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Mortuary Practices

In

Late Antique Corinth

By

Jeremy Ott

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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## **PREFACE**

In the interest of not restricting scholarship only to those who can afford to purchase it, I am releasing the present version of my 2016 doctoral thesis as an open access work. In addition to correcting a small number of typographical errors, I have reoriented the bibliography toward an international scholarly audience through the use of Greek and Cyrillic scripts for relevant materials published in Greece and Bulgaria, while including Romanized versions of authors' last names to provide points of access for non-specialist Western audiences. The main text is otherwise identical to the submitted version of the thesis, and any errors remain my own. A large number of published images from beyond the domain of ancient Corinth have been necessarily excluded from this open access edition.

Jeremy Ott

Berkeley, December 2018

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## ABSTRACT

Corinth's Late Antique mortuary archaeological record, consisting of more than 600 graves revealed during the course of over 100 years of excavation, offers a unique window on the religious beliefs, urban changes, economics, and ethnic composition of the city as it gradually abandoned the classical model. This dissertation considers in detail two expansive burial grounds: the first, of 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. date, within the area of Lerna Court and farther west within the line of the Classical city wall, and the second, dating from circa 600 A.D. to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, in and around Corinth's abandoned Forum. The topographical relevance of these cemeteries to the community of the living, tomb architecture, mortuary objects and ritual, and special cases of mortuary deviation from local tradition by non-Greek individuals are assessed with the assistance of extensive documentary material including inventoried artifacts, field notebook records, and images, most of which is unpublished and presented here for the first time.

Substantial continuation of preceding Roman practices in regard to cemetery location, tomb architecture, and deposited objects is demonstrated into the early 7<sup>th</sup> century and corresponds closely to Athens and other sites in southern Greece. While burials of the latter 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries differ importantly from their 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> century predecessors, especially in the sharp decrease in ceramic deposition, such trends may be explained in part by altered forms of object deposition within a ritual that remained largely constant, or by the increasing use of perishable objects. These relatively late burials are invaluable for the characterization of continuing occupation at Corinth, and find only limited points of comparison across Greece. Other changes, most dramatically the sudden appearance of weaponry in mortuary contexts and

an increase in some forms of personal clothing accessories and jewelry, testify to the presence of non-Greek individuals arguably originating in the migratory groups of Eastern Europe and potentially residing at Corinth as soldiers within the Byzantine military. The only city in southern Greece possessing clear archaeological evidence for such persons, Corinth thus offers an important model of a Late Antique multiethnic community.

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## INTRODUCTION

The disposal of the human dead, usually through the act of burial, is a key component of most societies and an event often full of intense personal meaning to family members and others, sometimes including an entire community, who on various levels plan and perform rituals associated with death and the removal, physically and socially, of the deceased from the everyday world of the living. The archaeologically retrievable aspects of burial, and also post-funerary commemoration of the dead, offer invaluable assistance in the reconstruction of mortuary ritual; more broadly, they can provide important broader insights into the societies which produced these contexts. At Corinth, the Late Antique mortuary archaeological record, consisting of more than 600 graves revealed over the course of over 100 years of excavation, offers a unique window on the religious beliefs, urban changes, economics, and ethnic composition of the city as it gradually abandoned the classical model. This dissertation considers in detail two expansive burial grounds: the first, of 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. date, within the area of Lerna Court and farther west within the line of the Classical city wall, and the second, dating from circa 600 to the 9<sup>th</sup> C., in and around Corinth's abandoned Forum, which by the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. had been excluded from the heart of the city through the construction of a contracted enceinte.

Unfortunately, due to the late emergence of archaeologically oriented research on Late Antiquity, the reliable body of evidence against which any site's burials may be assessed is quite restricted. Greece's Late Antique graves have most often been discussed only within the context of preliminary excavation reports, or in passing within monographs preoccupied with the use of a

site before its mortuary phase. Until the 2000s, not one major Late Antique cemetery in Greece was published at grave-level resolution including artifacts, details of tomb constructions, and ideally, bioarchaeological data. The 2000 publication of a "Slavic" cremation cemetery at Olympia, itself an exceptional case, followed by the graves at Eleutherna's Katsivelos Basilica (Crete) in 2004, Thessaloniki's extramural cemeteries in 2006, and scattered burial groups at Isthmia in 2012, have clearly raised the standard, although it may still be said that the publication of extensive cemetery areas on the Greek mainland is generally lacking.<sup>1</sup>

Whether as part of broad, diachronic investigations or, more recently, specific studies, Late Antiquity and its mortuary practices have played a special role at Corinth since the publication of a small number of atypical burials in "The Avar Invasion of Corinth" in 1937.<sup>2</sup> In 1951, the Late Antique phases, including a cemetery, of the Asklepieion and Lerna Court were summarized in monographic form, and shortly thereafter the development of the city center in Late Antiquity and beyond was presented within its own volume.<sup>3</sup> Since then, descriptions of Late Antique Corinth and its burials, usually brief, have been published for a number of Corinthian locales

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<sup>1</sup> Olympia: Vida and Völling, 2000. Eleutherna: Themelis, 2004. Isthmia: Rife, 2012. The publication of Olympia's cemetery clearly benefited from the guidance of Vida, in whose home country of Hungary contemporary Avar cemeteries had long been published at high levels of detail. Marki's study of Thessaloniki's tombs, an extremely useful source for tomb paintings in particular, is unfortunately burdened by a lack of detail in some aspects of the mortuary record, especially objects, which is presumably due to the limitations of excavation records. Additionally, although Laskaris' (2000) published dissertation, *Monuments funéraires paléochrétiens (et byzantins) de Grèce*, is a particularly ambitious and valuable reference, due both to the long duration considered and the common lack of chronological precision in the excavation reports upon which it relies and which frequently employ such terms for dating as "Early Christian", "Christian", "Late Roman", "Proto-Byzantine", and "Byzantine", one is frequently unsure of the true chronology of presented evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson, 1937. On the early development of interests in Byzantine research at Corinth, see: Kourelis, K. 2007. "Byzantium and the Avant-Garde: Excavations at Corinth, 1920s-1930s". *Hesperia*. 76.2. pp. 391-442.

<sup>3</sup> The Asklepieion and Lerna Court: Roebuck, 1951. The Forum: Scranton, 1957.

including Christian basilicas, a possible Gymnasium, the Panayia Field site, and the Forum's Peirene Fountain.

This dissertation seeks to expand our knowledge of mortuary practices, and the people who carried them out, in Late Antique Greece through an analysis of the mortuary use of Corinth's Lerna Court area, dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> to early or mid-7<sup>th</sup> C., and the Forum, which occurred from circa 600 to the 9th C. Although both burial grounds may have possessed holy sites within their general vicinities, neither developed around a Christian basilica. Their graves may therefore be considered to incorporate broad swaths of the population, potentially including members of multiple religions, and also individuals of middle and even lower classes who, until the gradual opening of Christian basilicas to non-elite burials not before the 7<sup>th</sup> C. at earliest, would have been unlikely to receive interment at such high status sites. Moreover, the use span of these chronologically overlapping cemeteries, extending from approximately the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> C., allows for the development of these spaces and the practices of those who buried within them to be charted in the long term, and is especially useful in providing a glimpse of Corinth's inhabitants during the "Dark Age" of the latter 7th to 9th C., a time period for which archaeologically visible remains of habitation are scarce, written sources are few, and later medieval chroniclers have asserted destruction of the city at the hands of invading Slavs or Avars.

This consideration of Corinth's Late Antique graves begins with a topographic overview of 4th to 8th C. Corinth which surveys the spaces of the living and the dead, and the evolving interaction of these two spheres. The next two chapters are dedicated to the cemetery case studies of the Lerna Court area and the Forum area, and provide detailed guides to the graves

within these zones as well as their interactions with the decaying built environments which surrounded them. The analysis then shifts to specific aspects of mortuary practices through studies of mortuary objects and ritual, and tomb architecture. Finally, the special topic of the burial of "immigrant" individuals, who may be present in significant numbers at the Forum, is addressed. A large body of images provides visual documentation for Corinth's burials in addition to select comparanda.<sup>4</sup>

My approach is strongly grounded in the archaeological record, although I explore Late Antique texts and Greek Orthodox tradition as useful sources for the interpretation of ritual. While southern Greece, which was geographically and culturally closest to Corinth, provides many of the best points of archaeological comparison, evidence from across the Mediterranean region and Eastern Europe is exploited in regard to tomb architecture and especially mortuary objects.

Choices, reflecting both personal preference and social norms, are necessarily made throughout the preparation, enactment, and commemoration of each burial: for example, the position of the dead and the deposition of a particular object, the format of the tomb and materials employed, and the topographic relation of a grave to others and of a cemetery to the community of the living. This dissertation provides a map of these practices, and their evolution, as a step toward understanding the development of Corinthian society at the end of antiquity.

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<sup>4</sup> All images are presented as plates and generally occur in the sequence in which they are considered in the text. After an initial section dedicated to cemetery plans, the photographs and drawings of the Lerna Court area cemetery (excluding the "Gymnasium" zone, which is not considered in detail within this dissertation) and Forum cemetery are provided, and are followed by comparanda for tomb architecture and mortuary objects (including those belonging to the "Gymnasium" zone).

Substantial continuation of preceding Roman traditions in regard to cemetery location, tomb typologies, and deposited objects is demonstrated into the 7<sup>th</sup> C. and corresponds closely to Athens and other sites in southern Greece. While burials of the latter 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. display at face value far less similarity to their 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> C. predecessors, most prominently visible in the abandonment of traditional Greco-Roman cemetery zones, some trends may be explained by altered forms of object deposition within a ritual that remained largely constant, or by the increasing use of perishable objects. These relatively late burials are invaluable for the characterization of occupation at Corinth during this “Dark Age” and find only limited points of comparison across Greece, where identified archaeological contexts of the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. are extremely rare. They therefore reveal the range of mortuary possibilities, and, based on mortuary objects, trade networks and sources of cultural influence, which may be expected in Greece’s largest urban centers in addition to some lesser sites.

Other changes, most dramatically the sudden appearance of weaponry in mortuary contexts and an increase in some forms of personal clothing accessories and jewelry, testify to the presence of non-Greek individuals arguably originating in the migratory groups of Eastern Europe and residing at Corinth as soldiers within the Byzantine military. The only city in southern Greece possessing clear archaeological evidence for such persons, Corinth offers an important model of a Late Antique multiethnic community in which a significant degree of acculturation occurred, and may find additional points of comparison in a small number of contemporary cemeteries from minor settlements in the Peloponnese which belong to Slavic or mixed populations.

# CHAPTER 1

## LANDSCAPES OF THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

### Introduction

Corinth's Late Antique burials, occurring in both small, isolated clusters and much more extensive groups that might rightly be called cemeteries, were part of the extended fabric of the city, the limits of which, whether visibly demarcated by city walls or more informally observed, played a major role in the determination of grave location. The landscape of the living, and consequently that of the dead, was in tremendous flux during this period as large swaths of the city were abandoned or put to new uses, a contracted city wall was raised to protect a greatly reduced urban center, and multiple Christian basilicas were erected.

This chapter offers an introduction to Corinth's Late Antique topography beginning with the contracted lower city and its immediate periphery, and continuing with a consideration of greater Corinth to the limit of its Classical fortification and the space beyond. Extended discussion of the topography and history of the Lerna Court area and the Forum is provided within individual sections due to the valuable cemetery case studies provided by these sites, which receive their own chapters. Broad trends within the topographic development of Corinth's Late Antique burial grounds are discussed next, and, finally, the Corinthian evidence is placed alongside that from contemporary cities, most importantly Athens.

### The Fortified Lower City

The urban core of Late Antique Corinth in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and beyond consisted of a heavily reduced, fortified settlement located directly east of the Forum, which was conspicuously excluded from the protection of the new, arguably Justinianic, city wall (pl. 1).<sup>5</sup> This space, measuring some .75 km. maximum on each side, encompassed what must have been a densely occupied neighborhood of houses, shops, government offices, baths, and churches which were presumably situated within a surviving grid of Roman *insulae*.

Although the contracted city center's location beneath the modern village of Corinth has generally excluded it from archaeological investigation, rescue excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service offer tantalizing clues to its composition through the revelation of a bath and a pair of ornately carved capitals which may belong to a 6<sup>th</sup> C. Christian basilica.<sup>6</sup> Well to the northwest of this potential basilica, luxurious "Proto-Byzantine" buildings excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service appear to have remained in use until the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>7</sup> Finally, a complex which probably included a Christian basilica with adjacent martyrion lay at the extreme

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<sup>5</sup> On the Late Antique city wall, the course of which is known primarily from remote sensing, see: Slane and Sander (2005, p. 293), Sanders (2004, p. 179). Gregory (1979) offers a date in the early 5<sup>th</sup> C., and a larger circuit, for the fortification, but the use of the Forum for burial starting, at the earliest, circa 600, suggests both a more limited circuit and a relatively late chronology assuming that Corinthians followed the legal prohibition of burial within their city. Athanasoulis (2013, p. 197) attempts to bridge these concepts by suggesting that a 5<sup>th</sup> C. phase of a larger circuit, encompassing additional ground to the west, may have existed before a 6<sup>th</sup> C. contraction of the enceinte. Although intriguing, and not without potential parallel in cities like Athens in which multiple wall circuits developed during Late Antiquity, such a theory is not yet supported by Corinthian archaeological evidence.

<sup>6</sup> The pair of animal capitals, which incorporate openwork crosses, were found in the northwest portion of the fortified city and have been dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> C. (Athanasoulis 2013, p. 198 fig. 175, p. 199). Although the still undiscovered building to which they belonged is likely to be a Christian basilica, other possibilities, including an elite residence built by Christians, cannot be ruled out. Little can be said about the "Proto-Byzantine" bath other than its location within the central area of the city and not far from northern segment of the defensive wall (*ibid.*, p. 195, no. 14).

<sup>7</sup> Athanasoulis 2013, p. 200 fn. 74. The identity of these buildings is unknown.

northeast corner of the city and close to the eastern segment of the Late Antique fortification, which was clearly extended to the east in order to incorporate these pre-existing structures within its circuit.<sup>8</sup>

### The Area Immediately Surrounding the Fortified Lower City

The zone extending just beyond the line of Corinth's Late Antique fortification, and thus surrounding the contracted 6<sup>th</sup> C. community, incorporates a range of 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. buildings and urban spaces that one would expect in a major city, but by the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. seem to have been largely abandoned or used as burial grounds.<sup>9</sup> To the west of the Late Antique circuit lay the Corinthian Forum, which remained in some form of use by the living until the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> C., after which it received infant burials in the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C. and then a full range of graves starting in the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>10</sup> One of the latest examples of non-mortuary use of a space close to the city center occurs directly north of the Forum, where a house, which was

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<sup>8</sup> Pallas (1990, 764) first observed the low-level surface remains of a long, east-west rectangular building along with a circular structure at its southeast corner; he considered them to be a basilica and probable martyrion. The building became known as "Pallas' Basilica", and although still unexcavated, was further clarified by remote sensing and in-situ examination by the American School of Classical Studies in 2000 (Sanders 2005, p. 440)

<sup>9</sup> Primarily for the sake of convenience, I consider the zone surrounding the contracted Late Antique city to extend up to 250 m. from its defensive wall. Although this spatial delineation of course has no bearing on the development of urban space before the wall was constructed, similarities in use in excavated areas on the east and west sides of the circuit during the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and beyond, and the distinction in use between the Forum and the slightly more distant theatre area throughout Late Antiquity, suggest that this is an imperfect but useful measure of the immediate urban periphery.

<sup>10</sup> The Forum's Late Antique development is considered in detail at the end of this chapter.

located only some 100 m. west of the city wall, received a new tile floor at some point after 602.<sup>11</sup>

Well south of the Forum, and probably situated immediately outside the Late Antique city wall, the Panayia Field site offers a recently excavated case study in the dramatic changes which could occur in a small space located close to both old and new city centers.<sup>12</sup> A well-appointed house, which included wall frescoes and a miniature statuary group of Greco-Roman divinities, was built in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> C. and destroyed in the late 4<sup>th</sup> C., a destruction date also evidenced at a structure of uncertain function located 70 m. to the house's north.<sup>13</sup> The Panayia Field house was again seemingly turned toward domestic use, probably in the early to mid-5<sup>th</sup> C., through the construction of a building with ornate dining room above the ruins of the previous structure. To the north of the house, a small bath was built around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. Probably contemporary with the bath is a long, partially excavated building (the "long building"), perhaps a Christian basilica, exposed at a length of 50 m. east-west at the south edge of the excavation site. Infant burials in relatively late forms of Gaza amphoras, which likely date to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C., were

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<sup>11</sup> Scranton 1957, p. 21

<sup>12</sup> On Panayia Field, see most recently the analysis of sculpture in the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> C. house in Stirling (2008); see also Sanders' (2005, p. 420-429) summary. More detailed information on some aspects of the site is accessible via online excavation reports (<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/ExcavationCorinth/corinth-excavations-1998-report>; <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/ExcavationCorinth/corinth-excavations-1999-report>; <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/ExcavationCorinth/corinth-excavations-2000-report>). The course of the western line of the Late Antique city wall in relation to Panayia Field is not completely clear. At some point the wall must extend circa 100 m. west of the circuit's southwest corner in order to meet the circuit's northwest corner, which appears to coincide approximately with the line of the back wall of the Julian Basilica. Thus, the westward extension of the wall should begin either slightly north or slightly south of Panayia Field, placing Panayia Field either directly inside or directly outside the wall. The latter scenario seems most reasonable in consideration of the site's Late Antique graves, which due to both law and local custom are better sited alongside other burials located outside the wall and in its immediate vicinity than within the protected city of the living.

<sup>13</sup> Sanders 2005, p. 424. This northern building contained an earlier statue group of divinities.

installed against the north wall of this building, while two additional built tombs farther north and close to a north-south road bordering the site were probably constructed between the late 6<sup>th</sup> and mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>14</sup> At some point in the middle or third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> C., a large amount of fragmentary pottery, perhaps associated with a new domestic use of the bath, was dumped into a pit west of the long building and marks the last known Late Antique activity at this site.<sup>15</sup>

About 200 m. southwest of Panayia field, and at a slightly higher elevation at the edge of one of Acrocorinth's lowermost slopes, an elaborate "Proto-Byzantine" triconch nymphaeum clearly lay outside the line of the Late Antique city wall. It presumably refreshed travelers commuting between the lower city and the Acrocorinth citadel.<sup>16</sup>

Moving to the zone outside the north segment of the Late Antique city wall, the final use of the "Great Bath" beside the Lechaion Road belongs to the late 6<sup>th</sup> C., while not far away lie the poorly known remains of a bath that may date to the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>17</sup> Northeast of the baths, a house was occupied from the 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>18</sup> Farther east, and close to the wall at the circuit's northeast corner, two dense mortuary zones have been excavated by the Greek Archaeological

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<sup>14</sup> <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/ExcavationCorinth/corinth-excavations-1998-report>; <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/ExcavationCorinth/corinth-excavations-1999-report>. For the chronologies of the tombs, see further p. 167, 226 fn. 579.

<sup>15</sup> The pottery within this pit comprises Assemblage 4 of Slane and Sanders' 2005 study.

<sup>16</sup> This nymphaeum, excavated by the Greek archaeological service, is largely unpublished. For its location and general chronological assignment, see Athanasoulis (2013, p. 194-195, no. 6). Due to the lack of a close chronology for this building, which could conceivably be placed at any point from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C., it is unclear whether it was constructed in direct reference to the contracted city and any access routes or gates associated with it.

<sup>17</sup> For a summary of Corinth's baths, see Biers (2003, p. 303-317).

<sup>18</sup> Athanasoulis 2013, p. 194 no. 22, 198. The house lies by the modern site known as Murat Aga.

Service and appear to date mainly to the 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>19</sup> Activity of the living before the development of the cemetery in this general area of the city is suggested by an inscription of 402-408, apparently a provincial regulation, discovered in a modern field southwest of the Amphitheatre.<sup>20</sup>

Along the east side of the Late Antique circuit, excavation is limited to an area at the approximate midpoint of the city wall's north-south extent.<sup>21</sup> In addition to a tower belonging to the city wall, small burial clusters, close to or directly abutting the wall, were exposed, and thus far remain unpublished. These graves, which appear to consist mainly of tile tent graves but also include infant amphora burials, clearly post-date the Late Antique wall; the best chronological indicators are Late Antique lamps from the area, at least a few of which are probably to be associated with graves, and which may be placed broadly between the late 5<sup>th</sup> and mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> These graves, primarily consisting of cist graves but also including vaulted tombs, tile tent graves, and a small number of infant amphora burials, have been published as dating from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> C. to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. based on the pottery and lamps discovered within and around them. The vast majority of finds belong to the 6<sup>th</sup> C., and it is difficult to say with certainty that anything is of the 5<sup>th</sup> C. in light of current ceramic chronologies at Corinth. Some of the lamps may have 5<sup>th</sup> C. prototypes, but are one or more generations removed from the originals as evidenced by the reworking of their decoration and, occasionally, their irregular forms. If the Late Antique wall, which lies adjacent to these mortuary zones, is indeed Justinianic, then it seems most likely that the zones developed against the wall's outer face starting in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. While a few vessels could conceivably extend into the 7<sup>th</sup> C., use of this area for burial did not go far into that century, if at all, due to a lack of the latest forms present in the roughly contemporary Lerna Court area cemetery, which was used until the early 7<sup>th</sup> C. and perhaps as late as the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>20</sup> *SEG* 42, no. 262; Sironen, E. 1992. "The Edict of Diocletian and a Theodosian Regulation at Corinth". *Hesperia*. 61.2. p. 223-226

<sup>21</sup> This 1930 trench, documented within Corinth Excavation Notebook 0111, has been discussed within the context of the course of the Late Antique city wall; see further fn. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Although documentation for these excavations is of a poor quality, it is clear that a majority of graves assume a tile tent format and are accompanied by a small number of infant amphora burials and at least one cist. The lamps, which are for the most part not linkable to specific graves and some of which may have been deposited here for reasons other than mortuary commemoration, are Broneer Types XXVIII and XXXI. The type XVIII lamps could date as late as the 6<sup>th</sup> C., whereas the type XXXI lamps may be placed throughout the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and as late as the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.

Due to the lack of excavation along the south side of the city wall, it may only be postulated that this area similarly contained at least a few scattered graves, if not denser mortuary zones, and also the remains of structures including houses which are likely to have preceded mortuary use of the area. At least one burial took place just outside the circuit's southeast corner at the Kakavi Spring, where an infant was laid amongst Roman or Late Antique water works within a late form of Gaza amphora which probably belongs to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>23</sup>

### Greater Corinth

Beyond the immediate vicinity of the protected Late Antique city, scattered excavations have exposed structures including houses, baths, Christian basilicas, and, at a significant distance from the Late Antique city wall, additional burials ranging from small clusters to extensive cemeteries. Some 200 m. west of the Forum and directly beside the modern excavation house of the ASCSA Corinth Excavations, a small bath similar to that in Panagia Field dates to the 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>24</sup> Northwest of the Forum and nestled within the slope of the terrace below it, the theatre's Late Antique history has been enriched by recent excavation work which details the quarrying of the site's blocks and paving slabs from the late 4<sup>th</sup> C. to the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> C., and the dumping of massive quantities of animal bones, probably related to food processing activities, over an extended period of time from circa 400 until the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> C. if not slightly later.<sup>25</sup> West of

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<sup>23</sup> This infant burial, which was uncovered during a small rescue excavation, is described in Corinth Notebook 0207, p. 40. For the Kakavi Spring, see Landon 2003 (p. 58, no. 5).

<sup>24</sup> Biers 2003, p. 310

<sup>25</sup> For recent excavation in the theatre, see Williams (2013). Other Late Antique activity, including the apparent storage of decorative shells in anticipation of later use not before the 5<sup>th</sup> C., has been documented for the theatre site.

the theatre, a 5<sup>th</sup> C. house with mosaics is remarkable for its continued use, even if intermittent, during the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. and into the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>26</sup> Still farther west, the modern church of Ayia Paraskevi may have a Late Antique predecessor, as suggested by a long east-west wall uncovered by rescue excavation.<sup>27</sup> South of Ayia Paraskevi at the site of Anaploga, a Roman villa with mosaics of the 1<sup>st</sup> C. must have offered a pleasant suburban setting until the 4<sup>th</sup> C. when, following structural alterations, the residence was finally destroyed at century's end.<sup>28</sup> A group of three 6<sup>th</sup> C. graves was cut into the bedrock at the edge of a ravine in the same area, while another tomb may be of somewhat later date.<sup>29</sup>

Aside from the already mentioned baths and multi-phase house located not far from the Late Antique city wall, little is known of occupation in the area north of the circuit until one reaches the edge of the terrace overlooking the plain below.<sup>30</sup> At the terrace edge to the northwest of the city, excavations revealed the Lerna fountain court and Temple of Asklepius, which, after the robbing of blocks and dumping of refuse at the site, were extensively used as Late Antique

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<sup>26</sup> Athanasoulis 2013, p. 196 no. 11, 198. This house, located at the “Zekio” site, was recently excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service.

<sup>27</sup> Pallas 1990, p. 764

<sup>28</sup> Miller, Stella 1972, p. 333

<sup>29</sup> Group of three graves: Robinson 1962, p. 166-117. A tombstone retrieved from one of them in addition to a coarse jug suggests a 6<sup>th</sup> C. date. While the text of the epitaph contains no close dating indicators, and its inclusion of *κουμητήριον* (tomb) is completely traditional, the greenish gray schist plaque on which it is inscribed indicates a 6<sup>th</sup> C. date (Walbank, M. E. H. and M. B. Walbank 2006, p. 278-279). For a bronze finger ring, which bears an incised “X” on its bezel, from the later tomb, see Davidson (1952, no. 1853). Rather than the published 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. date, an 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> C. chronology is preferable based on general similarities in form and design to rings with a punched “X” (Grigorov 2007, type V.1), although other, unpublished objects from the tomb suggest a 7<sup>th</sup> C. date of initial use.

<sup>30</sup> A “Proto-Byzantine” building excavated by the Greek Archaeological service some 750 km. northwest of the Late Antique city wall may well be a house, while at least two graves of Late Antique or subsequent date point to a change in use within this limited area.

burials areas in the 6<sup>th</sup> to early or mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>31</sup> A possible gymnasium, which received additional graves, lies to the southwest of the structures, while even more burials were revealed farther west by early test trenches.

Sections of additional burial grounds have been exposed more than 500 m. east of the Asklepieion at the edge of the same terrace. A large rescue excavation by the Greek Archaeological Service revealed a cemetery packed with rock-cut cist graves, some of them neatly lined, which were accompanied by numerous ceramic vessels, jewelry, and other objects; on the basis of published materials these graves appear to be datable to the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>32</sup> Another mortuary area, which lies still further to the east and just outside the Classical city wall at the site of Plevres, was used from the Early Roman period until the late 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>33</sup>

While the use of the terrace edge for burial began during Late Antiquity, probably in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. to the extent that published accounts of excavations reveal, the zone in the plain directly below, known as the “North Cemetery”, had been exploited for burial throughout antiquity and likely inspired the extensive mortuary development of the higher terrace ground to its south.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The history of this area is discussed in more detail within a special section later in this chapter.

<sup>32</sup> Meleti 2013. A small section of the same cemetery which lies slightly north of the Greek Archaeological Service’s excavation was uncovered by the ASCSA and remains unpublished.

<sup>33</sup> Athanasoulis 2013, p. 196 no. 28, 198. This site’s latest Late Antique graves, which appear to lie within or beside large Early Roman chamber tombs, are mentioned only briefly in excavation reports: Skarmoutsou 1997; Skarmoutsou-Dimitropoulou 1995. Photographs of the lamps which accompany the reports confirm mortuary activity at the site until at least the late 5<sup>th</sup> C. if not the 6<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> On the North Cemetery generally see Blegen et al. (1964). For studies of its Roman and Late Antique graves see: M. E. H. Walbank and M. B. Walbank (2006); Slane and M. E. H. Walbank (2006); M. E. H. Walbank (2005). M. E. H. Walbank and M. B. Walbank (2006) consider the 6<sup>th</sup> C. grave of Maria, wife of Euplous within an Early Roman chamber tomb at the site of Cheliotomylos; for an additional 6<sup>th</sup> C. tombstone from the same site see *SEG* 29 (no. 314).

Included amongst the North Cemetery's graves were Early Roman chamber tombs that were used, or re-used, by individuals, some clearly Christian, during the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, by the early 6th C., land within the vicinity of the abandoned villa at Kokkinovrysi, a structure located just below the northwest area of the Classical city wall, received at least a small number of burials as evidenced by recovered tombstones, although whether the corresponding graves lay close to the villa or on the terrace above remains a question.<sup>36</sup>

A significant factor in the development of cemeteries at the terrace edge, and the continued use of the North Cemetery, was the presence of holy sites in the plain at a short distance from the terrace cliff. At just over 100 m. from graves at the terrace edge, the Kodratus Basilica, constructed in the 6<sup>th</sup> C., received many burials of its own.<sup>37</sup> A very different holy place was nestled in the cliff face below the Lerna Court area cemetery, where a spring house became a cult site of unclear religious character known as the Fountain of the Lamps; many visitors left behind

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<sup>35</sup> Pallas 1975 p. 9, 10 fig. 14. The geographically closest example of a tomb bearing such a rho cross with alpha and omega of which I know comes from Veroia, where Pazaras (1985, fig. 2) dates it, probably too early, to the 4<sup>th</sup> C. on stylistic grounds. Although, based on the corpus of 6<sup>th</sup> C. tomb painting in Greece, in which Latin crosses dominate, and additionally the iconography of terra cotta lamps, a 5<sup>th</sup> C. date seems preferable for the Corinth tomb painting, an early 6<sup>th</sup> C. date cannot be completely ruled out; a late version of the chi rho still appears on some Attic lamps in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. (see, for example, Karivieri 1996, no. 94-95).

<sup>36</sup> On the villa, see generally T.L. Shear, "Excavations at Corinth in 1925," in *AJA* 29 (1925), 391-97; T.L. Shear, *Corinth V, The Roman Villa*, Cambridge, MA, 1930. For the tombstones, all probably from the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and one of them datable specifically to 529, see: *SEG* 20, no. 310, 316, 325, 326.

<sup>37</sup> On the Kodratus Basilica graves, see: Pallas 1990, p. 778-779; Stikas 1966; Stikas 1964. Some of the epitaphs belonging to tombs within its floor admittedly appear unusually early in style and closer to the 5<sup>th</sup> C. than the 6<sup>th</sup>; this could reflect a particularly conservative mortuary attitude for the elite individuals buried within the basilica, or indicate the relocation of earlier graves within the space of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. building, as M. E. H. Walbank (M. B. Walbank 2010, p. 276 fn. 54) believes. Additional graves well north of the Kodratus Basilica were exposed by highway rescue excavations; thus far, they have been described in print only as "Proto-Byzantine" (Athanasoulis 2013, p. 195 no. 27).

votive terra cotta lamps here during the mid-5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>38</sup> Much farther north in the plain, and possibly serving the needs of a localized semi-rural population, the Skoutelas Basilica was erected in the 6<sup>th</sup> C., while agricultural activity in the plain is indicated by a substantial 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. agricultural processing facility at Koutsoumatsa roughly halfway between the urban center and the Lechaion harbor.<sup>39</sup> Finally, one of the largest Christian basilicas in the world was likewise built in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. at Corinth's northern harbor at Lechaion, where it was sited on a sandbar close to the water and prominently visible to approaching ships.<sup>40</sup>

The only Late Antique structure known to the east of the contracted city is the 6<sup>th</sup> C. Kraneion (or "Kenchrean Gate") Basilica, located beside the road to Corinth's southern harbor of Kenchreai at a point not far from the Kenchrean Gate.<sup>41</sup> This part of the city had long been a cemetery and was famed as the final resting place of Diogenes the Cynic. The mortuary tradition was continued at the basilica until at least the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. through the insertion of cist graves within a number of chambers, including a triconch mausoleum, which lined the building. Late Antique tombstones discovered in secondary contexts during the excavation of the basilica and in the general area testify both to the significant mortuary development of the

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<sup>38</sup> On the Fountain of the Lamps, see further p. 31.

<sup>39</sup> For the Skoutelas Basilica, which lacked graves, see: Pallas 1990, p. 775-777 with previous bibliography. For the agricultural processing facility at Koutsoumatsa (Athanasoulis 2013, p. 195 n. 30, 198).

<sup>40</sup> For the Lechaion Basilica graves, see: Pallas 1990, p. 769-776; Pallas 1965; Pallas 1961.

<sup>41</sup> For the Kraneion Basilica graves, see: Pallas 1990, p. 779-785; Pallas 1974; Shelley, J. M. 1943. "The Christian Basilica near the Cenchrean Gate at Corinth." *Hesperia* 12: 166-89.

extended area around the 6<sup>th</sup> C., and also its high status as demonstrated by the record of a tomb sale at an unusually high price.<sup>42</sup>

The citadel of Acrocorinth dominates the landscape to the south of Corinth's lower city. In the Hellenistic period parts of its north slope were used for burial, although mortuary activity appears to have ceased in the Early Roman period.<sup>43</sup> On its lower north slope lay the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, which was destroyed in the late 4<sup>th</sup> C. and apparently abandoned until clusters of tile graves and a few pit graves were placed beside the ruined buildings in the late 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. Additional tile graves, and also rock-cut tombs, were excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service within the lower area of the sanctuary and produced ceramic vessels of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>44</sup> The earliest Late Antique grave on the mountain, dating to the late 4<sup>th</sup> C., was found by chance on the west side of Acrocorinth's North Ravine and at some distance from the sanctuary.<sup>45</sup> At a much higher elevation, land near the entrance of Acrocorinth's fortress became used for burial in the late 7<sup>th</sup> C., and to the northwest a ruined tower of the Classical city wall

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<sup>42</sup> For the tombstones, see: *SEG* 26, no. 405; *SEG* 29, no. 315, 319, 322, 323. Because all evidence points to a 6<sup>th</sup> C. date for the basilica, those tombstones dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> C. should belong to the development of the area before the basilica's construction, or might better be considered as inscriptions of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and possibly some of the latest Late Antique mortuary epigrams in Greece. *SEG* 29, no. 319 is particularly noteworthy due to its mention of the sale of a tomb for two gold pieces, in contrast to the typical one and half gold pieces, by Andreas the Deacon. Aside from a grave within the basilica containing a Syracuse type belt buckle, iron light striker, and late 7<sup>th</sup> C. coins (see p. 258), a tomb beside the building possessed an iron bow buckle (Davidson 1952, no. 2180=MF3990) dated by Davidson to the 7<sup>th</sup> C. but of a type which is very long-lived.

<sup>43</sup> For a useful summary of the historical use of Acrocorinth for burial see Bookidis and Stroud (1997, p. 389-390).

<sup>44</sup> Kasimi, p. 73

<sup>45</sup> Grave 1967-001; see Bookidis and Stroud (1997, p. 390).

received interments during the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>46</sup> While the graves within the vicinity of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore could easily belong to the residents of the lower city, those located nearer the top of the mountain are located at such an inconvenient distance from the city below that they are almost certainly to be associated with the occupants of Acrocorinth's fortress.

The castle on Acrocorinth appears to have been continuously inhabited during Late Antiquity, as one would expect of Corinth's key defensive installation, a spacious complex accessible only from a winding road which led to the citadel's western gate. Athanasoulis has identified construction phases of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C., and, while 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. phases are elusive, a late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze Corinth type buckle and an 8<sup>th</sup> C. lead seal belonging to a consul confirm occupation during these later years.<sup>47</sup> In the 6<sup>th</sup> C., or perhaps as late as the 7<sup>th</sup> C., a small Christian basilica was constructed on top of the foundation of the Temple of Aphrodite, which lay within the fortress' eastern region.<sup>48</sup> At least one of the graves installed in the area of the basilica is of Late Antique origin, as demonstrated by a mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. bronze lyre buckle retrieved from one of them.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> The clearest date for these graves is the terminus post quem of 659 offered by a coin of Constans II retrieved from one of them; other finds include a bronze belt buckle and a pitcher. See further *ibid.* For the tower burials, within which weapons were included, see p. 258.

<sup>47</sup> For these "Proto-Byzantine" and "Transitional" phases, see Athanasoulis (2009, p.26-39).

<sup>48</sup> The relatively brief excavation records for this basilica are of limited assistance for the establishment of this multi-phased building's creation. It has generally been assumed that the basilica is of 6<sup>th</sup> C. date, which would coincide both with probable building activity on Acrocorinth and the erection of Christian basilicas throughout Corinth.

<sup>49</sup> MF725=Davidson (1952) no. 2188

## The Lerna Court Area

At the terrace edge northwest of the contracted Late Antique city, and 500 m. north of Corinth's Roman theatre, lies a complex of primarily Hellenistic to Roman buildings, and Late Antique graves, which for the sake of convenience is referred to here as the Lerna Court area (pl. 2-11). Revealed by modern excavation conducted sporadically over the span of nearly a century, the built remains consist chiefly of, at northeast, the Temple of Asklepius along with Lerna Court beside it, and to the southwest of these structures a large peristyle building tentatively identified as Corinth's Gymnasium. Following the abandonment and spoliation of these buildings, portions of their interiors, especially peripheral areas, were turned to burial activity during the 6<sup>th</sup> to early or mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. 100 m. to the west, test trenches on a projection of the terrace edge known as the "Hill of Zeus" exposed small portions of additional built remains and a large number of 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. graves, while still farther west, test trenches on the next promontory revealed rock-cut tombs which are probably of similar date and a small section of a polychrome mosaic which appears to have preceded them.<sup>50</sup> This section discusses the pre-mortuary Late Antique phases of Lerna Court and the Asklepieion followed by a summary of the Gymnasium.

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<sup>50</sup> At the edge of the plateau, to the immediate north of the burials but without any grave above it, a portion of a polychrome floor mosaic was excavated at a level one meter below that of the lowest grave. The mosaic, with a preserved north-south extent of five meters exposing only a portion of its geometric border, was suggested (Corinth Notebook 0001, p. 05) to be the floor of a room or porch laid out in respect to the adjacent burials; one might imagine a memorial chapel or small church. There are, however, no other examples of mosaic pavement structures in Corinthian cemeteries, and while a small church is not inconceivable here the preferred sites for this building type at Late Antique Corinth are large, flat, open spaces rather than a constricted area at the edge of a cliff. To the extent that reconstruction is possible from a brief written description and a sketch (ibid.), the mosaic consists of a central zone of uncertain type framed by a border of three basic components: leaves or waves at the interior, a central band of running swastikas alternating with lozenges, and finally a band of rectangles containing white decorations against dark fields at the exterior. Such compositional elements seem better suited to the Early Roman period, perhaps in association with a villa, than Late Antiquity. I have found no comparanda incorporating lozenges in any source, including Spiro's comprehensive published dissertation on 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. mosaics in mainland Greece (Spiro, M. 1978. *Critical corpus of the mosaic pavements on the Greek mainland, fourth/sixth centuries, with architectural*

## The Asklepieion and Lerna Court

The Asklepieion, and to its immediate west the sunken area known as Lerna Court, lay just inside the north line of the Classical city wall in one of the few places where its course has been excavated.<sup>51</sup> An expansive view of the Corinthian plain and gulf was offered to the visitor looking north from this site, while at his back rose the remains of the theatre, and finally Acrocorinth towering above all. One of the best properties of the area was the presence of one of Corinth's many natural springs, indispensable to the cult of the Healing God, and now known as the Lerna spring. A stratum of soft yellow marl extending throughout the plateau served as the conduit for the water supply; surmounting this layer was a cap of conglomerate limestone, itself covered by a relatively thin layer of earth.<sup>52</sup> The Hellenistic foundations for the walls of Asklepius' temple, surrounded by colonnades, were cut into the limestone, and at a level one story below, the colonnaded space of Lerna court offered access to water reservoirs on all but its north side and incorporated an enormous pebble pavement in its central area.

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*surveys*. New York). In the late fifth century, vegetal or anthropomorphic decoration replaces geometric decoration as panels alternating with swastikas (ibid, p. 183), as occurs in an example with floral panels and swastikas in Tegea's 'apsidal building' from the second half of the 5th C. (ibid, pl. 216) and at Basilica Alpha at Nikopolis in the second quarter of the 6th C. (ibid, pl. 522).

<sup>51</sup> Roebuck (1951, p. 1-7) offers a vivid and eloquent description of the setting for these structures as well as an overview of their layout.

<sup>52</sup> On the Lerna water supply see ibid. (p.96-106). On Corinthian water supply generally: Landon, M. 2003. "Beyond Peirene: Toward a Broader View of Corinthian Water Supply", *Corinth, Vol. 20: Corinth, The Centenary: 1896-1996*. C.K. Williams and N. Bookidis, ed. Princeton. p.43-62. See also: B. Robinson 2011, p.147f. Hayward (2003. "Geology of Corinth: The Study of a Basic Resource". *Corinth, Vol. 20: Corinth, The Centenary: 1896-1996*. C.K. Williams and N. Bookidis, ed. Princeton. p.15-42) offers a recent study of Corinth's geology with comments on the Asklepieion area. A large fig tree that in the past century has grown up from beneath the broken center of Lerna Court's pavement testifies to the endurance of this water source.

When the first graves were installed in the complex in the early 6<sup>th</sup> C., it would have appeared shockingly different to a devotee of Asklepius who had visited in the Hellenistic period. Most arresting would have been the absence of buildings, nearly all of them having been robbed of blocks in Late Antiquity. Along the edges of Lerna Court, the colonnade had vanished at some point following the sack of Mummius in 146 B.C.,<sup>53</sup> and at the east side, where a two story structure (the “abaton”, or ritual healing building) had negotiated the temple terrace by opening to the west on the ground floor as a series of rooms and to the east at temple level as a colonnade, only lower courses of walls remained. Above the court stood approximately one meter of fill, as seems to have been the case for the water reservoirs extending from it.<sup>54</sup> On the

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<sup>53</sup> Roebuck 1951, p.90

<sup>54</sup> The original surface level of this fill, not directly detectable for most of the court due to subsequent erosion and later deposition of earth by nature and man, is evidenced by the elevations of surface level stuccoed mounds constructed above several tile graves, the location of multiple lamps in relation to tile graves below, and the elevation of chamber floors, which were arguably not below fill surface level and likely not far above it, for tombs cut into the marl at the court’s edges. At respective elevations of circa 1.3 m and .9 m above floor level, stuccoed mounds were built above tile graves (Grave 1933-101 and Grave 1933-090) in the relatively protected environments of Reservoir III and the extreme southwest corner of Lerna Court. In Reservoir IV a group of lamps was recovered 1.0 above floor level near Grave 1933-095. Based on these three graves, then, .5-.9 m. of earth normally existed between the top of a tile grave (itself some .4 m tall) and the surface. The bottom cuttings in marl for the lowest tombs on the court’s east side, Grave 1931-040, Grave 1931-041, and Grave 0126.094, are positioned near the court’s southeast corner at circa .7 m. above the floor level (which is about .17 m. above the level of Lerna Court’s southeast pavement) of the adjacent abaton building as measured by the author. Within the court, minimum surface levels of circa .5 to .6 m. are apparent at north based on the highest tile tent graves (Grave 1933-028, Grave 1933-041), the bases of which rested just above the court at bases at +.1 to .2 m. Generally, grave elevations tend to relate to pre-existing strata: the bases of many tile tent graves and amphoras rest on or near the court pavement or reservoir floors, or these graves are cut into the court and have upper elevations close to the court’s original surface level. It would seem that the court’s northeast area possessed a somewhat higher level of fill than in much of the court, as tile graves here tend to have higher elevations (the tops of these tiles graves were .6 above abaton floor level in comparison to the more typical .1-.4 m. for the dense grave clusters in the court’s north and west sides, and the northernmost rock-cut tomb, Grave 1932-012 is circa 2 m. above abaton floor level). The same may hold true for the court’s extreme southeast corner, where the southernmost rock-cut tomb (Grave 1931-034) is some 1.5 m. above abaton floor level. It is likely that rubbish dumped by man as well as rain-washed earth tended to be pushed down from the higher ground around the court, especially the easily accessed Asklepieion terrace, while any fill within the court was washed down over the decayed remains of the city wall; the natural process, if not the man-made one, has

temple terrace, where the house of Asklepius had been surrounded by colonnades, little more than a small hill of industrial debris, the byproduct of the cutting down and burning of blocks from the area, likely survived.

Because the fills which accumulated, or were dumped, above Lerna Court and the Asklepieion importantly provide *termini ante quem* for discontinuation of original use of the complex, evidence for the chronologies and types of new, non-mortuary usages of the site during Late Antiquity, and *termini post quem* for the burials which eventually occurred here, it is worth discussing them in detail. Lerna Court seems to have been remained relatively clean until the dumping of rubbish consisting of stones, tiles, some pottery, and animal bones, including multiple equid skeletons, which were discovered within a layer of black earth.<sup>55</sup> Based on his interpretation of the lamps and numismatic evidence from this layer, Roebuck concluded that the fill was dumped from about 400 until the installation of graves shortly thereafter.<sup>56</sup> A re-consideration of the evidence from the layer offers a far later date, most likely in the late 5<sup>th</sup> to

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occurred over much of the interval between Late Antiquity and the present. Not surprisingly, when the court was excavated, major downward slopes from east to west and, at the north edge of the court, from north to south, were noted for the 20<sup>th</sup> C. surface: Corinth Notebook 0113, p. 42, Corinth Notebook 0126, p.13).

<sup>55</sup> For debris-heavy black fill with tiles, stones, and animal bones see: 1-3:SS-TT, circa “Point B” (Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 31); 25-28:SS-QQ, modern (?) surface to -1 m. (Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 131); “Lerna Court east gutter”, unspecified elevation (*ibid.*); 44:D, +.10 (Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 85); 44-50:F-G, near level of disintegrated court pavement (Corinth Notebook 0136 p. 123). Other areas with black earth that likely correspond to this layer are mentioned at a number of points in the court, especially its northwestern area. Unfortunately, fill is not described across the majority of the court, aside from the statement (*ibid.*) that grid squares 44-50:F-G were “filled with rough stones, [fragments] of tiles, bones of animals, just as the lowest layer on the [court] was on many places” (*ibid.*). The existence of this layer directly on the court implies that no more than a minimal amount of natural fill accumulation occurred between the court’s abandonment and the deposition of the debris-laden black layer. Equid skeletons, which were probably at least semi-articulated to enable De Waele’s identification, were found “on many places” (Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 37); the only locale specified is: 50:UU, near pavement level (Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 37).

<sup>56</sup> Roebuck 1951, p. 160

early 6<sup>th</sup> C., which corresponds to similar dumping activity of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. in the area of the adjacent Gymnasium.<sup>57</sup>

While there were indeed coins of Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II, all noted by Roebuck, on or near the court surface, a coin of Marcianus (450-457)<sup>58</sup> was found resting on the court's east gutter, and a coin of Leo I (457-474)<sup>59</sup> was uncovered on top of a foundation block of the abaton beneath what would seem to be the black refuse layer. Lamps from this layer are more problematic because many, although not all, are probably to be associated with graves rather than the fill's original deposition. However, a lamp<sup>60</sup> with broken nozzle and of probable early 6<sup>th</sup> C. date was excavated close to the floor of the abaton; a similar but intact lamp<sup>61</sup> broadly datable to the 6<sup>th</sup> C. was found in the central area of the court .10 m above its pavement in a layer of refuse. No graves were located within the vicinity of these lamps, and their

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<sup>57</sup> For Late Antique dumps in the Gymnasium area see: Wiseman 1972, p. 4 fn. 15, p. 7 fn.24 (the "butcher's" dump); Wiseman 1969 p. 71, 75. The infant cemetery at Poggio Gramignano (Soren, D. and N. Soren. 1999. A Roman villa and a late Roman infant cemetery: excavation at Poggio Gramignano Lugnano in Teverina. Rome. p. 486-487) possessed dumped debris, apparently the remains of a decaying villa which were transferred to some of its rooms for the specific purpose of creating cemetery fill. Of course, one would assume that in all cases fill would have been manipulated, including leveling, to support a mortuary use.

<sup>58</sup> Coin 1932-410 (Corinth Notebook 0126, p.129)

<sup>59</sup> Coin 1932-305 (Corinth Notebook 0126, p.102). For documentation of a layer containing substantial debris and animal bones within the same grid square (3:TT) and at a higher level, see Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 31. The coin may belong to the bottom of this layer.

<sup>60</sup> L-2999 (Corinth Notebook 0122, p.164). Bailey (Q3331-Q3332) assigns this East Greek type to the 6<sup>th</sup> C., but its chronology is not as firm as one would hope due to a lack of well-dated specimens. While production of the type might conceivably extend into the 7<sup>th</sup> C, the century to which it was dated by Perlzweig (#362), it should be regarded as a primarily 6<sup>th</sup> C. lamp. This Lerna Court example is in the early Corinthian 'white' fabric, and as such should not be dated beyond the early 6<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>61</sup> L-2977 (Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 85). This lamp is as the previous one with the exception of a probably local red fabric which arguably places it at some point after the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and after the earliest "white" fabric examples. Heavy burning is evident on the half of the body nearest the nozzle.

proximity to floor level suggests that they should indeed serve as chronological markers for the deposition of pre-cemetery fill. Thus, while the court may have been a dumping site for some period of time, the coins and lamps from its central and eastern areas suggest that this did not occur before the latter 5<sup>th</sup> C. century, and it could not have lasted beyond the 1st quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> C., by which time the earliest graves were being laid.

The Late Antique history of the Sanctuary of Asklepius, reconstructable primarily through a layer of accumulated fill topped by burned layers arguably representing industrial activity, is markedly different from the dumping that occurred in the court below.<sup>62</sup> Resting directly above the rock surface of most of the sanctuary to a maximum recorded height of .5 m,<sup>63</sup> a stratum considered by De Waele to be a black “rainwater layer” provides evidence for the accumulation of fill over a substantial period of time following the site’s abandonment.<sup>64</sup> A terminus post quem for the beginning of this accumulation is suggested via late 4<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> C. coins found on the rock in the central area of the sanctuary where the stratum seems to have been widely distributed; the latest coin belongs to Arcadius (395-408).<sup>65</sup> This accumulation would thus seem

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<sup>62</sup> Roebuck (1951, p. 160) treats the finds from all Late Antique layers here as a group and collapses the deposition of these strata to the late fourth century and shortly thereafter.

<sup>63</sup> This maximum recorded height is indicated by the notation for a coin found within the layer (Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 103).

<sup>64</sup> While some of this black earth could in theory have been moved by human hands, it is quite different from the dumped fill in Lerna Court and lacks concentrations of animals bones, stones, tiles, lamps, etc; such relative cleanness of soil is most consistent with a natural process.

<sup>65</sup> Coin 1931-241 (Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 147). Unfortunately, De Waele only indicates that these coins were found on rock; their existence beneath the rainwater stratum must be inferred from other notations of its extent. Several coins which similarly appear to belong to the rainwater stratum assure a late 4th C. terminus post quem, but none is later than the issue of Arcadius. Although a coin of Theodosius II (1931-291) was found at rock level, it lay at the extreme western edge of the sanctuary in an area that cannot be assumed to have been covered by the rainwater stratum.

to have occurred from circa 400 or at some point thereafter until it was covered by layers of burned matter, potentially at a much later date.

A variation in this pattern of deposition exists over the site of the temple cella, where no existence of the rainwater layer was noted, and which received a thin layer of limestone chips directly above its rock cuttings. This chip layer probably represents the cutting down of blocks, including those of the temple itself and perhaps additional buildings in the area, before they were transported elsewhere for re-use.<sup>66</sup> Aside from an illegible Roman coin,<sup>67</sup> the only chronologically sensitive evidence obtained from this chip layer, an Asia Minor lamp of the late 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> C. bearing a Christogram on its discus, suggests that the temple may have remained partially intact as fill accumulated around it until a relatively late date, although the chronological value of such a single object at a site which saw major subsequent activity, and potentially, disturbance, must be regarded with a degree of caution.

Above the chips within the temple cella area, and above the rainwater layer in the remainder of the sanctuary, a series of at least three thin ash-filled burned layers was deposited. While distinctly identifiable and therefore not belonging to a single event, the lack of intervening strata between these burned layers suggests they were deposited within a relatively short period of time. The apparent absence of a major gap in the stratigraphic record between the burned layers and the chip layer beneath is suggested by lamps (primarily Broneer type 28) of the late 5<sup>th</sup> to

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<sup>66</sup> Roebuck (1951, p.160), and followed by Rothaus (2000, p. 46).

<sup>67</sup> Coin 1931-327. This is the only coin explicitly stated to belong to the chip layer. Although several other coins not stated to belong to the chip layer might logically originate in it given their positions, all are earlier than the layer's sole lamp.

mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. found within the burned layers.<sup>68</sup> The chip layer as well as the burned layers thus occurred before the installation of chamber tombs within the rock at the terrace's edge and probably after a drain and the Late Antique "deep cutting" were made on the north side of the sanctuary.<sup>69</sup> Rothaus' opinion that they represent the conversion of blocks and other stone materials from the area to lime is the most reasonable explanation for such a stratification and finds a nearby parallel in 6<sup>th</sup> C. lime production at the Fountain of the Lamps.<sup>70</sup> Three lime kilns found on the temple terrace as well as the court might be associated with this activity.<sup>71</sup>

Rothaus, dating the lamps to the late 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> C., employs them as the foundation of an argument for an especially late form of lamp-based polytheist worship at the site after the temple's destruction by citing the supposedly unbroken state of most lamps, their placement directly above the foundations of the temple, and the occurrence of few other objects within the burned layers.<sup>72</sup> The evidence appears to be somewhat different: Roughly half of these lamps

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid (p.48, fig. 9) illustrates a portion of these lamps and includes with them L-3006, the sole lamp from the chip layer above the temple.

<sup>69</sup> The lamps from the burned layers and chip stratum are certainly not later, and are most likely earlier than, the lamps from burials on the terrace, which cannot date before the late 6<sup>th</sup> C. The occurrence of scattered tombstone fragments in higher layers of the sanctuary but not within the burned layers further suggests that the burned layers pre-date mortuary use of the site. For the drain and "deep cutting", see further p. 29.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, p. 44f. For evidence of lime production in the courtyard fronting the Fountain of the Lamps, including an apparent kiln situated between two 6<sup>th</sup> century layers, see Wiseman 1972, p. 23.

<sup>71</sup> One limekiln was positioned slightly northeast of the temple (plan: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4-5, 32-34:RR-A), another near the west end of the building over the ramp (plan: Corinth Notebook 0122, p.4-5, 7-10:S-V), and the third in the west portico of Lerna Court (not on any plan but mentioned in De Waele's unpublished manuscript, p. 176). While no kiln may be securely dated, the interval between the site's abandonment and the beginning of the cemetery, or, most broadly, the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C, is the likeliest chronology. Within debris which filled the second limekiln and must have been deposited when the kiln was no longer functional, a fragment of a Late Antique lamp of North African type (L4877), which was probably produced at some point between the early 6<sup>th</sup> and mid-7<sup>th</sup> C., was recovered.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 48f

are indeed broken, additional lamps from the same stratum are located outside the temple's foundations,<sup>73</sup> and the existence of few other finds within the layers is most easily explained by the industrial nature of activity that would have resulted in burned earth but not much more. While no single explanation may suffice for all lamps, in an area where the industrial burning of stone was a primary activity a portable source of both light and fire would have no doubt been useful.

One architectural element of the Asklepieion may, however, provide evidence for Late Antique polytheist cult. Approximately seven meters east of the temple and just north of its east-west axis, a column was installed in a hollow in the rock and provided with a small area of pavement, consisting of mortared tiles and stone, around its base.<sup>74</sup> A terminus post quem for this unusual feature is offered by a coin of Constantius II (337-361) found beneath the pavement.<sup>75</sup> While Roebuck interpreted the installation as some kind of simple working surface, it seems unlikely to have been of much practical use yet was executed with some level of care.<sup>76</sup> Rothaus' interpretation of the column as an altar is more convincing, and if correct would place polytheist worship of a relatively humble nature here at some point after 337 but before the accumulation of a substantial amount of fill over the terrace rock that must have occurred by the late 5<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>77</sup> The temple probably remained at least partially intact when this activity occurred,

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<sup>73</sup> For example, two meters southwest of the southwest corner of the temple were found L-2866, L-2834, L-2829, and L-2665; L-2700 was excavated three meters west of the temple's rear foundation.

<sup>74</sup> Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 186; 0126, p. 145, 148. The column appears in Corinth photograph BW2854.

<sup>75</sup> Coin 1932-454

<sup>76</sup> Roebuck 1951, p. 41f

and it is of note that the apparent altar was never fully demolished but instead allowed to continue standing as it was slowly buried by natural and human deposits.

Finally, a small number of alterations to Lerna Court and the Asklepieion are of certain or probable Late Antique date and suggest continued use of the local water supply. Small stairs cut within the interiors of three reservoirs (II, IV and V) which tunneled from the court into the hillside, and which almost certainly preceded the cemetery phase, may best be interpreted alongside other minor interventions as measures to ensure access to a diminished water supply.<sup>78</sup>

A water-related project of quite different type is evident in the northeast corner of the Asklepieion, where a drain extending from the area in front of the temple northward across the space of the north colonnade must have been laid after the colonnade's destruction.<sup>79</sup>

Intercepting and post-dating the drain is a 1.10 m. wide, 0.75 m. deep trough-like cutting, perhaps a drain as well, running on an east-west line in front of the former site of the north

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<sup>77</sup> Rothaus 2000, p. 46f. While Rothaus offers several other columnar altars for comparison, none is Late Antique. It is likely that the column serves as a support for a non-surviving stone plaque set above it to form a table for the placement of offerings. If one were to attempt to associate this construction with a specific historical period, then a revitalization of the site by polytheists during the reign of Julian, as Rothaus (*ibid.*, p. 47, fn. 53) suggests, provides the most fitting circumstance.

<sup>78</sup> A close date for the stairs cannot be provided, although they should precede the Late Antique cemetery phase: the stair in Reservoir IV would have lain below the earth fill in which that chamber's graves were inserted, while that of Reservoir V would have been hidden beneath the Late Antique fill which had collected there. Roebuck (p. 103, 105, 106) considers these and other modifications to belong to "cave dwellings" which variously precede, are contemporary with, and post-date the complex's Late Antique cemetery phase. Evidence for habitation is lacking, however, and nearly all interventions to the original water supply structures may be attributed to efforts to ensure access to that supply.

<sup>79</sup> Roebuck (1951, p.59) considers this to be a "Roman" drain, although he offers no evidence for the drain's contents and I have been unable to find any notebook documentation.

colonnade.<sup>80</sup> Both cutting and drain served unknown structures to the east that are probably of an industrial nature. The respectful position of adjacent rock-cut tombs demonstrates that these hydraulic features pre-date the cemetery, while the retrieval of a tombstone, surely originating in a nearby tomb, from within the cutting reveals that the cutting remained at least partially open for a considerable time.<sup>81</sup>

Through this survey of the pre-cemetery history of the Lerna Court and Asklepieion complex, it has been possible to substantially re-date, and re-interpret a number of developments. Modifications to the court's water reservoirs are more likely to be Roman or Late Antique attempts to more easily access water than evidence for habitation in various periods, and the court itself remained without any great amount of accumulated fill until the third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> C. or shortly thereafter, when it became the site of a rubbish dump. On the sanctuary terrace the temple stood silently as projects likely related to industrial water use were installed to its north and, not before the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> C., earth began to accumulate around it. The temple may have received a new, simple altar at some point between the mid-4<sup>th</sup> and late 5<sup>th</sup> C., and was finally cut down for its blocks as late as the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> C. when the area became the focus of lime production.

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<sup>80</sup> Roebuck (ibid.) interprets the deep cutting as a potential drain due in large part to the presence of rectangular pits, which are positioned at a consistent depth but at inconsistent intervals, at the trench's bottom. This unusual attribute would not be expected were the cutting a foundation trench for some unknown but substantial wall, and a drain of some type, perhaps unfinished as Roebuck would have it, remains the most likely possibility.

<sup>81</sup> I-1048=Kent 1966, no. 562 (NB0122.0194). Roebuck (ibid.) dates this cutting's fill to the late 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of coins recovered from it. While the tombstone is not closely datable by epigraphic means, its use of a green schist plaque finds comparison in the many tombstones on similar plaques that are typical of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. It most likely slipped into the cutting at some point after the early 7<sup>th</sup> C. when the cemetery was in a state of abandonment.

## The Gymnasium

In the 1960s, Wiseman chose to investigate the area south and west of Lerna Court and the Asklepieion in the belief that a portion of a colonnade exposed in the early excavations of Corinth might belong to a gymnasium said by Pausanias (II, 4-5) to exist within this district of the city.<sup>82</sup> His excavations revealed much more of the colonnade, demonstrating that it indeed belongs to an enormous structure which must remain of uncertain identity, and uncovered important evidence for Late Antique phases of the area. Although a conclusive understanding of late use of the Gymnasium will require final publication of the excavations, and, due to improved ceramic chronologies over the last half century, it is likely that some contexts will need to be dated somewhat later than as originally published in preliminary reports, the Gymnasium's Late Antique history clearly complements contemporary developments at Lerna Court and the Asklepieion.

Wiseman holds that a "catastrophic destruction" occurred at the Gymnasium in the late 4<sup>th</sup> C. and was followed by the robbing of the complex's blocks in the late 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>83</sup> Circa 400 A.D., pits began to be dug for the dumping of refuse including waste from glass production and butchery byproducts, an activity which lasted until the 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>84</sup> In the southwest area of excavation, a segment of a major wall, known as the "Epistyle Wall", was dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or

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<sup>82</sup> What can be said here about the Gymnasium is extremely limited as these excavations await final publication, and preliminary excavation reports are nearly a half century old.

<sup>83</sup> For the complex's history as briefly summarized in the final excavation report, see Wiseman (1972, p. 4). See also the 4<sup>th</sup> C. destruction of waterworks (Wiseman 1967b, p. 414) and a domed circular building directly south of the Gymnasium (ibid., p. 409).

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 4, 7. Directly south of the Gymnasium, 6<sup>th</sup> C. walls built on the site of a pre-existing apsidal structure became the boundaries of a dump that post-dates their construction (Wiseman 1969, p. 70-71)

5<sup>th</sup> C.; although once considered to belong to Corinth's Late Antique wall circuit, it now seems to have stood at a great distance from the fortification and must have served some other function before being quarried for its stone before the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>85</sup>

An additional zone of excavation, nestled in the cliff face directly below the northwest corner of the Gymnasium area and extending south into the rock like a subterranean cave, was the "Fountain of the Lamps". A Hellenistic bath which eventually became a place of Late Antique cult, the site was heavily damaged when its rock ceiling collapsed in the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> C., after which its interior pool and the surrounding area became used for the dumping of debris.<sup>86</sup> By the mid-5<sup>th</sup> C. the subterranean chamber's pool became a place of cult where votive terra cotta lamps were deposited; an early 6<sup>th</sup> C. renovation of the space confirms its significance before a final destruction due to the collapse of the cliff edge in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>87</sup> An apparent limekiln of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. outside the entrance of the "fountain" recalls the presence of limekilns which date no later than the early 6<sup>th</sup> C. in Lerna Court and the Asklepieion.

## The Forum

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 7

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 23

<sup>87</sup> See Garnett's (1975) preliminary publication of the 4000 excavated lamps, which she places in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. A small number of lamps bore inscriptions and, following initial publication by Wiseman (1972, p. 28-33), were re-published with corrections by Jordan (1994, "Inscribed Lamps from a Cult in at Corinth in Late Antiquity". *The Harvard Theological Review*. 87.2. p. 223-229). Based on these revised readings, it can be said that the inscribed lamps either directly relate to Christianity or are largely consistent with Christian language, although this cannot exclude the presence of individuals of other beliefs amongst those who left behind the huge quantity of uninscribed lamps in this space, which local Christian authorities seem to have tolerated even if it may have existed outside the bounds of officially organized religion. Unpublished lead curse tablets from the "fountain" will provide additional insights on those who used the site for cult, although these may precede the main phase of lamp-based cult; for brief comments on the tablets see: Wiseman 1972, p. 33; Rothaus 2000, p. 129.

The Forum, extending from a higher, southern terrace to a lower, northern one, had assumed its basic monumental layout by the early 1<sup>st</sup> C. A.D. (pl. 12). With the exception of entry points for major roads as well as narrower streets, the expansive space of its northern terrace was surrounded on all sides by structures including the West Shops (subsequently separated from the open square by a line of small temples built during the first two centuries A.D.) at west, Northwest Shops, Lechaion Road Basilica (fronted by the Captives Façade in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> C.) and Peirene Fountain at north, the Julian Basilica at east, and, at south, the Central Shops. The smaller space of the Forum's southern terrace was in turn framed at north by the Central Shops, the Southeast Building at East, the South Stoa at south, and the south end of the West Shops at west. Two stairs breaking the line of the Central Shops enabled communication between the terraces. Just beyond the Forum proper, excavation has revealed the remains of major public buildings including the large temenos of Temple E at west, Glauke springhouse, Temple C, the massive Temple of Apollo at north, and finally at northeast the shop-lined Lechaion road leading down to Corinth's harbor.

The Forum retained much of its early imperial built form and civic character through the 4<sup>th</sup> C. Until the latter part of that century there is little evidence to suggest that buildings were significantly altered or repaired, while the recovery of honorific inscriptions, including statue bases dedicated to emperors as well as a *vir clarissimus*, demonstrate that the Forum remained the civic heart of the city and an appropriate place to recognize individuals of the highest social levels.<sup>88</sup> The renovation of both the West Shops and South Stoa in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> C.,

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<sup>88</sup> A marble block (I-2143=Kent 1966, no. 510), first used as an Early Roman altar and then put to new use as an inscribed statue base, was assigned by Kent to Emperor Constans II but has been re-identified as honoring Constans I (Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, pp. 271, no. 3). Between 393 and 395 the last securely dated Latin inscription

recorded on the buildings' epistyles and perhaps a response to earthquake damage, is particularly telling of a commitment toward both the monumentality of the city center and its economic functions.<sup>89</sup> The Forum likewise continued to be a setting for the display of decrees until at least the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>90</sup> Modifications to the layout of the West Shops, including the construction of a large room in front of the northern part of the structure's southern section, may have occurred at this time or somewhat later.<sup>91</sup> Further evidence for building activity in this era is provided by the reconstruction of Early Roman walls within the vicinity of Temple E in the late 4<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>92</sup> Finally, the Peribolos of Apollo and Peirene Fountain were remodeled within the mid-4<sup>th</sup>

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(I-228, 295, 754=Kent 1966, no. 506; I-228, 295=West 26; I-274=Meritt no. 299, Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, pp. 275-276, no. 10) at Corinth and, apparently, all of the Peloponnese, was erected. Perhaps this inscription, dedicated to Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, and lauding Theodosius as restorer of the empire and bringer of peace, should be dated more closely between September 394, when Theodosius put down an attempted usurpation by Eugenius, and the emperor's death in January 395. For the mid-4<sup>th</sup> C. inscription honoring *vir clarissimus* Memmius Pontius Ptolemaeus (I-1115=Kent 1966, no. 502), see Brown (2008, p.166) with previous bibliography. While most of these inscriptions were not found in their original contexts, all were excavated within the Forum or along its periphery and are unlikely to have traveled far. See also Brown (2011, p. 163f) for honorific statue bases (I-17 joined with I-18=Meritt 88; I-19=Meritt 89), re-inscribed and given new statues in Late Antiquity, that were set up along the Lechaion Road near its intersection with the Forum in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>89</sup> For the West Shops epistyle: I-475, 1224, -1355, 2000, 2003=Kent 1966, no. 504; for the South Stoa epistyle: I-1499=Kent 1966, no. 505. See also comments by Brown (2008, p.106), who reasonably argues that the restoration inscriptions date to the reigns of two different emperors, and in the case of the West Shops perhaps even three, allowing for a chronological range of 383-392 for the South Stoa epistyle, and 364-378 for that of the West shops. While it has been assumed that these renovations (and most others at the site) were prompted by earthquakes, other possibilities certainly exist, as Brown has noted. The variation in renovation dates suggests that, following a single earthquake, one major building was restored while the other was allowed to lie in a damaged state for at least five years or, more likely, these monumental structures were individually restored following different earthquakes, or even as a part of political aims unrelated to natural disaster.

<sup>90</sup> I-228, 295, 754=Kent 1966, no. 506 (393-395 AD); I-817, 1109, 1110, 1275, 1602=Kent 1966, no. 507 (393-423 AD). See Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (no. 11) for the extended dating of the latter decree.

<sup>91</sup> Scranton 1957, p. 24-25. The interior space belonging to this section of shops was also dramatically redefined so that a single large room was created behind the eastward extension.

<sup>92</sup> Williams 1975, p.14f

to early 5<sup>th</sup> C., while the architrave blocks from the previous incarnation of the West Shops were put to new use as treads in a monumental stair built over the foundations of the Central Shops, uniting the space of the Forum across the full lengths of the upper and lower terraces.<sup>93</sup>

The 5<sup>th</sup> C. seems to have been a period of major transition at the Forum. The continued civic significance of the site on some level is demonstrated by the installation of four chlamydatus statues, which likely represent governors or local notables and would have originally topped inscribed statue bases, recovered from post-antique contexts in the Forum's northwest corner; the latest of these may be dated on stylistic grounds no earlier than the late 5<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, the Julian Basilica and its imperial statuary were allowed to lie in ruin following the

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<sup>93</sup> Scranton's (1957, p. 31-32) dating of the stair over the Central Shops to the latter 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> C. endures (cf. Slane and Sanders 2005 p. 292); although the evidence is not as substantial as would be desirable. For the Peirene renovation see B. Robinson (2011, p.268). Robinson suggests a connection between the remodeling of Peirene and that of the Peribolos of Apollo, which she dates more narrowly to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> C. The Peribolos was renovated through the construction of small rooms along parts of the colonnades in a poorly understood building program, while the recovery of two sigma tables from an excavated strip east of the building has prompted speculation regarding ecclesiastical or monastic activity in the area. Although regularly used within Christian ritual, sigma tables were however, furniture generally appropriate for high status group dining; see Hudson ("Changing Places: The Archaeology of the Roman "Convivium"." *AJA* 114.4: 663-695 (688-690)) for a reconstruction of a sigma table and related seating in such a context. Scranton (1957, p.21-22) reiterates the argument of Hill (1927, p.72) for an interpretation of the building as a Christian church or monastery, the most important part of which remains on an unexplored hill east of the Peribolos. Just what kind of structure this would have been is not clear: While the possibility of an ecclesiastical function is at least plausible if the Peribolos is regarded as an atrium for a hypothetical basilica situated at east, the proposal of a monastery is doubtful owing to the lack of known Late Antique monasteries in Greece. Burials within the area, cited by Scranton in support of some kind of ecclesiastical function, are few in number, probably later than the re-working of the Peribolos, and follow typical patterns for grave siting within the greater Forum area.

<sup>94</sup> For Corinth's chlamydatus, see most importantly Brown (2011), and also Gehn's (2012) recent survey of Late Antique honorific statuary, which accepts Brown's chronology. While Brown offers somewhat earlier dates for some statues than those given by previous scholars (most notably de Grazia, C. E. 1973, "Excavations of the ASCS at Corinth: The Roman Portrait Sculpture" (diss. Columbia University)), and in spite of the shaky stylistic chronologies necessitated by the scarcity of fixed dating criteria, it is striking that no Forum chlamydatus possesses particularly early characteristics. All but one are considered by Brown to be of 5<sup>th</sup> C. date, while the latest (S-925, the "Epistyle Chlamydatus") belongs to the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> C. according to Brown, or the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. in de Grazia's (p. 291) judgment.

building's destruction in about the 5<sup>th</sup> C., standing in contrast to the Forum's major renovation projects near the end of the previous century and signifying both a change in the local authorities' will to build and the perception of the Forum as civic space.<sup>95</sup>

The 5<sup>th</sup> C. architectural interventions that do occur deviate significantly from original building plans and indicate changes in use that are in some cases understood only sketchily. In the mid-5<sup>th</sup> C. the redefinition of the south terrace continued through the demolition of the South Stoa's colonnade, the architectural members of which were re-employed within a new east-west wall that blocked the front of the central portion of the stoa's shops, signaling an end to commercial (or any other) activity across much of the stoa.<sup>96</sup> Within the space previously occupied by two shops within the western half of the stoa, a small bath was installed after the mid-5<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>97</sup> Activity on a larger scale is apparent in a spacious apsidal structure, perhaps an elite residence or government office, which included an elaborate floor mosaic and was constructed on the site of the South Basilica in the 5<sup>th</sup> C.,<sup>98</sup> while not far away, the Southeast Building was rebuilt on a

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<sup>95</sup> Brown 2011, p. 101

<sup>96</sup> Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 292. Scranton (1957, p.23) regarded the Late Antique alterations of the South Stoa as "the most conspicuous sign of the passing of classical Corinth." The new spolia wall is most apparent (*ibid.*; Broneer 1937, p. 142f) in front of Room H, the large space directly west of the South Stoa's oval "council chamber", which became divided by a diagonal wall and filled with earth no later than the 5<sup>th</sup> C. One wonders if, following the dismantling of the colonnade and consequently any surviving parts of the roof that it had supported, the stoa's shops became individually roofed as Scranton suggests following Broneer's (1937, p.154) observations of the condition of an apparently Late Antique gutter fronting the shops. While the stoa's bath, built in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> C. and abandoned by the middle of the latter century, must have possessed a roof, evidence is lacking for contemporary activity within the other shops, which could well have been left unused and unroofed.

<sup>97</sup> Sanders 2004, p. 169

<sup>98</sup> On the apsidal building generally and its possible function as an elite residence, see most recently Ivison (1996, p. 111). If a governor's palace, one wonders if it may have functionally replaced the Julian Basilica following that building's destruction by earthquake around the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> C. An unlikely identification as an early north-oriented church, which is without precedent in Greece, was first raised as a possibility by Broneer (1935, p.62),

substantially different plan for an unknown purpose in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>99</sup> Significant construction projects located just north of the Forum on either side of the Lechaion Road may also be placed within the 5<sup>th</sup> C. or slightly thereafter. On the road's west side a large semicircular building, known as the Hemicycle, likely possessed a colonnade and would have endowed the entrance to the Forum with a degree of the kind of luxurious urban space, incorporating semicircular facades and circular fora, that enriched the contemporary cityscapes of Constantinople and some lesser cities.<sup>100</sup> East of the Lechaion Road and directly north of the Peribolos of Apollo, a multiphase structure thought to be a Late Antique residence took the place of a Roman bath and latrine in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>101</sup>

Secure evidence for 6<sup>th</sup> C. activity within the Forum, which would testify to the last clear use of this space preceding its cemetery function, is disappointingly limited. The complex west of the South Stoa was radically rebuilt during this century, perhaps following a major earthquake, and the street between complex and stoa was maintained until at least 541 and arguably 565.<sup>102</sup>

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considered by Scranton (1957, p.29f.) but rejected due to his redating of the building to the Ottoman period, and raised once more by Iverson. Additional rooms, some of them perhaps later phases of the apsidal building, which extend to east and west are strangely omitted from the first published state plan of the area (Broneer 1935, fig. 1).

<sup>99</sup> Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 292. Scotton (2015, "A Sixth-Century Church in Corinth", annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America) has recently raised the intriguing proposition that this phase is a major remodeling in the 6<sup>th</sup> C., following late 4<sup>th</sup> C. earthquake damage, which converted the ruined structure to a Christian Basilica.

<sup>100</sup> On the Hemicycle, an important Late Antique building which falls victim to many of the problems of documentation afflicting most structures unearthed early in Corinth's modern excavation history, see Scranton (1957, p. 14-16) and Broneer (1926). Scranton places the Hemicycle's construction in the early 5<sup>th</sup> C.; a secondary phase, in which a building interpreted as an inn or, less probably, a monastery, was built against its west side, is of uncertain date and likely belongs to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>101</sup> Scranton 1957, p. 16-21

<sup>102</sup> See Williams (1978). The last clear sign of Late Antique use of the street, which presumably remained in continuous operation if not good condition into the Middle Byzantine period, is provided by the latest coin found

The South Stoa bath seems to have functioned no later than the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C., although it remained at least somewhat accessible at that time as demonstrated by a coin hoard<sup>103</sup> deposited within a hypocaust and another large concentration of coins which appears to represent mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. shop change.<sup>104</sup> Another coin hoard, probably representing small change from a shop, suggests that the West Shops went out of use in the middle of the same century, although the evidence is too incomplete to permit a close dating. Water supply remained a concern until at least the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> C., as evidenced by a manhole shaft in the Forum's southwest area which was dug into fill of the first half of this century and continued to be used until at least ca. 550.<sup>105</sup> Finally, although a firm association with the Forum cannot be obtained due to its excavation in a state of tertiary re-employment, a fragmentary inscription reveals that Corinth's central area generally,

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within surface gravel above the level of the paving stones that had been raised to a higher elevation in the 5<sup>th</sup> C. In a previous excavation season H. Robinson uncovered road gravel with 6<sup>th</sup> C. pottery and an issue of Justin II as the latest coin (565-578), although several 10th-11th C. coins, considered intrusions, were excavated within the same layer. Williams follows Scranton (p. 8) in turning to the famous earthquake of 551, mentioned by Procopius, as the earthquake which destroyed many structures and prompted the rebuilding of at least a few, but see recently Sanders (2004, p. 170) for problems in the interpretation of earthquake evidence generally and the impossibility of a serious local impact for the 551 earthquake in particular.

<sup>103</sup> Broneer 1954, p. 151. The latest of the more than 387 coins in the hoard, which was contained within a ceramic vessel, date to the reign of Justinian (527-565). The absence of any coins of Justin II, which are relatively common at Corinth, suggests that the hoard was indeed buried no later than 565. Additionally, contra Scranton (1957, p. 8), while the destruction of both the West Shops and the South Stoa bath might be attributable to a single earthquake, the lack of recovery of the bath hoard cannot be tied to any specific disaster. The death of the bath hoard's owner by causes natural or otherwise could certainly have resulted in the abandonment of this money, and the hoards themselves could have been deposited decades apart within the long reign of Justinian. The latest published coins from the hoard belongs to Baduila and fall between 541 and 552, although some of the Justinianic issues could be as late as 565.

<sup>104</sup> Broneer 1954, p. 154; Broneer 1933, p. 565; Scranton 1957, p. 8; Edwards 1937, p. 249. Scranton states that 460 coins, presumably a hoard fallen from the second storey, spilled onto the lower floor of one of the shops, but as Edwards indicates the hoard is much larger; 900 coins were reported by the excavator. Scranton incorrectly identifies the shop as belonging to the West Shops; it is in fact the westernmost shop of the South Stoa.

<sup>105</sup> For the manhole shaft (Well 1959-1) see Williams 1978; the latest lamps and pottery from within the shaft fill date no earlier than the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C.

and quite possibly the Forum itself, remained an appropriate place for the installation of an imperial dedicatory inscription at least as late as 574.<sup>106</sup>

Based on the above evidence, obtained primarily from the Forum's southwest corner, the site remained in limited use until at least 541 and became generally abandoned within the following decades. The excavation data are, however, problematic. Due to the relatively low precision of excavation across the majority of the Forum, and a frequent mis-interpretation of coins as providers of precise dates rather than *termini post quem*, the latest activity for most of this public space cannot be well-dated. In consideration of the very gradual process of abandonment that began no later than the mid-5<sup>th</sup> C. walling up of much of the South Stoa, and probably occurred somewhat earlier in other parts of the Forum, one cannot assume that the handful of well-dated mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. abandonment contexts indeed represent the very last traces of occupation.

Archaeological evidence from areas close to the Forum demonstrate that some structures located outside, but not far from, the Late Antique city wall were used at least periodically for non-mortuary purposes into the early 7<sup>th</sup> C.; it would be surprising if no space within the Forum proper were similarly exploited.<sup>107</sup> As for the small South Stoa bath, disuse may reflect more a change in bathing habits than an altered conception of the Forum as public space, although its

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<sup>106</sup> I-435; see Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985, no. 18) and before him Meritt 1931, no. 195). The inscription is directed to the emperors Justin II and Tiberius (574-578) and seems to follow a tradition of imperial acclamation known in Greece and Asia Minor in the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. The block was subsequently broken, inscribed again as an apparent epitaph, and built into the pavement of a tomb 12<sup>th</sup> C. or later date east of the monastery of St. John in the Forum.

<sup>107</sup> The Late Antique residence north of the Peribolos of Apollo received a new tile floor not before 602 (Scranton 1957, p. 21), while the bath in Panayia Field, which was sited somewhat southeast of the Forum and probably a short distance west of the fortification circuit, received some kind of occupation, perhaps domestic, in the early 7<sup>th</sup> C. (Sanders 2003, p.395).

lack of transformation for some other use certainly demonstrates that the amount of available space within the Forum exceeded whatever demand remained at this time.<sup>108</sup>

Many projects on a smaller scale, which were probably overlooked in the early years of the Forum's modern excavation, must also have occurred throughout Late Antiquity. Some of the best evidence for these kinds of developments was documented by H. Robinson, and later Williams, within the Forum's southwest area where an expansive, multiphase zone of buildings most likely with industrial or commercial functions was constructed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> C., bordered in the 4<sup>th</sup> C. by a new road between the complex and the South Stoa, and then extended within the space of the road at some point after the late 4<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>109</sup> Similarly, walls of an unidentified structure only generally datable to Late Antiquity and served by a water line cut into the Forum's pavement between the West Shops and Temple F; in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. these walls were built over by a vaulted tomb (Grave 1973-003) and its precinct wall.<sup>110</sup>

The fate of the Forum's polytheist temples offers a special case of abandonment, and, in at least one instance, industrial re-use of the temenos as a site for the recycling of the sanctuary's blocks. A total of nine temples is known from the vicinity of the Forum, and while in most instances the archaeological record provides scant data on the end of their lives as houses of

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<sup>108</sup> As is the case for most of Greece, no Late Antique bath at Corinth seems to have retained its original function beyond the 6<sup>th</sup> C. The last well-dated bath to be constructed is that at Panayia field which was built in the second quarter or middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. but no longer operated as such in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. (Sanders 2003, p.395)

<sup>109</sup> For "Late Roman" buildings including one supplied by a water line see H. S. Robinson (1962, p. 110). For the 3<sup>rd</sup> C. structure: Williams 1978; for the road and the encroachment of buildings upon it: Williams 1975, p. 2.

<sup>110</sup> Williams 1974, p. 7f. A nearby drain at the same level of the water line contained fill deposited no earlier than 425, the date of the latest coin.

worship, they most likely fell into disuse in the mid- to late 4<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>111</sup> The best documented temple case-study is unquestionably offered by Temple E, located just west of the West Shops and surrounded by a gigantic temenos possessing an east-west dimension half that of the entire Forum. Once considered to have been destroyed during the reign of Constantius II and robbed of its architectural blocks circa 400, the building's chronology is probably somewhat later and in need of reappraisal due to advancements in lamp studies and numismatics made in the nearly 75 years since its publication.<sup>112</sup> If, at some point following abandonment, the temple's blocks were removed for re-use in a particular project as opposed to piecemeal re-employment, the most

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<sup>111</sup> Formally within the space of the Forum are Temples D, K, J, H, G, and F, while Temple C lies just beyond the Forum's northwest corner, the Archaic Temple of Apollo is situated directly north of the Forum, and Temple E is sited just west of the West Shops. An abandonment date around the late 4<sup>th</sup> C. is suggested by the destruction, and lack of any re-building, at Corinth's Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> C. (Slane 2008). If a sanctuary on the outskirts of the city had been abandoned, presumably as a result of legal proscription, before 400 AD, it is difficult to postulate the continuous functioning at a later time of a temple at the urban center.

<sup>112</sup> While barely more of Temple E than the concrete core of its podium survived to meet the eyes of excavators in the early 1930s, the stratigraphy they encountered bordering the podium's foundation below the level of the destroyed Roman floor revealed the outlines of its Late Antique history: Above a thin layer of fill lay a stratum of marble chips topped by a layer of burned earth, which was in turn surmounted by a layer of clustered marble fragments including column capitals and drums, epistyle blocks, and sculpture. The original publication of Temple E rightly interpreted this sequence as indicative of the removal, and in some cases reworking for use elsewhere, of the sanctuary's pavement and blocks, followed by the burning of some marble pieces for lime, and finally the on-site abandonment of column capitals and other blocks that were less suitable for redeployment (Stillwell et al. 1941, p. 172-173). At some later point, following the dumping of fill around the capitals and blocks, a Late Antique wall made of spolia and rubble was built at the south side of the temple. Excavation on the north side of the temple podium in the 1990s generally confirmed this picture and added to it another wall of Late Antique date (Williams 1990, p. 336), while in the precinct's south stoa a room appears to have been constructed in the late 4<sup>th</sup> C., and certainly well before the robbing of the stoa's rear wall blocks in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. (ibid., p. 336-337). The chronology of the temple's destruction and spoliation is based on lamps and coins recovered from stratified fill; although these objects remain unpublished, it may at least be said that many lamps once thought to belong to the late 4<sup>th</sup> C., including Attic and Corinthian examples with Christian symbols, are now better placed within the mid-5<sup>th</sup> C. or beyond (Karivieri 1996, p. 67), while the coins, mostly easily lost low denominations, should only be considered as *termini post-quem* and may well have remained in circulation a century or more after their date of issue.

likely candidate lies in the construction of the Late Antique city wall, which is probably of Justinianic origin.

Evidence is lacking for destruction or industrial activity at the other Forum area temples during Late Antiquity. At the very least they survived to the elevation of their concrete podia (which remain to the present day) and in some cases the lower portions of the walls of naoi and pronaoi; it is possible that they remained largely intact until the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>113</sup> The gigantic Temple of Apollo clearly remained standing to architrave level, its current maximum preserved height, at its west colonnade; textual and archaeological evidence demonstrate that it was somewhat more intact in the 15<sup>th</sup> C. and earlier.<sup>114</sup> Why some and perhaps all of these temples remained partially standing in Late Antiquity while Temple E was almost completely spoliated is more likely due to accident than deliberate intervention: Temple E seems to have

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<sup>113</sup> Scranton (1957 p. 47f, 57) asserts, in a revision of his earlier opinion (Scranton 1951, p. 73), that the West Terrace temples survived largely intact based on the re-deployment of their members within the Forum's Middle Byzantine and Frankish structures. It is additionally significant that some re-employed blocks originate within the upper regions of temple elevations (Temple D's architrave frieze blocks, for example: *Ibid.*, p. 11f) and that two graves (Grave 1934-004 and Grave 1908-008), one of certain Late Antique date and the other probably likewise, were installed within the angles formed by the walls of Temples D and F, demonstrating that the temple walls stood to at least a low level until circa 600 AD if not later. In the case of Temple C, a lack of overbuilding within the peribolos until the erection of "Mediaeval house walls" led Stillwell to suggest that the temple stood unscathed through the "late Roman" period (Stillwell 1941, p. 149).

