Kathleen Warner Slane

COOKING POTS: SCALES OF DISTRIBUTION AND MODES OF PRODUCTION IN THE ROMAN EAST

Cooking pots, because they are coarse in texture and often thick-walled, used to be dismissed as non-specialized, local products, manufactured where they were found. This is clearly a mistaken idea. Particular kinds of cooking pots were almost as widely distributed as fine wares in the Mediterranean, beginning in the later Republican period and continuing into Late Antiquity. Although the Republican "orlo bifido" pans and later Pompeiian-red ware pans are found so infrequently on some sites that they may have been distributed as one-offs or novelties, for motives of status or nostalgia rather than economics, their regular appearance at other sites shows that such widely distributed cooking vessels were a commodity in the eastern Mediterranean as well as the west. Recent investigations have also shown that particular mineral tempers have superior resistance to thermal shock, which suggests a reason for long-distance trade, although other factors related both to mechanical properties of the vessels and to social factors may also lie behind long-distance distribution.[1] During the Roman imperial period long-distance trade in cooking pots is limited to a handful of cases in the East, however; most sites were supplied on a more local basis. This paper first describes the supply of cooking pots at Corinth from the Hellenistic through the middle Byzantine periods and suggests how production was organized in light of this evidence. Similar production patterns also exist elsewhere, and I will suggest that they are a Roman phenomenon, perhaps a symptom of how economies changed as a result of Roman interventions.

Investigation of pottery production at Corinth goes back to the late 1920s when a potter's quarter was excavated to the west of the Classical city, later partly covered by the city's fortification wall; what was found was part of the potting yard, with settling basin, rather than a kiln, but it is certain that fine-wares and figurines were manufactured here between the 7th and 4th centuries BC.[2] Kilns of Roman date are on the edge of the built-up area of the city; most are tile kilns rather than for pottery production. In contrast, the sites of medieval kilns and dumps of wasters of the 10th–12th centuries are on the western slope of Acrocorinth and in the area of the Roman forum; they are thus at variance with those of the ancient kilns. Until the early 1980s a brick factory operated in the coastal plain to the west of the site and a tile factory was in operation at Solomo, to the south-east of Acrocorinth; both were visited by generations of archaeologists working in Corinth. The products that were recognized as Corinthian were the well-known, buff fine-wares and the roof terracottas and sculpture for which Corinth was famous. Although it was once supposed that Corinth had no clay suitable for the manufacture of cooking pots and that cooking pots found in Corinth came from Aegina, that hypothesis had to be discarded when suitable clays were found nearby.[3]

There is a long tradition of scientific investigation of clays at Corinth, beginning with experiments by Marie Farnsworth in the 1960s, and continuing more recently with the work of Ian Whitbread, Louise Joyner, and Heather Graybehl, which have focussed on coarse wares.[4] Farnsworth and Whitbread attempted to identify sources of pottery of the Greek period; Farnsworth identified white clays in the plain and red and white clays on Acrocorinth, including one suitable for making Hellenistic cooking pots. **Figure 1** shows the sites sampled by Whitbread in his investigation of Archaic and Classical

1 M. Tite/V. Kilikoglu/G. Vekinis, Review article: Strength, Toughness and Thermal Shock Resistance of Ancient Ceramics, and their Influence on Technological Choice. Archaeometry 43, 2001, 301–324; J. K. Feathers/M. B. Schiffer/B. Siller, Comments on Tite et al. 2001 and Tite et al.'s "Reply". Ibid. 45, 2003, 163-183; S. R. Graff, Culinary Preferences: Seal-impressed Vessels from Western Syria as specialized Cooking-ware In: S. R. Graff/E. Rodríguez-Alegría (eds.), The Menial Art of Cooking: Archaeological Studies of Cooking and Food Preparation, (Boulder 2012), 19–46, 33-35; I. K. Whitbread, Materials Choices in Utilitarian Pottery: kitchen wares in the Berbati Valley, Greece. In: Ceramics, Cuisine and Culture: the Archaeology and Science of Kitchen Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World. Proceedings of a conference held at the British Museum in December, 2010 (forthcoming).

2 A. N. Stillwell, Corinth XV,1–2. The Potters' Quarter (Princeton 1948–1952); A. N. Stillwell/J. L. Benson, Corinth XV,3. The Potters' Quarter: the Pottery (Princeton 1984).

