

THE END OF THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE ON ACROCORINTH

ABSTRACT

The end of cult activity in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth has previously been dated to the third or fourth quarter of the 4th century. Because some scholars have suggested that the latest lamps from the sanctuary date to ca. 425 or 450, the author reexamined the context pottery in search of 5th-century material. This article supplements the catalogue in *Corinth* XVIII.2, reviews the coins and fine wares on which the dates were based, and reconsiders the amphoras, coarse wares, and lamps. The new material is largely datable to the late 5th and 6th centuries and seems to be associated with robbing trenches or the late cemetery rather than with the pagan cult.

One of the historical questions for which the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth should provide evidence is how and when the pagan cults of Corinth came to an end.¹ In the early years of the excavations, the excavators canvassed a series of disasters that affected Corinth in the late 4th century, but in my study of the Roman pottery and lamps from the sanctuary I argued for an earlier date, in the third quarter of the 4th century.² Nancy Bookidis pointed out that the south platform in the central temple had been removed before the building was violently destroyed and argued that the walls had been robbed out as part of the destruction.³ Was the

1. This report is based on a reexamination of the late context pottery from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, conducted in 1999 and in 2001, when I held a Solow Foundation Fellowship at Corinth. The Roman pottery from the sanctuary was originally published in *Corinth* XVIII.2, to which the present article is intended as a supplement; readers are referred to that volume for additional information about the contexts and the individual objects, as well as illustrations of pieces not reproduced here. Catalogue numbers in boldface up

to 276 are those of *Corinth* XVIII.2; the nine new pieces presented below (277–285) continue the same numbering system. I remain indebted to Ronald Stroud and Nancy Bookidis, the excavators of the sanctuary, who invited me to undertake the original study. They, Michael Ierardi, and Guy Sanders, director of the Corinth Excavations, have all commented on versions of this manuscript, although they do not necessarily agree with my conclusions; I also thank Judith Perlzweig Binder, John Hayes, and James

Wiseman for their advice on particular points. The profile drawings, reproduced from *Corinth* XVIII.2, are the work of Jennifer Ingram, Candace Smith, and Karen Hutchinson Sotiriou, and the photographs are by Ino Ioannidou and Lenio Bartzioti. The plan reproduced here as Fig. 1 was drawn by David Peck and updated by James Herbst. All dates are after Christ.

2. Stroud 1965, pp. 4, 14–15; *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 5.

3. *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 345, 350–352.

sanctuary devastated by an earthquake, left to decay by an impoverished or increasingly small cadre of worshippers, ransacked by Christians or destroyed by Goths, or all of the above? Did this happen in 375? In 392? In 396 or 400? Or later still? What happened to the area afterward? Did the site of a millennium-old cult remain numinous or was its significance forgotten within two or three generations? Was the presence of a later Christian cemetery on the Upper and Lower Terraces related to the cult of Demeter or to the sanctity of the site, or were the graves simply placed along a road beyond the edge of town?⁴

THE PROBLEM

In studying the Roman lamps and pottery from the sanctuary, I concluded that the destruction of the central temple T-U:19 took place ca. 370–380, and I argued against the 5th-century date that Birgitta Wohl had assigned to a dump of similar lamps from Isthmia.⁵ The excavators, Nancy Bookidis and Ronald Stroud, preferred a less specific but later date, “not too much before the time of Alaric’s invasion” in 395.⁶ Arja Karivieri, reconsidering the chronology of the Late Roman Attic lamp industry, rejected a date in the late 4th century for the lamps from the sanctuary and preferred one in the mid-5th century;⁷ she ignored the associated pottery and did not discuss the implications for the history of the cult. Although I can see no evidence for Karivieri’s contention that unglazed lamps were made continuously throughout the 4th and into the 5th century, evidence from the excavations conducted east of the Theater at Corinth supports her conclusion that the use of Attic glazed lamps continued well into the first half of the 5th century both in Athens and at Corinth.⁸ Does it follow that the cult of Demeter continued into the middle of the 5th century as well?

In the Corinthian chronology the pottery and lamps from the Sanctuary of Demeter have come to occupy an uncertain place between the early 4th century, as defined by pit 1966-1 in the Peribolos of Apollo, and the more recently defined assemblages of the mid-5th and early 6th centuries from east of the Theater.⁹ We are now able to identify and date

4. For the cemetery, see *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 6; XVIII.3, pp. 379–391. Such a relationship might recognize the continuing power of the site (as did burial “ad sanctos” in a basilica) or perhaps the opposite, the presence of graves denying the former sanctity of the ground, as Rothaus (2000, pp. 50–53) argued in the case of the Asklepieion at Corinth.

5. Wohl 1981; cf. *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 20, esp. n. 82. The catalogue for the *Corinth* volume was complete at the time Wohl’s article appeared. I remain convinced that the evidence of the debris in situ over the central temple T-U:19, even though it has been dis-

turbed, is stronger than the evidence from the Isthmian baths, where the material was not sealed and is said to have accumulated over a period of 30–70 years. In my view it might have been dumped debris from the Isthmian theater or sanctuary rather than material used during the construction of the Hexamilion. Wohl compared her lamps to those from the Fountain of the Lamps at Corinth (Garnett 1975; see esp. Wohl 1981, p. 126, n. 33), but these should not have been used for chronology: due to the circumstances of deposition and difficulties of excavation (either under water or in mud), Garnett based her study on typological groups

rather than datable stratigraphic associations, and all of her contexts contain all of the groups (Garnett 1975, pp. 185–186, n. 35, fig. 2). I thank James Wiseman for confirming these facts.

6. *Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 439; see also pp. 350–353, 438; and *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 4–6.

7. Karivieri 1996. A convenient summary of her chronology of lamp-makers is available in Karivieri 1999.

8. Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 282.

9. For pit 1966-1, see Slane 1994; this assemblage is widely recognized elsewhere at Corinth and dates ca. 310–325. For the material from east of the

a much broader spectrum of Middle Roman (MR) and Late Roman (LR) amphoras, cooking pots, and plain wares than was possible at the time of the initial study, and the chronology and distribution patterns of African Red Slip ware (AfRS) and Late Roman C (LRC), both at Corinth and elsewhere in the Roman Empire, are better understood than they were 20 years ago. The uncertainty about the lots from the Sanctuary of Demeter and whether they should be redated as the lamps suggested was creating a serious problem in the dating of other contexts of the 4th and 5th centuries. In the summers of 1999 and 2001 I therefore reexamined and prepared a new record of the late lots. In this article I reconsider the late material from the entire area of the sanctuary excavations, including the few medieval and modern sherds and coins.

THE EVIDENCE

My original conclusion that cult activity in the sanctuary ceased ca. 370–380 was based on the coins and the African Red Slip ware found there, rather than on the date of the lamps, about which there was some doubt.¹⁰ After a review of the stratigraphic evidence, the first question to address must be whether the dates of either of these classes of material can be revised.

STRATIGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The Sanctuary of Demeter was carefully excavated and thoroughly published, and the excavators did not neglect the late strata in excavating earlier ones (Fig. 1). Nevertheless, the stratigraphy was challenging: the sanctuary occupies a steeply sloping site and over a large part of the Upper and Middle Terraces a layer of topsoil only 0.15 m deep (“the surface layer, slope wash”) was preserved over the sloping bedrock. Much of the Roman material from the sanctuary comes from this layer, which had been formed by a combination of plowing and some slippage of material down the slope, and it appeared to present a consistent picture across the site.¹¹

The most secure destruction levels were those over the western and central temples on the Upper Terrace (T:16–17 and T–U:19, respectively);¹²

Theater, see Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 249–265, assemblages 1 and 2. Also relevant is the late-4th-century debris over room H in the South Stoa, of which a brief summary was published in Biers 2003, p. 309, n. 27. I have excluded from the present discussion all local types that have parallels in the early-4th-century pit 1966-1 unless they are known to continue into the 5th century; they are, however, listed in Table 1.

10. *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 5, 20–23, 55. Because the pottery was battered and hard to identify, I had used the Roman lamps to determine the overall

chronological sequence in the sanctuary (*Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 2), but the chronology of the fine wares and coins was more precise.

11. See *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 1. Over most of the Lower Terrace, removal of the surface layer exposed Hellenistic and earlier levels; even the evidence of Roman walls was very limited. The topsoil baskets from the Lower Terrace were therefore later discarded when storage space became a problem, although coins and other interesting objects were inventoried and structural contexts were kept. On the Upper and Middle Terraces, on the other hand,

Roman levels were encountered below the surface layer in the south and at the eastern end.

12. Buildings in the sanctuary are named according to their grid references. The single exception is the Roman Propylon, which is not cited as Building N–P:19–20 because it could be confused with an underlying Hellenistic structure; it straddles the 66 m long retaining wall (wall 11) that divides the Middle from the Lower Terrace. For the findspots referred to throughout the text, see Table 1, below, and *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 159, index IV A.

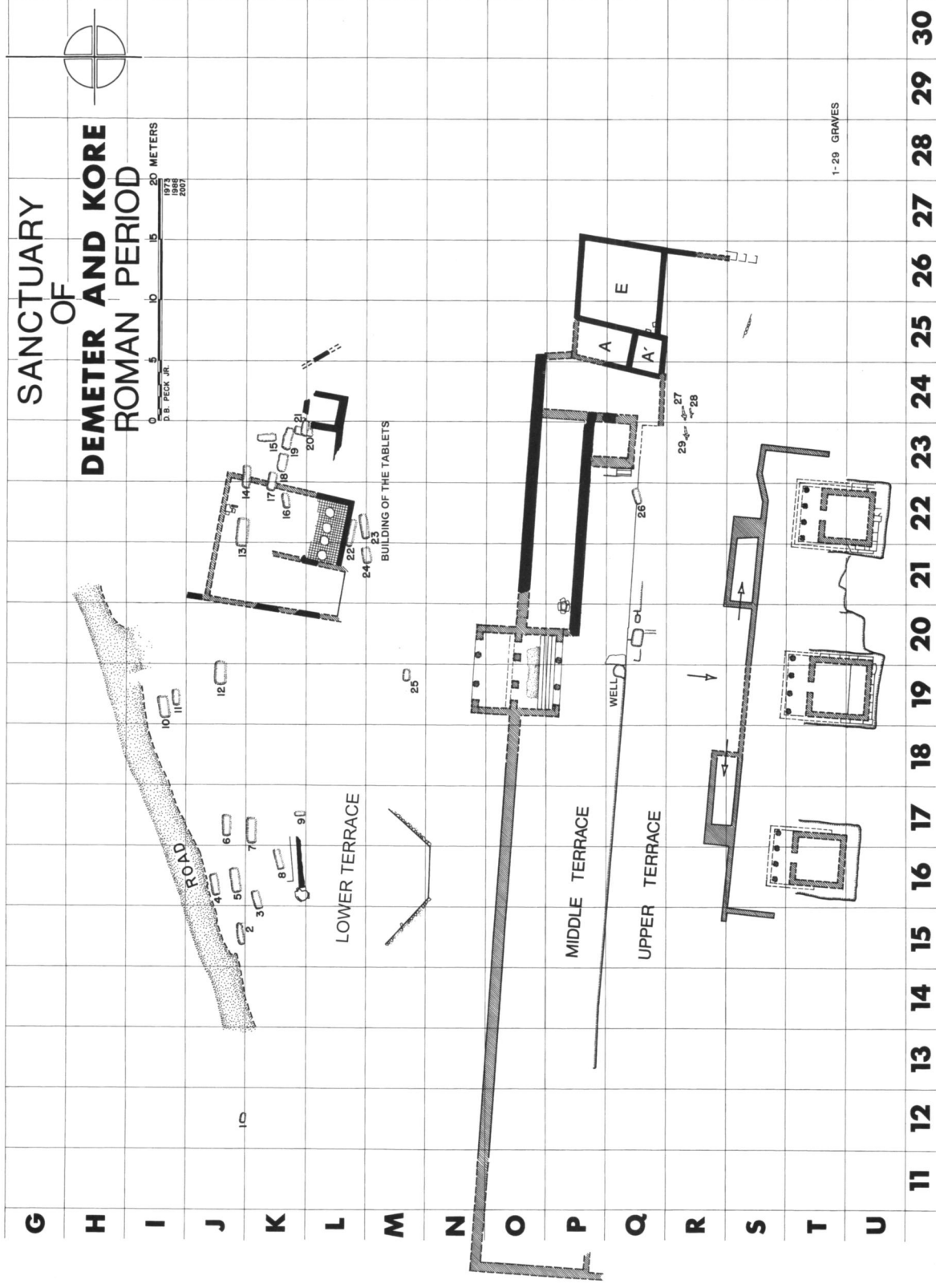


Figure 1. Plan of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the Roman period

some large patches of tile debris in the eastern part of the Middle Terrace and the upper fills in cistern 1964-1 and well 1961-11 are also important.¹³ On the Lower Terrace the excavators also recognized a long-lived Roman building (K-L:21-22), and fragments of one Early Roman and three post-sanctuary structures.¹⁴ Furthermore, many Roman walls were extensively robbed out. The wall between the Upper and Middle Terraces had completely disappeared; its line was reconstructed solely from cuttings in the bedrock, as was that of the double stairway leading up to the temples. Robbing trenches were identified for the three temples on the Upper Terrace, the western two-thirds of the retaining wall of the Middle Terrace, and the superstructure and side walls of the Roman Propylon.¹⁵ Only on the Upper Terrace, however, was destruction debris found in situ,¹⁶ and no robbing trenches were identified north of the retaining wall of the Middle Terrace (wall 11).