<sup>114</sup> For a summary of post-Antique accounts of the Temple of Apollo, see H. Robinson (1976, p. 238); in 1436 Cyriacus of Ancona reported that 13 or 14 of the temple's columns (twice the number in existence today, although still a small minority of the original number of columns) remained standing. More of the temple remained on site, although not necessarily in its proper architectural place, in the Middle Byzantine period: Column drums, probably no longer supporting an entablature if they were indeed standing at all, were taken from the temple and re-employed a short distance to the north in a church first thought to be of Late Antique date but subsequently redated to the 12<sup>th</sup> C. (Sanders, 2003 p. 397). The removal of the remainder of the temple's blocks could have occurred at any time from Late Antiquity until the 12<sup>th</sup> C. when the column drums, the least easily re-used component and probably among the last parts of the temple to be taken from the building, were built into this church. Robinson's belief that the temple was destroyed by an earthquake in the 6<sup>th</sup> C., based solely on texts mentioning two significant earthquakes at Corinth at that time, is therefore not at all certain; the temple could have fallen much later due to the action of one or more of Corinth's many unrecorded earthquakes.

been destroyed by fire, and if the resulting damage was more structurally severe than any archaeologically imperceptible accidents that befell the other temples, it may have become suddenly available as a quarry at the same time that the other temples, even if no longer maintained, were allowed to remain standing.<sup>115</sup>

While Polytheist cult had likely died out in the city center by the late 4<sup>th</sup> C., and the temples associated with it were abandoned or, in the case of Temple E, demolished contemporaneously or somewhat later, firm evidence for the construction of any centrally located structure for Christian worship is lacking. Presumably, whatever buildings were in use at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> C. continued in this role until the 6<sup>th</sup> C. when the first known Christian basilicas at Corinth were constructed on relatively open land at some distance from the Forum. Within the Forum, Scanton's assertion that the Julian Basilica may have been converted into a Christian basilica in Late Antiquity should now be completely disregarded although a basilica identification for a late phase of the neighboring Southeast Building has recently been proposed.<sup>116</sup> Stronger evidence, which requires further study and additional excavation to be accepted with confidence, lies in the form of marble fragments, likely belonging to one or more basilicas, recovered to the immediate north of the Forum, and a partially excavated building which might be a basilica to its south in

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<sup>115</sup> For a brief mention of the evidence for Temple E's destruction by fire see Stillwell (1941, p. 83). There is no reason to believe that the fire, which would have consumed the timber roof and to some degree damaged the colonnade and the cella walls, was anything other than accidental; earthquake could have been the primary cause and resulted in the disturbance of a lighting or heating source.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p. 9f. For the re-dating of the Julian Basilica's central apse to the Middle Byzantine period or later, see Scotton 1997 pp. 67-106. See Scotton (2015) on the possibility that that in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. the Southeast Building was heavily remodeled as a Christian Basilica.

Panayia Field.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps associated with the marble fragments, at least in a later phase of its built life, is the Peribolos of Apollo, substantially renovated in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> C and at least circumstantially tied to Christian activity.

The Shifting Spaces of Corinthian Landscapes in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C.

Whether viewed primarily as a disintegration of the urban fabric or as an evolutionary process reflecting change in the basic concept of the city, urban transformation has long been recognized as a hallmark of the Late Antique Mediterranean region and is now one of its most heavily studied aspects.<sup>118</sup> Although suffering from the common handicaps of partial excavation and, in its early years, incomplete documentation of relatively late contexts, Corinth stands to contribute much to our knowledge of the Late Antique city through the sum of its evidence for the landscapes of both the living and the dead.

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<sup>117</sup> Brown (2011, p. 165 fn. 92) mentions the existence of probable architectural fragments of a basilica from the Lechaion Road excavations. For the “Long Building” at Panayia Field, see: Sanders 2005, p. 428; <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/ExcavationCorinth/corinth-excavations-1998-report>; <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/ExcavationCorinth/corinth-excavations-1999-report>.

<sup>118</sup> Lavan (2001) offers a range of views on the Late Antique city, the character of which continues to be debated along the lines of evolutionary continuity on the one hand, or, increasingly, decline and rupture with classical tradition on the other. Recent studies in the latter vein include Ward-Perkins (2005. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press) and Liebeschuetz (2001. *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*. Oxford: Oxford University Press). For a consideration of urbanism in relation to the southern Balkans, as well as a brief but helpful overview of the historiography of scholarship, see Bowden (2010. “Early Byzantine Decline in the Southern Balkans”. *Acta Byzantina Fennica*. 3. p. 67-80). A revised view of fora and agorai in the Eastern Mediterranean, which appears to generally correspond to the Corinthian evidence, is provided by Lavan (2015). These sites retained their public significance well into the 5th C., and only in the 6th to 7th C. did they become largely irrelevant.

The single most important urban development within the Late Antique history of Corinth was, arguably, the erection of the new, heavily contracted city wall, which encompassed less than 20% of the area once protected by the Classical fortification.<sup>119</sup>

This circuit, probably built during the reign of Justinian, reinforced existing urban trends including the abandonment, industrial re-interpretation, and contraction of parts of the cityscape. Its exclusion of the Forum may be seen as a step within a multi-century process of decline of what had once been the heart of the city, which clearly retained some civic significance in the 5<sup>th</sup> C. despite the abandonment of a number of its buildings, but by circa 600 appears only to have served as the setting for a small number of infant burials.

Similarly, before the wall was built, portions of the landscape from the Theatre to the Lerna Court area at the terrace edge were in use as dumping grounds and for heavy industry (which may have included burning marble to make lime for the wall's construction), while in the case of

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<sup>119</sup> Reduced defensive circuits are common in the Mediterranean region during this period, and may reflect general, empire-wide security concerns and, in their diminished scale, the changed needs of populations which in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. were reduced by as much as half by plague, and which, starting with polytheist temples and some additional structures including theatres, were increasingly abandoning outdated buildings and even broad swaths of the Early Roman cityscape. For a useful summary of the state of scholarship on Late Antique city walls, see Anderson (2013. "Fortification and Landscape Transformation in Late Antique Pessinus". *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*. 26.1. p. 75-96). The extent to which these walls addressed perceived threats by potential invaders including Goths, Avars, and Persians and others, or were more a component of the standard urban "package" of a late Antique city, remains debated. Writing on reduced fortification circuits, like that of Corinth, in the southern Balkans, Kirilov (2007. "The Reduction of the Fortified City Area in Late Antiquity: Some Reflections on the End of the 'Antique City' in the Lands of the Eastern Roman Empire". *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium* 2 (J. Henning, ed.). Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter. P. 3-24) emphasizes the role of defensive concerns. The late 3<sup>rd</sup> C. "Post-Herulian Wall" in Athens is one of the earliest, and geographically closest, examples of such a contracted circuit, whereas later walls at sites including Ephesus bear a closer resemblance to the separately protected lower town and acropolis which occurs at Corinth. On the Post-Herulian wall see: Frantz 1988, p. 5-11, 125-141. The incorporation of the Athenian Agora's Stoa of Attalos as a segment of this wall is close to the role which the heavily damaged Julian Basilica appears to have played within Corinth's Late Antique enceinte; such defensive re-use of pre-existing structures was not unusual in Late Antiquity and was certainly of economic benefit, although the incorporation of already antique buildings as displays of monumental civic history should not be overlooked. For the apparently 7<sup>th</sup> C. circuits of the lower city and fortress at Ephesus, see Foss (1979, p. 106-115).

the Lerna Court area, the first burials had already occurred at what would become a major mortuary zone.<sup>120</sup> Following the wall's erection, these areas, although a modest distance from the new city center, seem with rare exceptions to have been increasingly regarded as separate from the city proper and were either completely abandoned or put to use as burial grounds.

The picture presented by such monumental, and generally peripheral, sites should not be considered representative, however, of the state of occupation outside the Late Antique city wall: Large swaths of this territory remain completely unexplored by excavation, and scattered finds of known 7<sup>th</sup> C. activity outside the wall demonstrate that parts of the land within its vicinity, and also farther afield, remained inhabited and were in some cases places of agricultural enterprise. Not surprisingly, Corinth's 6<sup>th</sup> C. extramural Christian basilicas, and also the 7<sup>th</sup> C. springhouse chapel in Lerna Court, retained their special status and were used, and in some cases rebuilt, well into the Middle Byzantine period.

The landscapes of Corinth's dead also shifted in Late Antiquity, a phenomenon revealed at an unusually high level of resolution by modern excavations. Through the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> C., and in some cases as late as the 6<sup>th</sup> C., the use or re-use of Early Roman chamber tombs in the North Cemetery signals an especially high degree of mortuary conservatism in both general location and preferred setting within pre-existing structures. The continuing importance of this space in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. is made especially clear by the placement of the Kodratus Basilica, which was accompanied by elite burials, in the plain within the general area of the North Cemetery. At the same time, beginning at least occasionally in the late 4<sup>th</sup> C., and demonstrated more emphatically

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<sup>120</sup> The heavy industrial use of Corinth's former civic space, especially the poorly understood water works in the area of the Asklepieion and the Gymnasium, recalls most closely the series of 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. water mills at the Athenian Agora (Frantz 1988, p. 80-81).

in the late 5<sup>th</sup> C., the lower northern slopes of Acrocorinth came to be viewed as an appropriate burial ground and hosted small clusters of graves amongst those ruins of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore which were closest to the Roman road ascending the mountain. These Acrocorinth interments offer the first clear evidence for Late Antique burial within the line of the Classical city wall, although the topographically distinct status of Acrocorinth in relation to the lower urban area, and also the presence of Hellenistic burials on its slopes, present a special case and suggests that, at least by the 5<sup>th</sup> C., this zone was regarded as separate from the city.

The 6<sup>th</sup> C. was a turning point for Corinth's mortuary topography. Starting in the first quarter of that century, much of the land at the edge of Corinth's lower terrace, including the Lerna Court area, was transformed from largely abandoned territory to burials grounds that came to be densely packed during a period which extended to the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. and perhaps as late as its midpoint. Although these cemeteries may be considered a continuation of the North Cemetery, which lay in the plain below, they also mark the mortuary infiltration of the line of the Classical city wall to a much greater extent than the slightly earlier Acrocorinth slope burials.

Corinth's Late Antique city wall appears to have both strengthened these trends in mortuary development and introduced burials closer to the city's urban core than ever before. If the wall is indeed Justinianic, it should post-date the earliest burials at the edge of the lower terrace and inside the Classical circuit, demonstrating that before the Late Antique enceinte was erected an altered conception of the city's extent, or permissible uses, was already established in the minds of Corinthians. Moreover, the use of semi-rural land well west of the fortified city for at least scattered graves probably began shortly before the wall was erected; a similar situation may have existed east of the city in the general area of the Kraneion Basilica, a famed cemetery

neighborhood during classical antiquity and the setting for Late Antique burials before the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> C.

From this perspective, the heavy mortuary development of the Lerna Court area cemetery and elsewhere on the lower terrace into the 7<sup>th</sup> C. is not at all surprising, as this space now demonstrably lay outside the redefined perimeter of the city. What could not be assumed is the growth of dense mortuary zones immediately outside the northeast segment of the new wall before the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> C., or the installation of scattered burials, in addition to a higher concentration of graves in the Forum area, that occurred in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., to the extent that excavated areas indicate. The intensive use of the former mortuary zones might be explained by the presence of what appear to be a Christian basilica and martyrion on the inner side of the wall. On the other hand, for the Forum area and nearby Panayia Field, infant burials in late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Gaza amphoras are amongst the earliest burials if not the very first, and may have endowed these grounds with some degree of mortuary identity before broader mortuary use of the Forum began around 650.

The Late Antique wall thus offered a new city boundary directly beyond which new burial grounds, to varying degrees, developed, while the downfall of the lower terrace mortuary zones in the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. is at least partly attributable to that region's loss of topographic relevance at a distance of multiple generations following the wall's construction. The conspicuous absence of Late Antique burials within the vicinity of the ruined Theatre and Odeion, which lay somewhat beyond the Forum, suggest that this "middle zone" may have been generally unexploited as a burial ground in contrast to the immediate periphery of the new wall, and some areas farther afield.

Scattered burial clusters located both on Acrocorinth's lower slope and nearer its summit provide evidence for continued mortuary use of this area in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. and generally lay within the vicinity of ruined structures. The higher burials, and also 7<sup>th</sup> C. burials beside the basilica in Acrocorinth's castle, are more likely associated with the defenders of that fortress than the occupants of the lower city.

In contrast to Corinth's multitude of known 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. burials, however, those belonging to the latter 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. and located primarily on Acrocorinth, within the Kraneion Basilica, and especially at the Forum, are comparatively scarce. This relative lack of late burials becomes especially clear when taking into account the fact that many of the Forum's burials, and also some others, belong to immigrants rather than "typical" local residents. Where were ordinary Corinthians burying during the late 7<sup>th</sup> C. onward? Whether inside, or more probably, outside the Late Antique city wall, cemeteries associated with one or more as yet undiscovered Christian basilicas provide the likeliest answer.

These developments in Corinth's Late Antique mortuary topography, which include continued Late Antique use of traditional Greco-Roman cemeteries into the 6<sup>th</sup> C., a contraction of mortuary zones in accordance with a reduction of the urban area, the use of abandoned districts for burials, and a gradually increasing cemetery role for basilicas, are all features paralleled elsewhere in the Late Antique Mediterranean, and appear to have been common phenomena even if they are usually not as well defined through excavation and publication as at Corinth.

Not surprisingly, Athens provides one of the best points of comparison (pl. 40-41).<sup>121</sup> Although a lack of detail in excavation reports prevents a close dating and accurate characterization of some cemeteries, especially those of apparent 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. date on the Acropolis' south slope and within close proximity to roughly contemporary basilicas, it is clear that traditional cemeteries sited outside the old, expansive Themistoklean city wall (renewed by Valerian) continued to function in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and in some cases, the 7<sup>th</sup>, while at the same time burial grounds began to develop at the periphery of the contracted post-Herulian wall, as most clearly evidenced by a small number of 7<sup>th</sup> C. burials in the former Hephaisteion and Parthenon, now Christian basilicas, and on the northeast slope of the Areopagus in what had been a luxury residential zone.<sup>122</sup> The Parthenon is especially noteworthy due to its probable status, by this time, as a Christian basilica, and its location on the pre-eminent defensive position of the Late Antique city, even if, for purposes of law, this might not have been regarded as strictly falling within the bounds of the city.<sup>123</sup> By the 8<sup>th</sup> C., all of the traditional extramural Athenian cemeteries had ceased to function, and nearly all known burial grounds lay immediately outside, and perhaps also within, the post-Herulian wall.

The close proximity of these particularly late cemeteries to the post-Herulian wall recalls the earlier contraction of active zones in the old cemeteries outside Athens' Themistokleion wall in

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<sup>121</sup> For an analysis of Late Antique Athenian cemeteries and their relation to urban space, see Tzavella (2008).

<sup>122</sup> The conversion of the Parthenon and Hephaisteion from abandoned temples to churches is usually placed in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. following Frantz's (1965) major study, but see Tzavella's (2008, p. 365) argument for a 6<sup>th</sup> C. date for the Parthenon basilica and the presence of potential 6<sup>th</sup> C burials.

<sup>123</sup> The Parthenon is additionally notable for its apparently exclusivity as a burial site for bishops until the late 8<sup>th</sup> C., when it began to broaden to other members of the clergy and non-clerical elite, as documented by funerary inscriptions (ibid., p. 353).

which, starting in the 3<sup>rd</sup> C., burials occurred in limited areas close to the city in contrast to their more widely distributed Early Roman predecessors.<sup>124</sup> Well documented in Italy, this appears to be a general Late Antique phenomenon and may be reflected at Corinth in the high number of graves located within the vicinity of the Classical city wall (whether outside or inside its line), the numerous burials at the periphery of the contracted Late Antique city wall, and also the small number of tombs positioned close to the citadel of Acrocorinth and probably belonging to its occupants.<sup>125</sup>

A related phenomenon is the occurrence, as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> C. in Rome and other Italian cities, of burials singly or within small clusters within abandoned, previously urbanized intra-mural areas and corresponding, to varying degrees, to Corinthian mortuary settings including the clusters in the area of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, scattered burials in the city's western suburbs, and the far more densely occupied zones, including the Lerna Court area, at the edge of the lower terrace.<sup>126</sup> Although the topographic context of burials at many Greek sites is generally not well known due in large part to limited publication of graves as well as scarce data for the extent of occupation by the living, it seems that the presence of at least scattered burials in formerly urban areas is common in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and later as demonstrated by cities including Messene, Eretria, and the northern metropolis of Thessaloniki.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 363

<sup>125</sup> Cantino Wataghin 1999, p. 152

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 158. Some of the burials occurring within the immediate vicinity of Corinth's Late Antique wall might be similarly considered, but occupy a somewhat different status due to their placement here after the wall was built and, consequently, their exclusion from the community of the living as delineated by a clear barrier.

<sup>127</sup> At Messene's agora, only an important burial which appears to belong to a 7<sup>th</sup> C. non-Greek immigrant has been published at any level of detail (Messene: Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1997, p. 304-307). Eretria's Late

A lingering question relates to the choice of particular abandoned complexes as settings for burials. Polytheist temples have been put forth as a special case for which, in the minds of Late Antique Christians, the insertion of Christian burials at the temple perimeter nullified a threatening supernatural presence that was believed to remain at the site.<sup>128</sup> While the placement of burials within the vicinity of abandoned temples or other sanctuaries during Late Antiquity does sometimes occur, and evidence within the Eastern Mediterranean broadly does exist for Christian hostility to temples, in which demons were popularly thought to dwell, Corinth's Late Antique burials close to the Asklepieion, the Forum temples, and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore all follow broader patterns of burial topography that include ease of access, separation from the community of the living, a state of abandonment, and potential land ownership by civic

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Antique graves, which await publication, have been tentatively assigned to the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and are located in scattered clusters near the center of the Greco-Roman city and particularly in the area of thoroughfares and adjacent buildings including temples and secular structures. For basic information on these burials see DuCrey et al. (2004, p. 50-51, 219-221, 226-227). Thessaloniki's relatively well-documented traditional extra-urban cemeteries function into the 7<sup>th</sup> C. if not the 8<sup>th</sup>; for a recent summary see Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. (2012, p. 381-382) and also Marki's (2006) monographic study. Although more comprehensive publication from the finds inside Thessaloniki's walls is needed, it appears that by the 6<sup>th</sup> C. intramural burials occurred at least occasionally and became the norm by the 9<sup>th</sup> C., when individuals were buried at parish churches. Makropoulou addressed these intramural burials in a 2006 talk; for the abstract see: Makropoulou, D. Grave finds and burial practices in Thessaloniki (4<sup>th</sup> – fifteenth century). *Proceedings of the 21<sup>st</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies. London 21-26 August 2006* (E. Jeffreys and J. Gilliland, ed.). London. vol. II, p. 63). Athens, in contrast, presents a special case due to the difficulty of assessing evidence from the insubstantial publication of early excavations within the post-Herulian wall; it may at least be said that the previously residential zone on the north slope of the Areopagus, outside the post-Herulian wall but within the expansive Valerianic wall, became partially used for 7<sup>th</sup> C. burials.

<sup>128</sup> Rothaus 2000, p. 52ff. Much earlier, Roebuck (1951, p. 161) posited that a lack of dense cemetery development of the Asklepieion terrace was the result of Christian fears of the site. On this topic in relation to the Asklepieion, see further p. Negative Christian sentiment toward the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore has been rejected as a cause for the installation of burials at the site (Slane 2008, p. 492; Bookidis and Stroud 1997, p. 389), and a previous suggestion that the sanctuary may have been attractive as a burial ground due to some lingering sense of spiritual protection for woman and children is now no longer considered tenable (*ibid.*, p. 391; I thank Nancy Bookidis for clarifying this issue (personal communication, 18 November 2015)).

authorities.<sup>129</sup> Importantly, extended periods of abandonment, and intermediary use phases, primarily dumping and industrial activity related to dismantling of these places for their blocks, occurred at some sanctuaries and other sites. By the 6<sup>th</sup> C., therefore, a site like the abandoned, spoliated Asklepieion would probably have seemed little different from the neighboring, ruined Gymnasium or the abandoned neighborhood on the north slope of the Athenian Areopagus which became the setting for a 7<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery.

## Conclusion

Corinth's Late Antique topography demonstrates many of the same aspects evident at other cities of the time: abandonment or radically different re-use of buildings and entire sections of the city, contraction of the urbanized area and protection under a new city wall, the construction of multiple Christian basilicas, and the creeping advancement of old cemeteries toward the community of the living while additional cemeteries, or in some cases sporadic mortuary clusters, began to appear in new areas including the immediate periphery of the Late Antique fortification. While specific events including major earthquakes, the local enforcement of legislation against polytheist sacrifice, the outbreak of plague during the reign of Justinian, and threatening behavior (if not outright attack) at the hands of invading Goths and, later, Avars all

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<sup>129</sup> For accounts within saints' *Lives* of the often dramatic Christianization of temples, including the neutralization of demonic forces dwelling at these sites, see: Saradi, Helen. 2008. "The Christianization of Pagan Temples from the Greek Hagiographical Texts (4th-6th C.)" In: *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*. Edited by J. Hahn, S. Emmel and U. Gotter, 113-134. Leiden, Boston: Brill. See also: Jacobs, Ine. 2014. "Temples and Civic Representation in the Theodosian Period." In *Using Images in Late Antiquity*. Edited by S. Birk, T. M. Kristensen and B. Poulsen, 132-149. Oxford-Philadelphia: Oxbow Books.

contributed to changes in built space and urban life at Corinth, the evolution of the city seems generally to have been a gradual one.<sup>130</sup>

The single most important development in urbanism at Late Antique Corinth was arguably its new city wall in the 6<sup>th</sup> C.: A century after its construction, the extensive burial grounds near the old city wall had been largely abandoned, while a majority of known mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. graves lay amongst abandoned structures a short distance from the contracted circuit. The introduction of Christian basilicas in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. stands as the other critical Late Antique phenomenon and, especially in the cases of the Kraneion Basilica and also the unexcavated Pallas Basilica, these buildings appear to have attracted increasingly large numbers of burials to their vicinities.

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<sup>130</sup> For a problematization of earthquakes and other significant issues which relate to Late Antique Corinth, see Sanders (2004). Brown (2008, p. 80-90) discusses at length the literary and archaeological evidence for the visit of Alaric's Goths to Corinth.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE LERNA COURT AREA CEMETERY

#### Introduction

The area sited at the edge of the plateau overlooking the Corinthian plain and northwest of the ancient city center was known to Corinth's early 20<sup>th</sup> C. inhabitants as 'Keramidaki' (Κεραμιδάκι), or 'little tile', for good reason: The scanty remains of tile graves, and, occasionally, tombs of other types, were turned up throughout the fields here by modern Corinthian farmers.<sup>131</sup> In 1896 the first test trenches were dug in the area by the ASCSA, followed by excavations in the early 1930s and finally in the late 1960s (pl. 2-11b, Appendix A, B).<sup>132</sup> While the chief aim of all of these projects was the uncovering of monumental buildings described by Pausanias, a fortunate consequence is the exposure, across an east-west expanse of some 270 m., of a Late Antique cemetery with not less than 500 rock-cut tombs, tile tent graves,

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<sup>131</sup> Roebuck 1951, p. 6. The land at the plateau's edge within the immediate vicinity of Lerna Court and the Asklepieion, both of which were excavated in the 1930s, was owned at that time by the Kriebardi, Roustemmi, and Tsouropis families (De Waele 1933, p. 417, Roebuck 1951, p. 2). Beans, a crop of comparatively low price, were noted to have been grown slightly west of Lerna Court where Trench I was laid in 1896 (Richardson, R. 1897. "The Excavations at Corinth in 1896". *AJA*. 1.6. p.455-480 (p.456f)); presumably crops were seasonally rotated in this well-watered zone. In 1929 Athenasios Tsouropis uncovered a multiple burial cist grave of probable Late Antique date while plowing his fields ( Grave 0105.133) near the terrace edge and within the general area of Lerna Court and the Asklepieion.

<sup>132</sup> The plans (pl. 2-11b) of Lerna Court and the Asklepieion incorporate all known graves from the area. Graves in Lerna Court's southwest corner were provided grid references by the excavator but not drawn in field notebooks, and these graves do not correspond precisely with the positions of graves drawn on the earliest state plan (pl. 3), which seems to be an interpretation of the excavator's notes for this part of the cemetery rather than a drawing made from exact documentation or firsthand observation. While all drawn graves in this corner should be in approximately their correct positions, their identification with numbered graves should be considered a "best guess." All Late Antique graves are included in Appendix A and B. All orientations are approximately east-west unless otherwise stated.

infant amphora burials, and pit inhumations. Because the majority of known graves, and the best understood monumental structures into which they were placed, lie within Lerna Court and the Asklepieion, these areas are considered first, and are followed by, from east to west, the Gymnasium area, the Hill of Zeus, and finally the 1896 test trenches. Grave clusters across this topographically varied expanse are characterized within the context of the built environments which surrounded them, and new chronologies are suggested for burials and also some especially late activity at the site which has previously been associated with the cemetery. The spatial development of this area, with an emphasis on access routes at the Aslepieion and Lerna Court, is next considered. Finally, location-based variability in the cost of burial is offered as an explanation for the unusually high concentration of tile tent graves within Lerna Court.

#### Excavation of the Asklepieion and Lerna Court (1930-1933)

After three decades of intermittent digging at Corinth, primarily in the Forum, attention returned to the district near the edge of the plateau in 1930 when test trenches were laid in an attempt to locate the Temple of Zeus, the Asklepieion, and the Gymnasium, all said by Pausanias (II, 4-5) to be within the general area of the Theatre.<sup>133</sup> In addition to exposing parts of the Asklepieion at the plateau's extreme edge and buildings to its west and south that would come to be known respectively as the Lerna Court and Gymnasium, one test trench (in Lerna Court)

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<sup>133</sup> Several exceptionally large re-used columns and fragments of architectural blocks, probably belonging to a temple, had been recognized in Leake's 1846 visit and later, offering additional evidence for the existence of a substantial temple near the plateau's edge. A series of column bases was also uncovered in 1916 and considered to possibly belong to the Gymnasium. For all of these early investigations see Roebuck 1951, p.2-5.

revealed a number of graves and offered a hint of the major burial ground that was about to be uncovered through full excavation.<sup>134</sup>

Before proceeding to the history of this site's cemetery, it is critical to describe the manner of its excavation, which weighs heavily upon any interpretation of the archaeological finds. From the opening of full scale excavation in 1930 until the end of digging in 1933, excavation was supervised by one person, F.J. De Waele of Nijmegen University.<sup>135</sup> Such a program of supervision by a single person across multiple years in a large area does not always occur at archaeological sites and offers a special consistency in excavation method which can be of great value for later researchers.

De Waele's excavation procedure, although obsolete by modern standards, is comparable to and in some respects surpasses that of his contemporaries. While layers of earth were not dug in stratigraphic sequence, major strata were identified and drawn in section at a number of points across the excavation, and individual objects were sometimes recorded in association with a specific stratum. An alphanumeric grid (1 square = 1X1 m.) was imposed, and for most objects and contexts their position in space was indicated by both elevation and grid square. Perhaps

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<sup>134</sup> While the Asklepieion has been securely identified at this site through votives, sculpture, and other small finds, no firm evidence exists for Lerna Court and the Gymnasium; the buildings that have received their names may be accurately identified but not unquestionably so. For a reassessment of the identification of the Lerna Fountain House and Court see Wiseman (1979. "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.-A.D. 267". *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. II.7.1, p. 438-547 (511f). Berlin) who suggests that the Fountain of the Lamps, excavated under his direction, is the Lerna complex.

<sup>135</sup> De Waele published two excavation reports summarizing his discoveries: De Waele, F.J. 1933. "The Sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia at Corinth". *AJA*. 37,3. p.417-451; *ibid.* 1935. "The Fountain of Lerna and the Early Christian Cemetery at Corinth". *AJA*. 39,3. p.352-359. Roebuck (1951) also incorporated De Waele's views, which sometimes differed from his own, within his monograph treatment of the site. De Waele field notebooks for this general area are: NB0113 (test trenches), NB0122 (Asklepieion), NB0126 and NB0136 (Lerna Court), and NB0138 (Hill of Zeus). Before the launch of full scale excavation, test trenches were supervised by Lucy Talcott.

most importantly, De Waele maintained an interest in Late Antiquity that is rare for this era and gave nearly every grave in the cemetery a unique number, a brief description of construction type, and a brief mention of any potentially associated object.

If closely followed, such a system would have yielded unusually precise and extremely useful results. Unfortunately, this was not the case. Due doubtlessly in part to the speed of excavation by which 2-3 m. of earth were removed from an area nearly the size of an American football field during three main seasons of work, inaccuracies and a lack of consistent detail entered the notebook record. As a consequence, many finds are assigned to a grid square but are not provided a stratigraphic context, and some are described merely as originating in a particular zone of the excavation. While such absences of detail are readily apparent from De Waele's notes, far more problematic is a lack of precision which is not always obvious, as well as errors in recording.<sup>136</sup> Especially troubling is the sporadic misidentification of grid squares in relation to objects and contexts.<sup>137</sup> As a result, while the aggregate picture offered by De Waele's work is likely to be relatively accurate and is certainly of value, no great weight may be placed upon the location of a single object or context without additional supporting evidence.

Within the sunken area known as Lerna Court, some 140 tile tent graves and twelve infant burials in Gaza amphoras were laid along the court's periphery, leaving the central area free of

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<sup>136</sup> For elevations, while objects measured at less than .5 m in relation to a benchmark or local floor level are likely to be precise to circa .10 m, the high frequency of measurements of .5, 1.0, and 1.5 m implies that the elevation of objects at .5 and above is greatly rounded. These 'high' elevations should consequently be treated only as rough approximations and are in most cases inappropriate for the dating of nearby contexts.

<sup>137</sup> While one would assume that De Waele correctly identifies most locations by grid, clear instances exist in which he does not, and other inaccuracies certainly exist that are not easily identified by the notebook reader. He seems to have encountered particular difficulty in referring to grid squares for which versions existed with both single and double letter components (e.g. B:1 and BB:1), many of which are confused in his excavation notebooks.

graves. Terra cotta lamps, only occasionally recovered in situ, are the primary objects associated with these burials. Three or four major grave clusters, consisting of many smaller groups, may be discerned, although an absence of large open areas between most graves, and, as will be demonstrated, a problem of interpretation for the mortuary use of some areas, makes any concrete isolation of large-scale burial clusters impossible.

Grave pits were dug within a layer of fill nearly 1 m. deep, and the bottoms of the grave constructions were frequently laid at the level of the court's pavement or cut slightly into it so that the uppermost surface of tiles or amphoras stood at approximately pavement level. No significant variation in depth is apparent for tile tent graves based on length, and while pits for infant amphora burials tend to be slightly shallower than those for tile graves, the lesser height of the amphora when laid sideways means that this vessel's upper elevation is approximately the same as the top of a tile grave.<sup>138</sup> While the fill into which these burials were placed certainly aided the function of the cemetery by offering a suitable environment, the existence of a substantial earth layer here was probably more a result of fortune, through earlier use of the site as a refuse dump, rather than long-term mortuary planning.

Within the soft yellow marl along the east side of Lerna Court and the south end of the court's west side, 13 chamber tombs were cut. Built to accommodate multiple burials, they are of varying size but usually circa 1.5-2 m. in length, 1 m. in width, and 1 m. in height. While most are simple chambers tunneled horizontally into the marl, one pair of tombs (represented by Grave 1932-034) possesses a more sophisticated layout through the use of a small, cave-like

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<sup>138</sup> At a maximum body width of circa 20 cm, a horizontally laid Gaza amphora is roughly 20 cm shorter than a tile tent grave. Gaza amphora burials generally lay at court level, while tile tent graves sometimes extended slightly below the court.

vestibule in the floor of which are burial chambers taking the familiar ‘L-shape’ incorporating an entry shaft and a small chamber extending from the shaft’s base. Some of these tombs make intelligent use of the site’s natural stratigraphy through the positioning of the ceiling at the point where the lower marl and harder rock above intersect, effectively creating a space less likely to collapse than one with a marl ceiling. Most tombs, although now about 1 m. (or somewhat higher) above the excavated court, would in Late Antiquity have been positioned at or only slightly above surface level, forcing one to stoop low to enter on hands and knees for the interment of the deceased and the deposition of pots that are found in roughly half of these tombs. Several higher tombs (such as Grave 1931-046 and G1931-047) cut into the rock near the top of the western face of the Asklepieion terrace would have been visible from the court below, but these would have been accessed by a ledge most easily reached directly from the terrace.

At least three, and perhaps four, reservoirs (II, III, IV, V) extending south and west from the court into the surrounding hillsides were turned into burial chambers, recalling the cave-like environments of both the relatively small rock-cut tombs in the vicinity of the court and much larger Corinthian Early Roman chamber tombs that remained in use or were put to re-use into the 6<sup>th</sup> C. Due to deterioration of the water supply system the reservoirs likely held little or no water by this period and (with the exception of Reservoir I) were subject to the same new mortuary function as the rest of the abandoned complex.<sup>139</sup> On the other hand, the Lerna Spring House,

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<sup>139</sup> For evidence of a deteriorated Late Antique water supply see: an attempt to raise the water level in the Spring House: Roebuck, p.169; the filling of water channel manholes with rubbish (a process that in some places may have begun in the Early Roman period): Wiseman 1969, p.75; Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 99,104,113. See also p. 28 for modifications within Reservoirs II, IV, and V that may reflect attempts to more easily access a dwindling water supply.

located in the court's southeast corner, seems to have remained free of Late Antique graves due to its maintained connection to a water supply that proved of value for the ritual needs of the cemetery and perhaps also the daily demands for water in this district of the city.<sup>140</sup>

Burials in Reservoir III and the northern portion of Reservoir IV constitute a continuation of the graves in the court without significant variation: Most are tile tent graves and infant amphora burials and are joined by a small number of chamber tombs cut into the marl walls between reservoirs. A different picture is offered by the rear portion of Reservoir IV, where De Waele found some 100 skeletons seemingly placed directly into the earth in the absence of built tomb structures but accompanied by forty-seven ceramic vessels; the situation seems to have been similar, on a smaller scale, for Reservoir III, although here the ceramic evidence is less certain.<sup>141</sup> Finally, the extremely limited documentation for Reservoir V makes an assessment of its role during the area's cemetery phase difficult: Although burials, as well as an apparent post-antique dump of tombstones and other debris,<sup>142</sup> were excavated just outside the reservoir's Late Antique stepped entrance, no tomb structures, rock cuttings, or objects were noted in its

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<sup>140</sup> For use of the Spring House contemporary with the cemetery, see Roebuck p.169. While a continuing water supply was doubtless the primary reason for the lack of burials inside the Spring House, the steep flight of steps extending nearly half of its length is not particularly conducive to the establishment of a mortuary setting. On the Lerna system as the water source for a large area of Corinth, see *ibid.* p. 106.

<sup>141</sup> Reservoir IV's burials are collectively identified as Grave 1933-111, and those of those of Reservoir III are similarly identified as Grave 1933-110. At least three infant amphora burials were also recovered from the rear portion of Reservoir IV.

<sup>142</sup> Tombstones (I-1133b, I-1137, I-1138, I-1139, I-1140, I-1141), ranging from fragments to completely intact specimens, were recovered from a fill of ashy earth full of poros fragments (Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 93ff). Their association with marl-cut tombs on the west side of the court, and not any burials within the reservoir, is strongly suggested by the presence of another fragment of I-1137 within a marl-cut burial (Grave 1933-84a).

interior.<sup>143</sup> However, De Waele's comment that within the reservoir were "remains of bones, *mostly animals*",<sup>144</sup> leaves open the possibility that the space was used for simple pit inhumations.<sup>145</sup>

Finally, turning now to the temple terrace, one encounters a series of fifteen surviving rock-cut tombs, all assuming the popular 'L-shape' and running in an east-west line within the area formerly occupied by the sanctuary's north colonnade; stuccoed mounds were preserved above two of them.<sup>146</sup> Two additional small tomb groups (including Grave 1931-48, Grave 1931-49, and Grave 1931-50) were installed slightly to the west and northwest of the temple at the terrace's edge, above the chamber tombs that open onto Lerna Court and partially visible from that lower space through the presence of stuccoed mounds that were probably constructed above them. Pottery was recovered from less than half of the rock-cut tombs, and lamps from only

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<sup>143</sup> Fewer than 10 sherds were saved from Reservoir V. Some were of the same vessel types as those associated with burials, including lekythoi. However, all potentially mortuary vessels are fragments of less than 50% of the original pot, whereas the majority of pots from secure burial contexts are preserved above 50%. Thus, while the Reservoir V pots could relate to graves within this space, perhaps reflecting a slightly different ritual involving the on-site breakage of vessels, it is equally if not more likely that they represent a dump of broken pottery from burials outside the reservoir deposited during a post-antique cleaning of the site.

<sup>144</sup> NB0136.093

<sup>145</sup> On the other hand, if Reservoir V had not been given a mortuary function, one might postulate that a limited water supply remained at the reservoir, which was served by a channel running deep into the hillside, and discouraged any alternative use.

<sup>146</sup> Many of these tombs were dug directly into the colonnade's stylobate cutting. Two tombs are only partially preserved due to the collapse of the cliff. While the existence of available rock unused for mortuary purposes to the north of the central tombs in this group suggests that for the majority of the space the surviving tombs indeed represent the extent of original mortuary use, it is probable that a few additional rock-cut tombs were installed at the northwest and especially the northeast corners of this area where the rock has collapsed. At any rate, the city wall, whether still standing or in disrepair, would have provided a north boundary to this part of the cemetery less than two meters north of the northernmost preserved zone of rock.

three. No burials were found in the remaining central, southern, and western areas of the sanctuary.

### Tomb Markers

In both the court area and temple terrace, despite the presence of a large number of densely packed burials, the general lack of burial disturbance during Late Antiquity indicates that tomb markers must have been used.<sup>147</sup> Even the smallest tile graves and infant amphora burials survived intact, and the existence of some small groups of two to four burials in which graves are separated by only centimeters implies both a deliberate grouping practice and the existence of markers to guide this activity.<sup>148</sup>

For an extremely small number of tombs the method of marking is clear: stuccoed mounds of earth and rubble taking the form of a vault in imitation of a masonry-built tomb superstructure. Such mounds occurred not only for rock-cut tombs on the Asklepieion terrace, but were also found above tile tent graves in Lerna Court, Reservoirs III, and north of Reservoir IV's entrance.<sup>149</sup> Given the ubiquitous presence of these mounds above the rock-cut tombs subsequently excavated in the Gymnasium area, one would assume that most if not all of the graves on the Asklepieion terrace possessed such superstructures. For the remainder of tile tent graves and infant amphora burials the question remains open. Due to post-antique disturbance

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<sup>147</sup> Analysis of the use of tomb markers for Reservoir II and the rear portion of Reservoir IV is, however, impossible due both to a lack of tomb structures and extremely brief descriptions by De Waele.

<sup>148</sup> See for example, a tile grave (Grave 1933-030) and two infant amphora burials (Grave 1933-031, G1933-032) installed with scarcely any space between tomb structures.

<sup>149</sup> Tomb on the Asklepieion terrace with stuccoed mound: Grave 1931-031; Reservoir III: Grave 1933-101, Grave 1933-106, Grave 1933-107; directly north of Reservoir IV: Grave 1933-090

and, most importantly, erosion, much of the earth above grave level, and with it any above-ground markers, were not preserved for the majority of the court. The possibility that many tile tent graves and amphora burials employed an alternative means of marking is suggested by the more than 30 graves of these types within the relatively protected confines of Reservoirs III and IV above which De Waele reports no evidence for markers whatsoever. Moreover, the apparently limited application of stuccoed mounds to three adjacent tile graves in Reservoir III raises the possibility that familial tradition might guide the use of mounds and other forms of markers.<sup>150</sup> For the many graves lacking evidence it is at least clear that the burial's full outline, rather than just a single point above each grave, was indicated. Thus, in addition to stuccoed mounds, simpler means not documented by archaeology, for example, the outlining of the burial plot with field stones, might be imagined as well.

An additional form of marker, but one that conveyed the property rights to the grave rather than purely indicating its location, is the tombstone.<sup>151</sup> These markers, forty-three of which were found in the Lerna Court – Asklepieion complex on schist slabs as well as re-used marble plaques, may be associated with specific burials (or pairs of adjacent burials), all of them rock-cut tombs, in only six cases.<sup>152</sup> It is unlikely that other tomb types at this site bore tombstones,

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<sup>150</sup> If these three burials do not represent a familial group, then this might alternately be considered a case of competitive mortuary emulation for the two tile graves following the first one, elegantly appointed through its stuccoed mound like a more luxurious rock-cut or masonry-built tomb.

<sup>151</sup> On tombstones generally, see p. 178.

<sup>152</sup> The number of tombstones is based on Kent (p.172ff), who published all epitaphs preserving at least a small degree of legibility (a few fragments bearing letters but not recognizable words were excluded), but does not incorporate three tombstones excavated outside the Lerna – Asklepieion complex. Tombstones that may arguably be associated with particular graves: I-1020, I-1021 (G1931-031, G1931-032; it is not clear which tombstone belongs to which tomb); I-1036, I 1037 (G1931-040, G.NB0126.094; it is not clear which tombstone belongs to which tomb); I-1038 (G1931-041); I-1049 (G1931-053). I-1137 may belong to G1933.084a as a fragment of it was found

and while cheap carved or painted wood or tile versions of tombstones are not unimaginable for such graves, they are unlikely to have consistently possessed them.<sup>153</sup> Based on the position of excavated tombstones above the remains of stuccoed vault-like mounds, as well as the presence of cement on the reverse of a number of tombstones that cannot be associated with any particular grave, it would seem that tombstones were normally affixed to the top, or perhaps at times the side, of stuccoed mounds. A slightly different function for tombstones would have occurred for those associated with tombs tunneled horizontally into the marl or rock at the edges of Lerna Court. Here, in the absence of stuccoed mounds, they would have been placed at the tomb entrance fronting any vertically positioned slabs, tiles, or rocks assembled as an entrance barrier.

The tombstones excavated within the court and sanctuary, while largely fragmentary, offer some evidence for the chronology of chamber tombs based on formulae for the expression of the tomb's purchase or the death of one of its occupants. Of forty-three tombstones, twenty-five were sufficiently preserved for analysis, and of these 15 exclusively carry an indiction format not occurring before 535 (or arguably 579 at Corinth), 10 bear no annual date at all, and none uses the system of consular dating which was abandoned by 541. The earliest datable tombstone, excavated in fragments from multiple contexts in Lerna Court, has been reassigned to the year

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inside this rock cut tomb, but due to its fragmentary status and the excavation of another fragment in dumped fill in the southwest corner of Lerna Court this assignment is insecure.

<sup>153</sup> Aside from the primary role of the tombstone as a property sign that would have been largely inapplicable to single-burial graves, the number of tombstones recovered from the Lerna Court – Asklepieion complex, some 43, almost exactly matches the number of rock-cut tombs (38 known examples) in this area. Thus, assuming that all rock-cut tombs bore tombstones, such markers are arguably restricted to this tombs type. One might expect at least a few of the approximately 200 tile graves and amphora burials to employ tombstones if they indeed possessed inscribed or painted markers in any format, but the evidence is lacking. The only non-stone epitaph recovered from this site is a tile marker (I-1045=Kent 553; unassociated with any particular burial) with a brief inscription chiseled from its surface post-firing; the lack of comparable epitaphs suggests this represents the ingenuity of a single individual rather than a widely recognized alternative format.

524 and presumably originated in one of the chamber tombs adjacent to the court or dug within the Asklepieion terrace above.<sup>154</sup> Additionally, one tombstone fragment employing the Roman calendar, a relatively early feature, is unlikely to date beyond the middle of the sixth century, but unfortunately the annual component of the date, if any, is not preserved for this epitaph.<sup>155</sup>

## Chronology

While the pottery and lamps associated with a number of burials offer essential evidence for dating, the chronology of the cemetery in the Lerna Court - Asklepieion complex, and the factors leading to its genesis as well as its characteristics while in use, are best understood through a study of the long-term history of this area. The following section surveys the development of the site from Late Antique mortuary activity to the Middle Byzantine period. New dates will be suggested for many developments, and elements previously published in connection with the cemetery will be dissociated from it.<sup>156</sup>

Previously, while it had been suspected that cemetery use of Lerna Court was primarily a 6<sup>th</sup> C. phenomenon,<sup>157</sup> the earliest possible direct dates of mortuary contexts in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> C. for Gaza amphoras imported to Corinth and the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> C. for Broneer type 28 lamps resulted in an inability to exclude the latter 5<sup>th</sup> C. Now, it is clear from coins in the fill preceding

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<sup>154</sup> I-1093, -1097, -1098=Kent 548=SEG XXXI 288

<sup>155</sup> I-1086=Kent 553

<sup>156</sup> Roebuck's original 1959 publication and, more recently, Rothaus, have raised important chronological and interpretive issues for the site. In this section their dating of specific developments will be discussed within the temporal framework that appears to me most accurate.

<sup>157</sup> Sanders 2005, p.430

the cemetery that burial is unlikely to have begun before the late 5th C., while on the basis of lamps from the same fill, in addition to the tombstone from 524, we may tentatively place all burials within the 6<sup>th</sup> C. or slightly later.<sup>158</sup> The lamps associated with tile graves and amphora burials reveal that the earliest of these graves occurred no later than the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> C., while the only photographed Gaza amphora may date as late as the late 6th C.<sup>159</sup> The use of chamber tombs cut into the marl and rock on the sides of the court as well as on the Asklepieion terrace appears to begin at approximately the same time as the other graves as suggested by the tombstone from 524 that must have belonged to some chamber tomb in the area, but extends somewhat later on the basis of a small number of associated local and imported lamps of the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Another development of the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. is the transformation of the rear portion of Reservoir IV into a zone for densely packed pit burials as confirmed by its pottery in addition to a coin originally thought to belong to Justinian but now re-identified as an issue of Justin II.<sup>160</sup> Reservoir II's poorly documented pit inhumations might be similarly considered. The very latest burials, some of which were cut into the rock to the north of the temple of Asklepius, and others from the rear of Reservoir IV, possess pottery with attributes that seem

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<sup>158</sup> For the chronology of the dumped fill which preceded the cemetery, see p. 22-24.

<sup>159</sup> DeWaele photographed only three amphoras in situ within Lerna Court. One is clearly a Gaza amphora (pl. 47a), and belongs to Majcherek's (1995) type 3 (late 5th to late 6th C.). Two additional Gaza amphoraa, sketched by De Waele, may be of the same type (pl. 56c, 64d). Two other amphoras (pl. 46b) are of the Late Roman 2 type and may only be broadly be placed within Late Antiquity based on photographic documentation; perhaps these vessels were employed in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. following the cessation of Gaza amphora import.

<sup>160</sup> Sanders 2005, p.434. The absence of grave structures and initial identification of the coin (1933-211) led Roebuck (p.164) to interpret this as a mass burial of plague victims to be associated, too early, with three outbreaks of bubonic plague recorded from 522 to 542 (Procopius, *Hist. Arc.*, 18, 43-44). An especially late date, after 600, might be suggested for the earliest burials here due to a complete absence of terra cotta lamps, although the possibilities of lamp removal as a result of human intervention, or a varied pattern of lamp deposition outside this cavernous space, cannot be fully excluded.

later than the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. forms documented at Corinth, Athens, and elsewhere, and should be placed firmly within the 7th C., arguably near its midpoint.

The post-antique afterlife of the complex is just as important as its pre-cemetery history for establishing the character of the cemetery and avoiding interpretive pitfalls related to late activity and disturbances. It is first necessary to note what is missing from the archaeological picture of Lerna Court: the majority of the upper Late Antique layer, and in some places all such earth down to pavement level. In the north central area of the court a wall foundation and coins of Nicephorus III (1078-1081)<sup>161</sup> and a 14<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> C. Venetian issue<sup>162</sup> were excavated at elevations of .4-.6 m. above pavement.<sup>163</sup> A fragment of a marble sigma table, once considered to be furniture for Late Antique mortuary cult, was recovered in the same area at an elevation of one meter above pavement and thus can no longer be confidently associated with the cemetery.<sup>164</sup> Late coins were excavated at a variety of points in the court's southwest corner including one of Alexius I (1081-1118)<sup>165</sup> at pavement level, and some 5-12 m. west of the Middle Byzantine church at the court's southeast corner an apparent stone and tile pavement was found less than .5 m. above the original court pavement, destroying much of the Late Antique

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<sup>161</sup> Coin 1933-58

<sup>162</sup> Coin 1933-59

<sup>163</sup> This area of the court coincides with circa 40-48:SS-VV on De Waele's plans in NB0126.004; NB0136.004.

<sup>164</sup> Sanders 2005, p.430; NB0136.p28. This fragment could certainly have been an original Late Antique mortuary object re-deposited in the same place, but one cannot assume that it belongs to this location or that it is Late Antique. Lerna Court's Middle Byzantine chapel would provide an appropriate alternative context.

<sup>165</sup> Coin 1933-168

stratum.<sup>166</sup> Much of the court's southeast corner is likely to have been disturbed by the church, the south foundation trench of which extended down to pavement, and small ancillary buildings.<sup>167</sup> Finally, De Waele indicated an area southeast of the church where tile fragments and many lamps that are likely to reflect disturbed graves were found.<sup>168</sup>

While a substantial amount of manmade intervention damaged the cemetery, other intervention was natural. Due no doubt to erosion, the earth above and beyond the surviving portion of the city wall at the north edge of the Lerna Court – Asklepieion complex was noted to possess numerous Broneer type 28 lamps and Late Antique pottery that should belong to the cemetery or the fill into which the court's graves were dug.<sup>169</sup>

Other post-cemetery developments within the court, which seems to have been the center of Middle Byzantine activity within the complex, are of significance for their interaction, or lack thereof, with the Late Antique burial ground. In and around the first phase of the church, which should not date before the late 9<sup>th</sup> C., tile tent and cist graves of a type not typical for Late Antiquity were excavated at high levels and certainly belong to this church or a later phase of the site.<sup>170</sup> Several more graves in the general vicinity, although incorporated on published plans of

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<sup>166</sup> NB0113.042,053. It is difficult to obtain the precise elevation of the later floor due to the use of the modern field's surface as a benchmark. De Waele states that somewhat above a pebble floor (presumably the original court pavement) he found a floor of rough stones and tiles and gives the difference between floors at two different points as .20 and .40.

<sup>167</sup> For this two-phase chapel generally see Roebuck (p.169ff).

<sup>168</sup> NB0113.051f. Another interpretation for this deposit would be a dense concentration of tiles and other debris within the Late Antique fill preceding the cemetery.

<sup>169</sup> For these lamps and pottery see Roebuck (p.90,96); NB0113.064. Unfortunately, the objects are not individually described and do not seem to have been saved.

<sup>170</sup> These cist tombs (Grave 1932-032; Grave 1932-054) have walls of mortared field stones in one case mixed with rubble, which generally does not seem to occur at Corinth until at least the 9<sup>th</sup> C.

the Late Antique cemetery, are almost certainly of post-antique date due to their high elevations, use for multiple burials, and variations in construction technique.<sup>171</sup> Finally, the presence of two 10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> C. coins in a rock-cut tomb, where a fragmentary glazed Middle Byzantine pot was also recovered, probably indicate the laying of new burials within part of a Late Antique mortuary setting.<sup>172</sup>

The interpretation of post-cemetery activity inside the Spring House is especially significant for its potential relationship with Late Antique burials within Lerna Court. At some point the floor of this narrow space was raised to the level of the lowest step and it was converted into a kind of rustic chapel with three substantial niches, the central and largest of which possessed multiple layers of stucco with fragmentary figural painting in red and blue, carved into its east wall.<sup>173</sup> In its interior two pieces of furniture were constructed from re-used materials: a structure interpreted as a bench at west, and opposite it and directly in front of the central niche, a table consisting of two vertical supports topped by a marble plaque that must have originally belonged to a screen from a Christian basilica.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> See especially four tile graves located slightly southeast of the court's center with bottom elevations as high as high as 1.5 m. above pavement: Grave 1933-038; Grave 1933-039; Grave 1933-042; Grave 1933-043.

<sup>172</sup> While the disturbance in the rock-cut tomb (G1931-034), consisting of two L-shaped burial chambers entered above from a shared vestibule, might alternately be viewed as a coincidence not linked to knowledge of the tomb, or as an intentional deposit related to cult conducted for much earlier dead, the unusual presence of four skeletons alongside the Middle Byzantine finds within the vestibule strongly suggests that this is indeed a late burial site.

<sup>173</sup> See Roebuck 1951 (p.169) for a general description of this space. The paintings were not sufficiently preserved for any assessment of their content.

<sup>174</sup> The table's vertical supports are visible in *ibid.* pl. 24.1, which was taken after the removal of the bench. Both table supports and bench are shown in photo 1998 049 19a=BW3107. The plaque (no. 1515) forming the table surface is not illustrated by Roebuck. De Waele describes the plaque's decoration in his unpublished manuscript (p.207): on one side is a cross inscribed within a circle, and on the other side (which faced up in its phase of table re-use) is a Solomon's knot surrounded by a circular frame incorporating small guilloche circles. This plaque (of

While the basic association of this space with Christian cult is clear, its relationship with the cemetery is less certain and has received two different interpretations.<sup>175</sup> A coin of Constans II (641-651) found beneath the bench in addition to two issues from the basin's fill (641-651, 663-666) was taken literally by Roebuck as evidence for a mid-7th C. date of construction after what he thought to be a century of cemetery abandonment.<sup>176</sup> Sanders, aware that the cemetery continued until at least circa 600, took a different perspective and proposed that this "memorial chapel" was active before the mid-7th C., presumably in association with the burial ground, and based on this numismatic evidence remained in use until at least the second half of that century.<sup>177</sup> However, relying on the contents of the chapel's furniture, and materials excavated in the fill beneath its floor, I suggest that a gap may have occurred between the end of the Late Antique cemetery and the creation of this holy site.

Before the provision of a floor for the chapel, two major deposits of used terra cotta lamps, possibly intended to serve as a means of stabilizing the lower and potentially water-exposed

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which somewhat more than 25% is preserved) was drawn, although without any reference to its origin within the table construction, in one of De Waele's excavation notebooks (Corinth Notebook 0126.85), where its dimensions are recorded as 0.60X0.44X0.08 m. The closest parallel of which I know lies in the ruins of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. Basilica A at Philippi. With a central rosette instead of a Solomon's knot but generally similar in other respects, including the use of a circular guilloche frame, the Philippi screen suggests a Late Antique date for the Corinthian version; see also a slab, kept in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, incorporating multiple guilloche circular forms and dated by Orlandos (1952-1956, fig. 477.1) to the "Early Byzantine" period.

<sup>175</sup> The type and orientation of the chapel's furnishings strongly suggest an association with Christian cult, for which altar tables are customarily sited at the east end of a church, and the use of painting, a fixture of church decoration, further demonstrates that this was a space incorporating some of the most essential elements of a grander ecclesiastical setting.

<sup>176</sup> Roebuck, p.169

<sup>177</sup> Sanders 2005, p.434

south end of the Spring House, were made here in a small basin and in a connecting drain.<sup>178</sup>

The two coins of Constans II from within the basin suggest that the last lamps, if not the entire deposit, were not placed here until at least 663, while in the drain, a terminus post quem for lamp deposition in at least the 6<sup>th</sup> and as late as the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. is demonstrated by the lamps themselves. At some point following these lamp deposits earth was dumped within the Spring House and spread across the chamber's interior to create a level floor above the irregular and deteriorated original rock-cut surface. Directly below the chapel bench and possibly within this dumped fill, fragments of two Late Antique tombstones were excavated.<sup>179</sup> They most likely originate in a chamber tomb in Lerna Court or the surrounding area, the earth of which would have been conveniently exploited to enable the conversion of the Spring House into a chapel.

The presence of the tombstones here suggests that this construction project may have occurred

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<sup>178</sup> Roebuck, p.168f. More than 70 lamps, primarily Broneer types 28 and 31 of the late 5<sup>th</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. (one of the earliest lamps, L2650, possesses an erotic scene on its discus and is an imitation of a local Broneer type 27 3rd C. lamp in a white fabric and dates to the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> C.), were retrieved from the basin. The drain contained a greater variety of lamps, including Greek and Early Roman examples as well as imitations of Broneer type 31 North African and other imported lamps dating as late as the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C, and was also noted to possess stones in its fill. Roebuck considers the lamps of the drain to represent light sources used within the subterranean water maintenance system over a period of centuries and eventually collected and dumped along with stones for the purpose of raising the water level within the basin by partially blocking its outlet. The basin, on the other hand, was according to Roebuck filled with lamps generally associated with the Late Antique use of the Spring House as a water source in order to create a level foundation for the chapel's floor. In contrast, Rothaus (55ff), without addressing the drain's lamps, proposes that those from the basin were deposited individually as a component of Late Antique cult similar to that which occurred in Corinth's Fountain of the Lamps. Although an attractive idea, and perhaps an explanation for the origin of some lamps, the presence of these objects within a cavity that needed to be filled with erosion-resistant matter for the creation of a structurally stable cult space above it strongly suggests that their final deposition is based on utilitarian concerns. The source of these lamps is an entirely different question. While Roebuck may be partially correct in his suggestion of water supply light sources as the point of origin, and perhaps some relate, as Rothaus would have, to cult within the springhouse, it is quite possible that most of the later lamps were originally deposited within the court as mortuary objects, collected from the surface at some later point, and re-used as stabilizing fill.

<sup>179</sup> I-1174=Kent #539; I-1175=Kent #544. The tombstone fragments were said to originate in the bench's "foundation" (NB0136.159f).

when the cemetery was no longer in active use and had fallen into a state of disrepair, although because the bench cannot be interpreted with full certainty as an original component of the chapel's furniture the materials found beneath it do not necessarily belong to the chapel's earliest phase.

Thus, while a memory of this area as a cemetery may have been the primary factor in the decision to install a chapel in the Spring House, an interval of abandonment is possible between cemetery and chapel phases based on the fragmentary tombstones and especially the presence of coins deposited not before 663, when no cemetery use may be firmly asserted based on current chronologies for pottery and lamps. The date of the chapel's construction remains uncertain: The latest coin of Constans II from the basin beneath the chapel floor offers a *terminus post quem*, but especially in consideration of the apparent gap between cemetery and chapel and the chapel's probable status as a predecessor to the Lerna Court chapel built in the late 9<sup>th</sup> C or 10<sup>th</sup> C, there is no reason to exclude an 8<sup>th</sup> or even 9<sup>th</sup> C. date.<sup>180</sup>

### Cemetery Space and Ritual Routes

The cemetery in the Lerna Court – Asklepieion complex is relatively unusual in that, within an area of considerable size and varied topography with well-defined boundaries along most of its perimeter, the full and substantial body of surviving graves has been excavated. These

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<sup>180</sup> The Spring House chapel was the site of some form of activity until at least the 11th C., as indicated by a fragment of a yellow glaze Byzantine plate was found beneath a large stone located south of the chapel's altar (Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 62). At some point after its construction, and likely following the erection of the Lerna Court chapel in the late 9th C. or beyond, two burials were laid into its floor. One (Grave 0126.118) was constructed of tiles in an unrecorded format, while the other was a cist grave (Grave 1932-078) with walls of "rough stones" and topped by tiles and a stone slab.

conditions allow for especially close observation of the spatial development of this environment and the potential routes of movement for individuals visiting the cemetery on the occasion of funerals or small-scale post-funerary commemoration. The following section analyzes the ways in which this mortuary space, including areas free of burials, developed. Points of access and paths of movement within the cemetery, the performance of mortuary cult, and adherence to norms in the mortuary exploitation of large, previously built spaces, are identified as important factors in grave distribution and, consequently, visitor experience of the site.

Attention should first be directed to our lack of access to the full Late Antique cemetery. As a result of the natural, and more destructively, manmade disturbances described earlier, we have lost not only Lerna Court's cemetery surface but almost certainly some of its tile tent and amphora burials as well. In comparison, the loss of rock-cut tombs on the Asklepieion terrace due to disintegration of the cliff is far less severe. Assuming that post-antique interventions in Lerna Court were not carefully positioned in order to spare burials that in many cases may not have been easily detected from the post-Antique ground level, the potential loss of graves significantly alters the picture of burial distribution within the court.

Relying on excavated graves alone, two large and densely packed clusters of tile tent graves and amphora burials appear in the north-central zone of the court and along much of its western edge, and two smaller, less dense clusters are apparent in the court's southwest and southeast corners. However, when areas known to have been disturbed are included as potential burial zones, the north area becomes denser and extends slightly farther south, and the southwest and southeast corners become more fully exploited and are joined by a central southern zone into a single contiguous strip of graves. Thus, what had previously appeared to be well-defined

clusters now takes on a fuller and more integrated appearance, revealing what may have been relatively fluid lines of burials along the north, west and south sides of the court. Significant gaps, lacking burials as well as signs of disturbance, are, however, visible in the northwest, northeast, and central east sectors.<sup>181</sup> While these gaps might simply be explained as spatial artifacts of the development of extended, independent burial clusters, they might alternately be understood as spaces purposefully set aside, as explained further below.<sup>182</sup>

In contrast to the heavily disturbed court, the water reservoirs extending from it may be presumed to preserve burials, and areas free of them, with some reliability. The mortuary exploitation of these cavernous spaces seems to reflect both a desire to remain close to the court, which is arguably the ritual focal point of the cemetery and certainly possesses the greatest number of burials, and the influence of the contemporaneous use of chamber tombs built in the Early Roman period.<sup>183</sup> Finally, while the mortuary status of Reservoir V most remain

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<sup>181</sup> There is no evidence for post-Antique disturbances in this area near the level of the cemetery surface, and a significant amount of the original refuse-laden Late Antique fill seems to have been preserved. Of the small number of burials here, the majority, in the earth close to the rock-face, are tile tent graves circa one meter in length that presumably contained sub-adult burials. These have been excluded from published plans. While their elevations (circa .30-.60 m. above the abaton floor) are somewhat higher than most Late Antique burials in the court, they exhibit no characteristics in construction type that might suggest a post-antique date, and I consider them to be most likely Late Antique. Their orientation depends on the varying line of the cliff, which also directs the orientation of the marl- and rock-cut chamber tombs here; the sub-adult graves may possess familial affiliations with individuals buried in these tombs.

<sup>182</sup> Clustering, presumably based on kinship, does appear to occur in this cemetery, but is securely visible on only the smallest scale in groups typically of two or three burials which are located particularly close to one another.

<sup>183</sup> Within Reservoirs II and III, and the northern portion of Reservoir IV (Reservoir IV's southern portion, which was exploited at an especially late date, may be exceptional), graves occur as far south as 10 to 12 m. from the reservoirs' Late Antique entrances. In Reservoir III and the north portion of Reservoir IV, however, substantial spaces remain unused to the south of the mortuary zones. The distances between the reservoir entrances and the reservoir burials farthest from them approximate the interior lengths of Corinth's longest Early Roman chamber tombs, some of which were still used in the 6th C, and which doubtless informed the selection and mode of exploitation for these similar spaces in Lerna Court. For a selection of Roman chamber tomb plans see M. E. H.

unresolved, it is clear that Reservoir I and the Spring House did not accommodate Late Antique burials. Respect for the latter space as a continued source of water must have guaranteed its fate. In contrast, it is surprising that Reservoir I was not turned into a massive burial chamber; perhaps by the 6th C. it was no longer easily accessed.

The distribution of marl- and rock-cut tombs opening onto the court is largely determined by the strict constraints of topography and geology. The west face of the temple terrace (at the east side of the court) would have presented a particularly inviting environment with opportunities for the exploitation of limestone as well as more easily-worked marl; it comes as no surprise that it became home to a variety of chamber tombs. On the other hand, marl-cut tombs at the west side of the court are limited to its south end, where the highest extent of marl and stone is available to the north of Reservoir V; beyond this to the north the hillside slopes sharply down and presents an inhospitable setting for any chamber tomb. The presence of only two marl-cut chamber tombs in Reservoirs III and IV despite the presence of long walls of exposed marl is striking; perhaps the low-visibility of these interior spaces was regarded as less prestigious than the prominent zones belonging to the chamber tombs cut into the east and west edges of Lerna Court, which would have been seen by any visitor to the court.

What are we to make of spaces lacking burials in the absence of any sign of post-Antique disturbance? The two primary such zones are the central area of Lerna Court along with adjacent

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Walbank (2005, fig. 9.5); see also M.E.H. Walbank and M.B. Walbank 2006 (fig.1). Additionally, the presence of large numbers of burials in such chamber tombs further resembles the practice in Lerna Court's reservoirs and suggests that the latter spaces were regarded as ready-made chamber tombs rather than places of exceptional use or bearing a special meaning; see Slane and Sanders 2005, fn.89. The extent of mortuary exploitation for Reservoir II is uncertain due to insufficient documentation, but it is conceivable that the full 8.30 m. length of its Late Antique phase was used.

gaps in burials to the northwest and northeast, and, with the exception of its north edge and northwest corner, the entirety of the Asklepieion terrace. I suggest that these open spaces relate to a common periphery-based type of cemetery development, cemetery access routes, and the provision of space for funerary cult.

The periphery-based form of cemetery development is exhibited at Lerna Court, the Asklepieion terrace, and elsewhere. While in the adjacent ‘Gymnasium’ and ‘Hill of Zeus’ areas, and the mortuary zone above the Kodratus Basilica, large swaths of relatively open ground became densely occupied by rock-cut graves without any indication of directional expansion or reserved space, the peripheral type of cemetery formation occurs at Corinth especially in limited areas incorporating partially-standing architecture. In the Forum and Panagia Field, both of which were turned to cemetery use at approximately the same time as the last burials in the Lerna Court - Asklepieion complex or slightly thereafter, burials tend to hug building walls and line roads but are never placed in the center of large open spaces.<sup>184</sup> Although the growth of a cemetery might bring with it a gradual encroachment upon adjacent open spaces, for an early to intermediate stage of development of a well-defined and limited space one might expect burials only near an area’s fringes, as occurs at the Asklepieion and, to a lesser degree, Lerna Court.

As a large, non-ecclesiastical cemetery area, Lerna Court would have been visited on an irregular basis by sizeable groups of individuals partaking in funerary ritual. The court would have also received visits by single persons or small groups for the purposes of post-funerary commemoration and cemetery maintenance, and perhaps access to water via the springhouse.

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<sup>184</sup> These liminal positions probably function largely to protect the grave from disturbance but may also relate to efficient land use.

While commemorative ritual need not have required extensive open space or major access routes, the funeral, sometimes incorporating large groups of individuals possessing a variety of ages and levels of health, as well as transportation of the deceased on a hand-carried bier or perhaps in some cases an animal-drawn cart, would have necessitated a point of court entry via a road or relatively flat terrain. It would also have benefited from an obstruction-free path within the cemetery, and an expansive open area in which a crowd could gather for the graveside liturgy, although if the grave-packed ground above the Kodratus basilica is any indicator of the mortuary exploitation of an extensive zone, such amenities were not always present.

Through the strategic reservation of open space, which arguably occurred on at least an informally observed basis if not officially, Lerna Court fulfills all such funerary desiderata. The only physically possible point of entry for a sizeable funerary party, and one that would have been well-served by an east-west road probably located directly below at the foot of the terrace, is the court's north side.<sup>185</sup> Not surprisingly, from the court's center, where perhaps 400 individuals could have comfortably stood, to the preserved extent of its northwest corner, a grave-free corridor some two meters wide is present; a similar open area, but even wider at circa six meters, exists from the center to the court's northeast corner (pl. 8).<sup>186</sup> At least one, if not

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<sup>185</sup> An approach from the south side or southwest corner of the land surrounding the court would have been impossible due to the cliff-like drop from the higher elevations of this hillside within which Lerna Court lies at a much lower level. Entry from the stair connecting the northwest corner of the temple terrace with the northeast corner of the court is unlikely for funeral parties due to the difficulty of less able members of the party in navigating the stair and especially the problem of transporting the corpse within this space. Additionally, the north side of the court may well have been the most direct point of access for funeral parties if pre-interment services were held at a funerary church, likely the Kodratus Basilica or some unknown church within the plain north of the Lerna Court-Asklepieion complex.

<sup>186</sup> Based on the central open space as it was excavated and excluding disturbed zones which may have once possessed graves, some 200 m<sup>2</sup> of open space exists in the court's center. If one adopts a relatively generous standard of two standing persons per square meter then the resulting maximum attendance would be 400; if

both of these path-like spaces, would have accommodated the movement of the funerary party as it processed from the east-west terrace-base road and then into the court, either via a likely north-south path extending from the plain up to the court's northwest corner, or perhaps over a gentle hill now covering the remains of the city wall to the north of the court.<sup>187</sup>

The pattern of open space on the Asklepieion terrace presents some similarity with that of the court as well as important differences. While not one tomb was installed above the temple cella, or in most of the surrounding sanctuary, an east-west strip of rock-cut tombs was dug at the terrace's north edge within an area delineated by the edge of the cliff at north and west, the Roman or Late Antique deep cutting at south, and, to the extent that may be suggested from the surviving rock cap, the drain cutting at east.<sup>188</sup> A group of four rock-cut tombs located four meters northwest of the temple's foundations would also have been accessed at terrace level, and several tombs at a slightly lower elevation were probably reached from the terrace via a narrow rock ledge extending westward.

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necessary many more individuals could have gathered here but with somewhat less comfort, or the gathering area could have been extended into the space of the apparent entry routes at the court's northwest and northeast corners. The average funeral party would, of course, have been much smaller, and required far less space, than the open area of the court provided.

<sup>187</sup> Roebuck (p. 91) logically reconstructed an entrance at the northwest corner of the Greco-Roman court as direct entry from this side would in all periods have been useful; a well-constructed ascent to this corner from the plain below is therefore likely to have remained in use in Late Antiquity. While a similar Greco-Roman point of entry did not exist at the court's northeast corner, fill from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> C. or 6<sup>th</sup> C below and directly north of the partially robbed city wall, whether washed down from the court's refuse dump or deposited for the single purpose of supporting entry into the cemetery, would have potentially enabled a funeral party to cross at any point from the plain to the court including the northeast corner. The conspicuous southwest-northeast alignments of a group of tile graves beside the court's northeast open space might reflect the influence of a respected entry route (whether entering the court's northeast corner from below or descending the stair connecting the court with the Asklepieion terrace at the same corner) of the same orientation.

<sup>188</sup> It is quite conceivable that, if this high level of bedrock continued to any significant degree east of the drain, tombs may have likewise been cut further east.

This relative lack of exploitation, in comparison to the “honeycombed” appearance of the grave-filled Hill of Zeus, led Roebuck to posit a fearful Christian avoidance of burial within the polytheist sanctuary,<sup>189</sup> which was inverted by Rothaus into a Christian challenge of the site’s sanctity using Christian burials as a kind of weapon against whatever malevolent power was believed to inhabit the former sanctuary.<sup>190</sup> It is, however, difficult to ascertain Christian awareness of the history of the site, now covered by some 0.7 m. in fill, in the first place.<sup>191</sup> The Asklepieion terrace might more profitably be read through the same lenses of peripheral spatial development and the provision of pathways that appear to be present below at Lerna Court.

It should first be emphasized that, on the basis of pottery and lamps associated with graves on the terrace, burial here is a late development in relation to the earliest graves of Lerna Court, and may have begun as late as the late 6th to early 7th C. As an immature mortuary zone, graves began at the most extreme peripheries along the terrace's north side and northeast corner where,

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<sup>189</sup> Roebuck, p.161

<sup>190</sup> Rothaus, p.52ff

<sup>191</sup> The chronology of burning activity at the sanctuary in relation to the installation of rock-cut tombs lacks sufficient precision to suggest whether the site might have been well known as a former place of polytheist religion. The closest possible dates would make burning and burials nearly contemporary around the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> C., while the most distant dates would put more than a century between them. The tombstone from 524, which belonged to some tomb within the Lerna Court - Asklepieion area, suggests that the cutting down and burning of blocks, which seems an activity unlikely to occur within an active cemetery and the land directly beside it, took place at least 50 years before the mortuary exploitation of the terrace in the late 6th to early 7th C. It is at least certain that about a century or more must have existed between the latest evidence for polytheist worship and the first graves (this assumes that the column found to the east of the temple is indeed an altar and that it might have been used until some point late in the 5<sup>th</sup> C; it is more likely that such worship ceased at an earlier date). Of course, even awareness of previous polytheist activity at the site cannot be assumed to necessarily elicit a strong, negative Christian response; in Athens the Parthenon and Hephaisteion became churches in Late Antiquity or the Dark Age, and other temples, including Corinth’s so-called Temple of Apollo, seem to have been allowed to remaining standing as antique ruins (for the latest consideration of Christian use of the Parthenon and Hephaisteion see Tzavella 2008).

in the case of the northern graves, they would likely have been visible to passersby traveling on the east-west road in the plain below the terrace. A potentially related factor in the siting of the Asklepieion's rock-cut tombs is movement through the cemetery from sanctuary terrace to court (pl. 8). A north-south Roman road to the east of the sanctuary would have provided the primary entrance to the sanctuary for funeral parties burying at this higher level as well as a direct route for some individuals or small groups (but probably not large funerary parties) traveling from Corinth's central area down to the court.<sup>192</sup> The only means of such direct descent into the court in Late Antiquity was a small stair located at the northwest corner of the temple terrace.<sup>193</sup> The presence of burials in this corner, close to both the stair and other graves on this level while leaving open a gap some three meters wide between the tombs and the deep cutting, might be interpreted as both a desire to bury close to the route leading down into the court and a concern for leaving this gap, essential for stair access, free of obstacles.

These potential siting concerns, incorporating sightlines and physical proximity both within the cemetery and beyond it, cast the absence of graves along the south side of the sanctuary terrace, the east side to the extent that it has been revealed by excavation, and along much of its west side (excepting the many tombs cut in the rock below terrace level and opening onto the court) into high relief: These relatively undesirable areas would have been invisible from the

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<sup>192</sup> Roebuck, p.5f. Owing to the lack of preservation of the Greek and Roman levels at the east edge of the sanctuary the position and orientation of a road here is unclear, but one surely existed within the vicinity to serve this important district. The north-south road excavated directly east of the theater may well have continued northward until reaching the Asklepieion and finally descending into the plain. Excavation three meters east of the southeast corner of the 'Gymnasium' revealed no trace of a north-south road, although it may have been destroyed here or located slightly further to the east; on this see Wiseman 1972, p.4.

<sup>193</sup> Roebuck, p.51. Little trace of the stair, which would have been the only means of descent into the court following the demise of the monumental ramp connecting sanctuary and court in the 1<sup>st</sup> C. AD, remains.

plain below, only partially visible from the court, and are unlikely to have received foot traffic within their immediate vicinities. Thus, while it will always be difficult to identify and interpret any Christian sensitivities to sites previously possessing a polytheist religious character, trends in cemetery development as well as processional routes within cemeteries can offer important clues for the deciphering of apparent irregularities in cemetery composition.

### The 'Gymnasium' (1965-1970)

The picture of the cemetery exploitation of this region of Corinth, and especially our knowledge of the intricacies of practices related to burial, was significantly enhanced by James Wiseman's excavations of the 1960s and early 1970s conducted primarily within an area located directly to the south and southwest of the Lerna Court – Asklepieion complex and long considered as a candidate for the site of the city's Gymnasium.<sup>194</sup> Because the account of this work within the preliminary excavation reports is not comprehensive, I will refrain from detailed comments and will instead generally characterize the excavation and identify its most important findings.<sup>195</sup>

Wiseman's excavations exposed a large number of circa 6<sup>th</sup> C. burials, most of them within rock-cut chamber tombs of the typical L-shape and topped by stuccoed vaults, primarily in the

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<sup>194</sup> These excavations were conducted by Wiseman's team from the University of Texas under the auspices of the ASCSA. For reports of the excavations as well as relevant specialized studies of the results: Wesolowsky, J. B. 1973. "The Skeletons of Lerna Hollow". *Hesperia*. 42.3, p.340-351; Wiseman, J. 1972. "The Gymnasium Area at Corinth, 1969-1970". *Hesperia*. 41.1. p.1-42; *Ibid.* 1969. "Excavations in Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1967-1968". *Hesperia*. 38.1. p.64-106; *Ibid.* 1967b. "Excavations at Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1966". *Hesperia*. 36.4. p.402-428; *Ibid.* 1967a. "Excavations at Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1965". *Hesperia*. 36.1. p.13-41

<sup>195</sup> Wiseman is currently preparing the final publication of these excavations. Consequently, the substantial body of unpublished data pertinent to the burials found therein is not yet accessible.

open space between the Gymnasium's colonnades.<sup>196</sup> A much smaller body of tile tent graves and infant amphora burials, the majority of them sited directly in front of the colonnades, was also unearthed.

One of the most important results of these excavations is a clarification of the relationship between topography and mortuary space (pl. 2). While earlier excavations had revealed extensive mortuary use of the general area near the cliff, the extent to which the cemetery extended south toward the theater, which seems to be without any burials from this period, remained a question. The evidence from Wiseman's trenches within and well south of both the Gymnasium's south colonnade and the Late Antique wall that incorporated the colonnade's ruins suggests that although burials occur to the north of this line, they are non-existent to the south of it. While this wall is not part of Corinth's Late Antique wall circuit, the course of which has been largely revealed through remote sensing, it seems nonetheless to have been a widely-accepted barrier of sufficient importance to demarcate the space of a major mortuary zone.<sup>197</sup>

The other important contribution of the Gymnasium excavations relates to mortuary ritual which, due to both later disturbances and problematic excavation method, is reflected only in small measure for other burials in this part of the city. Although only a minor amount of jewelry

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<sup>196</sup> While in his initial publication Wiseman dated the earliest burials in this area to the late 4<sup>th</sup> C, in all subsequent publications he placed cemetery use of the area in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> C (for a chronological summary see Wiseman 1972). The published pottery and lamps appear to belong predominantly to the 6<sup>th</sup> C, although some might fall as late as the early 7<sup>th</sup> C. The single datable tombstone (of 'Elias') from the excavations, I-2680 (Grave 29), should belong to 552 or 557 (Walbank, M.E.H. and M.B. Walbank 2006, p.280).

<sup>197</sup> The interpretation of this wall is difficult. While it certainly does not belong to the Late Antique fortification circuit, its massive width would seemingly serve little purpose other than a defensive one, and the absence of any burials in the area to its south suggests that the wall may have been recognized as an important communal boundary. Perhaps it was constructed as an interim defensive measure at some point before the completion of the city wall, which probably occurred in the 6<sup>th</sup> C.

and personal accessories was found with the deceased, this is more than that recovered previously from the burials of all other excavations in the area combined and suggests that such small objects may at times have been overlooked during the haste of digging. An improved picture of above-ground ritual has also been enabled: In addition to further evidence for the deposition of lamps at the graveside, a smashed pot found in the debris above a rock-cut tomb raises the possibility that the rarely-documented placement, or perhaps intentional breakage, of a pot at surface level may have been an alternative to the insertion of a vessel within a tomb.<sup>198</sup>

### The ‘Hill of Zeus’ (1933)

In 1933, the final year of digging within Lerna Court, De Waele opened four test trenches on the so-called Hill of Zeus located southwest of Lerna Court (pl. 9-11).<sup>199</sup> Not surprisingly, this area was full of burials, the vast majority of them rock-cut chamber tombs assuming a typical L-shape.<sup>200</sup> The few other graves consisted of coffin-like spaces carved out of the rock and topped by slabs, a small number of tile tent graves, and a single infant burial in an amphora. A rare example of tomb decoration was noted for a rock-cut tomb in the form of a cross incised on the

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<sup>198</sup> Wiseman 1969, Grave 84

<sup>199</sup> The records for the trial trenches are kept in NB0138. As explained by J.H. Kent writing in 1949 on the first page of this notebook, “The ‘Hill of Zeus’ is apparently a mis-nomer for the ‘Hill of Zekiou’ (Ζεκίου), a Turk who lived in the neighborhood many years ago.” Unfortunately, the notes for these trenches are somewhat worse than those for the excavation of the Lerna Court – Asklepieion complex: In only a single case are skeletal remains numbered or otherwise described, and many tombs are said to have pottery without any corresponding inventory numbers.

<sup>200</sup> Trench I (north-south, 5X33 m.): 24 rock-cut tombs. Trench II (north-south, 4X20 m.): 11 rock-cut tombs, 14 tile graves. Trench III (north-south, 3X19 m.): 11 rock-cut tombs, three tile graves, one infant amphora burial, one grave of uncertain type. Trench IV (east-west, 17X3 m.): Seven rock-cut tombs. No stuccoed mounds were identified above the graves although some are likely to have existed in consideration of their presence above similar tombs elsewhere in this cemetery.

exterior surface of its lintel.<sup>201</sup> The recovery of only a single complete tombstone and six small fragments raises the possibility of substantial post-antique disturbance in this area and the probable removal of such grave markers for architectural re-use elsewhere.<sup>202</sup>

While rock-cut tombs and the less numerous tile tent graves exist within the same general areas of the cemetery, these types are not evenly interspersed with one another but are instead clustered into groups segregated by tomb type. This differentiation would thus seem to deny close familial relationships between individuals buried in tombs of different type and may signify differences in class or chronology.

A majority of burials, including all tile graves, is completely lacking in mortuary objects. Of 53 rock-cut tombs, 16 contain pottery consisting of as many as eight vessels in a single grave.<sup>203</sup> The same pottery types that are present in the Lerna Court – Asklepieion complex are

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<sup>201</sup> Trench IV Grave 2 = G1933-197

<sup>202</sup> I-1185 (Kent #717); I-1186; I-1268 (complete, Kent #545); I-1269 (Kent #529); I-1270; I-1261 (Kent #527; the inscription number is incorrectly associated with #526)

<sup>203</sup> The greatest number of pots was excavated within Trench I Grave 33 = G1933-162, also said to contain circa eight skeletons, and includes two pitchers, a jug, two cylindrical lekythoi, an imported globular lekythos, an imported mug, and an imported red slip plate. In only two instances (Trench I Grave 23 = Grave 1933-153, Trench I Grave 28 = Grave 1933-157) is the position of pottery within the tomb noted; in both it is at the east end. Unfortunately, some tombs are stated in De Waele's excavation notebook to have contained pottery, but no pots with corresponding findspots could be found at the Corinth Museum and no further description of the vessels is offered by the excavator.

represented, as well as two examples of red-slipped bowls.<sup>204</sup> The only other objects recovered are a metal vessel, perhaps an incense burner,<sup>205</sup> and a single glass bead.<sup>206</sup>

While, based on pottery, the Hill of Zeus should chronologically overlap with at least some of the Lerna Court – Asklepieion complex’s late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. chamber tombs in addition to the pit burials in the rear portion of Reservoir IV, ceramic variation may reflect a slightly earlier phase, different consumer habits, or both factors.<sup>207</sup> The latest pottery within the Hill of Zeus trenches, including local pitchers and imported lekythoi, is nearly identical to specimens from the Asklepieion area and likewise finds parallels in late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. contexts in Andritsa Cave and Athens.<sup>208</sup> The red-slipped bowl also offers a date of circa 600, and several fragments of imitation North African lamps (Broneer type 31) should date to about the same time or perhaps a little earlier.<sup>209</sup> Taken as a whole, however, the ceramic assemblages are visibly different: On the Hill of Zeus, there is a far higher percentage of imported fine wares (44% of

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<sup>204</sup> In addition to the red slip bowl from Trench I Grave 33 = G1933-162, two non-joining fragments that appear to belong to a single bowl or plate were recovered from the same grave or Trench I Grave 35 = G1933-164 and may reflect either an intentionally deposited vessel or debris from a funerary or commemorative meal that subsequently slipped into the tomb.

<sup>205</sup> Trench III Grave 4 = G1933-180. This apparently uninventoried object is described as a “bronze cup with cover” and was found along with three pots.

<sup>206</sup> Trench I Grave 31 = G1933-160.

<sup>207</sup> Some of the rock-cut tombs without any pottery might be considerably earlier, but such a dating in the absence of positive evidence cannot be assured.

<sup>208</sup> For the Andritsa Cave and Athenian pottery, see p. 223.

<sup>209</sup> The red-slipped bowl, from Trench II Grave 33 = G1933-162, possesses the same form as Slane and Sanders assemblage 3-16 = C-1956-33 (late 6<sup>th</sup> C.). The fragmentary lamps (one from Tomb 11 or 12 from an uncertain trench and the two others from Trench III Grave 4 = G1933-180, and Trench II Grave 33 = G1933-162 or Trench I Grave 35 = G1933-164, which are the product of especially worn moulds and appear to have jeweled crosses on their discuses, are likely the result of commemorative activity above the graves and entered the tomb chambers by accident or the intentional deposition of fill.

known vessels, mostly piriform and globular lekythoi, in comparison to 21% at the Asklepieion – Lerna Court complex), which is chiefly due to a higher percentage of imported piriform and globular kelythoi (33% versus 17%). While some of this variation may be due to consumer behavior, especially choices made between relatively inexpensive, and small, lekythoi and other local coarsewares versus presumably more expensive imported finewares, slight differences in the forms of many vessels from the Hill of Zeus may reflect the inclusion of a slightly earlier period of use in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. Although a higher resolution of ceramic dating than currently exists is required to differentiate with confidence between Attic finewares of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and early 7<sup>th</sup> C, a relatively early date is suggested by two tall coarseware pitchers from tombs on the Hill of Zeus that appear to be somewhat earlier than similar vessels from the late 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>210</sup> Finally, while no firm conclusions may be based on the very small body of tombstone fragments unearthed at the cemetery, what survives generally supports a relatively early date: Most are on marble rather than the schist plaques typical of the 6<sup>th</sup> C., and while a fragmentary piece includes an indiction reference characteristic of epitaphs of the late 6<sup>th</sup> C. (and perhaps somewhat before),<sup>211</sup> the single complete tombstone features relatively earlier language in the absence of an indiction date and arguably was not manufactured later than the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>212</sup>

#### The 1896 Campaign (Westernmost Burials)

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<sup>210</sup> C-1933-1515 (Trench III Grave 4 = G1933-180); C-1933-1522 (Trench I Grave 33 = G1933-162). Potentially ‘early’ features on the vessels, in comparison to Slane and Sanders Assemblage 3-40 = C-1978-226 (late 6<sup>th</sup> C.) and similar pitchers, include gently rounded bodies with ridging, more pronounced curvature of the neck, and for C-1933-1515 an ear-shaped handle.

