LIFE AND DEATH AT A PORT IN ROMAN GREECE

The Kenchreai Cemetery Project, 2002–2006

ABSTRACT

This article summarizes the goals, methods, and discoveries of the Kenchreai Cemetery Project (2002–2006), an interdisciplinary study of burial grounds at the eastern port of Corinth during the Roman Empire, from the mid-1st to 7th century A.D. Work has concentrated on the main cemetery of cist graves and chamber tombs immediately north of the harbor on the Koutsongila ridge. The contextual study of the geology, topography, architecture, epitaphs, bones, wall painting, and artifacts has illuminated funerary ritual and its relationship to social structure during the early Empire. These burials attest to a diverse and prosperous community with a distinct elite stratum.

Kenchreai, the eastern port of Corinth on the Isthmus, possessed a bustling harbor and a substantial town during the Roman Empire. Situated at a natural crossroads between the eastern provinces and Italy, between the Peloponnese and central Greece, and close to several important settlements (Fig. 1), Roman Kenchreai developed into one of the busiest ports in southeastern Europe. The textual and material records reveal a populous town where diverse residents lived comfortably, surrounded by the natural beauty of the Saronic Gulf and the splendor of impressive buildings and rich art. Contemporary writers attest to the prosperity of the community, its religious diversity, and its monumental landscape.1 Excavations in 1962–1969 by the University of Chicago and Indiana University under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens uncovered dense public, commercial, and religious structures and copious artifacts, including magnificent glass panels in opus sectile, at the harbor's north and south moles.2 The port, which had apparently been located inland to the west during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, underwent a dramatic revival in the 1st century A.D., decades after the foundation of the Caesarian colony at Corinth. Although the “village and harbor” (κώμη καὶ λιμήν, Strabo 8.6.22) never gained administrative autonomy from the city, Kenchreai supported the urban hub for several centuries as a major node of trade, travel, and communication.3

1. Strabo 8.6.22 [C 380]; Acts 18:18, Rom. 16:1–2; [Dio Chrys.] 37.8 (oration by Favorinus of Arete); Paus. 2.2.3; Apul. Met. 10.35–11.25; Constitutio Apostolorum 7.46.10. The epigraphic corpus from Kenchreai, which Joseph Rife is preparing for publication, reflects and expands the broad impression gained from this literary testimony.

2. For overviews, see Hohlfelder 1976; Kenchreai I; and Wiseman 1978, p. 52.

The port's cemeteries provide abundant evidence for the topography of its settlement and the character of its community. Exploration by Greek and American teams between 1904 and 1995 uncovered 12 separate burial areas surrounding the harbor, though some of these, particularly to the northeast, were probably contiguous (Fig. 2).

Subterranean chamber tombs, sarcophagi, and cists dating to the early Roman Empire (1st–3rd centuries) have been found in a narrow coastal zone ca. 600 m south of the south mole and over a long tract extending from the prominent ridge called Koutsongila, immediately north of the north mole, up the coast ca. 1 km. During the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods (5th–7th centuries), residents made graves west of the harbor, and they continued to use the north and south cemeteries for burial in both new cists and preexisting chamber tombs. They also interred their dead at Christian basilicas, one ca. 550 m northeast of the harbor and another at the south mole.

4. Bibliography by burial area: 
The Kenchreai Cemetery Project (KCP) has conducted a systematic study of these cemeteries in order to understand local settlement and society. The present report summarizes the initial phase of exploratory research in the cemeteries before a second phase of wide excavation in the northern part of the ancient settlement, which is planned for 2007–2009. This project has adopted a new theoretical and methodological framework for the investigation of Greek death, and is expected to produce the fullest picture of the dynamic relationship between burial and society for any site of Roman date in Greece.

5. Rife first explored the cemeteries of Kenchreai during his survey of the Corinthian mortuary landscape in conjunction with the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey in 2000; see Tartaron et al. 2006, p. 461. Since 2002 Rife has directed KCP under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, with the permission of the Ministry of Culture, and under the oversight of the 4th and 37th Ephoreias of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Nafplion and Ancient Corinth. Cornell University supported the brief reconnaissance mission in June 2002; Macalester College has sponsored KCP since the 2003 season.

6. For previous reports on KCP, see AR 49 (2003), pp. 17–18; AR 50 (2004), pp. 15–17; AR 51 (2005), pp. 15–16. See also Sarris et al. 2007; Barbet, Rife, and Monier, forthcoming; and Rife, forthcoming. For an overview of KCP, see http://www.macalester.edu/classics/kenchreai/.
KCP is compiling all evidence for burial to the south, west, and north of the harbor. Our ongoing study of several previously excavated burial areas (Fig. 2:5–12) has involved the compilation and reconsideration of old notes, drawings, photographs, and finds together with visits to those areas. Apart from this extensive survey of Kenchreai’s cemeteries, KCP has concentrated on the Koutsongila ridge and adjacent land to the north, which was apparently the port’s main burial area during the Empire (Fig. 2:1–4). The sepulchral types, funerary artifacts, and evidence for burial practices in graves and tombs found south and west of the harbor closely resemble those found in the north cemetery. Therefore, on the basis of our current knowledge, the remains in the north cemetery can be considered representative of mortuary behavior at Roman Kenchreai.

Over the past several decades, looters have uncovered 58 burial sites on Koutsongila and in the area to the north, comprising 28 cist graves and 30 subterranean chamber tombs (Fig. 3). Despite frequent disturbance, these graves and tombs still contain abundant architecture, wall paintings, human and animal bones, artifacts, and intact stratified deposits. So far KCP has only investigated these opened burials and their larger environment. Although our study is focused on one area of what was a dense, expansive cemetery, this area was situated in the port’s most prominent locale, close to and above the harbor. According to cautious estimation, this group of graves and tombs contains the burials of at least (and probably many more than) 800 individuals who lived and died at Kenchreai between roughly the mid-1st and the 6th or 7th century.

KCP has adopted an innovative approach to the study of ancient burial. We have employed interdisciplinary techniques to document the natural setting and the cultural and biological remains of the cemetery on Koutsongila and nearby to the north. Our methods have included intensive surface survey, geophysical survey, geological and topographical study, “cleaning” (localized stratigraphic excavation in contexts with variable degrees of anthropogenic disturbance in order to expose features), and the analysis of artifacts, wall painting, plaster and mortar, and human and animal bones. From the collected evidence we have tried to reconstruct the ritual process, or chain of meaningful activities, before, during, and after the event of burial. We have subsequently explored the relationship between social structure, burial space, and funerary ritual as reconstructed from their material and spatial components. Burial space and funerary ritual together serve as an arena for the assertion and contestation of identities within a social structure, or a network of relationships defined by hierarchical roles, group memberships, and ideological, religious, ethnic, or cultural affiliations.

The consideration of material from private and public contexts in an ancient settlement can clarify the relationship between archaeological data from its cemeteries and local social structure. The comparative study of artifacts from Koutsongila and the harbor has helped us understand how residents used materials and spaces to identify themselves in both settings, and to what extent funerary objects served not only ritual but also commercial and domestic purposes. Finally, on the basis of our interpretation of funerary activities and mortuary landscape, we have assessed diachronic and regional variability in social structure. This assessment has focused

7. Rife is conducting this study with the generous assistance of Paragiota Kasimis and Vasilis Tassinos, supervisors for the Ephoreia, and the staffs of the Isthmia and Corinth Museums.

8. This estimate is based not simply on the number of burial compartments we have observed, but also on the number of individual skeletons we have identified.


10. Two other research components are planned for coming seasons: the evaluation of taphonomic factors in the microenvironment of tomb chambers and burial compartments, and the analysis of archaeobotanical remains from contexts associated with burial.
Figure 3. Graves and tombs on the Koutsongila ridge. Contour interval 1 m. C. Mundigler, J. L. Rife, D. R. Edwards, and M. Nelson
on differences and similarities over time between burial at Kenchreai and burial at Corinth and other urban and rural sites in the northeastern Peloponnese.

Our application of this approach to the north cemetery at Kenchreai can shed light not only on the specific character and history of the port, but also on its broader significance as a microcosm of urban society in the eastern provinces. In particular, KCP examines two essential dimensions of life at Kenchreai depicted in ancient literature and revealed by prior excavations at the harbor: commercial prosperity and the formation of a local elite; and cultural diversity with prevalent eastern influences. In this report we first summarize KCP's discoveries north of the harbor and our interpretations of them. We then discuss the contribution of this research to understanding Corinthian social and cultural history, especially during the early Roman Empire.

THE KOUTSONGILA RIDGE: GEOLOGY AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The Koutsongila ridge overlooks to the southwest the natural horseshoe-shaped bay and to the west-southwest a low-lying coastal plain and incised stream valley (Figs. 2–4). Koutsongila reaches a local maximum height of ca. 34 m above sea level (masl), though its northwest extension rises higher. The ridge is bounded to the south and west by steep to vertical slopes; to the north it dips into a shallow valley. The coastal cliff on the east side of the ridge is ca. 20 masl to the north and ca. 5 masl to the south, with a small, bare promontory near the southern end that descends to sea level. The surface of the ridge slopes gently seaward to the east-southeast.

The geological stratigraphy of Koutsongila is Pliocene–Pleistocene in age and consists of marl overlain by nearshore sandstone and conglomerate, all of which are crosscut by valley fill alluvium cropping out in a south-southeast trend. A well-cemented cobble conglomerate constitutes the surface unit across most of the ridge except for its eastern edge, where the valley fill runs along the top of the cliff. The ridge's surface consists of a well-developed caliche (calcium carbonate accumulation from weathering) of 0.5–2.0 m thickness. This caliche forms a resistant cap on all geologic units exposed on the ridge. The bedrock is covered by a layer (up to 2 m thick) of colluvium, or unconsolidated material generated by the erosion of bedrock and buildings, that tends to move slowly under the influence of gravity. This colluvium varies in thickness depending on the location of buried structures, which block its downslope movement, causing accumulation and eventually generating a topographic break.

