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**The Hellenistic Pottery from the Panayia Field, Corinth: Studies in Chronology and Context**

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**The Hellenistic Pottery from the Panayia Field, Corinth: Studies in  
Chronology and Context**

**by**

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## **Dedication**

For my mother.

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# **The Hellenistic Pottery from the Panayia Field, Corinth: Studies in Chronology and Context**

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The new chronology of Corinthian fine ware presented in this dissertation is based on pottery from the recently discovered Hellenistic deposits (dated from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.) in the Panayia Field. This new Panayia Field chronology was created by first quantifying the pottery in each deposit and then seriating the deposits in order to plot the initial production and use-life of individual ceramic shapes. The results substantially revise the previous chronology of Corinthian Hellenistic pottery published in *Corinth* VII.3, which has long been acknowledged as problematic by scholars of the period. One key aspect in which the Panayia Field chronology differs from its predecessor is in the recognition that pottery production resumed in Corinth after the sack of the city in 146 B.C. The evidence for a post-146 B.C. or interim period ceramic industry and its products are discussed in detail.

Using the new Panayia Field chronology, the South Stoa and numerous previously excavated deposits at Corinth are re-assessed. Arguably, the most important Hellenistic structure in Corinth, the South Stoa, now appears to have been begun in the 290s rather than the 330s B.C. Attempts are also made to address the cultural and economic history of Hellenistic Corinth for the first time. For instance, the adoption of certain shapes into the local ceramic assemblage illustrates the influence of the Hellenistic koine on Corinthian culture. At the local level, the continued production of ceramic kraters in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and their findspots seem to suggest that metal vessels were more commonly used in public spaces. In terms of trade, the data on imported fine ware and amphoras from more than 60 deposits clearly demonstrate the flow of goods through the city and Corinth's role in the trade networks of the Hellenistic period. This analysis reveals a strong connection to Athens during the Macedonian occupation, increasing contact with Italy and the Aegean beginning in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and the continuity of Corinth's economic contacts into the interim period.



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## Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

Throughout much of its history, Corinth has been a prominent city in the Mediterranean because of its geographical location on a nodal point in land and sea communications. Although the literary and archaeological evidence for most pre-Roman periods in Corinth is slight, the virtual silence of the archaeological record for the Hellenistic period has been deafening.<sup>1</sup> Given the important role that Corinth had in the political, military and economic networks of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., this lacuna was particularly unsatisfactory.

A potential corrective to this situation was recently discovered to the southeast of the Forum in an area known as the Panayia Field. The Panayia Field contained six large Hellenistic deposits that are unique in Corinth because they are both chronologically discrete and contain a very wide range of fine ware shapes. These characteristics meant that these deposits could be quantified and the data used to re-assess the absolute chronology of Corinthian Hellenistic pottery published by G. Roger Edwards in 1975.<sup>2</sup> As this research progressed, it quickly became clear that Edwards' chronology of Hellenistic pottery required substantial revision. The present study has focused on fine ware and the subsequent re-assessment of material resulted in the development of the new Panayia Field chronology.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> One of the main reasons for this is the Roman rebuilding of the city that occurred after 44 B.C. During this time, many earlier structures were razed to their foundations and associated material re-deposited to make room for the new colony.

<sup>2</sup> *Corinth* VII.3. Indications of significant problems with Edwards' chronology had been apparent for many years but no large-scale revisions were made due to the lack of clean deposits, see also below.

<sup>3</sup> This work is presented and discussed in Chapters 2-5. For a summary of the chronological revisions, see Appendix III.

The aims of the present chapter are twofold: the first is to contextualize this research within Corinth, and the second is to explain how it was accomplished. In order to provide a framework for the Panayia Field chronology, in terms of its historical and scholarly context, a brief historical outline is given and previous scholarship on Corinthian Hellenistic pottery is discussed. The archaeology of the Panayia Field is also described with a focus on the Hellenistic period. Lastly, a discussion of the methodology and mechanics used to create the Panayia Field chronology is presented. This final section is important because the process of quantification and seriation is not often used in Greek archaeology, but is particularly well suited to the present data set.

### **HELLENISTIC CORINTH**

From a historical perspective, the Hellenistic period was a turbulent time for Corinth. The first Macedonian garrison was installed on Acrocorinth in 338/7 B.C. by Philip II when he established the League of Corinth as a way to safeguard his interests in Greece. Upon the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., Corinth became embroiled in the wars of his successors as rival factions took control of the city for brief periods until the ultimate success of Demetrios Poliorcetes in 297/6 B.C.<sup>4</sup> For more than 50 years (297/6-243 B.C.), a large garrison was stationed on Acrocorinth and the city was controlled by a Macedonian governor. This was, however, a period of relative stability for Corinth until the capture of Acrocorinth by Aratos and the Achaean League in 243 B.C.

Once the Macedonians were expelled in 243 B.C., Corinth became a member of the Achaean League for the first time and a League garrison was installed on Acrocorinth. In 224 B.C., Antigonus Doson succeeded in gaining control of Corinth,

ushering in a second period of Macedonian influence until the defeat of Philip V by Rome in the Second Macedonian War (200-197 B.C.). After 196 B.C., Corinth was a member of the Achaean League for the second time and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. was a prosperous period for the city. By 147 B.C., relations between Rome and the Achaean League had soured. This conflict culminated in the attack on Corinth by the general Roman Mummius and his troops in the autumn of 146 B.C. While this act marked the official end of Corinth as a political entity, it did not result in the abandonment of the site and life continued (albeit on a limited scale) through to the foundation of the Caesarian colony in 44 B.C.

#### **HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP ON HELLENISTIC CORINTH**

Although much has been written on the history of Corinth, the Hellenistic period has been largely ignored from a scholarly perspective. The two major works on the pre-Roman history of the city are by O'Neill and Salmon and stop with the end of the Peloponnesian War and with the League of Corinth in 338 B.C., respectively.<sup>5</sup> The period of the Diadochoi and Corinth's involvement in the wars of the successors (323-301 B.C.) has been discussed using ancient literary sources by Michael Dixon in a recent article.<sup>6</sup> While James Wiseman and Elizabeth Gebhard have both dealt with Corinth's relations with Rome and the problem of the interim period (146-44 B.C.), their studies do not

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<sup>4</sup> In the 25 years (323-297/6 B.C.) prior to his ultimate success, Corinth had changed hands seven times.

<sup>5</sup> O'Neill 1930; Salmon 1984.

<sup>6</sup> Dixon 2007.



begin until the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.<sup>7</sup> These works therefore have left notable lacunae in scholarship, including the period from 338-324 B.C. and much of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (300-229 B.C.).<sup>8</sup> In sum, aside from surprisingly brief mentions in works dealing with other subjects, such as the Achaean League, there has been very little written on the history and archaeology of Hellenistic Corinth.

The reasons for this neglect are immediately apparent in view of the paucity of literary sources that deal with city in this period and the general lack of archaeological evidence before the Panayia Field excavations. Even in the later Hellenistic period, once Corinth becomes involved with Rome, our best sources are Polybius and Livy, who view Corinth from an outsider's perspective.<sup>9</sup> Overall, the dearth of direct ancient accounts by necessity compels us to turn to archaeological evidence for insights into the Hellenistic period.

Before the discovery of the Panayia Field deposits, however, it was generally believed that any previously excavated Hellenistic deposits were mixed and therefore it was impossible to use them to discuss specific periods of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>10</sup> This frustrating situation was accurately described by Pemberton in 1989 as follows:

“There are in ancient Corinth as yet virtually no limited sealed deposits of the Hellenistic period. All the South Stoa wells, the more recently discovered Forum wells, and fills in the Demeter sanctuary show long ranges of dates, and many (including almost all of the South Stoa wells) are filled with unstratified dump from the reconstruction of the city by the Romans after 44 B.C. There are no wells that show a steady

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<sup>7</sup> Wiseman 1979; Gebhard and Dickie 2003.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>9</sup> Consider also Plutarch's *Aratus* and Menander's *Sikyonians*.

<sup>10</sup> A mixed deposit is one in which the pottery is in secondary or tertiary deposition and dates to a broad chronological range.

uncontaminated use fill. Hellenistic graves are also very sparse; domestic fills are unknown.”<sup>11</sup>

Because of the limited material record from elsewhere in Corinth, archaeological interest in the Hellenistic period in the past has tended to focus on the monumental South Stoa. In the study of architectural history, the South Stoa is important as one of the largest secular buildings constructed in Greece before the Roman period.<sup>12</sup> Most of its 31 shops contained a single well that had been filled with debris in either the Hellenistic or early colony period or both. The Hellenistic pottery from these wells was studied and published by G. Roger Edwards in *Corinth* VII.3 and formed the basis of his Hellenistic pottery chronology of Corinth.<sup>13</sup>

Edwards’ work was important because it allowed scholars, particularly those working in the Peloponnese, to use Corinthian Hellenistic pottery as a primary dating tool, much like the pottery of the Athenian Agora.<sup>14</sup> However, while Broneer’s construction date of the South Stoa of 338-323 BC has been debated since its excavation, Edwards’ chronology of the pottery from its wells has rarely been challenged.

Edwards himself recognized in the introduction to his groundbreaking work that new deposits would allow for modifications to his original chronology.<sup>15</sup> Since his study was largely based on fills from the South Stoa wells and on the interpretation that most of the lowest fills accumulated during the life of the Stoa, the high end of his chronology

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<sup>11</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, pp. 3-4. She follows this with a brief discussion of the “146 dilemma”.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of the lower shops and rear rooms including their wells, see *Corinth* I.4, pp. 48-65. The second floor may have also had two rooms (*Corinth* I.4, pp. 70-79).

<sup>13</sup> More than two-thirds of the objects listed in the catalogue of Edwards’ volume come from the South Stoa wells.

<sup>14</sup> The format of the volume was influential as it was organized by ware and then into functional categories. Most recently, it was followed by Rotroff in *Agora* XXIX.

<sup>15</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 191.

was based on Broneer's construction date for the South Stoa of between 337 and 323 B.C. However, work by McPhee and Pemberton on the drain (Deposit 22) that underlies the South Stoa shows that it was filled in the fourth quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>16</sup> On the basis of this re-dating, the construction of the South Stoa therefore must have occurred after 325 B.C. This conclusion suggested the earliest deposits in the South Stoa and, by extension, some of Edwards' high dates for Hellenistic pottery needed to be downdated by at least 25 years.<sup>17</sup> Edwards' low dates were based on the assumption that the city was abandoned and that pottery production stopped in 146 B.C. This *a priori* assumption has been continually challenged on the basis of the presence of imported objects that date to after 146 B.C.<sup>18</sup> The local ceramics discovered in the Panayia Field floor deposit strongly suggest that Hellenistic pottery was produced at the local level after 146 B.C.<sup>19</sup>

The existence of so many challenges to Edwards' Hellenistic pottery chronology called for a large-scale re-evaluation to be undertaken. The problem remained, however, that there were very few securely datable deposits in Corinth to work with to test the existing chronology. Aside from mixed dumped fills, mostly from wells in the Forum area, only the Demeter and Kore sanctuary and the Potter's Quarter provided any quantity of Hellenistic material for study. The material from these sites, however, is arguably from specialized areas and therefore may not necessarily reflect the full range of vessels in use in the period. It was only when the focus of excavation shifted to outside the Forum, namely to the Panayia Field, that Hellenistic deposits came to light that contain a wide

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<sup>16</sup> Forthcoming as *Corinth* VII.6. See also Sanders forthcoming for a full discussion of the problems with Edwards' chronology based on a re-assessment of the fills of the South Stoa wells.

<sup>17</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Williams and Russell 1981; Edwards 1981, 1986; Romano 1994.

variety of ceramic types in securely datable contexts. As noted previously, it is this material that forms the basis of my research and enabled the correction and refinement of Edwards' Hellenistic pottery chronology.

## **THE PANAYIA FIELD<sup>20</sup>**

From 1995 to 2007, the American School of Classical Studies carried out excavations in the Panayia Field in Ancient Corinth, under the directorship of Dr. Guy Sanders. Panayia Field is located to the southeast of the Roman Forum in an area that is enclosed by the modern village. Like much of the central part of Corinth, the site is very complicated stratigraphically with multiple layers of occupation including Geometric tombs, Hellenistic buildings, a Roman villa, a Late Roman bath, and in one of its latest phases, a large 17<sup>th</sup> Ottoman cemetery surrounding the Panayia church.<sup>21</sup>

In the Hellenistic period, the Panayia Field contained at least three buildings and one well. The buildings on the north side of the site, along with the well, may have been oriented relative to a small pebbled road that runs north-south through the western part of the Panayia Field.<sup>22</sup> Each building contained at least one cistern or cellar that was filled in

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<sup>19</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>20</sup> The Panayia Field is named for the Church of the Panayia, which was still visible in the 1950's when Scranton began to investigate the area.

<sup>21</sup> Publications of Panayia Field material to date include: Pfaff 2007 (Geometric); Sweetman and Sanders 2005 (Roman mosaics); Stirling 2008 (Roman villa); Lepinski 2008 (Roman wall paintings); Palinkas and Herbst 2011 (Roman road); Slane and Sanders 2005 (Roman bath); Rohn, Barnes and Sanders 2009 (Ottoman cemetery).

<sup>22</sup> No Hellenistic buildings have been found on the west side of the road and the surviving walls to the east are roughly aligned to the road (Plan 1). The well is the only known Hellenistic feature that is on the west side of the road.

with debris in a single episode, possibly when the building went out of use.<sup>23</sup> Of these buildings, only one has survived in plan, while the rest were destroyed by later Roman activity down to the level of their substructures, i.e. the upper walls of the cisterns and/or cellars.<sup>24</sup> The exact function of these subterranean features is unclear. Built of roughly worked or reused stones and lined with cement, they are either square or rectangular with steps into the bottom; whether the cement was sufficient to hold water was difficult to determine in most cases.<sup>25</sup> Architecturally, these cisterns and/or cellars find their best parallels in a cellar excavated in the Forum area as part of Building IV.<sup>26</sup> Williams had suggested that this and other similar structures were used as cool storage places and not for water, despite the fact that they were also lined with cement. It is, of course, possible that the cement was intended for other practical or aesthetic purposes and not to retain water.

The Panayia Field is less than 500 meters from the southeast end of the South Stoa. The only other Hellenistic deposit that has been found to the south of the South Stoa is cistern 1979-1 (Deposit 23), which was put out of use by the construction of the foundation for the South Stoa.<sup>27</sup> The proportions of pottery from this cistern suggest that it was filled with domestic debris. In the excavations of the 2010 season in the area of

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<sup>23</sup> Cistern 2001-1 (Deposit 3) and cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5) are very close together spatially, so it is possible that they were in the same building. Cisterns 2003-2 and 2003-3 (Deposits 5 and 6) share a wall and were certainly in part of the same structure.

<sup>24</sup> Note that there is an ambiguity in the use of the terms cellar and cistern in the Panayia Field because of the confusion about their function. The description provided below is applicable to both cisterns and cellars. For specific deposits, see Deposit Index nos. 1-3 and 5 and 6.

<sup>25</sup> The best arguments for structures capable of holding water, i.e., true cisterns, are for cistern 2006-1, cellar 2005-1 and cistern 2003-2 (Deposits 1, 2 and 5). The cement in cistern 2001-1 (Deposit 3) was in a poorer state of preservation.

<sup>26</sup> Building IV was out of use by the time of the construction of the South Stoa and was probably constructed in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. Williams 1979, pp. 127-129.

the Nezi Field, an ash layer was discovered that contained a mix of pottery that dated to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. This deposit featured such a great variety of fine and cooking wares that it is possible that it is also domestic rather than special use in nature.<sup>28</sup> If the north-south road in Panayia Field is projected to the north, then it lies along the west side of Nezi Field and is in line to meet the road found on the east end of the South Stoa. This road then connects these three areas and the finds in Nezi and Panayia Fields tentatively suggest that this may have been at least partially a residential area to the southeast of the Forum.

The only surviving Hellenistic structure in the Panayia Field is on the north side of the site. Unfortunately it is represented only by its lowest course of foundation blocks, but these reveal its basic plan. The building is rectangular and appears to have had at least six rooms. These rooms were organized into three blocks of two rooms with the entrance on the south side. The rooms on the front side are equal in width to the back rooms, but are much shallower. The material from its foundation trenches suggests a construction date early in the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>29</sup> Cistern 2006-1 (Deposit 2) was found in the north-central room and in the south-central room the interim period floor deposit (Deposit 7) was discovered. Thus this building seems to have had a long life in the Hellenistic period.

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<sup>27</sup> Williams 1980, pp. 120-122. It is located beneath Shops XX and XXI.

<sup>28</sup> Special use deposits are those related to a specific type of activity, such as ritual use or public dining. Such deposits tend to contain a more limited range of ceramic vessel types compared to domestic or mixed deposits. See also the methodology section in this chapter for a discussion of the identification of different types of deposits.

<sup>29</sup> Lot 2007-08 and Lot 2007-17.

One of the more unique features of the building is the presence of a foundation deposit in the southeast room.<sup>30</sup> The deposit was found in a shallow circular pit under the packed pebble and cement floor of that room. At the bottom of the pit was a thick layer of black ash and many small pieces of burnt wood.<sup>31</sup> Twenty-two miniatures in a range of shapes (Cat. Nos. 198-217) had been placed on top of the burnt material and then covered by the floor.<sup>32</sup> The miniatures seem to have been put into the pit in no particular order, although the more complete vessels were in the upper layer and the more fragmentary were below. Based on joins, it appears that the vessels on the bottom were broken accidentally when they were deposited, while the upper ones remained intact.<sup>33</sup>

The miniature vessels themselves consist of both drinking, pouring and cooking shapes and specifically ritual types, such as the miniature kanoun, phiale and thymaterion. Some of the vessels are rare or unknown elsewhere in Corinth, such as the hourglass shaped goblet and the miniature cooking vessels. It is interesting to note that most of the vessel types are those associated with daily household activities (drinking, eating, food preparation and storage) and not specifically related to ritual practices.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> To date the only other sure foundation deposit in Corinth was found in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary and consisted of a pit with four phiales (*Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 33). Many small and large votive deposits have been found throughout Corinth, but these are very different in nature and are rarely directly associated with architecture.

<sup>31</sup> No bones or other organic material was found in pit.

<sup>32</sup> See Plate 18 for a photograph of all the finds from the foundation deposit.

<sup>33</sup> Some clean sherds joined to ones that were blackened through contact with the burnt wood in the bottom of the pit.

<sup>34</sup> Nineteen of the twenty-two miniatures are related to drinking and dining (13) and to a lesser extent cooking (3) and household (3) activities. I am indebted to Elizabeth Pemberton and Martha Risser who aided in the identification of specific types and provided valuable insights into the nature of this deposit.

The majority of foundation deposits in the Peloponnese come from sanctuary contexts and their contents are strikingly different from the Panayia Field deposit.<sup>35</sup> For example, a foundation deposit found near a wall in the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea contained eight miniature kotylai and some burnt animal bones.<sup>36</sup> At the Temple of Aphrodite in Argos, a 5<sup>th</sup> c. foundation deposit under the floor of the pronaos included a variety of terracotta figurines, bronze and gold rings and miniature vessels. The miniature vessels in this deposit consisted of cups, krateriskoi and oinochoai.<sup>37</sup> Further afield, the 6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. tholos at the Kaberion at Thebes had a foundation deposit next to its threshold that consisted of a kantharos inside a one-handled cup.<sup>38</sup> The Panayia Field deposit is clearly different from these examples both in the absence of animal bones and the much wider range of types of miniature vessels that are present. In fact, the miniatures in all three examples are specifically related only to drinking, an activity that surely occurred in those sanctuaries.<sup>39</sup>

The best parallel to the Panayia Field foundation deposit are the pyre deposits recorded in domestic and industrial buildings of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C. in the Athenian Agora. These pyre deposits are typically found in shallow pits with traces of burning in the bottom and groups of miniature vessels.<sup>40</sup> Specific parallels to shapes

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<sup>35</sup> See Hunt 2006 Chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>36</sup> Hammond 1998, pp. 228 and 289-296. This deposit associated with the Classical phase of the temple.

<sup>37</sup> Daux 1969, p. 994f. There were two more similar deposits were also found under the floor.

<sup>38</sup> Bruns 1967, p. 234.

<sup>39</sup> The lack of ritual vessels in these deposits is surprising considering the foundation deposit in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary noted above (n. 37).

<sup>40</sup> *Agora* XXIX, pp. 212-213. The ceremony involved a sacrifice (bones of small animals have been found), burning (the pits and most of the pots show traces of burning), smashing of pottery (most have been broken into many pieces) and possibly a libation (pyres frequently contain drinking cups). Shapes normally found in pyres include drinking cups, rilled rim plates, concave rim plates, pyre saucers, ribbon handled plates, small lekanides, lopadia, chytridia and covered bowls. The purpose of these deposits is still under



found in the Panayia Field deposit include the presence of a casserole or *lopas*, a *lekanis* lid, several drinking cups, a plate and a pitcher, as well as the general absence of more typically ritual vessels. These similarities, however, should not be taken to indicate a connection between Athens and Corinth in any meaningful way, since Hunt's typology of foundation deposits has shown that the inclusion of burnt materials and ceramic vessels are a relatively common part of Greek foundation rituals throughout the Mainland.<sup>41</sup> However, it may be that this type of foundation deposit was generally considered to be appropriate to non-religious buildings.

From an architectural standpoint, it is difficult to interpret the function of the Panayia Hellenistic long building. In addition to the problem that only the lowest course of the foundations is preserved, it also was not fully excavated to the north and east.<sup>42</sup> There are therefore no known doorways and it is difficult to determine how the rooms may have communicated with each other. While its rectangular shape resembles a small stoa, there is no trace of a porch – instead it appears to have consisted of a series of closed double rooms. Overall it is such a simple structure that identifying architectural parallels is almost meaningless.

It is potentially more fruitful to make suggestions about the function and nature of the building based on its location and the finds associated with it. Using this approach

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consideration – some are probably foundation deposits found under the floors of buildings, while others in the Kerameikos have funerary connotations.

<sup>41</sup> See Hunt 2006, pp. 78-95 for a discussion of the evidence from foundation deposits found in the Peloponnese and Attica. She is at pains however to make it clear that there is a good deal of variation in contents and context.

it seems likely that because of its proximity to the Forum the Panayia Field building may have had some kind of public function. However, the nature of the finds would seem to indicate no specialized function, such as occurs in the South Stoa wells. Rather the assemblages from Hellenistic deposits in Panayia Field are strikingly consistent in their content, both in terms of the variety of shapes present and the proportions of fine, cooking and coarse wares.<sup>43</sup> In addition to the general uniformity of the ceramic assemblage, most of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. deposits also have noticeable amounts of metal slag – clearly the by-products of smelting.<sup>44</sup> Further indications of production come from Cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5), which contained significant quantities of misfired cooking ware. As a whole, the evidence suggests that in the Hellenistic period the Panayia Field was an area where some industrial production occurred and was possibly inhabited by those same craftsmen and their families.

## **METHODOLOGY**

Almost twenty years ago, Orton, Tyers and Vince said about quantification: “Although it has been generally (but not universally) appreciated as a ‘good thing’ its aims and in particular its methods have been a source of controversy.”<sup>45</sup> Indeed, the very basic question for ceramists of “what to count and whether to weigh” was more recently

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<sup>42</sup> Excavations in 2007 indicate that the north wall extends to the east into the scarp and so there is more than likely another block of two rooms on the east end.

<sup>43</sup> See below for a discussion of the interpretation of these deposits as domestic. See also Appendix I Deposits 1-5.

<sup>44</sup> Nearly every basket or excavation unit within a given 3<sup>rd</sup> c. deposit in Panayia Field (with the exception of well 2002-2) contained at least one piece of metal slag.

<sup>45</sup> Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, p. 166. This sentiment is echoed by Rice 1987, pp. 288-289.

tackled by Slane for Roman pottery at Corinth.<sup>46</sup> From a practical perspective, quantification is a way to gain a picture of an assemblage in terms of the proportions of types that are present. This approach is very useful when dealing with large amounts of material (i.e., many tons of pottery) in order to create a meaningful data set for analysis.<sup>47</sup>

The deposits of the Panayia Field were excavated using the Corinth system developed by former director C.K. Williams. Each excavation context or basket is defined spatially in relation to adjacent contexts and using a number of characteristics, such as soil color, composition and compactness, and excavated in stratigraphic sequence as far as possible. All artifacts are removed from the soil, including pottery, tiles, minor objects, coins, charcoal and organics. The soil in the Panayia Field deposits of this study was also put through a 5 millimeter dry sieve to ensure all material culture was collected. The pottery from these deposits was then washed, initially read and mended. On the basis of joins found during the mending process and observations of the soil during excavation, it was determined whether a fill was deposited in a single episode. Logically, if a deposit gradually accumulates over a period of time then various unrelated fills should be present and there will be very few joins between the fills. Thus uniformity in the soil and multiple joins indicate a single dumped fill deposited in a very short period of time. Using this criteria, the Hellenistic deposits from the Panayia Field were single dumped fills at the time of their initial deposition.<sup>48</sup> Such deposits should contain a reasonably representative picture of the ceramic assemblage at that point in time, provided that it is not a special use deposit, and a small amount of earlier pottery. This is indeed the case

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<sup>46</sup> Slane 2003, pp. 321-322. Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, p. 166-167 also deals with this issue.

<sup>47</sup> One consensus in the field seems to be that quantification is a method especially suited to large groups of material, since if an assemblage is too small it is difficult to determine if any differences are significant. Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, p. 175; Slane 2003 pp. 323-324. The total amount of pottery in the current study is more than 3 metric tons and includes 1.5 tons from the Panayia Field and roughly 1.75 tons from the other primary deposits.

<sup>48</sup> Some of the fill in these deposits was disturbed by later activities and a discussion of how these fills were treated in relation to the primary deposits is included in the Deposit Index.

with the Panayia Field deposits. They contain a remarkably diverse range of fine ware that mended well and on average only 5-10% by weight of the total fine ware consisted of earlier pottery. Unfortunately, with the exception of the floor deposit (Deposit 7), it cannot be reasonably argued that any of the Hellenistic deposits in the Panayia Field represent debris from a specific house or structure. These fills are therefore interpreted for the purposes of this study as mixed fills containing debris from one or more sources in the Panayia Field.<sup>49</sup>

All of the fine, cooking and coarse ware and other finds were kept from the Panayia Field deposits.<sup>50</sup> These finds were initially read and the pottery weighed and counted by ware. The material was assigned a context number, for example cistern 2006-1,<sup>51</sup> and the pottery within it assigned one or more lot numbers (Lot 2006-34).<sup>52</sup> Each basket or excavation unit within a single lot is stored individually, so that if the deposit is re-interpreted there is no chance of contaminating any material.<sup>53</sup> As mentioned above, the fine ware was the focus of this phase of research, nevertheless all of the material in the primary deposits (Deposits 1-31) of this study was re-examined including the cooking

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<sup>49</sup> For a discussion of the nature of these sources, see below.

<sup>50</sup> Note that amphoras, lekane, mortars, pithoi and some types of pitchers are included under the category of coarse ware at Corinth. Cooking ware is a category defined by fabric and includes vessels used in food preparation and some table ware. Fine ware is primarily glazed table ware with a few exceptions.

<sup>51</sup> In this case, 2006 is the year of excavation and the number 1 indicates that it is the first cistern found that year.

<sup>52</sup> The lot numbers since the 1970s are assigned by year of excavation (2006) and the second number is a consecutive number in sequence as they are kept throughout the year. Objects of importance in a lot are numbered using the lot number and then a consecutive number within the lot, for example Lot 2006-34:1 would be the first numbered object in the lot. Note that it is possible for a context to contain more than one lot either because the re-deposited fills were excavated and kept separately or the same context was excavated in more than one season.

<sup>53</sup> The system for reading, weighing and storing pottery just described has only been in use for about the past 30 years. Before that time the pottery and minor finds from individual deposits were described in a cursory fashion, the best pieces and often minor finds were inventoried and kept in the museum and the non-diagnostic cooking and coarse ware sherds were thrown away. The remaining saved pottery, usually all or most of the fine ware and the diagnostic cooking and coarse ware, was organized into lots usually by depth in the case of a well or cistern and pottery from all related baskets was combined into single lots.

and coarse wares.<sup>54</sup> The fine ware was first sorted into diagnostics and non-diagnostics, and then the diagnostics were sorted by shape. For most fine ware, body sherds of specific shapes could be identified and included with the diagnostics. Unfortunately, this is not the case for the rather uniform ring foot of bowls and plates and fragments of these make up most of the non-diagnostics. Overall, however, in most deposits close to 75% of the fine ware by weight could be classified by shape. The non-diagnostic material was included in the total fine ware weight of each deposit, but otherwise was not used. Once separated into categories by shape, each was weighed and the pottery was thus quantified in a basic way.

As a method, quantification has not been widely employed in pottery studies in Greece and the Near East, but it is an analytical technique that has been used successfully in other parts of Europe and North America for many years.<sup>55</sup> When dealing with closed and relatively chronologically discrete deposits, this method has several advantages.<sup>56</sup> Firstly, it provides a more precise picture of the relative abundance of a given type within the deposit. Secondly, using sherd weights effectively standardizes the data for differences in sherd size and creates a metric that is directly comparable to other deposits that may be both chronologically and spatially distant.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the fact that most of the deposits in this study are mixed dumped fills makes them less suitable for other methods of analysis, such as minimum number of vessels.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> The next phase of research hopes to include the cooking, coarse ware and other finds within the new chronology.

<sup>55</sup> At Corinth, quantification has been used by Sanders (1987, 1995, 2003), Slane (2003), Williams (1998) and McPhee and Pemberton (*Corinth* VII.6) on pottery of the Byzantine, Roman, Frankish and Hellenistic periods respectively. See Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, pp. 166-181 for a full discussion of quantification as an analytical method. See also Ihm 2005 for a discussion of statistical utility of this method as applied to ceramics in archaeology.

<sup>56</sup> Sanders 1987, p. 163.

<sup>57</sup> Rice also points out this aspect as an advantage to the method (Rice 1987, p. 291).

<sup>58</sup> Arguably, MNV is not a particularly useful way to analyze mixed dumped fills since the data generated creates an orphaned assemblage that cannot be related to a particular structure or activity. This method was applied to the pottery from the Panayia Field floor deposit (Deposit 7) to create a picture of the true

At a very basic level, the method involves weighing and counting the sherds in each individual deposit by category, i.e. fine, cooking and coarse wares (Chart 1.1). This type of analysis provides information both about the quantity and distribution of wares in a given context as well as an indication of the brokenness of the material and therefore the depositional processes that it may have undergone. As Chart 1.1 shows, however, there are differences between the shape of a deposit as quantified by count and weight. The number of fine ware sherds, for example, in cistern 2001-1 (Deposit 3) is quite high because Hellenistic fine ware is thin walled and easily broken. Therefore if only the counts of sherds were given for this deposit we may interpret cistern 2001-1 as containing proportionately more fine ware to cooking and coarse ware than it does in reality. Similarly, coarse ware does not break very easily so there is a tendency for the actual proportion of coarse ware in a deposit to be underrepresented by count. This is a problem of bias in the data because of the issue of breakage. This problem can be compensated for by estimating the number of pieces a particular shape tends to break into in an individual deposit.<sup>59</sup> However, calculating the average amount of breakage for each vessel type is a time-consuming process and one that does not generate data that is readily comparable between deposits.

One of the general pitfalls of quantifying a deposit by weight is that it can result in over-estimating the proportion of the heaviest shapes. This, however, is only a problem if one is examining a single context in isolation. The benefit of using weight as the main measurement in a deposit is that the weight of an individual shape (or sherds of

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assemblage and to a more limited extent in cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5) to analyze the amounts of cooking ware by shape.

<sup>59</sup> Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, p. 169.

that shape) does not vary considerably between vessels and therefore we can compare data based on weight from different deposits. Since the ability to compare the types of pottery present in each deposit was vital to my research, I have relied on weight rather than count in the final analysis of all of the deposits in this study.

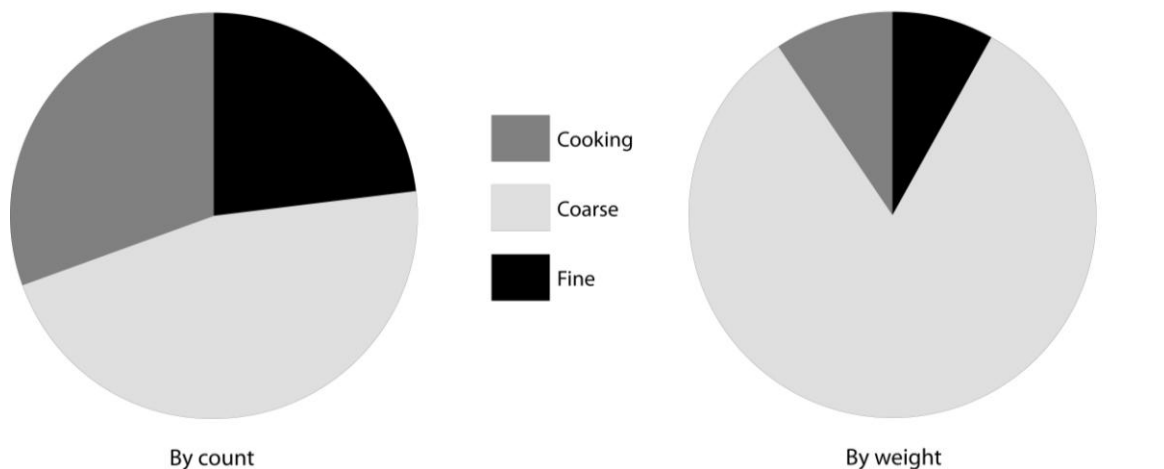


Chart 1.1: Total pottery by count and by weight from cistern 2001-1

Once the initial weights and counts were complete, individual fine ware shapes were quantified by weight. By quantifying the fine ware from each context in this way, the data can be used to generate the percentage of a given vessel type that is present both as a proportion of the total weight of the fine ware and within its functional category (see Chart 1.2). Seven functional categories were used for this purpose and the vessels are organized in these groups in Chapters 3-5: drinking vessels, bowls, plates, kraters, pouring vessels, covered vessels and oil containers. This second technique, to group by functional category, was prompted by the fact that within the fine ware assemblage of the Hellenistic period there are shapes that vary greatly in terms of weight. For example, a hemispherical krater weighs ten times more than a cyma kantharos and so any changes in

the proportion of cyma kantharoi over time may be obscured by the presence of kraters. In order to compensate for this imbalance, I used proportion by weight within a functional category, for example drinking vessels. Using this approach, it was possible to see relative changes within a functional category over time, as well as providing a secondary check to the absolute values given as a percentage of the total fine wares. As Chart 1.2 clearly shows, the same patterns emerge in the data for articulated kantharoi in both cases, but the data for this shape as a proportion of drinking vessels is more nuanced.

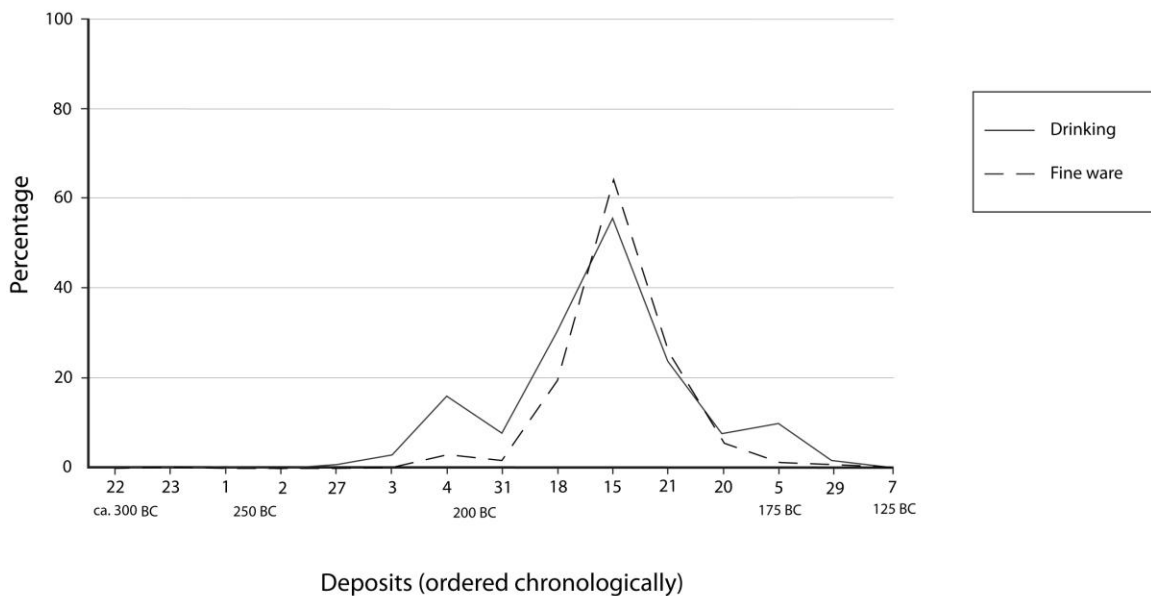


Chart 1.2: Articulated kantharoi as a percentage of fine ware and of drinking vessels

The Panayia Field deposits (Deposits 1-5 and 7) were the ideal starting point for rebuilding the Hellenistic pottery chronology because as a group they were both chronologically discrete and all of the finds from them had been saved. First these six deposits were quantified and the deposits seriated largely on the basis of internal dating evidence. Thirteen deposits from elsewhere in Corinth were then selected and added to



the Panayia Field data.<sup>60</sup> The main criteria for choosing these other deposits were that they had to be chronologically discrete and contain some datable material (coins, amphora stamps and imports).<sup>61</sup> An additional twelve deposits were studied and that pottery used as support for the dating of specific shapes. These thirty one deposits are the primary deposits in this study.<sup>62</sup> Overall, a total of 51 deposits from outside the Panayia Field were included in this study and represent debris from both clearly public (South Stoa and East of Theater) and domestic (Deposit 31) contexts throughout the city.<sup>63</sup> Such a large sample was necessary in order to correct any bias in the data that may have occurred by using deposits from only one location.<sup>64</sup>

The nineteen deposits that form the core of the Panayia Field chronology each had some indicator of their terminus post quem, i.e. the latest datable coin, amphora stamp or imported pottery. As noted above, the Panayia Field deposits set the initial framework of the chronology and were arranged in order (seriated) and the other thirteen deposits were inserted around them to build the final chronology.<sup>65</sup> All deposits in this study were seriated using similarity coefficients in order to better refine their relative positions. Kendall's method of seriation was employed in the present study.<sup>66</sup> It is a simple system

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<sup>60</sup> I am deeply indebted to Ian McPhee and Elizabeth Pemberton, who allowed me to use the weights and count from drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22) in this study. Almost 80 deposits were examined in the course of selecting the other 25 primary deposits. Some of these deposits had been previously studied and published, but the pottery was still suitable for quantification.

<sup>61</sup> Note that the term deposit is used in this study to indicate any stratigraphically discrete context, such as a cistern or a well, and the material from its fill. In most cases, the material comes from a single fill. It is only in the South Stoa that a deposit may contain more than one fill. This issue is discussed under the relevant Deposit Index entries in Appendix I.

<sup>62</sup> Twenty-seven other deposits were partially examined, re-dated using the Panayia Field chronology and their material added to the present study either in regard to shape development or as examples of complete profiles of specific shapes.

<sup>63</sup> See Plan 3 for the location of all of the deposits used in this study.

<sup>64</sup> It is now clear that one of the main reasons why Edwards' chronology in *Corinth* VII.3 was inaccurate was because of his over-reliance on pottery from the South Stoa wells (see n. 13).

<sup>65</sup> Among this group of thirteen are early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. fills from four South Stoa wells. It should be noted that data from these deposits were used mainly on the drinking vessel charts because of the nature of these fills.

<sup>66</sup> Kendall 1964, pp. 657-680. See also Sanders 1996 and 2003. The type of seriation is also discussed in Adams and Adams 1991, pp. 207-212.

wherein a matrix is generated that expresses the similarity of the contents of each deposit to each other. The degree of similarity of two deposits is based on their similarity coefficient, which is generated by adding together the lower percentages of each type of vessel present in the two deposits.<sup>67</sup> Within the matrix, the deposits that are most similar to each other have the highest similarity coefficient and can be ordered closely together. It should be noted the size of the similarity coefficient is relative to each data set. Using this method, the nineteen deposits were more finely ordered and the data on proportional weights analyzed using line charts.

As Chart 1.2 demonstrates, when the data for each shape are displayed in charts, clear patterns of inception-use-disuse readily appear for most functional types. These bell curves can be interpreted as representative of the use-life of a particular shape in most cases. For example, articulated kantharoi do not appear in any deposits until Deposit 3 (225 +/- 10 B.C.) where they constitute a very small part of the fine ware and drinking vessel assemblage – this point marks the beginning of their production life. Conversely, during their floruit from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. articulated kantharoi could constitute more than 55% of a deposit.<sup>68</sup> Logically, the end of their production life occurred sometime between Deposit 5 (175 +/- 10 B.C.) and Deposit 29 (160-150 B.C.), since the proportion of articulated kantharoi in Deposit 29 is quite small and they do not appear in any later deposits. Although it is possible that the small number of articulated kantharoi in Deposit 29 is the result of other factors, this is made less likely by the fact that they had been declining in earlier deposits and do not occur in later deposits.

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<sup>67</sup> For example, if deposit 1 contains 10% saucers and deposit 2 has 5% saucers, then it is assumed that both deposits contain at least 5% saucers. Minimum numbers for each shape are generated in this way and then added together to create the coefficient of similarity between any two deposits.

<sup>68</sup> Note that the special use deposits of the South Stoa wells are predominantly drinking vessels and therefore this and other types of kantharoi in these deposits are overrepresented relative to other contemporary deposits. Regardless, the overall production trends remain clear and they therefore were included in this study. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits of the South Stoa wells.

One of the other results of quantifying the fine, cooking and coarse ware in each deposit is that patterns emerge in the data that may be related to the contexts that generated the pottery in these fills. The Panayia Field deposits have, with the exception of cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5), almost identical proportions by weight of fine (10%), cooking (10%) and coarse wares (80%).<sup>69</sup> The fill of well 1960-4 (Deposit 31) is identical in its proportions to the Panayia Field deposits and a strong argument can be made that it contains domestic debris.<sup>70</sup> These fills also contained a wide range of fine, cooking and coarse ware shapes together with loomweights, lamps and various other household objects. Another indicator of the nature of a deposit is the percentage of different classes of fine ware that are present. For example, drinking vessels typically make up 25-30% of the total fine ware in the Panayia Field deposits and 43% in well 1960-4.

A comparison to special use deposits highlights the differences between the Panayia Field deposits and public and ritual contexts.<sup>71</sup> Although there are few other fully saved deposits in this study, drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22), which contained public dining debris, has a very different set of proportions with fine (23%), cooking (13%) and coarse wares (64%).<sup>72</sup> The cooking and coarse wares were not saved from the South Stoa wells, but the fine ware shows that drinking vessels constitute between 65% and 80% by weight. Similarly, manhole 1986-1 (Deposit 29) contained debris from another public area, perhaps a tavern, near the Theater. This deposit has a different set of proportions with an unusual distribution of fine (10%), cooking (25%) and coarse wares (65%) and with drinking vessels constituting 69% of the total fine ware. The possibility that the

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<sup>69</sup> See Chart 1.1 (Cistern 2001-1 by weight) for an example of the “normal” distribution of pottery in the Panayia Field.

<sup>70</sup> For a discussion of this evidence, see its entry in Appendix I.

<sup>71</sup> For an example of a Hellenistic ritual context in Corinth, see Pit B in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary (*Corinth* XVIII.1, Group 10). It contained large quantities of terracotta figures and votives, drinking cups, pouring vessels and pyxides dated to the Archaic through Hellenistic period.

<sup>72</sup> The proportion of drinking vessels in this deposit is 28%, surprisingly low compared to the fills of the South Stoa wells, but see below.

debris in Deposit 22 contains some domestic material has been suggested and this may explain why its proportions are slightly different from those in the South Stoa and east of Theater. Of the two areas listed above, drain 71-1 is also the only one with quantities of loomweights and covered vessels. Such objects are widely considered to be artifacts of domestic life and their presence attests to some connection to household activities.

The differences that exist between the Panayia Field deposits and well 1960-4 and the debris from definite public deposits suggest that the debris of the Panayia Field and well 1960-4 is marked by distinctive proportions of pottery. At the very least, the latter deposits can be said to be mixed fills and to differ from the fills of the South Stoa wells and east of Theater. It is the broader contexts of the deposits, the range of ceramic shapes and the presence of minor objects that are clearly connected to household activities that suggest a large portion of the fill may be debris from domestic spaces. With these two extremes in mind (special use/public and mixed/domestic), tentative suggestions have been made about the nature of the debris in the deposits in this study.<sup>73</sup> The goal of these attempts has been to discuss the use contexts of different types of Hellenistic pottery in Corinth.

The discussion of individual shapes and the new chronology of Hellenistic fine ware that resulted from this study are detailed in Chapters 2 to 5. The arguments presented within them are based on the currently available evidence but inevitably will be subject to modifications as new information comes to light. Chapter 2 describes the overall nature of the fine ware assemblage, including decoration, fabrics and its evolution from the Classical through Hellenistic period using the new dates provided by the Panayia Field chronology. Chapters 3-5 present the new Panayia Field chronology and are divided by shape class into drinking, serving and pouring and miscellaneous vessels.

Each of the 39 shapes is defined, previous scholarship and find contexts are described and the evidence for the new absolute date is presented and discussed. In addition, some basic questions about Hellenistic Corinth are addressed for the first time because the shapes have been placed in their proper chronological context using the Panayia Field chronology. These questions include: when did the transition between the Classical and Hellenistic period in material culture occur, and what was the impact of Corinth's contacts with the Hellenistic world on the culture of the city? By gaining an understanding of the process of reception, we can illuminate some aspects of local society and culture.<sup>74</sup> The changing nature of the ceramic assemblage can also offer clues to how Corinthians were using their pottery and possible cultural implications of such use. One example is the apparent survival of communal symposiastic drinking well into the Hellenistic period.<sup>75</sup>

Chapter 6 presents some of the conclusions that can be made based on the material encompassed by this study.<sup>76</sup> Large numbers of Hellenistic imports have been collected, inventoried and stored in the Corinth Museum since 1896.<sup>77</sup> These objects were analyzed and included with those from the 58 deposits in this study to create data sets of

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<sup>73</sup> See the Deposit Index for a discussion of the interpretation of individual deposits.

<sup>74</sup> See Chapter 3 for specific discussions of shapes.

<sup>75</sup> Symposiastic drinking is used in this study to primarily refer to the practice of communal drinking using a krater. It is discussed in reference to kantharoi (Chapter 3) and kraters (Chapter 4) and at length in Chapter 6.

<sup>76</sup> More than 80 contexts were examined in the course of developing the new chronology, but only the most relevant are included in the Deposit Index.

<sup>77</sup> 1896 was the first year of excavations at Corinth. An inventoried object at Corinth is an artefact that is of particular interest, that is then catalogued and curated in the museum's collections. Stamped amphora

imported fine ware and amphoras. Some of this data is presented here and is used to discuss Corinth's external contacts in the Hellenistic period. The evidence for the economic impact of the Macedonian garrison on the economy of the city is also described in this section. Such work is important because Corinth has been largely excluded from broader discussions of the Hellenistic economy and trade in the past.

In the course of developing the Panayia Field chronology, 21 deposits related to the South Stoa, including fifteen South Stoa wells, were examined and the results are also discussed in Chapter 6.<sup>78</sup> On the basis of this evidence, a strong argument can be made that the South Stoa was built in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and construction was therefore begun in the reign of Demetrius Poliorcetes and not Philip II as is widely believed.<sup>79</sup> At the same time, the lowest fills of the South Stoa wells were re-dated to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and provide good evidence for the nature of activities in the building during that period.

The final section of Chapter 6 relates to the interim period and the Panayia Field floor deposit dated to ca. 125-75 B.C. The "interim period" is a term commonly used in Corinthian studies to designate the time between the sack of the city by Mummius in 146 B.C. and the official foundation of the Roman colony in 44 B.C. This period has been the focus of considerable scholarly attention in the past two decades, but significant questions about the nature of life in the city remain. The Panayia Field floor deposit provides evidence for the first time that pottery was produced in Corinth during the

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handles and imported pottery appear to have been consistently inventoried at Corinth, as evinced by examples from the earliest excavations.

<sup>78</sup> See the Deposit Index in Appendix 1.

interim period and has therefore extended the production life of certain shapes beyond 146 B.C.<sup>80</sup> A thorough study of interim period material and deposits in light of the Panayia Field floor deposit is also included in this chapter. Some very tentative suggestions are also made about the transition from the Hellenistic to Roman period as reflected by changes in the ceramic corpus.

Chapter 7 focuses on future research questions that can be addressed using the new Panayia Field chronology. This intention of this chapter is both to contextualize the conclusions drawn in Chapter 6 and to highlight fields that may be impacted by the changes to the absolute chronology of Corinthian fine ware.

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<sup>79</sup> This argument was begun by McPhee and Pemberton (*Corinth* VII.6) and Sanders (forthcoming).

<sup>80</sup> The fact that some shapes were also produced in the interim period is including in the discussion of individual shapes in Chapters 3-5 as relevant. See also Appendix III.

## Chapter 2: Corinthian Hellenistic Fine Ware

### INTRODUCTION

The basic composition of the Hellenistic assemblage at Corinth was established by Edwards in *Corinth* VII.3. The goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of Corinthian Hellenistic fine ware, based on the new Panayia Field chronology, in terms of the overall assemblage and to update the chronology of Corinthian West Slope decoration. In his volume, Edwards was primarily interested in identifying shapes and creating typologies. While Chapters 3, 4 and 5 continue and expand Edwards' work using new deposit evidence, one goal of this chapter is to discuss the intrinsic properties of Corinthian fine ware. Much work has been done in recent years on sources of Corinthian clays so the following analysis of fabrics, and by extension the nature of production, is very timely. The importance of understanding aspects of ceramic production has been increasingly recognized over the past few decades. Although evidence for the ceramic industry at Corinth in the Hellenistic period is tenuous at best, it is hoped that by putting forward some tentative hypotheses here that they may help lay the groundwork for future research.

The Corinthian fine ware assemblage of the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. was dominated by shapes that have their origins in the Archaic and Classical periods. These shapes include the Attic type skyphos, the Attic type fish plate and various types of bowls and pouring vessels. It is not until the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. that we see the introduction of new types, such as the kantharos, which characterize the Hellenistic assemblage at Corinth. Over the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., these and other new types of vessels, which have recognizable analogs in Hellenistic pottery from other sites in Greece, began to be



produced and gradually replaced many of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. shapes. The earliest new Hellenistic shapes were drinking vessels and kraters followed later by new types of plates and bowls. From an archaeological standpoint, we can say that the transition to the Hellenistic period begins at Corinth in the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and is fully complete by about 225 B.C.<sup>1</sup> By the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., with the exception of pouring vessels and certain types of bowls, the Corinthian fine ware assemblage has a distinctly different character than at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. This new assemblage remained fairly stable through to ca. 175 B.C. when significant changes occurred in drinking vessels and plates. The kantharos was replaced by the moldmade bowl, the fish plate died out and several new plates were produced. The small set of core Hellenistic shapes that emerged by the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. was generally simpler and more utilitarian than those of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>2</sup> Highly decorated shapes, like the conical bowl and the plate with offset rim, go out of production. Few vessels produced after the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. have any painted or incised decoration and there is a preference for simpler, linear style moldmade bowls. It is this group of Hellenistic vessels that were produced after 146 B.C. and continued into at least the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

The origins and development of specific shapes will be discussed in the succeeding chapters, but it is worth noting one general feature of the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. assemblage that surely impacted the development of Corinthian Hellenistic pottery: the presence of numerous Attic imports.<sup>3</sup> Most significantly, in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., there is a

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<sup>1</sup> The pattern at Athens is similar to the one at Corinth. At Athens, the Hellenistic period begins in the ceramic assemblage ca. 275 BC and was fully Hellenistic by ca. 250 B.C. (*Agora XXIX*, p. 11).

<sup>2</sup> There is also a decrease in the overall number of vessels in the assemblage. The pared down group includes only one drinking vessel (the moldmade bowl), three or four bowls (the echinus, the saucer, the bowl with outturned rim and possibly the semi-glazed bowl) and two plates (the rolled rim and the flat rim plate). This assemblage can be compared to the seven types of drinking vessel produced concurrently in the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. or the four kinds of plate in production ca. 175 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> See also Pemberton 1997 and 2003 for discussions of the issue of Attic influence on the Corinthian assemblage.

marked preference for imported Athenian plates over local types of plates.<sup>4</sup> This is perhaps surprising given that plates are part of the Corinthian assemblage from the Archaic period onward.<sup>5</sup> The evidence suggests that local production of plates had dropped significantly by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. to the point that Corinthians may have been practically dependent upon Athens for their plates. Although there are no statistics on the popularity of imported vs. local plates until the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., the dominance of Athenian plates may be interpreted in these deposits as evidence that the Corinthian market preferred a high quality import to local products. Certainly Athenian plates with their hard firing and lustrous glaze were better made than local Corinthian plates in this period. The only local plates that seem to have competed with the Athenian imports in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. are Corinthian imitations of Attic types, namely the rolled rim plate and the fish plate.<sup>6</sup> By the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., a gradual shift towards locally made Corinthian fish plates can be detected and their production slowly increased over the next 50 years.<sup>7</sup>

One feature of both Attic imports and their Corinthian imitations in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. is the use of stamped decoration. Stamping was common in Attic pottery of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and its limited use on both local Corinthian shapes and Attic imitations is surely a sign of influence.<sup>8</sup> The adoption and adaptation of Attic pottery shapes and techniques show that regardless of the reason for the presence of so much Attic pottery in late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. Corinth, there was a real interest on the part of Corinthian potters in

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<sup>4</sup> See also Chapter 6.

<sup>5</sup> Plates were common shapes for Conventionalizing decoration at Corinth, including the Sam Wide Group, in the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. (Risser 2003, pp. 162-163). These plates were essentially shallow dishes and therefore very unlike local plates of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Other Attic shapes that were imitated in Corinth in the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. are bowls with outturned rims, Attic type skyphoi, stemless cups, bolsal cups and cup-skyphoi. For further discussion, see Pemberton 2003 pp. 172-177.

<sup>7</sup> See also Chapter 4 on the Attic type fish plate.

<sup>8</sup> Pemberton also notes that the most common local shapes for stamped decoration were bolsal cups, stemless cups and cup-skyphoi - all shapes that were imitating Attic forms (as demonstrated by the presence of miltois) and had a limited production in Corinth (Pemberton 1997, pp. 88-90).

the trends of Attic pottery at the time.<sup>9</sup> This is not, however, to say that Corinthian Hellenistic pottery as a whole is derivative of Attic pottery. In fact, the ceramic evidence clearly demonstrates that even those shapes that seem to be direct imitations in their early stages soon developed along their own unique trajectories.<sup>10</sup>

By the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., a wide range of new types of plates, drinking vessels and kraters began to be produced in Corinth. While Pemberton has rightly commented that “[a] greater simplicity of profile, and indeed, fewer shapes seem to characterize Hellenistic pottery from Corinth,” these new shapes also mark a sharp break from the relative stability of the Archaic and Classical assemblage.<sup>11</sup> Continuity between the Classical and Hellenistic assemblages is primarily demonstrated in bowls and pouring vessels. For instance, the same types and sizes of bowls were manufactured and occur in similar quantities in both 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. deposits (Chart 4.1). From a functional perspective, continuity in social practice may be indicated by the creation of several new types of kraters in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>12</sup> The continuation and expansion of krater production suggest that the krater retained its importance within the assemblage and, by extension, its role within symposium-style drinking parties in Hellenistic Corinth.<sup>13</sup>

While there is continuity from earlier periods, the Hellenistic fine ware assemblage is better characterized by the changes it undergoes. Several broad shifts can be seen in the fine ware assemblage from the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. to ca. 175 B.C. The most distinctive change from the Classical period is the number of new types of plates introduced into the local repertoire. Although the ubiquitous saucer could have performed

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<sup>9</sup> See also Chapter 6.

<sup>10</sup> Pemberton also argues for independent evolution after initial introduction. She suggests that we should not assume when a new vessel type is introduced that all subsequent morphological changes, even if it follows a similar path at different centers, are necessarily the result of continued copying of developments at the source (Pemberton 2003, p. 169).

<sup>11</sup> Pemberton 2003, p. 176 n. 62.

<sup>12</sup> For a thorough discussion of kraters, see Chapter 4.

<sup>13</sup> See also Chapter 6.

the function of a plate in practical terms, the fact that four new varieties of plates were developed and were in production over the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. indicates that plates had become a more prominent and specialized shape. The second radical shift came with the introduction of moldmade bowls late in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. This change marked a complete break in the tradition of Corinthian drinking vessels and is a testament to the degree to which the local assemblage was being impacted by larger trends in the Hellenistic ceramic koine. These are the last major changes to occur before 146 B.C. and the results made Corinthian fine ware more similar to the assemblages of other Hellenistic cities and more distant from its Classical roots.

## **FABRICS**

Four distinct types of clay commonly used to produce Corinthian fine wares in the Hellenistic period were identified in the course of the present research.<sup>14</sup> Fabrics A and B (and possibly fabric D) were in use from at least the Archaic period onwards, while fabric C seems to have had a more restricted range from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. Based on research conducted by G. Sanders, fabrics A, B and D are known to be from local clay beds.<sup>15</sup> Fabric C is almost certainly local and probably represents the exploitation of a new clay source that has not yet been located. Since the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. was a period of expanded production, it is not surprising that new clay sources (such as fabric C) may have been found in this period.

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<sup>14</sup> This survey of fine ware fabrics represents the three main clay types encountered in this study, but there are many small sub-categories that I have omitted. A petrographic study of local Hellenistic and Roman fabrics in the northeast Peloponnese is currently being undertaken by Heather Grabel at the University of Sheffield. It is hoped that her work will contribute to our understanding of local fabrics and their distribution.

<sup>15</sup> G. Sanders has been collecting and firing clays in the immediate area of Corinth for many years. His reference collection, housed in the Corinth Museum, was used to determine whether certain vessels were locally produced. Although most of this research is unpublished, the results of Sanders' experiments creating Corinthian pan tiles were included in Sapirstein 2008.

The most commonly used type is the well-known Corinthian buff fabric, which is referred to as fabric B throughout the present study. Most fine ware drinking vessels, bowls, plates, kraters, pouring vessels, covered vessels and some miniatures are made in fabric B.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, it is by far the most common type of clay used by Corinthian potters in the Hellenistic period. In addition, all coarse ware vessels and tiles were made using this fabric from at least the Archaic period through to 146 B.C. and beyond.<sup>17</sup>

Clay sources that match fabric B are found near Pentaskouphi village, Acrocorinth, Aetopetra, the Potter's Quarter and the Asklepieion.<sup>18</sup> Fabric B normally fires to a very light buff (10YR 8/3-4 2.5Y 8/2-4) to a pale yellow (5Y 8/2-4; 2.5Y 8/2-4), although oddly fired pieces can become a light grayish-green and more rarely a reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6 or darker).<sup>19</sup> The raw clay of fabric B is very pure and therefore most inclusions should be viewed as attempts by the potter to manipulate the end product. Although inclusions in fine ware vessels made of fabric B are rare, they usually consist of small rounded spherical reddish brown and black inclusions and small angular tabular white and black inclusions.<sup>20</sup> Voids are very rare. A related fabric, which has been identified as fabric D, is very similar to fabric B in composition and firing properties but contains rare fine sparkling inclusions.<sup>21</sup> Although these sparkling inclusions may be added mica, they are more likely the result of the addition of finely crushed shell. Fabric D appears to have been used interchangeably with fabric B throughout most of the

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<sup>16</sup> See Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

<sup>17</sup> Fabric B is used to manufacture almost every kind of Corinthian coarse ware including lekanai, mortaria and pithoi, as well as tiles, amphoras and loomweights.

<sup>18</sup> Geologically, the clay of fabric B comes from the Neogene sediment beds underlying the limestone terraces that ring Ancient Corinth (Whitbread 2003, p. 3).

<sup>19</sup> Fabric descriptions were produced using the system outlined in the Corinth Field Manual. Available at <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/ExcavationCorinth/manual/>.

<sup>20</sup> The red-brown inclusions have been identified by Farnsworth as local mudstone that probably comes from exposed scarps on Acrocorinth (Farnsworth 1970, pp. 9-11).

<sup>21</sup> Fine ware vessels made in fabric D occur as early as the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and continue into the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. It is possible that fabric D was also used in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., but that material is not included in this study.

Hellenistic period. Fine ware made in fabric B was normally fired very hard in all periods, but in a few cases in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. the fabric was low fired to a relatively soft biscuit. In coarse ware vessels and tiles, it is always fired very hard and is quite durable.

In the Hellenistic period, when a vessel made in fabric B was glazed the inevitable result is a poorly adhering glaze that flakes easily. Oddly, this does not seem to have been a problem in earlier periods since Archaic and Classical vessels that are glazed tend to retain it very well. In the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., some fine ware vessels (especially Attic type skyphoi) have been given an extraordinarily thick coat of black glaze. Such an extreme application technique may perhaps indicate a desire to overcome a problem with glazing. Nevertheless, the overall quality and adherence of black glaze on vessels made in fabric B is poorer in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. than in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and declines steadily throughout the Hellenistic period. The black glaze on 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Hellenistic fine ware made in fabric B tends to fire to a dull, brownish-black and is often mottled with red or brown. Double dipping lines and stacking circles are relatively common on all shapes.

Fabric A is a clay type that was frequently used in the Archaic and Classical periods at Corinth for the manufacture of terracotta figurines and phialae. Fabric A is a fine clay with rare fine rounded tabular white inclusions and rare rounded angular fine to medium brown inclusions. It usually fires uniformly pink (5YR 8/3 to 7.5YR 8/4), but can have a pink core with a buff surface (10YR 8/4-3). Fabric A often fires so soft that its surface can be scratched with a fingernail. To date, I have seen no attempt to apply a glaze to a vessel made in this fabric. Rather the exterior is sometimes burnished or covered in a white slip and paint is occasionally applied on top of the white slip on figurines and miniatures.

Compared to fabric B it was used to produce a very restricted range of shapes, namely the shallow dish, the small trefoil oinochoe, the lekane, the pyxis and ritual vessels.<sup>22</sup> With the exception of the shallow dish, all of these vessels were also manufactured in the Archaic and Classical periods. Moreover, they are an interesting group because most of the shapes were not used as table ware. The small trefoil oinochoe was often made in fabric A in the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., but was more commonly made in fabric B through the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. In fact, most ceramic vessels made in fabric A were either out of production or also being made in fabric B by the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Use of Fabric C seems to be specific to the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. to judge by the earliest example of a cyma kantharos from well 2002-2 (Deposit 4). The clay of fabric C is a pale brown color (10YR 7/3-4 or slightly darker) that fires very hard. It is very pure with only rare to few small rounded white and black inclusions. No good candidate for the source of the clay for fabric C has yet been determined, but because it was used to produce a range of shapes that is strictly Corinthian the clay is certainly local. One key feature that may have made this fabric appealing is that in most cases the glaze, which fires to a mottled black-brown to grey-green, adheres well compared to fabric B.

The timing of the introduction of fabric C to the assemblage coincides with a burst in creativity at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. when numerous new shapes began to be produced.<sup>23</sup> Although never as common as fabrics B and D, vessels made in fabric C are found more frequently in deposits through the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The ceramic shapes made in fabric C overlaps with fabrics B and D and include cyma and articulated kantharoi and flat rim plates as well as moldmade bowls. Evidence from interim period deposits (146-44 B.C.) shows the use of fabric C through to the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

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<sup>22</sup> See Chapters 4 and 5 for a discussion of these shapes.

<sup>23</sup> See especially Chapters 3 and 6.

The fourth type of Hellenistic fabric that requires a brief mention is blisterware. Blisterware was first identified by Thompson in the Athenian Agora and then more fully described by Pease, who first suggested that it was a Corinthian fabric, in her publication of a Classical well at Corinth.<sup>24</sup> Blisterware is characterized by the presence of numerous voids or blisters throughout the fabric that are formed either by very high temperatures or by the addition of fluxing agents.<sup>25</sup> This fabric is extremely non-porous and is therefore particularly suited for oil containers. Unsurprisingly, the main shape produced in blisterware through the Classical and Hellenistic periods was the flat bottomed aryballos.<sup>26</sup> In the 5<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., blisterware vessels were almost exclusively fired to a dark gray with some rare examples with a pale orange surface. There is some variation in the Hellenistic period when a thinner type of blisterware was introduced, presumably in connection to the new range of shapes produced in blisterware.<sup>27</sup> The blisterware fabric of these vessels is almost egg-shell thin and tends to be mottled grey to orange or pinkish red.<sup>28</sup> This thinner fabric does not “blister” like the thicker grey blisterware but is clearly related to it, both because of the vessels it is used to produce and the unusual color(s) produced when it is fired. This later type of blisterware is not to be confused with imitation blisterware vessels, which are typically aryballoi made in fine ware fabric B that are painted grey to resemble blisterware.

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<sup>24</sup> Thompson 1934, pp. 470-471; Pease 1937, p. 259 and nos. 138-143.

<sup>25</sup> Whitbread 2003, pp. 8-9. Based on petrographic analysis, Whitbread believes that blisterware is made from a Corinthian clay and that it strongly resembles the fabric of Corinthian A amphoras.

<sup>26</sup> Large oinochoai and table amphoras were more rarely produced in blisterware in this period. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of blisterware aryballoi.

<sup>27</sup> Type X lamps, cups, mugs and filter vases are among the new shapes. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of blisterware filter vases.

<sup>28</sup> Edwards also recognized this thin fabric as another type of blisterware (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 145).



## DECORATION

The vast majority of Corinthian Hellenistic fine ware is plain glazed. In the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., the glaze was thickly applied to the entire vessel and fired to a dull matt black. However by the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. most bowls and plates were only partially glazed by dipping – a process that left the lower part of the exterior reserved. Drinking vessels and kraters are shapes that were normally fully glazed throughout their production lives.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the glaze used in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. is almost always of poorer quality than that of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. On these later shapes, the glaze is thinner and tends to flake easily. In terms of color, the glazes of Hellenistic vessels are always matt and fire to a range of colors including black, mottled black and red/orange or brown, red or orange and in rare cases to a mottled brown to blue.

Additional decoration was employed in a very limited range of vessels. Simple bands of paint or glaze were applied to the exteriors of semi-glazed bowls and unguentaria.<sup>30</sup> More elaborate decoration consisted of three types that could be used alone or in combination, namely stamped, application of a red wash or milto and painted and/or incised West Slope. Drinking cups, kraters, conical bowls, plates with offset rims and more rarely oinochoai were the main shapes that received one or more types of additional decoration. After the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., however, there is no evidence that anything more than simple painted bands were ever added to local pottery.

The use of stamps or the application of milto to a vessel were practices that began in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and continued into the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Stamped decoration was invented in Athens in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., but by the latter part of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. the repertoire of

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<sup>29</sup> The one-handed cup and Hexamilia cups are the only exceptions. There are examples of both of these shapes that are partially glazed.

<sup>30</sup> The semi-glazed bowl is a specific type of bowl that is glazed on the interior and has painted bands on the exterior (see Chapter 4). The term semi-glazed is not used in this volume to describe the general application of glaze.

stamped designs consisted of only palmettes and rouletting.<sup>31</sup> It is this limited range of stamped decoration that was imitated by Corinthian potters. At Corinth, stamping was used on stemless and bolsal cups, cup-skyphoi and various types of bowls and plates – mostly shapes that had direct Attic prototypes.<sup>32</sup> The designs consisted of palmettes encircled by impressed rouletting on the floor of the interior.<sup>33</sup> By the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., the only shapes that received stamped decoration were echinus bowls and bowls with outturned rims. Although these shapes continued to be produced through to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and later in the case of echinus bowls, they are rarely stamped after the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>34</sup> The evidence therefore suggests that the use of stamped decoration largely died out in Corinth with the local imitations of Attic shapes that initially inspired them in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>35</sup>

Miltos is another decorative tradition that continued into the Hellenistic period, but unlike stamped decoration it was much longer-lived. The application of miltos required that the potter leave an area unglazed before firing that was later covered with a red or pink wash made of ferric oxide and dilute clay, i.e. miltos. Since Attic vessels of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. often left areas reserved on the foot to allow the color of the clay to show through, use of miltos has been interpreted as a way to imitate red Attic fabric.<sup>36</sup> In the Classical period, a red wash or miltos was first used on Corinthian red-figure vessels to approximate Attic clay and replicate the technique.<sup>37</sup> By the Hellenistic period, miltos was favored on drinking vessels, particularly Attic type skyphoi and early kantharoi.

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<sup>31</sup> *Agora XXIX*, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Pemberton 1997, pp. 88-89.

<sup>33</sup> Based on the number of leaves on each palmette, Pemberton developed a typology of the palmette stamps used on Corinthian pottery and discussed possible workshops (Pemberton 1997, pp. 86-88, 92-95).

<sup>34</sup> One new shape from the present study with a stamped floor is a Corinthian molded rim kantharos (Lot 2007-1:15) from cistern 2006-1 (Deposit 2), whose presence suggests that the tradition may have continued into the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>35</sup> The use of stamped decoration on Attic pottery continued into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (*Agora XXIX*, p. 37).

<sup>36</sup> *Corinth VII.3*, p. 20.

<sup>37</sup> *Corinth VII.4*, pp. 1-2.

Since Attic kantharoi do not leave areas on the foot reserved, the fact that miltois was used on Corinthian kantharoi implies that it had become a more generalized decorative element by the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>38</sup> It is therefore likely that with the introduction of the Corinthian kantharos in the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. – perhaps coinciding with a decline in numbers of imported Attic kantharoi – that miltois was simply intended to evoke Attic manufacture rather than produce a faithful imitation.<sup>39</sup>

While the use of miltois on Attic type skyphoi was restricted to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., it continued to be used on kantharoi into the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>40</sup> The earliest type of kantharos, the one-piece, often had miltois applied to parts of the foot and stem through to the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Early cyma kantharoi can also have miltois on the foot and stem, but it appears that miltois was no longer used on this shape by the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Overall, the evidence suggests that miltois developed as a way to directly imitate Attic red-figure pottery in the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and continued to be used, albeit with a less specific meaning, through to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>41</sup>

The most recognizable type of decoration used on Corinthian fine ware in the Hellenistic period is West Slope. West Slope decoration takes its name from the west slope of the Acropolis, the place where it was discovered by Dorpfeld while excavating some houses in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>42</sup> Corinthian West Slope decoration was treated by Edwards in *Corinth* VII.3 and was updated by McPhee in his work on stemless bell kraters.<sup>43</sup> West Slope as a general type of decoration is common at various sites in the

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<sup>38</sup> *Agora* XXIX, pp. 84-98.

<sup>39</sup> See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the introduction of the kantharos and its relation to Attic imports.

<sup>40</sup> See also the discussion of each vessel type in Chapter 3.

<sup>41</sup> See *Corinth* VII.3, p. 20 for the earliest use of miltois outside of red figure pottery.

<sup>42</sup> Dorpfeld 1894, pp. 496-509.

<sup>43</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 20-26; McPhee 1997 pp. 137-141.

Mediterranean and is widely regarded as the typical Hellenistic decorative style.<sup>44</sup> The technique of West Slope involves over-painting the glaze with linear or figural patterns often supplemented with incision or additional over-painting or both.

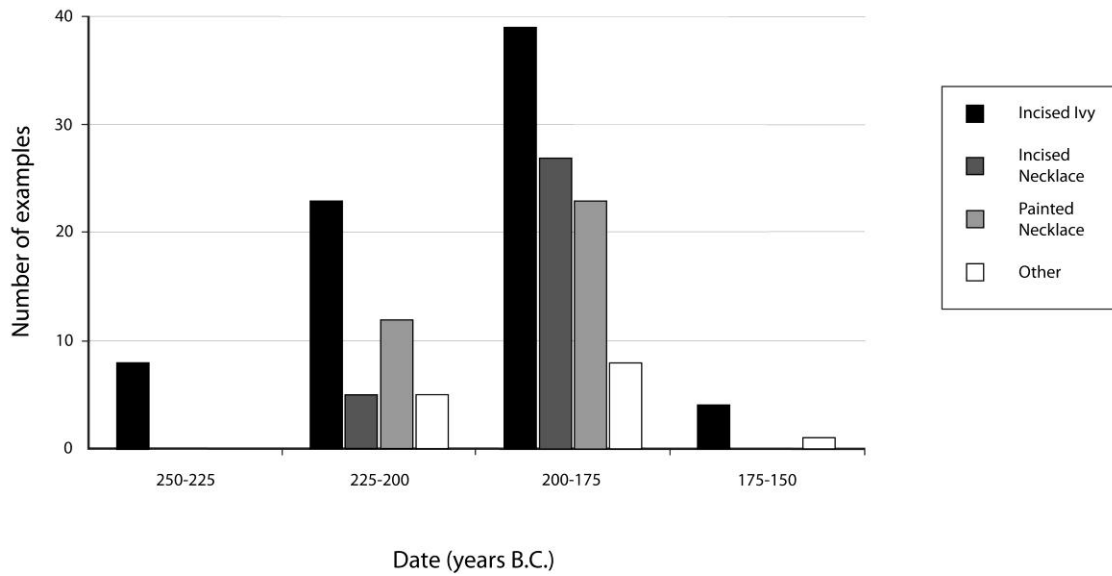


Chart 2.1: West Slope motifs on kantharoi and kraters

Present evidence suggests that Corinth had developed its own tradition of West Slope decoration by the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. McPhee's work has shown that the earliest West Slope decoration appears on the latest types of black glazed stemless bell kraters, which he dates to the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>45</sup> In the early stages of Corinthian West Slope, only the incised running ivy motif was used (Chart 2.1).<sup>46</sup> In fact, bands of running ivy are the most commonly used West Slope motif into the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and occur primarily on bell kraters and early one-piece and

<sup>44</sup> See *Agora XXIX*, p. 39 n. 12 for a list of sites in Greece and the Mediterranean that produced West Slope decorated pottery.

<sup>45</sup> McPhee 1997, pp. 139-140. This is considerably later than the date of ca. 330 B.C. proposed by Edwards in *Corinth VII.3*, p. 20.

<sup>46</sup> See Cat. Nos. 32, 34-36 and 166 for examples of vessels with bands of running ivy decoration.

cyma kantharoi.<sup>47</sup> By ca. 225 B.C., however, the range of West Slope decoration had expanded to include the incised necklace and the painted necklace, as well as two less popular designs, the “egg and dart” and the garland or festoon.<sup>48</sup> Since several new types of kantharos and krater were also introduced in this period, it is tempting to connect the growing number of West Slope motifs to the development of these local shapes.

During the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., West Slope decoration was normally employed in a single band in the rim or handle zone of one-piece, cyma and articulated kantharoi, as well as shoulder bands on hemispherical and bolster kraters. The fact that running ivy and necklace bands are the most common types found on kantharoi would seem to indicate an inherent conservatism on the part of the potter given the wide range of motifs in use at the same time at other sites in Greece.<sup>49</sup> Hellenistic kraters received a slightly greater range of motifs than kantharoi, including incised checkerboards and concentric squares (Cat. No. 166). The use of West Slope decoration, in the same restricted range, continued through to the end of the production life of each shape.

In the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., the repertoire of Corinthian West Slope motifs was given a boost by the introduction of two new shapes that provided larger canvasses for decoration.<sup>50</sup> The conical bowl and the plate with offset rim are shapes that seem to have encouraged artistic liberties, while at the same time retaining earlier motifs. Conical bowls were decorated with painted motifs around the entire inner surface, such motifs

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<sup>47</sup> See Chapters 3 and 4 for specific discussion of the types of West Slope motifs used on drinking vessels and kraters respectively.

<sup>48</sup> See Cat. Nos. 30, 33, 38, 40 and 56 (necklace motifs), Cat. No. 48 (egg and dart) and Cat. No. 52 (festoon).

<sup>49</sup> For example, Rotroff lists 27 different motifs seen on contemporary Athenian pottery (*Agora* XXIX, pp. 43-44); McPhee also notes the conservatism of Corinthian West Slope (McPhee 1997, p. 140).

<sup>50</sup> Several interesting examples of vessels from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. show the combined use of West Slope and another technique. C 1990-21a, b is a Corinthian moldmade bowl with West Slope decoration in the rim zone above the uppermost molded band. C 1986-127a, b (kantharos) and C 1968-200 (oinochoe), both feature a band of incised West Slope decoration above applied or molded rows of thorns.

include painted flowers, swans and winged horses. Plates with offset rims typically have incised West Slope decoration of checkerboards, lattice and cross-in-concentric square patterns in their rim bands and floors painted with the same elaborate figural motifs as seen on conical bowls. This style of creative free-hand painting used on these two shapes only lasted a short time and died out in the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. along with the shapes that inspired it.

Edwards' chronological division into Early and Late groups of Corinthian West Slope decoration is generally correct, but his absolute chronology is not.<sup>51</sup> The problem lies in the fact that the chronology of Corinthian West Slope motifs is not independent of the shapes on which they appear. Edwards dated his Earlier Phase from ca. 330 B.C. to the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. This group included the simple incised and painted bands (running ivy, necklace, bead and reel, egg and dart and few others) used on kraters and kantharoi.<sup>52</sup> While the simple incised and painted bands of Edwards' Early Phase are indeed the earliest and persist throughout the life of West Slope, it is now clear that the use of West Slope at Corinth does not begin until the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. thereby lowering his high date. Furthermore because the running ivy and necklace patterns are used on kantharoi down to ca. 175 B.C., the sharp distinction between the Earlier and Later Phases as advanced by Edwards has been significantly blurred.

Edwards' Later Phase, dated from the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. to 146 B.C., is marked by the continuation of certain banded motifs and the wide variety of new painted designs that appeared on conical bowls and plates with offset rims.<sup>53</sup> As noted above, the complex painted designs of Edwards' Later group only occur on conical bowls and plates

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<sup>51</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 19-26. Edwards' discussion of various West Slope motifs and their associated shapes is both accurate and comprehensive.

<sup>52</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 20-21.

<sup>53</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 21-24.

with offset rims. Since these shapes have been re-dated, his Later Phase should be shifted to between the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and the 160s B.C.<sup>54</sup>

While it is true that West Slope decoration was most common from the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. into the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup>. B.C., arguably this phenomenon is a reflection of the increasing popularity of the shapes on which it was regularly employed rather than interest in West Slope decoration per se. Although the elaborate painted motifs found on conical bowls and plates with offset rims are unique to them and therefore datable to a restricted range, the simpler incised motifs are common to many shapes and individual vessels should not be dated on the basis of decoration alone. Overall, I would argue that it is best to rely on the date of the shape on which the decoration appears to create a chronology of Corinthian West Slope.

## **ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION**

Previous studies have shown that the geological processes that formed the Corinthia resulted in a wide variety of clay beds, but have suggested that most of them are unsuitable for the production of ceramic vessels.<sup>55</sup> At the same time, petrographic studies undertaken by Whitbread and others have been unable to correlate any samples from local clay beds to the main fabric classes of ancient ceramics.<sup>56</sup> Most recently, this puzzling situation has been tackled by Sanders, who has shown through extensive sampling and experimental firings that even the most calcareous clays around Corinth are

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<sup>54</sup> See Chapter 4 for a discussion of these shapes.

<sup>55</sup> Whitbread and others believed that the highly calcareous clays found throughout Corinth did not fire well because the calcium carbonate decomposes to calcium oxide at high temperatures (Whitbread 2003, p. 7).

<sup>56</sup> Whitbread 2003, p. 8.

capable of producing viable vessels and that reasonable associations can be made between clay beds and the fabrics of ancient pottery.<sup>57</sup>

Several scholars have discussed the organization of pottery production in Corinth in the Archaic and Classical periods. One focus of debate is the nature of the so-called Potter's Quarter.<sup>58</sup> Stillwell and Salmon both agreed that the Potter's Quarter, near the western edge of the city wall, was a specialized production area situated next to exploitable clay resources.<sup>59</sup> Conversely, Williams has interpreted the Potter's Quarter as a primarily residential area with its own shrines and cemeteries.<sup>60</sup> Williams' scenario is consistent with his argument that throughout much of the Greek period Corinth was made up of a series of villages inside the city walls.<sup>61</sup> The Potter's Quarter then fits well into this model as a small settlement ideally situated in regard to both raw materials (i.e., clay) and agricultural land.<sup>62</sup> In terms of actual production, Arafat and Morgan suggest, on the basis of a passage in Plato's *Republic*, that extended families were the basis of workshops.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore they interpret the scatter of facilities at Corinth to indicate that the household was the primary unit of production.<sup>64</sup> This interpretation is shared by Shanks, who adds that production was therefore small-scale and practiced by part-time specialists at quiet times in the agricultural calendar.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Sanders pers. comm.

<sup>58</sup> Note that the Potter's Quarter is the largest area that has been interpreted as related to pottery production in the Archaic and Classical period. But there are kilns and other small installations thought to be connected with ceramic production found throughout the city that also date to this period (see Jones 1986, pp. 175-189).

<sup>59</sup> Salmon 1984, p. 96; *Corinth* XV.1, p. 15.

<sup>60</sup> Williams 1982, pp. 17-18.

<sup>61</sup> Williams 1981, p. 409; Roebuck 1972, p. 119, 125.

<sup>62</sup> According to Arafat and Morgan, since there are numerous potential sources of clay it is reasonable to suppose that the site of the Potter's Quarter was chosen for more than just the available clay by those who also engaged in part-time farming (Arafat and Morgan 1989, p. 315).

<sup>63</sup> Arafat and Morgan 1989, pp. 327-328.

<sup>64</sup> Arafat and Morgan 1989, p. 328.

<sup>65</sup> Shanks 1999, pp. 49-50.



While ceramic production in the Archaic and Classical periods has been relatively thoroughly discussed by others, a few points can be made here that relate to the local Hellenistic assemblage. The following suggestions are tentative and intended to further debate should additional evidence become available on this important topic. Overall, at present, the evidence suggests that there was a de-centralized, small-scale ceramic industry in the Hellenistic period as well that was focused around several accessible clay beds.

Firstly, it is clear that despite the fact that some of the same clay beds were still being utilized, the quality of Hellenistic fabrics is significantly poorer than those made in earlier periods. Although Corinthian fine ware of the Archaic and Classical periods was not of as high a quality as Attic fine ware, technically it was of better quality than its Hellenistic counterparts with purer fabrics, thinner walls, better adhering glaze and more precision in manufacture.<sup>66</sup> Corinthian Classical pottery normally has a pale fine clay (similar to fabric B) and a well adhering black glaze into the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>67</sup> At some point after the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Deposits 22 and 23), the quality of locally produced pottery begins to change. New techniques of partially glazing a vessel by dipping were introduced and go hand in hand with occasional irregularities in profile and glazes that adhere poorly or flake. These new aspects of production are consistently found throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. bowls and plates show even further signs of careless manufacture, such as a greater unevenness in profile and wall thickness, use of poorly levigated clays and frequent spalling.<sup>68</sup> Often a significant decrease in the quality

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<sup>66</sup> It is very rare in the Archaic and Classical periods to have a vessel with a profile that varies from side to side - a common characteristic of many Hellenistic serving vessels.

<sup>67</sup> As Herbert notes in regard to Corinthian red-figure pottery, the glaze was also dull, cloudy and tended to have a slightly green tinge (*Corinth* VII.4, pp. 1-2).

<sup>68</sup> Spalling occurs when a fragment of limestone within the clay fractures during firing causing part of the vessel's surface to crack and/or break off. This can be avoided by a skilled potter through proper preparation of the clay and choice of temper.

of manufacture is thought to indicate a shift from small-scale to large-scale production. This explanation, however, does not fit the available evidence. Another possible option is that metal vessels were replacing clay and as the importance of the pottery industry declined so did the demand for high quality ceramics.<sup>69</sup>

No direct archaeological evidence for kilns or pottery workshops of the Hellenistic period has been found at Corinth.<sup>70</sup> However, if the pattern established by the Potter's Quarter is correct we can suggest that potters may have lived very close to their raw material.<sup>71</sup> The same clays were probably regularly used by the same potters otherwise it would have been difficult to guarantee a basic quality of product. The distribution of fabrics across the assemblage supports such an assumption. Arguably, because the clay of fabric B can be found all over Corinth there was no need for production to be focused in one region of the city. Instead, pottery production could have taken place in more than one locus. The variability found within contemporary examples of the same shape, e.g. echinus bowls, tentatively argues in favor of individual potters who were making different versions of the same vessels. Moreover, the very wide range of shapes were produced in fabric B suggests that more than one workshop was operating at any given time.

To take the argument further, the idea of a "community resource area" in terms of clay acquisition and pottery production fits the Corinthian evidence quite well. On the basis of ethnographic studies of modern South American villages, this model envisages "a group of potters selecting, modifying, and mixing raw materials within a discrete

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<sup>69</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the possible use of metal vessels in Corinth.

<sup>70</sup> We can now say that the Potter's Quarter was abandoned by the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. This date is different from that proposed by Stillwell of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., but is based on a redating of the latest Attic imports found in the Potter's Quarter, see *Corinth* XV.3, Appendix II. One reason why we have not found any Hellenistic kilns may be because the technical requirements of firing were less than for red-figure Classical pottery and so temporary kilns could have been used.

<sup>71</sup> Sanders pers. comm.

resource, . . . . Because potters in this community interact, the group often has stylistic correlates".<sup>72</sup> Although homogeneity in shape and fabric has been associated in the past with specialized, large-scale production, ethnoarchaeological data suggests that part-time, small-scale potters living within a restricted area produce a remarkably standardized assemblage in terms of general form and size.<sup>73</sup> It is possible therefore to argue that the relatively homogenous groups of shapes that comprise the Hellenistic fine ware assemblage could have resulted from de-centralized, small-scale production. We can therefore speculate that the organization of pottery production in Hellenistic Corinth was somewhat similar to that hypothesized for the Archaic and Classical periods despite the lack of concrete archaeological evidence.

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<sup>72</sup> Arnold et al. 2000, p. 364.

<sup>73</sup> Arnold 1991, p. 364.