The Lower Terrace was bounded by a road on the north and there is still no evidence of any occupation on the hillside above the Upper Terrace: the sanctuary was isolated and everything found there should be associated with its use. Dating is complicated by the paucity of Roman floors on the Lower Terrace and by the presence of the later cemetery over parts of the area. Many of the graves on the Lower Terrace were covered by tiles but the cuttings were found either at the surface or within the slope wash; here it is possible that some 30-50 cm of strata have washed away since the Late Roman period.

COINS

The sequence of coins from the Upper and Middle Terraces of the sanctuary falls off abruptly ca. 378.¹⁷ There are 11 or 12 coins from 296 to the death of Constantine in 337, 31 from the death of Constantine to the accession of Valens in 364, and 15 from 364 to the end of the century, of which all but four were minted before 378.¹⁸ There are also six bronze coins dated

13. See *Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 438, for a list of destruction levels; pp. 338-359, esp. 350-353, 357-359, for temples T:16-17 and T-U:19 (lots 6638 and 1973-98, respectively); pp. 315-317, 325-327, for tile patches E-A and one tile fill (lots 1947, 2104, 2102, 2103, 2101, and 2088); pp. 328-329, for cistern 1964-1 (lot 2099); pp. 332-334, for well 1961-11 (lot 1945).

14. Because opinions differ on whether the Lower Terrace remained part of the sanctuary during the Roman period, I have distinguished between the evidence from the Middle and Upper Terraces and that from the Lower Terrace: it seems to me that a parallel history would be a strong argument in support of the contention that it remained part of the sanctuary. See *Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 274, for a summary

of the Roman structures on the Lower Terrace, and pp. 277-293, 379-381, for a detailed description of the buildings.

15. *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 304-308 and 296-298, respectively.

16. For cross-sections showing the destruction debris over the temples on the Upper Terrace, see *Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 347, fig. 48 (T-U:19, central temple); p. 358, fig. 50 (T:16-17, west temple); p. 361, fig. 51 (T-U:22, east temple).

17. Stroud and Joan Fisher originally identified the coins from the sanctuary, and Michael Ierardi has now studied them for publication. I thank him for discussing particular coins as well as the overall situation with me and allowing me to present these general lists in advance of his report. They incorporate corrections to the readings of the coins made since the publication

of *Corinth* XVIII.2 and XVIII.3.

18. The four are coins 1962-37, 1964-73, 1965-1065, and 1970-255, only the first of which was identified when *Corinth* XVIII.3 was published. One may compare this with the coins from the area of the Lower Terrace: three coins of the 4th century to the death of Constantine, 19 of the period to 364, 14 of 364 to the end of the century (of which only three are earlier than 375), three of the first half of the 5th century, four of the 9th to 12th centuries, one Frankish, one Venetian, and four Turkish, plus six more illegible bronze coins dated 4th or 4th-5th century, one 5th century, and one 9th-10th century. There are proportionally more later-4th- and early-5th-century coins here, and twice as many post-antique coins.

to the 4th or 4th–5th century (including one House of Constantine) that cannot be more closely dated, and two coins dated to the 5th century.¹⁹ From the 10th century and later are one coin of Romanus I, two coins of 1060–1118, two coins of Manuel I, and one Turkish coin. Fifty of the more than 70 4th-century and later coins were found more or less together (although not necessarily in “pockets”):

Twelve, including one of 367–375, were found over the central temple T–U:19;²⁰

Six more, including one of 367–375, one Byzantine, and one Turkish, were found on bedrock over the central section of the Upper Terrace (lot 2107);²¹

Thirteen, including one of 383–392, were mixed among the tiles over the east end of the Middle Terrace, and a contemporary coin of Theodosius I was found in the overlying surface layer (in the area of at least six late graves);²²

An additional 11, including three of the period 364–378 and a minimus, were found immediately to the east, in destruction debris west of and over “Building” P–Q:25–26;

A 5th-century minimus was found over the robbed south wall of the Roman Propylon and a coin of 367–375 in the robbing trench of its interior crosswall.²³

These groups of coins suggested areas in which further study of the pottery might be most productive.

POTTERY

The late pottery and lamps from the sanctuary are listed by lot in Table 1; most of the objects discussed are illustrated in Figures 2–5.

FINE WARES

The chronology of LR fine wares has been substantiated and refined since I wrote the original catalogue for *Corinth* XVIII.2 in 1980. At that time the dating depended heavily on deposits of the middle of the 3rd to the late 5th century in the Athenian Agora.²⁴ Hayes reported forms 50B, 58, 59B, and 61A found together in Athenian contexts of the second half of the 4th century, and forms 53B, 61B, 62A and B, 67 and 68, and 71A appearing by the end of the century.

19. Coin 1962-2 of Justinian (527–565) was found during the digging of a hole for the fence around the site; its connection with the sanctuary is simply its proximity on the slope.

20. These are the coins listed in *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 351 and 353 (omitting those earlier than the 4th century).

21. *Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 376, n. 144, records only a posthumous coin of Constantine I (1964-89) in this lot, but the following coins can now be added:

1964-77, illegible 4th-century; 1964-78, Nikephoros III; 1964-86, Julian Caesar; 1964-87, Turkish; 1964-95, Gratian. (Three earlier coins are not included here.)

22. These are the 4th-century coins reported in *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 316–317; I have added 1964-73 from the surface layer.

23. Coins 1964-130 and 1965-928, respectively, identified since the publication of *Corinth* XVIII.3.

24. *LRP*, p. 1.

TABLE 1. LATE POTTERY AND LAMPS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER, BY CONTEXT

<i>Context</i>	<i>Lot</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Finds of the 5th–6th Century and Later</i>
LOWER TERRACE			
Test trench over NE corner of Building K–L:21–22, surface to –0.35	2157	5th c.	2 Attic gl. lamps w/ shell disk and plain rim; top of Attic post-gl. lamp w/ rosette and wave-pattern rim (as <i>Agora</i> VII, no. 1605) but single filling hole.
Test trench over NE corner of Building K–L:21–22, –0.35 to –0.45	2159	4th c.?	AFRS 65 rim
Building K–L:21–22, abandonment debris over tile floor	6225	first half of 5th c.	53 Attic gl. lamp and 3 fr.; 58 Attic post-gl. lamp and fr. of another; 117 AFRS 53B; late Nied. 77 amph. as <i>Agora</i> V, no. M 274 or S&S 2005, no. 1–15
Building L–M:28, abandonment debris	6715	1 LR	burned basin rim as 166
Building L–M:28, room 2, over couches	6714	40–10 B.C.? + 1 6th c.	base of LRA 2 neck
Building M:15–17, fill over fallen rubble	3224	4th or 5th c.	combed basin?
Building M:15–17, fill over fallen rubble	3225	6th c.	AFRS 103/104 pl. foot (<i>Corinth</i> XVIII.3, p. 380, n. 4)
E of Building M:15–17, same level as lot 3222	3223	probably 6th c.	282 LR basin (cf. 166); LR cooking rim as S&S 2005, no. 2–39a; combed sherd
Grid J–N:20, fill over stairway	6215	5th–6th c.	LRA 1 body; LRA 2 body; nfc amph. rim as Slane 1994, no. 53
Grid K:15, cistern 1972–1	1972–99	later 6th c.	62 LR Cor. imit. N. Afr. w/ cross
Grid M–N:12, surface layer	4409	late 4th–5th c. lamp + 15th–16th c.	284 Attic gl. lamp; green-gl. sherd 15th–16th c.
Grid O:26, surface layer	2066	4th c. + 1 6th c.	LR Cor. lamp nozzle
MIDDLE AND UPPER TERRACES^a			
Grid O–P:18–20, surface layer	2150	second half of 5th c.	1 nfc amph. neck as 259 or S&S 2005, nos. 1–27, 2–32
Building O–P:19–20 (Roman Propylon), fill overlying floor	2240	400–450/475	120 LRC 1D
Building O–P:19–20 (Roman Propylon), robbing trench of west wall	2239	5th–6th c.	AFRS 50A rim; folded rim bowl as 275; basin rim as 282; 281 6th-c. pitcher neck and handle
Grid O–P:20–21, surface layer to –0.67, including robbing trench of wall 11 or Roman Propylon	4348 + 4368	early 6th c. + 1 Byz?	285 intact early 6th-c. post-gl. lamp; Byz. sherd originally recorded but not identified in 1979 or 2001.
Grid O–Q:25, surface layer to –0.30	870	5th c.	white LR Cor. lamp handle; burned amph. rim (Afr.?): nfc basin rim as Slane 1994, no. 50; stewpot rim as S&S 2005, no. 2–38

Continued on next page

TABLE 1—Continued

<i>Context</i>	<i>Lot</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Finds of the 5th–6th Century and Later</i>
Grid P:20–21, cistern 1964-1, upper filling to -2.95	2099	5th c. or later + 2 Byz.	60 Attic post-gl. lamp; AFRS 50 burned; LR Attic pl. rim; 275 bowl w/ folded rim, a second half-preserved bowl w/ folded rim and 2 rim fr.; stewpot rim w/ broad groove as 280; buff w-r basin as Slane 1994, no. 59; molded foot as S&S 2005, no. 3-46; 2 w-r buff amph. bodies, probably Byz. (cf. CP-3283)
Grid Q:20, fill over floor around mouth of well 1961-11	1987	3rd and first half of 4th c.	none (latest are ungl. Attic lamp nozzle; LR Attic pl. rim; and several w-r cooking and nfc sherds)
Grid Q:19, well 1961-11, upper fill -9.04 to -15.25	1945	basin and lamp to 6th c.; bicycle and donkey bones modern	LR Cor. lamp imit. N. Afr. w/ bird? on disk; AFRS 50B; 260 LRA 1; nfc amph. neck (imit. Keay LIIP); spirally gr. pitcher (as <i>Agora</i> V, nos. M 226, M 371); 10 j. fr. 5th–6th-c. nfc basin w/ button base; pitcher or basin w/ molded foot as S&S 2005, no. 3-46; 2 w-r buff basins as Slane 1994, nos. 58, 59
Grid Q:19, well 1961-11, lower fill -15.25 to -18.70	1946	second half of 4th c. + 1 6th c. + 1 Byz.	1 6th-c. pitcher w/ button base; 1 Byz. rim
Grid Q:20–22, surface layer, including grave 26?, over the line of the robbed retaining wall of the Upper Terrace (above lot 2088)	2087	5th c. into 6th.?	AFRS rim 50, base 53B, 58?; 3 LR Attic gouged pitchers (as <i>Agora</i> V, nos. L 38, M 292, 293) and elongated neck w/ parallel grooves (as <i>Agora</i> V, nos. L 44, M 299); 2 nonj. “spirally gr.” amph. perhaps LRA 2; nfc amph. rim as Slane 1994, nos. 52, 53
Grid Q:20–22, tile layer to bedrock over the line of the robbed retaining wall of the Upper Terrace (below lot 2087)	2088	to mid-5th c. at least	3 Attic gl. figured disks and 5 gl. rosette disks; Attic post-gl. lamp (rel. to <i>Agora</i> VII, no. 1737?) with multiple filling holes; AFRS rim 62B; 1 LR Attic plate; 1 button base w/ drilled holes
Grid Q:23, around gutter block	7172	6th and 10th c.?	LRA 2; white-painted Pal. amph. body; unid. combed fr.; bell lid as S&S 2005, no. 2-48; 10th-c.(?) burnished base
Grid Q:24–25, surface to -0.70	882	late 5th–early 6th c.	LR Attic gouged pitcher; Nied. 77 amph. toe as 254; 3 nonj. fr. LRA 2; nfc amph. neck as 259; “spirally gr.” jug neck w/ ridge; gr. cooking as Slane 1994, no. 57
Grid Q:24, -0.70 to -1.03 hard light earth (below lot 882)	883	4th c. + 6th c.?	AFRS D; Attic keel-rim bowl; 2 LRA 2 sherds and 1 handle; nfc amph. rim as Slane 1994, no. 53; 2 rims as 186; rim as Slane 1994, no. 57; folded rim bowl; 1 sombrero lid
Grid Q:24, -1.03 to -1.20 dark earth (below lot 883)	884	6th c. + 1–2 Byz.	AFRS rim 50B?; rouletted fr. 53B or 91A/B; amph. neck as 254 and late small Nied. 77 handle as <i>Agora</i> V, no. M 274 or S&S 2005, no. 1-15; “combed” sherd cut into a stopper (6th c. or Byz.); bell lid rim as S&S 2005, no. 2-48; 5th–6th-c. nfc basin w/ button base; folded rim bowl; 2 stoppers; Byz. smooth strap handle
Grid Q:24, west end of wall 3	2002	into 5th c.?	“spirally gr.” = Pal. baggy amph. shoulder; cooking rim as 186; unid. local cooking
Grid Q-R:22-23, surface to bedrock	1986	second half of 4th c. or later	nfc amph. rim as Slane 1994, nos. 52, 53; 4 “spirally gr.”; Pal. amph. neck
Grid Q-R:23–24, surface to -0.20	1955	5th c.?	8 lamps including 47 Attic ungl. (j. lot 1947) and 1 possible Attic post-gl.; AFRS 50, 61; Attic 3rd-4th c. pl.; no coarse wares saved
Grid Q-R:26–29, dump within quarry, surface to bedrock	2038	4th, 5th, and 6th c.	AFRS 59A, 2 rims 61; 118 LR Attic pl.; Nied. 77 amph. rim and toe as 254; amph. rim Keay LII(?); 259 nfc amph. top; 6th-c. imit. LRA 2(?); red-gl. amph. w/ handle as <i>Corinth</i> XVII, no. 127; 186 stewpot and another similar stewpot rim w/ broad groove on top as 280