Major seismic activity in the Late Roman period, particularly in the late 4th century, caused not only ca. 2 m of subsidence in the harbor and along adjacent shores, submerging the moles and waterfront buildings, but also concomitant coastal erosion along Koutsongila. The level orientation of all tombs and associated structures shows that this subsidence was not accompanied by tilting. Although there are several faults in the vicinity, we have observed no evidence for displacement on these faults.

11. Richard Dunn conducted and reported on the geological study; see Sarris et al. 2007, pp. 7–10, 20–21.
after the Roman era. Large sections of rock at the base of the cliff along Koutsongila, especially to the north, point to gradual coastal retreat through wave undercutting and collapse. The distribution of fallen rock, the location of submerged beachrock and probable wave-cut notches, and the dimensions of tombs that have partially collapsed into the sea (Fig. 3) together suggest that the northern shoreline and cliff of Koutsongila have moved westward ca. 10–30 m since the Roman era. Submerged structures between the promontory and the north mole (see below) show that the southern shoreline and cliff of Koutsongila have retreated ca. 30 m over the same time span (Fig. 4).

Surface survey by fieldwalking, subsurface survey by geophysical prospection, and architectural documentation and mapping have revealed that Koutsongila was a transitional zone between the harborside settlement and the peripheral burial ground. A broad picture of the nature, distribution, and sequence of site use can be drawn from numerous structural remains recorded on the surface (74 features, including single blocks, walls, and buildings), a moderate density of artifacts found on the surface (though visibility was mitigated by vegetation), and several distinct subsurface anomalies (well over 100 walls and cavities) registered in the southern part of the ridge by ground-penetrating radar and electromagnetic and magnetic techniques. Many features and artifacts on the ridge have been exposed by the 272 looting holes created by a range of digging implements both manual and mechanized, from shovels to plows and backhoes.

Remains predating the Roman Empire are slight on Koutsongila. Prehistoric sherds found here by Carl Blegen and Richard Hope Simpson suggest activity but, given the high frequency of prehistoric material in habitable zones across the Corinthia, need not indicate a large Bronze Age settlement. Very little material culture of Classical or Hellenistic date has been found on the ridge, which supports the hypothesis of Robert Scranton that the Greek settlement was concentrated farther west. Illicit excavation, however, has turned up numerous stones from monumental structures probably of the Classical or Hellenistic period. These ashlars in oolitic limestone,
which probably came from nearby quarries, such as those on neighboring hills to the west or in the valley ca. 750 m northeast of Koutsongila,\textsuperscript{16} are large, dry-stacked foundation blocks set into clean cuttings in the bedrock (Fig. 5). Although it is difficult to trace a pattern among the blocks, many of which looters have dislodged, they seem to form a line running north–south across the middle of the ridge’s eastern slope. One plausible interpretation is that these blocks comprised a fortification wall at the northeastern limit of Kenchreai. A 6-m-long stretch of wall of identical construction that is approximately aligned with these blocks has been found ca. 150 m north–northwest of Koutsongila. Scranton identified this as part of a Greek fortification wall that ran down to the sea.\textsuperscript{17} Written sources for the early settlement indicate that it was a military station and that it was walled.\textsuperscript{18} Whether or not these blocks did belong to a city wall, where exactly such a wall may have been located, and whether it continued to stand in the Roman Empire are all questions to address through excavation.

At least some of these blocks seem to have come from a large rectangular building (ca. 17 × 25–30 m) that was detected by geophysical survey on the gentle slope directly above the ridge’s southern cliff. This impressive building must have dominated the view of the harbor whenever it existed. Its considerable size, approximate east–west orientation, and rectangular form resembling a precinct raise the possibility that this was an early temple. It also has the basic plan of a large peristyle court, though such a structure of Roman date most likely would not have incorporated immense ashlar masonry.

Local residents first used the area for intensive habitation and burial during the Roman Empire. Across the southern surface of the ridge we have found fragments of brick masonry, mosaic pavement, and marble revetment typical of local construction from the 1st to 3rd centuries. These remains seem to mark the continuation onto the ridge of similar buildings at the base of the north mole. Together they probably represent lavish residences with multiple phases.\textsuperscript{19} Clearly the area was densely occupied, and structures extended up to the waterfront. A concrete surface and massive blocks submerged up to 2 m and located ca. 30 m from the

16. Kenchreai I, p. 8, pls. V, VI: B (quarries on Inland and Middle Spurs); Hayward 2003, pp. 28–29, fig. 2: 9 (quarries northeast of Koutsongila). Broad vertical faces in the bedrock exposed in looting holes in the northern part of Koutsongila might indicate quarrying on this seaward ridge as well.

17. Kenchreai I, pp. 6–7, fig. 4, pl. IV: A. Scranton’s reconstruction of the northern and western route of this wall resorts to conjecture.

18. RE XI, 1921, cols. 167–170, s.v. Kenchreai 2 (F. Bölte) collects the ancient testimony, including Scylax 55 ed. Müller (Kenchreai is a “walled settlement” [τειχως]).

19. On the building complex at the base of the north mole, which earlier excavators identified as an Aphrodisian but without persuasive argument, see Kenchreai I, pp. 79–98; Rothaus 2000, pp. 66–69.
modern shoreline between the north mole and the promontory indicate the presence of a seawall or artificial platform along the southeastern edge of the ridge during the Roman era (Fig. 4). A segment of waterworn wheel ruts on the promontory shows that a cart-road ran along this coastal structure. It is unclear whether the road terminated on the promontory or continued northward up onto the cliff, because the coast has eroded since antiquity. The whole area must have been an ideal place to reside: it was close to the heart of the port, highly accessible from both water and land, and advantageously situated to catch breezes from the sea and to afford a spectacular vista of the harbor and the Gulf.

While it is uncertain how far north on the ridge these Early Roman structures extended, the southernmost burial of roughly contemporary date is only ca. 40 m from the northernmost brick structure. If the large rectangular building detected by geophysical survey was in fact a temple precinct in use during the Roman period, it is only ca. 20 m from the nearest known chamber tomb. As has been noted, a city wall may have separated the cemetery from this residential quarter and putative temple. In any event, it seems certain that mortuary, domestic, and perhaps sacred space existed in close proximity in the port’s northern district.

From the mid-1st to the mid- or late 3rd century, the cemetery of cist graves and chamber tombs developed, as is discussed in detail below. Subsurface anomalies registered by geophysical survey indicate the presence of many more burials than the 58 opened by clandestine activity. Residents built the tombs on the eastern slope of the ridge in a staggered array of three or four north–south rows, though this pattern dissolves to the north (Fig. 3). According to our reconstruction of the coastline, these tombs were so close to the sea that they would have been plainly visible to ships approaching the harbor from the northeast and east. The\(^{20}\) They also would have been conspicuous to travelers along the road between the north mole and the promontory, if in fact it continued northward along the ridge’s cliff.

The cemetery on Koutsongila thus exemplifies a Gräberstraße, wherein burials with a monumental aspect cluster along thoroughfares, in this case a maritime one. Although scholars first explored this ancient phenomenon in depth with reference to roadside tombs in Italy and the Roman West,\(^{21}\) it is not unique to that particular political and sociocultural setting. Streets of tombs reflect an essential need in large settlements with stratified communities to exploit peripheral space for social identification and competition through display. Burial places like the Athenian Kerameikos and the chora of Metaponto demonstrate that streets of tombs appeared in

\(^{20}\) While the northern cliff of Koutsongila, adjacent to the densest area of tombs, has eroded an estimated 10–30 m since the Roman era (see above), there is no positive evidence that more tombs now lost to the sea once existed to the east, along the ridge’s ancient cliff-line. From our current knowledge of mortuary space on Koutsongila we have concluded that an additional 30 m of land east of the present cliff-line probably would not have provided adequate space for another full row of tombs; much less than 30 m certainly would not have. Each row required a minimum of ca. 15 m east–west for construction, the passage of pedestrians, and the performance of burial and commemorative activities. It seems that the addition of an eastern-most row to the cemetery plan would have created an unusually crowded burial area, whereas the existing tombs (nos. 4, 5, 9, 12, 26, 27) are more or less generously spaced. The slope of the ridge would have rendered all tombs highly visible from the sea, regardless of their position by row.

\(^{21}\) See von Hesberg and Zanker 1987.
Greek landscapes long before Roman dominion. This pattern recurs again and again in ports and cities of the eastern provinces, from Buthrotum, where a cemetery of chamber tombs faced the Vivari Channel to the Ionian Sea, to Phrygian Hierapolis, where the road entering the city on the plateau above the Pamukkale passed through a veritable necropolis. At Roman Corinth, too, residents built tombs along the major roads into the city from the Isthmus to the east and from Lechaion across the plain to the north.

Although the few burials north and northeast of Koutsongila do not provide a clear picture of spatial distribution (Fig. 2:2–4), it seems likely that tombs and graves were arranged continuously over this large area during the Roman era. If so, travelers approaching Kenchreai from the north and east would have passed through a vast cemetery before entering the settlement around the harbor. The northernmost-known tomb (Fig. 2:6) is a funerary monument with extravagant marble sheathing erected in the 1st century. This building may have fronted a road approaching Kenchreai from the north. While it is unclear whether other tombs surrounded this magnificent structure, the area lies a considerable distance away from the coherent group of chamber tombs on Koutsongila.