<sup>211</sup> I-1269=Kent #529

<sup>212</sup> I-1268=Kent #545

The first graves unearthed at this site (and indeed all of Corinth) through archaeological investigation were found within Trench II during Corinth's inaugural 1896 season under the joint direction of the ASCSA and AIA.<sup>213</sup> This trench, actually composed of three discrete segments (two segments aligned north-south with a gap between them, and a third east-west segment extending to the east from this gap) was laid at the edge of the terrace some 200 m. to the west of Lerna Court in a horseshoe-shaped hollow that was hoped to signal the presence of an odeion below the surface.<sup>214</sup> While the cavea-like appearance of the earth was deceptive, the trench did reveal 14 rock-cut tombs, some of which were described as having arches of stones in addition to ubiquitous stone slab covers above their entry shafts, and most of which received an east-west orientation.<sup>215</sup> Skeletal remains survived in nearly all of the tombs, and in about half was pottery dismissed as "coarse, unglazed, [unpainted] red ware, which could lay no claim to great antiquity".<sup>216</sup> Unfortunately, aside from a brief notebook entry and sketch plan, no

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<sup>213</sup> G1896-01 collectively identifies these burials. Brief descriptions were published as part of annual reports: ASCSA 1896 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Report; Richardson 1897 (p.458-460). A plan indicating the relation of this trench to much later excavated land to its east is available in Corinth Plan 220-032=61-1. Wiseman (1966, pl. 22) also published the 1896 trenches on his own plan of the area, but in this drawing Trench II is located farther northwest than in the earlier plan and is at an incorrect scale (the combined lengths and width of the north-south segment should be some 40X3m; here they are roughly twice these values). Neither drawing, both of which present an L-shaped trench configuration, matches the notebook sketch (NB0001.062) and published description of the trench's shape, in which the south-west segment intersects the space between the two north-south segments rather than occupying a position at the south end of the southernmost north-south segment. The nearest landmark to Trench II is the bath known as the 'Fountain of the Lamps', located some 60 m. to the east in a hollow below the plateau.

<sup>214</sup> Before the 1896 trial trenches, the only visible ancient structure within the ancient city was the partially standing 'Old Temple', which would become commonly known as the Temple of Apollo. The trial trenches were laid out with the goal of unearthing monumental structures that would provide an indication of the ancient city plan and enable future systematic excavations.

<sup>215</sup> The number of tombs from this trench is given as 13 in the published account but as both 13 and 14 in the field notebook. This small discrepancy might be accounted for by the discovery of a single north-south grave in the E-W portion of the L shaped Trench II and potentially excluded from the smaller total.

<sup>216</sup> Richardson 1897, 459

documentation was considered necessary for Trench II's graves, their skeletons, or their pottery in this era of Classically-driven archaeology. Based on the following century's excavation of similar graves of the 6th to early 7th C. stretching from the nearby Hill of Zeus and Gymnasium eastward to the Asklepieion, it is possible at least to place these burials within Late Antiquity, and probably within a chronology roughly contemporary to known graves from the area.<sup>217</sup>

## Conclusion

The four major burial areas of this chapter have been separately considered due to their different locations, the varying methods of excavation applied to them, and the widely ranging quantity and quality of data available to the author. It should be stressed that, although these areas no doubt possess subtle variations in chronology and probably developed at different rates, they eventually formed together a massive cemetery space defined by the natural boundary of the cliff at north and a manmade wall at south. No clear boundaries exist at east and west; it is likely that burials extended along the terrace wherever bedrock was easily accessed. While a lack of excavation across most of the terrace does not allow one to say if other cemetery areas are so extensive or densely packed with tombs, the presence of a Late Antique cult site, the subterranean "Fountain of the Lamps", in a rock crevice directly beneath the cliff and west of the Hill of Zeus, might have endowed the space around it with an attractive spiritual character and

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<sup>217</sup> The presence of coarse red pots in many graves would suggest a date in the late 6th or early 7th C, when ceramics fitting this basic description are found in Corinthian burials with some frequency. The circa 50% of tombs without pottery could indicate a somewhat earlier date or reflect a variation in contemporary practice.

encouraged burial within the vicinity.<sup>218</sup> From a utilitarian perspective, the peripheral position of this zone, and the presence of many ruined buildings that seem to have served little function other than the reception of dumped waste, would have further made it a good candidate for a mortuary role.

Despite many commonalities amongst the burial areas considered, a stark difference in relation to tomb types emerges: Lerna Court is full of tile graves, and everywhere else such burials are rare despite chronological overlap. I suggest that the explanation for this irregularity lies in the price of a grave.<sup>219</sup> The emulation of stuccoed mounds, apparently the norm for contemporary rock-cut tombs, by at least some tile tent graves implies that those burying within this tomb type would have preferred to do so in a rock-cut format. Their reason for not constructing their grave of choice is most likely an economic one. While direct evidence for the cost of burial within a tile tent grave is lacking, the tremendous, and relatively consistent cost of a rock-cut tomb, documented on a small number of tombstones and far exceeding any labor cost for the grave's creation, must have consisted in part of a fee to the church or local government.

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<sup>218</sup> The Fountain of the Lamps, actually a dilapidated Hellenistic bathhouse, received some 4,000 lamps, several of them inscribed, as well as a small number of lead curse tablets. The lamps seem to have been placed within a large pool of water within this cave-like setting at a time when the building was in disrepair and the interior was flooded. Based on the lamp inscriptions some dedicants were presumably Christians, although some magical formulas could have been scratched by followers of any religion. While the latest lamps from the 'fountain' date to at least the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. and probably beyond, and are thus contemporary with some burials in the area, the earliest lamps are glazed Attic imports that can date no later than the mid-5<sup>th</sup> C. and are earlier than any known Late Antique grave in this part of the city. The 'fountain' and the area immediately outside it were excavated by James Wiseman, who is currently preparing a final publication. Jordan, D. 1994. "Inscribed Lamps from a Cult at Cornith in Late Antiquity". *The Harvard Theological Review*. 87.2. p.223-229; Garnett, K.S. 1975. "Late Roman Corinthian Lamps from the Fountain of the Lamps". *Hesperia*. 44.2. p.173-206; Wiseman 1972; Wiseman 1969.

<sup>219</sup> For the purchasing of graves see generally p. 237-238.

There must also have been alternative pricing based on tomb type or location for those of lesser means.

As a sunken area filled with dumped waste and surrounded on three sides by walls of rock and earth, Lerna Court may have been a relatively unattractive setting in comparison to the higher ground occupied by the other burial areas, and due to the state of its pavement, bedded by soft marl, would not have been a structurally sound location for the popular L-shaped rock-cut tomb type. One might speculate that, as a site where such high-cost tombs could not occur, the court was set aside as a particularly low-cost option. Further evidence for a correlation between inexpensive graves and relatively undesirable locations might be found in the area of the Gymnasium colonnade where the majority of the small number of known tile graves outside Lerna Court is situated just beyond or slightly within the colonnade's remains, and thus avoiding the open area which is packed with rock-cut tombs. The descendants of those burying in tile graves here and in Lerna Court, or at least those unable to rise socially, may perhaps be found in the rear of Reservoir IV, where some 100 individuals following the same trends in pottery deposition as those practiced by their contemporaries in rock-cut tombs were buried in the earth around the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> C.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE FORUM AREA CEMETERY

#### Introduction

Corinth's Forum and the area immediately surrounding it are both the single largest contiguous zone of the excavated site and the most intensively studied since the first test trenches were dug in 1896 (pl. 12-38, Appendix C).<sup>220</sup> This district of the ancient city, which fell outside the contracted line of the Late Antique settlement, also offers the most important body of evidence for mortuary practices from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., when more than 100 graves were laid within its ruins. In this chapter the history of modern excavation of the Forum's burials is first summarized, followed by a detailed consideration of the graves according to their cluster-based locations: the South Stoa, South Basilica, Central Shops and Bema Church, West Terrace, Forum Northwest, Peirene Fountain, Forum East, and the Greater Forum Area. Problems associated with Middle Byzantine activity at the Forum, especially the differentiation between Late Antique graves and burials of that later era, are identified in relation to these clusters. Finally, the cemetery's chronology and spatial development, in which non-Greek immigrants seem to have played a special role, are assessed.

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<sup>220</sup> All Late Antique graves, and additional graves of uncertain date but provided with notebook descriptions, are included in Appendix C with the exception of those of uncertain date from the excavations at Temple Hill's church, which are likely to be primarily of Middle Byzantine or later date. All orientations are approximately east-west unless otherwise stated. Because excavators frequently used their own grids, grid references should generally be considered in relation to relevant notebooks plans rather than any master plan.

## Excavation at the Forum

From the inaugural excavation year of 1896 onward, hundreds of graves with dates ranging from the Geometric Period until the Ottoman occupation have been uncovered in the Forum.<sup>221</sup> Dozens of excavators, including university students and Corinth's directors, took part in this undertaking in addition to hundreds of local Greek laborers. The quality of their records, which varies tremendously until the implementation of a basket-based excavation system by Director Henry Robinson in the 1960s, impacts any study of these remains profoundly. Analysis of the Late Antique graves is especially challenging: In many cases they cannot be directly dated due to a lack of deposited objects, and nearly all were brought to light in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> C., when the archaeology of Late Antiquity and beyond was customarily treated with far less care than that of earlier periods. As a result, the basic assignment of a grave to Late Antiquity (or a later period) must frequently rely on its proximity to another grave possessing artifacts, or its physical relationship with structures of ancient as well as post-Antique date.<sup>222</sup>

Writing in 1957, Scranton identified nine Forum area burial clusters of varying size, in addition to a small number of scattered graves, dating from Late Antiquity to the Late Byzantine period.<sup>223</sup> Only three of these were considered of probable Late Antique origin: 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C.

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<sup>221</sup> See Richardson (1897) for the initial trenches. By the mid-20<sup>th</sup> C. the vast majority of the Forum proper had been dug, leaving only a portion of land at the site's extreme southwest corner for excavation from the 1960s until the 1990s.

<sup>222</sup> The Forum's pre-Classical burials are so distinctive in their tomb types, objects, and the position of the dead that there is rarely a question of their identification.

<sup>223</sup> Scranton 1957, p.29. Cemeteries which Scranton believed active in the 9<sup>th</sup> C. or later are the southeast portion of the South Basilica, the Bema (and its church), the north end of the West terrace (the Monastery of St. John), Temple E, the Hemicycle complex together with the East end of the North Market, the Julian Basilica together with the Southeast Building, and West of the Temple of Apollo. Subsequent excavation has added to this picture by exposing a substantial cemetery associated with a Frankish hospital and church complex west of the south half of the West

graves at the west end of the South Stoa and the south end of the West Shops, 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. graves in the court of the Peirene Fountain, and graves of the late 4th C. or somewhat later in the Julian Basilica and Southeast Building. As we will see, although Scranton was partially correct in his basic identification of Late Antique cemeteries, substantial refinement, and in a few cases complete chronological reclassification, is possible based on close analysis of mortuary contexts as well as the incorporation of new evidence brought to light in the half century after he wrote. The following section therefore presents the Late Antique burials of the greater Forum area cluster-by-cluster, taking into account all surviving archaeological data including aspects of tomb construction, complete object assemblages, and basic skeletal data. This journey across the space of the Forum begins at the west end of the South Stoa, home to the largest, and most object-rich, burial cluster.

### South Stoa

Primarily within the western third of the stoa's deconstructed colonnade, but also inside several rooms to the south as well as the area directly north of the building, are 19 tombs of probable or certain Late Antique date (pl. 14-15).<sup>224</sup> A majority of the graves assume a cist format, cut into the hard stereo with slab-covered surfaces roughly at the level of the stoa stylobate, and are constructed with varying degrees of sophistication. Nearly all abut, or lie

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Shops, more burials between the West Shops and the South Stoa in the Forum's extreme southwest corner, a few graves at the northeast corner of Temple E's peribolos and two to its south, and tombs within and just outside the Christian basilica north of the Temple of Apollo.

<sup>224</sup> Access to this area would have been most directly obtained via a connection with the Acrocorinth Road at the colonnade's northwest corner, although one could have certainly approached the burial cluster from the east by traversing the length of the colonnade or from the north by ascending on foot the ruins of the Forum's Central Stair.

extremely close to, the pre-existing architecture of the stoa including shop walls, the surviving foundations of the interior colonnade, and the building's front stylobate.

Six of the tombs in the South Stoa west cluster, half within the former colonnade and the other half in the ruins of the building's bath and latrine, are directly datable to Late Antiquity based on their artifacts. Slightly northeast of a column foundation, what is arguably Corinth's most famous Late Antique interment (Grave 1938-010, pl. 88a-93c), dubbed the grave of the "wandering soldier", was made within a slab-lined cist and accompanied by a variety of exceptional objects, including weapons, dating to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>225</sup> Another grave (Grave 1933-203, pl. 93d) approximately one meter to the south of the wandering soldier's tomb is of nearly identical construction and likewise contains a single individual wearing a mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. bronze buckle at the waist.<sup>226</sup> Less than one meter north of shop 27's front wall a third individual clutching in his hand an iron knife and iron light striker with flint was interred within a pit grave (Grave 1950-008, pl. 94a-c).<sup>227</sup> Lastly, at the eastern edge of the South Stoa's western burial cluster and within the fill of a Frankish bothros, the excavator recovered a bronze buckle dating to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 95a-b) and possibly belonging to a disturbed burial.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> For a full discussion of this tomb, the focus of a 1974 article (Davidson Weinberg, G., 1974, "A Wandering Soldier's Grave in Corinth", *Hesperia* 43, No. 4, p. 512-521), see p. 250-251.

<sup>226</sup> Bronze buckle: MF7228

<sup>227</sup> On this burial see further p. 252. Iron knife: MF9458; iron light striker with flint: MF13705. The presence of these implements offers strong evidence for a date in the 7th-8th C., the only period during which light strikers appear as mortuary artifacts in Greece.

<sup>228</sup> Notebook 170, p.34. Bronze buckle: MF7072 (Davidson 2187). The scarcity of buckles in non-mortuary contexts suggests that this example may have belonged to an otherwise unknown grave disturbed by the construction

Turning to the stoa's rooms south of the colonnade, we encounter two tombs (Grave 1937-008-009, Grave 1937-015-019) at the northeast corner of a Roman latrine.<sup>229</sup> The northernmost tomb (Grave 1937-015-019, pl. 95c-111a) took advantage of an east-west brick-lined drain, directly south of the north wall belonging to the latrine proper, as a kind of ready-made cist which received eight individuals buried within three surviving layers.<sup>230</sup> A mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. date for this tomb's inaugural use is provided by a pitcher and fragmentary bronze buckle from the lowest layer, while interments in the middle and upper layers, which were notably accompanied by spears, iron knives, and iron light strikers in addition to other items, may be placed at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> or, more likely, the 8<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of a Corinth type iron buckle and especially a bronze finger ring.<sup>231</sup>

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of the bothros or post-antique walls located within the immediate vicinity; perhaps an intact iron knife MF6781 (Davidson 1569) found within the bothros belongs to the same grave.

<sup>229</sup> In its initial phase the latrine consisted of a vestibule fronting the latrine proper, which took the form of a square peristyle court; if the state of the building's walls as excavated is in any way indicative of their Late Antique condition, the latrine would have remained at least partially intact, while little of the vestibule's front wall survived. The result would have been an open space connecting the South Stoa's colonnade via the vestibule to the latrine. For the condition of some of the latrine's walls (in addition to post-antique constructions) as excavated see Broneer (1954, pl. 53.1). The highest-preserved wall is the latrine's east wall (originally a Hellenistic wall separating two of the stoa's shops), rising to a full height of 2.65 m., or at least 1.25-1.65 m. above the elevated latrine floor, which seems also to have been the approximate surface level when burials were placed here in Late Antiquity (on this wall see *ibid.*, p.152). Although the latrine vestibule might have deteriorated disproportionately since Late Antiquity, the design of its north wall, pierced by two doorways that together account for approximately half of the width of this side of the building, would have rendered it especially vulnerable to damage by earthquake; almost nothing of this wall survives today above stylobate level.

<sup>230</sup> For a full discussion of this tomb see p. 252-255. The bones of an apparent eighth individual were found scattered throughout the tomb and likely belong to the final individual buried here and therefore most vulnerable to any environmental disturbance from above.

<sup>231</sup> Trefoil oinochoe: C-37-1400; fragmentary bronze buckle: MF7078; Corinth type iron buckle: MF7092; iron finger ring: MF7087 (Davidson 1864)

The other grave (Grave 1937-008-009) within the latrine was installed some 3 m. south of the first tomb within a space framed at east by the latrine's east wall, at west by the stylobate of the latrine colonnade, and probably at north and south by column bases of the peristyle (pl. 111a-116b). Consisting of a rectangular burial chamber roofed by a double layer of eight narrow column shafts laid flat, the tomb's interior was accessed at east via a vertical shaft. While the skeletons of the minimum five individuals, laid out in two layers, were not well preserved, the remains of plants, perhaps including flowers, remarkably survived upon the skulls of one or two individuals where they were surely placed within the context of mortuary ritual.<sup>232</sup> Equally unusual is the preservation of dark brown and black cloth clinging to the bones of multiple individuals.<sup>233</sup> Clothing accessories and jewelry from this tomb offer secure evidence for a Late Antique date: At the waist of one skeleton, an 8th to 9th C. trapezoidal buckle with geometric decoration was uncovered along with two bronze rings and, amongst eight glass beads recovered from the earth of the tomb, are blue melon seed-shaped beads of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>234</sup>

Nestled within the northeast corner of the latrine's vestibule another tomb (Grave 1937-013, pl. 116b-117a) may reasonably be dated to the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of its construction type, which combines a flat slab-covered roof with vertical entry shaft at east and is close in

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<sup>232</sup> Although these vegetal remains were not documented beyond the description offered here, they may have been saved by the excavator and stored along with the textile fragments, which are accompanied by what appear to be plant stems.

<sup>233</sup> Textile fragments: MF 7391. These exceptionally rare fragments were said to be "visible only on the upper parts of the bodies" (Corinth Notebook 0170, p.175); presumably they were preserved above waist level rather than on the anterior portions of the deceased.

<sup>234</sup> Trapezoidal buckle: MF7225 (Davidson 2216); bronze rings: MF7226; eight glass beads: MF6949 (Davidson 2434, 2467, 2469, 2476, 2490, 2491). Also sieved from the tomb's earth were a pair of silver earrings of simple form (MF7039) and, unusual within mortuary contexts, an iron key (MF7147) which was perhaps originally worn as a belt ornament.

concept to the previously described Grave 1937-008-009. On the burial chamber's floor lay four skeletons probably belonging to two adults and two early adolescents.

Finally, somewhat east of the latrine a tomb (Grave 1937-005) was built at the southeast corner of the stoa's Late Antique bath within a small room that may have originally served as a fuel depot (pl. 11bb-118b).<sup>235</sup> Although its architectural type was not recorded, it was probably a vaulted or flat-roofed tomb with vertical entry shaft due to the presence of a masonry block, probably serving as a step, at its east end. Amidst the bones of multiple individuals, the excavator recovered two buckles, one of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. Corinth type in bronze and the other a miniature bow buckle in iron.<sup>236</sup>

Although the vast majority of Late Antique burials within the South Stoa's west cluster are located in the open air space where the western third of its colonnade once stood, five additional graves, situated just outside the stoa to the north, are of probable Late Antique date. Three (Grave 1904-001, Grave 0175.041, Grave 1937-025) were constructed against the north face of the South Stoa colonnade's stylobate, while the fourth (Grave 1938-017) and fifth (Grave 1953-002) were sited some 10 m. farther north and close to the face of the South Stoa's terrace wall.<sup>237</sup>

The easternmost tomb (Grave 1937-025, pl. 119a-121c, 127b) of this group is the best-documented, and features a roof incorporating two segments of the South Stoa's marble gutter in addition to a split column serving as a lintel. A vertical entry shaft likely provided entry from

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<sup>235</sup> On the function of the room into which the tomb was built, see Broneer 1954, p.146.

<sup>236</sup> Corinth-type buckle: MF7066 (Davidson 2193); miniature bow buckle: MF7116

<sup>237</sup> A fifth grave (Grave 1946-003) was also built against the terrace wall approximately six meters west of Grave 1938-017, but its occupation by a young subadult, probably an infant, suggests that it is best identified as one of the many Middle Byzantine single subadult burials scattered throughout the area.

the east.<sup>238</sup> The remains of 15 individuals including both adults and subadults lay within the burial chamber in four overlapping layers; a coarse pot, probably manufactured in the late 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> C. was deposited between the heads of two adults from the third layer, while another adult from the same layer wore a small buckle at the waist.<sup>239</sup>

Little is known regarding the two other tombs built against the stylobate of the South Stoa's colonnade. The westernmost grave (Grave 1904-001), inserted within an angle formed by the stylobate and a north-south line of re-used Archaic columns, possessed a vertical entry shaft and contained the bones of multiple individuals. Between Grave 1904-001 and Grave 1937-025 the remains of a section of tile floor were uncovered along with a small number of human bones and presumably belongs to a tomb (Grave 0175.041) of some pretension which has been almost completely destroyed.

Finally, some 12 m. northeast of Grave 1904-001 a tomb (Grave 1938-017, pl. 122a-125a) was constructed against the north face of the South Stoa's terrace retaining wall. This largely still-standing structure conspicuously employs as the majority of its roof an abacus block taken from the nearby archaic colonnade, while at east stood a now-vanished entry shaft. The remains of 13 individuals of both sexes, and with ages ranging from older adolescence to advanced adulthood, rested on the burial chamber's floor.<sup>240</sup> Well to the east of this tomb, and in a zone incorporating multiple infant burials which appear to be of Middle Byzantine date based on their

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<sup>238</sup> Despite the appearance of the tomb's eastern facade in the sole published photograph, which would seem to portray the door as the single point of entry, a slightly earlier photograph reveals what are likely the lowest stones of a vertical entry shaft directly east of the tomb.

<sup>239</sup> Pot: C-37-2020. A simple bronze earring (discarded) was retrieved from the second burial layer.

<sup>240</sup> A simple bronze earring (MF7845) was the only object accompanying the dead.

proximity to late walls, an infant was buried (Grave 1953-002) within fragments of 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. amphoras (C-53-83, C-53-84) (pl. 129.a-b) which were framed by poros slabs.

Although three of the five above graves are not directly datable by mortuary objects, a Late Antique date, probably in the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., may be offered for them based on their location, relationships with nearby structures, and construction materials and technique.<sup>241</sup> These tombs, creating a northern border for the South Stoa burials, at least some of which should be earlier, therefore both acknowledge and, through their relatively ornate and conspicuous superstructures, enhance the communal mortuary character of this space.

Of the remaining majority of the South Stoa's western graves which, with the exception of two pit graves, appear to be spolia-lined cists, most are not directly datable owing to both a general absence of mortuary objects and lack of detailed documentation within excavation notebooks.<sup>242</sup> Some, like a pit grave (Grave 1937-006, pl. 125b-126a) in which the skull was found upon the thighs rather than at the burial's destroyed west end, were significantly disturbed by post-Antique buildings; they may therefore be reasonably considered to be Late Antique.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> These tombs fall within the general east-west limits of the Late Antique burial cluster inside the South Stoa's west end and are built in direct reference to the stoa rather than any post-Antique structures. In fact, post-Antique walls run over Grave 1937-025 and Grave 1904-01, while walls of similar date appear to respect Grave 1938-017. The flat roof and mortared rubble masonry of the west wall of Grave 1938-017 should not date before the late 7<sup>th</sup> C. and could easily belong to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C., and a relatively late date within the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. for this grave as well as Grave 1904-001 is supported by the near-total absence of objects, including clothing accessories and jewelry of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 8<sup>th</sup> C., that are not uncommon in Late Antique burials.

<sup>242</sup> Grave 1904-002, Grave 1937-006, Grave 1937-011, Grave 1937-012, Grave 1937-021, Grave 1938-002, Grave 1938-003, Grave 1938-004, Grave 1938-007 (in which an uninventoried vessel, probably a bowl or cup, was deposited at the east end, pl. 126b-127b), Grave 1938-015 (containing a small bronze ring-like object, MF7813, pl. 127b-128c), Grave 1950-001 (pl. 130a-b), Grave 1950-005, Grave 1950-007, Grave 1952-001, Grave 1972-010 (pl. 130c), Grave 0027.025

<sup>243</sup> Other graves lying beneath post-antique walls or adjacent to such walls or pithoi and bearing traces of disturbance include: Grave 1904-002, Grave 1938-004, Grave 1938-07, Grave 1950-005, Grave 1972-010, and two

However, graves housing only subadults, and in particular single infant burials, are likely to be of Middle Byzantine date or later due to the presence of securely dated post-Antique infant burials scattered throughout the area and generally identifiable by their construction beside post-Antique walls.<sup>244</sup> Some adult burials lacking datable objects or chronologically diagnostic architecture may likewise be of post-Antique date as evidenced by Grave 1950-004, which was renovated, if not initially constructed, in the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>245</sup>

In contrast to the densely occupied west end of the South Stoa, the central and eastern regions of this expansive building were hardly exploited for burial in any period: Eight total graves lay here, and of these, only three may be assigned to Late Antiquity with some measure of confidence (pl. 16-17).<sup>246</sup> At the stoa's center, and at the west end of the entrance to the oval

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otherwise undocumented graves located at 43-44:x-y and 48-49:m on a plan within the back pocket of Corinth Notebook 0178.

<sup>244</sup> Seven subadult burials (Grave 1937-012, Grave 1937-021, Grave 1938-001, Grave 1938-006, Grave 1938-012, Grave 1938-015, Grave 1952-001) within the South Stoa west cluster are therefore likely to be of post-Antique date. Grave 1950-007 is more questionable: Cut through the Roman latrine's concrete floor, it stands conspicuous as the only individual subadult burial in this area but is situated between two Late Antique tombs (Grave 1937-008-009, Grave 1937-015-019).

<sup>245</sup> This built tomb (Corinth Notebook 0230, pp. 32-36), the roof of which did not survive, was located at the east edge of the stoa's west burial cluster and possessed an orientation which follows the alignment of an adjacent post-antique wall, deviating slightly from the stoa's orientation. Most importantly, it employs at its west end a kind of tile 'bench' beneath which lay a pile of bones belonging to an adult in addition to two partially articulated individuals interred within the chamber proper; such a bench does not occur in any Corinthian Late Antique grave but does find a parallel in a 12th –early 13th C. tomb excavated in Sparta's theater (Morgan, C. et al. 2009. "Archaeology in Greece 2008-2009". *Archaeological Reports*. 55. pp.29-31).

<sup>246</sup> Other, non-securely Late Antique burials include two undocumented graves of uncertain type, noted only on a Forum top plan, lie to the northwest of the "council house", one within the colonnade and the other just outside the stoa; although the former could be a Late Antique construction the other is clearly not due to its alignment with and close proximity to the wall of a post-Antique building. Farther east, a simple subadult burials in a cist (Grave 1934-009),-was located north of the foundation of a Roman propylon constructed within the line of the South Stoa (shops 10-11) and providing access to the South Basilica. Finally, during the inaugural season of excavation in 1896 a tomb (Grave1896-004) covered by a line of well-squared blocks came to light within the vicinity of the stoa's southeast

room known as the “council house”, two graves (Grave 1936-006, Grave 1948-001) were cut into the bedrock. In each case, a vertical shaft led down to a burial chamber extending toward the west and containing the disturbed remains of an uncertain number of individuals. While Grave 1948-001 (pl. 131c) was devoid of objects, Grave 1936-006 (pl. 131a-b) possessed at its east end two early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. piriform lekythoi that provide an approximate date for the use of both tombs, which are unlikely to be separated by a lengthy interval.<sup>247</sup>

Finally, at the stoa’s east end, a vaulted tomb (Grave 1934-001, pl. 132a-133a) may tentatively be offered a Late Antique date due to its construction against the south side of the stoa’s terrace wall, a position comparable to the Late Antique tombs built against the colonnade stylobate and terrace wall at the South Stoa’s west end.<sup>248</sup> Moreover, its roof seems to have consisted of stone voussoirs, a feature best placed in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. Five meters northeast of this tomb, a small cist or tile tent grave (Grave 1933-195), probably containing a subadult and of uncertain date, was installed.

### South Basilica

An especially dense cluster of more than 30 graves was uncovered within the footprint of the South Basilica, located immediately south of the east half of the South Stoa and razed for the

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corner; while this grave’s brief description in the excavation notebook permits a Late Antique date, a later chronology cannot be ruled out.

<sup>247</sup> Lekythoi: C-36-193, C-36-202.

<sup>248</sup> The tomb was excavated and published by Broneer (1935, “Excavations in Corinth, 1934”, *AJA*, p. 53-75 (55, fig. 2)). Unfortunately, our knowledge of the interior is obtainable only through a single photograph (pl. 133a), and a similar drawing, which displays a mass of disarticulated bones.

construction of an elaborately appointed apsidal structure in the 5<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 18)<sup>249</sup> These burials, once dated by Scranton to approximately the 13<sup>th</sup> C., were correctly reassessed by Ivison as products of Late Antiquity, although as we shall see, his 7<sup>th</sup> C. date for the cluster should be revised to the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. and later.<sup>250</sup>

Unfortunately, the analysis of the South Basilica graves is made unusually difficult due to inadequate documentation; in many cases all that may be said is that a grave once existed in a particular grid square. Only three graves, all built tombs, may be securely placed within Late Antiquity based on internal characteristics. The most northerly of these, a tomb (Grave 1934-005, pl. 133b) roofed by one or more stone slabs, stood close to the center of the burial cluster and extended at west slightly beneath a wall of the apsidal building; it contained some five skeletons.<sup>251</sup> Most importantly, a coarseware round-mouthed pitcher, which intriguingly sheltered fragments of thin glass, was recovered from the tomb and may be dated broadly to the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>252</sup> Next, at the southern edge of the burial cluster a tomb (Grave 1934-007, pl. 134a) described only as “large”, contained a fragmentary bronze earring of simple form, a small bronze

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<sup>249</sup> The precise number of graves is difficult to judge due to the paucity of documentation within the excavation notebook. More graves appear on notebook plans (Corinth Notebook 0142 p. 006, 007, 101, 125) than are mentioned in the text, and in several cases it is not clear from the plans whether interments situated close to one another belong to a single tomb or represent individual graves. At a minimum, 33 graves appear to be present. For the Late Antique apsidal structure, see p. 35.

<sup>250</sup> Scranton 1957, p. 29f; Ivison 1996, p. 110f. Scranton’s chronology was based on the presence of intrusive Late Byzantine coins and sherds within the foundation wall of the apsidal structure.

<sup>251</sup> While limited documentation does not permit a clear assessment of the chronological relationship between tomb and wall, it is far more likely that the builders of the tomb cut into the wall’s foundation than an otherwise unevicenced phase of the apsidal building dating to the 8<sup>th</sup> C. or later partially covered a pre-existing grave.

<sup>252</sup> Pitcher: C-34-260. The glass fragments, most likely belonging to an unguentarium, were not inventoried. Their presence within the pitcher is highly unusual and without logical relation to any ritual incorporating the liquids contained within the vessels. A cleaning of the tomb, in which broken glass was removed from the tomb’s floor space and placed inside an already available vessel, may be the most plausible explanation.

cross (presumably a pendant) probably manufactured no earlier than the 8<sup>th</sup> C., an uninventoried bronze ring, a bronze coin of Basil I (867-886 A.D.), and probably a glass bead.<sup>253</sup> Finally, directly to the northeast of this tomb another grave (Grave 0142.181), which contained the remains of at least six individuals, was built against the external face of the South Basilica's south wall.<sup>254</sup> The tomb's heavy roof, composed of split columns covered by rough poros slabs, is generally datable to the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. and implies the presence of an entry shaft at east; the burial chamber's walls, constructed with small stones laid dry, confirm such a late chronology.

Evidence for Middle Byzantine burial, perhaps involving the re-use of earlier graves, is offered by two tombs within the South Basilica cluster. Although the majority of finds from a vaulted tomb (Grave 0142.191) at the cluster's southwest corner are of uncertain date, a silver finger ring and a course jug probably belongs to the 11<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>255</sup> Secondly, at the cluster's northwest corner, a cist grave (Grave 0142.106a) received a tile-covered extension to the east so that a new burial could be made while the bones of the previous occupant were shoved to the west end; such displacement of skeletal remains is best placed in the Middle Byzantine period or later.<sup>256</sup> Whether the post-antique exploitation of the burial cluster represents re-occupation of an abandoned mortuary space, perhaps in association with interments of the late 10<sup>th</sup> C. and

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<sup>253</sup> Bronze earring: MF4933; bronze cross: MF4934; bronze coin: no. 6 (11 May 1934); glass bead: MF3684.

<sup>254</sup> A bronze ring (MF4944) of irregular form and some kind of ring pendant, which was discarded, were recovered from the tomb.

<sup>255</sup> Silver finger ring: MF4940 (Davidson 1985); ceramic jug: C-34-11. The other finds do not resemble finds from known graves of the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C., and should therefore probably be placed in the later 8<sup>th</sup> C. or beyond: bronze rings: MF4939; MF5154 (two rings); bronze pin: MF4936.

<sup>256</sup> The architectural format of the extension, "covered by the ordinary tile" (Corinth Notebook 142, p.106), is not explicitly stated within the excavation record. Presumably this construction takes the form of a cist rather than a tile-tent, which would be incongruous with the tomb's first phase.

beyond at the nearby Bema Church, or, less probably, is the end of an otherwise unbroken chain of use beginning in Late Antiquity, cannot be determined on the basis of available evidence.

Due to their minimal documentation within the excavation record and the paucity of mortuary objects, the 30 remaining, undatable South Basilica graves are of little assistance in assessing the Late Antique phase of this burial cluster.<sup>257</sup> At least seven were built tombs, of which three were flat-roofed cists and two were vaulted.<sup>258</sup> A minimum of two graves, and probably many more, provide the only Corinthian examples of a variation of the tile-tent format in which an additional tile is laid flat above the apex of the “tent” so that the overall form takes on a more cist-like appearance.<sup>259</sup> Finally, according to the excavators, five graves, including at least one in the modified tile tent format, contained skeletons with skulls at the east end and feet at west rather than the traditional format with skull at west, although one wonders if this mortuary aspect was consistently recorded or if, in at least some cases, the skull had been accidentally displaced from an original location at the west end of the grave.<sup>260</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> A fragment of a simple bronze earring (MF4602) from Grave 1934-006 is the sole object (pl. 134b).

<sup>258</sup> Grave 0142.162 was a “large tomb” (Corinth Notebook 0142, p.162) roofed with large poros slabs, and Grave 0142.110b was apparently a cist grave (if indeed a tomb rather than a drain) with stone cover built against a corner of the apsidal building. Grave 0142.182b was probably once a flat-roofed cist, but the cover of this “well-built tomb” (Corinth Notebook 0142, p.182) did not survive at the time of excavation. Clear examples of tombs with vaulted roofs are G0142.182, described by the excavator as large and built with small stones laid dry within its walls and fitted roughly together with its cemented vault, and G0142.181, a tomb 3.20 m. long “vaulted in a crude fashion” (Corinth Notebook 0142, p.181). Finally, Grave 1934-006, a “large Byzantine tomb” (Corinth Notebook 0142.154) employing the south wall of the South Basilica as its own south wall, and Grave 0142.110a, installed against a wall of the apsidal building, are built tombs with roofs of unknown type.

<sup>259</sup> Grave 0142.106c, built in the modified tile-tent style, receives a detailed description (Corinth Notebook 0142, p.106), G0142.127 (Corinth Notebook 0142, p.127) is said to have been constructed in the same manner, and five additional graves, “lacking in interest” (ibid.) may have been similarly built.

<sup>260</sup> For the excavators’ system of documenting skull and body orientation on notebook plans see Corinth Notebook 0142, p.106. G0142.106b was noted by the excavator to contain two facing skeletons (Corinth Notebook 0142,

Taken as a whole, this burial cluster occupied the apsidal building's central and western zones and, with the exception of a single grave, lay west of a north-south wall which nearly divides the room south of the apse in half and presumably belongs to one of the latest phases of the apsidal building.<sup>261</sup> Based strictly on securely datable graves, however, the burial cluster's Late Antique phase may have been limited to a relatively small area and only casually related to the abandoned ruins of the apsidal building. The construction of tombs against or incorporating the walls of both the apsidal building and the South Basilica, the lack of any kind of systematic relationship with the space of the former structure, and the complete disregard for the building's eastern half suggest that this was considered only as one of many areas within the Forum where burials could be conveniently made, and we may probably dismiss any idea that the apsidal building functioned as a church in this period or in its 5<sup>th</sup> C. phase.<sup>262</sup> Rather, we might well look to this cluster's proximity to Corinth's decumanus, positioned just 10 m. to the south, as a significant factor in the decision to endow this space with a mortuary function.

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p.106), as apparently did, based on notebook top plans, Grave 1934-005, Grave 0142.007e (plan), and G0142.162. Other graves with skulls at east: Grave 0142.127a, Grave 0142.127d, Grave 0142.125a (plan), Grave 0142.125b (plan), Grave 0142.006 (plan). However, the occurrence in two multiple burial built tombs (Grave 1934-005, Grave 0142.162) of skulls that appear to face south is physically inconceivable in association with a full body across the tombs' narrow axes, suggesting that in some instances the skull's position and orientation alone were recorded while the body's position was ignored.

<sup>261</sup> Scranton (*ibid.*), following Broneer (1935, p.62) incorrectly states that the graves lay only outside the apsidal building rather than within the lines of its foundations. In fact, at least five graves were dug within the perimeter of the initial apsidal hall, while the bulk of the remainder fall within this poorly understood complex's extended sprawl of walls, many of which are likely to be later than the building's original iteration.

<sup>262</sup> An identification of the apsidal building as a church was first raised as a possibility Broneer (1935, p.62), considered by Scranton (1957, p.29f.) but rejected due to his redating of the building to the Ottoman period, and raised once more by Ivison (1996, p.111).

## Central Shops and Bema Church

Of the more than 50 graves at the north edge of the Forum's upper terrace, where a line of Roman shops (the "Central Shops") was transformed into a monumental staircase in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> C., only two, positioned near the stair's east end, may be assigned to Late Antiquity (pl. 28). The remainder, located mostly in and around the Middle Byzantine Bema Church at the stair's center and also some distance to the southwest, are post-Antique and owe their siting to the church's presence.<sup>263</sup>

Within the surviving lower portion of a Roman shop (Central Shop 6), adjoining Late Antique cist graves (at south: Grave 1933-058; at north: Grave 1934-003b, pl. 134c-137a), built primarily of large spolia blocks, were neatly installed after the removal of the stair's treads.<sup>264</sup> A Syracuse type buckle recovered from the northern grave provides a date of use in the mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. for the northern tomb as well as its southern neighbor, which was probably erected at about the same time.<sup>265</sup>

The other interments in this area date to the Middle Byzantine period or later, and a majority lie in close proximity to the Bema Church, which was probably built in the late 10<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>266</sup> Some

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<sup>263</sup> The brief mention of the discovery of "late" skeletons lacking built graves (Grave 1933-020) within the area of the east end of the staircase does not permit dating with any certainty, but the apparent use of simple pits without any constructions has few parallels at Late Antique Corinth and is suggestive of a post-Antique date.

<sup>264</sup> Both graves were excavated by O. Broneer and published in Scranton 1957, p.31; Scranton 1951, p.116.

<sup>265</sup> Syracuse type buckle: MF4442.

<sup>266</sup> In his study of Corinth's Middle Byzantine burials (*Mortuary Practices in Byzantium (c950-1453): An Archaeological Contribution*, University of Birmingham. Database 14.1, pp.74-90), Ivison dates this church to the late 10<sup>th</sup> C. and, based largely on mortuary artifacts, phases related burials, mostly vaulted tombs, tile tent graves, and pit graves, from the church's origin until the 14<sup>th</sup> C. He also (Database 14.1, p.74) places the initial phase of a multiple burial vaulted tomb (Ivison GR36.07.20=Grave 1936-012) directly west of the church within Late Antiquity, but compelling evidence for such an early date is lacking; it is preferable to date the tomb to the late 10<sup>th</sup>

20 m. southwest of the church a cluster of eight tombs was installed around a small structure erected no earlier than the mid-12<sup>th</sup> C.,<sup>267</sup> while five meters farther southwest a tomb (Grave 1938-031) that seems to have been vaulted follows the orientation of adjacent post-antique walls rather than that of the Late Antique stair. Finally, near the stair's west end a vaulted tomb (Grave 1938-016) should be dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> C. based on the presence of jewelry within it as well as its alignment with a post-antique wall to its immediate north.<sup>268</sup>

While the burials within and immediately outside the Bema Church are of little direct relevance to the Forum's Late Antique burials, the presence of these other, more distant post-Antique graves, and their probable association with the church cemetery, is significant and

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C. or slightly later alongside its similarly oriented Middle Byzantine neighbors to the west (Iverson GR36.07.34=Grave 1936-023; Iverson GR36.07.35=Grave 1936-024).

<sup>267</sup> This enigmatic structure and two of the burials appear in Scranton 1967, plan 7, grid 6-7:L; the graves are described inaccurately as "many bones. . . found in and around the building" (*ibid.*, p.70). Perhaps to be associated with this burial cluster are the skeletons of an adult female and sub-adult, located less than five meters directly north of the building and datable by accompanying jewelry, which had been considered of Late Antique origin, to the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> C. Davidson (1952) mis-dates the earrings (Davidson 2036=MF6726a, Davidson 2037=MF6726b) to the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C.; for 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> C. dates of these types see Langó (2010) and Grigorov (2007, p.158, Type V.9 ). Other jewelry belonging to the skeletons can only be dated broadly. The unusual, contracted position of the adult skeleton and the perplexing context in which both skeletons were found, lacking clear signs of formal burial and on a layer of ash, have resulted in an interpretation as the in-situ remains of victims of a fiery Frankish destruction (Scranton 1957, p.52 fn.18, with previous bibliography). Although such a theory is possible, a less dramatic explanation is that individuals following non-local burial practices were interred on top of a pre-existing ash layer, perhaps even one related to the Late Antique destruction of the Central Shops.

<sup>268</sup> While the broadest possible tomb chronology, based on finds, is 8<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> C., there is no need for any object to date before the 10<sup>th</sup> C. It is clear based on the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> C. earrings that the tomb was in use in the 10<sup>th</sup> C., and especially in consideration of the tomb's alignment with the post-antique wall to its north, a construction date in the 10<sup>th</sup> C. is preferable to one in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. The tomb's inventory consists of: bronze finger ring: MF7786 (Davidson 1865, as Grigorov (2007) type 5.1, late 8<sup>th</sup>-mid-10<sup>th</sup> C.; for individual finds see especially Koprivlen: Delev 2002, ring from Grave 161 with walnut-shaped silver beads dating probably not before the 8 C. and no later than the 10 C.; Titov Veles: Maneva 1992, 93/1, 93/4, 93/8, 93/17, from 9-10 C. cemetery); bronze finger ring: MF7792 (Davidson 1952, close to Grigorov type III.4.8, mid-9<sup>th</sup>-early 12<sup>th</sup> C.; bronze earring and fragments of another: MF7789 (close to Grigorov type I.2, late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 10<sup>th</sup> C.); bronze earring: MF7790 (as previous); silver earring: MF7791 (close to Grigorov type V.9.6, mid-10<sup>th</sup>-mid-12<sup>th</sup> C.; the type is similarly dated by Langó (2010) to the 10<sup>th</sup> C.); bronze earring: MF7787; bronze earring: MF7788.

demonstrates that the effective mortuary zone of the church extended far beyond its walls. As a result, one must be especially cautious of assigning a Late Antique date to graves in the general area, including the South Stoa, lacking chronologically diagnostic characteristics.

### West Terrace

West of the South Stoa and the central, open area of the Forum, the West Terrace became the setting for 32 Late Antique graves, nearly all of them located within the terrace's southern portion, extending as far south as the line of the South Stoa's colonnade and as far north as Temple G, where a short east-west street connected the terrace with the Forum's open square (pl. 19-23). Fortunately, because many of these interments were unearthed during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century under relatively rigorous standards of excavation and documentation, it is possible to say much more about them than many Forum graves. The West Terrace also benefits from the absence of church-associated post-Antique burials, which allows graves lacking internal dating to be assigned to Late Antiquity with a large degree of confidence.<sup>269</sup>

Near the south end of the West Terrace and at the north edge of an Early Roman complex, two vaulted tombs (at south: Grave 1974-006, pl. 142a-b, 144a-145c); at north: Grave 1974-005, pl. 142a-b, 143a-c) constructed side-by-side within a walled mortuary precinct attracted the installation of four additional graves in the space immediately surrounding them and perhaps

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<sup>269</sup> A small number of post-Antique infant burials is scattered throughout the terrace, but these are usually easily recognized as such; published examples include Grave 1973-002 (Williams et al. 1974, p.12), Grave 1974-001 and Grave 1976-001 (Williams 1977, p.66).

encouraged the mortuary exploitation of ruined buildings to the east.<sup>270</sup> Three walls enclosed the vaulted tombs at north, west and east, where access to the precinct was provided via an entryway, while the north wall of the Early Roman complex offered a southern boundary. Although the mortuary precinct cut through the sidewalk and road metal of the east-west street running along the south edge of Temple E's temenos eastward to the Forum proper, the tombs' construction did not signal any sudden change in street use: This route had already been fully blocked in the late 4<sup>th</sup> C. or slightly thereafter by a north-south wall extending from the Early Roman building to the West Shops.<sup>271</sup>

At first glance the tombs appear to be quite similar, and it seems that they were constructed as a single project: An east-west wall was shared between them, and both tombs follow an identical architectural scheme. However, other aspects of construction, and pottery recovered from within, vary substantially between the tombs and indicate radically different chronologies of use.

While the floor of the northern tomb was given only a dirt floor, that of the southern tomb was paved with large square tiles, the westernmost row of which were raised as a pillow. Based on a coarse lekythos and round-mouthed jug which lay upon the torso of one of three skeletons within the northern tomb, its period of use should fall within the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C., whereas an especially late pitcher and jug probably associated with the uppermost of five skeletons, laid out

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<sup>270</sup> The tombs were published by Williams and Fisher (1975, "Corinth, 1974: Forum Southwest", *Hesperia*, p. 1-50; 1976, "Corinth, 1975: Forum Southwest", *Hesperia*, p. 99-162).

<sup>271</sup> Williams and Fisher 1975, p. 14-15

in two strata, within the southern tomb allow its use to be extended to the 8<sup>th</sup> and perhaps even the 9<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>272</sup>

8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. use of the southern tomb is confirmed by the vertical extension of its entry shaft. Perhaps as a response to a rise in local surface level via the long-term accumulation of fill, the shaft was raised circa .35 m. above its original elevation; within the earth cut by this alteration excavators recovered a coin of Theophilus (839-842).<sup>273</sup> This minor construction project was almost certainly responsible for the disturbance of a primary infant burial within the immediate area, resulting in the deposition (Grave 0600.102) of a jumbled infant skeleton just outside the shaft's northwest corner.<sup>274</sup>

Above both tomb vaults but particularly well preserved above that of the northern tomb, a tile surface was laid and may correspond to the remnants of a similar surface excavated immediately north of the mortuary precinct.<sup>275</sup> Although this platform was most likely constructed together

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<sup>272</sup> From the northern tomb: lekythos: C-74-78; round-mouthed jug: C-74-50; from the southern tomb: Round-mouthed jug: C-74-48; trefoil pitcher: C-74-49. The trefoil pitcher was recovered beside the left knee of the uppermost burial, while the round-mouthed jug lay at the west end of the grave by the same individual's head. The pottery within each tomb is misattributed to the other tomb in the published report (Williams and Fisher 1974, p.16f).

<sup>273</sup> Coin of Theophilus: 1974-357. The coin was found at an unknown point within Basket 320 (Corinth Notebook 598, p.119), which consisted of soft red fill that seems to have accumulated to a high level during the use of the tombs; the basket's upper elevation is equivalent to that of the southern vaulted tomb's raised cover slab. Grave 0598.119, an infant pit burial located directly west of the mortuary precinct's threshold, was excavated during the course of this basket without any evidence for a grave cut, which unfortunately leaves open the possibility that the pit grave, and conceivably the 9<sup>th</sup> C. coin along with it, might have been dug following the deposition of the red fill and the renovation of the vaulted tomb's entrance shaft and therefore contaminate the basket.

<sup>274</sup> The bones were found .13 m. below the level of the raised cover slab, or probably just below surface level, and well above the elevation of the original entrance shaft.

<sup>275</sup> The surface in this northern area is only .07 m. below the level of the surface above the vaulted tombs, and its one surviving tile, measuring .325X.325, possesses nearly the same dimensions as the smaller tiles above the tombs (.32X.30 and .31X.30).

with both tombs as a single 7<sup>th</sup> C. project, it might be placed as late as the 9<sup>th</sup> C. due to the near-identical dimensions of the larger of two tile types comprising the surface above the vaults and the paving and pillow tiles of the southern tomb, which received at least one known renovation through the raising of its entrance shaft in the 9<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>276</sup> The function of this tile platform, perhaps reached by a small stair at south, is not clear but presumably relates to interment or commemorative activity for the vaulted tombs, which both define the surface's extent on all but its north side and, at least in the case of the southern tomb with its raised entrance shaft, were permitted to remain accessible.<sup>277</sup>

Three additional graves within the immediate vicinity should be associated with the vaulted tomb complex.<sup>278</sup> At the south edge of Grave 1974-006 and built over by the mortuary precinct south wall, a well-constructed cist (Grave 1975-004b, pl. 146a) contained the fragmentary remains of a single infant. Another infant was buried within a simple pit (Grave 0598.119, pl. 146b) directly west of the threshold to the mortuary precinct; unusually, the grave was oriented north-south, and the deceased lay with head at north. Finally, northeast of the threshold and incorporating the north pier of the mortuary precinct as its west wall, while an extension of the

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<sup>276</sup> The larger tiles within the surface above the vaulted tombs were .57X.57-.59, corresponding well to the .57X.57 tiles installed within the floor and pillow of the southern tomb. The smaller tiles (.32X.30) of the surface are dimensionally quite close to but not necessarily the same as the fragmentary tiles incorporated within the tomb vaults (.32X.27 for the northern tomb and circa .30X.30 for its southern neighbor). The north extension of the tile surface, if it indeed belongs to the same structure as that topping the vaulted tombs, offers additional evidence for a relatively late date due to the presence of a brown glazed sherd (Corinth Notebook 600, p. 90, Basket 88), which one would not expect to find at Corinth before the 8th C. at earliest, in the earth beneath the tiles.

<sup>277</sup> For the potential stair: Williams and Fisher 1975, p.16. On tomb "platforms" see further p. 176-177.

<sup>278</sup> A fourth burial, Grave 1974-001, was thought to lie directly east of the south vaulted tomb's cover slab. However, this rock-filled pit measuring 1.10 m. long, .50-.60 m. wide, and .40-.50 m. deep contained no bones and might instead relate to the extension of the tomb's entrance shaft.

precinct's north wall served as its northern limit, a crude cist grave (Grave 1974-007, pl. 146c-148a) containing a subadult was constructed using at least one large pan tile laid flat as a cover.<sup>279</sup> Two perinatal burials were made in the earth directly above the tile cover and directly to its south.

The chronology of the twin vaulted tombs and the burials associated with their mortuary precinct may be summarized as follows: In the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. the northern vaulted tomb (Grave 1974-005), and likely the southern one as well (Grave 1974-006), in addition to the mortuary precinct walls, were constructed. The northern tomb came into use by the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. but need not have remained active beyond this point, whereas there is no certain evidence for use of the southern tomb before the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. Within the brackets of the early 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. may be placed the tile surface above both tombs and also the tile pavement and pillow of the floor of the southern tomb. In the mid-9<sup>th</sup> C. or slightly thereafter the entrance shaft of the southern tomb was raised, probably in response to the accumulation of fill outside it over the course of two centuries; the northern tomb, which retained its original, lower entry shaft, had presumably been abandoned by this time. Conceivably, the second phase of the southern tomb's entry shaft and the tile surface could belong to a single major renovation initiative. Of the four graves located within the mortuary precinct's immediate vicinity, three of them belonging to infants, only one (Grave 0600.102) clearly pre-dates the raising of the southern vaulted tomb's entrance shaft.

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<sup>279</sup> Strangely, the excavator recovered a large amount of charcoal, perhaps the remains of incense deposition or another mortuary ritual, from the earth below the tile cover and above the first skeleton. While the excavator first considered the charcoal to be the remains of burnt wood, the Greek workman suggested that it instead originates from incense "as is the custom today (Corinth Notebook 0604, p.120)".

The other infant and subadult burials (Grave 1974-007, Grave 1975-004b, Grave 0598.119) may fall at any point from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C.

Two more interments lie some five meters southeast of the vaulted tomb precinct within a cist grave (Grave 1960-012, pl. 148b-150a) built against the north wall of a Late Antique water-bearing structure.<sup>280</sup> Although the modestly-sized tomb may have been originally intended for a single person, two individuals came to be placed within: at bottom an adult male in an extended position, while above him, and within the eastern half of the grave, was laid an adult female whose unusually bent legs and lack of both feet and one tibia suggest that this may be a rarely documented case of secondary burial.<sup>281</sup> The presence of unmortared fieldstones or small blocks within the tomb's walls suggests a particularly late date of construction, perhaps in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. An additional grave (Grave 1960-013, pl. 166a), a perinatal infant buried within a tile-lined cist, was uncovered a short distance east of the double burial cist, although it could well be of Middle Byzantine or later date.<sup>282</sup>

Two additional graves, located northeast of the water-bearing structure in the ruins of the Early Roman “Long Rectangular Building”, may fall within the broader mortuary space of the

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<sup>280</sup> The grave was published by H. Robinson (1962, p.110f.). An additional grave (Grave 1960-013), a perinatal infant buried within a cist, was uncovered a short to the east. This burial, photographed but never drawn on a plan and without a known elevation, lay slightly west of the central portion of the west wall of the 12<sup>th</sup> C. “Silk Factory” and may be of Middle Byzantine or later date.

<sup>281</sup> The skeletons were studied and published by Gejvall and Henschen (1968. “Two Late Roman Skeletons with Malformation and Close Family Relationship from Ancient Corinth.” *Opuscula Atheniensia* 8: 179-193), who identified a potentially hereditary vertebral deformity in both individuals, thereby offering exceptional evidence for a familial relationship between the deceased.

<sup>282</sup> This burial, photographed but never drawn on a plan and without a known elevation, lay slightly west of the central portion of the west wall of the 12<sup>th</sup> C. “Silk Factory”.

paired vaulted tombs.<sup>283</sup> Inside the semi-protected space at the building's west end, and abutting the interior face of its south wall, a well-built cist grave (Grave 1975-001, pl. 166b, 167a-168a) was laid at east, and a subadult pit burial at west. The skeletons of three adults were deposited atop the cist grave's elaborately tiled floor, while within the semicircular pit (Grave 1975-002, pl. 168b) a 10 year-old subadult was interred. The completely disarticulated state of the latter individual's bones, in addition to the small size of the grave, which had a maximum width of .6 m., strongly suggest that the burial is a secondary one; the disturbance of a Late Antique grave by Middle Byzantine building activity, and the reburial of its occupant within a new pit, is the most likely scenario.<sup>284</sup>

Well to the southeast of these two graves, another cist (Grave 1959-005, pl. 169a-c) was built at the intersection of two walls of presumably Roman or Late Antique date.<sup>285</sup> Mortar secured the narrow slabs covering it, although its walls, consisting of tile fragments, small field stones, and spoliated blocks, appear to have been laid dry, suggesting a chronology in the late 7<sup>th</sup> C. or beyond. A square block, positioned so that its west end was raised, served as a pillow at the

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<sup>283</sup> The Early Roman structure appears to have been heavily damaged around the late 4th C., probably by earthquake, and by the second half of the 6th C. may have remained standing only at its west end, which at that time served some kind of storage capacity (Williams, 1976. pp.126, 133).

<sup>284</sup> The 12<sup>th</sup> C. "Silk Factory", located directly south of the Long Rectangular Building, is one such possibility, and the still-standing west end of the latter structure would have provided a convenient place for the reburial of a grave disturbed by the former's construction. The pit grave was arguably laid out in reference to the cist grave at its east, which may well have lost its cover as a result of the same disturbance that caused the subadult's reburial within the pit.

<sup>285</sup> This grave was mentioned in passing by H. Robinson (1960, Fig. 2; 1962, p.110f). The structure against which this tomb was built appears south of Room 12 in the 1960 publication, although the north-south wall at its left has been omitted from the plan; the building has not been otherwise published.

grave's western extremity; the remainder of the floor was composed of tile in a manner similar to that of nearby Grave 1975-001. Two adults, an older subadult, and an infant lay within.

Farther north, in front of the West Shops' southern segment, eight graves were laid in an originally open avenue that had been encroached upon from the west by the Late Antique extension of the West Shops and by at least one Late Antique structure, of which only traces survive, in the center of the avenue. At the southern extremity of the West Shops, a tower still standing to at least a low level became the backdrop for two cist graves. On the floor of the northern tomb (Grave 1934-008, pl. 160b-161c) lay six skeletons, one of whom wore two bronze finger rings, in addition to a bronze belt ring and a globular unguentarium probably dating to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. or later, while the south tomb (Grave 1934-017, pl. 162a) contained only the skeleton of an older subadult.<sup>286</sup> Halfway between this pair of tombs and the West Terrace's eastern limit an elderly female was buried within a tile tent grave (Grave 1960-014, pl. 162d-163b) which, based on context pottery, was not made before the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C at earliest and is more likely of 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. date.<sup>287</sup>

Farther north, four graves were installed beside the outer walls of the Late Antique extension of the West Shops.<sup>288</sup> One of them, a simple pit (Grave 1934-016, pl. 155c) containing two subadults,<sup>289</sup> was overbuilt by a well-constructed cist (Grave 1934-014, pl. 155c-158b) centered perfectly above it and surely created with awareness of the burials below. The latter grave,

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<sup>286</sup> Globular unguentarium C-34-2; bronze belt ring: MF4809.

<sup>287</sup> The location of this grave, published by H. Robinson (1962, p.112f.) may be identified only at the resolution level of a grid square (39-41:K-KE).

<sup>288</sup> On the Late Antique extension, see p. 33.

<sup>289</sup> A discarded bronze disc with some kind of projection at center was the sole object within the grave.

which accommodated 12 individuals whose heads lay on a tile pillow, was built in the mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. and potentially used as late as the 9<sup>th</sup> C. based on mortuary artifacts including three coarse pitchers, a bronze buckle with cruciform plate, and a bronze finger ring with inscribed cruciform monogram; a pair of silver earrings and, surprisingly, an iron implement, probably a spearhead, were additionally recovered.<sup>290</sup>

Around the corner from this pair of graves, a burial structure of uncertain type (Grave 1934-015), probably vaulted or flat-roofed with an entry shaft at east, is unique amongst the Forum's graves in its painted decoration of crosses on its interior walls and may be placed in the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of a Corinth type belt buckle accompanying one of the deceased.<sup>291</sup> Finally, farther north and roughly on axis with the east-west avenue connecting the West Shops to the Forum's open square, a probable cist grave (Grave 1908-007) seems to have been constructed in a gap in the front wall of the West Shops' Late Antique extension.

A third vaulted tomb (Grave 1973-003, pl. 137b-141c), which possesses a thick coat of plaster across the exterior surface of its vault, was erected in the central space of the West Terrace's southern portion atop the sparsely preserved remains of a 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> C. structure and facing the constricted north-south avenue of the terrace's Late Antique phase.<sup>292</sup> Surrounding it were walls

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<sup>290</sup> Pitchers: C-34-1591, C-34-1592, C-34-1593; buckle: discarded but illustrated (Corinth Notebook 0144, p.17); finger ring: MF4922 (Davidson 1867); earrings: "disintegrated" but illustrated (Corinth Notebook 0144, p.17) following excavation; iron implement: MF6105.

<sup>291</sup> The Corinth type buckle, sketched within the excavation notebook (*ibid.*), is quite likely MF5419 (Davidson 2192). The buckle may, of course, be somewhat later than the paintings, but based on the earliest Late Antique burials within the Forum the paintings should be no earlier than circa 600 A.D.

<sup>292</sup> For the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> C. structure see Williams and Fisher (1974, p. 7,9). This building's northwest-southeast orientation was rejected by the tomb's builders, who preferred an east-west alignment close to that of the terrace's Roman buildings.

leaving an open area to the south just wide enough to accommodate a second vaulted tomb, which was never built, a roughly square open space to the west, and a kind of entry court at east including an entryway at center. Within, the skulls of most of the tomb's 11 occupants, representing both sexes and a wide age range, rested on a tile pillow. The sole object deposited, a coarse pitcher, offers a use date in the mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>293</sup> At some point following the construction of the vaulted tomb, a single burial (Grave 1973-001, pl. 141c), perhaps a poorly built cist, was laid at the northeast corner of the mortuary precinct so that the precinct's east wall effectively served as the grave's west wall.<sup>294</sup>

The interior of the West Shops itself became home to four burials, all belonging to infants or young subadults, while a fifth lay a short distance behind the shops' back wall. Three of the graves were dug within the southernmost two shops, which remain vaulted to the present day and may well have been the best-preserved shop rooms in Late Antiquity. In the northwest corner of the second shop from the south, a shallow cutting was made for the deposition of a burial in a Late Roman 2 amphora (Grave 1965-018, pl. 157a-160a) dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>295</sup> Midway along the south wall of the same shop another east-west cutting belongs to a poorly preserved sub-adult burial (Grave 1934-021, pl. 159a-b) which was covered by three marble slabs taken from the shop's floor. On the other side of the same wall and within the space of the first shop from the south, a tile tent grave (Grave 1934-020, pl. 162c) was installed within a cutting below floor

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<sup>293</sup> Pitcher: C-73-22

<sup>294</sup> While no other elements of tomb construction were noted by the excavators, a short segment of a relatively narrow east-west wall directly south of the skeleton conspicuously extends no further than the feet of the deceased and might in reality be, along with the precinct wall, the only surviving architecture of an originally four-walled cist grave

<sup>295</sup> Amphora: C-65-330.

level. Slightly southwest of the West Shops back wall, but not far from the subadult burials in shops one and two, an infant burial in a Gaza amphora (Grave 1990-018, pl. 164a, 166c) probably dating to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C. was inserted at the northwest corner of a Late Antique room in Temple E's southern stoa.<sup>296</sup> Finally, a subadult pit grave (Grave 1908-002), about which little is known other than its location within a room of the West Shops near the north end of this complex, should probably be considered of Late Antique date in consideration of the subadult sub-cluster at the south end of the same building.

Late Antique Corinthians seem to have had no qualms about exploiting the row of abandoned temples at the east edge of the West Terrace, installing five cist graves beside temples within the terrace's southern half and one more atop their concrete podia. Three of these graves were cists built against the north side of the foundation of Temple G at the south edge of the short thoroughfare connecting the West Terrace to the Forum square.<sup>297</sup> A male wearing at his waist a bronze and iron miniature Corinth type buckle of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. was interred within the southernmost grave (Grave 1969-036, pl. 151a-153a, 155a) and joined by a female (Grave 1969-030, pl. 153b, 155a) and a subadult (Grave 1969-037, pl. 152, 154a-155a) in tombs adjacent to his own.<sup>298</sup> A fourth cist (Grave 1969-026, pl. 164b-165b) was constructed on the opposite side of Temple G and close to the angle formed by its intersection with Temple F; while no bones

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<sup>296</sup> Amphora: C-90-12. This grave, misidentified as Grave 1990-008, was published in: Williams, C.K. and O. Zervos, 1991, "Corinth, 1990: Southeast Corner of Temenos E", *Hesperia*, p.1-58 (18f.). Williams is right to reject a direct association between the infant interment and a nearby adult single burial, which should be placed within the context of the expansive Frankish cemetery located at the southeast corner of Temple E's temenos and extending slightly farther south.

<sup>297</sup> All three graves were published in Williams, et al. (1974, 11).

<sup>298</sup> Bronze Corinth type buckle: MF6989

were found inside, its siting compares well to the three grave sub-cluster to the north, and its small dimensions imply that it was intended for one or more subadults.

Beside a stair to the south of Temple F's concrete podium, a cist grave (Grave 1934-004, pl. 150b-d) incorporated a tile which was installed concave-side up to serve as a pillow for an individual wearing a 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. finger ring and cradling an infant in its left arm.<sup>299</sup> Lastly, little may be said for the multiple burial cist grave (Grave 1908-008) constructed on the podium of Temple D at the intersection of the north cella wall and the north wall in *antis*; two small, discarded coarse pots from its interior are better placed within Late Antiquity than any subsequent period.<sup>300</sup>

#### Forum Northwest

The Forum's northwestern zone, arbitrarily considered here to include the Northwest Shops and south end of the Lechaion Road Basilica, received scarcely any Late Antique burials: Of 14 graves in the general area, only five are of Late Antique date (pl. 24, 25). The remainder, located within or at the periphery of the Forum's open square, are best offered a chronology in the

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<sup>299</sup> Bronze finger ring: MF4931 (Davidson 1861). An iron nail (MF6069) and two additional fragments perhaps belonging to two more nails were also retrieved from the grave and, if intentionally deposited, are of unknown function; a wooden casket could offer an explanation but would require a larger number of nails.

<sup>300</sup> Based on an architectural drawing (Stillwell et al. 1941, Plan VIII), the tomb's north and south side walls seem to have been constructed from fieldstones or tiles. The excavator uncovered "many bones", including skulls at the grave's west end. Also at the west end were the two pots, one of red and the other yellowish clay, which were not saved.

Middle Byzantine period or beyond and should fall under the sphere of the 12<sup>th</sup> C. monastery of Saint John Theologos, itself containing many burials, at the square's northwest corner.<sup>301</sup>

Three Late Antique burials were installed in two rooms within the Northwest Shops' western half. The only one that may be directly dated is a 7<sup>th</sup> C. carrot amphora (Grave 1963-012, pl. 171a-c) containing a perinatal infant and inserted within a tile-covered cutting against the north wall of shop 14; at chest and pelvis two coins were deposited, perhaps with apotropaic intent.<sup>302</sup> Nearby, in Northwest Shop 11, were three more graves (Grave 1901-003a, Grave 1901-003b, Grave 1902-002) about which little more may be said beyond that each contained a single individual and two were built from tiles, probably in a tile tent format.<sup>303</sup>

Finally, south of the Lechaion Road Basilica and directly west of the propylaia fronting the Lechaion Road's entry into the Forum, a vaulted Roman drain running diagonally across the "Captives Facade" was converted to two tombs (Grave 1930-002, Grave 1930-003) through the walling off of the drain at the south and east limits of the facade.<sup>304</sup> Multiple skeletons, probably at least six, were discovered at the south end of the drain, while others were apparently uncovered at its north end along with a discarded pot. Although these burials are not internally

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<sup>301</sup> On the monastery of St. John Theologos see generally Scranton (1957, p.61f). The graves that appear to be associated with it, although generally poorly documented, possess characteristics including elevations above Forum pavement level, alignment with Middle Byzantine rather than Roman buildings, and isolated locations at some distance from the major buildings which remained partially standing in Late Antiquity.

<sup>302</sup> Amphora: C-63-713. Both coins disintegrated during cleaning. A third coin (63-793, illegible) was found outside the amphora but within the grave pit at its east end.

<sup>303</sup> Grave 1901-003a and Grave 1901-003b were said to have been cut below pavement level and contain no objects. Not even the tomb type is known for Grave 1902-002, located in the shop's southwest corner.

<sup>127</sup> The burials were published in Stillwell et al. (1946, p.55 fn.3, p.88).

datable, the re-use of a drain for mortuary use best fits Late Antique practice, as does the deposition of ceramics.

### Peirene Fountain

Positioned at the extreme northeast corner of the Forum but primarily accessed from the Lechaion Road, the Peirene Fountain became home to two dense clusters of Late Antique burials in the north and east apses of its sunken court (pl. 26).<sup>305</sup> The seven graves within the north apse (Grave 1898-001, pl. 172a-173a), including vaulted tombs and at least one substantially built cist, comprise an unusual, architecturally ambitious group.<sup>306</sup> Not surprisingly, some if not all of these spacious tombs received multiple interments up to a maximum of eight individuals.<sup>307</sup> One vaulted tomb (Grave 1926-023, pl. 173b-176b) stands apart from the others in the apse by its construction at an elevation of .80 m. above floor level through the apse's west wall, the entirety of which is cut through by the grave; such a novel, and painstakingly adapted, location suggests that the tomb was built at a time when little space remained within the apse proper for additional

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<sup>305</sup> Unfortunately, these graves were uncovered within the very earliest years of digging at Corinth; any attempt to analyze them is significantly impaired by the minimal notes left by their excavators. The burials were published in detail by B. Robinson (2011, pp. 293-295), whose interpretations appear to be fairly sound, in a monograph dedicated to the fountain. Any alternative interpretations for Robinson's findings are indicated as such.

<sup>306</sup> The seven north apse graves are collectively identified as Grave 1898-001. Four tombs are visible in the only photograph (BW 1985-118-16) offering a view of the burials within the apse's interior. The three at left, while lacking nearly all of their roofs, appear to have been vaulted based on the slight inward curvature which seems to be visible at the upper limit of the tombs' north and south walls. The sole tomb at east is a slab-covered cist.

<sup>307</sup> Dickerman, the excavator, merely states, "As many as eight skeletons were found in each [tomb]" (Corinth Notebook 0007, p.43). At least two individuals were buried within the northernmost of the photographed tombs as indicated by the two well-preserved skulls pictured (pl. 172b) resting on what is probably the western wall of this vaulted tomb's entry shaft.

graves of large dimensions.<sup>308</sup> Also probably related to the north apse burials is a cist or vaulted tomb (Grave 1930-174) built just outside Peirene against the eastern half of the north apse's exterior wall and incorporating the apse as its own south wall; like Grave 1926-023, it was probably installed at a time when the apse had already been filled with graves.

The minimum four graves within Peirene's east apse, sited directly above and beside Roman walls which ran through this space, are incredibly different from their northern neighbors to the extent that the limited documentation reveals. The most substantial tomb (Grave 1911-003) of this group is a large lined cist with a tile floor; another cist (Grave 1911-004) possessed a floor of marble slabs lined by tiles at their perimeter. A tile tent grave (Grave 1911-002) unusually incorporated a marble slab as its floor and, in contrast to the single individual typically occupying this tomb type at Corinth, contained two interments. Beside the previous grave, an infant was buried in a tomb (Grave 1911-005) of uncertain type.

At some point four simple crosses were carved into the blocks of the east apse's northern wall, although no certain association exists between these symbols and the graves beneath them (pl. 177a).<sup>309</sup> Perhaps to be associated with the east apse burials is a long, narrow grave (Grave 1909-005, pl. 177b-178a) for which only the cutting is partially preserved extending from the

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<sup>308</sup> This grave is also included within the collective entry for Grave 1898-001. A bronze ring, (MF512), which by its size is more likely to have belonged to a belt than a finger, might have originated within. The superstructure of this tomb remains within the west wall of the apse and consists of walls built with small poros stones and bricks topped by a vault of squared poros blocks fronted by radially set bricks. Its entrance, located at east, was probably blocked by a non-surviving stone slab set vertically. The original floor has been completely destroyed. Although the west wall likewise does not survive, it have been positioned slightly west of the west apse wall as indicated by projecting fragments of vaulting within the apse which correspond to a cutting, probably marking the line of the tomb's west wall, in Peirene's northwest stair. On this tomb generally and its potential association with the ring see Robinson (2011, p. 294).

<sup>309</sup> B. Robinson 2011, p. 289

floor of the court west of the apse and into the space of Peirene's rectangular pool, which must by this time have been filled by earth.<sup>310</sup>

Finally, a large number of apparently disarticulated human bones (Grave 0068.041) were discovered within the northernmost annex of Peirene's west supply tunnel, located some 10 m. walking distance and at a near right angle from the fountain court's southwest entrance (pl. 178b). Such mortuary use of an underground reservoir finds a good Late Antique parallel in the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. burials within Reservoir IV of Lerna Court in addition to several less exploited reservoirs opening onto the same space.<sup>311</sup>

Peirene's graves may be only broadly dated due to the extremely poor documentary record. It is possible, however, to revise previously proposed chronologies, which range from the 6th C. all the way to the 9th.<sup>312</sup> While a very late 6<sup>th</sup> C. date cannot be completely ruled out, the tile tent grave previously assigned to this time seems more likely to be a particularly advanced variation of the long-lived tile tent format; a date in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. or later for this tomb is therefore

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<sup>310</sup> See B. Robinson 2011, p. 294. It is probable that the cutting was covered by slabs or tiles to avoid disturbance; additional lining might have existed but is not documented. Two additional burials were uncovered outside Peirene and directly southeast of the apse: An infant grave (Grave 1954-018, Scranton 1957, p. 41) of Middle Byzantine date which has nothing to do with the fountain's burials, while little may be said about the second burial (Grave NB0062.027) other than that it was a pit grave or perhaps a disturbed burial of other construction type.

<sup>311</sup> On Lerna Court's Reservoir IV see p. 60. B. Robinson (2011, p.293, fn.40) suggests that the reservoir's bones may be secondary burials based on their state of disarray when excavated. While such a deposition cannot be ruled out, the bones' condition may well be due to periodic flooding of the chamber over the course of a millennium or more.

<sup>312</sup> Scranton (1957, p. 30) prefers to place the beginning of the cemetery in the 7th or 8th C., not long after the building was abandoned, but believes that it may have continued in use for some time and become associated with a small chapel that was constructed in the southwest corner of the fountain courtyard in about the 10th C. On the date of the chapel see B. Robinson (2011, p.296). Ivison (1996, p. 104) suggests a far too early date in the 6th C. without further explanation. Most recently, B. Robinson (2011, p. 296) has posited an inaugural date in the late 6th C. with mortuary activity extending into the 8th C. and perhaps even the 9th.

typologically preferable.<sup>313</sup> The remainder of Peirene's tombs may be dated broadly from as early as the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. to as late as the 8<sup>th</sup> C., if not also the ill-defined 9<sup>th</sup> C., based on their architectural formats, incorporation of spolia blocks, or combined use of tiles and stones laid in irregular courses.<sup>314</sup> The early 7<sup>th</sup> C. may probably be excluded from consideration, however, due to activity in the nearby house north of the Peribolos of Apollo.<sup>315</sup> A much later date, probably after the early 8<sup>th</sup> C., is implied by the lack of mortuary objects which would have likely accompanied at least a few of the dozens of interments here were these burials of such a relatively early chronology.<sup>316</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum, no relationship appears to exist between the 10<sup>th</sup> C. chapel and Peirene's burials, all of which are located at a considerable distance from it; the construction of the chapel may consequently be regarded as a *terminus ante quem* for the tombs.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> Ibid. Although it could simply be an architectural modification reliant on locally available materials, the use of stone slabs along with tiles does not fit the known body of 6<sup>th</sup> C. tile tent graves. A double burial would likewise be highly unusual for the 6<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>314</sup> Vaulted burial chambers with walls of stone and tile cannot be dated strictly to the 8<sup>th</sup> C., however, as indicated by B. Robinson (2011, p.294) following Sanders; a similarly built tomb in the Forum, Grave 1974-005, should belong to the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. based on the two pots placed within it. On the chronology of vaulted tombs see further p. 148.

<sup>315</sup> For the house north of the Peribolos of Apollo see p. 9.

<sup>316</sup> Although the recording of the excavation leaves much to be desired, one would expect pottery or jewelry to have been mentioned in passing, as it was for other burials excavated in the earliest years of modern digging at Corinth, had it been found in Peirene's graves. The sole possible object from the burial cluster is Grave 1926-023's bronze ring (MF512), itself of late 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. date.

<sup>317</sup> Based on the near-contemporary Bema Church and especially the chapel constructed within Lerna Court, both of which received burials beneath their floors and immediately outside their walls, one might expect that the immediate vicinity of the Peirene church would contain burials were any associated with the use of the chapel. To the contrary, the chapel, nestled within the fountain court's southwest corner, is sited as far away from any grave as possible. Its position seems to be determined by both a desire to be near an entrance and incorporate a wall of the court as one of its own long walls, and perhaps also a need to be close to the water source, by now probably considered a Christian *agiasma*.

Therefore, particularly considering the large sample of graves in which 50 people or more may easily have been buried, a chronology in the latter 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. is preferable for Peirene.

This tentative assignment of Peirene's burials to the latter 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. raises new questions about the selection of this space for mortuary use. In theory, Peirene could have been considered a Christian agiasma, or sacred spring, prior to the installation of its tombs.<sup>318</sup> However, if Corinth's circa 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. Fountain of the Lamps is any guide, blessed waters do not necessarily attract burials to their immediate vicinity, and, despite its availability, Peirene's west apse went completely untouched.<sup>319</sup>

A more fruitful approach may be to ask why the site was apparently not chosen for burial circa 600 A.D., when the first graves were laid in the Forum, or within the century that followed. The answer may lie in both topography and the practical non-mortuary use of Peirene. Requiring access via one of three stairs, Peirene's court would have been largely invisible from the Lechaion Road and Forum. Secondly, there is every indication that the fountain remained in relatively good structural condition and continued to serve its intended function of water supply until the Middle Byzantine period. 7<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthians may have been reluctant, therefore, to bury their dead within the immediate vicinity of one of the best source of water for the urban population living within the walls of the contracted Late Antique settlement. Arguably, only

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<sup>318</sup> The placement of a chapel here in the 10th C. indicates a recognition of the site's spiritual value only at a significantly later date. The sole evidence supporting a special Christian perception of Peirene is the Roman and Late Antique belief that the fountain's waters brought wisdom to those who drank them; on this see B. Robinson 2011, p.288f, 293. If large numbers of lamps were dedicated at Peirene, as they were at Corinth's Fountain of the Lamps, there is surprisingly not even the briefest mention of this within the pages of early excavation notebooks.

<sup>319</sup> Potential evidence for burial at the Fountain of the Lamps consists only of a human skull, retrieved along with sheep bones, from the uppermost layer of a channel feeding the fountain and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> C. (Wiseman, 1969, p. 77).

after the Forum had been fully abandoned and accepted as a place appropriate for little more than the act of burial, or passing through while traveling to some other destination, did Peirene gain the role of potential graveyard while still serving as a communal water source. Additionally, in an era known for the popularization of church burial, the apsidal spaces of the court may have proven particularly attractive, reminding Corinthians of ecclesiastical architecture and especially settings like the triple-apse mausoleum connected to Corinth's Kraneion Basilica.<sup>320</sup>

#### Forum East

Southeast of the Peirene Fountain and occupying most of the Forum's east side, the Julian Basilica became the setting for three large tombs (Grave 1915-007, Grave 1915-010, Grave 1915-011) that still stand today (pl. 27). The graves were cut into bedrock in the cryptoporticus beneath the building's destroyed west aisle and were separated from the space of the Forum's open square by the basilica's west wall, which currently exists slightly above foundation level and by the 7<sup>th</sup> C. is unlikely to have stood much higher.<sup>321</sup> The complete removal of the west wall's central section, on either side of which the tombs were constructed, probably provided direct access to this burial cluster from the square.

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<sup>320</sup> The central, southern apse of the apsidal room at Kraneion correlates with the central, northern apse at Peirene, and may explain why burial within this small space was so desirable that one grave (Grave 1926-023) was cut through the apse wall while another (Grave 1930-174) was built directly outside the apse.

<sup>321</sup> The graves were first described by Scranton (1957, pp.10f), who associated them with an entirely hypothetical church; see also S. Weinberg's (1960, p.50, pl. 20.1, 20.2, 23.1, 23.2;) remarks on both graves and church. Weinberg argued that the tombs were either constructed within an intact cryptoporticus before the destruction of the basilica by earthquake, which he put in 375 but is now believed to be a 5<sup>th</sup> C. event (Brown 2011, p. 101), or were dug at a later date within a thick layer of earthquake debris which generally occupied the cryptoporticus. Excavator E. Swift specifies, however, that the area around the tombs contained "Mediaeval" layers, rather than Roman debris, all the way down to bedrock (Corinth Notebook 0079, p.485), and so it appears likely that whatever debris existed within this area was cleared before the installation of the tombs.

The two southern, vaulted tombs (Grave 1915-007, Grave 1915-010, pl. 179a-183b) are quite similar and are notable for their vaults of poros voussoirs fronted at east by poros lintels rather than brick arches, and for the use of in-situ bedrock as the wall structure below the level of vault spring. However, with an immense interior length of 2.68 m. Grave 1915-010 is significantly longer than its neighbor and adopts the basilica's west foundation as its own west wall, whereas Grave 1915-007 appears to stop short of the basilica wall based on the visible extent of its vault and presumably possesses a west wall of its own. Both tombs were probably used over an extended period of time given the presence of at least ten skeletons in Grave 1915-007 and even more in Grave 1915-010.<sup>322</sup> An additional burial (Grave 1915-006), a subadult cist grave, should probably be associated with Grave 1915-007, the vault of which it partially overlaps.<sup>323</sup>

North of the vaulted tombs, and aligned with them, lies a third large tomb (Grave 1915-011, pl. 179a-b, 184a-185b) of different form. Although the excavator presumed that the poorly preserved remains belong to a vaulted structure, and Scranton published it as such, the extant blocks suggest that this is actually a rare flat-roofed tomb with entry shaft.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> According to its excavator, E. Swift, G1915-007 was "absolutely carpeted" with at least two layers of bones representing 10-12 individuals and rising to a total height of .20 m. above the tomb floor (Corinth Notebook 79, p.476); Grave 1915-010 was simply stated to have contained a greater number of interments.

<sup>323</sup> Although partially overlapping the tomb vault, the top of this cist grave would have been close to the ancient surface level judging by the elevation of the vaulted tomb's entry shaft. On the other hand, an infant burial (Grave 1915-008) less than a meter west of the northern vaulted tomb is almost certainly not associated with it: The bedrock cutting for this small grave was made in the basilica's west wall at a level that must have been higher than that of the surface at the time of the tombs' installation, and a better context for the infant burial is suggested by the many other infant burials scattered throughout, and at times clearly post-dating, the post-Antique walls constructed above the basilica.

<sup>324</sup> Scranton 1957, p.11. That this fragmentary building is in fact a tomb is made clear by the discovery of otherwise undescribed human bones within it. The upper faces of the large blocks comprising the tomb's north and south walls would have been more logically topped by slabs rather than a completely hypothetical vault, and access could have been provided by a vertical shaft which may be preserved in traces at the structure's east end.

The chronology of the Julian Basilica's burials, which are devoid of mortuary artifacts, is of particular interest due to the unusual architectural aspects of all three large tombs. Scranton recognized that they must pre-date the post-Antique structures built over the basilica, the earliest of which he assigned to the 11<sup>th</sup> C., and preferred to associate them with the hypothetical ecclesiastical conversion of the building which he dated as early as the late 4<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>325</sup> Such a chronology is clearly far too early: Neither the largely poros vaults of the two southern tombs nor the flat roof of their northern neighbor are employed at Corinth before the late 7<sup>th</sup> C. at earliest. At the other end of the chronological spectrum, a date beyond the 9<sup>th</sup> C. is unlikely due to the general cessation of adult burial in non-ecclesiastical settings in the Middle Byzantine period at Corinth and elsewhere. The utter lack of mortuary artifacts for the more than 20 individuals buried here is additionally suggestive of a chronology in the latter 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. for all three large tombs in addition to cist grave Grave 1915-006, and while it cannot date the tomb's construction or use, a coin of Basil I (867-886) discovered beneath the edge of a cover slab belonging to Grave 1915-007 does reveal that it remained accessible until at least the late 9<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>326</sup>

South of the Julian Basilica, the aptly named Southeast Building received four tombs within its former porch and the ruins of what had been an interior room; all were probably accessed from the west via the Forum's northern, smaller square (pl. 29). The northern porch grave (Grave 1915-003, pl. 186a-187b) was dug into the bedrock at the intersection of two water channels, substantially enlarging a pre-existing cutting. Between two and five individuals were interred within the tomb, which must have been originally roofed with stone slabs, and

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<sup>325</sup> Ibid.

<sup>326</sup> Coin of Basil I: #239 (1915)

accompanied by two lekythoi of the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>327</sup> Some six meters south of the rock-cut grave, and close to the south end of the porch, a vaulted tomb (Grave 1915-012, pl. 188a-b) was excavated in the same year with disappointingly little documentation.<sup>328</sup> Its vault, still visible today, is composed almost entirely of poros voussoirs in a style close to that of the Julian Basilica's two vaulted tombs; it should probably be dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. Finally, just northeast of the vaulted tomb and within the ruins of the Southeast Building's south interior room, two tile graves (Grave 1933-104, Grave 1933-105) were built, probably in a tile tent format.

#### The Greater Forum Area

Although located slightly beyond the periphery of the Forum square, burials within the precinct of Temple E and in the ruins of buildings lining the Sikyonian and Lechaion Roads are highly significant due to the wide range of datable objects deposited within them as well as their variety of tomb types. Moreover, as abandoned areas adjacent to the Forum these spaces were likely regarded by Late Antique Corinthians as part of the same expansive, disused zone that had become appropriate for burial and little else; their contiguous excavation alongside the Forum therefore helps to create a broadly based picture of varying patterns of mortuary activity.

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<sup>327</sup> Cylindrical lekythos: CP 95; the identity of the other lekythos is not clear.