## Chapter 3: Drinking Vessels

### INTRODUCTION

Drinking cups are one of the most chronologically sensitive classes of Corinthian Hellenistic pottery. The thin fabric of these shapes and their frequent use meant that breakage rates were high and as a result drinking vessels comprise a substantial proportion (20% or more) of the fine ware in every Hellenistic deposit. In terms of production, the short use-life of drinking cups must have created a constant demand for new vessels. The high production rates seem to have encouraged distinct and rapid evolutions in shape. At the same time, frequent changes in fashion and the continual introduction of new shapes meant that each type of drinking vessel had a relatively discrete period of production.

These intrinsic properties and aspects of production mean that Corinthian drinking vessels are good indicators of change in the assemblage. As a group, they reflect the transition from the Classical to Hellenistic period, the point at which the Corinthian assemblage began to absorb elements of the Hellenistic koine, as well as the nature of external influences on Corinthian pottery. In this way, Corinthian drinking vessels can help address some of the larger issues related to the cultural development of Hellenistic Corinth.

Only three Classical shapes survived into the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.: the Attic type skyphos, the kotyle and the one-handled cup. These earlier drinking vessels dominated production until the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., when the kantharos began to supplant these older types. Present evidence suggests that the first Corinthian kantharos was produced in the second quarter

of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 3.1).<sup>1</sup> Before the beginning of local kantharos production, large numbers of Athenian kantharoi were imported into Corinth.<sup>2</sup> While these Attic kantharoi are clearly not prototypes for the first Corinthian kantharos, it is possible that their presence may have influenced the development of a local equivalent.<sup>3</sup> The initial production of kantharoi in Corinth may be related to the decline in Attic imports (including kantharoi) through the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. This decline in Attic kantharoi may have encouraged local potters to fill the gap in the market by producing a similar shape.<sup>4</sup>

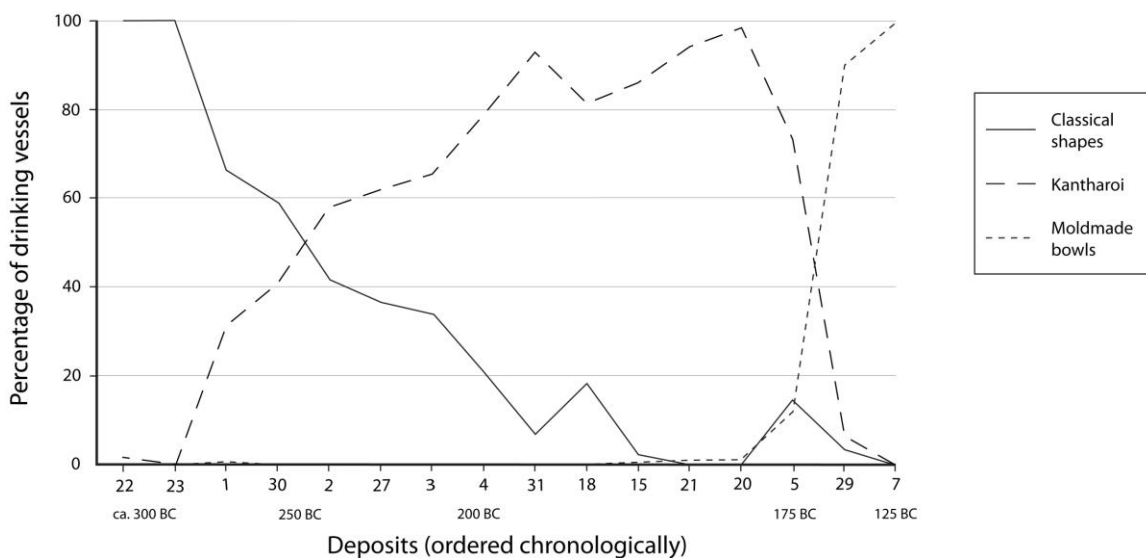


Chart 3.1: Drinking vessel types from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Pemberton was the first to suggest that the date for the introduction of Corinthian kantharoi should be lowered to (ca. 300 B.C. or later) (*Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 35). Anderson-Stojanovic found additional support for a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. date in a well from the Rachi settlement (Anderson-Stojanovic 1993, p. 263).

<sup>2</sup> The bulk of the Athenian kantharoi found at Corinth have date ranges of between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>3</sup> For example, all of the kantharoi in drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22), a deposit dated ca. 310-290 B.C., are Athenian (*Corinth* VII.6).

<sup>4</sup> An analogous situation can be seen in the development of plates in Hellenistic Corinth (see Chapter 4).

For the next 75 years, the kantharos was the only type of drinking vessel produced by Corinthian potters. While the basic shape is widely known, it is likely that the earliest type of Corinthian kantharos, the one-piece kantharos, was inspired by the Classical Corinthian kotyle. The simple one-piece kantharos with its hemispherical body and molded foot quickly gave rise to the popular cyma and articulated kantharoi along with other less common types. These unusual and short-lived variants are part of a period of experimentation in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. that resulted in the introduction of many new shapes to the Corinthian assemblage.<sup>5</sup>

All Corinthian kantharoi (Cat. Nos. 23-70) have the same basic characteristics of thin walls, heavy molded feet and two vertical handles (either thumbrest or Heracles knot handles) attached at the rim. For most of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., a low quality black glaze covered the entire cup with the occasional exception of the undersurface of the foot. Painted and incised West Slope decoration was often employed in the rim or handle zone.<sup>6</sup> In terms of stylistic development within each type, there are few definite patterns. It is clear, however, that Edwards' general notion that drinking vessels become more attenuated and constricted over time is not universally applicable.<sup>7</sup>

With this discovery in mind, the present study has focused on identifying broad trends in individual shape development and possible workshops rather than developing new generalizations about all drinking vessels. In order to describe trends in shape development, all complete examples of a type were arranged chronologically by the date of their context. Comparisons were then made between dimensions and proportions, as

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<sup>5</sup> Between ca. 225 and the early part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., many new forms of kraters and plates were also introduced that became standard parts of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. assemblage.

<sup>6</sup> Of all the shapes in the Corinthian Hellenistic assemblage, the kantharos most commonly has West Slope decoration. For a definition and discussion of West Slope decoration, see Chapter 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 64

well as decorative characteristics such as quality of glaze and the nature of West Slope decoration (painted or incised and type of motif).

Corinthian kantharoi are found both in deposits that seem to be primarily domestic or private and in those that are certainly associated with commercial or public activities.<sup>8</sup> Although the overwhelming numbers of cyma and articulated kantharoi in the fills of the South Stoa wells may imply that the kantharos was more common in public dining contexts, the ubiquity of the shape in domestic deposits suggests that the kantharos was the standard drinking vessel for much of the Hellenistic period.<sup>9</sup>

Cyma and articulated kantharoi (Cat. Nos. 34-65) are the most common types of drinking cups through the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and remained very popular into the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. A challenge to the primacy of the kantharos came in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., when the first moldmade bowls were produced in Corinth (Chart 3.1). This date for the initial production of moldmade bowls at Corinth is analogous to many other sites in the Mediterranean, which also begin producing moldmade bowls in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>10</sup> At Corinth, moldmade bowls quickly grew in popularity through the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., a trend that coincides with a rapid decline in the number of kantharoi per deposit. By between ca. 165 and 150 B.C., moldmade bowls had supplanted kantharoi as the dominant type of drinking vessel. This pattern continued into the latter part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. when moldmade bowls were the only type of drinking cup produced during the interim period (146-44 B.C.).

The following discussion of individual shapes aims to define each type, describe its origin, outline its chronological development and finally describe its distribution in

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<sup>8</sup> For the definition of a domestic deposit and a public/special use deposit, see Chapter 1.

<sup>9</sup> For the South Stoa wells, see Deposit Index nos. 8-21 and 32-35 and a detailed discussion of their fills in Chapter 6.

<sup>10</sup> A date of ca. 185 B.C. for the initial production of moldmade bowls in Corinth is much later than at Athens where moldmade bowls first appear in the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. See *Agora XXIX*, p. 11 for a list of other Mediterranean sites with moldmade bowls.

contexts throughout Corinth. While the definition and origin of each shape is largely based on previous work, the discussions of chronology and distribution are based primarily on the Panayia Field chronology and additional research undertaken by the author.<sup>11</sup> It was not, however, always possible because of a lack of evidence to address all of these issues for each type of drinking vessel. For example, as mentioned above, each shape was examined for indications of significant morphological changes through time. The results of these attempts were mixed and where no broad patterns emerged this section is omitted. At other times, the sample set was too small to make generalizations about the spatial distribution of a shape. The descriptions below are intended to be a comprehensive reflection of the current state of research on each individual drinking vessel shape.

## CLASSICAL SHAPES

### **One-handed cup (Cat. Nos. 1-8)<sup>12</sup>**

The one-handed cup or one-handler is a Classical shape that was not originally included in *Corinth* VII.3.<sup>13</sup> The Corinthian one-handed cup in its most basic form is a small vessel with a ring foot, a convex or vertical wall and a rounded, tapered or flat vertical lip. A horizontal loop handle is attached at or near the top of the wall. Some one-handed cups are fully glazed, while others are partially glazed by dipping in a process

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<sup>11</sup> The main group that rely on previous publications are the shapes that first occur in the Classical period, since I was unable to examine the relevant deposits for the upper range of dates for these shapes.

<sup>12</sup> There is some debate about whether the one-handed cup was intended for liquids or solids and it is quite possible that it was used for both purposes (*Agora* XXIX p. 155). I have included it under this category because it has a handle, unlike any serving vessel of this size in the Corinthian assemblage, and therefore it seems more likely that it was intended to be used as a drinking vessel.

<sup>13</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 63 n. 54. Edwards' exclusion of the one-handed cup is surprising, since he believed that it continued to be produced into the Hellenistic period



that leaves the lower part of the body reserved. Almost every Hellenistic one-handed cup is made in fabric B.

One handed cups were first discussed as a shape in *Corinth XVIII.1*, which included an admittedly problematic typology that divided them into two types based on characteristics of wall thickness and glaze.<sup>14</sup> Pemberton concluded that one-handed cups were first produced in Corinth in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., but was unable to determine when they went out of production, suggesting only that it was before 146 B.C.<sup>15</sup> She also argued that although there is a contemporary Attic version of a one-handed cup, it is more likely that the two shapes developed independently.<sup>16</sup>

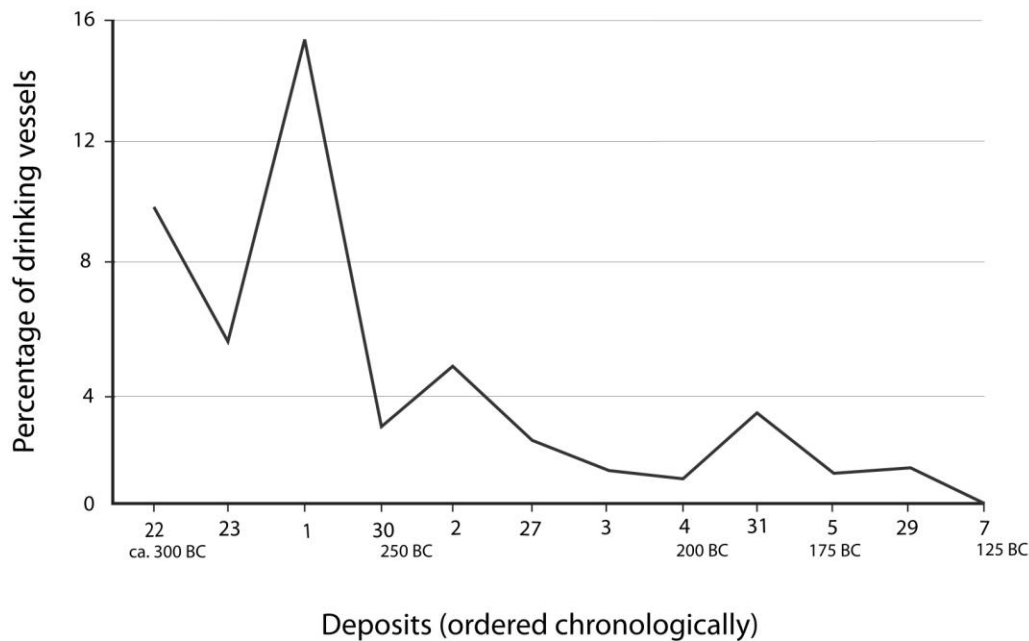


Chart 3.2: One-handed cups by weight of drinking vessels

<sup>14</sup> *Corinth XVIII.1*, pp. 36-38.

<sup>15</sup> *Corinth XVIII.1*, pp. 36-38.

<sup>16</sup> The shallow version of the Attic form is somewhat similar to the Corinthian one-handed cup but since it is such a simple shape it is difficult to assign much weight to this resemblance. The latest Attic one-handed cups occur in deposits ca. 300 B.C. (*Agora XXIX*, p. 156).

While it is not possible to assess how common one handled cups were in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., they constitute a significant portion of the drinking vessels in deposits of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. in Corinth. In terms of the total percentage of fine ware per deposit, the quantity of one handled cups seems to have remained steady through the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 3.2). The one-handled cup had rapidly declined in popularity by the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., when they constitute a very small percentage of the total drinking vessels in cistern 2006-1 (Deposit 2) and cistern 1940-1 (Deposit 27). This pattern suggests that their production had stopped sometime around the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and that the sharp drop through the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. marks the end of their use-life. A small number of one-handled cups, which appear to be survivors, occur in deposits of the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. In addition, the complete absence of one-handled cups from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. fills of the South Stoa wells (not included on Chart 3.2) demonstrates that they were almost certainly out of production and circulation by the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. That the end of production of one-handled cups occurs in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is part of the evidence for the transition from the Classical to Hellenistic assemblage beginning at Corinth ca. 275-250 B.C.

One-handled cups appear in a wide variety of ritual, domestic and public dining contexts throughout Corinth, including the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the Panayia Field, the Baths of Aphrodite and the Forum area. The utilitarian nature of the one-handled cup probably made it multi-functional, which may explain why it is one of the most common types of fine ware vessel in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

### **Kotyle (Cat. Nos. 9-11)**

The kotyle is a common shape in the Corinthian assemblage from the Late Protocorinthian through to the Hellenistic period. Like the one-handled cup, the Hellenistic version of the kotyle was omitted from Edwards' initial study but discussed by Pemberton in *Corinth XVIII.1*.<sup>17</sup> She identified two forms of kotyle in the Hellenistic period: a black glazed form with West Slope decoration and a completely undecorated kotyle. The black glazed kotyle (Cat. No. 9) is similar in shape to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. version with a splayed ring foot, ovoid body and horizontal loop handles attached on the upper wall.<sup>18</sup> The second type of kotyle has a simple ring foot, convex body with a rounded or tapered lip and small horizontal loop handles (Cat. No. 10). A third variety of kotyle, introduced in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., was found in the Panayia Field deposits. This new type of kotyle, the interior glazed kotyle, has the basic shape of the black glazed and plain kotylai as identified by Pemberton. However, it tends to be made in a coarser fabric and have an undecorated (often burnished) exterior and an interior covered by a red wash or black glaze (Cat. No. 11). All three types of kotyle were produced exclusively in Corinthian fabric B.

Evidence suggests that the kotyle was never as common as the one-handled cup or the Attic type skyphos in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. While the production of the black glazed kotyle appears to have stopped by the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> B.C., both types of unglazed kotyle continue in production through to the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>19</sup> By the last quarter

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<sup>17</sup> *Corinth XVIII.1*, pp. 25-28.

<sup>18</sup> See C 1965-621 (*Corinth XVIII.1*, no. 399) for another example.

<sup>19</sup> Note that Chart 3.3 combines the data for both types of plain kotyle. See *Corinth XVIII.1*, pp. 25-26 for the lower date for the black glazed kotyle.

of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., the unglazed kotyle goes into a steep decline (Deposit 3) and by the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. they are almost completely absent from Hellenistic fills.

The kotyle was a very common shape in Corinth in the Classical period and was similarly ubiquitous through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Kotylai are found in public (the Forum area) and domestic (Panayia Field) contexts, sanctuaries and graves. The fact that the kotyle, which had been a popular shape since it began production in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., finally went out of production in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is symptomatic of the major shift that occurred in the assemblage in the Hellenistic period.

### **Attic type skyphos (Cat. No. 12-22)**

Third century Attic type skyphoi are characterized by a low, torus ring foot with a convex cylindrical lower body to wide globular upper body with an outward flaring rim. Two horizontal squared loop handles are attached below the rim. Almost all examples are fully glazed with a few rare exceptions, where the undersurface of the foot is reserved. In terms of decoration, the use of miltois on the foot is a common feature before the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., but no West Slope or any other kind of additional decoration occurs on Attic type skyphoi after ca. 290 B.C. (see below). Most Attic type skyphoi were produced in fabric B, although a few later examples were made in fabric C.

A consistently popular shape throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., the Attic type skyphos was probably introduced to Corinth in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. from Athens.<sup>20</sup> Although an argument can be made for a local origin, based on the fact that early forms of the shape

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<sup>20</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 30.

have strong similarities to the Corinthian kotyle, the presence of miltos on most 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. examples suggests an intention to imitate the Attic form.<sup>21</sup>

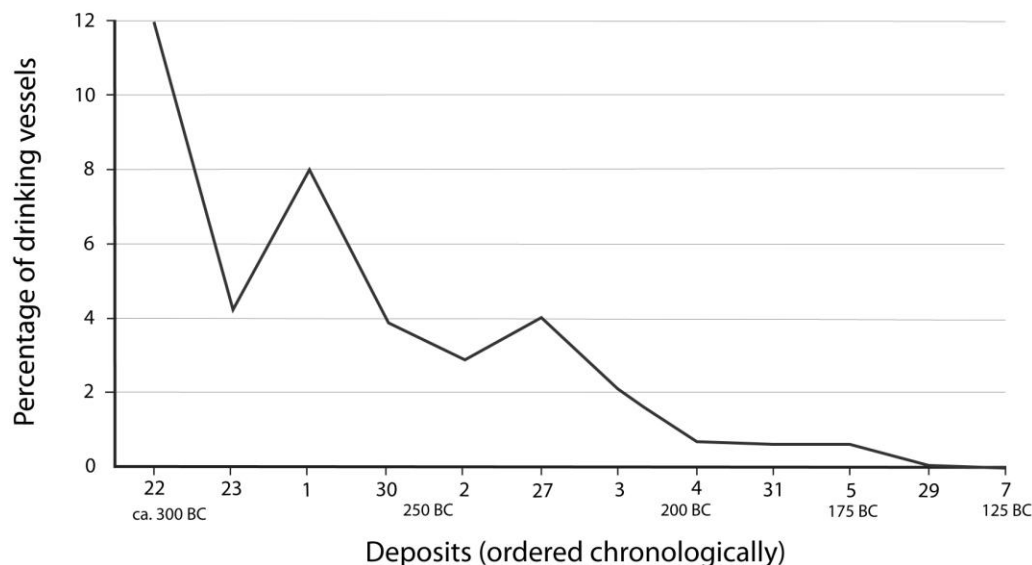


Chart 3.3: Attic type skyphoi by weight of drinking vessels

The earliest deposits with Attic type skyphoi are dated to the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. Evidence from deposits in the Forum area and the Panayia Field make it clear that, like the one-handled cup and kotyle, the shape continued well into the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Two deposits of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. from the Forum area (Deposits 22 and 23) show that by ca. 300-290 B.C., the Attic type skyphos was the most common type of drinking vessel in the assemblage.<sup>22</sup> Production remained relatively steady through to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., but the shape began to decline in popularity through the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. in Deposits 2, 27 and 3 (see Chart 3.3). Determining the precise end of production and use

<sup>21</sup> Miltos is a type of decoration that involves leaving an area reserved, normally a band (or bands) on the body or foot of the vessel, to which a red or pink wash is applied. See also Chapter 2.

<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, the paucity of quantifiable 4<sup>th</sup> c. deposits makes it difficult to determine when or for how long this was the case. However, the bolsal cup and kotyle were both popular shapes in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. alongside the Attic type skyphos and it is perhaps their decline that resulted in the predominance of Attic type skyphoi by the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

life of the Attic type skyphos is rather difficult because its foot survives very well in the archaeological record.<sup>23</sup> This aspect of Attic type skyphoi should be kept in mind when reading the charts that show percentage by weight of drinking vessels, since the foot is quite heavy relative to the thin, light fabric of kantharoi.<sup>24</sup> Because of this feature, when considering the end point of production a distinction has been made between those deposits with complete examples and upper bodies and those containing only feet. This means that it was necessary to rely on count rather than weight for Attic type skyphoi in later deposits that contain primarily kantharoi.<sup>25</sup> Based on this criterion, well 2002-2 (Deposit 4) demonstrates that by the end of the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Attic type skyphoi had been out of production long enough for this roughly 600 kg fill to contain only one complete profile and a few surviving feet. As the chart shows, the overall pattern of decline suggests that the Attic type skyphos went out of production late in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>26</sup> This same conclusion has been reached by Pemberton, who, in her study of Hellenistic graves from the Anaploga area, noted that Attic type skyphoi continue to be used as grave goods only into the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>27</sup>

This new chronological range is significantly different than that in *Corinth* VII.3. In the previous chronology, Edwards drew stylistic parallels to skyphoi found at Olynthos to date the earliest Corinthian examples to 425 B.C. and used Attic type skyphoi found in

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<sup>23</sup> The foot of an Attic type skyphos, especially by the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., is essentially a thick and solid ceramic disk. As a result, it is both relatively heavy and almost indestructible.

<sup>24</sup> Since the problem of over-representation by weight, because of the nature of the vessel, only occurs with Attic type skyphoi, I have treated it as a special case and maintained the methodology outlined in Chapter 1 as much as possible.

<sup>25</sup> The data on each type of kantharoi as a percentage of total fine ware is, however, less impacted by the problem of the survivability of Attic type skyphos feet.

<sup>26</sup> One possible argument for the continuation of the Attic type skyphos into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. may come from the lowest fill of South Stoa well XIX (Deposit 18) where several fragments were found. However their exact findspot within the fill is unclear and it is most likely that these are survivors since three of the four sherds are feet.

<sup>27</sup> Pemberton 1985, p. 282.

Corinthian graves to set the end of production at ca. 275 B.C.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, most of the Attic type skyphoi that were available to Edwards in his study were from fills deposited immediately prior to the construction of the South Stoa. This limited sample, when combined with rarity of Attic type skyphoi in the “use” fills of the South Stoa wells, contributed to the end date of 275 B.C. that he assigned to this shape. It is, however, very clear from their presence in the much later fills from the Panayia Field and in the Hellenistic graves at Anaploga that the production life of Attic type skyphoi must now be lengthened by at least 25 years down to ca. 250-225 B.C.

Stylistically, both Edwards and Pemberton saw a steady evolution of the skyphos through the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. towards an increasingly unbalanced form with a constricted foot and wide upper body.<sup>29</sup> Attic type skyphoi of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. are certainly very different with broader bodies and larger rim and foot diameters than those of the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. In terms of decoration, in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. the entire vessel is coated in a thick, durable heavy black glaze and the bottom of the wall, the resting surface and undersurface are often reserved and covered in a red wash or milto; concentric bands of glaze are normally added to the flat undersurface (Cat. Nos. 12-14). By ca. 300 B.C., a new style of Attic type skyphos had developed with a narrower body and often a foot with a nipped undersurface (see Cat. Nos. 17-18). The process of the constriction of the foot can be seen through the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., when the ratios of rim to foot diameter and height to foot diameter increase gradually to the point where most examples have a ratio of 2:1 or greater. Attic type skyphoi of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. were more simply decorated with plain, low quality black glaze covering the entire vessel with the occasional exception of the foot (Cat. Nos. 15-22). There are signs of double dipping during manufacture and

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<sup>28</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 67.

<sup>29</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 67-69; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 30; Pemberton 1985, pp. 280-281.

stacking circles can occur on these later examples. Another 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. feature may be a gradual decrease in the size of Attic type skyphoi, as those from the latest deposits are rarely more than 0.09m in height.

The process of constriction of the foot began sometime in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. since the Attic type skyphoi from drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22) have considerably narrower feet than earlier 4<sup>th</sup> c. examples (such as Cat. No. 14).<sup>30</sup> The Attic type skyphoi from drain 1971-1 appear to document the transition between 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. types and include heavy black glazed skyphoi with miltos and skyphoi without miltos but with either a flaking glaze or a thick, well adhering glaze.<sup>31</sup> Of the inventoried examples from drain 1971-1, four of the twelve Attic type skyphoi are the 4<sup>th</sup> c. variety with miltos, while eight are 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. types. Attic type skyphoi from deposits that can be dated to after the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. are always without miltos and tend to have flaking glaze (Cat. Nos. 19-22).

The distribution of findspots of Attic type skyphoi shows the ubiquity of the shape in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C. Although highly concentrated in deposits in Buildings I-III and the Forum area, Attic type skyphoi are also found in the Asklepieion, the Demeter and Kore sanctuary and commonly in graves in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. This pattern continues into the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. None are known from sanctuary contexts, but this is likely due to chance, as Attic type skyphoi are still found in areas around the Forum, in graves and also in domestic debris. By the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Attic type skyphoi are most common in contexts connected with domestic activity such as the Panayia Field. This pattern of findspots suggest that the Attic type skyphos was used as a standard drinking vessel until it was replaced by the kantharos in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

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<sup>30</sup> The phenomenon of constriction of the foot could surely be demonstrated for 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. Attic type skyphoi, if the deposit evidence were available.

<sup>31</sup> See Cat. Nos. 13 and 14 as examples.



## HELLENISTIC SHAPES

### One-piece kantharos (Cat. Nos. 23-33)

The earliest known Corinthian kantharos is the one-piece. This simple shape consists of a pedestal foot with a hemispherical body and either Heracles knot or thumbrest handles. Decoration consists of miltois on the foot and stem and incised horizontal bands that delineate the handle zone. One-piece kantharoi appear to have been made exclusively in fabric B.

Originally, Edwards had thought that there might be an Attic prototype for the one-piece kantharos, but Pemberton has more convincingly suggested that the shape is related to the black glazed kotyle.<sup>32</sup> Considering the longevity of the kotyle in the Corinthian repertoire, it is not surprising that the first kantharos should be related to that shape. The introduction of the one-piece kantharos marks the beginning of the shift away from Classical shapes to a fully developed Hellenistic assemblage.

It is difficult to date precisely the initial phase of one-piece kantharos production, although it probably occurred some time in the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 3.4). This conclusion is based on their complete absence from the deposits dated ca. 300 B.C. or the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and suggested by their first appearance in deposits dated to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. or third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>33</sup> By the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., one-piece kantharoi constitute a significant proportion (28% by weight) of the drinking vessels in cellar 2005-1 (Deposit 1) suggesting that production began one or two decades

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<sup>32</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 75; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 35.

<sup>33</sup> One early one-piece kantharos is C 1971-31, which was found in a well in Building II north of the South Stoa. Although the southern part of this building was put out of use before the construction of the South Stoa terrace, it is very possible that this well (lying more than 15m from the north wall of the terrace) remained open for a period of time. Alternatively we may consider this kantharos, which is an early type to be evidence that the South Stoa was not built until ca. 275 or later (see Chapter 6). Williams notes that the well in question was sealed by the construction of a paved east-west road that ran along the north side of the terrace, but does not suggest a date for this event. See Williams and Fisher 1972, p. 171 on the excavation of the well and chronology of Building II.

before their first appearance. One-piece kantharoi appear to have enjoyed the greatest popularity in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. but their consistent presence in deposits through to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. demonstrates continued production. The absence of one-piece kantharoi from deposits of the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. argues that their production stopped sometime in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

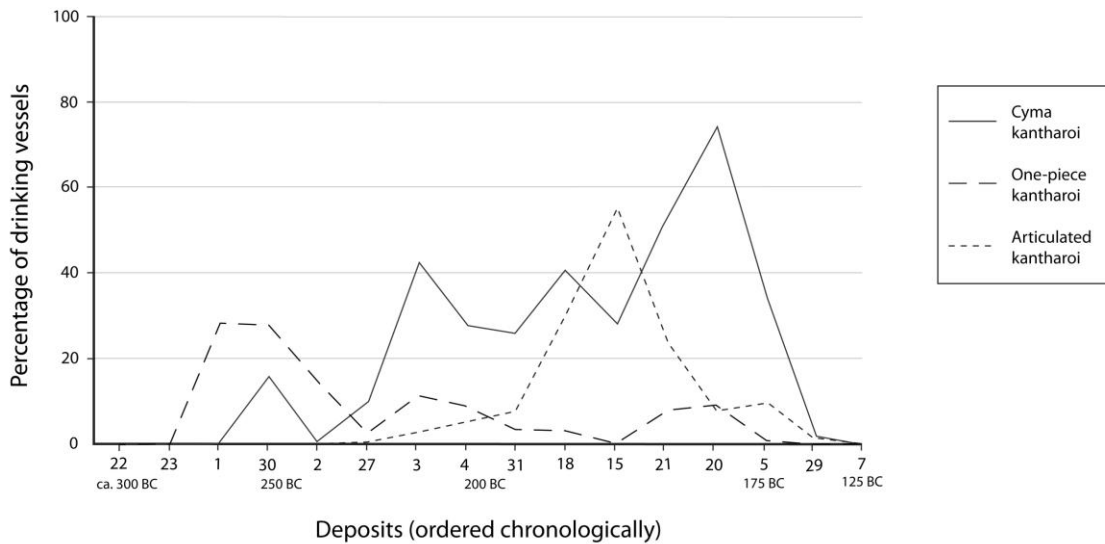


Chart 3.4: Main types of kantharoi by weight of drinking vessels

Stylistically, one-piece kantharoi of the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> to the end of the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. share certain features that distinguish them from those of the later 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries.<sup>34</sup> First, much like their proposed kotyle prototype, early examples tend to have a low, broad foot with a very short stem and a hemispherical body (Cat. No. 23). As a result, early one-piece kantharoi have a relatively small ratio of height to rim diameter, generally of 1:1.16 or less. Moreover, early one-piece kantharoi seem to have

<sup>34</sup> Some of these trends in shape development were also noted by Edwards but without any chronological control (*Corinth* VII.3 p. 75).

Heracles knot handles (Cat. Nos. 23-29) rather than thumbrest handles, which are more common in later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. examples (Cat. Nos. 30-33).

One-piece kantharoi from later deposits dated between 225-175 B.C. have a slightly different set of characteristics (Cat. Nos. 30-33). In general, the later versions can have taller feet and more ovoid bodies than earlier one-piece kantharoi, factors which produce a larger height to rim diameter ratio of between 1:1.21 and 1:1.36. The decoration is also more elaborate because in addition to the standard incised bands within or bordering the handle zone, West Slope decoration is occasionally added. Thumbrest handles are the main type of handle found on the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. examples and are a characteristic of later one-piece kantharoi.

The distribution of findspots of one-piece kantharoi in Corinth suggests that like their predecessor, the kotyle, the one-piece kantharos was commonly used in a variety of public and private contexts. They are present in the fills of the South Stoa, as well as in the Panayia Field and well deposits throughout the city.

### **Cyma kantharos (Cat. Nos. 34-51)**

The cyma kantharos is the Corinthian kantharos par excellence. It should be noted from the outset that in dealing with this shape, I have combined Edwards' category of Acrocorinth kantharos with that of the cyma kantharos. In *Corinth* VII.3, Edwards divided cyma and Acrocorinth kantharoi into distinct groups based on what he perceived to be clear and consistent differences in shape and decoration.<sup>35</sup> In light of new evidence and additional examples of both types, the differences that Edwards initially perceived

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<sup>35</sup> Edwards' criteria for the Acrocorinth kantharos was the presence of a Heracles knot handle, lack of banding to delineate the handle zone and West Slope decoration of incised running ivy. *Corinth* VII.3, p. 82.

are no longer consistently true so that it is reasonable to treat the two related shapes together.<sup>36</sup>

The cyma kantharos was named for the profile of its upper wall, which can resemble a cyma reversa.<sup>37</sup> In its late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. form, the cyma kantharos has a high pedestal foot, an ovoid body that curves inward at the handle zone and a lip that flares outward to a tapered or rounded edge. Two vertical Heracles knot or thumbrest handles attach below the lip. In terms of decoration, cyma kantharoi are fully glazed and normally have either plain incised lines or West Slope decoration in the handle or rim zone. Although they are most commonly produced in fabric B, a few examples in fabric C are known.

Pemberton suggested that cyma kantharoi may have developed from the (Attic type) skyphos because of similarities in their wavy profiles.<sup>38</sup> Edwards, on the other hand, suggested a foreign prototype.<sup>39</sup> Based on the similarities of early cyma kantharoi to the one-piece kantharos and their chronological relationship, I would suggest that the cyma actually developed out of the one-piece since there are strong similarities in the foot and body profile between the two shapes. In fact, the only way in which they differ in profile, particularly in the earliest examples of cyma kantharoi, is the presence of an outward flaring lip.<sup>40</sup> Both types of kantharoi have a pedestal foot on a relatively short stem and Heracles knot handles.

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<sup>36</sup> Edwards recognized that the shapes were related and based his dating of the Acrocorinth kantharos on the stylistic developments he detected in the cyma kantharos.

<sup>37</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 76.

<sup>38</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 35.

<sup>39</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 76.

<sup>40</sup> Compare Cat. Nos. 23 and 29 to Cat. Nos. 36-37.

Cyma kantharoi enjoyed a wide popularity in the later half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The earliest fragments of cyma kantharoi in this study occur in well 60-6 (Deposit 30) where they represent a small but significant portion of the drinking vessels by weight (see Chart 3.4). This small relative proportion suggests that the sherds in that deposit likely represent a moment close to the initial phase of cyma kantharos production. We can thus place the beginning of cyma kantharoi early in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Cyma kantharoi quickly became popular as shown by the large quantities of both cyma and one-piece kantharoi from cistern 2001-1 (Deposit 3), which is dated to 230-210 B.C. They rapidly become the dominant type of kantharos through the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. making up between 26% and 43% of the drinking vessels in any given deposit. This trend continues to a greater or lesser degree through the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., but by the second quarter there is a sharp decline in their numbers, which seems to indicate that production must have stopped ca. 170-160 B.C.<sup>41</sup> These dates represent a significant shift from those in *Corinth* VII.3 where Edwards thought cyma kantharoi were in production from 330 to 225 B.C.

In terms of stylistic development, Edwards saw an overall trend in cyma kantharoi of attenuation and constriction of form.<sup>42</sup> His main data set consisted of the lower fills of South Stoa wells, which contain very large quantities of cyma and articulated kantharoi relative to other deposits in Corinth. These same fills, however, show that Edwards' strict schema for the evolution of cyma kantharoi is ultimately untenable, since many different shapes of cyma kantharoi occur in chronologically discrete dumped fills.<sup>43</sup> This does not

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<sup>41</sup> The sharp decline in cyma kantharoi as a percent of drinking vessels is first detected in manhole 1986-1 (Deposit 29), dated to 160-150 B.C., where they make up less than 2% by weight of that fine ware category.

<sup>42</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 77.

<sup>43</sup> See Sanders, forthcoming.

mean that patterns in shape development cannot be determined, but rather that such stylistic criteria should be viewed only as a very broad indicator of chronology.

There is some distinction between the earliest and the latest varieties of cyma kantharoi. As noted above, cyma kantharoi from deposits dated to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. share a number of features in common with the one-piece kantharos. Third century cyma kantharoi are characterized by their broader foot, short stem, hemispherical body and Heracles knot handles (Cat. Nos. 34-37). This basic shape is essentially that of a one-piece kantharos with the primary distinction in the rim, which is straight or slightly incurved on the one-piece and very outturned or outward flaring on a cyma kantharos. Like the one-piece kantharos, cyma kantharoi commonly have miltois on the foot, but differ in the use of ribbing on the lower bodies and incised running ivy decoration in the handle zone in some early examples.

Cyma kantharoi of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. have, to a greater or lesser extent, the distinctive undulating or wavy body profile that gives this kantharos its name and retain the outturned rim of the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. type (Cat. Nos. 38-51). In many cases, ribbed decoration is still used on the lower body, sometimes with an incised “X” below each handle (Cat. Nos. 41 and 43). Occasionally a West Slope motif of an incised ivy tendril decorates the handle zone, but a painted or incised necklace is the preferred motif if it is decorated. The presence of miltois on the stem and/or undersurfaces of the foot is a feature of earlier kantharoi that appears to have stopped by the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. One key difference is the use of a thumbrest handle rather than a Heracles knot handle on most 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. cyma kantharoi. This change may represent influence from one-piece kantharoi but is perhaps better viewed as part of a larger trend in kantharoi in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., since thumbrest handles are the only type found on contemporary articulated and Hexamilia kantharoi. These differences between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. cyma kantharoi are not absolute, since

there are exceptions to these patterns, but should be seen as general guidelines for understanding the development of this shape.

### **Articulated kantharos (Cat. Nos. 52-65)**

Along with the cyma kantharos, the articulated kantharos is one of the most popular and long-lived of all Corinthian kantharoi. This kantharos is named for the sharp articulation of the lower body on later examples.<sup>44</sup> In general, articulated kantharoi are characterized by a spreading ring foot or a shallow pedestal foot, a broad convex lower body to a straight upper wall (the transition marked by a sharp angle or articulation), and a vertical rounded lip; two vertical thumbrest handles are attached at or just below the lip. Articulated kantharoi are normally fully glazed and can have plain incised bands and/or West Slope decoration (normally a necklace) in the rim and handle zone. They were most commonly made in fabrics B and C.

Although the origin of the shape is difficult to determine, one possibility is that the articulated kantharos was inspired by the one-piece kantharos with which it shares a number of characteristics: a low broad foot, straight lip and incised bands around the handle zone. Edwards suggested that the articulated kantharos was cognate with a type of Attic kantharos (Thompson A 31), but a local origin seems more likely.<sup>45</sup> Another factor in its development is perhaps its practicality in public dining contexts. The low foot, angular lower body, straight upper walls and straight lip make the articulated

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<sup>44</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 83.

<sup>45</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 83. The Thompson A 31 has been re-described by Rotroff as an angular kantharos with a date range of between 280-225 B.C. (*Agora* XXIX, pp. 100-103). Although there are similarities in body profile between the two shapes, the fact that no examples of this Attic shape have been at Corinth to date and that the articulated kantharos began production at the same time that Attic angular kantharos production was ending makes it more plausibly a local invention. There are, however, examples of what seem to be late imitations of Attic shapes notably the calyx kantharos and the Corinthian molded rim kantharos that allow for the possibility that it may have been an adopted shape.

kantharos a very stackable shape. This feature may have made both kiln firing and storage easier. Since articulated kantharoi are most commonly found in the lower fills of the South Stoa wells, they may have functionally been well suited to public drinking contexts, although they were not used exclusively in such venues.<sup>46</sup>

The chronological range for articulated kantharoi provided in *Corinth* VII.3 was based solely on examples from the South Stoa wells. Edwards rightly recognized the limitations of his data set and acknowledged that there were problems with the absolute chronology he proposed for this shape.<sup>47</sup> His chronological range of ca. 325 B.C. to the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. was based in part on a perceived relationship to the cyma kantharos and the date of the use fills of the South Stoa wells. Finds from the Panayia Field and the re-study of the South Stoa well fills now show that the articulated kantharos began production ca. 225 B.C. and continued into the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (see Chart 3.4 and Chart 1.2). In terms of the Corinthian series, articulated kantharoi were introduced less than a generation after the cyma kantharos and similarly reach the pinnacle of their popularity in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Like other kantharoi, the number of articulated kantharoi decline steeply by the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. suggesting that their production had ended sometime late in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

In terms of shape development, Edwards saw a general pattern of attenuation combined with a loss of sharpness of articulation and a decrease in the quality of manufacture over time.<sup>48</sup> However, an examination of the inventoried articulated kantharoi reveals that there are no clear trends in shape evolution and that numerous types co-existed in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Since there are no complete profiles

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<sup>46</sup> For a discussion of the function of the South Stoa in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., see Chapter 6.

<sup>47</sup> For Edwards' chronology of articulated kantharoi, see *Corinth* VII.3, p. 83.

<sup>48</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 84.



from deposits of the early fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. any morphological differences between those at the beginning of the series and those at the end are not readily apparent.<sup>49</sup>

### **Calyx kantharos (Cat. No. 66)**

The calyx kantharos is the earliest of the short-lived kantharoi that occur in the Corinthian assemblage, first appearing ca. 250-225 B.C. Edwards grouped four different, but related, styles of cup under this category in *Corinth* VII.3. In general, the basic calyx shape is characterized by a convex or hemispherical lower body, a broadly outward flaring upper wall and high swung handles.<sup>50</sup> The calyx kantharos is the most common of Edwards' four types and has the standard pedestal foot and relatively tall proportions of cyma and later one-piece kantharoi. Calyx kantharoi are always fully glazed and often have ribbed lower bodies and West Slope decoration on the upper body. All known examples were made in fabric B.

The calyx kantharos is one of the few types of Corinthian drinking vessels in the Hellenistic assemblage that was certainly influenced by Classical Athenian imports, namely plain and molded rim cup kantharoi.<sup>51</sup> At Athens, the cup kantharos was produced from the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. through to ca. 275/260 B.C.<sup>52</sup> At least twelve examples of imported Attic cup kantharoi have been found at Corinth. Based on parallels to *Agora* XXIX, these imports date to between 390-300 B.C., demonstrating that this shape was a consistent presence in Corinth throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. It is therefore interesting that it was not imitated in Corinth until the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. This

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<sup>49</sup> The earliest complete articulated kantharoi are from well 2002-2 (Deposit 4) – Cat. Nos. 54-58.

<sup>50</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 71-74.

<sup>51</sup> As defined in *Agora* XXIX, pp. 85-87.

<sup>52</sup> *Agora* XXIX, pp. 85-86.

phenomenon of a late imitation of an Athenian shape is also seen in the Corinthian molded rim kantharos. One explanation for the late adoption of this shape into the Corinthian repertoire may be that it was not until the steady stream of Attic imports had stopped ca. 250-240 B.C. that local potters chose to develop their own version of this shape.<sup>53</sup>

Edwards dated the calyx kantharos stylistically with reference to Athenian prototypes and therefore assigned it a short date range of the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>54</sup> New deposit evidence shows, however, that calyx kantharoi first appear in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and cease production ca. 200 B.C. The single sherd in South Stoa well XXX (Deposit 21) and the complete vessel in well XXVII (Deposit 20) are probably survivors in these early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. contexts. Given the general lack of calyx kantharoi in deposits of the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., it seems likely that calyx kantharoi had stopped production at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. although it cannot be clearly demonstrated.

Notably, calyx kantharoi do not constitute more than seven percent by weight of drinking vessels in any of the deposits in this study. However, since their use was not restricted to any particular type of context, we can conclude that they were simply never a popular shape in the Corinthian repertoire. This fact makes determining their absolute chronology more difficult and we can hope that additional deposits will shed more light on range of this shape.

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<sup>53</sup> Clearly, future excavations may reveal earlier examples of calyx kantharoi or of related Attic imports and therefore allow the initial date of production of the calyx kantharos to be moved closer to the date range of its Attic prototype.

<sup>54</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 72.

### **Corinthian molded rim kantharos (Cat. Nos. 67-70)<sup>55</sup>**

This type of kantharos bears some resemblance to the calyx kantharos in the shape of the body and the molded rim. However, the proportions of the molded rim kantharos are more squat, the rim is heavier and it lacks the characteristic high swung handles of the calyx kantharos. In place of high swung handles, the Corinthian molded rim kantharos has vertical spur handles that attach at the rim. Although there are no complete examples of this shape, it is likely that it had a pedestal foot similar to other types of kantharoi.<sup>56</sup> All known examples of Corinthian molded rim kantharoi were produced in fabric B and were fully glazed.

Although it shares some similarities with the calyx kantharos, the Corinthian molded rim kantharos is perhaps best seen as a local imitation of the Attic Classical kantharos with a molded rim.<sup>57</sup> The molded rim Classical kantharos developed in Athens in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., and although it was never as popular as the plain rim variety, this shape continued to be produced through the early part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>58</sup> At Corinth, there are fourteen inventoried examples of 4<sup>th</sup> c. Attic molded rim kantharoi compared to only five Attic Classical plain rim kantharoi with spur handles.<sup>59</sup> It is noteworthy that so many Attic molded rim kantharoi were imported into Corinth, instead of the more widely produced plain rim variety, since this pattern may indicate a local preference for molded rim kantharoi.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> I identified this new shape in the course of my research on the Panayia Field deposits and it does not appear in *Corinth* VII.3 or any previous work. There are at present fewer than ten examples of this shape known at Corinth.

<sup>56</sup> There is one isolated example (CP 2168) of a Corinthian imitation of an Attic plain rim Classical kantharos with spur handles. Since CP 2168 has a pedestal foot we can assume that the molded rim variety also had a pedestal foot although there is no direct evidence for it.

<sup>57</sup> *Agora* XXIX, nos. 36-47.

<sup>58</sup> *Agora* XXIX, p. 85.

<sup>59</sup> The Attic Classical plain rim kantharoi found at Corinth date to between 325-250 B.C.

<sup>60</sup> The same preference can be seen in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. imported Italian molded rim kantharoi, most of which belong to Morel's type 3520-3524 (Morel 1981, pp. 267-269, pl. 97-99).

Fragments of at least three Corinthian molded rim kantharoi (Cat. Nos. 67, 68 and 70) appear in cistern 2006-1 (Deposit 2) where this shape constitutes more than 10% by weight of the drinking vessels in that deposit. The type also appears in other deposits in Corinth, but to a much lesser degree with scattered sherds in well 1940-1, well 2002-02, well 1960-4 and well 1953-2.<sup>61</sup> This spatial distribution suggests this kantharos was widely used and therefore it is perhaps merely chance that large numbers of this type were found in the fill of cistern 2006-1 (Deposit 2).<sup>62</sup> Chronologically, these deposits demonstrate that production of the Corinthian molded rim kantharos was limited to the early third to the early fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. with the small number of sherds in the later deposits marking the end of their production or use life.

### **Hexamilia cup (Cat. Nos. 71-75)**

There are two types of Hexamilia cup, the kantharos and the mug, both of which were named for the town near Corinth where they were first discovered. Although the shape appears to be a local invention, it resembles a basic type known from other sites in Greece with its bulging lower body and straight upper body. Edwards differentiated between the two handled Hexamilia kantharos (Cat. Nos. 72, 74 and 75) and single handled Hexamilia mug (Cat. Nos. 71 and 73).<sup>63</sup> However, without relatively complete examples Edwards' distinctions are very difficult to maintain and in any case it is clear that the two shapes are intimately related chronologically and morphologically.<sup>64</sup> For this

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<sup>61</sup> Deposits 26, 4, 31 and 38 respectively.

<sup>62</sup> It is noteworthy that only one of the five contexts where Corinthian molded rim kantharoi were found is arguably more public in nature (well 1940-1 – Deposit 26). However, the data is too limited to make generalizations about consumption patterns for this shape.

<sup>63</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 86-87.

<sup>64</sup> Morphologically, both Hexamilia kantharoi and mugs are remarkably consistent in terms of measurements and proportions throughout their production. Since the only difference between the two types is the number of handles (one or two), without largely complete examples in most cases it is not possible to distinguish between the kantharos and the mug.

reason, I have generally treated them as the same shape unless a clear distinction could be made. In form, both have a ring foot with a hemispherical lower body and straight walled upper body with one or two simple vertical strap handles. All examples are partially glazed by dipping and were made in either fabric B or C.

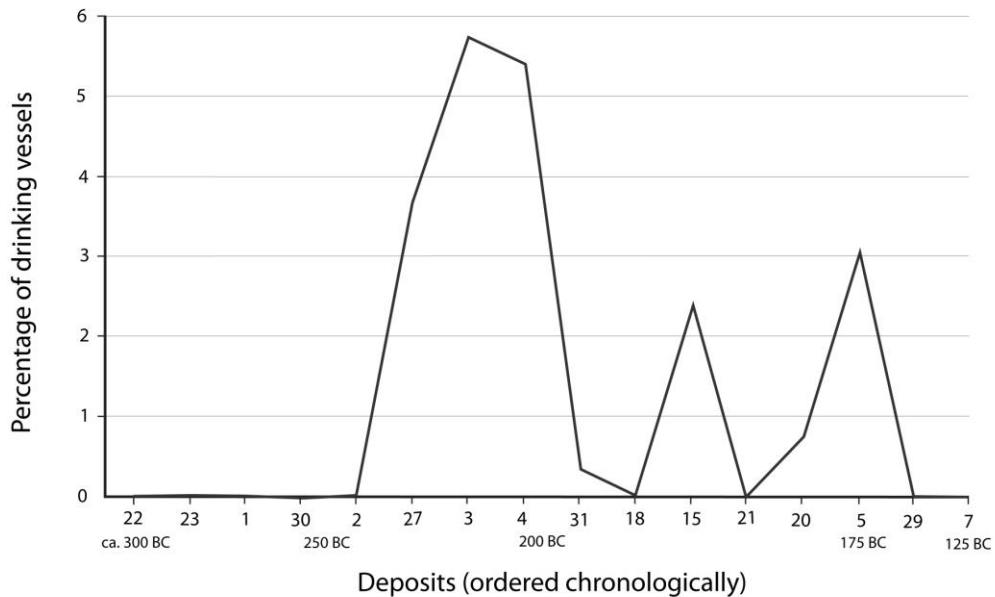


Chart 3.5: Hexamilia cups by weight of drinking vessels

In *Corinth* VII.3, Edwards proposed a date for both types of Hexamilia cup of roughly 275-220 B.C., based mostly on mortuary data. This date is challenged by Pemberton in her work on the graves from the North Cemetery.<sup>65</sup> Based on her data set, Pemberton believed that Hexamilia kantharoi were initially produced in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Considering the fact that Hexamilia cups were never produced on a very large scale, the relatively large percentage that occur in deposits of the third quarter 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Deposits 27 and 3) suggests that they may have begun slightly earlier in the

<sup>65</sup> Pemberton 1985, pp. 282-283.

3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (see Chart 3.5).<sup>66</sup> Although not present in every deposit, sufficient quantities of Hexamilia cups occur in deposits from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. to indicate that this was their peak period of production.<sup>67</sup> Based on the limited number of complete examples of each type (seven kantharoi and five mugs), it can be tentatively suggested that Hexamilia kantharoi were more common in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and mugs were slightly more common in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The fact that both Hexamilia kantharoi and mugs are absent from deposits of the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. suggests that both types went out of production by ca. 175 B.C.

Overall, the find spots of Hexamilia cups are markedly different than those of the cyma and articulated kantharoi and would seem to indicate a more diverse pattern of consumption. The Hexamilia cup is found in domestic contexts, such as those in the Panayia Field and Anaploga area, occasional examples occur in the public contexts of the South Stoa wells, and it is fairly common in graves throughout the hinterland of Corinth.<sup>68</sup> No other type of Hellenistic drinking vessel in Corinth had this wide distribution and it may be a testament to the general utility of this humble shape.

### **Corinthian Banded Cup (Cat. No. 76)<sup>69</sup>**

Although the thin walls and handles of this type strongly resemble a Hellenistic kantharos, the complete absence of a foot places it into the category of cup. This shape is defined by its flat or slightly concave base, flaring hemispherical body to a squared lip

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<sup>66</sup> In the two earliest deposits with Hexamilia cups, they make up 3.7% and 6% of the total fine ware by weight. In comparison to other drinking vessels, this is a relatively large percent and suggests that we are lacking the data for the initial period of their production.

<sup>67</sup> Hexamilia cups are not present in every South Stoa well, for example, and this is reflected in Chart 3.6.

<sup>68</sup> Finds of Hexamilia kantharoi in the houses of the Rachi settlement confirm their association with domestic contexts (Anderson-Stojanovic 1993, p. 264). For burial contexts, see *Corinth* VII.3, p. 215 (Deposits 70-73).

<sup>69</sup> This is another new shape that was first recognized in the course of the present study and is not included in any previous publications of Corinthian Hellenistic pottery.

and two Heracles knot handles attached at the lip. The entire vessel was glazed, including the foot. Additional decoration can take the form of simple incised bands in the handle zone and/or West Slope decoration below the rim. All known examples are in fabric B.

There are no obvious predecessors of this shape in the Corinthian repertoire, although it does share some features (namely the Heracles knot handles and incised band) with the one-piece kantharos. In fact, it so resembles an early one-piece kantharos that distinguishing between the two types based on rim fragments alone would be very difficult.

To date, a total of six banded cups have been identified in three different deposits around Corinth. Chronologically, these deposits can be dated as a group to between 250/235-200 B.C. The present evidence therefore indicates that the Corinthian banded cup was a relatively short-lived shape. The date range of this cup suggests that it belongs to the period of experimentation near the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., a time when many new shapes were introduced and quickly died out.

The fact that Corinthian banded cups are only found in domestic contexts, such as the Panayia Field, well 60-6 (Deposit 30) and well 60-4 (Deposit 31), may be the result of their relatively short production life. Since there are only four deposits that date to this period and most are domestic, their association with domestic contexts should be considered tenuous.<sup>70</sup>

### **Carinated rim kantharos (Cat. Nos. 77-78)<sup>71</sup>**

The carinated rim kantharos is a shape represented at Corinth by only three examples at present, but it is so readily identifiable and seemingly chronologically

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<sup>70</sup> Well 60-6 contains some ritual material and may not be entirely domestic, see also Deposit Index.

<sup>71</sup> The carinated rim kantharos is another new shape that is not included in previous studies.

discrete that its inclusion here is warranted. A fourth complete vessel may come from a basement fill in House II at the Rachi settlement.<sup>72</sup> The carinated rim kantharos is a thin walled vessel with a convex lower body to a convex upper body that terminates in a stepped or carinated rim. The handle may be either a Heracles knot or a thumbrest type. All known examples were made in fabric B and were fully glazed. One example has a band of West Slope decoration with an incised running ivy bordered by incised lines in the handle zone.

This type of kantharos has no obvious predecessors in the Corinthian assemblage, but may have a parallel in the early variety Attic Hellenistic kantharos with a molded rim.<sup>73</sup> The two deposits (Deposits 4 and 30) in which carinated rim kantharoi have been found contain mostly domestic debris.<sup>74</sup> These deposits provide a date of roughly 235-200 B.C., which suggests that this is a short-lived and chronologically discrete shape. Like the banded cup and Corinthian molded rim kantharos, the carinated kantharos seems to be part of that stage of kantharos production in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. when Corinthian potters were experimenting with variants on the basic shape.

### **Moldmade bowl (Cat. Nos. 79-92)**

Corinthian potters made several different types of molded shapes: small bowls, kraters (see chapter 4) and possibly oinochoai.<sup>75</sup> The typical Corinthian moldmade bowl

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<sup>72</sup> IP 7757 (Anderson-Stojanovic 1996, no. 11, pl. 16). I have not been able to personally examine this vessel, but it has the same distinctive rim profile as the three examples found at Corinth. It is however possible that it is a different type. In light of this potential problem, I am relying on the Corinthian examples to describe the shape.

<sup>73</sup> *Agora XXIX*, pp. 105-106. The earliest examples of this shape are dated to ca. 260 B.C. but it continues in production into the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>74</sup> There are problems with using such a small data set to generalize about the consumption patterns of this type of kantharos. For a discussion of this issue, see the relevant section under the Corinthian banded cup.

<sup>75</sup> There are several fragments of possibly Corinthian molded oinochoai, but since they cannot be confirmed as local are omitted from most discussions.



profile has a flat or slightly raised base, a hemispherical body with relatively straight sides and a slightly outward flaring rim (Cat. No. 83). All moldmade bowls are fully glazed by dipping. In terms of design, there are three main classes: foliage, figural and linear. The decorative field features a medallion on the base surrounded by a vegetal corolla; the body of the vessel is covered with designs and topped with one or two decorative bands below the rim. Moldmade bowls were manufactured in a variety of fabrics including B, C and D.<sup>76</sup>

Corinthian moldmade bowls have been the focus of more scholarship than any other class of Corinthian Hellenistic pottery.<sup>77</sup> It is generally agreed that hemispherical moldmade bowls were first produced in Athens ca. 224/223 B.C. and then spread to other centers in Greece.<sup>78</sup> All previous studies assumed that Corinthian moldmade bowls appeared shortly after production began in Athens, ca. 225 or the last third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., and that Corinthian potters closely followed Athenian stylistic trends.<sup>79</sup>

Edwards' initial typology of Corinthian moldmade bowls in *Corinth* VII.3 was based on the classes defined by Courby.<sup>80</sup> In the 1980s, another scholar, Charles Edwards, did two thorough studies of Corinthian moldmade bowls identifying for the first time local workshops and refining the chronology initially published in *Corinth* VII.3.<sup>81</sup> Both G. R. Edwards and C. Edwards closely examined the stamps employed in the manufacture of Corinthian figural bowls and suggested a rough chronology of their use. To re-examine these specific typologies of stamps on figural bowls is a complex and

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<sup>76</sup> Much work can be done on the fabrics of moldmade bowls as showed by Edwards 1981.

<sup>77</sup> Corinthian moldmade bowls are discussed thoroughly in general works: Courby 1922; *Corinth* VII.3; Siebert 1978; *Corinth* XVIII.1; and specifically in C. Edwards 1981 and 1986.

<sup>78</sup> Rotroff 2006b, p. 357.

<sup>79</sup> This assumption informed much of Edwards' work on moldmade bowls (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 152) and was followed by Pemberton (*Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 45).

<sup>80</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 151. Courby's classification system is still widely used.

<sup>81</sup> C. Edwards 1981, 1986.

time-consuming task beyond the scope of the present study.<sup>82</sup> Instead the focus here is on establishing a more solid chronological framework for the existing classes of Corinthian moldmade bowls. The stylistic terminology of previous studies is retained throughout this section and the catalogue.

According to G. R. Edwards, there is no indication that moldmade bowls as a general type were used or made to any extent before ca. 225 B.C. Consequently, he based his date for the end of production of cyma, articulated and Hexamilia kantharoi in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. on the assumption that they were gradually replaced by moldmade bowls.<sup>83</sup> The present study shows that in fact Corinthian moldmade bowls were not produced before the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and first occur in deposits dated to ca. 185 B.C.<sup>84</sup> The initial production period of moldmade bowls appears to have been in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (see Chart 3.1).<sup>85</sup> This date is supported both by the small percentage by weight of moldmade bowls relative to other types of drinking vessels in the earliest deposits including the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits from the South Stoa wells XIX, XIV and XXVII (Deposits 18, 15 and 20). Since drinking vessels are the most common shapes found in deposits of the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. in the South Stoa, it is reasonable that if moldmade bowls were at the peak of production in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or earlier 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. they would be better represented in these fills.<sup>86</sup> The rapidly growing popularity, and by

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<sup>82</sup> In light of the new chronology presented here, these typologies should be reconsidered in the future.

<sup>83</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 152.

<sup>84</sup> A date ca. 200 or in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. for the initial production of moldmade bowls also finds support in the absence of any Corinthian made moldmade bowls in the Rachi settlement (Anderson-Stojanovic 1993; 1996).

<sup>85</sup> Interestingly, ca. 175 B.C. is the date that Rotroff suggests marks the start of the main period of popularity of moldmade bowls in Athens (Rotroff 2006b, pp. 366-367). It would seem then to be more than mere coincidence that the moldmade bowls began production in Corinth ca. 185 B.C., since surely the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. was also the period when Athenian moldmade bowls also began arriving in large numbers to Corinth.

<sup>86</sup> For instance, if moldmade bowls were as common as articulated kantharoi at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., we would expect to find more of them in the South Stoa wells. The fact that moldmade bowls constitute less than 1.5% in wells XIV, XIX and XXVII and only 7% in the slightly later well XXX (Deposit 21) suggests an increase in production through the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

extension production, of Corinthian moldmade bowls is demonstrated by deposits dated to the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. By ca. 150 B.C. moldmade bowls are the only type of ceramic drinking vessel in the Corinthian assemblage, a situation that appears to continue into the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The fact that there was a demand for moldmade bowls in Corinth even after 146 B.C. is amply demonstrated by the large number of non-local moldmade bowls including Athenian and East Greek imports that can be independently dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. In terms of absolute chronology, it is difficult at present to determine the end of production for any shape that continues into the interim period.<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, based on the chronological range of the imports in most interim fills and the date for the Panayia Field floor deposit, an end date of 100/75 B.C. for moldmade bowls can be provisionally assigned.

Figural moldmade bowls (Cat. No. 84) are the one of the earliest types produced in Corinth and were very popular throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Typically, figural bowls have a simple medallion, a corolla of large, single leaves, a single row of stamped figures encircling the bowl and a plain banded rim zone. Rarely are the figural scenes constructed with any regard to narrative, although in the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. a degree of thematic unity can be detected in generic hunt, chariot and dancing scenes. Figural bowls first appear in deposits of ca. 185 B.C. (South Stoa well XIV) and continue to occur in large numbers in the interim fills of the South Stoa wells. Their presence in these deposits suggests that this is a long-lived type and that moldmade bowl production continued perhaps as late as ca. 100/75 B.C.

The earliest type of moldmade bowl is the leaf and tendril bowl (Cat. No. 79), which occurs in the same deposits as the first figural bowls (ca. 185 B.C.). Later Corinthian foliage bowls have a surface that is completely covered in a variety of

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<sup>87</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of this issue.

overlapping vegetal motifs. In contrast, leaf and tendril bowls have a single petal motif that divides the surface into six to eight sections, each of which is filled with a grapevine and/or tendrils. Unlike figural bowls, leaf and tendril bowls are very short-lived and do not occur in deposits much after ca. 175 B.C.

Another type of foliage bowl is the imbricate pine cone bowl (Cat. No. 80) that makes its first appearance just after leaf and tendril bowls in deposits of ca. 175 B.C. However, unlike the leaf and tendril bowls, pine cone bowls were produced into the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The surface of moldmade pine cone bowls is covered in pine cones of graduated sizes and a single rim zone motif of ivy guilloche; the pine cones can be stylized to pyramidal bosses or lozenges.

Two other classes of foliage bowls, the rounded petal (Cat. No. 83) and pointed petal (Cat. Nos. 81-82) types, first appear in deposits closer to the middle of the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Bowls with rounded petal tips have outline petals with a single spine that occur in graduated sizes to the rim zone, while bowls with pointed petal tips have outline pointed petals with a single spine that rise to a rim zone often featuring an ivy guilloche between pair of relief bands. At present, there is no evidence that any of the foliage bowls continue in production beyond ca. 150 B.C.

In the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., four new linear types of moldmade bowls began to be produced in Corinth. The introduction of these new bowls with linear motifs occurs at the point when the moldmade bowl had eclipsed the kantharos as the most popular drinking shape. It is possible that the transition from kantharos to moldmade bowl may have stimulated production of moldmade bowls in a broader range of styles.<sup>88</sup>

One of these new types is the net pattern bowl (Cat. No. 87). It is defined by its rectilinear net pattern (either single, double, triple or dotted line nets) in two registers,

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<sup>88</sup> In this respect, G. Roger Edwards was correct in relating the end of kantharos production and the introduction of the moldmade bowl (see above).

often with a plain field between them but sometimes with single independent motifs; the rim zone is usually a single band with an ivy guilloche or linear herringbone pattern. Net pattern bowls first appear in deposits of ca. 170 B.C. and occur in such numbers in interim period deposits that it seems likely that this type continued to be produced in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>89</sup> Net pattern bowls also appear in Athens in the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and it is possible that the two types are somehow related.<sup>90</sup>

Concentric-semicircle bowls (Cat. Nos. 85-86) are a distinctive type that is characterized by the presence of large semicircles suspended from the rim zone.<sup>91</sup> Each semicircle has a single ornament in its center (either an asterisk or triskeles) and between groups of circles are large and small bosses; the medallion motif is usually a triskeles within two concentric circles. This type first appears in deposits of ca. 170 B.C. Charles Edwards also suggested a date as early as the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. for their introduction on the basis of numismatic parallels.<sup>92</sup> Like the net pattern bowl, concentric-semicircle bowls may have been produced after 146 B.C. because of their presence in the interim fills of the South Stoa wells.

The Corinthian long petal moldmade bowl (Cat. No. 88) features long, narrow, tapering linear relief petals that cover the bowl from medallion to rim zone. The medallion is small and the only known motif is a multi-petaled linear rosette surrounded by a double concentric circle; single and double rim zones can have jewellery, a line of multi-petaled, ivy-leaf guilloche and/or an egg and dart pattern. This type of moldmade bowl first occurs in deposits of the late second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Present evidence therefore suggests that a date for the initial production of this type of ca. 165 B.C. as

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<sup>89</sup> Charles Edwards also proposed that net pattern bowls were made in Corinth earlier than the ca. 160 B.C. date given in *Corinth* VII.3 (Edwards 1986, p. 395).

<sup>90</sup> *Agora* XXII, p. 39.

<sup>91</sup> This type is sometimes referred to as a shield bowl because of the similarity of the design to Macedonian shields shown on 2<sup>nd</sup> c. coins (see reference in n. 92).

<sup>92</sup> Edwards 1986, p. 395.

argued by Charles Edwards is correct.<sup>93</sup> In terms of the end of production, long petal bowls are so common in interim period deposits that it is very likely that they continued to be produced after 146 B.C.

Edwards' chronological range of long petal bowls is also supported by a new fragment that can be attributed to the PR workshop.<sup>94</sup> This workshop was initially connected to long petal bowls by Charles Edwards, but at the time he assumed this was the only type manufactured by this shop.<sup>95</sup> In the context pottery of South Stoa well XII (Deposit14), the bulk of which dates to the interim period, an unusual foliage bowl (Cat. No. 92) of this same workshop was discovered during the present study. This foliage bowl features an unusual combination of a long central frond folded over onto itself and flanked by two independent linear leaves. This particular combination is known from bowls that Siebert attributes to the workshop of Gortys of Arcadia, which began production in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. but had its floruit in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>96</sup> This motif is also used as a corolla (with the linear leaves attached to the medallion) by the Argive workshops of Agathocles (dated to the ca. 175-125 B.C.) and Demetrios-Iason (ca. 150 B.C.).<sup>97</sup> We can say, therefore, based on the likely connection to these contemporary workshops that the PR workshop continued to be active right up to 146 B.C., and perhaps beyond, making long petal and other types of moldmade bowls.

Linear leaf moldmade bowls (Cat. Nos. 89-91), a type unique to Corinth, first occur in deposits of the late second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Linear leaf bowls are

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<sup>93</sup> Edwards 1981, pp. 191-193, 1986, pp. 391-393.

<sup>94</sup> This is one of several workshops identified by C. Edwards in his work. The long petal bowls produced by this workshop are distinctive in their high-relief petals and consistent use of a multi-petalled rosette as a medallion. Some of these bowls have Greek letters between the petals, most consistently pi and rho, which is referred to as the signature and by extension the name of the workshop.

<sup>95</sup> Edwards 1981, p. 192.

<sup>96</sup> Siebert 1978, pl. 84 no. 5.

<sup>97</sup> For folded fronds from the workshop of Agathocles, see Siebert 1978, nos. A.65 and A.66, pl. 6 and no. 5, pl. 71. For examples from the workshop of Demetrios-Iason, see Siebert 1978, nos. DI.28, DI.32, DI.49 and pl. 75 no. 8.

characterized by their long, contiguous, outlined leaves (either broad triangular or lanceolate leaves with multiple divisions or single spine triangular leaves in outline) that rise from the medallion zone to the midpoint where they separate into leaf tips and touch the rim zone. The rim zone band can be single or double with an ivy guilloche, a repeated leaf pattern, an upside-down egg and dart or a lattice patterned band. The chronology of this type as laid out in *Corinth* VII.3 (ca. 150-146 B.C.) has been previously marked as problematic because so many examples of linear bowls have been found in Corinth.<sup>98</sup> A potential solution to this problem, however, was discovered in the existence of a mold for a linear leaf bowl (Cat. No. 91) in the interim period Panayia Field floor deposit (Deposit 7). The evidence of the mold combined with finds of numerous linear leaf bowls in the interim fills of the South Stoa wells strongly suggests that this type of moldmade bowl was also produced in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>99</sup>

Moldmade bowls are found in almost every deposit dated to the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and later.<sup>100</sup> The ubiquity of the shape is comparable to kantharoi in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and it is clear that the intensive production of moldmade bowls in the late first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. marks a complete shift to a new drinking assemblage.<sup>101</sup> One possible reason for the change can be found in the adoption of shapes that were part of the Hellenistic koine beginning late in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. in the local assemblage. It seems possible therefore that the introduction of the moldmade bowl was an aspect of this process, which was a reaction in part to the growing internationalism of the period. While there is no evidence to suggest that the transition from kantharoi to moldmade bowls also signified a change in drinking practices, it does

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<sup>98</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 46. The argument is as follows: if linear bowls were only made for a very short period of time, then how do we explain the fact that so many have survived in the archaeological record.

<sup>99</sup> For a thorough discussion of the evidence for post-146 pottery production in Corinth, see Chapter 6.

<sup>100</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the only contexts where moldmade bowls do not occur are mortuary.

<sup>101</sup> Note that the same shift can be seen in kraters with the introduction of the moldmade krater, see Chapter 4.

seem to be symptomatic of larger changes in material culture visible in other shape classes.<sup>102</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Corinthian drinking vessels as a group provide abundant archaeological evidence for the changing nature of the Hellenistic ceramic assemblage over time. The transition from the Classical assemblage begins in the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and is fully complete by ca. 225 B.C. In terms of chronology, the question of when the material culture of Corinth became ‘Hellenistic’ is important because the absolute dates of historical and archaeological periods rarely match. With the understanding of when the Hellenistic period began from an archaeological perspective, we may be able to identify the same transition point in other media and more fully define the material culture of Hellenistic Corinth.<sup>103</sup>

The introduction of the kantharos and its variants was a significant change from the Classical shapes of the kotyle and one-handled cup. At the same time, the connection between the one-piece kantharos and the kotyle shows continuity in the assemblage from the Classical to Hellenistic period. As in the Classical period, other types of kantharoi were influenced by the many Attic imports that were coming into Corinth in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>104</sup> The influences of earlier Corinthian and Attic pottery did not outweigh the creative ability of local potters, as demonstrated by the experimental types of kantharoi that emerged in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Overall, however, the evidence

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<sup>102</sup> The other shapes that show significant changes in the Hellenistic period are bowls and plates, see Chapter 4 for a discussion.

<sup>103</sup> See also Chapter 7.

<sup>104</sup> For the influence of Athenian pottery on Corinthian pottery in the Archaic and Classical period, see Pemberton 2003. For a thorough discussion of Attic imports in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C, see Chapters 2 and 6.



suggests that Corinthian potters were relatively conservative in their practices during the Hellenistic period, which is why the transition to moldmade bowls is so striking. In a period of less than twenty years, all previous types of drinking vessels stopped production and the moldmade bowl became the only shape of drinking vessel in the assemblage. Since the moldmade bowl is not a locally developed shape, the rapid transition to moldmade bowls can be seen in relation to the extension of Corinth's external contacts in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. In this context, Corinthian moldmade bowls testify to the impact of the internationalism of the period on the culture of the city.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> For further discussion of this issue, see the relevant sections of Chapters 2 and 6.

## Chapter 4: Serving Vessels

### INTRODUCTION

For the purpose of this study, the term serving vessels refers to any open shape that is not used specifically for drinking, i.e. bowls, plates and kraters. Although these three groups belong to the same general class, each type has a unique development and provides different kinds of information about the changing nature of the assemblage through the Hellenistic period.

Corinthian bowls, for example, clearly demonstrate the degree of conservatism among local potters through to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The most commonly produced bowls during the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. are echinus bowls, semi-glazed bowls and the saucer - all shapes that originated in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and remained essentially unchanged into the interim period. In comparison to the rapid changes in contemporary drinking vessels, the fact that Classical bowls dominated this shape class through the Hellenistic period is striking.<sup>1</sup> One feature that all three shapes have in common is that they are very simple and utilitarian in form. Arguably, the practicality of these shapes may have contributed to their longevity in the assemblage. At the same time, the fossilization of their forms would seem indicative of an inherent traditionalism in both production and consumption of this class.

Plates and kraters, on the other hand, exhibit a development more similar to drinking vessels. Both classes include several shapes with Classical or 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. prototypes that were produced into the latter part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and then supplanted by

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<sup>1</sup> Only two new bowls appear in the Hellenistic assemblage (the shallow dish and the conical bowl); all of the other shapes have earlier Corinthian predecessors including the bowl with outturned rim. The number of new types of bowls produced in the Hellenistic period is therefore much smaller in comparison to other shape classes. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of drinking vessels in the Hellenistic assemblage.

new forms in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>2</sup> The fact that, unlike bowls, many new types of plates and kraters were introduced for the first time in the Hellenistic period has several possible explanations. One reason may be that kraters and plates are shapes that were more heavily influenced than bowls by metal prototypes and ceramic imports and therefore tended to follow new fashions. This suggestion finds some support from the fact that the production of kraters (as a type) seems to have been more attuned to wider changes in the Hellenistic ceramic koine, since there was a rapid switch to moldmade kraters in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. concurrent with the introduction of the moldmade bowl.<sup>3</sup> Like kraters, changes in Corinthian plates were at least partly influenced by outside trends as shown by the adoption of the plate with offset rim and the rolled rim plate in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

From a societal perspective, the continued production of kraters in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. seems to show a relative stability in drinking practices of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Conversely, one factor that may have impacted the development of local plates is a change in diet. It is interesting to note that no fish plates were produced in Corinth after the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and instead three new types of plates without central depressions appear for the first time. Although it is possible that there are other explanations for the disappearance of fish plates, the most obvious answer is that they were not longer a necessary shape within the assemblage. Among serving vessels, therefore, it is plates and kraters that provide the best evidence for external contacts and social practices in the Corinthian Hellenistic assemblage.

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<sup>2</sup> The Attic type fish plate, the stemless bell krater and the unglazed bell krater are shapes that survived from the Classical period, which were then replaced by a series of new shapes through the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (see the appropriate sections below).

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 3.

## **BOWLS (CAT. NOS. 93-144)**

As a group, Corinthian bowls contain more shapes with Classical predecessors than most other types of Hellenistic fine ware. Of the seven types of bowls discussed below, only two (possibly three) first appeared in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>4</sup> Most bowls are essentially small open shapes with convex bodies, ring feet and various types of incurved rims. This design made them generally suitable for a wide range of foodstuffs. At the same time, the small size of most Corinthian bowls suggests that they were probably intended as vessels for condiments or individual portions.<sup>5</sup> Decoration tends to be very simple with most types of bowls only partially glazed by dipping. From a morphological perspective, bowls exhibit the greatest range of fabric types and thicknesses of any class of fine ware and because of this characteristic it is rare to see significant shape evolution in this group. At the same time, the variations in profile and fabric would seem to indicate that bowls were produced in many different workshops using different clay sources.

Bowls are ubiquitous in domestic debris throughout Corinth where they constitute the largest percentage of fine ware in most deposits (between 30-40% by weight). Interestingly, bowls are less commonly found in the fills of the South Stoa wells (less than 5% by weight in most deposits) and the area east of Theater (16% by weight). Since both the South Stoa and the area east of Theater are undoubtedly public spaces, these percentages suggest that the drinking and dining activities that occurred in these locations involved bowls to a lesser degree than in more private and domestic contexts.<sup>6</sup> This distribution pattern, which is very similar to that of plates, suggests that drinking was a

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<sup>4</sup> The third possible shape is the Late type of the bowl with outturned rim (see below). If we want to argue that the Late type of bowl with outturned rim was re-introduced to Corinth, then it would be another shape that originated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C, along with the shallow dish and conical bowl.

<sup>5</sup> Most bowls are less than 0.10m in height and have rim diameters of 0.12m or less. The main exceptions are the largest echinus bowls.

<sup>6</sup> Given the very large percentage by weight of kantharoi in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits of the South Stoa wells and the relatively high proportions of drinking cups in the deposits east of Theater, the evidence for drinking activities in these areas is very strong. See also the relevant sections of the Deposit Index.

more common activity than eating in public spaces in Hellenistic Corinth or alternatively that non-ceramic open serving vessels were normally employed in these contexts.

Morphologically, the utilitarian character of most bowls seems to have resulted in little variation in profile and proportions even over very long periods of time. This fossilization of form means that it can be very difficult to precisely date individual vessels on the basis of stylistic criteria alone.<sup>7</sup> Certain shapes, such as the shallow dish and the Early and Late varieties of the bowl with outturned rim, do seem to have had a more limited span of production and their presence in a deposit can be a useful chronological indicator. But only in two cases, for the bowl with outturned rim and the semi-glazed bowl, can broad morphological changes be traced within a shape. One characteristic that seems to be relatively consistent for most Hellenistic bowls is that vessels of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. tend to be made with better levigated clays and higher quality glaze than those of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>8</sup> Quality of manufacture can therefore provide a general, but not necessarily reliable, indication of date for shapes in this class.

### **Echinus bowl (Cat. Nos. 93-104)**

Echinus bowls are found in many Hellenistic assemblages throughout the Mediterranean and are arguably the most ubiquitous type of bowl in Hellenistic Corinth, with at least one example in nearly every deposit.<sup>9</sup> Unlike other serving vessels, echinus bowls were produced in a wide variety of sizes with rim diameters ranging from 0.06m to 0.30m or larger. It seems probable that the different sizes were used for different purposes with the larger version perhaps used as a communal serving vessel and the smaller for condiments of some sort.<sup>10</sup> Echinus bowls were produced in a variety of

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<sup>7</sup> This is particularly the case with echinus bowls and saucers.

<sup>8</sup> See the relevant discussions for echinus and semi-glazed bowls and bowls with outturned rims below.

<sup>9</sup> For a full listing of sites in the eastern Mediterranean with echinus bowls, see *Agora XXIX*, p. 161 n. 53.

<sup>10</sup> Pemberton, pers. comm.

fabrics including B and C, as well as some less common local types. In the Hellenistic period, all but the smallest echinus bowls are partially glazed by dipping.

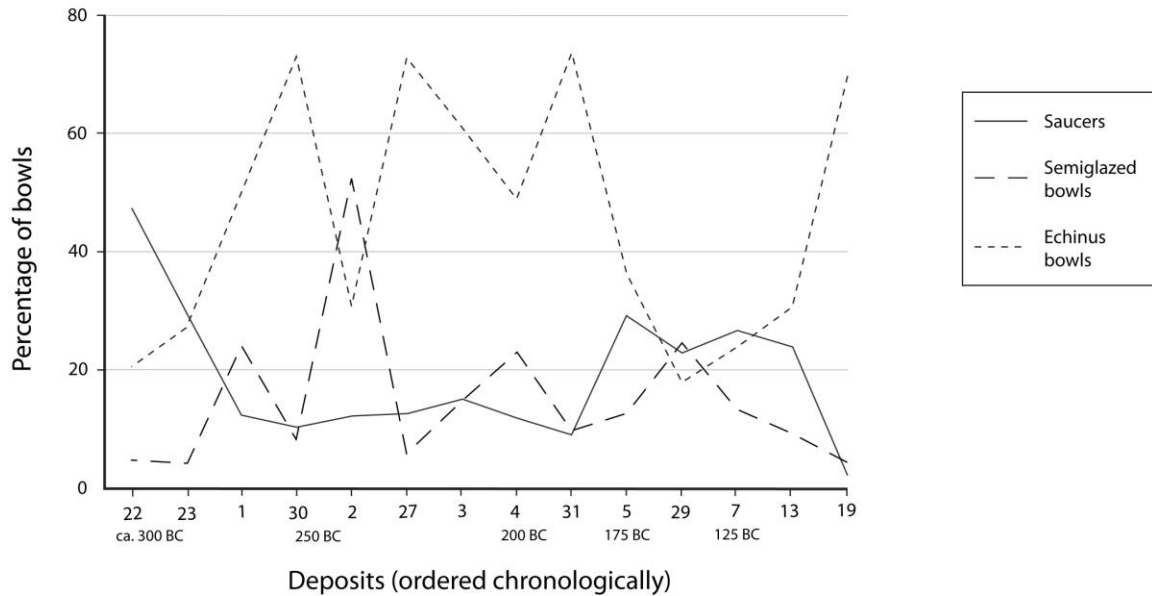


Chart 4.1: Saucers, semi-glazed bowls and echinus bowls by weight

Based on a perceived lack of a Classical Corinthian predecessor for the shape, Edwards suggested a 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. Attic prototype for the echinus bowl.<sup>11</sup> At Athens, the echinus bowl began to be produced in the Classical period and both the shallow and deeper versions were current in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. However, over the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., large shallow echinus bowls became much more popular than the smaller version.<sup>12</sup> This chronology of Attic echinus bowls casts some doubt on Edwards’ theory, since large echinus bowls were already a common shape in Corinth by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>13</sup> Moreover the basic shape of the echinus bowl is so simple that we may not need to look

<sup>11</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> *Agora* XXIX, p. 161 n. 55, pp. 162-163.

<sup>13</sup> Arguably, if Corinth adopted the shape from Athens, then the more common contemporary shape would have been borrowed rather than the less common variant. Although this does not appear to be the case with molded rim kantharoi, see Chapter 3.

for an external prototype, since it is certainly possible that the echinus bowl developed independently in Corinth. In terms of chronology, previous studies have determined that the production of echinus bowls began in the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>14</sup> By tracking the echinus bowl through the Hellenistic period, it is clear that while there are fluctuations in the quantity of echinus bowls between chronologically close deposits, they are nevertheless a consistent part of the assemblage throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. (Chart 4.1).

Edwards divided echinus bowls into three categories that he considered to be chronologically significant: the large group (rim diameters > 0.10m) that was produced up to 146 B.C.; the saucer group (rim diameters < 0.10m to 0.07m) that he dated exclusively to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.; and the saltcellar group (rim diameters < 0.08m) with a date range between the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and 200 B.C.<sup>15</sup> Pemberton, who only distinguished between large and small or salt cellar sized echinus bowls, proposed that the small echinus bowl first appeared in the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and continued to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and that the large echinus bowl began in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> c. and ended production in 146 B.C.<sup>16</sup> These theories that different sizes of echinus bowls have specific chronological ranges are somewhat confirmed by the present study. In a sample of 30 Hellenistic deposits dated to between the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and ca. 100 B.C., it is clear that echinus bowls of all sizes were produced throughout the Hellenistic period. The main exception are the largest echinus bowls (rim diameters > 0.15m), which do not seem to continue into the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. By contrast,

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<sup>14</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 29; *Corinth* XVIII.1 p. 40.

<sup>15</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 30-33. Note that Edwards was unconcerned about the overlap in his saucer and saltcellar groups.

<sup>16</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 41.

small echinus bowls occur in several interim fills and the Panayia Field floor deposit suggesting that the shape was produced after 146 B.C.

Determining a significant pattern of shape development for the Corinthian echinus bowl is a difficult task because they are often so carelessly manufactured that the rim profile, and by extension height and rim diameter measurements, can vary considerably on a single vessel. Moreover there can be extreme variations in size, profile and proportions among echinus bowls even within a single deposit. Nevertheless, a few broad changes can be distinguished. Large echinus bowls seem to be most susceptible to change and there is a noticeable constriction of the foot relative to the rim from the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>17</sup> Overall, the clearest morphological changes occur in all sizes of echinus bowl between late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> and the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Firstly, there are changes in the foot from the Classical to Hellenistic period. A stepped foot, which is commonly found on 4<sup>th</sup> c. echinus bowls, is replaced by the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. by the ring foot. Secondly, the use of decorative stamping on the inner surface of the base and the presence of milts on the foot are restricted to the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>18</sup> Finally, the use of black glaze is notable since in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. only the smallest echinus bowls (rim diameters of 0.07m or less) are fully glazed, like echinus bowls of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C, while all others are partially glazed by dipping.

As noted above, echinus bowls are found in virtually every deposit in this study and their ubiquity is surely indicative of their broad utility. Nevertheless, the quantity of echinus bowls does vary in different types of deposits. Echinus bowls are very common in the deposits of the Panayia Field and the west end of the Forum and less common in the fills of the South Stoa wells and the area east of Theater. This pattern suggests that,

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<sup>17</sup> This change was also noted by Pemberton, although without assigning it to a particular period, in *Corinth XVIII.1*, p. 41.

<sup>18</sup> Such decorative features also occur on early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. drinking vessels and seem to be characteristic of the late 4<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (see also Chapter 2 on decoration).



like other shapes in this class, echinus bowls were not often a part of public food consumption and were more suited to private dining.

### **Semi-glazed bowl (Cat. Nos. 105-112)**

Semi-glazed bowls are a shape that was named for the careful glazing of their interiors and the use of glaze banding on their exteriors in a local style that was first used in the Archaic period.<sup>19</sup> This shape is defined by its ring foot and convex body that curves inward to an outward flaring lip. All semi-glazed bowls are fully glazed on the interior with an exterior that is plain, but often painted with bands of red or black slip at the lip, mid-body and/or shoulder and more rarely on the foot. They are usually made in fabric B, but some other local fabrics were also used including fabric D.

The semi-glazed bowl appears to have been first produced in the second quarter to mid-4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and occurs most frequently in deposits from the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>20</sup> Thereafter semi-glazed bowls, as a percentage of the bowls in a given deposit, decline to a stable point constituting between about 15-30% of fine ware bowls through the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (see Chart 4.1). The semi-glazed bowl likely continued to be produced after 146 B.C. because of its strong presence in the Panayia Field floor deposit and in the interim fills of three South Stoa wells (Deposits 33, 12 and 19).

Stylistically, Edwards suggested that there was a progression in the profile from a continuous curve in the earlier examples to a more sharply outturned lip in the later ones. He proposed that this change in profile was accompanied by a decline in the quality of their manufacture, an increasingly heavy foot and more restricted use of bands on the

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<sup>19</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 27. A similar scheme of decoration is also seen on decanters and mastoi.

<sup>20</sup>For the evidence of their initial date of production, see *Corinth* VII.3, p. 28; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 42.

exterior.<sup>21</sup> However, Pemberton in her publication of the Demeter and Kore pottery proved that most of Edwards' morphological dating criteria were essentially untenable.<sup>22</sup>

The present study suggests that there are indeed significant changes between the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. and later 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., although not those proposed by Edwards.<sup>23</sup> Semi-glazed bowls from deposits of the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. are made in a fine, light, china-like fabric that is sometimes burnished on the exterior and rarely painted with bands (Cat. No. 105). By the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., semi-glazed bowls are made in a slightly thicker fabric with a rougher surface and almost every example has a band at the shoulder or mid-body (Cat. Nos. 106-109). This trend continues into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. when semi-glazed bowls began to be produced in an even thicker fabric, one of similar quality as that used for echinus bowls (Cat. Nos. 110-112). Painted bands on the exterior at the shoulder or mid-body continue to be a common feature throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Generally, there is significant variation in profiles of contemporary vessels throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., although some of the latest examples have an almost vestigial flaring lip with a maximum diameter at the shoulder that exceeds the diameter of the rim (Cat. No. 112).

