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CHANGING TOPOGRAPHY & PRIVATE SPACE

IN

THE NORTH-EASTERN PELOPONNESE

THE LATE ROMAN CORINTHIA

FROM THE 3RD CENTURY AD UNTIL THE 7TH CENTURY AD

VOL. I (VOLUME I OF II)

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at Durham University

By

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ABSTRACT

From the late-3rd century AD until the 6th century AD, continuous private investments fuelled a significant building programme that spread across the region of Corinthia. A period of crisis can be attested in the 4th century AD. This saw several residential and working facilities going out of use. For all the hardships, however, a significant build-up from that era argues against a general slowdown in the building activities. The latter appear to further intensify in the following period and until the first half of the 6th century AD. In urban areas, new housing units were commonly established on former public facilities and roads. Other times, new building came to revitalize deserted *insulae*.

Notwithstanding, the resulting facilities rarely matched the earlier domestic complexes in size and wealth. In rural areas, the number of the villas likely remained stable, or even increased. A noticeable development concerned the establishment of villages on fringe areas of the countryside. These possibly signify a localized intensification of production and economic activities. Nonetheless, the image coming from those settlements speaks for struggling communities of very low level of wealth.

One characteristic of the Late Roman Corinthian households is their increasing functionality. This is better articulated in the case of the working spaces, with many of the housing units reconfigured for more utilitarian purposes. A second characteristic is an attested yearn 'for the good life'. This sparked the popularity of certain architectural designs and gave rise to a significant decorative programme.

The private building activities continued further into the 6th and early-7th century AD. However, the respective units only little resemble the earlier, Late Roman houses. In that regard, this 'continuity of the building programme' marks the end of an era and the beginning of a new one characterised by different priorities and aesthetics.

"For Greece and Rome, the great archival collection of written documents -wills, legal papers, marriage contracts, letters, title deeds, architectural plans, and all the other materials upon which modern history and civilization rely- is mostly gone. For that reason, the history of Greek and Roman houses gives us the archive: it shows us people making great or humble decisions about how to live, how to allocate their space, how to maintain themselves as social entities, and, ultimately, how to achieve a balance between necessity and desire."

Guy P. R. Métraux 1999

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Chapter 1

Prologue

The uniqueness of Corinthian topography came to define more than anything the long-term prospects of the region (Plates 1, 2). The land bridge of Isthmus held a strategic value, guarding the passage to and from the Peloponnese. The geographic setting further placed the region in an advantageous position, right in the middle of the Aegean and the Adriatic trade routes.

The above prompted the transformation of Corinthia into an economic and administrational powerhouse throughout Classical Antiquity. The Late Roman period was no different. Despite the ever-increasing transfer of power and wealth from Southern Greece to Macedonia and Constantinople, Corinthia remained an important and relatively prosperous region.

Nonetheless, the wider socio-economic changes that took place across the Empire after the 3rd century AD inevitably came to transform Corinthia. This is more evident in the civic building programme that focused at an ever-increasing pace on church facilities and fortifications. However, this transformation came to redefine also the way that the Late Roman Corinthians understood the 'public' and 'private' realms, and how they saw themselves with respect to each setting. Moreover, it greatly affected the daily life and practices of the urban and rural communities, presenting them with new priorities, challenges and prospects.

The principal goal of this dissertation is to explore the above changes, aiming to highlight the effects that these had on the urban and rural topography of the north-eastern Peloponnese. For that purpose, the study intends to analyse the evolution of private space from the 3rd century AD to the 7th century AD. That will highlight the long-term trends that shaped the working and living compartments, as well as the needs and aspirations of their occupants.

Towards that direction the dissertation will examine a much broader area than the ancient territory of Corinthia, that roughly corresponds to the limits of the modern, homonymous province. The reason for that approach is twofold. The first is to study comparatively neighbouring areas that were historically autonomous from Corinth, but deeply integrated into the Corinthian microeconomy, nonetheless. The above is crucial for the understanding of the long-term developments in the Corinthian countryside. That is because by the Late Roman period, centuries of Roman rule had rendered many of the historical boundaries obsolete in essence. With that goal, the dissertation will further focus on a series of islets stretching along the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs until the Boeotian coast, considering them as one, single microenvironment, regardless of any administrative divisions.

The second reason for taking that research path, is to examine a sample of sites as broad as possible, with the aim to understand the wider trends in the north-eastern Peloponnese. For that purpose, the research will provide also a summary reference to the surveyed urban and rural private facilities in the neighbouring region of Achaea in the north-western Peloponnese. This will highlight the many similarities, as well as the contrasting developments, across the whole of the northern Peloponnesian coast.

The dissertation is organised in three main chapters. The first of them studies the changing settlement patterns in the urban and rural areas. This will give a better idea about the economic prospects of the north-eastern Peloponnese during the examined period, and the response of the local communities to the rising challenges they faced. Key research topics here will be the implementation of the villa system, the growing numbers of the Late Roman village communities, and the long-term evolution of the urban fabric.

The second main chapter studies the architectural design and function of the Late Roman private facilities. An effort is particularly made to highlight the impact of the post-3rd century AD social ethics and ideals, on the architectural design of private spaces. During the analysis, the possible public and private functions, the elaborate features, and the interposition within the urban grid will come forward, revealing a domestic environment designated to cater a spectrum of primary and secondary needs.

Finally, the third main chapter studies the private decorative programme. Special focus is paid on the aesthetic and religious value of the artworks, to better

understand the policies of placement and display. A second aspect that will come forward in this chapter concerns the symbolic and sometimes imposing character of private art, which was designed to appeal to both the patron and his guests.

Chapter 2

Introduction

§ 2.1. Aims of the research & current state of analysis

2.1.1 Widening the research on Late Roman topography: From Corinth to the North-Eastern Peloponnese

The analysis of Late Roman Greece has frequently resorted to a simplistic approach,[1] understanding the period after the 3rd century AD as one of general decline.[2] The more recent scholarship has called into question those pessimistic views noting that there are notable signs of continuing and occasionally increasing human activities, both in the urban and the rural territories.[3]

This was the case also for the Late Roman Peloponnese, as the peninsula experienced, along with some upheavals a long and generally smooth transition until the early-7th century AD.[4] In the western regions of the Peloponnese, this dynamic is more evident in the main urban centres and the coastal areas.[5] The image of continuity is even better demonstrated in the eastern Peloponnese, where significant developments

[1] For the proposed Late Roman decline and the heavy concentration on literary sources see: Drakoulis 2009a, 39-102; Karagianni 2009, 119-128; Lougis 1996, 36-67; Moutsopoulos 1997, 29-64.
[2] Note for example the some of the relevant publications on Roman Patras: Papapostolou 1991, 315-316; Petropoulos 2012, 313.
[3] See for example the dynamic environment of Late Roman rural Macedonia (Dunn 2002, 705-712; 1994, 60-80). For a general analysis of Late Roman Southern Greece see: Alcock 1993.
[4] Avramea 2012, 227-246; 2000, 9-18.
[5] See: *Patras*: Bonini 2009, 121-161; Callegher 2005, 225-235; Moutzali 2002a, 175-188; 1991, 259-264; *Messene*: Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1997, 229-322; Themelis 2002, 20-58; Tsivikis 2012, 47-71; *Olympia*: Schauer 2002, 208-218; Sinn 2002a, 59-64; Sinn 2002b 189-194; *Rural Achaea-in-Peloponnese:* Petropoulos 2013, 154-174; 1994, 405-424; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 88-145; *Rural Ellis*: Lambropoulou 1991, 283-291; Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2002, 271-285; Vicatou 2013, 422-440; *Rural Messene*: Alcock *et al.* 2005, 147-209; Anagnostakis 2002, 137-160; Kosmopoulos 2013, 398-421.

can be noted in the rural hinterland,[6] the coastland,[7] as well as the main,[8] and secondary city centres.[9]

Corinthia was no exception to that rule. Several archaeological field surveys from across the rural hinterland, have traced clear signs of increasing human activities during a period spanning from the 4th century AD until the late-6th century AD.[10] This reflects to an extent the research limitations on the field, as the Late Roman pottery is easier to spot by the surveying teams.[11] Nonetheless, there is little doubt that the Corinthian countryside was far from economically strained and depopulated.

A similar picture of survival and stability comes from the urban areas. Here the excavations have mainly focused on the regional capital, Corinth.[12] A large body of evidence from in and around the city attests continuous building activities from the 3rd until the early-7th century AD.

During this three-century-long period, a significant slowdown can be noted first in the second half of the 4th century AD, and again in the second half of the 6th century AD. The reasons for these hardships have long puzzled researchers. A significant effort has been made to associate the late-4th century AD destructions with several violent

[6] See: *Titane*: Lolos 2011, 468-470; *Sicyonia*: Lolos 2013, 475-477; 2011, 336-338; *East Corinthia*: Caraher and Pettegrew 2016,175; Caraher *et al*. 2006, 16-24; Gregory 2013, 279-283; Pettegrew 2016, 219-220; 2007, 743-784; Tartaron *et al.* 2006, 482-483; *Kenchreai*: Rife *et al.* 2007; *Nemean plain*: Alcock 1993, 43-44; 1991, 426; *Phliasia*: Alcock 1993, 100; Faraklas 1972, app. 2, p.2; *Methana*: Mee *et al*. 1991, 227-230; *Rural Argolis*: Avramea 2012, 244-245; Bintliff 2012b, 358; Jameson *et al.* 1994; Psichoyou 2013, 278-286; Sarri E. 2013, 212-277.

[7] See: Hood 1970; Kirou 2007, 100-113; 2001-2002, 508-517; 1999, 59-60; Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 203-205; Veikou 2012a, 346-348; 2012b, 177-178.

[8] See among others: *Corinth*: Athanasoulis 2013, 192-298; Jacobs 2014, 85-87; Scranton 1957, 6-48; Slane and Sanders 2005, 243-297; Sanders 1999, 473-475; *Kenchreai*: Brown A. 2018, 68; 2008, 176-180; Evangeloglou 2013, 35-37; Kordosis 1981, 64-67; Pettegrew 2006, 121; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 147-152; *Lechaeon*: Brown A. 2018, 67; 2008, 169-172; Kordosis 1981, 64-67; Papafotiou 1999, 407-408; Pettegrew 2006, 121; 216; Sanders 1999, 474-475; *Argos*: Oikonomou-Laniado 2003, 59-80.

[9] See for example the long continuity in the city of Sicyon: Lolos 2012, 116; Tzavella *et al.* 2014, 92.

[10] See the relevant entries above.

[11] Bintliff 2012a, 71; 2012b, 355; Caraher *et al.* 2006, 23-26; Pettegrew 2010, 219-220.

[12] Athanasoulis 2013; Brown A. 2018; 2008; Engels 1990; Jacobs 2014; Kordosis 1981; Rothaus 2000.

events, namely earthquakes and catastrophic war invasions.[13] Several researchers, though, have recently come to question the validity of those claims.[14]

What is certain is that Corinth finally endured and starting from the early-5th century AD saw a significant rebuilding effort that continued for more than a century. The mid-6th century AD marked the end of this period of stability. The new hardships may relate to the catastrophic seismic activity in Corinthia as attested by Procopius.[15] Once again, though, it is difficult to trace the exact reasons behind the attested malaise.[16]

What stands out is that this time the city never fully recovered. It experienced instead a long slowdown until the early-7th century AD, that marks the turn to the Middle Byzantine period and the beginning of a new era.

The above provide a basic outline for the long-term developments in Corinthia and its capital city, Corinth, during the Late Roman period. However, important questions persist regarding both the urban and rural territories. Whereas the research has paid an excessive attention to the civic building programme of Corinth, much less is understood about the development of the residential and working areas. Important questions arise also about the long-term evolution of the residential districts in the lesser Corinthian centres, above all in the two main port-cities of Corinthia, Lechaeon and Kenchreai. Another topic that has not been thoroughly studied concerns the development of the peri-urban areas and their role to the regional economy.

Similar grey areas remain also with respect to the evolution of rural Corinthia. The past overviews, for all their indisputable value, did not fully explore the relationship between the countryside and secondary urban centres, the role of nucleated village settlements, and the validity of the ancient written sources.[17] Moreover, a series of recent excavations and surveys have revolutionized our understanding of the Late

[13] See: *Alaric's raid*: Avramea 2012, 113-114; Brown A. 2008, 22-24, 149; Jacobs 2014, 71-74; 82-88; Rothaus 2000, 16-17; Scranton 1957, 5; Slane and Sanders 2005, 244; Weinberg 1960, 77; *Seismic activity*: Brown A. 2018, 21; 2008, 94-95, 149; Rothaus 2000, 17-22; Scranton 1957, 8; Slane and Sanders 2005, 244.
[14] Brown A. 2008, 110; Jacobs 2014, 84-85; Rife 2012, 119; Sanders 2004, 170-172; Slane and Sanders 2005, 244; Rothaus *et al*. 2016, 63.
[15] Procopius, *Buildings 4.2.27*.
[16] Brown A. 2018, 22-24; 2010, 367; 2008, 96; Curta 2011, 61; Jacobs 2014, 84; Scranton 1957, 8, 25; Slane and Sanders 2005, 244; 1999, 74-475.
[17] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a; Engels 1990; Kordosis 1981; Kosso 2003; Wiseman 1978.

Roman Corinthian hinterland. Consequently, significant grey areas remain regarding the evolving settlement patterns, the rising rural nucleation, the overall presence of small farmsteads, as well as the possible role of the villa estates and their respective social stratification.

This thesis aims to explore the above questions. Towards that goal I intend to examine private building from the late-3rd until the early-7th century AD in the cities of Corinth, Kenchreai and Lechaeon. I will consider the architectural record in chronological order, aiming to highlight the long-term developments, as well as the key characteristics of the facilities, and their envisioned role. I further intend to explore the dynamic and vitality of the peri-urban areas, focusing on the suburban areas of Corinth. During the analysis I will explore the shifting borderlines of the Late Roman city, and the links between the city and its immediate periphery.

Another key goal of the research is to question the importance of smaller Corinthian urban centres and their impact on the rural topography. Towards that end, I will first examine the ancient literary sources referring to these cities and I will question their validity. The research then will turn to the archaeological record, with the aim of providing a summary overview of the settlements and their environs.

A second thematic concern is the longue durée development of the rural territories. The dissertation aims to question the human outreach over the Corinthian periphery, as well as the role of the countryside in a region that remained highly urbanized throughout the Roman period. For that reason, I also intend to further focus on a series of island settlements along the coastline of the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs that surrounded the region. The effort here is not only to question what may have sparked the interest in these marginal environments, but to further demonstrate the pluralism that characterized the Late Roman north-eastern Peloponnese.

Another issue that I will consider, is socio-economic stratification in the rural countryside. Towards that direction I will first explore the overall presence of small farmsteads. This will bring forward the interpretative problems concerning with the 'overuse' of the term *villae*, and the material scarcity with respect to the smaller sites. I will then examine the larger establishments that may be identified as villas. My intention here will be twofold. First, to theorise what may have been the chief reasons

that fuelled the construction of these larger rural facilities, and second to present what do we currently know about their owners.

The analysis in the Late Roman Corinthian countryside will conclude with the study of the rural villages. My principal aim is to map in chronological order the presence of these settlements from the Imperial to the Late Roman period. In addition to that, I will examine their location and wealth, with the intention to explore what their role was, and how these settlements transitioned to the Middle Byzantine period.

2.1.2 The domestic architecture design in the Late Roman Corinthia: Housing the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'

The private architecture in Imperial and Late Roman Greece has been the subject of numerous extended analyses, which raised issues of architectural planning, function, and long-term evolution.[18] Despite their overall usefulness, these studies have focused mostly on residential use of the facilities and overlook a significant part of the archaeological record concerning the urban and rural production facilities. Moreover, the above analyses predominantly have focused on the Imperial Roman period and have not extensively addressed Late Roman private architecture. Consequently, key features of the Late Roman private programme have been ignored or discussed only briefly.

These limitations have been partially addressed by the dedicated overviews of the Greek Late Roman houses that have further highlighted the socio-economic background of the facilities and traced other *comparanda* across the Empire.[19] In addition to the above, a growing number of regional studies has further widened our understanding in the Imperial and Late Roman Greek houses coming from both rural,[20]

[18] Bonini 2006; Papaioannou 2007, 351-361; 2002; Person 2012; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 82; Widad 2002; Zarmakoupi 2013, 752-761.
[19] Karagianni 2012; Petridis 2008, 247-258; Sodini 1997, 457-469; 1984, 341-397.
[20] See among others: *Rural Achaea-in-Peloponnese*: Petropoulos 2013, 154-174; 1994, 405-424; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 88-145; *Rural Ellis*: Lambropoulou 1991, 283-291; Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2002, 271-285; Vicatou 2013, 422-440; *Rural Messene*: Anagnostakis 2002, 137-160, Kosmopoulos 2013, 398-421; *Rural Argolis*: Psichoyou 2013, 278-286; Sarri E. 2013, 212-277; *Rural Laconia*: Zavvou 2013, 363-397; *Rural Attica*: D'Aco 2013, 440-465; Stainchauer 2013, 466-485; *Rural Aetolia*: Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Saradi F. 2013, 656-681; *Rural Locris*: Dakoronia and Bouyia 2013, 554-571; *Rural Boeotia*: Vlachogianni 2013a, 486-521; 2013b, 522-541; *Macedonia*: Georgiadou and Lagoudi 2013, 81-86; Adam-Velemi 2009, 1-15; 2001, 167-179; *Thessaly*: Dina 2003, 371-387; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2013, 632-638; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Arachoviti 2013, 616-632; Hatziaggelakis 2013, 592-615.

and urban areas.[21] However, important grey areas persist concerning the city and countryside residences due to the fragmentary archaeological record and study. A significant problem arises from the difficulty in establishing common interpretative criteria and vocabulary terms. This is nowhere more evident than in the study of the rural housing units. Depending on the region, the latter have been alternatively understood either as farms or as *villae rusticae*, resulting in an interpretative conundrum with respect to the extent of the villa system in Greece during the Imperial and Late Roman periods.

Above all, the research on Late Roman Greek private architecture has been hampered by a limited scope of analysis. Except for the nymphaea, the baths, the courtyards, and the *triclinia*, the architectural morphology remains mostly unstudied. In this respect, this study aims to widen the research by exploring the architectural plan and function of several accentuated areas in the Late Roman Corinthian household. During that process, I will briefly consider the evolution of the dining *triclinia*, and I will focus primarily on the rooms with a *tribelon* (three-bay) entrance. The principal aim will be to examine their possible role and function during a period from the 2nd until the earlier 7th century AD. A further effort will be made to understand how these premises evolved during their period of occupancy, and what may have sparked the frequent Late Roman subdivisions that came to redefine the respective facilities.

Another issue concerns the water provision within domestic contexts. The principal goal is not to present water installations *per se*, but to examine the utilization of water for both leisure and production activities, highlighting the balance between need and desire within Corinthian households. Towards that end, the study further aims to discuss the production and retail facilities in the Late Roman Corinthian *domus*, features that have been frequently overlooked in past research. This will cast more light on the regional economy, while revealing more about the increasing functionality of the Corinthian *domus*.

[21] See among others: *Argos*: Oikonomou-Laniado 2003, 59-80; *Athens*: Bonini 2010a 228-230; 2010b, 59-66; 2003, 197-148 Camp 2001, 227-228; Castrén 1994a; 1994b, 115-139; Frantz *et al.* 1988; Watts 2006; *Corinth*: Rothaus 2000, 29; 1994 123-134; Sanders 2004, 172; 2005, 420-426; Scranton 1957, 16-21; *Patras*: Bonini 2009, 121-161; *Thessaloniki*: Karidas 2009, 127-142; 1996, 574-584; Terzopoulou and Chatzinikolaou 2012, 66-81; Adam-Veleni 2011, 545-562; 2003, 121-176; *Philippi*: Gounaris and Gounari 2004; Gounaris and Velemis 1996, 719-733; 1991-1992, 257-280.

Another significant grey area concerns the expansion of the private units over the urban grid and over former public facilities. These practices have been frequently recorded by the topographical treatises that deal with the evolution of Greek urban space during the Late Roman period. They have yet to be systematically studied at a regional level.

This study aims to highlight the issue by examining private encroachments attested across Corinthia, starting from the early beginning of the phenomenon in the 2nd century AD until its Late Roman climax. The main objective here will be to understand what the purpose of these intrusions was, and how they evolved through time. A second objective will be to explore how the civil authorities may have responded to these private invasions. During the analysis I intend to focus primarily on the relevant socio-economic context of the attested encroachments. In addition to that, a further effort will be made to associate these developments with the long-term transformation of civic space.

2.1.3 Domestic décor in Corinthia from 3rd to the 7th century AD: Gods, aesthetics, propaganda and other tales

Domestic decoration in Late Roman Greece has come increasingly under the spotlight in recent decades. Most of the respective publications reflect the fragmentary archaeological record, approaching the topic through a series of separate studies.[22]

One of the first overviews was presented by Jean Pierre Sodini.[23] More recently Maria Papaioannou made a significant breakthrough considering a wide sample of artworks from Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Patras and Nikopolis.[24] Her study examined the main artistic trends and stylistic evolutions that shaped the private collections, and summarily discussed the position of display. A different path was taken by Catherine

[22] The number of cases here is understandably immense, among others see: ***Athens:*** 'Areos Pagos' (Frantz 1988, 42-48; Shear Jr. 1973, 156-173; 1971, 266-270); 'House of Proclus' (Frantz 1988, 42-48); Makriyianni (Kaligas 2000, 38); ***Corinth:*** 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' (Shear 1925, 381-397); 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra' (Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 191; 2013b, 179-190; 2013c, 176-185); 'Pano Maghoula' (Pallas 1955, 215-216); Panayia Field (Sanders 2005, 419-442; 2004, 163-194); ***Argos***: Villa Falconer (Åkerström-Hougen 1974); ***Phillipi***: East Residential insula (Gounaris 1995-2000, 323-356).

[23] Sodini 1984, 388-392.

[24] Papaioannou 2002, 65-90; 134-157; 207-226; 253-270; 320-336.

Person who studied the Roman household shrines from Corinth, Patras, Messene, Athens, Piraeus.[25] The analysis focused primarily on the cultic aspect of the artworks, but it went further to explore how the artworks reflect the Roman and the Hellenistic identities of Roman Greece.

A limitation of these studies is that they mostly raised issues of design and style. In this regard they only summarily considered the position of display and the integration into the architectural plan. Moreover, most of the respective analyses have predominantly treated the works of art as single artefacts and not as parts of a wider decorative programme. As a result, important grey areas persist about the correlation among the domestic artworks and the aims of the domestic decorative programme. One question here that has rarely come forward concerns how the Late Roman viewer saw the legacy artworks that were long in the possession of his family. A second important topic concerns the possible metaphors and symbolisms of displayed artworks and how these link to their respective socio-economic context. Another aspect that is relatively unexplored is the increasing use of glass, either in the form of glass tesserae or as parietal glass opus sectile.

Some of these questions have been partially addressed by several thematic studies examining separate mosaic, painting and statuary subgroups. The most extended analysis concerns Imperial and Late Roman mosaic décor that has been thoroughly studied in both regional and interregional level.[26] The majority of these publications considers a mixed sample of artworks from both public and private contexts. However, some recent studies have taken a harder look at the mosaics displayed in domestic contexts, questioning their integration into the architectural plan, and the patron's aesthetic and religious values.[27]

The analysis of the domestic statuary collections from Roman Greece has equally suffered from a century-long fixation on issues of dating, design and style. The

[25] Person 2012.

[26] See: *Roman Greece*: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1998; 1987; 1980; Dunbabin 1999, 209-222; Kankeleit 2003, 1994; Kokkini 2012; Spiro 1978; Waywell 1979, 293-321; *Corinth*: Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 359-369; *Patras:* Papapostolou 2009a; 2009b; 2004-2009; *Amphissa:* Themelis 1977, 242-258; *Veroia:* Petkos 1993, 30-107; *Thessaloniki:* Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1998*;* Makri 2005, 85-92*; Sparta:* Panayiotopoulou 1998, 112-118; *Crete*: Sweetman 2013; 2004; 2003.

[27] See: *For the patron's aesthetic values*: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 2003, 130-133; Karivieri 2012, 217-235; *For the integration in the architectural plan*: Kokkini 2012, 309-330.

latter is also evident in the studies of the Roman sculpture from the region of Corinthia.[28] The most recent analyses, though, have broadened the research field, further questioning the motives behind the amassing of domestic statuary assemblages, the symbolisms and the position of display.[29]

Contrary to statuary and mosaic decoration, domestic wall paintings have seen much less systematic research. An extended overview of the Roman wall paintings in Greece was recently made by Nikolaos Vavlekas.[30] His landmark analysis considered a sample of 80 painting programmes from private contexts and traced their stylistic evolution during the Roman period. Far more plentiful has been the research on Corinthian paintings dating to the Imperial and Late Roman period.[31] Whereas these analyses present a breakthrough in the study of mural décor in Roman Corinthia, they only discuss some of the paintings, and a dedicated overview is still pending.

This dissertation aims to examine in three, standalone chapters the mosaic, statuary and mural décor from private contexts in the region of Corinthia. Towards that goal it will consider all the artworks located in residential or working establishments, either newly constructed or still in operation between the 3rd and the 7th century AD.

With respect to the mosaic décor, the analysis aims to explore the common presence of Imperial Roman mosaic pavements within Late Roman households. For that purpose, I will summarily present all the relevant cases, along with their evolving design and the possible stylistic influences. I will then examine the position of these artworks within the Late Roman households, and the treatment that they received from the Late Roman occupants. The key research goals are to understand how Late Roman viewers came to perceive these legacy artworks, and to explore their possible sentimental value.

[28] See among others: Brown A. 2012, 141-176; 2008, 104-116; Davidson 1952, 9-68; Deligiannakis 2013, 108-114; Johnson 1931, 148-155; Ridgway 1981, 422-448; Stirling 2014b, 110; 2009; 2008; Sturgeon 2003, 351-368; 1989, 114-121; Palagia 2010, 434-437; Papaioannou 2002, 152-156; Person 2012, B4-B6; De Grazia-Vanderpool 2003, 369-384.
[29] See: *Athens:* Bouyia 2008, 207-229; Choremi-Spetsiari 2008, 371-390; Katakis 2012; 2007, 389-408; Shear Jr. 1973, 156-173; Zachariadou 2008, 153-166; *Corinth:* Papaioannou 2002, 152-156; Person 2012, B4-B6; Stirling 2014b, 107-110; 2009; 2008; *Messene:* Deligiannakis 2005, 387-405.
[30] Vavlekas 2013.
[31] Gadbery 1993; Lepinski 2015, 186; 2013, 77; 2008, 233-271; Pappalardo 2001, 315-316; Papaioannou 2002, 135-140.

The dissertation will further focus on new, Late Roman mosaic pavements. During the analysis I aim to highlight how these syntheses reflect the changing aesthetic trends, and to question whether they had any religious or apotropaic meaning.

A third thematic concern with respect to the domestic mosaic décor, is the notable utilization of glass, either in tessellated pavements or in parietal opus sectile. Some of the main goals here are to highlight how extensive the use of glass was for mosaic artworks coming from private contexts, and to explore which workshops might have been the involved, and what was the relevant acquisition cost. In addition to that, I further aim to examine the intended position of display, and to question what may have sparked the interest in the material.

With respect to the painted décor, the dissertation aims to provide an overview of the wall murals coming from private contexts, widening the research sample to include cases from all over Corinthia. This will bring forward the evolving stylistic trends while a further effort will be made to highlight the changing construction techniques.

Another issue to be discussed concerns the position and intended role of the wall murals. The main goal here is twofold. First, to discuss how the painting schemes were used as a unifying force, interlinking separate living and working compartments. Second, to explore whether the choice of themes was affected by the intended position of the murals, or by the symbolisms that these may have carried.

One last aspect to come forward concerns the paintings with sacral meaning. My intention here is to examine how these murals were integrated into the house plan. In that direction, an additional effort will be made to discuss whether the murals were meant for the intimate compartments or the main household areas, and whether they were envisioned for a semi-public use or just for a close circle of friends.

With respect to the statuary collections from private contexts, the principal aim of the analysis is to highlight the overall presence of statuary within the living and working areas. For that purpose, I will examine a large sample of artworks, ranging from clay figurines to marble reliefs and full-sized statues. In that way, I intend to showcase the long-term trends that shaped Late Roman sculpture collections and associate them with their relevant socioeconomic context.

A second objective is to examine comparatively the typology of the included sculptures, as well as their thematic range, and their possible cult significance. This will highlight the long-lasting effects of the local traditions and the significant impact of classical paideia on private art collections. Moreover, it will highlight the dominant cults during the 3rd and 4th century AD, as well as the differences between these and later collections that had little if any sacral meaning.

A third aim is to trace the possible sources of the attested artworks. Towards that direction an effort will be made to distinguish between the heirloom pieces and the new acquisitions. An emphasis will be placed particularly on the Athenian sculpture and coroplast workshops which were among the main producers of the statuary for Roman Corinthia. Notwithstanding, the question of local origin will be also explored for selected sculpture collections coming from Isthmia and the city of Corinth.

§ 2.2 The Late Roman house: A summary introduction

Before starting to analyse the data from Corinthia, I would like to present here a short overview of the Late Roman house. My intention is not to offer an exhaustive review of the current state of analysis. The latter, as extensive as it is, goes far beyond the scope of this introduction. I wish instead to summarily outline the current research trends, and to introduce the reader to some of the key features of the Late Roman *domus*.

Recent decades have seen a mounting interest in Late Roman households. This has culminated in a large body of work that has significantly raised our awareness on the topic.[32] Significant analysis has taken place in the rural territories,[33] highlighting among other things the productive character that many of the facilities had, regardless of size and wealth.[34] One of the most intriguing features of the rural villas of the era is

[32] See among others: *General bibliography*: Ellis Sim. P. 2007a, 1–22; 2004, 37-53; 2000; 1988, 565–76; Hirschfeld 1999a, 258-272; 1999b, 499-501; Sodini 1997, 435-477; 1995a, 151-218; *Thematic literature reviews*: Putzeys 2007a, 49-62; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 22-26; 2007b, 67-93.

[33] See: *General bibliography on Late Roman rural villa*: Chavarria and Lewit 2004, 3-51; *Note also*: Mulvin 2004, 377-410; Rossiter 2007a, 93-118; Saggioro 2004, 505-534; Sarris 2004, 53-71; Sfameni 2004, 333-375.

[34] See among others: *General bibliography on the production activities*: Bes 2007, 27-31; Chavarria and Lewit 2004, 10-16; Putzeys 2007b, 65-75; *Wine and oil production*: Lewit 2012, 137-149.

the occasional presence of fortifications. Similar installations have been mostly recorded in areas of Italy, Gaul, North Africa and Danube-Balkan.[35] However, the phenomenon was not unknown also in the Greek peninsula.[36]

Equally productive has been the study of the urban housing units of the era. Here the researchers have noted that a key feature separating the Late Roman from the earlier, Imperial Roman households, is that the first were designed to accommodate more activities and functions.[37] It is imperative to underline here that the Greek and the Roman houses were diachronically complex environments, catering for residential needs, as well as retail and production activities.[38] During the Late Roman period, though, an even more extensive 'commercialization' can be attested within the housing areas, as the latter became the centres of important economic activities.[39]

The detailed study of Late Roman private architecture has further permitted an in-depth analysis of specific household areas, with a large part of the bibliography concentrating on the apsidal *triclinia.* In Greece the analysis has mostly highlighted the dining function and common architectural forms.[40] More thorough research has taken place in other regions, considering among other things the evolution of the design, the interrelationship with other housing facilities, and the interior furnishing.[41]

Another domestic area that has been thoroughly studied is the private bath.[42] The scholars have noted an increasing adoption of domestic bathing facilities during

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[35] See among others: *General bibliography*: Chavarria and Lewit 2004, 30-31; Ellis Sim. P. 2000; *Italy and Gaul*: Ripoll and Arce 2000, 97; *Africa*: Ellis Sim. P. 2005, 91; Hirschfeld 1999a, 265; Mattingly *et al.* 2013, 167-181; *Dunabe-Balkan region*: Christie 2000, 277-278; Mulvin 2004, 397-406; Rizos 2013, 665-670; *Syro-Palestine/Israel*: Ellis Sim. P. 2005, 92; Hirschfeld 1999a, 271.

[36] Marki 2010, 26-39; 1995, 195-199; Marki and Akrivopoulou 2005, 283-295.

[37] For the urban residences see among others: Baldini-Lippolis 2010, 45-60; 2005, 33-55; 2001; Polci 2003, 79-89; Saradi H. G. 2003, 57-87; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 42-43.

[38] Ellis Sim. P. 2007a, 11; 2000, 107-108.

[39] See: *General analysis of domestic commercial and production facilities*: Bandow 2013, 86–89; Hillenbrand 1999, 83; Hirschfeld 1999a, 263; Lavan 2012a, 333-378; Putzeys and Lavan 2007, 81–109; Saliou 2012, 39-53; Zanini 2006, 371–411; *Asia*: Baird 2007, 411–37; Khamis 2007, 439–72; Tsafrir 2009, 61-82; *Africa*: Leone 2013, 202-206; 2007, 220-234.

[40] For the *triclinium* facility in Greece see: Bonini 2006, 50-68; Karidas 2009, 127-142; 1996, 574-584; Petridis 2008, 247-258; Sodini 1984, 250-252.

[41] See: *General bibliography on triclinia*: Uytterhoeven 2007a, 51-53; *Studies on triclinia*: Ellis Sim. P. 1991, 120-123; Ghedini and Bullo 2007, 339-347; Rossiter 2007b, 369-374; Scheibelreiter 2012, 135-166; *Function and usage of triclinia – Dining and reception halls*: Leone 2007, 51-66; Putzeys 2007a, 54-55; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 52-53; Vroom 2007, 314-360.

[42] See: *General Bibliography*: Chavarria and Lewit 2004, 28-29; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 54-55; *Greek peninsula*: Bonini 2006, 115-153; Petridis 2008, 251-252; Sodini 1984, 386-387; *Spain*: Stephenson

the Late Roman period. The development has frequently been linked to a strive for luxury and a desire for modesty. It has been equally pointed, however, that in many cases the baths had semi-public function, serving the landlord and his guests.[43]

Significant analysis has also been done on courtyard areas.[44] It is a common opinion among researchers that atria and peristyles remained focal points for Greek and Roman households until the very end of the Roman Empire. During that period, courtyards commonly retained their semi-public function, and grandiose appearance. Notwithstanding, their open, portico design also made them highly suitable for further redevelopment and internal expansion. In this regard, many courtyards eventually lost their earlier monumentality and were subdivided into smaller compartments to meet more immediate needs.[45]

A similar process of subdivision can be also noted in many former public buildings that during the Late Roman period were remodelled into apartment blocks, shops and workshops. This 'invasion' of public space has long caught researchers' interest. Many scholars have questioned the incentives and motives behind the trend, as well as the transitional process, and the outcome.[46] In Greece, despite attested private intrusions over the public infrastructure, the topic has mainly been studied in local contexts and has rarely been the subject of regionwide analysis.[47] As a result, significant questions remain about both the transitional process, as well as the relevant socioeconomic phenomena that prompted these privatisations.

2009, 357-359; *Asia Minor*: Uytterhoeven 2013, 147-148; 2012; 2011; Uytterhoeven and Martens 2008; *Constantinople*: Matthews 2012, 88-98; *Africa*: Leone 2007, 57-59; Thèbert 1987, 380-381.

[43] Bonini 2006, 115-153; Leone 2007, 257-259; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 54-55.

[44] See: *For a general discussion on courtyards*: Ellis Sim. P. 2004, 37-53; 2000, 22-37; 1988, 569-574; *Courtyards in the Eastern Roman Empire*: Turkoglu 2004, 96-107; *Courtyards in the Western Roman Empire*: Meyer 1999, 101-121; *Domestic courtyards in Greece*: Bonini 2006; Petridis 2008, 247-258; Sodini 1984, 341-397.

[45] See: *Subdivision in separate apartments*: Brogiolo 2006, 251-283; Ellis Sim. P. 2004, 47–50; 2000, 110-112; 1988, 567-569; Saradi H. G. 2006, 168-173; 1998, 21-23; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 45-46; *Subdivision & open spaces*: Ellis Sim. P. 2000, 110-111; 1988, 567; Saradi H. G. 1998, 31-34; *Subdivision and lease of triclinia*: Ellis Sim. P. 1988, 568; Saradi H. G. 1998, 36; *Subdivision in Greece*: Curta 2011, 53; Gounaris and Gounari 2004; Gounaris and Velemis 1996, 719-733; 1991-1992, 257-280, Saradi H. G. 2006, 168-173.

[46] See: *General bibliography*: Uytterhoeven 2007a, 45-46; *N. Arica*: Leone 2007, 135-145; 2003, 274-281; *Italy*: Brogiolo 2006, 269-272; *Rome and Constantinople:* Grig and Kelly 2012, 23-24; Machado 2012, 136-160; Santangeli-Valenzani 2007, 63-81; *Balkans:* Snively 2009, 38.

[47] See: *General analysis:* Bonini 2006 36-37; *Delphi:* Petridis 2006, 1097-1099; *Messene:* Themelis 2002, 21-59; *Olympia:* Schauer 2002, 208-216.

The changing relationship between private building programmes and the urban fabric is further evident when considering the frequent Late Roman private encroachments over public roads, and porticoes. In Greece, the relevant publications have somewhat downplayed the phenomenon,[48] but a closer examination reveals numerous private encroachments in both big,[49] and smaller urban centres.[50]

The official response towards these violations varied significantly. The constant intrusions sparked a series of counteracting laws, aiming to protect the urban grid, and control building activities.[51] These efforts bore few results, considering the continuous violation of public space.[52] Yet at other times the private encroachments could be tolerated or even welcomed as parts of wider revitalization projects or as valuable sources of income for the cash-strained city authorities.[53]

Moving past the architectural plan and design, one of the most intriguing features of the Roman *domus* is the strong desire of the Imperial and Late Roman landlords to embellish their premises. This 'pursuit of beauty' gave rise to a complex decorative programme that transformed the private facilities.

The most critical parameter for understanding Roman 'private' art, is that the term 'private' is descriptive of the context of display, but not necessarily of the viewership. Apart from a private retreat, the Roman house also stood as a focal meeting point where the landlord summoned his clients, conducted his daily affairs, and received his friends and guests to forward his social agenda.[54] This duality came to define more than anything the domestic décor that reflected the patron's personal tastes, while also acting as a vessel of propaganda and self-glorification.[55]

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[48] Bonini 2006, 35-36.

[49] See for example the 4th century AD expansion of the 'Early Roman Cellar Building' in the city centre of Corinth (Williams and Fisher 1975, 13-14).

[50] See for example the case of 'St. Tsoni & Farmaki' in Nafpaktos (Papageorgiou 2004, 460).

[51] Saliou 2007, 199-205; Saradi H. G. 1994, 295-308.

[52] See: *Africa*: Leone 2007, 45-46; *Constantinople*: Rautman 2006, 79; *Ravenna*: Deligiannis-Mauskopf 2010, 117; *Near East*: Kennedy 1985, 4-6; Liebeschuetz 2015, 273-274.

[53] Baldini-Lippolis 2007, 200-203; Jacobs 2009, 203-224; Saradi H. G. 2006, 203-206; 1998, 17-21; Leone 2013, 62-64; 2007, 138.

[54] Ellis Sim. P. 1991, 124-130; Kondoleon 1999, 321-326; Poulsen 2012, 167-184; Scheibelreiter-Gail 2012, 159-161; Stewart P. 2003, 257-260.

[55] Ellis Sim. P. 1991, 121-123; Gazda 1991, 1-24; Stewart P. 2003, 223-260.

Towards that direction, modern analysis has further underlined an occasional correlation among the various artworks on display.[56] This is perhaps most evident in the case of the mural décor. The latter frequently acted as theatrical scenery, interlinking the various premises and guiding the viewer's attention to the most exquisite household areas.[57] Certain thematic repertoires,[58] or colour combinations,[59] could be preferred for specific rooms. Their use, though, was not prescriptive, for the choice of paintings answered above all to the patron's aesthetics, and not to a specific set of rules.[60]

The mosaic pavements, thanks to their better preservation potential, constitute the largest *corpus* of artworks that we can today trace back to Roman households. As with painted décor, certain thematic cycles could be preferred for specific compartments, but once again the final choice rested with the landlord.[61]

The desire to impress resulted in an elaborate hierarchization with the most elegant schemes preserved for the semi-public household areas.[62] In these compartments, the chosen motifs commonly projected valour and virtue and could even stand as allegoric references to the patron's personality and interests.[63] By contrast, far fewer symbolisms appeared on the mosaic floors reserved for the more intimate premises, and the service areas.[64]

With respect to statuary collections, what is most obvious in the domestic assemblages is an apparent lack of uniformity. Artworks of different chronology, themes, and stylistic approaches could equally find their way into the Roman *domus*.[65] The types of sculpture involved also varied significantly, from crudely carved clay and bronze figurines, to marble reliefs, herms, statuettes and full-sized statues. This diversity certainly indicates to an extent that the sculptures were catering to multiple

[56] Kondoleon 1999, 321-326; Parrish 1997, 579-633.
[57] Parrish 1997, 579-633; Uytterhoeven *et al.* 2014, 221-231.
[58] Bergmann 1994, 230-232; 245-248; Ling 1991, 135-138; 220; Parrish 1997, 599-600; Tybout 2001, 42-48; 53; Valladares 2014, 177, Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 30-37; Zanker 1998, 189.
[59] For the hierarchy of colour and motifs in the Roman domestic paintings see: Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 31.
[60] Ling 1991, 220.
[61] For the use of depicted sceneries in specific facilities see: Kondoleon 1999, 321-326; Poulsen 2012, 167-184; Sweetman 2004, 1178-1180; 2003, 540-541; Witts 2000, 291-324
[62] Muth 1998, 25--254; Karivieri 2012, 218; Ling 1998, 115-116; Swift 2009, 71-72.
[63] Ellis Sim. P. 2000, 133; 1991, 124-130; Kondoleon 1999, 321-326; Scott S. 2000, 125.
[64] Ling 1998, 115-116; Muth 1998, 250-254; Swift 2009, 56-67; Uytterhoeven 2014, 152-154.
[65] Bartman 1991, 71-73; Gazda 2015, 375; Hannestad 1994, 105-18; Kaufmann-Heinimann 2002, 108; Stirling 2007, 307-308; 2005; 1996, 136; Videbech 2015, 453.

needs and tastes.[66] Yet we should also acknowledge that the acquisition process could sometimes spread over a century-long period, resulting in heterogenous collections.[67]

Despite the plurality in scales and forms, certain core ideas came to define most of the Late Roman sculpture collections, namely the desire for social acceptance,[68] an interest in ideal beauty, and a yearning for the 'good life'. The latter two particularly were likely instrumental in the persisting presence of mythologically-themed sculptures, even after the decline of pagan beliefs.[69] Certain subjects, such as those of Dionysus, Artemis, and Aphrodite, could stand as connotations to feasts, hunts or love, themes persistently favourable among the Romans.[70] In other cases, this popularity was spearheaded by an interest in classical paideia,[71] as clearly indicated by the numerous replicas of famous statues from Late Roman domestic contexts.[72]

Having presented the basic outline of the Late Roman house I will now turn to the analysis of Late Roman Corinthia, starting with the evolution of the residential districts in the cities of Corinth, Lechaeon and Kenchreai. I will then examine the lesser cities of the region, before concluding the chapter with an analysis on the changing topography of the Late Roman rural settlements.

[66] Gazda 2015, 374-389.
[67] For a general discussion about the distinction between heirlooms and newly acquired statues see: Stirling 2008, 147-150; 2007, 308-309; 2005, 183.
[68] For the domestic art as an instrument to achieve social acceptance and a project an image of triumph, see among others: Brown P. 1980, 23; Kousser 2008, 122-125; Stirling 2005, 220.
[69] See: *For the pagan and Christina themes*: Bowes 2011, 171-190; Ellis Sim. P. 1991, 126-130; Kondoleon 1999, 320-341; 1994; Stirling 2005, 91-137; 1996, 103-143; *For the Classical style*: Hannestad 1994, 147-148; Witschel 2015, 332-334; *For the Christians attitude*: Caseau 2011, 480-497; Jacobs 2010, 267-293; Kristensen 2014, 268-282; 2012, 31-64; Witschel 2015, 334-336; *For the religious and aesthetic significance*: Bonini 2011, 205-227; Caseau 2011, 480-497; Deligiannakis 2015, 109-129; Stirling 2005, 22-155.
[70] See among others: Sofroniew 2015, 78; Stirling 2007, 311-312; 2005, 172; 220; Videbech 2015, 453.
[71] See: Stirling 2014b, 96-104, 107-110; 2005, 138-155.
[72] Bartman 1991, 71-78; Gazda 2015, 379-380; Stirling 2014b, 107-110; 2005, 149.

Chapter 3

The urban and rural landscape of Late Roman Corinthia

§ 3.1 Changing attitudes in a changing environment: Corinth & the port-cities Lechaeon and Kenchreai

The long-lasting continuity that is characteristic of Imperial and Late Roman Corinthian topography is nowhere more evident than in the three main cities of the region: Corinth (Plans VII-XI, Plate 3), Kenchreai (Plans XII, XIII) and Lechaeon (Plan XIV). All three successfully made the transition to the Late Roman period remaining in occupation until well within the Middle Byzantine period.[73] Arguably Corinth, the provincial capital, was the biggest urban centre of the region (Plan XXII), a fact clearly manifested in the sheer number of urban and suburban private buildings (Tables A1-2, B1-2, D1, E1). The two coastal cities Kenchreai (Plan XXIV) and Lechaeon (Plan XXIII) also experienced a noticeable growth as indicated from the significant private and public architectural record (Tables A3, B3, D2, E2).

Regardless of their differences in size and wealth, Corinth, Kenchreai and Lechaeon reveal some striking similarities in their long-term development. All three experienced a mostly uneventful habitation until the 4th century AD, when several private facilities went out of use or were heavily remodelled.[74] It is possible that in some cases this downturn was instigated by violent events memorialized in the ancient literature and clearly traceable in the public infrastructure.[75] Although available

[73] See among others: *Corinth*: Athanasoulis 2013, 192-298; Jacobs 2014, 85-87; Scranton 1957, 6-48; Slane and Sanders 2005, 243-297; Sanders 1999, 473-475; *Kenchreai*: Brown A. 2018, 68; 2008, 176-180; Evangeloglou 2013, 35-37; Kordosis 1981, 64-67; Pettegrew 2006, 121; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 147-152; *Lechaeon*: Brown A. 2018, 67; 2008, 169-172; Kordosis 1981, 64-67; Papafotiou 1999, 407-408; Pettegrew 2006, 121; 216; Sanders 1999, 474-475.

[74] See Tables B1 & B3: *Corinth*: 'Shop North of Panayia Field'; 'Mosaic House'; 'Panayia Domus'; 'Rooms B13-15-East of Panayia Domus', 'Early Roman Atrium House-Annex to Temple E'; 'Shop opposite to Early Roman atrium house-Annex to Temple E''; 'North Nezi Field'; *Kenchreai*: 'Brick and South Buildings - Northern Quay'; 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum - Southern Quay'.

[75] See: *Alaric's raid*: Avramea 2012, 113-114; Brown A. 2008, 22-24, 149; Jacobs 2014, 71-74; 82-88; Rothaus 2000, 16-17; Scranton 1957, 5; Slane and Sanders 2005, 244; Weinberg 1960, 77; *Seismic*

archaeological evidence is mostly inconclusive,[76] the hasty abandonment of some facilities fits these scenarios. A good example comes from the 'Mosaic House' that stood next to the South Basilica (Plate 69).[77] There, the presence of a marble statuette on top of the floor and beneath the destruction levels strongly suggests that the facility was deserted in a hurry, an event that has been associated with Alaric's raid.[78] Other examples might concern the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre', the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre' (Plates 7b, 86-88), and the complex at the southern quay of Kenchreai (Plates 53, 54). In that case the destruction was tentatively attributed to violent seismic activity.[79]

It is important to remember that all the above hypotheses remain unconfirmed, for similar catastrophes could just as easily occur due to chance events. One common threat were accidental fires, forcing the imperial authorities to pass a series of laws to mitigate the problem.[80] This might have been the case for the AD 360 catastrophe at 'Panayia Domus' (Plate 71, 72) and of the 'Rooms B13-B15 - East of Panayia Domus' (Plate 71),[81] that were abandoned shortly after a fire.[82] We ought to consider, though, that a violent seismic event could also sometimes lead to a devastating catastrophic fire.

activity: Brown A. 2018, 21; 2008, 94-95, 149; Rothaus 2000, 17-22; Scranton 1957, 8; Slane and Sanders 2005, 244.

[76] Note for example the cases of the 'Early Roman Atrium House - Annex to Temple E' and of the 'Shop Opposite to Atrium House Annex Temple E' (Tables A1, B1).

[77] See following section 5.3.

[78] Weinberg 1960, 77.

[79] Williams 2005, 242; Williams and Zervos 1984, 90.

[80] Baldini-Lippolis 2007, 199-201.

[81] It is imperative to note here, that the Imperial Roman and the Late Roman phases of the so-called 'Panayia Domus' in Corinth are completely distinct and structurally unrelated (Plates 5, 71). The area was already occupied in the early-1st century AD, namely from the 'Late Augustan Building' (Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 292-296). This was replaced in the late-1st /early-2nd century AD, from the 'Pre-domus' phase of villa Panayia, traces of which have been excavated beneath the floor of the room 'A11' (Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 291-293). In addition, a sequence of rooms ('Rooms B13-15 - East of Panayia Domus') were established at the Eastern part of the plot (Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 297-308). The AD 262 represents the terminus post quem for the elaborate 'Panayia Domus' (Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 307-308; Sanders 2012, 83; 2005b, 421; Stirling 2008, 129). This was constructed above the ruins of the earlier, Imperial Roman villa. During that phase, the 'Panayia Domus' might incorporate the rooms 'B13-15' but this cannot be confirmed (Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 306). The area was completely transformed at AD 360, when both 'Panayia Domus' and the rooms 'B13-15' were destroyed by fire. In the early-5th century AD, a Late Roman apsidal villa was built on top of the ruins (Palinkas and Herbst 2011,308; Sanders 1999, 443-444). The erection of the 'Late Roman Bath' and the 'Long Building' the following century, marks the last building programme at Panayia field before the Byzantine period (See following pages).

[82] Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 307-308; Stirling 2008, 127.

Therefore, the destruction here could be alternatively linked to one of the three earthquakes mentioned in literary sources in the period between AD 363 and AD 375.[83]

Moreover, any proposal concerning the roots of these hardships runs a risk of yielding inaccurate results, as in most cases we have only a broad timeframe for the 4th century AD destruction levels.[84] The problem appears to be particularly acute for the buildings the dating of which is based on numismatic analysis carried out in the past few decades. That is because what once was understood as "*a drastic drop of coin circulation after the fourth century*", may be the result of inaccurate dating.[85] The reason is that the post-4th century AD coins are typically less well preserved, and many of the smaller denominations "*may have been wrongly assigned to the later fourth century and could very well belong to a broader period of time*".[86] A good example concerns the proposed late-4th century AD destructions of the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'. The abandonment of the buildings was first placed in the late-3rd century AD.[87] The excavators, however, recognized that some of the pottery from the last occupational floors have parallels from the first-half of the 4th century AD,[88] prompting a subsequent re-dating at AD 300.[89] The latter seems to coincide with the final abandonment of the nearby 'House of the Opus Sectile' (Plates 65, 66), otherwise known as 'Roman House with Classical Mosaic Floor'.[90] More recently, Amelia Brown pushed further the destruction date in the late-4th century AD.[91] Her approach, however, seems to ignore the attested pause in activities at the site from the early-4th until the 5th century AD, and the subsequent stone robbing of the terrace walls.[92] Moreover, the excavation of a 3rd century AD lamp from the upper most floor of the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre', [93] further speaks against a late-4th century AD

[83] Stirling 2008, 127.
[84] Brown A. 2008, 110; Jacobs 2014, 84-85; Rife 2012, 119; Sanders 2004, 170-172; Slane and Sanders 2005, 244; Rothaus *et al.* 2016, 63.
[85] Jacobs 2014, 85; Sanders 2004, 170-171.
[86] Jacobs 2014, 85.
[87] Williams and Zervos 1987, 4-5; 1986, 159; 1983, 23.
[88] Williams and Zervos 1987, 28.
[89] Brown A. 2008, 143; Marty 1993, 125; Slane 2003, 325; 1994, 127.
[90] Brown A. 2018, 48; 2008, 143; Olivier 2001, 349-363; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A12; Shear 1929, 526-528; Williams and Zervos 1987, 28; 1985, 68; 1983, 14-28; 1982 133-135; Williams and Fisher 1976, pl. 24.
[91] Brown A. 2018, 123.
[92] For the hiatus see: Slane and Sanders 2005, 249.
[93] "*The Roman lamp 30, dated by style within the 3rd century after Christ, was recovered from the destruction debris that rested upon the uppermost floor of the room. This lamp is similar in style to*

destruction date.[94] That is because the lamp, along with other contemporary lamps, was recovered from the destruction debris that rested upon the final occupational floor of the facility, and may as well signify the final destruction date.

Whatever the reasons behind the 4th century AD malaise, this did not have cataclysmic effects. During the same period numerous new private buildings were established,[95] while others were refurbished.[96] These renewed construction activities were not limited to the previously used residential city sectors, but were also expanded over former public buildings and roads.[97]

It would be tempting see these practices as the result of a new demarcation of the urban limits. Most characteristic here would be the example of Corinth, where the Late Roman fortification seems to have left out much of the Imperial Roman city (Plans VII, VIII, X).[98] The areas outside the wall faced an increase in artisanal and residential activities, which even found their way into the buildings of the Agora (Table B1).[99] It would be reasonable to hypothesize that the main settlement was gradually relocated within the now smaller, fortified section of the city, and the outside areas were used for secondary activities. This is hardly the case, however, as the Agora, although now outside the walled area, retained much of its civic function, saw significant rebuilding,

other lamps found in the final destruction debris that covered the frescoed room of Building 5." (Williams and Zervos 1988, 131).

[94] Problematic is also the proposed late-4th century AD destruction date for a nearby well (Williams and Zervos 1983, 23). This is because the pottery material coming from the on top layers have now firmly been re-dated in the 5th century AD (Jacobs 2014, 85; Slane and Sanders 2005, 249).

[95] See Tables A1 & A3 & B1 & B3 & D1 & D2: *Corinth*: '4th Century Phase of the Southeast Building'; 'Pr. I. M. Lekka', 'Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni'; 'Theatre-Private building'; 'North Market'; 'Long Rectangular building'; 'Building Southwest of the Western Temples'; *Kenchreai*: 'Pr. Threpsiadi'.

[96] See Table B1: 'Early Roman Cellar Building' (Plate 8a, b).

[97] See following sections 4.4; 4.5.

[98] The first analyses proposed that the Late Roman wall was built in the early-5th century AD and covered a much larger area spanning from Lerna and the so-called 'epistyle wall' (Plans VII-VIII, XI), to Anaploga and Kraneio covering an area approximately 180 ha (Gregory 1979, 265-270; Ivison 1996, 103; Walbank Mar. E. 1997, 109). That would correspond with the alleged size of the Imperial Roman urban core (Walbank Mar. E. 2002, 257; 1997, 109). The more recent studies nonetheless have suggested a much shorter route that covered a mere 20 ha and left out the whole Agora area (Athanasoulis 2013, 194-196; Brown A. 2018, 155-157; 2008, 70-71; Jacobs 2014, 83; Sanders 2004, 173-174; Slane and Sanders 2005, 293). They have left open the possibility, though, that there might have been some sort of fortification in the western section of the city (Brown A. 2018, 155), or that was a "*larger enclosure wall at the beginning of the fifth century*" (Athanasoulis 2013, 195).

[99] A similar evolution can be also attested in Hierapolis of Asia Minor as well as in nearby Athens. In both cases the *Agoras* were excluded from the Late Roman fortification but continued to be used for commercial and housing purposes (Castrén 1994a, 1-2; Burkhardt 2016; Jacobs 2009, 207-208). Overall the decay of Late Roman *fora* was not an unknown phenomenon in the 4th century AD (Leone 2007, 89).

and remained a focal point for the Late Roman city.[100] In fact, the continuous occupation of numerous public facilities right next to wealthy villas or small workshops reveals a complicated environment and the district's mixed use (Plans IX, X, XI).[101]

Private building activities continued throughout the 5th century AD. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to properly assess them at all three cities. The significant research gaps don't help here either. One characteristic example is the case of the 'Nymphaeum' at Lechaeon (Plan XXIII). The building was first excavated without a permit in the late 19th century AD by the then landowner. A first systematic survey suggested that this was a wealthy villa, but later research found no signs of residential usage and concluded that this was a Nymphaeum.[102] Notwithstanding the lack of supporting evidence, the initial interpretation is still supported by many scholars.[103] More recently, David Pettegrew attempted to reach a middle ground by proposing that the Nymphaeum was converted to a residence in the 5th century AD.[104] He provided no justification for his claim, though.[105]

Despite these difficulties, the general investment at all three cities strongly suggests that this was an era of significant urban development. A good example comes from Kenchreai, which remained the most important port of Corinthia, and a sizable community, throughout the 5th century AD (Tables B3, E3, Plan XXIV, Plates 15, 46-54).[106] Christian churches were added into the urban fabric, and burial sites were expanded (Plan XII).[107] In the late-4th / early-5th century AD, the probably privately-

[100] See: Brown A. 2018, 39; 2008, 69; Green 2009, 33-35; Ivison 1996, 101-104; Jacobs 2014, 85-86; Rothaus 200, 25; Slane and Sanders 2005, 292.
[101] For a general critique of the transition "*from polis to kastron*" and its complications, see the homonymous article of Archibald Dunn (Dunn 1994).
[102] Philadelpheus 1921, 125-135 contra Stikas 1962, 89-94.
[103] Brown A. 2008, 170; Pallas 1960, 216; Papaioannou 2002, 356; Person 2012, A10.
[104] Pettegrew 2016, 216.
[105] Similar problems are recurrent across the region. On several occasions there is only a brief description of the alleged household units. Examples here would be the facilities found at 'Pr. Marinou' in Corinth (Kritzas 1979, 212) and the houses at the Temple hill in Corinth (Williams 1985, 68). On other occasions only the somewhat remote placement further from the urban core, combined with the impoverished nature of the building remains seems to imply a private facility. There is otherwise nothing to clearly indicate the presence of a household or a workshop. That would be the case for the facilities found in 'Area Keramikos B' (Plate 6d) in Corinth (Deilaki-Protonotariou 1969, 122-124) and 'Pr. Vathi' (Plate 6c) in Corinth (Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988h, 105).
[106] Brown A. 2018, 68; 2008, 176-177; Hawthorn 1965, 195-200; Pettegrew 2016b, 121; 154-155.
[107] See: *Basilica on the Southern Quay*: Evangeloglou 2013, 35-37; Hohlfelder 1976, 224; Rife 2010, 423-431; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 153-158; *Northern Basilica*: Rife 2010, 430-431; Rife *et al*. 2007, 144; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 183-186; *Burials*: Evangeloglou 2013, 35-37; Korka and Rife 2013, 290; Rife *et al*. 2007, 153

owned 'Brick Building' on the northern quay (Plates 46, 50, 51, 52), received extended renovations.[108] Significant rebuilding has been also attested at the shops in the Upper terrace (Plates 46, 50), north of the northern quay.[109] This resulted in a cluster of rooms that blocked the road and encroached on part of the northern wall of the 'Brick Building'. Their exact function is unknown, though.

Analogous to Kenchreai but west-oriented, Lechaeon, remained during the Late Roman period the second main port of Corinthia and one of most important port cities of Southern Greece.[110] The port facilities had been already renovated in the mid-4th century AD,[111] and it is possible that here stood the Corinthian *horrea* used to store the grain referred to in an early-5th century AD Megarian inscription.[112] The importance of the port during that period was greatly recognised as suggested by the mid-5th century renovations of the outer port, was extended by the addition of wooden caissons filled with rocks.[113] We should note here that early research was not sure whether Lechaeon was a city, because the ancient sources mention mostly the port facilities.[114] Even today it is sometimes suggested that Lechaeon was overshadowed in terms of urban development by nearby Corinth.[115]

Nonetheless, the recent surveys carried in the immediate area suggest that Late Roman Lechaeon did not differ much from Kenchreai, the populated eastern Corinthian port. At Diavatiki, half a kilometre south-east of the Lechaeon port, surveys have revealed several Late Roman buildings, among them some that were renovated in the 5th century AD (Plan XXIII).[116] The area saw mixed use, with public and private buildings alike. Most of them, though, have been only loosely dated in Late Roman period.[117]

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[108] Rife 2007, 152; Rothaus 2000, 29; Scranton 1978a, 82-86. For the building see further section 4.6.
[109] Rife 2016a, 347-348.
[110] Pettegrew 2006a, 121; Stiros *et al*. 1996, 253.
[111] Brown A. 2018, 67; 2008, 169-172; Papafotiou 1999, 407; Rothaus 1995, 304; Stiros *et al.* 1996, 261.
[112] Avramea 2012, 293; Brown A. 2018, 67; 2008, 170; Kosso 2003, 17; Jacobs 2014, 87; Sironen 1992, 226.
[113] Stamatopoulou *et al.* 2015-2016, 40.
[114] Fowler 1932, 95.
[115] Pettegrew 2016a, 177.
[116] See Table D2: Diavatiki (Properties 'Kollia' and 'Soukouli').
[117] See Tables B3 & D2: 'Pr. Kollia & Soukouli'; 'Pr. Groutsi'; 'Lechaeon Nymphaeum'; 'Pr. Kalliri'; 'Pr. Theodoropoulou'; 'Pr. Tintiri & Georgiou'; 'Former plot ΕΑΣΚ Union of agricultural cooperatives of Corinthia SA'.

The many building remains have led researchers to suggest that Diavatiki was an important residential district in the Late Roman period.[118] While this might be correct, we must consider that the modern neighbourhood of Diavatiki lies just out of the limits of the protected archaeological site. In this regard, the neighbourhood saw a significant build-up in recent decades, sparking numerous rescue excavations. The latter may provide a false understanding of the population distribution during the Late Roman period, for it is unknown whether Diavatiki was a mere outskirt of Lechaeon or a core urban neighbourhood.

However, whereas the total extent of the Late Roman city remains unknown, there are many indications that during the 5th century AD, Lechaeon was relatively extended and densely occupied. The presence of scattered building remains, along with Late Roman pottery, in the areas between the shore and the inner harbour as well as between the harbour and Diavatiki seems to point in that direction.[119] Even more suggestive are the preliminary reports of the excavations carried out by the 'Lechaeon Harbour and Settlement Land Project' in the area south of the harbour (Plan XXIII).[120] More particularly, the excavations have uncovered a Hellenistic stoa ('Site A') that was occupied by squatters during the 5th century AD, along with a house-workshop ('Site B') that was in use until the early-6th century.[121]

Much more can be said about the private building programme in contemporary Corinth (Tables A1, B1, D1, E1). The 'South-East Building' that had already been configured from the 4th century AD to incorporate *dolia*, was now more heavily altered with the addition of a tile floor.[122] Its exact function, though, remains unknown with possible interpretations ranging from bishopric palace,[123] to church.[124]

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[118] Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 2004a, 314-315.
[119] Rothaus 1995, 294-295, 297-299.
[120] To my understanding, the excavations have not resulted in any publication so far. Some preliminary details about the surveys can be found at the 2017 excavation reports (Scotton 2017), and in the departmental webpage of California State University Long Beach (cla.csulb). A brief reference to the 5/6th century coin hoard found beneath the destruction debris of 'Site B' was recently made at the online webpage, Live Science (Jarus 2018).
[121] The area immediately south of the harbour was important throughout the Roman period as it is indicated also by a large 2nd century AD civic basilica ('Site C') that replaced an earlier Caesarean basilica (cla.csulb).
[122] Brown A. 2018, 44.
[123] Saradi H. G. 2006, 239.
[124] For the interpretation as a church see: Brown A. 2018, 44. Corinth was the bishopric seat of the Peloponnese, due its size, status and Christian significance (Avramea 2012, 231; Brown A. 2018, 31-

Another similar case is the Tile floor building at 'Pr. Aik. Sofou' (Plan XXII, Plate 8c).[125] The two-room facility that dates from the 5th century AD, had likely some private function judging by the two crashing millstones and a stone mortarium excavated here. Its size and function can be only estimated at this stage, as the unit has been tentatively associated with the nearby baths as well as the neighbouring 'Long Apsidal Building' (Plan XXII).[126]

During the same period the revitalization of deserted sites and buildings that had been first attested in the previous century now appears to gain more momentum.[127] In some cases the new private facilities were built adjoining or even on top of public infrastructure that by the 5th century AD laid waste, taking little consideration of the earlier plan (Plan XI, Plate 41).[128] At other times the changes were minimal as in the South Stoa flanking Temenos E that was possibly refurbished for residential or commercial use. Here two rooms appeared at the south-east end (Plan IX), made from the removal of some columns and their replacement from hastily built walls.[129] A reoccupation can be also observed in two former residential districts, at the *insula* east of Theatre and the site of Panayia (Plate 5) which previously were in a ruinous state.[130]

At the same time new additions are also noted in the urban fabric, although the character of these buildings is inconclusive. We can refer here to house bearing a tribelon passage, at 'Mourat Aga Site', east of the Lechaeon Baths. The house has been dated between the 5th and the 7th century AD according to the pottery evidence.[131] Not far away stood the elaborate house at 'Pr. I.M. Lekka' which has been dated in the 4th – 5th century AD.[132] At the 5th century AD dates also the two-room 'Building Southwest of the Western Temples', its function is unknown, though.[133]

36; 2008, 61-68; Rothaus 2000, 12). This resulted in a new civil hierarchy, likely already from the 5th century AD (Brown A. 2018, 31-36; Rothaus 2000, 12; Walbank Mich. B. 2010, 275-280).

[125] Athanasoulis and Manolesou 2014, 324-325.

[126] See: '*Long apsidal building - Pr. Aik. Sofou'*: Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 174; '*Bathing complex'*: Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 173-174; Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 2004b, 311-312; 2000a, 270-271.

[127] See the later sections 4.4; 4.5.

[128] See Table B1: 'House next to the Hemicycle'; 'House over the Peribolos of Apollo'; 'House over the South Basilica', 'Houses on the Temple Hill'.

[129] Williams and Zervos 1990, 336-337.

[130] See Tables A1 & B1: '*Apsidal Building - Panayia Field'*: Sanders 2012, 82-86; 121-124; '*Insula East of Theatre - NW Corner'*: Williams and Zervos 1983, 27; 1982, 135-143.

[131] Athanasoulis 2013, 198.

[132] Biers 2003, 309; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292-293.

[133] Rothaus 2000, 26; Saradi H. G. 2006, 240; Williams *et al.* 1974, 7-10.

The paradigm of Corinth indicates that in terms of size, overall amenities and décor, most of the 4th and 5th century AD private buildings do not measure up with the earlier Imperial Roman examples.[134] However, not all the facilities had a humble character. Several bigger and more elaborate buildings stand among them, such as the 'House over the South basilica' that probably had baths equipped with a hypocaust (Plate 41b, 41e),[135] and the multiroom 'House next to the Hemicycle' (Plate 41c, 41d).[136] A similarly well-equipped housing facility excavated in the property of I. M Lekka was furnished with hypocaust, statues and painted décor.[137] Other examples might concern two Late Roman complexes recently excavated by the Greek Archaeological service in the area of Zekio (Plan XXII).[138] In both cases only a minute amount of information has been provided so far about the facilities.[139] The same seems to be the case for the Tri-conch fountain building excavated South of Panayia Field (Plan XXII, Plate 4a).[140] The size and wealth of the facility has even spurred a tentative identification as a governor's palace.[141] Once again, though, very little is known about the actual character of the premises, as only a small part of the facility has been excavated so far.

The construction of all the above units coincided with similar building activities attested in other Greek urban centres.[142] The Corinthian examples, though, are significantly smaller and less ornamented. In fact, they compare unfavourably even with some contemporary villas located in rural Corinthia.[143] There is no reason to

[134] Compare for example the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre', with the complex 'NW corner - Insula East of Theatre'. Indicative is also a comparison between the early phases of the 'Mosaic House' with the neighbouring Late Rome 'House over the South Basilica' (Table B1).

[135] Bonini 2006, 314; Blue 1994, 161; Brown A. 2018, 47; 2008, 144; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Ridgway 1981, 442; Stirling 2008, 133; Weinberg 1960, 111-122.

[136] Brady 1940, 61-69; Broneer 1926, 49-57; Brown A. 2018, 56; 2008, 114; 134-136; Milleker 1985, 121-135; Rothaus 2000, 25-26; Saradi H. G. 2006, 240; Scranton 1957, 8-16; Stillwell 1932, 144-147.

[137] Biers 2003, 309; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292-293.

[138] See Table B1: 'Pr. Roumelioti'; 'Protobyzantine building complex'.

[139] Athanasoulis 2013, 198; Koursoumis 2016, 921.

[140] Athanasoulis 2013, 197; Brown A. 2018, 48; 2008, 145; Pallas 1990, 764; Sanders 1999, 441; Slane and Sanders 2005, 244.

[141] Brown A. 2018, 48.

[142] The bibliography here is immense, see among others: *General analysis*: Baldini-Lippolis 2001; Bonini 2006; Papaioannou 2002; Petridis 2008; Sodini 1997, 462-469; 1984; Widad 2002; *Athens*: Bonini 2010a; 2010b; 2003; Camp 2005, 235-251; 2001, 228-238; Castrén 1994a; 1994b; Frantz *et al.* 1988, 33-48; Shear Jr. 1973; 1971; *Thasos*: Petridis 2015; Sodini 1995b, 289-294; *Delphi*: Petridis 2009, 103-104; 2006, 1097-1098; 2005; 2004.

[143] Most telling here is a comparison between the above-mentioned urban villas with the villa found at Tritos, Nemea (Tables A5; B5). Other similar cases would be the spacious rural villas found at 'Toll

believe, however, that wealthier residences analogous to the ones in other Greek regions were absent from urban Corinthia. The urban areas commonly housed members of the upper class, and Corinth with its numerous traders, merchants and imperial delegates probably was no exception. It is reasonable to expect that these wealthier units were in the eastern, fortified, section of city. Indicative here would be the private facilities excavated at site Panayia (Plate 5), and at 'Pr. Marini Th.' (Plate 8d) that reserve some lavish features (i.e. baths, apsidal *triclinium*).[144] More building remains have been surveyed in the general area, among them an elaborate bath that might be associated with the facilities at 'Pr. Aik. Sofou', and a multiroom complex at 'Pr. Kakourou-Arapomachalas'.[145] Their exact character and function remains unknown. Overall, there are several signs indicating that the fortified section of the city saw a notable built-up during the Late Roman period. It is possible that this was spearheaded by an extended private building programme, but there is not enough evidence to validate that claim at this stage.

It is not known for how long the private building activities went on in Corinth Lechaeon and Kenchreai after the 5th century AD. A major problem here is that several of the facilities allegedly recognized as Late Roman by the excavators have not been precisely dated.[146] It can be argued nonetheless, that the construction and reconfiguration of housing facilities did not slow down until the first half of the 6th century AD, which suggest that the cities were vibrant urban centres by that date.[147] Several relative examples can be traced in Corinth. Among them are a newly built fuller's establishment in the area South of the South stoa (Plate 4b),[148] and the scanty remains of a commercial or residential facility at the Southern side of the decumanus

post of Zevgolatio site Ag Charalampos' and at 'Villa Diminio' (Tables A5; B5). In both cases, though, the facilities have been loosely dated in Early Christian period and thus it is unclear whether they date from the 5th century AD, or earlier.

[144] See Table B1: *Panayia site*: Sanders 2012, 82-86; 121-124; *Pr. Marini Th*.: Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 175; Athanasoula and Manolesou 2014, 270; Manolesou 2014a, 295-296; 2014e, 315.

[145] See: *General analysis*: Athanasoulis 2013, 194-195; *Pr. Kakourou-Arapomachalas*: Athanasoulis 2013, 194-195; Kasimi 2012, 70-72; *Baths at property I. and A. Sofou*: Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 173-174; Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 2004b, 311-312; 2000a, 270-271; *Long apsidal building*: Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 174; *Tile floor building - Pr. Aik. Sofou*: Athanasoulis and Manolesou 2014, 324-325; *Pr. G Sofou*: Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 173; Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 2000b, 271; Manolesou 2014h, 325.

[146] See Table B1: 'Pr. Vathi', 'Pr. Marinou', 'Area Keramikos b'.

[147] This somewhat contrasts the earlier pessimistic approach of Averil Cameron who sharply noted: "*Despite Procopius claims it seems that there was little real urban life in these settlements* (i.e. Balkans) *in the sixth century*" (Cameron 1993, 159). See also more recently: Lee 2013, 206-207.

[148] Robinson H. S. 1968a, 133-135.

South of Temple "E" (Plates 7a, 7c).[149] Little has been published about both respective sites. Hopefully, the recent excavations at the Nezi Field may shed more light on the fuller's shop South of the South Stoa.[150] More blurred appears to be the picture regarding the roadside buildings of the decumanus South of Temple "E". Here the excavators reported at the Southern side of the road one,[151] and possibly a second,[152] building constructed during the 6th century AD. It is unclear whether the remains were part of one unified or two separate building complexes, and what their exact character was. The latter is a problem all too common for the roadside buildings of the decumanus South of Temple "E", as only a small section of the Roman neighbourhood has been excavated so far.[153]

Almost contemporary with the above, is the 5th / 6th century AD lavish refurbishment of the cruciform room excavated at Properties 'Ch. G. Lekka and Dafni', not far from the ancient Theatre (Plate 76).[154] This saw the installation of a mosaic floor displaying personifications of the Summer months with an accompanying text reading "*ΚΑΛΟΙ ΚΑΡΟΙ*" (good times), along with panels of xenia scenes.[155] The facility clearly had an important function, and has sometimes been interpreted as a wealthy

[149] For the excavations in the area see: Williams 1992, 123; 1990a, 33-34; Williams and Zervos 1990, 339; 1988, 97-100; 1987, 3.
[150] See: *General area*: Robinson H. S. 1963, 61; *Recent surveys*: Gebhard 2018, 394.
[151] 'Decumanus South of Temple "E"- South Side Room 3': Williams 1992, 123; 1990a, 33-34; Williams and Zervos 1988, 97-100; 1987, 3.
[152] 'Decumanus South of Temple E - South Side': Williams and Zervos 1990, 339.
[153] Similar problems concern also the neighbouring building units that occupied the north side of the road (Williams 1992, 123; 1990a, 33-34; Williams and Zervos 1988, 95-97). These have been identified as 'Decumanus South of Temple "E" - North Side - Room 1' and 'Decumanus South of Temple "E" - North Side - Room 2' (Table A1). Only a small part of the facilities has been excavated and it is unclear whether they are one or two separate buildings. The buildings at the northern roadside, predate the opposite standing units at the southern side. The first were already occupied in the 4th century AD, as it is clearly attested by the intrusions over the road to clean the drainpipes (Williams and Zervos 1988, 95-97). During that period the Eastern 'Room 2' probably expanded over the Northern sidewalk (Williams 1990a, 33-34). Only one building block was recorded of this extension, though (Williams and Zervos 1988, 95-97).
[154] There is a small typographical error in the relevant publication of 'Pr. Dafni' which refers to the neighbouring property as 'I. Lekka'. Nonetheless, the author explicitly refers to the property Ch. Lekka in the citation (Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292).
[155] The mosaic was first dated in the late-5th century, but later publications proposed a date in the early-6th century AD (Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 94-95 *contra* Spiro 1978, 96-102).

residence.[156] There is no evidence whatsoever whether these were living or working compartments, though.[157]

During the same period, private intrusions over public buildings are attested twice, both times in major bathing facilities along the Lechaeon road. It appears that the encroachment efforts became bolder in the 6th century AD, as more and more private facilities found their way into central public areas and infrastructures.[158] At the bath north of Peribolos of Apollon the intrusion took the known form of reoccupying and revitalizing a derelict facility (Plates 34f, 35a, 40c).[159] The bath, that can be recognized either as the 'Baths of Eyrikles' or the 'Baths of Hadrian',[160] was already out of use during that period, probably for centuries.[161] The 6th century AD occupants erected a small two-room facility on the plaza in front of the bath, with little regard for the earlier plan. It is certainly tempting to see the encroachment here as an expansion of the *tabernae* found immediately west of the plaza. The shops had received extensive renovation in the late-4th century AD that saw, among others, the removal of the subdivision walls between *tabernae* '3' and '4', counting northwards.[162] The hypothesis would also explain the direct passage opening between the 6th century AD 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo' and the shops abutting to its west. The erection of the house nonetheless cannot be linked with certainty to the *tabernae*, since there is little understanding about the use of the latter in the post-4th century AD period.

A different path was taken at the 'Great Bath on the Lechaeon road' (Plates 35a, 40b, 40e). There, a small housing unit was erected on the western part of the baths, over

[156] Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 178, Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 367.
[157] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 94-95; Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 178; Daux 1967, 635; Drosoyianni 1968b, 222; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292; Megaw 1966-1967, 8; Sodini 1970, 709; Spiro 1978, 96-102; Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 367; Waywell 1979, 298; Williams 1968, 185.
[158] See later sections 4.4; 4.5.
[159] Avramea 2012, 114; Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 178; Biers 2013, 301-308; Bonini 2006, 312; Brown A. 2018, 62; 2008, 136; Curta 2011, 56; Rothaus 2000, 26; Scranton 1957, 16-21; Williams 1969, 62-63.
[160] Biers 2003, 306.
[161] The exact date when the bath ceased to operate remains a matter a debate. First Charles Williams suggested a date in the late-4th century AD (Williams 1969, 62-63). More recently, Richard Rothaus followed by Amelia Brown raised that date in the 5th century AD (Brown A. 2008, 134; Rothaus 2000, 25). A more detailed analysis by Jane Biers noted that although there is little understanding today about when the baths ceased to operate, the pottery material from the *frigidarium* suggests a *terminus ante quem* in the 3rd century AD (Biers 2003, 306-307).
[162] Williams 1979, 253; 1969, 63.

the colonnade.[163] The house apparently co-existed for almost a century with the scaled-down, but still-functioning baths.[164] Another housing unit, namely the facility at 'Site Loutra Pr. Kefala' (Plate 6a), was erected over the eastern part of the baths.[165] This second housing unit is probably somewhat later. Its construction has been loosely dated in the Early Byzantine period. I would consider that it should be dated no earlier than the late-6th century AD and the alleged abandonment of the baths, for it was based on a solid destruction layer.

What it is clear from the current archaeological record is that no other major catastrophe can be traced until the second half of the 6th century AD when most of the private facilities went out of use seemingly *en masse* (Tables B1, E1). It is highly probable that this change of fortunes was caused by violent seismic activity.[166] The mounting pressure from the Avaro-Slavic threat at the last quarter of the 6th century AD almost certainly further attributed here.[167] Another probable cause could be that the cities of Corinthia, being open to merchants and seamen, likely took a heavy toll during the Justinian plague.[168] However, it is difficult to trace the relevant archaeological evidence as only one burial referring to the plague has been found so far in the region.[169] All things considered no secure arguments can be made about the causes of this downturn, that may as well have had socioeconomic roots.[170]

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[163] Biers 1985, 12-13; 62-65; Curta 2011, 56.
[164] Biers 1985, 62-65.
[165] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 1999a, 161-162; 1996, 106.
[166] The 6th century AD seismic activity in Corinthia has been the focus of much attention due to the clear literary references to the misfortunes of Corinth (Procopius, *Buildings 4.2.27*). Nonetheless, the ancient sources tend to overplay these events (Brown A. 2010, 367). It is difficult to accurately trace the causes of the destruction (Brown A. 2018, 22-24; 2008, 96; Curta 2011, 61; Jacobs 2014, 84; Scranton 1957, 8, 25; Slane and Sanders 2005, 244; 1999, 74-475). In a well-known case, human remains were excavated under a layer of rubble in the Hemicycle probably belonging to the residents killed by falling debris (Scranton 1957, 8). This almost certainly marks the final abandonment of the facility, although an earlier destruction date has been also considered by some researchers (Scranton 1957, 8 *contra* Ivison 1996, 102). Even here, though, the 6th century AD violent end does not necessarily signal seismic activity.
[167] The bibliography for the Avaro-Slavic raids in Greece is enormous. A small selection includes: *Peloponnese*: Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papademitriou 1997, 233-316; Avramea 2012, 135-178; 2001, 293-302; 2000, 18-28; Curta 2011, 14-21; Ferjančić 1984, 99-101; Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 195-204; Moutzali 2000, 64-72; Popovic *et al.* 1975, 451-461; Vryonis 1981, 380; *Corinth*: Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papademitriou 1997, 253-260; Avramea 2012, 141, 147-153; 2001, 294; 2000, 28; Cameron 1993, 159-160; Davidson 1937, 227-240; Davidson-Weinberg 1974, 521; Setton 1952, 351-362.
[168] Brown A. 2018, 69; 2010, 367-368; 2008, 96-98.
[169] Curta 2011, 61.
[170] The Aegean trade continued at the 6th and 7th centuries AD (Gerolymatou 2001, 349-350). Nonetheless, the commerce between East-West links was already waning from the second half of the 6th century AD (Avramea 2012, 296-297). During that period both the two Corinthian port cities

What is certain is that the limited rebuilding afterwards, and the overall scarcity of evidence from the late-6th AD / early-7th century AD, hint at deeper problems and a general era of stagnation. Nevertheless, Corinthia was far from the depopulated province once understood by the researchers.[171] This is nowhere more evident than in the city of Lechaeon. Here in and around the grand Basilica, excavations have revealed a small settlement, constituted of more than twelve housing compounds (Plates 9-14),[172] their exact number being unknown (Plan XXIII).[173] The location of the houses has led some to suggest that these belonged to clerics, or even served as 'episcopal quarters'.[174] However, the placement of two houses (houses '2', '4') at the northern portico of the yard (Plate 10), strongly implies that they were built after the destruction of the church in the early-7th century AD.[175] In that direction also points the attested use

remained active, but the volume of trade was likely scaled down (Hohlfelder 1973, 100-101; Kordosis 1981, 64-67; Papafotiou 1999, 408). This inevitably affected the capital city, where significant economic hardships can be attested from the 6th century AD due to the sharp drop of money circulation (Curta 2011, 84-85; Sanders 2003, 387), and the increasing presence of burials in the Agora area (Curta 2011, 56; Ivison 1996, 112; Slane and Sanders 2005, 292-293).

[171] A detailed analysis of the changing perspectives on post-6th century AD Corinth has been presented by Guy Sanders (1999, 473-475) and more recently by Amelia Brown (2010, 367-369).

[172] *See Table A3 & B3*: '*Agrepavli'*: Avramea 2012, 344-34; Bonini 2006, 395; Pallas 1965a, 137-139; 1963, 74-75; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33; '*House 1'*: Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 135; 1965b, 129-131; 1963, 74; 1962, 102-104; 1961, 170-172; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 32; '*House 2'*: Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 135; 1963, 74; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33; '*House 3'*: Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 135-136; 1963, 74; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33; '*House 4'*: Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 136; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, 136; '*House 5'*: Avramea 2012, 344-34; Bonini 2006, 393; Pallas 1967, 137-140; 1965a, 135-137; 1963, 74; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33; 34; '*House 6'*: Avramea 2012, 344-34; Bonini 2006, 394; Pallas 1967, 139-145; 1965a, 135-136; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33; 34; '*House 7'*: Pallas 1966, 161; '*House 8'*: Pallas 1966, 161-162; '*House 9'*: Pallas 1966, 158; 162-163; '*House 10'*: Pallas 1966, 163-165; '*House 11'*: Avramea 2012, 344-34; Bonini 2006, 393; Pallas 1967, 144-148; Widad 2002, plan 34; '*House 12'*: Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1967, 148.

[173] According to the excavator the houses '7' '8' and '9' might have been one complex (Pallas 1966, 161). The same applies for 'House 1' and two rooms found north of it (Pallas 1965b, 130-131), as well as the houses '2' and '4' at the northern portico of the basilica (Pallas 1965a, 135-136; 1963, 74), and the houses '5' and '11' directly south of the basilica (Pallas 1967, 137-140; 1965a, 135-137; 1963, 74). The excavator also proposed that 'Agrepavli' might have been two independent units (Pallas 1965a, 137-139; 1963, 74-75). To further add to the confusion, in his landmark study Jean-Pierre Sodini mistakenly recognises the farmhouse 'Agrepavli' as 'House 7' and does not refer at all to the houses '7-10', a mistake also made by Said Widad and Paolo Bonini (Bonini 2006, 393-395; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33). Nonetheless, the excavator specifically mentioned 'Agrepavli' and 12 other 'houses', numbered I-XII, with the houses '7-10' excavated between the entrance of the narthex and the 'House 5' (Pallas 1966, 161).

[174] Brown A. 2018, 135; Rothaus 1995, 300.

[175] The destruction of the church was first placed in the mid-6th century AD (Pallas 1964, 151-152; Rothaus 1995, 304). A newer research of the published pottery, though, suggested that it did not take place prior the early-7th century (Rife 2010, 427; Sanders 2005b, 439-441; Slane and Sanders 2005, 291-292). It has been suggested that that the catastrophe may be the result of a tsunami wave, but the theory is not universally expected (Hadler *et al*. 2011; Vött *et al.* 2018 *contra* Kolaiti 2017).

of spolia coming from the church in most of the houses. A notable exception is the 'House 6' (Plates 12d, 13a), the construction of which according to the excavator predates that of the Basilica and thus should be traced in the late-5th / early-6th century AD.[176] One, however, can hardly expect that a small five room facility, which offered only basic amenities to its occupants, would fill its alleged role as an episcopal residence.

The design quality of the housing units that surrounded the Basilica of Lechaeon varied significantly. Most of them were limited to 2-4 rooms, including in several cases latrines and built dining stibadia (Plates 12a, 14a, d).[177] In this regard their overall arrangement seems to follow that of the housing units erected in the early-6th century AD over the Baths of Eyrikles and over the colonnade of the Great Lechaeon baths.[178] On occasion, though, a more complex layout is hinted at. We should note here the house 'Agrepavli' (Plates 10, 14c), which if understood as a unified complex, had eleven rooms, two latrines, and what appears to be a fortification tower.[179] Another case as such would be the spacious 'House 5' (Plate 13a) that had two dining rooms with built stibadia.[180]

Moving past Lechaeon, much less can be said about the private building programme in contemporary Corinth. As we earlier saw, the house at 'Site Loutra - Pr. Kefala' (Plate 6a), erected over the eastern part of the Great Bath on the Lechaeon Road, most likely dates to the late-6th / 7th century AD.[181] We should also refer here to the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles – North of Peribolos of Apollo' that according to the excavator was renovated in the early-7th century AD (Plate 34f), which saw the addition of a small unheated bathing unit.[182]

A very different picture comes from the reoccupation of the other side of the ancient city, at the 'Late Roman Bath - Panayia Field' (Plates 5, 42d). Here the excavations revealed that the baths, which had been established in the 6th century AD,

[176] Pallas 1967, 143-144; 1965a, 136.
[177] Note for example the houses '1', '4', and '10' (Table B3).
[178] See above.
[179] Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 137-139; 1963, 74-75; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33.
[180] Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1967, 137-140; 1965a, 135-137; 1963, 74; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33; 34.
[181] See above.
[182] Scranton 1957, 21.

were probably used as a residential facility in the early-7th century AD.[183] During that period a small room was erected against the west external wall of the *tepidarium*. That appears to be a squatter's establishment equipped with a fireplace, with fragments of cooking pots reported in the premises. Further research at same plot (*aka* Panayia Field) uncovered more substantial building remains just few meters away from the baths. This is the enigmatic 'Long Building', of which only a small part forming a series of rooms has been excavated so far (Plate 5).[184] Its construction has been dated in the 6th century AD, but its exact character and function remains currently unknown.

§ 3.2 The urban periphery: The paradigm of Corinth, a Late Roman decline?

Any attempt to study the urban periphery of Imperial and Late Roman cities can run into significant difficulties, both practical and methodological. A significant problem comes from the loose demarcation of the Roman *suburbium*. The latter gradually merged into the rural countryside, leaving thus few if any visual references to its external limits.[185]

The boundary between the suburban territory and the main urban core can also be blurred. Whereas the fortification line normally offers a sound point of reference,[186] this is not the case for Late Roman cities, where the wall circuit commonly excluded central and densely populated neighbourhoods.[187] Much more significant instead can be the location of the cemeteries which were normally established in the peripheral zone of the sacral pomerium line.[188] The evolving character of the Late Roman cities eventually rendered that distinction also obsolete, though, as new burial customs and shifting economic realities saw the transfer of burials within the urban fabric.[189] Another way forward is to study the orientation changes of the grid street plan, for beyond the city limits there was little need to maintain the line imposed by the urban

[183] Sanders 1999, 456-457; Slane and Sanders 2005, 246-248
[184] Brown A. 2018, 47; Sanders 2005b, 428; 2004, 173.
[185] Goodman 2016, 316.
[186] Goodman 2016, 309-312.
[187] See the previous section.
[188] Witcher 2013, 209-211.
[189] See: *General critique*: Caseau 1999, 36-38; Wataghin 1999, 149-152; *Corinth*: Curta 2011, 56; Ivison 1996, 103-112; Slane and Sanders 2005, 292-293.

plan.[190] Characteristic here is the city of Patras where the *cardo maximus*, upon reaching to the Northern and Southern Cemeteries, turned to the east towards the rural hinterland abandoning its earlier course.[191] Even that approach, though, can occasionally yield false results. The reason is that the road orientation of the ancient city was first and foremost responding to the local topography. Any given irregularities in the land terrain could dictate a change of course regardless of the official urban geographic limits.

In the case of Greece, research has estimated that almost 60 percent of ancient cities had a territory of 5 - 6 km radius, and a further 20 percent had a territory of about 8 km radius.[192] It is imperative to remember, though, that the urban periphery engulfing the Roman city was not standard, but could differ significantly from one case to another according to population size and wealth.[193] In major urban centres like Rome this could stretch as far as 35 km from the city walls.[194] A very different picture should be expected for the smaller provincial centres. The vibrant Leptiminus in Tunisia characteristically had an urban core about 50 ha, surrounded by a zone of 75 ha where "*manufacturing wastes and burial predominate*".[195]

The main cities of the northern Peloponnese were likely bigger but otherwise not very different from Leptiminus. A good case is once again the city of Patras that stood at the centre of the Achaean plains, somewhat distant from other urban centres. The city was surrounded in a cluster of workshops, villas and farms, that reached approximately 2 to 4 km inside the rural countryside (Appendix III).[196] A similar picture arises also for the urban periphery of Corinth where an increased concentration of occupied sites can be noted in a zone measuring 1 to 2 km from the main urban core

[190] Goodman 2016, 313.
[191] See: *The district surrounding the urban core of Patras*: Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 17; Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 62; Papapostolou 1991, 315; Petropoulos 2009, 72; Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al.* 2006, 95-97; *The different orientation of the road shortly before the Northern and Southern Cemeteries*: Rizakis and Petropoulos 2005, 32-33; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2017, 160-163.
[192] Bintliff 2008, 19.
[193] Goodman 2007, 68-76.
[194] Goodman 2007, 68-78.
[195] These figures have been slightly revised more recently, with the urban core now estimated at 45 ha and the surrounding periphery at 105 ha (Mattingly *et al.* 2001, 74 *contra* Stone *et al*. 2011, 277). They still nonetheless do not come close to the suburbia of Rome.
[196] Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 17; Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 62; Papapostolou 1991, 315; Petropoulos 2009, 72; Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al.* 2006, 95-97.

(Plans XXII, XXV).[197] The majority of them were located to the north, east and west of Corinth, upon flat lands which could be easily approached from the capital (Plan III, V). The *suburbium* of Corinth probably stretched 1 or 2 km further inside the countryside, though, up to the territories of Lechaeon, Kromna and Asae, which were the first nucleated settlements to be met upon exiting the city (Plans II, XXII, XXV).[198]

More obscure are the internal borders of the Corinthian suburbia. As we have already seen, the erection of the Late Roman wall at the early-5th AD century most likely left out a significant portion of the city (Plans VII, VIII, XI).[199] However, the densely occupied, 5th century AD main urban core was certainly much more extended. A sound testimony is not only the contemporary active private building programme across the capital,[200] but also the continuous use of the Northern and Eastern Cemeteries and the lack of burials within the city centre (Plans VII, VIII).[201]

A century later the picture was reversed. The Northern Cemetery had expanded over the Asklepion and Lerna,[202] the Southern cemetery had been established along the southern fringe areas of the city,[203] and the Agora was now increasingly used for burials (Plan XI).[204] This was certainly a period of a significant slowdown, observable also in the private building programme.[205] It is difficult, though, to map in detail the contraction of the urban fabric as the burials, now part of the cityscape, found their way even within the walled area.[206]

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[197] See Tables A2 & B2: 'Villa Anaploga', 'Pano Maghoula', 'Greek Tiles Works', 'Bayevi', 'Xerias River', 'Baths of Aphrodite', 'Villa Shear - Roman villa Kokkinovrysi', 'Kiln Kokkinovrysi', 'Gymnasium Bronze Foundry', 'Kiln NE. Kraneio', 'Farm Kokkinovrysi', 'Kritika-Koutoumatsa'.

[198] See further the following section 3.5.

[199] See the previous section 3.1.

[200] See the previous section 3.1.

[201] See: *Lack of burials in the main urban fabric*: Athanasoulis 2013, 196-197; Ivison 1996, 110; Walbank Mar. E. 1997, 107; *Continuous use of the Northern and Eastern Cemeteries*: Athanasoulis 2013, 193; 198; Brown A. 2018, 157; Ivison 1996, 103; Walbank Mar. E. 2002, 256; 1997, 109.

[202] The earliest burials in the Lerna/Asklepion area were first dated in the end of the 4th century AD (Ivison 1996, 103). The most recent analyses, though, have pushed back that date to the late-5th / 6th century AD (Athanasoulis 2013, 198; Sanders 2005b, 431-439; 2004, 174-176; Slane and Sanders 2005, 290-291).

[203]The Sanctuary of Demeter that stood here was likely already outside the urban fabric of the imperial Roman city (Walbank Mar. E. 1997, 109). Starting from the 6th century the sanctuary and the area to its north were used for burials (Athanasoulis 2013, 198).

[204] Ivison 1996, 110.

[205] See previous section 3.1.

[206] See: *Burials in the 6th century AD intra-muros Corinth:* Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 174; *Middle Byzantine Corinth*: Athanasoulis 2013, 200.

The above imply that the main urban core remained roughly similar from the Imperial Roman period up until the early-6th century AD, when Corinth reduced in size.[207] Modern research has yet to trace the exact city limits during this almost six-century period. However, it can be argued that signs of continuous occupation can be seen from the enceinte area, as far as west of the theatre district, the 'Lechaeon Baths' to the north, and the 'Late Roman Building South of the South Stoa' to the south (Plans XXII, XXV). Only after these areas we should expect that the Corinthian suburbia began,[208] although this may be a somewhat conservative estimation.[209]

Having outlined the approximate demarcation limits of the suburbs of Late Roman Corinth, I will know turn to the analysis of the private building programme in that area. I will first discuss the long-term dynamics that gave shape to the residential and working facilities. I will then focus on the changing Late Roman priorities that came to redefine the private space in the urban periphery, and I will try to associate them with the new economic realities of the era.

The earliest private buildings that can be found in that outer peripheral zone were probably inaugurated not long after the foundation of the Roman *colonia.*[210] These Imperial Roman facilities experienced a mostly undisturbed occupation until the 4th century AD. Their function and designing purpose during that early period could differ significantly, ranging from small farms to big industrialised facilities and suburban villas.[211] This diversity came to an end with the transition to the Late Roman period

[207] Note for example the debate regarding the western and eastern limits of the Imperial Roman city. Mary Walbank suggested that this stretched no more than 180 ha, while David Romano proposed instead that the city was close to 240 ha, roughly the size of Carthage (Walbank Mar. E. 2002, 256-257 *contra* Romano 2013, 260-267; 2006, 67-68; 2005, 31; 2003, 284-288; 2000, 87-88; 1993, 15-19; 27-30). However, Romano may offer a possible compromise. More particularly he argued that a second, Flavian centuriation revised the original allotment and provided the undistributed urban grids for agriculture, shrinking thus the city at 180 ha (Romano 2003, 293-294; 2000-97).

[208] Similar problems arise also when considering neighbouring Achaea region and the topography of the provincial capital city of Patras. In that case three road cemeteries marked the boundaries of the Roman city (Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al.* 2006, 96-97). But a dense presence of industrialized workshops along the cemetery roads suggest a significant human presence in these "fringe city areas" and reveal the blurred division lines of the fluid Early and Late Roman townscape (Appendix III).

[209] Hopefully the ongoing surveys in the greater area of the Ancient city, together with the current studies on the mortuary practices in Late Roman Corinth (Ott 2019), may provide the following years a clearer picture about the extremities of the main urban core in Late Roman period.

[210] See Table B2: 'Villa Anaploga'; 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi', 'Gymnasium Bronze Foundry'.

[211] See Table B2: *Heavy industrialized production*: 'Bronze foundry'; *Wealthy villas*: 'Pano Maghoula'; 'Villa Anaploga', 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'; *Small farm/Workshop*: 'Greek Tile Works'; 'Farm Kokkinovrysi'.

when several facilities went out of use. The limited archaeological record cannot permit any definite arguments here. The current data, though, indicate that the wealthy suburban villas took a heavy toll. Characteristic is that 'Villa Shear - Roman villa Kokkinovrysi', one of the most splendidly decorated Corinthian villas, was crudely refurbished in the Late Roman period, before going out of use probably in the 5th century AD (Plate 67).[212] Another example is 'Villa Anaploga' that was first crudely remodelled in the early-4th century AD, before being abandoned altogether in the mid-4th century AD (Plates 19b, 63).[213]

One noticeable exception is 'Villa Pano Maghoula' (Plate 19a, 19c) that survived well into the 7th century AD.[214] This was most likely a rare occasion, though, for the new economic realities favoured the smaller and less sumptuous facilities. Indicative here is that according to the published data, most if not all the newly inaugurated sites found in the Corinthian suburbia that postdate the 3rd century AD were undecorated production units, with few lavish features.[215]

One area that deserves to be separately considered is the neighbourhood of Kraneio that stood in the east of the city (Plans VII, VIII, XXII, Plate 8c, 8d).[216] Pausanias describes Kraneio as a peri-urban forest (*κυπαρίσσων ἄλσος*) and notes that the area was used for burials (*aka* the Eastern Cemetery),[217] while Xenophon and Diogenes Laertius trace here a gymnasium.[218] In the Imperial Roman period, Kraneio was a well-known aristocratic neighbourhood, famous for its beauty.[219] A somewhat

[212] The concentration of Roman coins may imply that the villa was abandoned in the 5th century AD (Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189; Pettegrew 2006, 335; Shear 1930, 17, 26). However, a higher destruction date should be also considered, as the excavation revealed also two coins minted during the reign of Justinian (Pettegrew 2006, 335; Shear 1930, 26).
[213] Miller Stel. 1972, 333.
[214] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013, 189; Pallas 1960, 201-216.
[215] See Table B2: 'Kiln Kokkinovrysi'; 'Baths of Aphrodite'; 'Kiln NE of the city Kraneio'; 'Kritika-Koutoumatsa'.
[216] A detailed review of the Kraneio area has been presented first by Amelia Brown (Brown A. 2008, 154-155) and more recently by Demetrios Athanasoulis (Athanasoulis *et al*. 2010, 172-177).
[217] "*As one goes up to Corinth are tombs, and by the gate is buried Diogenes of Sinope, whom the Greeks surname the Dog. Before the city is a grove of cypresses called Craneum. Here are, a precinct of Bellerophontes, a temple of Aphrodite Melaenis and the grave of Lais, upon which is set a lioness holding a ram in her fore-paws*." (Pausanias, *Periegesis* 2.2.4)
[218] "*…had remained quietly in the gymnasium of Craneium*" (Xenophon, *Hellenika* 4.4.4); "*For he happened to be living in the Craneum, the gymnasium in front of Corinth*" (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 6.2.77).
[219] "*…cities were far more beautiful than Ecbatana and Babylon, and that the Craneion, and the Athenian acropolis with the Propylaea were far more beautiful*" (Dio Chrysostom*, Orations* 6.4); "*for*

different picture comes from Alciphron, who describes the area as a vibrant market with retail shops and bakeries.[220]

During the Late Roman period Kraneio remained a significant neighbourhood as is evident by the two Christian basilicas found in the area east of the city.[221] Nonetheless, there is not enough evidence of wealthy villas in the surroundings. Amelia Brown has located close to the Kraneio Basilica a lavishly furnished "*grand house*" that was reportedly excavated by the Greek archaeological service in 1985, but she provides no further details about the facility or the relevant bibliography.[222]

Problems also arise with a series of articles that trace at the wealthy Kraneio neighbourhood, several elaborate facilities excavated within the eastern part of the walled Corinth.[223] The roots of the problem might lie on the assumption made by Harold Fowler, that Kraneio was not outside the city walls but "*before the thickly settled part of the city was reached*".[224] His argument was based on the presence of a small ravine just outside the wall area that would leave little useful space for a settlement,[225] and has been influential ever since.[226]

Notwithstanding, the ancient literary sources clearly depict Kraneio outside the city, which would place the facilities within the enceinte in a different neighbourhood.

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all the Athenians do not inhabit Collytus, nor do all the men of Corinth live in the Cranium, nor all of Lacedaemon in Pitane" (Plutarch, *De exilio* 6)

[220] "*I did not enter Corinth after all; for I learned in a short time the sordidness of the rich there and the misery of the poor. For example, at midday, after most people had bathed, I saw some pleasant-spoken, clever young fellows moving about, not near the dwellings but near the Craneium and particularly where the bakers' and fruiterers' shops are. There the young fellows would stoop to the ground, and one would pick up lupine pods, another would examine the nutshells to make sure that none of the edible part was left anywhere and had escaped notice, another would scrape with his fingernails the pomegranate rinds (which we in Attica are accustomed to call sidia) to see whether he could glean any of the seeds anywhere, while others picked up pieces of bread, which had fallen on the ground and been trodden underfoot, and greedily gulped them down. Such is the entrance to Peloponnesus*." (Alciphron, *Chascobuces to Hypnotrapezus* 3.24)

[221] Athanasoulis 2013, 196-197; Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 172; Brown A. 2018, 36-37, 47; 2008, 156; Pallas 1990, 764; Sanders 2005b, 440-442.

[222] Brown A. 2018, 49; 2008, 156.

[223] See among others: *Baths at property I. and A. Sofou*: Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 173-174; Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 2004b, 311-312; 2000a, 270-271; *Long apsidal building – Pr. Aik. Sofou*: Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 174; *Tile floor building - Pr. Aik. Sofou*: Athanasoulis and Manolesou 2014, 324-325; *Pr. Marini Th.*: Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 175; Athanasoula and Manolesou 2014, 270; Manolesou 2014a, 295-296; 2014e, 315; *Pr. G Sofou*: Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 173; Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 2000b, 271; Manolesou 2014h, 325.

[224] Fowler 1932, 78-80.

[225] "…there can never have been much space between the between the city wall and the ravine…" (Fowler 1932, 78).

[226] Fowler 1932, 78-80; Walbank Mar. E. 1997, 128.

Characteristically, Pausanias mentions that Kraneio stood "*before the city*",[227] Dio Chrysostom makes a clear-cut distinction between Kraneio and the city,[228] while Plutarch outright labels the area as a suburb.[229] Perhaps even more telling is Alciphron's choice of words, with the writer recounting a visit at Kraneio during which the traveller "*did not enter Corinth after all*".[230]

Instead we can be much more certain about the presence of Late Roman workshops in the area east the city wall, outside the enceinte, where we should best locate ancient Kraneio. The excavations here have uncovered a 4th century AD pottery kiln, that according to the researchers was roughly contemporary to similar installations found elsewhere in the Corinthian suburbs.[231] These were allegedly part of the same wider trend, observed in elite and non-elite neighbourhoods, that favoured the less sumptuous and the production-oriented facilities (Plate 36 c, f).

An increase of production activities in the city outskirts is hardly surprising, considering that similar changes have been frequently noted in other Late Roman cities.[232] These developments elsewhere, however, did not necessarily come at the expense of the wealthy suburban villas, as seems to be the case in Corinth.[233]

The attested decline of the wealthy suburban villas outside the enceinte is even more baffling when considering the several wealthy rural villas found in contemporary Corinthian hinterland. It is difficult to provide a clear answer about the causes of this downturn. What is certain is that there is no evidence pointing towards violent activities

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[227] "*Before the city is a grove of cypresses…*" Pausanias, Periegesis 2.2.4

[228] "*…he moved to Corinth, since he considered none of the others worth associating with, and there he lived without renting a house or staying with a friend, but camping out in the Craneion.*" (Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 8.4); "*…saw him in the city and around the Craneion*" (Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 9.4)

[229].; "*…and he expected that Diogenes of Sinope also, who was tarrying in Corinth, would do likewise. But since that philosopher took not the slightest notice of Alexander, and continued to enjoy his leisure in the suburb Craneion*" (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 14)

[230] Alciphron, *Chascobuces to Hypnotrapezus* 3.24

[231] See Table A1: '*Kiln NE of the city-Kraneio'*: Brown A. 2018, 49; 2008, 155-156; Daux 1965, 689-690; Robinson H. S. 1967, 144; '*Kiln Kokkinovrysi'*: Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189; Brown A. 2018, 49; 2008, 150; Daux 1965, 690-691; Robinson H. S. 1967, 144.

[232] In general, the presence of 'industrialized' activities in suburban areas was relatively common, as it offered an easy access to major markets without compromising the living standards of the main residential districts (Goodman 2007, 105-117). Compare for example with contemporary Patras (Appendix III).

[233] See: *A general approach*: Goodman 2007, 156-157, 68-78, 229-231; *Antioch*: Libanius, *Antiochikos* 11.230-11.235; *Alexandria*: Haas 2006, 46; *Constantinople*: Goodman 2007, 45-59, 157; *Bordeaux*: Goodman 2007, 228; *Tarraco*: Keay 1996, 35; *Carthage*: Rossiter 2007b, 382-385.

and an abrupt abandonment. This is best demonstrated in the 'Villa Anaploga' that was partially reconstructed in Late Roman period, shortly before the end of occupation.[234] The primary motives of the rebuilding are not known, but the poor nature of the reconstruction and the destructive disruption of the original architectural plan might hint at needs for space and chronic impoverishment.[235]

It is tempting to connect the decline of the suburban villas with a persistent economic slowdown gradually leading to their financial unsustainability. In contrast to the contemporary big rural estates, the suburban villas had understandably more limited growth potential. That would seemingly correspond also with the attested lack of excessive production facilities in those units. It is important to note, though, that in most suburban villas the actual production capabilities have yet to be defined.[236] Even more significantly, a financial unsustainability hypothesis would be unjustified since the urban periphery was ideal for intense exploitation and cash crops.[237]

A more probable explanation instead is that the wealthy suburban villas were either transformed to incorporate more utilitarian/working spaces or were reoccupied/rented by poor tenants.[238] According to the proposal, the new occupants attempted to revitalize these facilities, before completely abandoning them for other more prominent areas. This hypothesis can explain the nature of the reconstruction activities in the 'Villa Anaploga' that, as we saw above, led to the subdivision of the dining room and the partial destruction of its mosaic pavement (Plates 19b, 63b). It would also correspond with the remodelling at the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' that resulted in the addition of a cistern and several crosscutting walls in

[234] During this process a subdividing wall was erected over one of the main rooms, partially destroying the pre-existing mosaic (Miller Stel. 1972, 333; 337). A similar careless treatment of the domestic decoration was not uncommon during the Late Roman period. In a few cases the floor mosaics were destroyed mostly by production facilities raised to address acute needs (Chavarría and Lewit 2004, 31-32; Saradi H. G. 1998, 23). At other times these destructive reconfigurations have related to internal subdivisions (Marzano 2007, 199; Saradi H. G. 1998, 36-39).

[235] See later sections 4.1; 5.1.2.

[236] See the later section 4.3.

[237] Modern research has highlighted that suburban areas were highly sought for farming (Broekaert and Zuiderhoek 2013, 319-321; Engels 1990, 24-25; Marzano 2007, 104-114; Walbank Mar. E. 1997, 102). Perhaps most telling are the words of Cato: "*Near a town it is well to have a garden planted with all manner of vegetables, and all manner of flowers for garlands — Megarian bulbs, conjugulan myrtle, white and black myrtle, Delphian, Cyprian, and wild laurel, smooth nuts, such as Abellan, Praenestine, and Greek filberts. The suburban farm, and especially if it be the only one, should be laid out and planted as ingeniously as possible*" (Cato *De Agricultura* VII).

[238] See section 4.1.

Room ‘E’ next to the western working quarters (Plate 67b).[239] While the subdivision of housing units to maximise the accommodation and production capacity is usually associated with urban areas, it is well known that more distant villas sometimes went through similar transformations.[240] In this regard, it is very possible that developments here had a similar background. The small research sample, though, does not permit any final conclusions at this stage.

§ 3.3 The smaller Corinthian cities through the lens of the ancient literature: A first understanding and the unavoidable complications

The bibliography on Late Roman Corinthia has understandably gravitated for the most part around Corinth, the biggest and best-studied city of the region.[241] We ought to remember, though, that ancient Greece was heavily urbanized, and Corinthia was not different.[242] The region historically was dotted with small urban centres, often laying no more than 5 - 10 km apart.[243] All these cities, regardless of size or wealth, filled a crucial role for the local economy, distributing and consuming commodities that otherwise would struggle to reach far into the hinterland.

Late Roman Corinthia was not fundamentally different in that part (Plan II). The study of the literary evidence suggests that the total number of occupied urban centres in the region remained stable between the early-1st and late-6th century AD.[244] One century after the foundation of the Roman *colonia*, Pliny the Elder recorded in Corinthia the towns, Sicyon, Nemea, Kleonai, Phlius, Lechaeon, Kenchreai, Corinth, Schoenus,

[239] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189; Shear 1930, 17; 26; Pettegrew 2006, 335.
[240] Bowes and Gutteridge 2005, 409-411; Lewit 2003, 268.
[241] See: Athanasoulis 2013; Brown A. 2018; 2008; Engels 1990; Kordosis 1981; Rothaus 2000.
[242] Alcock 1993, 130-146.
[243] Engels 1990, 174-175; Wiseman 1978.
[244] The same has been attested across Late Roman Greece, which during that period remained highly urbanized (Gregory 1984, 271; Tzavella 2012, 193-195).

Sidous, Crommyon.[245] A similar list, minus Nemea, Schoenus and Sidous,[246] is also provided by Pausanias in the 2nd century AD.[247]

The much later *Tabula Peutingeriana* recorded only the towns Lechaeon, Kenchreai, Nemea, Kleonai and Sicyon.[248] The 6th century AD *Synekdemus* of Hierocles noted just the towns Sicyon,[249] Corinth, Nemea, and Crommyon.[250] A more complete picture comes instead from the mid-6th century AD *Ethnica* by Stephanus of Byzantium.[251] This listed further the settlements Asae, Phlius, Kenchreai, Sidous, Titane, Bembina, Mausos, Solygeia, Tenea, and possibly Kromna,[252] thus almost matching Pliny's description five centuries earlier.[253]

While the above literature works provide a first understanding of the secondary Corinthian urban centres during the Late Roman period, it is imperative to not take them at face value. That is because they sometimes offer a false picture by paying a

[245] See Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: Sicyon: 4.10; Nemea: 4.10; Kleonai: 4.10; Phlius: 4.10; Lechaeon: 4.5; Kenchreai: 4.5; Corinth: 4.5; Schoenus: 4.11; Sidous: 4.11; Crommyon: 4.11.

[246] Pausanias provider only a brief description of the road linking Megara and Isthmia without referring at all to the cities Schoenus and Sidous (Pausanias, *Periegesis* 1.44.6-1.44.10). Similarly, in the Nemean valley the author did not mentioned anything but the deserted Temple of Zeus: "*In these mountains is still shown the cave of the famous lion, and the place Nemea is distant some fifteen stades. In Nemea is a noteworthy temple of Nemean Zeus, but I found that the roof had fallen in and that there was no longer remaining any image"* (*Pausanias, Periegesis* 2.15.2).

[247] See Pausanias, *Periegesis*: Crommyon: 1.27.9; Kenchreai & Lechaeon: 2.2.3; Phlius: 2.5.2, 2.13.1-2.13.8; Kleonai: 2.15.1; Tenea: 2.5.4; Sicyon: 2.5.6; Titane: 2.11.13-2.12.1.

[248] Avramea 2012, 224; Drakoulis 2009, 23-24; Sanders and Whitbread 1990, 339.

[249] Of the three main editions of Synekdemus, the first two published by Gustav Friedrich Constantin Parthey and August Burckhardt respectively, replace 'Sicyon' with 'New Sicyon' and do not refer at all to Nemea (Burckhardt 1893, 9; Parthey 1866, 11). The most recent edition by Ernst Honigmann, revised that list, suggesting that in the original text Sicyon was followed by Nemea (Honigmann 1939). More recently, Michalis Kordosis proposed that instead of Nemea, we should better read Tenea, supposing that the latter was larger settlement than Nemea, but most researchers tend to side with Honigmann's interpretation (Kordosis 1997, 546 *contra* Avramea 2012, 226; Drakoulis 2009, 23-24). In his landmark volume on Sicyon, Yiannis Lolos argued convincingly for Honigmann' reading by noting that otherwise the list would exclude Nemea which we now know was a thriving Late Roman settlement (Lolos 2011, 82).

[250] Avramea 2012, 226; Drakoulis 2009, 23-24.

[251] Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*: Corinth: 373; Asae: 130; Phlius: 91; Sicyon: 569; Titane: 626; Nemea: 472; Bembina: 162; Phlius: 667; Mausos: 437; Solygeia: 581; Sidous: 565, Crommyon: 382; Tenea: 615.

[252] Stephanus simply refers to a Peloponnesian Kromna: (i.e. Κρῶμνα) *ἔστι και Πελοποννήσου πόλις αρσενικῶς και θηλυκῶς και ενικῶς καί πληθυντικῶς. από Κρώμνου τον Λυκάονος*" (Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 388). He does not further elaborate about its geographic location, while it is known that another Kromna existed in Arcadia before being absorbed by Megapolis (Pettegrew 2006, 251-253; Wiseman 1978, 66).

[253] A notable exception is the city of Schoenus, at the eastern end of ancient Diolkos which corresponds with the modern Kalamaki. Schoenus is last mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century AD (Ptolemy, *Geography* 3.14.33). The archaeological research has uncovered here several scattered walls, but it is still unclear when the site was abandoned (Fowler 1932, 49; Wiseman 1978, 46).

"*slavish dependence on the ipssima verba"* from which they drew heavily for their information.[254]

We must further remember that the ancient cartographic sources and travel itineraries were shaped by personal prejudices, did not always use a specific vocabulary of terms, and only sometimes portrayed the actual state of the mentioned settlements. This was recognized already from the 2nd century AD by Pausanias, who noted that an identification as "*πόλις*" ('city') was made on loose criteria, and that some cities did not fully back their historic title.[255] Speaking about the Phocian 'city' of Panopeus the author famously commented: "…*From Chaeroneia it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine. Nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbours, and even send delegates to the Phocian assembly*".[256]

The problem was further magnified in the following centuries, as the tectonic changes taken place in the Roman Empire saw the gradual decay of several towns that remained 'cities' in name only.[257] It is important to underline here that the concept of 'urban decline' has been a subject of much use and misuse by the scholars of Late Roman period. Leading theorists of the previous century systematically portrayed the post-3rd century AD urban developments across the Empire as an outright decline, an approach that still finds supporters today.[258] More recent research has been hesitant to embrace this view, proposing instead that the Late Roman cities were more dynamic and resilient than once believed.[259] Both sides agree, however, that starting from the 4th century AD several cities, mainly secondary urban centres, faced a prolong decay and

[254] Whitehead 1994, 119.
[255] A similar critical thinking regarding what is the character of a city can be traced back as far as Aristotle and Strabo (Finley 1977, 306; 1973 123-124).
[256] Pausanias*, Periegesis*, 10.4.1.
[257] See among others: Avramea 2012, 231-233; Lougis 1997, 43-46; Ward-Perkins 1996, 143-145; Ziche 2006, 256-257.
[258] See among others: Finley 1977, 321-322; Jones 1964, 712-766; Liebeschuetz 2001a; 2001b; Moutsopoulos 2009, 236; 1997, 31; Rostovtzeff 1926, 478-480; Weber 2013, 360-367; 1950, 84;
[259] For the portray of the Late Roman cities as resilient institutions still able to fulfil their role see among others: *General analysis*: Haldon 2005a, 52; 2005b, 198-203; Lavan 2008, 167-192; 2001 22-24; Spieser 1984; Tsivikis 2012, 59-69; *Southern Greece*: Saradi H. G. 2006, 32-37; *Asia Minor*: Whittow 2001, 151-153; *Macedonia*: Dunn 1997, 138-142; 1994, 76-78; *England*: Rogers 2010; Speed 2010.

an eventual decline.[260] The same can be seen also in the Peloponnese. Whereas the region remained altogether highly urbanized up until the 6th century AD, the image coming from several peripheral towns suggests an era of stagnation.[261]

All the above understandably fuels many questions regarding the accuracy of the literary works listing the towns of Late Roman Corinthia. Moreover, any further effort to assess the literary record, brings forward some more questions, this time about the described official status of the agglomerations referred to. The problem is particularly acute when examining the period after the 4th century AD, that saw the rise of a new type of settlement, intermediate between the villages and the cities. These are known from the ancient literature by a variety of names, '*komai'*,[262] *'komopoleis'*,[263] '*metrokomiai'*,[264] '*agropolis'*,[265] and '*astikomai'*.[266] In size and wealth they resembled the pre-existing villages, but they constituted wider trade markets and served greater geographic areas.[267] Conversely, while the new agglomerations exercised some administration and economic control over other villages, they had neither the status nor the civil institutions expected from a city.[268]

In Corinthia, the literary sources refer to at least seven *komai,* namely: Asae, Bembina, Mausos, Solygeia, Sidous, Crommyon, and Tenea (Plans I, II, III).[269] Their study presents significant difficulties,[270] not least because "*the distinction between a small town and a village is arbitrary*".[271] The ambiguous interpretation of the term *komai* by Late Roman texts further adds to this problem.[272] For the epithet was already

[260] See: *General analysis*: Lavan 2003, 708; Morrisson and Sodini 2002, 171-175; 189-193; Whittaker 1990, 116; *Greece*: Bintliff 2014, 325-326; 2012b, 360-363; Jones 1940, 91.
[261] Avramea 2012, 238-239.
[262] Butcher 2003, 160-161; Sartre 1999; Haldon 1999, 10; 1997, 136-138; Kaplan 1992, 89-99; Laiou and Morrisson 2007, 37; Morrisson and Sodini 2002, 179-181; Patlagean 1977, 241-242; Tzavella 2012, 193-195.
[263] Haldon 1999, 10; 1997, 136-138; Kaplan 1992, 102.
[264] Butcher 2003, 160-161; Sartre 1999; Trombley 2004, 78; Haldon 1999, 10; 1997, 136-138.
[265] Kaplan 1992, 102; Serin 2016, 1825.
[266] Kaplan 1992, 102; Serin 2016, 1825.
[267] Laiou and Morrisson 2007, 37; Morrisson and Sodini 2002, 179-181; Trombley 2004, 78; 2001, 220-221.
[268] Butcher 2003, 160-161; Haldon 1999, 10; 1997, 136-138; Laiou and Morrisson 2007, 37.
[269] Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*: *Asae*: 130; *Bembina*: 162; *Mausos*: 437; *Solygeia*: 581; *Sidous*: 565, *Crommyon*: 382; *Tenea*: 615.
[270] See: Dunn 2005, 268; 1994, 63-67; Kaplan 1992, 96-97; Leveau 1983, 930-931; Patlagean 1977, 242; Trombley 2004, 78; Veikou 2013, 129.
[271] Whittaker 1990, 114.
[272] Equally problematic are the other terms that associate with the Late Roman, non-civic urbanized settlements. In Syria the ancient sources refer to '*metrokomiai*' ('mother-villages') that included

used in the Hellenistic and Imperial Roman periods,[273] to signify rural villages.[274] This original meaning was not entirely lost in the following centuries,[275] which has prompted some scholars to use *komai* and 'villages' interchangeably.[276] Nonetheless, starting from the 4th and into the 5th and 6th century AD, several texts distinguish between 'big' and 'small' *komai*, with the first being trade centres habituated by free small-holders, and the latter mere villages of dependent peasants.[277] At the same time, the term "*χωρίον*" ('*chorion'* -village-),[278] itself a diminutive of "*χώρα*" ('*chora*' -land-), is gradually introduced to describe small *komai*.[279]

In our case, Stephanus of Byzantium does not give any details about the referred Corinthian *komai*. We should remember here that Stephanus largely discriminates among "*πόλις*" ('cities'), "*χωρία*" ('villages'), and "*κώμαι*" ('*komai*'), understanding the last as intermediate settlements.[280] I would expect that in his mind *komai*, and

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imperial lands and did not have a city status to protect the imperial interests (Butcher 2003, 160-161; Sartre 1999, 197-222). As the epithet suggests these were higher in the hierarchy than a typical village, but it is unclear whether other villages were subordinate to them (Butcher 2003, 160-161). *Metrokomiai* certainly fall within the range of intermediate settlements, but the term appears to be rare and is not attested elsewhere but Syria (Kaplan 1992, 92; Sartre 1999, 197-222). Much more frequent instead is the term '*komopoleis'* which similarly describes agglomerations bigger than villages, sometimes fortified (Malalas Chronografia XIII, 347). Nonetheless, while attested already from the 6th century AD, the epithet was mainly popularized later, in the Middle Byzantine period (Haldon 1999, 10; 1997, 136-138; Kaplan 1992, 102. The same applies also for the epithets '*agropolis'* and '*astikomai'* which were popularized after the 11th century AD (Kaplan 1992, 102).

[273] Haldon 1999, 10; 1997, 137-138; Kaplan 1992, 89-90; Patlagean 1977, 241. For example:

[274] Characteristic here is the use of the word *komai* by Strabo, when speaking about "*τὰς μεγάλας κώμας"* ('the big villages') in Spain: "*In fact, even those who assert that there are more than one thousand cities in Iberia seem to me to be led to do so by calling the big villages cities; for, in the first place, the country is naturally not capable, on account of the poverty of its soil or else on account of the remoteness or wildness of it, of containing many cities, and, secondly, the modes of life and the activities of the inhabitants (apart from those who live on the seaboard of Our Sea) do not suggest anything of the kind; for those who live in villages are wild (and such are most of the Iberians), and even the cities themselves cannot easily tame their inhabitants when these are outnumbered by the folk that live in the forests for the purpose of working mischief upon their neighbours*." Strabo, *Geography* 3.4.13.

[275] Patlagean 1977, 241.

[276] See among others: Banaji 2007, 175; Haldon 1999, 10; Liebeschuetz 2015, 271.

[277] See: <u>*Big Komai as trade centres*</u>: Kaplan 1992, 90-94; Kolb *et al.* 1990, 66; <u>*Socioeconomic differences between big/small komai & the dependent village*</u>: Banaji 2007, 10-13; 1999, 206; Kaplan 1992, 90; Haldon 1997, 137-138; Serin 2016, 1824-1826.

[278] The epithet eventually came to replace the term '*komai'* altogether. We ought to remember, however, that this is a much later development that only happened in the Middle Byzantine period (Haldon 1997, 138; Kaplan 1992, 98).

[279] Kaplan 1992, 93-97; Patlagean 1977, 241.

[280] In the words of David Whitehead: "*What Stephanus himself - let alone his epitomator(s) - understood by the word polis is another matter* (...) *For the most part it would not be prudent to imagine him, from his late antique perspective, visualizing poleis as anything other than physical/ topographical entities, conurbations presumably larger than komai and, one may suppose, grander than mere choria*." (Whitehead 1994, 120).

villages were not much different. That is because of the seven mentioned *komai* only three (Sidous, Crommyon, Tenea) had been previously described as towns,[281] with the rest (Asae, Bembina, Solygeia, Mausos) listed in earlier texts as villages.[282] At the same time, the archaeological record at all seven sites has not revealed any substantial settlements, although it is fair to note that these have yet to be systematically excavated.[283]

More than just a fruitless academic debate, the ambiguity of the terms found in the literary sources can pose a significant challenge for any dedicated research or even yield some false results. A good example comes from the modern understanding of Late Roman Tenea (Plans II, XVIII), in Southern Corinthia. In his landmark study on ancient Tenea and the surrounding Teneatis region, Michalis Kordosis used the relevant entry of Stephanus to propose that Tenea had a city status in the 6th century AD.[284] He based his claim on the second part of the entry (i.e. "*Tenea chora*"), noting that here the term *chora* signifies a city, in parallel with several Middle Byzantine texts where the epithet similarly refers to cities.[285]

However, we have already seen that the generalization of '*chora'* and its diminutive '*chorion'*, as references to 'citylike' settlements is a much later development.[286] It is possible that like the broad term "*νῆσος*" ('*nesos'* -island-), the equally broad '*chora'* in some cases semantically overlapped with the term "*πόλις*" ('city').[287] By way of illustration, that would explain Stephanus' laconic entries on Nemea and Phocis, with each of them labelled as '*chora*' without referring further to any specific settlements.[288] In that way, the author would describe wide geographic

[281] See: <u>*Sidous*</u>: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 4.11.2, <u>*Crommyon*</u>: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 4.11.2; <u>*Tenea*</u>: Pausanias, *Periegesis* 2.5.4.
[282] See: <u>*Asae*</u>: Theopompus, *Philippica*, Book 32, Frag. 173; <u>*Bembina*</u>: Strabo, *Geography* 8.6.19; <u>*Solygeia*</u>: Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* 4.42; <u>*Mausos*</u>: Theopompus, *Philippica* Book 32., Frag. 174.
[283] See the following section 3.4.
[284] Kordosis 1997, 526.
[285] "*…Tenea, Komai of Corinth, (named) from Tenou (son) of Kyknou, and rests between Corinth and Mycenae, ethnicity Teneatis, it is also called Tenea Chora*.". The translation is from the author. The original text reads: "*…Τενέα, κώμη Κορίνθου, από Τένου του Κύκνου και κείται μεταξύ Κορίνθου και Μυκήνης, το εθνικόν Τενεάτης, λέγεται και Τενέα ή χώρα*." (Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 526).
[286] See above page.
[287] We should note here that in his lengthy research on polis-cognates and other possible synonyms found at *Ethnica,* David Whitehead does not consider the term *chora* altogether (Whitehead 1994, 120-123). He includes instead the cognates*: polichne, polichnion, polidion, polisma, and polismation* and the synonyms: *phrourion* and *nesos*, noting that the last semantically overlaps with the term city.
[288] See: <u>*Nemea*</u>: Stephanus, *Ethnica* 472; <u>*Phocis*</u>: Stephanus, *Ethnica* 675

areas with several nucleated agglomerations without referring them onomastically, while keeping in line with his generic definition of *chora* as a "*part of land*".[289]

There is no evidence whatsoever, though, that Stephanus further used the term '*chora*' to specifically imply a city-status.[290] For he freely used the epithet when referring to land territories as in the case of nearby Peraia (modern Perachora) which certainly was not a city throughout the Roman period.[291] Moreover, we can be certain that Stephanus clearly distinguished between a land territory and its cities. Enlightening here is another entry of his, this time about Yria where he writes, *"Yria, chora close to Avlida, it was earlier polidion* (small city)".[292] Above all, Kordosis' view fails to explain why Stephanus listed Tenea as *komai* in the first place, since the author displays an awareness of the difference between '*komai'*, 'villages' and 'cities'.

I would also like here to argue against the second hypothesis made by Kordosis, that Stephanus' choice of words was probably made to distinguish ancient Tenea from a smaller neighbouring settlement bearing the same name.[293] According to Kordosis, that would explain the attested presence of two main districts in the ancient city, at the sites 'Palaio Sxoleio-Chiliomodi', and 'Klenia B-Vouno'.[294] Nonetheless, Stephanus' entry explicitly relates Tenea '*komai'* with Tenea '*chora'* ("*λέγεται και" -it is also called-*, instead of "*ἔστι και*" *-there is also-*) leaving no room for a different interpretation.[295] We ought also to further consider here that the two districts were far too close to constitute different entities (about 500m), and that they seem to have always been integral parts of the ancient city, as Kordosis himself recognizes.[296]

All things considered; it is evident that the literary sources provide only a limited insight into the secondary urban centres of Late Roman Corinthia. In this regard,

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[289] "*Chora, a part of land*.". The translation is from the author, the original text reads: "*Χώρα, ή μερική γῆ*" (Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 699).
[290] Whitehead 1994, 122-123.
[291] "*…Peraia, small city of Syria, is also chora of Corinth, called Peraia*, *ethnicity Peraeus*.". The translation is from the author, the original text reads: "*…Περαία, πολίχνιόν Συρίας, έστι και χώρα Κορίνθου Περαία λεγομένη το εθνικόν Περαιεύς*" (Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 517). Curiously Kordosis refers to this passage to contrast Stephanus' entry on Tenea (Kordosis 1997, 526). Nonetheless, he gives no explanation why Tenea should be understood differently than Peraia.
[292] "*Υρία, χώρα πλησίον Αυλίδος, ήν δε και πρότερον πολίδιον*" (Stephanus*, Ethnica* 651).
[293] Kordosis 1997 526.
[294] See Kordosis 1999, 139; 1997, 541.
[295] Characteristic is another entry of Stephanus: "*…There is another city,* (in) *Sicily, Toronna with two 'n' and two 'o', it is also called Toronaikos bay*" *-έστι και άλλη πόλις Σικελίας Τόροννα δια δύο 'ν' και τα δύο 'ο' μικρά, λέγεται και Τορωναϊκός κόλπος.-* (Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 629).
[296] Kordosis 1999, 139-140; 1997, 541.

the question that promptly comes into mind is: what does the archaeological record say about these towns and how that corresponds with the literary sources?

§ 3.4 The lesser cities and komai of Corinthia: Archaeology & ancient literary works

3.4.1 The area North of the Isthmus

The area north of the Isthmus is one of the least systematically surveyed in Corinthia (Plans I-IV). The most important settlement here was Crommyon.[297] Its location was close to the Corinthian borders with Megaris, almost halfway between Isthmus and city of Megara, where today rests the village of Agioi Theodoroi. Excavations in the 1960s revealed parts of the Classical-Hellenistic city north of the modern village, close to the national highway.[298] At a later period, the centre of the city was moved about 500 m further to the south, along the coastline that is today occupied by Agioi Theodoroi. The excavations here have revealed many Imperial and Late Roman artefacts, including scattered building blocks, inscribed marble slabs, and sarcophagi.[299] It is otherwise yet unclear when this transfer took place and whether it signals a contraction of the Roman city or a settlement relocation.[300]

Even less is today known about ancient Sidous which stood between Isthmus and Crommyon. It is possible that Sidous was part of Crommyonia.[301] Stephanus only refers to Sidous as a *komai* of Corinth and a port serving the region Megaris.[302] The location of the settlement has been tentatively traced in the valley of Sousaki, but the exploration so far has revealed only some scattered walls and pottery.[303]

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[297] Wiseman 1978, 19.
[298] Gioni 2013, 10-11; Pettegrew 2006, 83, 121.
[299] Avramea 2012, 339; Brown A. 2018, 66; 2008, 177-178; Drakoulis 2009, 23-24; Fowler 1932, 47-48; Gioni 2013, 11; Wiseman 1978, 18-19.
[300] See: Gioni 2013, 10-11; Wiseman 1978, 19.
[301] Fowler 1932, 48-49; Wiseman 1978, 19.
[302] "*Sidous, komai of Corinth or port of Megara*". The translation has been made by the author the original entry reads: "*Σιδοῦς, κώμη Κορίνθου ἢ Μεγαρίδος ἐπίνειον*" (Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 565).
[303] Wiseman 1978, 19.

Further to the west, at the continuation of the Sousaki valley, stood the ancient Schoenus. Scattered building blocks dating in Late Roman period found at the modern site of Kalamaki likely indicate its position, but the settlement remains otherwise unknown.[304]

3.4.2 Eastern Corinthia – Tenea

Tenea stood in the strategic location between Corinthia and Argolis, close to the modern villages, Klenia and Chiliomodi (Plans II, V, VI, XVIII).[305] Early surveys had noted various ancient remains in the area, but the city's exact location was for a long time unknown.[306] Nikolaos Faraklas and Michalis Sakellariou preferred to identify ancient Tenea with Chiliomodi, an argument that is still supported by some scholars.[307] Two archaeological field surveys, though, first by James Wiseman and later by Michalis Kordosis, located Tenea further South, between the rail tracks passing Chiliomodi and the village Klenia.[308] Michalis Kordosis further proposed that the ancient city spread in two districts about 500 m away, 'Site Vouno' (*Klenia B*, in Faraklas and Sakellariou), and site 'Palaio Sxoleio'.[309]

The second was undoubtedly a focal point of the Roman city. James Wiseman noted that the immediate surroundings were littered mainly with Imperial Roman sherds, while Michalis Kordosis mostly found Late Roman pottery.[310] Recent excavations in the area (*Tenea Prjct*) have further solidified this impression, by locating a road and roadside building(s) at the nearby site 'Theatre-Lake Damaria'.[311] The remains correspond with the Roman and Late Roman urban fabric of Tenea, might be

[304] Brown A. 2008, 173; Faraklas and Sakellariou 1971, app. II p.9; Fowler 1932, 48.
[305] For the roads leading from Tenea to Kleonai and from Corinthia to Argolis see: Faraklas and Sakellariou 1971, 21-22; Kordosis 1997, 519-523; Marchand 2016, 265-280; 2009a, 110-111; Wiseman 1978, 113-126.
[306] Faraklas and Sakellariou 1971, 32; Fowler 1932, 96.
[307] See: Brown A. 2018, 215; 2008, 179-180.
[308] Kordosis 1997, 466, Wiseman 1978, 92-93.
[309] Kordosis 1997, 471-507.
[310] See: Kordosis 1999, 139-140; 1997, 488; Wiseman 1978, 92-93.
[311] The site rests about 200 m north from the site 'Palaio Sxoleio' and not far from the old rail tracks passing south of Chiliomodi. I am not aware of any publication of the ongoing excavations. A first reference to the road and roadside buildings found at "*Theatre-Lake Damaria*" was made at the Greek press (*To vima* 03/11/2015; *Naftemporiki* 03/11/2017). A summary of the excavation results was presented by the chief excavator Eleni Korka in her lecture at the ISAW, New York (Korka 2017), and in a recent Press release of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports (*Press Release* 13/11/2018).

associated with private activities, and clearly suggest a continuous presence until the 5th or 6th century AD.[312]

Overall, the archaeological survey has revealed so far only scant remains of the Roman and Late Roman settlement.[313] Among them stands out an installation with two vats found at 'Site Sxoleio' (Plate 38a, b).[314] This is commonly interpreted as an Imperial Roman "*κναφείον"* (fuller's establishment).[315] However, earlier surveys at the same property had revealed a vaulted tomb dating to the Late Roman period, which may imply that the site was occupied also during that period.[316]

Another Late Roman building of unknown use was found nearby in 'Pr. Skaribas', along with an inscribed funerary slab that dates between the 4th and the 6th century AD.[317] Additional Late Roman burials, arcosolia carved in the natural rock and sarcophagi, have been also located at 'Site Vouno'.[318]

It is evident that the above remains cannot provide a full understanding of Late Roman Tenea. What is certain, is that Tenea remained occupied until the 7th century AD, as is clearly indicated by the pottery remains.[319] Michalis Kordosis hypothesized that during that era the settlement gradually decayed and contracted.[320] This, though, offers little explanation for the elaborate burials, and the widespread presence of Late Roman pottery. Moreover, his claim would seemingly conflict with the continuous use of the road and roadside buildings at site '*Theatre - Lake Damaria'*. I have also argued elsewhere against his theory that sites 'Palaio Sxoleio' and 'Vouno' were distinct settlements, for they were far too close to constitute different entities.[321] The publication of the ongoing excavations will hopefully cast more light on these two topics and will provide more solid answers about the Late Roman topography of Tenea.

[312] Korka 2017; *Press Release* 13/11/2018.
[313] Giannakopoulos and Kissas 2013, 83.
[314] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 195; Avramea 2012, 348; Deilaki-Protonotariou 1972, 159-160; Giannakopoulos and Kissas 2013, 83; Kordosis 1997, 483-484; Papachristodoulou 1970b, 103; Wiseman 1978, 93.
[315] For the problems of the identification see later section 4.3.
[316] Deilaki-Protonotariou 1972, 159-160.
[317] Avramea 2012, 348; Deilaki-Protonotariou 1972, 159-160; Kordosis 1997, 483-485; Wiseman 1978, 92.
[318] Giannakopoulos and Kissas 2013, 83; Kordosis 1999, 139; 1997, 484.
[319] Kordosis 1997, 547.
[320] Kordosis 1997, 541-547.
[321] See the earlier section 3.3.

Before going any further, we should also consider here the site of Agionori (Plan III). This rests about 5 km south of Ancient Tenea, on a natural defensive site upon the road leading to Argolis.[322] The settlement is today mostly recognized by the mediaeval fortress that still occupies the hilltop that guarded the passage to Argolis. Agionori is not referred in Late Roman literary sources. This, along with the predominantly Mediaeval remains, have spurred the hypothesis that the settlement came to replace Tenea, about which we know almost nothing after the 7th century AD.[323] That would make Agionori a good example of the progressive population shift towards safer, upland areas.[324] Questions persist, however, about whether and when the supposed transfer took place, since the site has not been systematically excavated. In his archaeological field survey, James Wiseman noted some Roman pottery about a mile from the medieval/Middle Byzantine fortress, but was unsure whether that had an earlier phase.[325] Further surveys testified the presence of Roman pottery at the site, which suggests that Agionori was already occupied from the Roman period.[326] It is possible that long before the diminishing of Tenea, Agionori was used as a safe retreat for the nearby settlements or as a military garrison that guarded the strategic pass. However, this cannot be validated at this stage.[327]

What is certain is that the continuity of the settlements at the surrounding lowland sites of Tenea and Ag. Vassileios up until the 7th century AD, speaks against any major population displacements prior to that date.[328] This corresponds with the image we have for other Greek regions, and underlines that the hardships of the 4th century AD had no cataclysmic effects as was once believed.[329]

[322] Brown A. 2008, 180; Williams 1978, 121-122.
[323] Kordosis 1999, 139; 1997, 546-547; 1988a, 222; 1988b, 264-265.
[324] For a general discussion about this trend in the Balkans see: Dunn 1997; 1994.
[325] Wiseman 1978, 123-124.
[326] Kourinou-Pikoula *et al.* 1988, 231
[327] For the problems of dating regarding the hilltop fortified settlements see: Dunn 2004, 570.
[328] Even after that date the lowland settlements were not completely abandoned as it is vividly demonstrated by Ag. Vassileios site which was likely transformed to a village community and remained occupied until the Late Byzantine period (Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papademitriou 1997, 252; Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 208; Marchand 2009a, 143; Moutzali 2002b, 340-341).
[329] Characteristic is a comparison with northern Greece where the transition from lowland rural settlements to upland fortified settlements is evident in Late Roman period (Dunn 1997, 139).

3.4.3 Eastern Corinthia – Solygeia

Ancient Solygeia rests about 4 km south of Kenchreai, close to modern village of Galataki (Plans II, III). Very little is known about the settlement during the Imperial and Late Roman period, save Stephanus's description that referred to Solygeia as *komai*. Early surveys found here some Roman pottery and scattered column shafts loosely dated in the Byzantine period.[330] After personal inspection, James Wiseman also saw remains of "*an extended settlement in the Archaic Classical and even Roman period*".[331] He further noted that in the general area of Galataki – Baths of Helen, there was a significant amount of Early Roman red ware, and spirally-grooved wares dating from the 4th / 5th century AD.[332] More recent surveys have yielded similar results but the site remains still unexcavated.[333]

3.4.4 Central Corinthia – Mausos

Very little is known also about ancient Mausos (Plan II). In the Hellenistic period, Theopompus described the settlement as a large and populous village, while much later Stephanus' *Ethnica* listed Mausos as *komai* of Corinth.[334] The location of Mausos has been long linked to the modern village of Mapsos.[335] This rests on a strategic crossroad, about 6 km south of Corinth, 5 km north of ancient Tenea, and 8 km east of Kleonai. That would place Mausos close to a couple rural farms operative throughout the Roman period, reportedly Ag Vassilios (7 km further north-east), and Spathovouni (4 km further west).[336] The archaeological field survey in Mapsos, though, has so far revealed only scant ancient remains.[337] In addition to that, it has been further pointed out that the surrounding valley is too small and unproductive to support a big village.[338]

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[330] Fowler 1932, 99.
[331] Wiseman 1978, 56.
[332] Wiseman 1978, 58.
[333] Pettegrew 2006, 308.
[334] Theopompus, *Philippica*, Book 32, Frag. 174; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 437.
[335] Wiseman 1978, 93.
[336] See Table B5: *Spathovouni*: Wiseman 1978, 110; Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 193; Marchand 2009a, 139; *Ag. Vassilios, Site Varella*: Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papademitriou 1997, 252; Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 190; Avramea 2012 348; Drakoulis 2009, 23-24; Pettegrew 2006, 347-348; Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 208; Moutzali 2002b, 340-341; 1989, 109-110; Rothaus 2000, 29; 1994, 394.
[337] Wiseman 1978, 81.
[338] Faraklas and Sakellariou 1971, 25.

Consequently, Michalis Kordosis suggested an alternative location further to the east for ancient Mausos. That is the site Neochori, close to modern Alammanos village, where some ancient ruins have been found.[339] Both proposals remain unconfirmed, and any final arguments should be avoided before we have more evidence from the corresponding sites.

3.4.5 Central Corinthia – Phlius

The city of Ancient Phlius rests approximately 20 km southwest of Corinth, and no more than 8 km northwest from Ancient Nemea (Plans II, V, XIX). The excavations here revealed a Basilica -also known as 'Palati'- (Plates 18a, d), a colonnade building, and a theatre.[340] Continuation of the excavations established further that the settlement experienced a decline in the 4th century AD.[341] This led some researchers to hypothesize that after that date the city sharply declined.[342] Nonetheless, it remained occupied as is clearly demonstrated by the Late Roman remodelling of the 'Palati' basilica, that saw the erection of new structures and a subsequent use until the 6th century AD (Plate 18d).[343] The survival of Late Roman Phlius was further attested more recently through extensive archaeological field survey, which concluded that there was no significant contraction during that era.[344]

More building remains loosely dating from the Late Roman period have been spotted in the nearby rural territories.[345] We should refer particularly to a farmhouse found at the site 'Ag. Eirini' (Plan XXV, Plate 20c), a mere 2.5 km from Phlius. The facility was occupied for a long period and is possible that remained in operation until the Byzantine era.[346] A significant concentration of Late Roman buildings, some of them lavishly decorated with mosaic and opus sectile floors, has been also noted 4 km

[339] Kordosis 1997, 509.
[340] Alcock 1991, 433.
[341] Biers 1973, 108; 120; Kordosis 1981, 61.
[342] Biers 1973, 120; Sarri D. 2013, 110.
[343] Alcock 1991, 433; Avramea 2012, 349-350; Biers 1973, 110-111.
[344] Alcock 1991, 459.
[345] Faraklas 1972, app. 2, p.2.
[346] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 190; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2013, 387-395.

to the west of Phlius, at the modern Nemean village of Petri (Plan XXV).[347] In that case, though, the exact ownership and function of the facilities is unknown.

3.4.6 Central Corinthia – Nemea and Bembina

Ancient Nemea rests on the homonymous valley, approximately 18 km from Corinth (Plans II, III, IV, XXV, Plates 23-25). The site lies on a strategic position, almost halfway between Kleonai and Phlius, just north of the Tritos pass (*aka* Dervenakia pass) leading from Corinthia to Argolis.[348] Ancient literature and modern archaeology concur that in the Imperial Roman period the settlement along with the famous Classical sanctuary of Zeus were deserted and in ruinous state.[349] The site was subsequently reoccupied around the late-4th century AD, and flourished until the late-6th century AD when it was finally abandoned,[350] probably due to the mounting Avaro-Slavic threat.[351]

Archaeological research in the area suggests that Late Roman Nemea was a poor but sizable community.[352] The excavations have so far located a three-aisle basilica,[353] more than 200 burials,[354] and traces of a well-planned water management system that included a small dam, water/drainage channels, and pumping stations.[355] The local population was heavily involved in agriculture, as is clearly evident from the many farming trenches found in and around the settlement.[356] Another activity practised was fishing as indicated by the many fishing hooks found close to the ancient river bed, along with a building (Plate 24b),[357] identified as a 'boat shed'.[358] A small orthogonal

[347] See Tables D4 & E4: Petri Nemea - Pr. Chrystodoulou; Petri Nemea - Pr. Karkoni; Petri Nemea - Pr. Manavi.
[348] For the Tritos pass see: Marchand 2009a, 151-159.
[349] Pausanias, Periegesis, 2.15.2; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 130-131.
[350] The numismatic evidence further imply that the main period of prosperity was during the 4th and 5th centuries AD with only 15% of the coins dating afterwards (Miller Steph. and Mpala 2005, 107-110).
[351] Miller Steph. 2012, 123.
[352] Avramea 2005, 216.
[353] Avramea 2012, 241; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 79-92.
[354] Miller Steph. and Mpala 2005, 75; 107-110; Miller Steph. 2015, 295-298; 1988, 3; 1979, 85; 1977, 3.
[355] Birge *et al.* 1992, 83; Miller Steph. 2015, 289-295; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 88-89.
[356] Miller Steph. 1988, 3; 1979, 85; 1977, 3; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 92.
[357] See Tables A6 & B6: Nemea- Boat shed (Section I 16).
[358] Miller Steph. 2015, 282.

building and other scattered building remains found no far from the basilica might have also functioned as industrial premises, but their identification is problematic.[359]

The most significant evidence of residential usage comes from two building complexes found immediately Southwest of the basilica (Plates 23b, c, 24 a, c, e).[360] The two compounds were likely separated by a narrow passage into two independent households.[361] The poor preservation of both complexes, though, means that we cannot rule out that these formed one unified facility.[362]

The period of occupancy for both complexes extends from the 5th until the late-6th century AD.[363] Their construction certainly postdates the basilica, as the eastern complex rests upon the church's exterior wall. This arrangement, along with a salvaged Iron cross and clay tiles marked with Christian symbols, spurred an identification as clergy residences.[364] The proposal was further bolstered by the excavation of two 6th century AD coin hoards at the court of the western complex.[365] In that way, the alleged affluence of the residents would reflect the tectonic changes in the Late Roman socio-economic stratum, when the clergy amassed considerable wealth and ascended to positions of power.[366]

For all its appeal, however, an identification as clergy residences remains tentative and far from certain. The reason is that Late Roman society put emphasis on residing close to ecclesiastical buildings for clergy and commoners alike.[367] We ought

[359] See Tables A6 & B6 & D5 & E5: *South of the Temple Area (Section F/J 37-39)*: Miller Steph. 1976, 202; *Orthogonal Building East of the Temple (Section P/Q 14)*: Miller Stel. 1984, 182-186.
[360] See Table A6 & B6: *"Eastern" House SW of the Late Roman Basilica (Section K 19)* & *"Western" House SW of the Late Roman Basilica (Section J 19)*: Avramea 2005, 216; Birge *et al.* 1992, 78-83; Miller Steph. and Mpala 2005, 69-70; 106; Miller Steph. 2015, 288-293; 1988, 3-8; Miller Stel. 1984, 178; 1983, 84-88.
[361] Miller Steph. 2015, 288-293.
[362] The southern limits of the buildings were lost by the river while the northern was dug away in the 1920s without a record (Miller Steph. 2015, 288).
[363] Miller Steph. 2015, 288.
[364] Miller Steph. 2015, 291; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 90.
[365] Miller Steph. 2015, 291.
[366] See the previous section 3.1.
[367] We should refer here to the contemporary Lechaeon, where several residential compounds ('Agrepavli' and Houses '3'; '5'; '6'; '7'; '8'; '9'; '10'; '11'; '12') were found few meters from the Basilica or attached to its southern exterior wall (see section 3.1). Once again, the proximity to the church led several researchers to suggest that the houses belonged to clerics (Rothaus 1995, 300), or even served as 'episcopal quarters' (Brown A. 2018, 135). Nonetheless, the presence of spolia in most of the houses might suggest that these were built after the destruction of the church, that was first placed in the mid-6th century AD (Pallas 1964, 151-152), but nowadays it is believed that happened in the early-7th century (Slane and Sanders 2005, 291-292). An exception is the 'House 6', the

also to remember that the literary and epigraphic data from the region clearly speak also about 'non-clergy' Corinthian elites. That, along with the observed production/commercial activities, might suggest that non-clerics civilians occupied the premises.[368] This remains equally a hypothesis, though. Problems arise also with a further assumption made by Stephen Miller, that the two complexes might have served as episcopal houses.[369] The proposal was based on the reference to Nemea by *Synekdemus*, although the relevant entry only lists settlements and does not refer to any 'Nemean episcopate'.[370]

More signs of Late Roman presence come from the surrounding rural valley, where archaeological field survey have noted a substantial pottery increase.[371] We should refer here to the villa found at the Tritos pass, 2 km south of Nemea (Plan V).[372] While only a small section of the compound has been excavated, the presence of a hypocaust along with the mosaic and statuary decoration, hint at the wealth of the owners (Plates 75a, 103a, b, c).