Grid R-S:25, surface to -0.40	1953	mixed to Byz.	11 Roman sherds; no Byz. pottery
Room Q:24, surface layer over tile destruction (over lots 1947, 1955)	1999	4th c. and 2-4 6th c.	112 AFRS 50B/64, 113 AFRS 50B (j. lot 1947), 115 AFRS 61A; LR Attic pl. as 119; 10-12 amph. fr. incl. spirally gr., Nied. 77 handle as S&S 2005, no. 1-15, nfc amph. as 259; 2 4th-c. w-r cooking; folded rim bowl; basin as Slane 1994, no. 59
Room Q:24, surface layer to top of south wall	1998	second half of 4th c. + 2 late 5th-early 6th	3 j. fr. early Attic gl. lamp; flat stewpot rim and handle as S&S 2005, no. 2-39 or 2-40; 2 w-r cooking like <i>Agora</i> V, no. J 55; Pal. fabric (not amph.)
Room Q:24, tile destruction layer	1947	4th c. + 6-7 6th c.	47 Attic ungl. lamp j. lot 1955; 113 AFRS base 50B (j., lot 1999), AFRS floor 59 or later; spirally gr. amph. fr. = LRA 2; cut fr. as <i>Corinth</i> XVII, no. 127; 2 very small sombrero lids; 2 stewpot rims as 186; 2 cooking button bottoms as S&S 2005, no. 3-30; glass lamp handle
Room Q:24, under lot 1947	1948	second half of 4th-early 5th c. + 1 Byz.	Attic gl. lamp w/ rosette and herringbone rim (cf. <i>Agora</i> VII, no. 1871); 3 AFRS forms 50, 60?, 62; 4th-c. nfc amph. rim as Slane 1994, no. 53; stewpot rim as 186 and a later rim as S&S 2005, no. 1-36; "spirally gr." = 1 basin, 2 sherds; 283 Byz. matt-painted amph. shoulder
Building T:16-17 (west temple), post-destruction debris	6638	late 5th-early 6th c.	250 amph. neck (and 248 earlier); probably Pal. amph. body; 3 unid. w-r; white w-r (j. lot 6639) (MR?); nfc basin rim as S&S 2005, no. 1-39
Building T:16-17 (west temple), robbing trenches	6639	4th and 6th c.?	4 j. fr. Attic gl. lamp; AFRS base 59-67; LRA 2; white w-r (j. lot 6638) (MR?); unid. coarse pitcher top
Building T-U:19 (central temple), destruction debris on mosaic floor	1973-98	6th c., perhaps some late 5th	59 Attic post-gl. lamp and a similar gl. base, Attic post-gl. handle; neck and shoulder like S&S 2005, no. 1-25?; 2 j. fr. of an unid. conical amph. neck and 2 nonj. combed shoulder; 279 nfc amph. (j. lot 1973-100); nfc bell lid rim?
Building T-U:19 (central temple), general debris	1973-100	6th c.	2 nonj. fr. Attic gl. as <i>Agora</i> VII, no. 1707, Attic gl. base w/ quincunx, no post-gl.; 277 AFRS base 99 or 103; 3 LR Attic incl. 278 mug rim as <i>Agora</i> V, no. M 292; LRA 2 shoulder; nfc amph. handle; shoulder w/ red paint (as <i>Agora</i> V, no. M 315?); sombrero lid; basin rim as Slane 1994, no. 59; 280 handle and rim of globular stewpot w/ broad groove on top, as S&S 2005, no. 2-40; nfc amphora base joins 279 (lot 1973-98); buff rim w/ incuse dots could be Byz.
Building T-U:19 (central temple), robbing trenches	1973-99 LR?	LR?	3 nonj. fr. Attic gl. lamp as <i>Agora</i> VII, no. 1827 or 1836, gl. lamp w/ signature Θε[] in two circles, no post-gl.; stew-pot rim as 186; 188 mug, its nonj. base, and a second example; rest earlier.

The material is recorded by lot and listed alphabetically by findspot. The following abbreviations are used: Afr. = African, AFRS = African Red Slip, amph. = amphora, Byz. = Byzantine, c. = century, Cor. = Corinthian, fr. = fragment(s), gl. = glazed, gr. = grooved, imit. = imitating, j. = joining, LR = Late Roman, LRA = Late Roman amphora, LRC = Late Roman C, MR = Middle Roman, N. Afr. = North African, nfc = nonjoining, Nied. = Niederbieber, nonj. = nonjoining, Pal. = Palestinian, pl. = plate, post-gl. = post-glazing, rel. = related, S&S = Slane and Sanders, ungl. = unglazed, unid. = unidentified, w-r = wheel-ridged. Quantity is one unless otherwise specified.

^a The robbing trench of wall 11, the long retaining wall of the Middle Terrace, crossed the Roman Propylon and extended to the west (lots 2248, 4350, 4362, 4381, and 4417); these lots contained little Roman pottery and could not be precisely dated.

Fixed points for this chronology in the West now establish the dates independently of the evidence from Athens. Two of these are the abandonment of a series of forts in Raetia, which can be dated 380–400 on historical grounds,²⁵ and the construction of the Theodosian city wall at Carthage ca. 425, which more or less separates the pre-Vandal and Vandal phases of AfRS production.²⁶ The chronology of some common AfRS forms remains controversial for the period ca. 370–475. The reason seems to be in part the widespread problem that coinage of ca. 364–395 continued to circulate and is much more common on many sites than coins of ca. 400–455.²⁷ But it also appears that traditional AfRS production and distribution patterns were disrupted for several decades in the first or second quarter of the 5th century: regions like southern and central Italy, including Rome, which had been well supplied with AfRS through the 4th century, are lacking a whole series of forms that are common at Carthage and in southern Gaul and eastern Spain.²⁸

In the East, at Benghazi and Corinth at least, the supply of 5th-century AfRS is less abundant than in the 4th or 6th century, and 5th-century levels are consequently more difficult to recognize.²⁹ In the current state of our knowledge, it appears that forms 50B, 58B, 59A and B, and perhaps 61A and 62B may begin slightly before 350 (all but the first of these forms usually bear stamped decoration), while form 61B probably did not circulate before ca. 420. Forms 53B and 71A were introduced about 370 and form 67 was produced from 350 to 430.³⁰ Stamped decoration also begins ca. 350.

Examples of the latest AfRS sherds identified in the Sanctuary of Demeter are illustrated in Figure 2: forms 50B (three or four examples, including 112 and 113), 53B (now three examples, including 117), 59A (three examples, including 114), 61A (up to eight examples, including 115), and 62 (now two examples).³¹ Of these forms, 53B, 61A, and perhaps 62 continued to be manufactured for 20–25 years after 400, but the others are limited to the 4th century. The chronology I suggested earlier for the sanctuary also considered what was absent, a less reliable but nonetheless useful criterion in this case. There were no fragments with stamps, and examples of AfRS form 67 were also absent, as were the pre-Vandal forms 61B and 71 and all the mid-5th-century Vandal forms (73, 76, 82, and 84).³²

25. Hayes 1977.

26. Neuru 1980; Fulford and Peacock 1984 (deposits schematized in Reynolds 1995, appendix D.27, A:1.1, B:3.2, and B:3.12–13); Lund 1995. A cargo of AfRS from Port-Miou near Marseilles is also useful because it contained precisely the forms that are missing from the Sanctuary of Demeter (61B, 91, and 67). Originally dated to the third quarter of the 4th century (Deneuve 1972, citing the AfRS lamps), it has since been redated, first to ca. 410–425 (Hayes, *LRP Suppl.*, p. 482) and now to the mid-5th century (Bonifay 2004, p. 171).

27. Guy Sanders has pointed out to

me that failure to sieve with a fine mesh means that *nummi*, the small change of the period 350–500, are not being recovered.

28. Reynolds 1995, pp. 14–27. Hayes (*LRP Suppl.*, p. 517) and Reynolds (1995, pp. 148–151) link this dearth to the Vandal invasion of 430–439; contra Bonifay 2004, p. 481 (such political changes should not be directly reflected in typology; he is speaking of amphoras but the principle is the same). Forms 61B, 80/81, 87A–C, and 91A and B are the missing forms. None of them appears in the Sanctuary of Demeter.

29. An exception is the mid-5th-century group from east of the Theater

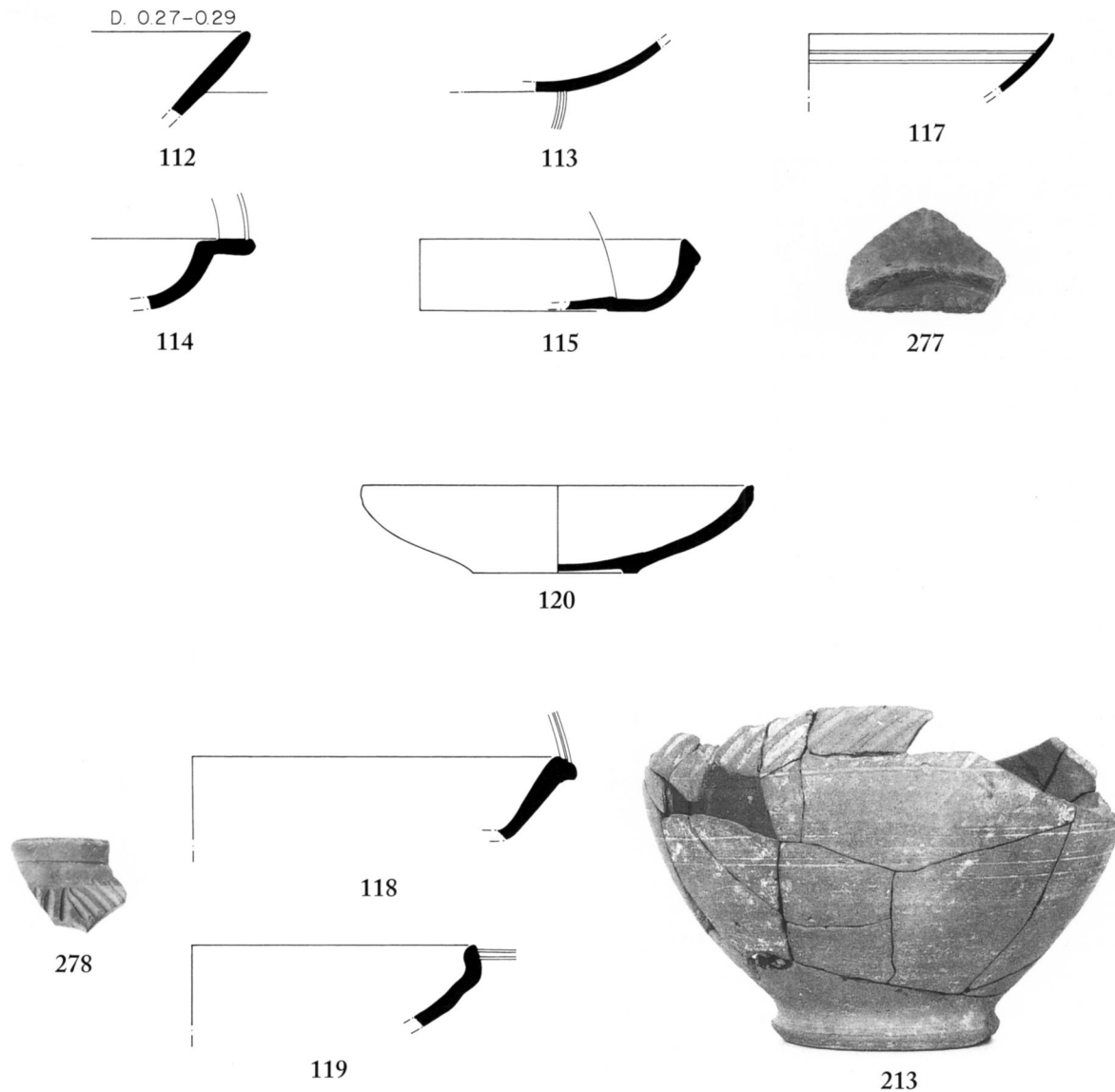
Figure 2 (*opposite*). African Red Slip ware: 112–115, 117, 277; Late Roman C/Phocaeen Red Slip ware: 120; Late Roman Attic ware: 278, 118, 119, 213. Scale 1:3

(Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 249–257, assemblage 1), which contains AfRS 50B/64, 64, 69 var., 76, 50.61, and stamps of styles C and D, and probably also AfRS 50B, 59B, 67, 68, 82, 4th-century grill stamp no. 69, as well as examples of LRC form 2.