3 M. Farnsworth, Greek Pottery: a Mineralogical Study. Am. Journal Arch. 68, 1964, 221–228, esp. 224; id., Corinthian Pottery: Technical Studies. Ibid. 74,1970, 9–20. – The current hypothesis is that the cooking-pots are made of terra rossa clays, formed by weathering on conglomerates, rather than the sedimentary marls formed by deposition on the ocean floor; see I. K. Whitbread, Clays of Corinth. In: C. K. Williams II/N. Bookidis (eds.), Corinth XX. The Centennary, 1896–1996 (Princeton 2003) 1–13, esp. 8; for the Roman cooking pots, K. Slane, Corinth's Roman Pottery. Ibid. 327 fn. 34; L. Joyner, Cooking Pots as Indicators of Cultural Change: a Petrographic Study of Byzantine and Frankish Cooking Wares from Corinth. Hesperia 76, 2007, 183–227, esp. 203.

4 In addition to the references in footnote 3, see R. E. Jones, Greek and Cypriot Pottery: a Review of Scientific Studies. Brit. School Athens/Fitch Lab. Occasional Papers 1 (Athens 1986) 170–206 (Corinthia, Argolid); I. K. Whitbread, Corinthian Transport Amphorae and Corinthian Ceramic Production. In: Id., Greek Transport Amphorae: a Petrological and Archaeological Study. Brit. School Athens/Fitch Lab. Occasional Papers 4 (Athens 1995), 255–346.

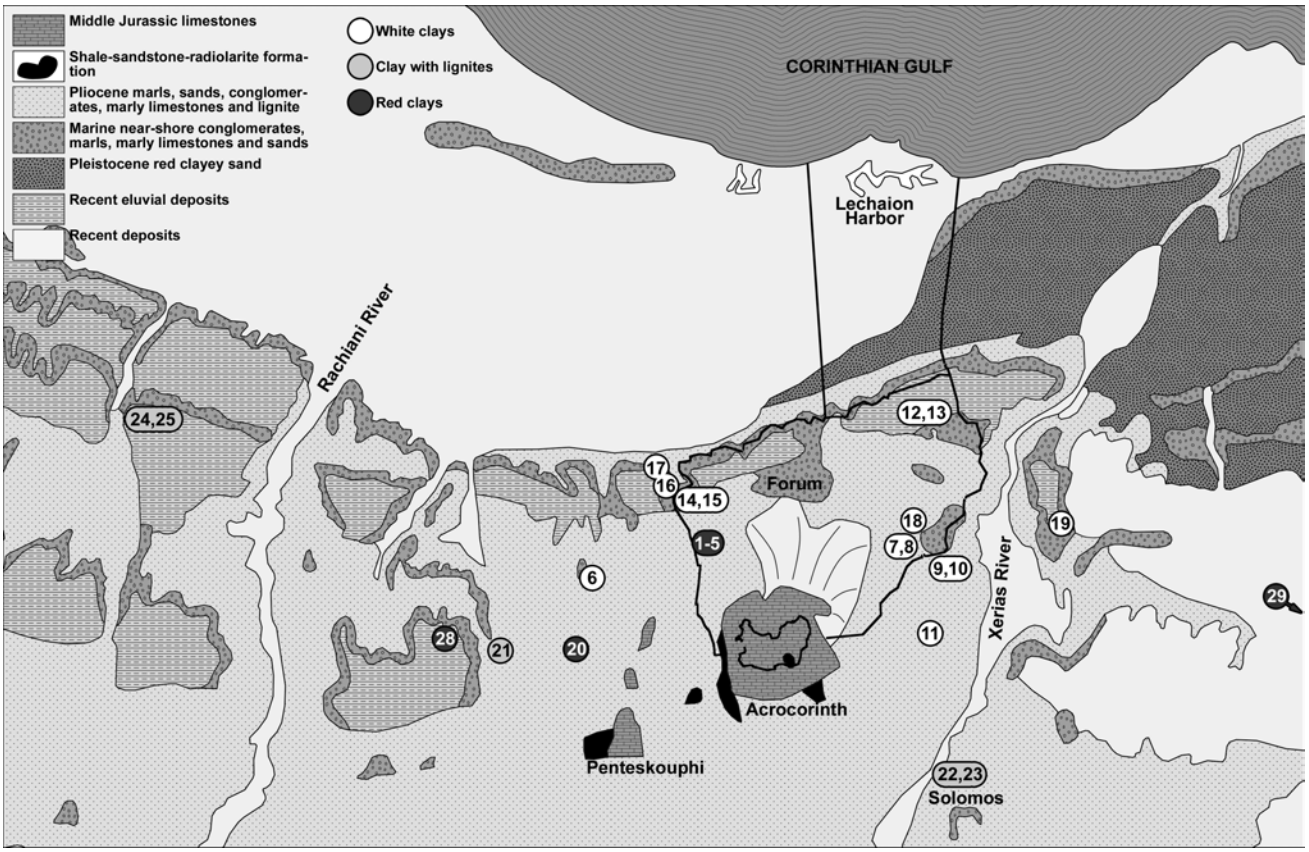

Fig. 1. Clay deposits sampled by WHITBREAD (1995). The white and gray clays are sedimentary marls, the red clays were formed by weathering *in situ*.