Residents still occupied buildings around the harbor and buried their dead in the cemetery on the ridge during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods (5th–7th centuries). The complex at the base of the north mole underwent major modifications to its plan, perhaps repairs following catastrophic earthquakes in the late 4th century. An imposing lighthouse or signal tower with thick walls was erected at the inner corner of the sunken north mole. A small apsidal structure, probably a Christian basilica, was built near the southeastern corner of the ridge above the promontory and close to the new cliff that was developing with the submergence of the seawall and incipient coastal erosion. It seems probable, though there is no direct evidence as yet, that this church housed burials, like the one on the south mole and the one erected immediately south of the funerary monument northeast of Koutsongila (Fig. 2:5, 11). Residents reopened certain chamber tombs, which seem to have fallen into disuse by the late

22. Knigge 1991 (Kerameikos); Carter, Morter, and Toxey 1998 (Ment-ponto); D. R. Hernandez, pers. comm. (Buthrotum); Schneider Equini 1972 (Hierapolis).
23. Rife (1999, pp. 206–221) provides a general discussion of burial topography in the Early Roman Corinthia. See Wiseman 1978, pp. 69–71, figs. 85–87, on tombs along the road into Corinth from the Isthmus, and Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969, pp. 124–127, fig. 3, pl. 68,β, for an illustrative section of roadside burials north of the city. Recent excavations for the Suburban Rail to Corinth and Patras have uncovered similar evidence in abundance, which is featured in a public display in the Corinth Station.
25. The likelihood of other tombs in the area seems high. In late June 2000, Rife found a disturbed concentration of large pieces of marble blocks ca. 35 m southwest of this structure. This decorative stone may well have come from a funerary monument of Roman date. Scranton and Ramage (1967, p. 185) report the presence of foundation cuttings in the bedrock 10.45 m east of the magnificent monument. These cuttings have appropriate dimensions for another funerary monument (3.40 x 3.25 m), but unfortunately nothing remains of the building to which the footings belonged. The possibility of discovering more burials further north and east of this general area is prevented by the presence of the Isthmia Beach Campground and the Kalamaki Beach Hotel.
26. Rife is preparing a historical and archaeological overview of Late Roman and Byzantine Kenchreai. One important conclusion of this study is the continuity of settlement and maritime activity, albeit on a reduced scale, well into the 7th century and perhaps later, contra Hohlfelder 1975 and Kenchreai III, p. 4.
3rd–early 4th century, used them for burial, and consecrated some of them with the sign of the cross. Moreover, new graves rapidly filled the open spaces around the decaying tombs and spread farther south into what had been the town’s northeastern quarter (Fig. 3).

During the port’s Middle and Late Byzantine rebirth (9th–15th centuries), the nature and location of local settlement—apart from the harbor’s successful operation—are obscure. Residents erected modest rubble structures at the south end of Koutsongila, and some occupied the derelict tombs as underground domiciles. In one chamber (tomb 22), residents scrawled pious invocations on the walls, prepared food in coarse-ware pots, and consumed a wide range of foodstuffs in a mixed diet of land and marine resources.29 During the Ottoman and Modern eras, after the tombs had filled with sediment and disappeared from view, residents used Koutsongila for cultivation and grazing. During the Second World War, German troops built a network of concrete bunkers, tunnels, and artillery emplacements west of the cemetery at the top of the ridge to guard the anchorage and nearby roads. In recent decades, the ridge has become a favorite destination for transients, garbage-dumpers, convivial spirits, vandals, and looters.

THE CEMETERY: FORM, IDENTITY, AND PRACTICE

KCP has explored 28 cist graves and 30 chamber tombs in the cemetery north of the harbor, though one grave (no. 26) and two tombs (nos. 28, 29) were located north of Koutsongila proper (Figs. 2:2–4; 3). Our investigation has involved not only a survey of the form, condition, and contents of all graves and tombs opened by looting, but also the excavation of fills and burials in 14 graves (nos. 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12–14, 16, 18, 19, 24, 27, 28) and six tombs (nos. 6, 10, 13, 14, 22, 30).30 KCP has also integrated the findings of teams from the American School of Classical Studies (1969) and the Archaeological Service (1988–1990), who together excavated two graves (nos. 2, 14) and six tombs (nos. 3, 4, 8, 9, 19, 23) on Koutsongila.31 These discoveries together provide ample evidence for reconstructing the uses of funerary ritual and mortuary space during two major phases in the port’s history, the Early Roman (mid-1st to mid- or late 3rd century) and Late Roman (5th–6th centuries) periods.


29. David Reese (Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University) conducted the zooarchaeological study. He has identified the following taxa from Byzantine deposits in tomb 22: sheep/goat (Ovis/Capra); rabbit (Lepus); chicken (Gallus); common seabream (Pagrus pagrus); purple murex (Murex brandaris, Murex trunculus); cerith (Cerithium); limpet (Patella); spondylus (Spondylus); clam ( Glycymeris); and ark (Arca).

30. Rife directed the investigation of the graves and tombs with the expert assistance of T. Tartaron.

31. The only publication of the American excavations in the cemetery is a brief discussion in Kenchreai I, pp. 11–12, pl. IX. The excavations by the Archaeological Service are documented only in the unpublished note-books stored at the Ephoria in Ancient Corinth.
The cist graves are characterized by their marginal location, simple design, formal variety, and artifactual paucity (Fig. 6). Most are situated on the northern, western, and southern periphery of the chamber tombs, a considerable distance from the waterfront and certainly invisible from afar (Fig. 3). The close spacing of the burials would not have allowed for elaborate graveside rites involving numerous mourners. The cists are narrow cuttings through the lowest horizon of colluvium and into the bedrock. They take the form of either rectangular pits or oblique shafts covered by stone slabs or tiles (on average 1.98 m long × 0.66 m wide × 0.93 m deep). There is no indication that these graves were clustered in groups or marked at the surface. The cists typically contained one or two inhumed corpses and only occasional artifacts, including unguentaria, bowls, lamps, and pitchers.

The earliest graves date to the mid- to late 1st century and the latest date to the 6th century or later.32 The graves surrounding the tombs in the central area of Koutsongila seem to represent a Late Antique expansion of burial, whereas graves contemporary with the first use of the chamber tombs appear to be restricted to the northern edge of the ridge. Notwithstanding the limitations of a small burial sample, this pattern might indicate that chamber tombs and graves occupied separate areas during the cemetery’s earliest phase.

The chamber tombs are strikingly different from the cist graves in placement, design, and content (Fig. 7). As has been noted, most tombs are situated in even rows facing east toward the Saronic Gulf and possibly a coastal road running along the shore, from where they would have been highly visible. The arrangement of the seven northernmost tombs is less orderly than the tombs farther south (Fig. 3). The builders cut all but two of the known chamber tombs into the fine-grained, homogenous valley fill deposit, avoiding the conglomerate that comprises most of the ridge, which is much coarser and prone to collapse. When excavating the chambers from

32. Rife (1999, pp. 226–232) discusses the typology of graves in the Early Roman Corinthia; Isthmia IX gives an extended treatment of burial forms in the northeastern Peloponnese during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. Two forms represented on Koutsongila, the narrow cist cut obliquely into the bedrock (graves 3–13, 20, 21, 24) and the wide compartment cut lengthwise into a vertical rock face (grave 15), have parallels at Corinth and the Isthmus dating to the 6th–7th centuries.
this rock stratum, the builders placed the ceiling at the base of the durable caliche, regardless of its local thickness. Thus they exploited the natural properties of the rock to maximize the structural integrity of the chambers. Since this adaptation implies practical knowledge of local geology, professional quarrymen may well have been employed for the task.

The chambers were reached from ground level by means of a narrow corridor with a descending stairway (dromos), which was often covered by a rectangular building. Although little exterior architecture survives, the extant foundations, including one monolithic threshold block 1.8 m long, show that at least some buildings had monumental facades and heavy doors.
Copious rooftiles, mortar chunks, and limestone pieces and rare architectural fragments found in collapse deposits inside the dromoi and chambers reveal that some buildings had rubble walls, a simple entablature, and a gabled roof. The dromoi of other tombs were covered by low-lying barrel vaults in brick masonry. All these aboveground structures served to mark the site of burial, protect the entrance from the elements, prevent pillaging or vandalism, and display the epitaph.

To date, only three epitaphs have been recovered from the tombs, but three others found in secondary contexts almost certainly originated on Koutsongila.\(^\text{33}\) They were all inscribed in Latin on marble plaques that

---

\(^{33}\) Rife will include the epitaphs in his study of the epigraphic corpus from the site (see n. 1, above). All are unpublished except the epitaph of M. Iulius Crispus and his family, which most likely originated in the cemetery on Koutsongila (Charitonides 1952; Šašel-Kos 1979, pp. 56–57).
36. One personal name, Ἀνωτόλη, was painted at eye-level on the east wall of tomb 9 (K1004: *Kenchreai* I, p. 11, pl. IX:B), but it did not label a burial compartment.
38. On the composition of the colonial aristocracy, see Spawforth 1996; Rizakis 2001, pp. 41–46. Cummer (1970, pp. 22–33; 1971, pp. 220–224) has suggested from an optimistic reconstruction of a highly fragmentary epitaph that the funerary monument northeast of the ridge (Fig. 2:6) belonged to L. Castricius Regulus, *duovir quinquennalis* under Tiberius and Isthmian agonothetes.

![Figure 9. Epitaph of Tettia Eupraxia and family (KI1988-001) from tomb 23. Photo J. L. Rife and A. J. Suehle](image)

would have been displayed at the front of the tomb building, probably over the entrance. These record in formulaic terms34 the construction of the tomb by one person for use by her- or himself, the spouse and children, their descendants, and sometimes freedpersons. Since the texts were erected at a fixed point in time and show no revisions, they only identify the owner and the immediate family; they cannot specify the names or the number of all children, relatives, and dependents who might later use the tomb. Rather than providing a detailed record of the tomb’s occupants, the epitaphs create an ideal image of a large and enduring household with one nuclear family or one married couple at its core.35

A text from the tomb that Tettia Eupraxia erected during her life ends with the standard abbreviation H. M. H. N. S. for *hoc monumentum heredes non sequetur* (“This tomb will not pass to heirs [sc. of the adjacent land]”; Fig. 9). The text indicates that Eupraxia wanted to preserve the tomb’s continuous, exclusive use by her family for a long time. Presumably, a similar sentiment was common among those who used Koutsongila for burial. While it is conceivable that different families used the tombs over time, there are no interior divisions for separate burial groups, or painted or inscribed names labeling single burial compartments.36 Nor has the cemetery produced evidence for burial by professional associations or clubs, though such organized activities did exist in the Roman East, and they have been proposed for burials at Corinth, albeit without material or textual support.37

The family members named in the epitaphs typically have Greek *cognomina* but Roman *nomina*, and all but one lack a stated filiation. This onomastic combination identifies Greeks who were either freed, descended from freedpersons, or descended from grantees of Roman citizenship. No named persons show obvious connections to the colonial aristocracy.38 One man of colonial but hardly aristocratic stock was a veteran of *legio II Adiutrix*.39 Two other epitaphs name men from Sardis and Phocaea (*IG* 4 IV 206, 207), but they were found in the modern village of Kechrees, and it is
unknown from which local cemetery they came. Nonetheless, the combined epigraphic evidence from Kenchreai suggests a mixed resident population of Roman colonials, native Greeks, and eastern immigrants. Those who buried their dead north of the harbor belonged to at least the first two of these classes, if not the third as well.

