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Pagan cult and Late Antique society in the Corinthia

Rothaus, Richard Martin, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1993
PAGAN CULT AND LATE ANTIQUE SOCIETY
IN THE CORINTHIA

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

Richard M. Rothaus, B.A., M.A.

****

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1993

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ηκεν εἰς τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἱερῶν κομίζων οὗ λιβανωτῶν, οὗ ἱερείων, οὗ πῦρ, οὗ σπανδήν, οὗ γὰρ ἦν, ἀλλὰ ψυχὴν ἀλγοῦσαν καὶ φωνὴν ὀδυρμένην καὶ
dεδακρυμένην καὶ δακρύου ἁφορμᾶς καὶ βλέπων εἰς γῆν, τὸ γὰρ εἰς ὑφανόν
σφολερόν...
Mea Familia
Paige, Benjamin, Matthew
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Jack Balcer's friendship and guidance, especially when I first came to The Ohio State University, provided the background necessary to undertake this study. Timothy Gregory has guided this dissertation not only with enthusiasm and interest, but with openness and patience. More importantly he has become a valued friend.

My parents have provided moral and financial support at crucial moments and made an enjoyable and exciting project possible. My wife Paige has shared her reserves of patience and been tolerant of a variety of behaviors manifested over the past few years. My debt to her is too great to be expressed here. My sons, Benjamin and Matthew, have given me perspective, joy, and meaning.
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PREFACE

This dissertation is largely a product of over two years spent living and working in Greece. Its genesis in this intense period was influenced by a vast array of individuals. I have tried to indicate my greatest debts here but the list is, of course, incomplete, and I apologize for omissions. Many brief encounters have proven essential but cannot be mentioned here. This dissertation would not have been possible without the acceptance the archaeologists of Greece and the Corinthia offered to an outsider and a newcomer. Many individuals, even when in strong disagreement with my goals, methodologies and conclusions, eagerly assisted me and offered frank evaluations of my work, which, though not always heeded, have been noted.

Timothy Gregory, director of the Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia, first introduced me to the archaeology of Greece and the potential for archaeology as a serious and even unique historical source. Prof. Gregory also has allowed me complete access to the material from the Ohio State University Excavations and provided permission to browse and learn. It was at Isthmia where I first was introduced to the art of reading notebook as text. Jean Marty has been an invaluable pottery consultant.

Elizabeth Gebhard and Fritz Hemans of the University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia provided me not only with information about their work at Isthmia, but much needed early guidance about how to pose archaeological questions (although I doubt they knew they were doing this at the time). Prof. Gebhard has continued to be of invaluable assistance in addressing much larger issues, and many a pointed question or remark has led me to unsuspected resources and conclusions. An evening conversation about the
methods and goals of archaeological study and publication, while not ending in agreement, has deeply influenced me.

As an associate member of the American School I had the opportunity to travel with the regular members, and their lessons, planned and ad hoc in architecture and art history have been a base from which I was able to broaden my vision. Special mention must be made of Sheila Dillon and Tina Salloway who have proven to be unwitting and valuable teachers. Mark Landon has shown himself friend and avid commentator. John Camp introduced me to much of what I know of Greece outside the Corinthia, was enthusiastic about endless questioning, and amenable to discussions about the Athenian Agora. David Jordan has greatly influenced my work, especially my analysis of the Fountain of the Lamps, and aided my family in many non-academic ways.

A special debt is owed to Judith Binder, who tirelessly discussed the complexities of late Roman Greece with me. Her vast knowledge and commitment to inquiry often not only helped overcome seemingly impossible problems with the evidence, but also encouraged me in both my topic and methodology. My chapter on sculpture was created largely in a series of discussions with her in the Saloni. Mrs. Binder guided me in the study of lamps by acting as a continual resource and her moral support enabled me to overcome problems engendered both by the archaeological material and discipline.

Robert Scranton has allowed complete access to the material at Kenchreai and has actively encouraged me in my re-evaluation of this site. Tragically, Prof. Scranton passed away while this dissertation was in progress and with great remorse I note that I never was able to meet this most sharing and open man in person. Hector Williams and Wilma Stern, as well as Robert Hohlfelder, have all encouraged my work on this site.

C.K. Williams II opened the doors of Corinth excavations and gave me ample freedom to explore. Mr. Williams' willingness to allow me to peruse and browse, even
when I was unsure of what I was looking for and what to do with what I found, created opportunities for which I truly am grateful. While many were denying me access to things excavated decades ago, Mr. Williams allowed and encouraged my work. Moreover, work at Corinth never entailed adherence to any specific methodology; a spirit of free and open inquiry prevailed. While the staff of the Corinth Excavations, especially Orestes Zervos, Nancy Bookidis and Kathleen Slane, were willing to discuss my work and interpretations and were honest in their appraisals and criticisms, their interest and co-operation was never predicated upon my agreement with their interpretations. This dissertation would not have been possible, for a variety of reasons, without the hospitality of Corinth.

Ramsay MacMullen's scholarship inspired this dissertation and his personal interest and support in this and other projects have provided much needed encouragement. Garth Fowden's work has been instrumental in my approach and his personal interest not only came at a critical point, but also led me away from some of my own excesses to matters even more interesting.
INTRODUCTION

In explaining the triumph of Christianity, however, the first need that I see is to sponge out of the picture of paganism those false outlines and colors that have been painted in over the course of the present century. Thereafter, other hands may complete the picture by adding the Church. But not too fast.  

Ramsay MacMullen's comment in the preface to his *Paganism in the Roman Empire* formed the kernel of this work some five years ago. This study is as much about the rise of Christianity as the "death" of paganism. Christianity experienced its institutional birth, at least, in a period of intense transformation throughout the Roman Empire, and obviously it must be understood in such a context. Moreover our understanding cannot come with pre-conceived notions, nor can our received knowledge of the fate of paganism color our interpretations.

That much of the scholarship on late antique paganism has been at best wrongheaded and often offensive is no revelation. But to assume superiority or clarity of vision now would be foolhardy. The guiding assumptions behind this work are two and simple. First, that much of the evidence for late antique paganism has been ignored, and even more has gone unrecognized. Second, all ancient religions be they "pagan" or "Christian" found their focus in ritual, not "belief." An inability to see the former has led to the latter.

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A focus on the doctrinal and intellectual rather than ritual aspects of religion is understandable for a variety of reasons. Almost all students of the period and subject have received their training if not in philology than in an area largely grounded in the philological discipline. That those trained to read texts would look first to those texts to find answers and identify primarily with the authors of those texts should be no surprise, nor is it justifiable on our part to criticize our scholarly predecessors for pursing their own interests. It is no coincidence, I think, that the greatest breakthroughs in the study of late antique religion have come from two scholars who by training or by disposition adopt a non-philological firmament. Peter Brown, who uttered the now famous dictum "the historian of the later Roman church is in constant danger of taking the end of paganism for granted," has reshaped the study of late antiquity. He was trained as a medievalist and entered the ancient world through Augustine. Ramsay MacMullen, who has opened our eyes to the diversity of evidence, as well as the hazards of working with that diversity, has repeatedly questioned the ahistorical methods of the students of the period.

The large problem has been, I think, one of focus. All of us are children of the Protestant Reformation and the Enlightenment. These movements have shaped and created the manner in which we view ritual and belief. This has been admirably described by Keith Thomas:

By deprecating the miracle-working aspects of religion and elevating the importance of the individual's faith in God, the Protestant Reformation helped to form a new concept of religion itself. Today we think in terms of creed rather than in modes of behaviour. But such a description would have fitted the popular Catholicism of the Middle Ages little better than it

---


5 I cite a gentle (but acute) reproach of von Harnack, MacMullen (1981) 206n.16. Much more cutting criticisms, all quite accurate I believe, are to be found.
fits many other primitive religions. A medieval peasant's knowledge of Biblical history or Church doctrine was, so far as one can tell, extremely slight. The Church was important to him not because of any formalized code of belief, but because its rites were an essential accompaniment to the important events in his own life—birth, marriage and death. . . . Religion was a ritual method of living, not a set of dogmas.  

An understanding of late antique paganism cannot differentiate between belief and practice, and it must focus first on ritual. Thus this work deals little with questions of what pagans "believed." Rather it begins with the simple questions of what did pagans do and how long did they do it?

Cult, for purposes here, can be defined as activity directed toward or in relationship to a deity or deities by an identifiable and self-recognizing group of individuals in a form identifiable to both participants and non-participating observers. The difference between actions that serve an immediate physical purpose and actions that are symbolic or manipulative of nature can, however, be slight. Furthermore, it is a conceptual fallacy to draw a firm distinction between the two types of activity. Cult activity can thus be "invisible" in the material record; mundane remains may be exactly that, objects functional for day-to-day existence, or they may be cult objects. This dichotomy, and the resulting difficulties, are well enough known that it need not be belabored further, merely recognized. I give only one example: Christian cult prior to 312 is virtually invisible in the archaeological record because it utilized standard household settings and items; after 312 Christian cult was monumentalized and is easily recognizable in the archaeological record.

\[\text{Thomas (1971) 88. Thomas perhaps overstates the case and attributes much to the Protestant Reformation that may in fact belong to the Enlightenment. For our purposes here, however, this makes no difference.}\]

\[\text{North (1976) makes similar criticism of scholarly approaches to Roman Republican religion and my approach has been, of course, influenced by work in this area.}\]
The problem facing the student of late antique paganism is how to recognize pagan cult in a world that has outlawed and de-monumentalized pagan cult, and we shall return to this issue often.

Greece and Corinth provide excellent settings for this type of study. At first glance, the paucity of literary evidence seems to rule out any sophisticated understanding of late antique paganism in this region. While the absence of explicit literary evidence is, at times, vexing, it is less of a problem for a study that is attempting to break with approaches engendered by reliance on literary evidence. We do have a reasonable picture of the general outlines of paganism in late antique Greece, although the scholarship is limited. The city of Corinth provides the ideal subject for such a study. Americans have been excavating the city for more than a century and recent progress combined with the sheer accumulation of data have vastly expanded our knowledge of the Late Roman period. The city plan, largely undisturbed after the Byzantine period, is recoverable and the local and imported ceramics are well-known. Several Late Roman structures have been excavated, including several magnificent basilicas. The rural areas beyond the city are becoming increasingly revealed and excavations at a number of villas have been undertaken, not to mention work at the harbors of Lechaion and Kenchreai. This uniquely thorough knowledge of Late Roman Corinth makes it a remarkably apt location for study. The physical remains are extremely accessible and these, when combined with the studies mentioned above will allow a synthetic study of one of the most important cities of

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8The bibliography is immense and cannot be cited here. See White (1990) for the use of domestic space for cult in the late Roman period.

Greece. In short, a study of Corinth will allow us to incorporate the archaeological evidence for late antique pagan cult in a way not done before.\textsuperscript{10}

The study is limited, of course, by the evidence. Many issues I hoped to address are not here; activities I thought I would learn nothing about are covered in depth. Such are the vicissitudes of archaeological evidence. Where the archaeological evidence fails and when interpretation is needed I have tried to use judiciously comparanda and literary evidence not specifically about Corinth. This has not proven to be easy, but I think that what I have done is well within reasonable limits.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{10}Cf. Fowden's (1989) 181 explicit call for such studies.

\textsuperscript{11}Engels (1990) is extremely uncritical of the evidence and full of basic factual errors. His discussion of the archaeological evidence is based on old reports and is rarely reliable. Many of the dates he provides for late antique events are simply impossible. I have made no attempt to correct his errors here. Engels interpretations are equally problematic. See, for example, p. 142: "When the classical conception of humanity disappeared during the traumas of the third and fourth centuries A.D., the classical city disappeared with it. People now thought they were stupid and evil, and hence, incapable of either self-government or economic self-management." Such need not be addressed.
CHAPTER I
CORINTH AND THE CORINTHIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Pagan cult did not exist in a vacuum. Any attempt to understand the religious transformations of late antiquity must ultimately be based on an understanding of the political, civic, and social changes of late antiquity. Late antiquity was a period in which local and Imperial political and structure and the very nature of political power was changing.\(^1\) The physical aspects of the city as well as the social hierarchy of society were finding new forms. Christianity had found a new role as favored religion and was struggling to create an identity and position for itself.\(^2\) These changes were all interrelated, and a continual state of influence and re-influence was the norm. It is, perhaps, this fluid state of affairs that made late antiquity a period in which the fundamental standards of the classical world were molded into something new. Nevertheless, late-antique Greece was marked as much by continuity as by change, and our expectations must consider both cases.

The issues are, however, extremely complex, and can barely be addressed here; they certainly will not be resolved. Nevertheless, this chapter will attempt to summarize some of the better known aspects of late-antique Corinth and the Corinthia in order to provide a background for our discussion of pagan cult. Three main areas will be addressed: politics and society in late-antique Corinth, Corinth as a late-antique city, and

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\(^1\)Liebeschutz (1972) is a superb study based on the evidence of Antioch, see especially pp. 167-242. On power see Brown (1992).

\(^2\)See especially Herrin (1989).
the place of Corinth in the Corinthia. All of these discussions must be incomplete, as much research still needs to done, and must be considered tentative.

Little can be said of third-century Corinth. The city certainly prospered during this period and suffered little if any from barbarian invasions. It may even be that the third century was a period of important monumental construction. Several Christian martyrs are reported from third-century Corinth, but these traditions are of questionable historicity. Regardless of the veracity of the martyrial accounts, the traditions became important in Corinth and in Greece, and several martyrial basilica were built in the fifth century.\(^3\)

The fourth century was a time of Imperial reorganization, but Corinth managed to maintain its important and prestigious position. Under the Diocletianic reorganization Corinth remained the capital of the province of Achaia, part of the Illyrian prefecture, and in the diocese of Moesia. Constantine's reorganization shifted Illyricum to the diocese of Macedonia. The governor of the province continually resided in Corinth. Throughout the fourth century Corinth found itself subject to the praetorian prefect of Italy. This changed at the end of the fourth century when Illyricum was made a diocese with its own praetorian prefect. At this point Corinth became administratively part of the Eastern Empire.\(^4\)

Through much of the fourth century Achaia and Corinth were subsidiary to the church of Rome as a corollary to their membership in a western Imperial diocese. The ecclesiastical situation became much more ambiguous at the end of the fourth century, for although Corinth became administratively part of the Eastern Empire, ecclesiastically it

\(^3\)Scranton (1957) 3-4. On the churches see below, Chapter 7. For third-century monuments and sculpture see Ridgeway (1981) 443-8

\(^4\)Bon (1951) 3-4. Most of this introduction has been drawn from Bon. Bon's work is extremely reliable, but the reader should be aware that it is time for a re-evaluation of the evidence.
remained tied to Rome. While this difference cannot be taken up here, the relationship may have had a very real effect on the doctrinal and liturgical practices of the Corinthians and Achaians. As the provincial capital, Corinth was the seat of a Metropolitan.\(^5\) Corinth maintained its position as capital and home of a Metropolitan bishop through the sixth century, as well as under the Byzantine Empire. During the fifth century there seems to have been some struggle between Constantinoplitans and Roman ecclesiastical factions in Corinth, but the evidence is too brief to understand the situation. Corinth seems to have remained tied to Rome more often than not, however.\(^6\)

We know of several prominent pagan Corinthians of the fourth and early fifth century thanks to Libanios. Our information is, unfortunately, limited, but enough to indicate that several members of the wealthy Corinthian families were active in the Imperial government and open, even vocal, about their paganism.\(^7\) Our information about this group is born of controversy involving Aristophanes and Parnasios, both Corinthians and associates of Libanios. Parnasios, who was born in Patras, was Prefect of Egypt c. 357-359.\(^8\) He was charged with treason and Aristophanes, who had accompanied him, was caught up in this affair. Parnasios eventually returned to Corinth.\(^9\)

\(^{5}\) Bon (1951) 4-9.

\(^{6}\) Scranton (1957) 6-7; Bon (1951) 8-9, 88-9 on the seventh century.


\(^{9}\) Ep. 734 (Foerster 822).
Aristophanes' case is known because Libanios took it up for him and petitioned Julian for his restoration. Aristophanes, having been driven from Corinth by the machinations of Eugenios, went to Syria where he found a friend, teacher and patron in the philosopher Fortunatos, who gained an Imperial position and thus immunity for Aristophanes. Libanios pointedly mentions that Aristophanes felt he would receive respect from Fortunatos, a "Ελληνος, here perhaps possessing its double meaning of Greek and pagan. Aristophanes was also a friend of Felix, magister officiorum of Constantius, comes sacrarum largitionum for Julian, and Christian convert to paganism. It was while he held his Imperial position that Aristophanes began his association in Egypt with his fellow Corinthian Parnasios. Aristophanes was charged with introducing an astrologer to Parnasios for the purpose of inquiring about forbidden things, most likely the health of the Emperor. Aristophanes protested that the inquiries were strictly private, but to no avail. He was flogged, imprisoned, forced to accept the liturgy of strategos in Corinth for a second time (apparently in absentia), forbidden to return to Corinth, and as Libanios emphasized most, stripped of his personal honor. In this time of trouble, Aristophanes turned to the gods as best as he could. But public pagan cult had been outlawed, and Libanios describes Aristophanes standing at the site of a ruined temple, without sacrifice or incense, without public prayer, gazing upon the ground and weeping. Aristophanes was not always silent in his paganism, but often bold. Libanios

\[10\text{Or. 14. Cf. Ep. 1228 (Foerster 1214); Julian Ep. 74; Seeck (1966) 88-90.}\]

\[11\text{Or. 14.10-12.}\]

\[12\text{Or. 14.36; Seeck (1966) 155 and references there.}\]

\[13\text{Or. 14.16-20.}\]

\[14\text{Or. 14.41.}\]
praises him for always swearing by the gods, even during his trials. He was active in promoting paganism through the Empire. Demeter and Kore, Sarapis, Poseidon, Iacchus of Lerna and many other deities all were honored by Aristophanes, and presumably their cults were active in or near to Corinth.

What we learn of the paganism of these individuals is incidental but not coincidental; paganism clearly is part of their bond with Libanios. Aristophanes' father and uncles (on his mother's side) were active pagans and it probably is justifiable to refer to the family and perhaps part of the aristocracy of Corinth as pagan. Menander, the father of Aristophanes, we shall return to when we discuss Isthmia in late Antiquity, for he was a sponsor of the games in the first half of the fourth century. His uncles, Hierios and Diogenes, were both philosophers. Libanios remarks that were the uncles alive, they would be among Julian's philosophical entourage. Even allowing for rhetorical

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16 Or. 14.42-3. Cf. Or. 14.65 where Aristophanes is praised for not betraying paganism as George of Cappadocia apparently encouraged many to do.

17 Or. 14.7.

18 Or. 14.32. Vollgraf (1945) 21 proposes that the Diogenes of Julian, Ep. 28 (on which see below p.169) is none other than the uncle of Aristophanes, and Hierios is the student of Iamblichus and teacher of Maximos. He remarks, "Il serait curieux qu'il y eut eu, parmi les philosophes que connaissait Julien, non seulement deux Diogene, mais encore deux Hierios." Diogenes of Corinth was dead by 362 (Libanios, Or. 14.32) when this letter was composed, so the reference cannot be to him. The connection of Hierios to Iamblichus and Maximos is tenuous and based only on a list of names (Ammonios In Anal. Prior I.1.24b=CAG 4.6.31), cf. PLRE I (Hierius I) 430. Vandergoel (1987) argues that Hierios is the philosopher of Sikyon who consulted the oracle at Delphi about Themistios (Or. 23.295a-296b). Vandergoel contends that Hierios did not disagree with Aristotle because he is not catalogued among those so doing. Themistios was, of course, Aristotelian; Maximos, who was not, was preferred by Julian. Vandergoel reasons that since Hierios was not among those listed as anti-Aristotelian, he must have been Aristotelian and thus a natural friend and admirer of Themistios and a likely candidate for the consultant of the oracle. This supposition will not work, for Libanios pointedly remarked that Diogenes and Hierios would have been with Maximos in Julian's philosophical entourage. If we adopt Vandergoel's (and Themistios') categorizations of Aristotelian and anti-Aristotelian, then Hierios must be anti-Aristotelian. While our Hierios may be the student of Iamblichos and teacher of Maximos, the identification is far from sure.
exaggeration, such a note emphasizes the fame of these Corinthian philosophers. Moreover, to have been suitable for Julian's philosophic taste, they must have been Neoplatonic philosophers. Given this information it seems that Aristophanes and family were not only pagans, but Neoplatonics.

The cases of Parnasios and Aristophanes reveal that some of the aristocracy of Corinth were quite wealthy, important, and active on the Imperial level. Aristophanes found himself embroiled in a conflict, based on some marriage alliance, with the powerful Eugenios. Parnasios acquired the important and extremely prestigious (as well as lucrative) post of Prefect of Egypt. Corinth was no backwater; its members were involved at the highest levels of the Imperial government. Menander, his brothers-in-law and his son were all active and vocal pagans with strong connections to Neoplatonic philosophers and Libanios. This family may, in fact, represent a pagan aristocracy at Corinth. But the evidence is far too limited to say anything about the size of this pagan aristocracy or the role they played in the religious life in Corinth. Given the vocalness of Aristophanes in other situations, however, it is hard to imagine he was not actively fighting for the pagans of Corinth in the late fourth century, the same time that the temples were destroyed. Aristophanes had a son; we do not know if he carried on the pagan traditions of this family.¹⁹

Our concern with Corinth ends with the sixth century. The reason for this terminus is clear: the evidence ceases to reveal any pagan activity. The situation is hardly simple, however, and in fact has proven to be perhaps the most vexed question facing late Roman and Byzantine historians of Greece. While I have no intention of addressing the question of the Slavic invasions and their impact on Corinth and Corinthian society, it must be noted that the neat and clean terminus I use is hardly neat and clean. The

¹⁹Or. 14.68.
problems of evidentiary recognition are immense and while I am certain something happened at the end of the sixth century that changed the archaeological record, I am not sure what it was. At the present the-evidence for pagan activity seems to end with the sixth century; this picture may change as we learn more about and begin to recognize material from the seventh century.\textsuperscript{20}

There is little direct evidence for the social structure of late-antique Corinth, and we must rely on generalization drawn from a variety of sources. Late antiquity saw a dramatic re-adjustment of the local ruling classes. A tendency among the curial class to flee their responsibility and pressure from the Emperor to keep the curiales in place became the norm beginning in the early fourth century. An expansive Imperial bureaucracy not only provided new positions for aspiring (and fleeing) local aristocrats but also assumed the responsibilities once fulfilled by the city councils.

As the councils declined in power, the provincial governors grew in power. The defensor civitatis, appointed after 387 by the local council, became the principal magistrate of the city; his office was designed to protect against corrupt provincial officials. In 505 Anastasios instituted an important reform designed to revitalize the rapidly corruptible office of defensor: the appointment of the defensor was to be decided by the bishops and landholders. This reform marks a dramatic increase in the power of the clergy and rich landholders and marked the end of the city council as an institution, although most of its members would have been, of course, among the wealthy landowners. The change was dramatic, for one of the standard identifying institutions of the classical city had disappeared.\textsuperscript{21} As the church slowly assumed the obligations of social relief and

\textsuperscript{20}The bibliography on the Slavic question is massive. See Bon (1951) 27-42 for a basic review of the evidence.

\textsuperscript{21}Jones (1966) 207-9.
even public works, it and its leaders became increasingly important to the people and the
city.\textsuperscript{22} The Emperor remained the acknowledged embodiment of all power, but the
church, represented by the Bishops, had become the most accessible institution of
authority and thus assumed an extremely important position.\textsuperscript{23}

As the provincial governor gained greater power and control, the system of civic
patronage adapted accordingly. In a world where nearly every aspect of life was
controlled by the provincial governor, who was, of course, merely acting for the emperor,
a new concept of power developed. Power rested in the individual, and success required
an alliance with an influential patron.\textsuperscript{24} With the decline and disappearance of the council,
the choices of patrons were limited to wealthy landowners or the clergy, especially the
bishops. By the fifth century it had become increasingly clear that the bishops could and
would interfere in the "secular world," by the sixth century this had become the norm.
The city councils and patrons of the classical world had been replaced by the wealthy
landowners and bishops in the late-antique world. This was a fundamental social change
that had far reaching affects.

The cities of late-antique Greece, and thus Corinth, displayed a remarkable degree
of continuity. Scenarios of barbarian destruction, civic decay and manorialization simply
do not fit. In fact, the city as an institution appears to have prospered in Greece during
this period. It is not until the end of the sixth century that the dissolution of the city
became a problem in Greece.\textsuperscript{25} If the \textit{Syndekmos} of Hierokles is taken at face value, late-

\textsuperscript{22}Jones (1966) 253-4.

\textsuperscript{23}This approach to patronage and power is, of course, based on the work of Peter Brown. On the
bishop and the city see Brown (1992) 146-152.

\textsuperscript{24}Liebeschuetz (1972) 259-60.

antique Greece was highly urbanized and contained approximately eighty cities.\textsuperscript{26} This extreme prosperity is born out by recent archaeological surveys in the Aegean.\textsuperscript{27} For late-antique Greece a paradigm of prosperity and transformation is more accurate and useful than a paradigm of decline and fall.\textsuperscript{28}

While each city had its own character, in general the late-antique city continued to fulfill the civic social and economic functions associated with classical cities and maintained its position as population center.\textsuperscript{29} The public amenities of most cities continued to be maintained through the sixth century and the population would come to the city for food, goods, and entertainment as well as to take care of legal and social issues. Economically, the cities were largely dependent on the Imperial administration, which not only confiscated most municipal funds but administered those left to the city.\textsuperscript{30}

Unfortunately, a complete description of late-antique Corinth cannot be undertaken here. Certain aspects of the city must, however, be discussed in preparation for the following chapters. We have already mentioned that the city was flourishing and highly monumentalized in the third century. This same concern carried over into the fourth century. In the late fourth or more probably early fifth century the entire Forum was redesigned. Previously the Forum at Corinth had been clearly divided into an upper

\textsuperscript{26}Gregory (1984) 273.

\textsuperscript{27}Alcock (1989); Renfrew (1982); Wright (1990); van Andels and Runnels (1987). Unpublished work and conversations with Timothy E. Gregory have been important in developing my approach and in leading to preliminary conclusions.

\textsuperscript{28}This view has is rapidly gaining consensus among scholars of the period. See Fowden (1988); Bintliff and Snodgrass (1988); Wickham (1984); Russel (1986). Cf. Kennedy (who does not directly espouse this view) (1985 a and b).


\textsuperscript{30}Leibeschuetz (1959); Jones (1966) 147-150; Leibeschuetz (1972) 149-69. Much work still needs to be done of the economies of the Empire and city in the fifth and sixth centuries. See also Hendy (1985) 173-187.
and lower area by the central Shops. (See Figure 1). Access between the two levels was found only at the ends of the Forum and by the Bema. In the late fourth century, however, the Central Shops were destroyed, perhaps by earthquake.

A new plan for the Forum was developed. The ruined Central Shops were razed and in their place a staircase, running the length of the Forum, was installed.31 (See Figure 2). The "Dionysion" and the Circular monument at either end of the Forum were, however, left intact, and the Bema was converted into a fountain house.32 The construction of the Central Staircase clearly demonstrates a continued sense of civic space and the desire and need for a monumentalized city center. The new Forum plan re-monumentalized the space. Rather than demonstrating any progression towards a disunified "medieval" city plan, the fifth century planning resulted in a city center and Forum more open than that of earlier Roman Corinth. There is some evidence, although it is not certain, that at approximately the same time as the Central Staircase was installed, the Captives Façade and perhaps the Propylaia were rebuilt. This monumental gateway and impressive sculptural display joining the Forum with the Lechaion road may have been damaged and then reconstructed in this period.33 The transition from the fourth to fifth century, although marked by destruction, was one of significant continuity in the Forum.

Several structures along the Lechaion Road were modified or constructed in this period. Perhaps the most enigmatic of these is a semicircular building aptly called the Hemicycle. This building, on the west side of the Lechaion road, replaced several rectangular shops; its dramatically new design marks it as an important and original

31Scranton (1951) 117; Scranton (1957) 12-14.

32The Circular monument probably was a tall shaft supporting a statue or tripod, Scranton (1951) 79, 83, 127. The "Dionysian" is an enigmatic structure that may have been a fountain house at one point. There may have been an associated altar but the evidence is unclear. See Scranton (1951) 125-6.

33Stillwell (1941) 88; Scranton (1957) 14.
building. The hemicycle was built with reused material. While not precisely datable, it seems likely that its construction comes shortly after the late fourth-century earthquakes, probably in the early fifth century. Behind the Hemicycle, to the west, is a little understood complex with a small open court. A large red sigma table, dating to the fifth or sixth century, was found in the remains of this complex.34

Opposite the Hemicycle there were, among other buildings, a bath and a latrine that functioned at the very least through the fifth century and conceivably much later. Another bath in the South Stoa functioned into the sixth century as did the Great Bath on the Lechaion Road.35 These structures once again indicate the continued importance and functioning of the Forum. In the fifth century the courtyard of the bath opposite the Hemicycle was converted into a residential building that seems to have included a small private bathing room. This dwelling remained in use for an extended period of time. It was remodeled in the seventh century, continued in use for an indeterminable amount of time, and was succeeded by another house of the ninth or tenth century.36 This house north of the Peribolos of Apollo is of extreme importance and may indicate continuity and perhaps prosperity into and through the seventh century. More apropos to our discussion is the introduction of a residential structure so close to the Forum. While I argue strongly that the Forum remained intact and functioned as the monumental center of the city through the sixth century, this house perhaps notes a changing nature of the Forum as

34Scranton (1957) 14-16 and bibliography cited there.
35Biers (1985).
well. The introduction of a dwelling so close to the Forum may foreshadow a changing pattern of urbanization and conception of civic space.\textsuperscript{37}

The Peribolos of Apollo itself underwent extensive modification at around the same period, perhaps in the sixth century. The nature of these modifications is unclear, but this structure may also be residential.\textsuperscript{38} The fountain of Peirene was remodeled in the early sixth century. Its function as a monumental façade to and collecting area for the spring remained intact. A circular pool was substituted for the rectangular basin of the Roman period and a new colonnaded façade was installed. The renovation of Peirene not only further emphasizes the continued life of the Forum, it demonstrates a prosperity and interest in monumental architecture in the Forum of sixth-century Corinth.\textsuperscript{39}

The above evidence should make it abundantly clear that the Forum of Corinth survived and functioned through the sixth century. There were, of course, changes and many structures seem to have fallen into disuse. Nevertheless, the conception of a unified and open central place seems to have remained current and efforts were made to insure the continued monumentalization of the Forum. There can be little doubt that the Forum was the marketplace of late-antique Corinth. That the Forum continued to be an administrative center in demonstrated by the important discovery of several late Roman statues. The west end of the Forum, dominated by Temple Ε, was always the focal point of the Roman Forum. This was no different in the late Roman period. The West Terrace was remodeled perhaps in late antiquity, perhaps in the fifth century. Here were found late Roman statues all of which date to the late fifth and sixth centuries. These statues, the heads of which are

\textsuperscript{37}Cf. Williams (1974) 9 for encroachment by buildings, perhaps private, at the west end of the Forum in late fourth and early fifth century.

\textsuperscript{38}Scranton (1957) 21-22.

\textsuperscript{39}Scranton (1957) 22-3.
missing, almost certainly represent Imperial officials, probably Emperors or provincial governors. Their position on the West Terrace clearly demonstrates that the Forum continued as the administrative center of the city and that desire for monumentalization and classical displays continued into the sixth century. The Forum of Corinth retained, therefore, its classical form and function, albeit in a slightly modified form, through the sixth century.

Earthquakes played an important role in late-antique Corinth, especially in the late fourth century. No monumental theory based on environmental determinism is intended here. The fourth century saw other crises, including the activity of Alaric, and was a period in which political, social, religious and economic transformations were underway. These transformations and changes underlie the reactions to the visible reactions to physical destruction. The earthquakes were less a cause than a catalyst. Nevertheless, seismic activity, unlike other aspects of change in fourth century Corinth was sudden, tangible and had immediate results.

Literary evidence records three earthquakes that may have struck the Peloponnesos in late antiquity. The sources vary in value and reliability, however, and their reports of earthquakes can never be accepted uncritically or at face value. Ammianus Marcellinus (26.10.17-18) reports that an earthquake and tsunami struck the eastern Mediterranean on the 21st of July 365. He supports this by describing a ship he personally viewed in Methone that had been thrown almost two miles inland. There is no reason to doubt the general veracity of Ammianus' report. It must not be assumed, however, that an

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40Scranton (1957) 24-5; Johnson (1931) 150-54;
41For sixth century earthquakes see Bon (1951) 15, Scranton (1957) 7-8.
42See Rothaus (n.d.a). Invasions are much more difficult to identify and analyze. Much destruction could, but need not, be attributed to Alaric.
earthquake causing damage in some or even much of the Peloponnesos also struck the Corinthia. Truly large earthquakes cannot occur in Greece and the area affected by a given seismic activity is limited.\textsuperscript{43} Ammianus does not specifically mention Corinth in his account of seismic activity near Methone and there can be no certainty that Corinth was among the suffering regions.

Zosimos (4.18) states that an earthquake struck all of Greece except Athens shortly after the death of Valentinian I in 375. It seems, however, that Zosimos (or more probably Eunapios, his source) has exaggerated or perhaps even fabricated this earthquake as a rhetorical flourish. Late-antique authors liked to associate natural disasters with the passing of emperors. Eunapios may have desired just such an event to correspond to the death of Valentinian, and he may not have seen it amiss to create or move an earthquake to accompany this event.

Libanios, in his funeral oration for Julian, reports that shortly after Julian's death in 363 all of Greece was devastated by an earthquake "except for one city." Libanios certainly is using a rhetorical \textit{topos} here, and there is no reason to accept his account at face value, although one may wish to join his reference to Ammianus' account of the earthquake in 365. Eunapios has picked up this \textit{topos}, and perhaps even his account of the 375 earthquake from Libanios; the parallel is too strong to be coincidence. Eunapios takes the \textit{topos} one step further than Libanios, however, and instead of saying "all of Greece except one city," he says "all of Greece except Athens." Eunapios often singles out Athens as a city especially beloved by the gods, and his exclusion of this favored pagan city from those suffering damage is closely paralleled by his report that only Athens was spared from Alaric; a report that excavations in the Agora seem to indicate is false.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{43}Ambraseys (1991).

\textsuperscript{44}Frantz (1988) 53-6
Eunapios exaggerates the extent of the earthquake in order to emphasize the blessed position of Athens in the eyes of the gods. To assume from Zosimos' problematic account of the 375 earthquake that Corinth suffered at this date is methodologically unsound. It seems more likely that Eunapios is engaging in a literary *topos*, and he may, in fact, have absconded the earthquake of 365 for rhetorical purposes. The literary evidence for an earthquake in 375, if not dismissable, is extremely unreliable.

Finally, two late sources mention fourth century earthquakes. Marcellinus Comes (*MGH Auctores Antiquissimus* p.64) mentions an earthquake in 395 that "shook the whole world," and Glykas (ed. Bonn p.478) mentions a "universal earthquake" that struck in 395 or 396. These accounts are so vague, however, that they are difficult to evaluate. The possibility of a 395 or 396 earthquake in Corinth is left open, but it is certainly not demonstrated.

The literary sources tell us nothing about the effect of earthquakes in Corinth. While an earthquake did hit the Peloponnesos in 365, any effect this might have had on Corinth cannot be answered from the literary records. The same holds true for the alleged quakes of 375 and 395 (or 396); if these later earthquakes did occur, their effect on Corinth remains unclear. Furthermore, earthquakes may have struck the Corinthia that receive no mention in the literary sources.

Earthquake damage can leave tell-tale evidence in the archeological record, and this evidence must be the deciding factor in determining the effect of earthquakes in Corinth. This is not an easy task, however. The reports of earthquakes by Ammianus and Zosimos were noted early in the twentieth century by excavators at Corinth. Unfortunately it became the tendency to assign any damage that could be roughly dated to the late fourth century to one or both of these events, with 375 being the preferred date.45

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45The *locus classicus* for the Corinth publications is Broneer (1935) 58n.1
A mention of earthquake damage in the Corinth publications cannot, therefore, be accepted uncritically. Earthquake damage must be identified on the basis of the archaeological record alone. General damage from unknown causes may be associated with earthquakes, as may repairs, but only after such earthquakes have been firmly established.

Four structures provide evidence for late fourth-century damage that almost certainly resulted from earthquakes: the Julian Basilica, the Great Bath on the Lechaion Road, the West Shops, and the Sanctuary of Isis at Kenchreai. The Julian Basilica shows the clearest evidence of earthquake damage. The excavators report that the walls of this structure fell from the east to the west, and that material from the upper floor collapsed into the lower. Debris accumulated in this structure to a depth of 0.40 meters, and coins in this debris indicate that the collapse of this structure occurred probably not around 395. There is little doubt that this damage resulted from an earthquake.\textsuperscript{46}

The Great Bath on the Lechaion Road likewise suffered catastrophic damage that should be attributed to an earthquake or earthquakes. At some point in the late fourth century the marble blocks of the façade fell from the structure. An attempt to repair the structure was made, but soon abandoned. Room I of this structure also suffered a calamity at some point prior to 383, necessitating the remodeling of the room and the filling of the pool therein. Massive destruction is also evident in Room 3, the pool of which was partially filled in and floored over. The calamity or calamities that befell this structure cannot be precisely dated, but the magnitude of the damage make seismic activity a probable culprit.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{46}Weinberg (1960) 52, 57

\textsuperscript{47}Biers (1985) 4, 31-2, 37, 42, 48, 50, 62
The West Shops also show evidence for damage that probably should be attributed to earthquakes. At some point, presumably but not certainly the late fourth century, two of the capitals in this structure fell and broke. They subsequently were clamped together and restored in place. It seems likely that the capitals were dislodged by an earthquake.\textsuperscript{48} Damage in the South Shops should also be mentioned at this point. The stratigraphy in this area is unclear, but pieces of marble revetment and seats from a latrine were found amidst destruction debris that had collapsed into the drain. Numismatic evidence gives a \textit{terminus post quem} of 379-395 for this destruction. The original excavator attributed this wreckage to Alaric, but it seems unlikely that Alaric would have gone to the trouble of demolishing a latrine, if he even attacked Corinth. The damage may very well have resulted from an earthquake, and if this is the case, we have evidence for an earthquake later than 379-395.\textsuperscript{49}

The so-called sanctuary of Isis at Kenchreai, one of the ports of Corinth, clearly was destroyed by seismic activity. The structure, built on a promontory, collapsed and was submerged, preventing any attempts at repair.\textsuperscript{50} Unpublished ceramic material (most notable a Peloponnesian version of Yassi-Ada II amphorae) has provided a date near 400 for this seismic event.\textsuperscript{51} One may also want to associate uplift at Lechaion, the other harbor of Corinth, with late fourth-century earthquakes.

Given the evidence from these structures it is probable that at least two earthquakes struck Corinth in the late fourth century. The archaeological evidence is not precise enough to establish exact dates for the seismic events. The evidence from the

\textsuperscript{48}\textsuperscript{Williams (1990) 335-6}
\textsuperscript{49}\textsuperscript{Broneer (1958) 153}
\textsuperscript{50}\textsuperscript{Scranton (1978) 75-6; Hohlfelder (1976) 225-6}
\textsuperscript{51}\textsuperscript{See below, Chapter 5.}
Great Bath indicates a date prior to 383; the evidence from Kenchreai and perhaps the latrines points to another event closer to 400. The record seems, therefore, to indicate at least two discrete damaging seismic events in the fourth century.

Fortunately epigraphical evidence clarifies the matter somewhat. Two inscriptions indicate repairs undertaken at the behest of Valentinian I who died in 375. One of these inscriptions was found at the entrance façade to the South Basilica, the other at the West Shops, where most probably there was earthquake damage. If we associate these Imperial sponsored repairs with the earthquake damage, than the repairs must be for damage resulting from an earthquake dating before 375. I will use 365 as a date of convenience; there is no convincing evidence precisely linking the seismic event in Corinth to that in Methone, only coincidence. One can be certain, however, that Valentinian could not have been notified and responded to an earthquake in 375 before his death, especially as Eunapios, our only source for this earthquake, states that the event occurred after Valentinian's death. Eunapios' unreliable report and the epigraphic evidence do not support the 375 earthquake so often referred to in the Corinth publications.

Rather than forcing the evidence to produce precise dates and demanding more from the literary records than they are able to give, it seems prudent to assert merely that there was one earthquake near 365. The damage at Kenchreai occurred too late to have been part of this seismic activity near 365, and another event closer to 400 must be posited. The possibility remains of other earthquakes in this period. Any attempt to identify discrete seismic events spaced by only thirty or forty years approaches the limits of archaeological science, and such questions, while important, should not detract from considerations of broader issues.

\footnote{Kent (1966) nos. 504 and 505}
Other examples of destruction from earthquakes in the late fourth century can be tentatively identified. It must be emphasized, however, that only the examples already given clearly indicate damage by earthquake. Other damage can be associated with the earthquakes, but the relationship is not certain. Serious damage that can be dated no more precisely than the late fourth century is evident at the West Shops, the South Basilica, the Odeion, the Demeter and Kore sanctuary, the Southwest Forum, Temple Hill, East of the Theater, the Central Shops, the Gymnasium Area and the Theater. There is also damage at the North Market, South Basilica, Mosaic House, and the Anaploga Villa that seems to be late enough in the fourth century that we may want to associate it with seismic activity near 400.53 Corinth was heavily damaged in the late fourth century; the exact chronology and causes are not clear, but earthquakes seem to have been a major contributor.

At the same time as Corinth seems to have been devastated by earthquakes, Alaric invaded Greece. The problem of Alaric's alleged attacks upon the cities of Greece is a difficult one and I do not wish to address it here. The evidence is ambiguous and there can be no certainty. I argue strongly here and throughout this dissertation for damage by earthquake. In many instances, however, damage by Alaric cannot be ruled out. I reject such an interpretation largely out of a belief that Alaric would not have found it profitable to take time to destroy temples and other large structures. Burning and pillaging seem to me to be symptomatic of barbarian raids, not systematic destruction.54 This is, for the


54Bon (1951) 14; Finley (1922) 476. Zosimus 5.6-7 is the key ancient source. On Alaric in Corinth see especially Gregory (1979) 268-70 (who dates the late Roman wall of Corinth after Alaric); Dengate (1981) 149-50; Williams (1982) 118; Williams (1983) 23-4.; Williams (1986) 164.
moment, a matter of opinion, and ultimately attributions of destruction to Alaric, earthquakes or other causes makes little difference to the subject of this work.

With this brief examination of the *asty* of Corinth it will be useful to examine the evidence from the *chora* of Corinth. Corinth, as all ancient cities, was heavily dependent on agriculture, and research in the Corinthia is reaching a point where we can begin to analyze seriously agriculture in the region. Equally important is the relationship of Corinth to outlying villages and communities and a determination of what form these places took.

The landscape of the Corinthia is dominated by Acrocorinth. (Figure 3). This highly visible and distinctive citadel, rising just south of Corinth, while lower than nearby Mt. Apesas, is the central landmark of the area. The precise boundaries of the Corinthian territories were unsure in the classical period and are unknown from the Roman period. The Corinthia is generally considered to include the promontory of Perachora and extends east to the heights of the Gerania mountains. North of the Isthmus, the northeasternmost settlement was Gerania, the southeasternmost Crommyon. To the west the Corinthia extended to the Nemea River; the eastern border was formed by the Saronic Gulf. The southern boundary was always uncertain but was formed by borders with Epidauria, the Argolid and Kleonae. These boundaries, then, are the boundaries of this study, although occasionally it will stray beyond them, as the Corinthians themselves have always strayed.\(^{55}\)

The terrain of the Corinthia varies from the flat coastal plain, to the difficult heights of Mt. Gerania. In some areas the land is covered with dense pine, on others the soil will support only vetch, thistles and the ever-present thyme. The landscape can be one of extremes, and these extremes can be in close proximity to each other. Thus any attempt

to discuss the landscape and agricultural areas by necessity oversimplifies. This point must be remembered. For example, I will state that the area of the Aghinorion pass was not an agricultural area. Strictly speaking, this is not correct, for small plots of cultivatable land are available and used today in this region. But large scale agriculture could not have been practiced in this region and thus it is not labeled as an agricultural area.

No specific climatic data are, of course, available from antiquity. There seems to have been no radical change in the climate since the Neolithic, however, and data collected in the modern area give an indicator of conditions in antiquity. January is the coldest month, with an average temperature of 5 degrees Celsius; August is the hottest month, with temperatures averaging 28 degrees Celsius but with daily highs near 38-40 degrees Celsius. The study of climatic change in antiquity remains difficult and uncertain. No study specific to the Corinthia has yet been made. If generalizations can be made, however, it seems that the first two centuries after Christ were relatively dry and there may have been some problems with erosion as a result of overexploitation. There seems to have been an increase in temperature around A.D. 400, perhaps accompanied by high sea levels resulting from melting of the polar ice caps. This warming trend may have been accompanied by high precipitation especially in the two centuries following A.D. 500. If the scenario here presented is true, the increase in temperature and precipitation may have ushered in a period of extreme agricultural prosperity.

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56Carpenter's (1966) argument for dramatic climactic change is untenable. For a refutation see Greig (1974).


58Randsborg (1991) 27-9. The evidence is far from conclusive and the problems are more significant than Randsborg acknowledges. This is especially true in his use of "complaints" about weather in the literary sources, where one must also take into consideration the changing character of literature over an extended period of time.
The Corinthia receives little rainfall, and is in fact one of the driest regions in Greece. The east and southeastern regions of the Corinthia are even drier than the rest. The Corinthia is deprived of rain largely because it is ringed on the inland side with mountain ranges. Moisture coming from the west and southwest is trapped by the mountain ranges in these regions before entering the Corinthia, and this problem is accentuated in the east and southeast by the Oea mountains and the mountains of the Argolid. It is not an infrequent occurrence to look south from Corinth, see massive storm clouds gathering in the distance behind Acrocorinth but never to receive any of this rain.

When rain does come it usually is in the form of torrential downpours rather than slow steady precipitation. The rainy season is normally November to January, sometimes extending to October and February. Rainfall is uncommon but not unheard of in the summer months. Because of the violent rainstorms, little water penetrates the soil. Rather, the usually dry rivers are flooded along with any other paths the water might find, and the water races away, carrying a not insubstantial amount of soil towards the low lying levels and eventually the gulfs. What little water is retained on flat or hollow surfaces shortly disappears as it slowly penetrates the local limestones and conglomerates. Standing water, except on the salt flats of Lechaion, is unheard of in the Corinthia and the rivers are almost always dry.