30. *LRP*, pp. 221–222; the dates for these and other forms are drawn from Reynolds 1995, appendix A.1.

31. *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 54–57, fig. 9.

32. All of these are found elsewhere at Corinth. The absent forms occur in 5th-century contexts east of the Theater and at the Panayia villa: cf., e.g., Williams and Zervos 1984, p. 94, fig. 7;



Reexamination of the lots added only a few fragments but emphasized that the amount of AfRS found was small and its distribution limited.³³ Two late pieces are present: both are foot fragments of AfRS of the kind usually stamped with style E; the date would be 6th century. One of these fragments (277, Fig. 2) comes from the post-destruction debris over the central temple T-U:19, the other from above the floor of the post-sanctuary

Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 251, assemblage 1. AfRS form 67, which is found in this assemblage with forms 58, 59A and B, and 61A, is less common than those forms. Form 61B, which was originally thought to begin ca. 360–370 and the absence of which I had therefore argued was critical, may in fact only appear ca. 420; see Reynolds 1995, p. 148, for a discussion of the evidence.

Stamps and forms 61B, 67, and 76 are precisely those found in a well in Argos dated to 400–425 (Ivantchik 2002, p. 338; but see n. 83, below, for evidence that this date is too early). In her publication of the Roman pottery from Argos, Abadie-Reynal (2007, pp. 164, 168–169) reports stamps of styles Aii, Aiii, and B, but no examples of form 61B and few of form 67 before the end

of the 4th century (groups 43, 44, and 45).

33. Two fragments of form 50 in lot 1947 joined 113 from lot 1999, confirming its identification as form 50B. There are only 22 fragments of 4th-century AfRS as well as about a dozen earlier examples of form 50; this is in striking contrast to the number of 4th-century lamps.

Building M:15–17 (lot 3225). Of the earlier material, a single rim in lot 2088, previously identified as form 50, could be form 62B (making two examples of this type). Among the body sherds that could not be attributed to a type was one chip of the North Tunisian fabric D in lot 883, while the remainder were all apparently fabric C (Central Tunisian) and typically earlier.

The latest AfRS from the sanctuary's period of use is therefore best accommodated in the period 350–380, although many of the forms identified were still being manufactured as late as 400. Furthermore, several of the new forms, as well as the fabrics and decoration, that were introduced after the middle of the 4th century are not found in the sanctuary at all. One of the latest pieces (117, Fig. 2), now identified as form 53B by the discovery of a joining fragment, was found over Building K–L:21–22 on the Lower Terrace rather than on the Middle or Upper Terraces. There is a gap of one to two centuries before the two 6th-century fragments, which must be related not to the last use of the sanctuary but to either the robbing of the walls or to post-sanctuary building.

No additional Late Roman C was identified in the reexamination of the context pottery.³⁴ The single piece found in the sanctuary remains an intact saucer of form 1D (120, Fig. 2) from the debris overlying the floor of the Roman Propylon (lot 2240).³⁵ Although progress has been made in establishing that LRC was manufactured at several sites south of Pergamon, including Phocaea,³⁶ the published dates of LRC still depend heavily on the Athenian deposits.³⁷ In the West, LRC is rare until ca. 470 and most common in the first half of the 6th century.³⁸ Earlier forms appear ca. 430 in southern Italy (San Giovanni di Ruoti, San Giacomo degli Schiavoni), and the same forms appear at Benghazi.³⁹ At Corinth, in the area north of Buildings 1–7 east of the Theater, LRC forms 1 and 2 occur in approximately equal numbers with form 3B–C, suggesting that importation occurred through most of the 5th century; assemblage 1 from the same area contained form 2 and an early example of form 3.⁴⁰ The most likely date for 120 therefore remains 425–460.⁴¹ Unfortunately, it is not from what we term “destruction debris.” Because it is intact, I had suggested that it was from one of the late graves, but none were identified so far west on the Middle Terrace. Perhaps it can be associated with the dismantling of the Roman Propylon, which would thus be dated ca. 430–460.

The only other late fine ware present in the sanctuary is LR Attic ware.⁴² Its chronology should be refined with the forthcoming publication of *Agora XXXII*; in the meantime, examples from several Corinthian deposits

34. A base fragment formerly attributed to LRC form 3 in lot 4421 was recognized as Çandarlı form 4 and re-dated to the 3rd century.

35. *Corinth XVIII*.2, pp. 57–58, fig. 10.

36. Schneider 2000, p. 533.

37. For example, LRC forms 1A and 2A are also found in quantity at Argos, where Abadie-Reynal (2007, pp. 175–178) has used Hayes's original date (ca. 370) to help establish the

chronology of the late-4th-century deposits there (groups 43, 44, and 47). Hayes has since reconsidered the 4th-century contexts reported in *LRP* and now considers LRC intrusive before ca. 400 in Athens (pers. comm.). The results of this reevaluation should appear in *Agora XXXII* (forthcoming).

38. Reynolds 1995, appendix B.2.

39. Few late-4th- or 5th-century contexts were excavated, but these LRC forms occur in 6th-century deposits in

association with 5th-century AfRS forms. See Kenrick 1985, pp. 471–479 (compare deposits 122 and 128 with 138 and 144).

40. Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 251.

41. Unlike other variants of form 1, this variant was already dated by Hayes to the 5th century, citing mid-5th-century groups in Athens and Salonika (*LRP*, pp. 326–327).

42. *LRP*, pp. 407–409, “Athenian Ware.”

have been published and some new chronological conclusions can be drawn. Attic forms of the 3rd to early 4th century were rare in the sanctuary.⁴³ Pieces certainly datable to the 4th century include a plate imitating AfRS form 58 from lot 2038 (118, Fig. 2). Another plate rim from lot 1973-98 (119, Fig. 2) and a second fragment in lot 1999 have parallels not only in pit 1966-1 of ca. 310-325, but also in the early 5th century.⁴⁴ Because no stamped fragments (dating after 350 in imitation of AfRS)⁴⁵ were found in the sanctuary, these plates are probably 4th-century, although they remain candidates for a date after 380.

Five other LR Attic rim fragments are not closely datable.⁴⁶ Seven fragments of closed vessels with gouged decoration (e.g., 278 and 213, Fig. 2) resemble examples from the Athenian Agora and may be dated in the late 4th century or any time in the 5th;⁴⁷ they are more frequent in the lots from the Sanctuary of Demeter than is apparent in *Corinth* XVIII.2. Such gouged fragments were apparently found only in the eastern half of the Middle Terrace (lots 882 and 2087), in well 1961-11, in cistern 1964-1, and in post-destruction debris over the central temple T-U:19.

At present the LR Attic material from the sanctuary is the best candidate to support a date ca. 400-450. It is conceivable that LR Attic ware filled a void left by decreasing imports of AfRS, and the missing later forms of AfRS would be thus accounted for. But this explanation does not account for the presence of those AfRS forms elsewhere at Corinth or for the appearance of the two wares in the same contexts. It remains possible that (much of) the LR Attic material from the sanctuary should be dated to the 4th century.

AMPHORAS AND COARSE WARES

Considerable progress has been made in the identification and dating of Late Roman amphoras and coarse wares since 1980. Several eastern amphora types (Niederbieber 77, LR Amphora 1 and 2, Palestinian; cf. Fig. 3)⁴⁸ occur in the same western deposits by which AfRS is dated and their dates also may be regarded as independent of the evidence from the Athenian

43. *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 57: two fragments of keel-rim bowls from lots 883 and 2099.

44. For pit 1966-1, see Slane 1994, p. 132, no. 8, fig. 3, which has 4th-century painted decoration; I pointed out there that Hayes had related this form to AfRS form 61 or 62 and that such rims could be paralleled into the early 5th century, when the plates are stamped rather than painted.

45. *LRP* p. 408.

46. *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 57, n. 67, where the lot numbers should be corrected to 891, 2088, 2099, 2156, and 1973-100.

47. Athenian mugs, jugs, and pitchers with gouged decoration appear in the 4th-century group L, layer III, and

in group M, levels X-XIII (see *Agora* V, pp. 73-120). Level X contained material of the second quarter of the 5th century (Hayes, pers. comm.; *LRP* p. 326, n. 2, LRC form 1B), levels XI-XII material of the early 5th century (*LRP* pp. 333, 335, 338, LRC nos. 3.17, 3.18); level XIII is now dated to the early 6th century (Hayes, pers. comm.). Cf. Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 283-284, in assemblages 1 and 2 but not later.

48. The terms LR Amphora 1 and 2 (LRA 1, LRA 2) refer to the amphora typology employed at Benghazi (Riley 1979); Palestinian and Gaza amphoras and micaceous water jars received different (and opposite) numbers in the Carthage report (Riley

1981, pp. 115-122). Although the Carthage typology is widely used in the West, the Benghazi typology, which includes ER and MR types as well as LR, corresponds more closely to the range of types found on eastern sites. To avoid confusion I have continued to use older regional designations. Niederbieber 77 rather than "Aegean red" is the term used for MR Amphora 7 and its 5th-century descendants (see Fig. 3, 254; *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 116-117, fig. 29, pl. 15); micaceous water jar is the term used for MR Amphora 3 and LR Amphora 10 (= LR 3 at Carthage) (244-247; *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 114-115, figs. 28, 29, pl. 14).

Agora.⁴⁹ While it is now possible to identify most amphora fragments, the relatively broad dates for some types (usually a century) and disagreement about when they begin mean that their contribution to dating in this case is difficult to assess.⁵⁰

The latest amphoras identified in *Corinth* XVIII.2 were a 4th-century micaceous water-jar toe (247, Fig. 3) and two later pieces, a gritty Corinthian top (259, Fig. 3) and a neck of LR Amphora 1 (260, Fig. 3).⁵¹ However, several of the lots had sherds that had been noted as “spirally grooved” or “combed,” a finish then dated only generally to the “4th–6th century.” I had ignored these in my original publication but am able to identify them now. Many such sherds are either LRA 2 or Palestinian, depending on their fabric; these types have been shown to date in the later 5th and 6th centuries rather than as early as the 4th century at Corinth.⁵² Fragments of LRA 2 were identified at the east end of the Middle Terrace (lots 882, 883, 1947, 7172, and perhaps also 2087), and in the robbed-out walls of the west temple (lot 6639), as well as in Building L–M:28, room 2 (lot 6714).⁵³ A probable Palestinian body sherd was found in the post-destruction debris over the west temple, T:16–17 (lot 6638). A shoulder that belongs to one of these two types was also recovered in the post-destruction debris over the central temple, T–U:19 (lot 1973–100). Body sherds of LRA 1 found in surface levels over the stairway (lot 6215) can be added to the previously identified neck of this type from well 1961–11 (260, Fig. 3). There is a possible Gaza fragment from below the gutter block at the east end of the Middle Terrace (lot 7172). Finally, a fragmentary neck and handle found in the surface level over the south half of the Roman Propylon (lot 2150), although related to a local 5th-century form, has good 6th-century parallels.⁵⁴

All 13 of these pieces are plausibly dated in the 6th century. While they may be datable somewhat before 500, none can be used to argue a destruction date as early as 400 or 425: like the 6th-century AfRS, they must postdate the end of cult activity at the site. The latest amphoras in the area are two necks from imitations in Corinthian cooking fabric of

49. See Reynolds 1995, appendices D.12 and D.19–25. LRA 2 is missing from 5th-century deposits at Rome, Naples, Arles, and Lyons, and Palestinian amphoras are also not common there until after ca. 450. The Carthage deposits suggest that this is because LRA 2 appears primarily in the later 6th century, while the Palestinian amphoras were imported from the 5th century (Riley 1981, pp. 121–122).

50. Most of the previously unidentified amphoras are 2nd- or 3rd-century types. Lot 6225, for instance, contained a Coan double handle, a rim as 242 (*Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 114, fig. 28), a 2nd- to 3rd-century “Rhodian” peaked handle, a black micaceous water-jar

handle (cf. 244, 245; *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 114–115, fig. 28, pl. 14), as well as the small, late Niederbieber 77 handle mentioned below. A handful of wheel-ridged sherds remain unidentified but there seems to be no reason why they should not belong to the 3rd or 4th century; most distinctive is a wheel-ridged shoulder in lot 891. I made no attempt to differentiate 2nd- to 4th-century from 5th- to 6th-century micaceous water-jar sherds, and sherds of that form are not reported here. The latest example published in *Corinth* XVIII.2 is the 4th-century toe (247, Fig. 3) found over “Building” P–Q:25–26 (lot 891); I could identify no 5th- to 6th-century rims, handles, or toes.

51. *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 115, 117–118, fig. 29. The parallels for 259 and 260 from well 1982–1 have been redated to the middle of the 5th century and are no longer to be considered as early as 395 (see n. 56, below).

52. Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 257, 263–264, 270–271, 274–275, and esp. pp. 285–286.

53. The last, which is the only late sherd in an otherwise very early Roman lot, is probably contamination from the overlying LR lot 6715 or the surface.

54. The form is Williams and Zervos 1982, p. 141, no. 78, fig. 3, pl. 46, for which see now Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 264, no. 2–31, fig. 5.

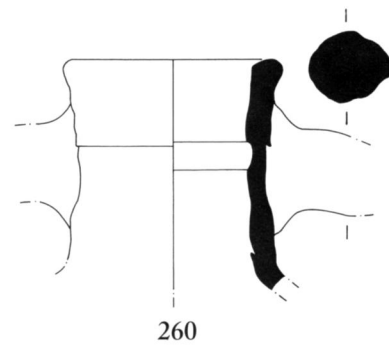
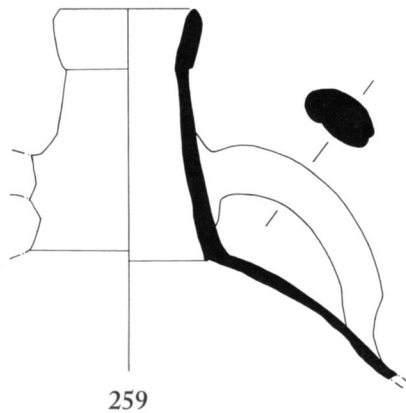
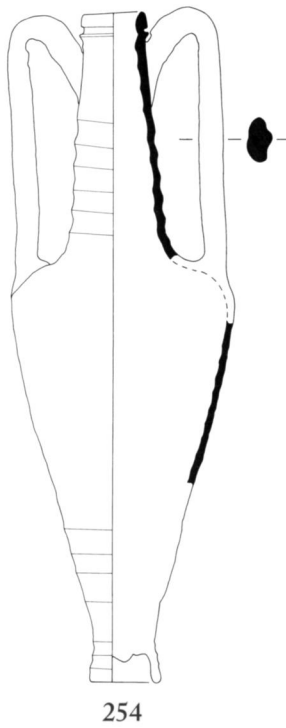


Figure 3. Amphoras: top row, from left: 254 (Niederbieber 77), LRA 1 (Slane and Sanders 2005, no. 4-8), LRA 2 (Slane and Sanders 2005, no. 4-9); center and bottom rows: 247, 259, 260, 279. Scale 1:8 (254, LRA 1, LRA 2); 1:3 (247, 259, 260, 279)

LRA 2 (lots 1999, 2038), which have late-6th- and 7th-century parallels elsewhere at Corinth as well as at Berbati in the Argolid.⁵⁵ All of these finds are limited to the Upper and Middle Terraces. The lack of similar lots from the Lower Terrace prevents a similar reassessment there.

Most problematic in assessing the latest use of the sanctuary are three amphora types with parallels in well 1982-1 east of the Theater, a context dated to 395 in the preliminary report but now redated to the middle years of the 5th century.⁵⁶ These include gritty Corinthian cooking fabric amphoras such as 259 from lot 2038 (Fig. 3); other examples come from the east end of the Middle Terrace (lot 882) and over the central temple (279, Fig. 3). Amphoras such as 259 seem to be primarily a 5th-century form, but the unusually broad lower body of 279 suggests that it comes from the beginning of the series and might be dated in the 4th century (the earliest dated context is well 1982-1). Three small, late examples of Niederbieber 77 are also typical of the late 4th and first half of the 5th century;⁵⁷ they come from lots 884 and 1999 in grid Q:24 on the Middle Terrace and from the debris over the floor in Building K-L:21-22 (lot 6225). A neck perhaps related to the south Italian Keay LII (although it is shorter and has grooves between the handles) found in the quarry fill with 259 is probably also late 4th or early 5th century. Unfortunately, the chronology of all of these forms is still uncertain enough that their presence in the Sanctuary of Demeter is as likely to mean that the forms reached Corinth in the second half of the 4th century as it is to mean that the latest use of the sanctuary was in the 5th century. At this time they cannot be taken as proof that the cult continued after ca. 370-380.

Cooking pots and plain wares are poorly represented in the lots from the sanctuary, but nearly every fragment is now identifiable.⁵⁸ No fragments of the imported cooking fabrics that are so characteristic of the middle years of the 5th century in other Corinthian contexts are present in the lots from the Sanctuary of Demeter.⁵⁹ There are three recurring late, local cooking-pot forms, only two of which were identified in *Corinth* XVIII.2. One is represented by 186 (Fig. 4), found with a second example in lot 2038; it is the earliest example of a type that continues into the second half of the 5th century.⁶⁰ Except for one fragment in the robbing trenches of the central temple T-U:19 (lot 1973-99), the rims of this type were found over and

Figure 4 (*opposite*). Cooking pots: 186, 188, 280; plain wares: 275, 281, 276, 166, 282; Byzantine matt-painted amphora: 283. Scale 1:3

55. See Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 271, 276, nos. 3-23, 3-24, 4-13, 4-14, figs. 8, 11; Hjohlmán 2002, pp. 17, 145, no. 29.

56. For the preliminary report, see Williams and Zervos 1983, pp. 23-27, pl. 10. Fragmentary LR Corinthian lamps of the types assigned to the early and late 6th century by Slane and Sanders (2005, assemblages 2 and 3, pp. 258, 266-268, figs. 7, 10) were found in the well down to the water table and demonstrate that the dumped fill is late. A group of whole amphoras from the last meter of the shaft is an

earlier use level or separate dump and includes types such as the small, late Niederbieber 77, south Italian Keay LII, Portuguese Keay XIX, as well as African rims, all of which are more comfortably dated in the first half or second quarter of the 5th century rather than before 395 (Williams and Zervos 1983, pl. 10; Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 249-257, assemblage 1).

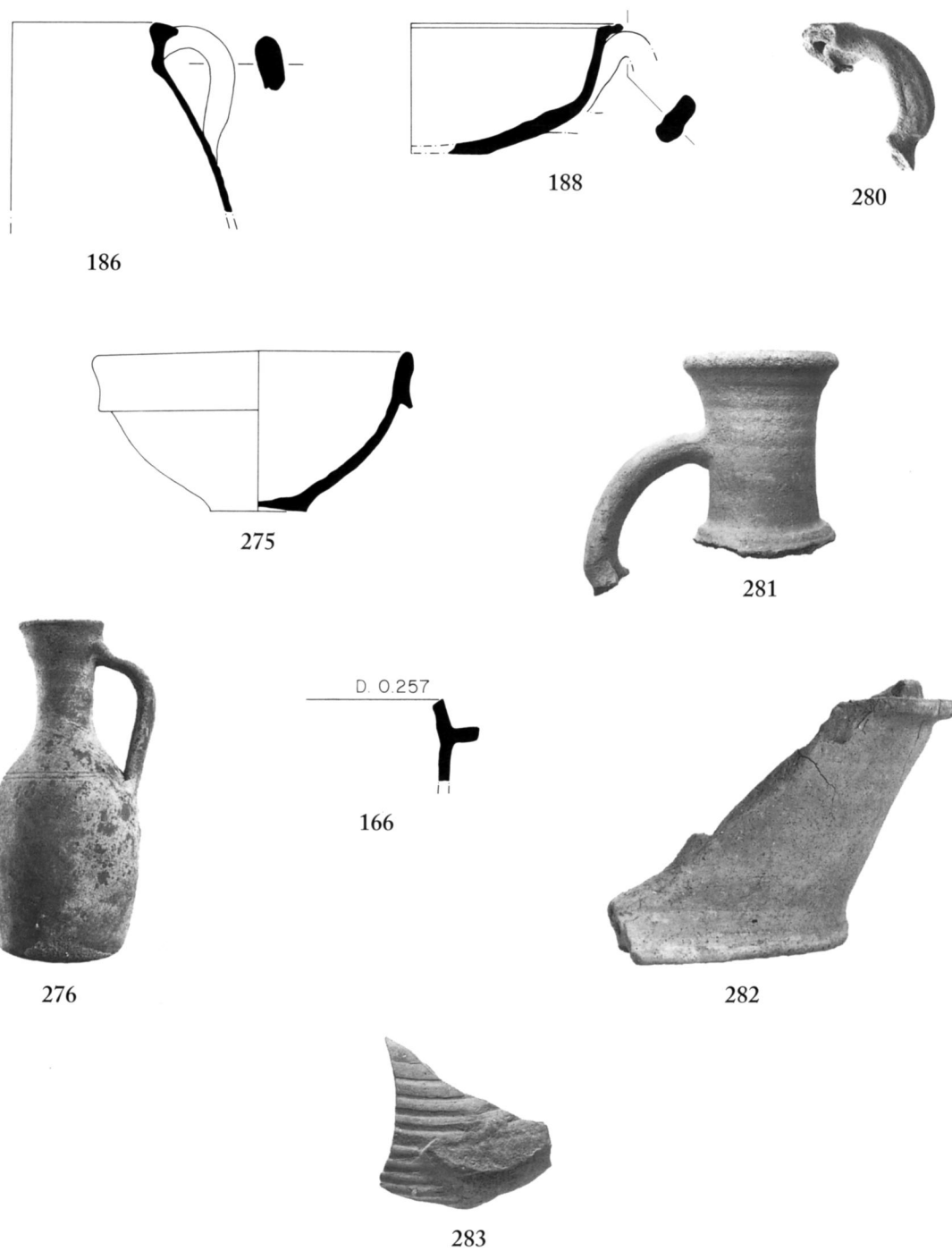
57. *Agora* V, pp. 110, 112, nos. M 274, M 303, pls. 29, 31; Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 254, no. 1-15, fig. 3.

58. Types like *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 85, nos. 183-185, fig. 21, pl. 11, which

occur in pit 1966-1 and in group J in the Athenian Agora, characterize an early-4th-century phase of which many examples have now been identified.

59. Cf. Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 287-288: Late Roman micaceous Aegean cooking ware and white-gritted Adriatic cooking ware.

60. E.g., Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 256, 264, nos. 1-36, 2-38, figs. 3, 6. At Argos this type also is dated to the second half of the 4th and into the 5th century (Abadie-Reynal 2007, p. 221, form 20.5.20, no. 373, pl. 59).



around “Building” P-Q:25–26,⁶¹ and it still seems most probable to me that it begins in the 4th century. A second form is a late, apparently local, one-handed vessel (188, Fig. 4), which still has no parallels apart from a second example found with it over the central temple, and which is therefore dated by its context. The third form is a local stewpot that begins in the late 5th century; three rim fragments were newly identified in lots 2038, 2099, and 1973–100 (see Fig. 4, 280 [handle]; all three lots contain other late-5th- to early-6th-century material). An early-6th-century stewpot was

61. In lots 870, 883, 1947, 1948, 2002, and 2038.

found north of the graves in R:23–24 (lot 1998). The only late cooking pot identified from the Lower Terrace is a single later-6th-century rim found east of Building M:15–17 (lot 3223).⁶²

One small and two larger sizes of Corinthian cooking fabric pitchers, which began in the 1st century, continue into the 4th. Of the examples from the sanctuary, 224 and 227 from well 1961–11 could date to the 4th century.⁶³ Plain wares of the 5th and 6th centuries can also be identified. Lots 1999, 2099, and 3224 had wheel-ridged buff basins with a convex rim, and lot 1945 had a wheel-ridged buff shoulder from a pitcher similar to examples from the Athenian Agora.⁶⁴ Their fabric is similar to that of the southern Argolid LRA 2, and a number of the sherds originally identified as “spirally grooved amphoras” (see above) are actually fragments of such basins or pitchers. In Corinth the basins begin as early as the early 4th century, and both basins and pitchers continue through at least the first half of the 5th century. Their presence in the sanctuary does not provide a basis for chronological revision.⁶⁵

Lots 870 and 6638, however, have Corinthian cooking fabric basins or lekanes with a grooved rim, the successor form of the wheel-ridged buff basins; in both pieces the outer edge of the rim has been simplified to a flange, and they should be placed with late examples of the form sometime in the 6th century.⁶⁶ A well-preserved flanged basin (282, Fig. 4) is problematic: its context on the Lower Terrace produced late-5th- and 6th-century architecture and pottery, but it closely resembles a basin (166, Fig. 4) from an early-3rd-century context and may simply be a later example of the type. A bowl with an everted grooved rim, 274 (lot 2099), has proven to be rare.⁶⁷ Its only parallel is an unpublished rim from a dump over East Theater Street, which formed part of Slane and Sanders’s assemblage 1 of the mid-5th century; unfortunately the lot (1988–68) also contained much early-4th-century material and provides no conclusive evidence for the date of 274. Bowls with a folded rim such as 275 (Fig. 4; lot 2099) also begin in the early 4th century and continue well into the 6th. While 275 still seems to be datable in the 4th century,⁶⁸ another half-preserved piece and two rims in the same lot should be later, and a rim in lot 1999 may belong to the 6th century. Other 6th-century pieces are the top of a pitcher (281, Fig. 4) from a robbing trench over the west wall of the Roman Propylon and a lekythos (276, Fig. 4) from one of the graves on the Lower Terrace.⁶⁹

62. The general form is Williams and Zervos 1983, p. 29, no. 79, fig. 14, pl. 11.

63. *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 107, pl. 13.

64. For the wheel-ridged basin with convex rim, see Slane 1994, p. 146, no. 59, fig. 12. For similar pitchers from the Agora, see, e.g., *Agora* V, p. 114, no. M 321, pl. 31.

65. A smooth (finished) interior surface, the oblique angle of the wall, and the tight curve of the “shoulder” distinguish fragments of the basins

from LRA 2. Earliest examples: Slane 1994, p. 146, nos. 57, 58, fig. 12.

66. Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 289. The form begins with vessels like no. 1–39 (p. 256) and by the early 6th century has developed a hawksbeak rim like nos. 2–44 and 2–45 (p. 265); see also Williams and Zervos 1982, p. 138, nos. 67, 68, fig. 2.

67. *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 126, fig. 33.

68. Cf. Slane 1994, p. 142, nos. 44–46, fig. 10. A bowl with a profile closely comparable to 275 was found in Argos

in a context dated to the end of the 4th and perhaps into the 5th century (Abadie-Reynal 2007, p. 199, form 20.2.15, no. 327, pl. 48); but group 41 from which it comes also contained two lamps (p. 316, types 326 and 482) that I would now date to the mid-5th century.

69. *Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 127, pl. 16; XVIII.3, p. 384, no. 7 (grave 1972–2), pl. 57:c–e. This is grave 7 on the plan in Fig. 1.

A distinctive base characteristic of the end of the 5th and the 6th century and found on basins, pitchers, and some amphoras has a central, recessed button and a broad surface that curves gently rather than sharply up at the wall.⁷⁰ Examples from the Sanctuary of Demeter are limited to well 1961-11 (lots 1945, 1946) and the east end of the Middle Terrace (lots 884, 1947, 2088). Most revealing are a number of lids all characteristic of the 6th-7th centuries: a local bell lid in lot 884 and another in lot 7172,⁷¹ small "sombbrero" lids in lots 883, 1947, and 1973-100, and a spirally grooved shoulder cut down to use as a stopper in lot 884. Again these were concentrated over the east end of the Middle Terrace.

The result of the reexamination of the lots has thus reinforced my original conclusion: all the main classes of pottery in the sanctuary can be comfortably accommodated in the second half of the 4th century, perhaps as early as 370-380. The unbroken LRC bowl (120, Fig. 2) found over the Roman Propylon and the fragments of LR Attic gouged pitchers in the post-destruction debris over the central temple T-U:19 and in well 1961-11 suggest that the walls of those buildings were robbed in the middle years of the 5th century. Such robbing may account for the scattering of other contemporary cooking and plain wares that can now be identified. Later examples of AfRS, amphoras, and stewpots belong to the 6th century; they reflect the period when the cemetery was in use and also date the post-sanctuary Building M:15-17 and the late oven. A handful of 10th- and 12th-century sherds and one Ottoman glazed fragment suggest occasional passersby but no building.⁷² There is no reason to redate the other pottery from the sanctuary to 425 or 450, as suggested for the lamps.

LAMPS

The scattered 5th- and 6th-century sherds in the lots from the sanctuary are few and fragmentary in comparison with the numerous Attic glazed lamps, which amount to more than 20% of all the Roman lamps, and some of which are nearly complete.⁷³

The dating of Attic lamps of the Roman period continues to be disputed. Table 2 summarizes the dating of the lamps from the Sanctuary of Demeter, or their close parallels, in several publications. In the Athenian Agora, Perlzweig originally dated a dumped fill in a well at D 12:1 to the mid-4th century, earlier than the *Töpferschutt* below the Late Pompeion

70. Published examples include Williams and Zervos 1982, p. 141, no. 77, fig. 3; 1983, p. 31, no. 85, fig. 16 (both are amphoras); Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 256, 264, 272, 276, nos. 1-39, 2-31, 2-33, 3-43, 4-14, 4-15, figs. 3, 5, 9, 11.

71. Sanders 1999, pp. 470, 472, nos. 20, 21, fig. 16.

72. Only five or six sherds belong to periods after the 6th century. A flat, burnished pitcher base in lot 7172

might be dated to the 10th century. A matt-painted amphora shoulder (283, Fig. 4), a smooth strap handle (lot 884), and a rim in the lower fill of well 1961-11 (lot 1946) are probably 12th-century. One battered, green-glazed sherd from the surface in grid M-N:12 (lot 4409) on the Lower Terrace can be identified as Ottoman, of the 15th-16th century. (I thank Guy Sanders for confirming this identification and adding the date.) These pre-

cisely reflect the chronology of the stray coin finds. A bicycle frame and a donkey skeleton recorded in the top of well 1961-11 must have been 20th-century. Although there may have been more such sherds in the surface strata over the Lower Terrace, which were not retained, their paucity shows clearly that the period of the cemetery was the last time the site of the sanctuary was used.

73. *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 8, 19.

TABLE 2. COMPARANDA FOR LAMPS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER, WITH PUBLISHED DATES

<i>Corinth XVIII.2</i>	<i>Agora VII</i>	<i>Wohl 1981^a</i>	<i>Karivieri 1996</i>	<i>Kerameikos XVI</i>
ATTIC GLAZED LAMPS				
Goddess w/ double-ax 51	nos. 757–765, 4th c.	—	no. 10 from D 12:1, late 4th c.	—
Comic mask 52	—	cf. no. 5 (tragic mask)	—	—
Worn discus 53	—	no. 43	—	—
Vine and ray 54	—	—	listed p. 209	no. 2447, begin- ning of 4th c.
Rosette w/ herringbone 55	nos. 1856–1866, mid-4th c.	no. 16 (smaller)	listed p. 226; cf. no. 221 from H–I 7:1 w/ shorter petals	no. 3435, 350– 360; cf. the top of no. 3857, 360–390
Rosette w/ herringbone 56	nos. 1876, 1877, second half of 4th c. (and at least 11 more of which four are post-glazing)	—	listed p. 214; cf. no. 222 (post-glazing) from H–I 7:1, first half of 5th c.	no. 4090, 360–390
Plain w/ wave pattern 57	nos. 1321–1331 or 1352, second half of 4th c.	no. 27 (post- glazing, unsigned)	nos. 126, 129, 130, or 107 from H–I 7:1, first half of 5th c.	no. 4054, 360–390
Square disk, incised 8-S 284	no. 1429, mid-4th c.	—	—	no parallel
Shell disk/plain rim, lot 2157	nos. 1123–1125, second half and late 4th c.	—	no. 73, first half of 5th c.	—
ATTIC POST-GLAZING LAMPS		no. 45 (handle)		
Plain w/ plain rim 58	no. 1303 post-glazing, second half of 4th c.	—	listed p. 195, no parallel	no parallel
Twisting rosette 59	nos. 1918–1941 (11 glazed out of 25)	no. 42 (glazed, elongated)	listed p. 215, cf. nos. 186, 187 no deposit, dated mid-5th and second half of 5th c.	cf. no. 3642, 350– 360 (cf. also 4631, mid-5th c.)
Plain w/ stamped circles and dashes 285	cf. no. 2388, mid-5th c.	—	no. 133, first or second half of 6th c.	rim only: no. 4700, second quarter of 5th c.
CORINTHIAN IMITATING ATTIC		nos. 44 and 46?		
Acheloo 60	imitating nos. 634–636	—	—	—
Handle frag. 61	—	—	—	—
LR CORINTHIAN IMITATING NORTH AFRICAN		no. 47 (nozzle)		
With cross (Garnett, no. 30) 62	—	—	—	—
With bird, lot 1945	—	—	—	—

^a Four lamp fragments published by Wohl (nos. 44–47) are too fragmentary to compare with specific examples from the Sanctuary of Demeter. They can, however, be identified by general type and thus are listed opposite the relevant subheading. Wohl calls nos. 43–47 the latest lamps in the deposit and implies they should be dated 410–435; she does not date no. 27 but as a post-glazing lamp it would be 400 or 410 in her chronology.

in the Kerameikos.⁷⁴ She later argued that sherds and coins of the late 4th or early 5th century in the latter showed that the Kerameikos potters had returned after the sack of Alaric and suggested that deposit D 12:1 was debris from that destruction, a view accepted by Hector Williams but not by Alison Frantz.⁷⁵

Wohl studied a group of Attic glazed lamps (with some stray pieces) from the Roman Bath at Isthmia; using the coins and pottery associated with the destruction of the Bath and the building history of the Hexamilion, she dated the Isthmia lamps ca. 380 to 425–435.⁷⁶

In 1990 Rügler reexamined the stratigraphy, pottery, coins, and some of the lamps in the Kerameikos. He accepted the Isthmia deposit as a unit and used Wohl's date to argue that the end of the potters' dump, which leveled the ground for the Late Pompeion and *Festtor*, was also of the early 5th century rather than the mid-4th; he further denied a destruction by Alaric, emphasizing instead that the Late Pompeion attests new 5th-century building activity.⁷⁷

Karivieri's extended chronology for Attic glazed lamps, the introduction of Christian emblems, and the Chione workshop rests on Agora deposit H–I 7:1, a burned layer in the northwest area of the Agora, which she dates from the second quarter to the middle of the 5th century and interprets, together with the moving of the Kerameikos kilns, as a result of a Vandal attack in 467 or 476.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, her lamp chronology is not independent of the pottery because Hayes used Agora deposits dated by coins and lamps to establish the chronology of AfRS and LRC, and Karivieri in turn has used LRC in part to establish the dates of her deposits; the argument is thus in danger of becoming circular.⁷⁹

Most recently Böttger has used the same evidence as Rügler (including some of the same lamps and coins) to reiterate a date of ca. 410–415 for the *Töpferschutt*, including its latest sector, the Chione complex. He also reconstructs the stratigraphy of the dump, distinguishing phases of 270–350, 350–360, 360–390, and 390–415. Although a stratigraphic argument underlies his subdivision, placement of individual lamps also depends on stylistic criteria, and the reasons for the dates 350, 360, and 390 are

74. Comparison of material found in both the Kerameikos and the Agora with that found only in the Agora was the basis of Perlzweig's original late-4th-century chronology: see *Agora VII*, pp. 52–53, 62–64 (citing Kübler), 225 (for deposit D 12:1; see also deposits E 2:1 and F 13:23). Brueckner dated the level above the *Töpferschutt* to the early 5th century, and Kübler dated the dump itself to the end of the 4th century, the date accepted by Perlzweig (Kübler 1931, pp. 81, 85); in the later publication of the buildings, however, Hoepfner dated the overlying Late Pompeion to the reign of Julian, ca. 360 (*Kerameikos X*, pp. 188–189), an error corrected by Rügler (1990). The lamps

from the Vari Cave, adduced by Perlzweig and frequently referred to by others, are only partly published in a preliminary report over a century old (Bassett 1903) and should not be used as a fixed point in the mid-4th century.

75. Binder, pers. comm.; Binder, in Butcher 1982, pp. 138–139; *Kenchreai V*, p. 104; contra *Agora XXIV*, pp. 26–28.

76. Wohl 1981, p. 137.

77. Rügler (1990, pp. 285–287 with n. 44) cited a coin of Gratian (367–375) in association with the lamps and a coin of Arcadius (394–408) from at least 0.90 m below the plaster floor of the Late Pompeion; Karivieri (1996) and Hayes appear to have accepted this date (Hayes, pers. comm. [400 or later];

see *Agora XXXII*, forthcoming).

78. Karivieri 1996, pp. 58–59. All 48 of the lamps in this group had been published in *Agora VII* by Perlzweig, who did not consider it a deposit.

Hayes (pers. comm.) accepts it as “part of the H–I 7–8:1 complex” with a terminus established by coins ca. 465–480.

79. Note in particular deposit I 15:1, which was not listed as a deposit by Perlzweig (although she published seven glazed lamps from it), but was used by Hayes (*LRP*, pp. 73, n. 4, and 326) in establishing the date of LRC form 1A (with a coin of Theodosius I to 395 and an AfRS form 50B), and which is also listed by Karivieri (1996, p. 282).

TABLE 3. CHARACTERISTICS OF LATE-4TH- AND 5TH-CENTURY ATTIC LAMPS

<i>Fourth Century</i> (as late as <i>Agora</i> deposit D 12:1)	<i>Fifth Century</i>
Figured or patterned discus; ^a central filling hole	Rosette or patterned discus (or Christian monograms); ^b multiple filling holes
Circles or heart-shaped groove on base	Tear-shaped or almond-shaped grooves on base
Signature	Branch or quincunx
Circular outline	Elongated outline
Shiny glaze	Thin wash scarcely visible on some lamps
Various rims, including leaf- and-cluster, plain with grooves, some wavy line ^c	Only herringbone, wavy-line and plain rims? Channel to nozzle
Nozzle flanked by groove(s)	Nozzle grooves or transverse bar ^d

^a Approximately equal numbers of each in the large dump in deposit D 12:1.