<sup>328</sup> The tomb's vault was drawn on a plan published as S. Weinberg 1960, plan I. An entry shaft, now hidden beneath soil and vegetation, seems once to have existed at east (Corinth Notebook 0080, p.18).

## Temple E

Cut into the concrete core of Temple E's platform, built against its foundations, and dug in the earth around it were more than 50 graves in a variety of formats (pl. 30). While some of them are certainly to be associated with the 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> C. monastery located southeast of the temple, the evidence for the majority, due to both poor preservation and extremely limited documentation, is far too sparse to permit any secure chronological determination.<sup>329</sup> A Late Antique date might tentatively be offered for the many graves cut into the temple platform, a setting similar to the much smaller scale mortuary exploitation of Temple D at the Forum's west terrace during Late Antiquity.

An unusual cluster of subadult graves located circa ten meters north of Temple E's east portion provides the only certain evidence for Late Antique burial within the temple's immediate vicinity. Five amphora burials (Grave 0184.056; Grave 0184.059b; Grave 0184.059d; Grave 0184.060; Grave 0184.063) and three small tile tent graves (0184.059a; Grave 0184.059c; Grave 0184.064) comprised the cluster, which extended along an east-west axis and must have been spatially determined by some non-surviving feature, probably a wall or path. While the tile tent graves cannot be directly dated, a Late Antique origin for all of these burials is clear based on the presence of at least two Gaza type amphoras (Grave 0184.056; Grave 0184.059c) (pl. 189a-b)

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<sup>329</sup> Scranton (1957, p.67) comments briefly on the Temple E cemetery and assigns it to the 12<sup>th</sup> C. On the monastic complex, see most recently Williams (2003, p.424, fn.6). Rothaus (2000, p.41-42) contends, largely on the basis of Late Antique lamps, that some of the graves dug beside Temple E are of Late Antique date. Such a chronology might hold true for the graves but cannot rely on the lamps, which were found only in the general excavation areas, some measuring half the length of the temple, on the same days that the tombs were dug.

that arguably belong to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>330</sup> The use of three additional amphoras that were not saved, but may belong to other types due to their recorded dimensions, provides additional support for a date circa 600 or somewhat later, when the tradition of amphora burial continued to some degree but required types other than Gaza amphoras, which ceased to be imported around this time.<sup>331</sup> Outside this cluster, but perhaps roughly contemporary in date, are a subadult burial (Grave 1932-111) in a tile tent grave located circa eight meters to the cluster's south and an infant burial (Grave 1932-085) within an amphora of uncertain type positioned directly southeast of Temple E's platform.<sup>332</sup>

Well removed from these infant burials, a cluster of four graves at the northwest corner of Temple E's precinct is of probable Late Antique date (pl. 31).<sup>333</sup> At the group's center stood a vaulted tomb (Grave 1965-020, pl. 190a-b) with abutting walled precinct, the north and south walls of which extended eastward to enclose the entry shaft.<sup>334</sup> Directly south of the burial chamber, an adult was interred within a cist (Grave 1965-007, pl. 190a, 191a-192a); plausibly

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<sup>330</sup> Amphora C-1938-713 (Grave 0184.056), the only vessel saved, betrays attributes of Majcerek (1995) type 3, which ends in the late 6<sup>th</sup> C., and the succeeding type 4, which begins in the late 6<sup>th</sup> C. The other clear example of a Gaza amphora (Grave 0184.063), which was not saved, should be of type 3 or 4 based on a photograph.

<sup>331</sup> This conclusion depends largely on the acceptance of a short period of development for this cluster, rather than one that would have spanned multiple decades. Although unprovable, such a short-lived existence seems likely based on both the special, age restricted nature of the cluster, its limited size, and its spatial regularity.

<sup>332</sup> Grave 1932-111 was laid within the robbing trench for Temple E's north foundation and arguably dates to the 7<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of a relatively simple earring (MF1555) recovered by the excavator. The brief written description of Grave 1932-085 corresponds well to the appearance of a Gaza amphora, as noted by Rothaus (2000, p.42); Majcerek's type 4 (late 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C.) would appear to be the closest fit.

<sup>333</sup> A fifth grave, Grave 1965-008, published as Grave 1 (*ibid.*, p.7) bears no relation to the Late Antique mortuary group due to the presence of four Ottoman coins, which were initially illegible, within it.

<sup>334</sup> The vaulted tomb as well as the other burials within its group was briefly published, based on sparse field notes, in Anderson (1967, p. 6-7).

associated with it is a 9<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> C. bronze finger ring recovered from the earth above this coverless grave.<sup>335</sup> South of the cist lay a well-built tile tent grave (Grave 1965-011, pl. 190a, 182b-c), also containing a single adult burial.<sup>336</sup> Although these latter two graves were published as circa 11<sup>th</sup> C. based on pottery recovered from the disturbed Grave 1965-007, the general lack of similarly datable graves from the western Forum, isolated location of the cluster, and refined construction of Grave 1965-011 in a style recalling 6<sup>th</sup> C. tile tent graves suggest that the entire cluster is better placed within Late Antiquity.<sup>337</sup> Lastly, a pile of bones (Grave 0313.051, pl. 190a, 192d) recovered from the earth above the vaulted tomb's northwest corner is likely to represent a single adult burial made during Late Antiquity and re-interred following disturbance by the construction of a Frankish house above.<sup>338</sup>

Slightly south of Temple E's temenos, a cist grave (Grave 1991-009, pl. 193a-194a) was built within the line of a wall which ran parallel to Corinth's decumanus. The disarticulated remains of six individuals survived within the tomb's interior along with a bronze and gold earring which is probably associated with Middle Byzantine re-use.<sup>339</sup> One meter to the southwest and set within a corner of the same building, the upper portion of an amphora, turned upside down, provided a cover for the burial (Grave 1991-015, pl. 194b-195a) of a young subadult; the amphora, an advanced form of Late Roman 2 type, possesses an 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. chronology.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> Published as Grave 2 (*ibid.*, p.6-7). Bronze finger ring: MF12197

<sup>336</sup> Published as Grave 3 (*ibid.*)

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7

<sup>338</sup> Published as Grave 4 (*ibid.*)

<sup>339</sup> Bronze and gold earring: MF1991-22

<sup>340</sup> Amphora: C-91-23. Sanders (2003, p.39-40, fig. 10.3)

## Sikyonian Road

A minimum of three small burial clusters was uncovered within the buildings lining the Sikyonian Road just before its point of entry at the Forum's northwest corner. At far west, at least one, and possibly two, tombs (Grave Plan 053-006, pl. 170) of probable Late Antique date lay within the cavernous space of Glauke Fountain's central reservoir; little may be said with certainty other than that one was apparently a lined cist or rock-cut tomb.<sup>341</sup> To the east of Glauke and just south of the north interior colonnade of the peribolos of Temple C, two more graves were created, each for a single person (pl. 32). One (Grave 1908-001) appears to have been a cist and contained fragments of a "coarse burned pot" that might conceivably have been a poorly fired lekythos or pitcher, while documentation is lacking for the other interment (Grave 0050.015) located directly to its west.

On the east side of the Sikyonian Road, a vaulted tomb (Grave 1908-003) containing multiple burials was dug through the road surface just west of the Temple of Apollo's peribolos wall, and two neighboring graves (Grave 1908-005a, Grave 1908-005b) of uncertain type, probably vaulted tombs or cist graves, were cut into the lower hillside of Temple Hill (pl. 33). Farther southeast and within the colonnade of the Temple of Apollo's south stoa, three graves, all

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<sup>341</sup> Architect O. Washburn briefly describes a "grave II" (Grave Plan 053-006) in his Glauke notebook (Corinth Notebook 0030, p.030) which could match a grave, apparently rock-cut, drawn on Glauke's central reservoir on several plans but labeled as such on only one published plan (Richardson 1900, pl. VII) and not in the final Corinth volume (Hill et al. 1964, fig. 124). This rectangular cutting, devoid of any lining, remains visible. A grave (Grave 1899-001) with much larger dimensions than those mentioned by the architect, and in a location just south of an entryway that cannot match the drawn grave, appears in rough notes following the primary text within A. Cooley's Glauke excavation notebook (Corinth Notebook 0009, p.009), where he states that the grave has a "wall", an "east end" (and therefore an east-west orientation), and 5-6 interments. Whether this second tomb is likewise in the central reservoir or elsewhere in the vicinity of Glauke is uncertain.

probably assuming a tile tent format and accommodating single burials, were laid. The first (Grave 1925-007) was installed just east of the Sikyonian Road, while the other two (Grave 1925-005, Grave 1925-006) were positioned beside one another at some distance to the east; at least the last grave must have belonged to an older adolescent or adult due to the exceptionally large skeleton noted by the excavator (pl. 38).<sup>342</sup>

### Lechaion Road

Abandoned buildings on both sides of the Lechaion road, and within the vicinity of its western border in particular, became home to burial clusters some 40 m. north of the monumental Propylaea embellishing the road's entry into the Forum. At east, a minimum of two graves was constructed at the intersection of the Peribolos of Apollo and the Late Antique house to its north (pl. 34). The best documented of these is a vaulted tomb (Grave 1914-001, pl. 195b-197a) built within the space of the house and against the north wall of the Peribolos; pre-existing walls were put to new use as the south and west walls of the burial chamber.<sup>343</sup> The vault was composed of poros voussoirs, while the entrance shaft at east is notable for its use of mud as a bonding agent for the fieldstones and bricks forming its walls. Strikingly, a cross was incised within the plaster on the stone lintel's interior face as well as on the underside of the vault while the plaster was still wet, making this only the second tomb within the vicinity of the Forum to receive Christian

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<sup>342</sup> All three graves were said to be built with tiles, for which roof tiles were specified for the easternmost two burials.

<sup>343</sup> While the detailed excavation notes (Corinth Notebook 0074, p.62f) of Arthur C. McGiffert on this "grave of a Christian" display an unexpected interest in Corinth's relatively late archaeology for 1914 and surely reflect his training as a theologian, they also testify to his surprisingly thorough documentation generally.

decoration. A mass of badly decayed bones belonging to an uncertain number of individuals lay on the burial chamber's floor.

Secondly, within the western half of the Late Antique house and probably not far from the north wall of the Peribolos of Apollo, excavators following a drain of the Peirene Fountain unearthed a 1.88 m. long grave "roofed with tiles" (Grave 0063.048), most likely in a tile tent format. Finally, some five meters east of the vaulted tomb and abutting the north wall of the Peribolos, a group of three Late Roman 2 amphoras (Grave 0090.106, pl. 197b), said to be full of earth and to contain fragments of "rather large" eggshells along with a few small animal bones, might alternately be interpreted as infant burials.<sup>344</sup> A Late Antique date may be proposed for all burials in this area due both to the vaulted tomb's architectural characteristics and lack of objects, which should not be placed before the late 7<sup>th</sup> C. and are most likely to be late 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., and the adult-sized tile grave, which follows the Late Antique pattern of scattered grave distribution but would be unexpectedly isolated for an interment of later date.<sup>345</sup>

On the west side of the Lechaion Road, Late Antique burials cluster in and around the remains of the second phase of the Late Antique Hemicycle complex, where as many as eight graves, three of them securely datable, were installed (pl. 35-36).<sup>346</sup> Within the curve of the Hemicycle wall, a pair of tombs (Grave 1925-009, Grave 1926-022) stood inside a central room,

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<sup>344</sup> The "eggshell" fragments could well be infant cranium, and the few small bones might be infant long bones visible without sieving of the earth within the amphoras. The issue is further complicated by a "nest" of eggs said to have been found beside the amphoras. The space seems to have been either a substantial area of foodstuff storage or, more likely, an infant cemetery.

<sup>345</sup> Scranton (1957, p.22) considered at least "some" of these burials to pre-date the 10<sup>th</sup> C. chapel within the Peirene fountain. All graves should date beyond the first decade of the 7<sup>th</sup> C., when the Late Antique house was still clearly in use

<sup>346</sup> On the Late Antique phase of this complex generally, see p. 36.

while a third (Grave 1925-008) was constructed against the Hemicycle's west building wall. From Grave 1925-009 (pl. 198a), which was most likely a cist, excavators recovered a bronze lyre-type buckle of the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. or slightly later along with two bronze rings that may have been worn on a belt belonging to one of the multiple individuals interred here.<sup>347</sup> One meter northeast of this grave lay a smaller one (Grave 1926-022, pl. 198b-199b), probably another cist, in which survived the skeletons of at least two children along with a bronze cruciform buckle of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C., four glass beads of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., and the remains of what appears to be an iron bell.<sup>348</sup> Finally, the Hemicycle's curved west wall was re-utilized as Grave 1925-008's west boundary; based on a single extant marble block this appears to have been a cist grave (Grave 1925-008) containing only the bones of two subadults.

Four additional graves lay outside the curve of the Hemicycle: two vaulted tombs (Grave 1902-003, Grave 1902-004), for which documentation is almost completely lacking, close to the Lechaion Road, what was described only as a "small tomb" (Grave 0067.018) farther to the southwest and within the west aisle of the Lechaion Road Basilica, and a cist grave (Grave 1925-003, pl. 199c-201c) at the complex's extreme northwest corner. Within the last grave, roofed by three pieces of a column drum, lay a single skeleton, which must have belonged to an older subadult or unusually short adult, wearing an iron Corinth type buckle of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. at

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<sup>347</sup> The tomb was briefly described in an excavation report (Broneer 1926, p.55, pl. II) as "a large Byzantine grave in which interments had been made at different times" and appears in outline on the accompanying plan (Pl. II). Bronze belt buckle: MF496 (Davidson 2189); for mention of the bronze rings see Corinth Notebook 0088, p.095.

<sup>348</sup> Bronze buckle: MF503; glass beads: MF494 (Davidson 2433, 2492, 2493), MF505 (Davidson 2435); iron and bronze bell: MF502

his waist and a poorly preserved iron ring on his right hand.<sup>349</sup> On his upper left chest lay a small bronze cylinder, perhaps a hair accessory or phylactery.<sup>350</sup> Finally, within a room of the Late Antique complex west of the Hemicycle's curved wall excavators brought to light two unusually positioned skeletons which were considered to be the victims of an earthquake; in consideration of the burials within their immediate vicinity they might be alternately interpreted as interments deviating from local mortuary norms.<sup>351</sup>

Some 25 m. west of the Hemicycle, at least three nearby graves out of the circa 100 excavated in the area of a 12<sup>th</sup> C. church built over the east end of the Temple of Apollo's north stoa are of Late Antique origin (pl. 37).<sup>352</sup> The first two tombs (Grave 1972-020, Grave 0109.032) were built as a joined pair and suffered the destruction of their east ends when the west wall of the

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<sup>349</sup> This tomb was first published in an excavation report (Broneer 1926, p.50, pl. II); annotated versions of its original scale drawings have recently appeared in Ivison (1996, fig. 5.5) and Sanders (2004, fig. 6.5). The drawings (Corinth plan 93-57a) of the tomb's 1.5 m. long interior reveals that the individual within must have been approximately 1.3 m. in height.

<sup>350</sup> Bronze cylinder: MF432

<sup>351</sup> Broneer 1926, p.52-53; Scranton 1957, p.8. The skeletons lay with heads at south, one of their bodies in a semi-contracted position and the other extended. Two masses of coins, the latest legible examples of which are issues of Justin II (565-578), were found at their waists and seem to have originally been contained within cloth pouches.

<sup>352</sup> This area, excavated from 1968 to 1972 by a team from Case Western Reserve University, awaits full publication. I describe in detail the only two graves (Grave 1972-020, Grave 1972-070) that by their objects should clearly be assigned to Late Antiquity; these graves were partially published by H. Robinson (1976, p.221f) as Ossuary AO and Ossuary CV (ibid.). While termed "ossuaries", the disturbed state of the bones does not allow any inference of secondary burial to be made; it should be presumed that all Late Antique burials here are primary. Most other burials here are devoid of objects and likely to be associated with the church; of these, it is not inconceivable that a few could likewise be of Late Antique origin, but a comprehensive study of the church and graves is needed for any clear chronological determination. On the church's Middle Byzantine date, which had previously relied on the Late Antique chronologies assigned to the two tombs, see Sanders (2003, p.397). A small number of additional graves was excavated by F. D. Dewaele in 1929-1930 primarily in the North Market, situated directly north of the temple precinct. Their documentation is minimal, most are probably of Middle Byzantine or later date, and with the exception of the Late Antique Grave 0109.032, exposed by DeWaele within the space of the temple's north stoa, they are not described here.

church's narthex was laid over them. Although re-used in association with the later church, Grave 1972-020 (pl. 203a-211c), a tomb with a well-built but poorly preserved tile vault and walls of mortared rubble including poros blocks from the Temple of Apollo, is clearly Late Antique based on the presence of 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. buckles.<sup>353</sup> The quality of the vault corresponds to other examples which date no later than the mid-7th C. Importantly, weapons and tools including spearheads, arrowheads, a knife, and an iron light striker, possibly to be connected with the buckle-wearing individuals, were also recovered, pointing to a secondary phase of Late Antique mortuary activity by non-Greek immigrants.<sup>354</sup> Directly beside this grave, and sharing its north long wall, lay a tomb (Grave 0109.032, pl. 202, 204a, 206a) of which only a fraction of the vault remained when it was exposed in 1972, but is almost certainly to be identified as a sepulcher first excavated in 1930 and within which Late Antique pottery and buckles seem to have been discovered.<sup>355</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> Iron Corinth type buckle: MF72-83, bronze Corinth type buckle: MF72-84, bronze Corinth type buckle: MF72-86, bronze buckle with floral plate: MF72-85, bronze buckle with narrow elongated plate: MF72-87, iron bow buckle: MF72-92. An iron finger ring (MF72-76) was also recovered but cannot be dated due to its poor condition. A large fragment of an African Red Slip plate (C-72-249) found in the tomb was employed by Robinson (ibid., p.222) to establish a date of initial mortuary activity in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. However, the plate was found in a heavily disturbed part of the tomb and in the same basket (Corinth Notebook 0564, Basket 74A) as a Broneer Type 28 lamp with square discus (L-72-18) that is unlikely to be later than the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. (for one of the latest examples of this type see Karivieri 1996, #94); the plate fragment is therefore not a reliable chronological indicator of the construction or use of this sepulcher.

<sup>354</sup> Iron spearheads: MF72-80, MF72-81, iron arrowhead: MF72-78 (another arrowhead saved but not inventoried), iron spearhead or arrowhead: MF72-79, iron knife: MF72-77, iron knife with handle and sheath of horn or antler: MF72-91, bronze hoop (from knife sheath?): MF72-88, iron light striker with attached flint: MF72-82

<sup>355</sup> This tomb, dubbed Grave GY (Corinth Notebook 0525, p.67) when unearthed by H. Robinson's team in 1972, never received a formal grave number. Based on overlays of multiple plans, it is extremely close in location to, and likely the same as, a grave at the south edge of DeWaele's 1930 excavation, which exposed the southeast corner of the North Shops and the northeast corner of the Temple Apollo's north stoa. Inside this "late fence of stones" (Corinth Notebook 0109, p.032), as DeWaele called it, he discovered three or four coarse red pots and "iron clasps", which may well be buckles. No object appears to have been saved. Assuming that both vaulted tombs were built as

Due east of this tomb pair, and perhaps originally abutting them, a cist grave (Grave 1972-070, 212a-217b) was constructed using walls of mortared rubble and, at northeast, the bedrock itself. Its east end unusually took the form of an angular apse, while both the west end and cover were destroyed, probably at the time of the 12<sup>th</sup> C. church's construction. A trefoil pitcher of the mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C., along with a pair of gold earrings of probable 7<sup>th</sup> C. date and a bronze Corinth type buckle of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C., offer the earliest evidence for the tomb's use, while continued use in the 8<sup>th</sup> or even 9<sup>th</sup> C. is suggested by a silver earring.<sup>356</sup> The installation of a tile pillow at the grave's west end and above the lowest layers of bones offers clear evidence for a secondary phase of use, which might be associated with the church.

#### Cemetery Chronology and Spatial Development

By the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> C. burials could be found on all sides of the Forum and were especially dense at the west end of the South Stoa and the south end of the West Terrace (pl. 39). This distribution appears to have been a largely unplanned process and could not have been predicted based on the cemetery's early stages of development. The earliest datable graves (Grave 0184.056, Grave 0184.063, Grave 1990-018), belonging to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C., are infant burials within Gaza amphoras that were placed within Temple E's precinct; the former two graves, along with additional amphora burials and child-sized tile tent graves, appear to

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a single structure, this northern one should likewise possess a 7<sup>th</sup> C. date, which is fully compatible with the noted finds.

<sup>356</sup> Trefoil pitcher: C-72-230, gold earrings: MF72-121, bronze Corinth type buckle: MF72-112, silver earring (MF72-115). Although fragmentary, an additional bronze belt buckle (MF72-132) is assignable to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> C. Other objects include a bone finger ring (MF72-113), a probable bronze fibula head (MF72-114), a silver earring (MF72-117), a silver finger ring with decorated bezel (MF72-116), and an iron finger ring with bezel (MF72-119).

constitute an unusual subadult cluster. The absence of Late Antique adult interments within the immediate vicinity of these burials, in addition to their early date, suggests that they may have been inserted within the ruins of this vast space before it, and perhaps the Forum as a whole, were considered appropriate for burial of the general population. Five additional graves, primarily datable by pottery to the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C., are spaced widely throughout the southern edge of the Forum: a vaulted tomb (Grave 1974-005) at the West Terrace's south end (and probably also the first phase of the adjacent Grave 1974-006), two rock-cut chamber tombs (Grave 1936-006, Grave 1948-001) at the center of the South Stoa, a tomb (Grave 1915-003) built into a drain at the Forum's southeast corner, and finally a vaulted tomb (Grave 1972-020) located just outside the Forum to the north of the Temple of Apollo.

In the mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. the West Terrace was a site of substantial mortuary activity, as evidenced by a multiple burial cist grave (Grave 1934-014) and a vaulted tomb (Grave 1973-003).<sup>357</sup> The South Stoa's western area saw its first use in the form of the wandering soldier's grave (Grave 1938-010), a nearby cist grave (Grave 1933-203) and a drain (Grave 1937-015-019) which was converted to a tomb, and the stair linking the Forum's upper and lower terraces received its only graves in the form of two cists (Grave 1933-058) constructed near its east end. Finally, at some point in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. the Northwest Shops received a burial (Grave 1963-012) inside an amphora, as did the West Shops (Grave 1965-018).

Based largely on closely datable belt buckles, cemetery continuity can be demonstrated in the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C.; to this interval may be assigned the later phase of a cist grave (Grave 1934-014),

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<sup>357</sup> To this group should probably be added Grave 1934-016, a rock-cut pit located directly beneath Grave 1934-014 and therefore possessing a late 7<sup>th</sup> C. terminus ante quem.

a newly constructed cist (Grave 1934-015), and a group of three cists (Grave 1969-030, Grave 1969-036, Grave 1969-037) on the West terrace, the later phase of a drain-turned-tomb (Grave 1937-015-019) as well as a newly built tomb (Grave 1937-005) at the South Stoa's west end, and the later burials in two tombs (Grave 1972-020, Grave 1972-070) north of the Temple of Apollo. In this period the general area of the Hemicycle, between the Temple of Apollo and the Lechaion road, appears to have been first turned to a cemetery function through the installment of at least three cist graves (Grave 1925-003, Grave 1925-009, Grave 1926-022), two of them bearing multiple burials.

Deposited ceramics, context pottery and coins, and a small amount of jewelry enable the identification of the only securely dated 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. burials, which all occur along the south side of the Forum. The last burials in the South Stoa's drain-grave (Grave 1937-015-019) should probably be placed in the 8<sup>th</sup> C., and an infant amphora burial (Grave 1991-015) south of Temple E's temenos, perhaps along with a nearby cist grave (Grave 1991-009), was made at some point in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. Mortuary exploitation of the South Basilica occurred during the same two-century interval as evidenced by three tombs (Grave 1934-005, Grave 1934-007, Grave 0142.181), and at least some of the five occupants interred within a South Stoa cist grave (Grave 1937-008-009), an infant amphora burial (Grave 1953-002) north of the South Stoa, and a single burial tile grave (Grave 1960-014) on the West Terrace are of similar date. Also on the West Terrace, a vaulted tomb (Grave 1974-006) built in the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. was renovated in the 9<sup>th</sup> C. through a raising of its entry shaft. Finally, not far to the southeast of the vaulted tombs, two individuals were interred within a cist (Grave 1960-012) that was used as late as the 9<sup>th</sup> C.

While, to the extent that they are known, the construction techniques for the substantial grave clusters in the Peirene Fountain and Julian Basilica could allow a date as early as the late 7<sup>th</sup> C., the absence of objects for such a large number of burials is conspicuous and suggests a chronology in the late 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C., when mortuary artifacts are particularly scarce. The locations of these clusters (along with that of the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. South Basilica cluster) likewise suggest a divergence from earlier practice at the Forum by occupying areas not previously used for burial and, in the case of the Peirene Fountain, physically and visually removed from the ground level space experienced by casual passersby. Arguably, by this time, and concurring with the gradual shift to ecclesiastical burial grounds documented across Greece in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. and beyond, the reconceptualization of cemeteries as limited and clearly delineated spaces began to occur at Corinth's Forum.

If one considers the mortuary development of the Forum only until the early 8<sup>th</sup> C., the large clusters within the south half of the West Terrace and the west end of the South Stoa come into sharper focus: With few exceptions, they are the sole parts of the Forum used for burial. Only in the later 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. is the eastern side of the Forum exploited at a significant level, while, aside from the Peirene Fountain's burials at the Forum's extreme northeast corner, scarcely any graves were installed along the north side. Although much of this underexploited space is close to the community of the living residing immediately east of the Forum, such a spatial relationship did not necessarily influence the general lack of early mortuary activity here; a similar relationship seems not to have impeded the heavy cemetery development documented directly outside the northeast segment of Corinth's Late Antique city wall.<sup>358</sup> Moreover, even for the relatively early

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<sup>358</sup> For the excavation of graves outside Corinth's northeast wall segment see p. 11

burial clusters that did exist within the vicinity of the Forum, none approached the space occupied or number of dead interred at the Forum's southwest corner.

Why, then, was the southwest corner exploited so intensively? In the complete absence of evidence for a nearby church or other holy structure that could have acted as a spiritual anchor, one might turn to the role of the Forum as a crossroads for some of the most important land routes connecting areas of the ancient city and linking Corinth to regional urban centers. This function appears to have endured at least through the Middle Byzantine period, and it may not be due to chance that the southwest corner is home to one of the most important connections for all periods: the probable road stretching south to Acrocorinth, tying the more vulnerable lower city to the citadel that protected it. This corner would likely have been passed by anyone traveling directly between the port of Lechaion and Acrocorinth, and, while the lack of excavation within Corinth's contracted Late Antique settlement east of the Forum requires that any discussion of that community's specific land routes remain highly speculative, it is not improbable that the decumanus, contacting the Forum at its southwest corner and positioned to cut through the center of the new city, would have received a major gate through which the Early Roman route to Acrocorinth would have been accessed by Corinthians of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and beyond. Therefore, although not significantly different from other areas of dilapidated buildings in and around the Forum, the southwest corner may have offered a more heavily trafficked and prominent cemetery setting.

A second explanation for the substantial mortuary use of the South Stoa's west end may lie in the particular people who were interred here. This mortuary zone stands out through its inclusion of at least three tombs, representing ten individuals, which deviate from local practice

by including weapons and tools. Several additional graves of this group possess unusual characteristics, and it is notable that not a single vaulted tomb occurs within the space of the stoa's colonnade or shop rooms. Arguably, many, if not a majority, of these burials belong to non-local individuals, and, whether a place where the families of such individuals chose to bury across generations, or a socially accepted locale for the general interment of persons from far away and perhaps not even of the Christian religion, this part of the South Stoa might have been subject to an exceptional path of mortuary development.<sup>359</sup>

## Conclusion

The mortuary exploitation of the Forum, beginning with a small number of infant burials circa 600 and expanding through sporadic activity to a full age range by 650, was one of the few uses possible for what had become an abandoned, superfluous space positioned directly beside the community of the living. Excluded from the reduced 6<sup>th</sup> C. fortification circuit, most of its buildings lay in various states of ruin through a combination of neglect and the intentional robbing of blocks. The large scale mortuary activity at this site, in contrast to nearby places like the Theatre and Panayia Field in which graves are few or non-existent, is most easily attributed to the factors of location just outside the protected Late Antique community, and to the heavy traffic, especially on routes linking the lower city with Acrocorinth and the Lechaion Harbor, which must have continued to pass through the Forum's crossroads.

Although early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. activity at the Forum overlaps with the Lerna Court cemetery, aside from a few scattered graves the Forum stands alone at Corinth as a known burial site in use

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<sup>359</sup> On the use of this space by immigrants, see further p. 270-271.

from the late 7<sup>th</sup> C. to as late as the 9<sup>th</sup>. Across this interval, substantial continuity is apparent in tomb constructions in contrast to the near-disappearance of mortuary objects of all classes in the latest burial clusters belonging to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. The introduction of burial by non-Greek immigrants, who wore many of the Forum's jewelry and clothing accessories and were accompanied by weapons and tools, is archaeologically unprecedented at such a scale within the Late Antique cities of southern Greece. Perhaps the heavy concentration of their graves at the west end of the South Stoa contributed to a perception of this part of the Forum as a kind of sacred space which would have provided a particularly suitable environment for the erection of the nearby Bema Church around the late 10<sup>th</sup> C.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **TOMB ARCHITECTURE**

#### **Introduction**

Tomb structures, an intrinsic element of nearly every Late Antique Corinthian burial, are also the most consistently preserved and externally visible physical aspect of the mortuary sphere. While skeletal remains survive inconsistently, most objects deposited within the grave (excepting pottery) suffer some form of decay, and nearly all objects left at surface level are lost to disturbance, the tomb as a built entity usually remains intact to a large degree, and, owing to cover slabs, vaults, and imitation vaults at surface level, would have been the most conspicuous indicator of the presence of a grave at a particular location during Late Antiquity and, in some cases, beyond. This chapter surveys the full range of tomb architecture including vaulted tombs, flat-roofed tombs, cist graves, tile tent graves, amphora burials, and irregular composite tomb types. Emphasis is placed on chronological developments within tomb types as well as geographic variation. Finally, mortuary platforms and tombstones, both of which were physically integrated within tomb architecture, are assessed.

#### **Vaulted Tombs**

The vaulted tomb, essentially a walled cist topped by a vaulted roof and possessing an entry of variable form at one end, is the most elaborate, and labor-intensive, standard tomb type

throughout the Balkan Peninsula during Late Antiquity.<sup>360</sup> It first appears in the central Balkans, including Greek Macedonia, during the 3<sup>rd</sup> C., and by the 4<sup>th</sup> C. seems to have become the dominant tomb type in Thessaloniki with a small degree of representation in lesser urban centers such as Veroia.<sup>361</sup> Perhaps as a result of both strong local conservatism and lack of exposure to the progressive cultural currents flowing across the Byzantine Empire's northern roads, vaulted tombs arise in southern Greece 200 years after their ascendancy in northern cities: At Athens, the earliest datable vaulted tomb belongs to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C., while at Corinth, although 6<sup>th</sup> C. rock-cut versions of the vaulted tomb exist, it is similarly not until the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. that fully built tombs in this format may be dated with certainty.

Rock-cut versions of the vaulted tomb have been excavated in large numbers at the edge of the city's north terrace within the general vicinity of Lerna Court. Wiseman uncovered the best-documented, and earliest, examples southwest of the court in the Gymnasium area, where rows of tombs, most of them datable to the 6<sup>th</sup> C., were cut into the malleable bedrock a short distance below surface level (pl. 49a).<sup>362</sup> Typically, a roughly square vertical shaft, measuring ca. 1.35 m. in depth and 0.9 m. in width and sealed by a monolithic stone cover slab, provided access to a subterranean burial chamber extending westward from its base; in some cases steps eased the

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<sup>360</sup> The use of the built vault as a component of tomb architecture first occurs in Greece (and beyond) during the Hellenistic period in the large and complex sepulchers belonging to Macedonian elite and royalty. Vaults were also sometimes integrated within Early Roman chamber tombs, but these tombs are much larger and different in plan from Late Antique vaulted tombs.

<sup>361</sup> Studies on vaulted tombs at regional and site levels tend to be dominated by their painted decoration rather than architectural or other characteristics. On Thessaloniki's Late Antique graves, including detailed entries on many vaulted tombs, see Marki (2006); for two vaulted tombs with paintings from Veroia see Pazaras (1985). Bulgarian vaulted tombs with painted decoration are assessed by Pillinger (1999), while Valeva (2008) surveys painted tombs, many of them vaulted, in the Balkans broadly.

<sup>362</sup> For Wiseman's excavations, see p. 81-83.

transition from the surface to the level of the burial chamber (pl. 218). The chamber itself measured some 1.85 m. in total length (including the shaft floor), 0.9 m. wide, and possessed a maximum interior height of 1.05 m. which gradually became reduced toward the west due to a downward sloping ceiling. That this form is an emulation of known masonry-built vaulted tombs is made clear by the arched profile of the ceiling, which tends to be especially well chiseled at its intersection with the shaft, and in particular by the mound of white-stuccoed mortared rubble that was piled atop the length of the tomb at surface level, sometimes overlapping the entry shaft, in the form of a vault.<sup>363</sup>

Such pseudo-vaults, which were repaired on multiple occasions due to re-opening of the grave and perhaps also exposure to the elements, look forward most directly to the kind of white-stuccoed masonry vault topping the Forum cemetery's slightly later Grave 1973-003 (pl. 138a). Corinth appears to be unique in its possession of this specific rock-cut tomb type, which should in theory occur only within the vicinity of urban centers, where one might expect to find tombs built at a significant level of elaboration, and which requires stable bedrock or hard marl close to the surface.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> Some rock-cut tombs, including examples excavated by Wiseman and all of the tombs excavated by Wiseman on the nearby "Hill of Zeus" (p. 83-86), possessed the same subterranean form described here but lacked a vault of stuccoed rubble above (for example, Grave 4, illustrated in Wiseman 1967a, fig. 18); while these vaults may have simply deteriorated it is conceivable that some graves never received them.

<sup>364</sup> Corinth's port of Kenchreai is thus far the only published Greek site bearing possible comparanda, although a vault is not preserved (pl. 219a) (Rife et al. 2007). This grave's (no. 24) cutting appears to be far more irregular than most Corinthian examples, and if any rubble vault once marked the grave at surface level it did not survive to meet the eyes of excavators. The coarseness of such a tomb may be attributed to its peripheral location in relation to the Corinthian metropolis, or alternately to a particularly late date corresponding to similarly rough Corinthian versions.

The last of the rock-cut vaulted tombs were carved from the periphery of the Asklepieion in the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C. (Grave 1931-031) (pl. 58a-b) and perhaps also within the Forum in the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. (Grave 1936-006, Grave 1948-001, pl. 131c), although no rubble vault superstructure remains above the latter pair of graves.<sup>365</sup> All of these tombs stand apart from their forerunners in the Lerna Court area cemetery due to their less regularly carved burial chamber walls, which become roughly oval-shaped in Grave 1936-006 and Grave 1948-001, and in the case of Grave 1931-031 a stuccoed rubble superstructure that appears closer in top plan to a boat than a vault. Additionally, the width of the tomb chamber, though highly variable, became sharply increased in some of these later tombs: Grave 1948-001 possessed a maximum width of 1.60 m., and, while that of Grave 1931-031 was standard, some of its neighboring rock-cut graves, for which non-surviving vaults may once have existed, were endowed with spacious interiors with maximum widths of 1.5 m. (Grave 1931-028), 1.3 m. (Grave 1931-029), and 1.10 m. (Grave 1931-030).

No later than the early 7<sup>th</sup> C., and perhaps somewhat before, fully built vaulted tombs make their appearance at Corinth. Within portions of a circa 6<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery zone revealed by rescue excavations northeast of the Late Antique city wall, a small number of vaulted tombs employing mortared brick and fieldstones for their walls and vaults came to light (pl. 219b).<sup>366</sup> Far better documented are the Forum's two earliest vaulted tombs (Grave 1974-005, Grave 1974-006),

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<sup>365</sup> Other graves at the Asklepieion's perimeter and likely of similar date were constructed in the same manner as Grave 1931-031 but lack surviving vaulted superstructures. In consideration of the major post-Antique activity at the Forum, non-masonry vaults cannot be expected to survive in this area, leaving open a reasonable possibility for the presence of stuccoed rubble vaults for at least Grave 1936-006 and Grave 1948-001, the only examples in the Forum of rock-cut tombs with entry shafts.

<sup>366</sup> Skarmoutsou 2010

which were located at the south end of the West Terrace, shared a party wall along their long axes, and by their pottery are datable to the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 142a-b). These structures possessed the same basic form as the rock-cut graves, including a slab covered entry shaft, here with footholds inserted within the shaft walls, leading directly to the burial chamber. Tomb walls as well as vaults were built with mortared rubble, while neatly set bricks created elegant arches at the vaults' east ends. Both vault and wall interiors were plastered, which would become the standard for Corinth's vaulted tombs. The earth floor of Grave 1974-005 was exceptional and should perhaps be explained by the relatively early date of this tomb pair, while Grave 1974-006's tile floor, lined at the west end by an angled tile "pillow", set the stage for future Corinthian vaulted tombs. Although at 0.82 to 0.85 and 0.85 to 0.87 m. the width of these tombs' burial chambers was comparable to that of their 6<sup>th</sup> C. rock-cut predecessors, they were far longer at 2.60 and 2.61 m., and their height, at 1.30 to 1.32 and 1.36 m., was significantly greater. On the other hand, while the full width of the entry shafts, including their walls, was approximately equal to those of rock-cut entries, the shafts' interior widths decreased from nearly one meter in rock-cut vaulted tombs to .40-.60 m. in the fully built versions. An additional vaulted tomb (Grave 1972-020, pl. 203a-206a) from the greater Forum area, although poorly preserved, probably belongs to the same period and features a well-built tile vault and walls of coursed mortared rubble, including re-used poros blocks from the Temple of Apollo, which were plastered on their interior face.<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> Grave 1972-020 was constructed in the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C., as was a neighboring vaulted tomb (Grave 0109.32), about which little is known but likely followed the same form, which shared its northern long wall.

This early generation of Corinthian vaulted tombs, including fully built versions as well as examples cut in stone, corresponds closely to 6<sup>th</sup> C. tombs excavated in Thessaloniki which possess nearly identical architectural forms and dimensions, particularly in regard to entrance type, and which appear to follow a Central Balkan line of tomb development.<sup>368</sup> In consideration of the lack of known contemporary vaulted tombs from southern Greece and the absence of clearly datable 6<sup>th</sup> C. built vaulted tombs at Corinth, it is therefore tempting to suggest that Corinthians directly borrowed this tomb type from Thessaloniki and other major cities of the Central Balkans in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and first expressed it in a rock-cut version, exploiting knowledge of local rock-cut construction techniques and Corinth's tradition of large rock-cut Early Roman tombs more broadly, before creating fully built vaulted tombs no later than the early 7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>369</sup> A vaulted tomb (pl.221a) built in Athens circa 600 A.D. is nearly identical to the pair of early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. vaulted tombs from Corinth's Forum, demonstrating that by this point the type was appearing within the largest cities of the South, while the type's occurrence at Delion (Boeotia) in the 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 221b) reveals that to at least a limited extent it was also taken up by some lesser urban centers.<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>368</sup> See in particular a large cluster of tightly packed 6<sup>th</sup> C. vaulted tombs located in Thessaloniki's East Cemetery on the site of the modern university's swimming pool (pl. 220a). The large entrances of these tombs are more reminiscent of those belonging to Corinth's rock-cut vaulted tombs than subsequent, built Corinthian examples with smaller entrances.

<sup>369</sup> On the Layout of Early Roman Corinthian chamber tombs see M. E. H. Walbank (2005). Although such tombs were much larger than the imported Late Antique vaulted tomb type, the concept of burying within an enterable cave-like space, and the use of slab-covered passages sometimes incorporating stairs, would have brought a degree of familiarity to the first generations of Corinthians burying in the later tombs at the same time that the last burials were made within the heavily re-used Early Roman structures around the early 6<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>370</sup> For the Athens tomb see Threpsiades (1972); the Delion tombs are briefly presented by Chamilaki (2010, Graves 34-37). Additionally, isolated vaulted tombs that should be dated broadly to the 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. have been excavated in Northern Greece at the comparatively minor sites of Limori (Pazaras 2009, p. 201f) and Halai (O'Neil

Slightly later in date, and displaying some architectural variation, is the mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. Grave 1973-003, located on the West Terrace of Corinth's Forum (pl. 138a-b). Although generally like the pair of nearby vaulted tombs (Grave 1974-005, Grave 1974-006), its entry shaft became more isolated from the burial chamber through the widening of the burial chamber while the shaft width remained constant, and especially through the creation of a landing within the shaft which would have provided easier access to the tomb interior. A solid coat of stucco, reminiscent of the stuccoed coating on the rubble mounds which topped some rock-cut tombs, survives on the vault exterior.<sup>371</sup> The tomb's burial chamber is particularly spacious with a length of 2.40 m., a width of 1.25 m., and a height of 1.55 m. Contemporary with this structure, or perhaps somewhat later, is the heavily disturbed vaulted tomb (Grave 1965-020, pl. 190a-b) at the northwest corner of Temple E's temenos which featured a narrowed entry shaft providing access via a landing followed by two steps.

Later still is the poorly documented group of tombs (Grave 1898-001), some of them vaulted, within the north apse of Peirene Fountain. Based on a single photograph (pl. 172a-b), one vault seems to have been constructed largely from brick while another was primarily of poros blocks; the surviving Grave 1926-023 (pl. 173b-176a), built into the apse's west wall and arguably the latest grave within this cluster, also possesses a poros vault but retains the traditional brick

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1999, p. 317f); the grave of the former is quite close to Corinth's early vaulted tombs, whereas that of the latter site incorporates a "vault" constructed from stone slabs that testify to its provinciality.

<sup>371</sup> The small amount of the vault's eastern face that is visible beneath gaps in the coat of plaster reveal that the arch is constructed in a unique manner with a course of tiles laid flat serving as a cap. Trowel lines remain within the plaster where the tool was used to smooth the coating into an even surface.

arched entrance.<sup>372</sup> Although a close dating of these graves is not possible, the poros vault is a particularly late characteristic, and the general lack of mortuary artifacts suggests an especially advanced chronology in the latter 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C.

Grave 1973-003 and the Peirene vaulted tombs set the stage for the next generation of this tomb type, for which the Forum offers five examples (Grave 1914-001, Grave 1915-007, Grave 1915-010, Grave 1915-012, Grave 1934-001). Entry shafts continue to be relatively narrow in relation to wide burial chambers, and in at least one instance (Grave 1914-001) a landing is employed. The most conspicuous change is the construction of vaults almost entirely from poros voussoirs instead of the former rubble masonry.<sup>373</sup> Although somewhat simpler structures, the new vaults would still have required a good deal of skill to create, and their light grey voussoirs, probably produced by breaking down larger blocks that lay amongst the Forum's ruins, may have reminded the passerby of the stuccoed exterior surfaces possessed by some earlier vaulted tombs.

A second major development is the introduction of the stone lintel, which replaces the now-vanished brick arch at the vault's east end as the upper component of the burial chamber doorway; the vault's voussoirs may lie directly on the lintel or rest a short distance above it atop an intermediary masonry layer.<sup>374</sup> Accompanying the introduction of a rectangular doorway is the further isolation of the entry shaft, and heightened protection of the burial chamber, through

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<sup>372</sup> Whether the two vaulted tombs photographed within Peirene's north apse in 1898 likewise received brick arches is uncertain; by the time of the photograph their east ends had been completely destroyed.

<sup>373</sup> Tile fragments were occasionally wedged between the poros voussoirs in order to fill small gaps in the vaults.

<sup>374</sup> Intermediate layers appearing to consist of some form of masonry occur in Grave 1934-001 (pl. 132b), while voussoirs rest directly on the lintels of Grave 1915-007(pl. 180b) and 1915-010 (pl. 181b).

the addition of a block or tile set vertically against the exterior face of the doorframe.<sup>375</sup> Other variations in tomb architecture during this latest phase seem to reflect a growing flexibility in tomb design which both offers greater economy and links tombs more closely to their environments: Pre-existing walls, and in-situ bedrock, are put to new use as the walls of the burial chamber, and in at least one case mud, rather than mortar, is employed as a bonding agent for the entry shaft.<sup>376</sup>

The chronology of these latest, poros vaulted tombs may be framed only broadly. They should post-date the tradition of rubble masonry vaults faced by brick arches, which continues locally until at least the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. and might extend beyond the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> C., while the complete absence of objects within them suggests a date in the latter 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. Moreover, they look forward to Corinth's Middle Byzantine tombs, including those associated with the Bema Church, which incorporate similar poros vaults as well as secondary slab-protected vertical doors.<sup>377</sup> Although the lack of well-published 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. vaulted tombs at other sites in Greece does not allow Corinth's examples to be placed within a regional context, the presence of secondary closure slabs at multiple Middle Byzantine sites suggests that this became a

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<sup>375</sup> Doorways with recessed exterior faces, clearly carved in such a manner to permit the insertion of a vertical barrier, are evident in Grave 1914-001 (which possessed a stone slab as barrier, (pl. 195b, 197a) and Grave 1915-010 (pl. 181b), while Grave 1934-001 was said by its excavator to have employed a "terra cotta plaque", surely a tile, as a vertical barrier. To access the burial chamber within these tombs, one would therefore need to push away the horizontal cover slab at surface level, step into the shaft, and then remove the vertical barrier.

<sup>376</sup> Grave 1915-010, and probably also the neighboring Grave 1915-007, employed built vaults above walls of bedrock, and the same technique may have been used for Grave 1934-001, a photograph of which reveals a vault of poros stones atop walls lacking blocks and possibly made of bedrock (pl. 133a). Grave 1914-001 took advantage of one pre-existing building wall for its own south wall and large spolia blocks for its north wall; it also used mud rather than mortar within its entry shaft.

<sup>377</sup> On Middle Byzantine vaulted tombs with secondary closure slabs at Corinth see Ivison (1993, p. 118-121).

widespread phenomenon, while a stone vault is known from a tomb at the late 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery at Eleutherna, Crete (pl. 222a).<sup>378</sup>

#### Flat-roofed tombs with entry shafts

At least four examples of multiple burial flat-roofed tombs with entry shafts, which are typologically identical to vaulted tombs but possess flat covers of spolia slabs or horizontally laid columns rather than vaulted roofs, occur in Corinth's Forum cemetery.<sup>379</sup> These tombs are of roughly uniform dimensions, possessing burial chamber interiors circa two meters long, one meter wide, and one meter high.<sup>380</sup> However, the presence of a large degree of within-group architectural variation is made clear by a comparison of two surviving tombs (Grave 1937-008-009, Grave 1938-017) belonging to the South Stoa west grave cluster. The former tomb (pl. 110c-112b) is exceedingly well-built and includes walls of rubble masonry coated with a thick layer of plaster, two layers of colonettes as a cover, and a double-barrier entry shaft

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<sup>378</sup> Ibid. The architecture of the Eleutherna tomb (Themelis 2004, p. 124, no. 18-19) (pl. 222a-b), which is located beside the Pyrgi basilica and neatly built using pseudo-isodomic limestone blocks, is not well published. It is therefore unclear whether this structure, the only known vaulted sepulcher from the entire site and fully devoid of finds, should fall within the category of Corinth's poros vaulted tombs or is better considered a locally idiosyncratic, and potentially earlier, construction. A vaulted tomb of possible 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> C. date was unearthed at Thebes close to simpler graves of the 10<sup>th</sup> C.; it possessed a stepped entrance, painted crosses on its interior walls, and an unusual apsidal east end and contained a late 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> C. belt buckle ("Thiva". *AD* 49 (1994) *Chronika B*'1, pp. 113-117).

<sup>379</sup> Clearly identifiable flat-roofed tombs consist of Grave 1937-008-009, Grave 1937-013, Grave 1937-025, Grave 1938-017. Although its roof does not survive, it is difficult to imagine a superstructure of any other type atop the extant remains of Grave 1915-011, which possesses an entry shaft. Based on blocks, probably serving as steps, at the east end of their interiors and the lack of mention by the excavator of a vault, which seems to have been normally stated in passing within excavation notebooks for the instances in which it was present, Grave 1934-015 and Grave 1937-005 might also belong to the flat-roofed tomb type.

<sup>380</sup> The tomb width of circa one meter, close to that of larger cist graves, is better understood as dependent on the kinds of blocks chosen for use within the roof than any chronologically diagnostic feature following the development of vaulted tombs.

incorporating a horizontal external slab together with a vertical interior one set within the tomb chamber's rabbetted doorway. Grave 1938-017 (pl. 122a-124b), on the other hand, features large blocks along with a leveling course of smaller blocks and tiles within its north wall, while its west wall is composed of coarsely laid rubble masonry; a roof consisting primarily of an enormous abacus block from the nearby Archaic colonnade tops the unplastered burial chamber. At east, its non-surviving entry shaft, known only from a notebook drawing, appears to have been constructed from a variety of disparate blocks; the existence of a second, internal barrier is uncertain. Both Grave 1937-008-009 and Grave 1938-017 take advantage of their pre-existing environments, the former by re-using a stoa shop wall as the east wall of its entry shaft, and the latter in its exploitation of the South Stoa's massive terrace wall as its own south wall.

To the very limited extent that, based on available documentation, the other flat-roofed tombs may be considered, some of the same varied characteristics reappear: Grave 1915-011 (pl. 184a-185b) possesses unplastered walls of large blocks and an eastern extension, probably part of the entry shaft, constructed in rubble masonry, while Grave 1937-013 (pl. 117a) recalls the nearby Grave 1937-008-009 generally and includes a plastered interior as well as a doorway rabbetted for the insertion of a vertical interior barrier. Grave 1937-025 (pl. 119a-120a) appears to have incorporated relatively large blocks within its walls and was topped by two segments of the South Stoa's marble gutter and a split column serving as a lintel. Unfortunately, the floor of only one flat-roofed tomb (Grave 1937-013) was described by the excavator, who noted that it was of earth.

Broadly datable to the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., flat-roofed tombs with entry shafts were installed in the Forum well after it had become an established cemetery in the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. and

subsequent to the construction of at least some vaulted tombs, which served as partial typological models, at the same site. Based on vaulted tomb chronologies, flat-roofed tombs with identical internal vertical barriers blocking the burial chamber (Grave 1937-008-009, Grave 1937-013) should not date before the late 7<sup>th</sup> C. and could easily belong to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C., while the few objects found within the tombs observe similar chronologies and in one case reveal clear evidence of mortuary activity in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>381</sup> Moreover, Grave 1915-011's location in the South Basilica, close to two poros vaulted tombs likely dating to the late 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C., suggests that its construction be placed within a similar timeframe.

It would be easy to dismiss Corinth's flat-roofed tombs, which are without close parallel in Greece, as little more than cheapened emulations of vaulted models. Based on contemporary vaulted tombs and the surviving portions of abandoned structures throughout the Forum, brick and poros blocks were both readily available on site as potential vaulting materials; arguably, the necessary expense of a hired craftsman to construct the vault is the single greatest difference between flat-roofed tombs and their vaulted counterparts. However, in terms of both labor-intensive construction and visual reception, it is useful to consider flat-roofed tombs on their own merits. These structures are sturdily built using multiple masonry techniques, in some instances boast plastered interiors, and can utilize double-barrier entrance systems. It is somewhat surprising that, in light of the time, level of skill, and probable financial expenditure demanded for the erection of the tombs, they were not completed with vaults were roofs of that type desired. Perhaps they were not. A distinguishing feature of at least three flat-roofed tombs is

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<sup>381</sup> See Grave 1937-025's late 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> C. jug (C-37-2020) and especially the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 9<sup>th</sup> C. trapezoidal belt buckle (MF7225) from Grave 1937-008-009.

their highly unorthodox use of spolia, including halved columns, colonnettes, and an enormous column abacus block, within their roofs; while these tombs recall cist graves generally in terms of the use of flat covers, they avoid the simple slabs commonly employed within cists and seem to make a visual statement that, at surface level, would have unmistakably identified them as a special kind of tomb.<sup>382</sup> In comparison to vaulted chamber tombs, the eye-catching variability of roofs consisting of blocks and columns, rather than more expensive vaults, may have particularly helped to make them a roofing system of choice. Moreover, evidence exists to suggest that at least one flat-roofed tomb (Grave 1937-008-009, Grave 1937-025) was used, and perhaps constructed by, non-Greek immigrants. Perhaps this tomb type was favored by a small group of non-locals who chose distinctive forms of architectural expression which fell broadly within Corinthian tradition but also reflected their own self-identification as a cultural “other”.<sup>383</sup>

### Cist Graves

Cist graves, essentially lined pits which were typically topped by cover slabs near surface level, are, along with tile tent graves, the most commonly encountered tomb types across the breadth of Late Antique Greece.<sup>384</sup> This basic type was popular at Corinth since the Geometric

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<sup>382</sup> Only a single cist grave from the Forum (Grave 1925-003) is known to have incorporated a column within its cover, but the placement of the three pieces of the cut column with flat sides at top and curved portions at bottom resulted in an appearance that would have been identical to typical slab-covered cists.

<sup>383</sup> See further p. 270-271.

<sup>384</sup> The precise depth in relation to Late Antique surface level can rarely be reconstructed for Corinth’s cist graves. The position of these tombs’ cover slabs at approximately the same as stylobate level, which was frequently observed by excavators at the Forum cemetery, suggests they were typically at the level of the Late Antique surface, an elevation which is confirmed in the case of the Grave of Maria, Wife of Euplous within an Early Roman chamber tomb due to the embedding of a tombstone within the cover and the placement of lamps and a ceramic vessel on top of it (M. E. H. Walbank and M. B. Walbank 2006, pp. 269-270).

period, and by the Early Roman era brick cists were constructed against the interior walls or within the *arcosolia* of large chamber tombs.<sup>385</sup>

No later than the early 6<sup>th</sup> C., cists were constructed within previously unexploited central spaces of Early Roman chamber tombs; of these, the grave of Maria, wife of Euplous is the best published example and incorporates walls built neatly with alternating layers of tile and cement topped by a cover of poros slabs.<sup>386</sup> Good parallels for the masonry of Maria's grave are offered by cists of mid-5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. date within Corinth's Lerna Court area cemetery (pl. 222c), Kraneion Basilica (pl. 223a-b), Kodratus Basilica (pl. 224a), and also at Isthmia (pl. 224b).<sup>387</sup> One of the latest well-built brick cists (Grave 1975-004b, pl. 146a) documented at Corinth, but laid out on a smaller scale in preparation for the single subadult which lay within it, was built after the

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<sup>385</sup> For cists in Early Roman Chamber tombs see M. E. H. Walbank (2005); for sarcophagi re-use in the Early Roman period see *ibid.* and especially Blegen et al. (1964, p. 65f).

<sup>386</sup> See M. E. H. Walbank and M.B. Walbank (2006) for an in-depth study of Maria's grave, the distinctive cover of which is discussed on p. 269. The grave's floor, never described by the excavator, may have simply been the chamber tomb's bedrock floor into which the grave's bedding was cut. The size of Maria's grave is typical of Late Antique adult single burial cists and permitted the laying out of the extended corpse with little excess space. Single burial cists at the Forum cemetery internally measure 1.83 m. long, .63 m. wide, and .48 deep on average while those at Isthmia are nearly identical at 1.83 X 0.70 X 0.46 m. (Rife 2012, p. 172). The Forum's multiple burial cists (containing at least two adults) are hardly larger at 1.91 X .71 X 1.0 m. but may be deeper if the only grave with a recorded depth is representative; those at Isthmia are similarly 1.95 X .75 X .70 m.

<sup>387</sup> The Lerna Court area tomb, Grave 86 (Wiseman 1969, p. 79f) incorporates mud rather than mortar as a binding agent and should date no later than ca. 600 A.D. judging by the pottery retrieved from the adjacent, and later, Grave 81 (*ibid.*). The Kraneion Basilica's burial chamber A contains two brick-built cists, one plastered and the other not, which were built no later than the 6<sup>th</sup> C. (Shelley 1943, p. 176f); see also similar cists uncovered at the same basilica by Pallas (1974). At the Kodratus Basilica, the walls of the tomb of Bishop Eustathios, arguably a product of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. based on an accompanying epitaph, are of good brick and mortar construction and additionally lined with marble plaques (Stikas 1964, p. 133f). For Isthmia see the brick-lined mid- to late 5<sup>th</sup> C. Grave 69-001 (Rife 2013, p. 41). Brick-lined graves appear to be prevalent within or close to Christian basilicas, a burial setting which should relate to the relatively high status of the individuals who were buried in these elegant graves.

erection of the adjacent pair of vaulted tombs (Grave 1974-005, Grave 1974-006) in the early to mid-7th C.

In addition, contemporary cists are known from rescue excavations directly outside the northeastern segment of Corinth's Late Antique fortification circuit (pl. 219b, 225a); many of these were more coarsely constructed with internally plastered walls built from brick and fieldstone rubble masonry and recall the pair of 6<sup>th</sup> C. mortared rubble cists, topped by leveling courses of tile, from the Christian basilica at Stamata (Attica) (pl. 225b) and a similarly built mid- to late 5<sup>th</sup> C. cist at Isthmia (pl. 226).<sup>388</sup> A particularly late example of a mortared rubble cist lies in the Forum's mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. Grave 1972-070, which is noteworthy for the significant use of large poros blocks, a distinctly advanced feature, in addition to smaller ones together with tile, in addition to its unusual apse at east (pl. 212a-213b).<sup>389</sup> The presence of Corinth's second-rate constructions notwithstanding, it may be said that the most elaborate, and regularly constructed, examples of cists in the northeast Peloponnese, and perhaps also Attica, occur at Corinth.<sup>390</sup>

Most Corinthian cists built around the 6<sup>th</sup> C. were, however, rock-cut and inconsistently lined. In the Gymnasium area (Lerna Court area cemetery), two rock-cut examples possess plastered

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<sup>388</sup> Skarmoutsou 2010. A 6<sup>th</sup> C. chronology for at least some of these cist graves is clear based on the pottery contained within them. The Stamata cists were built as a single unit and share a common long wall; they are presented along with their 6<sup>th</sup> C. pottery and jewelry within a permanent exhibition at the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens (Gini-Tsophopoulou, E. 1990. "Eforeia Bizantinon Archaioiton." *AD* 45 B1: 82-95.). For Ithmia, see Grave 1967-001 (Rife 2013, p. 36)

<sup>389</sup> Other 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian cists may display variations of mortared rubble construction, but documentation of such details is generally lacking.

<sup>390</sup> On this see Rife (2012, p. 175), who notes the eccentricities of Isthmia's cist constructions.

interiors, while the remainder appear to lack any kind of lining entirely (pl. 49b).<sup>391</sup> Endowed with an average length of more than 2 m., these rock-cut cists are unusually long in comparison to built cists of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and later, although it is not clear whether this characteristic should be attributed to the tomb type or the particular cemetery.<sup>392</sup> Rescue excavations above the Kodratus Basilica exposed 168 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. rock-cut cists (pl. 227), many of which were revetted in marble on their floors and walls, and at least one pair of which shared a common wall of brick masonry; in terms of interior architectural embellishment they compare to built cists within the basilica below.<sup>393</sup> Cists cut in rock or hardpan clearly extend into the 7<sup>th</sup> C., although the presence within the Forum cemetery of only a single tomb of this type, datable to the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C., suggests that after circa 650 they were rarely constructed.<sup>394</sup> Broadly similar slab-

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<sup>391</sup> Wiseman 1967b, p. 418f. Graves 41 and 42, hewn within a large L-shaped cutting made for a pre-existing building, were plastered. See also three unlined graves (Robinson 1962, p. 116f), each containing multiple burials, cut in hardpan southwest of the Corinth's city center (fig. 20); although the excavator thought these coverless graves to have been filled with earth, and therefore typologically closer to pit graves, the presence of a circa 6<sup>th</sup> C. tombstone within the fill of one grave is indicative of both its heavily disturbed state and a heightened level of mortuary formality. A cover, in some way incorporating the tombstone, should be reconstructed for this grave and probably the other two as well.

<sup>392</sup> The three Lerna Hollow rock-cut cists from Wiseman's (1967b, p. 418f) excavations for which published dimensions exist measure 2.24 X .78-.81 X .66-.93 m. (Grave 41), 2.15 X .88 X .69-.94 m. (Grave 42), and 2.23 X .56-.57 X .71 m. (Grave 53); the first two graves lay isolated from the rest within an L-shaped cutting. The average dimensions for rock-cut cists excavated in the same cemetery by DeWaele are 2.00 X .69 X .92; grave lengths range from 1.80 to 2.20 m.

<sup>393</sup> Meleti (2013) offers a report on this rescue excavation; see also [http://www.yppo.gr/0/anaskafes/pdfs/25\\_EBA.pdf](http://www.yppo.gr/0/anaskafes/pdfs/25_EBA.pdf), p. 139, accessed 26 Dec. 2013. The marble lining of these tombs recalls the marble plaques serving as revetment for cists within the nearby Kodratus Basilica, although most of the latter graves lack detailed description (Stikas 1964, pp. 132-134, fig. 84, pl. 82b - pl. 87a, pl. 91a) and cannot be precisely dated.

<sup>394</sup> The Forum's Grave 1915-003 (pl. 186a-b), atypical in its partial re-use of a pre-existing drain cutting and the lack of a surviving cover, is nevertheless best considered as a very late, and simple, example of the rock-cut cist type; it surely once had a cover of stone slabs to permit insertion at multiple points in time of the potentially five individuals within.

covered graves, either rock-cut or dug into the earth with no more than a partial lining of walls, have been excavated at Corinth's port of Kenchreai (without precise date), Isthmia (late 4<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C.) (pl. 228), Thebes (circa 6<sup>th</sup> C.), Porto Cheli (7<sup>th</sup> C.) (pl. 229a), and Antikythera (7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C.) (pl. 229b).<sup>395</sup> Such graves presumably existed at other sites, especially where relatively soft bedrock or hardpan lay close to the surface.

The most obvious development in cists of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C., as evidenced in the area of Corinth's Forum, is the use of readily available spolia blocks, often quite large, as the primary building material for both walls and cover. Floors, when documented, are normally of earth; although tiled floors are not uncommon and other, exceptional, examples of flooring exist.<sup>396</sup> These cists maintain the approximate dimensions of the early 6<sup>th</sup> C. cist grave of Maria, wife of Euplous (Grave 1931-087); the lack of a significant difference in size between single and multiple burial cists might be explained in part by the assumption by tomb builders that their

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<sup>395</sup> For Kenchreai, see Rife 2007, p. 154. Isthmia possesses both unlined and partially lined slab-covered graves cut into earth and marl within burial groups I (Rife 2013, p. 29f), II (ibid., p. 36f), and III (ibid., p. 44) in addition to a single slab-covered burial, unusually well-sealed and containing a wooden coffin, dug into the concrete foundation of the Temple of Palaimon (ibid., p. 91f). The Theban rock-cut tombs, located atop Ismenion Hill, appear to be quite simple based on their preliminary publication ("Chronique des fouilles en ligne – Archaeology in Greece Online. Thèbes. – Isménion. Notice

3063." Accessed October 19, 2015. <http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>; "Chronique des fouilles en ligne – Archaeology in Greece Online. Thèbes. – Isménion. Notice 4215." Accessed October 19, 2015.

<http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/4215/>). Porto Cheli's interments were all made within earth pits topped by stone slabs (Rudolph 1979, p. 297f). Amongst Antikythera's unlined rock-cut graves, which present two varieties of slab covering systems, Grave 1 is particularly important for its bronze buckle with cruciform plate, which cannot date before the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. (Pyrrou et al. 2006).

<sup>396</sup> Earth, hardpan, or bedrock was employed as flooring in nine cases, while four tiled floors exist as does a single instance of poros or marble slabs (Grave 1934-013, Grave 1934-014) and another of loose small stones within the eccentrically constructed Grave 1934-004 (pl. 150d). An additional grave (Grave 1915-003) was merely said by its excavator to have been "paved." Although most tiled floors consist of plainly laid large square tiles, Grave 1959-005 (pl. 169a-c) and Grave 1975-001 (pl. 167b) both possess tiles of varying size including ornate arrangements of large tiles frames by smaller ones; while not directly datable these unusual compositions might date to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. in accordance with the latter mortuary phases of this area in the Forum's southwest corner.

spaces would eventually be used for multiple burials, which was not always realized.<sup>397</sup> During the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. the earliest datable grave (Grave 1938-010) of this type, which was built for a non-Greek immigrant, appeared in the South Stoa colonnade employing enormous slabs, perhaps treads from the dismantled central stair and seemingly laid dry, for its walls (pl. 88a-c). Other graves, which offer no indication of a foreign origin of the deceased, were similarly constructed in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. if not slightly earlier.<sup>398</sup> Few close parallels appear elsewhere in Greece, a phenomenon more likely attributable to modern biases of excavation and publication than Late Antique practice.<sup>399</sup> Residents of other Greek cities surely took advantage of the large spolia blocks present in abandoned buildings when constructing their graves; both the existence and chronology of this subtype therefore depends largely on the extent to which local structures were available for dismantling.

A small number of Forum cist graves deviate from this practice of re-purposing large architectural members as primary tomb materials. Some (Grave 1960-012, pl. 148b-149b; Grave 1965-007, pl. 191a-b) possess walls of medium-sized re-cut blocks or field stones laid roughly and seemingly without mortar in a single course; while their chronologies, generally dating not

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<sup>397</sup> The five adult single burial Forum cists possessing known dimensions measure on average 1.83 X 0.63 m., whereas seven comparable multiple burial cists measure on average 1.82 X 0.69 m. The internal dimensions of Maria's grave would have been slightly smaller than its primary cover slab, which measured 1.85 X 0.80.

<sup>398</sup> Datable examples include Grave 1925-004, Grave 1933-058 (pl. 135-136), and Grave 1969-036 (pl. 145a-b, 155a). The earliest datable tomb built in this style, Grave 1938-010, should not be considered to be the direct ancestor of these graves; it is probable that other block-built cist graves from the Forum, which cannot receive close chronologies owing to a lack of mortuary objects and insufficient excavation records, are of similarly early date.

<sup>399</sup> For general parallels, see a 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. cist (Chamilaki 2010, Grave 26) from Delion (Boeotia) (pl. 230b), and also a cist from a complex close to Eleutherna's Pyrgi basilica (Themelis 2004, p. 135, no. 49) (pl. 231a); the late 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C. gold phylactery from within it is better regarded as a terminus post quem than a clear dating tool due both to the potential heirloom status of such an item and our inability to exclude an 8<sup>th</sup> C. chronology due to an absence of dated 8<sup>th</sup> C. phylactery comparanda.

before the late 7<sup>th</sup> C. and easily belonging to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C., are not completely clear they seem to be amongst the Forum's latest tombs. A grave from Isthmia with somewhat similar walls was constructed no earlier than the 7<sup>th</sup> C. and could easily belong to the 8<sup>th</sup> C. on stratigraphic grounds (pl. 231b).<sup>400</sup> Probably from the same period is Grave 1959-005 (pl. 169a-c), bearing substantial walls of numerous small field stones neatly bonded by mortar or perhaps mud; it arguably fall within the tradition of some 6<sup>th</sup> C. mortared rubble cists but is perhaps more closely related to Middle Byzantine examples like one associated with the circa 10<sup>th</sup> C. church in Lerna Court.<sup>401</sup> Heavy use of field stones in tomb walls can by no means be considered a chronologically diagnostic feature outside Corinth, however; at Eleutherna's Pyrgi basilica most cist graves incorporate large numbers of field stones, and the earliest date to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>402</sup> The incorporation of a pre-existing building wall as a tomb wall, which occurs for two Corinthian cists (Grave 1960-012; Grave 1991-009) within this group, is unusual and probably an additional marker of a particularly late chronology.

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<sup>400</sup> Grave 67-002 (Rife 2013, p. 62f); an additional indication of a relatively late date for this grave is the crossing of both arms above the pelvis for the former burial, a position documented at Corinth not before the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. at earliest.

<sup>401</sup> In addition to field stones, some tile fragments and a piece of marble served as the wall material for Grave 1959-005. Although its walls were said by the excavator to be mortar-free, their relatively neat appearance suggests that some bonding agent, perhaps simply mud, was employed. On the other hand, while no mortar was reported for Grave 1991-009, this tomb's plastered interior is inconceivable without solidly mortared walls. For Lerna Court's Grave 1932-078, see p. 72 fn. 180.

<sup>402</sup> See for example Themelis 2004, p. 119f, no. 6, 7, 25.

Finally, two cist graves from the Panayia Field site, located a short distance southwest of the Forum, do not easily fit within a single subtype.<sup>403</sup> One (Grave 1998-029) was endowed with long walls composed of alternating courses of bricks and fieldstones or roughly hewn blocks, a west end built primarily of brick, a single marble slab as a floor and a variety of spolia slabs as a cover. This tomb arguably constitutes a bridge between 6<sup>th</sup> C. brick masonry cists and mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. examples primarily consisting of large re-used architectural members; the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C. lekythos accompanying the ten year-old individual within it certainly supports such a role.<sup>404</sup> The other (Grave 1998-034, pl. 232a) employed a total of five pan tiles to create a cist for an infant who was also buried with a lekythos of perhaps slightly later date.<sup>405</sup> A single tile served as each long wall, the cover, and the floor, while two halves of a split tile appear to have served as the east and west end walls. The exclusive use of tile recalls the tile tent grave type; the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. date suggested by the lekythos positions it within the declining years of the tile tent tradition, which may have fallen in popularity after the 6<sup>th</sup> C.

#### Tile tent graves

“Tile tent” graves, characterized at the most basic level by the laying of two or more roof tiles set in a pitched construction over the deceased, are the simplest standard tomb type beyond

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<sup>403</sup> For brief description of these graves, see the 1998 Corinth preliminary excavation report: <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/excavationcorinth/corinth-excavations-1998-report>, accessed 16 February 2014.

<sup>404</sup> Lekythos: C-1998-18

<sup>405</sup> Lekythos: C-1998-026. A drawing of this grave was published in Sanders 2005 (fig. 16.8b). For another infant tile cist grave of somewhat different form, see the Forum cemetery’s late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. Grave 1969-037 (pl. 154a-b) as well as two tile cist graves (Grave 25; Grave 28) in the circa 7<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery by the Church of St. Dionysos the Areopagite in Athens (Travlos et al. 1965, pl. 42c bottom right, pl. 42d) (pl. 233b).

burial in an unlined pit. Commonly found throughout the Mediterranean region in antiquity, they make their appearance at Corinth in the 5<sup>th</sup> C. B.C. but do not seem to be frequently employed until the Roman period.<sup>406</sup> No later than the 4<sup>th</sup> C. A.D. the Late Antique architectural form that would remain until at least the 7<sup>th</sup> C. had crystallized: A cover of pitched Lakonian roof tiles often topped at their apex by Lakonian cover tiles, end walls composed by roughly rectangular tile fragments or occasionally by field stones, and a floor consisting of some combination of tiles laid flat, stones, and earth (pl 232b).<sup>407</sup> In nearly all cases at Corinth tile tent graves held a single occupant, the height of whom determined the grave length fairly closely.<sup>408</sup> Field stones were sometimes placed close to floor level at the grave's exterior, where they would have played a buttressing role between the tile construction and the earth walls of the surrounding grave pit, which seems to have been dug to a maximum depth of circa 1.3 m. below surface level but was typically somewhat shallower.<sup>409</sup> Additionally, in at least two instances cement was utilized as a

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<sup>406</sup> Seven tile tent graves, all belonging to the 5<sup>th</sup> C. B.C., were excavated within a portion of Corinth's expansive North Cemetery, where, amongst the monolithic stone sarcophagus that dominated the cemetery, they were joined by a small number of tile graves in cist and other forms (Blegen et al. 1964, p. 73f). Perhaps these early tile tent graves sought to emulate rare examples of gabled covers provided to monolithic sarcophagi (such as one illustrated in *ibid.*, p. 71 fig. 4) in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> C. B.C. or descended alongside their sarcophagus counterparts from a wooden coffin prototype.

<sup>407</sup> For a 4<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian tile tent grave see Walbank 2005, p. 253 fig. 9.3. The tile fragments atop the grave's ridge appear to belong to at least two layers of cover tiles and may have reached their final, irregular state as a result of grave repair at some point following the interment.

<sup>408</sup> For older subadults and adults, who required a grave longer than the standard roof tile of circa .90 X .45 would allow, an additional one or two tiles could be added to each side of the grave with overlapping in order to achieve the desired tomb length. The only relatively certain example of a double burial within a Late Antique tile tent grave at Corinth is the Forum cemetery's Grave 1911-002, which probably belongs to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. Peirene Court burial cluster and was unusually endowed with a floor of flat tiles and stone slabs. Of the numerous tile tent graves in Lerna Court, only one (Grave 1933-043), which appears to be associated with the Middle Byzantine chapel in the court's southwest corner, contained two occupants.

<sup>409</sup> Grave 1933-101, dug into fill within Lerna Court's Reservoir IV, offers a clear indication of pit depth due to the placement of the tomb floor on the reservoir floor and the preservation of a stuccoed mound monumentalizing the

tile bonding agent, a practice which may have been more common than the brief excavation records for most tile tent graves suggest.<sup>410</sup>

From the late 5<sup>th</sup> until the 7<sup>th</sup> C., if not somewhat later, tile tent grave construction remained remarkably consistent, and the variations, most commonly the presence of cover tiles, end tiles, and surrounding field stones, which do appear seem generally unrelated to chronology.<sup>411</sup>

Examples from the late 5<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the 6<sup>th</sup> and perhaps early 7<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery in the vicinity of Lerna Court, and a small number of Forum cemetery tile tent graves roughly datable to the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. are all practically identical.<sup>412</sup> Only

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grave at 1.25-1.30 m. above the tomb floor, or roughly one meter above the top of the tent's ridge assuming the grave construction itself is 0.30 to 0.40 m. in height. Similarly, five lamps were found one meter above the 6<sup>th</sup> C. Grave 1933-95, a tile tent grave from the same reservoir; these lamps had surely been deposited at surface level in relation to this burial or another very close to it. Such a great depth may have been intended to emulate the shaft depths of rock-cut tombs located throughout the general area surrounding Lerna Court; while evidence for elevation elsewhere at Corinth is limited, a 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. tile tent grave (Grave 1965-011) in the Forum seems to have been only some 30 cm. beneath the surface as may be judged by the difference in floor elevation between it and an adjacent cist grave (Grave 1965-010). Rife (2012, p. 176) likewise contends that the uppermost part of Isthmia's tile tent graves lay at or near ground level, an assessment further supported by the roughly similar elevations between cist and tile tent graves, which possessed maximum elevations at a level approximate to the highest surviving foundation courses of nearby building walls, in the south atrium of Eleutherna's Pyrgi Basilica (see Themelis 2004, p. 106 fig. 91, p. 166 fig. 63).

<sup>410</sup> DeWaele reports (Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 83) a Lerna Court tile grave (Grave 1932-048) "covered with white cement. . .over the tiles", a technique paralleled by the use of cement within an unpublished tile tent grave (Grave 2000-002), which contained an amphora burial encased within a double layer of pitched tiles, from Panayia Field.

<sup>411</sup> Rife (2012, p. 176) holds that a subtle shift toward increasing irregularity in tile tent grave construction occurs from the Roman to Byzantine era at Corinth. While such a proposition is conceivable, the gross lack of detailed evidence for the majority of excavated tile tent graves, as well as the presence at the Forum cemetery of exceptionally well-built examples which should not be earlier than circa 600 A.D., suggest that caution be exercised on this question.

<sup>412</sup> See, for example, the use of surrounding field stones as well as cover tiles above the normal cover of pan tiles for Grave 7 (pl. 233a) at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Bookidis and Stroud 1997, p. 384), a grave with cover tiles and end tiles (pl. 50a) from Lerna Hollow (Wiseman 1967b, p. 32) and another without cover tiles (pl. 47a) at Lerna Court, and the notably well-built Grave 1965-011 (pl. 192b-c) and Grave 1934-020 (pl. 162c), which possessed cover tiles, one to two end tiles, and surrounding field stones, at the Forum.

Grave 1911-002 from the Peirene fountain court in the Forum stands clearly apart from other tile tent graves due to its incorporation of a stone slab within its floor and the interment of two individuals within; both aspects may be explained by the exceptionally late date of the probably 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. Peirene burial cluster.<sup>413</sup>

At first glance, Corinth's tile tent grave tradition appears to drop precipitously in the 7<sup>th</sup> C.: in comparison to some 200 tile tent graves of the late 5<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. from the Lerna Court area cemetery and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, only fifteen graves from the generally later Forum cemetery are likely to be of 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. date. In addition to serving as the home to a majority of 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. tile graves, however, the sunken space of Lerna Court was arguably a special mortuary zone reserved for lower classes lacking the financial means necessary for the purchase of multiple burial chamber tombs.<sup>414</sup> If the Lerna Court evidence is set aside, tile graves account for a very small minority of excavated late 5<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. burials at Corinth, and do not appear so numerically different from later examples.<sup>415</sup>

Corinth's Late Antique tile tent graves compare generally to well-dated counterparts excavated elsewhere in Greece, although the better-built examples known from Corinth are not always present at other sites, which additionally differ in the presence of multiple burials within single tile graves. In Athens, near the church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite, the many 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> While the use of stone spolia within this grave cannot be linked to an advanced chronology with certainty, it may at least be said that other Forum tile tent graves, broadly datable to the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., retain the traditional materials of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and earlier.

<sup>414</sup> See further p. 89-90.

<sup>415</sup> A final figure for 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. burials is impossible to attain due to the currently incomplete publication status for the critical Gymnasium area within the Lerna Court Area cemetery. Based on the large number of graves at least briefly published from this cemetery, however, it is clear that tile tent graves are in the minority, as they are for the adjacent Hill of Zeus area.

C. tile tent graves, all of which seemingly lack surrounding stones, include versions both with and without cover tiles, with and without end tiles, and a single tomb (Grave 13) incorporating tiles as well as marble slabs; some graves may have contained two primary burials (pl. 233b).<sup>416</sup> Although little data may be gleaned from the small number of tile tent graves at Eleutherna's Pyrgi Basilica due to both poor condition and meager published description, it may at least be said that the relatively well-preserved Grave 33 (pl. 234b), belonging to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. or somewhat later, retained one end tile in the absence of a layer of cover tiles, and for the 7<sup>th</sup> C. Grave 46 (pl. 234c), small field stones appear to have stabilized the northeast corner.<sup>417</sup> Moreover, all but one of Eleutherna's tile tent graves contained at least two interments: Grave 46 remarkably held three individuals of adult and adolescent age. Finally, Halais' only tile tent grave, which should be approximately contemporary with a 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. vaulted tomb beside it, is well-built and incorporates cover tiles, a large stone and vertical tile at its ends, and a layer of field stones on three sides (pl. 235a).<sup>418</sup>

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<sup>416</sup> See Travlos et al. (1965) for two tile tent graves, one (Grave 26) with and the other (Grave 27) without cover tiles, in close proximity to one another (a third tile cist grave is at bottom right in the photograph). One tile tent grave (Grave 15; Agora Field Notebook AR 1, p. 94.) clearly possessed two primary burials, while several others contained remains interpreted as a single primary burial with an additional skull. Although secondary burial of a single skull cannot be completely ruled out, the co-mingling of two sets of fragile primary interments which, in the eyes of the excavators, may have appeared to be a single skeleton accompanied by two skulls, seems a likelier possibility.

<sup>417</sup> Grave 33: Themelis 2004, p. 128; Grave 46: *Ibid.*, p. 133

<sup>418</sup> O'Neill et al. 1999, p. 320

## Amphora burials

Amphoras were exploited at Corinth, and across the Mediterranean, as burial containers since at least the Early Roman period. The practice continued into Late Antiquity and persisted at Corinth at a low level until the 8<sup>th</sup> C. if not later, although it is unclear whether the limited number of published Late Antique amphora burials at other Greek sites is attributable to a preference for other tomb types or a lack of sufficient scholarly interest.<sup>419</sup>

The size of amphoras, always less than one meter in length, limited them to the youngest inhabitants of Corinth, where they were provided to infants who died within roughly the first year of life or were perhaps even stillborn. The insertion of the infant sometimes required the fracturing and removal of part of the larger, mouth-end of the vessel or in rare cases the splitting of the amphora in half.<sup>420</sup> The amphora was then laid within a small burial pit, usually at the approximate depth as that of nearby graves of other types although in some cases at a much shallower level, after which it might be stabilized through the irregular placement of small stones or other materials between the amphora and the pit walls.<sup>421</sup>

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<sup>419</sup> Amphoras burials are only occasionally published at other sites at a level of written or photographic documentation sufficient for chronological determination; see, for example, a Gaza amphora of 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. date from a cemetery at Veroia (Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou et al. 1997) (pl. 235b). For the use of amphoras as burial containers in Late Antique Tuscany see: Costantini, A. 2013. *Il Reimpiego Delle Anfore Tardoantiche Considerazioni sulle Sepolture ad Enchytrismòs in Toscana*. *Archeologia Classica: Rivista dell'istituto di archeologia dell'università di roma*. Vol. LXIV - n.s. II, 3. pp. 657-675. The well-known subadult cemetery at Poggio Gramignano possessed amphora burials in addition to graves of other types (Soren, D. and N. Soren, ed. 1999. *A Roman Villa and a Late Roman Cemetery*. Rome: L'Erma).

<sup>420</sup> See, for example, Grave 1933-035, for which a tile fragment secured by two stones closed the amphora's broken rim, Grave 1963-012 (pl. 169a-b), the upper portion of which was removed from below the shoulder to slightly above the toe and replaced by tile fragments following its deposition, and a fully split amphora from Lerna Hollow (pl. 50b).

<sup>421</sup> Some of the clearest evidence for the depths of amphora burials comes from Lerna Court, where most graves, including amphoras, were laid at levels close to or directly upon the court pavement (46b-47a), above which stood a

Amphora burials are present in large numbers within the Lerna Court area cemetery in the court itself along with adjacent reservoirs, and, to a far lesser degree, west of the court in the Gymnasium and Hill of Zeus areas, at the Forum, and elsewhere at Corinth. The earliest amphoras, located within the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Lerna Court and Gymnasium area mortuary zones, are significantly all of the Gaza type to the extent that they may be identified.<sup>422</sup> Slightly later versions of Gaza amphoras (Grave 0184.056, Grave 1990-018), arguably dating to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C., were excavated in the Forum, where single examples of a 7<sup>th</sup> C. carrot amphora (Grave 1963-012, pl. 171c), a 7<sup>th</sup> C. Roman storage amphora (Grave 1965-018, pl. 160a), a fragmentary late 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. descendent of Late Roman 2 amphora forms (Grave 1991-015, pl. 195a), and an 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. descendent of Late Roman 1 amphora forms (Grave 1953-002, pl. 129a-b) were also discovered.<sup>423</sup>

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maximum of circa .7 m. of debris-laden fill; an amphora possessing a diameter of 0.25 m. would therefore have been buried with no more than 0.45 m. of fill above the highest point of its body. Greater variation is apparent within Lerna Court Reservoirs III and IV: While 0.80 m. of fill lay above one amphora (Grave 1993-112) in Reservoir III, a nearby amphora was dug far more shallowly so that only .10 m. of fill lay between it and the reservoir's interior surface level, and in reservoir IV another lay at a depth of .40 m. The use of stabilizing materials is best illustrated by Grave 1990-018, the pit of which appears to be lined by a tile fragment or exceptionally large sherd near its southwest corner (pl. 164a).

<sup>422</sup> Of the few mortuary amphoras sketched or photographed (but not inventoried) within excavation notebooks pertaining to Lerna Court, all appear to belong to Majcherek (1995) type 3 (late 5<sup>th</sup> to late 6<sup>th</sup> C.), while the only identifiable, published amphora from the Gymnasium area is clearly of type 3 (pl. 51a).

<sup>423</sup> Both of the Forum's inventoried Gaza amphoras (Grave 0184.056, Grave 1990-018), which were excavated near the eastern edge of Temple E's precinct, are of Majcherek type 4 (late 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C) and may fall early in this range due to the presence of some features associated with type 3, particularly for the former amphora. The upper portion of Grave 1991-015's amphora (c-1991-23), which was found upside down and with infant bones in its interior, is far from a typical amphora burial; it could represent a disturbed primary burial or an unconventional grave created at a time when the use of amphoras as burial containers was exceptional. For Grave 1953-002's (c-53-84) comparanda, see the early 9th C. deposit at Saraçhane (Hayes 1992, p. 114, fig.58, deposit 36, no. 16-17), although the Corinthian example may be closer to early 10th C. amphoras (*ibid.*, especially fig. 25.1).