Water for domestic and agriculture use must therefore be collected in cisterns or come from another source. Ancient cisterns are, of course, numerous, and must have supplied a substantial amount of water. The Corinthia is also well-watered by springs. Numerous springs are found from Acrocorinth south to the coastal plain. Springs are also to be found in the Aghionorion pass, the Saronic coastline, and, of course, Loutraki. Even during a severe drought these springs rarely dry-up, although the amount of water produced can be diminished. The springs are today tapped for irrigation and presumably
were used thus in antiquity. Additionally, Hadrian built a great aqueduct from Lake Stymphalos to Corinth. This aqueduct is paralleled by a modern aqueduct running from the Arcadian mountains.59

As mentioned above, the land of the Corinthia can vary drastically in character within very short distances. Four general types of land can be identified: mountainous regions, ill-suited for agriculture, hilly arable land, flat arable land and the coastal plain. The coastal plain, stretches west from the Leukos or Xerias river towards Sikyon and east to Loutraki, and is by far the richest land. This land is very flat and extremely fertile, largely as a result of receiving the run-off from torrential rains.

The coastal plain rises to the south in a series of bluffs that form strips of flat arable land running parallel and south of the coastal plain. This strip widens to a large area that runs east from the Leukos river to the Saronic; roughly the area of the Isthmus proper, and south along the Leukos river. A narrow strip of flat arable land borders the northern coast of the Saronic and is also found at the Perachora peninsula inland near the modern village of Perachora and north near Asprokambos. The flat arable land, while not as productive as the coastal plain, is well suited to agriculture.

Additional land for agricultural production was available in the hilly arable land. This region are neither as fertile or as easy to cultivate as the other regions, but are capable of substantial production. Hilly arable land is found south of and paralleling the strip of flat arable land running west from the Leukos river. Pockets of hilly arable land are found at the southeastern tip of the Perachora peninsula, in the southwest Corinthia.

59For hydrography see Salmon (1984) 7-8, Sakellariou (1971) 14-16, Wiseman (1978) 9. Sakellariou (1971) unfortunately does not contain any information about springs. Much of the above comes from personal observation and discussions with the inhabitants of the village of Ancient Corinth, who are always concerned with the water supply, especially in the summer months. While (semi-potable) running water is available in the village many of the residents rely on private wells or, more often, supplement the running water with water carried from springs on the slopes of Acrocorinth. The modern aqueduct seems to be falling into disuse and is always dry in the summer.
extended into the area of Kleonae, south of Mt. Oneion, in the Sophiko pass and along the coast in the southeast Corinthia.60

The Corinthia was capable of large agricultural production if the water problems were successfully resolved. What the crops were and the total amount produced is largely speculation. We can be certain that olives, cereals and grapes were produced. As in the classical period, agriculture seems to have been the dominant activity and basis of the economy.61

Just as the basis of the economy was agricultural, the settlement pattern was also based on topography. The Corinthia has never been subjected to an intensive survey, but J. Wiseman has undertaken a limited but geographically reaching survey that provides crucial evidence for habitation patterns in the Corinthia.62 Such evidence, especially given the general nature of Wiseman's work, has its limits. It is quite certain that all of the late Roman sites (here meaning areas that contain ancient material) in the Corinthia have not

60Salmon (1984) 19-28. I have borrowed Salmon's topology. MAP 2 is partly based on Salmon (1984) Fig. 5 and on personal observation.

61Engels (1991) 22-33 attempts to calculate the agriculture production of Corinth and its relationship to the economy of the city. He concludes that agriculture could not have supported the city of Corinth. His work is fraught with difficulties, however, and a full criticism cannot be presented here. I point out one large problem. Salmon (1984) 19 believes that the territory of the classical city state was 900 sq. km; Engels believes it was 825 sq. km. Engels (1991) 27 states the only 207 sq. km. of the territory of Corinth could support any type of agriculture; Salmon (1984) 22-3 suggests the truly productive land was 230 sq. km, but p. 20-28 hypothesizes between 306 sq. km and 360 sq. km. total productive land. Sakellariou's, 1971, Appendix I, study of modern agriculture space indicates that up to 300 sq. km. may have been available. Engels (1991) notes (n.27) Sakellariou (1971) but states the amount of agriculture space in the modern period is similar to his calculation; they differ by over 90 sq. km. The discrepancy between the three estimates is great. More importantly, the question may, for the Roman period, be purely academic. The boundaries of the Corinthia, often disputed in the classical period, seem to have been of no concern in the Roman period. To assume that this territory is a semi-closed agricultural and economic system is unfounded. Some of Engels' calculations also seem unfounded, but this is an area beyond my expertise. For a perhaps more reasoned attempt to determine ancient populations from agricultural potential see Sanders (1981).

been located. Perhaps the majority have, but even this seems doubtful. Thus an absence of evidence on the survey map does not mean an absence of a site. The nature of Wiseman's survey often precludes discussion of site density and function. At this stage the evidence can only reveal the presence of cultural material and thus ancient occupation or activity. Fuller discussion will require closer survey of the sites preliminarily identified by Wiseman.

Thirty-four late Roman sites have been identified in the Corinthia. (See the Appendix and Figure 4). To these must be added, of course, the city of Corinth. Some of these sites are no more than areas where sherds have been noticed, others are harbors or villas. All of these sites, with two exceptions, are found in agriculturally viable areas, as expected. The exceptions are the island of Evraionisos (33) and Aghionorion (29). The interpretation of Evraionisos is difficult and cannot be explored fully here. Aghionorion is an important pass that contains a spring, and we might expect signs of activity here despite the difficult nature of the landscape. As indicated above, the land is marginally arable.

While distribution of sites is widespread, their absence is noticeable in the coastal plain. Two sites that intrude into this rich fertile area are on the shore: Lechaion (18) is, however, an important port and the western harbor of Corinth, and Aghios Yerasimos (23) a site 2.5 km. west of Lechaion is actually located on a small hill rising out of the coastal plain rather than the plain itself. The only site in the plain itself is the fifth-century early Christian basilica known as Skoutelas (17). This basilica is located north and slightly west of the Asklepieion. It is just north of the final bluff separating the city from the coastal plain. There appears to have been a gate in this area and the church probably is on the line of a major road. In this position it would have had a striking impact on the visitor to Corinth. Anyone passing through the rich agricultural land would, just as he neared the

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63 On "site" see Dunnell (1983).
bluffs and the beginning of the city, would have encountered a monumental basilica. Such an entrance would have impressed upon the visitor the wealth and importance of the city of Corinth. The Skoutelas basilica, then, seems to have been placed in the prime agricultural land as, so to speak, a monumental gateway. It is the exception to this use of the land, not the rule. The fertile coastal plain may have been reserved for agriculture rather than settlement, but a systematic survey is needed to test this hypothesis.

Directly along the coastal plain, on the bluffs that begin the region of flat arable land, numerous sites are to be found: Kondita Station (27), Moulki (26) Aghios Charalambos (25) Kokkinovrysi (16) Southeast Suburb (19) Pano Maghoula (14). Kondita Station (27) and Moulki (26) are the two easternmost of these sites. Kondita station attests just a very few late Roman sherds; Moulki, the more eastern of the two has a quarry, a Roman cistern and ceramic scatter into the third century. Aghios Charalambos (25), not far east of Kondita Station and Moulki, is a large site that contained a sizable Roman bath, constructed in the third century and renovated in the fourth. Sherds indicate widespread habitation in this area. Kokkinovrysi (16), the Southeast Suburb (19) and Pano Maghoula (14) are all villa sites. The villa at Kokkinovrysi functioned throughout the Roman period until its collapse in the late fourth or early fifth century. The villa at the Southeast Suburb has not been excavated, but late Roman ceramic scatter has been found in the fields around it. Pano Maghoula is also a site of a villa that flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries. This villa contained a bath and an olive-press. Pano Maghoula is the northeasternmost villa and is closest to the coast. It is located in a highly favorable position neat the coastal plan, the shore and the Leukon riverbed.

The bluffs and land bordering the coastal plain were important areas for settlement. The choice of site may have been determined by a desire to be as close as possible to the best agricultural land without intruding upon it. Additionally all of the sites sit in areas of
arable land, thus maximizing the productive potential of the inhabitants. Three of these sites contained villas, and the possibilities of villas at Kondita Station, Moulki and especially Aghios Charalambos cannot be ruled out. It seems, then, that we have the landholders living close to their most profitable holdings but also within easy distance of the city. Moulki and Kondita Station, being farther removed from Corinth than the other sites, may have been served by Aghios Charalambos rather than the city of Corinth itself.

Several sites are in the center of the Isthmus. Perdhika (10) may very well be a villa. Occupation is also attested at Cromna (11), Examilia (12) and Voukiana (13). These sites all cluster around the probable route of the Cenchrean and Isthmian roads. It seems likely that again we have a villa and support network placed close to very profitable land, but not far removed from the city. A similar situation seems probable for Bayevi (15), another probable villa site close to the city and west of Acrocorinth. Close to Bayevi is Aetopetra (24) where a large Roman millstone was found. This may be yet another villa site or related to the Bayevi site. Both the sites, Bayevi and Aetopetra, seemed to be placed to profit from the arable land west and southwest of Acrocorinth.

While the greatest number of known sites cluster around the city of Corinth, others farther removed are known. Spathovouni (28) may again be a villa and is located at the southwestern extremity of the arable Longopotamos valley. Tenea, occupying the southeastern corner of this same valley, also was inhabited in the late Roman period. A large Roman site has been identified at Alamannos (21) at the southern most point of the fertile region of the Leukos river valley, and some evidence for late Roman activity has been found at Solomos (20) north of Alamannos on the same river.

The Perachora peninsula was not bereft of activity in the late Roman period. Three sites have been identified. Maghoula (5) was in the upland plain now occupied by the modern village of Perachora, and was located in a fertile region. While there is no
direct evidence, it seems likely that the arable land surrounding lake Voulagmeni and in the region of the Heraion also was utilized. One of the Roman buildings very cursorily described as a house by Payne, seems, from the published photograph, to be a warehouse, and it seems probable that the agriculture material from this region was shipped out from the small harbor at the Heraion. Likewise Asprokambros (4) was located amidst flat arable land, and by all indications it was a large site that flourished through the seventh century. Schinos (3), the port of classical Oenoe, again located on flat arable land, had a small late Roman community. Gerani (2), very far removed from Corinth and on the other side of the Gerania mountains, has a heavy concentration of Roman sherds. All of the sites in Perachora are either ports or very close to ports and it seems likely that the agricultural material is being moved by sea, rather than overland.

Other port sites are located along the Saronic and Corinthian gulf. The two most famous are Kenchreai (6) and Lechaion (18). Other coastal sites are located at Akra Sophia (33), Loutro Eleni (7), Kato Almyri (8), and Vigla (9). Akra Sophia (33) is a good harbor and evidences substantial late Roman activity. It probably is the site of a villa. Loutro Eleni, Kato Almyri and Vigla are all greatly inferior to the other ports thus far mentioned, but are all situated on the eastern border of the stretch of hilly arable land south of Mt. Oneion. These three sites are probably agricultural rather than nautical.

The sites farthest removed from Corinth seem not to be primarily agricultural. Aghinorion (29), Angelocastro (31), and Aghia Paraskevi (30) are all in regions where there is some very limited agricultural land, but more importantly they are located upon major passes or convergence points.

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64Payne (1940) 15, 22, 115-6; I, ii, plate 3B. Two Roman structures are mentioned, one over the "agora", the other within the temenos of Hera Limenia. The photograph is of the one over the "agora."
The Corinthia was well networked with roads; indeed, many of these roads have been located. Often, however, the identification of roads is inferred from the known locations of sites. Given the incomplete nature of survey work in the Corinthia the location of many roads is tentative. The roads, as we might expect, follow natural passes and river valleys. Of prime importance would have been the road to Sikyon, which paralleled the coastal plain, the roads to Isthmia and Kenchreai which crossed the plain of Isthmus, the Sophiko pass to Epidavros, the three passes to the Argoïd, especially the most western or Tretus pass, the roads following the Longopotamos and Leukon river valleys, the road to Lechaion and the three roads leading from Megara.

The placement of sites is, of course, governed by topography. Sites will often fall near arable land by default. It is in these regions that habitation is physically comfortable and food easily available, not in the rugged mountain terrain. At various times in history groups have chosen to live in the mountains, but during the pax Romana this was not necessary and evidently not desirable. The settlements in the Corinthia were not, however, randomly scattered in the arable regions. Several patterns are evident, the strongest of which is for a site to be located on the boundary between different types of land, be it coastal plain and flat arable land or hilly arable land and the sea. Another trend is for sites to be placed in location surrounded by arable land. This is most obvious with those sites located in the center of the Isthmus plain. It can also be seen at the sites located along the coastal plain that border the coastal plain but have maintained a narrow strip of cultivatable land to their south. It appears, therefore, that the efficient utilization of the available agricultural was a priority in the location of sites.

\[65\text{For a discussion of roads see Wiseman (1978) \textit{infra}}.\]
Of particular interest are the villas of the Corinthia. A standard thesis of late Roman history, propounded by Rostovtzeff and, to a lesser degree, A.H.M. Jones, and based largely on evidence from the west, is that affluent landowners removed themselves from the cities and established independent agricultural villas resembling principalities. It has been argued that with the removal of this wealthy stratum, the cities went into a downward spiral from which they could not recover. This scenario does not hold true for the Corinthia. Villas did indeed flourish in the late Roman period. These villas, however, clustered near and presumably depended upon the city. There is no substantial evidence in the Corinthia for self-sufficient villas. The city and the villas survived together perhaps as late as the seventh century.

No villa has ever been fully excavated, studied, or published from the Corinthia. In fact, it is difficult even to decide what constitutes a villa. The trend among archaeologists working in the Corinthia has been to call any private residence with mosaics a villa. Rapp and Aschenbrenner, when confronted with villas in Nichoria, chose to use criteria of size, location and the presence of marble and a bath rather than to attempt to answer problems of definition. I am not prepared to offer a better solution at this point. For purposes here I have defined a villa as a large residential complex evidencing substantial wealth and located in a suitably comfortable position. This is merely a working definition. Villa is a Latin word, a western not an eastern phenomenon, and it seems best to avoid redefining...

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67 Rostovtzeff (1957) 530, Jones (1964) 788. Engels (1990) 182-3 mentions villas in Corinth. The Nymphaeum at Lechaion has been suggested as a villa. It seems more probable, however, given the layout of the structure, that this is a public Nymphaeum built near the Lechaion road. Philadelpheus (1918); Stikas (1957).
68 On the city see Scranton (1957); Speiser (1984) 327-8; Sodini (1984).
the villa to make it appropriate to the East.\textsuperscript{70} As research progresses I hope to be able to break away from the label "villa," and adopt a terminology more suitable to the East.

There can be no question that only a handful of the villas in the Corinthia have been discovered. Excavation in Corinth has focused on the Forum, and the Corinthia has never been subjected to a systematic survey. Thus an absence of villas in a given area cannot be conclusive. Ceramic scatter in a number of areas may, in fact, represent villas.\textsuperscript{71} But without systematic survey any attempt at site type identification would border on guess work and thus I will discuss only those villa sites that are represented by meaningful architectural remains. I note in passing, however, that this is a classic example of a question that could be much more successfully addressed by survey than by excavation.

The late Roman villas were all poised to make the best available use of agricultural land. In fact, it is almost certain that the wealth of these villas was dependent in whole or in part upon agriculture.\textsuperscript{72} Only one villa, however, is a candidate for a self-sufficient unit. As noted by Demetrios Pallas more than 30 years ago, the labels urban villa and rural villa are inapplicable in the Corinthia.\textsuperscript{73} The placement of the villas was determined both by agricultural concerns and a desire to remain close to civic centers.

I have identified six sites that almost certainly were villas. Five of these sites have been excavated, but in the best instance publication is inadequate. Two have been


\textsuperscript{71}There has been no systematic survey of the Corinthia, but see Wiseman (1978). An attempt in 1992 to re-find some of the sites mentioned by Wiseman failed and much of his work can no longer be confirmed. T.E. Gregory and I have identified several potential villa sites in the Corinth, but evidence has not been gathered in a systematic manner.


\textsuperscript{73}Pallas (1955) 216.
mentioned only in preliminary reports and two are unpublished except for the mosaics. The remaining site has been surveyed intensively.

Two villas lay close to and probably within the western city wall. The villa at Kokkinovrysi (16), sometimes known as the Shear villa, has been partially excavated, but poorly published.\textsuperscript{74} Five rooms paved with reused Greek mosaics were uncovered as was an impluvium. Just north of the excavated portion of this villa a rescue excavation uncovered a large oil press and a holding-tank, perhaps for olive oil.\textsuperscript{75} The villa may have been built in the first century and functioned through the early fifth century and perhaps later. The Kokkinovrysi villa, which clearly had an agricultural component, was situated along the boundary between the flat arable land and the coastal plain just Northwest of the city. The inhabitants would have had easy access both to the most fertile land of the region and the amenities of the civic center. This villa is located so close to the center of the city that it might seem to be a domus or urban villa, were its agricultural nature not defined by the archaeological finds.

A villa with a similar history has been partially excavated at Anaploga (36), slightly south of the Kokkinovrysi villa.\textsuperscript{76} An atrium, ten rooms and a large dining room have been excavated. The villa, was built in the early first century, remodeled in the third and perhaps fourth century and abandoned in the fifth century or perhaps later. This villa sat on the boundary of flat arable land and the hilly arable land of the slopes of Acrocorinth. The road from Corinth to Phlius and Kleonai probably ran near this villa. The unpublished state of this villa, which has since been built over by a modern villa urbana, does not allow any inquiry about agricultural production or storage. The position of the villa,

\textsuperscript{74}Shear (1925) 381-97, (1930).

\textsuperscript{75}AD 18 (1963) B1 77.

\textsuperscript{76}Miller (1972) 332-56; Hellenkemper-Salicis (1986) 278.
however, allowed easy access to the hilly arable land west of Corinth and the fertile region of the Longopotamos river. Like the Kokkinovrysi villa it was only a few minutes away from the civic center. As there is no evidence of agricultural production, this may be merely a lavish residence in the suburbs of Corinth. Given the example of the Kokkinovrysi villa, however, we cannot rule out an agricultural component to this complex.

North-east of Corinth a villa was excavated in the region known as "Pano Maghoula" (14). The complex had a courtyard, open-air cistern, olive press, and bath. Initially constructed in the third century, the villa seems to have functioned into the seventh century. This agricultural villa was located near the Leukos river on the border between the coastal plain and the flat arable land of the Isthmus. In such a position it was close to some of the richest land available in Greece and yet was only a 30 to 45 minute walk from the city of Corinth.

Just north of Kenchreai, T.E. Gregory conducted an intensive survey at the site of Akra Sophia (33) and discovered the remains of a substantial building. Fine ware and mosaic tesserae indicate the wealth of this establishment, which flourished in the fifth through seventh centuries and may have included a bath. This structure, probably a villa, was located on an adequate harbor and at the border of the hilly arable land along the Saronic and the flat arable land of the Isthmus. Interpretation of this villa is difficult without excavation data, but its position next to good arable land without actually intruding upon it hints at an agricultural nature. The small harbor may also have been an economic base of this complex.

77 Pallas (1955) 201-16.
The structure initially identified as an Aphrodision at Kenchreai (6) is a classic example of a villa structure with a large colonnaded court, and nymphaeum.\(^{79}\) The villa was constructed in the early third century, renovated in the early fifth century and abandoned perhaps at the end of the sixth century. Like the Akra Sophia structure it was located on the border between the hilly arable land along the Saronic and the flat arable land of the Isthmus. Additionally it allowed easy access to the large stretch of hilly arable land just south and was located at one of the two ports of Corinth. A major road ran from Corinth to Kenchreai, and the journey can be made in two hours by foot. One should also remember that Kenchreai was a large port and virtually all the amenities available in Corinth must have been available there. In this way the Kenchreai villa is much like the Kokkinovrysi and Anaploga villas: perched between agricultural land and the civic center.

South of Corinth, near the ambiguous border between Kleonai and Corinth, in the region called Varela near Aghios Vasilios, is a large Roman villa.\(^{80}\) This structure contains a bath, numerous storage rooms and a olive press. The Varela villa was located along a hillside that lies in the midst of a strip of flat arable land dotted with small hills. The villa was in use from the early fourth century, repaired in the middle sixth-century and continued in use into the Byzantine period. Interpretation of the Varela villa is complicated by the unknown location of Roman Kleonai. Of all the villas discussed, however, the Varela villa is the only real candidate for an independent and self-sufficient entity. Almost a full-days walk from Corinth, it could not have been heavily tied to that city for its

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\(^{79}\)Scranton (1978), 79-90. The excavators did admit that the structure looked like a "house" but chose to identify it as a sanctuary of Aphrodite on the basis of Pausanias. The structure is a classic example of a villa, however, and cannot be identified as anything else. The excavators failed to mention a large water-proof room that may have served as a pool. See below Chapter 5 for Kenchreai. Re-examination of the ceramic evidence indicates that this structure functioned probably into the early fifth century.

everyday needs. The villa may, however, have lain close to Roman Kleonae. The location of another late Roman villa, not too far south near Dervenaki certainly would suggest a nearby civic center.81

Several other sites may represent villas, but the evidence is unclear. Wiseman has identified, without excavation, a peristyle court or colonnaded porch in the Southeast Suburb (19). The ceramic scatter in general terminates at the third century, but later sherds have been found. As this area is beyond the outer boundary of the city and is just c. 1.5 km. outside the city wall it seems unlikely that the peristyle is a civic structure, and thus it may be a villa. Southwest of the Mt. Penteskouphi in the Bayevi area (15) a large structure has been noted that may represent a villa. Numerous Roman sherds were found in association with this structure. A large Roman millstone at Aetopetra (24) may be associated with this villa or may represent another villa. Farther south along the Longopotamos river valley a heavy concentration of sherds was found at Spathovouni (28). While this may represent a villa site, the identification is far from certain.

The placement of villas was, of course, governed in part by the necessities of the physical landscape. Villas fell into arable land by default, for arable land in the Corinthia is in the naturally flat or gently sloping areas. It is in these regions that habitation is physically comfortable, not in the rugged mountain terrain. Additionally, the archaeological record is biased towards finds near civic center, not only because of continuity of inhabitation at these sites, but also because these regions have presented the greatest interest for classical archaeologists.

Despite these limitations on our knowledge, there is a pattern in the placement of the villas. The villas of the Corinthia were not randomly scattered in the arable regions. Rather, the efficient utilization of the available agricultural land and proximity to the city

were priorities in the location of villas. The villas gravitated towards the border of the most fertile land near to them. In such positions, they did not use any of the more fertile land for inhabitation, but placed themselves as close as possible to the fertile regions to maximize their ability to work these regions. The agricultural nature of the villas implied by their position is confirmed in three cases by the archaeological finds. The desire to effectively utilize agricultural space was, however, tempered by a desire to remain within the vicinity of the city or a large civic center. While the villas were agricultural in intent and sometimes in function, there was a marked preference among villa holders to be close to or even within a civic center.

The villas at Corinth were neither rural nor urban; they were domestic centers poised to utilize the best land available and located within convenient distance to a large civic center. The wealthy landowners of the Corinthia did not absent themselves from the city to form self-sufficient estates. Instead, the city continued to hold a central position in the late-antique Corinthia. The growth of villas of a distinctively agricultural nature cannot be seen as a fragmentation or antithesis to the city, but rather must be interpreted as part of the changing nature of the city in Late Antiquity.

It can be seen that the deciding factor in Corinthian topography and the placement of settlements was the fullest utilization of agricultural space. The placement of settlements falls naturally in areas suitable to agriculture for few would want to live among the rocky crags of the mountains of the Corinthia, but the carefully placement of sites along border regions indicates that full utilization of the agricultural land was important. Further study at one of the villa sites, preferably Pano Maghoula or Kokkinovrysi, with a detailed topographical study, might yield important further evidence on the use of agricultural space.
Late antiquity was a period of change and Corinth was no exception to this. Although its precise position varied, Corinth remained the first city of the province of Achaia throughout the Roman and Early Byzantine period. The provincial governor retained Corinth as his seat, and for all purposes power rested in him. To Corinth's traditional Imperial importance was added a Metropolitan bishop and a number of important churches, that will be discussed in a separate chapter. While the evidence is inconclusive, there can be little doubt that Corinth underwent a political transformation similar to that in other cities of the Eastern Empire and the bishops increased in influence in power. The local boule assumedly experienced a corresponding decrease in importance.

The city itself remained quite intact despite a variety of problems, especially in the late fourth century, including possible earthquakes and barbarians. Nevertheless, the classical idea of the city was maintained through the sixth century and the Forum continued to remain the symbolic, economic and administrative center of Corinth. New programs of monumentalization were carried out with great success in the late Roman period. Change, however, was equally evident, as many structures were allowed to decay and as residences slowly moved into the Forum.

Corinth, while in the midst of transformation and change maintained many of its classical forms and principles. While political and social change did occur, it was usually, until the end of the sixth century, well within the standards of the classical world. The new civic plan and social structures of the city, the growth of the villas and the continued exploitation of the agricultural land all are part of the continuum of classical antiquity. Given the rather stable and conservative nature of Corinthian society and the city in this period, we should not be surprised but rather expect the continuation of pagan cult. The demise of paganism was, in fact, an "aberration," a discontinuity with the prevailing trends
of the late-antique city, and this "aberration" can largely be attributed to the growth of Imperial Christianity. Corinth in late antiquity found itself looking backward and forward simultaneously and it is in this circumstance that pagan cult disappeared and Christianity emerged as an official religion. 82

82 The evidence will not allow a discussion of Jews in the Corinthia. An impost block inscribed with a menorah was found in the theater and probably dates to the fifth century. Scranton (1957) 25-6; Foerester (1930) (which I have been unable to locate). Cf. Kaplan (1980) for a fourth century Samaritan amulet found in Corinth.
CHAPTER II
BROKEN TEMPLES AND PAGAN CULT

The temple was the most visible center of classical pagan cult. A clearly delineated central place, an area of liminality that allows for and facilitates the transition between various states of existence, is an essential part of religious observance. The temple was the center and the *axis mundi*, but the entire sanctuary, delineated by a temenos that was often indicated by a physical wall, was liminal. A purified area, the sanctuary served as museum, park and meeting place; its function was not confined to ritual. Nonetheless, the temple, or in some archaizing cases the altar, was the focus of the sanctuary; without them the sanctuary could not exist.

The need for liminal space is present in systems where the "states of existence" are clearly divided (as in a Christian distinction between god and man), or where the boundaries are more blurred (as in ancestral worship). The rich and varied rituals performed at the temples, with processions, music, song, dance, cleansing water, *abata*, incense, sacrifices, burnt offerings, dining, votives, displays and holy images could serve to facilitate both physically and emotionally the dissolution of the barriers between states of being. The transcendent moment of contact came, perhaps, at the sacrifice, an act that can be viewed as a communal meal shared between gods and men.¹ The temple was, as Knipe has stated, the "fount of revelation and tradition, . . . generative and true."²


In the ancient world, as in the modern, places of liminality were, of course, almost infinitely varied, and one should not forget the less visible (to us), but probably more important household shrines and even the hearth. Primary worship occurred in the household in all periods of antiquity, but this worship remains largely unknown to us. But for "public" worship and the worship of the "Olympian" gods, the center was undeniably the temple. As such a center, the temples were the target of anti-pagan legislation and action. As Harl has noted, the destruction of a temple or the removal of the cult statues was an attempt to destroy the pagan axis mundi and thus end all pagan worship. While there seem not to have been Christian attacks on the temples in Corinth, the collapse of the temples in combination with changing mores must have posed a problem for the pagan population.

3Harl 1990 (20-21). Burkert (1988) 33 mentions, pace Eliade, that the temple is not the axis mundi, except in the case of Delphi. Eliade's definition (the cosmic tree or pillar that connects heaven and earth) will certainly work for the temple. Eliade cites Horace, Odes 3.3, (1959) 35. Pace Burkert, Eliade indicated quite clearly that there can be more than one axis mundi, citing the Achilpa, a group of hunter-gatherers who carried their axis mundi with them. The temple was also the imago mundi (Burkert (1988) 57-61) and a place where, through the presence of the gods, the world continued to be resanctified. The suitability of the column as a defining architectural feature for the axis mundi should be noted, although the subject cannot be examined further here.

4DeWaele (1933) 435-36 hypothesizes a violent destruction of the Asklepieion at Corinth by Christians, stating: "It is a well-known fact that in the last third of the fourth century a current of aggressive violence against heathen worship pervaded Christianity." Even if this were true, there is no evidence that the destruction of the Asklepieion was at Christian hands. Undoubtedly the growth of Christianity played a role in allowing the buildings to be plundered, but this does not mean that the temple was deliberately destroyed by irate Christians. DeWaele (1935) 359 mentions a fifth century B.C. statue (Inv. S-1577), claiming that it was "deliberately mutilated in the fourth century after Christ." There is, however, no evidence for deliberate mutilation, especially given the thorough destruction of the sanctuary. The statue was found in late fourth/early fifth century fill.
Allison Frantz has discussed the temples of late-antique Athens in an article that has been the basis for all subsequent work. She posits deconsecration of the pagan structures beginning in 435 (C.Th. 16.10.25), followed by gradually decreasing pagan worship and eventual abandonment. Only after the temples had ceased to be seriously regarded as cult sites, she argues, were they converted to churches. As the city shifted and new churches were needed, the temples underwent conversion: "So it was by virtue of necessity rather than in token of a victorious faith that the temples of the old dispensation became the province of the new."\(^5\)

Frantz argues that the pagans controlled the center of the city of Athens, the Christians the periphery in the second half of the fifth century. According to Frantz, pagans and Christians co-existed peacefully through the early sixth century with the Christians gaining and the pagans losing adherents. The Christians were cautious, she argues, and "not yet sure of their ground, [they] avoided the center of the city in their intensive building activities." Christian churches, however, often tended to be on the periphery of a classical city, especially a city that maintained a strong urban center. Corinth will be a prime example of this, but others exist, including Rome herself.\(^6\) Christian avoidance of the center of the city cannot be attributed to caution based on insecurity; too many alternatives are present, including a Christian sense of civic space different from that of the pagans.\(^7\)

The church at the Asklepieion in Athens weighs against Frantz's argument, as she herself admitted. Frantz dates the destruction of the temple and the building of the church

\(^5\)Frantz (1965), quotation from p. 205. The only work previous to Frantz's on temples in late antiquity is Deichmann (1939), a still useful catalog. See Gregory (1986b) 233 on the influence of Frantz's work.

\(^6\)Krautheimer (1983) 7-40.

\(^7\)See below, Chapter 7 on churches.
to c. 529, and associates it with the closing of the philosophical schools. The archaeological evidence is far from clear and no good date can be provided. Regardless of the actual date of the conversion, the mutilated reliefs from the Asklepieion show a vigorous Christian reaction at this sanctuary and indicate a violent encounter and probably violent destruction of the temple. A decline in paganism is not demonstrable in this period for Athens unless one assumes a vital link between the schools and paganism. Pagan cult was, however, quite capable of surviving independent of these schools.

It may well be that the Christians were unsure of themselves in the fifth century and sure in the sixth. The violent conflict at the Asklepieion in late fifth century indicates, however, that paganism was still an emotional issue and thus presumably still viable and active. The conversion of the Parthenon and Hephaisteion cannot be separated from the realm of direct pagan and Christian conflict. The seventh century is not that far removed from the late fifth century conflict at the Asklepieion and the conversions of these temples may very well have been tokens of the "victorious faith." Frantz suggests that immediate rededication after deconsecration "would have been distasteful to the Christians and offensive to the pagans, and since the Christians were already amply provided with places of worship, there was no reason to provoke inevitable friction by such a blatant act."

The evidence from the Asklepieion shows, however, that some Christians were quite willing not only to offend but also to attack. Frantz's dates for conversion of the temples into churches seems correct, but the idea that they were "spiritual no-man's land"

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8 Spieser (1976) 313 n.14. See Frantz (1965) 195 n.50 for Xyngopoulos, Gregorovius, Travlos all of whom thought that the temple was destroyed by Christians. Gregory (1986b) 237-9 opts for a fifth century church and emphasizes the violent contact between pagans and Christians at this site.

9 Gregory (1986b) 235 offers a succinct rejection of this linkage. Cf. Fowden (1982) for a discussion of the pagan "holy man" as teacher of philosophy. The pagan "holy man" was only one part of paganism, and his disappearance (or rather suppression) did not mean the dissolution of paganism.

10 Frantz (1965) 205.
at the time of the conversion, or even that they were deconsecrated in 435 is doubtful. The evidence from Athens is unclear, but it indicates at least an occasional hostile activity between the pagans and Christians and an active pagan population through the early sixth century and probably later.

Spieser attempted to apply Frantz's scenario to all the temples of Greece. Many of Spieser's conclusions are wrong because he relies, by necessity, on inaccurate excavation reports. Spieser argues that the Christians rarely attacked the pagan temples, but rather occupied them after they were abandoned. Spieser's general belief that the temples were in ruins when churches were built seems quite correct. It does not necessarily follow, however, that all of these sites had already lost their vitality. I will argue that veneration could and did continue at even the site of a destroyed temple.

Continued pagan activity should come, of course, as no surprise. Active cult continued at least until the end of the fifth century in Syria; in Egypt it survived into the eighth century. Closer to home, John of Ephesos converted tens of thousands in Asia Minor in the third quarter of the sixth century. Justinian was forced to reissue the ban on sacrifice as late as 539, Leo III in the eighth century. The re-issues of these bans are a sure indicator that sacrifice was performed often enough to attract attention. In the Peloponnesos of Greece, especially in the Mani and Sparta, pagans continued to be found as late as the tenth century. Especially important to note is that the surviving pagans were

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11 Spieser (1976).

12 Dagron (1977) 8 is similarly critical of Spieser. Spieser misinterprets the destruction and demolition of the Asklepieion and sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, and probably the Aphrodision at Argos; he misdates the destruction of the temple of Isthmia by a century; he does not have sufficient information on late antique Olympia, and misses the mutilation of the colossal Apollo on Delos. None of these errors are through any fault of his own. Rather they underscore the need for first hand study of the inadequately published late antique material from these sanctuaries. Although the results of my investigation are often at variance with their work, Frantz and Spieser must be given credit for forming the framework of the discussion and attempting to address the problem in a sophisticated and analytical manner. My work would not have been possible without theirs.
not performing pale imitations of earlier rituals; temples and sacrifices continued to be mentioned and remained as focal points of pagan cult. Paganism hardly died out; it thrived into the sixth century, and survived into the tenth century.\textsuperscript{13} The process of the survival was multi-varied and one must not assume that the pagans of the sixth century and the tenth century need have had much in common. One important factor is that in the sixth century, paganism continued to be reported in the cities; by the tenth century civic paganism is certainly dead and the pagans are truly the \textit{pagani}. There is no reason, however, to assume the fate of paganism in Athens and Greece differed from that of paganism elsewhere in the eastern Empire. The evidence is clear: pagans and paganism survived, as did classical pagan rituals.\textsuperscript{14}

The issue is not a minor one. The vast majority of scholarship on late-antique Greece assumes that paganism was dying in the fourth century, dead by the sixth. This was not the case; paganism in much of its classical form was viable at least through the sixth century and survived in part until the tenth century. In the face of evidence to the contrary, scholars and archaeologists must assume that pagan cult continued, especially in rural settings. Moreover, it becomes necessary to examine each site individually. The

\textsuperscript{13}As one approaches the tenth century the issue becomes more problematic because of the Slavic invasions. While I agree with Trombley's interpretation of the inhabitants of the Mani as being non-Slavs, the issue is not easily resolved. Cf. Trombley (1985) 347.

\textsuperscript{14}Irmscher (1981) offers a brief and incomplete discussion of the sixth century evidence. On Syria see Drijvers (1980), for Syria and Egypt see Trombley (1985) 328 and sources cited there. Trombley also discusses Asia Minor (John of Ephesus), Anatolia and, Greece. \textit{Pace} Trombley (1985) 346-7 the basilica at Lykosoua cannot be firmly dated to the sixth century by numismatic evidence; the coins cited have no firm context. Trombley's discussion of the eighth through tenth century evidence for continued pagan activity in Greece is crucial yet little noted. For the laws see \textit{CJ} 11.9.4; \textit{Ecloga Leonis et Constantini cum Appendice}, Appendix 4.20; Trombley (1985) 347. For the Mani see Trombley (1985) 347-352. Van Dam's (1985) discussion of Gaza, while important for its methodological suppositions, is problematic because of the questions concerning the date of the Life of Porphyry. Markus (1970) discusses Gregory the Great's seventh century missions to "heathens" in England, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. These "heathens" seem to have been practicing something not far different from classical paganism. See esp. \textit{Ep.} 11.35, an exhortation to repress the worship of idols and to destroy the shrines.
situation of Athens, where conversion of the city seems complete by the seventh century, for example, greatly differed from that of Sparta where Nikon the Metanoeite in the tenth century urged the people of the region to abandon their pagan ways.

The implications of the continuation of paganism are more far reaching than a call for scholarly revision. If paganism died peacefully, or relatively peacefully, before the Christians took over the temples, the picture painted is one of natural succession, with paganism dying while Christianity grew. If the Christians moved against the sanctuaries while pagans were still active, the scenario is very different, with Christians deliberately challenging and suppressing an active religious tradition. The situation has important implications for the development of Christianity as well, for with direct competition there is an increased probability that Christianity may have had to adapt its teachings and practices.

The violent nature of the conflict in Syria and other parts of the East has been well discussed. In Syria and Egypt violent destructions of temples, lootings and lynchings of both pagans and Christian leaders seem not to have been uncommon. Greece was not, however, under the Praetorian Prefect of the East and missed the depredation that came largely under Cynegius in 384. Moreover, the monks who were so important in anti-pagan movements both in the East and West probably did not enter Greece in noticeable numbers until the ninth century. The role of the temples in the transition from paganism

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15Fowden (1978) esp. 64. Thelamon (1981) 160-205 for the Serapaeum in Alexandria. Leibeschuetz (1979) demonstrates, in an important article, the role monks played not only in Christianizing Syria, but also in changing the nature of patronage and the place of cities in society. The temptation is to universalize the scenario he has presented, but the crucial role of the monks makes the form of the transition to Christianity unique to Syria. See also Leibeschuetz (1988).

16Trombley (1985) 345; Gregory (1986b) 236 See Fowden (1988) 58-9, (1990b) 500 for the suggestion that Daphni was a fortified monastery.
from Christianity in Greece cannot be explained by other occurrences in the East and remains, therefore, relatively little understood.

Saradi-Mendovici has taken a different and rewarding approach to temples in late antiquity. She emphasizes that the pagan monuments were viewed by Christians with mixed emotions, both fascination and hostility. Generalizations about the state of temples in the fourth century have, of course, limited application. There was no set or strong pattern of temple prosperity or Christian reactions to temples; every temple and every region must be treated individually. Nevertheless, Saradi-Mendovici illustrates peaceful reactions to temples and pagan monuments that must be considered when weighing the evidence.

The literary record from late antiquity, while full of usually unreliable references to emperors closing (or in Julian's case, opening) temples, tells us almost nothing about cult activity at the temples. The early church historians frequently mention the closing of temples under Christian emperors, and the reopening under Julian. These narratives are, not surprisingly, highly unreliable in the chronology and motivations that they present. The intense concern with whether the temples were open or closed reveals, however, that temples and their status continued to concern pagan and Christian authors through the fifth century. Occasional references confirm that traditional cult activity could still take place at temples. Festus (proconsul of Asia, 372-378) reportedly visited a temple of Nemesis to seek an interpretation of a dream from those present there, presumably


18Socrates 1.18 (40-41) (Constantine sets up his statue in temples); 3.1 (104) (Julian opens temples); 3.20 (116) (Julian attempts to rebuild temple in Jerusalem); 5.16 (146) (Theodosius orders temples in Alexandria destroyed); Sozomen 2.5 (Constantine harasses and loots temples); 5.1 (Julian frequents temples); 5.3 (Julian orders temples re-opened); 5.22 (Julian and temple at Jerusalem); Philostorgius 7.9 (Julian and temple at Jerusalem); Theodoret 3.7 (temple destroyed under Constantius); 3.20 (Julian and temple at Jerusalem); 5.21 (Theodosius orders temples destroyed). Cf. Malalas 13.2 (317) (Constantine destroys temples); 13.37 (344-5) (Theodosius destroys and converts temples).
priests. Temples in Egypt continued to be used as places for treaty-making into the fifth century. Julian reports the sacrifice of a single goose by a lonely priest at Daphne. Proclus (ca. 480) prayed for the health of a girl at the temple of Asklepios in Athens.

The violent reaction of Christians to some temples in the East certainly implies that cult activity was ongoing at these temples. Chrysostom admonished his congregation more than once not to frequent the temples. Martin of Tours settled hermits on the sites of destroyed temples not only to purify these sites but also to edify the pagans who still came to worship. These are, however, isolated and geographically diverse incidents; they can illuminate but not create the story in Corinth.

Libanios (Or. 30), in a reaction to the excesses of Cynegius, discusses the temples and incidentally provides valuable evidence. He mentions that temple rituals continued in the time of Constantine, although the temples themselves were impoverished (30.6). This impoverishment of the temples is of note. By the fourth century the great age of the temples seems to be over. Still important and used, their glory had faded. This scenario is perhaps seen as early as the second century in Pausanias, who makes innumerable references to decrepit and ill-maintained temples. While the evidence is not sufficient to

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19 Eunapios *V. Soph.* 7.6.11-13 (481).

20 Priscus 27.1

21 Julian 361D-362B. I have omitted most references by the church historians to the cult activity of Julian as it is of little historical value.

22 Marinus, *Vita Procli* 29.

23 Fowden (1978).

24 *Adv. Jud.* 1.6.8 (*PG* 48.851-2, 855); *Hom. in ep. ad Titum* 3.2 (*PG* 62.679), both delivered in the 380’s.

allow discussion here, it is clear that temple cult began its transformation and decline well before the Christian emperors came upon the scene.

Libanios continues in his oration to discuss the ban on sacrifice and Julian's revocation of the anti-pagan legislation. He mentions the renewed ban and, in a very positive manner, thanks Theodosius for continued concession made for the burning of incense (30.7-8):

And indeed your law has secured this exception, so that we are not pained by the things we have lost but rather give thanks for the things that have been conceded. You have neither ordered the temples to be closed nor even forbade entrance to them; you have not driven fire nor frankincense nor the honor of other incenses from the temples or the altars.

This important passage points to the flexibility of pagan cult and its attempt to survive in an increasingly hostile environment. In a particularly powerful and moving passage Libanios describes the agony of Aristophanes, in need of comfort and unable to worship (Or. 14.41):

He went to the remains of the temples, bringing no incense, no sacrifice, no fire, no libation, for that was not allowed, but grief, a mournful voice, and weeping. He broke forth in tears, eyes cast not to the risky sky, but to the ground.

26Cf. Libanios, Or. 30.201, 221.
Whether the legislation against paganism was comprehensive or loose, enforced or ignored, the pagans returned to the temples to worship and worshipped as best they could.

Libanios makes it clear that access to the temple and all acts of devotion other than sacrifice were tolerable at the time he wrote. Until 392, it seems that sacrifice was the most objectionable and only intolerable aspect of pagan cult to the Christian emperors. Libanios' passage also reads, however, as a plea issued by one struggling to survive. As the legislation (or more exactly enforcement of the legislation) became stricter, the variety and quantity of offerings must have been reduced. After the complete ban of 392 (C.Th. 16.10.2), the continuation of sacrifice is amply evidenced, often as a precursor to hostile Christians' action, and we can certainly infer that smaller offerings were not uncommon. Libanios argues that the charges of sacrifice were often falsified (15-16). It is probable that smaller, more innocuous offerings, such as votive lamps and incense became the norm in places where enemies might be watching. Sacrifice, as demonstrated above, continued unabated in areas, predominantly rural, where no one cared.

Literary evidence for cult activity in the Corinthia is minimal. That the temple was a popular cult center in Corinth through the second century is certain. Paul testifies to the vitality of pagan cult, sacrifice and ritual dining in first-century Corinth. Pausanias' (2.2.6-2.3.4; 2.4.6-2.5.2) description of the temples in the Corinthia portrays them as cared for and still functioning; Pausanias was fond of mentioning those temples that were

27 See Fowden (1978).

28 Libanios' remarks read remarkably like Malinowski--charges of witchcraft leveled in a bid for political and social power.

29 Collins-Clinton (1977) 15 mentions twenty-nine lamps left on pedestals in the shrine of Liber Pater at Cosa. These were probably votive lamps. See below, Chapter 4.

30 1 Cor. 8; 10:20-23; cf. Acts 18.
decrepitated or abandoned and this may indicate a decline in temple worship that began in the second century.

In the absence of literary evidence, the archaeological material must be our primary guide in the study of temples in the late-antique Corinthia. None of the temples of the Corinthia were left standing long into the fifth century. The structure dubbed by Dinsmoor the "largest temple in the Peloponnese" was so thoroughly dismantled that while many architectural members have been found, its original location has not. Many pieces found their way into the late fourth and early fifth century fortifications of the city.31 On the summit of Acrocorinth was the famous temple of Aphrodite. Reuse of this summit for a church, a tower, mosque, platform, and "miserable hut" destroyed most of the evidence concerning this temple. Poros blocks remained, however, to be reused in the church and subsequent structures. In the early Christian period a basilica was built on this site. A precise date for this church is unachievable, but it is doubtful that it was earlier than the fifth century or later than the seventh.32 The destruction of the temple must have preceded the construction of this church, of course, but no precise date can be assigned.33 The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was thoroughly destroyed in the late fourth or

31 Temple: Dinsmoor (1949) 115. Wiseman (1967B) 412 for material in wall; 412n.26 Wiseman suggests that the fragments of the Doric temple had already been reused once before being placed in the wall. While he offers no evidence, this is a possibility that must be seriously considered. Late Roman Wall: Wiseman (1967b) 411-2, Gregory (1979).