Another remarkable case is the late reoccupation of the vaulted Hellenistic tunnel leading to the Nemean Stadium (Plate 25a, c), about a half-kilometre from the main settlement. Here excavations revealed within the same layer many animal bones, two Justinian coins, Late Roman cooking pottery and a graffito on the tunnel walls reading "*ΑΙΘΕΡΙΖΩΗΣ"* ('ethereal life').[373] The two coins, along with a coin hoard found at the Western end of the tunnel of 23 bronze coins dating from AD 539/40 until AD 576/7, provide the *terminus ante quem* of the occupation.[374] The scanty remains, along with the narrow dimensions of the site and the date of the hoard, suggest that this was likely a temporary shelter that can be potentially associated with the Slavic raid of AD 582.[375] In this regard, the Nemean tunnel appears to be one of the most promising

construction of which according to the excavator predates that of the Basilica (Pallas 1967, 143-144; 1965a, 136). One can only expect, though, that the small five room facility which offered only basic amenities to its occupants, would hardly fill its alleged role as an episcopal residence.

[368] For the production and possible commercial activities see: Miller Steph. 2015, 290.

[369] Miller Steph. 2015, 291.

[370] For the Peloponnesian episcopal seats see: Avramea 2012, 231-232.

[371] Alcock 1993, 44; Kosso 2003, 35-37.

[372] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 190; Charitonidis 1968a, 125; Kritzas 1976, 212-214; Marchand 2016, 271; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 74; Rothaus 2000, 29.

[373] Miller Steph. 1979, 99; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 47.

[374] Avramea 1983, 59; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 47.

[375] Avramea 1983, 80; Miller Steph. 1980, 199-200; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 47.

Corinthian sites that can be directly linked with the human displacement caused by the infamous raid.[376]

In the rural valley surrounding Nemea we should also expect the village of Bembina, that according to Stephanus of Byzantium was *komai* of Nemea. The exact location of the village is today lost. The *Nemean Valley Archaeological Project* has located several sites around ancient Nemea,[377] but none of them cannot be linked with certainty to the settlement of Bembina.

3.4.7 Central Corinthia – Kleonai

Ancient Kleonai rests almost 1 km east of the synonymous modern village (Plans II, III, V Plate 18b), 13 km Southwest of ancient Corinth, or approximately 2.5 hours walking distance.[378] Historically it was an independent city (Plan III),[379] and not subordinate of Corinth.[380] The city was positioned on a crossroad, the passage from Corinth to Argos, Nemea and Tenea.[381]

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[376] There is a lot of scepticism regarding whether numismatic evidence can be used to trace with certainty the devastating results of the Avaro-Slavic raids (Curta 2011, 68-85; Saradi H. G. 2006, 22; Rife 2012, 136). It is not my intention to fully explore the debate. However, I would side with Anna Avramea, that the Nemean tunnel is probably one of the most promising cases, as here the hoard was found in what can be best understood as a temporary shelter/refuge (Avramea 2012, 154-155; 1983, 80). Two other hoards that might interest us come from Isthmia and Corinth respectively. The first concerns the treasure found close to the housing units over the abandoned Temple of Poseidon (Avramea 2012, 151-152; 1983, 75-76; Gregory 2010, 472-473). The second is the hoard excavated at the housing unit next to the Hemicycle (Avramea 2012, 148; 1983, 52; Scranton 1957, 8; 16). As far as the Isthmian case, despite the overall poor design of the associated facilities, I would argue that the significant build-up better suggests a permanent occupancy. Equally problematic is the second case where the hoard was found along with "*two skeletons lying without formal burial in the court*" (Scranton 1957, 16). In the words of the excavator, the coins were found "*little above the hips*" of one of the two unfortunate occupants (Broneer 1926, 52). Consequently, the hoard here should be associated with a different violent event, namely a fire or an earthquake, which saw the owners buried beneath the fallen walls of the house before flying to safety (Avramea 1983, 71; Scranton 1957, 16).

[377] Alcock 1991, 426.

[378] Mattern 2015, 13-19.

[379] Walbank Mar. E. 1997, 104.

[380] The literary sources inform us that Kleonai campaigned as a sovereign city-state against Troy, and that the city commonly sided with Argos, the bitter enemy of Corinth: "*But let me speak next of the places which are named in the Catalogue of Ships as subject to Mycenae and Menelaus. The words of the poet* (i.e. Homer) *are as follows: "And those who held Mycenae, well-built fortress, and wealthy Corinth and well-built Kleonai* (...) *But after the naval battle at Salamis the Argives, along with the Kleonaians and Tegeatans, came over and utterly destroyed Mycenae, and divided the country among themselves*" (Strabo, *Geography* 8.6.19). "*The same spring the Lacedaemonians marched against Argos, and went as far as Kleonai*" (Thucydides, Peloponnesian war 6.95).

[381] Marchand 2009b, 2.

The presence of ancient ruins had been attested in the area already from the 19th century AD.[382] Recent renewed interest in the ancient city culminated in a series of surveys and excavations. These revealed parts of the ancient Agora along with a Late Roman apsidal building, likely a basilica, that sat on top of an earlier Hellenistic sanctuary.[383] Otherwise, though, we have very narrow understanding about the urban topography of Kleonai.[384]

In the surrounding territories, archaeological field survey revealed many pottery and building remains that indicate the presence of several Late Roman farms.[385] The advantageous position of Kleonai, in between the significant settlements of Tenea and Nemea, created a very dynamic environment and likely drove the private building programme. Two characteristic examples here are the sites 'Spathovouni' and 'Ag. Vassileios'. The first laid between Kleonai and Tenea, on the important route (Plans III, V, VI, XXV) connecting Corinth-Kleonai-Tritos-Argos.[386] The second lay just approximately 1 km south of the city of Kleonai (Plan XXV).[387] Both these sites remained occupied for long periods, with the latter particularly remaining occupied throughout the Byzantine period.[388]

3.4.8 Western Corinthia – Sicyon

Ancient Sicyon lies approximately 17 km northwest of Corinth (Plans I, V, XV, XVI). The Late Roman history of the city has been long dominated by the assumption that the main settlement was relocated to nearby Kiato, about 4 km further to the east.[389] Instrumental was the discovery in the 1930s of the grandiose 5th century AD 'Kiato basilica', along with much evidence of Early Byzantine presence found in the

[382] Mattern 2015, 17.
[383] Mattern 2015, 19; 2013, 332; Morgan 2011; Archibald *et al.* 2010-2011, 51.
[384] Marchand 2013, 318-320; Mattern 2015, 28.
[385] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 195; Morgan *et al.* 2009-10, 26.
[386] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 193; Marchand 2009a, 111; 137-139; Wiseman 1978, 110.
[387] Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papademitriou 1997, 252; Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 190; Avramea 2012, 268; 348; Drakoulis 2009, 23-24; Gregory 2010, 467; Pettegrew 2016b, 218; 2006, 347-348; Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 208; Marchand 2009a, 143; Moutzali 2002b, 340-341; 1989, 109-110; Rothaus 2000, 29; 1994, 394.
[388] See above about Agionori.
[389] Griffin 1982, 91; Orlandos 1934, 90; Lolos 2011, 287

surrounding area.[390] The monumentality of the building led the excavator to propose that this was an episcopal church, established by the episcopate of Sicyon that was supposedly relocated there.[391] The theory also appeared to match the early editions of *Synekdemus* which referred to *'New Sicyon*', hinting thus at a possible refoundation. As we have already seen, though, the accuracy of these early editions is doubtful, and modern research tends to accept that instead of '*New Sicyon*' we should read two entries: '*Nemea*', '*Sicyon*'.[392] We should equally not forget that occasionally, grandiose Early Christian basilicas could be founded away from the main settlement and episcopal seat, as the exemplary case of nearby Lechaeon demonstrates.

Problems arise also with an alternative relocation hypothesis made by Michael Kordosis, that the episcopate of Sicyon was transferred to nearby Zemeno, itself an episcopate by the 9th century AD.[393] That is because archaeological field survey in that area featured "*a strong Middle Byzantine phase*", but nothing to suggest an earlier Late Roman occupation.[394]

Whatever the answer regarding the assumed refoundation of Late Roman Sicyon, what is certain is that the Hellenistic and Imperial Roman site remained occupied well into the 7th century AD.[395] The early surveys located the Hellenistic Theatre and Agora, along with a Roman bathing complex, signs of Late Roman occupation at the South Stoa, and one Christian basilica (Plan XV, XVI, XXV, Plates 16, 17).[396] More recently, the *Sicyonian Survey Project* through vigorous field survey further established that in the 4th and 5th century AD the settlement, although contracted from the earlier period, remained spread along the central plateau.[397] This was

[390] Many Christian burials have been discovered close to the basilica (Pallas 1965c, 83; Skarmoutsou 1992, 194).
[391] Sicyon, along with Patras and Aigion (the latter starting from the mid- 6th century AD), was one of the episcopal seats in the northern Peloponnese under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Corinth (Avramea 2012, 231-232; Lolos 2011, 81; Tzavella *et al.* 2014, 91). Kenchreai might also have been an episcopacy, but this is universally accepted (Rife 2010, 423-425). The rest episcopal seats of the Late Roman Peloponnese were Argos, Ermioni, Tegea Messene, Sparta, Megapoli, Methoni, Koroni, Elis, and Asopos (Avramea 2012, 231-232).
[392] See above section 3.3.
[393] Kordosis 1981, 84.
[394] Lolos 2011, 83.
[395] If we accept the refoundation hypothesis, then the Late Roman settlement of Sicyon at the Hellenistic and Roman site might have been alternatively a "shadow community" of the main settlement around the big Basilica at Kiato (Lolos 2012, 116).
[396] Kristali-Votsi 1991a, 30-31; Kristali-Votsi 1991b, 66; Papathanasiou 2013a, 124-125; Philadelpheus 1927, 47; Orlandos 1955, 390-391.
[397] Lolos 2012, 116; Tzavella *et al.* 2014, 95.

nonetheless a period of economic hardship, as the importation of fine wares declined while the production of local pottery also slowed down noticeably.[398] The downturn continued also in the following centuries, when the city shrunk further around the Agora.[399] The economic activity in the area did not come to a halt, though, as demonstrated by the continuous production of cookware, "*albeit in a small scale*" until the 7th century AD.[400]

During the same period, the erection of private and public buildings continued in and around the Agora (Tables A4, B4, D3, E3). Two Early Christian basilicas have been traced here, while a third is attested 800 m further to the east (Plan XV).[401] The enigmatic 'Pi-shaped building' at the north section of the Agora also dates from that period,[402] as well as a late rebuilding phase of the South Stoa which was extensively reconfigured for an unknown purpose.[403]

The area south of the South Stoa was a residential and working district. The ongoing excavations have focused on two housing units, occupied with some intervals from the 1st until the 7th century AD (Plates 16-17).[404] These were positioned opposite each other, along the east-west road that remained open and unobstructed throughout the examined period. South of the road stood pottery workshops. The early phase of the building complex here was dominated by a large pottery workshop with at least four kilns that probably remained in use until the 2nd century AD, although a later date cannot be ruled out at this stage.[405] After a pause in activities, the site was (re)occupied in the

[398] Tzavella *et al.* 2014, 92.
[399] Lolos 2013, 477; Tzavella *et al.* 2014, 95.
[400] Tzavella *et al.* 2014, 92.
[401] One church has been located above the ancient temple, a second has been recognized through vertical magnetic gradient survey, and the third is attested from the spolia incorporated in the still-standing church of the modern village (Lolos 2012, 116; 2012 *et al.*, 316-317; 2011, 287; Tzavella *et al.* 2014, 95).
[402] Very little is known at this stage about the 'North-Eastern Pi-shaped' building found west of the modern Parking area (Lolos 2019, 138-143; 2018, 203-213; Petrakos 2018, 24-29). The ongoing excavations, headed by Yiannis Lolos have so far revealed a sizable facility with monumental design (Lolos 2018, 203-218; Petrakos 2018, 24-29).
[403] The Late Roman changes in the architectural design of the South Stoa are considerable suggesting that parts of the original structure were used for different purposes (Lolos 2016b, 117; Lolos 2015, 134).
[404] See : *South of South stoa (Building N. of the East-West road)*: Lolos 2019, 111-120, 2018, 185-225; 2016a, 139-180; 2016b, 103-138; 2015, 117-133; Petrakos 2018, 24-29; 2017, 17-19; 2016, 21-23; 2015, 24-28; 2014, 30-32; *South of South stoa (Building S. of the East-West road)*: Lolos 2019, 121-129; 2018, 185-225; 2016a, 154-157; 2016b, 108-112; 2015, 117-133; Petrakos 2018, 24-28; 2017, 17-19; 2016, 21-23; 2015, 24-28; 2014, 30-32.
[405] Lolos 2019, 120-135.

4th century AD by a pottery workshop with two kilns and flourished through the following centuries before its eventual abandonment in the 7th century AD.[406]

The opposite, northern complex had a similar fate. This was established in the 1st century AD and remained in occupation until the 3rd century AD.[407] The site was subsequently reoccupied in the late 4th / early 5th century AD by a farm that remained in place until the final abandonment in the 7th century.[408] During that late phase the compound grew to a spacious and well-equipped unit set for industrial production, with multiple storage spaces and several tanks among them a *torcularium* with double *laci*.[409]

Survey in the rural plains surrounding Sicyon has equally revealed a significant number of farmsteads. Unfortunately, these have yet to be the subject of systematic excavation. Results coming from archaeological field surveys, though, suggest that most of the farms were newly established, with only few continuing from a preceding period.[410] Flat lands and gentle slopes were highly regarded, which in turn indicates little care for potential security risks.[411] In most of the sites, the distribution of ancient artefacts hints that these must have been sizable facilities, with a long period of use.[412] The most characteristic case comes from Diminio (Plate 35b, c), a modest rural villa with few, but elaborate, rooms carefully planned to accommodate the landlord's needs.[413]

3.4.9 Western Corinthia – Pellene

West of Sicyon and almost half the distance between Sicyon and Aigeira stood the ancient city of Pellene (Plan I).[414] The area today geographically belongs to the region of Corinthia. In the ancient times, though, Pellene was the easternmost city of Achaea

[406] Lolos 2019, 120-132; 2018, 195; 2016a, 156; 2016b, 112.
[407] Lolos 2019, 111-120; 2018, 189; 2016a, 162; Petrakos 2017, 17.
[408] Lolos 2018, 189; 2016a, 162.
[409] Lolos 2018, 189-191; 2016a, 152-154.
[410] Lolos 2011, 336-343.
[411] Lolos 2011, 337,
[412] Lolos 2011, 338.
[413] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 191; Avramea 2012, 352; Lolos 2011, 341-342; Orlandos 1957, 116; Petridis 2008, 254-255; Sodini 1984, 376.
[414] Quoting Olga Palagia: "*The internal borders of the Peloponnese as depicted on the map are an approximation only, as their precise location varied over time*." (Palagia 2010, 431).

region.[415] The city was in hilly terrain, and although in an inland area, was significant enough to have its own port-city, Aristonautae.[416] The survey here has revealed several scattered Late Roman walls and the ruins of an Early Christian church.[417] Among the most significant finds was a stone inscription that dates from the 3rd /4th century AD that had been reused as building material in a modern building.[418] This refers to "*δαιταλεῖς"* (epulones) a *collegium* that arranged feasts and public banquets at festivals given in honour of the Gods. This is one of the few references to active *collegia* in Achaea, the other being the *collegium* excavated at 'St. Karolou 61', that dates from the 3rd century AD.[419]

3.4.10 Western Corinthia – Titane

Titane (Plan XV, XVII, Plate 18c), rests on flat land about 11 km south of the city of Sicyon.[420] Stephanus refers it as a village, subordinate to Sicyon.[421] It was diachronically an important locality due to its strategic location at the crossroad between the Nemean and Sicyonian plains.[422]

Early surveys uncovered several Hellenistic and Classical remains, including an exceptionally well-preserved castle.[423] Further archaeological research noted two buildings loosely dated in the Roman period, a bathing complex,[424] and a stoa-like facility.[425] More scattered walls have been further observed in the immediate surroundings along with Roman and Byzantine pottery that likely provides the chronological timeframe for the facilities.[426]

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[415] See: Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* 2.9; Pausanias, *Periegesis* 7.26.12; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 515.
[416] Pausanias, *Periegesis* 2.12.2; 7.27.1-7.26.14.
[417] Orlandos 1933, 62; Papathanasiou 2013b, 149.
[418] Orlandos 1932, 79-83.
[419] Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 59; Papapostolou 2009a, 234-237; 2009b, 51-55; 2004-2009, 321-326, 2001b, 230; Papapostolou 1987h, 134; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2001b; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 131-132.
[420] Lolos 2011, 23-24; 2005, 275-278.
[421] Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 626.
[422] Tytgat *et al.* 2013, 528.
[423] Lolos 2005, 275-278; Papathanasiou 2013c, 132-133.
[424] Kristali-Votsi 1983, 59; Lolos 2005, 281-285.
[425] Tytgat *et al.* 2013, 527.
[426] Tytgat *et al*. 2006, 111.

Systematic archaeological field survey conducted in the rural areas near Titane revealed the presence of several Late Roman farmsteads.[427] We should discuss here particularly one of them, known as site 'Bozika Karoumbalo' (Plan XXV, Plate 39c). In that case, building remains were found along with traces of a fortification tower and fragments of *dolia* and cooking pots that date to Late Roman period.[428]

The preliminary analysis of the finds, mostly coarse wares including a cooking pot and ribbed body sherds, led to the identification of 'Karoumbalo' as an agricultural installation.[429] If the interpretation is correct, that would qualify 'Karoumbalo' to be considered a suitable candidate for a Late Roman fortified farm. The scenario seems to fit well here, particularly since the lack of any metal objects cast doubt on the second hypothesis put forward by the surveyor, that this might have alternatively been a small fort.[430]

Fortification of farms was of course not uncommon in the Late Roman world. The practice, though, has been mainly recorded in areas of Italy, Gaul, North Africa and Danube-Balkan region.[431] In Greece, the fortification of private compounds is famously attested by Procopius for the Northern regions,[432] although he does not refer any similar cases in the Peloponnese.[433] It is therefore unsurprising that in the Greek archaeological record, the best studied cases come from Macedonia, namely from

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[427] See: *General*: Lolos 2011, 468-470; *Tables A5 & D5*: 'Kryoneri Valathra'; 'Gonousa Gourkioni'.
[428] Lolos 2011, 469-470; 543.
[429] Lolos 2011, 470.
[430] Lolos 2011, 470.
[431] See: *General bibliography*: Chavarria and Lewit 2004, 30-31; Ellis Sim. P. 2000; *Italy and Gaul*: Ripoll and Arce 2000, 97; *Africa*: Ellis Sim. P. 2005, 91; Hirschfeld 1999a, 265; Mattingly *et al.* 2013, 167-181; *Dunabe-Balkan region*: Christie 2000, 277-278; Mulvin 2004, 397-406; Rizos 2013, 665-670; *Syro-Palestine/Israel*: Ellis Sim. P. 2005, 92; Hirschfeld 1999a, 271.
[432] "*he* (Justinian) *did not leave their common safety to depend upon the forts along the river alone, but he also provided individual safeguards for them; for he made the defences so continuous in the estates that each farm either has been converted into a stronghold or lies adjacent to one which is fortified; and he did this both here and in New Epirus, as it is called, and in Old Epirus* (Procopius, *Buildings* 4.1.35).
[433] "*…When the Emperor Justinian, after he had accomplished all this, learned that all the cities of the Peloponnesus were unwalled, he reasoned that obviously a long time would be consumed if he attended to them one by one, and so he walled the whole Isthmus securely, because much of the old wall had already fallen down. And he built fortresses there and established garrisons. In this manner he made all the towns in the Peloponnesus inaccessible to the enemy*" (Procopius, *Buildings* 4.2.27). In an earlier passage Procopius includes Corinth as one of the southern Greek cities fortified by Justinian (Procopius*, Buildings* 4.2.24). In any case, the fortification efforts in Southern Greece during that period were large scale and not civilian projects, carried by the Imperial authorities (Gregory 1993a, 143-144; 1992b, 242-248).

Louloudies in Pieria,[434] and from Oraiokastro in Thessaloniki (St. Zakynthou & Stanisi).[435]

Nonetheless, the surveys in Corinthia seem to transcend Procopius' testimony, as a fortified farm has been further noted at Lechaeon, 'Site Agrepavli' (i.e. Farm house).[436] In that case, the fortification was limited to two small (2,5x2,5) towers that half-blocked the passage that traversed the longitudinal axis of the farmhouse (Plates 10, 14c).[437] The fortification at 'Karoumbalo' might have been similarly implemented in restrictive fashion. Here, though, the limited survey carried out so far has yet to reveal any other living or working compartments that could be associated with the tower. Problematic is also the lack of any fine wares or elaborate design features that could otherwise imply a sizable rural establishment like those seen in Macedonia or at Lechaeon.

In that respect, another interpretation that should be also considered would be this was a farming tower, used as working premises. A similar practice has also been attested in contemporary Argolis even for middleclass farmsteads.[438] They differ, though, as the examples in Argolis were typically reoccupied Hellenistic buildings incorporated into Late Roman farms, and not new building structures as appears to be the case here. It is possible that the example at 'Bozika' was built with a similar intended use in mind. Only the full excavation of the premises will provide the necessary answers.

[434] Marki 1995, 195-199.
[435] Marki 2010, 26-39; Marki and Akrivopoulou 2005, 283-295.
[436] Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 137-139; 1963, 74-75; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33.
[437] The excavator proposed that the narrow passage (about 4m), divided the farmhouse in two separate units (Pallas 1965a, 137-139; 1963, 74-75). While the hypothesis cannot be rejected, I would hypothesize that the overall arrangement with the yard and same secondary rooms at the western part, and an elaborate room, latrines and probably baths at the eastern, better suggest a unified complex.
[438] Hjohlman *et al.* 2005, 244-250.

§ 3.5 Rural Corinthia: Prosperous countryside or a busy peri-urban suburbia?

The completion of several archaeological field surveys in Corinthia in recent decades has clearly demonstrated significant human activity in the rural areas during the Late Roman period.[439] However, the follow-up studies have taken a more cautious path against these early assessments. They note particularly that the Late Roman pottery is easier to spot and therefore more commonly picked up by the survey teams, and that the overall distribution of fine pottery suggests a steady flow of goods from the 1st until the 6th century AD.[440]

Notwithstanding, there is little doubt that the once exclaimed '*agri deserti'* hypothesis, that understood the Late Roman countryside to be in a perpetual state of decline, does not find traction in Corinthia.[441] This is a reality all too common across the Greek peninsula as similar phenomena have been attested in both Northern and Southern Greece.[442] In that direction points also the fact that several of the Late Roman sites in Corinthia had an earlier Imperial Roman phase, although we should acknowledge here that an outright continuity is not always the case.[443]

This picture of well-being and good fortune is further reflected in the results of numerous rescue excavations which clearly signal a long-lasting continuity up until the 6th century AD (Tables B5, E4). Unfortunately, the frequently incomplete status of the excavations does not always permit a full understanding of those rural sites. In most cases it is the presence of underground structures (cisterns and *torcularia*) or storage installations that signal active farmlands.[444] The sporadic excavation of accompanying residential compartments provides a better perception of the size and layout of these rural units, but these have rarely seen systematic excavation.[445]

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[439] See: *Titane*: Lolos 2011, 468-470; *Sicyonia*: Lolos 2013, 475-477; 2011, 336-338; *East Corinthia*: Caraher and Pettegrew 2016,175; Caraher *et al.* 2006, 16-24; Gregory 2013, 279-283; Pettegrew 2016, 219-220; 2007, 743-784; Tartaron *et al.* 2006, 482-483; *Kenchreai*: Rife *et al.* 2007; *Nemean plain*: Alcock 1993, 43-44; 1991, 426; *Phliasia*: Alcock 1993, 100; Faraklas 1972, 2.

[440] See among others: Bintliff 2012a, 71; 2012b, 355; Pettegrew 2016, 218; Caraher *et al*. 2006, 23-26; Pettegrew 2010, 219-220.

[441] Kosso 2003, 23-26.

[442] Jones 1964, 812-823 *contra* Avramea 2012, 98-100; 244-246; Dunn 2005, 270-275; 2004, 566-575.

[443] Pettegrew 2016, 217 *contra* Lolos 2011, 338.

[444] See Tables B2 & B5: 'Farm Kokkinovrysi'; 'Derveni - Site Svarnos'; 'Ag. Vassileios'; 'Baths of Aphrodite'; 'Pano Maghoula'; 'Kiato Village Melissi'; 'Gonousa Gourkioni'; 'Kryoneri Valathra'; 'Lalioti Loutro'; 'Poulitsa-Alonaki Kitsalia'; 'Thalero Loutro'.

[445] A good example comes from site Kritika where next to the storage facilities, a two-store building was excavated (Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 192; Athanasoulis 2013, 198).

As we have already seen, many of the rural sites can been found clustered around the capital city, Corinth,[446] while others stood close to the various smaller urban centres.[447] Prompted by the numerous urban centres across the region and the denser occupation around them, earlier publications proposed that the Corinthian rural sites had a "*tendency to stay close to an urban centre*".[448] The understanding of Corinth as a city of trade and services further bolstered that idea, as it separated the rural settlements into small peri-urban farms, and larger, more secluded villages.[449] In that way, the proponents argued, the countryside would be better geared to serve the city, while the higher value of the peri-urban arable lands would explain the different landowning patterns.[450]

More recent evidence, however, forces us to partially reconsider the above remarks. That is because the grant size and the remote location of some isolated rural sites strongly implies that these were no 'satellite' settlements of any main or secondary urban centre.[451] Even more significantly, the absolute distinction between 'nearby farms', and 'remote villages' does not seem justified for Corinthia, where several villages have been located close to cities, alongside isolated farmsteads.[452]

More promising instead seems the theory of David Pettegrew and William Caraher, who based on the EKAS field survey results in the eastern Corinthia, suggested a dynamic network between the countryside and the urban centres.[453] In the words of David Pettegrew, Corinthian rural settlements were not "*restricted to an immediate ring of villas"* clustered around the cities, but formed a large "*urban periphery*".[454]

As we saw in an earlier chapter, it is difficult to establish the limits of the peri-urban zone surrounding the Imperial and Late Roman cities, for these differed significantly from one city to another.[455] Notwithstanding, considering that the peri-

[446] See previous section: 3.2.
[447] See previous section 3.4.
[448] Rothaus 2000, 30.
[449] Engels 1990, 24-25.
[450] Engels 1990, 25.
[451] See for example Table B5: 'Villa Diminio', 'St. Lemesou & Lefkosias-Loutraki', 'Akra Sofia', 'Toll post of Zevgolatio- Ag Charalampos'.
[452] Look the following section 3.8, the villages at Perdikaria, Isthmia, and Asae.
[453] Caraher and Pettegrew 2016, 174-175; Pettegrew 2016, 222-223; 2015, 309-310.
[454] Pettegrew 2015, 309.
[455] See further the earlier section 3.2.

urban zones gradually merged into the countryside, I would agree that the proposal of 'a continuous urban periphery' is well-matched for the highly urbanized Corinthia.

That approach would not only reflect deep economic entanglement between the ancient city and its surrounding territories.[456] More importantly it would be consistent with the short inter-site distances between the various Corinthian nucleated settlements (Plans II, XXV). The latter rarely exceed 5 km, a distance comparable with the 2-3 km that the ancient farmer walked on average to reach his plot.[457] In that respect, we can expect that by the Late Roman period, ages of commuting farming must have rendered the countryside a 'mosaic carpet' of successive rural peripheries.

A good example comes from Northern Corinthia. Here the dense occupation had as a result a quick succession of cities and villages with thousands of inhabitants (Plans II, , XXV, Plates 26, 29).[458] These were positioned within a thin zone, roughly 15 km in length and 5 km in width, that stretched from the eastern end of Isthmus to the Sicyonian border. These settlements, as socioeconomically independent communities, had probably their own *suburbium*.[459] Notwithstanding, to the eyes of a Late Roman traveller, this continuous succession of suburban zones would arguably better resemble one large urban periphery than the typical rural hinterland.

A question that is still looming, though, is whether the rural landscape was mainly dominated by nucleated villages or dispersed farms. Modern research remains inconclusive here, as the recent archaeological field surveys have yielded contrasting results. The evidence from the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey seem to suggest that the settlements during that era were isolated and "*dispersed*".[460] In sharp contrast, the survey of the Sicyonian plateau concluded that "*the comparatively large*

[456] It is imperative to note here that modern bibliography seems to have moved past the early ideas of Max Weber and Moses Finley, who preached for an absolute distinction between the (consumer) city and its rural territory (Finley 1977, 307-320; 325-327; 1973, 124-140; Weber 2013, 336-366; 1968, 1212-1218; 1950, 76; 82-87). The research has instead pointed out that the ancient city and its hinterland were deeply integrated and in a dialectic relationship (Banaji 2007, 28-32; Goodman 2016, 319-320; Horden and Purcell 2000, 105-108; Mattingly 1997, 211; Parkins 1997, 83-92; Whittaker 1990, 116; Witcher 2013, 214).

[457] The commuting farming was diachronically widespread in the Mediterranean world (Bintliff 2012b, 354, McHugh 2017, 101-107). We should refer here particularly to Late Roman Boeotia, and more specifically to the case of Thespiai. The research there concluded that most of the labour force resided in the city and commuted daily at the nearby fields (Bintliff 2014, 321-322; 2012a, 70; Bintliff 2012c, 194-204; 2007, 667-676; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1991, 91-93; Bintliff *et al*. 2004, 41-43).

[458] Namely Asae, Corinth, Lechaeon, Kromna, Isthmia and Kenchreai.

[459] See also the earlier section 3.2.

[460] Pettegrew 2016, 222-223.

number of medium and large sites with a predominant Late Roman phase betrays a predilection for communal rather than independent living".[461]

It is evident that there can be no conclusive arguments at this stage that will apply to the whole of Corinthia. Yet we should also examine the possibility of moving past the 'nucleated *versus* dispersed' distinction and consider a more pluralistic approach. As David Pettegrew recognized himself, the results from Corinthia "*fit poorly*" within absolute interpretive frameworks.[462] This could suggest a more dynamic environment for rural Corinthia, one that could be geared to both isolated farmsteads and villages.[463] Some interesting parallels here can be traced with the rural topography of Late Roman lower Macedonia which was similarly dotted by both nucleated and dispersed settlements.[464] If that stands correct, then we should consider that the Late Roman Corinthian economy was much more dynamic, and not fundamentally different from the one at the much wealthier Macedonia region. This remains nonetheless only a hypothesis at this stage, and more research is needed before any final remarks.

§ 3.6 The small farms: The great invisible

A first analysis reveals that several of the isolated peri-urban and rural sites were no more than basic farms with limited production capacity, and no luxurious features. A good example is the facility organized in the area 'Greek Tile Works' (Plate 20b). During the excavation of the Hellenistic workshop, two alleged Roman facilities with a lengthy use until the Early Christian period where unearthed at the northern part of the site.[465] One contained a semi-sunken *dolium* that clearly implies some utilitarian purpose, but we know no more about its use or character. Other examples are the cistern

[461] Lolos 2011, 340.
[462] Pettegrew 2015, 309.
[463] For the villages see the later section 3.8.
[464] "*A plotting or re-plotting of rural settlements with late antique phases shows that within the large cluster between the two civitates inter-site distances are between 2 and 5 km. This falls within the range of inter-site distances indicated by the villages or rural churches noted by extensive surveys and site registers in several other parts of historic Macedonia. The ways in which these villages of the central Macedonian plain and neighbouring low hills (known in the Byzantine era if not also earlier as Campania) shared these resources with the agroikies during Late Antiquity is still unclear*" (Dunn 2004, 541).
[465] Merker 2006, 3.

excavated in the area 'Baths of Aphrodite', and the pottery workshops excavated at 'Kilns Kokkinovrysi' (Plate 36c, f) and at North-East of Kraneio (Plan XXV).[466] In addition to these, we can note further the building at Ag. Eirini Phliasias (Plate 20c), and the scanty remains found in the areas 'Gonousa', 'Poulitsa', 'Lalioti', and 'Kryoneri' (Table B5).

Many of these small and isolated farmsteads were located close to the city of Corinth, undoubtably to cater to the needs of the populous metropolis (Plan XXV).[467] That arrangement to some extent must reflect the intensity of the archaeological research close to the capital city, rather than actual Late Roman economic stratification. Scanty building remains mixed with Late Roman pottery have been attested across the region, hinting that the small rural farms were not a localized, but a widespread phenomenon. Two characteristic examples are the installations at 'Ag. Eirini - Phliasia' and 'Korphos Bay' that have both been described by the excavators as simple working premises.[468] More relevant cases can be possibly traced through the published archaeological field surveys. For example, in the eastern Corinthia, the researchers noted several 'poor' artefact scatters mostly of coarse wares, that reportedly represent small farms.[469] A cautious approach is needed for these cases, however, as the lack of fine wares alone is not always conclusive about the level of wealth.[470]

We know very little about the occupants of all the above small establishments. Modern research estimates that between 65 and 88 per cent of the population in the Roman Empire earned subsistence incomes and less.[471] In the rural territories, subsistence farming typically required no more than 4 - 5 ha of irrigated, or alternatively 7 - 8 ha of un-irrigated land.[472] Corinthia was certainly no exception,[473] as the presence

[466] Another likely example is the 'Gymnasium Bronze Foundry' at Lerna. The area reveals signs of occupation up until the 6th century AD, but the main period of operation of the foundry workshop likely did not extend after the 2nd century AD (Mattusch 1991, 389).
[467] See Table B2: area 'Baths of Aphrodite'; 'Bronze Foundry'; 'Greek Tiles Works'; 'NE of Corinth-Kraneio'; 'Farm Kokkinovrysi'.
[468] See: *'Ag. Eirini-Phliasias'*: Kaza-Papageorgiou 2013, 387-388; *'Korphos Bay'*: Pullen and Tartaron 2014, 467; Stewart D. 2014, 124.
[469] Pettegrew 2015, 303.
[470] For a general critique see: Hjohlman *et al.* 2005, 258.
[471] Sanders 2013a, 114.
[472] McHugh 2017, 19; Sanders 2013a, 111.
[473] Sanders 2013a, 115; Mitchell 1993, 569-572; Welborn 2016, 52-73.

of locals positioned at the lowest socioeconomic stratum has been recorded in both the archaeological record and ancient literary sources.[474]

Their numbers were likely further increased in the Late Roman period, due to the mounting economic inequality attested in Greece as well as the rest of the Byzantine East.[475] Some of them were certainly smallholders. It is difficult, though, to estimate their total number, because the complex landholding policies seen across the Empire mean that we cannot be sure whether the dwellers were also the legal owners of small farms.[476] The rise of the Late Roman colonate particularly, which is attested also for Greece, might imply that some of these farms were occupied by dependent *coloni* rather than free peasants.[477] Common was further the leasing of lands through tenancy agreements.[478] The practice was familiar in Greece, but its extent of application in Late Roman Corinthia can be only speculated.[479]

Notwithstanding, modern research has established that during that era a small independent peasantry continued to exist, and in the Greek East probably remained the norm.[480] That would be consistent also with the picture coming from archaeological field surveys which suggests intense land exploitation in Corinthia. Smallholding farming is typically associated with higher productivity, and thus would be well suited here.[481] It would be wrong, though, to further assume that this increase marks a

[474] We should note here that modern research has suggested several centuriation schemes for Roman Corinth. Mary Walbank saw just one *limitatio*, with individual units measuring 20 x 20 actus, that spread for almost 160 km², resulting in 2500 - 4150 allotments (Walbank Mar. E. 2002, 252; 1997, 100-110). In contrast, Panayiotis Doukelis considered two subdivisions, one of plots measuring 16 x 16 actus, and a second of plots 20 x 20 actus (Doukelis 1994, 359-390). Lastly, David Gilman Romano also argued for two subdivisions, one Caesarean and one Flavian. The first covered almost 100 km², with individual units of 16 x 24 actus, for a total 1500-3000 allotments (Romano 2013, 266). The second had similar sized units but covered almost 220-300 km², resulting in 4500-9000 allotments (Romano 2013, 260-267; 2006, 68-76; 2005, 45-55; 2003, 282-298; 2000, 87-100). Whatever the answer might be about the early centuriation schemes, we can expect that by the Late Roman period centuries of continuous farming had resulted in a very different land distribution.

[475] For the growing Late Roman inequality see: *Greece*: Alcock 1993, 114-115; Bintliff 2012b, 354; Kosso 2003, 51; *Byzantine East*: Banaji 1999, 204-206; Giardina 2008, 748; 759; Gregory 1984, 270; Kehoe 2003, 712-714; Sarris 2004, 59-60; Ziche 2006, 267-268.

[476] For the grey areas concerning the whereabouts of the Late Roman smallholders see: Foxhall 1990, 107-108; Gregory 1984, 272; Laiou and Morrison 2008, 32; Hjohlman *et al*. 2005, 258; Sarris 2004, 57.

[477] For the Late Roman colonate see: *General Bibliography*: Banaji 1999, 195-196; Giardina 2008, 747-753; Grey 2007, 156-165; Sarris 2004, 67-68; Sirks 2008, 123-129; 129-142; *Greece*: Gregory 1984, 271.

[478] Banaji 1999, 203-204.

[479] Foxhall 1990, 97-98.

[480] Kehoe 2003, 716-720; Laiou and Morrison 2007, 32; Lee 2013, 232; Sarris 2004, 56-59.

[481] For the connection between smallholding farming and productivity see: Foxhall 1990, 102; Kosso 2003, 54.

transition towards smallholding farming practised in poor isolated farmsteads. During the same period, we can also observe the inauguration of several isolated compounds of considerable wealth, as well as signs of an increasing rural nucleation.[482] All the above suggest a more complex environment and does away with any simplistic approach that would consider the small isolated farmsteads as the dominant farming mode of the era.

§ 3.7 The "*villae rusticae*": Power & wealth in rural countryside

Apart from the various small farmsteads, several bigger rural units have also been recorded across the region.[483] These were more complex constructions, with an elaborate architectural design, multiple rooms usually decorated, and an enhanced production capacity. A good example is the building complex of Akra Sofia (Plan XXV, Plates 23a, d, 39e) which included a small port facility to cater the needs of its occupants (Gregory 1985, 418). Another representative case is the villa in Katounistra, Loutraki (Plan XXV, Plates 21-22, 44, b, c, 73, 96, 103c, d) which had spacious facilities, baths with hypocaust and significant decoration.[484]

Apparently, these facilities were bigger socioeconomic units, mastering significant wealth. In this regard, it would be only appropriate to understand these installations not as poor farmsteads designed for self-sustainment, but as bigger *villae rusticae*. It is imperative to note that this term has frequently been misused in the archaeological treatises, to describe all kinds of rural installations regardless of size and wealth.[485] The problem is further magnified by the loose criteria that link with the term.

[482] See following sections 3.7; 3.8.

[483] See Tables B2 & B5: *Nemea*: 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara'; *Sicyonia*: 'Villa Diminio'; *Northern Corinthia*: 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'; *Eastern Corinthia*: 'Akra Sofia'; *Western Corinthia*: 'Derveni-Site Svarnos'; *Central Corinthia*: 'Ag. Vassilios- Site Varella'; *Suburbs of Corinth*: 'Zekio - Protobyzantine Building Complex'; 'Villa Anaploga'; 'Pano Maghoula'; 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'.

[484] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 40-51; 2013a, 191; 2013b 179-190; 2013c, 176-185; 2012, 77-78; 2009, 191; 2005, 148; 2004, 139; 2002b, 148-149.

[485] For a general critique see among others: Bowes and Gutteridge 2005, 409-411; Leveau 1983, 922-923; Marzano 2007, 2-4; Ripoll and Arce 2000, 64-65; Sfameni 2004, 335.

In the words of Daniel Stewart "*it's hard to have a conversation about villae when nobody is defining them in the same way*".[486]

The latter was recognized also by ancient Romans who sometimes struggled to find a common language with respect to the term. Perhaps most telling is a conversation memorized by Varro, between two of his friends, Quintus Axius and Appius Claudius. During the crosstalk, Appius wryly called Axius to educate him "*what a villa is*", since he wanted to buy one and he did not want to "*go wrong from lack of foresight*"![487] The confusion became more pronounced in the Late Roman period when the term was broadly used to describe rural estates with all their dependent properties, as well as nucleated village settlements.[488] Characteristic is that in the 4th century AD, Augustine of Hippo, opted to call the settlement of Nazareth 'villa': "(i.e. Christ) *Natus etiam in civitate Bethleem, quae inter omnes Judeae civitates ita erat exigua, ut hodieque villa appelletur, noluit quemquam de cujusquam terrenae civitatis sublimitate gloriari*".[489]

All the above have resulted in an interpretative conundrum that can be observed also in the archaeology of Roman Greece,[490] where even impoverished farms have been sometimes labelled *villae*.[491] A good example here is the bibliography on the rural Achaea region, which among others lists single grave sites and mere pottery accumulations as *villae rusticae*.[492] Researchers were eager to recognize nonetheless

[486] Stewart D. 2014, 129.

[487] "*Why, your villa is plastered with paintings, not to speak of statues; while mine, though there is no trace of Lysippus or Antiphilus, has many a trace of the hoer and the shepherd. Further, while that villa is not without its large farm, and one which has been kept clean by tillage, this one of yours has never a field or ox or mare. In short, what has your villa that is like that villa which your grandfather and great-grandfather had? For it has never, as that one did, seen a cured hay harvest in the loft, or a vintage in the cellar, or a grain-harvest in the bins. For the fact that a building is outside the city no more makes it a villa than the same fact makes villas of the houses of those who live outside the Porta Flumentana or in the Aemiliana … To which Appius replied, with a smile: As I don't know what a villa is, I should like you to enlighten me, so that I shall not go wrong from lack of foresight … Why, he replied, you don't think that place of yours on the bend of the Velinus, which never a painter or fresco-worker has seen, is less a villa than the one in the Rosea which is adorned with all the art of the stucco-worker, and of which you and your ass are joint owners?" When Axius had indicated by a nod that a building which was for farm use only was as much a villa as one that served both purposes, that of farm-house and city residence…*" (Marcus Terentius Varro, *On agriculture* III.2)

[488] Bowes and Gutteridge 2005; Marzano 2007, 3; Ripoll and Arce 2000, 66.

[489] Augustine of Hippo, *Liber de catechizandis rudibus* XXII.45.

[490] For a general analysis about the villa system in Greece see: Alcock 1993, 63-71, 279; Chavarría and Lewit 2004, 19; Zarmakoupi 2013, 752-761.

[491] Alcock 1993, 64; 239; Rothaus 2000, 27.

[492] Petropoulos 1994; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013.

that the term was adopted in a broader, generic context, since most of the cases better suggest small farmsteads than villa compounds.[493]

In our case, I would consider that several of the rural and peri-urban private facilities had features typical of a villa, namely: great size, complex architectural plan, and extravagant decoration, and therefore can be understood accordingly.[494] Some of these high status residences were located close to the capital city and can be recognised as *villae suburbanae.*[495] They also found their way further into the hinterland, though. Examples here are numerous. 'Villa Diminio' (Plan XXV, Plate 35b, c) was located roughly 5 km from the city of Sicyon, and 20 km from the city of Corinth.[496] Even more indicative is 'Derveni - Site Svarnos' that was located almost 15 km from Pellene.[497] In addition to the above-mentioned sites, notable examples are also the sites 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara' in Nemea, and 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'. In the first case, the *villa rustica* was more than 10 km from Corinth and approximately 5 km from the nearest cities of Kleonai and Tenea. Even more secluded was the villa at 'Sts. Lemesou and Lefkosias, Loutraki-Katounistra' that was almost 18 km from the city of Corinth, and 8 km from Kenchreai.

The undisputed presence of villas well within the Corinthian hinterland, away from the main cities, but frequently not far from secondary urban settlements, seems to agree with the idea of a 'continuous suburban zone' as discussed above.[498] There is no doubt that the villas close to major urban centres were highly dependent on them to survive and prosper. Those in near smaller urban agglomerations were likely designed with a greater autarky in mind, as their closest markets may not have been big enough to readily absorb the commodities produced in the villas. Modern research has even gone as far as to propose that some *villae rusticae* might have been "*hardly suburban to the local settlement, but rather dominant over it*".[499] This seems unlikely in our case, as none of the Corinthian villas appears to master the resources for that feat.

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[493] Rizakis and Petropoulos 2005, 25.

[494] The research here follows the example of Carla Sfameni who considered as villas the buildings "*with evidence of high-status residence, rather than those which exhibit only agricultural characteristics, or which might be considered more humble dwellings*" (Sfameni 2004, 335).

[495] See Table B2: 'Villa Anaploga'; 'Pano Maghoula'; 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'.

[496] The exact location of the villa is today lost.

[497] Although part of modern Corinthia, in Imperial and Late Roman period Derveni and Pellene fall within the easternmost Achaea region (see also above section 3.4.9.).

[498] See section 3.5.

[499] Goodman 2007, 199.

For similar reasons I would also consider that despite the numerous rural villas, the countryside was not organized around a villa system, but enjoyed a much greater diversity. Large villas, together with small farms, villages and cities, dotted the Corinthian rural scenery and formed a vibrant economic environment.[500] The early beginnings of this 'symbiotic' settlement pattern should be traced with the establishment of the first *villae rusticae* in the 1st and 2nd century AD.[501] It is possible, though, that it did not reach its full potentiality before the Late Roman period, that saw the erection of many similar units and the revamping of others.[502]

In this regard Corinthia closely resembles its eastern neighbour Argolis, where a similar coexistence of villas, farms, and villages has been attested between the 5th and the 7th century AD.[503] Much different instead is the picture from the northern (i.e. Attica) and western (i.e. Achaea region) neighbours of Corinthia. In the first case, early research suggested a lack of investment in the rural countryside,[504] while more recent analysis has revealed an overall increase of farms, but the absence of larger villas.[505] In the Achaea region, publications have noted a preference towards small farmsteads in the Imperial Roman period, and a marked decline of sites starting from the 4th century AD (Appendix III).[506]

The exceptionality of the Corinthian rural villas is further reflected in their long continuity. It is sometimes suggested that by the 6th century AD the Greek rural villas had largely declined or were well into the process of decline.[507] Even so, a continuous occupation can be seen in several Corinthian villas until the 6th or even the 7th century AD.[508]

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[500] Kosso 2003, 35-51.
[501] Typical examples are 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' (1st century AD), 'Villa Anaploga' (1st century AD) and 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra' (2nd century AD).
[502] Note the attested renovations in 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra', and the newly constructed facilities at 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara', 'Villa Diminio', 'Akra Sofia', 'Ag. Vassilios- Site Varella'. Another example is the 6th century AD refurbishment of the main villa compound at 'Ag. Vassilios – Varella' (Moutzali 1989, 109).
[503] For Argolis see: Jameson *et al.* 1994, 400-404; Psichoyou 2013; 278-285; Sarri E. 2013, 269-277.
[504] Bintliff 2014 357; 2012a, 72.
[505] D'Aco 2013, 447-455; Stainchauer 2013, 467-473.
[506] See: *Archaeological Field Surveys*: Papagiannopoulos 2010, 66; Papagiannopoulos and Zachos 2000, 143; Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994, 199-201; *Imperial Roman farmsteads*: Rizakis 2006, 103-105; 1993, 769-770; *Late Roman decline*: Petropoulos 1994, 412; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2013, 118-149.
[507] Curta 2011, 39; Hjohlman *et al.* 2005, 257.
[508] See Tables B1-6: 'Pano Maghoula', 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra', 'Derveni Svarnos', 'Ag. Vassilios-Varella'.

This longevity, observed also in areas of Argolis, was almost certainly not fuelled by any historical or topographic factors.[509] Historically, Corinthia shared a similar fate with rest of the Peloponnese, experiencing the same hardships.[510] The high urbanization in Corinthia should also, at least theoretically, ease the need for villa units. Lastly, the hilly Corinthian terrain was probably no more favourable for farming activities than the hinterland of the western Peloponnese (Plan III),[511] that was relatively depopulated in comparison.[512]

In contrast, there is every reason to believe that the long-term presence of rural villas was caused by a unique socio-economic environment. The region not only housed a wealthy provisional capital,[513] but was also positioned at a crossroad between the Aegean and the Adriatic trade routes (Plates 28-29).[514] The above has given rise to the idea that the capital Corinth was based on services and trade for its prosperity.[515] Modern research has reconsidered this unnuanced view noting instead that the local economy was diversified, and that the city was deeply interlinked with its rural hinterland.[516] There is little doubt, though, that trade was diachronically a major source of income for Corinthians as vividly described also by several ancient authors.[517]

In this regard, the geostrategic importance of Corinthia might have contributed to the strong presence of villas in manifold ways. One scenario is that the increased presence of imperial delegates and local *curiales* fuelled a demand for wealthy

[509] For Argolis see: Hjohlman *et al*. 2005, 257-261; Jameson *et al.* 1994, 402-403.
[510] Avramea 2012.
[511] "*The city had territory, however, that was not very fertile, but rifted and rough; and from this fact all have called Corinth 'beetling'*" (Strabo, *Geography 8.6.23).*
[512] Petropoulos 1994, 412; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 88-153.
[513] "*First of all, Sire, he is Greek – that is, one of your chosen people … Even if Aristophanes had been a Megarian, a Melian or a Lemnian he would have this considerable advantage: in fact, however, his city name inspires even more respect, for he is from Corinth*" Libanius, *Oration* XIV.27 .
[514] Brown A. 2018, 65-70; Jacobs 2014, 84; Mantas 2009, 204-205; Pettegrew 2006, 100-104; Salmon 1984, 154-158; Slane 2003, 327-328; 2000, 299-310; 1989, 198-224; Welborn 2016, 48-50; Williams 1993, 31-46.
[515] Engels 1990, 1-71.
[516] Caraher and Pettegrew 2016, 173-177; Gregory 2010, 437-438; Pettegrew 2016a, 154-157; 2016b, 11-12; 45-46; 144-145.
[517] "*Corinth is called "wealthy" because of its commerce, since it is situated on the Isthmus and is master of two harbours, of which the one leads straight to Asia, and the other to Italy*" (Strabo, *Geography 8.6.20*); "*As Corinth is now the first city of Greece, so of old it prided itself on many temporal advantages, and more than all the rest, on excess of wealth. And on this account one of the heathen writers entitled the place 'the rich.' For it lies on the Isthmus of the Peloponnesus and had great facilities for traffic*" (John Chrysostom, *Homily on First Corinthians*).

residences, albeit to what extent remains unclear.[518] We can be much more certain about the role of increasing commercial farming in the Late Roman Aegean area. That would put the Corinthian landlords in an advantageous position, close to important markets, upon the main shipping lines connecting Constantinople with Africa and the Levant.[519] The implications of this favourable environment have not gone unnoticed by modern scholars, who consider that this was an era of heightened productivity and exports for the Greek rural estates.[520] The evidence from archaeological field surveys seems to support that view. In the eastern Corinthia particularly, the surveyors noted that the widespread presence of fine pottery and storage amphorae strongly imply a widely practised long-distance trade.[521]

In that setting, the imperial efforts of the 5th century AD to remonetise the economy (*adaeratio*) most certainly provided an additional economic stimulus.[522] Once again enlightening are the results from recent archaeological field surveys. After a hiatus in the 3rd and 4th century AD, the circulation of fine pottery goes up in rural Corinthia in the 5th and 6th century AD, matching the earlier Imperial Roman levels.[523] The evidence from rural villas, particularly the pottery analysis for the 'Akra Sofia' complex, seems to further back the above claims.[524] Any final arguments, though,

[518] The lack of extended production facilities in some of the villas has led some scholars to propose a possible ownership by imperial delegates (Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 185). There is every reason to believe that, as in other Roman regions, the Corinthian elites exploited significant rural lands (Lee 2013, 66; Marzano 2007, 104-107). This scenario fits especially well in Corinthia which was housing the provincial seat and numerous civil officers (Brown A. 2008, 60). It is critical to remember, though, that the production units alone cannot provide a firm identification about the owner's status (Marzano 2007, 107). Moreover, the incomplete excavation status of most Corinthian villas might suggest that the main working quarters have yet to be found.

[519] In his overview of rural Late Roman East, Peter Sarris characteristically noted: "*Yet to claim, as our legal sources would certainly lead one to, that the 4th and 5th c. witnessed the emergence of great estates owned by members of the recently expanded imperial bureaucracy, members of what has been termed a late antique 'service aristocracy', is not necessarily to gainsay the testimony for late antique economic growth furnished by the archaeological and numismatic record. Only if one accepts the characterisation of such large estates as autarchic need there be any apparent contradiction. Yet, on the contrary, such evidence as we possess points to a late antique agrarian economy in which the aristocratically-owned large estate formed the basis of a dynamic and highly commercialised sector, a rather surer agent of economic growth, it might be suggested, than the household economies of the peasantry*" (Sarris 2004, 62).

[520] Avramea 2012, 296-298; Bintliff 2012b, 358.

[521] Pettegrew 2016, 214-5; 219-220; 2010, 227; Caraher and Pettegrew 2016, 177-180.

[522] The policy of *adaeratio* is first attested in the late-4th century AD and continued throughout the 5th century AD peaking during the reign of Anastasius (Barker 1966, 55-58; Barnish *et al.* 2008, 194-196; Haarer 2006 184-206; Lee 2013, 165-168; 2008, 53-55; Treadgold 1997, 164-170).

[523] See: Pettegrew 2015, 296.

[524] See: Gregory 1985, 425-428.

should be avoided at this stage before a comparative study of the pottery excavated at Corinthian rural villas.

Lastly, the beneficial socioeconomic environment might also have some much-welcome indirect implications for the presence of rural villas. Due to its significance and geographic position Corinthia was open to maritime trade and commerce. Only naturally, the region must have enjoyed a significant influx of financial capital, which was then diffused in the local economy. The resulted micro-economy likely saw a 'demand and supply' relationship between the villas and their nearby cities, which was probably one of the main reasons behind the establishment of the first.[525]

Who then lived at these rural villas? Ancient literary sources give us some hints about the whereabouts of wealthy local landowners. Several of them owned large plots of land that extended beyond the limits of Corinthia. The best known case is of Parnasious, a prominent individual who in the mid-4th century AD rose to the rank of prefect of Egypt.[526] According to research, Parnasious, a native of Patras, also held property in Corinthia.[527] Here we should note that Corinth and Patras, being both Roman colonies and at the opposite ends of the northern Peloponnese, must have shared strong links. In that respect, Parnasious was certainly not the only elite with supraregional interests.[528] It is difficult, though, to further assess how entangled were the interests of the Achaean and the Corinthian aristocracy in the Late Roman period.[529] That is because aside from Parnasious, all the other attested cases appear to date from the 1st / 2nd century AD, or earlier.[530]

We can expect that many of the wealthy local landowners opted to reside close to their farmlands. Notwithstanding, absent landholding of big villa estates was

[525] For the relationship between long distance trade and the local, regional economies see: Whittow 2013, 133-147. See also at the following section.
[526] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 19.12.10; Libanius, *Oration* XIV.15.
[527] Rizakis and Zoumpaki 2001, 353; Rizakis 1995, 69
[528] In the 1st century AD Martial satirically commented about the pretentious slave Euclides: "*While Euclides, clad in purple robes, was exclaiming that his income from each of his farms at Patras was two hundred thousand sesterces, and from his property near Corinth still more, and while he was tracing down his long pedigree from the beautiful Leda, and resisting Leitus, who was trying to make him leave his seat, suddenly there dropped from the toga of this knight, so proud, so noble, so rich, a large key Never, Fabullus, was a key a worse friend*" (Martial, *Epigrams* V. 35).
[529] For the supra-regional interest of the elites in that early period see: Rizakis 2007.
[530] See: *Rizakis 1995*: No.719 (1/2nd century AD); No.714 (2nd century AD); *Rizakis and Zoumpaki 2007*: ACH 48 (2/3rd century AD), ACH 51 (1st/2nd century AD), ACH 150 (1st/2nd century AD); ACH 155 (1st century AD); COR 112 (1/2nd century AD), COR 150 (IR), COR 422 (LR); COR 625 (1/2nd century AD); COR 526 (2nd century BC).

probably not unknown. A good example comes from the life of a certain Aristophanes in the 4th century AD. After falling out of favour with some powerful local magistrates, Aristophanes had to flee Corinth and abandoned his property. According to the description of Libanius, this had catastrophic results. During Aristophanes' absence, and despite the efforts of his wife, the land fell in disarray as his bailiffs left,[531] and his slaves either fled fearing prosecution from Aristophanes' enemies or "*learned to be idlers or rascals*".[532]

At other times, absent landholding could yield far more satisfying results. One similar case is narrated by Paulinus of Pella who, while permanently stationed at Gaul, still enjoyed a significant income from his lands in central and southern Greece.[533] According to his account: "*there the extensive farms, well-manned by numerous serfs, though scattered, were not widely separated and even for a prodigal or careless lord might have furnished means abundant*".

The low end of the household socioeconomic stratum was likely occupied by slaves. It is commonly said,[534] that the highly urbanized Greek East was not particularly keen to adopt slave farming.[535] Notwithstanding, we ought to remember that slaves were not absent from the Late Roman countryside, and Greece was no exception.[536] While modern archaeology has yet to confirm their presence in the Late Roman Peloponnese, literary sources are adamant about the use of slave labour in some Corinthian estates. The case of Aristophanes as mentioned above is highly significant here, for despite his average economic background he was still in possession of several slaves. A similar picture arises from another letter of Libanius, this time about an uncle of his, a distinct military officer, who owned a meagre farm manned by eleven slaves.[537] Apparently slaves could be found even in middle-sized farmsteads of the Greek East,

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[531] For the crucial role of the bailiffs for the smooth operation of slave farming see: Cato *De Agricultura*, V; Andreau and Descat 2011, 73; Grey 2011, 498; Martin 1974, 271-280.

[532] "*…τῶν δε ἀνδραπόδων τα μεν ἀπέδρα, τα δε ἀργεῖν ἐμαθε*" Libanius, *Oration XIV* 10; 45.

[533] Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticus* 413-420.

[534] Harper 2011, 158-179.

[535] A similar conclusion has been also considered for the densely occupied area of Latium (Witcher 2005, 1051-1052).

[536] See: *Late Roman slave farming*: Andreau and Descat 2011, 157-168; Basta 2017, 65-67; Cameron 1993, 88; Grey 2011, 497-498; Harper 2011, 152-157; *Late Roman slave farming in Greece*: Harper 2011, 47; 176.

[537] "*ἕνα μὲν μόλις ἀγρὸν ἐπρίατο, ἐτι δε τῶν οὐκ επαινουμένων*" (Libanius, *Oration* XLVII 28). Almost five centuries earlier Cato the Elder provided a similar account. For an olive grove about 60 ha, he considered that the work force should not exceed 12 slaves and one bailiff, whereas for olive grove about 25 ha, the man force should be one overseer and 15 slaves (Cato *De Agricultura*, X-XI).

and there is no reason to expect otherwise for at least some of the big rural villas of Corinthia.

In this regard it is possible that the lack of archaeological evidence about slaves in Corinthian villas better reflects the poor relevant material culture than a lack of numbers. The research in the Roman Peloponnese has particularly stressed the absence of slave barracks, the *ergastula*.[538] This view fails to consider, though, that we have yet to locate these facilities as described by the ancient literary sources,[539] and that the *ergastula* were long abolished by Hadrian already from the 2nd century AD.[540] More suggestive instead are the lack of a cryptoporticus close to the working quarters, or of a court surrounded by a row of small rooms as in the villas at Boscotrecase and at Settefinestre in Italy.[541] These would otherwise strongly hint at a function as slave quarters, but even their absence does not rule out the presence of slaves. For the marginal status of the latter meant that they commonly shared quarters with their masters to cater to their needs,[542] and were otherwise 'invisibly present' within the villa.[543]

We have come full circle to painting a picture of prosperity for both the big rural villas and the small farms up until the 6th century AD. In that respect, an issue that remains is whether this strong performance signals a wider human migration towards the countryside, and how much the ruling elites were affected. We should note here that the idea of a hypothetical 'flight' to the countryside has been hotly debated for decades among scholars of the Late Roman period. A similar increase of rural activities has been noted across the Empire in the post-4th century AD period,[544] which initially gave rise to the idea of a power shift towards the rural countryside.[545] Modern research has

[538] Petropoulos 2013, 158; 1994, 414.
[539] For *ergastula* see: Andreau and Descat 2011, 74; Columella L. Junius, *Res Rustica* I.8; George 2011, 386-391; Marzano 2007, 148-153.
[540] Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Historia Augusta* 18.9.
[541] See: *Cryptoporticus as slave quarters*: Marzano 2007, 148-153; *Row of small rooms as slave quarters*: George 2011, 386-391.
[542] "*Romans chose to sacrifice personal privacy for the convenience of having a slave near to hand, rather than preferring to create distinct spatial boundaries within the house that might impede the slave's availability when needed*" (George 2011, 390).
[543] Andreau and Descat 2011, 99.
[544] See: *General bibliography*: Chavarría and Lewit 2004, 17; 27-28; Lewit 2004, viii-ix; Sodini 1995a, 153-175; *Africa*: Dossey 2010, 63-66; Spain: Bowes 2013, 193-204; *Italy*: Lapadula 2012, 216-217; Sfameni 2004, 336.
[545] See: *General bibliography*: Chavarría and Lewit 2004, 29-30; *Greece*: Alcock 1993, 114-115; Bintliff 2012a, 71; Kosso 2003, 59.

dispelled that approach, noting instead the notable private building activities in both urban and rural areas.[546]

The above is clearly manifested also in Corinthia where rural villas and farms count only as a fraction of the total private building programme (Tables B1-8). Questions, though, still arise about the whereabouts of the wealthy elites, as some of the rural villas find no parallels in the rest of Corinthia. Highly suggestive are the complexes at 'Akra Sofia' and 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara' that in terms of size, elaborate facilities, and decoration, share little with their urban counterparts of the 5th and 6th century AD (Tables B1-8). That sharply contrasts with the picture from the Imperial Roman period, when the wealthy housing units were more evenly distributed across the urban, suburban and rural territories. This alleged change of fortunes might imply that the upper echelons of the Late Roman Corinthian elites found themselves increasingly associated with the rural economy and affairs. Our small research sample, though, together with the significant research gaps regarding the urban topography of the Late Roman Corinthia, does not permit any final arguments at this stage.

§ 3.8 Nucleated rural settlements: Towards the Byzantine village?

A first understanding about nucleated rural settlements comes from literary sources. In the 6th century AD, Stephanus of Byzantium referred to one Corinthian village, Titane, that was subordinate to Sicyon.[547] In addition to that, he also referred to seven *komai*: Asae, Bembina, Mausos, Solygeia, Sidous, Crommyon, and Tenea (Plan II). Many of them as we have already seen, most likely differed little from a typical village.[548]

Archaeological surveys have further cast light on the subject, revealing an additional number of nucleated rural communities. Their size and arrangement vary, they all seem to form a loose cluster of several standalone buildings, concentrated in a zone of few hundred meters radius. Highly indicative is the Isthmia settlement (Plans

[546] Banaji 2007, 16-21; Cameron 1993, 168-169; Chavarría and Lewit 2004, 29-30; Innes 2009, 15-16; Lewit 2003; Rogers 2010; Speed 2010.
[547] Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 626.
[548] See the previous section 3.3.

XXI, XXV, Plate 27a).[549] A building complex dating from the 2nd until the 7th century AD has been noted east of Temenos in an area called 'East Field' (Plates 27 b, c, 104-105),[550] along with traces of a "*highly developed built environment*" in the surrounding area.[551] More buildings, likely farms and villas, have been found south of Isthmia, no more than 1 km from the main site.[552] Finally, signs of private residential and working activities have been further attested in areas of the nearby Roman Baths, the Theatre (Plate 27c) and the Temple of Poseidon (Plate 42b, c, e), dating from the period after their abandonment.[553]

An identification as a village can also be proposed at least for the early stages of the Nemean settlement.[554] As we have already seen this was established in the late-4th century AD and quickly evolved to include several civic and private buildings.[555] In the 6th century AD, the settlement was significant enough to be included in Synekdemus' list of cities and to have its own *kome*, Bembina.[556] It is only reasonable to expect that this would be no more than a village community during its early years.

In addition to the above settlements, it is possible that several rural sites, currently identified as 'villas', might be better understood as hamlets. One similar case comes from 'Ag. Vassilios - Site Varella' where the excavations revealed multiple buildings, and what was described as 'signs of a bathing facility'.[557] Another possible example comes from the remote promontory of Perachora (Plan XXV, Plates 25b, d, 40d).[558] Here the excavations revealed the remains of two Roman farmsteads over the

[549] Tables A8 & B8.
[550] Ellis S. J. R. *et al.* 2008; Ellis S. J. R. and Poehler 2015, 271-288; Beaton and Clement 1976; Clement 1977, 145; 1976, 224-230; Gregory 2014, 540-543; 2013, 277-278; 2010, 457-560; Marty 1993, 121-126; Michaud 1972, 631-635; Rife 2012, 115; 124; Rothaus 2000, 88-92; Pettegrew 2016b, 224; Stirling 2005, 199; Wohl 1993, 130.
[551] Pettegrew 2015, 305.
[552] Pettegrew 2015, 304-305.
[553] See : *Theatre*: Gebhard 1973, 134-135; Rife 2012, 123; *Roman Bath*: Gregory 2013, 227; 1995, 286-287-303; 1994, 149-150; Kardulias 2005, Lindros Wohl 1981, 116-118; Pettegrew 2016b, 224; Rife 2012, 120; 123-124; 134; Rife and Giesen 1994, 233; Rothaus 2000, 91-92; *Temple of Poseidon*: Broneer 1973, 96-98; Rife 2012, 129; 139; Rothaus 2000, 89.
[554] Avramea 2005, 216.
[555] See the section above 3.4.6.
[556] See the section above 3.4.6.
[557] See: Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papademitriou 1997, 252; Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 190; Avramea 2012 348; Drakoulis 2009, 23-24; Pettegrew 2006, 347-348; Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 208; Marchand 2009a, 143; Moutzali 2002b, 340-341; 1989, 109-110; Rothaus 2000, 29; 1994, 394.
[558] Some scholars have alternatively suggested that the area was only sparsely habituated in Imperial and Late Roman period (Brown A. 2008, 178-179).

derelict 'Hellenistic Fountain house', and over the abandoned 'West court'.[559] Roman walls have also been discovered over the sanctuary of Hera Limenia.[560] Probably during that period, the abandoned Stoa close to the port was cleared and refurbished for an unknown purpose,[561] while the presence of Roman pottery has been recorded also among the ruins of the sanctuary of Hera Akraia.[562]

Unfortunately, in both Perachora and Ag. Vassilios the archaeological research has not defined the limits of the settlements. As a result, the presence of multiple building facilities could just as well correspond with either nucleated settlements, or with secluded, multibuilding *villae rusticae*.[563]

Two other probable cases of nucleated rural sites come from Agionori and Kromna (Plan II, Plate 26). Agionori which in the Middle Byzantine was extensively fortified, might had been used in an earlier era as a temporary or even permanent settlement. Nonetheless this has yet to be firmly confirmed.[564]

As to Kromna, Stephanus lists a homonymous Peloponnesian city, but he does not specify its location.[565] Other ancient sources refer to Kromna as a village, or an area of the eastern Corinthia, but do not speak about a town.[566] The excavation of an inscription near Isthmia reading "*Agathon of Kromna*" led the research to suggest that the site corresponds with ancient Kromna.[567] The concertation of Late Roman pottery in the surroundings,[568] together with several buildings interpreted as farms and the likely presence of two churches, have further advanced the notion that here stood a village settlement.[569] More recently, based on the data drawn by *EKAS* field survey,

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[559] See: *Perachora West Court*: Brown A. 2018, 126; 2008, 178-179; Coulton 1967, 370-371; 1964, 130-131; Payne *et al.* 1940, 15; *Perachora Fountain House*: Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189-190; Brown A. 2008, 178-179; Tomlinson 1969, 242-250.
[560] Payne *et al.* 1940, 22; 115-116.
[561] Coulton 1967, 371; 1964, 131.
[562] Payne et al 1940, 84.
[563] For a short analysis of the problem see: *General discussion*: Ellis Sim. P. 2005, 90; *Corinthia*: Engels 1990, 175.
[564] See the section above 3.4.2.
[565] *" (*i.e. *Kromna) is and the Peloponnesian city,* (called as) *male, female, singular and plural, from Kromnos son of Lykaonos*" The translation is made by the author. The original text reads: "(i.e. Κρῶμνα) *ἔστι και Πελοποννήσου πόλις αρσενικῶς και ϑηλυκῶς και ενικῶς καί πληϑυντικῶς. από Κρώμνου τον Λυκάονος*" (Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 388).
[566] Pettegrew 2006, 251-262.
[567] Wiseman 1978, 66-68.
[568] Caraher *et al*. 2006, 19; 22-26; Pettegrew 2015, 296; Tartaron *et al.* 2006, 481-484.
[569] Caraher *et al*. 2006, 14-18; Gregory 2013, 282; 2010, 441-444, 464-467; Tartaron *et al.* 497-513; Tasinos 2013a, 256-260.

David Pettegrew suggested that Kromna was a toponym for the general area South of Isthmia, between sites 'Quarries' and 'Perdikaria'.[570] He stopped short of declaring the site a village, though, favouring an interpretation as a vital crossroad between Isthmia, Corinth and Kenchreai.[571]

Nonetheless, his understanding of Kromna as a roadside settlement does not exclude that this was a village. On the contrary, the ample pottery remains and building blocks, along with the two alleged churches, spread in a zone few hundred meters in radius all strongly recall the topography of Domvraina Bay islets,[572] Isthmia,[573] and Nemea.[574] Therefore I would argue that whatever the initial reason behind the establishment of Kromna, there should be little doubt that here stood an organized village community.

We should note here that in the immediate vicinity (Plate 29b, c), stretching in a 2 km zone radius, the EKAS survey revealed more signs of what appear to be Late Roman farms and villas.[575] Several of these may have benefited from the market opportunities offered by the denser occupation around the area of Kromna. Nonetheless, the many signs of farming equipment (*dolia*, basins, millstones) along with the

[570] Pettegrew 2016b, 221-223; 2015, 306-307; 2006, 299-306.
[571] "*Did a sense of identity or community develop among the inhabitants of this crossroads? Certainly the range of pottery, building material, and agricultural equipment at the Kromna-Perdikaria crossroads defines an important focal point in the landscape that is distinct from other parts of Isthmus. The local topography (at the junction of ridges and roads) and the presence of Roman graves, a substantial quarry, and a probable Late Antique church would have encouraged some sense of community among those inhabiting this area. The proximity to each other must also have encouraged a greater degree of economic integration"* (Pettegrew 2015, 306).
[572] See following section.
[573] See later pages.
[574] See later pages.
[575] Pettegrew 2015, 303-305.

occasional presence of tesserae and fine pottery,[576] may imply that some were more independent and mastered significant wealth.[577]

The transition to the Late Roman period was not smooth for all the above settlements. This is clearly manifested by the fate of the Perachora promontory, as all the habituated sites seemingly went out of use in the 3rd and 4th century AD (Tables B5, E4). A similar decline has also been attested in the late-4th century AD at the settlement 'East of Temenos - East Field', that resulted in the destruction of the complex.[578] Despite these early hardships, the following Late Roman period marked mostly a rapid development for the Corinthian villages.

Starting from the 4th century AD, the surviving pre-existing villages experienced a period of wealth and stability. A good example comes from Isthmia (Plans XXI, XXV). The 4th century AD destruction of the grand complex at the 'Settlement East of Temenos - East Field' was followed by a later reoccupation that saw the erection of modest building facilities on top of earlier ruins.[579] Scanty remains of residential usage that date from the 5th and 6th centuries AD have also been noted at the Theatre and at the Roman Bath (Plate 35f).[580] The most important investment during that period took place at the nearby Late Roman Hexamilion Fortress that was erected in the 5th and renovated in the 6th century AD.[581] Other possible examples of heightening Late Roman activities in pre-existing villages come from Kromna and Asae. In the first case, the surrounding area saw a significant development as it is

[576] Overall the highly informative EKAS field survey, noted 24 "*Localized cultural anomalies*", namely 'LOCA 1' – 'LOCA 24', bearing Late Roman pottery, *dolia*, and occasionally farming equipment (Pettegrew 2015, 295). Almost half of them rest in a zone 1 km radius (LOCAS '26'; '22'; '23'; '12'; '11'; '10'; '9'; '8'; '6'; '7'; '5'). Further to the south-east research has noted more sites (LOCAS '4'; '24'; '3'; '2'; '1'), while another cluster of sites (LOCAS '13'; '14'; '15'; '16'; '17'; 18; '19'; '20'; '21') was reported between Kromna and Isthmia stretching in a zone almost 2 km radius south-west of Isthmia (Pettegrew 2015, 295-305). The material culture from most of these sites strongly imply that the latter were agriculture oriented (Pettegrew 2015, 303-304). I opted nonetheless not to include them in my research sample of possible Late Roman farm sites, as the very short distances between many of the LOCAS may imply that some were not independent units. Hopefully the following publications of the survey will cast more light on this heartland of Eastern Corinthia and will reveal more about the local topography.

[577] Pettegrew 2015, 303-304.

[578] Ellis S. J. R. *et al.* 2008; Ellis S. J. R. and Poehler 2015, 280-284.

[579] Ellis S. J. R. *et al*. 2008; Ellis S. J. R. and Poehler 2015, 285; Gregory 2010, 456-458; Pettegrew 2016b, 224.

[580] See: *Roman Bath*: Gregory 2010, 456-457; 2013, 277; 1993b, 149; Pettegrew 2016b, 224; Rife 2012, 114; 123-124; *Theatre*: Gebhard 1973, 134.

[581] Gregory 2010, 456; 1993a, 142; Rife 2012, 121-123.

indicated by the large public buildings and the many farms found here.[582] The same likely applies for Asae. While the exact location of the settlement has yet to be found, there is a growing consensus among scholars that this should be expected close to the modern villages 'Zevgolatio' and 'Assos'.[583] The rescue excavations there uncovered many scattered architectural and pottery remains, along with a villa with a kiln that dates until the 6th century AD and a Late Roman bath.[584]

The growing nucleation of the rural countryside also resulted in more villages being established in previously unoccupied lands, as at Nemea, and probably at Ag. Vassileios (Plan XXV). The evolution process behind these newly inaugurated settlements remains unknown. We cannot rule out the possibility that some of them were established around a secluded villa that gradually expanded and transformed into a village. Afterall, similar transformations were anything but rare across the Empire.[585] Nonetheless, in our case there is no accompanying evidence to validate any claim for. On the contrary, the example of Nemea speaks against that scenario, for the settlement there was seemingly established since its early days as a nucleated community over unoccupied lands, bearing no connection with pre-existing villas.[586]

A common feature of most Corinthian villages regardless their dating, is the basic nature of the attributed private facilities. A possible exception would be the extended compound found at the 'Settlement East of Temenos - East Field' of Isthmia before the 4th century AD catastrophe. Its exact role and ownership remain disputed,[587] but the presence of cooking hearths may suggest some private establishment.[588] Otherwise, the available evidence suggests that nucleated rural settlements compare unfavourably with many contemporary rural *villae*, lacking the amenities and the décor

[582] See previous page.
[583] Brown A. 2018, 50; 2008, 168-169; Faraklas and Sakellariou 1971, 21; Ginouvès and Charitonidis 1955, 102; Wiseman 1978, 102.
[584] See: *General area*: Brown A. 2018, 50; 2008, 168-169; Wiseman 1978, 100-102; *Baths*: Ginouvès and Charitonidis 1955, 102-120; Sanders 1999, 473-474; *Villa with kiln*: Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 192; Manolesou 2014b, 312.
[585] See: *Italy*: Christie 2006, 448; Francovich and Hodges 2003, 38-60; Innes 2009, 23; *Germany*: Rollanson 2014, 180-181; *Britain*: Rollanson 2014, 180-181; *Gaul*: Todd 2009, 191-192.
[586] See previous section 3.4.6.
[587] See: Ellis S. J. R. *et al.* 2008; Ellis S. J. R. and Poehler 2015, 271-288; Beaton and Clement 1976; Clement 1977, 145; 1976, 224-230; Gregory 2014, 540-543; 2013, 277-278; 2010, 457-460; Marty 1993, 121-126; Michaud 1972, 631-635; Rife 2012, 115; 124; Rothaus 2000, 88-92; Pettegrew 2016b, 224; Stirling 2005, 199; Wohl 1993, 130.
[588] In the words of the excavator the excavations uncovered a "*section of a cobbled pavement and several circular earthern fireplaces*" (Clement 1977, 145).

seen in the latter. Highly suggestive is a comparison between the private dwellings at the village of Nemea and the far more elaborate buildings found nearby at 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara', as well as at Petri that may have had some private function (Tables B5-6, E4). However, this basic nature should not be misunderstood as economic impoverishment. In the same village, two hoards were excavated in the yard of the western house close to the church, dating from the 6th and mid-6th century respectively AD.[589]

The scarcity of the material and the small research sample cannot provide a solid understanding of the internal organization and social hierarchy of those settlements.[590] It is reasonable to expect, though, that the most central plots close to significant communal facilities, were reserved for the wealthiest inhabitants. One such case is the village settlement in Nemea where the two larger building compounds were found adjacent to the Late Roman Basilica.[591] The proximity to churches specifically was a typical characteristic of the wealthiest houses, as indicated by the island commune at Diporto in the Boeotian coast of the Corinthian Gulf,[592] and in other similar cases.[593]

The small research sample also does not permit the accurate mapping of the long-term dynamics that shaped rural nucleation. Notwithstanding, Nemea, Isthmia, the probable case of Ag. Vassileios and the like, suggest a persistent, if not growing, Late Roman interest in village settlements.[594] This rising nucleation does not come as a surprise. A similar trend, usually connected with the gradual transition to the medieval village, is common across the Empire,[595] even in regions where individual farms rather than villages typically dotted the Roman landscape.[596] The development appears to

[589] Miller Steph. 2015, 291.
[590] Here it should be highly noted that the Byzantine village was complex microenvironment with perplex socioeconomic relations, spanning from co-ownership to strict hierarchy (Kazhdan 1997, 61-65). In the light of this fact, any attempted reconstruction of the social relationships, can potentially run into significant difficulties. Nonetheless, as we already demonstrated the topographical plan can sometimes provide a basic idea about the social differences among the rural community.
[591] Miller Steph. 2015, 288-293.
[592] Gregory 1986a, 287-304.
[593] See the example of Cilicia (Morrisson and Sodini 2002, 176), and the wider analysis of Sharon Gerstel (Gerstel 2002, 165-166).
[594] The recent archaeological field surveys might also point in the same direction (Lolos 2011, 340), but as we earlier saw they have yielded so far contrasting results (See earlier section 3.5).
[595] See: *General bibliography*: Chavarría and Lewit 2004, 16-21; *Western Empire*: Ripoll and Arce 2000, 96-114; *Italy*: Francovich and Hodges 2003, 61-74; *Eastern Empire*: Laiou and Morrisson 2007, 25; Morrisson and Sodini 2002, 175-176; *Asia Minor*: Vanhaverbeke *et al.* 2004, 251-268.
[596] See for example the case of Roman Africa: Dossey 2010, 69; Ellis Sim. P. 2005, 99; Rossiter 2007b, 385.

carry less dramatic effect in Greece and the Byzantine East in general, where scholars have noted a diachronic preference towards nucleated settlements.[597]

This does not mean, though, that it was all that unimportant. Questions particularly arise with regard to what triggered that process, which can be traced as early as the late-4th century AD.[598] Modern scholars have been particularly keen to stress that rising nucleation across the Empire can be associated with the decline of the *villae rusticae*.[599] This has led some researchers to suggest a similar dynamic in Late Roman Greece.[600]

I would tentatively argue, though, against such a hypothesis in our case. For in Corinthia, the presence of individual farms and large rural villas persisted until the 5th and 6th century AD,[601] which indicates that the longevity of non-nucleated sites did not necessarily derail the foundation of village settlements. Exemplary are the cases of nucleated settlements at Isthmia, Kromna and Nemea that coexisted with the large contemporary villas of 'Akra Sofia', and 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara'. The latter not only stayed occupied well into the Late Roman period, but more importantly prospered during the 5th and 6th century AD, long after the foundation of the nearby villages (Tables B5-6, D4-5).

Another common idea in Late Roman archaeology is that these changes were driven by a combination of factors, chief among them a rising insecurity in rural territories.[602] It is important to remember, though, that the reasons behind the growing Late Roman nucleation varied greatly from one region to another. In the case of Corinthia, for instance, we have already demonstrated that the presence of villas did not hampered the emergence of village settlements. It can be further argued, that increased security risks were also not a prime factor behind increasing nucleation in our case. In

[597] For the idea of rural village as the main part of the Greek rural economy and the Byzantine East in general, see among others: Alcock 1993, 95-105, 116-117; Chavarría and Lewit 2004, 16-19; Ellis Sim. P. 2005, 99; Foxhall 1990, 108; Laiou 2005, 37-38; Morrison and Sodini 2002, 178; Veikou 2013, 129.
[598] A good example is the newly established settlement in Nemea that was inaugurated sometime in the 4th century AD (see earlier section 3.4.6).
[599] See here the landmark analysis of Riccardo Francovich and Richard Hodges on Late Roman/Mediaeval Italy (Francovich and Hodges 2003). For a wider field of study see: Innes 2009, 23-25; Laiou and Morrisson 2007, 26; Lee 2013, 232; Morrisson and Sodini 2002, 177-179.
[600] Curta 2011, 39.
[601] See previous sections 3.6; 3.7.
[602] See: *General discussion*: Alcock 1993, 105-113; Vanhaverbeke *et al.* 2004, 262-268; *Insecurity*: Bowersock *et al*. 1999; Dossey 2010, 25, 68-72; Dunn 2005, 270; Lee 2013, 36-37; Poulter 2000, 353-358; 1999, 144-146; Vanhaverbeke *et al.* 2004, 268.

our small sample, none of the villages was fortified.[603] A possible exception would be Agionori, but as we have already seen the character of the settlement prior the Middle Byzantine period remains unknown.[604] More importantly, the placement of several Corinthian villages in accessible plains, differs notably from the hilly terrain favoured for the defence-oriented settlements.[605] A good example is the settlement of Nemea that was established upon a lowland plateau, over the ruins of the abandoned classical sanctuary. Even more indicative is the case of 'Ag. Vassileios-Site Varela'. The village/villa settlement stood on flat land,[606] few kilometres north of the naturally protected mountain ridge later occupied by the Frankish castle of Ag. Vasilios (Plans V, XXV).[607]

On the contrary, the presence of rural villages in fertile plains, may as well indicate that a major incentive behind the increasing nucleation was a growing need for human labour in good arable lands.[608] A similar decision "*to increase the land use and settlement density*" in areas that were "*previously under-exploited*" has been also observed in the hinterlands of Anatolia and Syria.[609] Afterall, it is well established that the Imperial authorities were eager to support the expansion of cultivated land with the aim of increasing their annual revenue.[610] The proposal fits well for the settlements of Ag. Vasilios and Nemea which were both established on the highly fertile valleys of southern Corinthia, away from the main, but close to important secondary urban centres.

It is equally important to note that this increasing human outreach over peripheral lands indicates a more self-sufficient economy for these Late Roman

[603] It is imperative to note here that although there are some fortified examples in Crete, Bulgaria, Anatolia and Syria, the typical Byzantine village was unfortified (Laiou 2005, 37).
[604] We ought to remember that fortified hilltop settlements could co-exist with open villages at the lowlands, as in the case of lower Macedonia (Dunn 2004, 570). See also earlier section 3.4.2.
[605] Compare for example with the hinterland of Tanagra, Boeotia (Bintliff 2007, 665), central Italy (Francovich and Hodges 2003, 61-74), and the Danube area (Poulter 2000, 353-358; 1999, 144-146). A similar preference for upland settlement can be also observed in contemporary Macedonia, although in that case a dense occupation can be also seen in the lowland plains of Pella and Philippi (Dunn 2005, 270-275; 2004, 539-543; 546-547; Georgiadou and Lagoudi 2013, 81-86).
[606] Marchand 2009a, 143; Moutzali 2002b, 340-341; 1989, 109-110.
[607] For the Frankish castle see: Wiseman 1978, 118.
[608] The interrelationship between the available workforce and the size of the exploited lands has not gone unnoticed by the research (Alcock 1993, 89-90, 102-103).
[609] Bintliff 2012a, 73.
[610] Kosso, 2003, 23-25.

settlements.[611] In this regard, Susan Alcock went further to propose that rising nucleation, as seen in many Greek regions during that era, was caused by the transition towards an economically "*independent countryside*", and a "*separate rural life*".[612] A similar pattern leading to the rise of the Byzantine village has been also proposed for Asia Minor.[613] Nonetheless, I would be hesitant to fully embrace that scenario for Corinthia. That is because the current evidence does not imply enhanced industrial or farming capabilities for the Corinthian villages, compared to their contemporary rural villas.[614] Moreover, the longevity of the main and secondary urban centres,[615] as well as the production and trade activities attested there,[616] would seemingly call into question any supposed deep economic reconstruction towards more independent villages. None of the above, however, can fully discredit Alcock's hypothesis at this stage, since we currently know little about the actual dynamics and economic developments of the Corinthian rural villages and secondary urban centres.[617]

Another possible factor propelling higher Late Roman nucleation was direct private and public investment. As we have already seen, Late Roman texts referred multiple times to dependent farming communities,[618] with sources sometimes speaking of villages wholly owned by certain wealthy individuals.[619] A supposed private initiative seems unlikely in our case, though, as there is no literary or archaeological evidence to imply the presence of dependent villages.

We can be far more certain about the impact of public funds in key rural areas. This is best demonstrated in the rural community of Isthmia. As we have already seen the settlement went through a major period of disarray at the second half of the 4th

[611] Alcock 1993, 103-105.
[612] Alcock 1993, 117
[613] Vanhaverbeke *et al*. 2004, 267.
[614] Compare for example the villa at Derveni-Site Svarnos with the villages at Isthmia and Nemea (Tables B5 & B6 & D4 & D5).
[615] See above sections 3.1; 3.2; 3.3.
[616] A good example comes from the city of Sicyon where an extended industrial farm was stood close to the Agora area between the late 4th/early 5th and 7th centuries AD (Lolos 2019, 111-120; 2018, 185-225; 2016a, 139-180; 2016b, 103-138; 2015, 117-133; Petrakos 2018, 24-29; 2017, 17-19; 2016, 21-23; 2015, 24-28; 2014, 30-32). This had multiple torcularia, and storage spaces, among them amphorae imported from Africa and Syro-Palestine (Lolos 2015, 145).
[617] At the site of Perdikaria that might associate with ancient Kromna, field survey has indicated a significant oil production activity, but no excavation has taken place in the surrounding area (Pettegrew 2015, 306).
[618] See above section 3.6.
[619] Banaji 2007, 10-13; 173; 1999, 206; Sarris 2004, 64.

century AD, when several facilities were left abandoned. That likely also marks the date of closure of the pagan sanctuary at Isthmia which until then had a pivotal role for the local community.[620] The settlement, however, did not come to an end as in the following 5th and 6th century AD continuous human presence has been noted in areas of the Theatre,[621] the Roman Baths,[622] and the 'Settlement East of Temenos - East Field'[623]. This continuation was probably prompted by the imperial policy of fortifying the Isthmus and the construction of the Hexamilion fortress.[624] The exact relationship between the fortress and the local dwellers is difficult to understand. The manning of the fortress, particularly, remains an open question. It is possible that there was a permanent military garrison, which at times augmented or replaced the local militia. The research so far has not produced substantial evidence to corroborate that claim.[625]

Whatever the answer might be, there is little doubt that the direct state investment at Isthmia generated significant economic resources for the whole area.[626] This favourable economic environment is clearly manifested on the many pottery imports found in the surrounding territory,[627] and likely did not come to an end before the second half of the 6th century AD.[628]

The late-6th century AD spelled significant troubles for some of the settlements as vividly demonstrated by Nemea and Isthmia. Similar developments in the Late

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[620] Gregory 2010, 449-457; Kardulias 2005, 38; Pettegrew 2016b, 224; Rife 2012, 113-118; Rothaus 2000, 88-90.
[621] Gebhard 1973, 134.
[622] Gregory 2013, 277; 2010, 471; 1993b, 149; Pettegrew 2016b, 224; Rife 2012, 114; 123-124.
[623] Ellis S. J. R. and Poehler 2015, 285; Rife 2012, 124.
[624] The strategic location of the Isthmus was such that Cicero once proclaimed, "*For it was situated (Corinth) on the straits and in the very jaws of Greece, in such a way that by land it held the keys of many countries, and that it almost connected two seas, equally desirable for purposes of navigation, which were separated by the smallest possible distance*." (Cicero, *On the Agrarian Law 2.87*).
The last decades have shed more light on this area and its defences (Eger 2013, 838; Gregory 2010, 456; 1993a, 130-132; Gregory and Kardulias 1990; Kardulias 2005; 1993; Pettegrew 2016b, 238-240; 2006, 82-139; Rife 2012, 113-143; Rife and Giesen 1994, 231-233; Rothaus 2000, 84-92). It is now proposed that Isthmus was fortified starting from the 5th century AD (Gregory 2010, 456; 1993a, 142; Kardulias 2005, 40; Rife 2012, 121), and was subsequently refurbished by emperor Justinian (Caraher 2015, 339; Kardulias 2005, 40; Rife 2012, 122-123).
[625] Gregory 1993a, 131-132; Caraher 2015, 339; Eger 2013, 834-835; Kardulias 1993, 146; Rife 2012, 124; 136.
[626] For a general discussion about the profound impact of the fortifications on the rural economy of Byzantine East see: Dunn 2004, 538; 553-556; 567-568; Trombley 2014, 83-87. An analysis of the mounting state investment in Late Roman Corinthia has been recently offered by David Pettegrew (Pettegrew 2016b, 212-214).
[627] For the imports in Isthmia region see: Caraher and Pettegrew 2016, 177-180; Pettegrew 2016b, 214, 220-221.
[628] Caraher 2015, 339-340.

Roman lower Macedonia were understood as a result of the Justinian policy which resulted in "*self-sufficient, but actually impoverished kastra"*,[629] and a stagnant economy.[630] Whatever the causes, the example of Corinthia suggests that the attested decay could differ significantly from case to case. In Nemea the settlement was completely abandoned, probably after the Slavic raid of AD582.[631] In contrast, only parts of the settlement in Isthmia were abandoned.[632] At that period, the fortress, although not well maintained, remained inhabited nonetheless.[633] A series of small rectangular houses, most of them with an apsidal end, appeared on top of the Baths (Plate 35f).[634] Contemporary to them were four impoverished housing units erected over the abandoned Temple of Poseidon (Plate 42b, c, e), although only two of them have revealed substantial remains.[635] Overall, the now contracted settlement apparently survived,[636] and continued as a peaceful peasant community until the 8th and 9th centuries AD, when it was finally abandoned altogether.[637]

§ 3.9 Case study – The offshore settlements along the Corinthian coastline: «Isles of Refuge» «Emporia» or «Ports of trade»? A theoretical approach

3.9.1 Introduction

The continuity and expansion of the Late Roman settlements in rural Corinthia is not only observable in the inland and coastal areas, but also on a series of islets found a few kilometres from the mainland, in both the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs.[638] This interest in offshore settlements was not a local phenomenon. Similar developments have been

[629] For the Late Roman countryside of lower Macedonia see further: *Rural surveys in Macedonia*: Kotsakis 1990, 175-186; 1989, 11-14; Marki 1999, 723-733; 1995, 195-201; Poulter and Marki 1995, 179-193. *Systematic excavations in rural Macedonia*: Adam-Velemi 2009, 1-15; Chrysostomou 1997, 471-490.
[630] Dunn 2004, 579.
[631] See above.
[632] Table B8.
[633] Rife 2012, 136; 143.
[634] Gregory 2010, 472; 1993b, 156.
[635] Broneer 1973, 96-98; Gregory 2010, 472-473; Rife 2012, 129; 139; Rothaus 2000, 89
[636] "*smaller than a Byzantine Village…but somewhat larger than a mere agglomeration of huts or encampment of squatters and refuges*" (Rife 2012, 141).
[637] Kardulias 2005, 123-125; Rife 2012, 141-143.
[638] See: *Table A7*: Islet 'Kouveli' (Domvraina Bay); Islet 'Makronisos' (Domvraina Bay); *Table E6*: 'Halkyonides' Islets; 'Plateia' (Dhiaporia Islets); 'Evraionisos' (Dhiaporia Islets).

recorded across the Late Roman Aegean Sea, and the Peloponnese was no exception.[639] In this regard, it is only reasonable to ask what was the *raison d'être* of these settlements?

3.9.2 A wider perspective: The islet communities in the Aegean area

The proliferation of small island sites was initially attributed to the mounting instability of the Late Roman countryside, which fuelled a need for safe retreats (Plate 30a).[640] A further argument was provided by the famous *Chronicle of Monemvasia,* which paints a gloomy picture for the 6th century AD Peloponnese and refers to forced displacements towards secluded islands.[641]

More recent scholarship, though, is more hesitant to accept the 'refuge hypothesis'. That is because the archaeological record has shown that many of the allegedly depopulated Peloponnesian cities survived the transition to the Middle Byzantine period which reduces the possibility of a wide refugee crisis.[642] What's more, researchers have pointed out that several of the sites in question do not resemble hastily developed retreats but orderly planned, permanent settlements.[643] An alternative explanation for the rise of the islet settlements off the Peloponnesian coast is that these were 'ports-of-trade'.[644] The idea certainly holds value, especially when considering the significant volume of shipping activities along the Peloponnesian coasts. A more holistic approach, though, was recently put forward by Myrto Veikou, who went further in noting that the islet settlements were diverse, with distinct characteristics.[645] According to her, these offshore communes can be categorized into "*fortified castles"*,

[639] See: Hood 1970; Kirou 2007, 100-113; 2001-2002, 508-517; 1999, 59-60; Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 203-205; Veikou 2012a, 346-348; 2012b, 177-178.
[640] Hood 1970, 42-43.
[641] "*During* [yet] *another invasion they* [the Avars] … [The people of] *the city of Patras moved to the region of Rhegium in Calabria, the inhabitants of Argos to the island called Orobe, the Corinthians moved to the island called Aegina*" *Chronicle of Monemvasia*.
[642] See: Avramea 2012, 218-220; 2001, 294-296; 2000, 13-14; Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2011; 2005, 72-73; 2008, 331; Lambropoulou *et al*. 2001, 195-225; Moutzali 2002a, 185; 1991, 64; Veikou 2012b, 185-188 *contra* Charanis 1979, 204-214; 1950, 150-163; Lemerle 1963, 13-15.
[643] Avramea 2012, 218-220; Gregory 2010, 471; 1986a, 301-304; 1986b, 21; Veikou 2012a, 346-348; 2012b, 177-178.
[644] Gregory 1986a, 303.
[645] Veikou 2012b, 179-180.

"*trading posts"*, "*stations"* of the Byzantine navy, "*production centres"*, and lastly "*refuges"* for times of need.

3.9.3 The islets along the Corinthian coast: A diverse microenvironment

The above theoretical frame finds a good fit with the Late Roman island settlements surrounding Corinthia. Archaeological field surveys conducted here have revealed that these had different qualities, tailored to differed needs and priorities. At the bottleneck of the Saronic Gulf (Plan XXV, Plate 30d), the Dhiaporia islets *Plateia* and *Evraionisos* held primarily a strategic importance for their settlers, controlling the shipping routes that connected Kenchreai and the Aegean Sea.[646] The community here was probably not self-sustained and depended on the mainland for its survival.[647] The presence of a medieval fortress in *Evraionisos* provides a strong argument for the diachronic significance that these islets had for the local defence (Plate 30b, c, e). That same fortress according to the surveyors possibly had an earlier Late Roman phase and was most likely an important stronghold for the greater area during that period.[648] Three cisterns and a system of caves barricaded with walls probably completed the defences of *Evraionisos*.[649] The military character of the community settled here is probably further reflected in its small size, which according to estimations did not excide 30 residents at any given time.[650]

A different picture presents itself when examining the Halkyonides islets (known also as Kala Nisia) in the Corinthian Gulf, a few kilometres north of the coast of Perachora (Plan XXV). On the biggest of them survey brought to light architectural remains that might belong to an Early Christian church.[651] The site was probably already habituated at least from the Imperial Roman period, because a funerary inscription was found amid the church's debris that dates from the 2nd century AD.[652] The other islets, though, revealed only scattered Hellenistic and Imperial Roman pottery, together with some walls and fortifications likely from the same era.

[646] Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 19.
[647] Kardulias 2005, 53.
[648] Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 16-17.
[649] Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 11-14.
[650] Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 18-19.
[651] Avramea 2012, 353; Brown A. 2008, 178; Papachristodoulou 1968, 116-117; Wiseman 1978, 31.
[652] Wiseman 1978, 31.

Apparently, the Halkyonides did not have a strategic significance during the Late Roman period, and they were further deemed unsuitable for permanent settlement.[653] In this regard, we can hypothesize that they were mostly used by passing ships traveling between the Corinthian to the Boeotian coast as temporary stations during bad weather.[654]

3.9.4 The Domvraina Bay islets: The limitations of idealistic models

The last offshore settlements that we will consider here are from the islets *Kouveli* and *Makronisos* located at Domvraina Bay, just off the Boeotian coast (Plates 31-33). These are the prime focus of our study due to the abundant Late Roman material retrieved from both islets.

More specifically, the survey at *Kouveli* revealed traces of a sizable commune established at every available plateau of the small island, that thrived between the 4th and the 7th century AD (Plate 31a).[655] The settlement appears to have spatial planning with a large multiroom building and a cistern at one end, a church in the middle, and a village of at least 21 buildings at the other end.

A coordinated spatial plan can be seen also at the second islet, *Makronisos*, that reached its apogée about the same period as *Kouveli*. Here the main settlement, dubbed 'Diporto' by the surveyors, was amphitheatrically arranged and included no less than 57 separate buildings (Plates 32, 33). The port and numerous small facilities were positioned along the coast, a church stood on the slope above them, and further higher up the plateau was occupied by several large multiroom buildings.[656] Close to them was a small cistern which guaranteed constant water provision, while a second church was located further to the north. At the other side of *Makronisos* islet, but no more than 700m from site 'Diporto', the survey revealed more settlements including a few farmsteads, a small village, and a system of caves barricaded with a 65 m long wall (Table B7).

[653] For the remains see: Papachristodoulou 1968, 116-117.
[654] A shelter here would be much appreciated from the travellers along the Antikyra-Lechaeon route which was an important shipping route according to Pausanias (Pausanias, Periegesis 10.37.3).
[655] See: Dunn 2006, 43-51; Kardulias *et al*. 1995, 3-5; Gregory 1986a, 289; 1986b, 19-20.
[656] See: Dunn 2006, 43-51; Kardulias *et al*. 1995, 3-5; Gregory 1986a; 1986; 1986b, 20-21.

The reasons behind the Late Roman flourishing of the settlements at Kouveli and Makronisos can be easily deduced. The attested barricading of the caves could suggest that in times of need they were used as safe retreats. However, the extended settlements at both Domvraina Bay islets suggest that these were more than mere 'isles of refuge'. At the same time, the lack of strong defences and the easy accessibility from the sea make unlikely an interpretation as castle communities guarding the bay. The survey also did not reveal any significant industrial activity, apart from few storage spaces and many terracotta sherds of beehives.[657] This in turn further rules out an alternative interpretation as production centres.

A more suitable explanation put forward is that the Domvraina Bay islets acted as trading posts.[658] In that scenario the islets would capitalise on their proximity to the main shipping lines along the Corinthian Gulf. Moreover, they would benefit from the closeness to the Boeotian coast, a region that experience a notable stability and prosperity during the Late Roman period.[659] An identification as such would explain not only the port facilities, but also the position of the settlements in the lowlands, directly on the coast.[660] Even more significantly, it would agree with numerous amphorae retrieved, and the attested presence of imported *Late Roman C*, and *African Red Slip* pottery.[661]

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[657] It is possible that the inhabitants were engaging to some extent with fishery. Three centuries later Pausanias speaking about the small Phocian city of 'Boulis' commented: "...*Boulis lies on high ground, and it is passed by travellers crossing by sea from Antikyra to Lechaeon in Corinthian territory. More than half its inhabitants are fishers of the shell-fish that gives the purple dye. The buildings in Boulis are not very wonderful; among them is a sanctuary of Artemis and one of Dionysus. The images are made of wood, but we were unable to judge who was the artist*…" (Pausanias, Periegesis 10. 37.3). I would argue nonetheless, that it is unlikely that this was the case here. For that would not explain the reasons behind the sudden Late Roman flourish attested in the Domvraina Bay islets.

[658] Gregory 1986a, 302-303; 1986b, 21; Veikou 2012b, 179.

[659] The first archaeological field surveys on Late Roman Boeotia noted that this was a very prosperous period for the region (Bintliff 1997, 7; 1985, 65-66; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988, 178-179; Gregory 1992a, 17-34). More recent analyses have reassessed and downscaled but not rejected that notion (Bintliff 2014, 321-322; 2012a, 70-71; 2012b, 356; 2012c, 200-202; 1999, 29-32; Dunn 2006, 39-50).

[660] Gregory 1986a, 302-303.

[661] The surveying team proposed that the amphorae (Plate 33c) might have been used to carry water (Gregory 1986b, 21). There are legitimate claims among the scholars of Roman period that indeed amphorae were occasionally used to carry water (Peña 2007, 133-138). Nonetheless, it is very difficult to confirm a similar use unless there are purposefully punched holes in the upper part of the amphorae to facilitate the filling (Peña 2007, 136-137). In the words of Theodore Peña: "*In the realm of archaeological evidence, either the context in which an amphora is found or the presence of physical modifications may suggest that the vessel in question was employed as a water jar. Evidence of this kind, however, tends to be problematic. In the case of context, although the fact that an amphora was recovered in a certain location may suggest that it was reused as a water container, it is generally impossible to demonstrate this with certainty*" (Peña 2007, 135). In that respect and

One question that persists, though, is why the locals opted to build on the small islets instead the extended coastline of southwestern Boeotia. Historically, Domvraina Bay had two ports (modern *Vathy* and *Alyki*), with none of them more than 6 km from the two islets.[662] Modern research has further established that at least one of them, *Alyki*, which corresponds with ancient *Siphai*, was active during the Late Roman period.[663] What's more, approximately five kilometres further to the east from Siphai stood ancient Kreusis, the important port-city of Thespiai, that could also handle some of the maritime trade.[664] One possible answer proposed by the surveyors is that the island ports complemented those along the Boeotian coast, adding extra storage spaces which were in short supply in the mainland.[665] It is further possible that the islets, especially *Makronisos* at the mouth of the bay, acted as safe stations for the passing ships in case of bad weather. The short travel distance from the mainland, though, means that this was unlikely a major concern behind the foundation of the island communes.[666]

Another possible explanation is that islets acted as redistribution centres, serving both the interregional shipping routes passing Domvraina Bay, and the markets at the mainland ports which would handle the local products.[667] An arrangement as such would recall the Classical *emporia* which were gateways for interregional trade in 'fringe' areas, between different economic zones.[668] These similarities have not gone unnoticed by some researchers who were quick to categorize the Domvraina islets as *emporia*.[669]

A careful approach is required here, though, to avoid unnecessary contradictions. In the archaeology of the Late Roman Aegean, *emporia* are typically

considering that the surveyors of the Domvraina Bay islets did not mention any purposeful modification of the amphorae found, I would tentatively argue that these were mostly used for more valuable commodities. That is because the closeness to the Boeotian coast would logically permit the use of lighter and cheaper waterskins to carry the water, which was a common practice for short distances.

[662] Dunn 2006, 48.

[663] Drakoulis 2009, 18; Dunn 2006, 47-48.

[664] Pritchett 1965, 274-275.

[665] Gregory 1986a, 33.

[666] In the ancient world, the ships could average 4-6 knots in ideal conditions and about 2 knots against the wind (Casson 1995, 292-296; 1951, 138-144). That would place the Boeotian coast within an hour or two from the islets and Corinth within a day distance considering that it was common to travel from sunrise to sunset and in many cases night as well (Arnaud 2011, 62).

[667] Gregory 1986a, 302-303.

[668] For the Classical Emporia see among others: Demetriou 2012, 16-64; Hansen 1997, 102-105; Polanyi 1963, 34.

[669] Veikou 2012b, 179.

defined as 'secondary' or 'satellite' urban centres, with some industrial activity, serving mainly as trade and cabotage hubs.[670] Nonetheless, the paradigms of the Prehistoric and Classical Aegean as well as of the early medieval Northern Sea, suggest that in contrast to what is believed, an *emporium* was not necessarily city-like.[671] It is true that during the course of time many of these settlements eventually evolved into cities.[672] It would be wrong, though, to *a priori* address them as such, since it was not uncommon to have functioning *emporia* confined to small sites, with basic or even ephemeral infrastructure and no other amenities.[673]

Bearing that in mind I would be hesitant to attribute to the *emporia* at Domvraina Bay the status of 'satellite cities' or '*metrokomiai*' as it is sometimes suggested.[674] This is not only because there are no relevant literary sources, but more importantly because the evidence on the ground seems circumstantial. While the attested spatial planning in both islets clearly hints an economic hierarchy, there are no epigraphic or archaeological data to suggest an articulate administration or civic authorities that exercised control in the greater area. Moreover, the attested economic hierarchy does not necessarily imply anything more than villages engaged in maritime activities. On the contrary I would theorise that the scarce production activities, the limited water resources, and the absence of communal facilities other than churches, better describe small village communes than larger urban settlements. That is not to say that we should outright reject any such identification, especially since none of the islets has been systematically excavated. I would argue, though, that we should refrain from addressing them as 'cities' before having solid evidence that clearly suggest a more complex socioeconomic environment.

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[670] See: Deligiannakis 2008, 211-212; Drakoulis 2005, 93; Morrisson and Sodini 2002, 179-181; Robert J. and Robert L. 1979, 514-515; Veikou 2013, 129-130.

[671] See: *Early Medieval Emporia in Northern Europe*: Callmer 2007, 238-243; Hodges 1996, 294-295; Loseby 1997, 207; Sherman 2008, 25-45; 170; Verhulst 2000, 111; *Prehistoric and Classical Emporia*: Demetriou 2012, 22; Polanyi 1963, 33-34.

[672] Hodges 1996, 294-295; Demetriou 2012, 33-35.

[673] See: *Prehistoric Emporia*: Polanyi 1964, 33; *Early medieval Emporia in Northern Europe*: Hodges 1996, 294.

[674] In their analyses Cécile Morrisson and Jean-Pierre Sodini state: "…*The emporia, which were not necessarily located on the sea, and which are amply attested in Thrace, Bithynia, and Moesia during the late Empire, fall under this* (i.e. "secondary centres") *category of urban habitation."* This is also uncritically accepted by Georgios Deligiannakis and Myrto Veikou with the latter attributing a similar status to the Domvraina islets (Deligiannakis 2008, 211-212; Veikou 2013, 129-130; 2012b, 179).

For similar reasons, I would be hesitant also to accept the identification of the Domvraina islets as 'ports-of-trade' put forward by Timothy Gregory.[675] The notion of ports-of-trade as introduced by Leo Oppenheim, Robert Revere, and Karl Polanyi and further elaborated by the last, drew heavily from the substantivist position that economy was strictly 'non-market' in the Ancient world.[676] This consequently resulted in an inflexible model that required an absolute separation between the port community and the hinterland, a thoroughly embedded economy, and elites who would exercise absolute control on both the city and the wholesale trade.[677] Such restrictive criteria are not easy to meet, let alone to trace in the archaeological record. This contradiction has been pointed out by several researchers who note that it is difficult to fully separate the port communes from the hinterland, and to understand the levels of administration that they enjoyed.[678] The opposition further concentrates on the requirement of an economy fully embedded in the social institutions, a criterium that is discarded as simplistic and problematic.[679]

I would argue instead that a more suitable categorization would be that of 'gateway communities'. As a term, 'gateway communities' were originally conceived as an idealistic model to describe nucleated settlements facilitating trade at the borderline of two or more distinct zones of influence.[680] In that respect, they closely resemble the 'ports-of-trade'. They fundamentally differ from them, however, by relying less on institutional relationships, as here there is no absolute separation between wholesale and retail trade.[681] One potential problem that arises with the above proposal is that the 'gateway communities' are naturally expected in border areas, namely in the periphery and along the frontiers. Heidi Sherman, though, has convincingly argued that we should not define that 'borderline' as the "*physical*

[675] Gregory 1986a, 303.
[676] See: Polanyi 1963, 30-40; 1957, 17-24; Oppenheim 1957, 30-31; Revere 1957, 51-61.
[677] For the criteria regarding the ports-of-trade see: Sherman 2008, 25-29.
[678] See: *Administration of ports of trade*: Sherman 2008, 30-31; *Relationship with the surrounding hinterland*: Demetriou 2012, 17; Sherman 2008, 30.
[679] Sherman 2008, 45; Silver 1983, 796-797; Smith M. E. 2004, 84; Von Reden 1995, 33.
[680] Sherman 2008, 33-34.
[681] "*Thus, socioeconomic relationships, and the markets for long-distance and local trade, are implied by the foundation of gateway communities, but the lack of explicit evidence for these elements neither precludes the use of the model nor impinges on its heuristic value as a tool for comparison with other sites. However, when there exists sufficient written evidence demonstrating that a trading site had been under the direct administration of the host elites who manipulated trade and set prices themselves (instead of supply-demand driven price making), then the site should be classified as a port of trade*" (Sherman 2008, 35-36).

external frontier", but as the area where two or more economic spheres colluded and coexisted.[682] In our case, the two colluding zones would be the rural economy generated at Thisbe basin, and the interregional maritime trade fuelled by the regional powerhouse, Corinth.

3.9.5 Synopsis

There is little doubt that the increasing human activities on the small islets clustering around Corinthia during the Late Roman period mirrors similar phenomena seen across the Aegean. This gravitation towards small offshore sites was initially associated with the literary sources speaking of forced population displacements to safer locations. Modern scholarship, though, has disputed that scenario, noting instead that many of these settlements were large and complex enough to indicate a notable investment and a permanent human presence. The research has gone further to suggest that the occupation of the islets was responding to diverse needs and *raisons d'être,* ranging from security, to direct state investment, and trade. This can be clearly seen also in Corinthia. The Dhiaporia islets facing the strategic Kenchreai port were probably defence oriented. In sharp contrast, the Halkyonides islets just off the Perachora coast did not hold a strategic value and were most likely used only as temporary shelters for passing ships.

A different picture emerges for the islets at Domvraina Bay. These managed to capitalize on their position between the prosperous Thisbe basin and the Ionian-Corinthian shipping routes and evolved into maritime and trade centres. The geographic location of these islets, close but separated from the Boeotian mainland, strongly implies that they acted as a 'melting pot' for the local and interregional trade. In this regard, the Domvraina Bay islets would share much in common with the *emporia* ports found at the Late Roman Aegean, and early medieval Northern Sea, but also along the Prehistoric and Classical Mediterranean.

We ought, though, to avoid here an important misconception. Studies of Late Roman Aegean *emporia* have come to identify 'secondary cities', but the paradigm of other regions suggests that *emporia* were not always city-like. In many cases they were

[682] Sherman 2008, 42-43.

simpler and more basic settlements. Bearing that in mind, I would argue against the recognition of the Domvraina Bay islets as secondary urban centres, since their attested size and infrastructure better resemble that of village communes.

I would further argue against the proposed idea that these settlements should be categorized according to the idealistic model of ‘ports-of-trade’. This requires a thoroughly embedded economy and an absolute separation between the port community and the surrounding hinterland, criteria that are far from certain in the case of the Domvraina Bay islets. I would theorize instead that a better term would be that of ‘gateway communities’. As a concept, ‘gateway communities’ does not rely on institutional relationships among their members and are not *a priori* limited to wholesale trade. In this regard, they the term is better suited to describe the Domvraina Bay islets, since there is no archaeological or literary evidence to suggest here a wholly centralized economy.

Chapter 4

Private Architecture in Late Roman Corinthia

§ 4.1 Living the Good Life: Apsidal *triclinia* & the rooms with *tribelon* entrance

Towards the end of his life, an elder Seneca famously proclaimed "*Non vivere bonum est, sed bene vivere*" (–Living is not good, but living well-).[683] The phrase certainly fits well in many of the Late Roman Corinthian households. While the general architectural layout departed only a little from the Imperial Roman architecture, a progressive reorganization of internal spaces led to an increased versatility, roomier facilities and a more pompous design.[684]

This trend can be attested at newly built facilities such as the 'Protobyzantine Building' in Zekio-Corinth, the villa at 'Pr. Threpsiadi' in Kenchreai, the villa at 'Pr. Kalliri' in Lechaeon and the rural villa at Diminio.[685] However , it also came to define some of the older housing units. A good example is the post-4th century AD remodelling of the 'Brick and South Buildings' on the northern quay of Kenchreai which were refurbished and merged into a single, unified compound.[686]

Undoubtedly, the most distinct feature attested in the Late Roman Corinthian houses is the apsidal *triclinium* that, as in other areas of the Empire, eventually came to replace the Imperial Roman *oecus*.[687] The total number of attested cases coming from

[683] Seneca, *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* 70.4.
[684] For a general discussion on the evolving design of the Greek Late Roman house see: Bintliff 2012b, 369-371; Petridis 2008, 247-258; Saradi H. G. 2006, 168-173.
[685] Tables B1-5.
[686] Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 216; Evaggeloglou 2013, 36; Ibrahim *et al.* 1978; 1976, 90-98; Morgan 2014b; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A17; Pettegrew 2016b, 216; 2006, 341-343; Pitt 2012; Rife 2018; 397; 2016a, 348; Rife 2016b, 466-468; Rife 2010, 400-402; 2007, 152; Rothaus 2000, 29, 66-75; 1994, 393; Scranton 1978a, 53-90; Scranton and Ramage 1968, 185-187; Scranton and Ramage 1967a, 145-152; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 124-186; 1964, 134-140; Waywell 1979, 299.
[687] See: *General bibliography on triclinia*: Uytterhoeven 2007a, 51-53; *Studies on triclinia*: Ellis Sim. P. 1991, 120-123; Ghedini and Bullo 2007, 339-347; Rossiter 2007b, 369-374; Scheibelreiter 2012, 135-166; *Function and use of triclinia*: Leone 2007, 51-66; *Greece*: Bonini 2006, 50-68; Karidas 2009, 127-142; 1996, 574-584; Petridis 2008, 247-258; Saradi H. G. 2006, 173; Sodini 1984, 250-252.

across Corinthia,[688] can be deemed low when compared to other contemporary Greek regions.[689] The great geographic dispersal of the respective examples, though, somewhat offsets their low numbers (Plans XXII-XXV), indicating that similar installations were certainly not uncommon in the region.

The earliest apsidal *triclinia* in our sample can be traced to the 5th century AD. Examples here would be the 'Apsidal Building - Panayia Field' (Plate 5), and the 'House over the South Basilica' (Plate 41b, e).[690] It is possible, however, that the design had been introduced already long before that date. For several more apsidal *triclinia* have been excavated but not securely dated, including those from 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra', 'Villa Diminio', and 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara'.

We can assume that some of the corresponding private facilities were designed and built with their apsidal halls. At other times, though, the apses appear to have been later additions. I would consider that one likely case was the villa 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara', as the irregularities in the stone masonry seem to imply that the apse was later retrofitted and not built as a single unit with the rest of the wall (Plate 21e).

It is perhaps interesting to note here that none of the surveyed Corinthian *triclinia* was furnished with columns, other than the ones sometimes seen on the façade.[691] In this respect none of our examples is even slightly reminiscent of the famous "*Corinthian oecus*" as described by Vitruvius,[692] or sometimes seen in Italy.[693]

Notwithstanding, several of our examples can only be described as grandiose. This monumentality is not surprising as the facilities were destinated to serve an important semi-public rule, housing the landlord and his guests during the evening

[688] See Tables B1-5: 'Apsidal building-Panayia field'; 'House over the South Basilica'; 'Villa Diminio'; 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'; 'Tritos-Pr. Kalara'.
[689] Highly indicative is a comparison with Thessaloniki where dozens of houses with apsidal rooms have been noted (Karidas 2009; 1996). Nonetheless, a quantitative comparison should be avoided as fewer houses have been excavated in Corinthia compared to other regions.
[690] Table B1.
[691] Note for example the frontal façade in front of the north-eastern room of the building on the northern quay of Kenchreai (Plate 50d-f, 51a).
[692] "*…The Corinthian tetrastyle and Egyptian oeci (halls) are to be proportioned similarly to the triclinia, as above described; but inasmuch as columns are used in them, they are built of larger dimensions. There is this difference between the Corinthian and Egyptian oecus. The former has a single order of columns, and over it architraves and cornices, either of wood or plaster, and a semicircular ceiling above the cornice*." (Vitruvius *De Architectura*, VI.8-9)
[693] For the 'Corinthian oecus' in Italy see: De Albentiis 1990, 154-155; Soren and Aylward 1999, 174-175.

feasts.[694] One exceptional case has been recorded at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'. Here the allocated space for the *triclinium* was more than 150 m^2, while the apse spread for almost 7 m.[695] Most times the Corinthian *triclinia* were more modest, having an apse about 4 - 6 m in diameter (Plates 5, 35c). Even these smaller halls, however, could outmatch in size and elegance most other domestic spaces.

Apart from the apsidal *triclinia*, another elegant architectural design occasionally attested in several Corinthian houses is the three-bay entrance (*tribelon*) formed by columns or orthogonal pillars. The design was certainly popular in the urban and peri-urban areas. We should refer here to the building on the northern quay of Kenchreai, that incorporates two rooms with *tribelon* entrances, positioned at the opposite ends of the peristyle (Plate 50d-f). Further examples of *tribelon* entrances can been seen in and around Corinth, at the villa 'Pano Maghoula' (Plate 19c), at the 'Murat Aga House',[696] and possibly at the main room of the 'House next to the Hemicycle' (Plan X, Plate 41c).[697] The design is also twice attested in rural territories, namely in the *villae rusticae* at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra' (Plate 21a), and at 'Villa Diminio' (Plate 35b, c).

The *tribelon* entrance, particularly the columnated version, had a clear decorative character, bringing a much-welcomed sense of grandeur to the premises. We need not to go further than the enthusiastic words of Sidonius Apollinaris, who in AD 460 gave a vivid description of his villa in Auvergne to his friend and presumptive guest Domitius: "*On the Eastern side an annex with a swimming pool, or if you prefer Greek a baptisterium* (…) *The supports are not piers but columns, which your experienced architect calls the glory of buildings*…".[698]

The origins of the *tribelon* probably should be traced to the columnated or pillar three-bay entrances, that were commonly used for Imperial Roman *vestibula* and

[694] For the dining and reception facilities see among others: Leone 2007, 51-66; Putzeys 2007a, 54-55; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 52-53; Vroom 2007, 314-360.
[695] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013b, 181.
[696] Athanasoulis 2013, 198.
[697] The northernmost room that opened towards the court and the house entrance (Plate 41c), may have been accessed with what Robert Scranton described as "*broad doorway, or even a pair of columns*" (Scranton 1957, 15). However, the door width here (approximately 1m) may not be enough for a columnated entrance.
[698] Sidonius Apollinaris *Epistulae,* To Domitius.

exedrae.[699] One similar case can be seen in the *tribelon* entrances incorporated into the 2nd century AD rural villa found at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'. The initial architectural design of the villa included two wide passages with *tribelon* ends, positioned east and west the apsidal *triclinium/oecus* (Plate 21a, d). At some later date, the south *tribelon* entrance of the western passage was blocked, resulting in an elaborate room directly accessible via a grand corridor, from the exterior household entrance. This may have been part of a greater 4th century AD refurbishment,[700] that saw also the redecoration of the south-westernmost room of the villa.[701]

Whatever their initial origin, the columnated *tribelon* entrances became increasingly popular for domestic settings during the Late Roman period, when they were used across the Mediterranean for both palatial,[702] and less sumptuous facilities.[703] Reasons of functionality probably contributed heavily to this trend. The *tribelon* entrances were "*an architectural device to isolate*", and yet offered a high degree of internal connectivity.[704]

This 'duality' was arguably well-suited for the multifunctional Roman households. That is even more apparent when considering that the intercolumn spaces were typically blocked by curtains and drapes. The latter regulated the penetrating light and the accessibility of spaces, enhancing the versatility of the internal compartments.[705] In this regard, the imposing three-bay entrances were highly useful tools, for they provided in accordance with the daily needs, varying degrees of privacy and monumentality, bridging the distance between aesthetics and functionality.[706]

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[699] See for example: *Villa dei Misteri, Pompeii*: Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 53; *Pompeii I.7.1*: Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 170; *Herculaneum IV.21*: Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 200; *Sts. Nikita 26-30 & Karatza 8 - House A (West Building), Patras*: Appendix III.

[700] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 50; 2013a, 178-179; 2013b 184-185; 2002b, 148-149.

[701] See later section 5.1.5.

[702] See for example Piazza Armerina (Ellis Sim. P. 2000, 162).

[703] See for example the paradigm of North Africa, among others: *House of the Hunt, Bulla Regia*: Thèbert 1987, 337; *House of the Ass, Cuicul*: Thèbert 1987, 355; *House of Europa, Cuicul*; Thèbert 1987, 360; *House of the train of Venus, Volubilis*: Thèbert 1987, 372; *House of the gold coins, Volubilis*: Thèbert 1987, 373.

[704] Bouras Char. 2007, 33.

[705] Thèbert 1987 388.

[706] Let us here remember the words of Vitruvius: *"In architecture, as in other arts, two considerations must be constantly kept in view; namely, the intention, and the matter used to express that intention."* Vitruvius, *De Architectura* I.1.3.

During the Late Roman period, the *tribelon* design was much beloved across Southern Greece, finding its way even into middle-class household facilities.[707] This certainly mirrors to an extent the design's popularity across the Empire. Yet I would consider that the wide adoption of three-bay entrances for domestic contexts in Late Roman Greece may imply a more calculated approach. Part of its popularity might have stemmed from the common incorporation of *tribelon* entrances in the Early Christian basilicas found across Greece.[708] The latter must have stood as a source of inspiration for many of the Greek landlords who eagerly copied the design to their households. Another source of inspiration should be also considered, though. That is because the three-bay arrangement is directly reminiscent of Imperial triumphal arches. In this respect, its use for basilicas and episcopal residences has been recently understood as a calculated projection of social authority and power.[709] I would consider that the common utilization of the *tribelon* design by the Greek housing units may have carried a comparable meaning, serving as a connotation of social power.

Another important question concerns the role of the rooms with *tribelon* entrances and their position within the household plan. Sometimes the design can be found in dining *triclinia*.[710] One such case can be seen in the so-called 'Brick Building' identified by some as an "*Aphrodision*" (i.e. Sanctuary of Aphrodite), on the northern quay of Kenchreai (Plates 46, 50d-f, 51).[711] The facility had two elaborate rooms, both with *tribelon* entrances, facing towards the opposite ends of a peristyle. The easternmost of them was probably initially conceived as an *oecus* and may have been utilised throughout its period of use as a dining hall (Plates 51, 52a).[712]

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[707] See among others: *General view*: Petridis 2008, 254-255; *Nea Anchialos, Thessaly*: Sodini 1984, 368;
St. Areopagitou, Athens: Sodini 1984, 361; *Pantainos Library, Athens*: Sodini 1984, 350-351; *Megara, Boeotia*: Sodini 1984, 359; *Villa of the falcon, Argos*: Sodini 1984, 354; *Sts. Nikita 26-30 & Karatza 8 - House A (West Building), Patras*: Appendix III; *St. Charalampi 65-67, Patras*: Appendix III.

[708] For the *tribelon* design in the sacral architecture of Late Roman Greece see: Bouras Char. 2007, 33.

[709] Sturm 2017, 30-31.

[710] Petridis 2008, 254.

[711] The building was initially understood as a pagan temple, but the newer research has since reconsidered noting the similarities with a typical Roman Villa (Rothaus 2000, 29; Rife 2010, 400-402 *contra* Scranton 1978a, 79-90).

[712] Richard Rothaus, based on the presence of hydraulic stucco, proposed a use as a pool (Rothaus 2000, 67). I would consider that the overall arrangement is hardly reminiscing a *piscina* due to the inadequate height difference with the peristyle. Therefore, a different identification as *οἶκος/triclinium* should be at least considered. This would explain the interposition of the room which strongly reminisces that of an *οἶκος* (Vitruvius, *De Architectura* VI.7.2). It is also worth noting that even the presence of waterproof stucco is not prohibited for an *οἶκος/triclinium* since it was not

One notable feature of the design here, is that the columnated *tribelon* was flanked by two large pillars stretching about 2 m in length, that did not adjoin but left a narrow passage from the respective side wall (Plate 46). The resulting plan would appear to the Roman viewer as a monumental five-bay façade. The unconventional plan here was most likely inspired by the internal arrangement of the premises, for the side passages to the left and right of the *tribelon* were initially lined up through the peristyle corridors, with the two exterior entrances of the household (Plate 50d). The subsequent erection of the nymphaeum at the eastern flank of the peristyle, rendered the five-bay layout excessive and meaningless (Plate 50e). This probably led the Late Roman owners to extend also the length of the eastern pillar until the side wall. The remodelling offered the benefits of a more conventional layout for the dining hall, along with the erection of one additional room between the *triclinium* and the nymphaeum unit (Plates 46, 50e).

In most Corinthian examples, though, the *tribelon* arrangement can be traced to rooms other than the main, dining *triclinia*. We can refer here to the buildings at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra' (Plates 21a, 22), at 'Villa Diminio' (Plate 35b-c), and possibly at the 'House next to the Hemicycle' (Plate 41c). All of them had at least one room with a *tribelon,* regardless of the façade design seen at the main dining halls (Tables B1-6). Even more indicative would be the 'Brick Building' on northern quay of Kenchreai that had two rooms with *tribelon* entrances facing opposite each other (Plate 46).

The choice to adopt the *tribelon* design for rooms other than *triclinia* was not uncommon in Late Roman Greece, but the identification of these facilities remains elusive.[713] It is plausible that some of them had a multifunctional use, serving various roles as secondary elaborate rooms.[714] At other times, the position within the domestic setting of the compartments in question, provides at least some ideas about the role that these may have had during the examined period. A placement in the peripheral household compartments, and easy access from the exterior household entrances,

uncommon for these rooms to have water facilities (Leone 2007, 58). Equally problematic is the post-4th century AD use of the premises which remains unknown. It is possible, however, that the room was similarly utilized as dining hall, considering that several African villas had the same arrangement with centrally located *triclinia*, accessed by *tribelon* entrances (Thèbert 1987, 373).

[713] Petridis 2008, 254-255.

[714] Rossiter 1991, 201-202.

strongly imply a function as reception/audience halls. The latter were usually arranged accordingly to permit an easy passage for the guests without intruding into the more intimate sections of the house.[715]

We can envision a similar role for the second (i.e. southwestern) room with *tribelon* entrance in the 'Brick Building'. The room lay west of the peristyle, opposite the aforementioned dining hall with *tribelon* entrance (Plate 46). The monumentality of the façade, and the proximity to the exterior entrances make the room ideal as a reception facility. An alternative explanation would see this room as a porters' lodge in accordance with Vitruvius' description.[716] We should consider that doubtful in our case, though, due to the large proportions and the elaborate design of the room. Another likely example of a reception hall concerns the western passage/room with *tribelon* entrances at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'. As we have already seen, the initial passage/room was later remodelled with the north *tribelon* that was facing towards the exterior entrance retained, and the other blocked (Plate 21a, d). The new configuration, while maintaining the older high accessibility, guaranteed more intimacy towards the inner quarters, thus providing an ideal place for audiences.[717]

It is also possible, that all these rooms filled some additional role, namely as libraries. The most compelling argument here is made by several ancient literary accounts of household libraries utilized also as audience halls.[718] This has prompted some scholars to propose that the practice was a widespread phenomenon.[719] Notwithstanding, we ought to consider that there is usually no positive archaeological evidence *in situ*, to outright suggest a domestic library.[720] One could consider the interposition of the rooms in question, bearing in mind that an eastern orientation was generally preferred for private libraries "…*for their purposes require the morning light: in libraries the books are in this aspect preserved from decay*".[721] However, an identification solely based on the orientation is problematic, as the archaeological

[715] Ellis Sim. P. 1988, 569; Leone 2007, 53-57; Thèbert 1987, 360.
[716] "…*The space between the two gates, is, by the Greeks, called θυρωρεῖον…"* (*De Architectura* 6.7.1").
[717] Yet another case may concern the room with alleged columned entrance, in the 'House next to the Hemicycle' (Plate 41c). However, as we earlier saw the exact layout of the entrance in that case is unclear.
[718] Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I.6.1; Sidonius, *Epistulae* Sidonius to Donidius.
[719] Rossiter 1991, 200-207.
[720] Affleck 2012, 50-70.
[721] Vitruvius, *De Architectura* VI.4.1.

research across the Mediterranean has indicated that this rule was not vigorously applied.[722]

In contrast to the cases seen above, a more central and less accessible location of the rooms with *tribelon* entrance makes an identification as reception halls problematic.[723] One interpretation would see these premises as *exedrae* where the landlord conducted his daytime affairs. The practice of positioning the landlord's office in the inner sections of the house, usually in the area of the *exedra* equipped with *tribelon* opening, has been presented in detail for the case of North Africa.[724] However, there is nothing to imply that any of the rooms with *tribelon* entrance in our sample had a similar role.

Another interpretation would see these rooms as secondary *triclinia*. The presence of multiple *triclinia* within one domestic facility was certainly not unknown to several textual sources.[725] Once again, though, there is nothing to outright suggest the presence of secondary *triclinia* within the sample discussed here.

The utilization of apsidal *triclinia*, and of rooms with *tribelon* entrances, probably came to a halt after the mid-6th century AD, when most of the corresponding units went out of use.[726] The presence of several apsidal compartments dating from the early-7th century AD, has been attested over the ruins of the Isthmian baths,[727] as well as in the nearby theatre (Plate 35f). Notwithstanding, the small size and hastily built walls of these premises only vaguely resemble those of the elaborate dining *triclinia* of the previous period. In this respect, the Isthmian examples, along with most other domestic facilities of the era,[728] mark a new beginning in the Corinthian private building programme, characterised by simpler designs and a drastic reduction of living spaces.[729]

[722] Affleck 2012, 50-70.
[723] Indicative is 'Villa Diminio' where a chamber with *tribelon* entrance was positioned right next to the apsidal *triclinium*, having no direct connection with the exterior entrances of the house.
[724] Thèbert 1987, 374-375.
[725] See among others: Sidonius, *To Domitius*; Vitruvius, *De Architectura* VI.4.3.
[726] See Tables B1-6.
[727] Gebhard 1973, 134-135.
[728] A notable exception is the elaborate 'Akra Sofia' complex (Plate 23a, d).
[729] See among others Tables B1-6: 'Panayia Field-Bath'; 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of the Peribolos of Apollo'; 'House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road'; Lechaeon Basilica Houses '1'-'5', '7'-'12'.

It is certain that the economic stalemate and heightening insecurity attested during the second half of the 6th century AD, had a pivotal role in these developments.[730] Yet the changes in the architectural design, as much as the results of an ongoing decline, were also the conclusion of a long-term evolutionary process that increasingly prioritized economic resourcefulness.

The occasional presence of rubble walls within several of the premises examined earlier in the chapter, reveals that many of the buildings were retrofitted for more acute needs already before their eventual abandonment. One example is the transformation of the apsidal *triclinium* in the 'House over the South Basilica', which at a later stage was subdivided into four different compartments.[731] A similar case of subdivision can be also noticed in the grand dining hall of the villa at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra' (Plate 21a). The reconfiguration here resulted in at least two new rooms, but the ruinous state of the surviving walls cannot provide a clear idea about their exact layout or envisioned role.

A significant evolution can equally be seen in several of the rooms with *tribelon* premises.[732] At 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra', the two rooms/passages with *tribelon* façades were reconfigured with mixed results. The western passage, as we saw was likely transformed to a reception hall, with a *tribelon* entrance facing the grand corridor leading to the household's gate. In sharp contrast, the eastern *tribelon* room/passage saw its entrances narrowed, and the removal of all the columns (Plates 21a, 22, 44a, 44c).[733] Even more extended was the remodelling at the southwestern *tribelon* room on the 'Brick Building' at Kenchreai. After a reconstruction that saw the 'Brick Building' merged with the neighbouring 'South

[730] See earlier section 3.1.
[731] Scranton 1957, 93.
[732] The research across the Mediterranean has demonstrated that the subdivision of the domestic space usually involved open courts and intercolumns areas. See: *For a general discussion on courtyards*: Ellis Sim. P. 2004, 37-53; 2000, 22-37; 1988, 569-574; *Courtyards in the Eastern Roman Empire*: Turkoglu 2004, 96-107; *Courtyards in the Western Roman Empire*: Meyer 1999, 101-121; *Subdivision in separate apartments*: Brogiolo 2006, 251-283; Ellis Sim. P. 2004, 47–50; 2000, 110-112; 1988, 567-569; Saradi H. G. 2006, 168-173; 1998, 21-23; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 45-46; *Subdivision & open spaces*: Ellis Sim. P. 2000, 110-111; 1988, 567; Saradi H. G. 1998, 31-34; *Subdivision and lease of triclinia*: Ellis Sim. P. 1988, 568; Saradi H. G. 1998, 36; *Domestic courtyards in Greece*: Bonini 2006; Petridis 2008, 247-258; Sodini 1984, 341-397; *Subdivision in Greece*: Curta 2011, 53; Gounaris and Gounari 2004; Gounaris and Velemis 1996, 719-733; 1991-1992, 257-280.
[733] Aslamatzidou 2017, 50; 2013a, 180.

Building', a new western wall cut through the chamber dividing the room in half (Plate 46).

The compartmentalization of the domestic quarters into multiple independent or semi-independent rooms was not entirely new phenomenon in Late Roman Corinthia. The earliest example within our sample comes from the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre' (Plate 88). In the late-2nd century AD the building was remodelled and divided in half along its east-west axis,[734] with the former north-south passages blocked.[735] The following century the southern half of 'Building 7' was further subdivided (Plate 88). The passage between rooms '4' and '5' was walled (Plate 87), which led to the creation of two, independent one-room apartments.[736]

These practices, though, became more frequent during the Late Roman period. We have already examined in an earlier chapter the cases of 'Villa Shear - Roman villa Kokkinovrysi' and 'Villa Anaploga'.[737] In the first, the excavations revealed in room 'E' several crosscutting walls that date from the late occupational period (Plate 67b).[738] In the latter, the elaborate dining hall along with a part of the atrium, were divided in half during an early-4th century AD renovation (Plates 19b, 63b).[739]

A similar date in the late-4th century AD has been also proposed for the redevelopment of the 'Brick and South Buildings' on the northern Kenchreai quay, that saw the southern *tribelon* room of the 'Brick Building' cut in half (Plates 46, 50d-f).[740] I would tentatively argue that contemporary to the above may be the subdivision of the eastern rooms at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'. A *terminus post quem* for the remodelling is likely provided by a 4th century AD child burial set directly beneath one of the crosscutting walls (Plate 44c).[741] The latter was probably synchronous to the remodelling of the eastern *tribelon* passage, for the new entrances facing south and north appear to be in line with their neighbouring crosscutting walls (Plate 21a).

[734] Williams and Zervos 1988, 125.
[735] See also the following section 4.3.
[736] Williams and Zervos 1989, 3, 1988, 128.
[737] See previous section 3.2.
[738] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189; Shear 1930, 17; 26; Pettegrew 2006, 335.
[739] Miller Stel. 1972, 333.
[740] For the date see following section 4.6.2.
[741] See: Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 50.

It has been pointed out that the attested Late Roman subdivisions of domestic space reflect wider socioeconomic phenomena.[742] Prime forces behind the trend were a mounting inequality during the era, the need to house more people, and an eagerness to accommodate more working activities. The above clearly reveal that those coming from the poorest echelons of Late Roman society had their fair share of responsibility for these transformations. The wealthier members of the society were also involved, though, either by renting part of their premises to raise their income, or by granting some space to house their clients.[743]

Another characteristic of the Late Roman subdivisions is that they appear to become progressively more catastrophic. Hellen Saradi has convincingly argued that the Imperial Roman and the early-Late Roman examples were well-thought-out, having usually their own entrance, in contrast to more chaotic later cases.[744] That may also be evident in our sample. Indicative are the two successive subdivisions of 'Building 7-East of Theatre', which although extended, did not compromise the access to the new rooms (Plate 88). In similar fashion, the reconstruction at 'Villa Anaploga' made provision for the existing mosaic pavement (Plates 19b, 63b),[745] while the remodelling at 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' kept much of the previous plan (Plate 67b). Equally thoughtful appears to have been the 4th century AD reconstruction at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'. Here the owner likely opted to compartmentalize the eastern half of the house. However, he chose to retain the western rooms, as is evident by the new mosaic floor in the south-westernmost room, and by the remodelling of the western passage to an audience hall.

In contrast, the division in four compartments of the *triclinium* at the 'House over the South Basilica' in Corinth seems like a more careless act.[746] Unfortunately, little is known about both the plan and date of the remodelling, for which we can only accept a broad *terminus post quem* in the late-5th / 6th century AD. Considering, however, the overall small size of the compartmentalized premises, I would tentatively argue that this may have been a squatter settlement (Plan XI, Plate 41e).

[742] Brogiolo 2006, 251-283; Ellis Sim. P. 2004, 47–50; 2000, 110-112; 1988, 567-569; Saradi H. G. 2006, 168-173; 1998, 21-23; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 45-46.
[743] Saradi H. G. 2006, 172-173; 1998, 40-42.
[744] Saradi H. G. 2006, 168-173.
[745] See later section 5.1.2.
[746] Scranton 1957, 93.

It would be wrong, however, to understand the above as linear process. Despite the general trend towards ever more disruptive domestic subdivisions, we ought to remember that these actions were defined above all from the respective economic context.[747] In sharp contrast to the squatter settlement over the *triclinium* in the 'House over the South basilica', other housing units subdivided in the 6th and 7th century AD tell a very different story. One such example comes from the villa 'Derveni Svarnos'. Here the excavations revealed that one of the courts was subdivided and transformed into a storage space (Plates 44d, 45), bringing only minimum disturbance to the general architectural plan. Even more suggestive would be the redevelopment of the Lechaeon houses '5' and '11' (Table B1). [748] In that case the court standing amid the two houses was carefully divided between the two units (Plates 13a, 14d), without any further disintegration of the internal spaces.[749]

§ 4.2 The water facilities: Serving primary needs and fuelling aspirations of grandeur

The presence and utilisation of water within the private sphere represents another key aspect of the private building programme. The dedicated water facilities could serve various purposes. In many cases the installations had solely a productive character, being used for industrial/artisanal purposes or more commonly for irrigation.[750] Most

[747] The presence of crosscutting division walls has been also reported at 'Zekio - Protobyzantine Building Complex' (Plate 62c), but it is unclear at this stage whether the subdivision dates from the Protobyzantine (i.e. Late Roman/Late Antique) or the Middle Byzantine period.
[748] See earlier section 3.1.
[749] The reconstruction as two building units was first proposed by Demetrious Pallas (Pallas 1967, 138). More recently Paolo Bonini saw a single housing facility (Bonini 2006, 393). I would consider that the presence a set of walls running side by side across the division lines first proposed by Pallas, argue in favour of Pallas' reconstruction as two independent units (Plates 13a, 14d). Pallas recognized the westerner set of walls as 'benches' with a width 0.4 m and 0.58 m respectively (Pallas 1967, 145). This may reflect the common trend to use low-height walls, often no more than 0.75 m, for the subdivision of the premises (Ellis Sim. P. 2000, 111). However, the very low height of the surviving walls does not permit a full understanding of the actual building plan.
[750] Note among others, Tables B1-8: 'The Baths of Aphrodite'; 'Poulitsa'; 'Lalioti'; 'Thalero'; 'Bozika'.

times, though, the use of water was clearly for consumption, covering a great spectrum of vital and non-vital needs.[751]

The water supply could differ significantly in accordance with the wealth of the corresponding households. The most elegant of the private units usually had provision for running water (Tables B1-8). In urban areas, this was secured from communal aqueducts and springs.[752] In the rural periphery, nearby natural springs and seasonal streams guaranteed the necessary water sources. One example comes from the arrangements made at the elegant villa at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'. There the excavations revealed a series of clay pipes that carried water from some nearby spring for the function of the baths.[753]

The less wealthy, middle-class households obtained their water resources mainly from wells and cisterns (Plates 13a, c; 36b, e). This was probably the most common way to obtain water for many of the urban houses across the Late Roman Mediterranean.[754] We ought not to forget here that the wide utilization of cisterns and wells to cover private consumption, was a common phenomenon, even for the wealthiest cities of the Empire.[755] The same approach can be further seen in the rural territories. An interesting example comes from the 'Eastern House - SW of the Basilica (Section K 18-19)', in Nemea. Here a well just outside the housing unit provided the needed water (Plate 23c), despite the nearby river stream that arguably would be more than enough for that task.

Similar installations could also find their way into the houses of the upper elite to further augment the water supply. This was the case of the grand complex at 'Akra Sofia'. The facility was served by two cisterns located few hundred meters to the west of the main unit that acted as reservoirs collecting the excessive water from the uphill

[751] Note among others, Tables B1-8: *Nemea*: 'Eastern House - SW of the Basilica (Section K 18-19)'; *Lechaeon*: 'Diavatiki'; *Corinth*: 'House over the South Basilica'; 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo'; 'Pr. Lekka'; *Kenchreai*: 'Brick Building - Northern Quay'; 'Koutsogilia Area B - Southern Complex'; 'Pr. Louloudi'; *Rural Corinthia*: 'Derveni-Site Svarnos'; 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara'; 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'; 'Ag. Vassileios'.

[752] For a discussion on the communal water facilities in the city of Corinth see: *General*: Brown A. 2018, 58-64; Robinson B. A. 2013, 341-384; 2001, 102-327; *Natural springs*: Landon 2003, 58; *Hadrian's Aqueduct*: Lolos 1997, 271-314.

[753] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013b, 183.

[754] Marzano 2007, 169-170; Uytterhoeven 2013, 144-145.

[755] Crow 2012, 44; Kamash 2012, 86-87.

areas.[756] A well within the premises of complex,[757] likely covered the more immediate needs.[758]

A very different arrangement can be noted for the poorest households which usually had no water autarky. They had to rely instead on communal sources to obtain the necessary water which was subsequently stored in *dolia* for any further use. Indicative here is the arrangement at the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo' which despite the presence of a bathing unit and a latrine had limited water supply.[759] In that case a *dolium* later replaced by a small bath, may have been used to store the necessary water resources, presumably drawn from the nearby spring, Peirene.[760]

Special reference should be made to the water supply and irrigation equipment used for agriculture. Despite the scarce evidence, it is certain that the Corinthian rural landscape was not characterized by the sheer amount of water infrastructures attested elsewhere across the Mediterranean.[761] This might indicate, to an extent, a less systematic land exploitation. It can be argued, though, that the annual rainfalls were already enough to provide the need amounts of water, making any extended irrigation techniques redundant. Some useful information here may come from relevant studies on modern Corinthia. Throughout the 20th century AD, the annual rainfall in Corinthia varied from 400 mm to 600 mm per annum.[762] This is not considered significantly high

[756] Gregory 1985, 422.
[757] Gregory 1985, 415; Sodini 1997, 467.
[758] Jean Pierre Sodini further envisioned that this well may have provided water for the villa's hypocaust bath (Sodini 1997, 467). His proposal certainly merits further consideration, for between the villa and the two cisterns stands a land depression that would not permit an easy water flow towards the household areas.
[759] Scranton 1957, 20.
[760] The *dolium* dates in an earlier phase of the facility during the 6th century AD and was found buried half a metre beneath the small bath that dates from the early-7th century AD (Scranton 1957, 20). During that period, Peirene was accessible and the nymphaeum area was maintained (Brown A. 2018, 61; 2008, 133; Robinson B. A. 2011, 61-64; 288-296). The nymphaeum was subsequently used for burials. Most of them date in the 7-8th century AD, although, a slightly earlier date in the late 6th century AD has been also considered (Ivison 1994, 104 *contra* Robinson B. A. 2011, 295; Scranton 1957, 30). In the Middle Byzantine period, a small chapel was erected over the court of the nymphaeum (Robinson B. A. 2011, 295-298, Scranton 1957, 38-39).
[761] See the for example the irrigation facilities in excavated in N. Africa (Leone 2012, 119-131; Shaw 1984, 121-173), and in Syro-Palestine (Decker 2008b, 403-405).
[762] Markantonis 2012, 59-68; Landon 2003, 43; Lolos 2011, 33.

compared to other Mediterranean territories.[763] Nevertheless, the total precipitation still exceeds the threshold of 400 mm per year needed for rain-fed farming techniques.[764]

Notwithstanding, dedicated water infrastructures were still needed in the rural territories to offset any dry season. These were typically inexpensive cisterns like those seen at the farms 'Perachora - Farm over the Fountain House' (Plate 25d), 'Xerias - Levkon Valley' (Tables B2, B4), and possibly 'Solomos - Babounistra' (Plate 38e). On numerous occasions the installations in question were recorded simply as 'waterproof' tanks. Their use as water reservoirs should be strongly considered due to a combination of their plastered walls,[765] average depth,[766] large proportions, and the absence of settling vats that would indicate a different function.