amphoras: he singled out the clays associated with lignites as those used in the potter's quarter, and identified several isolated sources of red clays plus one found near the white clays at Anaploga. Joyner was analyzing the fabrics of locally made Byzantine and Frankish cooking pots. She identified about six different fabrics used for cooking pots at Corinth in the 12th century but only one fabric (one of the six) was used for the manufacture of Frankish vessels between 1260 and 1350. Largely as a result of these studies, it is now possible to identify the most commonly occurring, "local" cooking pots of Corinth from the 4th century BC through the 14th century AD. Identifying their source(s) has been more elusive because a similar geology characterizes the whole of the north-eastern Peloponnese.[5]

The Hellenistic repertoire of forms (**table 1**) included casseroles (shallow, two-handled, round-bottomed vessels), stewpots (deeper, two-handled, globular vessels), smaller one-handled chytrai, and the first vessels in this type of ware "not for use over the fire:" pitchers, kraters, and plates (or more likely, lids).[6] Despite the gap in settlement following the Mummian destruction, two of the earlier Hellenistic forms, the chytra and the cooking-ware krater still appear in the 1st century AD (but not later).[7] In deposits of the early 1st century AD other Hellenistic cooking shapes have almost disappeared, replaced by imported cooking pots[8] and a series of new Corinthian forms apparently in a different fabric.[9] The predominance of imports is not surprising, given that the Roman colony had been established half a century earlier. Despite the morphological change, which is most apparent in the details of rims and handles, the fact that the range of shapes is very similar to the Hellenistic forms suggests that the diet/cuisine and the methods of cooking were probably similar in both periods. But the change of fabric was unexpected: we had assumed the same resources would have been exploited by the Romans as had been used earlier. The new forms developed into a continuous series of cooking pots

5 Petrographic studies of the later Roman material are currently in progress at both Corinth and Nemea and a preliminary report was made at the AIA Annual Meeting in Seattle, WA, January 5, 2013: H. L. GRAYBEHL ET AL., The Production and Distribution of Corinthian Cooking and Argolid Fabrics in the Late Roman Northeast Peloponnese.

6 G. R. EDWARDS, Corinth VII,3. Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery (Princeton 1976); the phrase is his and I have adapted it as cooking "not for cooking" or "n.f.c."

7 See SLANE 1986, 305–306 and nos. 23; 97; 98; pls. 62; 67 (chytra).

8 K. S. WRIGHT, A Tiberian Pottery Deposit from Corinth. Hesperia 49, 1980, 135–177 nos. 73–75 (Pompeiian-red ware); 76–78 (other imports); pp. 154–155 fig. 5 pl. 31; SLANE 1986, nos. 18–21 pp. 281–282 fig. 6 pl. 62; nos. 90-92 p. 291 fig. 15; C. K. WILLIAMS II/O. H. ZERVOS, Corinth, 1984. East of the Theater, Hesperia 54, 1985, 58 no. 4 pl. 8.

9 SLANE 1986, 305. The observation that Roman cooking pots from the time of the early colony through the 7th century were of a single fabric, which was different from either the Hellenistic fabric or the 12th-century Byzantine fabric, was made by George Viele in 1998 on the basis of a hand-lens inspection of inventoried examples in the Corinth Museum. He died before completing a report. I will incorporate his notes on the mineralogy of some early Roman and late Roman vessels from east of the Theater in my study of the material.