In terms of its distribution, the semi-glazed bowl is found all over Corinth and is almost as ubiquitous as the echinus bowl through the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. They are found in debris from the Forum area in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c., the west end of the Forum, the Panayia Field, the Demeter and Kore sanctuary and to a limited extent in the South Stoa wells. The popularity of this shape is probably a testament to its utility. Semi-glazed bowls appears to have filled the niche in the assemblage, along with echinus bowls, for a mid-sized bowl.

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<sup>21</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 29.

<sup>22</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 42.

<sup>23</sup> Edwards did suggest that there was a gradual decrease in quality through time (from 375 to 146 B.C.), but does not discuss the chronology in absolute terms (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 28).

### **Saucer (Cat. Nos. 113-122)**

The saucer is a shape that like the echinus bowl and the semi-glazed bowl has its origin in the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>24</sup> Saucers are characterized by their ring feet with nipped undersurfaces and shallow convex bodies with rounded or squared lips. The most common type of fabric used to produce saucers is fabric B. All known examples of saucers are partially glazed by dipping, a process that leaves the lower part of the exterior unglazed. In terms of size, saucers are very standardized compared to other Hellenistic bowls with an average rim diameter of between 0.13m and 0.16m. Despite their simplicity, saucers do not seem to be a very common shape in Hellenistic assemblages outside of Corinth, and therefore, it is likely that the Corinthian version is a local invention. At Corinth, saucers are nearly as ubiquitous as echinus and semi-glazed bowls and occur in almost every Hellenistic deposit.

In the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., the saucer is the most dominant type of bowl in the assemblage constituting between 30% and 45% of this class by weight (Chart 4.1).<sup>25</sup> Thereafter saucers appear to have been largely superseded by echinus and semi-glazed bowls from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The only argument that can be mustered for the production of saucers in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. is tenuous. While there are three intact saucers from interim deposits, including the Panayia Field floor deposit (Deposit 7), as well as some fragments in the context pottery, the overall pattern in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. suggests that saucers were in decline. It seems therefore most likely that their production stopped ca. 150-125 B.C.

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<sup>24</sup> Edwards proposed a date range of the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. to 146 B.C. for the saucer (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 42), but Pemberton downdated the initial production of saucers to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. (*Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 47).

<sup>25</sup> It is not possible based on present evidence to determine the popularity of saucers in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

In regard to shape development, both Edwards and Pemberton agree that there are changes in the constriction and shape of the foot, the steepness and straightness of the wall and evenness in the application of glaze over time.<sup>26</sup> These morphological changes are not generally borne out by the present study, which sees little difference in the ratio of rim to foot diameter or height to foot diameter from deposits of the fourth quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. In the later 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C., however, there is a tendency for the ratio of diameter of the foot in comparison to the rim diameter to be smaller indicating a very slight constriction of the foot from a ratio of roughly 1:3 to 1:4. Overall, however, the general measure of quality of manufacture, namely in the fineness of the clay and adherence of glaze, is probably most useful in dating individual saucers.

#### **Bowl with outturned rim (Cat. Nos. 123-136)**

The bowl with outturned rim is a very popular Hellenistic shape found at many sites in the Mediterranean.<sup>27</sup> At Corinth, the bowl with outturned rim has a rather complicated history since two distinct shapes of bowls with outturned rims commonly occur in the deposits in this study. The first type of bowl with outturned rim is found in deposits of the late 4<sup>th</sup> and earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and the second type in deposits of the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and into the interim period (Chart 4.2, below). I have distinguished between these two shapes using the nomenclature “Early” and “Late” respectively. The rarity of transitional forms between the “Early” and “Late” types suggests perhaps that the shape was re-introduced to Corinth in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Because there are two discrete types of bowl with outturned rim, each shape will be discussed separately with reference to some possible transitional types below.

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<sup>26</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 47.

<sup>27</sup> For a list of sites, see *Agora* XXIX, p. 156 n. 38.

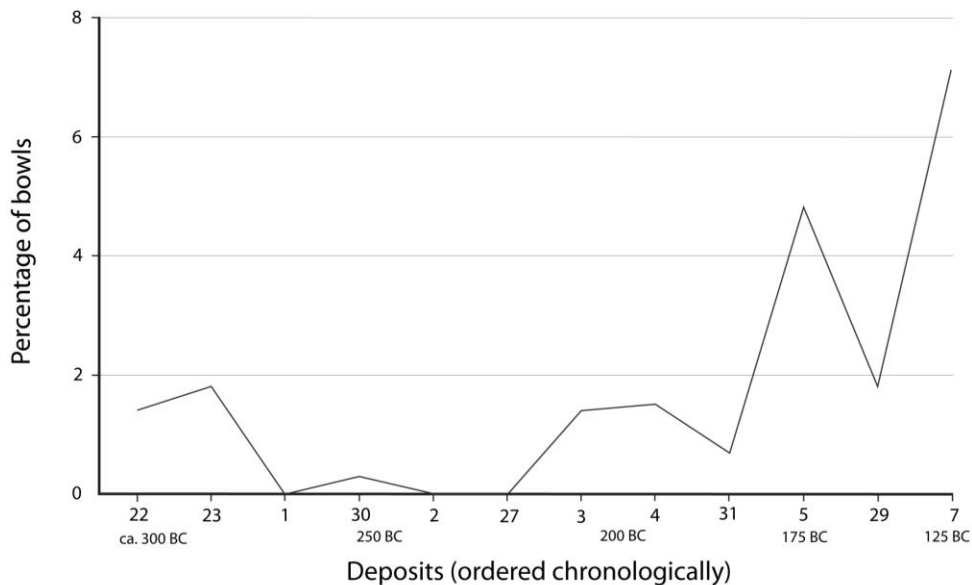


Chart 4.2: Early and Late bowls with outturned rims by weight

Edwards rightly stated that the earliest Corinthian bowls with outturned rims were related to the Attic series of the same name.<sup>28</sup> He argued that over its long production life that the foot constricted relative to maximum diameter, the lower wall straightened and that “a distinct line of articulation developed [where the lower body transitions to the upper] and above this the upper wall profile changes from convex to pronouncedly concave.”<sup>29</sup> Since Edwards was unable to determine when these changes took place he accepted, despite the fact that he had few “intermediary” shapes, that the earlier and later examples were part of the same series. Pemberton also noted that the Corinthian bowl with outturned rim “undergoes extensive changes” but accepted Edwards’ general outline of its development.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 33.

<sup>29</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 33.

<sup>30</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 42.

The well-documented sequence of development of the Attic outturned rim bowl seems to have been what prompted Edwards and Pemberton to relate the two types of Corinthian bowls with outturned rim to each other, despite the lack of intermediary shapes. In Athens, bowls with outturned rims begin in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and the shape continues into the later 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. The Attic “Classical” bowls with outturned rims have a “bird-beak” profile that developed gradually through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. into the cyma curve profile of the “Hellenistic” type.<sup>31</sup> The Attic “Hellenistic” bowl with outturned rim began to be produced in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and continued through to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>32</sup> Both the “Classical” and “Hellenistic” Attic bowls with outturned rims are fully glazed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

A number of late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. Attic “Classical” bowls with outturned rims have been found in Corinth. This popular imported shape was imitated in a local version that is found in deposits of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. along with its Attic relatives; I have identified this shape as the “Early” type (Cat. No. 123). This type of Corinthian bowl with outturned rim is characterized by a ring foot, broad straight lower body to a sharply convex upper body with a projecting triangular or rolled over rim. These “Early” bowls with outturned rims are made exclusively in fabric B. Like their Attic antecedents, “Early” Corinthian bowls with outturned rims are fully glazed and often have stamped decoration on the floor and reserved areas (some with added miltos) on the undersurface and resting surface of the foot. The “Late” variety of the Corinthian bowl with outturned rim is similar in profile to the Attic “Hellenistic” type with its ring foot, convex body with a strong carination and an upper body with an “S” curve profile to an outward flaring lip (Cat. Nos. 124-136). However this “Late” type, like other Hellenistic bowls at

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<sup>31</sup> While Rotroff acknowledges that there is considerable variation in profile within 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. examples and that the development is difficult to follow, she sees a steady general progression in the shape (*Agora XXIX*, p. 157).

<sup>32</sup> *Agora XXIX*, pp. 158-159.

Corinth, is always partially glazed by dipping, leaving the lower part of the exterior reserved. While there are partially glazed bowls with outturned rims known in Athens, they do not occur until the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. implying that the Corinthian version is not a direct copy.<sup>33</sup> Since most Corinthian Hellenistic bowls are partially glazed by dipping, it is likely that the glazing on “Late” bowls with outturned rims is simply a local adaptation of the imported shape.

Pemberton dated the earliest locally made bowl with outturned rim to the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., on the basis of its shape and find context.<sup>34</sup> She placed the initial production of the “Late” type of bowls with outturned rims in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. based on *Corinth* VII.3.<sup>35</sup> The deposits in the current study show that the “Early” type of bowl with outturned rim was still in production ca. 300 B.C. and possibly early in the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>36</sup> Determining when the end of production of the “Early” type occurred is more difficult, but the complete absence of them in deposits of the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. suggests that production had stopped well before ca. 250 B.C. It is striking that there are no “Late” type bowls with outturned rims in any deposit until the late in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>37</sup> However, based on the number of “Late” type bowls with outturned rims in deposits of the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., it is likely that the later variety began production sometime in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. There is therefore a gap in production of bowls with outturned rims (or at least in our evidence) beginning perhaps as early as 275 B.C. through to ca. 250 B.C. or later (Chart 4.2). While it is true that some of the bowls with outturned rims found in deposits dated to the second half of

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<sup>33</sup> *Agora* XXIX, p. 159.

<sup>34</sup> C 1971-136, see *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 43.

<sup>35</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 43.

<sup>36</sup> Drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22).

<sup>37</sup> Note that there are a number of deposits from this period (see Deposit Index nos. 26, 27, 30 and 38) and therefore it is unlikely that their absence is a result of sample bias.

the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., could be considered transitional forms (Cat. Nos. 124 and 125), the existence of this gap suggests that there is not a continual evolution at Corinth from the “Early” to the “Late” bowl with outturned rim. Instead the “Late” form may represent a re-introduction of the shape in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. – the point at which outturned rim bowls with an S-curve profile were gaining popularity in Athens.<sup>38</sup> After the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., the “Late” form of bowl with outturned rim became increasingly common at Corinth (constituting 16-20% of the bowls per deposit) and their production continued through the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The presence of bowls with outturned rims in the interim deposits of the South Stoa wells and in the Panayia Field floor deposit indicates that this shape was also produced in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and perhaps even later.

The “Late” Corinthian bowl with outturned rim does not seem to have achieved a truly canonical form. Throughout the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, there is a great deal of variation in both profile and proportions even among contemporary bowls in a single deposit.<sup>39</sup> The problem of detecting morphological changes is further compounded by the fact that in this period most bowls with outturned rims were so carelessly made that profile can vary considerably on an individual vessel.

“Late” bowls with outturned rims are found in almost every deposit beginning at the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., including domestic (Panayia Field and the area of Anaploga) and public contexts (Demeter and Kore sanctuary, South Stoa and east of Theater).<sup>40</sup> This ubiquity suggests that it was a multi-purpose shape that was considered appropriate both

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<sup>38</sup> Pemberton also believed that the Corinthian bowl with outturned rim developed independently of Athens through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., although she does not suggest that there is a gap in production (Pemberton 1997, p. 80).

<sup>39</sup> For example, Cat Nos. 128 and 129 (Deposit 5) and Cat. Nos. 130 and 131 (Deposit 29).

<sup>40</sup> The “Late” variety of bowls with outturned rims also occur in the Rachi settlement at Isthmia in late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. contexts, see Anderson-Stojanovic 1996, nos. 14 and 23.



for use in a variety of venues. However, the question of how they functioned in these contexts remains open.

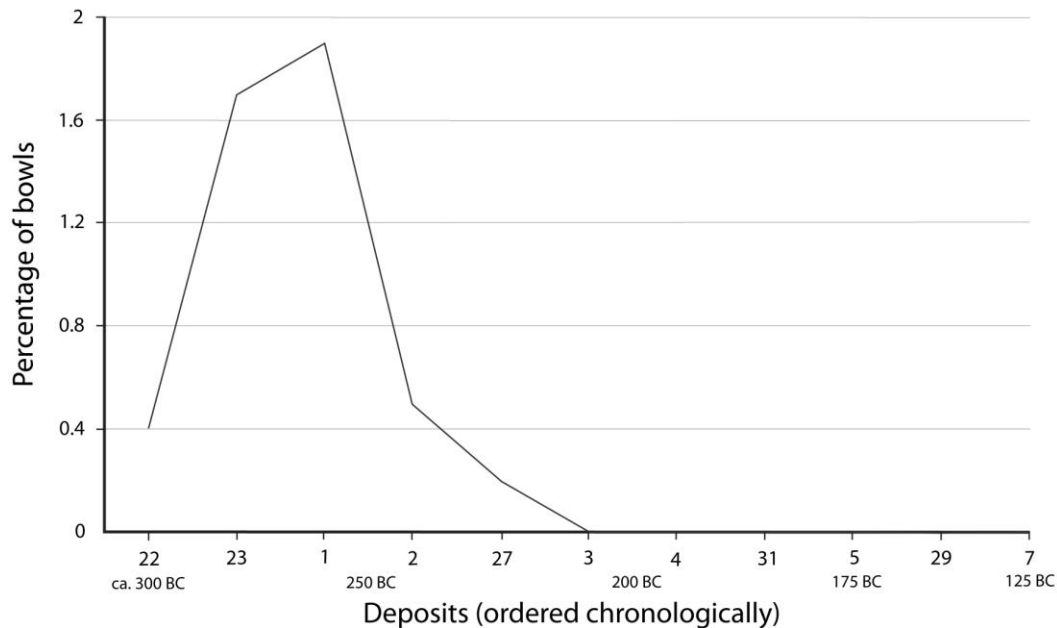


Chart 4.3: Beveled rim bowls by weight

### Beveled rim bowl (Cat. Nos. 137-139)

According to Pemberton, the Corinthian beveled rim bowl may have been inspired by the Attic echinoid saucer in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., but thereafter a local version emerged.<sup>41</sup> The beveled rim bowl is characterized by its low broad ring foot and low shallow body that angles sharply inward to create a beveled rim. All examples are fully glazed and made in fabric B. There was never a canonical form of the beveled rim bowl. Instead several variants co-existed at any given time, which differ in the thickness of their fabric and in the sharpness of their bevel. It is therefore very difficult to trace the evolution of the shape. Morphologically, however, the beveled rim bowl is

<sup>41</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 44. The Attic echinoid saucer is also called the small bowl with broad base and was a common shape in Athens from the late 5<sup>th</sup> to mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (*Agora* XII, p. 135; *Agora* XXIX, p. 165).

similar to the small “saltcellar” class of echinus bowl. This basic similarity led Pemberton to suggest that the Corinthian beveled rim bowl may evolve in the same fashion and dated them accordingly.<sup>42</sup>

The task of developing a solid chronology for beveled rim bowls is complicated by the fact that they do not seem to have been a very popular shape and therefore our data set is limited. One possible explanation for why the beveled rim bowl was never very common may be that the small echinus bowl was a viable contemporary alternative in terms of practical use. We may perhaps therefore interpret their presence in only a few deposits as a reflection of individual preferences for beveled rim bowls over small echinus bowls rather than of broader patterns of consumption.<sup>43</sup> Beveled rim bowls occur primarily in contexts that were filled in before the construction of the South Stoa, in the Panayia Field and in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary. Since their limited distribution is problematic, the following observations should be considered as general chronological guidelines that may be modified by additional examples.

The earliest known beveled rim bowls are from deposits dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Cat. Nos. 137 and 138). At this point, however, it was already a fairly well represented shape suggesting that it was introduced or in production earlier than previously thought (Chart 4.3).<sup>44</sup> The latest beveled rim bowls are C 1940-434 (Cat. No. 139) and C 1931-265, which come from contexts dated to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> and third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. respectively. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the end of production was sometime around 250 B.C. This date is 50 years later than that proposed by Edwards, who was hampered by an even smaller data set.<sup>45</sup> By the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

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<sup>42</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 45.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. the discussion of the olpe and small trefoil mouthed oinochoe in chapter 5.

<sup>44</sup> Although there is no evidence at present to support the supposition, if the beveled rim bowl has the Attic small bowl with broad base as its prototype, then an initial production date earlier in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. would not be unexpected.

<sup>45</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 35.

B.C., production had stopped and those few sherds that do occur in 2<sup>nd</sup> c. deposits should be considered survivors.

### **Conical bowl (Cat. No. 140)**

The conical bowl is a highly decorated, thin walled shape that Edwards classed as a drinking vessel in *Corinth* VII.3.<sup>46</sup> I have re-classified it as a serving vessel here because of its interior, which was covered in West Slope decoration and probably would have not have survived extensive exposure to liquid.<sup>47</sup> In addition, the shape with its straight, broadly splayed sides is more typical of small serving vessels than drinking shapes in the Corinthian assemblage. However, like many shapes, it is possible that it was used for more than one purpose.

Corinthian conical bowls are characterized by their small false ring feet and straight broadly conical walls that rise to a straight lip (Cat. No. 140). They are always fully glazed. The exterior often has wheel grooves under the glaze, like Athenian examples, and the interior is covered with West Slope decoration with a painted central medallion and two or three zones of painted and incised design up to the rim. In a few cases, the central medallion is in the form of a molded appliqué (also called an emblem) rather than a painted motif. All known examples of Corinthian conical bowls are made in fabric B.

In form, the Corinthian conical bowl is similar to the Athenian cup with interior decoration (type 1).<sup>48</sup> However, the basic shape of the conical bowl is quite common and

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<sup>46</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 90-92. Pemberton also grouped conical bowls into a general bowl category (*Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 43).

<sup>47</sup> Corinthian West Slope decoration is always applied post-firing and comes off fairly easily when exposed to water.

<sup>48</sup> *Agora* XXIX, pp. 110-112.

appears in the early Hellenistic period at many sites throughout the Mediterranean.<sup>49</sup> Rotroff has traced its origin to Egypt where she sees a parallel in faience cups of Naukratis ware that appear in contexts from ca. 325 to 200 B.C.<sup>50</sup> Regardless of their initial origin, conical cups with interior decoration (with or without an emblem) are attested in Athens by ca. 275 and in South Italy at about the same time.<sup>51</sup> The Attic cup with interior decoration that most strongly resembles the Corinthian conical bowl first appeared around 240 B.C. and was produced through to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., at which point its numbers sharply decline.<sup>52</sup> This chronology places the Attic conical cup in position to be the predecessor of the Corinthian conical bowl. However, no Athenian conical cups are known to have been imported into Corinth – rather gray ware bowls are the most common non-local examples of this shape. Arguably, it is these gray ware pieces that are the most likely inspiration for the Corinthian shape.<sup>53</sup>

Chronologically, Edwards placed the earliest Corinthian conical bowls in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and used a possibly “Corinthian” example found near Megara to provide his early date of the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. for the type.<sup>54</sup> The present study shows that conical bowls actually first occur in deposits of the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. at Corinth and increase in popularity through to around 170-160 B.C. (Chart 4.3). The shape was in decline through the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and, despite

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<sup>49</sup> *Agora XXIX*, p. 110 n. 113.

<sup>50</sup> *Agora XXIX*, pp. 111-112.

<sup>51</sup> *Agora XXIX*, p. 112. The South Italian examples are Gnathian, see Green 1976, p. 13 and Forti 1965, pp. 84-85.

<sup>52</sup> *Agora XXIX*, p. 112.

<sup>53</sup> Most of the gray wares from Hellenistic deposits at Corinth that have been identified come from the eastern Aegean and Asia Minor. Cups with interior decoration are known to have been in production at Chios and other sites by the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Rotroff and Oliver 2003, p. 41). This chronology of eastern Aegean cups with interior decoration therefore fits with the introduction of the Corinthian conical bowl. Since these types are imported to Corinth in large numbers, we can suggest that they are the more likely inspiration for the local conical bowl than the Attic shape.

<sup>54</sup> *Corinth VII.3*, pp. 90-91.

the presence of a few sherds in the interim fills of the South Stoa wells, it seems unlikely that conical bowls were produced in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Conical bowls are found in deposits throughout Corinth. This wide distribution suggests that its highly decorative design had a broad appeal in both private and public contexts. However, the relatively large number of conical bowls compared to other types of bowls in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fills of the South Stoa wells may indicate that this shape was more commonly used in public settings.<sup>55</sup>

### **Shallow Dish (Cat. Nos. 141-144)**

Despite its presence in deposits studied by both Edwards and Pemberton, the shallow dish is a shape that has not been included in any previous work on Corinthian Hellenistic pottery. The shallow dish is a small vessel characterized by a string-cut base and a low broad body that rises to a rounded incurved lip. The exterior and interior of the shallow dish is usually completely covered in a white slip, similar to that used on Classical and Hellenistic phialai.<sup>56</sup>

In terms of its origin, the shape is clearly related to both the echinus bowl and the beveled rim bowl. The key distinction is its small size, unusual fabric and decoration. The clay used in the production of the shallow dish is unusual for a serving vessel in that it fires to a pale pink and remains soft after firing. This clay, which I have classified as fabric A, is normally reserved for lekanides, pyxides, phialai and some miniatures and seems to have been used exclusively by the workshops that produced these shapes (see Chapter 2).

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<sup>55</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the nature of drinking and dining in the South Stoa in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>56</sup> For a thorough discussion of Corinthian phialai, see *Corinth* XVIII.1, pp. 31-33.

Chronologically, the shallow dish seems to have had a limited production life and was never a very popular shape. The earliest examples occur in well 1947-2 (Deposit 24) in the Southeast Building, which contains a mixed fill dating to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Two deposits in the area of the New Museum, well 1940-1 and cistern 1940-1 (Deposits 26 and 27), have eight complete vessels between them and many more fragments. The presence of the shallow dish in these deposits suggests that it was still in circulation around 225 B.C. and that production may have peaked in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. There are no shallow dishes in any of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits in the present study, which indicates that production probably stopped sometime in the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

The findspots of the shallow dish mentioned above imply that the shape was mostly used in public contexts. Its fabric and decoration, which is more commonly used for Corinthian ritual vessels, further suggest that the shallow dish may have had some connection to ritual activities or at least to activities not specifically related to dining. This hypothesis may find some support in the presence of a shallow dish in a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. grave in a cemetery to the north of the modern village of Ancient Corinth.<sup>57</sup>

### **PLATES (CAT. NOS. 145-163)**

Although it is difficult to gauge the popularity of the shape before the Hellenistic period, plates were a consistent part of the Corinthian assemblage since the Archaic period.<sup>58</sup> Plates of the Archaic and early Classical periods, however, were very different

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<sup>57</sup> This cemetery was recently excavated by the Greek LZ ephoreia. I thank Amalia Giannopoulou for allowing me to look at this vessel.

<sup>58</sup> The main problem lies with the available data. Funerary contexts are a key source of pottery from the Archaic and Classical periods and plates are only found in sanctuary and domestic contexts in Corinth. (*Corinth* VII.5 pp. 88-90).

than their Hellenistic successors.<sup>59</sup> These early Corinthian plates have flat bottoms and high vertical or outward flaring walls, so that they more strongly resemble trays than modern plates. By the mid-4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., new types of plates modeled on Athenian prototypes began to appear, including a Corinthian version of the Attic rolled rim plate and the Attic fish plate.<sup>60</sup> It is these late Classical plates with their defined ring feet and well-articulated rims that most strongly influenced the Hellenistic plates that were to follow.

Five types of Corinthian plates were made in the Hellenistic period: the Attic type fish plate, the beveled rim fish plate, the plate with an offset rim, the rolled rim plate and the flat rim plate.<sup>61</sup> Three of these plates, the Attic type fish plate, the plate with offset rim and the rolled rim plate, are related to imported types, but the other two were almost certainly local inventions. Corinthian Hellenistic plates are made almost exclusively in fabric B or D through to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and are normally partially glazed by dipping. Hellenistic plates are found in a variety of contexts, but are more common in domestic and sanctuary contexts than public ones.<sup>62</sup>

Edwards believed that Corinthian plates had great potential in terms of absolute dating, but at the time he lacked the evidence to prove it.<sup>63</sup> The main impediment to Edwards' own study was the general rarity of plates in the fills of the South Stoa wells. This present study, however, has shown that Edwards was indeed correct. The new Panayia Field deposits have almost doubled the number of known plates, and in combination with evidence from previously excavated deposits, we can now trace the production life of most local Hellenistic plates (Chart 4.4). It is clear that each type of

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<sup>59</sup> *Corinth* VII.2 nos. An 15-20 (Protocorinthian); *Corinth* VII.5 no. 318-361 (Conventionalizing).

<sup>60</sup> Pemberton 1997, p. 82.

<sup>61</sup> Note that unlike *Corinth* VII.3, I have not included the saucer in the plate category.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. note 58 above.

<sup>63</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 36.

plate has a discrete chronological range, which makes them valuable dating tools for archaeologists.

Edwards noted in his initial study the possibility that Corinthians may have been supplementing locally made plates with imported Athenian and other foreign types.<sup>64</sup> This theory has now been somewhat substantiated at least for the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. by the fill of drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22) where 71% (by weight) of all the plates are imported.<sup>65</sup> The huge ratio of local to imported plates in this deposit suggests that, like the kantharos, this niche in the Corinthian market was filled through imports until local production had grown sufficiently to meet demand.<sup>66</sup> The tipping point seems to have occurred in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. with the introduction of the beveled rim plate. After this point, although foreign plates continued to be imported they make up a much less substantial part of the fine ware in any given deposit.

After the introduction of the beveled rim plate, production of Corinthian plates rapidly expanded (Chart 4.4). This increased interest in plates in the assemblage can perhaps be tied to changes in diet that required steeper sided plates rather than bowls or completely flat plates (cf. Cat. Nos. 145-148). Whatever the reason by the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., three new types of plates had developed – the plate with offset rim, the rolled rim plate and the flat rim plate.<sup>67</sup> The plate with offset rim is typically decorated with elaborate West Slope designs and it is therefore not surprising that it was not produced beyond the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>68</sup> In contrast, the more simply decorated flat

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<sup>64</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 36.

<sup>65</sup> *Corinth* VII.6, forthcoming.

<sup>66</sup> See chapter 3 for a discussion of imported Attic kantharoi in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>67</sup> Additionally, there are a few examples of a plain rimmed plate in deposits of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. This type may be a variant of the flat rim plate which does not have a groove. There are two inventoried plain rim plates C 1965-490 and C 1947-36 and several sherds in the context pottery of cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5), which gives it a date range of ca. 175 B.C. to the interim period.

<sup>68</sup> The peak period of West Slope decoration is from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> to ca. 175 B.C. Since the plate with offset rim seems designed for such decoration, it is reasonable to assume that there is a connection between the



rim plate and rolled rim plate were in production from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. through at least the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The flat rim plate, in fact, was the most popular type of plate in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and continued to be produced in the interim period. That all of these date ranges are by necessity very different from those in *Corinth VII.3* is a reflection of the large amount of new data available for the present study.

One significant aspect of the new 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. plates is the absence of fish plates with a central depression. The development of these new simpler forms would seem to indicate that there was no longer a need for that feature within the Corinthian assemblage.<sup>69</sup> The emergence of these new plates in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. may therefore reflect a change in diet that required a different kind of serving vessel.

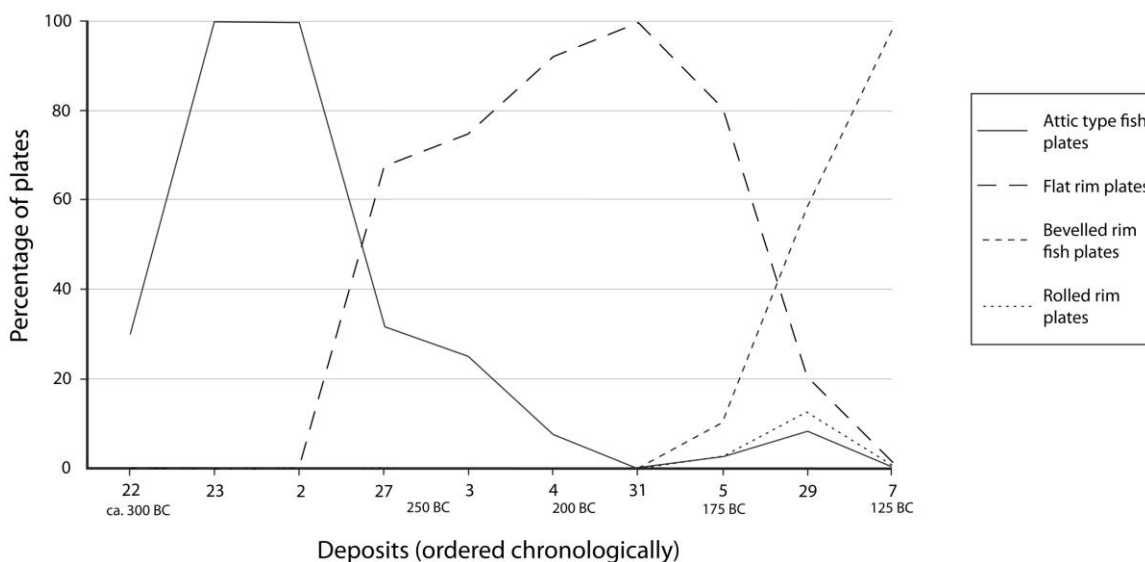


Chart 4.4: Main types of plates by weight

end of production of this type of plate and the end of West Slope decoration. See also Chapter 2 for West Slope decoration.

<sup>69</sup> Alternatively, the function of the central depression in fish plates may have been filled by a small bowl.

### **Attic type fish plate<sup>70</sup>(Cat. Nos. 145-146)**

Corinthian fish plates first occur in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and are clearly derived from Attic fish plates.<sup>71</sup> Athenian fish plates were in production from the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>72</sup> The form of the Attic type fish plate is clearly related to the Athenian fish plate in its heavy foot, central depression and overhanging rim. Corinthian examples are made in fabric B and, like their Attic relations, are always fully glazed.

The earliest local examples of the shape are decorated in the red figure style and the plain glazed version developed by ca. 325 B.C.<sup>73</sup> Plain glazed Attic type fish plates first occur in drain 1971-1 and cistern 1979-1 (Deposits 22 and 23), both deposits that have been recently re-dated to ca. 310-290 B.C. Since there are so many Attic type fish plates in these deposits, it is likely that production began in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. thus confirming the dating of McPhee and Trendall. Present evidence suggests that Attic type fish plates continued in production through the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 4.4). The end of their use life occurred in the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., when they were supplanted by the increasingly popular beveled rim fish plate. The sporadic appearance of Attic type fish plates in later deposits can be explained by the durability of the shape with its thick heavy walls and so these late examples should be viewed as survivors.<sup>74</sup>

In terms of shape development, Edwards used C 1963-737 (Cat. No. 146) as an example of a very late Attic type fish plate (that he dated to ca. 146 B.C.) and described a constricted foot, outward angled rim and increased shallowness of the central depression

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<sup>70</sup> Edwards suggested a date range of ca. 300-146 B.C. for the Attic type fish plate (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 40).

<sup>71</sup> McPhee and Trendall 1987, pp. 18-19.

<sup>72</sup> *Agora* XXIX, p. 146.

<sup>73</sup> McPhee and Trendall 1987, p. 19

<sup>74</sup> In deposits of the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and later, when Attic type fish plates do occur they make up less than 8% of the total plates in the deposit by weight. Considering the peak of production had passed by the time of these deposits, such a small quantity should be viewed as residual.

as stylistic changes that occurred between the beginning and the end of the series.<sup>75</sup> C 1963-737, however, comes from a deposit with a vague terminus ante quem of the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and is likely a survivor in that mixed context.<sup>76</sup> However, as a shape it is significantly different from early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Attic type fish plates and its similarities to the beveled rim fish plate suggest that it is from the end of the series. In short, although his chronology was off by 75 years, Edwards' analysis of morphological changes is supported by the present study. Another useful criterion for determining the date of an Attic type fish plate is the presence of miltois, which occurs on two examples from deposits dated to ca. 300 B.C. and tends to be an early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. decorative feature.<sup>77</sup>

Attic type fish plates are found in a wide variety of contexts. They occur in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, on the west side of the Forum area (including Buildings II-III) and in the Panayia Field. This range of findspots suggests that the Attic type fish plate was used regularly in all types of dining contexts throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The ubiquity of this type of fish plate within Corinth is similar to other plates in the later Hellenistic period and thereby attests to the general popularity of the shape.

### **Beveled rim fish plate (Cat. Nos. 147-151)**

The beveled rim fish plate is a purely Corinthian shape that bears little resemblance to the Attic type fish plate, except in the presence of a central depression. Beveled rim fish plates are characterized by a ring foot, broad straight sides and horizontal or slightly downward sloping rim. The diameter of the central depression

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<sup>75</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 40-41.

<sup>76</sup> This vessel comes from the "destruction" fill of the Anaploga dye works.

<sup>77</sup> See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the use of miltois on Corinthian pottery.

varies, but the depression itself is relatively shallow and encircled by a groove.<sup>78</sup> The undersurface of the foot is always flat or slightly convex, unlike the deeply convex undersurface of early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. Attic type fish plates.<sup>79</sup> In terms of decoration, beveled rim fish plates are always partially glazed by dipping so that the lower exterior surface and foot are reserved. Most beveled rim fish plates were made in fabric B, but a small number of late examples are found in fabric C.

Based on only four examples, Edwards proposed a date range of ca. 275 to 146 B.C. for the beveled rim fish plate.<sup>80</sup> Using a much larger data set, the present study has shown that the earliest beveled rim fish plates occur in deposits of the later third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and in such numbers that it is likely that production began earlier in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 4.4). Beveled rim fish plates became increasingly popular into the next century, but began to decline near the end of the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The sharp decline is illustrated by the very small percentage by weight of beveled rim fish plates in manhole 1986-1 (Deposit 29), which suggests that production ended sometime around 175 B.C. There are no indications that production of this shape continued into the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

An argument can be made that beveled rim fish plates were slightly taller and had smaller foot diameters after ca. 200 B.C. Beveled rim fish plates from late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. contexts tend to be 0.035m or less in height and have a foot diameter of greater than 0.065m (Cat. Nos. 147 and 148). By the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., most beveled rim fish plates are taller with heights of 0.038m or more and foot diameters of 0.065m or less (Cat. Nos.

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<sup>78</sup> It is possible that the shallowness of the central depression on beveled rim fish plates indicates that whatever the intended use of this depression it was becoming a less important aspect in the function and design of Corinthian plates. The development of a shallower central depression is also a feature of late Attic type fish plates. This shift away from deep central depressions in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. may foreshadow the disappearance of fish plates in the assemblage as a whole in the later 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>79</sup> For example, Cat. No. 145.

<sup>80</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 41.

149-151). However, the data set of complete profiles is small and these should only be seen as very broad guidelines to shape evolution.<sup>81</sup>

There are several different types of rims that may be chronologically significant. On 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. plates, the rim tends to be of the same thickness as the walls and can be a tapered horizontal rim (Cat. No. 148) or a slightly downturned rounded rim (Cat No. 147). In later types, the tapered horizontal rim (Cat. No. 149) and the downturned rounded rim continue, but there is also a horizontal rounded rim (Cat. No. 151) that is similar to a flat rim plate.

Beveled rim fish plates are found in numerous deposits throughout Corinth, with the exception of the South Stoa wells. Since many of the lower fills of the South Stoa date to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., a time when beveled rim plates were very popular, it is notable that they are almost completely absent from these deposits. This absence suggests that fish plates were not normally a part of the public events that the South Stoa is believed to have hosted.<sup>82</sup> Instead, the beveled rim fish plate seems to have been more commonly used in domestic or small scale dining contexts.

### **Plate with offset rim (Cat. No. 152)**

The Corinthian plate with offset rim is characterized by its ring foot, relatively straight horizontal walls and convex offset rim. All local examples are fully glazed and the interior is divided into three decorative zones, the medallion, outer floor and rim, which have elaborate painted West Slope designs. Fabric B is the only known clay type to have been used to produce this type of plate.

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<sup>81</sup> Edwards noted the same general tendency, *Corinth* VII.3, p. 41.

<sup>82</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the nature of drinking and dining in the South Stoa in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Plates with offset rims occur in Campanian and Eastern Sigillata A wares as well as in local fabrics at Athens and Corinth.<sup>83</sup> Some resolution to the question of the chronology of the plate with offset rim can be sought in Morel's suggestion that the shape originated in Italy and spread eastward.<sup>84</sup> He dated the Campana B version to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The Corinthian form seems to be most closely related to Morel's series 1323, 1324 and 1331, which range in date from the early 3<sup>rd</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>85</sup>

This shape has always been problematic at Corinth in terms of dating as illustrated by three plates with offset rims found in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary (C 1970-518, C 1965-319, C 1965-609).<sup>86</sup> Determining the dates of these particular vessels was difficult because they did not come from discrete contexts and therefore Pemberton had to rely on their decoration as the main dating criteria. According to Edwards' chronology of Corinthian West Slope decoration, C 1970-518 would be the earliest known locally made plate with an offset rim and should date to the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>87</sup> Another plate with the same profile, C 1965-319, had to be dated based on parallels to Athenian West Slope decoration, which suggested a date near the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The third plate was an anomalous shape with no surviving decoration and was dated to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. or later. In her discussion of these vessels, Pemberton described the situation as puzzling, especially since she was hesitant to suggest production continued past 146 B.C.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> *Agora XXIX*, p. 154.

<sup>84</sup> Morel 1976, pp. 493-494.

<sup>85</sup> Morel 1981, pp. 106-107.

<sup>86</sup> See *Corinth XVIII.1* nos. 177, 472 and 473.

<sup>87</sup> *Corinth XVIII.1*, pp. 50-52. There are significant problems with Edwards' proposed chronology of Corinthian West Slope decoration (see Chapter 2 and McPhee 1997) and because of these issues it cannot be used as a reliable indicator of the date of a vessel.

<sup>88</sup> *Corinth XVIII.1*, p. 50.

At Corinth, the only discrete deposit that contains a Corinthian plate with an offset rim is cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5), which has numerous sherds in the context pottery. This cistern therefore allows us to say that this type of plate was in production in Corinth ca. 175 B.C. Two other examples of plates with offset rims come from mixed re-deposited fills (Deposits 8 and 12), but both of these deposits also contain a significant quantity of material dated to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The latest deposit containing a plate with offset rim is cistern 1987-1 (Deposit 28), which dates to the 170s B.C. It therefore seems reasonable based on these four deposits to assign a date of ca. 175 +/- 10 to this type of plate.<sup>89</sup> Such a short production life is also supported by the fact that plates with offset rims are quite rare in Corinth compared to other types of plates. This proposed date is later than those in previous studies, but has the benefit both of being based on better contextual evidence and of fitting within the broader chronological context of this shape in the Mediterranean.<sup>90</sup>

Although few plates with offset rims have survived, their findspots would seem to suggest some relation to public dining. The most complete and numerous examples of this shape were found in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary and fills associated with the South Stoa – both places clearly related to large-scale public dining.<sup>91</sup> It therefore seems likely that these highly decorated plates were considered more appropriate for contexts of public display than private daily use.

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<sup>89</sup> Edwards also suggested that the plate with offset rim had a limited production span of the third to fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 39).

<sup>90</sup> In my opinion, it would be unwarranted to suggest that the plate with offset rim originated in Corinth, despite its early date relative to the Campanian examples. This plate first occurs in Corinth in a fully developed form with no relation to any local shape and does not show any signs of development or change over the course of its production life, which suggests that it is an imitation of a foreign shape. The early date of adoption in Corinth is probably a result of rapid diffusion from the fairly constant flow of Italian imports that were coming into Corinth from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. onwards (for a discussion of Italian imports in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. see Chapter 6).

<sup>91</sup> Another example of a plate with offset rim (Lot 1980-129:3) came from a level of Hellenistic fill in the southeast Forum area, which can also be considered a public space (Williams and Russell 1981, p. 19 n. 25).

### **Rolled rim plate (Cat. Nos. 153-154)**

The rolled rim plate is a very common shape in Hellenistic assemblages throughout the Mediterranean.<sup>92</sup> Corinthian rolled rim plates have a ring foot, fairly steep, straight walls and a narrow “rolled” rim that is defined by a ridge or groove.<sup>93</sup> Rolled rim plates, like most Corinthian Hellenistic serving vessels, were partially glazed by dipping, which leaves the lower exterior wall and foot reserved. All known examples were made in either local fabric B or C.

Two possible origins of the Corinthian rolled rim plate can be suggested: either it was based on an imported prototype or it may have developed from the Corinthian saucer. In Athens, the first rolled rim plates come from contexts of the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and by the Hellenistic period it had become the most popular type of plate.<sup>94</sup> One argument against an Athenian origin for the shape, however, is that imported Attic rolled rim plates are relatively rare in Corinthian contexts. By contrast, there are numerous examples of Italian imported rolled rim plates (Morel form 1545), produced in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., that are very similar in shape and decoration to the Corinthian type.<sup>95</sup> Although a foreign origin is possible, the ubiquitous Corinthian saucer also provides a convincing predecessor for the rolled rim plate. The saucer is a very long-lived shape in the Corinthian assemblage and strongly resembles the rolled rim plate in profile, fabric and decoration – it is primarily the larger size of the plate and the addition of a groove at the rim that distinguishes the two shapes. In either case, the relatively simple shape of the rolled rim plate makes determining a precise origin somewhat challenging.

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<sup>92</sup> See *Agora XXIX*, 143 n. 6 for a list of sites outside Athens where rolled rim plates were produced locally or imported examples have been found.

<sup>93</sup> The presence of a groove below the rim is a feature that first occurs in Athenian rolled rim plates at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. (*Agora XXIX*, p. 144).

<sup>94</sup> *Agora XXIX*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>95</sup> Morel 1981, p. 123.



Rolled rim plates are one of three types of plates that first appear in Corinth in the early part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>96</sup> The first examples of rolled rim plates are found in two deposits of the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (Deposits 5 and 8) and these occur in such small proportions that it is reasonable to assume that they represent the beginning of the series (Chart 4.4). Rolled rim plates increase in popularity through the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., when they are second only to the flat rim plate. Although there are only a few small sherds in the Panayia Field floor deposit, the number of complete and fragmentary rolled rim plates from the interim fills of the South Stoa wells is large enough to demonstrate that this type continued to be produced in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and perhaps later.

Prior to 146 B.C. rolled rim plates occur in small quantities in deposits in the Panayia Field, South Stoa well XXX (Deposit 21), the Demeter and Kore sanctuary and the area East of Theater. These findspots suggest that the use of rolled rim plates was not restricted to any particular context. At the same time, it does not seem to have been a very popular shape in this period and therefore determining areas of more concentrated use is difficult.<sup>97</sup> By contrast in the interim period, rolled rim plates are found in every context and in greater amounts suggesting that they became more common in the later 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

### **Flat rim plate (Cat. Nos. 155-163)**

By the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., the flat rim plate was the most common type of plate in the Corinthian assemblage (Chart 4.4). It is characterized by a ring foot and a steep wall

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<sup>96</sup> Edwards recognized that the rolled rim plate was largely confined to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and dated the shape to ca. 200 to 146 B.C. (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 37).

<sup>97</sup> In the quantified deposits, the percentage of rolled rim plates as a total of the fine ware is less than 1% before 146 B.C.

that rises to a horizontal rim set off from the wall by a deep groove. Like other Corinthian plates, it was made in local fabrics B or C and only partially glazed by dipping with the lower wall and foot reserved. Most flat rim plates were so carelessly manufactured that the rim can tilt slightly upwards or downwards even in the profile of a single vessel. Similarly, the width and depth of the groove at the rim can vary significantly. One consistent feature is that the rim is the same thickness as the walls and is either squared or tapered to a rounded edge. Morphologically, flat rim plates seem to undergo little development in terms of profile through the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>98</sup>

Edwards suggested a possible Athenian prototype for this shape, the Thompson B5 plate, but that seems unlikely now that the Corinthian shape is better known.<sup>99</sup> Chronologically, the most plausible origin for the flat rim plate is the Corinthian beveled rim fish plate. The flat rim plate, however, is also clearly closely related to the rolled rim plate. Both rolled rim and flat rim plates have a groove below the rim and it is only in the treatment of the rim above this groove that the two types differ significantly.

In terms of absolute chronology, the first flat rim plates occur in deposits of the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>100</sup> As a percentage of the total number of plates in cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5), the number of flat rim plates is small (roughly 10% of the total plates by weight), but large enough to indicate that the series may have begun earlier perhaps ca. 180 B.C. (Chart 4.4) The popularity of the flat rim plate grew rapidly into the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and by ca. 150 it was the most common type of plate having essentially replaced the beveled rim fish plate. Flat rim plates continued to be the most popular plate into the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., as shown by the large number of

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<sup>98</sup> The height and rim and foot diameter measurements are very consistent (within a range of 0.02m) in all of examples included in this study.

<sup>99</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 38.

<sup>100</sup> Edwards was hampered in his attempt to develop an absolute chronology for flat rim plates by the fact that all of his available examples were from interim fills. He was only able to suggest 146 B.C. as the final stage of flat rim plate production (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 37).

complete vessels (a total of 18) and numerous fragments in the interim fills of the South Stoa wells. In addition, four intact flat rim plates were found in the Panayia Field floor deposit, which dates to ca. 125-75 B.C., indicating that the flat rim plate was produced into the fourth quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and perhaps later.<sup>101</sup>

Flat rim plates occur in deposits of the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. in the Panayia Field, the area east of Theater, the South Stoa and in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary. The presence of flat rim plates in all these deposits suggests that they were used in a variety of public and private contexts and seemingly to a greater degree than other types of Hellenistic plates. The ubiquity of flat rim plates appears to continue into the interim period when it is the most common type of plate along with rolled rim plates. Flat rim plates are found in every interim period context in this study.

### **KRATERS (CAT. NOS. 164-169)**

Kraters of various shapes bearing figural decoration were relatively common in Corinth from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>102</sup> Like other types of Corinthian fine ware, over the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. many of the earlier Classical forms died out and new shapes began to be produced: the unglazed bell krater, the bolster krater, the hemispherical krater and the moldmade krater. These new Hellenistic types are slightly smaller (roughly 25% in terms of height and rim diameter) than the average Classical krater, but are as finely made with good black glaze and often adorned with West Slope motifs or molded decoration.<sup>103</sup> Previous studies have considered the lack of fine ware kraters found in Hellenistic deposits, in comparison to the Archaic and Classical periods, to be indicative

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<sup>101</sup> For a discussion of the nature of the interim fills of the South Stoa wells and what they suggest about the types of activities occurring in the area, see Chapter 6.

<sup>102</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 13.

<sup>103</sup> The exception is the unglazed bell krater, but see below.

of a decline in symposiastic dining.<sup>104</sup> Edwards, who only dealt with inventoried kraters, suggested that coarse and cooking ware kraters may have filled the functional gap in the Hellenistic assemblage for mixing bowls.<sup>105</sup> Similarly Pemberton, who studied both inventoried and context pottery from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary, found very few identifiable Hellenistic kraters in her deposits and came to the same conclusion as Edwards.<sup>106</sup> The perceived absence of kraters in the Hellenistic assemblages at Corinth has contributed to the notion that communal drinking practices changed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. in Greece as a whole. This theory has been perpetuated by Rotroff, who found that the krater is a rare shape in the later Hellenistic period at Athens compared to earlier periods and suggested that the lacuna was filled with plain ware and metal vessels.<sup>107</sup>

While it is still the case that complete and therefore inventoried Hellenistic kraters are rare in Corinth, they are amply supplemented by readily identifiable krater sherds in the context pottery of most deposits in the present study. Because of their size and function, kraters were never as ubiquitous as other types of cups and bowls. This feature makes it difficult to get an absolute measure of the popularity of kraters in the Corinthian assemblage at any given point. Although it is not possible within the limits of the present study to assess whether there is a quantifiable change in the number of kraters from the mid-4<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., what can be conclusively demonstrated is that fine ware kraters were produced throughout the Hellenistic period in Corinth. Kraters consistently represent 5-10% of the fine ware by weight in deposits from the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> (namely

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<sup>104</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 45; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 13; Rotroff 1996.

<sup>105</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 45. Clearly, plain coarse fabric kraters were far less suited to serve as decorative foci of drinking rituals. This is one of the reasons that a change in drinking practices has been proposed for the Hellenistic period at Corinth.

<sup>106</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, pp. 12-14. The lack of Hellenistic fine ware kraters in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary is striking in comparison to the number of Archaic and Classical examples. Since there are Hellenistic kraters in other contexts in Corinth perhaps their scarcity in the sanctuary is a reflection of a change in practice that is specific to that area of the city.

<sup>107</sup> Rotroff 1996; *Agora* XXIX, pp. 135-136.

from the public dining debris of Buildings II/III) through the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. This stability, in addition to the development of four new kinds of krater, attests to the continued importance of the shape in the fine ware assemblage into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. As a general type, fine ware kraters begin to decline with the introduction of the moldmade krater in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>108</sup> The production life of moldmade kraters, unlike moldmade bowls, appears to have been quite short and there is no evidence that they continued into the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>109</sup>

Kraters are found in almost every Hellenistic deposit in Corinth. This distribution suggests that they were used in both public and private dining contexts throughout most of the city. They are less common in the fills of the South Stoa wells than we might expect, given the number of drinking vessels in these same fills, but the presence of complete kraters in South Stoa wells XIV and XXVII (Deposits 15 and 20) implies that they were also used occasionally in public drinking contexts.<sup>110</sup> Given the numerous ceramic kraters found in other contemporary deposits in Corinth, it seems very likely that metal kraters were more commonly used in the South Stoa.

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<sup>108</sup> In this respect, it is remarkable how closely the chronology and development of kraters in Hellenistic Corinth is mirrored by Athens in that moldmade kraters also fully replace fine ware kraters by ca. 175 B.C. in Athens (*Agora* XXIX, p. 139). Moreover, an analogy to this pattern of production and consumption for kraters through the Hellenistic period can be drawn to that of kantharoi, which also decline with the advent of moldmade bowls ca. 175 B.C. (see Chapter 3). The similarity in the production and use-life of these two shapes is probably attributable to their roles in Hellenistic drinking practices.

<sup>109</sup> More than 32 inventoried examples of moldmade kraters, a figure made more significant by the short production life of moldmade kraters, testify to the fact that this shape was an important part of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. dining practices at Corinth.

<sup>110</sup> For a full discussion of Hellenistic drinking practices at Corinth and the use of kraters in the South Stoa (see Chapter 6).

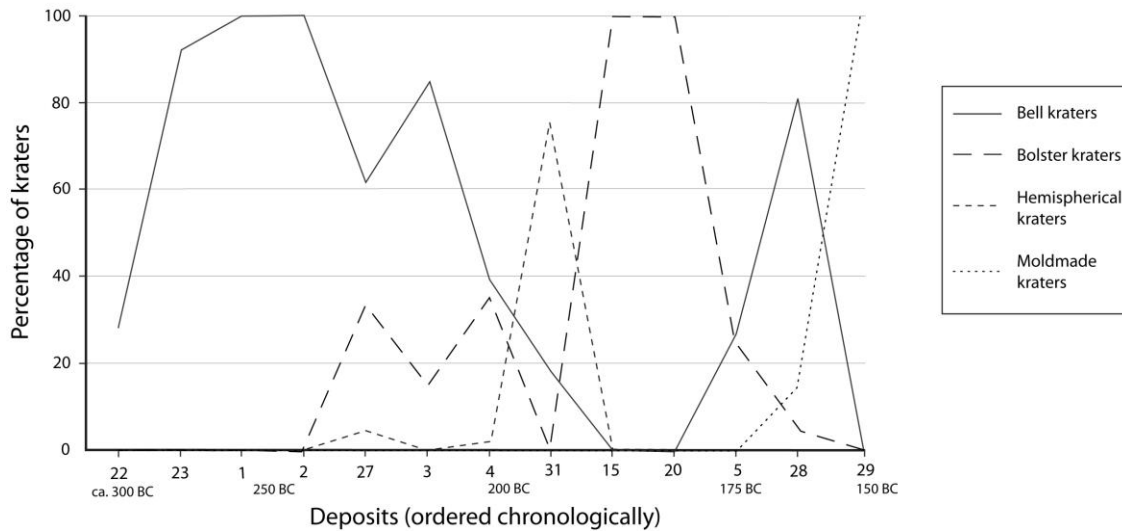


Chart 4.5: Black-glazed kraters by weight

### Stemless bell krater (Cat. No. 164)

The black-glazed stemless bell krater is characterized by a heavy molded foot, tall bell shaped body and a broad outturned lip that flares beyond the vertical plane of the body. A distinctive double lip is formed by a groove that divides the lip into an upper and a lower lip with the lower lip as the outermost edge. Two round horizontal handles are attached at mid-body and often cant upward and are pinched either upward or inward. The entire vessel is black glazed, with the exception of the undersurface of the foot, and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. often has a band of West Slope decoration in the handle zone. In addition, small decorative raised bosses can occur on either side of the handles. This type of krater is made exclusively in a very fine version of local fabric B.

McPhee has traced the beginning of production to ca. 375 B.C. and suggested that the shape is a local adaptation of the Attic bell krater.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, he believed that the

<sup>111</sup> McPhee 1997, p. 131.

stemless bell krater may have continued in production longer than the standard type of bell krater, perhaps into the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>112</sup> This date for the end of production is based on a terminus ante quem for C 1940-393 provided by well 1940-1 (Deposit 26).<sup>113</sup>

However, the current study has found large numbers of fragments of stemless bell kraters in six deposits dating from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. to the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. It therefore seems likely that production of the stemless bell krater continued at least until the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The small proportion of stemless bell kraters in deposits of the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and later suggests that production stopped sometime in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C (Chart 4.5).<sup>114</sup>

Morphologically, there is a noticeable difference in the shape of the lip between the early and later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. varieties of the stemless bell krater. In the later examples, there is a tendency towards a more splayed lip, as if the groove has been deepened, which creates a U-like shape.<sup>115</sup> The profile of the outer lip on the latest type of stemless bell krater is therefore somewhat similar to those found on contemporary cooking fabric kraters.

Stemless bell kraters are found in a variety of deposits in the western Forum area (including Buildings II/III), the Panayia Field and in the Anaploga area. This pattern of findspots suggests that stemless bell kraters were commonly used in both public and private contexts throughout much of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

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<sup>112</sup> McPhee 1997, p. 126.

<sup>113</sup> McPhee 1997, p. 126. Note that this deposit has been given a depositional date by the present study of the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>114</sup> This is also the date that Athenian bell kraters went out of production, *Agora XXIX*, p. 136.

<sup>115</sup> The best example is seen on a krater rim from cistern 2001-1 (Deposit 3).

### **Unglazed bell krater (Cat. No. 165)**

Another type of bell krater first appears in deposits of the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. or at roughly the same time that the stemless bell krater seems to stop production. The unglazed bell krater is a type that has not been recognized in previous studies. Much like the stemless bell krater, it is characterized by a molded or simple ring foot, a hemispherical body, a broadly outturned lip with a groove that forms a double lip (often a shallow, splayed U-shape) and two round horizontal handles that cant upwards. The key difference between the two shapes lies in the fact that the unglazed bell krater is not black-glazed. Instead, the entire surface, or sometimes just the interior, is covered in a reddish orange to brown or white wash. More rarely, both the interior and exterior are left plain. No additional decoration is ever added. The walls of this type of krater tend to be thicker than the black-glazed variety, but the fabric itself is generally of high quality with few inclusions. It is generally produced in fabric B, but there are a few rare examples that were made in fabric A. In some examples, the body is articulated at the transition to the flaring lip zone and in this respect they resemble coarse column kraters, as defined by Edwards, but the consistent bell krater profile places them into this group.<sup>116</sup>

Unglazed bell kraters seem to have begun production early in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., based on their numbers in Panayia Field cisterns 2006-1 and 2001-1 (Deposits 2 and 3), and increase in popularity through the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The latest deposit with unglazed kraters is cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5). The percentage of unglazed bell kraters drops significantly in deposits of the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. suggesting that production had stopped sometime in the 170s.

In terms of shape, the standard bell krater double lip with a groove was produced along side the shallow U-shape lip for most of the production life of the unglazed bell

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<sup>116</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 107-108.



krater. The U-shaped lip becomes more similar to the rims of cooking fabric kraters during the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. with the addition of a groove on the upper surface of the lip. In cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5), several unglazed bell kraters with plain splayed rims occur and this type seems to be confined to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Unglazed bell kraters are found mainly in deposits in the Panayia Field and in the domestic debris of well 1960-4 (Deposit 30). This distribution would seem to imply that the unglazed bell krater was used primarily in private dining at the household level rather than public contexts. The form and findspots of unglazed bell kraters may suggest that it was used as a poorer substitute for the stemless bell krater. It could also perhaps be argued that this krater was used for another household purpose, since it is undecorated, but this is unlikely because of the instability of the ring foot. We should therefore perhaps see this shape as the last incarnation of the long-lived bell krater in the Corinthian assemblage.

### **Bolster krater (Cat. Nos. 166-167)**

The bolster krater is a purely Hellenistic type that was first identified by Edwards.<sup>117</sup> It has a simple molded foot, a broad hemispherical body and a flat projecting rim with two horizontal bolster handles just below the rim. All known examples were produced in fabric B and were fully glazed. Their decoration consists of one or more bands of elaborate West Slope decoration below the rim.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 46.

<sup>118</sup> The West Slope decoration on bolster kraters is more complex than is used on contemporary kantharoi. A greater variety of West Slope motifs are used in the decorative bands and these are executed with more care and detail than on any other shape except the conical bowl and the plate with offset rim.

The bolster krater is known in other centers, namely Athens, South Italy and Ephesus, and its shape suggests that it may have a metal prototype.<sup>119</sup> The Attic bolster krater developed in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and was most popular between 225-175 BC. It likely went out of production in ca. 175 B.C. or earlier when it was (partially) replaced by the moldmade krater. The chronology of the Attic krater therefore places it in a position to be the prototype for the Corinthian version. However, the lack of imported Attic examples in Corinth and the fact that it occurs at sites throughout the Mediterranean suggests it may have been part of the larger Hellenistic koine.

Bolster kraters first appear in Corinthian deposits of the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Although the two best preserved examples are from the fills of South Stoa wells XIV and XXVII (Deposits 15 and 20) and date to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., the percentage of bolster kraters in the total fine ware assemblage (by weight) decreases through the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>120</sup> This pattern suggests that production of this type began around 225 B.C. and stopped late in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C (Chart 4.5).<sup>121</sup>

In addition to the South Stoa wells, bolster krater fragments have been found in the context pottery of three Panayia Field deposits, in the area west of the Forum and the area East of Theater. This distribution suggests that the bolster krater was used in a variety of public and private contexts.

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<sup>119</sup> *Agora XXIX*, pp. 136-137. The connection between the Attic bolster krater and a metal prototype is made more likely by the presence of plastic appliqués below the handle on several Attic examples.

<sup>120</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the role of this krater within the assemblage.

<sup>121</sup> This is also the peak period of production for Athenian bolster kraters, *Agora XXIX*, p. 137.

### **Hemispherical krater (Cat. No. 168)**

Hemispherical kraters are another type that appears as part of the small floruit in krater production in the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., which included the bolster and unglazed bell krater.<sup>122</sup> Unlike these two types of krater, hemispherical kraters were very short-lived and never achieved the same level of production as other contemporary kraters. Edwards defined the shape as having a plain ring foot, hemispherical body and simple gently beveled lip. None of the known examples preserve any trace of handles.<sup>123</sup> Hemispherical kraters are always manufactured in fabric B. Like bolster kraters they are fully glazed, but have only incised grooves below the rim and a band of simple West Slope decoration.

The earliest example of a hemispherical krater is from cistern 1940-1 (Deposit 27), which indicates that production may have begun shortly before ca. 225 B.C. A canonical example of the shape (Cat. No. 168) was found in well 1960-4 (Deposit 31) and a possible hybrid of a hemispherical and bolster krater (Cat. No. 167) comes from well 2002-2 (Deposit 4). Both of these deposits are dated to the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. No hemispherical kraters have been found in deposits of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., which suggests that production had probably stopped by ca. 200 B.C. (Chart 4.5).

Although the sample set is small, the findspots of hemispherical kraters suggest that they were used in similar contexts to bolster kraters and stemless bell kraters. Both the fill of the Panayia Field well 2002-2 and well 60-4 represent primarily domestic debris, while cistern 40-1 is arguably a more public or mixed context because of its proximity to the Forum.

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<sup>122</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of Hellenistic kraters.

<sup>123</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 46-47.

### **Moldmade krater (Cat. No. 169)<sup>124</sup>**

Corinthian moldmade kraters are large, heavy walled versions of moldmade bowls that have feet in the form of appliqué supports. All of the known examples are made in either fabric B or C, fully glazed and covered in relief decoration, including the resting surface.<sup>125</sup> Like moldmade bowls, the moldmade krater was produced in figural, long petal, pine-cone and imbricate styles. However, the dates assigned to these styles of moldmade bowls do not necessarily apply to their krater cousins.<sup>126</sup>

While few complete examples are preserved, moldmade kraters are numerous enough in the context pottery of many deposits to argue that they were first introduced into the assemblage late in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 4.5). Charles Edwards argued that the long petal moldmade krater was invented in Corinth and began production before the smaller long petal bowl, perhaps as early as the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>127</sup> This date is supported by finds of long petal krater fragments in cisterns 2003-2 and 1987-1 (Deposits 5 and 28). Other types of moldmade kraters were introduced soon after as shown by a rare complete example of a figural moldmade krater (Cat. No. 169) found in manhole 1986-1 (Deposit 29).<sup>128</sup> The presence of a complete krater and other fragments of different styles of moldmade kraters in this deposit indicate that this type

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<sup>124</sup> Note that this type is very different from the moldmade kraters found at Athens and elsewhere, which are kraters that were made in a mold but then covered in West Slope rather than relief decoration (*Agora* XXIX, p. 139).

<sup>125</sup> In some rare cases, West Slope decoration is used in the rim zone and molded decoration below, for example C 1990-21.

<sup>126</sup> Some chronological correlation does seem to exist between the types of moldmade bowls and kraters produced in the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Evidence for this correlation comes from the fact that moldmade kraters are only made in styles that appear early in the production of Corinthian moldmade bowls, with the exception of the long petal type.

<sup>127</sup> Edwards 1986, p. 393. He also argued that moldmade kraters with appliqué masks as supports originated at Corinth based on the fact that no other site has as many examples of the shape, the find of a mold and evidence of local workshops (Edwards 1986, pp. 404-405). Although Edwards' suggestion of a local origin remains attractive, the present study has been unable to contribute evidence to further his argument.

<sup>128</sup> This deposit also contained a mold for a figural moldmade krater (MF 1986-46) which lends support to the argument that production continued into the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

was well established by the 160s B.C. Although there are a few pieces of moldmade kraters in fills of the interim period, overall the evidence suggests that their production did not continue in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Additionally, the absence of moldmade kraters made in the later linear styles found on Corinthian moldmade bowls (i.e., concentric-semicircle, net pattern and linear leaf) probably reflects a conservative stance by local potters in regard to the adoption of new motifs for kraters rather than that the production of kraters had stopped before 146 B.C. The general pattern therefore shows that, like other types of Hellenistic kraters, the moldmade krater had a comparatively short period of production (less than 40 years) between ca. 180-146 B.C.

Moldmade kraters are found in the debris from both public and private contexts, just as their West Slope decorated predecessors. The similarity in the types of findspots of moldmade kraters suggests that there was a degree of functional continuity in the role of the krater in the greater assemblage after the switch to a moldmade shape. In this way, the introduction of the moldmade krater is analogous to the moldmade bowl. Both types began production in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and quickly supplanted all other fine ware shapes in their functional category. The fact that the appearance of the moldmade krater in Corinth coincides with the disappearance of the other types of Hellenistic krater has been noted in previous studies, but with little discussion of the likely connection to moldmade bowls.<sup>129</sup> The questions surrounding the introduction of moldmade bowls and kraters to Corinth and its implications will be discussed in Chapter 6.

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<sup>129</sup> Both Edwards and Edwards believed that the introduction of the moldmade krater occurred in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. or 25 years earlier than the present evidence can support, see *Corinth* VII.3, p. 45 and Edwards 1986, p. 405.

## CONCLUSIONS

As a category of Corinthian Hellenistic pottery, serving vessels are a diverse group that shares many features with other types of local fine ware. Bowls are a very conservative class in that the same shapes that were current in the late Classical period remain the most common types of bowls during the Hellenistic period. While there are some small changes to the profiles and decoration of echinus bowls, semi-glazed bowls and saucers over time, they are not particularly datable shapes. Instead, they testify to the continuity of tradition and the ultimate utility of these vessels within the assemblage.

Conversely, plates and kraters show a very clear and relatively rapid development through the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. After the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., plates became an increasingly important part of the Corinthian assemblage as demonstrated by the development of three new kinds of plates in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The fact that these new shapes are not fish plates would appear to indicate that a change occurred in dining practices between the first and second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. On the other hand, the flourish of krater production in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. suggests some degree of continuity in drinking practices from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Indeed, the practice of drinking using a krater must have remained relatively unchanged otherwise it is difficult to explain why four new types of kraters emerged in this period.<sup>130</sup>

Like other types of Hellenistic fine ware, serving vessels were subject to outside influences in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. as shown by the adoption and adaptation of the Attic bowl with outturned rim, Attic bell krater and Attic fish plate. As argued in Chapters 2 and 6, the later 4<sup>th</sup> and earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. was a period of particularly close ties between Athens and Corinth and evidence of this connection survived into later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. in these shapes. External influences can be seen again in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., the

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<sup>130</sup> See also Chapter 6 for a discussion of Hellenistic drinking practices at Corinth.

period when the Corinthian assemblage became heavily influenced by the Hellenistic koine. Conical bowls, plates with offset rims and bolster kraters are all shapes that are known from other sites in the eastern and western Mediterranean either slightly before or at the same time Corinthian versions were produced. The development of these local shapes therefore amply demonstrates the strength of Corinth's connection to the wider Hellenistic world in this period.

## Chapter 5: Pouring Vessels and Miscellaneous Shapes

### POURING VESSELS (CAT. NOS. 170-185)

This category includes five types of pouring vessels that can be considered fine ware suitable for use at the table, namely the olpe, oinochoe (trefoil and two-handled), juglet and filter vase.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the other types of fine ware discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, four of the five most common pouring vessels produced in the Hellenistic period have direct Archaic or Classical predecessors and represent the latest phase of long-lived Corinthian shapes.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, it can be observed that local Hellenistic pouring vessels as a group were not influenced by imported shapes and did not respond to larger trends in the Mediterranean in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. In the realm of pouring vessels, Corinthian potters were clearly very conservative.<sup>3</sup>

Hellenistic pouring vessels are similar to bowls at Corinth in that most shapes remained in production through the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. and a limited range, only the filter vase and the olpe, survived into the interim period. The trefoil oinochoe, two-handled oinochoe, olpe and filter vase are the most common types in the Hellenistic assemblage.<sup>4</sup> Notably, pouring vessels are rarely found in the fills of the South Stoa wells.<sup>5</sup> This absence caused a problem for Edwards, who having based much of his study

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<sup>1</sup> There are other types of pouring vessels that were produced in the Hellenistic period and included in *Corinth* VII.3 and *Corinth* XVIII.1 – the narrow necked pitcher, wide necked or water pitcher and the table amphora. However, these shapes are generally larger, undecorated and made in thicker coarse ware. I have therefore excluded them from my fine ware category.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, the only new shape is the juglet, which was a short-lived type produced in last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (see below).

<sup>3</sup> This same conservatism makes it difficult to establish any distinct morphological changes within a given type of pouring vessel during the Hellenistic period.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the echinus bowl, semi-glazed bowl and saucer.

<sup>5</sup> It is likely that the absence of pouring vessels in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. contexts of the South Stoa wells can be explained by the use of vessels of other materials for the purpose of serving liquids. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of activities and finds in the South Stoa.



on its fills, was forced to concede that “our knowledge of Corinthian wine pitchers of the Hellenistic period is . . . very incomplete.”<sup>6</sup>

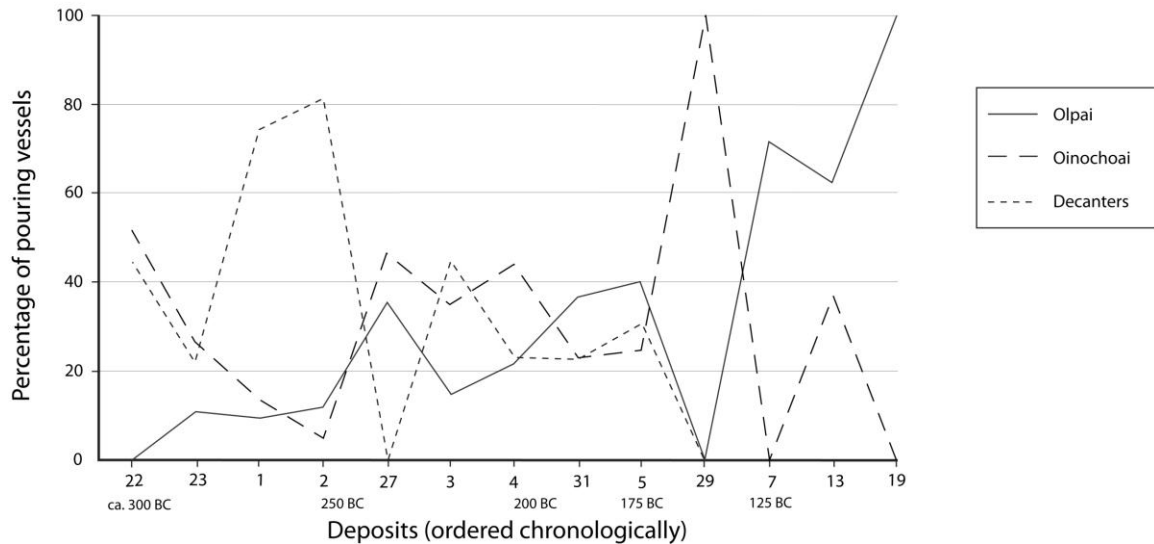


Chart 5.1: Olpai, oinochoai and decanters by weight

While the Panayia Field deposits have supplemented the data set considerably, it is still difficult at present to provide more than a general outline of the chronology of each type. The main reason for this is that there is considerable variation in the types present in each deposit and even between deposits that are closely contemporary (Chart 5.1). As the chart shows the result is a chaotic pattern that indicates roughly when a shape was in use and went out of production.<sup>7</sup> Variations between deposits in the quantity and types of pouring vessels present seem to be partially related to the nature of the context that produced the material. For example, there are very few pouring vessels in the deposits from the South Stoa wells and the area east of Theater, but many in the Panayia Field. If we assume that the South Stoa and the area east of Theater were connected to

<sup>6</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> For example, two-handed oinochoai were in use through to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and thereafter appear to have declined into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (see also below).

public dining or drinking, then we can say that ceramic pouring vessels are more common in domestic or small scale dining contexts and that pouring vessels in other materials were used in public dining contexts.<sup>8</sup> Another factor that may be contributing to variations in the percentage of types present in contemporary deposits may be individual preferences for certain shapes. Such a scenario is indeed likely for the trefoil oinochoe and trefoil olpe, two contemporary shapes that are almost identical in terms of size and function.<sup>9</sup>

Since pouring vessels are not subject to the same external influences as the fine ware discussed in other chapters, they cannot generally be used to discuss broader social or economic trends. Any comments related to such issues will be noted below in the appropriate section for each shape.

### **Hellenistic two-handled oinochoe (Cat. Nos. 170-172)**

In *Corinth* VII.3, Edwards defined a new type of pouring vessel – the decanter. Even though all decanters have globular bodies, narrow necks, outturned rims and two handles, he divided the shape into three distinct sub-classes each with its own chronological range.<sup>10</sup> Of these three, decanter types I and III were thought by Edwards to have been produced into the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and later.<sup>11</sup> The decanter, also known as a “mushroom jug,” seems to have developed alongside the “Corinthian oinochoe” with one

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<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of activities in the South Stoa in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. see Chapter 6. See the relevant Deposit Index section for the area east of Theater.

<sup>9</sup> This situation may be analogous to beveled rim bowls and the smallest echinus bowls. In both cases, there are contemporary vessels of the same size and shape that can be used for the same purpose and seem to have been used interchangeably. This type of use creates spikes in the data set when graphed, but still provides a general chronological range.

<sup>10</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 57-62.

handle during the Archaic period. The relationship between these two types of oinochoai is such that early decanters are sometimes referred to as “Corinthian oinochoai with two handles.”<sup>12</sup> Most recently McPhee has restudied the Hellenistic two-handled oinochoe and has incorporated Edwards’ three types of decanter into a broader discussion of the shape from the Archaic to Hellenistic period.<sup>13</sup> In doing so, McPhee has shown that all three types of decanter continued into at least the late 4<sup>th</sup> to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., on the basis of their presence in a fill associated with the destruction of Building III (Deposit 22).<sup>14</sup> The Panayia Field chronology supports both Edwards and McPhee and pushes the end date of Decanter type III into the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Out of Edwards’ Decanter type III developed what McPhee has called the Hellenistic two-handled oinochoe.<sup>15</sup> Both shapes are discussed below.

The Decanter type III is related to the Decanter type II, which was produced from the third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>16</sup> The Decanter type III is characterized by a shallow disc foot that can be so deeply concave that it looks

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<sup>11</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 57, 60. Edwards saw the Decanter type III as a “modified” form of the Decanter type II. Therefore the canonical Decanter type II stopped being produced in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. when it was replaced by the Decanter type III after a short period of overlapping production.

<sup>12</sup> McPhee 2005, p. 52. It is even suggested that one and two handled decanters were made in the same workshops in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., see McPhee 2005, p. 55. This shape is not to be confused with the two-handled oinochoe as defined by McPhee (see below).

<sup>13</sup> McPhee has used additional evidence to expand the typology of Corinthian two-handled oinochoai beyond the limit established by Edwards. At present, it is preferable to refer to the general shape as the “two-handled oinochoe” and the specific types defined by Edwards using his nomenclature.

<sup>14</sup> McPhee 2005, p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> Note that one of the vessels classified by Edwards as a Decanter type I (*Corinth* VII.3, no. 286) and was anomalous in his group has now been rightly re-categorized as a Hellenistic two-handled oinochoe by McPhee.

<sup>16</sup> McPhee 2005, p. 64. McPhee’s date of ca. 350-325 B.C. for Decanter type II is later than that of the third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. to the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. as proposed by Edwards in *Corinth* VII.3 p. 58.

like a ring foot, a squat globular body, a steep shoulder to a relatively narrow neck with an outturned overhanging collar lip and two vertical strap handles that attach at the lip.<sup>17</sup> The fabric is thin, like other fine ware vessels, and bands of black or red slip are typically applied above or below the maximum diameter, at the shoulder and exterior edge of the lip; occasionally one or two bands also decorate the inside of the lip. All known examples were made in fabric B.

The Decanter type III was first produced in the third quarter to early fourth quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>18</sup> Evidence for the end of production occurring late in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. comes from the latest find of a complete example in cistern 1940-1 (Deposit 27).<sup>19</sup> This deposit has been dated to ca. 250-225 B.C. by the present study and the fact that the decanter in this deposit is complete suggests that it was produced close to the time of deposition. While there are scattered sherds in later deposits, they should be considered survivors. The Decanter type III is found in a wide variety of deposits suggesting that it was a standard part of both public and domestic dining assemblages in 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

The Hellenistic Corinthian two-handled oinochoe is a shape that was first distinguished by McPhee. He proposed that it developed from the Decanter type III in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and that this new form continued as late as 146 B.C.<sup>20</sup> Unlike the Decanter type III, the Hellenistic two-handled oinochoe is taller, has a rounded,

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<sup>17</sup> See *Corinth* VII.3, nos. 301-302.

<sup>18</sup> McPhee 2005, p. 65.

<sup>19</sup> A date near the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. fits well with finds of the Corinthian Decanter type III and local imitations of this shape at other sites, which continue to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (*Agora* XXXIII, p. 72).

<sup>20</sup> McPhee 2005, pp. 68-72. McPhee does not create a separate category for this type, but discusses it in his section on oinochoai in Hellenistic Corinth.

outward flaring lip and is not banded (Cat. Nos. 170-172). The presence of two thin strap handles attached at lip and shoulder distinguish this form from other types of Hellenistic pitchers and relate it to its decanter predecessors. Two-handed oinochoai are generally made in fabric B and are plain except for a fine self-slip. There are, however, also examples of the shape that were made in cooking and coarse ware fabrics.<sup>21</sup> The bottom of the fine and coarse examples could have either a ring foot or a flat disc base, while two-handed cooking fabric oinochoai have indented rounded bases like a cooking ware round-mouthed pitcher.<sup>22</sup>

The earliest examples of Hellenistic two-handed oinochoai are in fine ware and first occur in well 1975-5, which is dated to ca. 250-225 B.C.<sup>23</sup> The fine ware version was popular from the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. into the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., at which point it also began to be produced in cooking and coarse fabrics.<sup>24</sup> The first coarse fabric two-handed oinochoe found in Corinth is C 1987-78 from cistern 1987-1 (Deposit 28), a deposit which was filled near the end of the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. A similar example was found in a late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. cistern in the Rachi settlement, which suggests that this type may have begun somewhat earlier.<sup>25</sup> These two coarse fabric oinochoai are essentially hybrids of the two-handed oinochoe and the cooking ware round-mouthed pitcher. They are characterized by the indented round base of a cooking ware pitcher and the handles of

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<sup>21</sup> In this respect, it is similar to several other Corinthian Hellenistic shapes, see Chapter 2.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of the cooking ware round-mouthed pitcher, see *Corinth* VII.3, pp.139-142 and *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 72.

<sup>23</sup> McPhee 2005, pp. 68-70.

<sup>24</sup> McPhee notes that two-handed oinochoai were made in cooking fabric, he mentioned the coarser fabric variants but does not think they are local (McPhee 2005, p. 57). I believe that by the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. that two-handed oinochoai in all fabrics were being used as the standard, large pouring vessel within the assemblage.

<sup>25</sup> Anderson-Stojanovic 1997, pl. 8:d (IP 563).

a two-handled oinochoe. All but one of the known examples of two-handled oinochoe in cooking fabric are also made in this shape.<sup>26</sup> McPhee tentatively proposed that this type may have continued to be produced into the interim period because of a two-handled oinochoe (C 1981-102) in a deposit of the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.<sup>27</sup> However, the absence of two-handled oinochoai from the interim fills in the present study would suggest that C 1981-102 is a survivor in that context. Moreover, the lack of evidence for this shape in manhole 1986-1 (Deposit 29) and later deposits suggests that the two-handled oinochoe may have stopped production early in the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 5.1).

The two-handled oinochoe is an important shape because it is the largest of the fine ware pouring vessels produced in the Hellenistic period.<sup>28</sup> In terms of size, it is comparable to earlier Archaic and Classical oinochoai and other types of pitchers. We may perhaps suggest that the continued production of this fine ware shape alongside coarser pitchers of similar or larger size indicates that the functional role of this type of vessel in the assemblage was unchanged. If this is the case, then it is possible that together with kraters they may show that the practice of symposiastic drinking also continued into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>29</sup>

Overall, the distribution of the two-handled oinochoe through the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. suggests that the shape was relatively common in both domestic and public

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<sup>26</sup> The exception is C 1947-829, which has a flat base and is therefore the fine ware shape in a pseudo-cookware fabric.

<sup>27</sup> McPhee 2005, p. 72.

<sup>28</sup> Hellenistic two-handled oinochoai have capacities of between 1.8 and 2.7 liters (McPhee 2005, p. 80).

<sup>29</sup> It should be noted that McPhee is skeptical that symposiastic practices continued into the Hellenistic period at Corinth and suggests that this vessel was perhaps not intended primarily as a wine jug (McPhee 2005, p. 76). See Chapter 6 for an argument that symposiastic drinking did continue into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. at Corinth.

contexts.<sup>30</sup> They are found in most of the later deposits in the Panayia Field and the domestic deposits on the west end of the Forum. At the same time, the relatively large number of two-handled oinochoai from the area east of Theater supports their presence in public dining contexts. In sum, the consumption pattern of the two-handled oinochoe is much like the trefoil oinochoe and olpe and indicates the broad utility of this shape.

### **Trefoil oinochoe (Cat. Nos. 173-176)**

Studies of the earliest types of oinochoai, also called the “Corinth oinochoe,” have been done by Lawrence and McPhee, who argue that the canonical form had developed by the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>31</sup> Edwards was skeptical about the continuation of the type beyond the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., but nevertheless included the small trefoil oinochoe in his volume on Hellenistic pottery.<sup>32</sup> He created three categories - the basic small trefoil oinochoe, one with a “shoulder stop” and a variant on the second type.<sup>33</sup> These three shapes originated in the Archaic or Classical period, but unlike their predecessors, Hellenistic oinochoai are smaller and more compact.<sup>34</sup> He believed that all three were produced into the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Unfortunately, Edwards’ distinctions are not supported by the present study. The “trefoil oinochoe with a shoulder stop” differs from the standard type in its less pronounced lip, flat base, which is often articulated from the body by means of a groove,

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<sup>30</sup> The suggestion is based on the fact that the quantity of two-handled oinochoe is similar to that of trefoil oinochoe and olpe in the deposits in this study. This opinion differs from that of McPhee who believes that it was not a common shape (McPhee 2005, p. 76).

<sup>31</sup> *Corinth* VII.2, pp. 78-80; McPhee 2005, p. 43.

<sup>32</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 53.

<sup>33</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 54-55.

<sup>34</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 53-55; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 18.

and the presence of a “shoulder stop”, which defines the point where the neck meets the wall.<sup>35</sup> While some examples of this type are plain or self-slipped, many are either fully or partially glazed by dipping.<sup>36</sup> Since the differences between the lip and body of the standard type and the type with a shoulder stop are less concrete than Edwards initially suggested, a better criterion for distinguishing between the two types is the base. When this criterion is employed two subclasses of small trefoil oinochoai can be distinguished – those with a raised disc foot and those with a flat base.

The small trefoil oinochoe with a raised disc foot has a tall globular body, narrow neck, trefoil shaped lip and high swung handle attached at the lip and shoulder (Cat. Nos. 174 and 176). In terms of decoration, the upper part of the body is glazed by dipping leaving the lower portion reserved. Most small trefoil oinochoe (of both types) were made in fabric B, but there are some early examples that were produced in fabric A. At present, the evidence suggests that this type continued well into the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 5.1). The latest deposit with an oinochoe of this type (Deposit 5) dates to late in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and the small number of sherds present suggest that the small trefoil oinochoe with a raised disc foot had stopped production ca. 200 B.C.

The small trefoil oinochoe with a flat base (Cat. Nos. 173 and 175) occurs in deposits throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., and like the type with the disc foot, last occurs in Deposit 5. The chronological and morphological similarities between the two types of oinochoe as defined by Edwards suggest that they are very closely related. Both types occur in the same deposits, albeit in different proportions, and were surely both used as small pouring vessels for water or wine.<sup>37</sup> The difference in the shape of the foot may

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<sup>35</sup> Note that I have collapsed Edwards’ third type, a variant on the trefoil oinochoe with shoulder stop with the standard small trefoil oinochoe with shoulder stop, since the variant was based on a single example that differed only slightly in the articulation of its trefoil mouth. For the variant, see *Corinth* VII.3, p. 55-56.

<sup>36</sup> Edwards stated that all examples of this shape were unglazed, see *Corinth* VII.3, p. 55.

<sup>37</sup> Most small trefoil oinochoai are between 0.07 and 0.09m high and have capacities of between 0.25 and 0.5 liters.



therefore be the result of the preferences of their makers, although it is not possible at present to prove such a hypothesis.

### **Trefoil olpe (Cat. Nos. 177-180)**

Edwards placed the initial stages of the trefoil olpe in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and noted that the shape was well represented through to ca. 350 B.C.<sup>38</sup> In his discussion of the Hellenistic olpe, he made the tenuous argument that the olpe was in continuous development and by extension continuous production through to 146 B.C., despite the fact that he could identify only one olpe that belonged in the period between 350 and 146 B.C.<sup>39</sup> Since the Panayia Field has yielded numerous examples that can be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., we can now demonstrate conclusively that the trefoil olpe was a shape that continued to be produced throughout the Hellenistic period.

The trefoil olpe can be defined in all periods by its flat base (which may be slightly concave), tall cylindrical body, rounded shoulder and trefoil mouth. From the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. onwards, a high swung handle was attached at the lip and shoulder. While some plain and fully glazed olpai are known, most are partially glazed leaving the lower portion of the exterior reserved. All examples of Hellenistic olpai were made in fabric B or D.

The earliest Hellenistic deposit with olpai is cistern 1979-1 (Deposit 23), which can be dated to early in the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Olpai were a consistent part of the assemblage from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. through at least the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 5.1). The presence of a nearly complete olpe in the Panayia Field floor deposit and several examples in the interim fills of the South Stoa wells suggest that the

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<sup>38</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 50.

<sup>39</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 50. It should be noted that Edwards lists no. 233 as dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. in his accompanying catalogue, which would seem to contradict his earlier statement.

shape may have continued to be produced in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. This suggestion, however, should be considered tentative, since the evidence for the post-146 B.C. production of the olpai is not as strong as for other shapes.

The findspots of olpai indicate that the shape was fairly ubiquitous in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. in Corinth. It is found in the purely domestic context of well 1960-4 (Deposit 31) and in every deposit in the Panayia Field. While olpai are found in the fills of South Stoa wells III and XIV (Deposits 10 and 15), the general absence of this shape from deposits in the area east of Theater suggests that it was not commonly used in public drinking and dining.<sup>40</sup>

### **Juglet (Cat. No. 181)**

Only one example of this shape was included in *Corinth* VII.3 and the present study has been able to expand the sample considerably. The form is characterized by a flat base, globular body with a gently outward flaring lip and flattened vertical loop handle. Juglets are not glazed, but are self-slipped like two-handled oinochoai and some small trefoil oinochoai. All known examples are made in fabric B. A further characteristic is its very small capacity of between 75 and 150 ml.

