

CORINTH

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS

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MEDIAEVAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE CENTRAL AREA OF CORINTH

BY

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THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

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PREFACE

The purpose of this work is to reveal as far as possible the architectural development of the Central Area at Corinth through the middle ages. It is impossible to study the mediaeval architecture outside the Central Area systematically at this time, for the larger parts of the mediaeval city are still unexcavated. It is even impossible to detail the entire history of the Central Area itself, because of the lack of essential records. Nevertheless the information available is important, partly because comparable evidence for certain periods of the Byzantine era has not been found elsewhere and partly because it contributes to the picture of Corinth as a large community inhabited almost continuously from the dawn of Greek prehistory to modern times.

The gaps in our information about the Central Area are due in part to the circumstances of the excavation. When the American School of Classical Studies at Athens began the exploration of Corinth in 1896, the primary purpose was to discover monuments of the classical Greek city, and refined techniques of excavation were only then being born. Although success in the primary purpose was immediate and brilliant, at first little effort was made to keep detailed records of mediaeval remains. Very soon the excavators began to keep records of non-classical discoveries, but at this distance of time it is almost impossible to interpret the notations satisfactorily. From the 1920's more useful records are available, and in the early 1930's an effort was made to keep general, systematic accounts according to a coördinated plan. Thus our view of the area as a whole contains some sections which are completely blank, some only vaguely distinguishable, and others with fairly sharp and rounded detail.

The plans and drawings in this study were prepared for publication by Mr. S. L. Doukas, architect in Athens and Instructor at the national Greek Polytechnic Institute, with advice from Mr. John Travlos, architect for the Excavation of the Athenian Agora. No independent surveys of the mediaeval remains were made, for the practical reason that almost all mediaeval construction has been removed from the Central Area in the process of the excavation of the classical levels. Mr. Doukas began by making a preliminary general plan of the major classical monuments of the area at 1:200 (a considerable task, as no such plan existed) and superimposed on this those elements of the existing sectional plans of mediaeval walls which I indicated. The nature of this process may be suggested by a comparison of Plan VII, the largest of the sectional plans, which shows almost all of the post-classical walls excavated in the southern part of the area against brief indications of classical buildings, with Plan VI, the corresponding selective plan prepared by Mr. Doukas. In Plan VI there appear, in addition to walls shown on Plan VII, a few other walls recorded in detailed sketches in the excavation note-books, and a few walls still standing, which were never put on the drawing which is the original of Plan VII. Thus the drafting is the achievement of Mr. Doukas; the responsibility for interpreting the excavation records is mine.

I should also take the responsibility for the lack of finish, certain imprecisions, and some indecision evident in the drawings. I felt that there are still innumerable details which are impossible to define with confidence and that it would be more honest to make this evident in the plans than to give them a refinement implying absolute accuracy.

The original sectional plans were the work of architects present at various stages of the excavation, made from surveys conducted while the walls still stood. Thus J. M. Shelley and later Wulf Schaefer made Plan VII and the original plans of the Monastery of St. John and of the West Shop area; L. M. Douglas, that of the area north of the Peribolos of Apollo; J. M. deWaele and Oscar Broneer, those of the Lechaion Road to the west of this section, and of the Hemicycle area. Wulf Schaefer made the original drawings of the Bema Church and the Church of St. John in Figures 3 and 6–10.

In interpreting the drawings and other records I had the advantage of some personal experience, particularly in supervising the excavation of the Monastery of St. John and a small section south of Peirene. I was also generally familiar with the course of excavation in much of the southern part of the area through having been present during the work of the years from 1935 to 1938, but I had no close personal contact with most of it. My part in this study has been largely the attempt to collate information preserved in the day-by-day excavation notes of the great number of members of the American School of Classical Studies who have worked at Corinth. I have no doubt failed in interpreting some of their observations, and the work suffers from the impossibility of continuing consultation with all of them, but the basic credit for the work goes to them. I would record particular debts to Professors Oscar Broneer and Saul Weinberg who freely answered my questions submitted by letter and allowed me to see manuscript copies of their studies of the South Stoa and the Southeast Building, and to Professor John Kent for answering questions about unpublished inscriptions.

The work thus constitutes a general survey of the architectural history of Corinth through

the middle ages so far as our information goes. It does not pretend to be a general history of Corinth through this period, although I have tried to provide an historical outline in the paragraphs introductory to each section. Most of this derives from the work of John Finley and Antoine Bon, including Bon's contribution to *Corinth*, III, ii, listed in the Bibliography, but I have tried to add some details from other studies and independently. A real history of Corinth through this period is perhaps somewhat closer to realization now that the architecture, together with the pottery and other material, are available for evaluation.

I conclude with noting happily my particular debts to Miss Alison Frantz of the staff of the Excavation of the Athenian Agora, who read the manuscript in an early stage and made useful criticisms; to Mr. Demetrios Pallas, Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities in the Peloponnesos and Western Greece for the Greek Archaeological Service, with whom I discussed matters frequently; to Professor Peter Topping, Director of the Gennadius Library for generously offering facilities for work in the Library and for permission to publish the print illustrated in Plate 14; to Professor John L. Caskey, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for generous and thoughtful assistance in many ways; and to my wife, for all kinds of aid. I am especially grateful for the careful and kindly editorship of Miss Lucy Shoe.

The work was done in 1953–1954 under a Fellowship of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, while I held the post of Annual Professor at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens on leave from Emory University. To these institutions, without whose generous assistance I would have been unable to do the work, I am most profoundly grateful.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Acta Sanctorum = L. A. Deubner, *Acta Sanctorum*, Leipzig, 1900.

A.J.A. = *American Journal of Archaeology*.

Ἄρχ. Ἐφ. = Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς.

Ἀρχεῖον = A. K. Orlandos, Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1935 and following.
de Beylié = L. de Beylié, *L'habitation byzantine*, Paris, 1902.

Bon = A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu' en 1204* (Bibliothèque Byzantine, I), Paris, 1951.

Bréhier = L. Bréhier, *Le sculpture et les arts mineures byzantines*, Paris, 1936.

B.C.H. = *Bulletin de Correspondence hellénique*.

Butler, *Syria, Architecture* = H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria: Syria*, Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909, Division II, *Architecture*, Leyden, 1919–1920.

Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb. = *Byzantinisch-Neugriechisches Jahrbuch*.

Colasanti = A. Colasanti, *L'arte bizantina in Italia*, Milan, 1912.

Corinth = *Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*.

I,i Richard Stillwell *et al.*, *Introduction, Topography, Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932.

I,ii Richard Stillwell *et al.*, *Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1941.

I,iii Robert L. Scranton, *Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple*, Princeton, 1951.

I,iv Oscar Broneer, *The South Stoa and its Roman Successors*, Princeton, 1954.

II Richard Stillwell, *The Theatre*, Princeton, 1952.

III,i Carl W. Blegen *et al.*, *Acrocorinth: Excavations in 1926*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930.

III,ii Rhys Carpenter, Antoine Bon *et al.*, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936.

VIII,i Benjamin D. Meritt, *Greek Inscriptions*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

IX Franklin P. Johnson, *Sculpture 1896–1923*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

X Oscar Broneer, *The Odeum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932.

XI Charles H. Morgan, *The Byzantine Pottery*, Cambridge, Mass., 1942.

XII Gladys R. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, Princeton, 1952.

XIV Carl Roebuck, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Princeton, 1951.

C.G.-C.I.H. = N. Bees *et al.*, *Corpus der Griechisch-Christlichen Inschriften von Hellas*, Athens, 1941.

Dalton = O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911.

Δελτ. = Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.

Ebersolt and Thiers = J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les Eglises du Constantinople*, Paris, 1913.

Εὐρετήριο = Εὐρετήριο τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1927–1953. Parts A, B (pp. 1–122) by G. A. Soteriou; Part Γ (pp. 123–230) by Anastasios Orlandos.

Finley = John Finley Jr., “Corinth in the Middle Ages,” *Speculum*, VII, 1932, pp. 477–499.

Hesperia = *Hesperia*, Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Keil = Joseph Keil, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, Oesterreichisches Archaeologisches Institut, Band IV, iii, *Die Johanneskirche*, Vienna, 1951.

Koukoules = Philon Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, Vol. I, i: Collection de l'institut francais d'Athenes, no. 10, 1948; I, ii: no. 11, 1948; II, i: no. 12, 1948; II, ii: no. 13, 1948; III: no. 43, 1949; IV: no. 73, 1951; V: no. 76 and 76 A, 1952.

Krautzsch = Rudolf Krautzsch, *Kapitelstudien* (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte im Auftrage des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, no. 9), Berlin, 1936.

Lemerle = Paul Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine* (Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie, Bibliothèque des Écoles francaises d'Athènes et de Rome, no. 108), Paris, 1945.

LeQuiens = Michaelis LeQuiens, *Oriens Christianus*, Vol. II, Paris, 1740.

Max = Max, Herzog von Sachsen, *Das Christliche Hellas*, Leipzig, 1918.

Miller = William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London, 1908.

Millet = G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris, 1910.

Orlandos, *Chios* = A. K. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios*, Athens, 1931.

Reisch = Emil Reisch, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, Oesterreichisches Archaeologisches Institut, Band IV, i, *Die Marienkirche*, 1932.

Schultz-Barnsley = R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis etc.*, London, 1901.

Soteriou = Georgios A. and Maria G. Soteriou, 'Η Βασιλική τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας no. 34), Athens, 1952.

Volbach = W. Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italiens und Byzans* (*Bildwerke des K. F. Museums, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*), Ed. 2, Berlin, 1930.

INTRODUCTION

The mediaeval period in Europe was the epoch of the forging of modern western civilization from the fusion of classical culture and Christianity under the impact of the blood and tradition of the East and the North. To an understanding of so tremendous a process, the story of the city of Corinth throughout the period can make a contribution; for its fortunes, while not always paralleling exactly the major lines of development, did so in part and in any case transpired in a region exposed to contact with several of the major spheres of growth. Beginning as a great city safe in the heart of the Roman Empire, Corinth became the capital of a border province of Byzantium, a Frankish march, a Turkish village. Although it never, perhaps, had a major role in the procession of events—political, religious, artistic or otherwise—it participated in the entire experience and not always meanly. The life of this city in its various transmutations should have real meaning in the assessment of the life of the Middle Ages, and particularly, of course, in that of Byzantium.

To an understanding of this story the architectural development of the Central Area of the city makes its peculiar contribution, especially when taken with our knowledge of other contemporary evidence of human activity.¹ Some of the architectural remains of mediaeval Corinth have already been published, including the fortifications and some other structures on Acrocorinth and some outlying churches and other features;² other monuments remain

¹ E.g., the pottery, *Corinth*, XI; lamps, *Corinth*, IV, ii; other minor objects, *Corinth*, XII; sculpture, *Corinth*, IX; coins, *Corinth*, VI, and *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 241–256; X, 1941, pp. 143–162.

² C. W. Blegen, *Corinth*, III, i, pp. 21 ff.; A. Bon, *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 128–281; J. M. Shelley, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 166–189; C. Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, pp. 160–172; A. Philadelphus, *Δελτ.*, IV, 1918, pp. 125–135. See also below, p. 9, note 18.

unpublished, including chiefly those found in the central area of excavation in the region of the classical Agora. These last represent, with restrictions of some importance, the center of the mediaeval city throughout most of its history.

Before we consider the mediaeval monuments themselves, it may be desirable to review the outlines of the history and topography of the community in the years immediately preceding the period of our study. After the refounding of the city in 43 B.C., Corinth pursued a prosperous but relatively uneventful career through the period of the Roman Empire. For most of this time it was the capital of the province of Achaia and undoubtedly the focus of incessant activity of bureaucratic as well as economic nature. Throughout the first and second centuries after Christ there was constant building, and, in spite of certain catastrophes, no conspicuous sign of basic decay appeared during the third century. The city was little affected by the great events of the time in the world of politics and warfare, but pursued a busy provincial life intent on its own concerns.

By the beginning of the second century the architectural form of the city was well established; indeed, the form and most of the details had been created little later than the middle of the first century (Plan III). The center of public and private business was located in the area of the Greek Agora in a broad low hollow just behind the edge of the highest of the great terraces shelving from the foot of Acrocorinth northward toward the sea. The hollow was protected from the north by the ridge on which stood the archaic temple, today commonly called the Temple of Apollo, and was approached from the north by a deep narrow

valley at the foot of this ridge to the east, in which ran the main avenue of the city, the road to Lechaion. The market itself was rectangular, running east and west, divided into an Upper Agora along the south and a somewhat larger Lower Agora on the north. The Lower Agora was lined on the north side, west of the Propylaia at the head of the Lechaion Road, by the entrance to a great Basilica erected above the Lechaion Road and east of the archaic temple (an entrance adorned in the second century by a monumental false façade now known as the Captives Façade, or the Façade of the Colossal Figures) and west of this, in the second century, by the Northwest Shops built in front of the earlier Greek Northwest Stoa. East of the Propylaia was a relatively slight colonnade. At the east end of the Lower Agora was a large public building now called the Julian Basilica; at the west end a series of temples and monuments was built on the edge of the West Terrace. Behind was an open space lined on the west by the West Shops, through the center of which rose a monumental approach to the temple and precinct probably dedicated to Livia (Temple E). Along the south side of the Lower Agora was a terrace, occupied chiefly by the Central Shops which opened onto the Lower Agora, with the Bema, or rostra, in the center; a great Circular Monument stood at the east, and a building which has been identified as a Dionysion at the west.

The Upper Agora was bounded on the north by a promenade over the roofs of the Central Shops, on the east by the Southeast Building, a structure perhaps designed for the preservation of archives, on the west by a colonnade bearing an aqueduct, and on the south by the magnificent South Stoa, a Greek building which was subjected to almost continuous remodeling throughout the Roman period to adapt it to housing offices of provincial and local administration.

The Lechaion Road, beginning at the Propylaia at its departure from the Lower Agora,

consisted, first, of a great flight of steps leading down to the avenue itself. The street was well paved with slabs of limestone, and lined with sidewalks and colonnades. Behind the colonnades on each side were shops, those on the west constituting a partial basement to the great Basilica above, those on the east a screen between the road and buildings behind. Of these buildings the first to the right was the Fountain of Peirene, elaborately enlarged and remodeled in the second century; north of this came the colonnaded court of the Peribolos of Apollo, and still farther north, a luxurious bath which has not yet been fully excavated or studied but which is sometimes called the Baths of Eurykles mentioned by Pausanias.

From the south side of the Upper Agora, about opposite the Propylaia of the Lechaion Road, another, somewhat narrower, paved avenue led southward. This may have turned eastward to proceed to the harbor at Kenchreai, although it is possible that the main road to Kenchreai entered the Agora at its northeastern or southeastern corner, from the east. From the West Terrace a road led northward past the Fountain of Glauke, the Odeion, the theatre, and ultimately the Sanctuary of Asklepios and Lerna at the edge of the second terrace, along the city wall. Either this road or one branching from it led to Sikyon.

On the northern edge of the highest terrace, below the archaic temple and between the Lechaion Road and the road along the Odeion and theatre, lay a Roman Market, consisting of a colonnaded court with shops. Other buildings in this region have not been investigated completely.

There are many indications that other buildings and quarters of importance lay in the neighborhood of the Agora, but the excavated buildings of the Upper and Lower Agoras, with the archaic temple and the upper part of the Lechaion Road, were undoubtedly the focus of political and economic life in Corinth throughout the period of the Roman Empire,

the essential plan and much of the construction having been achieved before the end of the first century.

This was the topographical environment which surrounded the introduction and early history of Christianity in the city. The story of the church itself, following the establishment of a Christian group in the city by Paul around the middle of the first century, to the end of the century, is not unnaturally obscure. However, the first leaders of the group—Apollos, Sosthenes, Silas—may be counted in some sense bishops of the church; and, since the Corinthian church soon came to be recognized as the Metropolitan of Achaia, perhaps because of its location in the political capital, they may also be regarded as in the position of archbishops.³ We have some intimation of one of the critical problems of the period in the friction between the more conservative Jews and the other members, suggested by the conflict between Paul and Sosthenes reported in *Acts* and by the tradition that the earliest martyrdom was of one Timon of Beroea, burned by the Jews.⁴ Around the end of the century Clement of Rome addressed a famous epistle to the group, possibly indicating close relations between Corinth and Rome, but telling little about the Corinthian community as such.⁵

Nor has the second century left much to record. Three bishops—Apollonios, Primus and Dionysios—are known, all representing orthodoxy against the early heresies. Dionysios, a voluminous correspondent, seems to have inclined especially toward Rome and read epistles from the Roman bishops in his services.⁶ Toward the end of the century, when the city seems to have reached a climax of

development, the archbishop Bakchyllos held a synod of his bishops in connection with disputes on the day of celebrating Easter, a symptom of the increasing friction between eastern and western Christendom which was becoming a dominant factor in the life of the Corinthian church.⁷

So far as can be seen Corinth was little affected by the political and economic shocks of the third century, and even if the Herulians did work some damage on the city in 267–268⁸ (which could be disputed), it must have been limited. But although the city at large pursued a fairly uneventful existence, the Christians, if the traditions of martyrdom be accepted, had their troubles.⁹ The reliability of the accounts is obviously dubious in certain cases and hence questionable in general, but they may well reflect the general situation. For some episodes tradition has an approximate date; for others, none. The dated ones seem to fall between A.D. 238 and A.D. 259.

Among the first of these martyrs was a woman whose name is not given, but who was the mother of a later martyr, Kodratos (Quadratus). She came to her death while he was a child. Another woman, Helikonis of Thessalonike, underwent particularly trying ordeals with unusual fortitude, according to the tradition; her martyrdom began under one procurator, Perinius, and continued through a series of highly varied torments into the time of his successor Justinus. Both Greek and Roman tradition date her martyrdom to May 28, under Gordian III or Philip.¹⁰ Kodratos himself, with five others, perished during the reign of Decius or Valerian, on a March 10 under a procurator Jason. They were held in great honor at Corinth and their relics were described in a religious poem as the “outer defenses” (*proteichisma*) of Corinth, and the church dedicated

³ Max, p. 42; Le Quiens, pp. 155–156.

⁴ Max, p. 51; *Acta Sanctorum*, April, vol. II, p. 619.

⁵ Max, p. 44; Bon, p. 5; James A. Kleist, *Epistles of Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch* (Ancient Christian Writers in Translation, No. 1, Newman Bookshop, Westminster, Md., 1946) has most recent translation, bibliography and discussion.

⁶ Le Quiens, *loc. cit.*; Max, pp. 46f.; Kleist, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Eusebios, III, 4; IV, 21, 24.

⁷ Max, p. 59; Le Quiens, *loc. cit.*; Eusebios, V, 23.

⁸ Bon, p. 13; Broneer, *Corinth*, I, iv, pp. 134, 136ff., 143, 151, 159.

⁹ In general, see Max, pp. 51–55.

¹⁰ *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. VI, p. 81.

to them was a place of healing.¹¹ On a January 31 of about the same period, under a procurator Tertius seven others were martyred;¹² and for an April 16, under an unknown emperor, the procurator being a certain Venustus, there is a confused tradition of the martyrdom of a large group, of whom a man named Leonides was hanged and the others, for mourning him, were taken out to sea and drowned.¹³ Finally, there is a martyr Alexandros of November 24 of an unnamed year.

These fragmentary and somewhat unreliable details nevertheless constitute what has been recorded of the Christian tradition in Corinth through the three centuries during which the central provinces, at least, of the Roman empire lived their busy lives largely unaffected by external events, within the imperial framework developed on the concept of Augustus. The first open changes in this pattern came with the close of the third century, and the fourth century experienced a complete change in many important areas affecting the life of the city.

Politically, of course, the reforms of Diocletian represent the beginning of the separation of the Eastern and Western empires. In his new scheme of things Corinth still remained the capital of the province of Achaia, now conceived as part of the prefecture of Illyricum in the diocese of Moesia; under Constantine Moesia was divided, and Illyricum, with Achaia, was established as part of the new diocese of Macedonia. Throughout most of the fourth century these entities were governed from Rome, but toward the end of the period they were transferred to Constantinople.¹⁴

With the official recognition of Christianity ecclesiastical organization took a place along with political. Le Quiens lists five bishops of

Corinth—Hesiodos, Epiktetos, Dionysios II, Dorotheos and Alexandros—through the fourth century; these were metropolitans governing some forty-six suffragans in the Peloponnesos and northern Greece, or substantially the province of Achaia, under the Metropolitan of Thessalonike. It is a matter of some significance that the Metropolitan of Thessalonike, together with his subordinates including the Bishop of Corinth, remained under the Bishop of Rome even after their provinces came under the political control of Constantinople.¹⁵

The great field of conflict of the period was religion. Although Christianity achieved official recognition during the course of the century, there were still battles with paganism and even more bitter struggles of divided opinion within the fold. The closing of pagan temples and the prohibition of pagan sacrifices under Constantius, the brief revival of paganism under Julian, and the anti-pagan measures of Theodosius involving the closing of the temples and the ending of the Olympic games in 396 were developments which might well be expected to have had open and far-reaching effects on the life of Corinth. Actually, little really specific information on the practical application of these measures can be gained from the literature¹⁶, and the excavations at Corinth produced no reliable evidence of systematic dramatic destruction of pagan shrines and temples in general at this or any later period. There was, however, an advocate of Christianity's attack on paganism at Corinth, named Aristophanes.¹⁷ The relative obscurity of Aristophanes and the anti-heretic polemicists Hesiodos and Epiktetos suggest the level of intellectual activity in the Christian Corinth of the fourth century; although these men were not the leaders of their age, they were active in it.

¹¹ Max, p. 51; *Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol. II, March 10, p. 4. See also below, p. 7, note 8.

¹² Max, p. 55; *Acta Sanctorum, Synaxarum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 1902, p. 435.

¹³ *Acta Sanctorum*, April, vol. II, pp. 402ff.

¹⁴ Bon, pp. 2-4.

¹⁵ Bon, p. 7; Max, pp. 61-63.

¹⁶ Compare Bon, p. 6, where are cited A. Fliche and V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*, III, pp. 517-518; IV, pp. 15-30; and E. Stein, *Geschichte des spätromischen Reiches*, I, Vienna, 1928, pp. 327-328, 335.

¹⁷ Bon, p. 6.

Although this meager information suggests that nothing happened in Corinth consonant with the tremendous events in politics and religion at the highest levels of the empire, the latter part of the century nevertheless marked the end of an epoch for Corinth in genuinely dramatic ways. At least two great earthquakes, one in 365 and one in 375, and what must have been a ferocious sack accompanied by unusually violent destruction, by the Goths in 395, seem from a casual reading of the evidence to have laid the city waste.¹⁸ Many of the important buildings of Roman Corinth were ruined or at least badly damaged during these years. The destruction of Temple E has been dated to the mid-fourth century, that of the Julian Basilica and the Captives Façade or Façade of the Colossal Figures, somewhat hypothetically, to about 375, that of the theatre, the Central Shops, and the North Market, to the sack of Alaric in 395; parts of the South Stoa, the Odeion and the Asklepieion were destroyed toward the end of the century.¹⁹ One almost

gets the impression that the city was completely devastated, but we shall see that it was not damaged beyond repair. In fact it would seem that some such catastrophe or series of catastrophes of just such a degree of intensity was appropriate to the needs of transforming the city into a community suitable to the new culture whose birth-pangs had been the chief concern of the same century.

In any case it appears that in the latter part of the fourth century Corinth was in fact a vital community, both in the church and otherwise. John Chrysostom, in the opening words of his First Homily on First Corinthians,²⁰ speaks of it in his time as the first city in Greece, worthy of its glorious tradition of philosophy and rhetoric as well as of commerce. While it would be agreeable to know whether he wrote before the sack of Alaric or after (probably he wrote before the sack), the architectural evidence supports his impression, and fine as well as common Christian burials mark the growth of the Christian population.²¹

¹⁸ For the earthquake of 365, Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVI, 10, 15–19; for that of 375, Zosimos, IV, 18; *I.G.*, IV, 674; *Corinth*, VIII, i, no. 113; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 65; for the sack of Alaric, Zosimos, V, 6; Bon, p. 14.

¹⁹ Temple E: *Corinth*, I, ii, pp. 173, 184; Julian Basilica: unpublished; Façade of the Colossal Figures: *Corinth*, I, ii, p. 88; theatre: *Corinth*, II, p. 140; Central Shops: *Corinth*, I, iii, pp. 131–132; North Market: *Corinth*, I, iii, p. 192;

South Stoa: *Corinth*, I, iv, p. 153; Odeion: *Corinth*, X, p. 147; the Asklepieion: *Corinth*, XIV, pp. 160–161.

²⁰ John Chrysostom, *Homilies on First Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, Argument line 1 to end (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. LXI, col. 9f.).

²¹ *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 428–441; XL, 1936, p. 484; *Corinth*, XIV, p. 162.

PART 1.

ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In following the intricate course of the subsequent development of the city we shall have to compromise between an order based on chronology and one based on topography. We shall therefore divide our account broadly into six chronological sections: (1) the Early Christian Period, 395–610; (2) the Age of Barbarism, 610–802; (3) the Byzantine Recovery, 802 to

1059; (4) the full Byzantine Period, 1059–1210; (5) the Frankish Period, 1210–1458; and (6) the Turkish Period, 1458–1858. The terms “Frankish” and “Turkish,” in this division, are hardly accurate chronologically but indicate the predominant character of the period in question. Within each section we shall follow chronology or topography as seems most revealing.

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD 395–610

A. INTRODUCTORY

During the fifth and sixth centuries Corinth remained the capital of the province of Achaia, and the bishop remained a metropolitan under Thessalonike, under Rome. Le Quiens lists four bishops of the fifth century: Alexandros, a correspondant of Chrysostom, Perigenes, Erasistratos and Petros. Of these something is recorded about the appointment of Perigenes. He was evidently appointed by the Pope at Rome to the see of Patras, but refused by the church there. He was then designated to Corinth, and although he was a native of Corinth there was violent dispute before he was accepted. This conflict apparently arose in 419 and continued until 435. The difficulty seems to have lain in the increasing strength and opposition of parties supporting Rome on the one hand and Constantinople on the other, and the resistance to Perigenes has been inter-

preted as resistance to Rome.¹ Perigenes was present at the Third Council at Ephesos in 431². Petros, who was present at the Council at Chalcedon in 451, took part in the growing struggle between Pope and Patriarch-Emperor. He seems to have inclined toward Constantinople without being able to escape Roman jurisdiction, for he received reprimands in 446 from Pope Leo IV, the Great, for making appointments without papal sanction and for refusing to recognize papal appointees; and he called a local synod of the bishops of Achaia for purposes desired by the Emperor Leo I.³

¹ Le Quiens, pp. 158–159; Max, p. 90; Boniface I, *Ep. ad Rufum Thessalonicem*, anno 419, 13 Kal. Oct.

² R. Carpenter, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 359, says Perigenes, which seems to correspond with the data of the sources; but Finley, “Corinth in the Middle Ages,” *Speculum*, VII, 1932, p. 499 gives Erasistratos, for reasons which elude me.

³ Le Quiens, pp. 160–161; Bon, pp. 8–9.

During the sixth century the Church at Corinth continued to be active. The Archbishop Photios had two delegates, the Deacons Dionysios and Kallinikos, at the Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 553, according to Le Quiens; and in 591 Pope Gregory the Great provided one of his emissaries to the Patriarch with a letter of introduction to Archbishop Anastasios at Corinth. This Anastasios was involved in a dispute with his superior at Thessalonike, Hadrian, and the dispute, adjudicated by Gregory, apparently resulted in the removal of Anastasios for simony.⁴ Gregory also corresponded with Anastasios' successor John in the matter of a decree of Maurice relating to attempts of individuals to evade military obligations by entering the church.⁵ These incidents suggest that Corinth remained, if perhaps uneasily, in the double camp of political allegiance to the east, religious to the west. Of another bishop, Epiphanius, we have only the name.⁶

Apart from ecclesiastical history there is some information as to the state of affairs in the city during the fifth and sixth centuries. A great number of graves of the period have been discovered, chiefly in the area and vicinity of the Asklepieion and Lerna, at the northern edge of the classical town (Plan II, H). The beginnings of this extensive cemetery may be as early as the fourth century, and it is even possible that part of the sanctuary itself (Plan II, A) may have been converted into a church at that time. The gravestones give considerable information as to the activities of the populace of the time.⁷ A basilican church was built in the Kranion suburb of the city, near the gate of the road to Kenchreai (Plans I, 5; II, D), probably in the fifth century,⁸ and

⁴ Le Quiens, *loc. cit.*; Letters of Gregory, Ind. XI, nos. 6, 38, 39; Max, p. 92; Setton, *Speculum*, XXV, 1950, p. 519.

⁵ Le Quiens, *loc. cit.*; Letters of Gregory, Ind. XIII, nos. 52, 57, 58; Setton, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *C.G.C.I.H.*, no. 7.

⁷ *Corinth*, XIV, pp. 162, 166-167.

⁸ J. M. Shelley, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 166-189; *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 345-360. Could this have been the martyrium of Kodratos and his fellows—above p. 3?

undoubtedly other churches were constructed in and near the town. One of these, perhaps a kilometer north of the Asklepieion, has recently been partially excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service (see below p. 9, note 18). A church was probably erected on the summit of Acrocorinth in this period.⁹

A significant moment in the history of the city was marked by the construction of a new wall of fortification for the lower city, below the citadel, which substantially reduced the defended area (Plan II, E and F). At least, the area enclosed by the new wall is about one-third that enclosed by the classical wall. The new fortification is represented by traces between the Kranion church and the Central Area, about 500 meters east of the latter, and probably by other traces a similar distance west of the Agora. This wall has often been called Justinianian but on the basis of unpublished excavations by Rhys Carpenter is dated more probably in the early fifth or even late fourth century. A hoard of 742 coins was found along the wall, with the bones of a man, covered by debris which seems to have come from the wall itself as though an earthquake had thrown the wall down at some period over a fugitive. The coins, of which 336 were legible, included 148 of Anastasios (491-518), but apparently nothing later. Evidently the wall had been built earlier than the time of Anastasios, and hence earlier than Justinian, but suffered some severe damage so that it may well have been reconditioned by Justinian. Other numismatic evidence gives ground for the tentative dating of the wall in the early fifth or late fourth century.¹⁰ In any case, even in the slight evidence available in and from the wall, we perceive the quickened reaction of the population to the gathering threats to the Early Byzantine empire.

With the reign of Justinian himself, evidence

⁹ *Corinth*, III, i, p. 21.

¹⁰ Carpenter, in *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 127, inclined toward the fourth century. For an account of the coins, see K. M. Edwards, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 248.

for an intensification of trouble for the community is available from many sides.¹¹ An earthquake of some violence visited the region in 522; perhaps at this time the new fortification was damaged and repaired, as suggested above. In any event the fortifications across the Isthmos were reconditioned at this time, and the city undoubtedly received some benefit from this and other aspects of the building program of Justinian. Nevertheless the "Huns" appeared in the vicinity about 540, and whether or not they reached the city itself, they were a sign of the times and undoubtedly had a marked psychological effect.¹² In 542 the city and the surrounding region were afflicted with a terrible plague, of which a dramatic memorial may be seen in a mass burial in one of the cisterns of Lerna, behind the Asklepieion.¹³ Still another earthquake is recorded for the year 551; it was probably as a result of this catastrophe that a hoard of 387 coins of the period was lost in the hypocaust of the small bath in the South Stoa, implying the ruin of the bath itself,¹⁴ while 460 coins spilled over the floor of one of the West Shops during the same reign suggest that the shop was badly damaged and subsequently abandoned, at least for a time, as a result of the same disaster.¹⁵ Thus it is clear that the city suffered a number of shocks of some magnitude under Justinian, apart from experiencing the effects of the economic pressures which racked the empire as a whole. But, again, in spite of this, we shall see that the result was not total devastation, for many buildings survived for centuries to come, and an inscription which has been dated to about 575 may provide contemporary evidence of reconstruction immediately following the calamities.¹⁶

The end of the century, however, brought further disasters. The exact nature of the course of events and their implications has not yet been clearly established, in spite of extensive and intensive consideration by a number of scholars viewing the problems from a broader perspective than that of the city itself (below, pp. 27-28). But there are two vivid, unequivocal indications of disaster from the evidence of the excavations. The most dramatic was found in a room of a building west of the Lechaion Road, north of the Basilica, behind the Hemicycle court. In this somewhat mysterious structure were found two skeletons, evidently victims of the falling walls of the building itself. With one were 56 coins, the latest being of Justin II (565-578); with the other were 20 coins of similar date, surrounded by traces of cloth. The impression is that the men were in flight, overcome by a catastrophe which, because of the fallen stones, appears to have been an earthquake.¹⁷ The second indication, producing a different impression, is from the schola or exedra west of the Bema. This had been converted to a fountain-basin around 400, but in spite of this the floor was found to have been covered with a heavy deposit of ash. This may mean, in the first place, that the basin was dry when a great fire occurred; then, in the absence of any wooden structure in the vicinity, large quantities of combustibles must have been brought to the spot for burning. In other words, although other interpretations could be offered, it suggests a sack of the city in which objects not desired by the conquerors were wantonly burned. Directly on top of the ash was found a great block of marble, beneath which was a coin of Maurice-Tiberius of about 582. Here is clear evidence of heavy blows to the life of the city, coincident with the collapse of the Justinian dynasty and the Early Christian period as commonly conceived. Here then we may end the first period at Corinth, whatever the implications for her future.

¹¹ For the literary evidence, cf. Bon, p. 15.

¹² A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford, 1952, p. 140.

¹³ *Corinth*, XIV, p. 164.

¹⁴ *Corinth*, I, iv, p. 151.

¹⁵ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 249.

¹⁶ *C.G.-C.I.H.*, no. 9; *Corinth*, VIII, i, no. 195.

¹⁷ *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, pp. 52-53; below, p. 16.

B. THE BUILDINGS OF THE CENTRAL AREA

Within the Central Area, building at Corinth during the fifth and sixth centuries was largely a matter of repairing and remodeling earlier classical buildings. In one sense the work was a result of the damage done to the classical structures during the earthquakes and the Gothic sack of the latter part of the fourth century, in that the damage had to be repaired; in another sense it was a result of the new needs of the Christianized community, functionally and aesthetically. What actually happened was the natural result of the concurrence of the two needs. We shall consider first some of the earliest work done, in the area of the Agora, then new developments in the region of the Lechaion Road, followed by later construction in that region, and conclude by noting later construction in the area of the Agora itself and elsewhere (Plan IV).

THE JULIAN BASILICA AND THE METROPOLITAN CHURCH

11-12 H-I

Plans IV, VI, VII

One of the prime needs of the Early Christian community was a church; and as Corinth was almost from the beginning the seat of a metropolitan bishop, the first church at Corinth must have been in some sense a metropolitan church, a structure of some dignity. This need must have emerged long before the beginning of the fifth century, rather in the days of Constantine when Christianity came into the full sun of official life and, for the first time, began the construction of worthy buildings to house its worship. The question now arises whether the Constantinian metropolitan church has been preserved.

Four early churches have been found in the vicinity of Corinth. One, on the summit of Acrocorinth, has been dated to the "fourth or fifth century"; another, in the Kranion suburb, belongs to the fifth century; a third, which has

not yet been fully excavated, well outside the city walls to the north on the plain stretching down to the sea, is probably also of the fifth century; the fourth, also unexcavated, is near Lechaion.¹⁸ Whether any of these has roots as early as Constantine is doubtful, and in any case it seems unlikely that the metropolitan church of Corinth should have been located at such distances from the center of the city.

The Constantinian church, or the earliest metropolitan church whatever its date, may of course have been located in a neighborhood of the central area not yet uncovered. On the crest of high ground east of the Agora remains of a church are known to exist, but the known remains are clearly much later than the sixth century. There still stands in Old Corinth a Church of the Dormition of the Virgin, commonly called the Church of the Panaghia, and in 1676 Wheler spoke of a church of the Panaghia "at which the Arch-Bishop lives" (below, p. 89). The modern church of the Panaghia is located on high ground not far southeast of the classical Agora (Plan II, L), and the present superstructure probably dates from around 1840, although the lower parts of the walls may be earlier. But investigations around the church revealed an unidentified twelfth century complex over late classical remains of obscure character, possibly a hotel of some kind; it is unlikely that there was an early church on the site.

An alternative suggestion would be that one of the ancient temples was converted to church uses.¹⁹ Of these the archaic temple known as the Temple of Apollo, the dominating temple of the Central Area, would be the obvious first candidate. However, when Cyriacus of Ancona

¹⁸ *Corinth*, III, i, p. 21; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 188; the third has been reported by D. Pallas in *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, 1953 (1956), pp. 175-183; the fourth has been reported only in the newspapers.

¹⁹ For this practice see especially F. W. Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen in Antiken Heiligtümern," *Jahrb.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 105-136.

visited Corinth on the eve of the fall of Byzantine rule he found the temple in an advanced state of ruin and spoke of it only as a pagan temple. Another obvious candidate would be Temple E, dominating the classical Agora from the west. Indeed the top of the concrete core of the podium of this temple is pitted with graves, suggesting that there had been a church on or near the temple at some time or other. But the temple itself was completely destroyed in the fourth century and, so far as has been determined, was not rebuilt in any monumental form.²⁰ Finally, there are indications of a Christian religious center in or near the Peribolos of Apollo, as we shall see below (p. 22), and the church in question may have been in this region.

One other hypothesis deserves some attention: that the Constantinian metropolitan church was created by remodeling the Julian Basilica at the eastern end of the Lower Agora. The Julian Basilica²¹ was originally a simple rectangular structure with the main entrance on the middle of one long side facing the Agora, approached by a flight of steps. The building was in two floors: one, a basement consisting of a broad corridor around four sides of a core filled with earth, the ceiling of the corridor being supported on a series of posts; two, the main floor consisting of a central rectangular hall over the earth-filled core, surrounded by columns separating the central hall from a corridor running around the building above the basement corridor. The columns of the central hall supported a clerestory rising high above the sloping roofs of the corridors. There were three rectangular niches along the east side, that in the center, opposite the door, considerably wider than the two flanking it. To the east of the building was an important street of which only slight traces have been uncovered, and the central one of the recesses

may have been a porch for an entrance from this street. At a later period the corridor in the basement along the south and probably also that along the north were redesigned by extending the end walls of the central core east and west to make halls along the entire width of each end of the building, with vaulted ceilings. There are some indications that these were used, at one period at least, as cisterns.

The building in this state could have been converted into a form suitable for church purposes with relatively little difficulty. The chief requirements for the church would be an apse and a nave leading to the apse. The apse could have been readily installed within the central rectangular niche on the east; the nave could be created by constructing a relatively light colonnade through the central hall on the earthen filling of the basement core, since removed. These alterations could have been slight and of such a nature as to leave no trace on the preserved structure.

In the absence of traces, however, there is no way of proving the hypothesis and indeed the only justification for pressing the matter is that from a later period are preserved tangible remains that definitely suggest a church. After the middle of the fourth century, perhaps in the earthquake of 375, the building was severely damaged. The basement under the east corridor was found to have been filled at about this time with material including some of the sculptures adorning the original building; cornices and other architectural members of the superstructure were built into the foundation for a wall running parallel to the eastern outer wall of the building about 3.20 m. to the east. The eastern wall of the original building was removed to the main floor level at least, and the rectangular niches were largely or perhaps entirely removed. On the other hand an apsidal foundation some 7.50 m. wide was built near the center of the east wall—not at the exact center, but with its northern edge coinciding with the northern edge of the

²⁰ *Corinth*, I, ii, pp. 170, 173 with fig. 111, 183.

²¹ A publication of the building is being prepared for the *Corinth* series by Saul Weinberg. Our account of the classical building is based on his work.

earlier rectangular niche and its southern edge falling about 1.50 m. within the southern edge of the earlier rectangle. The curve of the apse projected beyond the new wall along the east of the building, but its heavy masonry of concrete and large blocks runs up to the original face of the building.

These arrangements definitely correspond, as far as they go, and generally speaking, to those of the typical Early Christian basilica, and the required supplemental arrangements may easily be restored without violence to preserved evidence (Plan IV). The chief peculiarities of the hypothetical restoration are the enclosed halls along the north and south, although to these there are many parallels of which the closest perhaps are the Metropolitan at Gerasa and the early church at Epidauros.²² Obviously there is wide latitude for speculation in matters of detail and even major features, and it is fruitless to go into such speculation.

If the hypothesis of the conversion of the Julian Basilica to a church be accepted, it will help to explain certain other phenomena. In the west corridor of the basement are three vaulted tombs, built of *poros* stones with one or two fragments of classical marble. They differ in no apparent way from many such tombs that have been found in the Central Area, none of which can be dated with absolute confidence although some are almost certainly later than the tenth and eleventh centuries. The tombs in the basement of the Julian Basilica, however, present one peculiarity in that they are constructed neatly against the western foundation wall of the basilica. Now this wall, certainly by the end of the eleventh century and perhaps earlier, had been thoroughly pillaged and lost in the maze of buildings which grew up around about. The graves could hardly have been made when the buildings were going up, certainly not afterwards. Of course, even though they be dated before the

tenth century there is still a wide range of time available, but with full recognition of this it would be consistent with the evidence and even desirable to extend the hypothesis of the Early Christian church to account for the tombs so that we would assume that they were built during the existence of the church, in the basement under the narthex. Furthermore, there are scanty remains in the same basement, near the northern end, of what seems to have been a rectangular structure of rubble faced with brick. There is no tangible clue as to the nature of this structure, but the hypothesis of the church would suggest an explanation: that it was a built mausoleum, or above-ground tomb, in the basement. Finally, the vaulted halls at the northern and southern ends of the basement might, within the hypothesis of the church, have been used as burial chapels, or mausolea or *osteothekai*, although no traces of such use were found.

In conclusion, in spite of the nebulous character of the entire matter, I feel some confidence in assuming that the Julian Basilica was converted to ecclesiastical use in the fourth century and extensively if economically rebuilt as a church in the fifth century or towards the end of the fourth century—or both. If this hypothesis provides nothing tangible for the study of church architecture, it is none the less important in the history and topography of Christian Corinth.

THE SOUTHEAST BUILDING

11-12 J-K

Plans IV, VI, VII

South of the Julian Basilica, at the east end of the Upper Agora, there lay in classical times a structure of considerable interest called the Southeast Building, which evidently housed a library or part at least of the public archives.²³ The essential part of the structure survived

²³ This building, with the Julian and South Basilicas, is the subject of a study prepared for the *Corinth* series by Saul Weinberg, from whose observations the facts of our summary come. See *Ancient Corinth, A Guide to the Excavations*, 6th ed., 1954, pp. 49-50.

²² Orlandos, *Ευλόστεγος Παλαιοχριστιανική Βασιλική*, Athens, 1952, A, pp. 40, 51.

throughout the middle ages, constantly subjected to alteration. Its history during the Early Christian period may have a significant relation to that of the Julian Basilica.

By the end of the second century the Southeast Building consisted of a large rectangular space paved with mosaics and with a series of piers forming a sort of nave down the middle on the north-south axis, a smaller room along the south end, and a colonnaded porch along the west side. During the fourth century a pithos was sunk in the central panel of the mosaic on the south side, and another pithos in the floor of the west aisle. In the first pithos was found a coin of Constantius Chlorus (293 to 306); in the second, fourteen coins ranging from Diocletian to Constantius II (324–361). Now it is difficult to explain these pithoi at all precisely on the basis of available evidence, but at least they are less appropriate in a library or public archives than in a dwelling or commercial establishment. It may be, then, that during the first half, or toward the middle, of the fourth century the building was diverted from its original use to serve some domestic or commercial function.

In any case, in the early fifth century there was an extensive rebuilding. The interior piers were completely reconstructed, from the very foundations; the marble revetment of the classical building was removed; a tile floor was laid a few centimeters over the, by then, somewhat dilapidated mosaic. An indication of the date of this reconstruction may be seen in a coin of Honorius (395–423) found beneath the new floor. At a still later period, when the tile floor in its turn had fallen into disrepair, the intervals between the piers were in some part closed with walls of rubble, creating three distinct longitudinal rooms instead of a nave with aisles, but with a transverse hall across the south end. Finally, the colonnaded porch evidently collapsed in the sixth century, for pieces of it were found in a pit with coins of Justinian.

These alterations of the fifth and sixth centuries, while they did not change the fundamental structure of the building, nevertheless produced a distinct change in the organization of the interior spaces. The new organization does not in itself suggest the purpose of the building as altered, but may represent improvements in the adaptation of the structure to the purposes of the commercial establishment or dwelling already hinted by the fourth-century pithoi. The building, however, remained one of considerable dignity in a prominent position, hardly appropriate to industry or commerce. If on the other hand we contemplate the possibility of its being converted to use as a dwelling, and this in conjunction with the hypothesis that the neighboring Julian Basilica had been converted in the same chronological stages to use as the metropolitan church, it is a reasonable inference that the Southeast Building had been taken by the metropolitan archbishop as his official residence. The prominent position and imposing scale of the building would be appropriate to the dignity of the episcopal palace, and it would give the bishop, who, suddenly, in the fourth century, became equal in importance to the highest civil authorities, a headquarters adjoining theirs and of comparable distinction.

THE CENTRAL STAIRS AND THE BEMA FOUNTAINS

4 L to 11 J

Plan IV

The most conspicuous creative change in the architecture of the city during the Early Christian period was the substitution of a great flight of stairs for the Central Shops, although from the point of view of construction and expense this was a relatively slight work. The shops, facing on the Lower Agora, had once made a definite physical division between the Lower and Upper areas, so that although people from the Upper Agora could walk out over the roof of the shops, as on a terrace

promenade, the only actual access from one level to the other was by the stairs on either side of the Bema and at either end of the Agora. These shops were completely destroyed toward the end of the fourth century.²⁴ The amount of ash on the floors of some of them indicates that they had been burned; this is consistent with the hypothesis that they had been ruined in the sack of the city by Alaric in 395, a conclusion which the numismatic evidence tends to support. At the same time, the Goths would hardly have gone to the trouble to throw down the walls. This reflection suggests that the plan of demolishing the shops (rather than rebuilding them) and laying out a grand staircase involves positive creative imagination and real interest in aesthetic matters.

The staircase itself was constructed simply and economically, but neatly. The shop walls were cut down in large part, leaving the lower portions standing, their tops cut back in steps as supports for the tread-blocks to be laid along the area. The shop spaces themselves were probably filled with earth, although subsequent habitation has resulted in the removal of most of the earth as well as of the treads. The treads themselves were of marble, most of them neatly trimmed down from the cornice and epistyle-frieze blocks of two or three buildings of earlier date, perhaps of the second century after Christ (Pl. 1₁).

The new stairs were laid over the old steps on either side of the Bema and on the steps east of the Dionysion. They do not seem to have interfered with the terrace-podium of the Circular Monument or with the Dionysion itself.

In the center (7-8 K), the Bema proper remained unchanged, but the rectangular scholae or exedrae were transformed into fountains (Pl. 1₂). This again was a simple work, and most of what was done has since been eradicated. There still remain clear traces of a sill of *poros* blocks some 0.25 m. high, laid

across the open front of each exedra, clamped at the ends to the step-blocks of the Bema podium and to the blocks on which the benches of the scholae rested at each side. Above the sill the new front wall was raised by at least one other course of stones, as indicated by a clamp cutting in the base moulding of the Bema podium, but the total height of the enclosing wall and the designed depth of the water cannot be definitely ascertained. The joints of the structure of the exedra, including the marble benches, were sealed with waterproof cement, suggesting that the water rose at least to the height of the tops of the benches.

Water was brought to the new basins from the southeast; a short stretch of fitted tile pipe is still preserved approaching the back of the western basin, and another line of pipe stretches along the rear of the podium of the Bema, leading toward the eastern basin.

The western basin could be drained through a hole in the bottom of the *poros* sill, near the Bema podium, the water running thence through a shallow marble-lined gutter to a covered channel running off to the northeast.

Within the basin, on the debris resulting from or associated with the final ruin of the fountains (above, p. 8), was found a large marble block, the long surface of which was slightly hollowed like a trough, with three somewhat deeper, roughly circular depressions within it (Pl. 1₂, foreground). The block seems to have been one which might have been set on the edge of a drawbasin, on which people would rest their jars before and after bending across to dip the water. Hence the block may have been supported somehow above the sill, and constituted the formal approach to the fountain, though it is difficult to see how it could have been supported so unless on small loose blocks of stone, not attached in any way to the structure of the fountain. This is careless construction, appropriate to a poorer age; but it is not wholly out of keeping with

²⁴ *Corinth*, I, iii, pp. 117, 131-132.

the manner of constructing the grand staircase, for example.

The total result was a flight of steps 130 meters long, flanked on the east by the Circular Monument, on the west by the Dionysion, and punctuated in the center by the Bema with its fountains, the whole distinguishing, while joining, the upper and lower areas of the Agora.

THE PROPYLAIA

8 H

Plans IV, VI

The Propylaia marking the entrance to the Agora from the Lechaion Road was probably rebuilt in some part during the Early Christian period. Near the Propylaia were found three fragments of carved moulding (below, p. 117, No. 142, Pl. 31) cut from marble blocks of an earlier use, bearing a leaf pattern of this period. The blocks are too large to be assigned to any known structure of the time in the Agora area, unless it be the Propylaia. On one of the blocks the moulding is cut on the short side of a block 1.20 m. long; if the block had been part of a simple wall, that wall would necessarily have been at least as thick, and perhaps thicker, since the rear end of the block is finished only roughly. No foundations for walls of such thickness have been noted in the Agora area, excepting the massive piers of the Propylaia.

It has been suggested that the Propylaia was destroyed at the end of the fourth century, but that parts of it survived to be used in the ramp which was built up from the Lechaion Road to the Agora no earlier than the tenth century.²⁵ Perhaps, rather than lying in ruins after the damage of the late fourth century, it was actually rebuilt to stand in monumental form through the Early Christian period. It may, indeed, have been restored more than once, for the style of the moulding is perhaps most appropriate to the sixth century.

²⁵ *Corinth*, I, i, pp. 191–192; below p. 37.

THE HEMICYCLE AND RELATED BUILDINGS

6–7 C–D

Plans IV, V

Leaving the Agora itself, we proceed to the northern part of the excavated portion of the Lechaion Road, to the area north of the Basilica. Here there had been, in classical times, a rectangular colonnaded market with shops, behind the colonnade of the Lechaion Road. For this, no earlier than the end of the fourth century, was substituted the most completely original individual building of monumental scale in the Central Area, of the Early Christian period.²⁶ The building may most conveniently be called, simply, the Hemicycle (Pl. 2₁; Plans III, IV).

To already published accounts of the Hemicycle there is little to add. It consisted of a wall not precisely circular but approximating a half-circle of about 18.75 m. diameter. The semicircle is based on the line continuing the front of the shops to the south, and hence faced on the colonnaded walk bordering the Lechaion Road. Whether there was an independent colonnade marking the particular front of the Hemicycle cannot be proven by preserved remains, but the interior of the Hemicycle was probably separated from the Road itself by columns of some sort. The Hemicycle itself consisted, in addition to the curved wall marking its exterior, of a curved colonnade within facing on an open court. Through the curved exterior wall doors at irregular intervals led to the space to the west.

The entire structure was composed of re-used materials, including blocks from the Basilica to the south. Particularly significant is a piece of the stylobate of the interior colonnade of the Basilica, proving that the Hemicycle is later than a very thorough destruction of the Basilica. Although there is no absolute evidence for the date of the destruction of the Basilica or the construction of the Hemicycle,

²⁶ *Corinth*, I, i, pp. 142ff., especially p. 147; *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, pp. 49–57.

the probabilities are that these events occurred around the beginning of the fifth century, since the complex behind was developed during that century and must be later than the Hemicycle itself.

Although the detailed form and function of the Hemicycle remain in doubt, it was obviously a major work independently conceived, and an impressive monument of its period.

Behind the Hemicycle is a complex of considerable interest.²⁷ In spite of subsequent study little more is known about it than was originally published. It occupies the southern half of the western part of the earlier market; the northern half of the complex remains unexcavated.

Among unsolved problems are the extent to which the structure of the earlier market survived to be incorporated into the new building, and how many periods there were in the Christian building. Apparently there were two, but only the second of these is at all clear.

In this later phase the structure seems to have consisted of a small open court bounded on the northeast by the wall of the Hemicycle, and on the south and west by rooms. There was access to the court from the Hemicycle by a door. On the west side of the court are traces of a foundation which may have carried a broad doorway, or even a pair of columns, opening into a sort of vestibule; beyond lay what must have been the major ground-floor room of the complex, with a floor of large tiles and thin slabs of marble collected from various sources. There seems to have been an entrance to this room from another to the north, but the latter has not been exposed. In the vestibule, to the south, there may have been a stairway leading to a second storey, between two mysterious parallel walls, which still survive but are difficult to account for.

From the courtyard there were two doors leading to the south. That at the southwestern corner gave access to a corridor extending

through to the southern wall of the complex. From the corridor a door to the west led into a large rectangular room occupying the southwest corner. This seems to have been a store-room, for in it were many fragments of jars, pointed at the bottom, some still standing in the original holes in the floor. In the room were found also fragments of an iron sword and two knives, a terracotta brazier, and a marble table (below, pp. 16, 139). From this corner room a door on the north led into a small room paved with lozenge-shaped tiles.

Near the end of the corridor, on the west side, there is an opening in the wall, closed on the side toward the corner room by a slightly curving, apse-like wall. The purpose of this feature is obscure.

Along the south side of the complex lay a series of rooms, extending eastward from the corridor described above. The westernmost of this series could be entered from the same corridor; it had a stone shelf along the south side and a rectangular box-like structure in the northwest corner. In the box were a number of coins of the late fourth and early fifth centuries; below the shelf was a jar sunk into the floor, into which led a terracotta pipe issuing from the south wall. Just north of this room is a structure consisting of a small platform enclosed on three sides by walls; on the platform were three slabs of stone set on edge, 0.23 m. apart. This arrangement, which suggests a stove, could be approached through a door from the room to the south, or from the court to the north.

East of the group just described, along the south side, are two rooms evidently preserving the original walls of the earlier Roman market. One of them opens into what appears to be a corridor running along the south and east sides of the court. The wall which separates the corridor from the court along its eastward course is at present only two meters long, but it is tempting to restore the wall for a distance of about five meters and return it against the

²⁷ *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, pp. 49-57.

wall of the Hemicycle between the two doors in the wall of the latter at this point. Thus one of the doors would give access to the court of the main building directly; the other would give special access to the L-shaped corridor leading to the room on the south side.

The third door through the wall of the Hemicycle, then, would give direct and particular access to the third large room along the south.

According to this arrangement we would have actually three distinct units in the area behind the Hemicycle: one, consisting of one room only along the south behind the spring of the Hemicycle; another, consisting of an L-shaped corridor and a large room along the south wall; the third, comprising all the rest. All the rooms may, however, have been accessible to each other behind the Hemicycle.

Among the more interesting aspects of the complex is the fact of the discovery in the southwest room of many fragments of a large, red marble table top, somewhat similar to those used in some refectories at Mt. Athos, of the kind sometimes called "martyr tables" or "sigma tables" (Pl. 36₃; below, p. 139). In other rooms were found other fragments, suggesting that the entire table may have been used, and broken, in the building. As we have already observed (above, p. 8) the building was probably destroyed in an earthquake which brought its walls almost completely down. Had the table been set up and used in the southwest room, all the fragments should be there—indeed it is a little difficult to explain their dispersal on any hypothesis—but probably the table belonged in an upstairs room of the building, whence it fell during the earthquake and was destroyed in the storeroom below. Under these circumstances it would not have been buried completely by debris, and subsequent prowlers could more easily have dispersed the fragments.

From this we may infer that the upper rooms in the building were of some importance and perhaps fairly extensive.

The date of the building is well documented. Its destruction certainly came at the end of the sixth century, as suggested by the two skeletons lying without formal burial in the court, with their sacks of coins of the period (above, p. 8). The original construction may be dated early in the fifth century, especially by coins of the late fourth and early fifth centuries trodden into the earth below the tile floor of the main room on the west, by the eighteen coins including two of Arcadius found in the box-like structure in the room on the south, and by the fourth and fifth century coins found generally throughout the building.

As to its purpose, if it were not for the marble "sigma table," the natural assumption might be that it was an inn, installed in a convenient space behind the Hemicycle. The facilities suitable for a kitchen on the south, the storeroom, the relatively fine "reception room" on the west, and the upstairs rooms seem appropriate to such a function, so too, the carefully planned relation to the Hemicycle. The number of coins scattered about suggest commercial transactions, but the place is hardly a typical shop. The presence of the "sigma table," however, seems to add a special character to the establishment; to this we shall return below (p. 140).

AREA NORTH OF THE PERIBOLOS OF APOLLO 9-10 C-E Plan IV

On the eastern side of the Lechaion Road, opposite the Hemicycle and north of the Peribolos of Apollo, there lay in classical times, behind the shops and colonnades of the road itself, a Roman bath of considerable extent thought by some to have been the Baths of Eurykles mentioned by Pausanias. Only parts of this have been excavated, but enough to indicate that it consisted, roughly, of an open courtyard behind the shops with a large rectangular room or exedra facing it on the south, a series of bathing rooms along the east, and

some rooms of uncertain character on the north. In its partially excavated state the bath remains one of the more obscure buildings at Corinth although it must have been a rich one, judging from the traces of mosaic floors and ornamented walls.

Along the Lechaion Road itself, in the shop space immediately to the north of the Peribolos of Apollo, there was, from the second century, a public latrine. North of this there seems beyond doubt to have been a series of shops like those to the south, along the Peribolos of Apollo itself, but the classical walls have been much mutilated and details are uncertain.

Throughout the whole area was found a complex of post-classical walls of unusual interest and presenting unusual difficulties for interpretation. It is, in general, clear that there were several distinct periods, more, perhaps, than is common in the Central Area, and some noteworthy buildings. But the details of both architecture and history are elusive.

In the first place, however, the classical complex of colonnade, shops, latrine, and bath remained active into the fifth century. This is indicated by coins of Arcadius found under the steps belonging to the latest phase of the latrine, and similar coins of Arcadius found on the floor of the bathing establishment. Thus, although no doubt much altered from their original form and damaged by the events of the latter part of the fourth century, the buildings were in sufficiently good condition to be repaired and used at the beginning of the fifth.

Probably in the fifth century, then, though the date remains a matter of speculation, the courtyard of the bath was finally and definitely converted to new uses. The most conspicuous sign of this is a structure lying in the southwestern corner of the courtyard, which is beyond reasonable doubt a dwelling house. This building is one of the most significant for the history and architecture of our period that has been preserved to us; and it is fortunate

that substantial parts were left for later study by the original excavators of the area (Fig. 1; Pl. 3₁₋₃; Plan IV).

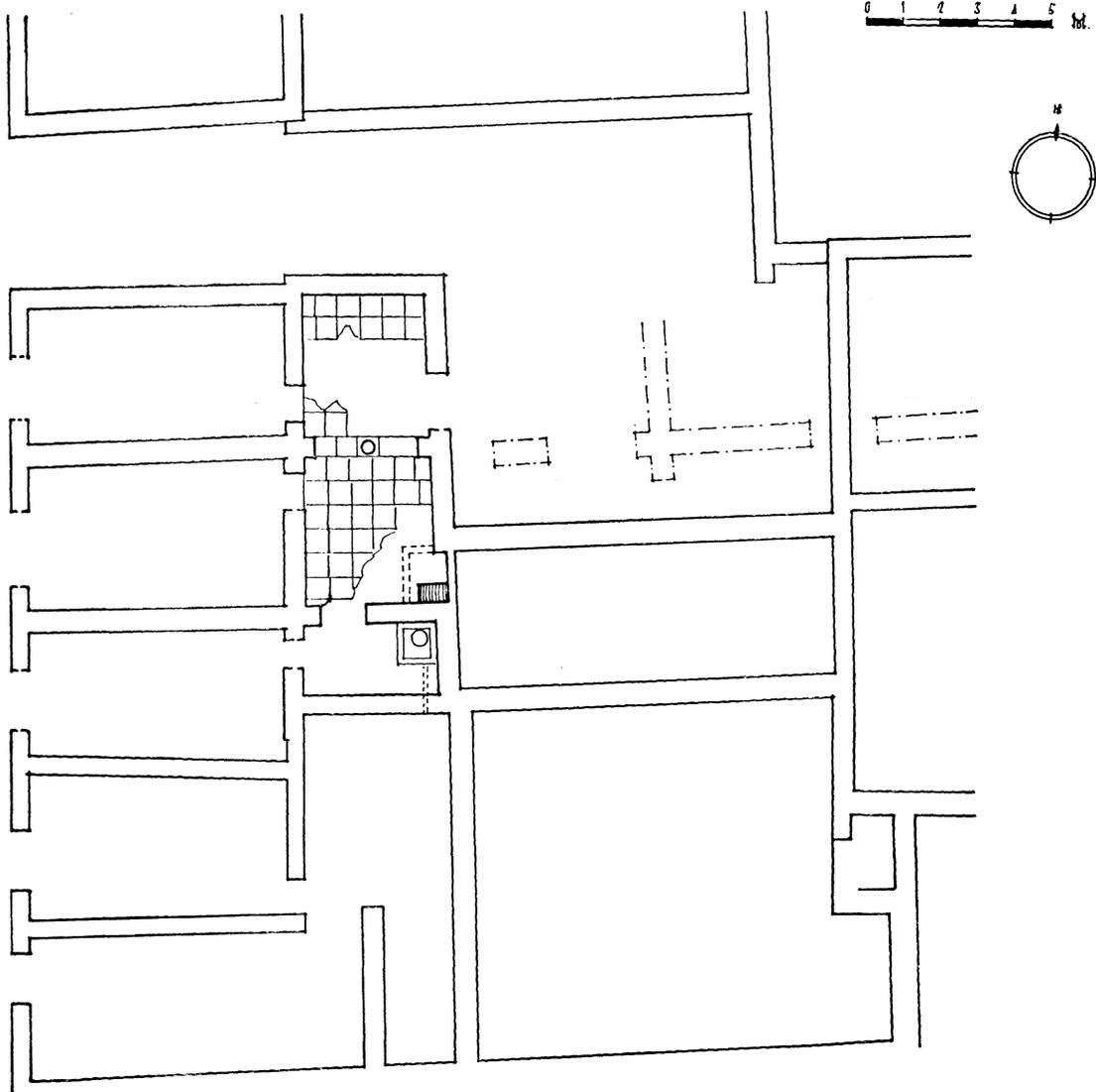
The chief feature of the building is a quadrilateral but not rectangular room (Pl. 3₁) about eight meters long and three and a half meters wide, with a door on the south leading to a small chamber some 1.80 by 3.70 m., from which a later door led to a corridor giving access to the rear of the latrine²⁸. Through the western wall of these rooms, which was in fact the rear wall of the Lechaion Road Shops, much repaired, two doors gave access from the northern, larger room to the shop spaces, and another door from the small southern chamber to another of the shop spaces. The latter door was walled up during the occupancy of the house, but the exact date is not clear. The shop spaces, too, were remodeled at some time or another, still uncertain.

The arrangements to the east remain uncertain. In all probability there was a door from the larger, northern room giving access to the remains of the courtyard of the bath, which preserved its original passage to the Lechaion Road along the north end of the house. But the southern part of the courtyard, in front of the great southern exedra, was blocked off by a wall or colonnade, probably at the time the house was built and as part of the arrangement of the house. At a later period a heavy wall, or rather a series of wide piers, was built north of this wall or colonnade, further reducing the remaining space of the courtyard; but it is at least possible that this last construction is later than the period of use of the original house as such (below, p. 38).

The construction of the well established larger room of the house (Pl. 3₁) offers some peculiarities in detail. The most striking aspect is the plan; it is divided into two approximately equal parts by a pair of buttresses or pilasters

²⁸ It is improbable that the latrine was functioning as such during the sixth century, but there is no conclusive evidence on the point.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN HOUSE
NORTH OF THE PERIBOLOS OF
APOLLO



S. L. DOUCAS 1954

FIGURE 1. PLAN OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN HOUSE NORTH OF THE PERIBOLOS OF APOLLO

projecting from the walls, with a column standing between them. The base of the column is preserved *in situ*, about 0.40 m. in diameter. In all probability, then, the pilasters and column supported a pair of arches carrying a wall dividing the higher part of the room as by a screen.

The floor is carefully covered with well baked tiles approximately 0.60 m. square, with much minor variation, and 0.04 m. thick; they

are yellow to light red in color. They were probably taken from the latest pavement of the courtyard of the bath, for similar tiles can be observed *in situ* outside the house in a pattern evidently belonging to the courtyard. The tiles in the room, however, were certainly laid for the room, as they are parallel to the west wall through most of the room but parallel to the north wall in the northern end, the north wall being at an oblique angle with the east wall.

Moreover, they are adjusted to the projection of the pilasters, and along the south wall there is a space of some fifteen centimeters by which the normal coursing of the tiles failed to cover the ground, pieced out carefully by slender slabs of marble. They are, finally, sealed to the walls by mortar.

The walls themselves have their own individual peculiarities. The west and south walls are of fairly large ashlar stones laid dry or in thin mud mortar; the north wall is laid in a rather bad lime mortar, with smaller stones. The east wall stands on the foundation for a wall or stylobate of a late period of the bath, and presents a number of problems. At the northern end it is still covered by later construction, or demolished entirely; this makes it impossible to determine beyond doubt whether there was a door from the room in this section, although some indications suggest that there was. The central section is of widely varied stones set in mud mortar, and at a definitely later period, when the house was long in ruins, a later wall was laid almost exactly in line with the remains of the original house wall, with its footing at least a meter above the floor of the original house. At the south end of the room there is a recess in the face of the wall, created by building up the wall along its east face with thin slabs, only 0.19 m. thick. To this recess we shall return immediately, but to the description of the walls themselves should be added the observation that they were originally covered with two coats of plaster. Of these considerable traces still remain of the first: a slight dressing in which the mortar for striking the joints was spread so as to cover thinly and partially the surface of the adjoining stones, with a pair of trowel grooves casually indicating the joints. The second was part of the original construction, but has almost entirely disappeared: it was much thicker, perhaps five centimeters or more, and presumably covered the entire wall surfaces as a basis for the final decoration. Its

existence might be suspected from the irregularities of the stone work; it is virtually demonstrated by the traces of plaster of an appropriate thickness on the floor tiles along the walls; and it is easily paralleled in modern as well as ancient construction.

Returning to the southeast corner of the room and the recess or niche in the east wall at this point, we observe (Pl. 3₂) that in the floor of the room at the corner is a pit some 0.50 m. deep and 0.50 m. wide (north and south), sunk along the south wall of the room. It projects about 0.50 m. inside the room, and extends some 0.90 m. eastward, under the wall and the thin slab, to empty by a crude hole at the bottom into a great sewer traversing the region from south to north. The sides of this pit are lined with small tiles, carefully laid and smeared with cement. In the center of the pit, when found, was a block of marble some 0.25 m. square and 0.60 m. long, standing on end; the purpose of this, if indeed it did not fall into the pit accidentally during the final destruction of the house, is unknown. Otherwise the pit was full of burned matter, bits of bone, and broken glass. The sides were marked with a peculiar incrustation similar to that which has been observed elsewhere at Corinth in long abandoned refuse and sewage pits.

To the observations in relation to the pit and recess should be added the fact that no remains of tile flooring were found in the corner adjoining the pit; traces of the same kind of cement bedding as that which carries the tile in other parts of the house were abundant, but no actual tiles were found. Furthermore, at the bottom of a large block in the east wall, adjoining the niche, 1.55 m. north of the southeast corner, there is a rectangular cutting 0.15 m. square; and on the south wall, about 1.15 m. from the southeast corner, is another cutting 0.27 m. wide and 0.45 m. tall. These suggest that the pit had been enclosed in a small chamber formed in part by the recess in the east wall, in part by a light partition, per-

haps on a wooden sill, projecting into the room.

Finally, into the top of the pit empties a channel roughly cut through the south wall, leading from a basin located in the smaller, southern room of the complex.

The southern room (Pl. 3₃) is entered from the larger apartment by a door in the west end of the partition wall. The present sill (which is actually modern) of this door lies some 0.25 m. above the level of the tile floor of the main room, but the southern room originally had a floor at the same level as that of the floor in the main room. At least three different floor levels were distinguished in the southern room, however, indicating that it went through a considerable period of use; and it may further be significant that the earth separating these floor levels was liberally mixed with ash and burned material including roof tiles, throughout. In addition to the door connecting this room with the large double room to the north, another door once led to the shop space to the west, and later a third to the space behind the shops communicating with the earlier Roman latrine to the south. Of these, the door on the west was filled in with masonry at some time, quite possibly during the history of the house.

The most remarkable feature of this small room, however, is the arrangement occupying the northeastern corner. Here there is a walled basin measuring about a meter square, with walls 0.15–0.20 m. thick, carefully constructed of small stones and tiles, covered with a good even coat of hard cement. The lip of the basin seems to be intended for the highest, latest floor of the room; the cement is smoothed down over the outside for some five or ten centimeters, and is lacking on the lower part of the walls on the outside. Within, the basin is about 0.25 m. deep, paved with irregular slabs of marble and slate.

From the bottom of the basin, on the north side, a rather crudely cut channel leads through the partition wall separating the two rooms of

the house, providing drainage from the basin into the pit in the southeastern corner of the large room. From the rim of the basin, on the south side close to the east wall, a channel carefully constructed of irregular slabs of slate and moulded cement leads southward, through the south wall of the room. This channel drops to the south, so that it seems to be a drain for overflow from the basin, although it is barely possible that the gradient has been altered from the original by subsidence so that this upper channel provided for filling the basin. Indeed, even with the existing gradient the channel is deep enough to deliver a trickle of water over the brim into the basin if completely filled at the lower end.

The basin just described appears to be an elaborate substitute for a simpler water-holding device of an earlier period. The slate floor slabs of the basin were laid on an extremely hard concrete bed constituting also the seal for a ceramic pithos whose bottom lies some 0.50 m. below the floor of the rectangular basin, and whose sides were cut down flush with the floor of the basin before the remainder of the pithos was partially filled with earth and sealed to hold the floor of the basin.