^b Only 32 of 264 lamps from the Chione complex in the Kerameikos (dated 395–415?) have figured disks rather than disks with rosette, flower, shell, or Christian monogram (*Kerameikos* XVI, pp. 78–79).

^c The herringbone rim is just replacing the incised wreath. Perlzweig suggested that the leaf-and-cluster rim continued into the 5th century (*Agora* VII, p. 21; the examples dated to the 5th century appear on pl. 41), but it seems more likely that it died out late in the 4th century (lamps with rosette discus being the latest); it was revived in the 6th century.

^d The transverse bar may be the last gasp of the U-shaped nozzle (a 3rd-century characteristic). It seems likely to be a revival rather than continuously in production because there are few Attic glazed lamps with either a U-shaped nozzle or transverse bar (*Agora* VII, nos. 1054[?], 1104, 1200).

unclear to me.⁸⁰ In any case, this chronology for the Kerameikos lamps does not require any revision of the published dates of the lamps from the Sanctuary of Demeter.

In the larger view, the arguments concern time rather than sequence: as Table 2 shows, the same lamp, e.g., 57 or 59, may be dated to the second half of the 4th century, to ca. 410 or later, to the first half of the 5th century (up to ca. 470), or to the mid-4th century. How does this affect the chronology of the Sanctuary of Demeter?

The differences between early and late glazed lamps (and 5th-century post-glazing lamps), which were not very conspicuous in Perlzweig's compressed chronology, are now clear (Table 3). These differences can also be seen at Corinth, where the lamps in the Sanctuary of Demeter strongly contrast with a group of more than 160 unpublished lamps from a chamber tomb near Cheliotomylos.⁸¹ The tomb has only a handful of Attic glazed lamps (including one with Chi-Rho monogram) amid many Attic post-glazing and LR Corinthian imitations of Attic glazed lamps; both of the latter have multiple filling holes that take no account of the pattern. In contrast, the Sanctuary of Demeter has only a handful of lamps (4.3% of the total) that are later than the 188 Attic glazed lamps, and few have late characteristics: 10 Attic post-glazing lamps (e.g., 58, 59; Fig. 5), 25 Corinthian imitations of Attic lamps (e.g., 60, Fig. 5; also 61, not illustrated), and 3 LR Corinthian imitations of North African lamps (e.g., 62,

80. Böttger (*Kerameikos* XVI, pp. 18, 30–31) lists numerous earlier coins and three coins of Arcadius, one of which he places in Komplex 13 D (phase 6) and two of which he places in the "obersten erhaltenen Lage des planierten Töpferschuttes" (above Komplex 10 B) and assigns to phase 7. He rejects the coin of Gratian; it comes from his Komplex 21 C, assigned to phase 3 (dated 337–350).

81. For the lamps from this tomb, see Shear 1931, p. 435.

Fig. 5).⁸² Of these, just one lamp (60) has multiple filling holes and two (59 and a second example in the same lot) have heart-shaped or tear-shaped grooves on the base. I now date these three lamps in the second half of the 5th century and the three LR Corinthian imitations of North African lamps in the early 6th.⁸³

The catalogue in *Corinth* XVIII.2 presented most of the latest lamps from the Sanctuary of Demeter;⁸⁴ I have added two more below (284, 285; Fig. 5). The differences between early and late glazed lamps summarized in Table 3 now allow us to rethink the contexts from which these lamps come. The lamps are grouped by context in Figure 5 (cf. Table 1, above, for a full list of the late material in each lot).

The latest Attic lamps in the destruction debris over the west and central temples (not from the robbing trenches) were Attic lamps with rosette-patterned and plain disks (55–57, 59; Fig. 5), of which three were glazed and one was post-glazing. The glazed pieces had circles on the base and two had signatures, of the A- and KY- shops,⁸⁵ but the post-glazing lamp had tear-shaped grooves and an incised branch. Similar glazed lamps were being made before the last quarter of the 4th century and were also made in the 5th. Using the characteristics outlined above, the latest elements would be the transverse bar (and twisted axis?) of 56, the discus-and-rim combination of 57, and the base of 59, which are not paralleled as a group before the mid-5th century, although Karivieri dates individual pieces to the late 4th.

On the Lower Terrace the debris over Building K–L:21–22 produced a complete Attic glazed lamp and an intact post-glazing derivative of a globule-and-volute lamp (53, 58; Fig. 5).⁸⁶ Compared to the lamps from the Upper Terrace, these are notably narrower and more elongated, and both could now be dated in the middle of the 5th century. The back half of a glazed lamp with square discus (284, Fig. 5), perhaps of the first half of the 5th century, was found in topsoil near the western edge of the area; it might derive from the robbing of wall 11, the retaining wall of the Middle Terrace.

While the Attic glazed lamps were still produced well into the 5th century, the introduction of Attic post-glazing lamps must be no earlier than

82. *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 8 (statistics), 35–36, fig. 2, pl. 5 (catalogued examples).

83. One factor that changed between 1961 and 2001 is that the North African lamps, which Perlzweig assumed could be dated from the early 5th century (*Agora* VII, p. 22), are now recognized as being of the type that postdates the Theodosian wall at Carthage, ca. 425. Their imitations, at least in Corinth, should be 6th century; see Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 281–283. The presence of such imitations in a recently published well at Argos calls into question the proposed date,

ca. 400–425 (Ivantchik 2002, pp. 341–344, 366–368, nos. 35–39, 42, 43).

84. *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 34–36, fig. 2, pls. 4, 5. That catalogue under-represents the figured disks of early Attic glazed lamps (because they are mostly fragmentary) that continued the designs of the Attic unglazed lamps of the 3rd century. The more or less complete lamps have a limited range of disk patterns, and were those in use when cult activity in the sanctuary ended.

85. The A- shop is solidly 4th-century, the KY- shop later. Karivieri (1996, pp. 110–113) lists the earliest appearance of the KY- shop in deposit

D 12:1 (her no. 283), although she places it in a group whose *floruit* is 350 to after 450, rather than late 4th to after 450 (p. 80). Ivantchik (2002, p. 341) prefers the second quarter of the 4th to the first quarter of the 5th century for the KY- shop. It is notable that half of the extant signatures of this shop come from Corinth rather than the Kerameikos or the Agora.

86. Lot 6225 also contains earlier 3rd- and 4th-century lamps, Attic unglazed lamp 40 (*Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 32, fig. 2, pl. 4), three more Attic glazed lamps, and three late unglazed Corinthian lamps (ca. 300).



55



55, signature



56



56, signature

West Temple T:16-17



57b



57a



59



59, bottom

Central Temple T-U:19



53



58



58, bottom

Building K-L:21-22



60



284



285



62

Various Late Contexts

Figure 5 (*opposite*). Lamps arranged by findspot. From the Upper Terrace, T:16–17 (55, 56), T–U:19 (57, 59). From the Lower Terrace, K–L:21–22 (53, 58). From various late contexts, Q:19, well 1961–11 (60); M–N:12, surface or robbing trench of wall 11 (284); O–P:21–22, part of robbing trench of wall 11 or of Roman Propylon (285); K:15, cistern 1972–1 (62). Scale 1:3

ca. 425–450, rather than ca. 375.⁸⁷ Either the 10 post-glazing lamps from the sanctuary attest the continuation of the cult well into the middle of the 5th century or they must be associated with post-sanctuary activity at the site. Their distribution is very restricted. Six were found on the Lower Terrace: 58 and a second fragment from Building K–L:21–22 (lot 6225); the top of a lamp with rosette disk and wave-pattern rim from the surface of a diagonal test trench across the Lower Terrace and the corner of Building K–L:21–22 (lot 2157);⁸⁸ 285 (lot 4368) and another base, signed Chiones, over the Roman Propylon (lot 2247); and an unpierced handle in the clay layer over the south wall in grid L:16–17, where there was a late bread oven (lot 5697).⁸⁹ The three lamps from Building K–L:21–22, into which at least a dozen graves had been dug, are likely to derive from the cemetery; a date in the middle of the 5th century or later would be accepted in all of the proposed chronologies. The two lamps over the Roman Propylon can be dated according to Karivieri's chronology to the early 6th century, according to Perlzweig's and Böttger's chronologies to perhaps the second quarter or mid-5th century; they reinforce a mid-5th to early-6th-century date for the robbing of wall 11 and the Roman Propylon. With these we may consider the distribution of the three LR Corinthian lamps, all of which are datable in the 6th century: an imitation of a Christian North African lamp (62, Fig. 5) comes from cistern 1972–1, northwest of the late bread oven; a nozzle was found beyond the eastern end of wall 11 (lot 2066); and an imitation of a North African lamp with a bird on the discus comes from well 1961–11 (lot 1945).

Four post-glazing lamps come from the Upper Terrace: 59, with a tear-shaped base, and a battered handle fragment, both from lot 1973–98 over the central temple, and one fragment each in lots 2088 (over the line of the robbed terrace wall?) and 2107. The two lamps in lot 1973–98 are most troubling because that lot was interpreted as destruction debris resting on the mosaic floor within the temple.⁹⁰ Lamp 59, like the glazed lamps found with it, is well preserved and mended from several fragments, and we assumed that it had been used in the building. It has a twisting rosette with herringbone rim and is signed with an incised branch within heart-shaped grooves. Karivieri dates its parallels in the second half of the 5th century, but Böttger cites this lamp as a parallel to one that he assigns to phase 4, 350–360.⁹¹ It is certain that the material over the temple floor

87. In contrast to earlier researchers who saw little overlap between glazed and later unglazed lamps, Karivieri suggested that some unglazed lamps were always produced alongside the glazed ones (see p. 466, above). I have argued that the deposits she lists do not support this suggestion (Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 282, n. 46). In deposits of the mid-5th century from east of the Theater at Corinth, the proportion of Attic glazed to post-glazing lamps is 1:1, but no deposits with these

proportions are reported by Karivieri.

88. Without multiple filling holes: cf. Karivieri 1996, pp. 223, 227, nos. 207 (glazed), 219 (post-glazing), pls. 41, 42, with a parallel in Rügler 1990, pl. 59:1.

89. Although 5697 is a surface lot, this fragment is the only post-Hellenistic sherd in it; but the lot also contained four 4th-century coins, one Byzantine coin, and one Turkish coin.

90. *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 350–352; because the materials found were not

complete, the authors recognized that some disturbance had taken place, but their argument was that this occurred immediately after the disaster that destroyed the building.

91. *Kerameikos* XVI, p. 239, no. 3642, pl. 59, which is glazed, with circles on the base, dated 350–360; one might also cite p. 288, no. 4631, pl. 80, post-glazing, signed by Chione within almond-shaped grooves, and dated mid-5th century.

was in fact disturbed (fragments of marble furniture lay far apart within the room and also scattered down the slope to the northeast). Furthermore, the adjacent robbing trenches and post-abandonment debris are unambiguously datable to the late 5th or 6th century: in addition to the lamps there is a 6th-century fragment of AfRS (277, Fig. 2), the lower body of a Corinthian cooking fabric amphora (279, perhaps nonjoining 281; Figs. 3, 4), and four fragments of an unidentified amphora with tapering neck and combed shoulder, which must be a derivative of LR Amphora 2. The post-glazing handle fragment in lot 1973-98, a single battered piece, could easily be associated with such material and regarded as intrusive in the lot. It appears that the date of the end of the cult may rest chiefly on the date of the mended lamp 59, about which everyone's opinion is different!

With the recognition of late-5th- and 6th-century material in the lots from the Sanctuary of Demeter, it is no longer necessary to explain all 25 of the fragments of Corinthian lamps that imitate earlier Attic lamps as products of the 4th century. Ten handles evenly divided between lots 2150 and 1973-99, originally described as "transitional between types XXVII and XXVIII" and now paralleled by the lamps of Corinthian fabric in pit 1966-1,⁹² can be placed in the early 4th century. About 10 handle fragments like 61 are undatable.⁹³ But 60, with its white fabric and multiple filling holes, is more comfortably dated in the late 5th century, rather than the late 4th where I attempted to place it in *Corinth* XVIII.2; it is one of a number of 5th-century examples that imitate 3rd-century lamps.⁹⁴ And no evidence has emerged from elsewhere in Corinth of Corinthian lamps datable between ca. 325 and 450. I withdraw the earlier suggestion of production beginning in the 4th century and now agree with Garnett that production of LR Corinthian lamps began after 450.