Edwards suggested that the juglet may have had a Classical antecedent, but was unable to put forward any candidates.<sup>41</sup> Since there are no juglets known from earlier deposits, the evidence suggests that the shape originated in the Hellenistic period. It is possible, because they share a similar base and body profile, that the juglet is related to the small trefoil oinochoe.

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<sup>40</sup> This statement could be challenged by the presence of olpai in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, since although Pemberton notes there are many fragments of olpai in the context pottery she does not specify to what period these unpublished olpai might belong, see *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 56.

Juglets first appear in deposits of the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and can be traced through to the early first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Their absence from deposits of the later 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. suggests that production stopped by ca. 175 B.C.<sup>42</sup> Juglets are found in the Panayia Field, in well 1960-4 and in several early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. deposits in the South Stoa wells. The use-life of juglets, from ca. 250 to 175 B.C., and places them in the same period of popularity as kantharoi and kraters. We should therefore perhaps see the appearance of the juglet as part of the flood of new drinking and dining shapes that occurred in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. At the same time, the fact that juglets are found in three South Stoa wells shows that they are as common as other types of pouring vessels in those contexts and suggest that a variety of sizes were needed in public drinking activities.<sup>43</sup>

#### **Filter vase (Cat. Nos. 182)<sup>44</sup>**

Filter vases are absent from the inventoried objects found in the South Stoa wells, which probably explains the exclusion of this type from *Corinth* VII.3.<sup>45</sup> The filter vase is characterized by a shallow disc foot and slender globular body to a complex strainer top. A round nozzle is placed above mid-body and a single vertical strap handle is attached at mid-body oriented 90 degrees to the nozzle. All 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. examples are unglazed and made in fabric B. Filter vases that are produced in blisterware fabric are similar in shape to the fine ware version, but tend to be slightly smaller.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> There is a juglet from South Stoa well XX, but it is unclear where it was found within the fill and cannot be used as evidence that the juglet continued to be made in the interim period.

<sup>43</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of activities in the South Stoa in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>44</sup> This shape is also referred to as a feeder. However, in the Hellenistic period the only type that was produced has a perforated screen or filter in the top and therefore the term filter vase is to be preferred.

<sup>45</sup> The only filter vase that Edwards included is made of blisterware (*Corinth* VII.3, no. 778).

<sup>46</sup> See Chapter 2 for a discussion of Hellenistic blisterware in Corinth.

The Hellenistic filter vase first occurs in deposits dated to the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>47</sup> Pemberton has shown that filter vases are found in deposits dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. to early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. throughout Corinth, including the Potter's Quarter, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the North Cemetery, various places in the Forum area and a Katsoulis well. These widely disparate findspots suggest that they were used in many types of contexts, possibly for different purposes. By analogy to baby feeders, it has been suggested that because of their large size they were appropriate for adult invalids.<sup>48</sup> Another possibility is that the filter vase was used in the preparation of medicines.<sup>49</sup> More likely they were used at the table as oil jugs (particularly the blisterware examples) or for filtering the dregs out of wine.<sup>50</sup> The findspots of filter vases at Corinth tend to support its use as table ware, however, the other options are also possible.

Filter vases continue in use and production through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. as demonstrated by the fact that they make up a consistent percentage (albeit fairly low) of pouring shapes by weight through deposits of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The evidence suggests that fine ware filter vases may have ceased production by the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., since they rarely occur in deposits of the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and are not present in later 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits.

Blisterware filter vases seem to have a slightly different history and the chronological range of the two types suggests that the blisterware version may have replaced the fine ware version by the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The first known fragments of a blisterware filter vase come from the fill of South Stoa well XXX (Deposit 21) and can be dated to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. There is then a gap in the

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<sup>47</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 63.

<sup>48</sup> *Agora* XXIX, p. 181.

<sup>49</sup> *Agora* XXIX, p. 181.

<sup>50</sup> This use is favoured by Rotroff for the more elegantly decorated filter vases (*Agora* XXIX, p. 181).

evidence until the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., when the Panayia Field floor deposit (Deposit 7) and a well in the Southeast Building (Deposit 25) contain fragments of blisterware filter vases. The suggestion that blisterware filter vases may have continued to be produced in the interim period is also supported by their presence in context pottery from the upper fills of the Pottery Deposit in Shop I (Deposit 8) and South Stoa wells X and XII (Deposits 13 and 14). The nature of the fabric suggests that these vessels were used exclusively with oil.

### **COVERED VESSELS (CAT. NOS. 183-189)**

This category includes the covered shapes of the lekanis and the pyxis. Both shapes have Archaic and Classical predecessors and continued relatively unchanged into the Hellenistic period. Of the two covered shapes, the lekanis is the longer lived, but there is no evidence that either was produced after 146 B.C. Lekanides and pyxides are found in both public and private contexts throughout Corinth. This distribution suggests that they were not restricted in their use and perhaps served different functions depending upon their context. Neither the lekanis nor the pyxis was likely used in food service because they are unglazed and designed to be used with a lid. These shapes therefore are more suited to storage of dried foods or other objects. It is interesting to note that both pyxides and lekanides are most commonly made in fabric A and because of this similarity may have been produced in the same workshops.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 2 for a discussion of this fabric and its uses.

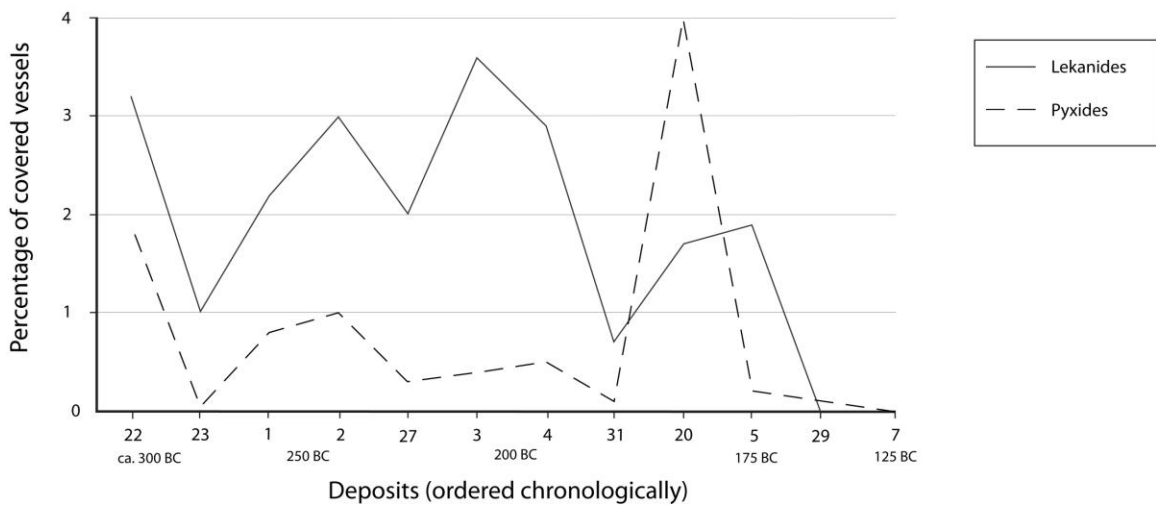


Chart 5.2: Lekanides and pyxides by weight of fine ware

### Domed Pyxis (Cat. Nos. 183-185)

Edwards more precisely called this shape “a pyxis with a domed slipover lid.”<sup>52</sup> Like all pyxides, it consists of two parts: a lid and a base. The base normally has a flat bottom that rises to a beveled edge with a keel or flange that serves as the resting surface for the lid (Cat. Nos. 183 and 184). The upper portion of the base has high, slightly inward tilted walls. The corresponding lid has walls of the same height as the walls of the base and they are slightly concave to fit over the walls of the base (Cat. No. 185). The top of the lid has a matching keel or flange and a dome-shaped top. The top is normally decorated with concentric grooves. Most domed pyxides are unglazed, but some have traces of a white slip.<sup>53</sup> All known examples are made in fabric A.

<sup>52</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 96.

<sup>53</sup> Pemberton notes two examples of black glazed pyxis lids with West Slope decoration, see *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 58. But these are incomplete and isolated examples are perhaps not the same type as those discussed above.

Edwards and Pemberton both agree that the basic form of the Hellenistic pyxis seems to have originated in the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., but were uncertain about the end of production.<sup>54</sup> The present study suggests that the pyxis was a consistent part of the assemblage through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., but that it gradually declined in popularity through the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 5.2). Pyxides are rare in deposits of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., with the exception of a single example from South Stoa well XXVII (Deposit 20), which indicates that they perhaps go out of production in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Evidence from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary, however, may suggest that the shape continued slightly longer.<sup>55</sup> Even if this is the case, the complete absence of pyxides from interim period deposits argues that the shape was out of production by the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Huge numbers of pyxides were found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the Archaic and Classical periods. These vessels occur primarily in votive or sacral deposits, but also to a lesser extent in dining room debris suggesting that the shape was used for various purposes.<sup>56</sup> In addition to sanctuary contexts, pyxides are also found in graves, the Panayia Field, deposits of the Forum area and the South Stoa wells. While it is difficult to determine whether pyxides are most common in sanctuary contexts and therefore had a primarily sacral or votive function, the wide distribution of pyxides argues that it was not limited to that role.

### **Lekanis (Cat. Nos. 186-189)**

Like its Classical predecessors, the Hellenistic lekanis consists of a lid and a base. The base is characterized by a flaring ring foot, a broad convex body with an upturned

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<sup>54</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 96; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 58.

<sup>55</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 58.

<sup>56</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 59.

flange near the top of the wall as a resting surface for the lid and a vertical rounded lip; two recurved handles are attached below the flange (Cat. Nos. 186-188). The lid is dome-shaped and has a large flat knob (Cat. No. 189). Both the knob and the outer edges of the lid are decorated with concentric grooves. The lid and base are unglazed in all examples, but can have a white slip on the interior or exterior. Lekanides were normally made in fabric A, but some examples from the later Hellenistic period were produced in fabric B.

Dozens of complete lekanides in the graves of the North Cemetery and hundreds of fragments from the dining room debris in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary attest to the introduction of the unglazed lekanis in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>57</sup> These examples are amply supplemented by finds from domestic and public contexts throughout Corinth, which demonstrate the ubiquity of the shape during the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>58</sup> In the Hellenistic period, lekanides commonly occur in deposits from the early 3<sup>rd</sup> to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 5.2).<sup>59</sup> By the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., the proportion of lekanides is significantly less than at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. This decline seems to indicate an end of production at some point between ca. 200-175 B.C.<sup>60</sup> The absence of lekanides from deposits dated to after ca. 175-165 B.C., including the interim period, suggests that the shape did not continue in production beyond the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>61</sup>

Lekanides are found in funerary, sanctuary, domestic and public contexts in Hellenistic Corinth making them as ubiquitous as pyxides. One interesting point of difference, however, is that the lekanis is more common in the fills of the South Stoa

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<sup>57</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 94; *Corinth* XVIII.1, pp. 39-41. Pemberton reports that the Corinthian unglazed lekanis has no non-Corinthian parallels and that the closest Attic shape does not survive beyond the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>58</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 39 n. 109.

<sup>59</sup> This is earlier than the date proposed by Edwards, who suggested that they went out of production in 146 B.C. (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 94).

<sup>60</sup> Note that neither Edwards nor Pemberton were certain about the lekanis stopped being produced.

<sup>61</sup> One lekanis (C 1947-822) was found in manhole 1947-3 (Deposit 25), but this context contains large quantities of earlier material and its presence here is insufficient alone to prove that production continued. Pemberton also dismisses this lekanis as a survivor (*Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 41).



wells than the pyxis. This preference for lekanides may suggest that this shape had a greater role in the public activities of the South Stoa, although what role that may have been is unclear. The lekanis is generally a larger vessel than the pyxis and could have been used to store different types of objects.

### **OIL CONTAINERS (CAT. NOS. 190-197)**

The two main types of oil container produced in the Hellenistic period are the aryballos and the fusiform unguentarium. Other vessels suitable for oil storage were produced in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, but they are so rare that they do not warrant inclusion here.<sup>62</sup> It is clear that oil containers were an important part of the Corinthian assemblage throughout the Hellenistic period. They occur in every deposit included in this study and their ubiquity confirms that oil was a part of many aspects of life in Corinth.

Unlike other functional classes, in terms of shape these vessels have very little in common. The well-known Corinthian aryballos was produced in fine ware from the Geometric to Classical period.<sup>63</sup> These earliest aryballoi were spherical with a broad horizontal rim and were often highly decorated.<sup>64</sup> By the mid-5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., the aryballos with a flat base was being made in the newly invented blisterware fabric – this shape was the standard aryballos into the Hellenistic period.<sup>65</sup> Conversely, the unguentarium does not appear until ca. 350-325 B.C. and was probably inspired by imported models. One connection between the two oil containers was suggested by Edwards, who proposed that

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<sup>62</sup> This list includes various types of askoi and ointment pots. For these shapes, see *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 99-101, 148-149; *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 55.

<sup>63</sup> *Corinth* VII.5, p. 35. This shape was exported widely and is found at Corinthian colonies and other sites throughout the Mediterranean in the Archaic period.

<sup>64</sup> For Archaic aryballoi, see Amyx and Lawrence 1996 and *Corinth* VII.2, nos. 26-40 and discussion.

<sup>65</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 53. For a discussion of blisterware, see also Chapter 2.

the thin fabric of late blisterware aryballoi was in imitation of unguentarium fabric and a response to the sudden popularity of the new shape.<sup>66</sup> This is certainly a possibility, but it is equally likely that the thin walls of late blisterware evolved from a desire to use the fabric for other shapes, such as small jugs, lamps and filter vases.<sup>67</sup>

Chronologically, it is clear that fusiform unguentaria essentially replace blisterware aryballoi by the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and continue to be the most common type of oil container through the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The presence of gray fabric unguentaria in interim period deposits, perhaps indicates that they were produced locally through the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and later.<sup>68</sup>

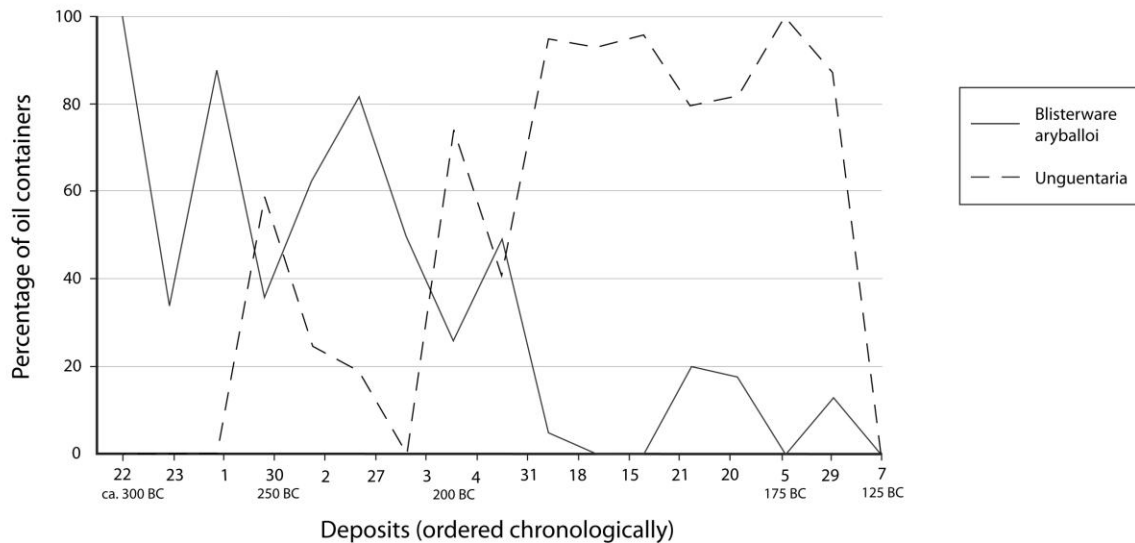


Chart 5.3: Oil containers by weight

<sup>66</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 145.

<sup>67</sup> Earlier blisterware fabric tends to be fairly thick and coarse compared to contemporary local fine ware fabrics. The thin blisterware seen in the later Hellenistic period in these shapes was perhaps in imitation of local fine ware rather than unguentarium fabric.

<sup>68</sup> For a discussion of the different types of unguentarium fabrics, see the main section below.

### **Blisterware aryballos (Cat. Nos. 190-192)**

The type of aryballos produced in the Hellenistic period has a flat broad base, a low broad sack-like body to a narrow neck with a splayed horizontal rim (Cat. No. 191). A thin vertical strap handle is attached at the rim and shoulder. The body is covered from base to shoulder with incised vertical ribbing. In form, this blisterware version bears little resemblance to its fine ware prototypes.<sup>69</sup> Like all blisterware vessels, it is not slipped but rather relied on the intrinsic properties of the fabric to protect the contents.

Edwards proposed that the blisterware aryballos was produced by the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. and continued through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C, but was uncertain about when production stopped.<sup>70</sup> Pemberton was able to trace the blisterware aryballos through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and suggested that the shape may have been produced as late as the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>71</sup> As Chart 5.3 shows, the blisterware aryballos was most popular during the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and began to decline in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Blisterware aryballoi are less common through the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and into the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. But the presence of a complete blisterware aryballos from South Stoa well XIV (Deposit 15) and some fragments in the fill of manhole 1986-1 (Deposit 29) suggest that production continued, presumably to a lesser degree, through the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The latest examples of blisterware aryballoi were made in a thinner blisterware fabric (Cat. No. 192). Finds of blisterware aryballoi from the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary also support the production of this type into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>72</sup> There is no conclusive evidence at present to suggest that production resumed after 146 B.C.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Some early Hellenistic aryballoi were made in fine ware fabrics, presumably in imitation of the blisterware aryballos. See Cat. No. 190, for example.

<sup>70</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 147-148.

<sup>71</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 54.

<sup>72</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 54.

<sup>73</sup> Finds of exported blisterware aryballoi at Athens support the conclusion that production stopped in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. as none are found in contexts after ca. 180 B.C. Rotroff notes that there are

Edwards and Pemberton both rely on stylistic features to discuss the chronology of blisterware aryballoi.<sup>74</sup> Edwards used changes in the depth and spacing of the ribbed decoration on the lower body as key characteristics in his typology. The trends he perceived are largely borne out by the present study, in that “pumpkin” and widely spaced deep ribbing is more common on 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. examples, while tightly spaced and shallow ribbing is more characteristic of later 4<sup>th</sup> and most 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. examples.<sup>75</sup> Further development seems to have occurred in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. as demonstrated by three examples that have very thin fabric and are more faintly ribbed or not at all. These changes mark the end of the series and make the latest blisterware aryballoi more similar to other blisterware vessels produced in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

#### **Fusiform unguentarium (Cat. Nos. 193-197)**

The fusiform or spindle-shaped unguentarium first appears in Corinthian graves of the fourth quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>76</sup> The fusiform unguentarium is characterized by a small flat flaring foot with a solid or hollow stem, a tall bulbous body and a long neck that flares outward to a steeply everted rim. The fabric is generally thin and fine and can have red or white painted bands on the stem, body and neck and/or small lug handles on the body. Fusiform unguentaria from late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. contexts were made in a variety of fabrics, including fine ware fabric B, blisterware, a gray fabric (possibly related

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two blisterware aryballoi in a Sullan context and therefore it is possible that production resumed after 146 B.C. (*Agora* XXXIII, pp. 136-137). The presence of blisterware filter vases in interim contexts at Corinth suggests that vessels in blisterware fabric were produced after 146 B.C. and therefore we may simply be missing the evidence for this particular shape.

<sup>74</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 147-148; *Corinth* XVIII.1, pp. 53-54.

<sup>75</sup> However, the specifics of his typology are flawed, since the chronological distinctions he makes between his decorative categories are not supported by the new dates of the deposits.

<sup>76</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 35 n. 184.

to imitation Cypriot)<sup>77</sup> and a loosely defined “unguentarium” fabric.<sup>78</sup> Edwards believed that the unguentarium was a short-lived shape in the local assemblage and considered most fusiform unguentaria found in the Hellenistic deposits at Corinth to be imported.<sup>79</sup> Subsequent studies have shown that in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., a local gray-blue brittle fabric, which is perhaps related to blisterware, becomes the standard Corinthian type.<sup>80</sup>

The current study clearly demonstrates that the fusiform unguentarium was a part of the Corinthian assemblage through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Chart 5.3). The absence from the data set of graves datable to the middle and later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. may perhaps explain why unguentaria seem underrepresented relative to the blisterware aryballos on the chart. By the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., the number of fusiform unguentaria in non-funerary contexts has increased substantially with the result that it is the dominant type of oil container through the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Evidence that imported fusiform unguentaria were coming into Corinth in the interim period is very clear and the presence of numerous complete and fragments of grey fabric unguentaria in the interim fills of the South Stoa wells argues that local production may have resumed after 146 B.C.

Unguentaria come in a variety of shapes and can differ markedly in the proportion of height to maximum diameter. Rotroff has shown that over the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and

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<sup>77</sup> The unguentarium fabric commonly referred to as imitation Cypriot at Corinth is a gray and red sandwiched fabric. However, the term “imitation Cypriot” is also used confusingly to describe 4<sup>th</sup> c. pseudo-Cypriot amphoras. While the fabric of these amphoras and fusiform unguentaria may be related to blisterware and Corinthian A amphoras, there is no concrete evidence at present for this relationship or any relationship to each other. In fact, Rotroff suggests that Corinth is an unlikely source for the grey and red fabric unguentaria because of the geographical distribution of the shape (*Agora XXXIII*, p. 146). She has also ruled out Athens as a possible source (*Agora XXXIII*, p. 148). Lydia Trakatelle recently completed her dissertation on imitation Cypriot amphoras and has determined that they probably originated in Macedonia. Zoi Kotitsas is currently undertaking a study to determine the origin of the gray and red fabric unguentarium and is considering Corinth as a possible source. Kotitsas’ theory is made more plausible by the existence of a one-piece kantharos sherd (Lot 2006-10:17) in a grey and red sandwiched fabric from cellar 2005-1 (Deposit 1).

<sup>78</sup> Pemberton 1985, p. 284.

<sup>79</sup> *Corinth VII.3*, p. 99.

<sup>80</sup> *Corinth XVIII.1*, p. 55.

into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. unguentaria generally become taller and thinner and the stem changes from hollow to solid.<sup>81</sup> These same changes can be seen in the grey-blue unguentaria from the Hellenistic deposits in this study (Cat. Nos. 193-197). Although a discussion of the meaning of this pattern at the local level is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is significant that the local grey fabric unguentaria conform to the larger trends in the development of Hellenistic unguentaria. Finds of imported unguentaria at Corinth throughout the Hellenistic period indicate continual contact with other centers, which helps to explain the similarities between the local and imported shapes.

#### **MINIATURE VESSELS (CAT. NOS. 198-219)<sup>82</sup>**

Edwards concluded in his introduction to *Corinth* VII.3 that miniature votive pottery was not a feature of Hellenistic Corinth, except perhaps in its early years.<sup>83</sup> Since that time evidence for the continued production and use of miniature vessels in a variety of contexts through the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. has come to light. In fact, it is common for 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. deposits outside of the Forum area to have 1-2% miniatures by weight of the total fine ware. These deposits amply demonstrate that miniature vessels were in production and use through to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The last deposit to contain any miniatures is cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5), which suggests that production may have stopped ca. 200 B.C. or slightly later.

The study of miniature vessels is complicated by several factors. First, because they are often used as votives in religious contexts there is an inherent conservatism to

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<sup>81</sup> *Agora* XXXIII, pp. 150-157.

<sup>82</sup> The North Cemetery (*Corinth* XIII), Potter's Quarter (*Corinth* XV.3) and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (*Corinth* XVIII.1) have produced the most miniatures to date and their publications are useful references for earlier periods.

<sup>83</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 2. His definition of a miniature seems to have extended to include any vessel under 0.06m high, although see the juglet and small water pitcher (nos. 280 and 281).

their shapes. One result of this tendency is that shapes long absent from the full-sized assemblage can still occur in miniature.<sup>84</sup> In fact, most shapes that are made in miniature in the Hellenistic period have their origins in the Archaic and Classical period. Secondly, their small size and often careless manufacture means that stylistic dating is problematic where applicable. For these reasons, in most cases we must rely on the context date to determine the date of the miniature, not vice versa. One further issue is that while the same types of miniature shapes were made throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., it is nearly impossible to determine when or if any shape gained or decreased in popularity.

A wide range of shapes were produced as miniatures including those typically made in coarse, fine and cooking fabrics.<sup>85</sup> There are also some shapes that were only made in miniature – the simple bowl, kalathiskos (Cat. No. 207) and goblet (Cat. No. 216). Twenty-eight different types of miniatures have been found to date that were made in the Hellenistic period. The most common shapes are the one-handled cup, the bowl or cup and the dish or plate and these are found in many different types of contexts. Other types more often found in domestic or mixed deposits are the miniature krater, hydria, pyxis and lekani. True ritual shapes, such as miniature phialai (Cat. No. 208), kernoi, kalathiskoi and kana (Cat. No. 210), are rare outside of the sanctuary of the Demeter and Kore and tend to occur in deposits of the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>86</sup>

As mentioned above, most miniatures produced in the Hellenistic period are crudely made in terms of shape and glaze.<sup>87</sup> One shared feature of miniatures is the presence of a string-cut base, which occurs on almost every shape and can be used as a

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<sup>84</sup> For example, the convex pyxis was not produced in a full-sized version after the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 58), but a miniature convex pyxis (Cat. No. 199) was found in the Panayia Field foundation deposit. See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the foundation deposit.

<sup>85</sup> Single examples of a miniature bean parcher and a casserole (Cat. No. 215) (both types of cooking vessels) and a miniature mortarium (a coarse ware shape) have been found made in fine ware fabric.

<sup>86</sup> For a discussion of these as full sized shapes in the Hellenistic period, see *Corinth* XVIII.1.

<sup>87</sup> Most miniatures are not glazed, especially in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.; the glaze on miniatures tends to be sloppily applied and flakes easily.

characteristic to distinguish a miniature from a full-sized vessel if there is some ambiguity.<sup>88</sup> Most Hellenistic miniatures are either plain or fully glazed, with the exception of one-handled cups.<sup>89</sup> The use of glaze is normally restricted to those vessels that have glaze on their full-sized versions, but again there are exceptions.

Current evidence suggests that in most cases the same potters who were producing the full-scale fine ware shapes also made the miniature versions. Similarities in fabric and technique between miniature and full-sized one handled cups, kotylai and other drinking shapes (usually made in fabric B) and pyxides, oinochoai, hydriai, phialai, and lekanides (usually made in fabric A) argue against the existence of a specialized industry.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, if every type of miniature was made by the same workshop(s), then we would expect miniature vessels to have some characteristics in common, such as fabric and glaze, which they rarely do. Instead the likelihood that the same workshops that produced full-sized vessels were also making miniature versions explains why there is such a wide variety of shapes represented in miniature.

The miniatures from the Panayia Field, when combined with other 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. deposits of public and domestic debris, enable us to discuss the possible role of miniature vessels in a broad range of activities beyond sanctuary and funerary contexts.<sup>91</sup> With the exception of the Panayia Field foundation deposit, which was discussed in Chapter 1,

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<sup>88</sup> The presence of string marks on the base is a sign of careless manufacturing since in larger vessels the marks are smoothed away.

<sup>89</sup> Some miniature one-handled cups are partially glazed like their full-sized counterparts.

<sup>90</sup> See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the nature and distribution of fabrics A and B.

<sup>91</sup> While there are some possible domestic deposits that contain miniature vessels dated to earlier periods, namely in the Potter's Quarter, finds of miniatures in the non-specialized/domestic deposits of the Panayia Field offer a unique opportunity to discuss the use of miniatures outside of religious and funerary contexts. There is insufficient evidence at present, however, to determine whether miniatures are more commonly found in non-ritual contexts in the Hellenistic period.



most of the miniature vessels in these contexts are almost certainly not votive objects but may have been used as toys or in private religious activities.<sup>92</sup>

The following list includes the most commonly found Hellenistic miniatures:

**One-handled cup. (Cat. Nos. 204 and 213)** This type occurs in six deposits. Miniature one-handled cups are defined for this study as having a rim diameter of less than 0.06m and a height of less than 0.03m. Miniature one-handled cups tend to be more carefully made than other types of miniature vessels and it is possible that they may reflect morphological changes apparent in their larger cousins.

**Bowl/Cup. (Cat. No. 218)** This shape is defined by its stringcut base, hemispherical to globular body and simple rounded lip; it has no handles and is never glazed. Multiple examples of the simple bowl or cup occur in almost all deposits making it the most common miniature vessel in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

**Dish/Plate. (Cat. Nos. 211 and 212)** Another simple form, these have broad, low bodies with flaring walls with a rounded lip. This category also includes miniatures that can look like saucers. Like the bowl or cup, they are found in almost every 3<sup>rd</sup> c. deposit.

**Krater. (Cat. No. 200)** The shape is similar to the bowl or cup but is distinctive because of its outward flaring lip and the addition of two lug handles, which cause it to resemble a bell krater. It can be fully glazed or plain. The chronology of the miniature follows that of the stemless bell krater in that both seem to stop production by the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Miniature kraters occur in about a third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. deposits.

**Hydria. (Cat. Nos. 198 and 209)** Full-sized small hydriai dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. are known from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and are very similar to the miniature versions.<sup>93</sup> They are characterized by a slightly flaring disc foot and a globular body

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<sup>92</sup> It is not possible to distinguish between these two different uses in the Panayia Field since the miniatures were found in secondary deposition.

<sup>93</sup> See *Corinth XVIII.1*, pp. 10-12.

tapering sharply from the shoulder to a short cylindrical neck with a flaring rounded beveled lip. Two horizontal round canted handles are attached at the shoulder on either side and one vertical round handle is attached from the lip to the shoulder. This type is also known in miniature from several early Hellenistic graves.<sup>94</sup> While this shape does occur in the Panayia Field votive deposit, it is more common in funerary and sanctuary contexts than in public and domestic spaces.

**Pyxis.** This category was not included in previous studies and consists of domed pyxides with maximum diameters of less than 0.04m. Miniature pyxides are very well made in comparison to other types of miniatures, perhaps because the shape requires a degree of precision to be functional. It is found in about half of all 3<sup>rd</sup> c. deposits, but it notably absent from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.

**Lekanis.** This shape is similar to the pyxis in that it is very well made for a miniature and likely for the same reason. Miniature lekanides are defined as those with maximum diameters of less than 0.04m. They are not found in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and only occur in deposits before the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. This restricted range is notable because the miniature lekanis seems to stop production before the full-sized version, which ends ca. 175 B.C. (see above).

## CONCLUSIONS

The vessels included in this chapter are the most stable and long-lived in the Hellenistic fine ware assemblage. Within the category of pouring vessels, only the juglet is newly introduced in the Hellenistic period. Covered or storage vessels show similarly conservative tendencies with the Hellenistic domed pyxis and the plain lekanis both marking the end points of shapes that originated in the Archaic and early Classical

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<sup>94</sup> Pemberton 1985, p. 278.

periods. Miniature vessels are unsurprisingly a very static group, presumably because of their connection to ritual activity, and Archaic and Classical shapes are still produced in miniature in the Hellenistic period. These various vessel classes therefore clearly illustrate continuity in the ceramic tradition from the Archaic and Classical periods. The fact that these long-lived shapes continued to be produced, while other categories of shapes, such as drinking vessels, were undergoing dramatic and rapid changes, demonstrates the inherent stability of the Corinthian pottery industry.

Among this group, only oil containers show significant changes over the course of the Hellenistic period. Much like the introduction of the kantharos and various types of plates, the development of the local grey fabric unguentarium in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. seems to show the influence of external traditions on the assemblage. In addition, the popularity of this new shape is indicated by the fact that it had largely replaced the aryballos, a traditional and local shape, by the later Hellenistic period. In this way, the development of the unguentarium mirrors the trajectory of other local shapes and demonstrates Corinth's connection to broader trends in Hellenistic material culture.

## Chapter 6: The Archaeology of Hellenistic Corinth

### INTRODUCTION

The sheer geographic scope of the Hellenistic world with the numerous cultures and languages that it encompasses is the main challenge facing Greek historians attempting to study it. Such a diverse landscape combined with the lack of an overarching historical narrative has meant that it is practically impossible for any single scholar to master all aspects of the Hellenistic period.<sup>1</sup> Much of Hellenistic history must therefore be pieced together from scattered fragments of lost historical works, papyri and inscriptions. While excellent work has been done on this material, only so much information can be recovered from the available sources and as a result there are gaps in our knowledge. As Bagnall and Derow point out, “For the Hellenistic period, these lacunae are particularly profound.”<sup>2</sup>

Over the past thirty years, archaeological data has contributed substantially to our understanding of the Hellenistic period. In this context, pottery has been used both to better refine the chronology of the Hellenistic period in general and to inform our understanding of daily life. The work of Susan Rotroff and John Lund exemplifies how archaeology can inform political, social and economic history at both the single site and multi-site level. Rotroff has used archaeological data from Athens to demonstrate continuity in material culture after the Sullan sack in 86 B.C. and material from Athens and other sites to discuss changes in the social practice of symposium drinking through

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<sup>1</sup> Polybius covers the period between 264 and 146 B.C., but even if all of his work had survived, his goal was to trace the development of the Roman Empire not to write a history. Other key sources are much later, such as Plutarch, and similarly are not focused on history. Diodorus Siculus wrote a universal history in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., but his work is only preserved up to 301 B.C. The other major sources on the Hellenistic period are the biographies of Plutarch written in the late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Bagnall and Derow 2004, p. xxvi.

the Hellenistic period.<sup>3</sup> Lund, on the other hand, has primarily focused on multi-site analyses using finds of transport amphoras and imported fine wares to discuss broad economic conditions and trade patterns in the Hellenistic Mediterranean.<sup>4</sup>

At present, the Hellenistic period at Corinth is very poorly understood.<sup>5</sup> There are few ancient sources aside from some anecdotes in Polybius and Plutarch describing incidents involving famous leaders – in short, nothing that provides much narrative detail. Since there are so few ancient literary sources that deal with events in the city prior to 146 B.C., the archaeological evidence must be examined and used to describe Hellenistic Corinth. Unfortunately, rarely have any attempts been made to analyze the archaeological data at Corinth from a historical standpoint because of the perceived lack of “clean” Hellenistic deposits.<sup>6</sup> Considering the important role that the city must have had in the political and economic networks of the Hellenistic Mediterranean, any insights into the internal conditions and external contacts of Corinth in this period would be very valuable.

The development of the Panayia Field chronology, as outlined in Chapters 3-5, enables us for the first time to utilize the archaeological data from Corinth to illuminate the Hellenistic period. The relatively discrete deposits from the Panayia Field individually cover a range of periods from ca. 265 B.C. through the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. providing a baseline for the shape and nature of mixed deposits throughout the Hellenistic period. At the same time, the new chronology allows previously excavated deposits to be re-studied and the material within them re-dated and re-contextualized, thereby creating a large data set to begin discussing issues related to the political, economic and social history of Hellenistic Corinth. The goal of this chapter is to present

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<sup>3</sup> Rotroff 1998 and 2006b (most recently) respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Lund 1999 and 2000.

<sup>5</sup> See also Chapter 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter 1 for a fuller discussion of the past problems with Hellenistic deposits before the Panayia Field chronology.

the conclusions that can be extracted from the archaeological record using the new Panayia Field chronology. Since the scope of this study expanded over time, large data sets of different kinds of Hellenistic material were produced in the course of re-analyzing deposits. Some of the discussion below is therefore not directly linked to the Panayia Field chronology and these exceptions are noted.

On a basic level, the new Panayia Field chronology can be used to shed light on various aspects of the history of Hellenistic Corinth. Firstly, the new chronology has been used to re-date and re-interpret the most important Hellenistic building in Corinth – the South Stoa.<sup>7</sup> In addition, evidence from Acrocorinth related to the garrisons that occupied it in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. adds considerably to our understanding of the Macedonian presence in Corinth through the Antigonid period.

While developing the Panayia Field chronology, the inventoried pottery and some of the context pottery from previously excavated Hellenistic deposits were re-examined. Using the Panayia Field chronology, the deposits in this study were given specific date ranges and therefore even the unidentified imports could be used to discuss overall trends in the period. The imported fine wares and transport amphoras from all the deposits in this study, along with datable material from other deposits, were used to build a large data set of imports from around the Mediterranean. The imported fine wares and amphoras very clearly show that Corinth was receiving goods from Italy, the eastern Aegean and Athens throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Beginning in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., Corinth's external contacts expanded to include more imports from Italy and North Africa.

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<sup>7</sup> Note that Sanders began the process of re-studying the South Stoa deposits prior to the Panayia Field chronology, see Sanders forthcoming. The present study represents an expansion of his initial work.

These imports not only attest to the overall prosperity of the city, but also had a demonstrable impact on the local ceramic assemblage.<sup>8</sup> The influence of the Hellenistic ceramic koine on Corinth's pottery is noteworthy as an index of the city's integration into wider Mediterranean culture in the period. By studying the changing nature of the ceramic assemblage through the Hellenistic period, various other social developments became apparent. One aspect is that the increasing presence of plates in the fine ware assemblage seems to suggest that there is a shift in diet away from foods that require bowls. Another is the fact that the krater remained a vital part of the fine ware assemblage through the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and its presence is perhaps indicative of the continuation of symposiastic drinking in Corinth through to 146 B.C.

## LOCAL ECONOMY AND EXTERNAL CONTACTS

### From 338 B.C. to 225 B.C.

Literary and epigraphical sources provide the main evidence for the nature of the Corinthian economy before ca. 310 B.C. Firstly, Lycurgus' speech against Leocrates provides a contemporary source from the late 330s to early 320s.<sup>9</sup> He recounts how the accused Leocrates bought grain from Cleopatra of Epirus and had it shipped from there to Corinth via Leucas.<sup>10</sup> Leocrates was an Athenian merchant, who lived in Megara from ca. 336 to 330/29 B.C. Given the context of the passage, it is likely that he intended to sell the grain either at Corinth or transport it to markets in Megara.<sup>11</sup> The importance of this

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<sup>8</sup> The influence on the development of specific shapes is discussed at length in Chapters 2-5.

<sup>9</sup> Lycurgus argues that Leocrates, who had recently returned to Athens, is a traitor for fleeing the city after the battle of Chaeronea.

<sup>10</sup> *Lyc. Ag. Leocrates* 1.26. Cleopatra was a sister of Alexander the Great, who married Alexander of Epirus in 336 B.C. The date of this purchase must therefore be sometime in 330s when she acted as regent, while her husband campaigned in Italy. The 330s were a time of significant grain shortages in Greece and an inscription from Libya confirms Cleopatra's role as a recipient of 50,000 *medimni* of grain (*SEG IX 2*).

<sup>11</sup> The fact that Lycurgus does not explicitly say that it was a gift to Corinth, which would have been a greater act of treason than just buying it, suggests that he acquired the grain for his own profit. Rather

account is twofold: first, it attests to an open route from Epirus to Corinth using the former Corinthian colony of Leucas as a stopping point; second, it seems to indicate that this route was open to private, large-scale commerce in the 330s. The likelihood that the grain purchased in Epirus came from Cyrene also implies continued trade in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. between North Africa, Sicily and Greece.<sup>12</sup> Since it is quite certain that a sizable Macedonian fleet was stationed at Lechaion throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C., this passage may also demonstrate that private commercial traffic at Lechaion was not impeded by the Macedonian presence.<sup>13</sup> This suggestion is in line with the contemporary situation at Athens/Piraeus as argued by Oliver (see below).<sup>14</sup>

Epigraphic evidence of Corinth's dealings with other cities suggests that the economy of the city was involved in the same activities that it had been in earlier periods. A late 4<sup>th</sup> c. inscription, for example, records the import of Corinthian timber to Epidauros. This account shows that the lumber industry was active and that shipments were going out from Kenchreai as well as Lechaion.<sup>15</sup> A second inscription detailing the accounts of the *epistatai* at Eleusis dated to 329/8 B.C. indicates that Corinthian tiles and clay, presumably imported for roofing, were part of the sanctuary stores.<sup>16</sup> These two inscriptions provide direct evidence that local products were exported from Corinth in the

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Lycurgus focuses on the fact that Leocrates borrowed money from Athenian sources for the purchase at a time when it was forbidden for citizens to buy grain that was not destined for Athens.

<sup>12</sup> Salmon 1984, p. 141.

<sup>13</sup> It can be assumed that one of the key reasons that Corinth was a strategic point for the Antigonids was its two ports. Tarn points out that it was important to keep Corinth in contact with the city of Demetrias (Tarn 1913, p. 217) and certainly having Macedonian ships at Corinth would have been part of maintaining that route.

<sup>14</sup> Oliver 2007.

<sup>15</sup> *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 110B, 3-11. The continued existence of the lumber industry also implies a stable situation in the *chora* that enabled the wood to be harvested.

<sup>16</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1672, 71-72.



late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., while the dates of these accounts support a picture of a commercially active Corinth before the wars of the Diadochoi.

These direct references to Corinth's involvement in economic activity are the last recorded for several centuries. In fact, from the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. onward we are dependent exclusively on the archaeological record for any information regarding trade or commerce in the city. The earliest material in the present study (Deposits 22-24) dates to this period and comes from the area of the later Roman Forum.<sup>17</sup> Of the identifiable imports in these deposits, the vast majority are Athenian fine wares and lamps, which would seem to indicate close contact between the cities during this period.<sup>18</sup> The most common Attic shapes are drinking cups, kraters and plates, the latest of which can be dated to the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>19</sup> Other imports include an Argive table amphora, three Laconian bowls and Thasian, Knidian and Chian transport amphoras. The presence of these imports suggests that the situation in Corinth was such that a variety of goods from the eastern Aegean and the Peloponnese made their way into the city.

Since Athens was in a similar situation as Corinth under the Macedonian dynasts, in that for most of the fourth quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. there were garrisons in the Piraeus and in the city, perhaps an analogy can be drawn between them. Oliver has argued that

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<sup>17</sup> The fill in Deposit 24 consists of debris from an arguably domestic area at the east end of the South Stoa and therefore this deposit is different in character from Deposits 22 and 23. Sadly, a quantitative comparison between the three deposits is not possible at this point because most of the context pottery from well 1947-2 (Deposit 24) was not kept.

<sup>18</sup> From drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22): C 71-90, C 71-101, C 71-102, C 71-105, C 71-130, C 71-154; from cistern 1979-1 (Deposit 23): C 79-118, C 79-119 C 79-127, L 79-7 (Howland type 25B or B'). There is some imported material in the context pottery of well 1947-2 (Deposit 24), but none has been inventoried.

<sup>19</sup> It is difficult to compare the absolute amount of imported fine ware from period to period in order to draw conclusions about the scale of trade in the Hellenistic period, since arguably fine ware was a variable and opportunistic commodity. However, there is some suggestion that trade may have decreased since the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. A comparison between the domestic deposits from the Punic amphora building (ca. 470 B.C.) shows that 73% of the fine ware is local and 27% is Athenian (Munn 2003, p. 171), while Deposits 22 and 23 contain 10% and 17% imported fine ware by weight (respectively) suggesting that perhaps there had been a decline since the 470s.

the presence of Macedonian garrisons did little to hamper traffic in the Piraeus or the economy of Athens provided there was no immediate military threat.<sup>20</sup> He assumes that there was enough co-operation between Athenians and Macedonians that the city or individual citizens were still able to profit from activities at the Piraeus.<sup>21</sup> While the Attic and Aegean imports show that the city of Corinth was receiving goods via Kenchreai, the imported Peloponnesian pottery in Deposits 22-24 seems to demonstrate that exchange networks of some type also existed between Corinth and its neighbors into the early 3<sup>rd</sup> B.C. Salmon has suggested that the port of Corinth was the main conduit for grain shipments to the inland Peloponnesian cities in earlier periods and this may have continued to be the case for the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>22</sup>

Archaeological evidence therefore confirms the picture that the Corinthian economy in the early years of Macedonian domination was remarkably similar to that of the earlier 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>23</sup> Corinth's position as a nodal point on east-west trade routes was maintained for public and private means. Both Kenchreai and Lechaion were operating as the city's main ports facilitating the flow of imported ceramics and luxury commodities into the city. At the same time, regional products such as wood and tiles, possibly also olive oil and other products, may have been shipped to other centers.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> For Athens, see Oliver 2007, p. 54.

<sup>21</sup> Oliver 2007, p. 65.

<sup>22</sup> Salmon 1984, p. 134. Note that contact between Corinth and the rest of the Peloponnese was severed later in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (see below).

<sup>23</sup> This is quite a different situation than the one proposed by Shipley, who believed that while Corinth maintained active outside links during the period of Macedonian occupation that these may have been curtailed after ca. 300 B.C. (Shipley 2008, p. 64).

<sup>24</sup> There are some Corinthian A amphoras reported in the Athenian Agora from deposits dated between 325 and 240 B.C. (Lawall 2005, p. 204). It is therefore possible that some Corinthian A amphoras, which probably contained olive oil, were exported in this period, although it is equally likely that these belong to the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

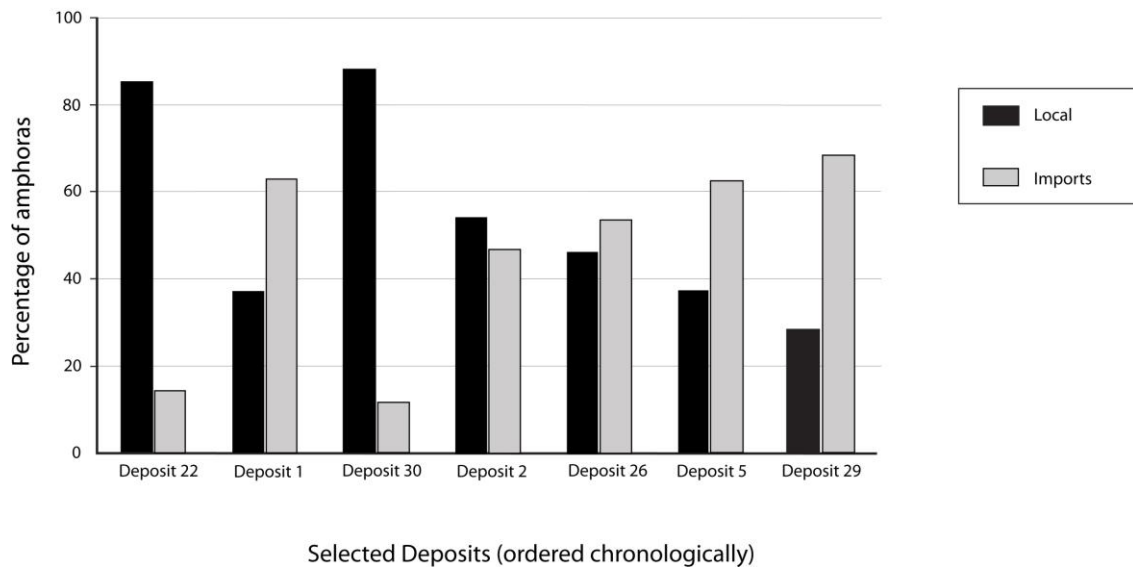


Chart 6.1: Local versus Imported amphoras in selected 3<sup>rd</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits

Numerous Corinthian A and B amphoras were also found in the fills of Deposits 22-24 and their presence indicates local production of wine and olive oil.<sup>25</sup> For various reasons, it was not possible to get precise identifications and quantities of imported amphoras from the key deposits of the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Deposits 22-24).<sup>26</sup> We can, however, compare the percentage of imported amphoras from the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. deposits to those from the later 3<sup>rd</sup> (Deposits 2 and 26) and early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (Deposits 5 and 29). Chart 6.1 clearly shows that the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC has relatively few imported amphoras compared to the rest of the Hellenistic period. Through the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., imported amphoras remained at a relatively low level, comprising less

<sup>25</sup> Of the transport amphoras in drain 1971-1: 58% are Corinthian A, 20% are Corinthian B, and 13% are imported.

<sup>26</sup> The imported amphoras from Deposits 23 and 24 were not entirely kept and therefore the material was not available for study. In the case of Deposit 23, the identifications from the original readings were used. There was no mention in the original notes of the imported amphoras that were not kept from Deposit 24. Deposit 22 was physically inaccessible for the present study, except for the inventoried material and notes. For these reasons, there were limitations to how these deposits could be studied.

than 20% of the total amphoras in a given deposit. But by the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., the ratio of local to non-local amphoras had risen substantially and remained at a relatively stable level of between 45% and 65% through to ca. 150 B.C.<sup>27</sup> Given that the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. was marked by almost constant warfare, it would not be surprising that by the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. conditions in the city may have significantly improved.<sup>28</sup> This mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. rise in imported amphoras coincides with growing numbers of fine ware imports suggesting that the two types were transported to Corinth together.<sup>29</sup>

It should be noted that overall fewer imported amphoras have been found at Corinth to date than at other comparable Hellenistic sites in the Mediterranean.<sup>30</sup> This puzzling situation could be explained in several ways.<sup>31</sup> First, by the fact that most imported amphoras may never have made their way from Lechaion and Kenchreai into the main excavated areas at Corinth in the Hellenistic period.<sup>32</sup> Alternatively, the depositional processes that amphoras underwent at Corinth were different than at other sites. No evidence has been found to date that amphoras were used in building fills or accumulated in large mounds. It is also possible that by chance we have yet to find the main marketplace where products from amphoras were bought and sold. Whatever the reason for the disproportionate number of imported transport amphoras represented at

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<sup>27</sup> Rhodian, Knidian, Chian, Coan and early Greco-Italic amphoras begin to appear in deposits dated to the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>28</sup> The suggestion that Corinth's economic situation may have improved through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is very different than the proposal of Rizakis and Touratsoglou, who believe that the period between 323-250 B.C. was one of stability and growth and 250-196 B.C. was one of decline in the Peloponnese as a whole (Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2008, pp. 72-74).

<sup>29</sup> See Chart 6.2 for the changing levels of fine ware imports at Corinth from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>30</sup> For example, there are 260 Thasian amphoras at Athens and only 36 at Corinth (see below). In a more extreme case, there are 80,000 Rhodian stamped amphora handles from Alexandria, 9,600 found at Athens (based on figures in Lund 1999 p. 199) and 56 datable Hellenistic stamped handles (out of a total of ca. 150) known at Corinth.

<sup>31</sup> Chart 6.3 shows the amount of imported fine ware found in Corinthian deposits of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. It is reasonable that a comparable amount of transport amphoras should be present as well.

<sup>32</sup> Lechaion is not fully excavated and much of the site is covered in heavy silt or has eroded into the Corinthian Gulf. Kenchreai has been partially excavated and the remains were mostly Roman. At present, it is not possible to recover the Hellenistic phases of these important sites.

Corinth, caution should be used when interpreting the absolute quantities of amphoras given here. In order to provide a corrective for this problem, where possible the data based on imported transport amphoras has only been compared internally and/or as relative quantities in this study.

An explanation for the relatively small numbers of imported amphoras in deposits of the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. may be that Corinth's most common import in this period was grain. Although there is no direct literary evidence to support this hypothesis, the possibility of a widespread grain shortage mentioned above and the instability that continuous warfare in the Corinthia must have caused to local agriculture suggests that grain was imported in this period. Evidence of imported Italian fine ware and early examples of Greco-Italic amphoras attest to the connection between Corinth and the grain producing regions of Italy in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Although Sicily was probably supplying grain to Corinth and other sites in Greece during the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., the First Pyrrhic War and the settlement between Syracuse and Rome in 263 B.C. arguably meant that the major market for Sicilian grain shifted to Rome.<sup>33</sup> If any Sicilian grain reached Corinth after 263 B.C. it may have been via Egypt or Rhodes. Both of these regions had close relations with Sicily and southern Italy in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>34</sup>

Some evidence of Corinth's commercial relations with the west in this period comes from several shipwrecks dated to the early to mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>35</sup> Two shipwrecks

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<sup>33</sup> Toynbee suggests that the Lex Hieronica was instituted as early as 263 B.C. and cites the evidence of Hiero II of Syracuse supplying Roman troops through the middle decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Toynbee 1965, pp. 222-223). It has been argued, however, that the agreement of 263 B.C. did not preclude Hiero II from exchanging grain with other cities (Millino 2001, p. 115).

<sup>34</sup> Close ties between Egypt and Sicily are indicated by the fact that their coinage was interchangeable and arguably that the Lex Hieronica was based on a Ptolemaic tithe (Toynbee 1965, p. 223). A Sicilian connection to Tenos can be shown as early as ca. 200 B.C. and Italians are also known from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. at Delos (Toynbee 1965, p. 366). The Sicilian connection to Rhodes and Chios are demonstrated by the gift of grain sent by Hiero II after 227 B.C. and *SEG* III 92 (see also Millino 2001 p. 115, especially n. 53).

<sup>35</sup> The criterion for the inclusion of the five shipwrecks discussed below is that their cargoes are exclusively or predominantly Corinthian amphoras. The nature of the cargoes therefore makes it much

found off the east coast of Sicily, near Syracuse, date to between 300-280 B.C. and contain Corinthian amphoras as their primary cargo.<sup>36</sup> Each wreck contained cargoes of roughly 120 Corinthian A and B amphoras, which suggests the route to Sicily was open in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and that agricultural products like wine and oil were being exchanged for grain.<sup>37</sup> These two shipwrecks support the deposit evidence from Corinth that the city was engaging in international trade with the west in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. either independently or with Macedonian consent.<sup>38</sup> Further evidence for 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. traffic in the Adriatic comes from two broadly dated Hellenistic wrecks: one near Butrint in Albania and another off the coast of Preveza.<sup>39</sup> Both wrecks have cargoes of Corinthian amphoras that were probably bound either for Italy or for sites in Epiros.<sup>40</sup> Another ship bearing Corinthian products (type A and B amphoras) was found at Savelletri, north of Brindisi, and has been dated to ca. 280-250 B.C.<sup>41</sup> This find is

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more likely that the ship and cargo are directly related to economic activities in Corinth than the mere presence of Corinthian products in a mixed shipment.

<sup>36</sup> Vulpiglia wreck (Koehler 1978a, 46-7; Parker 1980 p. 56-70) and Stentinello wreck (Koehler 1978b, pp. 236-237; 1978a, pp. 21, 39). Nos. 1230 and 1113 respectively in Parker 1992.

<sup>37</sup> The fact that wine and oil could be exchanged for grain perhaps suggests that some aspects of Corinthian agriculture were stable. However, it is also possible that the amphoras were being reused and contained non-Corinthian products. Such a scenario is almost always a possibility when dealing with shipwrecks, but without additional analysis it cannot be proven. It is best to treat data from shipwrecks with a good degree of caution.

<sup>38</sup> By trading with Sicily, Corinth was continuing to exploit connections re-established by Timoleon in the 340s that culminated in his refounding of Gela in 339 B.C. (Plut. *Tim.* 35).

<sup>39</sup> For the Butrint wreck see <http://underwateralbania.blogspot.com/>; for Preveza B (Parker no. 905), Koehler 1978a, p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> The proximity of both wrecks to Corcyra is noteworthy. Koehler has suggested, based on the fact that petrographic analysis has shown that Corinthian B amphoras were also made on Corcyra, that there was a close relationship between the two regions that is otherwise unattested (Koehler 1978b, p. 237). Other signs of a connection between Corinth and Corcyra in the Hellenistic period include the Corcyraean use of the Corinthian calendar and silver coinage (*IG IX 1 694*) – however both of these could be residual from its foundation as a Corinthian colony.

<sup>41</sup> Parker 1992, no. 1043. Koehler 1978b, p. 237; Koehler 1978a, pp. 21, 40.

particularly significant, since it perhaps suggests that trade between Corinth and the rest of Italy was ongoing after the supposed end of relations with Sicily.<sup>42</sup>

These five wrecks lend some support to Lawall's hypothesis that Corinthian trade had a strong western focus for much of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>43</sup> Millino has argued that there is a revival of Syracusan influence in the Adriatic following the First Pyrrhic War and that Syracusans may have played a dominant role in the trade relations between Italy and Greece in the later part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>44</sup> The fact that the latest known shipwreck carrying Corinthian amphoras in the Adriatic dates to 280-250 B.C. may reflect the Syracusan control of Adriatic networks (with the support of Rome) and the exclusion of Corinthian ships. At the same time, finds of Italian fine wares and amphoras in contexts of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. at Corinth indicate that trade contact with the west had expanded through the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>45</sup> According to Millino, after Sicily was subjugated in 212 B.C. their Adriatic network passed to Rome – it may be then that the increase in Italian imports at Corinth in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is a correlate of this political change.<sup>46</sup>

Lawall has suggested that in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Corinth was acting as a bottleneck consuming and therefore limiting the products from the west that trickled into the

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<sup>42</sup> Millino has argued that the Pyrrhic War (280-275 B.C.) did not mark the end of Sicilian presence in the Adriatic and that Hiero II of Syracuse pursued an active policy involving the Adriatic markets in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Millino 2001, p. 107).

<sup>43</sup> Lawall 2007, pp. 268-269. It should be noted, however, that Lawall's hypothesis was tentative and based only on a very small amount of published data from Corinth related to the period. Although the cessation of grain supplies from the west clearly led to an overall reduction in commercial traffic between Corinth and Sicily, there is abundant evidence that trade in other products from Italy (fine ware and transport amphoras) continued through to the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Finds of coins at the Italian colony of Hvar in modern Croatia demonstrate commercial contacts with sites in Greece, the Aegean and Egypt and testify to the range of traffic in the Adriatic in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (see Millino 2001, p. 117).

<sup>44</sup> Millino 2001, pp. 107, 114-118.

<sup>45</sup> By the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., it is no longer possible to trace Corinthian exports and we can only describe Corinth's role as a market that absorbed imported objects rather than an active agent in trade and exchange. While we have no direct evidence at present, it would nevertheless be incautious to assume that Corinthians were not involved in any aspect of commerce after the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>46</sup> Millino 2001, p. 127.

Aegean.<sup>47</sup> Such a scenario is corroborated by the present evidence and explains why Corinth has western Mediterranean imports earlier and in larger quantities than other sites in the Aegean.<sup>48</sup> The wider range of Italian imports found in Athens beginning in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is surely the result of the pattern demonstrated by the Corinthian evidence.<sup>49</sup>

Western imports, however, constitute a very small portion of all imported ceramics through the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. In fact, it can be argued that Corinth had an even stronger eastern focus through much of the Hellenistic period. One explanation for this pattern may be that Corinth's commercial relations with other cities were influenced by Macedonian control. This influence is arguably reflected in the predominance of imports from Athens and Thasos, areas of Macedonian activity or interest, that date to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>50</sup>

As noted above, in regard to the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, the largest group of imported fine ware in deposits dated from the early to mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is from Athens. Since at most sites in the Aegean, Athenian imports begin to decline in the 270s and are very rare by 250 B.C., the fact that Corinth imported a relatively stable amount Attic fine wares up to and just beyond 250 B.C. is unusual.<sup>51</sup> One reason for the longevity of this trade relationship may be the almost constant presence of a Macedonian garrison at the Piraeus

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<sup>47</sup> Lawall 2007, p. 270.

<sup>48</sup> Lawall points out that other sites in Greece do not get any Greco-Italic amphoras until the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. unless they had some involvement in the Chremonidian War and that initial contact would have resulted in only a few examples dated to the 260s at those sites. (Lawall 2007, pp. 269-270). Will lists the sites with early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Greco-Italic amphoras as Athens, Koroni, Gythion, Karystos, Kea and possibly Knossos (Will 1982, p. 343). However there are no Greco-Italic amphoras found at these sites again until ca. 200 B.C., which suggests that the presence of early Greco-Italic amphoras was the result of Ptolemaic activities in Greece in the 260s rather than direct trade contact. In fact, it has been argued by Lund that the distribution of early Greco-Italic amphoras in Greece and the Aegean can be directly correlated to Ptolemaic activities (Lund 2000 pp. 79-80).

<sup>49</sup> See Lawall 2007, p. 270 for the increase in western imports in Athens in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>50</sup> One of many examples of such a pattern may be found in the work of Pfrommer, who has argued that in the middle and later part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Gnathian ware is found predominantly in areas of Ptolemaic interest suggesting that trade patterns were influenced by political ties (Pfrommer 1996; see also Lund 2000 p. 80; Rauh 1999).

<sup>51</sup> *Agora XXIX*, p. 223.



from the later 4<sup>th</sup> c. through 232/1 B.C.<sup>52</sup> Although there is no direct literary evidence, the fact that Macedonian garrisons were supplied by the king suggests that there must have been contact between the garrisons in southern Greece.<sup>53</sup> We can therefore reasonably propose that supply ships were constantly traveling between Macedonian ports in the north and garrisons in the south. These same ships would have frequently crossed the Saronic Gulf in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. bringing new troops and supplies acquired along the route to Corinth.<sup>54</sup>

The fact that the ceramic evidence from Acrocorinth indicates a strong preference for Attic table ware strengthens the argument for a connection between the garrisons at Athens and Corinth.<sup>55</sup> Although excavations on Acrocorinth have been largely unsuccessful in uncovering substantial remains that date to before the Turkish period, finds of Hellenistic pottery on Acrocorinth suggest that Attic fine ware was commonly used by the Macedonian garrison.<sup>56</sup> Small quantities of Hellenistic pottery were found almost everywhere within the citadel walls, but in greater concentrations on the summit and in areas to the east and south of the mosque.<sup>57</sup> The vast majority of the imported

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<sup>52</sup> The bibliography on the Macedonian presence in Athens and the Piraeus is extensive. For recent discussions, see Oliver 2007; Habicht 1997; Palagia and Tracy 2003.

<sup>53</sup> Decrees from Cynos and Chalcis imply that garrisons were supplied by the Macedonian king (Hatzopoulos 2001, pp. 37-38).

<sup>54</sup> A hypothetical route would start in Demetrias and travel to Chalcis, the Piraeus and then to Corinth.

<sup>55</sup> The number of troops in the garrison itself seems to have varied widely depending upon historical circumstances. Ancient sources tell us that in 197 B.C. the garrison was strengthened to 6000, but that before then there had been 500 Macedonians and 800 auxiliaries (Livy 33.14). Plutarch's account of Aratus' actions in 243 B.C. suggests that the Macedonians possessed five hundred horses and were keeping Acrocorinth with at least four hundred troops (*Arat.* 24.1). These figures indicate that the usual number in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and perhaps earlier in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. was probably between 500-1000 men.

<sup>56</sup> Acrocorinth was excavated in 1899 and 1926 by sinking very long, wide trenches across the entire summit and digging them down to bedrock. See *Corinth* III.1, pp. viii, 29-30, pls. I and II. In reference to pottery, Blegen noted that what they found in 1926 was very disappointing, and although he conceded its inherent importance did not comment on it further (*Corinth* III.1, p. 28).

<sup>57</sup> Corinth lots 1926-1 to 1926-14. Williams 1986 mentions the existence of these lots, but this is the first time that the Hellenistic pottery from these lots has been dated and discussed in depth. I am grateful to Guy Sanders for his permission to study this material and include it in the present work.

pottery from these trenches is Attic fine ware dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>58</sup> Although clearly not in primary deposition, it is highly unlikely that the Hellenistic pottery came from anywhere other than Acrocorinth. While Attic imports are also common in the lower city in this period, they are not found in the same variety of shapes or the same quantity per deposit as they are on Acrocorinth.<sup>59</sup> At the same time, contemporary local wares are quite rare aside from bowls and cooking pots. While one could argue that this may be a result of chance, this suggestion is made more unlikely by the way Acrocorinth was excavated and the fact that all of the fine ware and imports appear to have been kept. Therefore the picture presented by the ceramic evidence is that the Macedonian garrison primarily used Attic fine ware, marginally supplemented by local fine and cooking wares. As a result, the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC material from Acrocorinth lends support to the argument that Macedonian supply lines between garrisons were encouraging the importation of Attic fine ware to Corinth in the early period of occupation, i.e. before 243 B.C.<sup>60</sup> Although, as Pemberton has shown, Attic imports were common in Corinth in the Classical period, it may be the Macedonian connection that led to the presence of Athenian imports much later in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. than at most sites in Greece.<sup>61</sup>

Thasian amphoras are the largest class of identified amphora stamps in deposits of the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., that is, prior to the substantial increase in import consumption.<sup>62</sup> Of

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<sup>58</sup> The range of Attic shapes includes black-glazed kraters, kantharoi, bowls, plates, other cups and lamps. It should that the amount of Hellenistic pottery found on Acrocorinth was very small and weighed less than 3 kg. in total.

<sup>59</sup> For a discussion of Attic imports in Corinth by shape class, see Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

<sup>60</sup> There is even some evidence of reciprocal trade across the Saronic Gulf in the presence of Corinthian amphoras in Athens, although the exact date of these amphoras is not published (see n. 24 above).

<sup>61</sup> Pemberton 1997 and 2003, see also the introduction to Chapter 2 for the presence of Attic imports in Corinth.

<sup>62</sup> Although imports do increase over the course of the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., there is a significant spike in consumption in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (see Chart 6.1).

the 36 identified Thasian stamps, 30 have been dated to between 320-260 B.C.<sup>63</sup> There are also 260 Thasian amphoras found in Athens, most of which come from Periods IV, V and Garland's "recent" period (370 to 265 B.C.).<sup>64</sup> Although not conclusive, these figures show significant traffic from the north during the period of Macedonian control (338-243 B.C.). Even more striking is that, as a type, Thasian amphoras disappear from the archaeological record at Corinth (and at Athens) at the point when other types of imported amphoras begin to increase dramatically in number in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Clearly the presence of Thasian amphoras is indicative of a connection to the shipment of goods from the northern Aegean and Black Sea to southern Greece. If this is the case, then both the Thasian amphoras and Attic fine ware found in Corinth in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. may demonstrate the existence of a Macedonian supply route from the northern Aegean to their garrisons in the south.

Further evidence for the existence of a supply route to the southern garrisons can arguably be seen in the actions of the Macedonian king in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., which may be interpreted as attempts to safeguard this route. Antigonos Gonatas "freed" Athens in 256/5 B.C. when he returned the border forts and Rhamnous to Attic control, but retained Piraeus, Munychia, Sounion and Salamis right up to 229 B.C.<sup>65</sup> The choice of these four coastal sites for Macedonian garrisons suggests that it was vital for the Antigonids to control traffic both around Attica and in the Saronic Gulf.<sup>66</sup> By this time, the waters of the Corinthian Gulf were becoming increasingly hostile due to the growing power of the Achaean League and the ever-restless Aetolians. These circumstances may have

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<sup>63</sup> Dates are based on Garland 1999. The stamped amphora handles include all published and unpublished examples that have been inventoried in the Corinth Museum, as well as uninventoried material from the deposits of the present study.

<sup>64</sup> Garland 1999, p. 86 and p. 87, figs. 10, 11.

<sup>65</sup> Habicht 2003, p. 53; for the returns of 229 B.C., see Plut. *Arat.* 34.6.

<sup>66</sup> Chalcis was an Antigonid possession in 256/5 and again in 243 B.C., it is therefore likely that Macedonian ships were sailing around the east coast of Euboea on the way to Athens for part of the period in question.

encouraged Antigonus Gonatas to secure access to Corinth via the Saronic Gulf and a submissive Athens in the 250s B.C.

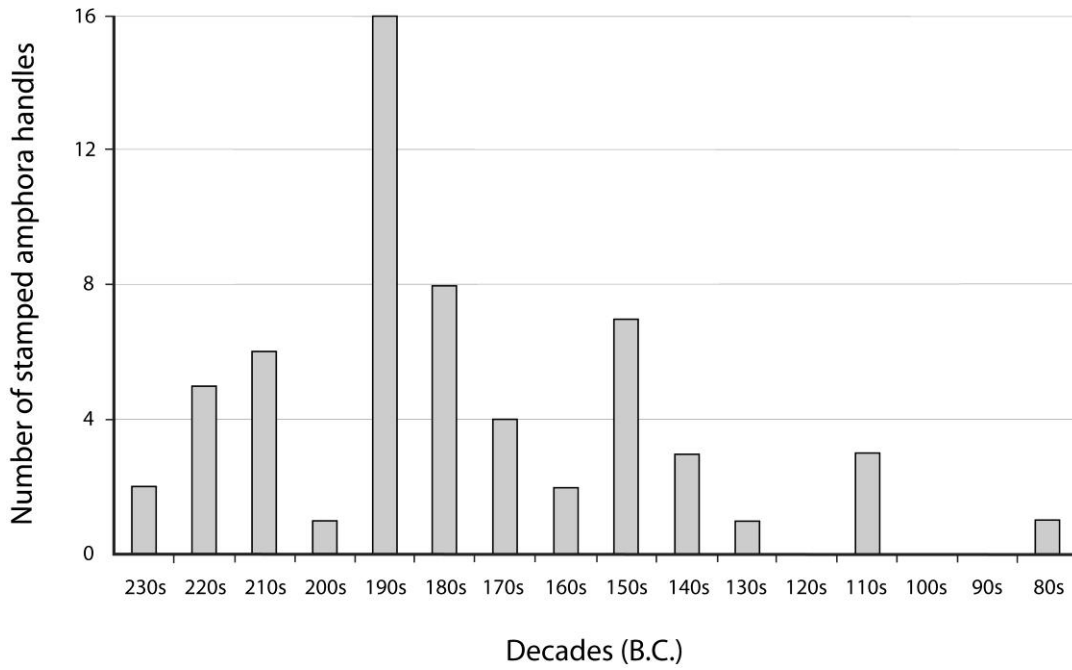


Chart 6.2: Number of stamped Rhodian amphora handles by decade

Finds of eastern Aegean fine wares and amphoras at Corinth show a strong connection between the regions in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The earliest Rhodian stamped amphora handle found in Corinth is of Eukleus (C 1932-27) and has been dated to ca. 233 B.C.<sup>67</sup> In fact, the number of Rhodian amphoras in Corinth begins to rise in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., peaks in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and declines steeply in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. indicating considerable and sustained contact (Chart 6.2).<sup>68</sup> The complete absence of Rhodian amphoras in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., before Antigonid successes in the Aegean, is striking especially when compared to finds of Rhodian

<sup>67</sup> All of the dates of Rhodian amphoras in this study are based on parallels in Finkielsztejn 2001.

<sup>68</sup> These numbers are based on the dates of all inventoried Rhodian amphora stamps found in various deposits throughout Corinth compiled and re-dated for the current study.

amphoras from Rhodes and Egypt. Small numbers of stamped amphoras are found dated from 300-250 B.C. at various sites on Rhodes and at Alexandria and their numbers increase in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. demonstrating continuous production and export through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>69</sup> Since the absence of Rhodian stamped amphoras at Corinth does not necessarily reflect production, it may perhaps be evidence that the Corinthian market opened up to the rising tide of exported Rhodian amphoras with the end of Ptolemaic domination in the Aegean.

Overall, the vast majority of the identifiable fine ware imports datable to the mid to late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. come from sites in the eastern Aegean. The second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. also witnesses, for the first time since the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., some Peloponnesian imports, namely Argive, in Corinthian deposits.<sup>70</sup> While this pattern of growing numbers of fine ware imports is known from other sites in Greece beginning in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., most clearly Athens, the sheer volume of imported goods entering Corinth by the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. suggests that the city's status as an international entrepôt was restored by this period.

### **From 225 B.C. to 146 B.C.**

Corinth's position as a major consumer city was established by the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and continued albeit in a modified way into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Antigonid influence over Corinth's commercial relations seems to have been irreparably harmed by the brief loss of the city to the Achaean League in 243 B.C., such that by the time it returned to Macedonian hands in 224, Corinth's trading contacts had grown considerably

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<sup>69</sup> Lund 1999, p. 196 fig. 10; p. 200 fig. 14.

<sup>70</sup> The dearth of Corinthian material in Hellenistic tombs compared to the Archaic and Classical periods has been noted at Argos suggesting that there was no traffic in goods in either direction for most of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Bruneau 1970, p. 522).

both in the east and west. By the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., contact with Italy had become more extensive than in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and expanded to include North Africa – this greater connection is likely the result of the neutral to friendly relations between Rome and the Achaean League up to 146 B.C.

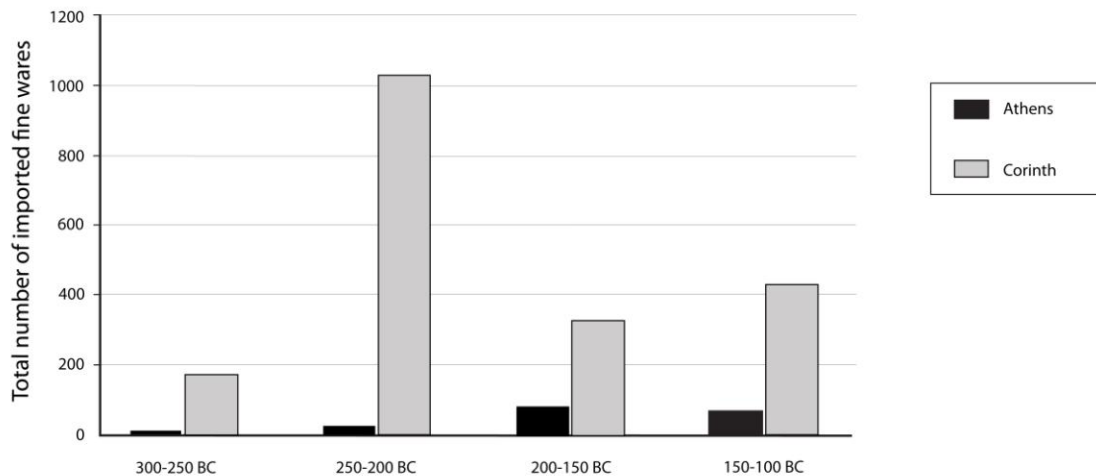


Chart 6.3: Imported fine ware vessels in Corinthian deposits by period (Athenian data based on Agora XXIX Graph 10).

From the late 3<sup>rd</sup> through the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. there are significant changes in the variety and nature of the imported fine wares coming into Corinth. Attic imports, which were so characteristic of the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., almost completely stop with the exception of a few moldmade bowls.<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, moldmade bowls from Argos and Asia Minor, as well as other types of fine wares from these regions, are present in most deposits by the 170s.

The occurrence of Argive moldmade bowls is of particular significance, as it demonstrates that commercial contacts between Argos and Corinth, which appear to have

<sup>71</sup> There are three Attic moldmade bowls dated to before 146 B.C. and all are attributed to the workshop of Bion. The overall paucity of Attic moldmade bowls is also supported by the fact that they made up only 2% of the large deposit of moldmade bowls found in the Forum area (Edwards 1981, p. 200, also n. 53).

been curtailed in the period of Macedonian occupation, had resumed. The question of the nature of the contact between Argos and Corinth has been asked in connection to moldmade bowls by both Siebart and Edwards. Siebart suggested that there was little contact between Corinth and Argos in the Hellenistic period because of the lack of imports at both sites, but was puzzled by the similarities between local Corinthian bowls and Argive products.<sup>72</sup> Conversely, Edwards was able to show that numerous moldmade bowls from Argive workshops were indeed imported to Corinth and suggested that there was a significant flow of imports from Argos during the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>73</sup>

Aside from East Greek and Argive imports, Italian fine wares also occur in greater quantities in deposits of this period. In fact, starting late in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and continuing into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., there is a steady rise in the number of Campana A, and later B, fine wares found in Corinthian deposits. The earlier type, Campana A, first occurs in Corinth in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.; strikingly early in its production life and in greater quantities than at other sites in Greece and the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>74</sup> While these vessels are among the strongest ceramic evidence of trade between Corinth and Italy in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., contact with the west certainly began much earlier as discussed above.

The largest new category of amphora in Corinthian deposits of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. is the Greco-Italic. Greco-Italic amphoras were produced and exported in large quantities beginning ca. 260 B.C. (Will type 1d).<sup>75</sup> This type had been circulating in the western Mediterranean since the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., and although some early examples occur

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<sup>72</sup> Siebart 1978, pp. 77-79.

<sup>73</sup> Edwards 1981, p. 202. Finds of Argive material in the Panayia Field and elsewhere in Corinth supports his conclusion that a small but steady number of goods were coming into the city from the Argolid in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>74</sup> Morel 1986, pp. 341-342; Morel 1998, p. 11. Campana A began to be exported at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and was widely exported by the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (Morel 1988, pp. 339-340; Morel 1990, p. 66.

<sup>75</sup> Lund 2000, p. 80.

at sites in the eastern Aegean, Greco-Italic amphoras are generally rare in Greece until the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>76</sup> Thus, as with Campanian fine wares, the presence of quantities of Greco-Italic amphoras demonstrate increasingly strong contacts between Corinth and Italy from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. onwards. The contemporaneity of the Italian fine wares and the amphoras found at Corinth likely results from the fact that they were transported together.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, evidence for the further expansion of western commercial contacts can be seen in the appearance at Corinth of North African Tripolitanian and Punic amphoras.<sup>78</sup>

From a historical standpoint, diplomatic relations between Corinth and Rome were initiated in 228 B.C., while Corinth was a member of the Achaean League, but quickly lapsed once the city reverted to Antigonid control in 224 B.C. The ceramic evidence suggests that this initial diplomatic action followed on the heels of a decade or so of commercial contact. Over the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., relations between Rome and Philip V rapidly deteriorated culminating in the First and Second Macedonian Wars and finally the liberation of Corinth by Flamininus in 196 B.C. Considering the tumultuous political climate, it is perhaps surprising that commercial contacts between Corinth and Italy and the western Mediterranean actually expanded during this period. The fact that they did would seem to suggest that the Corinthian market for imported goods from the west was so great that it continued to be met even when diplomatic relations were strained.

The quantities of Italian imports at Corinth in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. is particularly striking when compared to Athens, an ally of Rome's through this period,

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<sup>76</sup> Greco-Italic amphoras are known in Greece from the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., but by the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Italian amphoras from many sites became increasingly common. Will 1982; Lund 2000, pp. 80, 82. See also n. 48 above.

<sup>77</sup> Tchernia has shown that this was likely in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. and therefore it is reasonable to retroject the practice (Tchernia 1993).

<sup>78</sup> From cistern 1987-1 (Deposit 28).



where western imports are very rare until much later in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>79</sup> In fact, it is not until the establishment of Delos as a free port in 167/6 B.C. that Italian imports begin to enter Athens in considerable quantities.<sup>80</sup> At the same time, the rise of Delos does not seem to have had a significant impact on traffic through Corinth, since the volume and range of western imports remains relatively steady through to 146 B.C. The fact that the quantity and variety of Corinth's Italian imports were unchanged after 167/6 B.C. would seem to confirm the city's position as a major consumer in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. rather than simply as an entrepôt for western goods.

In terms of imports from the Aegean, as mentioned above significant quantities of East Greek moldmade bowls were entering Corinth in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Other types of grey ware vessels, also presumably of East Greek manufacture, first appear in deposits in the Panayia Field and elsewhere in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>81</sup> The majority of grey ware shapes are plates or broad bowls and more rarely pouring vessels. Aside from grey wares and moldmade bowls, the other readily identifiable eastern Aegean fine ware is from Knidos. Knidian two-handled cups and fragments of them, although rather rare, occur in contexts beginning ca. 175 B.C. and continue through to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>82</sup> The fact that a large quantity of Knidian amphoras were also being imported to Corinth in this period suggests that the fine ware came together with the amphoras.

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<sup>79</sup> In short, 20-30 years later than into Corinth. But see the discussion of western imports in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. above and Lawall's theory that Corinth acted as a bottleneck.

<sup>80</sup> *Agora* XXIX.1, p. 236; *Agora* XXXII, p. 96.

<sup>81</sup> Grey wares have a long tradition in many different regions, for a discussion of Hellenistic grey wares see *Agora* XXIX, pp. 232-236 and *Benghazi* III, pp. 49-64. Rotroff has noted that much of the grey ware found at the Athenian Agora has features that suggest a source in Asia Minor or the neighboring islands (*Agora* XXIX, p. 235). Since most of the vessels from Corinth also find their best parallels in the eastern Aegean, it seems likely that at least some of these grey ware vessels were imports from that region.

<sup>82</sup> C 48-93 and C 48-100 (both from Deposit 18 = SS well 19). Note that one of these is listed as Corinthian drinking bowls in *Corinth* VII.3, p. 94. John Hayes re-examined them and identified them as Knidian or Rhodian in the 1980s. There are also later examples of Knidian cups known from early Roman deposits in Corinth.

In addition to Knidian fine ware and amphoras, large quantities of Rhodian amphoras were still coming into Corinth. In the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. the number of stamped Rhodian amphora handles more than doubled indicating a substantial increase in the overall volume of Rhodian amphoras entering Corinth (Chart 6.2). Most striking is the fact that 16 stamped amphora handles date to the 190's, more than twice that of any other decade, perhaps suggesting that this was a particularly active time in terms of Rhodian production or export to the city. Overall the pattern of increasing numbers of Rhodian amphora stamps in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. at Corinth is mirrored at other sites in the Aegean including Rhodes and Alexandria, followed by a decline in the 180's and continuing through the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>83</sup>

Other amphoras were also imported from the Aegean in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., namely from Chios and Cos. Overall the types of amphoras imported to Corinth from the Aegean in this period suggest that wine was a desirable commodity in the city and those amphoras imported from Italy also likely contained wine.<sup>84</sup> Conversely, the North African amphoras, which are more poorly represented in the archaeological record, may have carried olive oil or fish products.

The deposit evidence shows that Corinth's economic position as a major consumer city was established in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and continued albeit in a modified way into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. In the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., the presence of certain types of imported fine wares and amphoras show that many of Corinth external contacts occurred between regions controlled or connected to the Antigonids – namely Athens and the Aegean. If there was any direct Antigonid control over Corinth's commercial relations, it seems to have been irreparably harmed by the brief loss of the

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<sup>83</sup> Lund 1999, pp. 195-197, figs. 9-11.

<sup>84</sup> Will 1982, p. 354.

city to the Achaean League in 243 B.C. Since by the time Corinth was returned to Macedonian hands in 224 B.C., its trading contacts had expanded considerably both in the east and west. By the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., finds of Campanian fine ware and imported amphoras indicate that contact with Italy had become significantly stronger than in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and now included North Africa. Further evidence of increased contact between Corinth and Italy may be found in the rise of western products in the Aegean as discussed by Lawall.<sup>85</sup>

### **DRINKING PRACTICES IN THE 3<sup>RD</sup> AND 2<sup>ND</sup> CENTURIES B.C.**

The Panayia Field chronology has enabled us to identify the shapes that made up the drinking assemblage at various points in the Hellenistic period.<sup>86</sup> Using this newly created data set, it is possible to compare the shape of the assemblage in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and to detect changes over time. As a result, the ceramic and deposit evidence now provide tantalizing clues to the nature of drinking practices in Hellenistic Corinth.

As in many Greek cities, symposia were a visible feature of Corinthian society by at least the Archaic period.<sup>87</sup> Evidence for Archaic and Classical symposia at Corinth includes dining scenes in Corinthian art, the construction of dining rooms in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. at the sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, Perachora and the Asklepieion, as well as the production of numerous kraters.<sup>88</sup> Cameron has argued that by the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

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<sup>85</sup> Lawall 2007. See above for a specific discussion of this issue.

<sup>86</sup> The chronological ranges assigned to drinking vessels and kraters in *Corinth* VII.3 made it difficult, if not impossible, to discuss groups of contemporary shapes in a meaningful way.

<sup>87</sup> The terms symposium and “symptic” are used here to describe the practice of communal drinking involving a specific set of equipment including a krater or mixing bowl, not the more complex social institution described in Classical sources. Although there are no direct literary attestations of the social institution of the symposium in Corinth in the Archaic period, there is substantial indirect evidence in the form of dining rooms, pottery and the poetry of Eumelos.

<sup>88</sup> Bookidis 1990; Tomlinson 1990; Salmon 1984, p. 403; *Corinth* VII.4, p. 3. Herbert’s catalogue lists more than 100 calyx and bell kraters dated from the late 5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. (nos. 15 to 120).

symposium culture was already very different from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., but that the basic form remained “remarkably consistent down through the centuries and throughout the Hellenistic world.”<sup>89</sup> While this may be the case, Cameron strongly favors the continued role of the symposium as a social practice in Greek culture through at least the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. As support, Cameron cites the important role of symposia for the Macedonians and he uses their large, well-documented royal banquets as examples of the Hellenistic symposium.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, Berquist and Tomlinson note that new dining rooms, specifically designed to accommodate symposia, were constructed at various sites in Greece in the Hellenistic period.<sup>91</sup>

Evidence for the use of kraters in the Corinthian symposium from the Archaic and Classical periods comes from a variety of sources.<sup>92</sup> First, the symposium scenes depicted on Corinthian kraters of the Archaic and Classical periods clearly show kraters being used in such contexts.<sup>93</sup> Second, ceramic kraters in all periods are elaborately decorated. This feature of krater production would seem to suggest a particular connection between the krater and the rest of the drinking assemblage at Corinth, since the only other shapes that are decorated are also those used in symposium contexts. For example, Corinthian red-figure is used almost exclusively on kraters, pouring vessels and drinking cups. Moreover, Dionysian and symposium iconography commonly appear on these drinking

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<sup>89</sup> Cameron 1995, p. 72. The one change he cites is that symposia are no longer a venue for the production of epic poetry (p. 71).

<sup>90</sup> Cameron 1995, p. 74.

<sup>91</sup> Tomlinson 1970, pp. 311-313; Berquist 1990. By extension, they attest to continuity in the practice at a basic level through the period. Dunbabin suggests that there were slight alterations to the ritual of the symposium in the Hellenistic period, based on changes in the design of Hellenistic dining rooms at some sites, which seem to make the dining space more of a focal point within the house (Dunbabin 1998, pp. 82-89).

<sup>92</sup> Other fine ware commonly found in depictions of sympotic scenes are drinking cups (kylikes, kantharoi and skyphoi), oinochoai, dinoi, psykters, askoi, rhyta and phialai. Coarse wares, such as transport amphoras (possibly both fractional and full sized) and small pithoi, are less often shown.