Before proceeding further it may be desirable to reconstruct to some extent the history and character of the two rooms we have described. The original arrangement involved the large northern room, with its two divisions indicated by the arches over the column and pilasters, and the southern room with a floor at the same level and with a door on the west. In the southeast corner of the large apartment was a latrine, for so the arrangement of the pit in the niche must be interpreted, and for which there exist significant parallels (below, p. 129). The southern room, in this original period, was in all probability a small private bathing room, equipped with a pithos standing in the corner to hold water. Probably water was heated on braziers in the southern room, accounting for the burnt material and for the frequent de-

struction of the floor. In the latest period of the house the southern room was remodeled so that the bath took the form of the rectangular basin described above.

The other rooms of the building cannot be restored with any confidence. No doubt they included apartments built among the walls of the shops to the west; although conceivably these shops retained their commercial function. In view of the fact that one of them communicates directly with the bathroom, they were more likely living quarters. In any case the plan of the complex in this section is to some extent a matter of conjecture. On the east, there may have been a long narrow hall or perhaps a colonnaded (or pillared) portico along the south side of the courtyard of the original Roman bath, and the large exedra of the Roman bath was perhaps somehow a part of the house complex. The space north of the portico remained an open courtyard.

The whole complex was evidently brought to ruin in a thorough collapse. The latest floor level (in the bathroom) was found to have been covered with a meter or more of earth, the lower levels being full of broken roof tiles and abundant traces of burning. Above this other debris collected, including great quantities of fragments of coarse pottery. Into the upper reaches of this earth were cut foundation trenches in which were set walls some of which rested directly on the roots of the walls of the house; the later walls in turn were leveled at some period and a complex of different orientation laid out over the entire area.

For the chronology of the complex there is fortunately very good evidence. The original construction of the house is probably to be put in the fifth century, although conceivably it could have come from the sixth. In any event it must have been built when the classical buildings were in a moderate state of repair, for it uses classical walls and foundations generously and violates none, and it was paved with tiles from the floor of the Roman bath,

which were evidently ready at hand since they were taken up undamaged. The third period of the house itself, that of the rectangular bath basin, dates in the first years of the seventh century. This date is assured by the discovery of four coins of Phokas (602–610) scattered in the earth beneath the latest floor tiles of the bathroom, together with two other coins of the sixth century. Considering the rarity of seventh century coins at Corinth, the discovery of four in a single fill of limited extent carries great weight in dating the deposit; there can be no question that the house was in use during the latter part of the sixth century and was renovated in the early seventh, to survive for an undetermined period thereafter.

It is, furthermore, not without significance that from the entire mass of earth and pottery found covering the ruins of the house, to a depth in some places of two meters, no object has been found which can be dated later than the tenth century. This in itself almost proves that the building is earlier than the ninth, indeed that it was destroyed long before the tenth century. To the tenth century must be dated the second major building period noted above, while the third will be found to belong to the eleventh or twelfth.

That the building was a house will be abundantly clear from comparisons to be developed below (pp. 129–130), and we are thus presented with a noteworthy architectural monument of considerable significance: a rather luxurious house of the sixth century, built among the remains of the shops and public bath along the Lechaion Road.

THE PERIBOLOS OF APOLLO

9–10 E–G

Plan IV

The Peribolos of Apollo was extensively remodeled during the Early Christian period. The alterations cannot be dated much closer than this; perhaps they were made around the early part of the sixth century. They appear to

have been extensive, but unfortunately the traces are too slight for a complete understanding of what took place.²⁹

The remodeling involved the construction of small rooms along at least part of the length of the west, and probably of the north, colonnade of the peristyle court, an operation which presumably involved the substituting of a wall with doors for the columns. This is indicated by substantial remains of a foundation of a crosswall continuing the line of the north colonnade across the west corridor, and of another foundation parallel to this, to the south, and of a wall continuing the line of the west colonnade across the north corridor, and of slighter remains of probably the same period suggesting a similar wall to the east of this. Whether the rows of rooms continued for the full length of the north and west corridors is uncertain, but probably they did. There are no clear traces of remodeling in the south colonnade, although remains of mortar on the stylobate suggest that perhaps some of the intercolumnar spaces on this side were filled with walling.

The east colonnade, however, was altered in a different way. A wall was run for the full length of the building about 1.70 m. east of the original colonnade. The columns seem to have been left in position and indeed repaired. A spur wall was carried from the new east wall to the ends of the colonnade, making anta-like termini to a sort of shallow stoa along the court. Thus the court in its new form consisted of rooms opening onto the uncovered space from north and west, a deep colonnade on the south, and a shallow colonnade on the east.

Accompanying the same program, apparently, was some reconstruction in the Lechaion Road shops bordering the Peribolos on the west. The work was essentially a repair of weakened parts of the original shops on the same lines, with slight variations. The only definite remains consist of concrete foundations

for new partitions at the northern end of the series, where the northernmost Early Christian foundation lies a little off the northern edge of its classical predecessor. The other wall, to the south, seems to have simply replaced the classical wall. Whether there was access from these shops to the new rooms facing on the peribolos court is uncertain.

The most important part of the complex, however, seems to be concealed by unexcavated ground to the east. In the narrow space where it was possible to examine the new east wall on its eastern face there were indications that other rooms exist in this area, and in these rooms were found fragments of two "sigma tables" (pp. 139-140). It is quite possible that a building of real importance lay on the slopes of the hill to the east.

The hypothesis that the new complex was devoted to ecclesiastic, perhaps monastic use, has been advanced;³⁰ this is to some extent supported by the discovery of graves in the vicinity, of which some must be earlier than those associated with the tenth-century church in the courtyard of Peirene (below, pp. 30, 38-39). In any case the new complex was an important structure of considerable extent.

THE FOUNTAIN PEIRENE

9-10 G-H

Plan IV

Just to the south of the Peribolos of Apollo, the fountain of Peirene was also remodeled, probably in the reign of Justinian.³¹ The work in the fountain, however, was a matter of modernizing and adorning the fountain without introducing any new purpose (Pl. 2₂). The most characteristic feature is the construction of a new façade across the draw basins. Large marble columns were erected, one between each two basins; these columns supported the ends of epistyle-frieze blocks projecting from the wall-façade of the draw-basins, and on the

²⁹ *Corinth*, I, ii, p. 54; *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, p. 72.

³⁰ *Corinth*, I, ii, p. 54; *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, p. 72.

³¹ *A.J.A.*, IV, 1900, p. 217, fig. 9, p. 229, fig. 11.

ends of the projecting epistyle-frieze blocks ran a continuous entablature. The projecting epistyle-frieze blocks, serving as a sort of impost above the capitals, were taken from an earlier building and re-used upside down. The ends facing out over the columns were trimmed at a slightly downward angle, and ornamented with bold, flat, but simply and even carelessly cut floral patterns (below, p. 117, No. 138). The epistyle-frieze of the entablature above these imposts was also made of re-used material; an earlier carved inscription was cut away, and a new inscription painted on in red letters. On one of the blocks the text can still be read:

- - - τὸν ὀρώμενον πάντα κόσμον τῆ(ι) Πειρήνη(ι)
πα - - -

It may be noted that the text implies a public benefaction in the classical tradition, and has been dated "probably in the fifth century A.D., certainly no later than the sixth century," on the basis of the letter forms.³² The workmanship on the impost ends, however, is perhaps to be regarded as later in this range than earlier.

More distinctive on the plan of the building is the substitution of a circular pool in the center of the court for the quadrilateral basin which had characterized the later Roman phases of the fountain complex. The pool was some 6.15 m. in diameter, neatly constructed. There is no way of proving whether the pool is contemporary with the colonnaded façade but it might naturally be considered part of the same program. In any case, for reasons not recorded, the excavators seemed to prefer the age of Justinian for the pool itself.

THE SOUTH STOA

4 O to 12 L

Plans IV, VI, VII

The most conspicuous sign of the passing of classical Corinth is in the South Stoa, which was in sad decay if not complete ruin by the end of

the sixth century.³³ The colonnade had probably largely, perhaps entirely, disappeared as early as 300, by which date fragments from all parts of the order had been built into a wall closing off most of the rooms along the central part of the structure. On the other hand, the arrangements in the rear part of the stoa, where the Greek shops had been, may have survived in some form through the Early Christian period.

This part of the building had undergone a long and complicated series of remodelings through the era of the Roman empire.³⁴ At the east end were offices devoted to the uses of the officials of the Roman administration; about a quarter of the way along was a monumental entrance through the Stoa to the South Basilica on the south. Just east of the center was a road leading through the Stoa (8 M), and west of this a Council Chamber (8 M-N). Near the latter was a large room floored and revetted with marble, which has been thought to be the headquarters of the Corinthian *duoviri*, then a small but well equipped bath (6 N), then a large public latrine (5-6 N). At the western end (4-5 N-O) the construction of the Greek period had not been basically altered, but its purpose during Roman times is not understood.

Of these structures, the bath, built about A.D. 300, probably continued in use until the reign of Justinian, during the latter part of which it fell into disuse.³⁵ The detailed history of the other sections is not so well documented. The large room west of the Council Chamber and east of the bath seems to have been partially filled with earth even by the fifth century, and a wall of uncertain purpose, perhaps a terrace wall, was built across it diagonally from northwest to southeast; this wall functioned primarily with relation to buildings in unexcavated ground to the south.³⁶ The

³³ *Corinth*, I, iv, p. 159.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-155.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-151.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-144.

³² *Corinth*, VIII, i, no. 198; *I.G.*, IV, 1606; *A.J.A.*, III, 1899, p. 683; IV, 1900, p. 238; *C.G.C.I.H.*, no. 8.

walls of the Council Chamber itself, particularly on the west and south, remained to function for different purposes in the later middle ages, but how late in the Early Christian period they preserved their original form completely has not been determined. The other parts of the building have left no conclusive evidence as to the extent of their life, with the exception of the related South Basilica, which fell into ruin in the latter part of the fourth century.³⁷

Although we lack direct evidence for the devastation of the building, an approximate idea may be gained from the evidence of later rebuilding. There was relatively little original building in the twelfth century in the area of the rooms of the Stoa, but there was a good deal of repair to the late classical wall system. This mid-Byzantine construction seems to have been designed in relation to late classical walls that no longer exist, but must have existed in the twelfth century. Thus they must also have existed during the sixth century, and we may therefore infer that the wall structure of the South Stoa was in usable form to a considerable extent in the Early Christian era.

The loss of the colonnade by the fourth century, of course, meant that the apartments must have had a fundamental reconstruction at that time, since the entire roof system must have been revised. The various elements of the complex, as they had previously evolved, were probably remodeled so as to stand as individual buildings with independent roof systems. Under these conditions the south side of the Agora, from the beginning of the fourth century, would have presented a totally different impression from that of its classical form; rather than the unifying row of columns extending for the entire width of the area, there would have been a series of individual, probably not very splendid, buildings. Very likely this

aspect went through no notable change until the end of the reign of Justinian.

THE WEST TERRACE

3 J-L

Plan IV

The temples lining the West Terrace remained substantially intact through the Early Christian period. No doubt they ceased to serve as places of pagan cult, and there is no clue as to the new uses to which they may have been put. But structurally some of them actually survived almost entire until the eleventh century at least (below, pp. 47-48, 56-57), in spite of previously published tentative conclusions that they may have been destroyed in the sixth century.³⁸

Furthermore, the West Terrace remained throughout the sixth century a monumental section of the Agora, for here were found several remarkable statues of the period.³⁹

The area underwent some modification, however, of which traces may be seen at the southern end. Here a rectangular foundation of stone and concrete, lined with brick, blocks the stairs which had previously joined the Terrace and the Lower Agora at the south. The date of this has not been determined, and it may actually fall earlier, but it should be noted as a possible work of the fifth century. It probably carried a great concrete distributing basin, receiving water from the aqueduct on the archaic columns along the western end of the Upper Agora.

A more significant and definite development may be seen in front of the southern section of the West Shops (2 L-M). Here may still be seen the lower portions of walls forming a large room in front of the northern half of this southern shop structure, erected in front of the colonnade; presumably the columns were still standing, for the walls seem to be built with relation to the columns and include no ma-

³⁷ Traces of late Roman or Early Christian buildings have been found east and south of the Basilica, and south of the Council Chamber, but too slight to describe. See also below, pp. 47, 73.

³⁸ *Corinth*, I, iii, p. 73.

³⁹ *Corinth*, IX, pp. 150-154, nos. 321, 327, 328; *Corinth*, I, iii, p. 73.

terial taken from the colonnade. Furthermore, the walls in question were leveled almost to their roots before a complex of the tenth century was built over their remains.

Probably at the same time as the large room was built in front of the colonnade, the partition walls separating the three shops behind were removed, and the doors of the northern and southern of the three shops walled up, thus creating a single large room within the original shop building. Perhaps also contemporary are traces of construction extending northward over the flight of steps which rose from the West Terrace through the Shops to the region of Temple E.

This remodeling of the Shops may probably be put shortly after the earthquake of 551, when there is evidence to indicate the Shops were in some degree damaged (above, p. 8). The fact that the coins lost as a result of that earthquake were left on the floor of the southernmost shop of the series would imply that that part of the shops was abandoned, for a while at least. For some reason the situation in the northern half of the building may have favored reconstruction on a new plan.

THE NORTH MARKET

2-5 C-D

Plan IV

The eastern side of the North Market was destroyed at a period which has not been determined—perhaps as early as the third century, perhaps as late as the fifth—to permit the construction of the west wall of what must have been a large and important building of which only one corner has been exposed (5 C). Its construction is largely of brick, which is rare in the Central Area at Corinth; the preserved corner of the building (its southwestern corner) shows a number of apsidal niches let into the thickness of the wall. These characteristics suggest a building like a bath or “nymphaeum,” and since the latter term is

conveniently vague we may use it for the mysterious structure in question.

The Nymphaeum was laid out with a slightly different orientation from that of the Market, and in such a way that a section of its western wall lies on the line of the southern end of the eastern wall of the Market.⁴⁰ Judging from the scale of construction it must have been a moderately extensive building, and may have filled the entire space between Market and Hemicycle. It seems to have been linked closely to the Market in design and hence perhaps in function. This may be inferred, for one reason, because the preserved part of the west wall of the Nymphaeum ends on the north in such a way as to suggest that it flanked a doorway leading from Market to Nymphaeum; for another reason, because in front of the south wall of the southeastern shop of the Market was built a new wall oriented to the Nymphaeum, as though to trim up the space and create an entrance lobby between the Nymphaeum and the colonnade of the Market.

Whether at the time of the construction of the Nymphaeum or at another period, the shop walls of the Market were removed in the southeast corner, and the area covered with a clean hard layer of *poros* chips. At another period, probably later than the original construction of the Nymphaeum, a monumental doorway was established on the line of the front wall of the original shops, adding to the formal design of the transition from Market peristyle court to Nymphaeum. This door is represented by the well preserved limestone threshold, lying on fill containing a few potsherds and ill-preserved coins probably of the fifth century.

THE SYNAGOGUE NEAR THE THEATRE

It seems appropriate at this point to call attention also to the marble impost on which

⁴⁰ *Corinth*, I, iii, pp. 153, 183, 192, plan K.

is carved a design including three seven-branched candlesticks with palm leaves (No. 130, p. 116). This was actually found in the theatre, and there is no other clue as to the location of the building from which it came. The building, however, must have been a

synagogue; it probably dates from the fifth century; and it must have been a large and fine structure. It should therefore not be overlooked in our view of the Early Christian city, even though it probably lay outside the Central Area, properly speaking.

C. SUMMARY

Viewing the Central Area through the Early Christian period in comparison with its Imperial Roman form, we find, externally, relatively little change. The most conspicuous permanent loss between the age of Hadrian and that of Justinian occurred around or before 300, the dismantling of the colonnade of the South Stoa. Temple E, the Basilica above the Lechaion Road, and the South Basilica were probably leveled and gone by the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth, but other earlier structures had been repaired or replaced as time went on. The Southeast Building, the Julian Basilica, the Northwest Shops, the Lechaion Road and its main buildings, Peirene, all were still in use; new statues were still being displayed among the temples on the West Terrace; even the Central Stairway and Fountains are not wholly foreign to classical tradition.

Many changes were more fundamental. Some of the buildings were turned to the use of the new dominant religion, and internally remodeled to this end, like the Peribolos of Apollo and especially, according to our hypotheses (pp. 10-12), the Julian Basilica, which became the high temple of the new religion, and the Southeast Building, which, instead of housing the public archives, was now the residence of the archbishop, a new political as well as religious personage. The house, however luxurious, concealed behind the Lechaion Road shops in the courtyard of the Baths of Eurykles, and the structure hidden behind the Hemicycle on the opposite side of the Road, suggest a significant decline in civic vigor.

Aesthetically, whereas the classical Roman or Greek did not hesitate to use material from old buildings for new use but did take pains to eradicate the appearance of re-use and to provide his own building with a proper finish, the Early Christian builder was willing to ignore even conspicuous signs of re-use. The new ornament (below, pp. 103-122), however, exhibits in a high if not exceptional degree the qualities of dematerialized formal design that represent the spiritual ideals of the new religion. At the other extreme, the over-all design of the Agora, although it was still a grand, spacious place of comprehensive public interests, had lost the broad, intricately organized monumentality of the Roman period. Instead of the single, ordered rhythm of the colonnade of the South Stoa, there was the less ponderous, more relaxed and varied row of small buildings. Instead of the formal, decisive division of the Upper and Lower Agoras by the Central Shops with regularly defined passages and inter-relating functions, there was the free, inclusive movement back and forth along the whole length of the uniform gentle gradient of the Central Stairs. Although the Bema, superficially, had not changed in appearance and its fountains made it more inviting and gracious and generally useful than before, it was no longer firmly bonded to the lines of the Central Shops and the general plan of the Agora; it lay casually in the midst of the area, the rationale of its location barely evident, and yet, as the most conspicuous element in the area, it was the true and unique focus and center.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF BARBARISM 610-802

A. INTRODUCTORY

The position of Corinth through the seventh and eighth centuries remains obscure, in spite of a great deal of discussion devoted to the problems.¹ In general, the question is whether the city was deserted through these two centuries or any part of them, and what relation there was between the fortunes of the city during this period and any of the various invasions of Slavonic or other northerners. The evidence and the arguments for the various points of view are too intricate to reproduce here, but the major positions may be indicated. According to one, Corinth, together with all or part of the Peloponnesos, was overwhelmed by an invasion of Slavs, probably Avars, about 586-587, and remained under this barbarian control until about 805, Corinth itself being largely or completely deserted. According to another, whatever Corinth may have experienced from an Avar onslaught in 586-587, it was not deserted at that time but remained an active Byzantine community until the middle of the seventh century, at which time it was seized and held for a few years by a tribe of Bulgars who were soon expelled by Constans II; after *his* reign, however, the city was deserted. A third position might be that in spite of successive invasions, the city

continued to function throughout the entire period.

Although there are several arguments for belief in an attack on the city by Slavonic, perhaps Avar, invaders, around 586-587, and we have seen archaeological evidence for a sack of the city at just about this time in the conflagration beside the Bema (above, p. 8), the weight of evidence seems to incline against the view that the city was actually deserted at the end of the sixth century.² The clearest evidence for this is that the house north of the Peribolos of Apollo was re-built in the early seventh century; coins of Constans II found in a basin of a chapel built in a cistern in Lerna, behind the Asklepieion, show that the chapel was in use around the middle of the seventh century;³ and a base for a statue probably erected in honor of Constans around 662 in the Agora implies that the city continued at that time to have a developed organization and a formal public square.⁴

² The most complete discussion, particularly of literary sources, is by Setton in *Speculum*, XXV, 1950, pp. 502-543. The most direct references in literary sources are in the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian* (Setton, p. 512) who says that the Slavs took Corinth about this time, a letter of the Patriarch Nicholas III to Alexios I saying that the Avars occupied the Peloponnesos 218 years before 805 (or 807) and the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*, which parallels the letter of Nicholas and adds that at the time of the Avar invasion the Corinthians deserted their city (Setton, p. 518). But Setton deprecates these sources. The buckles which were suggested by Miss Davidson (cf. above, note 1) as actual relics of Avar warriors, are otherwise interpreted by Setton, and more recently D. I. Pallas, in "Αἱ 'Βαρβαρικά' Πόρπαι τῆς Κορίνθου," *Ἑλληνικά*, παράρτημα 7, Athens, 1954, pp. 390-396, argues that they represent Byzantine work of a style of the ninth-twelfth centuries, and that these particular buckles may belong to the twelfth century. But see below, note 12.

³ *Corinth*, XIV, p. 169.

⁴ J. H. Kent, *Speculum*, XXV, 1950, pp. 544-546; *Corinth*, I, iii, p. 147, pl. 67, 3.

¹ The more important recent articles include those by G. R. Davidson: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 227-240, and *Corinth*, XII, p. 5 note 8; by P. Charanis: "The Chronicle of Monemvasia and the Question of the Slavonic Settlements in Greece," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. V, 1950, and *Speculum*, XXVII, 1952, pp. 343-350; K. M. Setton, *Speculum*, XXV, 1950, pp. 502-543; XXVII, 1952, pp. 351-363; Bon, pp. 27-87; P. Lemerle, *Revue Historique*, CXI, 1954, pp. 287 ff.; and D. I. Pallas, "Ἀρχαιολογικά Τεκμήρια τῆς Καθόδου τῶν Βαρβάρων εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα," *Ἑλληνικά*, XIV, Thessalonike, 1955, pp. 87-105.

Thus, although we may disregard here the difficult problems of the precise identity and history of the northerners who attacked Corinth and the Peloponnesos during the late sixth and seventh centuries, we may be confident that the city was far from being deserted through the first half of the seventh century, unless for some brief period. It remains to consider the latter part of the seventh century, and the eighth.

Once the evidence of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and related documents is thrown in doubt, as it must be since it dates the desertion of Corinth to the end of the sixth century, the chief argument for any substantial period of abandonment comes from the statistics of the incidence of coins for the period, as published up to 1941.⁵ Only ten coins were found from this period of 668 to 802; compared with the number of coins found from earlier and later periods this figure is infinitesimal and has naturally suggested to many that the century and a half in question was one of substantial desertion of the city.

On the other hand similar dramatic decline in the number of coins discovered from within this general period has been noted at Athens and at Antioch⁶ which are not otherwise suspected of having been deserted. Thus it might well be maintained that the decline in the number of coins, which would appear to be general rather than local, was a result of general conditions rather than local, although

a local situation might have influenced the statistics to some degree.⁷

Apart from the coins, little other evidence is available. According to Le Quiens the bishop Stephanos, Metropolitan of Corinth, attended the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680 as "Bishop of Corinth and Legate of the Apostolic Throne in Rome"; and in 689 the Patriarch sent an embassy to Rome including the Bishop of Corinth.⁸ Those who believe that Corinth was deserted at this time may argue that the tradition is at fault or that the Bishops in question were not necessarily resident in their official see. They may note also the absence of a Corinthian Bishop at the Seventh Council in 787.⁹ On the other hand, the evidence taken at its face value would imply the existence of a Corinthian archbishopric into the last quarter of the seventh century and not necessarily deny its existence in the eighth. It seems to be a simple fact, however, that there is no literary evidence proving activity specifically in Corinth through the eighth century. The next reference is in the writings of Constantine Porphyrogenitos (913-959) who says¹⁰ that in 805 (or 807) the "general of that time was (then) at the head of his theme in the castle at Corinth."

From the evidence at hand, then, we may be confident that the city continued to function past the middle and probably through the latter part of the seventh century. The state of affairs for the eighth century remains obscure.

B. BUILDINGS AND RELATED PHENOMENA IN THE CENTRAL AREA

Whatever the reasons, it seems to be a fact that no buildings in the ordinary sense of the word belonging to the full seventh or eighth centuries have been identified in the Central

Area; nor has any major work of reconstruction or renovation of any earlier building been noticed. New buildings may have been built in certain areas only to be almost completely

⁵ J. Harris, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 143ff., especially p. 160.

⁶ M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, II, p. 4. Miss Thompson points out to me the complete absence of coins from Antioch from 681 to 886 (see D. B. Waage, *Antioch on the Orontes*, vol. III, ii, p. 166). See also Pallas, "Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Τεκμήρια," Ἑλληνικά, XIV, Thessalonike, 1955, pp. 88-97 for discussion of data from other sites in Greece.

⁷ Compare H. Pirenne's views on the approximately contemporary depression in Western Europe attributed by him to the rise of Islamic domination of Mediterranean trade routes; *Medieval Cities*, Princeton, 1925, pp. 23, 28ff.

⁸ Bon, p. 103.

⁹ Bon, p. 104.

¹⁰ *De administrando imperio*, chap. 49; Bon, pp. 42-43.

demolished or so incorporated into later structures as to have been indistinguishable during the process of excavation; but any such work must have been relatively slight. On the other hand there are two developments of great importance to the history and later architecture of the area which should be discussed in relation to this period: the appearance of a considerable number of graves and tombs, and the combined effect of accumulation of new deposits of earth in some places, the lowering of ground level in other places, and the despoliation of ancient monuments.

THE GRAVES

At least seven cemeteries, or extensive concentrations of burials, have been identified in the Central Area or immediately adjoining it: (1) in the west end of the South Stoa (5-6 M-N; two of the graves are indicated on Plan VII), with which may be associated some graves in the south end of the West Shops (2 L-M); (2) within and northeast of Peirene (9-10 G-H); (3) in the southeastern part of the South Basilica (10-11 N); (4) around the Bema (7-9 K-L); (5) around the north end of the West Terrace (3-4 I-J); (6) on and around Temple E; and (7) in the region of the Hemicycle (6-7 C-D), with which may be associated some graves in the east end of the North Market (4 B-C). In addition to these concentrations there are the tombs in the Julian Basilica (above, p. 11) and one in front of the Southeast Building, some tombs west of the so-called Temple of Apollo, a random sprinkling of graves throughout the area in general, and a few skeletons of people who had probably not been formally buried. Since the graves are of interest at the moment only in the attempt to determine the course of development of the region during the seventh and eighth centuries, we need consider only the first three cemeteries; the other cemeteries are to be assigned unequivocally to the ninth

century or later, as we shall see; and for the most part the isolated burials provide no good basis for analysis.

Of the first three cemeteries, no. 3, that in the southeastern half of the South Basilica, consists largely of simple graves with tent-like tile covers of a type common in Early Christian burials. There are also a few tombs with walls built of small rough blocks of stone and bits of tile, the roof being covered with miscellaneous slabs of stone, measuring about two meters in length, one and a quarter meters in width, and a meter and a half high, usually containing more than one body, the bones of earlier interments being pushed aside for each successive burial. There were also two vaulted tombs, of somewhat larger dimension but similar technique of construction and use. In one of these vaulted tombs were found coins of the early thirteenth century.

The problem of chronology for this cemetery offers some difficulty. The original assumption of an Early Christian date¹¹ was based on the fact that although there were innumerable burials in the area, so many that the individual graves were cut into earlier entombments to the extent that it was impossible to distinguish the outlines, no grave was found within the foundations of a well built edifice consisting of several rectangular rooms with an apse projecting from the north side (Pl. 13₂; Plans VI, VII). As this apsidal building was largely constructed of material taken from the South Basilica itself, and as the South Basilica appears to have been destroyed by the end of the fourth century, and as no earlier post-classical, mediaeval building was discovered on the site, it was a reasonable conclusion that the apsidal building was Early Christian—perhaps a primitive church—and that the cemetery grew up around it. In later investigation of the apsidal building, however, a few sherds of pottery of the eleventh century were found close to the upper part of the foundations of

¹¹ *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 62.

the building, and a thirteenth-century coin and a sixteenth-century coin were found in the lower part of the foundation of the apse itself. It must be admitted that these few potsherds and the two coins might be explained away as the result of intrusion or accident in excavation, particularly in view of the arguments favoring an early date for the building. Nevertheless, it is preferable to date the building to the sixteenth century rather than the Early Christian period (below, pp. 92–93), even though this leaves us without satisfactory explanation of the factors which originally suggested the Early Christian date.

Once the apsidal building is eliminated from the early period, the date of the cemetery takes on a different aspect. The types of grave are not peculiar to Early Christian times; similar tile-covered graves occur around the Bema in the twelfth century (below, pp. 71–72). The thirteenth-century coins in the vaulted tomb show that the tomb was in use at least as late as the thirteenth century, and rather than assume that the cemetery was in constant, or even intermittent, use from the Early Christian period through the thirteenth century, it is perhaps more reasonable to suppose that the cemetery as a whole represents a period of no more than two or three centuries including the thirteenth. Thus this cemetery is removed from consideration as pertinent to the problems of the seventh and eighth centuries.

With regard to the graves in and around Peirene, cemetery no. 2, there is very little direct evidence available. It is known that there was a church in the courtyard of Peirene perhaps as early as the tenth century (below, pp. 38–39) and it would be natural to associate the graves with this church. We may also note a child-burial under the steps of a tenth-century house to the east of Peirene (below, p. 41); although it may be questioned whether the grave in question belongs to the cemetery as such, it adds something to the impression that

the cemetery is earlier than the tenth century, in its inception at least. It can hardly be as early as the sixth, when the fountain was still in full operation and the Peribolos of Apollo was in its Early Christian use. Thus there is a possibility, but by no means the certainty, that the cemetery was begun in the seventh or eighth century.

There remains, then, cemetery no. 1, occupying the western part of the Upper Agora, the area within and in front of the western part of the South Stoa, and perhaps including the graves in front of the southern section of the West Shops. Here again we have a variety of types of burial, ranging from simple inhumation through graves covered with tiles, graves lined with slabs of stone or marble, tombs built of roughly squared blocks of stone and marble and re-used material in general, covered with slabs or larger blocks. There is one vaulted tomb. Again, in no tomb was there direct evidence of date, with the possible exception of one in which were objects which have been thought to belong to Avar or other barbarian invaders, but the date of which is disputed.¹²

Clearly, however, with the possible exception of a few of the slightest burials, these graves are earlier than the complex of industrial establishments which covered the area in the twelfth century and which had begun to develop at least as early as the eleventh. It is inconceivable that these graves, particularly the larger tombs, were set down among crowded buildings in use. On the other hand they must date from after the abandonment of the South Stoa, for they lie indiscriminately over its area and indeed its walls. We have seen that the small bath in the Stoa, which lies within

¹² *Corinth*, XII, pp. 5–6; catalogue nos. 1468, 1538, 1539, 1547, 1548, 1567, 1864, 1909, 1934, 2182, 2195. Of these only the buckles, 2182 and 2195, have been used as evidence for date. Pallas ('Βαρβαρικά' Πόρπαι, pp. 344–345) argues that 2182 is useless for chronology, and (pp. 347–358) that 2195 should date from the twelfth century, being a simplified version of a type whose greatest complexity he finds in the ninth century.

the edge of the cemetery, functioned to the middle of the sixth century (above, p. 23) and in all probability other parts of this end of the building were in use even later. Thus for the date of the cemetery we have the period of the seventh through the tenth century.

In narrowing the range we have no definite indications and must resort to probabilities. Pallas' date of the twelfth century for the buckle in one of the tombs¹² cannot be admitted for the tomb, as we have seen; indeed there must have been a period of time or a critical turn of events between the abandonment of the graveyard and the establishment of roads and industrial facilities over it. We shall see (below, p. 49) that there was no distinct crisis between the beginning of the ninth century and the twelfth century; rather a pattern of rising and falling, generally rising, activity between about 800 and about 1200. This would suggest that the cemetery was most used during the eighth century, having begun in the seventh, and continued for a while perhaps into the ninth.

With the cemetery should be associated a church or burial chapel of some kind. Nothing of the sort has been identified in the excavated area, and although possibly a chapel was arranged in one of the surviving rooms of the South Stoa, it is more likely that it lay to the west in unexcavated ground. Particularly is this probable if the graves in front of the south section of the West Shops belong to the same association.

Thus we find that one of the major cemeteries, or concentrations of burials, within the Central Area belongs with some probability to the seventh and eighth centuries. Another, that in the vicinity of Peirene, may have had its origins in the same period. Among the random burials one small group may also be put into this period. This is a pair of graves built in one of the Central Shops near the east end, consisting of slab-lined cists side by side. The slabs lining and covering the graves include frag-

ments from the Early Christian Stairway which had been built over the Shops. The graves, then, were arranged at a time when the stairs were being pulled apart. On the other hand they must, again, date from a period earlier than the eleventh-twelfth century commercial establishments which came to cover the area; and indeed they must have been made when the ground was clear enough to make apparent the roots of the Roman Shop walls after the steps had been removed. The most probable time would be the eighth century.

In general, then, the southwest cemetery and many of the scattered graves probably belong to the eighth century. They represent a period when the agora had lost its function as a public place of assembly and business, or at least had declined in that function, but it should be observed that although the graves were the habitation of the dead, their existence presupposes the presence of the living. There must have been people living in the near vicinity in sufficient numbers to require at least one fairly extensive cemetery to bury their dead, and of sufficient vigor to desire and to construct at least a few tombs of as considerable magnitude as the best days of mediaeval Corinth produced.

SHIFTING OF EARTH AND DESTRUCTION OF CLASSICAL MONUMENTS

In the development of the Central Area through the mediaeval period an important factor, although hardly architectural in a positive sense, is the fact that on the one hand in certain areas (as observed in the course of excavation) the ground level of Roman times was cut away to a considerable extent, whereas on the other hand in other areas there was a notable accumulation of earth on top of the substantially undamaged Roman surfaces.

For example, much of the bedding for the marble pavement of the late Roman Lower Agora was found intact, although almost all

of the marble itself had been removed, and fifty centimeters to a meter of earth and gravel had accumulated over it by the end of the thirteenth century. From this fact, and from the fact that coins of the twelfth century were found close above the Roman pavement level, it may be assumed that the central part of the Roman Lower Agora, like the Lechaion Road, lay open and clean into the twelfth century.

East and west of the Bema (7–8 K), however, the scholae or exedrae which had become fountains during the Early Christian period had, by the tenth century, been filled with earth to a depth of almost two meters, as evidenced by graves of the tenth century and perhaps earlier found sunk into that earth (below, pp. 42–43).

Conversely there are considerable areas where the Roman pavement was cut away to a great depth. In the Lower Agora, to some extent on the west and north but chiefly on the east, there was relatively slight excavation for foundations, cellars and pits of various kinds belonging to buildings with floors only slightly higher than the Roman pavement. These buildings were probably of the twelfth, or perhaps the eleventh, century. In the Upper Agora, on the other hand, chiefly southeast and southwest of the Bema (most conspicuously the latter), mediaeval walls were found with floor levels at approximately the same level as that of the Roman Agora pavement but resting on as much as two meters of earth containing material of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and even slight deposits of tenth-century material at the bottom. These tenth-century deposits show that the pavement of the Roman Agora had been dug away in this locality to a depth of two meters in places, at least as early as the tenth century.

The deep excavation southwest of the Bema was quite probably the result in large part of the rooting out of foundations of classical monuments, compounded with the intrusion

of mediaeval cellars, pits and even buildings, earlier than the eleventh century. Thus this part of the region may have been the site of buildings of some kind at a low level in the tenth century or before. The accumulation immediately west and east of the Bema is certainly the result of the wash of debris and earth down from the south, implying a clear space in that area so that earth washed down the road leading from Kenchreai, through the middle of the South Stoa, could be spread out delta-fashion to accumulate on either side of the Bema.

These considerations are important not only topographically, in suggesting the changes in the physical conformation of the area, but they are important historically in providing further indication of a population during the period under consideration. The excavation and plundering of monuments southwest of the Bema must have been the work of human hands, just as were the construction of tombs and the burial of dead farther west and perhaps elsewhere. We cannot, to be sure, date the operations precisely, but it forms a consistent picture to imagine that after the middle of the seventh century a population, no doubt depleted and impoverished, remained on the site through the eighth century, contributing their debris to the fill beside the Bema and grubbing among the decaying monuments of the Agora to maintain their dwellings.

There may, indeed, have been for some reason a shift in the area of population; there may have been a community centered during this period in some region not yet explored.¹³ This would explain the anomaly of the evidences for human activity in the plundering of ancient buildings and the burials, beside the decline in the number of coins discovered and the atmosphere of desertion in the Agora area.

¹³ Compare the shift in location of the market place after the Turkish conquest (below, p. 92).

C. SUMMARY

Seen as a whole, from the point of view of architectural and quasi-architectural evidence, the general pattern of the period 610–802 seems clear, although its details remain uncertain and debatable. The city declined toward the end of the sixth century and the archaeological evidence for violent damage to some buildings, like the house north of the Peribolos of Apollo and the Bema, offers some support to literary tradition of barbarian invasions. At the same time there is archaeological evidence for reconstruction at the beginning of the seventh century and for activity well into the century, in the house north of the Peribolos of Apollo, the chapel in Lerna, and the statue of Constans. Less definite evidence for continued activity through the rest of the seventh and the eighth century is given by the graves and the shifting of earth.

This was, to be sure, a period of decay and it saw the loss of many monumental features of the earlier city. The hypothetical Metropolitan Church in the Julian Basilica (above, pp. 10–11) and perhaps some (but not all, as we shall see) of the temples on the West Terrace disappeared.

The buildings of the South Stoa no doubt became largely ruinous, though not completely so; other classical buildings fell into decay but not entirely beyond repair. The Central Stairway was largely pulled apart; the Upper Agora lost any semblance of monumentality; parts of it, at the west, were given over to graves, parts to the search for building material; in parts earth and debris began to accumulate at a rapid rate. By the end of the seventh century, if not before, the house north of the Peribolos of Apollo had fallen and here, too, earth was accumulating rapidly. But the Lower Agora and the Lechaion Road remained fairly open.

Thus the picture is one not, certainly, of utter desertion, but of profound desuetude. Considering the chaotic state of the empire, the invasions of barbarians, and other calamities such as the famine in 746–747,¹⁴ it need occasion no surprise that the city, though it continued to exist, sank to a low ebb of vitality.

¹⁴ Bon, p. 36; Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De thematibus*, II, 6 (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, vol. III, p. 53); Setton, *Speculum*, XXV, 1950, pp. 510–511.

CHAPTER III

THE BYZANTINE RECOVERY 802-1057

A. INTRODUCTORY

From the beginning of the ninth century Corinth, with the Morea in general, comes out of the cloud of the previous century and a half, and information in increasing volume is available. In the new scene the literary and historical evidence depicts the city as a place of real importance.

There was evidently a garrison in Acrocorinth at least as early as Nikephoros, and Corinth was the capital of the theme of the Morea and the residence of the Strategos¹. At the same time the ecclesiastical position of the city was diminished by the erection of new metropolitan sees: Athens had achieved this distinction in the eighth century, Patras in 805, and others soon appeared. These were of course Orthodox and under the Patriarch, but strangely enough still considered as having a kind of dependence on Rome.² The Metropolitan of Corinth, Hilarios, was present at the Eighth Council in 869, when Photios was deposed, and John II attended the Council of 879 when Photios was restored. The renewed vigor of the Byzantine world which had brought new life to the region at the beginning of the ninth century served to protect it toward the end of the century, when the city, with western Greece, was threatened by an invasion of Arabs during the reign of Basil I. The Admiral Ooryphas, whose fleet lay in the Saronic Gulf, was able to carry his ships over the Isthmus and drive off the invaders, and a little later, in 881, an Admiral Nazar raised levies in the

Morea and completed the campaign.³ Within the city reviving strength is suggested by the increasing numbers of coins discovered in the excavations,⁴ and perhaps also by an inscription which has been tentatively dated to about this time, and which may commemorate some building activity.⁵

From all this it may be inferred that during the early and middle parts of the ninth century Corinth was an active community, the seat of responsible officials and the center of activity of some importance. With the turn of the century the tempo accelerates. The Bishop Paul was a man of some distinction and the brother of the even more distinguished Bishop Peter of Argos.⁶ The Strategos was an official of high rank in the Byzantine nobility and the theme of the Morea was sixth of the European themes.⁷ The city had some status as an intellectual center. St. Luke of Stiris paid it an extensive visit in 914, and was visited in return by a Bishop of Corinth whose name is not preserved but who bore valuable gifts to the holy man; these visits were occasions of interchange of theological and philosophical discourse.⁸ There was, moreover, a man in Corinth with an independent name for philosophy, Theophylaktos. Whether he was the same as

³ Bon, pp. 77, 117; Setton, "On the Raids of the Moslems in the Aegean in the 9th and 10th centuries," *A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, pp. 311-319.

⁴ J. Harris, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 143ff., especially p. 160.

⁵ *Corinth*, VIII, i, no. 196; *C.G.-C.I.H.*, no. 10.

⁶ Bon, pp. 68, 136; Max, pp. 107-115. A lead seal, *Corinth*, XII, no. 2734, may have been Paul's.

⁷ Bon, pp. 89, 91.

⁸ Max, pp. 116ff.; Bon, p. 68; *Acta Sanctorum*, February, vol. II, p. 83 (February 7).

¹ Bon, pp. 43, 46; Setton, *Speculum*, XXV, 1950, p. 514; Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 49.

² Bon, p. 105 with note.

the Strategos Theophylaktos is a matter of speculation.⁹

The city experienced a notable development economically through the ninth and tenth centuries. Apart from the general rise in the circulation of money suggested by the statistics of the coins discovered (which have already been mentioned), a hoard of coins of Romanus I and another of the period of John Zimiskes¹⁰ may reflect the rise of relatively wealthy individuals. There are ample evidences of the development of industry; the most tangible is the amount and quality of pottery, presumably manufactured in the city, which has been found in the excavations,¹¹ and there is literary and epigraphical evidence which apparently establishes the existence of notable production of "purple" (that is, silk, or at least the dying of silk), and of paper, arms and glass.¹²

The strength and stability of conditions may be reflected in the success with which external threats were averted. During the administration of the Strategos Theophylaktos the region experienced an incursion of Arabs or some other barbarians, sometime after 922, and a famine of three years' duration. The city was threatened, at least, by Bulgarian invaders in 981 or shortly thereafter, and again in 995 or 996, but it was able to withstand these dangers without serious loss.¹³ Meanwhile its powers for growth may be suggested, from another point of view, by the erection of a chapel in the passage connecting Lerna Court with the region of the ancient sanctuary of Asklepios,

⁹ Bon, pp. 68, 136.

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 250; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 146.

¹¹ *Corinth*, XI, pp. 39-40, 49, 56, 67, Appendix I, p. 347, "Chronological Table."

¹² Bon, p. 131; Finley, p. 481; Miller, p. 21. See also J. Starr, "Epitaph of a Dyer in Corinth," *Byz. Neogr. Jahrb.*, XII, 1936, p. 429; and perhaps also G. R. Davidson, "A Mediaeval Glass Factory in Corinth," *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 297-324, although the glass factory may not actually fall in the tenth century (below, pp. 67-68).

¹³ Bon, pp. 80-81.

north of the Central Area, around 900,¹⁴ and the probable reconstruction on a fairly ambitious scale of the church in the ancient Kranion suburb, sometime during the tenth century.¹⁵ These activities, in places moderately distant from the center of the community, may reflect not only the economic resources available but confidence regarding the order and safety of the region as a whole.

During the early eleventh century the city lost one of its distinctions; the themes of Morea and Hellas were united into a single unit, and the capital was established at Thebes.¹⁶ While this may well have meant a loss of prestige and of some of the incentive to economic and other activity that an administrative center provides, it also reflects a general condition more favorable to the prospering of economic and cultural life than was the case when the city was the capital of the theme of Morea in its own right. For the concept of the theme was a military one; it was intended to provide for a general and an army on the scene of potential trouble. Thus when the general and army are removed it may be taken as a sign that the probabilities of trouble are regarded as diminished, and the removal of the Strategos to Thebes may therefore be taken as a sign that the administration regarded the Peloponnese as relatively safe from threat and in good condition.

As one other indication of conditions in the city during this period it may be worth noting that we have preserved the names of a considerable number of individuals. Of course the lack of such information does not prove a depressed situation, but the presence of them is a positive suggestion of real activity. It may therefore be of some interest to list them:

¹⁴ *Corinth*, XIV, p. 169.

¹⁵ J. M. Shelley, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 189.

¹⁶ Bon, p. 92.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Titles</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Reference</i> ¹⁷
Leon Skleros	Strategos	805–12	B 45, 46, 94, 194
Esaias	„ protospatharios	ca. 825	B 94, 187
Theoktistos Bryennios	„	ca. 840	B 47, 192
Artabasdos	„ patrikios, basilikos protospatharios		D 2691
Basileios	„ protospatharios		D 2713
Eustratios	„ basilikos protospatharios		D 2694
—X—	„		D 2712
Johannes Kretikos	„	ca. 875	B 95, 188
Johannes	„ protospatharios	Leo VI	B 95, 188; D 2700
Constantine Tessarokontopechys	„	„	B 77, 95, 187
Michael	„ protospatharios	„	B 95, 191
Theophylaktos	„	ca. 922	B 80, 95, 193
Johannes Proteuon	„		B 95, 188
Krinetas Arotas	„		B 95, 189
Bardas Platypodas	„		B 95, 186
Constantine	„ protospatharios	10th c.	B 95, 187
Paul	„ patrikios vestiarios	„	B 95, 192
Romanos Kourkouas	„ anthypatos patrikios	„	B 95, 192; D 2748
Lykastos	koumerkerarios		B 100, 205
Petronas	„		D 2711
Theodoros	drouggarios and archon		D 2695
Ioannes	krites, protospatharios		D 2726
Thomas	archon, basilikos proto- spatharios		D 2723
Hilarios	Bishop	ca. 869	Le Quiens, p. 162
John II	„	ca. 881	Le Quiens, p. 163
Paul	„	ca. 900	Le Quiens, p. 163
Basil	„	ca. 950	Bon, p. 68 note 3
Athanasios	„		Max, p. 149

These are the names of individuals who are known to have been active in Corinth during the ninth and tenth and into the early eleventh centuries; a glance at the seals of non-Corinthians of the same period found in the city¹⁸ will add to the impression of activity of official, ecclesiastic, and commercial nature, and its extent. We note the seals of the archons of Dalmatia (D 2697), Patras (D 2705), Strobyle

(D 2727); the generals of the Dodekannesoi (D 2699) and the Cyclades (D 2704); the koumerkerarioi of Dysis (D 2715) and Thessalonike (D 2690); the bishops of Argos (D 2741) and Monemvasia (D 2735); and a certain individual, whether official or not, Leon of Kephallonia (D 2706).

There is indication, then, that this third period, from about 802 to 1057, was one of considerable activity in many spheres at Corinth; the community must have been an important center, very much alive.

¹⁷ B is Bon; D is Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, catalogue of lead seals.

¹⁸ *Corinth*, XII, catalogue of lead seals, index p. 355.

B. THE BUILDINGS OF THE CENTRAL AREA

In what at first impression might seem to be decided contrast to the picture drawn above, there is little evidence of new building in the Central Area during the two and a half centuries of this period. Some, perhaps much, evidence has been lost, but information directly available tends to suggest that most of the building of the period was in the nature of reconstitution of earlier structures, no doubt with some remodeling and additions. The significance of this will be considered below, but first let us review what was actually done.

THE LECHAION ROAD

8 C-G

Plan V

It is noteworthy that the Lechaion Road remained open in substantially its classical form in the ninth century. This is indicated not only by the history of the steps to the Propylaia (below), but by coins found on the pavement of the Road itself and by indications in the shops along the western side. The colonnades lining the avenue probably did not stand intact, although they may have stood in part, but there is good evidence for the continued existence of the shops.

The entire front wall of the shops was replaced at some period by a new wall, just inside the original. This was evidently done after a rise in ground level in front of the shops of about half a meter, and after a pithos had been built in the doorway of shop XIV (counting from the south). This pithos must belong to a late use of the shop; the rise in ground level is inconsistent with conditions as they are understood in the Early Christian Period; the new wall, then, must be fairly late. At the same time, it must belong to a period when the entire shop system was a clear and recognizable structural entity; it was the whole building which was re-worked, not simply individual shops. The most reasonable hypothesis would be that this took place around the ninth or

tenth century, for in later times the range of shops was concealed by a miscellany of structures erected in front of them.

THE RAMP THROUGH THE PROPYLAIA

8 G-H

Plan V

Further indication that the Lechaion Road had preserved its full extent well into this period is seen in the history of the Propylaia. About the middle of the tenth century, to judge by coins of that period found beneath the stones, a gentle stepped ramp of 38 steps was laid from the upper end of the Lechaion Road over the Roman steps of the Propylaia (Pl. 4₁). In it were used blocks from the Propylaia itself, indicating that the gateway must have been dismantled in good part by this time. It is significant, however, that the ramp was a full seven meters wide, or the complete width of the Lechaion Road itself between the raised walks along the side. The Road must, then, have been completely clear of construction and have had extensive use, to require the construction of the ramp.¹⁹

On either side of the steps there seems to have been relatively open space, as though these areas were kept open to add to the monumentality of the steps themselves. It is uncertain whether the various blocks shown in Plate 4₁ were found in the position of lining the ramp, or were arranged so during the excavation. However, the discovery of a massive base, shaped from a large marble block of a classical cornice and inscribed with the name of Demetrios with Christian symbols (above, p. 34, note 5) in this place gives a strong hint that some monument or monumental building was erected along the road or the ramp during this period. The date which has been assigned to the inscription, eighth or ninth century, must be only approximate, and the block may

¹⁹ *Corinth*, I, i, pp. 159, 192; *A.J.A.*, II, 1898, p. 233; VI, 1902, pl. VI.

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belong to the tenth or even a later period. But it is unlikely that after the early eleventh century there was room for the display of a monument in this particular vicinity.

THE REGION NORTH OF THE PERIBOLOS OF
APOLLO

9-10 C-E

Plan V

The Early Christian House which had been built in the court of the so-called Baths of Eurykles (above pp. 17-21) must have fallen into ruin during the later part of the seventh century. Its fate is indicated by the charred remains of roof tiles in the earth above the floor; the date may be assumed by the great depth, about a meter, of earth which accumulated above this before any other construction on the site took place. At some point before this new construction, the east wall of the house had collapsed or been removed to a level of sixty to ninety centimeters above the original floor. The new construction included the erection of a wall directly on the remains of the original wall, indicated by the projection of the rough footing stones of the new work on the old; and the footing trench cut into the interim accumulation of earth. Above this accumulation, evidently at the time of the construction of the new wall, some seventy-five centimeters of debris was thrown in to make a new ground level. The latest objects that could be dated from these deposits were a few fragments of brown glazed pottery characteristic of the ninth century, from the higher stratum contemporary with the new wall. Thus it may be inferred that after a period of abandonment the site became the scene of construction once again, in the late ninth or tenth century.

The nature of this new building is uncertain, as few of its elements can be positively identified. A heavy wall extending eastward from the northern part of the eastern wall of the Early Christian house, broken by at least two great doors 1.60 m. wide, may belong to this period (Fig. 1), as it seems to have been designed

with relation to a ground level considerably higher than that of the original sixth-century house. The new complex may have been of considerable scale. The heavy wall with the doors extends eastward into the unexcavated area to the east, and it was obviously built after some, though not all, of the walls of the Roman bath were reduced in places to little over a meter in height.

THE PERIBOLOS OF APOLLO AND THE CHURCH
IN PEIRENE

9-10 E-H

Plan V

There is little evidence for the condition of things in the Peribolos of Apollo itself during this period. So far as can be determined, post-classical construction in the area was confined to the Early Christian period or to the late eleventh century and later. Whether the Early Christian buildings were in good repair during the ninth through the first half of the eleventh centuries, or whether there were other structures replacing them, but since lost, cannot be demonstrated. Most probably they were still, or again, used in substantially their sixth-century form.

In Peirene courtyard, however, there was built a church which may date from the latter part of the tenth century or possibly even earlier. This was a small building of which nothing is now preserved and of which the excavation records are vague.²⁰ Evidently it was built into the southwest corner of the court, its south wall being the façade of the spring itself (thus involving the removal of two columns of the sixth-century façade), its front wall being the wall of the courtyard on the west, including a door giving access to a flight of steps ascending to the level of the top of the Propylaia above.

In spite of the vagueness about the building, some inferences are of interest and importance. Evidently the courtyard of Peirene was still open to its late classical level, or nearly so.

²⁰ *A.J.A.*, IV, 1900, pp. 217, 221.

Whether the circular pool was still open is uncertain, but in all probability it had been filled; the courtyard was used as a cemetery. The picture of the church, or chapel, in the trefoil court of the fountain, with three of the sixth-century columns still standing, is an attractive one, but it is significant that the main public supply of water of the classical and Early Christian city had given away to a secluded chapel.

struction belongs to a period later than the Early Christian, but the special arrangements and remodeling which brought a new functional unity to the complex and gave it a new architectural character belong to the period now under attention.

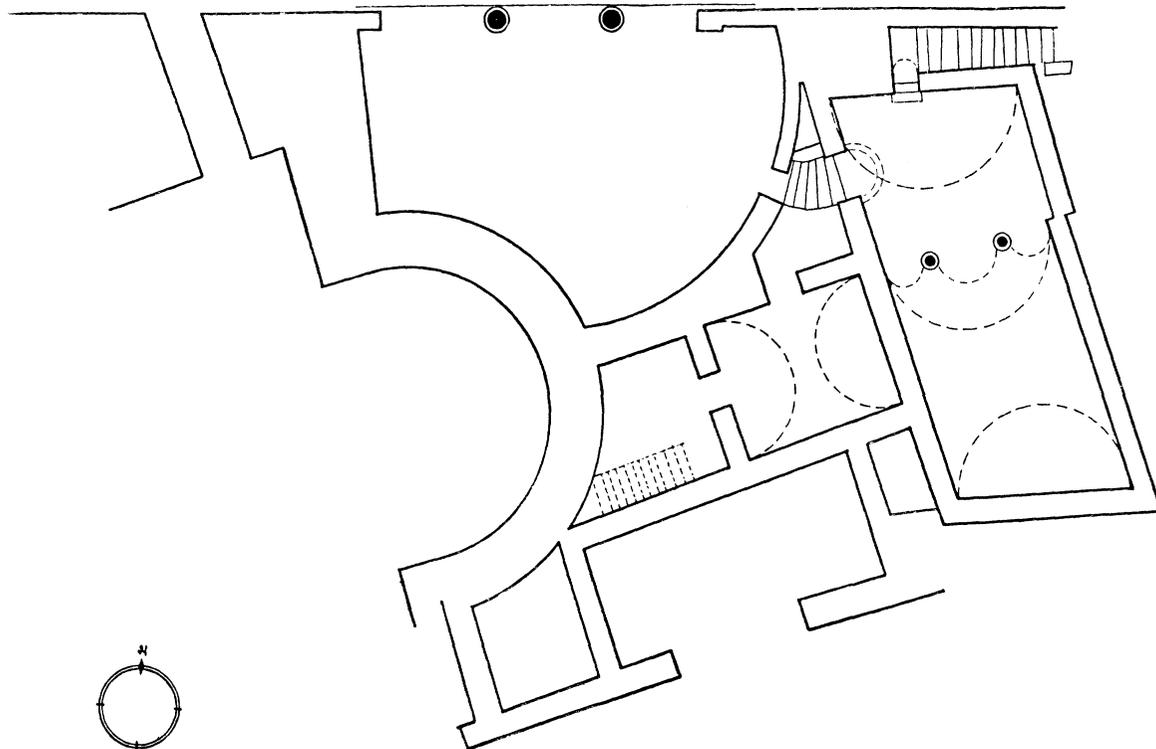
The primary room of the complex (Fig. 2; Pl. 3_d) employs as the major part of its southern wall a retaining wall of Greek times which had been built to separate the level of the Lower Agora from that of the Peribolos of Apollo, continuing the line of Peirene façade eastward. The east and west walls of the south part of the room are classical, belonging probably to a complex of the first and second centuries after Christ. The northern part of these side walls and the lower part of the north wall are probably somewhat later, but no later than the sixth century. The conversion of these walls into a house involved radical changes, if by simple means.

THE HOUSE EAST OF PEIRENE

10 G-H

Plans V, VI

Just east of this new churchyard, and south of the Peribolos of Apollo, lay what is from many points of view one of the most interesting monuments of mediaeval Corinth. This is a dwelling contrived in the complex of classical walls which are preserved in this area to a considerable height. Little of the basic con-



HOUSE EAST OF PEIRENE
 cent. 10, X

S. L. DOVEAS 1954.

FIGURE 2. PLAN OF THE TENTH-CENTURY HOUSE EAST OF PEIRENE

In the first place the floor for the new building was made by excavating some 1.50 m. below the ground level of the Peribolos of Apollo, which was approximately the level with reference to which most of the classical construction had been designed. A door some 0.70 m. wide was cut through the north wall, covered with a brick arch. A door about 1.20 m. wide was cut through the west wall, and to both doors steps were installed on the inside and out, from the new floor. Those to the west door begin on a semi-circular plan, rising two steps to the passage through the door; then curve up northwestward outside the door.

Across the room about one-third of the way from the north end, two columns were set. The columns are smooth shafts of marble about 0.30 m. in diameter, resting on Ionic bases and carrying Ionic capitals. The total height of the order is about 2.73 m. These supports carried three arches on which rested a screen wall across the upper part of the room. The southern part of the room was covered with a vault with a spring some 3.70 m. above floor level; although there are no actual traces of such a vault in the northern part of the room, the probabilities are that the entire space was vaulted. Nevertheless there was a distinction between the northern and southern sections, for the columns rest on a sill about 0.15 m. above the floor to the north, though flush with the floor to the south.

The door on the west side gave access to a small space formed between the corner of a rectangular area belonging to an early Roman phase of the Peribolos-Peirene complex and the wall of the curved Exedra of the Peribolos. From this small space a door gave access to the Exedra itself, and another to a rectangular room on the south. This rectangular room was also Roman, and had a vaulted ceiling of brick. Through its western wall another door led to still another space enclosed by the great retaining wall, the wall of Peirene Court, and other classical construction. It is possible that

in Byzantine times there was a stairway in this space leading to a series of rooms above. In any case, just outside the southwest corner of the main room of the Byzantine complex was a small cellar enclosed by classical walls which could be entered only from above.

Although all of these walls are Roman or Greek, and all or most of the doors were also classical, they all functioned as part of the Byzantine establishment. This must have been imposing and even luxurious. Probably the Exedra was open to the sky and to the north, constituting a court or garden facing on the area of the Peribolos. The large vaulted room with the columns was clearly the main room of the house; the purpose of the others can only be conjectured.

The doorway through the north wall of the main room presents some particular problems. It must have been approached from the inside by two or three steps, now missing. At least, the sill of the door is some 0.70 m. above the floor level on the interior, and there is no good reason for postulating an intermediary period when the floor was halfway between its present level and that of the original Peribolos.

From this door one has access to a narrow, steep flight of steps ascending to the east. These are built between the south wall of the Peribolos (a late, perhaps sixth-century, construction) and the north wall of the house itself. They seem to have been laid at the same time that the upper part of the north wall of the house was built, for the treads of the stairs, while they do not actually bond with the wall, sometimes nudge inside the line of the wall surface and the wall surface is less well finished below the line of the steps than above. The treads are made of miscellaneous blocks of stone and marble, including fragments cut down from Roman cornices.

The function of these stairs is a question of some interest. If the main room was vaulted, any floor above it must have been at least a meter above the preserved top of the stairs,

and it is difficult to see how the stairs could have been manipulated to rise to the necessary height. Perhaps the stairs simply led to a street at a high level to the east and constituted a kind of back exit.

The chief interest of the stairs, however, is in providing evidence for the date of the habitation of the complex. In the first place it will be recalled that the floor of the house was created by cutting down below the level of the area pertaining to the colonnade of the Peribolos. On the north side of the north wall, however, this Peribolos level was cut down only where necessary to receive the stairs, at the bottom. Where the stairs rise above the level of the Peribolos colonnade, to the east, they rest on accumulation and fill above the floor of the Peribolos. Now, below one of the steps and above the hard surface of the Peribolos floor was found a burial of a child, covered by a draine tile of rectangular U-shape. This shows that the stairs are later than a period during which at least 0.75 m. of earth had accumulated above the Peribolos floor, and burials had been made in the earth and forgotten. The accumulation, and the burial of course, must be later than the sixth century. Furthermore under one of the steps was found a sherd of plain green glazed ware, normally dated no earlier than the tenth century. Thus the stairs, and with them the house, must be at least as late as the tenth century.

At the other end, however, the house was abandoned and deliberately filled in before or during the twelfth century. This is shown, as we shall see, by the fact that a twelfth-century road led down from the region of the Lower Agora toward the Peribolos of Apollo directly over the house, on fill which had evidently been thrown in purposely, because the columns and lower parts of the arches were still standing, neatly buried in it, when discovered. Such a depth of fill under all the circumstances must have been part of a plan. But planned or not, it dates from no later than the twelfth

century. Thus the house was built and used before that time; presumably it was built in the tenth and used through the eleventh, perhaps into the twelfth century.

The complex is elaborate, commodious, even approaching the palatial, with facilities for pleasant living. The main room may have been richly decorated; at least its walls still preserve traces of fine plaster on which were troweled grooves suggesting ashlar masonry, and on which may have been painted plaster. Altogether it constitutes an indication of the style of domestic life which may have prevailed among the richer classes in Corinth of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

THE SOUTHEAST BUILDING

11-12 J-K

Plans VI, VII

We have seen that the colonnaded portico of the Southeast Building had been demolished by the end of the sixth century, but that the walls themselves stood in a state of usefulness long afterward. This is indicated by the fact that they were incorporated into mediaeval construction of all later periods, which always followed the general plan of the classical or Early Christian building. By the tenth century the Early Christian structure was still in use, modified by the introduction of two cross-walls in the southern hall dividing it into three rooms. More revealing, perhaps, is the arrangement in front. Here we find a wall built along the foundations of the stylobate of the portico, returning to the main structure of the classical building at a point opposite the southern cross-wall. This forms a long narrow hall along most of the length of the building and was no doubt covered. In front of this is a spacious area some ten meters wide, extending for almost the full length of the building. This was certainly an open-air enclosure; there is no indication of supports for a roof. Possibly of the same period are two (or perhaps three) rooms built on the north end of the

classical building. This general plan remained the same through the twelfth century (Plan VI).

The result is a structure of considerable extent, laid out on a generous and formal plan. Again there is no indication within that it served a commercial or industrial purpose. Some pithoi in the middle of the west corridor of the original building (Pl. 18₃) are quite consistent with domestic use. The building may, therefore, have continued to serve as a palatial residence in the tenth century as, according to my hypothesis, it did in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is another question whether it was the residence of the archbishop. The Julian Basilica did not survive, either as a church or otherwise, into this period, and although it may be that the Metropolitan Church was established farther to the east, there is no evidence for such an hypothesis.

For the date of this complex there is no direct evidence. The facts, however, that there are modifications of the arrangement which can be dated to the twelfth century and that the area in front of the building was clear of obstruction when the complex was laid out would imply that the arrangements we have described were among the earliest in the mediaeval development of the area. Coins of Basil I (867–886) were found in the lowest deposits of the street in front of the courtyard, and the street, which falls west of the surviving drums of the Circular Monument, could hardly have begun to take form until some control such as the courtyard had appeared. Hence we may infer that the plan we have described began to develop in the ninth century, perhaps not to be completed until the tenth.

THE BEMA CHURCH

7–8 K–L

Plans VI, VII

It has often been said that the church on the Bema, which certainly existed there in the twelfth century, had its reason for being in the

tradition of the episode in the life of the Apostle Paul which took place at the Bema in Corinth.²¹ This hypothesis requires that there be no great gap in the history of the Bema between the time when it was well known as the classical structure where Paul experienced his trial and the time when it became the site of a church. It is difficult, however, to establish such a continuity.

The actual remains of the complex (Fig. 3; Pls. 5, 6), while they make clear that there were several periods of the building, provide no direct evidence for chronology. Almost all the earth associated with the walls had been removed, since the area was honeycombed with graves. Nevertheless there can be no real doubt, as we shall see, that the main period of the church falls in the twelfth century.

The earliest reliable date that can come into consideration is given by a tomb in front of the church, built in the region of the western schola of the classical complex. It was a large vaulted structure, and beyond doubt was used during the second half of the tenth century. In it was found a collection of ten coins of John Zimiskes, all certainly belonging to one interment. Ordinarily objects found in a mediaeval grave must be used with reserve in dating the tomb; Greek and Roman coins have been found in Byzantine graves, or a twelfth-century man and his possessions might be buried in a tenth-century tomb. But in this case there can be no real question; the group of coins is large, perfectly consistent, and was arranged with reference to a single burial. The tomb, then, was in use in the tenth century.

In the light of this the discovery of a coin of Leo VI (886–912) in a tile-covered grave close to the central apse of the church becomes fairly reliable; we may feel confident that this burial²² was made, if not necessarily as early

²¹ Broneer, "Topography of Corinth in the Time of St. Paul," *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 125–128; *Corinth*, I, iii, p. 132.

²² *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 473.

as 900, at least early in the tenth century. With this support we need not hesitate to assume that many of the earliest graves, stratigraphically speaking, around the Bema are to be dated as early as the tenth century, perhaps earlier. It is worth pointing out, however, that the earth in which they are set presumably accumulated during the eighth century (above, p. 32), so that the cemetery can hardly be earlier than the ninth.

From these observations we may conclude that from the ninth or at least the early tenth century there was in the vicinity of the Bema a church or burial chapel.

As to the remains of the church itself several periods may be distinguished. The first period is reasonably unequivocal. It is represented by a well built wall of stone with cemented joints running parallel to the south foundation of the classical Bema from a point just south of the southeast corner to a point 4.00 m. east of the original western corner, under the southern wall of the nave of the fully developed church. It also returns at the east end to extend along, but not quite parallel to, the eastern edge of the Bema foundation, built, clearly, after that foundation had suffered some damage and the corner of the stylobate of the Bema had been removed.

The next period which is unequivocal structurally belongs to what we shall conclude is the third period of the building; we shall return later to elements of the second period. The key factor in this third period is a wall under the late southern apse of the developed church, built of small stones in mud mortar, projecting southward from the main wall of Period I, about two meters west of the southeast corner of the Bema. This key wall of Period III evidently turned westward along the line represented by the south wall of the south aisle of the developed church, for which it serves as a foundation. The construction of the lower part of this south wall, belonging to Period III, seems to continue unbroken for the entire

length of the developed church, to turn northwards and pass along the west edge of the Bema to its northwest corner, turning thence eastward along the north edge of the Bema at least as far as the spring of the north apse of the developed church. Furthermore, the door-wall of the south aisle of the developed church seems to belong structurally to this Period III.

Period IV is represented unequivocally by the southern apse, which is clearly later than the key wall of Period III which lies below it. With the southern apse goes the upper part of the south wall of the building.

In short these three periods are distinguished beyond doubt at the point where the southern apse of the developed church joins the nave: here we have the southern apse (Period IV) built over the south-projecting wall (Period III) which is built against, and later than, the wall paralleling the south side of the Bema (Period I). No such clear structural contacts indicate the relative position in the sequence of the central, large apse of the nave, the northern apse, and the wall separating the nave from the northern aisle.

Four hypotheses explaining the unattached elements are possible. One is that the central apse actually belongs to the first period and the northern apse to a subsequent period. The chief difficulty here is the seemingly unnecessary projecting southeast corner of the lower foundation. A second hypothesis would be that the main apse represents a period between I and III, or III and IV. The chief difficulty is the interpretation of Period I; there is no sign of an earlier apse and some difficulty in restoring one within limiting factors. What a simple rectangular room would have to do with the early history of the church presents difficulties of its own. A third hypothesis is that the main apse belongs to Period III. Against this is the fact that the east face of the definitive wall of this period, under the south apse, would strike the south wall of the nave out of line with the spring of the apse. A fourth

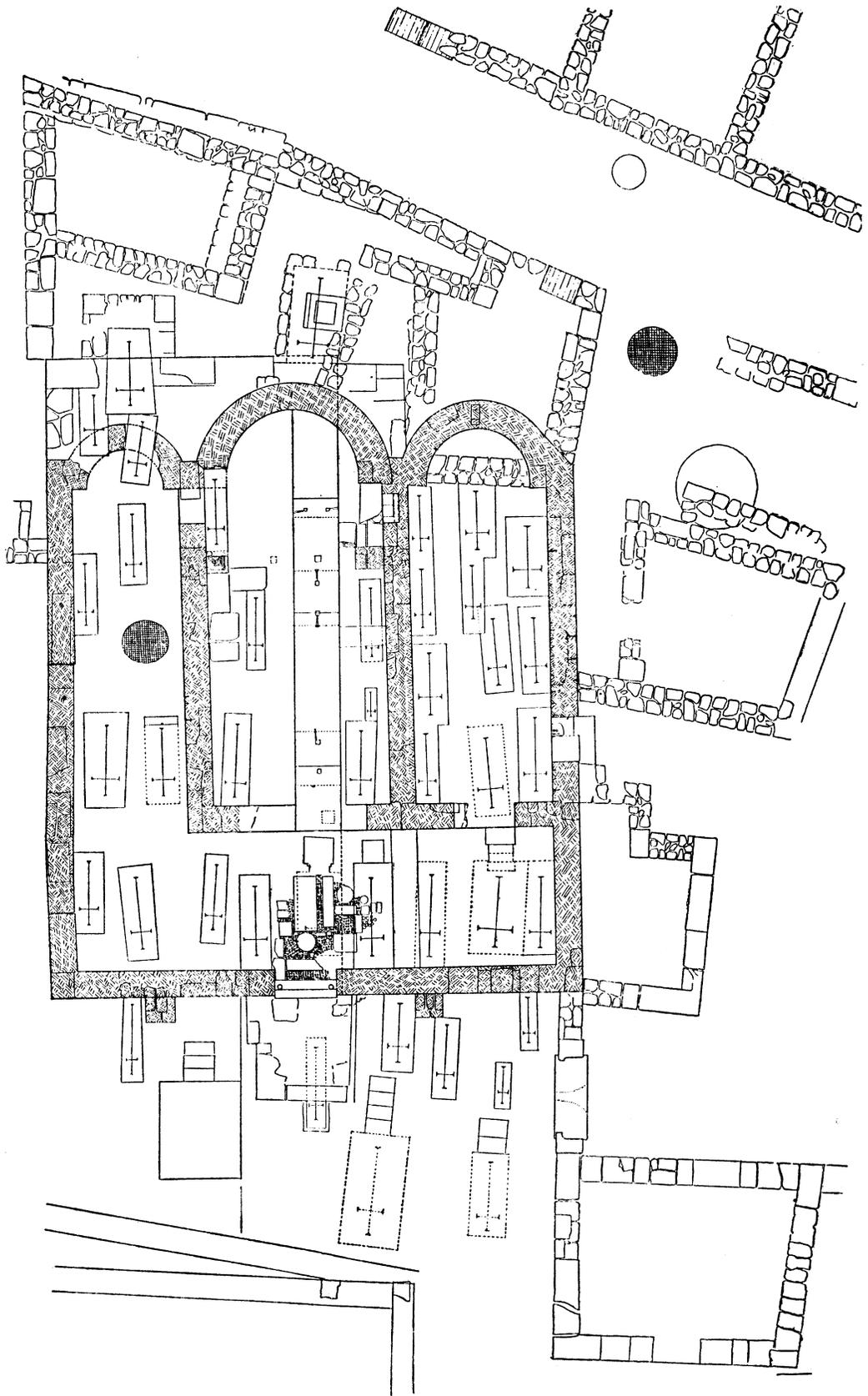


FIGURE 3. PLAN OF THE BEMA CHURCH, ACTUAL STATE. SCALE 1:150

hypothesis would be that all three apses belong to a single period, that is, to period IV. But the south apse is of a different design from the north apse, which makes this seem unlikely.