32 See Chapter 7 on the church

33 Blegen (1930) 3-4, 18-28; Corinth Notebook 90A, 80-127. Blegen (1930) 27-8 was brutal but honest in his dismissal of late material: "The great bulk of pottery brought to light about the summit belonged, however, to coarse unpainted wares of Late Roman and Byzantine times, and no further description need be given here."
perhaps early fifth century, but no conclusions can be drawn until publication of this site is complete.\textsuperscript{34}

Several temples that functioned in the Roman period have been located and excavated in and near the forum of Corinth. None of these temples, however, have been firmly identified, although the Archaic Temple was probably that of Apollo and Temple E that of the Imperial Cult.\textsuperscript{35} All the temples in the forum were excavated early in the twentieth century and our knowledge about them is extremely limited. (See Figure 1)

No accurate or detailed excavation records exist for Temples D, F, G, H, and J, but we do have some limited information.\textsuperscript{36} A layer of red and black earth containing a coin of Leo I (457-474) was found north of Temple D. Beneath this layer were found many marble fragments, perhaps from the demolition of the temple.\textsuperscript{37} The destruction of Temple D, therefore, may have occurred sometime before the third quarter of the fifth century.\textsuperscript{38} Scranton reports that a brick structure filled the stair entrance south of Temple F, but this construction cannot be dated.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{34}Slane (1991) 5n.15; Pemberton (1989) 191; Stroud (1965) 1-24; Bookidis (1972) 284. As publication of this site is imminent, I have not drawn any conclusions from the preliminary reports.

\textsuperscript{35}On the temples and identification see Scranton (1951). More recent work has focused on Temple E. Walbank (1989) argues this was the Capitolium. Williams (1989) argues, more successfully I think, that Temple E housed the Imperial cult. To Williams’ arguments I would add the temple of Domitian at Ephesos which seems to be a good parallel for the placement of the Imperial cult in a dominant position in the forum (Price (1984) 140).

\textsuperscript{36}I have omitted "Temple K" as it is doubtful this structure was a temple. Wiseman (1979) 529.

\textsuperscript{37}Corinth Notebook 125, p.172, coin no. 6.

\textsuperscript{38}Destruction is used to describe the actual collapse of a structure, demolition is the process of removing architectural pieces and perhaps reworking them. The difference is more than semantic. There is no destruction layer at the Asklepieion (contrary to the published reports), but there is a demolition layer; this layer tells us little about the collapse of the temple, but much about what was done to it after it collapsed. Failure to make this distinction in published reports has caused a number of errors, most noticeably Spieser's (1986) 312-313 description of violent temple destructions at Corinth and Argos.

\textsuperscript{39}Scranton (1951) 72-3 relies on an "intangible suggestion of a later date [than Commodus]."
At temple J, a coin of Constantius II must have found its way into the gap between the poros walls and the rubble core of the foundation after the temple was destroyed, but such a coin could have been in circulation through the fifth century.\textsuperscript{40} The south wall of the monastery of St. John, built in the thirteenth century, reused a line of large well-cut blocks that seem to have been the north wall of Temple J.\textsuperscript{41} A layer of broken marble revetment and poros chips may have been from the destruction of this temple, and perhaps can be dated to the late fifth to middle sixth century.\textsuperscript{42} A headless statue of Athena, reused in the south wall of St. John's, may also represent this destruction.\textsuperscript{43} Temple J may have been destroyed as early as the fifth century, with part of it remaining standing until the twelfth century.

A grave in the southwest corner of Temple F dates the destruction of this structure to sometime prior to the middle of the sixth century.\textsuperscript{44} The scattered bits of evidence hint that the temples at the west of the forum were at least partially destroyed during or shortly after the fifth century. The west terrace near which these temples were situated was

\textsuperscript{40}Corinth Notebook 181, p.501; coin no. 88.

\textsuperscript{41}Corinth Notebook 38, p.44, 55; Corinth Notebook 169, p. 39.

\textsuperscript{42}Corinth Notebook 169, 368 reports such a layer of "Roman date." Corinth Notebook 150, 120 describes a layer of fragmentary marble revetment. L 2452 was found with this layer. These layers probably represent the same strosis, but we cannot be sure.

\textsuperscript{43}Corinth Notebook 169, 382.

\textsuperscript{44}MF 6069 (Nail) and MF 4931 (Bronze Ring) a from this grave. Lamp 2316 (late fifth to middle sixth) and MF 5369 are from the vicinity of the grave and presumably are associated. The grave contained the skeleton of a young adult and a very small child resting on the left arm of the adult, perhaps a mother and child.
disassembled and the stone reused in the late sixth century or after, and it seems probable
that what remained of the temples in this area largely disappeared at this time.45

Few records remain from the excavation of Temple C and those that do are
sketchy at best. The fill above the temple foundations was reported as Roman. Small bits
of poros at the stylobate level of Temple C perhaps indicate a process of mining and reuse
of blocks from this structure, but we cannot be sure.46

The Archaic Temple has been repeatedly excavated, but no records remain from
the early excavations and the excavations of the late 1960's and early 1970's are still
largely unpublished. The temenos paving seems to have been removed in the late fourth
century, however, and late fourth century deposits in the area contain stone chips. Early
fills contaminated by fourth century pottery indicate extensive digging in the area. Some
poros blocks were removed from the structure, but the date for their removal is uncertain.
Coins in the fourth century fills go as late as Theodosius I.47 A late fourth century
destruction or robbing may be indicated for the Archaic Temple.

The evidence for Temples C, D, F, G, H, I and the Archaic temple is rather
indefinite. There is a strong suggestion, however, these buildings were demolished and

45Scranton (1951) 73, (1957) 24-5 for the west terrace. The date of destruction is based on the
assumption, probably correct, that the five late Roman statues found in this region were placed on this
terrace. For the statues see Johnson (1931) 150-54.

46Removed blocks: Corinth Notebook 117, 66; Fill: Corinth Notebook 117, 87; Poros Chips:
Corinth Notebook 50 45. Scranton (Stillwell (1941) 149) remarks that the structure was immediately
superseded by medieval house walls and thus must have stood through the late Roman period. The
records do not support such a claim. The walls overlying the structure are undatable and could very well
be late Roman.

47Robinson (1976) 220-223, The pottery dates given in this report need to be used with great
cautions. I have not been able to examine the ceramic material. Robinson (1976) 222-3 reports a sixth-
seventh century Christian church built on the temple hill. He assumes that the church was built outside
the temple because the temple was in ruins in the sixth century, probably as a result of the 522 earthquake.
There is no direct archaeological evidence for this scenario. For the church see Chapter 6, for the
earthquake see Chapter 1.
their constituent blocks were recut for use. The process need not have been uniform or contemporaneous; part of Temple J seems to have stood until the 12th century. The preponderance of the limited ceramic evidence points to major activity at the end of the fourth and beginning of the early fifth century, a time in which, we shall see, several other structures and temples were dismantled and their blocks re-used.

Temple E, as mentioned above, probably housed the Imperial Cult. Unfortunately, successive plundering and less than thorough early excavations destroyed any evidence there may have been for the history of the Imperial Cult in Corinth in late antiquity. Excavations at Temple E, the mound of which was always visible, began in 1901 and the temple mound was completely excavated by 1932. None of the excavators concerned themselves with stratigraphy but it is possible to reconstruct a general picture of the depositional history.

There is a remote possibility that Temple E underwent some repair work in the late Roman period. Early excavators reported the discovery of a heavily drilled lion head spout and a "very late" egg and dart molding heavily undercut and showing much use of the drill. From the description of the objects one would expect them, on stylistic grounds, to date to the third or fourth century, but a stylistic argument based on pieces only sketchily described and no longer to be found holds little weight. Another tantalizing item is a coin of Gordian III (238-44) wedged into a dowel hole in a column base apparently from the temple and held in place by a small fragment of tile. A coin could have quite easily fallen into a dowel cutting at any time after the demolition of the temple. The small piece of tile wedged into the cutting and sealing in the coin offers another

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49 Corinth Notebook 127, 54.
tantalizing possibility: the coin may have been deliberately placed, as a votive or an idle action, during a third century reconstruction that involved the replacement of the column. Both the south and the north stoas surrounding Temple E were reworked in the late second or early third century and we might want to associate work on Temple E with these reconstructions. But the evidence for reconstruction or repair in the third century is extremely slender.

The final moments of the superstructure of Temple E were not gentle ones. Many architectural pieces were smashed as if they had fallen from a height or another large piece had fallen upon them. Most telling was a lion's head spout, found where it fell. The spout still held its shape but was thoroughly shattered and the inference is that it fell from its position on high. The agent of this destruction, be it human, earthquake, the ravages of time or, more probably, a combination of these, cannot be determined from the available evidence.

After the collapse of the superstructure, Temple E almost immediately became a quarry and a source of lime, a situation that would last at least through the fourteenth century. Because of the multiple periods of robbing no clear stratigraphy was obtainable with the excavation methods used, and a precise date for the collapse of the structure cannot be determined. Coins and lamps resting directly on the foundations of the temple, underneath the debris from quarrying, should represent the last days of the temple. Unfortunately the fill was extremely mixed and coins as late as Manuel I (1143-1180) found their way onto the foundation.

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50 Williams (1990) 335.

51 Broken pieces: Corinth Notebook 128, 8; Fallen spout: Corinth Notebook 66, 35.
The majority of the coins on the foundation, however, range from Antoninus Pius (138-161) to Gratian (367-383). Later digging in the area makes contamination a strong possibility, but it seems likely that these coins are indicative of a temple functioning in the second, third and fourth centuries. More important are the coins found on what was apparently the paving level in and around the temple. This area ultimately was covered with debris, but coins found on the clean and open temenos area provide a terminus post quem for maintenance of the temple and temple area. The coins on this paving level range from the second century through Marcian (450-457) indicating that the area was open through the mid-fifth century. The temenos was clean through the mid-fifth century and the coins on the foundations of the temple itself extend into the fourth centuries. The combined evidence seems to indicate that the temple functioned in a standard manner to the end of the fourth century and the area ceased to be maintained sometime around the middle-fifth century, the period of most intense quarrying.

522 Antoninus Pius (Corinth Notebook 127, nos. 41, 42); Gordianus Pius (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 76); Gallienus (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 39); 2 Diocletian (Corinth Notebook 127, nos. 34, 36); Constans (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 40); Constantius II (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 38); Julian (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 37); Valens (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 44); Gratian (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 35); Manuel I (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 43). L1576 (middle fifth to middle sixth century) was found on the foundations but "in the chip layer." On the pavement of the East façade of the Temple were found coins of Constantius (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 164); Julian (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 165); Valens (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 166); Valentinian II (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 168); Arcadius (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 169); Honorius (Corinth Notebook 127, no. 167). West of the temple below the chip layer and on a strosis called "stereo" were found coins of Gallienus (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1080); Procopius (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1168); 2 Constantius II (Corinth Notebook 128, nos. 1167, Corinth Notebook 129, 1320) Valentinian II (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1043); 2 Theodosius I (Corinth Notebook 128, nos. 1079, 1083); 2 Valens (Corinth Notebook 128, nos. 1045, 1162); 3 Arcadius (Corinth Notebook 128, nos. 1054, 1082, 1163); Honorius (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1043). Coins are also recorded, inexplicably, as coming from below stereo (some from as much as 1m below stereo): Lucius Verus (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1064); Septimius Severus (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1053); Constantius II (Corinth Notebook 129, no. 1318); Theodosius I (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1061); 2 Arcadius (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1052, 1063); Honorius (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1063); Marcian (Corinth Notebook 128, no. 1060)

53West of the temple foundations a very hard strosis of packed "clay" was found beneath the chip layer. This may represent the Roman pavement but the excavator entertained the idea that it was a "water level," perhaps meaning a layer of sediment laid down by water. The notebooks are too sketchy for a certain evaluation: Corinth Notebook 128, 29-30. The notebooks also describe a "ground level" strosis at the west and northwest of the foundations that slopes down from the temple foundations at a consistent
Directly upon the foundations and in the area around the temple lay a strosis of marble and poros chips, in places as thick as 0.80m.\textsuperscript{54} Mixed with these chips were occasional pockets of lime, and some of the chips were described as being in extremely poor condition and almost "powder." These deteriorated chips may have in fact been pieces of marble partially burned and calcinated. There may have been a lime kiln on top of the temple foundations in the late Roman period, as evidenced by a curious semi-circular cutting, but this is far from certain. A lime kiln cut partway into the rubble foundations on the north face of the temple seems to have functioned in the late Roman period. On the threshold of this kiln were found numerous large pieces of marble and a chunk of wood not thoroughly burned. Coins associated with these pieces date as late as Constans I (337-50). The presence of a fourteenth-century coin in this kiln may, however, indicate that the kiln is actually a much later creation.\textsuperscript{55}

Regardless of the actual position of the lime kilns in the late Roman period, there can be no doubt that some the marble from the temple was being reduced to lime at that time.\textsuperscript{56} The abundance of remaining marble chips indicates, however, that obtaining lime was not the major intent of the demolition, for these chips are the result of reworking blocks. Resting on and occasionally in the chip layer were numerous architectural grade. This may be the same strosis as the hard packed clay. The excavator felt this might be a natural rather than man-made feature, but we should not rule out the possibility of a ramp to facilitate the removal of the temple material: Corinth Notebook 128, 39, 66.

\textsuperscript{54}Corinth Notebook 127, 19, 27, 30; Corinth Notebook 65, 54; Corinth Notebook 66, 10; Corinth Notebook 127, 84, 150, 184; Corinth Notebook 128, 3, 7, 8, 32, 94, 116; Corinth Notebook 129, 10.


\textsuperscript{56}Williams (1990) 336 notes marble showing signs of calcination found in the temenos area, perhaps as a result of being in or near a lime kiln. Williams notes that Temple E became a quarry in the late fourth or early fifth century and interprets the marble chips as evidence of recutting of blocks.
fragments and building blocks partially broken or apparently in line to be recut for ease of transportation and reuse in other buildings. The process took place over an extended period: large blocks were resting on top of the chips and must have been moved there after the demolition was already underway.

Coins were abundant in the marble chips; so abundant that we might wonder if money was not changing hands in the very area being quarried. If this is the case, than the coinage, rather than merely indicating a *terminus post quem*, indicates the actual period of quarrying activity. The excavation records do not always record with certainty the provenance of each coin, but the array of coins that certainly came from the chip layer range from coins of Constantius Gallus to Honorius (393-423). The large number of coins (28) of Theodosius I (379-395), which number even more than the popular coinage (25) of Constantius II (337-361), almost certainly indicates a peak of activity at the very end of the fourth century and the first quarter of the fifth. Coins of Honorius (393-423) and Arcadius (395-408) insure that the late Roman quarrying activity continued through the first quarter of the fifth century; a coin of Marcian (450-457) and a Corinthian imitation of a North African lamp, dated no earlier than the second quarter of the fifth century, indicate continued late Roman quarrying into and past the middle of the fifth century. Even if

57Corinth Notebook 127, 27, 182; Corinth Notebook 128, 46-7 for large blocks. References to architectural pieces are scattered throughout the notebooks. See esp. Corinth Notebook 127, 24, 60-61, 64; Corinth Notebook 128, 28; Corinth Notebook 129, 119. Some sculptural fragments were found in the marble chips. including S1540, a head of Tyche.

the hypothesis that the coinage is directly indicative of the buying and selling of the blocks is rejected, than a *terminus post quem* of the middle fifth century has been established.

A layer of ash approximately 0.10m thick overlay the marble chips and whatever blocks and architectural fragments rested on these chips. The excavators report that the covering ash layer followed the contours of both the ground and several architectural pieces.59 Coins are far fewer in the ash layer than in the chip layer, but they indicate that the ash layer also was deposited in the first half of the fifth century.60 Several column capitals north of the temple foundation rest upon this burn layer rather than under it, thus indicating continued quarrying activity at indeterminable later periods. What this ash layer represents is problematic. It clearly was deposited after the collapse of the superstructure and thus cannot be used to hypothesize a fiery destruction of the temple. Its uniformity and that it followed the contours of and covered column capitals lying around would rule against any but the largest fire. Most probably the ash simply represents the periodic cleaning out of the lime kilns. The uniformity of the ash layer may be a result of the action of wind and time.

The history of Temple E is recoverable with a fair degree of accuracy. The structure apparently stood and functioned through the end of the fourth century. In the

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59 Corinth Notebook 127, 60-61; Corinth Notebook 128, 28; Corinth Notebook 128, 79, 119; Corinth Notebook 129, 10.

60 Diocletian: 127-28; Constantius II: 127-31; Julian: 127-30; Valens: 127-29; Theodosius I: 127-33; Honorius: 127-32, 127-92, 127-97. See also L 1564 (late fourth-fifth century), 1565 (late fourth-fifth century), 1566 (Hellenistic), 1567 (Ephesian, fifth-sixth century), 1573 (late fourth-fifth century) but the provenience of these is unclear.
late fourth or early fifth century the temple was destroyed or dismantled violently. Quarrying operations for both building blocks and marble to be burnt into lime began almost immediately, with the main activity taking place in the first half of the fifth century. The temple podium remained visible, however, and the surrounding area became a popular early Christian burial site.61

While later, Byzantine, burials were cut into the high temple podium, the early Christian burials were not located on the podium, the site of the temple proper, but rather clustered around the podium. Just north of the temple at late Roman ground levels were found two graves. Associated with these graves were two lamps dating from the middle fifth to sixth centuries.62 A mass burial south of the temple podium also dates from the middle fifth to sixth century.63 Near this mass burial a child was buried in an amphora that may date to the fifth or sixth century.64 Another grave, north of the temple, contained no datable artifacts but may be associated with this cemetery.65 A vaulted tomb just outside the temenos in the northwest corner seems to date to the sixth century or perhaps later.66

61See Scranton (1957) 67 for this cemetery.

62L 1568 (middle fifth to early sixth). L 1569 is unique, to my knowledge, at Corinth, seems to be Ephesian, and probably dates from the fifth to sixth century, although it may be perhaps as late as the late seventh century.

63L 1571 (third-early fourth century), 1572 (mid fifth-mid sixth century) and 1573 (late fourth-fifth century). Inside this grave were three coins dating from Aurelian to Eugenius. But given the high number of coins in this region it is not unlikely that these coins strayed into the burial.

64Corinth Notebook 127, 75. The amphora was apparently discarded, but is described as having a "ribbed decoration around pointed base and neck." This may describes a Palestinian amphora of the type used in burials near the gymnasium and Asklepieion, but the identification and thus dating are most tendentious.

65Corinth Notebook 128, 32.

These graves, clustered around Temple E, are, with a few exceptions, the only early Christian graves in the forum; the rest are seventh and eight century burials. Thus one might argue that the Christians targeted Temple E as a burial ground. Such focused activity, we will see, was an indication of Christian concern over pagan activity. As at the Asklepieion and to be explicated below, votive lamps were left on the remains of Temple E after the superstructure itself had been destroyed.

The Asklepieion of Corinth was built at the edge of the northern plateau of the city, just inside the Greek city walls and just outside the late Roman city wall. The temple rested upon a bedrock outcrop and just to the west were a number of natural springs. The Greek and Roman periods at the Asklepieion have been published, with slightly different interpretations by DeWaele, the excavator, and Roebuck. Neither scholar, however, fully studied the late Roman material. (See Figure 5).

Sometime in late antiquity the Asklepieion underwent a particularly thorough destruction and demolition; the buildings were razed to their foundations and the building stones were completely removed, often being reworked on the spot. The demolition layer itself was extremely disturbed by middle fifth to the middle sixth century intrusions from the Christian cemetery that filled the courtyard and the areas north and east of the temple. Only in the area directly above and slightly beyond the temple foundations was

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67 Williams (1974) 9-10, (1975) 15-16, (1976) 118n.24 (tomb no earlier than second quarter sixth century at west end of forum); Stillwell (1941) 55 late Roman grave in drain of Peribolos). Many more graves have been found, but are as yet unpublished. Few of these seem to be fourth or fifth century, some seem to be sixth century, but the majority seem to be later than the sixth century. But this is a mere impression, not a studied comment. Mary Walbank and Kathleen Slane are studying the Roman graves of Corinth. Eric Iveson and Guy Saunders are working on the medieval graves of Corinth and have shared useful information with me.

68 On the topography see C. Roebuck, (1951) 1, and Wiseman, (1979) 467-8. The hollow and courtyard were incorrectly identified as the fountain of Lerna by early excavators, see Wiseman, (1979) 511-12. Preliminary publications of the Asklepieion were made by DeWaele (1933) and (1935) 352-359. I have also utilized an unpublished manuscript of DeWaele (1947) and Corinth Notebooks 113, 122, 126, 136, 197, and 198.
the demolition layer undisturbed, an act of preservation that in and of itself is a matter of importance, as shall be shown below.

Over the foundations of the eastern portion of the temple and to the south and east of this area there was a series of ash layers 0.50-0.70m above the bedrock. These six or seven ash layers do not represent one act of burning, or even one occurrence, but rather a series of events. The ash layers are so thin and intermixed, however, they must be treated as one stratigraphic unit. In these ash layers six coins were found, the latest a coin of Valentinian II (375-391). Six lamps were found in or just above these ash layers, all dating from the late fourth to the early fifth century. The ash layers also contained a large quantity of marble revetment, some of it showing traces of burning. The presence of these marble fragments probably indicates that the ash is the result of burning marble for lime. Some fragments of sculpture were also found in the ash layers. The layers extended north to the temenos wall but no farther.69

Below the ash layers over the eastern section of the temple foundations there evidently was another stratum. This was a heavy layer of stone chips and "chalk." This stratum extended 0.50m above the bedrock foundations and contained 4 coins, the latest being one of Arcadius (395-408). In this layer of chips a fifth-century lamp was found. This chip layer lay directly on the bedrock foundations of the temple except for a few places where patches of a very thin, apparently Hellenistic, clay strosis was preserved. Coins were also found directly on the bedrock foundations; the latest were two coins of Theodosius II (408-450). These two coins provide a terminus post quem for the

69 For burn layers see Corinth Notebook 122, pp. 104-5. The coins: 1931-147 and 1931-96 Constantius II, 1931-159 House of Theodosius, 1931-212 Constans, 1931-182 Theodosius I and (1931-189) Valentinian II. The lamps: L 2832 (350-400), L 2685 (late fourth/early fifth century), L 2842 (late fourth/early fifth century), L 2704 (late fourth/early fifth century), L2700 (late fourth/early fifth century), and L 2816 (unavailable). The sculpture fragments: are inventory nos. 1442, 1455, 1465, 1468, and the apparently uninventarioed head of a "rough figurine" mentioned in Corinth Notebook 122, p. 138.
deposition of the demolition layer. Whether this terminus is closer to 408 or 450 or even later we cannot, unfortunately, tell.  

Southeast of the temple, underneath the earliest ash layer, was a stratum of hard-packed earth. It is not clear what this stratum represented, but DeWaele felt that it was alluvium. A coin of Valens (364-378) was found in this stratum. Directly to the east of the temple the ash layers lay directly upon the temple ramp with no intervening layer of alluvium or chips. While the ash layer did not go farther to the east, the layer of chips and perhaps alluvium extended east to the edge of the excavation.

The stratigraphy indicates that the blocks of the temple and attendant structures were removed at roughly the same period. The quantity of stone chips found in the area indicate not only the general work of demolition but also that the blocks were being reworked on the spot, most likely being cut down for easier transport. The ash layers are slightly more problematic; they cannot be one final cataclysmic destruction as proposed by DeWaele. The burning is probably to be related to the reduction of some of the material from the temple, such as the sculpture and revetment fragments found in the ash layer, to lime. Lime kilns were found directly NE of the temple, in the ramps, and in the west

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70 Material in the chip layers: The coins are 1931-139, 1931-149 and 1931-144 Theodosius I, 1931-142 Valens, and 1931-158 Arcadius; the lamp is L 3006. Coins on bedrock foundation: 1931-149 Gratian, 1931-246 and 1931-291 Theodosius II, 1931-374 Constantius II, 1931-291 Theodosius II, and 1931-391 H. of Theodosius. L 3006 is an Ephesos (Miltner (1937) Type 10), cf. esp. nos. 1446, 1447, 1450. Bailey (1988) Q 3178 is also a good parallel. These lamps are largely undatable. Williams (1981) 396 suggests these lamps are fifth century; Bailey (1988) suggests 550-650 on the basis of evidence unavailable to Williams. Poulou-Papadimitriou (1986) offers slightly earlier dates and suggests that the Chi-Rho appears on the lamps in the fourth century, simple crosses in the fifth, although she draws this conclusion on purely stylistic grounds. One can only express uncertainty and hope for publications from excavated contexts. Given the coins found in association with this lamp (L 3006) it is unlikely that this example dates to the sixth or seventh century. Imitations of Type 20 lamps appear in the Fountain of the Lamps deposit and have been dated as early as the middle sixth century; this may also suggest a date earlier than proposed by Bailey. I assign a date, following Williams and Poulou-Papadimitriou, in the fifth century.

71 1931-97.
The kiln northeast of the temple contained black earth, ashes, burned stone and tiles.\textsuperscript{72} It is possible that the "chalky substance" mentioned by DeWaele in excavation reports may have been pockets of lime left over from this work.

All the demolition debris overlying the area of the temple is contemporaneous; the ceramics and coins are all late fourth and early fifth century, the latest material being the fifth-century lamp found in the layer of chips and the coins of Theodosius II. The material of the temple, therefore, had all been removed or burned for lime by the end of the first half of the fifth century. The demolition of the temple cannot date much earlier than this, at the very end of the fourth century or the early fifth century, perhaps as a result of the earthquake of 395.

The fill in the courtyard west of and below the outcrop upon which the temple was built is largely that of late intrusions that do not reflect upon the end of the physical life of the sanctuary. An apparently undisturbed fill was found in the north central section of the courtyard. In this area there was a layer of poros chips, roof tiles and other debris approximately 0.20m above the pavement. In this fill were coins were found dating as late as Arcadius (395-408). Broken pavement was also found just north of cavern II. In the fill of the broken pavement were coins as late as Honorius (413-423). The evidence from the lower courtyard, though extremely fragmentary, confirms the picture of demolition drawn from the remains from the temple foundations.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{72}Cataclysmic destruction: DeWaele (1933) 435). The kiln: Corinth Notebook 122, p.135, 149, DeWaele (1935) 334 and Roebuck (1951) 161 and plate 66.1. The structure in the Lerna colonnade is substantial and could conceivably be a pottery kiln as DeWaele and Roebuck suppose. Large lime kilns have been found in the Corinthia, however, most notably at Kenchreai: Scranton (1978) 86, 92, 121. The kiln, be it lime or pottery, is late Roman in date and cannot be related to the early Roman lamp molds found in the area.

\textsuperscript{73}In the courtyard the fill is quite mixed from multiple Byzantine and later intrusions. Lamps and coins from the first to sixth centuries were found just above the pavement of this court. Coins: 32-224 Probus, 32-246, 33-68 and 33-109 Theodosius II, 32-405 Valentinian I, 32-410 Marcianus, 33-69 and 33-73 Valens, 33-75 Claudius, 33-77 Arcadius, 33-78 Tiberius, 33-92 and 33-108 Constantius II, 33-111 Arcadius. Lamps: L 2974 (middle fifth-middle sixth), L 2756 (late fifth-middle sixth) L 2774 (middle
Positive evidence for late Roman activity at the Asklepieion is limited but revelatory. The presence of more than 700 late Roman coins in the area is perhaps indicative of high traffic in the region. The fill in the area of the Asklepieion was deep, however, and extremely mixed; most of the coins are from this fill and may have washed in from other areas. Furthermore, the North gate to the city, yet undiscovered, must be, by reasons of topography, in this area, and we can be certain that at least one major road leading north ran near the Asklepieion. It seems probable, however, that the large quantity of coins found in and about the demolition debris represents the buying and selling of reworked blocks on the premises, as seems to have been the case at Temple E.

The architectural evidence for late Roman activity at the sanctuary is scant, as one might expect. A small section of pavement was uncovered 3m east of the temple. Contiguous with and bonded with this pavement was a broken marble column shaft (c. diam 0.48m, c. preserved height 0.525m, c. diameter of fillet 0.495m), almost directly on the east-west axis of the temple; this shaft must predate or be contemporary with the pavement. This pavement is 0.20-0.30m above the bedrock cap and made of cement mixed with heavy pebbles, fragments of revetment and pieces of Roman tile. It is only found around the column shaft and there is no reason to believe that it existed elsewhere in

fifth-middle sixth), L 2730 (middle fifth-middle sixth). Lamps and Coins also were found directly on the pavement: 33-168 Alexius I, L 2622 (Aug-1C), L 2669 (late fourth-early fifth), L 2724 (late fifth-middle sixth), L 2895 (late fifth-middle sixth), L 2778 (middle fifth-middle sixth). In the fill of poros chips were found 33-119 Theodosius I, 33-121 and 33-139 Constantius II, 33-122 Arcadius, 33-140 Constans. The coins in the debris of the broken pavement were 33-240 Constantius II, 33-241, 33-242, 33-243 Theodosius I and 33-245 Honorius.

On the north gate in the city wall see Wiseman, (1979) 467 and Carpenter (1936) 78. See also Gregory (1979) 276-77 who proposes a gate in this vicinity.

Roebuck (1951) 59 argues that the deep east-west cutting north of the temple foundations was an unfinished project, perhaps a drain, cut in the late Roman period for an unknown structure east of the Sanctuary. DeWaele (1947) 154 suggests, perhaps more reasonably, that this is a foundation cutting for a Roman "building" moved away from the north scarp. The cutting remains an enigma; it was, however, filled with the same debris that covered the rest of the area in the late fourth and early fifth century.
the sanctuary.\textsuperscript{76} Below the pavement were found coins of Constantius II, providing a date for the pavement sometime after the mid-fourth century or perhaps much later given the notorious long life of these coins.\textsuperscript{77}

The careful location of the shaft and the installation of cement paving at the focal point of the front side of the temple suggests that it was an altar or offering table. Cylindrical monolithic altars, not infrequently in the form of a plain shaft, appear in the pre-classical period and continue in use throughout classical antiquity until the end of the Roman period.\textsuperscript{78} While there is no positive evidence, it is conceivable that a table or slab could have been placed upon this shaft.

The chronological position of this column shaft altar is more difficult to determine. The evidence for the larger altar, slightly farther to the east, is ambiguous, but there is no reason to think it was destroyed at an earlier period than the rest of the sanctuary. If the columnar altar was installed in the mid-fourth century prior to the dismantling of the sanctuary, it may have acted as a second altar. Perhaps the preference of the responsible parties was for a smaller circular altar or offering table rather than the larger rectangular altar, or conceivably both were used. The altar, however, most probably post-dates the demolition of the sanctuary. While it is possible that the column shaft altar was meant as a supplement to the long altar, a much more plausible supposition is that this late addition replaces the long altar after the destruction of the sanctuary and the subsequent reduction of the cult. The placement of the round altar demonstrates that even after the collapse and

\textsuperscript{76}DeWaele (1947) 156.

\textsuperscript{77}DeWaele (1947) 155; Roebuck (1951) 41-2. Roebuck proposes that the drum is later than the pavement and served as a crude worktable. As shown above, however, the shaft is earlier or contemporary with the pavement, unless one assumes that at a later date the pavement was cut into, the shaft inserted and then the pavement carefully repaired to make a join with the shaft, all for a crude worktable.

\textsuperscript{78}See Yavis (1943) 136-7, 142-53 and Bowerman (1913) 59-76, 81-3. For round offering tables at a healing shrine, though not of the same period, see J. Travlos, \textit{PDAA}, s.v. Amyncion, 77-76.
perhaps even removal of the structures, the physical site of the temple was the focus of the cult. Enough interest remained to replace the altar, albeit it in a less than grandiose way.

We should not, of course, be surprised at cult activity at a decrepit temple site. Such a phenomenon was not new to late antiquity. Pausanias, in discussing Nemea, makes it clear that cult activity can continue at a site where the temple has suffered extensive damage (2.15.2-3):

\[\text{ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ Νεμείοιο Δίως ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος, πλὴν ὅσον κατέρρυθκε τῇ ὄρφος καὶ ἄγαλμα ouδὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο. . . . θύουσι δὲ Ἀργείοι τῷ Δίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ. . . .}\]

The Temple of Nemean Zeus at this place is worth seeing, except the roof has collapsed and the cult statue no longer remains. . . . The Argives burn offerings to Zeus even at Nemea. . . .

Despite the decrepit state of the temple and the absence of the cult statue, the Argives continued to sacrifice in Pausanias' day. Pausanias even emphasized the fact that the sacrifice is performed at Nemea: καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ. While the presence of a standing temple was probably desirable, it was not a prerequisite for cult activity.

Cult activity after the destruction of the temple of Asklepios is evidenced by the presence of lamps placed upon the foundation and amidst the debris of the demolished temple. These lamps, the majority of which are whole and undamaged, are unusual finds indeed in the midst of such thorough destruction. The stone chips and ash overlying the temple were utterly bereft of any other ceramic material. The area was never used as a dumping ground, and the lamps are unbroken, a good indication that they were not trash. The lamps, deliberately placed on the foundations of the temple and left there undisturbed,
were votive offerings left at the temple. A similar situation was found at Temple E. There too, resting in and on the demolition debris, in largely complete and undamaged condition, were several lamps. These lamps, glaring in their presence in the debris, are a clear indication of continued pagan activity at the site of the collapsed and removed temples through at least the middle of the sixth century.

The importance of the lamp as a central object in late-antique pagan cult will be discussed again with the Fountain of the Lamps, a cult site with a deposit of more than 4000 votive lamps. A remarkably precise parallel to the cult lamps at the Asklepieion in Corinth is to be found at the temple of Aphrodite in Argos. A demolition layer of chips and ash, markedly similar to that over the Asklepieion in Corinth, overlay the Aphrodision. The destruction of the structure occurred at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century and the temple remains were immediately pillaged. In this destruction and demolition layer were abundant late Roman lamps, so abundant that there can be no doubt that they were votive dedications.

Libanios (30.8), when thanking Theodosius for allowing certain aspects of pagan cult practice even after forbidding sacrifice, mentions specifically (and first) the fire (πῦρ). This cannot be the fire of sacrifice, for sacrifice has been forbidden, nor is it the

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79 The lamps are L 2832 (350-400), L 2685 (late fourth/early fifth century), L 2842 (late fourth/early fifth century), L 2704 (late fourth/early fifth century), L2700 (late fourth/early fifth century), L 2816 (unavailable), and L 3006 (fifth century).

80 L 1576 (mid fifth-mid sixth century), 1600 (Attic, Chiones, fifth century), 1601 (late fourth-fifth century), 1607 (Late fourth-fifth century) in chip layer. L 1612 (Attic glazed, late fourth-early fifth century), 1613 (Late fourth-fifth century) and 1614 (late fourth-fifth century) were found in fill from where blocks had been removed from the podium. L 1577 (mid fifth-mid sixth century) was found apparently in the temple foundations. Perhaps to be included are L 1564 (late fourth-fifth century), 1565 (late fourth-fifth century), 1566 (Hellenistic), 1567 (Ephesian, fifth-sixth century), 1573 (late fourth-fifth century)

81 Daux (1969) 1009-1010.

82 Cf. Burkert (1985) 60-64.
fire of burning incense, for incense is the next item mentioned. Libanios refers to fire itself as an object of ritual, and while he may not be referring specifically to lamps, the principle is the same. Fire, and thus lamps, are a suitable and popular offering to the gods. The literary discussion of lamps and candles in pagan ritual is extensive, as are the archaeological parallels, and will be discussed in Chapter 4 on the Fountain of the Lamps.

Beyond the votive offerings on the foundations of Temple E and the Asklepieion, there is evidence of sacrifice at the Asklepieion in what may be, in fact, a votive pit. As discussed above, there can be no doubt that sacrifice continued well after and despite repeated bans. In the fill of the courtyard (overlying the, at that point, decrepit remains of the northernmost Greek dining room) a pit containing what seems to be clean up from sacrifices was found. The spot, west of the temple foundations and separated by the small precipice that divided the fountain courtyard and the temple platform, was ideal for a deposit. The area was close to the temple and unused, except for the nearby Christian graves. A pit, dug 0.50 - 1.00m. below the level of the courtyard pavement, contained a thick level of animal bones and burned stones. Mixed in with the bones and stones were lamps ranging from the early fifth to the mid-sixth centuries.83

Pits containing the remains of sacrifices and votives were a necessity. This pit seems to contain debris from occasional sacrifice and clean-up of the votive lamps left on the foundations of the temple of Asklepios. A *terminus post quem* of the middle sixth century is provided for the cleanup; the activity and presumably the sacrifices continued up to that point. While a pit of bones and burnt stones could represent a variety of things, the presence of largely intact lamps are the key indicator that the activity was sacral. Good lamps were not disposed of in trash pits. That the lamps are intact indicates their votive

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83 Corinth Notebook 126, p. 131; cf. Roebuck (1951), 160. L 2761 (late fifth-middle sixth), L 2894 (early fifth-middle sixth), L 3060 (late fifth-middle sixth), L 2723 (late fifth-middle sixth), L 2878 (early fifth-middle sixth). Unfortunately the bones have not been saved.
nature, and votive objects could easily find their way into the remains of a sacrifice. The burial of votives receives its best attestation, in fact, from the burial of terracotta anatomical votives at the Asklepieion of Corinth in the Classical period.84 While the evidence is not certain, there is a good indication that sacrifice continued at the Asklepieion at least through the sixth century.

Concern over the continued pagan activity at the physically damaged sanctuary of Asklepios manifested itself in the placement of Christian graves in the area. By the middle of the fifth century, no more than fifty years after the demolition of the temple, a large cemetery had extended into the area of the Asklepieion. The area north of the city had long been used as a burial ground, and the incorporation of the Asklepieion into this territory was inevitable once it was abandoned. Also in this period the fountain house in the courtyard was converted into a memorial chamber.85

More than 300 burials were found in the precinct of the Asklepieion. These varied from child burials in amphorae and standard tile burials to rock-cut cist graves. The graves in this area all seem to be Christian; their orientation is consistently east-west and the heads were usually placed at the west end of the grave. Likewise, numerous Christian

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84 Roebuck (1951) 128-38. van Straten (1981) contains an excellent discussion of votives in the Greek period. The converse argument would be that the bones represent funerary meals, a well attested pagan and Christian late antique practice. Cf. Gregory the Theologian, P.A. 8.166, 168-170, 171-175 on feasting at tombs. The presence of lamps in the debris inveighs against this, however, and it is doubtful that these are Christian votive lamps, for the presence of lamps at the head of graves upon excavation (see below) indicates the Christian predilection for leaving lamps undisturbed. In the springhouse chapel (see below) the Christians moved dedicated lamps aside when they became too numerous; they did not remove, reuse or dispose of them.

85 On burials north of the city see Blegen (1964), Shear (1931) and Wiseman (1967B) 417-20. See also Roebuck (1951), 162-7. Roebuck reports (160 n.1, 162 and 164) the cemetery as having been in use from the late fourth through the sixth centuries (cf. DeWaele (1935) 357). Many, perhaps the majority, of the lamps which Roebuck uses for dating purposes are later Corinthian imitations of fourth century lamps and date not to the fourth but rather the fifth and sixth centuries. The cemetery is in use by the early fifth century, but the main period of activity seems to be the sixth century. The mass burial in Reservoir IV (Roebuck (1951) 164) is dated to the middle sixth century by three coins 33-214 and 33-212 are coins of Anastasius I (491-518) and 33-211 is a coin of Justinian I (527-565).
tombstones have been recovered from this burial ground. Seventeen rock-cut graves were located on the north and north-west edge of the bedrock outcrop that formed the foundation for the temple of Asklepios and attendant structures. No other burials were found in the vicinity of the temple and the vast majority were located in the courtyard to the west.

Grave goods in both the graves around the temple and in the courtyard were infrequent. Three jugs were recovered from the graves near the temple, all of which date to the sixth century. Numerous complete lamps, however, were found near or on top of the graves. At one grave three lamps were found complete and in situ at the west end of the grave. These lamps were memorial lamps, placed (presumably lit) and left at the west end of the grave by family members or other interested parties.

The placement of these graves near the temple is of particular interest. These graves, several of which date, as we have seen, to the sixth century, were placed several meters north and northwest of the temple foundations. As demonstrated above, the superstructure of the temple had been removed approximately one-hundred years earlier than the date of these graves. No later structure had replaced the edifice and the foundations were, by the sixth century, cluttered with debris. The grave diggers showed no hesitancy to reuse the reservoirs or to cut through the debris and pavement of the courtyard if such activity facilitated their work. Only the region of the temple remained unused. While areas bordering the place of the once-standing temple were acceptable, the

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86 Roebuck (1951) 165-7 and Bees (1941).

87 The jugs are C-31-60, C-31-59 and C-31-58. A coin of Honorius (1931-95) was found with jug C-31-60. Similar jugs and also lamps were found in some of the graves in the courtyard; the earliest is L 2685 which dates to the early fifth century, the latest are L 3092 and L 3039 which date to the mid-sixth century. For photographs of burials and lamps and jugs from the Asklepieion burials see Roebuck (1951), Pl. 67, 1, 4, 5, 6. For comparanda see Wiseman (1967) 37-8; (1968) 418-20. The lamps are L 3074 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3037 (Early sixth-middle sixth century) and L 3092 (Middle sixth century). On late Roman burials see also Papadopoulos (1989) 78.
area of the temple itself was unsatisfactory. The conclusion is unavoidable; the site of the
temple was still viewed with suspicion.

The clustering of the Christian graves indicates that concern over the Asklepieion
and Temple E continued over 150 years after their destruction. The remains of the temple
were completely unrecognizable by the time the graves were installed. A passer-by could
not have casually examined the remains and discovered that the debris had once been a
temple. Moreover, it is improbable that memory of the site as a temple would have
continued for a century and a half unless it were a point of some importance. Christian
concern must have been a reaction to contemporary cult activity of the sort demonstrated
at the Asklepieion. The nature of this Christian response reveals much about the
relationship between pagans and Christians in late Antique Corinth.

The first question we must address is why the Christians chose to bury near the
areas where the temples once stood, but not on the spot of the temples themselves. The
obvious answer might seem to be fear. Pagan sites were, of course, the homes of demons,
and no Christian would presumably want to be buried in such a place. On the other hand,
however, the demons were considered relatively powerless against the Christian God. If
someone wanted to purify the temple sites and use them as burial grounds, the procedure
would have been relatively easy. The sign of the cross born by a powerful priest could
have accomplished an exorcism. Either the Christians could not or did not want to purify
these sites. While individuals might have feared the site because it had not been exorcised,
exorcism would not have been delayed out of fear, unless it was a fear of failure.

The positioning of the graves indicates more than concern about unhallowed
ground; it was a challenge. The graves advertised, in a sense, the supremacy of
Christianity in fifth and sixth century Corinth. These graves, many of which would have
included structures above ground and tombstones expressing Christian sentiments would
have been a noticeable counterpart to the, by that time, ruinous temple sites. A Christian visiting the relatively new monuments of the cemetery would see the demolished remains of the pagan cult sites. A pagan approaching the temples, or rather remains thereof, must have noticed the indicators of the pre-eminent status of Christianity. The pagan temples were ruined piles of rubbish, the Christian cemeteries were well-kept and oft-visited sites of devotion. Ironically, the graves in juxtaposition with the destroyed temples declared that Christianity was alive and vital, paganism impotent and dying.

The placement of the graves was, however, a much more serious challenge than a mere advertising campaign. The graves presented a definite threat to pagan cult. Corpses were not allowed inside pagan sanctuaries. Individuals who had come into contact with the dead were required to undergo purification. Julian (Ep. 56) objected to daytime burials for this very reason:88

\[\text{διόπερ οἴμαι πρέπειν ἐν αὐτῇ τά περὶ τῶς παράγων πραγματεύεσθαι τῶν τελευτησάντων, ἡπεί το γε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πρέπειν τι τοιοῦτο πολλῶν ἔνεκα παραιτητήσεων... καὶ τὸ πράγμα ἐστὶ πάντα πρόπον οὐκ ἀνέκτον. ἄναπτυλλότα χάρι το προστασίων πολλακίς ἁπάσιας, οἱ μὲν οἰκίσμοι ποιήσαν τῷ ὀνόμασι, τὰς δὲ εἰς ἤρα βαδίσαμεν οὐθεμίς προσελθεῖν ἐστὶ πρὶν ἀπολύσασθαι. ἀλλοτριώτα πρὸς φθορὰν διακεμένοις οὐ θεμίς προσελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης ὄψεως, καὶ οὕτω τὰ μείζων καταγγέλλει τοῦ γηγομένου. τίνα δὲ παύτα ἐστὶν; ἱεροὶ περίβολοι καὶ θεοὶ ναός ἀνεφόρατο καὶ πολλακίς θύει τὰς ἐνδον καὶ στενδεὶς καὶ εὔχεται, οὐ δὲ παρέρχονται παρ’ αὐτό τὸ ἱερὸν νεκρὸν καμίζοντες, καὶ ἕτοιν ὁδυρμοὺν φονὴ καὶ δυσφημία ὀχρί τῶν βιομόν φέρεται.}

Therefore I think it is proper that burial rites be carried out [at night], since for many reasons such things are unacceptable during the day. . . . For the matter is in all ways intolerable. Indeed, those chancing upon [the funerals] are many times filled with disgust, for some think it to be an ill-omen, and for those walking to the sanctuaries it is not allowable for them to enter before being purified. Having come from such a sight it is unlawful to

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88 Cf. Julian's law on burial (A.D. 363) CTh 9.17.5. For the text of this letter see Wright (1923) 190 n.1.
approach the gods, those responsible for life and truly those of all things to be in a state most foreign to corruption. And I still have not made the charge greater than these. And what is that? The sacred precincts and the temples of the gods are always open; often someone is sacrificing or pouring libations or making prayers within them, and those carrying the corpse pass close by the temple itself, and the voice of mourning and ill-omened words are carried even to the altars.

For a pagan attempting to worship at the temple sites, the presence of the graves must have been most problematic. To approach the temple remains he would have had to pass through a cemetery, literally risking defilement at every step. If defiled, the devotee could not commune with the god, the graveyards could, in effect, sever his link with his deity. Even for the pagan who only was observing the old temple grounds, the graves must have been troublesome.89

The Christians did not, however, place the graves directly on top of or even very close to the temple foundations. We have seen that such behavior could not have been motivated merely by fear on the part of the Christians. To have placed a grave directly in sanctified pagan ground would have been the ultimate act of defilement, the equivalent of, perhaps, burning and scattering the remains of a Christian martyr. When Babylas was buried in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphne, the oracle was silenced.90 To bury in a pagan sanctuary was to deconsecrate it.

