foundation. The two buildings are probably to be associated. They could be houses, but it is also possible that one is
a temple and the other perhaps a priest's house. The classical building under the church was small and oriented slightly south of east/west. The early Christians built on a slightly different axis so that their building was due east. They extended the original building with an apse at the east end and put in a cement pavement. The existence of this classical building has not so far been recognised. It raises the possibility that it was one of the several sanctuaries referred to by Pausanias as being on the route to Acrocorinth, although it is considerably further east than one might expect. The assumption is normally made that Pausanias left the forum for Acrocorinth at the south-west corner, but it is also possible that he left by the passage through the South Stoa and went straight up the road leading south before turning west.96

Just across the small ravine and a little further down the slope there seem to have been some Byzantine graves and the remains of an aqueduct running approximately north/south and then slightly east. It may connect up with the system described earlier (approx. N21/f7-9).97

Still in the same area on the slopes of Acrocorinth, to the east of St. George, is a large ravine (beginning in N20) running in the direction of Kakavi and containing a natural water source. On the eastern side a very substantially built wall curves round the top of the ravine and then runs down it towards Kakavi (N22-021 and Pl. 38). There is little doubt that this is part of the Late Roman fortification, and is a curtain wall designed to protect the water source and to impede an attack from the vantage point of Acrocorinth onto the exposed east/west wall below. This part of the fortification appears not to have been recognised. It was not known to T. E. Gregory at the time of his study of the Late Roman wall. This is probably to be explained by the fact that it is difficult to see the wall
from the north i.e. from below, although it is very obvious when approached higher up from the south, and from across the ravine.

Following the large ravine down the slope, two wells and traces of Late Roman occupation have been noted to the east (020/c-2 and c-4).\textsuperscript{98} At Kakavi a limited investigation in the late 1950s produced evidence of another elaborate water storage or supply system which included two parallel, vaulted chambers, the main one having an entrance with steps running across the entire width. Clear details of its construction and use could not be ascertained, but it was probably constructed in the first half of the 3rd century and destroyed after the 6th century, according to the pottery found in it. The excavator, H. S. Robinson, also notes that all the fills contained considerable amounts of 3rd century Roman pottery, and it seems probable that there was an extensive 3rd century settlement in the vicinity.\textsuperscript{99}

From Kakavi the line of the Late Roman wall running north is very clear on the ground. The aerial photographs also indicate that the wall continues south on the line of the modern footpath, which is probably on the rubble and cement core of the wall. This path is on the same line as the other end of the curtain wall which comes down the east side of the large ravine. Gregory has already suggested that the Late Roman wall runs somewhat to the south of the modern east/west road from Kakavi to Hadji Mustafa.\textsuperscript{100} A close examination of the ground, which is now terraced and planted with fruit trees, shows that the terrace wall about 50m. to the south of the road appears to be made of old, that is Roman, rubble and concrete very similar to that found elsewhere on the line of the wall. It does seem likely that this is the core of the Late Roman fortification from which the facing blocks have been removed. Further west towards Hadji Mustafa, the wall becomes visible in the fields immediately south of the forum.
North of Kakavi, the wall runs in a north-easterly direction for about 200 m., turns directly north (Q18/d-4), and meets the small exploratory excavation carried out in 1928. The core of the wall forms a raised path between the fields. There is a substantial number of architectural fragments built into the core or found very close to it. The various fragments include a poros anta capital and a large column drum, a marble column base and, in the trench in front of the Late Roman tower, part of a large, unfluted column and a damaged, but elaborately carved, Corinthian capital.\textsuperscript{101} They suggest the existence, prior to the building of the wall, of one or more large public buildings, one of which, at least, had an ornamental facade, close to the tower. The wall was probably built at the beginning of the 5th century and before that the area of the excavation seems to have been occupied by a number of small buildings, perhaps residential in character, and a "substantial building with a tiled floor and stuccoed walls."\textsuperscript{102}

From the excavation trench the exposed wall continues north for approximately 18 m. (Pl. 39), turns east, and then heads directly north again (Q17/d-g, 1-7). It is now in the north-east quadrant and must be left for the moment. This section of the wall has been described in detail by Gregory and I have repeated here only the relevant points, plus my own observations. One point to be noted, however, is that some of Gregory's estimates of distance with regard to the wall are curiously inaccurate. In particular, the wall here is a maximum of 800 m. from the central forum area and certainly not 1,500 m. as he says.

There is good evidence in the form of sherds, often in dense concentrations, as well as scattered building blocks cleared from the fields, to suggest that the whole area east of the city as far as the Cenchreae Gate was a much frequented and partially built up suburb. The
aerial photographs, the growth patterns of the grass and the planting of the orchards, all suggest the existence of a number of buildings, but unfortunately no structures can be identified with certainty. In the area south-west of the Craneum Basilica (S17 and 18), a trial trench was dug in 1928 in an attempt to identify the road taken by Pausanias into Corinth. It revealed a mass of Greek graves and several large Byzantine graves, as well as a large base of carefully fitted poros blocks. The excavator, Carpenter, immediately identified it as the base of one of the monuments mentioned by Pausanias as lining the route to Corinth. Further excavation showed no trace of a paved road, but transverse trenches showed that there were pillaged Greek graves on either side of an open stretch, between seven and eight metres wide, running from just within the gate to the Late Roman wall. Another large, ancient, concrete base, ca. 7 x 4 m. (S18/f-g8), is still to be seen on the modern road to the south, and the handsome memorial to the Roman soldier, Valerius Valens, was also found somewhere in this area (Pl. 40). Subsequent investigation of the Basilica showed that several large, Roman chamber tombs were built into it which predated the Christian building. It is clear that the whole area had long been a cemetery.

It is likely that the sanctuaries and monuments referred to by Pausanias were gradually encroached upon, and there can be little doubt that the area was extensively re-organised in the later period. The invasion of Alaric may or may not have affected this part of the city, but certainly the construction of the wall must have resulted in the destruction of buildings and the blocking of some roads. It is also clear that the wall was robbed of its facing blocks not long after it was built. There is a substantial quantity of 5th century pottery in the area generally, as well as in the locations already mentioned. There does seem to have been a general shift in
habitation to the east when the urban renewal of Corinth took place in the 5th century.

It also seems inevitable that the existence of the Craneum Basilica and the very large number of associated graves, many of which are much later in date, would have disrupted the previous layout. The Basilica has now been dated on coin evidence to about 500.\footnote{108} We noticed that a number of blocks of earlier date, as well as column capitals, were incorporated into the fabric of the church, which, together with the blocks by the roads and on the edges of the fields nearby, suggest that there had been one or more large buildings in the vicinity.\footnote{109}

It is possible, by studying the aerial photographs to work out some of the details of the road system in the area. I shall also be referring to roads in the remaining north-east quadrant of the city since this artificial division is a hindrance rather than helpful here. Traces of an east/west road are very clear in Sq. Q18, running from the Cenchreae Gate straight towards the shallow angle in the Late Roman wall (Pl. 12). On the ground it is also indicated by slight variations in the crop marks and by a difference in the concentrations of sherds, which are heavier on either side of the road than they are along the actual road. This must be the unpaved road found by Carpenter. However, his map in \textit{Corinth III}, 3, Pl. 3 is misleading in that it shows the road going well beyond the Late Roman wall, and in the direction of the centre of the city. It does not do so on the photographs and there is no archaeological evidence to that effect. Farther north another parallel road (in the north-east quadrant) is visible on the photographs (Pl. 12) and it runs considerably farther east. The roads are just under 400 m. apart, and both run at right angles to the Lechaeum Road and its continuation south of the forum. The conclusion must be that they form part of the original grid system. Neither road can be traced right
back to the central forum area, either on the photographs or on the ground, because of the intervening buildings. But, if the line of the southerly road is continued to the west, then it runs along the modern road some 200 m. south of the forum. It would, therefore, pass the large 3rd century villa described earlier in this quadrant, and also the Late Roman bath in the south-west quadrant. Further west there are indications on the photographs and on the ground that the road does continue in a straight line (K18/c-d,7). It cannot be traced further, but it is leading straight towards the head of the North Ravine on the west side of the city. This is the only convenient crossing of the deep ravine, and beyond it is the Phliasian Gate and the route to the interior, to Cleonae and Phlius. This road, therefore, would provide a direct route from east to west of the city, but without going through the city centre. Between these two roads, in the south-east quadrant, another, much fainter, line can just be distinguished on the photographs of the eastern side of the city (Pl7/b-k, 8), and this is exactly on line with the important road known to run east/west behind the South Basilica and on to Anaploga.

It is more difficult to distinguish any north/south roads, but one does stand out. It runs through Sqs. P18-15 to a cutting in the scarp of the upper plateau, where there are traces of the major east/west road, which crosses the lower city ascending the cliff in the direction of the amphitheatre. It continues across the lower plateau (see p. 358) and then turns west to join a parallel road as it descends the scarp to the plain. The junction of this road and the more southerly of the two major east/west roads described above is marked by a large, light rectangle on the photographs (Pl.12) of the kind which, elsewhere, indicates remains below the surface, but it was not possible to investigate the precise spot on the ground (P18/k-4 and Q18/a-4).
It is a reasonable conclusion that there was a regular grid system of roads in the area, and that the east/west roads continued as far as the edge of the scarp. None of them follow the modern roads or tracks all the way. Although the line of the "ancient road" marked on the plan of Corinth in Corinth III, 2 (Plate 3) is accurate in that it runs from the Cenchreae Gate, it does not lead to the forum, as indicated, but passes well to the south. There is little doubt that Pausanias would have come through the Cenchreae Gate, but whether he went straight on, passing the cypress grove and sanctuaries on the way, and keeping well south of the city, or whether he zig-zagged north at some point to enter the forum area by the road running behind the South Basilica, it is impossible to say.

It is clear that in some cases, as with the Late Roman wall, ancient divisions and roads are preserved in the boundaries of the fields. There is no reason to think that, in general, the field system round Corinth is necessarily of any great antiquity, as it is, for instance, in parts of England and elsewhere in Europe. There is, however, one significant observation to be made about this eastern side of the city. To the east, especially beyond the amphitheatre, the pattern of fields tends to run north-east/south-west. Nearer the city the fields tend to run north-west/south-east, and are aligned with the grid divisions indicated by the lines of the ancient roads. In this area, too, there are numerous indications on the photographs of rectangular and square shapes on the same alignment. They are too many and too regular to be simply houses or farm structures built at random, and they strongly suggest city blocks laid out on a grid pattern. This pattern stops more or less on the line of the Late Roman wall. Although there are numerous traces of habitation beyond this point, they cannot be seen to be organised with the same regularity. Because of the modern development, these observations cannot be checked.
properly on the ground. I am reluctant, therefore, to say that there is
definite evidence of a regular, gridded city plan, but the evidence does
suggest that this may be so.

The North-East Quadrant

(Sheets 5-9, grid sqs. M-T, 11-17 approx. Plates 7, 8 and 12)

This quadrant is bounded to the west by the Lechaeum Road, which runs
straight, to the east of the Asclepieium, until it reaches the edge of the
cliff of the lower plateau; and by the east/west line running through the
groma across the upper plateau. It includes, therefore, the northern half
of the upper plateau discussed in the previous quadrant, and it is bounded
to the east by the Xerias valley.

On this eastern side of the city the lie of the land is rather
different from that to the west. Instead of the gradual slope from one
level to another (into which the theatre is built on the western side of the
city), there is a sharp drop, between 15 and 20 m. between the two plateaux.
An ascent can be made in one or two places, but for the most part the cliff
is steep and rocky. This quadrant, divides, therefore, into two quite
distinct sections. On the upper plateau the ground is still fairly
accessible, except where orchards are fenced and locked off, or where guard
dogs make investigations distinctly inadvisable. On the lower plateau the
village houses are clustered thickly along the main road to the coast, and
the extensive orchards and fields to the east mean that it is not easy to
examine the ground thoroughly. This is unfortunate since there is reason to
think that it was an important district of the city. It has natural
advantages, such as several good, natural water sources, and propinquity
to the port of Lechaeum, about 2 kms. away. It is known to contain at
least one important public building, namely, the Great Bath on the Lechaem Road.

The very large number of Roman tombs and graves cut into the cliff of the lower plateau makes it clear that this was the edge of the city proper (Pl. 33). The original boundary must have run along the east/west scarp of the lower plateau, some distance west of the amphitheatre and a cemetery used in Roman times. It cannot, however, be traced with any certainty on the lower plateau.

It will be convenient to describe the upper plateau first, since some of the observations made with regard to the south-east quadrant apply here too. In general, there are a great many architectural blocks scattered on the fields or cleared to the sides, many of which seem to be too big to have come from private houses; in other places there seem to be the remains of what could be house walls. The concentrations of roof-tiles and sherds vary considerably, although it does seem evident that the whole area was inhabited until well into the 5th century, and probably longer. Within this general picture, I have noted the obvious remains and differences in the density of sherds.

First, the road system. Excavation has shown that there was a wide, paved road running north/south along the east side of the Julian Basilica throughout the Roman and Byzantine period. The hard, white, limestone paving is similar to that of the road running behind the South Basilica and to the paving of the forum. There is considerable depth of fill and many hard road surfaces. The road cannot, however, be traced either on the photographs or on the ground in either direction.

The east/west road mentioned earlier (p. 338) as in this quadrant follows, to begin with, (N-Q16) the line of the modern, dirt road which leads eventually to the Craneum Basilica, but, when the modern road bears
right, i.e. in a south-easterly direction, the Roman road continues straight on. It can be seen clearly on the photographs and also traced on the ground. It cuts across the line of the Late Roman wall (Q16/g-6), where there is a great quantity of masonry and concrete to be seen in the fields on both sides (Pl. 41). To the south of the road there is a massive concrete platform over 12 m. long and at least 1 m. wide with piers along the western side. The fallen masonry suggests that the structure was originally of a considerable height. Gregory observed that the building technique is the same as that of the wall, and suggested that the remains were those of an elaborate gate of the Late Roman period. It is also possible that the structure was built, on an earlier foundation. It could have been a formal entrance to the city, which might explain why this road was retained when the Late Roman wall was built and the other Roman road to the south was, apparently, closed off. The latter would seem the more logical one to retain since it leads directly to the Cenchreae Gate. The Roman road through the putative gate continues directly east towards a deeply indented gully in the cliff about 300 m. north of the Cenchreae Gate (T16/f-h,6-7). All the way along there are fragments of building blocks and columns cleared from the fields and occasional chunks of masonry embedded in the ground. In S16/c-h 5-6 there is a dip between the fields and the ground has been left uncultivated, presumably because of something below the surface. There seem to be traces of road metal, and possibly curbing, beneath a thin layer of grass and weeds.