On the whole it seems most probable that the main apse represents a distinct period between I and III. The development would then be as follows: Period I, the wall paralleling the foundation of the Bema to the south and returning to the Bema foundation at each end; Period II, a single aisled church including the main apse of the final structure, using the south wall of Period I as a foundation for its south wall; Period III, the angling wall under the south apse of the developed structure and the exterior wall of the developed structure on all sides including the north apse; Period IV, the southern apse and a general reconstruction of the exterior walls.

We are, then, left with one important difficulty, to explain the function and structure of the building of Period I. It does not look like a church; it is hard to restore it as anything but a simple quadrangular affair, and we have no evidence for any detailed arrangements of the interior. Nevertheless, as the building of Period II was certainly a church and replaced the structure of Period I so closely, the balance of probability would be that it too was a church.²³

The church of Period II had walls on both sides, of course; this explains why the north and south aisles of the later periods continued

to be separated from the nave by walls, through which, of course, there may have been several irregularly spaced passages, though the walls seem in general to be preserved above the floor level.

For the absolute chronology of the various periods we must begin with the fact that by the twelfth century the church had been in long use and gone through many changes. There was, moreover, as we have seen (above, p. 43), in all probability a church or chapel on the site in the tenth or perhaps even the ninth century. We may, then, propose as hypothetical dates for Period I the ninth or tenth centuries; for Period II the tenth or eleventh; for Period III the eleventh or twelfth; for Period IV the twelfth. Periods I and II, therefore, belong to the period under immediate discussion.

Although we can suggest no detailed description of the church of Period I, for Period II some details may be added. It consisted of a simple nave with a broad apse, built of odd-sized blocks of stone set in cement. The apse is a neat semicircle about 3.25 m. in diameter; the nave itself is about 4.30 m. broad and 7.30 m. long. The floor consisted in part of the stylobate of the Bema, in part (certainly in the later periods, probably in the earlier) of slabs of marble. In the apse a special floor-packing of almost pure *poros* dust was packed in below the level of the surface of the stylobate, where this was lacking, and a good cement bedding laid for tiles of some sort.

About 1.80 m. west of the spring of the apse, on the stylobate, is the center of a sinking 0.15 m. square, which may have been for the corner post of the iconostasis. If symmetrical, it would have been at the edge of a door 1.10 m. wide. Against the wall on either side of this marking is preserved a solid foundation presumably supporting the side posts of the structure and an arch separating nave from apse. While it seems probable that these side foundations are original, as they were respected

²³ The chief objection to identifying the building of Period I as a church is its square-cut eastern end, where there ought, normally, to be an apse. Churches with apses which are square externally are not common but do occur. Apart from those in which a small semicircular niche is built within the thickness of the east wall, there are churches with actual rectangular apses in Syria of Early Christian times (Butler, pp. 74-75: chapel Type A, fig. 77 and thereafter *passim*) and in Dalmatia (E. Dyggve, *Forschungen in Salone*, Archaeologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, Wien, 1939, III, p. 120), and in Frankish Greece (R. Traquair, "Frankish Architecture in Greece," *J.R.I.B.A.*, XXXI, 3rd series, 1923, nos. 2 and 3) at Chalkis (p. 10), Andravida (pp. 17ff.), Chalandritza (p. 27). But the most significant parallel for our hypothetical Period I on the Bema is the church of St. Gregory Theologos in Thebes, of the ninth century (Soteriou, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1924, pp. 1ff., fig. 6.).

by all graves cut into the floor, the post-cutting in line with them in the middle of the building may be later.

In front the solidly built foundation of the south part of the front wall breaks off neatly 0.60 m. south of the edge of the stylobate. This could have resulted from the survival of some of the structure of the Bema at this point when the wall was built, but it could also represent the edge of the door. The resulting door, however, would have been some 2.10 m. wide, which seems unlikely for so small a building. Hence perhaps the former explanation is to be preferred, although this leaves us without indication of the size or location of the door.

THE "GOVERNOR'S PALACE"

4-5 H-I

Plan VI

Northwest of the Bema church, in the central part of the Roman Northwest Shops, was a complex with peculiarities such as to suggest that it was the headquarters of some governmental activity.

One factor in this hypothesis is that a number of inscriptions recording curses inscribed by men in prison against their persecutors and prayers to God for support in their misery were found carved on marble slabs used as a pavement or flooring in front of the Roman shops immediately to the west of the great vaulted central room of the Shops.²⁴ They seem to have lain within the area between the front of the shops and the colonnade. Heavy mediaeval walls crossing the colonnade from place to place were found during the excavations, but accurate plans of these are no longer available to show the exact shapes and sizes of the rooms. There are marks on the stylobate of the colonnade at this point, however, showing that a heavy door had been set up between the original positions of the columns, suggesting that the south wall of a room or series of rooms

had been formed by masonry built between surviving columns of the colonnade.

The shops themselves show signs of remodeling in post-classical times. Doors connecting several of the shops were cut through the walls; there are supporting or thickening walls added to some of the shop rooms (Plan VI). A tunnel, or bridge-like cutting in the face of the block of the second course between the doors of the second and third shops west of the central vaulted room is still preserved; it is most naturally to be interpreted as a means of fastening a rope or chain to the wall.

On the available evidence it is not possible to demonstrate that the elements of construction noted above belong to any particular period. They might, some of them at least, belong to the Early Christian period. They can hardly belong to an epoch as late as the twelfth century, for by that time the ground level had risen too high for the original floors of the shops, with the colonnade and the stylobate, to be visible. The inscriptions, however, are almost certainly not Early Christian. They date probably from the ninth or tenth century²⁵ and they certainly imply the existence of a prison in just this place.

Another factor in the hypothesis is that the prison is immediately adjacent to the large vaulted central room of the Roman Shops. This room is well preserved to this day²⁶ and was evidently a place of importance through a fair span of the mediaeval period. Conspicuous evidence of this lies in the many traces of fresco on the walls. Those on the east wall reveal clearly two periods. The earlier included a representation of a person, presumably Christ, with a bare foot on a stool. The later included three individuals standing side by side, of which the central figure seems to have been Christ. From the slight traces it seems possible that the earlier fresco might

²⁵ An opinion confirmed by Prof. J. H. Kent, who, however, emphasizes the uncertainties involved in dating mediaeval inscriptions by letter forms.

²⁶ *Corinth*, I, ii, p. 120.

²⁴ *Corinth*, VIII, i, nos. 199-215.

date from around the tenth century, the later from around the twelfth. For the frescoes on the other two sides there is too little evidence to form any opinions.²⁷ In addition to the frescoes there are numerous cuttings along the walls for the setting of rafters; these rafters, however, must have been earlier than the paintings as the plaster for some of the frescoes may be observed within the beam cuttings. It should also be noted that on the east wall, to the south of the fresco, there is a small niche.

From all this it appears that at a period after the original construction of the shops the vaulted room was converted into a two-storey apartment. Later, and presumably around the tenth century, the added floor was removed and the building decorated in a rather monumental style, with religious paintings. This new use was hardly a public one; the informal character of the space and the smallness of the niche are not consistent with a church as ordinarily conceived. Rather they are consistent with the arrangements for a private chapel in a palatial residence.

Thus we have evidence which suggests a palatial residence adjoining a prison. This would imply a seat of government, more specifically the residence of a governor.²⁸ It is unfortunate that we cannot determine more of the plan of this complex, but it remains an important point topographically, and it is also a significant fact that the Roman Shops were available for remodeling for such a purpose around the tenth century.

SOUTH SIDE OF THE AGORA

4 O to 12 L

Plans VI, VII

In the great maze of construction covering the southern section of the area, the ancient Upper Agora, the only intelligible plan is that

²⁷ I owe much of this analysis to Mr. Demetrios Pallas, ephor of Byzantine antiquities for the Peloponnesos, of the Greek Archaeological Service. He emphasizes the uncertainty of dating the paintings on the basis of the preserved fragments.

²⁸ For prisons in palaces see Koukoules, III, pp. 224-226, 228-229.

of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, with their modifications (below, pp. 66-75; Plans VI, VII). There are a few scraps of walls earlier than this plan, but they are too fragmentary to understand in any significant pattern. Some elements of the eleventh-twelfth century complex may be as early as the tenth, but in the nature of the evidence this cannot be demonstrated.

Almost the only structure which emerges with any degree of clarity as a probable tenth-century building is a wine press within the area of the South Stoa colonnade about one-fourth of the distance from the east end of the Stoa (10 L). It is distinguished by a rectangular room smoothly paved and plastered, west of which is a room with a stucco-lined pit covered by stone slabs. The eastern, paved room was evidently the press where the grapes were trod; the juice drained by a tile pipe into the pit. On the floor of the press room were a number of coins of the tenth century.²⁹

We are probably safe in assuming that there were other buildings of the period in the area of the Upper Agora, but they cannot be identified.

THE WEST TERRACE

3 J-L

Not on Plans

The state of the West Terrace and the row of Roman temples which had once adorned it is obscure during this period. There seems to be one tangible fact: just north of the Babbis Monument, in the entrance court to Temple D, was a pottery kiln which apparently functioned during the tenth century, but no later (Fig. 5).³⁰ This implies that the north end of the area was devoted to industry, and it may also mean that the podium of the Babbis Monument had been destroyed. One may imagine, however, that the entrance court to the temple was

²⁹ *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 57.

³⁰ *Corinth*, XI, p. 14, fig. 1; see also *Corinth*, I, iii, Plan A, although the kiln is not indicated on this plan.

substantially in its original state, providing an enclosed area for the operation of the pottery.

As to the state of the temples to the south, since major pieces of their structure were available in considerable quantity for use in walls of the eleventh century, the inference is that the temples stood largely intact during the tenth. Indeed, the arrangement of the walls of the eleventh century seems meaningless unless the existence of parts of the temples be postulated. Hence we may assume that some of the temples at least remained in large part intact during this period.

THE WEST SHOPS

1 J to 2 M

Not on Plans

As the vaulted rooms of the West Shops, excepting the northern three in the southern section (above, pp. 24–25), survived until modern times it is obvious that they existed during the tenth century. The alterations to them, and any additions in front of them, can no longer be studied in the area of the northern section of the Shops, but the mediaeval remains in front of the southern section still stand.

The Early Christian structure based on the remodeled northern rooms of the southern section was completely leveled by the tenth century and a new complex laid out above it, but with a floor level only a little higher. The most tangible feature of the new complex is a hall almost fourteen meters long extending eastward from the line of the colonnade of the Shops at just about the middle of the colonnade; the hall is about 3.70 m. wide. Along the north side of the hall is a pavement of irregular slabs of coarse conglomerate, about two meters wide. It begins at the foot of the base of the third column of the colonnade, counting from the north, and extends eastward at least five meters, about 1.50 m. north of the new hall. Superficially it looks very much like a paved road or alley, but as it lies actually below the classical ground level, it must be the floor of

some kind of sunken corridor. No reasonable explanation has come to hand.

Adjoining the hall, to the southeast, is a room some 7.50 m. by 9.00 m., divided into two parts by a north-south wall with a wide door in the middle. Judging from the relation of its walls to other mediaeval walls in the area it seems to be about contemporary with the long hall, but whether it belongs with the hall as part of a single large building or represents another distinct building is uncertain. A few bits of other walls may be associated with the long hall, at least chronologically, without clarifying the plan of the region.

For the date there is some basis for inference in coins of John Zimiskes (969–976) discovered in some of the walls of this group. This would not prevent the complex from being as late as the eleventh century, but by the twelfth century an entirely new complex was developed. We may, then, assume that some at least of the construction noticed here belongs to the latter part of the tenth century.

It is a matter of some importance that this complex presupposes the existence of parts at least of the West Shops, including even parts of the colonnade. The long hall extends from the line of the colonnade; the paved sunken corridor extends from the base of one of the columns. It is, therefore, likely that some of the columns were still standing in the tenth century. Just how much of the Shop structure was incorporated into the building cannot be accurately determined.

THE NORTH MARKET AND THE NORTH ROAD

2–5 C–D

Plan V

From the northern brow of the Temple Hill, near its eastern end, there once led a well built flight of shallow steps through the eastern side of the Roman Market.³¹ The steps were supported on a fill of earth between retaining walls

³¹ *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 440–442.

some 0.80 m. thick made of stone set in hard cement, beginning in the second shop from the southeast corner of the Market and descending northward. The steps themselves, to judge by the few discovered in position, were well made of large trimmed blocks of stone with treads 0.35–0.40 m. in depth and a rise of about 0.15 m., about 1.40 m. wide. It has been suggested that this ramp dates from the seventh century, but it is perhaps more likely that it is contemporary with the stepped ramp through the Lechaion Road Propylaea. The steps are, in any case, earlier than the eleventh-twelfth

century complex of walls which later filled the Market area and which seem to have taken their orientation from the ramp; they were built when the shop walls stood to about their original height in good condition. It seems quite unlikely that they could be as early as the sixth century, and historical probability would favor the ninth or tenth rather than the seventh or eighth centuries.

Apart from their intrinsic interest they are significant in that they represent the establishment of a road from the Agora area over the Temple Hill, paralleling the Lechaion Road.

C. SUMMARY

For the period 802–1059 as a whole, two conclusions stand out: there was relatively little new construction in the excavated area, but the classical and Early Christian buildings were still largely usable. The area of the Lechaion Road in particular retained its classical form basically, although it doubtless had lost its adornment of columns; it was improved, or repaired, by the construction of a fairly monumental stepped ramp through the Propylaea. In the region north of the Peribolos the fine house of the sixth century was gone, but an even finer house had appeared east of Peirene. Peirene itself was no longer primarily a public fountain, but, still in monumental form, had become the enclosure for a small church.

In the region of the Agora, the Lower Agora retained its classical form to a considerable extent: the church which, according to my hypothesis, had been made in the Julian Basilica, was gone, but the Northwest Shops still stood in large part, even if remodeled for the purposes of an administrative palace. The Bema was gone, but a church had replaced it. The open area of the market probably remained open and largely unencumbered.

The most significant changes were along the West Terrace, where a potter's kiln functioned,

although the physical structure of many of the Roman temples still survived, and even more in the Upper Agora where we may suspect that a few scattered buildings of a relatively mean sort had begun to appear, especially in and in front of the remains of the South Stoa. Behind the line of the West Terrace, especially toward the south, new buildings were erected against the largely surviving elements of the West Shops.

Thus there was again activity of a public character in the greater part of the public spaces of the classical and Early Christian city; even in the region of the Upper Agora the reconstitution of the Southeast Building suggests official purposes, although the provision of an enclosed area in front of it may be a recognition of the encroachment of mundane activities in the region to the west.

It is therefore clear that there was a robust community with energy and need to restore and to adapt older buildings on a large scale, rather than simply to plunder them. Although architecturally the place was a mere shadow of its Early Christian form and although no great inspiration or wealth is reflected in the new buildings or repairs, there was an atmosphere of dignity and vitality.

CHAPTER IV

THE FULL BYZANTINE PERIOD 1059-1210

A. INTRODUCTORY

Literary record of Corinth in the eleventh century is remarkably scant. It may be, however, that the real crisis in the development of mediaeval Corinth should be dated to 1082. It was at about this time that the architectural development of the city took on a conspicuously new aspect, and in this year, according to a possible inference, Corinth was opened to Venetian trade¹. It may have been this stimulus which directed the subsequent growth of the city. In any case the dominant note of the period is the growing contact with the west, a note which is reflected also in a hoard of 69 oriental coins and one crusader coin with a number of Byzantine coins dating from 1036-1067, discovered in the theater,² which may be connected in some way with the First Crusade in 1095. Two other hoards, one of Isaac I (1057-1059) and one of Alexios I (1081-1118)³ seem to have no particular significance but should be noted for what they are worth in suggesting the continuing accumulation of money savings.

The city was visited by Saewulf on his return from the Holy Land in 1102,⁴ but we learn little from his account. In 1126 and again in 1147 trading privileges were renewed to Venice, and meanwhile extended to other Italian cities (above, note 1). By the middle of the twelfth century the city was evidently a flourishing and prosperous industrial community.

¹ Bon, p. 83. He assumes that the grants made by Alexios I in that year were the same as those renewed by subsequent emperors, specifically by Alexios III in 1198 when Corinth is mentioned among other ports.

² *A.J.A.*, XXXII, 1928, pp. 481-482.

³ *Corinth*, VI, p. 12; and *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 250.

⁴ Bon, p. 155.

In 1147, however, it suffered a catastrophe in the raid on Greece by Roger of Sicily.⁵ According to the accounts he took plunder of tremendous value and carried away a great number of skilled workmen, particularly in silk. Four hoards of coins of the time of Manuel I (1143-1180) discovered in the excavations may reflect the reaction in the city to news of his approach.⁶

But the real strength of the city may be seen in its ability to revive after this catastrophe, for in spite of Roger's savage depredation the city was still flourishing, economically at least, in the years thereafter. The Arab geographer Edrisi wrote in 1154 that Corinth was large and prosperous,⁷ and, according to Bon, Genoa was granted, and hence evidently desired, trading privileges in 1169, and Pisa in 1170; these were renewed in 1192 as were the privileges of Venice in 1198.⁸ Benjamin of Tudela reports 300 Jews in Corinth in 1172, which would not make Corinth the largest community in Greece but still a place of some importance,⁹ and the Franks estimated the rental of port rights at Corinth at a fairly high figure.¹⁰

Le Quiens lists six bishops for this period: a Georgios and a Sergios of the time of Alexios I, a Theodoros who was present at synods in 1156 and 1166, a Georgios (rather Gregorios ?¹¹)

⁵ Bon, pp. 81-82 and Finley, pp. 482-483 give full accounts.

⁶ *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 146; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 250.

⁷ Bon, p. 156 with note 2.

⁸ Bon, p. 83.

⁹ Bon, p. 86; although Finley, p. 483, makes different inferences from the same evidence.

¹⁰ Bon, p. 133; Miller, p. 62.

¹¹ Bon, p. 137; Max, p. 151; the same as *Corinth*, XII, seal no. 2754?

who wrote books on the preparation of orations and other rhetorical works toward the end of the twelfth century, an unnamed bishop of the period of Isaac Angelos, and a Nikolaos of the turn of the century. The church of St. Theodore (?) in the city had some wealth, sufficient to arouse Frank and Byzantine to considerable effort to possess it.¹²

It is possible that the Morea was re-estab-

lished as a separate theme (cf. above, p. 35) at some time during this period, and that Corinth became once again a capital. Bon, after reviewing the evidence, concludes against this view,¹³ but there is new evidence which might justify it. G. R. Davidson lists seven seals dated on stylistic grounds to the latter half of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, of Generals of the Peloponnesos:¹⁴

No. 2785	—X—	protospatharios
2795	—X—	spatharokandidatos
2811	Theodotos	
2764	Kasianos Apokaukos	basilikos protospatharios
2816	Konstantinos	basilikos protospatharios epi tou chrysotriklinou
2776	Leon	anthypatos patrikios
2779	Leon	protospatharios

It seems improbable that the whole number of these belonged to the preliminary phases of the style, crowded into the middle of the eleventh century; it would be more reasonable to suppose that they represent a relatively long period of time. If so, the inference would be that the Morea was re-established as a separate theme sometime after the middle of the eleventh century, and generals were

stationed there throughout the twelfth century.

On the other hand, Bon lists a number of officials with other titles who seem to belong to both Hellas and the Peloponnesos,¹⁵ and this may imply that although the Morea was re-established as a theme, a higher administrative level controlled the general of the Morea together with that of the Helladic theme:

earlier?	Theodore	strategos, protospatharios
ca. 1078	Nikephoros Botaniates	protoproedros and duke
ca. 1100	Gregorios Kamateros	protopraetor
	Bardas Hikanatas	anthypatos, praetor
	Konstantinos Choirosphaktes	praetor
	Epiphanius Kamateros	anthypatos
	Eumathios Philokales	magistros, megalos doukas, praetor
Manuel	Joannes Hagiotheodorites	praetor
	Nikephoritzes	praetor
later	Nikephoros Prosouchos	praetor
	Demetrios Drimys	praetor
	Konstantinos Maurikas	praetor

¹² Finley, p. 486; Lampros, *Michael Akominatos*, I, p. 596.

¹³ Bon, p. 93.

¹⁴ *Corinth*, XII, pp. 312, 323–327.

¹⁵ Bon, p. 95.

In addition to these the seals of some minor officials at Corinth itself are known:¹⁶

Theodoros	tourmarchos	seal No. 2811
Romanos	chartoularios, episkeptetes, protonotarios	2788
Kritheniotes	nomikos	2766
—X—	basilikos spatharios, (commander) ek prosopou Peloponnesou	2792
—X—	krites	2803

and among the many seals of the period found in the excavations are a number showing in some detail the nature and direction of contacts of affairs within the city with other parts of the world: seals of the bishops of Argos (No. 2784) and Mylos (No. 2793), the “archipoimen” (archbishop?) of Myron (No. 2773), krites of the Cyclades (No. 2752), the proedros of Naupaktos (No. 2757), and one Michael of Dyrachion (No. 2817).

The troubled years of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were a time of great activity at Corinth of which much is known, but although the events are of great dramatic interest they have been well told by others and to repeat them here would disturb our perspective.¹⁷ Briefly, the city came into the

possession of the somewhat unscrupulous but daring and ambitious Leon Sgouros of Argos, who made Corinth the base of his operations and Acrocorinth his stronghold. Here, by courage and stubbornness, he resisted for five years the forces led by Jacques d’Avesne for William of Champlitte, to whom as a result of the Fourth Crusade Corinth had been assigned as a fief under Boniface of Thessalonike. Finally in 1210, after deeds on both sides worthy of the best of chivalric and feudal romance, Sgouros concluded that his position was ultimately hopeless and rode his horse over the cliffs of Acrocorinth by night, to his death. Thus the Kastro fell to the Franks, cementing their conquest of the Peloponnesos and the city.¹⁸

B. THE BUILDINGS OF THE CENTRAL AREA

By the end of the twelfth century almost the entire area of the ancient classical Agora had become covered with buildings, streets, and small squares. In the intricate complex of buildings there is apparent a rational plan—one can identify streets and blocks of buildings—but it is significant that generally speaking only one rational plan can be resolved from the remains (see, for example, the plan of mediaeval walls of all periods in the southern part of the area, shown in Plan VII). It is not possible that all of the known walls existed at any one time; neither is it possible to

distinguish more than one distinct, complete period. In spite of differences in level, construction, and specific date of individual sections of wall, the preserved complex represents

¹⁶ *Corinth*, XII, pp. 323–327; index of place names pp. 355–356.

¹⁷ Bon, pp. 173ff.; *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 133–138; Finley, pp. 483–486; Miller, pp. 31, 36, 62.

¹⁸ It is possible that we have a memorial of the Frankish siege in the skeleton of a woman with a baby who were killed while seeking refuge and whose bodies were left unburied (*A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 547–548; *Corinth*, XII, p. 6). This tragedy has been dated to the period around 600, which I think unlikely. The skeletons lay just north of the “Tower Complex Building” (below, pp. 68–70) in the line of the Early Christian Stairs (6 L). The stairs had been removed by the time of the event, and the bodies were in a room of a mediaeval building, on a layer of ash. The fact that they were unburied means that the city was abandoned for a time after their death; the most reasonable possibility which occurs to me would be a period of a few years during the Frankish siege of Acrocorinth. The objects with the bones are dated in *Corinth*, XII, to the sixth century, but on the assumption that the woman died around 600. The types of jewelry found with the skeleton are described in *Corinth*, XII, as ranging in date from the sixth to the twelfth centuries.

substantially one plan, though this was long in growing, undergoing many minor alterations in the elimination, replacement, and addition of individual walls or even sections. Therefore it is archaeologically and practically necessary to treat the entire complex as a unit in time and type, noting such alterations as can be clearly established individually.

The date of this community can be determined in two areas where, by exception, the building of one period of distinct character was wholly replaced by a different complex at a later period. One region is just north of the Bema (7–8 J–K, Plan VII, and compare Fig. 4 with Plan VI); another is at the foot of the West Terrace (3–4 J–K; compare Fig. 5 with Plan VI). The important chronological fact is that in each place coins of Alexios I (1081–1118) were found in the earth mortar of the actual construction of some of the walls of the earlier period. This does not prove that all of the walls of this early period are as late as Alexios I; these coins could have come into the walls during repairs or additions, so that the inception of the buildings in question might be somewhat earlier. Under the circumstances, however, it seems unlikely that they were much earlier, and in any case the buildings were in use around the end of the eleventh century.

Obviously, then, the general period of the mediaeval community spread over the Agora is later than Alexios I, as is also attested by the frequent occurrence of coins of Manuel I (1143–1180) in many parts of the walls of the buildings and in strata of earth and gravel close on the ancient Roman pavements. We need not suppose that the entire community was built during the reign of Manuel I; undoubtedly many of the buildings which were used, repaired, and remodeled under Manuel had been first laid out even before the reign of Alexios I, particularly along the southern part of the area and the region in front of the West Shops. Apparently construction accelerated

around the middle of the eleventh century, reaching a climax and almost filling the whole Agora area around the middle of the twelfth century. This pattern corresponds to historical events; the replacement of buildings on a large scale and extensive work on other buildings during the reign of Manuel I obviously relates to damage done during the sack of the city by Roger of Sicily.

This community of the twelfth century centered on a market or agora, a plateia approximately in the center of the area of the classical Agora and with approximately the same orientation and proportions. It was lined on at least one side by shops and on the other side by establishments with various functions. From it radiated roads in various directions, creating fairly distinct sections or quarters of the town.

From the northwest corner a road went off in the general direction of Sikyon; almost immediately it divided, one branch bearing northward and one westward. From the southwest corner led a broad way lined with porches—one might call it the Market Avenue—which soon divided into three roads: one southward, that might be called the Southwest Street; one southwestward, perhaps the Road to Acrocorinth; one westward. This West Road soon becomes lost to us because of radical destruction in the area and our lack of records, but from it proceeded northward a road along the monastery of St. John. The nature of the other buildings in this network of streets is for the most part rather uncertain.

East of the Southwest Street, extending southward from the western end of the market (4–6 L–M), was a group of industrial establishments devoted to the making of glass and pottery. These were separated by an alley from a block of buildings including the Bema Church (8 K), bounded on the east by the South Road, one of the main streets of the town. East of the South Road lay another large block of commercial and industrial buildings, separated by the Southeast Road

from the classical Southeast Building, still functioning in only slightly revised form (11-12 J-K).

Behind the buildings lining the market on the east there was an irregular area, a kind of sub-market (8-10 I); from this led the Southeast Road already mentioned, a road or alley directly eastward, and the Northeast Road curving down east of Peirene over the site of the fine tenth-century house, into the area of the Peribolos of Apollo.

From the north side of the market the Lechaion Road continued to be an important thoroughfare, though extremely narrow, lined with commercial establishments including a bath at the north end of the excavated area. For the region west of the Propylaia we have no details available from the records of the excavation, but there is ample evidence of a general kind that it was thoroughly built up. Just west of the Propylaia area a road led up over the Temple Hill, one branch, the North Road, descending immediately on the ramp through the North Market; the other skirting the archaic temple along the south, proceeding toward the Road to Sikyon.

BUILDINGS OF THE EARLIER PHASE (LATE ELEVENTH CENTURY)

THE AREA OF THE BEMA

Of the two areas where it is possible to distinguish clearly the earlier from the later phase of this developed Byzantine community, the first to be considered is that of the Bema church. Here we have two elements: the church itself, and the shops which bordered it on the north.

The Bema Church

7-8 K-L

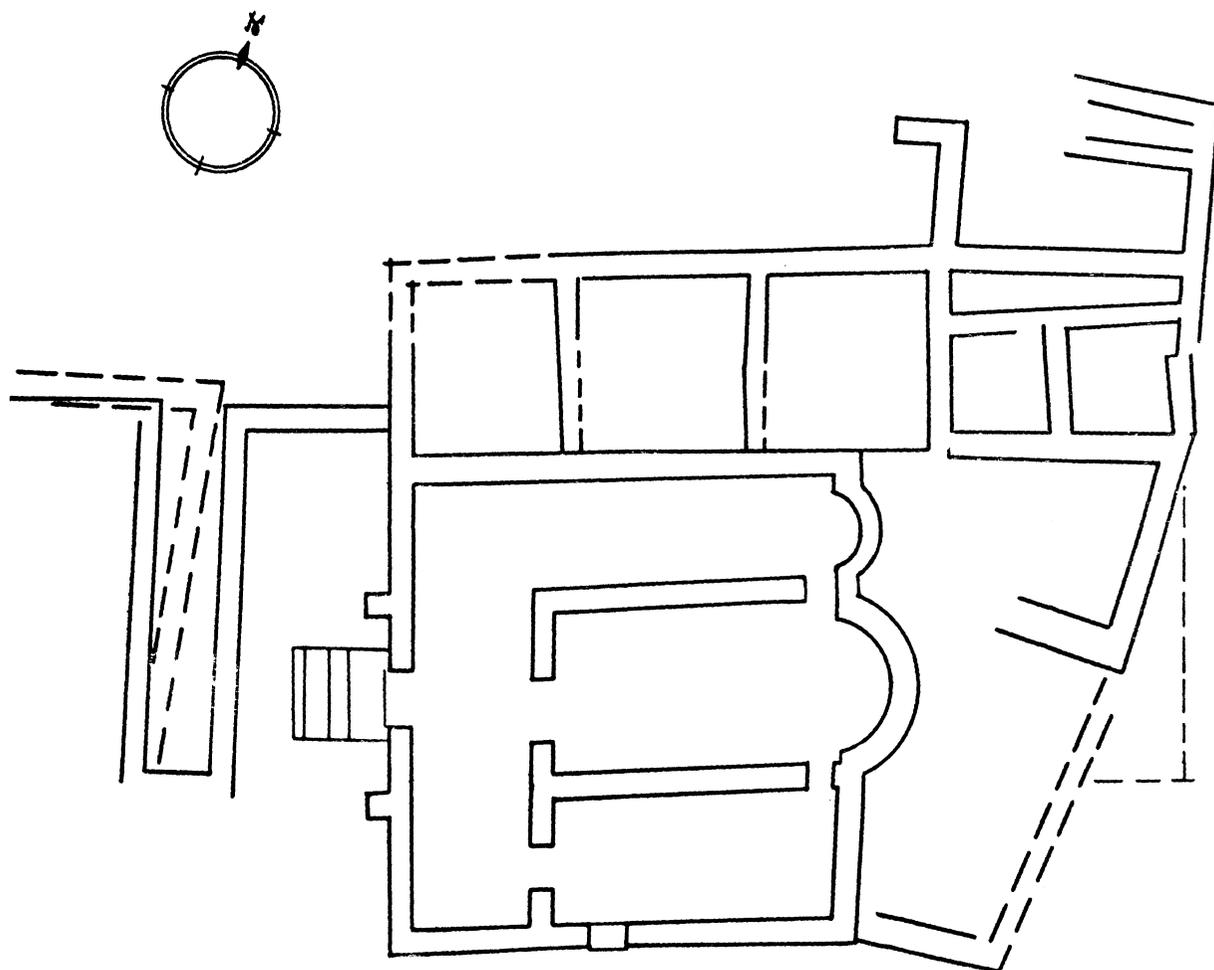
Plans VI, VII

It will be recalled that Period II of the mediaeval Bema complex was represented by a single-aisled church with a broad apse, lying over the southern edge of the foundations

of the Roman Bema, or rostra (above, p. 45). Period III of the church, which may probably be dated to the eleventh century, was more elaborate (Fig. 4; Pls. 5, 6). It consisted of the original church, enlarged by the addition of an aisle to the north with an apse, an aisle to the south without an apse, and a narthex separated from the southern aisle by a door but possibly completely open to the northern aisle. The aisles were connected with the nave, or the original part of the church, by doors on either side of the apse; probably the walls of the original church remained intact through most of their length, although there may have been other, irregularly spaced, connecting doors, for these walls are still preserved slightly above floor level through most of their length. There was, of course, a door connecting the new nave with the narthex.

The main entrance was through a door in the west wall on the axis of the nave; this was approached by a flight of stairs leading to a tiny porch; on either side of the porch, in line with the walls of the nave, was a buttress projecting from the wall that may have supported a broad arch over the entrance.

The arrangements for the approach to the steps from the outside are difficult to understand. At some period, apparently the first in the sequence of architectural organization of the space, the ground in front of the church probably sloped down to the market to the north between the west wall of the church (or of the Bema) and a retaining wall set at an angle a short distance to the west (Fig. 4, broken lines). At a later period the ground in front of the church was brought to a level by a retaining wall extending east and west from a point just north of the northwest corner of the church and returning southward about four meters in front of the church, thus creating a flat terrace about four meters wide (Fig. 4, solid lines). About a meter and three quarters west of this another retaining wall, parallel to the first, seems to have provided for a narrow



THE BEMA CHURCH AND ADJUNCTS IN THE EARLY ELEVENTH CENTURY

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 MTS.

S. L. D. 1954.

FIGURE 4. PLAN OF THE BEMA AREA IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY, RESTORED

sloping path up from the market level to that of the church terrace.

The church could also be entered by a door into the south aisle from the south.

Behind, a terrace wall along the line of the later South Road enclosed a trapezoidal area used as a graveyard.

The Bema Shops

7-8 J-K

Plans VI, VII

Built against the north face of the foundation of the Roman Bema were three rooms, about four and a half meters square. Adjoining these

to the east was found a complex of walls which it is difficult to understand, but which must somehow have served with the others, for they seem to constitute one unit structurally. There is no real indication as to the function of the structure, but since its successor was almost surely a shop building, these may reasonably be considered shops also.

For the date of these shops the most specific evidence is a coin of Alexios I found in one of the walls. This may of course represent a late repair of the building, and the complex may date originally from earlier in the eleventh century.

THE WEST TERRACE

3-4 J-K

Not on Plans

In the region immediately in front of the Roman West Terrace, below the twelfth-century monastery of St. John, there was another complex of walls that may be dated during the eleventh century (Fig. 5). Again the evidence consists in coins of Alexios I found in the walls, which might reasonably be assumed

to date the walls toward the end of the century, but, as they were few, might be interpreted as evidences of repairs to an earlier eleventh-century building.

In this case, fortunately, we have a definite indication that the complex cannot be earlier than the eleventh century. This consists in the remains of a pottery kiln discovered at the north end of the complex, which was evidently destroyed when the complex was constructed.

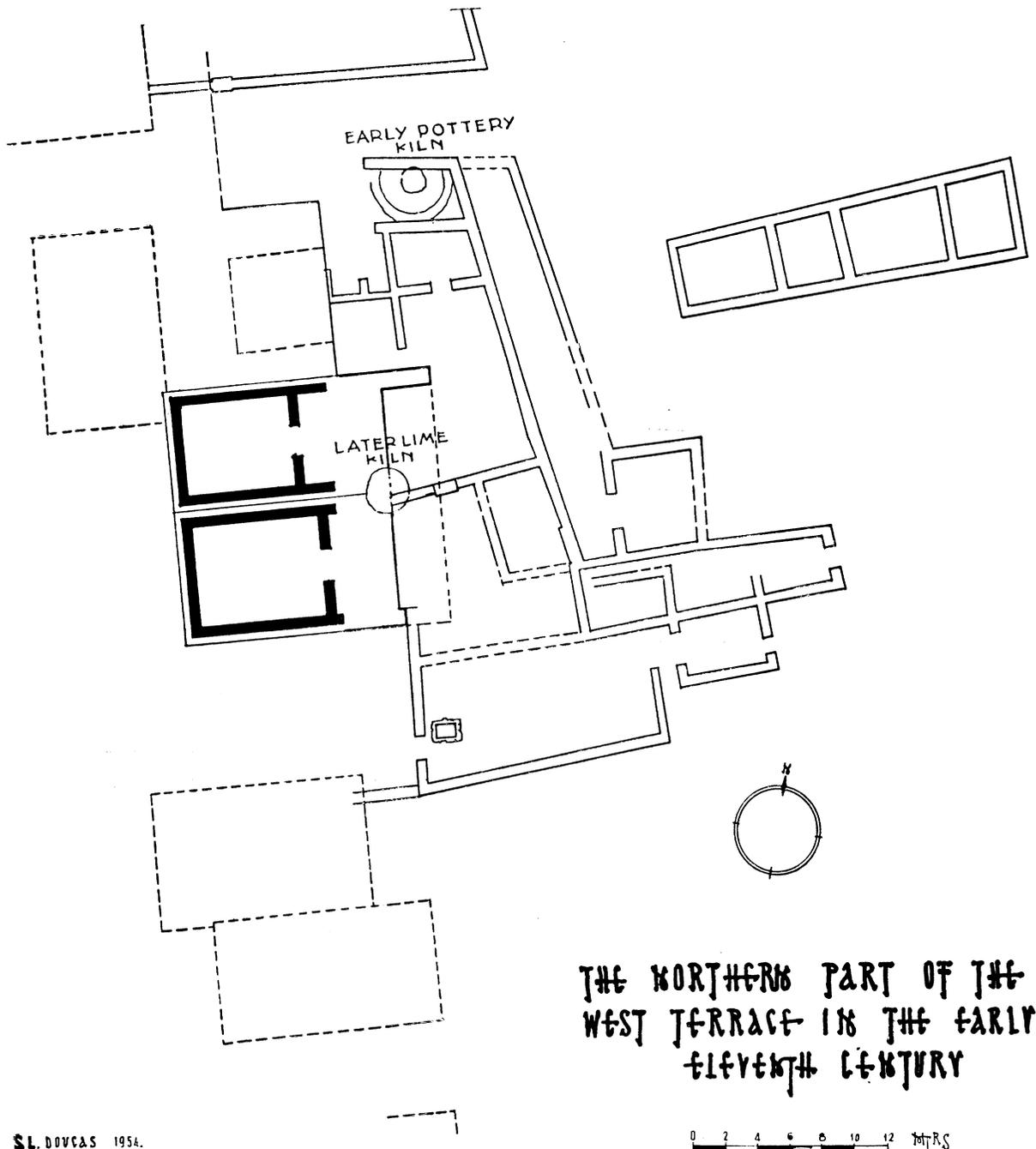


FIGURE 5. PLAN OF THE WEST TERRACE AREA IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY, RESTORED

The pottery associated with the kiln indicates that it went out of use around the end of the tenth century¹⁹ (see above, p. 47).

The plan and function of this pre-monastic, eleventh-century complex is not certain. It included a number of rooms and perhaps one or more open courtyards. One fact of considerable significance is that the plan seems to make almost no sense at all unless the continued existence of considerable parts of the Roman temples in the vicinity be presupposed. The entire west side of the complex would otherwise be raggedly open. At a minimum it must be assumed that the basement structures of Temples H and J were still intact, including parts of the podia lining the steps if not the steps themselves. Since many blocks from the walls of these temples were found built into the walls of the monastery, the temple walls had evidently survived also, in some considerable degree, to be useful in the eleventh-century complex.

A large limekiln was discovered along the line of the stylobate of the two temples at their point of juncture. The floor of this kiln rested at the very bottom of the foundations, indicating that the adjoining corners of the temples had been eradicated by the time the kiln was constructed. The kiln also lies along what seems to be a necessary projection of one of the lines of the Byzantine complex. We are therefore justified in assuming that in a late phase of the mediaeval structure it was remodeled to some extent and the limekiln introduced. Other signs of alteration seem to exist in the apparent inconsistency of certain other walls of the complex. If, however, we assume that the limekiln had a part in the function of the complex under consideration, and does not represent a brief phase between the ruin of the eleventh-century complex and the construction of the monastery, we may

infer that the complex was devoted in part at least to the preparation of lime. This is all the more probable because numerous but extremely fragmentary remains of a series of channels and settling basins in the vicinity suggest that the limemaking operation went on over a long period of time. In any case we may observe that the kiln is well situated; it could be fired from below, and charged from the level of the floor of the temples.

BUILDINGS OF THE LATER PHASE (TWELFTH CENTURY)

As we have frequently observed, the developed form of the mediaeval community at Corinth was that of the second half of the twelfth century. The twelfth-century community survived through the thirteenth and perhaps even into the fourteenth centuries without major revisions, although with a multitude of minor remodelings and repairs which cannot be analysed in detail. We shall, therefore, consider the general plan and the individual buildings in their most intelligible form. We can have complete confidence that this form was substantially that of the late twelfth century; we shall not be sure in every instance whether the particular building may not be somewhat earlier, and we may unwittingly be considering a later modification of some part of the building. These uncertainties, however, will be of relatively minor significance, as a comparison of the plan of the walls in the southern part of the area as actually discovered and recorded (Plan VII) with the plan of the twelfth-century city as we have organized it (Plan VI) will reveal.

THE MARKET AREA

The Plateia

5 K to 8 J

Plans VI, VII

The whole area presumably devoted to market purposes was distinctly irregular in

¹⁹ *Corinth*, XI, p. 14. Previously it had been suggested that the walls in question might date from the seventh and eighth centuries: *Corinth*, I, iii, p. 73.

outline, and functionally as well as aesthetically included open spaces extending off in various directions. The main area, however, was roughly a quadrilateral, about sixty-eight meters long; its width, though records for the exact location of buildings along the north side are now lacking, could hardly have been more than twenty-five meters and was probably nearer twenty.

The surface of the mediaeval agora up to the eleventh century must have been substantially that of the Roman agora, although most of the classical marble paving was removed for various reasons; there may have been some accumulation of earth over the Roman level in particular places, notably around the Bema. Over this level the excavations revealed a stratum from fifty centimeters to a meter in depth consisting largely of clean gravel, sand, and a little earth such as might have been washed down by rain storms from the south. In this deposit were found many coins, many dating from the time of Manuel I and even later. It is quite possible, of course, that late coins were worked into the gravel by water action after it had been laid down, but the balance of probability is that the deposit gathered during the years of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Above the gravel were, in most places, one or two meters of more miscellaneous debris in which no generalized stratification appeared but which seem to have accumulated largely after the middle of the thirteenth century.

The market plateia, like the classical agora, lies at the crossing of a north-south road and a junction of roads from east and west. The road to Lechaion was still well defined, and its counterpart, the road to Kenchreai, is well represented in mediaeval times by the South Road. The main area of the market lies to the west of this north-south highway.

Buildings continuing the line of the Lechaion Road-South Road partially blocked off an irregular area to the east (8-10 I), which never-

theless opened broadly into the market plateia and which may be confidently described as a sub-market. Another subsidiary of the market area was the Market Avenue to the west with its colonnaded porches (4-5 L). Thus the market area as a whole consisted of the plateia primarily, the sub-market to the east and the Market Avenue to the west, and those parts of the other streets which adjoined the plateia itself.

The Shops

8 J to 4 L

Plan VI

The most characteristic feature of the market plateia is the shops which line it on the south; there are two main blocks of these. The Market Avenue to the west was also lined with shops: on the south by individual retail outlets for the factories behind, on the north by what seems to be substantially a single shop-building.

The shops north of the Bema church are of special interest. They constitute a structure (7 K-8 J) some twenty-five meters long and thirteen wide, divided distinctly into two parts by a wall running east and west through the middle. The arrangements south of this wall seem to belong to the Bema church, and will be discussed in that connection below (p. 72). The part north of the wall was originally nothing more than a completely open hall or stoa—perhaps loggia is the better word—facing on the market plateia with a façade of arches carried on piers. At least, the façade consisted of piers which presumably carried arches, although there is no definite evidence for the arches themselves. During later periods almost every one of these piers was joined to the rear wall with a partition, making a series of rectangular shops; but in the original phase, which may definitely be dated to the middle of the twelfth century, the space was plain and open throughout. Whether the arcade had any special function or served, like similar

structures still in use, for any of innumerable miscellaneous needs, cannot be determined.

The shops to the west of these (6–7 K) are of a more conventional type: quadrilateral rooms some four meters in width and four to five meters deep, facing on the market plateia through doors. The remains show several periods of construction in some places, but nothing to suggest that the general arrangement was ever substantially different.

West of this group of shops is an alley leading south to the courtyard of a glass factory (below, p. 67) and on the other side of the alley, across the three rooms which constitute the front of the glass factory on the Market Avenue, was a porch consisting of six columns, four on the front and one on each side (5 L—eastern part). This constitutes an individual porch façade for the show and sales rooms of the glass factory. As the foundations for the columns are fairly slight it may be assumed that the columns themselves were of wood, perhaps little more than posts. The ceiling and roof construction, therefore, must also have been relatively light.

Between the glass factory and its show rooms on the Market Avenue and the pottery establishment to the west was once a narrow passage or alley (5 L, center). At a later period the corner of the pottery building was replaced by a rectangular structure (probably an addition to the pottery) which also closed the alley. In the original period (compare Plan VII with Plan VI), which may date before Manuel, the façade of the pottery establishment on the Market Avenue was a wall angling southwestward, with broad doors, perhaps arched, opening on to an open hall behind which were shop rooms. Later, the eastern part of this was replaced by a spacious room (5 L, western part) over five meters wide and six deep, open on the front save for a pier in the middle which, with piers at the ends of the side walls, probably supported a double arch. In front of this, perhaps still later, was built a covered

porch supported by posts at the corners and perhaps other posts of which traces have been lost.

On the northern side of the Market Avenue was a complex of shops (5 K to 4 L) consisting ultimately of eight shops facing on the avenue, two on the market plateia itself, and one facing northward from which there was also access to the monastery to the northwest. These shops had a fairly complicated structural history. Some phases may date before Manuel; others are certainly later. There were several periods with distinct plans, but none differing radically from the final conception. In an early period, for example, there was a shop farther west than the westernmost of the final arrangement, but this was probably destroyed on the construction of the house lying where the West Road and the road to Acrocorinth converge on the Market Avenue. When in use this early westernmost shop had a cellar scooped out from under the concrete foundations of Temple G.

In general these shops from beginning to end were quadrilateral rooms ranging from about 2.40 m. in width by 4.00 m. in depth to some four meters in width by five in depth. In their characteristic period there was a covered porch along the front of all except the two westernmost, facing the Market Avenue and supported on wooden posts. Later, walls were built out from the shop wall to two of the wooden posts, forming a partially enclosed room; and a wall was run between the four western columns closing the façade on the front.

The two shops facing the market, at the eastern end of the complex, seem functionally and aesthetically to belong to the market rather than to the avenue, although they were apparently built together with the adjoining rooms to the west. The room on the northeast corner is interesting in having a door and probably two windows facing on the market, and two doors facing north. The room behind it, to the west, has access by a door to the

monastery as well as to a projection of the market plateia lying north of it.

The special purpose of all these shops, apart from those which seem definitely to belong to the glass and pottery factories, is not indicated by any tangible evidence, but there is one suggestion that those along the north side of the Market Avenue may have been the quarters of wholesale merchants. A hoard of gold coins of Manuel I was found buried in the street in front,²⁰ a respectable accumulation of capital, perhaps more than might be expected of a simple retail merchant. Perhaps, on the other hand, it belonged to the owner of a money-changing establishment. In any case this hoard may well have been concealed on news of the threat of the Sicilian raid. Another, less valuable, hoard of bronze coins also of the reign of Manuel I was found in the area of the monastery behind the shops.

Structures in the West End of the Market

4-5 J

Plans VI, VII

In the northwestern corner of the market are two buildings, the southern probably as late as Manuel I, the northern perhaps earlier. The northern building (4-5 J) originally (Fig. 5) had four rooms of which the westernmost at least was destroyed when the monastery was constructed. The southern, later, building (5 J), however, seems to be located with reference to the plan of the monastery and attached shops. It consisted of at least five rooms, liberally supplied with doors. Its purpose is not clear.

Public Building in the East End of the Market Plateia

8 J

Plans VI, VII

At the eastern end of the market plateia, isolated on all sides, was a well built rectangular structure 7.20 m. by 5.00 m., with only a single room. There were, however, three doors—one

on the east, one on the south, and one on the north. It was constructed of cleanly square blocks of *poros* stone with tiles laid along the joints (Pl. 11₂, left).

Although there is no tangible indication of the purpose of this building, it probably had considerable importance. The quality of its construction and its prominent position, together with its small size and the fact that it had only one room, suggest that it was an office or headquarters, of some civic or governmental function, rather than a private building. Further speculation hardly seems justified, but we may have some confidence in the hypothesis that it was a public office.

The Inn

9 J

Plans VI, VII

Facing the market plateia on the east was a structure which may have been a kind of inn. The whole complex, with an extreme length north and south of about twenty-three meters and a width east and west of eighteen, went through several stages and may in fact represent two or possibly even three functional units, although structurally it appears to have been essentially one at the beginning (Pl. 11₂).

The larger section, facing on the market, consisted originally of five shop-like spaces, each divided to make a front and rear section. Behind the southernmost of these there extended eastward a large room; adjoining this to the north, entered from the rear of the second shop from the south, was a somewhat smaller room in which, at one period at least, there may have been stairs ascending to a second floor. In the central shop-group a structure of small stones about a meter wide extended along the southern wall of the rear section, and was found covered with carbonized material suggesting that it may have been a platform for cooking fires. North of this the front section of the next shop space seems at one period to have contained stairs leading to

²⁰ J. Harris, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 268-277.

the floor above. In a late phase a porch was added in front of the west and north façades of the rooms on the north end; the roof, or possibly balcony, was supported on stone piers, perhaps with posts between. In a final period the west porch was enclosed as a room.

Behind the central shop-group, containing the kitchen, lay a structure consisting of two sections, facing north (9 J, northwest center). Whether it was accessible from the main block of rooms at any time is uncertain.

East of the rear structure a narrow corridor penetrated almost the whole length of the complex (9 J, center). At one period it gave access by a door to the southeast room of the main block, but in the late period it seems to have been a cul-de-sac, unless it too housed a stairway to an upper level.

In any case, east of the corridor was a large building (9 J, east center) composed of two rooms with a window on the north, entered from the east. Behind it, to the south, was a space that might have been either a room or an open court, which was accessible only from a narrow corridor along the eastern side of the large building, between it and the boundary wall delineating the entire complex on the east. From the inner court or room was a door leading to a room at the southeast corner.

The interpretation of this complex is not entirely certain, but several elements suggest that it was a place of public entertainment: the kitchen opening on the market, the second floor where there were presumably many rooms, the central position. Some of the ground-floor shop spaces may have been used for other commercial purposes, but the general arrangement would certainly be suitable for the uses of an inn. The separate apartments to the rear may have been the private quarters of the proprietor, although this is pure speculation. The eastern part of the complex, with its secluded court from which a stone-built drain leads out the east corridor and its large plain room behind, seems ideally suited for the

housing of the horses, mules, donkeys, and perhaps carts of travelers.

In the area of the Inn were found deposits of debris from a glass factory, but no architectural remains that could be identified as belonging to such a factory. Possibly the debris was thrown into the area before or during the construction of the Inn, the factory being located elsewhere.²¹ On the other hand, a well preserved pottery kiln was found just north of the Inn (9 I, southwest corner, Plan VII), but it is much later in date.²²

THE MONASTERY OF ST. JOHN THEOLOGOS

Among the buildings beyond the immediate periphery of the market, the most extensive complex after the middle of the twelfth century was the Monastery of St. John. The date of this is clear: the walls of the structure in its earliest phase produced coins of Manuel I, and the whole establishment was laid out on the ruins of buildings which survived at least as late as Alexios I (above, p. 56). It is not possible to unravel all the details of the many repairs and minor remodelings which the complex experienced, but they were very numerous and imply that the monastery was a busy place, architecturally speaking, through the later twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The name of the church is established beyond reasonable doubt by the fact that it was commonly and officially known as the Church of St. John Theologos during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, until its removal in 1937.

The Church

3 J

Plan VI

The church had gone through such extensive reconstruction by the beginning of the twentieth century that not only the entire superstructure of the original building had disap-

²¹ *Corinth*, XII, p. 83.

²² *Corinth*, XI, p. 16, figs. 1, 9; below, p. 92.

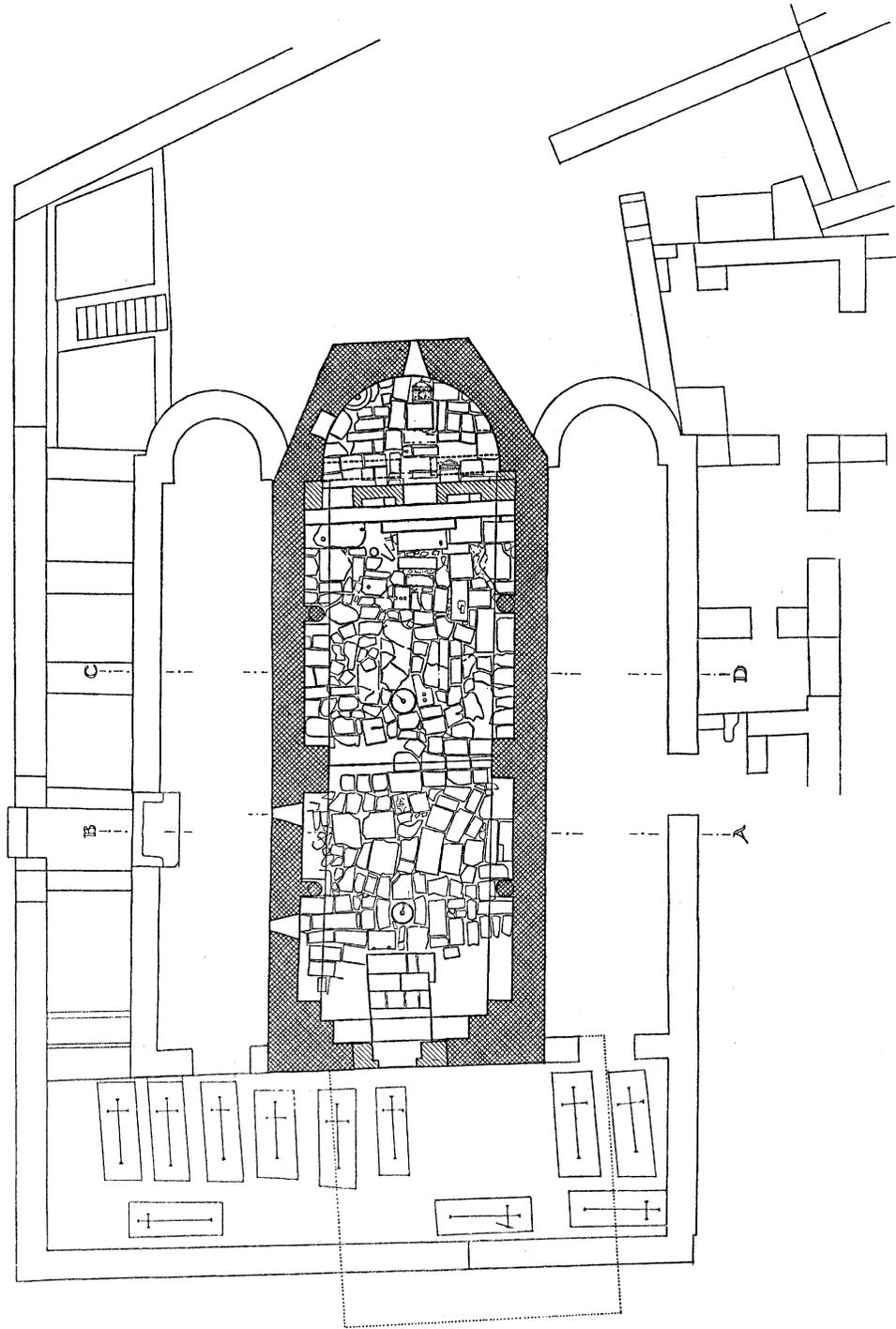


FIGURE 6. PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THEOLOGOS, ACTUAL STATE. SCALE 1:150

peared or been replaced, but even part of the foundations. The very floor level of the nave had been cut away. The precise course of events is somewhat perplexing in several important details, but the broader conclusions seem inescapable (Figs. 6–10; Pls. 7, 8).

The original building was a structure with a nave and two aisles, each with an apse, and with a narthex along the front. The over-all length was about twenty meters; the width, twelve. The floor level for the whole building lay about three and a half meters above the level of the Roman agora below; this would have been the ground level in front of the church, but we must assume a rapid fall in level close behind the church.

As the floor of the nave was later dug down to make a new floor some 1.25 m. lower than the original, and the upper part of the foundations replaced, there is no indication of the details of the floor plan of the original nave or of the nature of the supports separating nave from aisles. The floor level of the aisles, however, was preserved in parts and at one time was partially, at least, paved with marble slabs. An imposing doorway 1.60 m. in width led from the side of the north aisle to a narrow space on the north, using as a sill a ponderous sill-block from one of the Roman temples near by, probably Temple H. From the south aisle a somewhat smaller door, 1.35 m. in width, led to the area on the south. The narthex, some three and a half meters wide, was approached by a door from the west and also by a small door from the south; it was filled with graves, some cut slightly into the concrete core of the foundation for the Babbus Monument.

The relation of the church to the foundation of the Babbus Monument deserves special notice. Most of the front wall of the nave and southern aisle rests directly on the eastern edge of this concrete block, so that it must have been known to the builders of the church. Furthermore, at the base of the foundation on

the north a cavity was discovered or cut by the users of the church leading into a low, roughly domed space within the concrete foundation block itself. Presumably this space was formed by the mediaeval people, by digging away heaped up earth or natural clay, left within deeper footings for the edge of the concrete block when the concrete was poured; it was approached in mediaeval times from the floor of the narthex of the church by a crudely stone-lined shaft along the north face of the concrete mass, and was used for at least one burial of which fragmentary bones were found.

Returning to the church itself we observe that in some subsequent period (below, p. 87) a series of rectangular rooms was added along each side. The foundations for these include not only lateral walls paralleling the aisles, but cross walls. The exact reconstruction of these is uncertain, but presumably they were completely enclosed spaces, not cloisters. This may be inferred from the fact that the doorway from the north aisle was matched by another door in the new north wall giving access to the exterior. But whether the cross walls represent cists in the floor, with continuous east-west corridors above, or cubicles accessible by doors from the aisles or from the exterior can no longer be determined. In any case they were probably used as burial chambers. It is true that the whole region was so disturbed by graves of later periods that the date and position of the original burials are unknown, but the spaces seem too small for other purposes.

East of the church is an area enclosed by walls and probably intended as a cemetery. At least it was once used as a cemetery, but the date of the original graves in reference to the church and surrounding walls cannot be determined. At the northeast corner were two subterranean vaults (one is visible in Pl. 7₂) approached by a flight of stairs between them, which were either remarkably large family tombs or *osteothekai*. They are clearly designed with relation to the enclosing wall, and hence

date from a period when the complex was in good condition.

The most crucial, and perhaps debatable, aspect of this account of the original church is the conclusion that it originally consisted of a nave and two aisles. The observer's first reaction, in noting that the floor of the nave is lower than that of the aisles, might well be that the aisles were added later after a rise in the external ground level. It is desirable, therefore, to anticipate the account of later periods by indicating here the reasoning behind the supposition that the aisles and nave are contemporary and that the floor of the nave was subsequently lowered. In the first place, parts of what seem to be the foundations for the original walls of the nave rise higher than the floor of the nave in its latest form; and the foundations for the columns and piers supporting the vaults of the church in its later form were found to be without bonding to the original foundations. This makes it appear that the floor, with the wall and vault structure of the late period, represents a radical revision of the original form. Furthermore the low floor level implies a height for the roof that would be inconveniently low for the roofs of the aisles. Finally, no graves were found beneath the floor of the nave, whereas many graves were found in the narthex and aisles. The inference would be that there had once been graves under the nave, removed when the floor was lowered.

The Monastery

2-4 J-K

Plan VI

The church of St. John was obviously part of a monastic complex of which the essential portions were built at the same time as the church. Numerous repairs, some reflecting severe damage to parts of the building, and a number of minor alterations apart from repairs evidently marked the history of the complex through the fourteenth century. There is no evidence to indicate that the monastic es-

tablishment continued in a vital way much later than this, beyond a hoard of fifteenth-century Venetian coins found in the southeastern part of the area;²³ although this need not necessarily have been the property of the monks, it might be taken as a reflection of the dying days of the monastery as the Turkish threat approached or was made good. In describing the complex we begin with the parts most closely connected with the church, in the northwest corner, and follow the building southward and around the court.²⁴

The principal entrance to the building was undoubtedly at the northwest corner (2 J), facing west, but the remains in this region are slight and do not permit any restoration with confidence. Within the gate, however, was an area about fourteen meters wide, north and south, and eight meters deep, that constituted the entrance area. The structural history and nature of this area are difficult to interpret. At one period (not shown on our plans) there was a quadrangular but not square room about four meters north and south by five meters on the north side and four on the south, in the northeast corner; and, apparently later, a wall was built across the area from the southwest corner of this room to the middle of the southern side. It is not clear what these walls represent in the way of roofed areas or enclosed rooms, but in the original period the area was probably entirely open.

Facing this entrance area along the east, affording a transition to the narthex of the church, was a space four meters wide separated from the entrance area by a barrier represented in the excavation by the lower part of a wall (along the east side of 2 J). Whether this was an essentially solid wall, pierced by one or two doors, or a low wall supporting a colonnade or arcade cannot be demonstrated from the remains. The probabilities are perhaps in favor

²³ *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 146.

²⁴ Compare, throughout, monastic arrangements in Greece elsewhere as analyzed by Orlandos in his *Μοναστηριακή Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, Athens, 1927.

of the latter. Within this hall to the north was found the lower part of a stairway ascending northward over a narrow space, probably the substructure to a landing. There may have been a floor above the narthex, or above the transitional hall, or even the presumably later room to the west; or it is conceivable that the stairs led to a bell tower, unusual though such a feature might be at this date.

On the south side of the entrance area there seems to have been a rectangular space completely open to the area, from which doors led to a room on the south and to one on the east (2 K, northeast corner). Small fragments of painted plaster of high quality found in the latter suggest that it was an important room, perhaps a baptistery. Through the south wall of the "baptistery" a door led to a room of about the same size, perhaps a sort of vestry.

From the hall between the entrance area and narthex there was probably a door leading southward into a fairly large room or court over seven meters long and four wide (3 J–K). From this a door gave access to the main courtyard of the complex (3–4 K, north part). The courtyard was open and unencumbered until its later days, when a few walls were built out from the sides of the rooms facing on it, perhaps carrying vaults for a gallery, though they seem too few for a very systematic treatment of this kind. The surface of the courtyard seems to have been well tended, and at certain periods was carefully covered with a layer of yellow clay. Along the west wall, just to the north of the door through which we have entered, was a basin of fairly thin stone slabs, carefully set; presumably this was plastered on the inside to hold water. A similar, but less neatly built, basin was added near the south end of the wall when the door near the southwest corner had been blocked up. Near these basins the earth floor had a texture and color suggesting that of a barnyard or stable and it may be that the basins were watering troughs for animals.

From the courtyard one could enter a large room at the south end of the west side, and through this (by doors not identified in the remains) a large room that must have been the *trapeza*, or dining hall. This occupied the southwest corner of the entire complex (2–3 K). In its original form²⁵ it was probably one single open space, but in later stages it consisted of three rooms, a large one in the middle with two smaller ones at each end. The ceiling was supported on a row of posts down the middle; one of these was built into the partition creating the southernmost room of the later stage, and another was left in the middle of the broad door to the northern room of the later stage. The floor of the *trapeza* was the best in the monastery: at some periods a thick coat of good fine lime was applied repeatedly; at others, a bed of the fine yellow clay used in the courtyard; a few scraps of tile indicate that at some periods it may have been floored with tile. That it was the refectory seems evident from the fact that it is the largest room in the complex and the best kept, from the general plan (although it lacks the characteristic apse of the Orthodox *trapeza*, unless there was a small niche in the thickness of the wall), and from its proximity to the kitchen to be described below. In view of the single line of interior supports one must imagine that the tables and benches were arranged along the sides, paralleling the walls.

The kitchen was just east of the south end of the dining hall (3 K, lower west center). Here there were two rooms of which the northern had a vaulted cellar below it, approached along its west wall by an extremely narrow flight of steep steps. In the northwest corner was a walled pit, built neatly and smoothly cemented inside, which could be covered and appears to have been a storage place for perishables. This vaulted cellar was evidently filled with earth before the end of

²⁵ For the arrangement of another period than that represented on Plan VI, see *Corinth*, XI, p. 6, fig. 1.

the monastery, for in the earth, as in adjoining rooms, were refuse pits containing all kinds of kitchen debris. No formal hearth or stove was identified, nor any noteworthy deposit of ash. This is a little difficult to understand, but presumably indicates that cooking was done on braziers.

East of the kitchen there may well have been in the earliest phase of the monastery a completely open space (3-4 K, southern part); the whole south side has been re-worked so many times that it is difficult and perhaps impossible to separate out any single period. However, at later stages the space at the west end of the south side was occupied by any of several various complexes of two or three large irregular rooms of quite uncertain purposes.²⁵

The eastern half of the south side and the entire eastern side of the complex, constituting an L-shaped structure (4 J-K), seem, if only by process of elimination, to have contained the dormitories. In the original period there was only a single row in the east wing and two or three large rooms in the south wing. In the second major period a second row of rooms was added along the west of the original row of the east wing, and the front wall of the south wing was replaced by another at a slightly different angle. Early in this second period there were two rooms on the south over seven meters square, with the ceiling held by one or more supports in each. Later the western room was sub-divided, in part at least, by a partition. (For an intermediate phase see *Corinth*, XI, p. 6, fig. 1.) Foundations for what may be interpreted as a stairway leading to an upper floor lie in front of the larger room, and presumably there was sleeping space for the monks above these large rooms, as the east wing alone seems hardly adequate to house more than a very few monks indeed.

The circuit is closed, it will be remembered, by the graveyard at the northeastern corner (4 J, northwest corner).

A final problem of some interest is the

relation to the monastery of a tomb lying deep below the courtyard. It was cut into the badly plundered concrete foundations of Temple H, at an angle, but from what original ground level was not observed. It was built of small blocks of *poros* stone and cement, vaulted, and provided with a fairly spacious entrance. Its position in relation to the monastery is striking: isolated from the other burials associated with the church, in the heart of the monastery area, it might seem to be of some special significance. Unfortunately it cannot be proved whether the tomb is contemporary with any period of the monastery, or earlier. In it were found scattered bones of many burials.

The whole complex, monastery and church, is a notable feature of the Central Area of mediaeval Corinth. It must have been an important ecclesiastical establishment and an outstanding architectural monument. One is tempted to speculate whether the shops on the Market Avenue were owned by the monastery and contributed to its income, bringing the monks more directly into the economic sphere of Corinthian life. In view of all this the relatively small size and simplicity of the building provides some index to the real prosperity of the town. Had the monks been truly wealthy, by monastic standards evident elsewhere, they would have been more numerous and lived more richly than they did.

THE SOUTHWEST QUARTER

South of the monastery, between the West Road and the Road to Acrocorinth lay what appear to be two buildings, each of some interest. The first, where the two roads branch from the Market Avenue, seems to be simply a house; the other, farther to the west, is less clearly understood.

The House

3-4 L

Plan VI

The house consisted of at least four rooms and a courtyard on the ground floor; other

rooms opening off the courtyard to the south may belong to the house or to another building. As they have not been completely excavated it is undesirable to attempt to form an opinion.

The four rooms, however, do form a definite unity. They lie on two sides of an open area, probably a courtyard, which is otherwise enclosed by the unidentified rooms to the south and the building to the west. To the north of the courtyard is a room about six meters wide and five deep; as it communicates only with the courtyard it may have been only a kind of storage room. From the east side of the courtyard a door led to a smaller room which gave access to the largest room of the complex, at the northeast corner. This large room is divided into two sections by a pair of columns, one against the north wall and one against the south, about the middle of the room. These probably carried an arch with a screen wall above.

The Southwest Building

1-2 L-M

Plan VI

West of the house is a complex of walls with an intricate history of repair, rebuilding, and remodeling extending through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to judge from the coins found in the successive periods of walls, and impossible to understand in detail. Plan VI shows the building in a late, thirteenth-century form, which embodies the essential elements of the twelfth-century plan with minor modifications. The difficulties are increased by the fact that some of the complex remains unexcavated.

As nearly as can be seen under present conditions the complex consisted of two parts, divided by a north-south wall east of the center. East of the wall there were three rooms; the central one opened eastward to the outside and the southern one opened by a well built door to a quadrangular room to the east. West of the main dividing wall there was a series of three halls running east and west, abutting on

a north-south wall to the west from which a series of short walls crossed to the front wall of the southern section of the West Shops. The doorways of the Roman shops had all been blocked up by this time, although small openings in the upper parts of the three southern doors connected the respective shops to the mediaeval complex. As their vaults still remained intact, they may have served as cellars to the mediaeval building.

Altogether this complex remains a mystery, although it is probable that it was a house, perhaps with the main living rooms on an upper floor (below, p. 130). At least there are no particular indications of any other use.

The Cemetery Around Temple E

It is desirable at this point to refer to the cemetery which existed west of the monastery, on and around the site of Temple E (cemetery no. 6, above, p. 29). Here (west of 1 K-L) a considerable number of graves were found, some cut into the concrete foundations of the Roman temple to a depth of as much as 1.30 m. Others on the foundation are more shallow, and still others lay in the earth around the temple site. The cemetery was evidently in use during the twelfth century, for in one of the graves was found a mass of twenty-seven coins of Manuel I.²⁶ There is little to be said about the cemetery but it should be mentioned as a point in the topography of the twelfth-century community.