The Christians chose not to take this final step against the pagans. The burials rather were not placed directly upon the foundations out of "consideration" for the pagan members of the community. Why they chose to be so "considerate" we cannot be sure. The interference of the provincial governor on this issue, while possible, seems unlikely.

89See also Eunapios 459 where Iamblichos "sees" that a funeral procession had traveled along a certain road earlier in the day and thus switches (along with his students) to a different road.

90Sozomen 5.19, Philostorgius 7.8, Theodoret H.E. 3.10. Cf. Malalas 13.19
But powerful members of the community, if they held pagan sympathies, could conceivably have exerted pressure to keep the burials outside the precincts. Similarly, if the pagan population was large enough, interference in the sanctuaries by Christians may not have been possible. The Christians may have feared violence (and violence always brought in Imperial authorities) if they pushed the pagans too hard.

The evidence is not sufficient to analyze fully the motives of the Christians in their treatment of the pagan sanctuaries. It is clear, however, that the Christians were in conflict with the pagans. They choose to make a direct and strong, even threatening, public challenge at the Asklepieion and Temple E. An element of restraint was involved in the action, however, and such restraint can perhaps best be explained by the presence of a not insignificant pagan population in Corinth. That begrudging respect for active pagan sites continued through the sixth century indicates that a portion of the population remained practicing and openly pagan through that period.

The direct evidence for the cultic practices of the pagans is limited to votive lamps at broken temples and a suggestion of continued sacrifice at the Asklepieion. Sacrifice was, of course, expressly forbidden in 391/2 by Theodosius I and the ban was repeated many times up through the reign of Leo III in the eighth century. The repetition of such bans indicates, of course, that sacrifice was still continuing. But the penalties were harsh and large sacrifices must have become extremely rare as imperial and municipal support for these expensive rites decreased. Libanios, in a passage of almost desperate pleading, profusely thanks Theodosius I for allowing the offering of incense and other non-sacrificial

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91 C. Th. 14.10.10; 14.10.11, 14.10.12. Cf. C. Th. 16.10.13 (A.D. 395), 16.10.14 (A.D. 396), 16.10.22 (A.D. 423), 16.10.25 (A.D. 435); C. J. 1.11.7 (A.D. 451), 1.11.8 (A.D. 455), 1.9.10, 11.10 (A.D. 528/9); Novellae 37.6 (A.D. 535). Harl (1990) discusses the great change in Late Roman society that must have occurred with the cessation of public sacrifice.
items at the temples. He even suggests, although never going so far as to elaborate, that even preserving the temples for viewing would provide some satisfaction for pagans who were not allowed to worship in the manner they chose. Votive lamps, perishable cakes and small offerings probable formed the cultic assembly of a pagan in late-antique Corinth, perhaps supplemented by an occasional cock for Asklepios.

The Christian burial, probably fifth or sixth century, directly in the foundations of Temple F is an exception to this burial pattern. It may be that Temple F had gone out of use earlier than Temple E and the Asklepieion and the site had lost its sacred nature. Or perhaps the Christians managed to take their burial program one step farther and defiled the site of this temple. The exact reason cannot be determined, but the grave in Temple F is important for it reveals that the situation was fluid. While general patterns can be discerned, the conflict was complex, varied and site specific.

At the same time that devotions, presumably for Asklepios, were being performed on the now defunct temple site, devotions of a Christian nature were being performed

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92 Libanios, Or. 30.7-8, see above. Theodosius, of course, banned all offerings shortly after Libanios' thanks (C.Th. 16.10.2). Pace Harl (1990) 10-11; sacrifice was the preferred way of worship for public cults. Harl overestimates the effect of the ban and underestimates the ability of pagans to survive the ban, as evidence by Libanios. More importantly, other means of worship, especially votive offerings, had always been available. The late antique literary record is biased towards discussing sacrifice for it was the most visual and enjoyable means of celebrating public cult. We might not, however, want to see sacrifice as the center of all cult activity. Julian, certainly, was obsessed with it as such (Amm. Marc. 22.5.2, Libanios, Or. 17.12C). But Julian could afford to sacrifice as often as he pleased; the rest of the population sacrificed rarely, as such an expenditure was difficult for the private man's budget. Sacrifice was the event *par excellence* in public cult; it played a far smaller role in private devotion. Private devotion focused on votives, prayers and offerings. See Stambaugh (1978) 579-80; Van Straten (1981) discusses votives in the Greek period.

93 Temple F: the grave was a young adult, presumably female, and an extremely young child. A bronze ring (MF 4931) was found in the grave. L 2316 (late fifth-mid sixth century) was found near the tile-lined grave; it presumably was an offering at and thus dates the grave, but this is uncertain: Corinth Notebook 140, 167. The early Christian graves at the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary (Bookidis (1972) 284 and personal communication) are located on the lower terrace and perhaps middle terrace (although these graves may be later). Their placement fits the general pattern as they are close to but not in contact with the upper terrace and the most important cult buildings.
nearby not only at the graves but also in the springhouse, which had been converted into a memorial chamber. In the southeast corner of the courtyard, at the bottom of the access ramp, is a springhouse. Built during the Hellenistic period, this springhouse was cut into the clay and rock with a barrel vaulted roof and the walls and ceiling of this chamber were coated with waterproof cement. The rear end of the chamber was cut down to provide a basin for the collection of water that today still trickles from the corners of this cavern, and a channel was cut along the west wall of the chamber that joined with the main drainage system of the courtyard. A flight of nine steps was cut at the front to allow access to this basin. This springhouse continued to function and underwent a slight modification to its entryway during the Roman period. Coins found in the joint between the drain channel in the springhouse and the main drainage system of the courtyard indicate use of the elaborate drainage system continued through to the early or perhaps even mid-fifth century or our era.94

By the fifth and sixth the floor of the springhouse had risen, as had the level of the courtyard. Three new steps were added to the already existing flight of nine. On each side of the doorway a large cross, and several smaller crosses were inscribed, presumably in this period.95 The floor of the springhouse in this later period was a strosis of yellow trodden earth. The large reservoir at the rear of the springhouse was reduced to a small basin at the southwest corner of the springhouse and the side channel was deliberately blocked to raise and maintain the water level in this small basin. Sunk into the floor of the springhouse, with their covers at floor level, were two graves. One was a standard tile

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95One might compare the crosses inscribed on the Agora Gate at Ephesos, on the door jambs of the south and north tunnels of the temple of Apollo at Didyma, on the monumental gate at Stratonikea, the gate of the temenos of Aphrodite and the skene entrance to the theater at Aphrodisias.
grave, the other was a tomb built of rough stones and covered partially with tile and partially with a slab. No grave goods were found. The graves were carefully placed in the floor with the closure of the graves being flush with the floor surface. The springhouse was thus converted to serve as a memorial burial chamber.

Seventy-four almost complete lamps were found in the springhouse. Five of these lamps are earlier than the period than we are concerned with here, but the remaining sixty nine form a remarkably homogeneous group and date from the early fifth to the mid-sixth century, with one late sixth or seventh-century exception. All the lamps are complete or

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96On the general history of the springhouse see Roebuck (1951) 99. DeWaele (194?) 205 and Corinth Notebook 126, p.119 reports that the built tomb in the springhouse contained the fragmentary skull of a child. The notebook indicates, however, that the remains were too fragmentary to allow for proper identification.

97See Gregory the Theologian, P.A. 8.118 for a description of a tomb chapel.

98The five early lamps are L 2460 (sixth century B.C.), L 2462 (Hellenistic), L 2609 (50 B.C.-A.D. 50), L 2620 (50 B.C.-A.D. 50), L 2650 (third century). L 3020 is possibly seventh century. All of the other lamps are late Corinthian imitations with four exceptions: L 2721 (400-450 cf. Agora VII, no. 2501), L 2727 (400-450 cf. Agora VII, no. 2727), L 2865 (400-450 cf. Agora VII, no. 2777), L 3009 (late fifth-early sixth century Import?). The late Corinthian imitations are L 2673 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2690 (early fifth-middle sixth century), L 2716 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2728 (early sixth century), L 2762 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2763 (early fifth-middle sixth century; cf. Wiseman (1968) pl.15), L 2765 (early fifth-middle sixth century), L 2767 (early fifth-middle sixth century), L 2779 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2780 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2782 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2796 (middle fifth-sixth century), L 2797 (middle fifth-late sixth century), L 2798 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2799 (late fifth-early sixth century), L 2800 (middle fifth-early sixth century), L 2806 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2812 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2825 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2856 (middle fifth-sixth century), L 2876 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2887 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2892 (middle fifth-middle sixth century), L 2900 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2930 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 2939 (middle sixth century), L 2947 (middle fifth-sixth century), L 3010 (fifth century), L 3018 (middle sixth century), L 3021 (middle sixth century), L 3030 (middle fifth-late sixth century), L 3031 (late fifth-sixth century), L 3033 (middle sixth century), L 3034 (middle sixth century), L 3036 (middle sixth century), L 3042 (middle sixth century), L 3043 (late fifth-sixth century), L 3045 (middle sixth century), L 3048 (middle sixth century), L 3049 (late fifth-sixth century), L 3050 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3051 (middle sixth century), L 3052 (middle sixth century), L 3054 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3063 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3067 (early sixth-middle sixth century), L 3068 (middle sixth century), L 3070 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3072 (early sixth-middle sixth century), L 3080 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3082 (middle sixth century), L 3086 (early sixth-middle sixth century), L 3087 (late fifth-middle sixth century), L 3088 (early sixth-middle sixth century), L 3097 (middle sixth century), L 3098 (middle sixth century), L 3099 (middle sixth century), L 3100 (middle sixth century), L 3101 (middle sixth century), L 3102 (middle sixth century), L
nearly complete, and all except the possible seventh century lamp show burning at the nozzle. The lamps were brought into the memorial chamber and left as dedications, never to be used again. This practice of leaving dedicatory lamps at graves (especially those of martyrs), and the resultant discovery of a large number of complete lamps by archaeologists, is well attested by the cemetery in and around the site of the Asklepieion.

The majority of the lamps were found in the west channel, but some were also found on the floor or in the floor debris. It appears that during periodic cleaning of the chamber the lamps, which could not be re-used because of their dedicatory nature, were discarded in this side channel.

Lamp 3020 is a Corinthian imitation of a Syrian lamp. The lamp is a miniature (length 0.055m) with a cross on the handle and shows no signs of use. For the Syrian originals see Bailey (1988) Q 2345, Lyon-Caen (1986) 141, Kennedy (1963) 87 [Type 20], and Waage (1941) 67 [Type 52, esp. no. 160]. Dates for the lamps are not secure. Lyon-Caen suggests 6-seventh centuries, Kennedy 5-sixth centuries, and Waage fifth-early seventh centuries. Waage notes that Christian symbols are rare. Syrian lamps and imitations thereof are otherwise unknown in Corinth. That the lamp is an imitation is certain by the characteristic fabric and sloppy mold join. That this imitation does not appear in the Fountain of the Lamps deposit perhaps indicate that its production began only after the Fountain of the Lamps collapsed in the second half of the sixth century. I therefore date the lamp to the late sixth or seventh century. One should note, however, that there are no other examples of Corinthian imitation lamps later than the Fountain deposit.

On the dedication of lamps see Nilsson (1950). Lactantius Div. Inst. 6.2 mentions lamps offered to the dead and Hieronymus, contra Vigilantium 4, 7:23 (Migne 342, 346) notes lamps offered to martyrs. See also Lushforth (1915). Julian Contra Gal. 339E-340E reports that Christians lodged in tombs and caves for the sake of dream visions. The memorial chamber would have been a good location for such activity and one may wish to speculate that the large number of lamps may be related to special activity such as that Julian describes.

DeWaele (1947) 205 and Roebuck (1951) 168n.2 describe the lamp deposit as a fill that had accumulated over the Greek and Roman periods, admitting the large preponderance of later lamps. Some of the Bronze types listed by DeWaele and Roebuck do not appear in the deposit, however. DeWaele and Roebuck's explanation for the placement of the lamps is quite inadequate. They hypothesize that in the fifth or sixth centuries one of the larger water channels, perhaps the one southwest of the springhouse, was cleaned and the workmen collected all the lamps in the channel that had been left behind in earlier cleanings. DeWaele and Roebuck do not explain why the workmen would then dump these lamps into the newly remodeled springhouse.
Lamps were no longer regularly left in the springhouse past the middle of the sixth century. In the middle-seventh century the memorial chamber was converted to a chapel. Two small spur walls abutting and perpendicular to the east side of the chamber were installed. These walls correspond to the central and larger of three niches cut into the east side of the chamber. These niches show evidence of repeated plastering, and while red and blue plaster is visible, no design could be recovered. The spur walls served the dual purpose of supporting an altar table and, by means of post holes in the top, westernmost blocks, supporting a canopy that covered this altar table. The table top was discovered in situ and was decorated on both the top and the bottom. The top, exposed side was decorated with a small cross with interwoven lines surrounded by a triple circle joined in a guilloche manner. The bottom, underside was decorated with a cross inscribed within a circle. Opposite the altar table on the west side of the cavern was a low structure made of small reused blocks, presumably a bench.\textsuperscript{101}

The conversion to a chapel is dated by coins. Two coins of Constans II (641-668) were found in the southwest basin. A coin of the same emperor was found in the construction of the bench on the west side of the springhouse. The bench, in its latest form, dates to the mid-seventh century or later. The altar table probably was part of the same renovation and installed in the mid-seventh century or later. While the fill underneath the altar contained a lamp dating from the late fifth to mid sixth century, it is

\textsuperscript{101}Springhouse: Roebuck (1951) 96-99, 196; DeWaele (1947) 205-207, Corinth Notebook 136, pp.143, 162-164; Corinth Notebook 126, 117-118. The structure is incompletely published and I offer key dimensions here. The dimension of the tile grave are 1.20 x 0.40m, that of the tomb 1.40 x 0.35m. The altar table's preserved dimensions were 0.59m x 0.48m x 0.07m; its restored dimension were 0.90x 0.76 x 0.07m. I have been unable to locate the altar table slab (Inv 1515); it is illustrated in Corinth Notebook 126, 85. The central niche is 0.80m wide and 0.60m deep and the side niches 0.60m wide and 0.30m, deep. The spur walls extended 0.60m from the central niche. The bench was 2.00m long and 0.40m deep. The width of the cavern at the central niche is approximately 1.40m and the dimension of the basin in the southwest corner are 0.50 x 0.50m with a depth of 0.40m. See Roebuck (1951), Pl. 24, 1 for the springhouse.
unlikely that the table dates this early. The sequence of events must be as follows: 1) the springhouse receives a new floor, the two burials are made and dedicatory lamps begin to be left. 2) An altar is installed, perhaps as early as the late fifth century, but more probably in the mid-seventh century. 3) A bench is built on the west side of the springhouse in the mid-seventh century. Initially the chamber was a funeral vault where dedicatory lamps were left, and such devotional visits dropped off in the mid-sixth century. In the mid-seventh century the structure was converted to a chapel. Whether this chapel is a continuation of the fifth and sixth century dedicatory practices or a separate phenomenon cannot be determined from the available evidence.

The small memorial chamber may have been for the use of a single family or family group rather than the community as a whole. While sixty-nine lamps is a sizable number, over a period of 150 years this is less than one lamp per year. The Fountain of the Lamps, which thrived during the same period, contained approximately 4000 lamps. It is conceivable that the lamps could easily have been placed in the memorial chamber through the devotion of an extremely limited number of individuals; in any case, it was a far less popular and much smaller location than the Fountain of the Lamps.

The situation at the Asklepieion acts as a microcosm for pagan and Christian interaction at Corinth. The temple had collapsed but pagans continued to practice their devotions in some limited but recognizable manner that included votive lamps and perhaps sacrifice. The Christians tolerated but challenged these devotions. Additionally, pagans and Christians must have encountered each other at their devotions. Pagans continued to

102 DeWaele (1947), 209 and Roebuck (1951) 169 both date the chapel to the mid-seventh at the earliest on the basis of the numismatic evidence. The evidence of the lamps suggests otherwise.

103 The coins in the springhouse: 33-217 under the bench, 33-247 and 33-248 in pool. The lamp under the altar was L. 2930.

104 Garnett (1975) 173.
make devotions or pay respect at the Asklepieion; Christians visited the springhouse chapel. There can be no doubt that all knew what was happening. The close proximity of the grave and the Christian structure to the pagan ceremonies ensures that the pagans and Christians were in close contact. The atmosphere seems to have been one of begrudging respect, underlain by hostile intentions.\textsuperscript{105}

As best as can be determined, all the temples in the Corinthia met their structural demise at the end of the fourth century. At Temple E, the Asklepieion, and Kenchreai this was certainly the case. Such a date is strongly suggested for the temple at Isthmia, the Archaic Temple at Corinth, the "largest temple in the Peloponnese," and hinted at for Temple C.\textsuperscript{106} No direct evidence exists for temples D, F, G and H but these structures probably had fallen by the end of the sixth century. An almost immediate process of robbing, recutting and lime-making began at the temple sites; all the temples, with the exception of some of the monolithic columns of the Archaic Temple, were completely razed to the ground within a very short period.

The sudden and complete demolition, simultaneous for all the temples in the Corinthia, cannot have been the result of gradual decay. Instead it must have resulted from decisive actions. One is given the impression that the utter demolition of all of these many structures was too absolute and too sudden to have been the work solely of human hands. At other temples plundered or even "attacked by Christians" the damage is nowhere nearly as extensive as that in the Corinthia; in general the plundering of monuments is a long process that never reaches a clear end. Indeed, temples often were

\textsuperscript{105}Cf. the Forum at Cosa which, in the fourth century, featured a church, a Mythraeum and a Shrine of Liber Pater all in close proximity. The shrine of Liber Pater, which functioned as late as the end of the fifth century, may have been destroyed by the Christians, but the evidence is ambiguous at best. See Collins-Clinton (1977).

\textsuperscript{106}For Isthmia, see Chapter 6.
reused rather than demolished, for purification (if deemed necessary) and remodeling was much easier and practical than complete demolition.\textsuperscript{107}

Another agent can be contemplated: earthquakes. Corinth was struck by at least two major and devastating earthquakes in the second half of the fourth century, most probably in 365 and 395. Many structures, of course, survived these earthquakes and had survived earlier earthquakes, including that of 77. The earthquake of 395 seems to have been particularly catastrophic, however. Indeed, it was responsible for the subsidence at Kenchreai and the uplift at Lechaion. Not only the temples suffered. The Julian Basilica collapsed, the Great Bath on the Lechaion Road was severely damaged and West Shops were also suffered. The South Basilica, the Odeon, the Demeter and Kore sanctuary, the Southwest Forum, the structures on Temple Hill, buildings East of the Theater, the Central Shops, the Gymnasium Area, the Theater, the North Market, South Basilica, Mosaic House, and the Anaploga Villa all suffered damage in the late fourth century that may have been due to this seismic activity.\textsuperscript{108}

The scenario I envision is this. In the late fourth century the Corinthia was hit by at least two devastating earthquakes. Among the buildings affected were the temples. These temples were severely damaged or even shaken to their foundations; blocks littered the grounds around the temples. There was no attempt at restoration. Rather, the stones were almost immediately put to reuse, cut down or turned into lime.

Other buildings also were damaged and the temples had withstood earthquakes before. Why then were the temples so severely damaged when other structures were not,

\textsuperscript{107}Frantz (1965); Spieser (1976); Deichmann (1936). Cf. especially the Asklepieion at Athens (see Chapter 3 on the sculptural reliefs) which was violently attacked and extensively damaged by Christians yet survived in part and was re-used as a Christian church, and Nemea, where the demolition took a long time and was never completed; Miller (1986).

\textsuperscript{108}On the earthquakes see Rothaus (n.d.B) and Appendix 1. I have argued strongly for 365 and 395 as the dates for the earthquakes, but certainty is neither possible nor necessary.
and why were they not rebuilt?. Perhaps the temples were already in a state of decay when the earthquakes struck. If, during the third or fourth centuries the general maintenance of the temples had been neglected, they might have been unstable. Moreover, at least two earthquakes struck in the late fourth century. We know that repairs occurred after the 365 earthquake, some of them funded by the emperor. The temples probably were not repaired, and thus were already weakened when the second earthquake struck.

Restoration of the temples certainly was a possibility, despite imperial legislation. The temple of Zeus at Apamea was destroyed by zealous Christians in the late fourth century, and a limited restoration was immediately undertaken. But Corinth was far from and very different from Apamea. Imperial legislation against temples was not a deciding factor, for it counted only so far as the provincial governor wished to enforce it, and the provincial governor's main concerns were almost always maintaining the peace (even if by violence). Often regional church leaders, usually bishops, held great influence, and they could encourage or discourage the governor to act. Obviously no such restorations of the temples occurred at Corinth; if we wish to know why we must look at Corinth herself.

A lack of financial backing must have played a significant role. Buildings in late-antique Greece were usually funded by wealthy individuals or by the provincial governor. It is doubtful that the provincial governor could have used imperial funds to restore temples. Given the religious enthusiasms of the emperors, it is doubtful that any (except Julian, of course) would have suffered the use of imperial funds for the reconstruction of

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an edifice whose main purpose was to house pagan cult, unless conversion was also part of the renovation of the temple.\textsuperscript{110}

Wealth and wealthy individuals were, however, far from absent in the third through sixth centuries in Corinth. The city was highly monumentalized in the third century and large villas began to bloom in the fourth century and continued to flourish through the fifth and even sixth.\textsuperscript{111} With imperial funds ruled out, responsibility for the maintenance and repair of the temples would have fallen to the affluent citizens of Corinth. They, however, choose not to invest in or contribute to the temples.\textsuperscript{112}

To determine the motivation of others is one of the most difficult tasks the historian can undertake. This is true when primary sources and even the writings of the individuals being examined are available. For Corinth we have no documents; we do not even know names. So any attempt at ascertaining why the local aristocracy chose not to support the temples can never be more than speculation.

Speculation can be well reasoned, however, and can perhaps approach probability. We do know, in general terms, a primary motivation behind benefactions in antiquity: self-advertisement. Euergetism was a strong tradition in the classical worker and played no small role in the maintenance of both the physical and social structures of the city. But euergetism was more than "good works;" the works had to be visible and laudable. If temples were seen with contempt or ignored by a large portion of the population, or if social pressure from the Empire made involvement with temples undesirable, then the euergetes would focus their attention elsewhere. While it is doubtful that the population

\textsuperscript{110}Cf. Malalas (13.39 [345]) who comments that Theodosius converted the temple of Artemis in Constantinople into a \textit{tabloparoxion}.

\textsuperscript{111}See Chapter 1.

\textsuperscript{112}See Leibeschuetz (1959) for the transformation of the Council and thus the liturgical system.
of Corinth was predominantly Christian in the late fourth century, there can be no doubt that Christianity was the preferred system of belief in the Emperor's social circles.\textsuperscript{113} The euergetes in the late Empire had to please both the people and the Emperor (or Imperial staff) to maintain their position. Involvement with temples could have been most risky.

Any analysis of euergetism and social \textit{mores} is difficult, for the fifth and sixth centuries saw the system of patronage and benefaction in a state of transformation throughout the Empire. No municipal benefactions from Corinth are known in late antiquity; on the other hand, so few inscriptions survive from this period that this absence may be a meaningless bias of our source material. That inscriptions are much less common may in itself be important, however. Many of the inscriptions from the Roman period were dedications. When such inscriptions cease to be made, it may indicate that dedications ceased to hold great importance.\textsuperscript{114}

The growth of villas and basilicas in the Corinthia signify one area where the euergetes may have been satisfied.\textsuperscript{115} The growth of villas in the fourth century represented a new focus of financial interest and expenditure. Traditionally the growth of villas has been pointed to as an indication of the removal of the upper classes from urban life and the growth of manorialism. As demonstrated above, this was not the case in Corinth. Nevertheless, the growth of villas presents a new mode of consumption and display.

The rise of villas did not drastically modify the face of the city. Monumental architecture continued. The forum was reorganized and a new central staircase installed in

\textsuperscript{113} Cf. Gregory Nazianzen 1.76 where it is strongly implied that Christians were a minority.

\textsuperscript{114} On epigraphic frequency see MacMullen (1982), (1986); Mrozek (1973), (1978); Meyer (1990). Ramsay MacMullen, Elizabeth Meyer, and Roger Bagnall have all graciously discussed this problem with me.

\textsuperscript{115} Rothaus (n.d.B) and above, Chapter 1.
the fifth century. The great bath on the Lechaion road was remodeled in the sixth century. In the sixth century itself the fountain of Peirene received an elaborate restoration. Perhaps most importantly, the area around the city was punctuated by new and elaborate Christian basilicas in this period. There is no indication that Corinth was impoverished or that euergetism died out. Benefactions and restorations continued, but the temples were no longer held to be monuments that could be considered for such work.

The temples of the Corinthia were damaged and destroyed at the end of the fourth century of our era. The initial culprit was seismic activity, but the neglect of man before the event and the demolition activity of man after the event were probably the real reasons behind the collapses of the pagan temples. The pagans, nevertheless, viewed the cluttered foundations of the once proud monuments with religious awe and continued to worship there. Their cult activity was restricted by the decrepit state of the temples and the anti-pagan legislation, but activity continued. The primary action seems, from the incomplete archaeological record, to have been the offering of votive lamps, and an at least occasional sacrifice seems to have taken place at the Asklepieion. Even as the physical and civic structure of the city changed and public pagan cult become difficult at best, the pagan population adapted and managed to continue the old traditions in modified forms. Pagan cult activity continued at the temple sites until the end of the sixth century when the archaeological material at these locations comes to a marked halt; whether this break truly indicates a break in cult activity or represents a problem in the archaeological record cannot be determined at this point.

The Christians of Corinth were well aware of the pagan activity at these old temple sites and attempted to counter it. Without carrying out the final act of desecration, the Christians buried just outside these active cult sites in order to advertise the pre-eminent position of Christianity and to threaten the cult places with contamination from corpses.
The action was contentious, perhaps even hostile, but there are no clear indications that the situation in Corinth ever developed into one of violence. Indeed, the continued pagan activity at the old temples for almost two hundred years indicates that the religious transformation of the population of Corinth proceeded slowly, so slowly, in fact, that we must think not in terms of sudden conversions but long periods of peaceful cohabitation. For two centuries after Theodosius' Christianization of the Empire, the pagan population of Corinth remained large enough and the pagan cults active enough that the Christians could make threats but could not or would not eliminate them, and this pagan population continued to practice pagan cult in modified versions of the old classical forms.
CHAPTER III
STATUARY IN LATE ANTIQUE CORINTH

1. Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity

Sculpture was an important aspect of the visual world of antiquity. This was no less true for late antiquity than for earlier periods, although the sculpture used and displayed in this period often had its genesis in earlier eras. Always more than decoration, sculpture was a symbol and ultimately a possessor of power.¹ The elevated portrait of Constantine in his eponymous forum in Constantinople bears ample testimony to the political and religious force of sculpture. Constantine as Helios was a dominant image in the eastern capital through the sixth century, and religious rites, approved, unapproved and disapproved were celebrated at the base of the column supporting the colossal bronze Constantine.²

¹Cf. Maguire (1989) 1-3 where she notes that objects work in two worlds, seen and unseen. Maguire posits a Christian dualism of spirit and material world that, while a useful heuristic device, denies the blurred edges between these realms for both pagans and Christians in antiquity. Her book is an important testimony to the permiosity of religion in the late-antique period. Sculpture, while not specifically addressed by Maguire, also existed simultaneously in two worlds and this is where its power and its weakness lay.

²Krautheimer (1983) 61-4. The employment and function of sculpture in late-antique society remains largely unstudied. Barasch (1992) chaps. 2 and 3 is a good compendium of modern scholarship and ancient literary evidence, see esp. pp. 28-31 for pagan desire to be near a cult statue, and pp. 33-6 for rituals associated with statues. Barnard (1974), chap 6 provides the best discussion of late-antique attitudes towards images, but it is incomplete and summarial (as Barnard admits). The Iconoclastic controversy provides an obvious parallel. The bibliography is, of course, immense. Dagron (1984) is a well-reasoned summary of the ideological concerns. Of particular interest is the cult of images between our period (4th-6th centuries) and the Iconoclastic period: see especially Kitzinger (1954) and Ladner (1953). See Av. Cameron (1979) for the use of images to link political and religious power.
Of particular interest to this study are changing reactions and responses to sculpture in a period of religious tensions and transformations. The vicissitudes of the evidence, especially from Corinth, ensure that positive attitudes are little manifested in the archaeological record; violent reactions have left the clearest traces. Reactions to sculpture have been noted before: R. Merrifield has written a concise and thorough analysis of the fate of sculpture in late-antique and post-Roman Britain. He notes defacement and the deposition of sculpture in wells and rivers, probably to send offending images to the underworld, but leaving open the possibility that some of these are not Christian disposals but perhaps votive offerings. The difference is only one of intention; both pagans and Christians used the same method of communicating with the "underworld". Christians, however, wanted to return demons to the underworld from whence they came; pagans wished to send objects to these "demons".

The treatment of sculpture has not been extensively in any region. Furthermore, no collection of the literary evidence has been made. The evidence from Corinth is not, in itself, substantial enough to support a thorough investigation and I here present evidence from a variety of places in Asia Minor. This chapter by necessity begins with a general study. The Corinth material can be analyzed only after a framework for consideration has been constructed.

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4 The brief article in DACL XV.2, c.v. "statue", 1657-65 is insufficient and most out of date. C. Mango (1963) has written a masterly and enjoyable article on attitudes toward sculpture in the Byzantine period, and Av. Cameron and J. Herrin have published an edition and translation, with commentary of the important eighth century Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai. See Av. Cameron (1984) 1, 32n.80 for a discussion of Mango's work. Martroye (1921) is a brief article discussing the legislation and offering possible examples of such destructions. Saradi-Mendelovici (1990) illustrates the often ambiguous and mixed reaction of Christians to pagan structures, and many of her argument concerning temples apply equally well to statues, see esp. p. 60.
The literary evidence is surprisingly full if somewhat scattered. Passing references referring to the adoration of statues in late antiquity are common. Clement of Alexandria, writing in the early third century, mentions that statues pay no attention to the steam, the blood and the smoke offered to them.\(^5\) We can assume that such traditional offerings were made to statues through the late-antique period; such offerings are paralleled, in slightly different form, as part of Christian worship. A few more detailed passages reveal more about the nature and intensity of the adoration of statues. By the nature of the sources the most detailed accounts are of Christian veneration; the pagan actions referred to are almost always those of Julian and very likely more a part of the late-antique legend of Julian than the historical record. The attitude is uniform, however: statues contain power and should be treated with respect.\(^6\)

The veneration of statues was not pleasing to all in the late-antique world. This is well illustrated by the celebration around the statue of Eudoxia at Constantinople in 403. This silver statue was erected on the top of a porphyry column, and Sozomen (8.20) reports a celebration commemorating the dedication of the statue. Socrates (6.18 [164]) gives a different version in which games are held around the statue. While the populace

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\(^5\)Clement 45P. See also Priscus 27.1 (Egyptians venerate statue in A.D. 453); PA 11.386 (victories addressed); Socrates, H.E. 1.18.40-1 (Constantine places his statue in temples); Socrates, H.E. 3.2 (112) (Julian sacrifices to Tyche in Basilica in Constantinople); Malalas 10.12 (237) (Statue of Christ set up in Paneas by women cured of hemorrhage). I pass over the attitudes of the early Christian apologists. For these see Barasch (1992), esp. pp. 108-126 on Tertullian. Barasch 116 notes that "Images are the hallmark of paganism; nothing is more characteristic of pagan culture than the use of, and attachment to, visual images."

\(^6\)See Gordon (1979), esp p. 10: "[The majority] at once assert and deny that statues and painted figures are alive." Gordon argues, successfully I think, that the same attitude towards statues persisted for more than 1000 years, despite political and social changes. For the Byzantine continuation of this attitude see Mango (1963) and esp. Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai 28 where we learn, through an unfortunate death, that one must take care when looking at statues, especially pagan ones. Clement 46P goes to lengths to demonstrate that statues do not contain power by noting that swallows and birds land on them and defile them and fire and earthquakes do not respect them. Cf. Clement 81P. Cf. Asklepios 24 where statues divine by sortes, inspire divination etc. This passage is probably an interpolation. See Nock (1925).
may have been enthusiastic, John Chrysostom found the statue and attendant activities inappropriate so near to a church. That Chrysostom addressed his displeasure to a Christian audience implies that Christians were involved in the activities.

This varied attitude towards sculpture is also revealed by Julian. While Julian, of course, dedicated many statues, some portraying deities, he emphasized the role of the statue as a transcendent image, not fully stone, but certainly not a power in itself: (294 C-D):

Ἀφοριστεῖς οὖν εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἄγαλματα μὴ τοι νομίζομεν αὐτὰ λίθους εἶναι μηδὲ ξύλα, μηδὲ μέντοι τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὺς εἶναι ταύτα. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τας βασιλείας εἰκόνας ξύλα καὶ λίθον καὶ χαλκὸν λέγομεν, οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ αὐτοὺς τὰς βασιλείας, ἢλλα εἰκόνας βασιλεῶν. ὅτις οὖν ἐστι ϕιλοβασιλεύς ἡδέως ὅφει τὴν τοῦ βασιλεῶς εἰκόνα, καὶ ὅστις ἐστὶ φιλόπασας ἡδέως ὅφει τὴν τοῦ πατήσας, καὶ ὅστις φιλόθεος ἡδέως εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἄγαλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποβλέπει, σεβόμενος ἀμα καὶ φρέτων ἐξ ἀφονος ὁράντας εἰς αὐτῶν τῶς θεῶς. εἰ τὰς οὖν οἰεται δεῖν αὐτὰ μηδὲ φησίνηκα διὰ το θεῶν ὁπως εἰκόνας κληθήται, παντελῶς ἂφιεν εἰναι μοι φαίνεται. χρήν γὰρ δήπονθεν αὐτὰ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι. τὸ δὲ οὐ' ἀνδρός σουφοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ ἀμαθοῦς φθορῆται δύναται. . . . μηδείς οὖν ἀπιστεῖται θεῶς ὅφειν καὶ αἰκόναν, ὡς ἐνυψησάν τινας εἰς τὰ ἄγαλματα καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς.

So when we look at the images of the gods, surely let us not think that these are stones or wood, but let us not think these are the gods themselves. For we do not say that the images of the emperors are wood and stone and bronze, and we certainly do not say they are the emperors themselves, but rather images of the emperors. So whoever loves the emperors views the image of the emperors with pleasure, and whoever loves his son views his son's image with pleasure, and whoever loves his father views his father's image with pleasure. Therefore whoever loves the gods looks upon the images and statues of the gods with delight, at the time revering and

7This is not to deny the more important conflict between Chrysostom and Eudoxia which must be the primary motivation of his protestations. On Chrysostom's political problems, Leibeschuetz (1985) is a good summary.
shivering in the presence of these gods, looking from unseen worlds. So if anyone supposes that these cannot be destroyed because once they were called the images of gods, it seems to be utterly senseless. For it would follow, presumably, that these could not be made by men. But it is possible for that which was made by wise and good men to be destroyed by evil and stupid men. . . . So let no one disbelieve in the gods, having seen and heard how some have mocked the statues and the temples.  

Julian continues (296B) to emphasize that the sacred precincts and altars, not just statues, must be honored. Statuary was the pre-eminent locus of cult activity in the late-antique period.  

Julian (Ep. 48) also criticizes the colossal bronze statue of Constantine in Constantinople around which people worshipped and slept. Julian desired the statue to be removed, as he felt it reduced faith. Veneration he found suitable, when in a classical form, but the worship of a statue set up by Constantine he found offensive. That the statue was that of Constantine, the "thirteenth apostle," implies that the impetus for the cult was, in part, Christian. But Constantine was also Helios, and pagan devotion seems equally likely. Julian's concern, however, was the purity of pagan "faith," a peculiarly Julianic concept evidenced in this letter, not Christian faith. Julian evidently was repelled by the excessive form of this adoration, not the Christian aspects of it. He was hardly concerned with correcting the excesses of Christian faith; rather he was attempting to cleanse paganism of less than respectable activity.  

The actions described by Socrates, Sozomen and Julian, and their responses to these actions are revelatory. It is clear that the statue of Eudoxia received much celebration, probably from a mixed audience of pagans and Christians. Julian argued

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8 Cf. Dio 12.60-1; Maximus Tyrus, Diss. 38. The destruction by evil and stupid men may be a reference to Christian violence against cult statues.

9 See above, n. 1.
against treating the statues as if they were gods themselves, and we can be sure he was addressing a real concern. John Chrysostom, like Julian, found the excessive adoration of a statue offensive. It appears then, that some statues were revered as gods and others received adoration. Veneration and even worship of statues in late antiquity was not uncommon.\textsuperscript{10}

The importance of sculpture in late-antique pagan worship is emphasized by the repeated references to it, along with sacrifice, in the Theodosian Code. Constantius (\textit{C.Th.} 16.10.6, A.D. 356) seems to have been the first to have singled out the worship of images as a punishable offense. Gratian (\textit{C.Th.} 16.10.8, A.D. 382) was more specific in ordering that a temple in Osroene (probably at Edessa) remain open for common use, but insisted that the images therein must be appreciated for the value of their art rather than their divinity. The veneration of images was forbidden again in 391 (\textit{C.Th.} 16.10.10), and by the comprehensive ban of paganism by Theodosius in 392 (\textit{C.Th.} 16.10.12). In 399 Arcadius and Honorius ordered that idols in Africa be investigated and removed, as the statues were still being worshipped (\textit{C.Th.} 16.10.18). Similar instructions were given to the Praetorian Prefect in Rome in 408 (\textit{C.Th.} 16.10.19; \textit{Sirm.} 12), with the additional elaboration that not only any statues that might have been venerated at the time of the law, but also those that once were worshipped, be removed. The repetition of the ban against the worshipping of images emphasizes the importance and centrality of images in late-antique paganism. As Theodosius II (or his representative) stated (\textit{V.Th.} 3.1) in 438, pagan worship continued despite repeated legislation and threats of dire punishment. The veneration of statues seems to have been a major form of this worship.

\textsuperscript{10}While it cannot be fully discussed here, there exists a manuscript illustration (Paris, \textit{Cod. gr.} 510, fol 374v) of Julian sacrificing in front of a triad of statues. Weitzmann (1942) 103-5. As the illustration dates to the fifth century, there is a good chance this is an accurate representation of a late-antique sacrifice.
The physical form of such adoration is difficult to determine. Certain practices, expected and perhaps even obvious, such as processions and celebrations are attested, but the actions of individual devotion remain largely unknown. That offerings continued to be made, as in the classical period, is certain. While such practices have not been attested in the archaeological record, the literary record does mention such activity.

Theodoret's (3.15) report that Julian cast items that had been offered to idols into the fountains of Antioch (so that the Christians could not drink) probably belongs to the legend of Julian rather than actual events. The story reads suspiciously as if it were inserted or even fabricated merely to allow for a recitation of 1 Cor. 10:25. The explanation that Christians need not fear items offered to idols may be simply a manifestation of Theodoret's desire to display his scriptural erudition, but more likely it represents contemporary concern over items offered to idols. Theodoret's concomitant report (3.15) that Julian had water offered to idols sprinkled on his food is tantalizing, but without further evidence, seems to be an attribution of Christian practice to pagan cult.

The offering of devotions to statues in the form of lamps and candles was common. Philostorgius (2.17) reports that people made devotions to colossal bronze of Constantine in the form of lighted lamps, vows and incense to ward off calamities.

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11For an apparently accurate record of a late-antique procession see the Parataseis Syntomai Chronikai 5.

12On the legend of Julian see Athanassiadi-Fowden (1981) 227 and bibliography given there.

13Cf. Theodoret 1.34.
John of Damascus, and later, Moschus report candles and lamps being lit as devotional objects for images.\textsuperscript{14}

Statues were often venerated because of reputedly miraculous powers. Images with miraculous powers are not unique to late antiquity, but they do become a point of special interest in this late period.\textsuperscript{15} Such powers are generally of two sorts, the power to heal, and apotropaic powers. Apotropaic statues are most common in the literary record. In fact, such items may even have become a literary topos. Earthquakes and invasions, events of concern throughout all periods in the Mediterranean, are often the phenomena held back by such statues. But some statues protected against more mundane, although perhaps no less troublesome, phenomena. Particularly noteworthy is Malalas' account (10.51 [265]) of the lead statues of Ares in Antioch that, when carried in procession, provided year-round protection against mosquitoes.\textsuperscript{16}

Of particular interest is the treatment statues of a clearly pagan nature underwent at the hands of Christians.\textsuperscript{17} A variety of responses were possible, perhaps the most

\textsuperscript{14}Moschus (d. 619) \textit{Pratum Spirituale} c. 180 (\textit{PG} 87.3, c. 3052); John of Damascus \textit{PG} 94 c.1393D. See Kitzinger (1954) 97-99 on candles and lamps as devotional objects in the Christian cult of images before iconoclasm. Kitzinger points out that Christians were involved in devotions that occasionally appeared very close to actually worshipping images. Pagan and Christian habits must have been very similar.

\textsuperscript{15}This may simply be source bias; late antique and early Christian sources can be unabashedly concerned with the miraculous, in stark contrast to some earlier historiographic styles.

\textsuperscript{16}For other examples see Olympiodoros 1.16 (Statue at Rhegium protects against Aetna and invasion); Olympiodoros 1.27 (silver statues protect against invasion); Malalas 13.3 (318) (statue of Poseidon protects against earthquakes); Malalas 10.51 (264) (scorpion talismans, broken column protects against earthquakes); Malalas 8.22 (rock carving protects against plague). On Malalas see Jeffreys (1990).

\textsuperscript{17}Thornton (1986) attempts to address changing attitudes towards the desecration of pagan statues. He argues that before the third century Christians had little interest in attacking pagan images; only after the persecutions of Diocletian did they attack. The literary evidence is ample in suggesting, however, that the motivation was the much more immediate desire to destroy demons, larger religious policy being irrelevant in the heat of the moment. Thornton's argument for a change in attitude is unfeasible. He neglects the difference between a religion on the defensive and the offensive and the resulting differences in rhetoric. Much of his argument rests on a regulation (lx) from the Council of
neutral being ignoring the statues or the sending them to the lime kilns. Undoubtedly much sculpture, no longer religiously useful was burned for lime, recut or melted down. Palladas, the fifth century epigramist, humorist and keen observer of the tensions of his world, reports the fate of a statuette of Eros (9.773):

Χαλκοτύπος τον Ἐρωτα μεταλλάξας ἐπόησε
tίγανον, οὐκ ἀλόγως, ὡτι καὶ αὐτῷ φλέγει.

The bronzeworker, having altered Eros, made a frying pan, not unreasonably, seeing that this also inflames.

More substantial for our purposes is the willful defacement, ritual disposal or adaptation of sculpture.

That much of the "pagan" sculpture from antiquity was adaptation for secular or ecclesiastical use is of no surprise and is certainly well attested for the Byzantine period. This process of readoption began as early as the fifth century. Palladas found contrast between the reuse of statues and the apparently widespread destruction of objectionable sculpture 9.528:

Χριστιανοὶ γεγούσες Ὑλήμπια δόματα ἔχοντες
ἐνώπιον νομικάσσιι ἀπόμονες· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῶς
χώνη φῶλλιν ἄγουσα φέρεσθιν ἐν πυρί θήσει.

Elvira, hardly a source that can be used to generalize about attitudes. I would argue that the regulation indicates the opposite of what it states. The Council decreed that those who are killed because they attack idols will not become martyrs, a sure indication that such individuals were, in fact, being regarded as martyrs. Cf. Roman Martyrology, January 12: In Achaia sancti Saturi martyris, qui ante quoddam idolam transiens, cum exsufflasset illud, signans sibi frontem, statim idolem corruit, ob causam decollatus est.

On Palladas see Luck (1958), Bowra (1960), Cameron (1965a and b), Baldwin (1985)
Having become Christians, possessing an Olympian home here, they now dwell here unharmed. For the melting pot that pays out the life-giving coin shall not gather them together in the fire.\textsuperscript{19}

The scenario is clear in its meaning, but not obviously explicit. Statues of deities have been "adopted", probably as part of an art collection. The statues are "Christians" because they live in a Christian household. It appears that for the possessor of these images at least, the religious significance of an object lay not in the object itself but in its setting.\textsuperscript{20} The reuse of pagan images, either for raw materials or as part of a religiously neutral art collection, is a manifestation of relatively peaceful relation between pagans and Christians and an apparent antipathy concerning the ritual objects of opposing groups.\textsuperscript{21}

A marked contrast to the peaceful reuse of statuary is the mutilation and ritual destruction of statues. At times the destruction of images was the result of demagogic urging and mob violence. The most famous example of such activity is the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria in 391. This event was a complicated mixture of religious conflict and municipal power struggles, but the outcome was that the Serapeum at Alexandria was attacked by a Christian mob. The adyton of the temple was opened and the objects within were held up to ridicule. The pagans responded with a violent attack that culminated in the dismemberment of George the bishop. Socrates (5.16) reports that the governor and imperial troops marched in and destroyed the temple. The statues of the

\textsuperscript{19}See also \textit{Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai} 13, 17 and 42 for the melting of statues for coin and Av. Cameron and Herrin (1984) 202 where it is noted that even innocuous statues were melted down in times of metal shortage.

\textsuperscript{20}Cameron's (1965b) 223) assumption that these statues had become part of a church or religious building seems unnecessary. It is difficult to imagine how Olympian statues could be or need to be incorporated into a church. They could, of course, be in a religious building, but their function in such a structure probable would be more that of an art collection (or epidepsis of wealth) than religious. Palladas 16.282 reports the reuse of Victories in a Christianized manner.

\textsuperscript{21}For art collections see Brinkerhoff (1970) 4, 53-6, 63-7; Smith 1990 (151-3).
gods were melted into objects for the church and for the poor and the statues were smashed except for one, preserved "so that [the pagans] cannot deny they worshipped such gods." Ammonius, one of Socrates teachers, who was present at the events, was annoyed by the preservation of one figure as a point of ridicule; such a simplistic representation deliberately made the cult look foolish, as the Christians, of course, intended.  

The events in Alexandria, 391, were an exceptional explosion of regional political and religious conflict. While informative, such large scale, violent activity was probably not the norm in the East. Rather, much of the conflict over images seems to have been, as we will see, local and even personal in nature. Mutilation of statuary, and the attendant sacrilege of such activity, was not uncommon in antiquity; one needs only remember the accusations made against Alkibiades. The ritual defacement and destruction of sculpture in late antiquity had a specific purpose, however: to remove the power from the offending image.