H. N. Fowler mentions slight traces of a gate in the Greek city wall above the gully here, but R. Carpenter, in his detailed study of the city walls, considered it to be either a small postern gate or, more probably, simply a break caused by winter torrents in the gully. Neither was aware of the existence of an important Roman road leading straight from the
central forum area to this point. The descent to the Xerias valley, although fairly steep, is by no means impracticable for those on foot or mounted, nor for pack animals. It raises an interesting possibility that, as A. N. Skias suggested many years ago, this might, after all, be the gate leading to the Isthmus. The name Isthmian Gate is now always given to the massive gateway on the plain that was built into the East Long Wall, and through which traffic continued to pass in Roman times until the 4th century. There is no evidence that this was the name given to the gateway in antiquity, and, indeed, the ancient authors rarely refer to gates by name. However, Diogenes Laertius does say that Diogenes the Cynic was buried "inside the gate leading to the Isthmus." On the other hand, Pausanias says that he saw the tomb of Diogenes on his journey from Cenchreae to Corinth. The assumption is usually made that Diogenes Laertius was mistaken, either about the location of the tomb or, more probably, about the name of the gate. It is possible, however, that both Diogenes and Pausanias were right. There certainly was a road from Corinth to the Isthmian Sanctuary, which leaves from the Cenchreae Gate, branches from the Cenchreae route at Examilia, and goes through Cromna. However, it would not have been a particularly convenient route for people going to and coming from other parts of the Isthmus, especially the western end of the diolkos. For a traveller leaving the city centre or the upper plateau, the more northerly road, which probably led down the Xerias valley, may well have been more convenient, and have been known generally as the road to the Isthmus. It now seems likely that the Greek cemetery which was partially uncovered inside the Cenchreae Gate extended at least as far north as the gully in question, and, if the gate here were the Isthmian Gate, it would not be very far from the road thought to have been taken by Pausanias.
The Late Roman Wall is very noticeable on the upper plateau. It heads directly north from the point at which it crosses the Roman road (Q16/e-g,1) for 90 m., takes a sharp turn to the west for about 40 m., and then goes directly north towards the edge of the scarp (Q14/e-10). Here it seems to turn west and follow the line of the scarp, which is steep here, and then to descend by the gully in P15. Quantities of building blocks and masonry, as well as the ridging of the ground, make the line of the wall clear. It runs parallel to the north/south road mentioned in the previous quadrant (p. 339), which is heading towards the same gully. At the head of another gully, some 200 m. further west, there may be another north/south road coming up the slope in line with the modern road, which passes the church of Agia Anna. These are the only two points where a descent can be made easily from the upper to the lower plateau.

The ground on the edge of the scarp is largely uncultivated, for the good reason that it tends to be eroded as well as showing signs of a number of structures underground. Working outwards from the centre of the city and the modern village, there is little to be noted in N16. In O16 the gully is cut back and there is concrete both below the scarp and in the path above, as well as lumps of concrete and masonry, and a few architectural fragments, such as a column base, scattered on top of the scarp. There are also the remains of two parallel walls, or possibly they are the bases of piers. Some of these remains may be connected with the Late Roman wall, but it is difficult to make any real sense of them. There is also a small, solid structure built of concrete with layers of tiles, standing on a podium (O16/g-h,2-4). It does not seem to be a tomb and there is no indication of what type of building it might have been, nor of its date. It would well be Byzantine, and very late. Tiles of both Greek and Roman periods are scattered very thickly over the whole area.
In P15 the indentation in the scarp is very marked, and there is a gradual incline from west to east. It is clear that this was a well-established point of access from the lower to the upper plateau. On the southerly side of the slope, there are three large outcrops of rock in the scarp that are trimmed back as though for the base of a wall or gate here. There are also cut blocks embedded in the scarp. It is shallow enough here for a ramp, or possibly steps. This sloping ascent is in direct line with Bath Road, the important thoroughfare that runs right across the city from west to east on the lower plateau. Part of it has been excavated below the theatre (J15/j-k8, see p. 299), and it forms the northern wall of the Great Bath on the Lechaeum Road in this quadrant. Traces of it were also found—on exactly the same line—in a small excavation in the village (Q15/e-f5,e6), some 200 m. west of the gully and gradual incline. In the centre of the city the road is colonnaded, but by the time it reaches the eastern side it no longer has colonnades or sidewalks and it is just over 3 m. wide. It must, nevertheless, have been an important line of communication between the lower city and the amphitheatre district. If it continues in a straight line on top of the cliff it would lead to the main, southern, entrance of the amphitheatre. Unfortunately no certain trace of it can be seen on the photographs. This may be due partly to the amount of building material scattered over the ground from the Late Roman wall, and also to the fact that a large Christian basilica was built in this area.

Some exploratory trenches were dug on the site of this basilica by the Greek Service, but no report has been published and its existence is not generally known. For convenience I am calling it the New Basilica. The aerial photographs show a very large and complex structure with what appears to a trench or later structure running diagonally across it roughly south-east/north-west (Q15/q-c, 6-10, extending into P15/k6-10 and
It is not possible to work out the ground plan. Within the area, on the south side of the building, are two substantial blocks of masonry still in situ (Q15/b-10). They are approximately 4 ms. high with a curve on the inside, and are built of cement with layers of tiles and fragments of earlier building blocks incorporated in them (Pl. 42). They could be part of an apse or baptistery. Building blocks and architectural fragments, some of which have Christian motifs in the decoration, are scattered all over the area from the edge of the cliff to the modern dirt road (Pls. 43-47). Since the aerial photographs were taken, a large sheep pen has been built just north of the modern road (Q16/a-e,2-6 and P16/j-k,2-6 approx.). A substantial chunk of ancient masonry apparently similar to those mentioned above is built into the byre, and there are a number of blocks which appear to come from the basilica, but, because of the particularly energetic guard dogs, it was not possible to examine anything properly. The New Basilica is certainly within the line of the Late Roman wall and it is by far the largest Christian building to have been found within the city. The only other basilica known in the city is the small 6th century building on Temple Hill. There are no indications from the building blocks or pieces of fallen masonry that the building was domed and, as far as one can tell from the sculptural decoration, a date in the 5th or early 6th century seems most likely. This is the date of all the basilicas found so far in or around Corinth. The existence of the New Basilica is further confirmation of the fact that in the later period Corinth had a very flourishing Christian community and sufficient wealth to build and maintain a number of impressive basilicas.

The sheep pen seems to be on the site of other ancient structures, to judge by the photographs. To the west and the north we noted a large number of roof tiles, mostly Greek, as well as sherds, some cut building blocks,
and a particularly fine Aeolic marble base and capital of a type familiar from sites nearer the centre of the city (Pl. 48). It is unlikely, however, to have moved far from where it is now.

Just to the east of the Late Roman wall, and about 100 m. from the edge of the scarp, is the entrance to an underground structure which is almost certainly a dromos tomb. It is built of stone and large tiles alternating with cement. The arched entrance to the chamber is about 1.20 m. across (Q15/e-4 approx.). There was no means of dating it, but it seems to be Late Roman. It appeared to have been broken into rather than excavated. It was the only tomb of this kind to be found in the area, which is not far, however, from the graves and two chamber tombs lying to the south-west of the amphitheatre and excavated in 1929.

The cemetery was generally in use in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, but it continued to be used by the Romans. Some thirty-seven graves oriented mostly north/south were found, nearly all plundered. It does not seem to have been used extensively by the Romans and it may be supposed that, as the area was gradually built up, it ceased to be used. The extent of the cemetery has not been established. It is noticeable, in general, that on the western side of the amphitheatre there are very few roof-tiles and few sherds until one reaches the area of the modern sheep-pen. This is in contrast with the ground to the east and south of the amphitheatre where the concentrations of both pottery and tiles are heavy, and especially so to the south.

About 200 m. east of the Late Roman wall, near the edge of the scarp, is the amphitheatre (R14/e-h, 7-10 and R15/e-h, 1-3), which must have been an impressive building. The site now looks distinctly odd as the west half of the arena has been planted, illegally, with fruit trees and provided with an irrigation system (1982). As a result the arena is being filled up, and
there has been considerable damage to the structure since it was described by H. N. Fowler in 1932. Traces of the four rows of seats cut in the rock, and the staircases dividing them, are still visible, especially on the east side. The rock-cut chambers beneath the seats can also still be seen, although the roofs of some of them have caved in. The main entrance was to the south where there are remains of substantial foundations. The dimensions of the amphitheatre are given by F. J. de Waele as 88 m. x 54 m. The only plan available is still that made in 1701 by Francesco Grimani in connection with a scheme to transform the site into a hospital (see fig. 20). The one literary reference to the amphitheatre comes from a 4th century geographer who describes it as an *opus praecipuum*. It is generally assumed to date from the latter half of the 3rd century, a date first suggested by de Waele and adopted by Fowler in his description of the topography of Corinth. However, de Waele's date rests on very flimsy evidence and there has been no proper excavation of the site. I think it is likely that the amphitheatre dates from an earlier period, and that the site is also that referred to by Dio Chrysostom, who was writing in the late 1st or early 2nd century. Dio says, οἱ Κορίνθιοι μὲν ἐξὼ τῆς πόλεως θεάσασθαι ἐν χαράδρᾳ τινὶ πλῆθος μὲν δυναμένῳ δὲ ἡπαται τὸπῳ, ῥυπαρὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ καὶ ὄπου μὴ-

The assumption has always been that this site, so far unidentified, is different from that of the later amphitheatre. Fowler comments on Dio Chrysostom, "This certainly does not describe the amphitheatre in any respect for it is within the walls and is not in a ravine, but in an almost level field." However, an examination of the site shows that the amphitheatre is built in a natural depression on gently sloping ground. The rock formation of limestone overlying clay is very similar to that found elsewhere at Corinth; and, as elsewhere, winter rains, or a spring running underground into the area, have worn away the clay causing the upper stratum
of rock to collapse, forming a large sink-hole. I suggest that the early colonists made use of this natural depression, which would have required little, if any, additional excavation to provide an arena and banks on which the spectators could sit. Water was carried out of the area by a tunnel formed by the washing out of the clay stratum at the north end of the arena, and this could also have provided accommodation for gladiators and wild beasts [Pl. 49]. This, then, is Dio's χαράδρα. The word is usually translated, misleadingly, as "ravine" or "glen", but it means, more precisely, the bed of a stream or a gully, which is a good description of the site. Dio's use of the word χαράδρα can be attributed either to the fact that the amphitheatre of his time did not have an elaborate superstructure, or else to the rhetorical context in which he is writing, namely, a comparison between the Corinthian setting and that of the Athenians, who held their sports in the splendid theatre of Dionysus. Perhaps, too, Dio's reference to burial was prompted by the existence of the cemetery nearby.

The other objection to regarding Dio's description as applicable to the present site has been that he says that the Corinthians watched gladiatorial combats outside the city. Fowler and a number of other scholars assumed that this meant the place was outside the 4th century walls of Greek Corinth, which they equated with the limits of the Roman city. If one accepts my argument that the formal city boundary was along the line of the late Roman Wall, then the site under discussion would, indeed, be outside the city. (Although the area may well have been a well-populated suburb by Dio's time.) This is, of course, is precisely where one would expect to find an amphitheatre, on the outskirts of the city, either just inside or outside the boundary.
I conclude, therefore, that Dio is describing the site of both the original and the later amphitheatre. It is well situated in that communications with the rest of the city are good, and there would have been easy access for people coming from the direction of Lechaeum, and from the Isthmus and Cenchreae. One can infer that the first amphitheatre would have had temporary seating, and possibly a wooden superstructure at some point.\textsuperscript{136} It is worth bearing in mind that many amphitheatres were sited originally in a natural depression, with only a very simple superstructure, and that most elaborate amphitheatres in the eastern Mediterranean date from the 2nd century. Without excavation, however, one cannot establish for certain the date at which the Corinthian amphitheatre was transformed into the 4th century "opus praecipuum". The amphitheatre figures in Apuleius' account of the unfortunate Lucius' experiences at Corinth.\textsuperscript{137} It is questionable how literally one can take descriptions in what was intended to be a light-hearted piece of fiction, but Apuleius was writing about a city he had probably visited and the details may well be fairly accurate.\textsuperscript{138} His description of the elaborate performances, which were part of the gladiatorial and wild beast shows suggests that they took place in a properly constructed and equipped building, which, in turn, could mean that a permanent amphitheatre was in existence in the 2nd century. On more general grounds, it was obligatory for gladiatorial shows to be given by the magistrates upon entering office.\textsuperscript{139} There is no evidence that either the theatre or the odeum were used at Corinth for such purposes before the beginning of the 3rd century. Stillwell, in his discussion of the theatre, also observes that the well-quadrated masonry of the amphitheatre, which is still visible, must date from before this time.\textsuperscript{140} It does seem unlikely that in a city which was wealthy and prosperous, and otherwise lavishly equipped with entertainment facilities, no suitable provision should have
been made for such regular spectacles. It has been remarked frequently that Pausanias did not comment on the amphitheatre and, therefore, it is unlikely to have existed in his time. Quite apart from the fact that there is no reason to think that Pausanias would have been at all interested in such a building, a glance at the map makes it clear that it would have been difficult for him to have seen the amphitheatre as he went along the road from the Cenchreae Gate to the forum.

To the east of the amphitheatre, by the edge of the cliff, which is very steep and rocky here, the bedrock shows through the top-soil and indications on the photographs that there might be structures underground are misleading. There are few sherds or tiles just here. A little further south however, about 70 paces east of the amphitheatre, there is a marked north/south ridge and what appears to be an enclosed rectangular space. The whole area is rough and stony, and the fact that it is uncultivated, unlike the surrounding fields, suggests that there is something below ground level making it difficult to plough.

Directly south of the amphitheatre and down to the modern road, the concentration of tiles and sherds was very heavy. By the road, and evidently cleared from a nearby field, was a stone with markings unlike anything else found. It is just possible that it was some kind of boundary marker.