THE WESTERN SOUTH-CENTRAL QUARTER

THE CERAMIC FACTORIES

5 L-N

Plans VI, VII

South of the Market Avenue and the west corner of the market plateia lay a group of buildings which have been identified as pottery (to the west) and glass (to the east) factories.²⁷ As they have been published in some detail it

²⁶ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 250.

²⁷ *Corinth*, XI, pp. 7-14, figs. 1, 5-7; *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 297-324, figs. 1, 5, 6.

is unnecessary to describe them at length here. In general each consisted of a courtyard in which was a kiln or furnace; around the yard were covered halls or sheds for drying and storage. Each complex included also a number of rooms of uncertain purpose. The display and sales rooms, with their porches, fronting on the Market Avenue, are noteworthy features (above, p. 59). The identification of the factories is well established by the kilns and the mass of debris from manufacture.

In Plan VI walls belonging to an advanced period of the complexes have been indicated, to compare with the arrangements shown in the previous publications, representing earlier phases.

It should be noted specifically here that a review of the evidence reveals that coins of Alexios I were discovered in the walls of integral parts of the complexes, showing that the major surviving construction must date from the end of the eleventh century. Other coins on the floors indicate that the buildings continued to exist until the fourteenth century at least, although they may not have continued in use as glass and pottery factories to that date. There are no particular indications of any special use to which they may have been put in these late periods, however.

South of these factories were rooms following rather closely the relatively well preserved ruins of the walls of the shops and later Roman structures in the South Stoa. Many of these classical walls still stand to a useful height, and were repaired and supplemented by additional construction. It is not to be supposed that the classical functions (as of the late Roman latrine and the small but elegant bath to the east of it, 5-6 N) were continued in Byzantine times, but there is no definite indication of what the Byzantine use of the apartments was. Located as they were, however, remote and difficult of access from the market, it is not likely that they were commercial. They may rather have been residential.

THE CENTRAL SOUTHERN QUARTER

6-8 L-N

Plans VI, VII

East of the glass factory and west of the South Road were several units of considerable importance. Directly behind the shops facing on the market plateia were, at the east, the Bema church, and west of this a well built but mysterious structure in a courtyard (6-7 L) which we shall call the Tower Complex for reasons that will appear. South of the Tower Complex was a bathing establishment (6-7 M); south of the Bema church an industrial establishment (8 L-M). Still further south of these, in the area of the shops of the South Stoa (6-8 N), were other establishments which are little understood save, perhaps, for what seems to have been a house in the Roman Council Chamber.

The Tower Complex

6-7 L

Plans VI, VII

The complex east of the glass factory, south of the shops on the south side of the west end of the market plateia, and west of the Bema church, consists of a small building in a courtyard with a few associated rooms (the north-eastern quarter of 6 L, the northwestern quarter of 7 L).

The principal building (Pl. 9) is a simple rectangular structure about 4.20 wide and 6.50 m. long. It is well built of neatly squared blocks of *poros* stone with tiles laid to mark the joints, resting on foundations of smaller stone in cement extending well over a meter below the original ground level. Within the main door, which is on the middle of the western end, there is a transverse hall about 2.80 m. by 1.40 m., whence one proceeds by a door to the main room. This was originally some 3.00 m. long by 2.80 m. wide. In each corner is a rectangular projection 0.40 m. long and 0.25 m. wide; thus, within the corners of these projections the actual free space was a square about

2.20 m. in each dimension. The projecting masonry in each corner actually constituted the reveals of arches which rose on the four sides of the room, making shallow niches on each side. These facts would suggest that the main room was covered with a dome. In the original period there was a door through the north wall of the main room, and a door or window on the south; in a later period the recesses on these sides were filled in, probably closing the openings. Finally, on the outside surface of the rear wall rose two buttresses, the original height and purpose of which is unknown.

The most peculiar feature of the complex is the pair of foundations paralleling the north wall of the building. They descend some two meters below ground level, are made of stones in good cement, and are more substantial and well built than other Byzantine foundations found in the more recent excavations at Corinth. They rise to the height of the floor level of the building to the south, but as preserved, no higher. Apparently the structure was razed to the ground at some period, and a drain was found running across the top of the foundation as now preserved. They make a curious plan: two sections of massive wall parallel to the building but projecting east and west beyond the front and back walls and separated from the main building by about 1.50 m., but with short spurs projecting toward the corners of the main building by about 0.50 m.

Various suggestions have been advanced for the interpretation of these foundations. For example it has been thought that they were retaining walls, but there is no indication of a difference in ground level between the two sides, and the shortness of the sections, with the space between, does not support the view. Again it has been suggested that they bore buttresses of some kind for the building to the south, but this too hardly bears examination. A third interpretation has been that they represent an enlargement of the building such that the entire area between the outer limits

of combined foundations was covered by a single dome; but this can hardly survive the objection that the enclosed building lasted much longer than the foundations in question on the north.

It seems undeniable that these two foundations carried a weight of their own, and a heavy one. If we carry the lines of the foundations into the air beside those of the enclosed building they suggest a tower of the type still common in Greece for hanging church bells: a simple wall rising, perhaps in successive stages, to a gabled top, pierced with openings in which hang the bells. The spur walls toward the corners of the enclosed building may then be understood as the reveals for arches spanning a passage between the domed structure and the tower. The most serious objection to this interpretation is that, so far as is known, bell-towers were not used in Greece as early as the twelfth century, to which period, as we shall see, the complex must be dated. The purpose of the tower, if not for bells (or *semantra*, the resonant bars of wood used in churches before bells became common), is problematical.

The rest of the complex consists of walls enclosing the area of the building on the west, south and east. On the east were two rooms (southwest corner of 7 K, northwest corner of 7 L) over vaulted cellars which were connected by an arched door (Pl. 4₂). In the southern cellar there may have been stairs leading to the room above, though these have disappeared. Along the north side of the complex were three rooms behind and above the market shops; the ground floor of the Tower Complex was about 1.50 m. above the level of the market plateia.

For the date of the complex there is the fact that several coins of Alexios I were found well below the floor level of the domed building, and one coin of Manuel I. Thus in spite of the original impression that the building might have been erected as early as the ninth

century,²⁸ subsequent discoveries showed that it could not be earlier than the end of the eleventh century, and unless the coin of Manuel reached its place by accident, the building must be dated around 1150 or later. The remodeling of the interior and subsequent walls that divided the courtyard into smaller divisions may have been the work of the thirteenth century or later.

The purpose of the complex remains a mystery. It must have been a significant feature of the city because of the quality of its workmanship; indeed fragments of painted plaster and mosaic discovered within the domed room suggest that it may have been a truly fine building. It has been described as a chapel or baptistery, but the absence of an apse discredits the hypothesis of the chapel, and the separation from the Bema church throws doubt on the hypothesis of the baptistery. It has been called an *osteotheke*, or depository for bones such as are still common in Greek cemeteries, but although many bones were found in and around the building there was no good evidence that the building was designed to store them. There is also the possibility that it was a mausoleum of some distinguished individual, but this too is simply a guess, which carries little conviction.

In many ways the most attractive hypothesis is that the complex was not religious at all, but civic: that it represents the headquarters of some state official, or perhaps even of a guild. The location in the center of the industrial district would support this; the small space, finely treated, is consistent with it. To westerners the recollection of the European guild hall with its great tower is likely to occur as a parallel, although there are many important differences and the similarities could be pure coincidence.

²⁸ *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 547.

The South Bath

6-7 M

Plans VI, VII

South of the Tower Complex there is an area which seems to have been largely open during the twelfth century, save for an ill-preserved structure which was almost certainly a bath.²⁹ This is best preserved in a part of its structure including the floors of three basins made of a hard concrete including small fragments of stone and tile and lined with several successive coats of waterproof stucco (or lime encrustation?); they rest on a massive construction of mud and brick designed to carry heat from a badly preserved furnace at the south end through tunnel-like flues under the basins. Of the three basins the southernmost is highest; the central basin is some 0.60 m. below it, and the northernmost five or six centimeters lower than the second. Apparently water was heated in these basins, perhaps to differing degrees of temperature (Pl. 10₁).

Adjoining these basins to the west is a large quadrangular room the floor of which was supported on crudely made posts of stone and brick, in the manner of a hypocaust. The piers are some 0.70 m. high. At irregular points on the walls of the room narrow bricked flues run upward. There seems to have been a bench built along the east wall of this hypocaust room, and perhaps on the other sides. There are traces of waterproof stucco on the east wall of this room, which separates it from the heating basins.

The hypocaust room was joined, probably by two doors, to another room to the west, which is in a very bad state of preservation.

It is not clear whether the west wall of the west room, which is in line with a wall bounding the open area to the north (6-7 L) and continuing to the corner of the Tower Complex, marks the western extremity of the bath or whether the rooms, or some of them, west of this wall also belong to the bath complex. Probably they do not.

²⁹ See also Broneer's account in *Corinth*, I, iv, p. 145.

In any case there was at least one room east of the heating basins; a second room has been restored from slight indications, on Plan VI.

In short, the complex was a bathing establishment consisting, probably, of a courtyard on the north and a series of rooms equipped for bathing with hot water on the south. For the date there is unfortunately no direct evidence. The building is obviously later than an advanced stage of the destruction of the colonnade of the South Stoa, for the floor of the furnace heating the water basins rests on remains of the stylobate foundation of the Stoa, 1.20 m. below the level of the stylobate. But as the colonnade of the Stoa had come to ruin even before Early Christian times, this fact is not particularly useful. So far as available evidence is concerned, it would be possible to date the bath anywhere from the sixth century (considering it a direct successor of the finer bath to the southwest in the Stoa) to the twelfth or thirteenth. On the one hand, the relatively sturdy construction of the furnace and basins might suggest the earlier date. The fact that there has been identified no mediaeval construction in the area other than the bath, however, may be taken as an argument favoring a later date. Had the bath been a product of the sixth century, one might have expected it to fall into ruin and be replaced by other structures in the twelfth century, for it is hardly likely to have survived intact. Furthermore, the orientation of the bath is more consistent with the twelfth-century plan than with the sixth-century situation. Admittedly these considerations are weak, but they do incline to the conclusion that the bath belongs to the later mediaeval period. We may be confident that it existed during the twelfth century; it may have been built in the eleventh, or even in the tenth.

The Bema Church

7-8 K-L

Plans VI, VII

Period IV of the Bema Church, characterized most conspicuously by the addition of an apse to the south aisle, is in all probability to be dated to the middle of the twelfth century. This would follow from the fact that coins of Manuel I were found in the masonry of a remodeling of the steps in front of the church and from the evidences for other extensive work done around the building in that period.

The new (south) apse (Pl. 6₁) is less carefully built than the others, and externally does not form a true semicircle, at least in the foundations as preserved. The wall of the new apse makes a direct oblique angle with the south wall of the aisle, whereas the apse of the northern aisle, built in a more normal fashion, is conceived as a true semi-cylinder attached to the square end of the aisle leaving projecting square corners at the ends of the aisle (Fig. 3). It is of course possible, and perhaps probable, that the construction of the southern apse above ground level was more in harmony with that of the northern apse (Plan VI).

Another noteworthy feature possibly to be associated with Period IV is the floor of the narthex (Pls. 5, 6₂). As found, this consisted of a pavement of somewhat irregular pattern worked out with slabs and fragment of slabs of ancient marble. The large rectangular slabs and the discs are white or bluish white; the others are red.

Although there were burials and tombs throughout the church, the greatest number were in the south aisle (Pl. 6₂). Here there was, in addition to several built tombs, an inextricable confusion of slighter interments. This may be due in part to the fact that beneath the floor of the rest of the church there was hard concrete, but it is also possible that the south aisle was from the beginning a burial chapel. Of all the burials scattered through the building only two contained significant material for

the chronology: one in the nave containing a coin of Manuel I shows that the building was in use and the tomb available in or after the mid-twelfth century; and one at the south end of the narthex contained a coin of Louis IX, showing that this tomb was available a century later.

The tombs show the whole range of types known from mediaeval Corinth: slab-lined and covered, built walls and slab-covered, and vaulted. In addition the burials in the south aisle included some simple interments without stone linings.

In one tomb, narrow and badly built as compared with many of the others, along the middle of the south wall of the nave, there were the bones of several burials including one skeleton in sitting position, facing west. This recalls the custom of burying bishops in the Orthodox church in a seated position, so that we may have here a more than ordinary interment.³⁰

The dispositions in front of the church (7 K–L) present some problems. When the loggia was constructed to the north (7 K to 8 J), along the market plateia, and the shops west of this, the approach to the church was rearranged to consist of a sloping road between the loggia and shops to an L-shaped plateia in front of the church. This plateia was created by the construction of a fine wall continuing the southern wall of the church westward and serving as the front of two commodious rooms opening on to the plateia from the south. The sill of the easternmost of these two rooms is a block of marble two meters long, with a free opening of about 1.75 m. (Fig. 3). On the middle of the top surface has been cut, and subsequently much worn, a funnel-shaped channel as though for carrying off water. It is possible that this room served as a baptistery.

From the western end of the south arm of the plateia a gate led southward into the open area of the South Bath and presumably beyond the concerns of the church. Within the arms

of the L were two or four large spaces (7 K–L, center); whether they were open or roofed, and what doors they may have had, is not known. The chief problem of the area lies in the interpretation of these spaces. Particularly difficult is the position of the U-shaped walls interpreted as flanking a sloping approach in front of the church in the eleventh-century scheme (pp. 54–55, Fig. 4). It seems certain that the easternmost of these walls survived into the twelfth-century scheme, for the main dividing wall running east and west in this area seems to be built with reference to this arm of the U. But whether the western arm of the U continued to function, subdividing the area into four sections, or went out of use, leaving only two sections, is not so clear. This problem is perhaps less important than the question of whether we are to restore a solid wall along the inside of the L-shaped court, or an open colonnade or arcade. The former would make the approach to the church uncomfortably narrow; the latter creates problems in the restoration of the structure within the arms of the L. Perhaps the most satisfying solution, which must remain a guess, is to imagine that both arms of the U survived: the eastern, nearest the church, to be used as the foundation of an arcade; the western to be used as the foundation for a solid wall enclosing the two large rooms behind. This by no means explains all the features, but may contain an element of the truth.

North of the church (7–8 K, northern part) was a long narrow open space some three and a half meters wide, from which opened a series of doors into rooms on the north behind the loggia. Originally the space behind the doors may have been a single continuous hall or deep cloister; but at a later period, or periods, partitions were run from some of the piers across to the north wall, making three small rooms and one large one. East of this were two small rooms and beyond them what seems to have been an open yard. Whether these be-

³⁰ According to Koukoules (IV, p. 157), ordinary priests might also be buried in this position.

longed to the church complex or the loggia is uncertain.

Access to this cloister, if so it may be called, was from behind the church through the graveyard which still existed there within enclosing walls. The northeast corner of the space was enclosed within walls which may have formed an *osteotheke*; a foundation close to the enclosing wall south of this suggests that there were stairs leading to a second floor covering part of the complex behind the church.

The Bema Church in the twelfth century was an important element in the city. Its location, its annexes, the number of burials, the number of repairs and modifications, all contribute to this view. As in the case of the monastery, however, a comparison of the Bema Church with other buildings of the period at Athens and elsewhere will suggest the degree to which the resources of Corinth fell behind those of other centers of the time. Of course the Bema Church was old even at this time and if not replaced could only be repaired and remodeled. Nor can we be sure that it was really the finest church in Corinth at the time; there may have been an equivalent of Daphni or the Kapnikarea in some part of Corinth where it is still unsuspected.

The Area South of the Bema Church

8 L–M Plan VI

Immediately to the south of the church there was, in the late eleventh century, a pottery factory, but this seems to have stopped functioning not much later.³¹ The subsequent use of the buildings is uncertain, although there is no reason to suppose that they ceased to exist.

The Bouleuterion House

8 M–N Plan VI

South of the area of this pottery factory is a courtyard which seems to have been associated with a building which grew up within the

ruins of the Roman Council House in the South Stoa (8 M–N). On the north side of the court is a ceramic kiln which also went out of use as such early in the twelfth century;³² whether this was part of the factory represented by the somewhat earlier kiln immediately south of the church, or whether it belongs with the complex inside the Bouleuterion, remains uncertain.

In any case it seems likely that the structure inside the Bouleuterion was a dwelling. Its restoration is problematical.

THE EASTERN SOUTH-CENTRAL QUARTER

9–10 K–M Plans VI, VII

On the east side of the South Road was a series of shops, lining the road continuously from its entrance into the market in front of the Inn. These buildings consist substantially of rooms presumably opening onto the road (clear traces of the doors are lacking), usually with a second and sometimes a third series of rooms behind. Some of the rooms contained pithoi of some size built below floor level, suggesting that they may have purveyed wine or oil, or dry cereals. The coins and other evidence combine to suggest that they began to develop during the eleventh and remained in use for subsequent centuries (Pl. 10₂).

Behind these shops there is a considerable area of irregular extent where the records indicate very few mediaeval walls. Part of this area was excavated in the original exploratory trenches of 1896, and records of the Byzantine remains found then are no longer available. For much of the area, however, full records are at hand. From these it appears that apart from the wine press of the ninth or tenth century in front of the South Stoa (9–10 L; above, p. 47) there were very few walls indeed throughout the area. This is difficult to understand. Perhaps it is safe to assume that the walls of the early wine press continued to exist, even though they may have been put to different use.

³¹ *Corinth*, XI, pp. 17–19, figs. 8, 12, 13.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21, figs. 8, 14, 15.

The "Grape Emporium"

10 J-K

Plans VI, VII

Between the South Road and the Southeast Road, however, there is one extensive and evidently fairly important structure. It faced on the Southeast Road and the sub-market, behind the inn. It consists of a block of rooms and open courts separated from the South Road shops and the inn by a corridor leading from the area east of the South Road shops into a court at the northwest corner of the complex.

Perhaps the clue to the function of the complex lies in the part entered from the sub-market (10 J). This had a fairly formal gateway at the northeast corner, involving a projecting porch and a covered passage leading into a rather spacious courtyard. On the south side of this courtyard was a wine press, built in the remains of one of the Central Shops which had meanwhile been divested of the protection of the Early Christian stairs laid over it. The floor of the shop (Pl. 11₁) which originally lay over a Greek or Roman drain crossing the area, was remade by putting down substantial slabs of marble cut from Roman architraves and other architectural members, taken from the Early Christian stairs. One epistyle-frieze block closed off the front of the shop to a height of some 0.50 m. Within, the joints and wall surfaces were sealed with a heavy waterproof cement. A tile pipe with a diameter of 0.11 m. was fitted under the marble block closing the front, leading to the mouth of a pithos sunk in the ground in front. The pithos is 1.60 m. deep, with a greatest diameter of 1.00 m. and a mouth some 0.60 m. in diameter, not, perhaps, the largest pithos found at Corinth, but fairly capacious.

Obviously this arrangement has to do with pressing wine. It is true that in the vicinity were found fragments of two presses, heavy, disc-like slabs of stone with a groove around the edge and a spout, such as would be suitable for pressing oil; but the arrangement of the

rectangular room with the drain to a pithos is more appropriate to the treading of grapes.

This, however, accounts for only part of the complex. To the south (10 K) lay a group of rooms which seem to have communicated with the courtyard of the wine press. Although it is difficult to determine which of the walls of the Central Shops had been built up for use in the mediaeval complex (the easternmost wall of the Shops and part of the front wall of the Shops at the east were used as the foundation of mediaeval walls which still stand to a height of almost two meters in places), west of the wine press a sill resting on the rear wall of the Shop shows that there was a wall and door belonging to the complex at this point. Elsewhere the situation is less clear.

The complex which lies in general south of the area of the Roman Shops centered on an open courtyard approached from the Southeast Road by a vestibule (11 J, southwest corner) immediately south of the rear wall of the Roman Shop. Within the courtyard was found a foundation suggesting a stairway leading to upper rooms over the eastern part of the complex; off the south side of the courtyard was a door leading to a two-room apartment, or a two-section room. Along the south side of the courtyard was a trough that might have been so lined as to hold water for animals.

The other rooms and spaces within the complex are not easy to interpret. The long narrow corridor along the south, opening on to the Southeast Road, may well have been covered, but the large quadrilateral room near the center of the complex perhaps was an open courtyard. If so, the (later) wall which separates it from the corridor along the south may actually have been the foundation for an arcade on a balustrade. In general the corridor along the south suggests the kind of space suitable for introducing materials in bulky quantities into the interior of the complex, a sort of private covered alley for animals and porters. In short, although the whole question is highly

speculative, the building gives the impression of being a commercial or possibly industrial establishment, perhaps including also the residence of the proprietor or operator.

The sole particular clue to the nature of the business carried on in the establishment is the wine press; as the complex is too extensive and elaborate to have been devoted exclusively to producing wine, the establishment may also have served for wholesale trade in raisins. Of course if the wine press be ruled out of consideration a wholesale trade in almost any other commodity would be equally reasonable.

THE SOUTHEAST BUILDING

11–12 J–K

Plans VI, VII

The chief problem presented by the Southeast Building, which certainly continued to serve the community at least until the eleventh century, is the extent to which it was preserved and used through the twelfth and later centuries. The chief indication available is that so far as can be determined there was never any separately and distinctly mediaeval complex substituted for the structure of the classical building; apart from mediaeval walls, most of them apparently earlier than the twelfth century, which served as repairs or supplement to the classical structure, the only mediaeval wall recorded in the area is one running diagonally through the center of the building, of wholly uncertain date but presumably quite late. Had the earlier mediaeval structure collapsed entirely by the twelfth century, one would have expected a new complex to rise above it.

On the other hand, in the central part of the south hall of the building are two large pithoi, about two meters deep and 1.27 m. in greatest interior diameter, dated to the twelfth century by coins in the surrounding strata of earth. Contemporary with these pithoi is a wall built against the west side of the Early Christian Wall to the east of the pithoi. These circumstances prove that the structure was available

in the twelfth century though parts of it may have collapsed and required replacement. The fact that the building was used and that there are no other signs of remodeling in this period would suggest that it remained in its tenth-century form with minor modifications, and no doubt repairs to the upper walls.

If it survived thus nearly intact, presumably it continued its tenth-century function and remained the headquarters of a principal dignitary of the community, perhaps the archbishop, if our hypothesis is correct (above, pp. 12, 42).

THE EAST QUARTER

11–12 H–J

Plans VI, VII

North of the Southeast Building, extending east of the sub-market, lay several complexes, covering but extending beyond the site of the Julian Basilica. The classical structure, and the hypothetical Early Christian Church which may have once existed there, had been almost completely obliterated by the twelfth century. On the plan (Plans VI, VII) there is a superficial suggestion of a survival of the nave of the early church in a narrow complex extending westward from the concrete foundations of the apse of the hypothetical church, but this may be the result of pure coincidence. The excavation records of the mediaeval walls in this area are not very detailed, but give the impression that the ground level with relation to which the narrow building was erected sloped down to the west in a manner that would be difficult to reconcile with an hypothesis that the walls include foundations of the church, which must have been at a higher level, even with the top of the basement story of the Julian Basilica. Nevertheless the suggestion cannot be rejected entirely.

The complex which was erected north of the Southeast Building, against its north wall, seems to have consisted of a number of small rooms and enclosed courts. It is possible that

these apartments actually represent some of the living quarters belonging to the Southeast Building itself, although they may have been independent.

The Shops

10-11 I-J Plans VI, VII

The rooms west of these, at the point where the Southeast Road enters the sub-market, include simple quadrangular spaces opening by broad doors onto the road; they may have been shops of some kind. If so their intimate connection with rooms and courts behind may reflect a particular kind of commercial activity, the exact nature of which has left no trace.

The Tavern

10 I Plans VI, VII

North of these, projecting into the space of the sub-market from the east, lay a fairly extensive building of peculiar plan. There were at least two periods to the structure, but the characteristic period apparently involved an L-shaped room facing south and west, with one or more rooms within the arms of the L; there were also two large pithoi in it. The south and west façades were quite open, with three broad doors on the west and one on the south. The arrangement is easily comparable to that of wineshops common in the Mediterranean from the days of Pompeii to the present.

The House

10-11 I Plans VI, VII

To the north of the tavern there was a long narrow room, and to the east a series of apartments, all of uncertain purpose. The block of rooms to the east may have been a dwelling, the residence of the proprietor of the tavern. This suggestion is purely speculative, based on the plan of the room immediately to the east of the tavern (cf. below, p. 129).

THE NORTHEAST ROAD

9 H-10 F Plans VI, VII

From the sub-market, which may have been lined on the north by buildings of which there is no record, a road led off to the northeast. This is marked most conspicuously by a covered drain, one of the largest found in the mediaeval system of streets. Even so it was only about thirty centimeters wide and little deeper, lined with random bits of stone set without cement and covered with slabs. The road may have forked at the end of the excavated area.

To the right of the road, just south of the fork (10-11 H; Plans VI, VII) were found remains of an unusually wide foundation, about 1.20 m. thick on the west side and of various slightly lesser widths on the other sides. Only slight traces of these foundations were found and they may not represent a building at all, although it is difficult to see what other purpose they could have served. Furthermore, though wide the foundations are not very solidly built. Nevertheless they do suggest a strong, practically isolated building.

The most important fact to be observed in this area, however, is that the road turned sharply north and descended to the region of the Peribolos of Apollo. In so doing it passed over a great depth of earth which had been thrown in to fill the main room of the fine tenth-century house which had occupied the spaces among the classical walls east of Peirene (above, pp. 39-41). The road was lined with small buildings of which little is known: there is no record of those on the west, and most of those on the east still lie in unexcavated territory. The road evidently penetrated to the center of the Peribolos of Apollo, and perhaps farther north, but clear records are lacking.

THE LECHAION ROAD

The Shops

8 C-H

Plan V 7-8 D-G

Plan V

The Lechaion Road remained, with the South Road, the main axis of the city and, after the market, was evidently the chief business district. This is clear from remains still extant at the northern end of the excavated area and from general impressions gained from the records of excavation of the rest of the area, although it is no longer possible to study the latter in much detail.

The Propylaia

8 H

Plan V

It is quite unlikely that the Propylaia survived into the twelfth century in any monumental form. There still existed substantial masses of the masonry of the structure, but these were undoubtedly lost among the Byzantine buildings. Traces of Byzantine walls suggest that there was a shop of some kind against the north face of the eastern pier of the gate, and a large ceramic pithos (Pl. 18₂) was found almost intact at this point. We may therefore assume that there was a complex of commercial buildings around the gate itself and lining the ramp to the north, reducing the width of the ramp, eventually, to two meters or less.

Peirene

9 H

Plan V

From the region of the Propylaia it seems to have been still possible to descend the steps to the church in the court of Peirene (above, p. 38) and by this time the court was probably completely devoted to burials. The fountain could hardly have served as a public water supply, but water was taken in underground conduits to parts of the city below.

The Lechaion Road itself had been built over so extensively by the end of the twelfth century that there was only a narrow lane, in places less than two meters wide, following the line of the ancient avenue. The detailed plan of the buildings on either side of this road is unknown, but it is at least clear from the early excavation records that the buildings were the logical result of successive projections of the classical shops on either side, first through the line of the colonnades, then across the sidewalks, and then into the bed of the road itself. Meanwhile the ground level rose generally to a height of a meter and a half, and in successive re-workings much of the classical structure disappeared. It is, then, probable that in the earlier phases, even into the tenth century, many if not all of the columns of the colonnades still stood; by the end of the twelfth century they had all been removed.

The continued use of many of the classical foundations on the east side of the road, along the Peribolos of Apollo (9 E-F), is indicated only by the presence, here and there, of mediaeval doorsills set in the classical walls. From this we can infer that even into the twelfth century the shop structure east of the road still retained some of its classical organization, but more than this can hardly be said.

On the other hand, the classical shops on the west side of the road (7 D-G) remained in a fairly complete state into the twelfth century. This is evident from the fact that much of the classical structure still stands today, and from traces of the mediaeval occupation. The twelfth-century floor level was distinguishable at a level of a little less than a meter above the classical floors. Apart from the many doors cut through the walls, a few of which can be referred to this late floor level, some other structural activity of the period may be noted, especially in shops V-VII counting from the

south. Shops V and VI were thrown together by the removal of the classical partition and by the addition of a special new front wall for the combined space. This was done later than a period when shops VI and VII were connected by a door. In most of the shops a second floor was provided by the cutting of holes in the walls for the insertion of rafters; it is uncertain whether the lower floor under this arrangement was a basement or a ground floor.

It is an important question whether these shop spaces in the twelfth century were still shops or simply incidental backrooms in buildings whose chief functions were located closer to the road in the middle of the ancient Lechaion Road. We have seen (above, p. 37) that at least until the tenth century the shops stood clear, as one integral building. But during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the construction which covered the area of the colonnade, the sidewalk, and the road itself may well have resulted in the Shop-building being completely lost, so that only individual rooms could be approached by penetrating to the back of individual buildings, or at the end of dead-end alleys.

But one is struck by the quality of workmanship in the even later construction in shops I and II (7 G) (below, p. 87). Such finished archivolts would hardly have been made for backrooms or cellars. There may have been a street close in front of the shops, paralleling the Lechaion Road, so that the construction on the sidewalks and in the roadbed of the classical avenue constituted a separate block.

On the whole, however, it is probably safer to assume that there was no such parallel street, and that the classical shop structure was left far from the road. Some parts of the shops, however, may have been accessible by special alleys, and served as residences.

The Area North of the Peribolos of Apollo

9 D-E

Plan V

Just such a situation as has been suggested for the upper part of the west side of the Lechaion Road seems to have prevailed north of the Peribolos of Apollo. Here there were commercial structures facing the road; an alley gave access to a complex behind, which was probably residential. The plan of the area in the twelfth century is difficult to determine, and even more difficult to interpret. But the most characteristic element is a structure (9 D) along the north side of an open area, marked by its division into three sections by two pairs of spur-walls along the sides. This arrangement seems to be an elaboration of the design noticed in the Early Christian house in the same area, in the tenth-century house east of Peirene, and elsewhere, and which we shall see marks the main room of a type of house (below, p. 129).

The North Bath

8 C

Plan V

The most interesting building in the area, however, is the bath at the northern end of the excavated area of the road. This bath has not been completely excavated, but enough has been revealed to demonstrate its general nature. The excavated parts include two hypocaust rooms and some associated facilities (Pl. 12₁₋₃).

The entrance, or one entrance, was through a door opening off the road, leading to a small vestibule with a door leading into a narrow corridor extending to the left, and another door leading into a large room over a hypocaust. From this another door led into a second hypocaust, to the east. North of the western hypocaust is a small room in the floor of which is a pit about a meter square, its bottom some 2.20 m. below the floor of the hypocaust room. Along the east side of this pit, some 0.50 m.

below the floor of the hypocaust room, is a slab of limestone with a channel cut roughly across it as though to lead water into the pit.

There may be some doubt as to whether the pit structure belongs with the bath. It is cut into the west end of a long narrow basin which may well be earlier than the bath, and there is no indication in the excavated area of direct communication between the hypocaust room and the pit room. But the arrangement of the pit suggests a device for deep immersion in cold water, and it is possible that the original basin of which the pit occupies only the west end belongs to an early stage of the bath. The "plunge" room may have been entered only from the corridor in front, or also from the eastern hypocaust room.

In any case, south of the hypocaust rooms was a long hall separated into two sections near the middle by an unusually wide door. The sill of the door consisted of a pivot-block against the south wall and another on a short spur wall projecting from the north side. In a later period the opening was contracted. From the eastern part of this room there was access by another wide door to a quadrangular room on the south, distinguished by being almost completely filled by four large ceramic pithoi. These are now largely broken, but their original greatest diameter may be estimated at about 1.40 m. The room in which these pithoi stood was probably once much larger, including the space to the west, for the partition wall along the west side of the room crosses the remains of a fifth pithos.

The construction of the hypocausts themselves is of some interest. The walls of the rooms are made of blocks of stone laid in tile and mortar joints. Built into the walls were small flues: one on the west wall of the eastern room measures 0.16 m. wide and 0.37 m. deep; one on the south wall of the same room measures 0.17 m. wide and 0.32 m. deep. A flue on the west wall of the west room is similar to the latter. Along the south side of the south wall

of the eastern room is built a line of tile pipes with an interior diameter of 0.10 m.; they may have brought water to some part of the system.

The basements of the hypocausts were built of a series of posts made of odds and ends of ancient blocks of marble and *poros* stone. In the east room these piers were some 1.10 m. high; in the west room, about 0.85 m. high. They rest on the paving of the Lechaion Road and sidewalk, where the rooms extend over the road. The piers support a flooring of roughly squared and flattened slabs of rough conglomerate. Between the two hypocausts there is a passage, below floor level, some 0.55 m. wide and 0.50 m. high; above this is a sill for a door connecting the rooms themselves; the sill was replaced at a later period by another sill at a higher level.

Not all these arrangements are clear, particularly because some parts of the building are still buried. In general the room with the pithoi was probably a service room containing water and supplies for individual baths, which might be administered in the long hall to the north. The hypocaust rooms, no doubt heated with naturally diminishing temperature from a furnace to the east, would function as sweating and cooling rooms; and the deep pit to the north may have served as some kind of cold plunge, or shower.

The Area of the Hemicycle

6-7 C-D

Plan V

Across the street from the baths, in the area of the Early Christian Hemicycle, is a complex of rooms whose interpretation remains elusive. The Hemicycle as such had been destroyed to its foundations, but replaced by a heavy wall or series of walls built in short straight sections, substituting an irregular polygon for the original semicircle. This did not stand free, but

was the outer wall for a series of irregularly shaped rooms projecting eastward.

Behind the line of the Hemicycle were found a few walls at a high level, but they seem to date from the Turkish period. During the twelfth century the area seems to have been open.

THE NORTH ROAD

6 H-4 C

Plans V, VI

Although the records of the excavation along the northern side of the classical Agora (7 H to 3 I; Plan VI) provide few details for the state of the area in Byzantine times, it is abundantly clear that from the Propylaea through and in front of the entire length of the Northwest Shops there was an intricate complex of well built mediaeval walls. The Captives Façade or Façade of the Colossal Figures and the easternmost of the Northwest Shops themselves had been substantially leveled, but exactly what took their place can no longer be determined.

The existence of the ramp down across the east end of the Roman Market north of the temple hill (4 C; Plan V) and traces of a road along the south side of the temple (3-4 G; Plan VI) are sufficient to prove that there was a road leaving the mediaeval Market near its eastern end, probably crossing the foundations of the Captives Façade or Façade of the Colossal Figures, and ascending to the southeastern corner of the temple hill. Thence it proceeded northward to the ramp through the North Market (above, p. 49). This ramp and the road were almost certainly in use during the twelfth century and probably through the early part of the thirteenth. Some graves found over the steps of the lower part of the ramp, however, suggest that it was no longer used after the end of the thirteenth century.³³

THE AREA OF THE NORTH MARKET

2-5 C-D

Plan V

East of the ramp, within the area of the North Market, there was a space some five meters in breadth on which faced a building of which all that has been excavated is its western wall (5 C). This was built northward from the remains of a projection of the Early Christian Nymphaeum (above, p. 25) which occupied the area to the east. In the twelfth-century wall there was a door some 1.35 m. in breadth, indicating a floor level a little over 0.50 m. above the Roman pavement. It may be surmised that the later mediaeval structure employed parts of the Nymphaeum in general, but nothing can be determined as to its use or plan.

West of the ramp there was a complex of mediaeval structures based on the repaired walls of the Roman Shops (2 D to 4 C). These had been altered by the cutting of doors connecting some of the rooms, and by walls closing some of the rooms in front; and they had been supplemented by rooms and courts built in front of the shops, projecting into the original peristyle court. Clearly the colonnade of the court was completely gone, but much of the open area remained clear. There seem to have been at least two and perhaps four separate units in the Byzantine complex, all facing on the diminished square.

The only clue to the function of these mediaeval structures is given by an elaborate lime-kiln in the southwest corner (2 D). The kiln itself was some three meters in diameter, filling the last Roman shop before the west end on the south side. It is not well preserved, but had evidently been formed by filling the corners of the shop with rubble masonry; the walls of the shop, except at the corners, are deeply corroded by fire. The kiln was presumably charged from the hill above and emptied through a door at the bottom facing north, now disappeared.

³³ *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 440-442.

In the space to the west of the kiln, originally occupied by stairs leading from the peristyle level of the Roman Market to the higher ground to the west, were found extensive traces of settling basins in which the lime was slaked. It seems probable that the entire south side of the space was occupied by a vat in which the burnt lime was slaked in water. The slaked lime was drained into a smaller basin in the northeast corner, from which a conduit, presumably for waste water, led to a small basin in the entrance to the original stairs.

It is hazardous to generalize from this kiln to an interpretation of the structures throughout the entire area, but it seems not unlikely that the quarter was devoted to builders' supplies. The other elements of the complex, including the long, narrow, perhaps open courts, would not be inappropriate to the storage of such materials.

For the date of the complex the most tangible clue is a coin of Villehardouin discovered in one of the walls, indicating that some parts of the buildings date from the thirteenth century. The abundance of earlier coins in the area suggests that there was much activity in the place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and perhaps earlier. On the whole it seems likely that the twelfth century was the period of highest development, with activity continuing into the thirteenth.

THE TEMPLE ROAD

2-5 G

Plan VI

From the southeastern brow of the temple hill a road forked westward from the North Road, proceeding along the south side of the archaic temple. This is indicated most tangibly by the existence and orientation of a group of mediaeval buildings excavated just south of the temple (3-4 G-H). Other mediaeval structures are known to have existed on the hill, but their plans can no longer be established.

Wheel ruts of the road may still be seen on the fallen columns lying in 4 G.

The temple itself was probably in an advanced state of ruin by the twelfth century. Fragments from both inner and outer columns were used in repairs to the walls of the shops to the north, which probably date from the twelfth century. There were, of course, several columns still standing³⁴ and possibly parts of the walls, also; but details are lacking.

The Temple Road continued on west of the temple, where it probably joined the Northwest Road and continued on in a northerly direction. In this immediate area are still apparent remains of mediaeval buildings, including tombs, houses, and baths; but their plans and mutual relationships are obscure and their dates, for the moment at least, unknown.

The highway evidently continued on northwest of the temple, where excavation records indicate that there were few if any mediaeval buildings, and thence toward the theater. The theater itself was evidently crowded with Byzantine buildings of the twelfth century and perhaps earlier and later. There must have been a busy and important section of town in this region, but records do not reveal its plan with any clarity.

THE NORTHWEST ROAD TOWARD SIKYON

4 J to 2 G

Plan VI

The tentative twelfth-century date given to the second period of the paintings in the central, vaulted chamber of the Northwest Shops provides a clue that the state offices or palace which had grown up in and around this part of the Shops (4-5 H-I) in the preceding period still survived and functioned during the twelfth century. This, however, lay well back from the edge of the market plateia, unless, indeed, the walls which are known to have covered the area between the Roman

³⁴ *Corinth*, I, i, pp. 126ff.

shop rooms and the edge of the plateia all belonged to the palace.

From the northwest corner of the plateia (4 J), following at first the eastern boundary of the Monastery of St. John, led an important highway, probably toward Sikyon. Leaving the plateia and the monastery, it ascended over the demolished end of the Northwest Shops, continued west of the archaic temple, where it was joined by the Temple Road (2 G), and proceeded as described above.

The Northwest Tavern

3-4 I

Plan VI

To the right of the road towards Sikyon, as it ascended through the line of the Shops, there was quite possibly a wineshop or tavern established in the adjoining shop space. In this are still preserved the bottoms of three pithoi, set with reference to a floor some 0.50 m. above the classical floor level. There are good records of at least one room in front, built in Byzantine times in the area of the colonnade of the classical shops.

It is a question whether the shop-structure to the east belonged to this tavern or to the palace centering on the vaulted room. There

were various alterations to these shop rooms in the nature of new walls strengthening the old, replacement of fallen sections, doors, and wooden floors. But all of this provides little tangible evidence for chronology or function. It is probable that the two rooms adjoining the vaulted room to the west (where the tenth-century prison was) belonged to the palace; perhaps the room adjoining the tavern belonged to the tavern; the remaining room might belong to either.

The Northwest House

2-3 I

Plan VI

West of the road to Sikyon and north of the Monastery was a building of some size and character. The plan seems to have been based on an open courtyard, with long halls on the north and south and smaller rooms on the east. There is no satisfactory clue as to its use; the foundations of Temple D, underlying the southwest corner of the building and projecting westward, were riddled with water channels of various kinds, but these may have been earlier. It may be that the building was a house, although this must remain only a tentative hypothesis.

C. SUMMARY

In the interpretation of the architectural development of the city through the periods of the Komnenoi and Angeloi it is necessary to bear in mind conditions in general as well as the actual remains. On the one hand the age of the Komnenoi was a great age for the empire; on the other hand it was marked by increasing pressures and growing weakness. Similarly, in Corinth we see what at first seems to be vigorous activity, but what further reflection might interpret differently.

Chronologically the picture unfolded by our study reveals, first, though vaguely, some building in front of the West Shops and over

the Upper Agora and a complex north of the Peribolos of Apollo. The first definitely established signs of the trend are traces of extensive building along the western side of the Lower Agora in front of the terrace occupied in classical times by a row of temples; this building must be dated around the time of Alexios I, though some elements of the buildings may be earlier. The arrangements imply that some parts of the classical buildings were still standing. Contemporary with this is a row of shops in front of the Bema, on the center of the southern side of the Lower Agora.

These structures seem to have been damaged extensively in the middle of the twelfth century, for many of them were wholly replaced in the time of Manuel I. This would seem to be a clear reflection of the sack of the city by Roger of Sicily in 1147, which must have been a devastating one. Over the ruins of the buildings at the west end of the Lower Agora was laid out an extensive monastery; over the ruins of the shops by the Bema arose a building including a loggia. In general, the architectural development of the area under consideration reached its acme at this time.

From a slightly different point of view, in the eleventh century there began a development, punctuated by the Sicilian raid, to build into the open areas of the classical Agora. On all sides the surviving elements of the classical buildings were remodeled; on all sides, structures of many kinds intruded into previously open areas. In the center of the ancient Agora the result was a small square, its axis the same as the earlier Agora, surrounded by buildings including (assuming that our hypothetical interpretations are in all cases correct) shops, an inn, a tavern, at least one government building, a church, a monastery. From this square radiated in all directions streets along which the activities of the market place were extended, and one could find along them more shops, industrial establishments, baths, government buildings, and dwellings small and fine, private and official, all intermingled and crowded toward the plateia.

In understanding these developments it is a question whether the building activity represents prosperity and "progress," or something else. That the city had a kind of prosperity is evident from other sources and is suggested by the remains we have described. But through the years of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, the community, while it became

increasingly varied in what we see of it, became also increasingly congested, choked, compact, and less monumental. The city had neither need nor means to maintain the spacious market place of former times, and people were abandoning the outer areas and concentrating within the smaller confines of the center of the city. The buildings, while numerous, are with rare exceptions relatively poor and there are no really prime monuments.

It is true that the plateia is more than a haphazard village square; it has an order and seems to reflect some awareness of its appearance and purpose. Its borders included a useful variety of buildings with a basic formality of design, though the execution was crude. The plan, whether from conscious design or an unconscious sense of appropriateness, had aesthetic and functional organic unity. For various reasons it lacked grandeur, but it had intimacy, order, invention, and it represented a conception of an agora as a focus of all aspects of life. The total impression—to the modern observer—is that of a reflection of a more opulent design, such as might be expected in a provincial town. But caution is necessary; this impression may be false historically, and the design may be embryonic rather than impoverished. Whether the Corinthian plateia represents the simple beginnings of a monumental conception or the poor reflection of an ancient tradition of monumentality cannot really be decided on the evidence at hand.

We may conclude in general that the opening of the port to Venice in 1082 was a result of incipient deterioration in the economic life of the town, which it was designed to correct. It did indeed stimulate trade and industry, and it attracted new tradesmen and artisans to the community, crowding around the center of the place; but it was not successful in recapturing prosperity on a truly grand scale.

CHAPTER V

THE FRANKISH PERIOD 1210-1458

A. INTRODUCTORY

After the Frankish conquest in the Fourth Crusade, Corinth was not one of the major baronies of the Morea, perhaps because its capture was delayed until after the feudal organization was well begun. It was, however, an important military center for the prince and the base for much of his activity. It remained the seat of the mint for the principality until 1280, at about which time extensive repairs were made to the fortifications of Acrocorinth, including the construction of an inner keep in western style.¹ The place was for a while under the command of one Gautier de Liederkerke, whose relations with the native population were poor, and in 1280 even the garrison was restless and demanded pay.² Three Frankish hoards of the period attest the new orientation.³

Corinth remained an ecclesiastical as well as a political and military center. Le Quiens lists some seventeen archbishops of the Latin rite for the period, ten of them by name.⁴ Of the archbishops the sixth, Guilielmus I, who was seated around 1275, is perhaps of greatest interest. He had a reputation for scholarship, and translated Galen's *De virtutibus alimentorum* and a work of Proclus Diadochus, *De decem dubitationibus circa providentiam* into Latin. His predecessor, for whom Le Quiens gives no name, went on a mission for Gregory X to France, attempting to win St. Louis and Philip into taking up a crusade.

¹ *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 275-276.

² Miller, pp. 187-188; Finley, p. 487; *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 139; Max, pp. 187ff.

³ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 250; *Corinth*, VI, p. 12.

⁴ *Oriens Christianus*, Vol. III, cols. 883-884ff.

Although the rise of the Catalans in northern Greece did not directly threaten the Morea, their activities evidently included a raid into the Peloponnesos during which they brought the city to some kind of crisis, around 1311 to 1312, necessitating remission of ecclesiastical dues to the then Archbishop Bartholomew.⁵

About 1350 Ludolf of Suchem visited the city on his way to the Holy Land and thought that the castle was formidable,⁶ but in 1358 the Corinthians wrote to their lord of the time, Robert of Tarentum King of Naples, that they were being plundered by Turk and weakened by famine. On investigation Robert concluded that the province was in a deplorable state, and he ceded it all to Niccolo Acciajuoli.⁷

The Acciajuoli controlled Corinth for almost forty years. They seem to have made definite efforts to develop the economy of their realm and among other things improved the fortifications of Acrocorinth,⁸ nor is it unreasonable to suppose that a ruler whose concept of empire was trade would endeavor to do what he could to increase the productivity of his realm. Nevertheless as the successors of Niccolo extended their interests northward and came to revel in the title "Duke of Athens," Corinth lost some of its importance for them⁹ and in

⁵ Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, p. 25. Le Quiens does not mention Bartholomew.

⁶ *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 139; Ludolf of Suchem, *De itinere Terrae Sanctae libri*, cap. XVII (Tr. by Aubrey Steward in *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society*, vol. XII, 1895 and 1897).

⁷ *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 139; Miller, p. 285; Finley, p. 488; Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67.

⁸ *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 277.

⁹ *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 140; Finley, p. 490; Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192, 195ff.

their new interest they may have relaxed their efforts to maintain its prosperity. During the struggle between Theodore of Mistra and his sister-in-law for possession of Corinth after the death of Nerio Acciajuoli, Nicolai de Marthonio visited the citadel during the siege being pressed by Theodore in 1395. There he found only 45 houses and a general atmosphere of decay.¹⁰ From this account one might suppose that the city was far in decline, which indeed it may have been, but it should be remembered that Nicolai came to the citadel by devious routes at night, tired and frightened, through the lines of the besiegers, and had no opportunity to see the lower town. At the other extreme Ioannes Eugenikos composed a panegyric on the city soon afterwards, praising it for its opulence, fine houses, and beautiful churches. The style and circumstances, to be sure, make his work a dubious authority.¹¹

In any case it seems to be a fact that having won the city Theodore was not quite sure he wanted it. The Turkish threat was near, and unless the place were strong he may have feared to base his strength upon it. In 1399 he offered the city for sale to Venice, only to be refused,¹² and in 1400 he ceded the territory to the Knights of St. John. But he soon changed his mind and four years later managed to recover possession.¹³ During the next few years, after the splendid occasion which Manuel II made of his reconditioning of the Hexamilia¹⁴ the situation in the face of the Turks

become increasingly ominous and Theodore sought the aid of Venice, but negotiations broke down.¹⁵

As the middle of the century approached Corinth remained in the hands of the Despot of Mistra, who was next in line to the imperial crown. The city was under the immediate command of his governor, John Kantakuzenos, and John Eudaimon, his assistant, and the church had returned to Orthodoxy.¹⁶ At this moment, on the eve of the fall of Byzantium and Byzantine rule in the Morea, there are two evidences of note for the state of things in the community. One is a letter of Cardinal Bessarion to the Despot of Mistra, urging him to shift his capital to a new site near the forti-

(above, p. 7). There is a bare possibility, however, that there are allusions to such a fortification in a passage from Reinhold Lubenau's *Beschreibung der Reisen*, ed. by W. Sahn, in *Mitteilungen aus der Stadt-Bibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr.*, vols. IV–VIII, 1914–1930. The passage in question is p. 659 of the *Beschreibung*; vol. VI, ii, p. 183 of the edition. Lubenau visited Corinth in October of 1588, after the Turkish conquest, under some restrictions, and gives no new significant information about the city except possibly in the following (after discussing his search for remains of classical fortifications):

“Ich bin zwahr in die rechte Stadt nicht komen, das ich derselben Gelegenheit so eigentlich nicht weis. Sol aber gantz zu Grunde gehen, und alles uber ein Hauffen fallen; weil alda gantz kein Nahrung; komet auch kein Schif dahin; unterweilen werden sie von der Christen Galleen besucht, aber doch gar selten; den sie müssen sich fur den Atheniensem fürchten, die gemeiniglich Gallen im Hafen liegen haben, das ihnen der Wegk nicht verlegt wirdt. Es sol die Stadt Corintho aber wiederumb städtlich gebauet gewesen sein, ehe sie Mahometes eingehnomen hatt, und ist mit dreyen Mauern umgeben gewesen, die ehr doch wiederumb uber ein Haufen geworfen”

(there follow some details about the mediaeval walls across the Isthmos)

“Mahometes Secundus anno 1458 — hatt auch von der Stadt Corintho die erste und andere Maur nidergeschossen.”

In this account it is not always clear whether he is speaking of Corinth itself, or the harbor towns at Kenchreai or Lechaion, or of Acrocorinth. Indeed all the references to mediaeval walls in the account above might naturally be taken as referring to Acrocorinth, were it not for the fact that he had previously given a special account of Acrocorinth (p. 657). If we eliminate Acrocorinth the natural impression would be that he is saying that the lower city had been surrounded by a wall or walls in 1458, which had been destroyed at that time by the Turks. Even accepting this somewhat uncertain hypothesis we find no clue here or elsewhere as to whether the hypothetical walls were the Early Christian defenses kept in repair through the middle ages, or a special work thrown up toward the middle of the fifteenth century.

¹⁵ Zakythenos, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Finley, pp. 493–494.

¹⁶ Le Quiens, II, p. 165, names Marcus and Malachias among the Metropolitans.

¹⁰ *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 140; Finley, pp. 491 ff.; Miller, pp. 352 ff.; Nicolai de Marthoni, *Libri peregrinationis ad Loca Sancta* (*Revue de l'Orient Latin*, III, 1895, pp. 658 ff.)

¹¹ Sp. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, I, 1912–23, pp. 47–48.

¹² D. A. Zakythenos, *La Despotat grecque du Morea*, vol. I, 1932, p. 156.

¹³ *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 141–142.

¹⁴ The Hexamilion, or Hexamilia, of course is the somewhat mysterious fortified defense of the Isthmos, begun by Justinian and periodically restored by subsequent Byzantine authorities. The reference, however, makes occasion for a comment on the even greater mystery of the fortifications of the city itself, if it had any apart from Acrocorinth during the later middle ages. (For the fortifications of Acrocorinth through this period see *Corinth*, III, ii, especially pp. 271–281.)

There seems to be no clear direct reference to any walls protecting the lower town after the Early Christian period

fications of the Isthmos.¹⁷ This has been interpreted as showing confidence in the strength of Corinth, but more probably the Cardinal meant that Corinth should be abandoned and a new fortress, nearer the Isthmos itself, should be created. Thus his advice may be taken as a sign that the Cardinal, at least, had no faith in the security of the city. The other evidence is even more slight and negative; it is the failure of Cyriacus of Ancona on any of his visits to Corinth from 1436 to 1447 to report any impression of anything other than the ruins. This is hardly direct evidence, but it is suggestive, since he sometimes reports occasions when he was well entertained.¹⁸

In 1443 Constantine Palaiologos became Despot of Mistra¹⁹ and busy with the fortifications at the Isthmos and other defenses of the land, fruitless against the increasing Turkish raids, so that eventually the Despotat was paying regular tribute to the Sultan. On the death of John VIII in 1449 Constantine became the eleventh of the name to rule Byzantium and

was succeeded at Mistra by Thomas and Demetrios Palaiologos. The latter and his aids Matthew and Michael Asan prepared themselves once more against the Turk but there was little that could be done. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 induced near panic in the Morea, but Demetrios and Michael, in spite of suicidal differences among themselves and their colleagues, stood firm against the common foe. Five years after the capture of Constantinople the Turks once more crossed the Isthmos, and besieged Corinth. After a resistance of almost three months, marked by endurance and daring on both sides, the commander of Acrocorinth was compelled by his garrison to surrender, on August 6, 1458. Thus, although the Despotat of Mistra was not finally liquidated by the Turks for another two years, it may truly be said that the scene of the last gesture of defiance by the successors of Constantine, after over a millenium of varying fortunes of empire, against almost continuous pressure from every side, was at Corinth.

B. THE BUILDINGS OF THE CENTRAL AREA

Although the fall of Corinth to the Franks obviously brought no catastrophe in the sense of violent sack and ruin to the community we have been following, neither did it leave many signs of the imposition or infiltration of western culture. Throughout the entire area the buildings of the twelfth century survived in considerable part through the thirteenth century at least, subject to repair and remodeling. This is evident from the alterations in the twelfth-century buildings themselves, some of which are datable by coins to the thirteenth century, and from the additions of walls and rooms to earlier buildings at higher levels. But in almost no instance is it possible to demon-

strate that a twelfth-century building was completely replaced by a later.

The most conspicuous example of Frankish building is in the area east of the Lechaion Road, north of the Peribolos of Apollo (9 D). Here scattered fragments of walls at a level of as much as two meters above the classical floors, a series of water channels superimposed one above the other (Pl. 36₁) of which the higher are dated by coins to the thirteenth century, and a group of cisterns and cellars cut down from the new level through earlier strata and walls, all seem to belong to the thirteenth century. The cisterns will be described in detail below (pp. 132-133) in another context.

Similarly there was a great deal of remodeling in the south wing of the Monastery of St. John (3-4 K) and in the buildings southwest

¹⁷ *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 145; Lampros, Νέος Ἑλληνομνημίων, III, 1906, pp. 15-27, especially p. 16.

¹⁸ Compare the *Epigrammata reperta per Illyriam*, p. xvii, with the *Itineraria* and *Epistolae*.

¹⁹ Miller, pp. 407 ff.

of this. But in no case are the details of the remodeling clear nor does any completely distinctive new feature emerge.

In the two southernmost shops along the west side of the Lechaion Road are remains of arches built at a late period against the faces of the end walls on the inside (7 G, Pl. 13₁). The arches constitute more than a semicircle, recalling the onion-shape familiar in Islamic architecture. Their structural and ornamental qualities imply that the rooms were used for something more than cellars, rather for living rooms, or public rooms in a house or place of business or government (above, p. 78). From the shape the arches have been thought to be Turkish, but it is hard to imagine how the rooms would have been usable under the conditions of Turkish times except as cellars. The twelfth century seems too early for the shape of the arches, and a Frankish date is most likely.

In the church on the Bema (8 K) there was a wall crossing the narthex continuing the line of the wall between the nave and south aisles (Fig. 3). This was loosely built and perched precariously on the partition between two graves in the narthex, so that it may represent nothing more than a sill for a doorway, but in any case it comes late in the history of the building and may well belong to the thirteenth century or later. The burial in the nave, already noted (above, p. 71), which contained a coin of Louis IX (1226-1270) establishes the use of the grave and hence the church at least to the middle of the century, and there is no reason to suppose that it collapsed immediately thereafter. It is possible, however, that the aisles and narthex had been demolished leaving the nave as a chapel by the time of the Turkish conquest. A grave cutting through the wall of the north apse indicates the loss of the aisle while the area was still devoted to ecclesiastical use, and it is perhaps likely that the church

was abandoned soon after the Turkish period began.

There is a possibility that the chambered corridors flanking the Church of St. John (Fig. 6), which might be interpreted as burial chapels in Frankish style, date from this period, but this is wholly speculative.

We may also recall the conclusion that there was a cemetery in use in the area of the South Basilica during the thirteenth century (above, pp. 29-30, below, p. 93, cemetery no. 3; 10-11N).

But the most distinctive feature attributable to this era seems to be the accelerated accumulation of earth throughout the area. Throughout the entire excavated region, inside houses and in open places, including streets and the markets, there was an accumulation averaging perhaps a meter in depth of dark earth and a variety of debris of all kinds, frequently thinly veined with streaks of whitewash representing floors or stains caused by the disposal of whitewash after the painting of a floor or a wall. This deposit, which was not a clear-cut stratum pervading the entire area or even a definite part of it but which represents a general condition, commonly produced coins of the tenth through the thirteenth centuries scattered indiscriminately without regular succession of levels. Thus a coin of Villehardouin might be found near the bottom. Taking into account the possibility of actual intrusion in many specific instances, there still seems to be a general probability that the deposit accumulated during the thirteenth century, embodying relics of all previous ages. It presumably represents a period of decay, during which the debris from day-to-day living and from the occasional demolition of one wall or the construction of a new one would mount with fair rapidity. If we are right in assigning this to the thirteenth century, it may give some suggestion as to the state of conditions at the time.

CHAPTER VI

THE TURKISH PERIOD 1458-1858

A. INTRODUCTORY

The history of Corinth under Turkish occupation need not be considered in detail. Greece once again lay on the western frontier of an eastern empire, exposed to thrusts from the west and now, since the Turks were truly Asiatic, regarded by the imperial administration as little more than a buffer against the outer world. But it is unnecessary to face the problems of this period since it is evident that the history of Corinth itself as a city is finished, and we can hardly hope to trace in detail its particular fortunes as a provincial village. It will be sufficient to notice a few incidents that will suggest the general nature of life in the community during this long twilight.

After the final conquest by Turkish arms, a garrison was installed in Acrocorinth and a minor official established in the town or on the citadel.¹ There are no events of public record for a century and a half, until in 1612 the place was occupied momentarily by the Knights of Malta.² The state of the community during these years is well indicated by the descriptions of a few travelers who visited the region for one reason or another.³ From the remarks of Reinhold Lubenau, quoted in part above

(p. 85 note 14) one infers that in 1588 the city was already rural and ruinous. The account of the Sieur du Loir, who visited the city in 1639, deserves quotation not only for its general impression (of both city and visitor) but for certain specific details:⁴

(After some historical miscellany he remarks, p. 342) "elle ne contient pas vingt maisons, encore ne sont ce que des mazures.

"Ie n'y au rien veu de plus entier que douze colonnes qui n'ont assurement subsisté que parce qu'elles n'ont pas de beauté considerable qui pust servir d'ornement à pas vn endroit. Elles ne sont que de grosses pierres, & ie pense pour moy qu'elles ont esté faires deuant que les ordres de l'Architecture fussent inventez.

"Elles ont pour le moins cinq pied de diametre, & n'en ont pas vingt de hauteur, & pour chapiteau il n'y a dessus qu'un simple cordon de pierre faite comme vn bourlet. Elles sont si vieilles qu'elles sont toutes rongées par le temps, & il est bien difficile de deuiner à quel vsage elles ont esté dressées, n'estant pas à quinze pieds les vnes des autres.

"On voit assez proche de ces colonnes un reste d'Eglise dont la voute & les murailles sont reuestués de brique, & les inscriptions que sont dedans, sur un pillier nous en pourroient apprendre quelque chose, si elles n'estoient tellement effacées qu'il est impossible de les lire.

"Dans vn champ voisin de cette Eglise, i'ay remarqué une grosse teste de marbre blanc, tout à fait gastée & mé connoissable, & vne table de pareille matiere, sur laquelle estoit taillée en bas relief d'une sculpture admirable, vn reste de bataille dont le principal personnage est vn ieune Cauallier armé à la Romaine, grand à demy nature.

"Ce morceau est tout ce que ie vis dans Corinthe qui me pût satisfaire, apres la veuë de sa situation que

¹ Finley, p. 497.

² *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 146.

³ Apart from those quoted here one might note also a few who passed through the city and left accounts of their visits which add no specific information about the architecture of the city: Domenicus Brixianus (?), ca. 1470, Ziebarth, *Ath. Mitt.* XXIV, 1899, pp. 72-88, especially p. 78; John Sanderson, 1592, *Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant*, ed. Sir William Foster, London Hakluyt Society, Series II, no. LXVII, 1931, pp. 10, 56; Deshayes de Courmesnin, ca. 1621, *Voyage de Levant fait . . . 1621*, Paris, 1632, ed. 2, p. 470; Robert de Dreux, 1669, *Voyage en Turquie et en Grèce*, ed. H. Pernot in Collection de l'Institut Néo-hellénique de l'Université de Paris, no. 3, Paris, 1925, p. 157.

⁴ Sieur du Loir, *Les Voyages contenu en plusieurs lettres*, Paris, 1654, Letter X, pp. 340-344.

est mervueilleuse. Elle est à un quart de liee de la Mer, sur une colline faite en amphitheatre, dont les degrez vont insensiblement se rendre au port Lechée, ou il y a encor une Tour, qui seruoit de fanal autrefois.

(follows a brief note on Acrocorinth with allusions to courtesans ancient and Turkish; then:)

“Aussi la Samedy au matin nous en sortisme sans regret, & nous laissasmes derniere nous vers l’Orient vn bois de Cypres, qu’iles appelloient *Craneo*, vers lequel estoient autrefois les Sepulchres de Laïs & de Diogene le Cynique. On nous dit qu’il y auoit encore dedans ce bois vn grand bastiment de marbre blanc ruiné, qui pourroit estre le Temple de Bellerophon, ou celuy de Venus Menalide.

“Le territoire de Corinthe n’est pas moins fertile qu’agreable, & il meriteroit bien les plus honnestes gens du monde pour habitans.”

(and so to Sikyon).

The most illuminating account generally is that of George Wheler, who visited the region in company with the Frenchman Dr. Spon in 1676. His remarks, too, deserve quotation in full:⁵

“It is not big enough now, to deserve the Title of a City; but it may very well pass for a good considerable Country Town. It consists of the Castle, and the Town below it, North of it, and at almost a Miles distance nearer the Sea. The lower Town lieth pleasantly upon an easie Descent of the ground towards the Gulph of *Lepanto*. The Buildings are not close together; but in parcels, of half a dozen, or half a score, sometimes twenty together; but seldom more; with Gardens of *Orange-trees*, *Lemons*, and *Cypress-trees* about them, set with more Regularity, than is usual in these Countries; and such a distance is between the several Parcels, or Buildings, as that they have Corn-fields between them. The Houses are more spruce here, than ordinary; and the biggest quarter is, where the *Bazar*, or Market-place is, consisting of about fourscore, or an hundred Houses. There are two *Mosques* here, and one small Church, called *Panagia*; at which the Arch-Bishop liveth, who was then absent; and few Marks either of his, or *St. Paul’s* Preaching, Pains, or Care of this famous Church of *Corinth* are now to be observed there.

⁵ George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece*, London, 1682, pp. 499 ff. Generally parallel to this, with some differences to be noted below, is Jacob Spon’s *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant*, Lyon, 1678, Vol. II, pp. 295–305.

“The next day we went first to see *Panagiotti Caballari*, a Merchant of *Athens*, living most commonly here; and letting him understand our Curiosity, by enquiring after the Antiquities of the Place, he shewed us presently, in his Cellar, a fair Inscription in *Latine*, of *Faustina*, Wife of the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*. Some distance Westwards off (*sic*) this, and upon a Ground somewhat higher than the *Bazar*, we went to see eleven Pillars standing upright. They were of the *Dorick* Order

(here follows a series of comments on the pillars. Spon says in his account, p. 296, that these are “at the house of the Vayvode”).

“There is also another Ruin on the North-side of the *Bazar*, of Brick-work; which looks like part of some Temple, or a *Roman Bath*.

“This Town is governed by such Officers of the *Grand Signior’s*, as other great Towns of his Empire are; that is to say, by a *Caddi*, a *Veivode*, and *Haga* of the Castle.

(Here follows an account of a visit to the *Caddi*).

“This *Caddi* is counted to have at least three hundred Villages under his Jurisdiction: But these are little better, than so many Farms, up and down the Plain, between them and *Sicyon*.

(Now follows an account of a visit to *Acrocorinth*, quoted in part in *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 146 ff. It will be revealing, however, to quote some parts of the account pertaining to the state of the community, apart from details of the fortification, remarks on the view, and other irrelevant detail):

“... This (western) side of the Rock is well covered with Houses: For not only those who still reside there, as well *Turks* as *Christians*, have their Houses and Families there; but for the most part, even those that dwell below in the Town, have Houses also in the Castle; where they keep all their best Goods safe from the frequent, but very uncourteous Visits of the *Corsairs*: and hither, upon the least Alarm, they come flocking with all they can bring with them. The Houses below, being either Houses of Pleasure belonging to *Turks* of Quality; or such as have been built by both *Turks* and *Christians*, for the greater conveniency of Trade and Business. There are abundance of Cisterns for Water, hewn into the Rock, and some Springs; . . .

“There are three or four *Mosques* in the Castle and five or six small Churches; but most of these ruined. The *Catholica* is kept in repair; but is a very mean Place for such an Ecclesiastical Dignity. In it we saw two old Manuscripts of the Scriptures, divided according to the usual Readings of the *Greek Church*; and two Liturgies of *St. Basil*; which we took to be very antient, because written upon long Scrolls of Parchment, rouled upon Rolls of Wood. . . . Under the Walls of the Castle towards the Town, is a little Chapel hewn out of the Rock, and dedicated to *St. Paul*.

(After a page of description of the view from the mountain, Wheler continues):

“ . . . The Town also, that lieth North of the Castle, in little Knots of Houses, surrounded with Orchards, and Gardens of Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, and Cypress trees, and mixed with Corn-fields between, is a sight no less delightful. So that it is hard to judge, whether this Plain is more beautiful to the Beholders, or profitable to the Inhabitants. For it bears great plenty of Oyl, the best and sweetest I ever tasted. Nor do they want good Wine. But as to Corn it affords so great a plenty as supplyeth the Barrenness of its Neighbouring Countries. And its Plenty failing, brings most certainly a Famine upon their Neighbours round about them. So that this might soon grow to be a rich, and populous Country, were they under any Government, but the *Mahumetans* Tyranny; and not so often persecuted and spoiled by Christian Pirates. . . . The number of Turks and Christians seems to be equal, and are esteem'd not to exceed fifteen hundred in number, both in Town and Castle; but there are many more dispersed up and down in the *Zeugaries*, or Villages, in the Plain which I do not now reckon.

“ . . . A little way out of the Town (toward Sikyon), we turned out of the way on our right hand, to the House of a Turk . . . to see an Inscription . . . from whence, and the ruins the House had been built of, we judg'd that thereabouts was situate the Temple of Apollo. . . . And these are all the remains of the Antiquities we observed at Corinth.”

This account seems to be an excellent summary of conditions in Corinth at the end of the seventeenth century, after two hundred years of Turkish rule. Although the place was no longer properly a city, and was certainly without autonomy or initiative, it was by no means desolate and was probably in much better

condition than in the nineteenth century. Wheler's description of the lower town is not too far from characterizing the modern village, except for the important observation that the houses then were “more spruce” than common in Greece (Spon, to be sure, was less impressed by the quality of the buildings), and for the fact that the Acrocorinth was then an integral part of the community. His comments on the potential prosperity of the place are significant too, in estimating the background of the city in pre-Turkish times.

In 1687 the Venetians seized the town and citadel, and held them for twenty-eight years, until 1715. The story of their occupation is chiefly a matter of their measures to fortify the citadel and the Isthmos, on which they expended considerable effort.⁶ There are two related documents, however, with some points of interest to our consideration. One of these is a passage from the diary of Anna Akerhjelm, a Swedish gentlewoman who was in the entourage of the Countess Catharina-Charlotta de la Gardie, wife of Field-Marshal Count Otto Wilhelm Koenigsmark who was in command of the Venetian army campaigning against the Turks in 1686. Anna accompanied her mistress who followed her husband on the campaign, and wrote the following remarks on her visit to Corinth:⁷

“The captain-general went up by horse to Corinth to see this place; he was received and entertained by His Excellency as well as by all his captains.

“I obtained permission, on this occasion, to go to Corinth. I had been much disturbed not to be able to say that I had been at Corinth. Madame Heimbo, the wife of the lieutenant, was with me. The guests were extremely gay. His Excellency spoke to them of Aristotle in Latin and in Greek. They were convinced that they ought to take the captain-general to Athens so that they could learn to speak Latin. I went to see the temples, of which one is very remarkable

⁶ *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 149ff.; K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea (Gennadeion Monographs, IV)*, 1953, pp. 135-146.

⁷ Translated from Laborde's translation of Anna's Swedish, in Laborde's *Athènes aux xv^e, xvi^e, et xvii^e siècles*, Paris, 1854, vol. II, p. 315. The Journal, August, 15, 1687.

having 13 great columns of a diameter of 4 ells and a half, and of a great height; they have channels in which one could put a large thumb; they are called “à la corinthienne.” One of the columns was fallen and broken. One still sees some fine houses which are somewhat gilded (! Swedish: “som äro nagot fögylda”). One sees also two small baths which are very nice. The temple of Juno is also to be seen.”

This account actually makes more difficulties than it solves. Anna most certainly is speaking of the archaic Doric temple commonly called the Temple of Apollo in her more extensive reference to temples, but she was a woman of sufficient learning and sophistication to know better than to call it “Corinthian,” at least seriously. But even more baffling is her specific reference to a second temple, of which we have no other grounds for suspecting the existence at that time than her account (unless, perhaps, the even more shadowy “Temple of Bellerophon” mentioned by the *Sieur du Loir*, above, p. 89, and Spon’s “Temple of Diana,” below). But these matters do not concern us here so much as her notice of the “gilded” houses and the small baths; they must have been Turkish buildings which we can no longer identify.

A second document of this period is a view of the city purporting to show it as it was at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Pl. 14).⁸ If this could be taken as an independent description it might have great value in corroborating some of the details in the written accounts. But it gives the impression of being based on some such drawing as V. Coronelli’s sketch 22 or 24 in his *Morea, Negroponte & Adiacenze* published in Venice about 1708, with some details actually taken from written

accounts. For example Wheler refers to a Grotto of St. Paul, closer to Acrocorinth than Bodenehr shows it, to be sure; but Bodenehr’s location could be an easy misunderstanding of Wheler or Spon; and Spon (p. 297 of his work) mentions a Temple of Diana. In any case a comparison of this view with Italian drawings (reproduced in *Corinth*, III, ii, figs. 94–99) will reveal in general how the region appeared to the artist of the time.

From the point of view of the lower town there is nothing to indicate that the Venetian incident affected its life openly or critically. After the recovery of the place by the Turks there seems to be no record of the community until the middle of the eighteenth century. Then begins the series of early modern travelers, mostly concerned with antiquities: Pocock in 1740, Stuart and Revett in 1751–4, Le Roy in 1758, Chandler in 1765, Fauvel in 1780, Olivier in 1798, Pocqueville and Clarke about 1800, Dodwell in 1801, Lord Elgin’s draftsmen in 1802, Sir R. Ainslee with Luigi Mayer in 1803, then Williams, Hughes, Page, and others in increasing frequency. From their allusions we would conclude that the lower town had changed but slightly from the days of Wheler, though smaller, more rural, and in less good repair. This situation prevailed until the great earthquake of 1858, when most of the surviving population was moved to the new site on the sea to form New Corinth. The devastation of the old town must have been severe, judging from the heaps of ruins still to be seen in the 1890’s; but those who remained and their descendants have gradually restored it to some semblance of the condition of 1676.

B. THE BUILDINGS OF THE CENTRAL AREA

Archaeological evidence for habitation in the Central Area of Corinth after the Turkish conquest is restricted. Throughout the ex-

⁸ From Gennadeios’ collection of prints etc. in the Gennadeion Library in Athens: *Topographia, θ, Peloponnesos, α*, Box 49.

cavation area were discovered scattered walls at a high level, evidently belonging to buildings erected long after the community of the twelfth century had been almost obliterated, save that the street pattern remained nearly the same

until modern times. But in the course of excavation most of these high walls were shown to be either parts of building complexes actually existing in the nineteenth or twentieth century, or appeared to be abandoned elements of modern complexes. In other words, above the twelfth-century community, including in this concept the minor alterations belonging to the thirteenth and perhaps fourteenth centuries, there was a distinct level of habitation, but only one clearly distinct level. This must represent a community established during the Turkish occupation and surviving into the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries.

The architectural remains of this community, however, were slight and rustic: a few scattered houses, a number of walls lining roads and enclosing gardens—just the sort of thing described by Wheler and other early travelers and evident today in the village of Old Corinth. Mingled with these walls were masses of debris, clearly of Turkish date as established by numerous fragments of Turkish pipes, pottery, and coins. They provide, however, little that is now intelligible to illuminate questions of the architecture of the period.

One important fact is abundantly clear: that the Turkish market, or “bazar” as the travelers usually spoke of it, no longer occupied the site of the classical agora and the Byzantine market. No commercial structures or monumental buildings were found in the area excavated. With the change in the character of the city from a commercial and industrial center to “a good country town,” the market moved from its traditional spot to a new location, beyond doubt to the position it still occupies in the village square just north of the excavated part of the Lechaion Road (Plan II, K). What influences led to this shift, and whether it had already begun before Turkish times, cannot be established on present evidence. The fact, however, is worth noting as establishing the possibility of a phenomenon we

have suspected of having occurred around the eighth century (above, p. 32).

The change did not take place in a moment, as there are evidences establishing the survival of the Byzantine town, in some degree, into the Turkish period. The diagonally-hatched wall in squares 8-9 K-L, along the South Road, in Plan VII, must have been built when the Byzantine structures to the south and east of the South Road were in use, but after the road and the Byzantine buildings to west and north were gone. There was a lime-making establishment in the lower end of the excavated part of the Lechaion Road, where (8 D) numerous lime slaking basins were found, the latest dating from no earlier than the fourteenth and probably from the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. It is not likely that any of these was later than this, as there has been some two meters of accumulation above the basins to the level of the modern square. For another example, at the east end of the Byzantine market plateia (9 I, Plan VII), in the region of the Inn and Tavern, a pottery kiln of Turkish date was discovered;⁹ this had been installed after the destruction of the Byzantine buildings, but well before modern times, and represents an industrial rather than an agricultural activity.

The only independent building of any importance erected during the Turkish period in the excavated area is a complex on the ruins of the South Basilica (9-11 N-O, Plans VI, VII). This has not been completely excavated and presents a special problem in dating because of the considerations already outlined (above, pp. 29-30) suggesting an Early Christian date for the main structure. Under the circumstances it seems desirable to review the whole question in the present context.

To consider the question of date first, we recall that the most characteristic feature of the building is a large rectangular room with an apse along the north side (Pl. 13₂; Plans VI,

⁹ *Corinth*, XI, p. 16, figs. 1, 9, 10; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 470.

VII); a number of other rectangular rooms lie east and west so that the complex extends from the center of the Basilica over the fill in the south and east basement corridors into unexcavated ground. The facts that it was largely constructed of material from the South Basilica, that there are no traces of other mediaeval construction on the site, and that the entire area except for the interior of the central part of the building was honeycombed with graves of a type which seemed early, all led to the conclusion that the structure must be quite early, perhaps of the fourth century, and perhaps a church.¹⁰

Since the original discovery and publication, however, fragments of Byzantine luster ware were found (admittedly high) in the footing trench along the wall of the apse; and a Frankish coin and a coin of Doge Loredans of Venice (1501-21) were found in the subfoundations of the apse. We have also seen reason to suppose that the graves date from much later than Early Christian times, some of them even of the Frankish period (above, p. 30). Therefore in spite of the possibility that the new evidence may be faulty in some way and in spite of the difficulty of explaining the absence of graves inside the apse room and the absence of earlier mediaeval construction, the building probably dates from the early sixteenth century.

The building itself was well made on foundations of squared blocks. The main structure seems originally to have been a room some eight meters wide and nine long, with an apse some five meters in diameter, at the northern end. Later it was subdivided by walls into four rooms. East and west were rooms or courtyards in a formal sort of balance; to the south there was a great hall or court.

The relation of this structure to other rooms bordering it and particularly to a small bath partially excavated at the southwest corner of the Basilica is uncertain. The bath is small and

evidently of late date, since embodied in its substructure are fragments of mediaeval architectural members including a carelessly made window mullion impost capital. Part of a small hypocaust is preserved, with the floor made of roughly square slabs of ancient marble and tiles resting on roughly built piers.

On the whole all these probably represent a single complex, and the general impression would be that it was the residence of one of the higher Turkish officials. Local tradition in modern Old Corinth puts the residence of the Turkish governor northeast of the village square; and Spon puts the residence of the "Vayvode" west of the square near the archaic temple. But the building on the South Basilica did not survive into modern times, having been leveled almost to its foundations before being covered with a meter to two meters of earth. It may, however, have represented an effort of the Turks to keep the city alive as a provincial capital in its former state with the governor's palace near the Byzantine square.

The decay of the Byzantine community must have been precipitous, in spite of any such effort. The only building of the Byzantine town to survive in any effective form through Turkish to modern times was the Church of St. John Theologos.¹¹ The church on the Bema must have been completely abandoned soon after the conquest; its walls, stripped almost to the foundations, were covered by over a meter of earth and there is no sign of lingering decay. The Church of St. John, however, was used as late as 1935, and its history through the Turkish period has left some slight evidence for its fate.

A hoard of Venetian coins of the late fifteenth century¹² found in the area of the courtyard of the monastery might suggest that the building was still inhabited in this era, although of course it does not prove it, nor if the building were inhabited need we suppose

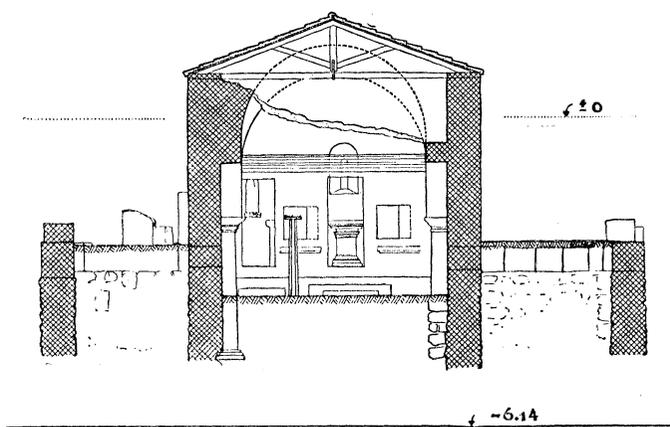
¹¹ But see p. 92.

¹² *Hesperia*, X, 1914, p. 146.

¹⁰ *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 62; above, pp. 29-30.

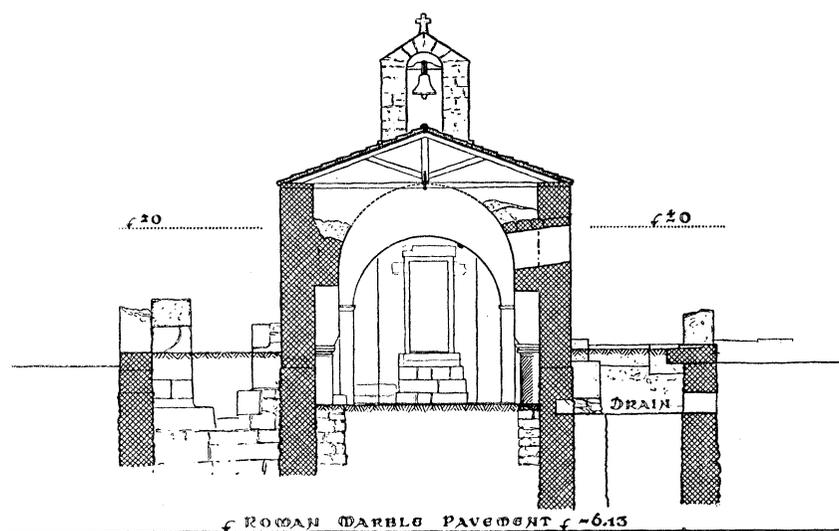
that the inhabitants were necessarily monks. It seems reasonably certain, however, that the monastery buildings were gone and the church itself remodeled in a much smaller form than the original, by 1639. At this time (above, p. 88) the Sieur du Loir mentions a church near the ruins of the archaic temple, which must be the church of St. John; he says that it is a ruin whose vault and walls had been restored in brick, and that near the church is an open field. This gives the impression that the building stood isolated, that is, that the monastery

was gone. We have already discussed how at a late period the burial chapels and aisles of the church were demolished, the floor of the nave dug out, and the nave rebuilt (above, pp. 63-64). In the new form (Figs. 6-10; Pl. 8) the nave space was divided into two sections by piers; the resulting bays were subdivided into two parts by columns. Thus four arches lined each side, and these carried a barrel vaulted ceiling. This seems to correspond to the building noticed by du Loir, and would thus date from before 1639.



SECTION C-D

FIGURE 7. SECTION THROUGH THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THEOLOGOS, LOOKING EAST. SCALE 1:150



SECTION A-B

FIGURE 8. SECTION THROUGH THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THEOLOGOS, LOOKING WEST. SCALE 1:150

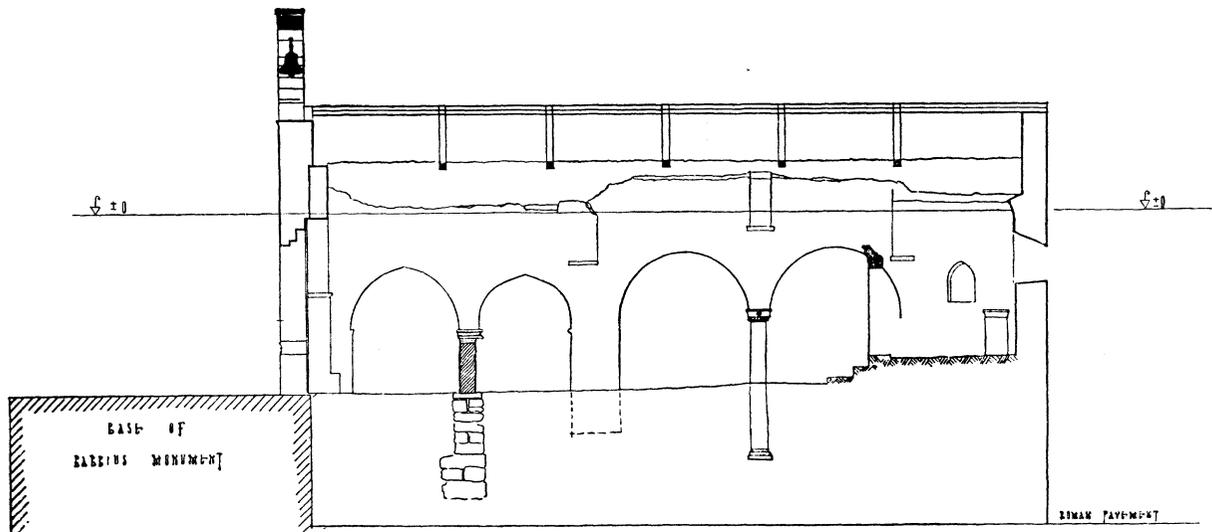


FIGURE 9. SECTION THROUGH THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THEOLOGOS, LOOKING NORTH. SCALE 1:150

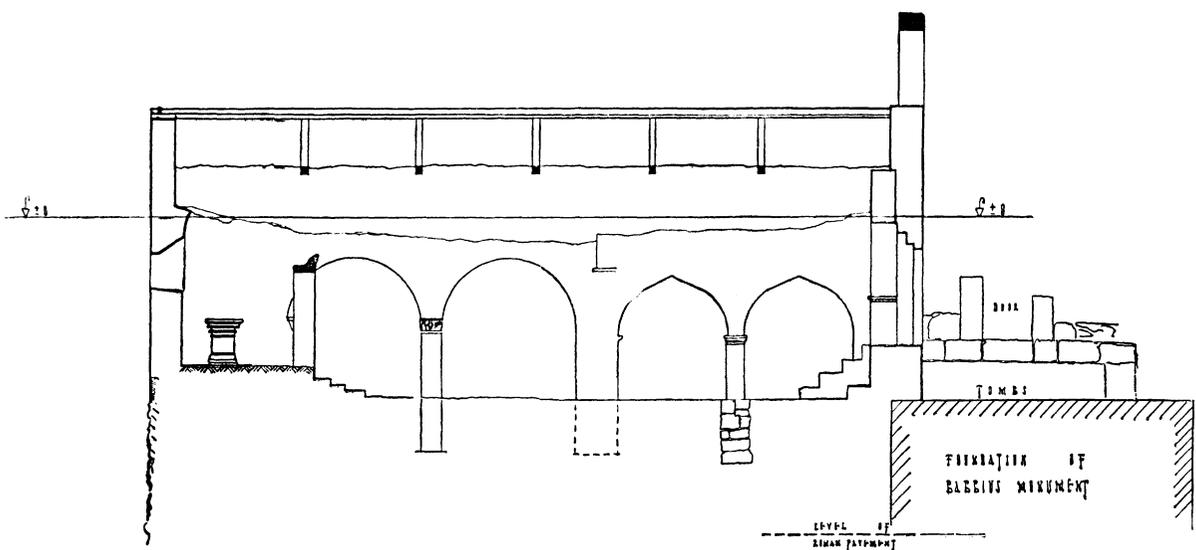


FIGURE 10. SECTION THROUGH THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THEOLOGOS, LOOKING SOUTH. SCALE 1:150

In the church as preserved at the end of the nineteenth century the vault had collapsed and been replaced by a wooden roof; but the remains of the spring of the vault showed that the ceiling of the eastern bay had been higher than that of the western bay. Moreover, the blind arches in the eastern bay were rounded whereas those in the western bay were pointed. This raises the possibility that the construction in the two sections represents different periods. No marked distinction was noticed in the actual masonry, as the building was dismantled, and the differences in design between the two

sections may be the result of changes of plan during a single operation.

In general, then, the church and monastery of St. John Theologos survived more or less intact into the early sixteenth century, along with the rest of the Byzantine town. During this period, however, there began a rapidly accelerating decline, so that by the end of the sixteenth century the entire Byzantine community was in an advanced state of decay, with a few scattered industrial establishments already giving way to farms and gardens while a new, much diminished, business center grew

up in the region of the modern village square. This process was substantially complete by the beginning of the seventeenth century, and approximately the condition of that period persisted until the excavations began.

The real monuments of Turkish Corinth are still visible, in part, in the gardens of the village elsewhere. There still stands a small mosque east of the square, near some tanks and terraces that are ascribed to the governor's residence. North of these are an even smaller mosque and beyond, at the edge of the great

natural terrace, remains of an extensive residence including a large bath. Below this, in a secluded bay in the face of the terrace cliff, are monumental stairs descending to barely visible remains of what must have been a luxurious villa with gardens composed around a romantic natural spring, called today the "Baths of Aphrodite"¹³ (Plan II, I). But the central area of the ancient and Byzantine city had become the site of only a few farmhouses and village lanes.

¹³ Cf. *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 269ff.

PART 2.

ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS

To the description of the buildings of the Central Area of mediaeval Corinth which has already been passed in review, it is necessary to add some observations that may most usefully be presented analytically. First of all there are matters of actual technique of construction. Then there is the question of architectural ornament, of which several hundreds

of examples were discovered scattered through the excavated area without definite attachment to any particular building. Finally there are the formal aspects of the problem, plans and types of buildings and their arrangement. In such an analysis we may hope to get close to the real character and internal and external relationships of our material.

CHAPTER I

TECHNIQUES OF CONSTRUCTION

In dealing with the problems of construction, as in most other aspects of our subject, we have to bear in mind that the term "mediaeval" applied to material at Corinth includes examples of both Early Christian and high Byzantine work, but not always of comparable things. For instance, generally speaking, the architecture preserved from the Early Christian period is almost exclusively the monumental, public architecture of the city; whereas the buildings of later Byzantine periods are largely commercial and private. Close comparisons of technique between the two periods will, therefore, not be feasible. Nevertheless an account of what can be observed will have some significance. We shall consider first walls and supports, in both their structural and functional aspects, then doors and windows, floors, and stairs.

WALLS AND SUPPORTS

Materials and Techniques

The basic material of construction was stone, with or without some kind of mortar. Wood was used only for supplementary work.

Stonework on a large scale and dry masonry were confined exclusively, so far as the excavated area goes, to the Early Christian period. It was not the only manner of construction in that period, but it was still the monumental style, so to speak, and it was certainly lacking in the high Byzantine period. The great stairway running through the Agora was constructed of large blocks of marble of classic proportions; Peirene was redecorated with monolithic shafts and imposing marble architraves and impostes; the Hemicycle was constructed of blocks of *poros* in a manner little

different from Roman work of the imperial period or even Greek work in scale and technique. Apart from this the marble piles of the excavation include numbers of marble cornices and capitals which show signs of working long after their original use, probably in the Early Christian period, though for what building and in what use can seldom be guessed. On the other hand, we have seen some reason to support a hypothesis that the Julian Basilica was reconstructed at least once in Early Christian times using techniques which failed to leave marks distinctive of the period on any surviving members. In other words through the fifth and sixth centuries there persisted the classical tradition of construction in massive stone, even to the extent of a limited use of clamps and dowels, special joint surfaces, and other classical technical devices.

A few comments can be made on this continuation of the classical tradition. In the first place many aspects of the work were inferior technically to the work of earlier days. There were no new types of clamps and dowels, and the older types were used sporadically and were carelessly worked. Joints were seldom brought to a tight fit; carved lines were irregular and did not always match across a joint; corners were not precise and trim; column capitals were sometimes set on their columns on an intervening film of lead, apparently poured moulted over the top of the shaft as the capital was dropped into place, to make up for irregularities in the bedding surfaces. Furthermore almost all of the material was re-used from classical buildings: step-blocks, architraves, and cornices were cut down from older architectural members, not always with every sign of the former shape removed.

On the other hand many things were well executed. Thus the step-blocks of the great staircase, although revealing on some surfaces the ragged remnants of former use, were on most exposed surfaces finished quite smooth and clean. The barrier set across the Bema

waiting rooms as a reservoir wall was neatly clamped and the joints were carefully and smoothly cemented. Furthermore, as we shall see, the architectural ornament designed and carved in the new style was beautifully done in every way. Therefore, although at first glance it appears that the ancient tradition of massive stonework had declined to lazy ineptitude, it is more likely that in a way that may be difficult to grasp there was a new standard, perhaps a "double standard," for techniques and construction in stone.

In any case the tradition of working stone in large masses was substantially lost after the middle of the sixth century. Apart from sills, lintels, and mullions there seems to have been no use of marble structurally in the later Byzantine periods, unless a single example of a kind of gargoye, cut down from an ancient statue (below, p. 122, No. 190, Pl. 35) may be so counted. It is true that large blocks of ancient marble were incorporated bodily into walls and foundations, but it was done haphazardly, without distinction from the larger or smaller pieces of *poros* or other materials in the wall. If a strong supporting member was required, it was either built up of small stones or an ancient column was found. Except for ornament, marble had no independent original use in Corinth in later Byzantine times, apart from being broken up and burnt for lime.

There were, however, two methods of using *poros* in large blocks. A few buildings were built of neat ashlar masonry, notably the principal building in the Tower Complex south of the market (6 L; Pl. 9) and the isolated rectangular building at the east end of the market plateia (8 J; Pl. 11₂, left). These are the best among the very few examples at Corinth of a characteristic Byzantine technique of building with squared *poros* blocks with the joints emphasized by tiles. The other use for trimmed blocks was the dispersal of large blocks, around a meter in length and half a meter or so in thickness and width, through a

wall of smaller stone, particularly at corners and flanking openings, usually set on end and presumably intended to give a kind of skeleton to the screen of smaller stones set in mud mortar. Often these blocks were used bodily and without further working, from ancient buildings, but sometimes mouldings and other features of the original use were cut off. Similar blocks were also used for sills. No chronological pattern to this use of large blocks has been observed (Pls. 15₁, 16₁).

The common manner of using stone through the Byzantine period (and there are examples of Early Christian date as well) was rubble work of miscellaneous chunks of stone more or less the size of the human head, set in mortar (Pls. 15₂, 16₂). The walls were commonly sixty centimeters thick with the two faces well bonded together. The exterior faces of the stones were trimmed fairly flat, and in Early Christian times were often, perhaps always, covered with a firm hard plaster on which troweled grooves were struck to make a pattern either diamond-shaped or suggesting courses of ashlar masonry. On this, and presumably directly on the stone where this coat is lacking, a heavy coat of coarse lime plaster was commonly laid. As to the masonry itself, it seldom was laid in any careful coursing; rarely a special kind of coursing was indicated by the insertion of broken bits of tile with edges facing outward in the mortar surrounding each stone.

The mortar in which the stones were set was most commonly mud, often with a little lime mixed in. Frequently the mortar in the center of the wall was plain mud, that between the joints of the stones on the face containing lime. Rarely a really hard cement of lime and sand was used; the most conspicuous example is in the foundation of the Tower in the Tower Complex, and the steps of the Bema Church rest on a mass of fairly good rubble concrete. Generally speaking there seem to be more examples of harder cement from the Early

Christian period, but there are no very definite indications of a clear chronological pattern.

Baked brick and tile were not used, except in the earliest Early Christian times, for the construction of walls. Broken tiles were used with mortar in the construction of pithoi, and bits of tile and fragments of marble slabs were used in cement for masonry details like the lining of some drains or of flues in baths, or in miniature construction like small cisterns.

Sun-dried mud brick was probably used for small structures like sheds, but few definite traces of its use were observed.

In the South Bath, south of the Tower Complex, the basins for heating water were built of chunks of stone and tile packed in such liberal amounts of extremely hard lime cement as to seem almost like poured concrete. This is extremely rare, perhaps unique, in the remains of the high Byzantine period. Its closest parallels at Corinth are Roman.

There is little direct evidence for the use of wood although it must have been employed liberally. It was used for posts or pillars in the porches and colonnades along the market and Market Avenue, and was no doubt so used in the courtyards of buildings where the traces of beddings are lost. It must have been used for ceilings and roofs and door frames. The only very tangible evidence is in the cuttings for rafters in buildings like the Northwest Shops; these cuttings are of such a size as to suggest that timbers about twelve centimeters square were in common use for rafters.

Functions

There appears to be little distinction in the technique or any other aspect of the masonry with relation to its function. That is, enclosing walls, the exterior or partition walls of buildings, piers, and other structural elements were all made of the same kind of masonry. For example, one section of the south wall of the monastery of St. John was, at one period, built

of stones set in an extraordinarily hard cement for no apparent structural reason; whereas in features which one might expect would require exceptional solidity, like the piers in the arcade of the Tavern or the loggia north of the Bema, the stones were set in mud mortar.

Nor, indeed, is there a great distinction between the foundation of a wall and the part above ground. In many cases the former is a few centimeters thicker than the latter, and the face perhaps rougher, but these differences are not universal. It is often extremely difficult, or impossible, to tell from the physical construction of a wall just where the floor level lay. In general, however, it seems that an ordinary wall in most periods rested on a footing or foundation fifty centimeters or more in depth.

DOORS AND WINDOWS

Many examples of doorways were identified, presenting several types without indication of a chronological pattern. The most common type comprised an opening of about one meter to 1.40 m. wide, with a continuous sill. The sides of the doorway were normally indicated by blocks of well-cut *poros* stone standing on end, although not infrequently by neatly trimmed faces of the rubble masonry, finished in blocks of larger size and more carefully squared. Presumably these wall-ends were faced in part with wood.

The sill consisted normally of a block of

marble or *poros* stone of which the upper surface was divided lengthwise into two levels, the outer some five centimeters higher than the inner. On the raised surface at the end was often a slot some ten to twelve centimeters long (that is running with the length of the sill) and two centimeters wide and deep. Beside this, on the lower surface, was a circular, rounded sinking in the stone for the door pivot (compare Fig. 11; also Pl. 12₄, which shows a window mullion re-used as a sill).

Quite as common as the type described above is one exactly similar except that there is no ledge. Also very common is a type showing pivot holes but no rabbets for the reception of doorjamb.

Many of the sills, excepting the smallest, seem to have had two door valves, one mounted at each end.

Occasionally there was not a continuous sill, but a block of stone set near the edge of the opening, on one or both sides, with the same kind of pivot cuttings. A good example of this is in the passage southeast of the Inn at the eastern end of the market (9 J), where the opening might rather be regarded as a gate, and in the passage along the hypocausts in the North Bath.

The treatment of doorways at the top cannot be so confidently described, as few have been preserved. The north door to the tenth-century house east of Peirene (10 G) was originally spanned by a brick arch; a perfectly preserved arched doorway was found in the cellar west of the Bema church (7 K) (above, p. 69; Pl. 4₂). A number of voussoirs probably of Byzantine date were found (below, p. 122, Nos. 187–188; Pl. 35), but not as many as would be expected had doors been arched generally. It is rather to be supposed that the lintels were commonly flat, usually wooden beams. A few blocks of marble with pivot holes may have been lintels rather than sills.

Few definite examples of windows were identified as actually preserved in walls, and

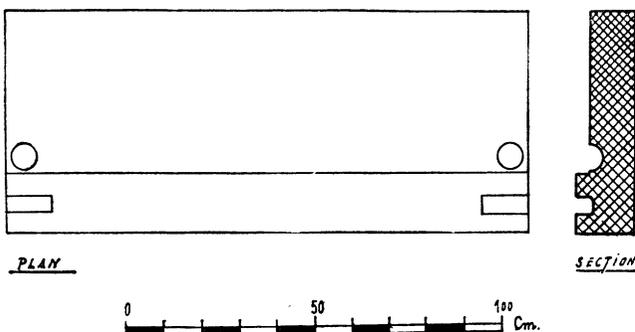


FIGURE 11.

DRAWING OF SILL BLOCK IN USE IN TWELFTH CENTURY

some of the openings so identified may have been doors cut at late periods. There is, however, a good deal of evidence for the nature of windows in the numerous mullions and mullion capitals found scattered through the excavations. Judging from the number of these there must have been a good many double, and even triple, windows. These mullions have an almost invariable form, differing only in size. A typical example is the one illustrated (Pl. 12₄, which had been re-used as a sill as indicated by the pivot sockets). It is about 1.25 m. long; at the top its section measures 0.18 m. thick and 0.41 m. long, the band along the face being 0.22 m. wide; at the bottom its section measures 0.195 m. thick and 0.43 m. long, the band along the side being 0.23 m. wide. Most other mullions, perhaps, show a more marked diminution, few if any, less.¹ At the top, on the typical example, was carved a flat band with a smooth curved moulding below; at the bottom, a flat band as a base. The conception of the member is, of course, that of a narrow pier with half-columns attached on front and back. The mullions probably commonly stood on simple bases (below, p. 109, Nos. 48 and 49) and supported impost or impost-capitals (below, pp. 110 ff.). The total height of a normal mullion with base and capital would then have been a little more than 1.50 m.; above this would have risen the arch, perhaps considerably stilted, so that the entire window might have had a total height of 1.75 m. or more and a width of a meter.

The smallest completely preserved mullion is only 0.70 m. in height, with a section of 0.21 m. length and 0.12 m. thickness, or half the proportions of the one described; the largest found in the excavation of the Central Area is represented by a fragment 0.35 m. thick, which must have come from a mullion over 2.50 m. high. Obviously this must have been from a public building, probably a church, of great size.

¹ For drawings of several examples showing the range see Lemerle, pl. LXXIV.

The number of mullions and mullion capitals discovered make it highly probable that they were used freely in private houses as well as churches and public buildings, but the ordinary window in a private house probably had a single opening, and no doubt flat tops were at least as common as arched.

FLOORS AND STAIRWAYS

The ground floors of all the buildings excepting churches were commonly simple earth surfaces. Not infrequently these were painted with whitewash, as is still the custom, although the numerous veins of lime perceptible in the stratifications may in considerable part be attributed to slopping from the whitewashing of the walls, for seldom in the excavation can one trace a whitewash floor throughout an entire room.

On the other hand special surfaces were sometimes laid for floors. One type of surface at Corinth was a fine, light yellowish clay, presumably from the soft marly limestone that underlies a good deal of Corinth. Such floors were noticed not only inside certain rooms throughout the excavation but also in the central courtyard of the monastery of St. John.

Finally a few floors, and perhaps many more than can now be realized, were paved with tile and fragments of ancient stone (usually marble) slabs, or occasionally pebbles and cobbles. Tile floors were found *in situ* in several buildings: the Early Christian house north of the Peribolos of Apollo, a room in front of the monastery, other rooms, and many tombs. There must have been many other such floors now unknown, the tile or stone slabs having been subsequently removed for other use.

For higher floors the evidence is extremely slight. Some stairways have been identified, but in view of what we know of Byzantine practice elsewhere, notably at Mistra, and from literature,² it seems highly probable that

² Ἀρχαίον, III, 1937, pp. 53-116; Koukoules, IV, p. 261.

there were many buildings with floors above the ground level where traces of stairs have not been identified. These upper floors must certainly have been of wood.

The stairs, judging from practice at Mistra and today, should typically have been of the form where a rectangular foundation supports the mass of the first four or five steps, the higher steps being carried on a half-arch terminating in a landing supported on one or more short spur walls, in the scheme of a high-arched high-heeled shoe. Such foundations have been identified among the Byzantine remains at Corinth, notably in front of the narthex of St. John's monastery where the lower steps were still in place, in the courtyard of the monastery, in the Inn east of the market (9 J), in the courtyard of the warehouse east of that (10 K), and elsewhere. Many other stairs must have existed, and many stubs and scraps of masonry which we cannot confidently interpret may have been for this purpose.

In some cases we have identified stair-wells in parallel walls so close to each other as to seem inexplicable otherwise, as in the Early Christian building behind the Hemicycle (6 D). This interpretation may seem dubious, as the walls are unnecessarily heavy to support stairs. But there is an unequivocal example in the north entrance of the house east of Peirene, (10 G; Fig. 2, p. 40), and the parallel walls are hard to explain otherwise.

CEILINGS AND ROOFS

Ceilings must normally have been flat, with wooden rafters supporting the floors above; few of the walls seem strong enough to support the mass of vaulting necessary to span the

rooms they enclose. A notable exception of course is the house east of Peirene, which was certainly vaulted, as indicated by the curved outline of the upper part of the south end-wall when found, and other rooms may well have been vaulted without leaving traces. Particularly the main rooms of many houses may have been so covered, although probably these too sometimes had flat ceilings. Many cellars and cisterns, as well as graves, were vaulted, but they will be discussed below (p. 132). The surviving elements of the various Roman shops were of course vaulted in many cases, though not by the Byzantine builders, and in the southern two of the western Lechaion Road shops the vaults were renewed, probably in Frankish times (p. 87, Pl. 13₁).

The roofing was evidently of the sloping type, but there is no evidence to show whether any of the buildings was gabled or had a pyramidal roof or any other particular form. Multitudes of roof tiles were found throughout the excavations, all of the same general type—moulded in a section of a quarter to a third of a circle, long and fairly narrow, exactly similar to most ordinary kinds of roof tile made in Greece today. The roof tiles used for the Early Christian house north of the Peribolos of Apollo were unusually large, and there were many varieties from the point of view of fabric and detail, but there is too little clear evidence to hazard any speculations as to chronology of the various features.

It should be mentioned that there is no evidence for domes in the Central Area, beyond the hypothesis that the main building in the Tower Complex (6 L) (above, p. 68) may have been so covered, because of its square plan and the arched recesses in the walls.

CHAPTER II

ORNAMENT

Several hundred more or less fragmentary examples of architectural ornament carved in marble were discovered throughout the Central Area at Corinth, representing the usual range of such work from Early Christian through high Byzantine times. Of these about five hundred, including practically all that could be located in 1954, were examined for the purposes of this study. Although this selection is of considerable interest for its variety and quality, it may be counted a major disappointment that the excavations produced no good evidence for classification and chronology. The reason for this is that almost all of the fragments were found built into walls dating from the twelfth century to modern times, and we have seen that among the walls built from the eleventh through the fourteenth century it is seldom possible to determine the exact date of particular sections with any accuracy.

We shall, therefore, simply describe and illustrate the most characteristic examples of the collection, indicating what seem to be the most significant parallels from other sites. Even so the date of the parallels, when known, does not necessarily give the date for the Corinth example; knowledge of the style and types of Byzantine carved ornament is still insecure. The most important examples found at Corinth outside the Central Area are also included in this survey, which may therefore be taken as representative of what Corinth has to offer in this field.

We list the examples under a few broad functional categories: slabs, posts, columns, bases, capitals, imposts and mullion capitals, mouldings, and a few miscellanea. Unless

otherwise indicated they were made of marble of uncertain origin, but beyond doubt most of them were made from classical marbles found on the site and not imported in Early Christian or Byzantine times. In the listing the number preceded by the letters "AM," following the catalogue number, represents the inventory number at Corinth: A(rchitecture) M(ediaeval).

CARVED SLABS

Plates 19–22

As is well known, the most common field for sculptural composition in Byzantine art, apart from the purely decorative mouldings, capitals and imposts, was on rectangular slabs used for a variety of purposes which it is not always possible to identify if the slabs were not found in the position for which they were made. Such positions include the enclosing barrier of the Early Christian *templon* and parts of the later Byzantine iconostasis, the balustrade of the *ambon* or of tribune galleries, window openings, sarcophagi, and perhaps others.¹ Of such work we list and illustrate twenty-two examples, comprising all but one of those that have been found in the area of Corinth, apart from fragments meaningless in themselves. The one example that we do not include was discovered in the vicinity of the Early Christian church north of the Asklepieion together with other fragments, and will be published with them in an account of the excavations being made in the church itself by the Greek Archaeological Service. This slab should be noticed here as it is a fine example of the most common

¹ Dalton, pp. 165ff.; see also pp. 685–713.

type of enclosure slab from the fifth century *templon*: it is a slab some 1.47 m. long and 0.84 m. high presenting a smooth surface with a simple border, ornamented in the center with a leaf rosette surrounded by a ribbon which extends to right and left along the bottom ending under a cross at each end (cf. Lemerle, *Philippes*, pp. 510–511, figs. 54–55). The most important fragment of this type found in the Central Area comes from the Lechaion Road (AM 249).

1. AM 348. A fragment including the right edge of a slab from an Early Christian *templon*. Pl. 19.

H. 0.46 m.; Max. L. 1.49 m.; Th. ca. 0.10 m. White marble.

Design consisting of concentric diamonds with corners marked by trefoils and hearts; elongated leaf-rosette in center, smooth-leaved acanthus spray in corners. The lines delineating the diamonds indicated by deep rounded grooves.

Compare a slab from St. Demetrios in Thessalonike (Soteriou, pl. 48γ) dated to the fifth century. Some twenty fragments of approximately similar slabs were found, including another containing a similar panel and others with variations on the corner theme. The profiles of grooves and ridges represented in the group include all types indicated by D. Pallas in *B.C.H.*, LXXIV, 1950, pp. 235–249, especially pp. 248–9, ranging from A.D. 450 to 560.

2. AM 352. Two joining fragments including the top edge of the center of a slab from an Early Christian *templon*. Pl. 19.

H. 0.37 m.; Max. L. 0.65 m.; Th. 0.12 m. White marble with bluish cast.

Design consisting of fully modeled laurel wreath toward which bend large, fully modeled acanthus leaves; within the wreath the surface is deeply hollowed and there are four pairs of small cuttings for the attachment of the arms of a (metal ?) cross.

For the design and style compare an impost from the Church of the Acheiropoietos in Thessalonike (Krautzsch, no. 432, pl. 26, p. 134) of about 450. There have been found at Corinth some half-dozen fragments from the same or similar slabs.

3. AM 243. Two joining fragments from the center (?) of a slab from an Early Christian *templon*. Pl. 19.

H. 0.35 m.; L. 0.45 m.; Th. 0.06 m. Dull white marble.

Design consisting of the chi-iota monogram formed

by the intervals between six neatly incised hearts, the whole constituting a rosette within two ribbons looped into a loose knot at the bottom (?).

Compare examples from Delphi (Laurent, *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, pp. 246–247), St. Mark in Venice (*ibid.*, fig. 18), Phthiotic Thebes Basilica A (Soteriou, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1929, p. 77, fig. 90) for similar treatments, all from the fifth or possibly sixth centuries.

4. AM 366. Fragment including one edge of a white marble slab. Pl. 19.

L. 0.64 m.; W. 0.29 m.; Th. 0.06 m.

Design consisting of overlapping systems of circles formed by interlocking undulating double lines. Carving crisp and angular.

Compare the design around the edge of a ciborium arch in Berlin (Volbach, p. 9, no. 6276) and a pilaster (*ibid.*, p. 10, no. 2758) dated to about 800, but our slab is in technique and spirit more like fifth-sixth century work at Corinth.

5. AM 311. Corner of slab. Pl. 20.

H. 0.59 m.; W. 0.46 m. White marble.

Design of scale pattern with flat part of scale cut back to flat surface in recess.

Slightly more elaborate in work than slabs in St. Demetrios in Thessalonike (Soteriou, pl. 47β, p. 171), Rhodes ('Αρχαῖον, VI, p. 17, fig. 11) and others dated in the fifth century; at least two other smaller fragments of similar work were found at Corinth.

6. AM 390. Sculpture Inv. 1383. Complete slab. Pl. 20.

From Early Christian church in Kranion suburb.

H. 0.86 m.; W. 0.48 m.; Th. 0.05 m. White marble.

Design consisting of cross outlined with line looped out at corners, resting on pedestal; small rosette at crossing, two rosettes in each corner field of slab linked by interlacing circles. It is interesting that while these circles are laced to the border of the slab, those above and below the arms of the cross hang free, either because of a desire to keep the cross free or because of an inability to develop the theme in this position. Similar in technique to Nos. 5, 7, 8.

7. AM 363. Fragment of slab. Pl. 19.

H. 0.33 m.; W. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.07 m., comprising one corner with edge.

Similar to Nos. 5, 6, 8, in technique.

8. AM 314. Five joining fragments from corner, with two edges, of slab. Pl. 20 (four fragments only).

H. 0.76 m.; W. 0.51 m.

From eastern shoulder of Acrocorinth.

Design a complex, well-carved guilloche. Similar in technique to Nos. 5, 6, 7.

9. AM 298. Fragment including one end and parts of two sides of a slab. Pl. 19.

H. 0.44 m.; W. 0.41 m.

Design a square set diagonally within a square, formed by interlacing strands and containing circle filled by a whorl.

For similar design, with sun-burst instead of whorl, compare slabs from Panaghia at Ephesos (Reisch, p. 70, fig. 87) dated in the seventh century; another (*ibid.*, p. 67, fig. 82); at Hosios Loukas (Schultz-Barnsley, p. 26, pl. 15 E) dated about 1000; and at the Peribleptos Politikon in Euboia (Ἀρχαῖον, III, p. 179, fig. 4) dated in the eleventh or twelfth century; another in Athens dated in the second half of the eleventh century (Soteriou, *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, XI, 1934–1935, pp. 248–249, fig. 46).

10. AM 252. Five joining fragments including top and two edges of slab. Pl. 19.

Found near Bema church.

H. 0.80 m.; W. 0.70 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Blue marble. Design a net of full-rounded intertwining ribbons.

Compare a slab from St. Mark in Venice (Colasanti, vol. II, no. 87) dated by him in the twelfth century but by Dalton (p. 168) to the tenth or eleventh century. Compare also a close parallel at Mistra (Millet, pl. 50₂).

11. AM 49. Fragment of slab comprising about a quarter with two adjoining sides. Pl. 19.

Found near Bema church.

H. 0.48 m.; W. 0.38 m.; Th. 0.19 m. Hard, close-grained blue marble.

Design consisting of cross with discs above and below the arms, and angled bars terminating in discs at corners. The carving is flat and plain with rounded edges and shallow relief.

12. AM 48. Two fragments comprising almost an entire slab. Pl. 20.

Found near Bema church.

H. 0.91 m.; W. 0.76 m.; Th. 0.135 m. Close-grained blue marble.

Design on main panel, cross outlined with ribbon, two birds perch on arms while rosettes enclosed in ribbons fill lower corners; across top runs band of joined circles interlocking with diamonds.

For the border compare a plaque from St. Demetrios Katsoures at Arta (Ἀρχαῖον, II, p. 65, fig. 8) dated in the thirteenth century, but the technique of the Corinth example does not seem to resemble what may be thought to be ordinary thirteenth-century work at Corinth; compare also No. **27**.

13. AM 299. Slab, almost complete. Pl. 22.

From church in Kranion suburb.

H. 0.83 m.; W. 0.59 m.

Design consists of cross in arched doorway; from foot of cross grow two tendrils forming an S on each side under the arms, the ground filled with their leaves. Above the arms, two discs, that on the left with $\tilde{M}\tilde{I}$, that on the right with $\tilde{K}\tilde{A}$ for $M(\eta\tau\eta)(\rho)K(\upsilon\rho)\alpha$ or $M(\eta\tau\rho)\iota K(\upsilon\rho)\iota\alpha$. It also seems possible that the letters represent the word NIKA, and that the marks above are purely decoration and not indications of ligatures; this is suggested by Harold Oliver, graduate student at Emory University. Across top on projecting band runs an undulating tendril with sprays of acanthus.

A common theme from the tenth century: compare St. Demetrios in Thessalonike (Soteriou, pl. 58 β , p. 184; pl. 58 α , p. 183) dated to the tenth and twelfth centuries, both less elaborate than ours.

14. AM 10. A closely similar slab. Pl. 21.

From near the same place as No. **13**. Not found in excavation.

H. 0.86 m.; W. 0.74 m.; Th. 0.10 m.

On the discs above the arms of the cross $I(\eta\sigma\upsilon)C X(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron)C$.

Published by Philadelphus, *Δελτ.*, IV, 1918, *Παράρτημα* pp. 8–9, no. 3.

15. AM 79. A slab of same general type. Pl. 21.

From Central Area, west end.

H. 0.43 m.; W. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.10 m.

The cross has rounded ends with tendrils ascending from the foot diagonally outward with swirling branches above and below. On the preserved disc Π for $[\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\varsigma)] \Pi(\alpha\tau\eta\rho)$.

16. AM 80. Fragment of a closely similar slab. Pl. 21.

From same place as No. **15**.

H. 0.325 m.; W. 0.22 m.; Th. 0.10 m.

On the preserved disc \tilde{X} for $[I(\eta\sigma\upsilon\varsigma)] X(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma)$.

17. AM 368. A nearly complete slab of same general type. Pl. 21.

H. 0.45 m.; W. 0.53 m.; Th. 0.075 m.

Above arms of cross, heart-shaped devices containing palmettes; from base spring tendrils rolling out and around to enclose large palmette.

18. AM 145. Fragment of slab. Pl. 21.

H. 0.46 m.; W. 0.375 m.; Th. 0.055 m.

Design of interlacing circles within circles, filled with rosette monogram, knots and leaves. On the back a cross.

This slab, though presenting superficially the complexity of later Byzantine floral designs, is probably Early Christian. Some eight or ten fragments of similarly ambiguous design, but smaller, have been found at Corinth.

19. AM 391. Nearly complete slab. Pl. 22.

From church in Kranion suburb.

H. 0.84 m.; W. 0.575 m.; Th. 0.09 m. Pentelic marble.

Design shows an animal which looks like a lion apparently eating dates off a tree, between columns supporting arch decorated with Kufic² pattern, the whole enclosed in rectangular frame of bead-and-reel.

Illustrated by Soteriou, *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, XI, 1934-1935, p. 247, fig. 16; cf. pp. 245-246 where he dates it to the tenth century among the earliest examples of Kufic ornament on relief slabs. Compare a slightly more elaborate composition from Athens (Bréhier, pl. IX, no. 2) dated in the ninth or tenth century.

20. AM 347. Five fragments of thin slab of Pentelic marble. Pl. 22.

Th. 0.05 m.

Design includes among other things one (and hence probably another, facing) peacock within an arch; an idea of the scale may be had from the roughly restored width of the arch, about 0.60 m. The carving is extremely delicate. A number of fragments of other slabs representing birds, presumably peacocks, were found.

21. AM 399. Sculpture Inv. 2050. Two fragments of a ponderous slab preserved at the bottom and probably two edges. Pl. 21.

Found near St. John's church.

H. 0.555 m.; W. 0.93 m.; Th. 0.14 m.

Design is purely sculptural and narrative, representing a lion or possibly a gryphon rearing up against a man facing him, his paws on the man's advanced knee. The man is wearing a tunic of some kind, and what seem to be the ends of two wings show, one behind the man and one between his legs. He may, therefore, be an angel.

The composition and workmanship bear a striking resemblance to the upper part of a slab in the museum at Thebes (*Ἀρχαῖον*, V, pp. 134-136, fig. 17), dated by Orlandos to the twelfth century. This shows a man facing to the observer's left, confronted by a bird-like head reaching upward. In short, the design, if reversed, would almost fit on our design. Orlandos interprets the slab at Thebes as representing a myth of Alexander the Great, according to which he wished to survey the world from aloft and to accomplish his purpose, having captured and half-starved two great birds, hitched them to a chariot and held out before them on the end of a spear great chunks of meat. Presumably

² For a number of references to material on Kufic ornament see K. Setton, in *A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, pp. 316-319.

the device functioned like the carrot on the pole in front of the donkey, and carried the chariot into the heavens. But in the Corinth relief the wings, if that is what they are, belong to the man and not to the beast; hence it seems difficult to associate it with the relief at Thebes iconographically.

POSTS AND COLONNETTES

Plates 23-24

In this category we include corner and door posts from the Early Christian *templon*, posts or colonnettes from the later iconostasis, and posts or colonnettes similar in form to the latter which may have been used for windows. Although some fourteen of the *templon* posts have been noted, they are all of the common varieties and we list and illustrate only two, apart from three unusual examples; of some thirty-five examples of the later types we list and illustrate sixteen.

22. AM 130. Post from Early Christian *templon*, completely preserved and little damaged. Pl. 23.

H. 0.78 m.; W. 0.145 m.; Th. 0.085 m.

Face ornamented with concentric rectangular panels of slightly convex surface; cuttings at top and bottom for attachment. On the side, slot extending from bottom to within ten centimeters of top for reception of enclosure slab.

23. AM 199. Top of post from Early Christian *templon*. Pl. 23.

H. 0.67 m.; W. 0.195 m.; Th. 0.21 m.

Face similar to No. 22; at top is slightly projecting surface curved front and back. On one side a broad concave hollow running lengthwise; on the other a slot. Presumably the post stood next a large column.

24. AM 434. Top of post from Early Christian *templon*. Pl. 23.

H. 0.66 m.; W. 0.143 m.; Th. 0.13 m.

Face ornamented with rectangular narrow panel within panel with in-curved end at top. A disc projects from top as in No. 23, presumably to support capital.

25. AM 382. End of post, probably from iconostasis. Pl. 23.

H. 0.67 m.; W. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.10 m.

Face decorated with undulating tendril from which grow acanthus-like grape leaves in alternating directions. Another fragment with similar design but octagonal section was found.

26. AM 346. Fragment of post, probably from iconostasis. Pl. 23.

H. 0.57 m.; W. 0.165 m.; Th. 0.14 m.

Structurally, rectangular in cross-section with short broad tongue projecting from side. Decorated with elaborate floral pattern in which tendrils undulate along each side with leaves in gaps near edges, and oval spaces left in center filled with heart-shaped leaf patterns. Carving soft and shallow.

Compare border of slab from altar screen of Apidia in Lakonia (Ἀρχαῖον, I, p. 130, fig. 5) dated in fourteenth century.

27. AM 380. Top of post from *templon* or iconostasis. Pl. 23.

H. 0.39 m.; W. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.11 m. On top a knob 0.065 m. square.

Face ornamented with interlocking circles and diamonds.

Compare design on sarcophagos from Venice in Berlin (Volbach, p. 5, no. 5) with slightly different circles, dated in eighth century; also Mistra (Millet, pl. 52, no. 10) and No. 12 above.

28. AM 386. Fragment of square post. Pl. 23.

H. 0.67 m.; W. 0.145 m.

Two adjoining sides carved with series of rosettes and whorls, with triangular sinkings along edge; other two sides plain.

For latter features compare fragment in museum at Thebes (Ἀρχαῖον, V, p. 128, fig. 9) dated to the "transitional period"—i.e. eighth or ninth century.

29. AM 288. Top of octagonal post with square end. Pl. 23.

H. 0.22 m.; W. 0.12 m.

Decorated on four sides with inverted omega within which pinecone-like palm pattern.

Compare post from St. Gregory Theologos at Thebes (Soteriou, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1924, p. 21, fig. 33) of the ninth century. A number of similar posts were found at Corinth.

30. AM 370. Top of octagonal post with square end. Pl. 23.

H. 0.465 m.; W. 0.105 m.; Th. 0.135 m.

Decorated with inverted omega within which palmette.

Compare example from Blachernae near Arta (Ἀρχαῖον, II, p. 23, fig. 16Γ) dated in the thirteenth century. Many variations on this and preceding themes were found at Corinth. Elsewhere they come from many periods.

31. AM 328. Top of octagonal post with square end. Pl. 23.

H. 0.34 m.; W. 0.13 m.

Decorated with inverted omega containing rosette.

Compare Daphni (Millet, *Le monastère du Daphni*, Paris, 1899, p. 64, figs. 29–34) examples from the twelfth century; monastery of Panaghia on Kithairon (Ἀρχαῖον, I, p. 165, figs. 4–5) from the late eleventh; Omorphe Ekklesia (Orlandos, *Omorphe Ekklesia*, Athens, 1921, p. 13), dating from early eleventh.

32. AM 310. Fragment from top of post (?). Pl. 23.

W. 0.18 m.

Decorated with rosette within inverted omega; pattern below.

33. AM 256. Top of octagonal post with square end. Pl. 23.

H. 0.68 m.; W. 0.145 m.; Th. 0.155 m.

Decorated with rosette of elaborate form, like sunflower or sunburst.

34. AM 97. Top of octagonal post with square end. Pl. 23.

H. 0.30 m.; W. 0.16 m.

Decorated on three sides at top: one, rosette of open, pointed leaves; one, floreatation of tendrils forming heart within which palmette appended; one, cross from whose extremities grow acanthus leaves filling corners. Compare AM 335.

35. AM 286. Top of octagonal post with square end. Pl. 23.

H. 0.42 m.; W. 0.11 m.

Decorated on four sides at top with inverted omegas, within which on one side is fine-leaved palmette, on other sides simple rosettes.

36. AM 384. Octagonal post with square end. Pl. 23.

H. 0.86 m.; W. 0.14 m.

Top decorated on four sides with acanthus within inverted omega; one side of shaft also decorated. The patterns on the shaft do not fit: the topmost one is only half on the stone and the rosette below is cut into by the reduction of the square to the octagon.

This may be the decorated side of an original square post from which the octagonal form was cut; but, as Mrs. Scranton suggests, it is possible that the design was laid on carelessly from a stencil that did not fit. In any case the workmanship is poor.

37. AM 411. Octagonal post with square end. Pl. 23.

H. 0.36 m.; W. 0.11 m.

In this case only the extreme tip is square; the design is cut on surfaces extending pyramidally from faces of octagonal post to edge of the square tip. Design a broad sharp-pointed vine leaf. This is one of five posts found with leaf designs as opposed to the common omega or rosette. Of the others one had a crude palmette, one an acanthus; see also No. 38.

38. AM 76. Square end of octagonal post. Pl. 23.
H. 0.30 m.; W. 0.135 m.

The whole fragment as preserved is square in section but seems to belong to the octagonal post series. On one side two acanthus leaves, one above the other.

39. AM 113. Octagonal post with square end. Pl. 24.
H. 0.34 m.; W. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.16 m.

On the face two human heads, back to back, suggesting inverted omega.

40. AM 281. Top of octagonal post with square end. Pl. 24.

H. 0.22 m.; W. 0.12 m.

Decorated with inverted omega containing two forms contrived to appear like the bodies of peacocks stretching upward. Although these "birds" have their own heads the ends of the omega are also devised to suggest bird heads.

41. AM 116. Square end of post. Pl. 24.

H. 0.27 m.; Th. 0.17 m.

Entire width of one side covered with net-pattern boldly carved. A larger fragment of the same shape was found with pattern giving similar effect but made more simply of checker-board with each square crossed by diagonals, all crudely done.

42. AM 43. Fragment of slab treated along one edge as octagonal column with square end. Pl. 24.

H. 0.45 m.; W. 0.125 m.; L. 0.36 m.

End decorated on three sides with inverted omega within which rosettes or palmettes.

COLUMNS AND SUPPORTS

Plate 24

Very few column shafts were found which could be clearly identified as Byzantine. Such columns as the mediaeval builders used at Corinth must have been in most cases taken from ancient buildings. Only two examples of any size of mediaeval creation have been identified.

43. AM 425. Fragment of shaft of column. Pl. 24.

H. 1.04 m. (including base moulding 0.06 m. high); Diam. at bottom 0.31 m.; at top, 0.26 m. Pentelic marble.

Treated at bottom with fluting resembling an Ionic shaft, above this with spiral fluting. Excellent work.

44. AM 14. Shaft including upper part (or capital?) of column. Pl. 24.

H. 1.52 m. (including capital 0.74 m. high); Diam. of shaft 0.25 m.; of capital at bottom, 0.23 m.; at top, 0.385 m. White (Pentelic ?) marble.

This column was hardly a major supporting element in a building, but it may have been something more than purely decorative. The shaft is decorated with a scale pattern like a date palm; the top flares out like a date palm but at the top is a row of spindly birds like ibises standing amid papyrus plants. The Egyptian connotations are strong.

Not found in the excavations; published by Philadelphus in Δελτ., IV, 1918, Παράρτημα p. 8, no. 1, where he suggests a fifth-century date.

45. AM 195. Attached shaft, complete section in two fragments. Pl. 24.

H. 1.06 m.; W. 0.20 m. *Poros* stone.

At bottom is simple base below conical section surmounted by ring, above which rises shaft to papyrus-like terminal.

Recalls wall shaft in Gothic building, and is one of best candidates for illustration of Frankish influence.

46. AM 292. Fragment of compound column. Pl. 24.

H. 0.23 m.; W. 0.135 m. White marble.

Four slender shafts bound below conical tops by band.

Probably from eleventh–twelfth century iconostasis, as in Byzantine Museum at Athens.

BASES

Plate 24

Most of the column bases used in Byzantine construction at Corinth must have been from classical buildings, as in the tenth-century house east of Peirene. A few exceptions may be noted.

47. Not inventoried; near Babbus Monument. Column base, preserved complete. Pl. 24.

H. 0.315 m.; W. at bottom 0.75 m.; Diam. at top 0.58 m.

Square plinth on which plain disc supporting conical section above which another plain disc. Careless work, contrasting with fine work on capitals of same period (sixth century).

Compare bases at St. John's at Ephesos (Keil, pl. VI, figs. 2, 3, 4). Several other similar bases were found at Corinth, some made by chiseling off the upper torus of a Roman Ionic base.

48. AM 129. Mullion base. Pl. 24.

H. 0.20 m.; L. at bottom 0.62 m., at top 0.42 m.;
W. at bottom 0.24 m., at top 0.145 m.

This is an example of the most distinctive type of post-classical base, designed for a window mullion or for a support consisting of two half-columns attached to rectangular pier. The design is adapted from that of the Roman Corinthian base with square plinth and is marked by the elongated form and trapezoidal panel on each side.

At least ten examples of this type of base have been found, varying only in proportions and finish. There seems to be reason to suspect that this form was occasionally used for capitals, though rarely (cf. No. 111).

49. AM. 95. Mullion base (?). Pl. 24.

H. 0.175 m.; L. at bottom, 0.45 m., at top 0.33 m.;
W. at top 0.09 m.

This has only a simple slightly curved profile.

COLUMN CAPITALS

Plate 25

For capitals as well as bases, classical material was freely used by Christian builders, as in the house east of Peirene. Whether Ionic capitals were actually designed and made by Christian architects is more doubtful. It is probable that a number of essentially Corinthian capitals were designed by Christian architects, as well as capitals of the type which has been called "Aeolic" (*Corinth*, I, ii, pp. 124–126) consisting of a row of acanthus leaves below a row of tall, narrow, pointed "water leaves" with a central rib, which were found in the excavations. Such capitals have been found in Christian contexts elsewhere and some of the Corinthian examples vary in technique and style from classical norms. We shall list here only the most distinctive examples.³

50. AM 50. Ionic impost-capital. Pl. 25.

H. 0.22 m.; Diam. at bottom 0.30 m.; W. of impost at bottom 0.32 m., at top 0.54 m.

³ One example of the "two-zone" capital (Krautzsch, pp. 152ff., pl. 30), basically Corinthian but elaborately ornamented with birds facing out along the top, such as was used in nave colonnades at the end by the sanctuary, was found at Corinth, but is too badly battered to illustrate.

The capital part is treated approximately like an Ionic capital; on the impost is a kind of knot. On the bottom is scratched a lunate sigma.

Compare a capital from Basilica A at Philippi (Lemerle, pl. V b), of about 500; also No. 51.

51. AM 18. Ionic impost-capital. Pl. 25.

H. 0.32 m.; Diam. of column 0.35 m.; W. of impost at top 0.60 m.

A somewhat plainer capital than No. 50 but with slight variations in the design of the capital on each side.

Compare capitals from St. John's at Ephesos (Keil, pl. VI, fig. 3; also pls. XXVIII–XXXIII) for a wide variety of ornamentation of the impost: plain, cross-in-circle, monograms, etc., of the Justinianian era.

52. AM 304. Acanthus capital. Pl. 25.

H. 0.125 m.; W. of abacus, 0.18 m.

A single broad flaring acanthus leaf on each side, and water leaves at corners.

This is the best preserved of some fifteen capitals characterized by their small scale (this is one of the smallest; the largest is about 0.28 m. high; the widest abacus is about 0.43 m.) with ornamentation primarily in terms of acanthus leaves. Most are poorly preserved. One was found around the Early Christian Church north of the Asklepion (above, pp. 7, 9). They may have been used for posts in the church furniture—pulpits, ciboria, etc.—or for windows.

53. Not inventoried; in courtyard of museum at Corinth. Corinthian capital with stylized linear forms at top. Pl. 25.

H. 0.44 m.; Diam. at bottom 0.35 m.; W. at top 0.58 m.

One of eight somewhat similar capitals found at various places in and around the excavated area. One of the others is illustrated by Krautzsch (no. 226, pl. 16, pp. 75–76).

54. AM 283. Small capital. Pl. 25.

H. 0.26 m.; W. of abacus 0.385 m.

Corinthian, but with sharp-drilled technique verging on "Theodosian" style. But leaves are chunky and drilling relatively restrained.

Compare capital from St. Demetrios in Thessalonike (Soteriou, pl. 39 α, β, p. 164) dated in seventh century.

55. AM 394. Capital from Lechaion. Pl. 25.

H. 0.54 m.; Diam. of column 0.45 m.; W. of abacus 0.75 m.

One of three matching capitals found in mysterious structure near harbor of Lechaion (Philadelphus, Δελατ., IV, 1918, pp. 131f., fig. 9). The capital also published by Krautzsch (no. 426, pl. 26, p. 133).

Closer to the "Theodosian" technique than our No. 54, and dated in the fifth century. Compare also Krautzsch's nos. 429–432; capital from Basilica A, Phthiotic Thebes (Soteriou, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1929, p. 58, figs. 58–59).

56. AM 279. Pier capital. Pl. 25.

From west of Temple of Apollo at Corinth.

H. 0.24 m.; restored L. at top 0.30 m., at bottom 0.24 m.; W. at top 0.39 m., at bottom 0.25 m.

Published with companion piece by Krautzsch as his nos. 444–445, p. 138. Style approaches that of his "bordered leaves" (Krautzsch, nos. 447–449) but ours lack the strongly defined rim. Compare capitals from St. George in Thessalonike (Krautzsch, no. 438, pl. 27, p. 136), St. Demetrios in Thessalonike (Soteriou, pl. 39δ, pl. 41β, p. 165) from the fifth century.

57. AM 16. Capital. Pl. 25.

From west end of Agora.

H. 0.30 m.; Diam. at bottom 0.43 m.; W. at top 0.58 m.

On each side a cross, growing from acanthus leaves ornamenting the corners.

Published by Krautzsch as his no. 244 (pl. 17, p. 83), compared with an Ionic impost-capital from St. John in Stoudion in Constantinople (his 540a, pl. 33) dated around 500.

58. AM 141. Capital. Pl. 25.

H. 0.30 m.; Diam. at bottom 0.28 m.; W. at top 0.36 m.

A tulip-like palmette on each side, with acanthus leaves at corners. Technique of carving is unusual among capitals at Corinth, with full, smoothly rounded surfaces.

Compare a capital from Basilica A at Phthiotic Thebes (Krautzsch, no. 240, pl. 17, p. 79) dated late fifth century, on which the bud is only halfway up the side of the capital and is surmounted by circle with chi-iota monogram, and the carving is crisper.

59. AM 83. Fragment of capital. Pl. 25.

H. 0.25 m.; Diam. at bottom 0.28 m.; W. at top 0.38 m.

Design a broadly conceived water leaf on each side.

For similar, but not precisely parallel treatments, compare capitals from Salona (E. Dyggve, *Recherches à Salone*, I, Copenhagen, 1923, pp. 71–72, figs. 44, 47–48; and Krautzsch, no. 26, pl. 3, p. 18). The Salona examples belong to the sixth century.

60. AM 12. Capital. Pl. 25.

H. 0.175 m.; Diam. at bottom 0.14 m., at top 0.23 m.

Probably of the series discussed with No. 52, functionally; but one of at least half a dozen similar capitals ornamented with water leaves.

61. AM 260. Impost-capital. Pl. 25.

H. 0.29 m.; Diam. at bottom 0.19 m.; max. L. at top 0.44 m.

Peculiar for the unusual kind of impost, perhaps more accurately a bracket. Decoration of capital in terms of water leaves.

A close parallel in the museum at Thebes ('Αρχαίον, V, p. 122, no. 2, fig. 2) dated by Orlandos in the fifth century.

62. AM 15. Capital. Pl. 25.

From west of Temple of Apollo.

H. 0.32 m.; Diam. at bottom 0.25 m.; W. of top 0.35 m.; L. of top 0.59 m.

An unusual form at Corinth resembling an impost resting directly on the column without intervening capital, to judge from the projecting disc on the bottom surface. At the corners acanthus-palmettes.

63. AM 193. Octagonal capital. Pl. 25.

H. 0.22 m.; Th. at bottom 0.32 m.; W. at top 0.56 m.; D. 0.49 m.

Neatly and carefully finished; rosettes on three sides.

For the shape, compare capital from the Katholikon at Chios (Orlandos, *Chios*, pl. 16).

IMPOSTS

Plates 26–31

In this category we list not only imposts for columns, in the strict use of the term, but capital-imposts in which the chief ornamental emphasis is on the impost, impost-like members resting on piers and pilasters, and mullion capitals. The organization is in terms of type of ornament, rather than function or structural form or chronology. This has seemed to be the most useful and objective way of organizing the material, particularly in view of the uncertainty surrounding the functional or structural character of many fragments. We shall list only representative or fine examples of the various categories, beginning with those decorated exclusively with the water leaf, then those with the acanthus, the leaf and acanthus together, the cross with acanthus, the cross with leaf, the plain cross, the cross in a circle, the rosette, formal floreations, palm leaves, and finally, special devices including figures.

64. AM 100. Square impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.11 m.; W. on top 0.55 m.; on bottom 0.36 m.

Decorated on all four sides with simple pattern of overlapping leaves. These represent the normal shape of the leaves, taking the series as a whole.

The motive is most common in the fifth and sixth centuries (Laurent, *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 219) but survives through the Byzantine period to some extent (compare Millet, pl. 46, fig. 7, for examples at Mistra). It is, however, seldom illustrated in publications, probably because so simple.

65. AM 250. Rectangular impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.135 m.; W. 0.335 m. at top, at bottom, 0.32 m.; D. 0.59 m. at top, 0.34 m. at bottom.

Plain on sides; on front water leaves joined at bottom by continuous looping profile line; darts between the leaves. Centering lines etched on bottom surface.

For the design and profile compare examples at Delphi (Laurent, *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 219, fig. 4B), which lack the darts. In addition to those listed below at least ten examples of the rectangular impost whose sole ornament is some slight variation on the water leaf design were noted at Corinth.

66. AM 245. Rectangular impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.14 m.; W. at top 0.28 m., at bottom 0.255 m.; D. at top 0.55 m., at bottom 0.27 m.

Overlapping water leaves, with the tops of the covered series showing between the ends of the outer series, decorated with wavy lines.

67. AM 101. Fragment of square or rectangular impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.125 m.; W. at top 0.31 m., at bottom 0.30 m.; projection of face 0.125 m.

The leaves approximate an oval shape, though straight at the base. At the corner an elongated S pattern.

For oval leaves compare the egg pattern on imposts from the Hekatonpyliane in Paros of the late sixth century (Krautzsch, no. 584, pl. 36, pp. 180–181; Jewell and Hasluck, *Church of Our Lady of the One Hundred Gates*).

68. AM 167. Fragment of impost. Pl. 26.

W. 0.235 m.

The leaves are completely oval, with double-pointed darts between.

69. AM 56. Mullion capital. Pl. 26.

H. 0.165 m.; W. at top 0.23 m., at bottom 0.12 m.; L. at top 0.35 m.

Design of water leaves. At least six closely similar examples were noted at Corinth.

70. AM 169. Mullion capital. Pl. 26.

H. 0.13 m.; W. at top 0.20 m., at bottom 0.125 m.; L. at top 0.44 m., at bottom 0.28 m.

Marked by the pronounced curve of the profile. At least two others of this type were noted at Corinth; on one the leaves also have a strong bulge.

71. AM 25. Fragment of impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.14 m.; W. 0.24 m.; L. at top 0.45 m., at bottom 0.245 m.

Acanthus at one end, water leaves at other; noteworthy for convex surface.

72. AM 22. Rectangular impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.16 m.; W. at top 0.45 m., at bottom 0.38 m.

The design is not exactly the water leaf, but long narrow concave tongues separated by a relief line.

Similar hollow tongues, more cleanly executed, ornament the mullion capitals of the Acheiropoietos in Thessalonike, and of Basilica A of Phthiotic Thebes (Soteriou 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1929, p. 66, fig. 71) from around 450.

73. AM 125. Rectangular impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.125 m.; W. at top 0.21 m., at bottom, 0.14 m.; L. at top 0.48 m., at bottom 0.20 m.

Water leaves reduced to triangles meshing into each other from above and below. Technique little more than incision; carving lacks precision throughout.

In this aspect compare some seventh-century work at Phthiotic Thebes (Soteriou, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1937, p. 176, fig. 6).

74. AM 66. Two joining fragments of rectangular impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.11 m.; W. at bottom 0.275 m.; L. at top 0.60 m., at bottom 0.29 m.

A simplified acanthus, or grape leaf.

For the carving a possible parallel might be at St. Gregory Theologos in Thebes (Soteriou, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1924, p. 13, fig. 18) of the ninth century, although Soteriou's illustration is not clear.

75. AM 36. Corner of rectangular impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.12 m.; preserved max. L. 0.55 m.

A lightly carved simplified acanthus.

76. AM 415. Fragment of impost or moulding. Pl. 27.

H. 0.14 m.; W. at top 0.52 m., at bottom 0.47 m.; D. 0.18 m.

Clamp on top; the block can hardly have been an impost functionally speaking, but possibly served to ornament the top of a pier where an impost might have been.

Design a row of acanthus leaves; on the left face, only one and a half leaves.

77. AM 128. Mullion capital. Pl. 27.

H. 0.175 m.; W. at top 0.23 m., at bottom 0.18 m.; L. at top 0.63 m., at bottom 0.44 m.

One end undecorated; the other has an acanthus flanked by an unusual extension of an acanthus-like tendril.

The style flat and soft at the edges, for which compare work from the Asklepieion in Athens of the fifth century (Xyggopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1915, pp. 54 to 55, fig. 3). Two other examples of this type of capital with acanthus decoration, though in different technique, were noted at Corinth.

78. AM 146. Fragment of rectangular impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.15 m.; W. at top 0.39 m., at bottom 0.30 m.

Design a luxuriant acanthus flanked by half an acanthus at each corner. This is the developed form of the acanthus motif in the Early Christian period, usually further embellished by a cross.

Two examples of simpler acanthus designs on mullion capitals and two fragmentary Ionic capital-imposts with similar or simpler acanthus designs were noted at Corinth.

79. AM 374. Rectangular impost. Pl. 26.

H. 0.23 m.; W. at top 0.46 m., at bottom 0.35 m.; L. at top 0.65 m., at bottom 0.35 m.

Design on the two sides small Greek crosses with spreading arms; on the back, water leaves; on the front a spreading acanthus between two half-acanthus leaves at the corners. A complete example of the full-dress organization of ornament for Early Christian times. The carving is notably rounded, with low relief.

80. AM 285. Impost-capital. Pl. 27.

H. 0.31 m.; W. at top 0.365 m.; L. at top 0.62 m.

The capital part is decorated with four spiny acanthus leaves; the impost part, on the face, with an acanthus leaf between water leaves at the corner. On the rear face, water leaves only. A rich elaboration of the leaf pattern.

81. AM 246. Impost-capital. Pl. 27.

H. 0.16 m.; W. at top, 0.34 m., at bottom 0.29 m.; L. at top 0.53 m., at bottom 0.28 m.; Diam. of column, 0.23 m.

The capital part is simple Ionic; the impost is decorated at both ends with acanthus leaf, rounded and with prominent central rib so that it becomes almost a palmette, between two water leaves at corners.

82. AM 373. Mullion capital. Pl. 27.

H. 0.21 m.; W. at top 0.26 m., at bottom 0.26 m.; L. at top 0.92 m., at bottom 0.54 m.

Ornamented with an acanthus between two half-leaves at corners. Three or four other fragments of similar mullion capitals were found.

83 a, b. AM 392, 393. Two blocks carved with three elements of what seems to have been a single impost system. Pl. 27.

From the building near Lechaion harbor.

The lowest element is almost square: on top 0.64 m. by 0.60 m.; on bottom 0.50 m. by 0.53 m.; H. 0.21 m. The upper member, containing two mouldings on three sides, the fourth being cut to fit into a wall, measures: H. 0.25 m.; W. at top 0.945 m., at bottom 0.66 m.; D. at top 1.00 m., at bottom 0.69 m.

The lower block and lower element on the upper block are decorated with acanthus alternating with water leaves; the upper element on the upper block has acanthus leaves alternately right-side-up and upside down, joined with S loops.

Published by Philadelphus (*Δελτ.*, IV, 1918, pp. 131–132, fig. 8) who dates them to the fifth century. Compare also fragments of that date in Athens (Xyggopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1915, p. 60, fig. 12; *Ἀρχεῖον*, II, p. 209, fig. 7). At least six other examples of closely similar imposts were found at Corinth. Compare also mouldings Nos. 140–142.

84. AM 27. Mullion capital. Pl. 27.

H. 0.21 m.; W. at top 0.30 m., at bottom (bearing surface) 0.20 m.; L. at top 0.465 m., at bottom (bearing surface) 0.20 m.

A peculiar design taken directly from the late Roman and Early Christian capital of acanthus ringed around the base of water leaves; indeed the capital almost looks as though a Roman capital had been cut down at the sides and perhaps the bottom, but the restored proportions of the hypothetical original capital seem impossible.

85. AM 203. Mullion capital. Pl. 27.

H. 0.14 m.; W. at top 0.175 m., at bottom 0.155 m.; L. at top 0.56 m., at bottom 0.175 m.

Ornament, on one end only, an acanthus leaf reduced to a kind of palmette or anthemion.

For the manner of carving and rather wispy bare composition compare seventh-century work from Basilica Γ at Phthiotic Thebes (Soteriou, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, p. 176, fig. 5), but for the form of the palmette compare also an eleventh-century (?) example from Rhodes (*Ἀρχεῖον*, VI, p. 217, fig. 162). A somewhat similar capital from Corinth, with a taller, more straggly appearance, might be compared to a motif on a moulding from Mistra (Millet, pl. 48, fig. 5).

- 86.** AM 39. Mullion capital (?). Pl. 27.
H. 0.135 m.; W. 0.13 m.; L. 0.22 m.
An example of inferior workmanship.
- 87.** AM 40. Impost. Pl. 27.
H. 0.15 m.; W. at top 0.245 m., at bottom 0.22 m.;
L. at top 0.47 m., at bottom 0.23 m.
Ornamented at each end with a dully carved leaf derived from the acanthus, between two water leaves. The angular outline of the leaf is unusual at Corinth.
- 88.** AM 150. Fragment of mullion capital. Pl. 27.
H. 0.125 m.; W. at top 0.175 m., at bottom 0.11 m.
Design a cross with spreading base and flat arms; at either side a rudimentary acanthus leaf springing from the foot of the cross.
For type of cross compare, among others, seventh- and eighth-century examples cited by Soteriou ('Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1937, pp. 182–183, figs. 15, 16); for leaf, *op. cit.* p. 181, fig. 14.
- 89.** AM 377. Compound mullion capital. Pl. 27.
H. 0.275 m.; W. at top 0.29 m., at bottom 0.155 m.;
L. at top 0.88 m., at bottom 0.60 m.
An unusual form structurally, being actually two mullion capitals superimposed. On the capital, acanthus; on the impost, water leaves at one end, at the other a cross flanked by acanthus from which it grows.
Excellent, crisp, deep cutting. Compare an impost from San Vitale (Colasanti, *L'arte bizantina in Italia*, I, p. 46, upper left) among other Justinianian examples. For a similar structural form with more elaborate design, compare example from the Parthenon (Εὐρητήριο, pp. 42, 38, fig. 20).
- 90.** AM 396. Compound mullion capital. Pl. 28.
H. 0.145 m.; W. at top 0.23 m., L. at top 0.68 m.
The decoration, on one end of the impost only, resembles that of No. 89. Very fine work.
- 91.** AM 175. Fragment of impost. Pl. 28.
H. 0.20 m.; W. at top 0.46 m., at bottom 0.30 m.;
projection 0.20 m.
The form is peculiar in the long outswEEPing overhang and in the grass-like design of the acanthus, as well as in the buds which bend over the arms of the cross.
Otherwise the work resembles Justinianian examples above and capitals at St. John's in Ephesus (Keil, pl. XXXIV, no. 2). See Nos. 92, 93.
- 92.** AM 179. Fragment of capital including neck of column. Pl. 28.
H. 0.365 m.; radius of column 0.12 m.
Work closely similar to impost No. 91 above, and the two may belong together.
- 93.** AM 51. Fragment of impost. Pl. 28.
W. 0.26 m.
Design a cross rising among acanthus leaves with buds bending over arms, as No. 91. The technique is softer, but references cited for No. 91 are useful. Several other examples of this motif have been found at Corinth.
- 94.** AM 259. Capital-impost. Pl. 28.
H. 0.25 m.; W. at top 0.405 m., at bottom 0.15 m.;
L. at top 0.73 m., at bottom 0.35 m.
On the capital a cross between two palmette-like acanthus sprays.
- 95.** AM 33. Capital-impost. Pl. 28.
H. 0.42 m.; W. at top 0.70 m., at bottom 0.58 m.;
Diam. of column 0.47 m.
Resembles Nos. 89–90 except for peculiar feature of pomegranate bending over arms of cross. Compare No. 96.
- 96.** AM 26. Capital-impost. Pl. 28.
H. 0.24 m.; L. at top 0.66 m., at bottom 0.35 m.;
Diam. of column 0.27 m.
On one face of the impost a cross in a circle; on the other a cross between acanthus leaves, generally similar to No. 95 but simpler. In general, for both, compare work in St. John in Stoudion, Constantinople (Krautzsch, 540 a, b, pl. 33, p. 107); Phthiotic Thebes, Basilica A (Soteriou, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1929, p. 65, figs. 67, 68) from the mid fifth century.
- 97.** AM 31. Impost. Pl. 28.
H. ca. 0.20 m.; W. at top 0.445 m., at bottom 0.33 m.;
L. at top 0.66 m., at bottom 0.33 m.
On one face row of water leaves; on the other a cross between acanthus leaves which rise grass-like to droop gently over arms of cross, the whole between half water leaves at the corners.
The design is almost certainly intentionally symbolic and contrived aesthetically to suggest the pathos of the crucifixion. Although the technique seems to belong to the type of Justinianian work, it has some resemblance to that of seventh-century work from Phthiotic Thebes Basilica Γ (Soteriou, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1937, p. 176, fig. 5). The "mourning" motif is perhaps intended, though less successfully executed, in a capital from Basilica A at Phthiotic Thebes (Soteriou, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1929, p. 64, fig. 67).
- 98.** AM 13. Fragment of colossal capital or impost. Pl. 28.
Pres. H., no more than half the original, 0.33 m.;
Pres. W. at top, perhaps three-fourths of the original, 0.86 m.
Similar to No. 89 and following.

99. AM 9. Impost. Pl. 28.

H. 0.14 m.; W. at top 0.41 m., at bottom 0.35 m.;
L. 0.35 m.

Cross between acanthus.

100. AM 274. Impost. Pl. 28.

H. 0.135 m.; W. at top 0.38 m.; L. at top 0.47 m.

Design on rear face water leaf between two half-leaves at corners, with points of second series of leaves showing between; on front, cross between two half-leaves.

101. AM 287. Impost. Pl. 28.

H. 0.115 m.; W. at top 0.39 m., at bottom 0.26 m.;
L. at top 0.55 m., at bottom 0.26 m.

Design on both faces a cross between two half water leaves very simply indicated by cutting in relief without borders, so that the character of the leaf is almost lost.

102. AM 200. Impost. Pl. 28.

H. 0.19 m.; W. at top 0.42 m., at bottom 0.37 m.;
L. at top 0.69 m., at bottom 0.40 m.

Ornamented at one end only with cross with slightly spread ends.

Some ten impostes and seven mullion capitals have been noted at Corinth, apart from those listed below, whose sole decoration is a simple cross at one or both ends. Although the forms given to the cross in the several examples vary slightly, the differences are slight and in view of the lack of external evidence for chronology it seems hardly worth while to illustrate them.

103. AM 270. Mullion capital (?). Pl. 29.

H. 0.14 m.; W. at top 0.265 m.; L. at top 0.62 m.;
Diam. of disc on bottom 0.20 m.

The ornament is a common type of cross; the only peculiarity to the piece is its fitting for a cylindrical column, for which compare one from Delphi (Laurent, *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 215 A, which has P instead of a cross and is said to be sixth century in date).

104. AM 24. Impost-capital. Pl. 29.

H. 0.18 m.; W. at top 0.35 m.; L. at top 0.69 m.;
Diam. of column 0.35 m.

The capital is Ionic in form; the sharply projecting impost has a cross of a typical form, for which compare an example from the propylon of Basilica A at Phthiotic Thebes (Soteriou, *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.*, 1929, p. 67, fig. 75) dated around 450.

105. AM 90. Fragment of mullion capital (?). Pl. 29.

H. 0.16 m.; W. 0.23 m.

Remarkable only for the structural form, which includes the top of the mullion (or column shaft) with the capital, the cross extending over both elements.

106. AM 103. Impost. Pl. 29.

H. 0.125 m.; W. at top 0.145 m., at bottom 0.115 m.;
L. at top 0.50 m., at bottom 0.19 m.

Design, on one end only, a circle indicated by a double line in relief, within which a cross with flaring end so treated as to seem almost like a formal rosette.

At least nine other impostes and mullion capitals, apart from those listed, were noted at Corinth, representing some variation on this theme depending on the distinctness with which the cross emerges from the rosette. Most of them reveal the cross more immediately than this.

107. AM 355. Impost. Pl. 29.

H. 0.16 m.; W. at top 0.22 m., at bottom 0.13 m.;
L. at top 0.58 m., at bottom 0.13 m.

Design, on one end only, a fairly distinct cross with slightly tri-lobed ends within a circle. The chief interest of this piece is that it was recut from a mullion capital or impost which had originally been decorated at each end with acanthus leaves.

108. AM 21. Capital-impost. Pl. 29.

H. 0.26 m.; W. at top 0.68 m., at bottom 0.355 m.

The capital part is of the Ionic type; the impost is decorated at one end with acanthus leaves flanking a circle within which is a monogram of the cross combined with X and I, and possibly P. In technique it resembles our examples of the Justinianian period.

109. AM 262. Fragment from impost (?). Pl. 29.

H. 0.135 m.; W. 0.315 m. Unusually hard, crystalline, white marble, marred by darker veins and a large irregular nodule of larger crystals of the darker material.

A chi-rho cross monogram within a circle, flanked by a water leaf and an acanthus at the corner (on each side). Fine, sharp, detailed work.

Compare work at Delphi (Laurent, *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 220, fig. 5 A) and Basilica A at Phthiotic Thebes (Soteriou, *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.*, 1929, p. 65, fig. 70), the latter about 450, the former fifth-sixth century.

110. AM 46. Fragment of impost. Pl. 29.

H. 0.17 m.

Almost exactly the same design as No. 109, but softer, more rounded forms.

111. AM 140. Mullion capital. Pl. 29.

H. 0.10 m.; W. at top 0.13 m., at bottom 0.04 m.;
L. at top 0.24 m., at bottom 0.15 m.

Remarkable among other things for its miniature size. On one end a moulding of the classical Ionic base type; on the other a cross chi-rho monogram carved in low, flat relief, but delicately and neatly.

Apart from the size, the Ionic-base profile on the rear is curious. It shows that such a profile was used on capitals, at least occasionally.

112. AM 204. Fragment of impost or capital. Pl. 29.

H. 0.29 m.; W. at top 0.34 m., at bottom 0.24 m.

Design on front a circle within which a cross with heart-shaped devices in the space between the arms, creating a kind of rosette; on the side a scroll and bud-like palmette. The relief is slight and the carving soft and rounded.

113. AM 69. Fragment of mullion capital. Pl. 29.

W. *ca.* 0.25 m.

Design a rosette of lotus-bud-like element joined by apices of outer leaves, within a circle. Flat but strong, full grooves making the outlines.

This is a well preserved example of a rosette of moderate complexity as compared with those ornamenting some seven or more other imposts and mullion capitals noted. The forms range from radiating narrow leaves to radiating floral forms slightly more intricate than this.

114. AM 416. Fragment of mullion capital. Pl. 29.

H. 0.11 m.; W. at top 0.165 m., at bottom 0.125 m.; projection *ca.* 0.19 m.

Design a rosette within an inverted omega. The rosette is of the type with radiating narrow leaves, in this case with devices in the intervals.

115. AM 367. Mullion capital or impost. Pl. 29.

H. 0.14 m.; W. at top *ca.* 0.26 m., at bottom 0.19 m.; L. at top 0.564 m., at bottom 0.325 m.; Diam. of column setting 0.18 m.

Decorated with a simple rosette in high relief.

Two other examples of this type of rosette were noted at Corinth, one on a mullion capital almost the twin of this except that the bedding surface was rectangular, 0.27 m. by 0.105 m. For the type of impost compare one from Rhodes (*Ἀρχαῖον*, VI, p. 14, fig. 8) dated by Orlandos as Early Christian; for the type of rosette see also a slab in Berlin (Volbach, p. 29, no. 2923) dated in the ninth or tenth century.

116. AM 55. Fragment of mullion capital. Pl. 29.

H. 0.10 m.; W. 0.13 m.

Design a rosette of no particular distinction, framed above by a panel rectangular save for a concave side to receive the rosette.

117. AM 187. Impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.12 m.; W. at top 0.145 m., at bottom 0.11 m.; L. at top 0.495 m., at bottom 0.11 m.

Overall pattern similar to No. **116**, but the rosette consists of concentric bands divided radially into sections.

118. AM 264. Impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.135 m.; W. at top 0.165 m., at bottom 0.13 m.; L. at top 0.52 m., at bottom 0.14 m.

Ornamented at one end with acanthus of which arms curve outward along sides and enclose palmette displayed upside down in the middle.

Similar in type to No. **119**, but remarkable for the quadrangular frame and the flat, crude carving. A forerunner or a debased follower?

119. AM 327. Impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.115 m.; W. at top 0.15 m.; L. at top 0.49 m.; bearing surface *ca.* 0.11 m. square.

Design at one end similar to No. **118** but crisper and more controlled, and distinguished by the almost circular field of the palmette. This is the basic pattern for devices used with considerable variation throughout the full Byzantine period.

For this compare especially, perhaps, an example from St. Gregory Theologos in Thebes (Soteriou, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1924, p. 21, fig. 34) of the ninth century. In addition to the examples from Corinth listed here some ten other examples of the device on imposts and mullion capitals were noted, differing chiefly in technique and degree of stylization, and in the tendency to avoid a sharply defined field for the palmette.

120. AM 131. Impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.18 m.; W. at top 0.20 m.; side of square at bottom 0.16 m.; projection 0.26 m.

A variation of the above device constituting almost a sub-type, in which the central division is especially prominent. The workmanship in this example is unusually smooth.

Compare examples from Mistra (Millet, pl. 62, fig. 6).

121. AM 72. Impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.17 m.; W. at top 0.18 m., at bottom 0.145 m.; L. at top 0.54 m., at bottom 0.155 m.

A strangely disordered example of the type above.

122. AM 71. Impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.12 m.; W. at top 0.16 m., at bottom 0.08 m.; L. at top 0.54 m., at bottom 0.11 m.

Another variation on the type of No. **119** in which (unless it has been cut down at the end more than appears) the lower part of the pattern assumes such a weight in the proportion as to create an X shape as the basis of the design.

123. AM 383. Capital-impost for mullion. Pl. 30.

H. 0.185 m.; W. at top 0.21 m., L. at top 0.59 m.; Diam. of column 0.20 m.

This is an unusual piece, partly for its form. It is treated as an impost-capital with the capital, 0.05 m. high, designed after the Ionic order. The device on

one end of the impost is a kind of rosette consisting of a circle circumscribing a square within which cross diagonal lines; on the other end a floreatation of acanthus leaves in the form of a reverse S backed against a normal S with leaves in the space at the bottom, the whole approaching the form of an inverted omega.

124. AM 93. Impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.13 m.; W. at top 0.165 m.; L. at top 0.45 m.; bearing surface at bottom 0.15 m. square.

On one end an omega within which a palmette. Broad, deep carving.

Another example of this device, not so well carved, was noted at Corinth.

125. AM 168. Impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.075 m.; W. at top 0.245 m., at bottom 0.22 m.; L. at top 0.29 m., at bottom 0.24 m. Made of green, serpentine-like stone.

Carved on each end with a delicate spray-like palmette or anthemion.

Compare an "Early Christian" capital in Desianes in Thessaly (Giannopoulos, *Ἐπιτηρίς Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, XVI, 1940, p. 375, fig. 5).

126. AM 98. Fragment of impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.105 m.; W. at top 0.16 m., at bottom 0.145 m.; projection at end 0.10 m.

Ornamented with design somewhere between palmette and anthemion.

127. AM 340. Impost-capital. Pl. 30.

H. 0.15 m.; W. at top 0.25 m., at bottom 0.245 m.; L. at top 0.62 m., at bottom 0.37 m.

Apart from the structural form, the remarkable feature of this piece is the "Sassanian palmette" ornamenting one end of the impost; it is the best example of this device at Corinth.

128. AM 143 *bis*. Impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.12 m.; W. at top 0.15 m., at bottom 0.115 m.; L. at top 0.50 m., at bottom 0.185 m.

Design at one end a crudely conventionalized palm leaf.

Compare an example "after the seventh century" at Salona (Krautzsch, no. 841, pl. 49, p. 235) and a Coptic design (Krautzsch, no. 835, pl. 50, p. 235). Two other designs on this theme, even more debased, were noted at Corinth.

129. AM 136. Fragment of impost (?). Pl. 30.

W. 0.43 m.

Design a circle with the chi-rho monogram, with alpha and omega at the sides, all in low relief neatly carved.

130. Not inventoried; found in the theatre where it remains, behind the stage. Capital for half-column and attached pier. Pl. 30.

H. 0.20 m.; W. at top 0.39 m., at bottom 0.33 m.; L. at top 0.695 m., at bottom 0.53 m.

The column end (B) is ornamented with a row of acanthus leaves of conventional type. The pier end (A) carries a design depicting three seven-branched candlesticks (Menorah) between which are palm branches (Lulab) and citron (Etrog).

I have had the advantage of discussing this remarkable piece with Mr. Joseph Nehama of Saloniki, who consulted on my behalf Prof. Cecil Roth of Oxford. These gentlemen concur in the opinion which is most conveniently summarized in the following quotation from a letter from Prof. Roth which I am grateful for permission to publish: "This feature (the Menorah, Lulab, and Etrog) is exclusively Jewish. Occasionally the candelabrum is found in a possibly Christian connotation, and sometimes too the Palm-branch: but the Etrog so far as I know never, and the combination of the three is utterly convincing. I fancy that this symmetrical grouping is unique: moreover, the citron is rarely shewn so plainly and so prominently without other cult objects. I cannot help wondering whether this combination may not have some bearing on the theory of the close relations of Hanukah and Tabernacles, already indicated in the Book of Maccabees.

"The fragments almost certainly derive from a Synagogue."

From the technique of carving and the form of the capital one would suppose that the capital dates from the fifth century.

131. AM 232. Fragment of impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.12 m.; W. at top 0.16 m., at bottom 0.11 m.; L. 0.14 m.

Ornamented at one end with an angular pattern of rows of diamonds, square cut like a stencil. Probably Kufic influence.

132. AM 406. Sculpture Inv. 1168. Fragment of impost. Pl. 30.

H. 0.14 m.; W. at top *ca.* 0.21 m., at bottom 0.15 m.; projection *ca.* 0.29 m.

Design a bird with elaborate wings and head bent forward to peck at breast; the empty spaces filled with sprays of acanthus.

133. AM 381. Impost. Pl. 31.

H. 0.15 m.; W. at top 0.19 m., at bottom 0.10 m.; L. at top 0.57 m., at bottom 0.10 m.

On the rear a whorl; on the front a bird standing by a cross, the top of which it touches with its beak. Feathers indicated conventionally by light etching.

134. AM 412. Fragment of mullion capital consisting of part of one end including part of one side. Pl. 31.

Pres. H. 0.135 m.; W. 0.13 m.

On the front two birds' heads apparently emerging from a floreation and looking toward the corners; on the side another bird's head also looking toward the corner. The design is lively but the cutting is careless. Compare inverted omega designs.

135. AM 379. Fragment of mullion capital. Pl. 31.

H. 0.20 m.; W. at top 0.19 m., at bottom 0.11 m.; projection 0.19 m.

The design represents an animal, possibly a lion, striding outward while looking backward, his tail waving over his back. Much worn.

136. AM 332. Impost. Pl. 31.

H. 0.14 m.; W. at top 0.275 m., at bottom 0.18 m.; L. at top 0.47 m., at bottom 0.14 m.

Ornamented at one end by figure of lion or mastiff standing to right but looking back over his shoulder toward his tail waving over his back.

137. AM 303. Impost. Pl. 31.

H. 0.125 m.; W. at top 0.195 m., at bottom 0.15 m.; L. at top 0.65 m., at bottom 0.15 m.

Ornamented on one end with floreation (compare No. **122**), at the other with a lion or mastiff crouching toward the outer edge but with his head turned back over his shoulder as he bites his tail which is elaborated into a floral pattern.

MOULDINGS

Plates 31–35

Here we include examples of mouldings from string-courses in walls and piers, door frames, lintels, and perhaps other functional members. In only a few cases is it possible to be specific about the function, but there seems to be little difference in the use of ornament. Thus again the order of listing is in terms of ornament: first water leaves, then acanthus, acanthus and water leaves, circle patterns, rectangular-frame patterns, floral patterns, guilloche, and a few others.

138 a, b, c. Not inventoried; **a** still in position on one of the columns of the Early Christian façade in Peirene; **b** and **c** in the entrances to the apses of the fountain court. Mouldings carved on the ends of re-used architrave-frieze blocks. Pl. 31 (**a** and **b**; **c** not illustrated).

H. 0.53 m.; W. at top 0.37 m., at bottom 0.42 m.; L. of carved surface 0.60 m.

Ornamentation includes several varieties of large, flat, dryly cut leaves.

139. AM 375. Moulding. Pl. 31.

From Peribolos of Apollo.

H. 0.165 m.; projection 0.135 m.; pres. L. (of complete section) 0.62 m.

Design of stubby water leaves with darts between; on the preserved section is also a cross. All in low relief of flat but not finely finished surfaces, the design indicated in part by coarse incision.

Two other fragments of a closely similar piece noted, one built into the church on Acrocorinth.

140. AM 376. Moulding. Pl. 31.

From Peribolos of Apollo.

H. 0.14 m.; projection 0.09 m.

Design of water leaf alternating with acanthus, in the same style as No. **139**, near which this was found.

Apart from those listed here seven other fragments of moulding of similar design but varying technique were noted. See also some of the impostes, e.g. No. **83** above.

141. AM 255. Fragment of moulding. Pl. 31.

H. 0.28 m.; Th. at top 0.13 m., at bottom 0.045 m.

The same design as No. **140**, but in a different technique of carving in which the relief is higher and there is a distinct body to the forms, although they remain primarily surfaces rather than plastic masses. Compare a fragment from Athens ('Αρχαῖον, II, p. 209, fig. 7) dated by Orlandos in the fourth or fifth centuries.

142 a, b, c. AM 28 *a, b, c*. Three fragments of heavy moulding. Pl. 31 (**a**).

Found near Bema.

H. *ca.* 0.28 m.; W. and D. vary, since cut from classical blocks, max. W. 0.85 m., max. D. 1.34 m.

The pattern is alternating acanthus and water leaf, carved boldly but carelessly, with a considerable range in the dimensions of the corresponding elements.

A closely similar fragment was found at the foot of Acrocorinth and now lies by the fountain of Hadji Mustapha at the foot of the path leading up the mountain, half a mile south of the excavation area. For the possible attribution of these blocks to the Propylaea see above, p. 14.

143. AM 350. Lintel from iconostasis. Pl. 31.

H. 0.09 m.; Pres. L. 0.75 m.; D. 0.20 m.

A rectangular dressed surface for a capital underneath. The design is alternating acanthus and lotus, although the outline of the outer leaf of the lotus begins with a loop under the acanthus leaves and

continues up and presumably over the acanthus to join its mate on the other side, creating a sort of frame for the acanthus.

Compare No. 144 below; also moulding in the church of the Pantokrator (Seirek djami) in Constantinople (Ebersolt and Thiers, p. 204, fig. 104) of the twelfth century; St. Demetrios Katsoures in Arta (Ἀρχαῖον, II, pp. 64–65, fig. 7) of the thirteenth, and the funeral monument of Michael Tornikes in Constantinople (Bréhier, pl. XIII) dated 1328. At least five examples of mouldings apparently decorated by rows of acanthus alone, and of a more natural style, were noted at Corinth but were too mutilated to be informative.

144. AM 30. Fragment of lintel of iconostasis. Pl. 32.

H. 0.115 m.; D. at top 0.34 m., at bottom 0.19 m.

Design includes a cross with flaring arms in a depressed circle on the under surface; on the front, on the axis of the lower cross, is a similar cross with an acanthus and leaf or bud pattern very similar to No. 143, though perhaps more angular.

For this quality compare mouldings in the church of the Panoptes (Eski Imaret djami) in Constantinople (Ebersolt and Thiers, p. 181, fig. 93) of the twelfth century, where the design is, however, more precise; the eleventh century church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (Ἀρχαῖον, IV, p. 20, fig. 12); a church at Nerezi in Serbia (Millet, *L'ancien art serbe—les églises*, Paris, 1919, p. 141, fig. 152); and the Metropole at Mistra (Millet, pl. 45, no. 4).

145. AM 236. Moulding. Pl. 32.

H. 0.13 m.

Almost vertical face; design similar to preceding but more conventionalized and with heavier emphasis on the verticals.

146. AM 17. Moulding. Pl. 32.

H. 0.22 m.; W. of slab 1.12 m.; D. of slab, 0.50 m.

Design of acanthus leaves, characterized by the fact that the lowest leaf on each side is dissociated from its spray and attached to its neighbor to form a prominent lunette. The background is cut away deeply and sharply.

For a possible parallel of this particular feature see the base moulding around certain capitals in the church of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike (Soteriou, pl. 40α, p. 165) dated around 450; compare also our No. 147.

147. AM 300. Moulding. Pl. 32.

H. 0.15 m.

The design is of a row of acanthus leaves, characterized by the fact that the points of adjoining leaves meet each other neatly defining crisp triangular spaces, clearly cut back between.

For this effect compare minor mouldings on several fifth-century capitals: Acheiropoietos in Thessalonike (Krautzsch, no. 431–432, pl. 26); the Golden Gate in Constantinople (Krautzsch, no. 155, pl. 11); Jerusalem (Krautzsch, no. 314, pl. 20; no. 323, pl. 21); and also the capitals from Lechaion (above No. 55). But compare also a moulding on the archivolt of a tomb from Thessalonike of the eleventh or twelfth century (Soteriou, pl. 56γ, p. 182).

148. AM 221. Moulding. Pl. 32.

H. 0.13 m.

Acanthus leaves alternately upside down and right-side-up, joined by tendril making bold S curves.

Compare a moulding from Basilica A at Phthiotic Thebes (Soteriou, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1929, p. 73, fig. 82) of the sixth century, where the lines are more vertical and square; also a fragment from Stobi (Kitzinger, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, III, fig. 140), although here the leaves are split as in our No. 150 below.

149. AM 319. Moulding. Pl. 32.

H. 0.14 m.

Pattern as in preceding, but softer and more generalized carving.

Compare mouldings in the north door of the "Little Metropolis" in Athens.

150. AM 107 A, B. Two fragments of crown moulding for screen. Pl. 32.

H. 0.18 m.; D. at top 0.195 m.; groove on bottom for slab 0.055 m. wide.

The fragments are remarkable in having on one side a double pattern of Lesbian leaf and egg-and-dart in quite classical form apart from the vividly sharp and deep cutting-away of the background; on the other side a pattern consisting of acanthus separated by darts or spears. The remarkable feature of this side is that the acanthus is split at the base so that while the outlines are preserved they are formed by leaf-ends growing out of an undulating line rather than on an even quasi-organic stem or root. Indeed, since this undulating line does not divide the spear, the effect, from one point of view, is that the spear is the focus of each unit with sprays of leaves bending toward it on each side. The total effect is an unusually ingenious fusion of separate elements by interlocking or overlapping rhythms. I saw a very careless but similar design on a fragment on Acrocorinth with an inscription.

For the split-leaf effect compare the example cited above from Stobi (our No. 148) although this lacks the spear; at Hosios Loukas there are leaves (not split) between a device vaguely resembling a spear (Schultz-Barnsley, pl. 12) from about 1000; for the violent

colorism compare capitals from Phthiotic Thebes (Krautzsch, no. 452, pl. 27, p. 139) dated after 500; a moulding from the *ambon* of Basilica A at Phthiotic Thebes (Soteriou, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1929, pp. 91–97). Compare also mouldings from the church of the Panaghia at Ephesos (Keil, IV, i, pp. 59–60, fig. 70) also of the early sixth century. A fragment from St. Gregory Theologos at Thebes, of the ninth century (Soteriou, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1924, p. 15, fig. 23) has the device of split leaves and a spear in extreme form. Compare No. 157 below.

151. AM 210. Moulding. Pl. 32.

H. 0.125 m.

Face practically vertical; design of definite circles formed by interlocking loops, within which palmettes. Carving crisp and fresh.

Compare moulding from the Panaghia at Ephesos, period IV (seventh century) (Keil, IV, i, p. 67, fig. 82).

152. AM 362. Moulding. Pl. 32.

H. 0.16 m.

Ornamented with palmette in running circles. Distinguished from No. 151 by the more prominent horizontal sweep of the undulating lines forming the circles.

For this compare a sixth-century moulding from Smyrna (Ἀρχαῖον, III, p. 133, fig. 5).

153. Not inventoried; in Southeast Building where found. Moulding cut on heavy slab. Pl. 32.

H. 0.16 m.; W. 0.91 m.; D. 0.295 m. On the top a square cutting at the right end 0.24 m. wide and 0.04 m. deep; from this a groove leads to the left end 0.06 m. wide, 0.13 m. from the front edge.

It would seem that the block carried a post and screen, perhaps in a tribune gallery. The design is like that of No. 152 except that the palmette is taller, the leaves more slender and numerous, so that they look more like a palm branch. Also the relief is much lighter. For the shape of the leaf see moulding of the tenth-twelfth centuries at Smyrna (Ἀρχαῖον, III, p. 151, fig. 31); also Mistra (Millet, pl. 48 no. 3, pl. 49 no. 3).

154. AM 358. Moulding. Pl. 32.

H. 0.11 m.; projection *ca.* 0.08 m.

Circles containing whorls and "Sassanian palmettes," separated by knots.

Compare moulding from Athens (Xyggopoulos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1915, p. 65, fig. 20) of around 1000. A lintel using the same general scheme, more trimly executed, is built into the church on Acrocorinth.

155. AM 365. Moulding. Pl. 32.

H. 0.12 m.; projection 0.07 m.

Alternating large and small circles formed by undulating lines; the circles contain whorls and crosses, and between the large circles are lotus buds.

Compare mouldings from Delphi (Laurent, *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 264, fig. 24) of the fifth or sixth centuries, although the Delphi design is more floral in motif, from Chios (Orlandos, *Chios*, pl. 7) which lacks the "lotus," and from Smyrna (Ἀρχαῖον, III, p. 148, fig. 22). Ours is distinguished by the crudity of its workmanship.

156. AM 349. Several fragments of moulding cut on heavy slab. Pl. 32.

H. 0.15 m.; W. 1.10 m.; D. 0.61 m.

Design of broad palm leaves assuming approximately rectangular forms between tall straight-sided ovals containing rosettes and short palmettes. Clean carving with moderate relief.

Another fragment noted at Corinth has a similar arrangement of block palm leaves, but with broader leaves and "Theodosian" coloristic drilling.

157. AM 387. Sculpture Inv. 1325; Inscription Inv. 875. Lintel. Pl. 33.

H. 0.20 m.; Pres. L. 2.00 m.; D. on top 0.42 m.

On the face a design 0.185 m. wide consisting in part of an arcade containing crosses and a floral motif, in part of a floral pattern in which S-curved tendrils with acanthus-like leaf-edges rise from the base of alternate vertical darts. On the bottom a miscellaneous band 0.25 m. wide of running leaf tendril, cross, rosettes, and a boss containing an inscription. The workmanship is only fair, the carving strong but not deep.

For the inscription, whose sense is obscure, see *Corinth*, VIII, i, no. 321, and *C. G-C. I. H.*, I, i, *Peloponnes, Corinthia* (ed. Bees), no. 12, where Bees dates the inscription to the eleventh or twelfth century. For the arcade motif see the screen of the prothesis at Hosios Loukas (Schultz-Barnsley, p. 23) dated about 1000; examples at Mistra (Millet, pl. 48, no. 6, pl. 49, nos. 1, 3, 6), and Smyrna (Ἀρχαῖον, III, pp. 148–152, figs. 12–32). For the design of split leaves compare No. 150 above.

158. AM 398. Fragment of lintel. Pl. 33.

Not found in excavation.

H. 0.135 m.; D. on bottom 0.29 m.

The face has a rather unintegrated array of floral and interlace designs in sections and bosses; also a bird bending to peck the ground or its foot. On the bottom, toward the right, the beginning of a guilloche 0.16 m. wide.

Published by Philadelphus (Δελτ., IV, 1918, Παράρτημα, p. 9, no. 4). For the sectional character

see No. 157; also Hosios Loukas (Schultz-Barnsley, pl. 27), about 1000. For the knot compare a piece from Mistra (Millet, pl. 49, no. 1). For the feather-like device compare St. Soter near Amphissa (Ἀρχεῖον, I, p. 194, fig. 11) of the twelfth century. In general compare a twelfth-century lintel from Athens (Εὐπετήριον, p. 43, fig. 30).

159. AM 65. Moulding, perhaps door jamb. Pl. 33.
H. 0.19 m.

Design a series of rectangles formed by two strands outlined on both sides, running along the edges but breaking in to the center to interlock at intervals. Within the panels, palmettes and floreations.

Compare tenth-eleventh century work in Athens (Xyggopoulos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1915, p. 64, figs. 16, 21; Εὐπετήριον, p. 42, figs. 21, 22); twelfth-century work at Hosios Meletios (Ἀρχεῖον, V, p. 97, fig. 44); undated work at Mistra (Millet, pl. 48, no. 15). In addition to those listed here at least two other examples of the design in terms of rectangles were noted at Corinth, distinguished chiefly by the delicacy of work.

160. AM 318. Moulding from top of door frame. Pl. 33.

H. 0.14 m.

Similar to No. 159, but more delicate; note also twist moulding on border.

161. AM 354. Lintel or door molding. Pl. 33.

H. 0.13 m.

Similar to No. 160, but simpler.

I saw a similar fragment near the second gate on Acrocorinth.

162. AM 405. Sculpture Inv. 2370. Door moulding. Pl. 33.

H. 0.14 m.

Similar to No. 159, but on the preserved panel is represented a bird.

163. AM 395. Moulding from doorjamb. Pl. 34.

Th. 0.13 m.

Running tendrils manipulated to form heart-shaped designs, broken at one point by figure of man (David?) playing a harp.

For the floral pattern compare fragment in monastery of Hosios Meletios dated to twelfth century (Ἀρχεῖον, V, pp. 98–99, figs. 45–46); also, though ours is more developed, one from St. Gregory Theologos at Thebes (Soteriou, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1924, pp. 19–20, fig. 31) of the ninth century. For more elaborate developments of the scheme see examples from Mistra (Millet, pl. 48, nos. 7, 10).

164. AM 124. Lintel. Pl. 33.

H. 0.13 m.

Floral pattern like that of No. 163, but more stylized and schematically carved; what appears to be tail of peacock appears at right. On lower surface a running tendril marks the edge; a dressed surface for the supporting member cut into the bottom.

For the design compare a carved beam from Siponto (Volbach, p. 70, no. 6670).

165. AM 361 a, b. Two fragments of moulding. Pl. 34.

H. 0.15 m.

A still more stylized version of the same floral design, appearing as a series of eye-like patterns enclosing floreations based on the palmette, or rosettes, with leaves against the edges. Very shallow relief and soft carving.

A kind of resemblance in the working may be seen in an impost from the tribune of Saints Sergios and Bakchos in Constantinople (Ebersolt and Thiers, p. 46, fig. 23), of the sixth century, although there the relief and carving are sharper. A closer parallel may be found among examples at Mistra (Millet, pl. 48, no. 10, pl. 49, no. 3, pl. 52, no. 7).

166. AM 64 and AM 32. Two sections of moulding, one including a corner. Pl. 34.

H. 0.24 m.

Design ultimately the same as No. 165, but so stylized as to appear almost geometric. Carving fairly distinct and relief moderately deep, but strictly in two planes, the outer being perfectly flat.

Compare No. 165 above, and for an intermediary phase see examples from Mistra (Millet, pl. 59, nos. 9–10).

167. AM 345. Two fragments of door frame. Pl. 33.
Total W. 0.13 m.; D. 0.225 m.

On one moulding is a series of acanthus leaves; on the other a running tendril with acanthus sprays.

168. AM 413. Three fragments in marble, two in granite, of what seems to be one system of moulding although the profiles are not exactly the same throughout. Pl. 34.

All fragments discovered together in Late Roman bath in South Stoa (*Corinth*, I, iv, p. 151).

Total H. ca. 0.16 m.; total D. ca. 0.18 m.; W. of carved face ca. 0.13 m.

Design a running tendril undulating along the stone with acanthus leaves bent backward to fill the empty spaces. Fairly intricate work, with three lines marking the tendril. Some seven other fragments of the same type of design were noted.

169. AM 424. Fragment of moulding (or large impost). Pl. 34.

H. 0.15 m.

Cut from classical column.

Ornamented with S-shaped sprig of acanthus.

170. AM 122. Moulding. Pl. 34.

H. 0.12 m.

Design like that of No. **168**, but more naturalistic.

Compare example illustrated by P. Orsi in his *Chiesi Basiliani della Calabria*, Firenze, 1929, p. 165, fig. 113.

171. AM 61. Moulding or impost. Pl. 34.

H. 0.115 m.

Design similar to No. **168**, but undulations more pronounced creating spaces almost semi-circular in shape to be filled with leaf-sprays.

Compare an impost in St. Nicolaos near Skripou (Schultz-Barnsley, pl. 60), about 1000.

172. AM 45. Fragment of moulding or mullion capital. Pl. 34.

H. 0.16 m.

Design similar to No. **168**, but simpler and broader.

173. AM 144. Moulding. Pl. 34.

H. 0.15 m.

Similar to No. **168**, but with greater elegance. I saw a more elaborate fragment near the outer gate of Acrocorinth.

174. AM 422. Moulding or door frame. Pl. 34.

H. 0.23 m.

One zone has a band of acanthus and cross; the other an unusual pattern of a rope running through approximately rectangular panels separated by knots or loops. Clearly cut.

175. AM 188. Moulding or door frame. Pl. 34.

H. 0.13 m.

A fairly delicate and complex guilloche of three strands consisting of three threads each; along the edge a twist.

Compare a moulding from Hagios Trias Kriezotou (Ἁγίου, V, p. 11, fig. 7) dated to the twelfth century. The best of half-a-dozen essentially simple guilloche patterns noted at Corinth.

176. AM 251. Moulding or door frame. Pl. 34.

H. 0.16 m.

A heavily designed guilloche characterized by not being a true interlace; rather, each of the two strands runs in alternate gentle curves and sharply pointed bends, the latter in one strand laid over the former in the other, without actually intertwining.

Compare mouldings dated to the seventh or eighth centuries in Athens (Εὐρετήριο, p. 59, fig. 46); also undated examples at Mistra (Millet, pl. 47, nos. 7–9). At least one other example of similar form noted at Corinth.

177. AM 47. Three joining fragments of moulding. Pl. 35.

From near Bema.

H. 0.15 m.

Design a rather crudely carved frieze of disintegrated floral motifs arranged in a way to suggest block-like division and carved to recall Kufic patterns. A boss is carved with a whorl.

178. AM 356. Moulding or impost. Pl. 35.

H. 0.085 m.; projection 0.07 m.

Design, on two sides, of "Sassanian palmettes" within rectangular frames of floral or Kufic origin; the whole impression is of Kufic pattern, including the flat face and shallow relief.

Compare a moulding on a slab in Athens (Soteriou, *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, XI, 1934–1935, p. 260, fig. 43) which Soteriou dated (pp. 248–249) in the second half of the eleventh century.

179. AM 308. Moulding. Pl. 35.

H. 0.13 m.

Design in rectangular panels of various patterns, some Kufic, some checker-board, at least one palmette and a simple whorl.

Illustrated by Soteriou (*Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, XI, 1934–1935, p. 233, fig. 1) and dated (p. 246) by him in the tenth century. Another fragment, possibly of the same moulding, was noted.

180. AM 230. Moulding on heavy block. Pl. 34.

H. 0.15 m.

Design of squares or triangles, or from another point of view, of 4-pointed stars. Sharp, deep cutting in angular grooves.

181. AM 316. Moulding on block. Pl. 35.

H. 0.14 m.

The design includes a rectangular panel containing a cross between simple acanthus sprays and rosettes, and part of another panel with a sort of net pattern. Carving good in low relief with rounded surfaces.

182. AM 8. Moulding or impost. Pl. 35.

H. 0.13 m.; W. (from joint surface on left) at top 0.33 m., at bottom 0.24 m.

On the front a cross between acanthus leaves; on the side a net or scale pattern. Similar to No. **181**.

183. AM 360. Fragment of lintel (?). Pl. 35.

Pres. W. 0.33 m.

The nature of the piece is problematical. Assuming that the fragmentary projection at the bottom represents a vertical, the carved surface slopes outward and upward so as to look downward. The ornament consists of a whorl surrounded by a band describing a circle but looped on itself at the side to form smaller

twists flanking the cross. As the loops are designed alike instead of as opposites, there is a rotary movement suggested.

184. AM 359. Fragment of moulding with projection and bracket above a smooth surface. Pl. 35.

H. 0.35 m.

The design is a fairly conventional classical one with frieze, dentils and ovolo, 0.175 m. high. The background has been cut out radically and the forms of leaves and darts reduced to edges, so as to produce a marked colorism, and almost abstract design.

Compare fragments of Sidamara-type sarcophagi in the Byzantine Museum at Athens, and mouldings on a plaque in Paris (H. M. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'art byzantin*, Paris, 1932, I, p. 85) thought to date from around 400. Our fragment may be from a sarcophagus, or perhaps a pulpit. Another fragment of what may be the same monument was found at Corinth.

MISCELLANEOUS

Plate 35

We list here a few fragments which do not seem to fit easily into the categories above.

185. AM 301. Fragment of slab with parts of two archivolt. Pl. 35.

H. 0.23 m.; L. 0.75 m.

Between the arches a cross; over the arches a simple design of pyramids.

186. AM 19. Font, perhaps made from capital. Pl. 35.

H. 0.33 m.; W. at top 0.49 m., at bottom 0.22 m.

The top and corners are outlined with stylized laurel spray or chevron; on one side is a cross, on the other a disc. The interior is hollowed out as a basin, except for a projection on one side. The workmanship inside and out seems homogeneous, but the design outside seems more appropriate to a capital than to a font.

For the pattern compare work at Basilica B at Philippi (Lemerle, pl. XLVII) of the early sixth century; but for bands of leaf edging a capital compare one in the church of the Theotokos in Thessalonike (Krautzsch, no. 701, pl. 42, p. 206) of about 1028. See also Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1924, p. 11, fig. 16.

187. AM 402. Block of archivolt. Pl. 35.

H. 0.215 m.; Diam. of circle of opening represented, ca. 2.50 m. *Poros* stone.

Sole ornament a saw-tooth pattern, probably cut in imitation of similar patterns commonly worked out in brick.

188. AM 403, A & B. Two blocks of archivolt. Pl. 35.

Total H. of each 0.225 m.; Diam. of circle of opening ca. 1.00 m. *Poros* stone.

Sole ornament, on one edge, a series of pyramidal projections with incised lines bisecting each face of each pyramid vertically, horizontally, and diagonally. Compare Nos. 185 and 187.

189. Not inventoried; fragments are east of Temple J. Doorframe, almost complete, including lintel and most of two jambs. Pl. 35.

The lintel consists of a rectangular beam with parts of each end beveled to receive corresponding bevels in the jambs. The effective width of the door internally on the lintel is 1.22 m.; externally, 1.50 m. The overall thickness of the lintel is 0.395 m.; in this is cut, behind the lower edge of the moulding, a rabbet 0.045 m. high and 0.145 m. wide. The decoration consists of simple bands, with a total width of 0.175 m. The pieces from the jambs are similar in form; the effective height of the door internally, measured on the moulding of the (apparently) complete jamb, was 2.18 m.

190. AM 23. Beam end. Pl. 35.

L. ca. 0.98 m.; W. 0.26 m.

The block was cut from an ancient marble statue, traces of whose drapery are preserved. For most of its length it is roughly squared; at the rear end and just behind the front carved end it is neatly squared and reduced in size. The front end is carved with a lion-like face. It is hard to imagine its function; perhaps its rear end rested on a wall, the carved end on a post, and beams supporting a balcony lay on the specially prepared bedding surfaces. I have seen on churches in Greece, in the Palestine Museum in Jerusalem, and at Pisa (no doubt many examples exist elsewhere) roof waterspouts of similar general character, cut as troughs so that the water issues from the mouth; but this is solid.

191. AM 397. Small column with base and capital. Pl. 35.

It is not certain that all belong together, although base and capital are quite similar. Column: H. 0.85 m.; Diam. 0.11 m. Capital: H. 0.16 m.; W. at top 0.24 m. Base: H. 0.11 m.; W. at bottom 0.24 m.

The capital is ornamented with a floral design of acanthus, and two birds on the front. It is possible that these belong to a window, but perhaps more likely that they helped support a pulpit or other piece of church furniture.

CHAPTER III

PLANS AND TYPES OF BUILDINGS

It remains to summarize the types of buildings constituting the community in its several periods, discussing first the commercial, civic, religious (including graves) and domestic architecture and with these some service features like storage devices and drains, then public areas like markets and streets and the town plan as a whole. Again our problem is complicated by the fact that our two main periods are not precisely comparable in the kind of material available from them, and because the great diversity of buildings at Corinth provides little opportunity for generalization or mutual explanation, while the lack of published material from other sites deprives us of help from outside.

COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

A distinct contribution of Corinth to knowledge of mediaeval architecture is in the field of commercial buildings.¹ Substantially all the new information comes from the later period; during Early Christian times the classical shops continued in use. Indeed, the classical system of shops, particularly on the Lechaion Road

¹ For literary evidence on the subject see Koukoules, II, i, pp. 235ff. Especially interesting in a general way, though apparently with no tangible direct application to our own buildings, is the list of regulations governing the practices of various tradesmen contained in the "Book of the Prefect" of the ninth or tenth century, ed. by J. Nicole, "Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον, le livre du préfet ou l'édit de l'Empereur Leon le Sage sur les corporations de Constantinople," *Memoirs de l'Institut National Genevois*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 1-100; tr. by A. E. R. Boak in *Journal of Economic and Business History*, I, 1928-1929, pp. 597-619. Many kinds of tradesmen are confined to shops in certain areas; others, e.g. victualers, have shops distributed through the city; others set up tables in special streets but do not have shops. Note the particular provision that dealers in Syrian silks must conduct their business from an inn.

(7-9 D-G) and perhaps in parts of the Northwest Shops (3 I to 6 H) and West Shops (1 I to 2 M), was available and in use, though no doubt modified, through the tenth century and perhaps into the eleventh. This seems to be a reasonable inference from the detailed topographical examination we have made, and it is certainly the easiest way of explaining certain features of the twelfth-century complex.

In any case the market of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, and thence on into the thirteenth and later centuries, was characterized by shops lining the market *plateia* and some of the chief avenues of approach. This is essentially the same as the classical arrangement, in its broader outlines. The composition of the market *plateia* as such we shall consider later, but the nature of the shops themselves deserves particular attention here.

There were at least three kinds of shops, meaning here accommodations devoted to trade, as differentiated from industrial establishments or service enterprises like restaurants. There were, for example, structural complexes each containing a number of shop spaces and nothing else; these are of the order of the classical stoa or modern office building, in which presumably individual business men rent or lease quarters from the common proprietor. Of this type were the original shops lining the market north of the Bema, those just west of these below the Tower Complex (6-7 L), and those lining the Market Avenue on the north (4-5 K), against the wall of the monastery. These were built in units of two to six rectangular rooms in a line, all facing on the public area in front. In the course of time

there may have been additions to the original units, or the original units may have been destroyed and replaced by others. Each shop space is separate, normally, from the others, and neither the individual shops nor the larger units belonged intimately to other still larger operative units. In the monastery group a colonnade lined the whole series in front.

The twelfth-century structure north of the Bema (7 K to 8 J) presents a special phenomenon with an illuminating history. It will be recalled that the early shops in this area were replaced about the middle of the twelfth century by a loggia, an open porch faced on the front with a line of piers. Behind, between the back of this porch and the Bema church, was a series of rooms facing on an open corridor just north of the Bema. The rooms were not related to the loggia; at least they did not communicate with it on the ground floor.

The loggia itself is a remarkable structure, taken in relation to the classical stoa on the one hand and the late mediaeval and renaissance Italian loggia on the other; with its square piers and possibly arcaded façade it bears an essential resemblance to the latter, and the art-historical implications of this are of some interest. The question of immediate concern, however, is the function of the loggia in the twelfth-century Corinthian market: whether it was considered as a single unit, to be used either for civic or commercial business or for recreation, or whether it was to be considered as divisible in any respect. To the latter view the subsequent history may give some weight. In its later years walls were built from the piers back to the wall, converting it into a series of shops; this could suggest that even in the "loggia period" definite space might be rented in the portico, by individual merchants.

It would be of real interest to know whether these shop buildings were private real-estate ventures or publicly built accommodations. It might be reasonable to assume that those in

front of the Bema were owned by the Bema church, and those on the south side of the monastery by the monastery.

A second type of shop seems to be exemplified on the south side of the Market Avenue (4-5 L), where we find a series of rooms superficially resembling the others, but apparently distinguished from them in that the shops of the second type were presumably erected by individual proprietors for their own use as retail outlets for the industrial establishments connected with them to the rear. This is indicated not only by the fact that the shops did connect with the glass and pottery factories to the south, but by the fact that although in their total impression, on the plan, they look like a single row of shops faced with a colonnade, actually the first three, easternmost, shops had their own porch consisting of four columns in front and two on the side; the next unit is distinct and has a different design.

The third type is less clear in detail, but is undoubtedly to be identified in the buildings lining the South Road on the east (9 K-L). Here we observe a line of plain quadrangular rooms lining the street, associated with other rooms or open areas behind them. There is no real indication as to the use of these buildings, but they give the impression of the miscellaneous small retail establishments lining the streets in the area of the business district of a Greek town or village today: food supplies, general merchandise, small industries like shoemaking or jewelry in which things are sold from the same room as that in which they are made.

Thus we may identify three kinds of shop: the shop building (with the loggia, perhaps, as a sub-type), the special shop outlet of a large industrial operation, and the miscellaneous individual small retail establishment.

With regard to other types of commercial buildings we have less opportunity for analysis or generalization, being possessed of fewer examples or lacking sure information. The exception is the glass and ceramic industries,

represented by several factories (5 L–M) which have been well described elsewhere.² Apart from these we can only summarize the variety of activity represented among our buildings.

We have two wine presses, one of the tenth century east of the southern part of the South Road (10 L), the other of the twelfth century at the junction of the Southeast Road with the sub-market (10 J). Of these the former was better built, but the latter better preserved with its service yard and other related structures. In actual fact the presses themselves differ in no essential from those in use today. If correct, the hypothesis that the building at the end of the Southeast Road was a wholesale establishment for raisins would be of considerable interest to the economic history of the town. It would be part of this interest that in all probability the proprietor, or operator, lived on the premises.

We may also allude to the hypothesis that the structure at the entrance of the South Road into the market plateia was an inn (8–9 J). To this may be compared the Early Christian structure behind the Hemicycle (6 C–D). Both have kitchens, storerooms, and upper floors; neither would seem to have been a private residence. The twelfth-century inn on the plateia may have had shop spaces on the ground floor to rent out for other commercial purposes.³

Related to these is the tavern in the sub-market (10 I), for which there seem to be no strictly Byzantine parallels, although the type would seem strange neither in Pompeii⁴ nor in a contemporary Greek town.

Finally should be mentioned the bathing establishments. Of these there are two of the developed Byzantine period—one southeast of the Tower Complex (6–7 M), one at the

northern end of the Lechaion Road (8 C), and one of the Turkish period, in the South Basilica (9 O) area. Here the interesting thing again is that, so far as the incomplete remains suggest, these establishments preserved the essential features of the Roman bath with hypocausts of the same general sort, wall flues, small basins for immersion and large heated rooms. They differed primarily in the quality of construction and appointments. They were quite small, of course, but this may reflect an economic rather than a social factor. It seems clear from literary evidence that in Byzantine culture, as in Roman and Islamic, the bath was a prominent feature of life.⁵

CIVIC BUILDINGS

In view of the abundant and widely varied remains of commercial architecture, it is disappointing to find that there is little from the later period that can be positively identified as civic or political in function, nor does it relieve the disappointment to realize that we can no longer study the "Governor's Palace" (above, pp. 46–47) which would be pertinent here. The situation, however, suggests certain reflections of some importance.

Speaking first of the Early Christian period, we recall that there is reason to suppose that the great Basilica above the Lechaion Road had been demolished by the beginning of the fifth century, the South Basilica even earlier, and that the Julian Basilica, at least according to theory (above, pp. 9–11), may have been converted into a church. A real question is, what provision was then made for the litigation which must have continued as a prominent feature of Corinthian life through the fifth and sixth centuries while the city remained a provincial capital. The only conclusion must be that there were other buildings outside the excavated area which were suitable for this purpose, though some courts, with other ad-

² *Corinth*, XI, pp. 7–14; *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 297–324.

³ Perhaps the best parallel is at Kasr il-Benât (Butler, *Syria*; Sect. B, pp. 139–142; also pp. 188–189, 268, 275–279). See also de Beylié, pp. 45–46, 71; Koukoules, II, i, pp. 128–141, especially 137–141, 193–195. See also above p. 123, note 1.

⁴ Cagnat-Chapot, *Manuel d'archéologie romaine*, Paris, 1916, I, pp. 239–242.

⁵ Koukoules, II, i, pp. 419–467.

ministrative offices, may have been housed in the remodeled structures of the South Stoa.

In subsequent periods, however, the South Stoa was probably no longer in condition for such purposes. We have seen reason to believe that in the tenth, and perhaps the ninth, century the administrative center had moved to quarters arranged in the remains of the Northwest Shops (4-5 H-I), where there was a prison and a palatial room with religious paintings suitable for a private chapel (above, pp. 46-47).

For the twelfth century some governmental functions may have been housed in the Tower Complex (6-7 L) and in the isolated building at the east end of the market plateia (8 J). These one-room buildings of superior quality of construction are appropriate to administrative use but to little else. Whether they housed offices of the imperial administration or of local government can hardly be answered. In addition some of the isolated buildings at the west end of the market plateia may have had some such use.

Finally may be mentioned the Southeast Building (11-12 J-K), surviving throughout the entire mediaeval period and serving, according to our hypothesis (above, p. 12), as the archiepiscopal palace.

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Here we have to do with the hypothetical Early Christian church in the Julian Basilica (11-12 H-I), the churches on the Bema (8 K), in the monastery of St. John (3 J), and in Peirene (9 H), the monastery itself (2-4 J-K), and the hypothetical episcopal palace in the Southeast Building (11-12 J-K).

From the analytical point of view this array of monuments has little to offer, important though they may be in the history of the community as a whole. The hypothetical Early Christian church provides no solid detail on which to rest a certain restoration and analysis

(above, pp. 9-11); the church in Peirene is unknown to us save for its existence. The churches on the Bema and in the monastery were of an ordinary kind with no particular significance in the study of church architecture as such, at least so far as our information goes, and we cannot even be sure whether they were basilican or had some form of the cross plan in their best periods. Their chief interest lies in their relation to the buildings associated with them.

The monastery, too, followed a fairly conventional plan.⁶ The most remarkable feature, perhaps, is the relatively small number of rooms that seem to have been the actual cells of monks, but no doubt most of these were on a second floor; the ground floor rooms were probably public rooms, storerooms, and the like. The apparent lack of an arcaded or colonnaded cloister is perhaps remarkable, too, although some later walls along the sides of the courtyard may represent the addition of a row of vaults supporting a gallery and producing externally something of the appearance of an arcade, perhaps in the thirteenth century.

The most noteworthy structure from many points of view is the hypothetical "episcopal palace" in the Southeast Building. As we have seen, there is good reason to suppose that this structure remained a monumental building, though much repaired, and was in part at least residential. If it was the episcopal palace, it was a center of ecclesiastical administration in Early Christian as well as Byzantine times. But it is unsafe to take it as the basis for consideration of a type of palace building, for it was a classical structure only clumsily converted to new use.

There is one type of religious structure, however, for which we have a large body of information from Corinth, namely, graves and tombs. Although some of these hardly deserve

⁶ For Greek monastic architecture see Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, Athens, 1927; also *Ἀρχαίον*, I, 1935, pp. 161-178; II, 1936, pp. 70-75; V, 1939-1940, pp. 34-106; VI, 1951, pp. 72-110.

the name of architecture, others were elaborately and well constructed, and in a real sense represent an architectural form, though completely subterranean.

We have already had occasion to review the types (above pp. 29-31) without having gone

type, large tombs with sides of masonry supporting barrel-vaulted ceilings.

Of these perhaps only the tombs deserve the name of architecture and in any case there is little to be said about the simpler graves. On the other hand the larger tombs, flat-roofed or

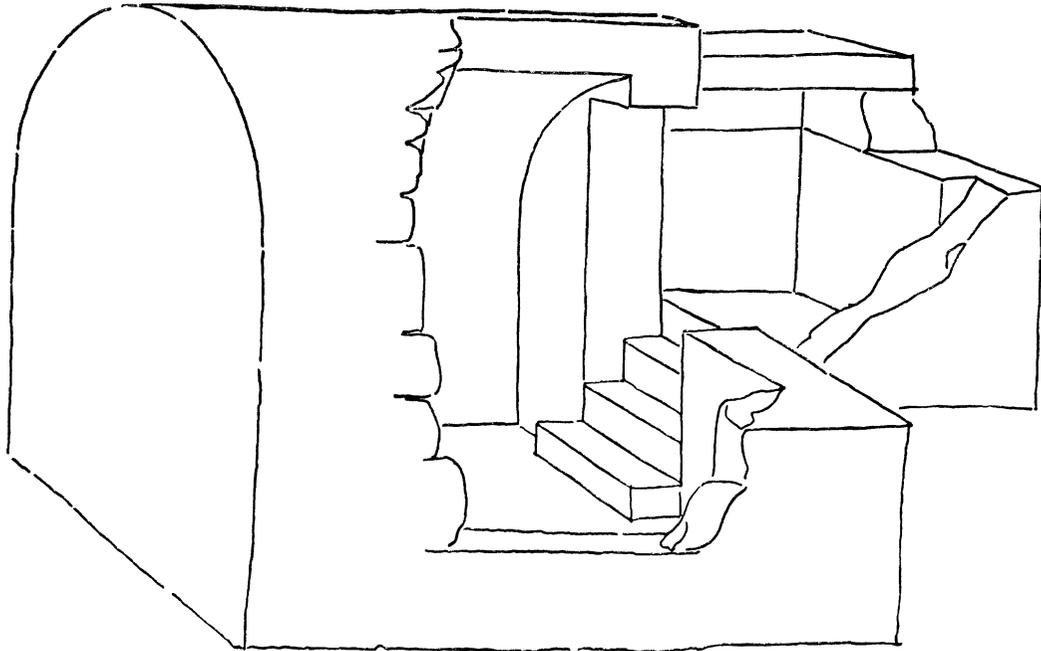


FIGURE 12. SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF VAULTED TOMB. SCALE *ca.* 1:40

into detail as to the manner of construction.⁷ The types include, first, simple interments in the earth without any kind of cover or protection for the corpse beyond, perhaps, a shroud or winding sheet (there is no clear evidence for wooden coffins, though they may have been used sometimes); second, burials in the earth with the corpse covered by roof tiles or paving tiles arranged tent-like, in an inverted V, or rarely with vertical side-lining and other tiles laid flat across the top; third, rectangular cist-graves, the sides lined with slabs of stone on edge and covered with other slabs laid horizontally; fourth, larger tombs with several burials, the sides being lined with masonry or occasionally slabs and the top covered with slabs laid horizontally; and, finally, the fifth

vaulted, differ only in the manner of roofing; otherwise their details are similar. These details, however, are sufficient to deserve some mention.

Like the flat-roofed tombs (Pl. 17₁), the vaulted tombs (Pl. 17₂ and Fig. 12) consisted essentially of a burial chamber and an entrance. They varied somewhat in size, but not widely. The interior of a large example, but not the largest, measured some 2.00 m. in length by 1.35 m. in width, and 1.85 m. from the floor to the (vaulted) ceiling. The walls were built of smallish stone set in good cement, and the entire wall surface was covered with good cement plaster. The floor either was paved with tiles or fragmentary slabs of marble or was, sometimes, the bare earth.

The entrance chamber was a rectangular pit, often lined with *poros* stone slabs set on edge; the free space in the middle was normally

⁷ For types elsewhere in Greece see Soteriou, *Χριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Αρχαιολογία*, A, Athens, 1942, pp. 61-79; D. Pallas, *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1950-1951, pp. 163ff., 175ff.; and 1937, pp. 847-865 (published in 1955).

about 0.80 m. square. The floor of the entrance chamber lay about 0.90 m. below the top of the slab lining; the chamber was normally covered with slabs, but whether it was filled with earth or left open is less certain. It is also not quite clear how deep below the ground level the top of the entrance chamber was. In the tombs inside the churches the cover-slabs were often at floor level; in outside tombs they may have been buried to some slight depth.

In any case the west side of the entrance passage was the east wall of the tomb, and through this wall there was a door flush with the floor of the entrance passage. This door of the example noted above measured 0.55 m. wide and 0.65 m. high. Through the door descended perhaps four small steps; the top of the door was a meter or more above the floor of the tomb. The door could be closed by a slab of stone fitting into neatly cut reveals around the door opening; at least some such effort at close fit was made in the better tombs.

The tomb was used many times: for each fresh interment the bones of preceding burials were usually, though not always, swept aside. At least one structure of the sort we have been describing was used as an *osteotheke*, a sanctified depository for bones from disturbed burials in a crowded cemetery (Pl. 17₂), but most of the structures of this type seem to have been family vaults, used through several generations and perhaps re-used by other families if abandoned but rediscovered at later periods.

It is difficult to forbear commenting on one feature of the tombs which seems wholly unsatisfactory: the narrow and tortuous entrance. It must have been extremely difficult to introduce a corpse into one of these tombs, spacious as the interior is; and it is perfectly clear that the corpse could not have been in a coffin.

There is no evidence for any chronological development in these types of tombs and burials. The tile burial is likely to be thought of as Early Christian, but occurs around the

Bema church at least as late as the twelfth century; the slab-lined cist graves as preserved seem to occur in places most easily available during the late sixth to the eighth or ninth centuries, but at least one example, in the North Market, was definitely dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The flat-roofed tombs might seem to be predecessors of the vaulted tombs, particularly since many of them fall within the late sixth to early ninth century period, when large elements of the structure of classical buildings were easily available and easily assembled. However there is some reason to suspect that vaulted tombs were used in the sixth century (above, p. 11), and flat-topped tombs were used in the twelfth century, in the Bema church and in the church of the monastery of St. John.

DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

It is significant in estimating the character of the Byzantine community in its various periods that there are only a few buildings in the area under discussion that can be regarded with any confidence as houses. This will emphasize the fact that the city through the twelfth century and no doubt later extended far beyond the boundaries of the excavated area; there must have been a considerable population to support the commercial activity presumably represented by the buildings which have been revealed. This is obvious in any consideration of the Early Christian community, which maintained almost the entire classical Agora in its original extent for public use, and must almost equally be true of the subsequent periods while the Agora remained open; it must also be true to some extent during the eleventh and succeeding centuries when the area of the Agora was overrun with commercial and industrial structures.

This circumstance, however, considerably reduces our opportunity for the study of the Byzantine house as such, although we are

singularly fortunate in having just the monuments we have. Information on Byzantine domestic architecture is by no means abundant. A certain amount can be derived from the study of mediaeval literature,⁸ and a good deal more from an examination of mediaeval mosaic and painting.⁹ But actual remains of houses come either from the early Christian period, represented by a great number of houses in Syria,¹⁰ or from the fourteenth century or later, represented by houses at Mistra¹¹ and by other, much later, houses from other parts of Greece.¹² All of these, however, are peripheral in time or place, and the real nature of the Byzantine dwelling during the full Byzantine period has been a mystery.

The limited material at Corinth does make a clear and tangible contribution to the solution of the mystery. The most definite starting point is the primary room in the house north of the Peribolos of Apollo dating from the sixth century (9 D–E; pp. 17–20, Fig. 1), and the closely similar rooms in the tenth-century house east of Peirene (10 G–H; pp. 39–41, Fig. 2) and in the twelfth-century house at the branching of the Market Avenue (3 L, Plan VI). The significant character of these rooms lies in their long, quadrilateral plan with entrances irregularly located, and chiefly in the fact that they were divided into two approximately equal parts by a sort of screen through the upper part of the room supported on pilasters against the walls and, if needed, by one or two columns between. If this manner of subdividing the room be taken as a sign of the type, we may

see a variation in the twelfth-century house east of the bath at the north end of the Lechaion Road (9 D), where the room was divided into three sections instead of two by pilaster-like spur walls along the sides, in a room south of the glass factory (6 N, northwest corner, Plan VI), and perhaps others.

This type of room could be taken as simply an adaptation of the typical structural form of Early Christian Syrian architecture, where flat roofs and ceilings of stone slabs were commonly supported by arches spaced at intervals along the room. Specifically the characteristic form of the primary room in the Syrian house (called, as revealed by inscriptions—see note 13—a “triklinon”) is that of a rectangle divided longitudinally by a single arch of this sort. In Syria there was a definite structural reason for the device (to support the slab ceilings), which is lacking in the Corinthian houses; indeed the house east of Peirene had a vaulted ceiling and others may have been vaulted. But the aesthetic form is the same. Irresistable corroboration of the identification of the Syrian type of house with the Corinthian is a latrine in one corner of the sixth-century house north of the Peribolos of Apollo, set slightly in a niche but projecting largely into the room, just as in the typical Syrian house. This is in itself a remarkable peculiarity, and the combination of the two features can hardly be an accident.¹³

It is true that the Syrian triklinon included features absent at Corinth, notably the curious arrangement of stabling animals in the house, often in what amounts to the triklinon itself, separated from the living quarters only by a row of mangers. But the Syrian towns were close to agriculture and Corinth to commerce

¹³ A casual examination of the many illustrations in Butler's *Syria, Architecture*, will reveal almost innumerable examples of the type in both northern and southern Syria, more abundantly in the south. Note particularly a house at Medjdel (*Syria, Architecture*, Section A, Part 2, pp. 120–123), where an inscription identifies the room as a “triklinon.” The full type is abundantly exemplified at Umm-id-djemal (Part 3, p. 203) and Būsân (Part 5, pp. 336 ff.). Compare also de Beylié, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 ff.

⁸ Koukoules, IV, pp. 249–317.

⁹ de Beylié, *L'habitation byzantine*.

¹⁰ Butler, *Syria, Architecture*.

¹¹ Most completely treated by Orlandos in *Ἀρχαῖον*, III, 1937, pp. 3–114, especially pp. 53–114.

¹² See, for the best examples, Orlandos in *Ἀρχαῖον*, II, 1936, pp. 180–194; III, 1937, pp. 187–193; IV, 1938, pp. 196–210; V, 1939–1940, pp. 198–205. It might be useful to note also a study of Mesopotamian houses and their influence by E. Gerland in *Burgwart*, XVI, 1915, pp. 10–19, “Die Wohnhaus der Byzantiner”; and O. Reuther, “Das Wohnhaus in Bagdad und anderen Städten des Irak,” *Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft herausgegeben von Cornelius Gurlitt*, Heft 16, Berlin, 1916.

and industry. Nevertheless the Syrian triklinon house seems to have exerted a definite influence on Corinth as early as the sixth century, establishing a tradition to last at least into the thirteenth century.

Apart from the triklinon itself, the Syrian type of house was characterized by several stories, balconies, sometimes towers, almost always courtyards with other isolated structures, and often a portico of some sort. Although some of these features may be suspected more or less confidently in some of the Corinthian triklinon houses, they cannot be described in any detail on the basis of the remains as preserved. It is, therefore, impossible to extend the comparison beyond the triklinon.

Finally, among the characteristic features of the Syrian house are exterior staircases ascending from the courts. This is a feature characteristic of Greek houses today and may have origins in other regions than Syria, quite independently. Whatever the origin, they may be observed in structures like that south of the wine press on the Southeast Road (10 K), in the courtyard of the monastery (4 K), and elsewhere. Since the triklinon, or the Syrian triklinon, is not evident on the ground floor of these buildings, their stairways may have an origin in some other tradition, although they may still derive in some sense from Syria.

Thus we may identify one type of house, the Syrian triklinon type, and suspect another type, the courtyard with stairs surrounded by miscellaneous rooms not including (on the ground floor, at least) a triklinon of Syrian type. It is possible that a third type may be seen in the building in front of the south section of the West Shops (2 L-M) in the twelfth century, characterized by three long parallel halls bearing an uncertain relation to rooms east and west. This arrangement hardly emerges as a type at Corinth, but apparently has a number of parallels among contemporary

buildings in Athens¹⁴ and once the type is accepted variations and imperfectly preserved examples may be suspected among some of the remains along the southern side of the excavated area, south of the so-called Temple of Apollo, within the Hemicycle, and perhaps elsewhere. The interpretation of the plan is problematical; one of the three halls may represent an open courtyard, or all may have been covered, or, they may represent the basement structure, with the main rooms to be located above.

It may be simple coincidence that the Southeast Building (12 J-K) maintained a similar plan throughout its history, that is, one dominated by three parallel halls. If it is not pure coincidence, it is possible that the building, for all that it was essentially an adaptation of the pre-existing plan of an administrative structure, contained the elements of a genuine palace type, and as such influenced the form of the smaller buildings in question. De Beylié illustrates and discusses¹⁵ a palace with a superficially similar plan in Venice, the so-called Fondaco dei Turchi, which was built in the eleventh century and later became the Municipal Palace.

Apart from these types and hypothetical types of formal residence, one should also bear in mind the probability that the owners and proprietors of the various industrial and commercial establishments filling the southern part of the excavated area lived in small rooms on the premises, in some cases at least. It would no doubt be wrong to affirm that this was so in all instances, and it would be futile to attempt to discriminate. But the picture of domestic architecture in Corinth during the Byzantine period would be incomplete if this aspect of the situation were left out of account.

Finally there is the question of kitchen and toilet facilities in the houses. As to the latter

¹⁴ As Mr. Eugene Vanderpool has pointed out to me on unpublished plans of the mediaeval walls uncovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 187-189.

we have one indisputable latrine in the Early Christian house north of the Peribolos of Apollo, with a bathroom as well. The latrine was highly efficient in the disposal of sewage and waste, however one may regard the desirability of its location in the main living room. For other houses, however, we have less definite evidence. Numbers of sewage pits were discovered throughout the excavations, simple unlined pits, but it was seldom possible to determine their date accurately, and hence their relation to specific buildings. Presumably these pits were normally located within a courtyard or behind a house, perhaps partially protected by walls of mud brick or even wood.

Apart from the definite traces of cooking facilities in the buildings we have identified as inns there were no clear evidences for stoves of any formal structural sort. Cooking was probably done on braziers in the principal rooms or in the courtyards of the houses, as is the practice today. The modern house normally has a fireplace, but such facilities were not observed among the remains of the mediaeval community.

SERVICE STRUCTURES

It seems desirable to include some observations on such structures as pithoi, cellars, and other storage devices, cisterns, and drains. Although not all of these are strictly architectural, they are clearly related to architectural compositions at least functionally, and some of them are architectural in conception.

Pithoi

The most common storage device of any permanence was the pithos, of which we may identify two general types: those essentially ceramic and those which were built up of masonry. Both types seem to have been used throughout our entire span of time. Although

they do not differ widely in interior shape, under favorable circumstances some sort of chronology of shapes might be determined, but under the conditions at Corinth this does not seem feasible. The reason is that once set up a pithos can be used over a long period of time, even several generations, so that its contents when discovered are not a close indication of its date; on the other hand the many disturbances of the earth around them make it difficult to relate them to their original stratification.

We may therefore try simply to give a general idea of the nature of these vessels by describing a few typical examples. One of the best examples of the ceramic type still stands among the foundations of the Propylaea (Pl. 18₂), to the east of the stairs, above Peirene. It is cracked and the cracks are sprung, but it is about 1.50 m. high, 1.35 m. in greatest interior diameter, and 0.42 m. in interior diameter at the throat. The material is a strong, coarse, heavy fabric three to four centimeters thick, and like all other ceramic pithoi it was covered with several coats of thin plaster or cement. Another, which is still buried with its mouth at the original floor level near the northern end of the Southwest Street toward Acrocorinth, is about 1.20 m. high and about the same in interior diameter, the mouth being 0.57 m. in interior diameter. It illustrates a normal feature, that such buried jars were commonly protected around the neck by a packing of small stones and broken tile resting on the shoulder of the jar and presumably constituting the fill of the cavity in which the pithos is sunk, to floor level. Two pithoi in the west hall of the Southeast Building illustrate what was probably a fairly common type of rim for pithoi sunk to floor level: a broad lip, surrounded by an approximately equally broad channel within a raised edge (Pl. 18₃). This seems obviously to be a device for preventing waste of liquids. But many pithoi seem to have been only half-buried.

The built pithoi have approximately the same shape and are of various sizes, but characteristically they may be quite large (Pl. 18₁). Several were as much as two meters deep with an interior diameter of around 1.70 m. They are built sturdily of masonry consisting of small stones and tile fragments laid up like walls 0.25–0.30 m. thick, in good hard lime cement. The interior surface is well finished with waterproof cement. Not infrequently there is a projection built into the side to aid in descending into the pithos and getting out again. Commonly the built pithos has a wide rim with a raised outer edge, leaving a sunken band ten to thirty centimeters wide and four to ten centimeters deep, to receive a lid.

Quite evidently these pithoi were used for the storage of liquids, or conversely of grains or materials which had to be kept dry. Thus they may have served as cisterns, for the storage of wine or oil, or for grains.

Cellars

For less perishable or fugitive commodities other devices, not necessarily water-tight, would serve. Unlined pits, indeed, would suffice for most needs, and the excavation area was almost honeycombed with these. Commonly, cylindrical pits with relatively loose masonry linings but well laid floors of tiles or stone slabs were adequate. Apart from these a few actual cellars were identified, all of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, one in the monastery of St. John, one east of the Tower Complex, and two north of the Peribolos of Apollo.

These cellars were often vaulted, and were built of small stones sometimes in mud mortar, sometimes in lime. The walls were not lined. One of the cellars north of the Peribolos of Apollo measures 2.90 m. in length, 2.00 m. in width, and 2.00 m. in height; the other is about 2.35 m. long, 1.85 m. wide, and 2.85 m. high. There are holes in the wall below the spring of the vault for beams for centering

during construction; the vaults themselves were made of squared blocks in strong lime cement. A hole in the curve of the vault near one corner gave access to the cellar; the best preserved measures some 0.40 m. square and is built up like a chimney to the floor level of the room above. In some of the cellars more or less adequate foot-holds were built into the wall to aid in entrance and exit, but it must have been a precarious business to use them and no doubt ladders were used.

Cisterns

A number of cisterns were found, apart from pithoi which may have been so used. Of the best preserved examples we describe the largest, one north of the Peribolos of Apollo of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the smallest, at the north end of the Southwest Street. Both are built of small stone and hard cement masonry, and lined on the interior with good hard waterproof cement.¹⁶

The smaller had a flat roof, covered with slabs. It was 0.50 m. wide and 1.15 m. long at the top (0.70 m. wide and 1.35 m. at the bottom), and was 1.25 m. deep. The largest is 4.73 m. long, 3.35 m. wide, and 3.45 m. high to the top of the vault. Another, not so long or wide, is 3.70 m. high.

The larger cisterns have the corners treated in a characteristic way, with what may be described as re-entrant corners. Along the edge of the floor there is a ledge 0.10–0.20 m. high and about as wide; a similar projection occurs in the vertical corners, though not so prominent. The floor hollows down to a neatly smoothed, hemispherical sump at one end. The room is entered by a hole in the top similar to that in the cellars (Pl. 18₄).

In the two well preserved large vaulted cisterns, the waterproof lining does not rise higher than the spring of the vault, and the

¹⁶ Compare the enormous Early Christian cistern in Acrocorinth, *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 257–259.

mineral-deposit lines indicating the various habitual water levels do not quite approach even this height.

In the sides of the cisterns, including the smallest, one or more blocks of stone project a few centimeters from the surface of the wall, well covered with the waterproof cement. They were evidently intended to facilitate entrance and exit, but with regard to the large cisterns it is difficult to see how anyone could transfer his weight to these projections on the wall as he let himself down through the hole in the roof some distance out from the wall. With regard to the small cistern, however, it is difficult to see why such aid should be needed.

Drains and Water Channels

Numerous short stretches of drains and water channels were found, but little that was broadly informative. Most common were stone-lined and covered drains, as large as 0.40 m. in breadth; the most important drained the sub-market into the Northeast Road, and the region from Peirene northward. There are also some carefully made water channels (Pl. 36₁). Many short stretches of fitted and unfitted tile pipe were also found, but details are no longer available in useful form. Wells, sometimes lined with stone, provided some water, as did Peirene; the fountain of Glauke no longer functioned. Much of the water supply must have been from rain, judging from the cisterns.

GROUP PLANNING

It remains to consider the larger forms of the community, composed of the individual elements we have discussed. Here we have to do with the composition and significance of the public areas, and with the question of town planning.

In the late classical and Early Christian cities the Agora was the center of a rectangular system of streets. The Lechaion Road con-

tinued northward as far as the edge of the lower terrace of the city, and a road led southward for some distance continuing it in the opposite direction; there was a parallel road from the western end of the Agora to the Asklepieion, and another skirting the eastern edge of the Agora. There were streets running approximately east and west behind the South Stoa on the southern edge of the Agora, just north of the archaic temple, and at the foot of the terrace just to the north of that. Thus what information we have suggests that there was a street system in rectangular blocks. We know almost nothing, excepting with regard to a few monuments described by Pausanias, about the districts traversed by this street system.

In the twelfth century, whether the rectangular grid outside the excavated area persisted is not known, although it probably did. The same lines of traffic seem to be represented by the new streets which developed among the buildings covering the area of the ancient Agora, converging on the smaller focus of the new market. A maze of alleys and irregular open areas was left between the unregulated buildings as they appeared; a few quite new streets—the North Road, the Northwest Road to Sikyon—developed along natural paths. Along the streets of the new system were mingled many varied concerns: there were whole blocks devoted to certain single interests, like the ceramic quarter southwest of the market, the builders' supplies (?) north of the archaic temple, the shop streets like the Market Avenue, the Lechaion Road, and the South Road; but other, unique, industrial or commercial enterprises were scattered about; and religious and political buildings were dispersed here and there, particularly near the market. The entire excavated area seems to constitute all or part of a comprehensive "business district" of which the market square is only a part. But throughout this district are scattered houses of quality as well as poorer dwellings. Presumably the relative proportion of resi-

dences would grow higher in the zones more remote from the market plateia.

In all periods the market was the focus of everything. That the character of the market place remained essentially the same throughout its history, in spite of fluctuation of size and affluence, is perhaps the most significant revelation of the excavation. From late classical and Early Christian times through the twelfth century it provided representation to all aspects of social, economic and political life, and a center for expression of community interests. The central flight of steps and the remodeling of Peirene in the Early Christian period; the statue of Constans in mid-seventh century; the stepped ramp through the Propylaia in the tenth, together with the "Governor's Palace" in the Northwest Shops and the maintenance of the open Agora, are all in this spirit. The relatively crude and simplified structural techniques of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are hardly impressive in comparison, but the successful effort to maintain a moderately trim square, the loggia, and the Market Avenue with its porches are monumental in spirit, and the churches rising above would have added some dignity.

The significance of this concept of the agora in relation to Byzantine culture in general depends to some extent on the degree to which it represents direct survival of classical tradition, influence from abroad, or an inherently Byzantine concept of life. It would be natural to regard it as a direct inheritance from classical antiquity, especially since so much of classical Corinth survived physically into the Byzantine period. But many apparent survivals, of less tangible nature, may be only coincidence. It is striking that there should be a Market Avenue lined with columns in the twelfth century to compare with the Lechaion Road of classical times, but there can be no question of the twelfth century Corinthians' having imitated their classical predecessors directly, for the Lechaion Road colonnades

were gone by the twelfth century. It is even a question whether they were imitating any colonnaded avenues at all, for in a way the colonnades of the Market Avenue are really composed of a series of individual porches. Under present conditions it may be impossible to decide whether they represent a tradition of monumental colonnades still alive in such a city as Byzantium or were local inventions developed from practical needs that are forerunners of a later style of colonnade not directly related to antiquity.

Thus the survival of classical attitudes cannot be tested within the limits of our material. As to the possibility of influence from abroad, in the first place, as the impetus to the development of twelfth century Corinth may be suspected in the opening of the city to Venice in 1082 and to other Italian cities soon after, it might seem reasonable that some influence of Italian ideas of town planning and architecture should be felt in Corinth. To this hypothesis the loggia north of the Bema might lend some support. In fact, however, we know too little of town architecture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in western Europe to examine this problem with much confidence, although in view of the chronology it is really more likely that the influence was in the other direction.¹⁷

¹⁷ It is hard to identify unequivocal examples of Italian town plans of this period. In Turin, Florence, and Lucca, however (F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town Planning*, Oxford, 1913, p. 88, fig. 15; p. 93, fig. 17B; p. 96, fig. 18), the early mediaeval plan must survive in some degree as even the classical plan of a rectangular grid of streets is still apparent. But no "forum" or central square from the full middle ages is evident.

See, in general, Pierre Lavedan's *Histoire de l'urbanisme—antiquité, moyen âge*, Paris, 1926, and T. F. Tout's "Mediaeval Town Planning," *Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library*, IV, 1917, for a summary of evidence from France, Germany and England especially. From these it appears that there is little positive evidence for conditions earlier than the thirteenth century, although A. E. Brinckmann in his *Stadtbaukunst — Geschichtliche Querschnitte und neuzeitliche Ziele*, 1920, pp. 1–24, speaks generally of some existing plans like that of Carcassonne as though they remain unchanged from still earlier time. Lavedan seems to conclude (p. 449) that the market as an architectural organism does not appear until the fourteenth century; the stages in its development he describes (pp. 453ff.) as, first, simply a street along which were facilities for market functions; second, particular con-

On the other hand there is the possibility of influence from the east, either directly, or indirectly through Byzantine cities in Asia Minor. One possible source of information would be the later phases of Doura-Europos, which was absorbed into the oriental tradition in the third century. But here the agora area was completely reorganized formally and functionally; it was overrun by a maze of streets and shops constituting a kind of "bazaar."¹⁸ The persistence of the Agora at Corinth, then, shows that the kind of orientalism dominant at Doura made no impression at Corinth.

Another kind of orientalism, later but more vigorous, was Islam. An example of a "pure" Islamic city—one developed on the basis of Islamic culture and tradition alone—hardly exists; normally the Islamic cities were developed in earlier cities like Antioch, Damascus, Aleppo, and a few others. On these the classical plans of the earlier cities left their impress in the street systems, as at Corinth, but the agora was obliterated. An Islamic city normally had a *maydan*, or parade ground, for military exercises and grand displays; important mosques were located in a large open

concentration of these functions in a wide place in the street; third, a designated *place*, normally near the center of the town and at the intersection of important streets, a phase not achieved until the end of the middle ages.

An interesting and perhaps significant exception is the *bastide* (Lavedan, *op. cit.*, pp. 330ff.; Tout, *op. cit.*, pp. 12ff.; Haverfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144; L. Testut, *La Bastide de Beaumont en Périgord*, Bordeaux, 1920; Caroline Shillaber, "Edward I, Builder of Towns," in *Speculum*, XXII, 1947, pp. 297-309). The *bastides* were communities chiefly in southern France founded by royal initiative to counterbalance the power of local nobility, mostly between 1150 and 1250. All were laid out on the same general scheme: streets in a quadrangular grid, a formal quadrangular market near the center surrounded by arcades behind which were broad walks covered by vaults, and other peculiarities.

Although the architectural form of the market of a *bastide* is thoroughly homogeneous and integrated (see particularly the illustrations in Testut's volume I, pp. 68ff.), in comparison to the discreet arrangement at Corinth, the sudden appearance of so completely developed a distinct form in Europe at this time suggests the possibility that the inspiration came with the crusaders from the Byzantine east.

For suggestions leading to the above remarks I am indebted to Prof. George Cuttino of Emory University.

¹⁸ F. E. Brown, *Excavations at Doura-Europos, Preliminary Report on the Ninth Season of Work, 1935-6*, Part I, "Agora and Bazaar," Yale University Press, 1944, pp. 52ff. But for the term "bazaar" see also below, note 19.

space; there might be a produce market in an open square near the edge of the city; there might also be small squares throughout the city, but nothing really comparable to the multiple-purpose agora.¹⁹

¹⁹ A notion of a "pure" city may be derived from accounts of the city of Kufa in Irak, founded in 638: see L. Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kûfa (Irak)," in *Mémoires de l'Institut Français du Caire*, LXVIII, 1953 (*Mélanges Maspero*, vol. III), pp. 356ff. For the others see J. Weulersse, "Antioche—Essai de géographie urbaine", *Bulletin d'études orientales*, Institut Français de Damas, IV, 1934, (printed 1935), pp. 27-79; J. Sauvaget, "Le plan de Laodicée-sur-mer," *op. cit.*, pp. 81-114; Sauvaget, *Alep—essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIX^e siècle*, Paris, 1941; K. Wulzinger, and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus, Die Islamische Stadt*, Wissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos, ed. Th. Wiegand, Heft 5, Berlin, 1924.

The most obvious peculiarity of an Islamic city is the souq or "bazaar." There seems to be some irregularity in the definition of these terms, but the most illuminating is that of Weulersse ("Antioche," pp. 63, 66) who in the first place distinguishes the souq from the temporary open market to which he prefers to restrict the name "bazaar"; and who describes a souq as a complex consisting of a khan together with the shop-lined, usually covered streets associated with it, all forming a unit which could be closed off, and all devoted to a particular commercial or industrial activity. This complex is the natural outgrowth of the tribal division of the Islamic city combined with its essential character as a trade center. The khan, a building surrounding an open court, was intended to house and protect the itinerant merchants of some national group specializing in some particular trade. The merchants would do business among themselves within the khan, and their retail outlets, so to speak, and connections with merchants in other lines of goods, were through the shops in the adjoining streets. Thus the business center of an Islamic town would consist of a number of these souqs, i.e., khans with related shop-streets, each with its own specialty. As a derived use the term "souq" might then be extended to the whole district composed of true souqs.

The significant point in all this is that although in many respects an Islamic souq or "bazaar" might seem to be simply a market and architecturally a district of maze-like covered streets, it is more highly organized than this with definite peculiarities. Thus although we may speak of various quarters in twelfth century Corinth and be struck with the relatively tortuous patterns of narrow streets, we miss any real reflection of the peculiarly Islamic combination of features and find, instead, the classical concept of the whole life of the whole town focused in one square, a concept foreign to Islam.

It is barely possible that the combination of retail outlets with the glass and ceramic factories on the Market Avenue might be traced to Islamic influence. Indeed, Miss Davidson's hypothesis that the glass factory may have been established by refugees from Egypt early in the eleventh century (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 324) might give some weight to this suggestion. And the confinement of trade in Syrian silks to inns (above, p. 123, note 1) may reflect Islamic practice.

But substantially we are left with the fact that Islamic influence in Corinth before the Turkish conquest was slight, so far as architecture and city planning were concerned.

For suggestions leading to this discussion I am indebted to Mr. Oleg Grabar, now of the University of Michigan.

Thus external influence from east or, probably, west may be eliminated as an important factor in the growth of the city architecturally. It remains to discover whether the lines of development were determined by classical tradition—and if so how—or by something essentially Byzantine. The answer to these questions must await further, broader, study.

Finally there is the problem of the relation of the twelfth-century city to what came afterward. This again would take us into western Europe, a road we are not prepared to travel (above p. 134, note 17), but more immediately

it takes us into the question of Frankish influence in Greece and the results of the Turkish conquest. There is too little evidence at Corinth to permit an analysis of Frankish influence there, or of the details of any impression made by the subsequent Turks. It may, however, be worth noting that neither at Mistra nor elsewhere do we find clear traces of the significant features of Byzantine architecture apparent at Corinth, so that it may well be that around the thirteenth century new trends, whatever their origin, became dominant in profane architecture.

APPENDICES

A. THE GRAFFITI

Three graffiti of some interest have been noted in the Central Area of Corinth. One represents a system of fortifications, scratched on a column of one of the temples of the West Terrace; the others depict ships, one on a marble slab and one on the plaster of the vaulted central room of the Northwest Shops.

THE FORTIFICATION GRAFFITO (*Fig. 13*)

This is cut on the shaft of one of the columns which have been tentatively attributed to the Temple of Herakles (H) on the West Terrace. It runs around more than three quarters of the circumference of the column, centered about five feet up the shaft in its correct vertical position, so that there is every probability

when pagan worship still prevailed in the temple and how long the column might have stood erect after pagan times. Assuming that it is post-pagan, the graffito could have been cut any time between the early fifth and, possibly, the late eleventh century, with the probabilities favoring an earlier part of the range. A comparison of the pointed roof of the tower with those of towns in mosaics and manuscripts of the sixth century would confirm this.¹

The design, if "unrolled," measures almost a meter in length, over-all. It shows a walled enclosure with pointed-roofed towers at the corners, and an outwork of some kind extending to the left. This terminates in what now appears to be a checker-board pattern which might be thought to represent a square tower,



FIGURE 13. DRAWING OF GRAFFITO REPRESENTING FORTIFICATIONS. SCALE 1:6

that the column was standing in its original place in the temple when the carving was done. There is no evidence for the date of the carving beyond what might be inferred from the representation itself, and from one's judgement of the probabilities as to whether such an operation could have been performed on the column

but could also be understood in other ways. There is a good deal of confusion, at least in the present state of preservation, at the point where the outwork joins the enclosure. Similarly, the drawing at the right end might be interpreted as a small enclosure, although con-

¹ Compare illustrations in de Beylié, pp. 56, 63.

ceivably nothing more is intended than a view of the top of the wall leading toward the tower.

One is tempted to see in this a representation of Acrocorinth with the walls to the city and the sea extending to one side, but if so the representation is highly abstract and more suggestive than pictorial. Apart from this there is a certain spirit in the depiction of the masonry walls and in the magnitude of conception and scale of execution. All this is said in relative terms, of course, but considering that the design is, after all, nothing but a scratching on a stone—albeit a deep and arduous scratching—it is fairly impressive.

THE ROUND SHIP GRAFFITO (*Fig. 14*)

On a slab of bluish marble found near the center of the Northwest Shops was incised a representation of a sailing ship. The ship measures some 0.80 m. from stem to stern, and is at least as high; the design covers the slab fairly completely and may even run off the edge at the top, implying that the slab was in (its original?) position in a pavement when the carving was done. There is no clue as to the date apart from what can be inferred from the design.

The ship depicted is almost semicircular in

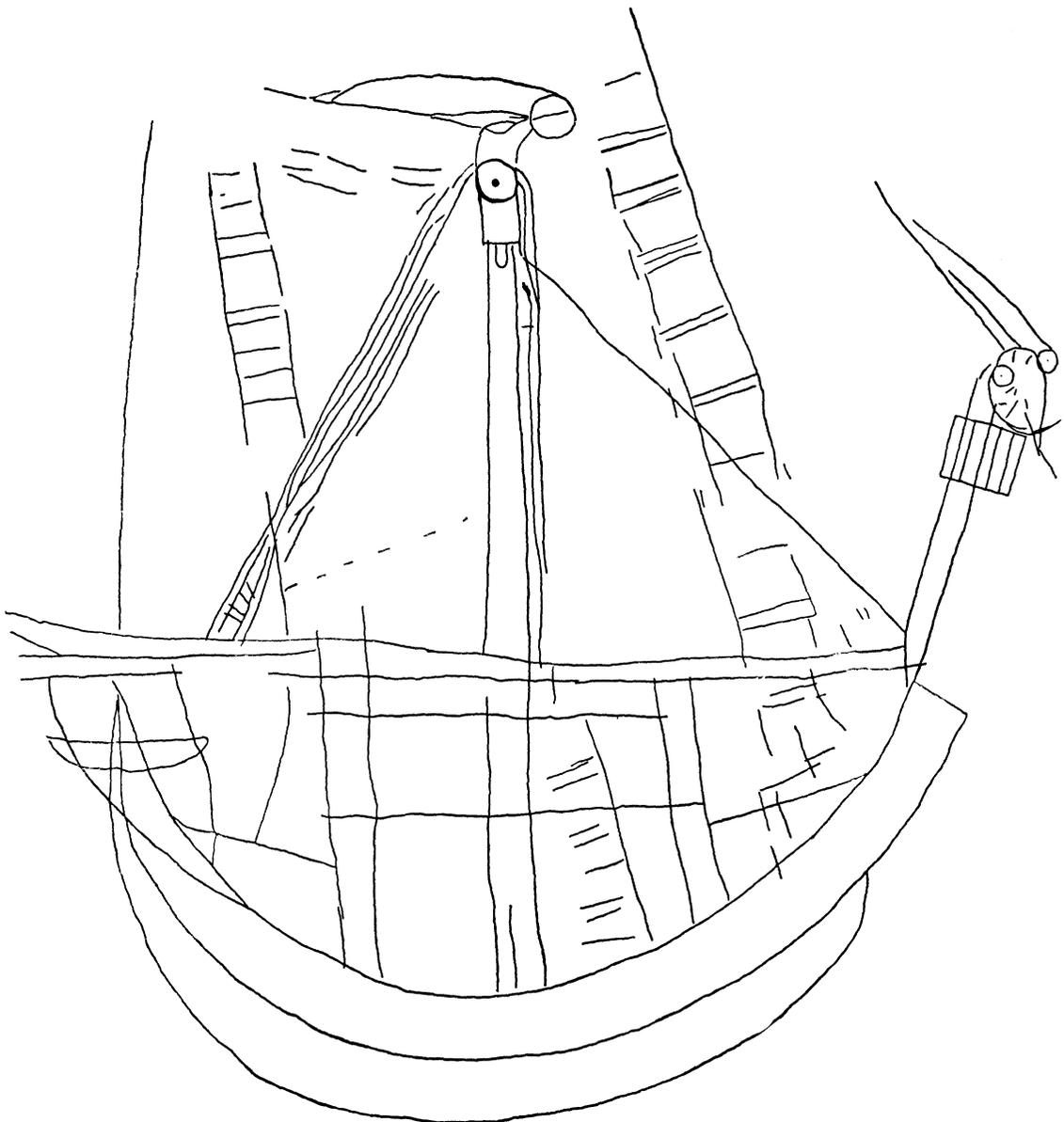


FIGURE 14. DRAWING OF GRAFFITO REPRESENTING ROUND SHIP. SCALE 1:5

the hull, and apparently has a flat deck for its entire length. It mounts one sturdy mast, whose entire height may or may not be represented on the preserved slab; the mast is braced by many shrouds. There is a pole of some sort projecting from the prow, but whether this is part of the rigging, a flag pole, or a mounting for a lantern or fighting peak (or something else) is hardly clear. The most striking feature of the rigging is what seems to be a system of huge pulleys at various points. The most puzzling features are the ladder-like patterns fore and aft the main mast, which seem to stand free at the top: whether they are simply misplaced, or reached higher to join the mast on another section, or are in fact themselves masts remains in doubt.

In spite of the uncertainties the ship bears a general resemblance to some found in the "Theseum" at Athens² of uncertain date but probably late Byzantine, and to vessels depicted in manuscripts dated around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³

THE GALLEY GRAFFITO (*Fig. 15*)

In the plaster to the right of the fragmentary fresco in the "Governor's Palace" chapel in the vaulted room of the Northwest Shops are traces of crudely scratched representations of ships, apparently all galleys or oared ships. They are too mutilated to allow much confidence in interpretation, which is disappointing, for if they could be dated, they might give some clue as to the length of time the room continued to be part of an official headquarters. They are later than the laying of the plaster of the second coat, which belongs, as we have suggested, perhaps to the twelfth century.

² M. Goudas, "Μεσαιωνικά Χαράγματα Πλοίων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐησείου," *Βυζαντίς*, II, 1911-1912, pp. 329-357, especially p. 338, no. 14.

³ Sp. Lampros, *Ἱστορία τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας ἐν Ἑλλάδι* (translation of W. Miller's *Latins in the Levant*), Athens, 1909-1910, vol. I, p. 67; vol. II, p. 110. See also P. E. Segditsas, *Κωπηρὴ καὶ Ἰστιοφόρα Πλοῖα*, Athens, 1940, pp. 119ff., especially p. 121, a Venetian ship of around 1200, from the Pala d'Oro of St. Mark's.



FIGURE 15.
DRAWING OF GRAFFITO REPRESENTING GALLEY. SCALE 1:3

B. THE "SIGMA TABLES"

Although they are not strictly works of architecture, it seems desirable for several reasons to include here an account of three objects found at Corinth which belong to the category of "sigma tables" or "martyr tables" represented by examples from many Early Christian sites. These are slabs of marble or some other fine stone, cut to the plan of a horseshoe, smooth on the bottom, with a broad raised surface around the edge on top in which are sunk depressions also with a horseshoe shape, the rounded side pointing outward. Fragments of several such tables have been found in and around Corinth: several represented by fragments of white and green marble in the area of the Peribolos of Apollo, the only one at all nearly complete bearing the Corinth Sculpture Inventory no. 1378 (Pl. 36₂); one in the region west of the Hemicycle, Sculpture Inventory no. 1379 (Pl. 36₃); one in the Kranion church, Sculpture Inventory no. 1380 (Pl. 36₄). Of these, the first is of white marble, the second of red, the third of white. Their dimensions may be summarized as follows:

	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3
Greatest length	1.25	1.30	1.31 m.
Width of flat edge	1.22	1.30	1.35 m.
Thickness in center	0.015	not available	
Thickness at edge	ca. 0.04	0.04	0.035 m.
Number of depressions	13	12	13
Length of depressions	0.15	0.16	0.15 m.
Diameter of depressions at corners	0.21-2	0.20	0.22 m.
„ „ other depressions	ca. 0.17	0.20	0.185 m.
Width of depression at base	0.13-0.18	0.17-0.18	0.155- 0.18 m.
Width of interior panel on flat edge	0.72	0.79	0.81 m.
Length „ „ „ on diameter	0.85	0.79	0.89 m.

Although objects of this kind have been found in many places and are well known, there seems to be no great confidence expressed in any statement of their probable purpose. Generally they are thought to have been tables on which the Early Christian *agape* was eaten, particularly that in connection with festivals of martyrs.⁴ This interpretation would well explain the presence of one of the tables near the Kranion church, which was surely a martyr church,⁵ and it is conceivable that there could have been a martyr church near or even in the Peribolos of Apollo. But it hardly seems likely that there could have been such a cult in the building behind the Hemicycle. Furthermore, current discussions of the problem allude to grounds for supposing that the church attempted to curb the practice of feasting in the festivals of martyrs as early as the fourth century, whereas some of the "sigma tables" seem to have been in use during the seventh century. Generally speaking, of course, it does seem to be the case that most of the tables are no later than the end of the sixth.

Although the excavations at Corinth provide nothing absolute nor definite for the solution of the difficulties, it may be that the presence of one of the tables in a building

which has, on independent grounds, been suspected of having served as an inn may provide some contribution. Furthermore, apart from the tentative identification of the building behind the hemicycle as an inn, it might be argued that the structure in and east of the Peribolos of Apollo, with its quasi-cloister which could house numbers of people, was if not a monastery a large residence with ecclesiastical connections used, among other possible purposes, to house transients as one of the public benefices which the early Church attempted to provide.

In this case the presence of the tables may be explained hypothetically as a means of maintaining in a building with lay purposes but clerical sponsors a focus of the simple home worship which the *agape* originally served.⁶ The difficulty, or one difficulty, is that the *agape* even as an institution distinct from martyr-veneration, while it may have survived through the sixth century in some places, seems to have been in general decline in that era.

Nevertheless we know that the church had a definite concern for such public-welfare institutions as inns; and conversely inns, or many of them, had a definite atmosphere of the ecclesiastic about them. It is, then, not unreasonable that in Early Christian times there should be special provision in the inn for the celebration of informal acts of worship and reverence.

⁴ See especially Soteriou, 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1929, pp. 234-236, published separately as Αἱ Χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι καὶ αἱ Παλαιοχριστιανικαὶ Βασιλικαὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

⁵ J. M. Shelley, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 166-189.

⁶ Cabrol, in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne, s.v. Agape*.

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PLATES AND PLANS



1 THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CENTRAL STAIRS IN THE AGORA



2 THE EARLY CHRISTIAN FOUNTAIN WEST OF THE BEMA

PLATE 2



1 THE HEMICYCLE JUST AFTER EXCAVATION



2 THE COURT OF PEIRENE DURING EXCAVATION



1 THE EARLY CHRISTIAN HOUSE NORTH OF THE PERIBOLOS OF APOLLO, FROM THE NORTH



2 THE LATRINE IN THE HOUSE



3 THE PRIVATE BATH IN THE HOUSE



4 THE TENTH-CENTURY HOUSE EAST OF PEIRENE, IN 1954

PLATE 4



1 THE TENTH-CENTURY RAMP THROUGH THE PROPYLEA, AS EXCAVATED



2 ARCHED DOORWAY IN CELLAR WEST OF BEMA CHURCH

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THE BEMA CHURCH AREA FROM THE WEST, AS EXCAVATED

PLATE 6



1 THE BEMA CHURCH FROM THE EAST, AS EXCAVATED



2 THE BEMA CHURCH FROM THE WEST, AS EXCAVATED

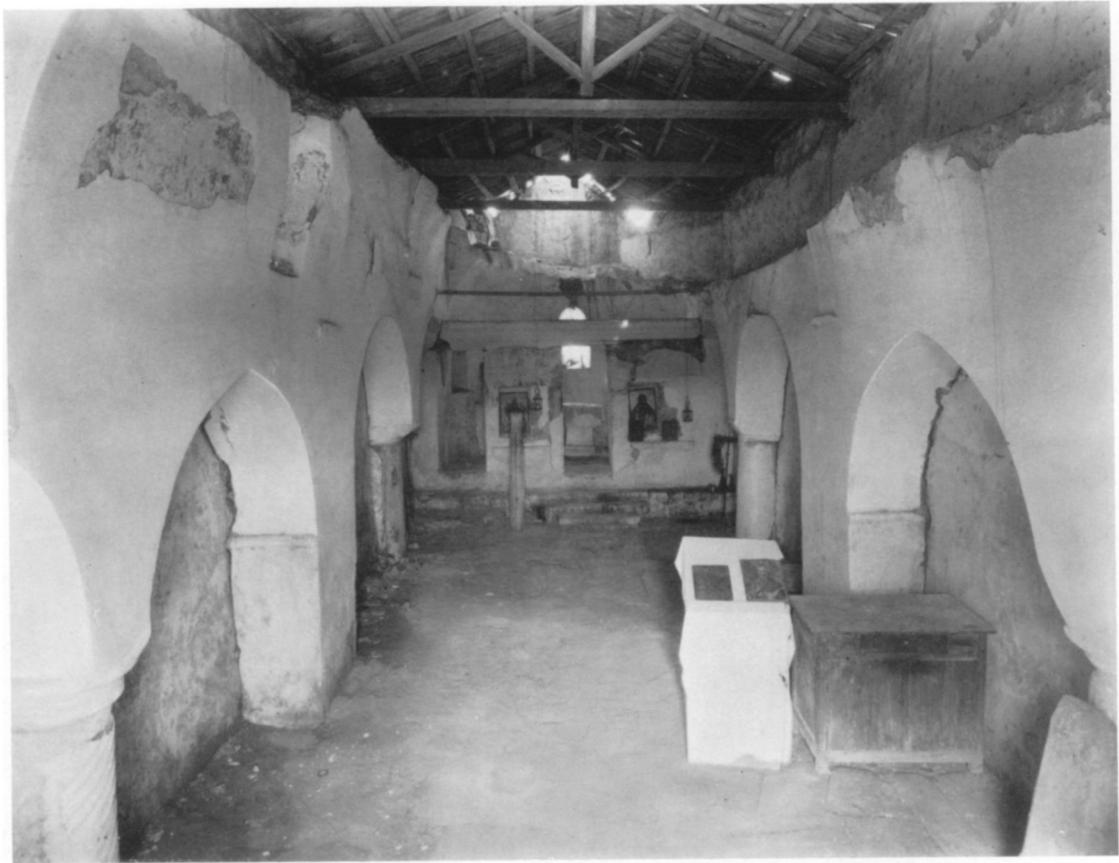


1 THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THEOLOGOS FROM THE WEST, IN 1937



2 THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THEOLOGOS FROM THE EAST, IN 1937

PLATE 8



1 INTERIOR OF CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THEOLOGOS, LOOKING EAST, IN 1937



2 INTERIOR OF CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THEOLOGOS, LOOKING WEST, IN 1937



1 THE TOWER COMPLEX FROM THE WEST, AS EXCAVATED



2 THE TOWER COMPLEX FROM THE NORTH, AS EXCAVATED

PLATE 10



1 THE SOUTH CENTRAL BATH FROM THE NORTH, DURING EXCAVATION



2 THE SOUTH ROAD, AS EXCAVATED



1 THE WINE PRESS BUILDING, IN 1954



2 A CORNER OF THE INN ON THE MARKET PLATEIA, AS PARTIALLY EXCAVATED

PLATE 12



1 THE NORTH BATH ON THE LECHAION ROAD FROM THE NORTHWEST, IN 1954



2 THE NORTH ROOM IN THE NORTH BATH, IN 1954



3 THE PITHOS ROOM IN THE NORTH BATH, IN 1954



4 A WINDOW MULLION RE-USED AS SILL

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1 ARCH IN SOUTHERNMOST LECHAION ROAD SHOP



2 THE APSIDAL BUILDING IN THE SOUTH BASILICA FROM THE EAST, AS EXCAVATED



VIEW OF CORINTH ABOUT 1700, FROM COPPER ENGRAVING BY G. BODENEHR IN 1720, PERHAPS ELABORATED FROM SKETCH BY V. CORONELLI, ABOUT 1708.

The legend: Corintho, Vormals die Haupt Stadt der großen halb Insul Morea oder Peloponnes, ligt auf dem berühmten Isthmo oder Erd enge, so den nahmen hievon führet; der Zeit had sie keine Mauren und ist nicht gar Volkreich. Auf einem Hohen Berg ligt ein festes Schloß, welches A. 1687 durch siegreiche Waffen der Venetianer erobert und also der Schlüssel zu dieser Provinz in der Christen Hände gebracht wurde. A. 1715 aber hatte dieser Haupt Paß die Fatalität, daß Er durch einen schnellen einfall der Türcken wider unter das Ottomanische Ioch kam, und vermog dess A. 1718, zu Passarowitz getroffenen Friedens darunter verblieben muste, Vorbemeldeter Isthmos oder Erd Zunge zwischen beyden Meer Busen Lepanto und Engia wordurch Morea mit dem übrigen Griechen Land zusammen hängt; hat etliche mahl sollö durchstochen oder zusammen gegraben werden, die harten Felsen aber sind allezeit hinderlich daran gewesen.

G. Bodenehr exc. A. V.

On the drawing (roughly top to bottom):

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Das Schloß Corinthe | Oliven Wald |
| Tempel Dianae | Unterschiedliche ruinen der alte Stadt |
| Ruinen der alten Statt Mauern | Grotte S. Paul |
| Andres Venetianisches Lager | Garde |
| Venetianische Batterien | Redoute (three times) |
| Amphitheatre | Erstes Venetianisches Lager |
| Die Stadt Corinthe | |



1 MEDIAEVAL WALLS OVER EASTERN CENTRAL SHOPS



2 MEDIAEVAL WALLS EAST OF BEMA CHURCH

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PLATE 16



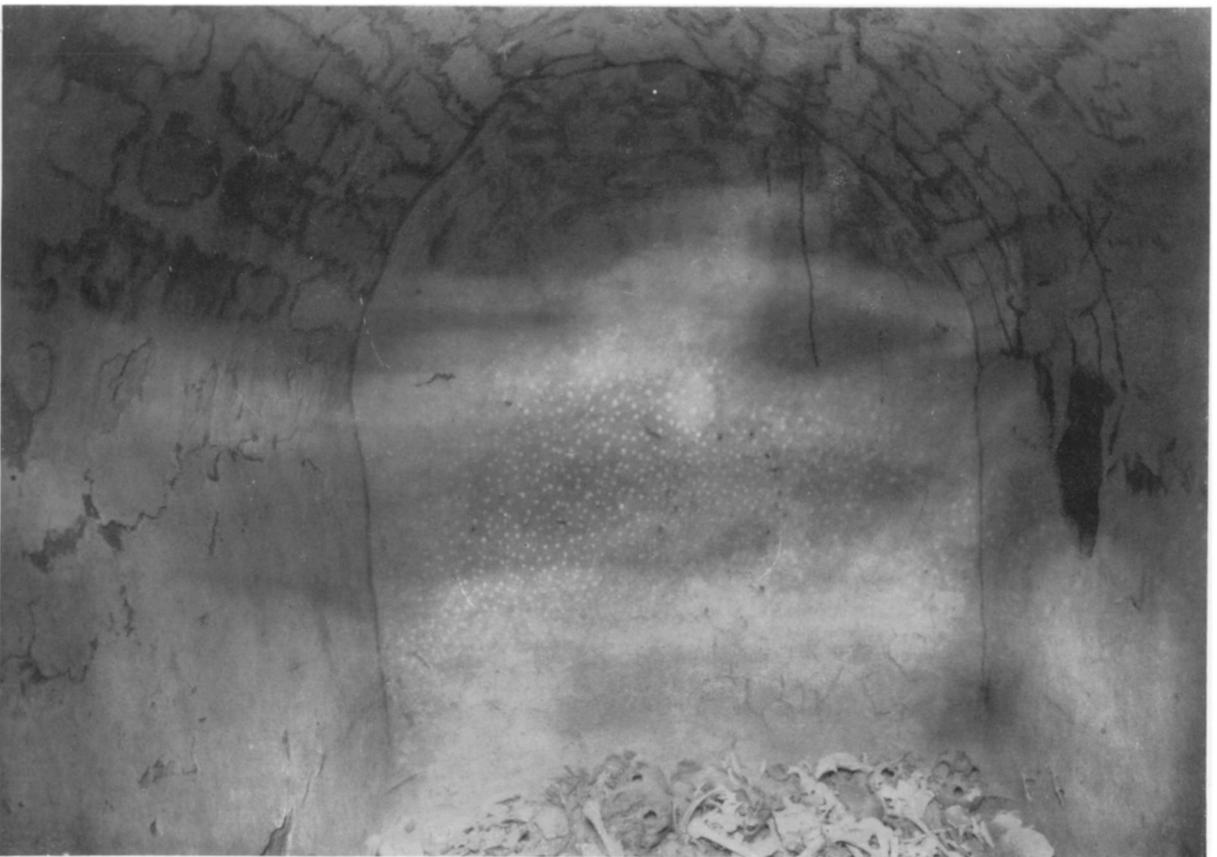
1 MEDIAEVAL WALL IN SOUTH STOA, ROOM "H"



2 MEDIAEVAL WALLS IN AREA OF CERAMIC FACTORIES



1 A FLAT-ROOFED TOMB



2 A VAULTED *Osteotheke*

PLATE 18



1 A BUILT PITHOS



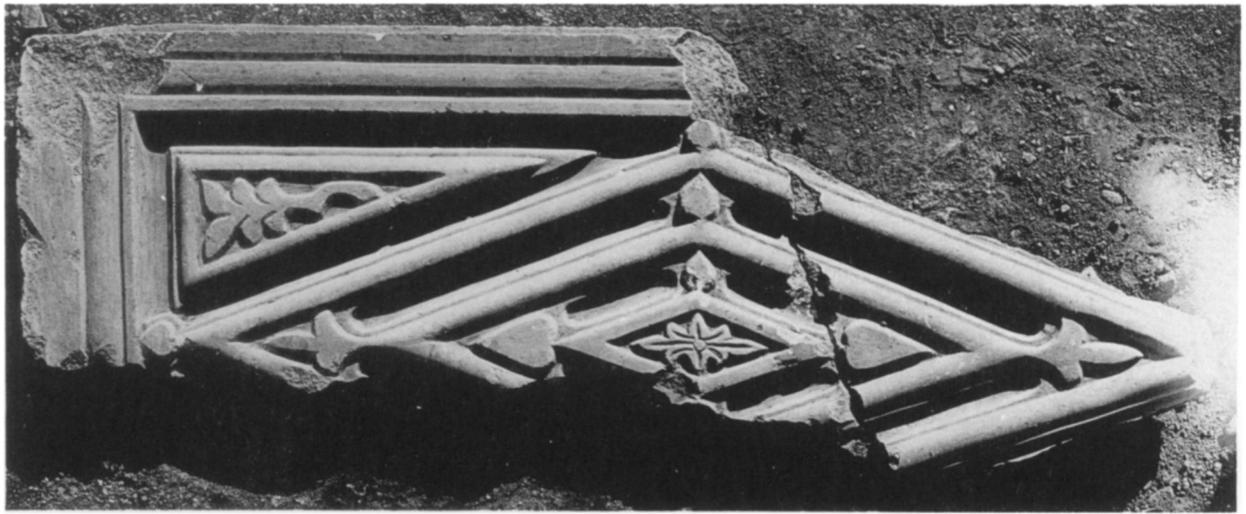
2 A CERAMIC PITHOS



3 LIPS OF PITHOI IN SOUTHEAST BUILDING



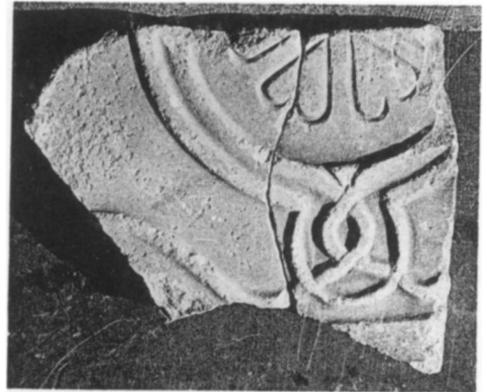
4 A CISTERN



1



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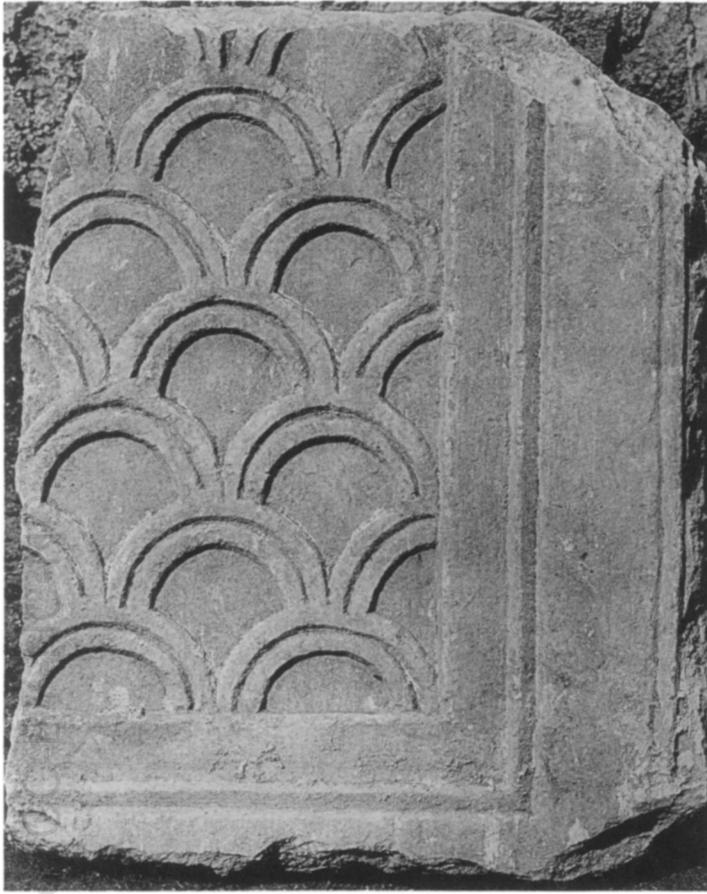
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14



17



21



15



16



18



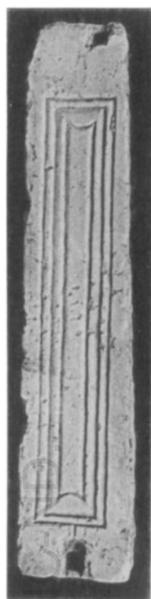
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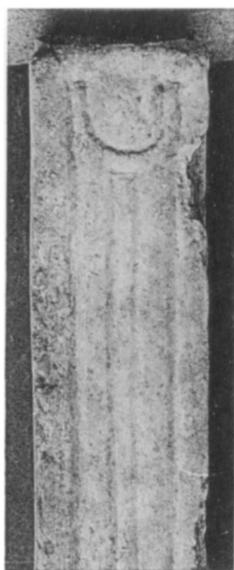
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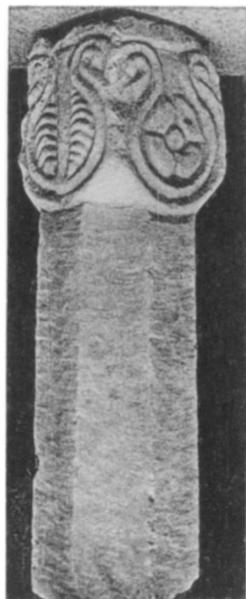
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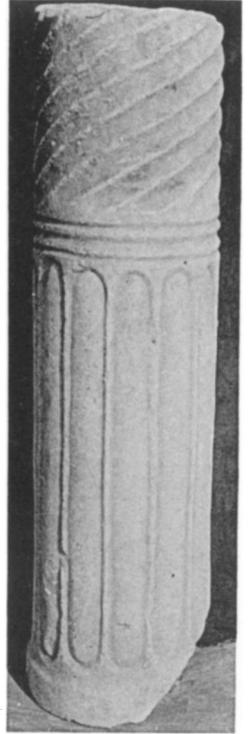
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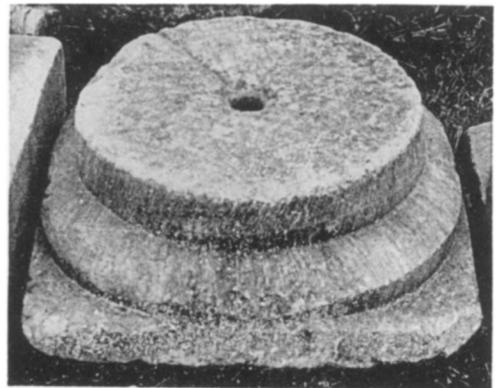
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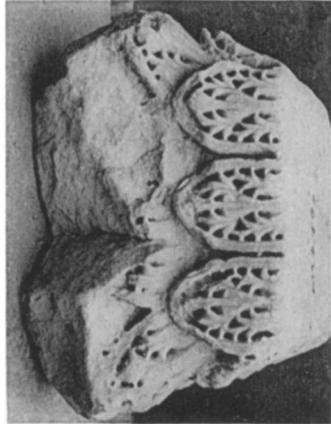
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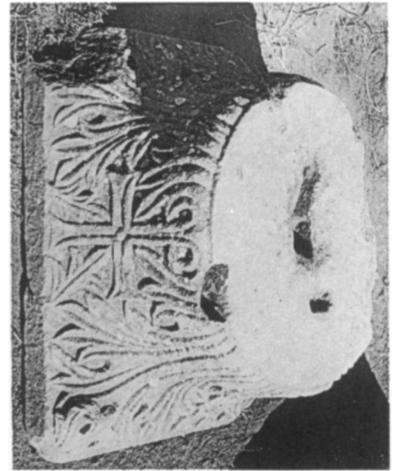
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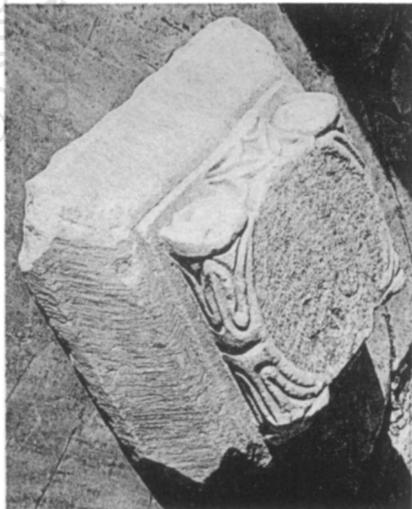
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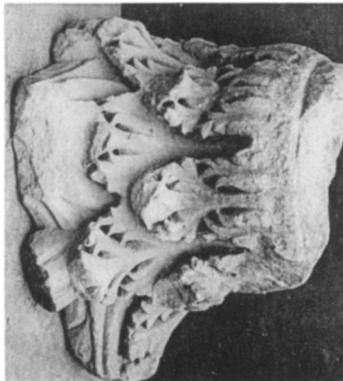
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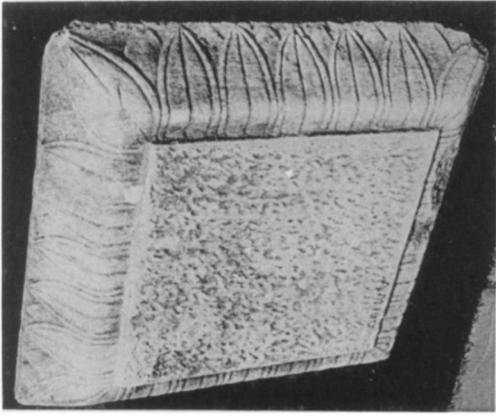
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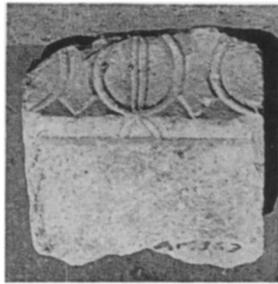
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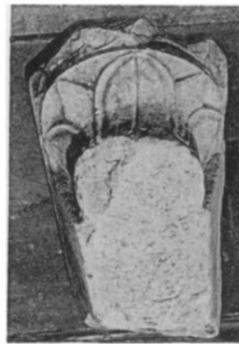
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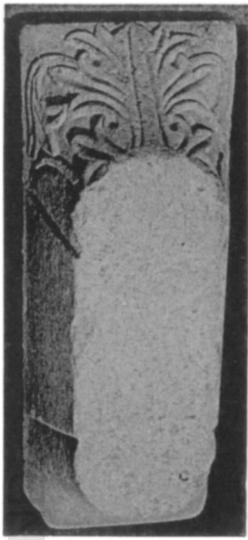
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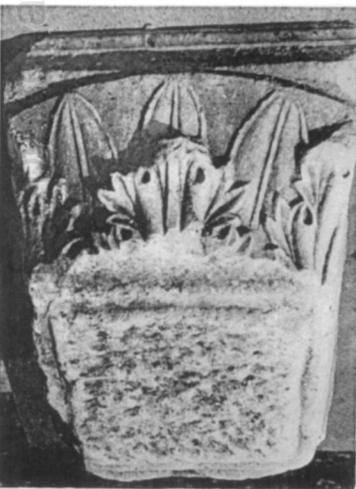
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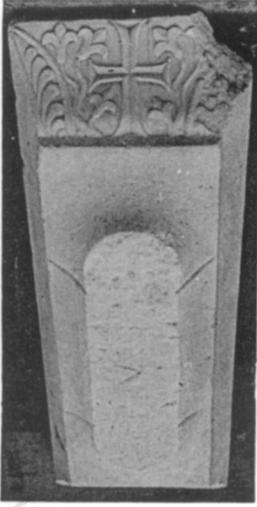
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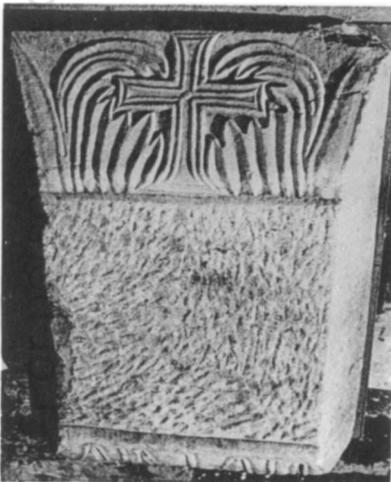
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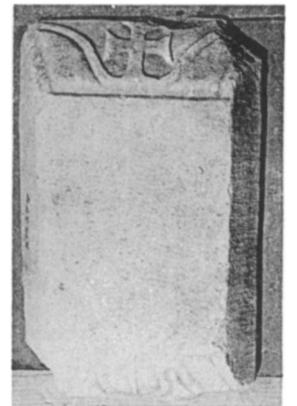
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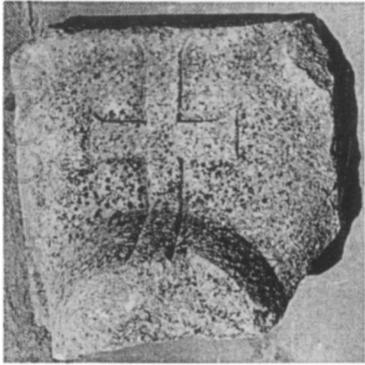
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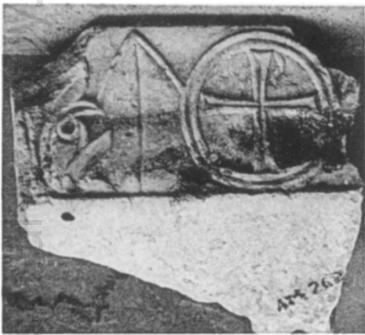
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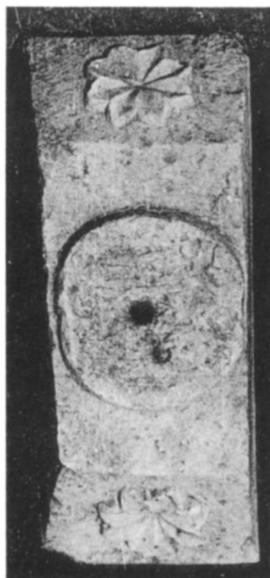
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PLATE 30



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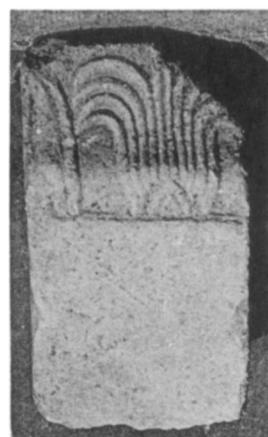
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130A



130B



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138A



138B



137



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141



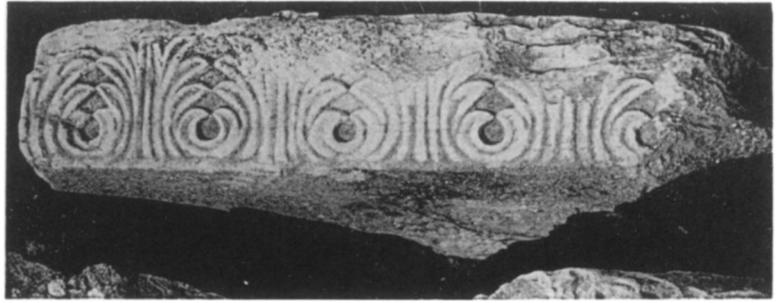
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142A



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146



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147



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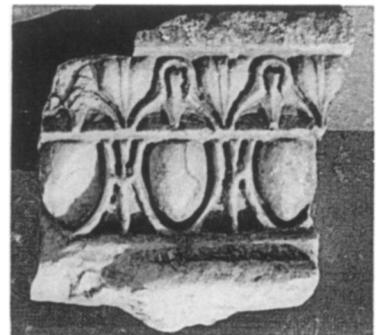
150 Rev.



151



152



150 obv.



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156



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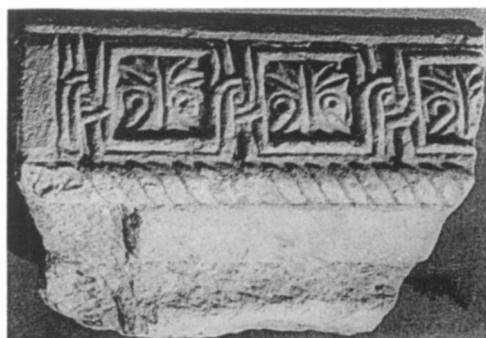
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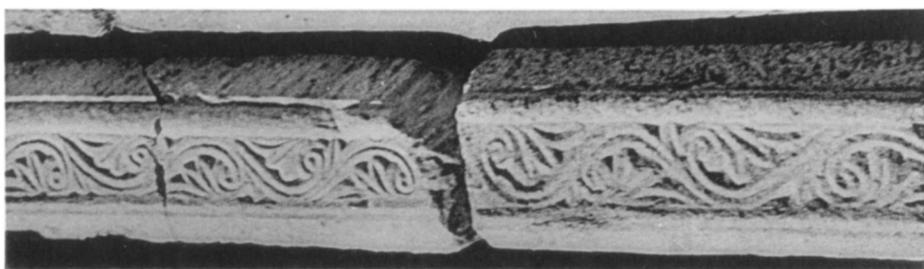
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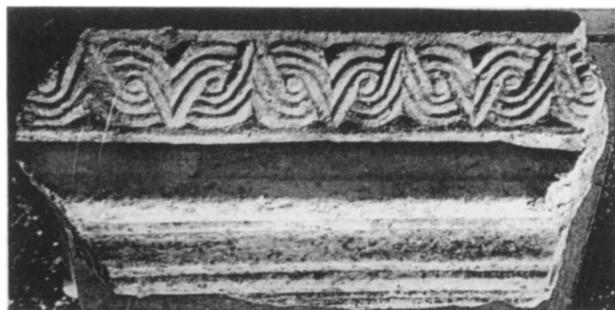
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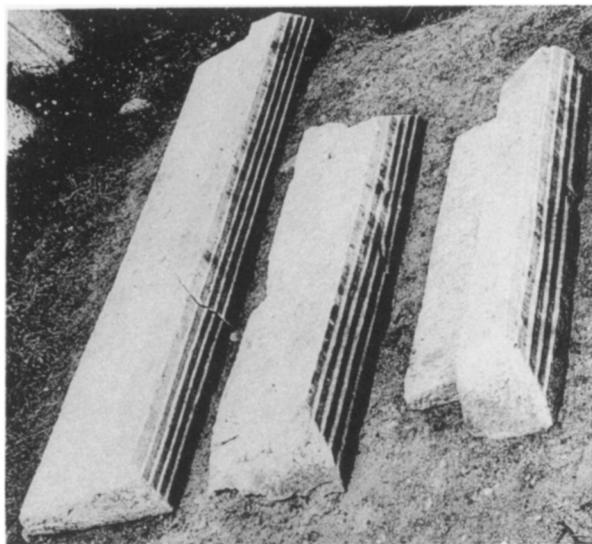
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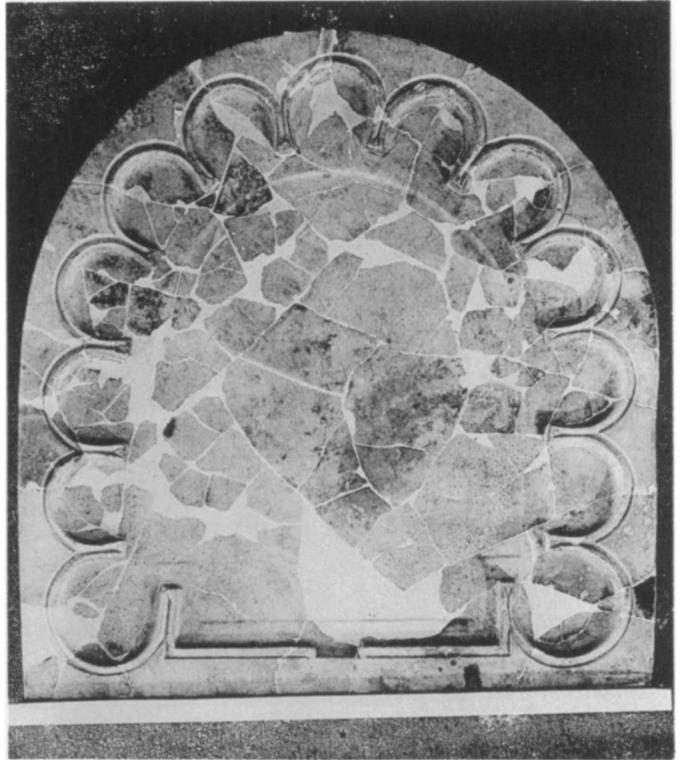
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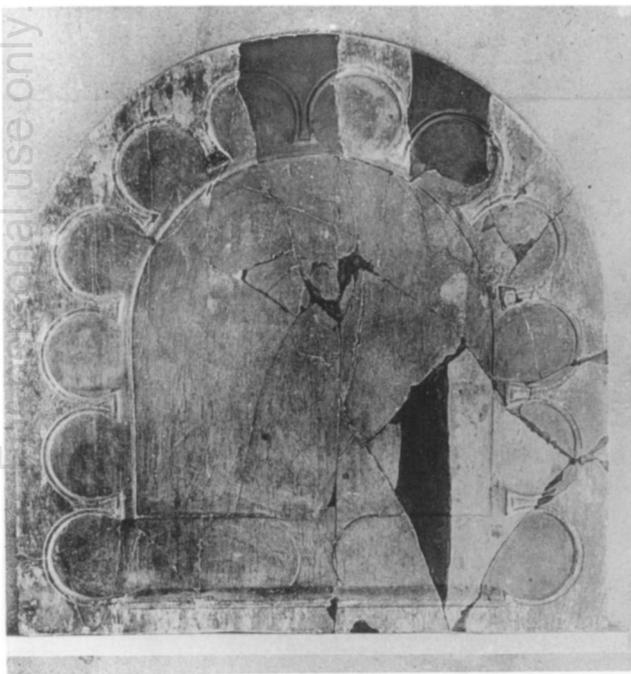
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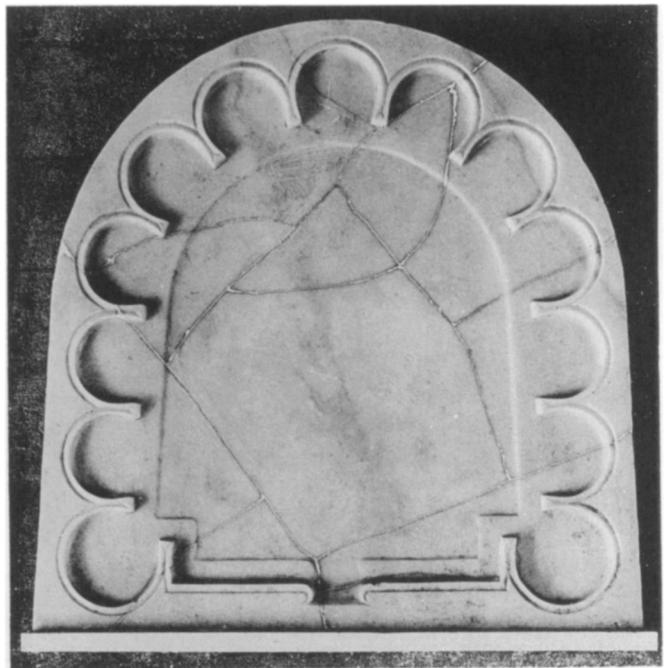
a Successive Water Channels North of Peribolos of Apollo



b Marble "Sigma Table" from Peribolos of Apollo



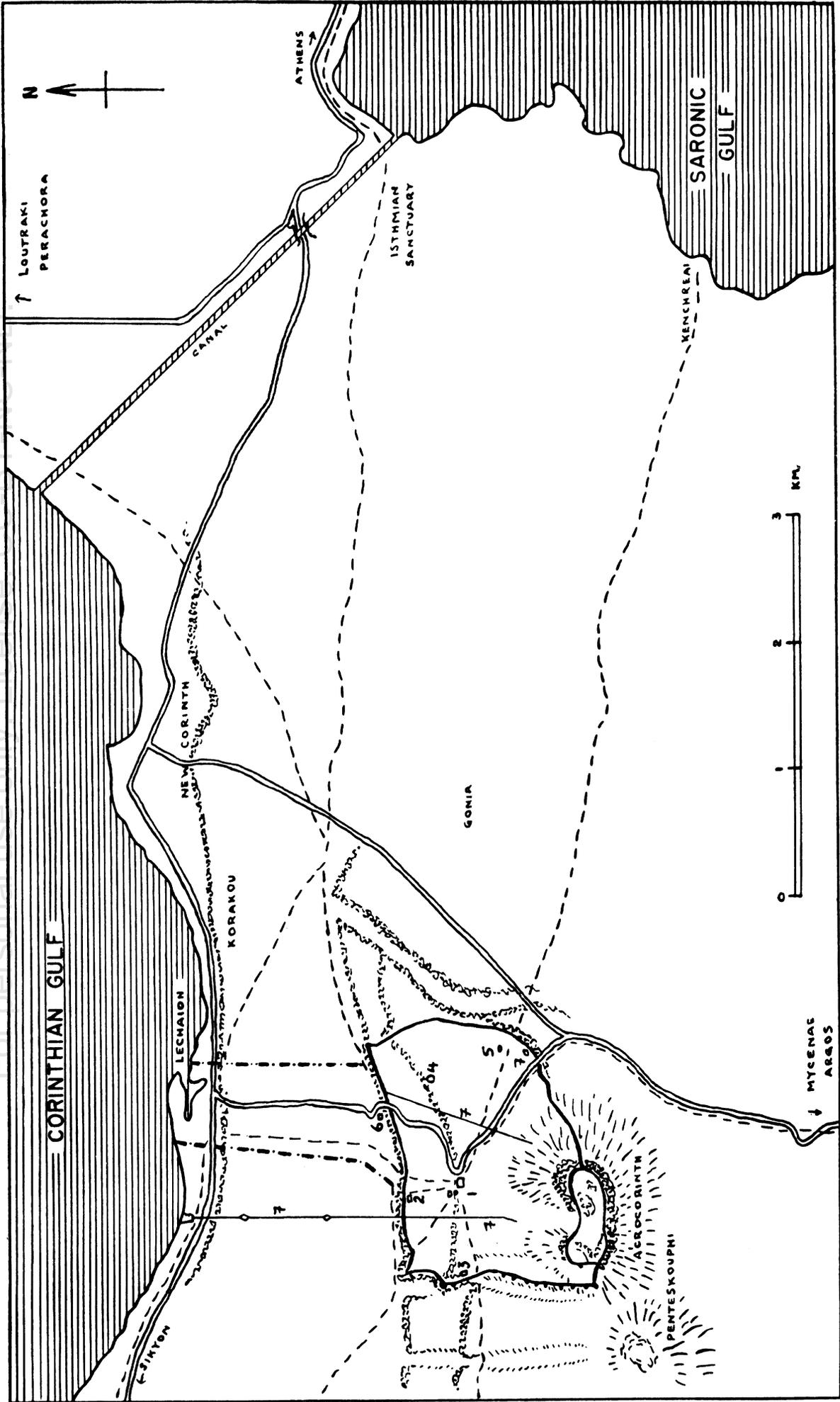
c Marble "Sigma Table" from Building behind the Hemicycle



d Marble "Sigma Table" from the Kranion Church

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Sketch Map of Corinth and the Isthmos

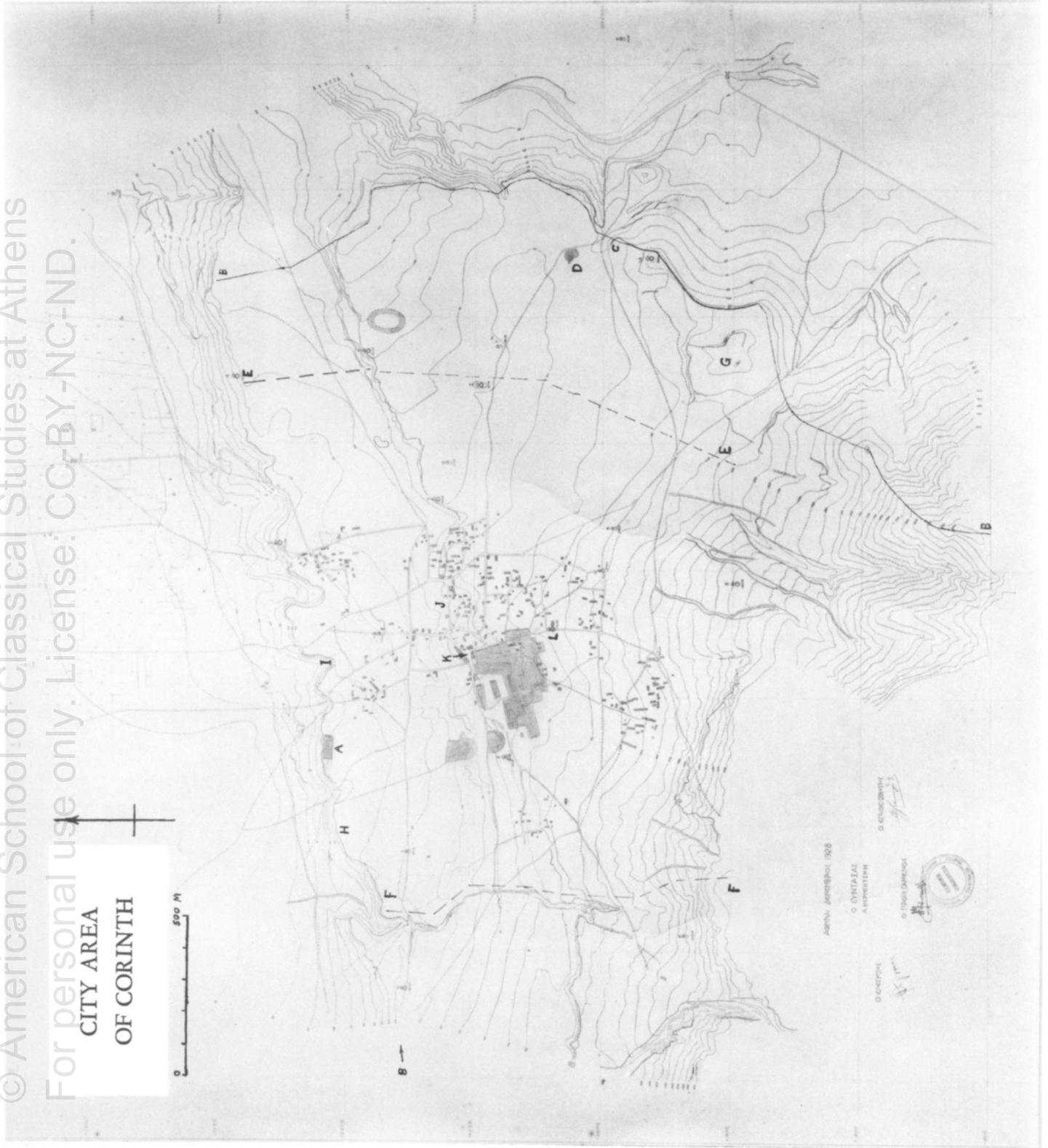
- 1, Agora and Central Area; 2, Asklepieion and Lerna; 3, Kerameikos; 4, Amphitheatre; 5, Kranion Church; 6, Tile Factory; 7, Post-Classical Fortifications

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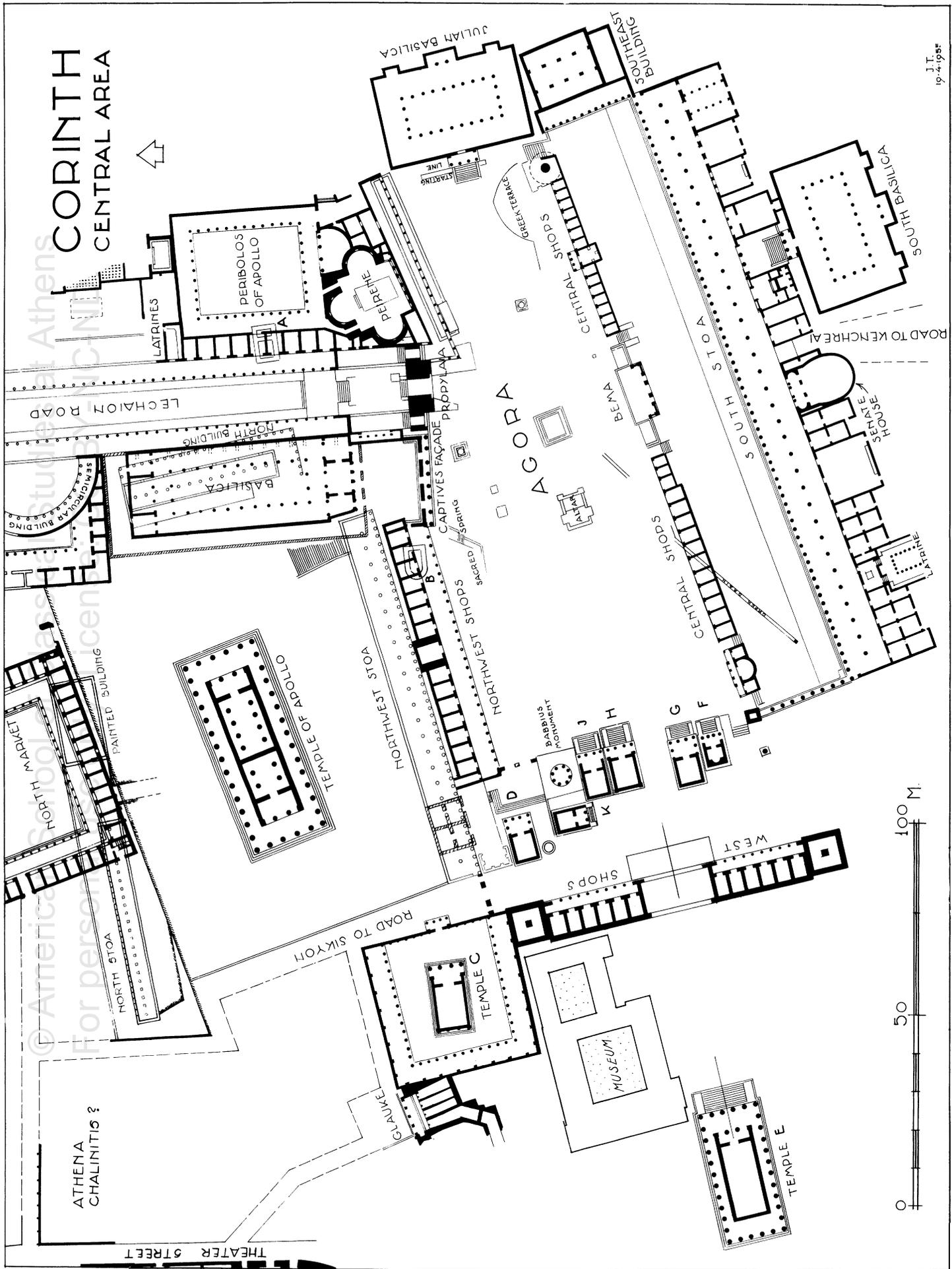
CITY AREA
 OF CORINTH

0 500 M

- Key for Plan II - Sketch of the City of Corinth
- A - Asklepieion
 - B - Lines of Classical Fortifications
 - C - Kenchreian Gate
 - D - Kranion Church
 - E - Line of Eastern Post-classical Fortifications
 - F - Line of Western Post-classical Fortifications
 - G - Frankish Fort
 - H - Early Christian Cemetery
 - I - Baths of Aphrodite
 - J - Mosque
 - K - Modern Village Agora
 - L - Modern Church of Panaghia
- (Excavated Areas Shaded)



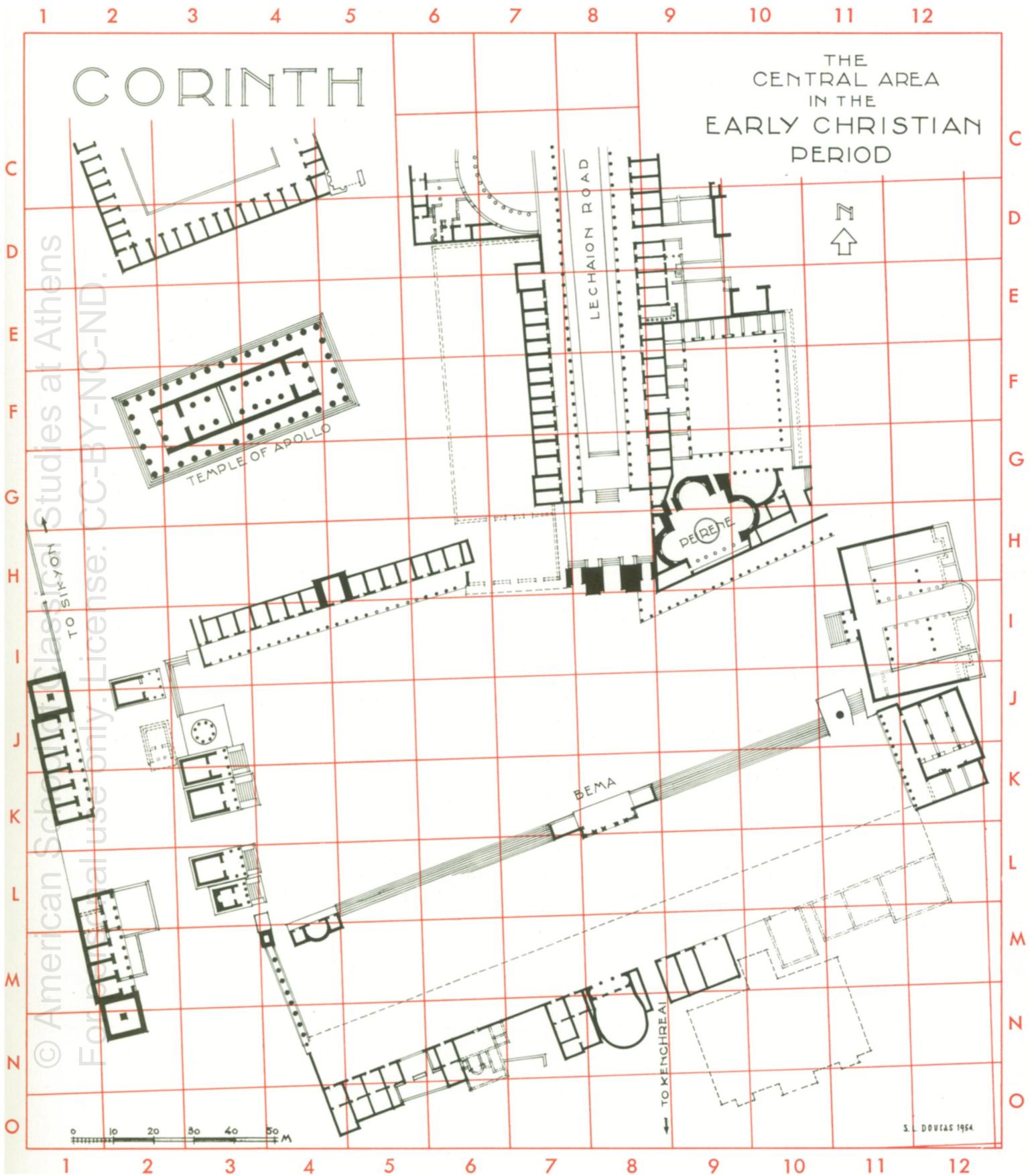
Sketch Map of the City Area of Corinth



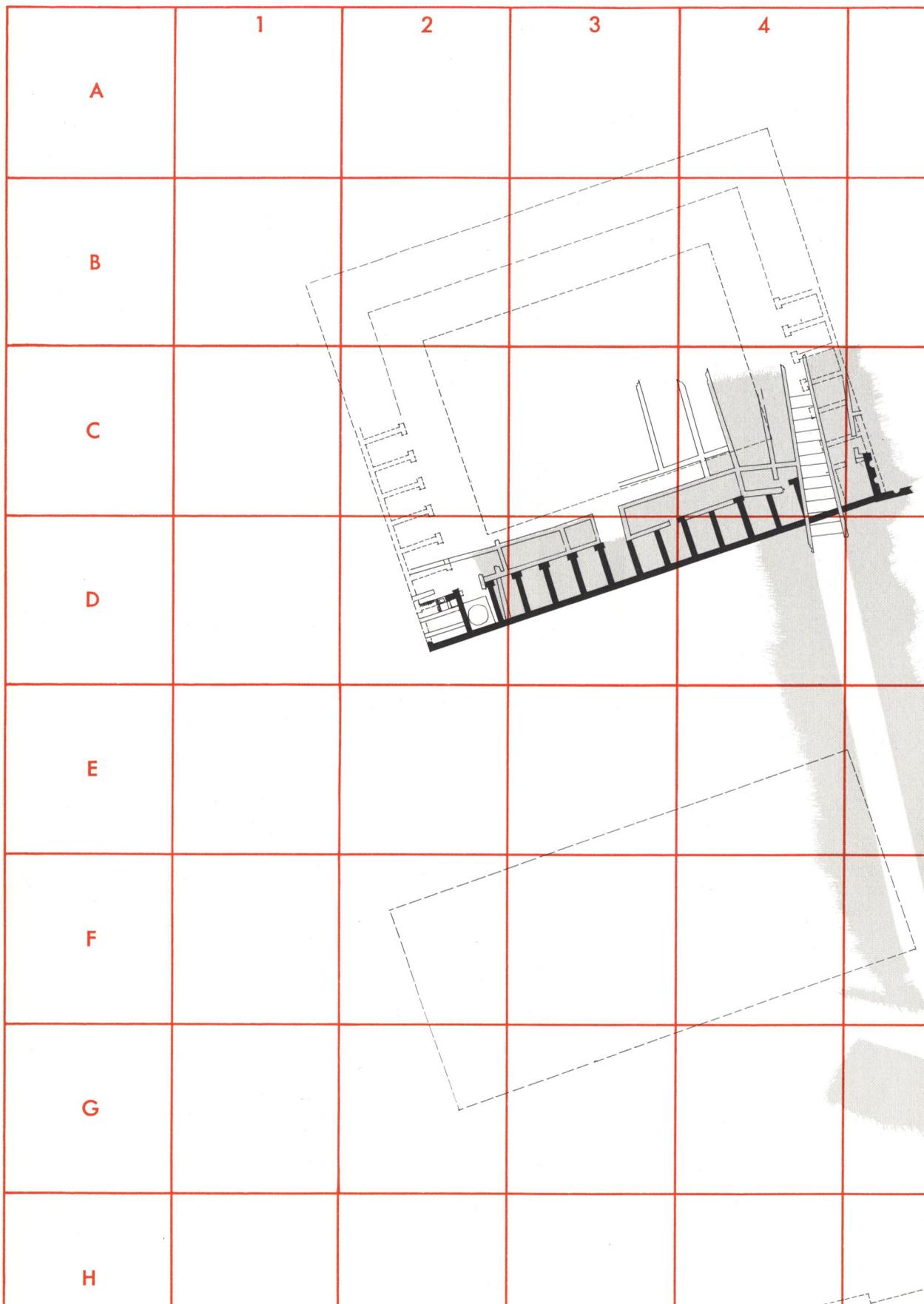
J. T.
1914-1935

Plan of the Central Area of Corinth to about A.D. 200

PLAN IV



Plan of the Central Area of Corinth in the Early Christian Period



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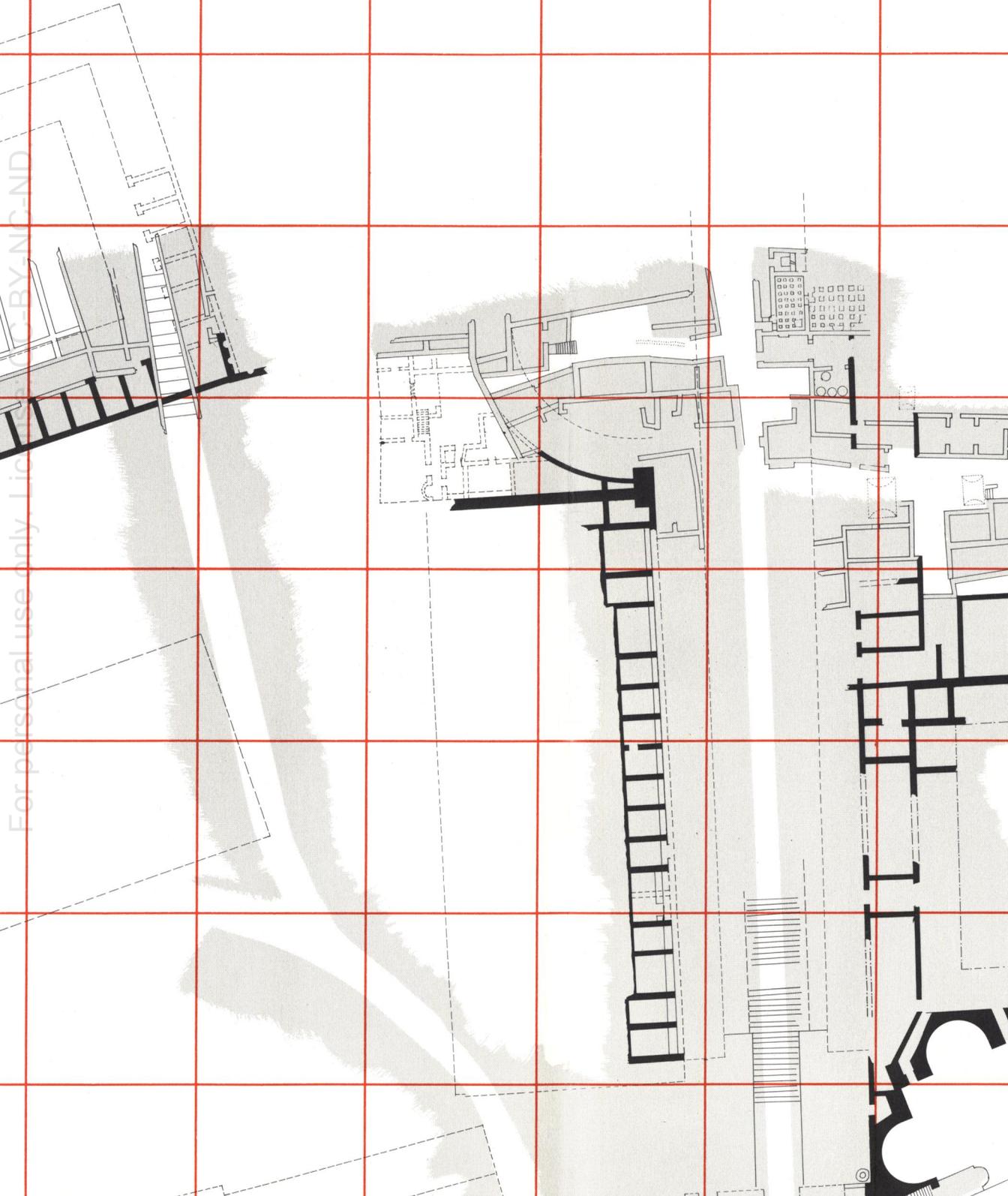
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Plan of the Central Area of Corinth
(Northern Part)



Plan of the Central Area of Corinth in the Twelfth Century
(Northern Part)

8

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A

THE CENTRAL AREA
AROUND THE TWELFTH CENTURY
NORTHERN SECTION

B

- CLASSICAL CONSTRUCTION OUT OF USE
- " " " " STILL IN USE
- ▨ EARLIER MEDIEVAL CONSTRUCTION
- ▧ CONSTRUCTION OF THE PERIOD
- ▩ LATER MEDIEVAL CONSTRUCTION
- - - CONSTRUCTION OF DOUBTFUL CONTEMPORANEITY
- ⋯ " " BELOW THE MAIN LEVEL

C

D



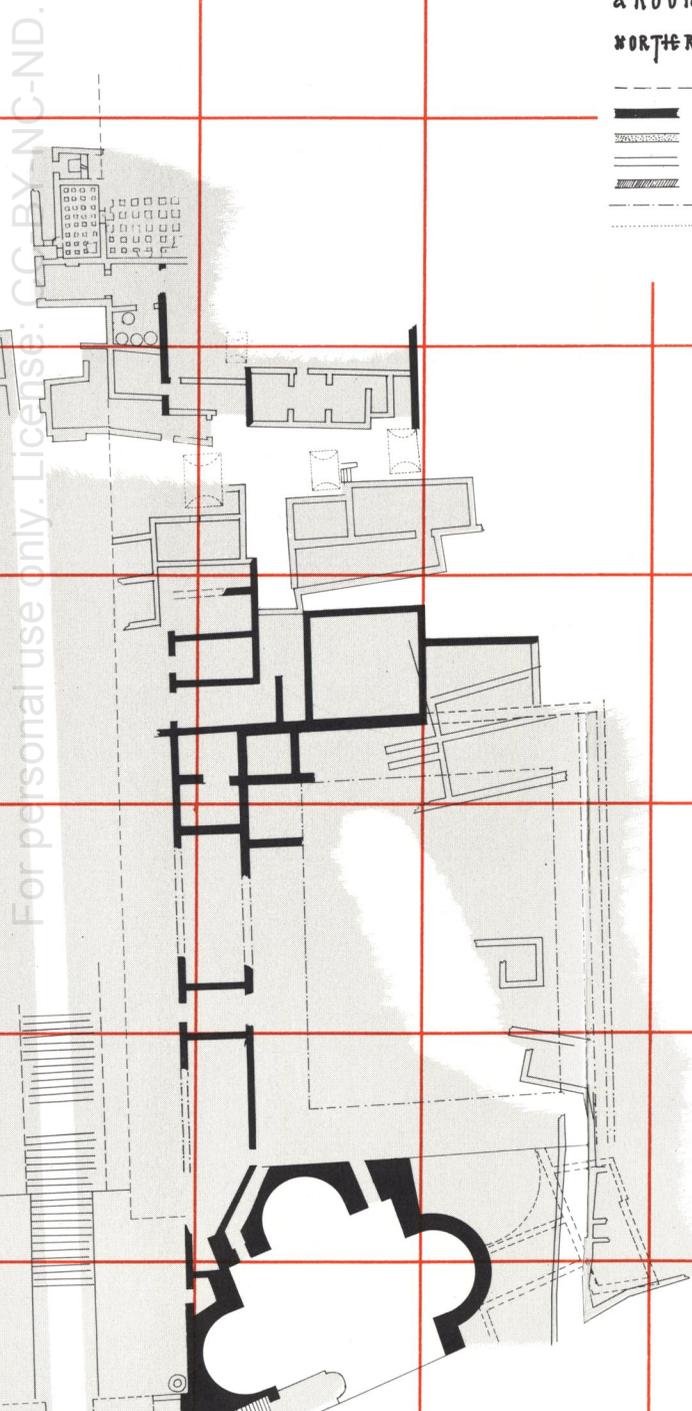
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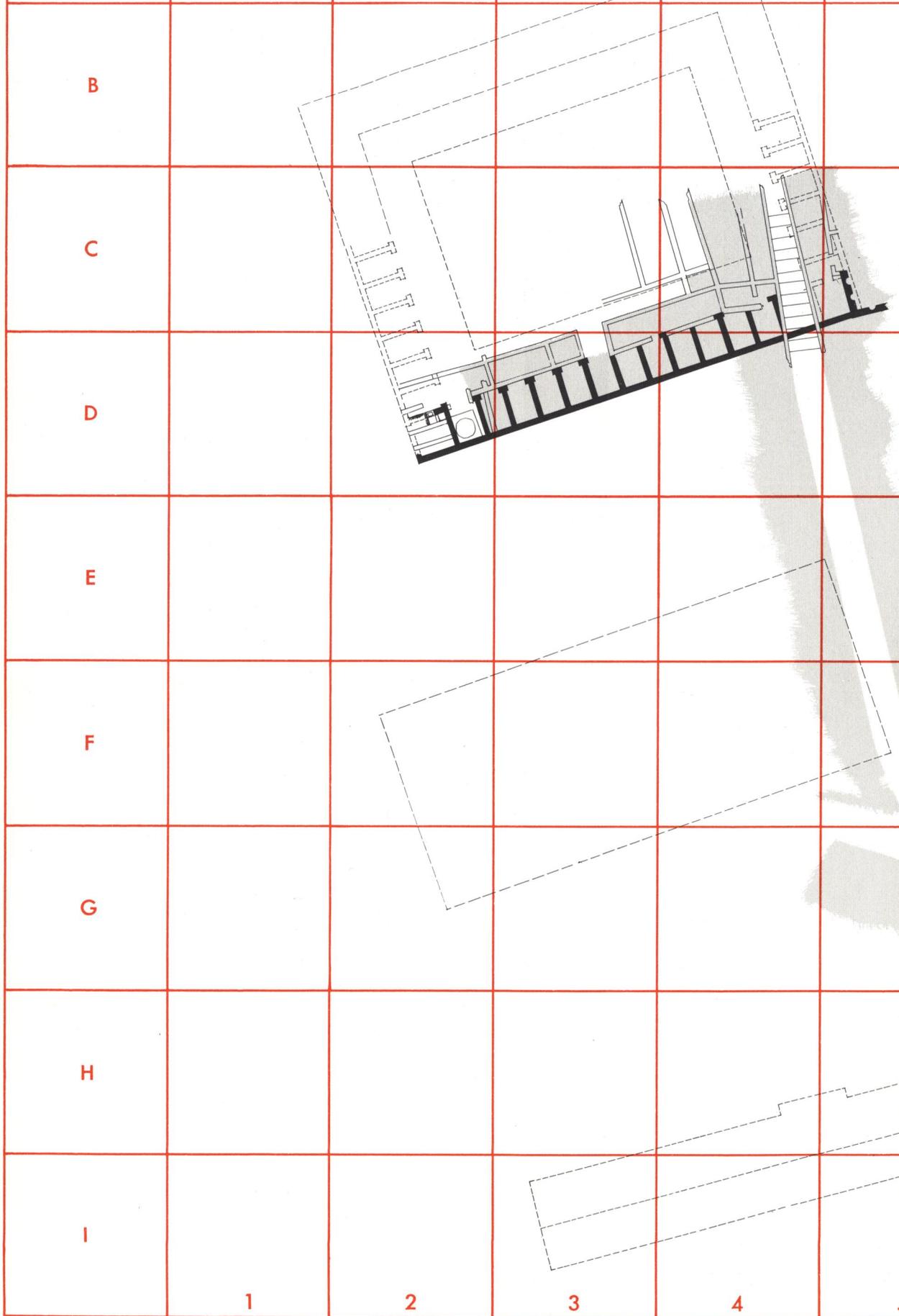
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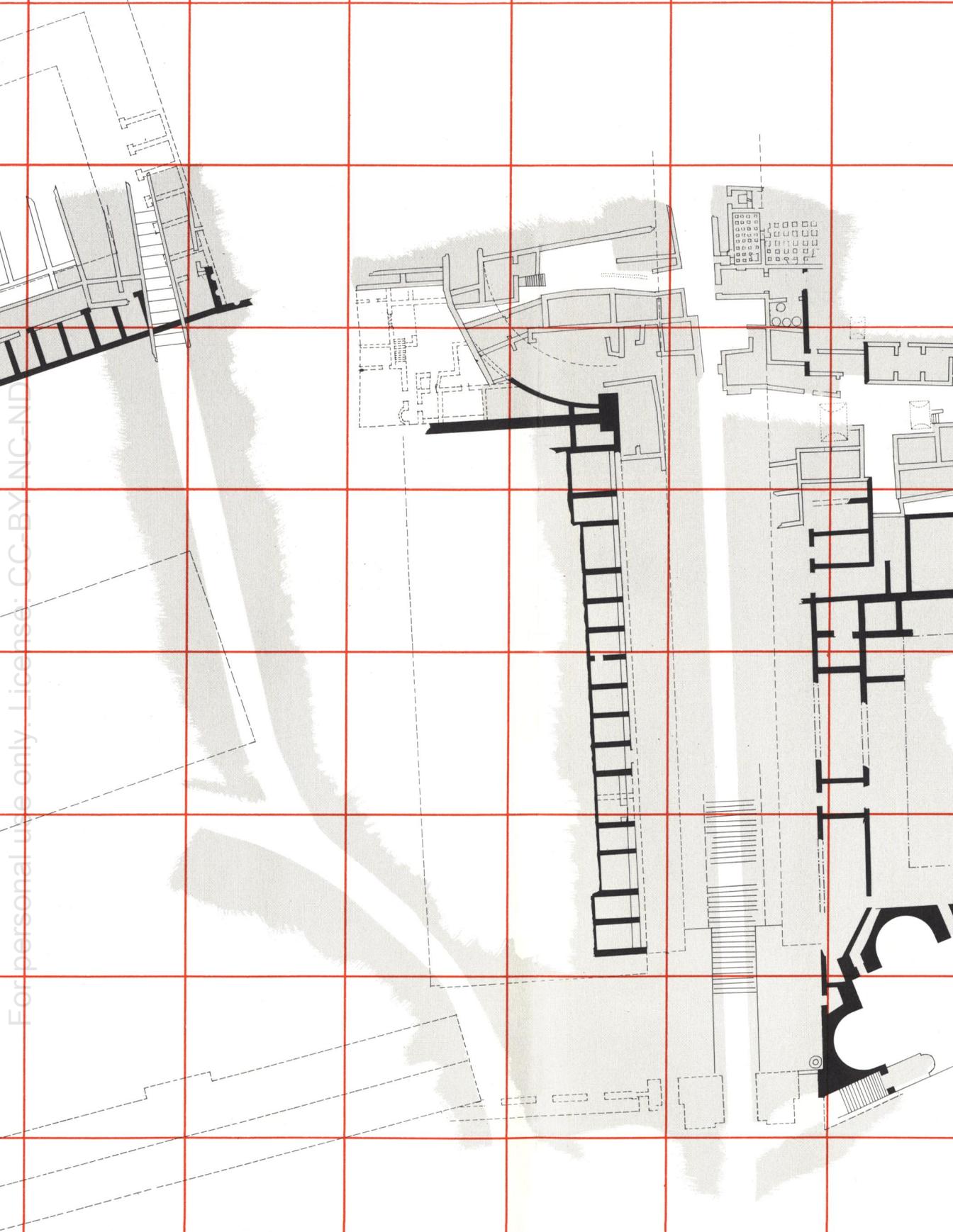
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THE CENTRAL AREA AROUND THE TWELFTH CENTURY NORTHERN SECTION

B

- CLASSICAL CONSTRUCTION OUT OF USE
- " " " " STILL IN USE
- EARLIER MEDIEVAL CONSTRUCTION
- CONSTRUCTION OF THE PERIOD
- LATER MEDIEVAL CONSTRUCTIONS
- CONSTRUCTION OF DOUBTFUL CONTEMPORANEITY
- " " " " BELOW THE MAIN LEVEL

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S. L. DOVČAS 1964

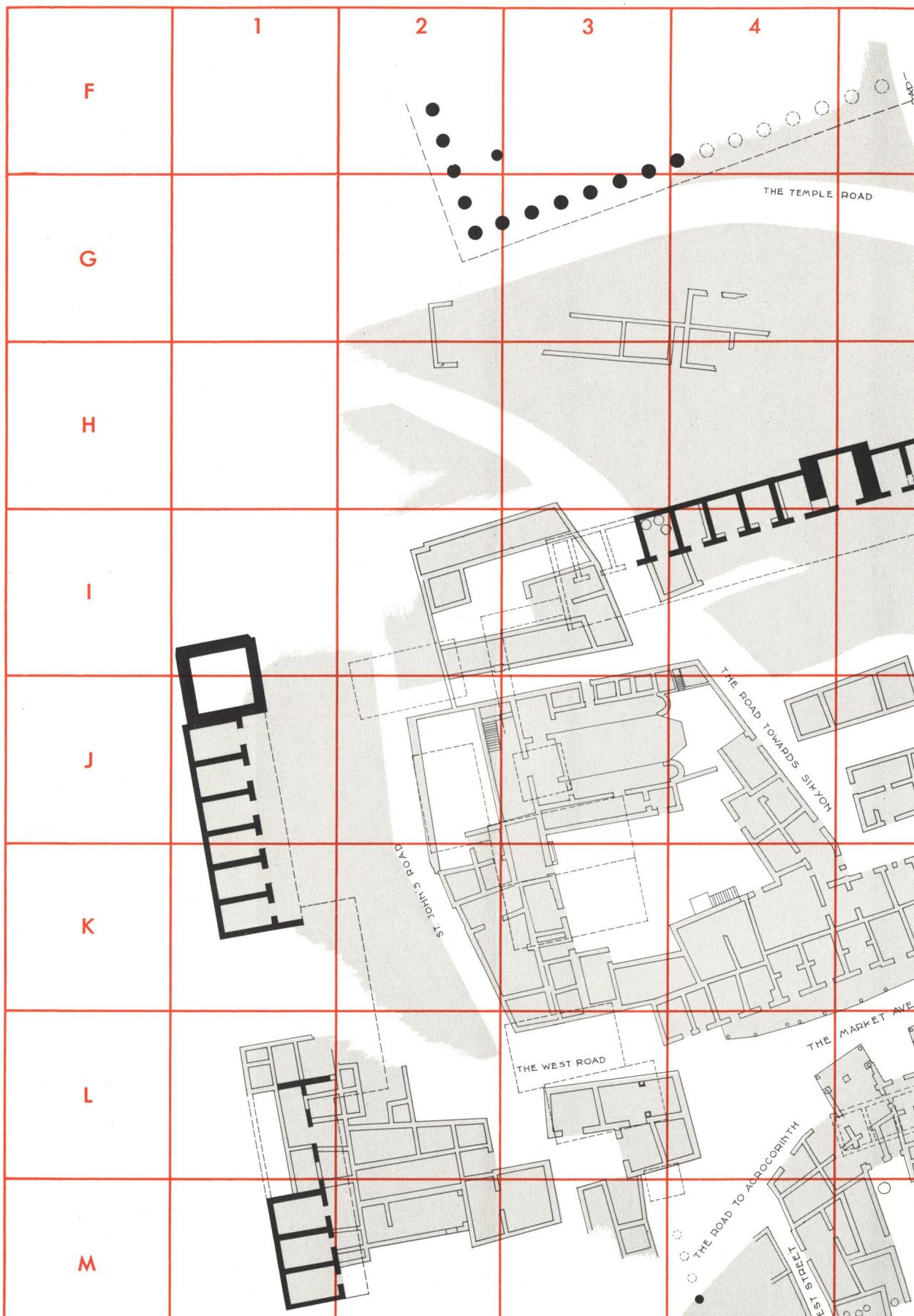
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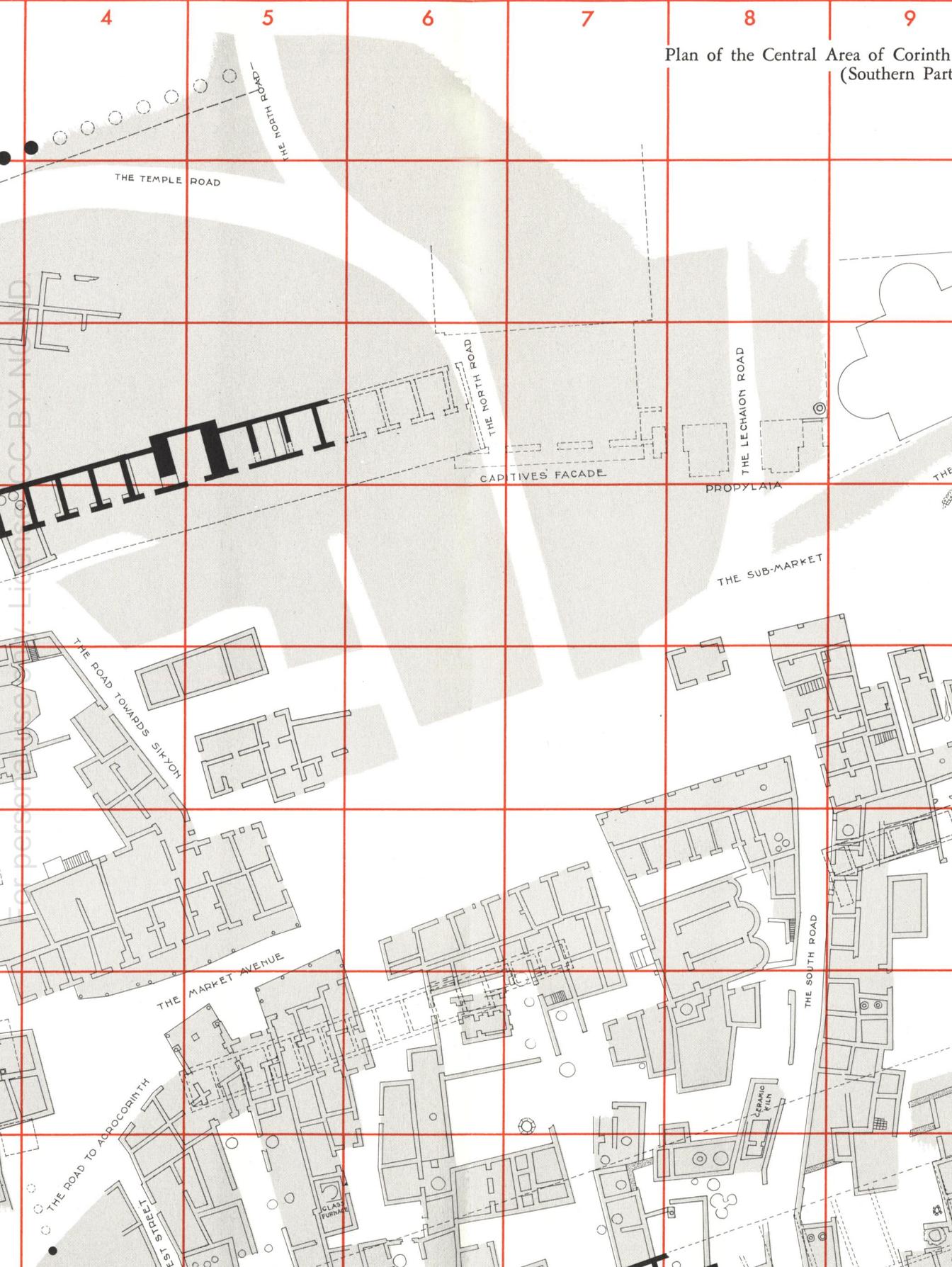
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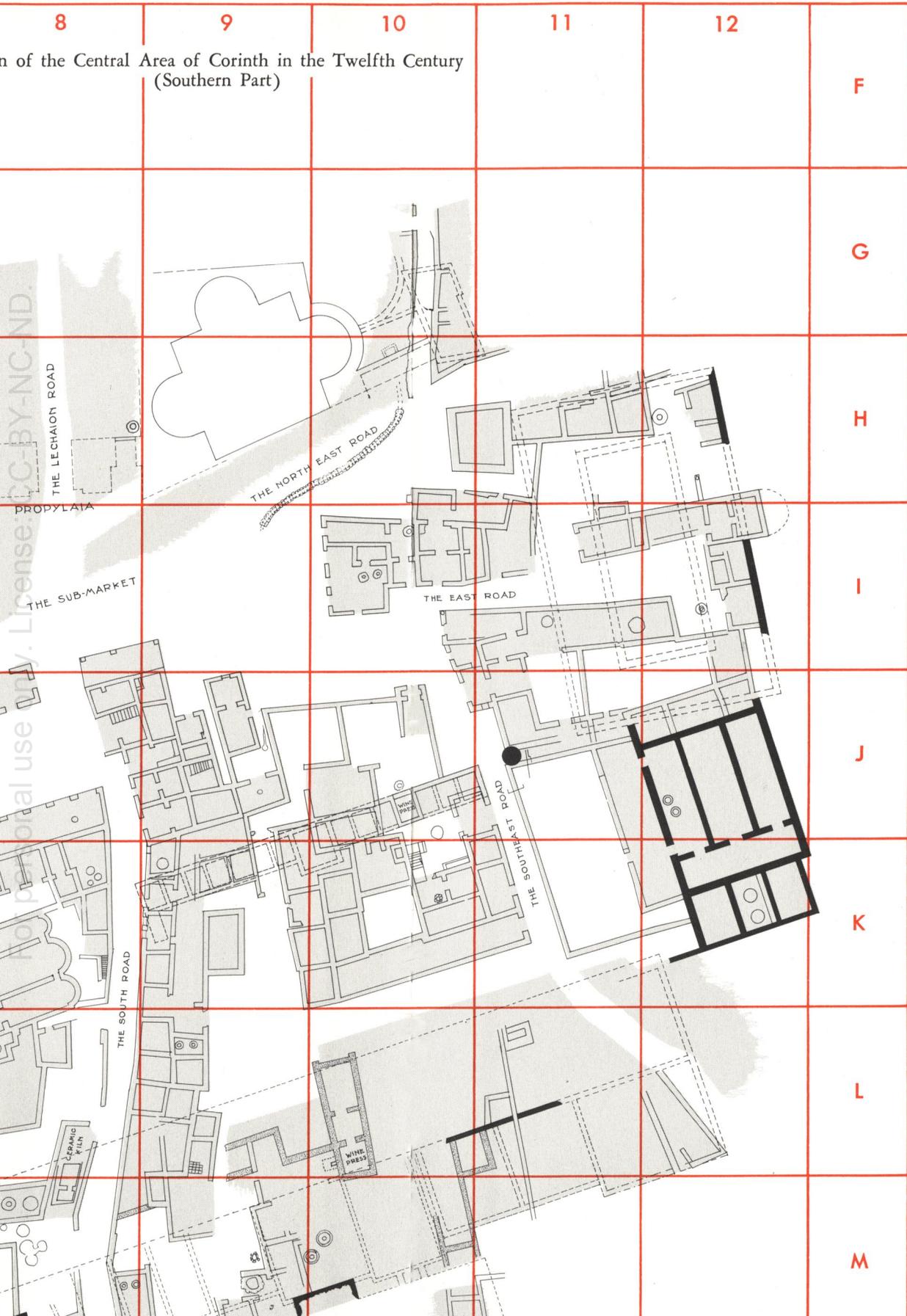
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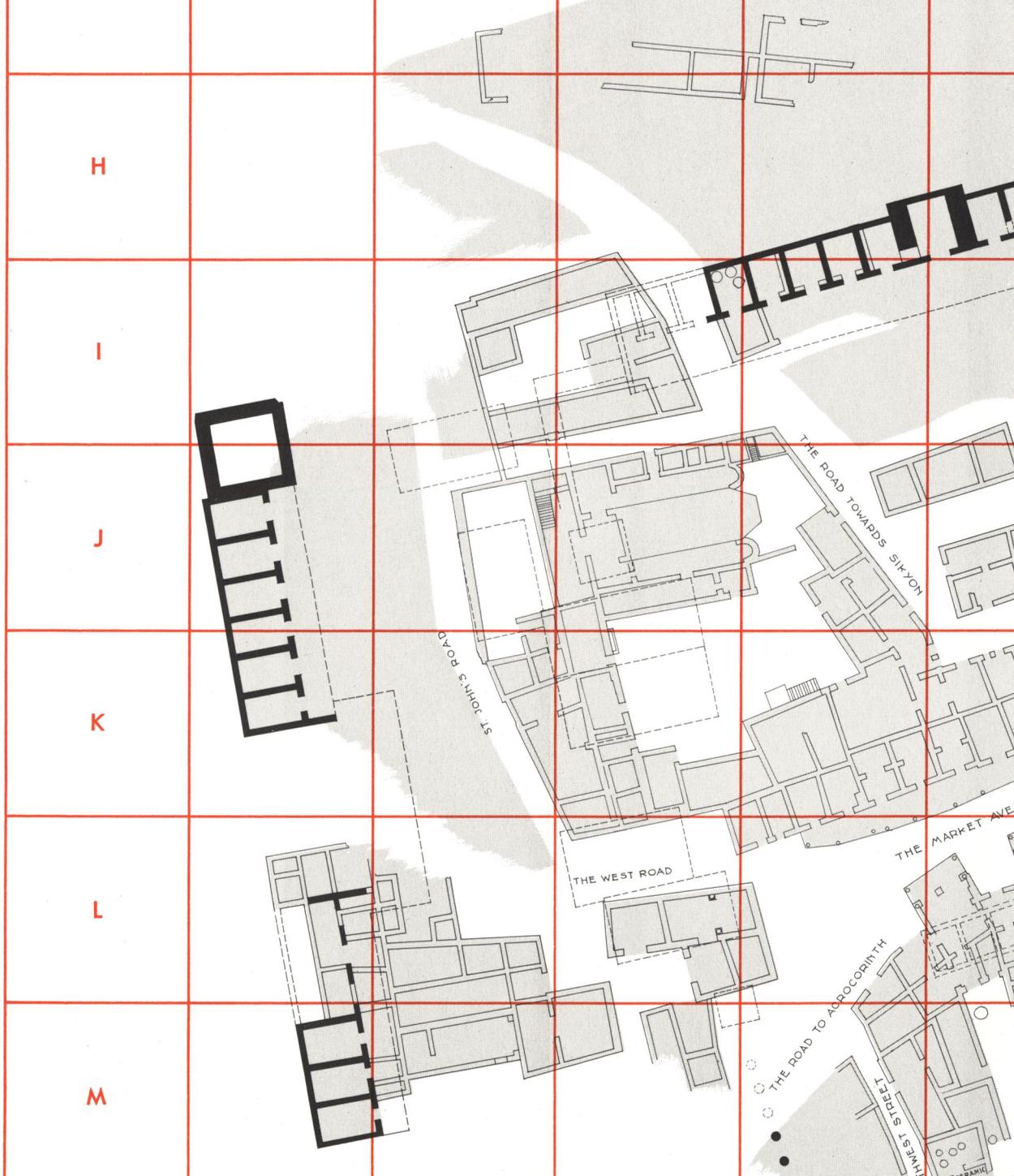
Plan of the Central Area of Corinth
(Southern Part)





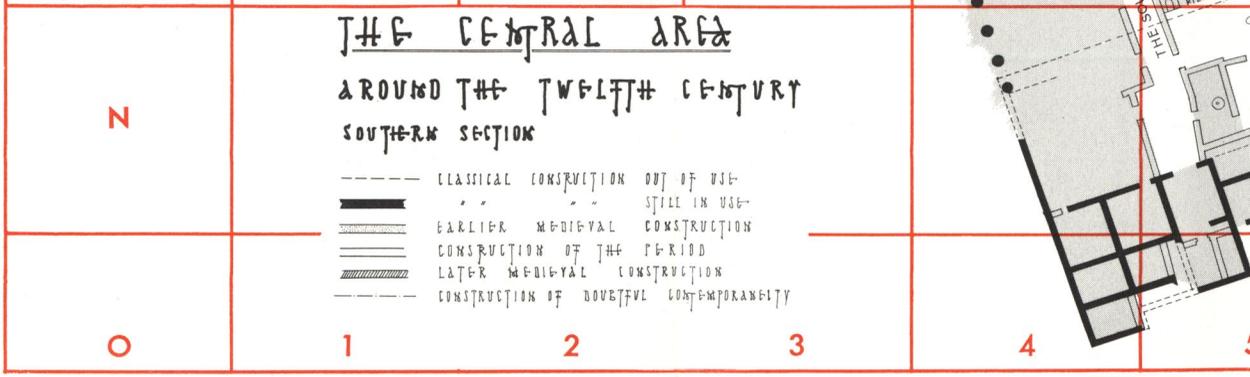
Plan of the Central Area of Corinth in the Twelfth Century
(Southern Part)

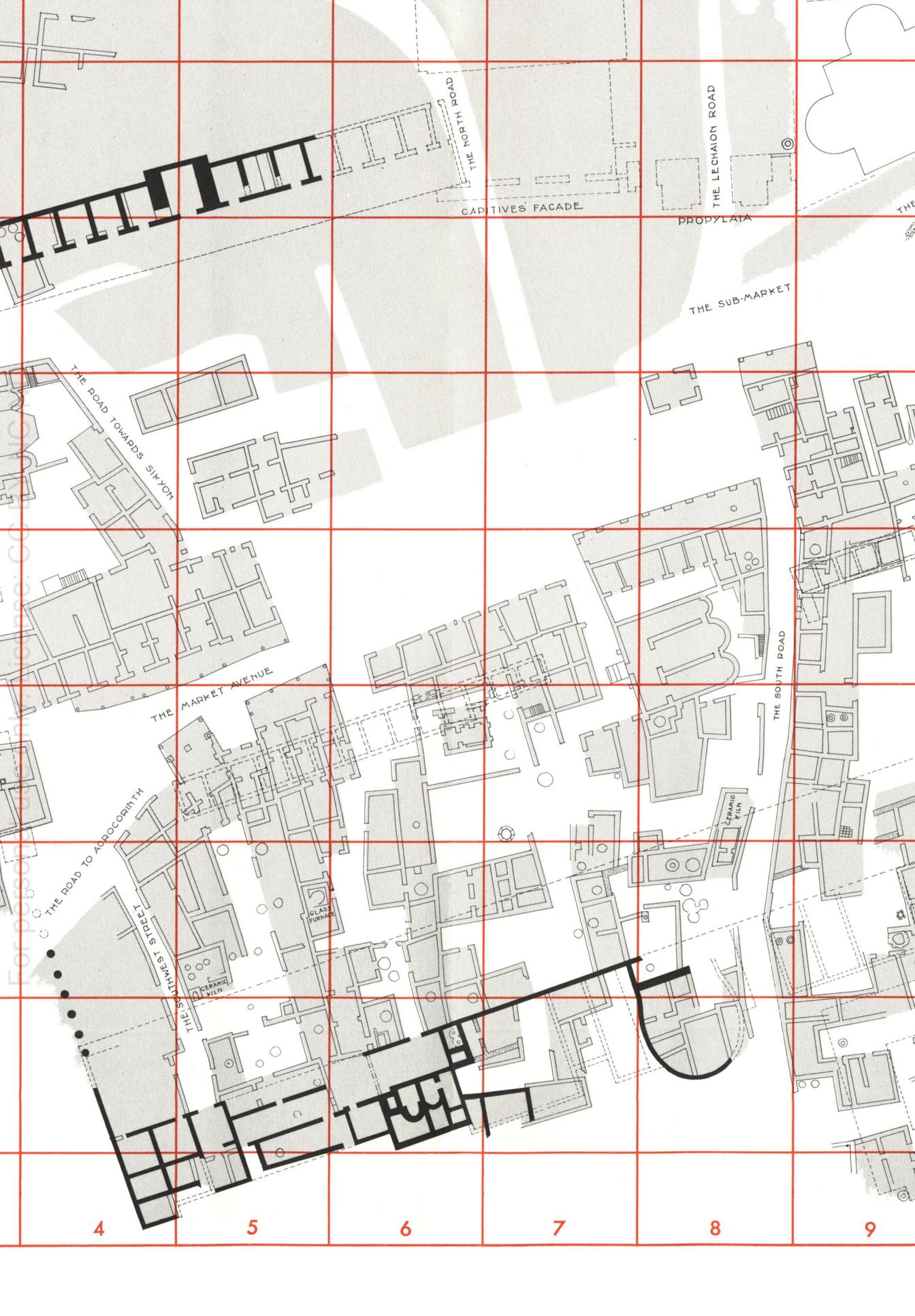
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**THE CENTRAL AREA
AROUND THE TWELFTH CENTURY
SOUTHERN SECTION**

- CLASSICAL CONSTRUCTION OUT OF USE
- █ STILL IN USE
- ▨ EARLIER MEDIEVAL CONSTRUCTION
- ▧ CONSTRUCTION OF THE PERIOD
- ▩ LATER MEDIEVAL CONSTRUCTION
- - - CONSTRUCTION OF DOUBTFUL CONTEMPORANEITY





THE NORTH ROAD

CAPTIVES' FACADE

THE LECHAION ROAD

PROPYLAEA

THE SUB-MARKET

THE ROAD TOWARDS SIK-YON

THE MARKET AVENUE

THE ROAD TO AGORORITH

THE SOUTHWEST STREET

GLASS FURNACE

CERAMIC KILN

THE SOUTH ROAD

4

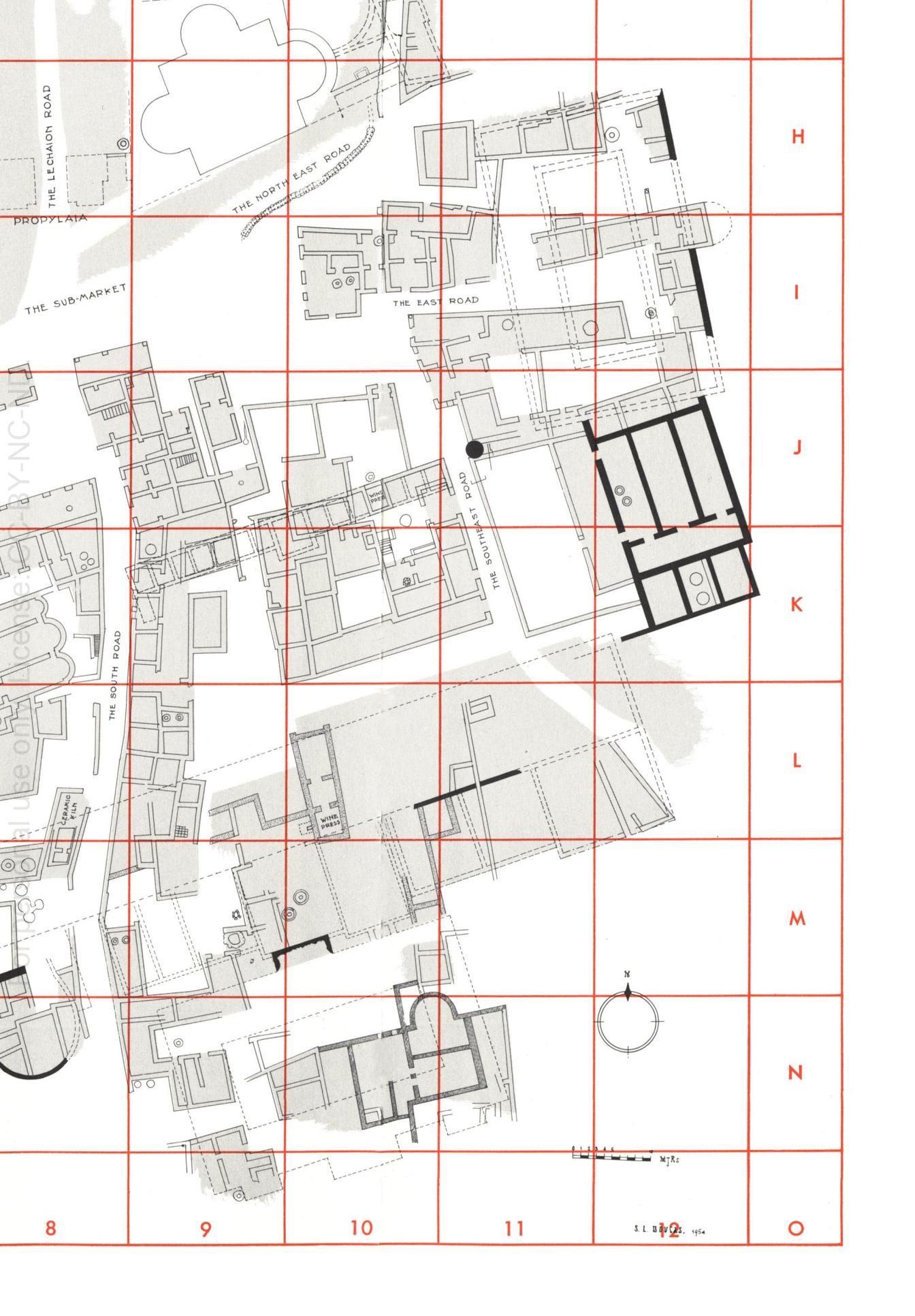
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THE LECHAION ROAD

PROPYLAEA

THE SUB-MARKET

THE NORTH EAST ROAD

THE EAST ROAD

THE SOUTH ROAD

THE SOUTHEAST ROAD

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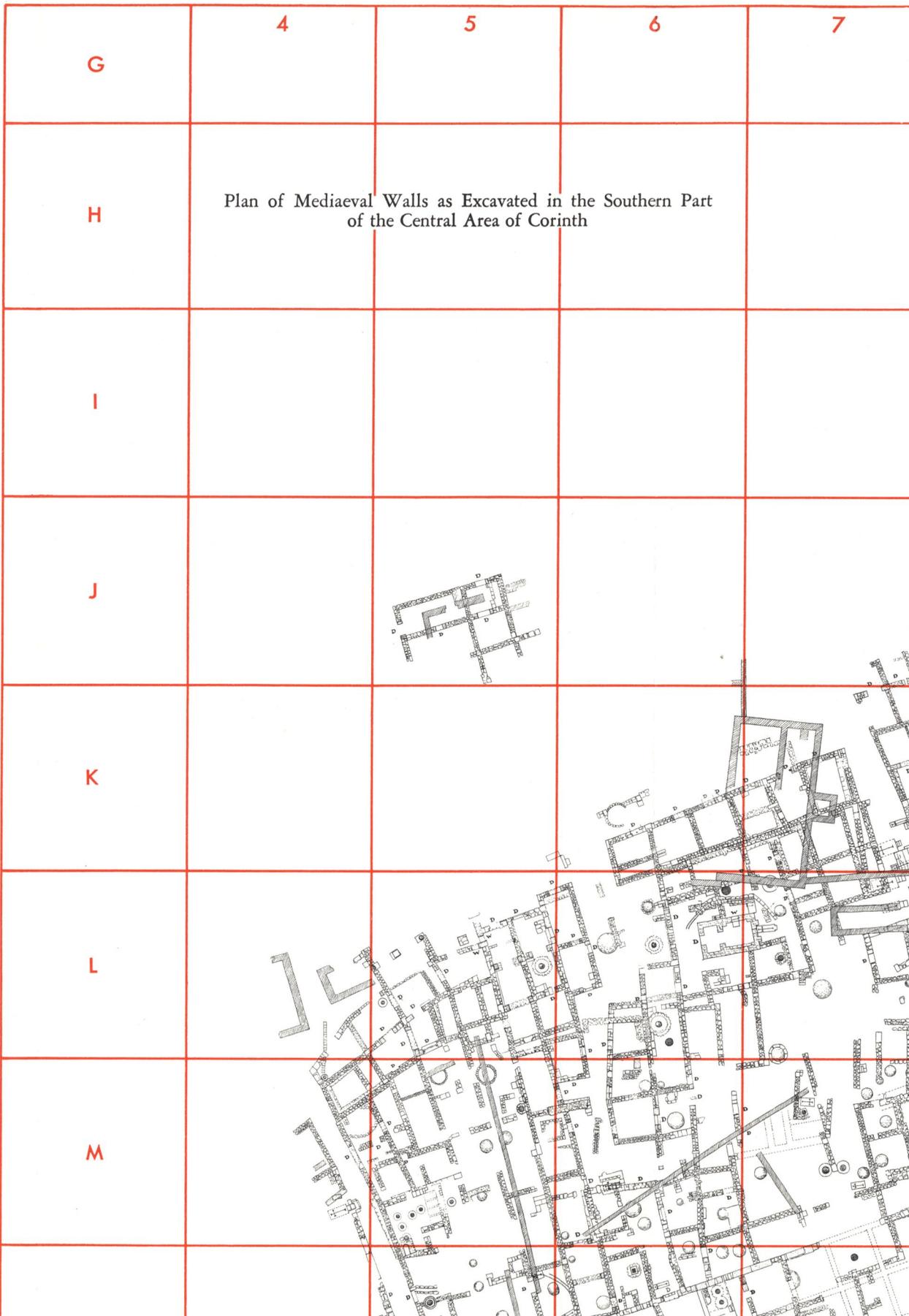
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S. L. DODD, 1954



Plan of Mediaeval Walls as Excavated in the Southern Part of the Central Area of Corinth

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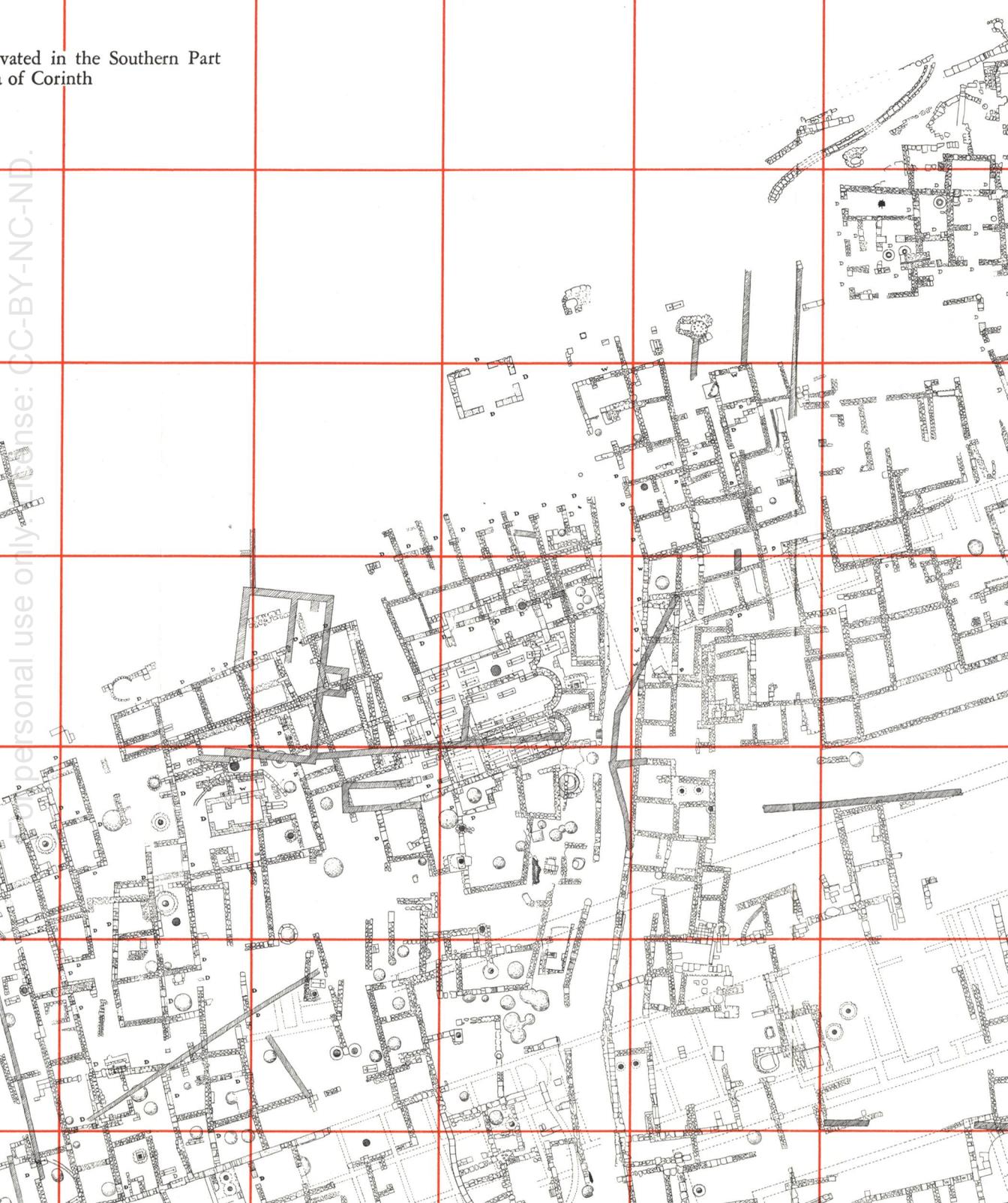
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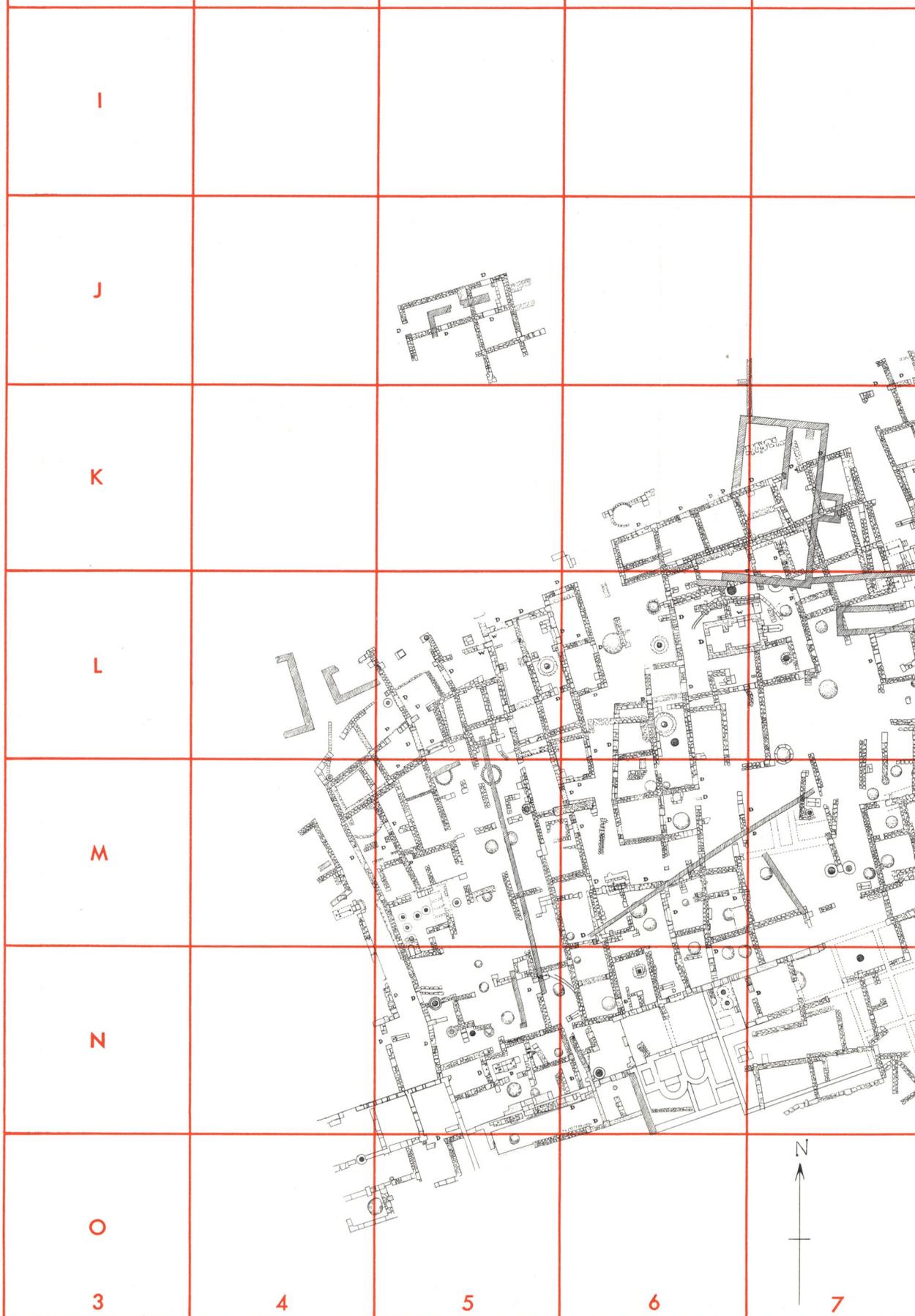
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Excavated in the Southern Part
of Corinth

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