The tombs of these residents display a canonical plan with little variation (Fig. 7). They were rectangular rooms (on average 3.73 m long × 3.27 m wide × 2.53 m high) with vaulted or flat ceilings containing the burials of the dead, stone furnishings, and sometimes painted decoration. In most tombs, intact corpses were inhumed in compartments (loculi) in the lower zone of the walls, usually two on each of the three walls facing the entrance, and cremated remains were placed in urns in niches in the upper zone of the wall, usually three or four on each of the three walls facing the entrance. It is clear from the design of these tombs that they were built to accommodate both inhumation and cremation. Two minor deviations from this standard design are the presence of arcsolia in the walls of two tombs (nos. 19, 21) and cists in the floors of three tombs (nos. 18, 19, 22), all located at the northern end of the ridge (Fig. 3). Even these atypical plans incorporate niches for cremations.

Residents seem to have adapted the canonical design, which has no Corinthian precedent, from Greek and eastern models.\textsuperscript{40} The vaulted chambers with loculi resemble well-documented tombs of Hellenistic and Roman date elsewhere in Greece, the Near East, and Egypt, for instance, at Aigina, Chania, Dura Europos, Palmyra, and Alexandria. The niches resemble unmarked rows of compartments in Hellenistic and Roman tombs in Macedonia and at Pergamon and Alexandria.\textsuperscript{41} The synchronous use of loculi and niches in tombs was rare in the Greek world, but the particular arrangement at Kenchreai has a close parallel in a Late Hellenistic tomb in the Ai Yanni necropolis at Rhodes. Moreover, the tomb buildings with gabled roofs, perhaps resembling \textit{naiskoi}, evoke the temple-tombs of Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor.\textsuperscript{42}

Our investigation of the tomb chambers, the burial compartments, and the human remains has revealed how mourners disposed of the dead. KCP has found stratified deposits representing the early use of the chambers that are sealed under collapse debris and in-washed sediment, untouched by recent looting. Clandestine diggers have disturbed most loculi, removing an unknown number of grave goods and mixing skeletal elements within compartments. Moreover, bones in the loculi are highly fragmentary due to the effects of long-term processes such as oscillations in environmental moisture. Nevertheless, we have been able to recover numerous artifacts overlooked by looters, whose excavation is hardly thorough or consistent, and we have been able to isolate and document individual burials and skeletons within loculi.

The contents of the niches are in a rather different state of preservation. The urns and the cremated remains inside them have been removed from many niches, presumably when visitors took away the sturdy vessels for reuse during the Late Roman, Byzantine, or even Modern eras. In other niches, cremated bone has survived in a heap, either where it had been originally

\textsuperscript{40} See Rife, forthcoming, for a full typological discussion.

\textsuperscript{41} For comparanda, see Welter 1938, pp. 509, 517, fig. 31 (Aigina); Markoulaki and Niniou-Kindeli 1990 (Chania); Toll 1946 (Dura Europos); Gawlikowski 1970, pp. 107–128 (Palmyra); Adriani 1963, pp. 107–197, passim (Alexandria); Miller 1993 (Macedonia); Radt 1999, p. 274, fig. 216 (Pergamon); Breccia 1912, pp. xli–l, pl. IX:22 (Alexandria).

\textsuperscript{42} On the Rhodian tomb, see Maiuri 1925, pp. 124–128, fig. 3; Maiuri and Jacobich 1928, p. 53, fig. 34; Fraser 1977, pp. 53–54. A tomb of Late Hellenistic or Roman date at Perge (Abbasoğlu 2001, pp. 183–188, fig. 7–16) displays a vaulted chamber, cists cut into the floor, and niches in the walls much like tomb 22 at Kenchreai. Cormack (2004) provides a useful survey of temple-tombs in Roman Asia Minor; cf. also Goette 1994, pp. 296–300, for several examples in Greece, e.g., at Karystos, Chaireoneia, Patras, and Thera.
deposited or where it had been poured out from single urns (Fig. 10). In yet other cases, the urn and its contents had fallen (or been swept) from the niche directly onto the chamber floor below.43

The study of the skeletal remains from these contexts is beginning to provide significant information on mortuary practices, especially cremation.44 Although the bones under study are overall poorly preserved, careful examination has permitted the identification of individuals in numerous depositional units, sometimes by age and sex. Because of the fragmentary condition of the material, it has not been possible to conduct meaningful analysis of skeletal morphology or discrete traits, which can aid in characterizing the local population and its relationship to other genetic groups. The state of preservation has also hampered the study of paleopathology. The few osseous indices of disease or injury observed in the total sample include fibular periostitis; fractures of the clavicle, radius, rib, knee, and ankle; and two examples of distal pedal symphalangism. Our general impression at this early stage is that the sample preserves relatively little evidence for age-related changes, such as lumbar osteophytosis, or dental pathology, such as caries. We hope that a fuller picture of health and life experience will emerge from the continued study of the skeletal assemblage, which will increase with our growing exploration of Koutsongila.

The integrated study of archaeological deposits and biological remains in the tombs has illuminated the treatment of men, women, and children after death. Residents who chose inhumation would presumably have brought the corpse from the bereaved household within a few days of death in a procession. Articles of dress found in numerous loculi (e.g., in tombs 9, 10, 13, 14) show that the deceased were clothed, shod, and sometimes beautified with jewelry. The ornamental objects, which are often found on or near the heads and torsos of women and children, include carved bone
and bronze pins, gold hoop earrings with dangling beads, garments with
gold thread, and gold finger rings with gemstones in simple bezel settings
(Figs. 11, 12). In one burial (tomb 13, loculus IV), three silver spatulæ for
applying cosmetics were found just to the right of the head of a woman aged
35–55 years at death. Coins were often placed over the mouth or chest of
the deceased, and terracotta unguentaria or glass vessels of various shapes
were sometimes deposited alongside the body, the head, or the feet.

Certain loculi (e.g., tomb 10, loculus IV; tomb 13, loculus III) preserve
traces of wood and nails, which indicate the presence of a coffin or bier.
Mourners laid out the body in a supine, extended position in the loculus,
covered it with tiles or slabs, and then closed the front of the compartment
with a rubble wall or a screen. The discovery of multiple skeletons
both below and above the coverings, up to as many as eight, as in tomb
14, loculus IV, demonstrates that the loculi were opened on several occasions for burial.

The study of burned bone from the tombs provides important new
evidence for the obscure practice of cremation in Roman Greece.45 Since
no pyre debris has been found in graves or tombs on Koutsongila, mourners probably did not conduct cremation at the burial site but at a separate
pyre somewhere in or near the cemetery. The incinerated bone fragments
display the kind of severe deformation characteristic of bone burned in
the flesh under prolonged exposure to temperatures over 800°C: periosteal
calcination, transverse fracturing, longitudinal splitting, shrinkage, and
twisting.46 If the corpse was placed on the pyre in an extended rather than
a flexed position, which seems likely, then the anatomical distribution of
deformed bone indicates that often the entire body was enveloped in
potent, sustained flame. Mourners would then have extracted a sample of
recognizable fragments comprising no more than 20–25% of the skeleton
from the pyre, placed them in a terracotta urn, and carried the urn to the
tomb for placement in a niche.

The cinerary urns at Kenchreai, which are comparable to published
examples from Corinth, were cylindrical vessels with incised and painted
wavy bands on the sides, a piecrust lip at the shoulder, and conical lids (Fig. 13).47 Certain deposits of cremated bone representing the contents

45. See Rife, forthcoming, for a
more complete discussion of cremation.
Ubelaker is studying the procedure of
burning corpses at Roman Kenchreai
by comparing evidence from archaeo-
logical and forensic contexts.
47. The urn in Fig. 13 also
appears in Kenchreai I, p. 11, pl. IX:C; it was on
display in the Isthmia Museum for
over 25 years. Cf. various other urns
from the cemeteries of Roman Corinth:
e.g., Corinth XIII, p. 168, pls. 76, 99;
Charitonides 1968, p. 121, pl. 120β; y;
Protonotariou-Deilaki 1974, pp. 71–72,
fig. 4; Walbank 2005, pp. 252–254, 260,
figs. 9.2:b, 9.4, 9.9.
of single urns have been found to contain more than one person (tomb 14, niches B, J, K). In such cases, mourners must have taken an urn already partly filled with burned bone to the pyre to add the freshly cremated remains of another person. It is also possible that in some instances cremated remains were transported to the tombs and deposited in niches without using an urn.

Since both loculi and niches were integral to the original design of the tombs, the question remains of what distinguished the inhumed dead from the cremated dead. The combination of rites was not a measure to conserve space, nor was cremation secondary to inhumation, because all bones were burned in the flesh. Both men and women, adults and children were inhumed and cremated. Philosophical or religious orientation and personal preference are unlikely determinants of corporeal disposal on the grounds that tomb design and epitaphic commemoration prescribed use by families. One possible explanation is that family members were inhumed and freedpersons or even slaves were cremated. The loculi dominated the interior space; they occupied a focal point in the painted decoration; and they accommodated the deposition of numerous objects with the corpse. The compact niches, without decorative emphasis or associated artifacts, suggest that cremated individuals held a lower status than those inhumed. The only members of the burial groups cited in local epitaphs who obviously possessed a lower relative status were freedpersons. But it is quite possible that household residents or familial associates of lesser status who were not always mentioned epigraphically, both freed dependents and slaves, received anonymous burial in niches, as has been argued for family tombs in cemeteries around Rome.48

Figure 13. Cinerary urn (KP1969-013) from tomb 9. Photo J. L. Rife and A. J. Suhle

48. Eck 1987, pp. 65–68; 1988; Saller 1995, pp. 99–100. In such cases, the high cost of cremation using large amounts of wood in the timber-poor Corinthia may have been supported by the tomb’s owner as a public expression of household unity or munificent patronage. On the other hand, poor cremations could have utilized cheap materials, such as orchard clippings or other combustible refuse.

Furniture and artifacts in the tomb chambers attest to activities during and after the funeral and deposition. Several chambers contained stone benches along the east wall and rectangular or columnar altars along the west wall (Figs. 3, 7). These must have served as surfaces for seating and
for placing either offerings or objects used during commemorative rites. One tomb (no. 4) contained a rudimentary, small-scale bust sculpted in limestone with schematic features painted in red (Fig. 14). Similar funerary sculptures, most likely representing the deceased, have been found in tombs of Roman date in Jordan and northern Palestine.\footnote{Samellas 2002, pp. 131–132, n. 38, fig. 3 (e.g., Abila, Pella of the Decapolis, Tell El-Hammam).} Mourners brought oil lamps for illuminating the chambers and left them on the floors near the loculi, perhaps as votives, during the funeral or later visits; one tomb (no. 22) contained a Knidian \textit{thymiaterion} (KM017).

Numerous vessels in fine, cooking, and coarse wares have been found in the tombs, sometimes surrounding the altars, sometimes in dense deposits on the chamber floors, and sometimes in heaps outside the tomb. These either represent debris from banquets to commemorate the dead or vessels for offering food and drink, as is discussed below. Lead tablets inscribed with curses have also been found in the chambers, sometimes closely associated with burials, such as one (KM042) wedged tightly between the base of a columnar altar and the front wall of loculus III in tomb 14. Visitors to the tombs left such tablets so that the message could be transported efficaciously to the powers below. One text (KM043 from tomb 22) invoked the chthonic deities Violence (Bίσος), Fate (Μοῖρα), and Necessity (Ἀνατέκνη) to curse from head to toe the body parts of a man who had committed a theft.\footnote{Christopher A. Faraone (University of Chicago) is studying the lead tablets from the tombs; see Faraone and Rife, forthcoming.}

The funerary assemblage furnishes a basic chronology for the use of the tombs in their first phase, but their later history is difficult to reconstruct with any precision at this stage of investigation. The artifacts associated with primary contexts in the 12 excavated tombs point to a similar development. They were constructed and first used around the mid- to late 1st century, and burial and commemorative visits involving lamps and vessels continued until at least the mid- to late 3rd century. During this time, the
burial compartments gradually filled with corpses, apparently representing several generations of families and their dependents.

After that point, the artifact sequence becomes discontinuous or ends, and waterborne sediment and structural debris from the dromoi and ground surface begin to collect on the chamber floors. These developments reflect the disuse of the tombs and the dilapidation of their aboveground buildings. At some time thereafter, and certainly during the 5th century, the tombs were used for further burial, usually inside the loculi but on top of the covered cist. In one tomb (no. 14), well over 52 skeletons accumulated during the Early and Late Roman periods. This second phase seems to have continued for some time, possibly into the Early Byzantine period, but to what extent it was contemporary with burial in surrounding cists and at churches farther away is unclear.

THE SEPULCHRAL PAINTING

One of the most distinctive features of the tombs is their painting. While some tombs (e.g., nos. 13, 14) were finished in plain white plaster, traces of painted plaster have been found in eight tombs (nos. 1–4, 9, 20, 22, 23). In most of these cases, however, the plaster has perished through natural disintegration, leaving only three tombs with substantial painted decoration intact (nos. 4, 9, 20). KCP has reconstructed the painting in these three tombs as completely as possible by tracing on plastic film the remains still on the walls and reintegrating detached fragments from the chamber floors. These reconstructions provide a basis for studying decorative motifs and styles, evaluating influences, identifying hands or even workshops, and establishing chronology. This investigation is expected to furnish important insights into the poorly understood traditions of wall painting in Greece during the Empire.

The painting in tomb 4, which is divided into three zones on a white background, is extensively preserved (Figs. 15, 16). The lower zone displays stalks in scrollwork and black tridents, interrupted on the back (west) wall (Fig. 15) by podiums for two aediculae with Ionic colonnettes framing the loculi. In the middle zone are garlands of foliage and flowers on which birds are perched, attached by knots to the borders of each loculus. On the back wall, the garlands hang from the corners of the architraves of the aediculae, which are surmounted by opposed dolphins. In the upper zone, the riches are surrounded by plaques of imitation marble and by a frieze of diverse animals that extends around the three walls opposite the entrance. Notable are birds facing yellow kraters; diving dolphins around a yellow disk; white swans facing each other, some grasping a garland in their beaks; green hippocamps holding garlands with their mouths; and a yellow fish facing a long-legged bird. The lunette shows the base of an acanthus plant and scrollwork terminating in vine tendrils. The painting on the east wall, not illustrated here, displays on either side of the door two large, bent branches from which incised disks hang by red ribbons. In order to preserve the remains in tomb 4, KCP has carried out urgent conservation involving the consolidation of fragmentary edges of painted.

51. Alix Barbet and Florence Monier directed and reported on the study of the wall painting.
52. Barbet, Rife, and Monier, forthcoming, is a full discussion of the decoration of tomb 4.
53. On either side of the door were two lines of text painted in bold, red letters (K1006, K1007). Unfortunately, looters have excised both dipinti from the walls. Rife is reconstructing these texts from notes and photographs pre-dating their removal. Neither seems to have contained personal names; the one to the south urges the reader not to ransack the tomb but to drink and to depart.
plaster and the erection of a roof to deflect water from the ground overlying the chamber.  

The paintings in tombs 9 and 20 are not as well preserved as that in tomb 4, but they appear to have been less elaborate. The plaster of tomb 9, which was first described in 1969 and examined anew in 2005, displays clumsy garlands carrying large fruits attached by ribbons to the top and bottom of the niches. The motifs described at the time of discovery can no longer be confidently recognized because of deterioration, though certain discernible forms seem to represent a person, a basket (or a trellis? a claustra?), and a vase. Tomb 20 has a white background with simple fillets in red or yellow ocher delimiting panels and black bands marking the borders of the niches and loculi and the intersection of the sidewalls with the ceiling. The only remarkable feature, a small triangular niche on the west wall probably above an altar, is decorated with a miniature garland rendered summarily in black and two shades of red ocher. Among the other tombs, four (nos. 1–3, 23) preserve traces of plaster painted with red ocher, and mark the borders of the niches and loculi and the intersection of the sidewalls with the ceiling.

54. Rui Nunes Pedroso and Franck Blondel (Centre d’étude des peintures murales romaines) conducted the conservation of wall painting, and Mark Dickinson (Macalester College) directed the construction of the roof.

55. In her examination of scanty fragments recovered in 1956 from a chamber tomb in the cemetery south of the harbor (Fig. 2:12; Pallas 1957, p. 54, fig. 1; Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst IV, 1990, col. 770, s.v. Korinth [D. I. Pallas]), Monier identified fillets and bands of black, green, red ocher, and maroon in panels. Also noteworthy are traces of an imitation yellow marble veined in maroon.

56. Kenchreai I, p. 11, pl. IX:A.
and with floral figures. The walls of tomb 22 are finished in white plaster without decoration, but the chamber floor is painted with a solid field in red ocher.

The decorative program of tomb 4 closely resembles the Campanian tradition and, more generally, western Roman painting. Certain motifs are, however, exaggerated, such as the elongated dolphins serving as oversized acroteria. This particular detail might be attributed to the hand of a local painter, though other elements to confirm this hypothesis are lacking. The style of the painting suggests a date in the late 1st or early 2nd century, which corresponds generally with the chronology of funerary artifacts found in the tomb, the earliest of which date to the late 1st century. It is difficult to identify influences on the paintings in other tombs, because the remains are too fragmentary or elementary. The theme of garlands, as in tombs 9 and 20, is well known in both Hellenistic and Roman sepulchral decoration. Painted chamber floors, as in tomb 22, occur in both Hellenistic Greece and Roman Italy. Therefore, while the painting in tomb 4 seems to depend on Italian precedents, certain recurrent motifs in this
and other tombs echo common forms in Hellenistic decoration. Overall, the extant sepulchral painting at Kenchreai displays a unified sense of pictorial space, bold contours combined with delicate vignettes, and stylistic flair. But it does not achieve the same level of complexity or refinement as painting in the lavish building at the base of the north mole, or in public and private contexts of Roman date at the Isthmian Sanctuary and Corinth.\(^{57}\)

KCP has also studied the technical aspects of sepulchral painting. Once a tomb had been excavated, ancient workers applied multiple layers of mortar to the freshly exposed bedrock and a finishing coat of fine, even plaster. The composition and application of layered mortar varies from tomb to tomb in adaptation to the specific structural and environmental conditions of the chamber. Samples of mortar and pigments from the tombs await analysis by transmission optical microscopy, X-ray diffractometry, and Raman microspectrometry.\(^{58}\) In tomb 4, workers inscribed thin lines and painted red guides in the wet plaster to prepare for painting bands, borders, and panels. The imprints of a cord and, at one end over it, a thumbnail are visible along the border between the lower and middle zones. Thus, the production of these paintings, at least in the case of tomb 4 and probably tomb 9, if not others that are more poorly preserved, involved careful planning and execution by skilled laborers.