On the south side of the modern road, in line with the amphitheatre and to the east of the Late Roman wall, there was a field in which the crop had begun (in March) to grow vigorously. It was very noticeable that there were two parallel north/south lines where the plants had scarcely grown at all, running the length of a large field (R17/d-f, 1-5 approx.), and, at the south end, a similar line at right angles. The spacing of the lines suggested that there might have been a colonnade along one side of an
enclosure here, but, although the marks were very distinct on the ground, no similar traces could be seen on the photographs.

Continuing east, along the modern road, in the direction of the Craneum Basilica, we noted occasional building blocks, including some which had obviously come from the basilica, as well as a fair sprinkling of tiles and sherds. The field to the north-west of the basilica had been used as the excavation dump and it was clear that the material had spread widely. To the north of the basilica, on the other side of the modern road, there was a notable absence of ceramic evidence. The most noticeable remains in this area, and up to the Arapiza ridge, are to be related to the Greek city wall.143 There is little sign of Roman habitation until one walks back, further north and west, towards the amphitheatre, when the scatter of both sherds and tiles becomes evident once again.

To return to the centre of the city and the lower plateau. By the time the steep cliff on the east side of the city reaches the built up area of the present village it has become simply a steep slope, and it is clear that ancient Corinth spread northward to the edge of the lower plateau, just as the village houses do today. There has been little excavation in this central area, except for part of the building now known as the Great Bath on the Lechaeum Road, and here work was hampered by the surrounding buildings and the need to maintain water rights across the land.144 It is obvious that the area right by the forum would have been built up very quickly, and that the same would apply to the land on either side of the Lechaeum Road and other routes leading to the coast. However, exploratory trenches dug in the 1890s in the area of the modern plateia north of the forum produced little information. This was almost certainly because they were not deep enough to penetrate the massive depth of fill here.145 Even so, there were probably a number of important public buildings, as well as private houses,
in this part of the city. For example, when the Julian Basilica was extended and an apse added on the east side, it was built of four marble, unmatched architrave blocks. They are unlikely to have come far and must have belonged to a building that is completely unknown at present.

In the course of the early excavations it was established, by means of numerous pits dug in the village gardens, that the Lechaeum Road continued northwards from the forum on the same line for at least 280 m. There were steps at intervals, where the ascent was steep, and a complete absence of wheel ruts. It was a pedestrian mall. The road was lined with shops, constructed in the latter half of the 1st century, at least as far as the junction with Bath Road. In 1960 H. S. Robinson observed paving similar to that of the excavated part of the Lechaeum Road just north of the great indentation in the cliff of the lower plateau, where there is a natural spring with the delightful, and misleading, name of "The Baths of Aphrodite." (This was the name given to the spring in the 19th century when it was apparently used as a bathing place by the ladies of the harem of Kjamil Bey.) The excavations did not show the exact line taken by the Lechaeum Road, when it nears the edge of the cliff, but it probably turns east and follows the modern road down to the plain. On the edge of the cliff there were wells of the Roman period and, according to the excavator, one should assume that there were private houses here. Further south there are remains of Roman buildings overlying Greek remains. At the actual water source, some 12 m. below the cliff, there were indications of activity throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods. Once on the plain the Lechaeum Road must join the road which runs just inside the West Long Wall to the coast. Roman buildings, often built of blocks taken from the Greek wall, were found bordering the road wherever a trench was dug.
On the eastern side of the "Baths of Aphrodite" and on the opposite side of the road from the building belonging to the Cheese Producers' Cooperative, are substantial remains of a Turkish building (M13/e-10) standing, at the highest point, to approximately 6 m. This is probably part of Kjamil Bey's palace. On investigation, however, there did seem to be Roman masonry with layers of tiles and a hypocaust at the base, and it seems likely that the Turkish building was constructed partly on Roman foundations. The whole field to the east of this building was uncultivated in 1985. It was covered with building rubble and traces of walls. Much of this must belong to the Turkish period, but, further east, there seem to be the remains of a different building; it could be a large villa. There are a great many pieces of marble and small columns, fragments of column drums and capitals (Pl. 50). The lines of this building appear to run east/west and can be distinguished from the foundations which belong to the Turkish building. It is a particularly attractive location, with fresh breezes and a lovely view of the coast and gulf, very suitable indeed for a comfortable residence. As far as one can tell, the building is likely to be mid to late Roman in date.

In the centre of the city, Bath Road, the important Roman east/west thoroughfare, runs for some of the way along the modern road (M15/a-h7). A small section was found in one of the exploratory trenches dug in 1986. The road is no longer visible, but it was described as bounded to the south by a massively built wall of limestone blocks with exterior buttresses. The road was 5.015 m. in width and paved with irregularly polygonal blocks of limestone. A series of ruts showed that the road carried heavy traffic over a long period, so much so that in places the ruts had worn through the paving and had been repaired with pebbles cemented in. Beneath the road surface three drains or conduits could be seen, which the excavator
considered were earlier in date than the road. Although none of this can be seen now, there is, on the south side of Bath Road, a large drain or storm sewer, exactly on the line of the Lechaeum Road, and the Roman masonry in the interior can be seen very clearly.

Excavation of the Great Bath, as it is now known, in the 1960s showed that this road ran along the north side of the Bath complex and that the excavators of the trench had found the exterior wall and north/west corner of one of the rooms in the Bath complex. Only part of the bath building has been excavated, and it has been dated to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century. It was a large and handsomely decorated building, and one of the largest known so far in Greece. C. K. Williams has suggested that the colonnaded street which runs eastwards from the theatre court formed the southern boundary of the bath complex. If this is so, then the bath extended over more than 100 m. square. The bath was built on the site of an earlier building, but there is insufficient evidence to establish its function or the date. When the new bath complex was built, an entrance was made into it through one of the shops on the Lechaeum Road, but this was not the main entrance, which remains unexcavated. The size and quality of this public building is testimony to the prosperity of Corinth at the end of the 2nd century and later. The bath remained in use, undergoing a series of alterations, until the late 6th century. Continuing along Bath Road in an easterly direction, past the Great Bath, at the modern cross-roads (N15/d-6), there are a number of scattered building blocks and column capitals. Just beyond the cross-roads, to the north, there is a large, open field that appears to have been the site of one or more large structures. Building blocks which have been cleared to the edges of the field include a large, unfluted column drum, a number of wall blocks, a small column drum of green marble and slabs of marble revetment. There are
at least three Aeolic column capitals of very fine quality (Pl. 51). The aerial photographs show no useful traces in the field, but, since it was planted (1985) with a flourishing cereal crop, it had probably been deep ploughed, and most of the building blocks removed by lorry with only the occasional piece dumped on the verge. A sarcophagus was also found built into the field wall, and a particularly nicely carved lid was found on the northern edge of the field (Pl. 52). At the south-eastern corner of the field, the small village house has various architectural fragments built into it or re-used in the garden, but they have been so heavily whitewashed as to be almost unrecognizable. The exception was an enormous orthostate or lintel block in the courtyard. It could only have been moved with considerable difficulty and it is unlikely to have come far. Any building to which it belonged must have been very large indeed (Pl. 53).

At this point the modern road peters out (N15/6-h) and the line of the ancient road is running some metres to the south. A section of it was excavated in a house lot, where the main road from the village turns north to the sea, and it was seen to be just over 3 m. wide, with a drain in the middle of the road, and to have house walls on either side (015/e-f, e-6). From here it can be seen that the incline up to the cliff of the upper plateau and the amphitheatre is easily negotiable. It was difficult to examine the ground here because of the houses and outbuildings, but large building blocks and fragments of poros columns could be seen scattered about.

Just south of the courtyard with the huge orthostate block, and below the modern road, there is a natural water source, and a modern fountain (N15/j-8). To the east are the remains of an ancient basin. In the neighbouring field two modern cisterns incorporate ancient blocks, column drums and fragments of capitals.
Immediately east of the road to the coast, which passes the church of Agia Anna, nothing useful could be observed, although, to the north of the church, Gregory suggested that there might be Late Roman remains, which he associated with the Late Roman wall (013/a-b10 and 014/a-b, 1-2). Further east there are some hopeful indications on the photographs of structures underground, but little to substantiate them on the surface, even where the ground was accessible. It was, however, in this area of the lower plateau, at the beginning of the century, that Skias found traces of two roads. On the plain below he found a road running north/south through the district known as Kritika, and similar traces were found on the same line on the cliff above the gully (013/g-7). He also noted the line of another north/south road in trenches dug at intervals across the lower plateau some 150 m. to the east (P13/d-6 and e-8; P14/e-1 and e-2). This road is of particular interest in that the traces are in line with the road on the upper plateau described on p. 339. It must continue in a straight line to the edge of the lower plateau. Skias could find no evidence to suggest that this road went straight down the cliff, which is very steep at this point, and suggests, therefore, that it must have turned west along the top of the cliff and joined the other road where the gradient is easier. This is the point where the modern road winds up from the plain to the village of Corinth, on much the same line as Skias' road, except that the ancient road made a sharper turn to the west as it ascended, and came straight onto the plateau, whereas the modern road makes a more gradual ascent as it goes west.

There are many graves and a number of Roman chamber tombs cut into the slope here (Pl. 54), as well as a Roman tile works (P12/c-5). It was probably built in the mid-4th century and continued in use through the 5th century, being used for the manufacture of tiles of various sorts and the
discs used in hypocausts. It adjoins a Greek tile-works that produced tiles and architectural terracottas as well as pottery and figurines.\(^{162}\)

Of the two roads discovered by Skias leading across the plain to the coast, the one to the west was the better preserved. It had a very hard, compacted surface six to seven metres wide with an edging of poros blocks. Skias does not give the size of the blocks, nor was he able to determine the width of the paved strip on either side of the road, but he implies that it was more than a simple curbing. Roman burials and remains, as well as material from the road, marked the line across the plain to a cutting in the cliff just west of the harbour at Lechaeum. In the trench cut across the road nearest to the city (011/d-10) at the foot of the lower plateau, Skias noted a square base firmly embedded in the side of the road, which he identified as the lower half of a milestone.\(^{163}\) This could be so, but it is also possible that it was a boundary marker, and that it simply identified the edge of the road as it started to climb the slope. Skias was unable to excavate to verify the existence of the eastern road until it was well out in the plain (07/j-k, 1-2), although the number of burials on either side of the road made its course fairly clear. In both cases the ancient roads are very close to the modern roads. It is very likely that the same roads were used in both the Greek and Roman periods, since they take the most direct line from the city to Lechaeum and are well within the Long Walls. One of them must have been the road taken by Strabo when he visited Corinth, since he implies that it was more or less mid-way between the Walls.\(^{164}\) It is curious that the Lechaeum Road is usually considered to be the main artery between Corinth and Lechaeum, yet, not only is it unsuitable for wheeled traffic within the city, but it also leads to a point on the coast some distance west of Lechaeum. We do not know for certain to what extent Lechaeum was a community separate from Corinth, as Piraeus was from Athens,
but the indications are that, in the early Empire at least, it was simply a port for commercial traffic. The extensive harbour area is certainly well to the east of Corinth, and it would make sense for goods and travellers arriving at the port like Strabo, to take the first direct road to Corinth, and then ascend the cliff, branching off to different parts of the city as convenient. The alternative would be to go along the coast past Lechaem, up the road close to the West Long Wall and double back as necessary within the city. It is true that Pausanias refers to "the straight road to Lechaem," but I doubt that he was doing more than identifying the impressive colonnaded street that he saw leading from the forum in the direction of Lechaem. It is also highly probable that there were minor roads running east-west below the lower plateau and linking the main routes across the plain.

Burials of the Roman period have been found along the breadth of the city, both on the plain and cut into the cliff, but the area between the "Baths of Aphrodite" and the East Long Wall seems to have been a particularly wealthy cemetery. It is the area known as Kritika. Much of the evidence has now been destroyed and only a few of the more substantially built chamber tombs noted by Skias and others still remain. A number of carved sarcophagi were also found in this area, including the very handsome sarcophagus carved with reliefs showing the departure of the Seven against Thebes and the death of Opheletes. It has been dated to the Antonine period. Only a few sarcophagi of this type have been found at Corinth, but they all come from the same area (Pl. 55). Since conspicuous display, partly for the benefit of passers-by, was a feature of Roman burial practice, it can be assumed that the roads through this cemetery were much frequented. They also imply the existence of a number of wealthy families in Corinth.
One of the most important Christian basilicas was built in the Kritika cemetery at the foot of the cliff (N13/f-h, 4-5). It was excavated by the Greek Service in the 1960s. It is the martyrium of Quadratus, the best-known of the Corinthian martyrs, who was executed, with his companions, between 249 and 260 in the reign of either Decius or Valerian. Wiseman refers to it as the chief cemetery basilica of Corinth from the late 4th century, but, according to Pallas, the building excavated cannot date from before the beginning of the 6th century. The devastating earthquakes and the invasion of the Visigoths do make the second half of the 4th century an unlikely date for such a major building project. It is very probable, however, that a grave, possibly marked by a shrine of some kind, would have been a place of Christian cult well before the building of a great basilica on the same site. On the cliff above the basilica (N13/j-k, 7-9) a number of Christian graves have been found and they should be associated with it, while the two Roman chamber tombs in the same area probably date from an earlier period.

Just to the west of the basilica is a large concrete block, which does not seem to belong to the building, and which may be a monument base (N13/j-k, 6) (Pl. 56). In a field wall on the slope opposite the basilica (N13/a, 3), part of a large marble slab was found, carved with a relief of fasces (Pl. 57). It is a nice piece of Attic marble and the claw chiselling shows that it is early Roman. It has been suggested that it was part of the decoration of a gateway or monument. From the position of the two bundles of fasces on the slab, however, the fragment does not seem to have been part of a larger composition with figures. It could have been part of the decoration of a tomb, similar, for instance, to that on the tomb of C. Cartilius Poplicola outside the Porta Marina at Ostia. Such elaborate decoration would not have been out of place in the Kritika cemetery.
The basilica lies to the east of a massive indentation in the cliff of the lower plateau. There have been rock falls, but it is essentially a natural formation, and a very noticeable one. It does seem to be a suitable place for an entrance into the city, although there are no obvious indications of a roadway leading to it. However, on the steep slope to the west, opposite the basilica, there are remains which could be those of a gateway (N13/a-6 approximately). There are large blocks, with rubble and mortar, embedded in the hillside, and, on the edge of the cliff above, tiles and mortar. There are also tombs cut into the scarp, which contain sarcophagi, also cut in the rock, and, nearby, remains of more tombs of Roman date built of rough, cut poros blocks and mortar. From its position, the gateway, if it is one, would seem to be part of a defensive system rather than a ceremonial entrance. It could be part of the Late Roman fortification. In considering the possibility of another entrance to the city at this point, it is worth bearing in mind the existence of the basilica, and comparing its position with that of the Craneum Basilica, just by an important gate and road into the city from the east.