The preference for small cisterns over more complex installations was probably dictated by the mostly hilly Corinthian terrain which was ideal for these facilities.[767] Bigger, and more carefully planned designs have been also noted, as in the cases of cisterns at 'Lalioti' and at 'Thalero' (Plates 34d, 105a). It is difficult, though, to relate them further to certain farms or cultivation at this stage.

Within living premises, the circulation and use of water could differ significantly from one household to another. In many cases, the dedicated facilities were small and inexpensive, usually simple water pools (*impluvia*) in the yard areas (Plates 6b, 67, 72a-b). Similar installations did not require excessive sources of water. They could be served instead through cisterns and wells, offering thus an affordable luxury.[768] Only on some occasions a more complex arrangement can be noted, namely with latrines (Plates 11f; 35a, d), baths (Plates 8d, 34b, c, f,), and eye-catching

[763] Shaw 1984, 135-136.
[764] Shaw 1984, 135-136.
[765] It is possible that some of these plastered tanks were used as granaries. The storing of grain frequently involved underground tanks, which on occasion were plastered to better preserve the crop (Gerasi 2018, 223-226; Curtis 2001, 199; 325-327; Lapp 1975, 89; Patrich 1996, 164-168; Thurmond 2006, 28-29). However, this cannot be confirmed for any of the aforementioned tanks, since the excavators did not collect soil samples for water floatation.
[766] A possible exception may be the tank recorded at Babounistra that measured 1.3 m in length and 1.5 m in height. Similar deep vats could be sometimes used by the *tinctoriae* (Crawford 1990, 16; Flohr 2013b, 60-62; Forbes 1964, 131-141; Hopkins *et al.* 2005, 5-26; Kardara 1961, 261-266; Williams 2003, 445-446; Wilson 2003, 445). However, there is nothing to imply here a dye-house. A different interpretation would see the tank as a vat for oil refinement. Once again, though, there is nothing to outright suggest a such use.
[767] Squatriti 2002, 22-31.
[768] Leone 2007, 57-58.

nymphaea (Plates 36a, d, 44d, 51b, 53a-b).[769] More numerous were the bathing units which became increasingly common after the 4th century AD.[770]

The growing popularity of domestic baths throughout the 5th century AD and up until the mid-6th century AD, was arguably a familiar sight across the Late Roman Empire. In Corinthia, as in other regions, the more widespread incorporation of baths in the domestic quarters was almost certainly propelled by the willingness of local elites to enrich their private compartments.[771] This desire occasionally led to the erection of elegant well-planned bathing units, equipped with hypocausts (Plates 34b, c).[772] Research, though, has further revealed simpler, non-heated, single-basin versions designed to serve no more than one person at time (Plate 34f). Among them we can note the examples coming from the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo' and 'Pr. Marini', in Corinth,[773] from 'Pr. Kalliri - Site Diavatiki' in Lechaeon,[774] and from 'Koutsogilia – Area B – Southern complex', in Kenchreai.[775]

In addition to the above, I would tentatively argue that two more installations found at Lechaeon houses '11' and '1' respectively may be envisioned also as single-basin baths. At 'Lechaeon Basilica - House 11' the installation in question was found at

[769] See Tables B1-5: *Baths*: 'Akra Sofia'; 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'; 'Pr. I. M. Lekka'; 'Pr. Mavragani'; 'Pr. Marini'; 'House over the South Basilica'; 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara'; 'Ag. Vassileios'; 'Diavatiki - Pr. Kalliri'; 'Koutsogilia - Area B - Southern Complex'; 'Derveni - Site Svarnos'; *Nymphaeum*: 'Kenchreai - Apsidal Court Nymphaeum - Southern Quay'; 'Kenchreai - Brick building - Northern Quay'; 'Lechaeon - Basilica - House 11'; 'Diavatiki - Pr. Kalliri'; 'Panayia Domus - Panayia Field'; 'Brick Building - Northern Quay of Kenchreai'; *Latrines*: 'Agrepavli'; 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo'; 'House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths at Lechaeon Road'; 'Lechaeon Basilica - House 1'.

[770] The lists of urban and rural residences presented by Paolo Bonini and Zoe Aslamatzidou-Kostourou respectively, provide a good idea about the overall presence of baths in the earlier, Imperial Roman houses (Bonini 2006, 312-323; Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 186-199). A comparative analysis indicates that the utilization of baths in the Early Roman houses was not so widespread as in the post-4th century AD (Table B1-5).

[771] The bibliography here is immense, among others see: *General Bibliography*: Chavarria and Lewit 2004, 28-29; Manderscheid 2000, 490-535; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 54-55; Yegül 1992, 30-349; *Greek peninsula*: Bonini 2006, 145-153; Oulkeroglou 2008, 105; Petridis 2008, 251-252; Sodini 1984, 386-387; *Spain*: Stephenson 2009, 357-359; *Asia Minor*: Uytterhoeven 2013, 147-148; 2012; 2011; Uytterhoeven and Martens 2008; *Constantinople*: Matthews 2012, 88-98; *Africa*: Leone 2007, 57-59; Maréchal 2016; Thèbert 1987, 380-381.

[772] See Tables B1-5: 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'; 'Pr. I.M. Lekka'; 'Pr. Mavragani'; 'House over the South Basilica'; 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara'; 'Ag. Vassileios'; 'Diavatiki – Pr. Kalliri'; 'Derveni-Site Svarnos'; 'Akra Sofia'.

[773] Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 175; Scranton 1957, 20.

[774] Manolesou 2014d, 316-317.

[775] Rife 2014b, 563-564.

the north-eastern room (Plan XXIII; Plate 13a, 14d),[776] and was initially understood by the excavator as a latrine.[777] However, the large dimensions of the floor platform may better imply instead a different function namely, as a single-basin bath. The same may be the case also for the installation interpreted as the eastern latrine of the 'Lechaeon Basilica -House 1' (Plan XXIII; Plate 10), which stood directly next to the dining hall with the built table.[778] The relatively large proportions of the room, combined with the presence of at least one other latrine next to the working compartments (Plate 11f), may suggest that this eastern room had a different role, perhaps as a single-basin bath. In both cases, though, the ambiguity of the relevant publications does not permit any definite arguments.

The numerous single-basin baths strongly imply a region-wide desire for a more reticent and bashful way of living. It is certainly tempting to further see in these changing beliefs, a possible Christian influence discouraging attendance at public baths. A cautious, if not negative, approach towards public bathing had a certain influence at least on some believers. We should refer here to the life of Saint Melania in the late-4th century AD, who stubbornly resisted the calls of her family to use the baths, only attending them when fully dressed.[779]

However, modern analysis has indicated, that for all the polemical preaching, the Christian perception was hostile towards nudity and mixed attendance, rather than the act of public bathing *per se*.[780] In many cases, big communal pools remained in operation during the Late Roman period.[781] In this respect, the utilization of single-basin baths in domestic context may better reflect a desire to avoid the compromises of shared use,[782] rather than a presumed attempt to take the moral high ground.[783]

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[776] See below.
[777] Pallas 1967, 144-148.
[778] Pallas 1965b, 129.
[779] Saradi H. G. 2003, 64.
[780] Biers 2003, 314-315; Saradi H. G. 2003, 64.
[781] Ginouvès 1955, 149.
[782] "*l'explication encore serait partielle, puisque les piscines froides collectives demeurèrent intactes ; et surtout elle ne vaudrait pas pour des bains tels que ceux d'Argos ou de Delphes, où ces considérations ne pouvaient intervenir au même titre. L'hypothèse ne saurait donc être adoptée sous cette forme mais il est probable qu'il faut chercher l'explication dans un domaine voisin, et faire intervenir non plus exactement l'hygiène, mais un souci de commodité et d'agrément, lié à une évolution de l'art du bain. L'idée devait nécessairement venir qu'il était plus agréable de se laver dans une cuve individuelle que dans une piscine collective. Pour l'époque hellénistique déjà un texte de Polybe montre ce goût, que les réalités archéologiques confirment*" (Ginouvès 1955, 150).
[783] Biers 2003, 315, Ginouvès 1955, 149-151, Maréchal 2016, 134-135.

We should note here, that during the Late Roman period, small bathing pools for individual use became increasing popularity across the Empire for public and private facilities alike.[784] In public baths, these installations were preferred because they could be used for therapeutic treatments,[785] and because they permitted a better regulation of the water temperature.[786] In that context, the presence of small pools may as well have served the same function as the Imperial Roman *labrum*, offering the option of a quick wash.[787] Conversely, the installation of single-person pools in domestic baths according to research offered "*an extra volume of water*" and a "*more personal bathing experience*".[788]

Yet, apart from the individual enjoyment, more practical reasons probably also contributed towards that end, since the simplicity of single-person pools made them more affordable for the Late Roman households. A similar interest in more humble domestic baths can even be seen in prosperous areas of the Empire, as in the case of Asia Minor after the late-5th century AD.[789] The trend is even more pronounced in Southern Greek peninsula, where simple, one-room domestic baths dating in the Late Roman period have been excavated in Sparta, Delos, and Mantinea.[790] The Corinthian examples differ, though, as they are even more basic versions without a hypocaust.[791] In that respect, the Corinthian single-basin baths somewhat recall the basic design of the Hellenistic Greek domestic baths.[792] Unlike their Hellenistic counterparts, though, many of the Late Roman examples appear to be the results of a compromise, as they link to poor, almost impoverished, households.[793] Perhaps most telling is the case of the single-basin bath excavated within the premises of the two-room 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo' (Plate 34f). The installation of the bath is

[784] Ginouvès 1955, 149-151; Maréchal 2016, 134-136; 2015, 157; Manderscheid 2000, 511.
[785] Ginouvès 1955, 150; Manderscheid 2000, 511.
[786] Ginouvès 1955, 151; Maréchal 2016, 132-135.
[787] Maréchal 2016, 135; 2015, 157.
[788] Maréchal 2016, 136.
[789] Uytterhoeven 2011, 325-327; Uytterhoeven and Martens 2008, 290-291.
[790] Bonini 2006, 145.
[791] Compare with: *Roman Empire*: Yegül 1992, 315, 329; *Southern Greece*: Bonini 2006, 145; *Macedonia*: Bonini 2006, 573, 622; Oulkeroglou 2008, 105; *Asia Minor*: Uytterhoeven 2012, 290; *Africa*: Maréchal 2016, 132.
[792] For the Hellenistic baths see among others: Manderscheid 2000, 469 Uytterhoeven 2011, 293-294; 321-323, Yegül 1992, 6-29.
[793] See Tables B1-4: 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo'; 'Lechaeon Basilica - House 1'; 'Lechaeon Basilica - House 11'.

dated to the early-7th century AD,[794] during a period when several nearby public *thermae* went out of use.[795] In this regard we can imagine that the owner consciously added the primitive single-bath, to offer himself the very basic joys, of an experience he could no longer savour elsewhere. That would also explain the rudimentary plan of the single-basin bath, which undoubtedly was designed with the maximum functionality in mind.

Once last aspect that we should consider in this short analysis is the interposition of the water facilities. It can be argued that this was regulated by both economic priorities and a desire for elegance. Sometimes simple solutions were pursued, with the various water-related facilities grouped together to permit an easier and more cost-effective water flow. In our sample a good example comes again from the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo'. There the small private bath drained into the nearby latrine, minimizing the water consumption while providing more efficient water circulation (Plate 34f, 35d). A similar clever setup was not uncommon across the Late Roman Empire. The research has demonstrated that even in some of the wealthiest households, the latrines were placed next to the baths as a cost-minded solution.[796] At other times, the willingness to simplify the water flow saw the placement of latrines close to the service areas of the household, that typically had access to ample sources of water.[797] This was the case of the 'Lechaeon Basilica House 1' (Plates 10, 11b-c, f-g), where the latrine was placed next to a kitchen stove,[798] and the working compartments.[799]

Usually, though, the disposition of the water installations was arranged according to their function. Purely decorative elements, such as the *impluvia* were commonly added to main household areas, like the peristyles and the *atria* (Plates 6b, 67). A similar central position should be expected for the *nymphaea* which were usually

[794] Scranton 1957, 21.
[795] Biers 2003, 305-316-317.
[796] Look for example the cases of 'House of the Hunt' in Bulla Regia and 'House West of Governor's palace' in Volubilis (Thèbert 1987, 337; 376).
[797] See: *Hellenistic Baths*: Manderscheid 2000, 471; *Roman Baths*: Uytterhoeven 2012, 291; 2007a, 56-57.
[798] Within the premises stood a build tile basin incorporated to a base measuring 1,35 m X 0,63 m X 0,80 m (Plate 11c). This was interpreted by the excavator, Demetrios Pallas as a dumping spot (Pallas 1962, 102-103; 1961, 173). He further noticed, however, traces of fire and many cooking vessels. In this respect, I would tentatively argue that this may have been a kitchen area.
[799] Pallas 1962, 104; 1961, 173.

placed in the courtyards, or close to the *triclinium* (Plates 36a, d, 44d, Plates 51b, 53a-b), to provide grandeur.[800] In contrast, at least some baths were installed at the outer sections of the house, close to exterior entrances. One similar case comes from the location of a small bathing unit found at 'Diavatiki - Pr. Kalliri', that was positioned at the extreme north-east compartments directly opposite the courtyard.[801] The peripheral placement allowed easy access to the rooms, without entering the more private quarters of the household. In this respect, the arrangement was greatly suited for the baths, since the latter were commonly utilized not only by the landlord and but also by his inner circle of friends, and guests.[802]

Private bathing facilities have also been recorded almost adjacent, but beyond the structural limits of big rural villas. A high-profile case comes from the villa excavated in 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra' which was positioned approximately 5 m from the eastern outer wall of the villa (Plates 21a, 22). Another probable case may come from 'Ag. Vassileios - Site Varela' where the excavations revealed a few facilities, among them a structurally independent bathing unit.[803]. The attested proximity certainly indicates that the wealthy landowners were somehow associated with these bathing units. That would also explain the presence of running-water and heating hypocausts, features otherwise prohibitively expensive for the rural peasantry. However, it would be wrong to assume that these installations only served the landlord and his family. Across the Empire, the presence of communal baths in rural settlements has been well noted from both literary sources and modern surveys.[804] Even more significantly, recent research has highlighted that in many cases private baths had a semi-public function in the Late Roman period, being used by locals and associations.[805] This practice can be especially noted in rural areas where wealthy landowners commonly leased their bathing facilities, or simply opened them to the local peasantry.[806] All things considered it is highly possible that the conscious choice not to integrate the baths within the rest villa compound shows a quasi-independent function.

[800] Ellis Sim. P. 2007b, 294; Manière-Lévêque 2007, 483; Leone 2007, 57-58.
[801] Manolesou 2014d, 316-317.
[802] Bonini 2006, 115-153; Leone 2007, 257-259; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 54-55.
[803] Moutzali 2002b, 340-341; 1989, 109-110.
[804] Bowersock *et al.* 1999, 338.
[805] Leone 2007, 58-59; Maréchal 2016, 128-129.
[806] Dossey 2010, 81-82; Rossiter 2007b, 385.

The lack of any corresponding literary or epigraphic evidence at this stage, though, refrain us from any final arguments.

§ 4.3 The working premises: How did the average Corinthian earn a living?

Archaeological surveys across urban and rural Corinthia have revealed a significant number of production and storage units. In most cases, excavated workspaces were integral parts of multi-room housing units (Plates 17; 36-38; 44d; 45; 87-88).[807] This was in line with typical Roman practices, that understood private premises as multifunctional units serving for accommodation, leisure and work. We need not to go further than the words of Vitruvius: "*Those, however, who have to lay up stores that are the produce of the country, should have stalls and shops in their vestibules: under their houses they should have vaults (cryptae), granaries (horrea), store rooms (apothecae), and other apartments, suited rather to preserve such produce, than to exhibit a magnificent appearance*".[808]

On that basis modern research has gone as far as to suggest that the separation between working and living spaces was almost absent in the Roman world.[809] Notwithstanding, we should outright acknowledge that the various workspaces of the Roman *domus* should not always be associated with the main profit-making activities of the household. For the small proportions and low accessibility of some of the installations better convey a secondary role, destined to serve mainly, if not entirely, domestic needs.

Similar facilities should be mostly expected in remote rural areas where the demand for critical supplies was understandably acute, and the distance from the urban centres offered fewer incentives for commerce. Among other things we can note here the ovens excavated at 'Perachora - Farm over the Fountain House' and 'Perachora -

[807] See among others Tables B1-6: *Lechaeon*: 'Diavatiki'; 'Lechaeon Basilica - Houses '2'; '3'; '4'; '6'; *Kenchreai*: 'Pr. Threpsiadi'; *Corinth*: 'House next to the Hemicycle'; 'Southeast Building'; 'Pr. I. M. Lekka'; 'Site Hadjimustafa - North Nezi Field'; 'House of the Opus sectile'; *Suburbs of Corinth*: 'Site Kritika'; 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'; *Nemea*: 'Western house SW of the Basilica'; 'Eastern house SW of the Basilica'; *Rural Corinthia*: 'Ag. Vassileios'; 'Ag. Eirini'; 'Perachora-West court'; 'Perachora-Fountain house'.
[808] Vitruvius, *De Architectura* VI.5.2.
[809] Ellis Sim. P. 2007a, 11; 2000, 107-108.

Farm over the West Court' (Plate 25d).[810] Another example may come from the settlement in Isthmia, and the kitchen recorded at the 'House at the Southeast Corner of the Temple'.[811]

Similar installations designed to cater to family needs, were probably not unknown also in urban households. I would argue that this was likely the case of the storeroom at the 'House next to the Hemicycle', the location of which speaks against a possible commercial use (Plate 41c). The latter was positioned at the southwestern corner of the house, at the furthest point from the nearby Lechaeon Road.[812]

Other examples may concern the small hearths recorded at the 'House over the colonnade of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road', and at the 'Late Roman Bath - Panayia Field'.[813] Notwithstanding, in the above cases the placement of the facilities in densely occupied districts offered certainly some incentives for trade. Therefore, it remains possible that here the produced goods were not domestically consumed but sold in the public markets.

In sharp contrast, the installations associated with the main production activities of the household were commonly bigger, more accessible, and somewhat separated from the living premises. One such example comes from the treading vat with double *laci* found at 'Derveni - Site Svarnos'.[814] Even more suggestive would be the 'Shop opposite to the Early Roman Atrium House - Annex to Temple E' (Plate 38c, f). In this case three *dolia* were placed directly facing the road, while an internal entrance was leading to the inner, more private premises and the upper floor.[815]

One issue that we should examine further concerns the main production activities carried out in the countryside. Beekeeping appears to have made a significant contribution to the rural economy. Examples of beehives have been recorded in the villa at 'Akra Sofia', at the 'Isthmia Fortress' and in the Isle of Makronisos.[816] All the above cases can be dated to the Late Roman period.[817] This in turn may suggest an increasing

[810] See: '*House over the West court*': Coulton 1967, 370-371; 1964, 130-131; Payne *et al.* 1940, 15
[811] Broneer 1973, 97; '*House over the Fountain House*': Tomlinson 1969, 242-250.
[812] Scranton 1957, 15.
[813] See: '*Great baths on the Lechaeon Road*': Biers 1985, 12-13; 62-65; '*Late Roman Bath - Panayia Field*': Sanders 1999, 456-457.
[814] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 192.
[815] Robinson H. S. 1968b, 135-136.
[816] See Tables B5-8.
[817] Gregory 1986, 297; 1986b, 21; 1985, 422; Kardulias and Gregory 1990, 495.

interest in beekeeping activities during that period. I would consider that the different socioeconomic contexts of the attested cases, strongly point in the same direction.

Farming was another major contributor to the rural economy.[818] A significant part of agricultural production likely concerned various legumes and cereals. Despite the almost complete absence of cereal mills,[819] silos (Plate 45),[820] and granaries from our sample, we can be certain that the cultivation of pulse and cereal crops was widespread across the region.[821] We ought not to forget that legumes and cereals formed a large part of the ancient Mediterranean diet, and there is no reason to expect otherwise for Roman Corinthia.[822]

More material evidence comes forward with respect to the cultivation of cash crops. A significant number of *trapeta* (Plate 37d),[823] along with tanks for the refinement and collection of olive oil,[824] and parts from oil presses (Plate 40d),[825] reveal that the oleiculture was widely practised during that era. In that direction point also the results from several surveys, that have noted many signs of oil production activities in both eastern and western Corinthia.[826]

Somewhat fewer in comparison appear to have been the *cellae vinariae.* In our sample, only three *torcularia* can be noted across the countryside, coming from 'Farm Kokkinovrysi', 'Kiato - Melissi', and 'Derveni - Svarnos' respectively (Plates 37a; 39a,

[818] See Tables B2, B5-8.
[819] See for example the 3rd century AD farmhouse (?) excavated in the area of Makriyianni in Athens. This was equipped among others with two mills for the process of cereals (Saraga 2008).
[820] It is well known that underground or over ground storage silos were commonly used for the storage of cereals (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2017, 363-365; Devreker *et al.* 2003, 359; Gerasi 2018, 223-226, Richardson 2008, 51). In our case, storage silos have been noted twice, namely at 'Derveni - Site Svarnos' and at 'Site Kritika - Koutoumatsa' (Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 192; Athanasoulis 2013, 198; Kissas and Giannakopoulos 2018, 380-382). In addition to these, the low part of a cereal millstone ("*ὑπερος*") was noted in 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara' (Charitonidis 1968a, 125; Kritzas 1976, 212-214).
[821] The farming of cereals and legumes commonly involved perishable materials and few fixed installations, which makes their identification difficult (Lee 2013, 227; Witcher 2016, 467).
[822] Perhaps most telling is the example of neighbouring Argolis. In that case the floatation of soil samples revealed an extensive cultivation of grain, barley, wheat, and oat, as well as that of peas, lentils, figs, and beans (Hjohlman *et al.* 2005, 251).
[823] See Table B3, B5: 'Site Kritika-Koutoumatsa'; 'Lalioti Loutro'; 'Derveni - Site Svarnos'; 'Xerias River'; 'Ag. Vassilios - Site Varella'; 'Pr. Rekleiti-Roussopoulou'.
[824] One relevant example has been noted at 'Farm Kokkinovrysi' (Robinson H. S. 1965, 77). Yet another may concern the tank excavated at 'Solomos - Site Babounistra K77' (Plate 38e), but as we saw in the previous section very little can be said about the role of the tank (Section 4.2.).
[825] See Table B5: 'Perachora - Farm over the West Court'.
[826] Brown A. 2018, 24; Pettegrew 2015, 298; 306; Lolos 2011, 43, 488; 2010, 120.

d, 45).[827] This scarcity of evidence, particularly in the eastern parts of Corinthia,[828] has prompted some researchers to consider that during the Roman period, Corinthia relied on the wine imports to satisfy local needs.[829] This would also correspond with the great number of imported amphorae seen across the region.[830] Once again, though, we should avoid any final arguments before considering a wider sample of cases.[831]

What is certain is that the interest in oleiculture and viniculture was widespread across the region. The same trend has been also observed in the other regions of the northern Peloponnese, namely in Achaea,[832] and in Argolis,[833] as well as across the Empire.[834] In Corinthia, production of cash-crops has been noted in remote locations,[835] peri-urban areas,[836] and sometimes even within secondary urban centres (Plan XXV).[837] A position close to the large urban centres must have been preferred for these cultivations. That would guarantee a higher margin of profit for the labour-intensive cash crops, while requiring in return smaller farming plots.[838] It would be wrong, though, to further understand this preference in absolute terms as Donald Engels once proposed, for the cereal plantations were not an unknown sight in the peri-urban areas either.[839] This is perhaps best evident in the case of 'Site Kritika - Koutoumatsa' that

[827] We should note here that all but one of the torcularia attested in Corinthia appear to have been simple treading vats. In only one case ('Farm Kokkinovrysi') the excavators reported the presence of a "*wine press*", but they did not elaborate further or provided any photograph (Robinson H. S. 1965, 77).

[828] We ought also not to forget that the Phliasian and the Nemean plains of Western Corinthia have been diachronically deemed suitable for viniculture (Kourakou-Dragona 2012, 15-139; Lolos 2010, 121-12).

[829] Lolos 2010, 118-120.

[830] Lolos 2010, 117-119.

[831] The recent excavation of a farmhouse equipped with a *torcularium* at the site 'South of South Stoa - North' in Sicyon (Plates 37b-d), seems to further solidify the Western Corinthia as a major contributor to the local production of wine (Plan XXV). However, a similar presence of *torcularia* in urban areas has been also reported by Demetrios Pallas at the 'Lechaeon Basilica house 2' and at the 'Lechaeon site - Agrepavli' (Pallas 1965a, 136, 138). However, while his identification may stand correct Pallas did not provide any further evidence to back his claim.

[832] Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 70-71; Petropoulos 2013, 158-159; 1994, 411.

[833] Chavarría and Lewit 2004, 14; Hjohlman *et al.* 2005, 244-251; 257.

[834] For the oleiculture and the viniculture see among others: <u>*General analysis*</u>: Bess 2007, 28; Chavarría and Lewit 2004, 10-14; Decker 2008a, 73-89; Jones 1964, 768-769; Lewit 2012; Lee 2013, 233-234; Pecci *et al*. 2013, 4491-4495; Plommer 1973, 7-11; Putzeys 2007b, 68-70; Rossiter 2007a; 1981; Zerbini 2013, 63-66; <u>*Roman East*</u>: Laiou and Morrison 2008, 30; <u>*Greece*</u>: Bintliff 2012b, 358.

[835] See Table B5: 'Lalioti Loutro'; 'Perachora - Farm over the West Court'; 'Derveni - Site Svarnos'.

[836] See Table B3: 'Site Kritika - Koutoumatsa'; 'Farm Kokkinovrysi'.

[837] See footnote above and the following pages.

[838] Banaji 2007, 6-7; Marzano 2007, 103-108.

[839] For the proposal of an absolute distinction between the areas used for cash crops and those used for food crops see: Engels 1990, 25-27.

stood in an advantageous position, little more than 1 km north of the city of Corinth (Plan XXV).[840] The surveys here revealed a storage silo along with a *trapetum*, suggesting that it was considered viable to practise cereal farming, even in peri-urban farms that were already involved with cash-crops.

Moving past the Corinthian countryside, a more complex picture develops concerning the production and storage units found in the urban territories.[841] In the secondary Corinthian urban centres, several of these installations appear to have been workshops equipped for heavy-duty activities. Among them we can note the Late Roman pottery workshop established on the northern compartments of 'Pr. Kalliri', in Lechaeon (Plate 36a, d).[842]

Another relevant case concerns the two vats recognized as a "*κναφείον*" (Fuller's establishment) at 'Site Sxoleio - Pr. Kanellou',[843] in Tenea (Plate 38a-b).[844] These certainly suggest some production activity. However, I would be hesitant to further see here a *fullonica* as it is widely accepted.[845] For in our case, the meagre size of the supposed 'rinsing vats', as well as the lack of smaller treading vats and stall booths, do not seem to agree with the typical criteria of the Roman *fullonicae*.[846] I would consider instead that a more proper identification would be that of tanks designed to collect olive oil and separate it from the *amurca*.[847] The identification would agree with the size dimensions of the vats in Tenea. Even more importantly, though, it would correspond with the nearby presence of an oil *trapetum* that was recorded on site.[848]

[840] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 192; Athanasoulis 2013, 198.
[841] See Tables B1, B3, B4.
[842] See Tables B3, B4.
[843] For the identification see: Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 195; Avramea 2012, 348; Deilaki-Protonotariou 1972, 159-160; Giannakopoulos and Kissas 2013, 83; Kordosis 1997, 483-484; Papachristodoulou 1970b, 103; Wiseman 1978, 93.
[844] For the site see also section 3.4.2.
[845] Similar problems arise for all the installations in Roman Corinthia that have been tentatively identified as fuller's establishments.
[846] For the *fullonicae* see: *General*: Bradley 2002, 25-26; Flohr 2013a, 18-34; Wilson 2003, 445; *Timgad*: Wilson 2002, 278; *Pompeii*: Flohr 2013b, 62-64; 2011, 209-214; Mau 1902, 392-397; *Ostia*: Bradley 2002, 30-37.
[847] For the oil refinement see: Rossiter 1981, 354; Wilson 2003, 445.
[848] See Table B4.

Special reference should also be made to two other 'industrialized' production units recorded in the city of Sicyon (Plan XVI, Plates 16, 17).[849] As we saw in an earlier chapter, [850] here the excavations revealed two large complexes that were occupied with some intervals, from the 1st until the 7th century AD.[851] The southern of them appears to have housed pottery kilns during the two periods of use, whereas the northern likely always functioned as a farm.

The presence of cultivated plots of land within the urban limits was certainly not an unknown sight in the Roman world.[852] Similar examples have been recorded even in relatively wealthy Egypt and elsewhere in North Africa.[853] However, here the farm was positioned right in the city centre, mere metres from the Agora. This in turn may imply that the city was in an impoverished state, and drastically reduced in size. Notwithstanding, the ongoing research seems to suggest that the area around the Agora experienced significant development,[854] and remained a focal point throughout the Roman period.[855] In that respect, I would argue that the farm, along with the pottery workshops found immediately to the South, imply an intensification of the working activities rather than a decline.

The same desire may have also prompted the construction of the Lechaeon farmhouses excavated in the area of the basilica (Plan XXIV, Plates 11, 12).[856] These along with the pottery workshop at 'Diavatiki - Pr. Kalliri', similarly suggest intensified working activities. In that case, though, the widespread spoliation of the basilica from all but one of the houses, may further imply more acute needs.[857]

[849] See Table B4: 'South of South Stoa - Site N. of the East-West road'; 'South of South Stoa - Site S. of the East-West Road – IR Phase'; 'South of South Stoa - Site S. of the East-West Road – Late Roman Phase'.
[850] See section 3.4.8.
[851] Lolos 2019, 146-147.
[852] See: *Lechaeon - Torcularia*: Lechaeon site - 'Agrepavli'; Lechaeon Basilica - House '2'; *Tenea - Trapetum & refining tank*: 'Tenea – Chiliomodi - Site Palaio Sxoleio (Pr. Kanellou)'; *Sicyon - Oil process & torcularium*: 'South of South Stoa - Site N. of the East-West Road'.
[853] Haas 2006, 46; Leone 2007, 136-137.
[854] See section 3.4.8.
[855] Lolos 2013, 477; 2012, 116; Tzavella *et al.* 2014, 92-95.
[856] See Tables A3, B3.
[857] An exception is 'Lechaeon Basilica - House 6'. For the construction date of house '6' see later section 4.5.

Several heavy-duty workshops have also been noted in the region's capital, Corinth. Among them, we can recognize two glass workshops,[858] one possible foundry,[859] and two installations with vats that have been tentatively identified by the excavators as *fullonicae*.[860] The heavy-duty facilities appear to have been centred throughout the examined period in two districts, namely in the *insula* east of Theatre, and in area south of the South Stoa (Plans IX, XXII, Plate 4a). One exception is the glass workshop established after a late-4th century AD remodelling of the shops west of the area 'North of the Peribolos of Apollo' (Plate 40c). Another likely exception may concern the 4th century AD facility at 'Pr. I. M Lekka' found further to the north (Plan XXII). This had a large storage unit with four *dolia* and many amphorae, while three small tanks were excavated in the area of the yard. Very little is further recorded about the character of that facility, though.[861]

On other occasions, the lack of heavy immovable installations and the estimated low production capacity seem to better suggest a *taberna*,[862] housing some sort of retail or service enterprise.[863] Corinth was, after all, an important trade and service hub throughout the Imperial Roman period, and remained such for a long time afterwards.[864]

The overall design of these units can be mostly deemed basic, limited usually to just a couple of rooms. On many instances the working areas were structurally integrated within multi-room housing units, facing directly towards the road. Indicative is the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo' where the two commercial premises provided a direct access the most intimate quarters (Plate 40c). Another example is the 'Shop opposite to Early Roman Atrium House - NW of Temple E'. This opened directly towards the road to its east, while another entrance to the west led to the upper floor and the inner, more private rooms (Plate 38f).

[858] See Table B1: 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo'; 'Building 5 - East of Theatre'.
[859] See Table B1: 'Shop North of Panayia Field'.
[860] See Table B1: 'IR Long building - NW Corner Insula East of Theatre'; 'South of the South Stoa'.
[861] Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292.
[862] See Table B1: 'Shop North of Panayia Field'; 'Theatre - West Hall'; 'Theatre - Plaza'; 'Building 5 - East of Theatre'; 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'; 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo'; 'Shop Opposite to Early Roman Atrium House - NW of Temple E'; 'Late Roman Building - East of Theatre 1982'; 'Early Roman Cellar Building'.
[863] For the *tabernae* across the Empire see: Parkins 1997, 96-105; Hawkins 2016, 64-68; Holleran 2012, 100-135; Mayer 2012, 71-92.
[864] See earlier section 3.7.

The occupants of these complexes were probably also involved in the operation of the *tabernae.* Scholars have noted that an arrangement that placed the production units close to the less intimate domestic quarters, may signify the presence of tenants.[865] In sharp contrast, a direct accessibility to the living household areas strongly argues against rental use.[866] I would argue that the latter was the case for the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo', and the 'Shop opposite to Early Roman Atrium House - NW of Temple E'. For the attested high degree of accessibility and low level of intimacy between the working and living quarters in these two facilities rule out a rental use.

In contrast, few things can be said about the operation and ownership status of the numerous structurally independent, standalone *tabernae*.[867] It is possible that these were utilized by smallholders who worked and lived within the premises. However, an exclusive use as dedicated workspaces, managed either by tenants or by wealthy traders, should not be ruled out at this stage.[868]

The problems of interpretation with respect to these standalone units are nowhere more evident than in the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre',[869] in Corinth (Plan XXII, Plates 87, 88).[870] The buildings were initially understood as *tabernae*/shops.[871] More recently, though, a different interpretation came forward suggesting a use as crossroad shrines.[872] The proponents of this identification note that the large size of the rooms, and the presumed lack of upper storey do not support a use as *tabernae*.[873] They stress instead that the prominent position which the

[865] Parkins 1997, 101-102.
[866] Parkins 1997, 101-102.
[867] See Table B1: 'Shop North of Panayia Field'; 'Theatre-West Hall'; 'Theatre-Plaza'; 'Building 5 - East of Theatre'; 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'; 'Early Roman Cellar Building'.
[868] It is not always clear if the *tabernae* had also a residential function. This was certainly not an uncommon phenomenon (Holleran 2012, 260). In many cases, however, these units were only preserved for working activities and had a no residential use (Holleran 2012, 64-65, 250).
[869] For the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre', in particular, their destruction date, see earlier section 3.1.
[870] The two units here shared the same external façade and had many design similarities, indicating perhaps that they were conceived as a single architectural project (Williams 2005, 227). The early publications went further to recognize them as a single unit, the so-called Terraced building, but the continuation of the surveys revealed that these were independent four-room facilities (Williams and Zervos 1985, 61 *contra* Williams and Zervos 1984, 89-92).
[871] Jongkind 2001, 142-143; Papaioannou 2002, 118-120; Williams and Zervos 1989, 7-8
[872] Brown A. 2018, 123-124; Lepinski 2015, 186; 2013, 77; 2008, 245; Person 2012, 166-169; Williams 2005, 243-247; Vavlekas 2013, 366-368.
[873] Williams 2005, 243-246.

cult of Aphrodite in building '7' had, together with the many cult activities in the greater area,[874] better suggest a use as shrines.[875]

This hypothesis is further supported by the attested incorporation of spolia during a 3rd century AD refurbishment of building '7', a choice allegedly linked to the diminishing of paganism.[876] The proponents of the de-sacralisation theory refer particularly to a marble Osiris hydria jar, found close to building '5' that appears to be mutilated.[877] However, the hydria was firmly located in a "*backfill within the trench left by the robbing of the west wall of Building 5*" that can be dated in the late-4th or early-5th century AD.[878] Consequently, I would argue that there is no apparent connection between the hydria's fate and the occupational phase of building '7'.

Problems arise also with the second alleged case of de-sacralisation. This concerns a female lower torso that was reused as building material for the western façade of the same building.[879] The torso is sawn apart in two pieces, and crudely chiselled in the areas of navel and thigh. Notwithstanding, I would consider that again there are no clear signs of an intentional de-sacralisation. That is because the statue does not reveal a vengeful mutilation, which together with any Christian defiling markings would support that scenario.[880] Consequently, only one relevant study has accepted the mutilation hypothesis with respect to the torso.[881] I would argue instead that the recarving of the torso probably aimed to create useable building blocks with more canonical surfaces, for the sawing resulted in roughly orthogonal pieces with few projecting parts that would be well suited for construction works.[882] A similar spoliation of statues to speed up construction and mitigate costs is attested as early as the 3rd century AD, even in unquestionably pagan cities. We should refer here to Late Roman Athens where an extensive use of statuary spolia can be seen at the so-called 'Late

[874] For the cult activities in the greater area see: Brown A. 2008, 124.
[875] Brown A. 2018, 123; Williams 2005, 243-247; Person 2012, 166-169.
[876] Saradi H. G. and Eliopoulos 2011, 291-292; Williams 2005, 243-246.
[877] Saradi H. G. and Eliopoulos 2009, 291-292; Williams 2005, 246.
[878] Williams and Zervos 1985, 79-80.
[879] Saradi H. G. and Eliopoulos 2009, 291-292; Williams 2005, 243.
[880] For the signs of intentional de-sacralization see: Delivorrias 1991; Kristensen 2012.
[881] Saradi H. G. and Eliopoulos 2009, 291-292 *contra* Brown A. 2016, 150-176; Rothaus 2000, 119-126.
[882] That would somewhat recall the treatment of another Corinthian sculpture, a statue Artemis found in the area of the North-Western Shops, that was sawn in two pieces and reused in different parts of the Byzantine wall (Brown A. 2016, 157-158; Johnson 1931, 15-19).

Roman defence wall' that was constructed few years after the Herulian raid of AD 267.[883]

Further to the above, the shrine theory reserves yet more problems. While neighbourhood shrines were popular across the Roman world, these typically occupied road intersections, building façades or communal yards, not structurally independent four-room facilities.[884] Moreover, for all the importance which the occupants of building '7' clearly placed on Aphrodite, there are several reasons to doubt that her cult was the only one practised here.[885] Besides, even if the cultic niche found within the building was used to worship among others, Aphrodite (Plate 86c), that does not necessarily imply anything more than a private shrine. We should not forget that the goddess was much beloved among the Corinthians, as it is clearly attested by the numerous relevant statuettes found across the region.[886]

How then should we understand these buildings? It is true that the lack of mezzanine floor, the spacious rooms and the close architecture of the initial design do not recall the typical taverns and shops. However, I would tentatively argue that the excavation reports seem to back private ownership, either as some sort of commercial establishments or as seats for guilds.

With respect to the building '5', possible signs of production activities have been noted particularly in the north-western room '1' (Plate 88). Here the excavations revealed a tile-paved platform, many sherds of amphorae and cooking wares, a hearth, and fragments of a basin still containing deposits of glass.[887] The material culture strongly conveys some sort of production or retail enterprise, something that was recognized by the excavators.[888] The identification, however, was later dropped without providing another explanation about the pottery sample.[889]

I would consider that a possible use as a commercial facility is even more likely for the building '7'. My principal argument here, is that this would explain the

[883] Burkhardt 2016, 121.
[884] See among others: Bakker 1994, 182; Boyce 1937, 110-112; Hartnett 2017, 260-270; Lott 2004, 106-128.
[885] For a more detailed discussion see following sections 5.2.4; 5.2.5.
[886] Person 2012, 177.
[887] Williams 2005, 227; Williams and Zervos 1986, 153; 1985, 61; 1984, 90; 107-108.
[888] Williams and Zervos 1984, 90.
[889] Williams 2005, 243-247.

continuous internal alterations to the premises. As we saw in an earlier chapter,[890] the building was first subdivided in the 2nd century AD, with the three northern rooms becoming independent from the remaining building.[891] It is unclear what fuelled the subdivision. According to the excavator the westernmost of the rooms appears to have served throughout its life as "*some sort of washroom*" (Plate 88).[892] If that is correct, we should expect that the space, which opened directly to the road, likely had a commercial function, while the two back rooms were supporting premises.

The following century the building was again subdivided as the passage between rooms '4' and '5' was walled creating two independent one-room apartments (Plate 87). During the reconstruction a large *dolium* was sunken in front of the earlier passage next to a small hearth.[893] The development suggests that the room had a commercial function during that period.[894] It is possible, though, that the southern chambers were housing retail activities already before the subdivision.[895] That is because the large *dolium* replaced another that had stood earlier in the same position.[896] It appears therefore that this might have been always an elaborate back room of a *taberna*, much like those frequently seen in the retail shops, clubhouses or restaurants of Pompeii.[897]

All the above seem to suggest that in the 2nd and 3rd century AD, successive subdivisions saw most of the premises converted for retail activities. Yet we ought to remember here that the final decline of paganism in Roman Corinthia took place no earlier than the 4th century AD.[898] In that respect, one cannot but question, if the buildings were functioning shrines, how these activities would be tolerated in a predominantly pagan city? Bearing all the above in mind I would argue that both buildings '5' and '7' served some commercial purpose through most of their time of

[890] See earlier section 4.1.
[891] Williams and Zervos 1988, 125.
[892] Williams and Zervos 1988, 125.
[893] Gadbery 1993, 55; Williams and Zervos 1989, 3, 1988, 128-130.
[894] Yiannis Lolos went even further to see here a *caupona* (Lolos 2010, 119). His argument certainly merits consideration considering the great number of amphorae retrieved from the premises.
[895] The painted décor of the room 4 provides the *terminus post quem* for the subdivision.
[896] Williams and Zervos 1989, 3; 6-7.
[897] See later section 5.2.3.
[898] See: *Paganism & Christianism in the Late Roman Peloponnese*: Avramea 2012, 316-324; Gregory 1986c, 235-238; Saradi H. G. and Eliopoulos 2011, 263-304; Sweetman 2015, 9-11; 2010, 207-210; Trombley 1985, 345-352; Karivieri 2012, 217-221; *Paganism & Christianism in Late Roman Corinthia*: Brown A. 2008, 183-184; Caraher 2013, 143-165; Gregory 2010, 451-460; Pettegrew 2016b, 228-233; Rothaus 2000, 93-125; Sanders 2005b, 440-442; Stroud 2013, 188-189.

occupancy. More research is needed, though, to fully understood the role of the respective premises.

§ 4.4 Private facilities over former public buildings: Making the most out of the ruins?

A common topic in any discussion concerning Late Roman domestic architecture is the frequent presence of private facilities within the premises of former public buildings.[899] In Corinthia, as we saw in an earlier chapter,[900] these reoccupations primarily occurred in the urban centres.[901] Similar cases can be noted further in the rural periphery, albeit to a lesser extent.[902]

Notwithstanding, it is difficult to map with accuracy the phenomenon as in many cases the exact function and ownership of the converted facilities remains elusive.[903] A good example comes from the possible private intrusion in the south-east corner of the stoa surrounding 'Temple E' (Plans IX-X; XXIII). As we earlier saw,[904] the south-eastern area of the stoa was thoroughly rebuilt during the 5th century AD.[905] This included the removal of some of the columns and the erection of cross-cutting walls, resulting in a small, two-room facility.[906] The reason for the remodelling is

[899] See among others: *General discussion and bibliography*: Baldini-Lippolis 2007, 198-224; Uytterhoeven 2007a, 45-46; *Italy*: Brogiolo 2006, 269-272; Ward-Perkins 1984, 203-230; *Africa*: Leone 2013, 63-64; Leone 2007, 135-145; 2003, 274-281; *Asia Minor*: Jacobs 2009, 210-214; *Rome and Constantinople:* Grig and Kelly 2012, 23-24; Machado 2012, 136-160; Santangeli-Valenzani 2007, 63-81; *Balkans:* Snively 2009, 38.

[900] See chapter 3.

[901] See Tables B1-4: *Corinth*: 'Pr. Kefala - Site Loutra'; 'House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road'; 'House next to the Hemicycle'; '4th century AD phase of the Southeast building'; 'House over the South Basilica'; 'Peribolos of Apollo'; 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo'; 'North South and West of the Sanctuary at Temple Hill'; 'Late Roman Bath Panayia Field'; 'Theatre - West Hall'; 'Theatre - Plaza'; *Lechaeon*: Lechaeon Basilica - Houses '1' - '4'; 'South of the inner port - Site A'; *Sicyon*: 'South Stoa'.

[902] See Tables B5-8: 'Theatre in Isthmia'; 'Bath in Isthmia'; 'Houses over the temple of Poseidon'; 'Perachora - Farm over the West Court'; 'Perachora - Farm over the Fountain House'; 'Nemea - Tunnel Entrance of the Stadium'.

[903] See Tables E1-4: *Corinth*: 'Long Rectangular Building - Southwest Corner of the Forum'; 'North Market'; 'South Stoa Flanging Temenos E - East Corner'; *Sicyon*: 'Early Byzantine Christian Conversion of the Agora Temple at Sicyon'; *Phlius*: 'Palati'; *Rural Corinthia*: 'Perachora - Stoa by the Harbour'; 'Perachora - Temple of Hera Limenia'; 'Perachora - Temple of Hera Akraia'.

[904] See section 3.1.

[905] For the proposed date: Williams and Zervos 1991, 18; 1990, 337.

[906] Williams and Zervos 1990, 336-337.

unknown.[907] Bearing in mind that the area experienced strong commercialization in the Late Roman period and a surge of private building activities, a possible private intrusion should not be ruled out.[908] A similar explanation would also agree with the humble character of the resulting two-room facility. Nonetheless, we cannot entirely exclude a different identification, namely as a public facility that replaced the South Stoa.

Another problem regarding the possible identification of private establishments over public lands concerns the material culture that relates with the latter. Helen Saradi, in her landmark study of the 6th century AD Byzantine cities, noted that many of these intrusions were erected using perishable materials.[909] This makes the identification of the Late Roman private facilities that occupied public areas even more difficult. Similar cases in Corinth may have been recorded at the centre and western areas of the ancient Agora, where the excavations revealed several square holes, drilled in the pavement.[910] These may have been used as post-holes and mast emplacements for tents that sheltered some commercial activities.[911]

In our sample, the earliest of the intrusions over public buildings that can be definitely traced to private interests date already from the Imperial Roman period and the establishment of the rural settlement on the promontory of Perachora.[912] The Roman settlement here was founded after the Greek sanctuary that had earlier occupied the site diminished.[913] The settlers exploited the still standing relics paying little regard to the original architectural plans (Plan XXV; Plates 25b, d, 40a, d), and established a rural community that lasted at least for two centuries, from 2nd until the 4th century AD.[914]

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[907] See also the following section 4.5.

[908] See Tables B1, E1: 'Decumanus South of Temple "E" - North Side Room 1'; 'Decumanus South of Temple "E" - North Side Room 2'; 'Decumanus South of Temple "E" -South Side Room 3'; 'Early Roman Cellar Building'; 'Building Southwest of the Western Temples'; 'Long Rectangular Building - Southwest Corner of the Forum'; 'Decumanus South of Temple E - South Side'; 'Early Roman Building - East of the Intersection SW of the Agora'.

[909] Saradi H. G. 2006 192.

[910] Saradi H. G. 2006 192; Scranton 1951, 141.

[911] Scranton 1951, 141.

[912] For the Perachora settlement see also previous sections: 3.4.1; 3.8.

[913] The sanctuary is also referred in the 2nd century AD, by Ptolemy (Ptolemy, Geography 3.14.27). However, he must have based his entry on the *ipssima verba* of other historians and geographers. For his earlier Strabo explicitly referred the sanctuary as long abandoned: "*In the interval between Lechaeon and Pagae there used to be, in early times, the oracle of the Acraean Hera*" (Strabo, *Geography* 8.6.22).

[914] See Tables B5, E4: 'Perachora - Farm over the West Court'; 'Perachora - Farm over the Fountain House'; 'Perachora - Stoa by the Harbour'; 'Perachora - Temple of Hera Limenia'; 'Perachora - Temple of Hera Akraia'.

A significant breakthrough in the private invasions occurred during the 4th century AD, when the first similar activities took place in urban areas.[915] Among the earliest of them was the 4th century AD conversion of the 'South-East Building' (Plans X, XI, XXII).[916] The evidence from the facility, that during the earlier years probably functioned as a library or civic archives, reveals a change in fortunes as two *dolia* were sunken within the premises.[917] The latter may signify that during that period the building housed some commercial enterprise. This phase, though, did not last for long, as in the following century the building was again reconfigured, although it is unknown for what purpose, with the possible interpretations ranging from bishopric palace to church.[918]

Another early example is the private workshop/*taberna* established on the western hall of the theatre in Corinth (Plans IX, XXII).[919] The facility was occupied for less than a century before being transformed into a "*dumping area*", that probably serviced the shops established on the nearby theatre-plaza in the late-4th / early-5th century AD (Plans IX, XXII).[920] One more example comes from the 4th / 5th century AD reoccupation of the theatre in Isthmia (Plate 27a, c).[921] In both cases, the early reoccupation of the theatre areas is not surprising, for theatres were among the first public buildings abandoned and reconverted for private use across the Late Roman Empire.[922] Yet another possible case may concern the 4th century AD reconfiguration of the large building, so-called 'Palati' (Palace), in the centre of Phlius (Plate 18a, d). The reconfiguration saw the erection of several cross-cutting walls that subdivided the building into possibly four compartments.[923] There is nothing to clearly imply, however, that the crude remodelling was part of the private building programme.

These practices reached new heights in the following two centuries, as the 'invasions' went on at an ever-increasing pace until the first half of the 6th century

[915] See Tables B1-4, E1-3.
[916] See earlier section 3.1.
[917] Scranton 1957, 11-12; Weinberg 1960, 31.
[918] Saradi H. G. 2006, 239 *contra* Brown A. 2018, 44.
[919] Brown A. 2018, 73; Williams 2013, 496-497.
[920] Brown A. 2018, 73; Williams 2013, 497-498.
[921] Gebhard 1973, 134-135; Rife 2012, 123.
[922] Leone 2007, 136-140; Saradi H. G. 2006, 320-323.
[923] Alcock 1991, 433; Avramea 2012, 349-350; Biers 1973, 110-111.

AD.[924] With more and more public facilities going out of use, the constant private intrusions saw eventually whole neighbourhoods reoccupied and redeveloped.

One such case that deserves to be separately considered comes from the area north-east of the Agora of Corinth, along the Lechaeon road (Plan X, XI, XXII). The 'House next to the Hemicycle' was likely one of the earliest private intrusions over former public space in that area (Plans X, XXII, Plate 41d, c). The facility was first dated to the late-6th century AD.[925] A more recent study proposed a construction in the early-5th century AD.[926] A slightly earlier date in the late-4th century AD should be seriously considered, though, because 4th and 5th century AD coins were found on the floors of the house, suggesting a construction date in the second half of the 4th century AD.[927]

Opposite the Hemicycle building, the 'Peribolos of Apollo' was most likely remodelled also during the early-5th century AD (Plans X, XII, Plate 42a).[928] The reported presence of *dolia* along with the fragments of two sigma tables, strongly argue in favour of a private establishment over the subdivided portico yard. Little, though, is further understood about the design of the facility.

The early-6th century AD saw the erection of yet another housing unit in that area, this time over the public baths, north of the Peribolos of Apollo (Plans X, XXII). The bathing complex, which should be identified either as the Baths of Eyrikles or the Baths of Hadrian, was long out of use at that time.[929] Notwithstanding, a significant part of the initial structure was still standing, and was subsequently incorporated to the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of the Peribolos of Apollo' (Plate 34f; 35d, 40c, 41a).

Further north and south of the above units, excavations have located more private facilities established during the 5th century AD over former public buildings. These included the 'House over the South Basilica' (Plan IX, X, XXII, Plate 41b, e),

[924] See Tables B1-4: *Corinth*: 'House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road'; 'House next to the Hemicycle'; 'House over the South Basilica'; 'Peribolos of Apollo'; 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo'; *Lechaeon*: 'South of the Inner Port- Site A'.
[925] Broneer 1926, 51.
[926] Scranton 1957, 16.
[927] Broneer 1926, 52; Ivison 1996, 102
[928] Brown, 2008 136; Hill 1927, 72; Jacobs 2014, 85-86; Scranton 1957, 22-23; Slane and Sanders 2005, 292; Stillwell *et al*. 1941, 54.
[929] See earlier section 3.1.

and the 'House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road' (Plans X, XXII, Plate 35a; 40e). The two housing facilities,[930] although only about 400 m apart, could not differ more as far as their setting and their respective surrounding environment. The first was established over the ruins of the large South Basilica,[931] whereas the second coexisted for a period with the still functioning Lechaeon Road baths until the abandonment of the latter in the mid-6th century AD.[932]

The reoccupation and subsequent transformation of all the above former public buildings almost certainly had a profound effect over the daily life in the general neighbourhood. The converted facilities offered not only increased useful space, but more importantly affordable accommodation for private ventures and households.

Some of these intrusions sparked extensive rebuilding, resulting in spacious facilities. The 'House next to the Hemicycle' is one such case.[933] Here the reconfiguration resulted in multiple rooms, arranged in two stories that extended to the south and west of a large courtyard.[934] The two-story design, and the material culture which included a sigma table, two marble statuettes, and numerous storage amphorae, clearly indicate some level of wealth of the residents. [935] Others, though, were only basic constructions with humble proportions and an impoverished design. This was the case of the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of the Peribolos of Apollo'. Despite the reported presence of a latrine and a small single-basin bath, the overall layout hints that the occupants could only afford basic amenities. A similar poor design was adopted also by the 'House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road'. This apparently filled equally acute needs and had little provision for luxuries.

Moving past the area north-east of the Agora of Corinth and the 5th / early-6th century, a significant development in the reoccupation practises can be noted regionwide in the second half of the 6th century AD and into the early-7th century AD. During that period, the private reoccupations became even more poorly designed,

[930] See Table B1.
[931] Scranton 1957, 30; 92-93.
[932] Biers 1985, 12-13; 62-65.
[933] See also section 3.1.
[934] Scranton 1957, 8-16.
[935] Brady 1940, 61-69; Broneer 1926, 49-57; Brown A. 2018, 56; 2008, 114; 134-136; Milleker 1985, 121-135; Rothaus 2000, 25-26; Saradi H. G. 2006, 240; Scranton 1957, 8-16; Stillwell 1932, 144-147.

crudely executed and impoverished in nature.[936] One similar case is the facility established next to the Late Roman bath in Panayia Field.[937] The reconfiguration here did not include any major alteration to the original architectural plan (Plan XXII, Plate 42d). A set of walls instead was build abutting the external wall of the derelict bath, creating a small room that housed a cooking hearth.

Even more suggestive are the series of small housing units of rudimentary design, excavated in the area of the Roman bath in Isthmia, and the nearby Temple of Poseidon (Plan XXV, Plates 42b-c, e, 43). The best-preserved examples come from the area of the temple and mostly involve one-room building compounds, that can be best-described as a squatter settlement.[938]

However, it would be wrong to address all the late-6th and early-7th century AD private intrusions over former public buildings as squatter settlements.[939] This is best demonstrated in the case of the houses '1', '2', '3', and '4' erected over the derelict Lechaeon basilica (Plan XXIII, Plates 10-11).[940] The facilities here had arguably small, cramped spaces and an overall rudimental design. Yet the multiroom internal arrangement and the production facilities, along with the occasional presence of a second storey and built dining stibadia, strongly imply a permanent settlement.[941]

What then fuelled these private intrusions and reoccupations attested all over Corinthia? These is little doubt that most of the 6th to 7th century AD conversions were acts of necessity, design to exploit as much of the still standing masonry to facilitate immediate needs. Something similar can occasionally be observed in the earlier period. Among others we can note here the 2nd century AD resettlement of Perachora promontory,[942] the successive reoccupations of the theatre in Corinth during the 4th century AD,[943] and the squatter settlement at the Lechaeon site 'A', south of the port.[944] The same period, though, marked also the erection of better planned and built examples,

[936] See Tables B1-8: *Corinth*: 'Late Roman Bath - Panayia Field'; 'Pr. Kefala - Site Loutra'; *Lechaeon*: Lechaeon Basilica - Houses '1' - '4'; *Isthmia*: 'Bath in Isthmia'; 'Houses over the Temple of Poseidon'; *Nemea*: 'Nemea - Tunnel Entrance of the Stadium'.
[937] Sanders 1999, 456-457; Slane and Sanders 2005, 246-248.
[938] See Tables A8, B8.
[939] See for example an early assumption made by Jean Pierre Sodini (Sodini 1984, 371-373).
[940] See also earlier section 3.1.
[941] Table B3.
[942] See above.
[943] See above.
[944] cla.csulb; Jarus 2018; Scotton 2017.

such as the housing units established over the South Basilica and next to the Hemicycle, in the city of Corinth. These were not only better equipped to meet the long-term demands of permanent accommodation, but reveal further significant wealth due to their complex plan.

One feature that transcends all the relevant cases regardless of the construction date, is that the respective conversions do not reveal a substantial investment in production and storage capabilities.[945] The latter clearly signals that they were designed predominantly with residential function in mind. However, this does not mean that working and artisanal activities were not practised within the premises. The farming equipment found in several of the buildings in question in Perachora and Isthmia, clearly suggests their role as production units.[946] A similar trend arises also in urban areas. Among others we can note here the commercial activities in the reoccupied premises of the theatre in Corinth, and the glass workshop found in the shop immediately west of the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of the Peribolos of Apollo'.[947]

This comes as no surprise, the paradigm of other regions indicates that the revitalization of former public facilities was frequently driven by financial and commercial interests.[948] The official response towards these 'privatisations' ranged from acceptance to outright banning. Successive legislative efforts to repel private intrusions from civic facilities reveal that the imperial authorities could sometimes take a hard stance towards this phenomenon.[949] Occasionally, though, these practices could be tolerated, if not welcomed, as projects of regeneration and valuable sources of income for the cash-stained authorities.[950]

In the case of Corinthia, the lack of any corresponding literary or epigraphic evidence does not permit any straightforward answers. It can be hypothesized, though, that the random dating of most reconversions is not particularly suggestive of a co-

[945] Tables B1-8.
[946] Tables B5, B8.
[947] Table B1.
[948] Note for example the paradigms of Africa (Leone 2013, 65; 2007), Asia Minor (Jacobs 2009, 207-209), and the overview of Helen Saradi (Saradi H. G. 2006 195-208).
[949] Zanini 2003, 200.
[950] Baldini-Lippolis 2007, 200-203; Jacobs 2009, 203-224; Saradi H. G. 2006, 203-206; 1998, 17-21; Leone 2013, 62-64; 2007, 138.

ordinated plan.[951] More importantly, in most cases the attested private intrusions in both urban and rural areas do not reveal any meaningful pattern. Highly indicative is that in some cases, centrally located abandoned buildings were left undeveloped for a prolonged period, whereas contemporary, more distant facilities were the first to be reconfigured. A good example is a comparison between the Bath of Eyrikles/Hadrian, and the theatre of Corinth which both went out of use likely in the 4th century AD.[952] Despite their advantageous location over the *cardo maximus*, the bath was left abandoned for centuries until the 6th century AD, when converted to a residence. In contrast, the more distant theatre district was almost immediately reconfigured after the end of the spectacles in the 4th century AD.[953] Suffice it to say, these choices reveal anything but an organized plan, considering that any planned revitalization would arguably first target the most central areas.

One possible exception may be the house erected next to the Hemicycle, in Corinth. As we saw earlier in the chapter, the house was probably built in the early 5th or the late-4th century AD, in an area that was previously occupied by an orthogonal civic basilica.[954] After the destruction of the basilica, the erection of the Hemicycle Building in the late-4th century AD left a significant open space to the west (Plan X, Plate 41c).[955] This space was subsequently occupied by the 'House next to the Hemicycle' that extended to the east as far as the Hemicycle, without encroaching on the new civic facility.[956] In that respect, it is possible that the erection of the house was part of a centrally planned, regeneration scheme.

Another possible case of an 'authority-approved encroachment' may be the housing unit erected on the eastern entranceway of the Great Lechaeon Baths.[957] The research at the site concluded that starting from the 5th century AD the interest in maintaining the western side of the baths weathered and debris started to accumulate

[951] Tables B1-8.
[952] See above and earlier section 3.1.
[953] Williams 2013, 539-540.
[954] Scranton 1957, 14-16.
[955] For the date of the Hemicycle building see: Fowler 1932, 147; Scranton 1957, 14.
[956] Recently Amelia Brown consider that the Hemicycle building was subdivided later in the 5th and 6th century AD (Brown A. 2018, 56). While that may be correct, a series of walls found further to the east of the Hemicycle probably date from a much later, Byzantine period, and do not bear any connection to our housing unit (Broneer 1926, 56; Fowler 1932, 147).
[957] Biers 1985, 12-13; 62-65; Curta 2011, 56

over the court between the entrance and the main complex.[958] During that period, it is believed that the bathing area remained in operation, for the pool in the easternmost of the excavated rooms was kept clear of debris.[959] In that direction points also the marble external façade, which although damaged was not dilapidated, despite the presence of a lime kiln just off the western entrance that predates the construction of the house.[960] The erection of the housing unit encroached on the limekiln, a significant part of the entranceway and the external façade, but otherwise did not significantly alter the general plan.[961] That, along with the short period between the 5th century AD desertion of the western rooms, the destruction of the limekiln, and the early-6th century AD construction of the house, may imply here a centrally planned regeneration scheme. This cannot be verified at this stage as only a section of the baths has been excavated.[962]

All things considered, I would cautiously propose that within our sample most private intrusions were rather opportunistic acts of necessity and private investment, than officially encouraged developments. It remains to be answered whether the provincial authorities attempted to block these practices, or simply turned a blind eye on them, uninterested in the decaying facilities.

Once again in light of the complete lack of any epigraphic or literary evidence, there can be no definite arguments. One can only speculate that the in-depth nature of some reconstructions better indicates that the civil authorities had little concern about these intrusions. In a different scenario, such time and labour consuming activities would be unattainable and mostly unwise. This hypothesis seems even more likely since none of the reconfigured facilities was reverted to public service, when it is well known that sometimes the authorities could go as far as to demolish them.[963]

It would be wrong, though, to simply propose that the city authorities in Corinthia tolerated any private invasion. The chief reason here is that occasionally, disused public facilities could be left undisturbed for prolonged periods. One can only

[958] Biers 1985, 22.
[959] Biers 1985, 62.
[960] Biers 1985, 13.
[961] Biers 1985, 12-13.
[962] Yet another case where the attested rebuilding efforts may have been part of a larger regeneration project comes from the 'South Stoa Flanking the Temenos E - East Corner' and the 'Early Roman Cellar Building'. As we earlier saw there is very little understanding today about the 5th century AD reoccupation of the South Stoa flanking Temenos E (See further following section 4.5.).
[963] Zanini 2003, 199.

mention the two most central pagan temples in the Agora of Corinth, namely the Temple of Apollo and the Temple 'E'.[964] Despite the presence of private encroachments in the peripheral stoas,[965] the temples, out of use and spoliated, remained unoccupied throughout the Late Roman period.[966] In some cases, this may indicate a certain lack of interest. A more conscious choice, though, to protect specific landmarks important for the urban *décor* cannot be entirely ruled out. The conversion of former pagan temples into private facilities specifically, although rare, was not unknown across the Empire.[967] Conversely, the unconverted facilities could sometimes be preserved for prolonged periods without significant alterations, reoccupations or reactivations.[968] In most cases these buildings were simply not deemed worthy enough to be reoccupied. This is almost certainly the case also for Corinth as the two spoliated temples probably did not generate significant interest. At other times, though, the authorities actively pursued protection for them as symbols of pride and inheritance, and a similar approach cannot be outrightly rejected in our case as well.[969]

§ 4.5 Private encroachments over the road: The use and misuse of the urban fabric

The transformation of former public buildings into private properties was not the only challenge for Late Roman public space. Private initiative also resulted in the misuse of the public road network that starting from the 4th century AD was subjected to numerous violations.

In the earlier period the common practice was to preserve the urban grid even after major catastrophes.[970] A good example comes from the north-south road running east of the 'Rooms B13-15 – East of Panayia Domus', that has been tentatively

[964] Brown A. 2008, 120-127; Scranton 1957, 24-25; Williams 1990, 33.
[965] See Tables B1, E1: 'North South and West of the sanctuary at Temple Hill'; 'South Stoa flanking the temenos E'.
[966] For a general critique on the post-pagan phase of the temple monuments in the Peloponnese see: Avramea 2012, 239-240.
[967] Leone 2013, 41-63; Goodman 2011, 186-187.
[968] Goodman 2011, 173-174.
[969] For the protection of the abandoned temples as symbols of pride see: Arce 2011, 196-198; Goodman 2011, 174; Mulryan 2011, 219-223.
[970] For the urban grid in the Imperial Roman Corinth period see: Palinkas and Herbst 2011; Romano 2005, 31-39; 2003, 285-288; 2000, 89-93; 1993, 15-21; Walbank Mar. E. 1997, 114-116.

identified as the Corinthian *cardo* 'IV' (Plans IX, XXII, Plate 5). Despite the many destructions and architectural changes that faced the buildings along the street,[971] the latter was thoroughly maintained and kept clear of accumulating debris up until the 4th century AD.[972] Any violation of the urban grid during that period can be linked directly or indirectly, not to private, but to the civic building programme. One such case comes from the road intersection at the south-western corner of the Agora in Corinth (Plans IX, XXII, Plate 4c). Here the erection of the 'Long Rectangular Building' directly west of the South Stoa, saw the blocking of the passage at the front of the 'Early Roman Building - East Side of the South-Western Intersection' (Plate 4c).[973] The owners of the latter could not but comply with the new civic plan. They were granted a permit, though, to construct a new staircase entrance at the west side of their building, that replaced the earlier northern entrance that was now blocked by the newly erect civic facility.[974] The new staircase came to occupy almost a quarter of the street running west of the 'Early Roman Building'. Any disturbance caused here was largely ignored, though, as the erection of the 'Long Rectangular Building' was understandably deemed more important for the civic plan than keeping the road intersection intact.

The Late Roman period marked a significant departure from these attitudes. Starting from the mid-4th century AD, the periodic maintenance of the road network appears to straggle. The chronic neglect did not always have catastrophic consequences. Highly instructive is the long-term transformation of the *cardo* east of Panayia Field in Corinth (Plans IX, XXII, Plate 5). The excavations here revealed that after the mid-4th century AD, debris accumulated over the pavement, while in the 6th century AD part of the stonemasonry was pillaged.[975] Nevertheless, the road remained accessible and free of obstructions throughout that period.[976]

At other times, though, the neglect eventually gave rise to various private intrusions over the public roads. This was the case of the *decumanus* south of Temple E (Plans IX, XXII, Plate 7a, c). Here the road was crudely breached at least twice, first in the late-4th and then in the 6th century AD, to fix the drainpipes connected with the

[971] For the changes in the Panayia field neighbourhood see: See earlier section 3.1.
[972] Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 305-308.
[973] For the building see: Tables D1, E1.
[974] Williams and Fisher 1976, 124-126.
[975] Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 307-308.
[976] Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 308.

passing city sewer.[977] Whereas the road remained accessible throughout that period, the reconstructions may hint at more far-reaching alterations. Similar construction works could be occasionally used as a pretext for expanding over the urban grid.[978] The *decumanus* was likely one of these cases as, excavation has revealed a large masonry stone above the north sidewalk, next to the 4th century AD cleaning breach (Plate 7a, c). It appears that the occupants of the house at the north side of the road,[979] took the opportunity to expand their premises over the sidewalk, leaving the rest of the street open to traffic.[980]

We can be far more certain, about another example of a private encroachment over the urban grid, this time in the area east of the Theatre in Corinth (Plans IX, XXII, Plates 7b, 66). There, the erection of a small workshop at the north-western corner of the insula had as a result the blocking of the eastern footpath.[981] The latter was fully incorporated to the new facility, with an exterior entrance "*cut into the edge*" of the former sidewalk.[982]

Another comparable case may come from a 4th century AD building established on the passage formed between the West Shops and the West Temple area, in the Agora of Corinth (Plans IX-XI, XXII).[983] The enigmatic, two-room facility may have been envisioned initially as some sort of working or residential establishment, before its eventual transformation into a vaulted tomb.[984] In its first phase, the facility encroached an area approximately 32 m², yet it only blocked a portion of the road, leaving enough space for the passing traffic. [985]

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[977] Williams and Zervos 1988, 95-100; Williams 1993, 33; 1992, 123.
[978] Thèbert 1987, 345.
[979] See Table B1: 'Decumanus South of Temple "E" - North Side Room 1'.
[980] In the publication of the 1986 field season, the excavator, Charles Williams, noted that the buildings at the north side of the road expanded over the sidewalk (Williams 1990a, 33). Curiously, he made not such notices during the continuation of the excavation in the following field season, despite the accompanying plan and illustrations (Plate 7a, c), that clearly display the masonry stone (Williams and Zervos 1988, 95-100). The same may be the case also for the 6th century AD breach, that saw a large part of the street masonry pillaged. The reason is that the published plan and photos seem to represent in front of the residence at the south side of the road, a set of walls running along the southern sidewalk (Plate 7a, c). The relative publications, however, refer no similar expansion in that area (Williams 1992, 123; 1990a, 33-34; Williams and Zervos 1990, 339; 1988, 97-100; 1987, 3).
[981] See Table B1: 'LR building – NW corner - Insula East of Theatre'.
[982] Williams and Zervos 1983, 27; 1982, 135-143.
[983] See Table E1: 'Building Southwest of the Western Temples'.
[984] Rothaus 2000, 26; Saradi H. G. 2006, 240; Williams 1979, 250-251; Williams *et al*. 1974, 7-10.
[985] Williams *et al*. 1974, 8.

In all the above encroachments, the narrowed passages remained long in use afterwards, however, across the examined territories more serious intrusions have been also noted, that eventually came to occupy the whole width of the street. One such case comes from the city of Corinth, namely the late-4th century AD remodelling of the 'Early Roman Cellar Building' (Plans IX, XXII). This saw the construction of a new wall that extended from the South Stoa of Temple E, towards the west wall of the 'Early Roman Cellar Building'.[986] The new arrangement was probably a determining factor for the relocation of the household entrance from the north, to the west exterior wall (Plate 8a-b). Little more is known about the exact role of the premises.[987]

Yet another neighbourhood where private encroachments eventually culminated in full-road blocking is the area of the Great Basilica in Lechaeon. The excavations here revealed two housing units, namely the houses '6' and '12', that were established directly above the east-west road passing south of the basilica (Plate 13a, 43).[988] While the street remained in use until at least the 2nd century AD, a *terminus post quem* for the encroachments appears to be the erection of the 'Lechaeon - House 6'. Demetrios Pallas argued the construction techniques applied here suggest that house '6' is earlier than the other nearby houses, and contemporary to the basilica. Consequently, he proposed a date in the 5th century AD.[989] I would argue, though, that a slightly later date in the first half of the 6th century AD should also be examined, because recent studies have further pushed the construction of the basilica into the 6th century AD,[990] which may imply a later date also for the 'Lechaeon - House 6'.

Even more disruptive were the private encroachments over the northern quay of Kenchreai (Plans XII-XIII, XXIV). The earliest of these intrusions occurred during the late-4th century AD remodelling that saw the Imperial Roman 'Brick Building' and nearby 'South Building' merged into a single, unified compound (Plates 46, 50d-f).[991] The redevelopment included a set of walls that cut through one of the pre-existing rooms as well as the road between the two buildings, creating three new rooms during the process (Plate 46, 50d-f).

[986] Williams and Fisher 1975, 14.
[987] Williams and Fisher 1975, 14-15.
[988] See Tables A3, B3: 'Lechaeon - House 6'; 'Lechaeon - House 12'.
[989] Pallas 1967, 143-144.
[990] Slane and Sanders 2005, 291-292. See also earlier section 3.1.
[991] See further the following section.

Much more obscure on the other hand are the principal motives behind the refurbishment and the subsequent expansion over the road of the 'Upper Terrace Shops' found immediately north of the 'Brick Building' (Plans XII-XIII, XXIV, Plate 46). Recent preliminary research published by Joseph Rife suggests that the shops were likely reoccupied in the 5th century and transformed into some kind of "*cluster of rooms*".[992] During that period, it is likely that the premises were used for burials, although a use for commercial purposes, cannot be excluded at this stage.

Long-term transformation such as the full-width road blockings described above would not particularly strike the Late Roman viewer. Similar developments have been attested in many regions of the Empire, for example in Italy, Syria, and North Africa.[993] Apparently Corinthia was no exception to that trend. Notwithstanding, it is hard to deduce why these practices differed so much from one road encroachment to another.

It is possible that geography played a significant role here. In the regional capital Corinth for instance, intrusions attested were mostly low-scale projects that rarely resulted in a full-width road blocking. In contrast, as we saw above, much greater disturbance can be noted in the port-cities of Corinthia. These differences are further magnified by the fact that Corinth has been more systematically explored compared to the other Corinthian cities. Yet the total number of full-width road encroachments barely matches the cases recorded in Lechaeon and Kenchreai.

Part of the answer may also lie in the long-term evolution of the phenomenon. Whereas many of the earliest road encroachments were limited to sidewalks, fewer similar cases can be noted after the 5th century AD. A progressive transition towards ever more disruptive intrusions over the urban grid was certainly not an unfamiliar sight across the Late Roman Empire, and there is nothing to suggest that Corinthia was an exception.[994]

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[992] Rife 2016a, 347-348.

[993] A good example comes from Late Roman Syria where the presence of urban streets blocked at both ends by private encroachments was reportedly not an unknown sight (Kennedy 1985, 12). Equally disruptive were many of the private intrusions attested over the urban grid in contemporary North Africa (Thèbert 1987, 343-344), and in Italy (Brogiolo 2006, 265-267). It is imperative to remember, though, that the above practices were not universally applied. In Italy for example, the research has equally noted a "*remarkable degree of survival of the Roman street plans*" in many Italian cities which remained habituated the following centuries (Ward-Perkins 1984, 179-186).

[994] Jacobs 2009, 210; Liebeschuetz 2015, 273.

The above may imply that the regional capital, Corinth was better prepared to cope with more aggressive encroachments. In other regions, a tolerance towards the milder private intrusions, has long been connected to the successive legislative efforts that aimed to regulate these practices.[995] There is no literary evidence of a similar 'protectionist' approach taken by the Late Roman city officials in Corinth. However, I would tentatively propose that the nature of some the activities strongly implies that the authorities kept, at least for a time, a watchful eye on the urban grid. This would explain the limited extent of several intrusions across the city, which only occupied parts of the sidewalk leaving the rest of the street unobstructed.

How then should we perceive these intrusions? Several researchers have argued that the Late Roman disruption of the urban grid reflects to a degree the desire of the local elites to expand their properties.[996] The 4th century AD blocking of the road that stood between the 'Brick Building' and the 'South Building', on the northern quay of Kenchreai could be a case of those. The combination of two initially independent buildings into one larger facility was certainly not an uncommon sight during the Late Roman period. Yvon Thèbert has convincingly argued that a prime force behind the practice was the lack of available spaces that would otherwise permit an easier expansion.[997] Her reasoning fits our case, for the narrow quay arguably offered few other areas for any meaningful expansion (Plans XII-XIII, XXIV).

At other times, expansion over a road was determined by the desire to accommodate storage or production activities. Comparable developments were not unknown across the Mediterranean world, and likely hint at greater aspirations within Late Roman society for increased functionality and productivity.[998] One such case from our sample concerns the encroached-upon east-west road passing south of the Lechaeon basilica. The two building units established on the road (i.e. Lechaeon houses '6' and '12'), appear to have been destined mostly for small-scale farming activities.[999]

We cannot exclude, though, that some of these encroachments eventually became parts of wider redevelopment. A possible example here may come from the

[995] See: Baldini-Lippolis 2007, 198-206; Jacobs 2009, 223; Saradi H. G. 1998, 18-20; 1994, 297-308; Ward-Perkins 1984, 180; Zanini 2003, 199.
[996] Saradi H. G. 1998, 20; Thèbert 1987, 341-345.
[997] Thèbert 1987, 343-344.
[998] Jacobs 2009, 207-209.
[999] See Table B3.

late-4th century AD rebuilding of the 'Early Roman Cellar Building'. This saw the erection of a new wall, stretching from the south end of Temple E to the 'Early Roman Cellar Building', and the opening of a new entrance facing west (Plans IX, XXII, Plate 8a-b). It is unclear what purpose this extension served. Yet we cannot but consider the possibility that the encroachment somehow relates to the early-5th century AD remodelling of the 'South Stoa flanking Temple E'.[1000] The eastern end of the stoa was then heavily remodelled and transformed into a two-room facility. Any connection would imply that here the encroached-upon road was part of a broader, co-ordinated, and perhaps officially planned, regeneration scheme. However, the notable grey areas regarding the post-4th century AD transformation of the neighbourhood do not permit any final arguments.

§ 4.6 Case study – The courtyard facilities on the northern and southern quays of Kenchreai harbour: A disputed interpretation

4.6.1 Introduction

An issue that deserves to be separately examined concerns the character and function of the courtyard building complexes found on the northern and southern quay of Kenchreai harbour.[1001] Pausanias' testimony of two temples, one venerating Aphrodite and the other Isis, at the two opposite ends of the Roman port,[1002] led the excavators to address the compounds accordingly.[1003] The identification is still accepted by many researchers.[1004] In the last ten years, however, an alternative scenario has also been put forward, that the complexes were private facilities of some sort.[1005] On the following pages, I will discuss the proposed interpretations and reassess with the support of the

[1000] See section 4.4.

[1001] See Tables A3, B3: 'Brick and South Buildings - Northern Quay'; 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum - Southern Quay'.

[1002] "In Kenchreai are a temple and a stone statue of Aphrodite, after it on the quay running into the sea a bronze image of Poseidon, and at the other end of the harbour sanctuaries of Asclepius and of Isis" (Pausanias, *Periegesis* 2.2.3).

[1003] Hohlfelder 1976, 224-225; 1970, 329; Scranton 1978a, 53-90.

[1004] See: Bommas 2005, 108-112; Bouras Cath. 2016, 212; 2008, 190-19; Evangeloglou 2013, 35-36; Frangoulidis 2008, 218-220; Nielsen 2014, 77.

[1005] See: Bricault and Veymiers 2007, 411-412; Papaioannou 2002, 112-114; Pettegrew 2016b, 216; 2013, 138; 2006, 341-343; Rife 2010, 400-401; Rothaus 2000, 66-69; Stern W. and Thimmae 2007, 305-312; Stumpf 2003, 358; Versluys 2002, 219.

published archaeological record. During the process, I shall compare the evidence with other regions across the Mediterranean, while the gaps and limits in the understanding of the Kenchreai structures will be discussed.

4.6.2 The building complexes on the northern quay

The excavation on the northern quay of Kenchreai was limited to only a small part of the ancient port, as most of the eastern section has been long claimed by the sea (Plans XII, XIII, XXIV). A series of small shops occupied between the 1st and the 7th century AD mark the northernmost limits of the surveyed area (Plates 46, 50d-f).[1006] Directly south of them, in successive order, rest the two courtyard facilities in question, namely the 'Brick Building' and the 'South Building'. These remained occupied for most of the Imperial and Late Roman period.[1007]

While initially independent, a 4th century AD reconstruction saw them merge into a single unit.[1008] During that process, the road that earlier stood between the two buildings was fully blocked, while a set of walls cut through the south-eastern tribelon room, subdividing the premises (Plates 46, 50f, 51a).[1009] Almost a century later, the shops located further to the north, in the upper terrace, opposite the 'Brick Building', extended further to the south, and fully blocked the road that earlier stood between them and the 'Brick and South Buildings' (Plate 46).[1010] The courtyard facilities remained nonetheless separate from the shops, as the remodelling did not provide a passage between the two complexes.[1011]

[1006] In that later phase the building complex had probably lost its commercial function and was used as a burial site (Rife 2016a, 348). That would also reflect the developments observed still further to the north, where a Roman villa was replaced by a large octagon building, most likely a burial site (Rife 2014a, 471-473; 2014b, 563-564).
[1007] Table B3, see further earlier sections 3.1, 4.4, 4.5.
[1008] Rothaus 2000, 66-68; Scranton 1978a, 82-86. See also earlier sections 4.4, 4.5.
[1009] See also previous chapter 4.5.
[1010] The available evidence seems to suggest that there was a pause in activities in the area of the shops, between the 3rd and the 5th century AD (Rife 2016a, 348). After the building hiatus, the renewed activities in the 5th century AD, saw the erection of new walls above the "*unevenly filled*" shops and the extension over the road (Rife 2016a, 348).
[1011] It is possible that during that period the shop had ceased to have a commercial function and were used as funerary monument (Rife 2016a, 348).

The courtyard facilities were originally interpreted as the Aphrodision mentioned by Pausanias, but this proposal has recently met with some criticism.[1012] Richard Rothaus argues that the salvaged pagan-themed pottery is not necessarily indicative of a ritual use, and that the architectural plan does not correspond with a temple facility.[1013] These last issues had already been considered by the excavators although they then noted that the temples dedicated to Aphrodite could sometimes have irregular shape.[1014] I would argue that this was not one of those cases. Pausanias avoids a more generic term and specifically refers to a "*ναός"* ('*temple*'). We should note here that Pausanias' choice of words is not outright descriptive of the facilities mentioned.[1015] However, he does draw from a repeated technical vocabulary in which the epithet *ναός* typically marks temple, or temple-like edifices.[1016] This makes it very unlikely that the term could have been used here in a different context. It is also significant that the author provides no detailed description of the Aphrodision. He only did so when the temples discussed had a profound importance for the local community or an unusual architectural design.[1017] In this regard, it is difficult to accept that the 'Brick Building', with its unconventional for a temple layout, would have been described as a temple by Pausanias.

On the contrary, private use seems to fit for the 'Brick Building' and the 'South Building' considering that both were arranged around courts, much like most contemporary private buildings (Plates 46, 50d-f, 51).[1018] Questions remain nonetheless

[1012] Scranton 1978a, 88-89 *contra* Papaioannou 2002, 112-114; Pettegrew 2013, 138; 2006, 341-343; Rife 2018, 397; 2010, 400-401; Rothaus 2000, 68; Stumpf 2003, 358.
[1013] Rothaus 2000, 68.
[1014] "*Despite the character in Homeric and later classical myth and legend, her worship was relatively oriental and primitive. This may indeed have been in part because of the non-classical Near Eastern elements in her cult … especially at Kenchreai, the eastern port of Corinth, one might not be surprised if the sanctuary and temple were more oriental than classical in character*" (Scranton 1978a, 89).
[1015] "*Le recours à des termes comme ναός, ἄλσος, ἠρῷον, ἄδυτον, ἄντρον, μέγαρον renvoie à un lexique plus ou moins « technique » : le sanctuaire ainsi dénommé, en tout ou en partie, comporte l'un ou l'autre élément particulier ou se signale globalement par sa forme singulière. Mais une telle « technicité » reste toute relative dans des descriptions souvent allusives. Des réalités diverses peuvent se cacher derrière un label de ce type. Ainsi, le ναός renvoie à la notion générique de temple, dont l'utilisation implique une structure architecturale spécifi que – c'est le ναοῦ σχῆμα de certaines tombes –, mais cette donnée n'est pas pour autant « canonique »*" (Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 177).
[1016] "*Le mot désigne toujours un édifi ce construit, qu'il forme le sanctuaire à lui seul ou qu'il en soit la réalisation architecturale maîtresse. Pausanias ne prend que rarement la peine de décrire le naos avec precision…*" "*…la structure architecturale minimale qui commande l'usage du terme de naos : un soubassement, des colonnes et des frontons…*" (Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 151-152).
[1017] Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 151-153.
[1018] Pettegrew 2013, 138; 2006, 341-343; Rothaus 2000, 66-69.

regarding the exact function and role of the premises. The small rooms of the 'South Building', that stood independent until the 4th century AD when it was merged with the 'Brick Building', have led to the suggestion that this was an inn.[1019] The proposal remains unproved, but certainly merits consideration given the architectural layout of the 'South Building' during its second phase of development (Plate 50e).

Conversely, I would suggest that an interpretation as an inn seems less likely for the 'Brick Building'. In that case, the scale of the elaborate compartments, with two luxurious rooms opening to a large peristyle furnished with an impluvium and a nymphaeum, looks overly pompous for an inn (Plates 46, 51, 52a). While Roman inns could occasionally adopt an elaborate design,[1020] most of the time they were humbler facilities equipped with kitchens, counters, and lodging areas.[1021] In contrast, according to the given plan, the 'Brick Building' seems to lack the necessary spaces and infrastructure to provide for short accommodation.[1022]

The same seems also to be the case for the Late Roman unified complex that starting from the 4th century AD incorporated and replaced both the 'South Building' and the 'Brick Building' (Plates 45, 50f). That is because the new unit did not add smaller rooms suitable for lodging but kept instead most of original architectural design.

Another possibility is that the facilities in question were intended as housing units. The idea has gained significant attention recently with archaeologists noting that the facilities had an architectural layout that somewhat recalls the peristyle *villae urbane*.[1023] I would argue here that a possible residential use seems well suited for the Late Roman unified complex that replaced the earlier 'South Building' and the nearby 'Brick Building'. That is not only because it had ample space to accommodate the different functions expected from a housing unit, but also because it retained much of the pre-existing peristyle and its adjoining elaborate rooms of the 'Brick Building'.

[1019] Stumpf 2003, 358.
[1020] See for example the 'House of the Sallust' (VI.2.3-5) at Pompeii (DeFelice 2006, 477; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 27; Zanker 1998, 166), and the 'Hotellerie' at Delos (Stumpf 2003, 362-363).
[1021] Note for example the inns ('*Popinae'* -restaurants-, '*tabernae'* -bars-, '*hospitia'* -inns-, '*cauponae*' -poor inn/restaurant-, '*stabula'* -coaching inn-) of Pompeii and Herculaneum (DeFelice 2006, 474-479; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 196; 207). Other similar examples come from Ostia (Hermansen 1981, 167-180), and Roman Greece (Stumpf 2003, 329-364).
[1022] We should note here that the south-eastern section of the facility has collapsed in the sea and is today lost, and therefore there can be no definitive arguments about the exact architectural plan.
[1023] Pettegrew 2016b, 202. 216; 2013, 138; 2006, 341-343; Rife 2018, 397; 2010, 400-401; Rothaus 2000, 66-69.

Nonetheless, we ought to consider that there are no signs of compartments characteristic for a typical *villa urbana*, such as a kitchen, baths, latrines, or production and storage areas, which would confirm this hypothesis.

Conversely, I would suggest that an identification as residential compounds looks more dubious for the preceding 'South Building' and the nearby 'Brick Building'. In the first case, the architectural design with the small, tactically arranged rooms around a disproportionally large courtyard might better reflect an inn as Josef Stumpf first proposed, than a housing unit.[1024] In the case of the 'Brick Building', an interpretation as a residence also does not fit well, due to the little provision for supporting/service compartments. The problem is further exacerbated by the limited wall thickness that may be not enough to support a second story that could be otherwise used as living/service area.[1025] It is possible that the service areas of the compound lay further south-east where the facility continued in the Late Roman period (Plates 50f, 51). That remains a hypothesis, though, since a great part of the southern compartments is today lost.

I would argue that a more likely interpretation for the 'Brick Building', according to its so-far known architectural plan, is that it was a seat for an association (*'schola'*), an idea first suggested by Maria Papaioannou.[1026] The presence and operation of such institutions was not uncommon in Roman Corinthia.[1027] In addition to that, an identification as a *schola* would justify the compound's strategic location in a central district, well-served by the main public infrastructure and close to other working/industrial complexes. Characteristically, in both Ostia and Carthage, most *scholae* have been traced close to ports, main road links, and other storage and production complexes.[1028] One notable parallel comes from the circular harbour of

[1024] See above:
[1025] The overall wall thickness was no more than 0.60m (Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 164). That is barely enough for a second story. Characteristic here is that Vitruvius categorically states that a brick wall 0.45m thick was insufficient to carry a mezzanine floor (Vitruvius *De Architectura* 2.8.17).
[1026] Papaioannou 2002, 114.
[1027] Ascough 2015, 208-210; Ascough *et al.* 2012, 34; Eckhardt 2016, 646-662; Kwon 2010, 169; Rife 2010, 413-417.
[1028] Bakker 1994, 172-173; Leone 2007, 77-82; Stöger 2011, 215-242.

Carthage where an elaborate building recognized as a guild-seat was found within the working district,[1029] facing the waterfront and the docks (Plate 55b, e).[1030]

An interpretation of the 'Brick Building' as *schola* would further correspond with the well-attested growing importance of the voluntary *collegia* (*'thiasoi'*) across the Roman world between the 2nd and the 5th century AD.[1031] Above all, however, it would explain the irregular architectural plan. The general layout seen here, with the elaborate water management and the interlinked accentuated rooms set directly upon the entrance, is strongly reminiscent of many *scholae* facilities. Highly informative is the paradigm of Ostia, where most of the recognized *collegia* had similarly direct accessibility from the road, linear arrangement of spaces, and provision for running water.[1032] Characteristic examples are the '*Caseggiato dei Triclini* I.XII' (Plate 55c), the '*Caseggiato dei Lottatori* V.III', and the '*Tempio Collegiale and Mitreo di Fructosus - Guild of Stuppatores* I.X' (Plate 55f).[1033] A very similar layout with a large peristyle court and elaborate rooms opening at its both ends can also be seen at the famous '*Schola del Traiano* IV.V.15' (Plate 56a). However, the proportions of that Ostian building, far surpass the one seen at Kenchreai.[1034]

Once again, though, despite its obvious appeal it is difficult to confirm that the 'Brick Building', or any other of the facilities on the northern quay of Kenchreai, were meeting places for associations. The similarities between the northern quay facilities and several contemporary *collegia*, although they strongly hint at, do not outright confirm a comparable use. The final architectural design could greatly differ from one *schola* to another, rendering any recognition solely based on formalistic criteria tentative at best.[1035] Even more importantly, our knowledge about these entities in Corinthia is limited, and many questions persist regarding their estimated numbers and

[1029] Leone 2007, 76-80.
[1030] A position within the port area, except for the obvious trade benefits, would further advance any administrative duties of the association. For the voluntary *collegia* involved in maritime trade could in many cases hold regulatory or even executive powers, and thus had a significant role in the everyday life of the port-cities (Arnaud 2016, 126; 2015, 72-74).
[1031] See among others: *General bibliography*: Bowersock *et al.* 1999, 480; *Italy*: Diosono 2015, 251-268; Hermansen 1981, 56-74; Liu 2009, 279; *Africa*: Leone 2007, 66-82.
[1032] Hermansen 1981, 58-74.
[1033] Hermansen 1982; 1981, 76-77; 61-62.
[1034] Hermansen 1981, 71-72.
[1035] Ascough 2012, 63; Boin 2013, 60; Leone 2007, 66; Slater 2000, 495.

period of operation (Plate 55d).[1036] Furthermore, the fragmentary relevant sources do not fully disclose either their legal form, or the exact activities carried by their members.[1037] Above all, it is the scarcity of archaeological evidence that makes secure arguments impossible, since there are no relevant epigraphic data or inscribed symbols to backup any such claim.

In conclusion, the identification of the 'Brick Building' and of the 'South Building', both before and after the 4th century AD remodelling that saw them merge, remains elusive. It can be argued nonetheless that the early identification as the 'Aphrodision' mentioned by Pausanias is highly problematic, for the traveller refers explicitly to a 'temple' and does not record any unusual architectural design that would potentially match the design of the buildings here. A more probable scenario instead is that the buildings had a sort of private function. It is possible that they were utilized as residences, especially after the 4th century AD conversion, which resulted in ample spaces suitable for a housing unit. An alternative use either as an inn, or as a *schola* should also be considered, though, particularly prior the 4th century AD remodelling, given the peculiar architectural design and the lack of any evidence signalling a residential function.

4.6.3 Apsidal courtyard on the southern quay: The problems of the early identifications

Similar problems are also found when examining the so-called 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum' on the southern quay of Kenchreai (Plates 47-49, 50a-c, 53, 54). Here as well, reasonable doubts arise regarding the building's early identification as the Sanctuary of Isis mentioned by Pausanias. The nearby excavation of a column inscribed

[1036] The number of active associations in Roman Corinthia is debated (Ascough 2015, 208-210; Ascough *et al.* 2012, 34 *contra* Eckhardt 2016, 646-662). Using the epigraphical evidence, we can trace at least two such institutions at Kenchreai (Ascough *et al.* 2012, 34; Eckhardt 2016, 657-659; Rife 2010, 413-417). The presence of another association has been recorded at Lechaeon (Eckhardt 2016, 659). Lastly, at the city of Corinth we can list two associations (Eckhardt 2016, 654-659; Kent 1966, 33-34; 121-122), while another four probable cases have been recorded (Geagan 1975, 396-401; Kent 1966, 12-13; 119-120; 123). All the relevant sources date from the Imperial Roman period. Therefore, it is unclear if the institutions were still operational at the mid-4th century AD.

[1037] The Roman associations were divided in involuntary and voluntary, with the latter further divided in religious (*collegia sodalicia*), funerary (*collegia tenuiorum*) and professional clubs (Ascough 2017, 120; 2002, 3-16; Bowersock *et al.* 1999, 479-481; Diosono 2015, 251-252; Kloppenborg 1996, 16-22; Kwon 2010, 167). The Corinthian examples referred above most likely were either religious clubs or guilds (Ascough *et al*. 2012, 34; Eckhardt 2016, 653-659). This remains, however, an educated hypothesis.

with the word '*ΟΡΓΙΑ*', an epithet sometimes attributed to Isis, was initially used to bolster the identification (Plate 55a).[1038] We should bear in mind, though, that the column was found out of context, amid the destruction debris of the nearby Christian basilica, and thus is not indicative of the sanctuary's position.[1039]

Equally dubious is the recognition of the rooms just south of the 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum' as the sanctuary's shrine (Plates 49, 50a-c).[1040] Only the foundations are preserved today, while the wall thickness might not be substantial to support a large superstructure expected from a monumental building.[1041] In addition, I would further note that the literary sources also do not favour such an identification. Pausanias description of the harbour makes a clear distinction between the "*ναός*" ('temple') of Aphrodite, and the "*ἱερά*" ('sanctuaries') of Asclepius and of Isis.[1042] As we have already seen, his choice of words does not always accord with surviving evidence.[1043] I believe, though, that the distinction here was meant to emphasize the magnitude of the two sanctuaries since a similar description is also provided by Apuleius.[1044] Considering that, one cannot but question, how the small foundations of the southern compartments could realistically relate to the large Iseum described in the ancient sources.

A possible way forward was recently proposed by Inge Nielsen, who insisted on the identification as a sanctuary and traced the shrine area in the apsidal courtyard.[1045] That way, the Kenchreai complex would resemble several apsidal sanctuaries dedicated to Eastern cults found across the Empire.[1046] The proposal is certainly appealing when considering that many contemporary Iseia incorporated

[1038] See: Scranton 1978a, 78.
[1039] Rife 2010, 407; Rothaus 2000, 70.
[1040] For the original identification as the southern rooms as designated cultic space see: Scranton 1978a, 52-78.
[1041] Only the Eastern section, measuring less than 4m in length, seems able to carry the weight of a heavy superstructure (Rothaus 2000, 70; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 147). Whatever the original intentions, the rooms were likely left partially finished, and later converted to storage areas (Rothaus 2000, 75).
[1042] See earlier section 4.6.2.
[1043] See earlier section 4.6.2.
[1044] "*…and led me to the doors of the vast temple* (*aka* Kenchreai Iseum), *and when he had opened them… he brought from the inner sanctuary various books…*" (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* X). This is of course a fictional account of an imaginary trip to Kenchreai. It is nonetheless believed that Apuleius had visited Kenchreai during the period of his studies in Athens (Rife 2010, 410).
[1045] Nielsen 2014, 77.
[1046] Notable cases can be seen at the 'Iseum Campanese' in Rome, at the Serapeum/Iseion in Prainestos, and at the Serapeum in Argos (Nielsen 2014, 71-78).

colonnade porticoes like the one seen west of our facility (Plates 50a-c, 54a).[1047] It fails to explain, though, why a small nymphaeum was added in the apse (Plates 49, 53). Scholarship has long noted a "*general association between the curvilinear architecture and water, especially in villas or sanctuaries*".[1048] However, while water was significant for most Greek sanctuaries, typically nymphaea were placed outside the perimeters of the shrines.[1049] Moreover, while water had a significant role in the cults of Isis and Serapis, where it was commonly used as an evocation to river Nile,[1050] nymphaea were not normally used for that purpose, but wells, crypts and closed jars.[1051]

Certainly, a fountain could sometimes also fill that role. One such case might come from the Serapeum in the Hadrian's villa in Tivoli that included multiple nymphaea and waterfalls elaborately combined with statuary.[1052] Another example can probably be seen at the apsidal water cascade set on the lower terrace of Fortuna Primigenia, Palestrina that has been sometimes associated with Isis.[1053] But, I would suggest that a similar scenario seems unlikely here. In contrast to the above extravagant designs, our nymphaeum is not significantly differentiated from the fountains commonly seen in households. In addition to that, I would further propose that the nymphaeum's design and location, if anything, does not indicate a religious purpose, for the small waterspout would only fail to provide a deceptive allusion of the Nile.

All things considered it seems reasonable to suggest that neither the apsidal courtyard nor the southern compartments can be categorically accepted as temples. This narrows the chances that one of the excavated facilities on that part of the quay housed the sanctuary of Isis mentioned by Apuleius and Pausanias.[1054] The ambiguities of the archaeological record, though, do not permit any final arguments.[1055] A series of rooms

[1047] Similar examples can be seen in Dion and in Rome (Nielsen 2014, 66-78).
[1048] Janon 1985, 86-97; Thomas E. 2012, 73.
[1049] Laurence 2012, 70-262; Longfellow 2012, 133-155.
[1050] Meyboom 1995, 214; Nielsen 2014, 72-73.
[1051] Meyboom 1995, 214; Williams 2005, 246.
[1052] Ehrlich 1989, 166-169.
[1053] We should note hear that the recognition as an Iseum in that case is not universally accepted (Meyboom 1995, 211-214 *contra* Nielsen 2014, 71-77).
[1054] The only facilities that can be safely reconstructed as a single building complex, are the court, its western vestibule, and the two rooms adjoining to the south (Rothaus 2000, 71-72). The westernmost of the southern rooms was originally conceived as part of the *vestibulum*, but a large part of its structure is today lost (Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 150).
[1055] In the words of Josef Rife "*Scranton's theory about the Iseion still deserves serious consideration, and we cannot decisively disprove it without fuller evidence. But we cannot uncritically accept it either, and we should examine alternative interpretations*" (Rife 2010, 404).

have been excavated further south-east that may have been part of the same building compound, but that is far from certain at this stage (Plate 47).[1056] The court could also communicate with more rooms to its west (Plates 47-48, 54a), through a nearby portico often referred to as "*dromos*" ('road').[1057] This also remains a hypothesis, though, for it is hard to disentangle the Roman and the Early Christian phases at that section of the quay, and the published plans might contain inaccuracies.[1058]

What's more, complicating the issue further, it was recently pointed out that the Iseum might not have been at all at the southern end of the port, but at the opposite, northern quay.[1059] More specifically, in a series of coins depicting Kenchreai that date from the 2nd century AD, the imagery differs from Pausanias' description by placing in a prominent position sometimes a statue of Poseidon and at other times that of Isis (Plate 52b).[1060] This in turn has sparked a debate among scholars. Some support the traditional view that the Iseum was on the southern quay, where the coins place a palm tree, symbol of Egypt.[1061] A more recent analysis, though, has suggested that the Iseum should be expected on the northern quay.[1062] That is because in the coin imagery the statues of Isis only face North, whereas those of Poseidon only face, or even occupy, the south end of the harbour.

I would also like here to argue against a different interpretation put forward by some scholars, that the premises should be best reconstructed as a nymphaeum unit.[1063] The proponents of that scenario refer particularly to the submerged nymphaeum found at Baia, Naples which shares some design similarities with the Kenchreai facility.[1064] We should bear in mind, though, that public nymphaea were typically designed to handle much larger amounts of water.[1065] Highly indicative is that all public fountains

[1056] See: Rothaus 2000, 71-72 *contra* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 147-150.
[1057] Scranton 1978a, 55.
[1058] Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 151-152; Rothaus 2000, 69-72.
[1059] Moyer 2016, 140-141.
[1060] For the coins see: Bricault and Veymiers 2007, 406-408; Hohlfelder 1970, 328-330, Moyer 2016, 140-141.
[1061] Bricault and Veymiers 2007, 410.
[1062] Moyer 2016, 140-141.
[1063] Bricault and Veymiers 2007, 411-412; Rothaus 2000, 69-83.
[1064] Rothaus 2000, 69-83.
[1065] For the nymphaea in Roman and Post-Roman world see among others: *General analysis*: Jacobs and Richard 2012, 3-71; Longfellow 2011; Richard 2016, 13-35; 2011, 65-100; 2008, 263-284; *Greece*: Aristodemou 2014, 523-530; Longfellow 2009, 211-232; *Corinthia*: Landon 2003, 43-62; Robinson B. A. 2013, 341-384; 2001, 102-327.

found at the city of Corinth far surpass in water capacity the one at Kenchreai.[1066] The same goes also for the nymphaeum at Baia, which except for a superficial resemblance shares little with our case.[1067]

Problems also arise with the further assumption that the 'nymphaeum' housed a philosophical school.[1068] Much of this theory rests on the excavation of glass opus sectile depicting Plato, Theophrastus, and Homer within the premises.[1069] I have nonetheless argued elsewhere that the co-ordinated representation of philosophers is not necessarily indicative of philosophical schools, for the theme was quite popular during that period.[1070] Moreover, one cannot ignore that it is still largely unknown whether there was an active philosophical school in the port-city of Kenchreai.[1071]

4.6.4 The apsidal courtyard on the southern quay: A private building?

All the above uncertainties have spurred an alternative theory in recent years, that understands the 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum' as some sort of private facility.[1072] It is difficult to further specify its exact function, though. A possible explanation would see the compound as a residential unit.[1073] I would be hesitant to accept that, though, because the published architectural plan does not suggest a facility intended for long-term accommodation. Attention was mostly paid to accentuated areas (courtyard), while little care was placed on the supporting/service premises.[1074] In this regard, I

[1066] The octagonal fountain as seen at Kenchreai had a simple marble pedestal 0.9 m high and a basin approximately 0.70 m wide, and 0.27 m deep (Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 140). Most public nymphaea found in the city of Corinth were far more elaborate (Landon 2003, 43-62; Robinson B. A. 2013, 341-384; 2001, 102-327). In this regard, I would suggest that the overall design seen at Kenchreai seems much closer to the nymphaea commonly installed in housing units.

[1067] The nymphaeum at Baia had roughly the size and layout of the 'apsidal courtyard' seen at Kenchreai (Plate 56b). It was much more elaborate, though, with a central piscina measuring approximately 8x3 m, and a surrounding water canal of more than 23 m in total length (Di Fraia 1999, 58-78; 85-87).

[1068] Rothaus 2000, 80-83.

[1069] Rothaus 2000, 82.

[1070] See section 5.1.8.

[1071] The lack of any solid indication suggesting the presence of a philosophical school at Kenchreai is also recognized by Richard Rothaus (Rothaus 2000, 81).

[1072] See: Rife 2010, 407; Morvillez 2008, 43; 1996, 137; Stern W. and Thimmae 2007, 305-312; Versluys 2002, 219; Volpe 2006, 330.

[1073] See: Rife 2010, 407; Stern W. and Thimmae 2007, 305-312.

[1074] As we have already seen, the only premises that could probably carry that function were the southern rooms adjoined to the apsidal court (Rothaus 2000, 75). However, the few roof tiles excavated from the area of the apsidal court may suggest that this was unroofed and there was no upper storey (Rothaus 2000, 72; Scranton 1978a, 60; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 141).

would suggest that unless the facility also incorporated the series of smalls rooms found further south-east (Plate 47), a residential use should most likely be ruled out.

More likely is another proposed scenario that envisions here a *schola*.[1075] Unfortunately, much like the northern quay complex, the excavation at the southern quay did not reveal any relevant inscriptions or insignia to back that claim. This, combined with our limited knowledge concerning the associations active in 4th century AD Corinthia, means that the proposal is no more than an educated guess. I would argue nonetheless that an interpretation as a meeting area for an association should be seriously considered. That would not only correspond with the facility's elegant design and lack of supporting premises, but also with the irregular architectural plan and the opus sectile décor. The latter of course saw a largely generic use during the 4th century AD.[1076] Nonetheless, Ostia has demonstrated that these artworks became recurrent for *scholae* and can even be seen in modest *scholae*, comparable in size and wealth with the building discussed here.[1077] Ostia, might also provide an interesting parallel regarding the architectural layout of Kenchreai unit. At the central sector of the city, atop of Hadrianic foundations, lies the 'Aula di Marte e Venere', a small 4th century AD structure (Plate 56c). As in Kenchreai, the general plan did not extend far into the *insula*. At the core of the compound stood an elaborate room which opened to a spacious hall with two opposing apses, one of them a nymphaeum. While the 'Aula di Marte e Venere' was a two-story building, the accentuated areas stood at the ground floor, much like the apsidal court at Kenchreai.[1078] The facility has commonly, although not unanimously, been understood as a *collegium*.[1079] If the interpretation is correct,

[1075] Stern W. and Thimmae 2007, 305-312.
[1076] Under no circumstances I am suggesting here that the *sectilia* artworks point towards a collegial function. Their use was after all very common (Dunbabin 1999, 264). Nevertheless, I would like to note that the décor would be well suited to a *schola*. We should refer here to the famous '*Edificio dell' Opus Sectile*' (Plate 57a-b), the marble décor of which reserves many similarities to the glass panels found at Kenchreai (see section, 5.1.8). While its function remains debated (Kiilerich 2014, 171), a possible interpretation as a collegial seat has long caught the interest of the scholars (Becatti 1969, 70-71; Boin 2013, 58-68 *contra* Guidobaldi 2000, 259-261; Pavolini 2016, 223; Pensabene and Lazzarini 2007, 527-528).
[1077] One such case is the so-called 'Domus di Marte' (Plate 57c), a small, and best described as average facility (Hermansen 1981, 76).
[1078] Pensabene and Lazzarini 2007, 527.
[1079] See: Bakker 1994, 172, 177; Becatti 1953, 156; Bollmann 1998, 176; 303-304; Hermansen 1981, 79-80; Stöger 2011, 234; *contra* Murer 2016, 181; Pensabene and Lazzarini 2007, 519-523.

then it gives a testimony of how small spaces, like the one at Kenchreai, could serve as elegant *scholae* when fitted with a spacious room and running water installations.[1080]

How then should we best reconstruct the 'apsidal courtyard' in Kenchreai? The presence of mythological scenes in the Kenchreai panels might suggest that this was a *collegium*.[1081] In that case we should expect that part of the structure was used as a shrine.[1082] The identification of structures potentially connected with pagan cults is difficult, as the structures have not been entirely excavated.[1083]

It is possible that the elegant apsidal courtyard was a reception hall, or a *triclinium* for banquets, as sometimes proposed.[1084] I would suggest, though, that any dining activities took place periodically, mostly during the summer and certainly not on a daily basis. The reason is that the unroofed courtyard left the diners exposed, and thus was unsuited for hour-long feasts during bad weather. A periodic use as proposed here would not come as a surprise. The epigraphic sources reveal that many associations hosted their banquets sporadically, on a monthly basis and on specific occasions such as holidays or funerals.[1085] At the same time, recent work has demonstrated that a great variety of places could be utilized during these feasts, including main and side rooms, porticoes and courtyards.[1086] That offered not only a cost-minded approach, but more importantly a much welcome multifunctionality, since the Roman associations seem to prefer the multipurpose rooms.[1087]

[1080] We should also refer here to the so-called '*Aula del Buon Pastore*' at Ostia where the plan was dictated by similar design parameters. The building has been frequently understood as a *collegium*, but once again an interpretation as such is far from certain (Bakker 1994, 172, 177; Hermansen 1981, 65; Pavolini 2016, 227-228 *contra* Becatti 1953, 156; Bollmann 1998, 176; Lavan 2012b, 688).

[1081] If the interpretation is correct, then the Kenchreai facility is an example of thriving (judging by the décor) pagan *collegium* well into the 4th century AD. Similar cases have been also recorded in Rome and Ostia, an indication perhaps that until the damning Theodosian edict of the AD 415, such institutions were not only active, but sometimes even prosperous (Bowersock *et al.* 1999, 480; Diosono 2015, 268-269; Hermansen 1982, 125; Liu 2009, 279-284).

[1082] Ascough 2002, 13; Hermansen 1981, 60-61; Slater 2000, 495-496.

[1083] As we have already seen multiple rooms, some of them apsidal, have been found east of the facility. If these communicated with the room south of the apsidal court, then the overall design would be somewhat reminiscent of the 'Aula di Buon Pastore' at Ostia. However, there is not enough evidence to validate any links as such (Rothaus 2000, 71-72 *contra* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 147-150).

[1084] Morvillez 2008, 43; 1996, 137; Stern W. and Thimmae 2007, 305-312; Volpe 2006, 330.

[1085] Ascough 2008, 36-38; Harland 2012, 79; Hermansen 1981, 60.

[1086] Ascough 2008, 33-34; Slater 2000, 495.

[1087] Ascough 2012, 63; Hermansen 1981, 60; Slater 2000, 495.

However, I would be reluctant to further see the apsidal section as an area reserved for a sigma table (*stibadium*), as sometimes suggested.[1088] My principal argument here is that the placement of the nymphaeum did not permit that kind of usage. The useful space between the sidewall and the nymphaeum was almost 2 m, enough to fit a dining couch (Plates 49-53).[1089] Reasons of functionality, though, would most likely dictate a provision for a passage behind the couch, which would be impossible here due to the space limitations.[1090]

What's more, the nymphaeum's central position would obstruct the placement of a holding table, a feature nonetheless essential for the dining *stibadia*. Even a small table would realistically require at least a 0.5 m radius from the area within the curve.[1091] The combined measurements would then exceed the available space within the apse at Kenchreai. It has been sometimes hypothesized that the diners could opt not to have a table and hold their plates in hand.[1092] We must consider, though, that a such arrangement would be cumbersome and somewhat inept, for the custom demanded the diner to recline on his left arm and use the right to grasp the food.[1093] Let us also not forget here that in most if not all testimonies and representations, the dining couches had a designated table area.[1094]

The proponents of the sigma table scenario note here that it was not unprecedent to combine the dining holding tables with water fountains.[1095] Characteristic is that Pliny the Younger lists as a treasured possession of his a dining couch with an integrated water basin upon which floated boat-shaped plates.[1096] Similar 'fountain sigma tables'

[1088] See: *For a theoretic approach on the collegial banquets in Roman Corinth*: McRae 2011, 171-177; *For the apsidal court at Kenchreai as dining room with a sigma table*: Morvillez 2008, 43; 1996, 137; Stern W. and Thimmae 2007, 305-312; Volpe 2006, 330.

[1089] In our case, the distance between the wall and the fountain was less than 2 m (Morvillez 1996, 158; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 131, 139, 142). On average, the size of the reclining area in the Late Roman *triclinia* ranged between 1.2 – 1.8 m (Morvillez 1996, 158; Witts 2000, 295).

[1090] The provision for a corridor behind the *stibadium*, while not mandatory, was a frequent sight in the Roman banquet halls (Volpe 2006, 339). A similar layout would be arguably most welcome here, since the centrally placed nymphaeum would otherwise force the participants to board the *stibadium* from the two sides.

[1091] Witts 2000, 295.

[1092] Morvillez 2007, 312.

[1093] For the dining practises see: Mols 2007-2008, 158; Vroom 2007, 324.

[1094] Dunbabin 1996, 74-79; 1991, 124-136; Vroom 2007, 314-318.

[1095] Morvillez 2008, 43; 1996, 137; Stern W. and Thimmae 2007, 305-312.

[1096] "*At the upper end is a couch of white marble covered with a vine, the latter being supported by four small pillars of Carystian marble. Jets of water flow from the couch through small pipes and look as if they were forced out by the weight of persons reclining thereon, and the water is caught in a stone cistern and then retained in a graceful marble basin, regulated by pipes out of sight, so that the*

have been excavated in Africa, Italy, France and Spain, an indication perhaps of their frequent adoption (Plates 58-59).[1097] This identification is difficult here, though, as most of the relevant examples had the water facilities fully merged with the *stibadium*, at the same or lower height with the reclining area.[1098] That would permit either a novel approach as described by Pliny, or the temporary sealing of the fountain with a hard surface which would then substitute for a table.[1099] Alternatively, we can expect that one or more portable tray-tables would be placed in front of the couch to function as a holding area.[1100] In any case, none of these solutions seems to work at Kenchreai, since the fountain's variable depth would arguably fail to provide a stable support for portable furniture, while its height would obstruct any attempted sealing effort.

Equally problematic is the further claim made to back the sigma table scenario, that the 'radiating' mosaic pattern in the apse marked the position of a portable dining couch (Plate 53a).[1101] It is true that comparable mosaic schemes, typically made from 4-7 trapezoid motifs arranged in a semicircle, have been a frequent sight in many Late Roman banquet halls (Plate 60).[1102] Modern research has come to understand these segment motifs as reference points for the reclining benches which joined together would form one unified *stibadium*.[1103]

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basin, while always full, never overflows. The heavier dishes and plates are placed at the side of the basin when I dine there, but the lighter ones, formed into the shapes of little boats and birds, float on the surface and travel round and round. Facing this is a fountain which receives back the water it expels, for the water is thrown up to a considerable height and then falls down again, and the pipes that perform the two processes are connected" (Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 5.6 To Domitius Apollinaris).

[1097] *Autun-Saône et Loire*: Blanchard-Lemée *et al*. 1986, 146; Morvillez 2008, 49; *Faragola*: Volpe 2006, 319-349; *Rome*: Arce *et al.* 1989, 313; Caratelli 2013, 87-120; Morvillez 2008, 44-45; Saguì and Cante 20152015, 54-66; *Villa Hadriana*: Ehrlich 1989, 169-171; Volpe 2006, 336-337; Morvillez 2008, 41; *Villa El Ruedo-Seville*: Morvillez 2008, 44; Stephenson 2016, 65-67; *Casa Canada Honda-Italica*: Morvillez 2008, 44; Sancho 2016, 171-174; *Maison d' Hesychius-Cyrene*: Duval 1989, 2791; Morvillez 2008, 50.

[1098] Note for example the villas at Rome and Faragola, as well as the 'Maison d' Hesychius', the 'Casa Canada Honda', and the 'Villa El Ruedo'.

[1099] An approach as such can be seen at the stibadium of the Villa at Faragola which was designed to accept a sealing surface (Volpe 2006, 338).

[1100] After all, the great majority of dining stibadia were made from wood and was coupled with wooden tables (Bowes 2010, 55-57; Volpe 2006, 329).

[1101] Morvillez 2008, 42-43; 1996, 132.

[1102] Two well-known cases can be seen at 'villa of the falconer', Argos and at Dewlish villa, Dorset (Dunbabin 1999, 305; Witts 2000, 300-301). We should also refer here to the so-called Whitley villa at Somerset. There the apsidal representation broke in four trapezoid segments much like Kenchreai (Witts 2000, 313).

[1103] Dunbabin 1999, 305; Morvillez 2008, 43; 1996, 131-137; Vroom, 2007 325; Witts 2000, 292-297.

Despite the apparent similarities, though, I would be sceptical of accepting this association here. The mosaic scheme at Kenchreai, if used as a reference point for an overlying sigma table, would allocate twice the space to those seated at the central benches than the rest seated at the corners. That would contradict the well-known practice of placing the important diners at the right end of the couch, which was already customary by the yard's completion at the late-4th century AD.[1104] In addition to that, we should also not forget here that the use of mosaics with radiating patterns to signify a focal area or installation was common in Roman architecture. One characteristic example comes from Palacio de Lebrija, Seville, where a centrally placed fountain was engulfed by a mosaic floor with foliage trapezoid patterns.[1105] Bearing that in mind, it is possible that the mosaic at Kenchreai was part of the same tradition and had purely an aesthetic function with no connection whatsoever to the overlaying furniture.

4.6.5 Synopsis

The research on the apsidal courtyards of Kenchreai clearly still has many grey areas. It can be argued nonetheless that the earlier interpretations which understood the facilities as the temples mentioned by Pausanias look unconvincing. That is particularly true for the building complex on the northern quay, the overall design of which bears a strong resemblance to contemporary private compounds. Moreover, we ought to consider that a scenario as such would seemingly contradict Pausanias' own choice of words. For his descriptive term (*ναός*), implies a conventional temple compound and does not correspond well with the roomlike facilities seen at the northern quay.

I would further suggest the supposed identification of the 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum' at the southern quay as the Iseum of Kenchreai, should be critically approached as well. There are no relevant epigraphic data, that support the early hypotheses. At the same time, it is dubious that the opus sectile panels retrieved from the facility were related to Isis. Even more importantly, it is difficult to trace among the

[1104] It has suggested by some scholars that there was an early period when the most prestigious seats where at the centre of the *stibadium* (Dunbabin 1996, 78; 1991, 131; McRae 2011, 175-176; Volpe 2006, 339). Whatever the answer may be, by the late-4th century AD when the mosaic floor of the apsidal court was laid, the common arrangement dictated that the honoured guest would sit at the right end (Bowes 2010, 57; Dunbabin 1996, 78; 1991, 131; Mols 2007-2008, 157; Stephenson 2016, 67-68; Volpe 2006, 339).

[1105] Freijeiro 1978, 35-36.

ruins an area suitable to house a shrine. While the early reports located the sanctuary's temple south of the apsidal courtyard, it is very likely these could not support a heavy superstructure. A more recent claim that the apsidal courtyard acted as a temple area should also be rejected due to the impractical internal layout for a shrine, and the presumed lack of ceiling.

In a drastic departure from earlier interpretations, some scholars have hypothesized that the 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum' should be best reconstructed as a nymphaeum unit, and then further speculate that it may have functioned as a philosophical school. I would be hesitant to accept this, though, for the small Kenchreai fountain bears little in common with the contemporary public fountains found across the region. At the same time, we should not forget that there is no proof of an active philosophical school in Kenchreai. What is more, the thematic range of the sectilia does not necessarily imply a similar use, as once suggested, since the representation of philosophers, even in a co-ordinated programme, was a much beloved subject and was widely used in generic terms.

In this regard, a more likely explanation is that the facilities found at both quays had some sort of private function. A residential or commercial use should probably be ruled out at least for the 'Brick Building' and the 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum', since in both cases the architectural plan made little provision for storage areas. A better scenario instead is that these were guild houses ('*scholae*'). That would correspond with the strategic placement of the compounds right on the main lines of communication, but close to the working sector of the city. The proposed interpretation would also explain the great care placed on the accentuated rooms, and the interest in elaborate water installations. Above all, though, the suggestion would bring Kenchreai on a par with other contemporary port-cities where similar in design collegial facilities found their way into strategic sections of the urban fabric.

Chapter 5

Private art in Late Roman Corinthia

§ 5.1 Case study 1 – Mosaic décor

5.1.1 Introduction

Several overviews regarding the mosaics of Roman Greece have been published in recent decades, addressing among other things the mosaics of Corinthia.[1106] The latest catalogue presented by Rebecca Sweetman and Guy Sanders includes no less than 24 mosaics from the city of Corinth and its surrounding territories.[1107] In addition to these, many artworks have been also noted in the nearby territories of Kenchreai, Lechaeon and Nemea. Nonetheless, I would propose that across the region of Corinthia only 17 mosaic decorations can be confidently associated with private premises.[1108] In addition to these, 8 more mosaic programmes may relate to private facilities, but the exact character of these buildings remains unknown.[1109] That number seems overall small compared to other Greek regions. This is certainly evident by comparison with the numerous mosaics from private contexts excavated in the nearby regions of Achaea and Laconia.[1110] However, considering that the main urban core of Corinth has been less thoroughly investigated in comparison to other Peloponnesian capitals, I would argue that this alleged 'scarcity of mosaics' should be dismissed as a false picture.

[1106] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 92-98; Waywell 1979, 296-298; Spiro, 1978, 88-101; Kankeleit 1994, 93-119.
[1107] Sweetman and Sanders 2005.
[1108] See Tables C1-4: *Corinth*: 'House over the South Basilica'; 'Mosaic House'; 'Panayia Domus'; 'Pr. Marinou'; 'Area Keramikos B'; 'House of the Opus Sectile'; 'Zekio-Pr. Roumelioti'; 'Zekio-Protobyzantine Building Complex'; *Suburban Corinth*: 'Villa Anaploga'; 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'; *Kenchreai*: 'Koutsogilia - Area B – Northern complex'; 'Brick Building - Northern Quay'; 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum - Southern Quay': *Nemea*: 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara'; *Rural Corinthia*: 'St. Lemesou & Lefkosias – Loutraki - Katounistra'; 'Ag. Vassileios - Site Varela'; 'Akra Sofia'.
[1109] See Tables E1-4: *Corinth*: 'Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni'; 'Pr. Liakoura'; 'Pr. Stamati'; 'Pr. Tsimpouri'; 'Pr. Soukouli'; *Lechaeon*: 'Pr. Tintiri & Georgiou'; *Rural Nemea*: 'Site Ag Gerasimos'; 'Pr. Manavi - Petri'.
[1110] See: *Achaea*: Papapostolou 2009a; 2009b; *Sparta*: Panayiotopoulou 1998.

Many of these artworks, while exhibited in Late Roman contexts, were laid prior the 3rd century AD, although these are not entirely representative of the Late Roman artistic choices, they continued to be on display. In that respect, they were equally integral parts of the Late Roman domestic decorative programme, as they reflected the aesthetic values and ethical principles of the Late Roman patrons.

Therefore, in the following pages I will briefly discuss the representations and then consider the possible artistic influences and sources of inspiration for the Imperial Roman mosaics still on display in the Late Roman households. During that process an effort will be made to question the meaning that these artworks had for successive generations of landowners. I will then examine the new mosaic artworks which date from the 4th, 5th, and 6th century AD. The main aim here will be to understand how the chosen representations related to changes that may have occurred in the Late Roman period, and whether these transformations had any religious connotations. After that, the chapter will study the position of the mosaics within the household areas, before concluding with three separate analyses about the use of glass in the Corinthian mosaics.

5.1.2 Imperial Roman mosaics and their integration into the Late Roman domus

The earliest mosaic decor from a private context in Roman Corinthia can be traced back to the 1st century AD. The sole example here comes from the dining hall (*oecus*) of 'Villa Anaploga' (Plan XXII, Plates 63, 64a, c), at the outskirts of Corinth. The proposed dating is based on material excavated beneath the mosaic.[1111] Stylistically, though, the mosaic finds few if any contemporary parallels in Southern Greece. This has led in turn to an alternative suggestion of a much later chronology in the 3rd century AD.[1112] That proposal, though, fails to explain the 1st century AD pottery material found in the bedding of the mosaic floor.[1113]

[1111] Dunbabin 1999, 210; Kankeleit 1994, 99-97; Miller Stel. 1972, 332; Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 365; Waywell 1979, 197.
[1112] Hellenkemper-Sallies 1986, 278-279.
[1113] In the original publication of the mosaic, Stella Grobel Miller did not specify the exact location of the pottery but vaguely noted that "*pottery of the third quarter of the first century after Christ which was discovered in test trenches made through the bedding of the pavement and the fill just below*" (Miller Stel. 1972, 332). While Miller may refer here to the subfloor that was part of the home's

The fine artwork includes elegant figurative and still life representations, was undoubtedly commissioned by some prominent family that paid for its installation and later maintenance.[1114] The mosaic's 'T-shape' design is most telling about the context of display. A similar arrangement of the main figurative scenes was typical for Imperial Roman dining areas (*oecus/triclinia*), offering a wide field of view, unobstructed by the dining couches.[1115]

The mosaic representation was carefully preserved and in use up until the early 4th century AD,[1116] when extensive rebuilding saw a wall cutting through the pavement.[1117] Similar developments, usually prompted by a desire to maximize the available spaces by subdividing the premises, were certainly not unknown across the Roman world,[1118] as noted before.[1119] In Corinth alone we have at least three analogous cases of hastily raised walls over mosaic floors that might be associated with private facilities.[1120] Only in one of them, though, namely 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' (Plates 64d, 67-68), we can be certain about both the private character of the premises and the date of the conversion.[1121] More enigmatic on the other hand are the other two likely cases from 'Zekio - Protobyzantine Building Complex' (Plate 62c) and 'Pr. Stamati', for which very little is known. A Late Roman date has been proposed for the remodelling at 'Pr. Stamati', but both the facility and the mosaic floor have not been the subject of systematic study.[1122]

A careless treatment of the mosaic pavements as noted above, suggests that the Late Roman occupants struggled to maintain the internal *décor* of their premises.[1123] Nonetheless, the example of 'Villa Anaploga' deserves some further examination, as despite the construction of the division wall, much of the original pavement was retained and incorporated into the two new rooms. More specifically, the division wall

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construction, she commonly used the word 'pavement' in her article to describe the mosaic artwork, and there is no reason to expect otherwise for that segment (Miller Stel. 1972, 332-354).

[1114] Miller Stel. 1972, 334-336.

[1115] Dunbabin 1999, 26; 305; Ling 1998, 50-52; Swift 2009, 31; 55-56; Witts 2000, 293-297.

[1116] Miller Stel. 1972, 333-336.

[1117] For more details see the earlier section 3.2.

[1118] See: Ellis Sim. P. 2000 110-111; 1988, 567-568; Saradi H. G. 1998, 21-23.

[1119] See sections 3.1; 3.2.

[1120] See: *'Pr. Stamati'*: Mpanaka-Dimaki 1989a, 101; *'Zekio-Protobyzantine Building Complex'*: Athanasoulis 2013, 198; *'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'*: Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189; Shear 1930, 17; 26; Pettegrew 2006, 335.

[1121] See the earlier section 3.2.

[1122] Mpanaka-Dimaki 1989a, 101.

[1123] Saradi H. G. 1998, 21-23.

was placed in a way that left visible all the core representations, realigning them to the longitudinal axis of the resulting rooms. Thus, most of the figural scenes including all the T-shaped compositions, were preserved without compromising further the aesthetics. In that configuration, the mosaics remained visible and on display until the villa's final abandonment in the mid-4th century AD.

The choice to retain as much of the mosaic floor and particularly the main scenes, arguably indicates that the artwork was at least of some value during the time of the reconstruction. It would certainly be tempting to hypothesize further that the Late Roman occupants even went as far as to plan the new division wall in accordance with the arrangement of the mosaic pavement. A similar mindful approach for example has been attested at the 'House of the Opus Sectile' in Corinth. There the Roman owners went at great lengths to incorporate in their premises the Hellenistic pebble mosaic (Plates 65-66),[1124] even though the latter stood a half-metre above the occupation level of the Roman household.[1125] I would consider, however, that 'Villa Anaploga' is unlikely one of these cases. For the Late Roman wall allegedly spread further subdividing the atrium, which in turn implies a wider remodelling effort as well as a more 'utilitarian' mindset.

The Anaploga pavement, is the only recorded example of a Corinthian mosaic décor from private context that can be dated with some certainty to the 1st century AD.[1126] Many more by contrast can be dated in the following 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Among them are the mosaics from 'Koutsogilia - Area B Northern Complex' (Plate 61) and 'Brick Building - Northern Quay' (Plates 62b, d, e, 74a) in Kenchreai (Plan XXIV). Five more cases have been recorded in the city of Corinth including the mosaics from: 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' (Plates 64d, 67-68), 'Mosaic House'(Plates 69, 70b), 'Panayia Domus' (Plates 71, 72), 'House of the Opus Sectile' (Plate 77a, b), and 'Pr. Liakoura' (Plate 70a).[1127] This was certainly a high period in the Corinthian

[1124] See following section 5.1.7.
[1125] Williams and Zervos 1983, 18.
[1126] All the other five examples come from public buildings mostly from the area of the Agora (Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 365-366).
[1127] See: *'Koutsogilia- Area B – Northern Complex'*: Korka and Rife 2013, 291; '*Brick Building'*: Ibrahim 1978, 90-98; Waywell 1979, 299; *'Pr. Liakoura'*: Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988g, 106-108; *'Panayia Domus'*: Sweetman and Sanders 2005; 360-365; *'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'*: Dunbabin 1999, 212; Hellenkemper-Salies 1986, 272; Waywell 1979, 297; Waywell 1979, 297; '*Mosaic House':* Waywell 1979, 298; Weinberg 1960, 111-122; *'House of the Opus Sectile'*: Olivier 2001, 349-363.

mosaic production,[1128] a fact clearly indicated also by the extended mosaic decorations of several public facilities.[1129]

The mosaics of the period made use of a rich repertorium that included both figurative and non-figurative representations. Among the aniconic representations some of the most popular were various key (Plates 62d, 68a, b, 72d) [1130] and peltae patterns (Plates 67, 68d, 72a),[1131] the diagonal trellis design (Plates 61a, 68a),[1132] the tangent four-pointed stars (Plates 62b, 72b, 74a),[1133] and loose motifs of interlocking cycles (Plates 63, 72d, 73a, c).[1134]

It is nonetheless the common presence of figurative scenes which clearly sets aside the mosaics of that era from the later ones. Indicative of their frequency is that in these early years the private decorative programmes bearing figurative mosaic scenes outnumber those with exclusively aniconic representations.[1135] An increasing use of figurative scenes can be observed also elsewhere across southern Greece from the 3rd AD and onwards.[1136] These were typically placed within one or more *emblemata* framed by wavebands and meanders, which in turn were surrounded by a plain geometric field.

Starting from the mid-2nd century AD and following the wider artistic trends, we can also attest the use of multiple *emblemata* compartmentalized by a continuous running guilloche border.[1137] The design became very popular in the late-2nd and 3rd century AD Peloponnese, as for example in the western neighbour of Corinthia, the

[1128] A similar increasing utilization of mosaics is also attested for other main Peloponnesian centres like Sparta (Panayiotopoulou 1998, 114), and Patras (Papapostolou 2009a; 2009b; 2004-2009), or the nearby region of Crete (Sweetman 2013, 83-84).
[1129] Spiro 1978, 88-102; Sweetman and Sanders 2005; 365-369; Waywell 1979, 297-299.
[1130] See among others: '*Brick Building - Northern Quay'*: Waywell 1979, 299; '*Panayia Domus'*: Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 359-369; '*Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'*: Shear 1930, 3-26.
[1131] See among others: '*Panayia Domus'*: Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 359-369; '*Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'*: Shear 1930, 3-26.
[1132] See among others: '*Koutsogilia - Area B'*: Korka and Rife 2013, 291; Rife 2014c, 555; '*Pr. Marinou'*: Kritzas 1979, 212; '*Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'*: Shear 1930, 3-26.
[1133] See among others: '*Brick Building - Northern Quay':* Waywell 1979, 299; '*Panayia Domus'*: Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 359-369.
[1134] See for example the mosaics of 'Panayia Domus' (Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 359-369).
[1135] See: *Aniconic mosaic programmes*: 'Panayia Domus' (Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 359-369); 'Brick Building - Northern Quay' (Waywell 1979, 299); *Figurative mosaic programmes*: 'Mosaic House' (Weinberg 1960, 111-122); 'Pr. Marinou' (Kritzas 1979, 212); 'House of the Opus Sectile' (Olivier 2001, 349-363); 'Villa Anaploga' (Miller Stel. 1972, 332-354); 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' (Shear 1930, 3-26).
[1136] Karivieri 2012, 233.
[1137] See: *Borders and emblemata*: Swift 2009, 44-52; *Running guilloche*: Swift 2009, 52.

region of Achaea, where it was commonly employed for private premises.[1138] In Corinthia, the design is attested only twice within private contexts, both at the 'Mosaic House' (Plates 69, 70b).[1139] This, though, might be a misconception as the design of running guilloche has been further attested at the enigmatic facilities at 'Pr. Manavi' in Petri, Nemea,[1140] and 'Pr. Liakoura' in Corinth (Plate 70a).[1141] Both facilities might have some private function, but this is far from certain based on the current evidence.

Among the represented subjects stand out the pastoral scenes that embellished the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'(Plate 68b).[1142] The xenia scenes seen at the 'Villa Anaploga' and the 'House of the Opus Sectile' are also remarkable, due to their lively execution and colours (Plates 64a, c, 77a).[1143] The above are the only still and daily life scenes attested in Corinthian domestic mosaics that date from the 2nd and 3rd century AD. That contrasts with the popularity of these themes for mosaics displayed in private contexts elsewhere in Greece during that period.[1144] We ought to consider, though, that our sample may be overly small and may not fully reflect the cultural trends and tastes of the era.[1145]

Much more recurrent are themes inspired by the pagan mythology. Among the deities represented we can recognize Europa riding Bull-Zeus from the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' (Plate 68c), and an unidentified Nymph riding Triton at the 'Mosaic House' (Plate 69).[1146] In most cases, the iconography was inspired by the Dionysiac cycle as indicated by the numerous depictions of the god, his followers, and the various indirect references to his cult. Representations of the god have been excavated at the 'Mosaic House' and at the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'. The latter in particular included one mosaic depicting the 'triumph of Dionysus' (Plate 68a), while in another room, a second mosaic represented a shield with radiating triangles surrounding a central emblema with the head of the god (Plate 64d). In

[1138] Papapostolou 2009a: 243-248.
[1139] Weinberg 1960, 111-122.
[1140] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 97; Papachristodoulou 1970a, 103.
[1141] Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988g, 106-108.
[1142] Shear 1930.
[1143] Miller Stel. 1972, 332-354; Olivier 2001, 349-363.
[1144] For the still life and daily life scenes at Greece see: Karivieri 2012, 218-220; Kokkini 2012; Kondoleon 1994, 104-105; 1991, 106-108; Pelekanidis and Atzaka 1974, 19-25; Waywell 1979, 316-317.
[1145] Another example might come from 'Pr. Ch. G. Lekka' (Plate 76), but as we earlier saw the exact character of that facility remains unknown.
[1146] Shear 1930, 3-26; Weinberg 1960, 111-122.

addition to these, I would propose that the representations of the bearded men excavated at 'Pr. Marinou' and 'Koutsogilia - Area B - Northern Complex' should be associated also with Dionysus (Plates 61, 62a).[1147] This is because they bear a strong resemblance with Selinoi, demons of waters and well-known followers of Dionysus, who were typically placed in larger syntheses devoted to him.[1148]

It may be tempting to see in the above mosaics a certain expression of religiousness, especially towards Dionysus. This is unlikely, though, as neither the domestic statuary nor the wall murals referred to Dionysus with the same intensity.[1149] Another likely explanation rests on the alleged classical aesthetics and values which characterized many of the Imperial and Late Roman owners.[1150] However, while a deliberate use of the mosaics as an expression of classical *paideia* cannot be ruled out,[1151] it is important to remember here that a similar heavy utilization of mythological, and particularly Dionysiac themes can be widely attested across the Eastern Mediterranean.[1152] In this regard, a more probable scenario is that the choice of mythological scenes probably stemmed from their overall popularity as mosaic repertoires, as well as the intended use of the premises.[1153]

5.1.3 Mosaic décor & cultural interchange: Corinthia between East and West

One notable feature of several early Corinthian mosaics found in private facilities is that they display a strong influence from the Hellenistic mosaic tradition. Most telling is the common utilization of colour tesserae, a choice that clearly refers to the multicolour Hellenistic mosaics.[1154] Good examples here would be the colourful

[1147] See: Kritzas 1979, 212; Korka and Rife 2013; 291; Rife 2014c, 555.
[1148] See for example: Dunbabin 1999, 215; Lancha 2003, 198-210; Pantermanlis 1999, 153-154; 1987, 182-183.
[1149] Although Dionysus was established in Corinth, his popularity was nowhere near to more popular deities like Aphrodite or Isis (Rife 2010, 413; Walbank Mar. E. 2010, 151-197).
[1150] See among others: *Mythological scenes as an expression of classical paideia in the Roman and Late Roman periods*: Elsner 1998, 98-109; Lancha 2003, 198-214; Uytterhoeven 2014, 154; Uscatescu 2013; *Classical tradition in Greece particularly statues*: Hannestad 2014, 241.
[1151] See also the following section 5.3 about statuary.
[1152] See: *General analysis*: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 2003, 135-139; *Macedonia*: Kondoleon 1994, 332; *Southern Greece*: Waywell 1979, 311-314; *Cyprus*: Kondoleon 1994; 1991, 111; *Africa*: Dunbabin 1978, 173-187; *Crete*: Sweetman 2013, 46-51; *Syria*: Kondoleon 1999, 323-325.
[1153] See following sections 5.1.4; 5.1.6.
[1154] For the use of colour in the Early Roman syntheses and relationship of these artworks with the Greek tradition see: Dunbabin 1999, 18-38; 211.

mosaics from: 'Villa Anaploga', 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi', 'Mosaic House', and 'Pr. Marinou' (Plan XXII).[1155] Furthermore, the common presence of figurative scenes, typically as central emblemata bordered by various bands and meanders, and embedded in larger zones of carpet motifs, also strongly recalls the earlier, Hellenistic mosaics.[1156] Characteristic is that in all four buildings mentioned above, the figurative scenes were arranged accordingly, as central set-pieces in larger mosaic syntheses.

Nonetheless, these Imperial Roman mosaics could also sometimes reveal notable Western influences.[1157] Characteristic here is the paradigm of Kenchreai. The colourful, figurative mosaic floor excavated at Koutsogilia was clearly reminiscent of the earlier Hellenistic syntheses (Plate 61).[1158] By contrast, the contemporary mosaic floors from the nearby 'Brick Building' were largely shaped by Western aesthetics, having an aniconic design and solely tricolour (white, red, and black) tesserae. A similar use of only white, red, and black tesserae can be seen also at the 3rd century AD mosaics from 'Panayia Domus', as well as in the peristyle corridor of the North Market.[1159] The chromatic combination was initially understood as part of the Hellenistic tradition.[1160] More recent analyses, though, have reconsidered this issue, noting instead that the popularity of the tricolour mosaics in Italy better suggests a Western origin.[1161]

Even more telling are the mosaic pavements of 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' in Corinth which date from the 2nd century AD (Plates 67-68).[1162] At first glance, the colourful mosaics which depicted mythological, pastoral and still life (xenia) scenes, borrowed heavily from the Hellenistic tradition.[1163] The presence of

[1155] See: '*Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi*': Shear 1930, 20; *'Mosaic House'*: Weinberg 1960, 114-122; '*Pr. Marinou*': Kritzas 1979, 212.
[1156] See among others: *General analysis*: Dunbabin 1999, 210-214; *Hellenistic mosaic tradition & Central emblems on carpet motifs*: Korka and Rife 2013, 291; Rife 2014c, 555.
[1157] For the Italian influences on the Early Roman Corinthian mosaics see: Dunbabin 1999, 209-212.
[1158] Rife 2014c, 555.
[1159] Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 368; Waywell 1979, 297.
[1160] Waywell 1979, 306-307.
[1161] Dunbabin 1999, 211; Papaioannou 2002, 148.
[1162] Initially a much earlier dating was proposed in the Hellenistic period (Shear 1930, 26). Later analyses casted doubt on these claims proposing instead a date in the 2nd century AD (Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 92-97; Dunbabin 1999, 212; Hellenkemper-Salies 1986, 272; Waywell 1979, 297). A more recent study further pushed the construction of the mosaic into the 3rd century AD, without elaborating any further (Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 367).
[1163] Shear 1930, 26.

'peltae' and 'key' geometric patterns, though, also indicates some Italian influences as well.[1164]

This fusion of mosaic themes and stylistic designs is not surprising. The rise of the Roman Empire spurred a significant cultural interchange between the East and the West. The mosaic art was no exception. Many of the mosaic pavements excavated at Pompeii reveal clear influences from the Hellenistic tradition.[1165] By contrast, the mosaics from numerous contemporary Greek cities (Pergamum, Sparta and Kisamos to name a few) on several occasions borrowed heavily from the Italian aesthetic trends.[1166] Notwithstanding, the presence of Hellenistic influences sometimes only a century after the foundation of *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*, as in the case of 'Villa Anaploga', is somewhat peculiar. Highly instructive is a comparison with the mosaics found in the contemporary Roman colony of Patras. In that case, most of the excavated pavements until the early-3rd century AD can firmly be associated with Italian traditions and aesthetics.[1167]

The main raison d'être for the similarities between the early-Roman mosaics of Corinthia and their Hellenistic predecessors may lie on what Katherine Dunbabin called "*a survival of Hellenistic traditions*" during the Imperial Roman period.[1168] That would also reflect on the unique Greco-Roman culture of Corinth, as well as on the sizable Greek community found among the first waves of settlers.[1169] An alternative explanation, though, should also be considered here. As a major commercial centre Corinth enjoyed a flow of artistic ideas and artworks, and a constant dialectic between the Italian and Eastern artistic traditions. Highly indicative are the several statuettes likely of Egyptian origin found in the tavern 'Shop North of Panayia Field' (Plate 100a,

[1164] Dunbabin 1999, 211-212.
[1165] Dunbabin 1999, 38-48; Westgate 2000, 255-275.
[1166] Dunbabin 1999, 210-212; 223-225; Panayiotopoulou 1998, 113; Sweetman 2013, 81-82.
[1167] Papapostolou 2009a, 211-222.
[1168] Dunbabin 1999, 209-210.
[1169] The lineage of the first settlers has been the matter of an intense survey. There is little doubt nonetheless that the city quickly became a magnet for Greek merchants (Papaioannou 2002, 94-97; Walters 2005, 400-411). This almost certainly resulted in a hybrid identity as the colonists proudly associated themselves with both Greek and the Roman heritage already in the late-1nd century AD (Kokkini 2012, 263; Melfi 2014; Millis 2010, 14-16; Pawlak 2013,143-162; Spawforth 1996, 167-174; Thomas M. C. 2010, 119-123). In this regard, it comes as no surprise that the city was inducted in the Hadrianic Panhellenion as a founding member (Ajootian 2014, 315-318; Oliver J. H. 1970, 136; Romeo 2002, 21-40; Spawforth 1999, 347-352; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 79-84). Here it is also interesting to note that Corinth was the only specifically mentioned Roman colony inducted into the Panhellenion (Spawforth and Walker 1985, 82).

b, d), as well as the glass opus sectile panels from Kenchreai and Corinth which strongly resemble similar artworks found in Egypt and in Italy (Plates 77a, b, 78-83).[1170] Whereas the city was open to both East and West, a heightening economic activity with Eastern Mediterranean can be observed during the late-1st / early-2nd century AD (Plates 28-29).[1171] Bearing that in mind, we can hypothesize that the increasing trade links likely sparked a newfound interest in the Eastern-Hellenistic decorative themes.

The fruits of this dialectic relationship can be potentially seen in the mosaic programme of 'Villa Anaploga' which recalls several 1st century AD mosaics seen in Pergamum.[1172] Another suitable candidate might be the décor of the somewhat later 'Mosaic House' in Corinth. In that case, the 2nd century AD mosaics are strongly reminiscent of several contemporary Syrian artworks.[1173] For both these cases a cultural influence from the East is a fitting scenario, as Asia Minor and Syria were diachronically important trade partners for Corinth.[1174]

The motif that probably best embodies this 'cultural dialogue' is the mosaic shield of triangles seen at 'Area Keramikos B' in Corinth (Plate 64b), and at room 'C' in 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' respectively (Plate 64d).[1175] The design of the shield was similar in both cases, with zones of radiating triangles linked from top to the bottom. The example coming from the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' stands out with the red, yellow and blue triangles, appearing as intersecting ogives (décor 328c). By contrast, the version seen at the site 'Area Keramikos B' was much simplified (décor 327b), being almost half in size and without the elaborate guilloche border that surrounded the medallion at 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'. At the centre of both medallions stood a smaller emblem. This is preserved today only at the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi', a representation of a frontal facing, crowned head of Dionysus.[1176]

[1170] See later sections 5.1.7; 5.1.8; 5.3.3.
[1171] For the trade links of Roman Corinthia see: Slane 2000, 299-305; 1989, 219-225.
[1172] Dunbabin 1999, 210.
[1173] Dunbabin 1999, 214.
[1174] For the trade partners of Corinth in the 1st century AD see: Slane 2000, 299-305; 1989, 219-225.
[1175] Deilaki-Protonotariou 1969, 122-124; Shear 1930, 24.
[1176] Shear 1930, 24.

The origins of this 'flowerlike' setting made from interlinked triangles or scales, have long been a matter of dispute.[1177] The medallion's popularity in Italy and North Africa, together with the common use of the 'tip-to-base triangles' design in the Western mosaics, led to the suggestion that these shields originated from Italy.[1178] Other researchers, noting particularly that a Medusa head was commonly employed as a central emblema in these shields, proposed instead that the motif should be understood as part of the Greek-Hellenistic tradition.[1179] That would agree with the stance of Ellen Swift, who convincingly argued that in Roman mosaic art, illusionism is "*particularly associated with the Hellenistic mosaics*".[1180]

It is possible, though, that the design evolved gradually under both traditions, before eventually merging into a single iconography. The Medusa head, sometimes combined with scales, was a recurrent representation already in the Hellenistic era, a reference perhaps to the famous *aegis* of Athena.[1181] As the motif became more popular several changes were introduced, including the use of radiating triangles to better capture the dizziness and havoc caused from gazing directly at the face of the chthonic monster.[1182] We should not forget here, that throughout the Roman period, illusionistic mosaic designs could be commonly employed as means to 'captive' the viewer.[1183] Thereafter, the shield of tringles eventually lost most of its initial meaning, and saw a largely formalistic use as a filler design, accompanying various central emblemata.[1184]

Starting from the 3rd century AD, Western influences on the Corinthian mosaics gradually became less pronounced. This is a common development across Southern Greece, where the mosaic designs and themes became ever more influenced by the Eastern tradition during the Late Roman period.[1185] Nonetheless, the use of motifs embedded in the Western tradition persisted in the Corinthian mosaics. Characteristic is the use of peltae motifs up until the 5th century AD and the mosaics at 'Tritos - Pr.

[1177] A synopsis of the various shield designs in Roman mosaics has been recently offered by Catherine Balmelle (Balmelle *et al.* 2002, 135-148).
[1178] Dunbabin 1999, 212; Michaelides 1998, 14; Ovadiah 1980, 144.
[1179] Papapostolou 2009a, 218; Panayiotopoulou 1994, 369-375.
[1180] Swift 2009, 99.
[1181] Panayiotopoulou 1994, 369-375; Swift 2009, 63.
[1182] Sweetman 2013, 51-52.
[1183] For the use of illusionistic mosaic designs see: Swift 2009, 99-102.
[1184] For its later formulaic use see: Sweetman 2013, 51-53; Waywell 1979, 304-305.
[1185] Dunbabin 1999, 211-219.

Kalara' in Nemea, and at the 'House over the South Basilica' in Corinth (Plate 77).[1186] A much simplified version of the motif can be seen also at the elaborate mosaic found at 'Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni' (Plate 76).[1187] This has been dated on stylistic grounds in the second half of the 5th / early-6th century AD.[1188] While sometimes recognized as a residential compound, the exact character of the facility is unknown, and a public function cannot be excluded.[1189]

5.1.4 The Late Roman viewer and the pre-existing mosaics in his household: Functionality & aesthetics

We have so far examined many of the Early Roman mosaics included in households with a long occupation history. It is not always clear how all these artworks were treated after their installation. Considering, though, that on several occasions no excessive damage is reported, there is every reason to believe that many of them survived until the final abandonment of the premises. This probably means that most of the artworks examined in this chapter were still visible well into the 4th century AD, or later.