The nearly exclusive use of the Gaza type for amphora burials of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. is remarkable considering the variety of other amphoras that might have been employed. While a perceived special Christian status for Gazas amphoras due to their geographic origin in the Holy Land is one potential rationale for their mortuary ubiquity at Corinth, other amphora types were imported from the same region yet did not prove so popular. Perhaps much of the reason for the Gaza amphora preference lies in the vessel's size and shape, long enough to comfortably accommodate newborn or slightly older infants without the need for breakage of the vessel aside from its mouth. From this perspective, the decline and near-disappearance of amphora burials in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. may be linked in part to the cessation of Gaza amphora import probably around the early 7<sup>th</sup> C. as well as the 7<sup>th</sup> C. rise of Byzantine globular amphoras, and other types of amphoras, which would have been too short to accommodate many infants, and the rounded contours of which ill-matched the infant corpse in the traditional extended position.<sup>424</sup>

#### Irregular composite tomb types

While the vast majority of Late Antique burials falls within one of the major tomb types already discussed, a small number of graves incorporate elements of multiple tomb types, and even multiple tombs in their entirety, in an idiosyncratic manner and are consequently helpful

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<sup>424</sup> Costatini (2013) likewise views the disappearance of amphora burials in 7<sup>th</sup> C. Tuscany as the result of a decrease in the import of amphoras as goods-carrying vessels. While no Gaza amphoras exist within a Corinthian assemblage published as belonging to the late 6<sup>th</sup> C. (Slane and Sanders 2005, assemblage 3), the presence of Majcherek type 4 amphoras at Corinth reveals that import continued until at least this point and probably ceased during the early 7<sup>th</sup> C., when this assemblage may be better placed. For Byzantine globular amphoras see Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. and E. Nodarou. 2014. "Transport Vessels and Maritime Trade Routes in the Aegean from the 5th to the 9th C. AD. Preliminary Results of the EU Funded 'Pythagoras II' Project: The Cretan Case Study" in Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. and E. Nodarou, ed. *LRCW 4 Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and archaeometry. The Mediterranean: a market without frontiers. Volume I*. Oxford: Archaeopress. pp. 873-883.

in elucidating typological preferences.<sup>425</sup> Most importantly, the mounds of stuccoed rubble discovered above a small number of tile tent graves in the Lerna Court area cemetery suggest a preference for vaulted tombs and their rock-cut versions topped by similar stuccoed mounds.<sup>426</sup> The tile tent graves, which should be considered approximately contemporary with their rock-cut neighbors from the same cemetery, are therefore best regarded as instances of families attempting to 'upgrade' relatively simple tombs by appropriating the most externally recognizable aspect of more elaborate tombs, and compare to Isthmian subadult graves that were cut into marl and topped by plaster-coated rubble superstructures.<sup>427</sup>

Secondly, three tombs were placed within other, typologically different, tombs. In the Gymnasium area of the Lerna Court area cemetery, an infant amphora burial occupied the interior of a slab-covered cist that seems to have been specifically created for this interment, while a nearby cist grave on the Hill of Zeus contained a tomb in the tile tent format.<sup>428</sup> In addition, an infant amphora burial in Panayia Field was encased within two sets of tiles that were

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<sup>425</sup> Although some architectural aspects are certainly shared amongst major tomb types, the graves discussed here are distinct in their application of aspects of other tomb types to tombs which already stood on their own as complete structures.

<sup>426</sup> Lerna Hollow: Wiseman 1967a p. 32, fig. 17, pl. 13b (Grave 19) (pl. 51a); *ibid.* p. 35, pl. 14f (Grave 6) (pl. 52a); Lerna Court: Grave 1933-080; 1933-090 (pl. 66b); Grave 1933-101 (pl. 66c); Grave 1933-106; Grave 1933-107

<sup>427</sup> The use of such mounds for tile tent graves and perhaps other tomb types could conceivably be more widespread, but lost to modern eyes due to surface disturbance in addition to the excavation and recording standards of early archaeologists. However, the lack of any indication of superstructure for graves sharing the same protected reservoir location as those burials which did possess such mounds suggests that many graves lacked them entirely. From Isthmia, see graves NEG 69-009 (pl. 236) and NEG 69-010 (pl. 237-238a) (Rife 2012, pp. 47-54), both probably dating to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C.; the deceased were protected by an additional layer of tiles laid flat over the body. The Peloponnese was certainly not the first region where stuccoed rubble constructions in the forms of vaults were employed; similar superstructures topped a variety of tomb types in Puppūt, Tunisia and presumably elsewhere in the Mediterranean during the Roman period (Abed, M. and M. Griesheimer 2001) (pl. 238b).

<sup>428</sup> Lerna Hollow: Wiseman 1967a p. 35, pl. 14f (Grave 6) (pl. 50b); Hill of Zeus: Grave 1933-277

partially bonded with cement, constituting in essence a double tile tent grave around the vessel.<sup>429</sup> For at least the two infant amphora burials, the provision of an additional layer of physical security, and perhaps a spiritual one as well, for the vulnerable occupants may have prompted such a special mortuary treatment.

### Mortuary platforms

Mortuary platforms, probably employed for the ritual deposition of lamps, ceramics, food, or other items, were incorporated within four surviving Corinthian tomb covers and superstructures.<sup>430</sup> The most basic examples are flat, rectangular surfaces positioned at the west ends of graves, such as that belonging to the grave of Maria, wife of Euplous, which bore a tile and cement extension to its cover into which the tombstone and a ceramic vessel were secured, while in the Gymnasium area (Lerna Court area cemetery) a stuccoed mound which lay atop a rock-cut grave possessed a kind of squared pedestal.<sup>431</sup> Similarly, the west end of a stuccoed mound topping a late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. marl-cut grave at Isthmia appears to have been slightly raised as a flat surface (pl. 236), while the raised west end of the mound topping another Isthmian grave featured a cross incised within the stucco (pl. 237-238a).<sup>432</sup> Finally, the west end

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<sup>429</sup> Grave 2000-002 (unpublished)

<sup>430</sup> I refer to these structures as platforms rather than tables or other specific types of furniture due both to the ambiguities of their function and their formal characteristics, which in the most basic sense consist only of a level surface.

<sup>431</sup> M. E. H. and M. B. Walbank (2006, p. 269) are likely right that this “stamnos” would have been positioned on the southern extension of the platform belonging to the grave of Maria. For the pedestal of the Gymnasium area grave, see Wiseman (1972, p. 8f).

<sup>432</sup> NEG 69-009 and NEG 69-010 (Rife 2012, pp. 47-54)

of a stuccoed mound, which topped a rock-cut tomb (Grave 1931-031) at the north edge of Corinth's Asklepieion, appears to have been leveled as a rectangular surface; although a tombstone could conceivably have once been affixed here, the surface may just as well have been a platform originally receiving the three lamps found on the rock directly below it (pl. 58a-b).

A more ambitious undertaking was the provision of a tiled surface topping a pair of vaulted tombs (Grave 1974-005, Grave 1974-006) in the Forum and perhaps extending slightly beyond them to the north (pl. 142a-b). The best point of comparison for this complex is a pair of 4<sup>th</sup> C. vaulted tombs from Thessaloniki which share a stone masonry platform above them (pl.239c).<sup>433</sup> Both surfaces could easily have been used for the ritual deposition of items or other aspects of cult, although if the surfaces were meant to be stood or sat upon they would have accommodated only very small groups of individuals.

## Epitaphs

The epigraphic habit appears to have resulted in inscribed tombstones at large urban centers and some lesser ones in Late Antique Greece but occurs scarcely or not at all for some minor sites, a phenomenon likely influenced by local epigraphic tendencies broadly in addition to the social standing of the deceased and the degree of local social competition.<sup>434</sup> Inscribed epitaphs were integrated physically within many of Corinth's Late Antique tomb constructions, and are

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<sup>433</sup> Grave 29, Grave 32: Marki 2006, pl.55b, 56a

<sup>434</sup> For the many Late Antique epitaphs of Athens, see Sironen (2008); for Thessaloniki: Feissel (1983). In contrast, at Limori no tombstone was recovered amongst the many graves (Pazaras 2009), including multiple burial tombs, although a vaulted tomb at a nearby Christian basilica does possess what appears to be a painted prayer on its walls (*ibid.*, p. 201f). Closer to Corinth, epitaphs seem likewise to have been absent at the fortress of Isthmia (Rife 2012).

therefore primarily considered here rather than within the context of mortuary ritual in Chapter 5.<sup>435</sup>

With rare exceptions, Corinth's epitaphs consist of inscribed marble slabs, many of which were offcuts from Late Antique construction projects.<sup>436</sup> The inscriptions chiseled onto them, often by highly skilled hands, are formulaic and, with a small degree of variation in vocabulary, typically state the name and profession, usually one of the middle or upper class, of a tomb's owner along with the date of death.<sup>437</sup> Spouses are frequently mentioned, while the presence of

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<sup>435</sup> For the purposes of this section, "epitaph" refers to an inscribed object permanently installed above a tomb and is considered synonymous with a tombstone. Different kinds of non-inscribed materials, of which little trace survives, may have placed above some graves for the simple purpose of indicating the presence of a burial below. For Corinth's Late Antique epitaphs, see mostly importantly Sironen's overviews (1997. "Formulae in Early Christian Epitaphs of Corinthia". *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina (Preatti)*. Rome: Edizioni Quasar. pp. 741-745; 1997. *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica*. University of Helsinki dissertation) in addition to M.B. Walbank (2010. "Where Have All the Names Gone? The Christian Community in Corinth in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Eras". *Corinth in Context: Comparative studies on religion and society*. Leden: Brill. pp. 257-323). For revised readings of some Corinthian inscriptions, see Feissel (1985). The vast majority of epitaphs, which resulted from the area of Lerna Court and the Forum, were first published by Kent (1966). M.B. Walbank (2010) has demonstrated that many professions indicated on tombstones were not as humble as once thought; see also M. E. Hoskins Walbank and M. B. Walbank (2006).

<sup>436</sup> The offcut origin of those tombstones made from blue-green schisty marble is especially clear and best linked to the architectural use of such plaques within the Lechaion basilica, dating at earliest to the late 5<sup>th</sup> C. but quite likely of strictly 6<sup>th</sup> C. chronology, and the Panayia Field bath of the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C.; see *ibid.* (p. 276f.). There is no clear indication of the use of schisty marble plaques in the 5<sup>th</sup> C.; for a suggested 6<sup>th</sup> C. date of a schisty marble tombstone thought to be of the 5<sup>th</sup> C. (*ibid.* p. 286) see: SEG XXIX no. 319. One potential Late Antique epitaph not inscribed on a tombstone was painted on the vertical bedrock face in Lerna Hollow beside a rock-cut grave which possessed a mortared rubble vault (Wiseman 1969, p. 85). This text, Τασίου πρε[σ]βυ[τ]έρτου [---] ("of Tasios the presbyter"), is notable for its apparent brevity and may have been an attempt to emulate painted inscriptions from the walls of Corinth's Kraneion Basilica (Praktika 1956, p. 171), although these are not necessarily epitaphs; for an alternate interpretation, see p. 238. The other non-conforming epitaph (I-1045=Kent 553) was carved on a roof tile and recovered close to bedrock at the east side of the Asklepieion.

<sup>437</sup> For the dating of Corinth's epitaphs by indiction, see Sanders (2005, pp. 434-435). The inscribed date of death, which is occasionally assignable to a specific calendar year, may serve as an important means of establishing tombstone, and consequently grave, chronologies: The many epitaphs dated by indiction year alone are unlikely to fall before 535, when the *fasti consulares* was abandoned in the East, and may be much later. A date in the late 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> C. for some of these tombstones is fully possible based both on the Roman Church's adoption of the indiction for the dating of official documents under Pope Pelagius II (579-590) and the presence of late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C.

children is sometimes also indicated; additional family members or other individuals of uncertain relationship are rarely named. Tomb prices are occasionally stated within the context of the tomb's purchase from another individual; one and a half nomismata, or gold pieces, appears to have been the normal rate for such pre-owned sepulchers and perhaps for fully unused plots as well.

Both content and vocabulary of Corinthian epitaphs vary significantly from those found elsewhere in mainland Greece; this contrast appears most strikingly in relation to the well-studied epitaphs of nearby Attica, which typically exclude profession and date of death. Surprisingly, Corinthian epitaphs are closest to those from Gortyn (Crete), a circumstance probably better ascribed to the supra-regional Mediterranean cultural milieu in which both cities participated as provincial capitals rather than any special connection between these distant sites.

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Of the more than 150 probable Late Antique epitaphs excavated at Corinth, the only ones surviving fully in situ are that of Maria, wife of Euplous (I-2301), which was cemented flat within a tile frame at the west end of a cist grave (Grave 1931-087), three examples (belonging to Bishop Eustathios, Gratian, Paulina) carved onto the cover slabs of cist graves within the Kodratus Basilica, and perhaps also the tombstone (I-1021=Kent 531) of the brothers Ioanes and Agathokles, which may have been set flat within the west end of the stuccoed mound above their

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pottery and lamps in graves located near the findspots of disturbed epitaphs in the area of Lerna Court. Only two Corinthian epitaphs (*SEG* XXIX no. 310, *SEG* XXXI no. 288), both from the 520s A.D., follow the earlier scheme of dating by consular or regnal year in addition to the indiction, while the many epitaphs that lack a specified year of death, or are too fragmentary for such a determination, have received tentative chronologies largely on the problematic basis of letter style (on this see M. B. Walbank 2010, p. 260).

<sup>438</sup> Sironen (1997, p. 743f) notes the similarities between Corinthian and Cretan tombstones. An Italic Latin epigraphic influence may explain some similarities.

rock-cut grave (Grave 1931-031) located at the north edge of the Asklepieion.<sup>439</sup> Other epitaphs, some of which were likely excavated close to their original locations but were not discovered in situ, are associated with rock-cut graves of the Gymnasium area, each of which probably possessed an inscribed tombstone, and a grave dug in hardpan halfway between the Forum and the west line of the city's Classical defensive wall.<sup>440</sup> In keeping with the function of epitaphs as statements of personal ownership over tombs which could be used for multiple burials, evidence

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<sup>439</sup> While the tombstone of Ioanes and Agathokles is, along with another epitaph (I-1020=Kent), said by the excavator to have been discovered at the north side of Grave 1931-031 (Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 92), he also states that the former epitaph was "apparently built into a loose cement floor" (*ibid.* p. 77). This "floor" may be a dislocated portion of the stuccoed mound which perhaps slipped beside the grave at ground level, or the top of the surviving stuccoed mound above the grave; a sketch of the grave (*Ibid.* p. 80) appears to reveal a flat, rectangular depression at the mound's west end which may well be the tombstone or a modified surface into which the tombstone was set, although a function as a ritual platform is also conceivable. The possible association of two epitaphs with a single grave need not be a problem in this case as the latter tombstone mentions the purchase of a tomb from a previous owner, which could have been the family of Ioanes and Agathokles. Of the Kodratus Basilica's burials with surviving epitaphs, two, if not all three, appear to have been positioned, in a manner like Maria's tombstone, at the grave's west end and facing east. Such a position and orientation, at the "head end" of the grave, may result from a combination of perceptions of the head and face as bearers of personal identity, the mortuary translation of everyday interactions focused on the face, and beliefs on Christ's second coming from the East; for this and position-specific components of mortuary ritual see further Chapter 5.

<sup>440</sup> In addition to the many fragmentary epigraphs scattered primarily within the area of Lerna Court, inscribed tombstones were excavated within or extremely close to several additional tombs (Wiseman 1967b, p. 422); while they presumably did not travel far from their original locations it should not be assumed that each was created for the tomb nearest its find spot. Despite the disturbed contexts in which most epitaphs were discovered, the existence of fragments belonging to at least 28 unique inscribed tombstones in and around Lerna Court, in comparison to the 38 multiple burial tombs cut into the rock and clay here, suggests that each tomb received a tombstone. Epitaphs are rare in the Lerna Hollow and Hill of Zeus excavations to the west of Lerna court, a phenomenon perhaps to be explained by the greater exposure of these areas to agricultural and natural disturbance in comparison to Lerna Court. The nearly identical tombs positioned in long rows within the former areas surely required some personally identifiable markers to avoid basic problems of forgotten tomb location in addition to the ever-present concern of intentional violation of tomb ownership rights. For the tombstone uncovered above a grave cut in hardpan, and which was surely originally associated with one of the graves in this small burial cluster, see Robinson 1962, p. 116f.

is lacking for the provision of an inscribed tombstone to any tile tent grave or infant amphora burial.

The frequent dislocation of epitaphs from their original settings due to disturbance makes broad-based comparisons of their position within the tomb structure difficult. It may at least be suggested that some, especially those belonging to cist graves, were laid flat as part of the grave cover on the basis of a small number of tombstones bearing circular holes that were probably employed for libation.<sup>441</sup>

## Conclusion

A variety of tomb types was available for the burial of Corinth's dead. The selection of a particular kind of tomb, whether a labor-intensive vaulted or rock-cut tomb, a cist grave, or lower types, was in large part an economic one, although subadults clearly received differential treatment in the case of infant amphora burials.

The architecture of Corinthian tombs is especially valuable in illustrating the development of tomb sub-types and the employment of construction materials. At the highest level, the vaulted tomb, either contemporary with or following the introduction of its rock-cut counterpart, may be demonstrated to be a borrowing from northern Greece, where earlier versions had already existed for at least two centuries. Other tomb types, excepting the special case of flat-roofed chamber tombs, find general comparison elsewhere in Greece, although local variation is clearly visible,

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<sup>441</sup> The cist graves of Maria, wife of Euplous and multiple graves within the Kodratus Basilica all possess epitaphs laid flat as parts of their tomb covers. See also the 5<sup>th</sup> C. inscribed cover slab of the tomb of the Athenian Bishop Clematius (Sironen 2008, no. 13453), which bears a hole for libations at its center, and a 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. epitaph (Feissel 1983, no. 168) held at Thessaloniki's Museum of Byzantine Culture and possessing a hole carefully drilled within an ornamental element at the stone's lower right corner.

especially in relation to the use of spolia, which was in turn dependent on major transformations in individual urban environments. Finally, when placed against the backdrop of published Late Antique cemeteries, and especially the nearby graves of the lesser site of Isthmia, Corinth's status as a metropolis and provincial capital appears to be reflected by the large number of tombs possessing relatively elaborate architecture and for which only Thessaloniki, and perhaps also Athens, present a similar picture.

## CHAPTER 5

### MORTUARY OBJECTS AND RITUAL

#### Introduction

The objects discovered in association with Corinth's Late Antique burials offer invaluable evidence for grave and cemetery chronologies, mortuary ritual, and the production, trade, and consumption of goods on both local and regional scales. This chapter surveys Corinthian mortuary objects with a focus on the Lerna Court area and Forum area cemeteries. Comparative evidence from contemporary cemeteries in Greece, especially the area of southern Greece with which Corinth would have been most closely connected geographically and culturally, as well as datable comparanda from across the Eastern Mediterranean and Eastern Europe, is assessed in order to provide precise object chronologies and regionally contextualize the mortuary use of objects at Corinth. Isthmia, Nemea, Delion (Boeotia), and Athens provide particularly useful points of comparison due both to their geographic proximity to Corinth and the unusually detailed publication of material from some of their graves. Clothing accessories and jewelry (including buckles and belt accessories, earrings, finger rings, and beads) are considered first, followed by coins, weapons and tools, terra cotta lamps, ceramic vessels, glass and metal vessels, and, finally, miscellaneous objects.<sup>442</sup> Lastly, the artifactual record is placed within the context

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<sup>442</sup> Objects originating from graves which, on the basis of the presence of weapons and tools, appear to belong to non-Greek individuals are indicated as such or considered separately within their respective object classes in order not to confuse local traditions, to the extent that they are identifiable, with those that are clearly imported from other cultures. Of course, even within the subset of graves which would seem to follow local practices, some surely belong to persons, Greek or otherwise, who immigrated to Corinth and whose burials are archaeologically indistinguishable from those of native Corinthians.

of mortuary ritual, which is summarized on the basis of archaeological, textual, and comparative anthropological evidence.

## Objects

### Buckles

Buckles, in most cases worn on a belt at the waist, appear at Corinth in a wide range of types: simple circular, oval, and bow buckles, and more complex forms including the Syracuse, Corinth, and Nagyharsány types in addition to buckles with cruciform, trapezoidal, “insect”, elongated, and openwork plates. Despite this high degree of formal variety, these clothing accessories only occasionally served as an element of burial wardrobe at Late Antique Corinth.<sup>443</sup> The many 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. tile tent graves and rock-cut chamber tombs within the immediate vicinity of Lerna Court and the nearby Hill of Zeus yielded at most a single buckle, while two more were retrieved by the excavators of contemporary graves in the adjacent Gymnasium area.<sup>444</sup> Buckles appear somewhat more frequently in burials of the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. and are represented by a total of twenty-six examples from the Forum cemetery, although approximately half of these belong to immigrants whose origins lie far beyond the borders of the

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<sup>443</sup> When uncovered in clear relation to skeletal remains, Corinth’s buckles were positioned on or very close to the pelvis, implying use in association with a belt. In a few cases, most visibly MF72-132 (Grave), oxidized remains of a woven fabric (flax?) are preserved in the area of the tongue (Forum fig. 303). Although in most cases they likely served as the belt’s primary fastener, a small number of buckles, including miniature examples, associated with weapons-bearing burials could have been used to attach suspended items, including sheaths and pouches, to the belt. Buckles might also have been employed more creatively within costumes, as is arguably the case for two 7<sup>th</sup> C. burials at the Athenian Agora in which buckles lay above the area of the heart and were perhaps used to fasten cloaks worn by the deceased (Travlos and Frantz 1965, p. 168, no. 9, 11); the precise find spots are recorded in Athenian Agora Notebook AR I p. 80, 88).

<sup>444</sup> Meleti (2013, p. 164) also reports the existence of belt buckles amongst the few non-ceramic finds belonging to the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery above the Kodratus Basilica.

Byzantine world and whose burials should not be considered to reflect standard Corinthian practice.

The two 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. buckles, both bronze, from the Gymnasium mortuary zone are of relatively simple form: One is a mere circle bearing an attached tongue (pl. 242a), while the other is an extended oval with narrowed segment for the tongue's attachment (pl. 243a).<sup>445</sup> A generally similar circular buckle (pl. 242b) was excavated in an early 5<sup>th</sup> C. multiple burial grave at Isthmia, although the history of the Gymnasium mortuary zone suggests that the deposition of the Corinthian example occurred at least a century later.<sup>446</sup> A late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. date for the oval buckle is suggested by two pots retrieved from the same grave; a nearly identical bronze buckle (pl. 243b) was recovered from a burial at Nemea that should arguably be placed in the 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>447</sup> Of somewhat similar shape to the oval Gymnasium buckle and perhaps contemporary date is a bronze buckle (pl. 67c-d) stored with the pottery belonging to Lerna Court's Reservoir IV, although the lack of any mention of this find within the relevant excavation notebook forces one to treat it with caution.

The twenty-six mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. buckles from Corinth's Forum helpfully belong, for the most part, to mould-made types with distinctive decorated plates and which are found throughout the

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<sup>445</sup> Circular bronze buckle: MF12929 (Wiseman 1969, p. 79, fn. 27); oval buckle: MF12844 (*ibid.*, p. 80, fn. 30).

<sup>446</sup> See Rife (2011, p. 111, no. 24, fig. 2.106) for the Isthmian circular buckle.

<sup>447</sup> The tall trefoil pitcher from MF12844's grave should be placed in the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C. (see Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-40); although the accompanying lekythos cannot be as confidently dated, a similar chronology is probable. See Steven Miller (1980, pl. 43a, BR 721) on the buckle from an "Early Christian" grave at Nemea which, if the imitation North African lamps (*ibid.*, pl. 41e) found in the area of the cemetery may be interpreted as objects of mortuary ritual, should be placed in the 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.

Mediterranean and beyond.<sup>448</sup> Excluding the fifteen buckles from graves which contained weapons or for other reasons are potentially assignable to individuals whose origins lay outside the Byzantine Empire, we find that buckles of the so-called Corinth type are appropriately a majority (five), whereas other types are singly represented.

Relatively early examples that reflect 7<sup>th</sup> C. mortuary use of the Forum consist of a Syracuse type buckle (pl. 137a) and probably a small buckle with cruciform plate (pl. 198b).<sup>449</sup> The latter was worn by a subadult; other small buckles including the Syracuse type, a small bow buckle (pl. 118b), and a small, simple buckle without tongue (pl. 121b) may likewise have been worn by

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<sup>448</sup> Schulze-Dörrlamm's two volume work on the Mainz Museum's buckle corpus is the most important reference for widely manufactured types of Late Antique mould-made buckles, although typological chronologies are determined by reported archaeological context, often mortuary assemblages, and leave some broader problems of interpretation of the material cultural record unresolved. Consequently, the terminal dates for some buckle types are likely too early here, and in the cases of some late 7<sup>th</sup> C. buckles in particular we should expect an extension into the 8<sup>th</sup> C. The opposite is true for scholarship on Late Antique graves, which contain a variety of objects, including buckles, from the Crimean Peninsula. A. K. Ambroz's (1972) seriation of artifacts, generally followed by subsequent scholars of the peninsula including Aibabin (see mostly Ajbabin 2011) and Kazanski (Bortoli-Kazanski and Kazanski 1987), has probably pushed some 8<sup>th</sup> C. buckle chronologies too far forward toward the end of cemetery activity in the 9<sup>th</sup> C. On the recent history of Late Antique Crimean cemetery scholarship see M. Kazanski and V. Soupault (2000. "Les sites archéologiques de l'époque romaine tardive et du haut Moyen-Age en Crimée (IIIe-VIIes.): état des recherches (1990-1995)". *Les sites archéologiques en crimée et au caucase durant l'antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen-Age*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 253-294).

<sup>449</sup> Syracuse type buckle: MF4442 (Grave 1933-058=Grave 1934-003a, -b); buckle with cruciform plate: MF503 (Grave 1926-022). Schulze-Dörrlamm (2009, p. 179) dates Syracuse type buckles (her type D-12) from the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. to the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. 6<sup>th</sup> C. examples are not, however, well documented: the 'Slavic' fibulae, found in a grave at Edessa with a Syracuse type buckle, date broadly from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. to the early 7<sup>th</sup> C., and the two coins of Heraclius (611-614) recovered from a multiple burial grave at Samos with a Syracuse type buckle in addition to a 7<sup>th</sup> C. Bologna type buckle can serve only as a terminus post quem. The absence of Syracuse type buckles in Corinth's late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. contexts (including many mortuary contexts), along with the discovery of a Syracuse type buckle and other finds including two coins of Constans II (641-668) in a grave at the Kraneion Basilica (Pallas 1981, p. 298, fig. 5), suggests that at Corinth these buckles are worn during the mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C., a chronology close to Ambroz's (1972, fig. 7.2) dating of the type to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. Buckles with cruciform plate that are similar to Corinth's MF503 are dated by Schulze-Dörrlamm (2002, type D-22) from the late 6<sup>th</sup> C. to the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> C., although a chronology extending into the 8<sup>th</sup> C. has been most recently accepted by Chajredinova (2011, p. 61), following earlier Crimean scholarship.

subadults or employed as elements of pouches or sheaths suspended from the belt, as is well evidenced for burials from Crimean and elsewhere (pl. 244).<sup>450</sup>

Buckles of potential 8<sup>th</sup> C. date consist of the Corinth type and a trapezoidal buckle.

Although the precise dating of Corinth type buckles remains a subject of debate, they can at earliest belong to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C., while the archaeological contexts of some examples support their continued production into the 8<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>451</sup> Additional, stylistic evidence for the existence of Corinth type buckles during the 8<sup>th</sup> C. lies in their tongue and buckle types, which continue into the 8<sup>th</sup> C., and an important early example of an 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. trapezoidal buckle from Corinth (pl. 114a): In addition to tongue and buckle types of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C., the series of grooves at the plate-end of this trapezoidal buckle mirrors the grooves on some Corinth

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<sup>450</sup> The small iron bow buckle (MF7116, Grave 1937-005) is paralleled at Corinth only by buckles from a weapons-containing tomb of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. (Grave 1937-015-019); see also a full-size bronze example with iron tongue from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. "Slavic" cremation cemetery at Olympia (Vida and Völling 2000, p. 77, taf. 14 no. 1), a 7<sup>th</sup> C. bronze example from Eleutherna (Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004, p. 246, no. 13, fig. 13), and a bronze example from a grave at the Late Antique and Middle Byzantine cemetery at Tigani's basilica (Drandakis and Gioles 1982, p. 255, e, plate 149d). Beyond Greece, bow buckles are a simple, common type known throughout Central and Eastern Europe from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> C. (Vida and Völling 2000, p. 77). I know of no close parallel for the small buckle lacking a tongue (MF7200 from Grave 1937-025).

<sup>451</sup> Corinth type buckles: MF431a,b (Grave 1925-03=Grave 1925-04) (Forum fig. 263), MF5419 (probably from Grave 1934-015) (Forum fig. 164), MF7066 (Grave 1937-005) (Forum fig. 81), MF69-89 (Grave 1969-036) (Forum fig. 159), MF72-112 (Grave 1972-070) (Forum fig. 301). See also the Corinth type buckle (MF2624) from a grave built into a defensive tower on Acrocorinth's northwest slope (Davidson 1937, p. 232, fig. 3; Weinberg no. 2194). The lack of secure 8<sup>th</sup> C. archaeological contexts for Corinth type buckles (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, type E-6) is largely an artifact of the scarcity of securely identifiable 8<sup>th</sup> C. contexts in the greater Mediterranean region. Not surprisingly, these buckles are found at sites where occupation extends from the 7<sup>th</sup> into the 8<sup>th</sup> C.; their own chronological range should be considered as potentially extending to the later years of these contexts: the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 9<sup>th</sup> C. ecclesiastical settlement at Pseira, Crete (Poulou-Papadimitriou 1995, fig. 10); a grave outside Eleutherna's Katsivelos Basilica that is probably one of the latest tombs from this late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 8<sup>th</sup> C. neighborhood due to its location within the street fronting the basilica (Yangaki 2004, p. 124, Grave 18; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004, p. 249, fig. 6a-b); a grave from a bi-ritual cemetery of primarily 8<sup>th</sup> C. date near Balchik, Bulgaria (Doncheva-Petkova 2009, p. 82, fig. 8.1, Grave 119).

type buckles.<sup>452</sup> A point of overlap for both buckle types during the 8<sup>th</sup> C. is the easiest explanation for these shared features. Finally, a bronze buckle fragment most likely belongs to a Corinth type variant or is a locally rare type with openwork plate; it may be placed broadly within the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 214b-c).<sup>453</sup>

The buckles from Corinth's Forum cemetery compare well to those from 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. graves at Athens and at a small number of lesser urban and settlement centers including Eleutherna, Samos, and Tigani, all of which possess examples of the same widely distributed, mould-made types discovered at Corinth.<sup>454</sup> In all cases, buckles accompany a minority of interments, although the presence of eleven buckles amongst the twenty-eight individuals buried at Samos' Episcopal complex is an unusually high percentage and testifies to the high status of those buried here, whether clergy or local elites.<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>452</sup> On 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. tongue and buckle types see Schulze-Dörrlamm (pp. 1-7). Schulze-Dörrlamm (*ibid.*, p. 257) recognizes the early tongue and buckle types of Corinth's trapezoidal buckle (MF7225 from Grave 1937-008-009), which is closest to her type G1 (second quarter of 9<sup>th</sup> C. to first quarter of 10<sup>th</sup> C.). The series of ridges on its plate exists, to my knowledge, on no other trapezoidal buckle, while Corinth type buckles (including Corinth's MF5419 from Grave 1934-015) thus far appear to be the only preceding or contemporary buckle type possessing this feature.

<sup>453</sup> This buckle (MF72-132, Grave 1972-070) may belong to Schulze-Dörrlamm's (2009) type E20 (7<sup>th</sup> to early 8<sup>th</sup> C.); a Crimean example possesses nearly the same proportions and an identical buckle to that of the Corinthian object (pl. 245a). Ambroz (1972, p. 376, fig. 7.18) puts the type somewhat later, in the 8<sup>th</sup> C. and perhaps the early 9<sup>th</sup> C., although a date beyond the 8<sup>th</sup> C. is unlikely and not supported by any of the other buckles, generally of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C., from Grave 1972-070. Alternately, this could be a particularly remote variant of a Corinth type buckle bearing unusual openwork decoration and which lacks a substantial bar at the intersection of buckle and plate in a style perhaps generally like another Crimean buckle (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, p. 65, abb. 29.3).

<sup>454</sup> Athens (site of later Church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite): Travlos and Frantz 1965, p. 167f, no. 3-11, pl. 43; Eleutherna (Katsivelos Basilica): Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004; Samos (Episcopal complex): Martini and Steckner 2003, pp. 113-140; Tigani (basilica): Gioles 2008-2009, fig. 8.4

<sup>455</sup> By contrast, the cemetery at the Church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite in Athens, home to as many as 35 Late Antique graves in which one or two individuals were typically laid, possessed only nine buckles (one of them recovered from earth near a grave). While a relatively large number of buckles (15 as published) was obtained from a total of some 60 graves excavated within the Tigani basilica, it is difficult to know how common their deposition was at this site due to the presence of multiple interments in many graves and the apparent mortuary use of the

Seventeen buckles are associated with Forum graves that also contained weapons and tools; an additional three buckles arguably belong to individuals of non-Greek origin based on stylistic elements and a lack of comparanda from Greece. Although all of these buckles are traceable to Byzantine prototypes, and some are formally indistinguishable from buckles excavated at Corinth and elsewhere in Greece, as a group the buckles demonstrate an unusually wide typological range, significant variation in level of production including a relatively low average level of quality, and some stylistic traits that are closer to non-Byzantine Eastern European versions than the more standard buckles scattered throughout the empire.

Of the buckles from graves possessing weapons and tools, five are simple iron bow buckles (one of them a miniature version) which come from the same tomb (Grave 1937-015-019) in addition to a miniature bow buckle from Grave 1972-020.<sup>456</sup> Corinth type buckles are the second most common and are represented by two bronze and two iron examples; of these the bronze MF72-84 is of notably coarse craftsmanship in both form and decoration.<sup>457</sup> Other buckle types appear singly: a bronze buckle with small cruciform plate dating from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 8<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 157e);<sup>458</sup> a bronze buckle with insect plate of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of

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basilica in the 9<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> C. if not later (for the artifact-based identification of burials from these latter centuries, see Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, pp. 393-394).

<sup>456</sup> Iron bow buckles: MF7088 (pl. 98a), MF7091 (pl. 98b), MF7080 (pl. 102a), MF7081 (pl. 102b), MF7090 (pl. 102c), MF72-92 (pl. 211b). The last two are miniature versions presumably employed within the context of a pouch or sheath.

<sup>457</sup> Bronze Corinth type buckles: MF72-84 (Grave 1972-020) (pl. 210b), MF72-86 (Grave 1972-020) (pl. 210c); iron Corinth type buckles: MF7092 (Grave 1937-015-019) (pl. 101b-c), MF72-83 (Grave 1972-020) (pl. 210a)

<sup>458</sup> This buckle, from Grave 1934-014, was drawn but not saved. In illustration it looks most like Schulze-Dörrlamm type D-22.

the 7<sup>th</sup> C. to the first quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 210d),<sup>459</sup> a bronze Nagyharsány type buckle probably from the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 93b),<sup>460</sup> a bronze buckle with narrow, elongated plate and probably of the 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 211a),<sup>461</sup> and a fragmentary bronze buckle with openwork plate decoration of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. or 8<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 109b).<sup>462</sup>

Although the Corinth type and cruciform plate buckles are amongst the most common buckles in both Greece and the greater Mediterranean region, the other buckles from Corinth's weapon- and tool-bearing graves are found only rarely in Greece and in some cases are without Greek parallel. Only seventeen examples of the insect plate buckle are known in the greater Mediterranean, and in Greece only one other example, of somewhat different form than that at Corinth, has been discovered.<sup>463</sup> While the varied late 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. buckles with narrow elongated plates are widespread, the subtype to which Corinth's example, which lacks a close point of

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<sup>459</sup> MF72-85 (Grave 1972-020); Schulze-Dörrlamm (2009) type E-11

<sup>460</sup> MF8382 (Grave 1938-010). The buckle's tongue rest (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, p. 4, type J) is of a type in use from the second third of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. to the 8<sup>th</sup> C.; a date early within this time span is implied by the plate's openwork decoration, which generally recalls that of "maskenschnallen" and related buckles and strap ends of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C.; see most notably Schulze-Dörrlamm's mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. type D-2, a later version of which is placed by Crimean scholars (Chajredinova 2011, p. 61) in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>461</sup> MF72-87 (Grave 1972-020). This buckle likely derives from Schulze-Dörrlamm (2002) type D 33 (dated solely on stylistic grounds to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> C.) but is both of less regular form and far more plastic in style than the apparent prototype (fig. 11).

<sup>462</sup> MF7078 (Grave 1937-015-019). This irregularly formed buckle, of which little more than the buckle proper and tongue survive, should arguably be placed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of the series of grooves, which is nearly identical to those of Corinth type buckles, behind the tongue hole. Such a chronology is further supported by the form of buckle and tongue rest (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, p. 4, type J), which cannot date before the second third of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. and could be as late as the 8<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>463</sup> For the distribution of this type see Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, p. 37. Tigani's basilica cemetery possesses the only other known example from Greece (Gioles 2008-2009, fig. 8.4, top row, second buckle from right).

comparison, seems to belong is extremely rare.<sup>464</sup> Finally, the fragmentary buckle with openwork decoration (MF7078), to the extent that its partial preservation permits judgment, cannot be securely linked to any known type.

The subset of buckles from burials with weapons and tools is additionally notable for the presence of numerous iron examples and some stylistic aspects uncharacteristic of buckles found elsewhere in Greece. The selection of relatively inexpensive iron as the material for seven of these seventeen buckles is striking: Iron was employed for only two buckles outside this subset at the Forum cemetery, and is absent at the Late Antique cemeteries at Athens, Eleutherna, and Samos, where all buckles are of bronze. Secondly, the fragmentary buckle with openwork plate (MF7078) and the buckle with narrow elongated plate (MF72-87), both of which lack close typological comparanda, possess tongue rests of unusual form, and the former is additionally conspicuous through its heavily kinked tongue as well as the grooves extending down its plate.<sup>465</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. buckles from Albania (pl. 248b, 249a-b) and Hungary (pl. 248c) offer points of comparison for the latter buckle's use of multiple small protrusions to each side of the tongue rest.<sup>466</sup>

Three additional buckles, although not from graves with weapons or tools, should be considered here due to their lack of comparanda within Greece, departure from Byzantine

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<sup>464</sup> Late 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. buckles with narrow elongated plates include Schulze-Dörrlamm (2002) types D 33, D 34, D 35, E 13, E 14, and E 15. Type D 33, to which Corinth's MF72-87 is closest, is known from only two examples.

<sup>465</sup> The grooves extending lengthwise down the plate of MF7078 are a manifestation of a motif which the craftsman appears to have unusually applied throughout the buckle; grooves are also visible to each side of the tongue hole and on each tongue rest projection, in addition to the more standard pair of grooves, reminiscent of those of a Corinth type buckle, running widthwise directly behind the tongue hole.

<sup>466</sup> For comparanda, see: Garam 2001, p. 315-316; Vinski, Z. 1974 "Kasnoantički starosjedioci u salonitanskoj regiji prema arheološkoj ostavštini predslavenskog supstrata." VAHD 69 (1967): 5-86.

models, and their similarities with buckles from Eastern Europe. A bronze version of a lyre buckle with openwork plate (MF496, Grave 1925-009) (pl. 198a), based on mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. Byzantine prototypes, is closest to examples from Slovakia (pl. 249a) in particular and also Albania (pl. 248b, 249b-d), Hungary (pl. 250a), and Ukraine (pl. 250b).<sup>467</sup> A bronze buckle with a shield plate (MF7228, Grave 1933-203) (pl.93d), which in shape recalls Syracuse type buckles and also widely distributed buckles with circular openwork plates of the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C., bears a style of plate decoration known from a lead buckle mould discovered in northwest Bulgaria (pl. 250c).<sup>468</sup> Finally, a bronze buckle (MF7072) (pl. 95a) that likely originates from a disturbed grave is extremely close in both its shape and organic style to a mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. to early 8<sup>th</sup> C. buckle (pl. 250d), which ultimately derives from a Byzantine prototype with openwork plate, from Kiskassa, Hungary.<sup>469</sup> The significance of these potential geographic associations is explored further in chapter six.

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<sup>467</sup> Slovakia: Devinska Nova Ves (Csallany 1956, fig. VIII.1); Albania: Lezha (Prendi 1979, p. 167, tab. XXI.1, 3); Dalmace (Spahiu 1971, tab. 6.4), Komani (Vinski 1974); Hungary: Garam 2001 p. 316 Taf. 65.3) Ukraine: Pastyr's'ke (Kazanski. 2013. "The Middle Dnieper area in the seventh century: an archaeological survey". *Travaux et Mémoires*. 17. pp. 769-864, fig. 26.10). All of these buckles notably possess buckle and plate components cast as single pieces, and, like the Corinth buckle, some of them lack any additional element (such as a series of widthwise grooves) between buckle and plate. The Corinth buckle and its Slovak counterpart are both closer to typical Byzantine prototypes (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, type E 22) in their retention of vaguely vegetal protrusions at each side of the tongue hole rather than the zoomorphic heads present on the Albanian and Hungarian examples. See also a well-made lyre buckle (MF725, published as Davidson 1952, no. 2188) with zoomorphic heads that was found in a grave in the basilica on Acrocorinth.

<sup>468</sup> For the Byzantine buckles see Schulze-Dörrlamm (2009) type E 16. Although the 7<sup>th</sup> C. mould from Vratsa, Bulgaria (Daskalov and Dimitrov 2001) assumes a form different from the Corinthian buckle, the X cut in high relief on its plate is quite similar, as is the concentric border.

<sup>469</sup> The Corinthian buckle was discovered within a bothros inside the Forum's South Stoa (Corinth Notebook 170, p. 34) and is ultimately traceable to a 7<sup>th</sup> to early 8<sup>th</sup> C. prototype (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, type E 20). For the Kiskassa example see Csallany (1956, fig. III.1). Both the Corinthian and Kiskassa buckles possess buckle types (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, p. 4, abb. 1 type J) with tongue rests that begin in the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> C., whereas

## Belt Accessories

Belt accessories, including metal rings, chain, and what appears to be the trimming of a knife sheath, accompanied the dead in six graves, all of them at the Forum cemetery. Belt rings, simple metal accessories that were affixed to belts and would have allowed the suspension of such items as sheaths and pouches, were recovered from at least three graves and include two bronze rings (MF7226, Grave 1937-008-009) (pl. 114b) found above both sides of the pelvis in association with an 8th to 9th C. trapezoidal buckle (MF7225), a large, irregularly shaped bronze ring (MF4809) (pl. 161c) recovered from the interior of Grave 1934-008, and perhaps also a single bronze ring (MF512) (pl. 176b) attributed to Grave 1926-023.<sup>470</sup> Despite the utility of such rings, which were probably commonplace objects in the world of the living, they accompany the dead only in widely dispersed cemeteries which, based on mortuary objects and geographic location, appear to belong to non-Greek migratory groups and include two burial grounds on the island of Corfu (pl. 245b),<sup>471</sup> "Koman" cemeteries in Albania (246a-b),<sup>472</sup> a

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the latest dates for these buckles is obtained by the last buckles of the prototype, which date to the early 8<sup>th</sup> C. A somewhat more distant parallel originates in Keszthely, Hungary (ibid., fig. III.3).

<sup>470</sup> Belt rings, which are of approximately the same diameter range as the largest finger rings or of somewhat greater diameter, are most easily distinguished from them by their circular section, simple form, and lack of decoration. An additional, small ring (MF7813) with broken projection was uncovered in Grave 1938-015, but whether this belonged to a belt or was some other kind of clothing accessory or piece of jewelry is uncertain.

<sup>471</sup> Two identical bronze rings that appear to have belonged to a belt, along with a third possible belt ring, were excavated at in burial cluster at Corfu's Palaikastro, which also produced the 8<sup>th</sup> C. Avar style strap end and a trapezoidal buckle of probable 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. date (Bulle, H. 1978. *Corr. Hellénique*. 102. p. 686, 689, fig. 98). From Corfu's 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery at Aphiona, where an iron knife was found in another grave (II), a young woman (grave VII) wore two simple rings, one of bronze and the other of iron, on a cloth belt; three very different bronze ring pendants bearing bird motifs, typical objects of contemporary cemeteries in Albania, were uncovered within additional graves (XVI and XIX) (Bulle, H. 1934. *AthMitt* 59, pp. 147-240, fig. 26.16-19).

cemetery at Koprivlen (southwest Bulgaria) (pl. 246c),<sup>473</sup> and a variety of Avar graves in Hungary (pl. 247a).<sup>474</sup> It is therefore possible that most and perhaps all belt rings worn by Corinth's dead similarly belonged to non-Greek individuals.

Other objects associated with belts including a segment of iron chain, small, chainlike rings, and what may be elements of a knife sheath, are associated with three Forum graves that appear to belong to individuals originating from outside the Byzantine world based on the presence of weapons, tools, or buckles of non-Byzantine manufacture. A majority of these objects comes from the weapons-rich Grave 1937-015-019, which contained a ring-shaped iron hook (MF7085) (pl. 109a) probably worn on the belt beside a Corinth type buckle (MF7092), a short segment of iron chain (MF7086) (pl. 105b), an irregular bronze ring (MF7076) (pl. 99b) and two repurposed buckles (MF7074, MF7075) (pl. 98c-99a) suspended together from the belt of an individual wearing an iron bow buckle (MF7088 or MF7091),<sup>475</sup> and two small rings (MF7077 and

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<sup>472</sup> Albania's weapons-rich 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. "Koman" cemeteries contain a vast array of weapons, jewelry, and clothing accessories. See, for example, two very different rings from graves (9 and 11) at Lezha, and another (Grave 12) suspended on a hook from a metal strip which would have overlain the belt (Prendi 1979, p. 150-151, tab. IV, V).

<sup>473</sup> Two belt rings, of slightly different sizes and located at each side of the pelvis, were found along with an iron knife in Koprivlen's Grave 18 (Bozkova and Delev 1999, p. 222, fig. 233 5a-b). This burial cannot be directly dated, and, although the cemetery is placed broadly in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> C., it seems unlikely to precede the late 8<sup>th</sup> C. based on the finger rings accompanying the only other grave (160) in which a knife was found.

<sup>474</sup> Although elaborate belt sets with metal decoration are associated with the burials of Avar males, females could wear simpler belts from which objects were suspended, as is indicated by the late 7<sup>th</sup> C. grave (70) of a young woman at Tiszaderzs in which two metal rings, of iron and bronze, must have hung from a strap, perhaps leading to a pouch in which an iron knife and other objects found beside the rings would have been secured (Garam et al. 1975. *Avar Finds in the Hungarian National Museum*. Budapest. pp. 228-229, fig. 13).

<sup>475</sup> The two buckles (MF7075, MF7076) worn in connection with the ring may be in secondary use here, and were certainly not intended to be hung from a belt at the time of manufacture. One is a simple circle with a narrowed segment for the attachment of a tongue, which is absent, whereas the other, also lacking a tongue, assumes a more elaborate pointed C shape found in buckles of the late 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. from the Mediterranean region and beyond (Kazanski 2003, p. 36, fig. 13.1). Based on the excavator's description and drawing (Forum fig. 30a), the ring and

MF7079) (pl. 110a-b) possibly worn as a chain at the belt.<sup>476</sup> Two belt rings or chain links of some type may also have been excavated in Grave 1925-009 along with a variation of a lyre buckle (MF496) which was probably worn by a non-indigenous person, although the evidence is far from clear.<sup>477</sup> Finally, along with the many weapons and buckles of Grave 1972-020, two decorated U-shaped bronze strips (MF72-88) (pl. 211c), one of them bearing a hook, could well be the trimming of a knife sheath.<sup>478</sup>

The absence of chains and similar objects in other Late Antique cemeteries in Greece emphasizes the unique mortuary presence of these otherwise mundane items at Corinth. Chains do appear, at least occasionally, among 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. burials of Crimean Goths (pl. 251a), although no link between Crimea and Corinth can be assumed based on the shared inclusion of such widespread, practical, and simple clothing accessories within a limited number of burials.<sup>479</sup>

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buckles must have been suspended together from the belt via a leather or cloth strap along the length of which each object was affixed.

<sup>476</sup> The rings (MF7077, MF7079) possess internal widths of ca. 1.5 and 2.5 cm.; the smaller ring (MF7079) was crudely manufactured and permitted attachment, like a chain link, through a small gap in its body, whereas the larger ring is incompletely preserved.

<sup>477</sup> The “two poor bronze rings”, which were not saved, could describe belt rings or simple earrings. The latter possibility seems somewhat unlikely, however, because excavators generally identified earrings as such when they were found.

<sup>478</sup> The single intact bronze strip’s length of ca. 2.5 cm. would have well fit a knife (MF72-77) with a maximum width of ca. 2 cm. from the same grave.

<sup>479</sup> A female burial in a chamber tomb at Eski-Kermen offers an example of buckle reuse as a link in a chain which itself surely functioned in connection with a belt, recalling the redeployment of two buckles (MF7075, MF7076) on a strap in Corinth Grave 1937-015-019 (Chajredinova 2011, fig. 12.7).

## Earrings

Earrings are a rare component of the mortuary wardrobe at Late Antique Corinth, but seem to be incorporated more frequently, and employing more luxurious metals, beginning in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>480</sup> In contrast to the eight earrings, representing six pairs and all apparently of bronze, which were recovered from the entirety of the 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. Lerna Court area cemetery, a total of fifteen earrings, representing a minimum of eleven pairs and including examples bronze, silver, and gold, was excavated at the smaller Forum cemetery.<sup>481</sup> With the exception of three relatively complex examples, which incorporate coiled wire, metal beads, and suspended glass beads along with granulated triangles, all earrings are variations of simple hoop designs.

Three of the four earrings recovered from the Lerna Court area cemetery's Gymnasium zone of simple form (pl. 251b).<sup>482</sup> However, the single earring retrieved from one grave presents a more complex form, better known from the Middle Byzantine period, in which two segments of

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<sup>480</sup> Earrings were surely worn by the dead as they would have been in life. Unfortunately, their location within the grave is rarely noted (for an exception, see MF72-12 from the west end of Grave 1972-070). It may be expected that in many cases their position would have been altered due to soft tissue decomposition and any natural or human interaction with the grave, resulting in their eventual discovery by archaeologists near the end of the grave's excavation and sometimes at a distance from the individual to whom they originally belonged. We may also assume that they were objects of the female wardrobe, although due to such dislocation from the original interment and the presence of earrings within multiple burial graves rather than single burials, it is impossible to positively identify sex-based differentiation in earring use.

<sup>481</sup> Inconsistent use of sieving during Corinth's early excavations may partially explain the recovery of only one earring from the presumed pair that was worn by the dead. On the other hand, one would not expect the excavators of Grave 1991-009's sizable and conspicuous MF1991-22, made of bronze and gold, to have overlooked its companion, which was probably looted from the grave during the structure's Late Antique use phase or in association with post-Antique activity at the Forum. It is therefore probable that some other earrings were taken by human hands.

<sup>482</sup> These earrings are briefly mentioned, but illustrated in only one instance, within published excavation reports: Wiseman 1967b, p. 418 (Grave 53, inventory number unpublished); Wiseman 1969, p. 79 (Grave 86, MF12932A, -B, MF12934).

coiled wire (pl. 252a) are wrapped around the hoop.<sup>483</sup> Earrings, presumably made of bronze, were recovered from two additional graves (Grave 1932-034, Grave 1933-030), both within Lerna Court, but were not inventoried, while a single earring (MF13689, Grave 1933-111) (pl. 68b) discovered with the burials of the court's Reservoir IV possesses a curved profile known best from comparanda of the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> C. and seems either to have been an antique within a 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. mortuary context, or an extremely late example of this type.<sup>484</sup> The lack of earrings in the remainder of this vast cemetery, and their very limited presence in the sizeable circa 6<sup>th</sup> C. to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery located above the Kodratus Basilica, demonstrate that this object type was extremely rare in Corinthian graves of this period.<sup>485</sup> Such a scarcity within Corinthian mortuary contexts appears to reflect a general pattern of limited mortuary deposition, and only occasionally are earrings found at contemporary cemeteries in Greece.<sup>486</sup>

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<sup>483</sup> Wiseman 1967b, pl. 91m (Grave 34, MF12699). This earring, which may have originally possessed a metal bead between the wire segments, is close to Corinth's MF5805 (Davidson 1952, no. 2016), which has been dated only generally to the Byzantine period. For well-dated Middle Byzantine earrings of this type, see the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery at Parapotamos, Nomos Thesprotias in northwestern Greece (Preka 1992-93, pl. 41j) and other Greek examples from 11 to 14<sup>th</sup> C. graves at Nea Anchialos and Agrinion (Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, no. 26, 31, 34). One wonders if Corinth's MF12699 is indeed a Late Antique object.

<sup>484</sup> MF13689 is nearly identical in profile to a more ornate pair of gold earrings from a mid to late 5<sup>th</sup> C. grave at Isthmia (Rife 2011, p. 108f, no. 19, fig. 2.101) (pl. 252c) and generally similar to a pair of 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> C. gold earrings from Porto Rafti (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, no. 547) and a bronze earrings from a tomb at Delion that was used in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. (Chamilaki 2006, p. 583, 607, fig. 3 ΜΞΧ 3323).

<sup>485</sup> For earrings at the cemetery above the Kodratus Basilica see the comment by Meleti (2013, p. 164). No earring was reported from the rescue excavation of graves outside the northeast segment of Corinth's Late Antique city wall (Skarmoutsou 2010).

<sup>486</sup> Five earrings representing three pairs were excavated nearby at Isthmia from Graves in use during the late 4<sup>th</sup> to mid 6<sup>th</sup> C. (Rife 2011, p. 108f, no. 16, 17, 19, fig. 2.98, 2.99, 2.101). The use of gold for one well crafted pair is surprising considering the relative poverty of mortuary objects at this site. The circa 6<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery at Nemea yielded three pairs of bronze earrings, one quite simple and the others bearing extended pendants unlike any Corinthian earring (Miller 1980, pl. 43 GJ 35, 36, 38). Broadly similar to these more complex Nemean earrings is a pair of 6<sup>th</sup> C. gold earrings from the Stamata Basilica in Attica (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, no. 832), while two pairs of simple gold earrings of the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> C. were likewise unearthed in Attica at Porto Rafti (*ibid.*, no. 546-547).

A majority of the Forum cemetery's fifteen earrings are of extremely simple, non-datable forms; among them are one of the minimum five pairs of earrings recovered from graves that also contained weapons or tools.<sup>487</sup> Five earrings, which are also larger than their simpler counterparts, assume more distinctive shapes. A pair of gold earrings (MF72-121, Grave 1972-070) (pl. 215c) is particularly elaborate: At the bottom of each hoop are three circlets separated by roughly formed granules, and from each circlet a dark blue glass bead, one of which survives, was suspended via a gold rod. These earrings can be broadly placed in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., and are comparable to Sicilian bronze earrings, gold examples that are likely of Byzantine origin, and simpler bronze versions found throughout the Balkans.<sup>488</sup> A silver earring from a weapons-

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Across the Saronic Gulf from Corinth, only two tombs (Grave 1: 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C., Grave 4: 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C.) out of 31 at Delion, Boeotia possessed earrings, which were simple ringlets of bronze, although the presence in these tombs of a combined 11 earrings representing a probable 6 pairs points to a startling variation in mortuary ritual within the broader context of that cemetery (Chamilaki 2006).

<sup>487</sup> These simple earrings, which are circular or oval in shape, are also relatively small (maximum diameter of circa 1.5 to 2.0 cm., in comparison to a maximum diameter of circa 2.5 to 4.0 cm. for earrings of more complex form). Inventoried examples consist of the silver pair MF7039 (Grave 1937-008-009) (pl. 115b), the single bronze MF7813 (Grave 1938-015), and (if this crudely made object is indeed an earring) the single bronze MF7845 (Grave 1938-017) (pl. 125a). Two additional earrings of simple form were recorded but never inventoried: a single silver earring from Grave 1937-013, and a single bronze earring from Grave 1937-025. Grave 1934-014 contained earrings (pl. 157d), which were similarly not inventoried, in addition to a spearhead, while Grave 1972-70, which possessed a variety of weapons and tools, also yielded three to four non-surviving bronze earrings of uncertain type, although due to potential post-antique use of the tomb a Late Antique chronology for these items is not assured.

<sup>488</sup> Earrings which possess a variety of forms and include lower decoration of alternating circlets and grape cluster-like granules date from the 6<sup>th</sup> C. to at least as late as the 11<sup>th</sup> C. The simplicity of the Corinthian earring pair which, despite their use of precious metal, lack decoration within the hoop, suggest a relatively early date in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. in accordance with generally similar Sicilian earrings (Langó 2011, p. 391, fig. 8.2-5). Corresponding bronze earrings, sometimes made more cheaply from a single wire which was looped to create three circlets below the hoop and included pendants, are known throughout the Balkans during the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 9<sup>th</sup> C. (Grigorov 2007, p. 140, type I. 7). The earring closest overall to this Corinthian pair, including the use of pendants (albeit of different type), is made of gold and has been dated broadly to the 6<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> C. (Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, p. 103) (252b) although based on attributes of the Sicilian earrings it seems unlikely to be later than the 9<sup>th</sup> C.; see also a far more elaborate gold earring which possesses pendants and incorporates circlets and granules very similar to the Corinthian pieces and is of probable 9<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> C. chronology (*ibid.*, p. 103, fig. 95). A gold pair of earrings from the famous early 7<sup>th</sup>

bearing grave (Grave 1972-070) appears to belong to a common and extremely long-lived type which incorporates two or three tiny beads and is known throughout much of southeastern Europe from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 10<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>489</sup> At a lower level of production, a single bronze earring (MF72-117, Grave 1972-070) (pl. 215a), although incompletely preserved, is of a type in which the hoop remains partially open; similar earrings have been dated as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> C. in Greece, and are known in Central Europe and throughout the lower Danube valley during the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 10<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>490</sup> Finally, to the extent that a tentative judgment may be made, a bronze earring (Grave 1937-025) (pl. 121c) which was drawn before it was discarded appears closest to a pair of 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. bronze earrings from Dolni Lukovit (northwest Bulgaria) (pl. 254a).<sup>491</sup>

Although the number of earrings at the Forum cemetery is not a large one, it stands in startling contrast to that of other mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. cemeteries associated with major sites, where earrings are largely absent. Within Athens, a multiple burial tomb on the north slope of the

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C. Samos hoard is broadly similar but uses a different closure mechanism and was endowed with long, costly gold chains, instead of glass beads, as pendants (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, no. 555).

<sup>489</sup> The inventoried objects notebook (Corinth Notebook 566, p. 37) compares this earring, which disintegrated during cleaning, to two somewhat different earrings published by Davidson (no. 2007, 2008). Although Davidson places the earrings, neither of which was obtained from a closely dated context, in the 11<sup>th</sup> C., this type exists as early as the Roman period (Vikatou 2002, p. 253) and is common in southeastern Europe from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 10<sup>th</sup> C. (Grigorov 2007, type I. 2). The nearest comparanda in Greece belong to the circa 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery at Agia Triada in the northwest Peloponnese (*ibid.*, p. 269, fig. 19 M 2184, fig. 21 M 2185) (pl. 253).

<sup>490</sup> For the Greek examples, which may be dated too early, see Pazaras (2009, p. 143, fig. 185). Versions from central Europe and the lower Danube valley possess a more complex S-shaped or spiral terminus (Grigorov 2007, type I. 3). It is unfortunately impossible to classify the Corinthian example more closely due to its broken condition. Another bronze earring (MF4933, Grave 1934-007) (pl. 134b), of nearly identical size, may be of the same type, but is insufficiently preserved for conclusive identification.

<sup>491</sup> This earring type, if the identification based on the excavation notebook sketch is correct, falls under Grigorov (2007) type I. 2, which extends from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 10<sup>th</sup> C. and occurs primarily in the lower Danube valley and central Europe. The cemetery in which the Dolni Lukovit earrings (Vazarova 1976, p. 204, fig. 126.8-9) were excavated is limited to the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. (*ibid.*, p. 13).

Areopagus yielded four relatively simple bronze earrings that should be placed in the mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of accompanying pottery, while earrings were lacking at the contemporary cemetery by the church of St. Dionysios Areopagite.<sup>492</sup> Eleutherna's late 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. Katsivelos Basilica cemetery is completely devoid of earrings. At least one pair of earrings from the multiphase cemetery at the Tigani Basilica is, however, of 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. date, and a small number of earrings of similar chronology have been excavated at four additional cemeteries.<sup>493</sup> Multiple factors, including the presence, and perhaps influence, of non-indigenous individuals who sometimes buried their dead with unusually lavish adornment, may have contributed to the relatively high frequency of earrings in mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. graves at Corinth's Forum.

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<sup>492</sup> Earrings from multiple burial tomb: H. Robinson 1959, p. 122 N 13-15

<sup>493</sup> A pair of gold earrings with decorated discs below the simple hoops and belonging to the initial occupant of a grave at Tigani (Gioles 1982, p. 252 Γ 1) is provided a late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. terminus ante quem by a Corinth type buckle found in the same grave and apparently associated with a later burial. Although a 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. date for the earrings was asserted by the excavator based on early 20<sup>th</sup> C. Sicilian evidence, the presence of a less elegant gold version of this earring type in a 7<sup>th</sup> C. treasure which is thought to be of Constantinopolitan or Syrian origin (Ross 1965, pl. 14G) demonstrates that the Tigani earring should date to the 7<sup>th</sup> C., if not slightly later as suggested by nearly identical discs on second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> to late 9<sup>th</sup> C. earrings with arc-shaped lower bands (see Grigorov 2007, type V. 4, and particularly no. 3 from Vulchedrum, northwest Bulgaria). Schulze-Doerlamm (2009, p. 24) argues for a mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. date for the Tigani earrings. Moreover, two crude, silver examples of these earrings were excavated in central Greece at the basilica of Azoras, near Larisa (Kougioumtzoglou 2010, fig. 1; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, no. 549, 551, 552), and possess closure systems of a form and decoration known in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. and beyond (for some of the earliest parallels see Grigorov 2007, type II. 1). Also from Azoras and indicative of the site's cemetery chronology are two additional pairs of silver earrings, one of them arguably of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. judging by the large triangular grape cluster suspended from the hoop, a type found in bronze at the ca. 7<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery on the island of Antikythera (N. Pyrrou et al. 2006, pl. 6.4). See also seven bronze and silver earrings with large triangular grape clusters that should be contemporary from the cemetery at Limori (near Thessaloniki), although as published they are placed, far too early, in the 4<sup>th</sup> C. (Pazaras 2009, p. 145, fig. 188).

## Finger rings

Finger rings are just as rare as earrings in Corinthian graves of the 6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. Only four rings were recovered from the Lerna Court area cemetery, and in the subsequent Forum cemetery excavators discovered a maximum of 10 rings, although seven of these belong to graves that, primarily due to the presence of weapons and tools, appear to have been used by non-Greek immigrants. All are of iron or bronze, and all bear circular or oval bezels possessing incised decoration or, in a single instance, a cutting for a stone.

Little may be said of the rings from the Lerna Court cemetery due to their poor preservation and preliminary state of publication. Two are of bronze and the other two of iron; one of the bronze rings retained a circular cutting within which a stone was once set.<sup>494</sup> The excavation of the two iron rings from a single grave in which they were worn by the two occupants, a male and a female, demonstrates that although rarely deposited, rings were appropriate aspects of the mortuary costume for both sexes at Corinth. To this meager total may be added a small number of rings from the cemetery above the Kodratus Basilica; an additional ring in bronze was uncovered in association with a female burial within the mortuary zone outside the northeast segment of Corinth's Late Antique city wall.<sup>495</sup>

Finger rings are similarly rare at other 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. cemeteries in Greece. Neither of the two rings from nearby Isthmia's graves clearly falls within this era, and not far away at Nemea, all four rings from the mortuary zone by the Temple of Zeus were retrieved from a single richly

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<sup>494</sup> Bronze finger ring with cutting for a stone (MF12703): Wiseman 1967b, p. 420, pl. 88e (pl. 254b). Bronze ring (MF12847): Wiseman 1969, p. 83. Two iron rings: Wiseman 1972, p. 8.

<sup>495</sup> For a brief mention of the rings found in graves near the Kodratus Basilica see Meleti (2013, p. 164); one of the rings carried on it a trace of cloth (from clothing?). On the ring from the mortuary zone outside the city wall: Skarmoutsou 2010, p. 714.

endowed burial.<sup>496</sup> At Porto Rafti (Attica), a single silver ring with a glass paste inlay in its circular bezel has been dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>497</sup>

The incorporation of finger rings within the mortuary wardrobe appears to remain an extremely rare occurrence in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. based on the two finger rings of clearly Late Antique date (and excluding rings from graves that contained weapons or tools) from the Forum cemetery. The earliest of these rings (MF4931, Grave 1934-004) (pl. 150b), from the 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C., is a bronze example bearing a personal block monogram on its oval bezel, although this object seems not to have been made for the person who wore it and may have already been an antique at the time of its deposition.<sup>498</sup> The only other finger ring from the Forum which comes from a grave possessing neither signs of use by non-indigenous individuals or re-use in the Middle Byzantine period is a bronze ring with an engraved star on its bezel (MF12197 from Grave 1965-007) which may date to the 9<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 192a).<sup>499</sup>

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<sup>496</sup> A tiny bronze circling found in a grave at Isthmia is only tentatively identifiable as a finger ring (Rife 2012, p. 109, no. 23, fig. 2.105); Rife places this grave in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> C. The grave which produced a bronze finger ring with oval bezel at the same site should not precede the 7<sup>th</sup> C. but could be significantly later (*ibid.*, p. 108, no. 15, fig. 2.97). The four rings from the 6<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery at Nemea consist of two silver-plated bronze examples with personal block monograms on their bezels (Steven Miller 1981, p. 48, pl. 12e, GJ 65, GJ 66), and two more bronze rings (*ibid.*, p. 50, pl. 12d, GJ 68, GJ 69).

<sup>497</sup> Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, no. 768.

<sup>498</sup> This ring is similar, but not identical, to the two silver-plated rings from Nemea (see fn. 494) (pl. 254c) and is of a type that has been traditionally dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> C. (Stiegemann 2001, p. 328f, no. IV.63). The basis of this chronology lies in part on the assumption that block monograms would not have been employed after the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. despite the evidence from lead seals, where they remain in use in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. as they are gradually replaced by monograms of cruciform type (on the dating of seals generally see Oikonomides 1986, pp. 151ff). The Corinthian ring's monogram takes a masculine ending and is probably "Αναστασίου" ("of Anastasios"), a name incompatible with the occupant of the grave if the excavator's preliminary identification of her as a female (with infant) is correct. Whether purchased or inherited, this piece of jewelry may therefore appear within the context of secondary use.

<sup>499</sup> This ring was found close to a coverless cist, Grave 1965-007, before the grave's discovery, and considered by the excavator as an object probably belonging to the disturbed burial. Its closest parallels occur in a 9<sup>th</sup> to early 10<sup>th</sup> C. grave (87) at Milea (Kougioumtzoglou 2010, p. 559, fig. 10, M 204, M207); for the chronology of this tomb see

Four finger rings were worn by the occupants of graves which also contained weapons and tools. In the weapons-rich Grave 1937-015-019 excavators found a poorly preserved iron ring (MF7087) (pl. 104b-105a) with circular bezel and a late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. iron ring (MF7073) (pl. 103a-104a) bearing a cruciform invocative monogram on its small oval bezel.<sup>500</sup> A larger ring (MF4922) (pl. 158a) with a slightly different cruciform monogram and probably of similar date accompanied one of the dead in Grave 1934-014.<sup>501</sup> Such monograms occur only occasionally on finger rings elsewhere (pl. 254d-e); like the Corinthian rings, the closest points of comparison have been assigned dates from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>502</sup> In addition, a poorly preserved iron ring (MF72-76) (pl. 207a-b) was retrieved from Grave 1972-020, although due to potential re-use of this tomb in the 12<sup>th</sup> C. and beyond a Late Antique attribution cannot be made with certainty.

Lastly, Grave 1972-070, which like Grave 1972-020 was exploited for mortuary use in connection with the 12<sup>th</sup> C. church built on its site, produced three rings that could be associated with activity during Late Antiquity or a later phase. One ring (MF72-116) (pl. 216b) does not belong to known Late Antique types and is most likely of Roman or Middle Byzantine date.

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Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, p. 396. In accordance with the lack of known mortuary activity within the west terrace of Corinth's Forum and the Temple E precinct during the 10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> C., a 9<sup>th</sup> C. date for the grave and the ring seems most probable.

<sup>500</sup> MF7073's monogram, a variant of Laurent (1963. *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire Byzantin*. Paris) type VIII, reads "Κύριε βοήθει", "Lord help" (the wearer). The monogram occurs frequently on lead seals of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> C., but the letter forms on the Corinthian ring, to the extent that the crude craftsmanship permits stylistic analysis, appear to be no later than the early 9<sup>th</sup> C. A date not after the 8<sup>th</sup> C. is suggested by the burial context.

<sup>501</sup> This ring's monogram should likewise be read as "Κύριε βοήθει", but the configuration of letters is unusual if not unprecedented within the surviving corpus of lead seals and inscribed jewelry.

<sup>502</sup> For a bronze ring with invocative cruciform monogram that has been dated to approximately the 8<sup>th</sup> C. see Bosselmann-Ruickbie (2011, p. 404, abb. 175) (pl. 254d). The ring's form is slightly more advanced than that of MF4922; for a more comparable form (but with very different decoration) that has been placed in the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 8<sup>th</sup> C., see *ibid.* (fig. 174). An Ephesian ring of different form but possessing a stylistically similar monogram to that on MF7073 has been given a probable date in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> C. (Pülz and Kat 2011, p. 699, fig. 3) (pl. 254e).

Little may be said for a heavily corroded iron ring (MF72-119) with bezel (pl. 216a), and it is unclear whether a simple ring (MF72-113) (pl. 216c) made of bone was worn on a finger or in association with a belt.

Setting aside finger rings of questionable chronology or those found in association with weapons and tools, the extreme scarcity of these objects at Corinth's Forum cemetery reflects the overall absence of rings in Greek cemeteries of the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. Not one ring was recovered from contemporary cemeteries at Eleutherna's Katsivelos Basilica, the later church of St. Dionysios Areopagite on the north slope of the Athenian Areopagus, or the ecclesiastical complex on Samos. Moreover, although previously dated in the 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C., it is now clear that some if not all of the rings from Tigani's basilica are of 9<sup>th</sup> C. date or later.<sup>503</sup> Likewise the rings from graves at Milea's basilica can be dated only at earliest to the 9<sup>th</sup> C. and therefore correspond solely to the Forum's latest graves (if there is indeed any overlap), while the presence of an iron knife in at least four of the 9<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> C. graves, including those with earrings, suggests that this was a mixed or completely non-indigenous population.

## Beads

Beads, manufactured from glass aside from a single example of a drilled stone, were recovered from a total of eight graves, where in most cases they probably accompanied the dead as components of necklaces. Spherical, ovoid, and melon seed forms are assumed by the glass versions. Although their deposition increases over time, from inclusion in two graves in the 6<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>503</sup> For a partial re-appraisal of the chronology of the finds, including a late 9<sup>th</sup> to early 10<sup>th</sup> C. enameled ring bezel, from Tigani's basilica, see Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, p. 393f.

to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Lerna Court area cemetery, to six graves in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. Forum cemetery, beads remain scarce objects. Their presence in even these few Corinthian tombs is therefore cast into high relief when compared to the near total lack of beads in contemporary cemeteries in Greece.

Beads were reported by excavators for only three tombs at the Lerna Court area cemetery. From that burial ground's Gymnasium zone a single dark purple stone bead (pl. 255a) with a hole drilled through its center was probably strung on a necklace, while in a nearby grave multiple glass beads, along with a circular bronze hoop, may have functioned together as necklace components.<sup>504</sup> Contemporary tombs on the nearby Hill of Zeus yielded a tiny spherical glass bead (MF4691, Grave 1933-271) (pl. 79c) bearing the millefiori decoration of multiple "eyes" which was popular throughout antiquity.<sup>505</sup> Aside from examples in two Isthmian graves and perhaps also Eleutherna, contemporary beads are unknown in securely dated contemporary mortuary assemblages in Greece, although one wonders if some of these small, relatively unimpressive objects may have been excavated but never reached the light of publication.<sup>506</sup>

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<sup>504</sup> For the stone bead see Wiseman 1967b, MF12712, p. 428 no. 26, pl. 91n. For the glass beads and bronze hoop: *ibid.*, MF12729, MF12698, p. 418 pl. 88i.

<sup>505</sup> On millefiori beads generally, see Beck (1928, p. 64).

<sup>506</sup> Eleutherna's Katsivelos Basilica cemetery produced a single, simple bead of black glass accompanying one of the three young adult males interred within a cist grave which, according to the cemetery's overall period of use may be placed broadly in the 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. (Themelis 2004, Grave 49, Y478, p. 182, fig. 129). From Isthmia see a necklace with glass beads from an early 5<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. grave (Rife 2012, p. 112 no. 33 (not inventoried)), and a tiny shell bead worn by an infant in a late 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. grave (*ibid.*, no. 32, fig. 2.114). An Isthmian necklace with a bone pendant cross (*ibid.*, no. 20-21, fig. 2.102-103) seems better placed in the Middle Byzantine period than its assigned 7<sup>th</sup> C. chronology, which depends largely on pendant crosses and other finds from Nemean tombs published with 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. dates (Steven Miller 1988, p. 3), but which look unlike anything datable that era and are instead paralleled by 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> C. objects from across Eastern Europe. The Isthmian bone cross is closest to a

The Forum cemetery, in contrast, produced a minimum of fourteen glass beads, probably strung on necklaces, of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. in addition to at least one glass bead that was suspended from an earring. The most readily dated of these are three dark blue beads (MF505, Grave 1926-022; two examples within MF6949, Grave 1937-008-009) (pl. 198c, 115a) which possess a melon seed profile common in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>507</sup> Although dispersed widely throughout the Balkans and parts of eastern Europe, close parallels from mortuary contexts in Greece are apparent only at distant Aphiona (Corfu) (pl. 255b) in a 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery used at least in part by non-Greek individuals, while slightly more removed comparanda are evident in Olympia's 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. "Slavic" cremation cemetery.<sup>508</sup> Another dark blue bead (MF505, Grave 1926-022) (pl. 198c), which takes a diamond profile, may be a variation of this type and essentially creates a doubled melon seed bead.

Late versions of multicolored millefiori beads are represented by at least four examples (MF494, MF505, Grave 1926-022; MF6949, Grave 1937-008-009) (pl. 198c, 115a) of spherical and ovoid shape: one (MF505) is notable for the raised "eyes" on its surface, while two others

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Ukrainian amber cross probably dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> C. (see Hupalo 2012, fig. 9.1) and also recalls a 12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> C. Bulgarian bronze cross (Doncheva-Petkova 2011, no. 1312); for Bulgarian 11<sup>th</sup> to 12 C. comparanda for the somewhat different Nemean bone crosses see Doncheva-Petkova (2011, no. 1336-1337). The simple Nemean cross made of bent iron is likewise of the same form as 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> C. crosses from Bulgaria (ibid., no 656-672). These graves should be roughly contemporary with others found in the area, including one in which was discovered a finger ring (ibid., GJ 118, pl. 3c) that should date to approximately the 12<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of a very similar ring from the Republic of Macedonia (Maneva 1992, 58/32).

<sup>507</sup> One bead within MF6949 (Grave 1937-008-009) assumes a more rounded profile but arguably belongs to the same melon seed type. On the dating of the type see generally Fiedler 1992, fig. 42.1, pp. 188-190.

<sup>508</sup> See the many beads, in a variety of colors including dark blue, on a necklace at Aphiona in Bulle (1934, p. 222, abb. 26.6-7). Similar beads were suspended from a pair of earrings that accompanied the adult and infant buried in the same grave (ibid, abb. 26.3-4). Olympia bead types 11a and 11b (Vida and Völling 2000, p. 89, fig. 34), also of a dark blue color, likely fall within the same general category but possess different, wider profiles.

(MF6949) possess unusual opaque, glossy surfaces.<sup>509</sup> The near disappearance of millefiori beads in the 7<sup>th</sup> C., and their resurgence throughout Europe, including the Lower Danube valley, in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., suggests that the Corinthian examples are of 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. origin.<sup>510</sup> The remaining necklace beads (pl. 115a), all from Grave 1937-008-009, are varied and must have presented an eye-catching if less than elegant ensemble were they all on the same necklace alongside the melon seed and millefiori beads that accompanied them: a tiny blue globular bead surviving in two parts and paralleled by a similarly split and heavily weathered globular bead, a short green cylindrical bead coupled with a weathered bead of approximately the same dimensions, and a heavily weathered oval bead of which one half survives. Finally, an ovoid bead of blue glass served as a pendant for one of two circa 7<sup>th</sup> C. gold earrings (MF72-121, Grave 1972-070) (pl. 215c), and was probably originally joined by similar beads found loose within the tomb's earth.

## Coins

Coins were recovered from only a small fraction of graves and in nearly all cases seem to have entered mortuary contexts as a result of casual presence within earth fills rather than

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<sup>509</sup> A fifth bead (MF3684) of this type may exist in association with a grave of probable 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. date (Grave 1934-007), although the excavation record for the object is not completely clear.

<sup>510</sup> Fiedler summarizes the evidence for the chronology and distribution of 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. millefiori beads; such a date would additionally correspond well with the cemetery at Agia Triada, where a necklace possessing two such beads (Vikatou 2002, p. 270, fig. 22) (pl. 256) was one of several objects accompanying the deceased, who seem not to have been of Greek origin on the basis of an accompanying knife. The glossy surfaces of the last two beads from Grave 1937-008-009 (MF6949) might also be an indicator of a relatively late date in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C.

intentional deposition.<sup>511</sup> Rare exceptions consist of the laying of coins on the body or grave, and in the wearing of pierced coins as jewelry.

Deposition within the context of mortuary ritual appears clearly to have occurred for a 7<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian infant amphora burial (Grave 1963-012) in which a single bronze coin was discovered just outside the amphora toe, while two more coins lay directly atop the infant's pelvis and chest.<sup>512</sup> A grave of possible 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. date at Isthmia, in which a 6<sup>th</sup> C. Pentennium was deposited upon the chest of a young adult male, may offer a nearby parallel for the Corinthian practice.<sup>513</sup> Other examples of contemporary coin use within the context of mortuary ritual are practically non-existent; the discovery of a bronze coin amongst ceramic vessels left in an early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian vaulted tomb offers a rare example of probable ritual deposition, an explanation which might additionally be considered for nine coins, eight of them gold, from a late 6<sup>th</sup> C. to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian vaulted tomb.<sup>514</sup> Finally, Corinth's Hemicycle complex produced the remains of two individuals whose remains were excavated along with more than 100 coins which they seem to have worn within pouches at their waists; the

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<sup>511</sup> Although casual deposition should always be assumed for coins in the absence of evidence to the contrary, a larger number of coins, especially tiny low denomination issues, would surely have been recovered from graves had sieving with screens of narrow gauge wire mesh been consistently employed; on sieving and coin recovery generally see Sanders (2004, p. 172).

<sup>512</sup> The three coins, one of which is said to be a "half coin", are not provided inventory numbers in the excavation notebook (Corinth Notebook 270, p. 38).

<sup>513</sup> Rife 2012, p. 103, fig. 2.87

<sup>514</sup> The bronze coin of Heraclius (614-615) and associated pottery from Kokkini St. 4-6, Grave VI (Kynosarges Cemetery) are presented by Tzavella (2010, p. 666, fig. 1β). The nine coins (seven of them dating to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> C.) from the other tomb (Threspiades 1972, p. 11, pl. F'α), which was located below the east slope of Philopappos Hill, could conceivably have accompanied multiple burials within the tomb, although one wonders if, especially in light of the high value of these coins, they were deposited as a hoard within a convenient hiding place that was unlikely to be disturbed after it fell into disuse.

interpretation of these persons as earthquake victims who never received a formal burial may provide an explanation for what would otherwise be a highly unusual mortuary practice.<sup>515</sup>

Two coins from the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Lerna Court area cemetery seem to have been used quite differently due to the presence of tiny holes that would have enabled their suspension, presumably on necklaces (pl. 68a).<sup>516</sup> A rare, albeit slightly later point of comparison is again offered by a grave of possible 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. date at Isthmia which contained a pierced 4<sup>th</sup> C. coin worn close to the neck of a female occupant.<sup>517</sup> Although neither these pierced coins nor the coins that appear to have been intentionally deposited suggest that the Greco-Roman tradition of paying Charon's obol was maintained in the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and beyond, an apotropaic function is likely for all of these instances. Coins of Alexander the Great and other coins and medals that bore imagery which was considered holy or of magical value are known to have been worn by the living to ward away evil beginning no later than the 4th C., and the unusual location of piercing for the Corinthian half follis of Anastasius I (Coin 33-214), which bears no relation to the obverse image of the emperor but instead appears to turn the reverse image into a holy or magical symbol, implies just this kind of protective measure.<sup>518</sup>

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<sup>515</sup> A total of some 75 coins, the latest of them belonging to the reign of Justin II (565-574), appears to have been associated with these two skeletons, although the documentation of this context leaves much ambiguity. For a general description see Broneer (1926, pp. 52-53); the context was initially recorded in Corinth Notebook 0087, p. 70.

<sup>516</sup> One of the many burials (Grave 1933-111) in Lerna Court's Reservoir IV yielded a pierced half follis (Coin 33-214) of Anastasius I (498-518). From a grave in the Gymnasium area a pierced coin of Constans I (346-350) was uncovered (Wiseman 1969, p. 79, Coin 67-923).

<sup>517</sup> Rife 2012, p. 109, fig. 2.96

<sup>518</sup> On the apotropaic value of coins see Maguire (1997. "Magic and Money in the early Middle Ages". *Speculum*. 72. pp. 1037-1054). The piercing on Coin 33-214 occurs directly to the left of a cross beside the denomination mark of a large "K". When worn, the reverse would have effectively been rotated 90 degrees clockwise, turning the cross,

## Weapons and Tools

Weapons and tools are conveniently considered together due to their function as markers of non-indigenous aspects of mortuary ritual and with it, the cultural identity of the deceased. These extraordinary classes of objects are completely absent in the burials of the Lerna Court area cemetery and 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. cemeteries elsewhere at Corinth (and contemporary southern Greece), but appear suddenly in mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. graves at the Forum cemetery, on the upper northwest slope of Acrocorinth, and in the Kraneion Basilica. Polearm heads, arrowheads, and a sword constitute the types of weapons present in the Forum cemetery, while tools consist of knives and light strikers, sometimes accompanying weapons burials but occurring independently in at least one case. Their rare excavation elsewhere in Greece within burials that should be linked to individuals of Slavic and perhaps other non-Greek migratory groups, a topic discussed more fully in chapter six, suggests that similar origins be assigned to Corinth's dead, for whom military service within the local Byzantine garrison offers a specific explanation for the presence of at least some of these individuals at Corinth.

A total of six Forum graves yielded weapons or tools.<sup>519</sup> Polearms, here spears of seemingly simple form, are by far the most common weapon and are represented by at least eight examples of leaf-shaped blades (pl. 106a-106c, 108a, 208c, 209b), three examples of conical heads (pl.

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the importance of which should not be discounted, onto its side and transforming the "K" into something vaguely resembling a partial Christogram.

<sup>519</sup> An additional iron spearhead (MF72-59, similar to Davidson 1952, no. 1559) with leaf-shaped blade and solid tang was discovered within Grave 1972-042 on Temple Hill, but due to this grave's unclear chronology and its heavily disturbed condition, it is neither certain that the grave and weapon are of Late Antique date, nor that the weapon was intentionally deposited.

107a-c, 108b), two examples of barbed blades (pl. 158b, 209a), and at least three shafts belonging to spearheads of uncertain type (pl. 209b).<sup>520</sup> Additional examples of spears incorporating conical head, leaf-shaped, and barbed blades were deposited in a tomb on the upper northeast slope of Acrocorinth.<sup>521</sup> A final polearm in the form of a javelin is probably represented by a small leaf-shaped blade (MF72-79, Grave 1972-020) (pl. 208b), although a role as a large arrowhead cannot be ruled out. On firm ground as arrowheads, and the only objects of this type from any Corinthian grave, are two trilobe blades (MF72-78, and a similar uninventoried arrowhead) (pl. 208a, 209b) from the same tomb (Grave 1972-020).<sup>522</sup>

The scarcity of these weapon types, and particularly the arrowheads, within Greece, in comparison to their more common occurrence in Avar graves, led early scholars to posit an Avar

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<sup>520</sup> Leaf-shaped blades: MF7069, MF7084, MF7094, MF7096, MF7097, MF7098, all from Grave 1937-15-19; MF7281 and two uninventoried spearheads, Grave 1972-020. Conical blades: MF7082, MF7083, MF7084, MF7095a, all from Grave 1937-015-019. Barbed blades: MF72-80, Grave 1972-020; probably MF6105, Grave 1934-014. It is difficult to determine the intended functionality of all of these weapons with certainty. The spears with cylindrical blades might best be called “pikes” in accordance with the quick, piercing thrusts and immediate extraction for re-use they would have afforded in addition to their limited aerodynamic stability. Leaf-bladed spears could conceivably have functioned similarly or reached their targets as thrown missiles. The rare barbed spearheads, on the other hand, may have performed better within the context of thrown missiles due to the potential difficulty of their extraction from opponents’ bodies. The non-surviving wooden shafts would have provided some clue of functionality; it may at least be suggested that, were the shafts not shortened through intentional breakage prior to mortuary deposition, the spears within the circa 2.0 m. long interiors of Grave 1934-014 and Grave 1972-020 were designed as relatively short, light throwing spears or javelins, whereas the “pikes” and perhaps some of the spears with leaf-shaped from Grave 1937-015-019, which possessed an occupied interior with a length of at least 3.55 m. within a re-used drain, could have indeed been intended to be long thrusting weapons. Such an identification of Grave 1937-015-019’s polearms would fit well with late 9<sup>th</sup> C. thrusting spears with lengths of 3.66 to 4.27 m. (Haldon, J. 1979. *Some aspects of Byzantine military technology from the sixth to the tenth centuries*, *BMGS*. 1. p. 32), whereas javelins and light throwing spears, documented with lengths ranging from as little as 1.14 m. in the 4<sup>th</sup> C. for the former (Southern, P. and K. R. Dixon. 2014. *Late Roman Army*. New York: Routledge. p. 113), and 2.44 to 2.74 m. in the late 9<sup>th</sup> C. to 10<sup>th</sup> C. for the latter (Haldon 1979, p. 32), could have fit within the other, smaller tombs.

<sup>521</sup> On the Acrocorinth grave, installed within the foundations of a tower, see Davidson (1937). An iron axehead was also deposited within this grave.