Conclusions

The main purpose of this chapter has been to collate and record as much as possible of the evidence relating to Roman Corinth from outside the main sites, and to begin to form a picture of the city as a whole. It is a picture which, given the circumstances, is bound to be incomplete but several observations can, I think, be made at this stage.

First, and most important, the road system has been clearly defined. The sketch plan (fig. 11) shows the roads that are now known to have existed in the Roman period. In some instances, where the topography imposes a certain route, they take much the same course as roads of the Greek period.
For the same reason some of the tracks have continued to be used up to the present day. The Romans, however, imposed a grid system over the entire area. Several roads run parallel across both plateaux from east to west, with only slight deviations to cope with the varying levels of the ground and the existence of natural barriers.\textsuperscript{172} It is clear that traffic could move from one side of the site to the other without actually going through the city centre. Regularly spaced north/south roads can also be distinguished west of the theatre and on the east side of the city, all running parallel with the Lechaeum Road. These roads lead to a point where the cliff can be reasonably negotiated, and it is worth noting that, however much the road may have zig-zagged in making the descent, it continues on the same line once it has reached the plateau or plain below. In laying out their road system, the Romans were not, of course, constrained, as their predecessors were, by the need to use the gates in the city walls.

Two further points emerge. The existence of this road system, combined with the evidence of the aerial photographs (see p. 340), and the orientation of such buildings as the Greek Bath complex, the amphitheatre, and the villa(?) partially excavated in 1979, increases the likelihood that the whole city was organised on a grid system and divided into insulae.

Also, it is becoming clear that the whole, central area, and not just the forum, was closed to heavy commercial traffic. Important east/west and north/south routes pass close by, and there is easy access from them, but they do not actually lead into the forum. In the latter half of the 1st century, when the forum area was extended to include the West Shops and the Temple E precinct, when the odeum was built, and when both the east/west road running into the theatre court and the Lechaeum Road were paved and colonnaded, then the pedestrian area in the centre of Corinth was greatly
extended. The Lechaeum Road provided the formal approach to the forum, but Strabo's road, to the east, was the main commercial route into the city.\textsuperscript{173}

The excavated area is the formal city centre, with temples, administrative buildings, guild headquarters, some shops, probably of the more salubrious variety, and such public amenities as the theatre, baths and nymphaea. It is the Corinth described by Pausanias, whose personal interests led him to concentrate on the antiquities and tourist sights. Where, then, are the other districts that one would expect to find in a flourishing city, such as the food markets and warehouses, ordinary residential areas and industrial quarters? It was, after all, the lamp manufacturers who supplied Corinth with one of her main exports, and yet we have no idea where they worked nor where their clay came from.\textsuperscript{174} I suggest that much of the city's commercial activity and ordinary domestic housing was concentrated on the lower plateau, and on the eastern side of the city. There is no positive evidence to substantiate this suggestion, but the area has good communications with both Lechaeum and Cenchreae, easy access to the centre of the city, and the indications are that it was substantially built up. Equally, there is little doubt that the upper plateau, including Craneum, was largely residential, with some public buildings and sanctuaries.

The original extent of the city was quite large, some 180 hectares, and, if I am right in the conclusions drawn in the first chapter, many of the original colonists would have been settled in the surrounding countryside rather than in the city itself.\textsuperscript{175} It may well have been some time before the urban population increased to such an extent that the city expanded beyond its original limits. The evidence suggests that, as the city grew, it expanded to the east rather than to the west. This shift is certainly obvious in the Late Empire, and it is marked by the building of
three, very large, Christian basilicas on the eastern side of the city, but I believe that, for practical reasons, suburbs had spread in this direction at a much earlier date. Conversely, there is little in the sparse archaeological evidence to suggest that there was extensive settlement to the west immediately beyond Anaploga.

The fact remains, however, that we know very little about Corinth outside the central area. The importance of Lechaeum is another imponderable in discussing the development of the city. I am inclined to think that, as time went on, it became, not simply a port and transit point, but also a major commercial centre, linked closely with Corinth, but without excavation there is no means of telling if this was so. A study of the area surrounding Corinth is beyond my scope. Even so, the city cannot be divorced from its *territorium*. The maintenance of a network of roads and the scattered archaeological evidence collected by Wiseman, suggest that there were a number, of flourishing settlements round Corinth, often on the same sites as earlier Greek habitation, and that many Corinthians of the Roman period were living outside the city, farming and very possibly carrying on a trade as well. We have no idea of the size of the urban population and any attempt to estimate it on grounds of area, size of public buildings or water supply is, in my view, pointless. There can be no doubt of Corinth's importance in the Corinthia, since it enjoyed the privileges of a Roman colony, it was the centre of administration and assizes would have been held there. The city may also have been the seat of the provincial governor, and it certainly controlled the games at Isthmia. The local people would have come into town on market days, to vote in the assembly if they had the right, to present petitions in court, to attend religious festivals, and for entertainment in the theatre and amphitheatre, but I have the strong impression that many of them continued to live in the surrounding
countryside, often in sizeable communities. The present evidence suggests that Corinth was a prosperous, fairly compact city, well-provided with public amenities, but not to be compared with the great urban centres of the Empire.
Notes to Chapter Five

1. The topographical map was prepared for the American School of Classical Studies by the Greek Ministry of Public Works (Dir. of Aerotopographical Studies) in 1964. The scale is 1/2,000. The map is divided into 16 sheets. Only the 6 sheets covering the relevant area surrounding the ancient city of Corinth has been reproduced. For the present location of the photographs, see Ch. II, ns. 157-158. I am grateful to D. R. Wilson for his advice on how to interpret these photographs.

2. Sheet 8a, L14/f-7, Field Notebook 576, pp. 48ff. The amount of Early Roman pottery was substantial: plain ware, Samian, Arretine, Augustan-Claudian lamps. Other test trenches in same area: Sheet 8a, L15/g-2, Field Notebook 565, p. 39: opened by Greek Service, 1972; house walls and waterproof retaining wall, no date given. Sheet 8a, M14/b-9, Field Notebook 273, pp. 189ff, 1965; poros wall, rubble wall without mortar, fragments of roof tiles and marble revetment; pottery 4th-5th century.

3. Sheet 8a, L15/c4-5, Field Notebook 346, pp. 131-193, 1966. Mosaic flooring and impressions of an opus sectile floor were found in other rooms. The walls were mainly of rubble and mortar, probably with brick courses. Also found, fragments of a marble column base, a marble window mullion, thorakion and revetment, and fragments of window glass. Noted in Arch. Rep. (1966-67), pp. 7-8; and BCH 91 (1967), pp. 635-636.


6. Excavation in 1985 (Hesperia 55, 1986, p. 160) showed that the road originally curved round the cavea of the theatre and then rose in the direction of Glauce and Temple E at a sufficiently shallow slope to allow for wheeled traffic. After 77, the road was straightened, running due south and was too steep for wagons, to judge by the absence of wheel ruts.

7. The site was investigated in 1910 (Sanborn, NB 63, pp. 153-175) but has not been excavated. See Corinth I, 1, p. 4, n. 2.

9. Sheet 8, J17/c-2, Field Notebook 346, pp. 11-129, 1966; reference to wheel ruts, pp. 44ff. The hard-packed fill in the ruts contained Greek and Hellenistic sherds, but none of the Roman period. The investigation was carried out prior to the building of a new church.

10. Corinth X, p. 32.

11. Sheet 8, K17/j-5. For filling of quarry and line of road, see H. S. Robinson, Klio 46 (1965), p. 292 and fig. 15; Field Notebook 265, pp. 42ff., 1963. The grid references are approximate since they do not accord with the Topographical Survey, in spite of a note in NB 265 saying that they do. There is a reference in the Notebook to an east-west Roman road, but it is impossible to identify the exact location.


13. Sheet 8, K17/de 1, Field Notebook 576, p. 9. A test excavation on the line of the road, close to the scarp, revealed "nothing significant."


15. Corinth XIV, pp. 38-9; 90-1; 155-9 (re-establishment of the cult). See also Wiseman, ANRW, p. 510 and p. 512, n. 293. Corinth VIII, 3, no. 311, which Kent dates to ca. 25 BC, refers to some restoration work done on the temple. On possible continuity of the cult, see Williams, op. cit. (Ch. I, n. 72).

16. e.g. NCP, pl. H xiii and xiv; Corinth VI, nos. 159 and 176.

17. J. Wiseman, Hesperia 41 (1972), pp. 1-42 in which references are also given to earlier preliminary publications in Hesperia. Details given are taken from this report.

19. Pausanias II, 4, 5; Wiseman, *ANRW*, p. 522. There is a useful plan of the area in *Hesperia* 36 (1967), Pls. 92 and 93.


21. C. K. Williams, forthcoming article.


23. Architectural fragments found in or near modern field wall running N/S to east of modern cistern:
- Fragment of large marble column, diam. 0.37 m., pr. ht. 0.90 m.,
- Fragment of poros column, diam. approx. 0.41 m.
- Part of terracotta volute of Ionic capital, pr. 1. 0.27 m., pr. ht. 0.26 m., pr. th. 0.17 m., block hollowed on inside.
- Ionic/Corinthian marble column base,
- Topping of marble altar screen, cuttings on either side, l. 0.79 m., w. 0.15 m., depth 0.13 m., flange 0.65 m.
- Part of marble screen, w. 0.42 m., pr. ht. 0.46 m., th. 0.15 m.
- A considerable number of large, poros building blocks.
- Near Ag. Paraskevi:
  - Large piece of marble impost block
  - Fragment of marble column
  - Small, late Christian, colonnette capital with stylised acanthus decoration, lower diam. 0.17 m., upper diam. 0.24 m., pr. ht. 0.18 m.
  - Poros Doric column capital (Greek) with faint traces of necking bands, diam. 0.40 m., ht. 0.36 m., ht. of abacus 0.15 m., ht. echinus 0.07 m.
  - Complete poros column drum, diam. 0.48 m., ht. 0.33 m.
  - Large number of building blocks and fragments of grey marble columns.
- Below road between Ag. Paraskevi and odeum:
  - Poros wall-block with stucco, pr. th. 0.45 m., pr. ht. 0.39 m., pr. 1. 0.59 m.

24. Sheet 7, K16. No precise grid reference, simply that the trench was
west of the soccer field, at mid-point of N-S length. "No stratified floor levels, finds of architecture."

25. Sheet 7, J15/j-k8, (see note 8).

26. Greek Service excavation and unpublished. Another chewed Corinthian capital was left in the trench (Pl. 26). Nearby, but probably cleared in the course of ploughing and not connected with this trench, is a Doric capital, probably 4th century BC (Pl. 27). Full width of capital and abacus, 0.64 m., base 0.32 m., ht. of abacus, 0.08 m., K and Y on side of abacus, ht. of capital 0.30 m. Because of its size, it is unlikely to have come far.

27. W. B. Dinsmoor, Hesperia Supp. VIII, (1949), pp. 104 and 115. In addition to a column drum and epistyle block, Dinsmoor noted another fragment of epistyle "partly covered with thick stucco which seems to be Roman" (p. 115, n.21). This seems to have gone unnoticed by any commentator before or since. It has been variously identified as the Temple of Apollo, the temple on the left of the road to Sicyon (both of which are impossible), and, orally, by B. H. Hill (op. cit. n.22) to Dinsmoor, as the sanctuary of Zeus Capitolius or Koryphaios. I concur with this identification as being the most likely, see p. 287. Dinsmoor prefers to regard it as unidentified. Additional fragments of temple, see J. Wiseman, Hesperia 38 (1969), p. 96.


29. Stele 1: pr. ht. 0.42 m. (pediment 0.08 m., face 0.20 m., base 0.14 m.), max. w. base 0.215 m., max. w. top 0.18 m. Stele 2: pr. ht. 0.33 m. (pediment 0.09 m., face 0.11 m., base 0.13 m., max. w. base 0.17 m., max. w. top 0.155 m., max. th. just over 0.10 m. For stelai in Potters' Quarter, see Corinth XV, 1. A small marble impost capital was found near the stelai.

30. Corinth X, pp. 3-10, figs. 2, 3 and 5, Pl. 3. See also note 6.

31. The continual dumping of ancient and modern remains in the ravine made it impossible to list or measure the blocks, which included marble
columns, one very large, a marble basin, and at least one terracotta sarcophagus with white stucco on the exterior.

32. *Corinth* III, 2, pp. 59-64 and fig. 44.

33. Pausanias II, 2, 5 and III, 9, 2. It is not clear who Pausanias means by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles. He may well be referring to Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides, king of Epirus, who claimed descent from Achilles. In this case, the temple would have been destroyed about 270 BC, and in the latter, about the time of Agesilaus’ invasion of Asia in 396 BC.

34. Theophrastus, *de caus. plant.* V, 14, 2. See also *Corinth* I, 1, p. 78 and n. 4.

35. Sheet 7, E15/f-g8, *AD* 18 (1963), Chr., p. 79.

36. Sheet 7, F15/f-9. The modern road actually cuts through the kiln, which is otherwise quite well-preserved. Field Notebook 276, pp. 76-77, 1964. See Arch. Rep. (1964-65), p. 8 and fig. 8; BCH (1966), p. 689-691 and fig. 1. The lime kiln, which has a drain running through it E/W, is slightly later in date than the tile kiln.

37. *Corinth* V.


39. My comments are based on observations made by H. S. Robinson on the site of the Villa in 1965. H. Joyce (*AJA* 83 [1979], pp. 253-263) observes that the tradition in the East was to regard floor decoration in terms of mosaic "rugs" rather than as part of the architectural framework. At Corinth compare the mosaic in the Anaploga villa.


41. Sheet 7, C15/b-c, 9-10. The road is otherwise unreported. For chamber tomb (B15/h-k8) see *AJA* 40 (1936), p. 484 and fig. 25. A thorough
search of the area revealed no trace of it, probably because part of the scarp had fallen away and had then been built up to provide a terrace for a field above. It was probably built in the late 1st century. For the Late Roman bath (C15/g5-6) Field Notebook 232, p. 165-179, 1962.

42. Vitruvius I, 7, 2.

43. See pp. 323-324 and note 62.


45. H. S. Robinson, Sheet 10, H19/b-6, Field Notebook 355, pp. 93f.


47. Continuation of Lechaemus Road, Late Roman and Byzantine houses, see H. S. Robinson, Klio 46 (1965), p. 290; see also BCH 89 (1966), p. 751 and fig. 1.

48. R. Stillwell, AJA 40 (1936), pp. 31-32; he suggests that the heavy foundations may be those of a monumental entrance from the south.


50. C. K. Williams, Hesperia 44 (1975), pp. 28-29,

51. Architectural fragments found in Sqs. K17-18 and L18:
A large number of marble blocks, some very big indeed, probably wall blocks.
Marble anta block.
Rectangular marble block - pilaster (?).
Massive unfluted, marble column
Marble orthostate block which appeared to have been turned into a basin with a hole cut in it.
Small piece of marble, from small building, Ionic architecture; could be revetment of Roman period.
Plain, marble block with deep channel cut in it (found near previous piece); could have been door post in which adjacent vertical slab was set, or may have been horizontal.
Marble base - for statue (?)
Poros flanking cornice with part of dentillated band and possible cutting for cross-beam.
Re-used Doric poros column drum.
Large poros blocks
Poros wall-block with cuttings, possibly for wooden beams.
Fragment of reddish marble - from column (?)
Fragment of green basalt.
Large impost block ca. 1 m. x 0.70 m. with debased acanthus decoration (very late), Christian.
Two large marble blocks, one a plain impost block, similar to the above.
Unfluted column of same marble as above.
Large quantities of roof tiles and pottery sherds.

52. Corinth I, 2, p. 172.

53. Sheet 8, L18/f-6, Field Notebook 576, p. 62, 1973. The site had been partially excavated by the Greek Byzantine Service before being taken over by the American School.


55. In 1966. Details in this paragraph are taken from the notes made at that time. Fragment of sarcophagus, pr. ht. 0.45 m., pr. w. 0.37 m., max. th. 0.185 m., from upper wall, broken away at both sides and below. At top of wall, egg and dart above bead and reel moulding; below, bull's head partly preserved with garland extending from bull's horn right (L19/d-8).
Fragment of lower part of statue (S2806) found in L19/j-7; preserves part of front edge and part of left side. Supports low ridge of natural rock on which, near the front and facing to the back, are three toes of a human foot, and set at oblique angle to face of plinth is a left foot of which only the heel and instep are preserved.
56. See Ch. II, n. 51.

57. Sheet 11, L19/e-9. H. S. Robinson, AD 19 (1964), Chr., p. 102; also Field Notebook 273, pp. 5-20, 1964. The well-shaft mouth was covered with two early Roman amphorae, above which were roof-tiles and earth. The amphorae are 1st century type and do not appear to have been in circulation for long. Pottery of the 1st century was found in manholes and adjacent tunnels. When the system was reconditioned by the Romans, and how long it stayed in use, is difficult to say. Nearby (L19/f-8) were sizeable fragments of plain pebble mosaic floor, and traces of a Roman mosaic floor with tesserae of white and black limestone and reddish tile; a rubble and mortar wall 5.50 m. to the east may be associated with it.

58. T. E. Gregory, op.cit. (note 28), pp. 274-275, gives a description of the Late Roman wall in this area, but his estimate of the distance from Hadji Mustafa to the point where the wall reappears overlooking Ag. Anargyrois is badly wrong. Because of the nature of the terrain, it is difficult to judge distances round Corinth. It does, however, alter his proposed line of the wall in this area. It should descend directly towards the Anaploga villa.

59. Sheet Sq. L17; information from C. K. Williams, by letter.

60. See Ch. II, n. 92.

61. Architectural fragments noted going from the excavation house towards the Anaploga villa:
   Several blocks of marble on the road.
   Small unfluted marble column (in field to right of road).
   Small piece of marble corner block.
   Pieces of marble revetment.
   A number of large poros blocks, widely scattered.
   Very large poros column drum fragment in field to south, just before site of villa.
   (Near above) Poros block with possible clamp cutting, badly chewed.
   (Just past the villa) marble column by road.
   (Opposite Late Roman wall) moulded marble fragment of anta capital.
(Along the line of the modern road to the east of the site of the villa), a large number of ancient blocks, fragments of marble pilaster and fine, marble, re-used Ionic moulding.

62. For excavation of Anaploga villa and associated sites, see H. S. Robinson, _BCH_ 87 (1963), pp. 725-726; and _AD_ 18, Chr., 1963, pp. 78-79; also Field Notebooks 242, 246, 258, 278. I am grateful to Professor Robinson for discussing the excavation further with me and for making his plans available.


64. See note 62.

65. H. S. Robinson, _Klio_ 46 (1965), p. 290 and fig. 5 NB 239, p. 43, 1962. S2682 pr. ht. 0.545 m., w. of face 0.195 m., w. of oval base 0.315 m., ht. from base of chin to top of forehead (hairline) 0.238 m. A large cavity is cut in the top of the cranium. At some point in the cutting or fitting or attachment the rear right side of the cranium broke away and has been put back with several iron clamps anchored with lead into dowel holes. Fragments of locks of hair on both sides have broken off and replaced with substitute marble, crudely carved and carelessly fitted, with iron clamps. The eyeballs are separate pieces of marble, set in white plaster into the hollow sockets; the pupils were of other material but are now missing. The eyelashes are strips of bronze ca. 0.06 m. long, cut like a comb, the spine of each strip being set into the eye socket. The head is particularly well illustrated in _AD_ 19 (1964), Chr., Pl. 128.

66. S2745, found 1965 in wall of stairway in Period III alteration to villa; Field Notebook 278, p. 109 (pr. ht. 0.245 m., pr. w. of palm 0.125 m.). It is broken away at the wrist but traces or attachments or struts are visible at the base of thumb and at heel. The back of the hand is well-finished, but there are rasp marks on the palm; line on palm is clear. The thumb and first and second joints of all fingers are missing.

67. A Hellenistic date has also been suggested tentatively by C. K. Williams because of the similarity in technique of this head and a
marble head of an acrolithic statue found at Pheneos in Arcadia. Fragments of two statues were found in association with a base inscribed with the name of the sculptor, Attalos Athenaios, and attributed to the 2nd century BC. It is unlikely, however, that such a statue would have survived until the founding of the Roman colony at Corinth. The discovery at Pheneos is reported in BCH 83 (1958), p. 625. Ht. of head 0.80 m., with glass and agate eyes and bronze eyelashes. It is part of a group of Asclepius and Hygieia. Attalos Athenaios is mentioned by Pausanias (II, 19, 3). On Roman copies in general, see M. Bieber, op. cit. (Ch. IV, n. 84), esp. fig. 164.

68. Pausanias II, 4, 1.


70. Described in Corinth III, 2, pp. 55-56 and 96.


73. Remains of the Roman period in the Isthmus and the Xerias valley are described by Wiseman, LAC, pp. 64-74 and 88-90. A herm of Herodes Atticus washed down by the flooded Xerias river (A. Philadelpheus, BCH, 44 [1920], pp. 170-180) may have come from a property belonging to Herodes in the vicinity of the river.

74. On Craneum see Xenophon, Hell. IV, 4, 4; Athenaius XIII, 589b; Diogenes Laertius VI, 77; Dio Chrysostom, Or. VI, 4; VIII, 4-5; Timaeus, Lex., sv; Themistios Orat. II, 38; Souda, Lex., s.v.; Hesychius, s.v.; in addition to writers cited below (notes 75-78). Craneum is discussed by Fowler, Corinth I, 1, pp. 77-78; Wiseman, LAC, pp. 86-87; Roux, pp. 105-107.

75. Plutarch, de Ex., 6.

77. Pausanias II, 2, 4-5. He also mentions the grave of Diogenes the Cynic near the Cenchreae Gate.

78. Diogenes Laertius, 6, 77; Dio Chrysostom, Or. IV, 13-14; IX, 4; Plutarch, Alexander 14, 2; Lucian, Quomodo hist. conscrib., 3; Dial. Mort. 1.

79. See Roux, p. 105, for references and comment.


82. Wiseman, LAC, p. 86. He concurs with the general opinion that the gymnasion was on the lower slopes of Acrocorinth, or perhaps on the Arapiza ridge.

83. Unpublished; now in the courtyard of the Corinth Museum.

84. Theophrastus, loc. cit. (note 34).


87. O. Broneer, Hesperia 16, (1947), pp. 243-244.


89. Corinth, I, V, pp. 111-114.
90. Large column, diam. 0.35 m.; several small columns, diam. 0.25 m.; one half-column.

91. Information from C. K. Williams, 1983.

92. This is an area supposedly protected by law as being of archaeological importance, but it appears that building permits were issued without the required investigation by the Greek Archaeological Service.

93. Field Notebook 252, pp. 50-62.

94. No reference to Field Notebook. The walls of the tunnel are built of triangular bricks and reach a height of 0.68 m. along the lime-encrusted curb at the base of the wall. The rubble concrete vault was constructed with a wooden centring. The soffit of the vault is about 0.48 m. above the top of the wall.

95. Grid reference for old Church of St. George.

96. Pausanias' account is not at all specific. It is not even certain that he returned to the forum after describing the monuments beyond the theatre, since there appears to be a road west of the theatre running directly towards the Sanctuary of Demeter and Core. Nor is it certain that Pausanias climbed to the summit of Acrocorinth (see Corinth III, 1, p. 20-21), or how far he might have gone along the road leading to it.

97. Field Notebook 156, pp. 72-73.

98. Field Notebook 205, p. 57.

99. Field Notebook 207, pp. 7-57. An unpublished inscription (I 2511) found in the excavation is part of a late, Byzantine gravestone.


101. Architectural fragments found in or on core of Late Roman wall: Large column drum, at least 0.75 m. diam.
Square cornice block damaged on outer face and on top: full depth, 0.52 m., other measurements, 0.52 x 0.52 x 0.16 m.; preserved part of moulding on underside, 0.21 - 0.22 m.

Poros anta capital: pr. ht. 0.57 m. ht. of moulding 0.29 m.; projection approx. 0.06 m.; w. 0.47 m. Top preserved.

In trench in front of excavated tower:
Damaged Corinthian capital, diam. approx. 0.48 m., broken at top, pr. ht. ca. 0.57 m., ht. of 1st ring of acanthus, 0.19 m., ht. of 2nd ring 0.32 m.
Part of large column, approx. 2.48 m. and a smaller fragment. Difficult to measure, but diam. at least 0.46 m.
Marble base, depth at least 0.54 m. x 0.53 m. x 0.54m; fine-dressed "top" and one face, the other exposed side pick-dressed.


104. Pausanias II, 2, 4-5; Corinth, III,2, p. 56. The Greek cemetery probably extended well north of the Cenchreae Gate; see notes 105 and 123.

105. See M. Sasel Kos, op. cit. (Ch. II, n. 47).


108. See Pallas, op. cit. (note 71), p. 156.

109. A large poros column capital (not measured) was seen just north of the line of the road to the west of the modern north/south road, and other poros blocks in the same field.

110. See Corinth III, 2, pp. 74-75, for a description of the Gate and road beyond; also Wiseman, LAC, pp. 81-82. This is the main route from Corinth to the interior.

112. Hesperia 31 (1963), fig. 1, shows the water sources of the city.

102. Very little has been excavated at Lechaeum apart from a nymphaeum and an elaborate complex of rooms, probably built in the second half of the 2nd century (E. Stikas, Prakt. [1957], pp. 89-94; BCH [1958], p. 700 and [1966], p. 769), which were probably part of a large private residence; also a vast 5th century basilica built on the site of an older Christian building (Arch. Rep. [1961-2]), p. 8; Pallas, op. cit. [note 71], pp. 165-171). A small rescue dig by the ASCS just north of the Corinth/Patras road and east of the road to ancient Corinth (BA/d-f, 6-7) showed early Roman remains, later built over, and pottery ranging from Hellenistic to 3rd century, and possibly to 4th-5th century. The strata underlying the Basilica and neighbouring houses were reported by the excavator to have produced interesting evidence of large-scale harbour improvements dating probably from the Roman period (Arch. Rep. [1962-3], p. 13). The importance of Lechaeum as the port of Corinth and as a separate entity is discussed by Wiseman, LAC, pp. 87-88. See also Roux, pp. 102-104.


115. Gregory, op. cit. (note 28), p. 277. Material dumped by the modern road includes poros blocks and a huge chunk of masonry; also a small, marble column, probably from the New Basilica (see pp. 45-46, below), total length 2.46 m., diam. of base 0.30 m., top 0.28 m., 0.30 m. with swell, square dowel hole in base, round hole in top.


117. A. N. Skias, Prakt. (1906), Pl. E.

118. Diogenes Laertius VI, 78:

119. Roads in the Isthmus are described by Wiseman, LAC, pp. 64-74.

120. See R. S. Stroud, Hesperia 41 (1972), p. 216. Several complete, inscribed cover slabs of Greek sarcophagi were found built into a fortification wall to the north (T15/d-8 and T14/e-7), and fragments of more
covers were scattered over the same field. Because of their size, the slabs are unlikely to have been dragged very far. The wall was hastily constructed at some time after ca. 400 BC.

121. Gregory, loc. cit. (note 115), notes that at one point excavation for irrigation pipes revealed the wall preserved in one or two courses along the stretch to the cliff.

122. Stroud, op. cit. (note 120), p. 210, noted a rectangular, poros block inscribed \textit{Στράτων} dated to the 5th(?) century in this area (Q15/a-3). The purpose of the block was not clear, but it could have been part of a building or free-standing wall. It may have been re-used in the Late Roman wall.

123. Oblong structure: approximate dimensions 12 m. x 8 m.; south wall, width 0.58 m.; north wall, width 0.98 m., height above ground ca. 1.40 m., height above "podium" 1.20 m.; two cuttings in north wall, 2.56 m. apart, width 0.12 m. x depth 0.19 m., possibly for a beam; the right hand cutting is partially destroyed; the wall starts to curve very slightly, perhaps the beginning of a vault.

124. A house lot partially excavated by the Greek Service, stratigraphy was not closely observed (Field Notebook 565, pp. 43 ff.) The excavation showed an east/west roadway with house walls on either side. The room to the south was inhabited until the mid-6th century. Pottery ranged in date from Hellenistic to 6th century. The report (in \textit{Hesperia} 52 [1983], p. 27, n. 22) states incorrectly that this road is on the line of the east/west roadway ending in the theatre court. It is too far north.


126. For example, a poros column drum 0.63 m. diameter and at least 0.49 m. high. The interior of the eastern mass begins to curve above the 2nd band of tiles.
Since no details of this basilica have been published nor is it likely that they will be, I give as many details as possible of the fragments to be found in the vicinity.

Near the oblong structure and the cliff:

Small piece of double-sided, marble moulding with return, w. 0.18 m.; ht. 0.28 m. and th. 0.7 m.; face A, pr. w. outer band 0.8 m., width inner band, 0.18 m. plus moulding 0.7 m., face B, pr. w. outer band 0.9 m., min, th. 0.03 m. (Pl. 46)

Greenish marble slab with bevelled edges, pr. w. 0.32 m., pr. l. 0.61 m., pr. th. 0.14 m.

Marble slab, flat on both faces and one pr. side, pr. w. 0.36 m., pr. l. 0.48 m., th. 0.10 m.

Fragments of two columns, one blue-grey, the other reddish-green.

Nondescript fragments of poros building blocks and chunks of masonry.

To east of oblong structure:

Large fragment of marble column, grey with white flecks, pr. l. 1.35 m., diam. 0.35 m.

Impost block, pr. l. 0.55 m., w. 0.35 m., th. 0.12 m., slope of impost pr. on two sides.

Corner anta capital, pr. w. 0.48 m., pr. l. 0.55 m., ht. 0.18 m., smooth on top.

Wall block with dowel hole.

Impost block decorated with Christian motif, l. 1.08 m., w. 0.60 m., diam. 0.25 m., rough top, smooth bottom, one end broken. (Pl. 43)

Large chunk of worked stone with mouldings, l. 0.60 m., w. 0.40 m., ht. 0.55 m.

Large number of fragments of greyish-green marble revetment and also roof tiles.

To north of sheep pen:

Unfluted marble column, pr. ht. 0.80m., approx. diam. 0.42 m.

A number of Greek wall-blocks.

Hexagonal top of Tuscan column/base with square dowel hole, max. diam. 0.50 m., min. diam. 0.44 m. (Pl. 45)

Sharply tapering colonnette of Proconnesian (?) marble, full ht. 0.56 m., base 0.22 m., upper diam. 0.07 m., square dowel hole. (Pl. 45)

Very large limestone block with large square hole cut in it (not measured).

Iconostasis or screen block with mouldings on both sides; ht. 0.38 m.,
0.33 m., th. 0.92 m. Mouldings are not identical, could be horizontal, but probably vertical because of way this fragment must join next block. The bottom of moulded band is on same level on both faces, 0.29 m. below preserved. Other fragments scattered nearby.

A number of fragments of green marble including a huge impost block with Christian decoration; similar block visible in fenced orchard nearby (not measured).

Square marble column base, rough-picked, top smoother with two cuttings; ht. 0.59 m., w. 0.45 m., diam. 0.43 m.; moulding on all four sides but shallower on back; cement on back indicates it was built into something. (Pl. 44)

At north-east corner of sheep-pen:

Several large pieces of marble column.

Top of column, pr. diam. 0.62 m., pr. ht. 0.42 m., pr. th. 0.32 m.

Small impost block, l. 0.25 m., th. 0.10 m., w. 0.23 m., plain, white marble bevelled on three preserved sides.

Several nondescript poros blocks.

Marble fragment, l. 0.55 m., w. 0.13 m., d. 0.18 m.

Screen slab similar to piece described earlier: max. w. 0.35 m., th. 0.09 m., ht. 0.62 m.; outer band, th. top. 0.24 m., side 0.10 m.; inner band including moulding 0.08 m. (Pl. 47)

Poros colonnette (?) or altar table (?).

Fragment of altar fencing/colonnette, l. 0.30 m., w. 0.18 m., greenish-white marble.

Large marble block.

White marble colonnette.

Fragment of marble console, l. 0.83 m., w. 0.45 m., th. 0.24 m.

Fragment of anta capital

Numerous fragments of marble revetment.


129. In addition to the Craneum and Stikas Basilicas on the outskirts of Corinth, there is the vast building at Lechaeum and another large basilica at Skoutela. R. L. Scranton (Corinth XVI, pp. 9-26) gives details of other possible Christian churches within the city; he thinks it likely that the
Julian Basilica was converted to ecclesiastical use. There is no evidence that the Archaic Temple or Temple E were ever converted to church use.

130. Base, ht. 0.24 m.; capital, pr. ht. 0.46 m., diam. top. 0.60 m. It is similar, for example, to a marble capital found north of the Lechaem Road Basilica and associated with the inner colonnade of the second building.

131. Burials near the amphitheatre reported by T. L. Shear, AJA 33 (1929), pp. 536-538.

132. See Corinth I, 1, pp. 89-91 and figs. 55-57.


135. Dio Chrysostom, Or. XXXI, 121. A plan of the amphitheatre, after Francesco Grimani, 1701, Archivio dei Frari, Venezia, was published in Ath. Mitt. 2 (1877), Pl. XIX.

136. A list of amphitheatres is given in L. Friedlander, Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms, rev. ed., Leipzig, 1921, Vol. IV, pp. 230 ff. He also makes the point that wooden amphitheatres were common. Nero's amphitheatre built in the Campus Martius in 57/58 was a wooden structure (Tacitus, Ann. 13, 31; Suetonius, Nero 12).

137. Apuleius, Met. 10, 29-35.

138. See F. Millar, JRS 71 (1981), pp. 61-75, on the realistic detail surrounding Apuleius' fantasy. He was probably writing in ca. 170 (p. 67).

139. See Lex Ursonensis para. 70. It was to acquire animals and gladiators for his games that Thiasus, who had been elected duovir
quinquennalis at Corinth, went to Thessaly and acquired the ass, Lucius, (Apuleius, Met. 10, 18).

140. Corinth II, pp. 94-97 and 140; Corinth X, pp. 146-147.

141. Rectangular enclosure ca. 22 m. x 56 m. Just to the south of the enclosure was a red stuccoed poros colonnette (grave marker?), circumference 0.58 m., pr. ht. 0.31 m.; sq. top 0.195 x 0.195 m., ht. 0.11 m.

142. The marks are deliberately cut and quite clear but do not seem to form part of a word. Found with a large poros block and part of a small, marble column, l. 0.85 m., diam. of base 0.26 m., diam. at other end 0.23 m.

143. This is the area in which a number of covers of Greek sarcophagi were found associated with a fortification wall (see note 120). This wall, some 0.46 m. of which were exposed, runs north/south about 16.50 - 17.50 m. west of the north-south ridge on which the classical city wall is built. As Stroud remarks, the fact that two Greek tribal boundary markers were also found in the same field as the covers (p. 212) suggests that excavation in this area should produce valuable information. The construction of the later fortification cannot be dated with any accuracy. It must have been built after ca. 400 BC and before 146 BC, and at a time when the families of those buried in the cemetery were not in a position to object to such wholesale desecration of the graves, which is interesting in that it was a burial place of considerable status and importance to judge by the quality of the sarcophagi lids.

144. Corinth XVII, see pp. 2-3 on the site and problems of excavation.

145. The trenches are shown in Corinth I, 1, p. 7. fig. 3, and described in detail by R. R. Richardson, AJA 1897, pp. 455-480. The depth of the deposit here is due to the fact that Peirene is a natural spring and if the artificial conduits become blocked, as they undoubtedly did at certain times in Corinth's history, then the continual flow of water will deposit large quantities of silt in the area. I am grateful to H. S. Robinson for pointing this out to me.
146. Corinth XVI, pp. 10-11; S. S. Weinberg (Corinth I, 5, pp. 50-51) mentions that two more similar architrave blocks of unknown provenance were found in this area.

147. R. Stillwell, Corinth I, 1, p. 138; Ancient Corinth: A Guide to the Excavations, 6th ed., rev. R. L. Scranton, 1954, p. 20. I have been unable to check the details of these exploratory excavations in the Field Notebooks. It would have been almost inevitable that the road was stepped at intervals since the slope is fairly steep and a straight, paved surface would be difficult to negotiate otherwise. The paved street east of the theatre is also stepped.

148. Corinth XVII, p. 64.

149. H. S. Robinson, Hesperia 31 (1962), pp. 120-130. Fig. 8 is a useful plan of the excavation area and Pl. 37 an aerial photograph.

150. Corinth III, 2, pp. 92-94.

151. Remains on the surface included a white, marble column base with mason's mark ΔΩ and a piece of marble revetment that looked like a half fluted column. Other fragments of various kinds could be seen dumped on the other side of the fence in the neighbouring orchard.

152. H. F. de Cou, AJA I (1897), pp. 481-586. See also Corinth I, 1, p. 4, n. 2. In one part the paving blocks were 0.25 m. thick. This paving is unlike that of the Lechaeum Road which is made of squared blocks of varying size, from 0.11 m. - 0.15 m. thick laid on a concrete bed (Corinth I, 1, p. 138). The drains had been broken through by the later walls.


155. Dimensions of best preserved Aeolic column capital: diam. ca. 0.46 m., abacus 0.48 x 0.48 m.
156. The removal of lorry loads of ancient building material from fields about to be brought under cultivation could be seen frequently in 1983 and 1985. It does mean that one has to be extra careful in assuming that the absence of remains now indicates that nothing was there originally.

157. Lid carved from very white, "cheesy" marble, quite unlike other fragments found in the vicinity, although there are chunks of the same marble built into the village walls in this area. There are a great many fragments of building stone and marble incorporated into the walls in the lower village, but they have usually been broken up to such an extent that nothing useful can be learned from them.

158. See note 124.

159. The column drum in the centre of one of the basins was 0.48 m. in diam.


162. Arch. Rep. (1964-5), p. 8. There were a few fragments of 3rd century pottery, but the majority of the finds were 4th and 5th century. The kiln seems to have gone out of use gradually and not been destroyed. It is unpublished.

163. Skias, loc. cit. (note 145). Roman milestones are usually cylindrical: for instance, the splendid example at Epitalion, dating from the reign of Trajan (BCH 94 [1970], p. 996 and Baladie, pl. XLIV-I). There are also rectangular boundary stones marking the route from Athens to Eleusis, and herms set up every Roman mile giving the distance from Athens, dating from the mid-2nd century (J. Travlos, op. cit. [Ch. I, n. 127], pp. 299-230 and figs. 412-414). The distance from Lechaeum to Corinth was sufficiently important to have been recorded on the Peutinger Table, which was probably derived ultimately from the map of M. Agrippa erected in the Porticus Vipsania in Rome. Whether the base was that of a milestone or boundary marker, its existence implies that this was an important road.
164. Strabo VIII, 6, 22: οἱ τῆς ὅδου τῆς ἑπὶ τὸ ἱπποτικόν. See note 116. The more westerly of the roads described by Skias is just to the west of the modern (1960s) main road from Lechaeum to Corinth.

165. See note 113. According to Strabo there were very few houses there, but the indications are that it increased considerably in importance in later times. The Lechaeum Basilica is not only the biggest in Greece, but larger even than St. Peter's in Rome.

166. Pausanias II, 3, 4.

167. Corinth IX, p. 114, no. 241. Nos. 238 and 239 were also found in the same area as was the large sarcophagus decorated with garlands and erotes excavated by the Greek Service (AD 24 [1969], Chr., p. 102) and now in the Museum courtyard.

168. The basilica was excavated by E. Stikas and is often referred to as the Stikas Basilica. See BCH 86 (1962), pp. 695-704 and 87 (1963), pp. 728-736; Wiseman, LAC, p. 85-86; D. Pallas op. cit. (note 71), pp. 156-163.

169. The best known example must be St. Peter's in Rome. The original second century aedicula, which may or may not have been the burial place of the Apostle Peter, was the focal point of the Constantinian basilica, as it is of the present building.

170. Field Notebook 273, pp. 32-53. A plaque of green schist (I 2615) with a Christian inscription may be from Chamber Tomb II or from another tomb nearby. The earlier tombs were almost certainly re-used for Christian burials at a later date.

171. Pr. w. of slab 0.122 m., pr. ht. 0.65 m., th. 0.22 m. Two bundles of fasces on right side of slab, pr. ht. 0.62 m., broken at bottom of slab, inclined slightly to the left. For the tomb of Cartilius Poplicola, see M. F. Squarciapino et al., Scavi di Ostia III, Le Necropoli, I, Roma 1955, pp. 191-193 and Pl. XXVIII. Such decoration would imply that the occupant of the tomb had held public office, probably as a duovir, and was therefore
entitled to display the symbols of office on his tomb.

172. For instance, the road which runs behind the South Stoa bears south and gradually climbs to the head of the North Ravine, where it meets the road running straight from the Cenchreae Gate, because this is the only convenient place to cross the ravine. Beyond is the Phliasian Gate, and there was probably considerable traffic from the city centre along this road to Cleonae and Argos.

173. There were, of course, shops along the Lechaeum Road and in the forum. Goods could be carried by porters or pack animals, but the steepness of Lechaeum Road, together with the fact that it was stepped at intervals and totally without wheel-ruts, makes me doubt that it had much heavy, commercial traffic. This raises the question of how goods were delivered to the market north of the Archaic Temple. There is no clear answer. See also, Corinth I, 3, pp. 192-193.


175. See Ch. II, p. 97 and n. 72, for extent of built-up area of other cities.

176. Wiseman, LAC, passim.
In the preceding chapters I have been largely concerned with the physical aspects of Corinth, but underlying the discussion there has been an attempt to define more precisely than has been done hitherto the character of the city, and to see to what extent the picture which emerges conforms with, or differs from, the conventional view. In conclusion, I propose to consider, briefly, some other aspects of Corinth's development in the 1st and 2nd centuries, as well as the city's position within the province. Such remarks should, however, be regarded as preliminary observations on which a more detailed examination may eventually be based.