	shape	Corinth	Argos
Hellenistic*	chytra II	Edwards 1976, nos. 650–655 pls. 27; 61	
	stewpot	Edwards 1976, nos. 656; 658 pls. 27–28; 61	Abadie-Reynal 2007, 20.5.3, 356 pl. 54
	late casserole II	Edwards 1976, nos. 671–674; 682 pls. 29,62	
	krater/bowl without handle	Edwards 1976, nos. 705–708 pls. 33; 63	Abadie-Reynal 2007, 20.4.1, 331 pl. 49
	round-mouth pitcher I	Edwards 1976, nos. 722–745 pls. 34; 63	
1st–2nd century AD	chytra	Slane 1986, nos. 23; 97–98 fig. 15 pls. 62; 67	
	stewpot	Wright 1980, nos. 71–72 fig. 4 pl. 30; Slane 1986, nos. 94?; 96 fig. 15 pl. 67; ead. 1990, nos. 172–173; 177–178 figs. 18–19	
	casserole	Wright 1980, nos. 65–67 fig. 4 pl. 30; Slane 1990, no. 168 fig. 17	Abadie-Reynal 2007, 20.5.2, 355 pl. 54
	shallow stewpot (casserole)	Slane 1990, nos. 176; 189 fig. 18, 21; ead. 1994, nos. 40–42 fig. 9	Abadie-Reynal 2007, 20.5.5, 358.2 pl. 55
	round-mouth pitcher (4 types)	Slane 1990, nos. 219–227 figs. 26–27 pl. 13	Abadie-Reynal 2007, 20.6.17. 394.1–2, 20.6.16 393.2 and 20.6.18 395.1 pls. 62–63
	mug	Slane 1990, nos. 203–204 fig. 23	Abadie-Reynal 2007, 20.3.3, 330.2 pl. 49
	pedestal crater	Slane 1990, nos. 271–272 fig. 33 pl. 17 (C-1960-89)	
3rd or 4th century AD	stewpot	Slane 1990, no. 186 fig. 21	Abadie-Reynal 2007, 20.5.5, 358.1 pl. 55
	late casserole w/triangular lug	Slane 1990, nos. 169–170 fig. 17	Abadie-Reynal 2007, 20.5.15, 368.1–2 pl. 57
	pedestal crater	Slane 1994, nos. 48–49 fig. 10	
5th century AD or later	stewpot	Slane 1990, no. 186 fig. 21	Abadie-Reynal 2007, 20.5.20, 373 pl. 59
	folded rim bowl	Slane 1990, no. 275 fig. 33; ead. 1994, nos. 45–46 fig. 10	Abadie-Reynal 2007, 20.2.15, 327.1–2 pl. 48

Table 1. Some published cooking and utilitarian shapes that Corinth and Argos have in common.
* Although casserole II has late Classical examples, the other forms date to the 2nd century BC.

between the middle of the 1st century and the 4th century AD (**fig. 2**).[10] The repertoire consists of stewpots and shallower vessels that share the rim form and diameter with the deeper vessels, although they can be differentiated by the angle of the join of rim and wall. There are also casseroles with an angular carination to the rounded bottom and lids. The interchangeable parts of the stewpots and shallow stewpots serve to standardize the forms; only the handles vary, always identical on either side of the vessel but vertical on earlier vessels, later horizontal handles pressed against the rim, and finally horizontal lugs. Such standardization of forms and finishing details should demonstrate that both shapes were being made in the same workshop.

As in the Hellenistic period cooking pots are not the only forms made in this fabric in the Roman period at Corinth. There are also five series of pitchers (and at least two of small amphoras), large incense burners used in the Demeter Sanctuary and occasional smaller ones for domestic use, mixing bowls, bowls, as well as a very distinctive pedestal crater, mugs, funnels, lamps, and occasional banks for coins. That is most of the repertoire of what would be called "plain wares" or "domestic wares" on other sites and at Corinth is called "cooking, not for cooking." Edwards had observed that in the 3rd century BC cooking-fabric pitchers and *lekanides* (kraters) replaced the buff Classical forms. This process continued and expanded in the Roman period: a series of

[10] The repertory of shapes changes again in the late 4th and first half of the 5th century, see K. W. Slane/G. D. R. Sanders, Corinth: Late Roman Horizons. Hesperia 74, 2005, 243–297. Cooking pots from east of the Theater, from the Lechaeum Road, and from the Demeter Sanctuary are included in the study of chemical compostions of Corinthian clays that I began with David Adan-Bayewitz in 2006 and for which we hope to complete the analysis of the chemical results in February, 2013. Petrographic studies of the later Roman material are currently in progress at both Corinth and Nemea (see footnote 5 above).