<sup>522</sup> An additional weapon fragment from this grave may represent either a third arrowhead or another polearm.

point of origin for the weapons and the deceased.<sup>523</sup> However, additional examples of some of these object types, which are sometimes of different form than their Corinthian counterparts, have come to light in graves elsewhere in Eastern Europe, especially 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. “Koman” burials of Albania (pl. 257); their presence in particular within the well-published finds from Late Antique, Islamic, and Middle Byzantine levels at the fortress at Qal’at Sem’an (Syria) (pl. 258) suggests that they were in wider use than previously thought and could have been wielded by soldiers within the Byzantine or other militaries.<sup>524</sup>

Finally, an iron, double-edged sword (MF8461), the only mortuary object of its type in all of Late Antique Greece, accompanied the deceased within the grave of the “Wandering Soldier” (Grave 1938-010) (pl. 89a-91).<sup>525</sup> A nearly identical sword (pl. 259b) was obtained from a grave at Aradac (Hungary) dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C., while single-edged sabers that incorporate the same distinctive crossbar occur in Avar graves of the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 259a).<sup>526</sup> The discovery of generally similar crossbars at Pergamon and in Ukraine suggests that the Corinthian sword be placed broadly within the context of Eastern Europe and Anatolia rather

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<sup>523</sup> Davidson 1937

<sup>524</sup> On Qal’at Sem’an see Kazanski (2003 pp. 5-11), who, however, stresses the exotic nature of trilobe arrowheads, which he places within the context of migratory groups ranging from Central Europe to Central Asia (ibid., p. 6, no. 7). Many Byzantine soldiers, were, of course, not of Byzantine origin, and in some cases probably used their own weaponry.

<sup>525</sup> The sword was first published, along with a description of its highly fragmentary scabbard, in Weinberg (1974).

<sup>526</sup> On the Aradac sword, see mostly recently: Miks, Christian. 2009. “Relikte eines frühmittelalterlichen Oberschichtgrabes ? : Überlegungen zu einem Konvolut bemerkenswerter Objekte aus dem Kunsthandel.” *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 56: 395-538 (p. 472 abb. 54.1). For Avar points of comparison, see the summary of evidence by Prohászka (2011, pp. 246-247).

than attributed to any specific geographic or cultural point of origin.<sup>527</sup> Traces of iron extending diagonally beneath the back of the skeleton of the “Wandering Soldier” probably constitute the remains of a baldric from which the sword was hung “in the Roman fashion”, as the typical mode of suspension for the spathion was described in the late 9<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 88d).<sup>528</sup>

Iron knives, which are better classified as tools than weapons, occur in a minimum of four Forum cemetery graves (MF7068, MF7093, both from Grave 1937-015-019; MF8462, Grave 1938-010; MF9458, Grave 1950-008; MF72-77, Grave 1972-020) (pl. 100b, pl. 108c, 92a, 94b, 207c), and accompany weapons in all cases but one.<sup>529</sup> These objects are plain and would have possessed wooden handles riveted to the tang of the blade. Although at least one knife survived close to the waist and was probably once enclosed within a pouch or sheath, two examples appear to have been placed into pouches that were then inserted within the right hand of the deceased.<sup>530</sup> Knives are known from a small number of Late Antique cemeteries in Greece,

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<sup>527</sup> Weinberg (1974, p. 518, pl. 112g-h) offers the Pergamene parallels, while Curta (2005, fn. 131) makes note of the Ukrainian evidence.

<sup>528</sup> Leo, *Tactica*, vi, 2. See further Haldon (1975, p. 31).

<sup>529</sup> Possessing preserved lengths of 11.8 to 15.5 cm., including the tang, these knives are not particularly large and would have conveniently served as multipurpose tools rather than items intended for use in combat. In addition to these five examples, a knife (MF6781, Corinth Notebook 0170.p034) was excavated within a bothros that may contain the partial contents of a disturbed grave, while Grave 1972-020 produced an unusual horn or antler knife (MF72-91). I am aware of no close point of comparison for the latter item, which was constructed by cutting a segment of horn or antler and then inserting the tang into one of the cut piece while the hollowed tip of the other piece served as a sheath. As this tomb was both re-used in the Middle Byzantine period for mortuary purposes and heavily disturbed at some later date, the knife might be better attributed to one of these instances than its 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. burials.

<sup>530</sup> MF7068, which preserves simple traces of an oxidized, simply woven fabric, lay at the waist of an individual within a pouch or sheath in Grave 1937-015-019. MF9458 appears to have been placed within the hand of the deceased in Grave 1950-008 in a pouch along with a light striker, to which it adhered, while MF8462, although clutched within the right hand of the “Wandering Soldier” (Grave 1938-010), may well have been enclosed within a pouch due to the presence of other objects within the hand including a light striker which remained for so long in the same position and beside a piece of flint that the latter eventually adhered to it.

including Olympia's "Slavic" cremation cemetery, but all of these contain evidence for use by non-Greek individuals or communities; the Corinthian knives should therefore be considered as mundane objects placed exceptionally within mortuary contexts in a manner atypical of traditional Greek practice.<sup>531</sup>

Of similar status are the iron light strikers, usually preserved together with a piece of flint that would have provided a spark when struck against the iron tool. A minimum of five light strikers (pl. 92b, 94c, 101a, 109a, 209c) was recovered from Forum cemetery graves, all but one of which possessed weapons, in addition to an example from a burial in Corinth's Kraneion Basilica.<sup>532</sup> The preservation of the accompanying pieces of flint demonstrates that these objects were typically enclosed within pouches, where they could be accompanied by knives, and which in some cases was placed within the hand of the dead. Although these convenient sources of fire were probably used within the daily lives of at least some Greeks, as a non-mortuary find from Anemurium suggests, their mortuary presence falls outside Greek practice: Within southern Greece, the only other light strikers known from a burial context belong to Olympia's "Slavic" cremation cemetery.<sup>533</sup>

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<sup>531</sup> Two of the Olympia knives additionally stand apart from the Corinthian examples due to the circular decorations incised on their blades (Vida and Völling 2000, pp. 79-82, taf. 25.9-13). Also in the Peloponnese and not far from Olympia, see the cemetery at Agia Triada that produced a pair of knives (Vikatou, p. 268, fig. 17).

<sup>532</sup> MF7070, MF7085, both from Grave 1937-015-019; MF8463, Grave 1938-010; MF13705, Grave 1950-008; MF72-82, Grave 1972-020. An additional fragment of a light striker from Grave 1937-015-019 may represent a third example from this tomb or belong to one of the two known light strikers found within it. For the example from the Kraneion Basilica see Pallas 1981, p. 298, fig. 5 (pl. 281b).

<sup>533</sup> Anemurium: Russel, J. 1982. "Byzantine *Instrumenta Domestica* from Anemurium: The Significance of Context". *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* (R. L. Hohlfelder, ed.). New York. fig. 3.25. Olympia: Vida and Völling 2000, p. 80, abb. 33.8, 33.10, pp. 82-83

## Lamps

Terra cotta lamps were ubiquitous objects within Late Antique mortuary ritual at Corinth and throughout Greece.<sup>534</sup> Well over 200 lamps, most of them probably associated with burials, were recovered from the 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7th C. Lerna Court area cemetery in addition to those from a contemporary cemetery above the Kodratus Basilica, a contemporary burial ground outside the northeast segment of Corinth's Late Antique city wall, and a late 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. burial cluster by the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.<sup>535</sup> The Forum cemetery, in contrast, does not possess a single lamp that may be attributed with confidence to mortuary activity, although Middle Byzantine and later occupation of the area may have resulted in the destruction of evidence associated with this cemetery. The majority of Corinthian lamps that may be linked to mortuary contexts are locally manufactured types and local interpretations of Athenian and North African lamps, although local interpretations, and perhaps original productions, of imported circular lamps and imported East Greek types occasionally occur.

In terms of both context and quantity, the Lerna Court area cemetery offers the best lychnological evidence at Corinth: Some 100 lamps were recovered from the earth above the paved court and in Reservoirs III and IV, while its Spring House produced approximately 70 lamps; a few more examples were excavated by the graves cut into the rock of the Asklepieion

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<sup>534</sup> On Greece's Late Antique lamps, see most recently Karivieri (1996) and also Slane's (2008) important reassessment of evidence. Perlzweig's (1961) volume on the lamps of the Athenian Agora and Bailey's (1975-1996) four volume corpus of lamps held in the British Museum remain essential references.

<sup>535</sup> Of the lamps from these burial grounds, only those from the area of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore have been fully published (Slane 2008, with previous bibliography). Meleti (2013) mentions the existence of lamps within the mortuary zone above the Kodratus Basilica in passing, while a selection of lamps from the cemetery outside the northeast segment of Corinth's Late Antique city wall are described in detail by Skarmoutsou (2010, pp. 725-729). See also the presentation of lamps topping a single 6<sup>th</sup> C. burial within a re-used Roman chamber tomb (Walbank, M. E. H. and M. Walbank, 2006).

terrace. Additional lamps were unearthed in the Gymnasium area and await full publication.<sup>536</sup>

While most, with the possible exception of the Spring House lamps, probably served as objects for funerary and commemorative ritual, post-antique disturbances across the majority of Lerna court and the Asklepieion terrace have left behind only a small number of lamps that may be confidently linked to specific tombs.

Lamps seem to have been most typically deposited at surface level directly above or beside graves. This mode of deposition is known for tile tent graves at the Lerna Court area cemetery as well as the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.<sup>537</sup> One would expect cist graves to follow suit, but, probably due to surface disturbance, the practice is clear only for Late Antique cists built within much earlier Roman chamber tombs as well as two cists from Isthmia.<sup>538</sup> Lamps associated with rock-cut chamber tombs topped by stuccoed mounds have been excavated at surface level in the Lerna Court area cemetery and in two cases clearly lay beside the mound; the stuccoed rectangular pedestals at the west ends of a small number of mounds may also have

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<sup>536</sup> References to lamps from Gymnasium area mortuary contexts, in addition to the many Late Antique lamps retrieved from the neighboring Fountain of the Lamps, were made in Wiseman's preliminary excavation reports (1967a, 1967b, 1969, 1972). The Fountain's lamps are the topic of an MA thesis and article by Garnett (1975).

<sup>537</sup> Grave 1933-095 (Lerna Court area cemetery): Five lamps found at the same elevation in this area, presumably at Late Antique surface level, may belong to this grave or several others in the immediate vicinity. The lack of other clear examples of this deposition type is surely a reflection of extreme alterations to the surface since antiquity. For the lamps which were discovered above a burial sub-cluster in Building K-L:21-22 at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore see Slane (2008, p. 489).

<sup>538</sup> For a published example of lamp deposition above an early 6<sup>th</sup> C. grave within a chamber tomb see Walbank, M. E. H. and M. Walbank, 2006. At Isthmia, lamps of late 4<sup>th</sup> C. (or perhaps slightly later) and early 6<sup>th</sup> C. date were placed above or beside the covers of graves NEG 69-008 and RB 76-002 (Rife 2012, IPL 6979, IPL 76-2, p. 104 no. 5-6, fig. 2.88-89).

served as furniture for the placement of lamps or other items.<sup>539</sup> A different practice must have occurred for the marl-cut graves that were tunneled horizontally into the hillsides bordering Lerna Court and lacking any suitable upper surface for deposition; lamps may well have been set on the earth of the court outside their entrances.

Finally, at the Lerna Court cemetery a small number of documented lamps was laid directly above the topmost tiles, or beside the side tiles, of tile tent graves before their cuttings were filled with earth.<sup>540</sup> Although some lamps deposited in this style might simply belong to the dumped fill preceding cemetery activity (and re-deposited as graves were dug), a similar practice occurs in Roman burials in Corinth's North Cemetery, suggesting that the examples in and around Lerna Court are the last known instances of a long-lived tradition.<sup>541</sup>

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<sup>539</sup> Grave 1931-026 is associated with a lamp found "on top" of it. Above Grave 1931-031 and just beyond the west end of its mound three lamps were recovered, while five lamps lay beside the north edge of the mound of a Gymnasium area tomb (Wiseman 1969, p. 82, Grave 73). A single lamp was also retrieved from the interior of Grave 1931-031, as were two from the interior of marl-cut G1931-044, but these might have fallen into the tomb from above at a later date. A full absence of lamps within other rock-cut and marl-cut tombs demonstrates that these objects were not typically placed inside graves at Corinth. In sharp contrast, a vaulted chamber tomb at Halai possessed 15 lamps that were left behind, and perhaps intentionally gathered and relocated following deposition, at the bottom of its entrance shaft (O'Neil 1999, p. 317). For platforms upon which lamps may have been placed, see p. 176-177. Based on the presence of lamps within a stuccoed rubble mound in the Gymnasium area of the Lerna Court area cemetery (Wiseman 1969, p. 83, pl. 27e; Rife 2012, p. 197), it has been suggested that these lamps were originally placed directly on top of the mounds, although such a location must remain conjectural.

<sup>540</sup> Grave 1933-007, for which a lamp was placed in the grave's cutting near its southwest corner; G1933-009, directly south of which was found a lamp at grave level; G1933-090, for which a lamp was noted above the tiles at the grave's west end; G1933-097, for which a lamp was found at a level that should place it directly above the grave's tile cover.

<sup>541</sup> For Early Roman examples of this practice of ceramic distribution within the grave pit but outside any tomb construction see Slane and Walbank (2000, fig. 6-7) and Blegen, Palmer and Young (1964. *Corinth Vol. XIII, The North Cemetery*. Princeton. p. 82). See also Slane, K. W. and M. E. H. Walbank. 2006. "Anointing and commemorating the dead: Funerary Rituals of Roman Corinthians". *Old Pottery in a New Century: Innovating Perspectives on Roman Pottery Studies. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Catania, 22-24 Aprile 2004* (D. Malfitana, J. Poblome, J. Lund, ed.). Catania. p. 377-38. It is conceivable that the lids of some Early Roman cist graves were at surface level; were this the case then the lamps which were deposited atop or close to them might better be considered as surface deposits rather than objects with the grave pit.

While confirming the ceramic-based dating for rock-cut tombs, lamps are especially valuable in establishing the chronology of tile tent graves that are typically without objects. Once thought by Roebuck, following the scholarship of his era, to be of the late 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C., the Lerna Court area cemetery's lamps have in the intervening decades been reassigned to the late 5<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>542</sup> The earlier dates are offered by lamps falling under Broneer's type 28 and include post-glazing Athenian lamps, Corinthian imitations of Athenian lamps, and Corinthian imitations of local lamps. While the Athenian versions date from as early as the mid-5<sup>th</sup> C., and the Corinthian versions begin in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> C., lamps that may be firmly associated with graves are the descendents of these early works and demonstrate details blurred through copying over many years, shapes that are sometimes distorted, and retouching of original designs.<sup>543</sup> Although close dates are usually not possible for these lamps, the consistently late features and frequent use of a local red fabric suggest a chronology from circa 500 until probably the mid-6<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>544</sup> Finally,

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<sup>542</sup> Roebuck 1951, p. 164

<sup>543</sup> For the chronology of type 28 lamps at Corinth, see Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 280ff; Slane 2008, p. 483ff. Slane's dating of a glazed Athenian lamp to the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> C. offers the latest date for this type and implies that the subsequent production of unglazed lamps began at some point in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> C., a slightly later chronology than the mid-5<sup>th</sup> C. date for the last glazed lamps offered by Karivieri (1996, p. 50).

<sup>544</sup> See L-2691 (Grave 1934-015) (pl. 64c), similar to but blurrier than mid-5 C. Karivieri 133; L-2801 (Grave NB0136.045) (pl. 65b), close to L-588 (M.E.H. Walbank 2006) which is later than the prototype of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> C.; L-2659 (Grave 1933-095), close to a lamp (Wiseman 1969 grave 73) from a tomb containing lamps of the 6<sup>th</sup> C.; L-2754 (Grave 1933-095), as 6<sup>th</sup> C. L-595 (M.E.H. Walbank 2006). It remains difficult to differentiate between lamps of the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> C. In an absence of narrowly dated contexts, the best that may be done in many cases is to identify a phase later than the mid to late 5<sup>th</sup> C. prototype. A potentially more useful perspective is offered by the near-complete lack of lamps in the relatively early Corinthian 'white' fabric in which the first versions of many local lamp series were produced; this fabric is clearly employed in the late 5<sup>th</sup> C. (see Slane 2008, p. 490, no. 60) but would seem not to extend far into the 6<sup>th</sup> C. The use of the later local red fabric at the Lerna Court – Asklepieion complex suggests a date within the 6<sup>th</sup> C. Although the end date of local production of type 28 lamps is not certain, their complete absence in Corinthian late 6<sup>th</sup> C. contexts (Slane and Sanders 2005, Assemblage 3), which are dominated by imitations of North African lamps, and their own strong

there are two local imitations of an East Greek type (classified under Broneer's type 29) belonging to the 6<sup>th</sup> C. or early 7<sup>th</sup> C. in addition to a possible East Greek import; the use of a 'white' fabric in one case implies a date early in the century.<sup>545</sup> The latest lamps, including those associated with a rock-cut tomb (Grave 1931-031) on the Asklepieion terrace, consist of imitations of imported circular prototypes (Broneer type 32) of the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C.,<sup>546</sup> Corinthian versions of North African prototypes (all North African imitations are Broneer type 31) with jeweled crosses on the discuses that are made locally not before the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and extend as late as the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.,<sup>547</sup> and Corinthian versions of North African lamps with other decoration dating generally to the 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>548</sup>

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presence in contexts from circa 500 (Slane and Sanders 2005, Assemblage 2), suggest a decline around the middle of the 6th century.

<sup>545</sup> L-3003 (Grave 1933-095), close to Bailey 1988, Q3136; L-2908 (Grave 1931-024), same general type as *ibid.* While these two lamps come from the Lerna Court area cemetery, the last lamp, which possesses a dark red slip and seems not to be a Corinthian product, was excavated at the mortuary zone outside the northeast segment of Corinth's Late Antique city wall (Skarmoutsou 2010, p. 721, no. 20) (fig. 38). For a recent summary of Asia Minor lamps see Bournias (2014, p. 788f)

<sup>546</sup> See Grave 1931-031's L-3092 (pl. 59c). A circular lamp is present in late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian assemblage 3 (Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-6); Petridis (2012, fig. 16) has recently placed a lamp of this type which was manufactured Delphi in the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Karivieri (1996, p. 207, no. 158) considers the type to be slightly earlier, following the dating of Perlzweig (1961, no. 2828-2838) in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>547</sup> Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 282. From the Lerna Court area cemetery's Asklepieion terrace, see Grave 1931-031's L-3037 (pl. 59a).

<sup>548</sup> From the Lerna Court area cemetery's Asklepieion terrace, see Grave 1931-031's L-3074 (pl. 59b). At Corinth no imitation of a North African lamp has been found within a secure context of the 5<sup>th</sup> C. An assemblage from circa 500 (Slane and Sanders 2005, Assemblage 2) is lacking in this type, which is only clearly evident in contexts of the mid- and late 6<sup>th</sup> C (Slane and Sanders 2005, Assemblage 3, end of the 6<sup>th</sup> C.), including a grave thought to be of Justinianic date (Walbank, M.E.H. and M.B. Walbank, 2006). The beginning of production for Corinthian imitations of North African lamps should therefore begin at some point between the early and mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. One of the last known Mediterranean contexts containing a North African lamp is the destruction layer at Emporio (Chios), which dates to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. (Ballance et al., 1989, p. 118ff). Likewise, Corinth's Assemblage 4, of the middle or third quarter of that century, contains only residual lamp fragments, suggesting that both local production and import of these lamps had ceased by this time.

## Pottery

Ceramic vessels, consisting primarily of lekythoi and pitchers but also including mugs, bowls, and unguentaria, occur frequently in burials of the 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. at Corinth's Lerna Court area cemetery and other contemporary Corinthian cemeteries, and compare well with ceramic deposition at Athens and other sites in southern Greece. The scarcity of pottery at the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. Forum cemetery, where a plurality of all deposited ceramics are pitchers, demonstrates that this component of mortuary ritual changed dramatically over the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> C.

Some seventy-five pots, the vast majority intact or nearly so, were found in mortuary contexts at the Lerna Court and Asklepieion mortuary zones of the Lerna Court area cemetery, and another fifty vessels were discovered inside chamber tombs within the same cemetery's Hill of Zeus area.<sup>549</sup> While a large number and, in comparison to published graves from other Greek sites, the largest quantity of ceramics excavated at any contemporary cemetery in Greece, it is clear from Athenian and Boeotian evidence of the 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. that individual tombs elsewhere could possess tremendous amounts of pottery (pl. 260a-268).<sup>550</sup> The significant

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<sup>549</sup> These numbers exclude the pottery from the Gymnasium area, which awaits full publication. 20 pots are associated with tombs cut into the rock and marl along the edges of Lerna Court as well as those on the Asklepieion terrace, four more were found in Reservoir III, and vessels were recovered from only two of the many tile graves within the court and reservoirs. The majority of pots from the Lerna Court and Asklepieion mortuary zones originate, however, in the rear of Reservoir IV, where approximately 47 of them were found amongst some 100 apparent pit burials.

<sup>550</sup> At Athens see the pottery-rich late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. chamber tombs which contain up to 37 vessels: Tzavella 2010; Threspiades 1972. Another Athenian chamber tomb, probably of the mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C., possessed 11 vessels (H. Robinson 1959, p. 121). At the minor site of Delion, 34 pots, most of them of 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. date, were obtained from 48 graves, one (Grave 6) of which contained 22 pots (Chamilaki 2011). Lastly, recently excavated tombs on the Ismenion Hill in Thebes also produced a significant number of circa 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. vessels (viewed by the author and mentioned within excavation reports (<http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>; <http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/4215/>)). It is probable that similar trends in pottery deposition

presence of ceramics at the Lerna Court area cemetery is therefore most likely due to the complete excavation of a large portion of a dense burial ground rather than any special Corinthian inclination toward pottery deposition.

Ceramic assemblages at the Lerna Court and Asklepieion zones of the Lerna Court area cemetery are dominated by lekythoi of cylindrical, piriform, and globular types, which represent 57% of all pottery.<sup>551</sup> Pitchers account for 22% of pots, and the remainder consists of a small number of mugs, stemmed bowls or cups, and an unguentarium. These vessels compare well with the pottery from the nearby Gymnasium (pl. 274a-275b) and Hill of Zeus (pl. 75d-86d) zones, and also from cemeteries located above the Kodratus Basilica (pl. 271a-b) and outside the northeast segment of Corinth's Late Antique city wall (pl. 272a-273) to the extent that they have been published.<sup>552</sup> Most of these vessels possess a red or orange-red cooking fabric consistent with local clay sources in use during the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> C. However, at least 21% appear to be fine ware imports distinguishable by both fabric and shape, and of these many seem to be

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exist elsewhere in Greece, but a lack of publication in most cases, beyond short excavation reports, makes a meaningful comparison with most other sites impossible.

<sup>551</sup> Of lekythoi, the vast majority are cylindrical, which is perhaps not surprising given that most cylindrical examples appear to be local productions while the vast majority of their piriform and globular counterparts are imported.

<sup>552</sup> Gymnasium mortuary zone: Wiseman 1967a, pl. 15; Wiseman 1969, pl. 25d. Cemetery above the Kodratus Basilica: Meleti 2013, p. 164, fig. 3-4. Cemetery outside the northeast segment of Corinth's Late Antique city wall: Skarmoutsou 2010, pp. 721-725, no. 21-38. Two lekythoi (pl. 275) from the Gymnasium mortuary zone are significantly different from the remainder of vessels in the Lerna Court area cemetery and are perhaps of a slightly later chronology. (Wiseman 1967b, pl. 88a-b). For the potentially special case of less expensive ceramics used for burials within the reservoirs of the Lerna Court area cemetery see, however, p. 89-90.

Boeotian.<sup>553</sup> These imported vessels usually possess a weak red slip, and include nearly all piriform and globular lekythoi as well as most mugs and a minor quantity of various jugs.

Many vessels from the Lerna Court area cemetery can be dated with some precision, usually to the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C., and consequently serve as important indicators of cemetery chronology. The presence of multiple pots within some chamber tombs is particularly helpful, as it allows vessels, including local productions, which lack a clear chronology to be approximately dated based on the better known, widely distributed pots present in the same tombs.

While the typological development of cylindrical lekythoi, the single most commonly deposited vessel and primarily a local product, has not previously been studied, with a single exception no cylindrical lekythos from the Lerna Court area cemetery closely resembles Corinth's earliest published Late Antique lekythos (pl. 276a), probably of early or mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. date, from a grave at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.<sup>554</sup> The majority of cylindrical lekythoi here should instead fall somewhere between the mid-6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> C., while the very last examples should be placed slightly later, probably in the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>555</sup> Piriform and

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<sup>553</sup> A Boeotian source, taking advantage of the sea connection linking Corinth with Boeotia across the Saronic Gulf provided Corinth with fine wares from the late 5<sup>th</sup> C. to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> (Slane and Sanders 2005, p. 284), and probably into the 7<sup>th</sup>. In addition to a Boeotian red slip bowl (C-33-1526, Grave 1933-162) from circa 600 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 291, fn. 90), red-slipped globular, piriform, and squat piriform lekythoi, and one-handled jugs appear to be Boeotian products. For examples of some of these vessels within Boeotian cemeteries, see the ceramics from Delion (Chamilaki 2011) (pl. 267-268) and Thebes (<http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>).

<sup>554</sup> Slane (2008, p. 482) has recently offered a revised 6th C. date for this lekythos. C-33-1502 from Hill of Zeus Grave 1933-134 (pl. 75d) is probably contemporary.

<sup>555</sup> C-1932-310 (Grave 1931-040) (pl. 60c) is a particularly unusual lekythos and incorporates a handle closest to Forum cemetery lekythoi of early or middle 7<sup>th</sup> C. date; it likely possesses a similar chronology.

globular lekythoi, most of them imports, date to the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C.,<sup>556</sup> while a small number of versions which are probably local products, one (C-1933-1538, Grave 1933-111) of which possess especially late features, are arguably contemporary with or slightly later than the last corresponding imports and should therefore be placed in the early to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>557</sup> The remainder of datable pottery follows a similar chronology. Tall pitchers with cylindrical bodies find parallels in both Corinthian non-mortuary contexts of the late 6<sup>th</sup> C. and at Andritsa Cave in the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> C.,<sup>558</sup> and imported red-slipped mugs belong to late 6<sup>th</sup> C. local assemblages and appears at Delion in the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>559</sup> Finally, several short pitchers with wide mouths resemble a late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa Cave, an early 7<sup>th</sup> C. vessel from a tomb on the Athenian Areopagus and a late 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. vessel from a grave at Delion.<sup>560</sup> A small number of additional pots find comparanda at the same two sites, and other

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<sup>556</sup> For late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian piriform and globular vessels, see Tzavella (2008, A8130) and H. Robinson (1959, M367).

<sup>557</sup> The Corinthian versions of piriform and globular lekythoi from the Lerna Court and Asklepieion mortuary zones are: C-33-1538 (pl. 69a), C-1933-1541 (pl. 69d), C-33-1560 (pl. 74a) (all from pit inhumations in the rear of Reservoir IV collectively represented by Grave 1933-111), C-1931-63 (from earth near the Asklepieion terrace at B:5 and surely belonging to a grave in the vicinity, perhaps marl-cut tomb Grave 1931-045 or, more likely, Grave 1931-042) (pl. 61d). These tend to be of unusually coarse fabric, relatively irregular form, are sometimes endowed with handles close to those of Late Roman Amphora 2 type rather than the Athenian ear-shape or the kinked 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian ones commonly associated with both cylindrical lekythoi and other vessels, and either lack decoration or occasionally possess styles of gouged or incised lines not normally found on locally made 6<sup>th</sup> C. pots.

<sup>558</sup> See, for example, C-1931-58 (Grave 1931-029) (pl. 57a). For local parallels: Slane and Sanders 2005, Assemblage 3-40. For Andritsa Cave: Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183, στ (fig. 50 center right).

<sup>559</sup> See, for example, C-1931-60 (Grave 1931-026) (pl. 54b); for local parallels: Slane and Sanders 2005, Assemblage 3-17; for Delion: Chamilaki 2011, p. 586, 608, fig. 4 MΞX 3451 (pl. 267).

<sup>560</sup> For Andritsa Cave: Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183 θ (pl. 270 bottom right); for Athens: Robinson 1959, N-10 (pl. 266a); for Delion: Chamilaki 2011, p. 596, fig. 3, 5 MΞX 3520 (pl. 267-268). While C-1933-1553 (Grave 1933-111) (pl. 72b) is relatively close to the Andritsa vessel, C-1931-500 (Grave 1931-049) (pl. 63d) is a Corinthian version of especially late date with light ribbing across its entire body; it probably belongs to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C.

vessels for which close parallels are not apparent demonstrate characteristics of the 6th and early 7th C. broadly.

Although the precise find spots of most vessels are not recorded, and many vessels were probably moved when the tomb was re-opened for subsequent interments, the variability in the known locations of vessels suggests that no specific place within the tomb was considered particularly appropriate for vessel deposition.<sup>561</sup> Instead, a peripheral location close to a tomb wall and providing unencumbered space for new interments was likely the chief concern.

Two trends are identifiable for the quantity of ceramics deposited in chamber tombs in which the approximate number of burials is known. The first, an equal number of pots and interments, is not surprising and presumably reflects the continued practice of the ritual deposition of a vessel at the time of each new burial.<sup>562</sup> The second, more difficult to interpret tendency, is the presence of a single pot in a multiple burial tomb.<sup>563</sup> While this might be explained as an insignificant variation in practice, or as a reflection of the tomb's use across an interval during which the popularity of ceramic deposition increased or decreased, it is striking that of the

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<sup>561</sup> As indicated in excavation notebook drawings, in two cases the vessel is located extremely close to the tomb wall: In one (Grave 1931-028) the pot occurs on the tomb's south side and roughly at torso level of a partially preserved skeleton (pl. 54b), and in the other (Grave 1931-029) it is positioned on the north side of the tomb near the skeleton's knee (pl. 55b). In another tomb (Grave 1931-026) the vessel rests near the west end of the chamber but slightly south of center so that it is either above or below the left upper humerus of a skeleton at the south edge of the tomb.

<sup>562</sup> Grave 1931-048 (six skeletons, six pots). Additionally, Grave 1931-040 possesses six vessels and "many skeletons". A tomb from the Hill of Zeus (Grave 1933-162) contained circa eight skeletons and eight pots (pl. 79d-81d). Similarly, see H. Robinson (1959, p. 121, fn. 4) for a 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian chamber tomb in which 12 pitchers and a potentially corresponding number of skeletons were excavated.

<sup>563</sup> Grave 1931-026 (five skeletons, one pot); Grave 1931-028 (at least two skeletons, one pot); Grave 1931-029 (at least two skeletons, one pot). Additionally, Grave 1931-041 and Grave 1931-050 have an undefined number of skeletons but only one pot. A small number of graves containing one skeleton and one pot is not included here.

admittedly small number of tombs with both pots and a known number of individuals, the ceramic assemblage is nearly always either a single vessel or in numerical correspondence to all interments.<sup>564</sup> Whatever the meaning of the act of placing a pot within a tomb, it may be that for some burial groups the continuous presence of one pot for an entire tomb was deemed semantically equivalent to the deposition of a vessel with each individual; such single vessels may additionally have been exploited repetitively within graveside mortuary ritual.<sup>565</sup>

Aside from a few points of overlap, the Forum cemetery's pottery is strikingly different in type and quality from that of the Asklepieion area and other 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian cemeteries, and is deposited far less frequently. Ceramics of various types were found in seventeen (15.5%) tombs, all but three of them containing multiple burials.<sup>566</sup> Trefoil pitchers constitute a plurality (eight) of the 22 known pots, followed by lekythoi (five), jugs of other form (four), up to two bowls or plates (associated with the burials of non-indigenous persons), a globular unguentarium, and a handmade open-form pot (accompanying a non-indigenous burial). With the possible exception of an African red slip plate (C-72-249, Grave 1972-020), the ceramics are all coarse wares, and most if not all appear to be local products. For the few

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<sup>564</sup> In other words, there are no instances of five interments and three vessels, but rather five interments and either five vessels or one.

<sup>565</sup> If liquids for the graveside chrismation of the corpse were brought (possibly from a church) to the cemetery within the pitchers or lekythoi used for their application, then any pot deposited previously within a grave is unlikely to have played a role within this important portion of the mortuary ritual. If, on the other hand, liquids were conveyed to the cemetery in small amphorae or similar transport vessels, after which they were transferred to pouring vessels for application to the corpse, any pot within a tomb could conceivably be re-used for chrismation, and perhaps bring with it additional levels of meaning to the participants, and especially the family, through both its pre-existing ritual status and its probable association with the burial of known family members.

<sup>566</sup> It should be noted that at least one, and probably two, of the three single burial graves possessing a vessel belong to non-Greek immigrants (vessel not inventoried, Grave 1938-007; C-38-546, Grave 1938-010).

instances in which the vessel's location within the tomb is discernible, a clear preference exists for the west end of the tomb and close to the heads of the deceased.<sup>567</sup>

The Forum's three securely identified lekythoi, probably dating to the mid-7th C., overlap with the very latest examples from the Lerna Court area cemetery and belong to some of the earliest datable graves in the Forum.<sup>568</sup> The absence of jewelry or clothing accessories in those tombs containing lekythoi is probably due to this relatively early chronology and corresponds with the low number of these items in the Lerna Court area cemetery.

With a single exception (Grave 1974-005), pitchers and jugs of other form were not deposited in Forum graves that also received lekythoi. Again, this is probably chronologically dictated, and while the 7th C. chronology of these vessels is not well understood, it does seem that they generally post-date the lekythoi and begin to be deposited in the mid- to late 7th C.<sup>569</sup> Similarly,

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<sup>567</sup> Tombs with vessels at the west end consist of Grave 1937-025, Grave 1934-008, Grave 1915-003, Grave 1973-03, Grave 1934-014, and Grave 1974-06. Pots were placed midway along the side walls of the Grave 1915-003 and Grave 1974-005, both of them amongst the Forum's earliest graves, while a pitcher was deposited at the center of Grave 1974-006 and between the lower bodies of two individuals. Vessels stood at the feet of the dead in Grave 1938-010 and perhaps also Grave 1938-007, but at least the former is a special cases of non-Greek immigrant burial.

<sup>568</sup> These exceptionally late lekythoi consist of C-1936-193 (Grave 1936-006) (pl. 131a), C-1936-202 (Grave 1936-006) (pl. 131b), and C-74-78 (Grave 1974-005) (pl. 143b) from the Forum cemetery, and are perhaps contemporary with or slightly later than C-1998-018 (Grave 1998-29) and C1998-026 (Grave 1998-34) from the nearby burial cluster at Panayia Field. They appear to be the very latest lekythoi from mortuary contexts in Late Antique Greece. Lekythos CP96 (pl. 187b) is also exceptionally late although, along with the fragmentary lekythos CP95 (pl. 187a), their association with the Forum's Grave 1915-003 is not completely certain.

<sup>569</sup> Although the Forum's pitchers lack a closely defined position within Corinth's own ceramic chronology, most are clearly of the 7<sup>th</sup> C., as first noted by Williams for a pitcher (C-73-22) (pl. 141b) from Grave 1973-03; the ribbing present on their bodies suggests dates in the middle or latter parts of that century, a chronology re-enforced by their appearance within graves which, for reasons of architecture and other objects, date not before the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. The pitchers are notably different from most of their counterparts from the Lerna Court area cemetery and from late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. pitchers from Athens (on these see especially Tzavella 2010), and find closer points of comparison in the Athenian Agora's Group N (Robinson 1959), which probably belongs to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. No reason exists to suggest a date in the early 8<sup>th</sup> C. or beyond for any but the very latest pitchers (below), although it must be admitted that local ceramic development between the late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 8<sup>th</sup> C. remains undefined.

pitchers appear to be the primary mortuary vessels in use after the early 7<sup>th</sup> C. in Athens, and on the island of Antikythera the only vessel from a cluster of excavated graves was a 7<sup>th</sup> C. pitcher.<sup>570</sup> The very latest pots, a pitcher (C-74-49) (pl. 145c) and round-mouth jug (C-74-48) (pl. 145b) from a vaulted tomb (Grave 1974-006) and a pitcher (C-34-260) (pl. 133b) from another tomb (Grave 1934-005), assume striking new shapes and should be attributed to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>571</sup>

### Glass and Metal Vessels

Mortuary vessels in glass or metal are rarely recovered by archaeologists, a phenomenon attributable to the relative expense, and long use lives, of metal vessels, while the fragility of glass combined with the traditional methods of archaeology used to uncover many Late Antique graves have probably contributed to an artificially low mortuary frequency for this material.<sup>572</sup>

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<sup>570</sup> For Athens, see the pitchers of Group N from a tomb on the north slope of the Areopagus which has been generally considered to belong to the early 7<sup>th</sup> C. but is better dated nearer the middle of that century due to the absence of lekythoi that characterize late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian graves (Robinson 1959); see also two 7<sup>th</sup> C. pitchers contemporary with or slightly later than Group N from graves beside the later church of St. Dionysios Areopagite (Travlos and Frantz 1965, p. 167, no. 1-2, pl. 42e) (pl. 266b). The Antikythera pitcher, along with a 7<sup>th</sup> C. bronze buckle with cruciform plate, appears in Pyrrou et al. (2006, pl. 5.2-3) (pl. 227b).

<sup>571</sup> The downward sloping handles of these vessels are especially distinctive. For 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. dates for C-74-48 and C-74-49, see Sanders (2003 p. 39f, fig. 10.1-2). Additional evidence in support of such a late chronology is offered by the refurbishment of Grave 1974-006 at a date long after its construction, and the retrieval of a 9<sup>th</sup> C. coin and 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. objects from a tomb (Grave 1934-007) in the same burial cluster as Grave 1934-005.

<sup>572</sup> For the use of metal vessels in comparison to ceramic and wood vessels see: Sanders, Guy. Forthcoming. "Did Ordinary People Own Pottery? Some Household Belongings of the Richest and Poorest Echelons of Society." On Late Antique glass vessels generally, see Antonaras (2011). Although primarily intact glass vessels are unlikely to have ever escaped the notice of excavators, extremely few glass vessels survive in such a state. The sherds that are more often the only surviving trace of these objects can only be identified through extremely careful digging procedures or sieving of earth, neither of which was consistently followed in the early years of excavation at the Lerna Court area cemetery and Forum cemetery.

Not a single glass vessel was discovered across the entirety of the known Lerna Court area cemetery, and at the Forum cemetery, the only clue of such a vessel's deposition consists of glass sherds found by excavators in close proximity to a ceramic pitcher of the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. (Grave 1934-005).<sup>573</sup> In contrast, the glass, usually fragmentary, produced by more recent excavations of 5<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. burial grounds at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, outside the northeast segment of Corinth's Late Antique city wall (pl. 276b), above the Kodratus Basilica, and in at least one reused Early Roman chamber tomb strongly suggests that this material was overlooked in the early years of cemetery excavation.<sup>574</sup> Most of the Corinthian glass that has been recovered probably belongs to unguentaria, rare examples of which are known from contemporary cemeteries in Athens (pl. 276c) and Delion (pl. 276d).<sup>575</sup>

A bronze vessel retrieved from a late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. rock-cut chamber tomb (Grave 1933-180) at the Lerna Court area cemetery's Hill of Zeus appears to be an utterly unique mortuary artifact. Although it was not inventoried, the excavator's brief description of the vessel as a "bronze cup with cover", in addition to a sketch of a nearly cylindrical object with conical lid (pl.

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<sup>573</sup> The glass was not saved, and while an interpretation as a mortuary object is reasonable, its precise identification, as a vessel or, less likely, a glass lamp, must remain a question.

<sup>574</sup> The glass unguentarium (MF-69-292) from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was found at the foot of an apparent child burial (Grave 1969-56): Bookidis and Stroud 1997, p. 385, no. 16. The cemetery by the northeast segment of the Late Antique wall yielded a nearly complete glass unguentarium, in addition to other fragmentary glass vessels (Skarmoutsou 2010, p. 714, p. 738, fig. 2), while the cemetery above the Kodratus basilica produced three intact glass unguentaria in addition to a large number of fragments (Meleti 2013, p. 164). Three "glass flasks", dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> C., were recovered from a 2<sup>nd</sup> C. chamber tomb to the north of the city (Slane 2006, p. 378).

<sup>575</sup> Athens: Robinson 1959, p. 122, pl. 54 N 12. Delion: Chamilaki 2011, MEX 3602, p. 596, 607. Due to Tigani's long duration of mortuary activity, the chronology of its glass vessels is questionable; Antonaras (2011, p. 403) believes them to be Middle Byzantine.

86a), suggests that this was not a metal version of the ceramics often deposited in graves.<sup>576</sup>

Rather, based even on these scanty notes an identification as a bronze censor is highly likely, and while the basic form is a long-lived one, it is clear that similar items were in use within the Eastern Mediterranean by the 5<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>577</sup>

### Miscellaneous Objects

A small number of objects do not correspond closely to any of the categories that have already been discussed and are generally of uncertain function. They are therefore considered in this section, beginning with potential hair accessories, clothing and clothing accessories, apotropaic objects, and nails possibly belonging to funerary furniture.

A bronze pin (pl. 278a), excavated from the Gymnasium zone of the Lerna Court area cemetery, is the sole object of this type known from Corinth's 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. burials.<sup>578</sup> The pin, which bears a nearly spherical head, finds comparison in bronze examples from graves of this period at Nemea (pl. 278b) and Delion, and in a gold plated pin from a tomb at the basilica at

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<sup>576</sup> Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 33. Also within the tomb were a pitcher, a cylindrical lekythos, and a small jug (C-33-1515 to -1517).

<sup>577</sup> No foot was reported for the Corinthian object, suggesting that it is more akin to the mobile censors commonly employed within Christian liturgy than footed, stationary incense burners of broadly similar form. Two bronze censors (Davidson 1952, no. 569, 570) (pl. 277a) are known from Corinth and have been published as "Byzantine", although their find spots are unrecorded and neither is especially close to the excavator's rough sketch of the mortuary vessel. For a 5<sup>th</sup> C. stationary incense burner with cylindrical body and domed cover (pl. 277b) thought to be from Egypt see: Weitzmann, K., ed. 1979. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. p. 342, no. 323.

<sup>578</sup> Wiseman 1967b, p. 428 no. 23, pl. 91j

Mygdaleza.<sup>579</sup> Such objects could have been used to secure clothing or hair, and are notably rare in burial contexts.<sup>580</sup> Their mortuary use seems to cease by the early 7<sup>th</sup> C. at latest, although a polygonal bronze fragment (MF-72-114, Grave 1972-070) (pl. 217a) which was recovered from a Forum multiple burial tomb and resembles a pin head suggests either a final instance of the tradition or re-employment of the grave in a much later period.

Another single mortuary find is a bronze “ear spoon” (pl. 278c) from the Gymnasium mortuary zone of the Lerna Court area cemetery.<sup>581</sup> This object, consisting of a tiny circular bowl at the end of a long, narrow shaft, occurs commonly within the archaeological record but is exceptionally rare within Late Antique mortuary contexts; examples are again known from graves at Nemea (pl. 278d), the basilica at Mygdaleza, and Delion.<sup>582</sup> Although normally considered a medical or toilet implement, the pair of these objects discovered crisscrossed below the head of the deceased in the circa 6<sup>th</sup> C. Nemean grave suggests that they were used with substantial flexibility and may have served as hairpins.<sup>583</sup>

Also potentially used as a hair accessory is a rolled cylinder of bronze sheet (MF432, Grave 1925-003) which was discovered by archaeologists upon the left shoulder of the small individual

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<sup>579</sup> Nemea: Miller 1981, p. 48, pl. 12d, GJ 49-50. Delion: Chamilaki 2011, p. 584, 607, fig. 3, MΞX 3318. Mygdaleza: Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, no. 824.

<sup>580</sup> On the potential uses of these pins, see Davidson’s (1952, p. 277f) summary.

<sup>581</sup> Wiseman 1967b, p. 428, no. 23, pl. 88g

<sup>582</sup> Nemea: Miller 1981, p. 48, pl. 12d, BR 828-829. Mygdaleza: Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, no. 773. Delion: Chamilaki 2011, p. 583, 607, fig. 3, MΞX 3312. The tomb at Delion which contains an ear spoon can only be dated broadly from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>583</sup> For traditional views on the uses of ear spoons see Davidson (1952, p. 181).

interred within a Forum cemetery cist grave in the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. (pl. 201c).<sup>584</sup> A similar cylinder was discovered near the head of a young subadult buried at Corinth's Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, as were two additional bronze objects that have been interpreted as hair rings.<sup>585</sup> Such cylinders are, however, unknown elsewhere in Greece, and the possibility that they might instead be crude examples of cylindrical phylacteries cannot be completely dismissed.<sup>586</sup>

Three highly unusual artifacts were preserved within a well-built 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. Forum cemetery tomb (Grave 1937-008-009) that must have created an atypical microclimate. The tomb's excavator observed "a good deal of cloth" (MF7391) (pl. 113a) on the "upper parts of the bodies" for at least some of the five or six persons who lay in two layers.<sup>587</sup> Such an ambiguous description, in addition to the difficulty in differentiating one surviving fragment, now dark brown or black, from another, leaves open the possibilities that the fabric belongs to individual clothing or shrouds, or instead to a single sheet that was draped across all of the tomb's inhabitants. Extraordinarily, the same microclimate preserved the remains of flowers or other

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<sup>584</sup> Ivison (1996, p. 113, fig. 5.5) suggests that this object is a "hair braid".

<sup>585</sup> For the bronze cylinder (MF72-36) and the two hair rings (MF-72-37, -38) see Bookidis and Stroud (1997, p. 383, Grave 1). This grave is located at some distance from the other excavated burials, which seem to be of the late 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C., within the sanctuary's vicinity.

<sup>586</sup> Yangaki (2004, pp. 186-204) provides a recent archaeological summary of Late Antique cylindrical phylacteries, which contained inscribed lamellae or tiny sacred objects, in relation to a 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> C. gold example from a grave at Eleutherna. If the Corinthian objects were phylacteries, they could have been suspended from the neck through the wrapping of a string or leather cord around the exterior, while the ends could have been closed using wooden plugs.

<sup>587</sup> Although the appearance of textile belt fragments was occasionally preserved due to the oxidation of adjacent iron buckles at the Forum cemetery, and a piece of gold thread was reported by the excavator of the mortuary zone located outside the northeast segment of Corinth's Late Antique city wall (Skarmoutsou 2010, p. 714), in only this instance did a textile itself survive.

vegetation that was observed on the skulls of one or two of the dead.<sup>588</sup> Finally, the tomb's sieved earth produced a small iron key with ring (MF7147) (pl. 116a), which could conceivably have hung directly from a belt, or been enclosed within a pouch. Aside from an example of questionable date at the Tigani Basilica, the mortuary use of a key is without clear Late Antique precedent in Greece, although keys do occasionally appear in Avar graves and are represented singly in a burial that cannot be closely dated at Koprivlen (Bulgaria) (pl. 246c).<sup>589</sup>

A few objects were likely deposited in graves primarily on the basis of their perceived apotropaic value. A small, nearly spherical iron object (MF502, Grave 1926-022) (pl. 196a-b) from a 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. subadult grave at the Forum cemetery preserves a tiny piece of bronze within and is best interpreted as a bell. Bells are known from a late 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. subadult grave at Corinth's Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, a multiple burial tomb of the latter 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. at Delion (pl. 279a), and a subadult grave lacking a precise date at Limori's Late Antique cemetery (pl. 279b).<sup>590</sup> The provision of bells to subadults in most and perhaps all of these cases should be seen in the light of Early Byzantine beliefs toward bells as protectors of children, a function which may have been seen to extend beyond death.<sup>591</sup> Finally, if it is indeed a Late

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<sup>588</sup> The floral remains were not individually inventoried, but may be present in a highly fragmented state within the box housing the tomb's textile fragments mixed with bits of human bone.

<sup>589</sup> For a key in an Avar grave, see, for example, a 7<sup>th</sup> C. female burial at Szebény (Kovrig 1975, p. 65, fig. 14.176), where the object was found beside the pelvis of the deceased. For the key in the Tigani Basilica grave (no. 20), see: Drandakis and Gioles 1982, p. 254, pl. 149β. The Koprivlen key, found to the left of the pelvis in Grave 13, was the sole object accompanying this burial (Dinchev 2002, p. 222, p. 426, fig. 233.7). Due to the long duration of use for both of these cemeteries a Late Antique date cannot be assumed for the graves with keys.

<sup>590</sup> Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Bookidis and Stroud 1997, p. 383, no. 1, MF-72-35. Delion: Chamilaki 2011, p. 586, 607, fig. 3, MEX 3604. Limori: Pazaras 2009, p. 88, 150, fig. 196

<sup>591</sup> On bells and their apotropaic roles in life and death see Russel, J. 1995. Russell, J. "The Archaeological Context of Magic in the Early Byzantine Period." *Byzantine Magic* (H. Maguire, ed.). Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks

Antique object rather than evidence for post-Antique re-use of a grave, a simple bronze crucifix (MF4934, Grave 1934-007) (pl. 134a) recovered from a Forum tomb provides the earliest example of the use of a crucifix within a Corinthian mortuary context, and one of the earliest such instances in all of Greece.<sup>592</sup>

The object-rich “Wandering Soldier’s” grave (Grave 1938-010), which is exceptional in nearly every respect, contained two objects that defy straightforward explanation and appear in no other 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. burial in the Balkans. A small, rough piece of amber (pl. 93a), now affixed to a short segment of a tiny iron rod (MF8464) that lay beside it, was placed below the left hand of the dead along with a knife and iron light striker with flint, all of which may have originally been contained within a pouch. Directly within the fingers of the right hand was an intricately crafted silver and bronze object (MF8465) (pl. 92c-d) that displays the general form of a modern wind chime. When initially published, this object was called a “trinket”, and the identification of any mundane function for it remains elusive.<sup>593</sup> An apotropaic role for the “trinket”, and perhaps also the piece of amber, seems likely and, for the former, may relate to the chime-like sounds the object would have produced via movement of its holder or wearer. Whatever the intended

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1995) p. 42ff. John Chrysostom (hom. 12.7 on 1 Cor. 4:7, PG 61, colt 105.) specifically warns against the use of bells as amulets for children.

<sup>592</sup> The bronze crucifix, of the Latin type and missing its upper terminus (and probable point of suspension from a necklace) assumes an extremely simple, undatable form. Although crucifixes occasionally appear in graves of the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> C., the only instance of one in a securely dated Late Antique mortuary context occurs in a late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. tomb (Grave 3), which may have been used by clergy, at Samos’ ecclesiastical complex (Martini, W. and C. Steckner. 1993. *Das Gymnasium von Samos. Das frühbyzantinische Klostergut*. Bonn: In Kommission bei R. Habelt). The Corinthian grave appears to have been used in the 8th to 9th C. on the basis of a glass bead reported to have been found inside it in addition to a coin of Basil I (867-886); in consideration of this and the general lack of crucifixes at Corinth and elsewhere in Greece during the 7<sup>th</sup> C., an 8th to 9th C. chronology for the bronze crucifix is probable.

<sup>593</sup> The full contents of the grave, including the “trinket”, were published by Weinberg (1974).

mortuary function of these objects, their deposition belongs to distant traditions from Eastern Europe rather than any kind of Byzantine practice.<sup>594</sup>

Lastly, iron nails were recovered from two graves. Although the two or three nail fragments (MF6069) (pl. 150c) produced by Grave 1934-004 could have been introduced to the grave by chance, the three nails (MF72-75 and two uninventoried nails) (pl. 206b-c) retrieved from the same area in Grave 1972-020 as other metal objects (including weapons) seem to have been brushed aside following their original deposition. Use as elements of construction for a wooden funerary bier, which was placed within the tomb and never retrieved, offers the most likely explanation for their presence.<sup>595</sup>

## Ritual

All of the objects that were intentionally deposited within Corinth's Late Antique graves played some role within a broader mortuary ritual. It is perhaps better to speak of mortuary rituals because, despite the dominant trends in burial practices that these artifacts reveal, a great deal of variability both chronologically and between contemporary graves is demonstrated. This section attempts to trace the outline of the most consistently displayed elements of mortuary

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<sup>594</sup> The nearest points of comparison for any kind of amber use in 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. graves are the single beads deposited in Avar burials in Hungary (Curta 2005, p. 130). The silver and bronze "trinket" generally recalls 7<sup>th</sup> C. artifacts from the Baltic peninsula and Russia (*ibid.*) and especially composite pendants from cemeteries near the basins of the Upper Dnieper and Dvina rivers (Szymanski 1968, p. 206, ryc. 12c-d) (pl. 279c).

<sup>595</sup> A wooden coffin would also be an appropriate recipient of nails, but would require many more than either of these graves provided. A 13<sup>th</sup> C. coffin from Abdera (northeastern Greece) incorporated 14 iron nails (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, no. 738). For a wooden bier or, less likely, a coffin, associated with six nails see an exceptional early 5<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. grave at Isthmia (Rife 2012, p. 93); see also Rife's overview (*ibid.*, p. 165f) of the archaeological and textual evidence for biers and coffins.

rituals at Corinth while noting important variations.<sup>596</sup> Late Antique texts, as well as aspects of modern burial traditions in Greece, offer interpretations for the uses of some objects and help to fill the gaps in the archaeological narrative from preparation of the body to post-funereal graveside commemoration.<sup>597</sup> It becomes swiftly apparent that much of the mortuary ritual, including the funeral procession, words spoken or sung, and most organic remains within the grave, can be reconstructed only tentatively and without full comprehension of the diversity of practices that surely occurred at a multi-ethnic, multi-religious metropolis like Corinth. Although, following Rebillard, it seems that the details of the mortuary ritual were largely determined by the family in accordance with generally held traditions, authorities representing any religious associations to which a family belonged would have held particular sway at certain points of the ritual, especially the act of interment, while maintenance and plot ownership within cemetery areas were at some level administered by civic or religious authorities.<sup>598</sup>

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<sup>596</sup> Mortuary ritual in the Mediterranean region during both Late Antiquity and the preceding Roman period is a vastly understudied topic. Following Toynbee's classic but now outdated overview of Roman practices in *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (1971) and Kyriakakis' 1974 summary of pre-funerary Byzantine ritual, no major synthetic scholarship occurred until the work of Rebillard (most importantly his 2009 *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*) and, within the context of Isthmia's Late Antique graves, Rife (2012, pp. 153-230). Corinth stands to contribute more to the picture of mortuary practices through the 5<sup>th</sup> C. with the publication of Slane's forthcoming monograph (*Tombs, Burials, and Commemoration in Corinth's Northern Cemetery*); aspects of that period have already been briefly addressed by Slane and Walbank (2006) and M. E. H. Walbank (2005).

<sup>597</sup> On traditional burial practices in modern Greece, see Danforth and Tsiaras (1982) and Alexiou (2002). Rife (2012, pp. 146-151) also provides a useful description of the modern cemetery at the village of Kyras Vrysi, located directly beside ancient Isthmia. Although modern practices offer possible interpretations for the archaeological remains of much older graves, it should not be assumed that any practice or its meanings remained static over more than a millennium: the modern practice of exhuming the dead after several years and relocating his bones to a communal ossuary is fully unevidenced during Late Antiquity (on such relocation see Danforth and Tsiaras 1982, p. 15).

<sup>598</sup> Rebillard, 2009

If an individual did not die at home, his body was brought there for burial preparations which seem to have changed little between antiquity and modernity.<sup>599</sup> The household became fully occupied with funerary preparations as the body was washed, anointed with aromatic oils and spices, and clothed, sometimes extravagantly, or wrapped in a winding sheet.<sup>600</sup> The occasional decoration of the deceased with jewelry probably occurred at this point, as did the potential laying of a floral wreath on the head, an act which may relate to the floral remains discovered on the skulls of the dead in Grave 1937-008-009.<sup>601</sup> Due to the impending threat of rigor mortis, the body would have been quickly laid out in the same position it was intended to assume in the grave: supine with legs extended and with hands typically crossed over the pelvis.<sup>602</sup>

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<sup>599</sup> Danforth (1982, p. 39f) provides a vivid description of preparation of the body within the home in a 20<sup>th</sup> C. Greek village.

<sup>600</sup> The application of sometimes costly oils and spices, which were traditional methods of embalming, and the use of expensive clothing became tropes of needless extravagance for Late Antique Christian writers who invoked them, for example, in the parable of the death of the rich man (see Augustine, *Exposition on the Book of Psalms*, Psalm XLIX.1606, 13). Describing the simplicity of his mother's wishes for burial, Augustine (*Confessions*, 9.13) states that she wished neither a sumptuous winding cloth nor embalming with spices. Similarly, John Chrysostom (*Homily LXXXV*. John xix. 16–186, 6) appraises the “winding sheet” represented by a virtuous life as superior to funeral garments of silk or gold cloth. Finally, despite her desire for a modest burial, Macrina was clothed in fine linens brought by her brother, Gregory of Nyssa (*The Life of Macrina*, 988C).

<sup>601</sup> On the other hand, based on the majority of burials which lack jewelry, this would have been an appropriate time to consider dividing the possessions of the dead, including jewelry, amongst surviving family. Such a scene is portrayed in *The Life of Macrina* (990C) when a ring and crucifix which Macrina had worn on a necklace were taken by her brother, Gregory of Nyssa, and a deaconess whom she had known. The enduring Greco-Roman tradition of funerary floral wreaths seems to have been maintained by at least some Christians despite Octavius' famous statement to the contrary (*Octavius*, 38.2; see further Rebillard 2009, p. 125f). The practice has been maintained in Greece into the 20<sup>th</sup> C. via the covering of much of the body with flowers, as documented by Alexiou (2002, p. 39). See also the large scale floral adornment and use of a ribbon to close the mouth of the dead in a modern Greek home (pl. 280a).

<sup>602</sup> To the extent that skeletal position may be observed despite problems of preservation, disturbance, and documentation, it appears that the slight bending of the elbows and crossing of the hands over the central pelvis endured through the 6<sup>th</sup> C. until at least the late 7<sup>th</sup> C. (see Grave 1969-036, in which this position is maintained by an individual wearing a late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. Corinth type buckle). With the exception of non-indigenous individuals whose hands lay at their sides, only Grave 1960-014, a potential 9<sup>th</sup> C. interment, demonstrates a clear and

At the same time, the home was subjected to a whirlwind of activity as friends and neighbors visited. They viewed the laid out body, which was not always yet completely prepared for burial, mourned, consoled the family of the deceased, and, in the case of Christians, sang psalms.<sup>603</sup>

At some point between death and the laying out of the body, final plans for the funeral procession and burial would have been made. The tomb would have often been a pre-existing one, whether already containing deceased individuals who were presumably of the same family or previously purchased and awaiting its first interment. In cases of unexpected deaths for which a multiple burial tomb was not ready, or for persons of lower socioeconomic status, arrangements would have been made for burial within single burial tile tent graves or, in the case of infants, amphoras. Whether previously owned or newly acquired, burial plots, probably clustered primarily according to familial relationships, were at some point purchased from the relevant authorities, who appear to have maintained fixed prices of one and a half gold pieces for multiple burial tomb plots with the exception of particularly desirable locations, which could

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intentional divergence from the earlier tradition by crossing the left forearm horizontally across the pelvis while the right forearm apparently crossed the torso diagonally so that the right hand would touch the upper left breast or shoulder. John Chrysostom (*Homily XXVII*. Matt. VIII. 14) may refer to the typical Corinthian position when he describes the binding of hands to bellies, and the binding of feet together, within the context of sinners who are as incapacitated as the dead who are wrapped for burial. Additionally, the mouth was closed and the lower jaw similarly held in position by tying a strip of cloth around the head; all of these measures to maintain the position of the body have been maintained within modern tradition (Danforth and Tsiras 1982, p. 39) (pl. 280a).

<sup>603</sup> Gregory of Nyssa recounts with poignancy the uncontrollable wailing of Macrina's monastic sisters who came to view her body, and his consequent urging to transform their cries into the singing of psalms (*The Life of Macrina*, 992D-994A). Augustine notes his friend Euodius singing directly from a Psalter at his home following the death of Augustine's mother (*Confessions*, 9.12). A full study of the tradition of lamentation in the home, during the funeral procession, and at the tomb is offered by Alexiou (2002).

command higher fees.<sup>604</sup> The price of a plot for a single burial tile tent grave or amphora burial in a common location was presumably cheaper. Although the oversight of such activities remains unclear, by the 6th C. ecclesiastical officials, who had already been endowed with some degree of secular authority, were arguably in charge of basic administration of most cemeteries, including the sale of plots; a small body of epigraphic evidence suggests such a role.<sup>605</sup>

The processional transport of the deceased from home to grave, which can occur as early as the day following death, occupies the next phase in funerary ritual.<sup>606</sup> At the upper end of the social spectrum, such processions had the potential to be immensely expensive events for which the entire populations of cities crammed every available vantage point along the route to gain a

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<sup>604</sup> On tomb prices generally see Feissel (1983. “Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe s.” *Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 8. p. 149). Only the tomb of Polychronios the σινγουλάριος (singularis), located within the prestigious district of the unexcavated ‘Pallas’ Basilica, is exceptionally priced at two gold pieces (SEG XXIX, no. 319; M. B. Walbank 2010, p. 293).

<sup>605</sup> Examples of close relationships between associations of mortuary professionals and bishops are known from the late 4th C. onward (Bond, S. 2013. “Mortuary Workers, the Church, and the Funeral Trade in Late Antiquity”. *Journal of Late Antiquity*, Vol. 6, No. 1. pp. 135-151); while highly localized, these patronage networks, which on rare occasions provided bishops with private armies consisting in part of burly gravediggers, would more normally have supported the expansion of the church’s mortuary interests and income while possibly improving conditions of employment for mortuary workers. Responsibility for the management of mortuary real estate is made clearest by the sale of the plot within an Early Roman chamber tomb to Maria, Wife of Euplous by an individual with the position of ὑπηρέτης (servant), which has been interpreted by M. E. H. and M. B. Walbank (2006, p. 84) as a minor ecclesiastical office. We might similarly wonder if the name of Tasios the presbyter, unusually painted onto the stone face of a bedrock cutting that became packed with chamber tombs within the Lerna Court area cemetery, specifies the ecclesiastical administrator of this discrete grave cluster rather than an occupant of a tomb. Finally, while the clerical status of Andreas the δεκανός (mortuary director), the seller of a relatively expensive tomb to Polychronios the singularis, cannot be proven, the find spot of the associated tombstone within the general vicinity of the unexcavated Pallas basilica suggests that Andreas at least operated under the supervision of the Church and may well have been ordained as a cleric. Whether the same mortuary workers also served the needs of Jewish and other minority communities at Corinth is uncertain. Rebillard (2009, p. 117) suggests that such persons could have served Christians and non-Christians alike, but we know too little regarding the intersection of non-Christian community organization and burial practices generally, and in Late Antique Greece in particular, to confirm this.

<sup>606</sup> Gregory of Nyssa describes, apparently on the day of Macrina’s death, spending the entire night singing hymns around her body, and then, on the following day, accompanying the procession to the familial tomb (*The Life of Macrina*, 992D-994C).

glimpse of the funerary party, which consisted of the carried wooden bier, surrounded by friends and relatives, and led or flanked by professional mourners and candle bearers whose numbers seem to have been limited only by the means of the family.<sup>607</sup> Although the typical procession would have been on a much smaller scale, its expense would have still been considerable, as reflected in laws fixing the prices of accompanying psalm-singing nuns and candle bearers in Constantinople.<sup>608</sup> Notably, evidence is lacking for any transport of the deceased to a church for a pre-burial service, which stands in contrast to the modern procession from home to cemetery church, and, following the Orthodox service, from church to grave.<sup>609</sup>

Once at the graveside, the bier was laid on the ground beside the grave, whether a tomb that had been in use for years or a newly dug plot. Were the grave a pre-existing one, the occasion would have presented an opportunity to adjust the remains of the previously deceased and any objects within the tomb in anticipation of the receipt of a new burial as might be indicated by what appears to be the careful shifting of skeletons, and the peripheral locations of ceramics, in some Corinthian multiple burial tombs. Moreover, it is unlikely that Gregory of Nyssa was the only individual distressed by the prospect of viewing his family's decomposing remains; the

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<sup>607</sup> For a funeral procession which drew crowds to the point of catastrophe, see Gregory Nazianzen's oration (XLIII) for the funeral of Basil the Great, Bishop of Caesarea.

<sup>608</sup> As retained within the Justinianic Code (Novel 59, 4) following earlier legal provisions, each citizen of Constantinople was guaranteed the free funerary services of a group of no less than eight nuns, who would have sung psalms, and an additional three candle bearers (acolytes). At least one deacon seems to have accompanied the procession on a similar basis. Additional companies of nuns and candle bearers could be hired at fixed prices. Speaking against these kinds of displays, and professional mourners in particular, on theological grounds, see John Chrysostom (Homily IV. Hebrews ii. 5–7).

<sup>609</sup> Danforth 1982, p. 40f. Of course, for one of the few individuals buried within a church during Late Antiquity, the graveside service would have presumably occurred within that church, although there is no reason to believe that the ritual would have varied significantly due to this location.

covering of those bodies with a sheet before the interment of his sister might be paralleled with the discovery of one or more textiles (MF7391) above the “upper parts” of the dead in Corinth’s Grave 1937-008-009.<sup>610</sup>

Also at the graveside, or following the deposition of the deceased within the grave (perhaps occasionally along with the bier, considering the nails retrieved from Graves 1934-004 and 1972-020), Christian dead may have received a final anointing in the form of the cross with wine, oil, and water by a member of the clergy, a practice that still occurs in modern Greece (pl. 280b).<sup>611</sup> At this point libations may also have been provided to the dead in addition to koliva, a boiled food shared by funeral attendants in ancient and modern Greece; in future months and years additional libations, which were not clearly distinct from the Eucharist, were likely also offered, and graveside meals of some type may have been held.<sup>612</sup> Within the grave, the deceased was,

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<sup>610</sup> *The Life of Macrina*, 996A-B

<sup>611</sup> Sanders 2005, p. 436. For the modern ritual see Danforth and Tsiaras (1982, p. 42).

<sup>612</sup> Koliva, a modern descendent of Roman wine-soaked grain which was left as an offering for the dead (Slane and Walbank 2006, p. 385), is now both shared by mourners in the churchyard outside the cemetery following the burial, and is sometimes placed within the tomb (as reported to me by a Greek colleague for a funeral which occurred in Kalambaka in 2013), a practice which perhaps started in Late Antiquity. Greek cognac is additionally served to modern mourners. Libations at Late Antique Corinth were most clearly formalized, and potentially Christianized, within the Kodratus Basilica’s circa 6<sup>th</sup> C. grave of the Bishop Eustathios who, through a hole drilled through his tomb’s cover slab and a pipe below, would have received any substance poured from above directly on his skull (Stikas 1964, p. 135, fig. 4). While it seems unlikely that the commemorative Roman cemetery feast of the *parentalia* was itself still practiced in the 6<sup>th</sup> C., the influence of this festival and other forms of funerary feasting, and the general needs of mourners to maintain a physical connection to their dead, likely survived in a manner that the Church either attempted to reinterpret or ignored. Augustine (*Confessions*, 6.2; *City of God*, 8.27) famously mentions Christians, including his own mother, who participated in cemetery feasting or made offerings of food and drink to martyrs, and already in the late 4<sup>th</sup> C., Ambrose (*Commentary on Luke*, Book 7) alludes to what seems to be the problematic laying of the Eucharist on the tombs of ancestors who may not be Christians (Rebillard 2009, p. 146f); in reality both Christians and non-Christians probably offered food and drink to the dead under a wide variety of understandings. These libations survive in modern practice in the form of wine and water which are sometimes placed for the refreshment of the dead on tombs and also in the house, and in the offerings and shared meals which occur at the tombs of the dead on the Friday of Pentacost (Alexiou 2002, p. 46f).

with only rare exceptions, positioned with his head at west, sometimes supported by a tile “pillow”, and facing east; this orientation was common in Greco-Roman antiquity and became the default one no later than the 6<sup>th</sup> C. due in large part to the influence of the Christian expectation that Christ would return from the east to wake the dead on judgment day.<sup>613</sup>

What is the relation between these activities and the assemblages of vessels recovered from many Corinthian tombs and which presumably consist of items already used within graveside ritual or perhaps specifically intended to accompany the dead?<sup>614</sup> Aside from the lekythos, which in Late Antiquity appears to have been manufactured exclusively for mortuary use, all vessels are of the same common types used in the homes of middle class Corinthians.<sup>615</sup> Within a mortuary context, these types, again with lekythoi accepted, are characteristic of Corinthian

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<sup>613</sup> An eastward orientation was, of course, that which was used within Christian worship broadly, and by the 7<sup>th</sup> C. John of Damascus (*An Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, Book IV, Chapter XII, “Concerning Worship towards the East”) offers a variety of reasons, including the coming of Christ, for this aspect of ritual. An approximated east-west orientation, with head at west (and sometimes supported by a tile “pillow”), is clearly the dominant trend at Corinth by the 6<sup>th</sup> C., when the vast majority of tile graves and all rock-cut tombs within and immediately surrounding Lerna Court were laid out in this manner. Contemporary cemeteries elsewhere in central and southern Greece demonstrate the same trend, which may occur even earlier in the north, probably as a result of the Christian church’s earlier rise to power there; see for example a cemetery basilica of the late 4<sup>th</sup> C. at Thessaloniki (Marki 2006, fig. 24), and a 4<sup>th</sup> C. cemetery at the lesser center of Veroia (Pazaras 1985, fig. 1). Orientation cannot be used as a clear indicator of religion, however: Some of the minority who buried their relatives at a north-south orientation in Lerna Court may have viewed the convenient use of a free space beside another relative’s grave as a more important determinant of orientation than theology, and many non-Christians would have buried in the same manner for religious reasons of their own or because the orientation had become a general custom. By the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. practically every grave received an east-west orientation; at the Forum cemetery only the unusually constructed, north-south Grave 1934-004, and the southwest-northeast Grave 1950-008, which belonged to a non-Greek immigrant, display significant variation.

<sup>614</sup> Rife offers a particularly detailed and up-to-date discussion on mortuary vessels and their contents, see Rife (2012, pp. 193-197); see also Slane and Walbank (2006, p. 385).

<sup>615</sup> On mortuary pottery and the lekythos, see Petridis (2012).

graves of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> C., placing 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. pottery within a long-established tradition.<sup>616</sup>

Lekythoi and glass unguentaria are particularly well-suited containers for oil, although any lekythos, pitcher, or other jug could have adequately conveyed at least a small amount of any liquid to the graveside. Mugs and cups could have been used to administer small amounts of liquids brought at long distance within some of the larger vessels.

Other, less obvious uses of these ceramics probably occurred, however. Koliva is eaten (and perhaps also provided to the deceased within the tomb) most easily from a mug or cup, and the non-traditional employment of liquid-bearing vessels for solid foods is strongly suggested by a seed-bearing pitcher from a Late Antique grave at Thasos in addition to the discovery of carbonized matter within two pitchers from circa 7<sup>th</sup> C. burials at the cemetery near the church of St. Dionysios Areopagite in Athens.<sup>617</sup> Moreover, the possible use of liquid or solid aromatics should not be overlooked: In addition to oil (if not completely used during the graveside anointing of the body) housed within glass unguentaria or other containers, flower petals and other solid aromatics which could have been held within vessels of a variety of types would have made the tomb environment more bearable.<sup>618</sup> Finally, if the bronze object discovered within a

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<sup>616</sup> Slane and Walbank (2006, p. 385) summarize these earlier ceramic assemblages, which typically include a cup or mug and a jug and stand in contrast to still earlier, broader assemblages that include plates and bowls.

<sup>617</sup> Sodini (1977, pp. 17, 20, n. 61, fig. 4) notes this possibility, citing the discovery of cereal grains in a pitcher in a Late Antique grave at Evraiokastro on Thasos. Both pitchers excavated in graves near the church of St. Dionysios Areopagite in Athens (Travlos and Frantz 1965, p. 167, no. 1-2) contained carbonized matter of uncertain type according to the notes of the excavator (Dorothy Burr), who presumed that the material was food (Excavation Notebook AP I, p. 94, 97). Setting aside two fragmentary exceptions from the Lerna Court area cemetery's Hill of Zeus and another of questionable origin from the Forum cemetery, plates and bowls, which one might associate with solid food (whether deposited for the dead or shared amongst the living at the graveside) are conspicuously absent from Late Antique Corinthian graves.

<sup>618</sup> I thank Kathleen Slane for suggesting the possibility of solid aromatics within the tomb environment.

rock-cut tomb (Grave 1933-180) is indeed a censor, one wonders if comparatively expensive vessels such as this, which was perhaps brought from a Christian church, were utilized more frequently and typically retrieved from the tomb's interior following use.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that many graves of the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C., and most of the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., contain no vessels whatsoever. The easiest explanation for such variation is that, while rituals remained largely intact, vessels were disposed of outside the tomb, perhaps at or near the graveside.<sup>619</sup>

Lastly, as part of the funeral or within the context of commemorative visits which occurred formally on the third, ninth, and fortieth days after death, terra cotta lamps were commonly lit and placed at surface level on top of, or directly beside, the grave.<sup>620</sup> The lamps discovered far more rarely below ground and in close proximity to tile tent graves may similarly have a funerary origin.<sup>621</sup> Votive lamps were employed widely in Greco-Roman antiquity within both mortuary and sanctuary contexts, and while their continued use in cemeteries was at times

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<sup>619</sup> See Rife (2012, p. 196f) for a late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. cooking pot, perhaps used for consumption of food by the living, smashed outside a 5<sup>th</sup> C. grave. Wiseman (1969 p. 84f, fn. 36) reports a vessel bearing an incised Christian symbol of a cross with the letters alpha and omega which was found in a shattered state above a rock-cut tomb in the Lerna Court area cemetery's Gymnasium zone. As Sanders (2005, p. 436) mentions, the plastic bottles now employed within graveside ritual in Greece are discarded after use, while their ceramic predecessors were either broken outside the grave or placed within it. Similarly, the Irish Surgeon William Goodisson (1822, pp. 225-226) notes the throwing out of a clay vessel, the breakage of which on the ground below signaled the departure of the procession which brought the deceased from home to church by bier, from the window of a home of the deceased on 19<sup>th</sup> C. Ionian islands. Although previous use of this item is not stated, it may well have been used to wash or anoint the dead. For vessels broken outside Late Antique graves, and for at least some placed within them, the primary objective seems to have been to render them useless to the living following their contact with the dead.

<sup>620</sup> For the timing and character of these commemorative visits, which derive from popular tradition and were presumably carried out by most Corinthians whether Christian or not, see Alexiou (p. 32).

<sup>621</sup> Alternately, such lamps could be considered part of a site's pre-cemetery fill, which might possess a variety of objects deposited through non-mortuary processes, or as mortuary objects left at surface level in association with adjacent graves and which by chance became part of the new grave's fill when it was dug.

troubling to the Christian Church, the tremendous importance of light within Christian symbolism and ritual would have contributed to the reinterpretation of their mortuary role within a Christian framework.<sup>622</sup> The disappearance of terra cotta lamp deposition in mortuary contexts that occurred in the early or middle 7<sup>th</sup> C. almost certainly reflects the abandonment of terra cotta lamp production in that century rather than any dramatic change in ritual: In the 7<sup>th</sup> C. a sharp increase in candle production is probably indicated by the formation of the first associations of professional candle makers, and glass lamps appear in late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. graves at the ecclesiastical complex on Samos.<sup>623</sup> Corinthians of the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. to 9<sup>th</sup> C. must have set lighting instruments of these types, which rarely survive in the archaeological record, at their graves; the tradition endures in the lighting of oil lamps at tombs in modern Greece during commemorative visits.

## Conclusion

Corinth's Late Antique mortuary rituals, as best evidenced archaeologically through the ceramics, clothing accessories, and other items that accompanied the dead in the tomb or were left behind by mourners within the cemetery environment, demonstrate considerable consistency with earlier Greco-Roman traditions and compare well to practices attested at contemporary cemeteries in the northeast Peloponnese, Boeotia, and Attica. Such regional similarities, occurring both on the basis of shared ritual and the trade of objects that could be used within it, are particularly strong in the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Beginning in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. these similarities

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<sup>622</sup> The use of candles, a lighting equivalent of lamps, was explicitly forbidden during daylight hours (when they could clearly serve no function other than a ritual one) at the graves of martyrs by the Council of Elvira in circa 300 (Rebillard 2009, p. 144).

<sup>623</sup> On the manufacturing of candles in the 7<sup>th</sup> C., see Rautman (1999, p. 105f). Samos: Martini and Steckner 2003, Grave 1.

seem to decline, a phenomenon which may reflect increasing cultural localization, but may also be an artifact of the archaeological record including a sharp drop in well-dated graves outside Corinth: As mould-made terra cotta lamps are replaced by glass lamps or candles rarely retrieved by archaeologists, and as the frequency of ceramic deposition drops precipitously, the points of chronologically identifiable comparison that would have been valid in previous centuries are lost, and many graves are only approximately datable via stratigraphic evidence or architectural aspects.

Just as importantly, the role of Corinth's Forum as the primary source of mortuary data after the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. is complicated by the existence of burials of non-Greek individuals who do not fully conform to local practice. While it is possible to exclude the clearest cases of non-indigenous, and frequently object-rich, burials from the mortuary dataset, many burials which are questionable, including all graves with necklace beads, finger rings, and belt rings, remain. Much of what might otherwise be interpreted as Corinthian practice might therefore more accurately be a syncretism of local and distant traditions which significantly reflects the continuing importance and diversity of Corinth, but cannot fully serve as an accurate measure of typical local ritual for comparison with other cities in Greece.

## CHAPTER 6

### CORINTH'S IMMIGRANT BURIALS

#### Introduction

When some of the first spectacular, weapons-bearing Late Antique graves were excavated at Corinth in the 1930s, they drew attention as the burials of Corinth's "barbarian" conquerors, only to be reinterpreted much later as the city's defenders.<sup>624</sup> While the cultural-historical lens through which these burials were studied early on has been replaced by a regional archaeological perspective, they, and related graves which lack weapons, have yet to be placed them within the sphere of local mortuary practices.<sup>625</sup>

This chapter aims to better understand the full range of "immigrant" burials, by assessing within a local framework all circa 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian graves that demonstrate atypical characteristics, whether the incorporation of weapons and other objects, or the employment of unusual tomb types and skeletal positions.<sup>626</sup> A majority of these burials, including the important grave of the "wandering soldier", occur within the Forum cemetery, although additional examples occur on Acrocorinth and at the Kraneion basilica. This study first surveys

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<sup>624</sup> In his monograph on Corinth's medieval architecture, Scranton (1957, p. 27) goes so far as to title his second chapter, on the period from 610 to 802, as the "Age of Barbarism".

<sup>625</sup> For a stimulating discussion of the history of scholarship of Slavs and other migratory groups in Greece, including Corinth, see: Curta, 2010. "Still Waiting for the Barbarians? The Making of the Slavs in 'Dark-Age' Greece". *Neglected Barbarians* (F. Curta, ed.). Turnhout: Brepols. p. 403-478 (403-416)

<sup>626</sup> I generally refer to these individuals, whose mortuary practices clearly break with both local traditions and those across Greece broadly, as "immigrants" in order to avoid any specific ethnic, professional, or other kind of identification for what may have been an extremely diverse range of non-Greek individuals who for varied reasons came to a provincial capital.

existing scholarship on Corinth's immigrant graves, presents in detail the full range of burials, both with and without weapons, assesses potential parallels between the Corinthian evidence and that from Eastern Europe and the Peloponnese, and finally analyzes the Corinthian remains within the context of the development of mortuary space. Although the geographic and ethnic origins of these individuals remain problematic, it is clear that a large number of them were buried in graves that display some degree of integration within local society. The apparent use of atypical objects in association with some female burials, and the interment of females in graves which display non-local characteristics, raise the possibilities of immigration of non-Greek women and intermarriage between Corinthian women and non-Greek men. Service within a Byzantine garrison remains the best explanation for many graves, but other possibilities, including the presence of Slavs or others who settled the Peloponnese in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., remain open.

### Previous Scholarship

In 1937, Davidson and Horvath presented the first excavated Corinthian immigrant burials, which had recently been excavated within the foundations of a ruined tower on the slope of Acrocorinth, within their article "The Avar Invasion of Corinth".<sup>627</sup> They directly identified their primary objective as the use of objects, primarily belt buckles and weapons, to verify the historical narrative, and they accepted without serious criticism the story of Avar invasion and occupation between the late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 9<sup>th</sup> C. as described by the controversial Chronicle of

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<sup>627</sup> Davidson and Horvath, 1937

Monemvasia, which has since been proven to be a very late and extremely unreliable source.<sup>628</sup>

Due to a number of parallels between the Corinthian finds and objects in Hungary that were attributed to Avar cemeteries, and without consideration of numerous other comparanda in Greece and Eastern Europe, the objects therefore became Avar objects which belonged to invading Avars who died, and were buried on the battlefield, with remarkable formality. Three years later, Zeiß refuted Davidson's claims, stating that most objects attributed to Avars were either Byzantine or of such widespread use as to defy specific attribution.<sup>629</sup> Subsequently, in the 1950s the same burials, and especially their buckles, were placed at the center of a debate between Setton and Charanis in regard to a dubious 7<sup>th</sup> C. Bulgar invasion of Corinth.<sup>630</sup>

In 1974, Weinberg (née Davidson) returned to the topic through the publication of a single spectacular tomb (Grave 1938-010) at Corinth's Forum, originally excavated in 1934, which included a sword along with a wealth of other objects and became dubbed the grave of the "wandering soldier". By this point, Weinberg no longer maintained her interpretation of the finds from the Acrocorinth tower graves as products of the Avars. Withholding judgment on the identity of the wandering soldier while incorrectly asserting that a handmade pot accompanying him was of a Slavic type, her assessment of the burial within a Corinthian context only as the

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<sup>628</sup> To quote the objective of Davidson and Horvath (ibid., p. 228), "As far as the city of Corinth is concerned, some obscure points in her history are clarified, and we have only to investigate whether the archaeological evidence confirms the facts as presented in this narrative [the Chronicle of Monemvasia]." On the Chronicle of Monemvasia, see most recently Anagnostakis and Kaldellis (2014).

<sup>629</sup> Zeiß, 1940. "Avarenfunde in Korinth?" *Serta Hoffilleriana*. Zagreb. p. 95-99

<sup>630</sup> Setton, 1950. The Bulgars in the Balkans and the Occupation of Corinth in the 7<sup>th</sup> Century. *Speculum*. 25. p. 502-54; Charanis, 1952. "On the Capture of Corinth by the Onogurs and its Recapture by the Byzantines". *Speculum*. 27. p. 343-350; Setton, 1952. "The Emperor Constans II and the Capture of Corinth by the Onogur Bulgars". *Speculum*. 27. p. 351-362

grave of someone who “had been buried by friends, with honor” left open the possibility that this was the burial of someone affiliated with Corinth’s perceived conquerors.<sup>631</sup>

Writing in 1996, Ivison took up the issue of Corinth’s burials with weapons and tools, employing as primary evidence the grave of the “wandering soldier” and another object-rich cist grave (Grave 1937-015-019) which contained numerous weapons and likewise lay in the Forum cemetery.<sup>632</sup> Rather than reading the dead as members of invading migratory groups, Ivison interpreted them as Slavic soldiers in the Byzantine military who served at Corinth’s garrison. The core of this Byzantine military thesis was accepted four years later by Vida and Völling in their publication of Olympia’s 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. “Slavic” cremation cemetery. Despite the admitted difficulty of ascertaining the ethnicity of Corinth’s dead, Vida and Völling rejected a Slavic origin owing to an absence of Corinthian graves adhering to the typical Slavic burial format of cremation, and suggested instead, based primarily on a small number of mortuary objects, an identification as members of migratory groups originating in the Eurasian steppe.<sup>633</sup>

Finally, recent Bulgarian scholarship has placed Corinth’s burials alongside sites in central Bulgaria, the Republic of Macedonia, and the eastern Adriatic coast which possess approximately contemporary stone-lined cist graves containing weapons, jewelry, and other objects.<sup>634</sup> Curta reasonably contends that these northern cemeteries, in addition to similar ones

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<sup>631</sup> Davidson 1974, p. 513 fn. 2, p. 521

<sup>632</sup> Ivison 1996, p. 114-120

<sup>633</sup> Vida and Völling 2000, pp. 32-40. See also Curta’s review of the Olympia monograph: Curta. 2002. “Review: Das slawische Brandgräberfeld von Olympia.” *Archaeologia Bulgarica*. 6/1, p. 95-101.

<sup>634</sup> For the Balkan comparisons see Angelova and Koleva (2001, p. 267), who suggest that some of these cemeteries received a mixture of partially Christianized Slavic and local inhabitants.

in Sicily and Sardinia, be considered as Byzantine garrisons located at frontiers or otherwise strategic points where soldiers may have lived on a semi-permanent basis with their families.<sup>635</sup>

To these cemeteries we should now add a recently discovered mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. grave (pl. 281a) within a drain at Pergamon that arguably belongs to one or more Byzantine soldiers who were buried with weapons and other objects.<sup>636</sup> The ethnic composition of these potential garrison graves remains highly problematic, and, while offering multiple historically attested possibilities for the wandering soldier's point of origin, Curta emphasizes his privileged local identity.<sup>637</sup>

On the basis of Corinth's three published Late Antique tombs containing weapons and tools, the most recent scholarship thus asserts Byzantine military roles for the individuals, of uncertain geographic and ethnic origin, interred within. This interpretation is both supported and expanded by a detailed consideration of all Corinthian graves in this category in addition to burials which demonstrate other atypical characteristics and arguably follow traditions that developed outside the Byzantine world.

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<sup>635</sup> Curta 2010, p. 475-476

<sup>636</sup> In an admirably interdisciplinary publication this grave was dated, probably slightly too early, to the early 7<sup>th</sup> C.: Otten, Thomas, Jane Evans, Angela Lamb, Gundula Müldner, Andrea Pirson, and Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen. 2010. "Ein frühbyzantinisches Waffengrab aus Pergamon. Interpretationsmöglichkeiten aus archäologischer und naturwissenschaftlicher Sicht." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 61: 347-422. It contained three leaf-shaped spearheads, a mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. Nagyarsány type bronze buckle identical to that of Corinth's "wandering soldier", a small buckle with an X on its plate, and a silver finger ring with circular bezel; an additional small iron object appears in photographs of the tomb's contents but has not been identified. The unusual occurrence of such a grave in western Asia Minor is almost certainly attributable to the presence of the Byzantine military at this site in response to Arab invasion, or the threat thereof, on the empire's eastern frontier, and perhaps specifically in connection to the construction of an upper fortification circuit during the reign of Constans II. For Pergamon's Late Antique fortifications, see: Klinkott, Manfred. 2001. *Die Stadtmauern Teil 1,; Die byzantinischen Befestigungsanlagen von Pergamon mit ihrer Wehr- und Baugeschichte*. Berlin and New York : W. de Gruyter; see also Foss (1986, p. 131-136).