**THE FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGE**

Study of the artifacts from the cemetery on Koutsongila indicates that material culture played a significant role in funerary rituals and, therefore, in the expression and maintenance of social relationships in the local community.\(^{59}\) The funerary assemblage includes pottery and lamps that reflect commemorative activities and other objects that represent specific behaviors at the time of burial, such as jewelry, nails, and coins. We present here a preliminary discussion of ceramic evidence recovered from several burial contexts by KCP (grave 18; tombs 6, 10, 13, 14, 22) and previously by the American School of Classical Studies (tomb 9) and the Archaeological Service (tombs 3, 4, 19, 23). The combined evidence comprises ca. 25,000 artifacts, most of which are fragments. Despite differences in the methodologies used by the separate teams and discrepancies in the amount and preservation of the material they have found, the ceramic assemblage across the cemetery is remarkably consistent in its functional and typological composition, if not in raw quantity.\(^{60}\)

The pottery and lamps fall into three recurring chronological suites (groups 1–3). The first group, representing the period of construction and early use of the tombs, belongs to the mid- to late 1st century. The second and largest group, representing the continued intensive use of the tombs, is broadly datable to the 2nd through at least the mid-3rd century. A small third group, representing reuse of the tombs after a hiatus in the 4th century, dates roughly to the 5th–6th centuries. Each group is treated separately below, followed by an interpretive discussion of the whole funerary assemblage.

---

57. Cf. *Kenchreai I*, p. 83, pl. XXXV:C (harbor at Kenchreai); Daux 1968, pp. 782–785, figs. 15, 16 (Isthmian Sanctuary); and Shear 1931, pp. 430–431, 434–435, figs. 6, 9, 10; Gadbery 1993; Pappalardo 2001; Sanders 2005, pp. 420–424, fig. 16.3 (various locales at Corinth).

58. Arnaud Coutelas (Université de Bourgogne, Dijon) and Claude Coupry (Laboratoire de dynamique, interactions, et réactivité, C.N.R.S., Paris) are analyzing the mortar and pigments.

59. Melissa Moore Morison directed and reported on the study of the funerary assemblage.

60. Future publications will document the various procedures employed to excavate tombs and process artifacts and will provide descriptive statistics. In general, a greater number of intact vessels and large diagnostic fragments were recovered from tombs 3, 4, and 23 than from the other tombs under study.
Group 1 (1st Century)

The pottery of group 1 appears in the lowest deposits in the chambers, not in disturbed contexts or colluvial fill within the dromoi or on the surface near the tombs. This depositional pattern suggests that group 1 represents the early use of the structures. Apart from a group of six unguentaria from grave 18 and five unguentaria from loculi in tombs 3, 9, 14, and 19, ceramics of this date have not been found in individual burials but rather in tomb chambers, often on or just above use surfaces. The pottery may thus reflect commemorative rituals after burial, such as dining either in or around the tombs, offerings of objects to the dead, or a combination of these activities.\(^\text{61}\) The first ceramic evidence of Roman date from the cemetery points to activity in the area during the early 1st century, but these sherds are sparse, and they do not occur consistently in chamber deposits.\(^\text{62}\) All tombs under study, however, contained pottery dating to the second half of the 1st century in low chamber deposits. Although these pieces (numbering less than 300) account for only a small percentage of the total assemblage from Koutsongila, the vessels of group 1 do attest to dining-related ritual in the cemetery around the time of the tombs’ construction, which should be placed in the mid- to late 1st century.

The 1st-century fine wares exhibit a greater proportion of pieces of eastern origin than western. In this respect, the ceramic material from the cemetery is broadly comparable to that from the excavations at the harbor published by Beverley Adamsheck.\(^\text{63}\) Each tomb contained small quantities of imported fine ware such as sigillatas and Knidian bowls with characteristic pi-shaped handles (e.g., Fig. 17).\(^\text{64}\) Two examples of imported Italian sigillata and at least 25 fragments of Eastern Sigillata A may also be placed in group 1, but only two secure examples of 1st-century Thin-Walled ware (TWW) have been found. In general, the eastern orientation of these vessels from Kenchreai is comparable to the ceramic evidence from the Isthmian Project.

61. All lamps with preserved nozzles show signs of use prior to deposition. At present we cannot comment on the extent to which cups and other vessels were used for dining before deposition. While cooking vessels of this date are incomplete and most fragments do not exhibit evidence of scorching, this need not preclude the limited use of a vessel to cook a single ritual meal.

62. A fragment of a micaeous water jar of the first half of the 1st century was found inside tomb 3, for example, and a casserole of similar date was found outside tomb 20.

63. About 75% of the imported fine ware at the harbor was comprised of Eastern sigillatas and the remaining 25% included Italian and Gaulish sigillatas and Thin-Walled ware (Kenchreai IV, pp. 44–68). A few Knidian bowls were also inventoried, but not all have been published.

64. Each tomb on Koutsongila contained an estimated four to ten Knidian bowls, most of which are almost complete after mending. Knidian bowls were also present at the Isthmian Sanctuary and Corinth during the Early Roman period (Wright 1980, p. 171).
Sanctuary but contrasts with that from Corinth, which displays a much higher frequency of western wares.65

Group 1 also includes examples of cooking ware and amphorae. Tombs 3, 4, and 14 each contained fragments of casseroles and pans in standard regional cooking-ware fabrics. Five imitation Pompeian Red ware pans of as yet undetermined origin were recovered from tomb 3 (e.g., Fig. 18). Although none of these pans are intact, complete profiles of all five are preserved. Adamscheck published several examples of Italian and Spanish amphorae from the harbor, but no Spanish amphorae have been identified among the pottery from Koutsongila. Fragments of Campanian wine amphorae have been recovered from each tomb. The fragments are so few in number—typically 10–20 body sherds per tomb—that some mechanism other than ritual activity must account for their presence in chamber deposits. Since traces of mortar often adhere to these and other amphora sherds, they probably arrived during tomb construction, when they may have been added to mortar for covering and sealing the loculi (e.g., tombs 13, 14) and finishing the walls and vaulted ceilings (e.g., tomb 22).

Unguentaria and lamps of the late 1st century complete group 1. In addition to the unguentaria associated with individual burials, chamber deposits investigated by KCP produced small fragments of an estimated five to ten unguentaria per tomb. These vessels represent types common in the Corinthia and elsewhere during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. One small globular example from tomb 19 (Fig. 19) has a close parallel with an unguentarium from the Roman Cellar Building in the southwest corner of the Corinthian Forum. Other examples from Koutsongila are of the equally familiar bulbous type with small, flat disc bases and elongated necks produced in regional fabrics (Fig. 20).66 The lamps include the Italian-style volute and “Red on White” types common in 1st-century contexts at the Kenchrean harbor and the Isthmian Sanctuary.67 Most of the lamps from the tombs are fragmentary, but preliminary examination suggests the presence of one to five volute lamps and five to ten “Red on White” lamps per tomb.

The people who first used the tombs on Koutsongila thus commemorated their dead with a consistent set of ceramic objects. The similarity of

66. Cf., e.g., Robinson 1966, p. 180, n. 3, pl. LXIa (cemetry south of harbor at Kenchreai [Fig. 2:12]); Corinth XIII, p. 167; Walbank 2005, pp. 274–275, fig. 9.14 (cemeteries north of Corinth); Wright 1980, pp. 159, 171, no. 99, pl. 32 (Roman Cellar Building); Anderson-Stojanović 1987 (general survey). The unguentaria from Koutsongila appear in two discrete fabric classes that will be treated in future publications.
this material to the assemblages from the nearby harbor and the Isthmian Sanctuary indicates that such items were readily available locally. The use of relatively inexpensive vessels and lamps stands in striking contrast to the elaborate embellishment of several tomb interiors, which in one case (tomb 4) could be called Italianizing. On the other hand, wines and other foodstuffs employed in commemorative ritual may have varied considerably in cost and thus functioned as a vector for display and competition within the community. Certainly the presence of Campanian amphoras at the harbor suggests that expensive imported wines were available to the residents of Kenchreai during the 1st century.

**GROUP 2 (2ND–3RD CENTURIES)**

The pottery and lamps of group 2 are found throughout the tombs, including deposits both inside the chambers and in the dromoi. They come from the continued use of the tombs in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Like the pottery of group 1, that of group 2 exhibits a standardized typological range of amphoras, cooking ware, table ware, and lamps. This recurring suite includes vessels that reflect all aspects of cuisine—the transport, preparation, service, and consumption of food—in addition to their ritual functions and connotations. Because of the current gap in the pottery sequence at the harbor, group 2 can illuminate this dimension of daily life at Kenchreai as well as provide insights into commemorative activities on Koutsongila.

In the aggregate, amphoras comprise over 50% of the pottery of this group. They include eastern, African, and Aegean forms, such as (in descending order of frequency) Niederbieber 77, micaceous water jars (MWJ), Cilician “pinched handle” or Benghazi MR 4 types, Tripolitanian and other North African types, and one almost complete example of a Beirut 3 amphora (Fig. 21), which was found in a shattered state immediately south of the building over the dromos of tomb 6 (Fig. 8). The presence of
the Beirut amphora, which is rare in contexts west of Cyprus,\textsuperscript{69} probably reflects Kenchreai’s commercial and perhaps familial connections with the Levant. Niederbieber amphoras and MWJ are well represented at the Isthmian Sanctuary, Corinth, and Athens, and it is not surprising to find them at Kenchreai as well. More intriguing is the question of the role these vessels played in ritual activities at the cemetery. Thousands of diagnostic amphora fragments have been recovered but complete vessels are lacking. At present it is not clear whether the broken amphoras were offerings to the dead, vessels that were used to carry wine to the tombs for commemorative dining and were subsequently destroyed, or both.

Wheel-ridged cooking pots comparable to examples of the 2nd and 3rd centuries from the Isthmian Sanctuary and Corinth are the next most common feature of group 2. Globular stewpots (e.g., Fig. 22:a) and carinated casseroles, often scorched, appear in standard regional fabrics. Three imitation Pompeian Red ware pans and several joining pieces of a scorched ceramic grill found on the floor of tomb 3 also belong to this period.\textsuperscript{70} Since the grill and many of the stewpots and casseroles exhibit evidence of use before deposition, they may well represent offerings of cooking equipment following a ritual meal. The extent to which these objects reflect habitual cooking practices in the settlement at Kenchreai remains uncertain. Resolution of this issue, which cannot be achieved through reference to the material published by Adamsheck, is a particular concern for long-term ceramic study at the site.

\textsuperscript{69} Reynolds 2005, pp. 569–570.
\textsuperscript{70} Cf., e.g., Marty 1993, pp. 121–126 (Isthmian cooking pots). Morison is indebted to T. E. Gregory and K. W. Slane for insights regarding regional cooking-ware fabrics.
The fine wares of group 2 comprise ca. 8–10% of the diagnostic pottery assemblage in most tombs. Not only eastern imports are present, but also imported Italian TWW mugs with offset rims and cups of the *urnetta a collarinio* type (Fig. 22:b). At least one or two imported pieces and at least five imitations are estimated for each tomb. Moreover, Eastern Sigillata B (ESB) plates and Çandarlı bowls of forms 1, 2, and 3 were recovered from all tombs (Fig. 23). Both the imported and imitation TWW vessels have been found in every tomb in roughly the same (or slightly larger) quantities as the ESB and Çandarlı wares. The imported Italian mugs/cups (as opposed to local imitations of them) are not typical of the harbor assemblage published by Adamsheck, nor do they seem to occur with such high frequency relative to imitations at the Isthmian Sanctuary during this period.71 Only two small fragments of late Italian sigillata have been identified in the cemetery. Group 2 also includes fragments of an estimated five to ten unglazed, probably local, pitchers per tomb.

The lamps of group 2 exhibit a less extensive typological range than contemporary examples from the harbor and the Isthmian Sanctuary.72 At least 95% of them are Corinthian products of Broneer type XXVII. The vast majority of these lamps have been recovered only in small fragments. Those lamps that can be identified more specifically appear to be

---

71. Cf. Marty 1993, pp. 124–125. For a useful discussion of imported and imitation Thin-Walled ware of this date at Corinth, particularly in ritual contexts, see Corinth XVIII.2, pp. 88–98. For Çandarlı ware from Isthmia and Corinth, see Marty 1993, pp. 121–125; Slane 1989, p. 223; Corinth XVIII.2, pp. 52–54.

evenly distributed between Broneer’s subgroups B (vine and grape clusters in relief on the rim and rays on the discus) and C (raised panels on the cross-axes of the rim and scenes in relief on the discus; Fig. 24); no secure examples of the other three subgroups exist. Several pieces bear signatures from the workshops of Loukios, Kallistos, Oktabios, Posphoros, and Sposianos.

Like their predecessors, residents of the 2nd and 3rd centuries chose a common set of amphoras, cooking equipment, serving and drinking vessels, and lamps with which to honor the dead. As in the case of group 1, the standardized nature of group 2 is in itself interesting when compared to the variation in the surviving sepulchral decoration and the apparent diversity in the backgrounds of local residents. During this period as before, the families using the tombs seem to have been strongly motivated to employ a well-defined, shared set of objects in funerary contexts, possibly as a way of communicating their membership in a social or economic group that crosscut ethnic identity. Again, with the possible exception of imported Italian fine wares and the single example of an amphora from Beirut, the ceramic objects used in commemorative rituals would have been locally available and probably relatively inexpensive.

**Group 3 (5th–6th Centuries)**

Group 3, which comprises many fewer artifacts than group 2, represents re-use of the tombs for burial during the 5th–6th centuries, though activity might have continued later (see below). This phase followed a sharp decline in the use of the tombs that began at least as early as the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century and continued through a period of abandonment and disrepair that lasted at least one century. Unlike the strong internal patterning of groups 1 and 2, the composition of group 3 is heterogeneous across the tombs. Tomb 14, for example, contained much

73. Fragments of a single basin from tomb 22 and Broneer type XXVIII lamps from tomb 3 and grave 13 are among the few objects that can be confidently assigned to the 4th century.
larger quantities of LR Amphora 2 and other Late Roman amphoras than did the other tombs, whereas tomb 23 contained the only example of a late MWJ. Most tombs contained no African Red Slip (ARS) forms of late date, and examples of Phocaean Red Slip ware documented at the harbor, the Isthmian Sanctuary, and in small quantities at Corinth are not paralleled on Koutsongila. Tomb 23 contained a nearly intact lamp of the mid-6th century that is a late imitation North African type with a palm branch on the rim and a jeweled Maltese cross on the discus (Fig. 25).

Other diagnostic Late Roman lamps, however, were recovered mostly from the graves or from the uppermost levels of fill in the dromoi. In this way, while the overall quantity of ceramic material from contexts associated with burial decreased from the Early to Late Roman periods, the distribution and frequency of funerary activity in the tombs seem to have changed. Apparently local residents no longer felt bound by the need to employ a common range of vessels in their observance of funerary ritual. Furthermore, the absence from group 3 of securely datable cooking wares points to a significant shift in the nature of ritual.

74. The two diagnostic fragments of ARS recovered by KCP were found in grave 5 (a rosette stamp on the floor of an early-5th-century dish) and in the deep colluvium filling the dromos of tomb 20 (a fragment of a Hayes form 61b plate floor). Small ARS body sherds not identifiable to vessel form were found in minute quantities in tomb 14.


76. Cooking vessels do occur in funerary contexts elsewhere in Late Roman and Byzantine Greece, but neither consistently nor frequently. This phenomenon and its possible ritual meaning based on an example from the Isthmian Fortress (IPR 98-1 in grave 69-010) are discussed in *Isthmia* IX, forthcoming.
Discussion

From roughly the mid-1st to the 3rd century, several generations of local residents selected consistent suites of lamps and cuisine-related pottery for use in their tombs north of the harbor. These recurring suites represent the extensive use of ceramic artifacts in the public performance of social identity. Funerary assemblages represent ritual activities that serve as venues for the performance and negotiation of social personae, reflecting the aspirations and values of the mourners rather than those of the deceased. Dining activities involving carefully calibrated selections of food, wine, and dining equipment functioned in Greek and Roman society as contexts for the expression of social roles. Vessels used for cooking and dining played a similarly important part in the rituals of death.

In the Roman-era tombs at Kenchreai, we suggest that these vessels commemorated familial solidarity and continuity of lineage. Moreover, the well-defined range of pottery types employed across the cemetery on Koutsongila suggests a desire on the part of mourners to express membership in a group with clearly delineated expectations for ritual behavior. The mourners used standardized groups of vessels to communicate membership in a local elite class that mattered more to them than other identities. Most vessels and lamps were mundane, locally available, and not in themselves valuable except insofar as they enabled mourners to express the desired message of group membership—both to themselves and to outside observers. The act of dining, the physical setting in and around which this performance was enacted, and the kinds of food and drink consumed may well have mattered more than other connotations of the vessels that enabled and represented those ritual activities.

A change in the use of ceramics as commemorative objects is visible in the 5th–6th centuries. By the Late Roman period, the range of vessel types and the relative quantities of objects deposited in the tombs were no longer consistent. Amphorae (or, more likely, their contents) and lamps continued to play an important part in funerary ritual, but the earlier focus on a comprehensive, cuisine-based set of pottery is no longer present. The social message conveyed by material culture thus changed dramatically during this period. These questions of changing ritual behavior and social structure at Kenchreai at the end of antiquity will be a topic for close consideration as our study of the funerary assemblage continues.

At this stage of investigation, it is difficult to determine how late the cemetery on Koutsongila was in operation. The continued use of Late Roman burial areas during the Early Byzantine period is a common feature of the settled landscape at both the Isthmian Fortifications and Corinth. Similarly, the residents of Kenchreai may have continued to use the Koutsongila ridge for burials into the 7th century. As noted above, certain types of cist graves were typical of the Late Roman to Early Byzantine Corinthia, and burial continued in the basilica at the south mole of the harbor into the 7th century (Fig. 2:11). Tomb 6 displays graffiti of crosses in late forms on its interior walls, and it has produced a funerary lekythos of the piriform variety usually dated to the 6th century (but possibly extending later) from a low horizon of fill in the dromos (KP024).

78. Isthmia IX (Isthmian Fortifications); Ivison 1996 and Sanders 2005, pp. 430–437 (Corinth).
Although we have not yet cleared the interior of tomb 6, it appears to be a good candidate for use beyond the 6th century. In the end, we remain uncertain how rare burial activity in the chambers was during the 7th century, if it existed at all, or whether the cist graves were the primary (or only) focus of burial at that time.

**BURIAL, SOCIETY, AND CULTURE AT EARLY ROMAN KENCHREAI**

This study of funerary rituals and mortuary space in the cemetery on the Koutsongila ridge elucidates social structure and cultural diversity at a flourishing provincial port town during the first centuries A.D. The Early Roman cist graves, which required a relatively low investment of time, energy, and resources for their design and use, represent a segment of the local population that did not participate in the familial descent of wealth and power. These graves were modest in design and their contents sparse and simple. Moreover, their formal variety suggests a lack of self-consciousness over group membership. It is significant that the graves are situated outside the rows of monumental tombs and away from the busy shoreline. They were both spatially and socially marginal.

In stark contrast to the cists, the elaborate tombs belonged to individuals of considerable wealth and social status who comprised a local elite. Among the burial forms represented in the cemeteries at Roman Kenchreai, the one used repeatedly on Koutsongila is the most spacious and elaborate. The construction and decoration of these chamber tombs was a major task involving skilled stoneworkers and painters who, in some cases, created complex parietal decor. Although the owners of the tombs used ceramic objects that were relatively inexpensive and easily obtained, they adorned the deceased with intricate jewelry in precious metals and perhaps fine textiles. The high visibility and easy accessibility of the tombs overlooking the seaway announced the importance and centrality of these persons at the port. They must have occupied fine homes with marble revetment and mosaic pavement, like those south of the cemetery near the harbor.

The maintenance and visitation of tombs with conspicuous epitaphs over several generations reflect an abiding interest among tomb owners to identify themselves with eminent and stable lineages. As members of a local elite, these persons would have enjoyed prestige and influence in their community. They were most likely figures in the harbor’s commercial scene whose power was rooted in mercantile wealth. Since Kenchreai was not an independent city, its leading residents could not have held magistracies or municipal posts, and, while they undoubtedly participated in euergism, they could not have made donations on the same scale as wealthier citizens in urban centers. In these respects, the local elite of Kenchreai played a rather different role and occupied a lower status within the region than the civic aristocracy of Corinth.

The most striking feature of the cemetery on Koutsongila is its homogeneity. The tombs, many of which display a canonical plan and contain a conventional funerary assemblage, were constructed around the same

---

80. See Rife, forthcoming, for a full discussion of these topics. As noted in the previous section, our understanding of the cemetery’s Late Roman phase, including the impact of Christianity, is still evolving.

81. The splendid funerary monument northeast of the ridge (Fig. 2:6) appears to have been exceptional at Kenchreai. Its unique magnificence might indicate that the deceased was a colonial aristocrat from Corinth rather than a local resident (cf. n. 38, above). This attribution could also explain the considerable geographic separation between the monument and the more prominent locale of Koutsongila. See further Rife, forthcoming, on the monument’s significance.
time. Their regular distribution across the slope implies planning, either through a unified effort to partition space or through a common awareness of orderly placement. It seems that a group of enterprising families, at least some deriving from the freedman class, rose to prominence with the port’s sudden prosperity during the early to mid-1st century. This seems to have been an era of renewed vitality in the eastern Corinthian hinterland: the nearby Isthmian Sanctuary and its festival underwent revival around the mid-1st century. By the second half of the 1st century, members of this emergent social stratum created a completely new burial ground in the settlement’s most visible locale; they adapted and reproduced a tomb design; and they coordinated their funerary activities, from their use of objects to their treatment of corpses. These forms and activities reflect a shared concern among elites at the reborn provincial port to represent themselves collectively with a cohesive identity. The rarity of the standard Kenchrean tomb plan elsewhere in the region underscores its singularity as a local phenomenon. In this respect, the port’s residents displayed creative independence from their inland neighbors. Sepulchral homogeneity at Kenchreai, as opposed to the sepulchral heterogeneity that typified contemporary Corinth, implies the presence of a unified elite class that emerged quickly and distinctly.

It should, however, be stressed that this mortuary image of Kenchrean elitehood was an ideal attainment. Within the cemetery’s overarching uniformity, minor variations are evident in the design of tombs, the appearance of epitaphs, and the quality of decoration. Those variations are directly linked to the differential expenditure of capital and skill. Such variability points to different levels of wealth among the elite families who aspired to and competed for status. Local elites may have competed with each other in other dimensions of mortuary behavior without surviving remains, such as the scale and duration of the funeral procession, as well as in the cost and design of textiles, biers, and coffins, and the conspicuous buildings they erected over the tombs. Therefore, while in appearance certain local residents were concerned to identify themselves as belonging to a leading group within their community, in reality this leading group possessed a degree of socioeconomic diversity.

According to the local epigraphic record, residents came from various backgrounds. Certainly Roman culture—its art, tastes, and institutions—had a deep impact on Kenchreai, the satellite of a colonial foundation and administrative center. The painting in tomb 4 was generated by a regional industry inspired by western styles, and the descendents and freedpersons of colonists lived at the port. On the other hand, many of the leading families were themselves Greek, and they depended on eastern commerce. Constant contact with the eastern provinces through seaborne travel and exchange must have colored the cultural milieu of Kenchreai. The eastern face of material culture is plainly evident in the ceramic remains from both the cemetery and the harbor. The funerary assemblage is a mélange of western and eastern imports and local products, but the novel form of the tombs derives from Greek and eastern models. This mortuary record evokes a vibrant plurality in the local community, a quality that Favorinus ([Dio] 37.8) and Apuleius (Met. 11.8–17) also captured in their descriptions of the people and religious life in this busy port town.

83. The earliest securely datable burials at Roman Kenchreai are a plain sarcophagus and tile-covered graves of the first half of the 1st century located in the cemetery south of the harbor (Fig. 2:12: Robinson 1965, p. 80, pl. 92:e; 1966; 1972). The composition and chronology of this cemetery are currently under study.
84. Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou (1995, p. 154, fig. 4, pl. 72:β) reports a group of Roman-era tombs on the northeast side of Corinth that are the only comparanda we know for the tomb plan at Kenchreai.
85. For a full survey of burial typology at Roman Corinth, see Rife 1999, pp. 228–269, to which should now be added Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 1995 and Walbank 2005.
CONCLUSION

Over 2002–2006 KCP has collected an important body of evidence relating to burial at Roman Kenchreai. This evidence is beginning to reveal the complexities of elite and nonelite self-presentation through the use of mortuary space and funerary ritual in a socially and culturally diverse community. Large-scale excavation beginning in 2007 will involve a more extensive exploration of the cemetery on Koutsongila. It will also afford a broader picture of the cemetery’s topographic context, specifically its association with the residential structures to the south and the monumental building overlooking the harbor. Through these studies we hope to comprehend more fully the dynamic relationship between life and death at this major port in southern Greece during the Empire.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For their permission, assistance, and support, we acknowledge Alexandros Mandis, Ephor of the 37th Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Ancient Corinth; Panagiotis Kasimis and Vasili Tassinos, also of the Corinthian Ephoria; Nikos Minos, Director of Conservation in the Ministry of Culture; Stephen Tracy, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; and Maria Pilali, the School’s administrator. The Centre d’étude des peintures murales romaines at C.N.R.S. has provided generous administrative and scientific support for the study of the paintings.

KCP has received major funding from the following sources: the Office of the Provost of Macalester College, Dan Hornbach and Diane Michelfielder; the Office of the President of Macalester College, Brian Rosenberg; the International Catacomb Society, Boston (2005–2006 Shohet Scholarship; Rife); the Office of the Provost of Norwich University, Hubert Maultsby (Dunn); the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, Harvard University (Rife); the National Endowment for the Humanities (Summer Stipend no. FT-52951-04; Rife); the Office of Faculty Research and Development and the S3 Program of Grand Valley State University (Morison); the Luther I. Replogle Foundation (Rife); the Solow Art and Architecture Foundation (2006 Summer Research Fellowship; Rife); the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, Demosthenes Chapter, Minneapolis; and the Department of Classics at Cornell University. Sarah Sargent has been instrumental in securing and administering the project’s budget.

Thomas Tartaron, Christopher Mundigler, Apostolos Sarris, David Reese, Arnaud Coutelas, and Douglas Edwards have contributed significantly to the research presented here. Manuel Guterres and numerous volunteers, including students, staff, family, and friends from the Macalester community, have given tremendous energy and enthusiasm to KCP. Allison J. Suehle and Debra Miles-Williams have helped with their excellent photographs, illustrations, and digital images. We also sincerely thank Timothy Gregory, Hector Williams, Kathleen Slane, Mireille Lee, Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory, Mary Walbank, Elizabeth Gebhard, Guy Sanders, and John Humphrey for their ongoing interest and advice.
We have previously presented this research in several venues over 2004–2006 (in chronological order): Macalester College; IX Congreso internacional de la “Association internationale pour la peinture murale antique,” Calatayud and Saragossa; Archäologisches Museum, Frankfurt; Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz; École normale supérieure, Paris; Minneapolis Institute of Arts; 6th International Conference on Archaeological Prospection, Rome; Annual Meeting of the Geological Society of America, Salt Lake City; 107th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Montreal; Bryn Mawr College; Yale University; University of California, Los Angeles; and the Annual Meeting of the Geological Society of America, Philadelphia. Rife compiled this report during his membership in Historical Studies (2005–2006) at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. The authors are grateful to their colleagues, their audiences at presentations, and the editor and anonymous Hesperia reviewers for comments and discussions that improved this article.

REFERENCES


Breccia, E. 1912. La necropoli di Sciacchi, Cairo.


Corinth = Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton


Poseidon in the Early Empire,” in Gregory 1993, pp. 78–113.
———, ed. 1993. The Corinthia in the Roman Period (JRA Suppl. 8), Portsmouth, R.I.
Isthmia = Isthmia: Excavations Conducted under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton
Ivison, E. A. 1996. “Burial and Urbanism at Late Antique and Early Byzantine Corinth (c. A.D. 400–700),” in Towns in Transition: Urban Eco-
Kenchreai = Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth: Results of Investigations by the University of Chicago and Indiana University for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Leiden
Lampakis, G. 1907. “Χρυσοτυπικοί Κεραμικοί Τοπογραφίες των Κερ-
Markoulaki, S., and V. Niniou-Kindeli. 1990. “Ελληνιστικός λαξέυτος τά-
—φος Χανιών: Ανασκαφή οικιστικού Μονοθεουλόκ”, Arch-Delt 37, A’ (1982), pp. 7–118.
Pullah, D. I. 1957. “Πρωτοχρυσαυτική Κόρινθος,” Peloponnesiaki Protokroni-
—oia 1957, pp. 52–62.
———. 1975. “Les monuments chré-
—tiens de Grèce avant Constantin,” CahArch 24, pp. 1–19.
———. 1999. The Archaeology of Death and Burial, College Station, Tex.
Protonotariou–Deilaki, E. 1969. “Ἀρχαίοις καὶ μνημεία Ἀργολι-
———. 1974. “Ἀρχαίοις καὶ μνη-


Šašel-Kos, M. 1979. Inscriptiones Latinae in Graecia reperta (additimenta ad CIL III), Faenza.


van Nijf, O. M. 1997. The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East (Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 17), Amsterdam.

Joseph L. Rife
MACALESTER COLLEGE
CLASSICS DEPARTMENT
1600 GRAND AVENUE
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55105-1899
rife@macalester.edu

Melissa Moore Morison
GRAND VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
262 LAKE HURON HALL
1 CAMPUS DRIVE
ALLENDALE, MICHIGAN 49401-9403
morisonm@gvsu.edu

Alix Barbet
ÉCOLE NORMALE SUPÉRIEURE
LABORATOIRE D’ARCHÉOLOGIE
45 RUE D’ULM
75230 PARIS-SEDEX 05
FRANCE
barbet@ens.fr

Richard K. Dunn
NORWICH UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY
NORTHFIELD, VERMONT 05663-1035
rdunn@norwich.edu

Douglas H. Ubelaker
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
P.O. BOX 37012
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013-7012
UbelakerD@si.edu

Florence Monier
CENTRE D’ÉTUDE DES PEINTURES MURALES ROMAINES
ABBAYE SAINT-JEAN-DES-VIGNES
02200 SOISSONS
FRANCE
appa.cepmr@libertysurf.fr