CONCLUSIONS

Together with the late graves on the Lower and Middle Terraces, Bookidis and Stroud singled out three structures on the Lower Terrace as belonging to a post-sanctuary phase of the site.⁹⁵ The trapezoidal space retained by the walls in M:15-17 is now definitely datable to the 6th century. In addition to two coins of Arcadius, there was a 6th-century AfRS plate foot on its floor, and a cooking pot of similar date was found just outside it. Further down the hill, from a floor beside the late bread oven comes the handle of an Attic post-glazing lamp (lot 5697, over the south wall of Building K:16) datable in the second half of the 5th or the early 6th century. And the nearby cistern 1972-1 produced a 6th-century Corinthian lamp (62, Fig. 5). To the east the amount of late material concentrated above the tile floor of Building K-L:21-22 is also striking: the late-4th to early-5th-century pieces (AfRS form 53B [117, Fig. 2], the handle of a Niederbieber 77 amphora, and possibly an Attic glazed lamp [53, Fig. 5]) probably date the last use of the building, while the three post-glazing lamps almost certainly had been left above the late graves.⁹⁶

These late finds from the Lower Terrace (where most of the surface pottery, potentially the latest, was discarded before study) emphasize the

92. Slane 1994, pp. 159-162 (group 2).

93. *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 34-35, fig. 2, pl. 5.

94. Others were published by Garnett (1975, pp. 190-192, no. 4 and probably nos. 7 and 8, pl. 43).

95. *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 379-381, 391, 440. The pottery from a Late Roman pit in the road (*Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 20) was not retained for study.

96. The practice of leaving a lamp burning on top of the grave (not within it as in earlier times) is attested in contemporary graves in the Lerna Hollow cemetery; see Wiseman 1969, pp. 79-86, esp. pp. 82-83, 85.

solidly 4th-century date of the bulk of the finds from the Middle and Upper Terraces. The latest fine wares from the period when the cult was operating can be dated as early as 350–380 or as late as 400 but they are not 5th-century. The fact that some new forms of the second half of the 4th century found elsewhere in Corinth are not recorded in the sanctuary could, however, suggest that cult activity was diminishing by this time, or that votive habits were changing. The Corinthian evidence now allows us to assign the “spirally grooved” sherds found scattered across the site narrowly to vessels, including basins and pitchers as well as amphoras, of the later 5th and 6th centuries, instead of broadly to amphoras of the 4th through 6th centuries. The latest closely dated amphora is therefore the 4th-century micaceous water-jar toe (247, Fig. 3). The early fragments of a Corinthian cooking fabric amphora (279, Fig. 3) and of Keay LII, which can be dated to either the 4th or 5th century depending on our interpretation of the history of the sanctuary, now seem likely to belong to the second half of the 4th century. Fifth-century cooking pots are lacking, but there are multiple examples of one 4th-century form and two pieces of uncertain date. In the light of our increased knowledge of pottery chronology both at Corinth and elsewhere, I again conclude that cult activity on the Middle and Upper Terraces ceased in the 4th century.⁹⁷

Reexamination of the pottery has further shown that the robbing of the Propylon and wall 11, which formed the lower edge of the Middle Terrace, as well as of the central and western temples on the Upper Terrace, occurred in the late 5th or 6th century. It appears to me that the site had already been abandoned for some time when the robbing took place. The LR Amphora 2, the probable Gaza sherds, and the bell lid found below the displaced gutter block on the Middle Terrace (lot 7172) show that robbing of the earlier wall blocks continued in the 6th century.

The suggestion by Wohl and Karivieri that the lamps from the Sanctuary of Demeter must be dated to 425 or 450 rather than before 400 has not been supported by a reexamination of the pottery. It is, however, possible to refine the interpretation of the contexts in which the lamps were found. The arrangement of the lamps in Figure 5 shows clearly that those from the temples on the Upper Terrace are typologically earlier than those found on the Lower Terrace or in late contexts. We must therefore conclude either that these lamps are datable with the rest of the ceramics to ca. 350–380 (or perhaps 400), or date them to the early 5th century and argue that only votive lamps attest the last years of the cult.⁹⁸ Could the offering of votive lamps have continued as private acts of piety? In my view the latter suggestion is contrary to the stratigraphic evidence: multiple joining fragments of both pottery and lamps were found mixed together with the other cult furniture in the central temple, and I will continue to date them to ca. 380.

Few archaeological investigations can draw conclusions without qualification, and this one is no different. Each of the ceramic types with which we are dealing had a life span of half a century or more, and determining the point at which they could have existed together is a matter of judgment. A recent conference on Roman pottery emphasized the importance of contextual examination in drawing conclusions from such material.⁹⁹ Part

97. An objection could be raised that the evidence for a later phase of cult activity in the sanctuary, particularly on the Upper Terrace, may simply have washed away down the slope. Although no robbing trench was recognized for the retaining walls of the Upper Terrace, the robbing trenches of the temples, the retaining wall of the Middle Terrace (wall 11), and the Roman Propylon were recognized at the time of excavation; the walls themselves were in place at least until the mid-5th century, and after that material was not lost down the hillside because the trenches, the “post-destruction debris,” and the graves remained.

98. Bookidis (*Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 351) pointed out that the pottery found in the destruction debris of the central temple was both meager and fragmentary and suggested it may not have been much used in the latest phase of the building. Several of the vessels were mendable, however, at least in part.

99. Malfitana, Poblome, and Lund 2006.

of the disagreement about the dating of Attic lamps must arise because they have been published without accompanying pottery. It is also critical to consider whether the context is debris still in situ from a moment of destruction or a dumped deposit that may well incorporate some later sherds. Furthermore, because the Sanctuary of Demeter was the site of a pagan cult, the evidence that cult activity continued into the 5th century would need to be particularly strong.

I have argued above that the evidence favors a cessation of cult activity in the second half of the 4th century, followed by robbing of the walls and the simultaneous use of the site as a cemetery in the late 5th and early 6th centuries. The violent destruction might simply have been the result of an unrecorded Christian attack. If the destruction was due to earthquake in 365 or 375, the worshippers did not (or perhaps could not) rebuild. Considering the number of late-5th- and 6th-century lamps that have now been found, it is striking that only one fragment bears a Christian symbol.¹⁰⁰ We can therefore confidently reject the possibility that the graves represented a denial of the site's sanctity. I am left wondering with Bookidis and Stroud whether it was a lingering memory of the site's numinous protection or simply the comparatively level ground of the Lower Terrace that made it suitable for use as a graveyard in the 6th century.

CATALOGUE

This catalogue is intended as a supplement to the one published in *Corinth* XVIII.2 and continues the numbering used in that volume.¹⁰¹

277 AfRS base, early 6th century

Fig. 2

Lot 1973-100:2. Building T-U:19 (central temple), general debris over destruction debris and robbing trenches.

Est. D. base 0.14, Th. 0.010 m.

This fragment preserves only the thick floor over the foot and has no trace of a stamp; either form 99 or 103B/104. (Forms 87 or 88 are less likely because there is a double groove over the very thin foot.) In any case the date would be early 6th century.

278 LR Attic gouged mug rim

Fig. 2

Lot 1973-100:4. Building T-U:19 (central temple), general debris over destruction debris and robbing trenches.

Est. D. rim 0.065 m.

Globular mug with upright rim and rounded (not rolled) lip. Groove on outer face of rim at midpoint. Overlapping, parallel groups of gouging from base of neck most closely resemble *Agora* V, pp. 78, 112, nos. L 40, M 298, pls. 17, 30. This piece could probably be dated in the 4th century, but the other Attic gouged sherds in the sanctuary seem to be normal 5th-century pieces (lots 882, 2087).

279 Lower body of Corinthian cooking fabric amphora or pitcher

Fig. 3 (underside)

Lot 1973-98:3. Building T-U:19 (central temple), destruction debris over mosaic, and joining fragment from lot 1973-100, general post-destruction debris.

100. In contrast, in the roughly contemporary assemblages published by Slane and Sanders, three out of five lamps in assemblage 2 and five out of seven in assemblage 3 have Christian crosses (Slane and Sanders 2005, pp. 250, 266–267).

101. Conventions and abbreviations are those of the earlier publication; in some cases they differ slightly from standard *Hesperia* practice (note in particular that D. = Diameter). Fabric colors are cited according to the *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (Baltimore 1971).

Eleven joining and nonjoining fragments of base and lower body, partly encrusted with white destruction debris.

Corinthian cooking fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) with moderate, small, angular, white and gray inclusions; fired light reddish brown (5YR 6/3) at core and reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6) on surface. The fabric is similar to that of 281 and one wonders whether this could be its base.

Closed vessel with raised base molded into a central button and broadly flaring lower wall. The base appears on Corinthian cooking fabric amphoras of the 5th century as on 259 and possibly on contemporary pitchers such as 281.

280 Stewpot with broad groove on top Fig. 4 (handle)

Lot 1973-100:3. Building T-U:19 (central temple), general debris over destruction debris and robbing trenches.

Two nonjoining fragments of rim, including one handle. Est. D. 0.170 m.

Globular stewpot with everted horizontal rim. Broad groove on top of rim. Handle(s), half-round in section, attached to outer face of rim and to wall.

Cf. Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 265, no. 2-40, fig. 6, of the second half of the 5th century or later.

281 Corinthian cooking fabric pitcher neck and handle Fig. 4

Lot 2239:3. Building O-P:19-20 (Roman Propylon), robbing trench of west wall.

Complete neck and handle; body missing. P.H. 0.107, H. to base of neck 0.083, D. rim 0.068 m.

Corinthian cooking fabric: red (2.5-5YR 5/8) with abundant, small, angular white and gray inclusions; surface fired or weathered reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6).

Pitcher with broad shoulder, raised ring marking base of neck, narrow neck flaring outward to trumpet-shaped mouth. Vertical handle, lunate in section at its base, attached at mid-neck and to shoulder (characteristic of 6th-century pitchers and cooking pots); the bottom of the handle was attached well to the right of the top.

Cf. C-2000-18, a plain-ware pitcher from the latrine north of the Theater, and C-1981-245, also Corinthian cooking fabric but differing because the handle is attached at the rim, from an early-6th-century manhole.

282 Basin with flanged rim Fig. 4

C-1965-661. Grid M:18-19, general fill; lot 3223 (which also includes a 6th-century cooking pot).

Complete profile except center of floor; a single fragment preserves about one-sixth of the body. H. 0.121, est. D. foot 0.280, est. D. rim 0.340, est. D. flange 0.382 m.

Probably Corinthian cooking fabric: relatively soft, reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/6, core 10YR 7/4) with moderate, poorly sorted inclusions and abundant solution voids; some rhombic gray and rounded white inclusions.

Basin with horizontal floor, heavy ring foot, and obliquely flaring wall. Thick horizontal flange below tapering rim with rounded lip. Groove on outside of foot. Groove on underside of floor. Heavily burned on the interior.

For the profile, cf. 166 (*Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 79, fig. 16), which was identified as cooking ware and came from lot 1996, dated first half of the 3rd century. Several successive forms of basins were found in the sanctuary, including 263-265 (*Corinth* XVIII.2, p. 122, fig. 30, pl. 16); other examples similar to 166 and 282 come from lots 2239 and 4439.

283 Byzantine matt-painted amphora shoulder Fig. 4

Lot 1948:1. Room Q:24, under tile destruction layer.

Shoulder fragment with lower handle attachment. 0.079×0.075 m.

Broad shoulder covered with tight wheel-ridging. Strap handle attached near carination. Traces of black paint on outside of handle.

284 Attic glazed lamp, square discus Fig. 5

L-4888. Grid M-N:12, surface; lot 4409 (lamp latest except for an Ottoman sherd).

Three joining fragments preserve back half. H. 0.037, p.L. 0.067, W. 0.072 m.

Attic fabric, underfired (5YR 6/6), with thin, reddish brown glaze (5YR 4/6).

Base: within two circles, incised branch. Incised 8-S rim. Plain square discus with scalloped edge and framing band. Solid handle with three grooves above, two below.

Cf. *Agora* VII, p. 143, no. 1429, pl. 27, there dated mid-4th century but listed by Karivieri under her no. 153 (1996, p. 206), where she dates it late 4th to early 5th century; Wohl 1981, p. 129, no. 13; *Kerameikos* XVI, p. 266, no. 4194, pl. 72. Signatures recorded with this rim are A-, Δ-, and incised branch, and all are glazed. The latest lamp with plain rectangular discus is a post-glazing lamp of Chione (Karivieri 1996, pp. 206–207, no. 156) dated to the second half of the 5th century.

285 Attic post-glazing lamp, plain discus Fig. 5

L-4882. Grid O-P:20–21, surface to 0.67 below top of wall (including part of the robbing trench of wall 11); lots 4348 and 4368.

Intact. H. 0.030, L. 0.093, W. 0.063 m.

Attic fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6.5/4) with abundant, small, dark grits and mica. Surface cracking and spalding unevenly.

Base: (encrusted) within two almond-shaped grooves. Flat rim has stamped circles separated by dashes between grooves; double grooves flank large wick-hole. Plain discus with single, central filling hole surrounded by ring; air-hole punched at edge of disk is flanked by stamped circles and cut by groove running to wick-hole. Double grooved solid handle extends to base. Burning around wick-hole.

Mentioned in *Corinth* XVIII.2, pp. 6, 21, n. 89, and in Karivieri 1996, pp. 16, 56. The best parallel for the shape and rim pattern remains *Agora* VII, p. 174, no. 2388, pl. 38. Cf. Karivieri 1996, no. 133 (dated first half of the 6th century but from a context of the second half of the 6th century) for the outline, but 285 lacks multiple filling holes.

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