<sup>637</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 474. Angelova and Koleva (2001, p. 267), suggest that some of these cemeteries received a mixture of partially Christianized Slavic and local inhabitants. For the highly political problem of Albania's Roman cemeteries, see Bowden (2003).

## Burials with Weapons and Tools at Corinth's Forum

### South Stoa

A minimum of seven individuals within three graves at the west end of the Forum's South Stoa possessed weapons or tools. The first, and earliest datable burial, belongs to the famous "wandering soldier", who was interred inside a well-built, slab-lined cist (Grave 1938-010) (pl. 89a-93c) in the middle of the South Stoa's colonnade and accompanied by a range of objects that are generally unprecedented for burials in Late Antique Greece.<sup>638</sup> The man probably wore on his belt a buckle of the Nagyharsány type (MF8382), and traces of iron running diagonally beneath his torso suggest that even in the grave he wore an iron trimmed baldric or cuirass.<sup>639</sup> A sheathed iron sword (MF8461) was placed at his right side, and to the right of his ankles a handmade pot (C-38-546) assuming an Avar form was deposited. In his right hand he clasped a silver and bronze "trinket" (MF8465), while under his left hand, and perhaps originally housed together within a pouch or sheath, were an iron knife (MF8462) and a short iron rod adhering to a piece of amber (MF8464). Within the vicinity of the amber a fragmentary iron light striker with flint (MF8463) was also found.<sup>640</sup> In addition to this highly unusual mortuary assemblage, the position of the individual's arms, extended at his sides rather than bent at the elbows and with hands on the pelvis, sets this interment apart from most contemporary Corinthian burials. A date

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<sup>638</sup> For further information and bibliography on all objects in this chapter, see the respective sections in Chapter 5.

<sup>639</sup> According to physical anthropologist J. Lawrence Angel, the skeleton, the skull of which was badly preserved, was a male (Weinberg 1974, p. 514 fn. 6).

<sup>640</sup> It is clear from excavation records that the knife lay beneath the hand. The locations of the iron light striker with flint, as well as the amber attached to the iron rod, are not recorded in the excavation notebook, and appear to have been reconstructed from memory for Davidson's 1974 article.

in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. accommodates the chronologically diagnostic buckle, sword, and handmade pot.<sup>641</sup>

Approximately fifteen meters east of the wandering soldier and in front of the South Stoa shop wall, an individual (Grave 1950-008) (pl. 94a-c), who was almost certainly male, was buried with an iron knife (MF9458) and an iron light striker with flint (MF13705) in his left hand; all objects had become adhered to one another and were probably originally enclosed within a pouch.<sup>642</sup> The man's arms were extended at his sides. Just as notable as the presence of the knife and light striker are the unusual type and orientation of this grave: Although the excavations notes are scanty, it appears as though the grave was a pit lined on one side by a pre-existing drain, and rather than a typical east-west orientation, the grave assumes a sharply angled southwest-northeast alignment.

South of the previous two graves and within the space of an abandoned latrine, a drain which was re-employed as a tomb (Grave 1937-015-019) (pl. 95c-111a) produced a rich array of mortuary objects including weapons and tools, most of which were first published contextually by Ivison.<sup>643</sup> Seven interments were arranged in three layers; the remains of an eighth

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<sup>641</sup> Davidson initially proposed a late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. date for the grave of the "Wandering Soldier" based on her understanding of the abandonment of the South Stoa in Late Antiquity. Vida and Völling 2000 (p. 35), accept this chronology on the basis of the grave's artifacts, particularly the buckle, while Curta (2005, p. 131) limits the grave to the early 7<sup>th</sup> C. However, while the handmade pot follows the general style of Early and Middle Avar ceramics (late 6<sup>th</sup> to end of 7<sup>th</sup> C.), and the sword could have been manufactured at any point in the century, the buckle was not made before the second third of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. and could date as late as its third quarter.

<sup>642</sup> The height of 1.7 m. noted by excavators strongly suggests that this is the interment of a male. Moreover, the presence of a knife together with a light striker would be extremely unusual for a female burial as far as can be told from the many Late Antique mortuary assemblages in the Balkans, and also Avar cemeteries, in which female burials are sometimes accompanied by knives but not light strikers.

<sup>643</sup> Ivison, 1996

individual, who was probably the last individual buried here within a fourth layer, were found scattered throughout the tomb.<sup>644</sup> To the extent that a preliminary analysis based on five skulls allows, it appears that the occupants were males in their 20s and 30s.<sup>645</sup>

The lowest, first layer consisted of two individuals whose hands were crossed over their pelvises in a manner typical for contemporary Corinth. The southern of these two interments possessed near his waist a partially preserved bronze buckle (MF7078) which seems to be a liberal interpretation of a Byzantine type, and probably also two small, thin bronze rings (MF7077, MF7079), which may have been worn in association with a belt. At the tomb's southwest corner and beside the head of this individual lay a trefoil pitcher (C-37-1400).

Three burials comprise the second layer, which was positioned well east of the first layer so that the heads of the upper interments rested on the abdomens of the pair below them. In a simply rendered excavation notebook sketch, the arms of those buried within the second layer appear to be extended straight at the sides, rather than bent at the elbows. A wide range of finds, including buckles, finger rings, and weapons, many of which lay on the torso area of the deceased, was attributed to this layer by the excavator.<sup>646</sup> Included within these are two spear

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<sup>644</sup> I thank Sherry Fox for her thoughts on the likelihood of these scattered bones belonging to a final burial. The grave's excavator, Oscar Broneer, believed that these bones represented either the first or the last interment, but in published scholarship only the former possibility was considered. As a result, the scattered bones have been interpreted (Vida and Völling 2000, p. 34, following Ivison 1996, p. 117) as a "layer one" which lacks any associated artifacts, whereas the lowest excavated layer, which consists of two skeletons and nearby objects, has confusingly become a "layer two" topped by layers three and four.

<sup>645</sup> A summary of J. Lawrence Angel's analysis of the skulls is noted on this grave's card within Corinth's grave index.

<sup>646</sup> Each individual wore an iron buckle at the waist: two bow buckles (MF7080, MF7081), and a Corinth type buckle. A fourth, iron miniature bow buckle (MF7090) and a short segment of iron chain (MF7086) were probably employed in association with pouches or sheaths, as was a circular iron hook (MF7085c), which probably accompanied the northern burial. Two finger rings, one of iron with a circular bezel (MF7087), and the other of

heads which, to the extent that a notebook illustration makes clear, were strangely placed in the tomb's southwest corner, seemingly directly above the pitcher of the first layer.

Finally, above the second burial layer, and slightly more eastward, a third layer consists of two individuals preserved only from the waist to the feet. Buckles, a knife, and what may be a kind of multi-piece belt strap were associated with their remains.<sup>647</sup> Between the waists of these interments and their feet, the excavator discovered a leaf-shaped spearhead and (MF7097) and a light striker (MF7070), which probably belonged to them or to the individual whose bones were found scattered throughout the tomb and who was probably the very last to be interred. Based on the objects within Grave 1937-015-019, tomb use from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> C. may be identified.<sup>648</sup>

An unresolved question is with whom the massive amount of objects, particularly eight spearheads, which were found in the chest area of the second burial layer and in the tomb's southwest corner, should be associated. Although it has previously been assumed that all of

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bronze with an oval bezel bearing a cruciform monogram (MF7073), were worn by layer two's dead. A total of eight iron spearheads of both conical and leaf-shaped types (MF7082, MF7083, MF7084, MF7094, MF7095a, MF7095b, MF7096, MF7098), two iron knives (MF7069, MF7093), and fragments of one to two iron light strikers (MF7085a-b) were placed upon the upper torsos of those buried within the second layer. As indicated by the excavation notebook (Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 178), an iron ring, which was probably attached to the belt, accompanied the northernmost burial of this layer. The presence of a ring-like iron hook (MF7085c) from some point in this layer suggests that this is indeed the iron ring specified, and was in any case almost certainly worn in conjunction with a belt. Although Ivison additionally attributes two beveled finger rings and a short segment of iron chain (MF7086), all of which are associated with layer II, to this burial, there is no indication from excavation records that they belong to any particular individual.

<sup>647</sup> Both wore iron bow buckles (MF7088, MF7091) at the waist, while a series of three bronze buckles (MF7074, MF7075, MF7076) which lay just below the pelvis of the southern individual was probably suspended from the belt via a strap or cord. The northern individual possessed a knife (MF7068) which, based on its position at waist level, may have been worn within a sheath.

<sup>648</sup> The mid- to late 7th C. date suggested by the pitcher from the lowest layer is confirmed by the fragmentary buckle, which appears to be an interpretation of an indeterminate Byzantine buckle dating after circa 650. Within the second layer, the Corinth type buckle should be placed in the late 7th to 8th C., while the bronze finger ring's cruciform monogram is of a type that did not exist until the end of the 7th C. and could easily belong to the 8th C.

these items were interred along with the three individuals of the second layer, the large quantity of artifacts combined with the lack of skeletal or artifactual remains above waist level for the pair buried within the third layer, and also the absence of any artifacts that can be firmly associated with the final, subsequently scattered, burial, suggest that at least some of the spears and perhaps also other objects be associated with these later interments.<sup>649</sup> It may additionally be suggested that the two spearheads which lay in the tomb's southwest corner, apparently directly above the pitcher of burial layer I and not clearly corresponding to the remains of layer II, are actually to be associated with these lowest, and earliest, burials, and may have been shifted slightly when subsequent burials were made. If so, it is possible that the numerical correlation between the eight individuals and eight spearheads is not a coincidence.

#### West Shops

Within the group of tombs that fronted the West Shops, only one, a well-built cist grave (Grave 1934-014) (pl. 155c-158b), possessed the remains of what appears to be a weapon. In addition to three trefoil pitchers (C-34-1591, C-34-1592, C-34-1593), a pair of now disintegrated silver earrings, a bronze finger ring with cruciform monogram (MF4922), and an uninventoried bronze buckle with cruciform plate, the 12 individuals interred here were accompanied by a cylindrical iron rod (MF6105) which appears to expand at its point of breakage. This rod is best interpreted as a spearhead, which was probably barbed. Given the lack of other weapons in the

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<sup>649</sup> Vida and Völling (2000, p. 34), following Ivison (1996, p. 117). It seems especially probable that some of the spearheads recovered from the torso area of layer two be associated with layer three, the heads of which would have lain in this area. Had the pair buried as layer three been accompanied by spears, this is precisely where one would expect to find the corresponding spearheads.

tomb, and the presence of other artifacts, especially the pitchers, which are not unusual within 7<sup>th</sup> C. mortuary contexts at Corinth and elsewhere, it is likely that the spearhead accompanied a relatively late burial, perhaps in the latter 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> C., which re-used a pre-existing tomb.

## Temple Hill

The final grave from the Forum cemetery which possessed weapons or tools is Grave 1972-020 (pl. 203a-211c), a vaulted chamber tomb located directly west of the Middle Byzantine basilica on Temple Hill.<sup>650</sup> Although this tomb was re-used in connection with the basilica, and also heavily disturbed, one side of its largely destroyed vault shielded a cache of objects including weapons, a light striker, and buckles.<sup>651</sup> The bottom layer of the tomb, which was filled with debris and only a few bones, produced only an iron bow buckle (MF72-92).

Despite the significant disturbance of this grave, its history may be tentatively reconstructed. Following the tomb's erection, probably not after the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of its architecture, one or more phases of Late Antique mortuary use occurred and included the unknown number of individuals buried with weapons and tools in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> C. as demonstrated

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<sup>650</sup> This tomb was published (Robinson 1976) within a preliminary excavation report for Temple Hill without note of the weapons or light striker discovered within it.

<sup>651</sup> Weapons and tools from the cache include four iron spearheads (MF72-80, MF72-81, and two uninventoried), two iron arrowheads (MF72-78 and one uninventoried), a small iron spearhead or arrowhead (MF72-79), shaft fragments of three to four additional polearms (uninventoried), an iron knife (MF72-77), and an iron light striker with attached flint (MF72-82). Buckles consist of an iron Corinth type buckle (MF72-83), two bronze Corinth type buckles (MF72-84, MF72-86), a bronze buckle with insect plate (MF72-85), and a bronze buckle with narrow elongated plate (MF72-87). An iron finger ring with rectangular bezel (MF72-76) and three iron nails were also present in the cache, and may have been joined by what appears to be the bronze trimming of a knife sheath (MF72-88) and also an iron knife with handle and sheath of horn or antler (MF72-91). However, these last two items are not specifically linked to the cache in excavation records and might instead relate to Middle Byzantine use of the tomb.

by both the Corinth type and insect plate buckles. Nearly all of these objects, and probably also most associated bones, were either pushed to the side of the tomb, or exhumed and re-interred, when the debris heavy earth (which included altar screens belonging to the Middle Byzantine church) was dumped at the bottom of the tomb in what may have been a simple cleanup operation.<sup>652</sup> Finally, burials of approximately the 12<sup>th</sup> C. were placed atop both the dumped debris and the cache of Late Antique objects.

## Burials with Weapons and Tools Elsewhere at Corinth

### Kraneion Basilica

Perhaps due in part to the small number of excavated graves of mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. date outside the area of the Forum, only two additional tombs containing weapons and tools, one at the Kraneion Basilica and the other on the upper slope of Acrocorinth, have been uncovered at Corinth. The Kraneion Basilica grave was constructed within one of the basilica's many burial chambers and contained, in addition to an iron light striker, a Syracuse type buckle of the mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C., a small 7<sup>th</sup> to early 8<sup>th</sup> C. buckle with an X on its plate, and four coins, the latest of which were two issues of Constans II (641-668) (pl. 281b).<sup>653</sup> Based on the Syracuse type

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<sup>652</sup> Based on excavation records, it is not completely clear whether the bottom of the object cache lay at the tomb floor, and therefore would have reached its position before the dumping of debris, or if it lay directly above the debris, in which case the cache would represent burials exhumed and then reinterred following the dumping of debris. In theory, these could even be burials exhumed from another tomb which was desired for reuse by Middle Byzantine Corinthians, and relocated here.

<sup>653</sup> Little additional information is presently available on this grave, which was excavated and briefly published by D. Pallas (1981, pp. 298-301, fig. 5). It was the last of four tombs constructed within mausoleum G, a small, rectangular chamber at the southwest corner of the basilica, and its installation seems to have been accompanied by the creation of an additional, narrow entrance to the burial chamber. The buckle with an X on its plate belongs to an extremely common type, and has a low chronology of 600 to circa 675 according to Schulze-Dörrlamm (2009, p.

buckle in addition to the important numismatic evidence, a chronology between 641 and circa 700 can therefore be established for this interment, which seems to have been that of a single individual.<sup>654</sup> Although the location of the buckles within the grave has not been published, the small X-plate buckle almost certainly filled a secondary role, probably the closure of a pouch which could have contained the light striker, whereas the Syracuse type buckle would have secured a belt at the waist.

### Acrocorinth

The other Late Antique grave outside the area of the Forum which contained weapons and tools was one of four tombs, which served as the underpinning for Davidson and Horvath's "The Avar Invasion of Corinth", inserted within and beside the foundations of a tower belonging to Corinth's Classical city wall on the upper northwest slope of Acrocorinth (pl. 282-283). Two tombs (II and III) were installed within the eastern half of the tower's foundations, another (I) was placed due south of the first two at the juncture of the city wall and tower, while a fourth (IV) lay directly south of the tower's southwest corner and appears to be a pit partially lined by stones or blocks rather than the other simple but sturdy cist graves, which slightly modified the pre-existing walls of the tower and city wall.<sup>655</sup>

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189, type D20), while Crimean scholars, most recently Chajredinova (2011, p. 61), offer a high chronology of 650 to the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> C.

<sup>654</sup> While no description of skeletal remains is available, Pallas (1981) consistently refers to the deceased within the tomb in the singular.

<sup>655</sup> These graves were originally published as the centerpiece of Davidson and Horvath's 1937 article, "The Avar Invasion of Corinth". For convenience, I use the published numbers here. The corresponding numbers within Corinth's grave index are Grave 1932-001 and Grave 1932-100, which treat the graves collectively. Based on a

While the burials within all four tombs are of particular interest due to the possibility of their association with the population on Acrocorinth, only Grave II, which possessed the vast majority of finds from this burial cluster and was also the only tomb in which weapons were discovered, is of present importance. Inside it lay the remains of six individuals, at least three of them male, along with an iron pike, a barbed iron spearhead, a leaf-shaped iron spearhead, an iron shaft fragment which may belong to another spear, and the head of an axe or, more likely, a hammer-like tool. Also within this grave were a bronze Bologna type buckle, a simple rectangular iron buckle, and a segment of bronze chain with a ring to which a somewhat cross-shaped iron fragment may have been attached. The Bologna type buckle, dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> C. or perhaps slightly beyond, provides the sole chronological point of reference for the tomb's six interments.<sup>656</sup>

Although the pike head and spearheads are relatively close to examples of these weapons from the Forum cemetery, the "axe head" is a unique object at Corinth and within Late Antique Greece mortuary contexts broadly. Vida and Völling reasonably identify it is a tool, namely an adze or hammer, rather than a weapon; if so, the nearest point of mortuary comparison for what is otherwise a simple and widespread object may be the hammer axes that were only rarely incorporated within Avar burial assemblages.<sup>657</sup>

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detailed excavation notebook plan (fig. 0156.1), Grave IV appears to lie directly south of the tower's southwest corner, rather than its southeast corner, as published (ibid.).

<sup>656</sup> Vida and Völling 2000 (p. 32) place the Bologna buckle, and the grave, in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of conservative dating of this type (Riemer, E. 1995. "Byzantinische Gurtelschnallen aus der Sammlung Diergardt im Romisch-Germanischen Museum Köln." *KölnJahrb* 28: 777-809, (p. 783)), while Crimean scholars have proposed a chronology as late as the 8<sup>th</sup> C. (Aibabin p. 171-172, fig. 2-9).

<sup>657</sup> Vida and Völling 2000 (p. 33); see also Zeiss' (1940, p. 96) early analysis of this object. For axes of all kinds within Avar burials, see Szücsi (2012. "A Kora- És Közép Avar Kori Balták És Fokosok". *Hadak útján XX*.

## Discussion

The weapons present in the Acrocorinth tower grave, the grave of the “wandering soldier”, Grave 1937-15-19, and also Grave 1972-020 are all of types that were (or could have been) used within the Byzantine military, supporting the existing military hypothesis. Other gear, including chain and some belt accessories, sets these burials apart from typical Corinthian burials, while the unexpectedly wide variety of belt buckles is additionally suggestive of individuals who acquired these objects elsewhere or possessed tastes in clothing accessories which, even if they lay largely within the bounds of Byzantine styles, were not entirely local. The highly unusual presence of iron versions of Corinth type buckles may be the result of a local specialty market offering cheap versions of popular accessories to soldiers who could not afford the originals; a bronze Corinth type buckle (MF72-84) which was fashioned at a substandard level may fall into a similar category or be the product of a workshop near the Byzantine frontier, while a fragmentary buckle with openwork plate (MF7078) seems not at all to be a Byzantine production. These burials are additionally notable due to their presence in labor non-intensive tombs that were slightly modified treatments of pre-existing architecture (the Acrocorinth tower, a drain for Grave 1937-015-019) or more elaborately constructed graves that may have been re-used by the military following a period of abandonment (Grave 1972-020, and also Grave 1934-014, which possessed a single spearhead amongst its many interments).

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*Népvándorlásokor Fiatal Kutatóinak XX. Összejövetelének Konferenciakötete Budapest–Szigethalom, 2010. Október 28–30. Budapest. p. 121-137).*

The grave of the “wandering soldier” stands out from the three other graves with weapons due to its single interment, simple but neat construction which re-employed the South Stoa’s paving slabs, the presence of a sword and lack of any spear, the handmade pot at his feet, and the exotic silver and bronze “trinket” along with the piece of amber in his right hand. Such variations may be at least partly attributable to culturally different, or more fully observed, burial practices offered to this individual; they also suggest a comparatively high social status, and perhaps military rank, which arguably permitted this person both to acquire rare and valuable items (in the case of the trinket and amber), and to retain them in the grave along with a fine sword.<sup>658</sup>

These archaeological remains, although substantial, add little to our knowledge of the geographic or ethnic backgrounds of the tombs’ inhabitants. With the exception of the wandering soldier, whose handmade pot, amber, and trinket suggest connections with the Avar world and perhaps farther northeast to the Baltic peninsula and Russia, and also Grave 1937-015-019’s unusual, fragmentary belt buckle (MF7078), which might tentatively be placed within the region of Keszthely on stylistic grounds, most objects are of types that are extremely widespread or generically “Byzantine”, as might be expected for soldiers who probably acquired many of their weapons and clothing accessories from local workshops at Corinth or at their previous military stations.

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<sup>658</sup> Curta (2010, p. 474-475) similarly judges the “wandering soldier” as an individual occupying an exceptional place within a social network. However, assuming that many of the objects accompanying this man were his personal possessions, it is difficult to know the extent to which he or those who buried him chose to emphasize his identity by quoting exotic fashion, as Curta suggests, or buried him, probably according to specific instructions, with objects that he had already acquired by virtue of his high status or cultural self-affiliation. The presence and location of the Avar style pot, an object otherwise unknown in the Peloponnese, suggests an especially close concern for the maintenance of very specific forms of ritual by the wandering soldier’s mourners.

## Atypical Forum Cemetery Burials without Weapons and Tools

While the presence of weapons and tools is the clearest sign of non-indigenous mortuary practice, other Forum cemetery burials possess characteristics, primarily the inclusion of atypical mortuary objects, which are highly unusual when viewed from the perspective of contemporary cemeteries belonging to major Greek sites but sometimes find comparison in burial grounds associated with migratory groups in both the Peloponnese and in Central and Eastern Europe. A survey of these additional graves reveals a far wider range of mortuary variability than is apparent within the weapons graves alone, and importantly includes potential evidence for female interments that casts both the use of the Forum cemetery and Corinth's population in a new light.

Two Forum graves (Grave 1926-002, Grave 1937-008-009) possess multiple glass beads (MF494, MF505, MF6949) (pl. 115a, 198c), which were probably once strung on women's necklaces and should arguably be placed in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of the latest datable beads. Although some beads are of common types present across much of the Mediterranean and Europe, and appear widely in a variety of cemeteries in Central and Eastern Europe, their adornment of the corpse is unexpected within Greek mortuary tradition, in which only single beads occur and are extremely rare.<sup>659</sup>

Similarly, belt rings were probably worn by some inhabitants of Greece in life but did not accompany them in their graves. The appearance of such rings (MF512, MF4809, MF7226) (pl. 114b, 161c, 176b) in up to four Forum tombs (Grave 1925-009, Grave 1926-023, Grave 1934-008, Grave 1937-008-009) better reflects practices occurring broadly in Eastern Europe than

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<sup>659</sup> A single glass bead (MF3684) may additionally have been present within Grave 1934-007.

anything in Late Antique Greece. An iron key (MF7147) (pl. 116a) from Grave 1937-008-009, an object which could have been worn on a belt or kept within a pouch attached to a belt, is paralleled in Greece only by a key of uncertain date from a grave of the basilica at Tigani, and may be similarly considered.

Finger rings present a slightly different picture because they do appear, rarely, in graves at Corinth and other Greek sites during the 6<sup>th</sup> C. and perhaps into the 7<sup>th</sup> C. However, these objects are generally lacking at cemeteries of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. in Greece, and at Corinth their absence in some of the Forum's earliest tombs, including well-built vaulted tombs, suggests that by the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> C. they are no longer included in Corinthian mortuary assemblages. The three finger rings (discarded, Grave 1925-003; MF4931, Grave 1934-004; MF12197, Grave 1965-007) (pl. 150b, pl. 192a) from Forum graves which lack weapons or tools might therefore be better considered within the sphere of the three weapons-bearing graves that contain rings and compare generally with graves possessing rings at Koman and other cemeteries, including the recently excavated grave at Pergamum, which arguably belong to Byzantine soldiers. Grave 1925-003 seems especially likely to be identified as an immigrant burial within the context of Corinth's graves with weapons due to the presence of both a finger ring (discarded) and a belt buckle (MF431a,b), a combination that otherwise occurs only in the site's weapons-bearing graves.<sup>660</sup>

While belt buckles are not unexpected objects within mortuary assemblages of Late Antique Greece, unusual aspects of both form and style for three buckles suggest that they were produced

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<sup>660</sup> The buckle, moreover, is an iron version of a Corinth type belt buckle, other iron versions of which are known only from weapons-bearing graves at Corinth.

near, or well beyond, the boundaries of the Byzantine empire. A bronze buckle (MF7228) (pl. 93d) from Grave 1933-203, which was located circa one meter south of the grave of the “Wandering Soldier” and built in nearly identical fashion, cannot be closely linked to a Byzantine prototype, but instead recalls aspects of 7<sup>th</sup> C. buckles of Nagyharsány type from Keszthely, Hungary and a 7<sup>th</sup> C. strap end mould from Vratsa, Bulgaria. A very close point of comparison in both form and style to the buckles of the Keszthely region is Corinth’s MF7072 (pl. 95a), which was recovered from a Middle Byzantine bothros in the South Stoa. Amongst a variety of objects, some probably broken when they were dumped into the bothros, was an iron knife; both knife and buckle could have belonged to a disturbed grave within the bothros’ immediate vicinity.<sup>661</sup> A 7<sup>th</sup> C. bronze buckle (MF496) (pl. 198a) from a tomb (Grave 1925-009) in the Hemicycle complex possesses a Boly-Želovce type buckle which clearly descends from Byzantine prototypes but demonstrates sufficient variation in both form and decoration to suggest production outside Byzantine workshops, and may perhaps be placed in Central or Eastern Europe in consideration of broadly similar, single piece examples known chiefly from Albania but also found in Slovakia, Hungary, and Ukraine.

Tomb types may additionally serve as possible indicators of the observation of non-local traditions. Unlined, single burial pit graves are practically unknown at the Forum cemetery or elsewhere at Corinth during the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C., yet at the west end of the South Stoa at least four graves follow this format: Eight meters east of Grave 1950-008, a pit grave which included a knife and light striker, a disturbed pit grave (Grave 1937-006) was similarly positioned in front

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<sup>661</sup> Perhaps the disturbed burial was Grave 1937-006, which lay only three meters from the bothros and was preserved from the waist down.

of the South Stoa's shop wall but lacked any objects, while farther west and within the central and northern area of the stoa colonnade lay a group of five pit graves (Grave 1938-003, Grave 1938-004, Grave 1952-001, Grave 1972-010, Grave NB545.067), all without objects but potentially of Late Antique date.<sup>662</sup> Although such a simple tomb type can never be linked securely to the traditions of any specific culture, Avar cemeteries, in which pit graves are extremely common, offer a source of general comparison.

## Discussion

A Byzantine military interpretation could easily fit many of Corinth's burials which lack weapons but possess other characteristics indicative of non-Greek traditions. Graves containing unusual belt buckles, one of which may well have been manufactured in western Hungary, suggest at least slight variations in fashion that fall outside the boundaries of typical Byzantine taste and are probably rooted in personal experience living at or beyond the borders of the empire. The presence of belt rings and finger rings within mortuary contexts might be similarly interpreted, and as objects classes these are two of the most common for "Koman" cemeteries in Albania, along with burial grounds elsewhere, that have been identified as likely cemeteries of Byzantine soldiers guarding strategic points and routes.

However, such an explanation is not the only one for graves that are unusual due to the presence of knives, light strikers, and glass beads, the use of pits rather than built tombs, and

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<sup>662</sup> Grave 1938-004 demonstrates a slight variation in this group through the use of two marble slabs as lining on one side. An additional grave (Grave 1915-003) within the porch of the Southeast Building was essentially a pit grave which partially re-used a pre-existing drain, but this multiple burial tomb seems to have more in common with the multiple burial rock-cut tombs of the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. than any of the pit graves at the west end of the South Stoa.

variations in orientation. For these burials, origins may also be sought in the migratory groups that entered the Peloponnese in the 7<sup>th</sup> C., and perhaps also slightly later, and seem to have settled in its central and western portions. In Byzantine sources, the settlers are almost without exception identified as Slavs, and while at least a small degree of interaction with Greek communities must have occurred, it is clear that significant numbers of these settlers retained separate communities, and identities, until at least the 10<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>663</sup>

Published archaeological remains that appear to belong to such groups are limited and belong primarily to the western Peloponnese. The most well-known case is the “Slavic” cremation cemetery at Olympia, which may have gone into use as early as the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. and certainly received burials during the 8<sup>th</sup>; handmade and wheelmade pots, jewelry, knives and light strikers, and other objects accompanied the thirty-two burials (pl. 284a).<sup>664</sup> Not far away, at Agia Triada, 50 inhumation graves, made in both pits and stone-lined cists, were dug into the sides of the dromoi of Mycenaean chamber tombs around the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C.; five of these graves possessed objects including wheelmade ceramics placed in the vicinity of the feet, jewelry, and knives, while three handmade pots found outside the graves were probably placed on schist cover slabs

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<sup>663</sup> On the textual evidence for Slavs in Greece see generally Curta (2004; 2006, p. 202-203); see also Anagnostakis and Kaldellis 2014. The south Peloponnesian city of Monemvasia lay “in Slawinia terrae” in 723 according to the *Vita Willibaldi* (p. 93), while, writing in the 10<sup>th</sup> C., Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De administrando imperio* 49-50) states with disdain that in 746/7 the entire Peloponnese was “Slavicized and turned barbarian” until a Slavic revolt against Patras was put down in 807/8; subsequent insurrections occurred into the 10<sup>th</sup> C. The Chronicle of Theophanes (6291) mentions a major Byzantine campaign to force the Peloponnesian Slavs to pay tribute in 782/3, which likely resulted in the taking of many Slavic captives. The claim of the unreliable, and late, Chronicle of Monemvasia that Avars conquered, and then occupied, all of the Peloponnese except for its eastern edge from 588 to 805 may be disregarded.

<sup>664</sup> Vida and Völling 2000; Curta 2002

(pl. 253, 256, 284b).<sup>665</sup> A siting within the tumulus of a Mycenaean tomb occurred for two Late Antique cist graves at Pyrgaki Tsouka (Messenia), about which little is known other than the presence of a handmade pot beside the foot of one of the deceased, while at Messene and in the context of a pre-existing cemetery at that site's abandoned Agora, a person who was interred in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. within a tile tent grave wore a Byzantine buckle and received a handmade pot between his knees.<sup>666</sup>

Although all of these burials occurred in the western Peloponnese, it is certain that other immigrant or multi-ethnic burial grounds exist, as evidenced by cemeteries which contained a mix of cremation and inhumation graves along with a large body of artifactual evidence recently discovered in the central Peloponnese at Tripoli during a highway construction project.<sup>667</sup> Handmade pottery discovered at other Peloponnesian sites, some not far from Corinth, might also be indicative of the presence of migratory groups or ascribed to broader, non-ethnically specific trends in ceramic development.<sup>668</sup>

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<sup>665</sup> In her publication of the cemetery's finds, Vikatou (2002) asserts a 7<sup>th</sup> C. chronology based primarily on the ceramics and jewelry. However, the offered parallels for the site's wheelmade ceramics are not especially close, and the handmade pottery could easily date to the 8<sup>th</sup> C. and even as late as the 9<sup>th</sup> (Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, p. 395). A necklace clearly falls within the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. on the basis of its millefiori glass bead and also a bronze barrel-shaped bead (on the latter see Curta 2010, p. 447). Finally, a pair of elaborate bronze earrings has recently been placed in the 10<sup>th</sup> C. (Langó 2011, p. 373); even if such a chronology may be slightly too late, the proposed 7<sup>th</sup> C. date for these earrings is unlikely.

<sup>666</sup> Pyrgaki Tsouka: Vida and Völling, p. 26; Messene: Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1997, p. 304-307

<sup>667</sup> The remains of these cemeteries, which are currently under study, were presented by D. Athanasoulis and his colleagues at the lecture "Oi Slavoi stin Peloponniso: Ta nea stoixeia apo tin anaskafi duo nekrotafeion stin Arkadia (14 February 2014, Athens).

<sup>668</sup> Ibid.

Whatever the identities of these Peloponnesian groups and single individuals, who demonstrate varying mortuary practices and may present some degree of assimilation with Greek communities, they would have passed close to Corinth as they entered the Peloponnese, and if small numbers of these individuals sought markets, employment, or other resources not provided by their own communities or Greek ones within their immediate vicinities, a provincial capital such as Corinth may have offered what they desired. If such persons did come to Corinth from Olympia, Tripoli, or perhaps from undiscovered settlements nearer to Corinth, then the city's burials, especially those with atypical characteristics, might reflect their presence.

At least a few Corinthian burials may be seen in a Peloponnesian light. Should Grave 1950-008, a pit containing a man buried with a knife and light striker, be interpreted as a simplified version of the wandering soldier's grave, perhaps representing a soldier of lower status or different cultural background? Or should this interment (and perhaps other Corinthian pit graves) be regarded within the sphere of more ornate female pit burials (Grave 3 and 15, pl. 284b) accompanied by knives and other objects at Agia Triada, as a partially Christianized or Hellenized person from Olympia who might otherwise have been cremated along with a knife, light striker, and chisel (as Olympia's Grave 11, pl. 284a), or even a non-Greek immigrant Eastern Europe whose role at Corinth might have been something other than a soldier? Whatever his origin, Christianization does seem to explain the Kraneion basilica burial which included two Byzantine belt buckles, multiple coins, and a light striker, but strangely lacked even a knife, which typically accompanies light strikers in the mortuary contexts of Southeastern Europe.

The presence of multiple glass beads, which were probably strung on necklaces, in two Forum graves (Grave 1926-022, Grave 1937-008-009) is strongly suggestive of a non-indigenous female presence; earrings and belt rings within the latter grave confirm the burial of females within it and offer additional evidence for non-indigenous practice. Who were these women, who were not buried together with any weapons-bearing men but in the case of Grave 1937-008-009 were interred almost directly beside them (Grave 1937-015-019)? Were they merely the first local occupants of a tomb re-used by outsiders, local Corinthians who intermarried with immigrants, who then buried them according to their own traditions, or were they from migratory settlements in the Peloponnese, like Olympia and Agia Triada, where necklaces are known in mortuary contexts? In the case of the “wandering soldier”, we may additionally ask if the individual interred beside him in a nearly identical cist grave (Grave 1933-203), and possessing only an unusual buckle at the waist, was a fellow soldier, or his wife.

#### Immigrants and the Development of the Forum Cemetery

A spatial consideration of the full group of immigrant graves, both with and without weapons, provides an enhanced picture of the development of the Forum cemetery and suggests some degree of group self-identification, perhaps across generations. Despite some scattering of graves that break with local tradition on the West Terrace, Temple Hill, the Hemicycle Complex, and the northwest peribolos of Temple E, the vast majority, and nearly all single interments, occur at the west end of the South Stoa, which is home to a majority of Forum burials. This general area of the South Stoa is additionally conspicuous due to the presence of multiple burial graves, including well-built, flat-roofed tombs, but strangely lacks any vaulted tomb, examples

of which are found in nearly every other area of the Forum, and possesses none of the traditional lekythoi that can be linked to the Forum's first burials around the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> C.

Based on these mortuary patterns, it therefore seems that the west end of the South Stoa may have been initially exploited by non-indigenous individuals, probably following slightly earlier mortuary activity at the Forum, in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> C., and continuing into the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> C. Although tombs elsewhere in the Forum were occasionally used or re-used, probably following their abandonment, the west end of the South Stoa remained the primary place where immigrant individuals were buried, accommodating significantly varied tomb types and accompanied by a range of objects, and in some cases perhaps without any goods at all.

Within this space, an unusual pattern in grave distribution is apparent for six built chamber tombs, at least four of them assuming the rare type of flat-roofed chamber tomb, which effectively framed the South Stoa's colonnade and its many burials: At the north edge of the colonnade and slightly beyond, four tombs (Grave 1904-001, Grave 1937-025, Grave 1938-017, Grave 0175.041) lay close to the northern border of this burial cluster, while the most southerly grave in the cluster was a flat-roofed tomb (Grave 1937-008-009) located two meters south of the weapons-rich Grave 1937-015-019 and another flat-roofed tomb (Grave 1937-013). Based on its objects, Grave 1937-008-009 demonstrates clear use in the 8<sup>th</sup> and perhaps also 9<sup>th</sup> C., which is the latest object-based chronology within the cluster, while the suspicious scarcity of objects in the northern row of flat-roofed tombs might also be indicative of an especially late chronology in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> C. If so, those interred within the flat-roofed tombs could have regarded themselves as the descendants, whether by blood or as part of a perceived shared identity as non-Greek immigrants, of the "wandering soldier" and others who were laid

accordingly to varied traditions within the space of the stoa's colonnade.<sup>669</sup> These later individuals arguably found enough success to construct architecturally ambitious tombs which recalled the vaulted tombs already in existence at the Forum cemetery, but which for reasons of economy or perhaps aesthetic sensibility were endowed with roofs of spolia rather than brick- or stone-built vaults.

### Conclusion: Space, Integration, and Status

Topographically and socially, the immigrant burials in the Forum cemetery, and also the single immigrant in the Kraneion basilica, offer perspectives significantly different from those of the interments in the Acrocorinth tower. The tower burials, along with a small number of additional graves of Late Antique date on the summit and upper slope of Acrocorinth, are most easily linked to the garrison defending the mountain and might be read as the conveniently located, relatively simple graves of individuals of varied ethnicities who lived and died at Corinth within specific, and limited, professional and social spheres.

The Forum cemetery, in contrast, seems to have been a typical, non-elite mortuary area which was put to a modest degree of use by the general Corinthian community due to its abandoned status and close proximity to the protected Late Antique city. By burying at the Forum, Corinth's immigrants thus inserted themselves within a mortuary fabric which was socially far broader than that of the Acrocorinth graves and suggestive of some degree of integration within the greater Corinthian community. Additionally, the varied objects and tomb types of the

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<sup>669</sup> Grave 1937-008-009 is, admittedly, the only flat-roofed tomb containing objects linked to non-indigenous tradition. In theory, the other tombs of the same type could have been employed by ordinary Corinthians who chose to bury here.

Forum, and the presence of female burials, raise the possibility that not all of these immigrants were Byzantine soldiers or their family members; some might have reached Corinth from their own communities in the Peloponnese. Despite the presence of an invocative cruciform monogram on the finger ring of one individual, it also cannot be assumed that all of these individuals were Christian, which may have further made the Forum, where no contemporary church has yet been identified, a setting attractive in its religious openness.

In contrast socially and perhaps also religiously, the person buried with a light striker and other items at the Kraneion basilica, and for whom an additional doorway was created within a pre-existing burial chamber, seems to have held a relatively elite, and certainly Christian, status. His interment is the only known church burial for an immigrant within southern Greece, an absence which may be indicative of non-elite roles for the majority of immigrants, whatever their origins, but may also reflect the success of others, whose remains became archaeologically invisible as they found ways to advance themselves socially and adopted the fashions and rituals of their new home.<sup>670</sup>

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<sup>670</sup> The nearest point of geographic comparison for the Kraneion basilica burial is a chamber tomb at Nea Anchialos' Basilica D, where a group of individuals was buried wearing a mix of Byzantine and exotically styled clothing accessories. For a summary of the evidence, and one possible interpretation, see Curta (2005).

## CONCLUSION

Two competing strains of thought on Late Antique urbanism, and more broadly, society, debate its continuity with a Classical Greco-Roman past, and see either a relatively smooth, continuous evolution, or a decline and ultimately a rupture with tradition. The same perspectives might easily be turned to mortuary practices at Corinth, which, as demonstrated within this dissertation, offer numerous signals of both continuity and change, the latter occasionally appearing dramatically within the archaeological record.

The old Greco-Roman cemeteries appear to be heavily used until the 6th C., when burial grounds like the Lerna Court area, which are adjacent to them but on the terrace above and within the line of the Classical city wall, appear to become, for slightly more than a century, the primary places of burial at Corinth. The breakdown in old conceptions of city limits, eventually confirmed architecturally by the erection of a 6th C. city wall, are made even more clear by small clusters of 5th and early 6th C. burials on the north slope of Acrocorinth, scattered burials well to the west of the contracted Late Antique city, and well to its east in the area of the Kraneion Basilica. Burial within Christian basilicas was itself a new phenomenon, beginning with a small group of clergy and elite individuals in the 6th C. at the Kodratus Basilica, and followed by graves that appear to be of the 7th C. at the Kraneion Basilica and at the small basilica on Acrocorinth. The former two basilicas, notably, lay in the district of Greco-Roman cemeteries. The Late Antique city wall, although before the end of the 6th C. serving as a new boundary line at the exterior of which dense mortuary zones sometimes developed, occupied much the same role which had been played for centuries by the Classical city wall, serving as both a marker of

the extent of the community of the living and a magnet for the graves which, at about the same time as the abandonment of the cemeteries close to the Classical wall in the early to mid-7th C., began to be laid within the new city wall's immediate periphery in mortuary zones that would endure into the 9th C.

Tomb typologies are remarkably conservative. Arguably following the use of 6th C. rock-cut vaulted tombs, by the early 7th C. at latest fully built versions appeared in imitation of current styles in northern Greece. This remained a premier tomb type into the Middle Byzantine period, and incorporated minor but chronologically diagnostic variations in architecture. The vaulted tomb also seems to have inspired the creation of somewhat cheaper flat-roofed tombs with entry shafts in the late 7th or 8th C. Cists were used continually throughout Late Antiquity and, especially in the 7th and 8th C., were increasingly built with large spolia blocks as the primary material. However, their rock-cut counterparts, along with rock-cut versions of vaulted tombs, completely disappear after the early to mid-7th C. Infant amphora burials also seem to disappear by the 8th C., although the primary cause may be changes in amphora types. The humble tile tent grave, in contrast, appears to exist with little variation from the 4th C. to the 9th, and probably beyond.

Throughout Late Antiquity, jewelry and personal clothing accessories are relatively scarce, nearly disappearing by the 9th C., while pottery is deposited at a much higher frequency during the 6th to early or mid-7th C. The early pots, dominated by lekythoi and also including significant quantities of pitchers and some other jugs, and which themselves stand apart from the broader range of vessels which was deposited into the 5th C., are eventually superseded by a far lesser body of ceramics, primarily pitchers, from around the mid-7th C. until the deposition of

vessels virtually vanish in the 8th C. The latest terra cotta lamps, ubiquitous objects for relatively early Late Antique graves, are likewise deposited no later the middle of the 7th C.

A striking development in the mid- to late 7th C. is the introduction of weapons, along with iron light strikers, into mortuary assemblages at the Forum and occasionally elsewhere. Rather than belonging to any local evolution in mortuary ritual, however, the presence of these objects appears to reflect the introduction of one or more groups of people from outside the Greek world, whether from a range of individuals serving in the Byzantine army or perhaps also persons who lived within "Slavic" or multi-ethnic settlements in the Peloponnese. At Corinth, they were at least partially integrated within the mortuary landscape and presumably also society at large.

How should these complex developments, and, in some cases, strong conservatism, be interpreted from the question of Late Antique continuity? It is first apparent that significant change did occur, perhaps most demonstrably in the early to mid-7th C. abandonment of cemeteries that were close to the old Greco-Roman burial grounds, and changes in deposited pottery and lamps at about the same time. However, these apparent breaks with the past may be more artifacts of broader processes than components of mortuary practices which were experienced in vastly new ways: The Late Antique city wall played a similar role to the old one in separating the living from the dead, pottery may have occupied a familiar place within the majority of mortuary ritual before its disposal outside of the grave rather than inside it (as had almost certainly been a ritual variant in preceding centuries, and is still sometimes the case in modern Greece), and glass lamps or candles almost certainly replaced their ceramic counterparts, which ceased to be produced at this time.

While the sudden appearance of non-Greek immigrants who buried with weapons catches the eye of the archaeologist, if some of these individuals were soldiers they would have resided at Corinth, a city which had always received travelers from near and far, within a military role occupied largely by outsiders for centuries. Cremation burials like those of the "Slavic" cemetery at Olympia, or the presence of a nearby settlement belonging to such persons, would carry with them an entirely different meaning, but in the absence of evidence for either of these possibilities it seems that, at most, limited numbers of individuals from settlements farther afield journeyed to Corinth, where they were buried according to customs that deviate only a little from local practice to the extent that archaeology can reveal.

Thus, although Corinth's mortuary sphere demonstrates many small changes, and some larger ones, over the course of the three centuries documented within this dissertation, no single major shift may be recognized, and continuity, sometimes following a subtly evolving course, is nearly always apparent. Such might be expected of the typically conservative place of mortuary practices within society; 1200 years later much, but certainly not all, of contemporary ritual in Greece would still be legible to Late Antique Corinthians.

Decline, whether in a social or specifically material sense, is a more problematic question to ask of Corinth's graves. The disappearance of imported fine ware pottery within graves of the mid-7th C. and later is a byproduct of both contractions in some large scale trade networks and, within southern Greece, the abandonment of fine ware production at sites in Boeotia, Attica, and elsewhere that surely continued some degree of trade with the provincial, and subsequently thematic, capital of Corinth. The increasing use of large spolia blocks within tomb constructions, especially in the late 7th C. and beyond, along with a corresponding drop in brick

masonry, may have resulted in somewhat less expensive tombs, although these trends probably reflect broader trends in building techniques than any specific economization of the mortuary sphere. At any rate, the latest tombs, belonging to the 8th and perhaps 9th C., are certainly well-built and include multiple examples of the relatively complex vaulted tomb type and flat-roofed variants. Jewelry and clothing accessories are more difficult to access because many, and perhaps most, examples of the mid-7th to 8th C. clearly originate in tombs used by non-Greek immigrants which cannot be assumed to broadly reflect contemporary Corinthian practice. The nearly complete absence of such objects (and also pottery) in probable 8th to 9th C. tombs located in the Forum's Julian Basilica and Peirene Fountain suggests that, with extremely rare exceptions, these occasional mortuary artifacts of the 6th C. ceased to be deposited. This "poverty" of the mortuary archaeological record need not indicate a corresponding poverty in local society, however: The absence of jewelry and clothing accessories might in contrast be seen as both a marker of social stability, and also an increasingly uniform mortuary ritual which may reflect the more homogenous beliefs of what was by this time a nearly completely Christian population.

Whatever the reasons for the changes in burials practices at Corinth from the 6th to the 8th C., similar trends are evident at major cities with which Corinth compares best. By the 6th C. at latest the first graves were built outside Athens' contracted post-Herulian wall and within abandoned districts inside Thessaloniki's city wall, while before the end of the 7th C. these cities' Greco-Roman extramural burial grounds had been abandoned. Northern Greece, and probably Thessaloniki specifically, appears to have offered models for the vaulted tombs which arrived at Corinth (and Athens) no later than the early 7th C. Although some versions of circa 6th C.

Corinthian rock-cut tombs are best paralleled at the nearby fortress at Isthmia, the lack of vaulted tombs at that site, and the relatively coarse construction methods applied to many of its graves, demonstrates that within a very limited area a significant difference could exist between graves at a metropolis and a far lesser site. Athens' late 6th to early 7th C. mortuary ceramic assemblages, which include numerous lekythoi, are especially close to those at Corinth, as is pottery from multiple sites, including minor ones, in the northeast Peloponnese and Boeotia, which likely supplied Corinth with imports. Comparanda for jewelry and clothing accessories are known from the same sites, and also from graves at the nearby fortress at Isthmia. Athens provides further close comparison in the mid- to late 7th C., when coarse pitchers are deposited with increasing scarcity, and a small number of mould-made belt buckles testify to the survival of long-distance trade networks. Other belt buckles, with date ranges extending into the 8th C., are known from graves at widely distributed sites of some significance, including Samos and Eleutherna, although the continuing 7th C. deposition of large numbers of ceramics, many of types unknown at Corinth, testifies to the regional variation that could occur at two distanced sites that broadly partook of the same culture. Contemporary burials at minor and rural sites are more problematic to assess due to a lack of detailed publication and perhaps also a much more limited incorporation of datable objects than occurred at major urban centers: If the 6th to mid-7th C. cemetery at Halieis (modern Porto Cheli) in the central eastern Peloponnese serves as any example, such communities buried in extremely simple graves within which pottery or items of personal adornment are extremely scarce. 8th C. comparisons are far more difficult due to what appears to be a greatly diminished amount of mortuary artifacts generally, the continuity of some objects, most notably belt buckles, from the latter 7th C. into the 8th, and, with very rare

exceptions, a lack of good publication for cemeteries that have been assigned to this period at Athens and Thessaloniki. The ability to date an unusually large number of graves to the 8th to 9th C. at Corinth is due in part to the presence of immigrants, at least some probably soldiers in the Byzantine army, who tended to bury with far richer assemblages, including jewelry and clothing accessories which in some cases probably originated at great distances from Corinth, than did ordinary Corinthians. Although such persons were presumably also stationed at other strategic locations in Greece, their presence within Corinth's mortuary record testifies to the continued significance accorded to this city which stood at the crossroads of land and water.

**APPENDIX A**  
Lerna Court Area Cemetery  
Lerna Court-Asklepieion Mortuary Zone

Grave 1931-024

Plates: 53a-b

Area: Asklepieion, north

Grid: 22-23:UU-TT

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.7, W. 0.8, H. 0.8

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: Outside grave: tombstone I-1019 = Kent 522; terra cotta lamp CL2908 as Bailey 1988, no. 3116-3148, 6<sup>th</sup> C.; terra cotta lamp 046. In grave entrance shaft: uninventoried terra cotta lamp

Interments: 4

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 64, 68, 77

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 64, 66, 68, 79

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-025

Plates:

Area: Asklepieion, north

Grid: 23-24:UU-TT

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: terra cotta lamp L3032

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 64

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 79

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-026

Plates: 54a-55a

Area: Asklepieion, north

Grid: 30-31:TT

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.1, W. 1.25, H. 0.9

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: Near grave: terra cotta lamp L-2645 (B28); on top of grave: terra cotta lamp L-3025 (B31) on top; within grave: partly slipped one-handed globular mug C-32-22 = C-31-60, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian example in Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-17.

Interments: 5

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 64, 67, 69, 72,77  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 64, 70, 79  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1931-028  
Plates: 55b-56a  
Area: Asklepieion, north  
Grid: 32-34:SS-TT  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions: L. 2.1, W. 1.5  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects: cylindrical lekythos C-31-59, generally like 6<sup>th</sup> C. example from Corinth's Demeter and Kore Sanctuary (Slane 2008, p. 481 no. 276) but rougher form and shorter neck lekythos 276=C-72-57 but rougher form and shorter neck  
Interments: 2  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 64, 78, 88, 92  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 79, 88  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1931-029  
Plates: 56b-57a  
Area: Asklepieion, north  
Grid: 34-36:SS-TT (34-35:UU as drawn)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.9, W. 1.3  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects: coarse tall pitcher C-31-58, probably slightly later than late 6<sup>th</sup> C. example (Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-40), and late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa cave (Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183 στ)  
early 7<sup>th</sup> C.  
Interments: 2 (1 adult, 1 subadult)  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 64, 92  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 79, 90  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1931-030  
Plates: 57b  
Area: Asklepieion, north  
Grid: 36-37:SS-TT or 36-37:UU as drawn on two plans  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions: L. 2.1, W. 1.1  
Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 2 (adults)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 96

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 79, 96

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-031

Plates: 58a-59c

Area: Asklepieion, north

Grid: 26-29:SS-UU

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.85, W. 0.85 (mortared rubble mound: L. 2.5, W. 1.1, H. 0.3)

Tomb architectural details: mortared rubble mound at surface

Objects: Outside grave: tombstone I-1021 = Kent 531; tombstone I-1020 = Kent 552; at west side of mortared rubble mound: imitation North African terra cotta lamp L-3037; imitation North African terra cotta lamp L-3074; circular terra cotta lamp L-3092; within grave: uninventoried terra cotta lamp

Interments: 1 (adult)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 77, 92, 94

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 76, 77, 80, 94, 95

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-032

Plates:

Area: Asklepieion, north

Grid: 27-28:TT-UU or 28-28:UU-VV as drawn on two plans

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.8, W. 0.8

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 110

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 79

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-033

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, East

Grid: 1:K

Elevation: 1.5 below Asklepieion terrace

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: H. 0.4

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 155

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 155

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-034 (north chamber tomb)

Plates: 59d

Area: Asklepieion, west

Grid: 4-5:H-J

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: north and south chamber tombs share common upper entrance chamber (L. 1.0, W. 1.7, H. 0.9)

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 158, 161

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 161, 162

Photographs:

Dissertation plates:

Publication:

Grave 1931-034 (south chamber tomb)

Plates:

Area: Asklepieion, west

Grid: 4-5:H-J

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: north and south chamber tombs share common upper entrance chamber (L. 1.0, W. 1.7, H. 0.9)

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 158, 161

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 161, 162

Photographs:

Dissertation plates:

Publication:

Grave 1931-195

Plates:

Area: Lerna, east

Grid: 2:B

Elevation: .30 to .60 above Lerna Court east

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.1, H. 0.35

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 167  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Dissertation plates:  
Publication:

Grave 1931-196  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna, east  
Grid: 2:C  
Elevation: .30 to .60 above Lerna Court east  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.1, H. 0.35  
Tomb architectural details:

Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 167  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Dissertation plates:  
Publication:

Grave 1931-197  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna, east  
Grid: 1:E  
Elevation: .30 to .60 above Lerna Court east  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.1, H. 0.35  
Tomb architectural details:

Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 167  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Dissertation plates:  
Publication:

Grave 1931-198  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna, east  
Grid: 1:H  
Elevation: .30 to .60 above Lerna Court east  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.1, H. 0.35  
Tomb architectural details:

Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 167  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Dissertation plates:  
Publication:

Grave 1931-199

Plates:  
Area: Lerna, east  
Grid: 1:L  
Elevation: 1.5 above Lerna Court east  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.1, H. 0.35  
Tomb architectural details:

Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 167  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Dissertation plates:  
Publication:

Grave 1931-040

Plates: 60b-61c  
Area: Asklepieion, west  
Grid: 4:D  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:

Objects: within or near grave: tombstone I-1036 = Kent 524, tombstone I-1037 = Kent 531; within grave: coarse cylindrical lekythos C-32-309; coarse cylindrical lekythos C-32-310; partly slipped piriform lekythos C-32-311, close to example from Corinth's Gymnasium mortuary zone (Wiseman 1967b, pl. 87c); coarse cylindrical lekythos C-32-312; slipped globular lekythos C-32-313, close to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example (Tzavella 2010, fig. 2 A 8130), Corinthian example from Gymnasium mortuary zone (Wiseman 1967a, pl. 15.1); coarse cylindrical lekythos C-32-314

Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 173; Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 94  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4; Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 94  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1931-041

Plates: 60a  
Area: Asklepieion, west  
Grid: 3:F

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: At entrance: tombstone I-1038 = Kent 563; within tomb: coarse cylindrical lekythos C-31-62

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 169, 173

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 94

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-042

Plates: 61d

Area: Asklepieion, west

Grid: 5:B

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: coarse cylindrical lekythos: C-31-61

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 173

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 173

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-043

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, northeast

Grid: 4:B

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 175

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-044

Plates:

Area: Asklepieion, west

Grid: 6-7:B

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: tomb is partly cut in the yellow clay layer beneath the rock cap and constructed of tiles and stones at the west end, where the entrance is covered by a slab

Objects: 2 uninventoried terra cotta lamps

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 181, 185, 196

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 185

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-045

Plates: 61d

Area: Asklepieion, west

Grid: 6-7:B

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.7, W. 0.70-0.90, H. 1.00; entrance shaft: L. ca. 0.60, W. ca. 0.60

Tomb architectural details: tomb is partly cut in the yellow clay layer beneath the rock cap and constructed of tiles and stones at the west end, where the entrance is covered by a slab

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 181, 185

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-046

Plates:

Area: Asklepieion, north

Grid: 11:A (9-10:B-C as drawn)

Elevation: rock surface

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: northernmost of two graves sharing common entrance chamber

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 173

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-047

Plates:

Area: Asklepieion, north

Grid: 11:A (9-10:B-C as drawn)

Elevation: rock surface

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: southernmost of two graves sharing common entrance chamber

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 173

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-48

Plates: 62b-63c

Area: Asklepieion, west

Grid: 11:QQ

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.2, W. 0.80, H. 0.80; entrance shaft: L. ca. 0.80, W. ca. 0.80

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: trefoil pitcher C-31-52, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa cave (Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183 α); cylindrical lekythos C-31-53; cylindrical lekythos C-31-54; cylindrical lekythos C-31-55; trefoil pitcher C-31-56, as C-31-52; lower body of slipped piriform lekythos C-31-57, generally like 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Boiotian example (Chamilaki 2010, pl. 4 ΜΣΧ 3489)

Interments: 6

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p.185

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 185

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-049

Plates: 63d

Area: Asklepieion, west

Grid: 12:RR (11-12:QQ-RR as drawn)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: round-mouth pitcher C-31-500, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa cave (Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183 θ) and Athenian example (H. S. Robinson 1959, N:10) dated to the early 7<sup>th</sup> C. but perhaps actually of the mid-late 7<sup>th</sup> C.

Interments: 1

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 196

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 185

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-050

Plates: 64a

Area: Asklepieion, west

Grid: 12:SS

Elevation: rock surface

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: partly slipped piriform lekythos C-31-64, generally like 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Boiotian example (Chamilaki 2010, pl. 4 MΣX 3489)

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 184

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-052

Plates:

Area: Asklepieion, north

Grid: 41:TT

Elevation: rock surface

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 0.75, H. 0.85

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 199

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4, 202

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-053

Plates:

Area: Asklepieion, north

Grid: 41:UU

Elevation: rock surface

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 0.75, H. 0.85

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: Tombstone I-1049 = Kent 561

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 199

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1931-054

Plates:

Area: Asklepieion, north

Grid: 41:VV

Elevation: rock surface

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 0.75, H. 0.85

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 199

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-002

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 41:Aa (40-41:Aa as drawn)

Elevation: top course of city wall = colonnade stylobate level

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9, W. 0.4

Tomb architectural details: 4 yellow tiles; measured tile is 0.45 X .040

Objects:

Interments: 1, subadult

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 12

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4, 12, 14

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-003

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 39:Aa (39-40:Aa as drawn)

Elevation: top course of city wall = colonnade stylobate level

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9

Tomb architectural details: 1 red cover tile, 1 yellow side tile

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 12

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4, 12, 14

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-004

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 33:ZZ

Elevation: circa .20 above top course of city wall = circa .20 above colonnade stylobate level

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.7

Tomb architectural details: side tiles are 0.55 X 0.35-0.40; rectangular tiles at ends

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 17

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4, 14, 17

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-005

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 34:YY (33-34:YY as drawn)

Elevation: on southwest corner of Grave 1932-004

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L 1.4

Tomb architectural details: tiles are red and yellow; cover tile; rectangular tile at one end

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 17

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4, 14, 17

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-006

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 30-31:YY-ZZ

Elevation: same elevation as Grave 1932-005

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles; side tiles (0.85 X 0.30); tiles at both ends

Objects:

Interments: 1

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 17

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4, 14, 17

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-007

Plates: 64b

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 24:M (24-25:M as drawn)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.5, H. 0.5

Tomb architectural details: 2 cover tiles; 4 side tiles

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 25

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4, 25

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-008

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 6-7:SS (6-7:RR-SS as drawn)

Elevation: slightly lower than Grave 1932-009

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. ca. 1.1

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 29

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-009

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 9-10:UU (9-10:TT-UU as drawn)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.4

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 1

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 21, 29

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-010

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 29:D-E (29-30:D-E as drawn)

Elevation: on top surviving course of abaton wall

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.1

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 35

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-011

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: 28:G-H  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.1  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 35  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-012

Plates:  
Area: Asklepieion, west  
Grid: 13:XX (12-13:XX on plan)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: rock-cut grave (unlined rectangular cutting?)  
Tomb dimensions: L. circa 0.8 as drawn  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 35  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-013

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: 28:M (27-28:M)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.0 as drawn  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 36  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-014

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: K-L:27  
Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.0 as drawn  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 36  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-015  
Plates: 64c  
Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: 32:E  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.3 as drawn  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects: "near grave": terra cotta lamp CL2691, generally like Karivieri 1996, no. 170, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 6<sup>th</sup> C.  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 36  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-016  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: 32:F  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.3 as drawn  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 36  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-018  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: 27-28:O  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.5  
Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 39

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-019

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 26:L (25-27:L as drawn)

Elevation: 0.7 below lowest course of church

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.5, H. 0.5

Tomb architectural details: tiles: 0.8 X 0.7; floor: a stone

Objects:

Interments: 1 adult

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 40

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-020

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 27-28:L

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.0, H. 0.5

Tomb architectural details: cover tile, 2 end tiles; 1 side tile

Objects:

Interments: 1 subadult

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 40

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-023

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 37:H (35-37:H-J as drawn)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.4 as drawn

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 62

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-024

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: 38:L (38-39:L as drawn)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 62  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-034

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: 33:H (G-H:32-33 as drawn)  
Elevation: 0.1-0.2 above pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.6, W. 0.4  
Tomb architectural details: red and yellow tiles with concentric gouged marks  
Objects: uninventoried bronze earring  
Interments: 1  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 75  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-035

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: 33-34:K (33:H-J as drawn)  
Elevation: 0.1-0.2 above pavement; top is 1.4 below top of Grave 1932-032  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.9 as dawn  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments: 1  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 75  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-036

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 30-31:J

Elevation: 0.5 above pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.7

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles present; tiles are .8 long

Objects: uninventoried broken "jug" (unguentarium?)

Interments: 1

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 75

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4, 75

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-037

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, south

Grid: 39-40:R-T

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: Within "room": tombstones I-1093 = Kent 548; I-1094 = Kent 536

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 77, 113

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 78, 113

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: Grave is unusually described as skeleton found in "small room, of which the roof is made by a fallen block of rock." If this space was indeed built for the burial, it is likely to be associated with the nearby chapel at the southeast corner of Lerna Court and consequently of Middle Byzantine or later date. Otherwise the walls of the room may have been built over a pre-existing Late Antique grave, perhaps originally made using the tile tent type.

Grave 1932-038

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 34-36:YY

Elevation: on pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 77

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-039

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 34-36:YY

Elevation: top of city wall = colonnade stylobate

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.9

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 77

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-040

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 34-35:XX

Elevation: top of city wall = colonnade stylobate

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 78

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-041

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 35-36:G

Elevation: slightly above pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.55

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 78

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-043

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 35-36:WW

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: "small"

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 80

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-044

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 39-40:ZZ

Elevation: top course of city wall = colonnade stylobate level

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.8

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 80, 83

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4, 80

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-045

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 39-40:ZZ

Elevation: slightly below pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 80

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4, 80

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 0126.081

Plates: 64d

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 29:XX  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: Gaza type amphora  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.8, max. diam. 0.28  
Tomb architectural details: amphora broken at mouth  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 81  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 81  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-046  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: 30:UU  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.7 as drawn  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 81  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-047  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 37:ZZ (37-38:YY-ZZ as drawn)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.3 as drawn  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 81  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-048  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 37:WW  
Elevation: top course of city wall = colonnade stylobate level  
Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9  
Tomb architectural details: "cement" covers top of grave  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 83  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-049  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 35:SS (34-36:SS as drawn)  
Elevation: 0.1 above pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.2  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 83  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-050  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 38-39:WW  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 85  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-051  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 38-39:VV  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.7  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 85

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-052

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 30-31:L

Elevation: 0.2 above pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.6

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 91

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-053

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, east

Grid: 34:G (33-34:G as drawn)

Elevation: 0.2 above pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.8

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 91

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-057

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, south

Grid: 40:H (39-40:H as drawn)

Elevation: 0.7 below pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 94, 98

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1932-074

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 41:ZZ (41-42:ZZ as drawn)

Elevation: 0.2 above city wall = 0.2 above colonnade stylobate level

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.0

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 115

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-075

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 42-43:ZZ

Elevation: height of city wall = colonnade stylobate level

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.8

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 115

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1932-076a

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 49-50:XX

Elevation: on pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.8

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 115

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-003

Plates: 65a

Area: Lerna Court, northwest

Grid: 54:WW (53-55:WW as drawn)

Elevation: on pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.7, W 0.5

Tomb architectural details: 3 cover tiles, 2 tiles on each side, tiles at each end

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 9

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 10, 14

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-004

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, northwest

Grid: 56-57:WW (XX:53-55 as drawn)

Elevation: 0.3 below pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: 1.4 or 1.7

Tomb architectural details: 3 cover tiles, 2 tiles on each side

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 9

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-005

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, northwest

Grid: 55-56:UU

Elevation: 0.2 below pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.8 or 0.9

Tomb architectural details: 2 cover tiles (L. 0.8), one above the other

Objects: Bronze coin 1933-16 (early Roman) within grave cutting

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 11, 13

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-006

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 51-52:XX (51-53:XX as drawn)  
Elevation: 0.3 below pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.8  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 9  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-007

Plates:  
Area:  
Grid: 58:VV (58-59:VV as drawn)  
Elevation: 0.3 below pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.7  
Tomb architectural details: 3 cover tiles, 2 tiles on each side, 1 end tile, large stone at other end  
Objects: uninventoried terra cotta lamp within grave cutting  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 11, 13, 16  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-008

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 59-60:UU  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.1  
Tomb architectural details: 2 cover tiles, 2 tiles on each side, 2 end tiles  
Objects: uninventoried "little bronze hook" on tomb  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 11, 13  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-009

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 59-60:TT  
Elevation: on pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.5  
Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on north side, 2 tiles on south side  
Objects: terra cotta lamp L2622 south of tomb and at same elevation (in cutting?) (could not be found in museum)  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 11  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-010

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 57-58:SS  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L.1.2, H. 0.5  
Tomb architectural details: 2 overlapping tiles (L. 0.81) on each side  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 12  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-011

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 42-43:YY  
Elevation: 0.4 below pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: 0.9 to 1.0 long  
Tomb architectural details: 1 cover tile (covering half of tomb construction), 1 tile on each side, 1 tile at end  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 12  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-012

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 56-57:TT  
Elevation: 0.4 below pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.3 or 1.5  
Tomb architectural details: 2 cover tiles, 2 tiles on each side, 1 tile at each end  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 12, 13  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-013  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 59-60:VV  
Elevation: 0.6 below pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.65 or 1.85, H. 0.35  
Tomb architectural details: 3 cover tiles, 2 tiles on each side, 1 tile at end, rough stones at 1 end  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 13  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 14  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-014  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 62:UU  
Elevation: 0.10 below pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L.0.6 or 0.9  
Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side, 1 tile at each end  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 13  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-016  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 61:VV  
Elevation: 0.10 below pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: 0.9  
Tomb architectural details: 2 cover tiles, 1 tile on each side, 1 tile at each end  
Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 17

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-017

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, northwest

Grid: 62:TT

Elevation: on pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.6

Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side?

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 13

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-018

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, northwest

Grid: 61-62:RR

Elevation: 0.20 below pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.7

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 13

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4, 14

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-019

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 44-45:WW

Elevation: on pavement

Tomb type: amphora within tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.6

Tomb architectural details: 1 tiles on each side?

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 25

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4

Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-021

Plates: 56c  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 46:WW  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: Gaza type amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.77, max. W. 0.25, W. of mouth 0.5  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 25  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:  
Comments: mouth of amphora at west

Grave 1933-022

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 42-43:XX  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.65  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 25  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-023

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 45:XX  
Elevation: 0.30 below pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. (grave cutting) 1.3, W. 0.35  
Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side, 1 end tile by feet  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 31  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-024

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 43:VV-WW

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 31

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-025

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 46:VV

Elevation: on pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.95, W. 0.4, H. 0.4

Tomb architectural details: 1 tile each side, tile at each end.

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 31

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-026

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 46-47:UU

Elevation: on pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.95, W. 0.6, H. 0.35

Tomb architectural details: 3 cover tiles, 2 tiles on each side, end tile at feet.

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 32

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-027

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 46:TT  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.92  
Tomb architectural details: 1 tile at side (only 1 side preserved)  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 32  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-028  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 46:SS  
Elevation: 0.10 above pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.8, H. 0.45  
Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 32  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-029  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 47:SS  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.65  
Tomb architectural details: mouth of amphora at west, beneath amphora a thin layer of plater  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 33  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-030  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 48-49:WW  
Elevation: on pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.35, W. 0.5, W. 0.4  
Tomb architectural details: yellow tiles on sides, red tiles at ends  
Objects: uninventoried fragmentary earring  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 33  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-031

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 50:WW  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 33  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-032

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 50:XX  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 33  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-034

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 51:QQ  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions: L 0.7  
Tomb architectural details: mouth at west

Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 40  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-035

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 54:VV  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions: max. preserved L. 0.70  
Tomb architectural details: broken mouth at east, mouth closed by a tile secured by two stones  
Objects:

Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 40  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-036

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 53:VV  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions: max. preserved L. 0.70  
Tomb architectural details: mouth at west, mouth closed by an amphora sherd  
Objects:

Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 40  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-037

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 54:UU  
Elevation: on pavement  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: mouth at west  
Objects:

Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 40

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-040

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, north

Grid: 48-49:TT

Elevation: 0.4 above pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.0

Tomb architectural details: 2 cover tiles, 1 tile on each side, 2 tiles at ends

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 42

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-41

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, northwest

Grid: 61-63:QQ

Elevation: 0.2 above pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L 1.8

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, side tiles, end tiles

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 40

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-044

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, northwest

Grid: 58-59:WW-XX (59-60:YY as drawn)

Elevation: 0.7 below pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.6

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 40

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-045

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 60:O

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 40

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-049

Plates:

Area: entry area for Reservoirs IV, V

Grid: 62:O

Elevation: .7 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.8

Tomb architectural details: mouth at west, closed by stone

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 40

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: amphora is directly above Grave 1933-091

Grave 1933-050

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 58:R

Elevation: 0.6 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: mouth at north

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 45

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-051

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, south

Grid: 41:N

Elevation: .5 above stoa floor

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions: ext. 0.65 X 0.50, int. 0.45, H. 0.15

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: "bones of a child"

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 45

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: grave unusually described as "sarcophagus"

Grave 1933-052

Plates:

Area: entry area for Reservoir III

Grid: 52:Q

Elevation: 0.1 above stoa floor

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.7

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 46

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-053

Plates:

Area: Reservoir III

Grid: 50-51:V

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 46

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-054

Plates:

Area: Reservoir III

Grid: 50:U  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave?  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 46  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-055  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 59:S  
Elevation: 0.1 above stoa floor  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 47  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-056  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 49:R  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 47  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-057  
Plates:  
Area: Reservoir IV  
Grid: 49-50:T  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave?

Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 47  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-059

Plates:  
Area: Reservoir III  
Grid: 51-53:S  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.8  
Tomb architectural details: Cover tiles, tiles at sides, tile at head, cut in yellow clay  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 74  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-060

Plates: 65c  
Area: Reservoir III  
Grid: 51-52:R  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.1  
Tomb architectural details: cut in yellow clay  
Objects: One handled mug C-33-1487 at grave's southwest corner, nearly identical to 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> C. Attic mug (BXM 00108) on display at the Athens Byzantine and Christian Museum (<http://www.byzantinemuseum.gr/en/search/?bxm=108>)  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 74  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-061

Plates:  
Area: entry area for Reservoir III  
Grid: 52:Q  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.7

Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 74  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-062A  
Plates:  
Area: entry area for Reservoir III  
Grid: 53:Q  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: infant amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions: L 0.7  
Tomb architectural details: mouth at east closed by tile fragment  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 74  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-062b  
Plates:  
Area: Reservoir III  
Grid: 52:V  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.7  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 75  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-063  
Plates:  
Area: Reservoir III  
Grid: 55:U  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave?  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 75

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-064

Plates:

Area: Reservoir III

Grid: 54-55:T

Elevation: .5 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.3

Tomb architectural details: two tiles (L. 0.8) on sides

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 75

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 75

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-065

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 57:S

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.3

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, 2 tiles on each side, tile at head, probable stone at foot

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 75

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-066

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 56-57:R

Elevation:

Tomb type: pit grave?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 76

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: "Hole dug in the clay, but nothing found in it. Perhaps burial without tiles."

Grave 1933-067

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 58-59:R

Elevation: 0.5 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave (irregular)

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.72

Tomb architectural details: 1 cover tile, 1 tile as floor (concave side up)

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 76

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 76

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: This tiny grave appears to completely lack standard "side tiles".

Grave 1933-068

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 58-59:R

Elevation: 0.5 above res floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9, W. 0.55

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 76

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-069

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 58-59:Q

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.4

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, overlapping tiles on sides, end tiles

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 76

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-070

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 59:Q

Elevation: circa pavement level

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.3

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 76

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-071

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 62:R

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 76

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: "Burial hewn out in soft yellow clay."

Grave 1933-073

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 58:R

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, 1 tile on each side, end tiles, poros stone by head at west

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 77

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-074

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 58:N

Elevation: circa pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.4

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 77

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-075

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 57-58:N

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave?

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.0

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 77

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-076

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 56-57:N

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.8

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 77

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-077

Plates:

Area: Reservoir III

Grid: 51-52:T

Elevation: on reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.3

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, tiles on sides, tiles at ends

Objects:

Interments: Apparently 1 subadult, tibia length of 0.25 recorded

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 78

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: The tibia length of 0.25 falls within the range for modern individuals of 7-8 years (Scheur, Louise and Sue Black. 2000. *Developmental Juvenile Osteology*. San Diego: Academic Press, table 11.14)

Grave 1933-078

Plates:

Area: Reservoir III

Grid: 54:S

Elevation: 0.5 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.8

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, tiles on sides, tiles at ends

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 78

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: cut in yellow clay

Grave 1933-079

Plates:

Area: Reservoir III

Grid: 52-53:X

Elevation: 0.2 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.8

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 78

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-080

Plates:

Area: Reservoir III

Grid: 51:Y  
Elevation: 0.6 above reservoir floor  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 78  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-081  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 59-60:J  
Elevation: cut through pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 78  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-082  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 59:H  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.0  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 78  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-083  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 59-60:G  
Elevation: .2 below stoa floor  
Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.6  
Tomb architectural details: 2 tiles on each side  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 79,133  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 133  
Photographs:  
Publication:  
Comments: Grave is above Grave NB0136.079

Grave 1933-084  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 61:F  
Elevation: circa stoa floor  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.0  
Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 79  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-084a  
Plates: 66a  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 63:F  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb?  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects: slipped piriform lekythos C-33-1488, generally like early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example (Tzavella 2010, p. 667 fig. 2 A8130) and Corinthian example from Gymnasium mortuary zone (Wiseman 1967a, pl. 15.1)  
Interments: "many bones"  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 79, 88  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:  
Comments: tomb dug into yellow marl below rock

Grave 1933-085  
Plates:  
Area: entry area for Reservoir V  
Grid: 62:L  
Elevation: 0.5 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.8  
Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, tiles on sides, tiles at ends  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 79  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-086

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 62:G  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 79  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-087

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 62:G  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.2  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 80  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:  
Comments: North-south orientation, head at south. Amphora is unusually large.

Grave 1933-088

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 62:E-F  
Elevation: 0.4-0.5 below stoa floor  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.6

Tomb architectural details: 2 tiles on each side, tiles at ends

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 80

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: Partially cut into marl. North-south orientation, head to north.

Grave 1933-089

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 63:E

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 80

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: Cut into marl.

Grave 1933-090

Plates: 66b

Area: entry area of Reservoir IV

Grid: 58-59:P

Elevation: on stoa floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.5

Tomb architectural details: "Coating of stucco", presumably a mortared rubble pseudo-vault or similar construction, above burial and probably at original surface level. Cover tiles, side tiles, end tiles.

Objects: Terra cotta lamp L2752 with lion on discus, above cover tiles at west end of grave. Lamp, which could not be found in museum, possibly same type as 6<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian L595 (M. E. H. Walbank and M. B. Walbank 2006, p. 273, fig. 3.5)

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 80, 104

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 104

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-091

Plates:

Area: entry area of Reservoirs IV and V

Grid: 62:O

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.6, W. 0.48  
Tomb architectural details: 2 tiles on each side  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 81  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:  
Comments: Grave is below Grave 1933-49.

Grave 1933-092

Plates:  
Area: entry area of Reservoirs IV and V  
Grid: 62:N  
Elevation: 0.3 above reservoir floor  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9  
Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side, tile frags at ends, fragment of poros column base at feet  
Objects:  
Interments: "child"  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 81  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-093

Plates:  
Area: entry area of Reservoirs IV and V  
Grid: 62:M-N  
Elevation: 0.2 above reservoir floor  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.2  
Tomb architectural details: poros slabs at ends, one fragment of a column base used in tomb construction  
Objects:  
Interments: "tiny bones"  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 81  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-094

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 61:M  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 81

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-095

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 58-59:S

Elevation: on reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, tiles on sides, tiles at ends, a fragment of stuccoed wall at west end

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 82

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: Head at west

Grave 1933-096

Plates:

Area: entry area of Reservoirs IV and V

Grid: 60:O

Elevation: on reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.84

Tomb architectural details: 1 tile (L. 0.84) on each side

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 82

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-097

Plates:

Area: entry area of Reservoirs IV and V

Grid: 60:T

Elevation: 0.2 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: uninventoried terra cotta lamp directly above grave

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 81, 111

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-098

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 59-60:W

Elevation: on reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 81

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-099

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 59-60:Z

Elevation: 0.4 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9

Tomb architectural details: rough stones at ends

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 83, 105, 115, 119

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-100

Plates:

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid: 59-60:ZZ

Elevation: on reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.20

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, tiles on sides, tiles at ends

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 83

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:  
Publication:  
Comments: head at west

Grave 1933-101

Plates: 66c  
Area: Reservoir III  
Grid: 52-53:Y  
Elevation: on reservoir floor  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.30  
Tomb architectural details: "stuccoed" pseudo-vault (W. 1.10, H. 0.35) at surface level 1.25-1.30 above reservoir floor  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 83, 92, 97  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 83  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-102

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 56-57:K  
Elevation: 0.30 below stoa floor  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.60  
Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, 2 tiles (L. 0.85) on each side  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 83  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-106

Plates:  
Area: Reservoir III  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: "stuccoed" pseudo-vault at surface level  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 92, 124, 127  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-107

Plates:

Area: Reservoir III

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: "stuccoed" pseudo-vault at surface level

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 92, 124, 127

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-108

Plates: 67a-b

Area: Asklepieion, southwest

Grid: 49:X

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: sides of grave shaft are 0.50X0.50

Tomb architectural details: upper vestibule (L. 0.50, W. 0.90, H. 0.90) provides access to Grave 133-108, Grave 133-109 below

Objects: round-mouth pitcher C-33-1489 (from vestibule and to be associated with burials in one of two tombs below), generally like late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa Cave (Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 182 θ)

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 124

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 124

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-109

Plates: 67a-b

Area: Asklepieion, southwest

Grid: 49:W

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: sides of grave shaft are 0.50X0.50

Tomb architectural details: upper vestibule (L. 0.50, W. 0.90, H. 0.90) provides access to Grave 133-108, Grave 133-109 below

Objects: round-mouth pitcher C-33-1489 (from vestibule and to be associated with burials in one of two tombs below), generally like late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa Cave (Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 182 theta)

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 124

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 124

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-110

Plates:

Area: Reservoir II

Grid:

Elevation: 0-0.60 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: pit graves?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: "some rough pots", uninventoried

Interments: Minimum 15 individuals based on 15 skulls and additional bones discovered

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 62, 65, 125

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 62

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: Lack of evidence for built tombs suggests the dead were most likely buried within simple pits dug down close to the level of the reservoir floor, or alternately in structures which did recognizably survive. The presence of multiple skulls together on one side of the reservoir implies an intentional grouping of burials. The "rough pots" were discovered on the top of the fill at its modern level of 1.0 above reservoir floor; if this level did not change significantly since Late Antiquity, the uninventoried vessels may be linked to the inhumations below.

Grave 1933-111

Plates: 48b, 67c-75c

Area: Reservoir IV

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: pit graves? and amphora burials

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: bronze coin of Justinian I 1933-211; bronze coin of Anastasius I 1933-212; Late Roman illegible bronze coin 1933-213; bronze coin of Anastasius I 1933-214; illegible bronze coin 1933-215; bronze earring MF13689; 6<sup>th</sup>-mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. imitation North African terra cotta lamp L3039; 15 cylindrical lekythoi (C-1933-1555; C-1933-1556; C-1933-1557; C-1933-1558, close to Skarmoutsou 2010 fig. 12β-γ; C-1933-1559 as previous; C-1933-1562, close to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian examples in Tzavella 2010 p. 667 fig. 2 A 8126, A 8128, A 8129), minimum 10 uninventoried cylindrical lekythoi; 8 piriform lekythoi, 4 of them at least partly slipped (C-1933-1539, close to Tzavella 2010 A8130 from late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian Kynosarges cemetery; C-1933-1560, closest to 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C. example in Meleti 2013 fig. 13 center and right, generally like mid-6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Kos in Didoumi 2010 p. 824 fig. 7 Π4396 and late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example in Tzavella 2010 fig. 4α A9113α; C-1933-1561, close to 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Boiotian example in Chamilaki 2010 fig. 4 ΜΞΧ3489, close to 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian example in Meleti 2013 fig. 4 left, example from Thebes' Ismenion hill, right in fig. 8:

<http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>); minimum 4 uninventoried piriform lekythoi; 3 globular lekythoi (early-mid 7<sup>th</sup> C. local lekythos C-1933-1538; C-1933-1541 closest to Corinthian

lekythoi in Skarmoutsou 2010, fig. 13β-γ, generally like mid-6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. lekythos from Kos in Didioumi 2010, p. 824 fig. 7 Π4396 and a late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example in Tzavella 2010, p. 669 fig. 4a 9113α; C-1933-1546, generally like vessels from Thebes' Ismenion Hill, especially 3rd from left in fig. 8: <http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>); 3 fragmentary tall trefoil pitchers; 2 trefoil pitchers (C-1933-1545, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa cave in Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183 fig. 7β); 4 jugs or pitchers of other or uncertain subtype (C-1933-1540; C-1933-1552, close to 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C. vessel in Meleti 2013 p. 164 fig. 4 center, generally like early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example in Tzavella 2010 fig. 4α A 9113δ and late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example in *ibid.* p. 667 fig. 2 A 8132); 4 round-mouth pitchers (C-1933-1542, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa cave in Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183 fig. 7θ; C-1933-1547, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa cave in Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 184 fig. 7ε; C-1933-1553, probably like late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example in Andritsa cave in Andritsa cave in Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183 θ late 6-early 7 C; C-1933-1554, probably like mid-Athenian example dated to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. but perhaps slightly later in H. S. Robinson 1959, N 10); 4 mugs (C-1933-1543; C-1933-1544); 2 bowls or cups (C-1933-1548; C-1933-1549)  
Interments: "a mass tomb where many human bones lay on the ground"  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 105, 121, 125, 128, 131  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs: glass plate 3812  
Publication:  
Comments: The southern part of Reservoir IV was used for the burial of a large number of individuals, including at least three infants in amphoras. Lack of evidence for built tombs suggests the dead were most likely buried within simple pits dug down close to the level of the reservoir floor, or alternately in structures which did recognizably survive.

#### Grave 1933-112

Plates:

Area: Reservoir III

Grid: 51:X

Elevation: 0.50 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: broken mouth closed by tiles and stones

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 125

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: north-south orientation, mouth of vessel at north

#### Grave 1933-113

Plates:

Area: Reservoir III

Grid: 52:W

Elevation: 1.20 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.70

Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments: "child"  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 125  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:  
Comments: east-west orientation, head at west

Grave 1933-115  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 60-61:F  
Elevation: 0.20 below stoa pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.90  
Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 134  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-116  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 61:E  
Elevation: 0.30 below stoa pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.90  
Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 134  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-117  
Plates:  
Area: Reservoir III  
Grid: 53:V-W  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave?  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 134

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-118

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 60-61:L

Elevation: 0.50 above Reservoir V floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.60

Tomb architectural details: 2 tiles on each side, tiles at ends

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 134

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-119

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 60:K

Elevation: .50 above Reservoir V floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.10

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 135

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-120

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 56-59:G

Elevation: 0.20 below stoa pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.95

Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 135

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-121

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 60-61:G

Elevation: "somewhat below" stoa pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.70

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 135

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-122

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, south

Grid: 43:L

Elevation: 0.40 below pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.90

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 135

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-123

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, west

Grid: 62:B

Elevation: 0.20 above stoa pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.10

Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side, tiles at ends

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 135

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-124

Plates:

Area: entry area of Reservoir III

Grid: 52-53:P

Elevation: top of grave 0.10 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.90

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, tiles at ends

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 135, 152

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-125

Plates:

Area: entry area of Reservoir III

Grid: 49-50:P

Elevation: 0.30 above reservoir floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.80

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: terra cotta lamp L2837 "above grave" (lamp could not be found in museum)

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 136, 153

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-126

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 59-60:D

Elevation: 0.40 below stoa pavement

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.50

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 136

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-127

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 55:M  
Elevation: top of grave at stoa pavement level  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.90  
Tomb architectural details: 1 tile on each side, tiles at ends  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 136  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-128  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, west  
Grid: 55-56:SS  
Elevation: top at court pavement level  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.50  
Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, 2 tiles on each side  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 136  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-129  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 60-61:J  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.50, W. 0.40, H. 0.40  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 136  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-130  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, southwest  
Grid: 60-61:H  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.50  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 136  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave NB0122.004  
Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, east  
Grid: 7:QQ  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references:  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave NB0122.202  
Plates:  
Area: Asklepieion, north  
Grid: 40-41:VV-WW  
Elevation: rock surface  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 202  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave NB0126.081  
Plates: 63d  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 29:XX  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: Gaza type amphora  
Tomb dimensions: L. 0.8, max. diam. 0.28  
Tomb architectural details: amphora broken at mouth  
Objects:  
Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 81  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 81  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave NB0126.094

Plates:  
Area: Asklepieion, west  
Grid: D:3-4  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments: "many skeletons"  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 94  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0126, p. 94  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave NB0136.011

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, northwest  
Grid: 59-60:TT  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: probable amphora burial ("cover of a jar")  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 11  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave NB0136.030

Plates:  
Area: Lerna Court, north  
Grid: 42-43:XX  
Elevation: 0.30 below pavement  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.7, W. 0.50  
Tomb architectural details: 2 cover tiles, 2 tiles on each side, tile at west end by head of deceased  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 30  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:

Publication:

Grave NB0136.045

Plates: 65b

Area: Reservoir V

Grid: 60-61:R

Elevation:

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: terra cotta lamp L2801

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 45, 60

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: reservoir considered likely to contain burial based on "some very much decayed bones"

Grave NB0136.079

Plates:

Area: Lerna Court, southwest

Grid: 59-60:G

Elevation:

Tomb type: pit grave covered by tile?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: 1 tile as cover

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0136, p. 79

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: Grave is below Grave 1933-83.