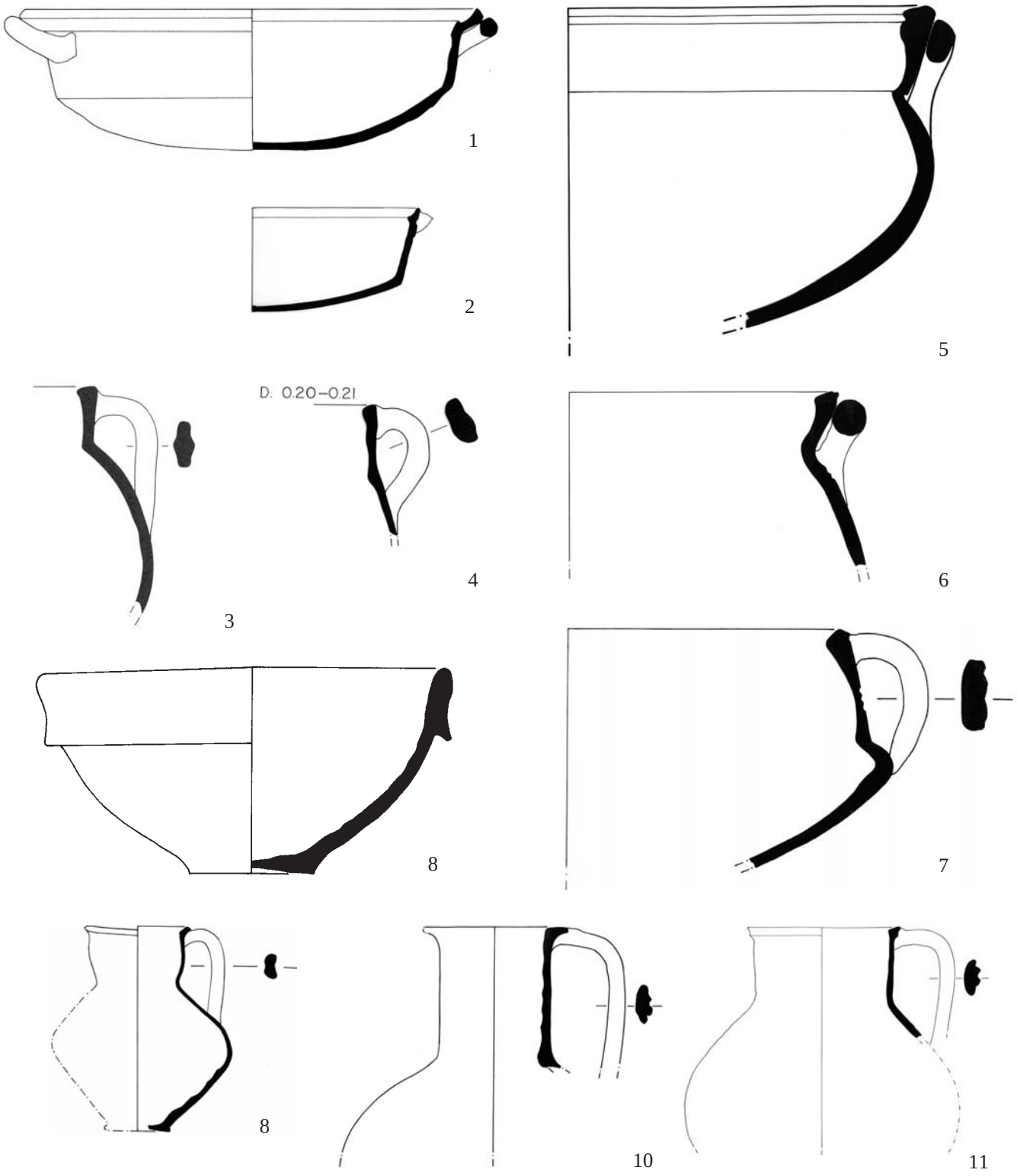

Fig. 2. Cooking and utilitarian shapes from Corinth. Adapted from WRIGHT 1980, SLANE 1986, SLANE 1990 and SLANE 1994. – Cooking pots: 1 SLANE 1990 no. 168 fig. 17 (C-1965-323); 2 ibid. no. 169 fig. 17 (C-1964-486); 3 SLANE 1986 no. 96 fig. 15; 4 SLANE 1990 no. 178 fig. 19 (Lot 2150:3); 5 ibid. no. 176 fig. 18 (C-1969-278); 6 ibid. no. 173 fig. 18 (C-1970-409); 7 C-1961-495; 8 SLANE 1990 no. 275 fig. 33 (C-1964-457). – Pitchers: 8 SLANE 1990 no. 219, fig. 26 (C-1970-362); 9 ibid. no. 268 fig. 32 (Lot 1975-253:1); 10 ibid. no. 223 fig. 26 (C-1973-248); 11 ibid. no. 226 fig. 27 (C-1973-250). – Scale ca. 1:2.