The most important point has been made already: namely, that in terms of urban planning, political institutions, coinage, the use of Latin as the language of administration, and in its official cults, Corinth was a Roman city. It is a commonplace among modern scholars, of whom J. H. Oliver may be taken as representative, to regard this as little more than a veneer of Romanization and to conclude that the Roman colony was simply a refoundation of Greek Corinth, which, as soon as it had regained a measure of prosperity, became once more an integral part of the Greek rather than the Roman world. Oliver based this conclusion partly on Kent's observation that, after the time of Hadrian, Greek rather than Latin tended to be used in official and semi-official contexts at Corinth, and also on the fact that Corinth participated in the Panhellenion set up by Hadrian. Oliver's opinion was also influenced, I believe, by the emphasis which is placed upon Athens in any study of Roman Greece. Corinth's place in the cultural milieu of the late 1st, and particularly the 2nd, centuries is something to which I shall
return, but first it is important to consider Corinth in relation to the province as a whole, and also the basis of her prosperity.

This is not the place to discuss in detail the economic conditions of Greece in the 1st and 2nd centuries, but both Larsen and Day have questioned the universally gloomy picture of the province painted by Dio Chrysostom, Pausanias, and, to a lesser extent, Plutarch. More recently, Millar has used The Golden Ass to provide a vivid commentary on social and economic conditions in the 2nd century. What does emerge from these discussions is that there were great extremes of poverty and wealth in the country, and that Corinth was one of the few wealthy cities of the province, to be classed with Athens, Patrae, and Sparta. The prosperity of Athens, however, owed much to its reputation as an ancient centre of learning, and to a series of imperial donations. In contrast, the other cities appear to have been self-supporting, relying on their own resources.

It is not easy to define the basis of Corinth's prosperity, beyond the obvious and much quoted comment that the city was an important trading centre. This was stated first by Strabo, who attributed Corinth's wealth to its position on the Isthmus and the two harbours of Lechaeum and Cenchreae. The latest reference is in the Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium, a later Latin translation of a Greek original dated to ca. 359/60, in which the writer describes Corinth as civitatem multum in negotio (vigentem). At the present time more is known about Corinth's trading links with the rest of the Mediterranean in the archaic and classical periods than under the Empire. Much of the information comes from detailed pottery studies. Similar work is now being done on material of the Roman period. For example, K. Slane's research on the early Roman terra sigillata found at Corinth has shown that large quantities, mainly from Arezzo, were imported from the Augustan period until the second half of the 1st century, which
suggests that a close connection was maintained between Corinth and Italy. Although other western imports are present in quantity until the first half of the 2nd century, a wide variety of eastern sigillata, together with a small quantity of Gaulish and North African ware, is also imported during the latter part of the 1st century, and the eastern wares predominate until the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries; then, as elsewhere, they are superseded by local products. Although similar research is only just beginning at sites elsewhere in Greece, Slane points out that the picture at Corinth is at variance with that, for example, at Athens, Isthmia and Cenchreae, where there are substantially smaller proportions of Arretine and it is largely Tiberian/Claudian in date. The evidence does suggest that Corinth maintained closer ties with Italy and Rome, than did some other centres. (The situation at Patrae and Nicopolis is unknown.) Also, the variety and origin of the imports is consonant with the city having far-reaching commercial contacts in the East from an early date. The limited evidence does not, however, provide any support for the assertion of Broneer that Corinth played a leading role in the distribution of goods imported from Italy into Achaia. On the contrary, Slane's work suggests that, in the early 1st century at least, Corinth was not a nexus of Achaian trade, but that its importance lay in the fact that it provided a link between east and west across the northern Mediterranean, from Syria, southwest Asia Minor and adjacent islands to Corinth, and with Sicily and southern Italy, Etruria and especially Rome. In this context, Nero's encouragement of the cutting of a canal across the Isthmus makes good commercial sense.

Research into pottery of the 4th century and later also provides evidence for connections between Corinth and the Syro-Palestinian area and Egypt. Large quantities of Gaza amphorae, which were used for good quality
wine, as well as bag-shaped Palestinian amphorae, in which a variety of commodities were transported, have been found. Specialized domestic cooking vessels and pilgrim flasks found in the same deposits should probably be associated with the Jewish and Christian communities at Corinth. The city is known to have had a flourishing Jewish community from an early date, which was probably augmented by the addition of Jewish slaves who had been sent by Vespasian in 67 to work on the cutting of the canal. It is to be hoped that future work of this kind will clarify further Corinth's overseas connections, which are, in general, known only from unspecific and often rhetorical descriptions, such as that of Aelianus Aristides in his Isthmian Oration, where he refers to all the products of land and sea coming to Corinth, or from passing references, such as that of Dio Chrysostom that in his day only one or two Rhodian ships called at Corinth during the year.

Little is known about the production of manufactured goods at Corinth, with the exception of the lamp industry. For some reason, in the late 1st or early 2nd century, Corinth stopped importing lamps or copying those produced elsewhere and developed its own types, which were of exceptionally fine quality and design. Broneer suggested that the new shops could have been started by immigrant freedmen from Italy, and this may well have been so, given that Corinth was by this time a flourishing and expanding city. The lamps have been found all over Greece and also distributed widely in the Mediterranean from the Crimea to Alexandria, and from Ephesus to Italy, although they have been found only in the small quantities appropriate for a fine, quality product. The production of these lamps tails off in the mid-2nd century and is superseded by that of Athens. The reasons for the emergence and cessation of the industry are by no means clear. It is also curious that Roman Corinth did not have, at any time, an export trade in pottery. Nor is it known where the lamps were produced, except that the
sites of manufacture were different from those of earlier periods. They may well have been located in a number of places removed from the urban centre.\textsuperscript{15}

Ceramic material has survived in large quantities and can be studied, but the same cannot be said of bronzeware, the other craft for which Corinth was traditionally famous. It is clear that much of the trade was in antiques - either genuine or reproductions - but the implication of passing remarks by Plutarch and Pausanias is that bronze goods were also produced in the Roman period. Possibly the bronze workshop excavated to the south of the Asclepieium can be associated with this trade, but we know nothing more about it.\textsuperscript{16}

The epigraphic information which is available for urban sites elsewhere, for example, regulations for commercial activities, and mention of guilds or individual occupations, is conspicuously lacking at Corinth. This could be because the main commercial area of Corinth has not yet been excavated, but it may also be a characteristic of Corinth. The absence of funerary inscriptions is particularly surprising in view of the large burial areas which have been excavated, and which contain a substantial number of chamber tombs and simpler burial places.\textsuperscript{17}

As Finley has pointed out, there is no instance of a city in the ancient world becoming wealthy on the basis of its manufactured products.\textsuperscript{18} I doubt, in fact, whether Corinth's prosperity depended at all on the export of her manufactured goods, or raw materials. The extent to which the city can be regarded as a centre for trade in eastern Achaia, as G. Bowersock, for example, suggests, should also be qualified.\textsuperscript{19} Corinth certainly imported marble from Attica, Laconia and other places in Greece, but one wonders with whom and in what Corinth would have been trading extensively within the province. No doubt, the small, wealthy, upper class in other
cities did provide a limited market for luxury goods, which would have come into the ports of Corinth, but such trade must have been fairly limited. On the other hand, it would have been inevitable that, as Corinth increased in size and prosperity, it attracted people looking for work, both those in the Corinthia and possibly others from places further afield. There is good evidence, for example, for the presence of skilled craftsmen from Athens at Corinth. Service industries probably provided employment for a great many people. Corinth was also dependent for food on her rural hinterland, and the existence of a large market would, no doubt, have stimulated crop production, both necessities such as grain and also other agricultural items. In this respect the city must have acted as a focus and stimulus for the surrounding area, but probably only to a limited extent. It is an axiom of the ancient economy that land was the main form of investment and that most of the land was held and farmed by the wealthy. Nor, in antiquity, did the countryside provide the external markets which encouraged the commercial development of, for example, the cities of mediaeval Europe. 20

It is very likely that the city was self-supporting in terms of basic needs such as grain, which would have been an immense advantage in the ancient world. The occasional appointment of a curator annonae does not invalidate this assumption. I would regard such an appointment as a response to a bad harvest and a desire on the part of the city authorities to ensure that grain was available at a reasonable price. 21 A curator annonae is appointed for the first time, as far as we know, in the middle of the 1st century, and this may be an indication that the city population was beginning to outgrow the city's resources, especially if the harvest had been poor; also that a significant number of people in the city no longer had their own plot of land in the surrounding area. This is only
speculation, however, and there are no reliable data on which to base a
detailed estimate of Corinth's population at this or any other time. 22

With regard to other basic needs, pottery for everyday use was
certainly made locally, and, although there is no actual proof, it is likely
that Corinth had its own cloth industry. 23 Much of the higher land in the
Corinthia is very suitable for grazing sheep, as the large flocks to be seen
there today indicate, and it was customary for ordinary cloth be made
locally if possible. I suspect that much of this small-scale production
took place in settlements throughout the Corinthia rather than in Corinth
itself. Evidence of such habitation has been observed by Wiseman. It is
also worth noting, although allowance must be made for the rhetorical
context, Aristides' description of Corinth as stretching from sea to sea
with its inhabitants closely settled, not scattered here and there. He is
obviously not referring to the urban centre, but to the density of the
general population. 24

It is evident that the main source of Corinth's wealth lay elsewhere
than in its ability to produce manufactured goods or export raw materials.
The ancient sources indicate that trade was all-important, and a remark by
Plutarch suggests that Corinth was one of the main banking centres of the
province, together with Athens and Patrae. 25 It must be assumed that
Corinth's prosperity rested on an invisible trade in usury and bottomry, and
on its function as an entrepôt between east and west. Corinth was one of
the few places in the ancient world where wealthy men had an alternative to
investing in land, if they so wished, and it is reasonable to think that
many of them traded and invested, directly or indirectly, in the cargoes
which were continually passing through Corinthian territory.

Corinth itself paid taxes, probably both the tributum soli and the
tributum capitis, until it was given immunity by Hadrian. It can also be
assumed that its officials were responsible for tax collection in the whole area, including, presumably, the harbour dues, which were levied universally by the imperial government. Strabo also refers to Corinth imposing its own taxes on goods passing through Corinthian territory, to or from the Peloponnese, which would be in accord with normal practice. Strabo also refers to Corinth imposing its own taxes on goods passing through Corinthian territory, to or from the Peloponnese, which would be in accord with normal practice. It is not known whether the central government, at any time, imposed a tax on the use of the diolkos, but I am inclined to think, since it was entirely within Corinthian territory, that Corinth was responsible for its upkeep and entitled to the dues for its use. The revenue from such sources must have been substantial and it would have been an important, regular contribution to the city's finances.

Prosperity is, to some extent, self-generating. Whether or not Corinth was the capital of Achaia for the whole of its existence, it was certainly an important assize centre. G. P. Burton has discussed the assize system in general and concludes that it was common to all pronconsular provinces, although direct imperial testimony is lacking for Achaia. It is clear from the evidence he cites that there were special privileges and considerable economic benefits to be gained from such status. Assizes seem to have been held once a year but, if Corinth was also the main seat of the provincial governor, then presumably legal business would have drawn large numbers of people at other times of the year too.

There is no reason to doubt that, as soon as Corinth had acquired a certain prosperity, and was again in control of the festivals at Isthmia, the city became, once more, an entertainment and tourist centre, not just in the province, but drawing visitors from a much wider area. H. J. Mason paints an unnecessarily lurid picture of Corinth as a centre of sexual licence and depravity in his discussion as to why Apuleius chose Corinth as the setting for the finale of The Golden Ass, but his basic argument, that
Corinth was known for its wealth, extravagance and sexual licence, is probably correct. The same could be said of many great cities both in antiquity and today.

In one respect, however, Mason does misinterpret the evidence, and he is not alone in doing so. He says, (p. 162) "Within Greece, its (Corinth's) special connections with the arena made it a symbol of cruelty and inhumanity. Gladiatorial contests first came to Greece with the colonists at Corinth." L. Robert pointed out a long time ago that gladiatorial contest and blood-sports rapidly became popular all over the East as soon as they were introduced by the Romans. Dio Chrysostom and Philostratus may have deplored such forms of entertainment, particularly when they took place in the ancient theatre of Dionysus at Athens, but they seem, from the evidence collected by Robert, to have been in a minority. The existence of an amphitheatre or other special provision for such spectacles should not be taken as evidence that the population was of Italian origin, but that the city in question was prosperous enough to be able to afford such entertainment and amenities. Although there is no definite evidence as to the date of the amphitheatre, it does seem very likely that Apuleius based his description on personal observation, and that the amphitheatre was built at some time after Dio Chrysostom's visit to Corinth, in the first half of the 2nd century.

Aristides, writing in the latter half of the 2nd century, makes much the same point as Mason, though rather more delicately, describing Corinth as a daily festival, having within it all the magic of Aphrodite, floating in a sea of blessings and, like a merchantman, filled with the good things of life. He also emphasizes that it is the common meeting-place not only of the Greeks, but of all travellers as well, and has gymnasia, schools, stoas and centres for study. Even when one has taken into account the
inevitable hyperbole, it is a picture of a thoroughly cosmopolitan city, a
centre of culture as well as tourism and commerce. Favorinus was a familiar
figure at Corinth, and also referred to it as the περιποίησις of Hellas; Galen
is known to have studied there; and a statue was erected in honour of Arrian
by the Gellii, a well-known Corinthian family, to one of whom Arrian
dedicated his Discourses of Epictetus. 32

The cosmopolitan character of Corinth may also be reflected in the
variety of cults to be found in the city, although the range known to have
existed in the 2nd century is not so very different from that in other
cities, especially those with a large maritime trade. It may simply reflect
the general attraction exerted by oriental cults in the early Empire. The
evidence collected by D. E. Smith does suggest, however, that Serapis and
Isis were especially popular among the Corinthians. 33 This would accord
with Corinth's known trade connections with Egypt and with the fact that
Isis Pelagia, one of the epithets under which the goddess was worshipped at
Corinth, would have had special significance in a maritime city.

From such literary references as those quoted above, it is clear that
by the 2nd century Corinth was a very prosperous city. Because of the
paucity of the literary and epigraphic evidence, the excavated remains are
often used as evidence that Corinth was flourishing from a very early date,
an impression that is also given by Strabo. While this may well be true,
some caution is advisable. It was inevitable, indeed necessary for its
self-esteem, that a Roman foundation should acquire as rapidly as possibly
the uniform of public buildings and social amenities that would characterise
it as a city. I have myself used this very fact to suggest that the
construction of buildings in the forum began at a date earlier than that
which is usually assigned to them. On the other hand, it should be borne in
mind that, on the whole, the early buildings at Corinth do not rival in
materials or workmanship those of other cities of comparable reputation. Also, R. MacMullen has produced an interesting theory that investment in public building may not be so significant an indicator of the wealth of the city as a whole as has usually been assumed.\textsuperscript{34} Bearing this in mind, and considering the other known circumstances of Corinth's history, I would suggest that, although Corinth, in the early part of the 1st century, was certainly thriving, particularly in contrast with the rest of Achaia, it was not until the latter part of the century that the city approached the level of prosperity for which it became known universally in the 2nd century and later. This would coincide with such building developments as the construction of the small theatre known as the "Bouleuterion" and the odeum, while the construction of large bath buildings, which would probably have included other amenities such as libraries and gymnasia, together with the extension of resorts such as Lerna, took place in the 2nd century.

As I have said already, the position of Corinth within the province is not entirely clear. It is almost always stated unequivocally that the city was the residence of the provincial governor and therefore the "capital" of Achaia, but there is no incontrovertible literary or epigraphic evidence to confirm that this was so, particularly in the late 1st century BC and the early 1st century.\textsuperscript{35} The appearance of Paul before the governor in Corinth is not relevant since Corinth would certainly have been an assize centre. Malalas, writing at a much later date, refers to Corinth in the time of Vespasian as the metropolis of Greece; Apuleius says the city is caput totius Achaiae provinciae; and Aristides declares that it βραβεύει τὰ δίκαια τοῖς Ἕλληνσι.\textsuperscript{36} None of these references is conclusive. There are plenty of examples in the modern world of the official capital of a country not being the best known city: Canberra is not as well-known as Sydney or Melbourne in Australia, Toronto and Montreal are more important than Ottawa.
in Canada, while New York, not Washington, is the undoubted financial capital of the United States.

At the time of Corinth's foundation Achaia was not formally a province. It is likely that during the years when the country was under the control of Antony Corinth was the main administrative centre, at least in the Peloponnese. I deduce this from the fact that Theophilus, an early duovir at Corinth is described as Antony's διοικητής at the time of the battle of Actium. This is usually translated as "steward", but it is also the Greek translation of procurator. Theophilus was probably responsible for the collection of revenue and exactions made from cities, whether they were free or not. After Actium it seems possible that Augustus did some re-organization at Corinth, to judge by the names of the tribes there. However, in the course of his general re-organization of the affairs of the Greeks, Augustus also made Patrae a Roman colony, providing it with an enormous territory and a large population. Bowersock has suggested that Patrae was Augustus' answer to Corinth, and that it was intended as a commercial rival and a centre of Roman influence in the Peloponnese. I wonder whether it was not, too, intended to be the capital of the new province. Much less has been excavated in and is known about Patrae than Corinth, but it was clearly a very wealthy city and could be ranked commercially with both Athens and Corinth later on. There is no evidence at all that the governor was permanently resident at Corinth or at Patrae. The one specific statement as to the governor's place of residence in Achaia is that of Pausanias who says that in his time the Leonidaeum at Olympia was the residence of the Roman governors of the province. There is no suggestion that this was only during the period of the Games. Olympia would have been a convenient base for an annually appointed magistrate sent from Italy, when he was not on circuit and staying with local dignitaries.
It is possible that Patrae was originally the "capital" of the province and that at a later date, perhaps when Vespasian made various changes in the province, consequent on his rescinding Nero's grant of freedom, Corinth attained this status instead. This would be compatible with the extension of public offices and storage space provided by the building of the South Basilica in the late 1st century. The matter is only worth raising because it is so often asserted categorically that Corinth was the residence of the governor, and the capital of the province, whereas the evidence, though suggestive, is by no means conclusive.

The organisation of Achaia as a province was unusual because of the number of free cities which it included and because of the existence of various Leagues, some of which dated from the Republic, but whose continued or renewed existence was encouraged by Augustus and his successors. There is no evidence that Corinth belonged to the Achaean League when it was joined in a larger union with several communities of central Greece towards the end of the reign of Tiberius. Oliver was of the opinion that Corinth never belonged to the League, but an inscription found at Corinth and erected in honour of Hadrian by Ὀλίβριος Κόρινθου indicates that Corinth did join at a later date, and other epigraphic evidence suggests that Corinth may have been a member as early as the reign of Nero; it is also clear that Corinth belonged to the Attic Panhellenion, which was founded by Hadrian.

Oliver links the admission of Corinth to the Panhellenion with a change in the official language of the city from Latin to Greek. He thinks this was so important a change that it must have had imperial approval, and that it signified the re-admission of Corinth into the Greek world to which, by virtue of its glorious past, the city was entitled to belong. To my mind this misrepresents the situation, and the fact that it should have been said by so influential a scholar as Oliver means that his conclusion should be
examined more closely. Oliver is perpetuating the view, long-held, that the foundation of Corinth as a Roman colony was simply an unfortunate interlude in the long history of a great Greek city, which was anxious to forget its embarrassing Roman origins in recovering its true Greek identity.

Oliver based his opinion that there was a major change in Corinth's status partly on Kent's observation with regard to the inscriptions found at Corinth, the number of which, he suggested, indicates that Greek rather than Latin became the preferred language for official and semi-public documents during and after the time of Hadrian. Kent himself, however, was cautious in his interpretation of the evidence, pointing out that there may have been several reasons for such a change, and that further work was required to prove his hypothesis. To his remarks I would also add that the number of fragments involved is small, with the bulk of them dating to the pre-Hadrianic period. I also doubt whether funerary inscriptions should be included at all in such an analysis. This is not to dispute Kent's basic conclusion; indeed, my own work on the inscriptions, which includes those found after his publication, confirms that there was certainly a change in the choice of language. However, the evidence now suggests that the change comes somewhat earlier than the reign of Hadrian, towards the end of the 1st century, and should, I think, be attributed to reasons other than those advanced by Oliver. Oliver also appears to have overlooked the fact that the legends on the coins issued by the Corinthian mint remain exclusively Latin until production ceases in the 3rd century.

There is a simple explanation for the gradual change of language at Corinth. The city was very much a part of the eastern Roman Empire, where Greek was the normal choice of language, and it must always have had a large Greek-speaking population. More important, the late 1st century also saw the beginning of that conscious archaizing in the Graeco-Roman world which
is known as the Second Sophistic. By this time Corinth was not only an important commercial and tourist centre, but it was also becoming a city of some importance culturally. There is a tendency to overlook this aspect of Corinth, partly because the literary evidence is sparse, but also because the primacy of Athens as an intellectual centre is beyond dispute. As a result, the participation of other cities in Greece, such as Corinth and Sparta, in the cultural life of the province has been disregarded. Both the language and the wider ramifications of the Second Sophistic have been discussed at some length by E. L. Bowie. Given this general climate, which was particularly prevalent among the upper, ruling class, a preference for the use of Greek rather than Latin can be seen as quite natural. At Corinth it simply indicates that the city was, socially and culturally, part of the province and of the Greek East - a situation neatly summed up by Favorinus' snug pronouncement, in the reign of Hadrian, that he, a Roman citizen, had become as thoroughly hellenized as the Corinthians themselves.

In the general atmosphere of the 2nd century, there is no particular significance in the fact that Corinth joined the Panhellenion. It is true that the Panhellenion was made up of Greek cities or, to be more precise, of cities which could claim Greek ancestry, if only by reference to myth and legend. No doubt the Corinthians traded on recollections of a glorious, and distant, past, just as other communities did. To assume, however, that this meant that Corinth had become a Greek rather than a Roman city is to push the evidence too far, and also to ignore a hundred and fifty years of recent Corinthian history. The spirit of archaism, which gave rise to the Panhellenion, was an important feature of Graeco-Roman civilisation, affecting not only local city politics, but also the relationship between individual cities and Rome itself, but it cannot be dealt with in the
present discussion. It is worth remarking, however, that most of the Greeks who held high office in the Panhellenion were Roman citizens and prominent in the Roman administration as well as in the social life of the province. One of the earliest archons was Cn.Cornelius Pulcher, who was a prominent public figure at Corinth, as well as the holder of several imperial posts; and, in the reign of Antoninus, A. Maecius Faustinus, a native Corinthian, was archon of the Panhellenion.47

By the 2nd century the Corinthian upper class had become part of that network of wealthy families, often of Greek origin, but with Roman citizenship and frequently connected with the imperial administration, which controlled the cities of Greece and Asia Minor. A. J. Spawforth has shown, for example, the links which existed between the Euryclids of Sparta, who were closely associated with Corinth, and the dynasty of Commagene; and that the cousinhood which embraced Anatolia and the Roman near East included Achaia as well.48 The Vibullii of Corinth were also linked with those of Athens. Herodes Atticus' family had connections with Corinth over three generations, and it could well be that part of his family's great fortune came from banking and trading interests there.49 It is not possible here to explore the links between Corinth and other cities of the East, nor the extent to which members of leading Corinthian families were drawn into the imperial administration. It is clear, however, that by the 2nd century, and very probably earlier, Corinth had been fully integrated into that Greek world not because, as Oliver put it, the city was a continuation of the ancient Greek city, but in recognition of its status as a wealthy Graeco-Roman city.

It is unlikely that the history of Corinth will ever be as well-known as that of Athens or some other cities of the Roman Empire. What has become clear, however, is that not only was Corinth founded as a Roman colony, but
that it remained essentially Roman throughout the period under discussion. The fact that Corinth shared in the so-called Greek renaissance is simply an indication that it was part of that peculiarly Roman world, the union of West and East, which had begun under the Republic, which was encouraged by Augustus and his successors, and which gradually evolved into the Graeco-Roman empire of the 2nd century.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 6


5. Strabo VIII, 6, 20.


8. K. Slane Wright, *Early Roman Terra Sigillata and its Local Imitations*, unpub. Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr, 1977. A number of deposits of earlier date than those studied in this work have been excavated subsequently, but K. Slane tells me that her basic ideas and conclusions have not changed.


12. Aristides, Or. XLVI (Dindorf III), 22-24; Dio Chrysostom, Or. XXXI, 103. For personal connections between the cities of Myra, Patara and Telmessos, who, together with the koinon of the Lycians, honoured Iounia Theodora, a Roman living at Corinth, see inscriptions discussed in BCH 83 (1959), pp. 496-508. The exiles appear to have been welcomed by Iounia Theodora, probably before 43. There may well have also been trading connections in existence between the Lycian cities and Corinth.

13. Corinth IV, 2, pp. 96-98.

14. H. Williams, op. cit (Ch. V, n. 159), pp. 40 and 90-91.

15. Such Greek sites as have been excavated show no signs of Roman activity. The clays used came from the immediate environs of the city, the slopes of Acrocorinth, and the plain below (see M. Farnsworth, AJA 74 [1970], pp. 9-20). Clays used in the Roman period are quite different and are to be found all over the Corinthia (information from I. Whitbread).

16. Plutarch, Mor. 395, C-D; Pausanias II, 3, 3. Obviously bronze was not tempered in the 2nd century fountain-house of Peirene, but Pausanias does use the present tense and the same water supply could have been used some distance away. Both foundry and casting pit have been dated to the 1st century.

17. A substantial number of funerary inscriptions mentioning occupations has been found near the Fountain of the Lamps, but they are very late and Christian. IG IV 375 (marble-workers) and 154 (driver) are also late 4th century.

18. M. Finley, op. cit. (Ch. III, n. 122), pp. 122-149, esp. 134-139.


21. On fluctuations in cereal harvests in modern as well as ancient times, and problems of distribution, see Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

22. For a rough estimate of the number of people who could be supported on the land, see pp. 46-47. On the size of ancient cities, see R. Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 259-289, who reviews the evidence; see also Hopkins' reservations (op. cit., p. 38, n. 9 and p. 69, n. 72).

23. On the local production of cloth, see A. H. M. Jones, The Ancient Economy, ed., P. A. Brunt, Oxford, 1974; also W. A. Moeller, op. cit. (Ch. III, n. 120).


25. Plutarch, Mor. 831.


30. Dio Chrysostom XXXI, 121; Philostratus, Vit. Apoll. IV, 22.

32. Favorinus, (Dio Chrysostom) XXXVII 7; Galen II, 660; Arrian, Corinth VIII, 3, 124, recognized by G. W. Bowersock (GRBS 8 (1967), pp. 279-280) as referring to the historian; for connections with the Gellii, see J. H. Oliver, GRBS 11 (1970), pp. 335-338.


37. On the status of Achaia, see Larsen, pp. 306-311.


40. Pausanias V, 15, 2.


42. Corinth VIII, 3, no. 102. If Corinth VIII, 3, no. 99 is restored correctly, it also refers to a statue set up to Trajan by the Achaean League. Corinth VIII, 2, no. 68 honours C. Iulius Spartiaticus, archiereus...
of the imperial cult of the Achaean League (see also IG III, 805) during the reign of Nero. A. J. Spawforth (Studies in the History of Roman Sparta, unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Birmingham, 1981, pp. 15-16) thinks that Spartiaticus held this office by virtue of his Corinthian citizenship, since it is highly improbable that Sparta was a member of the Achaean League, and offers other presumptive evidence to the effect that Corinth was a member of the league. Evidence for Corinth's membership of the Panhellenion, see Corinth VIII, 3, nos. 139 and 264, and Oliver, op. cit. (note 1); also note 47.

43. See notes 1 and 2.

44. The participation of Roman Sparta in the cultural life of the 2nd century is, however, the subject of A. J. Spawforth's thesis (see note 42).


46. Dio Chrysostom, Or. XXXVII, 26.

47. On the Panhellenion and its membership, see, most recently, A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, op. cit. (Ch. III, note 198).


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Note: A large volume of material has been published on Corinth in general as well as in areas relating to some of the problems discussed in this thesis. The following list contains only the more important books and articles cited in the foregoing pages. It includes recent works giving earlier bibliography. Details of earlier publications are also given in the final reports of the Corinth excavations and, as appropriate, in the annual reports published in Hesperia. Ancient sources are cited from the standard editions which are not, therefore, included in this bibliography.


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