The concept of an image possessing power was so common in antiquity as well as the medieval and modern world it does not require further elaboration here. Christians saw such power in statues, and the power was that of demons. Minucius Felix (200-240) elaborated upon the habits of these beings and described their powers (27.1-3):

Isti igitur impuri spiritus, daemones, ut ostensum magis ac philosophis, sub statuis et imaginibus consecratis delitiscunt et adflatu suo auctoritatem

22 For the event and the sources see Thelamon (1981).

23 Thuc. 6.27-8.

24 Frankfort (1946) 134-5 (Mesopotamia); Wilson (1951) 221 (Egypt); Geary (1983) 134-5. See Skorupski (1976) 135-44 for symbolic identification in magic. The image or object representing the individual upon whom the magic is to fall is more than a symbol. The image not only represents but also "mystically participates" in him. Skorupski (144) notes: "We cannot make such a pattern of thought fully clear, since it is intrinsically incoherent: to make it clear in this sense would be to defuse and falsify it.
quasi praesentis numinis consequuntur, dum inspirant interim vatibus, dum
fanis inmorantur, dum nonnumquam extorum fibras animant, avium volatus
gubernant, sortes regunt, oracula efficient, falsis pluribus involuta. . . .

These unclean spirits, or demons, as revealed to Magi and philosophers,
find a lurking place in statues and consecrated images, and by their breath
exercise influence as of a present god: at one while they inspire prophets, at
another haunt temples, at another animate the fibers of entrails, govern the
flights of birds, determine lots, and are the authors of oracles mostly
wrapped in falsehood. . . .

Not only could an image itself be possessed of power, a demon might dwell within this
image. Cyprian (de idol. vanitate 7) asked, "When we challenge demons in statues, don't
they confess and leave?" Mutilation and defacement could remove the power from the
image and destroy the dwelling place of the demon.  

Ritual defacement is little attested in the literary record. The best account comes
ironically, from a description of the action of the Julian, but Julian's alleged actions in this
case, as in many others, seem more Christian than pagan in style. Sozomen (5.21) reports
that Julian ordered a statue of Christ at Caesarea Phillipi to be removed and replaced with
his own image. The statue of Christ was mutilated and dragged around the city; the
Christians later recovered its remains and placed them in a church.  

If the story is true, Julian's motivations may not only have been fear of the powers of the statue or the demon
within the statue, but also disgust at excessive adoration.

Christian mutilation, however, seems to have been directed against the powers of
or the demon within an image. The literary sources tell us little of this activity, but the
archaeological record is full. The most clearly identifiable form of mutilation by Christians

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25 Greg. Nyssa, Vita S. Greg. Thaum. 46.916A (PG) reports that Gregory the Thaumaturge made
a temple uninhabitable by its owner by saying prayers there. Cf. Eusebius, H.E. 7.15.17.

26 Philostorgius 7.3 tells basically the same story with the added information that healing herbs
grew around the base of the statue before it was disturbed. Cf. Eusebius, E.H. 7.19; Rufinus 7.14.
is the inscription of a cross on the forehead of an offending image; the most common was the lopping off of features. The cross was the supreme emblem of power to Christians in late antiquity and its uses as an apotropaic and protective sign on objects and buildings are well-known.27 The tracing of the cross on the forehead was a common Early Christian form of exorcism; when one found oneself in danger from demons or in need of protection, the reaction was to cross oneself and hiss or spit.28 A graffito from a tomb shows a statue with a cross inscribed on its forehead being pulled off a column.29 The author of the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai (38) reports that Julian rejected a Tyche to be held by the statue of Helios because a cross had been engraved in it.30 The Bishop Porphyry in Gaza caused a demon to flee a statue by approaching the statue with comrades bearing crosses, with the attendant result that the statue fell and shattered. The demon could not bear the sign.31 Demeas, a Christian (and a magistrate) in Ephesos about 435, emphasized the conquering power of the cross32:

27Maguire (1989) 18-22. See esp. Chrysostom, Contra Judaeos et Gentiles 9; In Matthaeum Homilia 54.4. Rufinus, H.E. 2.29; Thelamon (1986) 267-273. S. Curcic (1992), argues that the crosses so common on impost blocks in the fifth-century served to purify pagan architectural forms, and in some instances, spolia. He sees this as manifestation of the conflict between pagans and Christians in the fifth century. Defacement of sculpture, by the incision of a cross or otherwise, was at its highest in the fifth century and the phenomena are probably all related.

28For crossing see Sozomen 5.2 (where Julian again is the actor); Gregory Nazianzen 1.55 tells the same story. Julian, Ep. 19, 451D mentions crossing and hissing as a means of protection against demons and in Ep. 79 imputes that the sum of Christian theology is hissing and crossing. Chrysostom In Matthaeum homilia 54.4 mentions the efficacy of the cross in repelling demons.

29DACL XV.2 1660, fig. 1951.

30The report is that this was a "new" Tyche, and the implication is that the cross was part of the manufacture. It seems much more likely, however, that the Tyche of the story is not new, but rather newly reused and thus the cross is an addition. For the reuse of Victories in Constantinople (where this incidence allegedly takes place) see Palladas, P.A. 11.386, 16.282.

31Vita Porphyrii c. 59-61 (Grégoire and Kugener, Paris 1930). Cf. Athanasius, Vie d'Antoine 80 were Anthony expels demons with three signs of the cross.

32Gregoire (1972) 29 n.104.
Demeas, having pulled down the guileful idol of the demon Artemis, set up this sign of truth, in opposition to the worship of idols, the cross of God and priests, the victory bringing, undying, symbol of Christ.33

Porphyry drove the demon out by carrying crosses. Demeas physically drove away the idol. Inscribing a cross on the face of a statue apparently drove the demon out in the same manner.34

The presence of golden marks in the shape of a cross on the brow, hands and knees of a wooden cult image in Alexandria have been interpreted as an assimilation of Christian *stigmata* to a pagan savior god. Epiphanios, our source, viewed the statue in a procession and remarked upon the decoration of the image in his narrative. Epiphanios was, however, a man raised from his youth by monks. His only direct exposure to a sect different than his own resulted in such revulsion that he censured the group, the Gnostics, with a detailed description of perversion unequalled in ancient literature, and paralleled only by the absurd but milder charges against Christians found in Minucius Felix. Epiphanios' account must be called into question, not because he had any reason to distort what he saw, but because he may not have understood what he saw. Raised in a monastery, he may simply have seen any cross-like symbol as a cross. Perhaps Epiphanios

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33*Ueoqn* is difficult to interpret. I have read it as a genitive to provide this translation. One might want to read it as an accusative (God who opposes idols), providing the sense of opposition from the verb, but such a reading infeliciously equates the cross with God. Perhaps it should be read as an adjective (the godly cross).

34Socrates 3.20 (116) notes that when the Jews attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem under Julian's auspices, there were earthquakes and miraculous fire and crosses appeared on the clothes of the offending Jews. While different in context, the use of the cross here as a marking device and purifying agent is parallel to its use to cleanse statues.
merely accommodated the signs as symbols with which he was already familiar. It is equally possible that the golden crosses were magical symbols or starbursts.\textsuperscript{35}

No sculpture defaced with a cross has, to the best of my knowledge, been fully published.\textsuperscript{36} The most accessible examples are the heads of Livia and Augustus excavated in the Prytaneum at Ephesos. The Prytaneum was, evidently, cleansed by a Christian or group of Christians; in addition to the defacement of the two heads, there is a cross on one of the figures of the monumental façade and the name of Artemis has been erased from the porticoes in front of the Prytaneum.\textsuperscript{37} Unfortunately, the fill in which these heads were found has not been published and it is not possible to assign a date to the mutilations. The crosses carved into the foreheads of the Augustus and Livia are discolored, perhaps by burning but the smoothly polished edges of the cutting more probably indicate rubbing.\textsuperscript{38} Rubbing the crosses apparently achieved something, and one is reminded of the Christian apotropaic crossing of oneself on the forehead in times of danger.

Other examples of crosses carved into statues are known. Undoubtedly many more exist, unpublished and hidden in storerooms, than those I list here. At Sparta an over-life size head of a female deity has a cross cut in the forehead, the center of both eyes, and two placed below the mouth, touching the lower lip. At the Patras Museum, a large Roman grave stele portrays a soldier. A cross has been cut into his forehead and chest. The bust

\textsuperscript{35}The argument of assimilation is from Bowersock (1991) 22-7. His source is Epiphanius, \textit{Panarion} 51.22.10. See Chapter 4 for the cross as Christian symbol and magical symbol.

\textsuperscript{36}A. Delivorrias (1991) came to my attention too late to be included here. He argues that crosses on statues are purificatory and preparatory to re-use of the image in a Christian context. This certainly must be true in some cases, but not all.

\textsuperscript{37}Foss (1979) 32 for the general information. The name of Artemis was also erased form inscriptions at the harbor baths.

\textsuperscript{38}The disoloration and rubbing have not been noted before, but were discovered upon personal examination.
of Marcus Aurelius (or Antoninus Pius) at Eleusis has a large cross carved over the
gorgorion on his cuirass. A design that presumably is a cross has been carved into the
hand of Archidemos at the Vari cave. The colossal statue of Apollo at Delos has several
crosses scratched into its torso. Unfortunately, none of these mutilations listed here can
be given a precise date, and given the continued interest in the demons within statues
through at least the ninth century we can probably place the defacement between the
fourth and ninth centuries.\textsuperscript{39}

More difficult to recognize is the general mutilation of sculpture. On free standing
sculpture such mutilation can rarely be ascertained with certainty as it is often too difficult
to separate normal damage and the haphazards of preservation from deliberate
mutilation.\textsuperscript{40} Mutilation is easier to detect on relief sculpture. The object of mutilation is
usually the face, and one will often find the face of a relief fully obliterated but the rest of

\textsuperscript{39}Sparta, museum inv. no. 571, Tod (1906) 61, provenance unknown (Tod and Wace report
much damage by Christians to the head, but the general damage seems to be normal wear); Patras, museum
inv. no. 2, unpublished, provenance unknown; Eleusis, Deubner (1937) 72; Vari Cave, Weller (1903) 301;
Delos, Bruneau (1983) 125 for colossus, the cross is not mentioned, cf. Gregory (1983) who does not
mention the cross. To these example can be added the following: A crowned head in the Bursa Museum
(inv. no. 45 2008, unpublished and of unknown provenance) has a cross inscribed on the its forehead.
Mendel (1914) reports the following objects from Constantinople: Three sarcophagi form the same
location, two with side panels displaying medusa heads flanked by two crosses (nos. 29 and 30) and the
third displaying an Eros, flanked by two crosses (no. 27). A statue of Orpheus, provenance unknown with
a cross inscribed upon the base (no. 651). A pagan funeral relief, portraying a male flanked by two
females with a cross inscribed on the center of the male torso, to the right of the male head and on the top
followed by [I]X (no. 666).

\textsuperscript{40}See for example the statement of Karageorghis (1961) 321 on sculpture from Salamis (Kypros):
"Most of the statues have been found headless and intentionally mutilated, having suffered at the hands of
the Early Christians and Arab invaders." A statement that may well be correct but certainly cannot be
demonstrated. Only one published sculpture from Salamis seems to be mutilated, Karageorghis (1966)
no. 134, a late-antique "philosopher" portrait where the eyes, nose and chin seem to have been deliberately
battered. The headless state of much sculpture may indicate widespread decapitation at the hands of the
Christians. However, heads were easily detachable and just the right size for many lime kilns. Torres
however, were too large for most lime kilns, and given an abundance of smaller marble pieces, often must
not have been worth transporting or breaking up. The preservation of torsos and destruction of heads may
be partly a result of the physical exigencies of the lime kiln.
the relief well preserved. In cases such as these, weathering or chance damage cannot be held to blame.

The reliefs from Vari Cave in Attica were defaced, probably in the fifth or sixth century, by the hammering of the faces in the reliefs. This technique removed the features and left a rough flat surface. On the Vari cave reliefs the other features of the reliefs are in good condition, despite the fact that the panels were broken into several pieces. We can be certain the faces were the target. The reliefs from the Asklepieion at Athens were similarly defaced, except that a chisel was used to cut the faces from the relief, leaving sharp edges that are recognizably not the result of natural breakage. Other mutilated reliefs include those from House C in the Agora and the Theater reliefs from Nyssa, which are in a generally excellent state of preservation except that some of the faces have been deliberately chiseled off. 41

Good examples of mutilated free-standing sculpture are to be found at Aphrodisias. The colossal Aphrodite at this site while worn, is in relatively good condition. The face, however, has been battered off, and there appears to have been some deliberate damage done to the breasts. Some deities from the south portico also appear to have been mutilated. The most obvious case of mutilation comes in a group of sculpture we will return to again, the philosopher portraits from Aphrodisias. These portraits and their excavation have been excellently published and it is not necessary to examine each one here. 42 The Alexander head (2) is a remarkable example of mutilation, however, and deserves to be described. This medallion portrait was defaced while in situ; the brow,

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41 See below for House C; the Nyssa reliefs seem to be unpublished. See also Hanfmann (1978) no 140 and 141 for mutilated Hellenistic reliefs.

42 Smith (1990). See also the head of Constantius I Chlorus (?) in Stockholm, the pupils and upper eyelids of which have been damaged by well aimed blunt blows: Brinkerhoff (1970) 29. Other possible examples of mutilated sculpture may include the cult group in the baths of Mithras in Ostia: Meiggs (1973) 401.
mouth and nose were badly damaged by blows from a blunt instrument. A deep line was chiseled around the underside and halfway up each side of the neck. The portrait was then decapitated, the break occurring lower down the neck. Decapitation, and damage to the brow, nose and mouth was standard procedure for the mutilators of these heads, and similar techniques can be seen on others of the sculpture discussed here. The cutting of the neck is unique, however. Smith acknowledges that it may be a symbolic killing, but prefers to view it as an initial and abandoned attempt at decapitation. I prefer the opposite view: it is possible that this was a failed method of decapitation, but the method can be attested for no other decapitated statue that I am aware of. The cut seems to be too elaborate and unnecessary for decapitation; more likely it was a ritual slaying. Why Alexander was signaled out for this treatment is unknown, unless it be that he was the only one in the collected ensemble who could have been recognized by a hostile individual as a "deity".

Ritual disposal was another means of disposing of statue that was feared. Palladas provides the most elegant testimony (9.441):

"I looked with astonishment at the bronze son of Zeus in the crossroads, once before held in prayers, now thrown aside. And in fury, straightway I said, "Averter, offspring of three nights, never were you defeated, today you have been laid low." But at night, standing beside me and grinning the god said, "Even I, a god, have learned to serve the seasons."

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43Smith (1990) 135-8, 155 for the Alexander mutilation.
Palladas' primary aim is invoking the mood of the age in a darkly humorous fashion. Of interest for our immediate purposes is the location of the cast aside statue of Herakles: the crossroads. Perhaps Palladas is reporting an actual event or practice; perhaps he merely invented the crossroads. Either way Palladas chose his words carefully; even those who denigrate his style would not deny this. Here in Palladas we have an incidence of ritual disposal, for crossroads were (and continued to be through the early modern period) a location that facilitated a transition from this world to the next, and a location to place those items one desired out of this world.44

Unfortunately, disposal of items at crossroads does not appear in the archaeological record. But burial was another method of disposing of "possessed statuary." Placement underground facilitated the transition from one world to another. If the statues were feared as being possessed by demons, then it would only be natural to return such demons to their chthonic dwellings.

Ritual burial is attested in the literary record. Our source, the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, is admittedly late, but portrays accurately, I think, this action of the late-antique world. The author reports (38), at the end of the story of Julian's rejection of the Tyche engraved with a cross, that the emperor resigned the sculpture to a pit where there were many other θεόμοιοξα.45 What is described is not a regular trash pit, but a special place where Julian has been placing condemned θεόμοιοξα. It seems unlikely the story is historically accurate; the behavior described is more fitting to a Christian than a pagan. That such burials were performed by Christians is indicated elsewhere in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 28.

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44See Johnston (1991) for a discussion of crossroads and bibliography.

45For the story see above. Queaqmata in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* is best translated as spectacle or wonder; see 41 and 43.
One day we went off to the Kynegion with Himerius the aformentioned chartularius [record-keeper] to investigate the statues there, and found among them one that was small in height and squat and very heavy. While I was wondering at it and not getting on with my enquiry, Himerius said, "You are right to wonder, for he is the builder of the Kynegion." When I said "Maximian was the builder and Aristides the architect." Immediately the statue fell from its height, which was great, and dealt Himerius a great blow and killed him on the spot. . . . So the dead man's relations and the friends of the emperor went with me to the place, and before approaching where the man lay fallen, stared in amazement at where the statue lay fallen. A certain John, a philosopher, said "By divine providence, I find it so in the writings of Demosthenes, that a man of rank would be killed by the statue." And he told this at once to the Emperor Philippicus and was commanded to bury the statue in that place; which was done, for it was impossible to destroy it. Consider these things truly, Philokalos, and pray you do not fall into temptation, and take care when you look at old statues, especially pagan ones.46

Here is evidence of Christian burial of possessed statuary in the early eighth century. Destruction was not sufficient for extremely dangerous statuary; this may be the meaning

46I have used the translation of Av. Cameron and Herrin (1984).
of the remark about the statue in the above story not being able to be destroyed. Particularly hazardous pagan sculpture was disposed of by burial.47

Three deposits, one from Athens, one from Antioch, and, less securely, one from Aphrodisias demonstrate that such ritual burials of pagan sculpture occurred in the late-antique world. House C, south of the Athenian Acropolis, shows evidence of being renovated in the 6th century. Some of the sculpture was mutilated, as mentioned above, but some unmutilated pieces, mainly heads, were thrown into a well. Heads, of course, were the recognizable part of the statue and could be signaled out in a process of removing the demons from the statue. The date of the deposit is secure, and we may be almost certain that the sculpture deposited in the well is a ritual deposit.

The excavators have proposed that the heads were hidden in the well by pagan enthusiasts for later reuse, and that the house was Christianized. This argument for pagan encryption is based on the fine preservation of the pieces in the well and mutilation of those outside the well. Placement of an object in a well was, however, a standard method of sending it to a "nether-world," and it seems unlikely that the allegedly pagan inhabitants of this home would use such a location as storage for sacred objects they aimed to uncover.48 It seems more likely that those pieces placed in the well were not envisioned as needing mutilation, for the demons within were being disposed of. Those pieces not placed in the well, but rather kept, presumably for re-use (cf. the Athena used as a threshold) needed to be defaced in order to drive the demons out. The implication of

47See also Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai 5a, 7, 8 and 9 for burials. Av. Cameron and Herrin (1984) 202 reach much the same conclusion.

48The encryption of revered pieces of pagan sculpture is well attested, but in all instances the pieces are not buried, but rather placed behind walls. See Socrates 3.2-3, 5.16 and Sozomen 5.7 on the Serapeum. The author of the Vie de Sèvère (Patr. Orient. II) 27ff. reports the recovery of hidden idols from behind a false wall at the temple of Isis in Memphis. Meiggs (1973) 401 reports that during excavations at Ostia a statue of Attis along with dedications were found behind wall in temple of Cybele, apparently having been hidden there.
these actions is that the house was Christianized, probably after being purchased by a Christian. 49

A "cache" of sculpture in Antioch representing gods, heroes, mythological subjects, and portraits was found buried in a room of a late 4th or early 5th century villa excavated in 1934. The group has been identified as an art collection perhaps buried during the flurry of persecution of pagans in 578 in Antioch or perhaps at the entrance of the Persians in 540 or the Arabs in 637. Without stratigraphic evidence, however, attempting to date the burial and then link it with a known historical event is risky, at best. The impetus could have been as "minor" as new Christian owners of the house. The exact find spot is not clearly described in the publication, but it is clear the sculptures were collected and buried together inside a room. None of the sculpture appears to have been mutilated, but heads, as expected, predominate in the collection. The Antioch collection is a ritual burial that, by the numismatic evidence, must be later than the early fifth century and should perhaps be dated to the sixth or seventh century.

The defaced sculpture from Aphrodisias was deposited between the back wall of the north portico of the Sebasteion and the back of an apsidal structure (a large house and perhaps a philosophical school) in an inaccessible, narrow alleyway. The sculpture, manufactured in the fifth century, appears to have been dumped, rather than buried, and

49 The house is variously called House C and Omega House. Shear (1971) 267-275; Shear (1972) 156-63; Camp (1986) 202-12; Frantz (1989) 48, 87-90; Camp, (1989). The argument presented by the excavators for Christianization is weak. Other than the mutilation of statuary, the excavators point to the presence of a sigma table in the debris from the house and the replacement of the center panel of mosaic with a symmetrical "cross." My interpretation of the house as Christianized is based solely on the sculpture; the sigma table and the "cross" are rather meaningless. References to this house as a philosopher's school are completely unjustified. I am forced to agree with Sodini (1984) 349 on the published interpretation of House C: "Cette interprétation de la vie de l'édifice paraît trop imaginative." See also Fowden (1990) 496 for a rejection of the excavators interpretation of the disposed sculpture. Fowden correctly states "such objects could have belonged to anybody." Bowersock (1991b) 358 objects with a question: "So they could, but these particular objects at this particular date?" Bowersock also accuses Fowden of a "hasty dismissal of the archaeological evidence," despite Fowden's use of comparative material.
was found in association with a number of sixth-century fusiform unguentaria. Not all of the heads were found at this location. The medallions for two busts were found, Apollonios (7) and an unidentified subject (10), but the heads were missing. The head of Pythagoras (6) had been found 22 years earlier in the theater. Perhaps these two heads of leading patrons of Neoplatonist thought and their anonymous companion were singled out for special treatment, or mistreatment. It may even be that they were removed and paraded for special recognition and mockery, similar to the treatment of the statuary at the Serapeum at Alexandria. But this is pure speculation. One head, that of a sophist (11) was "found inside the apse beneath the present floor level;" parts of the bust were found behind the apse with the other heads. It is not clear in the publication what this floor level represents. If this is a new floor installed shortly after the removal of objectionable sculpture, perhaps a renovation at the hands of new "Christian" owners is suggested. I hesitate to call the dumping of these mutilated sculptures an example of ritual disposal. The placement does show, however, that someone found the sculpture problematic and after defacing and ritually killing some of the heads, disposed of them in a dark, inaccessible area, rather than reusing the material or throwing them in a large trash pit.

Smith (1991) 159.

For the location, Smith (1990) 128-31. For the heads see Smith (1990) 141-8. Other examples exist. Sanders (1982) 84 notes a deposit of sculpture in a pit cut through a mosaic at the temple of Asklepios at Lissos. These sculptural fragments included statues of youth, Hygieia and a headless Asklepios; the walls of this temple were inscribed with crosses. The Lissos deposit may be the best example of a ritual burial of the cult statuary by Christians, but because of the incomplete nature of its publications, I do not wish to place great weight on it here. A deposit of buried statues in a trench in theaters at Arles and Vaison (France) seems to have been a ritual deposit: DACL XV.2 1661; Martroye (1921) (but note the caution expressed by Blanchet in response to Martroye's suggestion, op. cit. 154). Karageorghis (1964) 4 reports many statues at Salamis (Cyprus) were found in drains and the Arabs placed many in a wattertank. Ritual deposits could, of course, have been made in a trash pit. The problem of the archaeologist is differentiation between trash pits and ritual deposits. I suspect that more such deposits have been dug yet were unrecognized, or unrecognizable.
The above should not be taken to mean that individuals never buried statues for reasons other than ritual disposal. Malalas 13.7 reports that Constantine secretly buried the Palladion from Rome under the column that supported his statue, where it acted as a "foundation offering." Many reports of buried objects represent the accidental or deliberate excavation of "antiquities" rather than the recovery of deliberately buried objects. Olympiodoros 1.27 refers to sacred apotropaic statues that were dug up, and Priscus 1.12.1-2 mentions a magic buried sword found by Attila. Malalas 13.3 reports a statue of Poseidon was found accidentally while a new church was being built. Isidore of Pelusium (d. 435) (P.G. 78, 217) tells that "Hellenes" dug up remains in the Temple of Artemis and worshipped them. As always, each case must be evaluated on its own merits.

2. Pagan Sculpture in the Late-Antique Corinthia\textsuperscript{52}

There is very little direct evidence for the role sculpture played in the life of late-antique Corinth. Moved, destroyed and reused in later periods, little of the sculpture remained in the location for which it was originally intended. The head of a pagan priest (S920, #321) dating to the first half of the fifth century of our era and the sculpture associated with it is the only substantial evidence of sculpture used in cult activity in the late-antique period, and will be discussed below. Finds of mutilated, defaced and ritually deposited sculpture in the Corinthia confirm, however, that sculpture was venerated and treated in the manner described in the first section of this chapter. The evidence suggests that sculpture continued to be important to pagan cult, but was found more often in private settings than in public.

\textsuperscript{52}Numbers preceded by "S" (sculpture) and "I" (inscription) are Corinth inventory numbers; numbers preceded by "#" are catalogue numbers from Johnson (1931). Numbers preceded by "IS" are inventory numbers from the Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia.
Even the limited evidence confirms that sculpture was important in late-antique Corinth. The third century saw no small amount of sculptural activity, and it was in the Severan period that the Captives Façade was erected. Several high quality portraits from this century have been recovered. This sculptural prosperity continued into the fourth, fifth and even sixth centuries when sculpture, probably of local Corinthian manufacture and some of the latest known from the Greek mainland, still was produced.\(^{53}\)

Several pieces of sculpture from Corinth appear to have been defaced. One of these pieces (S2654), a sculpted bust, has had its face sliced off, perhaps deliberately, and was placed in a well. This piece, however, was found in a second century well deposit.\(^{54}\) I include this as a warning. Without knowing the an approximate date for the defacement of this sculpted bust, one might easily assume that the mutilation occurred at the hands of the Christians. This could not, however, be in the second century. Some of the pieces discussed below, as many of the pieces discussed already, do not have clear contexts; it is usually impossible to date or determine the cause of any damage to them with absolute certainty.

Several sculptural pieces from Corinth have been mutilated with a chisel or similar device. The most drastic example of this is a poros female head (S310, #131). This small head has been severely chiseled; successive cuts have obliterated the eyes and left cheek. There can be no question that this damage was deliberate, and given the focus on the eyes, this head seems to have been chosen for particularly vehement defacement. A colossal head (S889, #20) was also so vigorously chiseled that the face was removed. The head

\(^{53}\)This summary is taken from Ridgeway (1981) 443-8. For Roman sculpture see also the fine dissertation of de Grazia (1973).

\(^{54}\)This could, of course, still be a case of deliberately mutilation and ritual deposit. If so, it is doubtful that this action could be attributed to the Christians.
has a filet with two holes for the insertion of rays and probably represented a deity. Another head (S1412) was similarly defaced.55

Three reliefs, all funerary, were deliberately defaced. Unfortunately the findspots of these reliefs are unknown. In one, a Classical sepulchral banquet relief (S1200), all of the faces have been sheared off, including that of the central child. On the top of the child's head a mark from the chisel blow that removed the face is clearly visible and there can be no question that the damage was deliberate.56 In a banqueting hero relief (S1297/2812) the faces of both the hero and female figure have been sheared off. The tombstone of one Apollonia Eouporia (I874) was also defaced. In this instance the facial features of the woman reclining on a couch were carefully, and rather gently, chiseled out.

Perhaps the most interesting case of the mutilation of sculpture is the West Shop capitals. Nineteen of these capitals survive. Each capital originally displayed four Chimera type creatures. Several different hands are evidenced and the figures vary greatly in character, some of them approaching an almost human appearance.57 The majority of the faces on these capitals have been defaced.

Three different manners of defacement on the West Shop capitals are evident. The practice most easily identifiable as defacement is the removal of the faces by hammering. Several of the faces have been battered by strong and repeated hammer blows that removed the face and left a recessed spot in the shape of the head. Also easily noticeable,

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55This head was found with a ram's head reportedly sliced in half (S1405). The faces of a triple Hecate (S2270/2319) appear to have been deliberately sheared off, but the top of the sculpture is broken and the faces may have been accidentally damaged. This triple Hecate was found in Byzantine fill.

56AD 4 (1918) 1; Ridgeway (1981) 421. I have assumed that this mutilation took place in the late-antique period. If so, we must ask how the mutilating individual happened to come across a classical sepulchral relief. It may have been encountered in a sanctuary, or perhaps was just a random find.

57The West Shops, including a study of the capitals, are being prepared for publication by C.K. Williams II. The interpretation presented here is my own.
though not so certain in identification, is the deliberate shearing off of faces. In two examples chisel marks from the blows that sheared off the faces are still visible. Others have been surface-hammered so that the features of the face are eliminated, but the face itself is still intact. This type of defacement is difficult to differentiate from general wear but can be recognized on the West Shop capitals by the relatively good condition of the rest of the sculptural features of the capitals. Approximately two/thirds of the faces seem to have been defaced, but no pattern is evident. Most of the faces were hammered off, with a few examples of surface hammering and shearing. When and why the heads were defaced remains unclear. We might want to associate the defacement with the repair of the capitals and the West Shops after earthquake damage in the last quarter of the fourth century, but it probably occurred later, for reasons related below.58 This defacement of figured capitals is, to the best of my knowledge, unique.

The defacement of the West Shop capitals may be a manifestation of Christian ire, but it may also be part of the repair after the West Shops after the fourth-century earthquakes. Several of the capitals were broken, repaired with clamps, and re-erected. It may well be that the defacement described above may be a crude form of restoration. Perhaps several of the faces were damaged in the destruction. Irreparably damaged, it may have been decided to remove the damaged images before re-erecting the colonnade. If this scenario is correct, and it seems most probable to me, the mutilation of the West Shop capitals is evidence of an attempt to make damaged material presentable again, and not an indication of Christian iconoclasm.

Three pieces of sculpture from Corinth have been inscribed with crosses. A herm (S202) has a cross very neatly inscribed on its front. The fate of the head is unknown but it seems likely the herm was decapitated as part of the defacement; the genitals appear

58 For the earthquakes and damage at Corinth see Rothaus (n.d.a.) and Chapter 1.
worn rather than mutilated. Half of a torso (S3540), found under a Byzantine wall, has a cross roughly and sloppily inscribed in its upper arm. This cross, however, could have been inscribed in the Byzantine period. The placement of the cross on the arm is unique and the statue is part of the foundation of a wall, a common fate of sculpture in the Byzantine period. The head of a bearded male (S919), perhaps a philosopher, has a cross lightly inscribed on its forehead. This head is extremely important for it is one of two pieces that form an important sculpture deposit.

Both the bearded male (S919), dated to the second half of the fifth century B.C. and the fifth century of our era priest's head (S920, #321) were found in one of the drains of Peirene. Close by, in the great drain of the Peribolos of Apollo were found two other heads, one a female head (S986, #164) that may date as late as the sixth century of our era, and one a head of Dionysus (S987, #27). Near to these and probably associated with them, but from an unknown context were found a badly damaged male portrait head of the second half of the fifth century B.C. (S1454) and another head of the same type (S909, #183). The placement of these heads could be viewed merely as the deposition of debris, perhaps cleanup. I think, however, they represent a ritual deposit. The heads were deposed of in a manner similar to burial or placement in a well; they were placed in a drain.

59 For the placement of sculpture in foundations see Merrifield (1987) 105-6. A portrait head (S1445a) was also deliberately placed in a bothros under a wall of unknown date at Corinth. For other togated statues in walls see S50 (#193) and S51 (#194).

60 For the date of S919 see De Grazia (1973) 229. For location see Corinth Notebook 49, p. 128. This drain was dug in 1908 and the records are not thorough.

61 De Grazia (1973) 238.

Interpreted as a group, these sculptures are highly indicative. All but one of the heads date to the fifth or sixth centuries. The exception is important for it is an image of Dionysus. Some Christian felt the need to exorcise at least one of these heads (S919) by inscribing a cross. Another head is a late portrait of a pagan priest. One of these heads alone, or even two together would need not indicate cult activity. But the combination of a god, a priest and an indication of Christian ire suggests that these are from a cult setting. The heads found near Peirene are probably part of a cult group, and the addition of a head to this group as late as the first half of the sixth century probably indicates a cult flourishing into this late period. At some point unknown, but probably in the second half of the sixth century or even early seventh century the cult group was seized by Christians and disposed of.

Other possible ritual deposits of sculpture exist at Corinth. In one drain a small head of Aphrodite (S72-18) a statuette of Aphrodite crouching (S72-19), a head of Perseus or Hermes (S72-4), a torso without a head (S72-5), a hand (S72-20), and a leg (S72-21) were found in fill that dates to the 6th century of our era. It seems likely that the contents of a shrine, perhaps that of Aphrodite, were removed and ritually deposited.

A group of sculpture found at Isthmia may have been another cult collection. Six pieces of sculpture were found within a collapsed room in the structure(s) east of the

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63de Grazia's argument that the portrayal as a pagan priest (S920, #321) may indicate an attempt at an old-fashioned style rather than an actual priest is convincing, but the context seems to rule against it in this instance.

64The sculpture of well 61-11 at the Demeter and Kore sanctuary may represent a ritual deposit. This well contained a female life size head (S2666) that may have been defaced (tip of nose, chin and mouth broken), a female life size head (S2667) again probably defaced (broken off 1/3 of way up neck, nose and lower portion of face broken away), a slightly over life sized female head (S2668) that seems to have been deliberately battered (note esp. chip in right cheek), and several fragments (S2662-2665). The deposit dates to the time of destruction of the sanctuary, however, and may simply be clean-up. Bookides (1972) 284 and personal communication.
Temple of Poseidon. These include a miniature head of a bearded god (IS 71-1), a double naiskos of twin Cybeles bearing the inscription ΜΗΤΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ (IS 71-4), a three figured relief stele, probably representing Hygeia, Asklepios and Telesphoros (IS 71-5), a three figured relief stele, probably of nymphs (IS 71-6), and a female head (IS 71-3). The room in which these sculptures were stored collapsed in the late fourth or early fifth century. The sculptures were not buried, but rather rested upon what probably was the earthen floor of the room. Nearby was found a hoard of coins. It appears that the sculpture and coins were simply in storage, perhaps in a back room. The reliefs are particularly crude works and probably would not have been part of an art collection. Whether these sculptures were still functioning as cult objects when the room collapsed we cannot tell, but the predominance of depictions of deities (five out of six) implies at least that they had been gathered together either for cult purposes or for ritual disposal.

Several individual pieces of sculpture have been found in wells and drains in and around Corinth. A bearded male head (S2621) was found in a well by a villager and another bearded male head was found in an underground chamber near the Baths of Aphrodite (S2625). While these may represent ritual deposits, lack of evidence precludes certainty. A small head (S75-3) found in fourth and fifth century fill in a well, the bearded head (S1933) found in fourth to sixth century fill in a cistern, and the small sandstone head (S77-16) found in drain fill datable to the sixth or seventh century probably represent ritual deposits. But the deposition of individual pieces of sculpture is more difficult to judge than that of groups and such an interpretation must remain tenuous.

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65 This structure or structures are largely unpublished, but see Peppers (1979) 215-9 for a summary of the houses, 220-71 for ceramics from the area. On Isthmia see Chapter 6.

66 These are in order, Lattimore (n.d.) nos. 4, 89, 90, 91 and 3. All are probably early Imperial. On the Nymphs see Peppers (1978).

67 Beaton and Clement (1976). The latest coin of the hoard can be no later than 383.
An examination of the fate of sculpture in late-antique Corinth, although often connected with action of Christians, has confirmed and explicated one aspect of the nature of pagan cult in late-antique Corinth. Sculpture was of great concern to at least some Christians in Corinth; the obvious corollary to this is that sculpture was important to some of the pagans in Corinth also. The zeal demonstrated in some of the mutilations, and the specific nature of some of the ritual disposals resulted from a Christian reaction to a real threat, contemporary pagan activity. Sculpture continued to be venerated in late-antique Corinth, and probably held a central position in cult activity. Unfortunately, the evidence rarely allows us to learn more specifically what cult activity was occurring.

The small head of Aphrodite, the statuette of a crouching Aphrodite, and the head of Hermes or Perseus probably come from a small shrine of the sort that were common throughout the empire. Much more intense activity is exposed by the group of late-antique heads found with that of Dionysus. Exactly what this group represents is difficult to determine. The nature of the cult that housed these sculptures remains unclear. Perhaps it was a cult of Dionysus, but we cannot be certain. The cult continued to have priests in the classical manner, however, as demonstrated by the early fifth century priest's head. This late-antique depiction seems to be a sculptural manifestation of a continued cult hierarchy. The presence of the other heads, three male and one female, are indicative. Perhaps they too were priestesses; perhaps they represented deities; but whoever they were, their images also were important to the cult.

Some cult activity would, of course, have been private, and the cult paraphernalia would then have been located in private residences or shops; perhaps our two Aphrodite pieces are of this sort. The collection of late-antique portraits in association with the head of Dionysus may represent a more open collection. The location of these sculptures in the

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68Orr (1978).
forum, and perhaps the traditional priest's apparel of the one head may indicate that these are the remnants of a cult housed in a public space. But I think not. Just north of Peirene and the Peribolos of Apollo a large and rather wealthy house was constructed in the fifth or perhaps sixth century. As demonstrated above, collections of sculpture tended to be in private residences in the late-antique period. The collection that included the Dionysus and pagan priest heads seems to have the trappings of classical, public cult, but may have been housed in a private residence.

The fifth and sixth centuries in Corinth saw a reaction against pagan sculpture resulting in the mutilation and ritual deposition of many sculptures. We cannot, of course, tell when the mutilated pieces underwent such treatment, but it seems likely that they should be associated with the ritual deposits. The precise nature of the Christian reaction remains unclear. While it is possible that all the mutilation and disposal was part of one orchestrated program or one violent outburst, this seems unlikely. The pieces are scattered, not collected in one spot and there is no general destruction. A series of periodic, perhaps private, "attacks" against pagan sculpture, in the fifth and more predominantly sixth centuries seems most probable.

In the case of the cult housed, perhaps, in the dwelling North of the Peribolos, the ejection of the statues would require no more than the conversion or death of one leading individual or the rebellion of a newly converted son inheriting the home. Some of these outbursts must have been vigorous, as attested by the excessive mutilation of some faces, but there is no need to assume any large, violent Christian outbursts of the sort that

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69Scranton (1957) 16-21. See also Chapter 1 for this structure.
happened at Antioch. While we cannot be certain, the role of sculpture seems to have shifted from the public place to the private place.\footnote{An altar inverted and used as the base for a statue of Constan II (641-668) may be simple reuse of an available piece of stone, or may be symbolic of the triumph of the Emperor over Christianity.}
CHAPTER IV  
THE FOUNTAIN OF THE LAMPS

Just west of the Asklepieion, at a spring located in one of the bluffs descending to the coastal plain, a series of antique structures found their final form as the Fountain of the Lamps. ¹ This flooded, partially subterranean complex served as a cult center in late antiquity and was the site of dedications of lamps, jugs, bowls, coins, and curse tablets. In part a cult of the Nymphs, this site apparently served both the pagan and Christian population of Corinth and existed in a milieu neither fully pagan or Christian. The Fountain of the Lamps provides a unique glimpse into the private cult of a population undergoing a profound religious transformation.

The Fountain of the Lamps was discovered in 1967-69 during excavations at the Gymnasium of Ancient Corinth. The structure originally was a bath of the fourth or fifth century B.C. that functioned into the second century B.C.² This bathhouse was partially placed in a subterranean chamber of the bluff and included a courtyard with sunken pool. After a period of abandonment beginning in the early or middle second century B.C. the

¹The Fountain of the Lamps has not been fully published and I have not been able to view the notebooks or material from this excavation. Several requests for permission to see the material have been made in the past three years, but a reply has not been forthcoming. See Wiseman (1972) 9 for the placement.

²The excavations were conducted under the direction of James Wiseman by the University of Texas at Austin under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. For the Fountain of the Lamps see Wiseman (1970); Wiseman (1972); Garnett (1975); Jordan (1975). For the excavations at the Gymnasium see also Wiseman (1967a); Wiseman (1967b); Dengate (1981); Catling (1972); Williams (1974); Williams (1976); Michaud (1971); Michaud (1972). David Jordan is preparing the curse tablets and graffiti for publication. The importance of this site has not generally been noted, but see Gregory (1986) 233.
bath was rebuilt in the middle first century B.C., presumably in association with the refounding of the city by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. The basic structure of the bath then remained unaltered for several centuries. Sometime prior to the end of the fourth century of our era, the painted ceiling was covered with a brown cement and a terracotta pipe was set along top of one the benches. This pipe carried water from the interior of the chamber to the exterior courtyard and marked the end of structure's days as a bath. The pipe itself was filled and no longer functioning by the end of the fourth century.

Around A.D. 400 the ceiling of the structure collapsed and the complex was ruined. The bathhouse and courtyard were at this point completely flooded and debris from the complex and elsewhere began to accumulate in and around the pool set into the courtyard. Early in the sixth century a rough wall was built along the southeast of the structure and a "ramp wall" of re-used blocks descended from the piles of rubbish down to the pools. These constructions managed to keep the entrance to the underground chamber of the bath partially clear and accessible. A lime kiln was installed in the area in the sixth century and numerous sculptural fragments, presumably leftovers from the lime-making activities, have been recovered. Towards the end of the sixth century the edge of the bluff collapsed, the entire bath and courtyard complex were buried, and the structure was sealed and abandoned. It was during the period between the late fourth century destruction and the late sixth century collapse that the Fountain became a repository for votive offerings.

Votives could have been cast from above into the flooded remains, from the ramp wall, or an individual could descend into the water and even deep into the subterranean

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3 Probably during one of the late fourth century earthquakes. See Rothaus (n.d.a) and Chapter 1. See Chapter 2 for damage at the nearby Asklepeion during the same period.

4 These wall are unclear. See Wiseman (1972) 23, 27.
chamber and associated channels. By far the most popular votive item (of those preserved in the archaeological record) was the terracotta lamp; over 4000 lamps were recovered, and nearly half of these were intact. In addition to the lamps, forty-five coins, ranging in date from the mid-fourth to the mid-sixth centuries, were found, and four lead defixiones were recovered. Incomplete publication prevents discussion of what other votives might have been present, but the large number of intact bowls and small jugs found may indicate that these too were votive offerings.

The lamps themselves are not unusual, although this large deposit is the basis for the chronology of late Roman lamps of Corinthian manufacture. The vast majority, approximately 80%, of the lamps were, in fact, of local manufacture. The rest of the lamps were composed of contemporaneous imports, mostly Attic. Over 300 different lamps designs and disc patterns have been identified and there is no indication that the decoration of a lamp played any role in its suitability as an offering. The images ranged from patterned discs and the ever-popular Eros to Christian crosses and displays of Old Testament mythology. The votive lamps range in date from the mid-fifth to the middle or perhaps late sixth century, and the vast majority are early sixth century. These lamps date the cult activity and indicate a high point of popularity in the early, and to a lesser degree, middle sixth century.

5 For the coins and defixiones see Wiseman (1972) 32-3.

6 David Jordan, personal communication.

7 Garnett (1975) 174-5.

8 Garnett (1975) 184.

9 Garnett (1975) 186. While the internal chronology of the Corinthian imitation lamps sequences is not precise, the terminal dates for the lamps recovered from the Fountain of the Lamps is relatively secure. For the ongoing battle over late Roman lamp chronology in Greece see Wohl (1981), Slane (1990) 21-22, H. Williams (1981) 49-54. Arja Karavieri and Judith Binder have discussed this issue with me. Throughout this dissertation I have followed the revised dating proposed by Binder and Karavieri.
Four of the lamps recovered from the Fountain of the lamps have graffiti inscribed upon them. Graffiti on lamps, while not unheard of, are rather unusual.\textsuperscript{10} The original interpretations of the graffiti are erroneous, and new versions are being prepared for publication.\textsuperscript{11} These lamps are of particular importance. One lamps invoke "the angels who dwell upon the water".\textsuperscript{12} Another lamps bears a standard magical formula invoking Sabbaoh, Michael, Gabriel.\textsuperscript{13} What may be a Christian thank offering for manumission is inscribed on a third.\textsuperscript{14} Full discussion of these lamps must await the final publication of the graffiti, but they make clear the votive nature of the dedications. The reference to the "angels who dwell upon the water" is most revelatory, for it provides a glimpse of what was envisioned by at least some of the patrons of the Fountain of the Lamps. The site was a location inhabited by entities, in this instance described as $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$. The term can be pagan in literature, but in inscriptions such usage is found, to the best of my knowledge, only in Asia Minor.\textsuperscript{15} I am unaware of any pagan usage of the word in mainland Greece. A small equilateral cross is inscribed at the beginning of the graffito. The equilateral cross is standard at the beginning and sometimes end of Christian inscriptions in the Corinthia, and its juxtaposition with the $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ makes it almost a certainty that the reference is

\textsuperscript{10}See Nilsson (1950) 108-9 for examples. PDM 14.150-231 lists a spell to make a god appear through the use of a lamp. The practitioner is required to inscribe BAXYSIXXYX and six figures on the lamp.

\textsuperscript{11}Jordan (1975) and personal communication.

\textsuperscript{12}L-69-103; Wiseman (1972) 28-30. The lamp has been read incorrectly and there is no reference to Jews. David Jordan, personal communication.

\textsuperscript{13}L 4607; Wiseman (1972) 29. David Jordan, personal communication for the reading.

\textsuperscript{14}L-69-104; Wiseman (1975) 31-33. The reading of this lamp must be regarded as tentative.

\textsuperscript{15}See Sheppard (1980/81) and bibliography cited there.
It seems, therefore, that the Fountain of the lamps was venerated by Christians.

This does not mean that the Fountain of the Lamps was a Christian cult site. In fact, there can be no doubt that it was also a cult of the Nymphs. Four lead curse tablets were found in the Fountain of the Lamps. Publication of these is not yet complete, but one of them is an invocation of the Nymphs. More important than these finds, however, is the large number of well-attested cave cults in Greece, all of which share in common a penchant for large numbers of votive lamps, and were, as we shall see, cults of the Nymphs. The subterranean Fountain of the Lamps, while as much man-made structure as cave, fits this genre of site and must be considered part of this phenomenon. While it may be a trick of archaeological preservation, the thousands of votive lamps left in caves through Greece in the Late Roman period seem to indicate that this was one of the most popular forms of late-antique pagan activity.

Caves and subterranean places were, of course, always places of magic and areas particularly appropriate to liminal activity. Moreover, caves and sources of water were especially suitable for activities of Pan and Nymphs. Cave use, especially for cult

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16 Kent (1966) nos. 522-25, 530-37, 539-41, 552, 553, 555-566, 582, 585, 588, 589, 597, 604, 605, 619-621, 629, 630, 644, 650, 653, 655, 661, 662, 664, 672, 682 (I have excluded chi-rho from the list). See also from the Gymnasium excavations, I-69-14 (I-70-21) and I-70-20, both tombstones; Wiseman (1972) 41. The equilateral cross is, it should be noted, an extremely popular magical symbol as well.

17 Wiseman (1972) 33 and David Jordan, personal communication.

18 One must be careful not to forget that perishable offerings, especially food, but also wood and less durable material, rarely leave any trace in the archaeological record.

19 From the ancient world see Porphyry, Cave of the Nymphs 5-11.

purposes was common in classical times, and again in the late Roman period. In Attica, several caves were given over to cult use in late antiquity, the most famous of which is the Vari cave. Cult activity in these caves seems to have focused primarily upon the dedication of lamps, and perhaps other ceramic vessels. The lamps, numbering in the thousands, are far too numerous to be remains from practical usage and must be votive offerings. While I have not been able to examine the lamps for evidence of usage, it seems most likely that they were left burning in the cave and were not re-used after their dedication.

The dedication of lamps was not new to the late-antique period. As Nilsson has demonstrated in an encompassing but little-known article, dedicatory lamps and candles were common in a variety of settings throughout antiquity, including the Roman period. The lamp became a hallmark, to the Christian apologists at least, of pagan cult. Tertullian (apol. 46) objected vehemently to the use of lamps during the day, as that was part of pagan ritual. The use of lamps and candles was so strongly identified with pagan activity that Jerome (contra Vigilantum 4, 7) protested that the introduction of candles into the churches was an inexcusable use of pagan rites. As a magical device, the lamp was extremely popular. Spells used lamps for a variety of things, including divination, invocations, control of others, curing headaches, and making others appear to have donkey's snouts.

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The Vari cave, located on Mt. Hymettos, was excavated in 1901 and proved to be an extremely rich site. Inscriptions record that a certain Archedamos built the shrine at the instigation of the Nymphs. Several reliefs and a carving of Archedamos himself were found; these may have been mutilated by Christians. In the late-antique period a wall may have been constructed or reconstructed, perhaps as a repository for votives. A leveling of the inside of the cave was undertaken in the fourth or fifth century, after a period of disuse. The votive lamps, which numbered almost one thousand, were deposited in the cave during the fifth and sixth centuries. Weller argued that the lamps were Christian votives, based on what he saw as predominately Christian images on the discs. Even if one were to assume that the image on a lamp was related to its cult usage (an assumption that seems poor to me), contra the excavators, the majority of the lamps do not display Christian images. Given the positive identification of the site as cult of the Nymphs (as well as Pan) it seems perverse to see the cult activity as anything but dedications to the Nymphs. Moreover, it seems likely that Christians defaced this sanctuary and the relief of Archedamos, a sure indicator of the pagan nature of this cult site.

Other cultic caves have been located in Attica. The Phyle Pan Cave, sometimes referred to as Lychnospilia, produced over two thousand lamps, most of which were late

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26 See above, Chapter 3.
27 Weller (1903) 285-6.
28 Wickens (1986) 117.
29 Weller (1903) 338 offer a fourth century date for most of the lamps. New datings place most of the lamps in the fifth century and leave open the real possibility that some of them are sixth century. Cf. Wickens (1986) 106. I have been unable to see these lamps (see note 1).
Roman. Inscriptions and reliefs, some as late as the third and fourth centuries of our era, indicate that this was a cave of Pan and the Nymphs. The Eleusis Pan cave, destroyed by the Titan cement company in 1955, contained hundreds of objects and lamps of mixed date, including late Roman. These finds have not been fully published, but it may well be that the lamps are late Roman dedications. The Marathon Cave has also been reported to have contained late Roman lamps. Additionally, Roman lamps of indeterminate date have been reported from Karabola cave, located on Mt. Parnes.

The explosion of votive lamp dedications in late-antique Greece marks a change in pagan cult activity. I have argued above that dedication of lamps at the Asklepieion and other sites may have been an adaptation of pagan cult activity in a reaction to the ban on sacrifice. The activity in the caves of Greece may be also be a reaction to anti-pagan legislation; in this instance cult activity may have moved to less visible sites. Whether this change is a result of pressure from the Christians or an internal development cannot be determined at this point. It seems likely, however, given the evidence of Libanios discussed above, and the proliferation of such activity in remote caves in Attica, that Christian pressure was in part responsible. The dedication of lamps was extremely popular at cults of the Nymphs, although it was not limited to these cults.

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31 Wickens (1986) 246-69 and bibliography cited there. For the lamps see Wickens (1986) 259-60.
32 Wickens (1986) 275-279 and bibliography cited there.
33 Wickens (1986) 212.
34 Wickens (1986) 243-246 and bibliography cited there.
35 Above, Chapter 2.
36 Cf. Wickens 214-5.
37 But cf. Wickens (1986) 218-219, 224-5 where he notes that there is also a marked increase in non-cultic usage of cave sites in the late-antique period. Perhaps the phenomenon is related to some larger population or settlement trend. Wickens (1986) 225, following Gregory (1986), suggests that the
Given the Attic parallels and the curse tablet invoking the Nymphs, we can be certain that the Fountain of the Lamps was a cult of the Nymphs. The cult activity must have included prayers, invocations and offerings thrown into the water. It is easy to envision lamps being lit and then set adrift in the flooded area. Coins were also thrown into the pool, and it is possible that bowls and jugs, perhaps filled with perishable offerings were also deposited. People may have gone down into the pool after the place collapsed and flooded. A paving slab, overturned sometime after the fourth century (as evidenced by a coin adhering to its face), presumably was overturned by someone entering the Fountain of the Lamps. It is easy to envision descents into the flooded chamber as part of the cult activity. The Fountain of the Lamps was simultaneously a home of the Nymphs and a place to commune with Christian angels. A myriad of other possibilities exist, of course. These are two identifications that we know of; other residents of Corinth might have envisioned the site as something still different.

Polysemous cult sites are not unknown, and that at Mamre in Palestine provides a striking parallel for the Fountain of the Lamps. The Oak of Mamre was a cult site for pagans, Jews and Christians. Moreover, their feast days all fell together so that one could find a variety of individuals at this site at the same time worshipping quite different deities. The situation is described in detail by Sozomen, an ecclesiastical historian who was born to pagan parents in fifth century Gaza. Ostensibly, Sozomen writes of activity that occurred during the reign of Constantine. Sozomen's elaborate and detailed descriptions certainly lead one to believe, however, that he had personally witnessed (or perhaps been told by his parents) of such activity.

cave usage is related to a period of "renewed prosperity and perhaps increased population." If this is true, than a revival of cult caves may also be a response to such pressures.

38Wiseman (1972) 32n.71.
Sozomen describes a scene of chaotic celebration with diverse peoples and religions gathered together in one great festival at one holy site. His descriptions of tent dwellers, business dealings and family affairs impart an excellent view of what a festival in late antiquity must have been like. But for our purposes here we are interested in what Sozomen says about cult activity (2.4.3-6):

The festival was celebrated by all, by the Jews because they honor Abraham the patriarch, by the Hellenes because it is the dwelling place of angels, and by the Christians because at one time Christ manifested himself there to a holy man, revealing that at a later time he would come through the virgin for the salvation of the human race. They honored this place appropriately with worship, some praying to the God of all, others calling on the angels, pouring libations with wine or burning frankincense or oxen or goats or sheep or cocks... During the time of the celebration no one draws water from that place. For according to Hellenic custom some deposited burning lamps, and some offered wine or threw in round offering cakes, and other coins or myrrh or incense. And because of this, as is likely, the water became unfit by the action of the material thrown in.

Sozomen makes it clear that Mamre was a cult site for pagans, Christians and Jews alike; what he does not make clear is who is participating in which rituals. This ambiguity may be intentional. He brings up Mamre largely to explain how Constantine forbade any but Christian worship there, and elaborates how local ecclesiastical and military figures were responsible for the enforcement of Constantine's order. Constantine's actual
involvement at Mamre is doubtful; it is much more likely that Sozomen has, as in so many other instances, attributed actions of later emperors to Constantine. The issue may, in fact, have been the purity of Christian worship.

Perhaps Sozomen is purposefully vague in his identification of the participants in the specific cult practices. He does not state that the Hellenes (here meaning pagans) offered lamps, but he states that lamps were offered according to Hellenic (pagan) custom. The implication is, I think, that all—pagans, Christians and Jews—were involved in the same sorts of rituals. The rituals were the same, although the deities being addressed by the rituals were different. The cult at Mamre does more than witness late-antique cult practice, especially the use of lamps; it illustrates the ambiguity and polysemy of late-antique cult practice. Pagans, Christians and Jews all worshipped side by side at Mamre, and were apparently quite happy doing so.

The activity at Mamre provides an excellent parallel to the activity at the Fountain of the Lamps. Not only is the practice of throwing lamps and other dedications into the water identical, but the same milieu of pagans and Christians worshipping similar beings (daemones and angeloi) in similar manners at the same time and at the same site is evidenced. The Fountain of the Lamps was an ambiguous place. Christians as well as pagans could leave votives in nearly identical ritual. For this reason the terms pagan and Christians seem almost irrelevant at the Fountain of the Lamps. The cult practices of Christians and pagans were so similar and the goal of reaching entities be they called Nymphs or ὄγγελοι so close that a participant must have been confused not only whether the other people worshipping were Christian or pagan, but even whether he himself was Christian or pagan. This mixed milieu continued for over 100 years, a certain indicator of the slow and complicated process of transformation and the strength of late-antique religious traditions. The Fountain of the Lamps provides us with a glimpse of the daily
religious life of Christians and pagans in late-antique Corinth, and we see that they were not that different.
CHAPTER V
KENCHREAI, EASTERN PORT OF CORINTH

Kenchreai, the eastern port of Corinth, served both Corinth and much of the Peloponnnesos.¹ Near the diolchos, on major roads, and fifteen kilometers away from the premier city of Roman Greece, its economic (and perhaps social) role must have been great. Located on the Saronic Gulf, this counterpoint to Lechaion (the port on the Gulf of Corinth) is located some seven kilometers south of the modern Corinth canal and the ancient diolchos. Kenchreai controlled Corinth's eastern trade, and the preponderance of eastern fine wares in the Corinthia re-affirms the eastern-looking tendencies of the late-antique Corinthia.²

While the exact size of Kenchreai remains unknown, it must have been a sizable urban node, perhaps similar to Piraeus or Ostia. The scale of the settlement may be indicated by the presence of graves to the north of the harbor, and these

¹This chapter and all future work on Kenchreai has been made possible by and must be a tribute not only to the meticulous work of Prof. Scranton and those associated with the excavations, but also their dedication to academic freedom and access to material. While my work may seem, at times, to consist largely of negative reviews, the disagreements are those of interpretation or based on knowledge not then available. My work at Kenchreai has just begun; the material at Kenchreai has proven to be so rich and important that several years will be needed to re-evaluate it. Beyond questions of interpretation, this chapter contains only preliminary observations. My descriptions and interpretations are drawn from my own investigations of the excavation notebooks and archaeological material except when otherwise indicated. A complete revision of earlier publications would be neither desirable or profitable, but certainly would be unreadable. Sadly, Prof. Scranton passed away before I could discuss much of my work with him.

²Williams (1981) notes that the distribution of Asia Minor lamps at Kenchreai is markedly higher than that at Corinth. A study of the ceramics with particular attention to what the ceramics may reveal about trade is projected for the future.
graves confirm the urban nature of Kenchreai. (Figure 6). One kilometer northeast of Kenchreai, a mid-first to early-second century tomb has been excavated. This tomb, which also was along the Isthmia-Kenchreai road, may indicate the northern boundary of the early Roman settlement. An apsidal structure with several adjoining rooms was found in close proximity to the early Roman tomb.\(^3\) A late Roman burial was present in the floor of one of these rooms. The exact nature of this structure has not been determined, but it seems likely that it is a mausoleum either built or reused in the late Roman period, or perhaps even a funeral chapel.\(^4\)

Less than half a kilometer north of the harbor, several early Roman tombs are located along the coastline.\(^5\) These indicate the already obvious eastern boundary of Kenchreai north of the harbor. These tombs probably lay along the coast road evidenced at Loutro Eleni half a kilometer south of Kenchreai.\(^6\) While there are no indicators of the southern and eastern boundaries of Kenchreai, the urban center could easily have continued past Loutro Eleni and a considerable distance to the west as well. These limited indications of the size of Kenchreai confirm a conclusion obvious from Kenchreai's importance and distance from

\(^3\)See Cummer (1971) for the early Roman tomb, Scranton (1967) 185-6 for the other structures. Hawthorne (1965) 197 identifies the structure as a Christian church. This is a possibility, but seems unlikely given what little bit has been revealed of the plan.

\(^4\)Scranton (1978) 6-7 mentions a "fortification" wall approximately 500 meters north-east of the harbor (E 2460/N15100) that may also mark a boundary of the city or may be a trans-Isthmian wall. The wall and associated structures to the west seems to have been Greek and a late Roman burial was placed in the position of one of the robbed out blocks. For the trans-Isthmian wall see Wiseman (1963) 255-56, 248-71; (1978) 60-3Scranton (1978) 8 also mentions Hellenistic sherds (E2150/N 14850) and an unpublished archaic inscription about 200 meters north-west of the harbor. I have not examined these structures and sites.

\(^5\)Scranton (1978) 11-12.

\(^6\)Scranton (1978) 2, 11-12 for the road. Wiseman (1978) 52-3 reports late Roman sherds at Loutro Eleni.
Corinth. Kenchreai was not a small harbor town, but a substantial urban area with good access to agricultural land.\(^7\)

Pausanias' description of Kenchreai is brief and rather uninformative:

ἐν δὲ Κένχρεας Ἀφροδίτης τε ἐστι ναὸς καὶ ἀγαλμα λίθου, μετὰ δὲ οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐρύματι τὸ δία τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδώνος χαλκοῦν, κατὰ δὲ τῷ ἑτερον πέρας τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἰσίδου ἱερά.

At Kenchreai there is a temple of Aphrodite, and a statue of stone as well, beyond this, on the mole in the sea a bronze statue of Poseidon, and at the other end of the harbor a sanctuary of Asklepios and Isis.

From this description we can be sure only that the sanctuaries and statues he mentions were there when he visited. Kenchreai was, of course, a large harbor and would have been crowded. Pausanias' description is neither meticulous nor detailed and cannot be used to identify the structures excavated at Kenchreai. Placement is uncertain and his prepositions are vague. The best that can be determined is that a temple of Aphrodite was at one end of the harbor, the sanctuary of Asklepios and Isis at the other. Attempts to identify the excavated structures on the basis of Pausanias' topographical description are weak at best.\(^8\)

\(^{7}\)See Chapter 1 on the relationship of Kenchreai to agricultural land. The tendency has been to underestimate the size and diversity of Kenchreai. Strabo 8.6.22 refers to Kenchreai as κόμη καὶ λιμήν. Hohlfelder (1976) perhaps errs in referring to Kenchreai as a city, but Scranton's (1978) 88 characterization of Kenchreai as "plebeian and commercial" is overly simple. In the absence of more discrete information it is hard to know how to envision Kenchreai. Lechaion was much closer to Corinth and even inside the long walls in the Greek period and thus is not a good parallel. Piraeus is an obvious choice, but one wonders if Kenchreai might not have been even more independent and self-sufficient, perhaps in the style of Ostia. For the history of Kenchreai, with the adjustments made in this chapter and due caution, see Hohlfelder (1976). See Hohlfelder (1970a) for a description of early Imperial Kenchreai. To the sources cited by Hohlfelder must be added Julian Ep. 73 where he orders Maximinus to gather ships (the number to be revealed by the proconsul) at Kenchreai. The event should be related to Julian's 361 march West, but the ships may never have been gathered.

\(^{8}\)Excavations have been conducted jointly by the University of Chicago and Indiana University under the direction of R.L. Scranton and under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Some additional excavations have been conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service. For excavation reports see Scranton (1964), Shaw (1967a and b), Scranton (1967), Shaw (1970), Scranton (1976), Cummer (1971), Ibrahim (1976), Scranton (1978), Hohlfelder (1978), Adamshecek (1979),
At the northeast end of the harbor a large brick building, extremely well preserved, has been excavated. The structure, appropriately if uninspiringly called the "Brick Building," was constructed near the end of the first century of our era, and, as so many buildings at Kenchreai, succeeded similar buildings upon which it built. Associated although not originally joined to this structure was the "south Building," a large, perhaps peristylar, courtyard. These two buildings underwent a major renovation in the late fourth century and were joined. The result was a large unified structure with a peristyle courtyard, multiple rooms many paved with mosaics, a nymphaeum, and a large waterproofed room, apparently a pool. While the structure was initially called the Aphrodision, this identification must be rejected. This building is, instead, a classic example of a Roman villa, a possible identification the excavators noted but unfortunately abandoned (cf. Areopagus Houses B and C, Figure 8). As such, it is outside the scope of this study and only the unpleasant task of refuting the identification offered by the excavators remains. The primary reason for identifying the structure as an Aphrodision is the text of Pausanias, and a desire to see the Isaeum on the other side of the harbor. As demonstrated, the limited excavations at Kenchreai and the cursory nature of Pausanias'


9Scranton (1978) 79-90. I have not examined thoroughly the notebooks and ceramics for the excavations at the northeast end of the harbor and all conclusion presented here are, of course, tentative.

10The waterproof room is the northeastern most room and has been partially destroyed by the sea and is no at the modern coastline. There is no evidence for a heated bath, but given the amount of the structure now submerged such a possibility must be held open. The waterproof room was not noted by the original excavators. One might want to entertain the possibility that this was a pool fed by the sea. The large drains of the building certainly indicate that a large amount of water was being moved. Fikret Yegul and Timothy Gregory have discussed this room with me, but are not, of course, responsible for the interpretation. A fuller discussion of this structure as villa must await further research. For villas see Chapter 1 and esp. Sodini (1984).

description do not allow for identifications from this text. With the removal of any predisposition to see the structure as the temple of Aphrodite, the building must be evaluated solely on the basis of the archaeological material.

Pausanias refers to a naos, and we should expect a classical temple, readily identifiable in the archeological record. Scranton notes this, but argues that canonical temples of Aphrodite are rare in Greece and thus a more "oriental" structure might be expected. A famous temple of Aphrodite was, however, close by and perhaps even visible on a clear day, from Kenchreai: the temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth. Given the proximity of this classical temple of Aphrodite, there is no reason to expect any great divergence of form in a temple of Aphrodite at Kenchreai. It has also been argued that the figural ceramics, especially the lamps, found in the structure were suitable for use in a sanctuary of Aphrodite. While the preponderance of the material does indeed display "erotic, Dionysiac, gladiatorial and mythological themes that would at least be appropriate for the service of Aphrodite," this means nothing. All the figural motifs to be found on ceramics and lamps in the Corinthia until the fifth century of our era fit these categories. Moreover, there is no evidence that the images on lamps were ever considered a factor in determining suitability for worship.

While there is no evidence that the structure was a temple of Aphrodite, it follows the same basic plan as the vast majority of villas in the East and in the Corinthia. Scranton was aware of the similarity of the structure to other villas found in the region. He rejects the identification as villa in part because he cannot see such a "mansion if not palace" in

\[12\] Scranton (1978) 89. Scranton uses parallels from Kourion and Byblos.

\[13\] Blegen (1930)

\[14\] Scranton (1978) 89.
the "otherwise plebeian and commercial atmosphere of Kenchreai." But the structure is neither mansion nor palace, but villa, and Kenchreai was, as noted above, more than commercial. Extremely luxurious villas prospered at the port of Ostia, and closer to home, Piraeus; urban villas were not unknown, and in fact, were common. There is no reason to consider the structure at the northeast end of the harbor to be anything other than a villa.

Also problematic is the interpretation of the structure at the southwest end of the harbor as the sanctuary of Isis. (Figures 9, 10, 11). Again, the primary reason to identify the structure as such is the passage from Pausanias, and we have demonstrated the unsuitability of the passage for this purpose. The southwest end of the harbor presents a complicated series of overlapping buildings, extremely difficult to figure out. The earliest buildings have been, for the most part, obliterated by later constructions, and do not concern us here. Of particular interest are the fountain courtyard and the dromos, which together form the elaborate nymphaeum, constructed in the second or perhaps third century. It is this structure that has been identified as the Isaeum.

A description of this fountain court and related structure has been published; while it is problematic in some cases, especially building sequences, there is no need to replicate it here. The Nymphaeum is an apsidal construction, elaborately revetted, with mosaic floors, and a fountain centered in the apse. The apse is joined to a rectangular courtyard,

15Scranton (1978) 88.

16Meiggs (1973) 47-49, 69-70. Ostia was, of course, much larger, but there is no reason to believe it was much different in character than Kenchreai. The Piraeus villas have not been published.

17Preliminary studies if this structure indicate that it underwent repair in the fourth century and seems to have been abandoned after 400 (although this date is not secure). A large lime kiln built in the structure dates to the middle sixth to middle seventh centuries and certainly provides a terminus ante quem for the domestic life of the structure. Cf. Scranton (1978) 85-7.

18Scranton (1978) 52-78.
apparently unroofed, and a collonaded entrance "hall." The apse and courtyard form what
the excavators termed the "Fountain Court," and the Fountain Court, with the entrance
hall, form a standard example of a Nymphaeum. An excellent parallel, also now
submerged, is the Nymphaeum at Baia (Figure 12), a structure that will be discussed
below.

Beyond the information of Pausanias, there is scant evidence for the identification
as a temple of Isis. The rectangular area south of and connected to the fountain court has
been identified as the temple. No superstructure remains, only the walls of the "basement"
have been interpreted as foundations for the "temple." There is no reason, however, to
view the remaining architecture as part of a temple, and, in fact, one might question
whether the walls of the "basement" could support a large superstructure. The rectangular
area cannot, I think, be identified as a temple.

To bolster his interpretation, Scranton pointed out a broken column with an
inscription: ΟΡΓΙΑ. Scranton offers the reasonable explanation that at one time the
column read Isis Orgia. This interpretation is not certain. It is possible that Orgia is a

has already been described (Scranton (1978) 53-78) and I will not review all of the finds. My focus is on
chronology and those items that help identify the function of the structure. The building sequences at this
end of the harbor are extremely complicated. Scranton's period plans (Scranton (1978) ill. 26-30) are no
longer accurate. Roman ceramic chronology in the Corinthia is much better known now than when
Kenchreai was dug; Scranton was forced to make decisions based on what he saw as probable sequences.
A re-examination of the ceramics from the foundation trenches has revealed that many aspects of the
building sequences need re-evaluation. Figuring out more accurate sequences is difficult and must await
further study.

20One might wish to compare the rectangular structures to each side of the Baia Nymphaeum;
Zevi (1983) plan 1 and 2. Unfortunately the plan at Baia is not fully known. See plan 6.

21Scranton (1978) 73. He cites I.G. 10.2.1, 103, cf. Witt (1971) 305n.2. This is not a common
epithet of Isis.
name, perhaps the dedicator (or in this case dedicatress) of the column. The exact interpretation is not important here. As Scranton notes, the column was not found in situ, but rather in an adjacent early Christian basilica. There is no reason to assume that the column came from the rectangular structure. I prefer, actually, Scranton's interpretation of the inscription, and it does seem likely that the column came from the temple of Isis. Nevertheless, this does not tell us where the temple was, and given the incomplete nature of the excavations at Kenchreai, I prefer to assume that the temple remains undiscovered. The presence of the column in an early sixth century basilica, however, probably indicates that the Temple of Isis, like most other temples in the Corinthia, was destroyed and dismantled in the fifth century.

What then of the glass opus sectile panels, the most spectacular finds at Kenchreai? One hundred and twenty glass panels, still in their original wooden packing crates, were found where they had been deposited in the courtyard of the Nymphasium over a millennium and a half ago. These panels are not only a striking find, but an important witness of late-antique art and society. The panels portrayed Nilotic scenes, geometric patterns and portraits of philosophers and imperial officials. The pictorial content of the panels rightly played an important role in the excavators discussion of the function of this structure. Scranton remarks:

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22 The phenomenon is well known. See for example Volusianus at Ostia: Meiggs (1973) 398-9. For the name cf. Orgius Messianus (CIL 13.1992), and Sex. Orgius (CIL 13.1462, 2608, 2609). No Greek or feminine version of the name is, to the best of my knowledge, attested.

23 Cf. NB A2, p. 52. The column was found in the debris of the north corridor and presumably was in use there.

24 Scranton's hypothesis that the letters PH inscribed on the column bases of the dromos represent the 108th year of the era of Diocletian and thus 392, the year Theodosius focused his attack on pagan cult, is insupportable. Scranton (1978) 77; Scranton (1976). I prefer an explanation also offered by Scranton: mason's marks

25 Scranton (1978) 68-70
"Although it would be possible to interpret the panels in a secular context, or in a semi-religious, quasi-cultic contexts, they are certainly appropriate to the cult of Isis. The "Egyptianizing" characteristics, particularly the composition in zones, and the occasional Egyptian-like variations in scale within a scene, the swamp scenes, the human figures in Coptic style in the swamp scenes, and some of the formal border patterns, are thoroughly at home in an Isiac atmosphere. The "portraits"--or depictions of statues--of Homer, Plato Theophrastus, and the other, similar but un-named individual, recall the statues of similar Greek sages in the Serapieion at Memphis."\textsuperscript{26}

The description is apt, but given the absence of any significant reason to identify any excavated structure as the Isaeum, the panels cannot make the identification. Moreover, while possible, it is not necessary to associate the panels with the temple of Isis.

The rejection of the identification of the excavated structure as the temple of Isis, as well as the disassociation of the panels from this temple do not lessen the importance of the panels or the fountain court. The structure was an elaborate and sumptuously decorated Nymphaeum, certainly worthy of note. While it may have been cultic, there is no convincing reason to see it so. The thematic content of the panels reminds us, however, that the connection between cultic and non-cultic decoration could be close indeed. The Nymphaeum is ultimately a testimony to the strength of paganism and pagan philosophers in late antiquity. To make such an argument, however, the structure and attendant material must be re-examined and re-evaluated.

The Nymphaeum itself was constructed, as mentioned above, some time after the second century of our era.\textsuperscript{27} The structure was multi-level, with the fountain court being

\textsuperscript{26}Scranton (1978) 73.

\textsuperscript{27}The structure identified as Scranton (1978) 44-5, 53 as a possible shrine does not exist per se. The quadrangular niche of Scranton's period 3 seems more likely to have been part of the original warehouse construction. Most importantly the apse in the upper sanctuary does not date to the early Roman period but rather is part of a Byzantine re-use of the early Christian church. The actual building sequences for the area northeast of the Nymphaeum, which Scranton calls the Upper sanctuary are very different from those presented in the publication. This area will largely be ignored here as it was largely separate and apparently unrelated to the Nymphaeum.
slightly sunken, descent provided by three steps. The cellar, to the southwest, was entered by a door and a set of descending steps in the southwest corner of the fountain court. The fountain court had a marble dado and was floored with a magnificent opus tessalatum mosaic. The floor of the apse itself was elevated c. 0.10m. above the level of the courtyard and decorated by a semi-circle of opus lithostroton broken by radial lines. At the center of the apse was an octagonal basin lined with marble. A lead pipe was fitted in the center of the basin, and a marble pedestal, with a vertical shaft was placed upon this. Water under pressure from the pipe flowed through the shaft to erupt in a fountain. Remarkably, little roofing material was found in the Nymphaeum; so little, in fact, that it is not certain that the structure was roofed.

The cellar never had more than a hard packed clay floor, a sure indication that it was not a public part of the Nymphaeum and probably never more than a work and storeroom. The concrete walls of the cellar were coated with mortar, perhaps to be covered with plaster or revetment, but plastering a wall need not mean it was to be for "public" view. Another door was in the center of the southwest wall of the cellar, allowing access to the other areas of the pier. While there was no clear tile fall, the cellar fill contained numerous wooden beams and roof tiles and these probably were the chief constituents of the roof. The cellar was, at best, a storeroom for the Nymphaeum, but could have been a completely unrelated in function. This close juxtaposition of what must have been a strikingly beautiful Nymphaeum and a clay floored storeroom is a strong reminder that the Nymphaeum is not merely situated at the harbor, but situated literally in

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28 There is no evidence for the gates Scranton proposes at the southeast end of the cellar structure. Scranton restores the temple on top of the cellar, but this is unsupported by the evidence and architecturally unlikely, as some of the cellar walls would not have supported any substantial weight. Cf. Scranton (1978) 59-60.

29 The clay floor was laid shortly after the second century; pottery lots A1636, 1692
the middle of one of the piers, surrounded on all sides by commercial enterprises. Along the northwest end of the cellar and Nymphaeum ran a rectangular hall of which almost nothing remains.

Of particular interest are the colonnade and stoas to the northwest of the Nymphaeum. The central colonnade has been aptly dubbed the *dromos*. Building sequences in this area are complex, but it is clear that the floor of the *dromos* as well as the floor of the stoa to the northeast were laid in the third century.\(^{30}\) This third-century structure is, therefore, a colonnade flanked by two stoas. The stoas must have been roofed, but the colonnade was probably left open to the sky.\(^{31}\) The colonnade with flanking stoas presented an approach to the Nymphaeum that removed the visitor from the commercial centers of the pier and guided him into the Nymphaeum.

The Nymphaeum was constructed in the late second century or later; the *dromos* was added or at the very least redecorated in the third century. But at the end of the fourth century the Nymphaeum was struck by catastrophe. The sudden submergence of this structure, unfortunate then, has been most fortunate for modern archaeologists. The contents of the structure were captured and preserved, providing a unique and undisturbed view of the Nymphaeum and its contents in the late fourth century.

The mosaic floor of the Nymphaeum was coated with a layer of mud (0.04–0.10m thick) which overlay and was mixed with shell and fragments of a substance believed by the excavators to be seaweed. The fill directly on the mosaic floor and this mud fill could not, understandably, be differentiated, and the mud was interspersed with clay, sand and

\(^{30}\) *Dromos*: A 725A, A727; northeast colonnade: A178. The mosaic of the *dromos* was erroneously dated on stylistic grounds to the fourth to sixth centuries: Scranton (1978) 115. Scranton (1978) 62-3; 70-71 sees the development of the colonnade in two periods; I prefer to see one third-century reconstruction.

\(^{31}\) Scranton (1978) 64-5 discusses possible means of roofing this structure. I have no solution.
gravel. This mud layer probably collected shortly after the seismic event when the entire structure was submerged. While it may represent debris and soil in the building before submersion, its composition strongly suggests that it was deposited by wave action after the structure was immersed. The material found in this stratum represents the material in the Nymphaeum at the time of the event. In the mud were the glass *opus sectile* panels and numerous fragments of sculpture, wood and ivory.\(^\text{32}\) Also found was a pile of "miltos"—a polishing abrasive.\(^\text{33}\) Among the wood was found a complete, though damaged, chair.

The glass *opus sectile* panels were found still in their wooden shipping crates leaning against the walls of the Nymphaeum. While possible, it is extremely unlikely that the panels delivered to and at least temporarily stored in the Nymphaeum were intended for installation elsewhere. Many, many warehouses, much more suitable for storage, were available and convenient. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that while the panels may not have been intended for the apsidal portion of the Nymphaeum, they were intended for somewhere in the structure. Where the panels were to be placed is a difficult question. Scranton has proposed that the panels were to be installed in the stoas along the dromos, and this seems likely and convincing.\(^\text{34}\) Final discussion of the placement of the panels must await further study of the building sequences; but exact location is not important, only the knowledge that the panels were associated with and intended for some aspect of the nymphaeum. The interpretation of these panels will be undertaken when we discuss the function of the Nymphaeum.

\(^{32}\)The mud layer can be dated by L324 (Williams 263) which dates no more precisely than the mid to late fourth century. Included in the debris was a wooden pulley block: Shaw (1967)

\(^{33}\)Scranton (1978) 68.

\(^{34}\)Scranton (1978) 70; Ibrahim (1976) 261.
The Nymphaeum, then, was in the process of restoration or redecoration when catastrophe struck. The Glass *opus sectile* panels were along the walls, awaiting installation nearby. The date and nature of the catastrophe we will return to when we discuss the cellar. The material in the Nymphaeum indicates, however, that the catastrophe was sudden and final: the material was so damaged and recovery so difficult that the area was simply abandoned.

After the catastrophe the Nymphaeum was used as a dumping ground. On top of the mud stratum was a layer of soft gray earth, filled with stones and tiles. This was debris thrown into the apse as part of a clean up after the submergence of the apse of the Nymphaeum. Pieces of sculpture, and wood furniture, some with elaborate ivory inlays were dumped into the structure.\(^{35}\) This stratum of thrown debris is not datable, but seems to have come almost immediately after the deposition of mud. In fact, it was sometimes difficult for the excavators to tell from which fill certain items came. The sculpture fragments are particularly problematic. Do they represent sculpture broken *in situ* or broken sculpture dumped there?\(^{36}\) In the dumped debris were, intriguingly, about a dozen *tegulae mammatae*. With the destruction of the superstructure of the Nymphaeum and nearby buildings, we cannot be sure where these tiles came from. It is conceivable that they were installed in the wall of the Nymphaeum to aid insulation, but perhaps there was a bath nearby.

Above the dumped debris a hard floor, perhaps of cement, was placed. While it is possible the floor was actually a natural accretion, it seems more likely that the area was

\(^{35}\)Wilma Stern, who is preparing the ivory inlays and wood furniture for publication, has informed me that there were three chairs with ivory inlays were thrown into the apse as debris in antiquity and do not seem to have been trapped *in situ*.

\(^{36}\)The sculpture from Kenchreai, fragmentary and scrappy as it is, remains unstudied. Conclusions about the depositional history must await study of the material.
levelled and surfaced to allow the use of the area for purposes unknown, but probably as part of the harbor system, as the area now projected into the water. Onto top of this floor a strosis of grey clayey soil, mixed with stones and bricks covered the area. The fill was extremely loose-packed and probably represents a natural deposition process; it certainly is not the remains of any collapsed structure. The ceramics from this fill are chronologically diverse, perhaps indicating a fairly long depositional period. The filling continued at least as late as the second half of the fifth century, and perhaps as late as the early seventh century.\(^{37}\)

Another cement-like surface was placed on this gray clayey fill. The cement of this "floor" contained substantial ceramic material. Like the earlier cement surface, it is not clear how much of the cap was natural accretion, how much man made. This cement strosis was deposited in the sixth or perhaps early seventh century.\(^{38}\) This date closely corresponds to the construction of the early Christian basilica at Kenchreai and it seems likely that the layer is another instance of levelling and surfacing to provide a usable area, perhaps related to the church, or perhaps as part of the harbor works.\(^{39}\)

The history, although not the precise chronology, of the Nymphaeum is fairly certain. Built or modified in the third century, it was being redecorated at the end of the fourth century when catastrophe struck. The Nymphaeum was destroyed and partially submerged and there can be no doubt that seismic activity was responsible.\(^{40}\) The

\(^{37}\)A1218; 1227. Coin 1123, Constantius II (AD 351-361) (Hohlfelder 428) may be from this stratum.

\(^{38}\)A1259, A1220, A1298.

\(^{39}\)Contra Scranton (1978) 65 there is no need to see this cement strosis as part of a Christian Chapel. There is evidence for some structure resting on this level surface, but the nature of this structure is quite unsure.

\(^{40}\)See Chapter 1 on seismic activity.
Nymphaeum was used as a dump for a brief period and the area was then levelled and given a hard surface, perhaps in the early fifth century. No new structure was built and the area may simply have been used as part of the harbor. It is tempting to envision the paved area as a point from which good could be transferred from ship to shore. Debris gradually accumulated until a new program of leveling and surfacing in the sixth century, as part of the construction of the early Christian basilica. No substantial structure was placed on this surface, and this is the last time area of the Nymphaeum was used in any discernible manner.

We shall return to the interpretation of the Nymphaeum, but first we must turn to the cellar adjacent to the structure, for the fill of this area further illuminates the history of the Nymphaeum. The cellar was caught in the same seismic disaster that submerged the Nymphaeum and it too was flooded. There was no recoverable depositional history for the fill of this room; the debris found in it seems largely to have been what was in the room when catastrophe struck. The cellar was filled with working materials and objects appropriate to restorative work. Additionally, the room contained a number of amphorae. Some of these were crushed by falling debris, others remained almost entirely intact. The cellar was a storeroom, used to hold working materials and also several amphorae.

The implication from the fill is that the cellar acted both as a storeroom for goods (the amphorae) and for material being used in the fourth-century restoration of the Nymphaeum. On the floor of the cellar were large quantities of marble tesserae, marble blocks from which to cut tesserae, grinding stones, marked but uncut or partially cut revetment, polishing material and numerous now unidentifiable wooden objects. The quantity and types of the material in the cellar suggests that far more than the fountain court was undergoing restoration. The mosaic of the fountain court was in fine shape at the time of the disaster and the tesserae could not have found a home there. It is likely
therefore, that the renovation included more than the prettying up of the fountain court and the installation of the glass *opus sectile* panels. The Nymphaeum complex itself may have extended farther to the southeast, but the remains there are unintelligible today.

The ceramics in the cellar provide an extremely accurate date for the seismic activity that struck Kenchreai, and thus a *terminus ante quem* for the planned redecoration of the Nymphaeum. Several complete amphorae were found, including several splatter painted amphorae. These are known primarily from Kenchreai, but several examples have been found at Isthmia, especially a version substantially smaller than those found at Kenchreai. These splatter painted amphorae were associated with spiral grooved amphorae of a type extremely well known from Isthmia. Both amphorae can be securely dated to c. 400.\(^{41}\) The ceramics in the cellar are remarkably uniform and provide a precise date for the seismic destruction.

Well after the destruction of the Nymphaeum c. 400 a Christian basilica was constructed, reusing the colonnade and stoas as aisles.\(^{42}\) (Figure 13). But there was no

\(^{41}\)The splattered painted amphorae are Adamscheck's RC10, the spirally grooved her RC 14. Adamscheck (1979) 133, 115 assigns both of these to 375 on the basis of the alleged 375 earthquake. Contra Scranton (1978) 75-6 there is no evidence for an 375 earthquake and thus Adamscheck's assigned date is irrelevant. See Chapter 1 on earthquakes. At Isthmia the spirally grooved amphorae have been dated precisely to the years around 400 and may, in fact, be of local production. Similar to these and also found in the cellar is a coarseware basin, also datable to 400 (A1701). Numerous fragments of amphorae of Robinson's M333 family were also found in the cellar, but these are not precisely datable, although it should be noted they often are found in association with the splattered paint and spirally grooved amphorae at Isthmia. This proposed dating of the coarse amphorae is confirmed by the presence of two African Red Slip (Hayes Form 50, Type B) ring foots dating to the second half of the fourth century (A1701). For the cellar ceramics see lots A1527, 1603, 1617/1625, 1631, 1651, 1656, and 1657. Coin 1116 (Hohlfelder 427), an issue of Constantius II (351-361) was found under much of the debris in the cellar, but is not extremely useful for dating purposes. CO 1272 (Hohlfelder 449) (cf. Scranton (1978) 75, Hohlfelder (1976) 226) an issue of Valentinian I or Valens (364-75) was found on the sill of the door connecting the cellar and the fountain precinct and provides a *terminus post quem* that correlates well with the ceramic evidence.

\(^{42}\)Spiro (1978) 88-92 rejects the identification of the structure as a church. Her objections are based, quite reasonably, on the early date assigned to the structure (late fourth/early fifth century) in the initial publications. Spiro rightly points out that the plan of the church is not precisely paralleled in Greece, but the "early Christian" furnishings are substantial, and these, when combined with the burials and later Byzantine re-use of the structure make the identification certain. On the church see also
continuity of cult activity. Cult, if there was any, at the Nymphaeum ceased with the
destruction; the church was not built until 100 years after this event. We shall return to
the early Christian churches of the Corinthia in another chapter, but as I am offering a
substantially revised dating and interpretation of the church at Kenchreai, I will present the
evidence briefly here.

The determination of the phases and date of construction of the church is
complicated by the multiple building sequences in the area. The church was
incorporated into earlier third-century structure or structures, including the dromos of the
Nymphaeum. The dromos was converted into the second south aisle of the church, and
the northern stoa into the first south aisle. As mentioned earlier, the floors of what were
to become the south aisles were laid in the third century of our era. The packing beneath
the floor of the first north aisle reveals that it too was laid in the third century. While
the evidence is unclear at this point, it seems probable that the area into which the church
was incorporated contained a third-century structure, most of which was obliterated by
later construction.

Orlandos (1935) who ironically misidentifies the Nymphaeum as a church as noted by Bon (1951) 7n.4.

Scranton (1978) 77-78 presents the church as replacing the temple of Isis. The redating of the
basilica makes his argument impossible. Hohlfelder's (1976) 223-226 description of simultaneous pagan
and Christian cult activity at the port must likewise be rejected. There is no need to assume, as Hohlfelder
does, any imperial involvement in the restoration of the "Isis temple." Nymphaeae were always, at least
nominally, cultic sites. The cultic associations were not so strong as to prevent Christian adoption of the
architectural form. Of particular note, however, is the Lechaion nymphaeum (See Appendix). This
structure was at a late date redecorated with Christian symbols and this may, in fact, be a purification of a
pagan cult site or pagan architectural form.

The study of this church has just begun and this report is preliminary. While this account is
incomplete, the dates presented here are secure. Publication of the precise ceramic evidence will come at
a later date.

Lots A450, 556, 557.
The basilica incorporated walls of the third-century structure, but extensive modifications, carried out in the sixth century, were made to the earlier structure when the basilica was constructed. The south and north walls of the nave and the north wall of the Narthex were installed in the sixth century as well.46 Floor packing from the apse, atrium, and exonarthex all indicate the same construction date.47 Two illegible sixth century coins from underneath the tile threshold of the door into the exonarthex provide a firm *terminus post quem* in the sixth century.48 These coins do not provide a precise date for the structure, but the ceramics from the foundations trenches and beneath the floors are no later than the earlier sixth century. The ceramics and coins, therefore, indicate a construction date in the early sixth century.

The church, built in the early sixth century, collapsed in the early seventh century.49 Substantial amounts of collapsed masonry and evidence of burning were found, especially in the exonarthex and it seems likely that the structure burned.50 A coin of Justinian (558/9) in the burn layer of the exonarthex provides a *terminus post quem* for the destruction, as does a deposit of 75 minimi found at a fairly high level in the destruction.

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48 Co 493 (Hohlfelder 1095) 6th century follis; Co 494 (Hohlfelder 1113) 6th century nummus. Cf. Co 490 (Hohlfelder 633) Valentinian III (425-55) underneath the tile threshold of the atrium.

49 Hohlfelder (1978) 4-5 suggests a destruction of Kenchreai and the church in 580 on the basis of the E deposit, A hoard and B Hoard. While fear of and actual Slavic incursions probably played a role in the placement and loss of these hoards, the archaeological evidence indicates the actual destruction of the church comes later. The continued functioning of this church in the seventh century must effect a major revision of the Slavic incursions into and their effect on the Corinthia. See Fine (1986) 40 for the alleged absence of seventh century churches in the Balkans. The Kenchreai evidence firmly demonstrates that Christianity did not "die out;" discussion of this issue must wait for further study.

50 NB AII, 73-5, 90, 93.
debris of the church. The latest coins of this hoard bear the monogram of Justin II (565-578).51 If these coins were present in the church at the time of its collapse, as seems likely, then the collapse of the church must have come after 565. A sixth-century half-follis on the floor of the "waterproof room" confirms this terminus.52 One seventh-century coin was found on the floor of the first south aisle, sealed by the destruction debris. This coin establishes a firm terminus post quern of the beginning of the seventh century for the collapse of the basilica.53

The ceramic evidence confirms a seventh-century terminus post quern collapse. The fill from the floor of the collapsed structure is very much like the fill from the footing trenches and a short life is indicated for the church. Material on the floors of the church, sealed in by the collapse of the roof and walls, contains much material dating from the fourth to sixth centuries of our era. Several ceramic items, however, cannot date any earlier than the seventh century, confirming a collapse in the seventh century or later.54

By fortuitous circumstance, a precise terminus ante quem exists for the collapse of the church. A grave was dug through the collapsed debris of the church using the floor of the second south aisle as its bottom. In this grave was a jug that dates to the early 7th

51Justinianic coin: Co 190 (Hohlfelder 1029). The minimi are Hohlfelder's Hoard A; the coins of Justin II are Co 564 (Hohlfelder 1085) and Co 565 (Hohlfelder 1087).

52Co 412 (Hohlfelder 1093).

53Co 489 (Hohlfelder 1164) seventh century follis; Co 168 (Hohlfelder 1004) Justin I or Justinian.

The grave, dug through the rubble of the collapsed church, must post-date the collapse. With a firm early seventh century date for the grave from the grave offering, it is certain that the basilica collapsed before the middle seventh century. With a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* both in the early seventh century, there can be no doubt that the early Christian basilica at Kenchreai burned and collapsed in the early seventh century.

We must return, however, to the Nymphaeum. The *opus sectile* glass panels found in the fountain court remain a remarkable discovery. Glass *opus sectile* was not uncommon in antiquity, but the preservation of so many large panels is unique. The panels can be divided into four genres: formal, marine, Nilotic and heiratic. The formal panels display geometric, floral and architectural designs and are not of concern here. The marine panels generally depict coastal buildings, fish, fisherman, and ships. These panels are panoramic and depict common scenes from a variety of perspectives.

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55Grave 35; the jug is P75 (Adamscheck RC 73). Adamschek (136n.34) cites Robinson M365 as a parallel for the decoration, but seventh jugs with grooved decoration from the Sophroniskos Street osteotheke provide a better parallel (Robinson 84, 121).

56The panels have been published in meticulous detail by Ibrahim (1976) and my descriptions are based on her publication rather than personal autopsy; the interpretations are generally my own. The glass panels might benefit from a new chemical examination, as well as additional preservation. Brill's (Ibrahim (1976) 227) *a priori* conclusion that they could not have come from Greece is not acceptable. It seems likely, given their deposition at the eastern port of Corinth, that they came from the East, but Brill's proposed Alexandria (Ibrahim (1976) 246) is far from certain. To date, I have not been able to relocate any of the sherds used in the backing of the panels. These presumably could answer the problem, not through petrography, as has been attempted (Ibrahim (1976) 248), but through the recent increase in knowledge of late Roman coarseware.

57See Ibrahim (1976) 262-265 for an incomplete catalog of similar pieces and literary references.


59Ibrahim (1976) 57-120. The marine scenes do contain material concerning late-antique paganism but it cannot be addressed in this context, in part because it is beyond my competence at this time.
marine panels, while of great interest, do not address our immediate concern, pagan cult at Kenchreai and belong to a common artistic genre that warrants no discussion here.

Much has been made of the Nilotic scenes depicted in the panels.60 These panels depict animals, birds and plants, all in a marshy landscape. As Ibrahim noted, the accurate portrayal of Nilotic plants that were often confused perhaps indicates an Egyptian artist, but this hypothesis is far from certain.61 Scranton, while acknowledging the proposition that the panels may be purely decorative and have no deeper importance, argues that the marine and Nilotic scenes are an attempt to create a mythical landscape most suitable to the worship of Isis.62 Nilotic scenes were extremely popular in the Roman period and especially late antiquity, however. The popularity of these scenes, including the pagan mythological elements, continued well into the Christian period.63

The Heiratic panels become, then, the crucial items. Twelve different panels depict solitary human figures.64 These twelve can be divided into two groups: depictions of human figures in ceremonial regalia, and depictions of statues of human figures and divinities. Two panels depict human figures, not statues, in official or ceremonial garments. These two are almost certainly consular figures, and could conceivably but not necessarily imply imperial involvement in the renovation at Kenchreai.

The majority of the figural panels represent statues, all presumably labeled although many of the identifications have been lost through damage to the panels. Four of

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60Ibrahim (1976) 30-57.

61Ibrahim (1967) 33. One wonders if the manufacturers of opus sectile glass panels did not utilize copy books in the same manner as mosaicists.

62Ibrahim (1976) 266-7. Scranton’s conception of a decorative scheme assisting in the creation of the axis mundi is most pleasing.

63For comparanda see Ibrahim (1976) 31n.8, 35n.22.

64Ibrahim (1976) 164-185.
these statues represent philosophers: Homer, Plato, Theophrastus, and one unknown. The panels displaying Homer and Plato are extremely well preserved, but must be viewed in reverse. The philosophers are the largest and most elaborate figures, and were obviously intended to reign over the scene. The rest of the figural panels preserve only the lower portions so much less is known. All of these have figures smaller than the philosophers placed between flanking columns. Two panels show flying figures, perhaps Nikes or Nereids, but certainly divine or semi-divine creatures. Two panels exhibit draped figures, and two more preserve only the depictions of the pedestals upon which the figure would have perched.

The decorative devices exhibited by the figural panels are well known. The lesser, non-philosophic personages are to be viewed as statues resting in decorative niches. These are secondary to the main decorative theme based on the consuls and the philosophers. Does the overall decorative theme of marine and Nilotic scenes, consuls and statues of philosophers and deities indicate a cult site? Scranton has strongly argued that these images add up to a cult scene. It has been proposed, as mentioned above, that the panels are quite well-suited to a cult of Isis. But given the lack of any evidence that the Nymphaeum housed the temple of Isis, the panels do not carry enough weight to indicate the contrary.

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65 The panels were stored face to face and the seawater bonded those stored together. Only the reverses are now visible. Thus Plato and Homer have, through the forces of nature, been cojoined in a never-ending dialogue.


68 Scranton argues (Ibrahim (1976) 268-9) that the panels cannot represent a Julianic revival but rather are evidence of the strength of pagan cult in the "eleventh hour," and the late date of the panels presented here confirms, at least, that they are not part of any Julianic revival. For sculpture in Nymphaea cf. Olympia (Schlief (1944)) and a massive bibliography that cannot be reproduced here.
The *opus sectile* panels of Kenchreai seem to represent a decorative scheme similar to that used at the Nymphaeum at Baia. The Baia Nymphaeum was built in the first century of our era, underwent renovation in the late third or early fourth century, and was finally abandoned in the fifth century.\(^{69}\) Many *opus sectile* fragments were recovered, and the decorations included human figures and vegetation on a variety of colors. Eight niches were built into the sides of the structure; four statues were discovered where they had fallen out of these niches and all the niches presumably held statues\(^{70}\) The sculpture decoration included an Odyssean Cyclomachy, Antonia Augusta as Venus Genetrix, and Dionysus.\(^{71}\) While the situation at Kenchreai is different, it is perhaps significant that the *opus sectile* panels portray statues, some of them in niches. Sculpture was an important aspect of many Nymphaea, and the Nymphaeum complex at Kenchreai may have been planned to include sculpture through depictions in the panels.

If we treat the decorative scheme expressed in the *opus sectile* panels as a sculpture collection, the late-antique philosopher portraits of Aphrodisias present themselves as an obvious parallel. These portraits have been discussed above in the context of mutilated statues.\(^{72}\) The sculpture had once resided in a two-storied apsidal building with an atrium and large peristyle court. The plan is quite similar to the large houses found in Athens and identified, erroneously I believe, as philosophers schools.\(^{73}\) The philosopher portraits were made in the fifth century and included Pindar, Alexander the Great, Alcibiades, Socrates, Aristotle, Pythagoras, and Apollonius. The collection is,

\(^{69}\)Zevi (1982) 137-42.


\(^{72}\)Smith (1990); see above Chapter 3.

\(^{73}\)See above, Chapter 2.
as Smith noted, distinctly Neoplatonic in nature. Smith is willing to suggest, not implausibly, that the structure was part mansion, part Neoplatonic school.

What then of Kenchreai? We have already discussed the popularity of sculpture collections in late antiquity, as well as the willingness of some Christians to collect clearly pagan sculpture. The *opus sectile* panels fit this trend remarkably well: the ever-popular Egyptian decorative motifs and depictions not just of philosophers and poets, but of statues of philosophers and poets. The decorative theme could easily be acceptable in a Christian setting as well as a pagan one. The combination of Nilotic scenes, Homer, Plato and other philosophers, however, places one firmly into a Neoplatonic milieu. It may very well be that the Nymphaeum at Kenchreai served as a Neoplatonic philosophical school. As mentioned earlier, Neoplatonic philosophers were active in the Corinthia and members and relatives of the local aristocracy seem to have been themselves Neoplatonic philosophers. Julian mentions a philosophical school in Corinth, although I am not of course, suggesting that the "school" he refers to was housed at Kenchreai.

By no means do I imply that the Nymphaeum must be a "school" because it is a late-antique apsidal structure. I, and others, have argued against this trend in interpretation. We know, however, that philosophical schools and lecture halls did

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74 Smith (1990) 151-2 with important *comparanda* including Kenchreai.

75 Chapter 3

76 On the popularity of Egyptian themes see Ling (1977).

77 As noted by Scranton (Ibrahim (1976) 267).

78 See Chapter 1.

79 It should be emphasized again that the "Neoplatonic" character of the Aphrodisias structure and the Kenchreai nymphaeum is determined by their decorative schemes. The houses identified in Athens as philosophical schools, while architecturally suitable, do not have any discernible decorative programs. The architecture is, in fact, rather generic for the period. See Chapter 2
exist. Of all the sculpture collections uncovered only that of Aphrodisias matches Kenchreai in unity of its Neoplatonic theme. The combination of Homer, Theophrastus, Plato and the unknown philosopher, combined with the Nilotic themes is so overwhelmingly Neoplatonic that it must represent a planned program. The selection is too acute to be any random choice of famous philosophers and favorite "pastoral" scenes. This may mean only that the person who ordered the panels thought of himself as a Neoplatonic. The Nymphaeum, had it received its final decorative scheme, would have been, however, an ideal setting for Neoplatonic lectures. The possibility is strong, then, that the Nymphaeum was indeed a Neoplatonic philosophical school, located in the heart of Kenchreai. This possibility may be strengthened by the remains of the wooden chairs found in the damaged structure. Were these chairs for students or the philosophers themselves? Whether the Nymphaeum was a philosophical school or not, the Neoplatonic decorative theme is a strong testimony to the late vitality of paganism and pagan thought.

In summary, the temples of Isis, Asklepios and Aphrodite at Kenchreai have not yet, I believe, been located. Ironically, this may, for the world of scholarship, be better than having located them. Meticulous attention was given to structures of extreme importance at Kenchreai. The villa at the northeast side of the harbor will, when fully studied, reveal a tremendous amount about not only the late-antique Corinthia, but also trade and society in the late Empire. The early Christian basilica has proven to be of extreme importance in the study of early Christian Greece. The Nymphaeum, most relevant for the scope of this dissertation, may have been a Neoplatonic philosophic school, and at the very least testifies to the vitality of pagan culture at the end of the fifth century. The adoption of such a pagan motif for a central and highly visible structure

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80 For the urban setting of the philosophical schools see Frantz (1988) 17-18 and works cited there, esp. Libanios Or. I.
demonstrates the acceptability and permeance of pagan traditions in the late-antique Corinthia.
CHAPTER VI

ISTHMIA AND THE ISTMIAN GAMES

The archaeological evidence from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia indicates, it has been argued, that cult activity at this site ceased in the middle of the third century of our era.¹ (Figure 14). Both Libanios and Julian make passing remarks that seem to indicate, however, that cult activity at the sanctuary continued into the second half of the fourth century.² This unique scenario for the Corinthia, where we can compare explicit literary evidence with careful excavation results is disturbing. The conclusions of the two classes of evidence are difficult to harmonize, yet there is little reason to doubt the

¹Prof. Elizabeth Gebhard has read and commented on an earlier version of this chapter. I have attempted to note major points of disagreement. A new publication of the Roman period of the sanctuary is in press and may call for revision of the arguments here; I have not been able to see this article. I have not examined the notebooks or material from the University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia (the central sanctuary and Theater). Prof. Timothy Gregory has kindly granted me complete access to the material from The Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia (the Bath, East Field and Fortress). I have also benefited from discussions of this material with Fritz Hemans, John Hayes, Fikret Yegul and C.K. Williams II. The interpretations and errors are, of course, my own.

²The Isthmian games are mentioned by Eusebios, Praep. Evang. 2.6.10. While Eusebios may be referring to contemporary this is uncertain thus this passage will not be used as evidence in this paper. Other late references to the Isthmian games that do not serve as witnesses of contemporary practice include Alex. Aphrodisiensis, in Metaph. 154; Asklepios Phil, in Met. 121, 122, 126; Clemens Alex. 1.2.34.1; 4.1.21.137.1; Hyginus, Fab. 273.8; Libanios, Decl 25.2.46; Photius Scr. Eccl., Bibl. 209.166a, 279.533b. IG II² 3.3128 and 3140 also mention the Isthmian games. These two inscriptions are dated to the early and middle fourth century, but the grounds for dating them is unclear; presumably they are dated by letter form and thus the validity of their dating is questionable.

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accuracy of the literary or the archaeological record. The disagreement is, perhaps in part, a result of the changing nature of cult in late antiquity. Cult activity may very well have continued at Isthmia, but in a form or a place that is difficult to identify in the archaeological record. We shall see, however, that evidence for substantial activity at Isthmia does exist, and the simplest solution, especially in light of the literary evidence, is that the activity was related to cult.

In 362 the Emperor Julian composed an unaddressed letter on behalf of the Argives \((Ep. 28)\). Julian summarized the ancient traditions and place of honor of Argos, and defended her against Corinthian encroachment. At an unknown period, Argos was assigned to the territory of Corinth. The Corinthians exacted tribute from the Argives \((408A)\). The Argives protested that cities which host games or festivals were traditionally accorded at least periodic immunity from tribute. Argos was not given any such privilege, even though she held frequent and numerous games.

To demonstrate that other cities hold such immunity, Julian mentioned the major festivals, including Isthmia \((408B)\):

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3While the authenticity of this letter has been questioned, the objections have always been based on subjective and sometimes questionable impressions of style, and there is no reason to reject Julian as the author. Keil (1913) rejects the letter on two grounds. He feels that the letter is "unmonarchisch," even Republican in tone. He also argues that the letter must shortly follow the founding of the Roman colony at Corinth on the basis of 409C, a reference to the destruction of Corinth; Keil has been rejected by Maas (1913) 534-5. Maas points out that the "beschamendste Faktum" of Corinth's history was well known in the fourth century. Bidez (1928) 219-221 feels that the letter is dubious. According to Bidez the letter does not exhibit the style of sophistication one would expect from Julian. Bidez also feels that Julian was a friend of Corinth, citing Libanios, \(Or. 14\), and he points out that Libanios does not mention this letter or the attendant action of Julian. This \(argumentum e silentio\) holds no weight. Vollgraf (1945) argues that the letter is authentic. Vollgraf (1945) 17 points out that the reference to the founding of the city \((409C)\) may well be rhetorical. Vollgraf's attempt to link the inscription discussed in his article to the situation in Julian's letter fails. See Robert (1948) 138 (Robert rejects the authenticity of the letter \((1946) 14\)). Wright (1923) xxii-xxiii feels that the letter contains nothing that could not have been written by Julian and accepts it. He answers Keil's objection to the tone by citing Amm. Mar. 16.5.13 where Julian is noted for his gentleness in asking rather than ordering. Wright's argument that it was natural for Julian to prefer Hellenic Argos over Christian and Roman Corinth is far less convincing.
For there are, we know, four great and most important games for Greece: the Eleians celebrate the Olympian, the Delphians the Pythian, the Corinthians the games at the Isthmos, and the Argives the Nemean festival.

This passage is phrased in such a manner that one is led to believe that such festivals were continuing, and indeed the argument would make little sense were this not so. Likewise we learn that the Isthmian games were being celebrated every two years (408C):

In addition to these things, the Eleians and the Delphians are accustomed to pay only once in the much spoken of five-years, but twice the Nemean games are among the Argives, and likewise the Isthmian among the Corinthians.

The evidence from this letter indicates that all four of the pan-Hellenic festivals, including the Isthmian games, were still being held at their normal fixed intervals in the second half of the fourth-century after Christ.

Libanios' Oration 14 (A.D. 362) is a defense of Aristophanes, a member of a prominent pagan family of Corinth. As discussed above, Libanios was a personal friend of Aristophanes and his father, and apparently was in close contact with this family. There can be no reason to doubt that Libanios' information is accurate and he must have received it from Aristophanes or perhaps Menander himself. Aristophanes, son of Menander and nephew of the pagan philosophers Hierios and Diogenes (Or. 14.7) had, through the scheming of Eugenios, lost much of his fortune and privileges. Libanios appealed to

^See Chapter 1.
Julian for the restoration of this member of a proud pagan family. In discussing the lineage of Aristophanes, Libanios mentions the father, Menander (Or. 145):

\[
\text{Τούτων Μένονδρος μὲν ἦν πατήρ, ἀρχηγὸς Κορινθίων, φίλος Ἠκάτη καὶ Ποσειδώνι, πλέον μὲν εἰς Ἀχίλλεων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκείνης ὁργών, ἐλευθερῶν δὲ εἰς Ἰσθμίων ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσίας μυστηρίων, ἐν μὲν τῇ νήσῳ κορυφάζει τῷ θώμοιτ, ἐν δὲ τῇ κεραυνήσῃ συντελῶν ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτέρων, τελῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ μέγα συνέδριον.}
\]

This man's father was Menander, foremost among the Corinthians, dear to Hekate and Poseidon, having sailed to Aegina for rite of the former, and going to the Isthmos for the celebrations of the latter; in the island he was the leader of the procession, in the peninsula he paid from the position of the local senate, although a member of the imperial senate.

The implications of the final clause are many. A clear opposition is drawn between the local and imperial senate. Menander held an exemption from liturgies (not magistracies) by reason of his membership in the imperial senate, but nevertheless chose to contribute "from the position of the local senate." Hosting the Isthmian games was, therefore, a liturgy, and it was evidently a liturgy held by members of the Corinthian boule. The voluntarily adoption of a liturgy by those who were already liable was praiseworthy (especially in an age when many struggled to avoid liturgies) but not uncommon. Menander, however, assumed the liturgy despite his immunity.\(^5\) His beneficent and devout action was, therefore, certain of note. Libanios uses this point to emphasize the piety and civic-mindedness of Menander.\(^6\)


\(^6\) Norman (1969) 105 translates the final clause as "but on the mainland he was a lesser contributor, being enrolled as a member of the supreme senate." His interpretation (104n.c) is problematic and self-contradictory. The opposition, in Norman's interpretation, is between the principales of the city and the lesser curiales. The point is not Menander's status in Corinth, but rather that he has undertaken a liturgy eventhough immune. On voluntarily assuming liturgies see Leibeschuetz (1972) 148-9. Menander's exact status is uncertain. Libanios continues (Or. 14.6) to state that óste dh\(^3\) kai\(^3\) path\(^r\) εἰκόνες τοῦ τιτλον γενήσεσαι, οὐάτω ην φιλοπολίων θεσαυρον τις \(\text{θαύμων} \) οἰκον μοι μήλω \(\text{θεάων} \) \(\text{θαύμων} \). This apparently means that Menander choose to remain a member.
The date of Menander's actions are fairly certain. The oration for Aristophanes was composed in 362. We know that Aristophanes was *strategos* c. 338 when Libanios saw him in Corinth. Libanios emphasizes that he was a young man at the time and acting under the care of his father, so we might assume that he was close to 30 years old at the time, as below such age he would have had few traditional or legal rights. Thus Aristophanes must have been born c. 308. We can safely assume that Menander was close to thirty and forty years old when Aristophanes was born, and thus Menander himself was born between 268 and 278. To have acceded to both the local and imperial senate and to be able to finance two religious festivals apparently in close succession Menander must have been, it would seem, between fifty and seventy years of age; we will assume he was sixty. Thus he celebrated the rites of Poseidon at Isthmia sometime between 328 and 338.

While there probably continued to be *agonothetes* at Isthmia, as for the Olympic games at Antioch, it is doubtful that any one man could have financed the Isthmian festivals. The term *συντελων* certainly implies the involvement of more than one individual. Menander may have, but need not have, been *agonothetes*, but he was one of the local senate rather than becoming a member of the Roman senate. But this directly contradicts Libanios statement immediately before that Menander was a member of the Imperial Senate. If we interpret 14.6 to mean that Menander was a member of both the local and Imperial senate, as PLRE (Menander 3) does, the problem is solved. Such an interpretation seems to force the Greek, however. The status of Menander cannot be determined from the evidence of this self-contradictory passage.

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8Libanios does not directly state that Menander went to the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, but rather he merely says that Menander went to the Isthmos. Pausanias 2.2.3 reports a sanctuary of Poseidon at Lechaion and a bronze statue of the god at Kenchreai. The rhetorical passage is ordered, however, by parallel explanations of Menander's worship of Hekate and Poseidon. In the absence of any specific indicator Libanios' remark must be taken to indicate the main sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmos.

9Downey (1939) 430-31, 434-5 on the sharing of the financial burden.
several financiers. Civic and Imperial funding may well have continued into this period also. It is clear that despite the confiscation of civic lands by the imperial fisc, some cities, and perhaps Corinth, still had significant amounts of money available to them. This money, however, probably was paid out by imperial officials. While it is improbable that these officials would authorize the use of money for a purely pagan festival, athletic contests could, of course, be viewed as a secular occasion. Imperial funding and involvement was certainly present at the Antiochean Olympic games. Thus in Antioch, at least, the ironic situation arose that an anti-pagan imperial government was supporting, directly and indirectly, a festival that for many, including Libanius and Menander, was still an aspect of pagan worship. There can be no doubt that the Isthmian games were viewed with the same pious reverence as the Olympic games at Antioch. Likewise, while there is no direct evidence, it is possible that civic or Imperial money was available for those Corinthians hosting the Isthmian games.

Thus the literary evidence, at least, strongly indicates that the games continued at Isthmia into the second half of the fourth century, perhaps as late as 362. This is as one would expect. There is no reason to assume the end of the games or pagan practices until the end of the fourth century at the very earliest, when Imperial legislation and pressure against such activity began in earnest. While Julian's comments might be construed as anachronistic rhetorical flourishes or wishful thinking, Libanios' report is unimpeachable,

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10Leibeschuetz (1959) is the locus classicus for the financial aspects of civic institutions in the post-Constantinian period.


12Downey (1939) 434.

13This interpretation of the financing of the games relies heavily on evidence from Antioch. For liturgies see Leibeschuetz (1972) 148-61 and Jones (1940) 175-180. For the confiscation of civic lands see Jones (1940) 149-50, 251 and Leibeschuetz (1972) 151-2 and especially 152n.1. For the funding of the Antiochean Olympic games see Leibeschuetz (1972) 136-40.
for he was a family friend of Aristophanes and Menander. Given the veracity of Libanios' account, there seems to be no reason to doubt Julian's references. The cultic associations of such games are strongly confirmed by Libanios' choice of religious vocabulary, and the pious regard of Libanios and Menander for the games. The continuation of the games can perhaps be envisioned as the limited activity of a small group of backward-looking pagans; some of these backward-looking pagans were powerful individuals, however, and gained offices as high as prefect of Egypt. Even if those interested in the Isthmian games were a minority, they were a wealthy and not insignificant minority. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that other forms of pagan cult continued well into the sixth century in Corinth. The Fountain of the Lamps remained a major cult site and must have been visited by many. At the very least we must acknowledge that athletic games were still viewed by some of the population as an aspect of pagan worship. More probably, the cultic associations of the Isthmian games were obvious to all, acceptable to most. The festival still supported by the Corinthian boule in the early fourth century; the activity must have been large and reasonably well attended.

The archaeological evidence, however, has been interpreted to tell a different story. Late Roman remains within most of the sanctuary of Poseidon are clearly not the same in quality or quantity as earlier material from the site. No new major structures or even renovations seem to have been undertaken, and there is a significant decline in the quantity of ceramic material and coinage, except at the Roman Bath, where the case is the opposite. There can be little doubt that activity in the central portion of the sanctuary was diminished. This reduced activity does not mean, however, that cult had ceased at the site.

14See Chapter 1.
15Chapter 2.
16Chapter 4.
Activity at the temple of Asklepios in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries was of such a nature that it was not noticed by the original excavators in the material remains. The literary evidence confirms that cult continued at Isthmia and a re-examination of the remains to see what indications of activity can be identified is necessary.\(^{17}\)

Prior to this re-examination, however, the criteria for identifying cult in the archeological record must be analyzed. One cannot assume that the evidence will speak for itself, for the evidence, especially the stones, is always silent. Any analysis requires selective criteria. In searching for cult at sanctuaries in the classical and early Roman periods the criteria are obvious and universally agreed upon: temples, monumental architecture, water supply, altars, sculpture, votives, and pottery indicating activity, especially dining.\(^{18}\) When the criteria are so simple it is easy to forget that the evidence is not speaking for itself. This is one problem in attempting to locate cult at sanctuaries in late antiquity. The standard criteria do not always work; if they had, late-antique cult would perhaps have been recognized at Isthmia. Noting that the old criteria are no longer reliable is relatively simple; finding new criteria is not. The Fountain of the Lamps, for example, was glaringly obvious as a cult site with its four thousand votive lamps. Late-antique cult activity at the Asklepieion and Temple E was more difficult to recognize but revealed itself through Christian responses and votive lamps. What of Isthmia? Why has cult gone unnoticed there? For the late Roman period at Isthmia identifying the cult activity in the archaeological record has proven to be surprisingly difficult. Activity certainly is evidenced in many parts of the sanctuary; separating the "sacred" from the "profane" is, however, problematic.

\(^{17}\)This re-examination is based on published records. I have not had access to the notebooks or ceramic material from the main part of the sanctuary.

\(^{18}\)For an enumeration for these and more apparently obvious but little discussed criteria see Renfrew (1985) 25-7.
E. Gebhard, director of the University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia and the present excavator of the temple and central area of the sanctuary at Isthmia, has reported that "a terminal date for the festival no later than 220-240 is suggested by the pottery connected with the functioning of the sanctuary and the later stadium." This terminal date is certainly important and may indicate a point of transformation in cult activity at Isthmia. We know from the literary evidence that activity continued regularly and on a fairly sizable scale for at least a century after this date. The detail is lacking to tell us what change took place in cult activity at Isthmia, but one presumes that either that activity had little use for ceramic vessels or that the activity was shifted away from the main site.

The evidence from the Bath will demonstrate that substantial activity did continue at the site. More important in determining the location of the activity is Libanios. Libanios does not make a general reference to the Isthmian games. He is quite specific: Menander participated in activities at the Isthmus. Libanios' specific geographic reference, as well as his equation of the Isthmus, and not Corinth, with the games, firmly places the activity he discusses at Isthmia.

While pottery from the late third and early fourth centuries is infrequent in the structures focused around the temple and the stadium, it is abundant in the peripheral areas of the sanctuary. The ceramics from these areas indicate continued activity through the fifth (and even sixth) centuries. What is not immediately evident from the ceramic evidence, however, is whether or not any of these ceramics demonstrate cult. Isthmia was

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19Gebhard (1987/8). It should be noted that excavations at Isthmia are still ongoing, and much of the publication is only preliminary.

20Prof. Gebhard (personal communication) has suggested that perhaps the games moved to Corinth, maybe to the area of the Gymnasium, at the middle of the third century. Many victors inscriptions have been recovered from this area, but most are undatable and none come from a controlled context. Given the proximity of the late Roman wall to the Gymnasium, it seems likely that many of the inscriptions may have been re-used in its construction.
the site of a Roman housing complex in the area east of the temple from the second to fourth centuries and, in the fifth century, the site of an active military fortification and a trans-Isthmian wall, the Hexamillion. Given the intense use of the site in the late Roman period, the presence of ceramics can indicate only activity; they cannot indicate cult.

One standard of determining cult activity, ceramics, has proven oddly inapplicable at late-antique Isthmia. Another major criterion is the care and upkeep of monumental architecture: the temple and other structures in the sanctuary. The standard viewpoint for Isthmia is that the site was decrepit, perhaps devastated, by the end of the fourth century. At Isthmia, the temple of Poseidon, with its altar, was the physical center of the sanctuary. While the temple probably underwent a renovation in the Roman period, its final days are not clear.21 The temple at Isthmia presumably was demolished prior to the construction of the early fifth century wall that crosses the Isthmus. This wall, the Hexamillion, incorporates many architectural members from the temple.22 Thus the destruction of the temple is often placed near the end of the fourth century. This demolition date is based, however, on assumption. The lack of stratigraphy to be found in the bedrock cuttings for the foundations of the temple and the robbing from the structure in late antiquity make for an unclear stratigraphic record. Architectural members from the temple are found in the Hexamillion, but the wall was repaired and refortified frequently. The building phases of the wall are often indistinguishable, and it is not always possible to determine with certainty at which point the membrastructure from the temple entered the wall.23 It is

21 Broneer (1973) 68. Many poros blocks from the temple feature claw-toothed chisel marks that probably indicate Roman workmanship.

22 T.E. Gregory (1993); cf Broneer (1953) 184-5.

23 Prof. Gebhard informs me (personal communication) that there are some destruction deposits that will be published shortly.
most probable, however, that the temple pieces were incorporated into the wall at the end of the fourth century.

The destruction of the temple must, however, pre-date the SE house, a "haphazard construction" (4.6 x 3.24m) containing re-used blocks that rests on stereo at the south edge of the temple foundations. The SW house, a well constructed structure (7 x 5.65m) with a small workroom at its east end also contains reused material from the temple. Broneer argued that these houses were temporary sheds and used by the workmen dismantling the temple. The houses, however, seem to be part of a sixth century agricultural complex. Thus these houses reveal little about the destruction of the temple, except that it pre-dated the sixth century. The actual state of repair, or disrepair, of the temple in the late Roman period need not overly concern us, however. We have already discussed at length the viability of cult at even completely destroyed temple sites. Even if the temple at Isthmia were dismantled in the late fourth century, a date that seems probable, this cannot be taken as a necessary terminus for cult activity at the sanctuary. The problem remains, nevertheless, that direct evidence for cult is missing.

Evidence for the later phases of the Roman altar is lacking. The first Roman altar was east of the temple but off axis to the south; the area west of this altar, where the sacrifices presumably took place, was found to be hard-packed earth. When the east stoa was built, however, this altar must have been moved. The location of the second

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24 For the houses see Broneer (1973) 97. Broneer also reports a West house (3.84 x 3.87m). This was a flimsy structure whose walls Broneer thought were "too thin for a proper roof." F. Hemans, personal communication, has provided the most recent information about the houses.

25 Chapter 2.

26 It is conceivable and perhaps probable that the temple at Isthmia was heavily damaged or destroyed in one of the late fourth century earthquakes. See Rothaus (n.d.a.) and Chapter 1.

27 Broneer (1973) 73-4. There is some question as to whether the structure identified as the Roman altar was in fact an altar. Gebhard, personal communication.
Roman altar is uncertain. Broneer proposes that it may have been built directly on the foundations of the Greek long altar and thus left no traces. If this were the case the altar could have been available at a very late date if anyone cared to use it. We have already discussed adaptations of pagan cult as a reaction to the ban on sacrifice, as well as the possibility of continued sacrifice despite the ban. Sacrifice may have been able to continue unhindered to a very late date at Isthmia, but there is certainly no evidence to indicate that it did.

The stoas on the west, south and east of the temple also are reported to have fallen into disrepair in the late Roman period. These stoas apparently were constructed in the first half of the second century, although this date is not certain. After the construction of the stoas, entrance was gained to the sanctuary via the NE gate or the SE propylon, the latter evidently being the primary entrance. A precise date for the destruction of these stoas is difficult to determine. The SW house, which we have seen is probably dated to the sixth century, lies wholly within the area of the south stoa and at some undetermined point the rear wall of the south stoa was covered with retaining walls. The destruction of the South Stoa must pre-date these events, but the destruction cannot be precisely dated.

Broneer argues that the destruction of the east stoa must pre-date the construction that he has dubbed the "late Roman cistern." According to Broneer, the foundations for the rear wall of the East Stoa were removed before this cistern (5.96 x 5.00m) was constructed. He also argues that the NW corner of the cistern cuts into the line of the

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28Broneer (1973) 85.
29Chapter 2
30Broneer (1973) 83.
31Broneer (1973) 79 (retaining walls), 97 (house).
stoa foundations. Broneer dates this cistern on the basis of diamond-shape tiles, noting that these can go as late as the fourth or fifth centuries and thus assigning the construction of the cistern to this late period. Diamond-shape tiles, however, start as early as the second century in the Corinthia; thus on this basis the cistern can date from the second to the fifth century.\textsuperscript{32}

In Broneer's view the East Stoa and its foundations were demolished in the late Roman period when this cistern was installed. The chronological sequence actually seems to have been the reverse. The so-called "late Roman cistern" has cemented rubble foundations that rest directly upon undisturbed fill that contains large worked blocks from the destruction of both the archaic and classical temples. The foundations for the stoa, visible to the west of the cistern are cemented rubble to a much deeper level. When the stoa foundations were laid the temple debris was removed.\textsuperscript{33} If the stoa predated the cistern, then the rubble underneath the cistern would have already been removed as elsewhere for the construction of the stoa. As this temple debris was not removed, the cistern must pre-date the stoa. The cistern, which is not on axis with the temple, perhaps was constructed when the Roman altar that predates and underlies the stoa was constructed. When the stoa was built at a later period, foundations deeper than those used for the cistern were used. Instead of removing the cistern, it was incorporated into the stoa. The rear wall of the stoa, which by necessity was on axis with the temple, was jogged to correspond with the corner of the cistern that was not on axis with the temple. The construction of this "late Roman" cistern cannot be used to date the destruction of the

\textsuperscript{32}For the east stoa see Broneer (1973) 75-7. C.K. Williams II, personal correspondence, on the date of diamond shaped tiles. An unpublished diamond tile was found under the monochrome figural mosaic at the Roman Bath at Isthmia in a sealed deposit dating to the middle of the second century. See also Scranton (1951) 191 and Williams (1983) 12.

\textsuperscript{33}Personal observation.
East Stoa, nor, by extension, any of the other stoas, and the destruction of the stoas cannot be dated with the available evidence.34

Whatever the condition of the temple and attendant structures in the fourth century, the open space inside the temenos of the temple seems to have been maintained during the third and fourth centuries. The houses of the East Field, some of which date as early as the second century, border but do not violate the temenos.35 (Figure 15). The congregation of domestic dwellings near the temenos of a sanctuary is not unprecedented; a similar situation can be found at Didyma.36 That such houses are not found within the temenos is, however, significant. Certainly the structures could not have come much closer to the temple in the second century, but if cult had ceased in the third century, one might expect the nicely terraced area of the temple and its immediate surroundings to be utilized. The East Field houses remained in use at least until 260 and in some places perhaps as late as the fourth century, well beyond the 220-240 terminus for ceramics in the area of the temple. The houses remained at a distance from the temple and it is not until the sixth-century houses mentioned above are built that anyone invades the area of

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34 It should be noted that Prof. Gebhard rejects my interpretation of the building sequences in this area and will present a different version in a forthcoming report.

35 These houses are largely unpublished, but see Peppers (1979) 215-9 for a summary of the houses, 220-71 for ceramics from the area. Marty argues that the ceramics from the area indicate a break in the history of the sanctuary sometime in the third century. She notes that the predominant material is third century coarse ware and argues that the fourth century material is intrusive (216-18). Marty admits, however, that there is no real stratigraphy and material from the Bronze Age through the Byzantine period is found mixed. Under such circumstances intrusion cannot be determined with certainty. Marty attributes the disturbance of the fill to Alaric and subsequent construction (see note 1 above on Alaric) (215-16). What is evident in the East Field is a large reduction in the quantity of material in the fourth century. The relationship of the houses in the East Field to the Sanctuary is unknown, however, and a direct relationship between the two cannot be assumed at this point. Even if there were a direct relationship between the two the ceramic record might only indicate a reduction in activity or a change in the form of activity. See above, Chapter 3 for a sculpture deposit in the East Field.

36 Parke (1985) 97 reports that there may have been families living within the temenos. Parke, citing an inscription, also indicates that access to the altar of Tyche was partially blocked by residential buildings. See also Fontenrose (1988) 158.
the temple at Isthmia. The East Field houses may, in fact, represent a situation similar to the graves at the Asklepieion and Temple E. At these temples the Christian burials encroached upon but did not invade the area of the temples. The hesitation was a result of continued cult activity at the Askelpieion and perhaps Temple E.\textsuperscript{37} Perhaps the situation was similar at Isthmia. It may well be that the houses respected the temenos because the temple site maintained a recognizable pagan presence. It is certainly not implausible that the same pagan forces that maintained respect for the temples in Corinth did the same at Isthmia. It may even be that cult activity of a sort invisible in the archaeological record continued at the site of the temple.

There is, in addition, a stratigraphic problem at the temple. The fill was so shallow that most of the pre-sixth century late-antique lenses may have been lost, perhaps to erosion. If this the late-antique layers were indeed lost, then discussion based on a lack of ceramic material at the site is moot, for the lack may represent not a decreses in activity but a natural process changing the archaeological record.\textsuperscript{38}

The evidence from the central area of the sanctuary is inconclusive. Facilities for cult activity seem to have been available at least until the end of the fourth century and perhaps later. The exact conditions of these facilities in the third and fourth centuries remains unknown and it is not clear whether these facilities were or were not used. The placement of the East Field houses seems to indicate some respect for the temple site, and it may be that the temple at Isthmia, like the Asklepieion, continued to be visited. The literary evidence, however, implies substantial activity, and we might expect more than what is suggested by the ambiguous evidence of the sanctuary. If a cult center, especially a sanctuary, were functioning, however, one would also expect the service areas and

\textsuperscript{37}Chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{38}On the stratigraphy, Fritz Hemans, personal communication.
auxiliary cult sites to be functioning as well. Two good examples of each of these types of facility have been excavated at Isthmia: the Roman Bath and the Theater.

The Theater at Isthmia certainly was in use through the third century.\(^39\) (Figure 16). Sherds above the final floor surface of the court date through the end of the third century. Likewise material in the drains dates to the mid-third century. Thus it has been argued that the abandonment of the Theater should date to the end of the third century.\(^40\) The *strokes* covering the central passageway of the theater apparently provide an unbroken sequence. Most of these *strokes* were intact only on the eastern side of the passage way, as the floor was broken through each time the central drain was cleaned. It seems likely that the uppermost unbroken floor surface represents "the final period of normal use in the Theater, at the end of which the area appears to have been abandoned and the maintenance of the drainage system ceased."\(^41\) This floor is an unusually thick layer that dates to the end of the third century.\(^42\) The floor sequence indicates that drain maintenance was last performed before the end of the third century and the presence of third century material in the drain is to be expected. If the drain were left uncleaned, one might question whether the Theater could have functioned: a non-functioning drain would have resulted in a flooded theater. There can be no doubt that there was a major break in activity at the Theater at the middle of the third century.

There is, however, material that hints at later activity in the Theater. Another floor surface overlay the third century floor in the central corridor. "At a level of about +0.31m

\(^{39}\)The stratigraphic evidence for the Theater in the late Roman period has been published only in summary form in the conclusion of E. Gebhard's (1973) work on the stages of the Theater at Isthmia.

\(^{40}\)Gebhard (1973) 132 (court), 143-44 (drains). See also 129 for a third century amphora found on the floor of the storeroom.

\(^{41}\)Gebhard (1973) 133.

\(^{42}\)Gebhard (1973) 133-4.
there was a change in the earth and another packed surface; above that the sherds go down to the end of the fourth century when the vault seems to have fallen in.\textsuperscript{43} The evidence of this last floor surface may indicate that the Theater was not completely abandoned in the third century. The floor was not broken through to clear the drain at the end of the third century, but a new floor succeeded the third century floor. Final abandonment may have come only after the placement of this last floor surface.

Random material, suggestive but not in diagnostic contexts, was also found in the Theater, such as a coin of Constantine II (355-361) imbedded in a groove in the top of the proskenion.\textsuperscript{44} Additionally, sherds and lamps dating as late as the fourth century were found on top of a layer of virgin clay and fourth and fifth century lamps were found below the level of the earlier orchestra floor. Fourth and fifth century sherds were also found in the cuttings for block F, the gutter, and the east analemma. The presence of this late material at low levels has been attributed to intrusions made during the taking of spolia from the Theater in the fourth and fifth centuries. It has been argued that the Theater silted in by this period and thus those who were harvesting blocks were forced to dig them out, sometimes cutting down to deep levels. The large \textit{bothros} in the east parados is also filled with material form the late third to mid-fourth centuries.\textsuperscript{45} This \textit{bothros} made the parados unusable as a parados, but it also indicates that the parados remained intact until about the middle of the fourth century. Clearly there was fairly extensive activity in the theater in the fourth century, but the activity seems not to have been related to the proper functioning of the Theater.

\textsuperscript{43}Gebhard (1973) 144n.65.

\textsuperscript{44}Gebhard (1973) 135; the coin is IC 732.

\textsuperscript{45}Gebhard (1973) 132.
The evidence from the Theater is not conclusive and, at times, ambiguous. The third century material in the drains and on the floor seems to indicate abandonment, but the *stroso*es of the central corridor, when combined with what may be evidence for the reworking of the orchestra and the installation of a new floor could be read to indicate that an attempt was made, probable unsuccessful, to keep the Theater functioning through the fourth century.

The date of the abandonment of the Roman Bath at Isthmia has not been previously demonstrated. The Bath was probably constructed during the second century after Christ. There is evidence that renovations were being undertaken in the Bath during the third and fourth centuries, and the Bath continued to function through the fourth century. One might want to explain the operation of the Bath as a service to the local population rather than as part of the sanctuary. There is, however, no evidence for a local population beyond the East Field, and Kenchreai, the only close-by urban node, must have possessed its own bath. The Roman Bath at Isthmia must be explained in the context of the sanctuary.

At some point after the original construction of the Bath the chamber under Room III was converted into a furnace. The presence of a coin of Aurelian (270-275) under an ash layer 0.5m thick dates the use of this chamber to after the last quarter of the third century, and the depth of the ash layer (which is sealed by destruction debris) indicates a period of substantial usage. Late fourth century ceramics in the ash indicate

\[46\text{See Wohl (1981) 112-40 for a preliminary investigation of the abandonment. Wohl posits the same scenario as Clement (see note 1). My investigation of the abandonment of the Bath at Isthmia has been undertaken with the help of the new computerized database installed at the Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia. The destruction of the Bath is a different matter than the abandonment and will not be discussed here.}

\[47\text{See Chapter 1 and the Appendix.}

\[48\text{IC 78-4.} \]
that this furnace was being used through the fourth century. Further evidence of
renovation is found in Room VIII. The floor of Room VIII is missing, although tesserae
in the doorways indicate the presence of a mosaic floor at some time. The absence of this
floor suggests an uncompleted renovation. Three test trenches below floor level in this
room have produced fourth to fifth century material.\footnote{Pottery lots 77-CSS-024, 78-JMP-030, 031, 032, 034, 035.}
This indicates that the floor was in the process of being replaced in the fourth or fifth century.

The material found at floor level and on the floors of the Bath is of special interest
for it indicates the period at which the Bath ceased to be maintained. This material
consistently dates to the late fourth or early fifth century and is found in all rooms except
the hypocausted rooms (IX, X, XI) where the fill was thoroughly contaminated upon the
collapse of the floor, and Room XIV, which is only partially excavated. From this
material it is clear that the Bath was abandoned no earlier than the end of the fourth or the
beginning of the fifth century.\footnote{Fourth to fifth century material on floors: Room I, 72-MMO-008; Room II, 72-RBA-023, 76-
MCO-006, 76-MMT-001A, B, 77-SRS-051; Room III, 78-JMP-005, 007, 015; Room IV, 72-BBO-008, 014; Room V, 72-RBA-028; Room VI, 76-DMO-018, 026, 76-MCO-028, 029; Room VII, 76-MCO-036, 78-SET-047; Room VIII, 77-CSS-017, 041, 047, 049, 075, 088, 101, 102, 78-JMP-031; Room XIII, 78-
SPO-015, 019, 019B; South of Room IX, 78-CVO-021; South of Room XI, 78-CVO-050. Timothe E.
Gregory has very kindly allowed me to use unpublished material in my analysis. Full publication of the
bath is in preparation.}

The date of the abandonment indicated by the ceramic material found on the floors
is confirmed by the numismatic evidence. Four coins were found directly at floor level.\footnote{IC 72-28, Constans II (351-61) (Room I, hard dirt surface at level of mosaic floor); IC 72-33, Constans II (351-61) (Room I, on floor); IC 72-29, Constans II (351-61) (Room II, on mosaic bedding); IC 76-6, Theodosius (384-92) (Room VI, on floor). Wohl (1981) 122-4 has identified fifteen coins in the Bath as being related to the abandonment. Seven of these (IC 70-39, 76-8, 76-9, 76-10, 77-5, 78-2, 78-6) I have rejected due to uncertain or non-diagnostic contexts. IC 78-2 (Arcadius, 395-408) was found by excavators in 1978 on the floor of Room VIII, but in an area excavated in 1977. The process by which it arrived on the floor is uncertain and as it is in an unexcavated context I have included it in this category. Five other coins (IC 76-1, 76-3, 76-5, 77-2, 78-5) have contexts so unclear they cannot be used as evidence. Three coins come not from floor level, but near floor level (IC 72-31, 72-32, 76-5).}
These coins, all of which belong to the fourth century, indicate that the abandonment of the Bath came at or after the end of the fourth century.

Evidence from the drains of the Bath confirms and clarifies this date of abandonment. The drain on the west side of Room VI of the Bath was almost completely blocked with a homogenous fill that dates the fourth or very early fifth century. Two fourth century bronze coins were present in this drain. The drain also contained numerous lamps, four of which date to the late fourth or first decades of the fifth century.\(^{52}\) The evidence from the drains is unimpeachable. The drains were being maintained and routinely cleaned, a sure sign, especially in combination with the fourth century use of the furnace under Room III, that the Bath was indeed functioning as a bath and not merely being used for some other purpose. The lamps provide a very specific date for the abandonment of the Bath. The drains stopped being cleaned and were filled with debris at the very end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century and it is at this time the Bath at Isthmia went out of use.

The continued operation of the Bath indicates that "bathing" was a component of whatever activity was ongoing at Isthmia. Why the Bath was necessary is harder to discern. The most obvious answer is that athletic events were a major portion of the activity at Isthmia in the late Roman period. Perhaps athletic activity had been transferred to a location at Isthmia that remains uninvestigated. Or perhaps the contrary is the case; the games abandoned their athletic nature and consisted of activity that could be supported by the Bath (and perhaps the Theater): music, poetry, oratory and drama.

\(^{52}\) Coins: IC 90-2, Constantine I (330-337) and IC 90-3 (341-46). Lamps: IPL 90-1, 90-4, 90-5 and 90-7. IPL 90-4 is an Attic glazed lamp, cf. *Agora* VII 1848, 1842 for unglazed examples; it is the latest of the group and dates to the last quarter of the fourth century, or more probably few decades of the fifth. Birgitta Wohl, Arja Karavieri and Judith Binder have all discussed these lamps with me.
A passage from Olympiodorus (fl. 425-450?) offers one possibility for cult activity at Isthmia of a sort that would require nothing more than the Bath (Frag.28 Bib. Cod. 80, p.177):

"λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ φίβωνος, ὡς οὖν ἔξην κατὰ τάς Ἀθήνας περιβαλέσθαι αὐτὸν τινα, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔξενον, ὥς μὴ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἢ γνώμη ἔπέφεπε καὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶς σοφιστικοὺς νόμους τελεῖται ἐπιβαίνον τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἢν δὲ τὰ τελεύμενα τοιοῦτα, πρῶτον μὲν κατήγονον ἐπὶ τῷ δημόσιον βολανείον ὅσοι νεόλυδες, ἂν τε μικρὸι ἂν τε μεγάλοι. ἔξ ὅν καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὸν φίβωνα ἐπιτίθεοι ἡλικίας ἢ ἡκοιρο χειρόνεις, οὐς εἰς μέσον ἔβαλλον οἱ κατάγοντες σχολαστικοῖ. εἶτα τῶν μὲν ἐμπροσθέν τρεχόντων καὶ κωλυόντων, τῶν δὲ ὀδυνών καὶ ἐπιχόντων, πάντων δὲ τῶν κωλυόντων ταῦτα βοῶντον: "στᾶ, στᾶ, οὐ λοῦσι," κατακροτεῖν δήθη τοῦ ἁγώνος ἐδόκουν οἱ ἀντωθοῦντες εἰς τιμήν τοῦ καταγαμένου σχολαστικοῦ, ὡστε μετὰ πολλῆς ἀραν, στάσεως πολλῆς ἐπὶ τῶς προσχείσιν ἐθύμους ἰῆματι προγενομένης, εἰσάγεται εἰς τὸν θερμὸν ōικον καὶ ἀπολύεται: εἰτα ἐνδυσάμενος ἐδέχετο τὴν τοῦ φίβωνος ἔρωσιν, καὶ αὐτόπεπλευτά τοῦ φίβωνος ἐκ τοῦ βολανείου ἐντάμω καὶ περιβόλῳ ὅρῳρος καὶ περιβάλλεται ποιήτη ἄπτη, διατάσθησι παραγωγῆς φανερὰς εἰς τοὺς τῶν διατριβῶν προστάτας, τῶς λεγομένους Ἀκρομίτας.

Interestingly, a late-antique philosopher portrait was found reused in the foundations of a Byzantine house at Isthmia. It is difficult to believe that this head travelled very far. Someone at Isthmia in the fourth century felt that a philosopher's portrait was an appropriate decoration. The presence of a philosophical school at Corinth has been discussed above; the Nymphaeum at Kenchreai certainly was neo-Platonic in theme and perhaps in function. The presence of a philosopher's portrait at Isthmia could be coincidence, but it may indicate that the philosophers of Corinth had an interest in Isthmia as well or that the people at Isthmia were interested in philosophy. It is just possible to believe that a wealthy Neoplatonic circle in Corinth, of which Menander was a...

53Sturgeon (1987) 142, no. 85. The head dates to the late third or early fourth century.
part, controlled the Isthmian festival and introduced a rite in the Roman Bath of the sort described by Olympiodorus.

The literary evidence makes it clear that activity, supported by the Corinthian boule, continued at Isthmia at least into the third quarter of the fourth century. The archaeological evidence, in the end, does not directly contradict this. There is no question that the late Roman activity was quite different from that of earlier periods, but the evidence from the center of the site is ambiguous. The lack of evidence from the center of the sanctuary need not rule out continued cult activity, but it certainly suggests an absence of some sort. Activity is strongly confirmed, however, by the Roman Bath, which functioned as a bath through the very end of the fourth century. There is no reason to assume that the functioning of the Bath was not tied in with the continuation of Isthmian games, and, in fact, it would be perverse to separate the literary and archaeological records. While we do not know the form of the Isthmian games and cult activity in late-antique Isthmia, we do know they continued through the fourth century.
CHAPTER VII
THE CHURCHES OF THE CORINTHIA

The churches and basilicas of the Corinth must remain largely outside the scope of this dissertation. Nevertheless it will prove useful to the author and the reader to have a summary of the available evidence, for the rise of Christianity and the Christianization of the city are linked to the demise and transformation of civic paganism and pagan cult. The relationship cannot be fully explored here, but a basic summary of the evidence is in order. Even this summary will allow a discussion of the placement of the Christian edifices in the city of Corinth and the nature of the late-antique city. The places identified as ecclesiastical structures must be treated with differing degrees of caution. While I will mention all the structures that have been identified as ecclesiastical, some of these identifications are quite uncertain. ¹

No archaeological evidence remains of any Christian activity in Corinth before the fifth century. A sizable Jewish and Christian population was, of course, present. Paul lived and preached in Corinth and shaved his head at Kenchreai in accordance to a vow. ²

The writings of Paul suggest that the Jews, pagans and Christians of Corinth were thoroughly intermixed. Paul addresses the problems of associating and eating with

¹This chapter is summarial in content and interpretation. The ideas expressed are not fully argued, as such arguments probably should await detailed analysis of the evidence. Nevertheless, I offer an interpretation in the hope that it might be useful, but acknowledging that it is only tentative at this point. My interpretation and comparative material for the buildings are largely drawn from Krautheimer. Given the chaotic state of scholarly publications on the cities of late Roman Greece, a true comparative study must wait.

"idolators," and describes the Greeks as seeking after wisdom, the Jews after signs.\(^3\) Intermarriage between Christians and pagans was not, as one might expect, uncommon, and Paul speaks out against this.\(^4\) The archaeological record confirms the close relationship between Christian and pagans, for the two populations do not become distinguishable until the early fifth century.\(^5\)

In the early fifth century Christian structures become identifiable, some with less certainty than others.\(^6\) Two-hundred and fifty meters east of the forum a mosaic-floored building may, in fact, have been a church.\(^7\) The structure remains unpublished and the identification must remain tentative. West of the North Cemetery another possible church has been identified.\(^8\) The chapel, perhaps seventh century, in the fountain house of the Asclepieion, has already been discussed.\(^9\) A church may have lain underneath the modern church of Aghia Paraskevi. Several early Christian walls, running east-west, were uncovered although excavation in the area was impeded by space restrictions. Spirally grooved body sherds in the walls date them to 400 or later. The walls terminated at the east and west ends against small walls, but the limited space available did not allow for certainty about the presence or absence of an apse. Multiple twelfth century burials were

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\(^{3}\) 1 Cor. 1:22-3, 5:9-11, 8, 10:20-23.

\(^{4}\) 1 Cor. 7:13-16; 2 Cor 16:14.

\(^{5}\) See Krautheimer (1986) 23-37 for the physical world of early Christianity.

\(^{6}\) Pallas (1990) 764 suggests that the structure north of Hadji Mustapha might have been a church. The structure is triple-apsed, however, and much more likely a villa or Nymphaeum. This building with mosaics and a grave with painted sides is unpublished except for Pallas' mention.

\(^{7}\) Pallas (1990) 764. The structure, excavated in 1930, is unpublished. Cf. Scranton (1957) 9, where it is dated to the sixth century.

\(^{8}\) Pallas (1990) 764. I have not located this structure.

\(^{9}\) See Chapter 2.
placed against the wall and a thirteenth century osteotheke was built into the north face of the wall. While it is possible that the late Roman walls may represent a Christian structure taken over by a Byzantine and then modern church, there can be no certainty.10

Another candidate for a church is a partially excavated structure just north of the theater.11 This structure contained a floor decorated with a seasons mosaic and seems to have been built in the fourth or fifth century, although this is uncertain. The mosaics may date to the second half of the fifth century. The mosaics were in a cruciform room with east-west arms larger than north south arms. The entrance to this room was at the south. Identification as a church is suggested by the apse and the remains of a thorakion near the apse. The structure was destroyed and robbed out in the sixth century.

Some eight-hundred and fifty meters east of the forum, towards the Kenchreai gate, west of the Kraneion Basilica, and south of the road there are substantial architectural remains and some standing walls in an unexcavated field. Among these remains are at least two impost capitals with inscribed crosses.12 This structure almost certainly was a very large church or even basilica, and I will call it the Amphitheater Church. The structure is located along the ancient road to the amphitheater, along the edge of a precipitous drop off. Fine ware are plentiful in the field and date to the late fifth, sixth and perhaps seventh century. Coarse ware as late as the seventh century can be

10 NB 346, 11-129; Robinson (1967); Pallas (1990) 764. The structure was excavated in 1966. The excavator, Henry Robinson, believed that the late Roman walls were those of a church.

11 Corinth Notebooks 346, 355. The structure is unpublished. Charles Williams was field director of this excavation and I thank him for discussing the structure with me. For the mosaics see Spiro (1978) 96-99. Cf. Williams (1967).

12 Pallas (1990) 764, Pallas (1959b). Fine wares are prolific among the remains and seem to date to the fifth and sixth centuries, although no systematic study has been made.
found in the field. An inscription, too fragmentary to read but perhaps a gravestone, was found near one of the impost blocks.\(^{13}\)

The basilicas of Corinth, more fully excavated and readily identifiable than the previously discussed ecclesiastical structures, demonstrate the growing wealth and prestige of the church in the fifth and sixth centuries. The sudden explosion of basilican construction at the beginning of the fifth century cannot be addressed here. Several possibilities are suggested, none of them mutually exclusive. Obviously, the Christianization of the empire opened the door for grandiose Christian architecture, and a growing liturgy demanded a specific architecture. The basilica, ideal for ceremonies and large audiences, as well as a standard form of Roman civic architecture provided the ideal solution to the need of a growing church, and responded in a language whose connotations of the new imperial and public aspects of Christianity were unmistakable.\(^{14}\)

Why so many large and elaborate basilicas were constructed in Corinth at this period is an unanswerable question at this point. Perhaps they are imperial propaganda, used to beautify the capital city of Achaia. Perhaps they are an indication of the growing civic power of the Bishops and clergy and their new found ability to influence regional building programs. The patronal position of the clergy and Imperial church required, as all patronal situations did, acts of euergetism. Perhaps the basilicas are sponsored displays. While I offer suggestions and not solutions, it should be noted that such activity was not restricted to Corinth or the Aegean; it was an Empire-wide phenomenon.\(^{15}\) What cannot

\(^{13}\)Timothy Gregory and I have examined this area many times and made the mentioned observations. The inscription has been turned over to the Corinth museum. That the inscription was a gravestone is suggested by the thinness of the slab and numerous genitive endings, but this identification is extremely tendentious.

\(^{14}\)Krautheimer (1986) 39-42; 117-34.

\(^{15}\)Krautheimer (1986) 93-98
be assumed is that they are a manifestation of a sudden and rapid transformation of the Corinthian population. The nebulous nature of belief in the period, as discussed above, makes contemporary conceptions of conversion problematic.\textsuperscript{16} The basilicas would have held many people indeed, but there is no reason to assume that they were built to address space problems. While such questions deserve and eventually will receive investigation, this chapter can only summarize what is already known about the basilicas of the Corinthia. The Kenchreai basilica, discussed above, will not re-appear here.\textsuperscript{17}

The Lechaion basilica, largest in Corinth and indeed the largest known from world at the time of its construction, is located along the Corinthian Gulf, just west of the harbor works Lechaion.\textsuperscript{18} (Figure 18). The basilica probably was dedicated to Leonidas and the seven martyrs who, we are told, perished with him at this location.\textsuperscript{19} The basilica was constructed in the late fifth or early sixth century and the atrium was added at a slightly later date.\textsuperscript{20} The baptistery is a separate construction, earlier than the basilica and later joined to the basilica by two walls. There is some indication that the baptistery continued to be used for liturgy after the main basilica was damaged and abandoned, presumably as a result of the 551 earthquake.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{16}MacMullen (1984); Nock (1933), esp. 1-16, 254-72.

\textsuperscript{17}See Chapter 5.


\textsuperscript{19}Halkin (1953).

\textsuperscript{20}A coin of Marcian (450-457) was found in the foundations of one of the walls; a coin of Anastasius I (491-518) was found under the paving. The walls of the atrium do not bond with those of the basilica; a coin of Justin I (518-527) was found in association with the construction of the atrium.

\textsuperscript{21}See Chapter 1.
A three-aisled basilica with a tripartite transept, esonarthex, exonarthex and atrium, the Lechaion basilica was extremely ornate and possessed a variety of different marbles and capital types. A huge vaulted apse, pierced with multiple windows dominated the east end.\(^{22}\) A full discussion of the basilica need not be undertaken here, but of particular note is the large fountain in the atrium and the other indications of extensive water works. Multiple siderooms and perhaps associated buildings to the south were for liturgical use, teaching, and probably storage. This basilica rivaled the best of the ecclesiastical buildings in the east.

In the midst of the coastal plain, southwest of the Lechaion basilica a much smaller basilica has been located. This structure, known as the Skoutelas basilica (named after the region in which it was situated), was a three aisled basilica, much simpler than that at Lechaion.\(^{23}\) (Figure 19). The structure has not been completely excavated, and has been bisected by a road, but a narthex and baptistery have been uncovered, and there is every indication that the structure did not have an atrium. The reliquary was covered by a baldachino and it seems that the building underwent some secondary modification. This basilica dates to the early part of the sixth century. Like the Lechaion basilica it seems to have been damaged c.551.

Southeast of the Skoutelas basilica and almost due south of the Lechaion basilica is the Stikas or Kodratos basilica.\(^{24}\) (Figure 20). This basilica is at the edge of the city, perhaps along the edge of the Lechaion road, and located in the cemetery that extended

\(^{22}\) For a description see also Krautheimer (1986) 131-4.

\(^{23}\)Pallas (1953), (1954), (1955a), (1979) 105.

along the bluff the the north of the city. The basilica is three aisled with neither Narthex or Atrium. There seems to have been no communication between the aisles. The basilica went through several construction phases, is pocketed with burials and adjoined by several mausolea. Several important inscriptions have come to light in the excavations of the this structure including the tombstone of one Bishop Eustathios. An inscription also identifies this as the basilica of St. Kodratos (or Quadratus), a martyr known from Corinth: "Ἡ Αγία Κοδρᾶτος μνήσθητι τῶν δούλων σοί[..]". The Kodratos basilica probably dates to the early sixth century.

The Kraneion basilica lies in a cemetery in the eastern portion of Corinth, outside the late Roman wall but just within the classical city wall (Figure 21). A three-aisled basilica with numerous side-rooms and a baptistery, the structure possessed several burial chambers on its east and west sides. These burial chambers are elaborately decorated, and a tri-conch martyrrium is of particular note. There are indications of waterworks and fountains over some of the tombs. The Kraneion basilica was built in the early sixth century and seems to have been damaged and abandoned c. 551.

The basilica on Acrocorinth is at the summit of the acropolis, site of the temple of Aphrodite (Figure 22). The structure is a small, three-aisled basilica, rather unpretentious in style. Pallas proposes that this basilica is slightly later than the basilica on

25 Several Chamber tombs were excavated near the basilica; Corinth notebook 273. The tombs were used as early as the pre-Roman period and into the late Roman period. It is perhaps no coincidence that a modern cemetery church, Aghia Anna, lies near the Kodratos basilica and the North cemetery. In 1990 a reconstruction of Aghia Anna was undertaken and the cutting of new foundation trenches revealed a vast number of human bones underneath the floor of this church.

26 Stikas (1962) 54.


28 Blegen (1930) 21ff; Corinth NB 90a; Pallas (1990) 791-793.
Temple Hill, and assigns a date in the mid-sixth century. The ceramics and graves placed under the floor of this structure are, in fact, all Byzantine or more probably Frankish.\textsuperscript{29} The presence of a baptistery indicates that the structure is early Christian in origin and the later burials are evidence of extensive re-use.\textsuperscript{30}

The basilica on Temple Hill, just northeast of the archaic temple is an extremely simple three-aisled structure.\textsuperscript{31} (Figure 23). The area around this basilica is pocketed with early Christian graves and tombs. No precise date for this structure is possible, but it probably was constructed in the late fifth or early sixth century.\textsuperscript{32} Like the basilica on Acrocorinth the structure is small and the elaborate decorative architecture present in the other basilicas of the Corinthia is absent. The similarity of the two structures, noted previously by Pallas, is a strong indicator of their contemporaneity.

The Acrocorinth and Temple Hill basilicas represent exceptions in the basilican corpus of the Corinthia. Smaller and far less ornate than the outlying basilicas, these are the only two ecclesiastical structures places upon pagan cult sites. Separate by their style,

\textsuperscript{29}Corinth NB 90a 86-127. Timothy Gregory has assisted in the identification of some of the ceramics which now must be identified solely from photographs.

\textsuperscript{30}For baptisteries see Krautheimer (1986) 95 and bibliography cited there.

\textsuperscript{31}Robinson (1976a), (1976b); Pallas (1990) 778. Robinson dated the structure to the fifth century.

\textsuperscript{32}Eric Iveson and Charles Williams (personal communication) are investigating the possibility that the structure is not early Christian but rather Byzantine (or Frankish). Given extensive Byzantine activity in this area and certain remodifications of the building there is a strong chance for confused chronology. The late Roman graves in the area may lend support to the suggestion that this is an early Christian structure, or they may be a threat to this temple as the graves around the Asklepieion and Temple E were. The similarity to the Acrocorinth basilica, which given the baptistery must be early Christian, is not to be ignored. The grounds for redating the Temple Hill basilica is, in part, Byzantine and Frankish material in the bedding of the floor and construction debris. Such material predominates in the Acrocorinth basilica, but indicates reuse, not original construction. If, however, the Temple Hill structure is not a basilica but a domed structure with a unitary plan, as Eric Iveson believes, than the structure cannot be early Christian. The reader must be forewarned that my interpretation may be wrong; I await a new state plan before making final evaluation.
size and placement, these two basilicas seem to be a different type of basilica than the more grandiose structures located in the periphery of the city. These structures probably are "caretaker" basilicas. They are not elaborate liturgical, social and political centers, but rather were perhaps intended to purify and perhaps watch over pagan cult sites. Similar "caretaker" structures, usually monastic establishments are well-known from Asia Minor. In those instances a monk was in residence to prevent (theoretically) any pagan cult activity. The continuation of pagan cult activity at temple sites in the Corinthia has been well established. It seems likely that in an area bereft of monks, these basilicas served the same function, an attempt to purify and to stave off pagan activity. The present but solvable difficulty of dating and interpreting these two structures prevents any further analysis at this point.

The major basilicas of the Corinthia were placed in the periphery of the city, most of them outside the course of the late Roman wall. (Figure 24) Their placement cannot be attributed to a shift in the city, for the forum functioned until the late sixth or early seventh century, well after these basilicas were built. While one might argue for a population shift, the evidence is inconclusive, and casual survey reveals high densities of late Roman coarseware not far from the Forum. The only certain ecclesiastical structure in the center of the city is the Temple Hill basilica, which, as mentioned above, seems to be an exception. It is an important exception, however, for it reveals that the Christians could have built in the city center if they so desired. The issue cannot be seen as one of pagan and Christian spheres of influence, but rather a conscious choice of peripheral sites.

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34 Chapter 1.
The placement of churches in the periphery is, of course, a well-known trend. The churches of fourth century Rome clustered near and outside the city wall. Martyria and cemeteries were often but not always placed outside the city wall in a continuation of late Roman practice, and churches often were built in or near cemeteries and at martyrrial sites. The churches of Rome are more than a century earlier than those of Corinth, however. Constantine was not oblivious to pagan sentiments and seems to have chosen not to move into a direct confrontation. Perhaps more importantly, the Constantinian churches served, for the most part, the private estates of Christian families. Founded by the emperor, they represented personal action more than an imperial program of Christianization.  

By the sixth century, the churches of Rome had found their way into the center of the city. Krautheimer argues convincingly that this is a manifestation of the new Christian character of the Empire. The caput mundi must reflect the Christian nature of the mundus. The new establishments served as community centers and were located in areas of dense habitation. In fact, the population seems to have shifted towards the Lateran basilica, the new spiritual and political hub of the city.  

No city makes the new role of Christianity in civic structure and planning clearer than Constantinople. Greek Byzantium, the eastern tip of the city, was the focal point of Constantine's building plan. Here Aghia Eirene and Aghia Sophia were located, as well as Constantine's palace, the governmental quarter and the hippodrome. Constantinople was, from the beginning, meant to be a Christian capital, with the interplay between imperial palace, government buildings, churches and hippodrome proclaiming loudly that the Empire and the city, including the government and the recreation, were Christian.  

36Krautheimer (1983) 93-121.  
Corinth does not follow the same pattern as Rome or Constantinople, perhaps not unexpectedly. As the provincial capital, site of a bishopric, and an affluent and cosmopolitan member of the Empire, one might expect it to follow the general trends of civic planning. A lack of information of settlement patterns inhibits any secure discussion of the placement of the ecclesiastical structures. Some preliminary conclusions can, however, be drawn. The large basilicas all were placed in the periphery. The Skoutelas, Stikas, Lechaion, and Kraneion basilicas are all outside the course of the late Roman wall, the amphitheater basilica was just inside the course of this wall. The smaller basilicas of Temple Hill and Acrocorinth are within the city walls, Temple Hill at the center of the city, Acrocorinth at the pinnacle of the fortress. Also within the city walls are the seventh century chapel at the Asklepieion (although just within the walls), the possible church under Aghia Paraskevi, as well as the potential churches north and east of the Forum.

One possible explanation for the placement of the basilicas in the periphery is that these monumental churches were built on private estates, as in fourth-century Rome. The magnitude and uniformity of the structures almost certainly indicate imperial planning and funding. The Lechaion basilica, the largest in the world at the time, must surely have been funded by the emperor.\textsuperscript{38} While not certain, the evidence seems to indicate Imperial involvement, not private establishments. It is equally unlikely that a situation of conflict between pagans and Christians could have resulted in the churches being forced to the periphery. This did happen in Rome, but in the fourth century when the pagan local aristocracy was in a position of power. I have argued that the pagans were in a position of, if not power, at least recognition in Corinth through the sixth century. Whatever influence they may have held could not have been comparable to that of the provincial

\textsuperscript{38}Cf. Krautheimer (1986) 134.
governor and imperial officials, all of whom were representatives of an openly and deliberately Christian empire.

If conflict or population shifts were not responsible for the placement of the monumental basilicas in the periphery, another solution must be sought. Two solutions are, I think, readily at hand, one obvious, one more subtle. Many of the basilicas are placed near cemeteries, and there was a continuity of placement of the Christian and pagan cemeteries in Corinth. The Greco-Roman pagan tradition had been to place these burials near the city wall, although this was never a hard and fast rule in Corinth. As the population became Christian, they tended to use the same burial grounds and the churches found appropriate homes near these ancient cemeteries. But cemeteries could be moved and Christians had no aversion to burying in the center of the city. Linakge with the cemeteries is not enough to explain the placement of these important community structures.

The placement of the basilicas in the outlying areas was also a physical manifestation of a political and social change in the civic structure. The late Empire saw a bifurcation of authority. In theory, and when he chose, in practice, the Emperor claimed the right to do everything and responsibility for all governmental actions. But in everyday life, local patrons, not imperial authorities, became the major source of assistance and intervention for local populations. While this did not result in a fragmentation of the physical city structure in the East, as it did in the West, it did result in a modification of the city plan.

By the fifth and sixth centuries many of the most powerful patrons were ecclesiastical figures. They could not, in Corinth, have been holy men such as Symeon

39 Chapter 2.

40 Brown (1976); Fowden (1982); Drijvers (1986) is an essential addition to Brown's work.
Stylites, for by all accounts such ascetic and monastic individuals were absent from Greece until the ninth century. But bishops and lesser clergy could equally well fill this role. The local population found most, if not all, of its political, social, and legal needs met not by the imperial but by wealthy patrons and increasingly ecclesiastical authorities. The Forum of Corinth continued to function as an Imperial administrative center, but it lost its place of importance in local affairs. Control of local affairs was decentralized and fell upon the Christian leaders.

Late-antique patrons, and thus often ecclesiastical officials, found themselves dealing with food distribution, legal and land disputes, familial problems and a variety of other daily occurrences for the population. This created a need for daily and visible contact with the people. The churches were, of course, concerned with more than their patronal role. They were interested in shaping the spiritual life of the people and converting those who were in need of conversion. By being the center point of a community, in close contact to the people, the ecclesiastical leaders could fulfill their patronal and spiritual roles. The monumental basilicas, therefore, found most suitable placement in the locations where the people lived, close to them and always visible.

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43Cf. Dagron (1977) who sees the distinctions between public and private, living and dead, and sacred and profane breaking down in this period. Dagron acutely points out that the process varies from city to city, region to region and generalizations are hard to make. This difficulty, in part, provides my hesitation in fully addressing the issue at this time.
44This interpretation, in part, begs the question. Did the physical placement of the churches result from changing social organization or did the placement of the churches itself change the social organization? I suspect some of both is true, but cannot address the question at this time.
CONCLUSION

The monumentalization and institutionalization of Christianity visually and vocally thrust the Christian church to the forefront of religious life in late antiquity. Once an insignificant and un-noticeable sect, Christianity was raised to pre-eminent status. The overwhelming presence of Christianity in the late-antique world should not, however, force us to forget the continued presence of the pagan cults and traditions. Christianity was "new" and, in the hands of the emperors, militant; it had to announce its presence and impose itself on a population that had little concern for a religion of absolute morality, and, in some quarters, opposed to such a religious system. Christianity had strong roots in a polemical tradition; paganism had to learn polemic from the newcomers, but polemic could be turned against Christianity and thus the emperor only infrequently and with great caution. Moreover, Christians made an active effort to destroy the works of their opponents. Thus paganism in late antiquity, surprisingly strong and viable, was lost in the literary record. The strength and ultimate victory of Christianity must not cause us to forget that paganism and the old traditions continued as best they could for as long as they could. Only after several centuries of omnipresence and oppression by imperial Christianity was paganism forced out of existence. An empire-wide program of monumentalizing Christianity, Christianizing ceremonies, and attempting to eradicate paganism insured that Christianity was constantly visible and identifiable as the only state religion. The success of Christianity entailed the deliberate, long-fought, and planned destruction of a rich, viable and powerful religious tradition.

The quietness of paganism in the sources distorts and obfuscates its position in late antiquity. The monumentalized paganism of the classical Greco-Roman world
disappeared and was replaced by Christianity. But monumentalized, public religion was only a seasonal, and usually unemotional, part of a polytheistic religious existence. Significant religious experience seems to have come with ritual and action. Ritual could and did take place at the public monuments, and obviously grand temples were desirable for many pagans. Nevertheless, ritual did not need elaborate temples. The hearth, a spring, or even an abandoned and collapsed temple could form the *axis mundi*. As the religious landscape changed, pagan ritual found new homes, or satisfaction in less-grandiose locations. For the historian and archaeologist this means that paganism in the late-antique world is much harder to find than in the classical world; it does not mean, however, that paganism died or disappeared. The evidence, when sought out, makes this quite clear.

Given the marked continuity of the late-antique city, it is not surprising that paganism continued. The city in late antiquity was indeed in a state of change. The change in our period—the fourth through sixth centuries—did not, however, obviate or significantly alter the function of the city. The city continued to be the social, political, economic and religious center of life. In Corinth, the forum continued to function as always, and most of the public amenities were maintained. The villas, flourishing in our period, clustered around the city. The aristocratic landowners had not abandoned civic life, nor did they even choose to remove themselves very far from the city.

The transformation of the city in late antiquity revolved, in fact, around the relationship of the city to the emperor. Power was focused in the person of the emperor and administered through the provincial governor, *defensor civitatis* and, with increasing directness as we enter the sixth century, the clergy of the Christian church. Interaction with the clergy became, directly and indirectly, interaction with the emperor, and the desires and directions of the clergy could be construed as directions from the emperor.
The physical and social structure of the city reflected this change in the distribution of power, most noticeably in the Christianization of the city. The temples were neglected, allowed to fall into disrepair and ultimately removed. This de-paganisation was accompanied by the construction of the basilicas. These elaborate and imperially influenced, if not sponsored, structures dominated the new city, a city that was Christian and tied through the church and civic government to the emperor. It is no coincidence, of course, that the basilicas flourished in a period in which the emperors were specifically concerned with establishing Christianity and using it, in part, to concentrate all power in their own person.

The changes in the late-antique city, then, were largely those introduced from the outside. Many aspects of the city not controlled or of no concern to the emperor remained the same. In this way the late-antique city was an extremely conservative institution. It changed, but the changes, at least until the end of the sixth century, were introduced from above and were parts of, or reactions to, imperial programs and desires. If left to its own devices, it seems that the city in late-antiquity would have continued as always. The major change, the monumental Christianization of the city, was a manifestation not of internal pressure for change but a reflection of outside influence on the structure of the city. Given the conservative and continuous nature of the city, one would expect paganism to continue as well. That it disappeared is a result of direct intervention by the imperial government, not a natural progression of the late-antique city.

The failure to repair the damaged temples certainly reflects a changing attitude towards these representations of paganism. Temples, as all structures, needed maintenance, initially to preserve appearance, but ultimately to remain standing. Such maintenance, previously funded by the city and empire, ceased in the fourth century, except for those structures that had been adopted for other "non-pagan" uses. The temples
were, for the most part, representations of public paganism, and certainly were manifestations of civic involvement and funding of pagan cult. Some temples slowly fell apart, others were actively destroyed. The collapse and destruction of the temples did not, of course, mean the destruction of paganism. In the Corinthia, where the prime culprit in the destruction of the temples seems to have been seismic activity, the temples probably were in a state of disrepair when the earthquakes struck c. 400. After the seismic activity, no civic funds could have been available for the repair of pagan structures. The failure to care for and re-erect these structures cannot be taken to reflect popular or local religious opinion. Decisions about temple maintenance were not reflections of the belief of the people, but the faith of the emperors. The failure to maintain or repair the temples at Corinth says little about the religion of the people; it was a result of economic control by Christian emperors.

Nevertheless, the demise of the temples did not mean the end of pagan activity at these sites, and cult activity continued at the destroyed temples. Pagans and Christians alike viewed the areas of the temples as special, despite the rather unrecognizable state of the collapsed and demolished structures in the fifth and sixth century. Pagans continued to worship at the Asklepieion in Corinth, where the main activity seems to have been the dedication of votive lamps and perhaps sacrifice. Even as pressure against the pagans and pagan cult increased, individuals managed to worship at the traditional cult sites. Pagan activity was not left unopposed, however. The Christians of Corinth were aware of this activity and placed burials around the temples not only to emphasize the victory of Christianity, but also to threaten the sites with desecration. The continued activity at the temples emphasized the vitality of traditional paganism. The destruction of the temples, as well as the counter-activity of the Christians, did not end cult activity, and the pagan
activity was not insignificant, but sizable enough to illicit a long-term plan of opposition by the Christians that lasted several centuries.

The hostility of some Christians to certain sculptures underscores another method of Christian attack upon pagan worship, the continued importance of statuary in pagan worship, and a prevalent perception of power residing within statues. For some, sculpture was de-sacralized, simply art, but for others it remained an object of veneration, for still others an object of fear. The mutilation of statues served to rid the image of its internal demonic powers; ritual deposits of pagan cult groups served to exorcise the demons that lived within sculpture. The evidence from Corinth and elsewhere in the Aegean reveals the continued use of statues and groups of statues in pagan worship. The Christian response to statuary reveals a desire not only to remove the demons, but to attack pagans at the very foundations of their worship. The Christian attacks also reveal, however, that pagan and Christian views towards statuary and divine power were similar, and undoubtedly shared. The point of difference was one of interpretation and identification: the pagans saw statuary as the "dwelling-place" of gods, the Christian saw it as the "dwelling-place" of demons. All were agreed, however, that statues were possessors of power. The attacks upon statuary resulted not from a great difference in belief, for at their core pagan and Christian thoughts about statuary were the same. The attacks resulted instead from the great similarity of belief and, in fact, closely resemble hostilities within various groups of the Christian body. In this instance that which the Christians and pagans shared was far greater than that which separated them.

The Fountain of the Lamps was the most popular cult site in the fifth and sixth century Corinthia yet investigated, and it was shared alike by pagans and Christians. At this subterranean fountain, lamps and coins were left as votive offerings, and the occasional curse tablet was deposited. The Fountain of the Lamps, however, had a
polysemous identity. For some it was the home of the Nymphs, for others, it was a place frequented by angels. There, at one site, pagans and Christians worshipped together and in the same manner. The only difference was the deities being worshipped. The form of activity, the deposition of votive lamps, seems to have been the same for both groups. It is easy to envision pagans and Christians worshipping at the same place, at the same time, using identical rituals. For the casual observer it would have been impossible to differentiate between pagans and Christian devotees.

The cult activity at the Fountain of the Lamps offers a glimpse into the religious life of a population in transition. While there is no way to determine how much of the population was Christian, how much pagan, we can be certain that both groups were represented in large numbers. More interesting, however, is the ambiguous nature of the activity at the Fountain of the Lamps. While one might see the Christian angels simply as a syncretistic adoption of the pagan nymphs, this begs the question. The nymphs and the angels must have been so similar that people had trouble distinguishing them. The issue was not simply the adoption of a local pagan cult into a new Christian religion, but rather the attempt of the people to incorporate Christianity into their world.\footnote{Stewart (1991) 245 discusses "common ideational tendencies regarding supernatural beings" in modern Naxos, Greece. See also Lison-Tolosana's (1966) study of of the growth of religion and the collective religiosity of Belmonte de los Caballeros in a strong and well documented historical context}

Any ideational confusion over the deities of the Fountain surely was compounded by the identical form of worship used by pagan and Christians. The similar beings, and similar activities must have created a situation in which it was difficult to differentiate between pagan and Christian. It is not hard to see Christians confused as to their own identity and the meaning of co-participation in a cult with pagans. In an atmosphere of religious transition, it may even have been that the boundary lines were so blurred, that for
some it was not possible to know if they themselves were pagan or Christian or even what that meant.

Pagan cult survived and flourished in the Corinthia at least through the sixth century. The pagans continued to venerate the old cult sites and temples, but a new site, the Fountain of the Lamps, neither fully pagan nor Christian, also arose in this period. The interaction between pagans and Christians can hardly be characterized in a simple manner, for it was multivarious and multifaceted. At times the relations were violent, as evidenced by the mutilation of sculpture, at times the interaction was threatening but not overtly hostile, as with the placement of graves near temple sites where pagans still worship, and at times pagans and Christians would worship side by side using identical rituals, as at the Fountain of the Lamps.

Pagan cults thrived in the Corinthia long after they were banned, the empire officially Christianized, and the Christian clergy elevated in importance. This pagan activity was not mere survival or folk-tradition; it was the manifestation of a strong religious phenomenon. The implications of this continuation of paganism through the early Byzantine period are far-reaching. Paganism was a living and active tradition, it did not die peacefully nor was it simply replaced by Christianity. A simple model of Christianity replacing paganism will not suffice. The crucial and formative years of institutionalized Christianity, the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, saw the continuation of a strong pagan tradition and continued pagan activity. The transition from paganism to Christianity was slow and lasted several centuries. The possibility of, need for, and inevitability of doctrinal and ritual influence in both directions is great.

Even in the fifth and sixth centuries, when there could no longer be any doubt that the Empire was and would be Christian, paganism survived. The long process of Christianizing the Empire was a campaign against a fully active religious tradition;
Christianization was not succession, but rather the active suppression and absorption of a viable religious tradition. The question of the success of Christianity cannot be answered merely by discussion of religious appeal, personal satisfaction or superiority or beliefs. Certainly the Christians were adept at attracting and keeping converts, and styled a highly attractive and enjoyable liturgy and yearly calendar. But this is only part of the story. Paganism survived for several centuries despite the removal of economic support, illegalization and strong pressure from the Christians. Surely the conservative nature of ancient society played a role in this long survival, but a more complicated process is indicated.

By the end of the sixth century Corinth, as well as the rest of Greece, had abandoned most of the rituals and beliefs of classical paganism and adopted Christianity. This "indigenous" religious development, apart from similar changes throughout the Hellenized world, is unique in western and perhaps world history. Christianity was not introduced to Greece by foreigners, but by Greeks and other members of the Hellenized world. But Christianity did not become one of many religious systems; it became the only religious system. Such transformations have occurred at other times in the history of the world, but almost without exception they have been accompanied by colonialism, and imperialism, be it military-political or cultural. In Greece, there was no such foreign influence, yet the transformation and development of a Christian Byzantine Empire was the most complete such transformation the world has seen.

Perhaps, however, the suppression of paganism and the success of Christianity can be attributed to a form of colonialism or imperialism. If one defines colonialism as "the interaction between disproportionate social groups which possess in different degrees the

\[2\]See Marriot (1955) 181 on "indigenous."
power dominate" such an interpretation becomes possible.³ As Christianity gained hold of the aristocracy and as ecclesiastical leaders assumed greater roles in civic life, Christians became a social group with power to predominate.⁴ Paganism fell out of favor, lost support, and was banned. A powerful religious tradition, it continued for a long time despite pressure against it. But after several centuries of opposition from an Empire that sought control of the religious aspects of individual existence, it succumbed. Paganism did not die out, it was systematically, and with difficulty, extinguished.

³For the definition see Beidelman (1982) 4; cf. Davis (1973).

⁴Cf. Moore (1987) for a similar approach in medieval history.
APPENDIX A

A GAZETTEER OF THE LATE ROMAN CORINTHIA

1) **Crommyon (Aghia Theodorii)**: On the Scironian road. Apparently an important site. Funerary inscriptions through the late Roman period. Wiseman (1978) 17-19; Verdelis (1961/2); Daux (1962); Papachristodoulou (1969). Excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service were conducted in this area in 1992.

2) **Gerania**: Second Valley west of Gerania has a large concentration of late Roman sherds. A built stone cist grave may be late Roman. Wiseman (1978) 20.

3) **Schinos**: Port of Oenoe. This site has late Roman material dating from the fourth to sixth centuries. Apparently the late Roman settlement was at the harbor. A late column can be seen at Aghia Sotiria. Wiseman (1978) 30.

4) **Asprókambos**: In the plain east of village south and west of Zoodochos Pighi there are late Roman sherds going as late as the seventh century. Wiseman (1978) 34-6; Fowler (1932) 42; Payne (1940) I, 7-8. See nearby the Cave of Oenoe: Cave west of site reputedly has cross and niche carved in wall. Wiseman (1978) 30.

5) **Maghoula**: On the ridges 1.5km south of the village of Perachora on modern road. Late Roman and Byzantine sherds have been found in the saddle to north of west ridge. Wiseman (1978) 36.

6) **Kenchreai**: The famous harbor and sanctuaries. Destroyed and then re-inhabited in the late fourth or early fifth centuries. Scranton (1978).

7) **Loutro Eleni**: The hill contains late Roman sherds. Wiseman (1978) 52-3.

8) **Kato Almyri**: Roman and Byzantine Sherds were noted by Robinson. Wiseman (1978) 58; Fowler (1932) 89.

9) **Vigla**: At this site there is limited Roman and Byzantine material especially near the "new" road. Wiseman (1978) 58.
10) **Perdhikaria**: Along the ridge 2km. east of Examilia. NE of this ridge there is a concentration of late Roman material. This may be farmhouse or villa on the road to Kenchreai. Wiseman (1978) 64-5.

11) **Cromna**: On the Aghios Dhimitrois ridge. There is a rock cut staircase into a cave. The pottery goes to the fourth century. Wiseman (1963).

12) **Examilia**: Two tombs have been found here. A first or second century tomb that may have been robbed in the fourth century (as evidenced by one late lamp). More likely the tomb was reused. Wiseman (1978) 69, Morgan (1938); Corinth Notebook 156, 62-9. A Roman tomb is also visible from the road. This has never been excavated, but probably is early Roman; there is late Roman material in the field nearby. Wiseman (1978) 69.

13) **Voukiana**: A settlement on a knoll. Late Roman sherds have been found to the north. Wiseman (1978) 70.

14) **Pano Maghoula**: A third century villa west of Corinth-Argos road at the third kilometer marker. The villa has a courtyard, open-air cistern, olive press, and bath. Wiseman notes further material north all the way to highway including walls, paving and rooms. The ceramics in the area range from the early Roman period to the seventh century. The villas seems to have been built in the third century and functioned perhaps as late as the seventh century Wiseman (1978) 73-4; Ergon (1955); Pallas (1955).

15) **Bayevi**: This is the region west of Mt. Penteskouphi. A large underground water tunnel has been found here. On the southwest slope of the hill Roman sherds have been found. Wiseman reports having seen large Roman structure, probably a villa. Wiseman (1978) 82; Morgan (1937) 552; Corinth Notebook 156, 54-8. Examination of this site in 1992 by R. Rothaus and T.E. Gregory failed to find any of the remains noted by Wiseman. A small church, probably modern, is on the hill and a few pieces of Roman ceramics were found.

16) **Kokkinovrysi**: A partially excavated villa, often known as the Shear villa, located just inside the city wall near the Sikyonian gate. The villa was constructed in the second century and functioned until the early fifth. Shear (1925) 391; Shear (1930). There is a chamber tomb that was reused in the later Roman period 5 minutes west. Stillwell (1936) 484.

17) **Skoutelas Basilica**: A fifth or sixth century early Christian basilica. Traces of late Roman activity have been noticed near it. Wiseman (1978) 85. MORE BIB.

18) **Lechaion**: The largest basilica ever in Greece and in the world at its time. There is also a Nymphaeum here that may have been built in the third century and functioned through the sixth. Wiseman (1978) 87; Philadelpheos (1908); Ergon (1957); Pallas (1954), (1956),
(1957), (1959), (1960), (1961), (1961/2). The fields in vicinity have sherds, mainly early Roman.

19) **Southeast Suburb**: A site located 0.5k south of Corinth-Argos highway, 1.5km. outside the city wall. Scatter in this area goes only to 3rd century. A Villa or structure with peristyle court has been found here. Wiseman (1978) 88. Examination of this region in 1992 by R. Rothaus and T.E. Gregory failed to locate the structure; bulldozing in the area may have destroyed it.

20) **Solomos**: A fourth century chamber tomb has been found on road from Teneatic gate. This may be part of a larger cemetery. Wiseman (1978) 90; BCH (1959).

21) **Alamánnos**: A large site with ceramics only as late as the third century. It is located on the lower hill across the modern road from church the church Aghios Panteleimon. Wiseman (1978) 56, 90.

22) **Tenea**: The center of this site is halfway between the railroad tracks and Klenia, especially on the east side of the of road. A large Roman building is visible and late Roman graves have been excavated. The ridge north of Tenea between Aghia Kyriaki and the road may be a cemetery; there are many plundered Roman chamber tombs here. The ceramics go into the late Roman but period but most are early Roman. Wiseman (1978) 92-3.

23) **Aghios Yerasimos**: A hill 2.5k west of Lechaion. A second or third century inscription has been found here. South and southeast of the hill there are late Roman sherds to the sixth century. Wiseman (1978) 99.

24) **Aetopetra**: a flat top hill, probably south of the road to Sikyon. Numerous caves can be seen on the west of valley. North and east of the hill there are late Roman sherds. A large Roman millstone and an early Christian tombstone have been found here. Wiseman (1978) 99; Corinth Notebook 272, 88.

25) **Aghios Charalambos**: This site is located in the periphery of modern Zeugolatio. It is north of the road to Sikyon. A Roman bath, built in the early fourth century and restored in the early fifth has been excavated south of church. Sherds in the area indicate widespread habitation. Charitonides (1955); Wiseman (1978) 100-101.

26) **Moulki I and II**: Wiseman reports cemented structures and a structure with diamond shape tiles. The ceramics may go as late as the third century at Moulki I. Moulki II has a quarry, and ceramic scatter as late as the fourth century. Wiseman (1978) 103-4

27) **Kondita Station**: Just west of modern road from Zeugolatio to Nerandza. Has a very few late Roman sherds. Wiseman (1978) 104.
28) *Spathovouni*: In the Longopotamos valley, along the best route to Argos. On dirt road east to Chiliomodi, about 1km., there are signs of ancient occupation including poros blocks, and a heavy concentration of large second to third century sherds. While this may represent only one villa, it suggests a road from Tenea to Longopotamos valley. Wiseman (1978) 108, 110.

29) *Aghionorion*: A cave at north entrance of pass on west has yielded Roman sherds. 1.5k west, 100m. s of road to Stephanion is the church of Aghios Nikolaos. Here ceramics as late as the third century have been found. Wiseman (1978) 122-4.

30) *Aghia Paraskevi*: This site has classical fortifications, many early Roman sherds, and some late Roman sherds. Wiseman (1978) 127-8.

31) *Angelocastro*: There is a Medieval fortification at this site which guards the Sophikos pass and the upland pass to plain of Aghionorion. Southwest of the village, 150m. south of the road at the two kilometer mark south of castle, is a rectangular structure of polygonal masonry. There is a heavy concentration of fourth and fifth century sherds. Angelocastro is the convergence point of several roads. Wiseman (1978) 129-30.

32) *Evraionisos*: The island has late Roman ceramic scatter to the fifth century and evidence of terracing. Wiseman (1978) 134; T.E. Gregory, personal communication.


36) *Anaploga*: Located 1.5 km. within the city wall. Digging was spurred at this site by the accidental discovery of acrolithic Athena head. The villa was built c. 1-50 A.D., and contains an atrium, ten rooms, and a large dining hall. The villa was remodeled in the third century when a figural mosaic installed, and again in late Roman period when a wall was added through the mosaic south of the south figured panel. The villa was abandoned in the early fifth century as evidenced by coins of Valentinian, Arcadius and Theodosius I. Miller (1972) [mistakenly states abandonment came in mid-fourth century]; Shear (1930). See Hellenkemper-Salicis (1986) 278 for the mosaics.

37) *Isthmia*: The sanctuary of Poseidon. The sanctuary functioned until the late fourth or early fifth century. An apparently residential complex flourished from the early Roman period until the end of the fourth century. Also the site of a major late Roman/Early Byzantine fortress. Rothaus (n.d.B), Gregory (n.d.).

The reader will note that this highly dependent on Wiseman (1978). I have not always been able to confirm the information contained here.
FIGURE 1
CORINTH, C. 200 A.D.
(From Scranton (1957) Figure III)
FIGURE 3
THE CORINTHIA
(From Salmon (1984) Fig. 2)
FIGURE 4
LATE ROMAN SITES IN THE CORINTHIA.
(From Salmon (1984) Figure 2)
FIGURE 5
THE ASKLEPEION
FIGURE 6
AREA OF KENCHREAI
(From Scranton (1978) Figure 4)
FIGURE 7
THE VILLA AT KENCHREAI
(From Scranton (1978) Figure 33)
FIGURE 8
AREOPAGOS HOUSES B AND C.
(From Frantz (1988) plate 27a and b)
FIGURE 9
SOUTH PIER (KENCHREAÏ)
(From Scranton (1978) Figure 23)
FIGURE 10
SOUTHWEST AREA (KENCHREAI)
(From Scranton (1978) Figure 25)
FIGURE 11
THE NYMPHAEUM AT KENCHREAII
(From Scranton (1978) Figure 31)
FIGURE 13
THE BASILICA AT KENCHREAI.
(From Scranton (1978) Figure 25)
FIGURE 14
ISTSAMIA
FIGURE 15
THE EAST FIELD HOUSES
FIGURE 16
THE THEATER
FIGURE 17
THE ROMAN BATH AT ISTMIA
FIGURE 18
LECHAION BASILICA
(From Pallas (1990) figure 5)
FIGURE 19
SKOUTELAS BASILICA.
(From Pallas (1990) Figure 7)
FIGURE 20
STIKAS BASILICA.
(From Pallas (1990) Figure 8)
FIGURE 21
KRANEION BASILICA
(From Pallas (1990) Figure 9)
FIGURE 22
ACROCORINTH BASILICA
(From Pallas (1990) Figure 15)
FIGURE 24
PLACEMENT OF CHURCHES IN CORINTH
(After Sakellariou (1971) Figure 41)
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