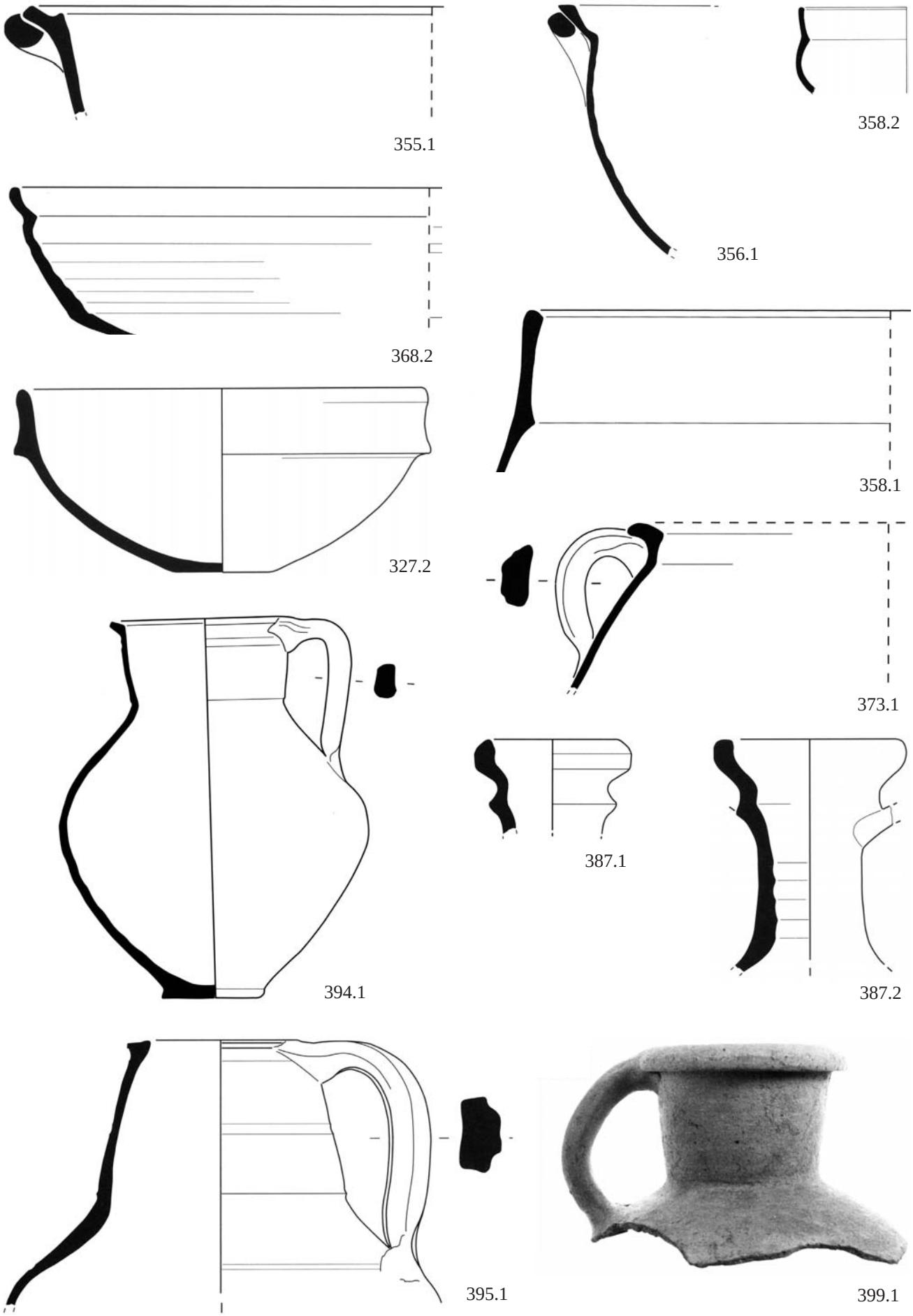

Fig. 3. Cooking and utilitarian shapes found at Argos. Adapted from Abadie-Reynal 2007. – Scale ca. 1:2; except 356.1, 358.2, 399.1 Scale ca. 1:3.

wheelmade, cooking-fabric lamps begins in the late Augustan period (Broneer's type XVI) and most of the pitchers and the mugs begin before the earthquake in AD 77; the pedestal craters, the funnels and the banks begin in the 2nd century, and the folded rim bowl, a distant take-off of the sigillata flanged bowl of the 1st century, begins in the 4th century. Two more conclusions are warranted from this evidence: 1) the cooking-pot workshops of Corinth manufactured not only vessels for cooking but also "plain wares," and 2) their repertoire expanded at the expense of the buff-ware potters: by the 4th century AD buff clays of Classical type were no longer being utilized in their previous form at Corinth.

Although Corinth is extreme in the range of forms attested, the pattern in which both cooking pots and utilitarian shapes are made in a single fabric is paralleled on other eastern Roman sites.[11] What is anomalous in the context of Greece is that the whole range of so-called "local" cooking pots found at Corinth from the Augustan period well into the 5th century after Christ is replicated at Argos[12] – and at Epidauros (personal observation), which are respectively 44 kms, 50 km, and 58 km apart by road. They are also the standard vessels in the Isthmian sanctuary and at Kenchreai and in the mountainous interior of the Corinthia at Nemea, but apparently not at Sikyon, where wasters from a kiln have been determined to be of a different fabric,[13] nor at Stymphalos, where the forms and fabric are related but different (personal observation). I do not mean to say that these are imports from Corinth. On all of the sites mentioned the same fabric is the "local" and numerically dominant or only fabric; some of these sites also have cooking pots imported from further away in the Roman period just as Corinth does. Comparison of **figure 2** and **figure 3** shows that it is not a question of one or two forms but of the whole cooking-fabric repertoire described above. The overlap between Corinth and Argos is complete, and it lasts for 500–600 years.

This is not the first time such regional distribution of cooking wares has been pointed out. Groups 1 and 4 from inland Syrian sites of the 2nd–4th centuries, identified by Agnès Vokaer and Gerwulf Schneider on the basis of WD-XRF analyses, were presented at the second LRCW conference in 2004.[14] Unlike the material from the Corinthia, it appears that multiple shapes were made in two workshops in geographically distant places and that both workshops partially supplied multiple sites. An example that may be less familiar is also more similar. In 1993 David Adan-Bayewitz published his study of the pottery produced at Kfar Hananya in the Galilee.[15] It was well grounded in rabbinic literature (the manufacturing site was Jewish), and Adan-Bayewitz employed analysis of both soils and pottery (NAA and petrography) as well as archaeological techniques of morphological and distribution analysis. The production at the village of Kfar Hananya consists of multiple forms and of vessels for both cooking and storage, and production continued from the later 1st century BC into the 5th century AD, although some forms were discontinued in the 4th century, when the products of another production center, making forms analogous to those of Kfar Hananya, replace it. During that whole period Kfar Hananya was the chief or sole provider of cooking pots to the cities of Sepphoris and Tiberias; furthermore, its products were distributed over a wide area of the Upper Galilee (sites within 42–45 km show more than half of the cooking-ware assemblage is of these types) and over an even larger area some vessels are found.[16] To the east of the Galilee cities in the Golan, about 26 kms distant, imported 10–40% of their cooking pottery from Kfar Hananya; the major sites also used locally made cooking pots of the Kfar Hananya forms made at four different production sites. Based on its reputation as a source of cooking pots in the rabbinic literature, its longevity, and the multiple kilns, Kfar Hananya qualifies as an example of the *rural nucleated workshops* posited by Peacock.[17] Recently Adan-Bayewitz investigated the products of two kiln sites about 200 m apart at Kfar Hananya; the truly striking result of the analyses was that the products of the two kilns were both chemically and morphologically distinguishable.[18]

The applicability of this example to the north-eastern Peloponnese is to raise the possibility that production was also rural there, not associated with a major population center. That is certainly simpler than to imagine that Corinth at any time was the main supplier of cooking pots to Argos, or vice versa. The scale would have to have been on the scale of Kfar Hananya. And the workshops must have been nucleated, because the standardization and evolution of forms we

---

11 M. Krogulska/E. Bobryk, Composition and Technology of Roman Brittle Ware Pottery from a kiln site in Palmyra (Syria). RCRF Acta 36, 2000, 537–548; M. Daskiewicz/E. Bobryk/G. Schneider. Functional Properties Analysis of Kitchenware illustrated on Brittle Ware. In: M. Bonifay/J.-Chr. Tréglia (eds.), LRCW 2. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry 2. BAR Internat. Ser. 1662 (Oxford 2007) 731–737; P. Degryse/J. Poblome, Clays for Mass Production of Table and Common Wares, Amphorae, and Architectural Ceramics at Sagalassos. In: P. Degryse/M. Waelkens (eds.), Sagalassos 6: Geo- and Bioarchaeology at Sagalassos and its Territory (Leuven 2008) 231–254.

12 Catherine Abadie and I first discussed this about 1977 when we were working on our dissertations on Roman pottery in Argos and Corinth, respectively; later attempts to distinguish the cooking fabric by eye failed, and, as **figures 2–3** demonstrates, the profiles and range of forms are indistinguishable, even in small details. See now C. Abadie-Reynal, La Céramique romaine d'Argos (fin du IIe siècle avant J.-C. – fin du IVe siècle après J.-C.). Études Péloponnesiennes 13 (Paris 2007), which also collected the published examples from Isthmia, Kenchreai, and Nemea. Athenian cooking pots differ in form and fabric although occasional Peloponnesian specimens are found in Athens (pers. obs.).

13 In the same session of the Seattle AIA meeting referred to in footnote 5 C. Tranor and E. Kiriatzi characterized kiln wasters from Sikyon as differing in the ratio of inclusions rather than in clay matrix from the cooking pots found at Corinth (C. Tranor/E. Kiriatzi, Ceramic Fabric Analysis and Urban Survey: The Case of Sikyon).