Throughout this period, whereas no major reconstructions are attested, smaller maintenance works, and minor restorations were probably not rare in accordance with the common practices of the era.[1190] An example would be the conservation efforts taken at the mosaic pavements of the 'Mosaic House'. In that case, some of the tesserae were allegedly replaced by new ones, coarser than the original.[1191] These actions could be the source of great pride for the owners, as clearly attested by the several celebratory inscriptions found in other regions.[1192]

The above suggest that successive generations of patrons made a full-hearted choice to preserve the pre-installed mosaics within their premises. There is little doubt this was primarily a cost-minded solution. Arguably, the installation of new mosaic

[1186] See later section 5.1.5.
[1187] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 94-95; Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 178; Daux 1967, 635; Drosoyianni 1968b, 222; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292; Megaw 1966-1967, 8; Sodini 1970, 709; Spiro 1978, 96-102; Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 367; Waywell 1979, 298; Williams 1968, 185.
[1188] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 95 *contra* Spiro 1978, 97.
[1189] For the proposal see: Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 178; Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 367.
[1190] For the restoration of the existing mosaics by later owners see: Ling 1998, 12-13.
[1191] Weinberg 1960, 114.
[1192] Isager 1997, 24-29; Ovadiah and Turnheim 2003, 111-118.

floors was not rare in the Roman world.[1193] One of the best known cases concerns the 'Sala delle Dieci Ragazze' in 'Villa del Casale' of Piazza Armerina.[1194] There, the famous mosaic depiction of the 'bikini girls' was found overlaying an earlier pavement depicting a geometric pattern.

These practices mostly occurred during major renovations which altered the internal spaces and distorted the original architectural plan. Otherwise, the good condition of the mosaics offered little incentive for drastic changes in the mosaic representations that typically saw lengthy exhibition periods. The examples are numerous; among them we can note several Pompeian residences that retained with little alteration the older *opus signinum* pavements, while new tessellated floors were added in other household areas.[1195] By comparison, in the well-known 'House of the Hunt' at Bulla Regia in Africa Proconsularis (Modern Tunisia), a major reconstruction led also to the redesign of the mosaics.[1196]

That said, the obvious financial benefits do not necessarily rule out a more conscious thinking behind the mosaic's conservation. These artworks had a certain artistic value and there is no reason to believe that the Late Roman occupants were oblivious to that. We can refer here to an episode from the life of Diogenes the Cynic recalled by Gallen. During a visit to a friendly house, Diogenes mockingly spat on his host, because he only was unworthy in the otherwise beautiful and splendidly decorated compartments![1197] We further ought not to forget that throughout the period of the Empire, Romans frequently praised the artistic value of domestic décor. The famous 1st century AD poet, Statius, in his poem about the villa of Manilius Vopiscus at Lazio, expressed a genuine amazement for the good quality mosaics decorating the household.[1198] Three centuries later, Gregory of Nissa described a similar excitement

[1193] Dunbabin 1999, 306-310; Swift 2009, 98.
[1194] Pensabene and Gallocchio 2011, 34.
[1195] Dunbabin 1999, 306-310.
[1196] Thèbert 1987, 350-351.
[1197] "…(i.e. *Diogenes the Cynic) responded that he saw nothing neglected within the house. The walls were adorned with remarkable paintings, the floor with a mosaic of great value representing images of the gods, the furniture polished and clean, the carpet and bed marvellous in their beauty, the only thing not in harmony was his host, and since the general custom is to spit where it will do the least harm, he had no other recourse*" Galen, *Exhortation to the Study of the Arts especially Medicine: To Menodotus.*
[1198] Statius, *Silvae* 1.3.

in one of his letters, in which he mentioned his visit to a splendidly decorated house at Apollonia.[1199]

It is not always clear, though, whether the mosaic decorations were principally valued by the patron and his guests for their artistic excellency *per se*, or for their decorative effect. In his letters for example, Pliny the Younger only briefly mentioned the domestic decoration, preferring instead to dedicate most of his descriptions to the architectural design and the portable furniture.[1200] An equally fleeting reference to the household décor made more than four centuries later, Sidonius Apollinaris when describing his household as well as other friendly villas that he visited.[1201] All things considered, it seems that views of mosaics could differ significantly from viewer to viewer. Nevertheless, it was certainly not rare to perceive the mosaics as treasured 'antiques', valued for their artistic quality. Suetonius for example mentioned that when Julius Caesar campaigned, he took mosaic artworks with him, whereas much later Charlemagne transferred to Aachen some of the mosaic pavements of Ravenna.[1202]

In addition to a potential aesthetic appeal as described above, a possible emotional value should also be considered. Many of these artworks were in a family's possession for long periods of time, and there is a good chance that the later occupants gradually came to understand them as treasured antiques. Here we can draw some parallels with the widespread reuse of older portable or even immovable artefacts and decorative materials within many Late Roman premises. Recent studies suggested that aside from any pragmatic reasons such as scarcity of materials or economic stress, reuse further underlines the emotional appeal of the artefact in question.[1203] The older material not only satisfied the periodically strong trends of aesthetic conservatism, but more importantly could serve as a bridge for the expression of cultural ideas and ideals, heritage, or even personal ambitions.[1204]

It is possible that the preserved Corinthian mosaics carried a comparable emotional appeal at least for some Late Roman landlords. It is unclear, though, how

[1199] Gregory of Nyssa *Letters*, *To Adelphius the Scholasticus*; Rossiter 1989, 109.
[1200] Pliny, *Epistulae* 2.17 To Gallus; 5.6 To Domitius Apollinaris.
[1201] Sidonius, *Epistulae* 2.IX To Donidius; 2.II To Domitius; 8.4 To Consentius; Visser 2014, 34.
[1202] Podany 2006, 119.
[1203] Swift 2012, 108-112.
[1204] Swift 2012, 112.

much the emotional factor weighed on their choice to retain them, considering that many literary references seem to portray mosaics as simple decorative elements.

In this regard, it is only suitable before closing this chapter to consider the baffling presence of a Hellenistic pebble mosaic floor in the much later 'House of the Opus Sectile' in Corinth (Plates 65-66).[1205] In that peculiar case noted above, the mosaic stood a full half-metre above the ground level of the Roman household.[1206] The arrangement clearly signals that the artwork was incorporated into the villa upon the erection of the latter in the Imperial Roman period.

This curious case, to my understanding, finds no direct parallels. A Hellenistic pebble mosaic was excavated beneath the Roman levels at the 'Villa of Dionysus' at Paphos, but there the artwork was not visible during the Roman period.[1207] More relevant would be the pebble mosaic found at the 'House of Greek Mosaics' in Athens.[1208] There, though, along with the mosaic pavement, the owners retained also the original architectural plan, thus making the integration much simpler.[1209] Finally, a possible reuse of the mosaic pavements has also been suggested for the Early Roman Athenian villas, 'House N' and 'House NW of Areopagus'.[1210] Both, nonetheless, were inaugurated no earlier than the 1st century AD, and thus they are not comparable to the Hellenistic pebble floor from Corinth.[1211]

It remains unknown whether the pavement laid buried to be accidentally discovered when the villa's building works commenced, or stood still visible and accessible prompting the Roman occupants to incorporate it within their premises.[1212] In whatever way this might have happened, though, what is certain is that once the occupants became aware of the Hellenistic artwork, they full-heartedly chose to retain

[1205] See: *Hellenistic mosaic pebble floor*: Shear 1929, 526-528; Williams and Zervos 1983, 18; '*House of the Opus Sectile'*: Brown A. 2018, 48; 2008, 143; Olivier 2001, 349-363; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A12; Shear 1929, 526-528; Williams and Zervos 1987, 28; 1983, 14-28; 1982 133-135; Williams and Fisher 1976, pl. 24.
[1206] See Corinth Notebook *NB 324*, 914-918.
[1207] Nicolaou 1984, 219-225.
[1208] Papaioannou 2002, 121.
[1209] Daux 1965, 684-685; Kokkini 2012, 366; Papaioannou 2002, 76; Thompson 1966, 52-53; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 181-183.
[1210] Papaioannou 2002, 121.
[1211] Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 184-185; Young 1951, 273-276; Thompson 1968, 69; 1966, 206.
[1212] The badly preserved ruins cannot provide any secure arguments here. However, it is important to note that area was inhabited already since the early days of the colony or even earlier (Williams and Zervos 1982, 118-135). Therefore, it is not unlikely that the mosaic was already on display prior to the villa's construction.

it despite the resulting awkward architectural plan. This willingness to display the pavement certainly spells a desire to embellish the premises, seemingly at no cost.[1213]

Nonetheless, it is unlikely that the decision was primarily finance-driven. This is not only because the required architectural changes carried their own costs, but more importantly because there is nothing to indicate that the Roman occupants were cash-strapped. On the contrary, at least two of the rooms within the house were decorated with wall murals, which according to the AD 301 Diocletian edict of maximum prices cost more than an average mosaic pavement.[1214] On top of that, the presence of glass opus sectile panels among the premises undoubtedly conveys significant financial resources and a certain level of wealth (Plate 77a, b, d).[1215]

In this regard, a more likely explanation put forward by Charles Williams and Orestes Zervos, is that the careful treatment of the Hellenistic pavement was probably a well-executed display of classical taste.[1216] The proposed scenario seems at least plausible not least because of the predominant classical aesthetics in Imperial and Late Roman Greece.[1217] In addition to that, we can further hypothesize that the skilfully executed Hellenistic synthesis would probably arouse the interest of both the late occupants and their guests.[1218]

Significant questions, though, do remain concerning what sparked the alleged 'antiquarian' interest in the case of the pebble mosaic. A definite answer is largely elusive, but nonetheless the issue merits some further consideration.

The artwork was certainly of good quality, in parallel with other mosaic artworks of the Hellenistic era.[1219] For all its masterful design, by the 2nd and 3rd

[1213] The use of 'spolia' has been long being understood as an effort to save money (Cirelli 2011, 39-46).
[1214] According to the Diocletian Edict of maximum prices, the murals were significantly more expensive than the mosaics (Ling 1998, 133).
[1215] See following section 5.1.7.
[1216] The scenario was first suggested by the excavators (Williams and Zervos 1983, 18). More recent researchers have come to similar conclusions (Papaioannou 2012).
[1217] See further: Classical aesthetics-general analysis: Elsner 1998, 107-109; Classical aesthetics in the domestic decoration in Asia Minor: Uytterhoeven 2014, 154; *Classical aesthetics in mainland Greece*: Hannestad 2014, 241; Karivieri 2012, 218-220.
[1218] For the identification of spolia as signs of a conservative mentality and aesthetics see (Brenk 1987, 105-106; Coates-Stephens 2003, 352-353).
[1219] A very similar pavement has been excavated in Eretria (Ducrey and Metzger 1979, 34-40). For an introductory analysis of the Hellenistic pebble mosaics see further: Dunbabin 1999, 4-19; 209; Ling 1998, 19; Walter-Karydi 1998, 56-64; Westgate 1997-1998, 93-113.

centuries AD the black-and-white mosaic with its course pebble pieces would probably compare unfavourably to the newer colourful *opus vermiculatum* and *opus tesselatum* pavements. Moreover, the presence within the same premises, of the unusual opus sectile medallion signals that the late occupants were not necessarily bound to an aesthetic conservatism, but open to the newer decoration trends.[1220]

Therefore, it can be proposed that neither the design quality of the pavement, nor the classical tastes of the Roman owners alone seem to convincingly justify the mosaic's exceptional treatment. Here it is also interesting to note, that conservative sources like Vitruvius and Cassiodorus strongly disapproved anything that could compromise the design symmetry, and the uniformity of internal spaces.[1221] This makes further unlikely that the reuse of the Hellenistic pavement was simply inspired by classical aesthetics, as the latter would conflict with the resulting architectural layout.

Instead, part of the answer might lay on the overall unique character of the synthesis. As indicated by the glass opus sectile, the occupants of the Roman household clearly valued exceptional pieces as art, and there is good chance that the pebble mosaic was equally admired for its uniqueness. It is important to remember here that the Imperial and Late Roman domestic mosaics were not mere decorative motifs. They were also the useful tools through which the landlord, regardless of his education, declared that he was part of a cultured elite, a form of statement that transcended a sense of belonging.[1222] In this regard, it is possible that the pebble mosaic was not preserved due to the landlord's classical aesthetics, let alone his presumed classical *paideia*, but because he wanted to present himself as an educated admirer of rare and antique artworks.

A more conscious and emotional approach, though, based on the social ideas and ideals of the Roman Corinthians should be also cautiously explored. Of particular interest here would be the colony's mixed cultural identity, and the long-standing belief among its people that they were the rightful heirs of the Hellenistic city.[1223] As we have already seen, the use of spolia in order to propagandise a continuity with the glorious

[1220] For the Italian influences behind the conception of the opus sectile medallion, and its relevance with the new design trends see later sections: 5.1.7; 5.1.8; 5.1.9.
[1221] Vitruvius, *De Architectura* VII.5.3; Cassiodorus, *Varie* 7.5; Coates-Stephens 2003, 355.
[1222] Baratte 2001, 278-283.
[1223] For the dual Greco-Roman identity of the Roman colony see earlier section 5.1.3.

past was not unknown.[1224] Although these practices were mostly a later phenomenon, they can actually be traced back to the Severan period.[1225] In this regard, it is certainly tempting to see the Hellenistic mosaic as an heirloom aiming to present the occupants of the household as linked with the ancient Greek city and its traditions.[1226]

5.1.5 The Late Roman mosaic syntheses: Balancing between continuity and change

A study dedicated to the Corinthian mosaics that date after the 3rd century AD will inevitably run into several problems. This is not only because of the poor preservation and partial excavation of numerous Late Roman sites, either public or private. Even more important is that most of the mosaics that date from that period are largely unpublished. The focus has been instead primarily on the Roman Imperial period while the Late Roman period has often been neglected.

One significant problem is that the analysis of Late Roman mosaic décor is commonly reduced to mere vague descriptions with few, sometimes even non accompanying illustrations.[1227] Two characteristic cases come from the area of Zekio in Corinth. The first concerns a mosaic floor with geometric motifs found in the Late Roman house at 'Pr. Roumelioti', of which there is no published description or illustration.[1228] The second, another mosaic pavement from the nearby 'Protobyzantine Building Complex' in use until the Middle Byzantine period remains so far unpublished (Plate 62c).[1229]

[1224] For the spoliation as an act of to create deliberate links with the past see: Alchermes 1994, 170-171; Brenk 1987, 105; Coates-Stephens 2003, 342-343; Peirce 1989, 388-416; Ward-Perkins 1999, 228-230.

[1225] The spoliation practices have been mainly associated with the post-Constantinian era (Alchermes 1994, 169; Coates-Stephens 2003, 352; Ward-Perkins 1999, 229). Acts of spoliation can be traced already from the reign of the Tetrarchs, probably as a reference to the cultural and historical link bounding the late rulers and the Julio-Claudian dynasty (Ward-Perkins 1999, 229). The first pragmatic use of spolia, though, probably occurred even earlier with the construction of the nymphaeum of Alexander Severus (Longfellow 2011, 198-202). In the era preceding the Severan dynasty, the selected use of spolia probably was not unknown either. These must have been exceptional cases based on the availability of the material, and were not thoroughly planned actions (Longfellow 2011, 195-198).

[1226] That would find some parallels with the attested wide reuse of many Hellenistic Corinthian landmarks from the Roman colonists. For the continuity between the Greek and the Roman city see: Thomas M. C. 2010, 119-123.

[1227] See among others Tables E1-4: 'Pr. Soukouli'; 'Site Ag. Gerasimos'; 'Diavatiki-Pr. Tintiri & Georgiou'; 'Petri Nemeas - Pr. Manavi'.

[1228] Koursoumis 2016, 921.

[1229] Athanasoulis 2013, 198.

Another significant issue arises from the excavation of numerous mosaic pavements that link to Late Roman buildings of unknown function. Here we can note the mosaics from 'Pr. Soukouli' and 'Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni' in Corinth, from 'Pr. Manavi' in Nemea, and from sites 'Ag. Gerasimos' and 'Diavatiki-Pr. Tintiri & Georgiou' in Lechaeon.[1230]

Another example might be the mosaic pavement from 'Pr. Marinou' (Plate 62a), in Corinth.[1231] The corresponding facility was understood as a 'Late Roman villa', although the identification remains far from certain.[1232] Furthermore, in that case, there are notable inconsistences with the proposed Late Roman date of the facility. That is because the design of the mosaic, which bore a figurative emblema bordered with wave-bands, meander and guilloche, on a field of a diagonal grid of filets, implies at least an earlier Imperial Roman phase. In that direction points also the recent excavation of an analogous mosaic, at Koutsogilia 'Area B - Northern Complex' in Kenchreai (Plate 61), that can be dated in the 2nd / early-3rd century AD.[1233] The two pavements apart from the trellis field, shared also a very similar emblema, which in both cases had a central depiction of Selinoi surrounded by a border of wave-bands and guilloche.

Despite all these problems, though, the study of some Late Roman mosaics from private contexts can still be highly informative for both the ideas and ideals as well as the aesthetic criteria and social status of the occupants. One important case is provided by the mosaic pavement excavated at the 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra' that dates from the 2nd century AD (Plate 73).[1234] The artwork was added in the western rooms of the Imperial Roman villa as part of a 4th century AD refurbishment.[1235] The latter might have been part of much wider remodelling that also saw the eastern premises used first for burials before being subdivided into smaller

[1230] See: *'Pr. Soukouli'*: Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988e, 88; *Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni:* Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 94-95; Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 178; Daux 1967, 635; Drosoyianni 1968b, 222; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292; Megaw 1966-1967, 8; Sodini 1970, 709; Spiro 1978, 96-102; Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 367; Waywell 1979, 298; Williams 1968, 185; *Site Ag. Gerasimos*: Avramea 2012, 345; Brown A. 2018, 50; Pallas 1961, 165; Wiseman 1978, 99; *Diavatiki-Pr. Tintiri & Georgiou*: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 96; Drosoyianni 1969b, 200-201 *Petri Nemeas - Pr. Manavi*: Avramea 2012, 350; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 97; Papachristodoulou 1970a, 103.

[1231] Kritzas 1979, 212.

[1232] For the identification see: Kritzas 1979, 212.

[1233] See: Korka and Rife 2013; 291; Rife 2014c, 555.

[1234] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 41-50; 2013a, 191; 2013b 179-190; 2013c, 176-185; 2012, 77-78; 2009, 191; 2005, 148; 2004, 139; 2002b, 148-149; Brown A. 2018, 50-51; Gregory 2010k 467; Kasimi 2016, 331-332; Pettegrew 2016b, 218; 2006, 346-347.

[1235] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 50; 2013a, 178-179; 2013b 184-185; 2002b, 148-149.

compartments. It is unclear, though, at this stage what sparked the contrasting fate of the eastern and western flanks at Katounistra villa during the 4th century AD, and whether these developments correspond.[1236]

One interesting aspect concerns the artist's choice of colours. The pavement was mostly made of 'bluish' black tesserae, with white tesserae outlining the motifs, whereas red and yellow tesserae were used for the minor details (Plate 73b, c). In this regard, the pavement appears as an evolutionary step from the three colour (black, white, red) mosaics seen the previous century at the 'Brick Building' and at 'Panayia Domus'.[1237]

The colour combination clearly enjoyed some popularity, with other examples recorded at 'Pr. Sophia Tsimpouri' in Corinth, and 'Pr. Tintiri & Georgiou' in Lechaeon'.[1238] This popularity may be suggestive of certain aesthetic criteria, but it could also stem from the material availability. Of interest here would be the great number of black tesserae of "bluish" shade. The latter were also attested at 'Panayia Domus' and according to the excavators there can be traced to a local hard blue ('Argos blue') limestone.[1239]

The design of the mosaic was dominated by two geometric panels. The first (Plate 73a) had a black and white field of intersecting cycles forming saltires of quasi-tangent spindles and concave squares which were filled with a white cross of five squares (Décor 238).[1240] The same motif can be seen also in the somewhat later exonarthex mosaic from the 5th century AD Kenchreai basilica.[1241] At the side of the panel, stood a secondary zone bearing swimming dolphins (Plate 73c). A similar use of dolphins as a filler motifs can be attested also in the mosaic pavement of 'Area Keramikos B' (Plate 64b), in Corinth and in the famous mosaic of the Roman baths at Isthmia.[1242] This was a popular design choice particularly during the earlier, Imperial

[1236] See chapter 4.
[1237] See earlier section 5.1.3.
[1238] See: '*P. Sophia Tsimpouri'*: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 95; Drosoyianni 1969a, 195-200; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1970, 164-165; '*Pr. Tintiri & Georgiou'*: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 96; Drosoyianni 1969b, 200-201.
[1239] Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 368.
[1240] Balmelle *et al*. 2002, 40; 1985, 378.
[1241] For the Kenchreai basilica mosaics see: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 92-93; Spiro 1978, 88-95.
[1242] See: *Isthmia*: Packard 1980, 338-339; '*Area B Keramikos'*: Deilaki-Protonotariou 1969, 122-124.

Roman period.[1243] However, it was also employed during the Late Roman period, with other examples coming from the mosaic at 'Kypriotakis plot' in Hersonissos, the Narthex mosaic at Almyrida, and the somewhat earlier 'Hutchinson's mosaic' in Knossos.[1244]

More unique appears to be the design layout of the second panel (Plate 73b). This bore an outlined octagon design, formed by a square with a Solomon's knot, surrounded by adjacent oblong hexagons enclosing a tightly interwoven, symmetrically shaded guilloche. The design appears to be inspired by the popular carpet motif of octagons adjacent and intersecting on the shorter sides, forming squares and adjacent oblong hexagons (Décor 169b).[1245] Variations of carpet designs with intersecting octagons can be seen among others at the 'Mosaic House' in Corinth (Plate 69), at the apsidal courtyard on the southern quay of Kenchreai (Plate 74b) and at the north-eastern room on the northern quay (Plates 62b, e, 74a).[1246] Our example sharply differs from the above cases as only one octagon is clearly outlined, thus leaving just one central square that imitates the design of the central mosaic emblems.

The choice to place the Solomon's knot in such a prominent position is surprising. The use of the motif can be traced already from the 1st century AD.[1247] Its popularity rose in the following centuries and it is widely attested across Greece.[1248] During that period the motif became recurrent across the Empire, but usually only as a mere decorative detail in larger mosaic syntheses. In Corinthia, the utilization of Solomon's knot as a filler motif can be seen in the one of the 3rd century AD pavements decorating 'Panayia Domus' (Plate 72c).[1249] It is further attested in the late-4th / early-5th century AD Kenchreai basilica, and in the mosaic pavement at 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara', in Nemea (Plate 75a).[1250]

[1243] See for example the paradigm of Crete and the mosaics of 'Iraklion domus' (Sweetman 2013, 188), as well as the Apollinaris mosaic from 'Villa Dionysus', in Knossos (Sweetman 2013, 171-172).
[1244] See: *Almyrida*: Sweetman 2013, 257; *'Kypriotakis plot'*: Sweetman 2013, 192-193; *Hutchinson's mosaic*: Sweetman 2013, 178-179.
[1245] Balmelle *et al.* 1985, 260.
[1246] See: '*Mosaic House'*: Weinberg 1960, 111-122; '*Apsidal Court Nymphaeum -Southern Quay'*: Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 140-141; '*Brick Building'*: Waywell 1979, 299.
[1247] Dunbabin 1999, 58; Ovadiah 1980, 142.
[1248] Erdeljan and Vranešević 2016, 100.
[1249] Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 361.
[1250] See: *Kenchreai basilica*: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 92; '*Tritos - Pr. Kalara'*: Kritzas 1976, 215.

It is certainly tempting to see behind the central arrangement here an expression of Christian beliefs, considering the strong metaphors that the design conveyed, as well as its popularity for the Early-Christian churches of the 4th century AD. A similar arrangement for example can also be seen in the catechumeneon of the basilica of Heraclea Lynkestis.[1251] Another notable example is the mosaic from the first church at Bethany which similarly to the mosaic at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra' displayed a Solomon's knot as a central emblema.[1252]

An analogous arrangement, though, can be also sometimes seen in tessellated pavements decorating secular, or for that part, pagan facilities. Instructive is a Solomon's knot placed in an elaborate oblong emblema in the main zone of the mosaic floor in the enigmatic building excavated beneath the Apamea cathedral. The latter due to its mosaic repertoire is generally regarded as a pagan facility, while some researchers have even gone further to see the facility as a pagan philosophical school.[1253] Another case concerns the mosaic décor of the Eastern Thermae in Delphi (Plate 73d). There the motif was placed as a central emblema in a shield of radiating triangles, upon the entrance hall of the frigidarium.[1254]

All the above suggest that, a central position for the Solomon's knot as seen at Katounistra is not outright associated with Christian beliefs.[1255] However, while the decorative choices taken at Katounistra do not necessarily spell any specific religious leanings, I would argue that the pavement possibly had an allegoric meaning. This is because the Solomon's knot was sometimes employed as an apotropaic motif to ward off evil spirits.[1256] I should acknowledge here that an allegoric use as an '*apotropaion*' is difficult to prove, bearing in mind that the motif was commonly employed in a formulaic way. Nonetheless, I would consider that in this specific case, the position of the embellishment directly on one of the exterior entrances, strongly implies a symbolic meaning.

[1251] Erdeljan and Vranešević 2016, 100-102.
[1252] Madden 2012, 182-183; Nassar and Sabbagh 2016, 545-547.
[1253] Dunbabin 1999, 169-170.
[1254] Ginouvès 1955, 136-138; Waywell 1979, 298.
[1255] The presence of Christian pottery has been traced starting from the 6th century AD, along with rings with crosses (Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013, 185; 2009, 191). The full publication of the premises might as well push this date earlier.
[1256] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 2003, 123, 135; Ball 2016, 59-60; Bowes 2011, 178-188; Erdeljan and Vranešević 2016, 100-102.

Throughout the Imperial and Late Roman period, Christians and pagans alike were very cautious about the evil eye.[1257] At the forefront of this superstition were the entry points of the houses that had to be protected to keep demons out of the house.[1258] Various measures could theoretically offer this protection. Among them was the use of mosaics with apotropaic references, and the pavement from Katounistra was likely one of these cases.[1259]

Some parallels here can be traced with the mosaic pavement of the so-called 'House of Eustolios' in Kourion, Cyprus. In that case, at the entrance was a mosaic pavement with a central medallion bearing an apotropaic inscription,[1260] surrounded by compartmentalized Solomon's knots alternating with abstract geometric motifs.[1261]

It is very likely that the mosaic at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra' (as well as the mosaic at the entrance of the *frigidarium* at the Eastern Thermae in Delphi) carried a similar apotropaic symbolism. That would make the mosaic from Loutraki the only Corinthian example of a mosaic floor from a private context that was used as an apotropaion. Even more importantly, it would provide a rare glimpse of how an otherwise formulaic motif could sometimes adopt a drastically different meaning by simply making small, incremental changes in the design layout. The patron of the elaborate villa at Loutraki, despite his evident wealth, did not have to look far to satisfy his urge for protection from the evil eye. He opted to embellish his premises with a design clearly derived from the popular carpet mosaic motifs, and by simply altering the design scale, he transformed the latter into an elegant apotropaic symbol.

Moving past the 4th century AD Loutraki mosaic floor, much less can be said about the utilisation of mosaics in private facilities during the subsequent 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries AD. Of the mosaic compositions dating from that period, no more than four can be related with some confidence to domestic contexts. These include the

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[1257] See: *General*: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 2003, 130-137; Stroud 2013, 187-200; Thèbert 1987, 397; *Corinthia*: Avramea 2000, 18.

[1258] For the understanding of the Roman thresholds and entrances as potential gates to evil see further: Bowes 2011, 178; Dunbabin 1978, 162-163; Elliot 2016, 98-99; Littleton 2005, 770; Nicolaou 2001, 13-16; Ogle 1911, 251-264; Swift 2009, 41-43.

[1259] For the use of mosaics as *apotropaia* see: Dunbabin 1978, 162-163; Elliot 2016, 202-203; Nicolaou 2001, 13-16; Swift 2009, 41-43.

[1260] The inscription reads: "*Enter to the good fortune and may the coming bless this house*".

[1261] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 2003, 130; Bowes 2011, 188.

pavements from: 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara' (Plate 75a),[1262] 'House over the South Basilica' (Plate 75b, c),[1263] 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum - Southern Quay' (Plate 74b),[1264] and 'Akra Sophia'.[1265] Except for the mosaic floor at the apsidal courtyard on the southern quay of Kenchreai, these artworks have not been fully studied. Characteristic is that a heavy concentration of loose tesserae of various colours has been recorded in 'Akra Sophia', but the mosaics in question remain otherwise completely unknown. At the same time, only a small part of the original tessellated compositions has been unearthed and studied at Nemea and Corinth.

What is most characteristic of the above mosaic artworks is that all bore aniconic iconography. This reflects to an extent the popularity of aniconic scenes during the late-4th and the first half of the 5th century AD.[1266] It is important to keep in mind, though, that local workshops continued to produce figural compositions for major public facilities during that period.[1267] Therefore, it is possible that such syntheses were also commissioned for households and workshops but have gone unnoticed by archaeological research.

One such case might concern the mosaic that ornamented the enigmatic facility at 'Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni' (Plate 76).[1268] This included at least two pictorial panels, while a third figurative panel may have stood next these, completing the composition. The most central panel bore two figures crowning a third one, with an overlaying inscription reading "*ΚΑΛΟΙ ΚΑΡΟΙ*" (beautiful seasons). These were representations of the Summer months, a subject known from the mosaic décor of several contemporary church facilities in Southern Greece, among them the Tegea and Delphi basilicas.[1269] Similar personifications of seasons were a beloved theme in the Late Roman art and found its way in civic and private facilities alike.[1270]

Whatever the answer might be about the declining number of figural mosaic compositions, what is certain is that the Late Roman mosaic pavements found in private

[1262] Kritzas 1976, 215.
[1263] Ivison 1996, 111; Weinberg 1960, 77.
[1264] Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 140-141.
[1265] Gregory 1985, 415.
[1266] See Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1980, 110; 1987, 22; Dunbabin 1999, 219; Swift 2009, 99-101
[1267] Note for example the 5th century AD mosaic pavement from the Kenchreai Basilica (Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 92).
[1268] For the facility see earlier section 3.1.
[1269] Sodini 1970, 709; Spiro 1978, 101; Waywell 1979, 320.
[1270] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 2003, 124, 135.

houses were of good quality. The use of fine polychrome marble tesserae has been attested in Akra Sophia, while coloured glass tesserae have been found in 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara'. At the same time, their preserved sections signal an overall elaborate design. The pavement in Tritos had bands of bead-and-reel and dentils surrounding the main zone that incorporated among others perspective cubes, peltae, Solomon's Knots and medallions with crosses (Plate 75a). Equally complex was the design at the 'House over the South Basilica' in Corinth. This included interlooped bands forming circles enclosing peltae and guilloche motifs, with ivy scrolls acting as fillers, and a separate zone of trellis pattern (Plate 75c).

One interesting feature of these Corinthian Late Roman domestic mosaics is the use of the peltae design as late as the first half of the 5th century AD.[1271] The motif was very commonly employed in Greek Roman mosaics prior the 3rd century AD but was rarely used afterwards.[1272] It is important to considering here, though, that the peltae were otherwise widely used in both Eastern and Western Mediterranean throughout the 4th century AD and can be also found in the 5th century AD.[1273] Therefore, its presence in no less than three of the Late Roman Corinthian pavements, although uncommon by the Greek standards of the era, is not all that surprising.

5.1.6 The position of the figurative mosaics within the private premises

One notable question concerns whether the position of the mosaics within domestic premises was instrumental for the selection of the subjects shown. Unfortunately, the available evidence often does not permit a full understanding about the decorated spaces. Moreover, we ought to remember that only sometimes is the mosaic décor suggestive of the function of the premises. Arguably the mosaics within the Roman *domus* could sometimes be designed to suit a specific part of the room.[1274] That was the case for the *oeci/triclinia*,[1275] and the *cubicula* where the mosaic floors could often signify the bench areas.[1276] The latter, though, were more of the exceptions that prove

[1271] See earlier section 5.1.3.
[1272] Kankeleit 1994, 197-228; Waywell 1979, 306-307.
[1273] Alföldi-Rosenbaum and Bryan Ward-Perkins 1980, 73; Hubert and Megaw 2007 353; Waelkens 1993, 48; Waelkens and Loots 2000, 435.
[1274] Dunbabin 1999, 305.
[1275] See for example the T-shape mosaic at 'Villa Anaploga' (earlier section 5.1.2.)
[1276] Dunbabin 1999, 305.

the rule. Any similar associations in other household areas runs a high risk of yielding inaccurate results and should be treated with caution.[1277]

Notwithstanding, some correlation between the chosen subjects and the function of specific rooms should be seriously considered. This is because the mosaics had not merely a decorative function. On the contrary, they were the means used by the landlord to communicate his ideals and present himself to his guests.[1278]

In this regard, the main semi-public household areas typically got most of the attention, frequently receiving figurative mosaics that projected valour and virtue.[1279] By contrast, the more intimate areas generally were less decorated, with representations that carried fewer moralistic symbolism.[1280] At the low end of the scale were the service areas, either small rooms or passages, which when decorated, were typically embellished with the least extravagant representations.[1281]

This 'hierarchization' in the applied motifs can sometimes be attested in the mosaics decorating Corinthian households. A good example comes from 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' (Plates 67-68). There the rooms 'B', 'C', and 'D' which stood closer to the atrium and likely had a semi-public function, received the most complex decorative schemes.[1282] In contrast the premises further to the west which acted as a service area were of lesser value, a fact clearly manifested also in the choice of simpler mosaic motifs.[1283]

A similar hierarchization can also be seen in the arrangement of the mosaic pavements coming from the 'Mosaic House' in Corinth.[1284] The excavations revealed three rooms paved with mosaics, which were initially understood as the western flank of a greater housing unit (Plates 69, 70b).[1285] The proposal seems to agree with the small and somewhat cramped architectural plan of the rooms. The facility's central

[1277] Arce 2008, 86-97; Papapostolou 2009a, 225.
[1278] For the use of decoration as a personal expression and statement see among others: Ellis Sim. P. 1991, 124-126; Elsner 1998, 48-49; Kondoleon 2006, 59-69; 1999, 322-323; 1994, 121; 1991, 105-112; Thèbert 1987, 392.
[1279] Karivieri 2012, 218; Ling 1998, 115-116; Muth 1998, 250-254; Swift 2009, 71-72.
[1280] Ling 1998, 115-116; Muth 1998, 250-254.
[1281] Swift 2009, 56-67; Uytterhoeven 2014, 152-154.
[1282] Shear 1930, 3-26.
[1283] The presence of storage *dolia* is strongly suggestive of the supporting role of the western premises (Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189; Pettegrew 2006, 335).
[1284] Weinberg 1960, 111-122.
[1285] Weinberg 1960, 113.

location within the Agora area, though, along with the lack of any production or storage spaces and the linear architectural plan of the premises, have long puzzled researchers.[1286]

A more recent analysis attempted to solve some of these questions, by interpreting the three rooms as a multiroom *triclinium/oecus*, like those recorded in Hellenistic and Early Roman Pergamon.[1287] The multiroom arrangement of dining areas was certainly not uncommon in the Late-Hellenistic world, with examples coming from Asia Minor, as well as the Greek mainland.[1288] I would consider that unlikely in our case, though. In Corinth, the northernmost room was perpendicular to the other rooms, which finds no comparanda in the above multiroom *triclinia* (Plate 69). Moreover, the orientation of the mosaics does not suggest any uniformity among the decorated spaces. On the contrary, as the excavator noted, the mosaics were not planned as a unified decorative scheme, for they were not aligned with each other, but were arranged to face the entrance of the respective room.[1289]

In that respect, I would suggest that as in 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi', the selection of themes and subsequent arrangement of the mosaics at 'Mosaic House' was first and foremost designed in response to the importance of the rooms. The northernmost room that was facing directly onto the Agora was certainly the most elaborate. This had some important function either as a dining or as a reception hall, a fact clearly supported by the presence of large figurative scenes of the mosaic. The other spaces probably acted as passage areas, while the middle of the two likely had some additional role, either as an anteroom for the room to the north, or as a *tablinum*.

The hierarchization of themes, as seen above, was not necessarily accompanied by the selection of certain repertoires to match the function of the rooms. The final artistic choices could differ significantly given the variable socioeconomic conditions

[1286] Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 366.
[1287] Papaioannou 2002, 123.
[1288] Note Olynthus (Dunbabin 1999, 6-9), Pergamum (Wulf-Rheidt 1998, 307-315), Eretria (Ducrey and Metzger 1993, 17-28), and Pela (Westgate 1997-1998, 108).
[1289] "*In both the northern and the middle room, the mosaic was oriented with the wall containing the main entrance, the south wall in the former, the east wall in the latter. Thus the mosaics are not exactly at right angles to one another*" (Weinberg 1960, 114).

and aesthetics.[1290] A variety of aniconic and figural themes, for example, can be seen at the Corinthian *triclinia.* Suggestive here would be a comparison among the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi', the 'Villa Anaploga',[1291] and the 'Brick Building' at the northern quay of Kenchreai'.[1292] The three were roughly contemporary and seemingly of no different socioeconomic status.[1293] The first two bore figural mosaics, either with xenia scenes or with representations drawn from the Dionysiac cycle, both well suited for dining areas (Plates 62b, e, 69).[1294] In stark contrast, only a simple geometric motif was used as a decorative scheme in the *triclinium* at Kenchreai, a choice that differs greatly from the other more elaborate designs (Plates 63, 74a).

Nonetheless, some representations are strongly suggestive of the function of the decorated rooms. Once again, most significant are the mosaics of 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' (Plate 67). With respect to room 'B' which opened towards the atrium and was decorated with a mosaic representation of Dionysus, an identification as dining hall seems almost certain. That would not only agree with the chosen Dionysiac theme, but also with the choice to surround the figurative scene within alternative panels of polychrome checkerboard patterns, key patterns, and patterns with intersecting cycles forming saltires of quasi tangent spindles. These formed a zone of orderly repeating geometric motifs that stretched almost 0.50 m wide and would be ideal for the position of dining couches. That would offer an unobstructed view at the main mosaic emblema, while leaving also another 0.50 m of free space between the benches and the surrounding walls.

A similar function as dining halls was proposed by Maria Papaioannou in her doctoral thesis also for the neighbouring rooms 'C,' and 'D'.[1295] I would like to argue against her proposal, though. The reconstruction of portable dining couches in room

[1290] For the notable limitations of any attempted correlation between space function and mosaic scenes see among others: Dunbabin 1999, 304-312; Ling 1998, 115-116; 250; Swift 2009, 54; Witts 2000, 320-322.
[1291] For the identification of the premises as a *triclinium* see earlier section 5.1.2.
[1292] For the identification of the premises as a *triclinium* see earlier section 4.6.2.
[1293] Any estimation about the financial wealth of the units examined here is largely assumed. Nonetheless, it can be argued that all of them were in central areas, relatively large, and well embellished. Therefore, it seems fair to relate them with wealthy elites.
[1294] The association between dining areas and Dionysiac scenes is well known (Swift 2009, 71; Kondoleon 1999, 323-325; 1991, 111; Ling 1995, 239). An equally suitable theme was also the xenia scenes which probably referred to the practice of exchanging gifts during the reception of the guests (Dunbabin 1999, 298; 1978, 123-124; 310; Kondoleon 1994, 119; Ling 1998, 120-122).
[1295] Papaioannou 2002, 122.

'D' would block the passage to room 'C' and the atrium, obstructing further the view of the disproportionally large mosaic emblema (Plate 64d). The latter was clearly meant to be viewed from some distance. That way a standing viewer would fully grasp the dizzying, false sense of three-dimensional perspective created by the interlinking colourful triangles.

More likely instead would be an identification of the room as a *tablinum*, or as a reception hall linked with room 'C'. That is because the head of Dionysus in room 'D' was carefully aligned with the door opening between the two rooms. Thus, the God appeared to stare through the door, back to those who, coming from the Atrium, would pause to enjoy the mosaic at room 'C'. This arrangement clearly shows that the mosaics in room 'C' and 'D' were meant to be seen in tandem and that the two spaces were closely linked.

For the same reason, I would be equally hesitant to interpret room 'C' as a dining area. The iconography of Europa seen here is not unknown in *triclinia*, with examples coming from Kos and from Lullingstone, Kent.[1296] At the same time, the position of the main emblema on a background of repetitive peltae motifs would leave plenty of room for reclining areas, without obstructing the view of the figures. Notwithstanding, I would consider that the premises did not house feasts on a permanent basis, as only those sitting at the north-eastern corner of the room would have a view through the western door of the mosaic in room 'D'. Far more suitable, rather, would be a function as a reception area. That would give the patron the opportunity to orchestrate how he would present himself and how he would guide his guests through his premises to offer them the best possible view of the mosaic programme.

5.1.7 The early use of glass in the mosaic décor of the Corinthian domus

One notable characteristic of the Imperial Roman mosaics is the frequent use of glass as a construction material. Most telling here, would be the glass opus sectile medallion excavated in the 'House of the Opus Sectile' in Corinth that dates from the mid-3rd

[1296] See: *Kos*: Wattel-DeCroizant and Jesnick 1991, 106; *Lullingstone*: Dunbabin 1999, 97-98.

century AD.[1297] Even more widespread was the use of glass in contemporary tessellate pavements from private contexts. In particular, glass tesserae have been recorded at 'Villa Anaploga', 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi', 'Kenchreai Koutsogilia - Area B - Northern Complex', 'Panayia Domus', and the 'Mosaic House'.[1298] In addition to these, the presence of glass tesserae has been further attested in the mosaic pavement excavated at 'Site Kakavi - Pr. Liakoura'.[1299] In that case, though, the ownership status of the building remains unknown and a possible public function cannot be excluded.

All the above examples imply that glass was commonly employed by Corinthian mosaic artists to highlight the details of floor mosaic images. This is unexpected considering that after a limited introduction in Hellenistic floor mosaics, glass remained relatively scarce for a long period afterwards.[1300] A notable increase can be observed only after the early 1st century AD, first with the use of glass chips and later with the production of purposely shaped tesserae.[1301] Even then, though, the material was mostly used for wall niches and grottos (*opus musivum*) and rarely for mosaic floors, as in our case.[1302]

It remains unknown whether this Corinthian exceptionality was fuelled by the presence of dedicated workshops, or simply by a general availability of 'exotic' materials due to region's position on major trade routes.[1303] What should be understood as certain, though, is that the highly regarded material was typically used to provide a flash of grandeur, and that its employment in Corinthian mosaics was probably no exception. This essence of lavishness conveyed by glass mosaics is evident when examining the paradigm of Pompeii. There, the glass mosaics were commonly placed to be seen directly upon the entrance to the household.[1304] It is also worth noting here,

[1297] Brown A. 2018, 48; 2008, 143; Olivier 2001, 349-363; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A12; Shear 1929, 526-528; Williams and Zervos 1987, 28; 1983, 14-28; 1982 133-135; Williams and Fisher 1976, pl. 24.
[1298] See: '*Villa Anaploga*': Miller Stel. 1972, 338; '*Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi*': Shear 1930, 20; '*Koutsogilia-Area B- Northern Complex*': Rife 2014c, 555; '*Mosaic House*': Weinberg 1960, 114; '*Panayia Domus*': Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 368.
[1299] Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988g, 108.
[1300] Dunbabin 1999, 236-261; Ling 1998, 103-109; Sear 1977, 40-42.
[1301] Ling 1998, 103-109.
[1302] Ling 1998, 103-105.
[1303] For a more detailed discussion see later section 5.1.9.
[1304] James 2014, 130.

that in many cases glass tesserae were used in mosaics ornamenting monumental civic facilities.[1305]

Special reference should be made here to the aquatic-themed glass opus sectile medallion (**MF 1981 46**) excavated in the eponymous 'House of the Opus Sectile' in Corinth (Plate 77a, b).[1306] Although the 'opus sectile' technique has come to be mainly associated with marble artworks, it is important to remember that this is a generic term applying to both glass and marble syntheses.[1307] The use of glass for these artworks is generally regarded as a cost minded solution.[1308] Nonetheless, there is little doubt that the colourful artworks were still of great value.[1309] The medallion at the 'House of the Opus Sectile' remained visible until the destruction of the house around AD 300.[1310] It was, though, probably exhibited only for a short period of time, because figurative representations were uncommon for Imperial Roman opus sectile.[1311] The preferred method instead for the Imperial Roman opus sectile was incrustation (intarsia panels). This involved pieces of marble or glass that were set on a background hollow slab, not directly on a layer of mortar as in the opus sectile technique, while engraving was used for the fine details.[1312] The change from incrustation to opus sectile for the figurative mosaics, took place sometime during the 3rd century AD. That would make the medallion coming from the 'House of the Opus Sectile' in Corinth one of the earliest examples, and probably a much-treasured possession for the patron of the *domus*.

The iconography of the medallion was typical. At the centre stood an emblema with an eel and three fishes over a plain white background. This was surrounded by interlaced squares coloured white and blue. The outer frame of the medallion was made

[1305] James 2014, 132; Ling 1998, 103-105.
[1306] Oliver A. 2001, 349-363; Williams and Zervos 1983, 23; 1982, 133-134.
[1307] For the glass and marble opus sectile technique see among others: *General*: Dunbabin 1999, 254-267; Ling 1998, 105-113; *Egypt*: Brill and Whitehouse 1988, 34-50; *Spain* Gutiérrez 2005, 71-86; Pérez 1996; *Italy*: Barbone *et al*. 2008; Becatti 1969; 1961; Cavalieri 2016, 286-291; Gliozzo *et al*. 2012, 311-313; 2010; Guidobaldi 2000; 1994; 1985; Kiilerich 2016; 2014, 185; Laurenti *et al*. 2010; Pensabene and Gallocchio 2011, 31; Volpe 2006; Volpe and Turchiano 2013a; 2013b; Volpe *et al*. 2005a, 276-280; 2005b, 127-15; 2005c, 61-78; *Africa*: Rossiter 2007b, 377-380; *Asia Minor*: Uytterhoeven 2014, 157-159; *Kenchreai*: Brill 1996; Brill and Whitehouse 1998, 37-50; Kiilerich 2016; 2014; Koob *et al*. 1996; Rife 2010, 391-407; Rothaus 2000, 64-82; Ibrahim *et al*. 1976; Versluys 2002, 217-219; *Corinth*: Oliver A. 2001.
[1308] Dunbabin 1999, 266-268; Kiilerich 2014, 179-186.
[1309] Ling 1998, 98-109; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 150-151.
[1310] For the destruction see earlier section: 3.1.
[1311] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1980, 43-76; Dunbabin 1999, 236-267; Sear 1977, 21-42.
[1312] Dunbabin 1999, 262.

from colourful blue, yellow and green glass. One source of inspiration may have been the decoration of portable items such as wares and textiles frequently bearing similar motifs.[1313] The latter medium in particular, commonly drew from the same repertoire as the mosaics, making thus a possible stylistic influence likely.[1314]

We ought to further consider, though, that similar aquatic themes were a much beloved subject in the Imperial and Late Roman domestic floor mosaics.[1315] Comparable round, polygonal or square emblemata depicting fishes have been frequently found across the Empire. Examples have been recorded among others at 'Maison De L'Ephebe' in Volubilis, at 'Villa Falconer' in Argos, at 'Domus dei Pesci' in Ostia, at 'House of the Faun' in Pompei, as well as in Zliten, in Lod and in St. Romain-en-Gal.[1316] There is no doubt that the panel from the 'House of the Opus Sectile', drew on this same tradition. In our case, though, the use of glass, a fragile and an expensive medium, suggests a free-standing position.[1317] Moreover, the excavators convincingly argued that the panel was not a piece of furniture "…*for the burnt wood on the clay floor covered much too large an area*", and "*no nails or metal cross struts, braces, feet or other hardware was found*".[1318] On that basis, both the excavation report and later analysis carried by Andrew Oliver, suggested that the sectile was part of the wall décor.[1319]

If that interpretation is correct, the Corinthian glass medallion provides sound testimony of the common themes and stylistic choices in both the floor and wall mosaics.[1320] The scenario looks even more promising when considering that similar glass sectile, also understood as parietal decorations, have been excavated in several Italian villas. For example, a strikingly similar opus sectile medallion depicting a

[1313] Swift 2009, 129-136; Davidson-Weinberg 1962; Kay 2011, 153; Weitzmann 1979, 208-210.
[1314] Dunbabin 1999, 299.
[1315] For the aquatic themed mosaics see: *General*: Ling 1998, 120-122; *Southern Greece*: Kankeleit 2003, 273-278; Waywell 1979, 313-314; *Crete*: Sweetman 2013, 60; *Britain*: Witts 2016, 57-72; *Italy*: Swift 2009, 92-96.
[1316] See: *Volubilis-Maison De L'Ephebe*: Chatelain 1935, 10-12; Limane *et al*. 1998, 40-41; *Argos-Villa Falconer*: Dunbabin 1999, 221; *Pompeii-House of the Faun*: Dunbabin 1999, 298; 1978, 125; Kondoleon 1994, 104-105; *Zliten-Gladiator mosaic*: Dunbabin 1978, 17; *Lod mosaic*: Ovadiah and Mucznik 1998, 1-18; *Ostia-Domus dei Pesci*: Swift 2009, 92; *St. Romain-en-Gal*: Dunbabin 1999, 75-76.
[1317] See: *General opus musivum*: Dunbabin 1999, 236-267; Ling 1998, 8-9; 98-109; Sear 1977; *Glass in opus musivum*: Kiilerich 2014, 186; Ling 1998, 13; 103-105; Sear 1977, 20-42.
[1318] Williams and Zervos 1982, 133.
[1319] Oliver A. 2001, 361; Williams and Zervos 1982, 133.
[1320] During the 3rd and 4th century AD the stylistic similarities between the wall and floor mosaics became stronger (Dunbabin 1999, 246).

dolphin along with two fishes over a blue background has been excavated in the *triclinium* of 'Domus del Chirurgo' in Rimini (Plate 77c).[1321] More recently, a great number of glass sherds depicting fish on blueish and greenish background came to light during the excavations of the 'Villa di Aiano-Torraccia di Chiusi' in Sienna.[1322] Another example has been recorded at 'Villa di San Vincenzino' in Cecina, Livorno.[1323] Here numerous colourful glass fragments presumably from parietal decorations were excavated within the reception hall (Plate 82a).[1324]

Two more cases that we should also note here come from 'Villa di Faragola' in Foggia, Italy (Plate 78d), and 'Erenstrole 31-35' in Patras, Greece (Plate 78f). At 'Villa di Faragola' the excavations revealed three glass and marble sectile panels with geometric motifs and a central round emblema, placed in the floor of the *cenatio* (Plate 58b, c, 78b, c).[1325] The clever setup protected the fragile material, something that was certainly the artist's intention with another similar artwork, a glass-ivory parietal sectile found within the same premises. The latter was arranged along the walls of a quadrangular tank that clearly had some important, but unknown function (Plate 78d, e).[1326]

Only a small part of the wall sectile at 'Villa di Faragola' is preserved today. It is possible, though, that this was not different from two other glass-ivory sectile panels found at 'Erenstrole 31-35' in Patras. Here the excavations revealed among the destruction debris an almost complete glass and ivory disk, as well as the fragments of a second.[1327] The date of the facility and the glass-ivory disks remains elusive. The presence amid the destruction fill of 1st / 2nd century AD pottery led to the suggestion that this was the facility's *terminus ante quem*.[1328] I would argue against that hypothesis, though, for the destruction fill was certainly disturbed. The mosaic pavements beneath

[1321] Balena and Sassi 2009, 48-49; Jackson 2003, 314; Ortalli 2007, 15-16.
[1322] Cavalieri 2016, 286-291.
[1323] Donati 2012, 441-449; 2000, 329-340; 1997, 853-868.
[1324] See also following section 5.1.8.
[1325] Gliozzo *et al.* 2012, 311-312; 2010; Volpe and Turchiano 2013a, 463; Volpe and Turchiano 2013b, 317-319; Volpe *et al*. 2005a, 278-283; 2005b, 140-150.
[1326] Volpe *et al.* 2005a, 281; 2005b, 150.
[1327] Bonini 2006, 472-473; Papapostolou 1985c, 84.
[1328] Person 2012, A24.

the overlaying debris can be stylistically dated at the earliest in the 3rd century AD, but an even later date should be also considered.[1329]

The two Erenstrole sectile discs were initially recognized as windows.[1330] Modern research has further categorized them as skylights.[1331] I would be hesitant to accept that identification. My first argument here is that the material choice is unsuitable for windows, as the expensive ivory is fragile and vulnerable to weather exposure.[1332] Moreover, the objects' design would obstruct any such function. The dense honeycomb frame and the coloured opaque glass would limit the amount of daylight penetrating inside. In this regard, I would consider that the panels from 'Erenstrole 31-35' in Patras, much like their Italian counterparts, were intended as wall ornaments.

It is therefore evident that small, parietal glass sectile panels, often round and commonly bearing aquatic scenes, were recurrent across the Late Roman households in Italy and Greece. Notwithstanding, this says nothing about how to reconstruct the Corinthian panel within the 'House of the Opus sectile'. The initial reports questioned particularly whether the panel was envisioned for a door frame or for one of the walls of the room.[1333] I would tentatively propose that our glass sectile most likely originated from one of the walls and not from a door frame. That would best fit with the many similar parietal glass opus sectile from contemporary Italy, as well as the nearby city of Patras. It would also correspond with the attested popularity of aquatic themes for wall mosaics in general, tesserae and opus sectile alike.[1334]

Moreover, I would further suggest that the findspot of the panel, which was discovered on the floor in an upright position, beneath a debris layer of amphorae sherds, roof tiles, and building bricks, also implies that this was meant as wall

[1329] Not only the mosaic was colourful, but also stylistically relates with other examples dating from the 3rd century AD (Neofytou 12), until the 5th century AD (Roufou 18-20) or later (Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 84-85; Papapostolou 2009a, 227).
[1330] Papapostolou 1985c, 84.
[1331] Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 55-56.
[1332] According to the webpage of the Smithsonian Conservation Institute: "*Ivory is very reactive to its environment. It bleaches when exposed to light, but the most severe changes are linked to changes in relative humidity and temperature. Low relative humidity causes desiccation, shrinkage and cracking, while high relative humidity can cause warping and swelling. Heat fluctuations induce similar expansion and contraction. These problems are particularly acute with thin ivory objects, such as miniatures*." (Si.edu). See further: Hornbeck 2014, 6.
[1333] Williams and Zervos 1982, 133.
[1334] Sear 1977, 35.

decoration (Plate 77b).[1335] For, had the sectile been hung on a door, then the fire would have destroyed any supporting mountings and the heavy panel would have then ended up broken and scattered all over the floor.[1336] In our case, the upright position of the panel and the limited disintegration, suggest instead that this was firmly embedded in one of the walls which during the fire crumbled and collapsed, bringing down the still attached panel.

Another important issue concerns the character of the room where the sectile was found as well as the context of display (Plates 7b, 65b, 66). The 'House of the Opus Sectile' was initially recognised as a residence.[1337] A more recent publication, though, understands the premises as "*shops or storerooms*" due to the many sherds of coarse wares and amphorae.[1338] The argument is highly problematic, not least because as we have already seen the dividing line between working and living quarters was obscure in the Roman households.[1339]

The 'House of the Opus Sectile' was almost certainly one of those cases. In that direction points the presence of at least six rooms, several of them meticulously decorated with murals, glass opus sectile, and floor mosaics. Even more suggestive is that some of them appear to be somewhat distant from the nearby roads, but still elaborately decorated. Two examples would be the 'fresco room',[1340] and the room with the Classical pebble floor,[1341] which lie at the south-eastern part of the household, at the edges of the excavation site (Plate 66).[1342] These rooms were most likely living compartments since they were not easily accessible from the north-south and east-west roads running just outside the house (Plate 7b).

How then should we perceive the room with the opus sectile, within the homonymous residence? It is very likely that the two northernmost rooms, namely the room with the opus sectile medallion and the room to its west, served some utilitarian

[1335] In the words of the excavator the panel "*burned in a freestanding position, allowing the whole unit to fall face up, or else the panel fell from a door frame or from the wall so that it landed face up, to be partially burnt thereafter as the house collapsed over it*" (Williams and Zervos 1982, 133).
[1336] For the AD400 catastrophe see earlier section 3.1.
[1337] Papaioannou 2002, 121-122; Williams and Zervos 1987, 28; 1983, 14-28; 1982 133-135; Williams and Fisher 1976, pl. 24.
[1338] Olivier 2001, 361.
[1339] See earlier section 4.3.
[1340] See later section 5.2.2.
[1341] See earlier sections 5.1.2; 5.1.4.
[1342] Immediately to the east of the excavation site, lies the now abandoned Xenia hotel.

function. The presence of three mid-3rd century AD amphorae within the room, west of the room with the opus sectile, gave rise to an interpretation as a 'storeroom'.[1343] Andrew Oliver saw a similar function for the room with the sectile medallion,[1344] presumably due to the abundant amphorae sherds recorded over the floor.[1345]

Yet there is no reason to expect that these were industrial or storage premises. This is more evident when examining the 'storeroom' west of the of the room with the opus sectile medallion (Plate 66). Here, excavations revealed fine wares, several cooking pots, a funnel, and twelve 3rd century AD lamps allegedly "*clustered together*".[1346] The continuation of the excavation further uncovered some more glass fragments of what appears to be another opus sectile rectangular this time (Plate 77d).[1347] The excavators hypothesized that these might somehow be associated with the glass medallion found in the room to the east.[1348] I would be sceptical about accepting that reconstruction, not least because the two glass sectile panels seemingly ended up in two different rooms, but a definite answer here should wait the final publication of both the room and the sectile panels.

What can be argued is that the material culture from within the north-western 'storeroom', implies that this along with a utilitarian function had also a reception function.[1349] The same seems to be also the case for the north-eastern room (i.e. the room with the opus sectile medallion), considering the elaborate décor and the ample, overlying amphorae sherds. I would further suggest that these two rooms could very likely have been used as *tabernae*. That would correspond to the location of the rooms next to the east-west road, as well as to the retrieved cooking pots and fine wares. The decoration was certainly suitable for a dining area. Several of the glass sectile medallions examined above, namely those from 'Domus del Chirurgo', 'Villa di San

[1343] Williams and Zervos 1983, 14.
[1344] Oliver A. 2001, 361.
[1345] The pottery is referred by Charles K. Williams and Orestes H. Zervos in the 1981 excavating season (Williams and Zervos 1982, 133).
[1346] Williams and Zervos 1983, 14.
[1347] Whereas the publication was not accompanied by any illustrations of the fragments, the description and date provided seems to match some fragments (**MF 1982 70B**) recently photographed by Petros Dellatolas, on behalf of the American School at Athens (Dellatolas 2016/1140).
[1348] "*overlying the adjacent storeroom were found* (…) *a rectangular band of opus sectile in glass* (…) *probably coming from the panel* (…) *perhaps a part of the border that broke away from the wood panel when the wall collapsed*" (Williams and Zervos 1983, 23).
[1349] For the presence of decoration in the working quarters that reserved some reception function see following section 5.2.3.

Vincenzino', and 'Villa di Faragola', came from dining areas. At the same time, as we earlier saw, the iconography of xenia was deemed suitable décor for dining areas or reception areas.[1350]

Other possible meanings should also be considered. The high concentration of lamps within the premises could imply the presence of a domestic shrine, much like the ones seen in the nearby 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and 'Building 7 - East of Theatre' that equally had some commercial use.[1351] If so, the aquatic theme might have carried an apotropaic meaning, as fish representations were sometimes perceived as such.[1352]

5.1.8 The glass opus sectile from the southern quay of Kenchreai

The collection of glass opus sectile panels found in the port of Kenchreai has a unique place in the history of Late Roman mosaics of Corinthia (Plates 79-83).[1353] The panels were found still in their shipping crates (Plates 74b, 84), carefully stored within the 'Apsidal Nymphaeum Courtyard' that occupied the southern quay. Speaking about the rare find the excavators note: "*along the walls were nine stacks of crates of panels of opus sectile made in thin opaque glass* (...) *The panels were packed in wooden crates, each crate containing two panels face to face. The crates were then leaned against the wall and each other, from four to eight crates or more in each stack*".[1354]

The collection was apparently sealed beneath a layer of debris, after some sudden catastrophe of the late-4th century AD. The first analyses, based on a coin issued by Valentinian found on the floor, traced the destruction to a series of seismic events that allegedly took place between the AD 360 – AD 380.[1355] More recent studies, though, pushed that date to AD 400, noting that this would correspond with the ceramic evidence coming from the destruction layer.[1356]

[1350] See also previous section 5.1.6.
[1351] See following section 5.2.4.
[1352] Elliot 2016, 202-203; Swift 2009, 92.
[1353] For the panels of Kenchreai see among others: Atzaka 1980, 60-63; Brill 1996, 1-2; Brill and Whitehouse 1988, 38-50; Hawthorne 1965, 197-199; Hohlfelder 1976, 225-226; Kiilerich 2016, 51; 2014, 185; Koob *et al.* 1996, 105-108; Loukopoulou and Moraitou 2007, 85-92; Rife 2010, 391-407; Rothaus 2000, 64-82; Scranton and Ramage 1967a, 151; 1967b, 141-150; Stirling 2014a, 204-205; Ibrahim *et al.* 1976; Versluys 2002, 217-219;
[1354] Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 141.
[1355] Hohlfelder 1976, 225-226; Scranton 1978a, 71; 76.
[1356] Rothaus 2000, 73-76; Rothaus *et al.* 2016, 61-64.

The final publication estimated that originally there might have been 59 to 63 crates, of which 50 were preserved to some extent, and the rest lost.[1357] That would bring the total number of the opus sectile panels to more than 100, with the most accurate estimations calling for 118 to 126 pieces.[1358]

The glass artworks were packed in pairs per size and theme.[1359] Nonetheless, the diversity among the collection is startling and hard to miss. Some of the panels reportedly measured about 1.90 m by 1 m, while others had a length of 1.3 m.[1360] The iconography also varied significantly. Among the panels that can be recognized, 28 oblong and 15 square pieces bore simple geometric motifs. Another four panels depicted floral designs, while two panels depicted parts of a pilaster. Other themes included Nilotic scenes (Plates 80b, 81c), and city panoramas (Plates 81a, b, 82). The first theme is represented in an estimated 15 to 18 panels, while the latter was shown in no less than 12 panels.[1361] Finally, 12 panels displayed statue-like figurative representations (Plates 79, 80a, c, 83a, c). Of those, four represented philosophers, another four mythic or divine beings, two consular figures, while in the other two panels the figures remain unidentified.

Since the panels were found inside their shipping crates, it is not known who owned the precious cargo, and whether they were meant for the building complex at Kenchreai or intended for somewhere else.[1362] It could be tempting to see the panels as trading commodities, only temporarily stored at Kenchreai before their eventual shipment to their destination, but I would consider that unlikely. For as Richard Rothaus convincingly argued,[1363] in the near vicinity stood several *horrea,* which were far more suited for storage areas than the apsidal courtyard.[1364]

In addition to that, I would further propose that the premises in question were highly unsuitable even for short-term storage. While the nymphaeum was likely in repair at the time of the sudden catastrophe, the tessellated pavement had already been

[1357] Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 11.
[1358] Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 11; Scranton 1978a, 68.
[1359] Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 2.
[1360] Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 141.
[1361] For the analysis see: Ibrahim *et al*. 1976, 15.
[1362] Koob *et al.* 1996, 105.
[1363] Rothaus 2000, 73.
[1364] For the *horrea* on the southwest end of the harbour see: Scranton 1978a, 53-56.

installed and the bulky crates sitting on it could pose a risk for the floor (Plate 84).[1365] Moreover, one can only expect that a construction site would be far from an appropriate storage facility, unless the cargo was actually meant for the building. That would be also the case had the nymphaeum been completed and in use. Even short-term storage in that scenario would leave the cargo vulnerable, exposed to those visiting the apsidal courtyard.

I would also like here to argue against an alternative suggestion made more recently by Richard Rothaus, Eduard Reinhardt, and Jay Noller, that the panels might have been simply abandoned in the apsidal courtyard. The hypothesis was based on the pagan subject matter of several panels, which might have been "*anathema to the heavily Christianized society*".[1366] The late-4th century certainly marked the turn of the tide in the battle between the old pagan religion and the increasing popular Christianism.[1367] I would consider unlikely that the panels were discarded, or even for that matter stored to be later recycled, when the catastrophe struck and buried them forever. That is because the panels were carefully packed and placed on the floor, which in turn implies an interest in the artworks *per se*, and not just for the glass material.

All things considered, it is reasonable to expect that the glass sectile panels were indeed destined for the building complex where they were found. This does not necessarily answer the questions regarding their ownership. Equally there are no literary or epigraphic references to the Kenchreai assemblage which would settle that issue. What's more important is that, there is little understanding today about the exact architectural plan and envisioned role of the 'Apsidal Nymphaeum Courtyard - Southern Quay'.[1368] In this regard, it is unclear whether the panels should count as a private or a public collection. Nevertheless, given the strong similarities between our nymphaeum courtyard and several Ostian *scholae* pointed out in the previous chapter,

[1365] The idea that the facility was under renovations when the catastrophe happened was first suggested by Leila Ibrahim, and then by Richard Rothaus (Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 1; Rothaus *et al.* 2016, 63; Rothaus 2000, 75). The presence of half-finished architectural blocks and of a large marble block from which thin layers of marble slabs were sawn for revetment, reported by Robert Scranton, also supports the interpretation that the building was under renovation (Scranton 1978b, 127).
[1366] Rothaus *et al.* 2016, 63.
[1367] See the earlier section 4.3.
[1368] The nymphaeum room where the shipping crates were discovered was initially understood as part of an Isis sanctuary, an identification that still attracts some interest. More recent analyses have proposed instead an interpretation as a private facility, while an even more radical approach has attempted to see the premises as a monumental public nymphaeum. For a more extended analysis see earlier sections: 4.6.2; 4.6.3.

I consider possible that the Kenchreai facility might fill a similar role.[1369] Bearing that in mind, it is only fair to briefly mention the leading theories regarding the panels and question their possible symbolism and envisioned display arrangement.

A first examination of the artworks put heavy emphasis on the numerous Nilotic scenes. These were understood as a direct reference to Egyptian cults, a hypothesis that in turn led to some further thoughts regarding a supposed function of the surrounding premises as an Egyptian sanctuary.[1370] Richard Hohlfelder and Robert Scranton went even further to identify the premises as a temple of Isis and associate the panels with a supposed "*Julian remodelling*" due to the well-known pagan tendencies of the 'apostate' emperor. The remodelling was allegedly stopped short with the emperor's death at AD 363, and the panels were stored indefinitely before some earthquake buried them forever.[1371]

Many researchers, though, have chastised these claims, noting that similar themes were commonly employed, and that the iconography here does not outright suggest a cultic function.[1372] Nilotic-themed artworks were common within private, public or funerary contexts across the Mediterranean, regardless of size, wealth or geographic location. Characteristic here is that most of the Nilotic-themed artworks found across the Empire can be associated with private buildings and not with temple facilities.[1373] Moreover, even when they are to be associated with public buildings,[1374] these are mostly *thermae* and not sanctuaries.[1375]

Equally problematic is a more recent study put forward by Richard Rothaus, which suggests that the artworks were probably to decorate a Neo-Platonic school. The hypothesis is based on the sectilia representations of Plato, Theophrastus, and Homer, which in combination are "*so overwhelmingly Neo-Platonic that must represent a planned programme*".[1376] Homer and of course Plato had a prominent position in Neo-Platonic teaching, while Theophrastus was a well-known student of both the Aristotelian and Platonic schools. In addition to that, we can further speculate that the

[1369] See earlier sections 4.6.3; 4.6.4.
[1370] Hawthorne 1965, 197-199; Hohlfelder 1976, 224-225; Ibrahim *et al*. 1976, 2.
[1371] Scranton 1978a, 75-76; Hohlfelder 1976, 225.
[1372] Dunbabin 1999, 268; Rothaus 2000, 69-70; Versluys 2002, 219.
[1373] Versluys 2002, 253-254.
[1374] See earlier section 4.6.3.
[1375] Versluys 2002, 252-253.
[1376] Rothaus 2000, 80-82.

remaining iconography can be also alluringly associated with Neo-Platonic ideals. The representation of mythological figures and imperial officers was certainly compatible with these late philosophical teachings, and the same can be also said for the numerous city vignettes. The city representations either as allegoric personifications or as vignettes have been related in many cases to classical aesthetics and teachings.[1377] At the same time, although Neo-Platonists did not significantly explore issues of politics, they still displayed a certain interest in issues of governorship.[1378]

Any alleged Neo-Platonic influences, however, do not necessarily signal an active philosophical school. It is possible that such institutions were operating in the 4th century AD Corinthia. There is no literary or archaeological evidence, though, to suggest that these were located at Kenchreai, something that Richard Rothaus himself recognizes.[1379] Moreover, significant questions remain about the facilities which should have hypothetically housed the philosophical schools. Despite the best efforts of many scholars, it is difficult to positively identify premises where philosophical schools operated, let alone to trace their unique characteristics.[1380]

Even more importantly, we ought to consider that the representations of philosophers are not necessarily indicative of teaching activities carried out within the ornamented premises. Similar themes were occasionally utilized in a formulaic way as a sign of classical *paideia*, and there is no apparent reason to suggest otherwise for our panels.[1381] We can refer here to the mosaic décor of the 'Villa of Titus Siminius Stephanus' in Pompeii which displayed a mosaic pavement depicting Plato among his students.[1382] Another example would be the 3rd century AD mosaic excavated beneath the Apamea Cathedral depicting Socrates among his students.[1383] Even more startling would be the mosaic floor excavated in Seleucia, Pamphylia that included sixteen busts of philosophers, historians and poets.[1384] All the above artworks reveal a genuine

[1377] Dey 2014, 202-205; Poulsen 2014, 221-223, Saradi H. G. 2006, 119-144.
[1378] Mansueto and Mansueto 2005, 89; O'Meara 2003, 101-105; Remes 2008, 177-198.
[1379] Rothaus 2000, 81.
[1380] Sodini 2003, 37-38; 1997, 463-465.
[1381] Kondoleon 2006, 59-66; 2001, 650; Sodini 2003, 37-38.
[1382] Mattusch 2008, 214-15; Rashed 2012.
[1383] Balty 1992, 281-291; Balty C. J. 1972, 103-127.
[1384] Kondoleon 2006, 60.

interest in philosophy and teaching, yet none of the buildings can be certainly associated with an active philosophical school.[1385]

All things considered, there is currently not enough evidence to put forward a clear reason for the choice of the themes. These were probably answering above all to aesthetic criteria and needs. Some modern researchers have gone so far as to propose that the sectile artworks primarily served a material aesthetic. Speaking about the opus sectile at the Junius Bassus basilica in Rome, Bente Kiilerich noted: "…*The imagery in Junius Bassus basilica could have been chosen not primarily to present specific themes or express specific religious or philosophical sentiments but mainly in order to show artistic virtuosity and to prove that one had the means to decorate ones property with «state of art» art works in luxurious material. If we take the material-aesthetic stance, it may be claimed that the important point of works in sectile, which is basically material aesthetic it is not what is represented but the medium in which represented*".[1386]

However, a more coherent and calculated approach should not be dismissed. This is because many of the panels seem to share similar ideals, metaphors and meanings. Indicative here would be the deliberate glorification of the ruling elites that can be seen in many of the panels. More particularly, the depiction of sages and consular officers, the numerous city panoramas, and the various pagan themes, all spell an interest in issues of education and good governorship.[1387]

It is perhaps interesting to note that some of these decorative choices seem to echo the decorative programme of 'Villa San Vincenzino' in Cecina, Livorno, which has been linked to the prominent Caecina family. In that case, glass wall intarsia panels representing among other things city scenes were used to ornament the main reception room (Plate 82a).[1388] Apparently, these were all recurrent themes in the iconography of

[1385] Similar hesitations have been also expressed in other cases where the décor alone was used to recognize the ornamented facilities as philosophical schools. One case concerns the house with the Roman medallion portraits in Aphrodisias (Sodini 2003, 27-28; 1997, 476-477 *contra* Kondoleon 2006, 64; Smith R. R. R. 2016, 155; 1990, 132-155; Stirling 2005, 226). Another concerns the mosaic floor excavated beneath the Apamea Cathedral that bore representations of philosophers (Dunbabin 1999, 169-170).
[1386] Kiilerich 2016, 44.
[1387] Kondoleon 2006, 65-66; Stirling 2005, 154.
[1388] Donati 2012, 447.

the Late Roman aristocracy, the members of which put a heavy emphasis on their social status.[1389]

In addition to that, what also emanates from the various representations of mythological creatures, poets, philosophers, as well as the numerous city vignettes, is a dominant classicism. Special reference should be made to the portrait figures in many cases, which were represented as statue-like.[1390] This was initially understood as a sign of cult usage.[1391] We ought to consider, though, that there is not enough evidence to imply a cultic significance of the Kenchreai panels in the first place.[1392] A different way forward attempted to see the statue-like representations as an effort "*to include sculpture through depictions in the panels*".[1393] The hypothesis is certainly alluring. Once again, though, it cannot be firmly validated. What's more, the likely placement of the panels seems to suggest that these were meant to be displayed together in one combined synthesis, and not as standalone individual pieces of art.[1394]

A more convincing scenario instead is that the statue-like figures did not directly substitute sculpture artworks, but borrowed heavily from them due to the dialectic interchange among the various media of Roman art.[1395] A similar collusion of designs and themes can be also observed on numerous Roman mural artworks that either mimicked or directly referred to famous statues, and there is no reason to expect any less for opus sectile.[1396]

The above core ideals signal a certain goal, a calculated propaganda aiming to impress visitors and provide a sense of belonging for the owners of the decorated premises. A calculated approach as described here, arguably somewhat contradicts the "*material-aesthetic stance*" recently taken by Bente Kiilerich.[1397] A coherent iconographic programme, though, does not necessarily mean that the selection of material resources used for the panels was not of paramount importance as well. The luminous and colourful glass particles were likely treasured not only for their cost and

[1389] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 2011, 102-109; Kondoleon 2006, 59-69; 2001, 650; 1994, 105-115; Saradi H. G. 2006, 119-135.
[1390] Rothaus 2000, 80.
[1391] Ibrahim *et al*. 1976, 266-267.
[1392] Rothaus 2000, 80.
[1393] Rothaus 2000, 80-81.
[1394] See following pages.
[1395] Kiilerich 2016, 47.
[1396] See later section 5.2.2, about the mural décor of 'Panayia Domus'.
[1397] Kiilerich 2016, 43-47.

uniqueness, but also for their ability to create optical illusions and display details otherwise difficult to reproduce.[1398] In this regard, it is only fair to ask, what was likely the intended placement and configuration of the artworks to best achieve those goals?

Once again, the excavation of the panels inside their shipping crates permits only a rough estimation of the final arrangement. For all the uncertainty, there are several reasons to suggest that they were meant to be displayed together in a unified decorative scheme, and not as individual works of art. The arrangement of the opus sectile panels in greater wall syntheses was certainly not unknown in the 4th century AD. We can refer here to the internal ornamentation of 'Porta Marina' at Ostia and 'Junius Bassus Basilica' at Rome which blended together large marble panels in one extended composition (Plate 57a, b).[1399] In our case, I would consider that careful packing of the artworks in pairs per size and themes, is strongly suggestive of an envisioned combined display. What's more important, we ought to further consider that many panels seem to have comparable dimensions, as well as matching design symmetry.[1400]

In this view, it is only logical to assume that the final arrangement of the sectilae panels excavated at Kenchreai was probably no different from the one at Porta Marina. The geometric and floral panels likely occupied the lowest part of the walls (Plate 83b), with the oblong panels altering with the square.[1401] At the upper sections stood the large figurative sectile. In between, the space was preserved for the proportionally smaller Nilotic themed panels and the city vignettes (Plate 83b).[1402]

I would further consider that despite their thematic differences, the two zones with iconic representations juxtaposed together most likely stood in a dialectic relationship. The city vignettes underlined the continuing legacy of the urban

[1398] See following section 5.1.9.
[1399] See: *Porta Marina*: Becatti 1969, 11-174; Boin 2013, 58-60; Dunbabin 1999, 264-266; Elsner 1998, 192; Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 262; Kiilerich 2016, 47-54; 2014, 169-187; *Junius Bassus Basilica*: Becatti 1969, 181-204; Dunbabin 1999, 264-266; Elsner 1998, 193; Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 262; Kalas 2013, 279-289; Kiilerich 2016, 42-47.
[1400] Ibrahim *et al*. 1976, 2.
[1401] Ibrahim *et al*. 1976, 209, 261.
[1402] For a planned reconstruction of the intended display of the panels see: Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 261; Stirling 2005, 154; Versluys 2002, 217.

culture.[1403] In this regard, they were well-paired with the representations of philosophers and imperial officers.

By contrast, the Nilotic swamp scenes with the miniaturized, pigmy-like figures of fishers and hunters sharply departed from that narrative. The dynamic may have been inspired by contemporary painting programmes which commonly adopted binary themes to better propagandise the envisioned goals of the patron.[1404] We can only imagine that this antithesis between the small-scaled 'common people' and the much bigger representations that linked with the elites, only added to the 'splendour' of the latter. We ought not to forget that in Roman art the representation of those at the lower social strata was typically shaped by the way wealthy patrons saw them, and not by realism.[1405]

Notable questions, though, do remain regarding the exact premises that were meant to be decorated. A possible goal could be to furnish the nymphaeum, but a sudden catastrophe prevented their installation and left the building in disarray. The scenario seems at least likely considering that the total nymphaeum area was almost certainly large enough to accommodate all the panels, which covered an estimated 150 m^2 wall surface (Plates 49, 50, 53, 54b).[1406] More particularly, the hall of the nymphaeum facility measured 9.90 m x 7.70 m, while the apse was 5.20 m wide.[1407] The exact dimensions of the room are unknown due to the low surviving height of the walls. Considering, though, that the facility at Porta Marina, roughly comparable in size and wall thickness, had walls almost 7.8 m height, we can expect that the two long walls of the facility at Kenchreai were enough to accommodate the collection.[1408] This hypothesis would also explain the otherwise curious choice to store the bulky crates in a room paved with fragile floor mosaics.

Another suitable candidate for accommodating the panels is the adjoining portico (Plates 48, 50, 54a), called "*dromos*" (road) by the excavators.[1409] With a total length of more than 18 m, the portico could also easily accommodate the panels. A

[1403] For the city representations as signs of a continuing urban culture see: Dey 2014, 205; Poulsen 2014, 222-223.
[1404] See later section 5.2.5.
[1405] Elsner 1998, 92-96.
[1406] For the estimation see: Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 259-260.
[1407] Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 140.
[1408] For the facility at Porta Marina see: Kiilerich 2014, 170.
[1409] Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 261; Kondoleon 2006, 65-66; Scranton 1978a, 64-65; Rothaus 2000, 73.

layout as described above would bear some design similarities with the disposition of statuary assemblages in contemporary villas of Gaul and Constantinople.[1410] Nonetheless, there are no physical remains validating this hypothesis either.

5.1.9 Glass as a mosaic medium? Material aesthetics through the lens of affordability

As we have so far examined, the use of glass in the mosaics reserved for private contexts was not uncommon in Roman Corinthia. The latter concerned both tesserae mosaic floors and figurative opus sectile envisioned as wall ornaments. In this regard it is only fair to ask, what was the overall presence of glass in the mosaics of Imperial and Late Roman Corinthia, and moreover what sparked this interest in the material?

The addition of colourful glass masses shaped as tesserae to highlight key areas of floor mosaic representations is attested already from the 1st century AD in the Anaploga mosaic.[1411] The practice became more widespread the between the 2nd and the early-3rd century AD, with glass tesserae recorded at the pavements coming from 'Panayia Domus', 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi', 'Mosaic House' and 'Kenchreai Koutsogilia - Area B - Northern Complex'.[1412] The 3rd and the 4th centuries AD marked a further height in the use of glass, this time incorporated to elegant opus sectile, which bore a great variety of figurative and aniconic representations.[1413]

Much more problematic in contrast is the picture from the next two centuries. During that period glass was utilized for numerous Corinthian public buildings.[1414] Its actual popularity within the private facilities remains unknown, though, since it is attested only once in a domestic context, namely at 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara' (Plan XXV) in Nemea.[1415] This marks the last recorded use of glass in Corinthian mosaics from private contexts.

It is possible, though, that glass tesserae continued to be circulated for some time among private collectors. Glass has been attested in the mosaic pavement

[1410] Stirling 2005, 153-154.
[1411] See above section 5.1.7.
[1412] See above section 5.1.7.
[1413] See above section 5.1.8.
[1414] For an extended list of the glass tesserae mosaics see the online database of the project 'The Composition of Byzantine Glass Mosaic Tesserae' (http://www.sussex.ac.uk/byzantine/mosaic/browse/)
[1415] Kritzas 1976, 212.

associated with the Early Byzantine conversion of the Agora temple at Sicyon.[1416] Despite the hesitations of the excavator, this was most likely a Christian church and not a private facility.[1417] The use of glass along with marble sectile has been further noted at the enigmatic building excavated in 'Pr. Chrystodoulou' in the area Petri of Nemea (Plan XXV).[1418] As we saw earlier, however, the character of that facility is unknown.[1419] For all these ambiguities, though, the presence of loose glass tesserae in a mid-6th century AD coin hoard, implies that the highly valued substance was not unknown to the Late Roman private collectors and scavengers.[1420]

Taking a step back and returning to the 'heyday' of the glass mosaic artworks during the 3rd and 4th century AD, we should acknowledge that the material's popularity was not a localized phenomenon. A similar heightening circulation of glass can be attested across the Empire during that period.[1421] In this regard, a question that promptly comes into mind is whether the Corinthian glass mosaics were locally made, or were imported from elsewhere as parts of a wider artistic trend.

A scenario that has specifically caught the archaeologists' interest is a possible shipment from Egypt, a region well-known for its glass production.[1422] The hypothesis is certainly tempting considering the strong trade links between Corinthia and the Eastern regions of the Empire.[1423] It would be wrong, however, to further assume that any such activities typically included finished products. Throughout the Imperial and Late Roman period, the glass industry remained bound to a two-stage production process. At a first stage, specialized factories found in areas of the Levant, Egypt and Italy, delivered the raw material as panels or cakes of primary glass. These were then traded across the Empire to be used by local artisans who provided the finished products on demand.[1424]

[1416] Kristali-Votsi 1991a, 30-31; Kristali-Votsi 1991b, 66.
[1417] Lolos 2011, 287.
[1418] Manolesou 2014f, 325.
[1419] See earlier section 3.4.5.
[1420] For the coin hoard see: Dengate 1981, 157.
[1421] See: James 2006, 33-34; Kiilerich 2014, 179-186; Stern E. M. 1999, 482.
[1422] See: Brill 1996, 1-2; Brill and Whitehouse 1988, 34-50; Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 164-204.
[1423] See section 3.7.
[1424] See: Antonaras 2010, 237; Freestone *et al.* 2000, 66-67; Grünewald and Hartmann 2014, 46-47; James 2006 33-34; Neri *et al.* 2013, 8; Scott R. B. and Degryse 2014, 15-18; Price 2003, 82-84; Whitehouse 2004, 189-191.

The involvement of local artisans was greatly preferred especially for simple designs that could be manufactured by chipping off the acquired masses of raw glass.[1425] Considering that, it is reasonable to expect that most of the glass tesserae found in Corinthia were locally produced to lower the cost. Whereas little is known about the glass industry in Late Roman Greece, modern research has located several workshops during that period, many of them in the Peloponnese.[1426] Among them are some from Corinth, where many signs of an active glass industry are attested until the 6th century AD in the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo'.[1427]

The glass sectile panels found at Corinth and at Kenchreai still remain problematic. There is little doubt that these artworks were constructed by dedicated workshops who excelled in the technique of opus sectile. The local artisans operating in Corinthia arguably had a certain expertise in the production of similar artworks. The occasional use of marble sectilae pavements in some Corinthian households certainly indicates that some local workshops were familiar with the material. Among the many examples we can note here, the 'Long Apsidal Building - Pr. Aik. Sofou' in Corinth and 'Pr. Chrystodoulou', in Petri, Nemea.[1428]

The figurative glass panels from Corinth and Kenchreai, though, most likely required special craftsmanship and skills, probably beyond the capabilities of the average mosaic artist. While this remains unconfirmed, one can only imagine the special skills and expertise required to produce the colourful pictorial and figurative Kenchreai panels.[1429] These artworks in many cases exceeded the 0.5 m² in size, while being entirely made from small, purposely shaped glass fragments juxtaposed together.

That leaves open the scenario of possible importation, presumably from the Hellenized East since many of the panels display a genuine interest in Greek and Egyptian cultures.[1430] During that period, it was not uncommon for the mosaic artists

[1425] See: Dawes 2002; 422-423; Stern E. M. 1999, 465-466.
[1426] Antonaras 2014, 95 -111.
[1427] See: *General discussion*: Brown A. 2008, 135-136; Slane 1994, 164-166; Stern E. M. 1999, 472; '*Building 5 - East of Theatre':* Williams and Zervos 1984, 90; '*North of Peribolos of Apollo*': Brown A. 2018, 62; 2008, 136; Curta 2011, 55; Williams 1969, 63.
[1428] Athanasoulis *et al*. 2010, 174; Manolesou 2014f, 325.
[1429] Modern scholars have gone as far as to theorize that there were dedicated workshops across the Empire, specialized in the production of opus sectilae (Kiilerich 2014, 177).
[1430] Brill 1996, 1-2; Brill and Whitehouse 1988, 34-50; Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 164-204; Stirling 2014a, 204.

to travel long distances if their skills were required in some distant region.[1431] However, I would be hesitant to consider that this was one of these cases. That is because the large amount of glass required for the panels at Kenchreai probably demanded fixed installations and a dedicated workshop.

The scenario of an importation from the Hellenized East is even more appealing due to the chemical composition of the sectilae, which seems to suggest that the materials used probably originated from the Eastern Mediterranean. More specifically, two separate chemical analyses based on lead isotopes seem to agree that the Kenchreai sectilae were probably manufactured with sources drawn from the Hellenized Greek East.[1432] In addition to all the above, we can further argue here that the long-standing art trade between Roman Corinthia and Egypt makes highly possible a trade from the Eastern Mediterranean.[1433]

For all its allure, that proposal does have some weaknesses.[1434] As we earlier saw, the choice of themes in Roman mosaics was first and foremost based on their popularity, and therefore it is hardly suggestive of their origin.[1435] Some caution should be also used in accepting trade between Corinthia and Egypt as an explanation for the panels' origins. The region was opened to both Eastern and Western trade routes, and therefore a potential shipment from the West, although less likely, cannot be entirely ruled out.[1436] What's more, the recent breakthroughs in the study of Roman glass have firmly established that the origin of the glass resources used is not indicatory of the workshops involved in the production process.[1437] The artisans could count on a vibrant market of raw and recycled glass, and the original material sources could come from distant regions.

[1431] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 2003, 146.
[1432] Brill and Whitehouse 1988, 42-47; Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 240-244.
[1433] See for example the Egyptian statuettes found in the 'Shop North of Panayia Field' (Section 5.3.3).
[1434] Let us not forget that many grey areas generally persist about the production of glass sectilae since few such artworks survive today, and the corresponding literary references are scarce (Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 262-269).
[1435] See above sections 5.1.2. and 5.1.6.
[1436] See above section 3.7.
[1437] See further: *Glass recycling*: Antonaras 2010, 241; Degryse *et al.* 2014, 102; Jackson and Foster 2014, 9-10; Mac Mahon and Price 2005, 168-179; Mac Mahon 2003, 60; Price 2003, 89; Schibille and McKenzie 2014, 123; Stern E. M. 1999, 451; *The diversity of the primary glass materials*: James 2006, Neri *et al.* 2013, 1-10; Scott R. B. and Degryse 2014, 19-23; *Trade of glass*: Degryse *et al.* 2014, 101; MacMahon and Price 2005, 178-179; Scott R. B. and Degryse 2014, 19-23.

This seems particularly true for the Kenchreai panels that reportedly incorporated glass with both antimonite and stannate opacifying agents.[1438] The use of stannate instead of antimony opacifiers is a development first traced in the 4th century AD, but only natural antimonite agents continued to be employed for same time especially in the Western provinces.[1439] It is not known why both opacifiers were used in the Kenchreai panels. There is every reason to suspect, however, that this resulted either because multiple workshops involved in the construction process and employed different techniques or because of extensive recycling.[1440]

Whatever the answer might be regarding the origins of the glass artworks, what is certain is that the use of glass in the mosaic representations offered a sense of lavishness and grandeur. This was probably one of the chief reasons for its popularity. The material itself was not an expensive medium.[1441] The substance was easily obtainable in low quantities even for middle-class households.[1442] Although an average glass vessel cost almost ten times more than a comparable pottery vessel, the amount of money required was probably less than the daily minimum wage.[1443]

In this regard it has been suggested that the material was sometimes used as a substitute for more expensive stones or marbles.[1444] This was certainly true for the masses of colourful glass, which could be used instead of rare marble stones. There should be no doubt, though, that good quality luminous glass was highly valued also for its ability to create optical illusions. It not only highlighted design details, but also sharpened the colour contrast and offered a false sense of three-dimensionality.[1445] Instructive is that colourful glass masses were in many cases used for the core areas of large mosaic compositions, even when more elaborate materials were available. An example is the ample use of glass for the opus sectile representations in Junius Bassus' basilica in Rome, which among others, also employed the expensive mother-of-pearl.[1446]

[1438] Brill and Whitehouse 1988, 40-44; Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 252.
[1439] Boschetti *et al.* 2009, 146; Neri *et al.* 2017, 610.
[1440] Whitehouse 1988, 42.
[1441] Kiilerich 2014, 185; James 2006, 45-47.
[1442] For a full analysis of the cost of Glass see particularly: Stern E. M. 1999, 458-466.
[1443] Stern E. M. 1999, 463.
[1444] Kiilerich 2014, 179-180; Verita *et al.* 2008, 19.
[1445] See: Ling 1998, 98-109; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 150-151.
[1446] Kiilerich 2016, 45.

Nonetheless, we ought to consider that the final cost for the use of glass in mosaic representations could range significantly. In Corinthia, the tessellated mosaics that incorporated glass materials probably did not demand significant investment. These artworks were mostly made of stone tesserae and therefore only required a small amount of raw glass. It has been estimated that one Roman pound of raw glass (327.45g), which was typically valued less than the minimum daily wage, would provide enough tesserae to cover an area of no less than 166 cm^2.[1447] Considering that, I would suggest that the allocated glass tesserae could be easily produced and fitted, and therefore did not carry a significant economic investment.

A very different picture arises regarding the glass opus sectilae panels. These included large quantities of fine coloured glass that significantly raised their value. The total area covered by the medallion opus sectile at Corinth was 0.2463 m^2,[1448] while the same area of the Kenchreai panels was close to 150 m^2.[1449] That means that the first required almost 15 Roman pounds of glass, while the Kenchreai panels almost 9000 Roman pounds. The material cost alone for the sectile medallion found at Corinth likely demanded a financial investment comparable to 10-15 minimum daily wages. Even more staggering was the required capital for the Kenchreai panels. These incorporated close to 3 t of raw glass, at a potential cost of almost 9000 minimum daily wages.[1450]

In excess of the above expenses, large sums of money had to be also budgeted for the labour and shipping charges. In the contemporary tessellated glass mosaics such costs could easily escalate up to a quarter of the total contract value, and it is unlikely that the masterfully crafted opus sectile panels required any less than that.

How then should we understand the choice of glass for the Corinthian mosaics? As we saw above, there is a growing consensus that the material's presence in the Roman mosaics was largely dictated by a desire to liven up the iconography, without resorting to even more expensive materials.[1451] A cost-minded approach as such can probably explain the utilization of glass in the Corinthian tessellated mosaics which did

[1447] Stern E. M. 1999, 464-466.
[1448] The medallion has a diameter of 0.57m (Oliver A. 2001, 350-351).
[1449] Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, 259-260.
[1450] These estimations are based on the formulas proposed by E. Marianne Stern (Stern E. M. 1999, 465-466). These calculate the likely material cost of the glass tessellated floors. However, they can provide a basis also for the material cost of glass opus sectile panels.
[1451] See: Dunbabin 1999, 266-268; Kiilerich 2014, 179-186; Ling 1998, 98-109; Verita *et al*. 2008, 19; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 150-151.

not require significant financial investments. That was unlikely the case, though, for the opus sectile panels from Corinth and Kenchreai which already carried a significant material cost. There are admittedly good reasons to expect that an alternative use of marble might have been even more expensive, especially for those representations requiring rare marble stones. But there is little doubt, nonetheless, that the cost for our glass sectile was already escalated, and that their the owners could afford some additional expenses had they decided accordingly.

A more reasonable explanation instead, is that glass was preferred for the opus sectile artworks because the sectilia required colours that could not be easily reproduced in stone. That was most certainly true for the many aquatic scenes among the Kenchreai collection. In the words of Bente Kiilerich, "*Since glass is cheaper than marble and easier to work, stone may be imitated in glass for economic and practical reasons. However, glass could also be chosen to obtain the blue colours which are not found in stone. Thus rather than strict imitation in the sense of a conscious wish to render marble characteristics by means of glass, the Kenchreai panels may represent an intermedial transfer of motifs, a material translation*".[1452]

This was the case of the glass medal at the 'House of the Opus Sectile'. Like its Italian counterparts from Siena and Rimini, the sectile from Corinth made an excessive use of blueish glass to reproduce the background maritime environment. For these artworks, the inherent qualities of the luminous substance likely weighed no less, since a false-sense of motion from the gleaming surface would 'breath more life' into the representation of fast-swimming fish.

The same desire to animate the representations might have been the driving force behind the material selection for the large figural representations of the Kenchreai assemblage. Most telling here would be the artist's choice to reproduce the flesh-coloured tone with tan, pale-grey masses of glass. A similar use of 'whitish' glass instead of easily obtainable marble stones, has also been observed at Porta Marina in Ostia. In that case, it has been understood as an effort to streamline the production process since glass was easier to work than hard stone.[1453] I would consider this explanation unlikely for the Kenchreai assemblage, though, for the sheer effort alone

[1452] Kiilerich 2014, 185.
[1453] Kiilerich 2014, 180; Verita *et al.* 2008, 19.

to create more than 100 glass panels, suggests that our artist would avoid anything seen as an unnecessary design compromise.

I would argue instead that the choice to use glass to reproduce the flesh-colour was the result of conscious selection. Suitable tan-white marbles (*e.g.* Thasian or Lesbian marble) commonly used for human statues,[1454] were relatively inexpensive and widely traded across the Aegean.[1455] Yet, the artist of the Kenchreai panels opted to use raw glass, mixed with small amounts of gold and silver.[1456] The latter although in small amounts, still carried an additional cost that could be otherwise avoided.

5.1.10 Synopsis

A great number of the mosaics found among the Late Roman Corinthian households, are Imperial Roman artworks that were kept visible and on display for successive generations of owners in Late Roman houses. The earliest examples date from the 1st century AD, but most date from the following 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The choice to retain, and sometimes refurbish these earlier mosaics was in most part cost-minded. The later owners had few incentives to redecorate their ancestral household, particularly when there was no major rebuilding that would potentially demand a realignment of the mosaic floors.

Nonetheless, there should be little doubt that other factors also weighed heavily on this choice. Successive generations of owners probably came to view some of the mosaics as valued family heirlooms. On other occasions, it is possible that the continuity of use was sometimes further influenced by the classical aesthetics of the Late Roman owners. One third reason, though, should also be considered, that some of the mosaics were kept as self-glorification tools, helping the Late Roman owners to stand out among their friends and peers. That might have been the case of the Hellenistic pebble floor found in the 'House of the Opus Sectile' in Corinth. This was consciously retained until the AD 300, although it stood a full half-metre above the floor level of the Roman domus.

[1454] Antonelli *et al*. 2017, 582-586.
[1455] For the tan-white marbles see: Adam 2005, 20-21; Diocletian, *Price Edict* XXXIII.
[1456] Brill and Whitehouse 1988, 41-42.

Stylistically, the early mosaics appear to borrow from both the Italian black and white geometric floors, and the Hellenistic polychrome figural representations. This reflects to an extent the dual identity of the Greco-Roman colony. The unique geographic position of Corinthia upon major shipping lines spreading East and West, probably had also a significant impact. The Eastern influences on the Corinthian mosaics gradually became more pronounced. This is most evident in the iconography of the 2nd and 3rd century AD mosaics, which frequently incorporated main figurative emblemata, commonly inspired by the Dionysiac cycle. Some subtle references to the Italian mosaic tradition, though, namely the tricolour choice and certain geometric designs, remained until the 4th century AD or later.

Much less can be said about the mosaic artworks laid in private contexts between the early 4th and the mid-6th Centuries AD. Our sample here is too small to permit any solid arguments about the extent of these decorations, their artistic excellence and the ideas and ideals which shaped them. Nevertheless, what can be said is that the production of good quality mosaics continued well into the first half of the 5th century AD and likely even later until the mid-6th Century AD. These sometimes reflected the superstitious beliefs of their donors as seen in the case of apotropaic emblema at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'. More commonly, though, the decorative programme reflected the wider aesthetic trends of the era as indicated by the notable popularity of the aniconic scenes.

One notable characteristic of the Corinthian mosaics is the common use of glass: either glass tesserae added in certain sections of large, stone tesserae mosaics, or opus sectile artworks wholly made from colourful glass. It is unclear what sparked this interest in the material. Its use appears to heighten during the 3rd and 4th century AD. Nonetheless, the circulation and use of glass tesserae can be attested also afterwards, until the 6th century AD.

The origin of the glass mosaic artworks found in Corinthia has been long a matter of debate. There seems to be a growing consensus among researchers that these probably originated from Egyptian workshops. It is difficult, though, to validate that hypothesis due to the lengthy production process, which made extensive use of recycled glass and involved more than one workshop. The involvement of local artisans seems the most logical choice for the glass tessellated pavements. These required a small

financial investment and could be produced relatively easily by inexperienced artists. The opposite appears to be the case for the complex glass opus sectile, which required additional skills and a substantial material cost. It is possible that these were produced by dedicated workshops, presumably in Egypt, and exported to Corinth as 'end products', finished artefacts ready to be installed.

What is certain is that glass was valued by the mosaic artists for its inherent qualities. Its use in the tessellated pavements largely shows a striving for lavishness, and a desire for affordable luxury. By contrast, the material choice for the glass opus sectile panels found at Corinth and at Kenchreai, appears more complex. There the use of glass permitted a wider colour range, and the representation of colours rarely found in stone. That was particularly true for the many aquatic scenes which incorporated large amounts of blue glass. Yet it would be wrong to understand the choice of glass as a design compromise instead of a conscious selection. That is because the luminous substance sharpened the colour contrasts and created much-welcomed optical illusions which helped to 'animate' the figural representations.

§ 5.2 Case study 2 – Mural décor

5.2.1 Introduction

A vast number of painted wall fragments dating from the Imperial and Late Roman periods has been uncovered across the region of Corinthia. These can be associated with more than 30 different structures, most of them located in and around the capital city, Corinth.[1457] Several buildings bearing murals have been also noted in the other major urban centre, Kenchreai.[1458] Lastly, in rural areas fragments of painted plaster

[1457] First Umberto Pappalardo and more recently Sarah Lepinski and Nikolaos Vavlekas listed more than twenty residential, funerary or civic facilities in the city of Corinth decorated with wall paintings, (Lepinski 2015, 186; 2013, 77; 2008, 233-271; Pappalardo 2001, 315-316; Vavlekas 2013, 333-439).
[1458] Among them are 8 tombs with painted plaster (Rife *et al.* 2007, 161-166), several facilities at the southern quay of Kenchreai (Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 150; 156-157), and the facility at the northern quay (Scranton 1978a, 83; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 165-166).

have been retrieved from the Isthmus sanctuary,[1459] and the 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Katounistra' in Loutraki.[1460]

For all their notable number, though, very few of those buildings can be confidently identified as private living and working compounds. A first analysis listed only three painted residential units in the capital city, namely the 'House of the Opus Sectile', the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and the 'Building 7- East of Theatre'.[1461] More recently, Sarah Lepinski equally considered just three painted residential units, namely the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' (Plate 85), the 'Panayia Domus' (Plates 92a, b, d, 93-94), and an earlier 'pre-domus' phase at the same property that dates from the 1st and 2nd century AD (Plate 92c).[1462]

It is my opinion that the number of private facilities bearing murals is significantly higher, including several facilities across urban and rural Corinthia.[1463] Among them are the commercial facilities from the area east of the Theatre in Corinth (Plates 86-91),[1464] as well as those from properties 'Mavragani',[1465] and 'I. M. Lekka'.[1466] Other examples are the ornamented 'Early Roman Cellar Building',[1467] 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra' (Plate 96),[1468] and 'House of the Opus Sectile'.[1469] Traces of painted décor have been further noted at the apsidal courtyard on the southern quay of Kenchreai,[1470] and at the 'Brick Building' standing on the opposite northern quay.[1471] Finally, fragments of painted plaster have been found at 'Pr. Tsimpouri', but there is little understanding about the Late Roman phase in that site,

[1459] Daux 1968, 782-785.
[1460] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 48.
[1461] Papaioannou 2002, 134-141.
[1462] Lepinski 2015, 186; 2013, 77; 2008, 272.
[1463] See Tables C1-4.
[1464] As we have already seen, the original character and use of the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre' is debatable (see earlier section 4.3). The facilities were initially understood as *tabernae*/shops (Jongkind 2001, 142-143; Papaioannou 2002, 118-120; Williams and Zervos 1989, 7-8). More recently Sarah Lepinski and Nikolaos Vavlekas considered both the buildings as communal shrines, an identification which I don't agree with (see earlier section 4.3).
[1465] Blackman 1998-1999, 21.
[1466] Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292-293.
[1467] De Grazia and Williams 1977, 61-62.
[1468] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 48.
[1469] Williams and Zervos 1982, 134; Vavlekas 2013, 368.
[1470] Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 150.
[1471] Scranton 1978a, 83; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 165-166.

and it is possible that the fragments might have originated from an earlier, 3rd century AD deposit.[1472]

Overall, in a period spanning from the 1st until the 6th century AD, we can trace at least thirteen different compounds in the private architectural record that had wall paintings.[1473] This number is much higher than the earlier estimations. It would be more consistent, however, with the understanding of mural paintings as most typical within private contexts.[1474] More analysis is needed, though, to clarify the exact ownership status of some of the facilities in question. A problem arises particularly with the building facilities at the northern and southern quays of Kenchreai and at 'Pr. Tsimpouri', the ownership of which is difficult to interpret.

We should outright acknowledge that most of the above compounds date from the Early Roman period, and thus fall beyond the scope of this analysis. Nonetheless, the facilities in question frequently saw long periods of use during which the murals remained visible. Indicative are the examples of 'Panayia Domus' and 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' where the decorative paintings stood visible until the late-4th and early-5th century AD respectively.

It is probable that for the later occupants-viewers some of these paintings were more than simple decorative schemes. Successive generations of owners likely came to understand them as treasured family heirlooms. In addition to 'sentimental value', several of the murals might have been further revered for their artistic excellence. We should remember here that beautiful murals were greatly admired across the Empire, to an extent that they were sometimes carefully maintained in situ, or even cut from the walls to be used elsewhere.[1475] The practice was apparently so common that even the usually conservative Vitruvius commented, "*Hence, some persons, cutting slabs of plaster from the antient walls, use them for tables and the pieces of plaster so cut out for tables and mirrors, are, of themselves, very beautiful in appearance*".[1476]

[1472] Drosoyianni 1969a, 195-200; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1970, 164-165.
[1473] See Tables C1-4: 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'; 'Panayia Domus', 'Panayia Field, Pre-domus phase'; 'Building 5 - East of Theatre'; 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'; 'Pr. Mavragani'; 'Pr. I. M. Lekka'; 'Early Roman Cellar Building'; 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'; 'House of the Opus Sectile'; 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum - Southern Quay', 'Brick Building - Northern Quay'; 'Pr. Tsimpouri'.
[1474] See: Kakoulli 1997, 132; Ling 1991, 175.
[1475] Barringer 1994, 166; Ling 1991, 204-205; McKay 1975, 151.
[1476] Vitruvius, *De Architectura* VII.3.10.

An emotional appeal could potentially explain why some Late Roman owners opted to keep paintings even when the ornamented spaces received drastic alterations. One example comes from the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'. The paintings here were maintained and repaired for some period.[1477] A later subdivision of the premises during the 3rd century AD required the blocking of the painted door jambs.[1478] Despite the drastic internal redesign, though, most of decorative painting scheme remained unchanged (Plate 87).[1479] This was not a novel idea. A similar path was taken in several decorated shops in Pompeii, with many of the paintings retained after the subdivision of the premises.[1480]

Bearing the above in mind, on the following pages I shall address all the murals associated with private facilities that were occupied between the 3rd and the 6th century AD, regardless of the date of the paintings.[1481] My intention is to first examine the evolution of the Roman murals decorating the Corinthian private facilities from the Early until the Late Roman period. The analysis then will switch to the policies of display, before concluding with the possible interrelationship among the various exhibited artworks. During the process, the potential meanings and connotations of the displayed schemes will be explored, and parallels will be traced to contemporary paintings ornamenting civic or funerary Corinthian monuments.

5.2.2 The evolution of wall paintings in domestic context

The earliest paintings that decorated private facilities in Corinthia can be traced back in the 1st century AD.[1482] Only in two cases, however, ('Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'; 'Early Roman Cellar Building') did the corresponding building units remain occupied after the 3rd century AD. The murals ornamenting the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' in particular (Plate 85), saw a lengthy exhibition period

[1477] Gadbery 1993, 55.
[1478] Williams and Zervos 1989, 3; 17; 1988, 128.
[1479] Williams 2005, 240-242.
[1480] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 161.
[1481] Overall, of the thirteen decorated facilities, only three ('Panayia Domus - Imperial Roman Phase'; 'Pr. Tsimpouri' and 'Building 3 - East of Theatre') fell out of use prior the 3rd century AD (Sanders 2012, 83; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1970, 164-165; Williams and Zervos 1985, 60).
[1482] These include: *The post-AD 77 dumping fill over the road - east of theatre*: Lepinski 2015, 185-187; 2013, 80-84; 2008, 238-244; '*Building 3 - East of Theatre'*: Williams and Zervos 1985, 60; *'Early Roman Cellar Building'*: De Grazia and Williams 1977, 61-62; '*Panayia Field, Pre-domus Phase'*: Lepinski 2008, 31-35; Sanders 2012, 83; '*Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'*: Shear 1930, 17-18.

which spanned for almost four centuries.[1483] Here the excavator mentioned many fresco fragments of white, grey, bright red, dark blue and yellow colours.[1484] The fresco was arranged to match the colour of the low-height marble socle, with interchanging streaks of grey and red stucco, above the matching grey and red marble revetments.[1485] The displayed scheme, though, cannot be further reconstructed.[1486]

By contrast, the decorative paintings in the 'Early Roman Cellar Building' were exhibited for only a short period of time, until a major renovation during in the second half of the 1st century AD (Plate 8a, b).[1487] The retrieved material belonged to two different painting schemes. The first included orange panels bordered by a red line and "*a band of graded colours proceeding from dark red to ivory*".[1488] The second had orange, maroon and white details on grey background, framed by black and green lines.[1489] The synthesis was paired with horizontal relief mouldings with tongue and leaf motifs, which were likely used at the upper section of the wall.

What is most interesting about the wall murals of the 'Early Roman Cellar Building' is that they were executed *a secco*.[1490] Painting on dry plaster was not unknown during that era, but it was usually reserved for minor details and not for the whole representation.[1491] That can be also seen in most contemporary Corinthian paintings which in typical fashion were frescoes,[1492] painted on thick layers of freshly-laid plaster.[1493]

The popularity of fresco murals in the 1st century AD Corinthia differs from the earlier Hellenistic practices,[1494] and has been understood as a direct Roman

[1483] A date in the 1st century AD was first tentatively proposed by Laura Gadbery and was later also backed by Umberto Pappalardo (Gadbery 1993, 53, Pappalardo 2001, 316). However, a possible later date cannot be *a priori* ruled out (Gadbery 1993, 53; Vavlekas 2013, 369-370).
[1484] Shear 1930, 18.
[1485] Shear 1930, 18.
[1486] Lepinski 2008, 272.
[1487] The excavators initially proposed a date for the reconstruction in the mid-1st century AD (De Grazia and Williams 1977, 61-62). A more recent analysis has pushed this date at the AD70 - AD75 (Slane 1986, 315-316).
[1488] De Grazia and Williams 1977, 62.
[1489] De Grazia and Williams 1977, 62.
[1490] De Grazia and Williams 1977, 62.
[1491] Ling 1991, 204.
[1492] For the preferred stucco techniques across the Roman Empire see: Ling 1991, 200-204.
[1493] Lepinski 2015, 186; 2014, 77-87.
[1494] For the used pigments compare: *Roman Corinth*: Apostolaki *et al.* 2006, 735; Lepinski 2015, 188; 2013, 88; *Classical and Hellenistic Greece*: Brecoulaki 2016, 682; Kakoulli 2010, 415; 2002, 60-65.

influence.[1495] In this regard, the *a secco* technique for the painted décor of the 'Early Roman Cellar Building' can potentially be interpreted as a survival of a Hellenistic tradition, because *a secco* paintings in the Hellenistic era were mainly executed on hard surfaces, similar to the ashlar masonry walls in our case.[1496] We should also bear in mind, though, that after the 2nd century AD painting on dry plaster became the new medium.[1497] Therefore, the murals here could alternatively mark an early example of changing techniques. Whatever the reason behind the choice of the technique, what is certain is that the paintings of 'Early Roman Cellar Building' underline the plethora of artistic influences on Corinthian murals of the 1st century AD.

Another interesting aspect of the 1st century AD wall murals from both the 'Early Roman Cellar Building' and 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' is their colour range. The latter in most part was typical for Corinthian paintings, except for the all-grey backgrounds. It is possible that grey was chosen due to the popularity of 'blackish' backgrounds during the 1st century AD.[1498] That is because from a distance carbon-based grey resembles black pigments.[1499] A more likely explanation, though, is that it was used to substitute marble revetments.[1500] That can be more clearly seen at 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' where streaks of grey and red stucco created continuous coloured sections with the marble socle. This was undoubtedly a cost-minded choice. The solution, however, was nonetheless still able to offer a sense of uniformity, likely inspired from the Eastern decorative tradition which valued a clear structural logic for internal spaces.[1501]

Moving past the 1st century AD specimens, only three painting programmes in our sample can be securely dated in the following 2nd century AD. These are the murals from the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' (Plates 86a, 88), the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre' (Plates 86b, c, 87-91), and from the 'House of the Opus Sectile'. It is very

[1495] Lepinski 2015, 186-187; 2013, 78-85.
[1496] See: *Poros blocs in 'Early Roman Cellar Building'*: Williams and Fischer 1976, 124-126; *Hellenistic a secco paintings on hard surfaces*: Kakoulli 2010, 396.
[1497] See following pages.
[1498] Note for example the black background of the paintings in the pre-domus phase of Panayia Field (Lepinski 2015, 185-187; 2013, 80-84).
[1499] In distance, black colours fade to grey (Birren 1969, 77).
[1500] The extensive use of grey to represent marble surfaces can be also seen in several glass opus sectile panels excavated at the port of Kenchreai (Ibrahim *et al*. 1976, 199-200, 210).
[1501] "*The colouring* (*viz*. in the West) *is less consistent and coherent than in the East*. *In the East the systems are usually coloured as to reinforce the structural logic*." (Ling 1991, 16).

likely, however, that during the same period the employment of painted décor in private contexts became more common. The reason is that in all three cases the ornamented facilities can be best understood as facilities of average wealth, which in turn suggests that wall murals of the era found their way also into middle-class households.[1502]

The painting programme of 'Building 5 - East of Theatre', is preserved in fragmented state. A first reconstruction placed a pink painted socle at the lower end of the wall.[1503] The material choice for the socle, is perhaps indicative of the building's modest character.[1504] In contrast, for more elaborate facilities like the 'Mosaic House' or the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' the socle was made from marble a material significantly more expensive.[1505] Above the painted socle, the main zone included yellow panels with isolated mythological figures, of which three can be recognized as Hermes, Hercules and a Lar.[1506] On top, linear motifs and fruit laden garlands bound with ribbons completed the scheme (Plate 86a).[1507] This proposed reconstruction remains tentative, though, as the fragments of painted plaster might have originated from different murals, positioned in two adjoining but independent rooms.[1508]

A more elaborate scheme can be seen at 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'.[1509] Here, in the vestibule was a niche ornamented with flowers and ribbons (Plate 86c). From there an entrance opened to the west with painted doorjambs displaying birds and an Artemis (Plate 87a, b). At the southern doorjamb, an Artemis representation ornamented the western face of the post. At the northern doorjamb, the west, south, and east faces of the doorpost were decorated with a peacock, a "*hoopoe-like*" bird, and an undiagnostic grey-white bird respectively (Plate 91a).[1510] The adjoining room was painted with several figural representations placed on successive white panels separated by Corinthian columns, while a red-white socle and an upper zone with linear motifs completed the synthesis (Plates 86b, 87a, 89-90, 91b). Among the figures we can

[1502] For the identification of the facility see earlier section 4.3.
[1503] Gadbery 1993, 54; Lepinski 2008, 244-252.
[1504] Gadbery 1993, 54, 57; Papaioannou 2002, 135.
[1505] Shear 1930, 18; Weinberg 1960, 113.
[1506] See: Gadbery 1993, 54; Williams and Zervos 1986, 155-156; 1985, 62-64; 1984, 90, 107.
[1507] Gadbery 1993, 54; Lepinski 2008, 244-252.
[1508] See also the following sections 5.2.3; 5.2.4.
[1509] Gadbery 1993, 60; Lepinski 2008, 244-252; Williams and Zervos 1989, 17-18.
[1510] Lepinski 2008, 244-252; Williams and Zervos 1989, 17.

recognize the gods Hercules, Hera, Zeus and Athena at the northern wall, and the representations of two cupids and an Aphrodite at the southern wall.[1511] An alternative reconstruction places one cupid on the eastern wall, and the Artemis at the western wall,[1512] although that does not seem to correspond with the position of the fragments.[1513]

Finally, two painting schemes have been attested at the 'House of the Opus Sectile'.[1514] The room where the opus sectile was found, was decorated with murals bearing figured designs on a red background, separated by painted columns.[1515] The south-eastern room, which was conventionally called the 'Room with Frescoes' by the excavators, bore simple paintings with black, white and red linear designs.[1516] Above that zone, the excavators proposed that the wall may have included large panels "*framed in red rectangles*", but they otherwise could not reconstruct further the painting scheme.[1517]

We should note here that there is no consensus regarding the chronology of the paintings ornamenting the 'House of the Opus Sectile' (Plates 66, 90b). A preliminary analysis described "*simple linear designs*" with no "*interest in perspective*" and placed their construction in the late-1st / early-2nd century AD on stylistic terms.[1518] I would consider, though, that a date in the 2nd century AD is probably more likely. That is because the design of the socle seemingly matches that of the contemporary 'House of the Priest' and 'House of Kirykon' in Eleusis (Plate 90b, d).[1519]

Stylistically, all three painting schemes that date from the 2nd century AD fall broadly within the second Pompeii style. Sometimes, though, a mixture of the second and third Pompeii styles can be observed. One example is the painting programme from

[1511] Gadbery 1993, 61-63.
[1512] Williams 2005, 237.
[1513] Gadbery 1993, 60-63; Williams and Zervos 1989, 17-19.
[1514] De Grazia and Williams 1977, 62; Gadbery 1993, 49-50 Williams and Zervos 1983, 14; 23; 1982, 134.
[1515] "*The largest segments of fresco show figured designs on a red background, one fragment having a maximum preserved length of over 0.60 meters. The frescoes are cracked and shattered from their collapse upon the fallen roof tiles. Executed directly upon the mud brick, the frescoes have no solid backing to reinforce them*" (Williams and Zervos 1983, 24).
[1516] Williams and Zervos 1983, 22-24.
[1517] Williams and Zervos 1983, 23.
[1518] Gadbery 1993, 51; Williams and Zervos 1983, 23.
[1519] For the paint décor of the houses in Eleusis see: Vavlekas 2013, 356-358; 368.

the ‘Building 7 - East of Theatre’ which incorporated architectural elements in larger perspective syntheses.[1520] This blend of styles has also been observed in other contemporary facilities, signalling perhaps that it was anything but a rare stylistic choice.[1521]

The figural representations of the era are characterized by *chiaroscuro* colour ranges, realistic proportions, and an overall plastic design. The figures typically adopted a free standing, floating posture and were not statue-like.[1522] Nonetheless, it is very possible that some of them draw inspiration from famous contemporary statues, a practice widely attested across the Empire.[1523] That was likely the case for the painted Aphrodite from the ‘Building 7 - East of Theatre’. The goddess was represented there armed, a not very common design choice that is clearly associated with a local cult statue of an armed Aphrodite displayed at Acrocorinth (Plate 90e).[1524] From the same context comes also another likely case, the painted figure of Artemis. Here the painting strongly resembles a statue of the goddess excavated in the 1990’s at the Corinthian Agora.[1525] In that case, though, any connection cannot be validated since both the artworks are badly preserved.

Another characteristic of the 2nd century AD paintings that decorated private facilities is that as mentioned above, the pigments were applied *a secco,* on dry plaster.[1526] An increasing use of *a secco* paintings has been similarly attested in contemporary Ephesus, which could indicate a wider, supraregional trend across the Aegean area.[1527] In Corinthia, the use of thin dry plasters was first understood as a cost-driven decision.[1528] This explanation, though, would be inconsistent with the numerous, well-executed figural representations from the ‘Building 5 - East of Theatre’ and the ‘Building 7 - East of Theatre’ that signal anything but financial constraints. Moreover,

[1520] Gadbery 1993, 58.
[1521] Papaioannou 2002, 137-138.
[1522] Compare for example with the statue-like figural representations at Kenchreai panels (see previous section 5.1.8.).
[1523] See: Ling 1991, 103.
[1524] Broneer 1947, 244-245; Gadbery 1993, 63-64; Robinson B. A. 2012, 117-121; Williams 2005, 240; 243.
[1525] Williams 2005, 237.
[1526] See: ‘*Building 5 - East of Theatre*’: Gadbery 1993, 54; ‘*Building 7 - East of Theatre’*: Lepinski 2013, 90; Williams and Zervos 1989, 14; ‘*House of the Opus Sectile’*: De Grazia and Williams 1977, 62.
[1527] Lepinski 2013, 88.
[1528] Gadbery 1993, 54.

a cost-minded approach would fail to explain the utilization of expensive materials for selected *a secco* paintings. Perhaps most telling here would be the use of gold leaves to reproduce parts of the face and body of the painted Aphrodite (Plate 90e) at the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'.[1529] The utilization of gold to enhance the design details has been attested in a handful of cases across the Roman world, mostly in elaborate public facilities, but also in some wealthy private villas.[1530] Its use appears to be rare in Southern Greece, with the sole other case coming from the grandiose 'Villa of Herodes Atticus' in Loukou, Arcadia.[1531]

An alternative hypothesis aims to link the new mortar technique with the increasing use of mud brick for the supporting walls.[1532] This, however, is equally problematic, considering that frescoes are far more suitable for mud brick walls. We should refer here particularly to the Hellenistic paintings where the *fresco* technique was used for mud brick walls, whereas *secco* was used for hard stone surfaces.[1533]

Part of the answer might lie instead on the greater availability of pigments suited for dry plaster.[1534] Sara Lepinski has specifically underlined here the increasing use of lead white, a colorant unsuitable for frescoes.[1535] The pigment was already known from the Hellenistic period.[1536] Starting from the mid-2nd century AD, though, it can be attested even for large surfaces, as in the case of the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'. She went further also to note the presence of madder lake, a natural dye unsuited for wet plaster, that sometimes appears to substitute for cinnabar which was more sparingly used after the 1st century AD.[1537] More research is needed, however, on the availability of pigments, because most other painting colorants recorded in Corinthia between the 2nd and the 4th century AD were compatible with both mortar techniques. More particularly, these were mostly natural occurring iron-based pigments, typically red, brown and yellow ochre, suited for dry and wet plasters alike.[1538]

[1529] Williams 2005, 237.
[1530] Barbet and Lahanier 1983, 260-276; Ling 1991, 209.
[1531] Vavlekas 2013, 269.
[1532] Lepinski 2015, 188; 2013, 88.
[1533] Kakoulli 2010, 396; 2002, 56.
[1534] Lepinski 2015, 188.
[1535] Lepinski 2015, 187-188; 2013, 89.
[1536] Lepinski 2013, 89-90; Vitruvius, *De Architectura* VII.12.2.
[1537] Lepinski 2015, 188; 2013, 88-91.
[1538] Apostolaki *et al.* 2006, 735.

Whatever the reasons for the changing plaster techniques, it seems that the *secco* murals gradually became the new medium. Characteristic is that after the 2rd century AD few, if any, of the paintings ornamenting private compounds were executed *affresco*. The use of fresco technique has been specifically mentioned once, in a sepulchral painting of the 3rd century from Corinth,[1539] but it was otherwise not very common.[1540]

The design quality of the paintings that date in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD cannot always be verified. However, some of them were undoubtedly of high craftsmanship. A fine example comes from 'Panayia Domus', in Corinth. There the painting programme spread to at least five of the thirteen excavated rooms, namely the rooms 'A5', 'A6', 'A7', 'A9', 'A12' (Plates 71, 92-94).[1541] The paintings that ornamented room 'A7' were roughly contemporary to the villa's construction in the late-3rd century AD.[1542] They can be tentatively reconstructed on the western wall of the room. Only a small section of the composition has been preserved (Plate 93b), displaying a Maenad on a red background holding a drum and a thyrsus.[1543]

Somewhat later are the murals from the room 'A12'.[1544] In the eastern half of the room, the excavation revealed fragments of a figural composition that likely once ornamented the eastern wall. On the northern wall, the painting scheme included two representations of winged Nikai (Victories), on red and yellow backgrounds respectively (Plate 92a, b), each holding a palm branch and a wreath. Finally, vertical vegetal motifs framed by black and red bands stood on the western wall, along a pink faux marbling zone that was placed above a grey-black dado (Plate 92d). The design of the vegetal motifs, as well as the arrangement and facial characteristics of the Nikai find some parallels with similar artworks of the 3rd century AD.[1545] However, a date in

[1539] Papathanasiou 2016, 300-304.
[1540] Lepinski 2008, 221-271.
[1541] See: Lepinski 2015, 188-189; 2013, 92-97; 2008, 55-81; Sanders 2005a, 151; 2005b, 419-420; 1999, 443; Stirling 2008, 127-129; Vavlekas 2013, 368; 430.
[1542] A first analysis concluded, purely on stylistic terms, in a probable date on the 2nd century AD (Sanders 2005a, 151; Vavlekas 2013, 368). This seems unlikely, however, since the erection of the villa can be safely traced after the AD 262 (Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 304; Sanders 2005b, 421; Stirling 2008, 129).
[1543] Lepinski 2013, 95-96; 2008, 73-74; Sanders 2005a, 151; 2005b, 420-425.
[1544] Lepinski 2015, 188-189; 2013, 97-98; 2008, 66-71; Sanders 2005a, 151; 2005b, 420-425.
[1545] Lepinski 2013, 96-98.

the first half of the 4th century AD seems more likely,[1546] considering the illusionistic design of the Nikai which seems influenced by the Constantinian classical revival.[1547]

The painted décor of the other rooms appears to be much plainer. In room 'A9' (Plate 94c), the decorative scheme combined bands of red and white, a floral frieze, and a red garland.[1548] Similar floral motifs (Plate 94b), this time in vertical candelabra designs on a black ground coupled with black, white, red, and yellow linear motifs, decorated the western wall of the southern room 'A6'.[1549] Finally, fragments of a painted yellow panel surrounded by a red and white cornice were found in room 'A5' (Plate 94a), while the neighbouring room 'A8' likely had an undiagnostic painted décor.[1550]

Some of the above Panayia murals, namely the Maenad and Nikai representations can be best described as 'stock motifs'.[1551] Even these, though, could sometimes stand out for their high-quality design and unique configuration. Despite the strong evidence suggesting a wide use of pattern-books and certain repertoires, the expectations and demands of the patron also weighed on the final painting compositions.[1552] That is most clearly demonstrated by the design of the Maenad in room 'A7'.[1553] The latter finds few parallels in terms of her body posture and appears to be "*an amalgam of types*" seen elsewhere in statues and terracotta lamps.[1554]

The rarity of the Maenad's stance could stem from personal aesthetic criteria and tastes. A more calculated approach, however, should be also considered. Like the rest of the domestic décor, the wall murals of the Roman household were reflections of the patron's self-narration and aspirations of grandeur. In our case, a similar taste for rare designs and themes can be seen in other art media, namely the Roma statuette found

[1546] Sanders 2005a, 151; 2005b, 420-425; Vavlekas 2013, 194.
[1547] For the Constantinian classical revival in the Roman paintings see: Ling 1991, 186; 193-196.
[1548] Lepinski 2008, 72-73; Stirling 2008, 129.
[1549] Lepinski 2008, 74-75.
[1550] See: *'A5'*: Lepinski 2008, 75; *'A8'*: Lepinski 2008, 227.
[1551] For the use of stock motifs in Roman painting see*: General analysis*: Ling 1991, 183; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 31; *Socioeconomic context*: Ellis Sim. P. 2000, 143; Ling 1991, 183; Valladares 2014, 185; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 147-148.
[1552] Ling 1991, 217-220.
[1553] In the words of Sarah Lepinski: "*The maenad from Panayia Field is in a static stance, with the thyrsus behind her head and the drum in her left hand, her head in profile to the left. This stance is unique in both contemporary wall paintings and in other decorative media*." (Lepinski 2008, 101).
[1554] Lepinski 2015, 189; 2013, 97; 2008, 98-105.

at room 'A9' (Plate 99a).[1555] This in turn may imply that the patron of 'Panayia Domus' had a strong desire to stand out,[1556] which came to shape his art collection even when he opted for otherwise unimaginative themes.[1557]

More generic is the design of the figural painting scheme in room 'A12'. Sarah Lepinski has particularly stressed here that the two Nikai figures recall several Roman and Campanian paintings, a signal perhaps of persisting Italian influences well into the early-4th century AD.[1558] At the same time, she went further to argue that local traditions likely also played a role in the design of the painted figures. She based her proposal on the strong stylistic similarities between the two Nikai and an Imperial Roman statue of the goddess (**S 1932**) found in the South Basilica of Corinth (Plate 93a).[1559] While alluring, I would consider her later claim problematic, because that statue of Nike was long-lost centuries prior the commission of the painting at 'Panayia Domus'. As the excavator comments: "*Since the Nike was found in the cryptoporticus fill of Hadrianic date, this offers a firm terminus ante quem. It represents, therefore, another product of the local 'Neo-Attic' school which apparently flourished at Corinth in the second half of the first century after Christ*".[1560] Moreover, a similar dynamic forward movement that leaves the right foot exposed, and a chiton that covers both breasts can be recurrent features in the iconography of Nike.[1561]

Aside from the Nikai paintings at 'Panayia Domus', little else is known about the post-3rd century AD painting programmes that were displayed in private contexts. The excavations at 'Pr. I. M. Lekka' revealed undiagnostic fragments of red stucco, probably synchronous to the 4th century AD building, but almost nothing is further known about these paintings.[1562] The presence of "*fine plaster with traces of fresco decoration*" was further reported on the western wall of the anteroom opening to the

[1555] See later pages, as well as the discussion about the Roma statuette in the following sections 5.3.3; 5.3.4.
[1556] See also section 5.3.4.
[1557] Lepinski 2015, 189; 2008, 101; Stirling 2008, 131-132.
[1558] Lepinski 2015, 188-189; 2008, 85-98.
[1559] "*like the painted victories the sculpture version wears a high-girted chiton that covers her breasts and exposes her right leg as she moves forward*" (Lepinski 2015, 188-189).
[1560] Weinberg 1960, 74.
[1561] See among others the leg arrangement of the Nikai Akroteria (**NAM Inv. No. 161; 159; 160**) from Epidaurus (Gialouris 1967; Kaltsas 2002, 179). See also the dynamic forward movement and the chiton arrangement at Nike Akroterion (**S 1539**) from Athens (Boulter 1953).
[1562] Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292-293.

'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum' at the southern quay of Kenchreai.[1563] Once again, though, nothing is further reported about the design and the execution of the murals.

Fragments of wall paintings, bearing small anthropomorphic figures and simple linear motifs (Plate 95a), were also salvaged from the building on the northern quay of Kenchreai.[1564] A recent analysis by Nikolaos Vavlekas proposed a 4th century AD date for the murals.[1565] However, that study mistakenly placed within the same context the Kenchreai mural fragments (Plate 95a), and others from Early Roman Isthmia (Plate 95b, d).[1566] The error may have in turn prompted the alleged 4th century AD dating, as the plasticity and strong colour outlines seen in the Isthmian painted fragments are somewhat reminiscent of the aesthetics of the Constantinian revival.[1567]

By contrast, the Kenchreai fragments lack a colour outline and are overall less illusionistic, which might imply instead an earlier date in the second half of the 3rd century AD.[1568] The contemporary sepulchre paintings of 'St. Saint Nestoros 8' at Thessaloniki, and more specifically the sailing man seen on the western wall of the tomb, offer a good comparison (Plate 95c).[1569]

While the above research sample is small, something that differentiates the post-3rd century AD painting schemes from earlier wall murals is the complete absence of painted xenia motifs. That probably reflects a wider change of taste that can be attested across the Roman Empire.[1570] In Southern Greece, xenia motifs remained customary in private facilities throughout the 2nd century AD and can be seen in various media up

[1563] Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 150.
[1564] Scranton 1978a, 83; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 165-166.
[1565] Vavlekas 2013, 429-430.
[1566] The original publications clearly distinct between the fragments of wall painting found at the northern quay of Kenchreai (Scranton 1978a, 83; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 165-166 *contra* Vavlekas 1968, 430-431), and those found at Isthmia (Clement 1969, 142; Daux 1968, 785 *contra* Vavlekas 1968, 430-431).
[1567] As we earlier saw in that section, the illusionistic design and the plasticity of forms are highly characteristic of the Constantinian classical revival. The presence of a strong colour outline is further indicative of a 4th century AD date, as the figural representations progressively *"became hard and linear with shadows to reinforce contours rather than express them"* (Ling 1991, 196).
[1568] Compare for example the 3rd century AD figures from several paintings at Thessaloniki and Corinth (Vavlekas 2013 392-395; 399), with the later designs found at the same regions (Daux 1968, 785; Vavlekas 2013, 426-428).
[1569] For the paintings see: Pazaras 1981, 376-379.
[1570] See: Ling 1991, 183.

until the 3rd century AD.[1571] The iconography gradually came to be associated with funerary compounds and stopped being used altogether in domestic facilities after that date.[1572]

Another aspect that differentiates earlier and later wall murals is the relevant socioeconomic context of the artworks. The evidence so far seems to suggest a wide adoption of decorative paintings up to the 3rd century AD. That is because in this early period, the compositions found their way into wealthy villas, middle-class facilities, and small commercial units alike.[1573] In sharp contrast, paintings postdating the 3rd century AD can be exclusively associated with wealthy elites.[1574] This development very likely mirrors broader social phenomena, particularly the already manifested growing economic inequality across Late Roman Corinthia.[1575]

There is otherwise little change in the way the paintings were conceived and utilized within private premises. Much like the earlier Imperial Roman murals, the later paintings could cover extensive wall sections as in the case of room 'A12' at 'Panayia Domus'. The available evidence further suggests some marked similarities in the chosen themes. In particular, the mythological representations continued to be employed at least until the first half of the 4th century AD and the commission of the Nikai paintings. Mythology was a much beloved subject in Roman paintings displayed in private contexts during the Imperial Roman period,[1576] but this iconography is rarely attested in mainland Greece after the 3rd century AD.[1577]

Nonetheless, we ought to remember that pagan themed artworks, notably mosaics and statuettes, continued to be widely popular throughout the 4th century AD across the Greek mainland.[1578] The choice to employ the Nikai paintings at 'Panayia

[1571] See: *Mosaics*: Kokkini 2012, 263-274; *Paintings*: Vavlekas 2013, 209-212; 241-244; *Opus Sectile*: Oliver A. 2001.
[1572] Throughout the Late Roman period and up until the late 4th century AD, xenia motifs remained very popular in sepulchral paintings (Makri 2005, 85-87; Vavlekas 2013, 209-212; 241-244).
[1573] See among others Table C1: 'Imperial Roman Cellar Building'; 'House of the Opus Sectile'; 'Building 5 - East of Theatre', 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'; 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'.
[1574] Whereas the ambiguities of the archaeological record do not permit a full understanding of the socioeconomic position of the Late Roman owners, I would argue that all the paintings that date after the 3rd century AD most likely link to wealthy urban residences in Corinth and Kenchreai.
[1575] See following section 5.4.
[1576] Ellis Sim. P. 2000, 123; Bergmann 1994, 232-254; Ling 1991, 101-112; Parrish 1997, 595-599; Vavlekas 2013, 273.
[1577] Vavlekas 2013, 419-432.
[1578] Karivieri 2012, 217-219.

Domus' certainly reflects the same aesthetic values and a similar classicism. It provides, though, an even more compelling argument about this taste for 'classical beauty', considering the shifting thematic preferences in the domestic paintings of the era, as attested in the other Greek regions.

5.2.3 The position of the murals

In the preface of the philosophical novel 'The Picture of Dorian Gray', Oscar Wilde famously exclaimed "*all art is quite useless*".[1579] Yet, that was certainly not the how the Late Roman patron viewed his treasured artworks. The Roman house was a complex environment serving both private and public needs, and the displayed artworks had an equally multivalent character.[1580] In that environment, the decoration had more than an aesthetic function. It was the vessel carrying and reflecting the patron's values and aspirations in order to appear to his guests in a certain light.[1581]

All the above came to shape domestic art collections, among them the wall murals, as artworks found their way predominantly into the main household areas. Highly informative here would be a recent dissertation of Nikolaos Vavlekas on Roman wall murals in Greece. The study, which among others considers the painted décor of 80 private facilities, makes a compelling argument that most paintings were reserved for the main living quarters, which had a semi-public function.[1582] The author also underlined a general preference attested in all Greek regions for plain architectural motifs and, to a lesser extent, mythological representations.[1583]

Corinthian murals from private contexts do not depart from that norm. The artworks were frequently placed in main, semi-public areas of the household, close to

[1579] Wilde 1913, 6.
[1580] For the public and private character of domestic architecture see: Ellis Sim. P. 1991, 124-130; Kondoleon 1999, 321-326; Poulsen 2012, 167-184; Scheibelreiter-Gail 2012, 159-161; Stewart P. 2003, 257-260.
[1581] Ellis Sim. P. 1991, 121-123; Gazda 1991, 1-24; Stewart P. 2003, 223-260.
[1582] More particularly, the decorated spaces were recognized as: atria (9), peristyles (8), *triclinia* (15), oecoi (2), exedra (1), baths (2), cubicula (7), latrine (1), passages (2), shops (3) (Vavlekas 2013, 265-277).
[1583] Vavlekas 2013, 271-273.

atria, peristyle courtyards, or other elaborate rooms.[1584] Notwithstanding, only in one case can the painted décor be safely traced to the court area itself. This is the elaborate villa at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra', which bore wall murals on the northern and eastern wall of the grand courtyard (Plates 22, 96).[1585] Another possible example could be the facility at the northern quay of Kenchreai which had a large, peristyle lavishly decorated with mosaics. However, this cannot be confirmed since the published reports do not mention the precise position of the paintings.[1586] In addition to that, Nikolaos Vavlekas further proposed that the decorative paintings in the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' should be also associated with the atrium courtyard.[1587] The excavation reports, though, clearly place the stucco decoration in room 'D', west of the atrium, which was certainly not a court but a small passage room (Plates 67b, 85).[1588]

Many of the paintings from main household areas can be traced instead to key passage areas and reception rooms. Two characteristic examples concern the interlinking, pass-through rooms 'A7' and 'A8' at 'Panayia Domus', which acted as a secondary corridor upon the north - south axis (Plate 71). Two other examples are the 'room D' at the 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi', and the anteroom of the 'Apsidal Court Nymphaeum' on the southern quay of Kenchreai. In both cases, the rooms stood upon the passages leading to the courtyard. At other times, the exact function of the decorated premises is today missing. Indicative are the ornamented rooms 'A12' at 'Panayia Domus' and the so-called 'Room with Frescoes' at the 'House of the Opus Sectile' (Plate 66). Little is known about the use of both these rooms, but the size and central position within the household strongly imply a semi-public use, most likely as reception or dining halls.[1589]

The small research sample and the ambiguities of the archaeological record do not permit any direct associations between the function of all the above spaces and the displayed painting schemes. This is a common problem in the archaeology of Roman

[1584] See Table C1: 'Panayia Domus' (Rooms 'A5'; 'A6'; 'A7'; 'A12'); 'House of the Opus Sectile' ('room with opus sectile'; 'room with paintings')'; 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi' (Room 'D').
[1585] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 48.
[1586] Scranton 1978a, 83; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 165-166.
[1587] Vavlekas 2013, 267.
[1588] Shear 1930, 17-18.
[1589] See earlier sections 5.1.4.

Greece, where most of the murals associated with private contexts are badly preserved and cannot be reconstructed sufficiently.[1590] The paradigm of other regions, though, has demonstrated that certain thematic repertoires, although not prerequisite, were preferred for specific household areas.[1591] The Nikai and Maenad representations from 'Panayia Domus' were probably two similar cases. The ornamented rooms 'A12' and 'A7' opened directly to the peristyle, while the position of the murals on the northern and western wall respectively, would render them visible to those approaching from the portico. The choice of theme here probably had much to do with the internal arrangement, as similar Nikai and Maenad representations were recurrent for peristyle courts, dining halls, and reception areas.[1592] The position of the ornamented spaces probably also influenced the colour choice of the painting background for the Nikai and Maenad designs. The reason is that reddish or yellowish pigments despite their wide appeal,[1593] were typically preferred as a background for the murals decorating central household areas.[1594]

More obscure is the picture regarding the painted schemes that decorated the working premises of private compounds. Most of the painted shops and workshops recorded across Greece bore simplistic, non-figural designs.[1595] Nevertheless, the paradigm of Pompeii has revealed that more elaborate compositions should be expected when the shops had a "*reception function alongside an economic function*".[1596] One similar case can probably be seen at the 'Early Roman Cellar Building'. Here the lower basement, which was for some time the working area of the premises, was decorated with low relief mouldings, and panels with graded colour outlines.[1597]

Even more elaborate was the painted décor of 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'. The paintings were confined to the southernmost rooms '4' and '5' (Plates 87-88),[1598]

[1590] Vavlekas 2013, 274-275.
[1591] See: Bergmann 1994, 230-232; 245-248; Ling 1991, 135-138; 220; Parrish 1997, 599-600; Tybout 2001, 42-48; 53; Valladares 2014, 177, Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 30-37; Zanker 1998, 189.
[1592] See: *Nikai*: Pappalardo 2009, 71; 168; Ling 1991, 17; *Maenads:* Pappalardo 2009, 135-138; Lorenz 2008, 361-379.
[1593] Chmielewski and Żelazowski 2014.
[1594] For the hierarchy of colour and motifs in the Roman domestic paintings see: Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 31.
[1595] Vavlekas 2013, 276-277.
[1596] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 155-160.
[1597] For a more detailed description see previous section 5.2.2.
[1598] An analysis of the Building '7', and a short description of the presented paintings can be found in the earlier section 4.3.

which stood separate from the northern rooms '1'- '3' after a 2nd century AD remodelling that saw the subdivision of the premises.[1599] It is paramount to recognize here that the wall murals did not spread evenly along the two rooms. Heavy emphasis was put on the walls and doorposts of backroom (i.e. room '4'), which incorporated most of the figural representations.

A similar interest in the rear rooms has been observed in several small shops in Campania. For example, we can refer to the Pompeian clubhouse 'VI.14.28', the *taberna* 'VI 10.1/19', and the Herculaneum *taberna* 'V.17', which all display great care for the décor of the back rooms.[1600] In Campania, research concluded that interest in the back rooms might hint at a function as reception facilities, or could stem from an earlier, pre-commercial occupational phase.[1601] In our case, I would consider that a reception function better explains the arrangement of the murals, as there are notable signs of commercial use during the examined period. More particularly, the paintings were roughly synchronous to an early-3rd century AD remodelling which saw a *dolium* sunken within the premises, "*apparently a replacement for one that had stood against the North wall in the previous phase*".[1602]

Apart from 'Building 7 - East of Theatre', it is possible that the painted décor of the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' was similarly arranged with an emphasis on the back room. As we have already noticed, though, the exact position of the paintings is still a matter of debate.[1603]

5.2.4 The position of the murals with sacral meaning

An issue that deserves to be studied separately concerns the placement of paintings which likely had a sacral character and may be associated with private shrines. We should note here that the presence of domestic shrines in Roman Corinthia has come increasingly into focus recently. A first analysis presented by Maria Papaioannou,[1604]

[1599] Williams and Zervos 1988, 125.
[1600] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 155-156.
[1601] Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 157.
[1602] Williams and Zervos 1989, 3.
[1603] See also the earlier section 4.3.
[1604] Papaioannou 2002, 124.

mentioned two domestic shrines from 'Building 7 - East of Theatre' and 'Pr. Mavragani'.[1605] More recently, Paolo Bonini on his paper on domestic areas of worship across Roman Greece briefly dealt with Corinthia, referring just to room 'A9' of 'Panayia Domus'.[1606]

The most extended analysis of the topic so far, has been presented by Catherine Person. In her dissertation, Person listed three likely cases of domestic shrines from 'Panayia Domus' and 'Pr. Mavragani' in Corinth, and from the 'Brick Building - Northern Quay' in Kenchreai.[1607] Person also noted signs of cult activities in three additional sites, namely, in the Early Roman building at Panayia Field, at the basement of the 'Imperial Roman Cellar Building' and in the 'House of the Opus Sectile'. In these cases, however, the premises in question were not accessible after the 1st century AD.[1608] Therefore, they fall out of the research scope of this analysis, for they were not visible to the Late Roman occupants.

I would argue that across the region of Corinthia, there are at least six cases of household shrines that were still accessible for the Late Roman occupants.[1609] These link to the facilities: 'Building 5 - East of Theatre',[1610] 'Building 7 - East of Theatre',[1611] 'Panayia Domus',[1612] 'North Nezi Field',[1613] 'Perachora - Farm over the West Court'[1614] and 'Shop North of Panayia Field'.[1615] Cultic activities in private contexts have also been noted at 'Pr. Mavragani' in Corinth,[1616] and at 'Brick Building - Northern Quay' in Kenchreai.[1617] However, the relevant publications neither refer to

[1605] Papaioannou went further to consider as evidence of a shrine, the fragments of paintings found in the dumping fill over the north-south road running west of 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre' (Papaioannou 2002, 134). These may have marked a road shrine. As we saw in the beginning of this chapter, though, there is nothing to clearly associate these paintings with the buildings '5' and '7'.
[1606] Bonini 2011, 214.
[1607] Person 2012, 166-189.
[1608] See: '*Imperial Roman Cellar Building*': and in De grazia and Williams 1977, 61-62; Slane 1986, 303; '*House of the opus sectile*': Williams and Zervos 1983, 22; '*Pre-domus phase at Panayia Field*': Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 291-293.
[1609] See Tables B1-4; C1-4, and the following section 5.3.3.
[1610] Person 2012, B5; Williams 2005, 235.
[1611] Papaioannou 2002, 124; Person 2012, B6; Williams 2005, 236.
[1612] See later section 5.3.3.
[1613] Broome-Raines 2007; Erny and Joy 2013; Harrington and Kopestonsky 2007; Morgan 2014a; Sapoutzidis 2007.
[1614] Coulton 1967, 363.
[1615] Broneer 1947, 244-246; Gregory 2010, 454; Sanders 1999, 442; Stirling 2008, 133.
[1616] Zafeiropoulou 1998, 70.
[1617] See: Scranton 1978a, 83; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 165-166; Zafeiropoulou 1998, 70.

the exact location of the cult-related artworks, nor to their period of use. Therefore, it is unclear if the domestic shrines relate to the painted décor, and if so, whether the Late Roman occupants could still access and view the wall murals. Lastly, the placement of two jars beneath the wall foundations of the sites 'Kiato Melissi' and 'South of South Stoa - Site N. of the East-West Road', may hint at some sort of foundation rituals.[1618] In both sites, though, there is nothing to suggest any other family-based religious practices that could suggest a domestic shrine.

From the above sample, only in three cases can the wall paintings be linked with some confidence to practised cultic activities. These concern the murals from room 'A9' at 'Panayia Domus', from room '3' at 'Building 5 - East of Theatre', and from room '5' at 'Building 7- East of Theatre'.

One of the best candidates for a possible private shrine is room 'A9' at 'Panayia Domus' (Plate 94c),[1619] where the excavations revealed 9 pagan statuettes beneath the 4th century AD destruction debris.[1620] The wall murals here bore garland and floral motifs and almost certainly covered a large surface of the walls, since one section seems to have gone around presumably of some architectural feature that is today lost.[1621] This, along with the small size of the room, and the presence of numerus pagan statuettes prompted recently an identification as *sacellum*.[1622] That would make room 'A9' of 'Panayia Domus' one of the few *sacella* excavated in Greece, where they were generally less common compared to simple niches or altars.[1623] While the identification is alluring, the notable absence of an altar and a bench, characteristics common in sacella, should make us cautious.[1624] Another *sacellum* has been excavated at 'Pr, Mavragani'.[1625] Here twelve clay masks and several figurines were found in a small room bearing paintings. The brief publication of the premises in that case, though, cannot support any definite arguments about the period of occupation of the Roman villa.

[1618] Drosoyianni 1968a, 219-221; Lolos 2018, 191.
[1619] For more details see later section 5.3.3.
[1620] Lepinski 2008, 78; Stirling 2008, 128-131.
[1621] Person 2012, 165.
[1622] Person 2012, 164-167.
[1623] Person 2012, 305-312; Widad 2002, 187-192.
[1624] Boyce 1937, 18.
[1625] Person 2012, 164-167; Zafeiropoulou 1998, 70.

The somewhat closed architectural design of room 'A9', led Catherine Person in her recent research to suggest that the arrangement might indicate that the room, along with the murals and statuettes, was open only to the family.[1626] I would be hesitant to accept that, though, for as Person herself recognizes, the location allowed easy access to those coming from the atrium or the peristyle (Plate 71).[1627] I would argue instead that the location suggests a semi-public function, since both the owner and his guests could quickly approach from the communal areas of the household. More particularly, whereas according to the published plan, the entrance of the room is still unknown, the latter stood mere metres from both the atrium and the peristyle. What is certain, though, is that the overall restrictive visibility and the choice to place the cult room close to the main areas are both strongly reminiscent of Hellenistic tradition.[1628]

Moving to 'Building 7 - East of Theatre', the decorated niche found in room '5' should be considered with high degree of certainty a cultic space.[1629] In a common fashion, the niche here was placed in the front room (Plates 86c, 88), facing directly the main entrance.[1630] The layout, frequently seen also in shops and horrea of Ostia, signals that the shrine was meant to serve both the owner and his clients.[1631] At the same time, it would arguably serve as propaganda tool, projecting the owner's religiosity and pious values.