**APPENDIX B**  
Lerna Court Area Cemetery  
Hill of Zeus Mortuary Zone

Grave 1933-134

Plates: 75d-76a

Area: Trench II

Grid: B-C:1 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: bedded on rock

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.9

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: cylindrical lekythos C-33-1502, close to 6<sup>th</sup> C. example from Corinth's Demeter and Kore Sanctuary (Slane 2008, p. 481 no. 276); cylindrical lekythos C-33-1503

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 9

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-135

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: B-C:2 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: bedded on rock

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 9

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 2

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-136

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: B-C:4 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave?

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.40, W. 0.40, D. 0.10-0.30 (cutting only)

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 9

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 3

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: bedding cut in rock for possible, probably for tile tent grave

Grave 1933-137a

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: B-C:6 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave?

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.80, W. 0.40, D. 0.30 (cutting only)

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 9

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: bedding cut in rock for possible, probably for tile tent grave

Grave 1933-137b

Plates: 76b

Area: Trench II

Grid: B-C:9-10 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.19-0.23 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 0.60, H. 1.0; entry shaft: L. 0.60, W. 0.60

Tomb architectural details: arched ceiling is nearly horizontal at west end

Objects: red slip (North African?) globular lekythos C-33-1490; uninventoried slipped lekythos rim almost certainly belonging to a piriform or globular lekythos; uninventoried terra cotta lamp nozzle, probably belonging to a 6<sup>th</sup>-mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. imitation North African lamp

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 10

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 5

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-137c

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: B-C:10-11 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.90, W. 0.60, H. 1.0; shaft: L. 0.60, W. 0.60

Tomb architectural details: arched ceiling is nearly horizontal at west end

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 10

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 6

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-138

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: B-C:11-12 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.90, W. 0.70, H. 1.0; entry shaft: L. 0.70, W. 0.60

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 10

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 7

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-139

Plates: 76c-77a

Area: Trench II

Grid: B-C:12-13 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.12-0.23 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.90, W. 0.65, H. 1.0; entry shaft opening: 0.65X0.60

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: slipped globular lekythos C-33-1491, generally like Meleti 2013, fig. 13 center and right, close to a mid-6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. lekythos from Kos in Didoumi 2010, p. 824 fig.7 Π4396, generally like a late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example in Tzavella 2010 fig.4α 9113α late 6 C, partly slipped piriform lekythos C-33-1492, close to Chamilaki 2010, p. 608 fig. 4 MEX 3444, which is probably dated too early here to the 4<sup>th</sup> C. and is better placed with the majority of the tomb's vessels in the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C.; partly slipped one-handled mug C-33-1535, close to Skarmoutsou 2010, fig. 15, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-17 (but upturned handle); uninventoried base of cylindrical lekythos from this grave, Grave 1933-142, or Grave 1933-143

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 10

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 8

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-140

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: C-12:13 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 11

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 9

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: incompletely excavated; "mostly buried under field"

Grave 1933-141

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: C:13-14 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 11

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 10

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: incompletely excavated; "mostly buried under field"

Grave 1933-142

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: A-B:13-14 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: unlined rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.90, W. 0.60, H. 0.75

Tomb architectural details: cover: cuttings demonstrate grave was once covered by slabs (th. 0.10); a "pillow" left in rock at west end

Objects: uninventoried terra cotta lamp discovered inside tomb; uninventoried base of cylindrical lekythos from this grave, Grave 1933-139, or Grave 1933-143

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 11

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 11

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-143

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: C:15-16 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.65, W. 0.50-0.60, H. 1.10

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: uninventoried pot; uninventoried base of cylindrical lekythos from this grave, Grave 1933-139, or Grave 1933-142

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 9

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 12

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-144

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: A:15 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 12

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 13

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: incompletely excavated; "partially buried under field"

Grave 1933-145

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: C:17 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.5, W. 0.65, H. 1.0; entry shaft opening: 0.60X0.65

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 12

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 14

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-146

Plates: 77b-78a

Area: Trench I

Grid: B-C:18 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.30-0.60 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.80, W.0.60, H. 1.0; entry shaft opening: 0.60X0.70

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: piriform lekythos C-33-1494, close to 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Boiotian example (Chamilaki 2010, fig. 4 MΣX3489), close to 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian example (Meleti fig.4 left), close to example from Thebes' Ismenion cemetery,

(<http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>, fig. 8 right); piriform lekythos C-33-1495, close to 6<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example (BXM 001521) on display at the Athens Byzantine and Christian Museum (<http://byzantinemuseum.gr/el/?bxm=1521&x=0&y=0>), generally like 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Boiotian example (Chamilaki 2010, p. 609 fig. 5 MΣX 3502); tall pitcher C-33-1496, as late 6<sup>th</sup> C. example (Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-40), and late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa cave (Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183 στ); piriform lekythos C-33-1497 as C-33-1494

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 12

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 15

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-147

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: A:21 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: unlined rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.20, W. 0.70, H. 0.70

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 13

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 17

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-148

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: C:21 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.20-0.40 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.80, W. 0.65, H. 1.0

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 13

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 18

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-149

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: A:22-23 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: unlined rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.20, W. 0.75, H. 0.75

Tomb architectural details: "rim" cut into rock surface for placement of cover slabs

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 13

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 19

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-150

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: C:22 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.25-0.50 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.20, W. 0.60, H. 1.0; opening of entry shaft: 0.60X0.60

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: 1 uninventoried pot

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 13

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 20

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-151

Plates: 78b

Area: Trench I

Grid: C-D:23 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.10, W. 0.70, H. 0.90

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: pitcher C-33-1493, somewhat like 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian example (Meleti 2013, fig. 3 right), somewhat like early 5<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example (H. S. Robinson 1959 M 299)

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 14

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 21

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 0138.014

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: A:24 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 14

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 22

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: grave not excavated

Grave 1933-152

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: C:25 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.23-0.60 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.90, W. 0.60; opening of entry shaft: 0.70X0.60

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: 2 uninventoried pots “at foot end”

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 14

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 23

Photographs:

Publication:

#### Grave 1933-153

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: B:26 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.20-0.40 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.90, W. 0.60, H. 0.10; opening of entry shaft: 0.60X0.75

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 14

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 24

Photographs:

Publication:

#### Grave 1933-154

Plates: 78c-79b

Area: Trench I

Grid: C:26 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: W. 0.70, H. 1.0

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: piriform lekythos C-33-1504, close to 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Boiotian example (Chamilaki 2010, fig. 4 ΜΣΧ3489), close to 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian example (Meleti fig.4 left), close to example from Thebes' Ismenion cemetery, (<http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>, fig. 8 right); piriform lekythos C-33-1505; globular jug C-33-1506, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa cave (Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183 στ); trefoil pitcher C-33-1507; uninventoried fragment of a trefoil pitcher

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 15

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 25  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-155

Plates:  
Area: Trench I  
Grid: A:26-24 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb?  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 15  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 26  
Photographs:  
Publication:  
Comments: grave not excavated

Grave 1933-156

Plates:  
Area: Trench I  
Grid: A-B:27  
Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.25-0.50 below rock surface at arched entrance  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions: L.1.90, W. 0.60, H.1.0; opening of entry shaft: 0.60X0.70  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 15  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 27  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-157

Plates:  
Area: Trench I  
Grid: C:28 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions: L. 2.30, W. 0.60, H. 0.75; entry shaft: L. 0.80, W. 0.60  
Tomb architectural details: a "pillow" (rock-cut?) at west

Objects: “broken jug. . . on feet”: probably uninventoried partly slipped piriform lekythos base close to 6th-early 7th C. Boiotian example (Chamilaki 2010, fig. 4 ΜΣΧ3489), close to 6th-7th C. Corinthian example (Meleti fig.4 left), close to example from Thebes’ Ismenion cemetery, (<http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>, fig. 8 right)

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 15

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 28

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-158

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: A-B:28-29 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.30-0.40 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.80, W. 0.60, H. 1.10; entry shaft: L. 0.70, W. 0.60

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 16

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 29

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-159

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: A-28 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.10, W. 0.70, H. 1.0; opening of entry shaft: 0.50X0.75; cover slab: Th. 0.15

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 16

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 30

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-160

Plates: 79c

Area: Trench I

Grid: A:29-30 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: unlined rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.80, W. 0.70, H. 1.0

Tomb architectural details: cover slabs missing

Objects: spherical glass bead with millefiori decoration MF4691; “many small pots” (uninventoried)

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 16

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 31

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-161

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: C:29 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: unlined rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions: L.2.20, W. 0.60, H. 0.90

Tomb architectural details: “pillow”: L. 0.20

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 16

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 32

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-162

Plates: 79d-81d

Area: Trench I

Grid: A-B:30-31 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L.2.10, W. 0.60, H. 1.15; entry shaft: L. 0.70, W. 0.60

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: tall pitcher C-33-1522 generally like late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa cave (Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 183 στ); round-mouth pitcher C-33-1523, generally like Athenian example dated to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. but perhaps of mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. date (H. S. Robinson 1959, N 10); cylindrical lekythos C-33-1524; cylindrical lekythos C-33-1525, close to Corinthian example (close to Skarmoutsou 2010, fig. 12β); Boiotian red slip bowl C-33-1526, as late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian example (Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-16); one-handled mug C-33-1527, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian example (Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-17), close to Corinthian example (Skarmoutsou 2010, fig. 15α,δ, close to 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> C. Boiotian example (Chamilaki 2010, p. 609 fig.

5 MΣX 3516 5-6 C.); pitcher C-33-1528, generally like 6<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example (H. S. Robinson 1959, M 365); globular lekythos C-33-1529, close to late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian examples (H. S. Robinson 1959, M 367; Tzavella 2010, A8260, A8261); pitcher C-33-1530, as C-33-1528; pottery found at head, mid-grave, and foot; fragment of 6<sup>th</sup>-mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. imitation North African terra cotta lamp from this grave or Grave 1933-164; rim of pitcher, probably tall pitcher as late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-40 from this grave or Grave 1933-164

Interments: circa 8

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 17

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 33

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-163

Plates: 82b-82d

Area: Trench I

Grid: B-C:29-30 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.90, W. 0.60, H. 1.05; opening of entry shaft: 0.60X0.70

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: cylindrical lekythos C-33-1531; piriform lekythos C-33-1532, close to late 6<sup>th</sup> C. and early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian examples (H. S. Robinson 1959, M 367l; Tzavella 2010, p. 668 fig. 3β A 8120, p. 669 fig. 4α A 9115γ, A 9115δ); ovoid jug C-33-1533, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian examples (Tzavella 2010, p. 670 fig. 5α A 8633, A 8634); one-handled mug C-33-1534, close to mid-6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Kos (Didoumi 2010, p. 823 fig. 6 π4395 mid-6-early 7 C.

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 17

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 34

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-164

Plates: 83a

Area: Trench I

Grid: A:31-32 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.15-0.30 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 0.60, H. 1.05; entry shaft: L. 0.90, W. 0.60; cover slab: Th. 0.12

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: globular lekythos C-33-1536, generally like but more globular than any of the following: Chamilaki 2010, fig. 4 MΣX 3489 (Boiotia, 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C.; Meleti fig. 4 left (Corinth, 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C.); Thebes Ismenion, fig. 8 right

<http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>); fragment of 6<sup>th</sup>-mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. imitation

North African terra cotta lamp from this grave or Grave 1933-162; rim of pitcher, probably tall pitcher as late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-40 from this grave or Grave 1933-162

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 17

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 35

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-165

Plates:

Area: Trench I

Grid: B-C:31 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 17

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 7, Grave 36

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: unexcavated

Grave 1933-166

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: 20 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave inside unlined rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 0.70

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 22

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21, Grave 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-167

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: 18-19 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)

Elevation:

Tomb type: unlined rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.15, W. 0.60, H. 0.60

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: uninventoried pot

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 22

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21, Grave 2

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-168

Plates: 83b-85d

Area: Trench II

Grid: 17 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.30-0.50 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.70, W. 0.70, H. 1.0; opening of entry shaft: 0.70X0.70

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: cylindrical lekythos C-33-1498; cylindrical lekythos C-33-1499; piriform lekythos C-33-1500, close to late 6<sup>th</sup> C. and early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian examples (Tzavella 2010, A 8120, A 9115γ, A 9115δ); globular lekythos C-33-1501, close to 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Boiotian example in Chamilaki 2010, fig. 4 ΜΣΧ3489, close to 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian example in Meleti 2013, fig. 4 left, example from Thebes' Ismenion hill, right in fig. 8:

<http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>); cylindrical lekythos C-33-1508; ovoid jug C-33-1509, as late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example (Tzavella 2010, A 9113β), close to late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa cave but with foot (Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 184 ε); globular lekythos C-33-1510, close to late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian examples (H. S.

Robinson 1959, M 367; Tzavella 2010, fig. 2 A 8130); globular lekythos C-33-1511, probably to be placed in the early-mid 7<sup>th</sup> C. and with same general comparanda as C-33-1510; unguentarium C-33-1512, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example (H. S. Robinson 1959, M 369); partially preserved unguentarium C-33-1513, probably as C-33-1512; partly slipped jug C-33-1514; uninventoried fragment of slipped terra cotta lamp base (Asia Minor?); uninventoried nozzle of post-glazing lamp

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 23

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21, Grave 3

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-169

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: 16 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)

Elevation:

Tomb type: unlined rock-cut cist  
Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 0.80, H. 0.90  
Tomb architectural details: stuccoed interior  
Objects: small fragment of tombstone I-1269  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 23  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21, Grave 4  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-170

Plates:  
Area: Trench II  
Grid: 15 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: unlined rock-cut cist  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: stuccoed interior  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 23  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21, Grave 5  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-171

Plates:  
Area: Trench II  
Grid: A-B:2-3 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)  
Elevation: bedded on rock  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 23  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21, Grave 6  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-172

Plates:  
Area: Trench II  
Grid: B-C:2-3 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)

Elevation: bedded on rock  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 23  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21, Grave 7  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-173

Plates:  
Area: Trench II  
Grid: 6 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)  
Elevation: bedded on rock  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 23  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21, Grave 8  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-174

Plates:  
Area: Trench II  
Grid: 8 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)  
Elevation: bedded on rock  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 23  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21, Grave 9  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-175

Plates:  
Area: Trench II

Grid: 6 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 23

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21, Grave 10

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-176a

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: 11 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover slabs present

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 23

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-176b

Plates:

Area: Trench II

Grid: 12 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover slabs present

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 23

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 21

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-177

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: A-B:1-2 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.20-0.40 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.75, W. 0.64, H. 1.0; opening of entry shaft: 0.64X0.66

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 32

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-178

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: 1 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type: unlined rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.88, W. 0.65, H. 1.05

Tomb architectural details: cover slabs do not survive

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 32

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 2

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-179

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: A:2-3 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.17-0.33 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.72; W. 0.60; H. 1.0

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 32

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 3

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-180

Plates: 86a-86d

Area: Trench III

Grid: A-B:3-4 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.22-0.33 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.80; W. 0.65; H. 1.05

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: uninventoried bronze vessel (censor?); tall trefoil pitcher C-33-1515, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup> C. Corinthian example (Slane and Sanders 2005, 3-40), but with more rounded profile and probably therefore earlier, closer to 6<sup>th</sup> C. (?) Corinthian example (Williams 1982, pl. 40.30) and two additional Corinthian examples (Skarmoutsou 2010, fig. 14α,γ); globular lekythos C-33-1516, generally like Chamilaki 2010, p. 608 fig. 4 ΜΣΧ 3444, which is probably dated too early here to the 4<sup>th</sup> C. and is better placed with the majority of the tomb's vessels in the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C., generally like examples from Thebes Ismenion hill (fig. 8, second and third from left <http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/3063/>); cylindrical lekythos C-33-1517, generally similar to a late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Athenian example (Tzavella 2010, fig. 4β A8409) and an example from Thebes' Ismenion hill

(<http://www.chronique.efa.gr/index.php/fiches/voir/4215/> fig. 6); fragment of 6<sup>th</sup>-mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. imitation North African lamp

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 33

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-181

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: C:3 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type: unlined rock-cut cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.95, W. 0.65, H. 0.95

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 33

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 5

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-182

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: A-B:4-5 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.22-0.32 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.96, W. 0.55, H. 1.0

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 32

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 6

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-183

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: A-B:5-6 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.25-0.33 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.05, W. 0.65, H. 1.05

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 34

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 7

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-184

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: B-C:6-7 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.33-0.48 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.95, W. 0.65, H. 1.10

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 34

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 8

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-185

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: A-B:17 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.60, W. 0.75, H. 1.0; opening of entry shaft: 0.75X0.75

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 34

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 9

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-186

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: C:16-17 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 35

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 10

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: unexcavated

Grave 1933-187

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: A-B:18-19 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 35

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 11

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: unexcavated

Grave 1933-188

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: A-C:7-8 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.34-0.49 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.10, W. 0.64, H. 0.67; opening of entry shaft: 0.60X0.65

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 35

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 12

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-189

Plates: 87a

Area: Trench III

Grid: B-C:7-9 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 35-36

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 13, Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 36

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: discovered within rock-cut, pottery-containing vestibule beside Grave 1933-190; unexcavated

Grave 1933-190

Plates: 87a

Area: Trench III

Grid: B-C:7-9 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 35-36

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 14, Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 36

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: discovered within rock-cut, pottery-containing vestibule beside Grave 1933-189; unexcavated

Grave 1933-191

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: A:10 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 37

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 15

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-192

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: A:11-12 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 37

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 16

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: oriented north-south with mouth at south

Grave 1933-193

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: A-C:14 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.74

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 37

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 17

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-194

Plates:

Area: Trench III

Grid: C:13 (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31)

Elevation:

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 37

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 31, Grave 18

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-196

Plates:

Area: Trench IV

Grid: 4-5:C (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.20-0.30 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.80, W. 0.70, H. 0.95; opening of entry shaft: 0.70X0.70

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 41

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40, Grave 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-197

Plates: 87b

Area: Trench IV

Grid: 4-5:A-B (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.15-0.20 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 0.60, H. 1.0; opening of entry shaft: 0.65X0.65

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: 3 uninventoried pots

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 41

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40, Grave 2

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: crossed incised on external face of tomb's rock "arch"

Grave 1933-198

Plates:

Area: Trench IV

Grid: 4-5:A (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40)

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.9; W. 0.60, H. 1.35

Tomb architectural details: "rim" around top of entry shaft for securing of cover slab; stuccoed interior

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 41

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40, Grave 3

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-199

Plates:

Area: Trench IV

Grid: 8-9:B-C (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.25-0.30 below rock surface at arched entrance

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 0.75, H. 1.0

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 42

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40, Grave 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-200

Plates:

Area: Trench IV

Grid: 10-12:B-C (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40)

Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.20-0.30 below rock surface at arched entrance  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.70, W. 0.65, H. 0.90; opening of entry shaft: 0.65X0.65  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 42  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40, Grave 5  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-201

Plates:  
Area: Trench IV  
Grid: 14-15:B (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40)  
Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.15-0.30 below rock surface at arched entrance  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.60, W. 0.60, H 0.90, opening of entry shaft: 0.60X0.75  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 43  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40, Grave 6  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-202

Plates:  
Area: Trench IV  
Grid: 15:A (Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40)  
Elevation: chamber ceiling 0.20-0.70 below rock surface at arched entrance  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions: L.2.0, W. 0.60, H. 1.05; opening of entry shaft: 0.60X0.65  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 43  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0138, p. 40, Grave 7  
Photographs:  
Publication:

**APPENDIX C**  
Forum Area Cemetery

Grave 1896-004

Plates:

Area: South Stoa

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover: squared blocks

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 001, p. 15

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1896-005 = Grave 1915-012

Plates:

Area: Forum east (Southeast Building)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: entrance shaft: "miscellaneous material" bonded with mud

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0001, p. 15; Corinth Notebook 0080 p. 18, 20, 22, 32;

Corinth Notebook 0081 p. 263

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0080, p. 18a, 32; Weinberg 1960, Plan I, Grave A

Photographs: glass plate 1802, glass plate 1820

Publication: Scranton 1957, p. 29

Grave 1898-001 (collective)

Plates: 172a-173a

Area: Peirene Fountain

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: 6 vaulted chamber tombs, 1 cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: vaulted tombs: vaults: mortared rubble, in one case fronted by tile arch; entry shaft is stepped in three cases; cist: cover: slabs

Objects:

Interments: up to 8 individuals in a grave

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0007, p. 43

Plans and drawings:

Photographs: 1985-118-16

Publication: B. Robinson 2011, pp. 293-295

Grave 1899-001

Plates:

Area: Sikyonian Road, Glauke Springhouse

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 5-6

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0009, p. 9

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication: Elderkin, G. W. 1910. "The Fountain of Glauke at Corinth." *AJA* 14:19-60 (pl. III, grave A)

Grave 1901-003a

Plates:

Area: Forum northwest, Northwest Shops (shop 11)

Grid:

Elevation: below pavement level

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 1

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0011, p. 15

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1901-003b

Plates:

Area: Forum northwest, Northwest Shops (shop 11)

Grid:

Elevation: below pavement level

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 1

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0011, p. 15

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1902-002

Plates:

Area: Forum northwest, Northwest Shops (shop 11)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0012A, p. 54; Corinth Notebook 0016A, p. 73

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1902-003

Plates:

Area: Lechaion Road, West Shops (shop 18)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0013A, p. 7, 12; Corinth Notebook 0016A, p. 87, 89

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1902-004

Plates:

Area: Lechaion Road, West Shops (shop 19)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0013A, p. 9; Corinth Notebook 0016A, p. 88

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1904-001

Plates:

Area: South Stoa

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb or flat-roofed chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.45, W. 0.92-1.18

Tomb architectural details: Entry shaft: stepped. Tomb built within line of South Stoa drain and re-uses South Stoa stylobate wall as south tomb wall. Water channel's gutter cut down to east of tomb to permit close fit for closure slab at entry.

Objects:

Interments: "several persons"

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0018, p. 131; Corinth Notebook 0027, p. 71; Corinth Notebook 0028, p. 5

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0027, p. 60

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1904-002

Plates:

Area: South Stoa

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: built using limestone slabs

Objects:

Interments: "a crumbled skull and a few small bones"

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0027, p. 65

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1908-001

Plates:

Area: Sikyonian Road, Temple C Peribolos

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut or cist

Tomb dimensions: L. circa 1.4

Tomb architectural details: grave is cut into hard stereo; "small stones, tiles" mentioned in passing might be the original lining

Objects: fragmentary, uninventoried "coarse burned pot"

Interments: 1

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0050, p. 15

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0050, p. 15; Plan 90-49 (124\_007).

Photographs:

Publication: Stillwell and Freeman 1941, pl. XVI Grave A

Grave 1908-002

Plates:

Area: West Terrace, West Shops (second shop from north)

Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type:  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments: "crumbled bones for child"  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0040, p. 56; Corinth Notebook 0045, p. 20  
Plans and drawings: Plan 90-09, Grave A  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1908-003

Plates:  
Area: Sikyonian Road  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments: multiple  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0045, p. 23; Corinth Notebook 0046, p. 49; Corinth Notebook 0050, p. 37, 51, 73  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs: glass plate 1022  
Publication:

Grave 1908-005a

Plates:  
Area: Sikyonian Road  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: cist?  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0045, p. 23; Corinth Notebook 0050, p. 37, 40  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1908-005b

Plates:  
Area: Sikyonian Road  
Grid:  
Elevation:

Tomb type: cist?  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0045, p. 23; Corinth Notebook 0050, p. 37, 40  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1908-007

Plates:  
Area: West Terrace (east of central stair)  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type:  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: Built in break of line of north-south Late Antique wall; cover: slabs; a fragment from a poros sarcophagus re-used in construction.  
Objects:  
Interments: 2  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0045, p. 64, 68; Corinth Notebook 0046, p. 53; Corinth Notebook 0048, p. 35; Corinth Notebook 0049, p. 60, 62  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4  
Photographs: glass plate 0821, glass plate 944  
Publication:

#### Grave 1908-008

Plates:  
Area: West Terrace (Temple D platform)  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: cist  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: cover: slabs; walls: built from unknown materials and probably topped by tiles  
Objects: two small coarse vessels (uninventoried) at west end of grave  
Interments: "many bones"  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0045, p. 72; Corinth Notebook 0049, p. 84  
Plans and drawings: Stillwell and Freeman 1941, plan VIII; Scranton 1951, plan A, grave A;  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1911-002

Plates:  
Area: Peirene Fountain (east apse)  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.55, W. 0.44, H. 0.31

Tomb architectural details: floor: tiles and marble slabs

Objects:

Interments: 2

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0068, p. 49; Corinth Notebook 0108d, p. 54

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication: B. Robinson 2011, p. 293

Grave 1911-003

Plates:

Area: Peirene Fountain (east apse)

Grid:

Elevation: floor 1.14 below apse floor

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.05, W. 0.90

Tomb architectural details: walls: stone slabs; floor: tile

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0064, p. 51; Corinth Notebook 0067, p. 13; Corinth Notebook 0068, pp. 36, 49; Corinth Notebook 0069, p. 100; Corinth Notebook 0071, p. 58

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication: B. Robinson 2011, p. 293

Grave 1911-004

Plates:

Area: Peirene Fountain (east apse)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: floor: marble slabs lined by tiles at their perimeter

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0108a, p. 57

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication: B. Robinson 2011, p. 293

Grave 1911-005

Plates:

Area: Peirene Fountain (east apse)

Grid:

Elevation: .20 below apse floor

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.90

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 1 (infant)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 108d, p. 54

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication: B. Robinson 2011, p. 293

Grave 1914-001

Plates: 192b-194a

Area: Peribolos of Apollo (north of complex and within Late Antique residence)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: vertical entry to chamber: W. 0.40, H. 0.57; chamber interior: L. ca. 1.25, W. 1.15

Tomb architectural details: vault: poros voussoirs fronted at east by tile and brick fragments; entry shaft:

walls built with stones and tiles bonded by mud, exterior blocked by horizontal slab, landing within,

connection to chamber blocked by vertical slab; walls: re-use of building wall at south, north wall

employs large spolia blocks; interior: plastered with crosses incised on interior of lintel and on ceiling

Objects:

Interments: multiple

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0072, p. 107; Corinth Notebook 0074, p. 62, 71, 74, 76, 80, 87, 92, 95, 97, 111; Corinth Notebook 0076, p. 32

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0074, p. 83, 92, 95; Corinth Plan 90-2, Grave A

Photographs: glass plate 1267, glass plate 1756, glass plate 1773

Publication:

Grave 1915-003

Plates: 186a-187b

Area: Forum east (porch of Southeast Building)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.70, W. 0.69

Tomb architectural details: grave partially occupies the space of a pre-existing drain; floor: "paved"

Objects: coarse lekythos CP-95 (?); coarse lekythos CP-96 (?)

Interments: 2-5

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 64

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0079, p. 441; Weinberg 1960, Plan I, Grave B

Photographs: 85-158-14

Publication:

Grave 1915-006

Plates:

Area: Forum east (Julian Basilica)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: external: L. 1.33, W. 0.55; internal: 1.15, W. 0.35

Tomb architectural details: partially rests on vault of Grave 1915-007; walls: tiles, stones, marble fragments

Objects:

Interments: 1 (subadult)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0079, p. 475

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0079, p. 471

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1915-007

Plates: 179a-181a

Area: Forum east (Julian Basilica)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: internal: L. 2.11, W. 1.42, H. 1.67

Tomb architectural details: vault: poros voussoirs; floor: tiled

Objects: coin (239) of Basil I under horizontal cover slab of entry shaft

Interments: ca. 10-12, "at least two layers"

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0079, p. 475, 485, 497

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0079, p. 471

Photographs: Weinberg 1960, plate 20.1, 20.2, 23.1, 23.2

Publication: Scranton 1957, p. 11;

Grave 1915-010

Plates: 179a-b, 181a-183b

Area: Forum east (Julian Basilica)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: internal: L. 2.68, W. 1.53, Max. H. 1.65

Tomb architectural details: vault: poros voussoirs; walls: pre-existing stereo; chamber: step at east end

Objects:

Interments: 11+

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0079, p. 485, 496, 497

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0079, p. 471, 488, 496

Photographs: Weinberg 1960, plate 19, 20, 23

Publication: Scranton 1957, p. 11

Grave 1915-011

Plates: 179a-b, 184a-185b

Area: Forum east (Julian Basilica)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: flat-roofed tomb or vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: internal: L. 2.38, Max. W. 0.90, Preserved H. 0.75

Tomb architectural details: walls: large spolia blocks and smaller rubble masonry at east; a horizontal column drum at the east end

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0079, p. 495, 496, 497, 498

Plans and drawings:

Photographs: Weinberg 1960, plate 19, 20, 23

Publication: Scranton 1957, p. 11

Comments: This tomb is extremely poorly preserved and completely lacks a roof as well as upper courses at its east end; the roofing system and form of entry must therefore remain conjectural.

Grave 1925-003=Grave 1925-004

Plates: 199c-201c

Area: Lechaion Road (Hemicycle complex)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions: internal: L. 1.50, W. 0.63-0.66, H. 0.45

Tomb architectural details: cover: 3 pieces of unfluted column (laid with flat sides at top); walls: large spolia blocks set vertically

Objects: late 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. iron Corinth type buckle MF431a, -b at waist; iron finger ring (uninventoried) at right hand; bronze cylinder MF432 on left shoulder

Interments: 1

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0087, p. 77, 81

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0087, p. 64; Corinth Drawing 93-57a,b; Broneer 1926, pl. II

Photographs:

Publication: Broneer 1926, p. 50

Comments: As drawn, the right hand unusually extends across the waist above pelvis level. Based on the relatively short length of the tomb interior and the short stature of the drawn skeleton, this is either the burial of an unusually short adult or that of a subadult.

Grave 1925-005

Plates:

Area: Sikyonian Road (Temple of Apollo, south stoa, north of Northwest Shops 4 and 5)

Grid:

Elevation: 0.5 below "Byzantine" floor

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 1 ("large skeleton")

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0087, p. 85

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1925-006

Plates:

Area: Sikyonian Road (Temple of Apollo, south stoa, north of Northwest Shops 5 and 6)

Grid:

Elevation: 0.8 below "Byzantine" level  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0087, p. 95  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1925-007

Plates:  
Area: Sikyonian Road (Temple of Apollo, south stoa, north of westernmost shop)  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0087, p. 123  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1925-008

Plates:  
Area: Lechaion Road (Hemicycle complex)  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type:  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: walls: re-used wall, marble slab  
Objects:  
Interments: 2 subadults  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0088, p. 29  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1925-009

Plates: 198a  
Area: Lechaion Road (Hemicycle complex)  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: cist  
Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover: non-surviving; “grave built of stones and marble slabs”  
Objects: mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. (or slightly later) bronze lyre buckle MF496 (=Davidson 1952, no. 2189), closest to buckle from Devinska Nova Ves, Slovakia (Csallany 1956, pl. VIII.1); “two poor bronze rings”, uninventoried (belt rings?)

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0088, p. 57, 59, 92, 94, 96

Plans and drawings: Broneer 1926, pl. II

Photographs:

Publication: Broneer 1926, p. 55

Grave 1926-022

Plates: 198b-199b

Area: Lechaion Road (Hemicycle complex)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. melon seed and trapezoidal blue beads MF494 (collective, = Davidson 1952, no. 2433, 2492); iron shell with internal bronze wire MF502 (bell?); late 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze buckle with cruciform plate MF503; 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. black and yellow glass bead with raised millefiori decoration MF505 (=Davidson 1952, no. 2435)

Interments: “bones of children”

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0088, p. 94

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1926-023

Plates: 173b-176b

Area: Peirene Fountain (north apse)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: Built within west wall of north apse; vault: poros voussoirs fronted by radially set bricks at east; entrance: direct entry, absent shaft, from east (?); walls: small poros blocks and bricks

Objects: bronze ring (belt ring?) MF 512

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0007, p. 43

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication: Robinson 2011, p. 294

Comments: Grave is also grouped collectively with Grave 1898-001

Grave 1930-002

Plates:

Area: Forum northeast (Captives Façade)

Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type:  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: tomb constructed through the walling off of a drain  
Objects:  
Interments: 6+  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0106, p. 70, 72  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication: Stillwell and Freeman 1941, p. 55, 88  
Comments: two pots (C-30-98 and uninventoried) found within drain but not necessarily related to graves

#### Grave 1930-003

Plates:  
Area: Forum northeast (Captives Façade)  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type:  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: tomb constructed through the walling off of a drain  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0106, p. 72  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication: Stillwell and Freeman 1941, p. 55, 88  
Comments: two pots (C-30-98 and uninventoried) found within drain but not necessarily related to graves

#### Grave 1930-174

Plates:  
Area: Peirene Fountain  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: cist or vaulted tomb  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: floor: tiled (ca. 0.50X0.27)  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0108a, p. 96–97.  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication: B. Robinson 2011, p. 294

#### Grave 1932-085

Plates:  
Area: Temple E (south of temple)

Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: amphora burial  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects: uninventoried amphora “with ribbed decoration around pointed base – and neck”, which probably describes a late 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C. Gaza type amphora (Majcherek 1995, type 4)  
Interments: “bones of a tiny child”  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0127, p. 75  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication: Rothaus 2000, p. 42

#### Grave 1932-111

Plates:  
Area: Temple E (north of temple)  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: 2 tiles at sides, 2 tile fragments at ends  
Objects: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. (?) bronze earring with spherical bead, generally like example from Tuhovishte, Bulgaria (Angelova 2001, taf. 3)  
Interments: “a few small bones”  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0128, p. 72, 73  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1933-058a = Grave 1934-003a

Plates: 134c-137a  
Area: Central Shops (6<sup>th</sup> shop west of circular base)  
Grid: 10-18:C-I (Corinth Notebook 0135, p. 135)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: cist  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: cover: poros slabs  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0135, p. 36  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0135, p. 36, 135; Scranton 1951, Plan E  
Photographs:  
Publication: Scranton 1957, p. 31  
Comments: southernmost of two adjacent graves

#### Grave 1933-058b = Grave 1934-003b

Plates: 134c-137a  
Area: Central Shops (6<sup>th</sup> shop west of circular base)

Grid: 10-18:I-P (Corinth Notebook 0135, p. 135)

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover: slabs; a groove cut into shop wall to south to receive cover slabs which were once placed here

Objects: mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. bronze Syracuse type buckle

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0135, p. 36

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0135, p. 36, p. 135; Scranton 1951, Plan E

Photographs:

Publication: Scranton 1957, p. 31

Comments: northernmost of two adjacent graves

Grave 1933-104 = Grave 1933-114

Plates:

Area: Forum east (Southeast Building)

Grid: O-R:6 (Corinth Notebook 0135, p. 87)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0135, p. 94

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-105 = Grave 1933-114

Plates:

Area: Forum east (Southeast Building)

Grid: Q-R:5-11 (Corinth Notebook 0135, p. 87)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: at least 2

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0135, p. 94

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1933-195

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (east)

Grid: 7-8:I-J (Corinth Notebook 0139, p. 10)

Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave?  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0139, p. 26  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1933-203 = Grave 1937-020

Plates: 93d  
Area: South Stoa (west)  
Grid: F-I:31 (Corinth Notebook 0140, p. 5)  
Elevation: approximately level with South Stoa stylobate  
Tomb type: cist  
Tomb dimensions: external L. ca. 2.50, W. 0.46; internal L. 1.86, W. 0.49-0.57, H. 0.52  
Tomb architectural details: cover: 2 large marble slabs; walls: marble slabs with interstices filled by smaller stones; floor: stereo  
Objects: 7<sup>th</sup> C. bronze buckle with shield plate MF7228 (= Davidson 1952, no. 2186) at waist  
Interments: 1  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0140, p. 31; Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 184  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0140, p. 5  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1934-001

Plates: 132a-133a  
Area: South Stoa (west)  
Grid: 4-7:v-y (Corinth Notebook 0139, plan II)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details: vault: poros (?) voussoirs; entry shaft: covered by poros slabs, at least one spolia block and smaller elements within shaft walls, connection with tomb chamber blocked by large, vertically-set terra cotta plaque; chamber: interior plastered.  
Objects:  
Interments: multiple  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0139, p. 107  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0139, p. 107, 109; Corinth Notebook 0139, plan II; Broneer 1935, fig. 1  
Photographs: Broneer 1935, fig. 2 and Scranton 1957, pl. XVII.2 = glass plate 3882  
Publication: Broneer 1935, p. 55

Grave 1934-004

Plates: 150b-d  
Area: West Terrace (south of Temple F)

Grid: α-β:20-21

Elevation: ca. 0.50 below aqueduct stylobate

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.30, W. 0.59

Tomb architectural details: cover: tiles (westernmost tile L.0.85); walls: tile fragments; floor: loosely packed small poros stones; tile laid concave-side up as pillow at west

Objects: 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> C. bronze ring with monogram (probably ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ, “ANASTASIOU”) bordered by Maltese crosses on bezel MF4931 (=Davidson 1952, no. 1861), close to silver-plated examples from Nemea (Steven Miller 1981, p. 48, pl. 12e, GJ 65, GJ 66); iron nail MF6069. Outside grave and near the level of its floor, but not necessarily to be associated with it, are two lamps: late 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> C. L2316 (Broneer type 28), MF5363 (=Davidson 1952, no. 577, published as 4<sup>th</sup> C. but potentially later)

Interments: 2: adolescent or adult, infant (apparently supported by left arm of other interment)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0140, p. 166, 170

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0140, p. 22

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1934-005

Plates: 133b

Area: South Basilica

Grid: 44-45:d-g

Elevation:

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions: “large”

Tomb architectural details: inscription (I-1143) built into tomb foundation

Objects: 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. pitcher (C-34-260) containing fragmentary glass vessel

Interments: “about 5”

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0142, p. 130, 139

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1934-007

Plates: 134a

Area: South Basilica

Grid: 59-60:h-l

Elevation: below paved floor

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions: “large”

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: 7<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> C. bronze hoop earring MF4933 (Grigorov 2007, type I. 3); 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. (?) bronze cross MF4934; bronze coin (#6 11 May 1934) of Basil I, 867-886; 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. spherical millefiori glass bead MF3684 probably “lump of some material” discovered in tomb

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0142, p. 184

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1934-008

Plates: 160b-161c

Area: West Terrace (West Shops, against east wall of south tower)

Grid: 30-33:μ-v (Corinth Notebook 0143, plan I)

Elevation: ca. 0.15 below West Shops stylobate

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.80, W. 0.90, H. 1.00

Tomb architectural details: cover: 3 poros slabs (L. 0.55-0.67, W. 1.20, H. ca. 0.15), gaps between them filled by tile fragments; walls: large irregular stones and a marble block topped with tiles; floor: stereo

Objects: bronze belt ring MF4809; 2 uninventoried bronze finger rings with circular bezels (on finger of one skeleton); mid-7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. (?) globular unguentarium C-34-2, narrow ridges on neck somewhat like

neck ridges of mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C. pitcher C-34-1591 but closer to 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. C-34-260

Interments: 6

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0143, p. 131, 132, 133, 138

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0143, p. 130, 133, 138, plan I

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1934-009

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, bath)

Grid: 48-51:f-g (Corinth Notebook 0141, p. 3)

Elevation: bottom of grave 1.25 below stoa stylobate

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: lined by tiles or stone slabs

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0141, p. 86

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0141, p. 3

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1934-014

Plates: 155c-158b

Area: West Terrace (in front of southern portion of West Shops)

Grid: 4-7:V-W (Corinth Notebook 0143, plan III)

Elevation: slightly above West Shops stylobate

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: external L. ca. 2.40; W. ca. 1.00; H. 0.80

Tomb architectural details: cover: 3 large slabs with stones in interstices; walls: mortared poros stones and tile; floor: poros slabs; tile pillow at west

Objects: late 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze finger ring with cruciform invocative monogram on ovoid bezel MF4922 (=Davidson 1952 no. 1867), close to 8<sup>th</sup> C. ring from a private collection (Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, p. 404, abb. 175); iron spike, probably the proximal segment of a spearhead MF6105; 2 simple silver hoop earrings (disintegrated); a discarded late 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze buckle with cruciform plate; mid- to late 7<sup>th</sup> C.

coarse pitchers C-1934-1591, C-1934-1592, C-1934-1593, the last discovered in northwest corner of grave, and all generally like Athenian pitchers in H. S. Robinson 1959, Group N

Interments: 12

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0144, p. 15-17, 21-22

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0144, p. 15-17, 22, 171

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1934-015

Plates: 155b

Area: West Terrace (southern portion)

Grid: 12-16:G-H (Corinth Notebook 0143, plan III)

Elevation: circa pavement level

Tomb type: flat-roofed chamber tomb or cist

Tomb dimensions: H. 0.96

Tomb architectural details: walls: stuccoed; floor: tiles; a stone block (0.95X.25X.20) at east end

Objects: late 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze Corinth type buckle MF5419 (=Davidson 1952, no. 2192; a Corinth type buckle was recovered from within the tomb and is most likely MF5419, but this cannot be asserted with certainty as the buckle was sketched in the excavation notebook but not provided a number at that time).

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0144, p. 160

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0143, plan III

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: Tomb decoration was noted within the chamber: "There are two crosses with forked ends on each side of the walls of the tomb, painted in red on yellow stucco. There is another cross or some other design painted on the west wall of the tomb. . ."

Grave 1934-016

Plates: 155c

Area: West Terrace

Grid: 4-7:V-W(Corinth Notebook 0143, plan III)

Elevation:

Tomb type: pit?

Tomb dimensions: L. ca. 1.5, W. .30, Pres. H. .15

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: discarded bronze "collar-button"

Interments: 2 subadults

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0144, p. 171

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0144, p. 171

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: Grave lies directly beneath Grave 1934-014 and was presumably disturbed in at least its upper extent by the intentional laying of that grave above it.

Grave 1934-020

Plates: 162c

Area: West Terrace (West Shops, southernmost shop)  
Grid: 17-20:x-y (Corinth Notebook 0143, plan III)  
Elevation: below floor level  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. ca. 1.30, W. ca. 0.35, H.0.35; grave cut L. ca. 1.30, W. ca. 0.55  
Tomb architectural details: 1 cover tile, 2 tiles on sides, 1 tile at end, floor of tiles and stones; tile construction surrounding by stones in grave cut  
Objects:  
Interments: 1 (subadult, 8-10 years?)  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0143, p. 172  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0143, p. 172  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1934-021

Plates:  
Area: West Terrace (West Shops, second shop from south)  
Grid: 15-17:u-w (Corinth Notebook 0143, plan III)  
Elevation: shop floor  
Tomb type: cist  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.50-1.53; W. 0.63; H. 0.95  
Tomb architectural details: cover: 3 marble slabs; walls: unlined stereo; floor: stereo  
Objects:  
Interments: 1 (subadult?)  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0143, p. 185; Corinth Notebook 0281, p. 116  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0143, p. 185; Corinth Notebook 0281, p. 111, 113  
Photographs: 1965-111-1, -2, -3  
Publication:  
Comments: A poros block (L. 0.34, W. 0.92; H 0.535) discovered less than 0.5 west of the grave, along with a 6<sup>th</sup> (-7<sup>th</sup>?) C. East Greek lamp (drawn in Corinth Notebook 0281, p. 113; see p. 23 fn. 60 for this type) which lay against the shop wall in the area of the block, might be associated with the grave, perhaps once serving as a ritual platform along with a deposited object.

#### Grave 1936-006

Plates: 131a-b  
Area: South Stoa (central, "bouleuterion")  
Grid: k-l:17-19 (Corinth Notebook 0151, p. 99)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb  
Tomb dimensions: H. ca. 1.50 (incl. entry shaft); entry shaft: diam. 0.75  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects: mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. (?) coarse piriform lekythos C-36-193, mid-7<sup>th</sup> C (?) coarse piriform lekythos C-36-202  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0151, p. 105-107  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1937-005

Plates: 117b-118b

Area: South Stoa (west, bath)

Grid: 12-15:K-M (Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 1)

Elevation:

Tomb type: flat-roofed chamber tomb (?)

Tomb dimensions: L: 2.0; W: 1.50

Tomb architectural details: interior: stuccoed, a square block of masonry (step?) at east end

Objects: late 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze Corinth type buckle MF7066; iron bow buckle MF7116

Interments: "numerous"

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 26, 28

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1937-006 = Grave 1950-006

Plates: 125b-126a

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 25)

Grid: 17-20:m-n (Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 3)

Elevation:

Tomb type: pit grave?

Tomb dimensions: L: 1.15, W: ca. 0.50

Tomb architectural details: floor: stereo

Objects:

Interments: 1

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 54; Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 93-94

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 3; Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 87

Photographs: 93-45-35

Publication:

Comments: west end of grave disturbed by wall construction, resulting in the relocation of the skull to the middle of the grave

Grave 1937-008-009

Plates: 111a-116b

Area: South Stoa (west, latrine)

Grid: 42-47:O-P (Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 5)

Elevation:

Tomb type: flat-roofed chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: tomb chamber: L: 2.35, W: 1.23, H: 1.35; entry shaft: 0.70X0.80, H: 0.80

Tomb architectural details: marble colonnettes bonded with mortar; 2 horizontal slabs block entry shaft; vertically laid thin poros slab blocks tomb chamber; tomb chamber interior is stuccoed

Objects: eight glass beads including 2 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. blue melon seed beads, 2 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. millefiore beads (spherical and ovoidal forms and in green, blue, brown, white), 2 small spherical blue beads, 1 green polygonal shaft bead, 2 poorly preserved beads MF6949 (=Davidson 1952, no. 2434, 2467, 2469, 2476, 2490, 2491); 2 silver hoop earrings MF7039; 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. trapezoidal buckle MF7225 (=Davidson 1952, no. 2216, Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, type G1) at waist; iron key MF7147; 2 bronze belt rings MF7226, at waist; dark brown or black textiles on "upper parts of the bodies" MF7391

Interments: 5-6 (?)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 147, 175

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 5, 147, 176; Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 110

Photographs: 52-74-94, 67-023-18, 67-023-19

Publication:

Comments: vegetal matter, possibly flowers, was noted to be present on the skulls of one or two individuals

Grave 1937-011

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 29)

Grid: 48-49:Q-R (Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: 0.70X0.50 (preserved)

Tomb architectural details: cover: marble slab

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 156

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 7

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1937-012

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 28)

Grid: 44-45:X-Y (Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 7)

Elevation:

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 2 (female? 6, male? 5 years or less)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 166

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 7

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1937-013

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, shop 29)

Grid: 56-61:h-i (Corinth Notebook 0178, back pocket plan)

Elevation: slightly below stoa stylobate level

Tomb type: flat-roofed tomb

Tomb dimensions: internal L. 2.00, W. 1.04, H. 1.10

Tomb architectural details: cover: 4 slabs; horizontal poros slab blocks entry shaft, vertical poros slab blocks connection between entry shaft and chamber; walls: large, irregular blocks bonded with mortar; floor: earth

Objects: discarded silver hoop earring

Interments: 4 (?) (2 young adults, 2 adolescents)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 166, 172

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 6, Corinth Notebook 0178, back pocket plan

Photographs: 52-74-94

Publication:

Grave 1937-015-019

Plates: 95c-111a

Area: South Stoa (west, drain)

Grid: 45-49:V-W

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist (re-used drain)

Tomb dimensions: internal: L. 3.55 (extent of drain used for burial), W. ca. 1.0

Tomb architectural details: cover: 4 poros slabs (at least one additional slab missing at east)

Objects: Layer 1: mid- to late-7<sup>th</sup> C. fragmentary openwork bronze buckle MF7078, worn at waist of southern individual; 2 small, thin bronze rings MF7077, MF7079, probably worn in association with belt; mid- to late-7<sup>th</sup> C. trefoil pitcher, C-37-1400, at tomb's southwest corner by head of southern burial.

Layer 2: 2 bow buckles MF7080, MF7081; Corinth type buckle MF7092 (= Davidson 1952 no. 2195, all three buckles worn at the waist); iron miniature bow buckle MF7090; short segment of iron chain

MF7086; circular iron hook MF7085c, probably accompanying the northern burial; iron finger ring with circular bezel MF7087 (=Davidson 1952, no. 1864); bronze finger ring oval bezel bearing a cruciform invocative monogram MF7073 (=Davidson 1952, no. 1934), in form the ring is closest to a Corinthian example (MF1112=Davidson 1952, no. 1939), while an early 8<sup>th</sup> C. Ephesian ring of different form bears a similar monogram (Pülz and Kat 2011, p. 699, pl. 3) (pl. 31)); conical iron spear heads MF7082

(=Davidson 1952, no. 1537), MF7083 (=Davidson 1952, no. 1538), MF7084 (=Davidson 1952, no. 1539), MF7095b; leaf-shaped spearheads MF7094 (=Davidson 1952, no. 1547), MF7095a; MF7096,

MF7098; 2 iron knives MF7069 (=Davidson 1952, no. 1557), MF7093 (=Davidson 1952, no. 1567); fragments of 1-2 iron light strikers MF7085a-b (=Davidson 1952, no. 1909), discovered on upper torsos.

Layer 3: 2 iron bow buckles MF7088 (=Davidson 1952, no. 2183), MF7091 (=Davidson 1952, no. 2181), worn at the waist; three bronze buckles MF7074 (=Davidson 1952, no. 2177), MF7075 (=Davidson 1952, no. 2174), MF7076, probably suspended via a strap or cord from the belt of the southern individual; iron knife MF7068 (=Davidson 1952, no. 1568), at the waist of the northern individual.

Interments: 8 (m? 24, m 36, m 31, m 23, m? 28)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 147, 148, 149, 153, 178

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4; Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 110

Photographs: 52-74-94, 67-023-19

Publication: Ivison 1996

Comments: Three burial layers consisting of a total of 7 individuals exist (lowest layer, 1: 2 individuals; middle layer, 2: 3 individuals; upper layer, 3: 2 individuals), while bones found scattered throughout the tomb probably belong to a final 8<sup>th</sup> individual laid on top.

Grave 1937-021

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 28)

Grid: 44-45:y Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 7

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover absent; walls: rough blocks

Objects: eggshell fragments, which could alternately be fragmentary infant cranium

Interments: 12 (subadults?)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 185

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1937-025

Plates: 119a-121c, 127b

Area: South Stoa (west, north of stoa and shops 25-26)

Grid: M-P:1a-1 (Corinth Notebook 0173, plan 1)

Elevation: slightly below South Stoa stylobate level

Tomb type: flat-roofed tomb

Tomb dimensions: external: L. 2.40, W. 1.40; internal: L. 2.00, W. 1.10, H. 1.05

Tomb architectural details: cover: pieces of the South Stoa's gutter; vertical entry at east topped by split column as lintel and probably originally access by non-surviving shaft

Objects: small bronze buckle MF7200 (=Davidson 1952, no. 2207), found at waist of skeleton on north side of tomb; discarded silver earring, perhaps close to a pair of 8th to 9th C. bronze earrings from Dolni Lukovit, northwest Bulgaria (Vazarova 1976, p. 204, pl. 126.8-9); discarded iron fragment, near head of skeleton at south side of tomb; late 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. pitcher C-37-2020, discovered by skulls at west side of tomb

Interments: 15 (including subadults and adults of advanced age, of analyzed skulls: m 52, m? 33, m 40, m 38, m 38)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0173, p. 39, 46, 53, 120

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0173, plan 1, p. 46

Photographs:

Publication: Broneer 1954, Plan V

Comments: Interments in four layers, the lowest, and presumably earliest, at west

Grave 1938-002

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 30)

Grid: R-T:15-16 (Corinth Notebook 0178, plan 2)

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist or pit grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.90, W. 0.90, H. 1.10

Tomb architectural details: walls: stereo; floor: stereo; broken stones in fill may have once been cover or walls

Objects:

Interments: 3-4 (adults)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0178, p. 112

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0178, plan 2

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1938-003

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 30)  
Grid: Q-S:24 (Corinth Notebook 0178, plan 2)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: pit grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. ca. 2.0, W. ca. 1.0, H. 0.60  
Tomb architectural details: floor: stereo  
Objects:  
Interments: "very scattered bones of an adult"  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0178, p. 116  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0178, plan 2  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1938-004

Plates:  
Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 30)  
Grid: Q-R:21 (Corinth Notebook 0178, plan 2)  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: cist grave  
Tomb dimensions: H. 0.60  
Tomb architectural details: walls: two marble slabs at south; floor: stereo  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0178, p. 117, 119  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0178, plan 2  
Photographs:  
Publication:

#### Grave 1938-007

Plates: 126b-127b  
Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 26)  
Grid: 26-30:D-F (Corinth Notebook 0178, back pocket plan)  
Elevation: slightly below South Stoa stylobate  
Tomb type: cist  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.75; W. 0.52; H. 0.50  
Tomb architectural details: cover: single marble slab, and possibly a poros block at the west end; walls: marble slabs  
Objects: a "complete jug" from within the grave, and a fragmentary "skyphos" which was found between the lower legs, were both reported, but apparently not inventoried  
Interments: 1 (adult)  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0178, p. 123, 126, 127  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0178, p. 127, back pocket plan  
Photographs: 85-164-26  
Publication:

#### Grave 1938-010

Plates: 88a-93c  
Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 31)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.82, W. 0.60, H. 0.69

Tomb architectural details: cover: 4 slabs; walls: marble slabs

Objects: mid-7<sup>th</sup> C. bronze Nagyharsány type buckle MF8382, at waist; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 7<sup>th</sup> C. iron sword (MF8461) in wooden sheath at right side of deceased (see Prohászka 2011, pp. 246-247 for nearly identical Avar examples of crossbar); iron knife MF8462, below left hand; iron rod adhering to piece of amber MF8463, below left hand; iron light striker with flint MF8463, from vicinity of amber; silver and bronze “trinket” MF8465, somewhat like 7<sup>th</sup> C. composite pendants from the Upper Dnieper and Dvina rivers (Szymanski 1968, p. 206, ryc. 12c-d); uninventoried traces of iron-trimmed baldric or cuirass beneath torso; handmade Avar-style pot C-38-546 to the right of ankles

Interments: 1 (adult m)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0183, p. 85, 86

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0183, p. 86

Photographs:

Publication: Davidson 1974; Curta 2005; Miks 2009; Yotov 2011

Grave 1938-015

Plates: 127b-128c

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 27)

Grid: 33-36:x-y (Corinth Notebook 0178, back pocket plan)

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.10, W. 0.40, H. 0.40

Tomb architectural details: cover: 4 marble slabs (including moulded revetment); walls: marble slabs; floor: tiles

Objects: bronze hoop with broken projection (clothing accessory?) MF7813

Interments: 4 (subadults: m? 6+, ? 1.5, f? 2)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0178, p. 123, 124

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs: 85-164-25, -27, -45, -46

Publication:

Grave 1938-017 = Grave 1946-002

Plates: 122a-125a

Area: South Stoa (west, north side of terrace wall)

Grid: n-q:7-8 (Corinth Notebook 0175, p. 3-4)

Elevation: slightly above terrace wall

Tomb type: flat-roofed chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: internal: L. 2.15, W. 1.05; entry shaft: external L. ca. 1.40, max. W. ca. 1.75, internal: L. ca. 1.20, W. ca. 1.0

Tomb architectural details: cover: abacus block (1.55X1.55X0.24) from aqueduct colonnade, a porous block; entry shaft: blocks of varied size; chamber: field stones, tiles, blocks bonded by mortar, south wall re-uses terrace wall

Objects: nearly polygonal bronze hoop earring MF7845

Interments: 13+ (m 33+, m 48, m 52, f 29, m 30, f 33, f 26, m 16, m 49, f? 36, m 43, m 30-, m 55?)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 64

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0175, p. 3-4, 87; Corinth Notebook 0194, p. 12  
Photographs: 85-165-7  
Publication:

Grave 1948-001

Plates: 131c

Area: South Stoa (central, "bouleuterion")

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: rock-cut chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.90, max. W. 1.60; entry shaft: Diam. 0.80, H. 1.10

Tomb architectural details: entry shaft covered by poros block

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0200, p. 275, 317a, 318-320, 321

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0200, p. 320, 321

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1950-001

Plates: 130a-b

Area: South Stoa (central, north of shop 20)

Grid: L-N:1-2 (Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 2)

Elevation: below toichobate

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.50, W. 0.53, H. ca. 0.67

Tomb architectural details: cover: tiles on top of stone slabs which were inserted into a recess cut within the toichobate; walls: upright tile, stoa shop north wall appears to form south wall of grave; floor: tiles

Objects:

Interments: 2 (infants)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 6

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 2, 6

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1950-005

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shops 24, 25)

Grid: B-D:2-4 (Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 32)

Elevation:

Tomb type: pit grave

Tomb dimensions: L. ca. 1.95, W. ca. 0.75

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 85-86

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 32

Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 1950-007

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, latrine)

Grid: 15-17:E (Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 110)

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: hole cut into latrine floor; 0.30 below floor 3 small slabs which cover grave

Objects:

Interments: 1 (subadult)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 114

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 110

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1950-008

Plates: 94a-c

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shops 27-28)

Grid: 3-8:B-E (Corinth Notebook 203, p. 87)

Elevation:

Tomb type: pit grave

Tomb dimensions: slightly longer than length of skeleton, which is 1.7

Tomb architectural details: tile on south side is only lining

Objects: iron knife MF9458 held in left hand; iron light striker with flint MF13705, embedded to knife

Interments: 1

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 134

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0170, p. 7; Corinth Notebook 0203, p. 87

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1952-001

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 30)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: pit grave

Tomb dimensions: length at least that of skeleton, which is 0.55

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 1 (subadult)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0202, p. 71

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1953-002

Plates: 129a-b

Area: South Stoa (west, north side of terrace wall)

Grid: U:11 (Corinth Notebook 0205, p. 103, p. 4)

Elevation:

Tomb type: amphora burial within cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: poros slabs frame amphora (C-53-84, mouth at east) with broken bottom and partially covered by fragment of another amphora (C-53-83) in addition to a tile; stone packing between amphora and slabs;

Objects: 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. amphora C-53-84, generally like amphoras from early 9th C. deposit at Saraçhane (Hayes 1992, p.114, fig.58, deposit 36, no. 16-17) but closer to early 10th C. amphoras (*ibid.*, especially fig. 25.1).

Interments: infant

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0205, p. 21

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0205, p. 21

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 1959-005

Plates: 169a-c

Area: West Terrace (south portion)

Grid: IH-K/63-66

Elevation: bones discovered at 81.43

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: internal: L.2.35, W. 0.80, H. ca. 0.80

Tomb architectural details: cover: slabs (bonded by mortar); walls: small field stones, tile fragments, blocks, a piece of marble moulding, apparently laid dry; floor: stone slab and tiles

Objects:

Interments: 4 (f adult, f? adult, 5-10 years, ca. 2 years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0214, p. 102,166; Corinth Notebook 0673, p. 52, 54, 99, 103, 115

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0673, p. 103

Photographs: 59-13-7, -8; 59-14-1- 5

Publication: Robinson 1960 Fig. 2; Robinson 1962, p.110

Grave 1960-013

Plates: 166a

Area: West Terrace (south portion)

Grid: 54-56:AA-AB

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.65, W. 0.35

Tomb architectural details: cover: tile fragments; walls: tile fragments; floor: earth

Objects:

Interments: 1 (perinatal infant)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0219, p. 51

Plans and drawings: Photographs: 60-2-11

Publication:

Grave 1960-014

Plates: 162d-163b

Area: West Terrace (south portion)

Grid: 39-41:K-KE

Elevation: 81.34

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.40 (skeleton); W. 0.30-0.40

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 1 (f, 50-60 years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0217, p. 139, 143

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0217, p. 145

Photographs: 60-2-26,-27

Publication: Robinson 1962, p.112

Comments: The arm position (left arm across abdomen above pelvis level, right arm bent to cross upper left torso) of the skeleton is unusual, and probably relatively late. A late date is further suggested by the presence of a Byzantine white ware sherd (Corinth Notebook 0217, p. 146), which first appear at Corinth in very low numbers in the 7<sup>th</sup> C. and are present in increasingly high numbers from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> C.

Grave 1963-012

Plates: 171a-c

Area: Forum Northwest (Northwest Shops, shop 14)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.68, W. 0.22

Tomb architectural details: pan tiles placed over middle section of split amphora

Objects: 7<sup>th</sup> C. carrot amphora with dipinto (anchor?) on left shoulder C-63-713, generally like Slane and Sanders 2005, 4-21; 1 coin (inventory no. lacking in notebook) within cutting and beside amphora toe; 1 coin (inventory no. lacking in notebook) inside amphora at pelvis; 1 coin (inventory no. lacking in notebook) inside amphora at chest

Interments: 1 (perinatal infant)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0270, p. 38

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0270, p. 38

Photographs: 63-22-19, -20, -21

Publication:

Grave 1965-007

Plates: 190a, 191a-192a

Area: Temple E (peribolos northwest)

Grid:

Elevation: 86.01 (tomb floor)

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: walls: large blocks or stones, apparently in single coarse; floor: small tile fragments

Objects: bronze finger ring with star on oval bezel MF12197 (excavated in earth near grave before grave was identified), closest to ring from 9th to early 10th C. grave (87) at Milea (Kougioumtzoglou 2010, p. 559, pl. 10, M 204, M207; Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. 2012, p. 396).

Interments: 1 (f 40+ years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0307, p. 174

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 174

Photographs: 65-59-23, -24; 65-59-29

Publication: J. K. Anderson 1967, p. 6

Grave 1965-011

Plates: 190a, 182b-c

Area: Temple E (peribolos northwest)

Grid:

Elevation: 85.68 (bottom of grave)

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. 1.805, W. 0.36-0.52

Tomb architectural details: cover tiles, pan tiles at sides, tiles at ends, 3 pan tiles (L. 0.725, W. 0.38; L. 0.735, W. 0.37; pres. L. .425; W. 0.36) as floor; grave surrounded by field stones

Objects:

Interments: 1 (f 50+ years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 64

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs: 65-63-16, -17, -19; 65-77-1,-2, -3, -4, -5

Publication: J. K. Anderson 1967, p. 6

Grave 1965-018

Plates: 157a-160a

Area: West Terrace (West shops, 2<sup>nd</sup> shop from south)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions: amphora: L. 0.45, max. Diam. 0.185; cutting: L. ca. 1.10, W. ca. 0.80

Tomb architectural details: amphora (mouth at east) at northwest corner of much larger cutting

Objects: 7<sup>th</sup> C. Roman storage amphora C-65-330, similar to mid- to 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter 7<sup>th</sup> C. Late Roman 2 imitation amphoras discovered at Corinth (Slane and Sanders 2005, 4-13, 4-14) but closest to late 6<sup>th</sup> C. (or slightly later?) amphora (ibid., 3-24)

Interments: 1 (infant)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0281, p. 114

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0281, p. 111

Photographs: 1965-111-1, -2

Publication:

Grave 1965-020

Plates: 190a-b

Area: Temple E (peribolos northwest)

Grid:

Elevation: 85.420 (stone lintel of entrance shaft)

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: entry shaft: contains landing followed by 2 steps; precinct walls (mortared field stones?) abut tomb walls and extend to enclose entry shaft

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0307, p.189, 192-194, 198, 200,192,194; Corinth Notebook 0313 p.37, 41, 52, 54, 71

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication: J. K. Anderson 1967, p. 6

Comments: tomb was heavily disturbed, apparently during the Turkish occupation

Grave 1969-026

Plates: 164b-165b

Area: West Terrace (south, Temple G)

Grid:

Elevation: 79.84-79.77

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: internal: L. 1.10, W. 0.45

Tomb architectural details: cover: stone slabs; walls: blocks, field stones, marble fragments; floor: stereo

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0441, p. 34

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0441, p. 35, 37

Photographs: 69-14-29, -32

Publication:

Grave 1969-030

Plates: 153b, 155a

Area: West Terrace (south, Temple G)

Grid:

Elevation: 79.26-78.70

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: external: L. 2.20, W. 0.82

Tomb architectural details: cover: stone slab; walls: tiles and small blocks above large poros blocks, 1 long marble block at south (bottom step from the bema's podium) is north wall of Grave 1969-036; floor: stereo

Objects:

Interments: 1(f 24 years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0441, p. 53, 56

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0441, p. 56

Photographs: 69-15-28

Publication: Williams et al. 1974, p.11

Comments: bones at west end, presumably the result of disturbance

Grave 1969-036

Plates: 151a-153a, 155a

Area: West Terrace (south, Temple G)

Grid:

Elevation: 79.26-78.70

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: external: L ca. 2.40, W. ca. 1.0; internal: L. ca. 2.0, W. ca. 0.60

Tomb architectural details: cover: Karystian marble and poros slabs; walls: Karystian marble slabs, marble slab, poros blocks at west, long marble block at north is south (bottom step from the bema's podium) is south wall of Grave 1969-036; floor: stereo

Objects: bronze miniature Corinth buckle (with iron buckle loop) MF69-89

Interments: 1 (m)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0441, p. 57

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0441, p. 59

Photographs: 69-20-2, -3, -4, -5, -6, -7

Publication: Williams et al. 1974, p.11

Grave 1969-037

Plates: 152, 154a-155a

Area: West Terrace (south, Temple G)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: walls: paving tiles (0.280X0.280X0.40) set vertically in a roughly oval plan

Objects:

Interments: 1 (6 years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0441, p. 61

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0441, p. 59

Photographs: 69-20-7, -8, -9, -10, -11

Publication: Williams et al. 1974, p.11

Grave 1972-010

Plates: 130c

Area: South Stoa (north of shop 30)

Grid:

Elevation: 81.101-80.772

Tomb type: pit

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 0.72-0.89

Tomb architectural details: cuts into poros (block?)

Objects:

Interments: 1?

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0545, p. 64

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0545, p. 64

Photographs: 72-36-3, -4

Publication:

Comments: bones at west end, possibly a secondary burial

Grave 1972-020

Plates: 203a-211c

Area: Lechaion Road (Temple of Apollo peribolos, northeast)

Grid:

Elevation: 80.13 (floor)

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: vault: tiles (0.29-0.32X0.29-0.32X0.03-0.04) set in mortar; walls: irregular courses of tiles and spolia blocks (including poros blocks from the Temple of Apollo) set in mortar and internally plastered

Objects (lower Late Antique levels only): iron finger ring MF72-76; late 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. iron Corinth type buckle MF72-83; late 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze Corinth type buckle MF72-84; late 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze Corinth type buckle MF72-86; 2<sup>nd</sup> half 7<sup>th</sup> C.-1<sup>st</sup> quarter 8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze buckle with insect plate MF72-85 (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, type E-11); bronze buckle with narrow elongated plate MF72-87 (probably derives from Schulze-Dörrlamm (2009) type E-11, questionably dated to 2<sup>nd</sup> half 6<sup>th</sup> C.); iron miniature bow buckle MF72-92; iron nail MF72-75; iron barbed spearhead MF72-80; iron leaf-shaped spearhead MF72-81; iron arrowhead MF72-78; iron leaf-shaped spearhead or arrowhead MF72-79, iron knife MF72-77; iron knife with handle and sheath of horn or antler MF72-91; bronze hoop (from knife sheath?) MF72-88; iron light striker with attached flint MF72-82; iron arrowhead; fragments of at least 3 additional spearheads, and 2 iron nails saved with context pottery; a few glass beads, perhaps associated with non-surviving earrings, said to be stored with context pottery but could not be found; 3 or 4 bronze hoop earrings, said to be as Davidson 1952, no. 2011, 2012, disintegrated; 1 silver hoop earring, said to be as Davidson 1952, no. 2007, 2008, disintegrated; from disturbed area in tomb (Corinth Notebook 0564, Basket 74A) and not necessarily a mortuary deposit, are a large fragment of a 1<sup>st</sup> half 7<sup>th</sup> C. African Red Slip plate (C-72-249; Hayes 1972, form 105 or 106) and a late 5<sup>th</sup>-mid-6<sup>th</sup> C. lamp with square discus (L-72-18; for one of the latest examples of the type see Karivieri 1996, no. 94).

Interments (lower Late Antique levels only): 5 (3 adults, of which 1 m, 1 subadult, 1 infant)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0525, p. 64, 68-71, 76, 81, 183, 185, 190; Corinth Notebook 0564, p. 64, 38-39, 48-49, 88-89; Corinth Notebook 0566, p. 31

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0525, p. 56-57, 67, 156, 183; Corinth Notebook 0564, p. 68, 70; Corinth Plan 052-034a

Photographs: 71-80-13; 72-71-5, -06, -07, -08, -09, -11, -15, -23; 72-73-14, -15; 72-78-09; 72-79-14; 72-80-09, -11, -12; 72-92-27, -28, -29, -30, -33; 72-86-33, 72-92-27, -29, -29, -30, -33

Publication: Robinson 1976, p. 221-222 (ossuary AO)

Comments: Grave is heavily disturbed; the 5 interments identified from Late Antiquity are surely fewer than the actual number of burials from that period in light of the objects present.

Grave 1972-070

Plates: 212a-217b

Area: Lechaion Road (Temple of Apollo peribolos, northeast)

Grid:

Elevation: 78.952-79.134 (floor)

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: internal: L. 2.02, W. 0.8

Tomb architectural details: walls: mortared rubble, apse at east is composed by existing bedrock, a large poros block, and mortared rubble construction; floor: bedrock; a tile used as pillow at west (above early burials)

Objects: Pair of 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. gold earrings with glass pendants MF72-121 (closest to Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, p. 103, from private collection and dated broadly 6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> C.); silver hoop earring MF72-115; late 7<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> C. (?) silver hoop earring MF72-117, Grigorov 2007, type I. 3; late 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze Corinth type buckle MF72-112; fragmentary 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> C. bronze buckle MF72-132; bone ring MF72-113; a probable

bronze fibula head MF72-114 (generally like Davidson 1952, no. 2282, 2284, 2286, which are published as 4<sup>th</sup> C. objects); pierced terra cotta disc MF72-120; silver finger ring with incised bird on bezel MF72-116, iron finger ring with bezel MF72-119; mid-late 7<sup>th</sup> C. trefoil pitcher C-72-230 (generally like Athenian pitchers in H. S. Robinson 1959, Group N), from tomb's northwest corner.

Interments (including post-Antique): 33 (28 adults, 5 subadults)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0564, p. 113, 129, 147-148; Corinth Notebook 0570, p. 10

Plans and drawings: Corinth Plan 052-006, 052-038, 052-039

Photographs: 72-86-34, -35; 72-87-3, -4, -5, -6, -25, -26, 72-93-8, -9, -10, -17, -18, -25; 72-94-1, -2, -3, -5, -6, -7

Publication: Robinson 1976, p. 221-222 (ossuary CV)

#### Grave 1973-001

Plates: 141c

Area: West Terrace (south)

Grid: 68-H

Elevation: 81.348 (skull)

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: walls: blocks and stones at south, precinct wall of Grave 1973-003 at west

Objects:

Interments: 1 (5 years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0579, p. 41

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0579, p. 40, 142

Photographs:

Publication:

#### Grave 1973-003

Plates: 137b-141c

Area: West Terrace (south)

Grid: 69:G-H

Elevation: 82.526-82.549 (top of vault), 81.204 (rim of entry shaft)

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: entry shaft: 0.57X0.55 (1.40 from top of shaft to tomb floor); chamber: internal: L. 2.40, W. 1.25, H. 1.55

Tomb architectural details: vault: stuccoed exterior, tiles laid flat serve as a kind of cap for at least part of the vault; entry shaft: blocked by horizontal slab (0.90X0.78X0.14), possesses a landing 0.95 above tomb floor; chamber: plastered, floor is tiled (0.29X0.29, 0.21X0.30) except for untiled length of 0.87 at east, sloping tiles at west serve as pillow

Objects: mid-late 7<sup>th</sup> C. round-mouth pitcher C-73-22, generally like Athenian pitchers in H. S. Robinson 1959, Group N

Interments: 11 (f 29 years, 13 years, 11.5 years, m 42 years, f 29 years, m 26 years, f 29 years, m 50+ years, 6.25 years, 1 year, f 50 years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0144, p. 143, 147; Corinth Notebook 0582 p. 108-120, 138-139

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0582, p. 109-115

Photographs: 73-20-31, 73-21-8, -10, -11, -12, -15, -17, -18, 73-22-1, -2, -3, -9, -11, 13, -15, -16

Publication: Williams et al. 1974, p. 10

Comments: tomb is within north area of rectangular mortuary precinct; space existed for a companion tomb at south that was never built

Grave 1974-005

Plates: 142a-b, 143a-c

Area: West Terrace (south)

Grid: 72:B-C

Elevation: 83.742 (top of vault), 83.220 (top of entry shaft), 81.990 (floor)

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: internal: chamber: L. 2.61, W. 0.85-0.87, H. 1.36-1.37; entry shaft: L. 0.53, W. 0.59, H. 1.24

Tomb architectural details: vault: mortared rubble, at east are mortared tiles (0.32X0.27) set vertically, above vault are tiles (0.32X0.30, .57X.58-.59) laid as platform; walls: mortared rubble; chamber: plastered; floor: earth; entry shaft: foot holes on east and north walls

Objects: coarse wide-mouth pitcher C-74-50, generally like late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> C. example from Andritsa Cave (Kormazopoulou and Hatzilazarou 2010, p. 182 theta); early-mid 7<sup>th</sup> C. coarse globular lekythos C-74-78

Interments: 3 (2 adults, 1 subadult)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0600, p. 102, 151; Corinth Notebook 0627, p. 25

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0600, p. 152, 153

Photographs: 74-18-6, -7

Publication: Williams and Fischer 1975, p. 15-17; Williams and Fischer 1976, fn. 24

Comments: one of two tombs built as single project and sharing east-west wall; Grave 1974-006 lies immediately to south

Grave 1974-006

Plates: 142a-b, 144a-145c

Area: West Terrace (south)

Grid: 72: B-C

Elevation: 83.591 (entry shaft rim), 82.083 (floor)

Tomb type: vaulted chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: internal: L. 2.60, W. 0.82-0.85, H. 1.30-1.32; entry shaft: L. 0.43, W 0.56, H. 1.44

Tomb architectural details: vault: mortared rubble, at east are mortared tiles (ca. 0.30X0.30X0.03-0.038) set vertically, above vault are tiles (0.33X0.30, .575X.585) laid as platform; walls: mortared rubble, plastered; floor: tiled (.57X.57) with tile pillow at west; entry shaft: horizontal slab as cover; 0.33 high addition lacks plaster and with different mortar; foot holes on north and south walls; entry shaft: horizontal slab as cover

Objects: 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. round-mouth jug C-74-48, 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. coarse trefoil pitcher C-74-49

Interments: 5 (2-5 years, 5 years, 16 years, adult, adult)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0598, p. 119, 156; Corinth Notebook 0600, p. 102, 103; Corinth Notebook 0604, p. 660, 137; Corinth Notebook 0627, p. 25

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0604, p. 60, 63

Photographs: 74-19-28, -31, -35, -36, -37

Publication: Williams and Fischer 1975, p. 15-17; Williams and Fischer 1976, fn. 24; Sanders 2003 p. 39f, pl. 10.1-2

Comments: one of two tombs built as single project and sharing east-west wall; Grave 1974-005 lies immediately to north

Grave 1974-007

Plates: 146c-148a

Area: West Terrace (south)

Grid: 71:C

Elevation: 83.387 (tile cover), 83.048 (bottom of grave pit)

Tomb type: irregular cist?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover: tiles and perhaps also blocks; walls: mortuary precinct walls belonging to Grave 1974-005 and Grave 1974-006 border this grave at north and west and may have served as de facto tomb walls even if not structurally integrated with Grave 1974-007, while at south a line of blocks visible in photographs may be another tomb wall

Objects:

Interments: 3 (perinatal, perinatal, 9 years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0604, p. 116

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0604, p. 116; Corinth Plan 140-047

Photographs: 74-21-32, -33, -34, -35, -36

Publication:

Comments: the two perinatal infants were found directly above tile cover

Grave 1975-001

Plates: 166b, 167a-168a

Area: West Terrace (south)

Grid: 69:C

Elevation: 82.698 (top of uppermost cover stones), 81.757 (tile floor)

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: cover: stones; walls: poros blocks, some use of fragmentary tiles, stones, spolia; floor: tiles, including a large tile framed by fragmentary tiles

Objects:

Interments: 3 (adult, adult 35+ years, 3.5 years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0623, p. 84, 88, 105

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0623, p. 85, 88; Corinth Plan 140-047 (Grave 16)

Photographs: 75-22-25 -29; 32 -35

Publication:

Grave 1975-002

Plates: 168b

Area: West Terrace (south)

Grid: 70:C

Elevation: 82.210-82.561

Tomb type: pit

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.6, max. W. 0.6

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 1 (10 years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0623, p. 172

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0623, p. 59; Corinth plan 140-047 (Grave 15)

Photographs: 75-32-27

Publication:

Comments: may be a secondary burial with individual transferred from a nearby, disturbed primary burial

Grave 1975-004b

Plates: 146a

Area: West Terrace

Grid: 72:B

Elevation: 83.262-83.549

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: walls: brick; floor; tiled

Objects:

Interments: 1(1.5-2 years)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0627, p. 37

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0627, p. 38, Corinth Plan 140-048

Photographs: 75-39-12

Publication: Williams and Fischer 1975, fn. 24

Comments: apparently built directly south of vaulted tomb Grace 1974-006 and integrated within the mortuary precinct wall when it was constructed here

Grave 1990-018

Plates: 164a, 166c

Area: Temple E (peribolos southeast)

Grid: 76:D

Elevation: 83.55 (top of amphora)

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: tiles or stones appears to line grave pit at north; a tile or sherd lines pit at southwest; broken mouth of amphora at west

Objects: late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Gaza amphora C-1990-12 (Majcherek 1995, form 4)

Interments: 1 (perinatal infant)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0825, p. 160, 194, 196

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0825, p. 198, Corinth Plan 150-13a-c

Photographs: 90-15-21, -22

Publication:

Grave 1991-009

Plates: 193a-194a

Area: Temple E (peribolos south, at road)

Grid: 86:ZU

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist

Tomb dimensions: pres. L. 0.85, W. 1.2, pres. H. 0.935

Tomb architectural details: walls: field stones at north and south, west side formed by pre-existing building wall, walls plastered on interior

Objects: 11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> C. (?) bronze and gold earring with three spheres separated by coiled wire segments (generally like Bosselmann-Ruickbie, no. 26, 34)

Interments: 6 (minimum)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0798, p. 170, 172, 183

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0844, p. 24

Photographs: 91-36-3, -4, -5, -8; 91-38-2, -3, -7, -9

Publication: 91-36-3, -4, -5, -8; 91-38-2, -3, -7, -9

Comments: grave heavily disturbed by a Frankish pit

Grave 1991-015

Plates: 194b-195a

Area: Temple E (peribolos south, at road)

Grid: 86:ZU

Elevation: 86.622 (top of amphora)

Tomb type: irregular amphora burial

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: upper portion of amphora turned upside-down (bones inserted within) and placed in angle of 2 walls

Objects: 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. amphora (Greek inscription gouged on shoulder, apparently pre-firing), closest to late 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> C. example from Corinth (Sanders 2003, fig. 10.3); uninventoried small glass fragment

Interments: 1 (subadult), bones of a bird also identified

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0798, p. 151

Plans and drawings:

Photographs: 1991-35-21, -22

Publication:

Grave 0027.025

Plates:

Area: South Stoa

Grid:

Elevation: "near surface"

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 2

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0027, p. 25

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 0050.015

Plates:

Area: Sikyonian Road (Temple C)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0050, p. 15  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 0063.048

Plates:  
Area: Lechaion Road (Late Antique house)  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: tile tent grave  
Tomb dimensions: L. 1.88  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0063, p. 48  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 0067.018

Plates:  
Area: Lechaion Road (Lechaion Road Basilica)  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type: cist? ("a small tomb")  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0067, p. 18  
Plans and drawings:  
Photographs:  
Publication:

Grave 0068.041

Plates:  
Area: Peirene Fountain  
Grid:  
Elevation:  
Tomb type:  
Tomb dimensions:  
Tomb architectural details:  
Objects:  
Interments:  
Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 64  
Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4  
Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 0090.106

Plates:

Area: Lechaion Road (Late Antique house)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: amphora burials?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0090, p. 106

Plans and drawings:

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: 3 amphoras said to contain fragments of large eggshells and small animal bones. Could some or all of these actually belong to human infants?

Grave 0109.032

Plates: 202, 204a, 206a

Area: Lechaion Road (Temple of Apollo peribolos northeast)

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: vaulted tomb

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: uninventoried coarse jugs, a glass bead, "iron clasps" (buckles?)

Interments: multiple

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0109, p. 32, 54

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0109, p. 32

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: Built as a pair with Grave 1972-020

Grave 0142.181

Plates:

Area: South Basilica

Grid: 57-58:h-m (Corinth Notebook 0146, p. 23)

Elevation:

Tomb type: flat-roofed chamber tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.0, W. 1.20, H. 1.30

Tomb architectural details: cover: split columns topped by poros slabs; walls: small stones laid dry

Objects: bronze ring MF4944

Interments: 6+

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0142, p. 181, 189; Corinth Notebook 0146, p. 23

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0146, p. 23

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 0175.041

Plates:

Area: South Stoa

Grid: a-d:1 (Corinth Notebook 0175, p. 1-2)

Elevation:

Tomb type: cist or vaulted tomb

Tomb dimensions: L. 2.00, W. 1.07

Tomb architectural details: floor: tiled

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0175, p. 41

Plans and drawings: (Corinth Notebook 0175, p. 1-2)

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 0184.056

Plates: 189a

Area: Temple E (north of temple)

Grid: C-D:23 (Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1)

Elevation:

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions: amphora: L. 0.78, W. 0.28

Tomb architectural details: amphora mouth at west

Objects: late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. (?) Gaza amphora C-1938-713, displays characteristics of Majcherek 1995, types 3 and 4

Interments: 1 (infant)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 01284, p. 56

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1, 56

Photographs: 85-136-18A

Publication: amphora published (Williams, C. K., II, and O. H. Zervos. 1982. "Corinth, 1981: East of the Theater." *Hesperia*: 51.2, 115-163 (fn. 35)) without mention of grave

Grave 0184.059a

Plates:

Area: Temple E (north of temple)

Grid: L-M:23 (Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details: 1 pan tile on each side

Objects: uninventoried "bronze object"

Interments: "child"

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 59, 60

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 0184.059b

Plates:

Area: Temple E (north of temple)

Grid: K-L:23 (Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1)

Elevation:

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.41, W. 0.31

Tomb architectural details: amphora mouth at west

Objects:

Interments: infant

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 59, 60

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 0184.059c

Plates:

Area: Temple E (north of temple)

Grid: E-F:23 (Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions: L. ca. 0.56

Tomb architectural details:

Objects: a silver coin (Dec. 13 1938, no. 1: Corinth, 500-431 B. C.) at east of grave construction and apparently within grave cut

Interments: "small child"

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 59, 60, 61

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: above Grave 0184.060

Grave 0184.059d

Plates:

Area: Temple E (north of temple)

Grid: D-E:23 (Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1)

Elevation:

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions: L. ca. 0.40, W. ca. 0.25

Tomb architectural details: amphora mouth at west

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 59, 61

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 0184.060

Plates:

Area: Temple E (north of temple)

Grid: E-F:23 (Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1)

Elevation:

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions: L. ca. 0.90, W. ca. 0.38

Tomb architectural details: amphora mouth at west

Objects:

Interments: "child"

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 60, 61

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: under Grave 0184.059c

Grave 0184.063

Plates: 189b

Area: Temple E (north of temple)

Grid: A-B:23 (Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1)

Elevation:

Tomb type: amphora burial

Tomb dimensions: full tomb construction: L. ca. 1.00

Tomb architectural details: amphora broken at shoulder, and corresponding gap between neck and body cover by pan tile fragments; stones line grave cut at each side of amphora body

Objects: uninventoried late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> C. Gaza amphora (probably late example of Majcherek 1995 type 3, or type 4)

Interments: infant

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 63

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1

Photographs: 1985-136-15A

Publication:

Grave 0184.064

Plates:

Area: Temple E (north of temple)

Grid: A-B:23 (Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1)

Elevation:

Tomb type: tile tent grave

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: "child"

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 64

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0184, p. 1

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: only west end survived following excavation activity east of this area in previous years

Grave 0313.051

Plates: 190a, 192d

Area: Temple E

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: pit?

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 1 (m 30+)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0313, p. 51

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 51

Photographs: 65-77-7, -8

Publication: Anderson 1967, p. 6

Comments: probably a disturbed Late Antique grave

Grave 0545.067

Plates:

Area: South Stoa (west, north of shop 30)

Grid:

Elevation: 81.252-81.009

Tomb type: pit?

Tomb dimensions: L. 0.800, W. 0.650

Tomb architectural details: "cut into white poros"

Objects:

Interments: subadult?

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0545, p. 64

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0545, p. 66

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: "a disturbed grave"

Grave 0598.119

Plates:

Area: West Terrace

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type:

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments:

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 64

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Grave 0600.102

Plates:

Area: West Terrace

Grid:

Elevation:

Tomb type: pit burial

Tomb dimensions:

Tomb architectural details:

Objects:

Interments: 1 (infant)

Primary notebook references: Corinth Notebook 0598, p. 119

Plans and drawings: Corinth Notebook 0122, p. 4

Photographs:

Publication:

Comments: probably a Late Antique grave disturbed by raising of entry shaft level of vaulted tomb Grave 1974-006

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## Abbreviations

AΔ = Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον

AE = Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς

AJA = American Journal of Archaeology

AthMitt = Mitteilungen des deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung

BMGS = Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

CRAI = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres

KolnJahrb = Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte

ΠΑΕ = Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας

VAHD = Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku