

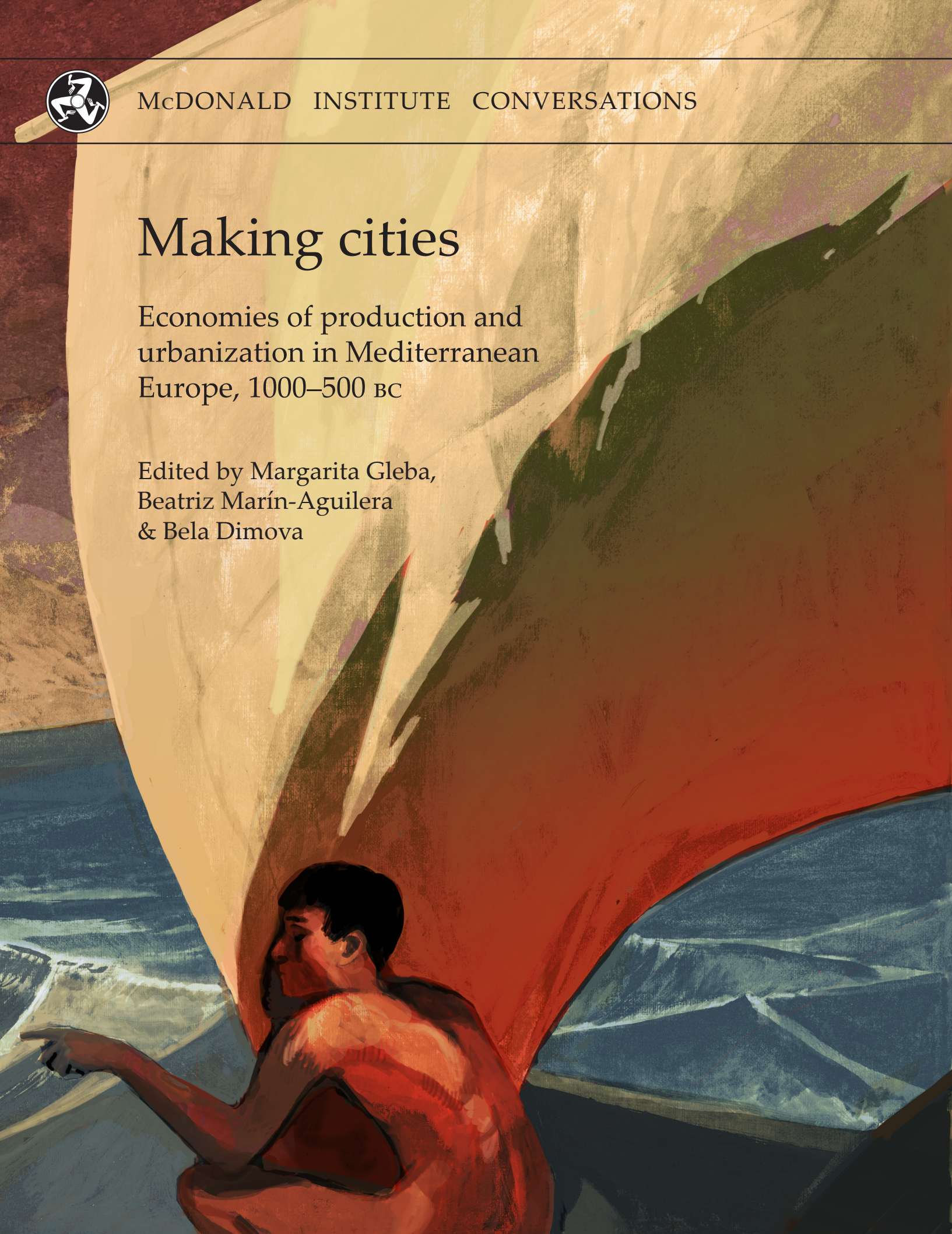


McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

Making cities

Economies of production and
urbanization in Mediterranean
Europe, 1000–500 BC

Edited by Margarita Gleba,
Beatriz Marín-Aguilera
& Bela Dimova



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with contributions from

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Chapter 8

Making Corinth, 800–500 BC: production and consumption in Archaic Corinth

Ioulia Tzonou

At Corinth, the Archaic period, a time fundamental to the city's history, is almost completely invisible except for the temple of Apollo. Research on the ground during the last few decades has taken interest away from early Corinth into the Roman and Medieval city (Sanders 2003; Williams 2003). However, recent literature gives momentum to a renewed investigation (Ziskowski 2012; 2014; Williams 2015; Morgan 2017; Rodríguez-Álvarez 2019; Hasaki 2021; Harrington & Ward forthcoming). It is crucial to go back and investigate the Archaic period asking new questions, without preconceptions. The time is ripe to do exactly that as projects in the area investigate the harbour of the city at Lechaion and Corinth's significant counterpart in the colonization effort, Tenea (Fig. 8.1) (Giannakopoulos & Kissas 2013; Korka 2018; Loven 2018; Scotton 2018). As fresh data and knowledge become available about habitation and use of the harbour as well as noteworthy neighbouring inland settlements during the Archaic period, the shape of the city of Corinth at the same time must be considered in light of its essential role in this changing landscape.

In this chapter, Corinthian habitation horizons of roughly the eighth (Fig. 8.2), seventh (Fig. 8.3) and sixth (Fig. 8.4) centuries BC are investigated with questions of production and consumption in mind. These centuries correspond approximately to the passage from the Geometric into the Protocorinthian and, finally, the Corinthian periods (see Table 8.1 for Corinthian chronology and period abbreviations). The central part of the site excavated by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, where the later Roman Forum extends, is the focus of analysis in terms of the activities that took place there during the aforementioned centuries. We have not established that this area was the centre of the city in the Archaic period. Its proximity to the temple of Apollo makes us assume that the centre was not far from it, even

though we do not know exactly where. Synchronic functions across space are traced in order to recreate the diachronic developments between the centuries. The descriptions of the archaeological contexts are derived from Charles Williams' meticulous excavations in the forum and are based on his annually published reports from the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s, and on his dissertation (Williams 1968; 1969; 1970; 1978; 1979; 1980; 1981; Williams & Fisher 1971; 1972; 1973; Williams *et al.* 1974). Williams produced expert plans based on his excavations that helped visualize the buildings and contexts he was uncovering. He was very precise in placing on each plan the relevant monuments and, thus, creating horizons with strict chronological limits. In my discussion, I use Williams' plans as a base and I construct a broader picture, since I am describing centuries over the course of which some of the monuments may have fallen out of use while others were erected. This distinction is indicated on the plans with grey and black tone.

In my attempt to understand the processes that took place in Corinth during the three centuries of the development of the urban space, I follow Donald Haggis' approach in his recent work at the Archaic site of Azoria (Haggis 2015). Haggis proposed a way to answer the difficult question of how we can identify on the ground the processes that eventually lead to the creation of cities. He studied the contexts that preserve traces of how people went about producing and consuming materials, individually or communally. The patterns he derived from this structuring of contexts and activities led him to visualize conceptually what the city looked like, where different activities took place and who performed these activities (Haggis 2015, 224). In this spirit, I examine a variety of contexts and, thus, I trace multiple activities in the area of the later forum: burial, cult, industry, management of water sources and construction of roads, trade and consumption of

Table 8.1. Dates: abbreviations and chronology.

Abbreviation	Period name	Absolute dates	Reference
EPG	Early Protogeometric	1050/1025–980	Pfaff 1999, 73
MPG	Middle Protogeometric	980–960	Pfaff 1999, 73
LPG	Late Protogeometric	960–900/875	Pfaff 1999, 73
EG	Early Geometric	900/875–850/825	Pfaff 1999, 73
MG I	Middle Geometric I	825–800	Pfaff 1999, 73
MG II	Middle Geometric II	800–750	Pfaff 1999, 73
LG	Late Geometric	750–720	Pfaff 1999, 73
EPC	Early Protocorinthian	720–690	Pfaff 1999, 73
MPC I	Middle Protocorinthian I	690–670	Amyx 1988, 428
MPC I	Middle Protocorinthian II	670–650	Amyx 1988, 428
LPC	Late Protocorinthian	650–630	Amyx 1988, 428
TR	Transitional	630–620/615	Amyx 1988, 428
EC	Early Corinthian	620/615–595/590	Amyx 1988, 428
MC	Middle Corinthian	595/590–570	Amyx 1988, 428
LC I	Late Corinthian I	570–550	Amyx 1988, 428
LC II	Late Corinthian II	550–500	Corinth XV.3, 10



Figure 8.1. Map of the northeast Peloponnese showing sites mentioned in the text (J.A. Herbst).

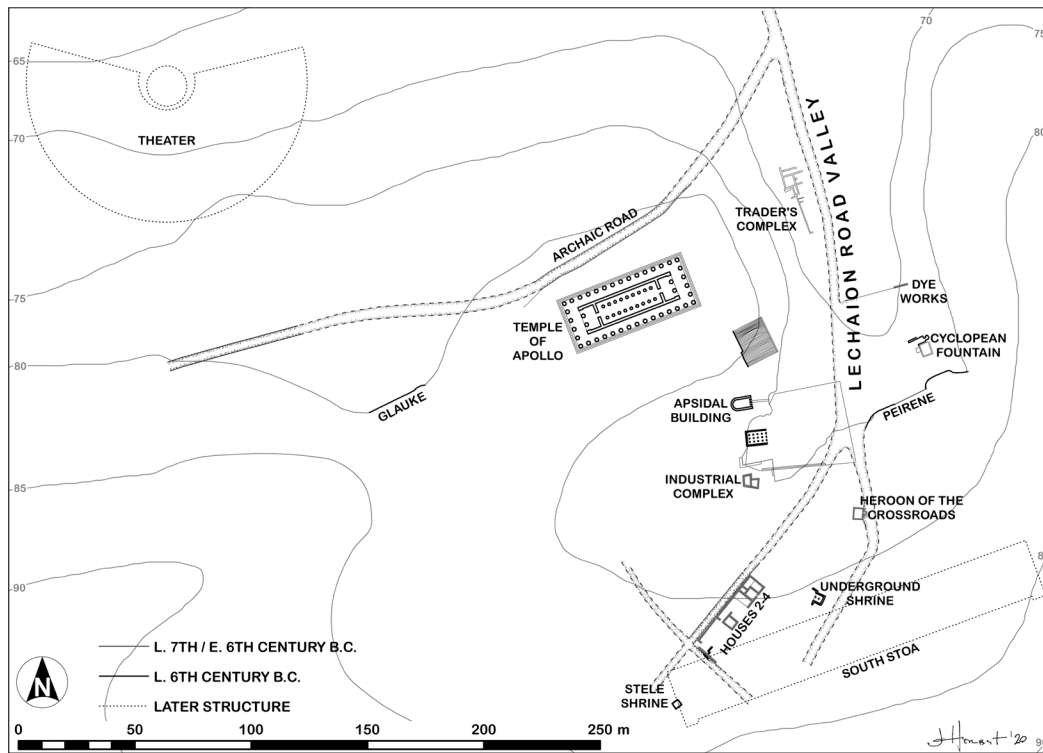


Figure 8.4. Corinth: Corinthian Period multiphase plan (620–500 BC) (J.A. Herbst).

local and imported goods. The close juxtaposition in space of diverse activities such as industry and cult creates an unexpected view of the reality of everyday life at the site early on. Sacred and mundane seem to have been integrated. Structuring of the contexts in space and time and organizing the activities performed therein helps us to construct a conceptual view of the space of the city and of the social activities and cultural processes that took place in it.

Corinth's two successive temples of Apollo on Temple Hill are considered the focus of activities carried out around them, since the formalization of the temple is still accepted as an essential aspect of early materialization of *polis* identity (Haggis 2015, 223). Other temples existed in Archaic Corinth, such as the Great Temple near the Gymnasium of the last quarter of the sixth century and the early shrine of Apollo and Asklepios in the Asklepieion from the early sixth century (Pfaff 2003, 115–9, 125–7). These are not dealt with here since they are located further afield from the area under consideration. The Apsidal Building in the Sacred Spring may date from no earlier than the sixth century and no later than the early fifth century BC, so it must have existed alongside the later temple of Apollo (Pfaff 2003, 124; Sanders 2010). The early temple of Apollo has been dated variously within the first

half of the seventh century with the roof tiles dating to 675–650 BC (Robinson 1976, 235: 700 BC; Morgan 1994, 138–9: c. 690 BC or soon afterwards based on the EPC pottery in the construction fill; Bookidis 2003, 248: first quarter of the seventh century; Rhodes 2003, 87: seventh century; see Sapirstein 2009 for the roof tiles). Its replacement was erected after the middle of the sixth century, after the 560s BC, with the roof executed between 550–540 BC (Winter 1993, 12–24; Bookidis 2000, 386; Pfaff 2003, 112–15; Bookidis & Stroud 2004; Williams 2015, 457). The construction of such monumental structures cannot be viewed in isolation. A key question to explore is what characterized the urban landscape – if it can be called urban – around the temples before they were built, and how it changed, if it did, with the temple construction in the seventh and sixth centuries BC.

A connected issue is the location of the *agora* in Corinth, a question that is still open to debate (Donati 2010; Dubbini 2011, with earlier bibliography). Various hypotheses have been proposed for the location of the *agora* of the Greek city (Figs. 8.5–8.6): Robert Scranton placed it north of Peirene and, according to him, it only began to extend south in the fourth century BC (*Corinth* I.iii, 134). Bert Hodge Hill argued that the *agora* was south of Peirene (*Corinth* I.vi, 118). Charles

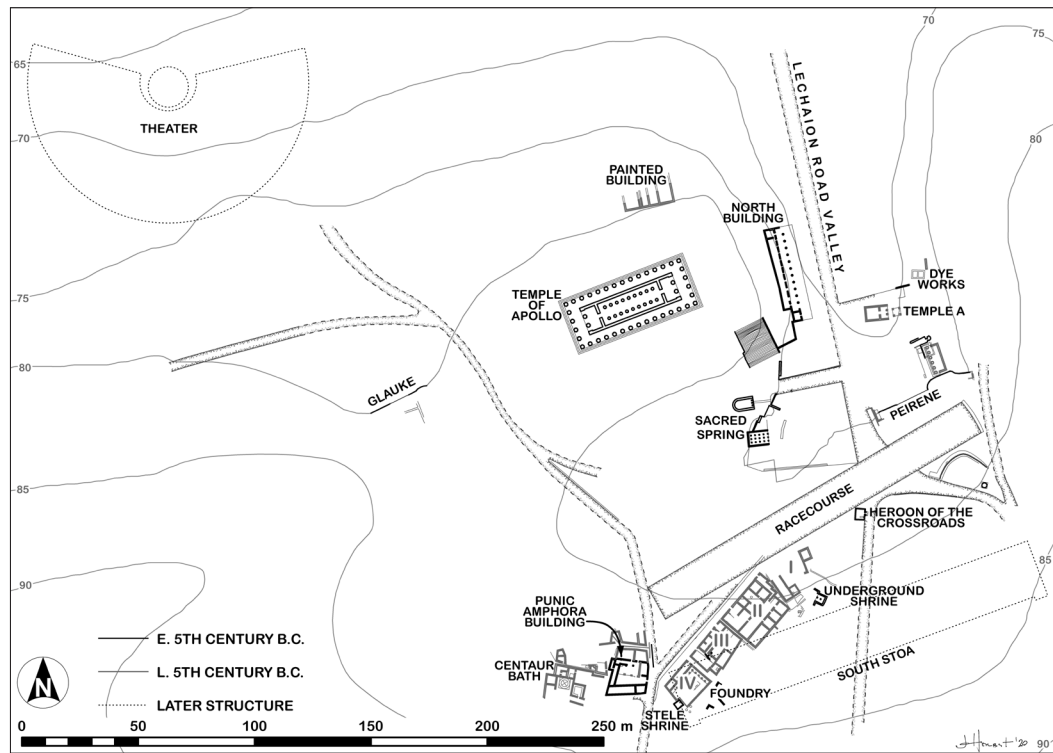


Figure 8.5. Corinth: fifth century BC multiphase plan (J.A. Herbst).

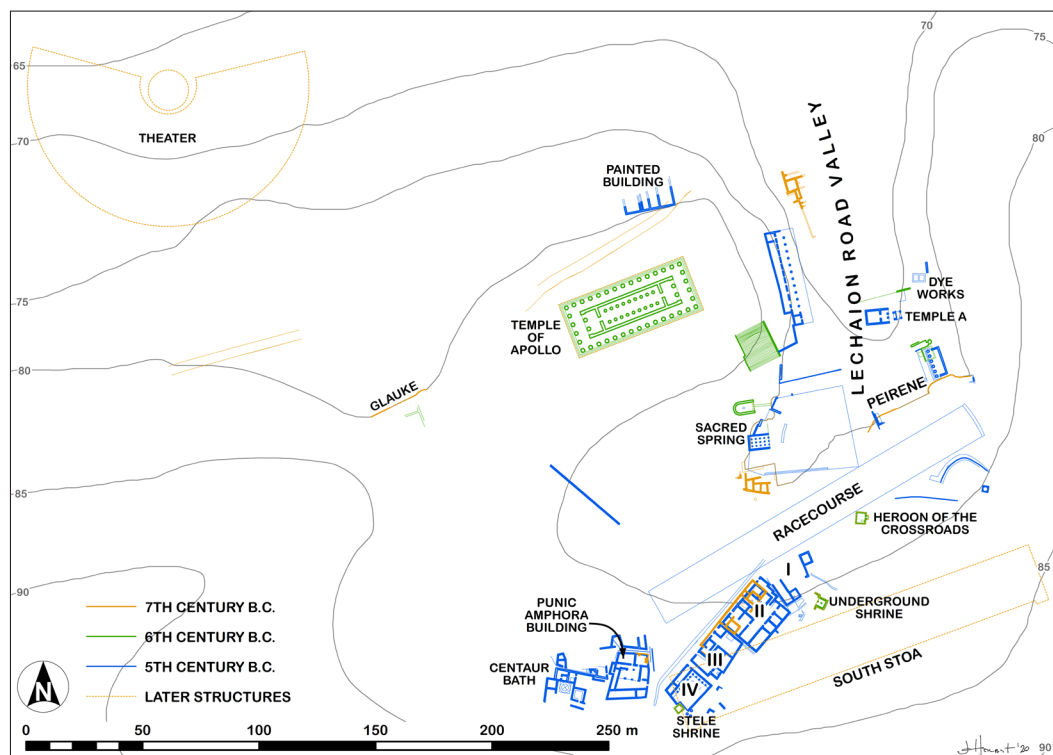


Figure 8.6. Corinth: multiphase plan up to 400 BC (J.A. Herbst).

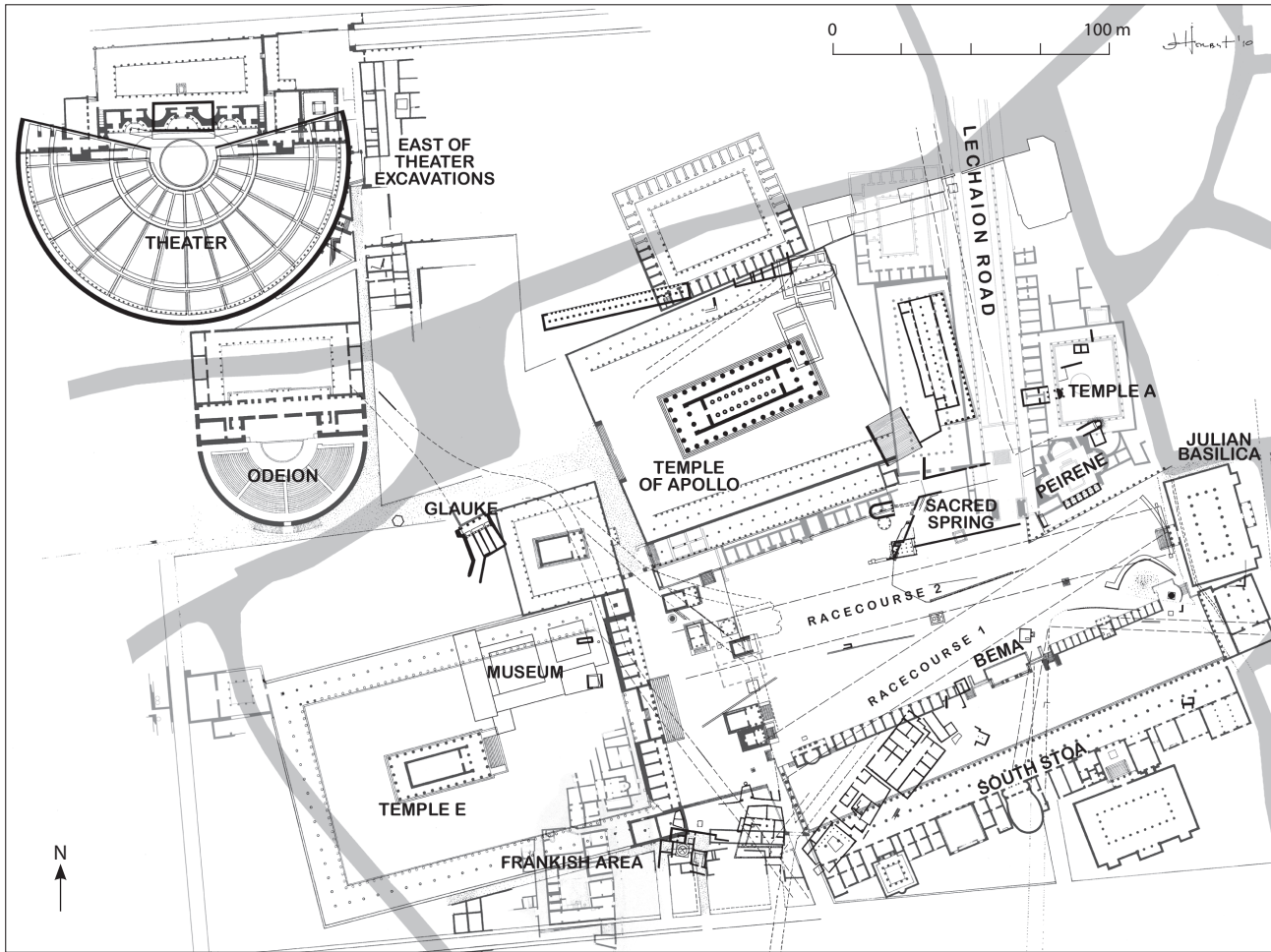


Figure 8.7. Corinth: Forum, all periods (J.A. Herbst).

Williams believed the Classical and Hellenistic *agora* of Corinth should be looked for to the north or northeast of Temple Hill where the temple of Apollo stands, and thus under the modern village square (Williams 1970, 35, 38; Roebuck 1972, 102; Robinson 1976, 212, n. 28).

Williams proposed a number of arguments to support his hypothesis. First, the terrain of the Lechaion Road Valley was uneven and the buildings followed its configuration in the sixth and fifth centuries BC (Figs. 8.4–5). A flat space large enough and suitable for the positioning of an *agora* did not exist in this landscape to the south of Temple Hill before large earth works produced it in the Early Hellenistic period (Williams 1970, 35). Second, the position of water sources, water supply and distribution within the Lechaion Road Valley show that the public area should have developed immediately below the springs or along the water course that flowed from the sources, assuming that an *agora* should be well-watered (Williams 1970, 35). Third, there appear to be no physical remains of

buildings requisite for the civic heart of a large commercial city, such as a *bouleuterion* (or council house), a law court, a *prytaneion* (the seat of the *prytaneis*, government officials), or an archive building that should be expected in the area of the *agora* at least in the Hellenistic period (Williams 1970, 37). There is no space for such buildings east of the Julian Basilica because bedrock rose in a rather steep slope there; it was later cut back with the construction of the basilica (Fig. 8.7). To the south was the South Stoa, the racecourses covered the middle of the area during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and there was a slope at the west end of the Roman Forum. Fourth, the South Stoa was not used for governmental or administrative purposes in the pre-Roman period; the function of the building is still controversial and undetermined (*Corinth* I.iv; Williams 1970, 37; Scahill 2016; James 2019). Finally, the Lechaion Road Valley and its continuation to the southwest contained a number of cults (Fig. 8.6): Temple A and its semicircular altar (fifth century to

146 bc), the Sacred Spring (eighth century to 146 bc, with a memory of it enduring into Roman Imperial times), the Heroon of the Crossroads (first half of the sixth century), the Underground Shrine southwest of the Bema (sixth century and out of use in the fourth century bc), Building I to the south of the racecourse (fifth century and out of use in the fourth century bc), the Stele Shrine under the floor of the westernmost shop of the South Stoa (mid-sixth century and out of use in the fourth century bc), and the two lines of racecourse which served in association with one or more of these cults (fifth and third century respectively and out of use in 146 bc) (Williams 1970, 38; 1978, 13–14, 57, 73–5, 93, 126; 1979, 129; 1981, 2–13; Pfaff 2003, 127; *Corinth* VII.6, 4–6).

Jamieson Donati (2010) disagreed with Williams' hypothesis. He counter-argued that objects such as drinking cups, dry measures, weights, counting tables, lamps and roof tiles, marked as state property and found in the area of the later forum show that the *agora* was located underneath it. Donati disputed the absence of administrative buildings claiming that buildings such as the Columned Hall and Building II, excavated after Williams' initial argument, should be identified as administrative structures (Donati 2010, 4 n. 6, 10–12, 15–16). He further maintained that every city was different and so we should not expect the same rules to apply universally (Donati 2010, 16–17).

Although Donati's argumentation is well-developed, there are obvious weaknesses. The number of objects he discussed is small, only 20 artefacts. They do not all come from the forum, but instead include some from excavations further afield in the Gymnasium and the Asklepieion. Some objects are Attic. Among the Attic ones, some are marked with ΔΑ in the Corinthian alphabet. The contexts of some are dated to later periods, so their association with the findspots is not secure. No distinction is made between the Classical and the Hellenistic period, when the situation must have been different, as Donati himself explained (Donati 2010, 14). Thus, the issue of the location of the *agora* is not resolved.

Another complicated aspect of the whole question is the selection of criteria on which we should base our identification of an *agora* and whether we can apply them to all cities indiscriminately. Haggis discussed the fluid nature of communal spaces in Greek cities before the late Classical period. In his hypothesis, such areas may have been roughly formed and variable in function, where context and specific activity may have determined the structures used rather than consistently identifiable types of architecture (Haggis 2015, 222). For Corinth, renewed investigations to the northeast of the theatre by Chris Pfaff from the spring of 2018

onwards aim to shed light on this vexed issue of the location of the Greek *agora* in Corinth (Pfaff 2020). These excavations, having started from topsoil, are currently in Roman levels.

While we are waiting for new evidence to move us forward in our quest to find the location of the *agora*, questions to be explored in relation to production and consumption processes related to urbanization include: the function of the space around the two successive temples of Apollo before their construction and how it changed after they were built; the evidence for public versus private activities and the evidence for community organization and integration. Evidence of production, especially of ceramic manufacture, has always been present in Corinth (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2019; Hasaki 2021). One centre of production of pottery and figurines was the Potters' Quarter to the west of the city, while to the north the Tile Works was the area where tiles and other utilitarian artefacts were produced (*Corinth* XV.1, 2, 3; Merker 2006; Harrington & Ward forthcoming). Other types of production, especially metallurgy, are traced in the forum and are discussed below. Consumption activities are spread throughout.

The description of activities below follows the chronological limits of the centuries to make this discussion more manageable in terms of time elapsed during the various phases. The changes in pottery decoration follow closely the centuries, as the Geometric repertoire is fashionable to about the end of the eighth century bc with Protocorinthian style taking front stage in the seventh century and, finally, the fully developed Corinthian style, when mass production of pottery brought quality down, following shortly in the sixth. The plans of the centuries necessarily present a general picture of the buildings that existed at any one time. While some structures may have been constructed at the beginning of the century and, thus, may have been lying in ruins towards the end when new structures were erected, this is a regular process in life. To cite a modern analogy, in Ancient Corinth, we concurrently use the Old Museum built in 1902 and still functioning today, even if under a different purpose, along the side of the New Museum constructed in 1931, and the New Apotheke built in 2017.

Eighth century, to the end of the Geometric period and the transition into the Early Protocorinthian, 720 bc

During the eighth century, when the rule of the Bacchiad family was established (747–657 bc), and the first colonization endeavours were made, Corinth was obviously thriving. Looking at the plan of the

century (Fig. 8.2), this statement sounds rather excessive. What we have preserved from the time is the funerary landscape and we struggle to piece together the habitation evidence and the traces of the beginnings of the process of *synoecism*. *synoecism* was the creation of an effective state in order to unite the individual family plots or small villages into a whole, under a centralized authority. The Bacchiad family is credited with the movement (Roebuck 1972, 127). This process of Corinth's formation as a community and a city, as a unified habitation centre and political entity must have been multifaceted. While the literary sources are not very informative as to if and how it happened, other criteria have been brought into this discussion as we attempt to comprehend the stages in the process. Such criteria include the existence of settlement areas versus burial locations and the separation or integration of the two, with the following population growth that burial expansion may show; the construction of major public works that unify the population; and the expression of identity in symbolic and cultic actions (Salmon 1984, 54–9). For example, the establishment of a sanctuary on top of Acrocorinth dedicated to a protecting city goddess was considered part of the movement by Williams. A state cult must have been necessary to give political focus to the newly established state (Williams 1986, 19).

Within the confines of the later forum funerary and habitation remains were intertwined. Burials spread in the Lechaion Road Valley and extended to the Panayia Field to the southeast and to the area east-southeast of the theatre in the northwest (Dickey 1992; Pfaff 2007; Sanders *et al.* 2014). Settlement remains are scarce and we can only get a glimpse of the domestic structures based on wells excavated in the same areas (Pfaff 1988; Dickey 1992, 121–32). Wells indicate that individual houses and graves may have existed close one to the other until the end of the Geometric period. Roebuck argued that *synoecism* must have occurred at the end of the eighth century BC and it was that political movement that gave the impetus for moving the burials out of the area (Roebuck 1972, 127).

The question arises of whether the *synoecism* involved the consolidation of the central area around Temple Hill or the area within the Classical city walls. In addition to the forum, burials were excavated in the Potters' Quarter to the southwest (*Corinth* XV.1, 7; Dickey 1992, 131). During March 2020, the Greek Archaeological Service excavated Geometric burials in the area of the village of Agioi Anargyroi, halfway between the centre of Ancient Corinth and the area of the Potters' Quarter. Small villages must have existed scattered in the area, very similar to the way the villages spread today (Tzonou forthcoming). Would this community formation include these areas as well?

Following Roebuck, Williams initially also believed that at the end of the Geometric period, with the new spirit of urbanization and with the evolution of a more compact plan for the centre of the city, family burials within or near the individual houses were discontinued (Williams & Fisher 1973, 4). Williams' hypothesis was that during the following period, the Early Protocorinthian, at the beginning of the seventh century BC (Fig. 8.3), the Corinthians stopped burying in the Lechaion Road Valley and moved their burials to the coastal plain below the city, in the North Cemetery (*Corinth* XIII; Williams 2015, 449). A dedicated burial plot was created that was not located next to the habitation sites of the people buried. Thus, habitation and burial were distinguished and separated in space.

Two problems with this hypothesis have become apparent through renewed excavations and research. First, work by the Greek Archaeological Service has shown that the North Cemetery did not become re-established in the MG II period as it was believed before, but rather it was used continuously as a burial ground since prehistoric times. Numerous burials were excavated spanning the Geometric to Archaic periods including 80 PG to MG graves and 74 of the seventh-sixth centuries (Giannopoulou *et al.* 2013; Aslamatzidou-Kostourou 2018). A rich and extensive cemetery of Geometric and Archaic dates existed in the plain to the north of the city and extended to the west and east of the area of the North Cemetery excavated by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (*Corinth* XIII). This cemetery had been the burial location since the Middle Bronze Age, and it was not created in the MG period when burials slowly began to diminish in the forum (Tzonou & Morgan 2019, 727).

A second consideration to Williams' initial hypothesis of the separation of the funerary landscape from the settlement is that burials continued in the Lechaion Road Valley and east of the theatre to the end of the seventh century (and into the EC period), as Dickey's research has shown. At least 10 burials are likely to date to the late eighth or seventh century (Dickey 1992, Plan 2, for a large-scale plan of the graves). The number is not negligible and it cannot be assumed that these burials are exceptions. Some Corinthians continued to place their dead in close proximity to the settlement through the seventh century. There are examples of close juxtaposition of nearly contemporary wells and burials of the EPC period (Dickey 1992, 128). The idea that people stopped burying when the early temple of Apollo was built does not hold true.

Even if burials continue, burial attitudes change. The difference detected is in the type of burial: initially it was family burials, while later on the burials were

individual graves, not organized in family units (Williams 1978, 7). The frequency of burials also declined. While 23 burials can be assigned to the period between 900–750 bc, the number drops to 10 for the period between 750–600 bc. Burials in the central area were made less frequently after 750 bc and stopped altogether by the beginning of the sixth century (Dickey 1992, 124–5). The number of graves in the area of the forum is very low compared to the numbers of people buried in the plain to the north. Only a select few were buried in the forum, while the bulk of the population used the area of the plain.

Two different interpretations of the burials in relation to the emergence of the *polis* in Corinth were proposed: Morris (1987, 186–7) saw the expansion of burials during MG II (first half of the eighth century) and the cessation of intramural burial (even though, as we saw, it was not cessation but rather decrease in numbers) as evidence of *polis* formation since they show expansion of the citizen body to include broader sections of the male population. There was definitely a population expansion. The question is, based on what criteria people were buried in one location or the other. Dickey (1992, 138), on the other hand, placed the emergence of the Corinthian *polis*, that is the consolidation of the Corinthia as an autonomous political unit governed from Corinth, in the middle of the eighth century because he saw a fundamental change in Corinthian society. He argued that emphasis was shifting away from the individual to the community as shown by the disappearance of grave goods and the adoption of stone sarcophagi, both indicators that there were no differences in status. The use of the sarcophagus, however, is already an indication of a different status given the amount of labour needed to produce one (Sanders *et al.* 2014, 33).

Graves can act as a guide towards defining the point in time when the shift from the individual to the communal use of this space occurred. The continuity of burial, even if burials were fewer in number and different in scope, affects the argument for *synoecism* at the end of the eighth century. If the cessation of burial altogether in the central area is a prerequisite for community organization, then we do have to reconsider the date when the *synoecism* may have occurred. On the other hand, the construction of the temple of Apollo in the first half of the seventh century, as prime indication of community organization, certainly plays a significant role in any hypothesis we propose on the date of the *synoecism*. Salmon (1984, 57) had already concluded that the Corinthia was unified by the time of Kypselos in the seventh century. It seems that individual and communal use of space may have continued side-by-side for a while and the change was gradual.

Other than graves, the physical remains preserved of eighth-century Corinth, which has been called by Coldstream ‘a thriving commercial *polis*, rapidly increasing in size’ (Coldstream 1968, 365), represent communal activities including management of water, organization of traffic and consolidation of cult. A shallow open drain running down the Lechaion Road Valley was constructed after 750 bc (MG II) and lasted into the sixth century, when a built drain was constructed within it (Morgan 1953, 134; Williams 1970, 33; Dickey 1992, 125; Robinson 2011, 127). A LG (750–720 bc) terrace wall, the first monumental construction in the area of the Sacred Spring, was built across the valley in the last quarter of the eighth century in an effort to prevent earth from blocking water flow and access (Williams & Fisher 1971, 3, 23). A dirt roadbed (LG) was laid between Peirene and the Sacred Spring connecting the Lechaion Road Valley with the forum (Robinson 2011, 127).

Finally, fragments of bronze cauldron and tripod dedications on Temple Hill date cultic activities in a sanctuary located where the later temples stood back to the second half of the eighth century (Bookidis 2003, 249). Most of the fragments come from a seventh-sixth century fill but at least one example dates from the late eighth century (this is MF-1972-166A-E, and the rest are MF-1972-177, MF-1972-148, MF-1972-164, MF-1972-149, MF-1972-150, MF-1972-151). At least one scholar, Reichert-Südbeck (2000, 195) connects this tripod with the cult of Apollo on Temple Hill. The offering of intricate-to-produce, highly valued and symbolic objects in the public area of a shrine must have been controlled centrally by local authorities. In terms of the individual dedication, the tripod was a mark of prominent social status, authoritative discourse and political power (Papalexandrou 2008). Trade had already started, but we have no evidence for a structure dealing with it in the forum (see below).

During the eighth century bc, Corinthians buried their dead in the area of the forum. At the same time, they were able to organize themselves in groups to alter their landscape to their benefit by controlling the water and enhancing accessibility. Prominent individuals of the community dedicated exquisite objects in a sanctuary. Communal activities appeared gradually and seem to concentrate in the second half of the eighth century, when burial gradually diminished.

Seventh century, the Protocorinthian and Transitional period into Early Corinthian, 720–620 bc

Change is dramatic in the seventh century bc, as comparison between Figures 8.2 and 8.3 clearly shows. The seventh century, the time of Kypselos’

rule (657–627 BC), is marked by the production of high quality Protocorinthian pottery which circulated widely throughout the Mediterranean. The site of the later forum is now populated by buildings of various functions. The construction of the early temple of Apollo probably involved the whole city considering its size and monumentality. The date of its construction is placed in the first half of the seventh century, while later in the century a road was constructed to its north (Robinson 1976, 212). The construction of the road is dated by pottery found in it to 625 BC. The road remained in use until 570 BC.

The function of the temple was multiple, as Morgan argued recently (Morgan 2017, 8), including the display of a sacred calendar, an archive, a money depository for sacred fines, and costly dedications. This centre of public activity did not exist in a vacuum. Williams' excavations exposed domestic and industrial structures covering the whole western half of the forum, from the Sacred Spring and the Roman *bema* westward, and all the way to the South Stoa to the south during the Protocorinthian and Corinthian periods (Williams & Fisher 1971, 23). What was more specifically the function of these 'houses' around the temple of Apollo?

Domestic structures of the Protocorinthian period were located at the head of the Lechaion Road Valley to the south-southwest of an Industrial Complex that extended to the south of the Sacred Spring. An EPC house (720–690 BC), the so-called House with the Pits, containing at least three storage pits of various shapes, bottle-shaped, rectangular and circular, was located to the west of the area of the later South Stoa underneath the Classical Punic Amphora Building (Williams 1979, 110; Williams 1980, 108–10). Private Houses 2–4 were excavated to the east of the House with the Pits. Protocorinthian House 2 may have included a fence for a livestock yard against its west side. An *aryballos* was found on its floor. There is no evidence to show that there were any industrial activities associated with this structure. It seems rather that this was a farm house with a great view towards the temple. Houses 2 and 3 were destroyed at the beginning of the fifth century (Williams & Fisher 1972, 147–9).

During the LPC period (650–630 BC), and while the early temple of Apollo was up and functioning, an industrial courtyard with a furnace was constructed in the area where the *temenos* of the Sacred Spring would extend later (Williams & Fisher 1971, 7–9). According to Carol Mattusch, this installation represents the earliest small-scale metallurgical operation at least partly devoted to bronze casting (Mattusch 1977, 381). In addition to ash and metal slag, finds from the area include a small bivalve mould for a spearhead and a

fragmentary Archaic pan tile with a heavily vitrified round depression in its upper surface, possibly used as a stand for a small crucible (Williams & Fisher 1971, 30–1, cat. no. 31, pl. 7, MF-1970-44, mould; Williams & Fisher 1973, 31, cat. no. 32, pl. 11, MF-1972-42, tile). A kiln for firing moulds for small metal objects may have existed as well (Williams & Fisher 1971, 7, n. 6).

Dining activities are represented in the pottery assemblage, which includes high quality tablewares – unusual pottery for an industrial complex. The pottery dates from the same period as the industrial activity, LPC, and included an *olpe*, *skyphoi* and *kotylai*, and East Greek imports (Williams & Fisher 1971, 26–7, cat. nos. 10–18, pl. 7). While imports from the east are located here, imports from the west were discovered in the so-called Trader's Complex.

Williams excavated the Trader's Complex down the valley to the north of the Industrial Complex (Williams *et al.* 1974, 14–24). The building is the first structure in the general area of the later forum, and more specifically in the Lechaion Road Valley, with evidence for wide-ranging trade even though trade was developing in the Gulf of Corinth already during the first half of the eighth century (Roebuck 1972, 105; Morgan 1988). The votives in the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora show that Corinthian trade with the Levant began c. 725 BC, while trade with the west, with Italy, dates from the eighth century or even the early ninth (Roebuck 1972, 108; Siegel 1978, 354; Morgan 1988, 313; Hall 2014, 102; Tzonou & Morgan 2019, 731). The Trader's Complex is constructed in the seventh but its main period of use is the sixth century BC.

Domestic and industrial installations began to encroach upon the areas where burials extended before. During the seventh century, some burial was still practiced in the area of the later forum, even though the bulk of the graves had been moved to the North Cemetery. Metal objects were produced on site, in the immediate vicinity of the temple, and local and imported pottery was consumed. These private enterprises coexisted with the major communal project of the organization, design and construction of the early temple of Apollo.

Sixth century, the Corinthian period, 620–500 BC

Throughout the sixth century BC, industry, trade and cult continued to flourish in the area of the later forum (Fig. 8.4). Activities continued at the Industrial Complex in the vicinity of the Sacred Spring. A U-shaped hearth, a work yard with another hearth and a clay-lined basin perhaps for washing clay, and a circular shallow ash pit were excavated (Williams & Fisher 1971, 9). The complex was abandoned when the *temenos* of the

Sacred Spring expanded between 550–500 bc, at the same time as the second temple of Apollo was built (Williams & Fisher 1971, 9–10). The new temple had an undivided *cella* most probably, based on Jon Frey’s meticulous study of the interior colonnade and, thus, discussions about the function of a two-room *cella* have to be revised (Pfaff 2003, 112–15; Bookidis & Stroud 2004, 411–14; Frey 2015). Possibly, the Apsidal Building was constructed in the Sacred Spring, even though this may have happened later in the early fifth century (Pfaff 2003, 124). Cultic activities were taking stronger hold in the area of Temple Hill and to its south thereby forcing industry to move further away.

Industry moved to the south in what we call the Tavern of Aphrodite Foundry. There, to the north of the later South Stoa, iron and bronze slag from a foundry were discovered. The whole area underneath the later Stoa, to the north of and between the interior

and exterior colonnades, preserved industrial remains of the sixth and fifth centuries. Williams excavated round and rectangular pits dug in the bedrock along with much ash, burning, iron and bronze slag in nearby deposits in the area between the later Classical Buildings III and IV (Figs. 8.5–8.6, 8.8) (Williams & Fisher 1973, 14–19). Pit B had traces of iron oxide on its side walls, representing evidence for casting or forging (Williams & Fisher 1973, 15). The metallurgical activity continued into the fifth century south of Room 3 of Building III with an iron worker’s hearth, and a heavy layer of black ash with numerous small granules and thin flakes of iron. Williams believed that everyday utilitarian pieces, small metal objects were produced here, and not works of art (Williams 1979, 126–7).

While the Industrial Complex was active to the south of the *temenos* of the Sacred Spring in the first half of the century, a different kind of industry may



Figure 8.8. South Stoa, Tavern of Aphrodite Foundry (bw 1972 058 02) (L. Bartzioti).

have existed further north and down the Lechaion Road Valley. The presence of muricid shells led Williams to identify a building complex as a Dye Works operating by at least the MC period (595–570 BC), perhaps earlier (Williams 1968, 134–5; Williams & Fisher 1971, 23). A problem with this identification is the distance from the sea. In discussions to develop a more substantial research project centred around the Dye Works as part of the Peirene Valley Project headed by Betsey Robinson, Antonio Saez Romero, with extensive experience in fish and shell establishments in Spain, questioned the viability of a Dye Works this far from the sea. Also, the quantity of shells needed for the structure to operate would be substantial. Margarita Gleba and Bela Dimova suggested testing the plaster on the walls of the basins for possible remains of pigment. It is possible that fulling or washing activities, or a smaller dyeing operation, may have taken place here rather than the production of quantities of dye, since facilities in the ancient Mediterranean in general indicate that production was small until Roman times (Marín-Aguilera *et al.* 2018, 146). Even if not a Dye Works, the basins covered in hydraulic mortar show some sort of liquid-based industrial activity.

Textiles were produced in the Trader's Complex, a large house with phases dating from the EC and MC periods (620–570 BC). It was active until between 580 and 560 BC. At this time, it was destroyed along with the early temple of Apollo and the road immediately north of the temple (Williams *et al.* 1974, 23–4). The loom weights excavated in the Trader's Complex are typical of the Archaic period. Four were found in a MC (595–570 BC) floor deposit. They are close in weight (103–135 g) and probably represent a loom set re-assembled from previous sets. These weights were likely used to weave fine cloth, with 5–10 warp threads/cm, taking 5–10 g tension per thread (Gleba *et al.* forthcoming).

Production of fine cloth for consumption by the residents of the complex seems to fit well with the high quality of pottery also consumed in the building. The Trader's Complex, as the name indicates, contained a high percentage of imported wares from the east and the west. Etruscan *bucchero* pottery, Chiot chalices, Rhodian plates, Attic and Laconian mugs, and East Greek *amphorae* were among the finds (Williams *et al.* 1974, 34–45). The Etruscan *bucchero* examples, mostly *kantharoi*, are dated to the late seventh–early sixth centuries (610–560 BC). In addition to the Trader's Complex that contained most of the *bucchero* examples, other pieces come from areas around the site: from Temple E, from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, and from the Potters' Quarter (Williams *et al.* 1974, 35–37, cat. no. 4, C-1932–129, 37, cat. no. 5, C-1932–130). If *bucchero*

signifies elite consumption and display, one wonders whether the presence of these pieces in Corinth may be viewed as evidence for banquets with participants of elite social status in the areas where the specific pieces were excavated.

Heavy use of the area of the forum, with manufacture, trade and cult represented, left no space for funerary activity. There are no burials from the sixth century (apart from one EC child burial), but the memory of their previous existence was preserved in *heroa*. These were structures where heroes were remembered, sometimes including enclosures of low walls around graves of significant ancestors, who were considered heroes, and votives were deposited in their memory. At the Heroon of the Crossroads, a *temenos* was built in the MC period (595–570 BC) or LC period (570–550 BC) over PG graves (Williams & Fisher 1973, 6–12; Williams *et al.* 1974, 1–6; Williams 1978, 79–87; Pfaff 2003, 128, second or third quarter of the sixth century; Williams 2015, 449). A seventh century Syro-Phoenician glass bead was among the votive offerings in the *heroon* and thus it testifies that traded objects were considered important enough to be cherished and to be included here (Williams & Fisher 1973, 8, pl. 3, MF-1972–28). The Underground Shrine may possibly be connected with a hero cult because of the eighth century cemetery in the area where it was built. Pfaff (2003, 127) dates it to the sixth century based on pottery found in it by Charles Morgan.

It is at this time, in the sixth century, that we have evidence for a city wall below the plateau of the city, in the plain. The wall was recently excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service (Kissas & Tasinos 2016). Part of a city wall of the first half of the seventh century, or possibly as late as the third quarter of the century was excavated at the Potters' Quarter but it is uncertain whether it extended from there to the area of the forum (Frederiksen 2013; Williams 2015, 451–2, 453 n. 30, 464). If we accept the newly discovered structure as a city wall, it provides evidence that the city was delimited within a far wider area.

Corinthians of the sixth century were very active in constructing images of their communal identity in the erection of their temple and the city wall. Individually, they produced pottery, textiles and metal objects they consumed and exported widely, receiving in return wares from throughout the Mediterranean.

Conclusion

The synchronic functions and diachronic processes through the centuries (Fig. 8.6) lead us to conclusions about activities that played a role in the development of the city. Based on the structuring of the contexts

described we can infer social activities, both public and private. During the eighth century bc, the century of the emergence of *polis* identity, individual burial continued in the area of the later forum. At the same time, we detect public activities such as a cult with votives deposited at a shrine and water management by the building of a drain and a retaining wall to protect a natural spring, as well as the construction of a road but not of a city wall. There are no traces of any industrial installations or any production taking place in the area of the later forum at this early time. Such production as there was (ceramics) took place in some other part of the city, such as the Potters' Quarter (*Corinth* XV.1, 10–11; *Corinth* XV.3, 246).

In the seventh century, communal organization is reflected in the building of the early temple of Apollo, in new roads and in the management of water. However, individual burials also continued, along with domestic structures to the north of the later South Stoa. At the same time, activities such as trade with both the east and the west and industry (metallurgy) appeared in the area of the forum. Bronze and iron goods were produced on site and imported pottery was used along with local products. Imported pottery from Athens had been present as early as the tenth century bc, and from

Argos as early as the eighth, and now overseas trade intensified with Italy and Asia Minor. The question arises of whether these activities, industry and trade, were private enterprises or whether they were state controlled. Williams (2015, 454–6) believed it reasonable to argue that the earliest overseas trading was state-instigated but that this could not have been the general rule. He cited literary evidence that points to the fact that private traders operated as well. He concluded that a combination of both, private and state, must have existed according to circumstance and I agree with him.

During the sixth century, industry persisted in the area to the south of the Sacred Spring until the second temple of Apollo was built. At that time, metallurgical activities were discontinued and were moved further south in the area north of and underneath the later South Stoa, where metallurgy continued into the fifth century. The possibility exists that textile dyeing was carried on in the Lechaion Road Valley. Cult was formalized further in the second temple of Apollo. And an additional temple may have been erected in the area of the forum in the form of an Apsidal Building in the Sacred Spring. Individual burials no longer existed but burials of important ancestors were remembered in structures built around and close to earlier graves. Trade continued and flourished and possibly a city wall was built.

Public and private activities were mixed together as individual and communal actions were integrated on site. This integration is illustrated evocatively by two finds from the area of the Tavern of Aphrodite Foundry, from the house underneath Building III dated to the sixth century bc (Williams & Fisher 1973, 12–13). There, Williams excavated a LC krater showing women working at a loom, and a second krater bearing a representation of ships (Williams & Fisher 1973, 13, cat. no. 13A, pl. 8, C-1972-40A; 13–14, cat. no. 14, pl. 8, C-1972-38) (Fig. 8.9a–b). While it is unclear whether the depiction on the latter is of a warship or

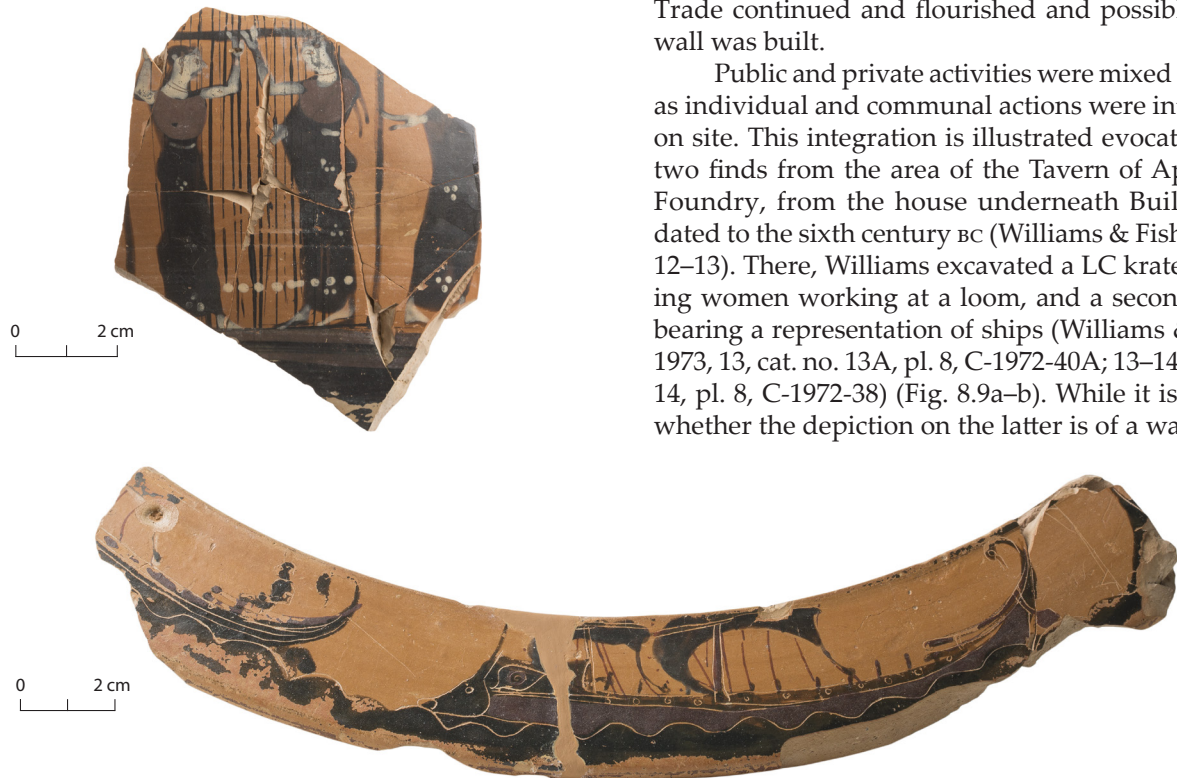


Figure 8.9. Late Corinthian kraters from the sixth-century bc floor (C-1972-40A digital 2017 1779; C-1972-38 digital 2017 1888) (P. Dellatolas).



Figure 8.10. *The Arachne aryballos, Late Early Corinthian or Middle Corinthian (600 BC) (CP 2038, digital 2017 1881; P. Dellatolas).*

a merchant ship, state warships might have been used in trade, if trading was a state-controlled enterprise (Williams 2015, 454). And even though weaving is thought of as a domestic activity, its products may have served public purposes.

Ancient sources mention textiles as one of the products Corinth exported (Salmon 1984, 119). The production of patterned textiles is attested on Corinthian pots such as the *Arachne aryballos* (Fig. 8.10), a late EC or MC (about 600 BC) *aryballos* bought in Athens by Saul and Gladys Weinberg in 1950. The myth of Arachne (spider), the story of a weaving contest between a woman named Arachne and the goddess Athena, which is said to have taken place in Lydia, may be represented on the *aryballos*. The weaver, Arachne, and her father, Idmon of Colophon, the dyer of purple wool, were famous in textile production. The story may have been brought to Greece in the form of tapestries or other patterned textiles. Textiles may have been one of the chief sources of the decorative and representational motives, which characterize the Orientalizing period in Greek art in which Corinth's role was central (Weinberg & Weinberg 1956, 267). These decorative motifs may have been used on Corinthian-produced textiles, which must have been among the products that communicated an entrepreneurial Corinthian *polis* identity.

To conclude, by studying the structuring of activities, we investigate the form and function of the city as a town and economic community but we are still missing evidence of political organization. In a further step, we should investigate the relationship of the city to its

countryside (Haggis 2015, 222). This relationship has not been holistically researched in Corinth but rather glimpses have been gained from excavations due to large public works by the Greek Archaeological Service in the plain to the north of the city and in excavations by the American School of Classical Studies at the Potters' Quarter and the Tile Works. The extent of the urban centre in the area of the forum and its relationship to the plain around it and the harbour to its north have to be investigated systematically in order to recreate the complexity of production and consumption activities in the landscape. The role of trade in the production and consumption patterns of the city-dwellers is crucial in terms of resources available as well as influences, trends and emulation of neighbouring cultures. Corinth as a centre of technological innovation and a centre of manufacture of novel products produced and consumed a wealth of materials. Thus, 'the agrarian society of the Geometric period had evolved by c. 600 BC into a manufacturing centre that was distributing its products internationally' (Williams 2015, 453).

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Abbreviations

- Corinth I.3* = R.L. Scranton, 1951. *Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Princeton (NJ): American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Corinth I.4* = O. Broneer, 1954. *The South Stoa and its Roman Successors, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Princeton (NJ): American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Corinth I.6* = B.H. Hill, 1964. *The Springs. Peirene, Sacred Spring, Glauke, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Princeton (NJ): American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Corinth VII.6* = I. McPhee & E.G. Pemberton, 2012. *Late Classical Pottery from Ancient Corinth. Drain 1971-1 in the Forum Southwest, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Princeton (NJ): American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Corinth XIII* = C.W. Blegen, H. Palmer & R.S. Young, 1964. *The North Cemetery, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Princeton (NJ): American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Making cities

Large and complex settlements appeared across the north Mediterranean during the period 1000–500 BC, from the Aegean basin to Iberia, as well as north of the Alps. The region also became considerably more interconnected. Urban life and networks fostered new consumption practices, requiring different economic and social structures to sustain them. This book considers the emergence of cities in Mediterranean Europe, with a focus on the economy. What was distinctive about urban lifeways across the Mediterranean? How did different economic activities interact, and how did they transform power hierarchies? How was urbanism sustained by economic structures, social relations and mobility? The authors bring to the debate recently excavated sites and regions that may be unfamiliar to wider (especially Anglophone) scholarship, alongside fresh reappraisals of well-known cities. The variety of urban life, economy and local dynamics prompts us to reconsider ancient urbanism through a comparative perspective.

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