<sup>93</sup> For symposium scenes on Archaic Corinthian vases, see Louvre E 629, 634 and 635 (all column-kraters) among others. Scholarly arguments for the central role of the krater in communal drinking parties can be found for example in Lissarrague 1990, p. 197 and Rotroff 1996, pp. 7-10.

related vessels and would seem to support their connection of sympotic practices in the Classical period.<sup>94</sup> Archaeological evidence for public drinking involving kraters in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. comes from the Forum area. Many bell krater fragments, along with numerous drinking cups and pouring vessels, were found in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. debris from the Buildings I-III under the west end of the South Stoa (including Deposits 22 and 45). Buildings I-III have been interpreted as civic structures with some cultic areas and therefore the dining activities that produced this debris were surely public and/or religious.<sup>95</sup> The large numbers of kraters in the deposits associated with these buildings indicates that they were a common part of the drinking and/or dining activities performed there.<sup>96</sup> In addition to the public contexts of Buildings I-III, the presence of kraters in the fill of well 1947-2 (Deposit 24), a possible domestic context, supports the suggestion that symposium style drinking was a widespread practice in the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Since ceramic drinking cups, kraters and large pouring vessels are found in a variety of contexts in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., the distribution pattern also seems to show that drinking involving the krater was a widespread activity of most social strata.<sup>97</sup>

The continued production of kraters through the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. suggests that the importance of the krater, and by extension their functional role in the assemblage, remained relatively unchanged. In this regard, it is noteworthy that one of the few new

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<sup>94</sup> While Corinthian red-figure most typically shows generic symposium and Dionysian scenes, a good proportion of vessels show specific scenes that must have been special commissions and intended as prizes or dedications (*Corinth* VII.4, p. 3).

<sup>95</sup> For the function of these buildings in civic life, see Williams and Fisher 1972, pp. 151-174. For a full discussion and interpretation of this context, see *Corinth* VII.6.

<sup>96</sup> See *Corinth* VII.6; also McPhee 1997, no. 1, 2, 5, 9, 17, 20, 36. *Corinth* VII.6 cites a minimum number of 15 kraters in drain 1971-1. Although this number is relatively small compared to that of the Royal Stoa in the Athenian Agora (total of 87 kraters), these buildings are smaller and the deposit is only one of several associated with the destruction of Buildings I-III. Moreover, the number of kraters found in drain 1971-1 is four times greater than in any other deposit in this study indicating a concentration of drinking activities here.

<sup>97</sup> Rotroff argues that ceramic kraters are a sign of frugality and were used by less wealthy members of society (Rotroff 1996, p. 27). The presence of ceramic kraters within an assemblage therefore may indicate that the custom of drinking involving a krater was practiced by many eschelons of society.

shapes introduced before the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. is the stemless bell krater (Cat. No. 164).<sup>98</sup> These stemless kraters are virtually identical to the Classical bell krater in form and decoration, except for the stem and the occasional presence of decorative bosses next to the handles that seem to suggest a metal prototype.<sup>99</sup> They are produced in two sizes: the larger at the same scale as most Classical bell kraters and a slightly smaller version.<sup>100</sup> It seems likely that both versions were used for the same purpose as their full-sized predecessor.<sup>101</sup> By the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. three additional types of krater were in production: the bolster, hemispherical and the unglazed bell krater.<sup>102</sup> The creation of these three new types of kraters strongly suggests that there was a need or demand for them in the assemblage.<sup>103</sup> The largest of the new kraters is similar in size to the average Classical kraters (based on height and rim diameter), but they could be smaller, i.e. in the range of small Classical kraters. Bolster and hemispherical kraters were very well-made and highly decorated with elaborate West Slope motifs (Cat. Nos. 166-168), features that place them within the same tradition as earlier kraters.

In addition, a new drinking vessel shape, the kantharos, was developed in the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and grew in popularity through the end of the century.<sup>104</sup> These cups are generally well-made and are among the few shapes that are decorated in the Hellenistic assemblage.<sup>105</sup> In fact, the addition of West Slope decoration to kraters and kantharoi may indirectly harken back to the red-figure and other decorative styles

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<sup>98</sup> See McPhee 1997 and the relevant section of Chapter 4.

<sup>99</sup> McPhee 1997, p. 121 and McPhee (pers. comm.).

<sup>100</sup> McPhee 1997, p. 126.

<sup>101</sup> McPhee has a different opinion and suggests that the smaller stemless bell kraters were used as cups.

<sup>102</sup> See also Chapter 4.

<sup>103</sup> The argument that these kraters were meant to be used as part of daily drinking activities is supported by the fact kraters are not used as grave goods in the Hellenistic period nor can they be demonstrably shown to be used as votive offerings or trophies in any context.

<sup>104</sup> For a discussion of the development of the kantharoi, see Chapter 3.

<sup>105</sup> Notably the only other shapes that receive decoration in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. are also related to the symposium: the krater and oinochoe.

that occur almost exclusively on vessels employed in the Archaic-Classical symposium at Corinth. A further connection between kantharoi and the symposium may be seen in the production of kantharoi large enough to be used as small kraters.<sup>106</sup> Evidence that these massive kantharoi were used in private symposium style drinking rather than as votives is suggested by their find context in well 2002-2 (Deposit 5), which contains primarily domestic debris from the Hellenistic period.<sup>107</sup>

The findspots of Hellenistic kraters appear to illustrate a shift in drinking and dining practices between the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. During the late Classical period, the vast majority of kraters were found in the deposits of the Forum area and in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, i.e., contexts of public and ritual consumption. By the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., ceramic kraters seem to have virtually disappeared from public contexts to the extent that only two kraters were found in all the fills of the South Stoa wells.<sup>108</sup> Instead, kraters are well represented in deposits that are best interpreted as domestic (or at least non-specialized) suggesting that they were commonly used in private contexts. Such a pattern would seem to indicate that communal symposium drinking, or at least the use of ceramic kraters, was not usually part of activities in the South Stoa and that small-scale, private dining parties were the venues where ceramic kraters were used most often in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>109</sup> Given the abundant evidence of drinking vessels from the fills of the South Stoa and the dearth of domestic deposits dated to the Classical period in Corinth, another explanation must be sought. One possibility is

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<sup>106</sup> There is an example of a very large Attic type skyphos from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary, C 65-481. Herbert and others have interpreted this and the other known oversized drinking vessels (all Classical in date) as votives on the basis of their find contexts and the presence of a dedicatory inscription on one example. *Corinth* VII.4, p. 66 n. 27.

<sup>107</sup> Fragments of large kantharoi have also been found in the context pottery of well 1960-4 (Deposit 31). This deposit is situated well outside the city center and appears to contain private domestic debris.

<sup>108</sup> See below for a discussion of the activities in the South Stoa in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>109</sup> Unfortunately, we are lacking comparable deposits to those in the Panayia Field for the Classical period at Corinth. It is therefore not possible to say whether ceramic kraters were also common in non-public settings before the Hellenistic period.

that this shift in find contexts may be connected to the use of metal kraters in public venues.<sup>110</sup> Vickers and Gill have made a strong argument for the ubiquity of metal table ware in the Greek period.<sup>111</sup> Although no bronze kraters have been found in Corinth, evidence for their existence comes from Delos where a Corinthian bronze krater was dedicated ca. 155/154 B.C.<sup>112</sup> Further support for this suggestion comes from Olynthus where Cahill noticed a similar pattern.<sup>113</sup> Kraters were not found in houses that had well-appointed androns, instead ceramic kraters were found in other kinds of architectural spaces and with other unrelated objects, i.e., in mixed domestic contexts.<sup>114</sup> On the basis of this pattern and the findspots of a few metal vessels, Cahill tentatively suggested that metal kraters were being used in wealthier households with elaborate androns (where symposia must have occurred) and that they were taken or looted when the city was sacked.<sup>115</sup> The most plausible explanation for the distribution of ceramic kraters then is that they were more commonly used in non-elite households and that kraters in other materials were used in public contexts.<sup>116</sup>

A long standing issue in discussions of drinking practices in the Hellenistic period is the perceived disappearance or decline in the overall number of kraters. Most recently, Rotroff noted that ceramic kraters were absent from deposits of the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. in the Athenian Agora and associated their disappearance with a reduction in the

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<sup>110</sup> The presence of the two ceramic kraters in the South Stoa wells suggests that kraters were used as part of drinking activities in the Stoa.

<sup>111</sup> Vickers and Gill 1994.

<sup>112</sup> *ID* 1417. An inscription from the Amphiareion sanctuary also records the dedication of bronze (mixing?) bowls in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (*IG* VII 303).

<sup>113</sup> Cahill 2002, pp. 180-190.

<sup>114</sup> Cahill 2002, pp. 186-187. Note that Cahill notices a similar pattern for drinking vessels and offers the same explanation as for kraters. This is clearly not the case in Corinth where ceramic drinking cups are commonly found in all contexts.

<sup>115</sup> Cahill 2002, pp. 187-190.

<sup>116</sup> The co-existence of metal and ceramic kraters in the Hellenistic period is attested by Eratosthenes (*Ath.* 11.482a-b). Given Corinth's fame in antiquity for bronze working, it would be surprising if metal kraters were not made and used in Corinth during the Hellenistic period.



importance of the symposium or a restriction of its use in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>117</sup> Edwards also saw a decrease in the overall number of kraters in the Hellenistic period at Corinth and suggested that ceramic kraters were replaced by metal kraters and/or coarse fabric kraters in the Hellenistic period.<sup>118</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 1, Edwards' data set was highly problematic consisting almost entirely of deposits from the South Stoa. Since it is now clear that kraters are still commonly found in domestic dining contexts throughout the Hellenistic period, Edwards' argument for the disappearance of ceramic kraters is no longer valid.

For various reasons, it is difficult to gauge the relative proportion of Classical kraters to Hellenistic kraters at Corinth in terms of absolute numbers in order to see if there is an overall reduction. We can, however, compare deposits from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. to look for changes in the proportions of kraters in these contexts. In two deposits dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Deposits 22 and 23) kraters make up 4% and 11 % of the total fine ware by weight respectively and by the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Deposit 4) kraters make up 10% of the total fine ware by weight. These figures would seem to indicate that there is no change in the overall number of kraters in circulation from beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. to the end. If there was a significant drop in the production and use of kraters, it would appear to have occurred earlier in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. Such a scenario is possible, but unlikely, since "Classical" red-figure kraters were in production through to ca. 325 B.C. Therefore a decline in krater production, and by extension symposiastic drinking, would have had to occur within a generation or less.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Rotroff 1996; *Agora* XXIX, pp. 14-15, 135-136; Rotroff 2006a, pp. 144-146.

<sup>118</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 107.

<sup>119</sup> Herbert included a total of 105 kraters in her volume, which she dated to between ca. 400-325 B.C. (*Corinth* VII.4, pp. 31-56, nos. 15-120). By contrast, drain 1971-1 dated to a twenty year period (320-300 B.C.), contained 15 kraters. It is difficult to argue that a drop from 1.4 kraters per year to 0.75 kraters per year is a statistically viable difference given the nature of the data sets. These numbers are very different from those presented by Rotroff, which show a decline in the number of kraters from 3 per year in the

Another feature of the assemblage visible in Athens related to drinking is an overall decrease in vessel size and the introduction of new shapes, such as the lagynos, in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Rotroff attributes these changes to a shift towards individual rather than communal wine consumption.<sup>120</sup> A similar decrease in size is not seen in the Corinthian assemblage, where vessels retain the same average capacity throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., and the lagynos was never a popular shape.<sup>121</sup> In short, all of the evidence shows that communal drinking parties were a feature of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. life that continued right up to 146 B.C. at Corinth.

## ARCHITECTURE

Given the continual upheavals the city was experiencing through the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., a surprising number of new buildings and remodeling projects have been attributed to the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. by previous scholars. Literary sources tell us that in 303 B.C. Demetrius Poliorcetes moved the city of Sikyon to its acropolis and contributed several new buildings.<sup>122</sup> He also attempted to dig a canal through the Isthmus at some point.<sup>123</sup> In addition to these regional activities, Demetrius Poliorcetes is also credited with the substantial Hellenistic fortifications still visible on Acrocorinth.<sup>124</sup> Winter has shown that these walls were built with care, and although some blocks were re-used,

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Classical period to 0.5 per year in the Hellenistic period (Rotroff 1996, fig. 19). It is therefore likely that Corinth and Athens simply differ in their drinking practices in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>120</sup> Rotroff 1996, p. 18.

<sup>121</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>122</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.102.2.

<sup>123</sup> Strabo 1.3.11; Pliny *NH* 4.5.

<sup>124</sup> *Corinth* III.2, pp. 126-127.

many were freshly quarried for the project.<sup>125</sup> This suggests that the local quarries were exploited in the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and probably continued to operate throughout the period. Local Corinthian stone cutters and masons presumably benefited also from Demetrius' building activities in Sikyon and Corinth.<sup>126</sup>

No one disputes that the South Stoa was built during the first period of Macedonian power in Corinth, but the issues of exactly when it was built and by whom are still debated. Broneer argued, based primarily on the architectural moldings, that the South Stoa was constructed in the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>127</sup> He therefore suggested that the South Stoa was begun by Philip II, to house participants in the League of Corinth, and was finished under Alexander III.<sup>128</sup> In proposing a date between 337 and 323 B.C., Broneer stated that there was no other time in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. that "Corinth would have felt the need for a public building of such size and sumptuous appointments."<sup>129</sup> Edwards followed Broneer's lead and on the basis of pottery in pre-Stoa deposits and the earliest finds in the South Stoa wells suggested that the building was completed by ca. 330 B.C.<sup>130</sup> A construction date in the 330s was first challenged by Martin and then by Roux, who both argued on stylistic grounds that the stoa's terracotta simas should date between to 320-270 B.C. and the Ionic capitals of the interior colonnade to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Winter 1991, p. 115. Both Acrocorinth limestone and local poros limestone were used in the Hellenistic fortifications, the former more durable stone for gates and lower walls and the latter for walls and buildings within the circuit.

<sup>126</sup> The reputation of Corinthian stone workers in antiquity was exceptional and they are recorded on the temple accounts at Delphi and Epidaurus in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. (Salmon 1984, p. 124). Moreover, an architect of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. temple at Delphi is said to be a Corinthian, Spintharos, who would have been active there in the 320s (Paus. 10.5.13).

<sup>127</sup> *Corinth* I.4, pp. 96-97.

<sup>128</sup> *Corinth* I.4, pp. 98-99.

<sup>129</sup> *Corinth* I.4, p. 98.

<sup>130</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 197.

<sup>131</sup> Martin 1951, pp. 213-216; Roux 1961, pp. 414, 417.

The debate was fueled by new evidence from Williams' excavation in the 1970s of several Classical structures that lay under the South Stoa.<sup>132</sup> Williams argued that an earthquake(s) in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. had caused significant damage to many buildings in the Forum area and the South Stoa was built over their remains.<sup>133</sup> For example Building III, at the west end of the South Stoa, furnished pottery that belongs to the fourth quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>134</sup> Another key deposit was a drain (Deposit 22) that ran between Buildings I and II that was filled with pottery originally dated as late as ca. 325 B.C.<sup>135</sup> Williams proposed on the basis of pottery in these deposits and from cistern 1979-1 (Deposit 23) that construction began on the South Stoa in the 320s.<sup>136</sup> Pemberton later added that if the South Stoa was constructed in the 320s, then it must be disassociated with Philip and Alexander and was perhaps built solely as a replacement for buildings destroyed by the earthquake.<sup>137</sup> These conclusions are supported by the work of Roux and point to a date of ca. 310-300 B.C. for the beginning of construction.

Most recently, however, Sanders has suggested that work began on the South Stoa ca. 300-290 B.C.<sup>138</sup> His argument is based partly on the re-dating of drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22) and the fact that the unstable political climate of the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. in Corinth would have made construction of such a large monument very difficult. As a solution, he proposed the period after Demetrius Poliorcetes regained control of Corinth in 297/6 B.C. and ushered in a period of relative peace and stability. The current study, which has included the earliest material from many of the South Stoa wells and cistern 1979-1

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<sup>132</sup> Williams and Fisher 1972, pp. 151-174. Williams proposed that these buildings were multi-purpose spaces but mainly functioned as civic offices and public dining rooms.

<sup>133</sup> Williams and Fisher 1972, p. 153. Numerous destruction fills and rebuilding projects throughout Corinth have been dated to this period, but should now be re-examined in light of *Corinth* VII.6 and the new Panayia Field chronology.

<sup>134</sup> Williams, et al. 1973, p. 27.

<sup>135</sup> Williams and Fisher 1972, pp. 154-163

<sup>136</sup> Williams 1980, p. 107.

<sup>137</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 3.

<sup>138</sup> Sanders, forthcoming.

(Deposit 23), supports Sanders' date. Cistern 1979-1 (Deposit 23), has been re-dated here to the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. on the basis of its Attic imports and similarities to the material from drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22).<sup>139</sup> The absence of kantharoi in drain 1971-1, cistern 1979-1 and the nature of the earliest material in the South Stoa wells, all of which contain numerous drinking vessels (mostly one-handled cups and Attic type skyphoi), is crucial to the argument since the Panayia Field chronology shows that kantharoi were not produced locally in Corinth until the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>140</sup> We can therefore say with relative confidence that the South Stoa was built before ca. 275 B.C. Instead, these deposits suggest that the construction of the South Stoa began soon after 297/6 with construction continuing through the 290s and perhaps into the 280s. This proposed scenario, in which the South Stoa was conceived of ca. 303 B.C., some initial work was carried out (perhaps a few architectural blocks were cut or terracotta simas were made) and then it was completed in the 280s, fits all the present evidence.

Historically, we can see the construction of the South Stoa as part of the general surge in public building in the northeast Peloponnese known from Sikyon and elsewhere in Corinth in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. In the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, extensive damage in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. necessitated repairs and renovations to the *naos* and dining rooms that were begun by ca. 300 B.C.<sup>141</sup> A race-track was built to the south of the Sacred Spring in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., possibly ca. 280 B.C., on the basis of numismatic evidence.<sup>142</sup> Several other construction projects at Corinth were also initially

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<sup>139</sup> Williams also noted that the material in cistern 1979-1 was very similar to that in drain 1971-1 and dated it accordingly (Williams 1980, p. 121).

<sup>140</sup> The absence of kantharoi in deposits related to the construction of the South Stoa was also noted by Pemberton, who based on this evidence argued that it could not have been built before ca. 300 B.C. (*Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 35). For the dating evidence for Corinthian kantharoi, see Chapter 3.

<sup>141</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 431-433. A new temple was constructed on the upper terrace and a new propylon complex was built on the middle terrace. The remodeled dining rooms on the lower terrace were more elaborate and comfortable than their predecessors.

<sup>142</sup> Williams and Fisher 1971, p. 22.

dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. by their excavators; these include renovations to the theater, the Asklepieion, Temple A (north of Peirene) and Peirene's forecourt.<sup>143</sup> However, given the recent changes in the ceramic chronology of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries the dates of all these structures await future restudy.

At present we can only create a broad sketch of the architectural features in the area of the later Roman Forum that were constructed or underwent renovations later in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. One clear change that occurred in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. was the leveling of a series of structures at the southwest end of the Forum under the new museum.<sup>144</sup> This operation involved the final closure of seven wells and cisterns (Deposits 26, 27 and 39-43) that as a group have a terminus ante quem of ca. 225 B.C. or slightly later.<sup>145</sup> The proportions of fine, cooking and coarse ware within these fills are most similar to those of the Panayia Field deposits suggesting that these are deposits of primarily domestic debris.<sup>146</sup> This interpretation fits with the rather scanty architectural remains associated with these subterranean features, which consist of a few poros blocks and some fragments of pebble mosaic.<sup>147</sup>

Weinberg described this leveling operation as creating two or more broad terraces that extended east towards the Hellenistic race course. These terraces were then flattened by the construction of Temple E and the easternmost terrace was shored up by the back wall of the West Shops in the early Roman period.<sup>148</sup> He initially suggested that there

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<sup>143</sup> Wiseman 1979, pp. 482-486.

<sup>144</sup> This area was excavated primarily by Weinberg in preparation for the construction of the present museum (Weinberg 1948).

<sup>145</sup> Weinberg dated the leveling operation to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. (Weinberg 1948, p. 230). Edwards dated the latest fills in this group of deposits to the third and last quarters of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (*Corinth* VII.3, p. 193). This date was then adjusted to ca. 225 B.C. by the present study. Note that Pemberton had also made amendments (unpublished) to Edwards' dates for these deposits.

<sup>146</sup> See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the nature of the Panayia Field deposits and the distribution of their pottery.

<sup>147</sup> Weinberg 1948, pp. 235-236.

<sup>148</sup> Weinberg 1948, p. 236.

may have been a Greek temple in the area of Temple E because of the orientation of the buildings at the southwest end of the Forum.<sup>149</sup> Edwards, following Weinberg, proposed that the activity in this area was associated with the construction and planning of the temenos for the Hellenistic predecessor of Temple E.<sup>150</sup> The existence of such a predecessor of Temple E, however, has now been rightly challenged.<sup>151</sup>

Another modification that has been dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is the construction of a new propylon that connected the Sacred Spring to the temenos of Apollo.<sup>152</sup> This structure was formerly misinterpreted as a short stoa. The fact that various new structures were being built and architectural remodeling of major civic buildings was occurring in this period is significant, since it shows that despite the political upheavals of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. there was enough money and man-power available within the city to undertake large projects. If we assume that the presence of imported objects is an index of prosperity, then the wealth mobilized for building projects in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is not broadly reflected in the archaeological record.<sup>153</sup> We may tentatively conclude that the South Stoa and other structures built or remodeled in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. were either not sponsored by the population of Corinth or alternatively that the bulk of local economic resources were focused on these projects.

Further evidence for domestic architecture outside the Forum area is scarce and complicated due to lack of excavation. One of the few examples is from the Panayia Field, located to the southeast of the Roman Forum, which yielded a long rectangular

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<sup>149</sup> *Corinth* I.5, pp. 37-38.

<sup>150</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 193.

<sup>151</sup> Walbank 1989, p. 278 n. 47.

<sup>152</sup> Williams 1969, pp. 52-55; Wiseman 1979, p. 481.

<sup>153</sup> See the above section on the economy and imports in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

structure.<sup>154</sup> Further afield some argument can be made for the area of the old excavation dump (near Deposit 21) and the Anaploga wells (Deposits 50-53).<sup>155</sup>

### **THE SOUTH STOA FROM THE 3<sup>RD</sup> TO 1<sup>ST</sup> C. B.C.**

Edwards dated most of the Hellenistic fills of the South Stoa wells to between the 330s and 146 B.C. in the belief that the earliest dated material culture was debris from the initial period of the building's use.<sup>156</sup> Recent studies, however, have shown that this is not the case. Sanders has demonstrated using Edwards' own notebooks that in many cases his use fills are actually dumped fills that are dated by the latest coins to between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>157</sup> The new Panayia Field chronology has independently confirmed Sanders' findings and has been able to refine the dates of individual well deposits. The result of this re-evaluation is that twelve of the thirty-one wells have lowest fills, originally classed as slowly accumulated habitation fills by Edwards, that date to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>158</sup>

One reasonable explanation advanced by Sanders for the presence of so many contemporary dumped fills is that the South Stoa underwent a series of modifications during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. at which time some wells were put out of use when

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<sup>154</sup> See Chapter 1 for a description of the Hellenistic long building in the Panayia Field. The only architectural remains outside of the Panayia Field were found in rescue excavations by Robinson in the 1960s. He discovered the foundation blocks of a three room structure that he tentatively interpreted as a Hellenistic farmhouse (unpublished). Unfortunately, it is not possible to confirm the nature or date of this structure.

<sup>155</sup> See individual deposit descriptions for details.

<sup>156</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 225-234.

<sup>157</sup> Sanders forthcoming.

<sup>158</sup> These wells are: wells II, III, IV, V, VII, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXVII, XXVIII and XXX (Deposit nos. 9-11, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 32-35). We can also include the lowest fill of the Pottery Deposit from Shop I (Deposit 8) among this group of early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits.



adjoining shops were unified and remodeled.<sup>159</sup> Broneer also noted that there were general modifications in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> B.C., which involved lowering the floor level in individual shops and rear rooms, the creation of doorways between shops XIX and XX and XXX and XXXI, alterations in the system of communication between shops I and II and XXXII and XXXIII, and repairs to some sections of the roof.<sup>160</sup> Indications of these pre-146 B.C. repairs to the South Stoa's roof can be found in the presence of a new type of tile stamped with the name Xenolaos in post-146 deposits as well as the "Paint Shop" deposit in well XIX (Deposit 18).<sup>161</sup> Some evidence that the South Stoa was actually damaged ca. 200 B.C. comes from what have been interpreted as a pre-Mummian destruction deposit in wells IV and XVI (Deposits 32 and 34).<sup>162</sup> This debris differs from what is normally interpreted as 146 B.C. destruction material in that it does not contain architectural fragments or Roman pottery. Instead, it provides evidence of fire damage to the roof in the form of numerous blackened roof tiles, ash and charcoal.<sup>163</sup> In sum, it is clear that various modifications were made to the building in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and it is therefore reasonable that the lowest fills are contemporary with these activities.

In terms of the function of the building in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., the archaeological evidence is rather silent. The new Panayia Field chronology has shown that there are no deposits from the Stoa itself or from its immediate vicinity, excavated to date, that

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<sup>159</sup> Sanders, forthcoming. The South Stoa wells are more like cisterns than true wells each one being fed from the spring of Peirene through an opening approximately 1.0 to 1.5 m from the bottom, it would therefore have only taken a small amount of fill to block the channel and put the well out of use.

<sup>160</sup> *Corinth* I.4, pp. 70, 93-95. I suspect that at least some of the early material was generated during the lowering of the floor levels in each shop and then deposited in the wells; this would explain the presence of a few 3<sup>rd</sup> c. survivors in these fills.

<sup>161</sup> *Corinth* I.4, p. 93.

<sup>162</sup> Wells XXVII, XXVIII and XXX (Deposits 20, 35 and 21) may also contain debris from a pre-146 B.C. event, but this interpretation is highly speculative.

<sup>163</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p 226.

directly testify to the nature of activities in the area prior to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>164</sup> At present, the only evidence consists of the Attic type skyphoi that appear as survivors in later fills and indicate that drinking was at least one activity that occurred in the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

In the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., however, the twelve deposits in this study (dated to between 200-170 B.C.) contain a remarkably consistent range of material. The fine ware is dominated by drinking vessels. In those deposits in which the fine ware was completely saved roughly 80% by weight of the fine ware are kantharoi, primarily cyma and articulated types. This percentage is remarkable when compared to a contemporary deposit from the Panayia Field (Deposit 5), which contains less than 10% kantharoi and seemingly confirms that the South Stoa wells are special use deposits. The remainder of the fine ware in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits of the South Stoa consists of small serving vessels (echinus, semi-glazed and bowls with outturned rims), small pouring vessels (oinochoai and olpai), occasional plates and unguentaria.<sup>165</sup> Such an assemblage suggests that the primary activity was drinking rather than eating within much of the Stoa.<sup>166</sup>

The cooking and coarse wares are also similarly uniform. Unfortunately, in most deposits all of the fine ware was kept but non-diagnostic cooking and coarse wares were thrown away. It is therefore not possible to make comparisons between different areas of the South Stoa with the goal of identifying kitchens and/or storerooms. However, the range of cooking wares in these early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits is quite broad and suggests that

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<sup>164</sup> *Corinth* I.4, pp. 62-64, 94-99. Broneer used the Hellenistic fills of the wells to interpret activities in the South Stoa for the entire period of its use and his conclusions should therefore be read as relevant to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. only.

<sup>165</sup> The amount of all serving, pouring, oil and storage vessels in the average South Stoa well is less than 20% of the total fine ware by weight.

<sup>166</sup> This conclusion was also reached by Broneer (*Corinth* I.4, p. 98). There are two specialized areas of the South Stoa that have already been identified: Shop III (Deposit 10), which appears to have contained a hero shrine or a shop that sold terracottas that went out of use ca. 185-175 B.C., and Shop XIX (Deposit 18), which has the so-called Paint Shop fill.

a variety of food was prepared albeit on a limited scale.<sup>167</sup> Coarse and cooking fabric pitchers are the main class of pouring vessels found in the well deposits. These shapes may have supplemented the fairly limited range of fine ware pouring vessels found in the wells. Amphoras are the most common type of coarse ware, namely Corinthian B amphoras, but also examples from Knidos and Rhodes.<sup>168</sup> Fragments of the ubiquitous coarse ware lekane are also relatively common.

Non-ceramic finds are quite varied and include knucklebones, faience trays, many lamps, bone flutes and occasional metal objects. These support Broneer's general conclusion that the South Stoa in the Hellenistic period was the site of drinking parties with music and gaming.<sup>169</sup> Notably absent from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. well fills are what are considered typical household objects, such as loomweights, and ritual objects, such as figurines, miniatures and phialai.

The absence of domestic and ritual objects highlights the distinct nature of activities in the South Stoa in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The predominance of drinking vessels in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fills of the South Stoa are overwhelming evidence that the consumption of wine took place on a large scale within the building. In fact, the overall shape of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. assemblages from the South Stoa wells is similar to that of a tavern excavated on Delos.<sup>170</sup> The kantharoi tend to have capacities of 250 or 500 ml, both quantities sufficient to suggest it was watered down. It is therefore interesting to note that very few krater fragments, or vessels that would have been suitable mixing bowls, have been recovered from the wells. Two possible explanations for the absence of kraters and

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<sup>167</sup> It is reasonable to estimate the amount and types of cooking ware because seemingly all diagnostic pieces were kept.

<sup>168</sup> There are seven Knidian, five Rhodian and one Greco-Italic from these fills. Interestingly, there are also examples of Rhodian and Knidian cups in these early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fills, which presumably accompanied the amphoras from their point of origin.

<sup>169</sup> *Corinth* I.4, pp. 62-64.

<sup>170</sup> Hatzidakis 1997. The pottery consisted of an overwhelming proportion of drinking vessels (moldmade bowls), a few pitchers and some amphoras. The tavern is dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

mixing bowls are that wine was mixed in another fashion or that metal vessels were more commonly used. The first scenario is plausible, but in that case we might expect to see more pouring vessels in the debris from the wells. The use of metal vessels is an intriguing possibility that finds some support in the fact that two newly produced local kraters are clearly based on metal prototypes indicating they were in general circulation.<sup>171</sup> If there were metal kraters used in the South Stoa, they would certainly have been secreted away or looted in 146 B.C. and this may explain their absence.<sup>172</sup>

A much smaller part of the overall assemblage consists of ceramic serving vessels, namely a very few fine ware plates and a small number of bowls and pouring vessels. Similarly there is a wide range, but limited number of cooking vessels. The ceramic evidence therefore strongly suggests that food preparation and dining were very much secondary activities in the Stoa. This conclusion is supported by the fact that no hearths and only one brazier have been found in the South Stoa or in the debris of the wells.<sup>173</sup> Even if one were to argue that metal serving vessels were used instead of ceramic for food consumption, we would expect quantitatively more cooking ware than is present.<sup>174</sup> The simplest explanation for the presence of the cooking wares and serving vessels is that they were used for cooking and eating on a relatively small scale. On the basis of his architectural reconstruction of the second floor of the South Stoa, Broneer suggested that it may have been used as sleeping quarters.<sup>175</sup> If this is true, then very

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<sup>171</sup> See above for a discussion of Hellenistic drinking practices in Corinth.

<sup>172</sup> See Vickers and Gill 1994, pp. 64-65 on the amount of metal vessels taken by the Romans from Greece in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>173</sup> *Corinth* I.4, pp. 98-99.

<sup>174</sup> Use-life studies indicate that ceramic cooking pots that are intensively used over heat must be replaced in 3 to 6 months. Therefore if consumption of cooked foods were common in the South Stoa we would expect to see more cooking sherds in the fills.

<sup>175</sup> *Corinth* I.4, p. 98. Broneer goes so far as to suggest that these chambers were used by “entertainers” associated with the cult of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth.

small groups of people may have been living in or above the shops and this pottery may be debris from their secondary use of these spaces.

If drinking was the main activity occurring in the South Stoa in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., then the evidence from the interim period deposits amply demonstrates a dramatic shift in how the building was used in the later 2<sup>nd</sup> c. and early 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.<sup>176</sup> These deposits are characterized by the presence of large quantities of cooking and coarse wares, a wide range of fine wares and some evidence of domestic activities in the form of dozens of loomweights.<sup>177</sup> This change can be strikingly seen in the proportions of fine, cooking and coarse wares from well XXII (Deposit 19) where fine wares make up only 10% by weight of the deposit with cooking wares at 30% and coarse wares at 60% respectively. These figures are very similar to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. domestic deposits from the Panayia Field and suggest that these interim fills are a mix of household debris rather than the specialized drinking assemblage that was common in the earlier 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>178</sup> In addition, the fine ware assemblage from these interim fills contains numerous flat rim and rolled rim plates and proportionally more small serving vessels compared to the previous period. In sum, the assemblages from the “Mummian” fills suggests that various shops were re-occupied by small domestic groups in the interim period who, after a period of initial clean-up of architectural fragments, used the wells for the discard of household waste.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Interim period deposits (formerly identified as Mummian destruction fills) occur in wells II, V, VII, IX, X, XII, XIV, XV, XVIII, XIX, XXII as either upper or lower fill (see also Deposit Index nos. 9,11-19 and 33). See below for a discussion of the re-assessment of these deposits and other interim period deposits from Corinth.

<sup>177</sup> More than twenty type XII loomweights and other types of earlier loomweights (heirlooms?) were found in wells IX and X alone. See *Corinth XII* for the definition of a type XII loomweight.

<sup>178</sup> Finds of type XII loomweights in almost every well add additional support to the argument for a change in function in the interim period towards domestic activities.

<sup>179</sup> The stratigraphy of the interim period fills allows for this sequence. In each case, the architectural fragments, tiles and well-curb are at the bottom or on top of an earlier fill and topped by layers consisting of only pottery. While other explanations for this depositional pattern are possible, a scenario where there was a gradual accumulation of household trash can be supported by the evidence. There are also numerous

The fact that there is a significant difference in the assemblage between pre- and post-146 B.C. deposits from the South Stoa is a further indicator that life continued in Corinth after 146 B.C. If the traditional interpretation of the “Mummian” fills as containing material made and used in the area before 146 B.C. were correct, then these fills should resemble the drinking assemblages of the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., which they do not. In order to maintain that the material in these fills was produced in the period before 146 B.C., an argument would have to be made that the South Stoa underwent a radical change in function ca. 160 B.C. or earlier, i.e. long enough for meters of domestic debris to have accumulated in the area, and to explain how interim period objects trickled down into these fills. As there is no archaeological evidence to indicate either that the South Stoa was given over for household use before 146 B.C. or that historical circumstances were such that a major public building had to be turned over to an unconventional purpose, the more probable explanation for the nature of these fills is that they are the result of interim period occupation.

## **HELLENISTIC CULTURE**

Corinth’s engagement in the trading networks of the Hellenistic Mediterranean meant that its exposure to wider cultural trends began in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. During the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. these pan-Hellenic shapes began to impact the local assemblage and by ca. 175 B.C. Corinthian fine ware as a group begins to resemble the broader Hellenistic koine. The key local shape that marked the transition to the Hellenistic from the Classical assemblage, the kantharos, began to be replaced by the new

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joins between tiles and architectural elements in different neighboring wells, but very few between ceramic vessels, which would perhaps indicate a general clean-up before most of the pottery was deposited.

shape of the moldmade bowl over the course of the 170s. During the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., the popularity of the moldmade bowl and moldmade krater grew steadily as kantharos production declined and by 160 B.C. these new types had replaced local kantharoi and kraters.<sup>180</sup>

This initial shift, however, does not seem to indicate a change in general drinking practice, since the new shapes were presumably used for the same purpose, but rather a change of style.<sup>181</sup> Nevertheless, the moldmade krater was the last type of krater produced in the Hellenistic period. Since no kraters of any kind appear to have been produced after 146 B.C., it is possible that the more limited range of kraters and cups in the 160s and 150s indicates a decline in importance of communal drinking of the type known in earlier periods.<sup>182</sup>

Other shapes also reflect the growing internationalism of Corinth's Hellenistic assemblage. Three new types of plates develop in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., two of which, the rolled rim plate and the plate with offset rim, have correlates at sites outside of Corinth. This new emphasis on plates in the assemblage, including the highly decorated plate with offset rim, suggests perhaps that there was a shift in food consumption toward more solid food items. The invention of these plates coincides with the increasing popularity of the conical bowl, which may indicate that serving vessels overall were of greater importance rather than shapes for drinking by the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Notably both the conical bowl and the Late type of bowl with outturned rim are shapes that have correlates outside the Corinthian assemblage and the latter is also part of the Hellenistic koine.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> The earliest moldmade bowls produced at Corinth date to ca. 185 B.C. and moldmade kraters to about the same time (see also Chapters 3 and 4).

<sup>181</sup> The popularity of imported (especially East Greek) moldmade bowls at Corinth is discussed at length in Edwards 1981 and Edwards 1986.

<sup>182</sup> See above for a discussion of overall drinking practices in Corinth.

<sup>183</sup> See Chapter 4 for each shape.

Therefore by the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. the Corinthian assemblage consisted, with a few exceptions, of the same range of shapes as other Hellenistic fine ware assemblages throughout the Mediterranean.<sup>184</sup> These similarities are a testament to the external contacts to which Corinth was exposed and the cosmopolitan nature of the Mediterranean in this period. At the same time, a certain traditional streak can be seen in the continued production of some bowls and pouring shapes.<sup>185</sup> The fact that it took more than a generation of intensive exposure to Hellenistic fine ware from all over the Mediterranean for a significant impact to be seen on the assemblage as a whole seems to indicate an overall conservative stance on the part of Corinthian potters.

#### **CORINTH IN THE INTERIM PERIOD (145-44 B.C.)**

After the city was taken in 146 B.C., the land of Corinth became *ager publicus* and was subject to taxation by the Senate.<sup>186</sup> It is likely that some kind of survey was taken of the *chora* shortly after 146 B.C. in order to assess its potential, although no one has suggested that the land was divided up at that time.<sup>187</sup> Ancient sources tell us that the neighboring city of Sikyon controlled the territory of Corinth and administered the Isthmian Games during the interim period.<sup>188</sup> Corinthian lands were taxable as *ager publicus* up to at least 63 B.C., and it is therefore likely that Rome was either leasing Corinthian land to Sikyon or that Sikyon had been given the lands to cultivate in return

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<sup>184</sup> See notes on specific shapes in Chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>185</sup> See echinus and semi-glazed bowls (Chapter 4) and pouring vessels (Chapter 5).

<sup>186</sup> Evidence for Corinth's status is based on the *lex agraria* of 111 B.C. (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 585), which states that Corinth was to be measured and boundary markers set before being sold or leased. Although it is possible, there is no concrete evidence that this prescribed work was undertaken at this point. For an argument in favor of a centuriation ca. 111 B.C. see Romano 2003, pp. 280-283; see Walbank 2002, pp. 253-254 for an opposing view.

<sup>187</sup> Walbank 2002, p. 253; Romano 2003, pp. 279-280.

<sup>188</sup> Paus. 2.2.2; Strabo 8.6.23. Sikyon was considered a "free" city in the settlement after 146 B.C. and so was not technically subject to taxes. See also Romano 2003, p. 280 n. 12.



for paying the appropriate tax to the Senate.<sup>189</sup> There is evidence that before the arrival of colonists in 44 B.C., there was at least one major Roman survey at which point the city and countryside were centuriated.<sup>190</sup> In terms of other activities, an inscription found near the Lechaion Road records the transportation of a Roman fleet across the Isthmus in 102-101 B.C.<sup>191</sup>

An eyewitness account of the looting of Corinth by Mummius' troops in 146 B.C. is provided by Polybius through Strabo.<sup>192</sup> He reports that he saw soldiers throwing paintings on the ground and playing dice among them. In this same passage, Strabo states that many of the greatest artistic works in Rome were taken from Corinth.<sup>193</sup> If true then we can imagine that, at the very least, some of the public buildings were stripped of their valuables. Polybius' description does not, however, imply that the city was completely destroyed.

Instead it seems that Roman writers of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. are responsible for image of post-146 Corinth as razed to the ground and lying abandoned until the Caesarian colony. One such account is by Pausanias, who records that in the aftermath of the battle Mummius set fire to the city, killed the men and sold the women and children and slaves.<sup>194</sup> He also describes how Corinth was laid to waste and perhaps had its walls dismantled.<sup>195</sup> Similarly Strabo reports that Corinth was razed to the ground, deserted for many years and that when the new colonists arrived they had to move rubble in the

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<sup>189</sup> Cicero refers to the taxable *ager publicus* of Corinth (*Agr.* 1.2.5; 2.18.51; *Tusc. Disp.* 3.22.53).

<sup>190</sup> The issue of how many surveys were conducted of the Corinthia between 146 and 44 B.C. is a matter of debate, see Walbank 2002, Romano 2003 and Doukellis 1994. It should be said that the evidence for any survey occurring in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. is very circumstantial.

<sup>191</sup> Corinth: I 788-791. See Gebhard and Dickie 2003, pp. 273-279 for a thorough discussion. However, Gebhard and Dickie's interpretation of the context and implications of the inscription is problematic.

<sup>192</sup> Strabo 8.6.23.

<sup>193</sup> Pausanias also describes how works of art from Corinth were taken to Rome and Pergamon by Mummius and Philopoemen (Paus. 7.16.8).

<sup>194</sup> Paus. 7.16.8.

<sup>195</sup> Paus. 2.1.2.

course of establishing the colony.<sup>196</sup> Gebhard and Dickie have argued that the origin of the image of a ruined Corinth can be found in two letters: the first of Cicero, who visited Corinth between 79-77 B.C., who described how he spoke to people (*Corinthioi*) living amongst the ruins; the second of Servius Sulpicius Rufus written in 45 B.C., which refers to Corinth as a city in ruins.<sup>197</sup> Since we have abundant archaeological evidence that numerous buildings were left intact, we must conclude that there are other reasons why the image of a ruined Corinth was so pervasive. In fact, it can be argued that the idea that Corinth was completely destroyed is a literary trope and that these authors have good reason to employ it as a narrative device.<sup>198</sup>

While archaeological evidence for the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. is very slim, there is abundant material that attests to activity in Corinth during the interim period (aside from the South Stoa fills).<sup>199</sup> Such evidence was first detected in the early 1930s and continued to grow through the 20<sup>th</sup> century as imported objects were found in various deposits throughout the city.<sup>200</sup> These objects include Attic and Italian fine wares, amphoras from the eastern and western Mediterranean, East Greek moldmade bowls and Athenian and Roman coins of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Strabo 8.6.23.

<sup>197</sup> Gebhard and Dickie 2003, p. 263. The works of Cicero (including the quote of Servius Sulpicius Rufus) that refer to Corinth are: *Tusc. Disp.* 2.33.53; *Agr.* 2.87; and *Fam.* 4.5.4.

<sup>198</sup> Wiseman 1979, pp. 491-494; Gebhard and Dickie 2003, pp. 262-264. Rizakis and Touratsoglou argues that the same is true for descriptions of conditions in the wider Peloponnese after 146 B.C. (Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2008, pp. 77-78).

<sup>199</sup> The main archaeological evidence for the destruction in 146 B.C. comes from the “Mummian” fills of the South Stoa wells (see above), which perhaps indicate damage to the Stoa’s superstructure. The Columned Hall also appears to have been damaged around that time. One further piece of evidence is from the theatre, which shows that by the period of the early colony the skene had lost its roof and superstructure, but whether this occurred in 146 B.C. or afterwards in a scavenging operation is unclear (*Corinth II*, p. 135).

<sup>200</sup> For a list of interim period objects and their findspots, see Gebhard and Dickie 2003, pp. 266-270.

<sup>201</sup> To date, most of these objects have come from what have been interpreted as mixed contexts (i.e., well deposits and leveling fills).

Various explanations have been advanced to account for these imports, whose presence at a time when the city was thought to be uninhabited was difficult to explain. Since it is known that the Sikyonians were in charge of the city, one suggestion is that they were responsible for these imported goods.<sup>202</sup> Another possibility was raised by Romano, who argued that the imported objects may have been left behind by Italian surveyors preparing for the new colony.<sup>203</sup> A more convincing interpretation is proposed by Wiseman, based on the evidence for interim occupation in the later Roman Forum area and a passage in Cicero – that Corinthians may have returned to the city after the sack in 146 B.C.<sup>204</sup> This third option is lent some support by the description of the end of the city by Pausanias, who tells us that three days elapsed between the defeat of the Achaeans on the Isthmus and the entry of the victorious Roman army into Corinth.<sup>205</sup> He notes that during this interval, many Corinthians left the city. Since Pausanias' account suggests that not all of the Corinthians were killed or enslaved, it is possible that once the Romans left, parts of the city and its hinterland were reoccupied either by returning Corinthians or peoples from the immediate vicinity.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> See note 173 above.

<sup>203</sup> Romano 1994, pp.62-63. Romano was specifically discussing the imports in well 1947-3 and this is a possibility for this deposit especially in regard to the Campana B fine wares. However, as a broader explanation it is untenable because the large volume and wide chronological range of the imported objects found throughout Corinth cannot be the result of sporadic and short-term occupation, such as would have been reasonable for groups of surveyors.

<sup>204</sup> Wiseman 1979, pp. 494-496.

<sup>205</sup> Paus. 7.16.7-8.

<sup>206</sup> Millis has documented the epigraphic evidence of people using the Corinthian ethnic as an identifier on grave markers dated to between 146-44 B.C. in Athens, Egypt and Delos. He notes that the continued use of a polis identifier, even after the destruction of that city has parallels elsewhere, and implies that the individual has some intention of returning home (Millis 2010).

## EVIDENCE FOR LOCAL POTTERY PRODUCTION DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD<sup>207</sup>

Scholarly discussions of interim Corinth have also occasionally included brief examinations of the issue of continued local ceramic production. Based on finds of Corinthian-made type X and XVII lamps in the House of the Comedians on Delos, Russell suggested that these continued to be produced in Corinth during the interim period.<sup>208</sup> In her volume on the Greek pottery from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, Pemberton proposed that there may have been a ceramic industry, albeit at a much reduced scale, after 146 B.C. in order to explain the seemingly large number of very late Hellenistic moldmade bowls in Corinth.<sup>209</sup> However, both Russell and Pemberton admit that there may be other explanations for the patterns they perceive, namely that these objects may have been made in Sikyon. Edwards, who thought that the possibility of local pottery production after 146 B.C. was very slight, also believed that some Sikyonian pottery may have made its way into the Mummian destruction fills in the South Stoa wells.<sup>210</sup> Sikyon was certainly producing pottery in the later 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and in fabrics that are similar, but not the same, as those used in Corinth.<sup>211</sup> However, without published material for comparanda, it is difficult to make an argument that these are Sikyonian products and more information is needed to fully assess the impact of Sikyon on interim

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<sup>207</sup> At Athens, 86 B.C. traditionally has been considered the end point of Hellenistic ceramics. Rotroff has made a similar argument to the one presented here for continuity of tradition in the post-86 B.C. ceramic assemblage at Athens (Rotroff 1998, pp. 100-106).

<sup>208</sup> Williams and Russell 1981, pp. 42-43. There are in fact many type X lamps in the interim fills of the South Stoa wells and it is therefore possible that Russell was correct.

<sup>209</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.1, p. 4.

<sup>210</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 190 n. 7.

<sup>211</sup> I am grateful to Yannis Lolos who allowed me to look at Hellenistic pottery from Sikyon in June 2008. I was able to determine that although some Corinthian and Sikyonian fabrics are very similar in color they can be distinguished on the basis of inclusions.

Corinth.<sup>212</sup> In general, it can be said that those who study Corinth have been very hesitant to accept the possibility of local Corinthian ceramic production after 146 B.C.

A crucial piece of evidence for interim period Corinth was found in 2006 in the Panayia Field within the Hellenistic long building.<sup>213</sup> In the southwest room, a roughly rectangular (2.5 x 2 meters) packed earth floor was found under a stratum of roof tiles.<sup>214</sup> On top of this floor, numerous pots and other finds had been deposited in a layer approximately 0.20m thick (Deposit 7). Stratigraphically, the terminus ante quem for the deposit is provided by a layer of Roman fill that covered the collapsed roof tiles on top of the floor, as well as by the construction trenches for the re-use of the Hellenistic walls. Roman fine wares date this upper fill to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.

The material on the floor consisted of a range of local fine and cooking wares, as well as some amphoras and imported fine ware. It was clear from the number of complete or almost complete vessels and the nature of their deposition that this was an occupational level. At the same time, only a very small amount of fine ware (no more than 5% by weight and even less by number) could be identified as Classical or earlier indicating that this is a chronologically discrete deposit. Other artifacts found on the floor included a lead weight, nine type XII loomweights, an iron scythe, a bronze spade, a hopper mill and a terracotta mold for a linear leaf bowl (Cat. No. 91). The pottery and other finds from the floor imply that in its final phase of occupation, the building may

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<sup>212</sup> The author will undertake a long-term study of Hellenistic pottery from Sikyon beginning in June 2010, which will hopefully resolve some of these issues.

<sup>213</sup> For a description of the Hellenistic architecture in the Panayia Field, see Chapter 1.

<sup>214</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the archaeological context of the floor deposit, see James forthcoming.

have had a partly domestic function and perhaps served a single household. Furthermore, the concentration of finds in such a small room suggests that it was a storage space.

Since the majority of the fine ware in the floor deposit consisted of Hellenistic shapes in local Corinthian fabrics, it was initially dated by the excavators to the mid- 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Among the most complete vessels are four flat rim plates (Cat. Nos. 158-161), three of which form a set that is virtually identical in terms of size, profile, fabric and decoration. Of the six bowls with outturned rims, two are nearly complete and all are the same size and have very similar rim profiles (Cat. Nos. 132 and 133). The five saucers in the floor deposit also form a cohesive group of the same size and shape (Cat. Nos. 121 and 122). The uniformity in term of size and profile within each shape class suggests that each set of vessels is a contemporary group. Furthermore, the nature of the fabric, glaze and firing makes it possible that all of these vessels may have been made in related local workshops. All of the drinking vessels in the deposit are moldmade bowls (Cat. Nos. 82 and 89). Of the seven identifiable styles of moldmade bowls in local fabrics, three are figural and four are types that are among the latest produced at Corinth – namely a bowl with pointed petals, two bowls with rounded petals and a linear leaf bowl.<sup>215</sup>

However, four additional objects were found mixed with the material on the floor that could be securely dated to the interim period. Two of these objects, a type XIV lamp and a grey moldmade oinochoe, find their only parallels in well 1947-3 (Deposit 25), which was dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> to early 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., on the basis of Italian imports

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<sup>215</sup> For a complete discussion of these types, see Chapter 3.

and a Macedonian coin.<sup>216</sup> In addition, an Eastern Sigillata A bowl and an Eastern Sigillata A plate were sitting on the floor. The ESA bowl was virtually complete and identified by Slane as no earlier than 140 B.C. and no later than 110 B.C.<sup>217</sup> The ESA plate base is more problematic, since it is incomplete, but has a general date of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.

As a group, these finds point to a date for the floor deposit (Deposit 7) of between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. The absence of any Roman pottery in the deposit, including Arretine – the most common type found in early colony deposits – points to a terminus ante quem of before ca. 40 B.C.<sup>218</sup> We should therefore conservatively assign the deposit to the period from the last quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. or about 125-75 B.C.

Since the local pottery, in terms of type and fabric, is consistent with the pre-146 B.C. Corinthian pottery industry, it is its archaeological context that compels a reassessment of how local pottery could occur in a floor deposit at a time when ceramic production was thought to have stopped. The explanation that would have been given in the past for the presence of such pottery is that it was made before the sack and abandoned in this room, which was then re-used in the interim period. However, since there is no evidence that the room was ever cleaned out, we must assume that the later occupants either used its contents for their own purposes or they ignored the local pottery

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<sup>216</sup> Type XIV lamps are also found in Athens, where they are known as Howland type 39 lamps, and recently have been re-dated to 120-100 B.C. (*Agora XXIX*, p. 504). I am grateful to Dr. Nancy Bookidis for drawing my attention to this type of lamp.

<sup>217</sup> I am grateful to Kathleen Slane, who was the first to identify the ESA vessels from the Panayia floor deposit as belonging to the interim period and for her subsequent assistance in finding parallels. Berlin and Slane 1997, TA 24 similar to FW 176 and 178.

<sup>218</sup> Romano 1994, p. 61; cf. Wright and Jones 1980.

and simply added the lamp and three vessels to the room. The possibility that the local pottery remained in situ and untouched in this storeroom for several generations is rather unlikely given the proximity of the Panayia Field to the Forum area and the abundant evidence of activity in the city center during the interim period. Ethnographic and archaeological studies have shown that even over a short period of time objects in an abandoned room can be disturbed by a variety of processes including scavenging.<sup>219</sup> Indeed, there were almost certainly scavengers who scoured the city after it was sacked. It would therefore be remarkable if this storeroom was preserved in its original 146 B.C. state for 20 years or longer.

An alternative interpretation is that the latest occupants came upon a usable space with some scattered refuse and decided to use it as a storeroom. We can argue, because of the small and fragmentary amount of earlier Hellenistic pottery present in the later floor deposit (Deposit 7), that the room was relatively empty when it was reoccupied, based on analogy to abandoned pueblo sites in the American Southwest.<sup>220</sup> This residual pottery, which can be dated as late as ca. 150 B.C., is what we would expect in a room that had been abandoned for a period of time and then experienced various disturbances before its eventual reoccupation. In this more plausible scenario, the local vessels would have been obtained at about the same time the new occupants began to use the room.

The question is then raised, what was the source of the local pottery? One potential supply may have been found by scavenging in the remains of the city and acquiring pottery produced before 146 B.C. This situation is entirely possible for the

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<sup>219</sup> Schiffer 1985, pp. 26-27.



earliest years of the interim period, but is untenable as a long-term resource. If we suppose that areas of the city were reoccupied within a decade of the sack, and conservatively estimate a population of a few hundred people, then we have to consider how long the inhabitants could have obtained the necessary pottery through scavenging alone. Data from use-life studies may be pertinent, since ethno-archaeological research on modern ceramic using cultures has shown that the average life span of a thin-walled serving vessel is between three months and three years.<sup>221</sup> Assuming a similar breakage rate is also the case for Hellenistic Greece, if scavenging was the only source of pottery in the interim period then very large quantities of usable pottery made before 146 B.C. must have survived the destruction of the city -- enough to maintain a modest community for between 25-75 years or up to the period of the floor deposit (Deposit 7). Moreover, if pottery was being scavenged from various places then any given assemblage should be fairly heterogenous – unlike the material from the floor deposit (Deposit 7).

The explanation that best fits the available evidence is that pottery production resumed in Corinth within a generation or less after 146 B.C. in order to supply the interim period settlement. There is considerable evidence for the existence of a small, but permanent, interim period community in and around the Forum area, in addition to the numerous deposits that contain interim period objects. Among the most compelling are the modifications to earlier structures, for example, the removal of a stairway on the west

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<sup>220</sup> Schiffer 1985, pp. 22-25. Schiffer uses data from various sites in the American Southwest as a basis for his discussion of abandonment processes.

wall of the South Stoa,<sup>222</sup> and the construction of new buildings in the Forum area.<sup>223</sup> In terms of local pottery production, the very existence of a community presupposes the presence of potters. Since several studies of cultures that are primarily dependent on ceramics have shown that even quite small communities usually have part-time potters at a ratio of one for every ten households.<sup>224</sup> The fact that there was a demand or desire for new pottery is also demonstrated by the presence of numerous imported fine wares found in interim deposits. It therefore seems more than likely that the community would have supported potters who supplied the local market.<sup>225</sup>

If pottery production resumed after 146 B.C., then logically the shapes produced should continue the trends of the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., yet the assemblage should also vary from that of the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. Using the new Panayia Field chronology to compare the pottery from early 2<sup>nd</sup> century deposits (Deposits 5, 28 and 29) to the floor deposit (Deposit 7), we can see that the local fine ware vessels are in fact shapes that fit rather well into a late 2<sup>nd</sup> century or early 1<sup>st</sup> century Hellenistic

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<sup>221</sup> David 1972, p. 141; Nelson 1991, p. 174; DeBoer 1985, p. 351. On Roman fine ware, see Pena 2007, p. 329.

<sup>222</sup> Williams 1980, p. 130.

<sup>223</sup> Structures in the remains of the West Shops (most recently Millis 2006) and a foundation for a building constructed over the Sacred Spring and south of the Roman Captive's Façade (Williams 1978, p. 21-22) have also been dated to this period.

<sup>224</sup> This figure is based on Nelson's study of the Highland Maya in Mexico and Guatemala (Nelson 1991, p.165). Other studies have shown that where small-scale ceramic production is the norm, every household has at least one or two active potters (DeBoer 1985, p. 354; Longacre 1985, p. 336). An Old World analogy can be drawn to a study of Radolibos, where in the early 14<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. the settlement, which had a population of 200 households, had two potters' workshops (Lefort 1993, p. 111). Overall, it is very rare to find a community dependent on ceramics that does not have at least one potter.

<sup>225</sup> Arguably one of the more suggestive finds from the Panayia Field floor deposit is a terracotta mold for a linear leaf bowl (Cat. No. 91). Since the mold cannot be used as a bowl itself, its presence in a storeroom

assemblage.<sup>226</sup> Although one could argue that the material from an isolated floor deposit could not fully represent the complete range of interim shapes, numerous parallels from the interim fills of the South Stoa wells suggest that this is not an anomalous group.

At the same time, a comparison between an assemblage dated to ca. 160-150 B.C. (Deposit 29) and the floor deposit (Deposit 7) illustrates significant differences, namely in the disappearance of kantharoi and beveled rim fish plates and in variations in the percentage of types that are present. Given these developments, if the local pottery in the floor deposit was made in 146 B.C., then we would have to argue that rapid and substantial changes occurred over a relatively short period from 160/155 to 146 B.C. This would be uncharacteristically quick considering the usual rate of change in the Hellenistic period is about a generation. A better interpretation of the local fine ware assemblage in the floor deposit therefore is that it reflects changes that would have reasonably occurred over a thirty-five year period.

### **Other interim period deposits in Corinth**

Using the Panayia floor deposit (Deposit 7) as a starting point, comparisons can be drawn with other Mummian or interim period deposits at Corinth – the greatest concentration of which are in found the South Stoa wells. Eleven deposits from the South Stoa and one from the Forum area containing significant amounts of interim period

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with pottery and other functional items suggests that it was being used to produce bowls. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why it was either collected through scavenging or newly produced.

<sup>226</sup> For a shape by shape discussion of the evidence of the continued or revived production of different vessels types, see Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

material, specifically amphoras, imported pottery and coins were examined for the present study.<sup>227</sup> Broneer and Edwards interpreted these fills in the South Stoa wells as the cleanup of debris resulting from the Mummian sack in the early years of the Roman colony.<sup>228</sup> Mummian destruction fills were identified by the presence of large architectural fragments, including pieces of the South Stoa entablature and roof tiles; some of which showed signs of having been burnt. In addition, these Mummian fills often contain a few Roman sherds that date their deposition to the period of the new colony. By re-interpreting the Mummian fills of the South Stoa wells as representative of more than 100 years of interim activity rather than specifically as debris from 146 B.C., the local pottery within these fills can be re-contextualized.<sup>229</sup> When viewed from this new perspective, the local fine ware from the Mummian fills of the South Stoa wells can be compared to the material of the Panayia Field floor deposit (Deposit 7) to support the argument for interim pottery production.

For example, South Stoa well XXII (Deposit 19) has a lower fill deposited in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. – a date based on the presence of Roman thin walled wares<sup>230</sup> and

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<sup>227</sup> Well 1947-3 (Deposit 25) and “Mummian” fills from South Stoa wells. See also pp. 200-201 above.

<sup>228</sup> *Corinth* I.4, p. 100; *Corinth* VII.3, p. 190.

<sup>229</sup> As noted above in n. 164, such an interpretation is possible because of the depositional sequence of most Mummian fills as well as the material culture within them.

<sup>230</sup> Slane has debated whether thin walled wares first appear in Corinth between 146 and 44 B.C. or after 44 B.C. (*Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 89-90; Berlin and Slane 1997, p. 350). The most common type of thin walled ware in the South Stoa wells are beakers with dot barbotine festoons; a shape which has a date range of the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. to the first half to third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (*Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 90). The same type of beaker first occurs in Athens in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (*Agora* XXIX, p. 221) and Italian thin walled wares as a group become common in Athenian assemblages beginning in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (*Agora* XXXII, p. 96). Therefore, it is possible that the thin walled beakers from the Mummian destruction fills at Corinth date to before 44 B.C. (see also below). As of 2009 Slane believed it was possible that thin walled wares may have been imported to Corinth in the interim period (Slane, pers. comm.).

late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. coins.<sup>231</sup> There is, however, also considerable material within the well that dates to the interim period, such as a Rhodian stamped amphora handle,<sup>232</sup> a Mana C amphora<sup>233</sup> and a Campana A bowl.<sup>234</sup> A large portion of the fill is made up of local fine ware, including complete vessels. These shapes are predominantly moldmade bowls (of late types), bowls with outturned rims, saucers and flat rim plates. All of these shapes are directly paralleled by the assemblage from the Panayia Field floor deposit (Deposit 7).

A similar deposit comes from South Stoa well X (Deposit 13), which contained a large Mummian fill deposited in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. or perhaps the early 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. based on the presence of a dot barbotine beaker and several Augustan sherds.<sup>235</sup> Objects dated to the interim period include an early 1<sup>st</sup> century coin of the Delian cleruchy, an Attic bowl with a vertical upper wall<sup>236</sup> and a Knidian stamped amphora handle.<sup>237</sup> The local Hellenistic wares again are dominated by moldmade bowls, bowls with outturned rims and flat rim plates, including complete inventoried examples. In addition, there are eighteen Type XII loomweights, the same type as the nine found in the floor deposit.

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<sup>231</sup> There are seven 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. coins in the interim fill of well XXII: one from Nicopolis dated to after 31 B.C., four Corinth duoviri coins dated to after 30 B.C., and two from Athens, one dated to 85-30 B.C. and the other ca. 50 B.C.

<sup>232</sup> C 48-5 and C 48-6 Rhodian with fabricant stamp of Attalos newly dated by Finkielsztein to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (Finkielsztein 2001, p. 172).

<sup>233</sup> C 48-230, a type dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (Wolff 2004, p. 454).

<sup>234</sup> C 48-22 Campana A cup with convex-concave sides similar to Morel 3221b1 (140/130 B.C.) (Morel 1981, p. 256).

<sup>235</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 228.

<sup>236</sup> C 34-1606: similar to *Agora* XXIX n. 963 (150-125 B.C.).

<sup>237</sup> C 34-164: dated mid-2<sup>nd</sup> or c. 100 B.C. based on *Delos* XXVII.3.

Although it is true that both of these wells contain mixed fills deposited in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., the presence of interim period objects and similarities to the assemblage from the Panayia floor deposit make it likely that the local fine ware shapes were made and used after 146 B.C. The sheer number of complete vessels and the quantity of local pottery found throughout the wells mixed with interim period material is reason to suspect that it is contemporary with the latest objects. Otherwise, it is difficult to account for how so much local pottery, which presumably lay around in the Forum area for more than a century, could have survived intact to be deposited down the wells. Certainly if we were not burdened by the theory that pottery production stopped in 146 B.C., there would be no reason to think that the locally made Hellenistic shapes within these wells were not closer in date to the latest coins and other objects.

Chart 6.4 shows the shapes that are present or absent in each of the thirteen interim period deposits I have examined. Flat rim plates, bowls with outturned rims and moldmade bowls are the most common shapes found in these deposits – in the form of complete or inventoried examples and dozens of context sherds. Saucers and echinus bowls also appear in sufficient numbers to suggest that they continued to be produced. Type XII loomweights are also well represented, this is especially significant considering that loomweights are relatively uncommon in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fills of the South Stoa wells.<sup>238</sup> Overall, the same range of local shapes present in the occupational level of the Panayia Field floor deposit is represented in these twelve wells and together, these deposits provide a compelling picture of a late Hellenistic Corinthian fine ware assemblage.

Deposit	Flat rim plate	Bowl with outturned rim	Moldmade bowl	Saucer	Echinus Bowl	Semi-glazed bowl	Type XII loomweight
7	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
25	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
11 (fill 2)	X	X	X	X	X		
13	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
14	X	X	X	X	X		X
16	X	X	X	X	X		
19	X	X	X	X	X	X	
18 (fill 3)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Chart 6.4: Objects present (X) in the interim fills of this study

While these deposits provide strong evidence that pottery production continued after 146 B.C., the question of when Hellenistic fine ware stopped being produced remains problematic. Because all of the interim deposits in this study are dated based on imported objects from an empirical standpoint, there is no direct evidence at present that Hellenistic pottery continued to be produced after the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.<sup>239</sup> This situation, however, would seem to be implausible because it implies that the population either moved away or stopped using pottery for roughly 30 years. Since both of these scenarios seem unlikely, the meager evidence for the generation or so before 44 B.C. will be discussed below.

#### **IMPORTS AND EXTERNAL CONTACTS DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD**

From a strictly quantitative standpoint, the number of imported fine wares and amphoras found in Corinth during the interim period is not substantially lower than in the

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<sup>238</sup> See also pp. 200-201.

<sup>239</sup> See below for a discussion of the latest imports from interim deposits.

first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Roughly 429 fine ware vessels dated to between 146-44 B.C. have been found at Corinth (see Chart 6.3). If we compare this to the number of imported fine wares from the period between 200-150 B.C. (total of 329), then we can see that for a 50 year span in the interim period there are 215 imported vessels – a 34% drop from the previous period but still more than are found in contemporary Athenian deposits.<sup>240</sup>

Absolute numbers of imported amphoras are more difficult to calculate since the deposits from the South Stoa wells rarely preserve the entirety of the coarse ware found in the original deposits. On the basis of stamped amphora handles, all of which were kept and inventoried from these deposits, there is a sharp decline in the number of Rhodian amphoras from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., while at the same time Knidian amphoras are well represented.<sup>241</sup> This pattern of decreasing numbers of Rhodian amphoras and corresponding increases in Knidian amphoras also occurs at other sites in the Aegean. Both Rauh and Lund have shown that it is a product of the establishment of Delos as a free port in 167/6 B.C., which meant that the primary market for Rhodian products became Egypt rather than the rest of the Aegean as finds of numerous Rhodian amphoras in Alexandria from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. amply demonstrate.<sup>242</sup> At the same time, Rauh has argued that because of their willingness to co-operate with Italian merchants Knidian, Chian and Coan wines became dominant in regions of Roman influence in Greece and the Aegean replacing Rhodian products.<sup>243</sup> Although Corinth was

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<sup>240</sup> *Agora XXIX* Graph 10 records 70 imported fine ware vessels for the period between 150-100 B.C. Note that both the figures from Corinth and Athens include context pottery but not moldmade bowls. If all of the East Greek moldmade bowls were included the number of probable interim period imports would almost double.

<sup>241</sup> 43 Knidian stamped amphora handles have been published that date to the interim period

<sup>242</sup> Rauh 1999, p. 165; Lund 1999, pp. 199-202.

<sup>243</sup> Rauh 1999, pp. 171-172.



certainly a minor player within the Roman sphere, its imports still seem to have been impacted by the political geography of the period.<sup>244</sup>

Since few Knidian amphoras made their way any further west than Corinth, the presence of so many stamped amphora handles in the city requires some explanation. The relative absence of Knidian amphoras in Italy and the Adriatic implies that those found in Corinth are not incidental by-products of trade passing through the Isthmus. Instead, we have to consider the option that the Knidian amphoras found in interim deposits were intentionally brought to Corinth for consumption in the city. In considering this problem, Williams offered an alternative explanation by suggesting that perhaps these amphoras were debris from repackaging the wine into skins for transportation inland.<sup>245</sup> Inherent in Williams' theory, however, is the idea that Corinth was the final destination for these Knidian amphoras whose purpose was to supply local inhabitants of the northeastern Peloponnese.

Huge numbers of East Greek moldmade bowls also arrived in Corinth during the interim period and would seem to indicate the presence of a substantial consumer base. Although the exact origins of these moldmade bowls cannot be determined because of the lack of published comparanda, Ephesian and Pergamene bowls are among those found at Corinth. The presence of these imports together with the Knidian amphoras would seem to indicate a fairly constant flow of goods from the eastern Aegean to Corinth.

From further east, numerous Eastern Sigillata A vessels have been found both at Corinth and Kenchreai that date to between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. It is

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<sup>244</sup> Will 1998 argues for complete Roman economic domination in the Aegean after 150 B.C. This date is considered too early by most scholars, see Rauh 1999, Lund 1999 and most recently Lawall 2007.

<sup>245</sup> Gebhard and Dickie 2003, p. 267 n. 50 (citing Williams pers. comm.). Alternatively, they propose that the Knidian amphoras were residual from the period when Roman land surveyors lived in Corinth. This second suggestion cannot be supported, however, since the date range and quantity of the stamps would seem to suggest almost continual occupation by a large number of land surveyors – a scenario which is unsupportable.

believed that ESA pottery was produced in the region of Antioch and therefore its presence represents a significant expansion in Corinth's external contacts.<sup>246</sup> There are at least six examples of early ESA vessels found in Corinth and an additional eight from Kenchreai.<sup>247</sup> The fact that Corinth has a few examples of this ware is not surprising given the wide distribution of ESA in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.<sup>248</sup> The fact that there are very early ESA shapes at Corinth, however, is somewhat suggestive that Corinth retained at least to some extent its earlier role as a nodal point in Mediterranean trade networks. This is highlighted by a comparison to Athens where the earliest ESA vessels from a closed context are two plates dated to ca. 110-100 B.C.<sup>249</sup> Clearly, even though Corinth was no longer a viable political entity its geographic location and two ports meant that it remained in contact with commercial traffic from the east that was moving through the Isthmus in the later 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.<sup>250</sup>

At the same time, western imports are also very well represented in interim deposits. There is a significant number of complete Greco-Italic amphoras (Will type 1C and 3) in interim deposits from the Forum area.<sup>251</sup> Will type 3 amphoras probably contained wine and began production in the third quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>252</sup> Similarly

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<sup>246</sup> Most recently, Lund 2005, pp. 235-237. See Schneider 2000, p. 352 for chemical analysis confirming the general location of production as between Tarsus and Antioch.

<sup>247</sup> From Panayia Field: C 2006-37 (bowl), C 2006-38 (plate); from Anaploga (C 65-96); from the South Stoa: C 36-1845, C 36-1847, C 36-220 (all hemispherical bowls). For the publication of the South Stoa ESA see Hayes 1973 (nos. 117, 118 and 132). From Kenchreai, see *Kenchreai* IV, no. 15 to 22. Note that Adamscheck acknowledges that the shapes belong in the early period of ESA production, but rejects the notion that they were brought to Kenchreai/Corinth in the interim period because of the destruction in 146 B.C.

<sup>248</sup> Lund 2005, pp. 240-241. At most sites from Cilicia to Alexandria to Berenike between 100-25 B.C. almost 40% of the fine ware was ESA. It is likely that the ESA vessels came as part of trade with the eastern Aegean.

<sup>249</sup> *Agora* XXXII, p. 19.

<sup>250</sup> A similar pattern of eastern imports is visible at Argos (Abadie-Reynal 2005, pp. 37-41).

<sup>251</sup> Greco-Italic Will type 1C amphoras: C 48-235, C 48-236, C 48-237, C 48-238, C 48-239, C 48-240, C 48-241 (well IX) and C 47-939 (well X); Lamboglia 2 amphoras: C 47-839, C 47-840, C 47-841, C 47-842, C 47-843, C 47-844 and C 47-845 (well 47-3).

<sup>252</sup> Lund 2000, p. 83.

the more popular Lamboglia 2 amphoras begin appearing in late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. contexts in the Aegean, notably at Athens and Delos as well as Corinth.<sup>253</sup> The presence of these Italian amphoras suggests that consumption of Italian wine increased in the east between 160-120 B.C., after the establishment of Delos as a free port, and continued to rise through the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.<sup>254</sup> While hardly the dominant type of imported amphora at Corinth, the Italian amphoras in interim deposits demonstrate that the site's position in east-west trade relations was at least partially maintained after 146 B.C.<sup>255</sup> Indeed, Lawall has argued that the presence of Lamboglia 2 amphoras in well 47-3 (Deposit 25) is evidence of Corinth's continued importance within the "Adriatic zone" in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>256</sup> At the same time, the rapid increase of Italian amphoras in Athens in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. may indicate that the city was benefiting from the decline of Corinth as a major consumer of western goods as well as from its own proximity to Delos.<sup>257</sup>

In addition to the amphoras, Italian fine wares, such as Campana A and B wares and thin walled wares, appear in numerous interim deposits. These vessels surely accompanied the amphoras from the same regions and indicate fairly strong trade contacts with the west. Although the largest deposit of Campana A and B wares is from well 47-3 (Deposit 25), numerous other examples can be found in the interim deposits of the South Stoa wells.<sup>258</sup> As noted above thin walled wares are commonly found in interim

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<sup>253</sup> Lund 2000, pp. 82-84.

<sup>254</sup> Lund 2000, pp. 86-87.

<sup>255</sup> Rizakis has argued that although Patras and Aegium benefitted from the destruction of Corinth, the overall economic position of the Peloponnese declined after 146 B.C. and did not significantly improve until the foundation of the Roman colony at Corinth in 44 B.C. (Rizakis 2001, p.84). However, if Corinth was still involved in the major east-west routes through the Mediterranean, then it is possible that this decline was not as severe as is generally believed.

<sup>256</sup> Lawall 2007, p. 272. Lawall also notes that there is a decline in Aegean imports in the west in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and attributes this to the decreased attractiveness of the Adriatic-Corinth route after 146 B.C. He later correlates this to a general drop in interest in extra-Aegean markets for southern Aegean goods (Lawall 2007, pp. 274-275).

<sup>257</sup> For the increase in Italian amphoras in Athens in this period, see Will 1998, p. 121.

<sup>258</sup> On well 47-3, see Romano 1994 nos. 30-36.

deposits, many of these vessels belong to the period between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.<sup>259</sup>

One further issue that has been raised in regard to interim Corinth and its external contacts relates to the types of coinage in circulation. As of 1941 more than 90 coins dated to the interim period had been found at Corinth; mainly from Argos, Sikyon and Sparta.<sup>260</sup> Even if half of these coins are survivors in contexts dated to the later 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C., the remaining portion is sufficient to suggest that Corinth may have had some contact in the interim period with the largest neighboring cities. MacIsaac, while not supporting the idea of an interim community, proposed that since there was such standardization in the small bronze coinage of the Hellenistic Peloponnese that it is reasonable to suspect that Corinthian coinage remained in wider circulation (i.e., outside the city) long enough to be re-introduced to the new colony.<sup>261</sup> Corinthian pegasos-trident coins are also commonly found in interim fills along with other contemporary coinage and their presence may suggest that they were employed, together with bronze coins from other poleis, in local transactions.

It is notable that overall the bulk of datable imported coins, amphoras and fine wares belong to the period before the Sullan sack (87 B.C.).<sup>262</sup> Rizakis has noted for other Peloponnesian sites that there is a general decline in the number of imported goods after

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<sup>259</sup> Specifically, the dot barbotine beakers as noted in South Stoa well XXII (Deposit 19).

<sup>260</sup> Harris 1941, p. 158. There are also numerous coins of the Athenian Cleruchy (229-87 B.C.) which may date to the interim period. See individual Deposit Index descriptions for relevant coins.

<sup>261</sup> MacIsaac 1987, pp. 98-99. In order to explain the presence of pegasos-trident coins in early colony deposits Harris suggested that surviving pegasos-trident coins were used as small change into the period of the Corinthian duoviri (44 B.C. to 69 A.D.) (Harris 1941, p. 158).

<sup>262</sup> One problematic body of evidence are the East Greek moldmade bowls. Although research is ongoing at Knidos, Ephesos and other sites, there have been few published reports to date. It is possible that once the bowls found in Corinth have been re-dated that there may be imports that date to later in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. Based on Laumonier, the latest East Greek moldmade bowls at Corinth are as late as the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (Edwards 1981, pp. 198-199). The three bowls reported by Edwards (1981) appear to be the basis for Gebhard and Dickie statement that there are imports that date right up to the foundation of the colony (Gebhard and Dickie 2003, p. 266).

87 B.C. and explains this trend as indicative of a significant economic disruption caused by the First Mithridatic War and its aftermath.<sup>263</sup> Such an explanation seems reasonable and would account for the pattern at Corinth, but it is also possible that we are simply lacking the deposit evidence to demonstrate continued commercial activity into the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

#### **LIFE IN CORINTH FROM 75 B.C. TO 44 B.C.**

As mentioned above, the majority of direct evidence for life in interim Corinth ends in the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.<sup>264</sup> There is, however, some indication that conditions within the city remained relatively stable up to 44 B.C. In what follows I make tentative suggestions regarding continuity into the early colony based on the currently available evidence. These hypotheses may ultimately prove to be false, but the intention is to highlight several features of the archaeological record that appear most promising for future research in this difficult period.

Type XVI lamps are found in the disturbed fill on the east side of the floor deposit in the Panayia Field (Deposit 7) and the interim fills of the South Stoa wells.<sup>265</sup> Broneer believed that this type of lamp developed in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and listed Type XII and Type XIV lamps as its immediate predecessors.<sup>266</sup> Since what is considered the first “developed” form of the Type XVI lamp does not appear until the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., this type of lamp is classified as Roman.<sup>267</sup> Slane has argued that the earliest

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<sup>263</sup> Rizakis 2001, p. 87.

<sup>264</sup> It is impossible at present to date more precisely the minor construction projects in the Forum that occurred during the interim period. See discussion above.

<sup>265</sup> It is, however, unclear based on the present evidence whether these type XVI lamps are later or contemporary with these interim deposits.

<sup>266</sup> Type XII and type XIV lamps in turn he argues evolved from the ubiquitous type VII lamp of the Hellenistic period. *Corinth* IV.2, pp. 56-60; *Isthmia* III pp. 26-28.

<sup>267</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 9-10.

Type XVI lamps can be dated to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., but suggested that these early Type XVI lamps are not local or are misidentified and therefore that the local production did not occur until the period of the early colony.<sup>268</sup> Yet the quantity of Type XVI lamps present in interim contexts and their proposed relationship to Type XIV and XII lamps suggests that they may be local and that their production continued from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. into at least the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. This hypothesis is made more plausible because the Type XVI lamps found in interim period deposits are clearly related to those found in early colony deposits, in terms of shape and fabric. It is therefore possible that this lamp was maintained in the ceramic tradition of Corinth through the late Hellenistic into the early Roman period.

Another potential avenue of investigation involves local imitations of Italian thin walled wares. As noted above, thin walled wares are found in many interim deposits and the first appearance of this class of import in Corinth needs to be re-assessed.<sup>269</sup> Slane has argued that thin walled wares were first imitated locally in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. and may have continued in production through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.<sup>270</sup> However, one of the local imitations is C 69-250, a shape that is a copy of a Moevs Form IV beaker.<sup>271</sup> It is notable is that Form IV beakers are one of the most common forms of thin walled ware found in the interim deposits of the South Stoa wells. The production life of this particular shape has been placed by Moevs between the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and the early Augustan period. If we define the early Augustan period as before 1 B.C., then according to Slane's chronology the earliest local imitations of thin walled ware vessels are imitating shapes that had been out of production for a generation. While this is a

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<sup>268</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 9, fn. 4.

<sup>269</sup> See n. 230 above.

<sup>270</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 91.

<sup>271</sup> Moevs 1973, p. 59.

possibility, it is also likely that Corinthian imitation thin walled wares were made earlier and copied contemporary shapes. Although we are lacking the contextual evidence to prove this second suggestion, if local imitation thin walled wares were first produced in the interim period, then they are another type that continues beyond 44 B.C.

These potential points of contact are important because if these indicators are correct, then the transition from the Hellenistic to Roman assemblage was in fact a transition rather than a sharp break. At present there are very few identified early colony deposits in Corinth and these are dated to Augustan period. There is therefore a gap in the material record between the third and first quarters of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. The evidence presented above may suggest that the existence of this gap is a matter of perception, perhaps because we have been expecting a defined break. If there was some continuity in the assemblage between the Hellenistic or interim period and the early colony, then it tentatively suggests that a deposit from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> B.C. or perhaps even later into the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. may contain a mixture of imported fine wares, local Hellenistic fine and cooking wares as well as perhaps local imitations of imported shapes. This possibility highlights the problem of determining when exactly the production of Hellenistic fine ware shapes stopped at Corinth. However, we can suggest that it occurred sometime before the Augustan period, probably by the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. This suggestion is based on the fact that there is no Hellenistic fine ware from well 60-1, which dates to the Augustan period, or from the Tiberian floor deposit.<sup>272</sup> The absence of Hellenistic shapes suggests that the assemblage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. ceased production at some point in the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. if not slightly earlier.

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<sup>272</sup> These deposits are the two best known and published that date to the period of the early colony, see Slane 1986 and Wright and Jones 1980 respectively. The initial lot readings also record very few Hellenistic or earlier shapes among the context pottery.

## Chapter 7: Future Research

From the outset, the goal of this research was to provide a new chronology of Hellenistic fine ware from Corinth.<sup>1</sup> Although future refinements will undoubtedly be required, the basic outlines have been established and will provide the basis and impetus for a number of new studies related to all facets of Hellenistic Corinth and its place in the broader Mediterranean world.<sup>2</sup> This is a vital step because despite the limitations of Corinthian material prior to the Panayia Field chronology, Corinth's architecture and pottery was seen as influencing the rest of the Hellenistic Peloponnese and as such has been used to date buildings and deposits at other sites. In addition, the South Stoa well deposits were believed to provide a fixed point in history (i.e., pre- or post-146 B.C.) and were used by numismatists, amphora specialists and those working with a range of material culture from other sites to build their own chronologies. In short, the present research will not only enable a wide range of data to be re-assessed and hopefully encourage the development of more accurate chronologies elsewhere, but also aid in the incorporation of Corinth and other sites in the Peloponnese into larger discussions of the Hellenistic period.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the main problems encountered when studying the Hellenistic period at Corinth were the lack of an accurate pottery chronology and the mistaken belief that all Hellenistic deposits were mixed. Using the new Panayia Field chronology, it is possible in many cases to return to these same "problematic" deposits and place them within their proper chronological framework. At Corinth this process will

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix III for a summary of the Panayia Field chronology.



involve re-examining the material associated with the construction of various Hellenistic buildings in the Forum area and elsewhere and re-establishing their dates. Such work will impact not only our understanding of the development of the Forum area through the Hellenistic period and its historical implications, but also provide a more precise stylistic chronology for these structures. Since many buildings in the Peloponnese are presently dated by architectural parallels to Corinthian buildings, modifying the date of any public building may have repercussions for the architectural history of other sites.<sup>3</sup>

The monumental South Stoa, for example, has been cited as a transitional building between the Classical and Hellenistic periods.<sup>4</sup> The importance of the South Stoa as a structure in architectural studies of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is amply demonstrated by its inclusion in many introductory archaeology textbooks as well as more focused works.<sup>5</sup> It is also frequently cited as an early Hellenistic architectural parallel for stoas and other structures at many sites, such as the Amphiareion at Oropos<sup>6</sup>, the Stoa by the Harbour at Perachora,<sup>7</sup> the South Stoa at the Argive Heraion<sup>8</sup> and the Temple of Apollo at Bassae.<sup>9</sup> By changing the date of the South Stoa at Corinth to closer to 280 B.C., the chronology

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<sup>2</sup> More specific aspects of future work have been outlined in Chapters 2-6.

<sup>3</sup> Nearby sites include Perachora and Isthmia, but in the broader Peloponnese Messene, Mantinea and Megalopolis all rely to some extent on architectural parallels to public buildings at Corinth. See also below.

<sup>4</sup> Winter 1963, p. 287.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Dinsmoor and Anderson 1973, pp. 240-241, Lawrence 1996, pp. 340-342 and Tomlinson 1992, pp. 81-82.

<sup>6</sup> Coulton 1968, pp. 171-178.

<sup>7</sup> Coulton 1964. Note that Coulton ultimately dated the Stoa by the Harbour to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. relative to the South Stoa (p. 126).

<sup>8</sup> Coulton 1973.

<sup>9</sup> Cooper 1996, p. 155.

of the development of Hellenistic architecture in the Peloponnese is impacted and may cause a ripple effect in the dates of other structures and building programs.<sup>10</sup>

Within Corinth itself ceramic chronologies for other Hellenistic objects such as lamps, figurines and loomweights, as well as cooking and coarse wares may benefit from the ability to better date the deposits they are found in. There has been no major work on Greek lamps from Corinth since Broneer developed his typologies.<sup>11</sup> These volumes, although still useful, are badly out-of-date. Using the Panayia Field chronology, a large-scale re-assessment of Hellenistic Corinthian lamps would now be possible. In terms of figurines, Merker's recent comprehensive study of the votives from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore has significantly updated the chronology from the Potter's Quarter to extend figurine production into the Hellenistic period.<sup>12</sup> In the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, she sees a progressive decline in the quality of figurines through the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.; however, based on the figurines analyzed in the deposits of the present study this may not be a widespread phenomenon.<sup>13</sup> Hellenistic loomweights are another area that may benefit from the Panayia Field chronology. As Merker points out, there are problems with the typology of loomweights as presented in *Corinth* XII since there are many common variants that are not included and no allowances are made for overlapping production of types.<sup>14</sup> In addition, in the next phase of my research, the dates of Corinthian Hellenistic cooking and coarse wares will be re-assessed to see if greater resolution can be found for these long-lived shapes.

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<sup>10</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the evidence for the re-dating of the South Stoa.

<sup>11</sup> *Corinth* IV.2; *Isthmia* III.

<sup>12</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.4.

<sup>13</sup> *Corinth* XVIII.4, p. 116.

In terms of imported fine ware, it may be possible to use the Panayia Field chronology to test the dates of Campanian pottery as well as East Greek moldmade bowls.<sup>15</sup> Although neither chronology is dependent upon Corinth's destruction, both of these types of fine ware commonly occur in 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits and their chronologies may be helped by their presence in well-dated contexts from Corinth. In addition, Peloponnesian fine wares, particularly those from Argos, often occur in Corinthian deposits and this evidence may also contribute to their own internal chronologies.

Establishing the date of Hellenistic burials in Corinth is another traditionally problematic area that could be fruitfully re-studied using the Panayia Field chronology. In the 1980s Pemberton published ten Hellenistic graves and was able to re-date several burials from the North Cemetery to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>16</sup> Her work currently stands as the largest and best documented set of Hellenistic graves in Corinth and demonstrated that re-study of mortuary data can yield considerable results. In a similar way, the new chronology generated here may not only facilitate the identification of more Hellenistic graves, but also create a more nuanced understanding of the known burials and the mortuary landscape of this period.

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<sup>14</sup> Merker and Williams 2006, pp. 57-58.

<sup>15</sup> Morel 1982; Laumonier 1977. Much new research is being currently produced on East Greek moldmade bowls from working with material from their production sites in Asia Minor. To the best of my knowledge, they are not using 146 B.C. as a fixed point.

<sup>16</sup> Pemberton 1985.

In a broader perspective, various archaeological surveys have worked in the Corinthian countryside over the last 25 years.<sup>17</sup> While each of these projects has its own merits, they have the same general problem in that it is very difficult to distinguish the Classical from Hellenistic pottery generated on survey. It may be possible now to re-assess that problematic data to gain better chronological resolution within those survey units. With that data in hand, we could begin to address the relationship between city and landscape in the Hellenistic period and perhaps reconsider arguments about the state of the Corinthian countryside prior to the coming of Rome.<sup>18</sup> In a recent synthesis of survey data from the Peloponnese and Central Greece, Bintliff argued that, although the timing and degree can vary by region, there was a progressive decline in both urban and rural environments from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. until the Middle Roman period.<sup>19</sup> As discussed in Chapter 6, conditions in Corinth do not indicate a broad decline until after 146 B.C. and a re-examination of survey data from its chora may show a similar pattern.

In the past few years, there has been an increase in interest in the Hellenistic Peloponnese.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately to date, the only site in the Corinthia that has published any Hellenistic imports is the Rachi settlement and therefore the data set for discussing the economic status of the northeast Peloponnese is rather limited.<sup>21</sup> The result of this

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<sup>17</sup> Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (1984-1986), Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey (1999-2002), Sikyon Survey Project (2004-2008). Note that the author worked on EKAS from 2001-2003 and continues to study material from that survey.

<sup>18</sup> For example, Alcock 1993.

<sup>19</sup> Bintliff 2008, pp. 29-30. However Bintliff also questions the validity of the dates assigned to Hellenistic survey data.

<sup>20</sup> This interest was partially manifested in a conference volume *Le Peloponnese d'Épaminondas à Hadrien*. Edited by C. Grandjean (2008).

<sup>21</sup> On the Rachi settlement, see Stojanovic-Anderson 1996. Note that G. Roger Edwards studied and prepared a chapter on the imports from the South Stoa wells, but it was not included in *Corinth* VII.3.

imbalance is a picture of declining external contacts in the Corinthia after the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>22</sup> In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon, Shipley has argued the presence of the Macedonians may have disrupted normal trading contacts in the Peloponnese. However, he stresses that the impact of Macedonian occupation was very regional and that different patterns emerge in each geographically discrete area of the Peloponnese.<sup>23</sup> The question of the nature of external economic contacts in the Hellenistic Peloponnese is an important one, which has not been examined to date presumably due to a lack of published data. The position of Corinth in international trade is also crucial because it can inform our understanding of contacts with the west before and after the coming of Rome, as well as provide information about broader patterns of Aegean trade. Since there can be no doubt that Corinth was a major Mediterranean port in the Hellenistic period, integrating the data presented in Chapter 6 into broader discussions of economics may generate new insights.

One of the most valuable contributions of the Panayia Field chronology is that it allowed the fills of the South Stoa wells to be re-dated. Most of the excavated South Stoa well fills have been published and that material has been used to formulate chronologies for coins, amphoras, and ceramics from other sites with the belief that the use fills dated to before 146 B.C. and the Mummian destruction fills dated to after 44 B.C. As the work of Sanders and the new Panayia Field chronology have shown, the lowest fills are not use fills, but are instead dumped fills that date to between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and that the Mummian fills contain quantities of material that date to the interim period.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Shipley 2008, p. 63.

<sup>23</sup> Shipley 2008, p. 68.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the stratigraphy of the wells, see also Sanders forthcoming.

Because of this change, it is now necessary to re-evaluate the other chronologies that relied upon the interpretations of Edwards and Broneer.

In the field of numismatics, both internal and external chronologies are impacted. Martin Price's work, although largely unpublished, relied on the South Stoa wells to date the bronze pegasos-trident coins of Corinth by their secondary symbols.<sup>25</sup> His preliminary study was able to demonstrate that it is possible to significantly refine the chronology of bronze pegasos-trident coins to beyond the broad date of 400-146 B.C. Using the new dates of the well fills provided in the present study, this work could resume with the aim of identifying with greater certainty chronologically discrete types of pegasos-trident coins.

More recently, the fills of the South Stoa wells and other Corinthian deposits have been used as part of the evidence for setting the lower limit of the production of Achaean League coinage.<sup>26</sup> Although Warren's study of the coins relies on material from several sites, the refinements to the dating of the South Stoa well fills, on which her study is based, may ultimately necessitate changes in the chronology of Achaean League coinage.

One of the largest bodies of material that will be effected by the re-dating of Corinthian Hellenistic pottery is amphoras - both local and imported.<sup>27</sup> The typology of Corinthian A and B amphoras was developed by Koehler in the 1970s and relied heavily

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<sup>25</sup> The only published work on the subject is Price 1967.

<sup>26</sup> Warren 2007, pp. 145-146, 176. She uses the South Stoa well fills in several places to argue issues of chronology based on the article by Price (1967).

<sup>27</sup> Lawall notes that "Amphora studies have often used large closed deposits or collections of stamps from cities founded or destroyed at known dates to develop chronological frameworks." (Lawall 2004, p. 172). It is in this respect that the deposits at Corinth have been incorporated into amphora studies from different part of the Mediterranean.

upon fills of the South Stoa wells, particularly for her 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. shapes and stamps.<sup>28</sup> In general, all of the deposits examined in the course of this study and using the Panayia Field chronology have shown that Koehler's chronology can now be revised and refined. Such work would be very valuable to Hellenistic studies, since Corinthian B amphoras are found all over the Mediterranean and are often used to date their contexts.<sup>29</sup>

Two major classes of eastern Aegean amphoras have also relied on the South Stoa wells for part of their chronologies: Knidian and Rhodian amphoras. The chronology for Knidian eponyms was established by Grace in 1985 in part using 146 B.C. as a fixed point.<sup>30</sup> In particular, Corinthian deposits were vital in establishing the chronological division between her Periods IVB (167-146 B.C.) and V (146-108 B.C.), and therefore it may be that the stamps from these two periods in particular need to be re-examined. The recently developed chronology for Rhodian amphoras also utilizes the destruction of Corinth as a fixed point, also for periods IVB and V.<sup>31</sup> The potential problem for both the Rhodian and Knidian amphora chronologies is the interpretation of the Mummian destruction fills as only containing material after 44 B.C. and the use fills only stamps that date to before 146 B.C. Now that almost every fill has been re-dated and re-interpreted, it may be possible to get better resolution on these problematic periods for Knidian and Rhodian amphoras.

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<sup>28</sup> Koehler 1978a uses five South Stoa well deposits and seven other deposits included in the present study specifically for the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. dates of Corinthian B amphoras.

<sup>29</sup> This is particularly the case with shipwreck cargoes, where the only datable shapes tend to be the amphoras.

<sup>30</sup> Grace 1985, pp. 13-18, 31-35. Lawall 2004, p. 173 n. 7 highlights how the Knidian chronology depends in part on Corinth's destruction date of 146 B.C.

<sup>31</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, pp. 41, 165 (Table 16).

The areas of research discussed above are merely a starting point for future studies and are intended to illustrate the range of possibilities that appear now that Hellenistic Corinth has been rediscovered. The Hellenistic period in the city was largely ignored, both by those who worked in Corinth and by historians and archaeologists studying broader trends in the Hellenistic world, because of a lack of literary sources and a confusing mass of archaeological data. Now that the Panayia Field deposits have yielded a new chronology and revitalized Hellenistic Corinth, the hope is that work will continue on this dynamic period of the city's history.



## **FIGURES**

The figures and plates presented in the following two appendices contain objects listed in the catalog (Appendix II). As far as possible, these drawings and photographs are shown at a scale of 1:2 or 1:3, although some formatting issues may have resulted in minor variations. Please refer to the actual dimensions given in the catalog entry for each vessel. The individual miniature vessels in plates 17 and 18 are at a scale of 1:1, but not in the group photos on plate 18. Please see the foreword to Appendix II for illustration and photo credits.

Figure 1

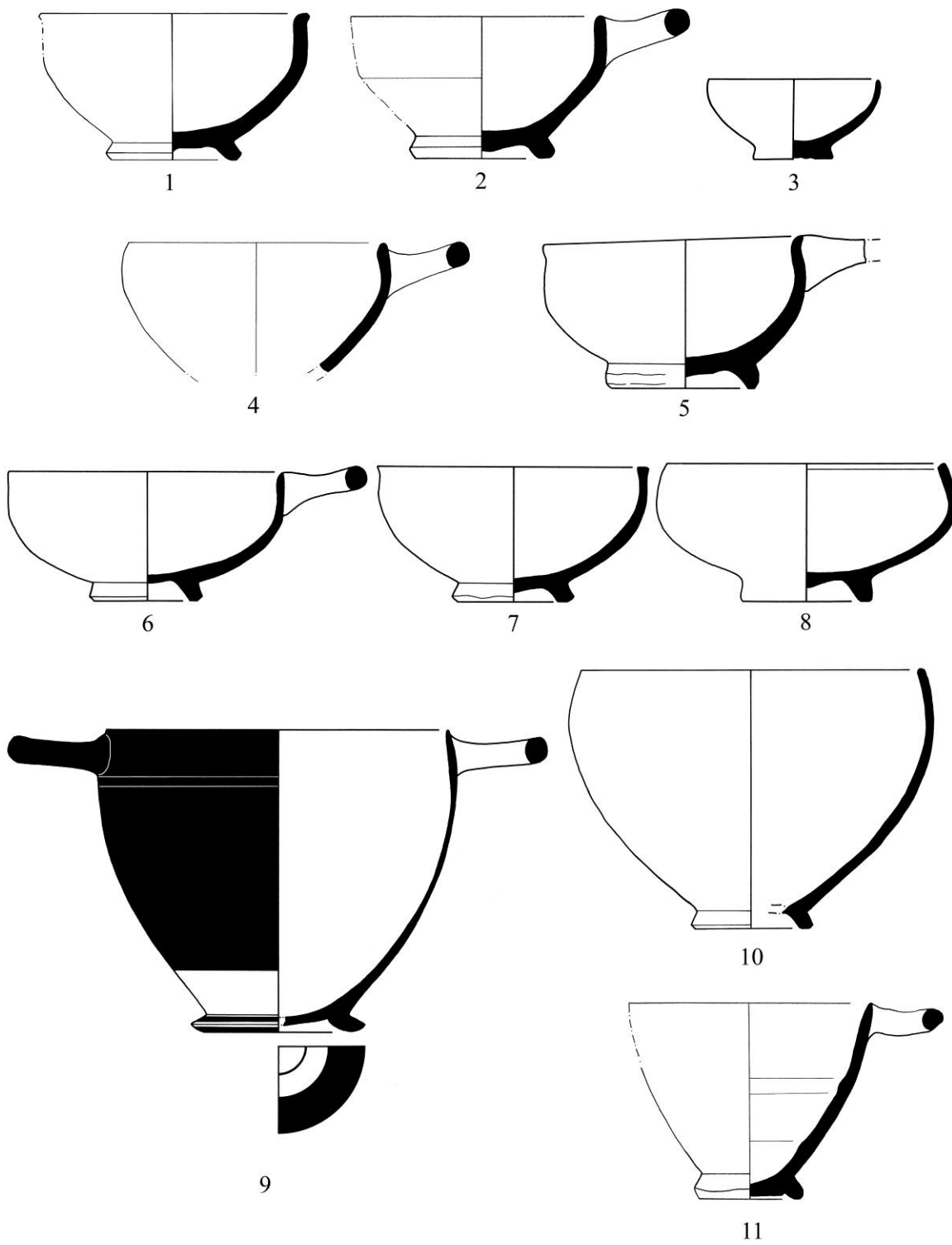
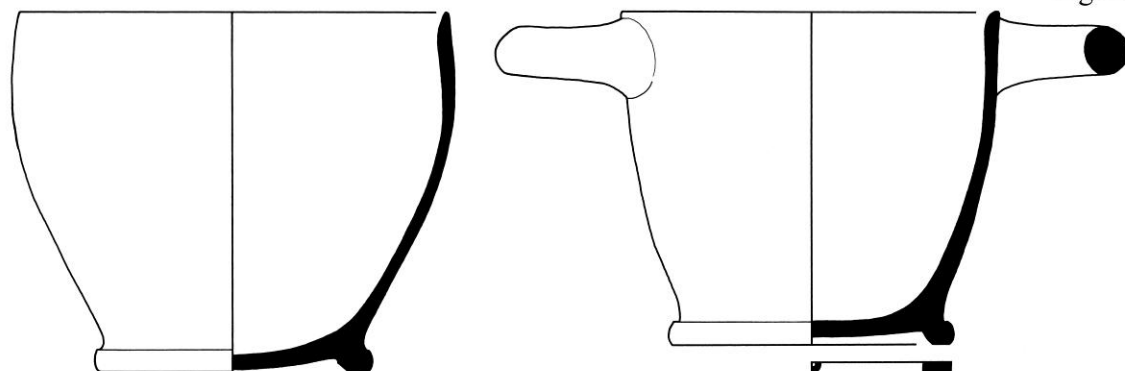
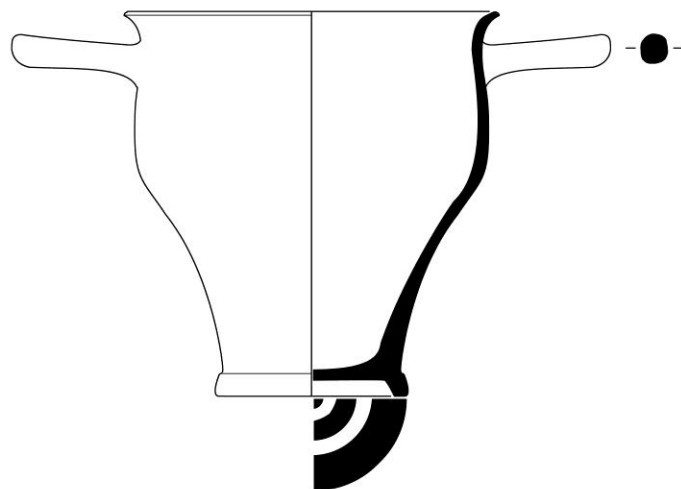


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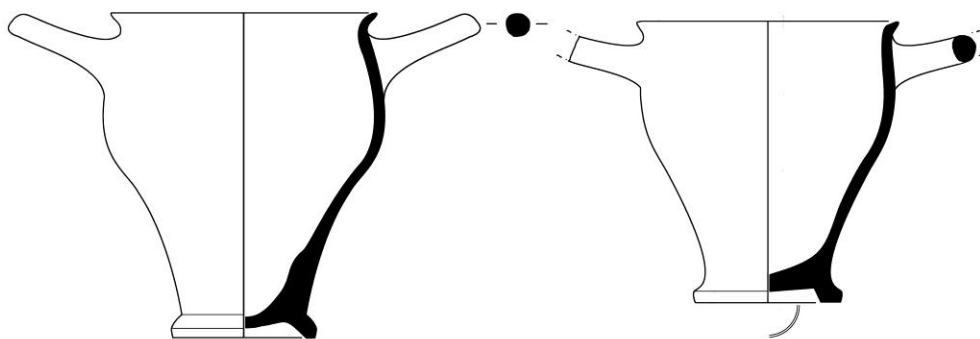


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Figure 3

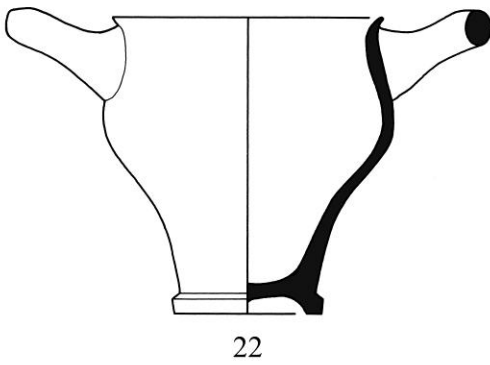
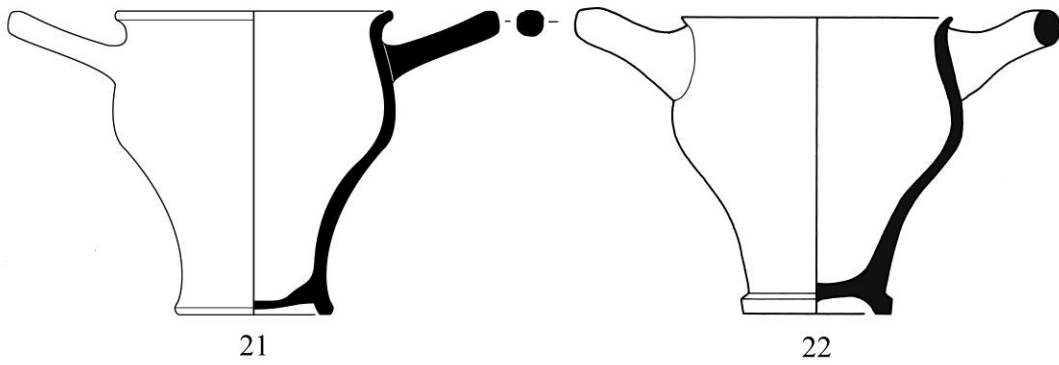
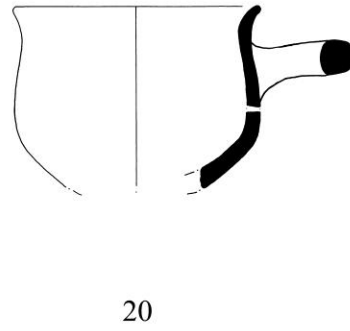
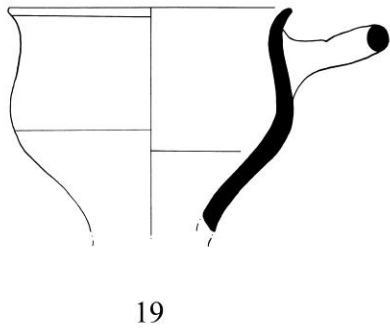
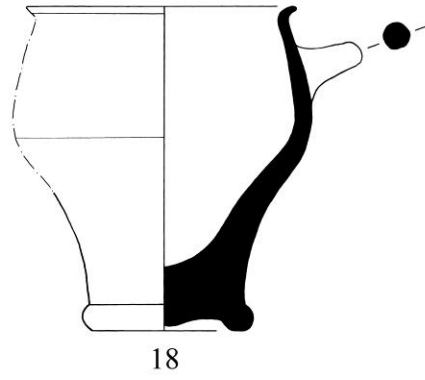
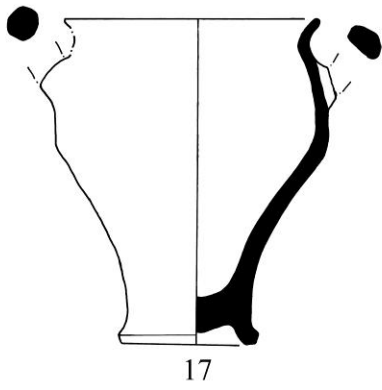


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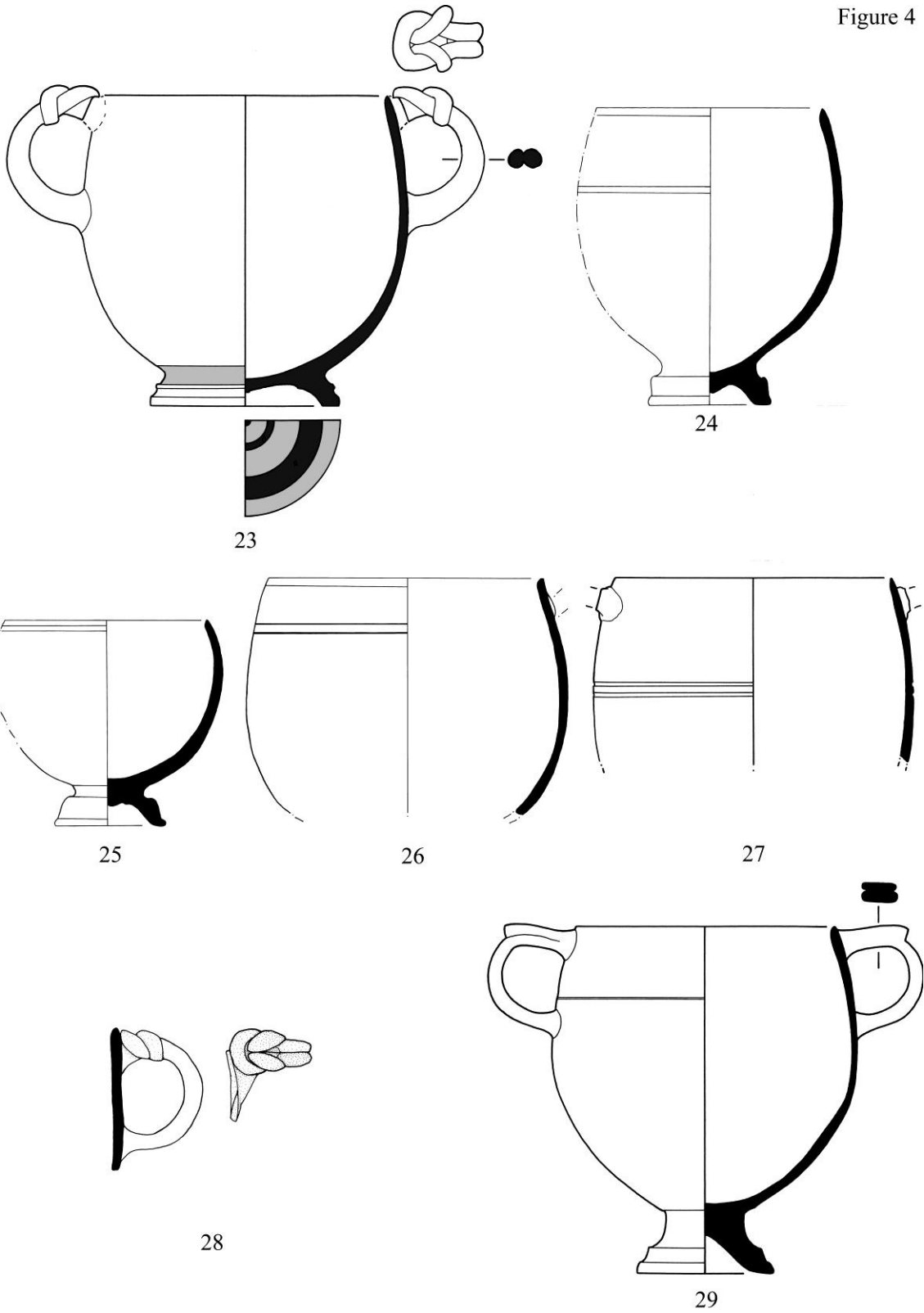


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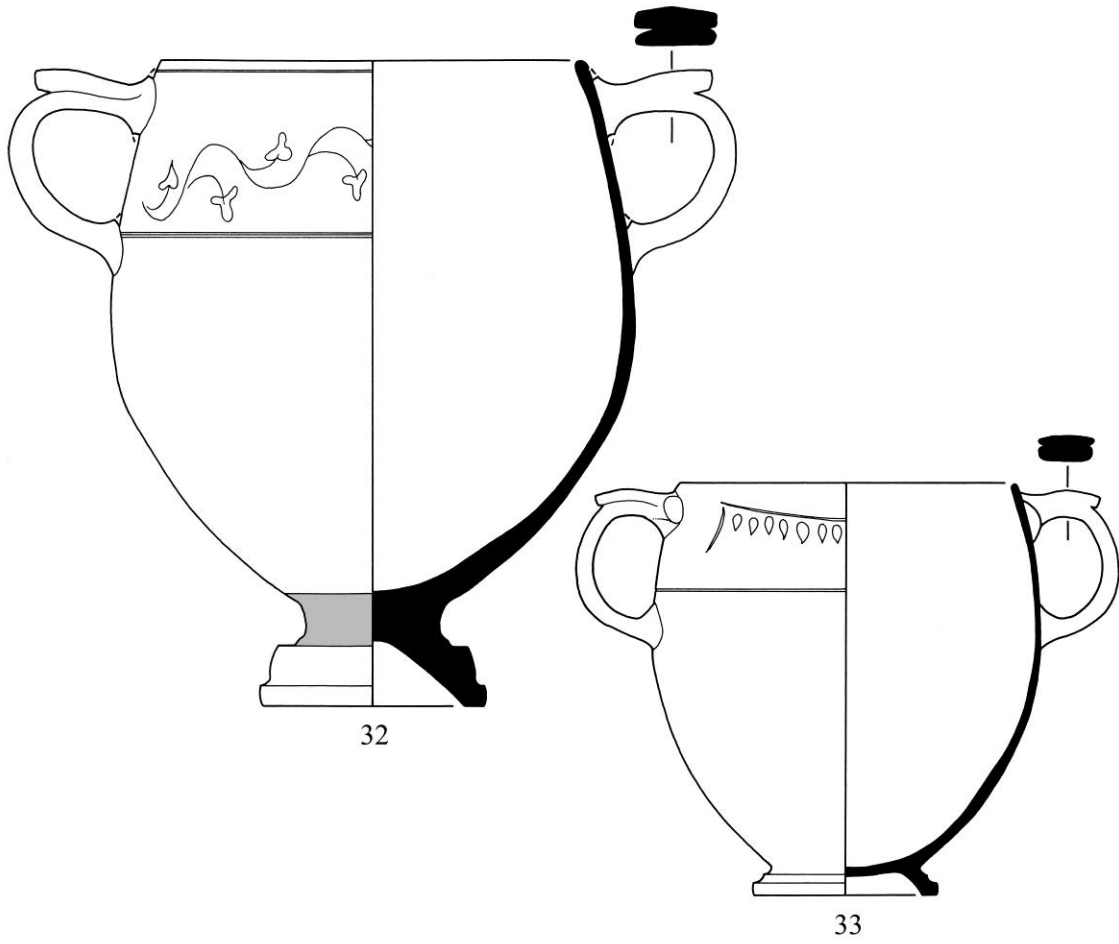
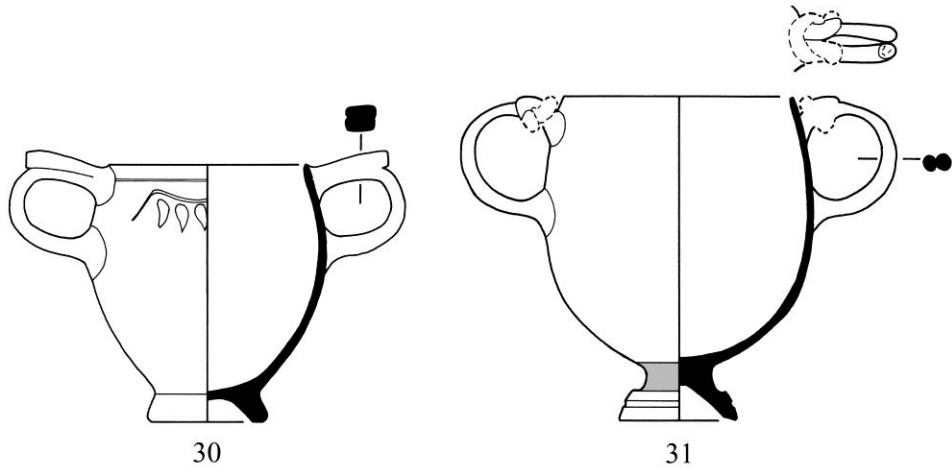


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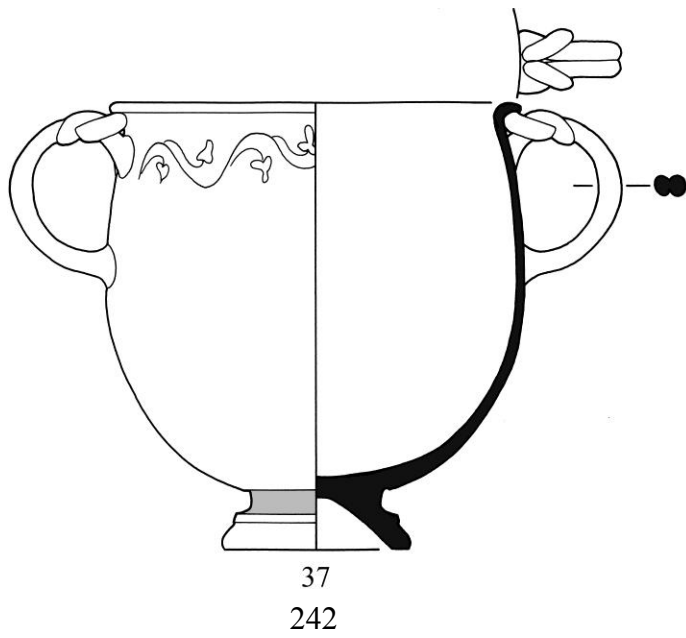
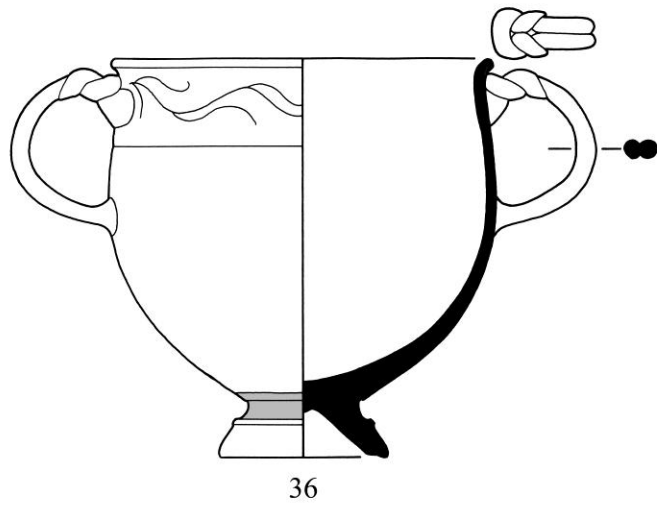
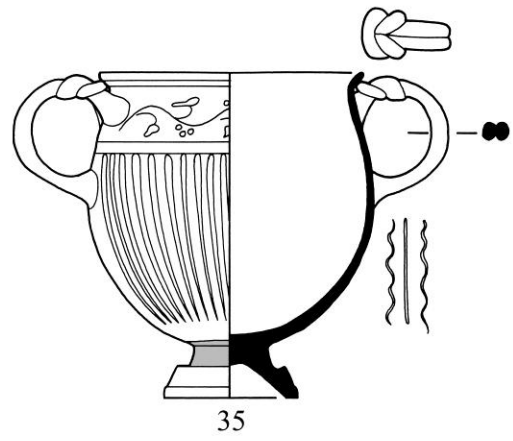
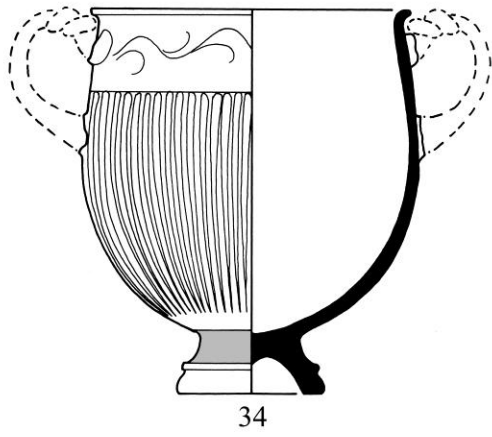


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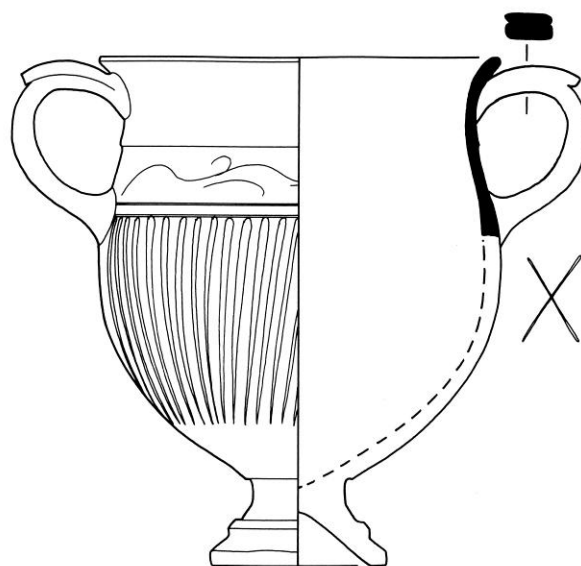
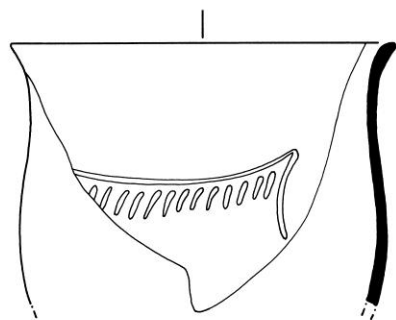
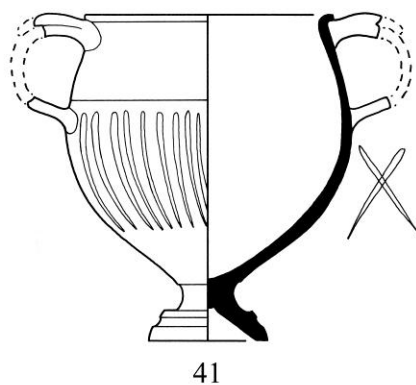
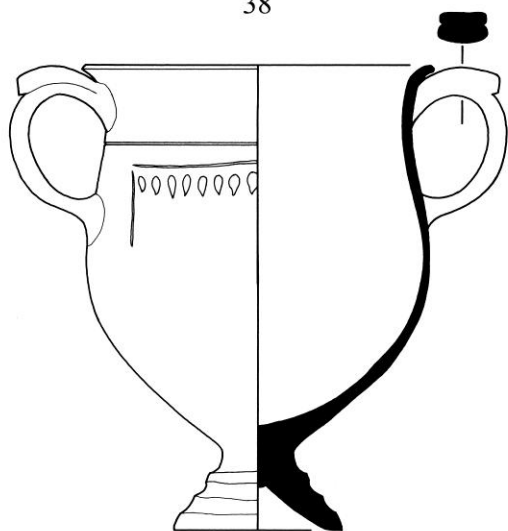
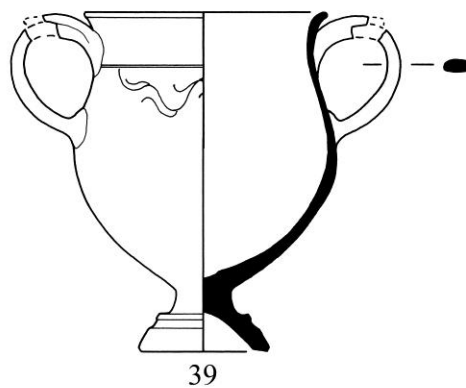
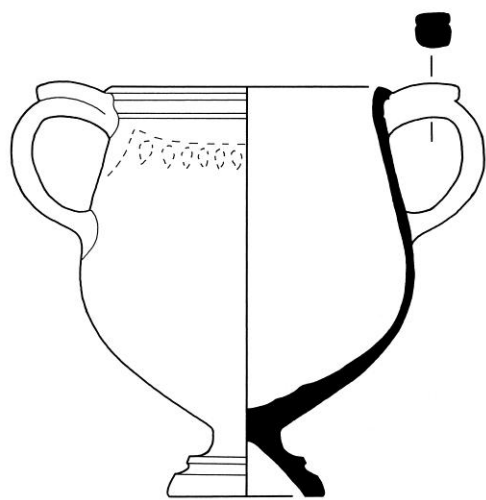




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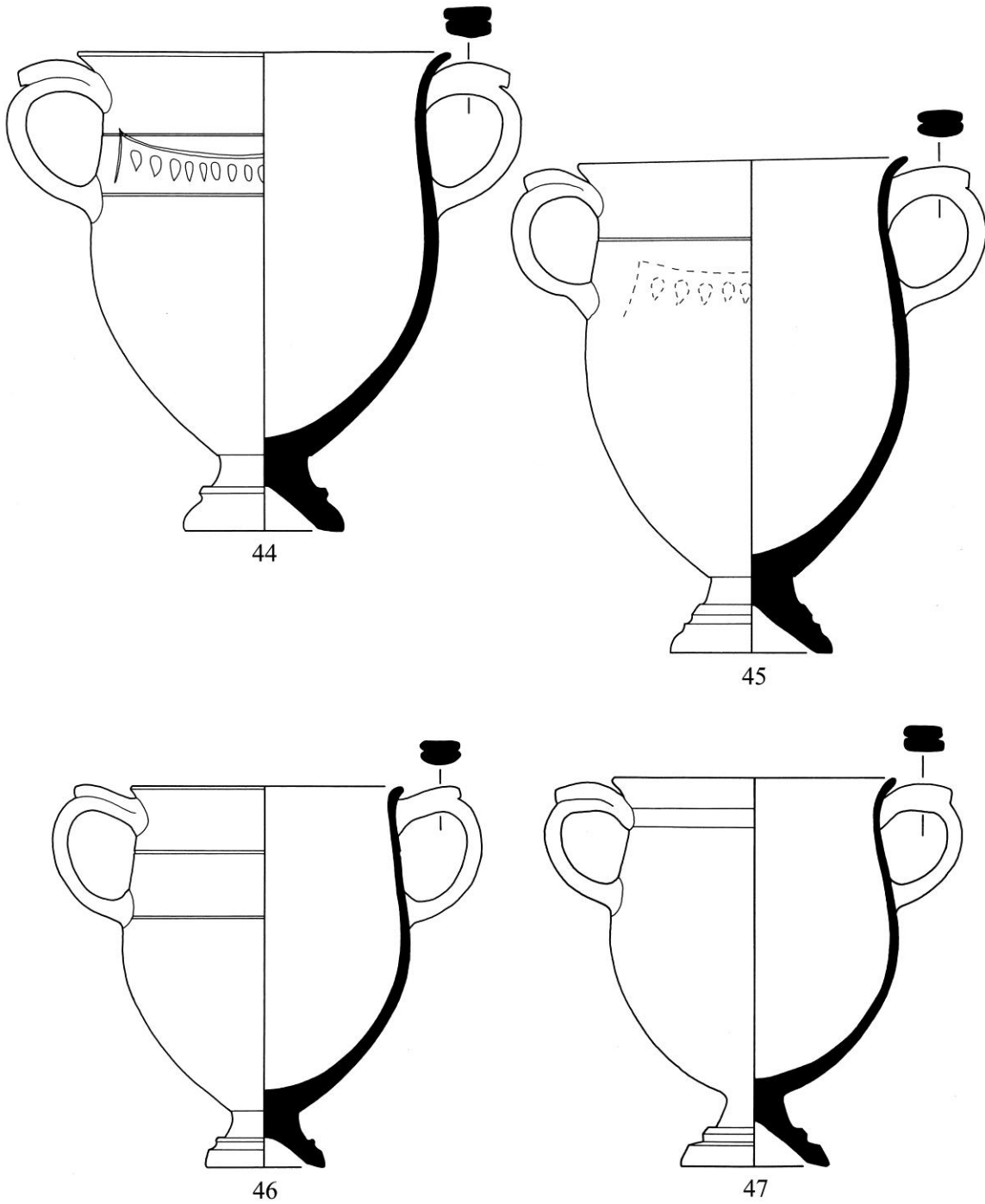


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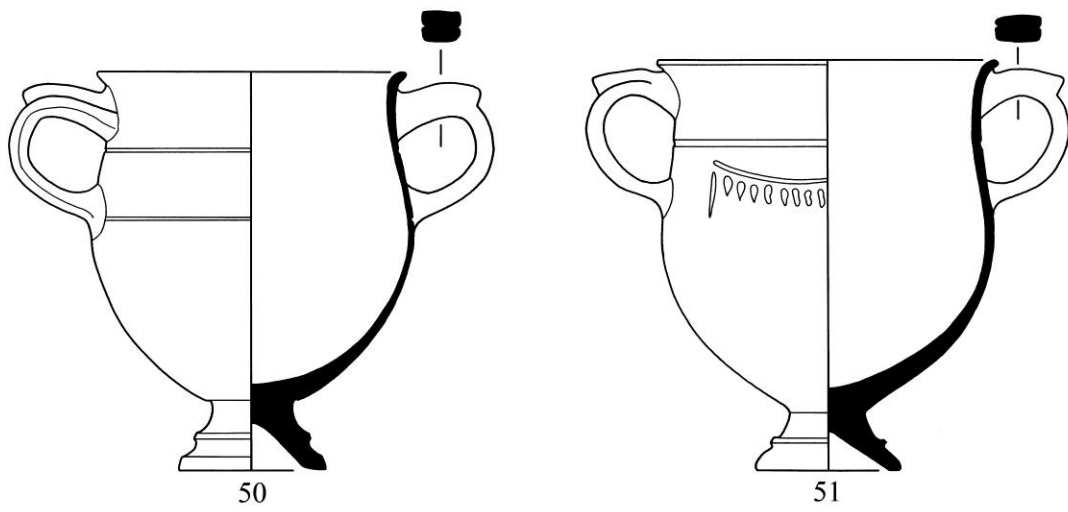
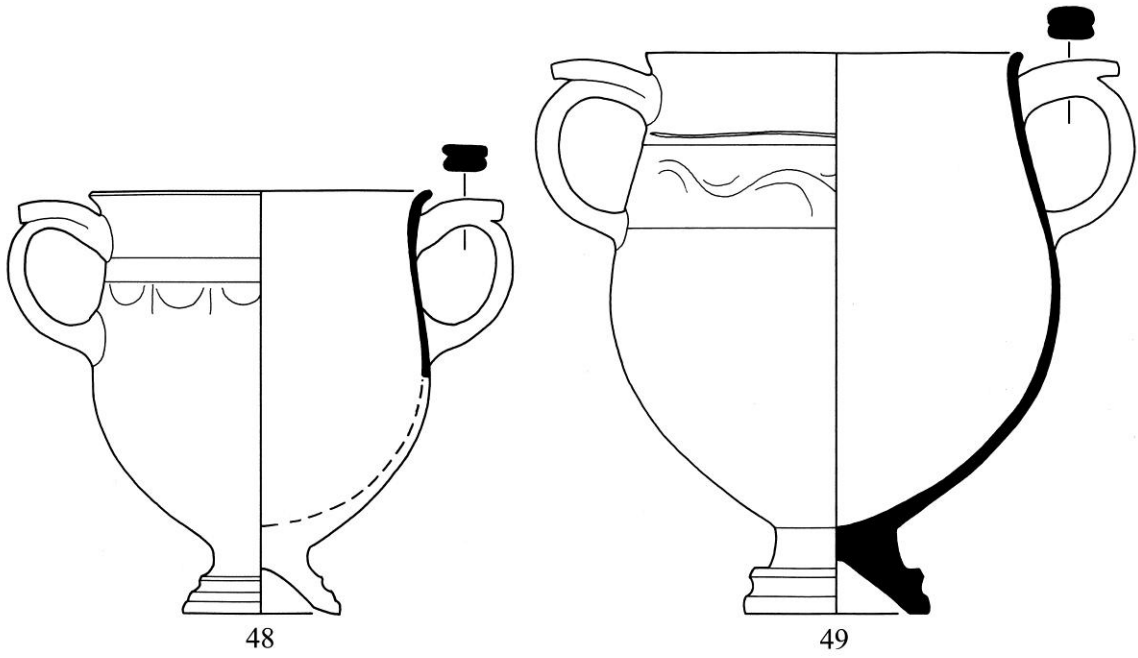


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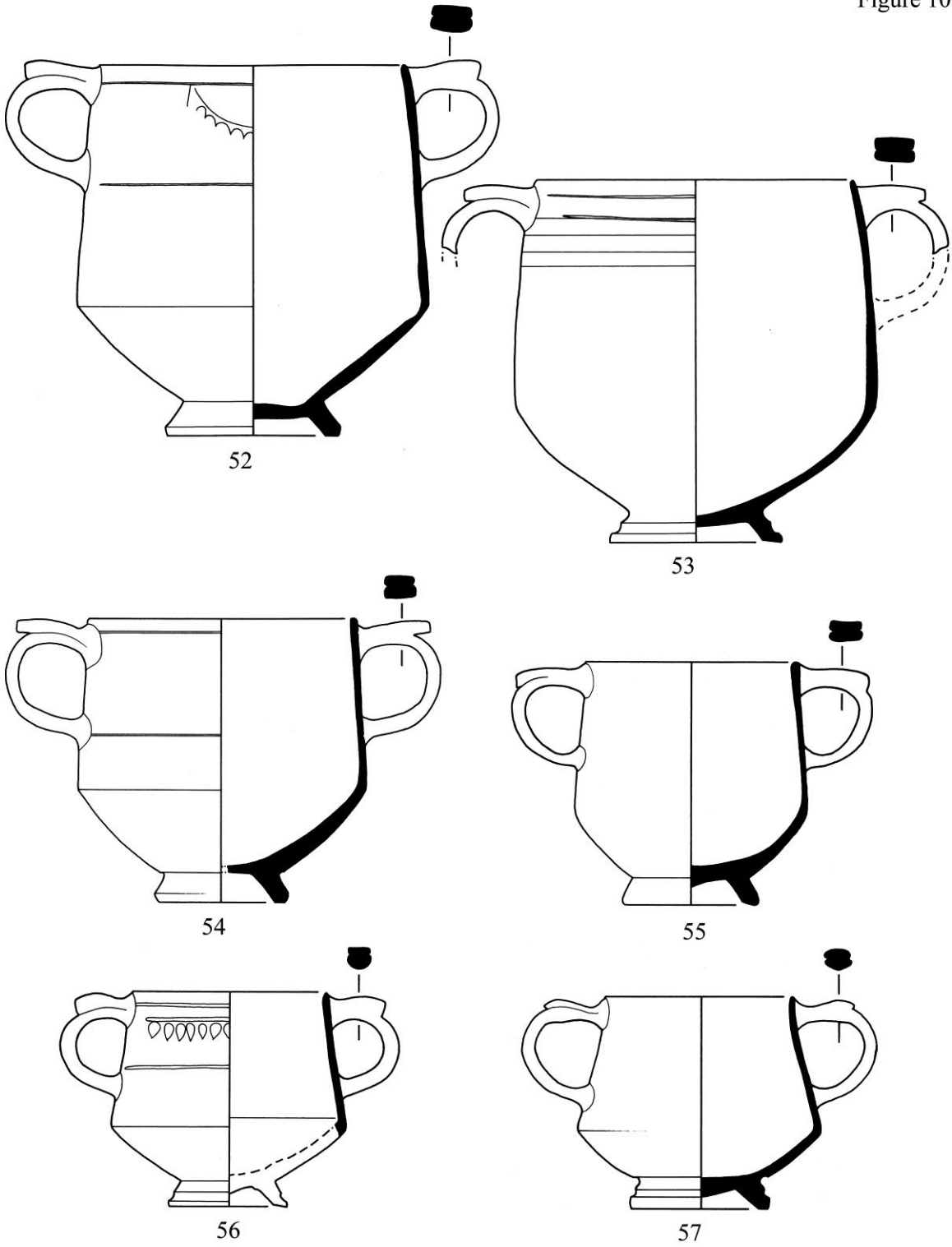


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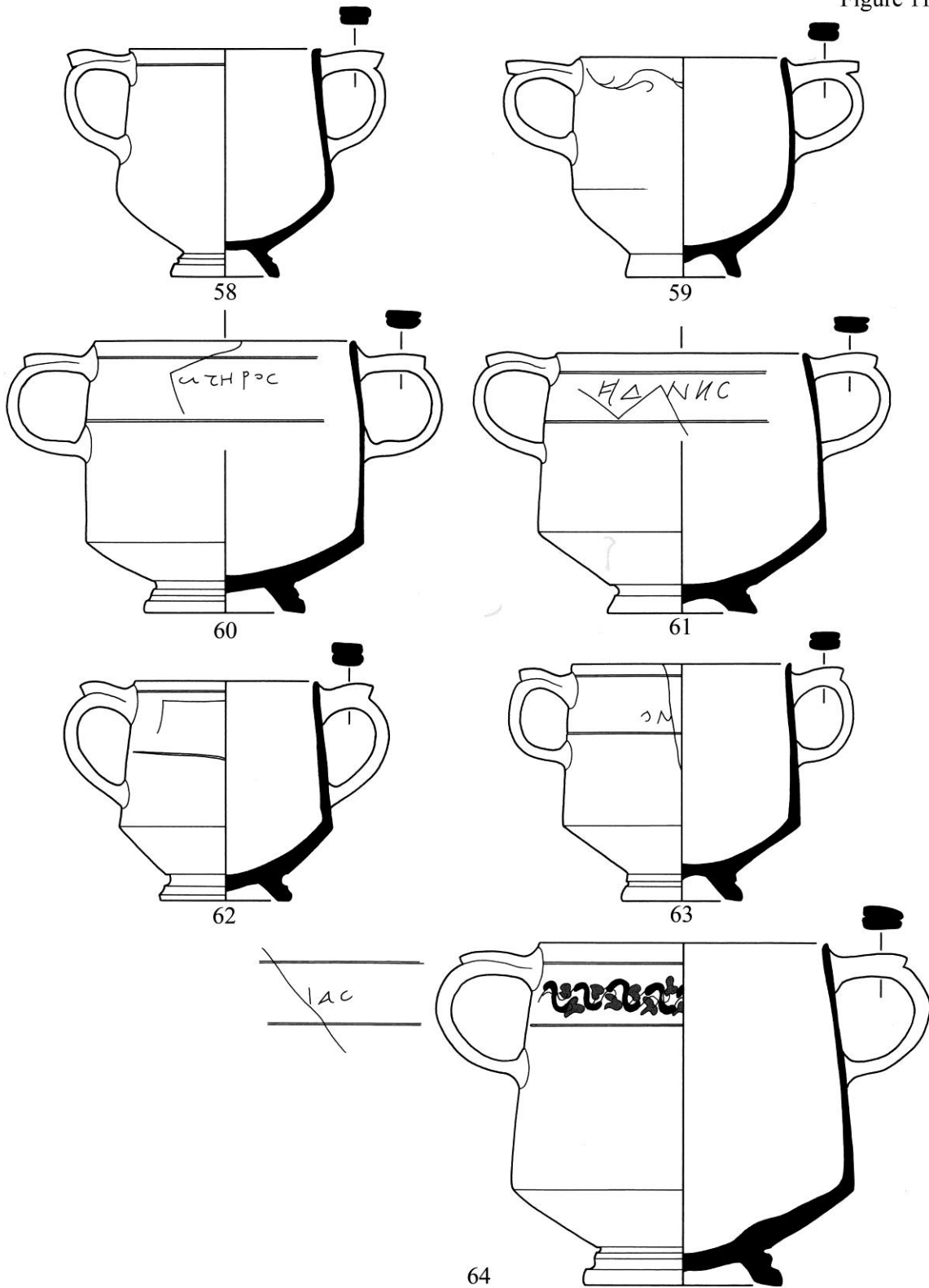


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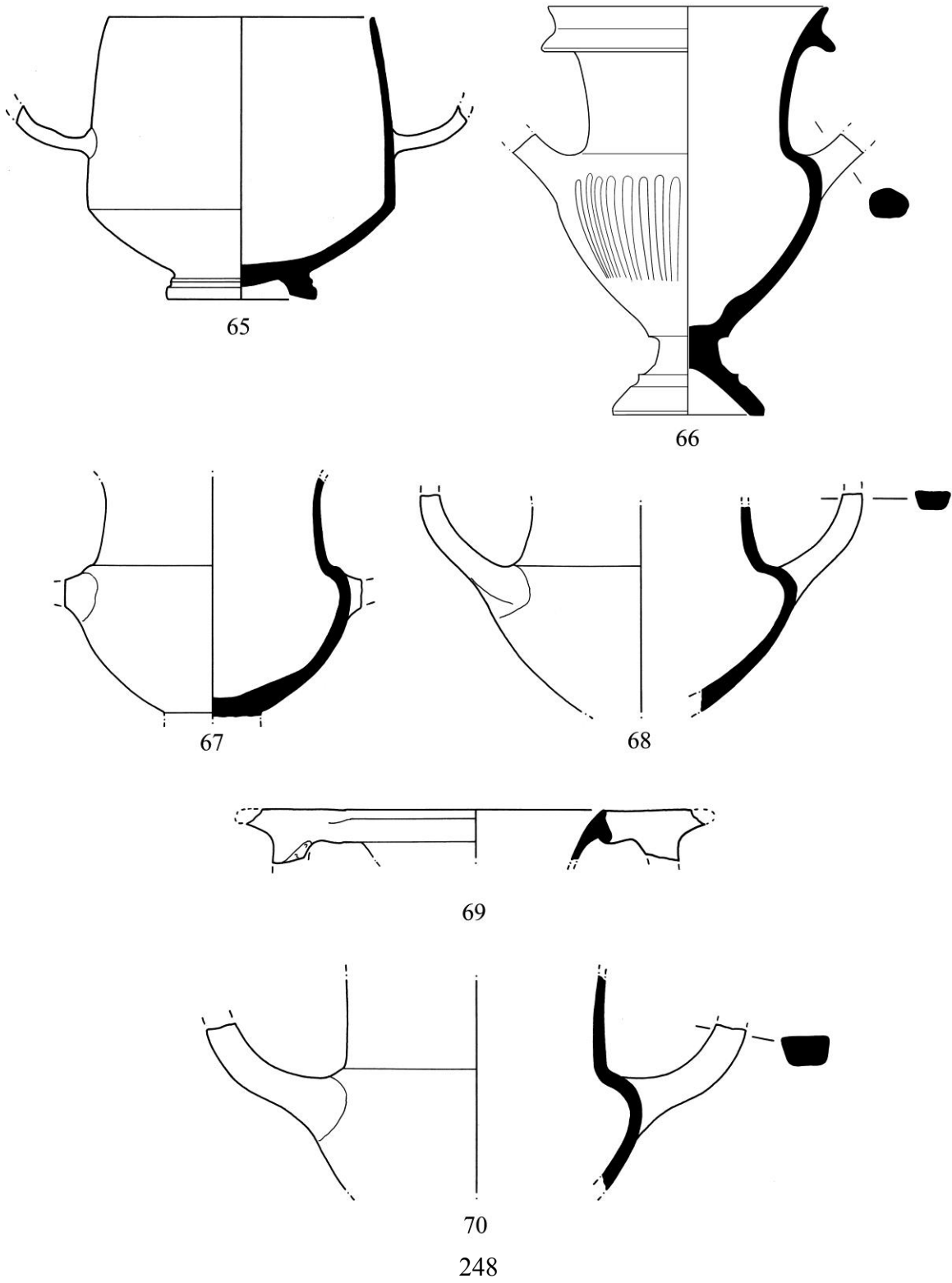


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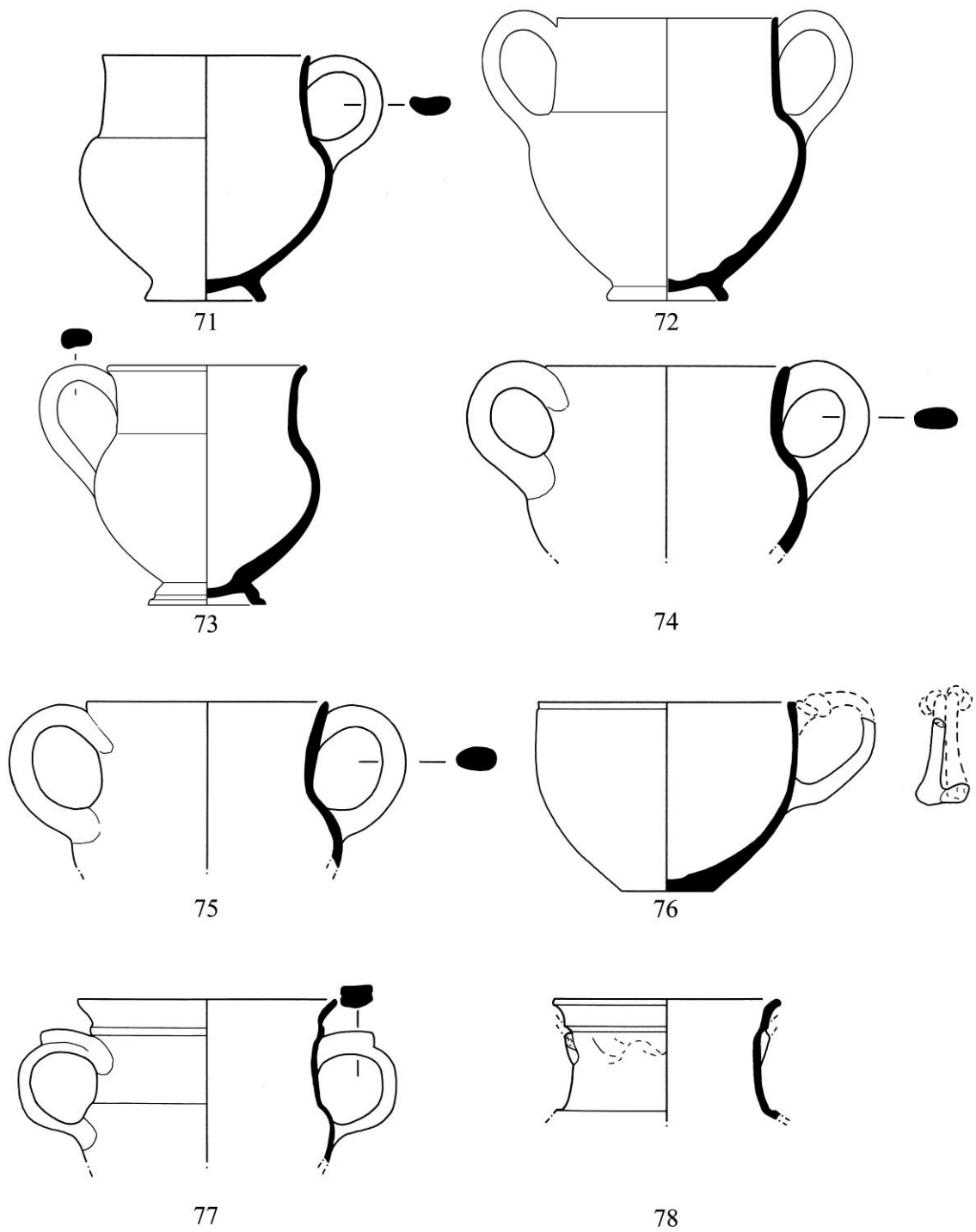
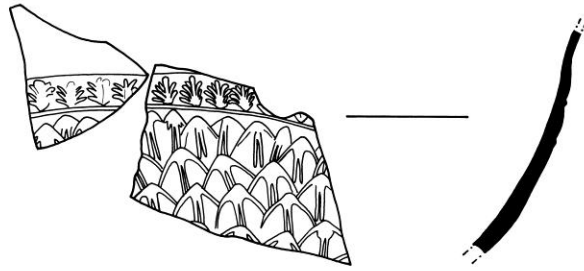
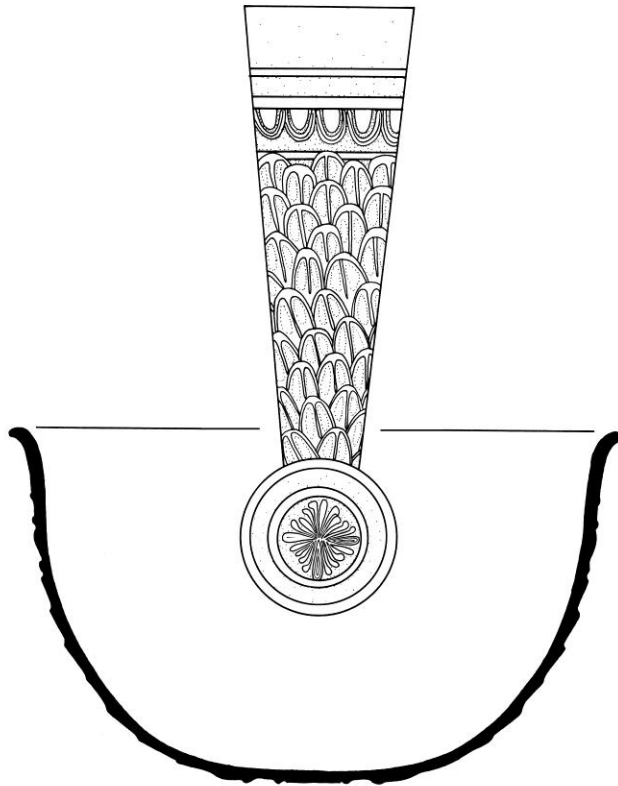


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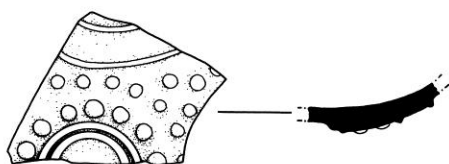


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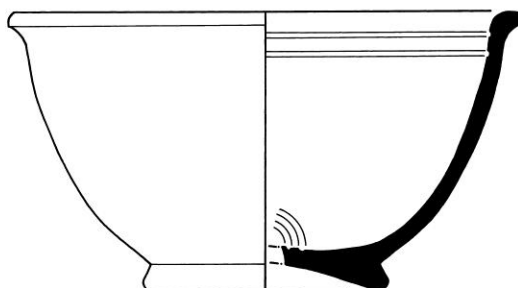
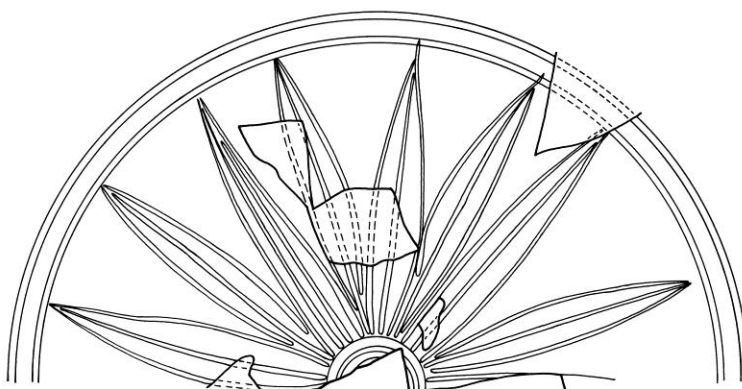
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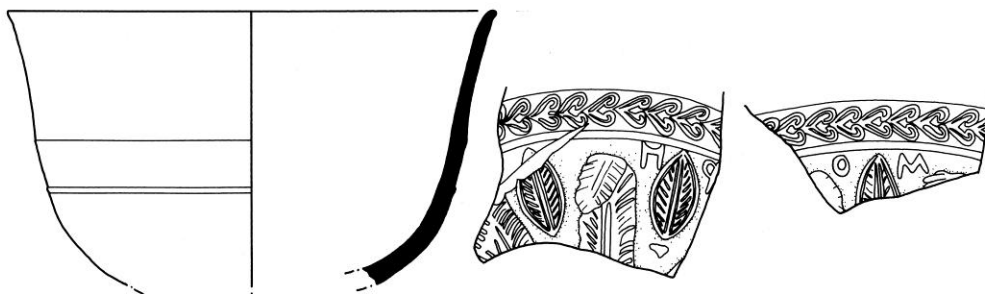
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Figure 16

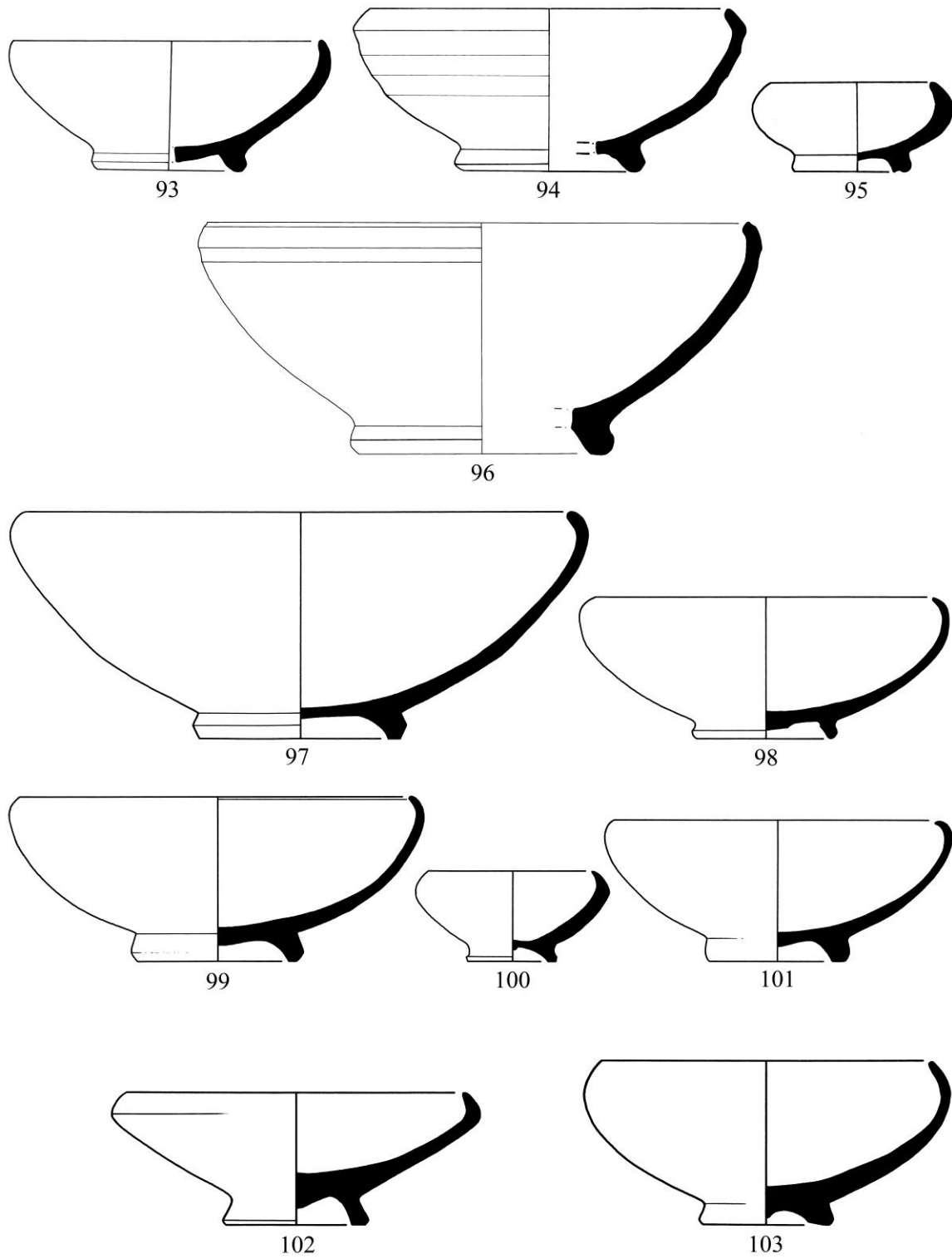
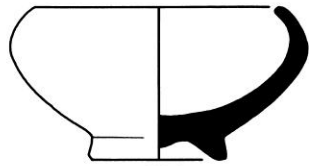
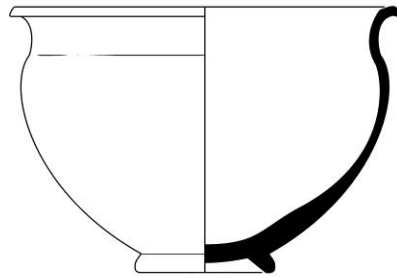


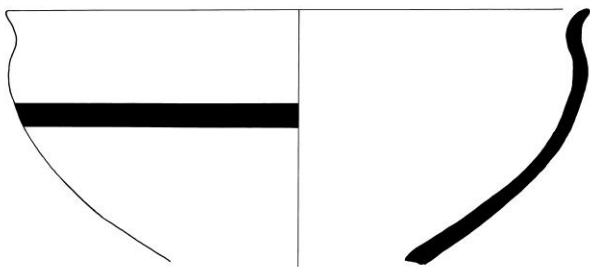
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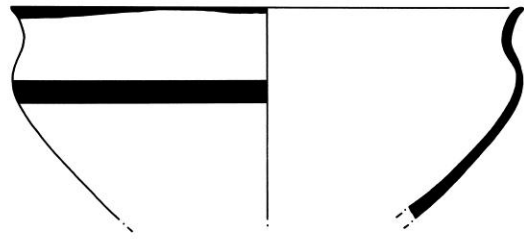
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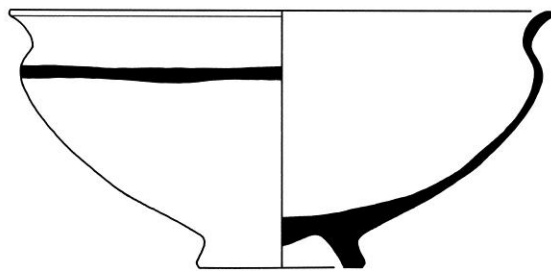
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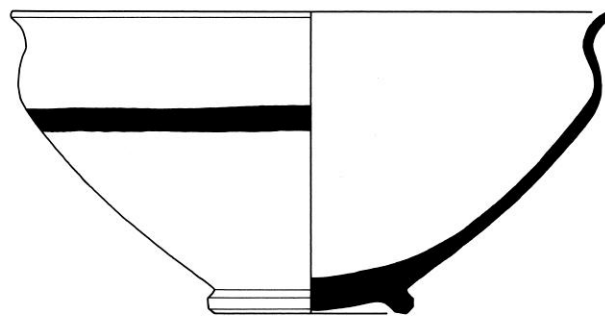
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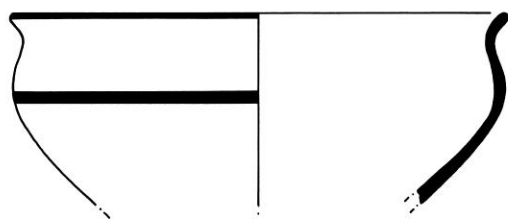


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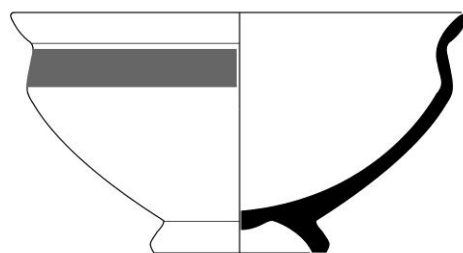


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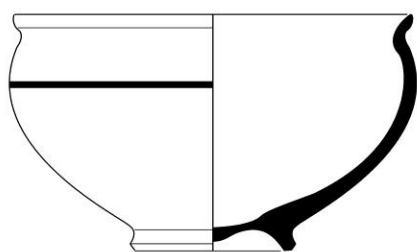
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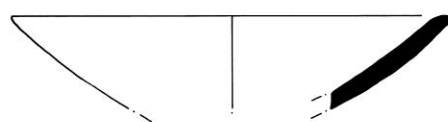
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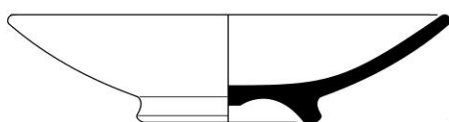
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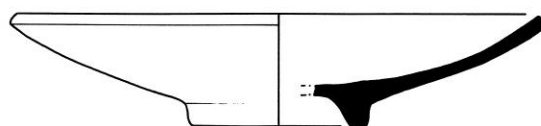
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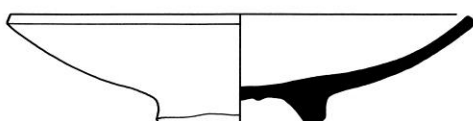
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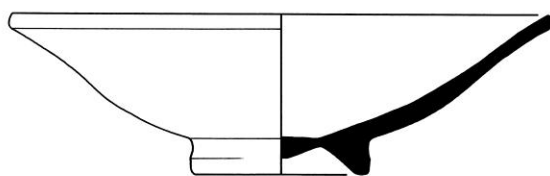
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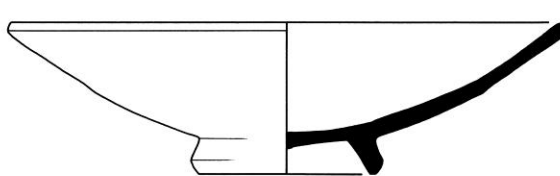
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Figure 19

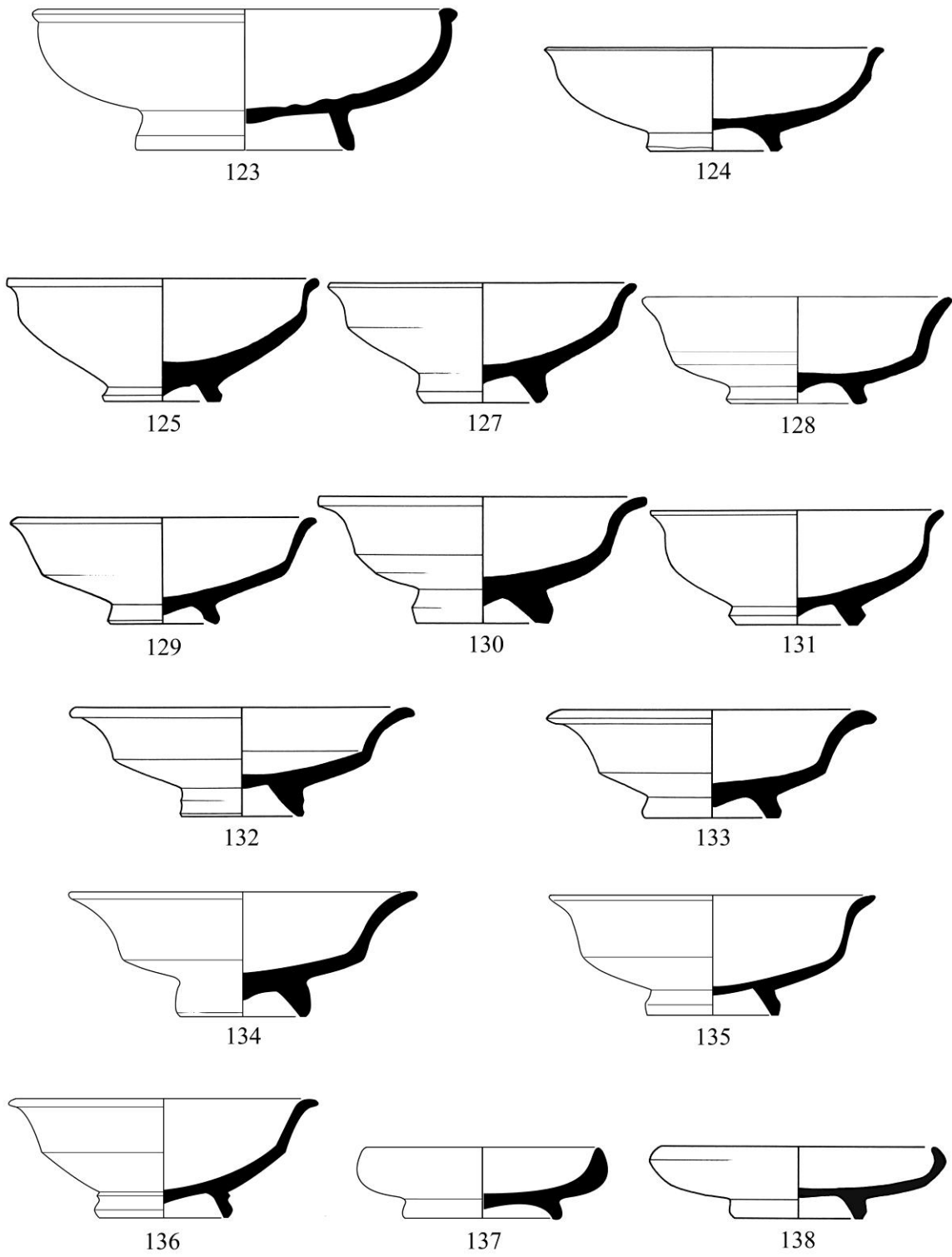


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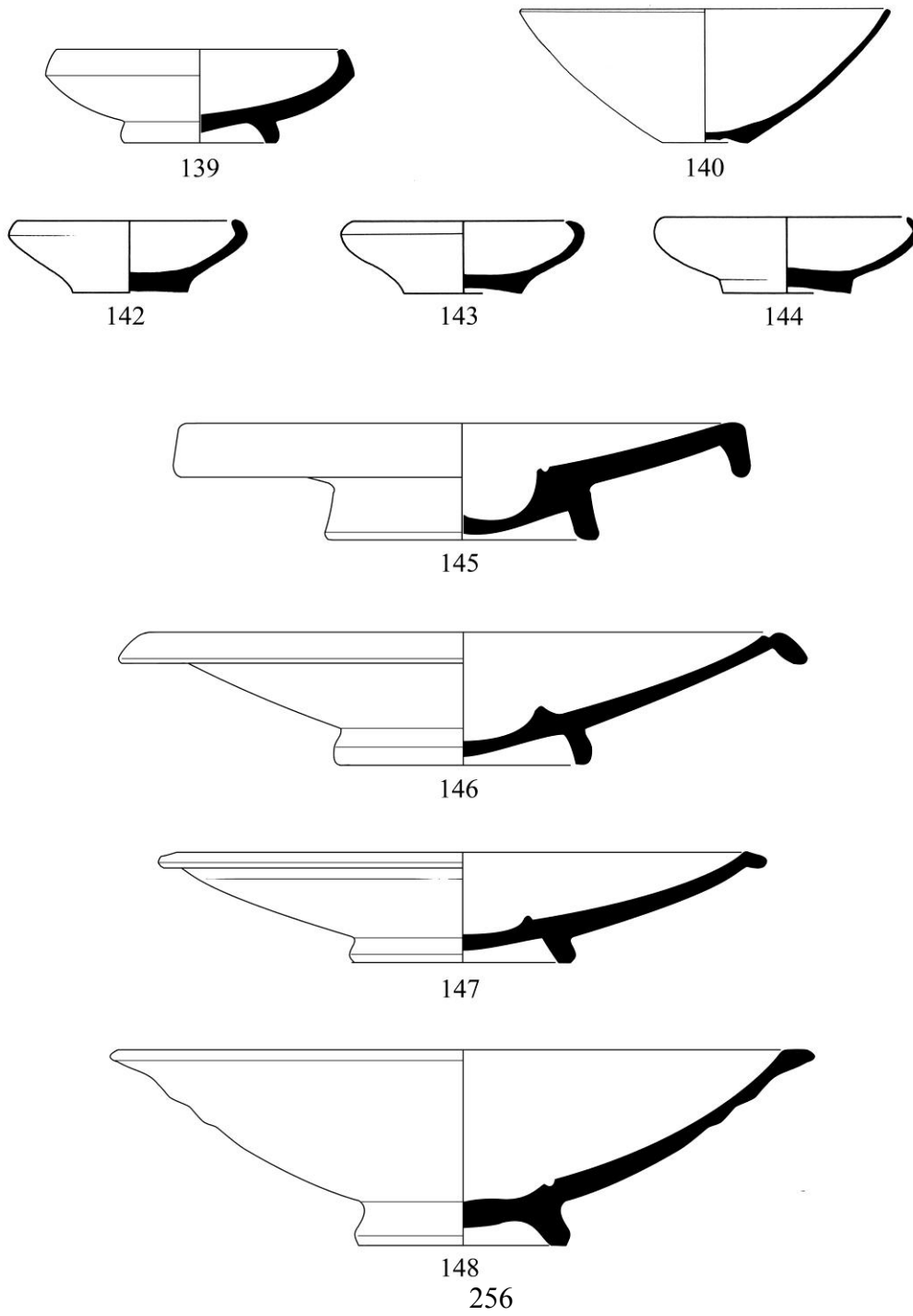
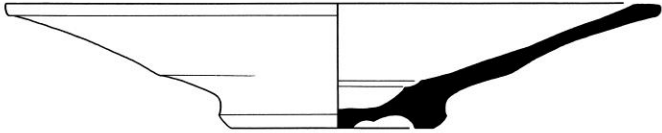
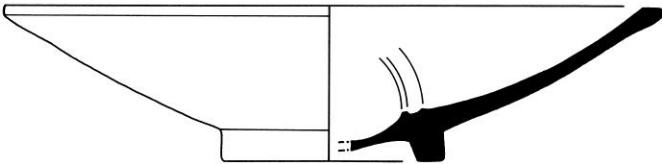


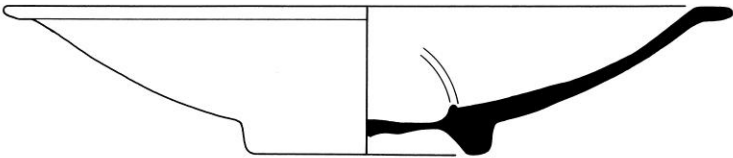
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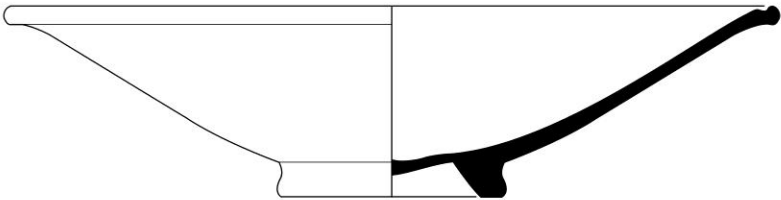
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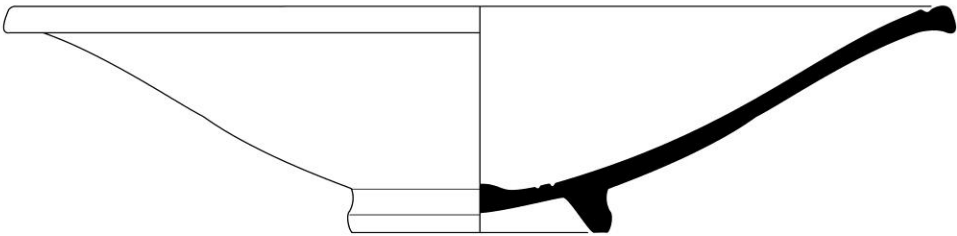
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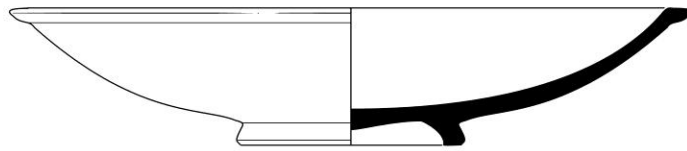
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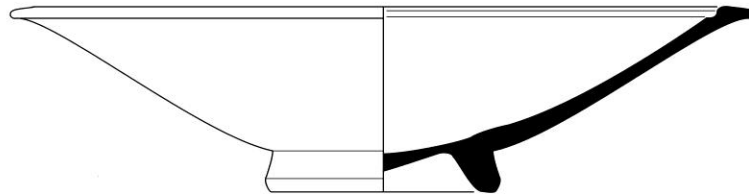
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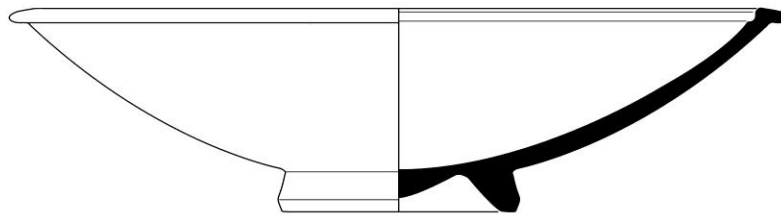
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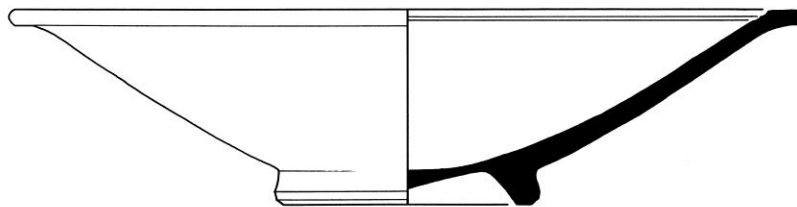
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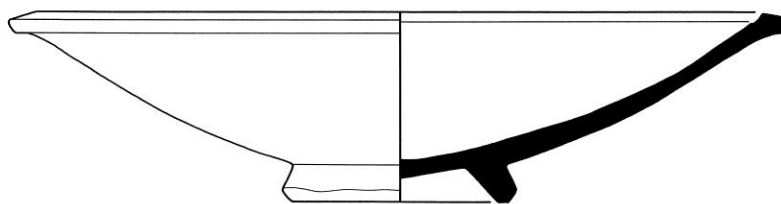
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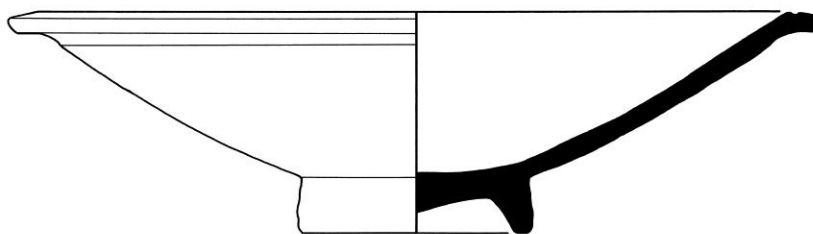
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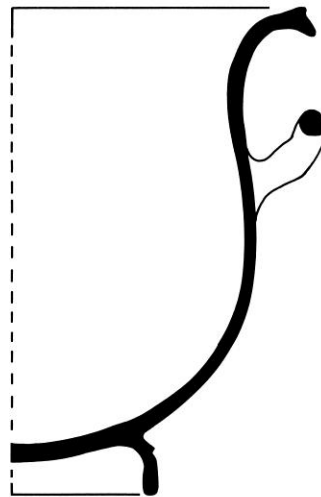
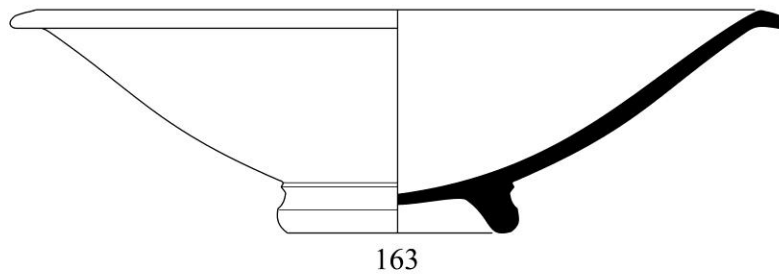
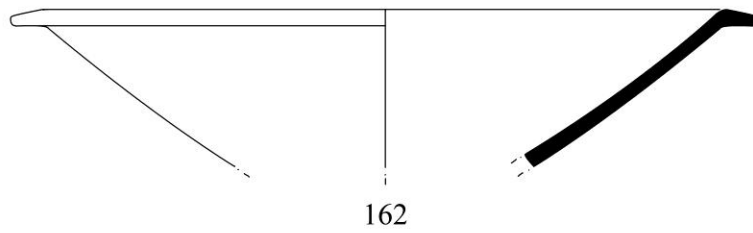
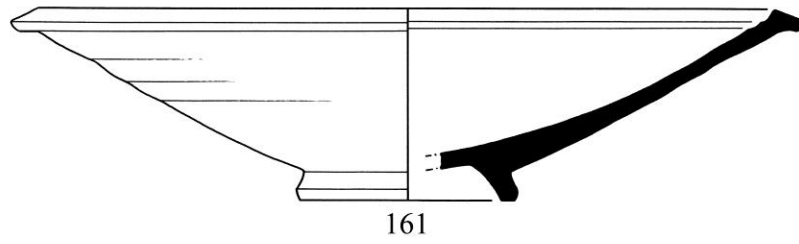
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258

Figure 23

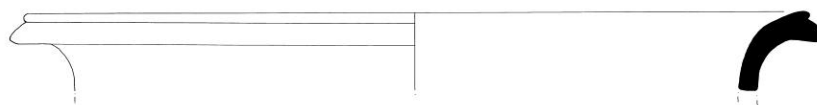


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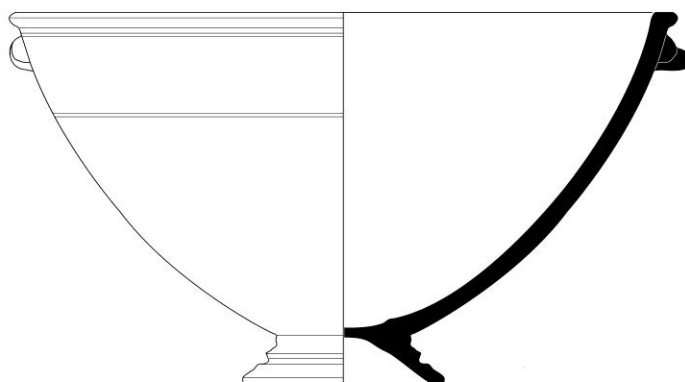
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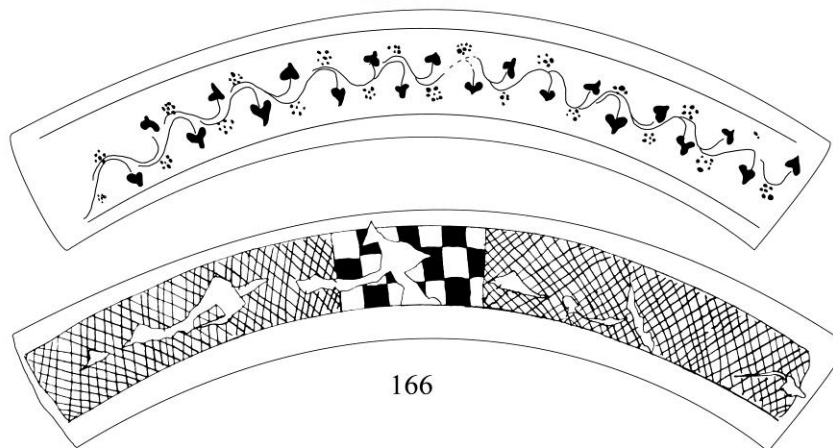
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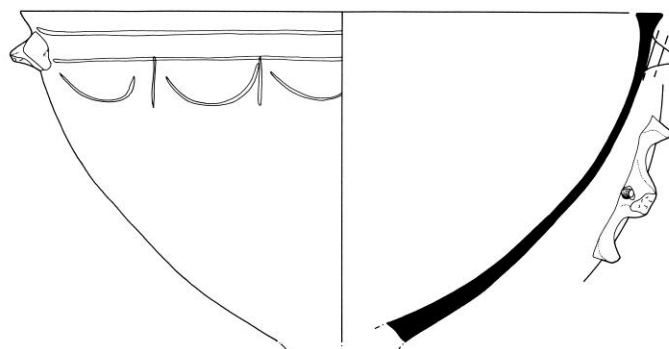
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Scale 1:3



166  
Scale 1:3

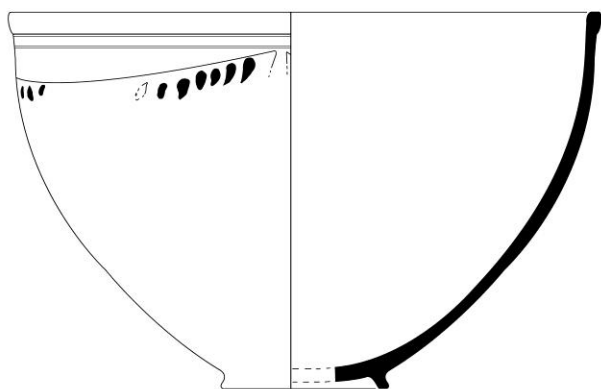


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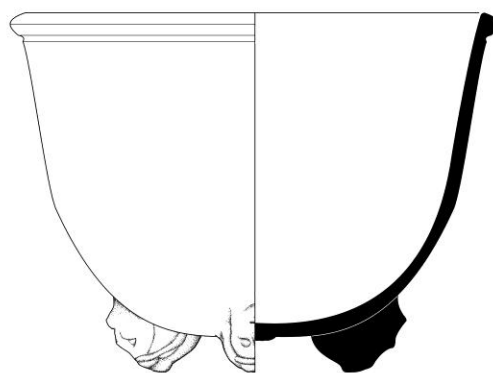


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Scale 1:3  
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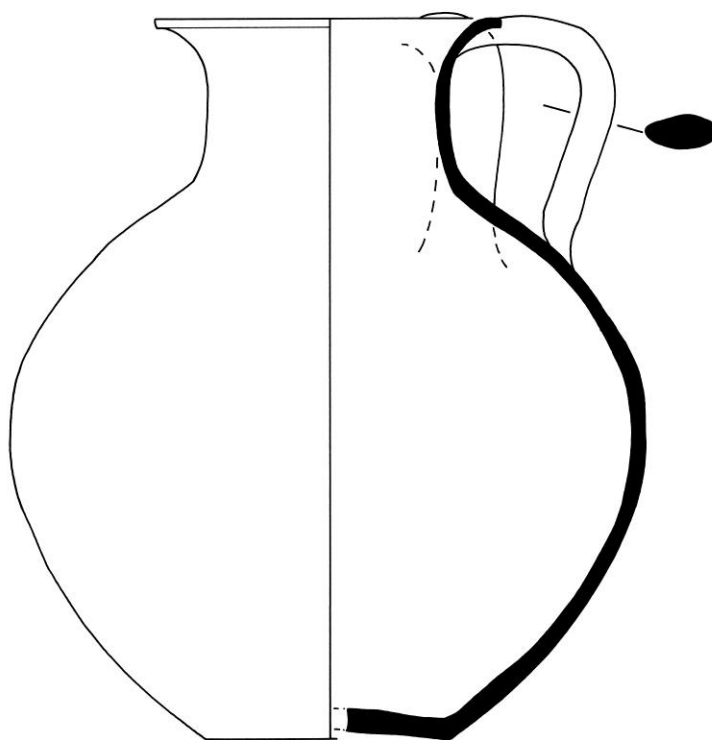
Figure 25



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Scale 1:3



169  
Scale 1:3



170

261

Figure 26

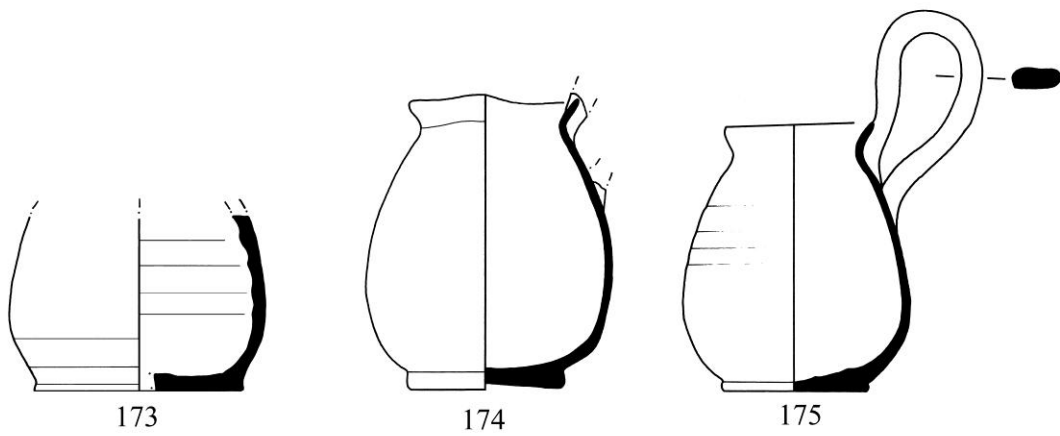
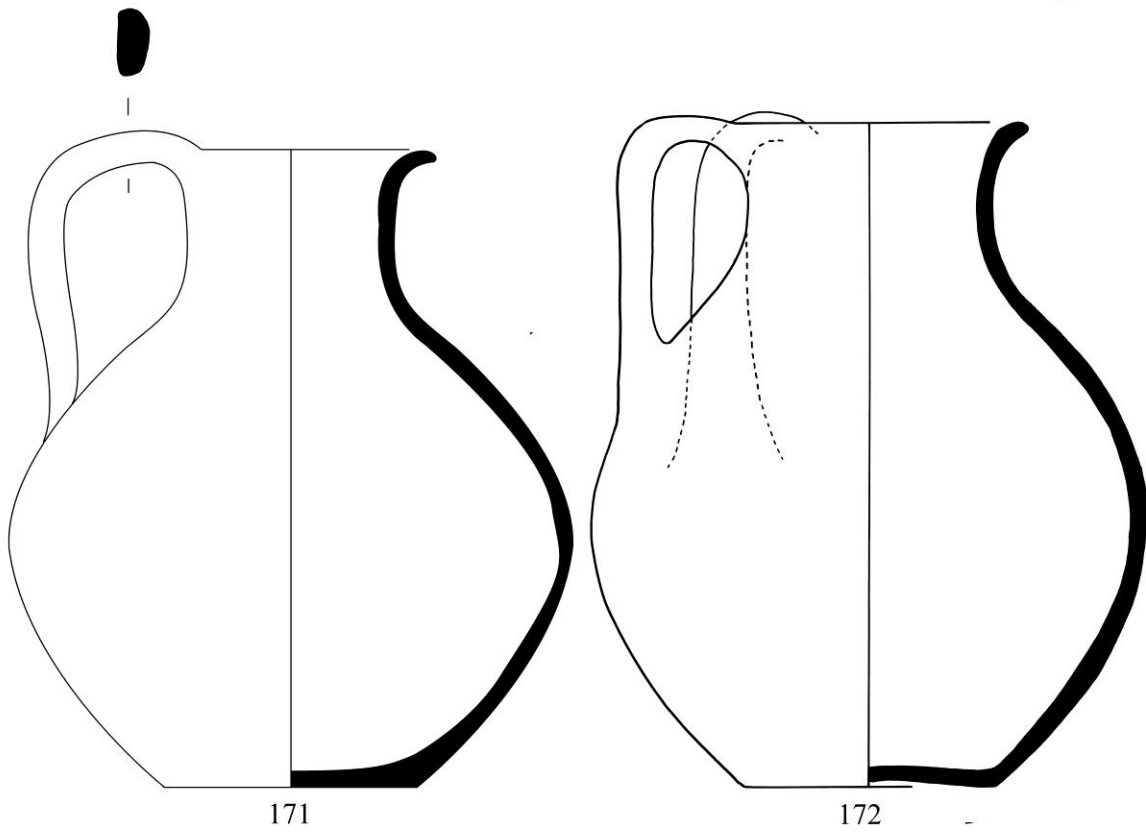


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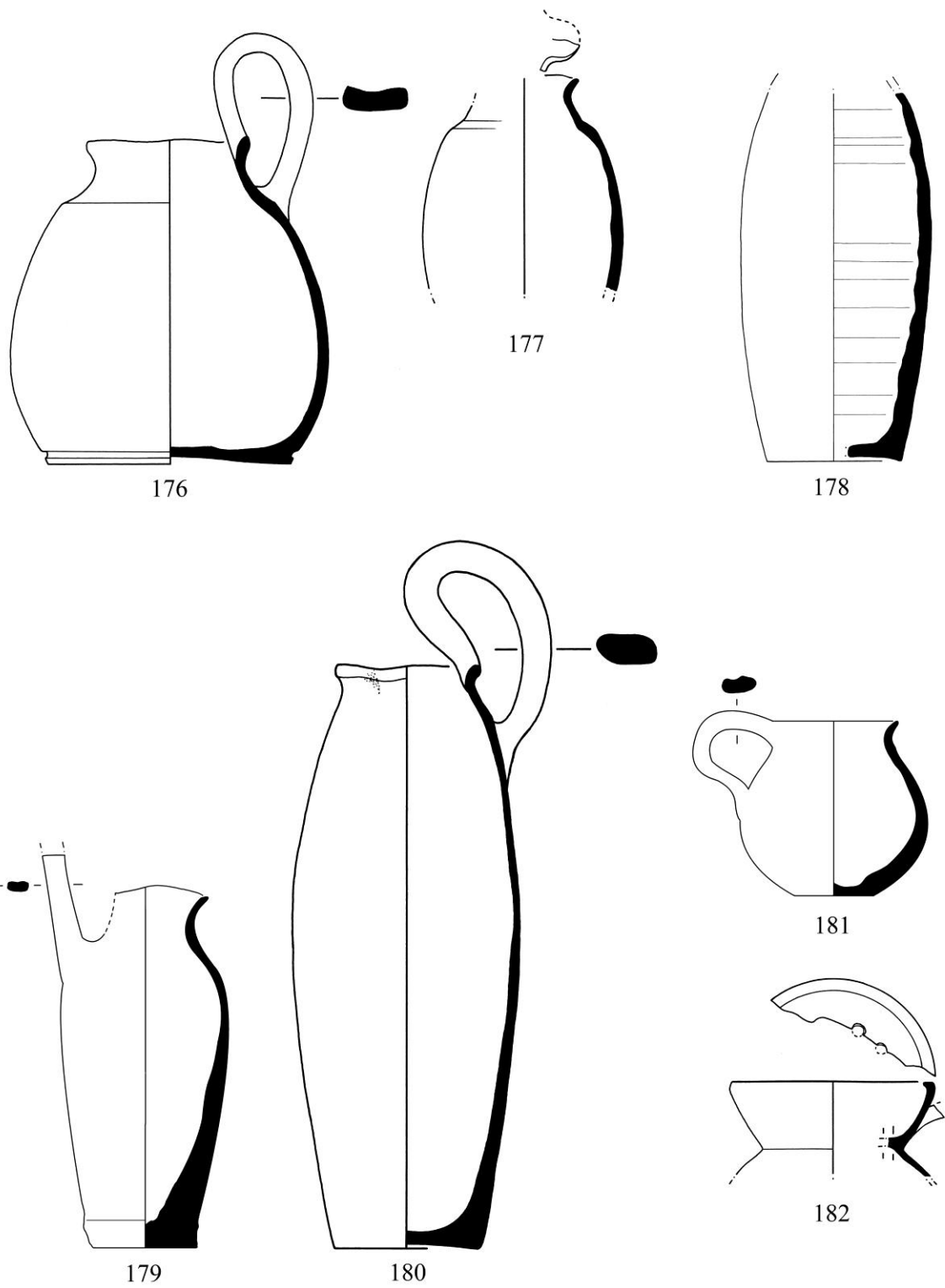
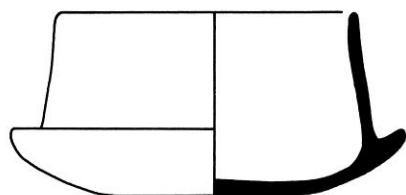
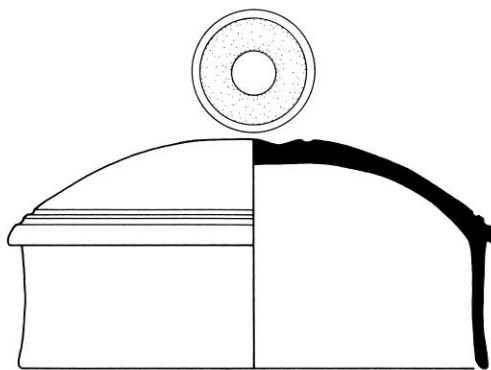


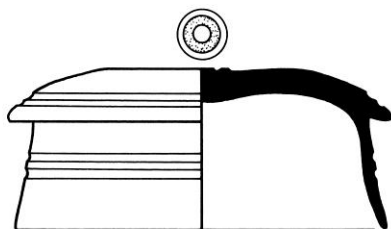
Figure 28



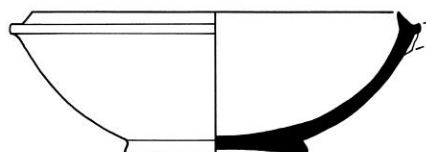
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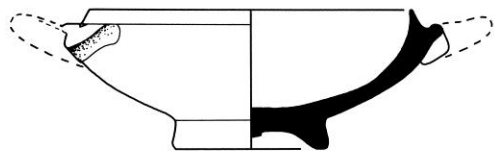
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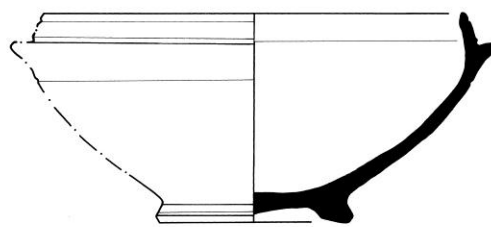
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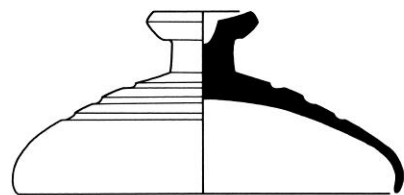
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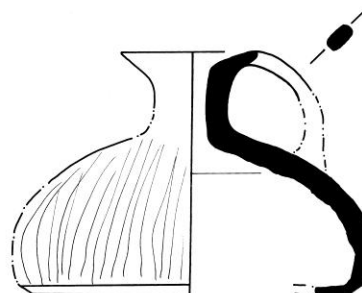
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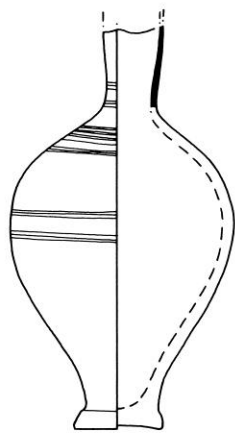


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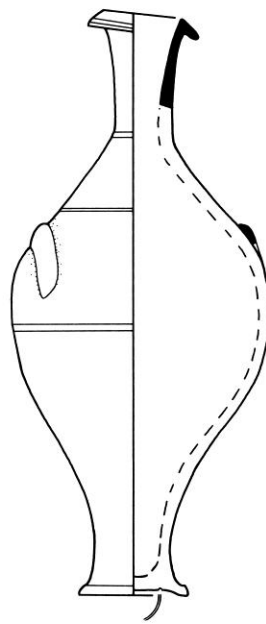
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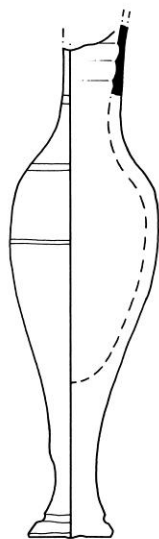
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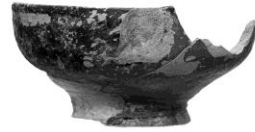
## PLATES



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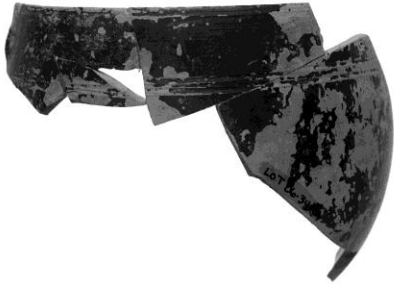
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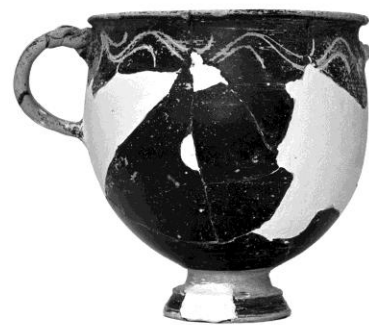
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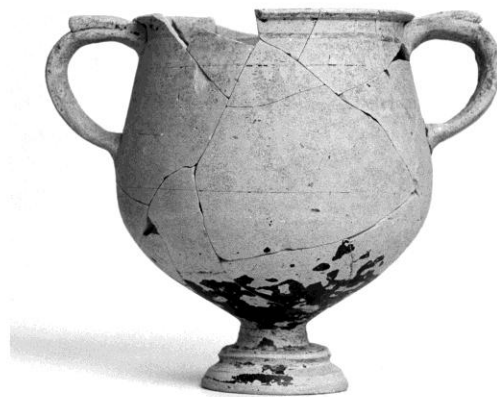
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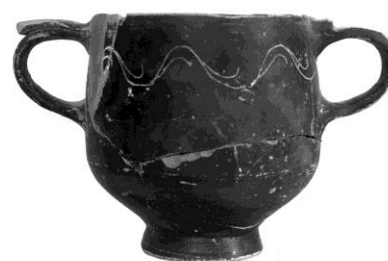
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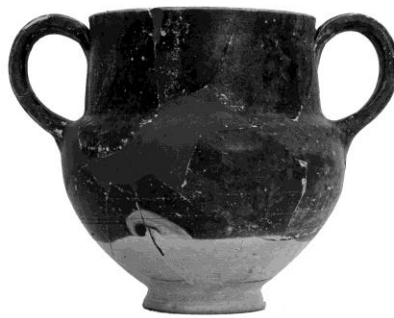
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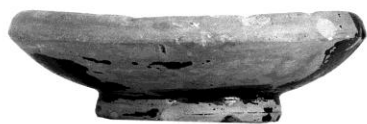
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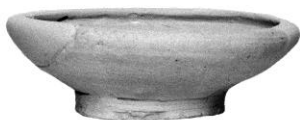
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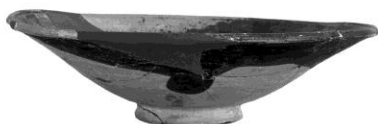
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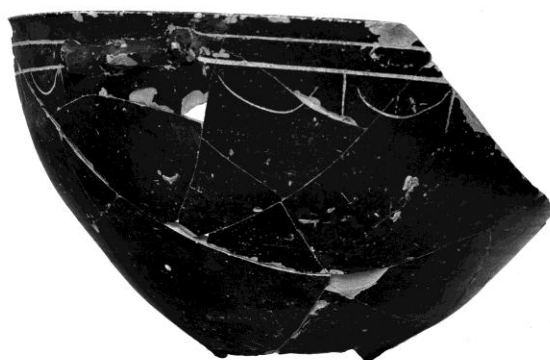


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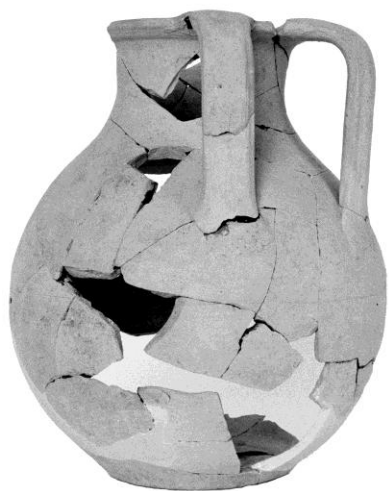
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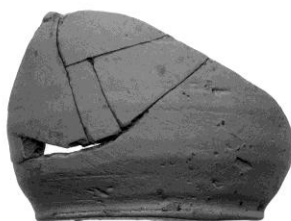
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169 (detail)



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Miniatures from Panayia Field Foundation Deposit

## Appendix I: Deposit Index

This appendix of 58 deposits is organized geographically by area of Corinth and by date. The deposits included here are those that were used to build the main Panayia Field chronology and those that contain objects used for determining shape evolution.<sup>1</sup> The deposits that were studied in their entirety are marked with an asterisk (\*) and referred to as primary deposits. The secondary deposits are dated based on their coins, inventoried pottery and lists of lotted pottery, if available, using the Panayia Field chronology or rely on the dates provided by the scholars who initially studied each deposit. These secondary deposits may benefit from a fuller re-examination using the new chronology, but that was beyond the scope of this work. This should not be viewed as a complete list of the Hellenistic deposits at Corinth, but rather as a select group that was most accessible for this study.

If a deposit has been published in the past, bibliographic references are provided, including *Corinth* VII.3. If a deposit was included in *Corinth* VII.3, the deposit numbers and dates as given by Edwards are also listed.<sup>2</sup> An attempt has been made to interpret the nature of each deposit, where possible, in order to gain a better understanding of topographical distribution of domestic, public and religious space within the city. It is understood that future study will likely lead to modifications of these dates, especially in the upper range.

### PRIMARY DEPOSITS (1-31)

#### PANAYIA FIELD

##### 1. Cellar 2005-1\*

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 1 for a general description of these deposits and how they were incorporated into this study.

<sup>2</sup> Note that some of the earliest deposits are also discussed in *Corinth* VII.4 and *Corinth* VII.5 because of the Archaic and Classical shapes they contained and those work should be consulted in that regard.

Date: 265-250 B.C.

Publications: none

This cellar was probably part of a structure that lay to the immediate south of the Hellenistic long building, although few traces of this building survive besides the cellar. Architecturally, it is the most complex of the subterranean features in the Panayia Field. The cellar measures roughly 2.5m by 3.0m and is bisected by a large lintel stone that may have supported a roof of some kind. In the southwest corner are four cut block stairs. The interior was lined with waterproof cement and the floor sloped towards the center, presumably to facilitate sediment collection. A small possible use fill was found in the slight depression in the bottom. The south wall of the cistern was partially removed by the installation of a large rectangular pool associated with the 4<sup>th</sup> c. Roman villa on the south side of the Panayia Field.

Cellar 2005-1 contained a primary dumped fill that was supplemented with a second fill in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., perhaps because the original fill had settled. All of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fill and a portion of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. fill were disturbed and re-deposited in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, when a rubble foundation was built in the eastern half of the cellar. For the purposes of this study, only the primary deposit and securely identified re-deposited material that could be associated with it were used. The re-deposited material was identified by joins found during the mending process and the contents of these excavation units were added to the original fill. The material thus selected contained a few contaminants, including a moldmade bowl fragment, but is basically an intact deposit.

The fill of the cistern contains a wide variety of vessels in fine (10% by weight), cooking (10% by weight) and coarse (80% by weight) ware in the standard distribution for a Panayia Field deposit. The context and the nature of the finds suggest therefore that

this is a non-specialized use or domestic deposit. The small finds generally support this hypothesis. There are a number of bone fragments (fish and mammal) that are burnt or have cut-marks (signs that they were consumed as food), as well as eleven loomweights, numerous fragments of Hellenistic lamps and two lead weights. One unusual feature of the fill of cellar 2005-1 is the comparatively large number of miniature vessels (25) and fragments of terracotta figurines (14) that it contained. Although there is no evidence to explain the presence of so many miniatures and figurines, their numbers are not disproportionately large enough to suggest that this is a ritual deposit. Moreover, the miniature vessels consist exclusively of household types, such as mortars, cups, bowls, etc. Like other Panayia Field deposits, small quantities of bronze and iron slag are present in the fill, as well as two horn cores.

The primary deposit is dated to 265-250 B.C. by the presence of eight Attic imports, which provide a terminus post quem of 275 B.C. The terminus ante quem was established by the use of similarity coefficients, which make this deposit earlier cistern 2006-1 and more similar to cistern 1979-1 and well 1960-6.<sup>3</sup>

Total weight of pottery: 159.7 kg

Catalog objects: nos. 10, 17, 18, 24, 25, 93-95, 113, 173 and 191

## 2. Cistern 2006-1\*

Date: 250-235 B.C.

Publications: none

Cistern 2006-1 lies in the north central room of the Hellenistic long building and is the only subterranean structure that can be associated with other architecture. It was almost certainly constructed at the same time as the long building, despite the fact that it

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<sup>3</sup> See the methodology section in Chapter 1 for a discussion of the use of similarity coefficients.

is not squarely placed within the room, because it is so large relative to the size of the room. From a practical perspective, creating this cistern after the building was finished would have been a very difficult task. The cistern was built by digging a square hole and then lining it with field stones in a series of courses, the stones were roughly smoothed and a layer of cement was added to make a uniform surface. The cement lined structure measures approximately 2.5m by 2.5m and a series of steps cut into a reused block provided access into it from the northeast corner. On the northwest corner, there are wear marks that may indicate where something was drawn out of the cistern by ropes or poured into it.

The cistern was filled in a single episode as shown by numerous joins between different levels throughout the fill and by the uniformity of the soil during excavation. The material within the fill was similar to other Panayia Field deposits with a ratio of roughly 10:10:80 for the fine, cooking and coarse wares. This normal distribution of pottery indicates that this is a deposit of mixed domestic debris. The small finds include mostly mammal bones and shells, ten loomweights, numerous Hellenistic lamp fragments and one lead weight. It should be noted that the fill contained an unusually large percentage by weight of imported fine ware – mostly from Attica. The amount of imported fine ware, however, is similar to what is seen in deposits of the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and so the predominance here can be explained as part of that phenomenon. Nearly as many miniature vessels (and in the same range of shapes) were found in the fill of cistern 2006-1 as in cellar 2005-1, but far fewer figurines. The fill also included many fragments of metal slag – one piece measured more than 1.5 kg – four ceramic wasters and several horn cores. The presence of these industrial by-products seems to indicate that some kind of manufacturing process was occurring in the Panayia Field.

The terminus post quem of the deposit is provided by the construction date of the building of the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. In addition, three coins of Demetrios Poliorcetes (306-283 B.C.) were found in the fill. Numerous Attic imports within the fill also date to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. with the latest dated to ca. 250 B.C. After the cistern was filled in with soil and debris, a packed earth floor with an associated hearth were built over top of it. Stratigraphically, a terminus ante quem for the fill of the cistern of ca. 225 B.C. can be demonstrated by a coin of Sikyon that was found in the hearth over the north wall of the cistern. This date is confirmed by the presence of two coins of Philip V (224-196 B.C.) in pit 2007-2, which was under the hearth and must post-date the fill of the cistern. Using similarity coefficients, cistern 2006-1 is sufficiently different from cistern 2001-1 to suggest that it belongs in the early part of the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The fill of the cistern is therefore assigned a range of 250-235 B.C.

Total weight of pottery: 214.7 kg

Catalog objects: nos. 1-4, 11, 19, 20, 26-28, 67-70, 96, 106, 115, 165, 177-178, 186

### 3. Cistern 2001-1\*

Date: ca. 225 +/- 10 B.C.

Publications: none

This cistern was found along with two others (cistern 2003-2 and cistern 2003-3) on the southeast side of Panayia Field. These cisterns seem to have belonged to two structures: one containing cistern 2001-1 and another with cisterns 2003-2 and 2003-3 (which share a dividing wall). Cistern 2001-1 is roughly square at 1.5m x 1.5m and plastered with peach colored waterproof cement. It is impossible to determine the nature of building to which it originally belonged or when it was initially constructed, since it was highly disturbed in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. or 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD when the northwest and southwest

corners of the cistern were removed. It is likely that the stairs that accessed the cistern were destroyed by these later events.

The most likely archaeological sequence is as follows: the cistern was filled late in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., then a disturbance took out the walls of the cistern leaving the lowest level of fill intact and the original fill was re-deposited to cover the remaining walls. During the process of re-deposition, some intrusive Roman material was included, but joins between the upper and lower levels show that much of the original fill was retained. Only pottery that could be securely identified as belonging to the Hellenistic fill (i.e. joined to vessels below) was used in this study, although it is possible that there is some later contamination.

Like other deposits from the Panayia Field, this cistern contained the typical distribution of fine, cooking and coarse wares that are associated with mixed domestic debris in this area. The small finds included some bones, metal slag, six loomweights, a fragment of an andesite hopper mill, Attic and local Hellenistic lamps, seven miniature vessels and numerous figurine fragments. In sum, it is a very similar range of material as is found in the other 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. deposits of the Panayia Field.

In terms of dating this cistern's fill, the terminus post quem is provided by a Howland type 32 lamp that dates to the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. or later. M. Lawall's reading of the Corinthian amphoras in the deposit, based on parallels to material from the Athenian Agora, suggested a date in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. for the closing of the cistern. The similarity coefficient for cistern 2001-1 suggests that it is more similar to cistern 2006-1 than to well 2002-2, thereby providing a relative terminus ante quem of ca. 210 B.C.

Total weight of pottery: 91.7 kg

Catalog objects: nos. 42, 107, 116

#### 4. Well 2002-2\*

Date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Publications: none

Well 2002-2 was in use from at least the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. when it was dug through a Geometric tomb (Grave 2002-2).<sup>4</sup> The total depth of the well is 17.61m. The upper 10.0m contained large quantities of roof tiles, limestone blocks and fragments of flooring and at the bottom of this debris was found piece of a circular limestone well head – presumably from the top of this same well. The pottery in the upper ten meters is predominantly Hellenistic, although there is some earlier Geometric, Archaic and Classical material. The best explanation for the presence of this earlier pottery is that the upper part of the well was filled by soil excavated during the construction of some other feature in the Panayia Field. There are also three small pieces of early Roman pottery in the upper levels of the fill that are intrusive. The bottom 7.0m is mostly Hellenistic and earlier material. No water level was reached, so the well must have gone dry and out of use sometime in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. That the well was dry when it was filled is possibly supported by the presence of bronze pulleys at the bottom, probably part of the well rigging at the top.

Three distinct fills can be identified: a small use fill (mid-4<sup>th</sup> to mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.), a lower dumped fill ca. 7.0m deep (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.) and an upper supplemental fill approximately 10m deep (late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.). A fourth very small supplemental or leveling fill dating to the Early Roman period may be argued for the uppermost portion of the well. Some material from the use fill was catalogued for 4<sup>th</sup> c. vessels that are included here. In addition to the bronze pulleys mentioned above, it contained ten almost complete pitcher bases that were clearly broken while taking water from the well. The

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<sup>4</sup> For the publication of this tomb, see Pfaff 2007.



lower fill has the same percentage by weight of fine, cooking and coarse wares as in the other Hellenistic deposits in Panayia Field and therefore likely represents mixed domestic debris. The small finds of bones, metal slag, loomweights, local and Attic lamps, miniature vessels and fragments of figurines also support this conclusion. The presence of limestone blocks, pebble flooring and Hellenistic wall plaster in the upper fill deserves mention because it is likely came from one of the Hellenistic structures in Panayia Field.

For the purposes of this study, only the quantified data from the lower dumped fill was employed. The lower dumped fill was dated by the presence of a coin of Philip V (220-179 B.C.) in the upper fill that provided a terminus ante quem. Within the lower fill, the latest imports are an Attic guttus and a Campana A bowl that provide a late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. date. Similarity coefficients show that the lower fill is sufficiently different from cistern 2003-2 to suggest that it does not belong in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and instead it is more similar to cistern 2001-1. It has therefore been assigned a date late in the fourth quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. of 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Total weight of pottery: 587.5 kg

Catalog objects: nos. 5-9, 13, 22, 30-32, 38-41, 54-58, 71, 76-78, 97, 100, 108-109, 117-118, 124-126, 138, 166-167, 170, 174-176, 187

##### 5. Cistern 2003-2\*

Date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Publications: none

This roughly rectangular cistern is one of three (cistern 2001-1 and cistern 2003-3) discovered on the east side of the site. It clearly formed some kind of unit with cistern 2003-3 with which it shares its east wall. Built of dry stone walling, the cistern measures 2.00m x 1.56m and was preserved to a maximum depth of 1.62 m. A series of 5 steps

descends from the northeast corner to the cobble paved floor. Since only the east wall and the southeast corner are plastered with hydraulic cement, it was probably not intended to hold water. Like the other cisterns in this area, it is not possible to determine when it was initially constructed.

The stratigraphic sequence can be re-constructed as follows: the cistern was filled in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. the upper portions of its walls were destroyed by the construction of a substantial road over top of it.<sup>5</sup> The lowest fill of the cistern remained undisturbed by later activities, but the upper levels were removed by the construction of the road and then re-deposited immediately on top of the lower fill – as joins between the excavation units clearly demonstrate. As in the other cases of re-deposited fill, care has been taken to avoid any possible later intrusive material by excluding baskets that do not have joins to the primary fill.

Unlike the other Panayia Field deposits, cistern 2003-2 contains a large percentage of cooking ware by weight (27%) relative to fine (10%) and coarse wares (63%). The cooking ware consists mostly of flanged stewpots, round-mouthed pitchers and cooking lids intended for use with stewpots. Interestingly, many of these vessels had been warped in the kiln and some were so misshapen as to render them unusable. By counting the number of knobs from the cooking ware lids, a minimum number of vessels could be estimated at 110. The presence of so much cooking ware and in such condition suggests that perhaps this fill represents debris from a pottery workshop. At the time of its excavation, it was proposed that the fill came from a public dining context, but the relatively small amount of fine ware and wide range of shapes present negates this

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<sup>5</sup> The Hellenistic cistern was actually cut through by a sewer in the middle of the road and part of the sidewalk. See Palinkas and Herbst, forthcoming in *Hesperia*.

possibility in comparison to contemporary South Stoa well fills.<sup>6</sup> The other finds suggest that this is a deposit of mixed debris that includes household material, namely eleven loomweights and plain and blisterware lamps. In addition to the misshapen ceramics, there are also many pieces of bronze and iron slag as in the other Panayia Field deposits.

The primary fill contained a coin of Ptolemy III (247-232 - Coin 2003-74), two Attic imports (C 2003-46, -47) that date to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., two Greco-Italic amphoras that date to ca. 200 or later and Knidian stamped amphora handle from Grace's Period IVA (188-167 B.C.).<sup>7</sup> In addition, the similarity co-efficient of this deposit indicates that the material is significantly different than that of well 2002-2 and the other 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. deposits and more similar to manhole 1986-1, therefore it belongs firmly in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The Hellenistic fill of cistern 2003-2 is dated to ca. 175 +/- 10 B.C. based on the amphoras, imports and coins.

Total weight of pottery: 305.5 kg

Catalog objects: nos. 50-51, 74-75, 86, 101-104, 110, 119-120, 128-129, 149-151, 180, 182, 188, 192

#### 6. Cistern 2003-3\*

Date: ca. 175 B.C.

Publications: none

Roughly rectangular in shape (1.5m x 2.0m), cistern 2003-3 shares its west wall with cistern 2003-2 and was similarly disturbed by the construction of the Roman road (see above). Three walls remained relatively intact and a staircase of four steps was also

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<sup>6</sup> In the public dining contexts of the South Stoa wells, there is a disproportionate number of drinking vessels relative to all other types of fine ware. See Deposits 8-23 below.

<sup>7</sup> I am grateful to Mark Lawall for identifying the amphoras in this deposit and cistern 2001-1.

preserved. All of these built features were covered with a fine plaster, which makes it likely that the structure was actually used as cistern for water.

Most of the original Hellenistic fill was removed during the construction of the road leaving only approximately 0.25m in situ. Some of the original fill was re-deposited but it contained such large quantities of later material that it was not suitable for this study. Therefore the only the bottommost fill is included here, but it was too small to be meaningfully quantified and added to the Panayia Field data set.

The cistern was disturbed by activities in the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C., which provide a terminus ante quem for the deposit. The lowest fill has been dated to ca. 175 B.C. based on the Panayia Field chronology and the likelihood that this cistern was filled in at the same time as cistern 2003-2.

Total weight of pottery: 10.4 kg

Catalog objects: no. 83

#### 7. Post-146 Floor Deposit\*

Date: 125-75 B.C.

Publications: James, forthcoming

For a detailed discussion of the date and nature of this deposit, see Chapter 6 pp. 207-210.

Total weight of pottery: 35.04 kg

Catalog objects: nos. 82, 89, 91, 121-122, 132-133, 158-161

### **SOUTH STOA**

#### 8. Pottery Deposit in Shop I\*

Date: Upper fill – interim period; Lower fill – ca. 175 B.C.

Publications: Broneer 1935, pp. 54-56; *Corinth* IV.1, pp. 48-49 and 68-69; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 94

This deposit was located in the eastern half of Shop I of the South Stoa beneath the stairway and extending halfway across the room. Broneer and Edwards agree that the deposit originated in a cupboard under the stairs that was left relatively unfinished during the life of the Stoa and was only accessible from Shop II. They disagree, however, on how the material was deposited in this space. Broneer believed that the deposit represented the cleaning of one of the wells or that the space was dug out intentionally when the floors were lowered in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>8</sup> Edwards, on the other hand, interpreted the bulk of the deposit as a “hall closet” where the occupants of Shop II would throw their rubbish and therefore it accumulated over the life of the Stoa (ca. 325-146 B.C.).<sup>9</sup> Because of this long accumulation, it is one of the key deposits on which Edwards’ built his Hellenistic pottery chronology.<sup>10</sup> He suggested that the coins and some other material in the deposit fell from above through the stairs and into the cupboard because the deposit slopes downward in one direction. Evidence of this slope comes from a burnt layer(s) that occurred at different elevations throughout the deposit. He tentatively suggested that the uppermost fill (including the top burned layer) dated to the period of the Mummian destruction, although no certain Roman material had been identified at the time of his writing.

In re-examining the notebooks and deposit material for the current study, a very different interpretation emerged. By tracing the burned layer(s) across the deposit and reconstructing the stratigraphy, it becomes clear that there are two fills. Most of fill, which comprises the upper fill (or is too mixed to go with the lower fill), was dug

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<sup>8</sup> *Corinth* IV.1, pp. 48-49.

<sup>9</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 224.

<sup>10</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, p. 225.

between March 10 and 15, 1934. The upper fill has a join between lots 3802 and 3808 that seems to indicate a sloping deposit, but if it resulted from debris having fallen through the stairs it should have slumped the other way (north to south not south to north). Another difficulty with Edwards' interpretation is the presence of many coarse wares (35 kg of amphora and other sherds), which certainly did not fall through the stairs and would be rather wasteful to dump in such a cupboard while the room was still in use. The upper fill does contain a few sherds of Roman cooking ware and thin walled wares indicating a date of later than 146 B.C. The notebook also records that there were Byzantine sherds in the upper fills, which show that this upper layer was disturbed by later activities. In dividing the upper and lower by date of excavation, the inventoried material can be added to the debate. Among the inventoried objects from the upper fill are a stamped Rhodian amphora handle (108-100 B.C.) and two coins (one Megarian (after 146? B.C.) and one Athenian (229-83 B.C.)) that support a post-146 date of deposition. An interim period date for the upper fill helps to explain the presence of a possible well curb and numerous tiles in the context material, since similar material occur in other interim deposits. There is also a join between a tile found in the "Mummian fill" of neighboring well II and the upper fill from this deposit. Moreover, although the pottery in this upper fill is very mixed, it does contain late Hellenistic shapes that the lower fill does not, such as flat rim plates and moldmade bowls.

The lower fill was excavated from March 16 onwards. It is considerably smaller than the upper fill, partly because the burned layer was only identified in the south and very south sections and the limits of this fill are defined in relation to that burnt layer.<sup>11</sup> The material within the lower fill contained a coin dated to 196-146 B.C. that provided a

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<sup>11</sup> The burned layer was not clearly identified and the fills above and below it were not excavated separately on the north side of the deposit and therefore it is probable that the lots on that side contain material from both the upper and lower fills. In order to avoid contamination, only material that was discretely excavated as the lower fill (from the southern sections) is included in the current study.

terminus post quem of the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., while the upper fill gives a terminus ante quem of 146 B.C. Overall, the pottery in the lower fill is very consistent with the other early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fills from the South Stoa and should date to ca. 175 BC.

This deposit was not suitable for quantification purposes, since it is quite small and had been selectively saved. Inventoried material from both the upper and lower fills however, was used for shape typologies and as basic chronological comparanda. The pottery from the lower fill was notable for the quantity of conical bowls that it contained relative to other deposits in the South Stoa wells of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog Objects: no. 64

#### 9. Well in South Stoa Shop II\* aka Well 1933-1

Date: Upper fill – Mummian destruction?; Lower fill – 185-175 B.C.

Publications: *Corinth* IV.1 p. 63; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 95

Little material was kept from the upper fill dug in 1933, although it was noted that the fill contained quantities of architectural members (including fragments that joined to pieces found in the upper fills of wells III and V and the Pottery Deposit in Shop I). No pottery of Roman date, however, was noted in this upper fill and it was assumed that the fill must have been dumped very early in the period of the early colony.<sup>12</sup>

Although the cooking and coarse wares in the lowest fill were only represented by diagnostic sherds, the fine ware was kept in its entirety. The local pottery consists primarily of cyma and articulated kantharoi, but there is also a flat rim plate and a bowl with an outturned rim among the inventoried and context pottery. Joins were found between all of the lots that contain material from the lower fill suggesting that it should

be interpreted as a single dumped fill. The depositional date of this pottery suggests that it was dumped down the well to block the water channel during the renovations that occurred in the South Stoa in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.<sup>13</sup>

The small lower fill (0.85m in depth) was initially interpreted by Edwards' as a use fill dating to between the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and 146 B.C. The present study has re-dated this fill on the basis of two stamped amphora handles C 1947-108 (Knidian, period IVa 188-167 B.C.) and C 1947-109 (Rhodian, c. 199 B.C.) as well as a coin of Philip V (220-179 B.C.). These objects provide a terminus post quem for the lowest fill of ca. 188 B.C. A date of the late in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. was independently confirmed for the lowest fill using the Panayia Field chronology.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog Objects: nos. 156, 194

#### **10. Well in South Stoa Shop III\* aka Well 1934-2**

Date: Upper fill – Mummian destruction; Lower fill – 185-175 B.C.

Publications: Richardson 1897, pp. 471-473; *Corinth* IV.1, plan I (location); *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 96; Sanders, forthcoming

This well was excavated to water level in 1896 and all of the material was discarded. Broneer returned to the well in 1934 and excavated the remaining upper fill and the preserved lower fill. The upper fill contained Mummian clean-up debris consisting of architectural members and tiles, most of which was thrown away. Edwards' interpreted the lower fill as having gradually accumulated over the lifetime of the Stoa

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<sup>13</sup> See Chapter 7 for a discussion of these early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. renovations in the South Stoa.



(ca. 325-146 B.C.). The presence of several “advanced” Attic type skyphoi in the fill was used by Edwards as proof that the well was cleaned out at least once in its history.<sup>14</sup>

The bulk of the lower fill contained large quantities of cyma and articulated kantharoi, as well as some earlier material. Overall, the fine ware was very similar to other early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits in the South Stoa wells with its lack of small serving vessels and predominance of drinking cups. A coin of Philip V (220-179 B.C.) provides a terminus post quem for the deposit. The presence of a few fragments of moldmade bowls suggests that the lower fill must have been deposited sometime after ca. 185 B.C. Since the lower fill was quite small, it was only used for comparative purposes and not quantified by the present study.

One unusual feature of Shop III is the presence of a votive deposit in the floor containing 74 figurines. The fill of the well has also been interpreted to be related to the activities in the shop because of the presence of bronze spur and a marble horseman figurine. In addition, kantharoi inscribed with Dionysos, Pausiktepalos, Alupias and Hedones were found in the well. On the basis of the votive deposit and finds from the well, Shop III has been interpreted as a hero shrine.<sup>15</sup> The life of the shrine is thought to have ended with the renovations in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Total weight: unknown

Catalog objects: nos. 44-45, 62, 179, 195

## **11. Well in South Stoa Shop V\* aka Well 1933-2**

Date: Upper fill – 146 B.C. to 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.; Lower fill – ca.185-175 B.C.

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<sup>14</sup> *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 225-226.

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 6.

Publications: Broneer 1933, p. 564; *Corinth* IV.1, pl. 15, 1 (marble gaming board) and pl. 24, 4 (lamps); *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 42; *Corinth* XII, no. 491; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 98; Williams 1977, p. 72

The upper fill was excavated in 1933 and consisted primarily of pottery and tiles (0-5.0m) on top of pieces of well curb and architectural fragments from the Stoa (5.0-7.5m). There are joins in tile fragments between the upper fill in this well and the upper fill in well II. Fragments of early Roman pottery from the upper fill indicate a date in the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.<sup>16</sup> This date is supported by two coins of the duovir series of the early colony. Edwards interpreted the lower fill as use fill that accumulated between the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. and 146 B.C.

The upper fill clearly contains material that belongs to the interim period, including local pottery and coins of Histiaea (369-146? B.C.) and Patras (146-32) as well as later material. The lower fill is dominated by articulated kantharoi, much like well XXX. The remaining pottery consists of some Hellenistic lamps and a few serving and pouring vessels. Two coins of Ptolemy III (246-222 B.C.) provide a terminus ante quem, while the terminus post quem is given by the upper fill. The types of drinking vessels present and similarities to other early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fills in the South Stoa suggest a date for the lower fill of late in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Total weight: unknown

Catalog objects: none

## 12. Well in South Stoa Shop IX\* aka Well 1948-2

Date: Upper fill – interim; Lower fill – first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

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<sup>16</sup> Williams 1977, p. 72.

Publications: Weinberg 1949, pp. 151-152; *Corinth* IV.1, pp. 111-115; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 101

This well was excavated by Edwards in 1948 and it is not clear whether he reached the bottom of the well. He interpreted much of the material as part of a single dumped fill that was deposited in the period of the early colony. It contained many architectural elements from the South Stoa, along with finds of Augustan barbotine and Samian ware whose dates (at the time) supported his hypothesis. The bottommost levels of the well contained eight almost complete amphoras, which he dated to 250-146 B.C.

The present study suggests that there are in fact two fills in this well. The amphoras noted in the bottom of the well are Greco-Italic Will form C and date to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. If there is a difference between the upper and lower fills, then the lower fill can be dated by the Greco-Italic amphoras. For the purposes of this study, the most important aspect of this well is the upper fill, which joins to the fill of well X. The connection between wells IX and X is strengthened by the presence of numerous type XII loomweights and type X lamps in both wells. A Knidian stamped amphora handle, an ESA plate and the thin walled ware, all support a date for the upper fill in the interim period.

The fine ware in the upper fill is very typical of the interim period fills of the South Stoa wells and includes moldmade bowls, serving shapes and plates. The presence of cooking and coarse wares, as well as loomweights and lead weights – types that are not present in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. deposits - supports the hypothesis that the interim fills reflect a change in the usage of the South Stoa after 146 B.C.

Total weight: unknown

Catalog objects: no. 152

**13.** Well in South Stoa Shop X\* aka Well 1934-5

Date: Upper fill – 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.; Lower fill - interim period

Publications: *Corinth* IV.1, p. 115; *Corinth* XII, no. 1124, 1185, 1186, 1188, 1783, 2511; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 102

Edwards interpreted this well as having three distinct fills: at the bottom a habitation fill (3<sup>rd</sup> c. to 146 B.C.), then Mummian destruction debris that was deposited in the early Roman period (maybe when the shop was destroyed in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.), and finally a supplemental fill introduced in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. when the top was sealed by a pebble floor. The Mummian fill was dated by the presence of a single Roman sherd.

Now the deposit has been re-interpreted as containing two fills, one dated to the interim period and one to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. The interim fill is dated on the basis of an Attic bowl with a vertical upper wall, a Delian moldmade bowl, an orlo bifido baking pan, a Knidian stamped amphora handle and numerous fragments of dot barbotine and other thin walled wares. The interim fill has joins to objects in the upper fills of wells IX and XI. Like well IX, it contains more than eleven type XII loomweights and type X and type XVI lamps. The fine ware in the interim fill of this well displays the same range of shapes as the Panayia Field floor deposit (Deposit 7). Most of the fine ware from this deposit was saved and it was quantified and included in the Hellenistic pottery data set.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog objects: no. 135

#### **14. Well in South Stoa Shop XII\* aka Well 1935-3**

Date: Upper fill – interim period; Lower fill – first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: Stillwell 1936, pp. 32-39; *Corinth* IV.1, pp. 115-128; *Corinth* XII, no. 2886; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 104

The bottom of this well was not reached during excavation. Edwards denied that there was any use fill and interpreted the fill as deposited during a single episode, dated by the presence of a duovir coin, before the construction of the Roman fountain house. The fill of the well contained architectural fragments and pottery that have joins with the material in the upper fill of well XVI.

The present study suggests that a use fill was reached at the bottom of this well. Lot 3664 contains material from the very bottom of the well, which was separate from the fill above by a boulder, and is very different from that found in the upper fill. One interpretation of the presence of the boulder and the earlier fill is that it was dumped into the shaft to block the Peirene channel sometime in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The upper fill can be dated to the interim period on the basis of a Campana A plate and a bowl of the PR workshop (Cat. No. 83). Moreover, the range of shapes present is consistent with the pottery from the Panayia Field floor deposit (Deposit 7). The pottery from this deposit was not quantified but was used as comparanda for other interim period deposits.

Total weight: unknown

Catalog objects: no. 154, 162

#### **15. Well in South Stoa Shop XIV\* aka Well 1936-11**

Date: Upper fill – interim; Lower fill – 185 +/- 10 B.C.

Publications: Broneer 1947, p. 240; *Corinth* I.4, pp. 124-128; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 106; Sanders, forthcoming

Edwards interpreted the lower fill as a use fill that accumulated from the late 4<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. He identified the upper fill as Mummian cleanup debris, despite the absence of any Roman material. This fill contained numerous tiles, including

some with the Xenola stamp from a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. or later repair of the Stoa roof, stone blocks and a well curb.

The amount of material that was saved from the upper fill was quite small and therefore was not included in this study. The lower fill, however, is one of the larger early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fills in this study. A coin of Ptolemy V (204–179 B.C.) and two Rhodian stamped amphora handles (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.) support a date early in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The fine ware of the lower fill is dominated by articulated kantharoi, like the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fills of other South Stoa wells. A large number of type VII lamps were also found in the lower fill. Small finds of knucklebones and burnt bones suggest that gaming and dining may have been some of the activities in this period.

Total weight: unknown

Catalog objects: nos. 47, 52, 136

#### **16. Well in South Stoa Shop XV\* aka Well 1946-1**

Date: Upper fill – 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.; Lower fill – interim

Publications: Broneer 1947, pp. 239-242; *Corinth* I.4, pp. 126-128; *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 22 and 25; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 107

Edwards identified no use fill in this well. The large lower fill (4.0m deep) had joining material throughout indicating that it was deposited at one time. It contained tiles, architectural blocks and a complete well curb. Edwards suggested that the material in the lower fill may be related to the repairs that were ongoing in 146 B.C. (cf. South Stoa well XIX). The upper six meters of fill had both Roman and Hellenistic pottery and was dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. by a coin of the duovir series (before 69 A.D.).

The current study has dated the lower fill to the interim period on the basis of a Knidian stamped amphora handle (Period V), as well as the presence of three Ephesian

type lamps (dated 50-0 B.C.) in the upper fill. The lower fill also contained a range of fine, cooking and coarse ware, as well as type XII loomweights. The presence of the well curb in between the two fills suggests that the well remained open and was used as a trash dump during the interim period, but was dismantled and finally filled in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. The date of the upper fill was confirmed by Slane, who identified numerous early Roman vessels belonging to the Augustan-Tiberian period in the fill.<sup>17</sup>

Total weight: unknown

Catalog Objects: no. 163

#### 17. Well in South Stoa Shop XVIII\* aka Well 1936-12

Date: Upper fill – interim?; Lower fill – 185-175 B.C.

Publications: Broneer 1947, p. 240; *Corinth* I.4, pp. 129-132; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 109

Edwards proposed that this well contained three distinct fills. He interpreted the lowest fill as a use fill because of the large number of “heavy water jars and coarse other pottery” and large quantities of animal bones that were recorded in the notebook. He dated this use fill, like all the others in the South Stoa, to the late 4<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Strangely, he discounted the presence of some of the earliest sherds as infiltrative because there were also 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. sherds found in the upper fill. The middle fill contained tiles and pottery and was considered Mummian clean-up debris. Joins were found between several tiles in this fill and those in the upper fill of neighboring well XIX. The uppermost fill is Roman.

It is difficult to support the identification of the lowest fill as a use fill because of the absence of water pitchers and the existence of a join between a moldmade bowl in

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<sup>17</sup> Wright 1980.

this level and one from Well XIX. Therefore, on the basis of the Panayia Field chronology, the bottom fill should date to ca. 185-175 B.C. The presence of many animal bones was interpreted by Broneer to indicate that Shop XVIII was either a restaurant or a butcher's shop. The possibility that it was a restaurant is unlikely, however, since there are very few serving vessels, i.e., bowls and plates, in this deposit. Unfortunately, the bones were not kept so it is impossible to determine if they had any marks of butchery.

The main evidence that the upper fill dates to the interim period is the existence of joins to fill 3 in well XIX, which may or may not date to after 146 B.C. (see below). Otherwise, aside from the presence of some tiles that could be part of a repair, the upper fill contains only Hellenistic pottery of the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and in a similar range of shapes as other deposits of that period in the South Stoa wells. Neither fill was able to be included in the main data set, but inventoried objects from this well were used for comparanda in this study.

Total weight: unknown

Catalog objects: no. 92

### **18. Well in South Stoa Shop XIX\* aka Well 1948-3**

Date: Upper supplementary fill – mixed; Upper fill – interim or early colony; Middle fill – 178-170 B.C.; Lower fill – 190 +/- 10 B.C.

Publications: Weinberg 1949, p. 152; Thompson 1951, pp. 355-367; *Corinth* I.4, pp. 129-132; *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 501; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 110; Sanders, forthcoming

Well XIX is one of more stratigraphically complicated wells in the South Stoa. On the basis of joins, Edwards distinguished four separate fills: 1) a use fill dated to ca. 325 to late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. topped by a layer of cobbles; 2) a second use fill dated to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. that also contained a horde of Ptolemaic coins; 3) a Mummian



destruction fill with tiles, a well curb and part of a base of a bronze statue, but no Roman pottery; and 4) a “scanty” supplemental fill of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. Notably, the third fill contained quantities of pigments, paint pots and bronze and iron nails. This material, sometimes referred to as the “Paint Shop fill,” was interpreted by Broneer and Edwards as being present in the shop in 146 B.C. as part of renovations in the Stoa taking place at that time. They note that some pigments were also found in the Mummian fill of well XV.

The present study shows that Edwards’ interpretation of the fills was inaccurate. Joins between all of the material in the lowest fill indicates that it was deposited at the same time. The date of this fill comes from a coin of Philip V (220-178 B.C.) and a Rhodian stamped amphora handle, which suggest that it was deposited in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The coin hoard was found at the interface between the second and third fills and so marks the top of the second fill. This hoard consists of 29 coins of Ptolemy V/Cleopatra I (204-180 B.C.) and one coin of Ptolemy VI+VII (181-173 B.C.). From within the second fill also came a stamped Rhodian amphora handle (178/176 B.C.). The terminus post quem of the second fill is therefore ca. 178 B.C. and provides a terminus ante quem for the first fill. The range of local fine ware present in the second fill is very similar to the first fill and it appears that the two fills were deposited in quick succession. It is the presence of the pebble layer and lack of joins between them that argues for their separation. The first fill is roughly 0.80m deep and when combined with the pebble layer on top of it would have been more than sufficient to block the Peirene channel and close down this well. The timing of this fill therefore may coincide with the alterations in the shop itself when a connecting door was created between shops XIX and XX. The bottom two fills were kept in their entirety and were able to be quantified and added to the Panayia Field data set.

The joins chart indicates, despite the “marked change in fill” that Edwards detected, that there is some overlap between his fills 2 and 3. It should be noted that the coin hoard and the “paint shop fill” were found in the same levels, levels that had very little pottery or other debris. Edwards assumed that the coin hoard was dumped down the well in 146 B.C. and that the other material was deposited in the early years of the colony. A better interpretation, however, is that the coins and pigments were dumped in before 146 B.C. and that the third fill begins slightly higher in the well than thought by Edwards. The notebooks say that there was a distinct change to soft brown soil in a basket from ca. 5.0m deep, the last coins and pigments were found in a basket at 5.5m deep, and recognizably Roman pottery occurs above 4.5m. There is a join between the second fill in well XVIII and Edwards’ Mummian fill (his third fill) in this well, but the level where those pieces were found is not recorded. It seems clear that the third fill is either interim or early colony, but whether it can be used to date the fill in well XVIII is open to debate. The lots from the fourth and uppermost supplementary fill are very mixed and contain Roman and Byzantine pottery.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog objects: no. 111

#### **19. Well in South Stoa Shop XXII\* aka Well 1934-5**

Date: Upper fill – lost; Lower fill – interim period

Publications: Weinberg 1949, p. 151; *Corinth* I.4, pp. 138-144; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 112

Edwards originally suggests that there were three distinct fills. The bottommost use fill he dated to ca. 300 to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. A second deep fill had multiple joins between the strata and contained Hellenistic and Roman tiles and coins of

the later 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. Finally, a supplemental fill was deposited in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. when the marble floor of Room H was laid over top of the well shaft.

However, a chart in the back of Edwards' own notebook shows that there are numerous joins between his first and second fills and therefore they should be combined and interpreted as one large fill. This lower fill contains coins from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., as well as seven 1<sup>st</sup> c. coins (Nicopolis after 31 B.C., Corinth duoviri after 30 B.C. (4), Athens 85-30 B.C. Athens ca. 50 B.C.). The imported fine ware consists of two Campana A bowls that date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and ca. 60-44 B.C. respectively, as well as numerous sherds of dot barbotine and other Roman thin walled wares (dated from the fourth quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.). While there is some Roman pottery that dates to the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. and into the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., there is a very large amount of local Hellenistic fine ware within this lower fill. Since the evidence suggests that there is a large quantity of material within this fill that dates to the later 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C., the local fine ware is understood as belonging to the interim period and perhaps gradually accumulated through that time. The fine ware from the lower fill was saved in its entirety and therefore could be quantified and added to the Panayia Field material. The upper fill was not saved.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog objects: nos. 90, 112, 134

## **20. Well in South Stoa Shop XXVII\* aka Well 1947-5**

Date: Upper fill – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.; Lower fill – First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC

Publications: Weinberg 1949, pp. 150-151; *Corinth* I.4, p. 60; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 113; Sanders, forthcoming

Edwards suggested that there were three fills in this well. At the bottom, a use fill dated from the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. to 146 B.C. The second fill, from below water level to 1.30m from the top, which consisted of Mummian destruction debris (burned tiles and architectural fragments) and was dated by a coin of Thespieae (146-27 B.C.). Edwards noted that there was no Roman pottery within the second fill and suggested that it was deposited in 44 B.C., presumably before any later material was introduced. He was distinguished between the first and second fill on the basis of joins within the two fills. Sometime in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., the top of the well was disturbed when a drain was installed and new fill was introduced that included a coin of Julia Domna (217 A.D.).

A re-study of Edwards' own chart shows numerous joins both within the first and second fills and between them from top to bottom. The stratigraphic evidence therefore clearly demonstrates that the first and second fills are actually a single dumped fill. The coin of Thespieae has been recently re-examined by O. Zerbos, who determined that it is in fact illegible. In regard to the burned debris, Edwards' notebook records the observation that the burning looked very fresh (too fresh to have been exposed for 100 years) and suggests that it may be evidence for post-146 B.C. damage to the Stoa.<sup>18</sup> This possibility is also considered by Broneer. The other coins in the deposit include one of Ptolemy III (247-222 B.C.) and Philip V (220-179 B.C.) providing a solid terminus post quem for the fill of the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The similarity coefficient for this deposit shows that it is more similar to the other early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fills of the South Stoa wells than to the Panayia Field well (Deposit 4).

This well also provides some of the best evidence for activities in the South Stoa in this period. Huge quantities of cyma and articulated kantharoi come from this fill –

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<sup>18</sup> Such destruction debris is also seen in wells XVI and XXX.

more than 8.0kg in total and constitute 78% of the fine ware by weight. In addition, two kraters came from this fill. Finds of bronze and bone knucklebones and a bone flute suggest that music and gaming were activities associated with this shop. Although the cooking and coarse wares were selectively saved, the fine ware was probably kept in its entirety and was able to be quantified.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog objects: nos. 33, 46, 48, 49, 59

## **21. Well in South Stoa Shop XXX\* aka Well 1938-1**

Date: Upper fill – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.; Lower fill – 185-170 B.C.

Publications: Broneer 1947, pls. LVII and LIX; *Corinth* I.4, plan VI; *Corinth* XII, no. 836; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 115; Sanders, forthcoming

Edwards believed that there were three fills, but noted that “their identity was not fully demonstrable.” He dated the bottommost use fill to the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. to the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The second fill contained tiles, destruction debris and one piece of Roman pottery and he therefore interpreted it as Mummian cleanup. The upper fill was deposited in the late Roman period.

In 2009, the pottery from fills 1 and 2 was re-mended and during that process numerous joins were found between the two fills. The evidence therefore suggests that there are only two fills – one deep fill dated to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and the other to the later Roman period. The lower fill contains two coins of Ptolemy III (247-222 B.C.), two Knidian stamped amphora handles dated to Grace’s period III (220-188 B.C.) and IVA (188-167 B.C.), a Campana A bowl (first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.) and two Greco-Italic amphoras (Will Forms D and E – 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.). These objects provide a terminus post quem for the lower fill of 188 B.C. The upper parts of the lower fill

contained some fragments of the earliest types of thin walled wares – these are either contaminants or are the earliest imported thin walled ware known in Corinth. If we assume that the thin walled wares are not contaminants, then they are the latest objects in the fill and provide a date of the early second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. or could date to the interim period. A second possibility is that there is some interim or later material from the upper part of the well that was kept with the lower fill and that the interface was missed during excavation.

The lower fill of this well is very similar to the fill in well XXVII, in terms of its pottery and the presence of destruction debris – in fact there is a join between a Doric column capital in this fill and a fragment from well XXVII. These two fills therefore probably represent the same episode in the history of the Stoa. A further factor to consider is that the fill was introduced to shut off the well when a door was opened between shops XXX and XXXI as part of the pre-146 B.C. alterations. In fact, the damage to the Stoa and the alterations may be connected.

The material in the lower fill provides evidence for the nature of activities in the South Stoa during the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Like well XXVII, drinking vessels dominate the fine ware assemblage constituting 75% by total weight and of this total 89% are kantharoi. In addition, knucklebones and lamps were found among the debris. It appears that most of the fine ware from the lower half of the well was saved and this material was quantified and added to the present study.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog objects: nos. 60, 65, 84, 127, 140, 148

## FORUM AREA

### 22. Pottery Deposit in the Drain between Buildings I and II aka Drain 1971-1

Date: 300 +/- 10 B.C.

Publications: Williams and Fisher 1972, pp. 154-163; *Corinth* VII.6

This deposit was found in a large basin system that served as a drain for the area around Buildings I, II and III on the southwest side of the Forum and served as the major public drain for the upper Lechaion Road valley.<sup>19</sup> It was also connected to drain 1937-1, see below. This drain was cut into the bedrock at the time of the construction of Building I and later filled with building material and debris when that structure was demolished. This activity would have pre-dated the construction of the South Stoa, as this building lies partially beneath its foundations.

The pottery consists primarily of drinking cups and related shapes, as well as lamps and other small finds. Twenty four transport amphoras were also found. This deposit has been fully studied by Ian McPhee and Elizabeth Pemberton and their definitive analysis in *Corinth* VII.6 should be preferred. Because McPhee and Pemberton had quantified the material in this drain and generously made it available to the author before its publication, it is included in data set of the current study.

Total weight of pottery: 465.83 kg

Catalog objects: none

### 23. Forum Southeast, Cistern 1979-1\*

Date: First quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: Williams 1980, pp. 120-121

This cistern is located to the south of the storeroom in South Stoa Shop XXI and was partially cut by its back wall. Roughly rectangular in shape, the cistern originally measured 3.0m x 1.22m and was oriented north-south and lined with waterproof plaster. The Classical building that the cistern was associated with was destroyed by the South Stoa and later Roman activity in the area. A cross-wall was added as a foundation for another structure and the cistern was filled with earth and pottery when the South Stoa was built over its northern wall.

The fine ware from the cistern had been completely saved and so was quantifiable for this study. It contained a wide range of drinking, pouring and serving shapes, in addition to lamps, figurines and loomweights. In short, the composition of the assemblage resembled those defined as domestic from the Panayia Field. The pottery in the cistern was originally dated to the third or fourth quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., partly on the basis of parallels to drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22). Now that drain 1971-1 has been downdated to 300 +/- 10 B.C., this deposit should also come down in date. In general, the local pottery appears to be a little bit later than in drain 1971-1 and because of this a date of the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. has been assigned to this deposit.

Total weight of pottery: 52.82kg (or more)

Catalog objects: none

#### **24. Southeast Building, Well at P-27\* aka Well 1947-2**

Date: Mixed, first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: *Corinth* I.5, p. 4; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 81

This short well (6.5 m deep) is located in the northwest corner of the Southeast building in the Forum. Edwards was unclear about the sequence of fills in the well, but suggested that there was an initial fill in the first and second quarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and then



at least one supplemental fill in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. He further proposed that the well was put out of use by the construction of the South Stoa.

Weinberg's excavation notebook describes hard grey and soft brown-red soil in alternating layers throughout the depth of the well. The depositional sequence would seem to match the material in the well, which primarily dates to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (with some earlier 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. pottery) and to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Most of the earliest pottery has good stylistic parallels in drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22). The area of the Southeast Building is one of the few areas in Corinth where houses have been identified. Weinberg described a 4<sup>th</sup> (?) c. house with a paved floor and several walls, on alignment with the starting line of the race course, and he associated to this well with that house. The earliest pottery in the fill of the well should therefore reflect a domestic assemblage. Although only the diagnostic material was kept, the fine (5%), cooking (7%) and coarse (88%) pottery by weight of the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is similar to that in the Panayia Field. This material was not, however, suitable for quantification and therefore was only used as comparanda in the current study.

Later in the Hellenistic period, there are remains of light walls of small structures in this area on a different alignment to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and later the Roman buildings. The leveling of the area for these Hellenistic structures may explain the presence of the later 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. fill.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog objects: none

## 25. Southeast Building, Well at N-20\* aka Well 1947-3

Date: interim

Publications: Broneer 1947, p. 238; Weinberg 1949, pp. 148-9, pls. 13, 14; *Corinth* I.5, pp. 4, 10-12, pl. 8:4; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 46; V Grace 1961, fig 31; Romano 1994

This well is located in a deep foundation trench for the later Southeast Building. Edwards dated the lower fill of this deposit to ca. 146 B.C., on the basis of a Macedonian coin (148-146 B.C.), and suggested that the fill represented debris from a wealthy household. An upper supplemental fill was added in the Roman period when the area was leveled for the construction of the Southeast Building. In Romano's publication of this well, she interpreted lower fill as having been deposited in the interim period. This depositional date was based on the presence of several Italian imports of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. within the fill, but she believed that the local Hellenistic pottery was residual from 146 B.C. or earlier.

The contents of the fill are extremely mixed and contain material from the Geometric through Hellenistic period. Since there is abundant evidence from coins, imported fine ware and Italian amphoras that this deposit dates to the interim period, the local pottery present in this deposit has been used as comparanda for the Panayia Field floor deposit (Deposit 7) and other interim deposits of the South Stoa wells. The parallels are striking between the two deposits – the same range of local shapes, the presence of type XII loomweights, a type XIV lamp and a grey ware moldmade oinochoe. However, because this deposit was selectively saved it could not be quantified and more directly compared.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog objects: no. 87

**26.** New Museum East, Well A\* aka Well 1940-1

Date: ca. 250-225 B.C.

Publications: Weinberg 1948, pp. 229-235; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 36; *Corinth* VII.4, deposit 8; Pemberton 1985, p. 293 n. 73

This well is located ca. 4.0m from the back wall of the West Shops. Both Edwards and Weinberg assumed that the well was open for a long time and had gradually accumulated material from the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 275 B.C. The closing of this well and neighboring cistern 1940-1 (Deposit 27) were considered to be contemporary events by their excavator. In the 1980s, Pemberton downdated cistern 1940-1 to ca. 250 B.C. and therefore, by extension, this deposit into the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Herbert has argued that there is a use fill that contains some pottery dated to the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and this is supported by the present study. The notebooks described the soil throughout the well as consistently light brown or light reddish brown with flakes of carbon and there are joins throughout the deposit. The Attic imports provide a terminus post quem for the deposit of ca. 270 B.C. The similarity coefficient showed that this deposit was more similar to cistern 2001-1 (Deposit 3) than cistern 2006-1 (Deposit 2). The upper fill can be interpreted as a single dumped fill that contains mostly pottery of late in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and some earlier material.

Since the pottery appears to have been completely saved, it could be quantified and included with the Panayia Field data set. The proportion of fine (10%), cooking (10%) and coarse ware (80%) in this deposit is identical to those in the Panayia Field (Deposits 1-5, 7) that have been identified as mixed domestic or at least non-specialized deposits. The Hellenistic fills in this well and other deposits in the area may therefore suggest that this area at the west end of the Forum was residential through the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The fine ware represents a range of drinking, pouring and serving shapes, as well as numerous lamps, loomweights and figurines.

Total weight of pottery: 163.09 kg

Catalog objects: nos. 21, 139, 141, 142, 193

**27.** New Museum East, Cistern at I-L, 15-16\* aka Cistern 1940-1

Date: ca. 250-225 B.C.

Publications: Weinberg 1948, pp. 229-230, 235-239 (p. 198 “Cistern F”); *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 37; Pemberton 1985, p. 293 n. 73

This cistern is located 6.0m west of the back wall of the West Shops (2.0m east of well 1940-1 (Deposit 26)). Rectangular in shape, the cistern measured approximately 5m x 1.5m and was 1.5m deep. As Edwards noted, when the pottery was mended it became clear that the entire filling was introduced at one time. He assigned the pottery a range of between the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and ca. 275 B.C. Pemberton re-dated the lower range of the fill to ca. 250 B.C.

Two coins of Antigonus Gonatas (277-239 B.C.) provide a terminus post quem for the deposit. Using similarity coefficients, the same position as well 1940-1 (Deposit 26) is indicated and therefore a date in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. is supported. It is clear that not all of the pottery from this deposit was saved, although it appears that most of the fine ware was kept. This deposit contains a broad range of drinking, serving and pouring shapes, as well as lamps, loomweights and figurines.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog objects: nos. 143, 144, 147, 183

**EAST OF THEATER**

**28.** Cistern 1987-1\*

Date: Lower fill - ca. 180-170 B.C.

Publications: Williams 1988, pp. 125-127

This cistern is located in the area east of Theater in the southeast part of the south room in Building 7. It is roughly trapezoidal in shape and lined with waterproof cement, it was built over by the south wall of the room in the Roman period. Based on the extremely homogenous nature of the Hellenistic pottery throughout much of the cistern fill, I would tentatively suggest the following depositional sequence: 1) the cistern was originally filled in the 170s; 2) the original fill was re-excavated for the human burial in the interim or early colony period and much of the original fill was re-deposited (along with some later sherds); and 3) it was disturbed again when the Roman construction fill, which included many amphoras, was deposited later in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. This scenario explains why the soil was described as the same throughout the cistern (until the bottom) during excavation. In addition, it may help to explain the high degree of brokenness or fragmentary nature of the Hellenistic pottery.

The fine ware in this deposit consists of a range of drinking and serving shapes. It is notable in particular for the number of moldmade bowls (50%) relative to other types of drinking vessels. The percentage of drinking vessels compared to other classes is relatively similar, unlike the deposits of the South Stoa wells, suggesting that this debris is not primarily related to drinking activities. The overall proportions of fine (3%), cooking (5%) and coarse (92%) wares in the fill also support this conclusion. However, there is an unusually diverse range of transport amphoras (Knidian, Tripolitanian, Corinthian, Chian, Coan, Greco-Italic) in this fill and four of these have dipinti on the rims or handles.<sup>20</sup> The presence of these marked amphoras and the location of the deposit perhaps suggest that this debris is from a wineshop that was selling beverages to theater

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<sup>20</sup> Lawall has shown that such marks are common on amphoras found in the Athenian Agora in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. that are associated with wine shops there (Lawall 2000).

patrons in the Hellenistic period. Since this deposit was kept in its entirety, it was able to be added to the Panayia Field data set.

Total weight of pottery: ca. 100 kg

Catalog objects: nos. 130, 131

## 29. Manhole 1986-1\*

Date: Upper fill – Roman; Lower fill - 160-150 B.C.

Publications: Williams and Zerbos 1987, pp. 7-9

This oval manhole (5.14m deep) is located in the street on the east side of the east vomitorium of the Theater and extended under the west wall of Building 1. The lower Hellenistic fill was probably deposited in a single episode because there are joins between sherds throughout the deposit. The upper fill contains later Roman contaminations that are likely the result of disturbances in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. and/or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. Like cistern 1987-1 (Deposit 28), it also contained human bones but arguably these were (re)deposited as part of the Hellenistic fill.

The lower fill contains a range of fine ware more similar to the South Stoa wells than to the Panayia Field deposits. Drinking vessels, namely moldmade bowls, comprise almost 70% of the total fine ware by weight in the deposit. The remaining fine ware is a range of plates, small serving and pouring vessels. Clearly, the fine ware indicates that this is a special use deposit. In terms of the total pottery, however, fine ware is only 10% with cooking (25%) and coarse ware (65%) and therefore occurs in proportions similar to the Panayia Field deposits (especially Deposit 5). A high percentage of imported amphoras (68%) characterize the coarse ware, but this can be seen as part of a large phenomenon of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The absence of loomweights and lamps further suggests that this is not a deposit of household refuse.

The date of the lower fill is suggested by the use of similarity coefficients that show that this deposit with its large amount of moldmade bowls and flat rim plates is significantly different from cistern 1987-1 (Deposit 28) and cistern 2003-2 (Deposit 5) and more similar to interim period deposits. In addition, the presence of an Argive moldmade bowl that may date as late as ca. 150 B.C. argues for a date in the later part of the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. Since all of the pottery from this deposit was kept, it was quantified and added to the Panayia Field data set.

Total weight of pottery: 36.22 kg

Catalog objects: no. 169

#### **OTHER LOCATIONS**

**30.** Baths of Aphrodite, Well II (East Well)\* aka Well 1960-6

Date: ca. 250-225 B.C.

Publications: Robinson 1962, pp. 125-126; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 34

The area called the “Baths of Aphrodite” is located in a grotto 200 meters east of the Asklepieion, just below the cliff on which the north city wall was founded. This grotto and natural spring were probably named in the Ottoman or post-Ottoman period because of the association of Aphrodite and Corinth and the fact that the harem of the local bey used to bathe here (a small Ottoman bath has been located in the area). Excavations by Robinson in 1960 discovered the remains of the bey’s palace and several ancient wells and cisterns.

This well is just to the east of the Ottoman stairs and close to a cistern that may be contemporary. Robinson believed that these features were associated with 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. houses in the area that were destroyed by the construction of Roman buildings in the

1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. and later. Within this well, Edwards suggested that there was a small use fill with material from the 7<sup>th</sup> to ca. 275 B.C. and an upper fill that was deposited in a single episode ca. 275 B.C. or slightly later. This interpretation was different from Robinson's, who did not believe that there was a use fill but rather that all the material was a single fill. Pemberton re-dated the latest fill in the well to between ca. 275 B.C. and the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. in the 1980s.

The notebooks clearly reveal that there are two fills. The use fill contained the broken bases of numerous pouring vessels and a soil described by Robinson as thick, black and viscous. The later fill, including that of the side tunnel, seems homogenous enough to suggest that it is one large dumped fill as Robinson initially interpreted it. Three unusual features of this deposit bear mention. Firstly, the use fill contained some amazing finds of nearly complete bronze Hellenistic saucer lamps and various fragments of unidentified wooden and leather objects. Secondly, the pottery of the upper fill contained very large quantities of imported fine ware – 25% by weight of context pottery – that is mostly Attic in origin. Thirdly, there is an unusually large number of figurine fragments in the upper fill. At the same time, the proportion by weight of different classes of local fine ware is similar to the deposits of the Panayia Field (Deposits 1-5 and 7). Overall the upper fill can be interpreted as containing material from different contexts ranging in date from the Geometric to Hellenistic period.

The terminus post quem of the lower fill is determined by the presence of a Howland type 25A lamp, which dates to ca. 400-275 B.C. The upper fill can be dated by the various Attic imports found within the fill that provide a terminus post quem of ca. 275 B.C. The relative position of this deposit within the current data set was determined by similarity coefficients that show it is more similar to cistern 2006-1 and cistern 2001-1 (Deposits 2 and 3) than cellar 2005-1 (Deposit 1). It has therefore been dated to early in



the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Only the coarse ware was thrown away, so the fine ware was quantified and added to the Panayia Field data set.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog objects: none

### 31. Well by the Excavation Dump\* aka Well 1960-4

Date: 200 +/- 10 B.C.

Publications: Robinson 1962, pp. 116-118; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 38

This 23m deep well is located roughly 600 meters southwest of Temple E on the edge of the old excavation dump. Near the well, Robinson found a two room building that he interpreted as a Hellenistic farmhouse.<sup>21</sup> It is therefore possible that the area around well 1960-4 was mostly small-scale residential in nature. Both Edwards and Robinson believed that there were two fills in the well and that they are very close in date, but disagree about where the interface between the two fills was located. Edwards dated the use fill to between ca. 350 and the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and the upper abandonment fill to a similar range of ca. 350 to as late as ca. 250 B.C.

The notebook describes a densely packed fill in the bottom seven meters of the well. It seems that Robinson interpreted this section as the use fill, and the upper 16 meters as supplemental fill. Joins were found during the course of the present study between the upper and lower levels of the upper fill and indicate that this fill was deposited in a single episode. Robinson's interpretation of the fills has been followed in the present study and only the fine ware from the upper fill has been quantified and added to the Panayia Field data set. The fine ware assemblage shows a slight bias towards drinking shapes (43% compared to 28% in Deposit 4), but the remaining distribution of

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<sup>21</sup> Walbank 1986, p. 315.

shape classes is very similar to those of the Panayia Field deposits. On the basis of the fine ware assemblage and its location, it seems reasonable to interpret this deposit as essentially domestic in nature.

A terminus post quem for the upper fill is provided by three Attic imports that date to the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The similarity coefficient of this fill shows that it is very similar to well 2002-2 and cistern 2003-2 (Deposits 4 and 5) and therefore can be dated relatively to ca. 200 +/- 10 B.C.

Total weight of pottery: unknown

Catalog objects: no. 168

#### **SECONDARY DEPOSITS (32-58)**

Material from these deposits was examined during the process of determining whether there was evidence for shape evolution for each type of vessel. In order to use the inventoried pottery from these deposits for the present study, the date of each deposit had to be re-assessed using all available evidence. In most cases, this process was facilitated by lists of context pottery in the saved lots, as well as the inventoried objects themselves and coins found in the deposit. The dates provided below, however, should be considered provisional because the context pottery could not be studied. The interpretation of each secondary deposit is also therefore more limited in its scope than for the primary deposits above. Individual inventoried objects from these deposits are listed in the catalog, if they are the best example of a given type. This is not a complete list of the Hellenistic deposits in Corinth and only includes those most carefully studied in the course of the present research.

## **SOUTH STOA**

### **32. Well in South Stoa Shop IV aka Well 1934-3**

Date: Upper fill – Roman; Lower fill – late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: Broneer 1947, p. 242; *Corinth* I.4, plan I; *Corinth* XII, nos. 1478 and 1479; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 97

Edwards proposed that there were three fills, although they could not be objectively demonstrated. He dated the bottommost fill to ca. 250 to 146 B.C. and explained the absence of earlier material by suggesting that the well had been cleaned out regularly. It is quite probable however that the first and second fills are the same. The second fill contained Stoa destruction debris that was deposited near the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. – this fill can be dated by the presence of two coins of Philip V (220-179 B.C.). This destruction debris is likely related to the fills in wells XVI, XXVII and XXX and should be interpreted as evidence of pre-146 B.C. alternations to the Stoa's superstructure.<sup>22</sup> The uppermost fill is a supplemental fill introduced in the early Roman period. A number of figurines and miniatures were noted in the two lower fills and perhaps suggest a connection to activities in the hero shrine in Shop III and the deposit found south of this shop (Deposit 36).

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: none

### **33. Well in South Stoa Shop VII aka Well 1933-3**

Date: Upper – 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.; Lower fill - Hellenistic

Publications: *Corinth* I.4, pl 14, plan II; *Corinth* VIII.1 no. 28; *Corinth* XII, no. 1681; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 99

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<sup>22</sup> An opinion shared by Broneer, see *Corinth* I.4, p. 109.

Edwards interpreted the lowest fill as a very small use fill dated to ca. 250 to 146 B.C. and suggested that the bottom of the well had been frequently cleaned out. He proposed that there were one or two upper fills, but admitted that they could not be objectively demonstrated. If the upper fill is one fill rather than two, then the bottom four meters contained building debris and the upper five meters soil and pottery. The presence of a coin of the duovir series (before 32 B.C.) and numerous inventoried pieces of Arretine and other early Roman pottery found throughout the fill clearly provide a date in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. or later. This upper fill may represent a clearing of debris from the southeast area of the Forum in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., since fragments of a vessel in the upper fill (C 1933-1234 - Arretine Gaulish Drag. Form 37) were also found in the area north of the school and around the South Basilica.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: none

#### **34. Well in South Stoa Shop XVI aka Well 1935-3**

Date: Upper fill – interim; Lower fill – 195 B.C. or later

Publications: Broneer 1947, pl. LIX; *Corinth* I.4, pp. 128-129; *Corinth* XII, nos. 1332, 1333, 2900; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 108

Edwards believed that there was a small use fill, which he dated from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. to 146 B.C., and an upper fill of Mummian clean-up debris that included the well curb. The top five meters of the shaft were empty at the time of excavation. The well lies under the Kenchreai Road and is covered by a large marble slab. It should be noted that there is no Roman pottery within the fill, only two intrusive late Roman coins.

A great deal of inventoried pottery was recovered from this well. The lower fill contained a Rhodian stamped amphora handle of Finkielsztein's Period IIIA dating to ca.

195 B.C., which provides a terminus post quem of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. for the deposit. The upper fill contained an East Greek moldmade bowl and the lack of Roman pottery allows for a very tentative date in the interim period for this fill.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: nos. 43, 73

### **35. Well in South Stoa Shop XXVIII aka Well 1947-6**

Date: Mixed early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. to Roman

Publications: *Corinth* I.4, p. plan V; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 114

The upper fills of this well were disturbed down to water level in the Byzantine period and, although the material was redeposited, the original stratigraphy is irretrievable. The bottommost fill below water level was preserved. The re-deposited fill suggested to Edwards that there had originally been at least two fills: a use fill and Mummian cleanup debris.

The fill of the well contained tiles stamped with the name Xenola, which belong to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. refurbishment of the Stoa's roof, and a Knidian stamped amphora handle dating to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. There is a join to the fill in neighboring well XXVII, which may suggest that one of the original fills dated to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The presence of part of a well curb supports Edwards' suggestion that there was material from the interim or early colony period.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: no. 61

### **36. Deposit under South Stoa Shop IV aka Well 1946-3 or Fill 1946-1**

Date: mixed 4<sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 225 B.C.

Publications: Broneer 1947, p. 238; Broneer 1951, pp. 294-296; *Corinth* I.4, pp. 7-8; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 87

A two room structure associated with an earlier well lay under the north side of Shop IV. The material from the well itself indicates that it was originally put out of use in the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. The fill associated from the leveling of this structure for the construction of the South Stoa and the supplemental fill in its well were combined during excavation into a single deposit discussed here. Broneer and Edwards considered the material from this deposit to be crucial for dating the construction of the Stoa. That Edwards believed further supplemental fills were added to the area once the Stoa was constructed is suggested by the date range of first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. to early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. that he assigned to the deposit.

The presence of numerous figurines, in particular swans and standing korai, may indicate a connection to Aphrodite and perhaps that this structure was a small shrine.<sup>23</sup> It may also have some connection to the fills in shops III and IV, which perhaps reflect the presence of a hero shrine in the area. In terms of chronology, the presence of calyx and articulated kantharoi within this deposit certainly suggest that there were supplemental fillings after the construction of the Stoa. The date range on this deposit must therefore be brought down to ca. 225 B.C.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: none

## FORUM

### 37. Temple E, Cistern II aka Cistern 1932-2

Date: 4<sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 275 B.C.

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<sup>23</sup> This suggestion is put forward by J. Binder in an unpublished analysis of the fills in and around the South Stoa.

Publications: *Corinth* I.2, p. 169; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 23

This cistern is located at the southwest corner of the podium of Temple E. Rectangular in plan, it measured roughly 2.4m by 1.3m and was 1.3m deep. The interior was plastered and there were stairs that descended to the bottom. The north, east and south walls were built of rubble and the west cut from bedrock. It is therefore another example of a typical Corinthian cistern similar to those in the Panayia Field (Deposits 1-3, 5 and 6). Edwards dated the deposit, on the basis of the inventoried objects alone, to the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 300 B.C.

There are no traces of the building with which the cistern was originally associated and the only contemporary material in the area is the fill of well 1953-2 (Deposit 38). Since both of these deposits contained mixed dumped fill, much like its neighbors to the east under the new museum (Deposits 26 and 27), it is likely that this area of the later Forum had a non-specialized function and was perhaps domestic space in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The only unusual object found in this deposit is a kiln support, one of the rare examples in Corinth. The latest material from this cistern is dated using the Panayia Field chronology to ca. 275 B.C., although there is a mention of some Roman sherds from the very top of the fill.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: none

**38.** Well at the northwest corner of the precinct of Temple E aka Well 1953-2

Date: ca. 225-200 B.C.

Publications: Robinson 1964, figs. 4 and 10; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 43

Both Broneer and Edwards believed that this well was filled in a single episode at some point in the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Many inventoried vessels came from this

deposit and Edwards dated them to between the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Among the inventoried pottery are numerous kantharoi, serving vessels, miniature bowls, loomweights and lamps. In short, a mixture of objects that is very similar to those found in the deposits of the Panayia Field (Deposits 1-5 and 7) and under the new museum (Deposits 26 and 27). It is possible that the fill in this well may have come from a domestic deposit or at the very least a non-specialized deposit. Unfortunately, since most of the pottery was thrown away, it cannot be quantified or more fully studied. The Panayia Field chronology supports Edwards' initial end date of the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: nos. 34, 35, 114, 184

### **39. New Museum Well J aka Pit 1940-4**

Date: First quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: Weinberg 1948, pp. 239-240; *Corinth* VII.3 deposit no. 17

This shallow rectangular pit, located west of the northwest corner of the West Shops, was initially interpreted as a well. Edwards suggested a date of at least the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. as the closing date of the deposit, based on two cups from the fill. The original excavator Saul Weinberg, however, argued for a date of ca. 275 B.C. for the filling of the pit and associated it with cistern 1940-1 and well 1940-1 (Deposits 27 and 26). While it now seems unlikely that all three deposits were filled at the same time, Weinberg's date is supported by the re-dating of the same two cups (using the Panayia Field chronology) on which Edwards based his date. The context pottery was not included in the present study, but will be examined in the future and may necessitate



changes to this interpretation. This deposit does not contain the same range of earlier pottery as others in the area of the New Museum and therefore it may represent debris more recently accumulated in the immediate area. The presence of an inscribed kantharos may indicate a connection to public drinking, a suggestion supported by the numerous Corinthian B amphora in the fill, but this is highly speculative.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: none

#### 40. New Museum Well X aka Well 1931-7

Date: First half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: Weinberg 1939, p. 594; *Corinth* VII.1, pp. 49ff; *Corinth* VII.3 deposit no. 41

Well 1931-7 was one of many deposits that were excavated in preparation for laying the foundation of a new extension to the museum in an area immediately east of Temple E. This well contained material that ranged in date from the Geometric through Hellenistic periods. Edwards dated the latest material in this well to the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., but the absence of certain key later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. types among the inventoried pottery seems now to necessitate a more conservative date of the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The range of Archaic and Classical pottery combined with later Hellenistic material caused Edwards to interpret the fill as mixed debris from a dump, perhaps of a sanctuary. While it is difficult to argue for the connection to a sanctuary, since we have no other evidence for one in the area, it is likely that it is mixed dumped fill from a number of use contexts.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: no. 145

**41.** New Museum, Well Z aka Well 1931-8

Date: ca. 265-250 B.C.

Publications: *AJA* LXIII (1939), p. 594; *Corinth* VII.1, pp. 42-44; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 42

This well lay under the northwest corner of the present Corinth Museum. As Edwards and Weinberg noted, the fill of this deposit contains a wide range of pottery (Geometric to Hellenistic) with unusually complete examples of shapes from every period. The notebook reports that some of the earliest sherds came from high up in the well. Edwards suggested that the material derived from a dump that was in use for a long period of time. Another suggestion is that it was filled with debris and soil created during the excavation of a nearby feature – such a scenario would explain the reverse stratigraphy in this well.

Edwards proposed a date range of the early 7<sup>th</sup> c. to the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. However, the absence of cyma kantharoi from the deposit suggests instead a closing date earlier in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Using the Panayia Field chronology, the closing date of this well should therefore be in the later second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: nos. 15, 16, 23

**42.** New Museum Cistern 41a aka Cistern 1931-1

Date: ca. 225 B.C. or slightly later

Publications: Weinberg 1948, p. 198; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 39

This cistern is located approximately 22 meters from the back wall of the West Shops under the new museum. It is a deep (3.2m) double cistern with two chambers oriented east and west that are lined with stucco plaster. It is not possible to reconstruct

the stratigraphy of the original deposit and little material was kept. Edwards dated the pottery from the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. to the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

In addition to pottery, the fill of the cistern contained a coin of Antigonus Gonatas (277-239 B.C.), numerous Hellenistic loomweights and five lamps. The inventoried pottery includes several cyma and one-piece kantharoi. Using the Panayia Field chronology, the closing date for this deposit should be in early in the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: no. 29

**43.** New Museum Cistern 49a aka Cistern 1931-2

Date: ca. 225 B.C. or slightly later

Publications: Weinberg 1948, p. 198; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 40

This underground cistern is located roughly 42 meters west of the back wall of the West Shops. It consists of a well-like shaft to a rectangular chamber lined with stucco. Like cistern 1931-1 (Deposit 42), it is no longer possible to determine the original stratigraphy of the deposit or to examine the context pottery. Edwards assigned a date to the deposit of the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. to the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The presence of cyma, articulated and one-piece kantharoi in the deposit suggest a closing date in the fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. or later.

Total weight: N/A

Catalog objects: none

**44.** Agora South Central, Pit at N-O:21-23 aka Trapezoidal cistern aka Wine Cellar B aka Pit 1937-1

Date: Fill I (300 +/- 10 B.C.); Fill II (4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 10<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. or later)

Publications: Morgan 1937, p. 547; *Corinth* VII.3 deposit no. 90; Stroud 1972, p. 196.

This deposit is located to the north of South Stoa shop XXI. The nomenclature of this structure is confused because while the irregular shape and lack of waterproof plaster suggest that it is not a cistern, the presence of four steps descending into it and argues that it is not a simple pit. A cellar is perhaps the best description of this feature.

The initial filling appears to have occurred before the construction of the South Stoa and parallels to vessels in drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22) confirm this chronology. This date is later than the date of the second to third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. proposed by Edwards. The pit was covered by a cobbled pavement throughout antiquity until a bothros was dug through it in the Byzantine period. This later activity contaminated the original fill. Edwards and others have suggested that the fill was associated in some way with the nearby Underground Sanctuary, because of the presence of 50 figurines and charcoal and ash in the soil. The vast majority of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. pottery consists Attic type skyphoi and to a lesser extent small bowls, which suggests that drinking was a primary activity in this area.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: nos. 14, 123, 137, 164, 190

#### 45. Agora South-central, Filling of drain at b-f:19-20 aka Drain 1937-1

Date: ca. 300 +/- 10 B.C.

Publications: Morgan 1937, p. 547; *Corinth* XII, deposit no. XI; *Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 80

This deposit is part of the same drain system around Buildings I, II and III as drain 1971-1 (Deposit 22). It was excavated by Morgan in 1937 and was treated as an

independent deposit by Edwards and others. Edwards dated the material to the first quarter to second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. In 1971, Williams began to excavate in this area of the Forum revealing the buildings and the rest of the drain. It now appears that the drainage system was filled in at the same time and therefore the date of this deposit should be the same as drain 1971-1.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: none

**46.** Agora South Central, well at b-c:18-19 aka well 1937-1

Date: late 5<sup>th</sup> to first quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: Morgan 1937 pp. 547-548; *Corinth* VII.3 deposit no. 79; *Corinth* VII.4 deposit no. 4

This deposit is located to the north of South Stoa shop XVIII and ca. 14 meters south of the exedra of the Bema. It consists of a single dumped fill that was sealed when a cobbled pavement was installed north of the terrace wall of the South Stoa. The fill contains a range of Classical material.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: no. 12

**47.** Well 1975-1

Date: late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. and later

Publications: de Gracia and Williams 1977, pp. 43-44

This well is located on the west side of the Room 1 of Building V, immediately east of the Centaur Bath. Room 1 has been interpreted as a kitchen or courtyard area and its relationship to the Centaur Bath is unclear. Building V and the Centaur Bath were

damaged in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and not repaired. It is likely that the well went out of use in that period, although supplemental fills appear to have been added later.

It is not clear how many fills were found in the well or the full range of datable material. The inventoried pottery consists mostly of stamped amphora handles, but there are kantharoi and a conical bowl. Notably, there are no moldmade bowls recorded in this deposit. One of the stamped handles is from a Rhodian amphora dated to ca. 219-210 B.C. There is also a coin of Athens dated 196-87 B.C. and a much later coin of Julius Caesar (before 30 B.C.), which was found near the top of the well. Overall, this material suggests a date range for the Hellenistic pottery of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. with some later additions.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: no. 105

## **OTHER**

**48.** East of Theater, Well 1981-2

Date: Upper fill – late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.; Lower fill – 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: Williams 1982, pp. 120-124

This well is located 1.5m northwest of the pebble mosaic floor found in 1929 at the intersection of the north-south and one of the east-west streets. There were two distinct fills: a roughly eight meter deep lower fill that contained a small amount of Classical pottery, with the latest material dating to the third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., and the small upper fill that was densely packed with Hellenistic pottery. This upper fill was initially dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. and it was noted that no moldmade bowls appeared in the fill. Based on the Panayia Field chronology, the presence of articulated

and cyma kantharoi and plates with offset rims lowers the date of the upper fill to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: no. 172

**49. East of Theater, Reservoir 1926-2**

Date: ca. 185-160 B.C.

Publications: Shear 1926, p. 447; Edwards 1986

This rectangular cistern is located 2.5m north of the east end of Building V in the area East of Theater. It appears to have been filled in a single episode. The pottery in the fill is almost exclusively moldmade bowls, although some fragments of Corinthian B amphoras, several lamps (types IX and X), loomweights, a flat rim plate and two molds were also found in the fill. The coins all belong to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The moldmade bowls are mostly figural with some concentric semi-circle, net-patterned and two long petal bowls. No East Greek bowls were found within the fill. Charles Edwards dated the fill of the reservoir on the basis of the moldmade bowls to ca. 225 to ca. 165 B.C. The Panayia Field chronology has demonstrated that moldmade bowls were not produced in Corinth until the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> B.C. The absence of linear leaf moldmade bowls would suggest a terminus ante quem of the 150s B.C.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: nos. 80, 81, 85

**50. Anaploga Manhole 7 aka Manhole 1963-4**

Date: Fill I (late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. to 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.); Fill II (Roman)

Publications: Robinson 1969, pp. 1-35; *Corinth* VII.3 deposit no. 29

This is one of a series of four manholes (Deposits 50-53) found as part of rescue excavations in the mid-1960s in the Anaploga area. It appears that the water system connected with these manholes was constructed in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and continued in use into the Hellenistic period when they were closed by dumped fills. Unfortunately, very little of the huge volume of material that came from these deposits was retained and it is therefore difficult to determine what types of activities are represented by these fills. A coin of Demetrios Poliorcetes provides a terminus post quem for the initial filling of this manhole.

Interestingly, Robinson used the evidence of numerous architectural fragments in the fills of these manholes to suggest that a series of buildings were destroyed in this area, possibly associated with the wars of the Diadochoi.<sup>24</sup> He cited also the presence of thirteen stele or cippi in the fills that could have served as boundary stones or grave markers as evidence of a major disruption in this part of the city. It should be noted, however, that most of the architectural fragments and stele were found in different fills. Robinson argued that the fragments lay around the area for some time after the initial disturbance. While this is possible, since there are no joins noted between fragments another interpretation that there was a gradual accumulation of debris in the manholes, which included architectural fragments and stelai, through the Hellenistic period. Sadly, however, we are not able to test either hypothesis.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: none

## **51. Anaploga Manhole 8 aka Manhole 1963-5**

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<sup>24</sup> Robinson 1969, pp. 6-8.



Date: Fill I (mid-4<sup>th</sup> to early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.); Fills II and III (Hellenistic); Fill IV (interim); Fills V and VI (Early Roman)

Publications: Robinson 1969, pp. 1-35; *Corinth* VII.3 Deposit no. 30

This is one of a series of four manholes (Deposits 50-53) found as part of rescue excavations in the mid-1960s in the Anaploga area. It appears that the water system connected with these manholes was constructed in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and continued in use into the Hellenistic period when they were closed by dumped fills. Unfortunately, very little of the huge volume of material that came from these deposits was retained and it is therefore difficult to determine what types of activities are represented by these fills. The range of inventoried pottery in this deposit is very mixed and therefore does not appear to be from a special use context – this supposition is supported by their original excavator Robinson.<sup>25</sup> Fill IV is less than 2 meters thick, but contains three inventoried objects that date to the interim period.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog Objects: none

## 52. Anaploga Manhole 10 aka Manhole 1965-1

Date: Fill 1 (late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.); Fill 2 (late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.); Fill 3 (first half of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.); Fill 4 (interim)

Publications: Robinson 1969, pp. 1-35; *Corinth* VII.3 deposit no. 31

This is one of a series of four manholes (Deposits 50-53) found as part of rescue excavations in the mid-1960s in the Anaploga area. It appears that the water system connected with these manholes was constructed in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and continued in use into the Hellenistic period when they were closed by dumped fills.

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<sup>25</sup> Robinson 1969, p. 7.

Unfortunately, very little of the huge volume of material that came from these deposits was retained and it is therefore difficult to determine what types of activities are represented by these fills. The latest material in this deposit appears to date to the interim period and it is likely that fill IV is a supplemental fill.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: none

**53.** Anaploga Manhole 11 aka Manhole 1969-2

Date: Fill 1 – 310-290 B.C.; Fills 2 and 3 – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.; Fill 4 – 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.; Fill 5 – Early Roman

Publications: Robinson 1969, pp. 1-35; *Corinth* VII.3 deposit no. 32

This is one of a series of four manholes (Deposits 50-53) found as part of rescue excavations in the mid-1960s in the Anaploga area. It appears that the water system connected with these manholes was constructed in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and continued in use into the Hellenistic period when they were closed by dumped fills. Unfortunately, very little of the huge volume of material that came from these deposits was retained and it is therefore difficult to determine what types of activities are represented by these fills. The lowest fill is interpreted as an abandonment fill and has some shapes with parallels to Deposit 22 suggesting a late date of 310-290 B.C. Two more fills were introduced in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C that essentially blocked off the manhole. The fourth fill contained a moldmade bowl and supports Edwards' proposed date of the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. A Roman supplemental fill was added in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: no. 72

**54. Katsoulis Well 3 aka Well 1965-3**

Date: Upper fill – 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.; Lower fill – First half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: Boggess 1970

A series of three wells (Deposits 54 and 55) were dug by Robinson in 1965 as rescue excavations in the Katsoulis family plot located approximately 100 meters west of Hill House. These wells were actually a small manhole system similar to that in Anaploga (Deposits 50-53). They all contained huge amounts of Hellenistic pottery that was largely thrown away except for the inventoried pieces. These deposits were not included in *Corinth* VII.3, although Edwards did examine material from them at a later point.

This well was initially thought by its excavator to contain six fills, labeled A-F. Joins between numerous levels, however, indicate that fills B-E were in fact a single dumped fill. The material in this fill contained a wide range of fine, cooking and coarse ware and was interpreted at the time as household debris. Also within this fill are several large fragments of millstones, published by Runnels in his dissertation. Near the top of the fill are large architectural blocks and tiles that appear to be building debris. Overall the date of this large lower fill should be in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. This date is supported by the find of a Knidian stamped amphora handle belonging to Grace's period IVA. The upper fill, fill A is larger than the lower and contains a mixture of Greek and early Roman pottery. A coin of the duovir series dated to the reign of Caligula (37-41 A.D.) supports the date for the upper fill. Fill F contained no pottery or finds.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: no. 153

**55. Katsoulis Well 1 aka Well 1965-1**

Date: Upper fills – Roman and Ottoman; Lower fill – ca. 200-175 B.C.

Publications: Boggess 1970

A series of three wells (Deposits 54 and 55) were dug by Robinson in 1965 as rescue excavations in the Katsoulis family plot located approximately 100 meters west of Hill House. These wells were actually a small manhole system similar to that in Anaploga (Deposits 50-53). They all contained huge amounts of Hellenistic pottery that was largely thrown away except for the inventoried pieces. These deposits were not included in *Corinth* VII.3, although Edwards did examine material from them at a later point.

This well contained less material than Deposit 54 and covers a different chronological span. The lowest fill contains fine, cooking and coarse wares and can be dated specifically to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. The two upper fills are dated to the Roman period and a supplemental fill was added in the Ottoman period.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: no. 157

#### **56. Asklepieion Votive Deposit V aka Well 1931-14**

Date: ca. 425 B.C. to late 4<sup>th</sup> to early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: *Corinth* XIV, pp. 14-15, 21-22, 113, 130-136, 141-142; *Corinth* VII.3 deposit no. 20.

This well was located to the north of the temple of Asklepios and appears to have been used as a dump for ritual votives and other material from the sanctuary for about a century. The fill contained numerous anatomical votives and other figurines as well as lamps and a variety of pottery. Most of the inventoried fine ware consists of black glazed drinking cups, bowls and pouring vessels that should date to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. or later.

The closing date provided above is twenty-five years later than in *Corinth* VII.3 and is based on the date of the latest Attic type skyphoi and two Attic imported kantharoi.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog Objects: none

**57.** Baths of Aphrodite, Cistern complex aka cistern 1960-1 and cistern 1960-2

Date: Fill I (late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.); Fill II (second to early third quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.)

Publications: Robinson 1962, p. 124; *Corinth* VII.3 deposit no. 22

This cistern complex is located very near well 1960-6 (Deposit 30). This structure consists of a cistern with two connected chambers, since both chambers were filled at the same time it can be treated as one deposit. According to its excavator, the cistern was built in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. and destroyed an earlier well in the area. Fill I is interpreted as the use fill and Fill II as a dumped fill that marks the end of use of the cistern. Edwards proposed a date range of ca. 375-300 B.C. for the fill, but their excavator Henry Robinson suggested an early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. date. The new later date of fill II provided above is the result of the Panayia Field chronology and the re-dating of the Attic imports by Rotroff. Houses of the late 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. were found in the immediate vicinity of the cistern and it is likely that the fill in the cistern is debris from these structures.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog objects: no. 36

**58.** Tile Works, Well A aka Well 1940-6

Date: first quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Publications: *Corinth* VII.3 deposit no. 27

This well is located 22 meters north of the “Later Kiln”. All of the inventoried pottery came from what Edwards interpreted as the use fill of the well, which he dated to ca. 375-325 B.C. In her re-study of this deposit, Pemberton determined that the use fill and upper fills were both in fact part of one large fill that dates to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Her new date is supported by the present study. The fill of the well contains a mixture of fine, cooking and coarse wares. Given the location of the well and its proximity to the kiln, it is reasonable to interpret the pottery in the fill as perhaps as household debris from craftsmen connected with the kiln.

Total weight of pottery: N/A

Catalog Objects: none

## **Appendix II: Catalog**

This catalog has been arranged by shape in order of presentation in the text and chronologically within each shape. An effort was made to only present complete vessels in the catalog in order to give the best indication of shape and development. As many as possible are from the Panayia Field (Deposits 1-7) and are therefore published here for the first time. Most of these objects come from deposits included in Appendix I (Deposit Index), but some additional vessels have been added and their contexts given below. Previous published vessels from other deposits in Corinth were used when necessary and their earlier citations are provided. The date range given for each shape is the date of the deposit that it came from and in some cases this will be different from the date assigned to the vessels itself. All the drawings are at a scale of 1:2, except for the kraters which are at 1:3 because of their size. The drawings below were produced between 2007 and 2010 by Stacey Brourup, Christina Kolb and Yuki Furuya and I am grateful to them for their diligence. The photographs on the accompanying plates were also made to the same scale as the drawings as much as possible. Most of the photographs were produced for the Corinth excavations by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti. Both drawings and photographs are provided for most objects in the catalog, except miniature vessels for which only photographs are shown.

All dimensions in the catalog are given in meters and are actual rather than estimated unless otherwise indicated. If a dimension is missing, it is because it was not preserved on the vessel. Since there are three main types of fabric (A, B and C) in the Hellenistic assemblage, a shorthand color description is employed. Fabric A tends to be

pink (5YR 8/3 to 7.5YR 8/4), but can have a pink core with a buff surface (10YR 8/4-3). For fabric B, buff refers to the Munsell color range of 10YR 8/3-4 to 2.5Y 8/2-4, pale yellow to 5Y 8/2-4 to 2.5Y 8/2-4, and light reddish yellow to 7.5YR 7/6 or slightly darker. Fabric C is a pale to very pale brown with a Munsell range of 10YR 7/3-4 or slightly darker. For a full description of these fabrics, see Chapter 2.

**1** One-handled cup Fig. 1, Pl. 1  
Lot 2006-34:5  
H: 0.048      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.095 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.043  
Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B  
Decoration:    Traces of black glaze on interior; blobs of glaze on exterior.  
Handle:    Horizontal rounded loop  
Deposit No.:    2  
Context date:    250-235 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**2** One-handled cup Fig. 1, Pl. 1  
Lot 2006-34:7  
H: 0.053      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.09 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.046  
Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B  
Decoration:    Flaking black glaze by dipping.  
Handle:    Horizontal rounded loop  
Deposit No.:    2  
Context date:    250-235 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**3** One-handled cup Fig. 1, Pl. 1  
Lot 2006-34:6  
H: 0.029      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.06 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.028  
Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B  
Decoration:    Flaking red to black glaze by dipping.  
Handle:    Horizontal rounded loop



Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**4** One-handled cup

Fig. 1, Pl. 1

Lot 2007-1:2

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.095 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration:    Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle:    Horizontal rounded loop

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**5** One-handled cup

Fig. 1, Pl. 1

Lot 2005-6:66

H: 0.049      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.094      Diam. of base/foot: 0.052

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration:    Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle:    Horizontal rounded loop

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**6** One-handled cup

Fig. 1, Pl. 1

Lot 2005-6:62

H: 0.045      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.093      Diam. of base/foot: 0.028

Color: Light reddish yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration:    Good black glaze by dipping.

Handle:    Horizontal rounded loop

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**7 One-handled cup** Fig. 1, Pl. 1

Lot 2005-6:48

H: 0.046      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.095 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.043

Color: Buff                                  Fabric: B

Decoration:    Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle:      Horizontal rounded loop

Deposit No.:    4

Context date:    210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**8 One-handled cup** Fig. 1, Pl. 1

Lot 2005-6:23

H: 0.046      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.09 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.039

Color: Pale yellow                          Fabric: B

Decoration:    Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle:      Horizontal rounded loop

Deposit No.:    4

Context date:    210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**9 Kotyle** Fig. 1, Pl. 1

Lot 2005-6:54

H: 0.103      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.13 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.06 (est.)

Color: Pale yellow                          Fabric: local

Decoration:    Good black glaze all over. Double band of added pink below lip. Miltos on undersurface of foot and bands at edge of foot and above edge of foot.

Handle:      Horizontal rounded loop

Deposit No.:    4

Context date:    4th c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**10 Kotyle** Fig. 1, Pl. 1

Lot 2005-23:35

H: 0.086      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.12 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.04 (est.)

Color: Buff                      Fabric: B  
Decoration: Plain exterior; red glazed interior.  
Handle: not preserved  
Deposit No.: 1  
Context date: 265-250 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**11** Kotyle

Fig. 1, Pl. 1

Lot 2006-34:14

H: 0.062      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.09 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.036

Color: Pale yellow                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Plain  
Handle: Horizontal rounded loop  
Deposit No.: 2  
Context date: 250-235 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**12** Attic type skyphos

Fig. 2, Pl. 2

C 1937-435

H: 0.101      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.125 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.078

Color: Buff                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. Milto on resting and undersurface of foot, glazed circle with central dot on undersurface of foot.

Handle: Horizontal squared loop  
Deposit No.: 46  
Context date: First quarter of the 4th c. B.C.  
Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 321

**13** Attic type skyphos

Fig. 2, Pl. 2

Lot 2005-6:35

H: 0.095      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.105 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.079

Color: light reddish yellow      Fabric: local

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. Milto on undersurface and resting surface of foot, incised reserved band at top of foot.

Handle: Horizontal squared loop

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 4th c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**14** Attic type skyphos

Fig. 2, Pl. 2

C 1937-2494

H: 0.11      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.108      Diam. of base/foot: 0.057

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Heavy black glaze all over. Milts on resting and undersurface of foot.

Handle: Horizontal squared loop

Deposit No.: 44

Context date: 310-290 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 315

**15** Attic type skyphos

Fig. 2, Pl. 2

C 1931-250

H: 0.093      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.075 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.039

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal squared loop

Deposit No.: 41

Context date: ca. 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 344

**16** Attic type skyphos

Fig. 2, Pl. 2

C 1931-251

H: 0.08      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.075 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.042

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal squared loop

Deposit No.: 41

Context date: ca. 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 355

**17** Attic type skyphos Fig. 3, Pl. 2

Lot 2005-23:11

H: 0.088      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.07 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.037

Color: Buff      Fabric: C

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal squared loop

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**18** Attic type skyphos Fig. 3, Pl. 2

Lot 2006-12:5

H: 0.087      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.076      Diam. of base/foot: 0.043

Color: Buff      Fabric: D

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal squared loop

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**19** Attic type skyphos Fig. 3, Pl. 2

Lot 2006-34:11

H: 0.064      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.085 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot:

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal squared loop

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**20** Attic type skyphos Fig. 3, Pl. 2

Lot 2006-34:12

H: 0.056      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.075 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot:

Color: Pale yellow                      Fabric: B  
Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.  
Handle: Horizontal squared loop  
Deposit No.: 2  
Context date: 265-250 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**21** Attic type skyphos Fig. 3, Pl. 2

C 1940-439

H: 0.085      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.078      Diam. of base/foot: 0.041

Color: Pale yellow                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Heavy black glaze all over.  
Handle: Horizontal squared loop  
Deposit No.: 26  
Context date: Third quarter of the 3rd c. B.C.  
Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 357

**22** Attic type skyphos Fig. 3, Pl. 2

Lot 2005-6:32

H: 0.084      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.077      Diam. of base/foot: 0.043

Color: Buff                                  Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.  
Handle: Horizontal squared loop  
Deposit No.: 4  
Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**23** One-piece kantharos Fig. 4, Pl. 3

C 1931-206

H: 0.112      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.105      Diam. of base/foot: 0.067

Color: Buff                                  Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. Incised bands border handle zone. Miltons on stem and concentric circles on undersurface of foot.  
Handle: Heracles knot handle

Deposit No.: 41

Context date: ca. 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 380

**24** One-piece kantharos

Fig. 4, Pl. 3

Lot 2005-23:1

H: 0.105      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.09 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.047

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. Two incised bands below lip.

Handle: Heracles knot handle

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**25** One-piece kantharos

Fig. 4, Pl. 3

Lot 2005-23:2

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.09 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: Heracles knot handle

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**26** One-piece kantharos

Fig. 4, Pl. 3

Lot 2006-34:9

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.10 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. Double incised bands border handle zone.

Handle: Heracles knot handle

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

- 27** One-piece kantharos Fig. 4, Pl. 3  
Lot 2007-1:3  
H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.11 (est.)    Diam. of base/foot: N/A  
Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B  
Decoration:    Traces of black glaze all over. Double incised bands border handle zone.  
Handle:    Heracles knot handle  
Deposit No.:    2  
Context date:    250-235 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none
- 28** One-piece kantharos Fig. 4, Pl. 3  
Lot 2006-34:10  
H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.095 (est.)    Diam. of base/foot: N/A  
Color: Light reddish yellow    Fabric: B  
Decoration:    Good black glaze all over  
Handle:    Heracles knot handle  
Deposit No.:    2  
Context date:    250-235 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none
- 29** One-piece kantharos Fig. 4, Pl. 3  
C 1931-39  
H: 0.126      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.095 (est.)    Diam. of base/foot: 0.05  
Color: Buff      Fabric: B  
Decoration:    Flaking glaze all over. Incised bands through handle zone. Traces of  
miltos on stem of foot.  
Handle:    Thumbrest handle  
Deposit No.:    42  
Context date:    ca. 225 B.C. or slightly later  
Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 379
- 30** One-piece kantharos Fig. 5, Pl. 3  
Lot 2005-6:45  
H: 0.076      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.056      Diam. of base/foot: 0.035



Color: Pale yellow                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black to brown glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised necklace with added white pendants in handle zone with one incised upper band.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**31 One-piece kantharos**

Fig. 5, Pl. 3

Lot 2005-6:71

H: 0.092              Diam. of lip/rim: 0.067              Diam. of base/foot: 0.034

Color: Pale yellow                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. Double incised lines at top of handle zone. Milto on stem. Reserved circle at apex of undersurface and on resting surface of foot.

Handle: Heracles knot handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**32 One-piece kantharos**

Fig. 5, Pl. 4

Lot 2005-6:59

H: 0.185              Diam. of lip/rim: 0.145              Diam. of base/foot: 0.066

Color: Pale yellow                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze exterior, brown glaze interior. West Slope decoration of incised ivy stem with leaves in added white bordered by incised bands in rim zone. Milto on stem and resting surface of foot.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**33 One-piece kantharos**

Fig. 5, Pl. 4

C 1947-75

H: 0.12              Diam. of lip/rim: 0.099              Diam. of base/foot: 0.053

Color: Buff                                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised necklace with pendants in added red. Handles have slight roundels on the top.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 21

Context date: First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 378

**34** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 6, Pl. 4

C 1953-231

H: 0.111      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.097      Diam. of base/foot: 0.045

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised running ivy in handle zone. Ribbed lower body. Miltois on stem and undersurface of foot.

Handle: Heracles knot handle

Deposit No.: 38

Context date: Fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 456

**35** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 6, Pl. 4

C 1953-233

H: 0.093      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.075      Diam. of base/foot: 0.037

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised running ivy in handle zone. Ribbed lower body. Miltois on stem and undersurface of foot.

Handle: Heracles knot handle

Deposit No.: 38

Context date: Fourth quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 443

**36** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 6, Pl. 4

C 1960-71

H: 0.112      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.107      Diam. of base/foot: 0.049

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised running ivy in handle zone. Miltois on stem and undersurface of foot.

Handle: Heracles knot handle  
Deposit No.: 57  
Context date: ca. 275-250 B.C.  
Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 453

**37** Cyma kantharos Fig. 6, Pl. 4  
C 1960-227

H: 0.128      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.122      Diam. of base/foot: 0.053

Color: light reddish yellow      Fabric: local

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised running ivy with leaves in added paint in handle zone. Miltois on stem and resting surface of foot.

Handle: Heracles knot handle

Deposit No.: Grave 1960-7

Context date: unknown

Previous Publications: Robinson 1962, p. 120; *Corinth* VII.3, no. 451; Pemberton 1985, p. 305

**38** Cyma kantharos Fig. 7, Pl. 4  
Lot 2005-6:19

H: 0.114      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.089      Diam. of base/foot: 0.045

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of painted necklace bordered by incised bands with added red.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**39** Cyma kantharos Fig. 7, Pl. 5  
Lot 2005-6:36

H: 0.098      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.071      Diam. of base/foot: 0.037

Color: Pale brown to Buff      Fabric: local

Decoration: Flaking brown glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised running ivy in handle zone with one incised band below rim zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**40** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 7, Pl. 5

Lot 2005-6:14

H: 0.131      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.102      Diam. of base/foot: 0.047

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of painted necklace in handle zone with one incised band with traces of red below rim zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**41** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 7, Pl. 5

Lot 2005-6:64

H: 0.093      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.07 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.033

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over. Miltos on resting surface and stem of foot. Faint ribbing on body below rim zone. Rim zone marked by single incised line; no traces of decoration.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**42** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 7, Pl. 5

Lot 2001-41:11

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.12 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of a painted necklace in added white; incised band at mid-body.

Handle: not preserved

Deposit No.: 3

Context date: 220 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**43** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 7, Pl. 5

C 1947-272

H: 0.148      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.114      Diam. of base/foot: 0.05

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised running ivy in handle zone; ribbed lower body.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 34

Context date: 195 B.C. or later

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 413

**44** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 8, Pl. 5

C 1947-92

H: 0.16      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.118      Diam. of base/foot: 0.054

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of painted necklace in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 10

Context date: 185-175 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 393

**45** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 8, Pl. 5

C 1947-93

H: 0.164      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.111      Diam. of base/foot: 0.055

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of painted necklace in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 10

Context date: 185-175 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 398

- 46** Cyma kantharos Fig. 8, Pl. 6  
C 1947-460  
H: 0.126      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.09      Diam. of base/foot: 0.04  
Color: Buff      Fabric: B  
Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of painted necklace in handle zone.  
Handle: Thumbrest handle  
Deposit No.: 20  
Context date: First quarter of the 2nd c. B.C.  
Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 427
- 47** Cyma kantharos Fig. 8, Pl. 6  
C 1947-290  
H: 0.132      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.093      Diam. of base/foot: 0.05  
Color: Buff      Fabric: B  
Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over; undersurface and resting surface of foot: reserved. Two incised bands at top of handle zone.  
Handle: Thumbrest handle  
Deposit No.: 15  
Context date: 185 +/- 10 B.C.  
Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 420
- 48** Cyma kantharos Fig. 9, Pl. 6  
C 1947-457  
H: 0.121      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.098      Diam. of base/foot: 0.046  
Color: Buff      Fabric: B  
Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised egg and dart pattern in handle zone.  
Handle: Thumbrest handle  
Deposit No.: 20  
Context date: First quarter of the 2nd c. B.C.  
Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 428
- 49** Cyma kantharos Fig. 9, Pl. 6  
C 1947-461

H: 0.16      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.105      Diam. of base/foot: 0.057

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised running ivy in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 20

Context date: First quarter of the 2nd c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 390

**50** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 9, Pl. 6

C 2003-41

H: 0.118      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.093      Diam. of base/foot: 0.044

Color: light reddish yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**51** Cyma kantharos

Fig. 9, Pl. 6

C 2003-42

H: 0.123      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.098      Diam. of base/foot: 0.045

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of painted necklace in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**52** Articulated kantharos

Fig. 10, Pl. 7

C 1947-293

H: 0.128      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.11      Diam. of base/foot: 0.061

Color: light reddish yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised suspended

necklace bordered by incised bands in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 15

Context date: 185 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 465

**53** Articulated kantharos

Fig. 10, Pl. 7

C 1947-291

H: 0.127      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.11      Diam. of base/foot: 0.062

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised necklace bordered by incised bands in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 15

Context date: 185 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 463

**54** Articulated kantharos

Fig. 10, Pl. 7

Lot 2005-6:15

H: 0.098      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.086      Diam. of base/foot: 0.046

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised bands in rim zone with added red, no interior motif.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**55** Articulated kantharos

Fig. 10, Pl. 7

Lot 2005-6:16

H: 0.083      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.072      Diam. of base/foot: 0.047

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. Single incised bands border rim zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle



Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**56** Articulated kantharos

Fig. 10, Pl. 7

Lot 2005-6:17

H: 0.074      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.067      Diam. of base/foot: 0.041

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black to red glaze all over. Single incised bands border rim zone. West Slope decoration of an incised necklace with added white pendants in rim zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**57** Articulated kantharos

Fig. 10, Pl. 7

Lot 2005-6:18

H: 0.071      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.069      Diam. of base/foot: 0.048

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over. West Slope decoration in rim zone with a lower band in added red or white and a painted necklace in added white with double incised upper bands in white.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**58** Articulated kantharos

Fig. 11, Pl. 7

Lot 2005-6:44

H: 0.08      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.069      Diam. of base/foot: 0.037

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black-brown glaze all over. Plain incised band below rim.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**59** Articulated kantharos

Fig. 11, Pl. 7

C 1947-456

H: 0.073      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.07      Diam. of base/foot: 0.039

Color: very Pale brown      Fabric: C

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised ivy.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 20

Context date: First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**60** Articulated kantharos

Fig. 11, Pl. 8

C 1947-46

H: 0.095      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.087      Diam. of base/foot: 0.057

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised necklace on one side and graffito on the other bordered by incised bands in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 21

Context date: First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 474

**61** Articulated kantharos

Fig. 11, Pl. 8

C 1947-424

H: 0.09      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.088      Diam. of base/foot: 0.052

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised necklace on one side and graffito on the other bordered by incised bands in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 35

Context date: First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 476

**62** Articulated kantharos Fig. 11, Pl. 8  
C 1947-125

H: 0.076      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.072      Diam. of base/foot: 0.045

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised necklace bordered by incised bands with added pink in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 10

Context date: 185-175 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 487

**63** Articulated kantharos Fig. 11, Pl. 8  
C 1965-379

H: 0.083      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.072      Diam. of base/foot: 0.04

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised bands with added pink border handle zone. Graffito on one side.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: North of School, Well R (*Corinth* VII.3, deposit no. 33)

Context date: ca. 175-165

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 65 and 83

**64** Articulated kantharos Fig. 11, Pl. 8  
C 1934-396

H: 0.119      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.105      Diam. of base/foot: 0.072

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised running ivy on one side and graffito on the other bordered by incised bands in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 8

Context date: ca. 175 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 467

**65** Articulated kantharos Fig. 12  
Lot 3781:1

H: 0.098      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.095 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.048

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised necklace with pendants in added paint bordered by incised bands in handle zone.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 21

Context date: First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**66** Calyx kantharos      Fig. 12, Pl. 8  
C 1933-42

H: 0.145      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.102      Diam. of base/foot: 0.054

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. Ribbed lower body.

Handle: Vertical high swung handle

Deposit No.: findspot unknown

Context date: unknown

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 375

**67** Corinthian molded rim: kantharos      Fig. 12, Pl. 8

Lot 2007-1:4

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: N/A      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical spur handle

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**68** Corinthian molded rim: kantharos      Fig. 12, Pl. 8

Lot 2007-1:5

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: N/A      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of good black glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical spur handle

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**69** Corinthian molded rim: kantharos

Fig. 12, Pl. 9

Lot 2007-1:7

H: N/A Diam. of lip/rim: N/A Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical spur handle

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**70** Corinthian molded rim: kantharos

Fig. 12, Pl. 9

Lot 2007-1:6

H: N/A Diam. of lip/rim: 0.10 (est.) Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical spur handle

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**71** Hexamilia cup

Fig. 13, Pl. 9

Lot 2005-6:39

H: 0.079 Diam. of lip/rim: 0.07 (est.) Diam. of base/foot: 0.041

Color: Light reddish yellow Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black to brown glaze by dipping.

Handle: Vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/-10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**72** Hexamilia cup Fig. 13

C 1964-375

H: 0.093      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.078      Diam. of base/foot: 0.04

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration:    Good black glaze by dipping.

Handle:    Vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: 53

Context date: 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Fill 3)

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 515

**73** Hexamilia cup Fig. 13, Pl. 9

C 1947-311

H: 0.08      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.068      Diam. of base/foot: 0.039

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration:    Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle:    Vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: 34

Context date: ca. 195 B.C. or later

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 521

**74** Hexamilia cup Fig. 13

Lot 2003-82:1

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.07 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration:    Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle:    Vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**75** Hexamilia cup Fig. 13

Lot 2003-82:2

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.07 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**76** Corinthian banded cup

Fig. 13, Pl. 9

Lot 2005-6:61

H: 0.065      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.095 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.028

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over. Incised band below rim: with added red or white paint.

Handle: Heracles knot handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/-10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**77** Carinated rim: kantharos

Fig. 13

Lot 2005-6:101

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.08 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised ivy bordered by single incised bands in rim zone.

Handle: Heracles knot handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/-10 B.C.

Previous Publications:

**78** Carinated rim kantharos

Fig. 13

Lot 2005-6:100

H:      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.075 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot:

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: Thumbrest handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/-10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**79** Moldmade bowl Pl. 9  
C 1934-2508

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim:N/A      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Leaf and tendril bowl with outline leaf and rosette. Rim band of carets.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: find spot unknown

Context date: unknown

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 780

**80** Moldmade bowl Pl. 9  
C 1926-45

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim:N/A      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Light reddish yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over. Pine-cone scales around a medallion with a small palmette. Ivy leaf rim: band.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 49

Context date: 185-160 B.C.

Previous Publications: Edwards 1986, no. 1

**81** Moldmade bowl Pl. 9  
C 1926-33

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim:N/A      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Pointed lotus petals in an imbricate pattern around a medallion of two raised lines. Rim band of small ferns above a simple ivy leaf.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 49

Context date: ca. 185-160 B.C.

Previous Publications: Edwards 1986, no. 4



**82** Moldmade bowl Fig. 14

Lot 2006-6:20

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: N/A      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Foliage pattern of pointed petals.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: none

**83** Moldmade bowl Fig. 14

Lot 2004-22:1

H: 0.102      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.172      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Medallion of a four petal flower within two concentric circles.

Overlapping pattern of rounded petals with three spines to an egg and dart rim: band.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 6

Context date: ca. 175 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**84** Moldmade bowl

C 1938-683

H: 0.084      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.148      Diam. of base/foot:

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Figural bowl with a main scene featuring a repeated scene of Dionysus and three trophy girls around a vegetal medallion. Rim band of ivy guilloche.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 21

Context date: First quarter of the 2nd c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 807

**85** Moldmade bowl Pl. 9

C 1926-16

H: p.H: 0.073      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.14 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot:

Color: Pale yellow                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. Concentric semi-circle pattern with central whirligig motif and bosses. Rim band of double spirals.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 49

Context date: ca. 185-160 B.C.

Previous Publications: Edwards 1986, no. 31

**86** Moldmade bowl Fig. 15

Lot 2003-81:14

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: N/A                      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: light reddish yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Concentric semi-circle pattern with raised bosses.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**87** Moldmade bowl Pl. 9

C 1947-790

H: 0.085      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.138                      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff                                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Net pattern of a single dotted line in three registers. Rim band of ivy guilloche.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 25

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 919

**88** Moldmade bowl Pl. 10

C 1976-94

H: 0.075      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.144                      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff                                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Long petal bowl. Medallion surrounded by two circles in relief; narrow petals in high relief with flat centers.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: Lot 1976-101

Context date: unknown

Previous Publications: Edwards 1981, nos. 3 and 8

**89** Moldmade bowl

Fig. 15

Lot 2006-7:3

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: N/A      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Linear leaf pattern with two concentric circles around the medallion. The medallion has four radiating palmettes.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: none

**90** Moldmade bowl

Pl. 10

C 1948-31

H: 0.085      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.15 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Linear leaf pattern of outlined leaves from medallion to rim: band. Rim band of ivy guilloche.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 19

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 933

**91** Moldmade bowl mold

Fig. 15, Pl. 10

MF 2005-32

H: 0.088      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.143      Diam. of base/foot: 0.07

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Terracotta linear leaf bowl mould. Disc foot: with concave undersurface and three incised concentric circles on bottom, hemispherical body, flaring rounded lip with upper surface partially bisected by groove; on interior, deeply incised medallion in center of floor consisting of two concentric circles, sixteen independent, long, deeply incised leaves with a single line as spine exterior ending from medallion to rim zone, rim

zone has a pair of deeply incised lines.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: none

**92** Moldmade bowl

Fig. 15

C 1935-997 a, b, c

H: 0.084      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.15 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff                                  Fabric: B

Decoration: Entire surface covered in black glaze. Body has a foliage pattern with a repeated motif of an acanthus with its top folded forwards flanked by linear style leaves with a single central spine. Stamped signature of the PR workshop (PROM) above foliage. Band of ivy guilloche pointing left.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 17

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: none

**93** Echinus bowl

Fig. 16, Pl. 10

Lot 2006-10:1

H: 0.047      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.115      Diam. of base/foot: 0.06

Color: Pale yellow                          Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over, foot reserved?

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: ca. 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**94** Echinus bowl

Fig. 16, Pl. 10

Lot 2005-23:09

H: 0.054      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.13      Diam. of base/foot: 0.045

Color: Buff                                  Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: ca. 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**95** Echinus bowl

Fig. 16, Pl. 10

Lot 2005-23:05

H: 0.031      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.07      Diam. of base/foot: 0.045

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: ca. 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**96** Echinus bowl

Fig. 16, Pl. 11

Lot 2006-34:08

H: 0.079      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.18      Diam. of base/foot: 0.095

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**97** Echinus bowl

Fig. 16

Lot 2005-6:95

H: 0.086      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.22      Diam. of base/foot: 0.073

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black to orange glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**98** Echinus bowl Fig. 16, Pl. 11

Lot 2005-6:25

H: 0.051      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.117      Diam. of base/foot: 0.051

Color: Light reddish yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**99** Echinus bowl Fig. 16

Lot 2005-6:33

H: 0.056      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.135      Diam. of base/foot: 0.06

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**100** Echinus bowl Fig. 16, Pl. 11

Lot 2005-6:24

H: 0.03      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.057      Diam. of base/foot: 0.032

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**101** Echinus bowl Fig. 16

Lot 2003-83:37

H: 0.048      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.124      Diam. of base/foot: 0.051

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**102** Echinus bowl

Fig. 16, Pl. 11

C 2003-60

H: 0.037      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.088      Diam. of base/foot: 0.04 (est.)

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**103** Echinus bowl

Fig. 16, Pl. 11

C 2003-38

H: 0.045      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.086      Diam. of base/foot: 0.037

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**104** Echinus bowl

Fig. 17, Pl. 11

C 2003-37

H: 0.035      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.06      Diam. of base/foot: 0.029

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10

Previous Publications: none

**105** Semi-glazed bowl Fig. 17, Pl. 11

C 1975-171

H: 0.079      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.114      Diam. of base/foot: 0.04

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze interior; bands at junction of neck and shoulder.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 47

Context date: Late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**106** Semi-glazed bowl Fig. 17

Lot 2006-34:2

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.16      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze on interior. Single band at mid-body.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**107** Semi-glazed bowl Fig. 17

Lot 2001-41:1

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.17      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze interior; band at rim and maximum diameter.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 3

Context date: 225 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**108** Semi-glazed bowl Fig. 17, Pl. 11

Lot 2005-6:21



H: 0.074      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.156      Diam. of base/foot: 0.049

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze interior; bands at mid-body and lower body.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**109** Semi-glazed bowl

Fig. 17, Pl. 11

Lot 2005-6:20

H: 0.09      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.175      Diam. of base/foot: 0.059

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: D

Decoration: Good red to black glaze interior; bands at lip and mid-body.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**110** Semi-glazed bowl

Fig. 18

Lot 2003-83:42

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.15 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Light reddish yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking red glaze on interior; lip band and band at max diameter.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**111** Semi-glazed bowl

Fig. 18, Pl. 11

C 1948-94

H: 0.07      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.135 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.051

Color: Very pale brown      Fabric: C

Decoration: Good brown to black glaze interior; band at mid-body.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 18

Context date: 170s

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 10

**112** Semi-glazed bowl

Fig. 18, Pl. 11

C 1931-201

H: 0.068      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.1      Diam. of base/foot: 0.04

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good red-black glaze interior; bands at lip, mid-body and top of foot.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 19

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 11

**113** Saucer

Fig. 18

Lot 2005-23:40

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.135 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Light reddish yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**114** Saucer

Fig. 18, Pl. 12

C 1953-256

H: 0.033      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.132      Diam. of base/foot: 0.052

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 38

Context date: 4<sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 225 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 176

**115** Saucer

Fig. 18, Pl. 12

Lot 2006-34:1

H: 0.028      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.14 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: 0.054

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**116** Saucer

Fig. 18

Lot 2001-41:10

H: 0.032      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.16      Diam. of base/foot: 0.05

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 3

Context date: 225 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**117** Saucer

Fig. 18, Pl. 12

Lot 2005-6:42

H: 0.038      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.127      Diam. of base/foot: 0.044

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**118** Saucer

Fig. 18

Lot 2005-6:97

H: 0.031      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.15      Diam. of base/foot: 0.049

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**119** Saucer

Fig. 18

Lot 2003-83:27

H: 0.046      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.19      Diam. of base/foot: 0.066

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**120** Saucer

Fig. 18

Lot 2003-83:28

H: 0.049      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.19      Diam. of base/foot: 0.065

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**121** Saucer

Fig. 18

Lot 2006-6:08

H: 0.044      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.153      Diam. of base/foot: 0.051

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: 125-75 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**122** Saucer

Fig. 18

Lot 2006-6:09

H: 0.042      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.155      Diam. of base/foot: 0.054

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: 125-75 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**123** Bowl with outturned rim

Fig. 19, Pl. 12

C 1937-2589

H: 0.048      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.147      Diam. of base/foot: 0.074

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking red to black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 44

Context date: 300 +/-10 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 73

**124** Bowl with outturned rim

Fig. 19, Pl. 12

Lot 2005-6:63

H: 0.033      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.118      Diam. of base/foot: 0.047

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**125** Bowl with outturned rim

Fig. 19, Pl. 12

Lot 2005-6:47

H: 0.04      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.107      Diam. of base/foot: 0.042  
Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B  
Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.  
Handle: N/A  
Deposit No.: 4  
Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**126** Bowl with outturned rim Fig. 19

Lot 2005-6:93

H: 0.037      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.12      Diam. of base/foot: 0.060  
Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B  
Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.  
Handle: N/A  
Deposit No.: 4  
Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**127** Bowl with outturned rim Fig. 19

Lot 3783:1

H: 0.04      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.105      Diam. of base/foot: 0.043  
Color: Buff      Fabric: B  
Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.  
Handle: N/A  
Deposit No.: 21  
Context date: First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**128** Bowl with outturned rim Fig. 19, Pl. 12

C 2003-40

H: 0.037      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.093      Diam. of base/foot: 0.045  
Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B  
Decoration: Good black glaze by dipping.  
Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5  
Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**129** Bowl with outturned rim Fig. 19

Lot 2003-83:44

H: 0.037      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.105      Diam. of base/foot: 0.038

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5  
Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**130** Bowl with outturned rim Fig. 19

Lot 1987-43:1

H: 0.044      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.113      Diam. of base/foot: 0.048

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 28  
Context date: 170-160 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**131** Bowl with outturned rim Fig. 19, Pl. 12

C 1987-81

H: 0.041      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.100      Diam. of base/foot: 0.046

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 28  
Context date: 170-160 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**132** Bowl with outturned rim

Fig. 19

Lot 2006-6:11

H: 0.039      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.115      Diam. of base/foot: 0.042

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: 125-75 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**133** Bowl with outturned rim

Fig. 19

Lot 2006-6:12

H: 0.042      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.11      Diam. of base/foot: 0.048

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: 125-75 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**134** Bowl with outturned rim

Fig. 19

C 1947-362

H: 0.043      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.119      Diam. of base/foot: 0.045

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 19

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 78

**135** Bowl with outturned rim

Fig. 19

C 1934-82

H: 0.044      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.117      Diam. of base/foot: 0.046

Color: Buff      Fabric: B



Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 13

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 85

**136** Bowl with outturned rim

Fig. 19

C 1946-46

H: 0.041      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.108      Diam. of base/foot: 0.046

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 15

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 91

**137** Beveled rim bowl

Fig. 19, Pl. 12

C 1937-2542

H: 0.026      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.088      Diam. of base/foot: 0.054

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 44

Context date: 300 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 92

**138** Beveled rim bowl

Fig. 19

Lot 2005-6:99

H: 0.026      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.11      Diam. of base/foot: 0.046

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: Early 3rd c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**139** Beveled rim bowl Fig. 20, Pl. 12

C 1940-434

H: 0.031      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.093      Diam. of base/foot: 0.049

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 26

Context date: Third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 95

**140** Conical bowl Fig. 20, Pl. 12

C 1947-50

H: 0.078      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.167      Diam. of base/foot: 0.038

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze exterior. Interior black glazed with medallion of a painted red and white six petal flower, a wide band of incised lozenges and rim band of alternating incised concentric squares and checkerboard motifs.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 21

Context date: First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 546

**141** Shallow dish , Pl. 12

C 1940-431

H: 0.025      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.073      Diam. of base/foot: 0.038

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Plain

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 26

Context date: Third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**142** Shallow dish

Fig. 20, Pl. 12

C 1940-425

H: 0.023      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.071      Diam. of base/foot: 0.036

Color: Light pink to pale yellow      Fabric:      A

Decoration:      Plain

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 26

Context date: Third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**143** Shallow dish

Fig. 20

Lot 1940:2

H: 0.024      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.075      Diam. of base/foot: 0.039

Color: Light pink to pale yellow      Fabric:      A

Decoration:      Traces of white slip interior; string cut base.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 27

Context date: Third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**144** Shallow dish

Fig. 20

Lot 1940:1

H: 0.024      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.08      Diam. of base/foot: 0.039

Color: Light pink to pale yellow      Fabric:      A

Decoration:      Traces of white slip interior; string cut base.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 27

Context date: Third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**145** Attic type fish plate

Fig. 20, Pl. 13

C 1931-151

H: 0.037      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.181      Diam. of base/foot: 0.084

Color: Buff      Fabric:      B

Decoration: Black glaze all over. Groove at edge of rim and around central depression filled with miltos.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 40

Context date: First half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 132

**146** Attic type fish plate

Fig. 20, Pl. 13

C 1963-737

H: 0.042      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.21      Diam. of base/foot: 0.08

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: Anaploga Dye Works

Context date: Hellenistic

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 131

**147** Beveled rim fish plate

Fig. 20, Pl. 13

C 1940-467

H: 0.035      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.19      Diam. of base/foot: 0.07

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 27

Context date: Third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 136

**148** Beveled rim fish plate

Fig. 20, Pl. 13

C 1947-325

H: 0.058      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.23      Diam. of base/foot: 0.065

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking red to black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 21

Context date: First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.  
Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 135

**149** Beveled rim fish plate Fig. 21, Pl. 13

C 2003-44

H: 0.038      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.19      Diam. of base/foot: 0.064

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**150** Beveled rim fish plate Fig. 21

Lot 2003-83:35

H: 0.053      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.19      Diam. of base/foot: 0.065

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking red to black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**151** Beveled rim fish plate Fig. 21

Lot 2003-83:34

H: 0.047      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.2      Diam. of base/foot: 0.067

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**152** Plate with offset rim Fig. 21, Pl. 13

C 1948-53

H: 0.022      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.168      Diam. of base/foot: 0.062

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. West Slope decoration on interior. Rim with incised checkerboards alternating with concentric squares with crosses, interior has four painted boukrania around an eight petaled flower in a circle.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 12

Context date: ca. 200-150 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 129

**153** Rolled rim plate

Fig. 21, Pl. 13

C 1965-383

H: 0.057      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.215      Diam. of base/foot: 0.064

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 54

Context date: First half of the 2nd c. B.C. (?)

Previous Publications: none

**154** Rolled rim plate

Fig. 21, Pl. 13

C 1946-43

H: 0.064      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.275      Diam. of base/foot: 0.063

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 14

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 102

**155** Flat rim plate

Fig. 22, Pl. 13

C 1966-158

H: 0.043      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.19      Diam. of base/foot: 0.062

Color: Very pale brown                      Fabric: C  
Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.  
Handle: N/A  
Deposit No.: Peribolos of Apollo  
Context date: First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.  
Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, p. 38 n. 24.

**156** Flat rim plate Fig. 22, Pl. 13

C 1947-117

H: 0.055      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.212      Diam. of base/foot: 0.063

Color: Pale yellow                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 9

Context date: 185-175 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 122

**157** Flat rim plate Fig. 22

C 1966-180

H: 0.053      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.22      Diam. of base/foot: 0.064

Color: Buff                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 55

Context date: First quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**158** Flat rim plate Fig. 22

Lot 2006-6:1

H: 0.061      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.21      Diam. of base/foot: 0.072

Color: Pale yellow                      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking red to black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: 125-75 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**159** Flat rim plate

Fig. 22

Lot 2006-6:4

H: 0.053      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.22      Diam. of base/foot: 0.063

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: 125-75 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**160** Flat rim plate

Fig. 22

Lot 2006-6:5

H: 0.067      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.23      Diam. of base/foot: 0.065

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking red-black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: 125-75 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**161** Flat rim plate

Fig. 23

Lot 2006-6:6

H: 0.057      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.21      Diam. of base/foot: 0.063

Color: Light reddish yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 7

Context date: 125-75 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**162** Flat rim plate

Fig. 23



C 1933-1450

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.21      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 14

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 114

**163** Flat rim plate

Fig. 23, Pl. 13

C 1947-57

H: 0.062      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.22      Diam. of base/foot: 0.065

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze by dipping.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 16

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 115

**164** Stemless bell krater

Fig. 23

C 1971-316

H: 0.135      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.17      Diam. of base/foot: 0.079

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal round handles canted upwards.

Deposit No.: 44

Context date: 300 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: Williams 1972, no. 20 p. 156 pl. 24; Williams 1973 pl 9; McPhee 1997, no. 2 fig. 2 pl 31.

**165** Unglazed bell krater

Fig. 24

Lot 2006-34:31

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.3 (est.)      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Undecorated.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**166** Bolster krater

Fig. 24, Pl. 14

C 2005-22

H: 0.168      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.292      Diam. of base/foot: 0.083

Color: Very pale brown      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. Side A has West Slope decoration of incised lattice work with central black and added white checkerboard motif; side B has incised running ivy garland with added dots.

Handle: Horizontal bolster handles

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**167** Bolster krater

Fig. 24, Pl. 14

Lot 2005-6:31

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.3      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pale yellow to pink      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black to brown glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised egg and dart pattern in handle zone with two incised bands below rim.

Handle: Horizontal bolster handles

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**168** Hemispherical krater

Fig. 25, Pl. 14

C 1960-58

H: 0.16      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.225      Diam. of base/foot: 0.07

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good black glaze all over. West Slope decoration of incised necklace pattern with two incised lines below lip.

Handle: none

Deposit No.: 31

Context date: 200 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: Robinson 1962, p. 117, pl. 45; *Corinth* VII.3, no. 190

**169** Moldmade krater

Fig. 25, Pl. 15

C 1986-113

H: 0.155      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.209      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Pink-buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over. Figural relief decoration with a medallion of a gorgoneion within two circles.

Handle: none

Deposit No.: 29

Context date: Second quarter of the 2nd c. B.C.

Previous Publications: Williams and Zerbos 1987, no. 1 pl. 1

**170** Two-handled oinochoe

Fig. 25

Lot 2005-6:79

H: 0.19      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.098      Diam. of base/foot: 0.09

Color: Pink-buff      Fabric: A

Decoration: Undecorated.

Handle: Vertical oval strap handles

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**171** Two-handled oinochoe

Fig. 26

Lot 2003-83:6

H: est. 0.22      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.085      Diam. of base/foot: 0.07

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Undecorated.

Handle: Vertical oval strap handles

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**172** Two-handled oinochoe Fig. 26, Pl. 15

C 1981-45

H: 0.188      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.095      Diam. of base/foot: 0.073

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Unglazed.

Handle: Vertical oval strap handles

Deposit No.: 48

Context date: Well 1981-2 Fill II: 200-175 B.C.

Previous Publications: McPhee 2005, p. 70

**173** Trefoil mouthed oinochoe Fig. 26, Pl. 15

Lot 2006-12:10

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: N/A      Diam. of base/foot: 0.06

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Undecorated.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**174** Trefoil mouthed oinochoe Fig. 26, Pl. 15

Lot 2005-6:49

H: 0.083      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.048      Diam. of base/foot: 0.045

Color: Pink-pale yellow      Fabric: A

Decoration: Traces of white slip?

Handle: Vertical high swung handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**175** Trefoil mouthed oinochoe Fig. 26, Pl. 15

Lot 2005-6:28

H: 0.074      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.047      Diam. of base/foot: 0.042  
Color: Buff                                  Fabric: B

Decoration: Undecorated.

Handle: Vertical high swung handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**176** Trefoil mouthed oinochoe Fig. 27, Pl. 15

Lot 2005-6:58

H: 0.111      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.053      Diam. of base/foot: 0.082

Color: Pale yellow                          Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of yellow orange wash exterior. Plain interior.

Handle: Vertical high swung handle

Deposit No.: 4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**177** Trefoil mouthed olpe Fig. 27

Lot 2007-1:11

H: N/A      Max. Diam 0.073                          Diam. of base/foot:

Color: Pale yellow                          Fabric: B

Decoration: No glaze preserved.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**178** Trefoil mouthed olpe Fig. 27, Pl. 15

Lot 2006-34:15

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: N/A      Diam. of base/foot: 0.046

Color: Pale yellow                          Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**179** Trefoil mouthed olpe

Fig. 27

C 1947-128

H: 0.122      Diam. of lip/rim:      Diam. of base/foot: 0.032

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Good brown glaze by dipping.

Handle: Vertical high swung handle

Deposit No.: 10

Context date: 185-175 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no.224

**180** Trefoil mouthed olpe

Fig. 27, Pl. 15

C 2003-45

H: 0.156      Diam. of lip/rim: N/A      Diam. of base/foot: 0.038

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking brown glaze by dipping.

Handle: Vertical high swung handle

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**181** Juglet

Fig. 27, Pl. 15

C 1947-410

H: 0.06      Diam. of lip/rim: N/A      Diam. of base/foot: 0.026

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Undecorated.

Handle: Horizontal flattened strap handle

Deposit No.: South Stoa well XX

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 280

**182** Filter vase

Fig. 27

Lot 2003-83:63

H: N/A      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.06      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Dark pink to dark gray      Fabric: Blisterware

Decoration: Undecorated.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**183** Domed pyxis

Fig. 28

C 1931-237

H: 0.039      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.089      Diam. of base/foot: 0.065

Color: Pinkish yellow      Fabric: A

Decoration: Pyxis base. Faint irregular grooves on base. Traces of white slip all over.

Handle: none

Deposit No.: 27

Context date: Third quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 566

**184** Domed pyxis

Fig. 28, Pl. 16

C 1953-250

H: 0.067      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.138      Diam. of base/foot: 0.132

Color: Pinkish yellow      Fabric: A

Decoration: Pyxis top. Two concentric grooves at edge of lid, single groove around depressed apex of dome with a central bump. Traces of white slip.

Handle: none

Deposit No.: 38

Context date: 4<sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 225 B.C.

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 576

**185** Domed pyxis

Fig. 28

C 1936-467

H: 0.035      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.082      Diam. of base/foot: 0.077

Color: Pinkish yellow                      Fabric:    A

Decoration:    Pyxis top. Two concentric grooves at edge of lid, two concentric circles on apex of dome. Two grooves on side of flange. No traces of white slip.

Handle: none

Deposit No.:    South Stoa well XX

Context date: interim

Previous Publications: *Corinth* VII.3, no. 580

**186**Lekanis

Fig. 28

Lot 2007-1:12

H: 0.039            Diam. of lip/rim: 0.1                      Diam. of base/foot: 0.053

Color: Light reddish yellow              Fabric:    B

Decoration:    Undecorated.

Handle: Horizontal reflex handles

Deposit No.:    2

Context date: 250-235 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**187**Lekanis

Fig. 28, Pl. 16

Lot 2005-6:37

H: 0.039            Diam. of lip/rim: 0.095                      Diam. of base/foot: 0.043

Color: Pink                                      Fabric:    A

Decoration:    Traces of white slip all over.

Handle: Horizontal reflex handles

Deposit No.:    4

Context date: 210 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**188**Lekanis

Fig. 28, Pl. 16

C 2003-53

H: 0.057            Diam. of lip/rim: 0.125                      Diam. of base/foot: 0.054

Color: Pink to buff                              Fabric:    A

Decoration:    Traces of red slip on interior; burnished exterior.

Handle: Horizontal reflex handles



Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**189** Lekanis lid

Fig. 28

CP 2023b

H: 0.055      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.08      Diam. of base/foot:

Color: Pale yellow to pink      Fabric: A

Decoration: Unglazed. Three concentric stepped grooves to stem of knob, deep circular hole in center of knob.

Handle: See above

Deposit No.: Isthmus cemetery (KTL)

Context date: unknown

Previous Publications: none

**190** Aryballos

C 1937-2594

H: 0.087      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.037      Diam. of base/foot: 0.057

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Faint ribbing on shoulder. Traces of black glaze on exterior but bottom of base reserved.

Handle: Thin vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: 44

Context date: 300 +/- 10

Previous Publications: none

**191** Aryballos

Fig. 28

Lot 2005-23:17

H: 0.068      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.035      Diam. of base/foot: 0.08

Color: Grey      Fabric: Blisterware

Decoration: Ribbed lower body with plain upper body.

Handle: Thin vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**192** Aryballos

Pl. 16

C 2003-88

H: 0.064      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.034      Diam. of base/foot: 0.093

Color: 5 YR 6/6      Fabric: Local

Decoration: Uneven painted dark grey wash on exterior.

Handle: Thin vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: 5

Context date: 175 +/- 10 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**193** Unguentarium

Fig. 29

C 1940-406

H: 0.113      Max.Diam.: 0.064      Diam. of base/foot: 0.029

Color: Dark grey      Fabric: Grey unguentarium fabric

Decoration: Smoothed surface with a white line bordered by red lines at mid-body, on shoulder and at base of neck; two additional red lines between shoulder and neck bands

Handle: none

Deposit No.: 26

Context date: Third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: *Hesperia* XVII (1948), no. E12

**194** Unguentarium

Fig. 29, Pl. 16

C 1947-110

H: 0.092      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.022      Diam. of base/foot: 0.029

Color: Brown      Fabric: Brown unguentarium fabric

Decoration: Smoothed surface with a white band at shoulder, base of neck and around rim

Handle: none

Deposit No.: 9

Context date: 185-175 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**195** Unguentarium Fig. 29, Pl. 16  
C 1947-96  
H: 0.17      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.03      Diam. of base/foot: 0.03  
Color: Grey      Fabric: Imitation Cypriot fabric  
Decoration: Smoothed surface with a white band at mid-body, shoulder, base of neck and edge of rim.  
Handle: none  
Deposit No.: 10  
Context date: 185-175 B.C.  
Previous Publications: none

**196** Unguentarium Fig. 29, Pl. 16  
C 1934-84  
H: 0.142      Max. Diam.: 0.042      Diam. of base/foot: 0.024  
Color: Grey      Fabric: Grey unguentarium fabric  
Decoration: Smoothed surface with two white lines on body and one at base of neck.  
Handle: none  
Deposit No.: South Stoa well XIII  
Context date: interim  
Previous Publications: none

**197** Unguentarium Fig. 29, Pl. 16  
C 1947-363  
H: 0.083      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.021      Diam. of base/foot:  
Color: Grey      Fabric: Grey unguentarium fabric  
Decoration: Smoothed surface with single white bands on shoulder, base of neck and neck.  
Handle: 0.026  
Deposit No.: South Stoa well XX  
Context date: interim  
Previous Publications: none

**198** Miniature hydria Pl. 17  
C 2007-6

H: 0.037      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.0175      Diam. of base/foot: 0.0175

Color: reddish yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**199** Miniature pyxis Pl. 17

C 2007-7

H: 0.024      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.019      Diam. of base/foot: 0.017

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze by dipping.

Handle: Horizontal recurved handles

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**200** Miniature “kantharos” or krater Pl. 17

C 2007-8

H: 0.041      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.044      Diam. of base/foot: 0.022

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal lug handle

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**201** Miniature spouted saucer Pl. 17

C 2007-9

H: 0.019      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.041      Diam. of base/foot: 0.028

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of white slip all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**202** Miniature amphora Pl. 17

C 2007-10

H: 0.042      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.02      Diam. of base/foot: 0.019

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**203** Miniature pedestalled bowl Pl. 17

C 2007-11

H: 0.032      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.05      Diam. of base/foot: 0.026

Color: pinkish yellow      Fabric: A

Decoration: Unglazed. Traces of wheel ridging.

Handle: Horizontal strap handle

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**204** Miniature one-handled cup Pl. 17

C 2007-12

H: 0.019      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.04      Diam. of base/foot: 0.028

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal strap handle

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**205** Miniature trefoil oinochoe Pl. 17

C 2007-13

H: 0.034      Diam. of lip/rim:                  Diam. of base/foot: 0.0205

Color: Buff                                  Fabric:      B

Decoration:    Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle:    Vertical high swung handle

Deposit No.:    Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date:    late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**206** Miniature kotyle Pl. 17

C 2007-15

H: 0.026      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.037                  Diam. of base/foot: 0.02

Color: Pale yellow                          Fabric:      B

Decoration:    Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal strap handles

Deposit No.:    Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date:    late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**207** Miniature kalathiskos Pl. 17

C 2007-16

H: 0.032      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.037                  Diam. of base/foot: 0.022

Color: Pale yellow                          Fabric:      A

Decoration:    Flaking mottled red and black glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical strap handle

Deposit No.:    Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date:    late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**208** Miniature phiale Pl. 17

C 2007-17

H: 0.011      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.039                  Diam. of base/foot: 0.02

Color: Pale yellow                          Fabric:      A

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**209** Miniature hydria Pl. 17

C 2007-18

H: 0.039      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.02      Diam. of base/foot: 0.019

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**210** Miniature kanoun Pl. 17

C 2007-19

H: 0.011      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.0425      Diam. of base/foot: 0.031

Color: pinkish yellow      Fabric: A

Decoration: Traces of white slip all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**211** Miniature plate Pl. 17

C 2007-20

H: 0.01      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.046      Diam. of base/foot: 0.026

Color: Buff      Fabric: A

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**212** Miniature saucer Pl. 18

C 2007-21

H: 0.01      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.048      Diam. of base/foot: 0.028

Color: Buff to pink      Fabric: A

Decoration: Traces of orange-brown glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical loop handle

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**213** Miniature one-handled cup Pl. 18

C 2007-22

H: 0.03      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.058      Diam. of base/foot: 0.03

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal strap handle

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**214** Miniature jug Pl. 18

C 2007-23

H: 0.035      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.038      Diam. of base/foot: 0.027

Color: Pale yellow      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking orange-brown glaze all over.

Handle: Vertical strap handle

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**215** Miniature casserole Pl. 18

C 2007-24



H: 0.022      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.06      Diam. of base/foot: 0.04

Color: reddish brown      Fabric: A

Decoration: Flaking mottled red to black glaze all over.

Handle: Horizontal strap handle

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**216** Miniature goblet Pl. 18

C 2007-26

H: 0.031      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.032      Diam. of base/foot: 0.021

Color: Buff      Fabric: A

Decoration: Flaking mottled red to black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**217** Miniature lid Pl. 18

C 2007-29

H: 0.021      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.049      Diam. of base/foot: N/A

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Traces of black glaze all over.

Handle: Knob

Deposit No.: Panayia votive deposit (see Chapter 1)

Context date: late 4th-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**218** Miniature cup Pl. 18

Lot 2005-23:29

H: 0.017      Diam. of lip/rim: 0.036      Diam. of base/foot: 0.017

Color: Buff      Fabric: B

Decoration: Flaking black glaze all over.

Handle: N/A

Deposit No.: 1

Context date: 265-250 B.C.

Previous Publications: none

**Appendix III: Dates of Corinthian fine ware in *Corinth* VII.3 and the Panayia Field chronology**

Shape	<i>Corinth</i> VII.3	Panayia Field chronology
One-handled cup	N/A	Mid-5 <sup>th</sup> to mid-3 <sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.
Black glazed kotyle	N/A	4 <sup>th</sup> c. to mid-3 <sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.
Plain kotyle	N/A	4 <sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 250-225 B.C.
Attic type skyphos	Ca. 425 to 275 B.C.	Early 4 <sup>th</sup> to ca. 250-225 B.C.
One-piece kantharos	Ca. 325 to 250 B.C.	Ca. 275-250 to 200-175 B.C.
Cyma kantharos	Ca. 330 to 225 B.C.	Ca. 250 to 175-165 B.C.
Articulated kantharos	Ca. 325 to 250-225 B.C.	Ca. 225 to 175-165 B.C.
Calyx kantharos	300-250 B.C.	Mid-3 <sup>rd</sup> to ca. 200 B.C.
Hexamilia cup	Ca. 275 to 220 B.C.	230s to ca. 175 B.C.
Moldmade bowl	Ca. 230 to 146 B.C.	Early 2 <sup>nd</sup> B.C. to interim period
Echinus bowl	375 to 146 B.C.	Early 4 <sup>th</sup> c. to 146 B.C. or later
Semi-glazed bowl	375-350 to 146 B.C.	Ca. 375 B.C. to interim period
Saucer	375-350 to 146 B.C.	Ca. 350 to 146 B.C. or later
Bowl with outturned rim (Early)	250 to 146 B.C.	Late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. to mid-3 <sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.
Bowl with outturned rim (Late)	250 to 146 B.C.	Ca. 250 B.C. to interim period
Beveled rim bowl	350 to 300 B.C.	Ca. 325 to mid-3 <sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.
Conical bowl	Ca. 250-225 to 146 B.C.	225 B.C. to 170-160 B.C.
Shallow dish	N/A	Ca. 275 to 225 B.C.
Attic type fish plate	300 to 146 B.C.	Late 4 <sup>th</sup> c. to late 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.
Beveled rim fish plate	275 to 146 B.C.	Ca. 250 to 200-175 B.C.
Plate with offset rim	Ca. 250-200 B.C.	200 to 175 B.C.
Rolled rim plate	200 to 146 B.C.	200-175 B.C. to interim period
Flat rim plate	146 B.C.	200-175 B.C. to interim period
Stemless bell krater	N/A	Ca. 350 to 250 B.C. or later
Unglazed bell krater	N/A	Ca. 235 to 170s B.C.
Bolster krater	Early 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. to ca. 225 B.C.	Ca. 225 to 175 B.C.
Hemispherical krater	300-275 B.C. to ?	225 to 200 B.C.
Moldmade krater	175 to 146 B.C.	Ca. 175 to 146 B.C.

Decanter III	330s to ca. 275 B.C.	Ca. 325 to 250-225 B.C.
Small trefoil oinochoe	Ca. 475 to 300 B.C.	Late 6 <sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 200 B.C.
Hellenistic two-handled oinochoe	N/A	Early 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. to ca. 150 B.C.
Olpe	Ca. 550 to 146 B.C.	Mid-6 <sup>th</sup> c. to 146 B.C. or later
Filter vase	N/A	Ca. 350 to ca. 175 B.C.
Blisterware filter vase	Ca. 146 B.C.	Ca. 175 to 146 B.C. or later
Pyxis	Ca. 350 to 250-225 B.C.	4 <sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 175 B.C.
Lekanis	5 <sup>th</sup> c. to 146 B.C.	5 <sup>th</sup> c. to ca. 170 B.C.
Blisterware aryballos	N/A	Mid-5 <sup>th</sup> c. to 146 B.C.
Grey fabric unguentarium	Ca. 325 B.C. to ?	Ca. 325 B.C. to interim period

## Appendix IV: Pottery Concordance

All catalogued objects in Appendix II are listed below in order of their official Corinth inventory number or lot number opposite their catalog number (in bold).

C 1926-16	<b>85</b>	C 1947-50	<b>140</b>
C 1926-33	<b>81</b>	C 1947-57	<b>163</b>
C 1926-45	<b>80</b>	C 1947-75	<b>33</b>
C 1931-39	<b>29</b>	C 1947-92	<b>44</b>
C 1931-151	<b>145</b>	C 1947-93	<b>45</b>
C 1931-201	<b>112</b>	C 1947-96	<b>196</b>
C 1931-206	<b>23</b>	C 1947-110	<b>195</b>
C 1931-237	<b>184</b>	C 1947-117	<b>156</b>
C 1931-250	<b>15</b>	C 1947-125	<b>62</b>
C 1931-251	<b>16</b>	C 1947-128	<b>180</b>
C 1933-42	<b>66</b>	C 1947-272	<b>43</b>
C 1933-1450	<b>162</b>	C 1947-290	<b>47</b>
C 1934-82	<b>135</b>	C 1947-291	<b>53</b>
C 1934-84	<b>197</b>	C 1947-293	<b>52</b>
C 1934-396	<b>64</b>	C 1947-311	<b>73</b>
C 1934-2508	<b>79</b>	C 1947-325	<b>148</b>
C 1935-997	<b>92</b>	C 1947-362	<b>134</b>
C 1936-467	<b>186</b>	C 1947-363	<b>198</b>
C 1937-435	<b>12</b>	C 1947-410	<b>182</b>
C 1937-2494	<b>14</b>	C 1947-424	<b>61</b>
C 1937-2542	<b>137</b>	C 1947-456	<b>59</b>
C 1937-2589	<b>123</b>	C 1947-457	<b>48</b>
C 1937-2594	<b>191</b>	C 1947-460	<b>46</b>
C 1938-683	<b>84</b>	C 1947-461	<b>49</b>
C 1940-406	<b>194</b>	C 1947-790	<b>87</b>
C 1940-425	<b>142</b>	C 1948-31	<b>90</b>
C 1940-431	<b>141</b>	C 1948-53	<b>152</b>
C 1940-434	<b>139</b>	C 1948-94	<b>111</b>
C 1940-439	<b>21</b>	C 1953-231	<b>34</b>
C 1940-467	<b>147</b>	C 1953-233	<b>35</b>
C 1946-43	<b>154</b>	C 1953-250	<b>185</b>
C 1946-46	<b>136</b>	C 1953-256	<b>114</b>
C 1947-46	<b>60</b>	C 1960-227	<b>37</b>

C 1960-58	168	C 2007-22	214
C 1960-71	36	C 2007-23	215
C 1963-737	146	C 2007-24	216
C 1964-375	72	C 2007-26	217
C 1965-379	63	C 2007-29	218
C 1965-383	153	CP 2023b	190
C 1966-158	155	Lot 1940:01	144
C 1966-180	157	Lot 1940:02	143
C 1971-316	164	Lot 1987-43:01	130
C 1975-171	105	Lot 2001-41:01	107
C 1976-94	88	Lot 2001-41:10	116
C 1981-45	177	Lot 2001-41:11	42
C 1986-113	169	Lot 2003-81:14	86
C 1987-81	131	Lot 2003-82:01	74
C 2003-37	104	Lot 2003-82:02	75
C 2003-38	103	Lot 2003-83:06	171
C 2003-40	128	Lot 2003-83:27	119
C 2003-41	50	Lot 2003-83:28	120
C 2003-42	51	Lot 2003-83:34	151
C 2003-44	149	Lot 2003-83:35	150
C 2003-45	181	Lot 2003-83:37	101
C 2003-53	189	Lot 2003-83:42	110
C 2003-60	102	Lot 2003-83:44	129
C 2003-88	193	Lot 2003-83:52(a+b)	176
C 2005-22	166	Lot 2003-83:63	183
C 2007-06	199	Lot 2004-22:01	83
C 2007-07	200	Lot 2005-23:01	24
C 2007-08	201	Lot 2005-23:02	25
C 2007-09	202	Lot 2005-23:05	95
C 2007-10	203	Lot 2005-23:09	94
C 2007-11	204	Lot 2005-23:11	17
C 2007-12	205	Lot 2005-23:17	192
C 2007-13	206	Lot 2005-23:29	219
C 2007-15	207	Lot 2005-23:35	10
C 2007-16	208	Lot 2005-23:40	113
C 2007-17	209	Lot 2005-6:100	78
C 2007-18	210	Lot 2005-6:101	77
C 2007-19	211	Lot 2005-6:14	40
C 2007-20	212	Lot 2005-6:15	54
C 2007-21	213	Lot 2005-6:16	55

Lot 2005-6:17	<b>56</b>	Lot 2006-12:10	<b>172</b>
Lot 2005-6:18	<b>57</b>	Lot 2006-34:01	<b>115</b>
Lot 2005-6:19	<b>38</b>	Lot 2006-34:02	<b>106</b>
Lot 2005-6:20	<b>109</b>	Lot 2006-34:05	<b>1</b>
Lot 2005-6:21	<b>108</b>	Lot 2006-34:06	<b>3</b>
Lot 2005-6:24	<b>100</b>	Lot 2006-34:07	<b>2</b>
Lot 2005-6:25	<b>98</b>	Lot 2006-34:08	<b>96</b>
Lot 2005-6:28	<b>174</b>	Lot 2006-34:09	<b>26</b>
Lot 2005-6:31	<b>167</b>	Lot 2006-34:10	<b>28</b>
Lot 2005-6:32	<b>22</b>	Lot 2006-34:11	<b>19</b>
Lot 2005-6:33	<b>99</b>	Lot 2006-34:12	<b>20</b>
Lot 2005-6:35	<b>13</b>	Lot 2006-34:14	<b>11</b>
Lot 2005-6:36	<b>39</b>	Lot 2006-34:15	<b>179</b>
Lot 2005-6:37	<b>188</b>	lot 2006-34:31	<b>165</b>
Lot 2005-6:39	<b>71</b>	Lot 2006-6:01	<b>158</b>
Lot 2005-6:42	<b>117</b>	Lot 2006-6:04	<b>159</b>
Lot 2005-6:44	<b>58</b>	Lot 2006-6:05	<b>160</b>
Lot 2005-6:45	<b>30</b>	Lot 2006-6:06	<b>161</b>
Lot 2005-6:47	<b>125</b>	Lot 2006-6:08	<b>121</b>
Lot 2005-6:49	<b>173</b>	Lot 2006-6:09	<b>122</b>
Lot 2005-6:54	<b>9</b>	Lot 2006-6:11	<b>132</b>
Lot 2005-6:58	<b>175</b>	Lot 2006-6:12	<b>133</b>
Lot 2005-6:59	<b>32</b>	Lot 2007-1:02	<b>4</b>
Lot 2005-6:61a+b	<b>76</b>	Lot 2007-1:03	<b>27</b>
Lot 2005-6:63	<b>124</b>	Lot 2007-1:04	<b>67</b>
Lot 2005-6:64	<b>41</b>	Lot 2007-1:05	<b>68</b>
Lot 2005-6:71	<b>31</b>	Lot 2007-1:06	<b>70</b>
Lot 2005-6:79	<b>170</b>	Lot 2007-1:07	<b>69</b>
Lot 2005-6:93	<b>126</b>	Lot 2007-1:11	<b>178</b>
Lot 2005-6:95	<b>97</b>	Lot 2007-1:12	<b>187</b>
Lot 2005-6:97	<b>118</b>	Lot 3781:01	<b>65</b>
Lot 2005-6:99	<b>138</b>	Lot 3783:01	<b>127</b>
Lot 2005-6-23	<b>8</b>	MF 2005-32	<b>91</b>
Lot 2005-6-48	<b>7</b>		
Lot 2005-6-62	<b>6</b>		
Lot 2005-6-66	<b>5</b>		
Lot 2006-06:20	<b>82</b>		
Lot 2006-07:03	<b>89</b>		
Lot 2006-10:01	<b>93</b>		
Lot 2006-12:05	<b>18</b>		

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