It is unclear what cult activities took place within the niche. Charles Williams recently pointed out that the painted, pinkish four-leaf roses seen on the wall of the niche could be associated with the cult of Aphrodite.[1632] While alluring this theory is purely hypothetical, since similar cult niches with green ribbons and red roses were customary across the Roman world.[1633] Furthermore, none of the cult objects and paintings from within the room refer specifically to that goddess. More particularly, in near vicinity stood a painted red-greyish bird of an unknown species (Plate 91a), while a rattle-figurine representing a bear or a dog was salvaged from the floor below the

[1626] Person 2012, 183.
[1627] "*The remoteness of their location is in fact not that remote*" (Person 2012, 183).
[1628] Person 2012, 182; 318-320.
[1629] Papaioannou 2002, 124; Person 2012, B6; Williams 2005, 236.
[1630] Williams and Zervos 1988, 129.
[1631] Bakker 1994,183-185; Small 2009, 191-193.
[1632] Williams 2005, 236.
[1633] See among others: Beard 2010, 295; Boyce 1937, 12.

niche (Plate 101a).[1634] The bird iconography is particularly interesting, because at the other side of the doorpost was depicted a peacock, arguably in a dialectic relationship with the nearby painted figure of Hera.[1635] If the shrine was to be dedicated to Aphrodite, one cannot but ask why the artist did not place here a dove or alternatively a swan, birds most sacred to the goddess?

The last painting scheme that clearly is linked to a private shrine concerns the fragmentary representations of Hercules, Hermes, and of a Lar at 'Building 5 - East of Theatre'.[1636] The paintings originated from the area between rooms '1' and '3' (Plate 88), but their exact position remains debated. The initial reports suggested that the murals ornamented the anteroom (room '1'), where the researchers located most of the fragments.[1637] The continuation of the excavations led to a different suggestion, that the paintings likely came from the adjoining room '3'to the South.[1638] Notwithstanding, some of the painted wall fragments were allegedly preserved *in situ* in the anteroom.[1639]

A first reconstruction placed all the painted fragments in a single mural at the north face of the southern wall of room '3'.[1640] A similar placement of private shrines in the backroom compartments has been sometimes observed in small workshops.[1641] The choice should be probably associated with the utilitarian nature of the back rooms, and particularly with a possible use as a cooking area, since the latter frequently accommodated shrines.[1642]

More recently, though, Charles Williams, citing the variety of fallen paint fragments, questioned the above reconstruction. Williams noted particularly the marked differences between the fragments bearing large-scale garlands on white background, and those representing small figures on yellow background.[1643] He further pointed out that the fragments belonging to the second group were much fewer than the rest. In this

[1634] For the dog figurine see later section 5.3.3. In near vicinity stood also a hearth with a heavy deposit of lamps (Williams and Zervos 1989, 12).
[1635] See next section 5.2.5.
[1636] Person 2012, B5; Williams 2005, 235.
[1637] Williams and Zervos 1984, 107.
[1638] Gadbery 1993, 54; Williams and Zervos 1987, 27; 1986, 155-156; 1985, 63-64.
[1639] Lepinski 2008, 244; Williams and Zervos 1986, 155.
[1640] Gadbery 1993, 54; Williams and Zervos 1987, 27; 1986, 155.
[1641] Foss 1997, 203-208.
[1642] Foss 1997, 217.
[1643] Williams 2005, 233-235.

regard he considered that the paintings in 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' may not originate from a singular decorative programme but could belong to different painting schemes that spread through both rooms '1' and '3'.[1644]

A possible reconstruction of Hercules, Hermes, and Lar representations on the southern wall of room '1', would recall the placement of the painted lararium of 'Building 7 - East of Theatre' directly at the building's entrance. Here, though, it is likely that the shrine had the form of an *aedicula* facade. That is because a small Aeolic capital, of the type common in *aedicula*,[1645] was found in the fill of the chamber.[1646] The same *aedicula* shrine may have also housed some of the clay statuettes found not far from the southern wall of the room. We should note particularly the bust of Athena (**MF 1983-41**), the two canine figurines (**MF 1985-49**; **MF1985-50**), and the two Aphrodite (**MF 1985-47**; **MF 1985-48**) figurines (Plates 101b-f, 102).[1647] These were found beneath the destruction debris of the last occupational phase, and allegedly fell from the northern face of the southern wall.[1648]

Charles Williams also went further to propose that the differences in the painting schemes might indicate that room '1' had a second lararium.[1649] The presence of more than one cult shrine in domestic contexts was not unknown in the Roman world. These were typically placed at different areas of the household, as the practice generally signifies cult differences between the patron and his servants or slaves.[1650] On rare occasions, they could be confined within the same rooms as in various horrea in Ostia, or the elaborate 'Maison des Tritons' in Delos.[1651] I would consider, though, that this is an unlikely scenario in our case, because the heavy concentration of artefacts along the

[1644] In his article Williams did not considered separately the murals of room '3' but opted instead to examine the painted décor of 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' as a whole. He then went to explore whether some or even all the painted fragments came from the north-western 'room 1' (Williams 2005, 231-235). Nonetheless, he did not retract from his earlier arguments that most of the fragments likely originated from the south wall of the southwestern 'room 3' (Williams and Zervos 1987, 27; 1986, 155-156; 1985, 63-64).
[1645] For the aedicula shrines see: Boyce 1937, 11.
[1646] Williams 2005, 234.
[1647] For the statues see: Williams 2005, 229-235; Williams and Zervos 1989, 12; 1986,154-157; 1984, 90.
[1648] For the statuettes see further the sections 5.3.3; 5.3.5.
[1649] Williams 2005, 234-235.
[1650] Michelle 2011, 391; Tybout 1996, 369; Williams 2005, 233-235.
[1651] Bakker 1994, 182-183; Person 2012, 143.

southern wall of room '1', seems to better imply the presence of one shrine, confined to that area.

5.2.5 Paintings in their context

In the earlier pages we saw that on many occasions, paintings were spread through several household areas. In this regard, one question that comes forward is how the various wall murals were related to each other, and how they interacted with the rest of the decorative programme. Scholarship has established that various paintings displayed in private contexts were frequently arranged within the household in a co-ordinated manner.[1652] That could create an illusion of formal balance and a sense of thematic overlap, spurring in turn a dialectic relationship among the paintings and a sense of unity within the ornamented quarters.

This desire for greater unity was likely one of the driving forces behind the painting scheme at 'Building 7 - East of Theatre', and particularly the bird images on the northern doorpost of the entrance between rooms '4' and '5' (Plate 88).[1653] We should acknowledge here that the iconography of birds was a much beloved subject across Greece.[1654] However, the utilization of motifs that "*allowed the viewer to move without interruptions*" was common for transitional rooms and passages of the Roman household,[1655] whereas the representations of birds were customary for orthostates.[1656] We can suggest therefore that our doorpost representations likely acted as a 'thematic bridge', connecting the ornamented cult niche in room '5', with the painted pagan deities seen in room '4'. Even more importantly, the theme of the doorpost likely permitted a deeper, dialectic relationship between the murals of the two rooms. The viewer, who would pause at room '4' to see the painted Hera and the Erotes on the southern wall, would also be within visual distance of the peacock on the western façade of the door. Moving to the next room '5', the viewer would enjoy the bird representation

[1652] See among others: Bergmann 1994, 230; 245-246; Elsner 1995, 74-80; Ling 1991, 135-138; McKay 1975, 152-153; Tybout 2001, 45; Valladares 2014, 188-192; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 30-37; Zanker 1998, 189.
[1653] For the iconography at building '7' see earlier sections 5.2.2; 5.2.4.
[1654] Vavlekas 2013, 241-243.
[1655] Muth 2015, 409.
[1656] For the bird representations on orthostates see: Ling 1991, 17.

on the eastern façade of the door, which stood not far from the ornamented cultic niche that dominated the room.[1657] The subject of the doorpost mural was similarly well-suited here. As a recurrent theme for sepulchral paintings, *lararia*, and mythological scenes, the iconography of birds had frequently paradisiac connotations and our example was probably no exception.[1658]

A dialectic relationship can be further attested even among wall murals which at first glance had different themes. Characteristic here would be the paintings of room '4' in the same building. At the southern wall, an Aphrodite stood at the centre, flanked by two cupids forming a composition that celebrated erotism and a joyful way of living (Plates 89c, 90e). Related themes can be also seen on the eastern wall, where a painted Artemis and a peacock can be reconstructed. In sharp contrast, on the northern wall of the same room, the figures of Hera and Zeus were flanked by the commonly-venerated-together Heracles and Athena (Plates 90a, c, 91b), in a cycle propagandising family, reasoning and the virtuous life.[1659] The two thematic zones differed noticeably. Their contrasting values, though, created a setting which underlined the intentions of the painter and would evoke the sensibilities and critical thinking of the viewer.[1660]

A similar use of binary themes that projected complementary ethical values was not uncommon in Roman painting.[1661] In the case of 'Building 7 - East of Theatre', though, thematic divisions were further exaggerated by the elaborate design of Aphrodite, in which gold leaves were used for parts of the face and body.[1662] The arrangement clearly signals that the occupants wanted to pay homage to the goddess. I would be hesitant, though, to further see here, as it is sometimes suggested, a public shrine of Aphrodite. Other decorative schemes do not point in that direction, and as discussed before, building '7' most likely served a commercial purpose.[1663]

[1657] Williams and Zervos 1989, 13.

[1658] For the bird representations as paradisiac themes see: Bonini 2011, 205-223; Parrish 1997, 598; Vavlekas 2013, 241-243.

[1659] For the relationship between Athena and Hercules see among others: Deacy 2005, 37-50; Potts 2015, 112; Tuck 2015, 45; Welcker 1844, 397.

[1660] There is a growing understanding among the researchers that the paintings were not perceived by the Roman patron as mere decorative media, but also as a mean to critically and emotionally engage the viewer (Bergmann 1994, 254-255; Muth 2015, 418; Tally-Schumacher and Niemeier 2016, 49-71; Valladares 2014, 180, 195-196).

[1661] Bergmann 1994, 245-246; McKay 1975, 153; Valladares 2014, 188-190.

[1662] For the design of Aphrodite see earlier: 5.2.2.

[1663] See earlier sections 4.3.; 5.2.4.

A strong interrelationship among different wall murals can also be seen at 'Panayia Domus', in particular in the murals ornamenting the room 'A12' (Plate 92). The floating Nikai found here were standalone designs, as the two figures adopted a distinguished posture and were set on different background colours. Notwithstanding, their stylistic similarities along with their comparable size clearly suggest that they had a dialectic relationship.[1664] A comparable layout can also be seen at the house excavated in the street 'Ethnikis Antistaseos 4' in Atalanti, Boeotia. There, one of the rooms was decorated with alternatively coloured panels, all of them bearing peacocks facing in different directions.[1665] Even more important in our case is that many fragments of the paintings were found close to the northern doorposts. The latter suggests that the Nikai were likely pendants, placed in tandem, flanking the room entrance to the yard.[1666] That way, the two mythological figures would appear to crown the person, most likely the patron and prominent family members, standing at the entrance of the room.[1667]

In this regard, the décor of room 'A12' seems to embody several principles in Late Roman art. That is, the self-glorification of elites, the theatrical arrangement of the representations, and the preference for imposing settings to best project an image of power and authority.[1668] What likely diversifies our case is the patron's choice to be pursue the new Late Roman ideals, and yet keep in line with the older, conservative norms. For the murals appear to combine the manifested interest in self-presentation, with the long-held tradition of displaying Nikai at doorposts as triumphal references.[1669] A less thoughtful approach should be also considered, though, that the layout resulted as a compromise to best capitalize on the view of the northern yard through the painted entrance, to those approaching from the south (Plate 71).

Before closing this section, we should consider the relationship among the paintings and the other decorative media. There is mostly circumstantial evidence regarding this matter. In all but one case (i.e. Room 'D' of 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa

[1664] Sanders 2005b, 421.
[1665] Vavlekas 2013, 389.
[1666] Sanders 2005b, 421-426.
[1667] Sanders 2005b, 425.
[1668] For the growing popularity of the portrait designs and the ceremonial sceneries see: *General analysis*: Ellis Sim. P. 2015, 385-386; Ling 1991, 191-194; Muth 2015, 418-419; *Greece*: Vavlekas 2013, 273. For the patron's desire to present himself favourably see: Ellis Sim. P. 1991, 118-122; Saradi H. G. 2003, 57-72.
For the use of art as a propaganda tool in Late Roman period see: Swift 2009, 100-101.
[1669] For the Nikai see: Ling 1991, 17; Tybout 2001, 53.

Kokkinovrysi'), the facilities with preserved painting schemes had simple earth floors, or mosaic pavements with geometric motifs.[1670] It is probable that sometimes wall murals were conceived as an affordable way to liven up the existing decorative programme.[1671] That was likely the case for 'Panayia Domus' the Late Roman owners of which opted to install figurative murals that would contrast with the pre-existing aniconic mosaics.[1672] Other than that, it can be argued that there is no indication of any obvious stylistic or thematic collusion among the attested wall murals and the mosaic floors.

Similar problems also arise when examining comparatively the painted décor and the rest of the decorative programme of the wall surfaces. The example of 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi', where the murals imitated the marble socle reveals that sometimes projecting an image uniformity was the main issue of concern.[1673] At other times, it seems that new wall ornamentations were added with little or no regard to the pre-existing decoration.

One case that deserves further consideration comes from the 'House of the Opus Sectile' in Corinth. As we have already seen in an earlier chapter, the glass opus sectile medallion can be linked with a high degree of certainty to the painted supporting walls of the room where it was excavated.[1674] Much of the room's internal layout is still elusive.[1675] It is tempting to assume that the aquatic-themed glass medallion was associated with the painting scheme bearing figured designs. Let us here not forget that the inner wall decoration, regardless of the construction material, was generally intended to be uniform to offer the most appealing view.[1676] Moreover, a similar approach has occasionally been observed in several floor decorative compositions, from which the wall decorations commonly draw inspiration.[1677]

[1670] Shear 1930, 3-26.
[1671] For the complementary relationship of the wall murals with the floor mosaics see: Muth 2015, 415.
[1672] For the mosaics see section 5.1.2.
[1673] Shear 1930, 18.
[1674] See earlier section 5.1.7.
[1675] See: Gadbery 1993, 49-50; Oliver A. 2001, 361; Williams and Zervos 1983, 24; 1982, 134.
[1676] Dunbabin 1999, 244; Elsner 1995, 69.
[1677] Two characteristic examples would be the xenia scenes coming from St. Romain-en-Gaul and from Lod which were both placed in larger mosaic compositions (Dunbabin 1999, 75-76; 1978, 17; Ovadia and Mucznik 1998). Yet another would be the Gladiator mosaic at Zliten which incorporated in the same pavement, marble opus sectile and tesserae medallions (Dunbabin 1978, 17).

Nonetheless, the brief description of the wall murals in the 'House of the Opus Sectile' in Corinth, does not suggest a close interrelationship with the glass medallion. The complexity of the mural's design also seems to rule out that the painting scheme acted as a mere background for the glass opus sectile panel. Characteristic here is a comparison with the arrangement seen at 'Domus del Chirurgo' (Plate 78a), in Rimini and at 'Casa degli Amorini Dorati', in Pompeii. In both cases the respective parietal glass medallions link to walls either ornamented with neutral painting motifs,[1678] or with repetitive geometric designs.[1679] In this regard, a more possible scenario is that our glass panel was probably perceived as an independent pictorial, with no direct links to the wall murals.

5.2.6 Synopsis

At the beginning of this section I had three goals. The first was to trace the stylistic evolution of the wall murals exhibited in private context in Late Roman period. The second was to explore the policies of display, questioning particularly the architectural interposition and setup the examined artworks. The final goal was to trace any possible interrelationships with other decorative media, and to question whether the murals related to each other.

To meet these goals, the research considered both newly installed and pre-existing paintings associated with facilities occupied in the 3rd century AD and afterwards. The discussed artworks range chronologically from the 1st until the mid-4th century AD. During these four centuries, the most notable stylistic change concerns the transition from wet to dry plaster technique which took place in the 2nd century AD. A characteristic that is common in most of the examined painting programmes is a strong taste for classical norms, standalone figural motifs, and mythological themes. Many of the murals reveal notable Italian influences, in some cases as late as the 4th century AD. Despite that, there is little doubt that starting from the 2nd century AD and onwards, local tradition served as a principal source of inspiration for the local artists.

[1678] See 'Domus del Chirurgo-Rimini': *Glass opus sectile*: Balena and Sassi 2009, 49; Jackson 2003, 314; Ortalli 2007, 15-16; *Room & paintings*: Balena and Sassi 2009, 20-22.
[1679] See 'Casa degli Amorini Dorati-Pompeii': *Glass discs with gilded decoration*: Sogliano 1908, 35-36; *Room & paintings*: Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 23.

Most of the paintings can be linked to main household areas, usually reception and dining halls. The presence of murals can sometimes be attested in secondary working facilities. This, though, gradually come to a halt after the 3rd century AD, an indication perhaps of the widening socioeconomic divisions that characterised Late Roman Corinthian society. The available evidence does not seem to support any obvious links between the chosen themes and the function of the ornamented room. An exception are the domestic shrines which heavily utilized painted ribbons, flower garlands, and small mythological figures. The interposition of these shrines within the private quarters likely varied from case to case in terms of accessibility. In our small sample, however, it appears that most of the cultic areas with a painted décor were positioned in premises easily reached by the owner and his guests.

Finally, the interrelationship among the various painting schemes was first and foremost aimed at offering a sense of unity in the internal spaces. This frequently resulted in the use of corresponding motifs, set in a dialectic relationship with each other. The same desire for coherency can be also seen when comparatively examining the paintings with the rest of the wall ornamentations. That, though, did not exclude the occasional presence of other artworks with little or no relationship to the painted schemes. More difficult to trace are any connections between the wall murals and the floor pavements. On several occasions, figurative wall paintings were likely added to offset for the non-figured geometric mosaics, but there are no direct links between them.

§ 5.3 Case study 3 – Statuary assemblages

5.3.1 Introduction

The study of statuary displayed in private contexts during the Imperial and Late Roman period in Corinthia presents many challenges. While many sculptural assemblages have been excavated across the region, only a handful of them can be connected to houses or workshops.[1680] Moreover, the original interposition and placement of the artworks

[1680] For the sculpture in Imperial and Late Roman Corinthia see among others: Brown A. 2012, 141-176; 2008, 104-116; Davidson 1952, 9-68; Deligiannakis 2013, 108-114; Johnson 1931, 148-155; Ridgway 1981, 422-448; Stirling 2008, 136-140; Sturgeon 2003, 351-368; 1989, 114-121; Palagia 2010, 434-437; De Grazia-Vanderpool 2003, 369-384.

within the private premises is often unknown.[1681] Finally, several of the collections in question have not been fully published which has greatly plagued the analysis of the private statuary collections.

Despite these problems, the study of the published archive can still provide some insight into the cultural tastes and values of Late Roman house owners, as well as their social level and economic conditions. In order to present the data, in the following pages I will first discuss the distribution of the private collections across the region and their relevant socioeconomic context. Following that, I will investigate the issue of acquisition. The chapter then will switch to the attested thematic range of the artworks before concluding with their location within the domestic facilities. During that process any likely religious or cultural connotations will be examined, and questions will be raised about the social aspirations of the patrons.

5.3.2 The evolution of the private statuary collections: Eclectic aesthetics of a dwindling consumer base

In recent decades, the private statuary collections of Roman Corinthia have been the subject of intense, but fragmented research. In her works, Lea Stirling has focused on three assemblages, namely those from the 'Shop North of Panayia Field', the 'Mosaic House', and the 'Panayia Domus'.[1682] Catherine Person, for her part,[1683] examined the Panayia assemblage, and the statuary from 'Pr. Mavragani', 'Building 5 - East of Theatre', 'Building 7 - East of Theatre', and the building complex at the northern quay of Kenchreai.[1684] Similar was also the research sample considered by Maria Papaioannou in her study on the interior furnishing of Corinthian households.[1685] She

[1681] This has been a recurrent problem in the study of private sculpture collections across the Roman Empire (Stirling 2005, 16-19).
[1682] Stirling 2017, 103-105; 2009, 257-262; 2008, 133.
[1683] Person 2012, B4-B6.
[1684] In addition to the above, Person considers also the statuary found at 'Imperial Roman Cellar Building', 'Early Roman Atrium House - Annex to Temple E' and the 'House of the Opus Sectile' (Person 2012, B5). I do not examine these collections, as all three come from the early occupational levels and none remained visible after the 1st century AD (De Grazia and Williams 1977, 61-62; Robinson H. S. 1968b, 135; Williams and Zervos 1983, 18-20). For similar reasons I exclude from this study the statuary fragments found at the 'Gymnasium Bronze Foundry' and at 'Pr. Vathi'. The first was allegedly in operation only in the Imperial Roman period, while the statuary from 'Pr. Vathi' most likely come from an earlier Classical deposit (Mattusch 1991, 389; Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988h, 105).
[1685] Papaioannou 2002, 152-156.

went further, though, to hypothesize that several of the hekataia,[1686] and the portraits excavated at Corinth likely belonged to private collections.[1687]

I would argue that the number of statuary assemblages from across the region, that link with some certainty to private facilities occupied between the 3rd and the 6th century AD is significantly higher.[1688] Among them we should include the marble statuette (Plate 100a) of Aphrodite (**S2548**), along with the clay statuettes (Plates 100b, d) of Dionysus-Harpocrates (**MF9035**) and Zeus / Hadis (**MF9034**), found in the impoverished 'Shop North of Panayia Field'.[1689] In the nearby 'Panayia Domus', the excavations revealed nine marble statuettes (Plates 98-99). These represented Artemis (**S1999-09**, **S1999-010**), Asclepius (**S1999-008**, **S1999-12**), Roma (**S1997-007**), Dionysus (**S1999-11**), Herakles (**S1999-002**), Europa/Sosandra (**S1999-004**), and Pan (**S1999-014**).[1690] Similarly extensive was the collection of clay figurines retrieved from 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' (Plates 101b-f, 102), that probably had some commercial function.[1691] The sculpture collection here concerns two separate assemblages.[1692] The one beneath the last occupational floor included terracotta theatrical masks (Plate 101b-f), a draped Aphrodite with a Pan (**MF 1985-12**), an Aphrodite of the Knidian type (**MF 1985-25**), a torso of an Aphrodite (**MF 1985-14**), and a hunting Artemis (**MF 1985-15**). The second stood (Plate 102) amid the destruction layers of the last occupational phase. This included a bust of Athena (**MF 1983-41**), two Aphrodite figurines (**MF 1985-47**, **MF 1985-48**), and two canine figurines (**MF 1985-49**, **MF1985-50**). Very similar to the these, is another dog figurine found on the last occupational floor of 'Building 7 - East of Theatre' (Plate 101a),[1693] which at the time functioned as a commercial establishment.[1694]

In the Agora area of Corinth, a marble statuette of Europa-Aspasia was excavated in the 'Mosaic House' (Plate 97d).[1695] It was found broken in two pieces with

[1686] For the Corinthian hekataia see: Ridgway 1981, 431.
[1687] Papaioannou 2002, 154.
[1688] Tables C1-4.
[1689] Broneer 1947, 244-245.
[1690] Stirling 2008, 91-125.
[1691] For the facility see earlier section 4.3.
[1692] For the sculpture see: Williams 2005, 229-231; Williams and Zervos 1989, 12; 1986,154-157; 1984, 90.
[1693] Williams 2005, 240; 1989, 12.
[1694] For the facility see earlier section 4.3.
[1695] Ridgway 1981, 442; Stirling 2017, 103-105; 2008, 133.

the first located above the mosaic floor of the northernmost room (**S1897**),[1696] and the second amid the destruction fill (**S1904**).[1697] Two marble statuettes, one representing Serapis (**S 1457**) and the other Isis (**S 1458**), were further excavated in the 5th century AD residence that occupied the area next to the Hemicycle building, along the Lechaeon Road (Plate 97a-b).[1698] In the greater city area, a fragment of a clay statuette of a Satyr (**MF8621**) along with 4th century AD coins have been found in the Roman levels of the 'Greek Tile Works', when that site functioned as a workshop or farm.[1699] The many clay masks and figurines found on the floor of the *sacellum* at 'Pr. Mavragani' with little doubt also constitute a domestic assemblage.[1700] The same applies for the sculptures coming from 'Pr. I. M. Lekka', which included a lower torso, a marble relief depicting a warrior, and a marble head of a man from a herm.[1701]

Moving to rural Corinthia, three domestic assemblages are attested from the period examined here. The first includes a statue of a little girl (Plate 103d) and of an Eros riding a fast-swimming dolphin (Plate 103c) from the elaborate villa 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias', in Loutraki.[1702] A figure "*of unspecified type*" was also reported in room 3 (counting from northwest) of the 2nd century AD Roman farm erected over the West Court in Perachora.[1703] The most extended private statuary assemblage from the rural territories, was recorded at 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara' in Nemea. Here chance works at the site of the villa revealed a base bearing the lower leg of a statue, a base bearing the legs of a dog (Plate 103a), and a torso of a young man wearing a himation (Plate 103b).[1704]

In addition to all the above collections, I would consider that several other assemblages may have originated from private contexts. Here we can note the male portrait head (**S 2007 1**), and the clay figurines (**MF 2013 15**; **MF 2013 22**) of a male (Asclepius?) and of a female holding an infant found at 'North Nezi Field' in Corinth (Plate 100c, e-f). All three have been traced to 4th century AD destruction layers there,

[1696] Corinth Notebook *NB 142*, 178-179.
[1697] Corinth Notebook *NB 142*, 68-69.
[1698] See: ***Serapis (S 1457)***: Broneer 1926, 56-57; Brown A. 2008, 116; Milleker 1985, 123-124; Smith D. E. 1977, 224-225; ***Isis (S 1458)***: Corinth Notebook *NB 88*, 26.
[1699] Corinth Notebook *NB 185*, 117.
[1700] Blackman 1998-1999, 21; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A11; Zafeiropoulou 1998, 70.
[1701] Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292-293.
[1702] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 40-51; 2013b 186-187; 2013c, 183-185; 2012, 77-78.
[1703] Coulton 1967, 363.
[1704] Charitonidis 1968a, 125; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 74.

which in turn may imply that these are to be associated with the contemporary workshop, perhaps a bronze foundry, found at the site.[1705] A statue representing either Dionysus or a draped female (**S 1294**), and another of a poet (**S 1183**) found in a Roman destruction layer sealed beneath an Early Christian church,[1706] may also have originated from a private collection.[1707]

Another likely case might come from the 'Brick Building' at the northern quay of Kenchreai which was probably also privately owned. There among the finds were several figurines that might be associated with Aphrodite.[1708] The site, though, does not provide a detailed chronological sequence and its exact function is enigmatic.[1709] Finally, the statuettes excavated at 'Thalero-Sicyon',[1710] and the 'Settlement East of Temenos - East Field' might also have been parts of private collections (Plate 104).[1711] In that direction, points the nearby presence of a cistern along with ample domestic pottery at Thalero (Plate 105a) and the excavation of several hearths at East Field.[1712] In both cases, though, the exact character of the corresponding building facilities is either unknown or disputed (Plate 105b-e).[1713]

All things considered, it is evident that several sculpture assemblages from across the region originated from Late Roman private contexts. A question then that comes into mind, is how these collecting efforts evolved from the 3rd to the 6th century

[1705] Broome-Raines 2007; Erny and Joy 2013; Harrington and Kopestonsky 2007; Morgan 2014a; Sapoutzidis 2007.
[1706] Brown A. 2008, 169; Corinth Notebook *NB 77*, 146-150; Johnson 1931, 93; Sturgeon 2003, 354-355.
[1707] Amelia Brown has further suggested that the small bust (**S 1210**) may have also came from that collection (Brown A. 2008, 169).
[1708] See: Scranton and Ramage 1967a, 149.
[1709] See the earlier section 4.6.2.
[1710] Lolos 2011, 496.
[1711] The assemblage included overall six sculptures: A 2nd century AD head of Poseidon or Zeus (**IS 71-2**). A 2nd century AD head of Hermes (**IS 71-1**). A 2nd century AD female head probably of a maenad (**IS 71-3**). A relief (*stela*) of twin-figured Cybeles probably Hellenistic (**IS 71-4**). A 2nd century AD unfinished relief of Asclepius, Teleshorus and Hygeia (**IS 71-5**). Finally, a three-figured relief of nymphs (**IS 71-6**), probably Imperial Roman (Catling 1971-1972, 8; Clement 1976, 228-229; Gregory 2013, 277-278; 2010, 458-459; Michaud 1972, 630-633; Rothaus 2000, 123-124).
[1712] See: *East Field*: Clement 1977, 145; *Thalero*: Lolos 2011, 496.
[1713] For the East Field particularly see the earlier section 3.8 and the following pages of this chapter. For site 'Thalero' see the following page. A general bibliography here includes among others: *East Field - General analysis*: Ellis S. G. R. *et al*. 2008; Clement 1976, 224-230; Gregory 2013, 275-284; Rife 2012, 113-143; *East Field – The identification as settlement*: Clement 1977, 145; Marty-Peppers 1979, 215; Marty 1993, 123; Michaud 1972, 631-635; Pettegrew 2016b, 225-227; Rothaus 2000, 88-92; Lindros Wohl 1993, 130; *East Field identification as cultic/lodging area related to the temple*: Stirling 2005, 199; Stumpf 2003, 377-378; '*Thalero'*: Lolos 2011, 496.

AD? Beginning with the capital city, Corinth, a first significant change can be noted during the late-3rd / early-4th century AD. For reasons not fully understood, several facilities bearing statuary assemblages went out of use during that period.[1714] Among them we note the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'.[1715] Possibly also to be included here are the 'Shop North of Panayia Field' and the nearby commercial establishment found at the north part of Nezi Field, although the destruction of the latter has only vaguely been assigned to the early-4th century AD.[1716] More promising instead would be the case of the 'Shop North of Panayia Field', which was reportedly abandoned sometime between the mid-3rd and the mid-4th century AD.

What is common in all the collections from facilities that went out of use in the late-3rd / early-4th century AD, is that they mostly concerned clay figurines of low artistic quality, and that they link to small workshops or *tabernae*. Nonetheless, extended statuary collections continued to be present in the private sphere during the same era. This is best showcased by the 9 statuettes that adorned the 'Panayia Domus' in Corinth during the 3rd and 4th centuries AD.[1717]

The ensuing destruction of the elaborate Panayia complex in the mid-4th century AD and the abandonment not long afterwards of the 'Mosaic House', marked a notable downward trend in the presence of statues in domestic contexts.[1718] Nonetheless, the statuary fragments found within the destruction layers of two residential compounds still occupied in the 5th century AD,[1719] strongly imply that some sculpture collections remained on display during that period.[1720] We refer here particularly to a bust (Plate 97a-b) of Serapis (**S 1457**) and to a torso of Isis (**S 1458**) excavated within the late-4th /

[1714] See earlier section 3.1.
[1715] See earlier section 3.1.
[1716] See: '*Shop North of Panayia Field'*: Sanders 1999 *contra* Gregory 2010; Stirling 2008; *'North Nezi Field*: 'Broome-Raines 2007; Erny and Joy 2013; Harrington and Kopestonsky 2007; Morgan 2014a; Sapoutzidis 2007.
[1717] Bonini 2006, 322; Brown A. 2018, 45-47; Gregory 2010, 453-454; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 287-336; Person 2012, A10; Pettegrew 2016, 215; 2006, 339-341; Sanders 2014, 486-487; 2013b, 381-383; 2009, 200-202; 2005a, 151-152; 2005b, 419-442; 2004, 163-194; 1999, 441-480; Slane and Sanders 2005, 243-297; Stirling 2008; 89-161; Sweetman and Sanders 2005.
[1718] For the abandonment of the corresponding housing units see the earlier section 3.1.
[1719] See: '*Pr. I.M. Lekka'*: Biers 2003, 309; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292-293; '*House next to the Hemicycle'*: Avramea 2012, 148; 1983, 52; Brady 1940, 61-69; Broneer 1926, 49-57; Brown A. 2018, 56; 2008, 114; 134-136; Milleker 1985, 121-135; Rothaus 2000, 25-26; Saradi H. G. 2006, 240; Scranton 1957, 8-16; Stillwell 1932, 144-147.
[1720] For the facilities see earlier section 3.1.

early-5th century AD residence that occupied the area next to the Hemicycle building, in Corinth.[1721] The statuettes were found in the back rooms of the housing unit.[1722] It is unclear, however, how these connect to the Late Roman facility. The excavation report only vaguely referred to the artworks, which apparently came from a debris layer, along with several Byzantine coins.[1723]

Much more obscure is the picture from contemporary rural Corinthia. The statuary retrieved from 'Thalero - Sicyon' and from the East Field in Isthmia might suggest that some private collections had probably been discarded already by the end of the Imperial Roman period. A possible disposal seems to fit especially at Thalero, where a small head of Hercules was found in an underground, cistern-like facility accessible by steps (Plate 105a). The area has not been thoroughly surveyed, and thus it remains unknown why the statue ended up there.[1724] I would cautiously propose, though, that the artwork's placement does not mark a concealment effort, nor cultic activities, but a clean-up. For there are no obvious signs of votive offerings in the surrounding area, while the accessible design of the cistern would do little to conceal the artwork.[1725]

Nonetheless, the example of the rural villa at Tritos in Nemea reveals that elegant statues could still find their way into the private realm well into the Late Roman period.[1726] What is most interesting in the Tritos assemblage is that all sculptures were life-sized. The presence of full-size statues has also been attested in the rural villa at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra' while a life-sized male head was deposited in the 4th century AD just outside the building facility at 'North Nezi Field'.[1727] They were overwise rarely employed, though, as most domestic sculpture assemblages were constituted of small statuettes.

[1721] See: ***Serapis (S 1457)***: Broneer 1926, 56-57; Brown A. 2008, 116; Milleker 1985, 123-124; Smith D. E. 1977, 224-225; ***Isis (S 1458)***: Corinth Notebook *NB 88*, 26.
[1722] Broneer 1926, 56-57; Brown A. 2008, 116.
[1723] Corinth Notebook *NB 88*, 25-26; 29-30.
[1724] Lolos 2011, 496.
[1725] A similar case has been also recorded at Katounistra, where two statues had been thrown at the hypocaust, apparently as cleaning debris, or with the prospect that they would be recycled or reused at some point later (Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 183).
[1726] For the facility see the earlier sections 3.4.6; 3.7.
[1727] See: '*Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'*: Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 40-51; 2013b 186-187; 2013c, 183-185; 2012, 77-78; '*North Nezi Field'*: Harrington and Kopestonsky 2007; Morgan 2014a; Sapoutzidis 2007.

Something that comes forward from all the domestic sculpture assemblages in both urban and rural areas, is that after the 4th century AD only wealthy households were seemingly interested in statuary artworks. This development without a doubt reflects broader socioeconomic phenomena. The widening economic inequality across the region during the Late Roman period probably meant that only the wealthier could afford to acquire statuary.[1728] Growing social divisions would also mean that fewer citizens were influenced by classical *paideia*, one of the main driving forces behind the accumulation of statuary in private contexts.[1729]

Shifting religious beliefs, though, probably also played their part here. The clay statuettes that by and large dominated the statuary assemblages of middle-class households, undoubtedly had more cult meaning than aesthetic value.[1730] The slow decay of pagan religion after the 4th century AD, though, meant that it was less likely for pagan ritual objects to find their way into the Corinthian households. As a result, the collection of statuary became less common in the Late Roman period, and the total number of sculpture assemblages in domestic contexts declined.

Despite this slowdown, good quality sculptures destined for private collections still continued to be circulated and marketed in Corinthia during the Late Roman period. That is evident when examining the statuary collection from 'Panayia Domus' in Corinth. This included several marble statuettes sculpted roughly at the time of the villa's commission, or shortly afterwards.[1731] The contemporary dating implies that the statuettes were newly acquired, suggesting in turn that an active art trade took place up until the 4th century AD when the statues were made.[1732]

Another likely case concerns the statuary from 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara' in rural Nemea, where the life-size statues also predate the facility.[1733] The facility was constructed most likely in the Late Roman period, whereas the statues date from the Imperial Roman era or earlier, as in the case of the marble base with the dog representation.[1734] The above make Tritos' assemblage a good candidate for a presumed

[1728] See also the sections 3.1; 3.2; 3.7; 5.4.
[1729] For the impact of classical *paideia* in the private statuary collections see following sections 5.3.3, 5.3.4.
[1730] See below section 5.3.3.
[1731] Stirling 2008, 147-150.
[1732] Stirling 2008, 135.
[1733] Charitonidis 1968a, 125.
[1734] Charitonidis 1968a, 125; Kritzas 1976, 212-214; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 74.

Late Roman purchase to ornament the newly erected villa. Statues were after all a common trade item, as is attested also elsewhere in Southern Greece.[1735] We ought to remember, though, that distinguishing between heirlooms and new acquisitions remains a difficult task.[1736] In that respect, in the absence of any relevant epigraphic data an art trade scenario cannot be confirmed for the Tritos' assemblage.

It is possible that the trade of statues for private display continued into the following century. This continuity would correspond to the manufacture of honorific statues which reportedly remained in production and circulation in the region well into the 5th century AD.[1737] Two likely cases would concern the statuettes of Isis (**S1458**) and the head of Serapis (**S1457**) found in the fill above the 'House next to the Hemicycle'.[1738] As we saw earlier on, though, it is unclear how the broken sculptures correlate with the rest facility.

5.3.3 Acquisition, workshops & possible cult significance

Several of sculptures displayed in private context appear to be imported. We can refer here to the Panayia collection which bears strong stylistic similarities to comparable Athenian artworks (Plates 98-99).[1739] Another similar case is the broken statue of Europa-Sosandra found at the 'Mosaic House' in Corinth (Plate 97d), which has also been attributed to an Athenian workshop.[1740]

The import of Athenian statuettes is not surprising. Research has demonstrated that as far as sculptures go, Corinth was "*a consumer rather than a creative centre*" throughout the Roman period.[1741] Athens undoubtably dominated this trade with Corinth. Many Athenian artworks found their way into public areas and monuments, and even some of the sculptors that operated in Corinthia during the era have been identified as Athenians.[1742]

[1735] Stirling 2005, 169-210; Videbech 2015, 456-457.
[1736] For a general discussion about the distinction between heirlooms and newly acquired statues see: Stirling 2007, 308-309; 2005, 183.
[1737] See: Deligiannakis 2013, 108-114; De Grazia-Vanderpool 2003, 381-382.
[1738] Broneer 1926, 56-57; Brown A. 2018, 56; 2008, 114; 134-136; Milleker 1985, 121-135.
[1739] Katakis 2012, 114; Stirling 2009, 257-262; 2008, 106.
[1740] Ridgway 1981, 442.
[1741] De Grazia-Vanderpool 2003, 373-374.
[1742] Palagia 2010, 434-437; Sturgeon 1989, 114-115.

Another production centre that fuelled the Corinthian market appears to have been Egypt.[1743] We can refer here to the Serapis head found at the 'House next to the Hemicycle' in Corinth (Plate 97a-c), which bears many stylistic similarities to analogous Egyptian artworks.[1744] The terracotta statuettes of Zeus-Hades and Dionysus-Harpocrates from the 'Shop North of Panayia Field' in Corinth have also been linked to Egyptian workshops due to their theme and fabric colour (Plate 100b, d).[1745] A possible Egyptian lineage is far from certain for these two, though. The colour of Roman terracotta statuettes typically varied even within the same region, and thus is hardly indicative of their origin.[1746] At the same time, the fusion in the iconographies of Harpocrates and Dionysus, while arguably common in Egypt, can also be attested elsewhere across the Roman world.[1747] Moreover, the Athenian coroplasts, who by and large dominated the Corinthian market, frequently imitated their Egyptian peers, making it thus even harder to confirm a possible Egyptian origin.[1748]

Next to the imported statuary we can occasionally see sculptures most likely of local origin. Although Corinthia might lack suitable sources of stone, local workshops could count on alternative materials from Asia Minor, Naxos, Paros, Thasos and Attica.[1749] This laid the cornerstone for a local industry of stone sculptures that continued up until the 5th century AD.[1750] Distinctive characteristics of Corinthian artworks are a reduced plasticity and limited drilling, chisel work that lacks fine details, and lightly polished surfaces.[1751]

Another possible indicator of local origin is the occasional presence of sculptures that were not completed.[1752] This was on occasion likely due to flaws in the stone or chiselling errors common in a workshop environment.[1753] Two possible cases

[1743] For the art trade between Egypt and Corinth see: Ridgway 1981, 429; Sturgeon 2003, 356-35.
[1744] Milleker 1985, 127; Sturgeon 2003, 357.
[1745] Broneer 1947, 246; Gregory 2010, 454.
[1746] Török 1995, 17-19.
[1747] See: *Roman world*: Cristea 2013, 80-84; *Egypt*: Török 1995, 21-24, 73, 78-79, 81, 124.
[1748] See: Davidson 1952, 21; Grandjouan 1961, 3.
[1749] Sturgeon 2003, 358.
[1750] Brown A. 2008, 110-115.
[1751] Sturgeon 2003, 356-362; 1989, 114-115.
[1752] For the understanding of the unfinished statues as products of local workshops see among others: Brown A. 2008, 110-115; De Grazia-Vanderpool 2003, 375; Katakis 2018, 84; 2002, 313-315; Palagia 2010, 434; Sturgeon 2015, 525; 2003, 361-363; 1989, 115-116.
[1753] Note for example that the presence of unfinished statues, together with emery polishing basins, marble chips and dust are recurrent in several recognized Athenian sculpture workshops found in and around the Agora of Athens (Lawton 2006, 13-23; Sturgeon 2015, 525).

of locally produced statuary that might have been displayed in domestic context may be seen in the sculpture assemblage from the East Field in Isthmia.[1754] These are a three-figured stele (**IS 71-6**) showing nymphs (Plate 104e), and a three-figured stele (**IS 71-5**) showing Asclepius, Hygeia, and Telephoros (Plate 104f). Both reliefs date from the Imperial Roman period and have been attributed to local sculptors because they were crudely chiselled and incomplete, lacking a final refinement.[1755]

However, we ought to acknowledge here that the Roman period saw a heightened adoption of sculptures, that "*had not been taken to the final stages*".[1756] Whereas some of them were probably left unfinished, other examples should be best understood as 'half-wrought', the difference being that the latter were still destined to fulfil their original role regardless of the completion stage.[1757] These 'half-wrought' sculptures could be widely adopted for both civic and domestic contexts,[1758] and on occasion could even be exported across the sea.[1759] In the Isthmia case, I would argue that the concealment of the sculptures suggests that they were prized possessions.[1760] This rules out a scenario that the sculptures were undesired products of some Corinthian workshop, but it does not necessarily answer the question origin.

More indicative instead of local origin, is the practice of extended repair or even the total recarving of statues from earlier sculpture pieces. Recarving from earlier statuary pieces is attested in Corinthia and other regions already from the Imperial Roman period, but became more widespread in the Late Roman period,[1761] particularly in "*marble-poor cities"* like Corinth.[1762] It typically involved large artworks destined for public display and chiefly aimed at cutting the expenses.[1763] However, the changing

[1754] As we have already seen, the exact character of 'Settlement East of temenos - East field' is unknown, therefore it is unclear whether the collection should count as private (See earlier sections 3.8; 5.3.2 and the following 5.3.5). For the assemblage see previous section 5.3.2.
[1755] Lattimore 1996, 43-50.
[1756] Katakis 2018, 83.
[1757] For the distinction see: Katakis 2018, 83-84.
[1758] Katakis 2018, 83-86; 2002, 315-317.
[1759] An example here appears to be a half-wrought Attic sarcophagus found in Cyprus (Katakis 2018, 89).
[1760] For the concealment effort see later section 5.3.5.
[1761] See: *General analysis*: Varner 2015, 123-135; Witschel 2005, 334-335; *Corinthia*: Brown A. 2012, 168-169; 2008, 110-115; Sturgeon 1989, 116-117.
[1762] Brown A. 2012, 169.
[1763] Brown A. 2012, 164; Stirling 2005, 169.

Late Roman aesthetics and ideological reasons might have also contributed to this trend.[1764]

Occasionally, smaller stone statuettes or even the molds of inexpensive clay figurines were also reworked.[1765] One such case concerns the terracotta statuettes (Plate 102e, f) found amid the destruction layers of the last occupational phase at 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' in Corinth.[1766] These were crudely made from badly worn and reworked molds, but still considered good enough to be circulated and sold despite their compromised aesthetics. Contrary to other similarly crude but more high-cost stone artworks, a cost-minded approach seems unlikely for our inexpensive clay statuettes. An alternative suggestion put forward by Charles Williams that saw the reworking as a sign of pagan retreat is also problematic.[1767] That is because there is no noticeable pagan decline in Corinthia during the 3rd century AD.[1768] The hypothesis also fails to consider that cult statues of good quality could still find their way into domestic contexts a century later, as is clearly seen from the example of the 'Panayia Domus'.[1769] I would argue instead that the choice here more likely reflects a contemporary qualitative and quantitative drop in the figurine industry, and the unquestionable involvement of struggling local artisans. This decline, observable at both Corinth and Athens, became more pronounced the following centuries.[1770] Nonetheless, the military raids and the economic hardships of the 3rd century AD had already kickstarted this process at the time when the statuettes from Building '5' were produced.

The above-mentioned Panayia collection was not the only Late Roman statuary assemblage from a private context with a cultic significance. Most of the collections included pagan-themed statues, which leaves open the possibility that the sculptures signified household gods. A careful approach is needed here, however, since theme

[1764] Varner 2015, 127-128; Videbech 2015, 455-456.
[1765] This is the case for example of a 1st century AD enthroned female statuette coming from Epidaurus, which was partially chiselled and repaired likely in the late-3rd century AD (Katakis 2002, 316). From the same area come also several small marble statuettes of Aphrodite and Artemis, repaired at some later period to complete broken or worn out parts (Katakis 2002, 316).
[1766] Williams 2005, 231-232; Williams and Zervos 1989, 12; 1986,154-157; 1984, 90.
[1767] Williams 2005, 235.
[1768] See earlier section 4.3.
[1769] Sanders 2005b, 424; Stirling 2008, 130.
[1770] For the decline of the figurine industry see: *Athens*: Erlich 2015, 164; Grandjouan 1961, 4; *Corinth*: Davidson 1952, 21-22.

alone is not always indicative of religious practices.[1771] Under the influence of classical *paideia*, pagan sculptures were widely adopted as decorative means even by Christian households.[1772] Cultic use instead should be considered only when there is a concentration of small statuettes and when votive offerings, shrines or sacrifices are found close by.[1773] The representation of apocryphal Eastern deities can also point in that direction, for their worship demanded secrecy.[1774] Lastly a ritual character should be expected for the small, often crudely carved, terracotta statuettes of pagan deities. These had commonly little or no artistic merit and must have been reserved for cultic purposes, even if on occasion they might have a parallel decorative function.[1775]

These parameters are rarely fulfilled altogether in the Corinthian collections.[1776] Nonetheless, I would cautiously argue that seven of the statuary assemblages examined here likely did have ritual use.[1777] This might be an understatement, since other collections could also be cult-oriented, but cannot be confirmed as such. In her study, Catherine Person lists as cultic also the statuettes found at the building complex on the northern quay of Kenchreai.[1778] Her proposal certainly merits consideration, but unfortunately the statuettes remain unpublished. The above-disclosed sculpture deposit from the 'Settlement East of Temenos - East Field' has also been related to cult activities.[1779] As we have already seen, though, the interpretation of the corresponding building complex is problematic. Other possible candidates are the pagan statuettes from site 'Thalero - Loutro',[1780] the 'Mosaic House',[1781] and the 'House next to the

[1771] Some researchers have even gone as far as to completely denounced any religious connotations. Speaking about the statues found in the domestic context in and around the city of Patras, Ioannis Papastolou considered that given the great number of Classical copies, "*…to approach the statues of Gods coming from villas in Patras* (…) *as linked to attested or suggestive cults, is fruitless*" (Papapostolou 2014, 256).

[1772] See: *Classical paideia in General*: Cameron 1993, 130-136; *Classical paideia & statuary*: Caseau 2011, 480; Elsner 1998, 106-113; Kousser 2008, 128-129; Kristensen 2010, 267-272; Leone 2013, 133-136; Stirling 2014b, 96-104, 107-110; 2005, 23-28; 138-163 1996, 136; *Rome:* Anghel 2015, 372-374; *N. Africa*: Leone 2013, 136-139.

[1773] Bonini 2011, 215; Stirling 2008, 130; 2005, 224-226.

[1774] Stirling 2005, 24.

[1775] Bartman 1991, 79; 87; Person 2012, 182.

[1776] See also earlier section 5.2.4.

[1777] See Tables C1-4: 'Panayia Domus'; 'Building 5 - East of Theatre'; 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'; 'Shop North of Panayia Field'; 'Pr. Mavragani'; 'North Nezi Field'; 'Perachora - Farm over the West Court'.

[1778] Person 2012, B7.

[1779] Gregory 2013, 277-278; Pettegrew 2016b, 226-227.

[1780] Lolos 2011, 496.

[1781] Ridgway 1981, 442; Stirling 2017, 103-105; 2008, 133.

Hemicycle'.[1782] In each case, however, only a few artworks have been found, and their context of display is unknown. Finally, the fragmented herm found at 'Pr. I. M. Lekka' could also have religious significance.[1783] That is because according to Greek tradition herms commonly had a sacral character.[1784] The generic use of herms purely as décor in the Western Empire, though, means that we cannot rule out a similar use here.[1785]

Understandably in all these assemblages the Greek pantheon appears to be the most popular subject for depiction.[1786] The Eastern deities, and particularly the cult of Isis, also found their way into many households.[1787] This comes as no surprise considering how well-established the cult of the Egyptian gods was in Roman Corinthia.[1788] We ought also not to forget that the cult of Isis was very popular in domestic contexts across the Roman world.[1789]

One distinct subgroup would be the terracotta dog rattles retrieved from the 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre' (Plates 101a, 102a, c).[1790] Rattles were widely adopted by Greco-Roman households to cover a range of needs from toys, to funerary rites and votive offerings.[1791] The ones from buildings '5' and '7' were found among other votive offerings, which strongly suggest that they had a religious purpose.[1792]

Some have also gone further to propose that the several dog-shaped rattles might be associated with the Egyptian gods and the "*notion of fertility*".[1793] Canines were of course customary as zoomorphic statuettes, and one of the most popular themes seen in the Greek clay rattles of the era.[1794] Considering, though, that the examples from

[1782] Broneer 1926, 56-57; Brown A. 2008, 116; Milleker 1985, 123-124; Smith D. E. 1977, 224-225.
[1783] Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292-293.
[1784] Person 2012, 306.
[1785] For more details see following section 5.3.4.
[1786] See Tables C1-4: 'House next to the Hemicycle'; 'Mosaic House'; 'Panayia Domus'; 'Building 5 - East of Theatre'; 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'; 'Thalero - Loutro'; 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'.
[1787] See Tables C1-4: 'Shop North of Panayia Field'; 'North Nezi Field'.
[1788] Concannon 2017, 165-166; Bricault and Veymiers 2007; Smith D. E. 1977.
[1789] Sofroniew 2015, 108; 111-121.
[1790] See: '*Building 5 - East of Theatre*': Williams and Zervos 1989, 12; 1986,154-157; 1984, 90; '*Building 7 - East of Theatre*': Williams and Zervos 1989, 12; 1988, 127 1987, 29-31.
[1791] Dasen 2010, 311; 2004, 127-139; Harlow 2013, 325-327.
[1792] Williams 2005, 232.
[1793] Williams 2005, 240.
[1794] The zoomorphic rattles and particularly canines appear to be very popular in Southern Greece staring from the 3rd century AD and throughout the Late Roman period (Grandjouan 1961, 25-26; 65; 66; Person 2012, 179; 272; Pittarakis 2009, 220-222). Stylistically close to the dog representations

buildings '5' and '7' had undoubtedly a religious purpose, it is probable that this might have been related to Egyptian cults. More specifically, in the Egyptian calendar the heliacal rising of Sirius, the brightest star at *Canis Major* constellation, corresponded with the annual floods of the Nile.[1795] This led ancient Egyptians to associate canines with Isis as the cult of the latter was conflated with that of personified Sirius (Sopdet-Sothis), and to further see dogs as an allegory of fertility and abundance.[1796]

Bearing that in mind, it is possible that dog rattles at buildings '5' and '7' signify a certain devotion towards the Mother Goddess and practising fertility rites. The scenario looks even more promising when considering that the rest rattles from building '5' were female and anthropomorphic. In the Greco-Roman world, the image of an encapsulated ball was widely seen as a metaphor for pregnancy, and the anthropomorphic rattles may relate to this symbolism.[1797] In our case, an allegoric reference to fertility arguably would not be well suited for the statuette of Athena, the famous virgin Goddess. It would be fit, though, for the two statuette-rattles of Aphrodite, since the latter was sometimes portrayed as pregnant.[1798]

Another sculpture from private context that may be associated with the notion of fertility is the baby Harpocrates from the assemblage found at 'Shop North of Panayia Field' (Plate 100b). The god was understood as child protector, and therefore his iconography became very popular for the domestic setting, while images of his, have been even associated with fecundity rites.[1799]

It is unclear when the last statuary collection with religious significance was established in Late Roman Corinthia. What can be argued is that cult statuettes kept being purposely amassed in the private context during the 4th century AD, as the paradigm of Panayia collection suggests.[1800] A similar adoption of lararia is attested in various areas of the Empire during that period.[1801] It is further possible that the practice carried on into the following century, when the 'House next to the Hemicycle' was

seen at the buildings '5' and '7' is a clay statuette (**MF3347**) found in Corinth that likely functioned also as a rattle (Davidson 1952, 62).

[1795] Török 1995, 172-173; Williams 2005, 240.

[1796] Török 1995, 172-173.

[1797] Dasen 2013, 29-30; 2004, 127-139.

[1798] See: Dasen 2013, 30.

[1799] Dasen 2009, 213-214; Török 1995, 21.

[1800] Gregory 2010, 454; Sanders 2005, 441.

[1801] Gazda 2015, 385-386.

established. That would bring Corinth in line with Athens, where the domestic worship of pagan deities continued well into the 5th century AD.[1802] It is unknown, though, whether the statues of Isis and Serapis found in the back rooms of the 'House next to the Hemicycle' in Corinth were cult-related or had a strictly decorative function despite their apocryphal subject.

5.3.4 The thematic range

One characteristic feature of the statuary assemblages from private contexts is their wide thematic range, which spread from mythological statuettes, to masks, herms and full-sized ideal statues. This is not surprising since diversity was common in Late Roman domestic statuary collections.[1803] Despite the plurality in scales and subjects, all the assemblages seem to respond to certain core ideas, namely a striving for triumph and social acceptance, an interest in ideal beauty, and a love for the good life.[1804]

This is most evident when examining the range of mythological-related statuettes. Copies related to Aphrodite, Artemis, Asclepius, Dionysus, Hermes, Herakles, and Europe recurrently appear in domestic contexts across the region. Representations of Pan, Zeus, Roma, Serapis and Isis have been also recorded, although in fewer numbers (Tables C1-4). This thematic range might have been influenced by the popularity of certain deities in the region. We can refer for example to the statuettes of Asclepius found in 'Panayia Domus', which as a subject was more popular for private collections in the Eastern than the Western Mediterranean (Plates 98, 99c).[1805]

Other examples are the Aphrodite representations from 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and from 'Shop North of Panayia Field'. The goddess was certainly much beloved across the region during the Roman period.[1806] A recent study by Catherine Person of a sample of 274 Roman figurines from various contexts, concluded that

[1802] See: Stirling 2005, 210.
[1803] See: Bartman 1991, 71-73; Gazda 2015, 375; Kaufmann-Heinimann 2002, 108; Stirling 2007, 307-308; 1996, 136; Videbech 2015, 453.
[1804] These were all repeated ideas/ideals that came to define Late Roman art, particularly the domestic collections, across the Empire (Brown P. 1980, 23; Kousser 2008, 122-125; Stirling 2005, 220).
[1805] See: *Cult of Asclepius in Corinthia*: Wickkiser 2010, 40-56; *Asclepius in domestic statuary collections*: Stirling 2005, 210; 223; Videbech 2015, 453.
[1806] Bookidis 2005, 142-164; Rife 210, 400-413; Walbank Mar. E. 2010, 190-194.

Aphrodite and Eros were the most recurrent deities, while doves were the most common bird representation.[1807] This interest is greatly manifested in the collection at building '5' which included no less than five figurines of the goddess (Plates 101-102). Even more telling is the Aphrodite from the 'Shop North of Panayia Field'. This was represented armed, a design choice that was likely inspired from the famous cult statue of armed Aphrodite in Acrocorinth.[1808]

The popularity of Dionysus, Artemis, and Aphrodite leaves no doubt that the Corinthian collectors yearned to promote an image of the 'good life'. The reason is that these subjects were direct references to favourite topics such as love, feasts and hunts, and therefore hugely popular for domestic settings.[1809] By contrast, the Roma statuette included in the Panayia assemblage is a rare find (Plate 98, 99a). The cult of Roman gods was not absent from Corinth and other Greek cities.[1810] The personification of Roma, however, although recurrent in civic facilities is almost absent from private art collections across the Empire, except for a few wall paintings.[1811] Apparently, the selection here was neither based on the subject's popularity, nor on a willingness to advertise good life. The artwork instead appears to be a part-cultic and part-allegorical reference to the city of Rome.[1812] It is possible that through the Roma statuette the landlord aimed to directly link himself with the centre of the Empire. It has been further hypothesized that the statuette might have been seized from some public facility and put here in second use.[1813] I would be sceptical about that scenario, not least because of the late dating of the sculpture and the similarities with other statuettes of the group. What is certain is that together with the Nikai murals found at the same villa, the sculpture created a jubilant and triumphant atmosphere, aiming no doubt to promote the landlord's civic aspirations.

Above all, though, it was the interest in ideal beauty that had the most influence on the acquisition of mythological-themed sculptures. Indicative is the frequent presence of statuary copying famous Classical or Hellenistic artworks (Plates 97d, 98,

[1807] Person 2012, 177-179.
[1808] See earlier section 5.2.2.
[1809] See among others: *Dionysus, Artemis and Aphrodite*: Sofroniew 2015, 78; Stirling 2007, 311-312; 2005, 172; 220; Videbech 2015, 453; *Heracles*: Sofroniew 2015, 87-89.
[1810] Spaeth 2017, 400-421; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2012, 285.
[1811] Stirling 2005, 131-132; Videbech 2015, 457.
[1812] Stirling 2005, 131.
[1813] Videbech 2015, 457.

101c).[1814] This was a common practice among educated Romans who greatly valued the replicas exhibited in their collections.[1815] We should note that until the 5th century AD it was expected of the educated elites to know and appreciate famous sculpture artworks.[1816] In Greece particularly, a similar strong classicism is observable also in other artistic media that decorated the Late Roman households.[1817]

The practice of copying famous Classical or Hellenistic artworks appears to fall somewhat out of fashion across the Empire starting from the 3rd century AD.[1818] There were still workshops involved in that trade, though, in most part catering to the needs of wealthy private collectors.[1819] Traces of that market can be found also in Corinthia, as copies of famous statues were apparently chosen for domestic assemblages up until the 4th century AD, and the commission of Panayia assemblage.[1820] A similar trend has been also recorded in Athens and Epidaurus, which underlines further the wide appeal that these artworks had in the Greek world during the Late Roman period.[1821]

Even more interesting is that the adoption of statuary copies appears to be a matter of conscious selection and not a choice of convenience. That is because the classicizing statuettes, which in Greece normally come from votive or domestic contexts, are noticeably differentiated from other statuary of the same workshops. Suggestive here is Lea Stirling's recent study on the contemporary Attic workshops.[1822] These were producing miniature statue copies, along with more generic-themed *trapezophora*, and *sarcophagi* with narrative scenes, filling apparently different market niches, each one with distinct thematic preferences and demands.

Apart from mythological statuettes, little can be said about the thematic range of the rest of the statuary artworks displayed in the private realm. One striking lack is portraits. A marble bust of a young girl found at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki,

[1814] See: '*Panayia Domus'*: Stirling 2009, 260-261; '*Mosaic House'*: Stirling 2017, 103-105; '*Shop North of Panayia Field'*: Broneer 1947, 244-245; '*Building 5 - East of Theatre'*: Williams 2005, 229-230.
[1815] Bartman 1991, 71-78; Gazda 2015, 379-380; Stirling 2014b, 107-110; 2005, 149.
[1816] Stirling 2005, 149.
[1817] Karivieri 2012, 218-220.
[1818] Witschel 2015, 332.
[1819] Witschel 2015, 332.
[1820] Stirling 2009, 260-261.
[1821] See: *General analysis*: Stirling 2014b, 96-104, 107-112; *Epidaurus*: Katakis 2002, 194-205; Stirling 2009, 260-261; 2005, 199-210; *Athens*: Hauvette-Besnault 1881, 55; Katakis 2012, 107-113; 2007, 397-402; Stirling 2009, 260-261; 2005, 199-210.
[1822] Stirling 2009, 260-261.

Katounistra' and a heavily burned head of a young man found at 'North Nezi Field' are the only relevant examples (Plate 103b, d).[1823] This sharply contrasts with the wide circulation of honorific statues destined for the Agora of Corinth and its main civic facilities that continued until the mid-5th century.[1824] The desire for self-propaganda understandably ran deeper in publicly displayed statues, whereas the private collectors could choose more freely their subjects. It is possible, though, that the alleged difference also stemmed from local tastes and preferences. This is because the presence of statuary portraits in domestic collections appears to fluctuate significantly from one region to another, and to be overall less popular in the Hellenistic East.[1825]

Equally rare appear to be herms. Only one example has been recorded so far at 'Pr. I. M. Lekka' in Corinth, which comes somewhat as a surprise considering their popularity in the private realm elsewhere.[1826] Other non-common exhibits in the Corinthian households were the statuary masks, samples of which have been found at 'Building 5 - East of Theatre', and at 'Pr. Mavragani'.[1827] In both cases these were discovered among votive offerings and terracotta statuettes and should be best associated with the cult of Dionysus.[1828]

Sculptured reliefs are also somewhat uncommon. Two examples were retrieved from 'Pr. I. M. Lekka' and 'Pr. Tsimpouri', representing a woman holding a thyrsus (a Maenad?), and a soldier respectively.[1829] Three more stele reliefs were found among

[1823] In her analysis Maria Papaioannou sites also another portrait, a naturalistic marble head of a priest (**S 1445**) that Brunilde Ridgway tentatively associated with the Early Roman colonists (Papaioannou 2002, 155; Ridgway 1981, 430). I opted instead not include this portrait here, because very little is known about the original position of the head (Corinth Notebook *NB 117*, 1-5).
[1824] See: Brown A. 2012, 141-176; 2008, 104-116; Deligiannakis 2013, 108-114; Johnson 1931, 148-155; Ridgway 1981, 445-448; Palagia 2010, 434-437; De Grazia-Vanderpool 2003, 379-382.
[1825] See: *General discussion*: Bartman 1991, 76; Kiilerich 2011, 359-369; Stirling 2005, 88; 150-153; *Regional differences*: Stirling 2007, 312-315; *Portraits in Greece*: Stirling 2005, 222-223.
[1826] See: *General discussion*: Stirling 2005, 223; *Corinth*: Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292-293; *Germany*: Stirling 2005, 153; *Italy*: Stirling 2005, 19; *Spain*: Stirling 2007, 307; 2005, 183.
[1827] Part of a clay theatrical mask has been also discovered in a drain at the 'House of the Opus Sectile' (Williams and Zervos 1983, 19). The drain, however, was already sealed prior the 2nd century, and therefore falls out of the scope of this analysis.
[1828] For the presence of statuary masks in the Roman households and their Dionysiac meaning see among others: Gazda 2015, 375; Videbech 2015, 453.
[1829] I should note here that another relief (**S 1982-4**) displaying a lion and a sign that reads '*διονυσεσ*', was found in the 'House of the Opus Sectile', along with a pediment-shaped altar and clay masks (Williams and Zervos 1983, 18-20). Both Catherine Person and Maria Papaioannou refer to these artworks in their studies (Papaioannou 2002, 155-156; Person 2012, B4-B6). I opted not to include them, though, since these apparently had been disposed of as early as the late 1st century AD, and thus fall out of the research limits of my study.

the enigmatic East Field collection in Isthmia (Plate 104d-f). These were a twin-figured representation of Cybeles (**IS 71-4**), a three-figured relief of nymphs (**IS 71-6**), and a three-figured relief representing Asclepius, Teleshorus, and Hygeia (**IS 71-5**).[1830] The thematic range, as seen above, was recurrent for domestic contexts. Aside from the ever-popular representations of Asclepius,[1831] nymphs were also recurrent particularly for nymphaea and courtyards.[1832] Similarly popular was also the Mother of Gods, Cybele, with representations of her commonly seen among domestic statuary assemblages.[1833] The examples from Isthmia are the only relevant cases in Corinthia, that might have originated from a private facility. As we earlier saw though, there are many grey areas concerning both the building unit at East Field and the statuary assemblage.

A small collection that deserves be separately addressed is the full-size ideal sculptures found at 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara' in Nemea. Among the retrieved statuary, items that stand out include a marble base preserving the legs of a dog, and a torso of a young male wearing an *exomis* (Plate 103a, b). Canine representations were very popular in Corinthia, particularly as terracotta statuettes, but versions in stone have been also recorded.[1834] More enigmatic is the identity of the torso dressed in an *exomis*. The choice of dress and lack of muscularity could suggest that this was a man of low status (an artisan or a shepherd?). The *exomis* was commonly used to signify men from low social ranks, while the youthful body likely excludes a potentially alternative identification as Odysseus or Hephaestus.[1835] Another interpretation, though, would see here a satyr. For the body anatomy, the heavy garment ruffles, and the Praxitelean sigma-posture of the Nemea torso, are all reminiscent of the marble Satyr found North

[1830] Catling 1971-1972, 8; Clement 1976, 228-229; Gregory 2013, 277-278; 2010, 458-459; Michaud 1972, 630-633; Rothaus 2000, 123-124.
[1831] See the pages above.
[1832] See for example the cases from Areopagus-Athens, Jarama-Madrid, Stobi, Nabeul-Tunisia (Stirling 2005, 172; 182; 188; 198-199; 204).
[1833] Note for example the case of contemporary Athens: Bouyia 2008, 208-222; Katakis 2012, 106-114.
[1834] A similar marble base bearing the paw of a dog (**S 2004 1**) has been recently found east of Panayia Field from a 3rd – 5th century AD context (Corinth Notebook *NB 963*, 174). The excavators did not specify whether that was a lion or a canine paw. I would tentatively argue that the thin and protruding toes resemble the base found at Nemea and are overall better suggestive of a dog. Other canine representations found across the region are among others*: Full-sized statues*: (**S 1170**) Corinth Notebook *NB 87*, 46-47; *Statuettes*: Person 2012, 178; *Reliefs*: (**S 187**) Ajootian 2014, 320-322.
[1835] For the adoption of *exomis* in Greco-Roman art see: McGowan 2017, 127-130.

of the Agora of Corinth.[1836] It is unlikely, though, that these two sculptures belonged to the same sub-theme group, since the arrangement of the drapery is notably different.[1837]

Let us close this discussion with one of the most elegant sculptures found in a private context, the statue a child riding a dolphin found at 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'. The artwork (Plate 103c), which dates from the 2nd century AD, incorporated a water-spout indicating thus a use as fountain-sculpture.[1838] There is little doubt that the subject here drew inspiration from the popular iconography of Erotes riding dolphins. Relevant representations have been observed in several media across the Empire.[1839] Very similar to our copy is a statuary complex of a riding Eros from the Farnese collection, today at Naples Museum (No. Inv. **6370**).[1840] The similarities between these two versions are particularly profound as far as the body stance which had the figures wrapped together in a tight embrace.[1841]

The subject of dolphin riders appears to be popular for domestic settings where it was commonly employed as a fountain adornment.[1842] In Corinthia, at least six such sculptures have been found, but only the Katounistra statue can be confidently tied to a household unit.[1843] It is possible that with his selection, the owner of villa was aiming to associate his collection with some of the artworks that were on public display. The much-acclaimed Isthmian statue of 'Palaemon riding a dolphin', known today only through coin depictions, might also have served as a source of inspiration and point of reference.[1844]

[1836] See: (**S 918)** Johnson 1931, 50-51.

[1837] Two more male torsos wearing *exomis* (**S2337**, **S790**) has been noted in Corinth that have been linked with workshops from the 3rd century AD Aphrodisias (Ridgway 1981, 444). However, their body analogies and the overall treatment of the garment are very different to the above examples.

[1838] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013b, 187.

[1839] See: *General discussion*: Beaulieu 2016, 246-248; 2008, 76-113; Ridgway 1970, 86-95; *Statues*: Gersht 2001, 70-71; Johnson 1931, 98-99; *Mosaics*: Isthmia (Packard 1980, 328); Patras (Papakosta 2014c, 432-433); Bulla Regia (Thèbert 1987, 391); Antioch (Gruber and Dobbins 2010, 75).

[1840] See: De Franciscis 1969, 37; Ridgway 1970, 93.

[1841] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013b, 187.

[1842] See among others: *Patras-Greece*: Papapostolou 1977c, 76-77; *Antioch*: Gersht 2001, 70; *Pompeii*: Gersht 2001, 71; Ridgway 1970, 92-93.

[1843] These are: ***(S 2412)***: Corinth Notebook *NB* 176, 155 - 156; ***(S 183)***: Johnson 1931, 98-99; Corinth Notebook *NB* 8, 53; ***(S 316)***: Johnson 1931, 98; Corinth Notebook *NB 10*, 29; Robinson B. A. 2001, 253; ***(S 760)***: Johnson 1931, 55; Corinth Notebook *NB 18*, 173; ***(S 1534)***: Ridgway 1981, 441; Corinth Notebook *NB 127*, 175-176. In addition to these, we should also not that aquatic-themed fountain sculptures, some of them with dolphins although without the riders, have been also found across the city (Robinson B. A. 2001, 179-181).

[1844] For the Isthmian complex of Dolphin and Palaemon and its coin representations see: Gebhard 2013, 269; Walbank Mar. E. 2003, 346.

Aside from the obvious thematic similarity, the Katounistra dolphin rider probably further shared a strong common symbolism with its counterparts that stood in public display. Marie-Claire Beaulieu has convincingly argued that the iconography of dolphin riders in the Greco-Roman world served as an allegoric reference to life and death, and as a 'bridge' between Gods and mortals.[1845] This remains mere speculation in our case, though, since we don't know how much the subject's apparent popularity in Roman Corinthia weighed on the landlord's mind.

Equally problematic is any attempted connection between the Katounistra rider and the two mythical dolphin-riders of Corinthia, Palaemon and Arion. The research was quick to note here that neither the rider's young age, nor his semi-reclined body posture recall the usual iconography of these two mythical heroes.[1846] In this regard, it is unlikely that the statue here should be identified as either one of them.

I would propose, though, that the Katounistra statue might have stood as an allusion to the mythical dolphin-riders of Corinthia. That is because in other artistic media, the relevant iconography was more pluralistic and closer to our example. Characteristic is that several mosaic representations of Arion, among them from Thyna, Tunisia and from Piazza Armerina, depicted the famous kitharode as adolescent.[1847] The similarities are even more pronounced in some Tunisian mosaics, where Arion is virtually undistinguishable from contemporary depictions of riding Erotes. We can refer for example to the mosaics from Chebba and Djemila where Arion (or Palemon according to other scholars) appears accompanying Orpheus.[1848] Similar pluralistic was the iconography of Palaemon. In several series of Corinthian coins, the hero appears on occasion standing,[1849] and on occasion seating,[1850] or lying on a dolphin.[1851] Considering the above, we cannot rule out that our dolphin rider, whatever its original served purpose, came to be viewed as an allegory of the two famous and much beloved Corinthian heroes.

[1845] Beaulieu 2016, 246-248; 2008, 76-113.
[1846] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013b, 187.
[1847] See: *Thyna*: Dunbabin 1978, 273; *Piazza Armerina*: Dunbabin 1999, 133; 1978, 199; George 1997, 92-93.
[1848] Dunbabin 1978, 135; George 1997, 92-93; Stern H. 1955, 47-49.
[1849] Edwards 1933, 30, No. 136.
[1850] Edwards 1933, 25, No. 79.
[1851] Edwards 1933, 33, No. 165.

5.3.5 The position of the statues

An interesting issue that merits further consideration concerns the location of the statues within households. Unfortunately, not much can be said here since most of the time the findspot of the sculptures appears to be unrelated to their original position of display. Characteristic is the 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara' collection. In that case, during some chance surface fieldwork local farmers spotted and salvaged the statues, which apparently had collapsed from the steep cliff where the villa was situated.[1852] On other occasions the discovered artworks were clearly found out of context, such as the two statues from 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias' in Loutraki retrieved from the hypocaust of the nearby baths.[1853] What's more, the low height of the preserved walls as seen in most Corinthian villas, and the large number of portable statuettes, further complicate any attempt to trace the original exhibition areas.

The most coherent picture regarding the policies of statuary display in private contexts comes from the facilities where the statuary had fallen from its location and was found lying directly on the floor. One characteristic case is the dog statuette from 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'. The statuette was found on the floor, apparently right where it fell from the above *lararium* (Plates 86c, 88).[1854] At the nearby 'Building 5 - East of Theatre', excavations unveiled five rattle-statuettes also lying on top of the floor.[1855] These were buried amid the layers of the last occupational phase in room '1', having ended up there most likely after falling from a wall niche that is today lost.[1856]

A similar arrangement should also be expected for the statuette of Europa-Aspasia which was found lying above the floor of the Mosaic House.[1857] Lastly at 'Panayia Domus', the presence of nine statuettes in the close confines of room 'A9' may suggest that these were on display here, probably placed along the painted walls

[1852] Charitonidis 1968a, 125.
[1853] See: Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 183
[1854] Williams and Zervos 1989, 12.
[1855] See section 5.2.4.
[1856] In one of the concluding articles on the East of Theatre district, Charles Williams and Orestes Zervos confusingly referred that the statuettes coming from building '5' were "f*ound against the south wall of room 3 in Building 5, having apparently fallen from its north face*" (Williams and Zervos 1989, 12). Then they went further to say that the figurines were found not far from a hearth with a heavy deposit of lamp fragments (Williams and Zervos 1989, 12). This must be a typographical error. That is because in a series of earlier articles, Williams and Zervos made a detail description of the same statuettes, hearth, and pottery deposit found in the north-western anteroom (i.e. room '1') of building '5' (Williams and Zervos 1986, 153-155; 1985, 61; 1984, 90).
[1857] See earlier section 5.3.2.

(Plate 71).[1858] The researchers were careful to note, though, that the statuettes could have been initially displayed in different areas of the household before been brought together in room 'A9'.[1859]

The above sample is arguably insufficient to highlight the policies of display with respect to the Corinthian statuary collections from private contexts. Furthermore, we cannot rule out that some of the statues found fallen from their original location were only temporarily held in the premises and were not meant as permanent exhibits.[1860] Despite these difficulties, though, we can extrapolate some basic ideas about the statuary arrangement in the Corinthian households by looking at the common decorative practices across the Mediterranean.

The first thing to notice is that the Late Roman owner prioritized the decoration of the main living areas.[1861] Peristyles, atria and courtyards were the primary areas of concern, and were commonly adorned with statues, herms and reliefs.[1862] Other areas of households which would receive much attention were the reception and dining halls. In Corinthia, among the sculptures well-suited for exhibition in open air courtyards were the life-size statues from 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara' and 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias' (Plate 103a-d), the herm from 'Pr. I. M. Lekka', and the reliefs from 'Pr. Tsimpouri' and 'Pr. I. M. Lekka'. Such a reconstruction remains hypothetical, for none of the above sculptures can be traced back to its original position. In contrast, much more certain seems to be the use of statuary decoration for banquet and reception halls. This is the case for instance of the statuette of Europa-Aspasia found in 1934 at the 'Mosaic

[1858] See: Person 2012, 183; Stirling 2008, 130-131.

[1859] "*In the context of Roman social competition, it is probable that at an earlier time these high-quality statuettes were displayed in other rooms with a level of affluence more in keeping with the display of fine marble statuary (for instance, rooms A2, A3, A5, A7, or A12). It is particularly tempting to envisage the Roma in the same room (A12) as the painted Nikes, another image drawn from imperial iconography. Perhaps the patron of the house, seated in a similarly magisterial fashion, received clients or peers here. The combination of Roma and Nike would clearly advertise adherence to imperial ideology and imply the owner's participation in it through military or civilian office. The good condition of the surfaces of the statuettes indicates that they were always displayed indoors*" (Stirling 2008, 130-131).

[1860] As it has been noted in other similar cases: "*Even when the statues are found lying directly on the floor, it is not always clear whether they felt from a niche or other location directly above their findspot or arrived there during renovation, robing or looting*" (Stirling 2005, 20).

[1861] Gazda 2015, 380; Stirling 2005, 21.

[1862] See: *Reliefs*: Gazda 2015, 375; Stirling 2005, 20; *Herms*: Stirling 2005, 19.

House', over the mosaic-paved floor of the northernmost room that was likely a dining or reception room.[1863]

The subjects of the artworks can also occasionally provide an idea about the position of display. Characteristic here is the statue-fountain of the dolphin rider from Katounistra, which as a subject would be well-suited to a nymphaeum-equipped courtyard, or alternatively as a sculpture décor for the nearby baths.[1864] The young female portrait from the same collection is another example. The back area of the head was left unworked, which suggests that the portrait was meant to be viewed frontally, probably placed in a wall-niche.[1865] It is further possible that the position of the artworks sometimes took into account the represented themes. The example of other regions has demonstrated that some thematic cycles were typically preferred for specific areas.[1866] While the scenario might hold some value, a careful approach is needed. That is because a specific repertoire was desirable but nonexclusive for certain household areas, as the aesthetics and not the themes were of primary focus.[1867]

One issue that needs to be separately addressed is the allocation of the cult related collections. As we have seen, these could sometimes find their way into inner rooms, like the room 'A9' of 'Panayia Domus'.[1868] At other times they were positioned close to entry points, as in 'Building 5 - East of Theatre' and 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'.[1869] In all the above cases, however, the selected areas were characterized by a high degree of accessibility, which in turn strongly implies that they were meant to serve both the owner and his guests.[1870]

More problematic is the case of the statuary deposit excavated in the most prominent of the rooms at the enigmatic 'Settlement East of Temenos' at the site East

[1863] See earlier section 5.3.2.
[1864] "*There is a strong link between statuary and aquatic features, particularly decorative pools at the centre of peristyles*" (Stirling 2007, 316).
[1865] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 184.
[1866] The Artemis was a beloved subject for courtyards as were Asclepius, Hygeia, and Aphrodite for baths, while the Dionysiac cycle was common for *triclinia* and gardens (Hewitt 2000, 205-206; Stirling 2005, 23; Videbech 2015, 453).
[1867] Bartman 1991, 74; Gazda 2015, 385; Stirling 2005, 23.
[1868] Stirling 2008, 91-125.
[1869] Williams 2005, 229-231; Williams and Zervos 1989, 12; 1986,154-157; 1984, 90.
[1870] For a more detailed analysis see the earlier section 5.2.4.

Field,[1871] in Isthmia (Plate 27b, c).[1872] The assemblage was found right next to a circular masonry structure that might had been used as an altar,[1873] directly above the west end of a long tunnel which allegedly served some unspecified religious purpose (Plate 105b-e).[1874] In an interesting twist, the thee *stelae* and the three statuettes of the assemblance had been placed together with a late-4th century AD coin hoard.[1875] This strongly implies that the sculptures were brought here from a different location for their concealment, presumably under the threat of the Alaric's forces. I would hypothesize, though, that their original placement was in the near vicinity. This was clearly an exceptional cultic area as attested by the 9.4 m tunnel, and the pagan-themed sculptures would be arguably well fit here.

I would also go further here to argue that the chief motives behind the deposition were emotional and religious driven. That is because the good preservation of the sculptures and their placement next to the coin hoard clearly signals that they were treasured possessions. Yet the small size and crude carving of the reliefs make it unlikely that they were valued for their artistic excellence or their material cost.

In this regard I would expect that these, probably along with the rest of the sculptures, had a predominantly sentimental value for their owner, who opted to conceal them out of genuine care. Such an attitude comes as a surprise if we adopt the hypothesis that the 'Settlement East of Temenos - East Field' was a domestic complex. The deposition of statuary has been attested in several private facilities, among others in the case of 'Varvakeion Athena' in Athens,[1876] at 'Maison de la Cachette' in Carthage,[1877] and probably at Areopagus 'House C', in Athens.[1878] It mostly concerned, however, public collections directly related to nearby sanctuaries. In contrast, in the

[1871] As we have already seen, the character of the East Field building complex is not fully understood, and although commonly referred as a series of houses, it might have been a civic cultic facility (See sections 3.8; 5.3.2).
[1872] Ellis S. J. R. and Poehler 2015, 283; Clement 1976, 228.
[1873] For the statues see the earlier pages of this chapter.
[1874] See: *Circular masonry structure*: Ellis S. J. R. *et al.* 2008; Ellis S. J. R. and Poehler 2015, 282-284; *Tunnel:* Gregory 2013, 277-279; 2010; 458-459; Marty-Peppers 1979, 268-271.
[1875] Clement 1976, 228.
[1876] Hauvette-Besnault 1881, 55.
[1877] Stirling 2005, 186-187.
[1878] Roccos 1991, 398 *contra* Stirling 2005, 25.

private realm landlords appear to be somewhat less protective towards the fate of their statues.[1879]

5.3.6 Synopsis

At the beginning of this section I set four goals. First to discuss the transformation of the private statuary assemblages during the Late Roman period. Second to discuss the issue of acquisition. Third to present the thematic range of the displayed statues. Lastly to examine the interposition of the sculptures within the domestic facilities.

Among these tasks, the analysis of long-term developments in statuary collection and display presents the greatest challenges due to the small research sample. This is particularly true for the rural areas, where the only clear understanding is that the adoption of statues continued in the Late Roman period as clearly attested by the statuary collection of the villa 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara'. During the same period, at the capital city Corinth, several private facilities equipped with sculptures went out of use in the 3rd century AD. New collections came forward with the turn of the century, while the last of them appear to have been commissioned in the mid-5th century AD or later.

One characteristic common of the post-4th century AD statuary assemblages from both urban and rural territories, is that they appear increasingly to be associated with wealthy households. This probably reflects the growing economic inequality of the era. The slowly shifting religious beliefs, though, also played their part. That is because most of the private statuary collections that predate the 4th century AD had a pagan sacral character, while several of them were only limited to low cost figurines. In that respect they could more easily penetrate the middle-class households and workshops. On the contrary, several of the later collections appear to have a purely decorative character which would be arguably excessive for those at the lower socioeconomic stratum.

The origin of the statues presented in domestic facilities seems to be diverse. On several occasions the artworks were imported from Athens, while another possible source appears to be Egypt. The sporadic presence of unfinished and recarved statuary, though, suggests that local workshops also fuelled this market. Whatever the original

[1879] Anghel 2011, 241-247.

place of construction, there is little doubt that many of the displayed sculptures would have been passed on as heirlooms from generation to generation. Notwithstanding that, a dedicated art trade geared towards private collectors continued likely up until the 5th century AD.

Equally diverse appears to be the thematic range of the displayed statuary. This is clearer when examining the small pagan-themed statuettes which included many Greek and Egyptian deities. In most of the collections we can recognize three core ideas, namely a striving for social recognition and triumph, a love for 'the good life', and an interest in ideal beauty. It is the last, though, that came to define the Late Roman sculpture assemblages, as the Corinthian collectors appear to prioritize above all else the introduction of statuary that copies famous Hellenistic and Roman artworks. Another striking feature is the limited presence of portraits. This may reflect local preferences and aesthetics, for a similar limited approach has also been attested in other regions of Eastern Mediterranean.

The placement of the statuary in most cases remains enigmatic. There is little doubt that many of the statues ornamented courtyards and peristyles, but this cannot be verified for any of the sculptures discussed here. A much clearer picture comes forward regarding the religious related sculptures. These could be found at both front and inner rooms, but in all cases were placed upon the main axis of movement, presumably to be approached by both the patron and his guests.

§ 5.4 Artworks & Private space in Late Roman Corinthia: Traditionalism in a changing environment

Despite the notable data gaps concerning Late Roman Corinthia, it is fair to suggest that the decorative choices taken in private contexts arguably have a great degree of commonality with the earlier, Imperial Roman art collections. Most characteristic is that throughout the examined period mosaics constituted the most commonly employed form of art in the private sphere. The latter mirrors a wider trend. In the words of Christine Kondoleon, mosaics provide "*the most abundant evidence*" concerning

Roman art in the private sphere.[1880] A good testimony of that comes from Pompeii where approximately 2.5% of all discovered floors were paved with mosaics, and an estimated 75% of those belonged to private facilities.[1881] We must approach the issue of their total numbers very carefully, though. This is because mosaics have a generally low value as recycling commodities while also being more durable, and much better preserved for that part, than other art media.

Much scarcer is evidence for the mural paintings. Nonetheless, the frequent presence of painted plaster in many Imperial and Late Roman households probably signals that these were not rare.[1882] It is the sculpture collections, though, which clearly spell the strong similarities between the Early and Late Roman private art assemblages. This is not only because many of the sculptures were exhibited for a prolonged period, but more importantly because of the wide circulation of Early Roman statuary well into the Late Roman period.[1883]

For all this notable continuity, the evolution of social ideas and ideals certainly had an inevitable impact on private art collections. In this regard, new design motifs were induced, in some cases along with updated construction techniques, to match the changing aesthetic trends. Highly indicative is an increasing use of geometric motifs instead of figural scenes. The latter were preferred for the mosaic artworks that date before the 4th century AD, but became scarcer afterwards.[1884] Another notable example is the growing popularity of the *a secco* painting technique, which from the 2nd / 3rd century AD was used either in combination, or instead of frescoes.[1885]

The most substantial change, though, concerned the symbolism which the artworks conveyed. In contrast to many earlier art collections, most of the later ones carried few if any religious metaphors, having instead a purely decorative character. Stripped of their religious significance, the artworks probably came to be understood as too excessive for the lower masses, who now were less inclined to maintain, let alone acquire them. This in turn likely contributed to an overall declining presence of private works of art, which became scarcer among the less well-off than in the earlier Imperial

[1880] Kondoleon 1991, 105.
[1881] Ling 1998, 115.
[1882] See earlier section 5.2.2.
[1883] See earlier section 5.3.2.
[1884] See earlier section 5.1.5.
[1885] See earlier section 5.2.2.

Roman period.[1886] Highly indicative here is a comparison between the absolute number of private statuary collections in the Imperial and Late Roman periods. Starting from the 4th century AD, the presence of sculptures within the private premises became much less common and mainly associated with wealthy villas.[1887]

It is unclear when exactly pagan-themed artworks lost their religious significance. One hypothesis suggests that paganism started to lose ground as early as the late 2nd century AD, and that this process gained more traction during the 3rd century AD.[1888] The argument is predominantly based on the waning artistic excellence of the statuary salvaged from the *insula* east of the Theatre of Corinth, which was understood as a sign of a growing indifference.[1889] In addition to that, the alleged intentional maltreatment of some of the statues from the same collections adds more weight to that interpretation.[1890]

Although that hypothesis seems reasonable, considering the declining numbers of pagan statuettes around Corinthia after the 3rd century AD, it can be argued that in many cases the artworks retained their religious symbolism well afterwards. Among the latest securely identified examples are the mosaic pavement from Katounistra (early-4th century AD), and the sculpture collections from 'Panayia Domus', and the 'Settlement East of Temenos - East Field' (late-4th century AD).[1891] It is possible that the practice continued also into the late-4th / early-5th century and the commission of the 'House next to the Hemicycle' in Corinth. Very little is known, though, about the exact character of the statuary fragments found here, or how these correspond with the Late Roman facility.[1892]

Yet it would be fundamentally flawed to aim for a single narrative when studying the Corinthian private decorative programme. The adoption and display of private art drew heavily upon the economic diversities across the region.[1893] Therefore,

[1886] See sections 5.2.2.; 5.3.2.
[1887] See section 5.3.2.
[1888] Williams 2005, 235-247.
[1889] Williams 2005, 235.
[1890] Williams 2005, 245-247.
[1891] See section 5.3.3; 5.3.5.
[1892] See sections 5.3.2; 5.3.3.
[1893] For the economic geography of Corinthia see earlier chapter 3.

it is important to address separately the private art collections coming from urban, suburban, and rural areas, while considering also their socio-economic background.

Let us begin with the suburban territories, and particularly the surrounding areas of the capital city. Here, the available data point towards a declining presence of decorated private facilities from the 4th century AD and onwards. This comes somewhat as a surprise considering that in the earlier period several ornamented suburban villas, among them the pompous 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi', were situated here.[1894] The later facilities, though, were mostly designated for production activities and typically had no provision for decoration and art display.[1895]

A similar lack of interest in excessive decorative schemes can also be seen in the Imperial Roman villas still occupied in the 4th and 5th century AD. Apart from some minor maintenance works, no significant alterations or additions are attested in their original decorative programme which remained mostly unchanged until the final abandonment of the premises.[1896] Special reference should be made here of 'Villa Anaploga'. In this case a later reconstruction resulted in new division walls, cutting through the surviving Imperial Roman mosaic.[1897] While the aims of the rebuilding are not fully understood, the careless treatment of the artwork certainly indicates that it was deemed of low priority, if not excessive, by the Late Roman owners. It is difficult to estimate how widespread among the Corinthians was this approach towards the surviving artworks. There is little doubt, however, that the partial destruction of the Anaploga mosaic, combined with the lack of any new decorative schemes after the 4th century AD clearly spells a general economic stagnation in the areas around Corinth.

In sharp contrast, a more persistent utilization of private decorations can be observed in the Corinthian city centres. This is mostly evident in Corinth, the provincial capital, where the presence of art in the private sphere can be attested in a great number

[1894] For the villa see: Dunbabin 1999, 210; Rothaus 1993, 393;2000, 26-28, Shear 1930, 3-26; 1925, 381-397; Waywell 1979, 297

[1895] See section 3.2.

[1896] See Table C1: 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'; 'Villa Anaploga'. More problematic is the analysis of the unpublished sculpture fragments excavated at the 'Bronze Factory'. The badly preserved building does not permit any arguments about both the facility and its decoration (Brown A. 2008, 149; Mattusch 1991, 383-395).

[1897] For the villa see: Brown A. 2008, 146; Daux 1963, 725-726; Dunbabin 1999, 210; Gregory 1979, 275; Miller Stel. 1972, 333; Robinson H. S. 1965, 78-80; Rothaus 2000, 28; 1993, 393; Waywell 1979, 297. The changes of the mosaic pavement are also discussed in the previous sections: 3.2; 5.1.2; 5.1.4.

of cases spanning from the 3rd until the 5th century AD.[1898] The socio-economic background of these art collections is not yet fully understood. Many of the ornamented facilities are large and complex enough to be convincingly associated with the upper elites. Among these we can note the decorative programme of the 'Mosaic House',[1899] and of 'Panayia Domus'.[1900] Nonetheless, private art was not limited to wealthy villas, but spread further into small workshops and *tabernae*. Here we can note the example of the 'Shop North of Panayia Field',[1901] the workshop at Nezi Field,[1902] and the buildings '5' and '7' in the insula east of Theatre.[1903] This plurality, though, gradually came to an end starting from the 4th century AD. By contrast most if not all of the later decorative programmes can be traced to middle or upper-class residential facilities and none appears to come from a commercial establishment.[1904]

Nonetheless, the incorporation of artworks within the urban Corinthian villas continued well into the 5th century AD. Examples here would be the 'House next to the Hemicycle', and the housing unit over the destroyed South Basilica which were both erected in the 5th century AD.[1905] None of the private units inaugurated after that point appears to have included works of art or any decorative elements, but despite the lack of positive evidence, it may be hypothesized that the incorporation of art within the private premises continued into the 6th century AD. One such case could be the mosaic floor from 'Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni'.[1906] The mosaic is dated in the late 5th / early-

[1898] See earlier sections 5.1.2; 5.1.5; 5.2.2; 5.3.2.
[1899] Bonini 2006, 314; Blue 1994, 161; Brown A. 2018, 47; 2008, 144; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Ridgway 1981, 442; Stirling 2008, 133; Weinberg 1960, 111-122.
[1900] Bonini 2006, 322; Brown A. 2018, 45-47; Gregory 2010, 453-454; Lepinski 2015, 188-189; 2013, 92-99; 2008, 51-81; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 287-336; Person 2012, A10; Pettegrew 2016, 215; 2006, 339-341; Sanders 2014, 486-487; 2013b, 381-383; 2009, 200-202; 2005a, 151-152; 2005b, 419-442; 2004, 163-194; 1999, 441-480; Slane and Sanders 2005, 243-297; Stirling 2008; 89-161; Sweetman and Sanders 2005.
[1901] Broneer 1947, 244-246; Gregory 2010, 454; Sanders 1999, 442; Stirling 2008, 133.
[1902] Broome-Raines 2007; Erny and Joy 2013; Harrington and Kopestonsky 2007; Morgan 2014a; Sapoutzidis 2007.
[1903] See: ***Building 5***: Gadbery 1993, 54; Williams 2005, 229-230; Williams and Zervos 1989, 12; 1986,154-157; 1984, 90; ***Building 7***: Gadbery 1993, 54; Lepinski 2015, 188; 2008, 245; Williams 2005, 231-232; William and Zervos 1989, 12.
[1904] See earlier sections 5.1.5; 5.2.2; 5.3.2.
[1905] See sections 5.1.5; 5.3.2.
[1906] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 94-95; Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 178; Daux 1967, 635; Drosoyianni 1968b, 222; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292; Megaw 1966-1967, 8; Sodini 1970, 709; Spiro 1978, 96-102; Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 367; Waywell 1979, 298; Williams 1968, 185.

6th century AD.[1907] The exact character of the facility is a matter of debate, though, so a private function is far from certain.

A much more complex picture develops concerning the long-term presence and evolution of private art in rural Corinthia. Most of the surveyed compounds, either isolated farms or integrated within greater village communities, were typically non-decorated. In contrast, several wealthy *villae rusticae* were ornamented, among them the facilities 'Akra Sofia',[1908] 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra',[1909] and 'Tritos - Pr. Kalara'.[1910]

In addition to the above, other possible cases have been recorded from across the region. The character of the corresponding facilities in these cases is unknown, though. We can note here the mosaic floor from the building complex excavated at the site Ag. Vassileios, that may have been an isolated villa or a part of a greater village.[1911] Other examples would be the mosaic and opus sectile floors coming from 'Pr. Manavi', and 'Pr. Christodoulou' respectively, in Petri, Nemea.[1912] Yet another is the marble statuette found in a cistern-like facility in the area 'Thalero - Loutra'.[1913] Lastly the East Field assemblage in Isthmia, might also have originated from a private context, but there is currently no consensus regarding character of the site.[1914]

The time of acquisition, as well as the subsequent period of display of these artworks is not always clear. Questions arise specifically for the statuary collections presented within Imperial Roman villas, still occupied in the Late Roman period. An early acquisition date for these statues is at least possible, especially since some of them are synchronous to the construction of the corresponding villas as in the case of the villa in Katounistra. Nonetheless, the wide circulation of Imperial Roman statues across Corinthia until well into the 5th century AD, makes an alleged later date just as possible.[1915]

[1907] Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 95; Spiro 1978, 97.
[1908] Gregory 1985, 415.
[1909] Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 50; 2013a, 178-179; 2013b 184-185; 2002b, 148-149.
[1910] Kritzas 1976, 215.
[1911] Moutzali 2002b, 340-341; 1989, 109-110.
[1912] See: *Pr. Manavi*: Avramea 2012, 350; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 97; Papachristodoulou 1970a, 103; *Pr. Chrystodoulou*: Manolesou 2014f, 325.
[1913] Lolos 2011, 496.
[1914] Catling 1971-1972, 8; Clement 1976, 228-229; Gregory 2013, 277-278; 2010, 458-459; Michaud 1972, 630-633; Rothaus 2000, 123-124.
[1915] See earlier sections 5.3.2; 5.3.3.

For all the research difficulties, it can be confidently argued that a significant utilization of private art seems to take place in the rural areas after the 4th century AD. Indicative is that several of the surveyed facilities bearing decorations can be dated in the Late Roman period, as in the cases of 'Akra Sofia' and 'Nemea Tritos - Pr. Kalara'.[1916] In addition to that, Late Roman additions can be traced in the decorative programme of at least one Imperial Roman villa, namely the mosaic pavement in 'Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra'.[1917] It remains unknown when this dynamic was exhausted. However, traces of newly added decoration have been noted up until the mid-6th century AD, when the building complex of Akra Sofia was erected.[1918]

Overall, the study of the Corinthian private art assemblages seems to indicate that the urban and peri-urban private facilities in post-4th century AD Corinthia, do not match, in terms of decoration, the earlier Imperial Roman buildings. In contrast, a notable utilization of decorative schemes can be attested in the contemporary rural territories, which included some of the best decorated facilities across the region. This provides yet another argument of the presence of wealthy elites in rural Corinthia.[1919] It is also significant to note that while the earlier collections could sometimes find their way into humble facilities, later ones can be mostly associated with middle and upper-class households.[1920] The reasons behind this change are not easily traceable. It seems, though, that the declining religious symbolism of the artworks, combined with the changing economic fortunes along the region greatly contributed to this event.

[1916] See Table B5, C4.
[1917] She section 5.1.5.
[1918] She section 5.1.5.
[1919] See sections 3.5; 3.7.
[1920] A careful approach is needed here to avoid any circular argument. While a decorative programme conveys arguably a sign of prosperity, it is not always as an outright indication of wealth (Swift 2009, 52-55). This is particularly true for the collections predating the 4th century AD which could find their way into villas, middle-class taverns, and workshops alike. There is little doubt, though, that the later decorative efforts should be almost entirely associated with wealthy Corinthians.

Chapter 6

Conclusion:

From the Corinthian Roman domus

to

the Late Roman North-Eastern Peloponnese

The private architectural record in the Late Roman northern Peloponnese is marked by a notable antithesis. From the late-3rd century AD until the 6th century AD, continuous private investments gave rise to significant building programmes. That speaks volumes about an enduring and vibrant Late Roman society. Notwithstanding, the unavoidable socioeconomic changes left a heavy mark on the design of the housing units. Even more significantly, they came to transform the way that the latter related to their surrounding environment. These changes, while subtle until the early-6th century AD, became ever-more pronounced after the first half of the century, signalling the end of the Late Roman period and the transition towards the Byzantine era.

Nonetheless, in contrast to the developments that took place during the 6th century AD, the picture that comes from the earlier centuries is remarkably consistent. Starting from the late-3rd century AD and until well into the 5th century period, the architectural design of Corinthian houses appears to answer to similar needs and aspirations. During that two century-long period, one dominant trend that gave shape to the private building programme was a desire for an increased functionality. That was ever-present within the Roman household. However, during the Late Roman period greater efforts were made in that direction. The results of this trend are occasionally observable in the plan of the housing units. This was the case of the water arrangement made in the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo'. There the small private bath drained into the latrine that was positioned on the opposite side

of the division wall, minimizing the water consumption and providing more efficient water circulation.

The desire for ever-increasing efficiency is even better articulated with respect to working spaces. Starting from the 3rd century AD and until the early 6th century AD, the archaeological evidence implies an intensification of the production activities. Within urban areas, this sometimes resulted in heavy-duty workshops such as the large pottery kilns established South of the South Stoa in Sicyon. At other times the facilities were geared towards retail activities, as the two shops established on the western premises of the theatre in Corinth.

Similar developments can be also observed in the peri-urban areas where several villas were reconfigured and subdivided to serve more utilitarian purposes. One example would be the 5th century AD internal redevelopment of the storage rooms at 'Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi'. Whereas the villa generally kept the earlier conspicuous design, the premises close to the working areas were further compartmentalized, a sign perhaps of a desire for more storage spaces.

Apart from the work-oriented efficiency, a second dominant trend in the private architectural record from the late-3rd until the late-5th century AD is a yearning for the 'good life'. This understandably came to define the internal allocation of space as well as the interposition of the living and working compartments. In addition, it further spurred the popularity of certain design features. One notable case is the columnated *tribelon* entrance that appears to be recurrent across the region. The origins of the three-bay arrangement should be traced in the earlier Imperial Roman *vestibula* that frequently used such a layout. In the Late Roman period the design clearly had a decorative character and was widely employed as a frontal façade in dining *triclinia* and reception halls.

The *tribelon* entrance was only one of the many elegant features observed in the Late Roman Corinthian private facilities. The peristyle courts, the columnated atria, the large apsidal *triclinia*, all spell a strive for luxury and monumentality. In some cases, this desire can be linked to wealthy landlords who wanted to embellish their households, as in the case of the great villa complex at 'Sts. Lemesou and Lefkosias', in Loutraki. On other occasions the elaborate design should be best linked to collegial facilities. Two examples may come from the buildings on the northern and southern

quays of Kenchreai, that appear to share many similarities to the contemporary collegial *scholae* excavated in Ostia.

The same desire for monumentality also gave rise to a significant decorative programme. The material evidence from the 'House next to the Hemicycle' in Corinth, suggests that the adoption of statuary within the household premises can be attested as late as the late-4th / early-5th century AD. One characteristic that differentiates the Late Roman from the Imperial Roman statuary collections, is that the first one almost exclusively linked to wealthy households.

This probably reflects to a certain extent the growing economic inequality of the era. We further ought to consider, though, that many of the private statuary collections that predate the 4th century AD had a sacral character, and thus could more easily penetrate the middle-class households and workshops. On the contrary, most of the later collections appear to have a wholly decorative character. In that respect, they were needlessly excessive for those at the lowest socioeconomic stratum, a factor that contributed to their overall declining numbers.

Much more widespread was the utilization of mosaics. Many of the mosaic floors ornamenting the Late Roman Corinthian houses were earlier Imperial Roman artworks that were kept visible and on display long after their instalment. We can expect that on occasion, successive generations of owners came to view some of these mosaics as valued heirlooms. At other times, the continuity of use may have been influenced by the classical aesthetics of the Late Roman owners, or the symbolism that the mosaics conveyed to the patron and his guests.

One notable characteristic of the Corinthian mosaics destined for private facilities is the common inclusion of glass, either for parietal opus sectile or for tessellated floor pavements. The use of the material appears to intensify during the 3rd and 4th century AD. Nonetheless, the circulation of colourful glass tesserae can be attested in the region until the 6th century AD. The utilisation of glass appears to serve a twofold purpose. The luminous substance sharpened the colour contrasts and created much-welcomed optical illusions. In addition, it further offered the choice of a wider colour range and the representation of colours rarely found in stone.

Less evidence comes forth with respect to painted décor. The available examples suggest that most of the paintings can be linked to main household areas. On

some occasions their presence can be further attested in workshops and *tabernae*. This practice, however, appears to stop after the 3rd century AD.

The small research sample does not permit any secure arguments about the selection criteria for the displayed mural iconography. It appears, though, that occasionally the paintings shared strong thematic links. This is better demonstrated in the painting programmes coming from 'Panayia Domus' and from the 'Building 7 - East of Theatre'. In both cases the corresponding murals stood in a dialectic relationship, hinting a desire for uniformity and a strive for an almost theatrical setting.

How then should we perceive the development of the north-eastern Peloponnese during the Late Roman period with respect to the above antitheses in the private building programme?

Beginning with the three main urban centres of Corinth, Lechaeon and Kenchreai, the available evidence seems to suggest that these experienced an uneventful habitation until the 4th century AD, when many working and residential facilities went out of use. The destructions probably intensified in the second half of the century that saw several domestic buildings suffering a catastrophic end. These ominous developments provide yet another evidence of the wider malaise that affected the region during the 4th century AD.

For all the image of bleakness and misery, though, a significant build-up from that period seems to rule out a general slowdown in the private architectural record. It appears instead that the various catastrophes were sparked by random violent events and not by some regionwide economic impoverishment. It is possible that in some cases the downturn was instigated by the various earthquakes and war raids remembered by contemporary ancient authors. However, none of the 4th century AD destructions in our sample can be linked with certainty to a specific violent incident.

Starting from the 5th century AD, the evidence from the archaeological record indicates a significant increase in private building activities. The more complete picture comes from the city of Corinth. This saw an extended rebuilding that surpassed the narrow limits of the Late Roman enceinte and spread across the earlier, Imperial Roman city. During that period new building units can be attested from as far south as the slopes of Acrocorinth, to as far north as the area of Zekio and the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road.

On some occasions, private interest was focused on residential *insulae* that lay in ruins by the 5th century AD. One such revitalization can be attested at the site of Panayia Field where an apsidal building, presumably of some private function, was erected above the ruins of the 'Panayia Domus'. At other times these investments took the form of redevelopment projects. Similar cases have been mainly attested in the areas close to the Agora, with notable examples the 'House over the South Basilica' and the 'House next to the Hemicycle'. In the first case, the housing unit was established upon the destroyed civic basilica. The second facility encroached onto the area behind the Hemicycle, that in the earlier period was occupied by a civic basilica.

The resulting facilities ranged significantly in size and wealth. Some of the buildings speak of considerable wealth. This is best evident in the 'House over the South Basilica', that was equipped with hypocaust baths and furnished with new mosaics. Another similar case concerns the unified complex on the northern quay of Kenchreai, that after some late-4th century AD catastrophe replaced the earlier 'Brick and South Buildings'.

However, still, most housing units that date from the 5th century AD were far less conspicuous compared to the domestic facilities of the earlier centuries. A startling comparison comes from the suburban areas of Corinth. The research has noted that until the 4th century AD, small farms, big industrialised facilities and wealthy villas alike occupied the immediate environs of the city. This diversity came to an end during the Late Roman period. Starting from the 4th and into the 5th century AD, several facilities went out of use with some of the most elegant villas taking the heaviest toll. In sharp contrast, most of the newly inaugurated, Late Roman sites within that area appear to have been small workshops/farms with no elaborate features.

It is unclear what may have triggered these changes. However, the available evidence does not seem to point to some sudden violent catastrophe. A more probable explanation instead is a desire for intensified production activities. This desire probably led to the erection of several pottery kilns in peri-urban areas. It may have further fuelled, though, the gradual transformation of the suburban villas into more utilitarian complexes managed by poor tenants, who either reoccupied or rented the premises.

The 6th century AD saw a further continuation of private building activities. The image coming from Corinth and Lechaeon during that period seems to suggest that the

first half of the century was marked by an even greater intensification of production activities. Two examples may come from the fuller's establishment south of the South Stoa in Corinth, and the small farmhouse '6' that was erected south of the Lechaeon Basilica.

During that period, private encroachments over public areas continued at an increasing pace that eventually saw whole neighbourhoods redeveloped. In some cases, these activities took the form of reoccupation and revitalization projects. At other times the private encroachments apparently co-existed with public facilities. One example comes from the 'House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road' that was likely erected long before the final abandonment of the baths.

Moving further into the 6th century AD and the early-7th century AD, the picture that comes forward is that of a significant slowdown in private residential construction. The period marks the most significant chronological turning point, after the earlier attested hardships of the late-4th century AD, that had a significant impact on private building programmes. This was an era of general despondency, that saw many of the housing facilities in Corinth, Lechaeon, and Kenchreai falling out of use. Once again, it is not known what fuelled the late-6th century AD hardships. What is certain is that the limited rebuilding afterwards speaks for a significant economic downturn, and perhaps even a chronic impoverishment.

For all the apparent decline, the main Corinthian urban centres were far from depopulated during that era. Despite the general malaise, many housing units remained occupied well past the 6th century AD. Among them we can note some of notable size and wealth, as the complexes excavated at 'Pr. Kalliri' in Lechaeon, at 'Pr. Threpsiadi' in Kenchreai, and at the site 'Zekio', in Corinth.

Equally important is that private building activities continued throughout that period of hardships. Several of the facilities in question were probably no more than squatter settlements, as the small building erected next to the Late Roman Panayia Bath. More complex designs, though, are also attested. One similar case comes from the early-7th century AD refurbishment of the 'House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo', that saw the addition of a small bathing unit. Even more indicative would be a series of small houses erected amid the ruins of the Grand Basilica in Lechaeon. Some of these were limited to a couple of rooms, offering nothing but the

basic amenities. However, other examples incorporated upper storeys, had multiple water installations, and were furnished with built *stibadia*.

All the above reveal that the private building programme did not come to an end in the late-6th century AD. Nonetheless, the complete absence of any internal décor, coupled with an apparent disregard for the central court arrangement that had come to define the Roman *domus*, imply that we are already long past the Late Roman period. In that respect, the continuation after the mid-6th century AD of the private building activities in the three main urban centres of Corinthia, marks the end of an era, and the beginning of a new one characterised by different priorities and changed aesthetics.

A similar image of continuity and evolution during the Late Roman period comes forward with respect to the other smaller urban centres of Corinthia. It is possible that many of the settlements referred by the ancient literary sources were probably no more than villages in essence. Notwithstanding, the survey results from several of the Corinthian peripheral cities point towards a continuous occupation throughout the examined period.

These secondary urban centres had an understandably significant impact on the rural countryside. That is nowhere more evident than in the city of Sicyon where recent excavations have highlighted a private building programme that spread up until the late-6th century AD. Several of the facilities in question were well-equipped, with multiple storage spaces and significant production capabilities. These apparently were set up for industrialized production, serving not only the city but also its immediate environs.

A similar dynamic interrelationship between the secondary Corinthian urban centres and their surrounding territories inevitably came to define the settlement pattern across most of the countryside. It has been noted that the rural topography in Corinthia was characterized by a significant concentration. That is because many of the isolated rural sites attested in the Roman countryside can be found clustering around the urban centres.

In that respect it appears that in both Imperial and Late Roman periods, the proximity to nucleated settlements was greatly appreciated by the local settlers. Yet the evidence from several archaeological field surveys and rescue excavations has further demonstrated a notable human activity across the region during the Late Roman period.

The latter highlight a significant exploitation of the countryside, and an increasing human outreach over distant, peripheral lands.

The apparent paradox from the two contrasting trends has puzzled scholars in recent years. The contradiction, though, can be explained by the very short inter-site distances between the various nucleated settlements. These rarely exceed the 5 km, a distance easily bridged by the ancient farmer who walked in average 2 - 3 km to reach his plot. In that respect, we can argue that by the Late Roman period, ages of commuting farming had transformed the countryside to a mosaic carpet of successive *suburbia*.

Moving past the urban settlements and into the rural countryside, one issue that remains almost a complete unknown, concerns the presence of the small farms. The poor material evidence from several peri-urban and rural sites in our sample, seems to suggest that many of them were no more than basic farms. It is possible that following similar trends across the Empire, their numbers increased further after the 4th century AD. That would also agree with the results from several archaeological field surveys, suggesting an intensification of the land exploitation in Corinthia during the Late Roman period. The ambiguity of the archaeological record, though, does not permit any accurate estimations.

In addition to these small units, research in the rural territories has further revealed several bigger establishments that can be best categorized as rural villas. It is important to recognize here that the term *villae rusticae* has been frequently misused by the researchers to describe all kinds of rural installations. However, the great size, as well as the conspicuous design and décor of several countryside facilities in our sample, argue in favour of an identification as *villae rusticae*.

Some of these establishments can be noticed clustering around the urban centres and should be best addressed as *villae suburbanae*. On several occasions, however, big villas found their way well into the rural countryside. We can note here the facilities recorded at the sites ‘Villa Diminio’, ‘Akra Sofia’, ‘Svarnos - Derveni’, ‘Tritos - Pr. Kalara’ and ‘Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias - Loutraki, Katounistra’.

It is unclear what spurred the presence of these large villas. Most of the units appear to have been designed with limited production and storage capacity in mind. That may be a false picture, though, as only few of the complexes have been

systematically surveyed. What's more, the common position of these establishments in lowland areas next to fertile plains, strongly hints a possible role as farming settlements.

We can be far more certain about the possible effects of the unique socio-economic environment that characterized the north-eastern Peloponnese. The area was an important administration capital of Southern Greece, as well as a significant trading hub, positioned at a crossroad between the Aegean and the Adriatic trade routes. It is possible that some of these facilities housed imperial delegates and local *curiales.* At other times, the Corinthian landlords may have chiefly aimed to exploit the favourable geographic position of the region that put them close to major shipping lines and important trade markets. One similar case may come from the site 'Akra Sofia' where the survey revealed a large amount of fine pottery and storage amphorae, that both imply a widely practised long-distance trade.

In that setting, the efforts of the Late Roman state to remonetise the economy, probably provided an additional stimulus for the rural villas. That would agree with the evidence from the archaeological record that seems to imply that the number of these establishments remained stable or even increased during the Late Roman period.

It would be wrong, though, to further see in the Corinthian countryside an extended villa system. There is nothing to imply that the Corinthian villas mastered enough power and wealth for that feat. Moreover, we ought to consider that the image from the Late Roman countryside speaks for a much greater diversity. Throughout the examined period small farms, villages, and peripheral urban centres stood in a 'symbiotic' relationship with the Corinthian *villae rusticae*.

The archaeological record does not provide any further evidence about who may have lived in these villas. However, the ancient literary sources give us some hints about their occupants. Most of the time, the owners would have opted to reside at their own villa, for this was widely perceived as the most efficient way to manage a rural estate. The sources, though, do speak about several cases of absent landholding. The latter could sometimes furnish a significant income, as in the case of Parnasious, a wealthy aristocrat of Patras, who held farming lands in the regions of Achaea and Corinthia. On other occasions, the absent landholding could end in catastrophe. This was the case of a certain Aristophanes, who according to the vivid words of Libanius lost almost all his wealth when he had to flee his estates in rural Corinthia.

The low end of the socioeconomic stratum in these large establishments was likely occupied by slaves. Little is known about their presence in the Late Roman Greek countryside, not least because of the poor material culture with respect to these vulnerable and marginal communities. Nonetheless, the literary sources are adamant about the use of slave labour in some Corinthian estates. Even more significant is that the facilities referred to appear to have been of an average economic background. This in turn may imply that the use of slave labour was far more extended than usually understood by modern research. The overall lack of evidence, however, does not permit any final answers.

Another significant aspect of the rural countryside concerns the overall presence and role of the nucleated rural settlements. It has been noted that the rural topography across the north-eastern Peloponnese was characterized by a diachronic preference towards the nucleated village settlements. The evidence from our sample suggests that this dynamic can be attested already during the Imperial Roman period, and became more evident after the 4th century AD. However, the transition to the Late Roman period was not smooth for all these settlements. One example comes from the Roman settlement in Perachora that was abandoned altogether in the 4th century AD. At other times, this decline carried fewer far-reaching effects, as in the case of the Isthmia settlement that despite some notable signs of decay in the late-4th century AD, made the transition into the Late Roman period.

Regardless of these early hardships, the following period marked a continuous development for the Corinthian villages. Starting from the 4th century AD and until the late-6th century AD, a notable private and public investment is evident in many of the pre-existing settlements. Similar trends have been also noticed elsewhere across the Empire and have been directly associated with the decline of Roman villas and the rise of the mediaeval village. In our case it is possible that some of these settlements were established around a secluded villa that gradually expanded and transformed into a village. That may have been the case of the settlement at the ‘Ag. Vassilios - Site Varela’. This according to the excavator included a bath with hypocaust, multiple storage areas, and several other building units likely assigned for production purposes.

It would be wrong, though, to further associate the heightening nucleation of the Late Roman Corinthian countryside, with a presumed decline of the rural farms and

villas. For as we already examined, the latter in many cases remained occupied well into the 6th century AD. The above arguably speak to a symbiotic, rather than an antagonistic, relationship between the isolated and the nucleated rural sites.

I would propose instead that in the case of the north-eastern Peloponnese, the *raison d'etre* for the increasing nucleation in the Late Roman countryside was twofold. The first reason was direct state investment in key geostrategic locations. Two examples are the Late Roman communities in Isthmia, and in the small islet of Evraionisos. These were established as outposts, guarding respectively the Northern land passage to Attica, and the eastern sea route to the Aegean Sea. The second reason was a growing need for human labour in 'fringe' areas. In some cases, this interest may have reflected a desire to exploit more intensely, remote arable plains. One similar example comes from the Late Roman village in Nemea that was established upon the homonymous fertile valley.

At other times the interest in the 'fringe' areas may have been fuelled by the role of the north-eastern Peloponnese as a bridge between the Aegean and the Adriatic trade routes. This created a need for 'gateway communities' that would connect the rural hinterland with the interregional shipping trade. One such case concerns the Late Roman villages established on the small islets of Domvraina bay. The geography of these islets offered little incentives for production activities, mainly because of the lack of natural water sources. The settlers instead could capitalise on the proximity to the Boeotian coast, as well as on the islets' position on to the main shipping lines heading to Lechaeon, for a steady source of income.

Whatever the original causes behind the growing number of Late Roman villages in the north-eastern Peloponnese, one feature that runs through all these settlements is the simple design of the respective private facilities. The latter never appear to match in size or elegance the various villas that dotted the rural countryside. Moreover, in many cases the housing units in these villages compare unfavourably even with some of the smallest, isolated farms of the era.

This does not mean that we should understand the Late Roman rural villages in the north-eastern Peloponnese as desolated hamlets, though. Despite their humble character these communities still display some levels of wealth, and administration. Suggestive are the examples of the Late Roman villages in Nemea and in the site of Diporto, in Domvraina Bay. The orientation and arrangement of the settlement clearly

suggest a strict social hierarchy, with the prominent sites occupied by the most affluent families. The latter could afford multiroom facilities with independent water provision, a rare treat for most of their fellow villagers.

The archaeological record does not provide enough evidence about the long-term development of the Late Roman villages considered in this study. It appears that the villages experienced an uneventful occupation until the late-6th century AD. As in the urban settlements, it is unclear what sparked the 6th century AD downturn. It seems, though, that the attested decay affected differently these communities. Some of the villages were abandoned altogether, as in the case of the village in Nemea. This was completely deserted, for reasons that may relate to the growing Slavic threat. In other areas, the village settlements endured the hardships. Most evident here would be the example of Isthmia. In that case a series of small housing units were established in the early-7th century AD, over the derelict Temple of Poseidon and over the abandoned Roman baths. The impoverished design of these units, hints that by the 7th century AD, Isthmia probably was no more than an impoverished hamlet. Notwithstanding the settlement survived and continued as a peasant community well into the Byzantine period.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών
AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
ABSA	Annual of the British School of Athens
AD	Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο
AE	Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς
AEMTH	Αρχαιολογικό έργο Μακεδονίας Θράκης
AETHSE	Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJP	The American Journal of Philology
Al-Masāq	Al-Masāq - Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean
AnMurcia	Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueologia de la Universidad de Murcia
Annales	Annales Economies, sociétés, civilisations
Annales AIHV	Annales Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre
Annuario – ASAtene	Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene
AntAfr	Antiquités africaines
AnTard	Antiquite Tardive
AR	Archaeological Reports
Archaeol Anthropol Sci	Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences
ARG	Archiv für Religionsgeschichte
Assaph	Assaph: studies in art history
A & T	Αρχαιολογία & Τέχνες
AWE	Ancient West & East
BalkSt	Balkan Studies
BAR British	British Archaeological Reports – British
BAR International	British Archaeological Reports – International
BASP	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London
BJb	Bonner Jahrbücher
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
Byzantiaka	Βυζαντιακά - Ελληνική Ιστορική Εταιρεία
CBR	Currents in Biblical Research
Chronica IEMA	Chronika The Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology
CIMA	Coloquio Internacional sobre Mosaico Antiguo
CPh	Classical Philology
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History
Deltion ChAE	Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
DHA	Dialogues d'histoire ancienne
Dodoni	Δωδώνη: επιστημονική επετηρίς της Φιλος. Σχολ. του Παν. Ιωαννίνων
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
ELECTRUM	Electrum - Journal of Ancient History
Expedition	Expedition Magazine - Penn Museum
FACTA	FACTA Journal of L. Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval Material Culture Studies
FRAG	Fragmenta – Journal of the Royal Netherlads Institute in Rome
Gallia	Gallia. Archéologie de la France antique
HAM	Hortus Artium Medievalium
HBT	Horizons in Biblical Theology

HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
НИШ И ВИЗАНТИЈА	Nis and Byzantium
IKON	Ikon - Journal of Iconographic Studies
Int. J. Hist. Archaeol.	International Journal of Historical Archaeology
ISAW Papers	Institute for the Study of the Ancient World
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
J. Archaeol Sci.	Journal of Archaeological science
JASREP	Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCH	Journal of Cultural Heritage
JEH	Journal of Economic History
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JGE	The Journal of General Education
JGH	Journal of Garden History
JGS	Journal of Glass Studies
JLA	Journal of Late Antiquity
JLARC	Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture
JMA	Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
JNCHC	Journal of the National Collegiate Honors Council
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums
J. Soc. Archit. Hist.	Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians
JJMJS	Journal of the Jesus Movement in its Jewish Setting
LAA	Late Antique Archaeology
Makedonika	Μακεδονικά - Εταιρεια Μακεδονικων Σπουδων
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome
Naftemporiki	Ναυτεμπορική
New Test. Stud.	New Testament Studies
NSc	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità
OJOA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
Pallas	Pallas Revue d'études antiques
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
Pharos	Pharos - Journal of the Netherlands Institute at Athens
Praktika	Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής εταιρείας
Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
RBPH	Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
REB	Revue des études byzantines
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
RCRF	Rei cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta
RDA	Revista di Archeologia
Rev.Arch.,N.S.	Revue Archéologique, Nouvelle Série
SChAE	Συμποσιο βυζαντινης και μεταβυζαντινης αρχαιολογιας και τεχνης
SciAm	Scientific American
Symmeikta	Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα
Thiasos	Thiasos. Rivista di archeologia e architettura antica
Topoi	Topoi. Orient-Occident
To Vima	TO BHMA
TRAC	Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference
Trans.Am.Philol.Assoc.	Transactions & Proceedings of the American Philological Association
ZfG	Zeitschrift für Geomorphologie
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Primary sources - Ancient literature

Augustine of Hippo	Liber de catechizandis rudibus
Alciphron	Chascobuces to Hypnotrapezus
Ammianus Marcellinus	Res Gestae
Apuleius	Metamorphoses
Cassiodorus	Varie
Cicero	On the Agrarian Law
Columella L Junius	Res Rustica
Dio Chrysostom	Orations
Diocletian	Price Edict
Diogenes Laertius	Lives of Eminent Philosophers
Galen	Exhortation to the Study of the Arts especially Medicine: To Menodotus
Gregory of Nyssa	Letters
Hierocles	Synekdemus
John Chrysostom	Homily on First Corinthians
Libanius	Antiochikos - Oration in Praise of Antioch (Oration XI)
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Macrobius	Saturnalia I
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Martial	Epigrams
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Plutarch	De exilio
Plutarch	Life of Alexander
Procopius	Buildings
Ptolemy	Geography
Seneca	Epistulae morales ad Lucilium
Sidonius Apollinaris	Epistulae
Statius	Silvae
Stephanus of Byzantium	Ethnica
Strabo	Geography
Theopompus	Philippica
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CHANGING TOPOGRAPHY & PRIVATE SPACE

IN

THE NORTH-EASTERN PELOPONNESE

THE LATE ROMAN CORINTHIA

FROM THE 3RD CENTURY AD UNTIL THE 7TH CENTURY AD

VOL. II (VOLUME II OF II)

Thesis submitted for the degree of

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77c Glass medallion, Domus del Chirurgo, Rimini (*Source* Balena and Sassi 2009, 49)

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80a Homer, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 145)

80b Nilotic scene, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (Source Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 20)

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81b City panorama, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 39)

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101e Aphrodite *Venus Genetrix* (MF 1983-55), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1984, pl. 22)

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102a Dog rattle (MF 1985-49), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1986, pl. 33)

102b Athena (MF 1983-41), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams 2005, 233)

102c Dog rattle (MF 1985-50), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1986, pl. 33)

102d Athena (MF 1983-41), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1984, pl. 22)

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104d Relief of twin Cybele (IS 71-4), probably Hellenistic (*Source* Gregory 2013, 277)

104e Three-figure stelae of nymphs (IS 71-6), Imperial Roman (?) (*Source* Michaud 1972, 632)

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105a Part of the cistern, Thalero, Sicyon (*Source* Lolos 2011, 46)

105b Eastern entrance of the tunnel, East Field, Isthmia (*Source* Ellis S. J. R *et al.* 2008, fig. 20)

105c Eastern entrance and circular masonry, East Field, Isthmia (*Source* Gregory 2013, 277)

105d Western entrance of the tunnel, East Field, Isthmia (*Source* Ellis S. J. R *et al.* 2008, fig. 33)

105e Plan East Field, Isthmia at AD 400 (*Source* Ellis S. J. R *et al.* 2008, fig. 30)

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I.

METHODOLOGY:

COLLECTION OF DATA & PRESENTATION

The organisation of the appendix required a different layout from the rest of the thesis. This first part presents the methodology and the research path taken during the collection of the data. The second part (*hereafter,* Appendix II) is organized in five, separate thematic sections. These are presented in a table format, summarizing the key information about the Corinthian sites discussed in the main thesis. Regardless of the thematic section, the tabulation of data includes always the name of the respective site as well as a unique, corresponding number. The latter is further used to signify the site in question in the plans made by the author (*i.e.* Plans XXII-XXV) and presented in this volume.

The third part of the appendix (*hereafter,* Appendix III) adopts a similar layout. This is organized in two thematic sections, that present in a table format the information about the sites likely identified as private facilities in Achaea-in-Peloponnese.

With the aim to better help the reader navigate through the volume, in both the Appendix II and the Appendix III, each thematic section has a corresponding serial letter (i.e. 'A' - 'G'). Each thematic section is further divided into smaller subgroups per geographic entity, signified by numbers.

Appendix II is proportionally larger, for it contains the main data discussed in the text. The first section presents the basic information of each site identified as a residential and workshop facility. The second section records the key architectural characteristics. The third section lists the Corinthian private facilities that included mural, mosaic and statuary décor. The fourth and fifth sections present the bibliography and a short description of the Corinthian sites that may have had a private function.

Appendix III has a shorter format, presenting only the bibliography and a short description about the facilities likely identified as private facilities in the region of the Achaea-in-Peloponnese. The last two sections of the appendix contain the maps and the illustrations referred in the main text.

The identification of each respective site as either a 'private facility', or a facility of 'likely private use' rest with the author. That is because there not always a commonly accepted interpretation of the presented sites.

For that purpose, the thesis aimed to use a set of standard criteria. In case of Corinthia, the thesis considered as 'private facilities' only those with fixed installations. In the rural and peri-urban areas, further identification criteria were the material evidence of production activities, and the presence of small, remote cisterns. In urban areas, unless otherwise stated in the description, further identification criteria were the material evidence of production activities, and the architectural plan. With respect to the cases of possible private encroachment, a distinction was made between the facilities that had already a commercial use, and those readapted for commercial use.

Concerning the region of Achaea-in-Peloponnese, the following tables include all the sites that have been linked by to residential or working compounds. Most times, the atrium design and the presence of working areas, along with the material culture, argue in favour of the proposed identification. However, in several occasions, the limitations in the archaeological research and the summarily published excavation reports do not provide enough supporting evidence. For the convenience of the reader, the relevant tables list these cases as 'possible', or as 'buildings of unknown use' when there is no evidence whatsoever about the site's character. These identifications are based on the author's study of the published archaeological record and reflect his scepticism as to the conclusions reached in several excavation reports.

In terms of the dating an effort was made to present the dates of construction and the destruction of each facility. When this was not possible, the included date marks the attested period of use. For reasons of consistency with the Greek bibliographic sources, the referred periods are the Imperial Roman (IR), Late Roman (LR), Late Antique (LA), and Byzantine Era (BE). The main part of the thesis does not refer to the Late Antique period (*i.e. Παλαιοχριστιανική Περίοδος / Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα*). It refers instead to all the sites between the 3rd and the 6th century AD as 'Late Roman'. That is

because the terms ‘Late Roman’ (*Ύστερα Ρωμαϊκά χρόνια*), ‘Late Antique’ (*Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα*), and ‘Early Christian period’ (*Παλαιοχριστιανική Περίοδος*), are commonly used as generic terms in the Greek excavation reports. In that respect these distinctions do not always reflect any meaningful differences.

II.

TABLES

CORINTHIA

TABLES A

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SITES IDENTIFIED AS RESIDENTIAL & WORKSHOP AREAS

Table A1

Corinth

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
1	Murat Aga House	Athanasoulis 2013, 198
2	Pr. I. M. Lekka	Biers 2003, 309; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292-293; Krikou-Galani 1975, 138-158; Lolos 1997, 298
3	Site Loutra (Pr. Kefala) Over the Eastern Part of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 1999a, 161-162; 1996, 106
4	House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road	Biers 1985, 12-13; 62-65; Curta 2011, 56
5	House next the Hemicycle Building	Avramea 2012, 148; 1983, 52; Brady 1940, 64; Broneer 1926, 50-51; 56-57; Brown A. 2018, 56; 2008, 116; 134-136; Milleker 1985, 121-135; Rothaus 2000, 25-26; Saradi H. G. 2006, 240; Scranton 1957, 14-16; Stillwell 1932, 144-147
6	4th century Phase of the Southeast Building	Brown A. 2018, 44; Saradi H. G. 2006, 239; Scranton 1957, 11-12; Weinberg 1960, 31
7	House over the South Basilica	Athanasoulis 2013, 198; Ivison 1996, 110-111; Scranton 1957, 30; 92-93; Slane and Sanders 2005, 292; Weinberg 1960, 76-77; 113
8	Mosaic House	Bonini 2006, 314; Blue 1994, 161; Brown A. 2018, 47; 2008, 144; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Ridgway 1981, 442; Stirling 2008, 133; Weinberg 1960, 111-122
9	Peribolos of Apollo	Brown A. 2008, 136; Hill 1927, 72; Jacobs 2014, 85-86; Scranton 1957, 22-23; Slane and Sanders 2005, 292; Stillwell *et al.* 1941, 54
10	North of Peribolos of Apollo (House over the abandoned Eyrikles baths)	Avramea 2012, 114; Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 178; Biers 2013, 301-308; Bonini 2006, 312; Brown A. 2018, 62; 2008, 136; Curta 2011, 56; Rothaus 2000, 26; Scranton 1957, 16-21; Williams 1969, 62-63
11	Late Roman Bath - Panayia field	Sanders 1999, 456-457; Slane and Sanders 2005, 246-248
12	Panayia Domus - Panayia field	Bonini 2006, 322; Brown A. 2018, 45-47; Gregory 2010, 453-454; Lepinski 2015, 188-189; 2013, 92-99; 2008, 51-81; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 287-336; Person 2012, A10; Pettegrew 2016, 215; 2006, 339-341; Sanders 2014, 486-487; 2013b, 381-383; 2012, 82-86; 121-124; 2009, 200-202; 2005a, 151-152; 2005b, 419-442; 2004, 163-194; 1999, 441-480; Slane and Sanders 2005, 243-297; Stirling 2008; 89-161; Sweetman and Sanders 2005
13	Rooms B13 - 15 East of Panayia Domus - Panayia Field	Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 287-336
14	Apsidal Building - Panayia Field	Brown A. 2018, 47; Palinkas and Herbst 2011,308; Pettegrew 2006, 340-341; Sanders 2005B, 427; 2004, 173; 1999, 443-444
15	Shop North of Panayia Field	Broneer 1947, 244-246; Gregory 2010, 454; Sanders 1999, 442; Stirling 2008, 133
16	Early Roman Atrium House-Annex to Temple E	Anderson 1967, 1-3; Blue 1994, 160; Robinson H. S. 1968b, 135-136; Williams and Zervos 1990, 329; 336
17	Shop opposite to Early Roman Atrium House -NW of Temple E	Robinson H. S. 1968b, 135-136
18	South of South Stoa	Gebhard 2018, 394-395; Robinson H. S. 1968a, 133-135

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
19	Site Hadjimustafa - North Nezi Field	Broome-Raines 2007; Erny and Joy 2013; Gebhard 2018, 392-396; Harrington and Kopestonsky 2007; Morgan 2014a; Sapoutzidis 2007
20	Pr. Vathi	Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988h, 105
21	Pr. Marinou	Kritzas 1979, 212
22	Area Keramikos B	Deilaki-Protonotariou 1969, 122-124
23	Temple Hill	Robinson H. S. 1976, 221-223; Williams 1985, 68
24	Theatre - West Hall	Brown A. 2018, 73; Williams 2013, 496-497
25	Theatre - Plaza	Brown A. 2018, 73; Williams 2013, 497-498
26	Decumanus South of Temple "E" - North Side "Room 1"	Williams 1992, 123; 1990a, 33-34; Williams and Zervos 1988, 95-97
27	Decumanus South of Temple "E" - North Side "Room 2"	Williams 1992, 123; 1990a, 33-34; Williams and Zervos 1988, 95-97
28	Decumanus South of Temple "E" - South Side "Room 3"	Williams 1992, 123; 1990a, 33-34; Williams and Zervos 1990, 339; 1988, 97-100; 1987, 3
29	Building 5 - East of Theatre Initially recognized as Terraced building	Brown A. 2018, 123; 2008, 143; Jacobs 2014, 85; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A12; Slane 2003, 325; 1994, 127; Slane and Sanders 2005, 249-280; Williams 1990a, 33-34; 1990b, 94-96; 1989, 73-74; Williams and Zervos 1989 3-19; 1988, 120-131; 1987, 1-46; 1986, 148-163; 1985, 61-69; Williams and Zervos 1984 83-122
30	Building 7 - East of Theatre Initially recognized as Terraced building	Brown A. 2018, 123; 2008, 143; Jacobs 2014, 85; Lolos 2010, 119; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A13; Saradi H. G. and Eliopoulos 2011, 291-292; Slane 2003, 325; 1994, 127; Slane and Sanders 2005, 249-280; Williams 1990a, 33-34; 1990b, 94-96; Williams and Zervos 1989 3-19; 1988, 120-131; 1987, 1-46; 1986, 148-163; 1985, 61-69; Williams and Zervos 1984 83-122
31	LR building - NW Corner Insulae East of the Theatre	Williams and Zervos 1983, 27; 1982, 135-143
32	IR Long Building - NW Corner Insula East of Theatre	Williams and Zervos 1983, 11-13
33	LA Building - East of Theatre - At the SE Corner of the 1982 Excavation	Williams and Zervos 1983, 28-32
34	House of Opus Sectile (Roman House with Classical Mosaic Floor)	Brown A. 2018, 48; 2008, 143; Olivier 2001, 349-363; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A12; Shear 1929, 526-528; Williams and Zervos 1987, 28; 1985, 68; 1983, 14-28; 1982 133-135
35	Early Roman Cellar Building	Bonini 2006, 316; De Grazia and Williams 1977, 58-62; Robinson H. S. 1962, 111-112; Person 2012, B5; Slane 1986; Williams and Fisher 1975, 9-15; Williams and Zervos 1991, 2-3
36	Pr. Biniari - Site Gipedo	Kasimi 2004, 137
37	Zekio - Protobyzantine Building Complex in use until the Middle Byzantine Period	Athanasoulis 2013, 198
38	Zekio - Pr. Roumelioti	Koursoumis 2016, 921
39	Pr. Mavragani	Blackman 1998-1999, 21; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A11; Zafeiropoulou 1998, 70
40	Kraneio (*sic*) - Pr. Aik. Sofou - Tile Floor Building	Athanasoulis and Manolesou 2014, 324-325

No.	*SITE*	*REFERENCE*
41	**Kraneio (*sic*) - Pr. Aik. Sofou - Long Apsidal Building**	**Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 174**
42	**Kraneio (*sic*) - Pr. Marini**	**Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 175; Athanasoula and Manolesou 2014, 270; Manolesou 2014a, 295-296; 2014e, 315**

Table A2

Peri-urban Corinth

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
43	Site Kritika - Koutoumatsa	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 192; Athanasoulis 2013, 198
44	Anaploga	Bonini 2006, 320; Blue 1994, 160; Brown A. 2018, 49; 2008, 146; Daux 1963, 725-726; Dunbabin 1999, 210; Gregory 1979, 275; Megaw 1962-1963, 11; Miller Stel. 1972, 332-354; Papaioannou 2007, 354-356; 2002, 357; Person 2012, A11; Pettegrew 2016b, 215; 2006, 336-339; Robinson H. S. 1965, 78-80; Rothaus 2000, 28; 1994, 393; Walbank Mar. E. 1997, 129; Waywell 1979, 297
45	Pano Maghoula	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189; Brown A. 2018, 50; Gregory 2010, 467; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Pallas 1960, 201-216; Person 2012, A11; Pettegrew 2016b, 218; 2006, 344-345; Rothaus 2000, 28; 1994, 393
46	Greek Tile Works	Merker 2006, 3
47	Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189; Bonini 2006, 318-319; Blue 1994, 158-159; Brown A. 2018, 49; Dunbabin 1999, 210; Fowler 1932, 94; Kankeleit 1994, 108-113; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A11; Pettegrew 2016b, 215; 2006, 331-335; Rothaus 2000, 26-28, 1994, 393; Shear 1930, 3-26; 1925, 381-397; Waywell 1979, 297
48	Farm Kokkinovrysi	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189; Lolos 2010, 1119-120; Megaw 1962-1963, 10; Pettegrew 2006, 336; Robinson H. S. 1965, 77
49	Kilns - Kokkinovrysi	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189; Brown A. 2018, 49; 2008, 150; Daux 1965, 690-691; Robinson H. S. 1967, 144
50	Baths of Aphrodite	Brown A. 2008, 149; Robinson H. S. 1962, 124; Faraklas and Sakellariou 1971, 138
51	Gymnasium Bronze Foundry	Brown A. 2008, 149; Mattusch 1991, 383-395
52	Kiln NE of the city - Kraneio	Brown A. 2018, 49; 2008, 155-156; Daux 1965, 689-690; Robinson H. S. 1967, 144

Table A3

The port cities: Kenchreai and Lechaeon

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
53	Lechaeon Diavatiki - Pr. Kalliri	Manolesou 2014d, 316-317
54	Lechaeon Diavatiki - Pr. Theodoropoulou	Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 2004a, 314-315
55	Lechaeon Basilica - House '1'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 135; 1965b, 129-131; 1963, 74; 1962, 102-104; 1961, 170-172; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 32
56	Lechaeon Basilica - Rooms North of the House '1'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965b, 130-131
57	Lechaeon Basilica - House '2'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 135; 1963, 74; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33
58	Lechaeon Basilica - House '4'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 136; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, 136
59	Lechaeon Basilica - House '3'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 135-136; 1963, 74; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33
60	Lechaeon Basilica - House '5'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1967, 137-140; 1965a, 135-137; 1963, 74; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33; 34
61	Lechaeon Basilica - House '11'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1967, 144-148; Widad 2002, plan 34
62	Lechaeon Site - House '6'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1967, 139-145; 1965a, 135-136; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33; 34
63	Lechaeon Site - 'Agrepavli' (Farm House)	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1965a, 137-139; 1963, 74-75; Sodini 1984, 370-373; Widad 2002, plan 33
64	Lechaeon Basilica - House '7'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1966, 161
65	Lechaeon Basilica - House '8'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1966, 161-162
66	Lechaeon Basilica - House '9'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1966, 158; 162-163
67	Lechaeon Basilica - House '10'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1966, 163-165
68	Lechaeon Site - House '12'	Avramea 2012, 344-34; Pallas 1967, 148
69	Lechaeon South of the Inner Port - Site A	cla.csulb; Jarus 2018; Scotton 2017
70	Lechaeon South of the Inner Port - Site B	cla.csulb; Jarus 2018; Scotton 2017
71	Kenchreai Koutsogilia - Area B - Northern Complex	Korka and Rife 2013, 291-292; Morgan 2010a; 2010b; 2009; Person 2012, A17; Pettegrew 2016b, 217; Rife 2014c, 553-555; Rife *et al.* 2007, 150
72	Kenchreai Koutsogilia - Area B - Southern Complex	Korka and Rife 2013, 291-292; Morgan 2010a; 2010b; 2009; Person 2012, A17; Pettegrew 2016b, 217; Rife 2014a, 471-473; 2014b, 563-564; 2014c, 556; Rife *et al.* 2007, 150
73	Kenchreai - Pr. Threpsiadi	Archibald 2014-2015, 25; Bennet 2016; Heath *et al.* 2015; Kristali-Votsi 1984a, 64; Morgan 2015

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
74	Kenchreai - 'Brick' and 'South' buildings - Northern Quay	Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 216; Evaggeloglou 2013, 36; Ibrahim *et al.* 1978; 1976, 90-98; Morgan 2014b; Papaioannou 2002, 357; Person 2012, A17; Pettegrew 2016b, 216; 2006, 341-343; Pitt 2012; Rife 2018; 397; 2016a, 348; Rife 2016b, 466-468; Rife 2010, 400-402; 2007, 152; Rothaus 2000, 29, 66-75; 1994, 393; Scranton 1978a, 53-90; Scranton and Ramage 1968, 185-187; Scranton and Ramage 1967a, 145-152; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 124-186; 1964, 134-140; Stumpf 2003, 358; Waywell 1979, 299
75	Kenchreai - Upper terrace Shops - Northern Quay	Morgan 2013; Rife 2016a, 348
76	Kenchreai - Apsidal Court Nymphaeum - Southern Quay	Bommas 2005, 108-112; Bouras Cath. 2016, 212; 2008, 190-19; Bricault and Veymiers 2007, 411-412; Evangeloglou 2013, 35-36; Frangoulidis 2008, 218-220; Nielsen 2014, 77; Pettegrew 2016b, 216; 2013, 138; 2006, 341-343; Rife 2010, 400-401; Rothaus 2000, 66-72; Scranton 1978a, 52-78; Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 140-152; Stern W. and Thimmae 2007, 305-312; Versluys 2002, 219

Table A4

The inland Corinthian cities: Tenea and Sicyon

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
77	Tenea - Chiliomodi - Site Palaio Sxoleio (Pr. Kanellou)	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 195; Avramea 2012, 348; Deilaki-Protonotariou 1972, 159-160; Giannakopoulos and Kissas 2013, 83; Kordosis 1997, 483-484; Papachristodoulou 1970b, 103; Wiseman 1978, 93
78	Sicyon - South Stoa	Lolos 2016b, 117; Lolos 2015, 134; Orlandos 1955, 390-391
79	South of South Stoa - Site N. of the East-West Road	Lolos 2019, 111-120; 2018, 185-225; 2016a, 139-180; 2016b, 103-138; 2015, 117-133; Petrakos 2018, 24-29; 2017, 17-19; 2016, 21-23; 2015, 24-28; 2014, 30-32
80	South of South Stoa - Site S. of the East-West Road - IR Phase	Lolos 2019, 111-135; Lolos 2018, 185-225; 2016a, 154-157; 2016b, 108-112; 2015, 117-133; Petrakos 2018, 24-28; 2017, 17-19; 2016, 21-23; 2015, 24-28; 2014, 30-32
81	South of South Stoa - Site S. of the East-West Road - LR Phase	Lolos 2019, 111-135; Lolos 2018, 185-225; 2016a, 154-157; 2016b, 108-112; 2015, 117-133; Petrakos 2018, 24-28; 2017, 17-19; 2016, 21-23; 2015, 24-28; 2014, 30-32

Table A5

Rural Corinthia

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
82	Sicyonia - Kiato Village Melissi	Avramea 2012, 352; Drosoyianni 1968a, 219-221; Lolos 2011, 509
83	Sicyonia - Poulitsa-Alonaki Kitsalia	Lolos 2011, 340-341; 423
84	Sicyonia - Thalero Loutro	Lolos 2011, 496; Faraklas 1971, site 104, (app ii p11)
85	Sicyonia - Lalioti Loutro	Lolos 2011, 42; 487
86	Sicyonia - Bozika Karoumbalo	Lolos 2011, 469-470; 543
87	Sicyonia - Kryoneri Valathra	Lolos 2011, 449-450
88	Sicyonia - Gonousa Gourkioni	Lolos 2011, 455; Faraklas 1971, site 142-143
89	Sicyonia - Villa Diminio	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 191; Avramea 2012, 264; 352; Lolos 2011, 341-342; Orlandos 1957, 116; Petridis 2008, 254-255; Sodini 1984, 376
90	Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 40-51; 2013a, 191; 2013b 179-190; 2013c, 176-185; 2012, 77-78; 2009, 191; 2005, 148; 2004, 139; 2002b, 148-149; Brown A. 2018, 50-51; Gregory 2010k 467; Kasimi 2016, 331-332; Pettegrew 2016b, 218; 2006, 346-347
91	Perachora - Farm over the West Court	Brown A. 2018, 126; 2008, 178-179; Coulton 1967, 370-371; 1964, 130-131; Payne *et al.* 1940, 15
92	Perachora - Farm over the Fountain House	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 189-190; Brown A. 2008, 178-179; Tomlinson 1969, 242-250
93	Toll Post of Zevgolatio - Site Ag. Charalampos	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 192; Manolesou 2014b, 312
94	Derveni - Site Svarnos (Modern Corinthia/Ancient Achaea)	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 192; Kissas and Giannakopoulos 2018, 380-382
95	Akra Sofia	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 193; Avramea 2012, 263-264; 346; Curta 2011, 38; Drakoulis 2009a, 23-24; Gregory 2013, 279-280; 2010, 467; 1989, 156-159; 1985, 411-428; Rothaus 2000, 28; 1994, 393; Sodini 1997, 467
96	SHARP - Korphos Bay	Brown A. 2018, 50; Pullen and Tartaron 2014, 467; Stewart D. 2014, 124
97	Ag. Vassilios - Site Varella (Pr. Rekleiti-Roussopoulou)	Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papademitriou 1997, 252; Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 190; Avramea 2012, 268; 348; Drakoulis 2009a, 23-24; Gregory 2010, 467; Pettegrew 2016b, 218; 2006, 347-348; Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 208; Marchand 2009a, 143; Moutzali 2002b, 340-341; 1989, 109-110; Rothaus 2000, 29; 1994, 394
98	Xerias River (Levkon Valley)	Wiseman 1978, 88
99	Area Solomos - Site Babounistra K77 D5	Kasimi and Liras 2018, 386
100	Ag Eirini Phliasia	Kaza-Papageorgiou 2013, 387-388; Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 190
101	Nemea Tritos (Pr. Kalara)	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 190; Charitonidis 1968a, 125; Gregory 2010, 467; Kritzas 1976, 212-214; Marchand 2016, 271; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 74; Rothaus 2000, 29

Table A6

Nemea Settlement

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
102	Eastern House - SW of the Basilica (Section K 18-19)	Avramea 2005, 216; Birge *et al*. 1992, 78-83; Miller Steph. and Mpala 2005, 69-70; 106; Miller Steph. 2015, 288-293; 1988, 3-8; 1984, 178; 1983, 84-88
103	Western House - SW of the LR Basilica (Section J 18-19)	Avramea 2005, 216; Birge *et al.* 1992, 78-83; Miller Steph. and Mpala 2005, 69-70; 106; Miller Steph. 2015, 288-293; 1988, 3-8; 1983, 84-88
104	Tunnel Entrance of the Stadium	Miller Steph. 1979, 99; Miller Steph. and Abraldes 1990, 47; Miller Steph. and Mpala 2005, 107-110
105	South of the Temple Area (Section F/J 37-39)	Miller Steph. 1976, 202
106	Nemea- Boat Shed (Section I 16)	Miller Steph. 2015, 282

Table A7

Domvraina Bay islets

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
107	Isle Kouveli - Bay of Domvraina	Dunn 2006, 43-51; Kardulias *et al*. 1995, 3-5; Gregory 1986a, 289; 1986b, 19-20
108	Isle of Makronisos	Dunn 2006, 43-51; Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 3-5; Gregory 1986a; 1986b, 20-21

Table A8

Isthmia Settlement

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
109	House at the Southeast Corner of the Temple	Broneer 1973, 97; Eger 2013, 836-837; Gregory 2010, 472-473; 1993b, 150; Rife 2012, 129; 139; Kardulias 2005, 44-46; Rothaus 2000, 89
110	West House over the Temple	Broneer 1973, 97; Eger 2013, 836-837; Gregory 2010, 472-473; 1993b, 150; Rife 2012, 129; 139; Kardulias 2005, 44-46; Rothaus 2000, 89
111	Southwest House over the Temple	Broneer 1973, 97-98; Eger 2013, 836-837; Gregory 2010, 472-473; 1993b, 150; Rife 2012, 129; 139; Kardulias 2005, 44-46; Rothaus 2000, 89
112	Northwest Structure over the Temple	Broneer 1973, 96-98; Eger 2013, 836-837; Gregory 2010, 472-473; 1993b, 150; Rife 2012, 129; 139; Kardulias 2005, 44-46; Rothaus 2000, 89
113	Isthmia Fortress	Eger 2013, 838; Gregory 2010, 456; 1993a, 130-132; Gregory and Kardulias 1990; Kardulias 2005; 1993; Rife 2012, 113-143; Rife and Giesen 1994, 231-233
114	Settlement East of Temenos (East Field)	Ellis S. J. R *et al*. 2008; Ellis S. J. R and Poehler 2015, 271-288; Beaton and Clement 1976; Catling 1971-1972, 8; Clement 1977, 145; 1976, 224-230; Gregory 2014, 540-543; 2013, 277-278; 2010, 457-460; Marty 1993, 121-126; Michaud 1972, 630-635; Rife 2012, 115; 124; Rothaus 2000, 88-92; Pettegrew 2016b, 224; Stirling 2005, 199; Wohl 1993, 130
115	Settlement over the Roman Bath of Isthmia	Gregory 2013, 227; 2010, 456, 471-473; 1995, 286-287-303; 1994, 149-150; 1993b, 149-159; Kardulias 2005, Lindros Wohl 1981, 116-118; Pettegrew 2016b, 224; Rife 2012, 120; 123-124; 134; Rife and Giesen 1994, 233; Rothaus 2000, 91-92
116	Theatre	Gebhard 1973, 134-135; Rife 2012, 123

TABLES B

THE ARCHITECTURE & INTERIOR SPACES OF THE SITES IDENTIFIED AS RESIDENTIAL & WORKSHOP AREAS

Table B1 *Corinth*

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
1	Murat Aga House	5th – 7th c. AD	Possible Urban house	n/a	n/a	n/a	Large space divided by tribelon	n/a	n/a	Brief reference of a presumably domestic complex
2	Pr. I. M. Lekka	4th/5th – 6th c. AD	Urban house	n/a	Court	Baths with hypocaust	No	No	Warehouse with 4 dolia; 3 small circular tanks	Coin thesaurus dating in the 6th century AD
3	Pr. Kefala - Site Loutra over the Eastern Part of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road	LA	Urban house	5<	No	No	No	No	Oven	Private encroachment and subdivision likely after the baths' destruction in the mid-6th century
4	House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths on the Lechaeon Road	6th – Late 6th/ early 7th c. AD	Urban house	2<	No	Latrine	Signs of an upper storey	No	Hearth	Private encroachment and subdivision
5	House next to the Hemicycle	5th – Late 6th c. AD	Urban house(s)	6<	Court	Clay pipe emptying in a buried jar	Possibly room with a tribelon	Traces of a wall niche may imply a shrine	Storing room with amphorae	Private encroachment and subdivision

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
6	4th century AD Phase of the Southeast Building	4th – 5th c. AD	Public building with sings of commercial use	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	No	Two dolia sunken in the floor	Possible private encroachment and subdivision
7	House over the South Basilica	5th – Late 6th/7th c. AD	Urban house	1<	No	Baths with hypocaust	Apsidal triclinium	No	No	Private encroachment and subdivision
8	Mosaic House	AD200 - AD395	Possible Urban house	3<	No	No	No	No	No	Resembles a housing unit
9	Peribolos of Apollo	Late 4th /5th c. AD	Public building with sings of commercial/residential use	n/a	n/a	n/a	Two sigma tables in the Eastern flank	n/a	Dolia	Possible private encroachment and subdivision
10	North of Peribolos of Apollo (House over the abandoned Eyrikles' Baths)	6th – 7th c. AD	Urban house with shops	2 (+ 3 Shops?)	Possibly to the East	Latrine; Small private bath	No	No	Likely the unit incorporated the glass workshop to its West; Dolium	Private encroachment and subdivision
11	Late Roman Bath - Panayia Field	Late 6th/7th c. AD	Squatter establishment	1	No	No	No	No	Hearth and cooking pots	Abutting the derelict Late Roman bath
12	Panayia Domus - Panayia Field	AD200 – AD360	Urban house	13<	Peristyle; Atrium	Impluvium; Nymphaeum	Large room opening to the peristyle	Likely sacellum	No	May connect with rooms 'B13-B15'
13	Rooms B13-15 East of Panayia Domus - Panayia Field	1st – 4th c. AD	Shop/ Workshop(s)	3<	No	Cistern; Sewer pipes	No	No	2 Hearths	May connect with 'Panayia domus'
14	Apsidal Building - Panayia Field	5th c. AD	Possible Urban house	1<	No	No	Apsidal triclinium	No	No	Resembles a housing unit

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
15	Shop North of Panayia Field	IR – 3rd/ early 4th c. AD	Shop/ Workshop	2	No	No	No	No	Iron slag	_
16	Early Roman Atrium House - Annex to Temple E	IR – 4th c. AD	Court/possible urban house	2	No	Impluvium	Peristyle	No	No	Abutting Temple E, function unknown
17	Shop opposite to Early Roman Atrium House - NW of Temple E	IR – 4th c. AD	Shop/ Workshop	2<	No	No	Signs of an upper storey	No	3 dolia	_
18	South of South Stoa	6th c. AD - AD 525	Shop/ Workshop	4<	No	No	No	No	Fuller's establishment	"Dyeing vats" (?)
19	Site Hadjimustafa - North Nezi Field	IR – 4th c. AD	Shop(s)/workshop(s)	n/a	No	No	No	No	Dolium	Furnace brick with traces of bronze may suggest a foundry
20	Pr. Vathi	LR	Walls of urban house/workshop	n/a	No	Cistern	No	No	No	_
21	Pr. Marinou	IR - LR	Possible urban house	n/a	No	No	No	No	No	_
22	Corinth - Area Keramikos B	IR (?) - LR	Possible urban house	n/a	No	No	No	No	No	_
23	North South and West of the Sanctuary at Temple Hill	5th/6th c. AD	Urban house(s)	n/a	No	No	No	No	No	Private encroachment over public areas
24	Theatre - West Hall	4th c. AD	Squatters on the Northern part of the hall	n/a	No	No	No	No	Table wares and amphorae	Private encroachment

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
25	Theatre - Plaza	Late 4th – 5th c. AD	Shop(s)/works hop(s)	n/a	No	No	No	No	Amphorae cooking and domestic wares	Private encroachment, during that phase the nearby West hall used as a "Dumping area" (?)
26	Decumanus South of Temple "E" - North Side "Room 1"	4th (terminus post quem) – 5th c. AD	Possible urban villa	1<	No	Sewer pipes	No	No	No	May connect with the neighbouring "Room 2", function unknown
27	Decumanus South of Temple "E" - North Side "Room 2"	4th (likely earlier) – 5th c. AD	Possible urban house	1<	No	Sewer pipes (?)	No	No	No	Possible signs of expansion over the public sidewalk but not over the road
28	Decumanus South of Temple "E" - South Side "Room 3"	IR (?) – 6th c. AD	Urban house/Workshop	2<	No	No	No	No	Many amphorae	Possibly connects with the 'Decumanus South of Temple E - South Side' (Tables D1, E1)
29	Building 5 - East of theatre (Initially called Terraced building)	1st c. AD – AD300	Shop/Workshop	4	No	Terracotta drain	No	Lararium (?)	Tile working area of unknown use; Hearth; Many signs of glass working activities	Cooking pottery and several amphorae

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
30	Building 7 - East of theatre (Initially called Terraced building)	1st c. AD – AD300	Shop/Workshop	5	No	No	No	Cultic niche	Dolium; Washroom (?); Hearth	Successive subdivisions
31	LR Building - NW Corner Insula East of the Theatre	Early 5th (?) – late 5th/6th c. AD	Shop/Workshop	n/a	No	No	No	No	Tiled basin, Amphorae, pots, table wares and water jars	Private encroachment over the sidewalk
32	IR Long Building - NW Corner Insula East of the Theatre	IR	Shop/Workshop	n/a	No	No	No	No	Fullers facility; Foundry; Dolia and several basins	May be an earlier phase of the LR building
33	LA Building East of Theatre 1982 Excavation SE	LR	Urban house /Shop	n/a	No	Cistern	No	No	Hearth and amphorae and pots	_
34	House of Opus Sectile (Roman house with classical mosaic floor)	IR – AD300	Urban house with tabernae shops	6<	Court	Drain	No	No	Storing rooms with amphorae and cooking pots	May continue further South and East
35	Early Roman Cellar Building	1st c. AD – LA (6th c. AD)	Shop/Workshop	3 (+ 1 cellar)	No	No	No	No	In the cellar dolia, in the upper floor large taberna-style door	The cellar was filled in the 1st c. AD, road encroachment in the 4th c. AD
36	Pr. Biniari - Site Gipedo	(IR) - LR	Shop/Workshop	n/a	No	No	No	No	Fireplace	Two (Roman) circular tanks may imply a workshop

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
37	Zekio - Protobyzantine Building Complex in use until the Middle Byzantine Period	LA -BE	Possible Urban house	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Brief reference of a presumably domestic complex later subdivided
38	Zekio - Pr. Roumelioti	LR	Possible Urban house	1<	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	_
39	Pr. Mavragani	Roman (?)	Urban house	n/a	Atrium	Impluvium; Baths	n/a	Sacellum	n/a	_
40	Kraneio (*sic*) - Pr. Aik. Sofou - Tile Floor Building	Roman (?)	Urban house or squatter settlement in the baths (?)	2<	No	Water pipes	No	No	Mill stones and stone mortarium	May connects with the Long apsidal building and the nearby baths
41	Kraneio (*sic*) - Pr. Aik. Sofou - Long Apsidal Building	5th – 7th c. AD	Possible Urban house or squatter settlement in the baths (?)	2	No	No	Room with opus sectile	No	No	May connects with the tile floor building and the nearby baths
42	Kraneio (*sic*) - Pr. Marini	LA	Urban house	3<	No	Small private bath	No	No	Amphorae	Recognized as private baths

Table B2 *Peri-urban Corinth*

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
43	Site Kritika - Koutoumatsa	4th - 7th c. AD	Rural villa	6	No	No	Upper storey	No	Storing silo; Trapetum	–
44	Anaploga	1st - 4th c. AD	Rural villa	11	Atrium	No	Dining hall	No	No	Subdivision
45	Pano Maghoula	3rd - 7th c. AD	Rural villa	9<	No	Large waterproof tank	Upper storey; Room with tribelon	No	Dolia; Millstones	–
46	Greek Tile Works	3rd – 5th c. AD	Workshop/ Farm	n/a	No	No	No	No	Dolium	–
47	Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi	1st - 5th c. AD	Rural villa	5<	Atrium	Impluvium	Dining and reception halls	No	Storing room with dolia	Subdivision
48	Farm Kokkinovrysi	3rd - LR	Farm	n/a	No	No	No	No	Torcularium with a press; "Oil tank" (?)	–
49	Kilns - Kokkinovrysi	4th c. AD	Workshop/ Farm	n/a	No	No	No	No	Pottery kiln; Limekiln	–
50	Baths of Aphrodite	LR – 5th c. AD	Workshop/ Farm	n/a	No	Cistern	No	No	No	–
51	Gymnasium Bronze Foundry	1st – 2nd AD (?)	Workshop/ Farm	n/a	No	No	No	No	Bronze foundry	Signs of human presence until the 6th c. AD
52	Kraneio - Kiln NE of the city	4th – 5th c. AD	Workshop/ Farm	n/a	No	No	No	No	Kiln	–

Table B3

The port cities: Kenchreai and Lechaeon

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCTRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
53	Lechaeon Diavatiki – Pr. Kalliri	LA-BE	Urban house/Workshop	3<	Atrium	Nymphaeum /impluvium; Small private Bath	No	No	Kiln	At a later stage a pottery kiln was established to the North of the atrium
54	Lechaeon Diavatiki - Pr. Theodoro-poulou	2nd -5th c. AD	Urban house	n/a	No	Water pipes	No	No	Dolium, amphorae	May connect with the neighbouring 'Diavatiki Pr. Tintiri'
55	Lechaeon Basilica - House '1'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	House/workshop	4	Possible	Latrine; Private baths with a sewer	Upper storey; Dining hall with build sigma table	No	Installation identified as basin, but the cooking pottery and the traces of fire may suggest a furnace	Possible private encroachment and subdivision, may connect with the rooms found further Northwest
56	Lechaeon Basilica - Rooms North of House '1'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	Workshop/Burial champers	2	No	No	No	No	Iron tools	Rudimentary workshop and Christian burials

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCTRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
57	Lechaeon Basilica - House '2'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	House/workshop	2	No	Sewer	Upper storey	No	A tank (cistern?) recognized as torcularium	Private encroachment and subdivision, may connect with House 4
58	Lechaeon Basilica - House '4'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	House/workshop	5	Possibly court (?)	No	Dining room with built sigma table	No	Hand mill; Furnace (Oven?) recognized as kiln	Private encroachment and subdivision, may connects with House 2
59	Lechaeon Basilica - House '3'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	House/workshop	n/a	Court	Sewer	Dining room with built sigma table	No	Storing room with 3 dolia; Built basin	The house encroached two compartments of the basilica East of the narthex
60	Lechaeon Basilica - House '5'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	House/workshop	6(?)	Court subdivided (?)	Water pipes	Dining room with built sigma table; A second large room with a described pedestal coming from a table (?)	No	No	Abutting the South portico of the basilica, the court may have been subdivided between houses '5' and '11'
61	Lechaeon Basilica - House '11'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	House/workshop	4(?)	No	Latrine; Small private bath; nymphaeum (?)	Dining room with built sigma table	No	Small circular tank paved with tiles (nymph. ?)	Abutting the South portico of the basilica's peristyle, may connect with house 5
62	Lechaeon Site - House '6'	6th c. AD (?)	House/workshop	5	No	A small sewer	No	No	3 tanks (cisterns?)	Private encroachment over the road

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCTRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
63	Lechaeon Site - 'Agrepavli' (Farm House)	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	Farm	11	Yard in the Eastern section	Sewer; Latrine(s)	Fortification towers (?); Second storey	No	Tank recognized as a torcularium	May have been two independent housing units
64	Lechaeon Basilica - House '7'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	Possible House/workshop	4	No	No	No	No	No	Abutting the basilica's narthex and staircase, may connect with houses '8'; '9'; '10'
65	Lechaeon Basilica - House '8'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	House/workshop	3	No	No	No	No	Hearth	Abutting the South portico of the basilica's peristyle, may connect with houses '7'; '9'; '10'
66	Lechaeon Basilica - House '9'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	House/workshop	4	No	Sewer	2 dining halls(?), one with built table	No	Hearth	Abutting the South portico of the basilica's peristyle, may connect with houses '8'; '7'; '10'
67	Lechaeon Basilica - House '10'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	House/workshop	5	Yard	Sewer	Second storey	No	Traces of fire (furnace?)	May connect with houses '8'; '7'; '9'
68	Lechaeon Basilica - House '12'	Late 6th – 7th c. AD	Possible House/workshop	2<	No	No	No	No	No	Private encroachment over the road
69	Lechaeon South of the inner port - Site A	5th – 6th c. AD	Squatter settlement above the Hellenistic stoa	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Currently excavated, one or more rooms were occupied by squatters

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCTRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
70	Lechaeon South of the inner port - Site B	(?) - 6th c. AD	Workshop (?)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Workshop (?)	The current excavations noted a coin hoard beneath the fallen roof
71	Kenchreai Koutsogilia - Area B - Northern Complex	IR – 3rd c. AD	Possible Urban house	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Only a small section is preserved, may connect with the neighbouring 'Southern complex'
72	Kenchreai Koutsogilia - Area B - Southern Complex	IR – 3rd c. AD (5th c. AD)	Urban house(s)	4	No	Well; 2 tanks connected with lead pipe (bath?)	No	No	5 pits for dolia; Ample cooking pottery	The facility which likely had a LR phase, may associate with the neighbouring 'Northern complex'
73	Kenchreai - Pr. Threpsiadi	4th – Late 6th / early 7th c. AD	Urban house	8< (Possibly 10 in the ground floor)	Peristyle	No	Upper storey	No	Two storing rooms with pits for storing vessel; Many amphorae	Several windowpanes and few loom weights
74	'Brick' and 'South' Buildings - Northern Quay	1st - 6th c. AD	Possible Urban house/Collegium (?)	7-9 & 9	Peristyle	Nymphaeum	2 Rooms with tribelon entrances	No	No	Private encroachment over the road and later subdivision
75	Up. terrace shops - Northern Quay	1st – 7th c. AD	Tabernae later converted to a burial complex (?)	3-4	No	No	No	No	Tabernae (?)	Converted to a burial complex in the 5th c. AD and expanded over the road

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCTRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
76	**Apsidal Court Nymphaeum - Southern Quay**	**4th c. AD**	**Possible Urban house/Collegium (?)**	**4 (?)**	**Yard**	**Nymphaeum**	**No**	**No**	**No**	**Elaborate parietal glass opus sectile**

Table B4 *The inland Corinthian cities: Tenea and Sicyon*

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
77	Tenea – Chiliomodi - Site Palaio Sxoleio (Pr. Kanellou)	IR - LR	Workshop	n/a	No	No	No	No	"Fuller's establishment"; Trapetum; Oil production unit (?)	Recognized as a fuller's establishment may be oil production unit
78	Sicyon - South Stoa	LR	Possible/ Workshop	n/a	No	No	No	No	Rock carvings and sewer system may indicate a workshop	According to the excavator this may be squatter phase
79	South of South stoa - Site N. of the East-West Road	1st – 7th AD	Farm/Workshop	17	No	Water channels	No	Glass vessel inserted in a new 6th c. AD wall, may imply foundation ritual	1st Storing room with 6 amphorae; 2nd storing room with 2 amphorae; 3rd storing room with clay silo; Stone platform; Furnace or Kiln (?); Limekiln; Traces of process of oil; Torcularium possibly with two vats	The main period of occupancy is between the 4th - 7th c. AD, the evidence may suggest a pose in the activities between the 2nd /3rd c. AD and the 4th/ 5th c. AD
80	South of South stoa - Site S. of the East-West Road - IR Phase	1st - 2nd AD	Workshop	4<	No	n/a	n/a	n/a	In courts '1' - '2' 3 Kilns (+1 kiln earlier)	Currently excavated, the evidence suggests a pose in the activities between the 2nd c. AD and the 4th c. AD

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
81	**South of South stoa - Site S. of the East-West Road - LR Phase**	**4th - 7th c. AD**	**Workshop**	**4<**	**No**	**n/a**	**n/a**	**n/a**	**In the Easternmost court '4', 2 Kilns, one converted to limekiln and then again to pottery kiln**	**Currently excavated, the evidence suggests a pose in the activities between the 2nd c. AD and the 4th c. AD and again in the 5th AD**

Table B5 ***Rural Corinthia***

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
82	Sicyonia - Kiato Village Melissi	6th c. AD	Rural farm	n/a	No	No	No	A pottery jar in the foundation of the torcularium may signify a ritual	Torcularium	–
83	Sicyonia – Poulitsa - Alonaki Kitsalia	LR	Rural farm	n/a	No	Cistern	No	No	No	Amphora shreds
84	Sicyonia - Thalero Loutro	IR - LR	Rural farm	n/a	No	Cistern	No	No	No	Shreds of amphorae, cooking pots, and dolia
85	Sicyonia - Lalioti Loutro	IR - LR	Rural farm	n/a	No	Cistern	No	No	Trapetum	–
86	Sicyonia - Bozika Karoumbalo	LR	Building with small tower	n/a	No	No	No	No	No	Shreds of dolia
87	Sicyonia - Kryoneri Valathra	IR - LR	Rural farm	n/a	No	Cistern	No	No	Millstone	Sherds of dolia and amphorae, along with loom weights
88	Sicyonia - Gonousa Gourkioni	LR	Farm	n/a	No	No	No	No	Circular basin	Amphorae, cooking pots

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
89	Sicyonia – Villa Diminio	LA	Rural villa	6<	No	No	Apsidal triclinium; tribelon room	No	_	Dolia
90	Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra	2nd – 6th c. AD	Rural villa	30	Court	Baths with hypocaust	Apsidal triclinium, reception rooms	No	Kiln	Multiple subdivisions
91	Perachora – Farm over the West Court	2nd - 3rd c. AD	Farm	5	No	No	No	No	Oil press; Oven; Platform for unknown use	Private encroachment and subdivision, many amphorae and a dolium
92	Perachora – Farm over the Fountain House	2nd - 4rd c. AD	Farm	3	No	Cistern	No	No	"Small kiln" oven (?); Stone-lined basin	Private encroachment and subdivision, several loom weights
93	Toll Post of Zevgolatio - Site Ag. Charalampos	LA – 6th AD	Farm	6	No	Water pipes	No	No	Kiln	_
94	Derveni - Site Svarnos (Modern Corinthia / Ancient Achaea)	IR - LA	Rural villas	n/a	n/a	Nymphaeum; baths with hypocaust	n/a	No	Torcularium with two vats; Oil millstone (trapetum?); Storing silos	Subdivision and instalment of clay silos and at more than 6 dolia
95	Akra Sofia	Mid-6th c. AD	Rural villa	21	Court	Cisterns; well; baths with hypocaust	Triclinium (?)	No	Shreds of beehives	Small harbour facility

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINE	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
96	SHARP - Korphos Bay	LR	Possible Farm	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	"Industry" (?)	Reuse of the standing Mycenaean wall remains
97	Ag. Vassilios - Site Varella - (Pr. Rekleiti-Roussopoulou)	3rd/4th – 7th c. AD	Rural villa/Village	n/a	n/a	Baths with hypocaust	n/a	No	Four storing rooms with dolia; Trapetum, More workshops (?)	The villa might have been part of a village
98	Xerias river (Levkon Valley)	IR – 3rd c. AD	Farm	n/a	n/a	Cistern	n/a	n/a	2 Trapeta	_
99	Area Solomos - Site Babounistra - K77 D5	Roman (?)	Farm (?)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Vat Cistern(?)	_
100	Ag Eirini Phliasia	LR – LA	Farm	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2 Dolia	_
101	Nemea Tritos (Pr. Kalara)	LR	Rural villa	3<	n/a	Sewer system and traces of hypocaust	Apsidal triclinium	No	Millstone for cereal (?)	–

Table B6

Nemea Settlement

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINES	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
102	Eastern House - SW of the Basilica (Section K 18-19)	5th – 6th c. AD	Farm	7<	No	Well	No	–	Room with dolium	Abutting the Western wall of the Christian basilica, the area was excavated in the 1920s without a record
103	Western House - SW of the LR Basilica (Section J 18-19)	5th – 6th c. AD	Farm	9<	Yard	–	No	–	Room with dolium	In the area of the two houses the survey revealed a steelyard balance rod, weights, a millstone, a pendant cross, and a Doric capital reused as water basin, whereas two hoards were found in the yard of the Western house
104	Tunnel Entrance of the Stadium	6th c. AD – AD580	Squatter settlement	1	No	No	No	No	-	The tunnel might have been used as a refuge, a coin hoard was found in the tunnel dating between AD539/40, and AD576/7
105	South of the Temple Area (Section F/J 37-39)	6th c. AD – AD580	Farm	3<	No	No	No	No	Three architectural blocks reworked as basins	Scattered human bones may imply a violent event
106	Nemea-Boat shed (Section I 16)	LR/LA	Possible Boat shed	1	No	No	No	No	Boat shed (?)	A fishing hook found not far away, between the alleged water pumping station and the boat shed

Table B7

Domvraina Bay islets

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARD	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINES	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHERN NOTES
107	Isle Kouveli - Bay of Domvraina	4th – 7th c. AD	Settlement	–	–	Cisterns	–	Church	Amphorae	Recorded more than 23 buildings of various functions spread in the island
108	Isle of Makronisos	4th – 7th c. AD	Settlement	–	–	Cisterns	–	Church	Amphorae beehives and limekiln	Main settlement with 57 buildings; More sites recorded further away including farms, a village (?) and system of barricaded caves

Table B8

Isthmia Settlement

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARDS	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINES	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
109	House at the Southeast Corner of the Temple	7th c. AD	Farm/workshop	1	No	Nearby stood a LR cistern that might have provided water	No	No	Hearth; Small bin (?); Half of a millstone	Unclear how it connects with the other houses over the abandoned temple
110	West House over the Temple	7th c. AD	Farm/workshop	1	No	Nearby stood a LR cistern that might have provided water	No	No	No	Unclear how it connects with the other houses over the abandoned temple
111	Southwest House over the Temple	7th c. AD	Farm/workshop	2	No	Nearby stood a LR cistern that might have provided water	Cubicle of unknown use	No	No	Unclear how it connects with the other houses over the abandoned temple
112	Northwest Structure over the Temple	7th c. AD	Farm/workshop	n/a	No	Nearby stood a LR cistern that might have provided water	No	No	No	Unclear how it connects with the other houses over the abandoned temple
113	Isthmia Fortress	5th c. AD – BE	Fortress - Settlement	–	–	n/a	–	–	Beehives; Kilns; Foundries	Remains unexcavated, but the land and geophysical surveys have traced many buildings

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	ROOMS	COURTYARDS	WATER FACILITIES	ACCENTUATED ROOMS	BUILD SHRINES	PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES	FURTHER NOTES
114	Settlement East of temenos (East Field)	2nd – 7th c. AD	Settlement/ Building complex	23<	n/a	Water pipes	n/a	n/a	Kitchen with hearths	The role and extent of the enigmatic pre-5th c. AD building complex is unknown, after the late-4th c. AD catastrophe new humble buildings
115	Settlement over the Roman Bath of Isthmia	5th – 7th c. AD	Squatters; Settlement/ Farm(s)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Storing spaces with amphorae; Firepit (Room II); E-shaped oven (Room VIII); Millstones	Squatter phase 5th – 6th c. AD; Late 6th/ 7th c. AD building remains, have been found at the North-west (former rooms II, III, IV, V), South-east (former room VIII), and beyond the Roman baths
116	Theatre	4-5th c. AD	Settlement/ Farm(s)	n/a	No	No	No	No	Kiln or small oven; Animal pen (?)	The apsidal animal pen might be synchronous to the houses over the Bath

TABLES C

MOSAICS & WALL PAINTINGS & STATUARY COLLECTIONS

FOUND IN THE FACILITIES

IDENTIFIED AS RESIDENTIAL & WORKSHOP AREAS

Abbreviations:

Arch.:	**Architectural**
Geo.:	**Geometric**
Frag.:	**Fragments**
Myth.:	**Mythological**
Re/f:	**Relief**
St/e:	**Statue**
St/tte:	**Statuette**
Veg.:	**Vegetative**

Table C1

Corinth

No.	SITE	MOSAIC	MURALS	STATUARY
2	Pr. I. M. Lekka	–	Red mural undiagnostic	(1) Torso St/tte (2) Warrior Marble re/f (3): Head Marble herm stelae
5	House over the Hemicycle Building	–	–	1: Isis St/tte 2: Sarapes St/tte
7	House over the South Basilica	Geo.	–	–
8	Mosaic House	(1) Geo. (2) Dionysiac (3) Aquatic	–	Aspasia/Europa/Sosandra St/tte
12	Panayia Domus - Panayia Field	(1) Geo. (2) Geo.	(1) Geo. & Veg. (2) Myth. (3) Myth. & Veg. & Geo. (4) Arch. (5) Veg. & Geo.	(1) Artemis St/tte (2) Artemis St/tte (3) Asclepius St/tte (4) Asclepius St/tte (5) Roma St/tte (6) Dionysus St/tte (7) Herakles St/tte (8) Europa/Sosandra St/tte (9) Pan St/tte
15	Shop North of Panayia Field	–	–	(1) Dionysus/Harpocrates St/tte (2) Zeus/Hadis St/tte (3) Aphrodite St/tte
19	Site Hadjimustafa-North Nezi Field	–	–	(1) Bust of a man (2) Clay St/tte of a man Asclepius (?) (3) Clay St/tte of a woman and an infant
21	Pr. Marinou	Dionysiac	–	–
22	Corinth - Area Keramikos B	Geo. & Aquatic	–	–
29	Building 5 - East of theatre (Initially called Terraced Building)	–	Veg. & Geo. & Myth.	(1) Clay Aphrodite with a Pan St/tte (2) Clay Aphrodite St/tte (3) Clay Aphrodite torso (4) Artemis (5) Clay canine St/tte rattle (6) Clay canine St/tte rattle (7) Clay Aphrodite St/tte (8) Clay Aphrodite St/tte (9) Clay torso of Athena

No.	SITE	MOSAICS	MURALS	STATUARY
30	Building 7 - East of theatre (Initially called Terraced Building)	–	(1) Myth. & Veg. & Xenia (2) Veg. & Xenia	Clay canine St/tte rattle
34	House of Opus Sectile (Roman House with Classical Mosaic Floor)	(1) Parietal glass opus sectile (2) Parietal glass opus sectile (#) Veg. pebble mosaic	(1) Figured designs (?) (2) Geo.	–
35	Early Roman Cellar Building	–	Geo. & Veg.	(1) Clay head of Eros (2) Clay mask
37	Zekio - Protobyzantine Building Complex in use until the Middle Byzantine Period	Geo. (?)	–	–
38	Zekio - Pr. Roumelioti	Geo.	–	–
39	Pr. Mavragani	–	No description	Clay masks Many st/ttes

Abbreviations:

Arch.:	**Architectural**
Geo.:	**Geometric**
Frag.:	**Fragments**
Myth.:	**Mythological**
Re/f:	**Relief**
St/e:	**Statue**
St/tte:	**Statuette**
Veg.:	**Vegetative**

Table C2

Peri-urban Corinth

No.	SITE	MOSAICS	MURALS	STATUARY
44	Anaploga	Myth. & Veg. & Xenia	–	–
47	Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi	(1) Geo. & Xenia (2) Myth. (3) Myth. (4) Myth. & Geo. (5) Geo.	Arch.	–
51	Gymnasium Bronze Foundry	–	–	Fragments of statuary

Table C3

Kenchreai

No.	SITE	MOSAICS	MURALS	STATUARY
71	Koutsogilia – Area B – Northern Complex	Dionysiac	–	–
72	Koutsogilia – Area B – Southern Complex	Loose tesserae	Frag. of painted stucco	–
74	'Brick' and 'South' Buildings – Northern Quay	(1) Geo. (2) Geo.	Figural painted plaster	Figurines
76	Apsidal Court Nymphaeum - Southern Quay	(1) Parietal glass opus sectile (2) Geo.	Fresco (?)	–

Abbreviations:

Arch.:	**Architectural**
Geo.:	**Geometric**
Frag.:	**Fragments**
Myth.:	**Mythological**
Re/f:	**Relief**
St/e:	**Statue**
St/tte:	**Statuette**
Veg.:	**Vegetative**

Table C4

Rural villas and village settlements

No.	SITE	MOSAICS	MURALS	STATUARY
84	Sicyonia - Thalero Loutro	_	_	Head of Hercules St/tte
90	Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki - Katounistra	Geo.	Geo.	(1) Head of a girl St/e (2) Eros riding a dolphin St/e
91	Perachora – Farm over the West Court	–	–	Figurine (?)
95	Akra Sofia	Loose tesserae	_	_
97	Ag. Vassilios - Site Varella - (Pr. Rekleiti-Roussopoulou)	Geo.	–	_
101	Nemea Tritos (Pr. Kalara)	Geo.	_	(1) Young man wearing a himation St/e (2) Base and legs of a man St/e (3) Base and legs of a canine St/e
114	Settlement East of Temenos (East field)	–	–	(1) Head of Poseidon or Zeus St/tte (2) Head of Hermes St/tte (3) Female head (maenad?) (4) Re/f of twin Cybele (5) Re/f of Asclepius, Teleshorus and Hygeia (6) A three figure stelae of nymphs

TABLES D

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SITES LIKELY IDENTIFIED AS RESIDENTIAL & WORKSHOP AREAS

Table D1

Corinth

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
N1	Corinth Sewerage System (ΔΕΥΑΚ)	Manolesou 2014c, 313
N2	Pr. Stamati	Mpanaka-Dimaki 1989a, 101
N3	Pr. Papamichael	Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988a, 86
N4	Pr. Pantazi	Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988c, 87
N5	Pr. Saramanti	Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988d, 87
N6	Pr. Sophia Tsimpouri	Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 95; Drosoyianni 1969a, 195-200; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1970, 164-165
N7	Pr. S. Lekka	Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988b, 86
N8	Pr. Kakouri	Mpanaka-Dimaki 1989b, 101-102
N9	Long Building - Panayia Field	Brown A. 2018, 47; Sanders 2005a, 152; 2005b, 428; 2004, 173
N10	North Market	Brown A. 2008, 93, Saradi H. G. 2006, 224; Scranton 1957, 25; 1951, 192
N11	Site Arapomachalas (Pr. Kakourou)	Athanasoulis 2013, 194-195; Kasimi 2012, 70-72
N12	Pr. Soukouli	Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988e, 88
N13	Pr. K. Kakourou	Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988f, 88
N14	Pr. Liakoura	Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988g, 106-108
N15	Neronian Long Rectangular Building - Southwest Corner of the Forum	Williams and Fisher 1976, 127-133
N16	Building Southwest of the Western Temples	Rothaus 2000, 26; Saradi H. G. 2006, 240; Williams 1979, 250-251; Williams *et al*. 1974, 7-10
N17	South Stoa flanking Temenos E - East Corner	Williams and Zervos 1991, 17-19; 1990, 336-338
N18	Decumanus South of Temple E - South Side	Williams and Zervos 1990, 339
N19	Kraneio (*sic*) (Pr. G. Sofos)	Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 173; Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 2000b, 271; Manolesou 2014h, 325
N20	Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni	Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 94-95; Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 178; Daux 1967, 635; Drosoyianni 1968b, 222; Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, 292; Megaw 1966-1967, 8; Sodini 1970, 709; Spiro 1978, 96-102; Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 367; Waywell 1979, 298; Williams 1968, 185
N21	Tri-conch Fountain Building "PALACE" South of Panayia Domus	Athanasoulis 2013, 197; Brown A. 2018, 48; 2008, 145; Pallas 1990, 764; Sanders 1999, 441; Slane and Sanders 2005, 244
N22	Early Roman building - East Side of the Intersection SW of the Agora	Robinson H. S. 1962, 110; Williams and Fisher 1976, 124-126; 1975, 15

Table D2

The port cities: Kenchreai and Lechaeon

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
N22	Lechaeon Diavatiki - Pr. Tintiri & Georgiou	Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 96; Drosoyianni 1969b, 200-201
N23	Lechaeon Diavatiki - Former Plot ΕΑΣΚ (Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of Corinthia SA)	Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976b, 293-294
N24	Lechaeon Diavatiki (Pr. Groutsi)	Kristali-Votsi 1984b, 64
N25	Lechaeon Diavatiki (Pr. Kollia & Soukouli)	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2002a, 147-148
N26	Lechaeon Diavatiki Nymphaeum "Ancient Villa"	Avramea 2012, 344; Brown A. 2008, 170; Pallas 1960, 216; Philadelpheus 1921, 125-135; Papaioannou 2002, 356; Person 2012, A10; Pettegrew 2016, 216; Rothaus 1995, 300; Stikas 1962, 89-94
N27	Kenchreai - Pr. Louloudi	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 1999b, 163-164
N28	Kenchreai - Koutsogilia Octagon	Rife 2014a, 471-473

Table D3

The inner Corinthian cities: Tenea & Phlius & Sicyon

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
N29	Tenea Pr. Leonidas Skaribas - Site Palaio Sxoleio	Avramea 2012, 348; Deilaki-Protonotariou 1972, 159-160; Kordosis 1997, 483-485; Wiseman 1978, 92
N30	Tenea Site Theatre - Lake Damaria	Korka 2017; Press Release 13/11/2018
N31	"Palati" Phlius	Alcock 1991, 433; Avramea 2012, 349-350; Biers 1973, 110-111
N32	Sicyon Site Kamaratiza (Pr. Mpatsouli)	Papathanasiou 2014, 538-539
N33	Sicyon North-eastern Pi-shaped Complex	Lolos 2019, 138-143; 2018, 203-213; Petrakos 2018, 24-29
N34	Early Byzantine Christian conversion of the Agora Temple at Sicyon	Kristali-Votsi 1991a, 30-31; Kristali-Votsi 1991b, 66; Lolos 2011, 287

Table D4

Rural Corinthia

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
N35	Sicyonia - Megali Valtsa Kaminia 2	Lolos 2011, 485
N36	Sicyonia - Mikri Valtsa Xerorachi 1	Lolos 2011, 497
N37	Sicyonia - Kryoneri Cemetery Panayia	Lolos 2011, 453
N38	Sicyonia - Sykia Sesi (Site Liotrivia)	Lolos 2011, 341; 498-499
N39	Sicyonia - Kaisari Chasnathi	Lolos 2011, 472
N40	Sicyonia - Vasiliko Ladas	Lolos 2011, 519
N41	Sicyonia - Stimaga	Alexandri 1965, 74-76; Kordosis 1981, 68
N42	Site Pourneri North of Ancient Corinth	Brown A. 2008, 169; Johnson 1931, 93; Sturgeon 2003, 354-355; Corinth Notebook 77, 146-150
N43	Kalamaki	Brown A. 2008, 173; Faraklas and Sakellariou 1971, app. II p.9
N44	Corinthia Site Aetopetra	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 194; Deilaki 1979, 201-202
N45	Mavra Litharia Derveni	Deilaki-Protonotariou 1970, 103; Sarri D. and Papathanasiou 2013, 156
N46	Ano Gialos Derveni	Drosoyianni 1968c, 221
N47	Spathovouni	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 193; Marchand 2009a, 111; 137-139; Wiseman 1978, 110
N48	Solomos Site Potamia	Avramea 2012, 348
N49	Site Ag. Gerasimos	Avramea 2012, 345; Brown A. 2018, 50; Pallas 1961, 165; Wiseman 1978, 99
N50	Bayevi	Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 193; Wiseman 1978, 82
N51	Perachora - Stoa by the Harbour	Coulton 1967, 371; 1964, 131
N52	Perachora - Temple of Hera Limenia	Payne *et al.* 1940, 22; 115-116
N53	Perachora - Temple of Hera Akraia	Payne *et al.* 1940, 84
N54	Petri Nemeas - Pr. Manavi	Avramea 2012, 350; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 97; Papachristodoulou 1970a, 103
N55	Petri Nemeas - Pr. Karkoni	Papachristodoulou 1970a, 103
N56	Petri Nemeas - Pr. Chrystodoulou	Manolesou 2014f, 325
N57	Rural Phliasia - Site Neromana A.	Faraklas 1972, app. II, p. 2

Table D5

Nemea Settlement

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
N58	**Nemea Water Pumping Station (Section H18-19)**	**Miller Steph. 2015, 293-295**
N59	**Nemea Orthogonal Building East of the Temple (Section P/Q 14)**	**Miller Stel. 1984, 182-186**

Table D6

Costal Islets

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
N60	**Islets Dhiaporia - Island Plateia**	**Avramea 2012, 346; Brown A. 2018; 50; Wiseman 1978, 134**
N61	**Islets Dhiaporia - Island Evraionisos**	**Avramea 2012, 347; Brown A. 2018; 50; Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 5-20; Wiseman 1978, 134**
N62	**Islets Halkyonides (Kala Nisia)**	**Avramea 2012, 353; Brown A. 2008, 178; Papachristodoulou 1968, 116-117**

TABLES E

SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE SITES IDENTIFIED AS LIKELY RESIDENTIAL & WORKSHOP AREAS

Table E1

Corinth

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER NOTES
N1	Corinth Sewerage System Works	LR	Walls of nonidentified building	–
N2	Pr. Stamati	IR-LR	Walls of nonidentified building	The LR walls cut through the destroyed IR mosaic pavement that displayed geometric motives
N3	Pr. Papamichael	LR	Walls of nonidentified building	–
N4	Pr. Pantazi	IR-LR	Baths	–
N5	Pr. Saramanti	LR	Room of nonidentified building	–
N6	Pr. Sophia Tsimpouri	4th century AD-LA	Walls of nonidentified building along with scattered pottery and building remains	In the Late Roman levels were found among else: Part of a sigma table, fragments of a black, white, red and yellow geometric mosaic, fragments of yellow, pale yellow, green, and red painted stucco the latter with white á secco lines, and a broken marble relief depicting a woman holding thyrsus
N7	Pr. S. Lekka	LR	LR Walls of nonidentified building	–
N8	Pr. Kakouri	IR-LR	Walls and sewer system of nonidentified building	–
N9	Long Building - Panayia Field	6th century AD	Section of nonidentified building	–
N10	North Market	4th century AD-BE	After a 4th century AD, the Market continued to be used for an unknown purpose	Possible private encroachment over a public building
N11	Site Arapomachalas (Pr. Kakourou)	3rd – 6th century AD	Building of unknown function, remodelled in LA	Incorporated baths
N12	Pr. Soukouli	HE - 4th c. AD	Walls of non-identified building and scattered pottery and building remains	Small portable cult shrine and fragments of mosaic
N13	Pr. K. Kakourou	3rd c. AD	Walls of non-identified building	–
N14	Pr. Liakoura	3rd c. AD	Walls of non-identified building	Floor mosaic with geometric motives, formed by light blue, white, red and yellow tesserae, same made of glass

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER NOTES
N15	**Neronian Long Rectangular Building - Southwest Corner of the Forum**	**4th – 6th c. AD**	**IR building with an underground tunnel remodelled in the 4th century AD**	**In the 4th c. AD the eastern section, along with the tunnel system, felt out of use, whereas the western compartments were likely reconfigured to a commercial establishment equipped with a dolium**
N16	**Building Southwest of the Western Temples**	**4th – 6th c. AD**	**Building of unknown function, later used for burials**	**Possible private encroachment of the plaza area**
N17	**South Stoa Flanking Temenos E - East Corner**	**5th – 6th c. AD**	**After the 5th century AD the IR stoa was remodelled and two rooms of unknown functioned were established at the South-eastern corner**	**Possible private encroachment and subdivision of a former public building**
N18	**Decumanus South of Temple E - South Side**	**6th c. AD**	**Building of unknown function**	**Presence of fine wares and amphorae, may connect with the 'Room 3' in the same area**
N19	**Kraneio (*sic*) (Pr. G. Sofos)**	**3rd – 7th c. AD**	**Building of unknown function, tentatively identified as sacral building**	**One apsidal building and a second two-room facility immediately to its East, unclear whether they connect**
N20	**Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni**	**4th – 6th c. AD**	**Building of unknown function, tentatively identified as a villa**	**Mosaic decoration displaying personifications of the Summer months with an accompanying description reading "*ΚΑΛΟΙ ΚΑΡΟΙ*" (good times), along with panels of xenia scenes**
N21	**Tri-conch fountain building "PALACE" South of Panayia Domus**	**LR**	**Nymphaeum**	**Nymphaeum that might have been part of a large villa complex**
N22	**Early Roman Building East Side of the Intersection SW of the Agora**	**1st – LR (?)**	**Building of unknown function with two small basins**	**A new entrance was added on the Western wall that that blocked almost a quarter of the road nearby road**

Table E2

The port cities: Kenchreai and Lechaeon

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER NOTES
N22	Lechaeon Diavatiki (Pr. Tintiri & Georgiou)	N/A	Room of nonidentified building	The publication provides only a brief description of the facility, but the red, yellow, black and white mosaic floor with intersecting cycles forming saltires, might imply a date after the 3rd century AD
N23	Lechaeon Diavatiki- Former plot ΕΑΣΚ (Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of Corinthia SA)	LA	Rooms of nonidentified building	The presence of columns, capitals, of a thorakion adorned with a cross, along with the opus sectile floor, might imply a sacral building
N24	Lechaeon Diavatiki (Pr. Groutsi)	1/2nd century AD - LR	Building of unknown function, tentatively identified as a commercial facility	According to the excavator, the architectural plan with the small spaces and wells might suggest a commercial establishment
N25	Lechaeon Diavatiki (Pr. Kollia & Soukouli)	1st – 6th century AD	Building of unknown function, with a cistern and latter additions	The facility which stands few meters to the West from Pr. Groutsi (see above) was expanded in the 5th c. AD and in the 6th c. AD was used for a child burial
N26	Lechaeon Diavatiki - Nymphaeum "Ancient Villa"	IR-LA	Nymphaeum	Nymphaeum that might have been part of a large villa complex
N27	Kenchreai - Pr. Louloudi	LR	Walls and a cistern of non-identified building	Neighbouring to Pl. Threpsiadi
N28	Kenchreai - Koutsogilia Octagon	5th c. AD	Walls of an octagon, paved with geometric mosaic	Seven cist graves immediately South of the octagon may imply that this was a sepulchre building

Table E3

The inner Corinthian cities: Tenea & Phlius & Sicyon

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER NOTES
N29	Tenea - Site Palaio Sxoleio (Pr. Leonidas Skaribas)	LA	Walls of non-identified building and scattered pottery and building remains	Funerary inscription that dates from the 4th - 6th century AD
N30	Tenea - Site Theatre - Lake Damaria	IR - 5/6th century AD	Currently excavated roadside buildings and scattered building remains	The ongoing excavations revealed among else dolia, and many loose tesserae which may suggest that some of the buildings were housing units
N31	Phlius - "Palati"	4th century AD	In the 4th century AD the peristyle was drastically remodelled and new hastily constructed walls were erected	Possible private encroachment and subdivision of a former public building
N32	Sicyon - Site Kamaratiza (Pr. Mpatsouli)	LR	Burial and roadside cistern	Most likely roadside installations
N33	Sicyon - North-eastern Pi-shaped Complex	IR-LR	Currently excavated building of unknown function	–
N34	Early Byzantine Christian Conversion of the Agora Temple at Sicyon	BE	Early Byzantine Christian conversion of the Agora temple	Most likely a church facility

Table E4

Rural Corinthia

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER NOTES
N35	Sicyonia - Megali Valtsa Kaminia 2	IR-LR	Scattered building blocks and pottery	–
N36	Sicyonia - Mikri Valtsa Xerorachi 1	LR	Walls of non-identified building and scattered pottery	–
N37	Sicyonia - Kryoneri cemetery Panayia	LR	Scattered building blocks and pottery	–
N38	Sicyonia - Sykia Sesi (Site Liotrivia)	6th – 7th century AD	Walls of non-identified building and scattered pottery	Fragments of amphorae and dolia may suggest a farm, practising oil culture if we consider the modern toponym
N39	Sicyonia - Kaisari Chasnathi	IR-LR	Walls of non-identified building and scattered pottery	–
N40	Sicyonia - Vasiliko Ladas	IR-LR	Burial and pottery	–
N41	Sicyonia - Stimaga	LA	Walls of non-identified building beneath the Church of Ag. Iohannis	–
N42	Site Pourneri North of Ancient Corinth	Roman	Roman destruction layer beneath a later church	The church was founded over a layer of Roman destruction debris that included a statue of Dionysus or draped female (s1294), a second statue of a Poet (s1183) and possibly a bust (s1210)
N43	Kalamaki	LA	Walls of non-identified building and scattered pottery	–
N44	Site Aetopetra	LR	Burial	–
N45	Mavra Litharia Derveni	LR	burial	Modern Corinthia - Ancient Achaea region
N46	Ano Gialos Derveni	Christian era	Unexcavated plot with series of dolia	Modern Corinthia - Ancient Achaea region
N47	Spathovouni	3rd - 5th century AD	Unexcavated plot with scattered building blocks and pottery	–
N48	Solomos Site Potamia	4th century AD	Burial	–
N49	Site Ag Gerasimos	6th century AD	Scattered building blocks and pottery	–
N50	Bayevi	Roman	Walls of non-identified building and scattered pottery	–
N51	Perachora - Stoa by the harbour	IR (?)	Repairs of the classical facility	Possible private encroachment a former public building
N52	Perachora - Temple of Hera Limenia	IR	A series of walls were erected over the abandoned temple	Possible private encroachment and subdivision of a former public building

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER NOTES
N53	**Perachora - Temple of Hera Akraia**	**IR**	**Scattered pottery**	**Possible private encroachment of a former public building**
N54	**Petri Nemeas (Pr. Manavi)**	**LR/LA**	**Rooms of nonidentified building**	**Geometric mosaic with guilloche pattern and statuary**
N55	**Petri Nemeas (Pr. Karkoni)**	**LR/LA**	**Rooms of nonidentified building**	**May link to the building with the mosaic found in the neighbouring Pr. Manavi**
N56	**Petri Nemeas (Pr. Chrystodoulou)**	**5th century AD**	**Rooms of nonidentified building**	**Elaborate two storey facility with an opus sectile floor**
N57	**Phliasia - Site Neromana A.**	**LA**	**Walls of non-identified building and scattered pottery**	**–**

Table E5

Nemea Settlement

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER NOTES
N58	Nemea Water Pumping station (Section H18-19)	5th – 6th century AD	Room of nonidentified building attached to the exterior wall of the abandoned Hellenistic baths	According to the excavator, the thick walls of the facility, along with the nearby water dam and irrigation trenches may imply a function as water pumping station
N59	Nemea Orthogonal Building East of the Temple (Section P/Q 14)	5th – 6th century AD	Building of unknown function	–

Table E6

Costal Islets

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION	FURTHER NOTES
N60	Islets Dhiaporia - Island Plateia	LR	Walls of non-identified building and scattered pottery	–
N61	Islets Dhiaporia - Island Evraionisos	LR	Settlement including several buildings of unknown function and scattered pottery concentrated in three different sites	In Site 1, several buildings likely formed a settlement if we judge by the numerous amphorae shreds and milestones The Medieval fortress (Site 3) likely had an earlier phase while a system of caves barricaded with walls (Site 2) provided further protection
N62	Islets Halkyonides (Kala Nisia)	HE-LR	Walls of non-identified building and scattered pottery	–

III.

TABLES

ACHAEA-IN-PELOPONNESE

TABLES F

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SITES LIKELY IDENTIFIED AS RESIDENTIAL & WORKSHOP AREAS

Table F1

Patras

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
1	Sts. Cheilonos Patreos & Charalampi 62-64	Papakosta 2016, 877-878
2	St. Pantokratoros 20	Maniaki 2016, 880-882
3	St. Ag. Demetriou 53 Pr. Nikolopoulou - House A (Southeast)	Papakosta 2014b, 471-475; Person 2012, A26
4	St. Ag. Demetriou 53 - Pr. Nikolopoulou - House B (West)	Papakosta 2014b, 471-475
5	Sts. Pantokratoros & Ag. Demetriou 55	Gadolou 1999, 220-221; Person 2012, A21
6	St. Ag. Demetriou 49 -Eastern Building	Papaioannou 2002, 366; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2000b, 202-204
7	St. Neofytou 42; St. Neofytou 44; St. Neofytou 47 Boulding 1 – South building; St. Ag. Demetriou 49 -Western building	Bonini 2006, 461-462; Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 144; Papaioannou 2002, 365; Papapostolou 1988a, 157; Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al*. 2006, 91; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2000a, 200-202; 2000b, 202-204
8	St. B. Roufou 109-111 - Pr. Seretis	Papakosta 2014c, 475-476
9	Sts. Mpoukaouri 7; Mpoukaouri 5	Bonini 2006, 441; Georgopoulou 1999, 215-217; Papaioannou 2002, 168; 176; Papakosta 2014l, 464-467; Person 2012, A21
10	St. Lontou 49 - Pr. Theofila	Papakosta 2014n, 473-475
11	St. Lontou 111-113	Georgopoulou 1996, 144
12	St. Lontou 114	Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 83; Papakosta 2014r, 432-433
13	St. G. Roufou 143	Koumousi 2014c, 460-461; 2009, 372; Koumousi and Moutzali 2008, 11
14	St. Ag. Demetriou 44 (Pr. Koutsokosta)	Papakosta 2014s, 434
15	St. Ag. Demetriou 42	Papapostolou 1985j, 80
16	St. Ag. Demetriou 40	Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 84; Papapostolou 1988f, 157
17	St. Pantokratoros 71	Papakosta 2013a, 344-345
18	Stadium Voud	Neratzoulis 1933, 38-40
19	St. Korai 39-41	Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 70; Papapostolou 1984a, 89
20	St. Gounari 48	Dekoulakou 1983f,102-104; Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 7; Petropoulos 1999, 23
21	St. Plateia Omonoias 35-37	Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 71; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2001a, 199-202
22	Sts. G. Olympiou 54 & Mpen. Roufou 26	Agallopoulou 1979e, 276-277; Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 70
23	St. Patreos 46-50	Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 71; Papapostolou 1984c, 89
24	St. Roufou 121-125 (Pr. Likourgoti)	Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2008, 318; 2005, 71; Mennenga 1989, 140; Petropoulos 1999,23
25	St. Erenstrole 36-40	Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2008, 333-334; 2005, 71; Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 217-218; Panayiotopoulou 1987a, 142-144; Papaioannou 2002, 361; Person 2012, A26

No.	*SITE*	*REFERENCE*
26	Sts. Ermou & Ipsiladou & Karaiskaki	Dekoulakou 1984a, 107; Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 71
27	St. Erenstrole 56-62	Alexopoulou 2004a, 253-254; Person 2012, A22
28	St. Gounari 153 – Building A	Papakosta 2004a, 258
29	St. Gounari 153 – Building B	Papakosta 2004a, 258
30	St. Votsari 29	Bonini 2006, 498; Papakosta 2004c, 255-256; Person 2012, A22
31	St. Ag Demetriou 98-100	Bonini 2006, 446; Kokkotaki 1996, 138-139; Papaioannou 2002, 362; Person 2012, A26
32	St. Votsi 58; St. Votsi 60; St. Votsi 62	Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 71; Papapostolou 1985i, 86; 1977c, 213; Petropoulos 1999, 23; 44; 50-55; Sotiriou 1995, 129-130
33	Sts. Karatza 14 & Vas. Roufou (North building); St. Karatza 12 (North building)	Bonini 2006, 478; Papapostolou 1984f, 76-77; Papaioannou 2002, 363; Petropoulos 1993, 151-152
34	Sts. Karatza 14 & Vas. Roufou (South building); St. Roufou 88; St. Karatza 12 (South building)	Bonini 2006, 478; Papakosta 1993, 150; Papapostolou 1984f, 76-77; Papaioannou 2002, 363; Petropoulos 1993, 151-152
35	St. Agrafon 10-12	Baldini-Lippolis, 2001, 247; Bonini 2006, 450; Papaioannou 2002, 361; Person 2012, A23; Petritaki 1990a, 108
36	St. Charalampi 65-67	Bonini 2006, 452; Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 100; Petritaki 1990c, 111
37	St. Charalampi 69-73	Papakosta 2014m, 470-472
38	St. Charalampi 75-77	Papapostolou 1979b, 358-360
39	St. Kanari & Vlachou 10-12	Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 56; Papaioannou 2002, 364; Petritaki 1990b, 111-114
40	Sq. Ipsila Alonia & St. Panachaikou 1; St. Vironos 2 (*aka* Temponera) - Building 1 (North)	Bonini 2006, 457-458; Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 66; Kotsaki 1989, 142-144; 1986; 1982; Papapostolou 2009a, 211-256; 1977a, 225-226
41	St. Panachaikou 4-8	Papaioannou 2002, 360; Papapostolou 2009a; 2009b; 1979c, 355; Person 2012, A25
42	St. Vironos 2 (*aka* Temponera) – Building 2 (South)	Bonini 2006, 458-459; Kotsaki 1989, 142-144; 1986; 1982
43	St. Nikita 60-66 (Eastern Building)	Bonini 2006, 463; Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 78-81; Papaioannou 2002, 362; Papapostolou 2009a, 237-239; 1988b, 157-159; 1985d, 84-86
44	St. Cheilonos Patreos 8; St. Nikita 60-66 (Western Building)	Bonini 2006, 463; Papapostolou 2009a, 237-239; 1988b, 157-159; 1985d, 84-86
45	St. Kanakari 207; St. Kanakari 205	Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 81; Papaioannou 2002, 362; Papapostolou 2009a 240-242;1988d, 182; 1988e, 182
46	St. Neofytou 12	Bonini 2006, 469; Papapostolou 2009a, 227; 1987d, 130-131
47	St. Neofytou 10	Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 59-61; Papaioannou 2002, 365; Sotiriou 1998b, 111-113
48	St. Vas. Roufou 91-93	Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 78; Papaioannou 2002, 361; Papapostolou 1987e, 130; Person 2012, A25
49	St. Kanari 48-52; St. Kanari 46; Sts. Korinthou 288 & Kanari (North building)	Agallopoulou 1979f, 397; 1979g, 362-363; Bonini 2006, 470-471; Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 78; Panayiotopoulou 1987b, 144-145; Papaioannou 2002, 364; Person 2012, A22
50	Sts. Kanari 54 & Korinthou	Papaioannou 2002, 359; Papapostolou 1979a, 351; Person 2012, A22

No.	*SITE*	*REFERENCE*
51	Sts. Gounari 170 & Ag. Demetriou	Papapostolou 1985b, 80
52	St. Korinthou 287; St. Korinthou 291-293	Papaioannou 2002, 360; Papapostolou 1987f, 134; Person 2012, A23; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2001c, 202-204
53	St. Erenstrole 31-35	Bonini 2006, 472-473; Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 55-56; Papapostolou 2009a 227-228; 1985c, 82-84; Person 2012, A24
54	St. Germanou 80-82	Bonini 2006, 475-476; Papaioannou 2002, 361; Papapostolou 1984d, 71; Person 2012, A26
55	St. Gounari 152	Bonini 2006, 476-477; Papaioannou 2002, 360; Papapostolou 1984e, 71-74; Person 2012, A23
56	St. Miaouli 49	Dekoulakou 1983a, 104-105; Papaioannou 2002, 361; Person 2012, A25
57	Sts. Nikita 26-30 & Karatza 8 - House A (West Building)	Agallopoulou 1979a; 364-366; Bonini 2006, 489-490; Dekoulakou 1983b, 108-112; Papaioannou 2002, 360; Person 2012, A26
58	Sts. Nikita 26-30 & Karatza 8 - House B (East Building)	Agallopoulou 1979a; 364-366; Bonini 2006, 488-489; Dekoulakou 1983b, 108-112; Papaioannou 2002, 360; Person 2012, A26
59	Sts. Karaiskaki & Miaouli 67-73 - House A (Building West)	Bonini 2006, 485; Dekoulakou 1983c, 100-102; Papaioannou 2002, 364
60	Sts. Karaiskaki & Miaouli 67-73 - House B (Building East)	Bonini 2006, 485; Dekoulakou 1983c, 100-102; Papaioannou 2002, 364
61	St. G. Roufou 18-20; Sts. Charalampi 10 & G. Roufou	Baldini-Lippolis 2001, 247; Bonini 2006, 453; Georgopoulou 2001, 218-219; Papapostolou 1977b, 226-227; Person 2012, A22
62	Sts. Kanakari 176 & Philopoimenos	Papakosta 2001c, 217-218
63	Sts. Ioanni Vlachou 36 & Sachtouri – Building West	Alexopoulou 1999a, 210; Bonini 2006, 439; Papaioannou 2002, 360
64	Sts. Ioanni Vlachou 36 & Sachtouri – Building East	Alexopoulou 1999a, 210
65	St. Charalampi 39-41	Alexopoulou 1999b, 210-212; Bonini 2006, 440; Papaioannou 2002, 364
66	St. Charalampi 42-44	Papapostolou 1984j, 76-80
67	Sts. Lontou 86 & Karatza; St. Lontou 93 & Karatza (West of the ancient road); St. Lontou 91 (West of the ancient road)	Alexopoulou 2001, 209-211; Bonini 2006, 442; Gadolou and Georgopoulou 1999, 217-219; Kolia 2004, 252-253; Person 2012, A25
68	St. Korinthou 352	Kokkotaki 1997d, 130
69	Sts. Themistokleous 26 & Olympiou	Alexopoulou 1998b, 114; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 134
70	St. G. Frantzi 72	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1992a, 148; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 136
71	St. S. Voulgareos 14	Agallopoulou 1979d, 370; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 135
72	St. Sisini 28	Bonini 2006, 480; Papaioannou 2002, 361; Papapostolou 2009a, 229; 1984h, 80; Person 2012, A26
73	Sq. Ipsila Alonia 15-16	Bonini 2006, 481-482; Papapostolou 1984i, 80-82
74	Sts. Maizonos 106 & Gounari	Papapostolou 1976a, 287
75	Sts. Maizonos 177 & Miaouli	Papapostolou 1976c, 282-287; 1971, 316
76	St. Gounari 160-162	Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 71; Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 218; Petropoulos 1988, 188

No.	*SITE*	*REFERENCE*
77	St. Gounari 163	Alexopoulou 1997c, 131-132; Papaioannou 2002, 359-360
78	St. Sisini 17-19	Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 82; Papaioannou 2002, 364; Papapostolou 1984g, 77-80
79	St. Agrafon 4	Papakosta 2014a, 471
80	St. Mpoukaouri 69	Papakosta 2014t, 431
81	St. V. Roufou 43	Papakosta 2014u, 433
82	Sts. Pantokratoros & Eynardou (Pr. Legga)	Papakosta 2014v, 434-435
83	St. Miaouli 74	Papakosta 2013b, 347
84	St. Lontou 112	Kokkotaki 1997a
85	St. Lontou 37	Papakosta 2001a, 219
86	St. Erenstrole 49	Papakosta 2001b, 220-221
87	St. Erenstrole 65	Papapostolou 1985a
88	St. Erenstrole 76	Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1995b, 120-121
89	Sts. Erenstrole 67-69 & Mpoukaouri West Building	Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1995a, 119-120
90	Sts. Erenstrole 67-69 & Mpoukaouri East Building	Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1995a, 119-120
91	Sts. Panachaidos Athenas 8 & Mpoukaouri	Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1992b, 142
92	St. Gounari 66-72	Agallopoulou 1979b
93	Sts. Korinthou & Miaouli & Tsamadou	Dekoulakou 1979a; Bonini 2006, 492-494; Papaioannou 2002, 360; 364; Papapostolou 1988, 160; Person 2012, A23
94	St. Mitropolitou Neofytou 12	Papakosta 2014g, 483
95	St. Mitropolitou Neofytou 5-7	Papakosta 2014e, 480
96	St. Pantanassis 24 & 28	Papakosta 2014d, 477; Papapostolou 1984l, 91

Table F2

Peri-urban Patras

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
1	St. Festou 27-29 (OT 68) – Pr. A Kavvada and D. Veskouki	Tsaknaki 2014, 430
2	St. Eglykados 103	Papakosta 2014p, 486-487
3	Area Ag. Georgios Laggoura - St. Echinadon (OT1621) - Pr. Tsoukala	Papakosta 2014t, 436-437
4	St. Notara & Amerikis	Alexopoulou 2004c, 262; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 127
5	St. Notara 9	Agallopoulou 1979c, 403-406; Papapostolou 1985f, 92; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 127
6	St. Kiprou & Thrakis 38-40	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1992e, 144; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 129-130
7	St. Kiprou & Thrakis 37	Kokkotaki 1995b, 127; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 130
8	St. Kiprou 16 & Thrakis 36	Kotsaki 1992b, 139; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 130
9	St. Zakynthou 22; Sts. Thessalonikis 101 & Zakynthou	Gatsi 1989a, 146-149; Papakosta 1992, 144; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 130
10	Sts. Kefallinias 29 & Naumachias Ellis	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1995c, 128; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 130
11	St. Ipirou 32	Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 71; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1989b, 87; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 131
12	Sts. Karolou 85 & Korinthou 133	Kokkotaki 1995c, 125; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 131
13	St. Karolou 61	Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 59; Papapostolou 2009a, 234-237; 2009b, 51-55; 2004-2009, 321-326; 1987h, 134; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2001b; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 131-132
14	St. Karolou 85-87	Papakosta, 1988a, 193; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 132
15	Sts. S. Zisi & Avenue Arois	Papakosta 2004d, 256-257; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 133
16	St. Mesatidos 11	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1992c, 144; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 133
17	St. 12th Syntagmatos	Papakosta 2000b, 193; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 134
18	Sts. Vasileiadou 18-22 & Olympiou	Alexopoulou 1998a, 122; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 134
19	Sts. Ierou Lochou 1 & Rodopoulou	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1993, 152; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 135
20	St. N. Giannopoulou 5	Alexopoulou 1996a 141; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 136
21	St. Korinthou 130	Sotiriou 1998a, 122; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 132
22	St. Korinthou 197-198	Papapostolou 1987i, 134; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 132

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
23	St. Korinthou 205-211	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 132
24	Ag. Saranta; Ag. Saranta 12	Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1989, 92-93; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 138; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2001e, 224

Table F3

Aigion

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
1	Sts. Aigialios & Riga Feraiou - Pr. Vassilopoulou	Vordos 2014c, 445-447
2	Sts. Taxiarchon & Elikis	Papakosta 1998b, 125-127
3	Sts. Elikis 8 & Perikleous	Papapostolou 1987b, 151
4	St. Panayiotopoulou 50	Papakosta 1989, 149
5	St. Panayiotopoulou 44	Saradi F. 2012b, 563-564
6	St. Sotiriou Lontou 19	KOLIA 2012a, 528-530
7	Sts. Aigialios & Mpostari 22	Vordos 2004, 275
8	Sts. Vas. Konstantinou & Kolokotroni - Pr. Mpampali	Papakosta 1998a, 124
9	St. Vas. Konstantinou 52	Petritaki 1996, 148
10	Sts. Andronopoulou 2 & Mitropoleos	Georgopoulou-Vera 1995a, 151-152
11	St. Mitropoleos 26 & Messinezi	Petropoulos 1990, 123
12	St. Andrea Lontou 54	Petropoulos 1989c, 99
13	St. Griva 8	Papazoglou 1989a, 149
14	Sts. Aigialios 76 & Mpostari	Papapostolou 1987a, 151; 1984b, 93
15	Sts. Riga Feraiou & Griva	Papapostolou 1976b, 290
16	St. Zoodochou Pigis 20	Papapostolou 1987c, 151

Table F4

Rural Achaea

No.	SITE	REFERENCE
1	Aigialeia – Akrata, Site Kapsakou - St. Solioti - Pr. Spanou (House A)	Papakosta 2014k, 521-522
2	Aigialeia – Akrata, Site Kapsakou - St. Solioti - Pr. Spanou (House B)	Papakosta 2014k, 521-523
3	Aigialeia, Site Aligaries – Pr. Kareli	Kolia 2012b, 569
4	Aigialeia, Site Asprias – Elike	Petropoulos 2000, 228-230
5	Charadros Patron – Site Mantilo (Pr. Med Frigo AE)	Katsarou 2016, 386-389
6	Lake "Dam Pirou-Parapirou" – House A/B	Argiropoulos 2014, 435-436
7	Lake "Dam Pirou-Parapirou" – House C	Argiropoulos 2014, 435-436
8	Ano Sichaena - St. Kozanis	Papakosta 2014h, 484-485
9	Kato Roitika – St. Maritsi (Pr. Mpalaoura)	Koumousi 2014a, 541; Papakosta 2014i, 486
10	Kato Roitika – St. Maritsi (Pr. Nikolopoulou)	Koumousi 2014b, 541
11	Vrachnaika - Pr. Roumelioti	Alexopoulou 2014a, 489
12	Kaminia – Alissos - Public works for the train connection Patras-Pyrgos	Alexopoulou-Tsaknaki 2014, 490-492; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 149
13	Rio – Platani – Cheimaros Xilokera	Aslamatzidou and Petropoulos 2012, 99; Papakosta 2014j, 495 (says that later will be published a dedicated analysis)
14	Connection of the peripheral road with the city of Patras - River Diaconaris - Area Ag. Georgiou Laggoura	Aslamatzidou and Petropoulos 2012, 102; Papakosta 2014o, 478-483
15	Saravali - St. Iros Konstantopoulou	Papakosta 2014q, 487
16	Kato Achaia - St. Perikleous 8 - Pr. Tzoura	Vordos 2014b, 505-506
17	New train connection Athens Patras, escape tunnel OX2	Kolia 2014, 514-515
18	Site Retounioti - Pr. Frantzi; Site Retounioti - Pr. Karanikola	Alexopoulou 2014b, 441; Kotsaki 1995c, 131; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 147-148
19	Site Palaiomonastiro - Pr. Maratou	Georgopoulou-Vera 1995b, 151; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 118
20	Site Palaiomonastiro - Pr. Giaxou; Site Palaiomonastiro - Pr. Kolliropoulou	Georgopoulou-Vera 2012, 594-597
21	Site Palaiomonastiro - Pr. Kanelaki; Site Palaiomonastiro - Pr. Michalopoulou-Mitroulia	Georgopoulou-Vera 2012, 594-597; Rigakou 2012, 599
22	St. Australias 103 - Exo Agyia	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; 1989b, 144-146; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 123
23	E.O Diversion of Patras - Junction K4-K5	Alexopoulou 2009, 306; Petropoulos 2004a, 73-74; Petropoulos *et al.* 2004, 229-230; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 143

No.	*SITE*	*REFERENCE*
24	St. Veaki (Pr. Vachlioti)	Alexopoulou 2012a, 544-545; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013,122
25	Site Paliourgias - 25 Martiou 84 (O.T 9/O.T 11)	Alexopoulou 1999c, 231-233; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 144-145
26	Site Ano Kastritsi	Petropoulos 1997, 143; 1994, 417-419; Sotiriou 2000a, 218; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 120
27	Mintilogli - Site Chatziliakou	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Sotiriou 2000b, 225-227; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 145
28	Site Vakrou	Petropoulos 2002a, 287-288
29	Mintilogli - St. Ag. Konstantinou 102	Papakosta 2005, 259-260
30	St. Paraskevopoulou 7; St. Paraskevopoulou 6	Papapostolou 1984k, 97; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 137; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1995i, 128.
31	Site Trapeza	Petropoulos 1995a, 135; 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 118
32	Site Plai	Gadolou 2000, 228; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 119
33	Site Mantilo	Papapostolou 1985e, 98-99; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 121
34	Ano Sichaina – Pr. Tzatha	Papapostolou 1988c, 166; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 121
35	St. Nestoros 12	Papapostolou 1987g, 142; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 121-122
36	St. Kadmou 6	Kokkotaki 1997b, 139; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 122
37	St. Panepistimiou 257-263, 368-370, 425-427	Alexopoulou 2004b, 263; 2002a 281-282; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 122
38	St. Malakasi 1	Gatsi 1989b, 146; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 122
39	Parodos M. Merkouri	Alexopoulou 2012b, 560; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 122
40	Sts. L. Porfyra & M. Merkouri; St. L. Porfyra	Papakosta 2000a, 211; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2001d, 232; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 123
41	Sts. Kyvelis & Parodos Australias 41	Alexopoulou 2012c, 545; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 123
42	St. Satha	Alexopoulou 2005, 257; 2004f, 263; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 123
43	St. Australias 18; St. Australias 21	Kokkotaki 1995a, 127; Kotsaki 1995a, 127-128; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 124
44	St. Moraitidi	Alexopoulou 2002b, 285; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 125
45	St. Aretha 52	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1989a, 92; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 125-126
46	St. Kleanthi	Kotsaki 1992c, 139; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1992d, 148; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 125
47	Sts. Kazantzaki & Tellou Agra	Papakosta 2001d, 232-233; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 125
48	Kato Sichaina – Parodos AZ15	Alexopoulou 2000a, 211-212; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 126
49	St. Papadiamanti 21	Kokkotaki 1997c, 139; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 126

No.	*SITE*	*REFERENCE*
50	N.E.O Patron - Korinthou	Kotsaki 1995b, 127; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 126
51	Sts. Notara & Ippolitou	Alexopoulou 2004d, 262; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 127
52	Sts. Notara & Chortatzi	Alexopoulou 2004e, 262; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 127
53	St. Ellinos Stratiotou - Stadium Panachaikis	Papapostolou 1989a, 123-125; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 128
54	St. L. Katsoni 10	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1995d, 122-123; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 133
55	St. Anaximanrdou 40 – Pr. Michalapoulou	Dekoulakou 1983d, 112-113; Papaioannou 2002, 366; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 137
56	Sts. Souniou & Maximou	Dekoulakou 1983e, 113; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 137
57	Sts. Anaximanrdou & Zinonos	Dekoulakou 1979b, 397; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 138
58	Sts. Patron-Pyrgou & Parnassou	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1995f, 123; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 139
59	Sts. Damiri 27 & R. Koch	Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2004, 252; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 139
60	St. Kalavriton 69	Kotsaki 1993a, 162; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 139
61	St. Kalavriton 77	Papazoglou 1989c, 140; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 139
62	St. Trianti 11	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1995g, 125; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 139
63	St. Kalavriton 62	Kotsaki 1993b, 149; Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2005, 71; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 140
64	Diversion of St. Mykinon 8	Gatsi 1989c, 149; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 141
65	St. Perseus	Papapostolou 1987j, 142; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 141
66	St. Akrotiriou 166	Papapostolou 1985g, 79; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 141
67	St. Lochagou Fotopoulou	Alexopoulou 1996b, 142-143; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 142
68	St. Pelopos 90	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1989c, 90-92; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 142
69	St. Antheias 206	Kotsaki 1993c, 149; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 142
70	Schools Ag. Georgios Laggouras	Dekoulakou 1984b, 115; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 142
71	Parodos γ62	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1995j, 129; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 142
72	Krini Meliggrou	Papazoglou 1989b, 149; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 142
73	Site River Glaucus	Papakosta 1988b, 193-196; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 142
74	Site Romanou – Pr. Katsigianni	Petropoulos 2002b, 288-289; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 143

No.	*SITE*	*REFERENCE*
75	Site Monodendri – Pr. Miari	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1995h, 132; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 146
76	Site Ag. Vasileios	Alexopoulou 2000b, 227; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 146
77	Site Retounioti – Pr. Tsolopoulou	Vasilogambrou 2012; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 147
78	Site Ano Kallithea – Ag. Nikolaos	Papapostolou 1985h, 98; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 147
79	Pr. Elenis Skaltsa	Alexopoulou 1999d, 232-233; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 147
80	Site Ecclesia – Pr. Georgopoulou	Georgopoulou 1997, 143; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 148
81	Site Leukakia – Vrisi Koukouras Hill	Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; 1989a, 103; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 144
82	Site Saravali – Naos Ag. Nikolaou	Petropoulos 2004b, 268; 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 145
83	Site Saravali – Demotiko Sxoleio	Papapostolou 1989b, 125; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 145
84	St. Orfeos - Zarouchleika	Papakosta 2004b, 259; Person 2012, A22
85	St. Akti Dimeon 7	Bonini 2006, 448; Kotsaki 1992a, 139; Papaioannou 2002, 363; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 133-134
86	St. Akti Dimeon 12-14	Alexopoulou 2000c, 205; Papaioannou 2002, 359; Person 2012, A21; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 134
87	St. Thermopylon 35; St. Thermopylon 45	Alexopoulou 1997b, 132-133; Georgopoulou 2000, 194-197; Papaioannou 2002, 365; Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al.* 2006, 128-129; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 128
88	Parodos Tsertidou 41	Alexopoulou 1997a, 132-134; Petropoulos 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 139
89	Site Prevedos E.O Patron-Tripolis	Petritaki 1993, 164
90	Site Girokomeio	Petropoulos 1995b, 135-136; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 142-143
91	Site Kampos Sanatorio	Petropoulos 1996a, 154; 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 143
92	Site Ydragogeio Elekistras	Petropoulos 1996b, 154; 1994, 417-419; Stavropoulou-Gatsi and Alexopoulou 2013, 143
93	Akrata – Municipal Kindergarten	Saradi F. 2012a, 553
94	Pellene	Orlandos 1933, 62-64; 1932, 81; Papathanasiou 2013b, 149

TABLES G

SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE SITES IDENTIFIED AS LIKELY RESIDENTIAL & WORKSHOP AREAS

Table G1

Patras

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION
1	Sts. Cheilonos Patreos & Charalampi 62-64	IR (?) - LR	Atrium house with mosaic and statuary décor
2	St. Pantokratoros 20	IR - LR (?)	Atrium house with mural décor
3	St. Ag. Demetriou 53 Pr. Nikolopoulou - House A (Southeast)	IR - LR	House with statuary décor, expanded over the road
4	St. Ag. Demetriou 53 - Pr. Nikolopoulou - House B (West)	IR - LR	Walls of possible housing unit
5	Sts. Pantokratoros & Ag. Demetriou 55	IR - LR	House with impluvium, expanded over the road
6	St. Ag. Demetriou 49 -Eastern Building	LR	Walls of possible housing unit
7	St. Neofytou 42; St. Neofytou 44; St. Neofytou 47 Boulding 1 – South building; St. Ag. Demetriou 49 -Western building	2nd c. AD – 3rd c. AD	Atrium house with mosaic and statuary décor
8	St. B. Roufou 109-111 - Pr. Seretis	IR - LR	Atrium house with mosaic décor expanded over the road
9	Sts. Mpoukaouri 7; Mpoukaouri 5	IR - LR	Atrium house/workshop with mosaic
10	St. Lontou 49 - Pr. Theofila	IR - LR	Possible housing unit expanded over the road
11	St. Lontou 111-113	IR - LR	Possible housing unit
12	St. Lontou 114	IR - LR	Atrium house with mosaic décor
13	St. G. Roufou 143	5th – 7th c. AD	Workshop
14	St. Ag. Demetriou 44 (Pr. Koutsokosta)	IR - LR	House/workshop with subdivided spaces
15	St. Ag. Demetriou 42	IR – LR (?)	Possible housing unit with mosaic décor
16	St. Ag. Demetriou 40	IR – LR (?)	Possible housing unit with mosaic décor
17	St. Pantokratoros 71	LR	House with mosaic décor
18	Stadium Voud	LR	Building of unknown function with statuary décor
19	St. Korai 39-41	LR -LA	Workshop
20	St. Gounari 48	LA	Workshop with mosaic and statuary décor
21	St. Plateia Omonoias 35-37	IR-LA	Workshop with mosaic décor, subdivided
22	Sts. G. Olympiou 54 & Mpen. Roufou 26	LR	Building converted to workshop
23	St. Patreos 46-50	LR	Workshop
24	St. Roufou 121-125 (Pr. Likourgoti)	5th – 7th c. AD	Building converted to workshop
25	St Erenstrole 36-40	IR - LR	Atrium house/workshop with mosaic

No.	*SITE*	*DATE*	*DESCRIPTION*
26	Sts. Ermou & Ipsiladou & Karaiskaki	LR	Workshop
27	St. Erenstrole 56-62	IR - LR	Atrium house/workshop
28	St. Gounari 153 – Building A	LR	Building of unknown function
29	St. Gounari 153 – Building B	LR	Building of unknown function
30	St. Votsari 29	LR (?)	Building of unknown function with mosaic décor
31	St. Ag Demetriou 98-100	IR-LR	Atrium house with mosaic and statuary décor
32	St. Votsi 58; St. Votsi 60; St. Votsi 62	IR - 3rd c. AD (?)	House/workshop
33	Sts. Karatza 14 & Vas. Roufou (North building); St. Karatza 12 (North building)	IR (?) - LR	House and unspecified working areas with mosaic, mural and statuary (?) décor
34	Sts. Karatza 14 & Vas. Roufou (South building); St. Roufou 88; St. Karatza 12 (South building)	Roman (?)	House, with subdivided spaces and mosaic, mural and statuary (?) décor
35	St. Agrafon 10-12	IR - LR	Atrium house with mosaic décor
36	St. Charalampi 65-67	IR - LR	Building (possibly baths) with mosaic décor
37	St. Charalampi 69-73	IR (?) - LR	House/Workshop with mosaic décor
38	St. Charalampi 75-77	LR	Building (possibly baths)
39	St. Kanari & Vlachou 10-12	1st – 3rd/4th c. AD	Possible housing unit with baths
40	Sq. Ipsila Alonia & St. Panachaikou 1; St. Vironos 2 (*aka* Temponera) - Building 1 (North)	2nd – 3rd/4th c. AD	Atrium house/Workshop with mosaic décor
41	St. Panachaikou 4-8	Roman (?) - LR	Atrium house/Workshop with mosaic décor and subdivided spaces
42	St. Vironos 2 (*aka* Temponera) – Building 2 (South)	2nd – 3rd/4th c. AD	Atrium house/Workshop
43	St. Nikita 60-66 (Eastern Building)	IR - LR	Atrium house with mosaic décor
44	St. Cheilonos Patreos 8; St. Nikita 60-66 (Western Building)	IR (?) - LR	Atrium house
45	St. Kanakari 207; St. Kanakari 205	3rd c. AD – n.a.	Peristyle house with mosaic décor
46	St. Neofytou 12	LR	Atrium house with mosaic and mural décor
47	St. Neofytou 10	IR – LR (?)	Possible housing unit with baths and mosaic décor
48	St. Vas. Roufou 91-93	IR (?) – LR	Atrium house with mosaic and mural décor
49	St. Kanari 48-52; St. Kanari 46; Sts. Korinthou 288 & Kanari (North building)	IR - LR	Courtyard house with mosaic décor, and production facilities
50	Sts. Kanari 54 & Korinthou	Roman (?)	House later expanded over an earlier workshop

No.	*SITE*	*DATE*	*DESCRIPTION*
51	Sts. Gounari 170 & Ag. Demetriou	LR	Atrium house with mosaic décor
52	St. Korinthou 287; St. Korinthou 291-293	3rd c. AD – 5th/6th c. AD	House/Workshop with mosaic décor
53	St. Erenstrole 31-35	IR – LR (?)	Atrium house with mosaic, mural and statuary décor
54	St. Germanou 80-82	IR – 3rd c. AD	Atrium house with mosaic and mural décor
55	St. Gounari 152	LR	Possible housing unit
56	St. Miaouli 49	IR – 5th/6th c. AD (?)	Atrium house/workshop with subdivide spaces
57	Sts. Nikita 26-30 & Karatza 8 - House A (West Building)	2nd c. AD – 5th c. AD	Atrium house/workshop with mosaic and statuary décor
58	Sts. Nikita 26-30 & Karatza 8 - House B (East Building)	IR – LR	Atrium house/workshop with statuary décor
59	Sts. Karaiskaki & Miaouli 67-73 - House A (Building West)	IR – 4th c. AD	Atrium house/workshop, with statuary (?) décor
60	Sts. Karaiskaki & Miaouli 67-73 - House B (Building East)	IR – 4th c. AD	House/workshop, with mosaic and statuary (?) décor
61	St. G. Roufou 18-20; Sts. Charalampi 10 & G. Roufou	IR – LR	House/workshop with mosaic and statuary décor
62	Sts. Kanakari 176 & Philopoimenos	IR – 3rd/4th c. AD	Taberna
63	Sts. Ioanni Vlachou 36 & Sachtouri – Building West	IR – LR	Possible housing unit
64	Sts. Ioanni Vlachou 36 & Sachtouri – Building East	IR – LR	Possible housing unit
65	St. Charalampi 39-41	IR – LR	Atrium house (?)
66	St. Charalampi 42-44	IR – 3rd c. AD	Atrium house (?) with mosaic décor
67	Sts. Lontou 86 & Karatza; St. Lontou 93 & Karatza (West of the ancient road); St. Lontou 91 (West of the ancient road)	IR – 6th c. AD	Possible housing unit with mosaic décor
68	St. Korinthou 352	LR	Possible housing unit/workshop with storing area
69	Sts. Themistokleous 26 & Olympiou	LR	Possible housing unit/workshop with storing (?) area
70	St. G. Frantzi 72	IR (?) – LR	House/workshop
71	St. S. Voulgareos 14	5th – 6th c. AD	House/workshop
72	St. Sisini 28	IR – LR	Atrium house with mosaic, and statuary décor
73	Sq. Ipsila Alonia 15-16	IR – LR (?)	Peristyle house with mosaic, and statuary décor
74	Sts. Maizonos 106 & Gounari	LR	Possible housing unit
75	Sts. Maizonos 177 & Miaouli	IR -LR	Possible housing unit with mosaic décor and several subdivided rooms
76	St. Gounari 160-162	IR – 7th c. AD	Workshop expanded over the road
77	St. Gounari 163	IR (?)	Possible housing unit with mosaic décor
78	St. Sisini 17-19	2nd – 4th c. AD	Possible housing unit with mosaic and mural décor
79	St. Agrafon 4	IR - LR	Building of unknown function

No.	*SITE*	*DATE*	*DESCRIPTION*
80	St. Mpoukaouri 69	IR - LR	Building of unknown function
81	St. V. Roufou 43	LR	Building of unknown function
82	Sts. Pantokratoros & Eynardou (Pr. Legga)	LR	Building of unknown function
83	St. Miaouli 74	LR	Possible housing unit
84	St. Lontou 112	LR	Building of unknown function with mosaic décor
85	St. Lontou 37	LR	Building of unknown function with mosaic décor
86	St. Erenstrole 49	LR	House/workshop
87	St. Erenstrole 65	LR (?)	Building of unknown function (Baths?)
88	St. Erenstrole 76	Roman	Possible housing unit
89	Sts. Erenstrole 67-69 & Mpoukaouri West Building	IR – LR	Building of unknown function
90	Sts. Erenstrole 67-69 & Mpoukaouri East Building	IR – LR	Building of unknown function
91	Sts. Panachaidos Athenas 8 & Mpoukaouri	Roman (?)	Building of unknown function
92	St. Gounari 66-72	IR-LR	Possible housing unit with mosaic and statuary décor
93	Sts. Korinthou & Miaouli & Tsamadou	2nd c. AD – Roman (?)	Several housing units with numerous subdivided rooms
94	St. Mitropolitou Neofytou 12	LR	Building of unknown function
95	St. Mitropolitou Neofytou 5-7	LR	Building of unknown function
96	St. Pantanassis 24 & 28	LR	Building of unknown function

Table G2

Greater urban district Patras

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION
1	St. Festou 27-29 (OT 68) – Pr. A Kavvada and D. Veskouki	LR	Farm/Workshop
2	St. Eglykados 103	LR	Farm/Workshop
3	Area Ag. Georgios Laggoura - St. Echinadon (OT1621) - Pr. Tsoukala	IR – LR	Farm/Workshop
4	St. Notara & Amerikis	LR	Building of unknown function
5	St. Notara 9	1st – 6th c. AD	Farm/Workshop
6	St. Kiprou & Thrakis 38-40	LR	Building of unknown function
7	St. Kiprou & Thrakis 37	LR	Possible farm/workshop
8	St. Kiprou 16 & Thrakis 36	LR	Farm(s)
9	St. Zakynthou 22; Sts. Thessalonikis 101 & Zakynthou	LR - BE	Farm/Workshop
10	Sts. Kefallinias 29 & Naumachias Ellis	LR	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
11	St. Ipirou 32	LA	Farm/workshop
12	Sts. Karolou 85 & Korinthou 133	LA	Farm
13	St. Karolou 61	IR – 3rd c. AD (?)	Collegium with mosaic décor
14	St. Karolou 85-87	IR – LA	Farm/workshop with mosaic décor
15	Sts. S. Zisi & Avenue Arois	LR	Farm/workshop
16	St. Mesatidos 11	LR	Farm/workshop
17	St. 12th Syntagmatos	LR	Building of unknown use with mosaic décor
18	Sts. Vasileiadou 18-22 & Olympiou	LR	Burials tentatively linked to a farm
19	Sts. Ierou Lochou 1 & Rodopoulou	LR	Building of unknown use
20	St. N. Giannopoulou 5	LR	Building of unknown use
21	St. Korinthou 130	LR	Building of unknown use
22	St. Korinthou 197-198	LR	Farm
23	St. Korinthou 205-211	LR - LA	Building of unknown use with mosaic décor
24	Ag. Saranta; Ag. Saranta 12	LR	Fountain (?)

Table G3

Aigion

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION
1	Sts. Aigialios & Riga Feraiou - Pr. Vassilopoulou	IR - LR	Atrium house with mosaic and statuary décor
2	Sts. Taxiarchon & Elikis	Roman (?)	House/workshop
3	Sts. Elikis 8 & Perikleous	LR	House/workshop
4	St. Panayiotopoulou 50	LR	House/workshop
5	St. Panayiotopoulou 44	Roman (?)	Courtyard house, with subdivided spaces
6	St. Sotiriou Lontou 19	$2^{nd}/3^{rd}$ c. AD	Private (?) Mithraeum
7	Sts. Aigialios & Mpostari 22	LR	Building of unknown use
8	Sts. Vas. Konstantinou & Kolokotroni - Pr. Mpampali	LR	Building of unknown use
9	St. Vas. Konstantinou 52	LR	Building of unknown use
10	Sts. Andronopoulou 2 & Mitropoleos	LR	Private (?) bath
11	St. Mitropoleos 26 & Messinezi	IR - LR	Building of unknown use
12	St. Andrea Lontou 54	$5^{th} – 6^{th}$ c. AD	Building of unknown use
13	St. Griva 8	LR	Possible workshop
14	Sts. Aigialios 76 & Mpostari	LR	Possible workshop
15	Sts. Riga Feraiou & Griva	LR	Building of unknown use with mosaic décor
16	St. Zoodochou Pigis 20	LR	Building of unknown use

Table G4

Rural Achaea

No.	SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION
1	Aigialeia – Akrata, Site Kapsakou - St. Solioti - Pr. Spanou (House A)	IR - LR	Possible farm/workshop
2	Aigialeia – Akrata, Site Kapsakou - St. Solioti - Pr. Spanou (House B)	IR - LR	Possible farm/workshop
3	Aigialeia, Site Aligaries – Pr. Kareli	LR	Farm/workshop
4	Aigialeia, Site Asprias – Elike	LR – 5th/6th c. AD	Farm/workshop
5	Charadros Patron – Site Mantilo (Pr. Med Frigo AE)	IR - LR	Farm/workshop with mosaic décor
6	Lake "Dam Pirou-Parapirou" – House A/B	Roman (?)	Building of unknown use
7	Lake "Dam Pirou-Parapirou" – House C	Roman (?)	Building of unknown use
8	Ano Sichaena - St. Kozanis	LR	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
9	Kato Roitika – St. Maritsi (Pr. Mpalaoura)	LR – AD550	Farm/workshop and burials
10	Kato Roitika – St. Maritsi (Pr. Nikolopoulou)	5th - 6th c. AD	Farm/workshop
11	Vrachnaika - Pr. Roumelioti	LR	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
12	Kaminia – Alissos - Public works for the train connection Patras-Pyrgos	IR - LR	Farm/workshop
13	Rio – Platani – Cheimaros Xilokera	LR	Building of unknown use
14	Connection of the peripheral road with the city of Patras - River Diaconaris - Area Ag. Georgiou Laggoura	2nd/3rd – 4th c. AD	Farm/workshop
15	Saravali - St. Iros Konstantopoulou	IR - LR	Farm/workshop
16	Kato Achaia - St. Perikleous 8 - Pr. Tzoura	IR - LR	Farm/workshop
17	New train connection Athens Patras, escape tunnel OX2	LR	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
18	Site Retounioti - Pr. Frantzi; Site Retounioti - Pr. Karanikola	2nd/3rd c. AD – (?)	Atrium farmhouse with mosaic décor
19	Site Palaiomonastiro - Pr. Maratou	IR - LR	Settlement (?)
20	Site Palaiomonastiro - Pr. Giaxou; Site Palaiomonastiro - Pr. Kolliropoulou	4th/5th - 6th c. AD	Octagon building of unknown use, with mosaic décor
21	Site Palaiomonastiro - Pr. Kanelaki; Site Palaiomonastiro - Pr. Michalopoulou-Mitroulia	4th - 6th c. AD	Private (?) bath building with mosaic décor
22	St. Australias 103 - Exo Agyia	IR - LR	Farm/workshop
23	E.O Diversion of Patras - Junction K4-K5	IR – 4th/5th c. AD	Farm/workshop

No.	*SITE*	*DATE*	*DESCRIPTION*
24	St. Veaki (Pr. Vachlioti)	IR – 3rd c. AD	Farm/workshop
25	Site Paliourgias - 25 Martiou 84 (O.T 9/O.T 11)	1st - 5th c. AD	Farm/workshop
26	Site Ano Kastritsi	IR	Possible Farm/workshop with mosaic décor
27	Mintilogli - Site Chatziliakou	LR	Farm/workshop
28	Site Vakrou	IR – 3rd c. AD	Farm/workshop
29	Mintilogli - St. Ag. Konstantinou 102	LR – 5th/6th c. AD	Building of unknown use
30	St. Paraskevopoulou 7; St. Paraskevopoulou 6	LR	Building of unknown use
31	Site Trapeza	IR - LR	Settlement (?)
32	Site Plai	LR	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
33	Site Mantilo	IR - LA	Polygonal building of unknown use
34	Ano Sichaina – Pr. Tzatha	LA	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
35	St. Nestoros 12	IR - LA	Farm/workshop
36	St. Kadmou 6	LR	Building of unknown use
37	St. Panepistimiou 257-263, 368-370, 425-427	LA	Building of unknown use and burials
38	St. Malakasi 1	IR - LR	Farm/workshop
39	Parodos M. Merkouri	LR	Farm/workshop
40	Sts. L. Porfyra & M. Merkouri; St. L. Porfyra	IR - LR	Farm/workshop
41	Sts. Kyvelis & Parodos Australias 41	LA	Burials tentatively linked to a farm
42	St. Satha	LA	Burials tentatively linked to a farm
43	St. Australias 18; St. Australias 21	IR – LA	Burials tentatively linked to a farm
44	St. Moraitidi	LA	Burials tentatively linked to a farm
45	St. Aretha 52	IR - LA	Burials tentatively linked to a farm
46	St. Kleanthi	LA	Possible farm/workshop
47	Sts. Kazantzaki & Tellou Agra	LR	Farm/workshop
48	Kato Sichaina – Parodos AZ15	IR - LA	Farm/workshop
49	St. Papadiamanti 21	LR	Burials tentatively linked to a farm
50	N.E.O Patron - Korinthou	LR	Building of unknown use
51	Sts. Notara & Ippolitou	IR - LR	Building of unknown use
52	Sts. Notara & Chortatzi	LR	Burials tentatively linked to a farm
53	St. Ellinos Stratiotou - Stadium Panachaikis	LR	Farm/workshop
54	St. L. Katsoni 10	IR - LR	Farm/workshop
55	St. Anaximanrdou 40 – Pr. Michalapoulou	4th c. AD - LR	Farm/workshop
56	Sts. Souniou & Maximou	IR - LR	Building of unknown use
57	Sts. Anaximanrdou & Zinonos	4th c. AD	Burials tentatively linked to a farm
58	Sts. Patron-Pyrgou & Parnassou	IR - LR	Building of unknown use
59	Sts. Damiri 27 & R. Koch	LR	Burials tentatively linked to a farm
60	St. Kalavriton 69	LR	Burials tentatively linked to a farm

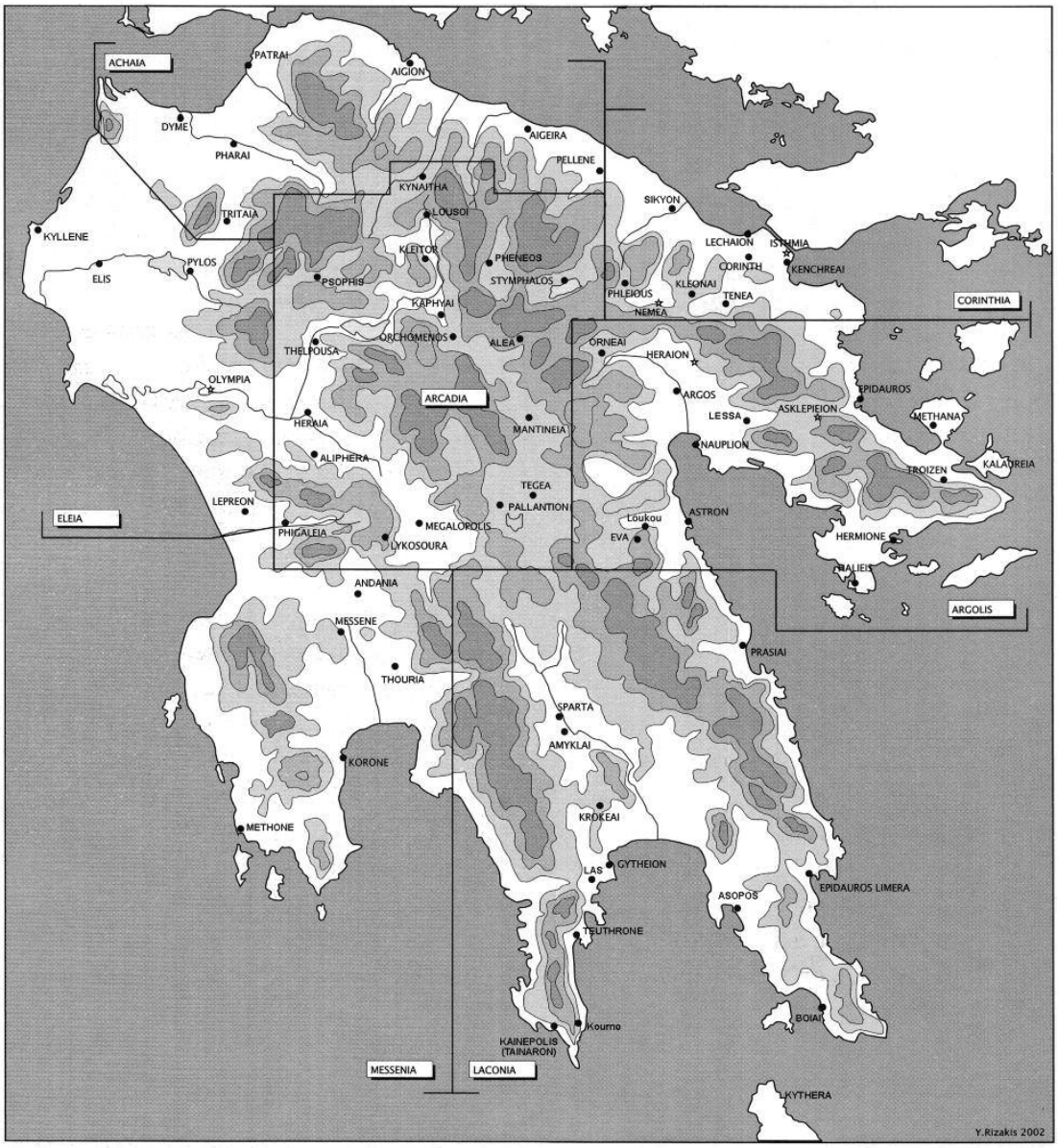
No.	*SITE*	*DATE*	*DESCRIPTION*
61	St. Kalavriton 77	LR	Building of unknown use
62	St. Trianti 11	LR – LA	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
63	St. Kalavriton 62	LR	Building of unknown use
64	Diversion of St. Mykinon 8	IR - LR	Farm/workshop
65	St. Perseus	IR – LR	Building of unknown use
66	St. Akrotiriou 166	LR	Building of unknown use
67	St. Lochagou Fotopoulou	LR	Farm/workshop
68	St. Pelopos 90	LR - LA	Farm/workshop
69	St. Antheias 206	IR - LR	Farm/workshop
70	Schools Ag. Georgios Laggouras	LR	Building of unknown use
71	Parodos Γ62	IR - LR	Building of unknown use
72	Krini Meliggrou	IR - LR	Farm/workshop
73	Site River Glaucus	LA	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
74	Site Romanou – Pr. Katsigianni	LR	Building of unknown use
75	Site Monodendri – Pr. Miari	LR	Building of unknown use
76	Site Ag. Vasileios	LR	Building of unknown use
77	Site Retounioti – Pr. Tsolopoulou	IR – LR	Building of unknown use
78	Site Ano Kallithea – Ag. Nikolaos	LA	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
79	Pr. Elenis Skaltsa	LR	Building of unknown use
80	Site Ecclesia – Pr. Georgopoulou	LR	Farm/workshop
81	Site Leukakia – Vrisi Koukouras Hill	LR – LA	Farm/workshop
82	Site Saravali – Naos Ag. Nikolaou	IR – LA	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
83	Site Saravali – Demotiko Sxoleio	LR – LA	Burial tentatively linked to a farm
84	St. Orfeos - Zarouchleika	LR	Building of unknown use
85	St. Akti Dimeon 7	LR	Farm/workshop
86	St. Akti Dimeon 12-14	IR – 6th c. AD	Farm/workshop
87	St. Thermopylon 35; St. Thermopylon 45	IR – 6th c. AD	Farm/workshop
88	Parodos Tsertidou 41	IR – 4th c. AD	Farm/workshop
89	Site Prevedos E.O Patron-Tripolis	IR - LA	Building of unknown use
90	Site Girokomeio	IR - LA	Possible farm/workshop
91	Site Kampos Sanatorio	LR	Possible farm/workshop
92	Site Ydragogeio Elekistras	LR	Possible farm/workshop
93	Akrata – Municipal Kindergarten	LA	Building of unknown use
94	Pellene	LR	Collegium (?)

IV.

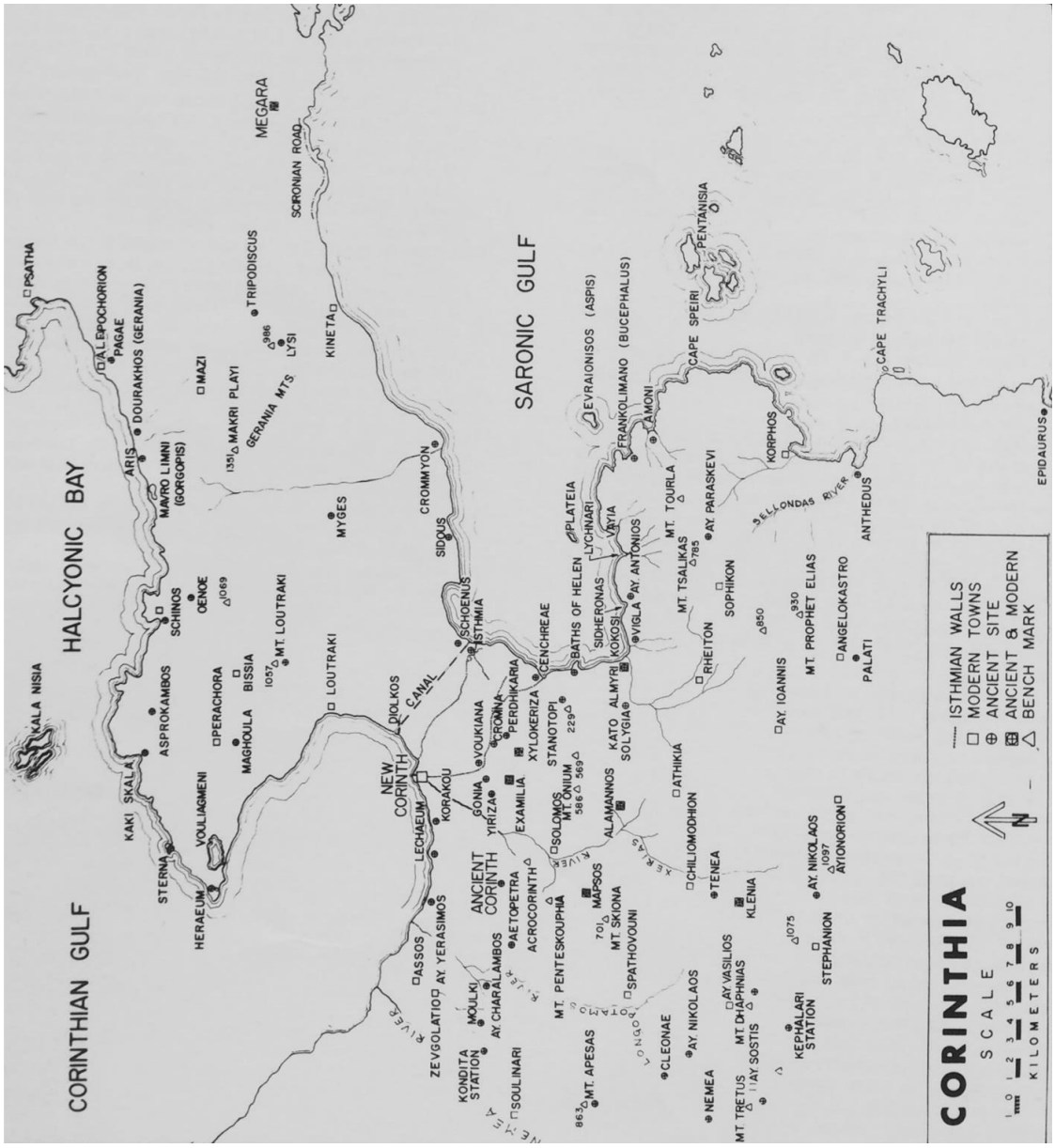
PLANS & PLATES

PLANS

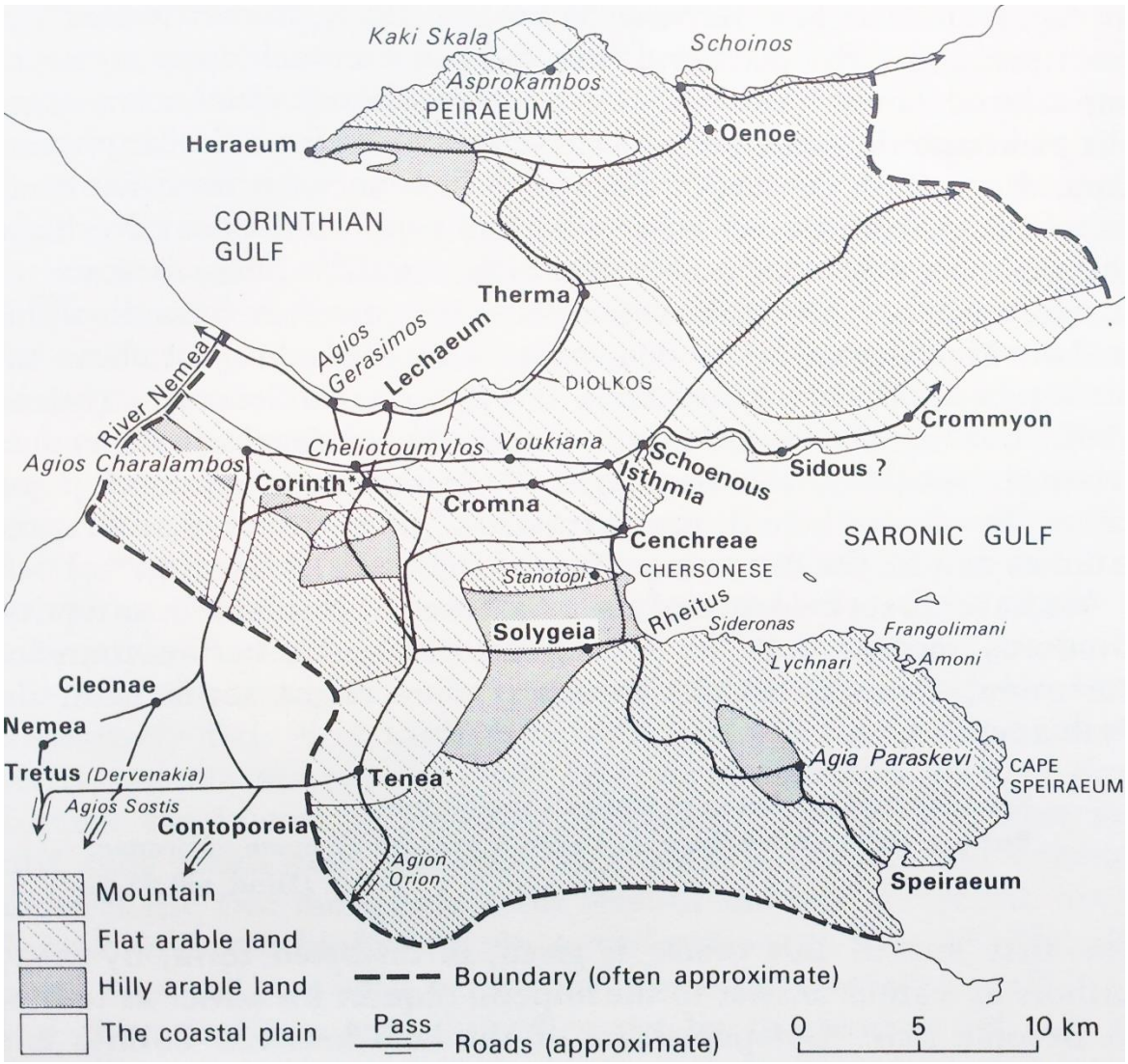
PLAN I



Peloponnese (*Source* Palagia 2010, 431)

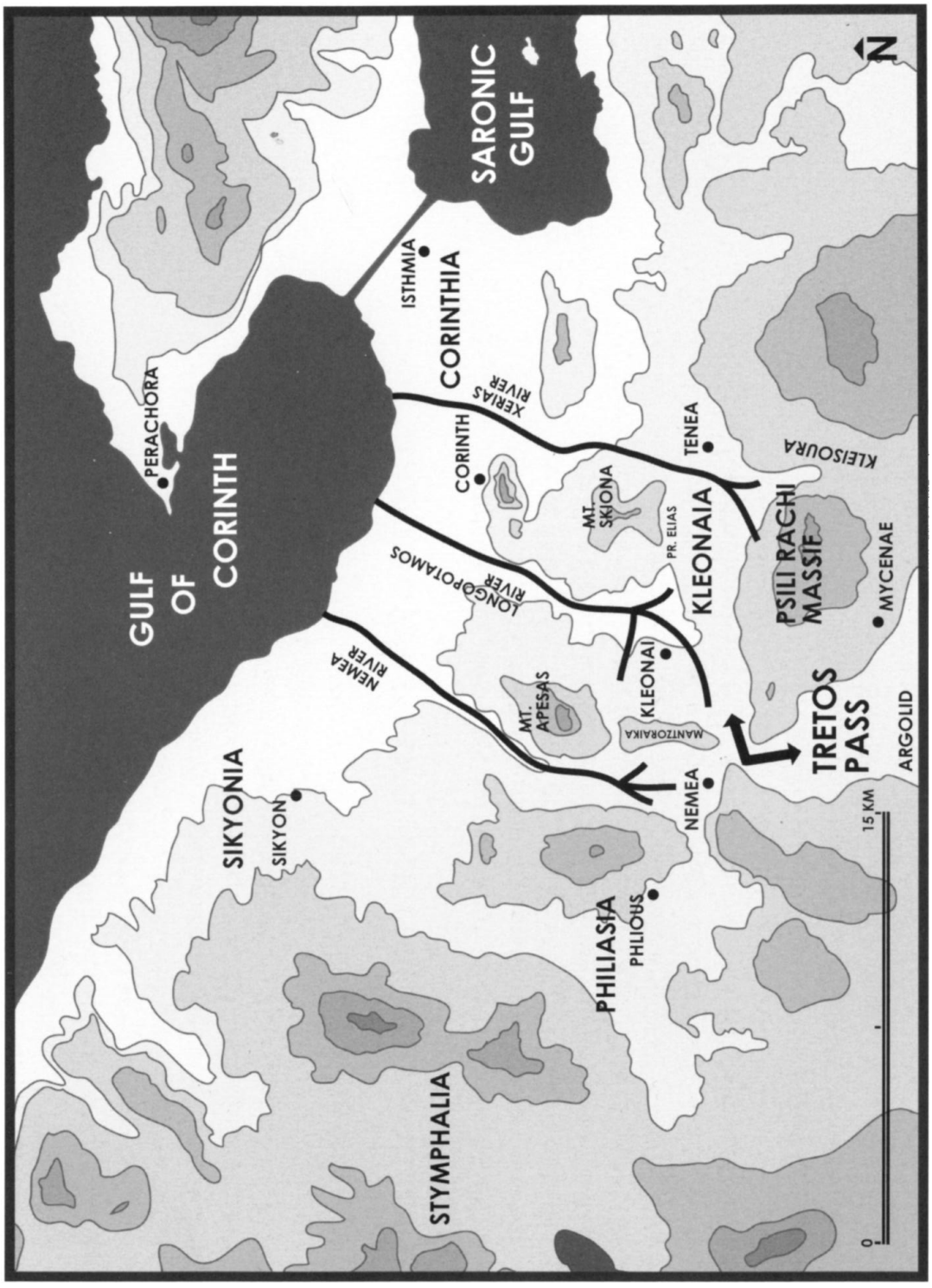


Corinthia (*Source* Wiseman 1978, 44)

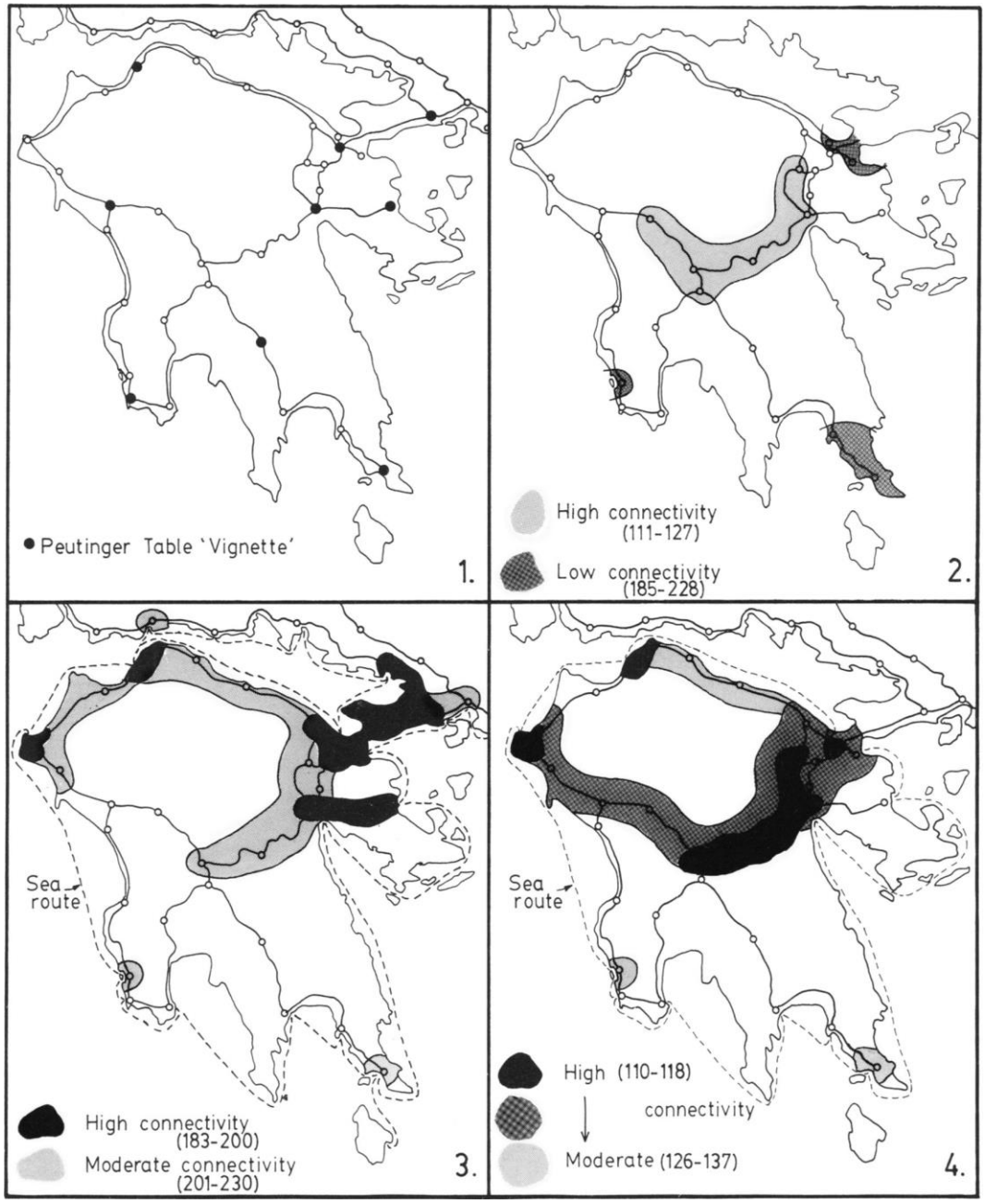


Corinthia (*Source* Salmon 1984, 21)

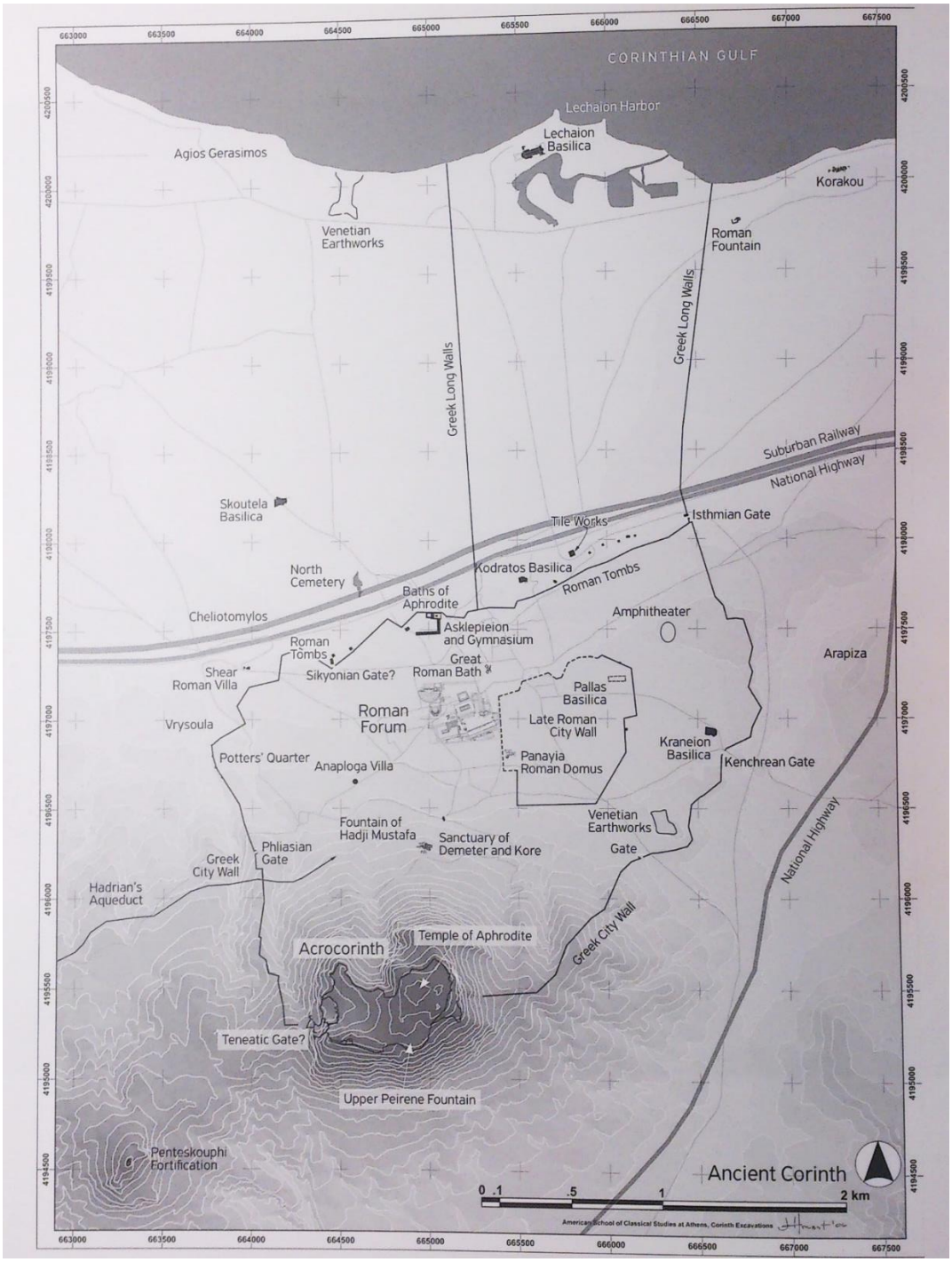
Road from Megara to Corinth
(*Source* Gebhard 2013, 265)



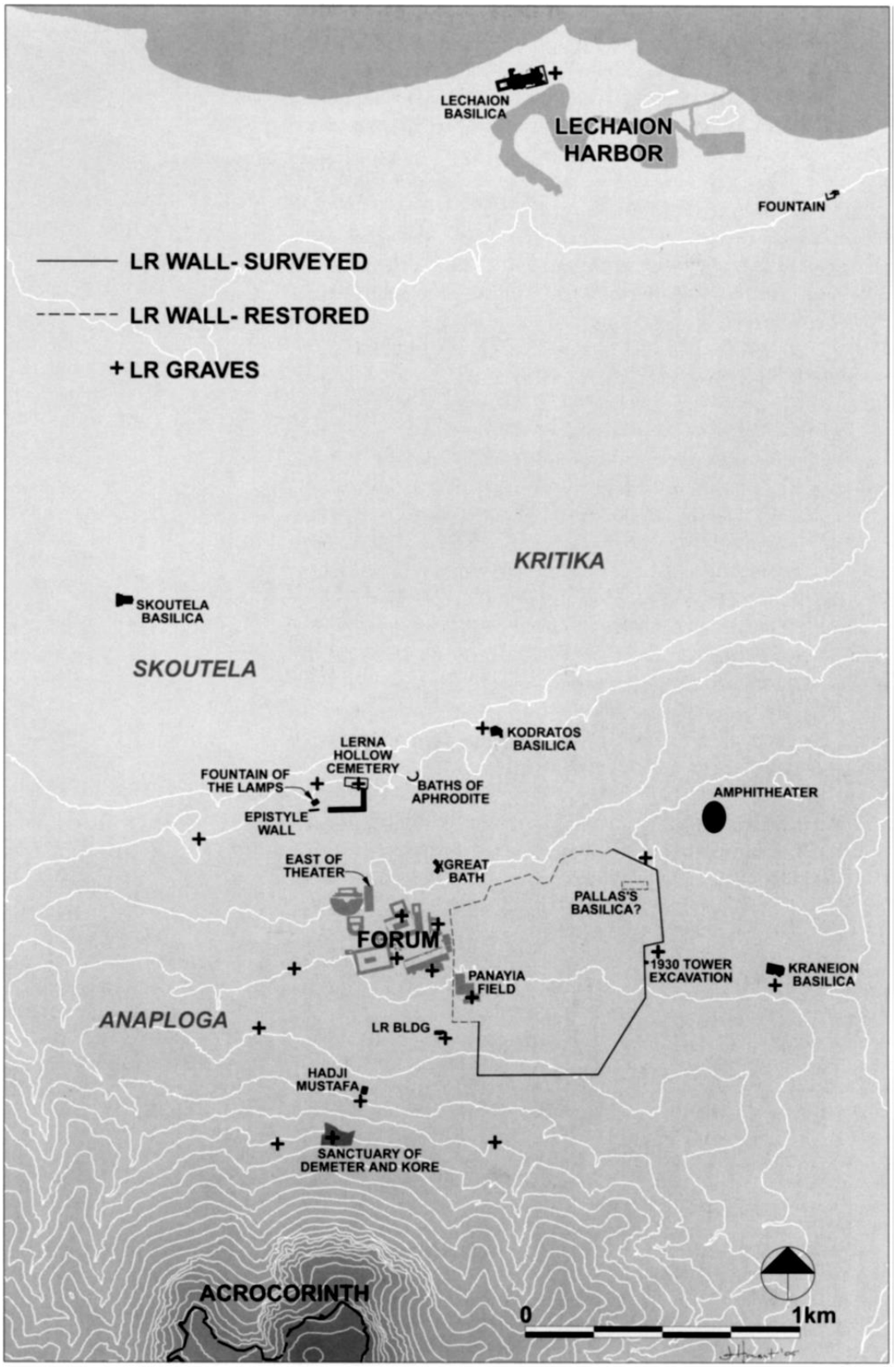
Passages from Corinthia to Argolis (*Source* Marchand 2009a, 111)



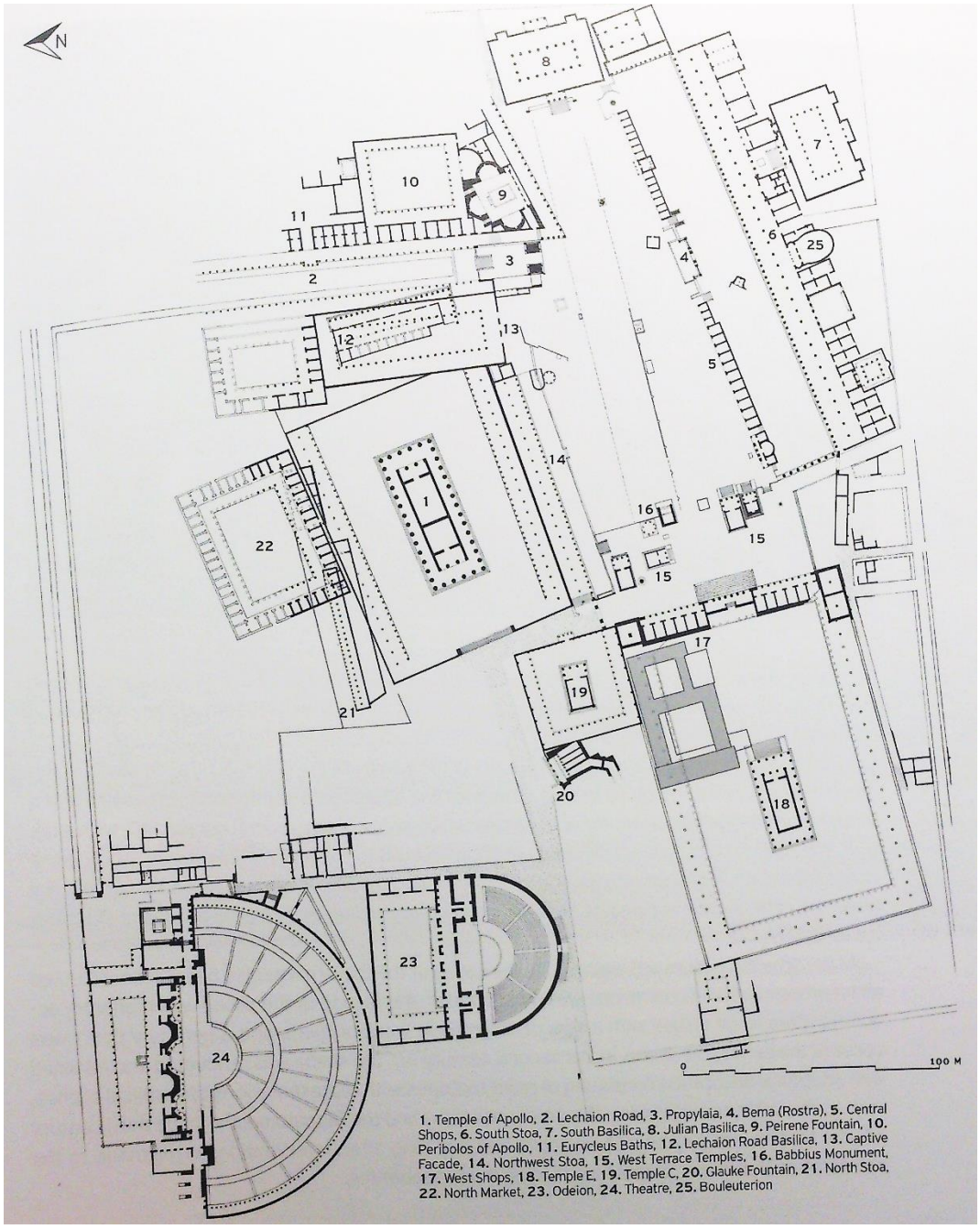
Road system in Peloponnese (*Source* Sanders and Whitbread 1990, 344)



Corinthia (*Source* Koursoumis 2013a, 42)

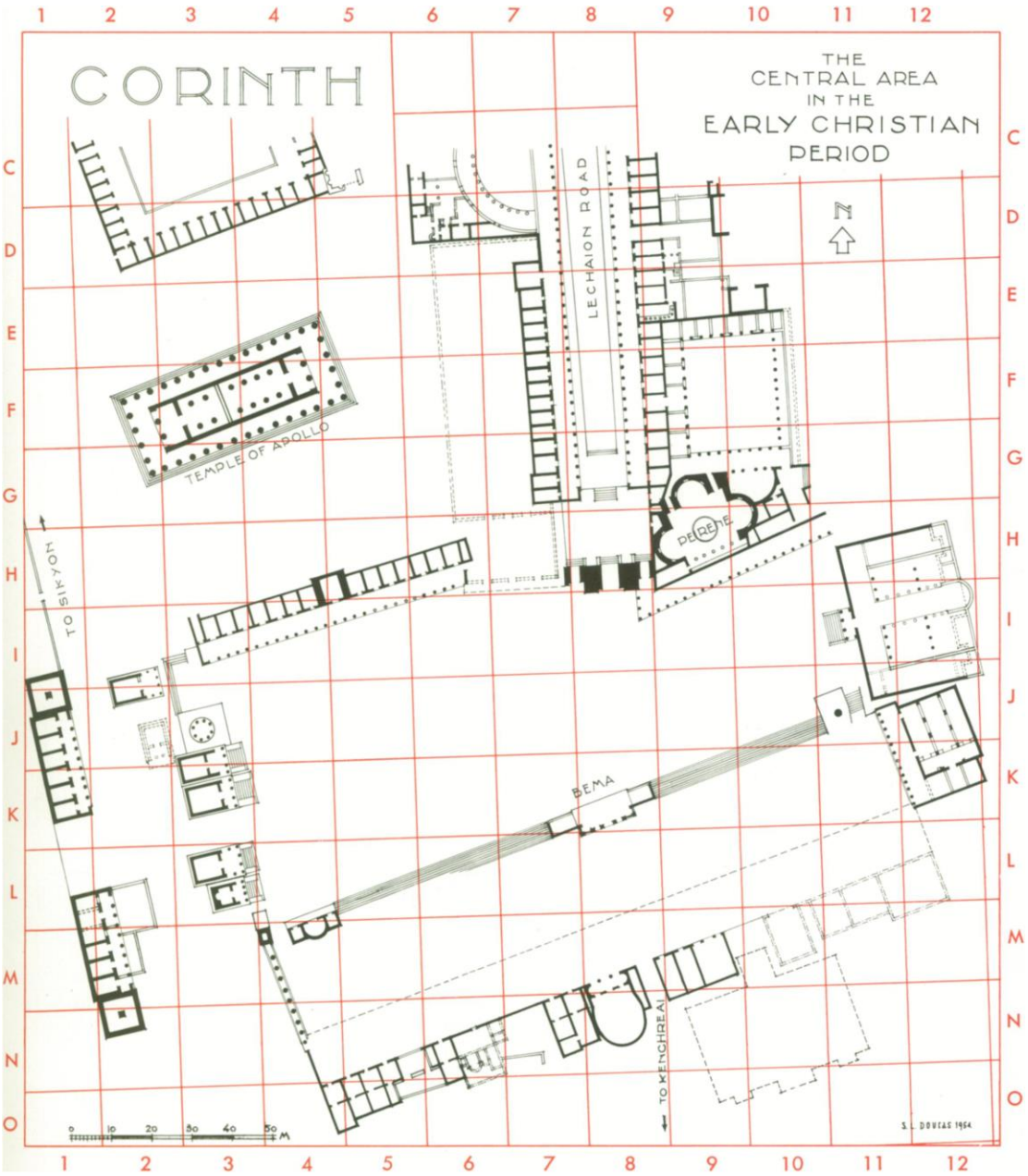


Corinth (*Source* Slane and Sanders 2005, 245)

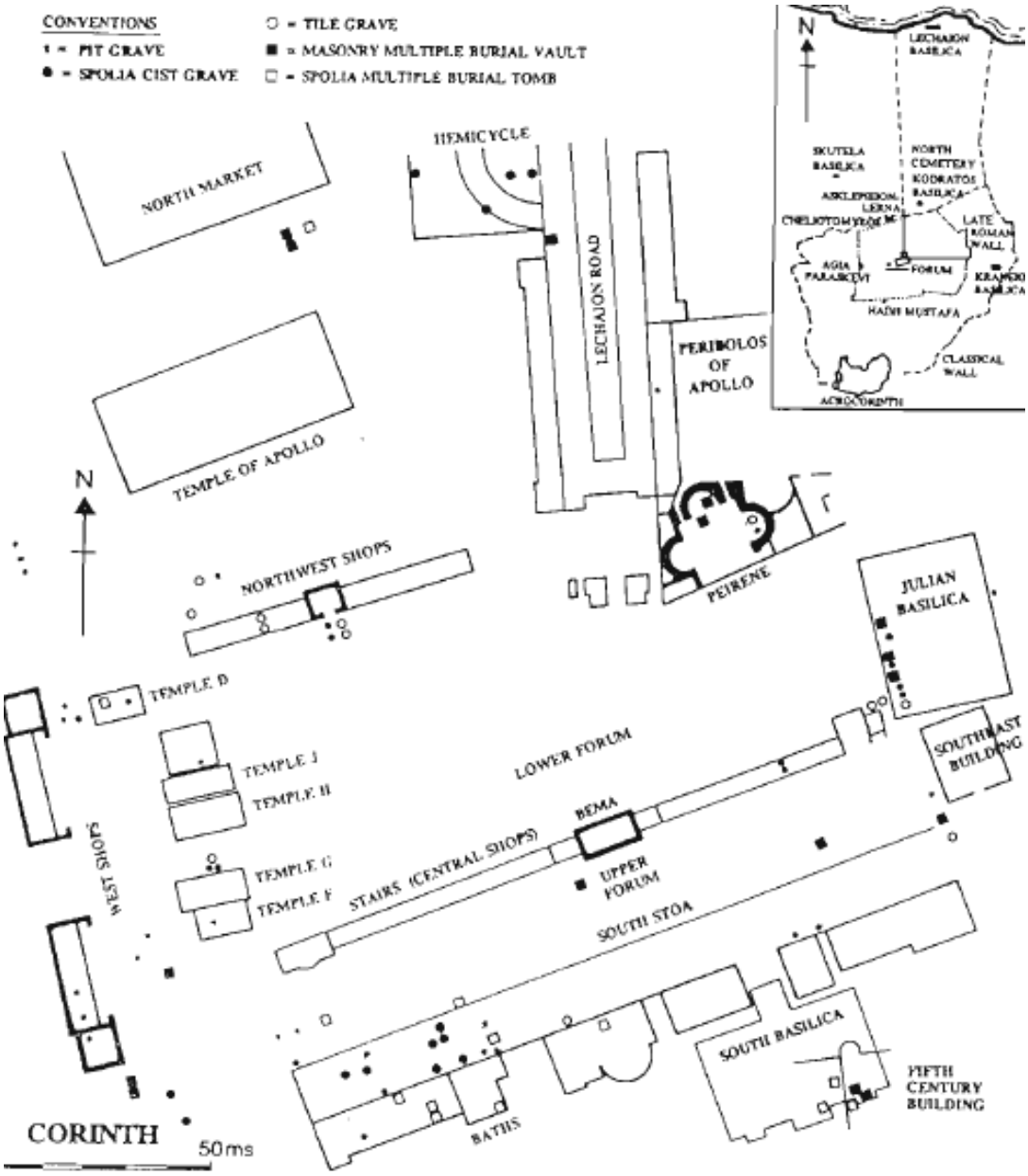


Corinth in the 2nd / 3rd century AD (*Source* Koursoumis 2013a, 57)

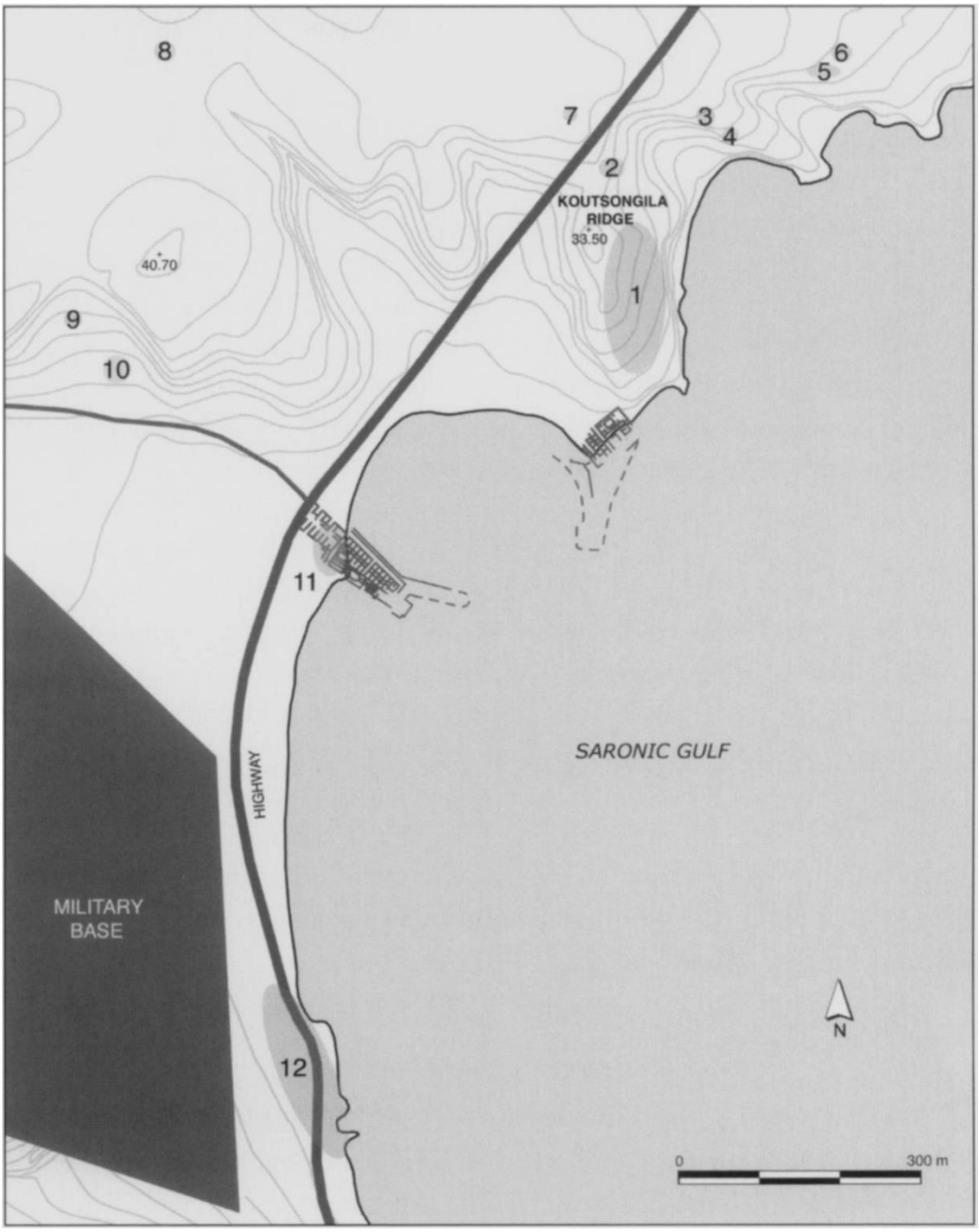
PLAN X



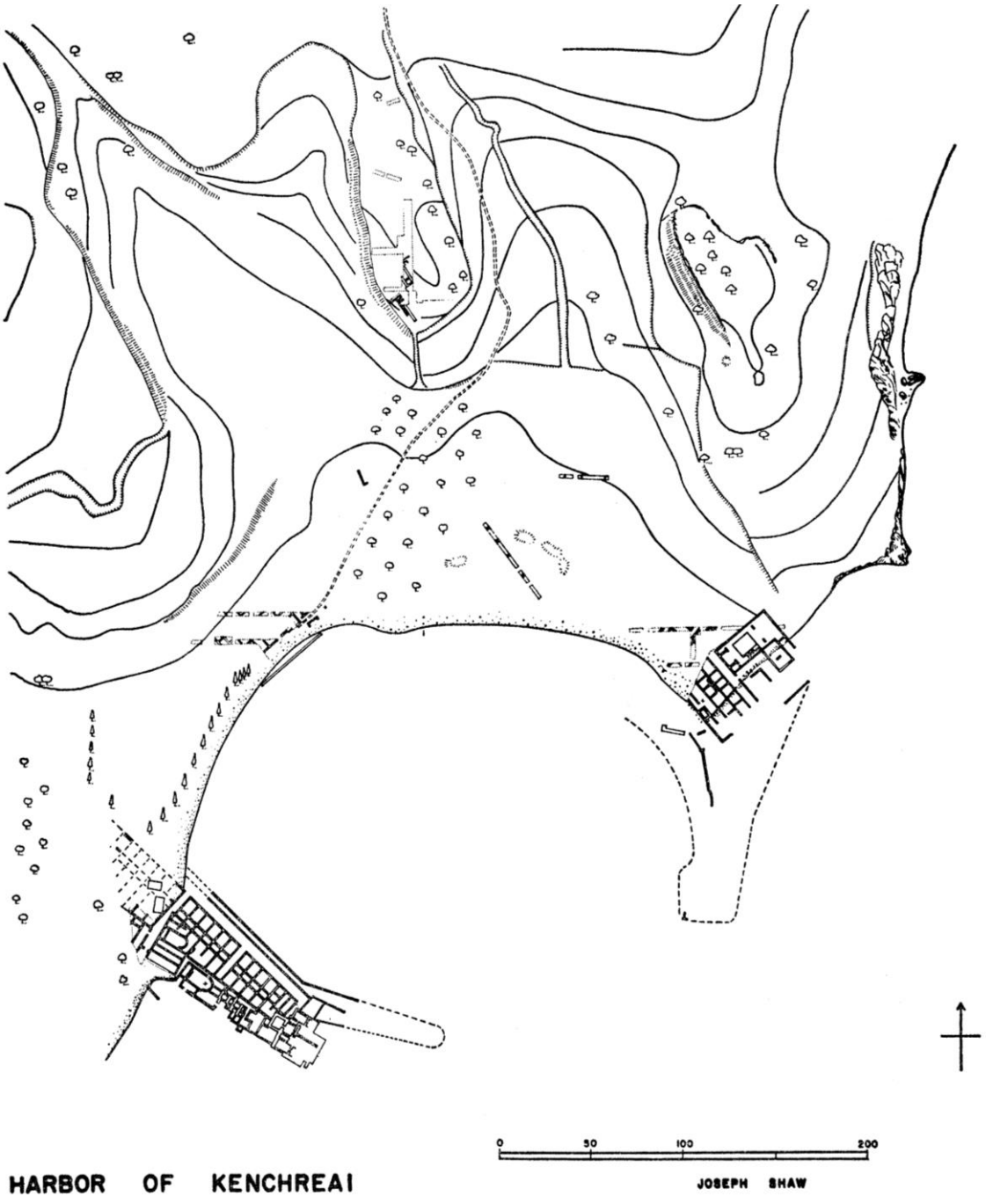
Corinth (*Source* Scranton 1957, Pl. 4)



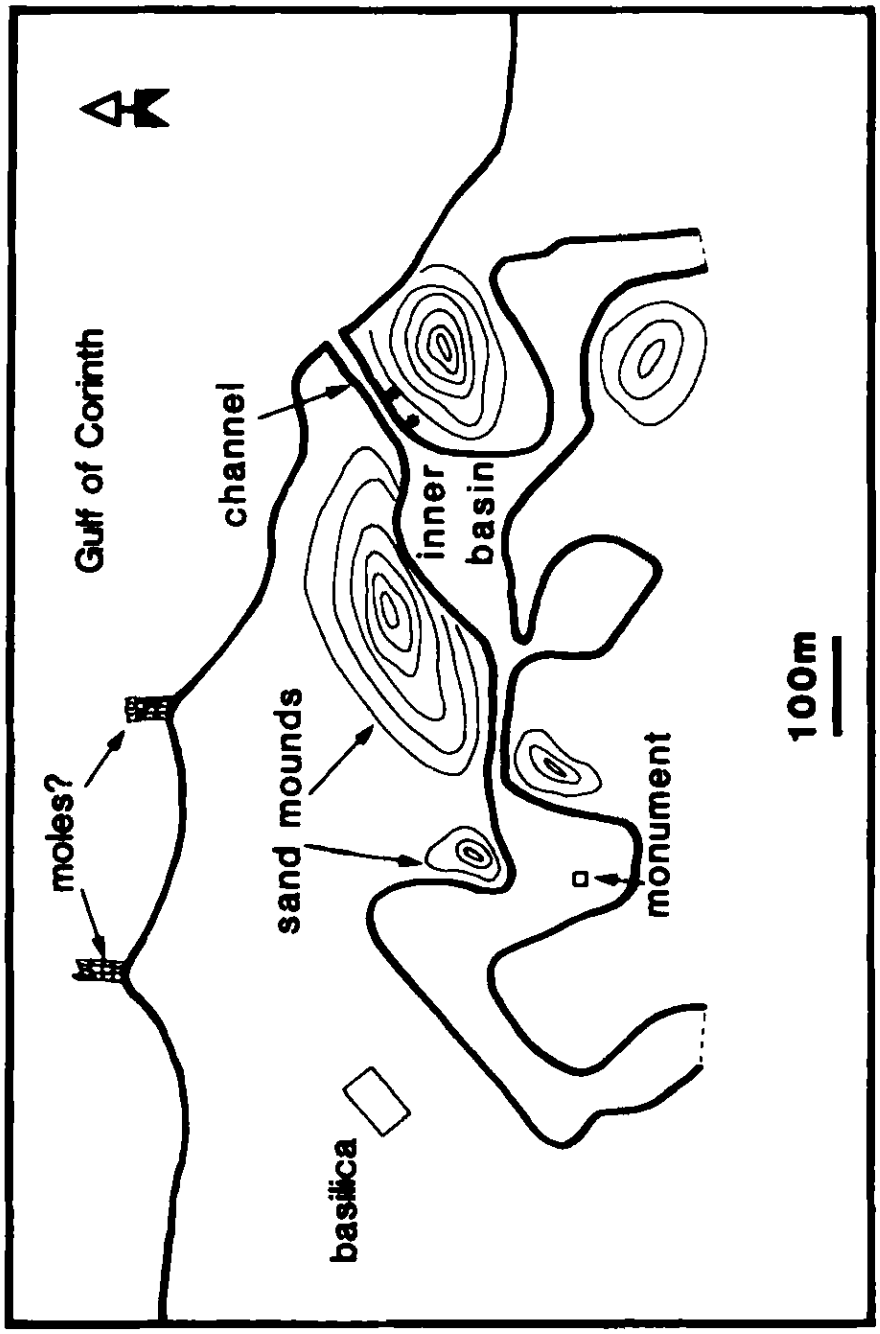
Corinth, Agora in the 5th / 6th century AD (*Source* Ivison 1996, 100)



Kenchreai, the numbers indicate Late Roman burial sites (*Source* Rife *et al*. 2007, 145)



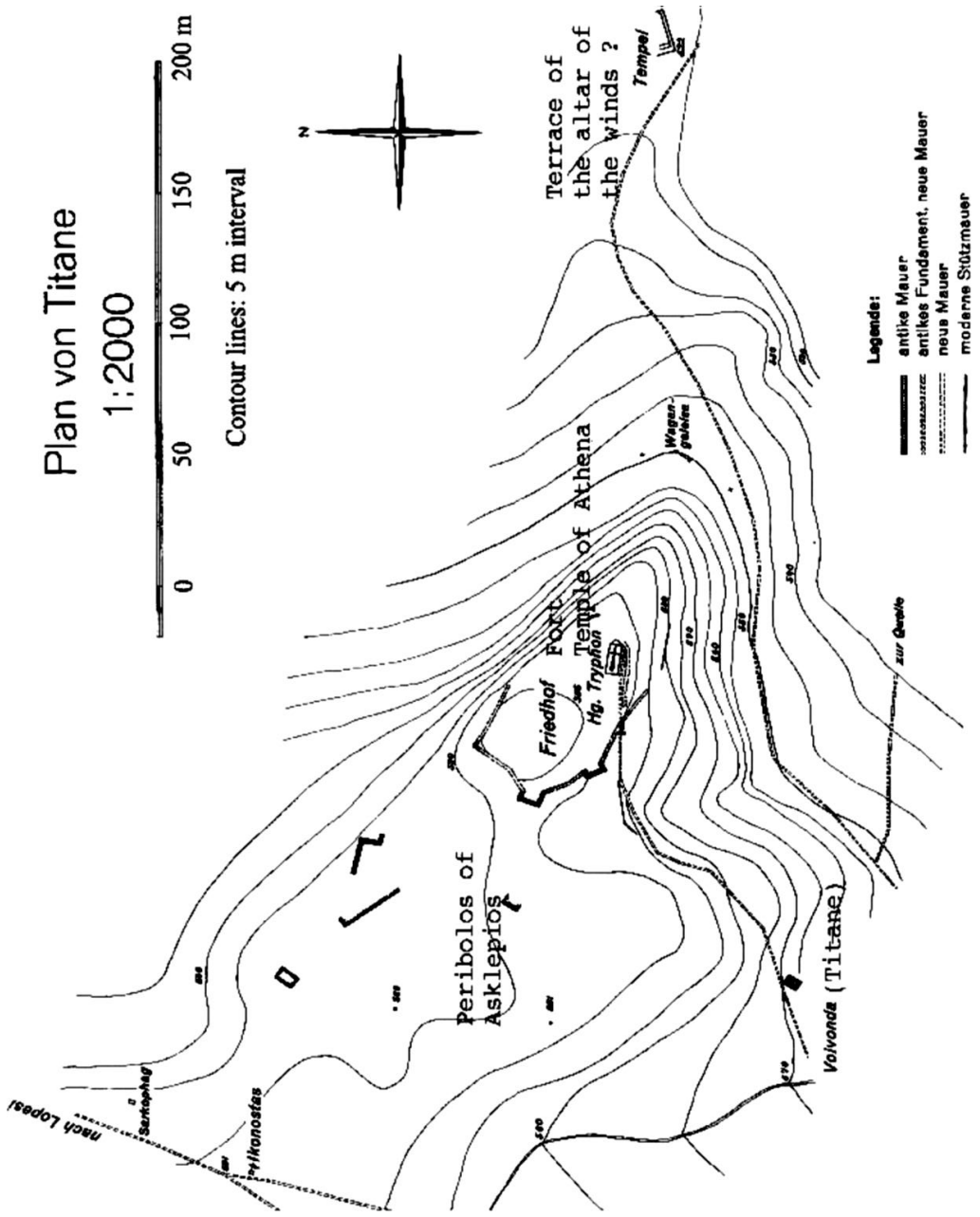
Kenchreai, General plan (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 126)



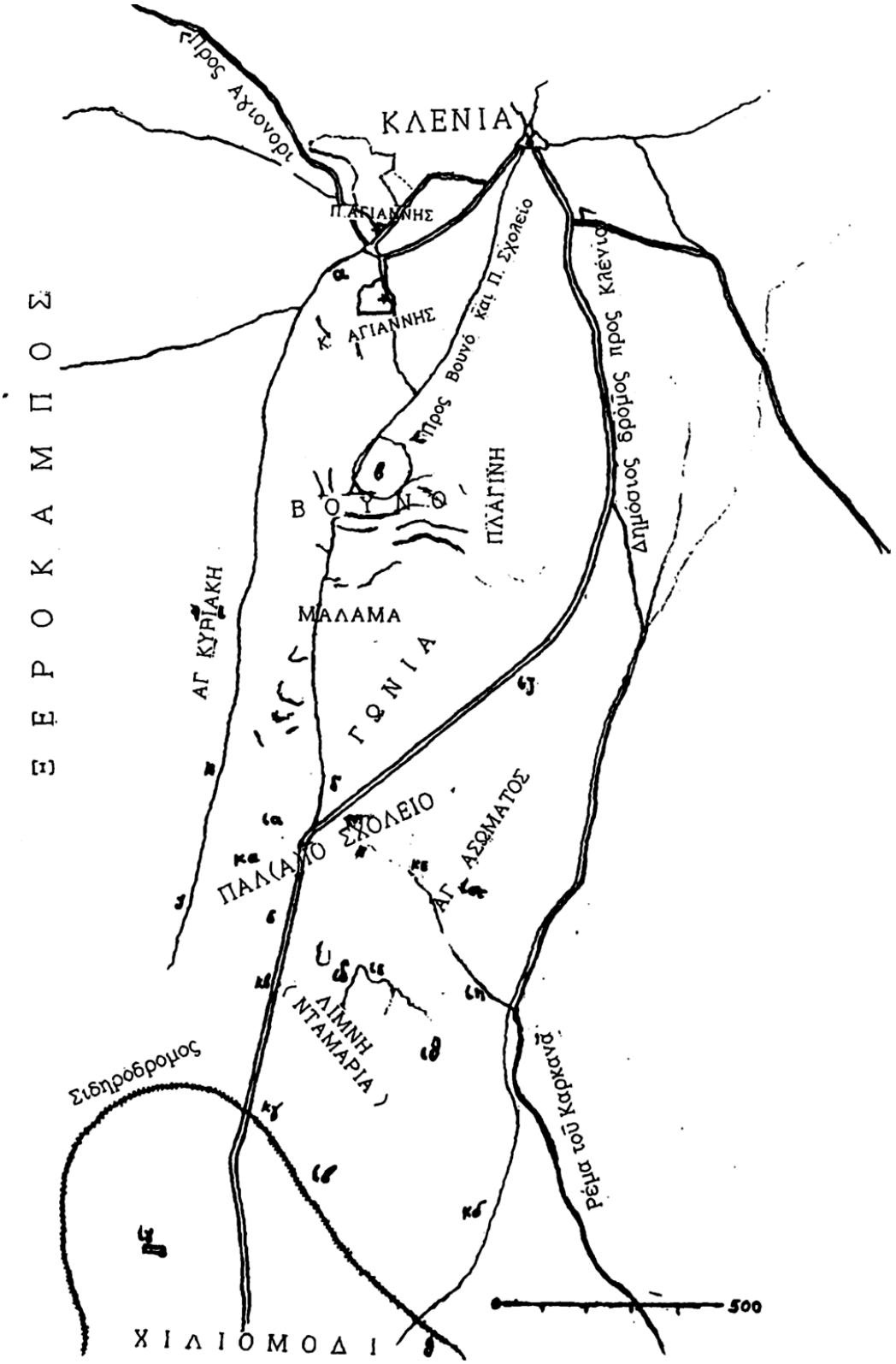
Lechaeon (*Source* Stiros *et al.* 1996, 253)

Rural Sicyon (*Source* Lolos 2013, 470)

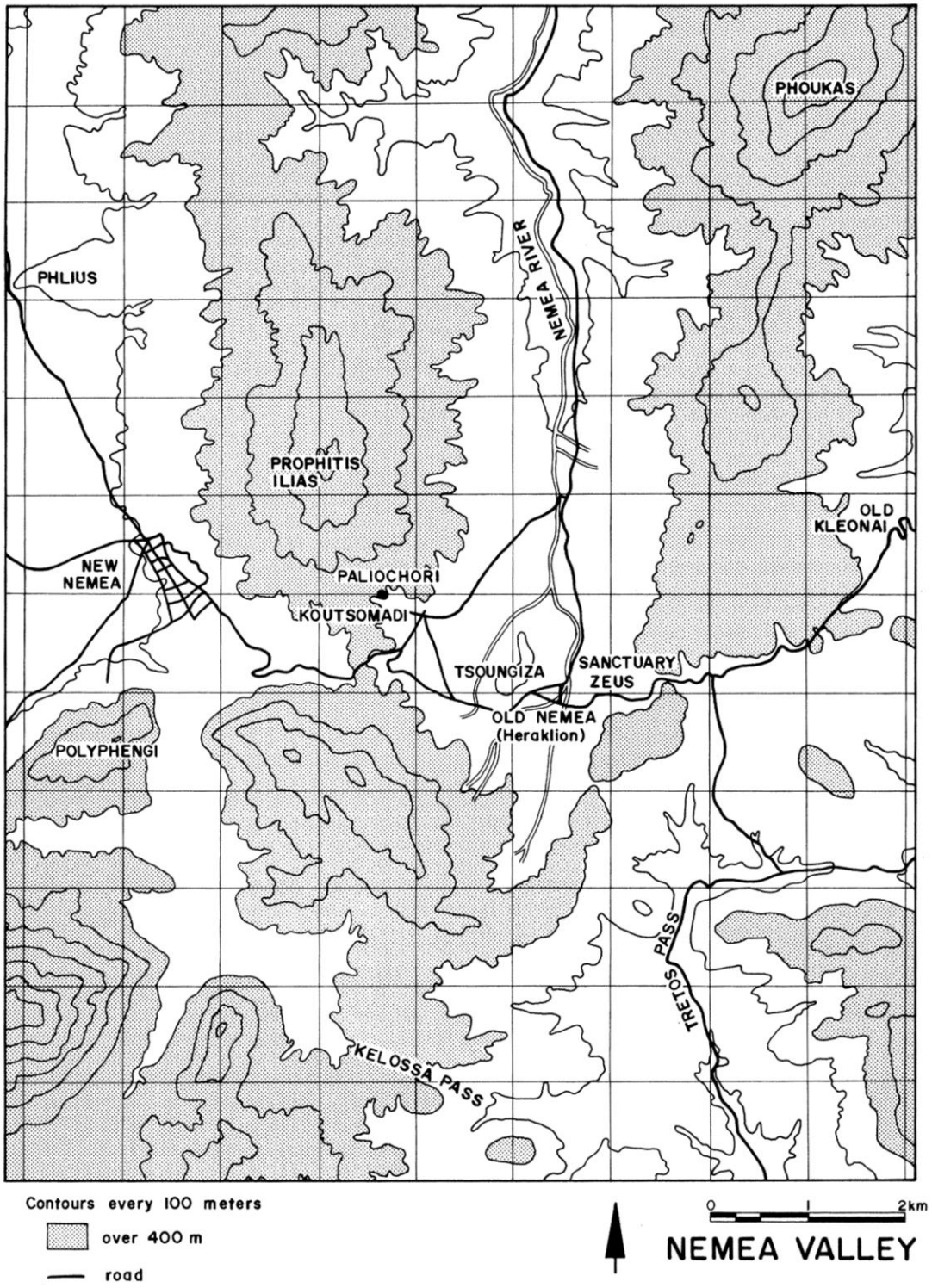
Sicyon, General plan (*Source* Lolos 2013, 476)



Titane (*Source* Lolos 2005, 284)

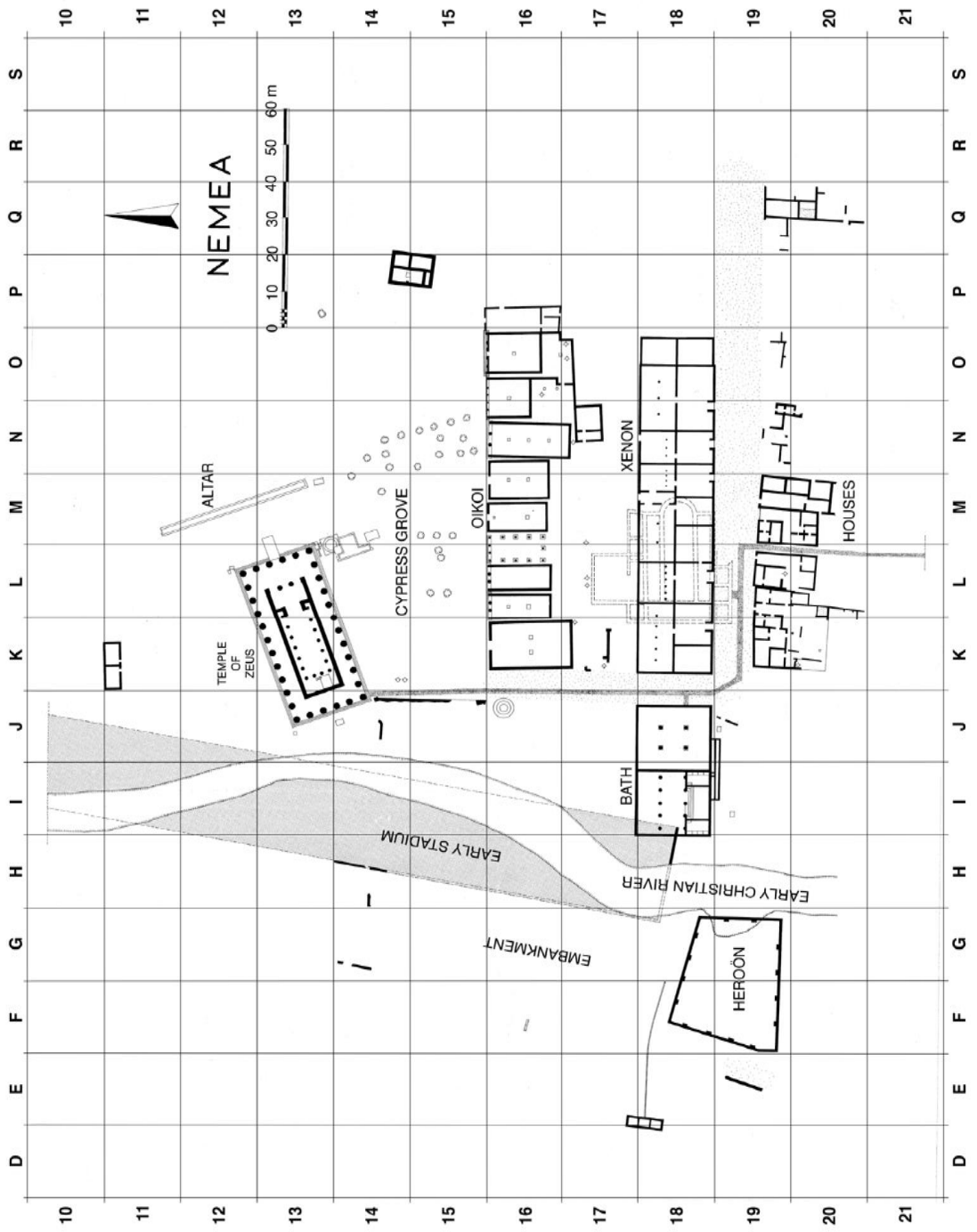


Ancient Tenea (centre of the map), South of modern Chiliomodi (at the bottom left corner of the map) and North of modern Klenia (at the upper section of the map) (*Source* Kordosis 1997, 577)



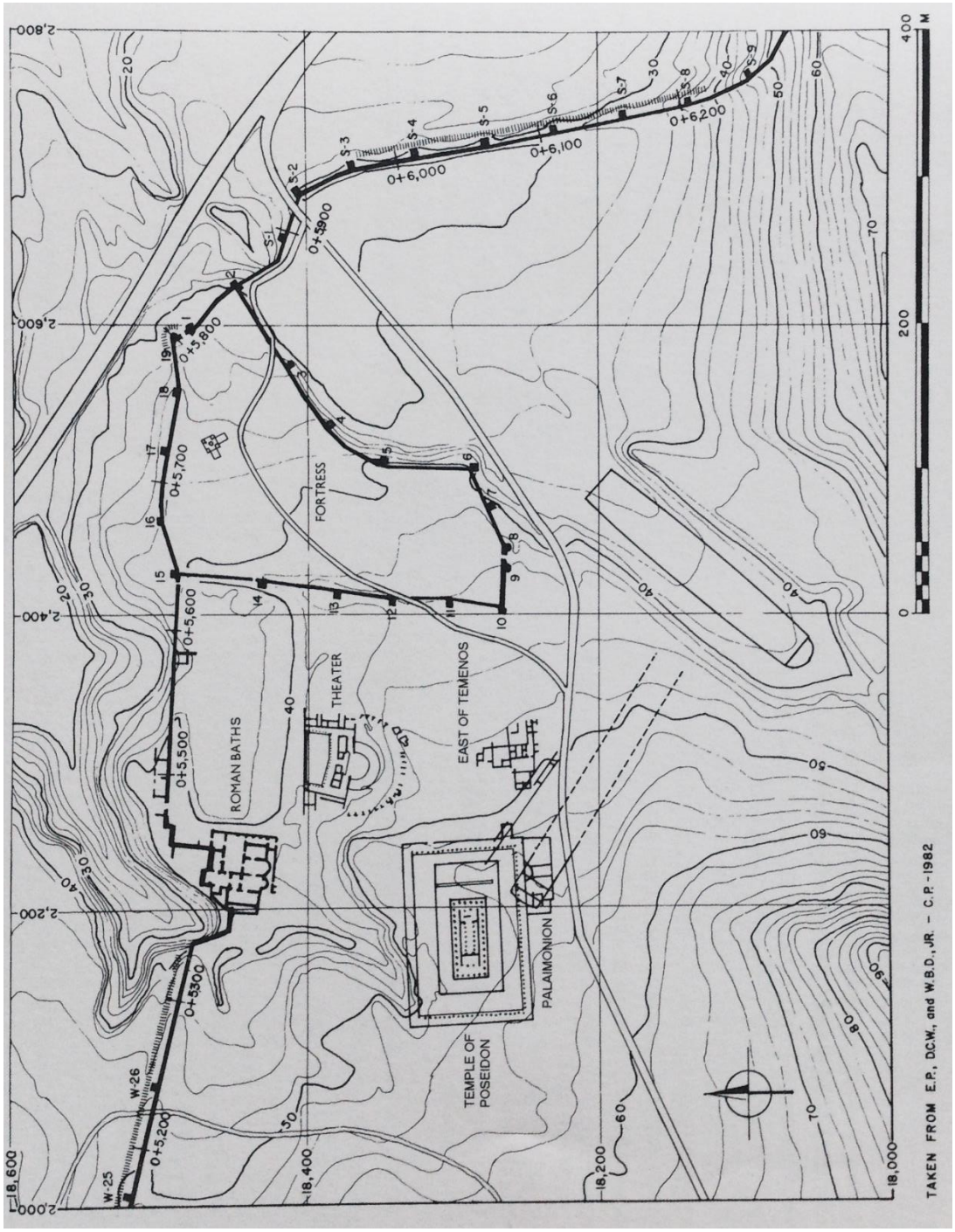
Rural Nemea (*Source* Wright *et al.* 1990, 586)

PLAN XX

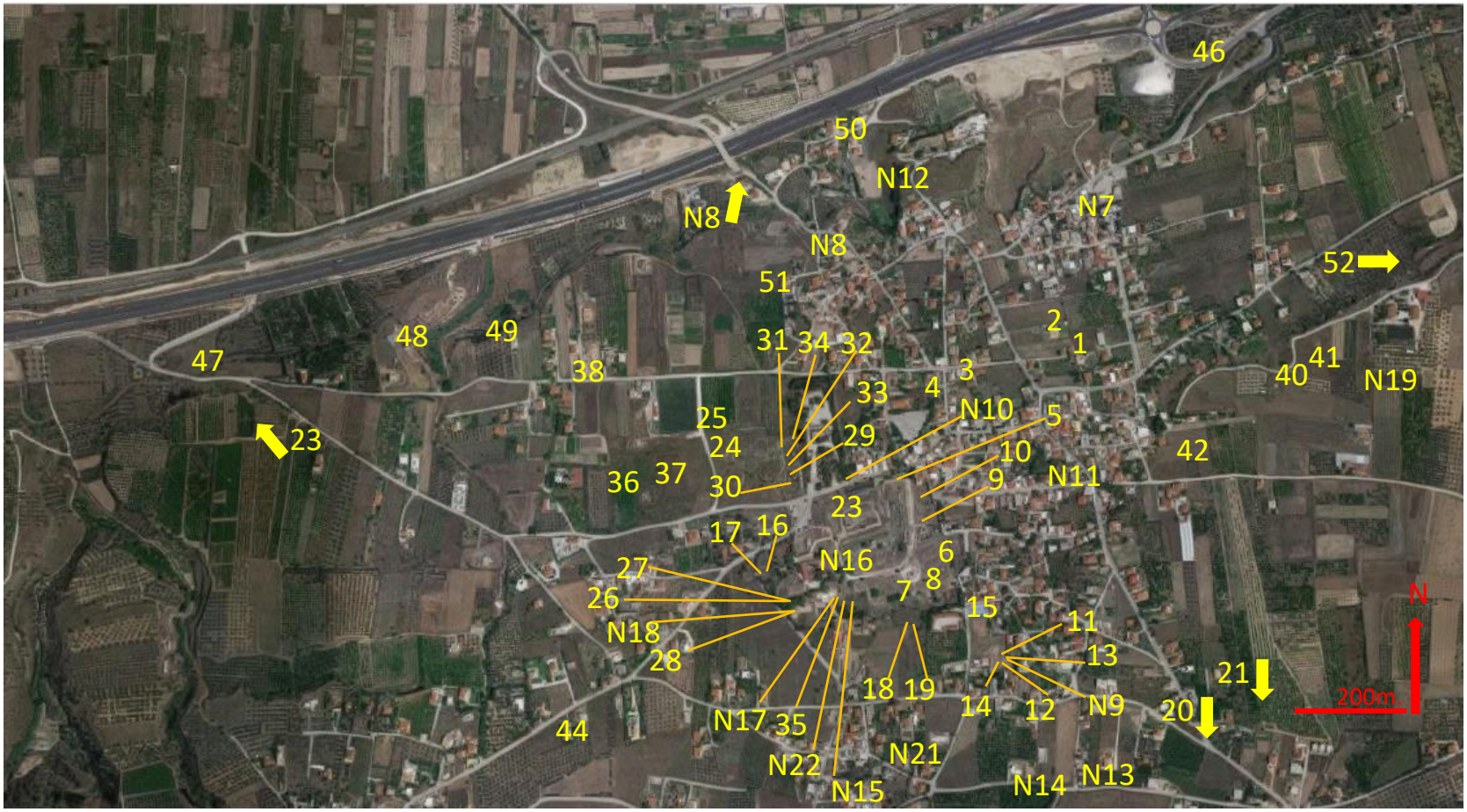


Ancient Nemea (Miller 2015, 278)

PLAN XXI



Isthmia (*Source* Gregory 2013, 276)



PLAN XXII

Corinth, all the numbers correspond with the sites referred in the tables, the bold arrows signify the general location of each site. The plan does not include the sites no. '36'; 'N1'; 'N2'; 'N3'; 'N4'; 'N5'; 'N6' which the author was unable to locate in the general plan of the ancient city of Corinth

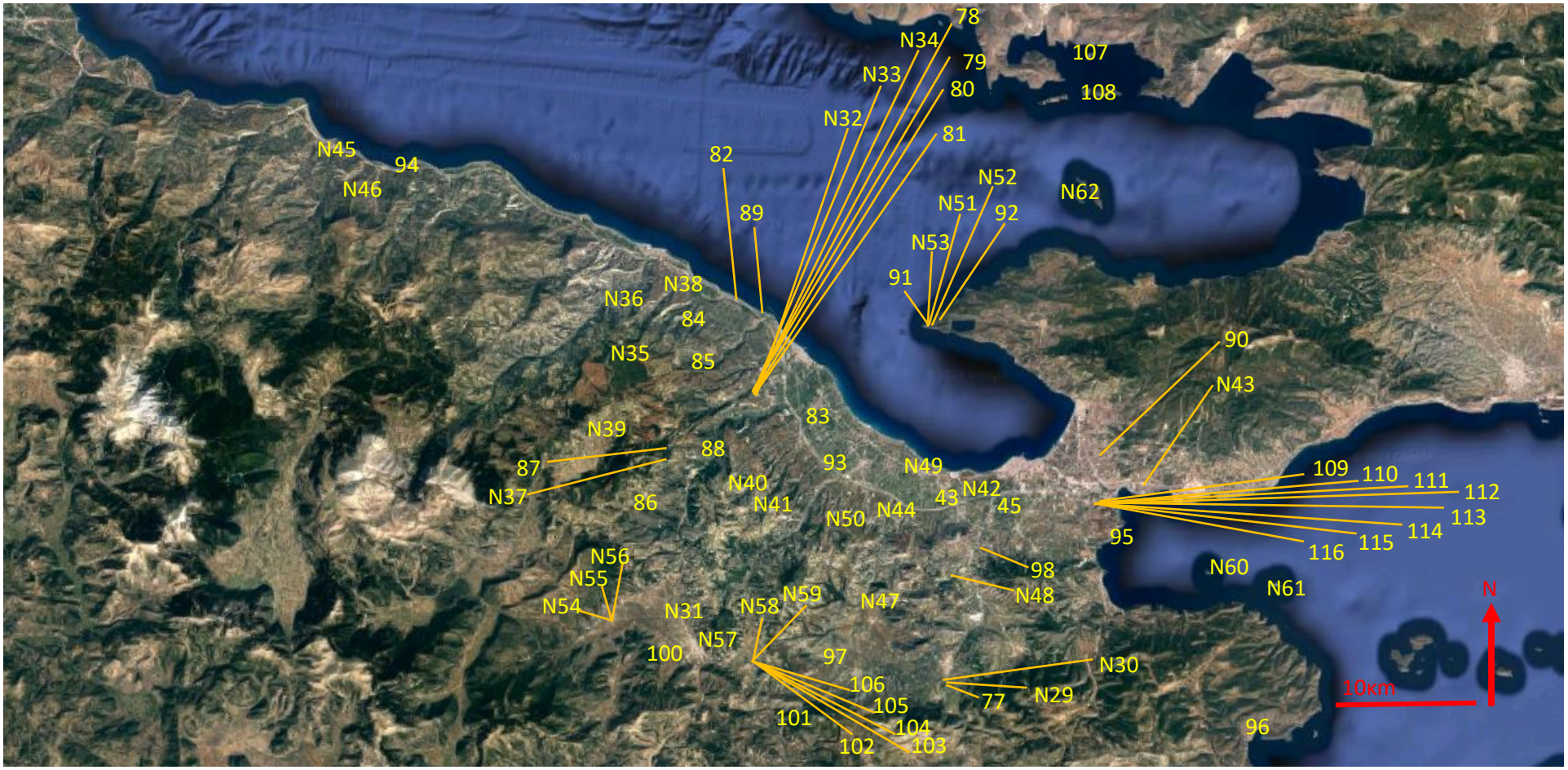
(*Source* The geographic map is courtesy of Google, all the annotations have been made by the author)

PLAN XXIII

Lechaeon, all the numbers correspond with the sites referred in the tables, the bold arrows signify the general location of each site (*Source* The geographic map is courtesy of Google, all the annotations have been made by the author)

PLAN XXIV

Kenchreai, all the numbers correspond with the sites referred in the tables
(*Source* The geographic map is courtesy of Google, all the annotations have been made by the author)

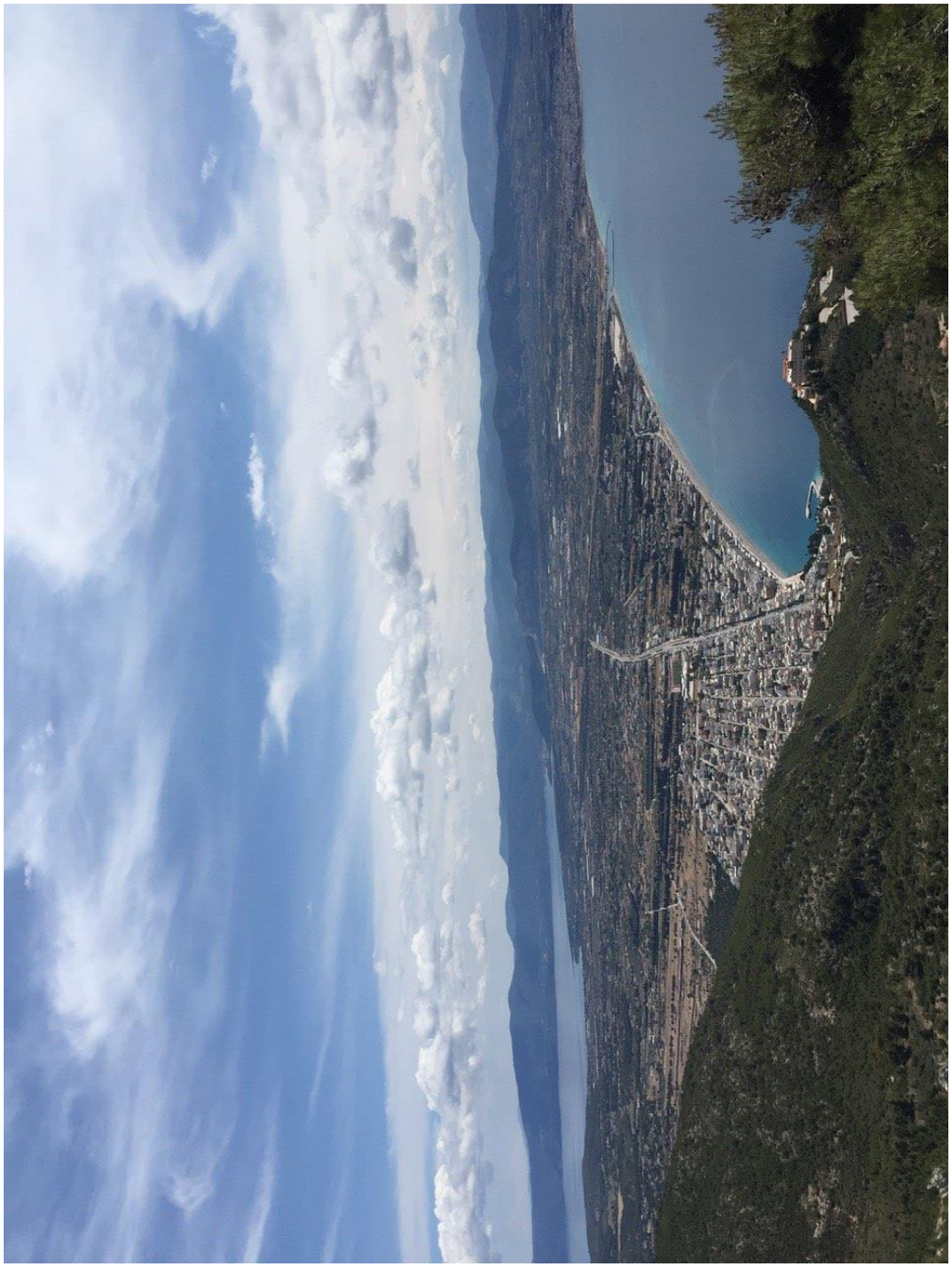


PLAN XXV

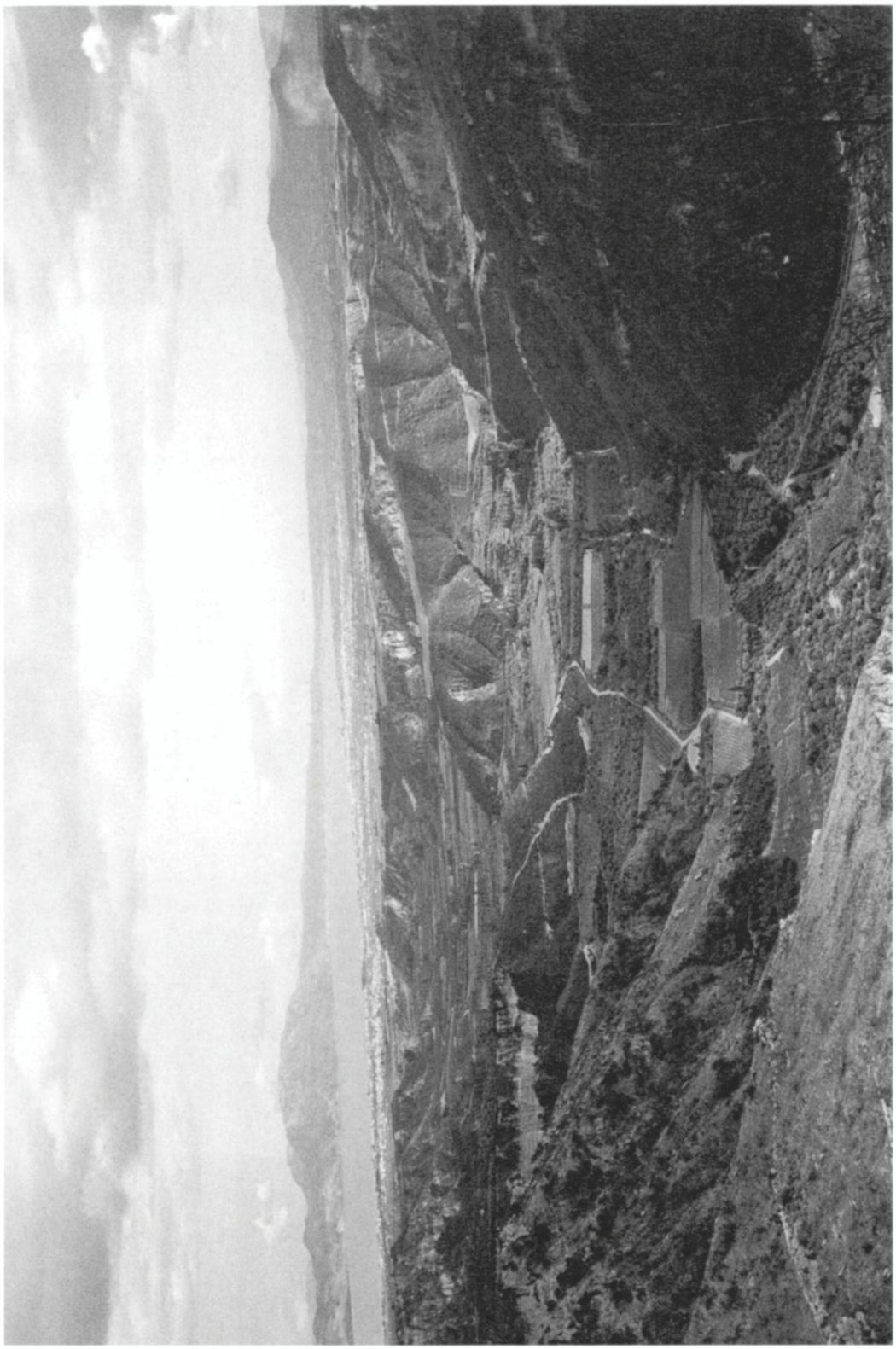
Modern rural Corinthia, all the numbers correspond with the sites referred in the tables
(*Source* The geographic map is courtesy of Google, all the annotations have been made by the author)

PLATES

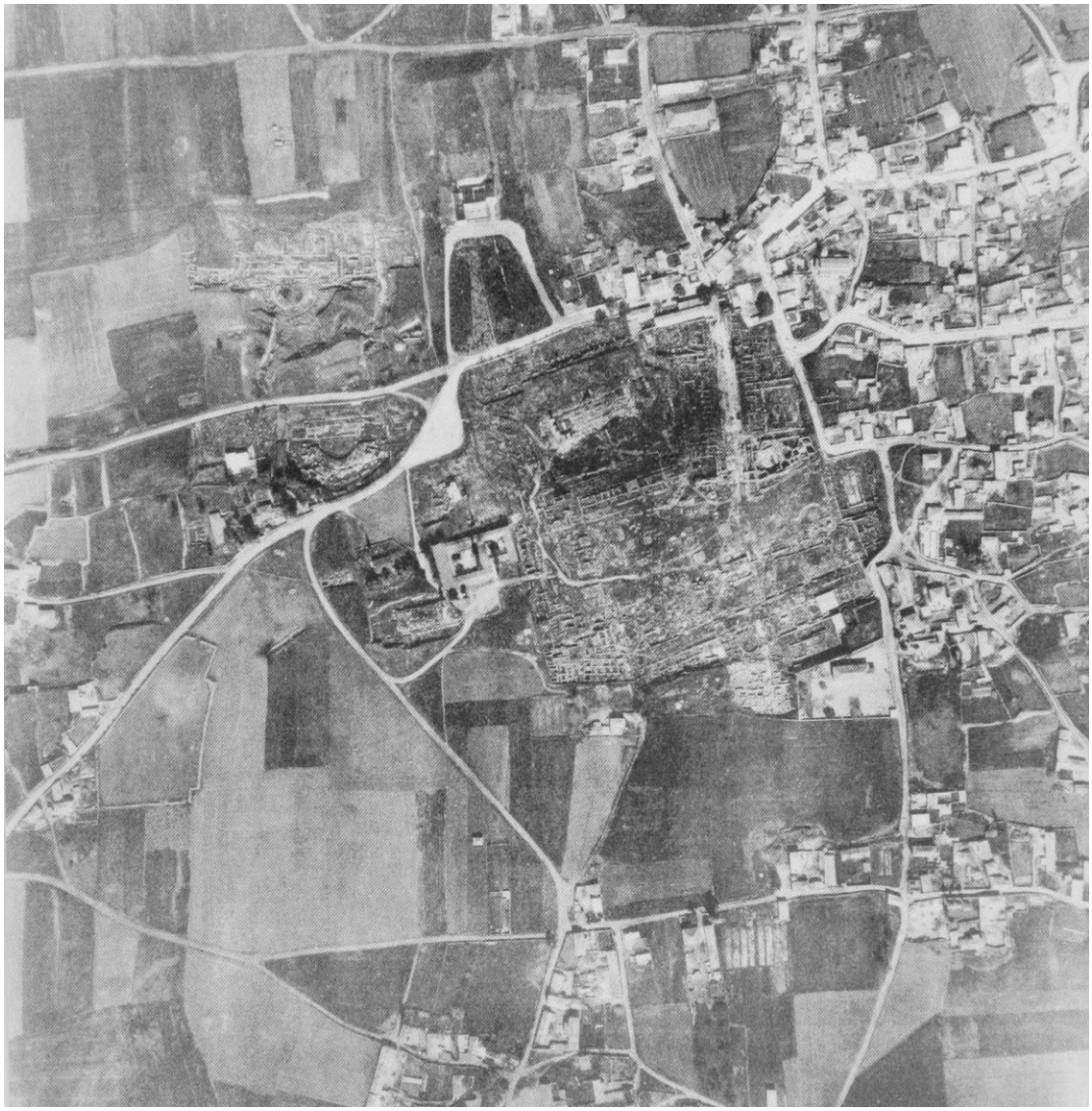
PLATE 1



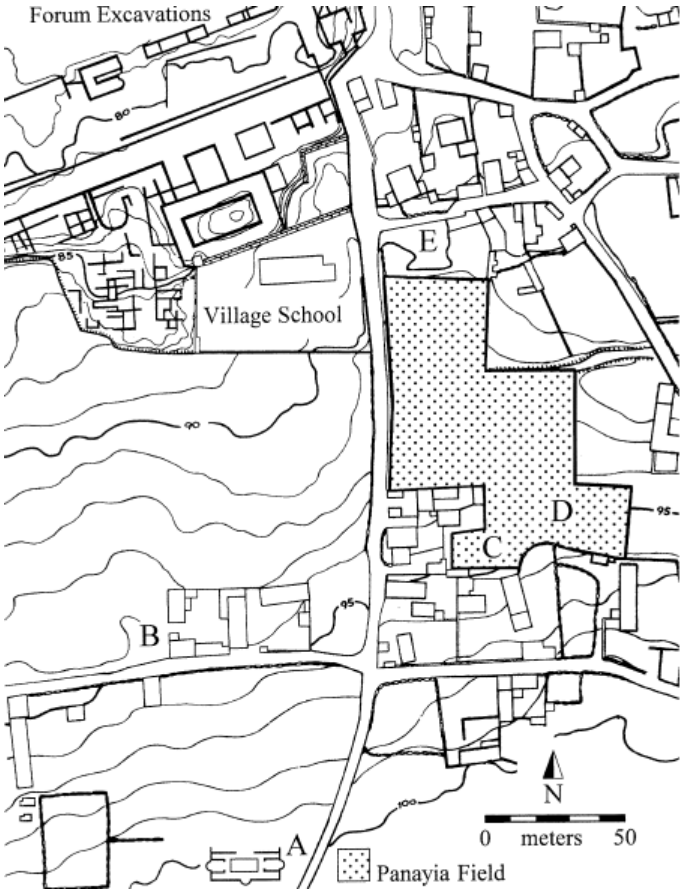
View of the Isthmus area, looking South. At the upper corner the Corinthian Gulf, Corinth and Acrocorinth, at the lower corner the Saronic Gulf
(*Source* Personal collection of the author)



The Asopos river valley in Sicyon, looking towards the Isthmus and the Corinthian Gulf (*Source* Lolos 2011, 11)



Aerial view of Corinth with the theatre to the left and the Agora to the right (*Source* Walbank Mar. E. 1997, 113)

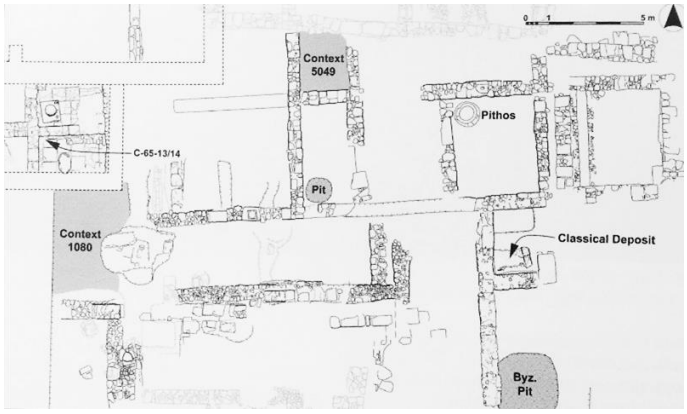


a.

a. Corinth, Excavations south of the Agora:
A. Tri-conch Fountain Building; *C.* Panayia Domus; *D.* Panayia Bath; *E.* Shop North of Panayia (*Source* Sanders 1999, 442)

b. Corinth, Area south of the South Stoa (Nezi Field). The fuller's establishment stands at the western part of the excavated site. The workshop destroyed in the 4th century AD stands in the eastern part (*Source* Gebhard 2018, 392)

c. Southwest intersection of the Agora in Corinth (*Source* Williams and Fisher 1976, 128)



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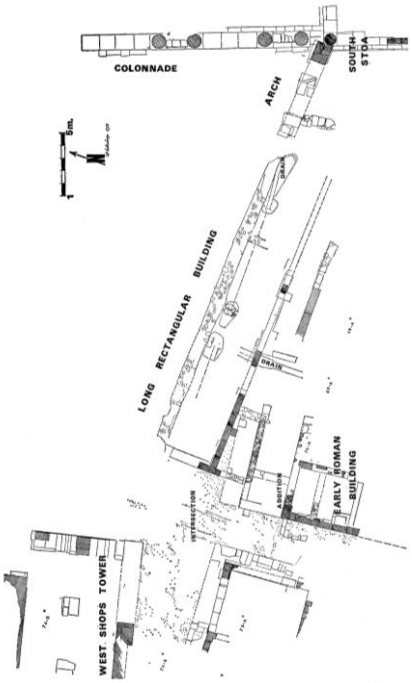

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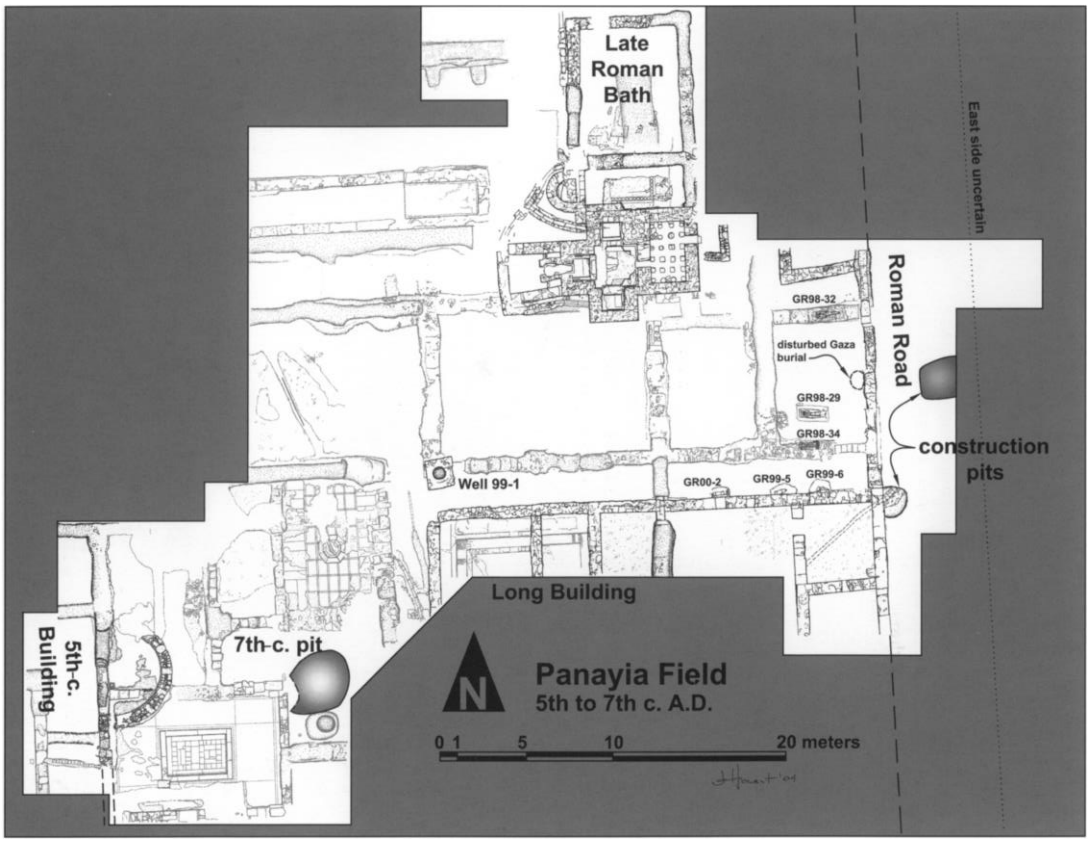
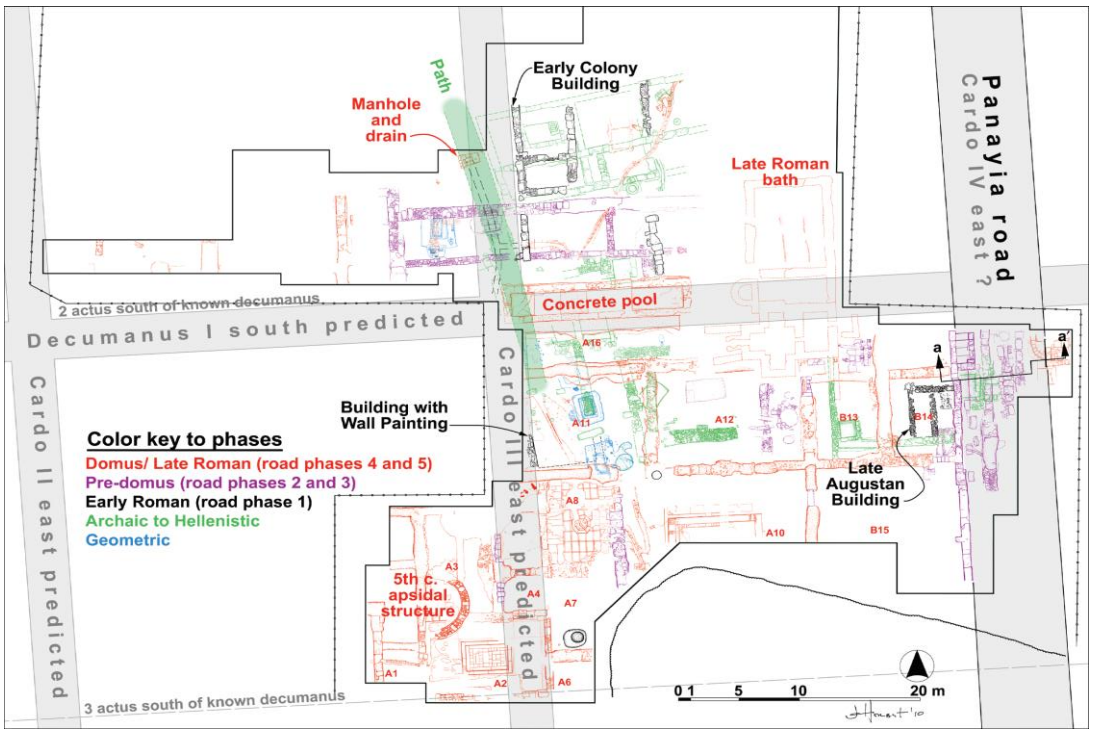


a.

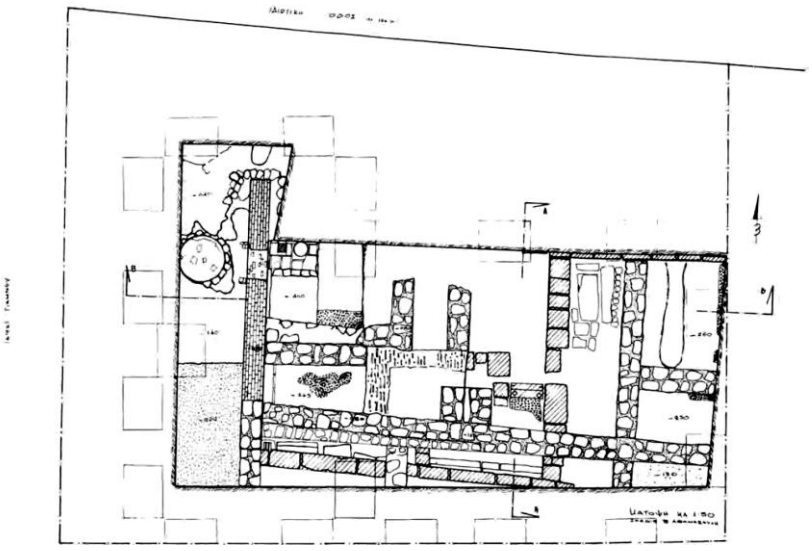


b.

a. Panayia Field: 5th century AD Apsidal Building; the enigmatic Long Building; Building abutting to the Late Roman Bath (*Source* Slane and Sanders 2005, 247)

b. Panayia Field (*Source* Palinkas and Herbst 2011, 291)

PLATE 6



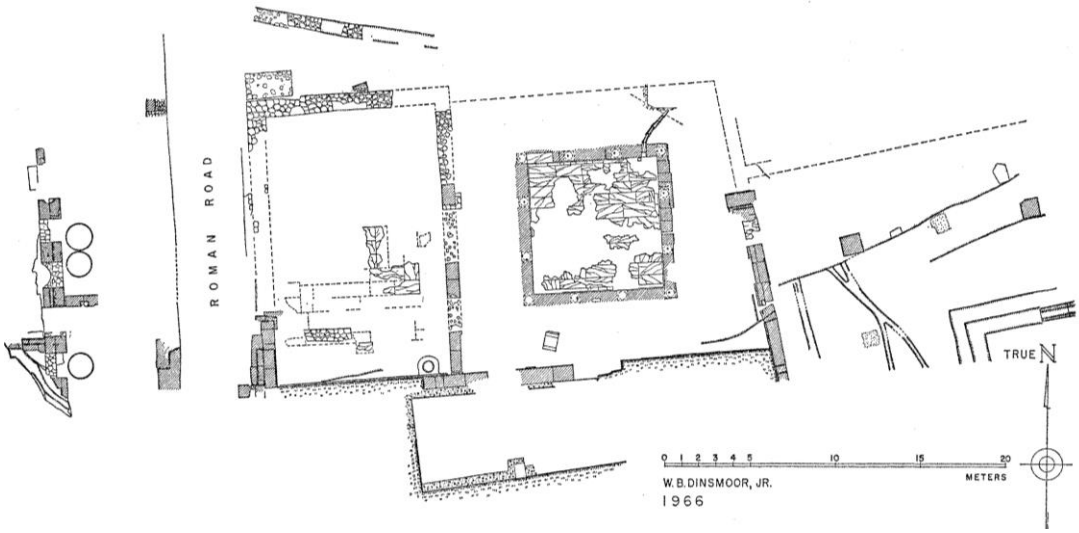
a.

a. Site Loutra, Pr. Kefala, Corinth (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 1999a, 162)

b. East of the Roman road the Early Roman Atrium House - Annex to Temple E, and west of the Roman road the Shop opposite to the Atrium House (*Source* Anderson 1967, 2)

c. Pr. Vathi (*Source* Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988h, 105)

d. Area Keramikos B, view from the North (*Source* Deilaki-Protonotariou 1969, Pl. 68a)



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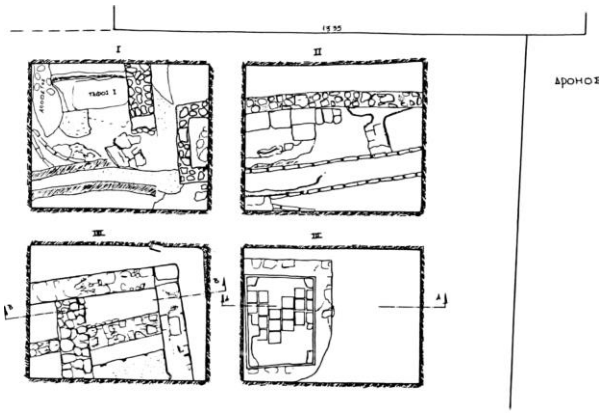
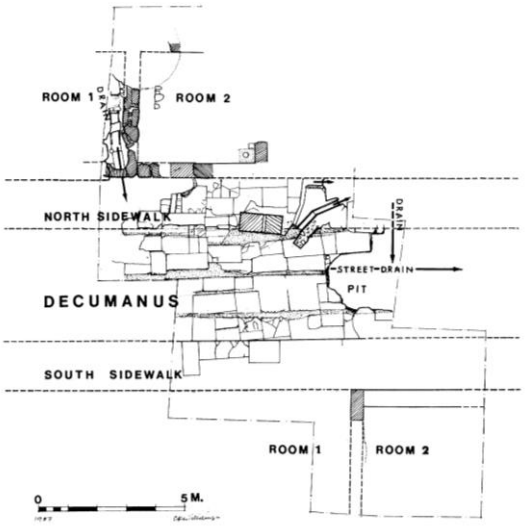


c.

d.



a.

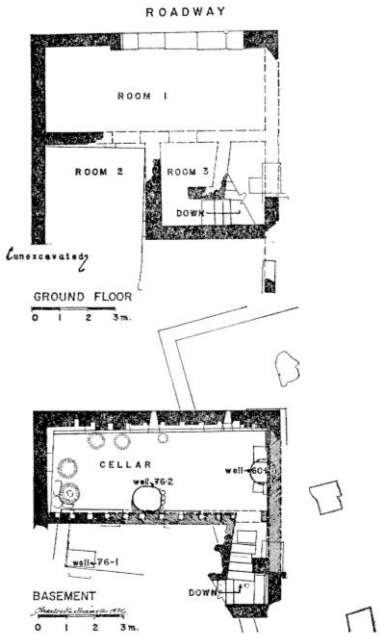
c.

b.

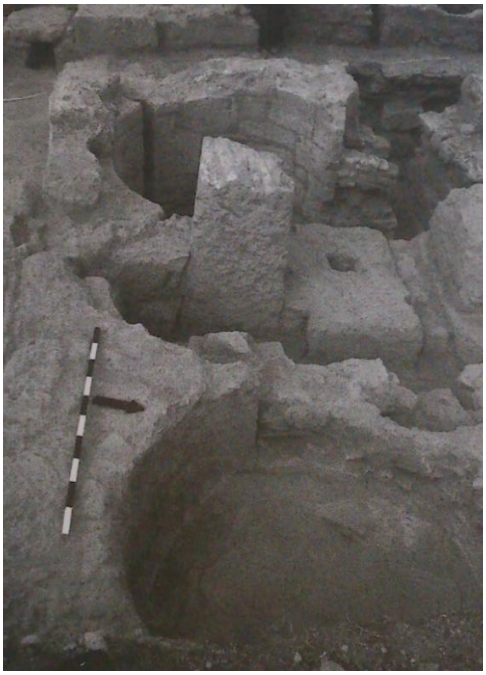
a. Decumanus South of Temple E (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1988, 96)

b. District East of Theatre view from the North (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1983, pl. 1)

c. Decumanus South of Temple E, view from the North (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1988, pl. 33a)



a.



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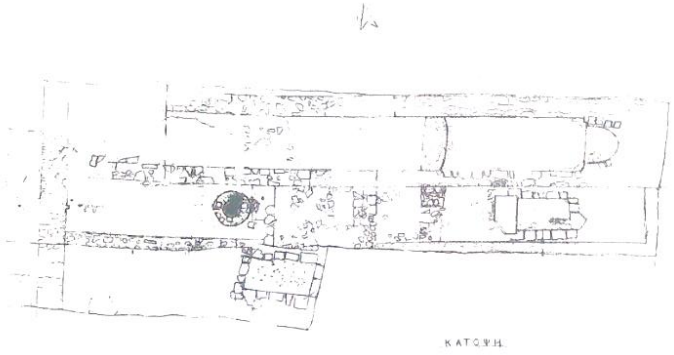
b.



c.

a. Early Roman Cellar Building (*Source* De Grazia and Williams 1977, 59)

b. Early Roman Cellar Building (*Source* De Grazia and Williams 1977, pl. 28a)

c. Pr. Aik. Sofou (*Source* Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 184)

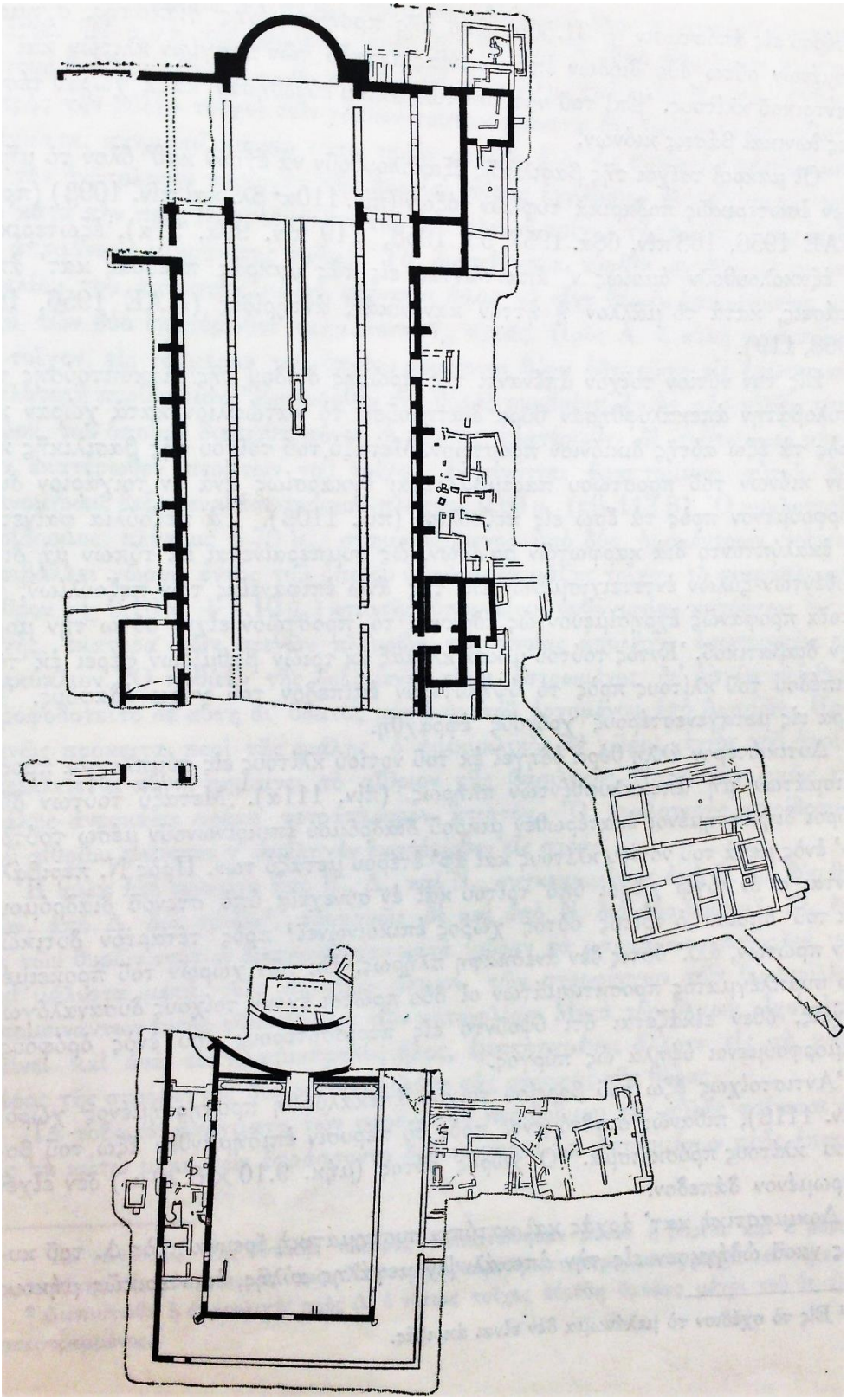
d. Pr. Th. Marini (*Source* Athanasoulis *et al.* 2010, 184)

a.

b.

a. Lechaeon (*Source* Vött *et al.* 2018, 3)

b. Lechaeon view from Northwest (*Source* Athanasoulis 2013, 197)

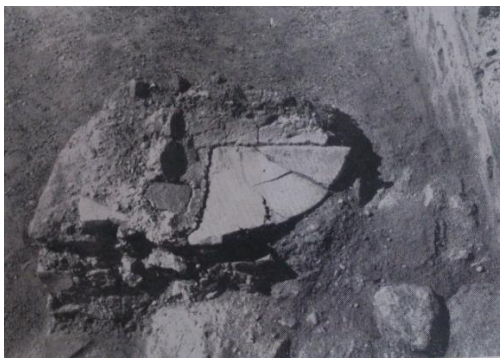


Lechaeon, houses over and around the Basilica (*Source* Pallas 1965a, 127)

a.

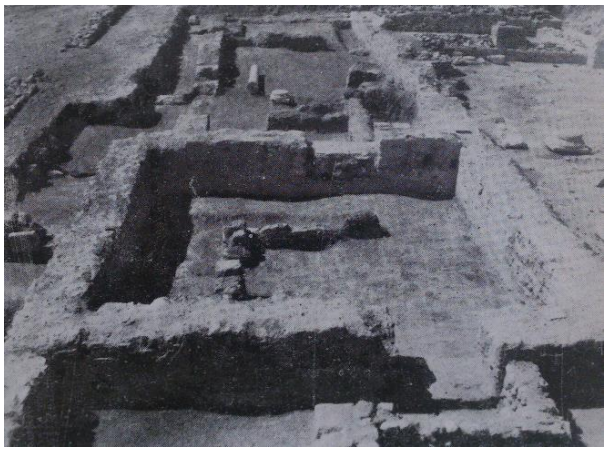
b.

e.



c.

f.



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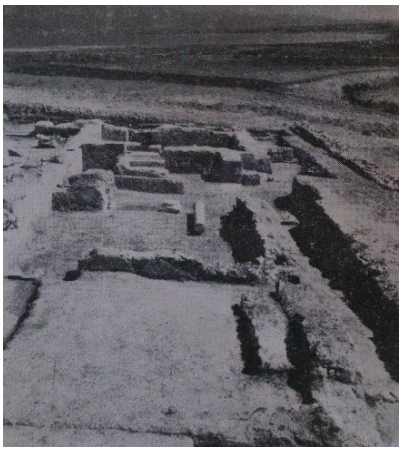


g.

a. Lechaeon House 1 (*Source* Pallas 1962, pl. 43b)

b. Lechaeon House 1, view from West (*Source* Pallas 1962, pl. 44b)

c. Lechaeon House 1, small built basin (*Source* Pallas 1962, pl. 45a)

d. Lechaeon House 1 view from the East (*Source* Pallas 1965b, pl. 104a)

e. Lechaeon House 1, view from Southwest (*Source* Pallas 1962, pl. 44a)

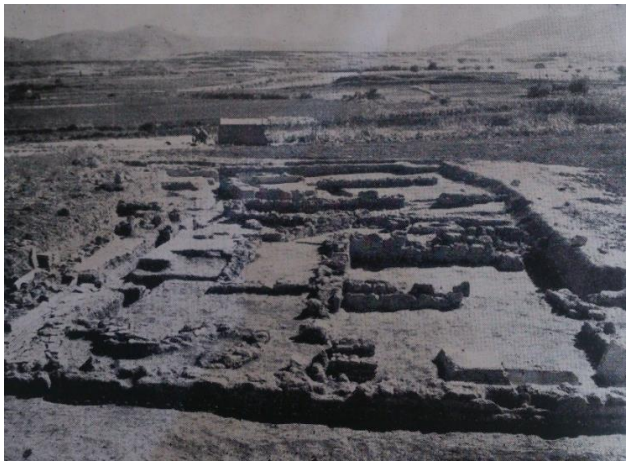
f. Lechaeon House 1, latrine (*Source* Pallas 1962, pl. 45b)

g. Lechaeon House 1, view from the East (*Source* Pallas 1965b, pl. 104b)

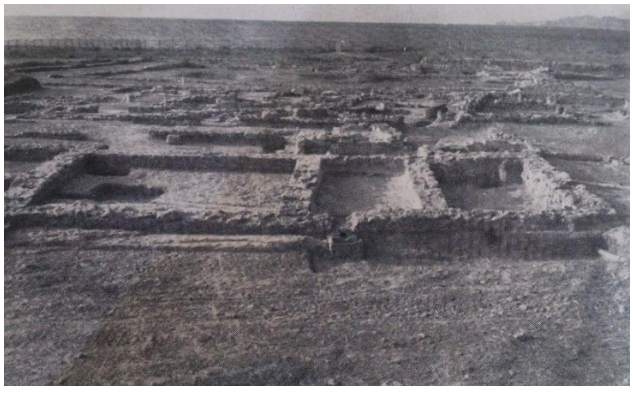
a.

b.

e.



c.



d.

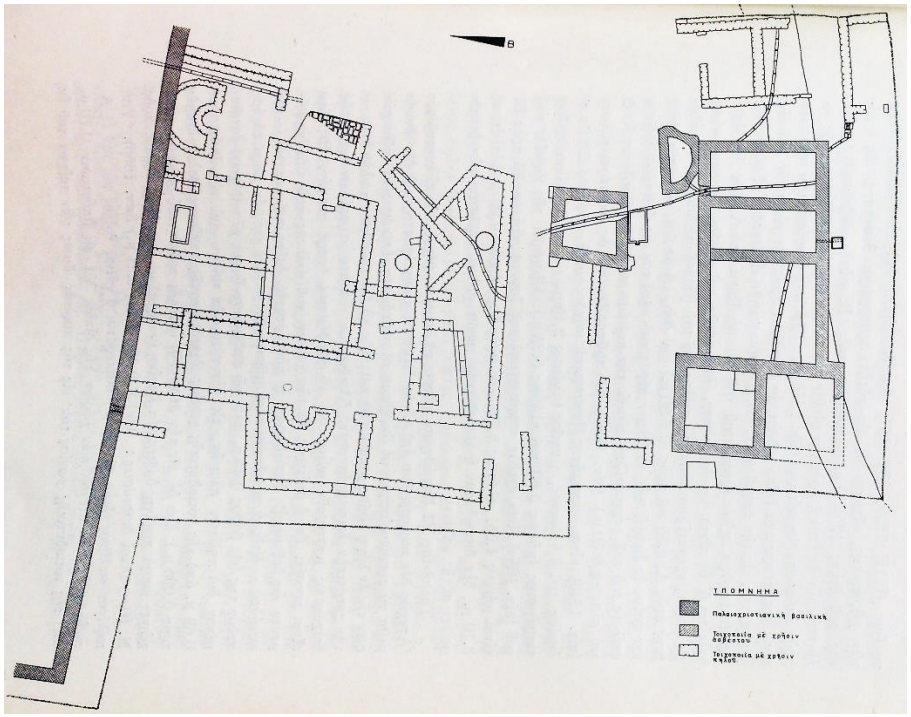
a. Lechaeon, House 1, view from North (*Source* Pallas 1965a, pl. 117a)

b. Lechaeon, House 3, view from West (*Source* Pallas 1965a, pl. 118a)

c. Lechaeon, House 5, view from North (*Source* Pallas 1965a, pl. 118b)

d. Lechaeon, House 6, view from South (*Source* Pallas 1965a, pl. 184b)

e. Lechaeon, Houses 2 and 4, view from East (*Source* Pallas 1965a, pl. 117b)



a.

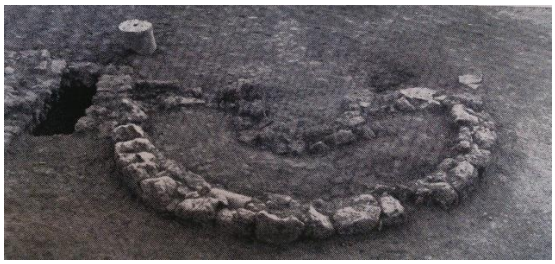
b.

c.

a. Lechaeon, House 5 at the upper left corner, House 11, at the low left corner, and further to the right Houses 6 and 12, view from West (*Source* Pallas 1967, 139)

b. Lechaeon, House 11, at the left, and further to the right Houses 6 and 12, view from Northwest (*Source* Pallas 1967, pl. 191b)

c. Lechaeon, House 6, view from East (*Source* Pallas 1967, pl. 186a)

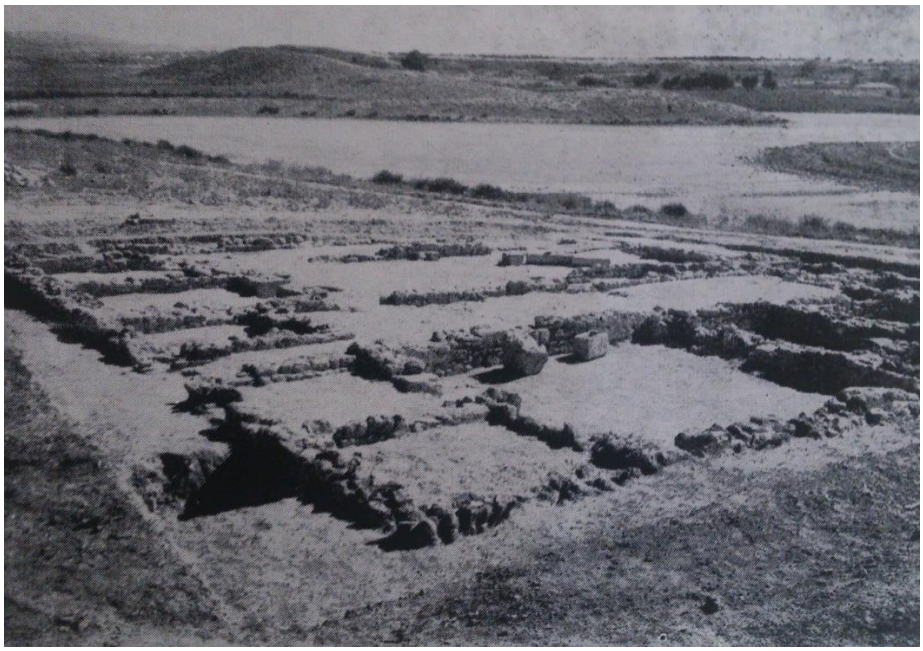


a.

d.

b.

e.



c.

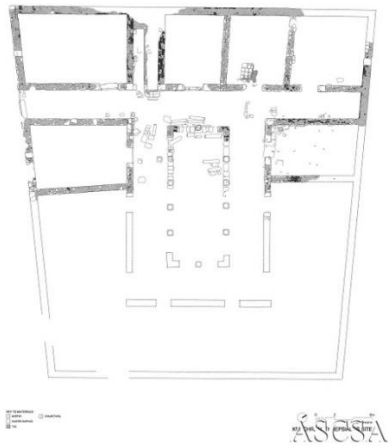
a. Lechaeon, House 11, sigma table (*Source* Pallas 1967, pl. 196a)

b. Lechaeon, House 11, small tank (*Source* Pallas 1967, pl. 192a)

c. Lechaeon, Agrepavli-Farm house, view from Northwest (*Source* Pallas 1965a, pl. 119a)

d. Lechaeon, House 11 view from Southwest (*Source* Pallas 1967, pl. 191b)

e. Lechaeon, House 11 small tank opposite to the sigma table (*Source* Pallas 1967, pl. 193b)



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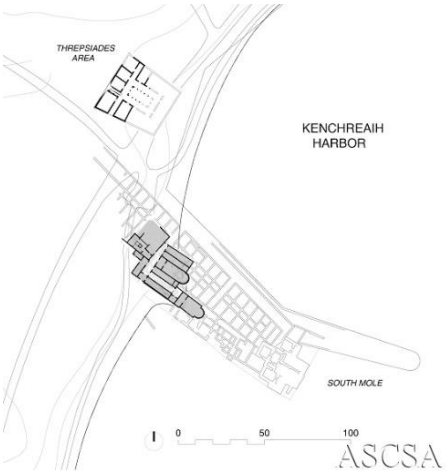
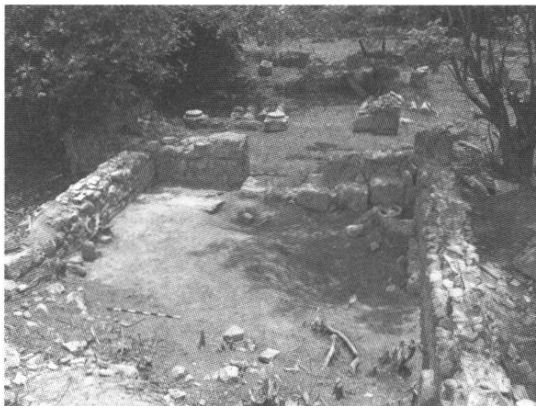


d.

b.

e.

c.



f.

a. Kenchreai, Pr. Threpsiadi (*Source* Bennet 2016)

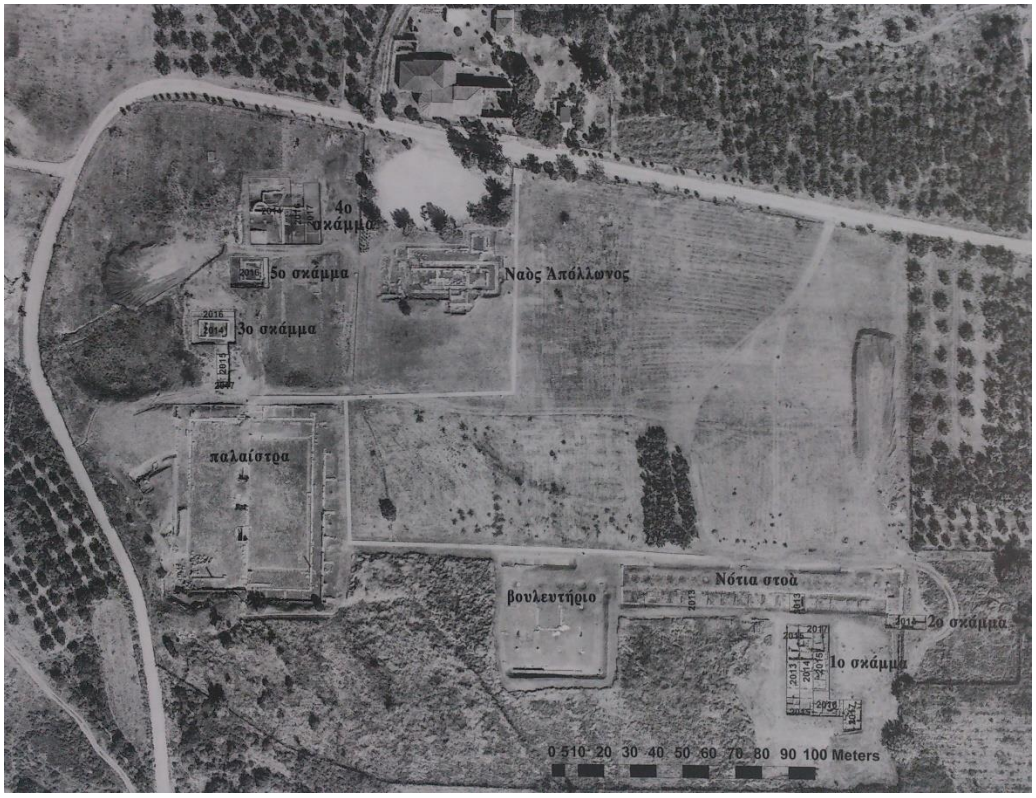
b. Kenchreai, Pr. Threpsiadi (*Source* Kristali-Votsi 1984a, 64)

c. Kenchreai, northern quay and Koutsogilia hill (*Source* Evangeloglou 2013, 34)

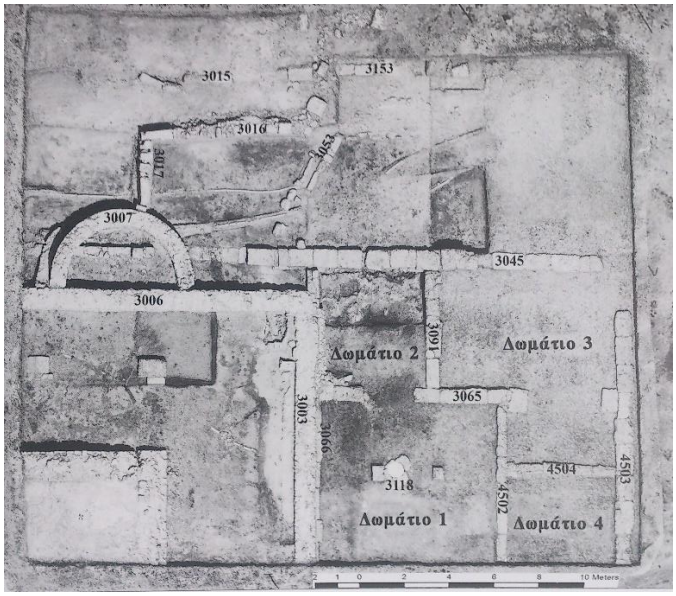
d. Kenchreai, Pr. Threpsiadi (*Source* Bennet 2016)

e. Kenchreai, Pr. Threpsiadi view from South (*Source* Kristali-Votsi 1984a, 64)

f. Kenchreai, Pr. Threpsiadi view from the North (*Source* Archibald 2014-2015, 25)



a.



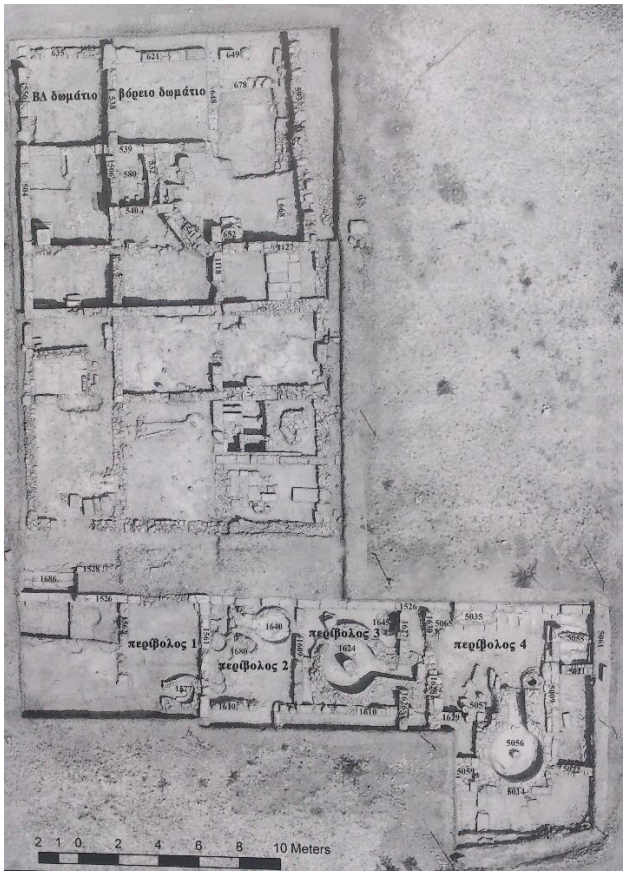
b.

c.

a. Current excavations in the Agora of Sicyon. The 1st excavation trench (housing units South of the South Stoa) stands at the low right corner. Few meters to the North is the 2nd excavation trench over the South Stoa. Further to North, close to the modern road is the 3rd excavation trench with the enigmatic Pi-shaped Building (*Source* Petrakos 2018, 25)

b. The Pi-shaped Building, Sicyon (*Source* Petrakos 2018, 28)

c. The Northern House, South of the South Stoa, Sicyon, view from the North (*Source* Lolos 2016b, 133)



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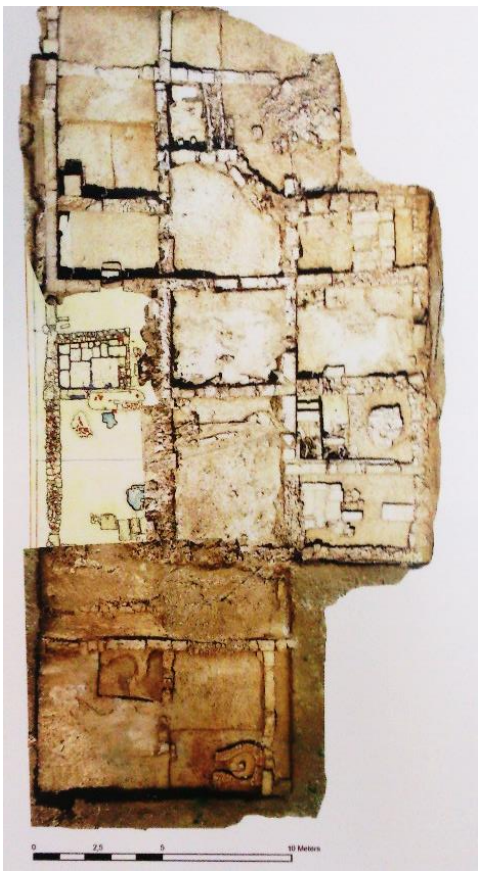


d.

b.

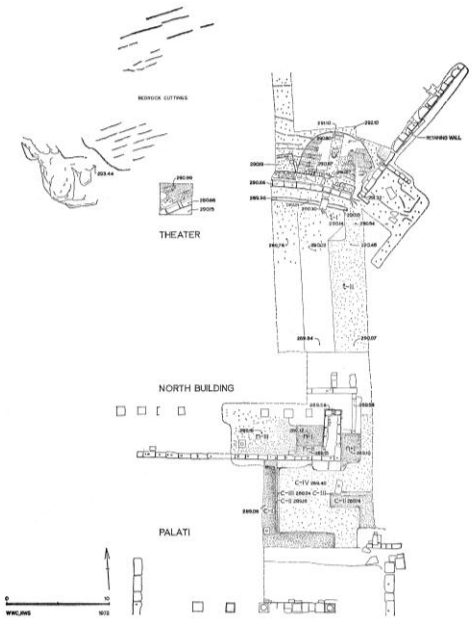
c.

a. The houses South of the South Stoa, in Sicyon. At the low end the southernmost of the two (*Source* Petrakos 2018, 26)

b. The Northern House South of the South Stoa, view from the North (*Source* Lolos 2016a, 175)

c. The Northern House South of the South Stoa, view from the South (*Source* Lolos 2016a, 175)

d. Detail of the houses South of the South stoa (*Source* Petrakos 2016, 22)



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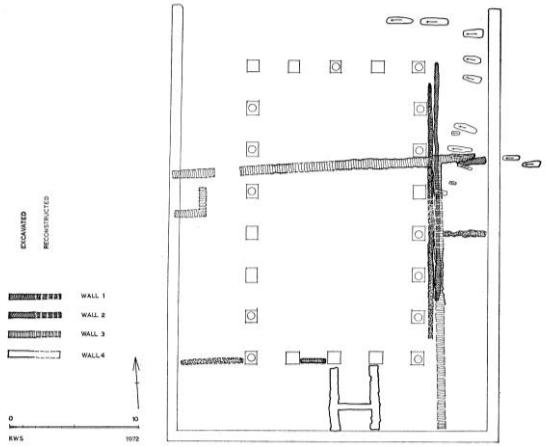


d.

b.

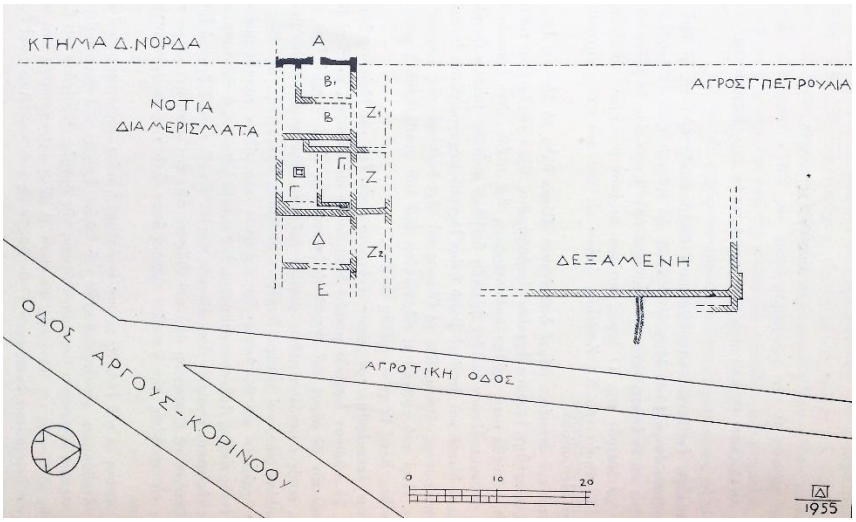
c.

a. The centre of Phlius (*Source* Biers 1973, 112)

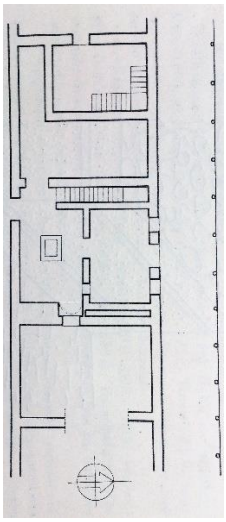
b. Kleonai (*Source* Mattern 2015, 18)

c. Titane, Acropolis and the northwest slope (*Source* Tytgat *et al.* 2013, 527)

d. Building Palati with the Late Roman walls (*Source* Biers 1973, 107)



a.



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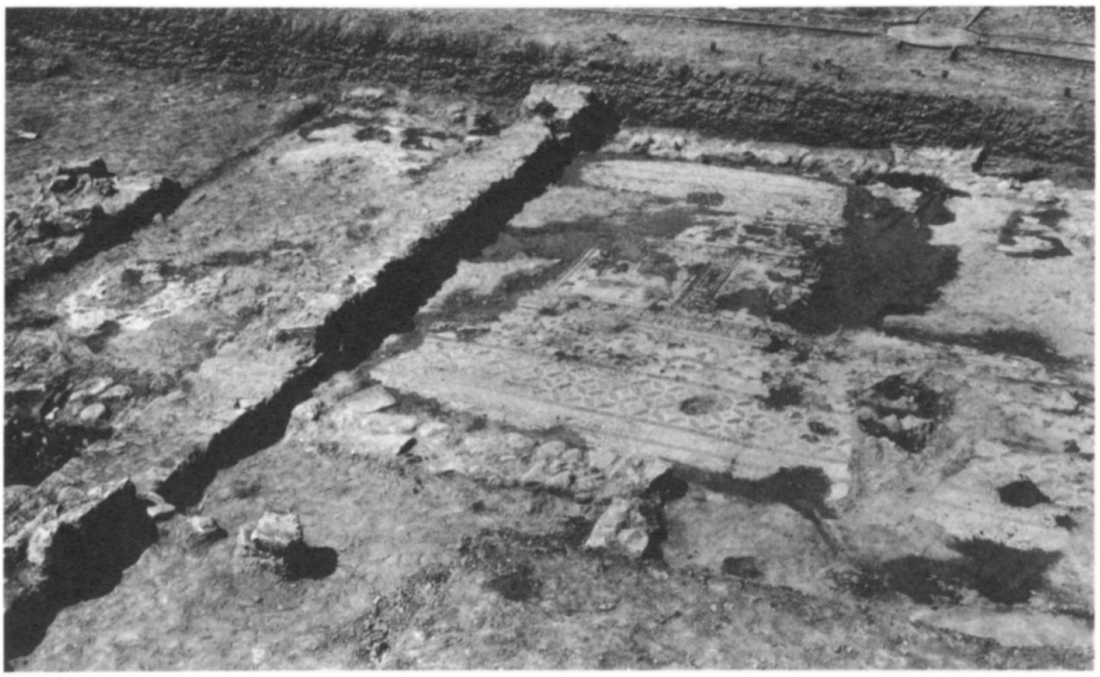


b.

a. Pano Maghoula (*Source* Pallas 1960, 202)

b. Villa Anaploga, Late Roman wall over the dining hall and the courtyard (*Source* Miller Stel. 1972, pl. 66b)

c. Pano Maghoula, details of the rooms (*Source* Pallas 1960, 209)

a.

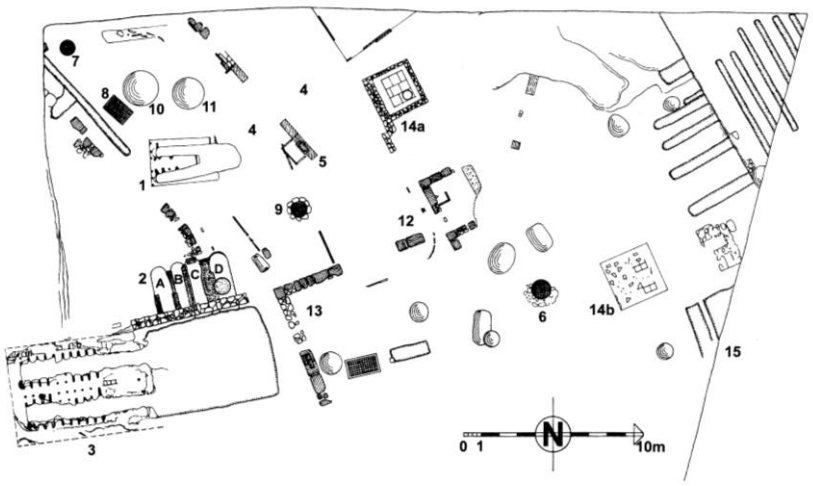
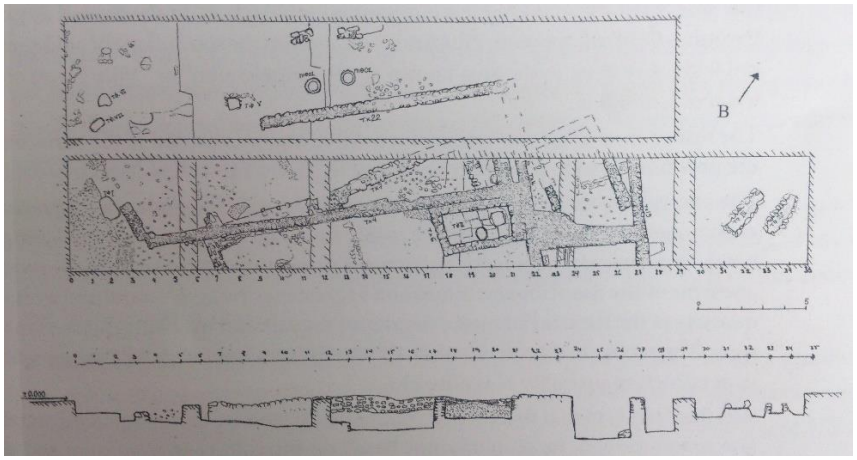


Figure 3. Plan of the Tile Works: (1) the earlier kiln; (2) washing basins A–D = the basin-hypocaust kiln; (3) the later kiln; (4) the drying floor; (5) the shrine and wall D; (6) well A; (7) well B; (8) cistern C; (9) well D; (10) pit I; (11) pit II; (12) shed A; (13) building C; (14a, 14b) Roman structures; (15) modern road to Old Corinth

b.

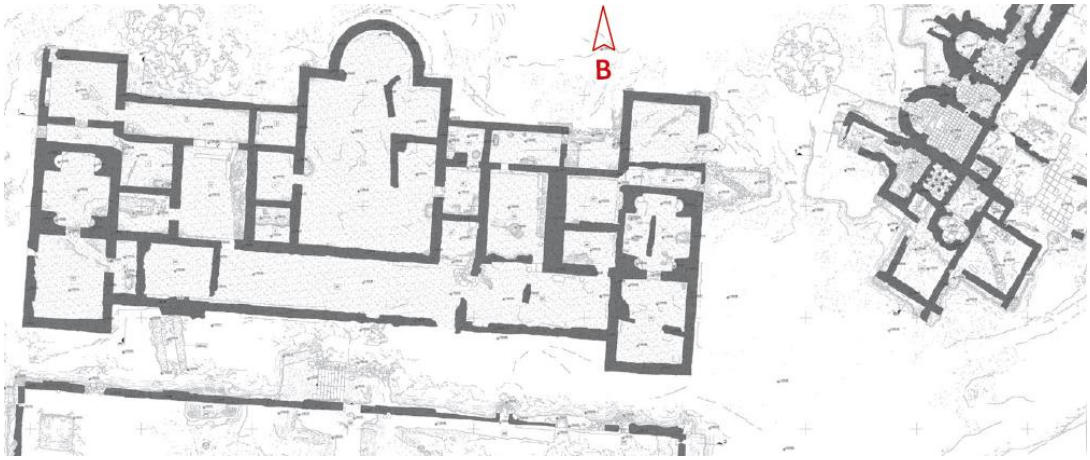


c.

a. Atrium, Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi, view from the East (*Source* Shear 1930, 14)

b. Greek Tile Works, Roman phase (*Source* Merker 2006, 6)

c. Ag. Eirini Phliasias (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 199)

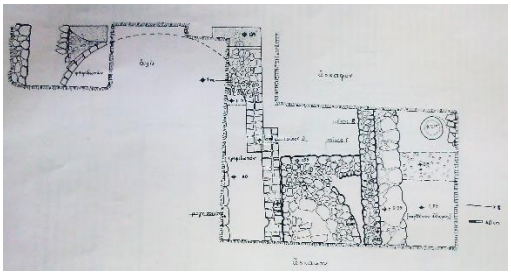


a.

b.

d.

c.



e.

a. Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 40)

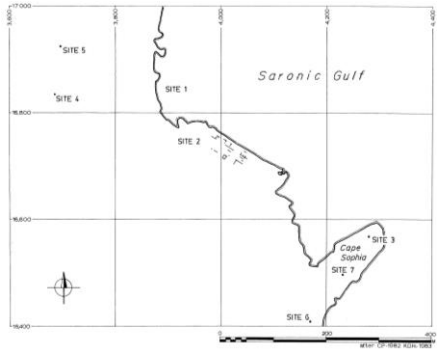
b. Yard, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 49)

c. Staircase view from the South, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 49)

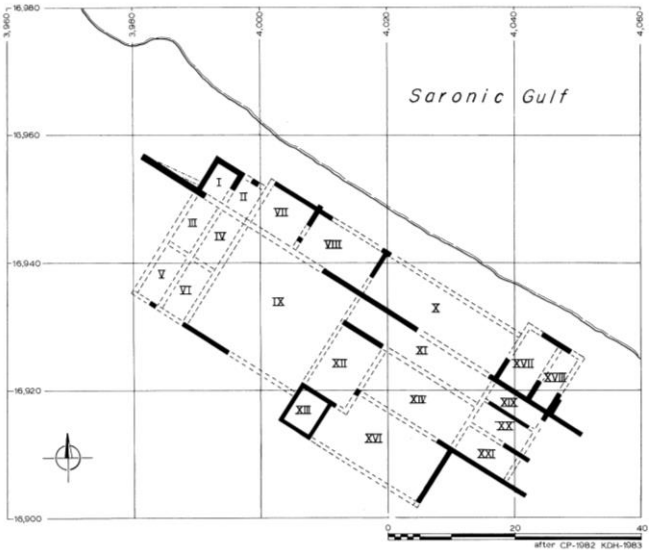
d. Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013a, 179)

e. Pr. Kalara Nemea-Tritos (*Source* Kritzas 1976, 212)

Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra
(*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 46)



a.



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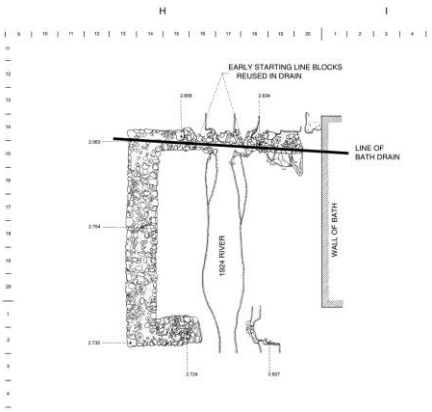
b.



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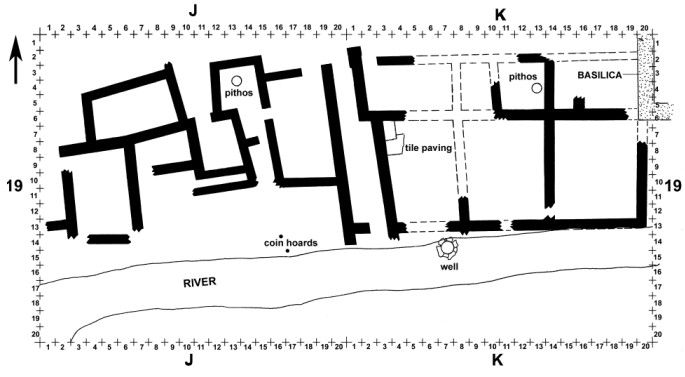


c.

a. Akra Sofia (*Source* Gregory 1985, 412)

b. Nemea, Houses Southwest of the Basilica, view from East (*Source* Miller Steph. 2015, 289)

c. Nemea, Houses Southwest of the Basilica (*Source* Miller Steph. 2015, 289)

d. Akra Sofia (*Source* Gregory 1985, 417)

e. Nemea, building with unknown industrial (?) function West of the Hellenistic Bath (*Source* Miller Steph. 2015, 294)

a.

b.

d.

c.

e.

a. Nemea, Houses Southwest of the Basilica, destruction debris, view from West (*Source* Miller Steph. 1988, pl. 7b)

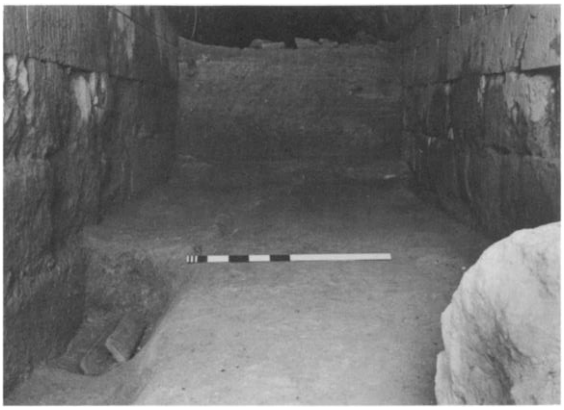
b. Nemea, Boat Shed (*Source* Miller Steph. 2015, 281)

c. Nemea, Houses Southwest of the Basilica, view from East (*Source* Miller Steph. 1988, pl. 6a)

d. Nemea, Early Christian dam (*Source* Miller Steph. 2015, 283)

e. Nemea, the westernmost of the two Houses Southwest of the Basilica (*Source* Miller Stel. 1983, pl. 24d)

a.



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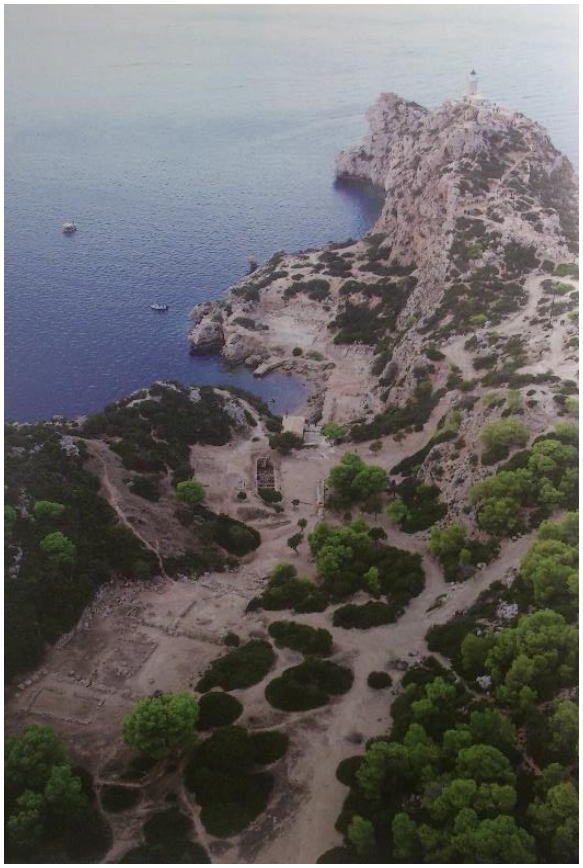

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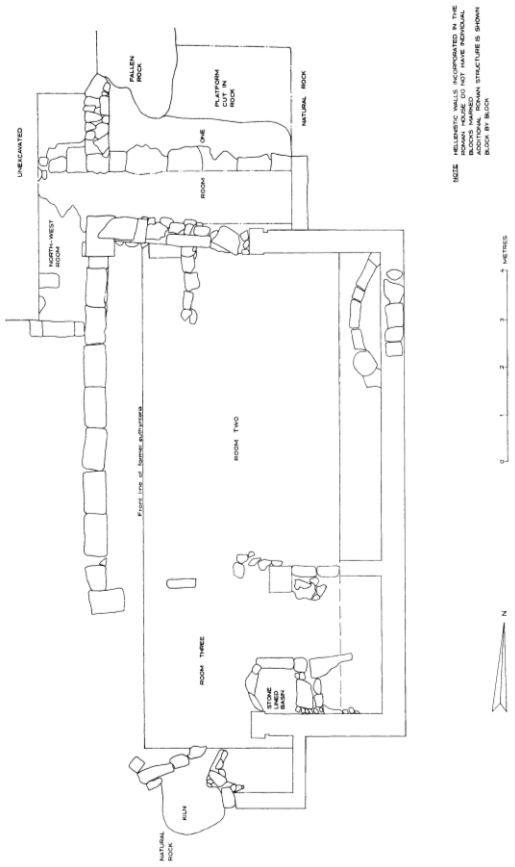


d.

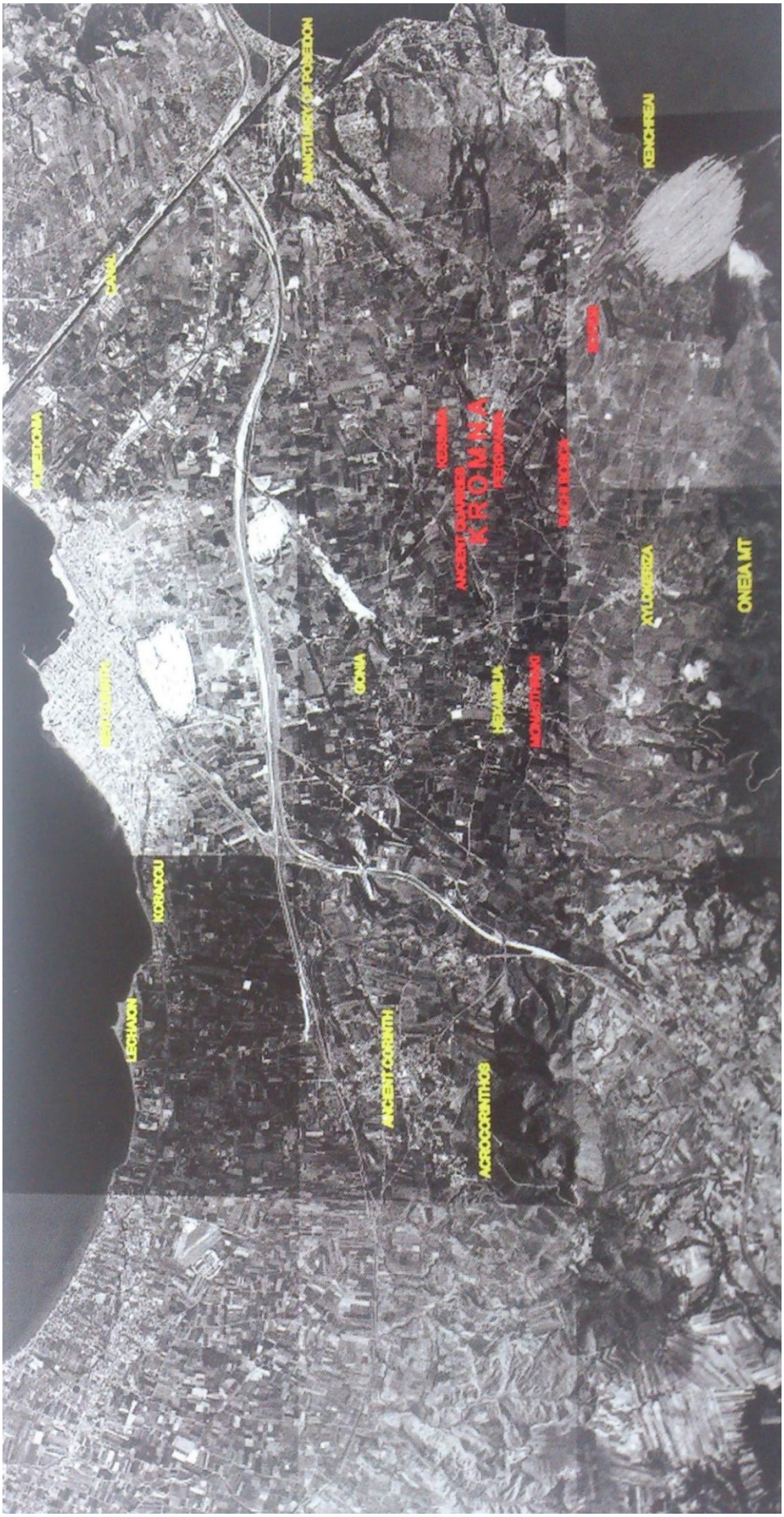
a. Nemea, Tunnel leading to the stadium, graffito (*Source* Miller Steph. 1979, pl. 40b)

b. Perachora (*Source* Tasinos 2013b, 1)

c. Nemea, Tunnel leading to the stadium (*Source* Miller Stel. 1983, pl. 39b)

d. Perachora - Farm over the Fountain house (*Source* Tomlinson 1969, 243)

PLATE 26



Kromna and Isthmus
(*Source* Tasinos 2013a, 252)

a.

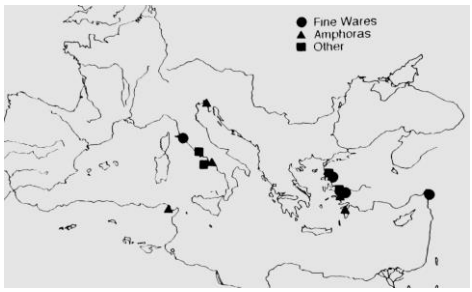
b.

c.

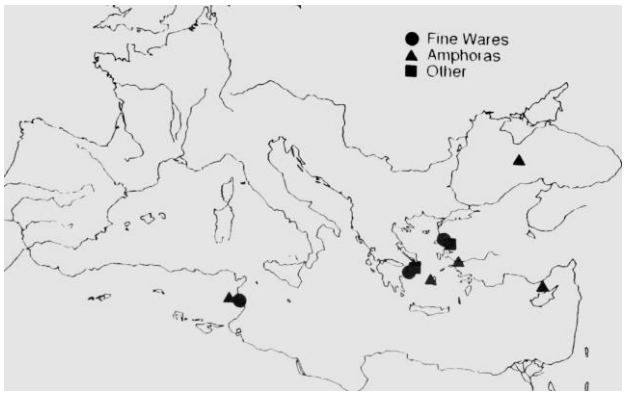
a. Isthmia (*Source* Tasinos 2013b, 12)

b. East Field, view to Northeast (*Source* Ellis S. J. R. and Poehler 2015, 273)

c. East Field, view from Northeast (*Source* Ellis S. J. R and Poehler 2015, 272)



a.



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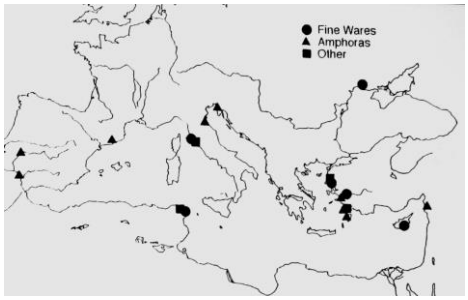

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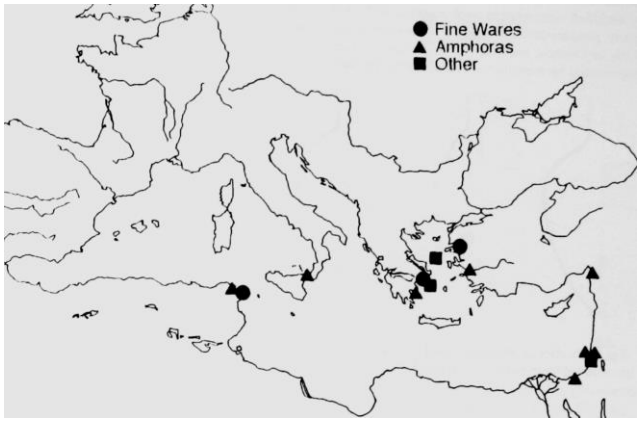

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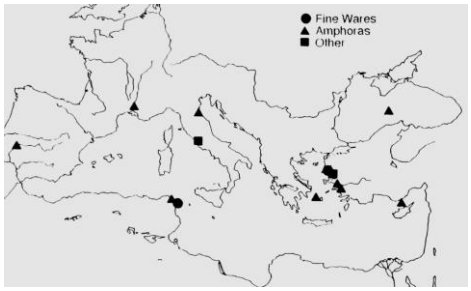

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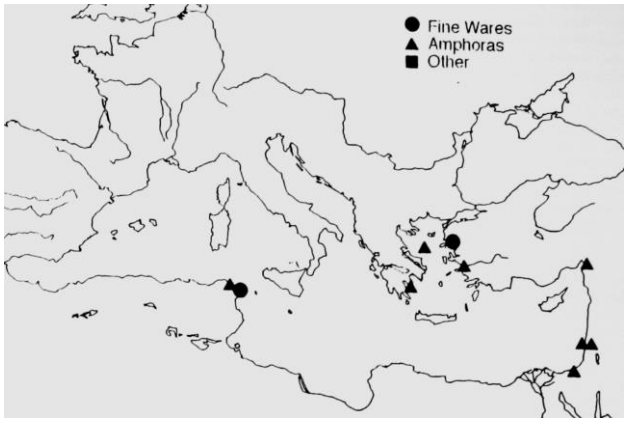


f.

a. Sources of imports to Corinth AD 75 (*Source* Slane 2000, 300)

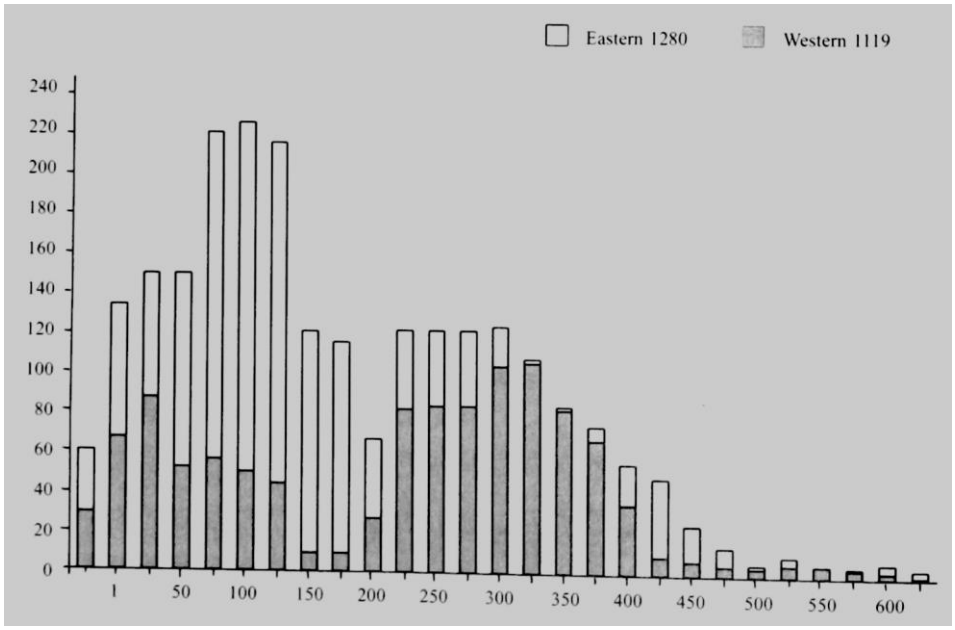
b. Sources of imports to Corinth AD 125 (*Source* Slane 2000, 301)

c. Sources of imports to Corinth AD 200 / AD 250 (*Source* Slane 2000, 302)

d. Sources of imports to Corinth AD 310 (*Source* Slane 2000, 302)

e. Sources of imports to Corinth AD 450 (*Source* Slane 2000, 303)

f. Sources of imports to Corinth AD 550 / AD 600 (*Source* Slane 2000, 305)



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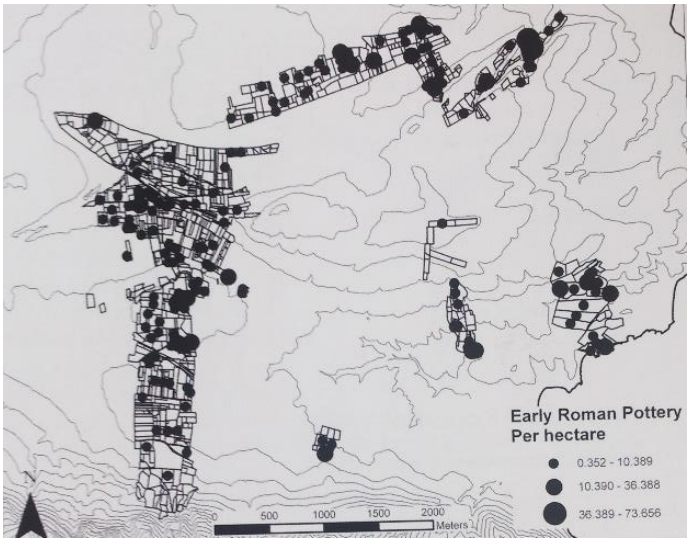

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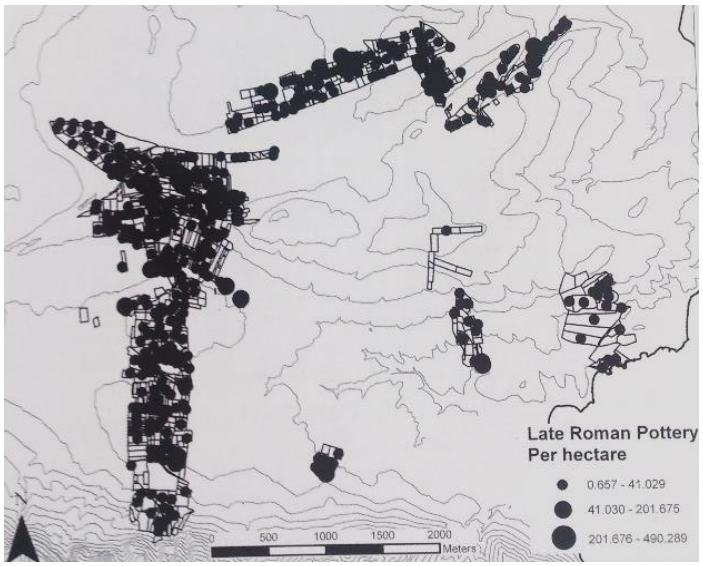
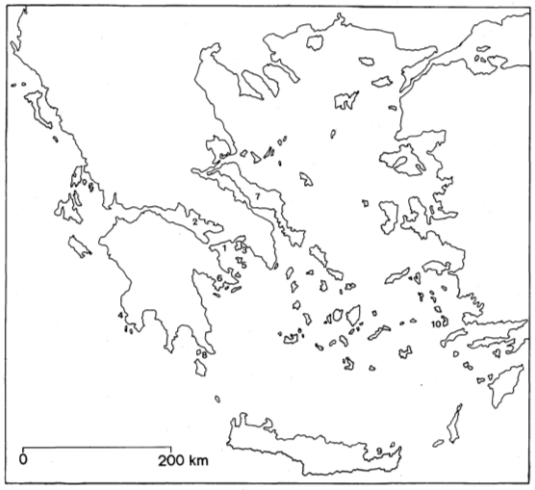


c.

a. Fine pottery imported to Corinth (*Source* Slane 2000, 308)

b. EKAS survey Early Roman pottery density (*Source* Gregory 2013, 281)

c. EKAS survey Late Roman pottery density (*Source* Gregory 2013, 281)



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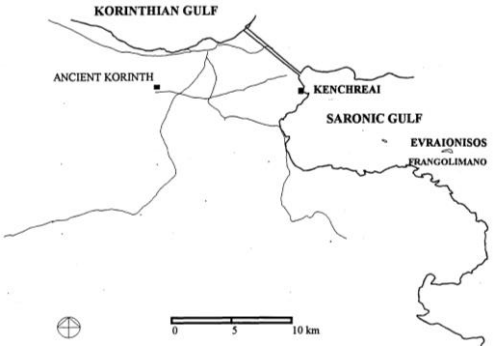

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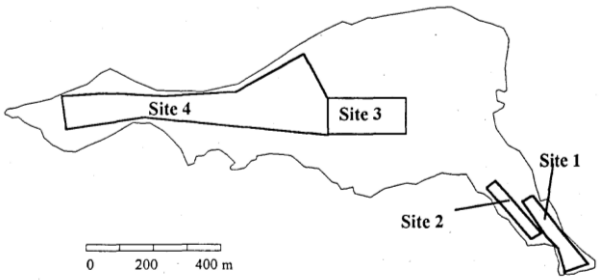

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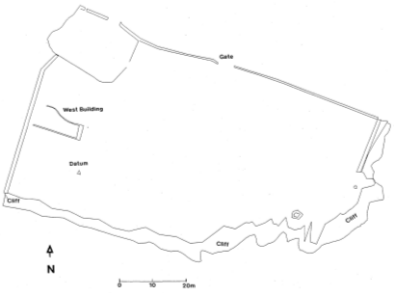


e.

c.

a. Map of Greece, each numeral marks a Late Roman offshore settlement (*Source* Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 4)

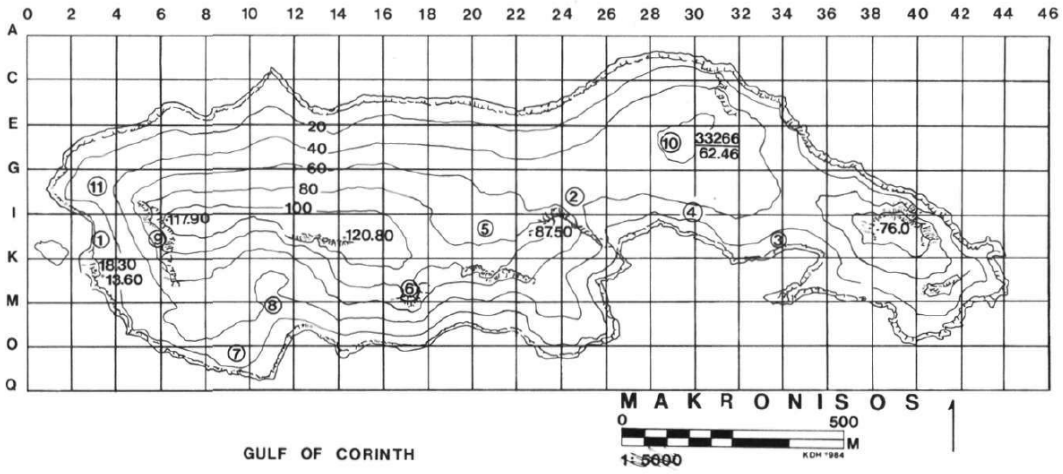
b. Map of Evraionisos with marked the Late Roman sites. 'Site 3' corresponds with the Medieval fortress that likely had an earlier Late Roman phase (*Source* Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 6)

c. Evraionisos, view from the East with the castle at the high point (*Source* Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 7)

d. Dhiaporia islets at the mouth of Saronic Gulf (*Source* Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 6)

e. Evraionisos, Medieval fortress (*Source* Kardulias *et al.* 1995, 6)

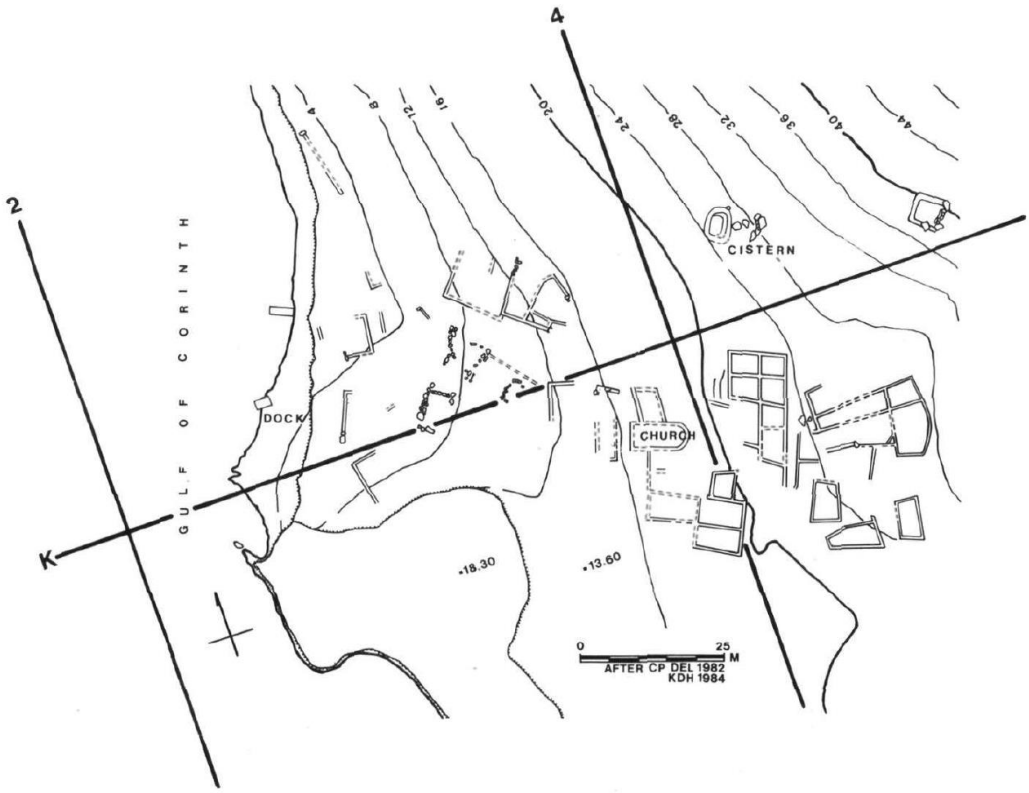
a.



b.

a. Domvraina Bay at the southern Boeotian coast, and geographic map of the two surveyed islets Kouveli and Makronisos (*Source* Gregory 1986b, 18)

b. Makronisos islet (*Source* Gregory 1986a, 288)

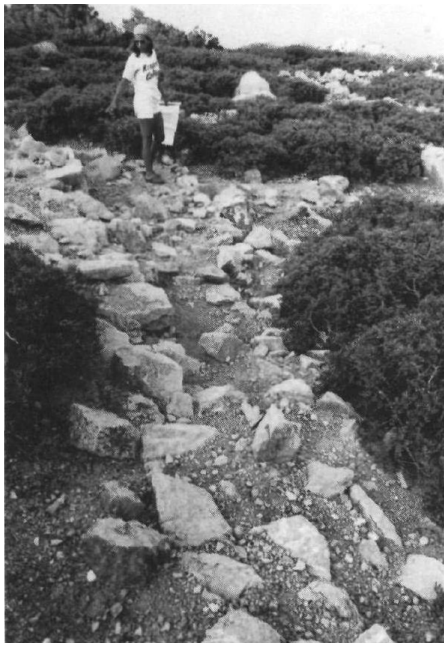


a.

b.

a. Plan of site Diporto (*Source* Gregory 1986a, 292)

b. Site Diporto at Makronisos islet, at the time of the field survey (*Source* Gregory 1986b, 20)



a.

a. Diporto, eastern part of the settlement (*Source* Gregory 1986a, 294)

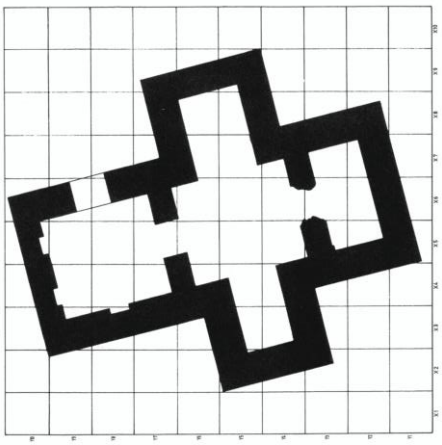
b. Diporto, north-western part of the settlement (*Source* Gregory 1986a, 294)

c. Pottery from the Domvraina Bay islets. At the first photos, shreds from an ARS ware and an Amphora (*Source* Gregory 1986a, 299)

b.

c.

a.



d.

b.

e.

c.

f.

a. Well, Pr. Louloudi, Kenchreai (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 1999b, pl. 58a)

b. Baths, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 47)

c. Baths, Pr. I. M. Lekka (*Source* Kounoupiotou-Manolesou 1976a, pl. 228a)

d. Cruciform cistern at site Lalioti Loutro (*Source* Lolos 2011, 47)

e. Baths, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 42)

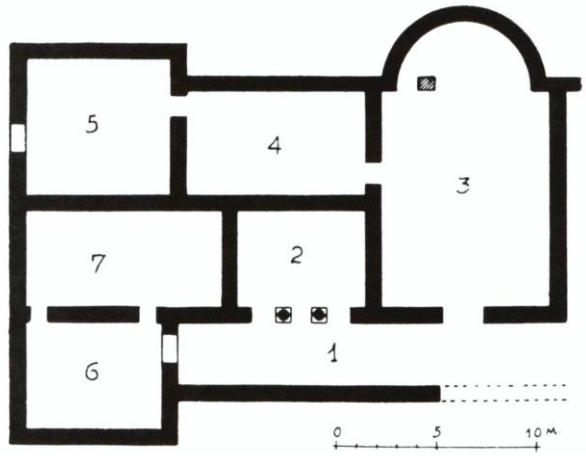
f. Bath, at the south room of House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo, view from the West (*Source* Scranton 1957, pl. 3.3)

a.

d.

b.

e.



c.

f.

a. Latrine in the southern part of the south room at the House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths at Lechaeon Road, view from the East (*Source* Biers 1985, pl. 4e)

b. Villa Diminio (*Source* Lolos 2011, 342)

c. Villa Diminio (*Source* Lolos 2011, 342)

d. Latrine, at the southeast corner of the main room at House over the Baths of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo, view from the West (*Source* Scranton 1957, pl. 3.2)

e. Isthmia Bath, room VIII, 7th century AD, E-shaped oven (*Source* Gregory 1993b, 158)

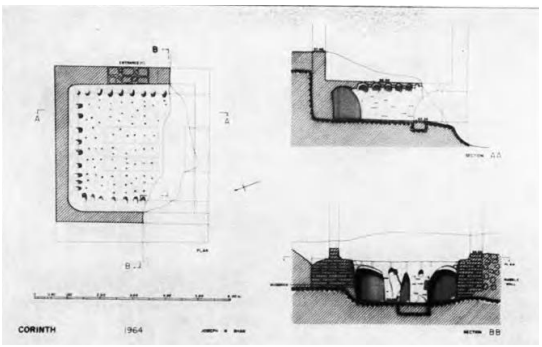
f. Isthmia Bath, room IV, 7th century AD, apsidal structure (*Source* Gregory 1993b, 157)

a.

d.

b.

e.



c.

f.

a. Diavatiki, Pr. Kalliri (*Source* Manolesou 2014d, 317)

b. Lechaeon, House 6, view from the West (*Source* Pallas 1967, pl. 188a)

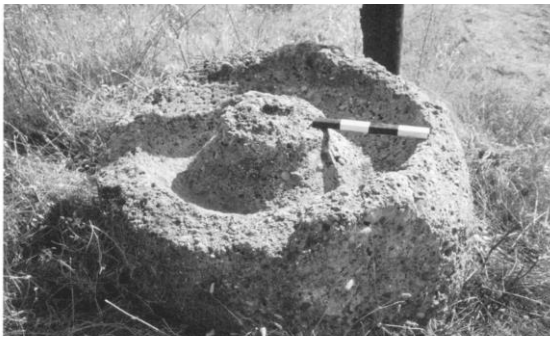
c. Kiln Kokkinovrysi (*Source* Robinson H. S. 1967, pl. 129a)

d. Diavatiki, Pr. Kalliri (*Source* Manolesou 2014d, 317)

e. Lechaeon, House 6, view from the South (*Source* Pallas 1967, pl. 185b)

f. Kiln Kokkinovrysi (*Source* Robinson H. S. 1967, pl. 129b)

a.



d.

b.

e.

c.

f.

a. Foundation pottery deposit (ritual?) beneath the *torcularium* (*Source* Drosoyianni 1968a, pl. 157)

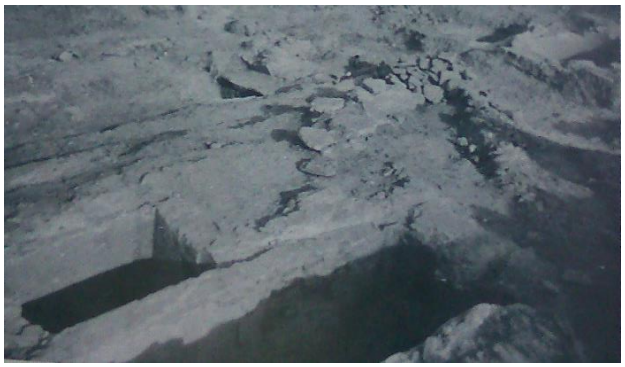
b. Tank that might associate with the *torcularium*, South of the South Stoa - Building North of the East-West Road, Sicyon (*Source* Lolos 2016a, 177)

c. Second (?) *torcularium,* South of the South Stoa - Building North of the East-West Road, Sicyon (*Source* Lolos 2016a, 177)

d. *Trapetum*, Area Loutro, Lalioti (Lolos 2011, 42)

e. *Torcularium,* South of the South Stoa - Building North of the East-West Road, Sicyon (*Source* Lolos 2015, pl. 79)

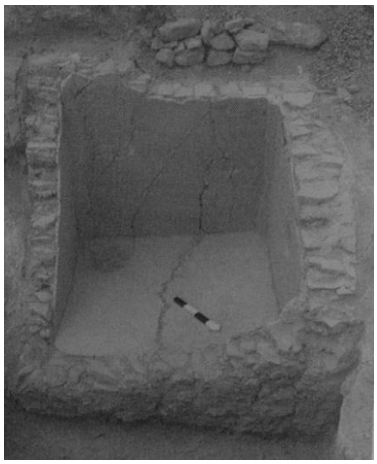
f. Pottery kiln south of the South Stoa in Sicyon (*Source* Lolos 2016a, 178)



a.

d.

b.



e.

c.

f.

a. Pr. Kanellou, Site Palaio Sxoleio, Chiliomodi (*Source* Deilaki-Protonotariou 1972, pl. 124)

b. Pr. Kanellou, Site Palaio Sxoleio, Chiliomodi (*Source* Wiseman 1978, 91)

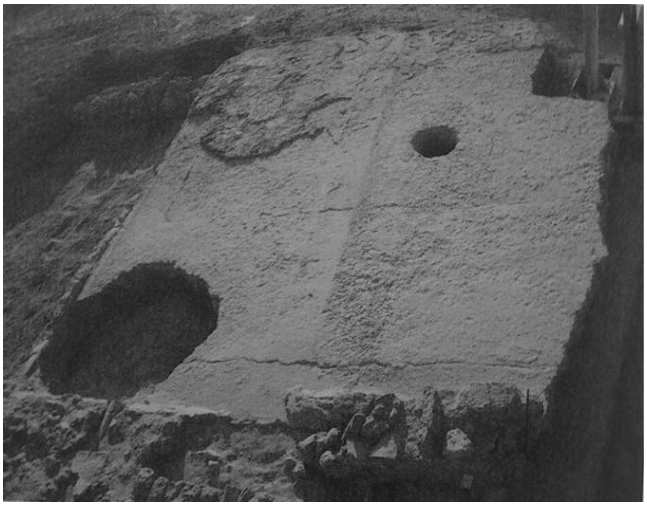
c. Shop opposite to the Atrium House Annex to Temple E (*Source* Robinson H. S. 1968b, pl. 126b)

d. Pottery kiln, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2004, pl. 70a)

e. Area Solomos, Site Babounistra K77 D5 (*Source* Kasimi and Liras 2018, 386)

f. Shop opposite to the Atrium House Annex to Temple E (*Source* Robinson H. S. 1968b, Pl. 126c)

a.



d.

b.

e.

c.

a. Derveni, Site Svarnos, detail of the *torcularium* vat (*Source* Gebhard 2018, 380)

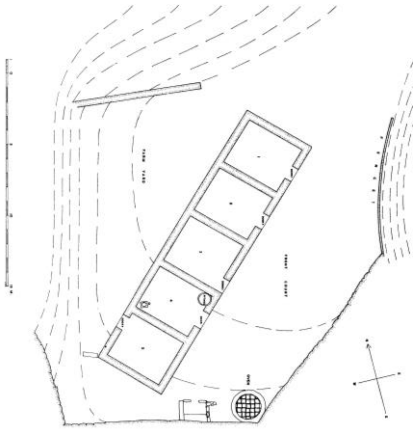
b. Building 7 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1988, pl. 42a)

c. Bozika, Site Karoumbalo, fortifications (?) (*Source* Lolos 2011, 263)

d. Derveni, Site Svarnos, *torcularium* with two vats (*Source* Gebhard 2018, 380)

e. Akra Sofia, port (*Source* Gregory 1985, pl. 108b)

a.



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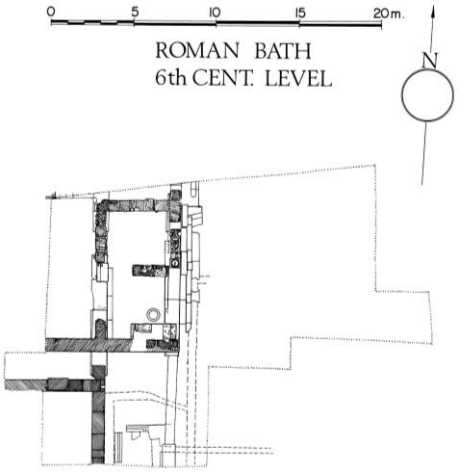

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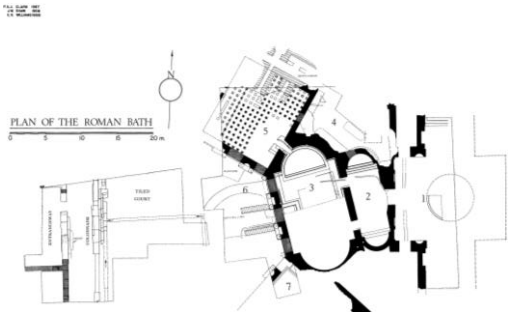
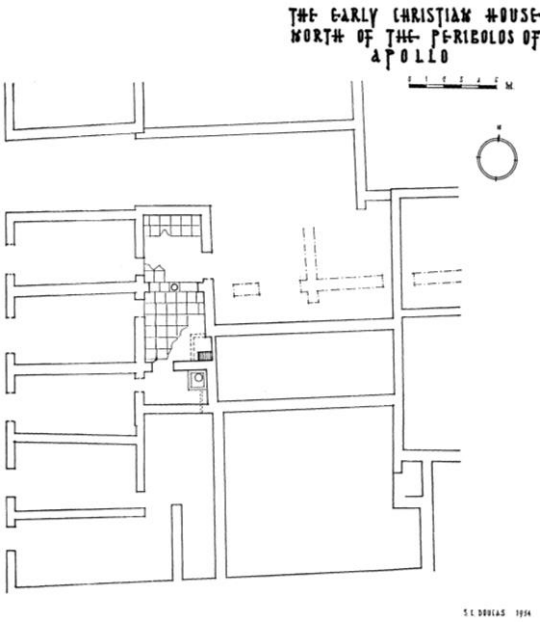


e.



c.

a. West Court of Perachora during the 1933 excavations with the still standing Roman farm at the middle (*Source* Coulton 1967, pl. 91a)

b. House over the Colonnade of the Great Baths at Lechaeon Road (*Source* Biers 1985, pl. 41)

c. House over the Bath of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo in the 6th century AD, the dismantling of the subdivision wall between shops 3 and 4 (counting northwards) that took place in the 4th century AD is not incorporated in the plan (*Source* Scranton 1957, 18)

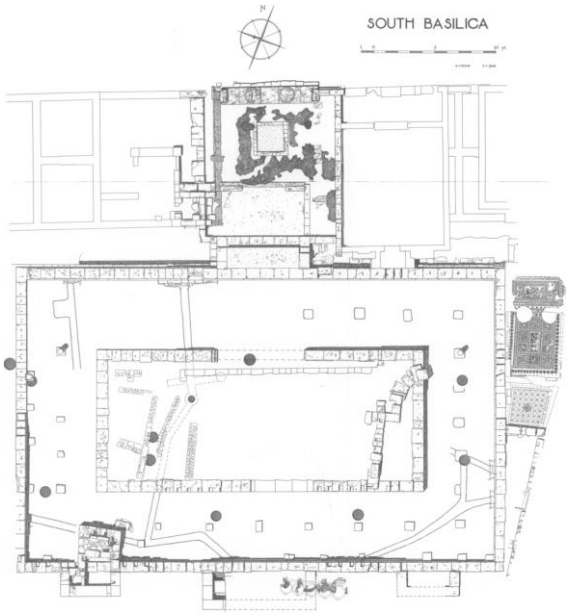
d. Roman Farm - West Court of Perachora, view from Southwest (*Source* Coulton 1967, 364)

e. The Great Baths at Lechaeon Road (*Source* Biers 1985, pl. 38)

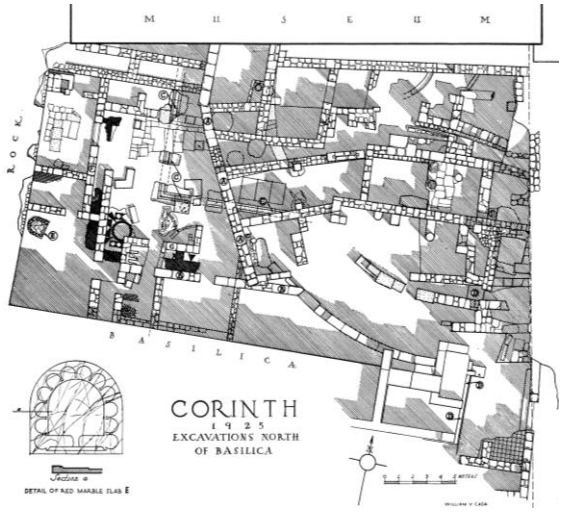
a.

d.

b.



e.



c.

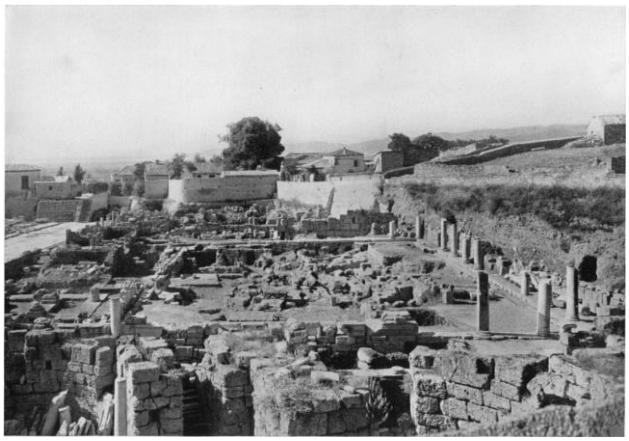
a. House over the Bath of Eyrikles - North of Peribolos of Apollo, view from the North (*Source* Scranton 1957, pl. 3.1)

b. The apsidal house over the South Basilica, view from the East (*Source* Scranton 1957, pl. 13.2)

c. House next to the Hemicycle Building (*Source* Broneer 1926, pl. 2)

d. House next to the Hemicycle Building, view from the East (*Source* Stillwell 1932, 145)

e. Plan of the 5th century AD apsidal house over the South Basilica, next to the Mosaic House (*Source* Weinberg 1960, pl. V)



a.

d.

b.

e.

c.

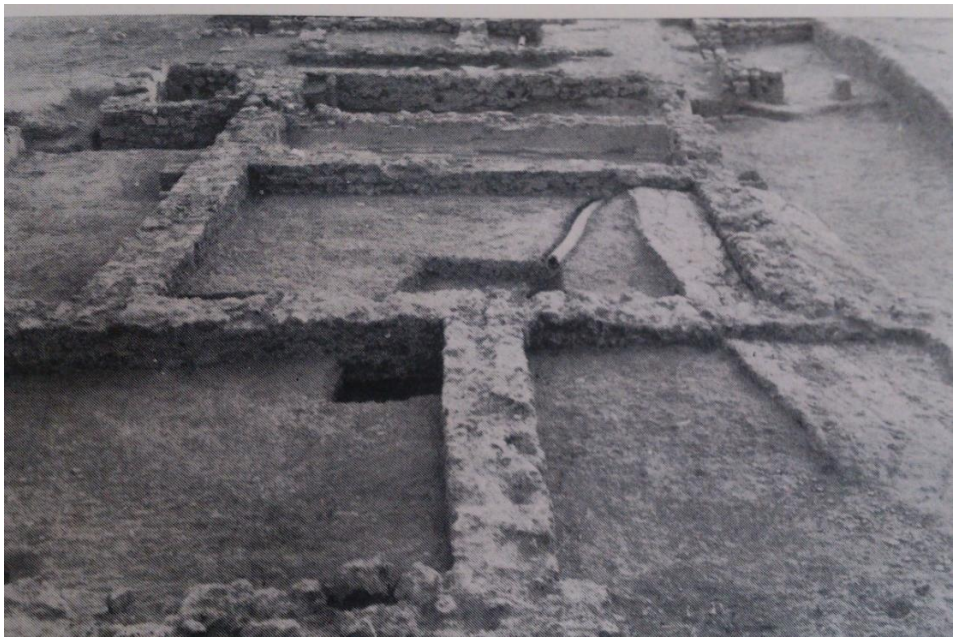
a. Peribolos of Apollo (*Source* Stillwell *et al.* 1941, 2)

b. House at the Southeast Corner over the Temple at Isthmia (*Source* Broneer 1973, pl. 37c)

c. House at the Southwest Corner over the Temple at Isthmia (*Source* Broneer 1973, pl. 32b)

d. Panayia Bath, view of the *caldarium* from the East and further to the west the *tepidarium* with the attached Late Roman housing unit (*Source* Sanders 1999, 456)

e. House West of the Southwest Corner of the Temple at Isthmia (*Source* Broneer 1973, pl. 30a)



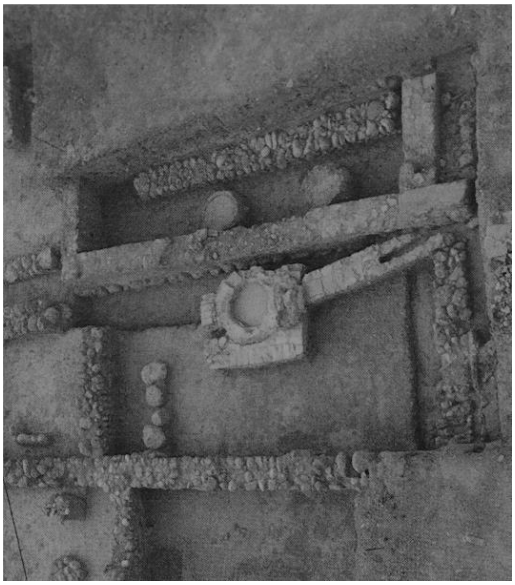
a.

b.

a. Lechaeon, House 6, over the Roman road running east-west, view from the West (*Source* Pallas 1967, pl. 185a)

b. Lechaeon, Houses 12 and 6, over the Roman road running east-west, view from the East (*Source* Pallas 1967, pl. 194b)

a.



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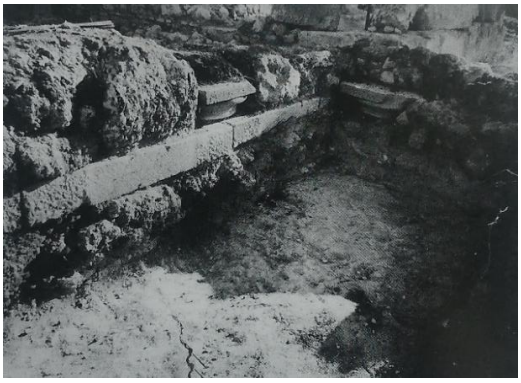


b.

e.

c.

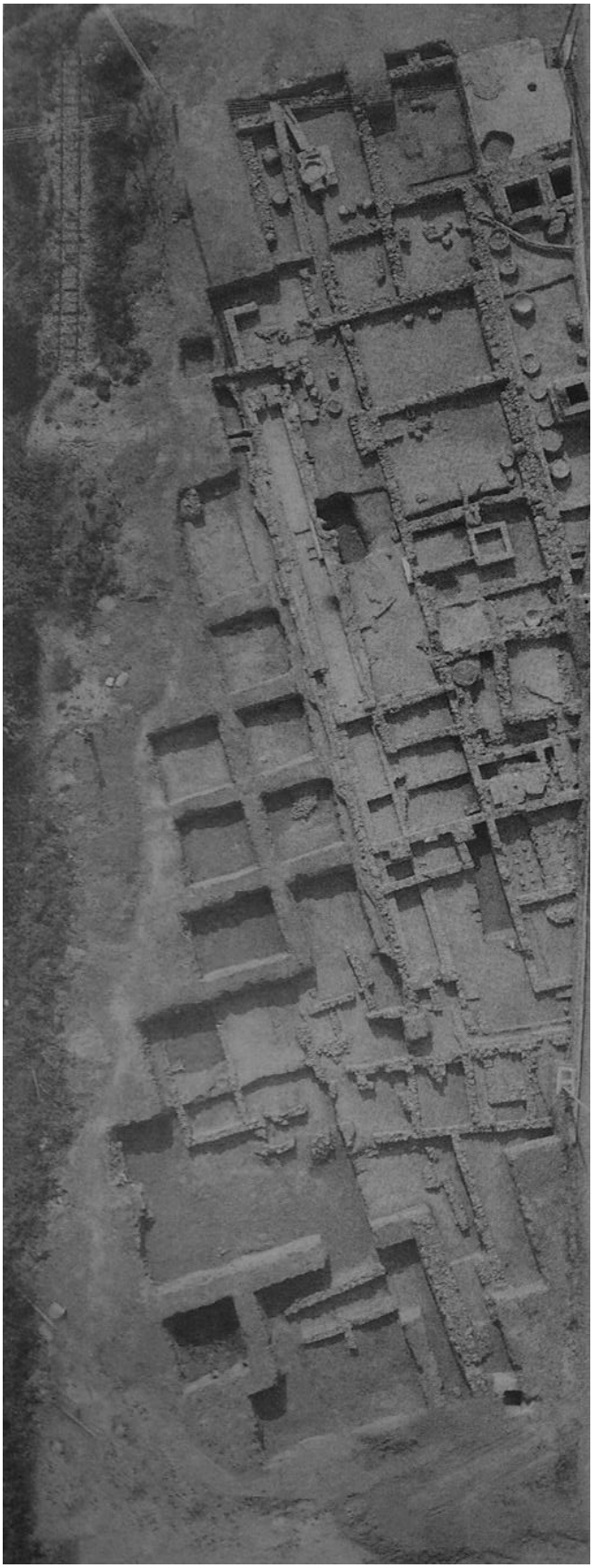
a. Subdivision wall of the eastern room 27, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 149)

b. Building material reused, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2004, pl. 70a)

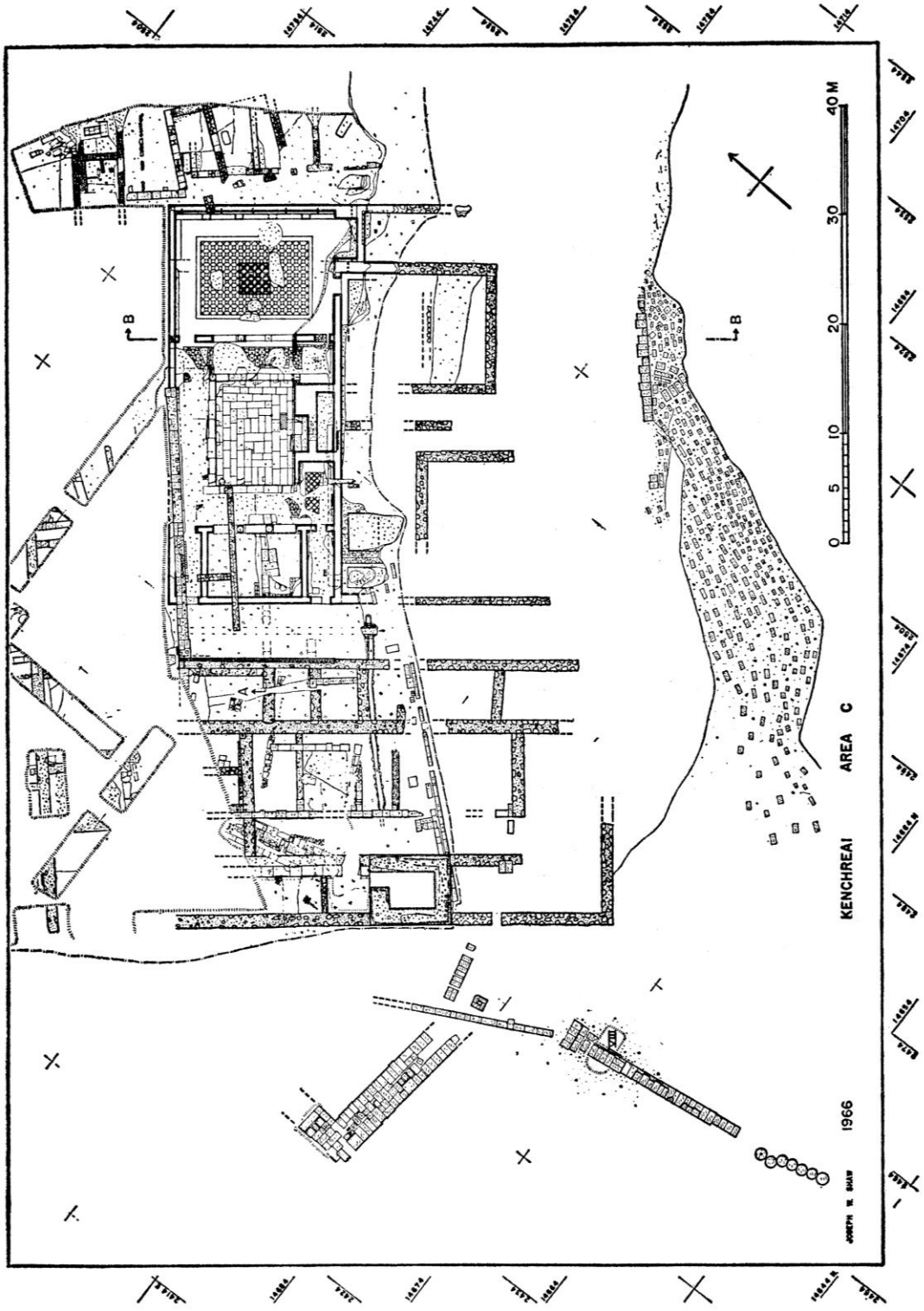
c. Burial beneath the wall of the eastern room 27, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 50)

d. Derveni, Site Svarnos. The nymphaeum area subdivided by the Late Roman walls and clay silos (*Source* Gebhard 2018, 381)

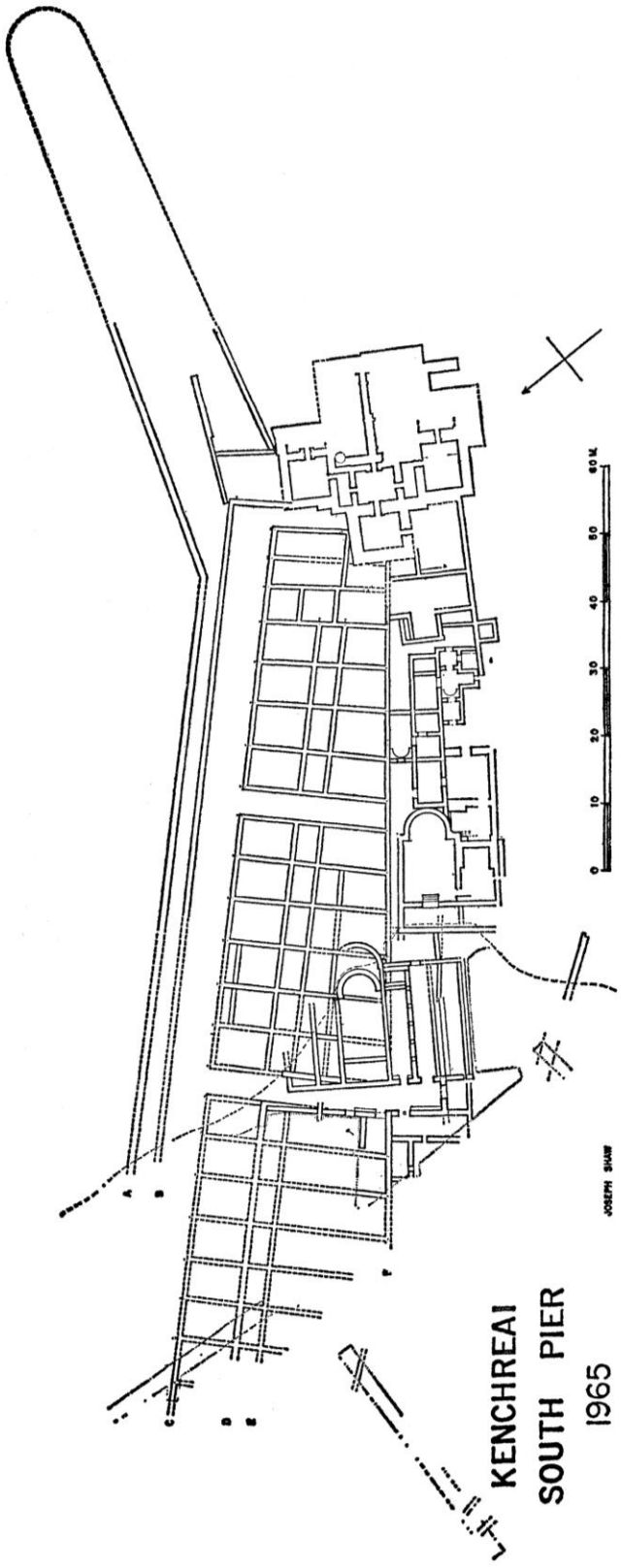
e. The poor construction of the post-4th century AD phase at East Field, Isthmia (*Source* Ellis S. J. R. and Poehler 2015)



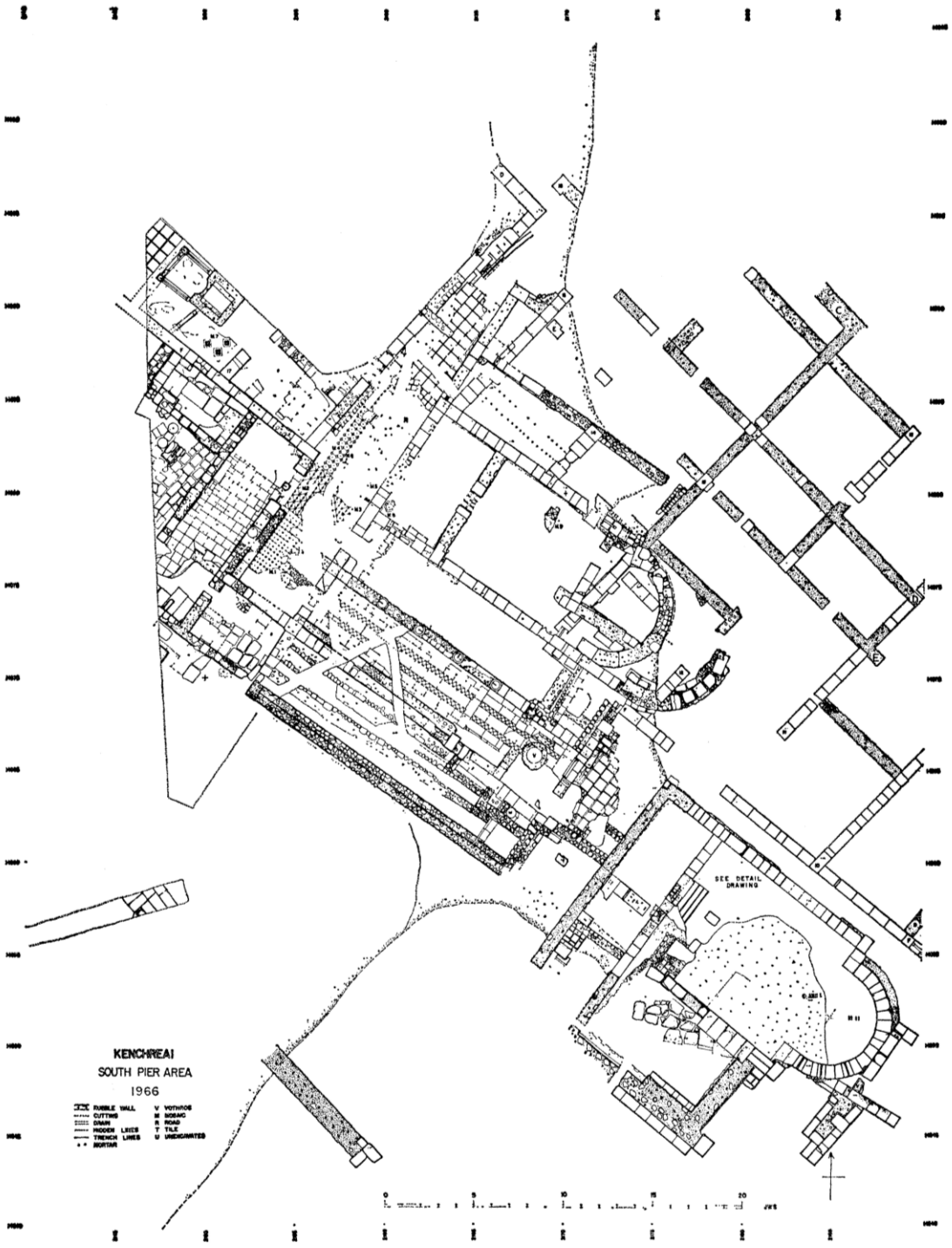
Derveni, Site Svarnos, overview
(*Source* Gebhard 2018, 380)



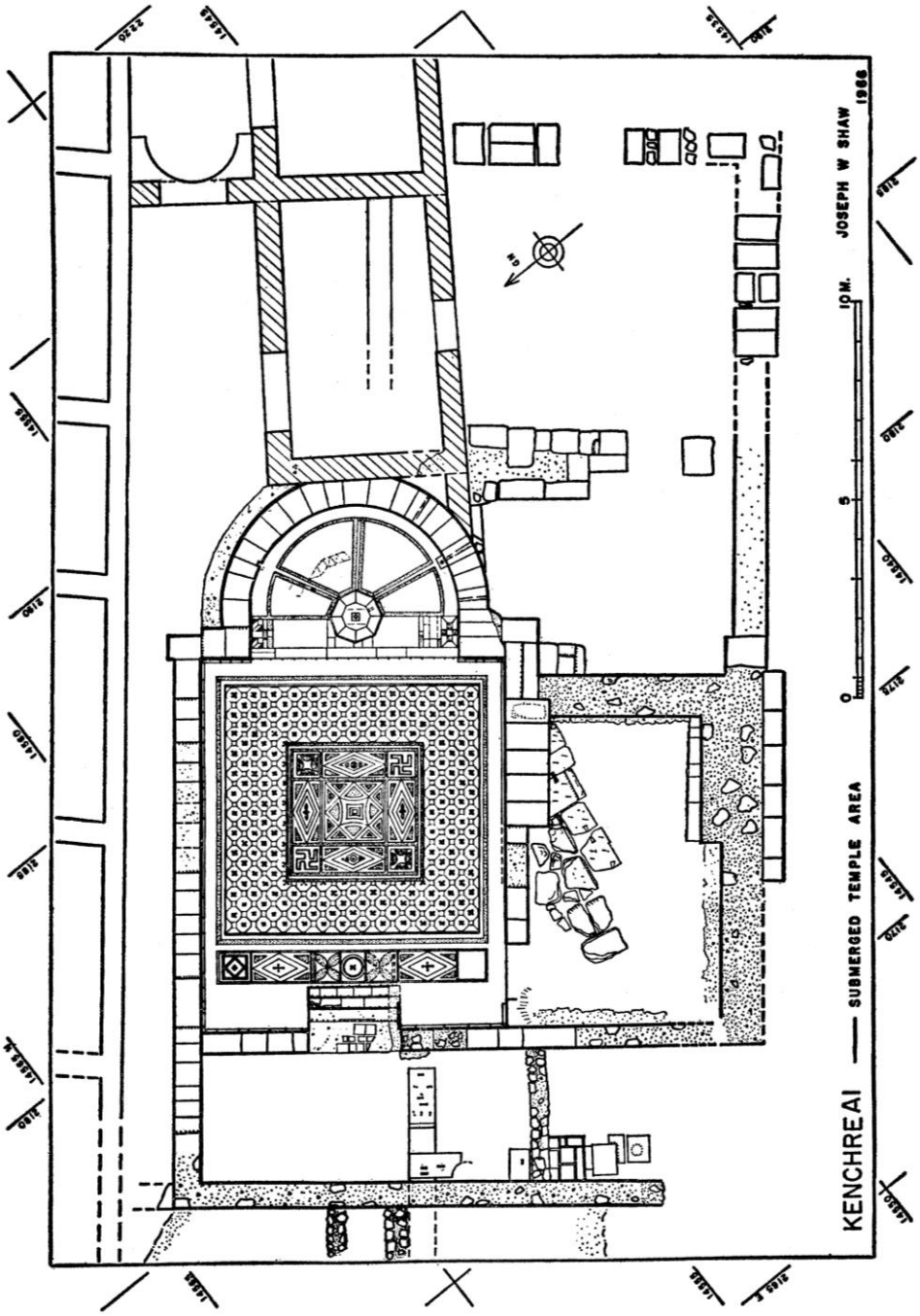
Kenchreai, northern quay, 'Brick Building' and 'Southeast Building'
(*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 160)



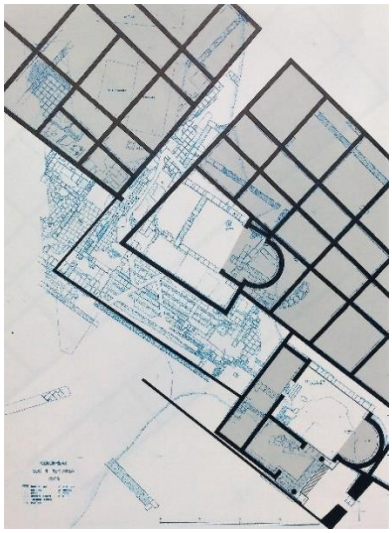
Kenchreai, southern quay (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 128)



Kenchreai, southern quay (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 131)



Kenchreai, southern quay, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum
(*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 139)



a.

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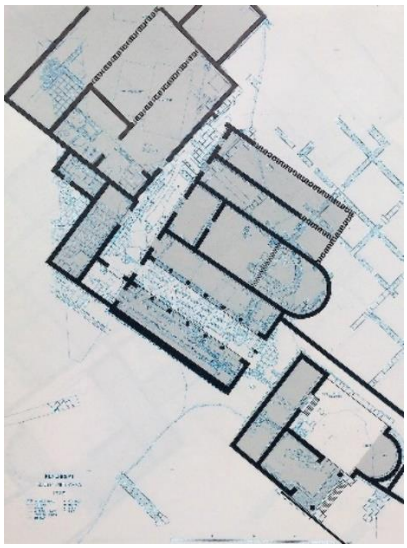

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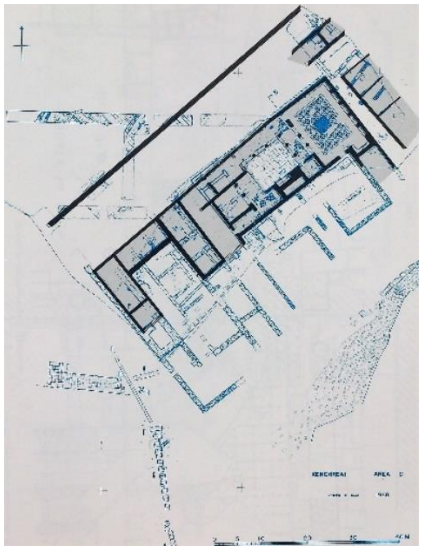


f.

a. Apsidal Court Nymphaeum and the 'dromos' portico in the 3rd century AD (*Source* Scranton 1978a, pl. 27)

b. Apsidal Court Nymphaeum and 'dromos' portico in the early-4th century AD (*Source* Scranton 1978a, pl. 28)

c. Apsidal Court Nymphaeum and 'dromos' portico in the late-4th century AD (*Source* Scranton 1978a, pl. 29)

d. Brick Building and Southeast Building at the northern quay of Kenchreai in the 2nd century AD (*Source* Scranton 1978a, pl. 38)

e. Brick Building and Southeast Building at the northern quay of Kenchreai in the early-4th century AD (*Source* Scranton 1978a, pl. 39)

f. Unified complex at the northern quay of Kenchreai in the late-4th century AD (*Source* Scranton 1978a, pl. 40)

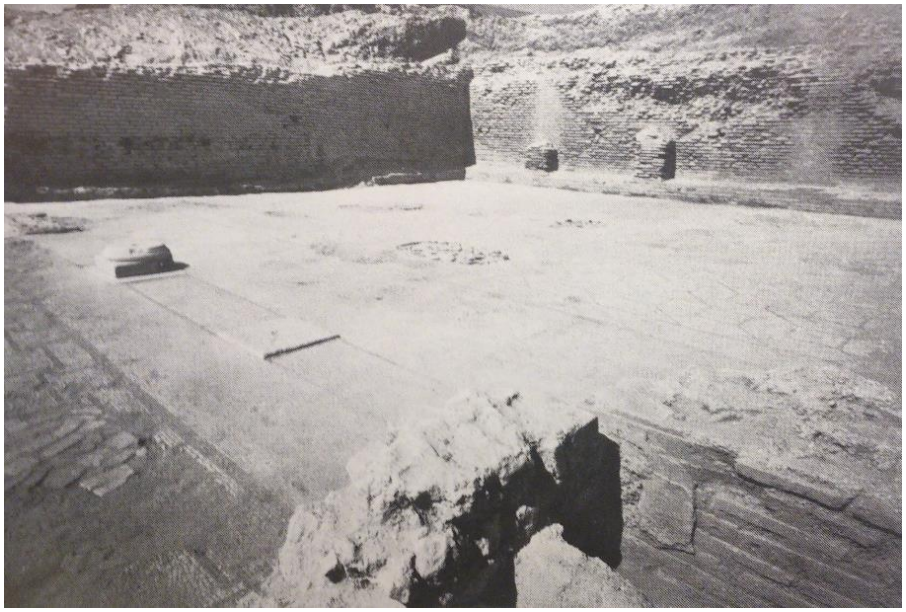
a.

b.

a. Kenchreai, northern quay, Brick Building view from the northwestern room (*Source* Scranton 1978a, pl. XXXIV)

b. Kenchreai, northern quay, Brick Building, nymphaeum on the southeast side of the court (*Source* Scranton 1978a, pl. XXXVI)

PLATE 52



a.

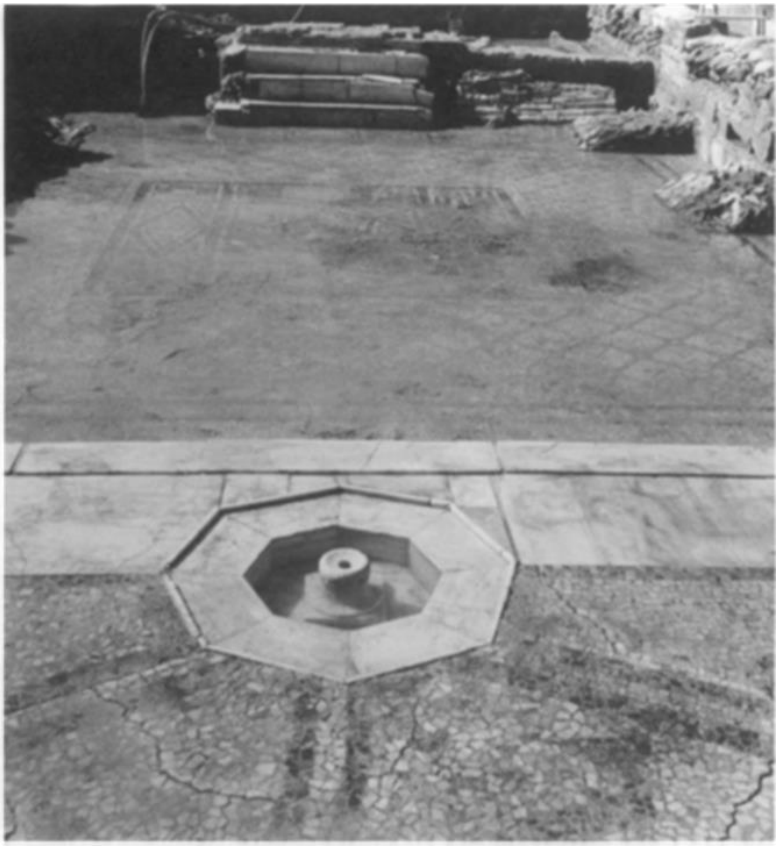
b.

a. Kenchreai, northern quay, Brick Building, view of the northwestern room (*Source* Scranton 1978a, pl. XXXV)

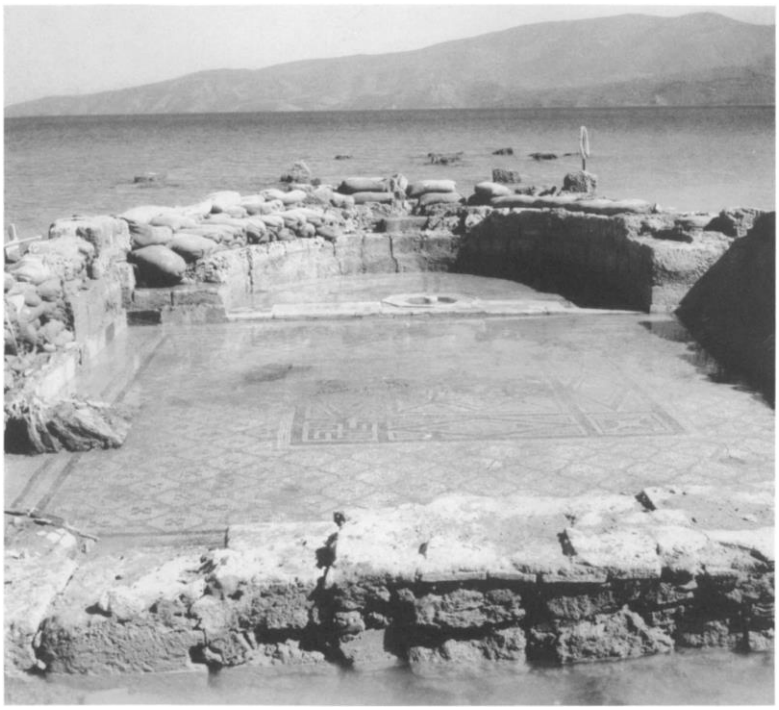
b. Coin representation of Kenchreai (*Source* Bricault and Veymiers 2007, 396)

c. Kenchreai, southern quay, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum before the excavations (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 37)

c.



a.



b.

a. Kenchreai, southern quay, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, view from the apse (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 38)

b. Kenchreai, southern quay, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, view upon entrance (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 37)

a.

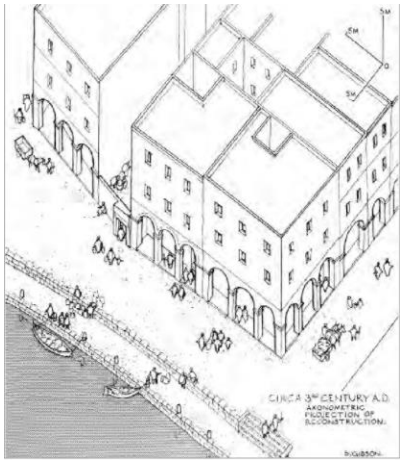
b.

a. Kenchreai, southern quay, portico looking southeast towards the submerged Apsidal Court Nymphaeum (*Source* Personal collection of the author)

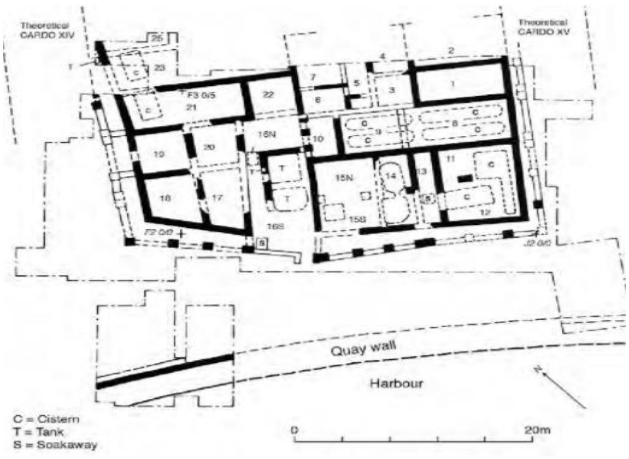
b. Kenchreai, southern quay, the submerged Apsidal Court Nymphaeum (*Source* Personal collection of the author)

a.

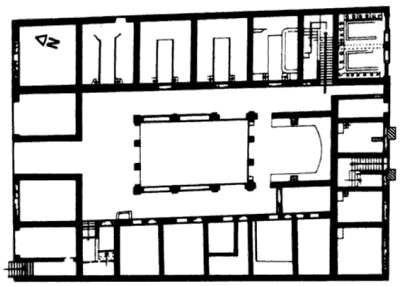
d.



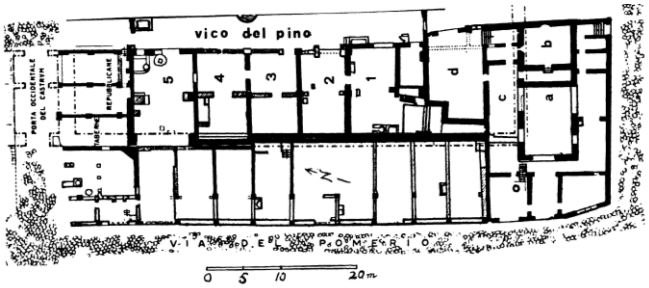
b.



e.



c.



f.

a. Inscription referring '*ΟΡΓΙΑ*' (*Source* Rife 2010, 408)

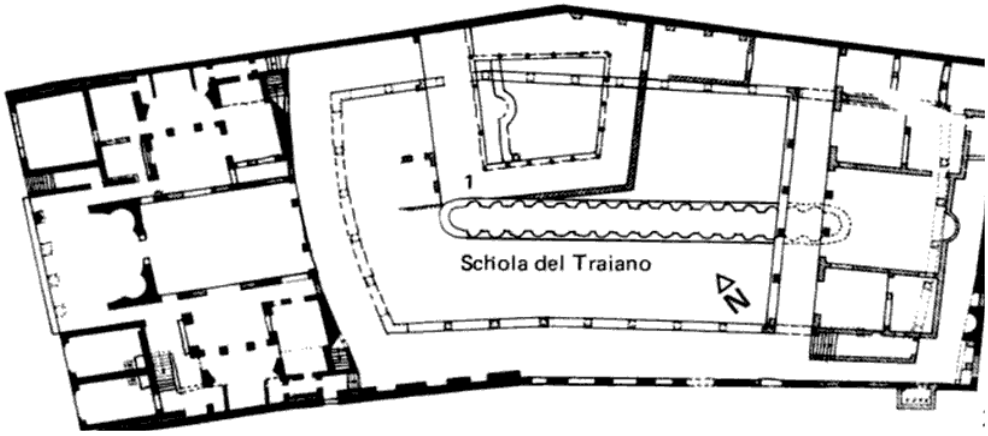
b. Northern sector of circular harbour, Carthage (*Source* Leone 2007, 81)

c. Cassegiato dei Triclini, Ostia (*Source* Hermansen 1981, 63)

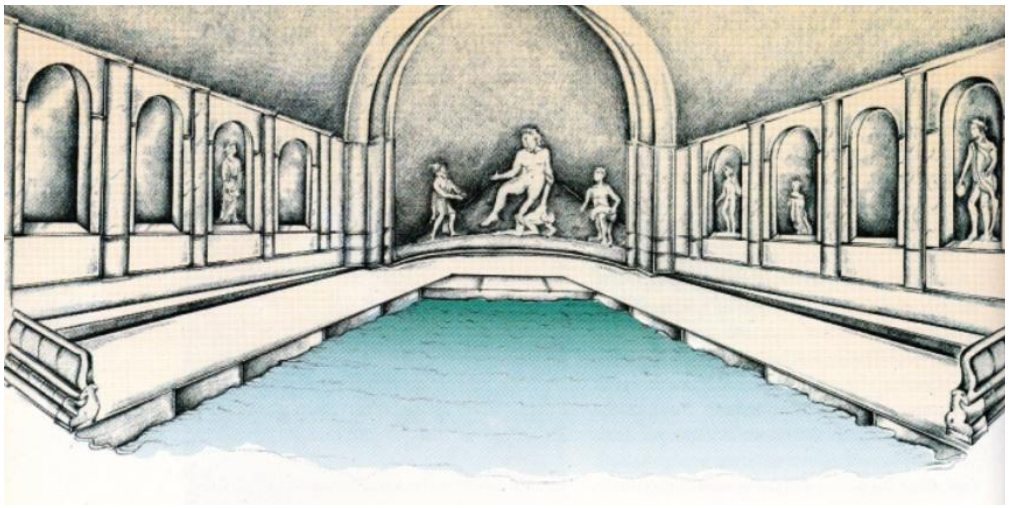
d. Inscription referring to an association retreated from Kenchreai (*Source* Rife 2010, 414)

e. Northern sector of circular harbour, Carthage (*Source* Leone 2007, 81)

f. Guild of Stuppatores, Ostia, the *schola* is facing to the road intersection (*Source* Hermansen 1982, 122)



a.



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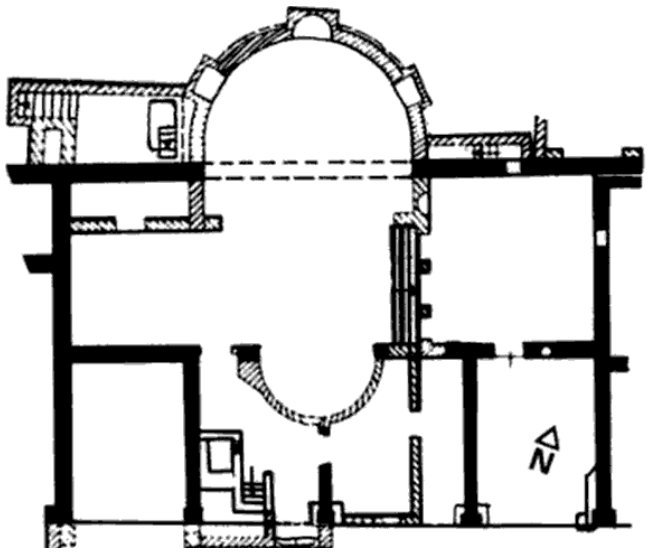
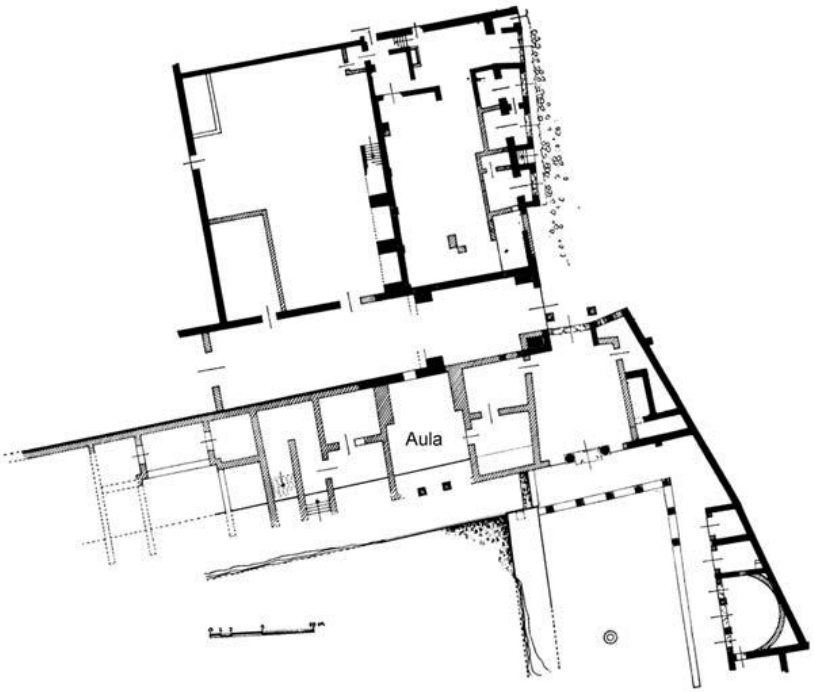


c.

a. Schola del Traiano, Ostia (*Source* Hermansen 1981, 72)

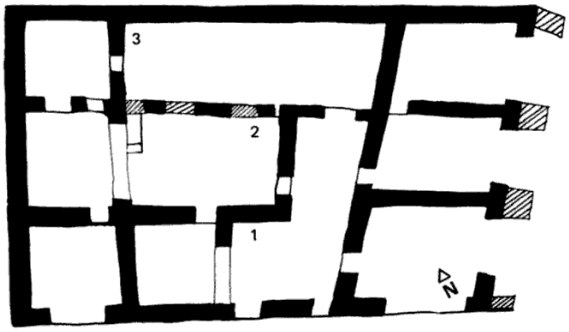
b. Reconstruction, Baia Nymphaeum (*Source* Di Fraia 1999, 60)

c. Aula di Marte e Venere, Ostia (*Source* Hermansen 1981, 79)



a.

b.



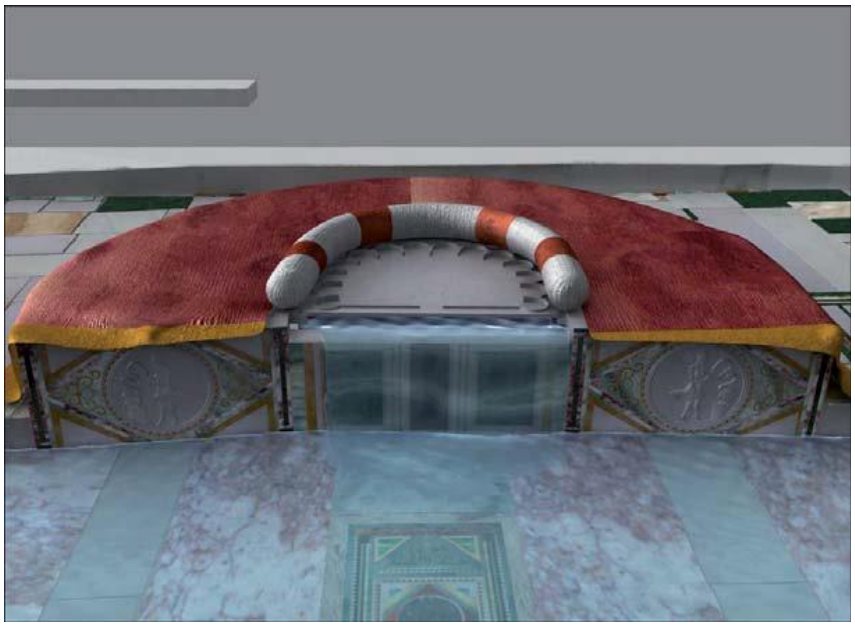
c.

a. Porta Marina, Ostia, general plan (*Source* Kiilerich 2014, 170)

b. Aula dell' Opus Sectile, Porta Marina, Ostia, reconstruction (*Source* Kiilerich 2014, 173)

c. Domus di Marte, Ostia (*Source* Hermansen 1981, 76)

a.



b.

c.

a. Faragola *stibadium* coupled with a nymphaeum (*Source* Volpe and Turchiano 2013b, 337)

b. Faragola *stibadium* coupled with a nymphaeum (*Source* Volpe and Turchiano 2013b, 338)

c. Faragola *stibadium* coupled with a nymphaeum (*Source* Volpe and Turchiano 2013b, 338)

a.

b.

d.

c.

e.

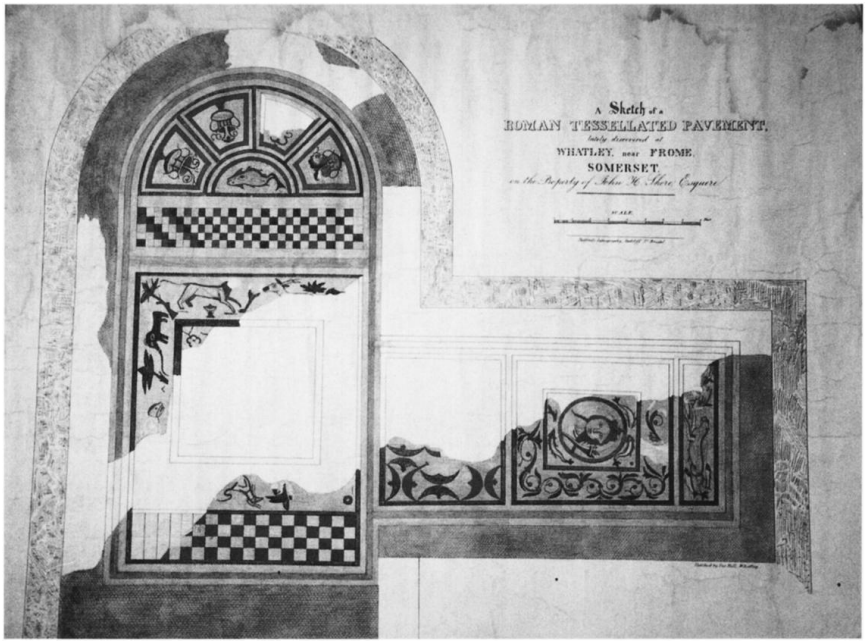
a. *Stibadium* with an integrated fountain, Rome (*Source* Sagui and Cante 2015, 63)

b. *Stibadium* with an integrated fountain, Villa El Ruedo, Seville (*Source* Stephenson 2016, 66)

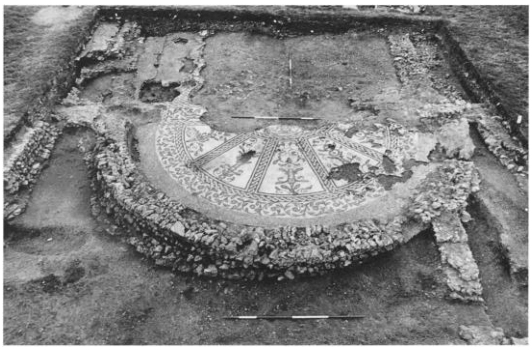
c. *Stibadium* with an integrated fountain, Maison d' Hesychius, Cyrene (*Source* Duval 1989, 2791)

d. *Stibadium* with an integrated fountain, Maison d' Hesychius, Cyrene (*Source* Morvillez 2008, fig 7)

e. *Stibadium* with an integrated fountain, Casa dell Canada Honda, Italica (*Source* Sancho 2016, 172)



a.



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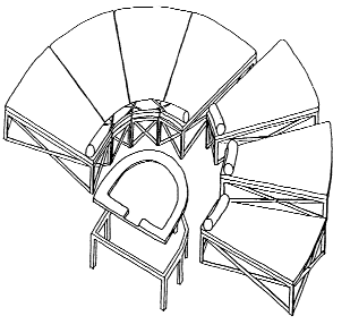
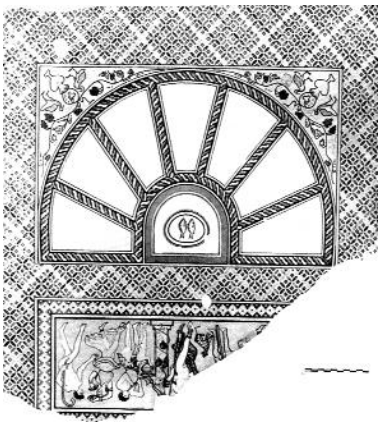


d.

c.



e.

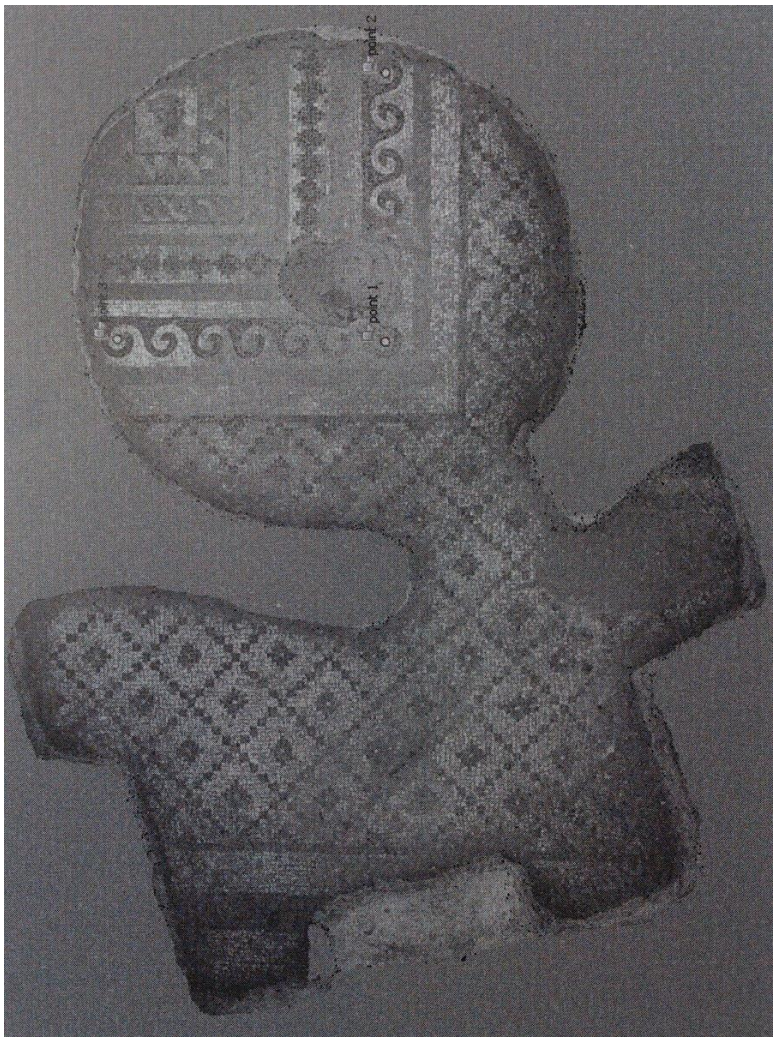
a. Whatley Villa (*Source* Witts 2000, pl. XIII)

b. Dewlish Villa (*Source* Witts 2000, pl. VII)

c. Radiating mosaic pattern engulfing a fountain, Palacio de Lebrija, Seville (*Source* Freijeiro 1978, tab. 29)

d. Reconstruction of the portable *stibadium*, Villa Falconer, Argos (*Source* Volpe 2006, 329)

e. Mosaic design outlining the portable *stibadium*, Villa Falconer, Argos (*Source* Volpe 2006, 329)

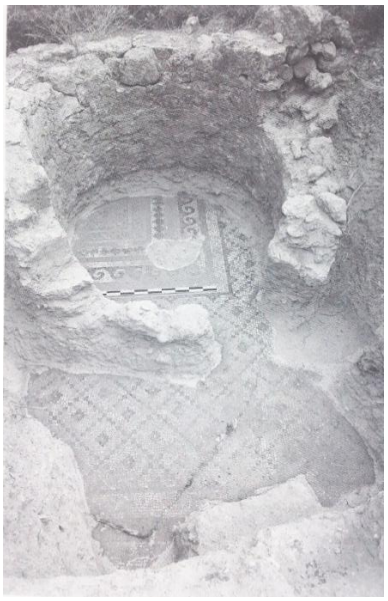


a. Kenchreai, Koutsogilia-Area B (*Source* Korka and Rife 2018, 400)

b. Kenchreai, Koutsogilia-Area B (*Source* Korka and Rife 2013, 291)

c. Kenchreai, Koutsogilia-Area B (*Source* Rife 2014c, 554)

a.



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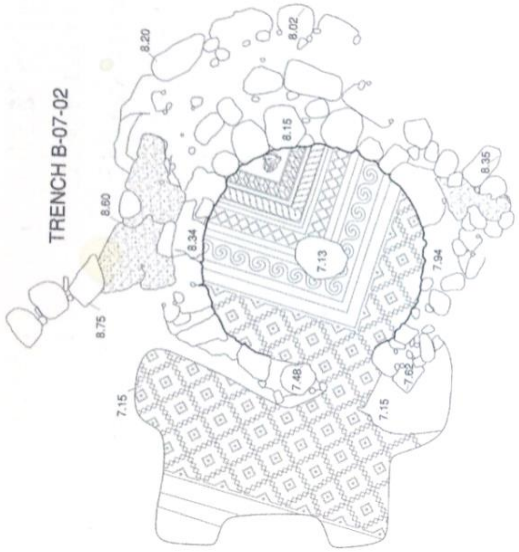
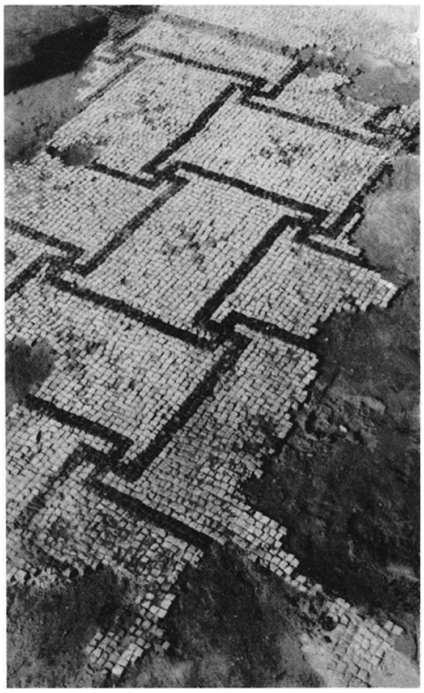


c.

a.



d.

b.

e.

c.

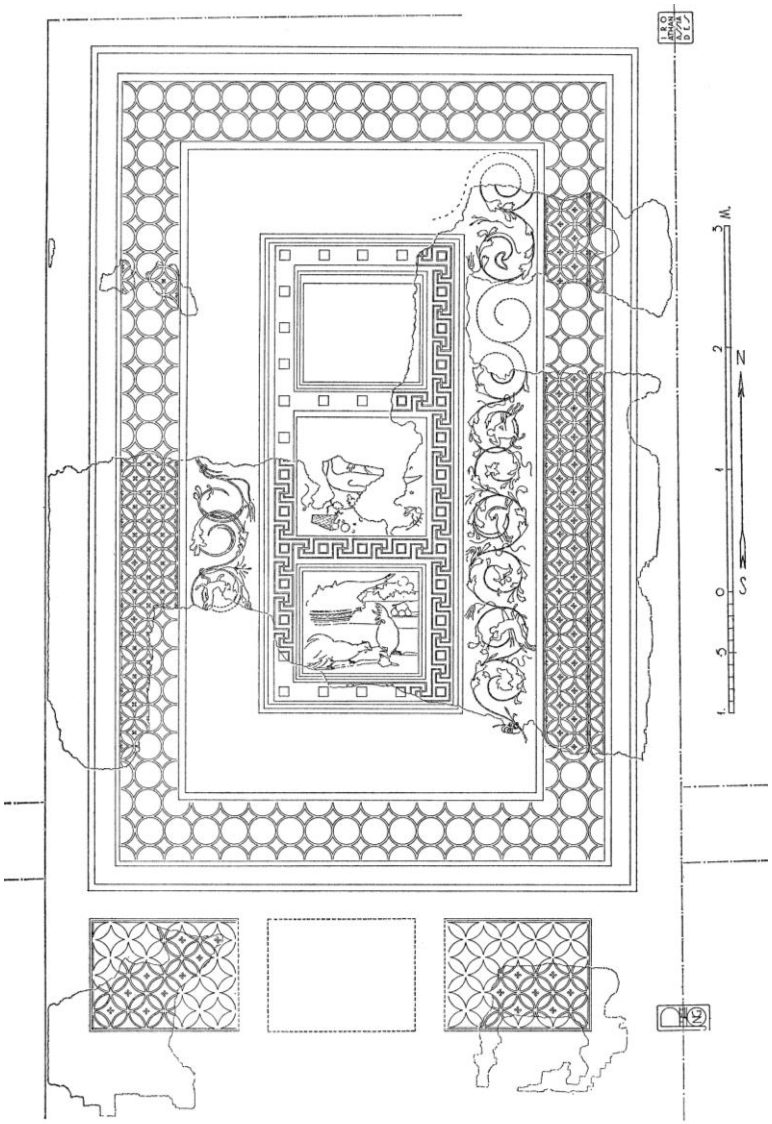
a. Pr. Marinou (*Source* Kritzas 1979, 212)

b. Kenchreai, northern quay, Brick Building (*Source* Waywell 1979, pl. 48)

c. Zekio, Protobyzantine Building Complex (*Source* Athanasoulis 2013, 203)

d. Kenchreai, northern quay, Brick Building (*Source* Waywell 1979, pl. 48)

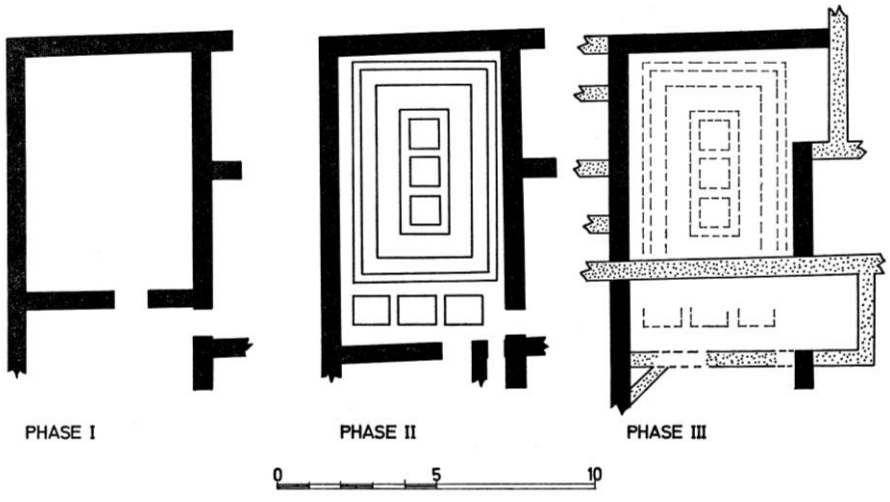
e. Kenchreai, northern quay, Brick Building (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 51)



a. Villa Anaploga (*Source* Miller Stel. 1972, 334)

b. Villa Anaploga (*Source* Miller Stel. 1972, 337)

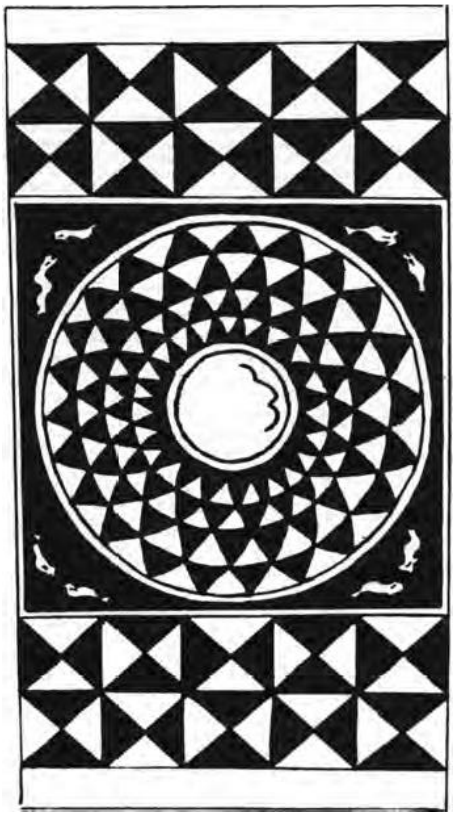
a.



b.

a.

c.



b.

d.

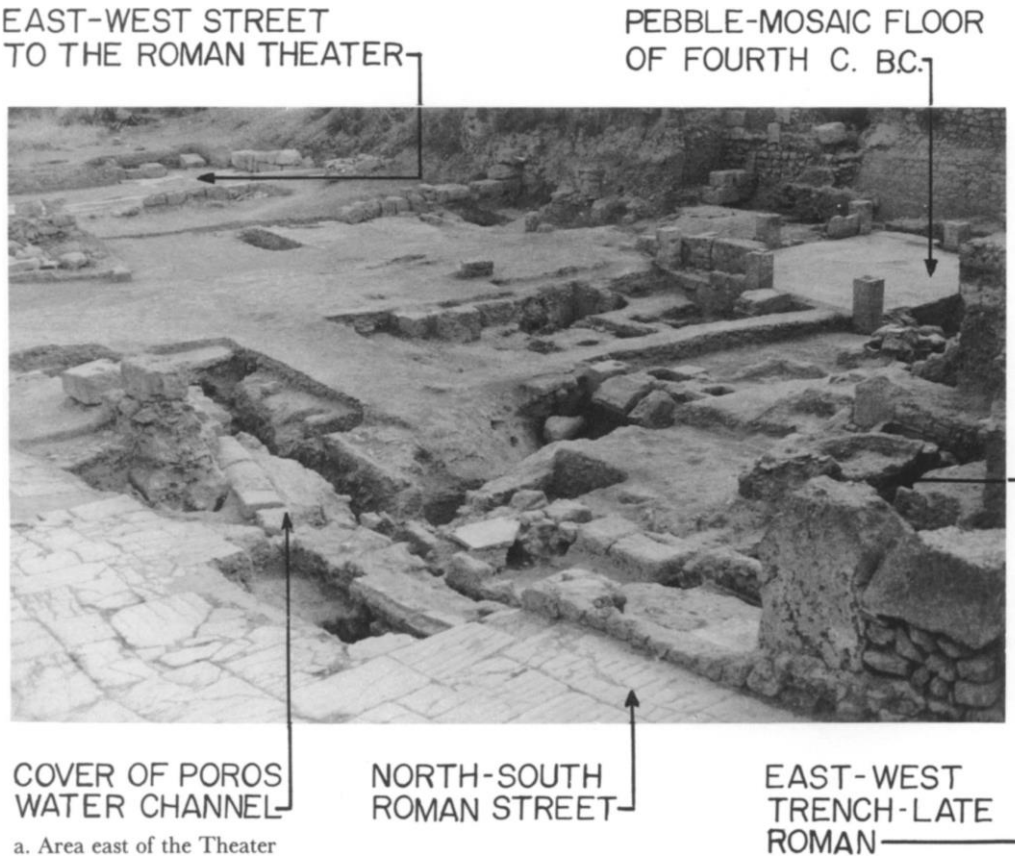
a. Villa Anaploga (*Source* Miller Stel. 1972, pl. 72)

b. Corinth, Area Keramikos B - Former National Road (*Source* Deilaki-Protonotariou 1969, 122)

c. Villa Anaploga (*Source* Miller Stel. 1972, pl. 71)

d. Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi (*Source* Shear 1930, pl. X)

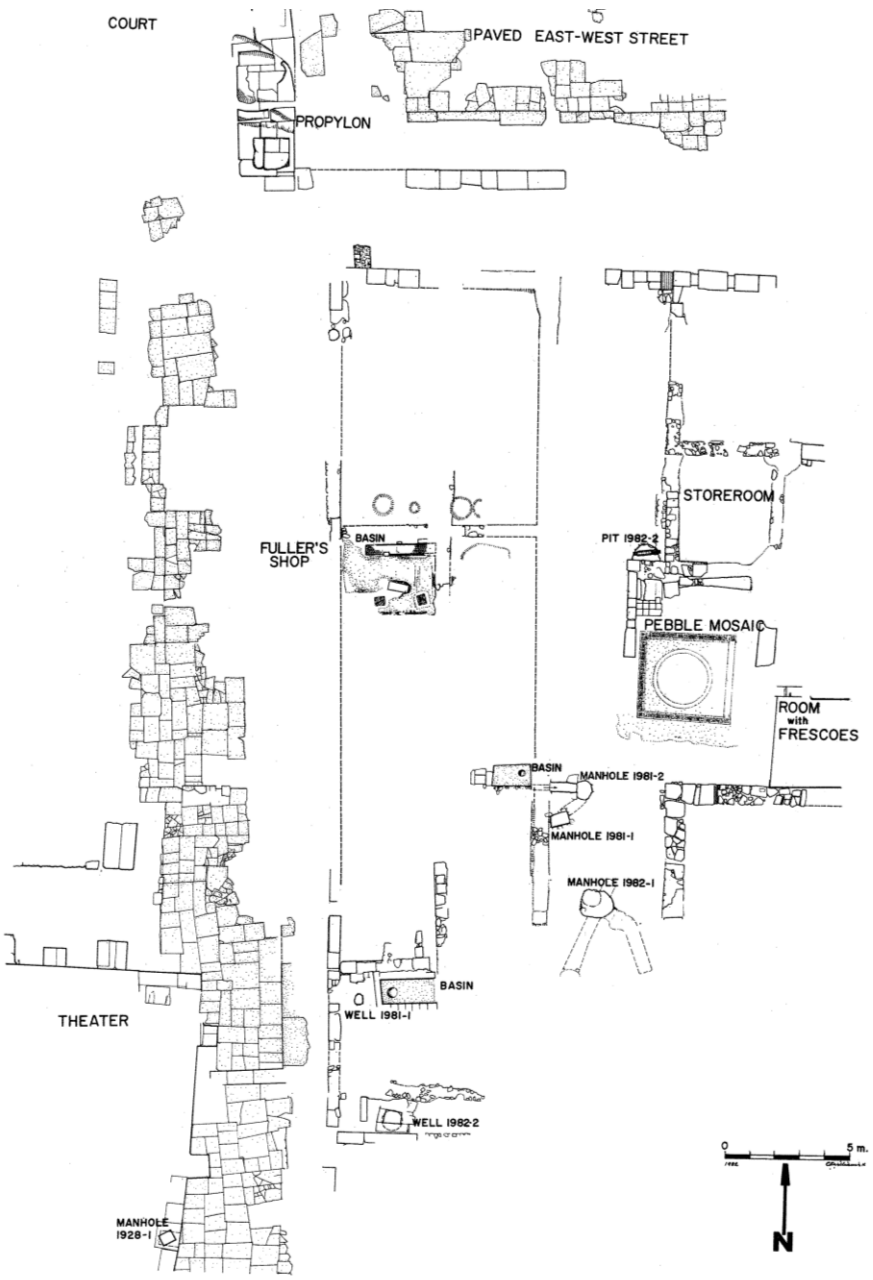
a.



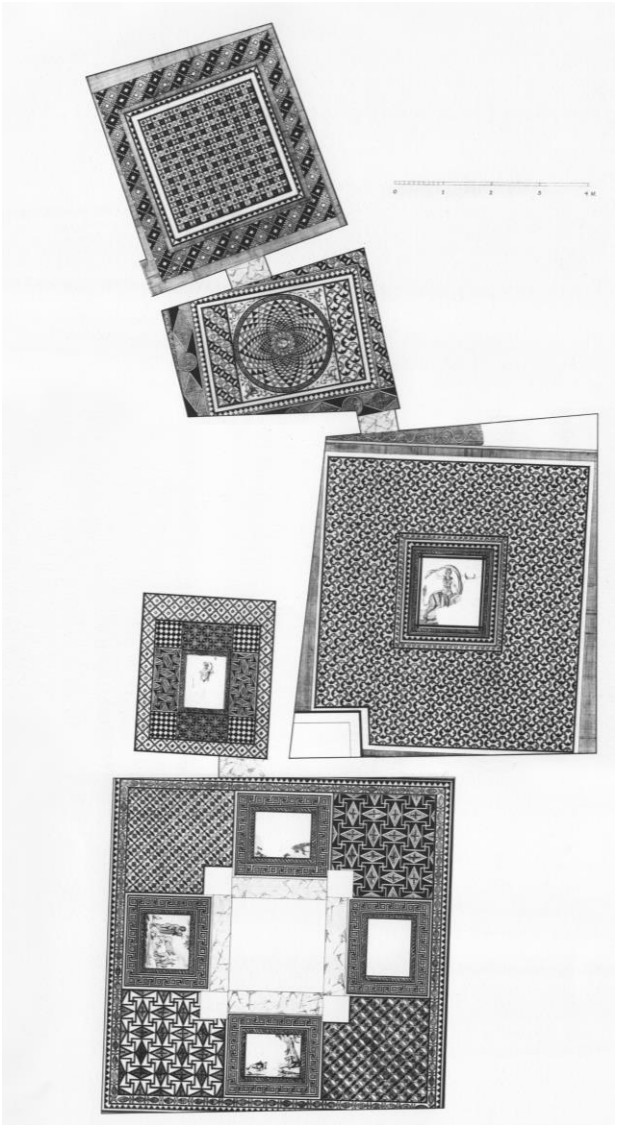
b.

a. House of the Opus Sectile (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1983, pl. 2a)

b. House of the Opus Sectile (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1982, pl. 37)



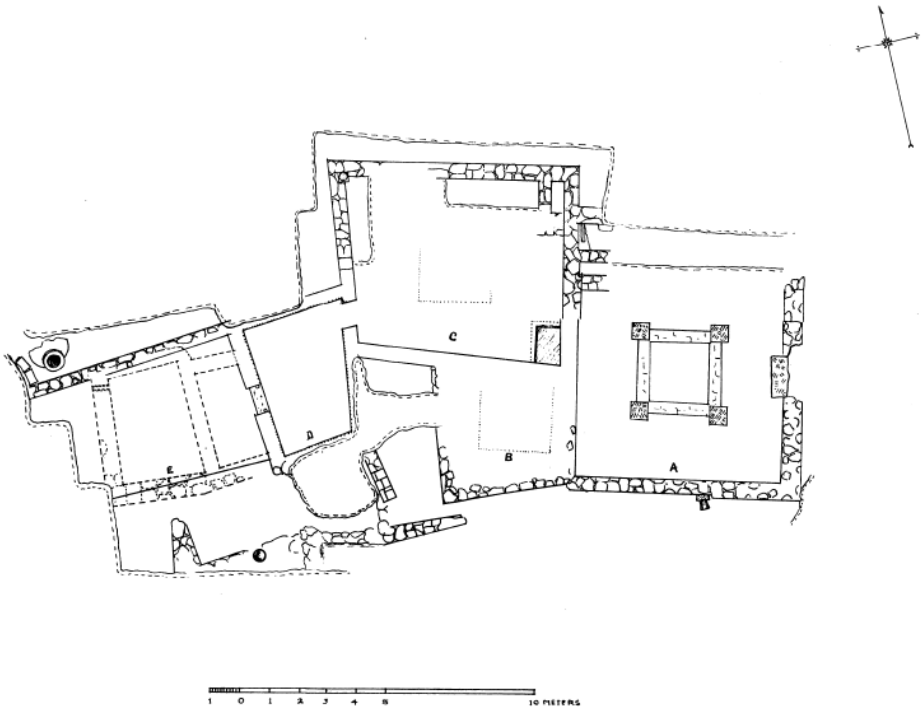
House of the Opus Sectile (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1983, 10)



a. Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi (*Source* Shear 1930, pl. 1)

b. Villa Shear – Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi (*Source* Shear 1930, pl. 14)

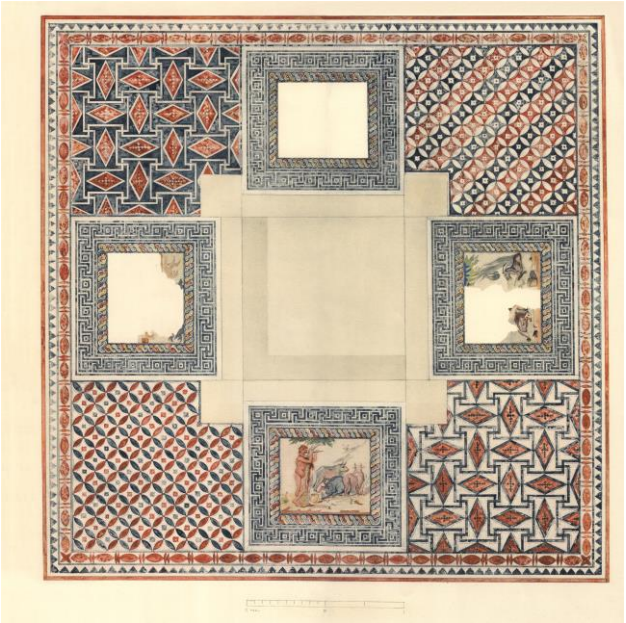
a.



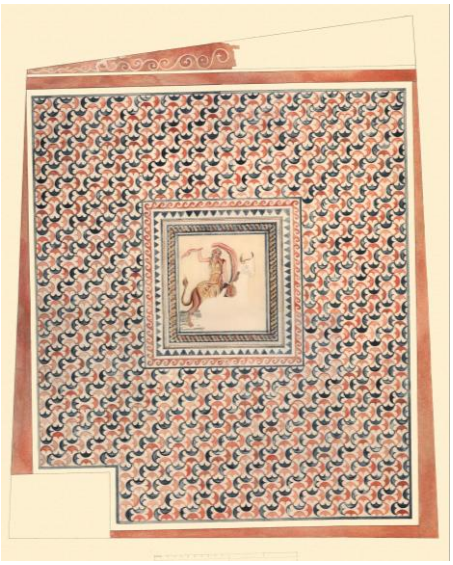
b.

a.

c.



b.



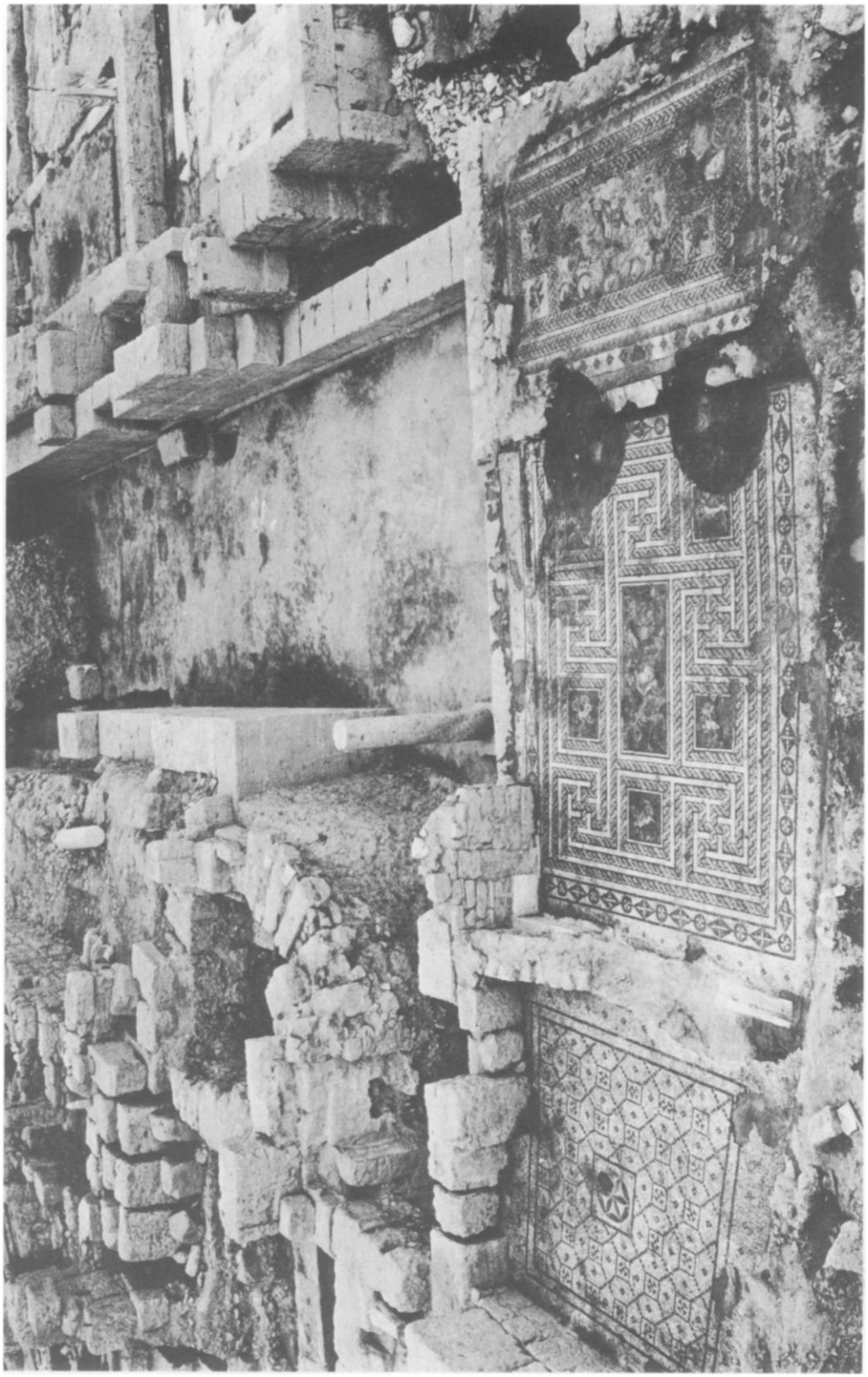
d.

a. Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi, room B (*Source* Shear 1930, pl. 7)

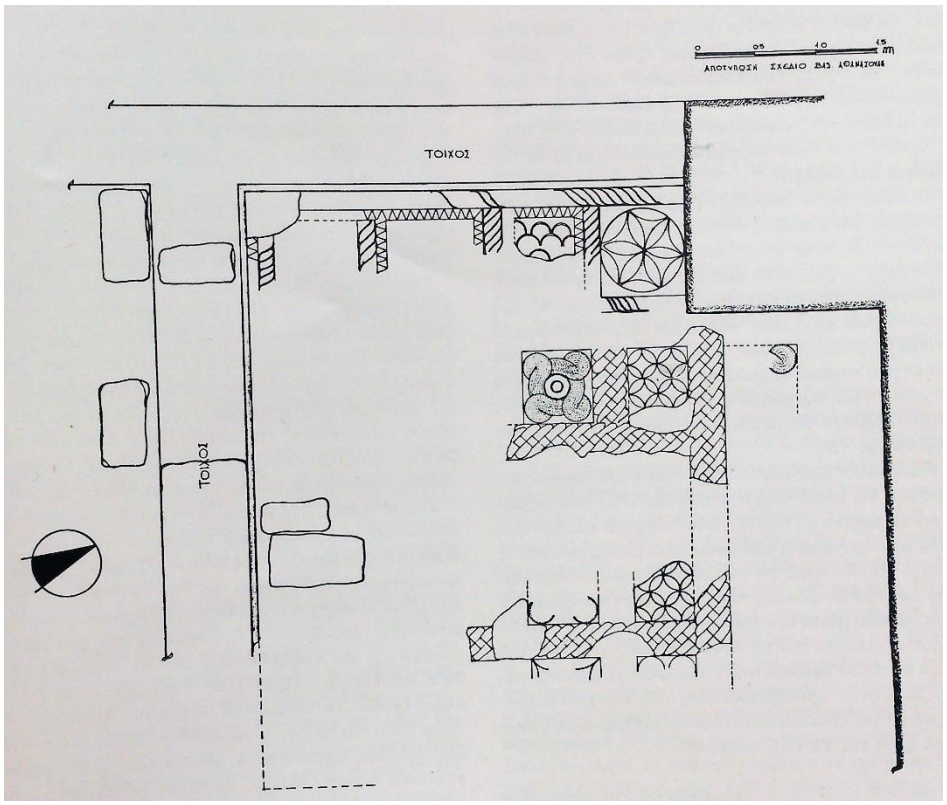
b. Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi, atrium (*Source* Shear 1930, pl. 3)

c. Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi, room C, Europa mosaic detail (*Source* Shear 1930, pl. 9)

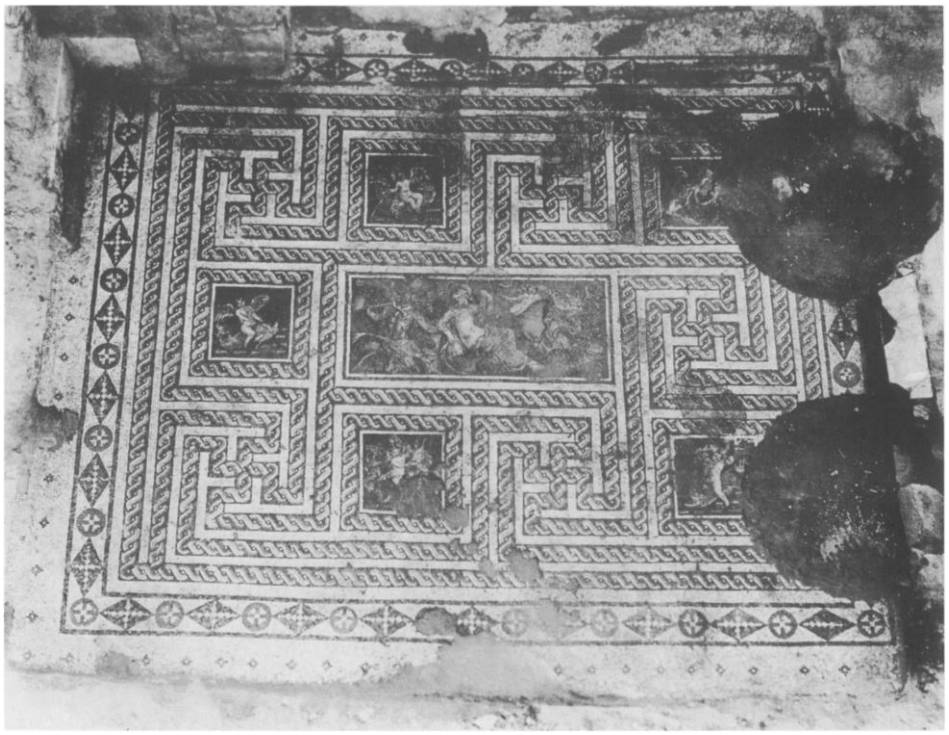
d. Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi, room C (*Source* Shear 1930, pl. 8)



Mosaic House (*Source* Weinberg 1960, pl. 53)



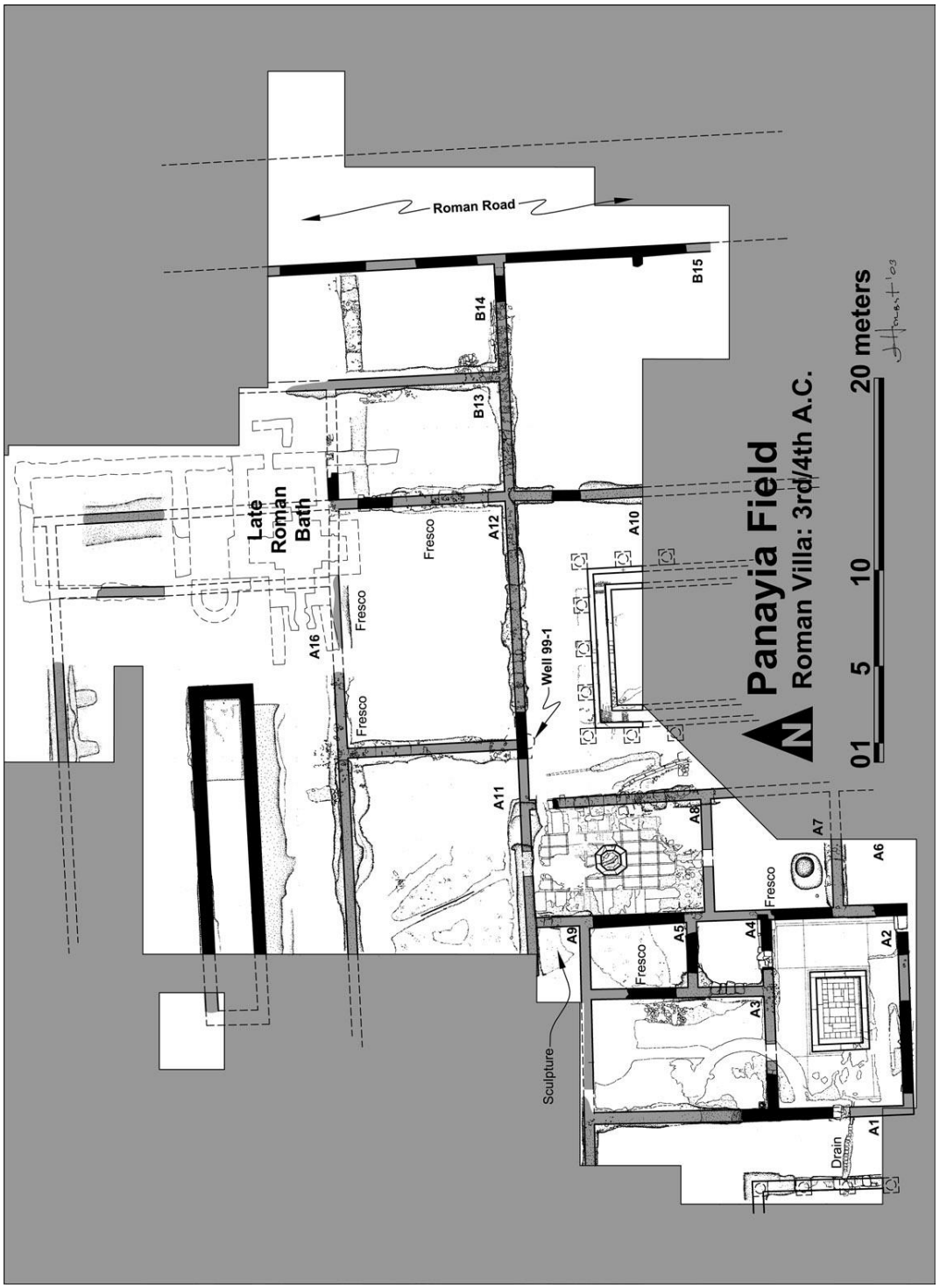
a.



b.

a. Pr. Liakoura (*Source* Mpanaka-Dimaki 1988g, 108)

b. Mosaic House, middle room (*Source* Weinberg 1960, pl. 55)

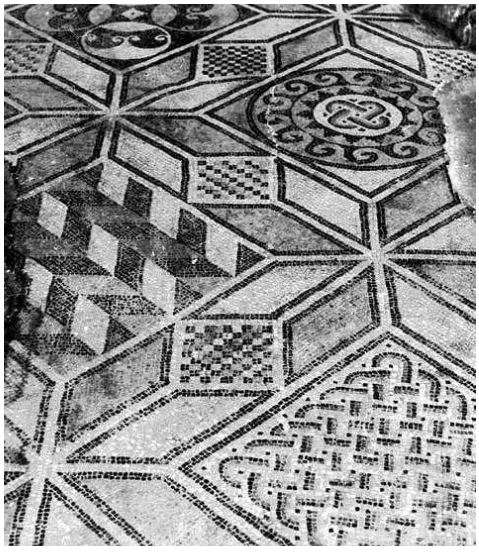


Panayia Domus (*Source* Sanders 2005b, 423)

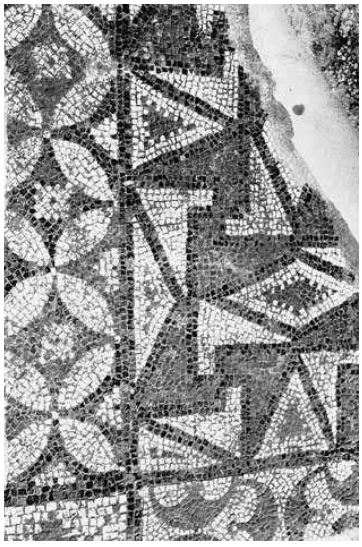
PLATE 72

a.

b.



c.



d.

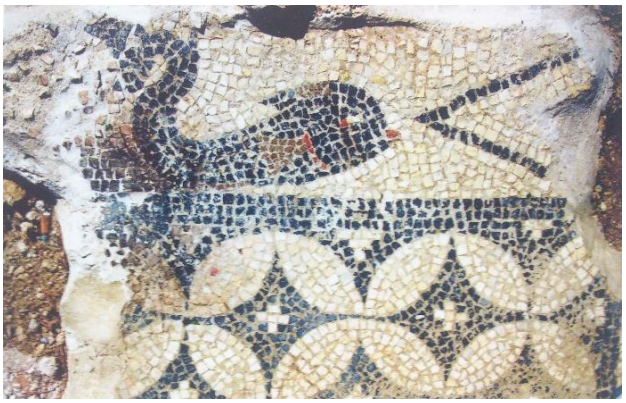
a. Panayia Domus (*Source* Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 361)

b. Panayia Domus (*Source* Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 361)

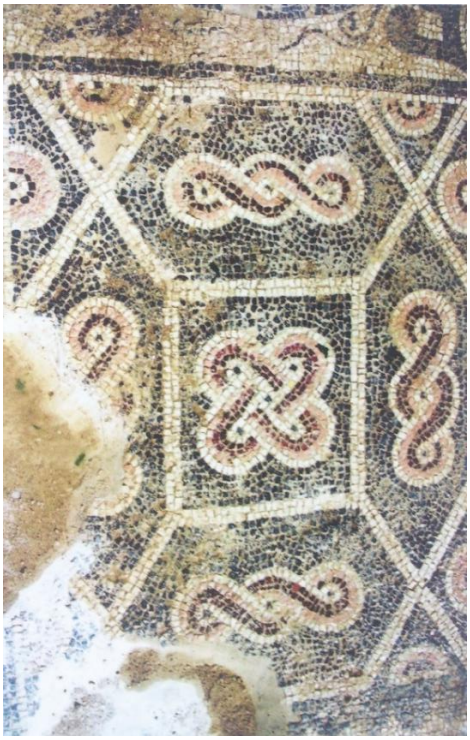
c. Panayia Domus (*Source* Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 362)

d. Panayia Domus (*Source* Sweetman and Sanders 2005, 362)

a.



c.



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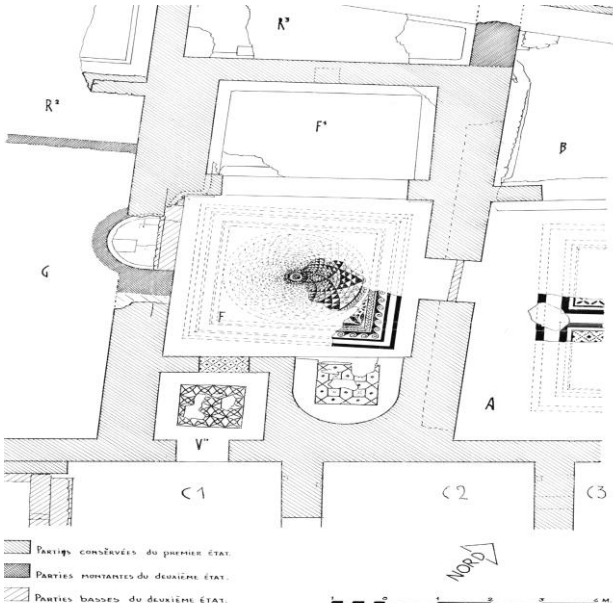


d.

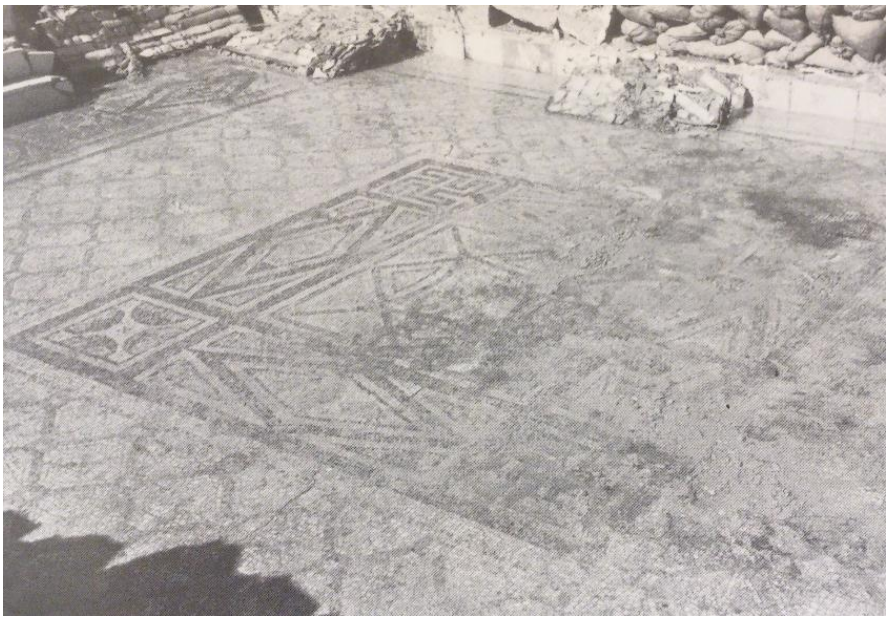
a. Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2002b, 148, fig. 67c)

b. Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013b, 185)

c. Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2013b, 185)

d. Thermae, Delphi (*Source* Ginouvès 1955, 136)

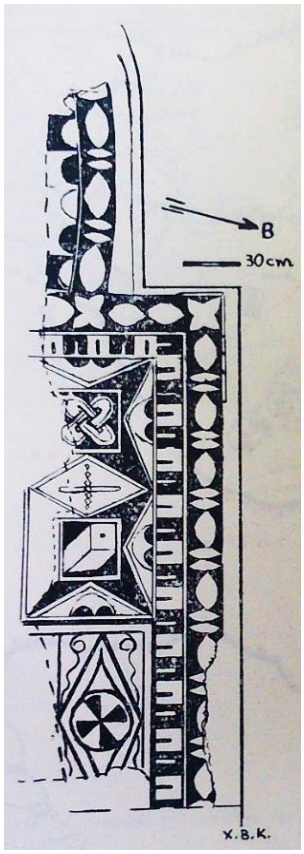
a.



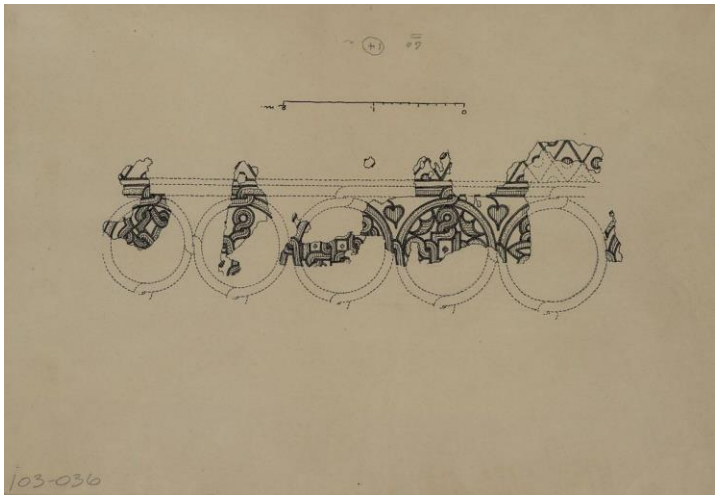
b.

a. Kenchreai, northern quay, Brick Building, northwestern room (*Source* Scranton 1978, pl. XXXVII)

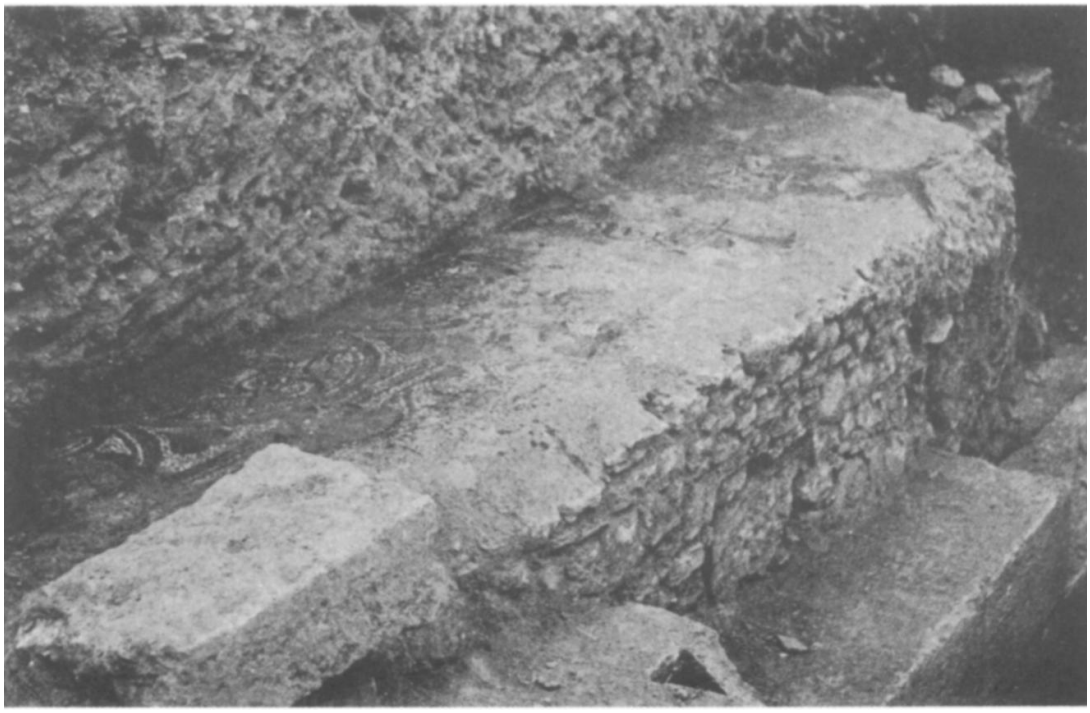
b. Kenchreai, southern quay, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum (*Source* Scranton 1978, pl. XXXIX)



a.



c.

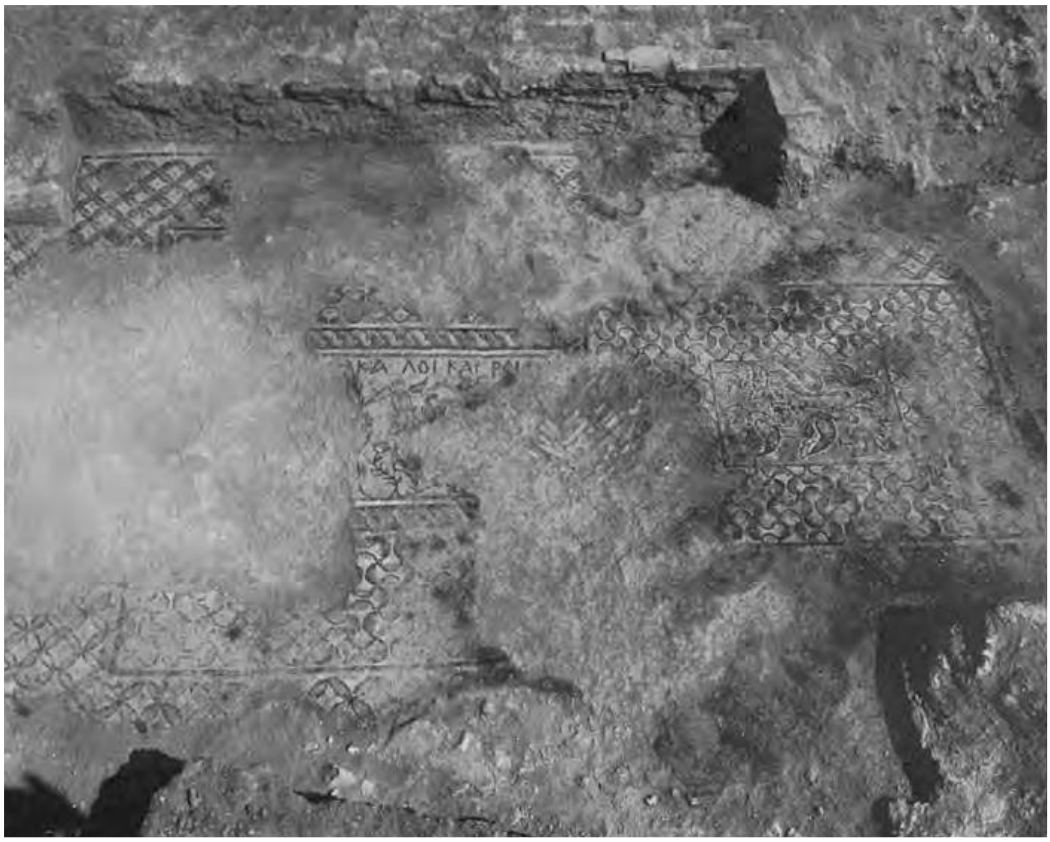


b.

a. Pr. Kalara, Tritos, Nemea (*Source* Kritzas 1976, 215)

b. 5th century AD mosaic over the ruins of the South Basilica (*Source* Weinberg 1960, Pl. 46. 3)

c. 5th century AD mosaic over the ruins of the South Basilica (*Source* asca.net/103 036)



a.

b.

a. Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni (*Source* Williams 1968, 185)

b. Pr. Ch. G. Lekka & Pr. Dafni (*Source* Williams 1968, 185)

a.

c.

b.

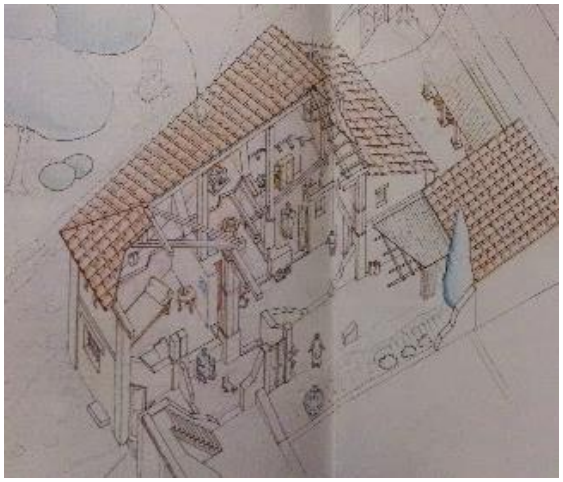
d.

a. Glass medallion, House with the Opus Sectile, Corinth (*Source* Oliver A. 2001, 350)

b. Glass medallion, House with the Opus Sectile, Corinth (Source Williams and Zervos 1982, pl. 43c)

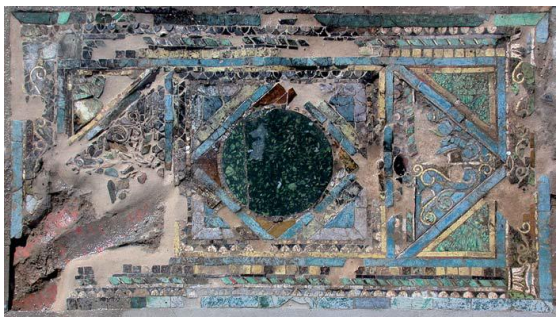
c. Glass medallion, Domus del Chirurgo, Rimini (*Source* Balena and Sassi 2009, 49)

d. MF 1982 70B (*Source* Courtesy of Dellatolas 2016/1140)



a.

d.



b.

e.

c.

f.

a. Domus del Chirurgo, Rimini (*Source* Balena and Sassi 2009, 14-15)

b. Glass opus sectile from the *cenatio*, Villa di Faragola (*Source* Volpe and Turchiano 2013 b, 345)

c. Glass opus sectile from the *cenatio*, Villa di Faragola (*Source* Volpe and Turchiano 2013 b, 346)

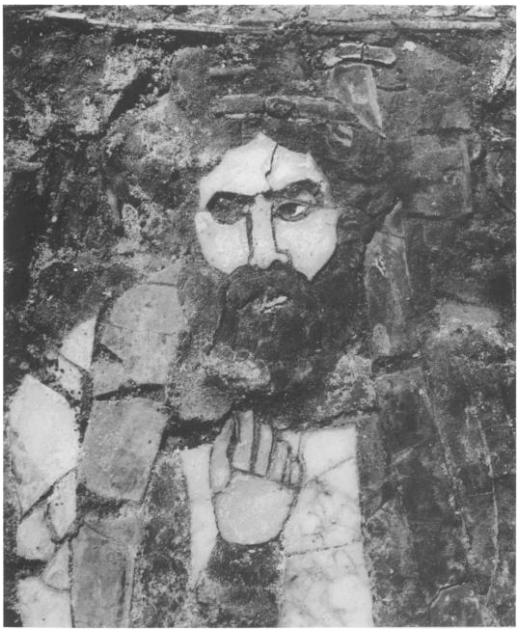
d. Glass-ivory, parietal opus sectile, Villa di Faragola (*Source* Volpe *et al.* 2005a, 282)

e. Glass-ivory, parietal opus sectile, Villa di Faragola (*Source* Volpe *et al.* 2005a, 282)

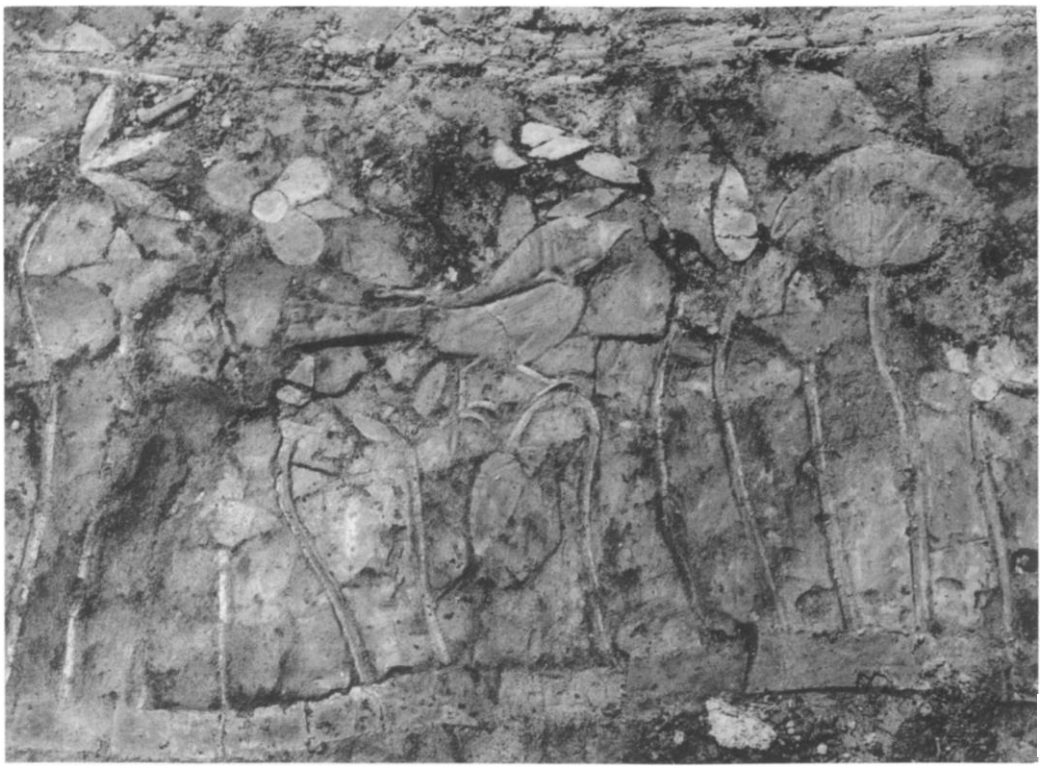
f. Glass-Ivory medallion, Erenstrole 31-35, Patras (*Source* Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2017, 56)

Homer, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, southern quay, Kenchreai (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 42)

a.



c.

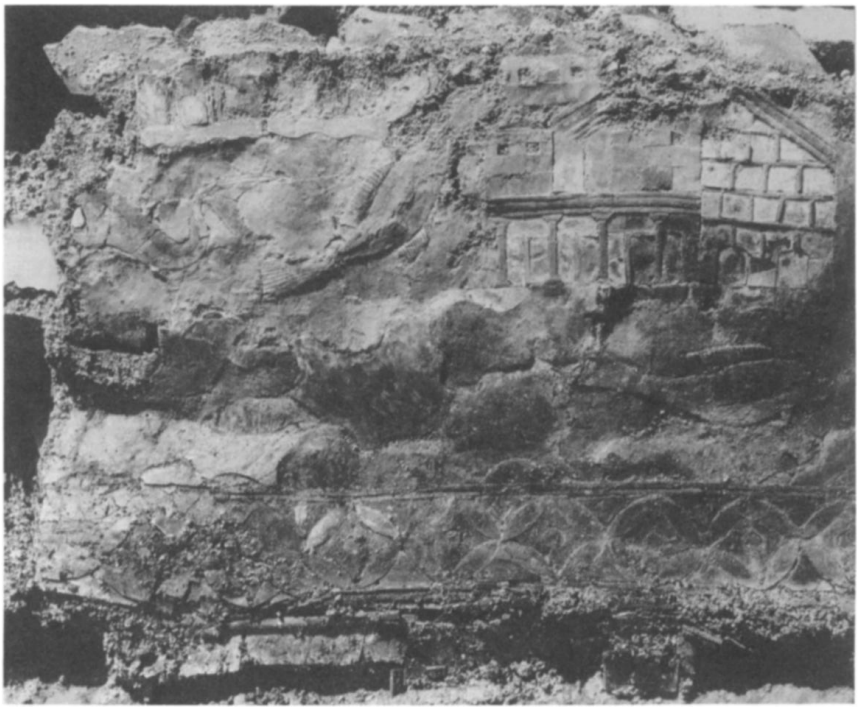


b.

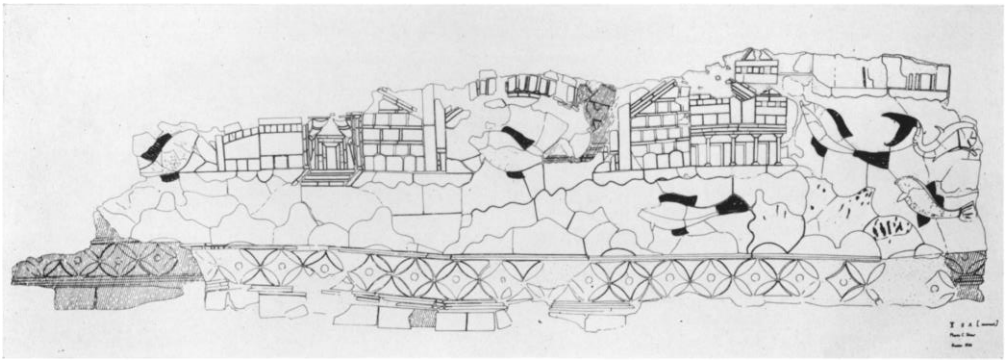
a. Homer, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai
(*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 145)

b. Nilotic scene, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai
(*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 20)

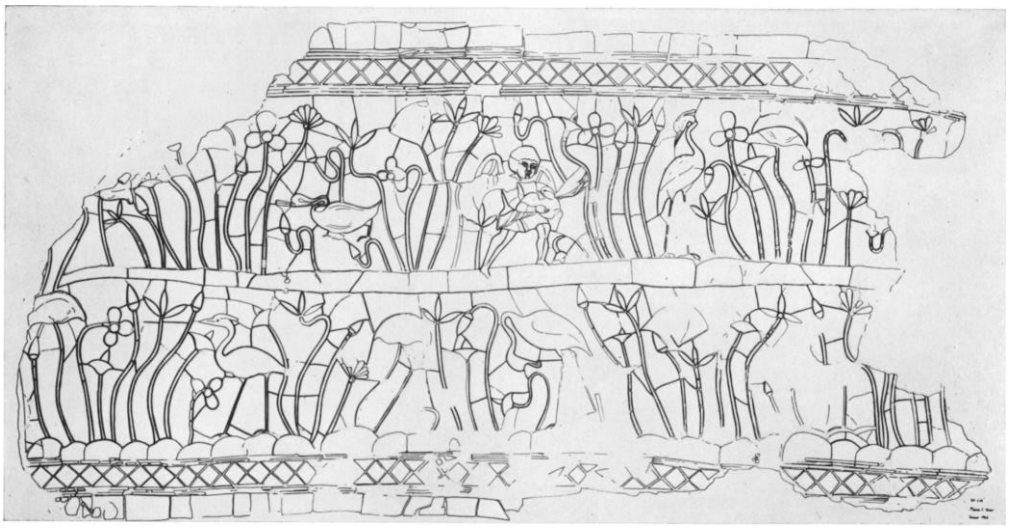
c. Homer, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai
(*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 43)



a.



b.

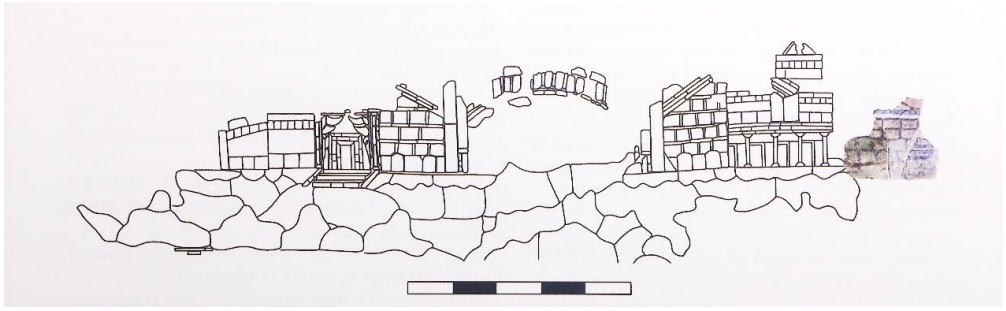


c.

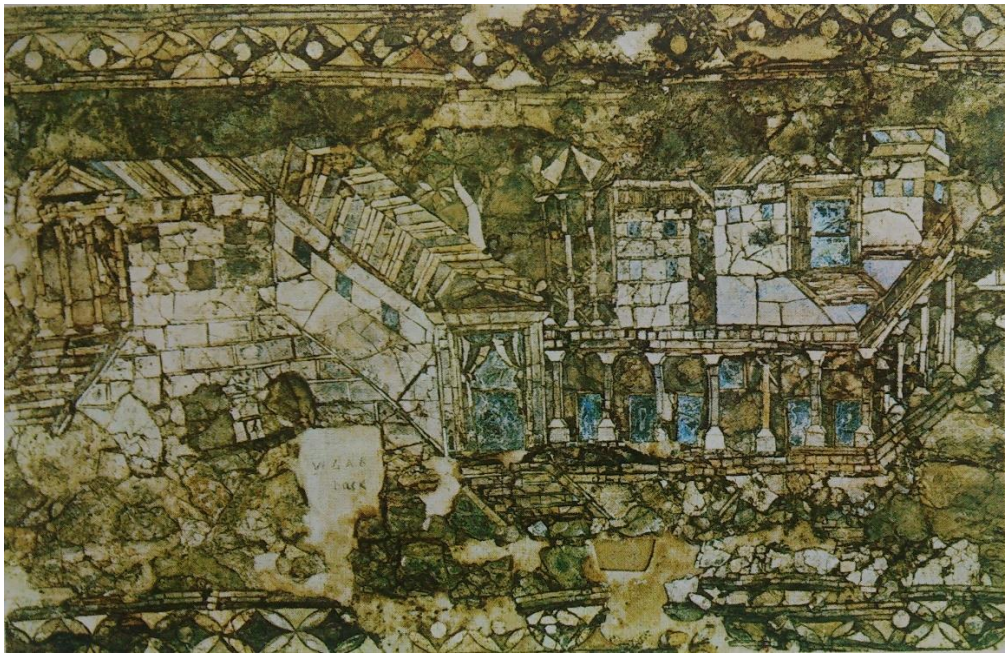
a. City panorama, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 39)

b. City panorama, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, pl. 39)

c. Nilotic scene, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 144)



a.



b.

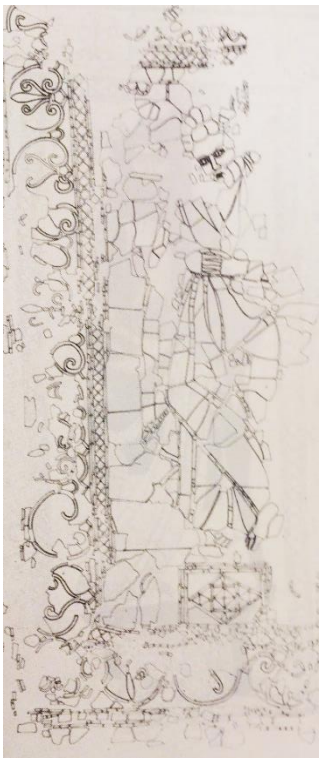
c.

a. City vignettes from Kenchreai and the Villa at San Vincenzino. To the left, city vignette from the Kenchreai assembly. To the right, parietal glass sectile fragment displaying part of a city found in the reception room of the villa at San Vincenzino (*Source* Donati 2012, 447)

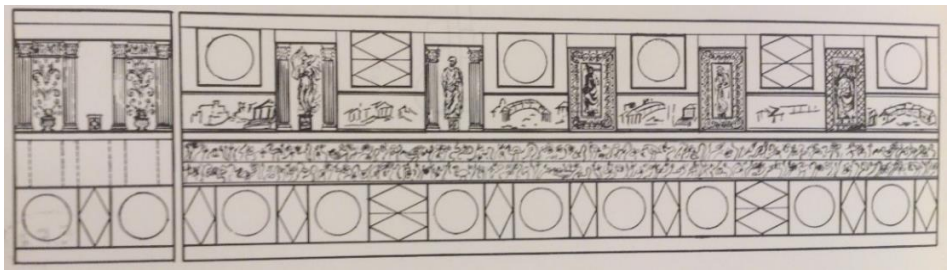
b. City Panorama panel, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, fig. 29)

c. Maritime detail of a panel with a city panorama, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, fig. 97)

a.



c.

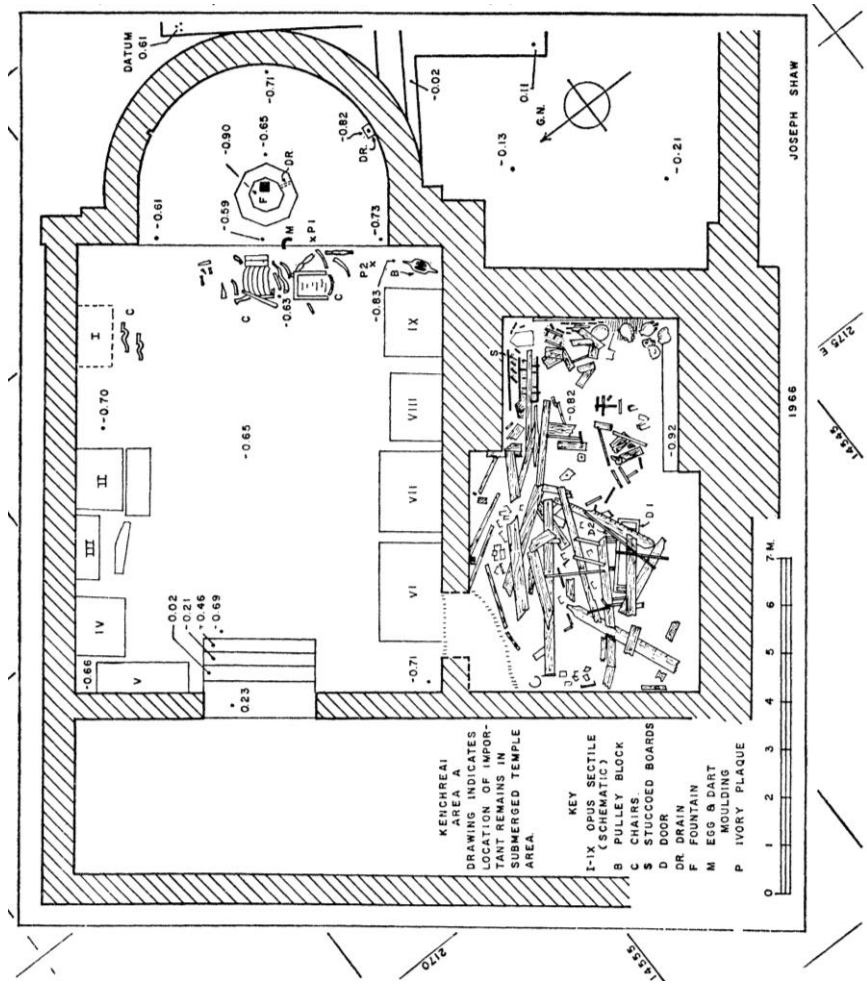


b.

a. Plato, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, fig. 33)

b. Hypothetical reconstruction of the glass opus sectile panels found at Kenchreai by Leila Ibrahim (*Source* Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, pl. LIV)

c. Plato, glass opus sectile, Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, pl. XXV)

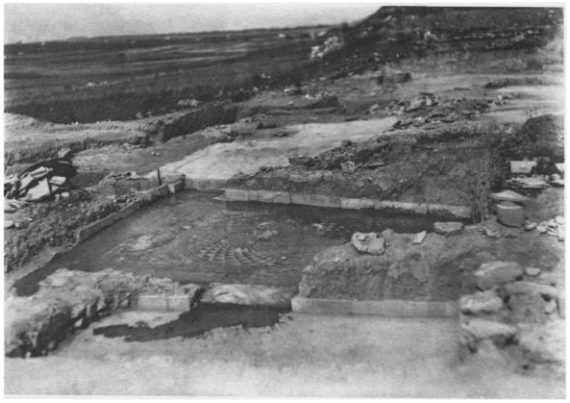


a.

b.

a. Crates containing glass opus sectile panels found *in situ* at the Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Scranton and Ramage 1967b, 142)

b. Crates containing glass opus sectile panels found *in situ* at the Apsidal Court Nymphaeum, Kenchreai (*Source* Ibrahim *et al.* 1976, fig. 12)



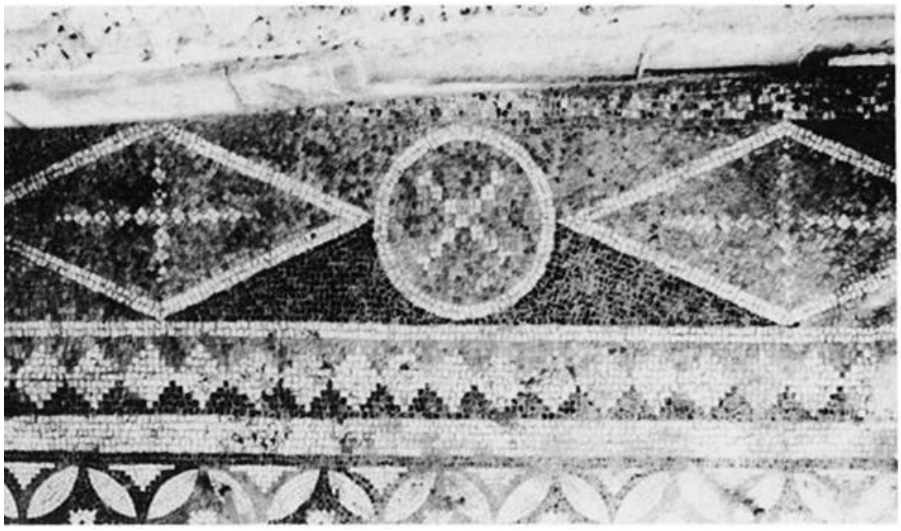
a.

a. Marble revetment and the painted wall Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi (*Source* Shear 1930, 14)

b. Marble revetment and the painted wall, Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi (*Source* Shear 1930, 14)

c. Marble revetment and the paintings, Villa Shear - Roman Villa Kokkinovrysi (*Source* Waywell 1960, Pl. 47, fig 19)

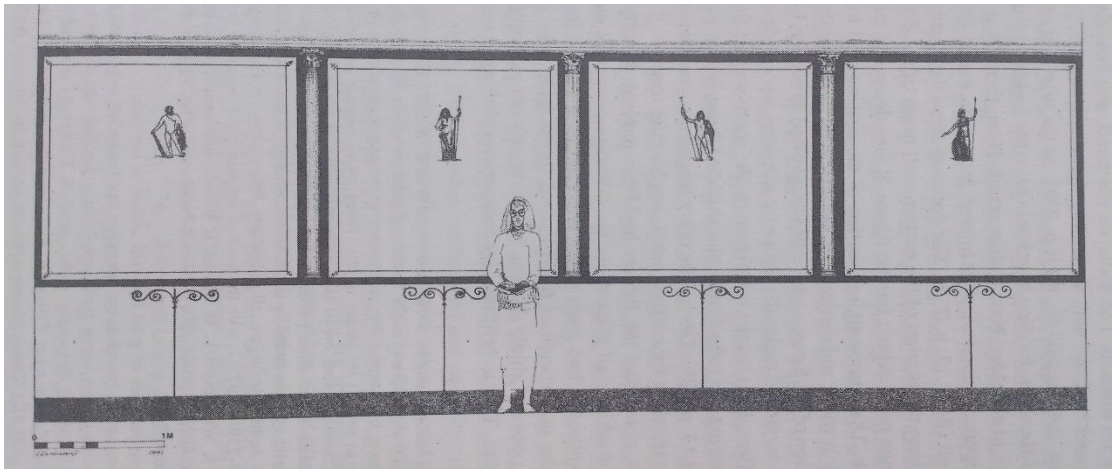
b.



c.

a.

c.



b.

a. Building 5 – East of Theatre (*Source* Gadbery 1993, 55)

b. Building 7 – East of Theatre (*Source* Williams 2005, 238)

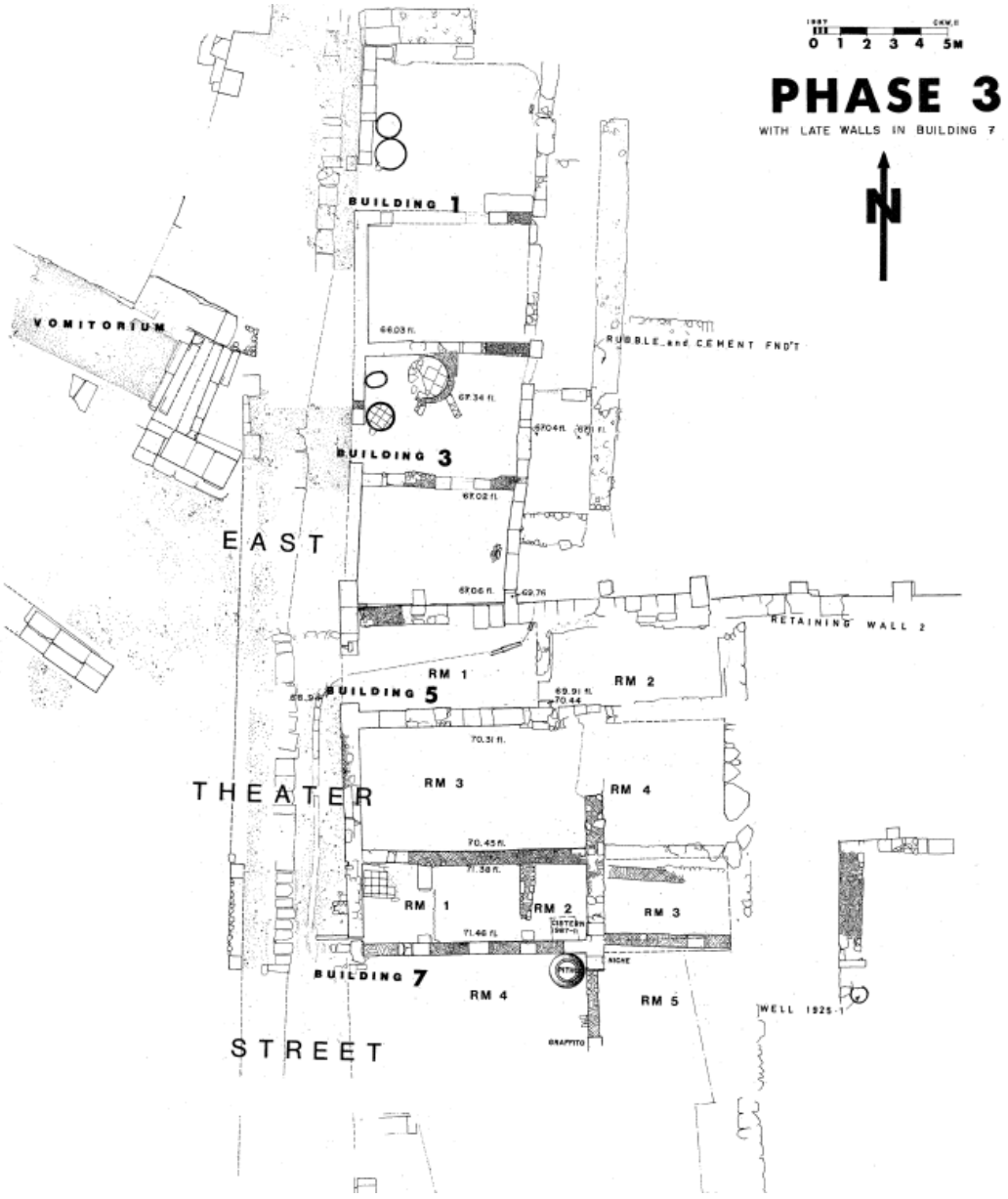
c. Building 7 – East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1988, pl. 38b)

a.

b.

a. Building 7 - East of Theatre, room 4, view from South (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1989, pl. 2)

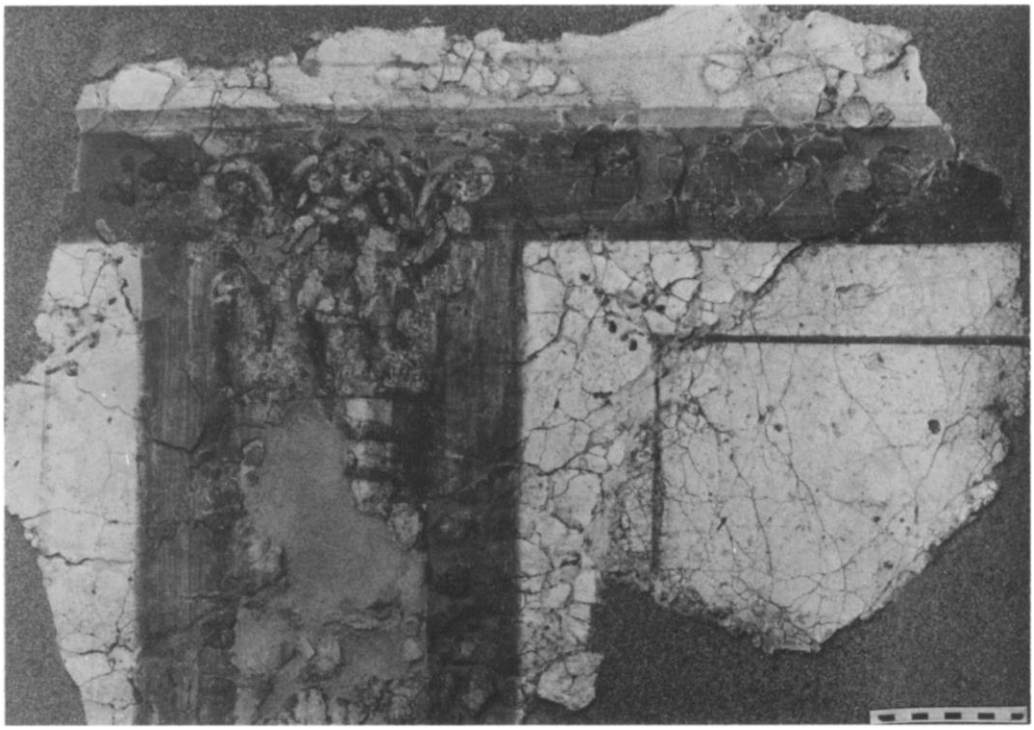
b. Building 7 - East of Theatre, room 4, view from West (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1989, pl. 3)



Plan of the neighbouring Building 5 - East of Theatre, and Building 7 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1988, 121)

a.

c.



b.

a. Zeus, Building 7 - East of Theatre, room 4 (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1989, pl. 6)

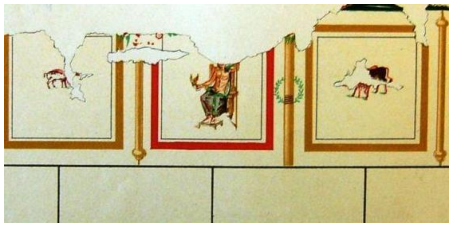
b. Painted panels, Building 7 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1989, pl. 4)

c. Eros, Building 7 - East of Theatre, room 4 (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1989, pl. 4)

a.

c.

e.



b.

d.

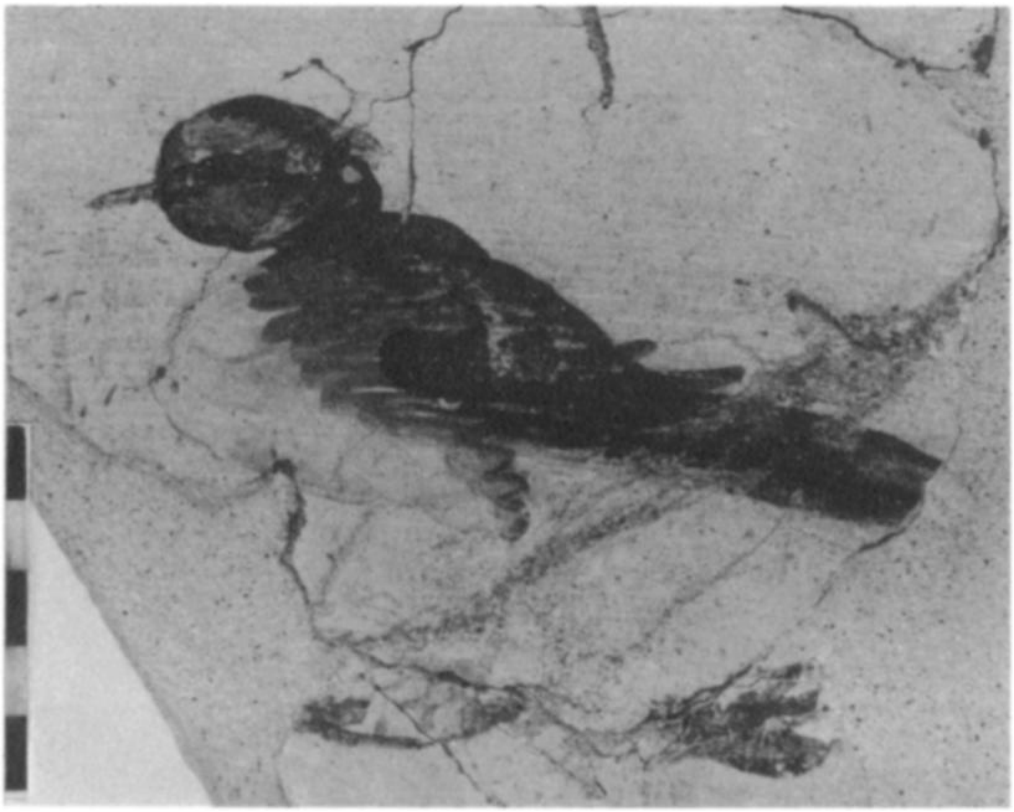
a. Hera, Building 7 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1989, pl. 5)

b. House of Kyrikon, Eleusis (Source Vavlekas 2013, pl. 33a)

c. Herakles, Building 7 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1989, pl. 4)

d. Painted panels, House with the Opus Sectile (*Source* Courtesy of ASCA.net/Slide 0322)

e. Hera, Building 7 - East of the Theatre (Source Williams 2005, 239)



a.

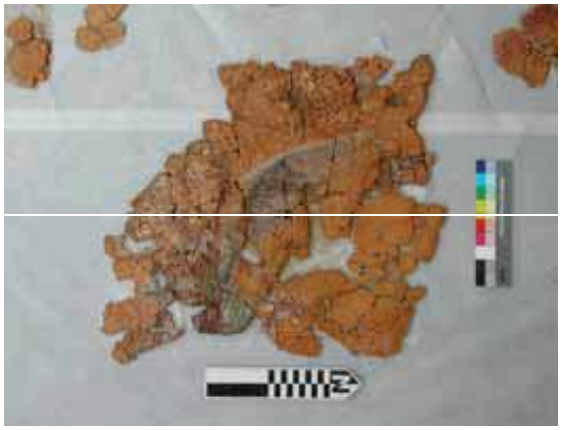
b.

a. Bird from the east side of the orthostates, Building 7 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1989, pl. 5)

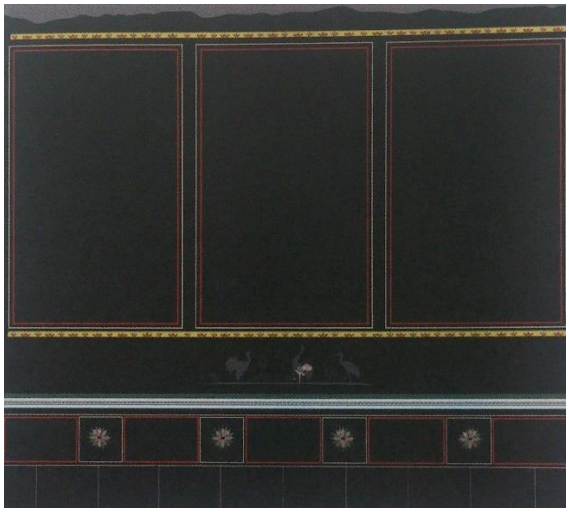
b. Athena, Building 7 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1989, pl. 5)

a.

d.



b.



c.

a. Nike on red background, Panayia Domus (*Source* Sanders 2005b, 424)

b. Nike on yellow background, Panayia Domus (*Source* Lepinski 2008, 221)

c. Panayia Field, pre-domus phase (*Source* Lepinski 2013, 83)

d. Room 12, Panayia Domus (*Source* Lepinski 2013, 99)

a.

a. Nike (S1932) found in South Basilica (*Source* Lepinski 2013, 96)

b. Painted maenad from room 12, Panayia Domus (*Source* Lepinski 2013, 96)

b.

a.

b.

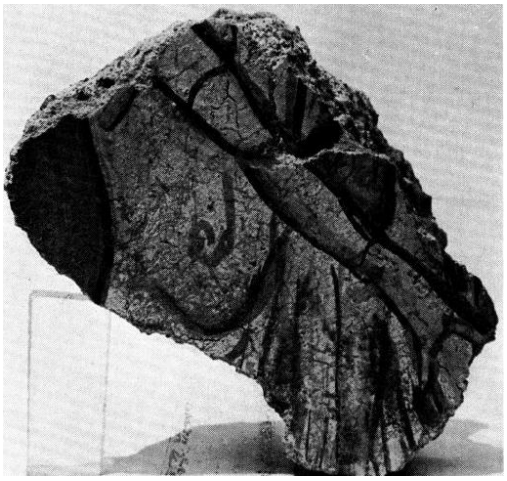
c.

a. Fragments of paintings, room 5, Panayia Domus (*Source* Lepinski 2008, 232)

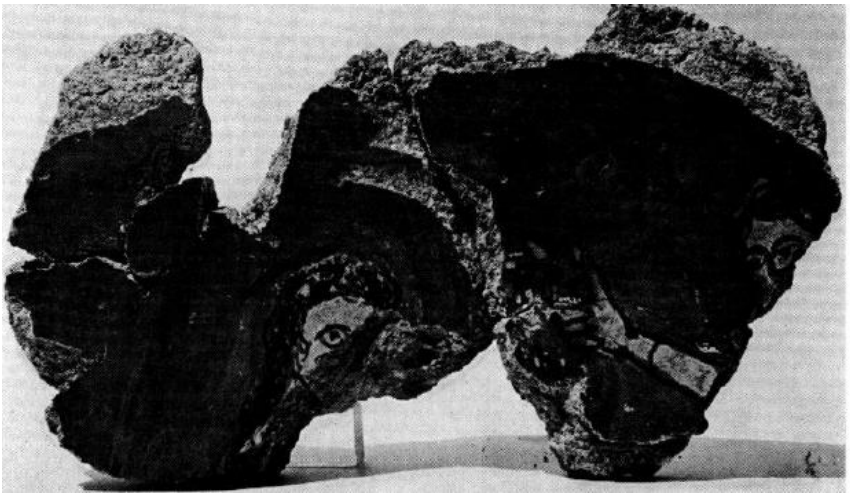
b. Fragments of paintings, room 6, Panayia Domus (*Source* Lepinski 2008, 231)

c. Fragments of paintings, room 9, Panayia Domus (*Source* Lepinski 2008, 227)

a.



d.



b.

c.

a. Paintings from the buildings on the northern quay of Kenchreai (*Source* Scranton 1978, 83)

b. Paintings from Isthmia (*Source* Daux 1968, 785)

c. Paintings of 'St. Saint Nestoros 8' at Thessaloniki (*Source* Pazaras 1981, pl. 3)

d. Paintings from Isthmia (*Source* Daux 1968, 785)

a.

b.

a. Painting, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra
(*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 48)

b. Painting, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra
(*Source* Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2017, 48)

a

c.

b.

d.

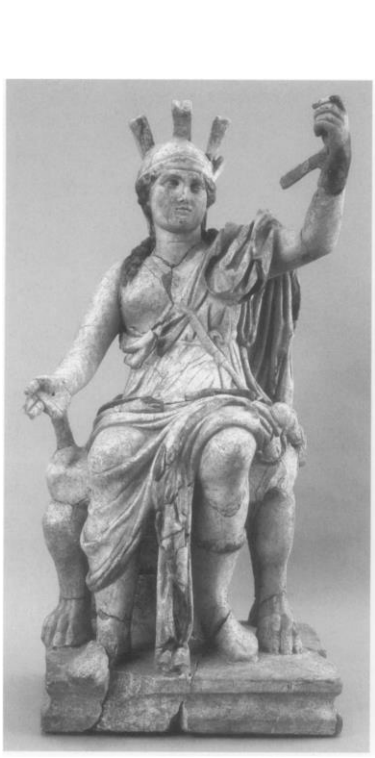
a. Sarapes S1457, House next to the Hemicycle (*Source* Milleker 1985, pl. 25)

b. Sarapes S1457, House next to the Hemicycle (*Source* Milleker 1985, pl. 25)

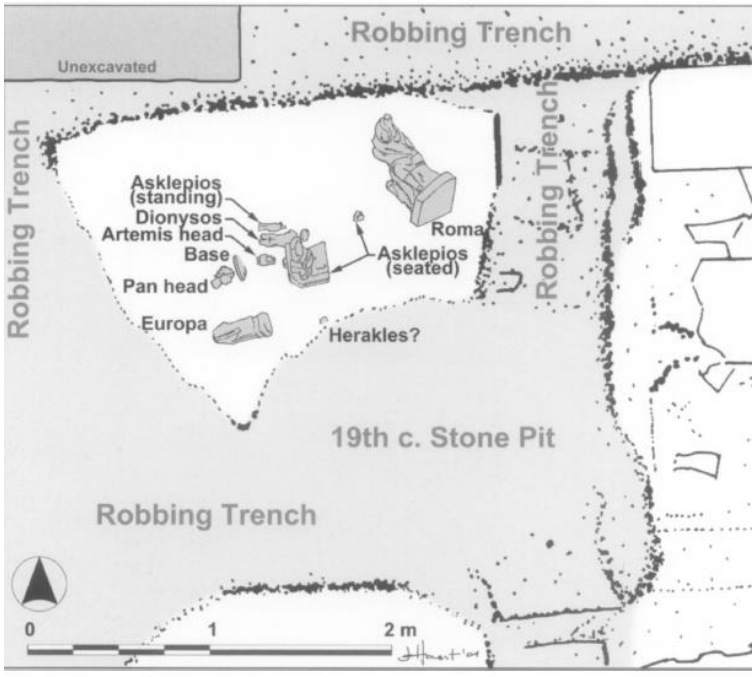
c. Porphyry head of Sarapes, Egypt, Oxford Museum Inv. 1955-333 (*Source* Milleker 1985)

d. The four statuettes of Europa/Aspasia that have been found in Corinth – From left to right: The Panayia copy (S1999), the copy from the theatre area (S3575), the copy from Julian Basilica (S1051), and the copy (S 1897) found above the mosaic pavement of the Mosaic House (*Source* Courtesy of ASCA.net 2006/bw 2006 025 32)

The complete statuary collection from Panayia Domus
(Source Stirling 2008, 90)



a.



b.

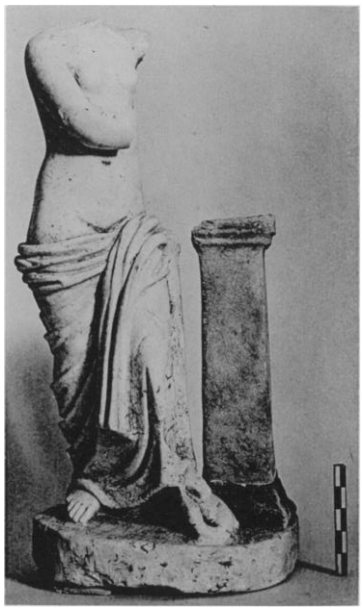
d.

a. Roma, mid-3rd century AD or later, Panayia Domus (*Source* Stirling 2008, 110)

b. Find locations of Panayia statuettes (*Source* Stirling 2008, 128)

c. Asclepius, 3rd / 4th century AD, Panayia Domus (*Source* Stirling 2008, 123)

d. Dionysus and panther, mid-3rd century AD or later, Panayia Domus (*Source* Stirling 2008, 154)



a.

d.

b.

e.

c.

f.

a. Aphrodite Capua, Shop North of Panayia Field (*Source* Broneer 1947, pl. LXIV)

b. The infant Dionysus-Harpocrates, Shop North of Panayia Field (*Source* Broneer 1947, pl. LXV)

c. Terracotta figurine (MF 2013 15), Nezi Field (*Source* Courtesy of Dellatolas 2013/ 0889)

d. Hadis/Zeus, Shop North of Panayia Field (*Source* Broneer 1947, pl. LXV)

e. Burned male portrait (S 2007 1), Nezi Field (*Source* Courtesy of Dellatolas 2009/ 2291)

f. Female with an infant (MF 2013 22), Nezi Field (*Source* Courtesy of Dellatolas 2013/ 0892)

a.

c.

e.

b.

d.

f.

a. Dog rattle, Building 7 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1989, pl. 3)

b. Aphrodite (MF 1983-27), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1984, pl. 22)

c. Aphrodite Knidian (MF 1985-25), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1986, pl. 34)

d. Hunting Artemis (MF 1985-14), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1986, pl. 34)

e. Aphrodite *Venus Genetrix* (MF 1983-55), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1984, pl. 22)

f. Aphrodite (MF 1985-12), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1986, pl. 34)

a.

c.

e.

b.

d.

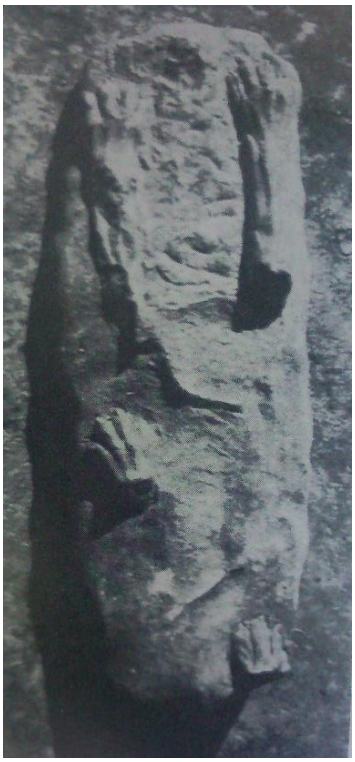
a. Dog rattle (MF 1985-49), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1986, pl. 33)

b. Athena (MF 1983-41), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams 2005, 233)

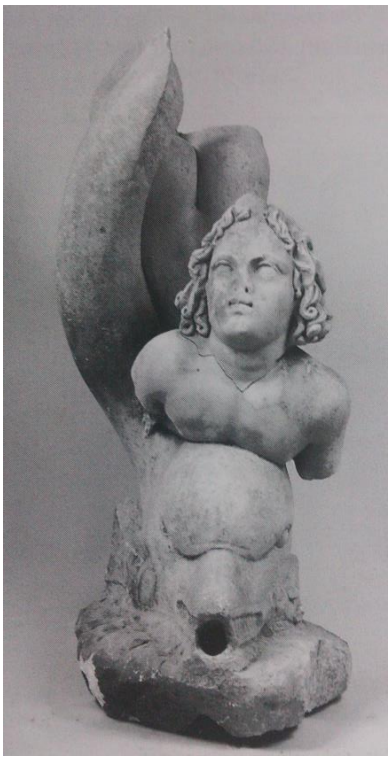
c. Dog rattle (MF 1985-50), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1986, pl. 33)

d. Athena (MF 1983-41), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1984, pl. 22)

e. Aphrodite (MF 1985-48), Building 5 - East of Theatre (*Source* Williams and Zervos 1986, pl. 33)



a.



c.

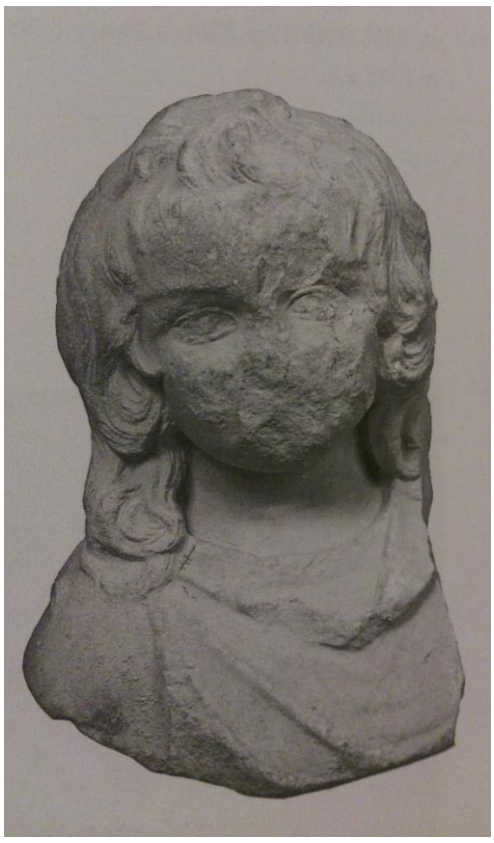
a. Base bearing the lower part of dog legs, Nemea Tritos (*Source* Charitonidis 1968a, 125)

b. Young man in *exomis*, Nemea, Tritos (*Source* Charitonidis 1968a, 125)

c. Statue fountain of a young dolphin rider, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou 2013a, 184)

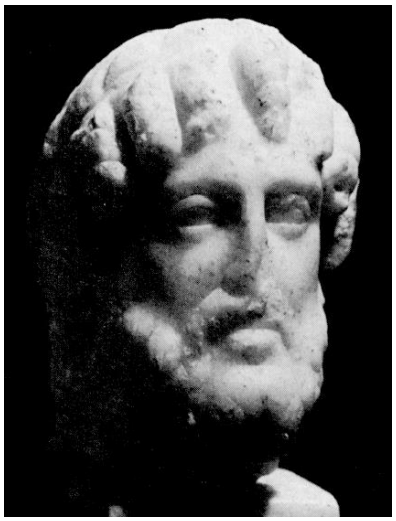
d. Portrait of a girl, Sts. Lemesou & Lefkosias Loutraki-Katounistra (*Source* Aslamatzidou 2013a, 184)

b.



d.

PLATE 104

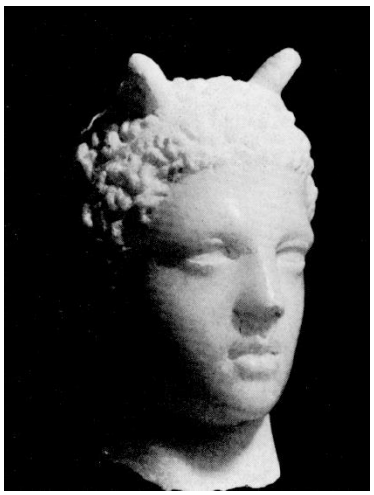


a.

d.

b.

e.



c.

f.

a. Poseidon or Zeus (IS 71-2), 2nd century AD (*Source* Michaud 1972, 632)

b. Female head (IS 71-3), probably of a maenad, 2nd century AD (*Source* Michaud 1972, 632)

c. Hermes (IS 71-1), 2nd century AD (*Source* Michaud 1972, 632)

d. Twin-figured relief of Cybele (IS 71-4), probably Hellenistic (*Source* Gregory 2013, 277)

e. Three-figured stelae of nymphs (IS 71-6), Imperial Roman (?) (*Source* Michaud 1972, 632)

f. Relief of Asclepius, Telesphorus and Hygeia (IS 71-5), 2nd century AD (*Source* Michaud 1972, 632)

a.

a. Part of the cistern, Thalero, Sicyon (*Source* Lolos 2011, 46)

b. Eastern entrance of the tunnel, East Field, Isthmia (*Source* Ellis S. J. R. *et al* 2008, fig. 20)

c. Eastern entrance and circular masonry, East Field, Isthmia (*Source* Gregory 2013, 277)

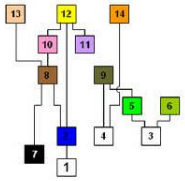
d. Western entrance of the tunnel, East Field, Isthmia (*Source* Ellis S. J. R. *et al.* 2008, fig. 33)

e. Plan of the East Field at AD 400 (*Source* Ellis S. J. R. *et al.* 2008, fig. 30)

b

d.

c.



e.