14 A. Vokaer, La Brittle Ware Byzantine et Omeyyade en Syrie du Nord. In: M. Bonifay/J.-C. Tréglia (eds.), LRCW 2: Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares, and Amphoras in the Mediterranean 2. BAR Internat. Ser. 1662/2 (Oxford 2007) 701–713; G. Schneider/A. Vokaer/K. Bartl/M. Daszkiewicz, Some New Results of Archaeometric Analysis of Brittle Wares. In: Ibid. 715–729.

15 D. Adan-Bayewitz, Common Pottery in Roman Galilee: A Study of Local Trade (Ramat-Gan 1993).

16 Ibid. fig. 11 (map) and table 11 (quantified assemblages keyed to the map).

17 D. P. S. Peacock, Pottery in the Roman World: an Ethnoarchaeological Approach (London 1982) 38–43. It is worth noting that Peacock also suggested (ibid. 156–158) that in the Roman world the marketing of coarse and cooking wares differed from the mode of marketing fine wares (for which several shop inventories are known). He envisaged periodic fairs and markets or itinerant peddlars as possible modes of marketing at the local level.

18 D. Adan-Bayewitz et al., Differentiation of ceramic chemical element composition and vessel morphology at a pottery production center in Roman Galilee. Journal Arch. Scien. 36, 2009, 2517–2530.

have observed is unlikely if they were scattered across the country-side. One would also have expected that eventually the products of one would be preferred in Corinth and of another in Argos, which is not the case. (This had been true in the Hellenistic period when cooking pots made in Corinth and Argos were not only distinct, but distributed exclusively to one site or the other.) It seems probable that the Roman cooking fabric of the north-eastern Peloponnese, like the Frankish, is basically from a single source. The slopes of Acrocorinth, which Farnsworth and others have postulated were the source for Hellenistic cooking pots, do not meet the case. For the Roman period, it seems that investigation of clay sources should be widened, so that it is not focussed only on the city. Whitbread identified a possible clay source in the land-locked Berbati valley, but no evidence of pottery production was found and the valley was only sparsely inhabited in the Roman period.[19] From the point of view of distribution, movement by caique is a very attractive possibility and Viele suggested that Methana should be considered.[20] At first the isthmus might seem to pose a barrier, but when one remembers that Corinth's role in the long-distance Roman trade networks was the transmission of goods across the isthmus, it is not difficult to imagine that loads of cooking pots were transported to (or from) *Lechaeum*.

To summarize. The Corinthian evidence shows that although the functional forms continue from the Hellenistic period, the source of Roman cooking pots is not the same source as the Hellenistic examples or the Byzantine (it is not excluded that the last two could be the same). The cooking pots of Corinth, of Argos, of three major sanctuary sites, a major harbor, and perhaps villages in the north-eastern Peloponnese are from a single source from the early 1st century to at least the 5th, and probably the 6th century AD.[21] The wide regional dispersal suggests that that source is much more likely to be rural than urban. The Roman vessels display standardization of forms, and they evolve over several centuries. This is a strong indication that the production center consisted of nucleated workshops rather than multiple workshops scattered across the region and simply employing the same clay bed or geological stratum because it was suitable. Standardization of form and size had earlier marked both ESA and Italian sigillata production and seem to lie behind the suggestion of Morel that the former arose as an Italian business venture.[22] Such standardization shows an effort to increase efficiency in production, and perhaps also that the process of forming the pots was subdivided among several individuals. Although the scale differs from the great sigillata industries, the centralization of multiple producers into one production center is the same. When it appears in early Imperial cooking pots, whether in the Peloponnese or in Judea, by implication the same organizational model is employed. In these cases it may reflect Roman landowners' interests in exploiting the natural resources of their rural properties rather than the individual enterprise of earlier periods.

Identity was the topic of this conference.[23] Kfar Hananya was a Jewish settlement and consumers of its products may have been Jews (although Tel Anafa seems to have been Phoenician). But Corinth is a Roman colony and Argos a Greek city so any aspect of identity is an unlikely explanation. Nevertheless, it is clear that production in both areas was no longer based on the old, city model typical of the Classical and Hellenistic world. Nor does it occur simultaneously with the political organization of the province. For these reasons I think that what we observe here has to do *not* with the identity of the potters or consumers but instead with a "business model." Perhaps in the Roman Empire in the East who the operators were was less important than how they operated.

slanek@missouri.edu

19 I. K. Whitbread/M. Ponting/B. Wells, Temporal Patterns in Ceramic Production in the Berbati Valley, Greece. Journal Field Arch. 32, 2007, 177–193, esp. 186.

20 This Roman fabric routinely contains potassium feldspar, indicating the source was volcanic. Although there are small areas of volcanics on Acrocorinth, the closest potential source seems to be the Methana peninsula, which has a geology similar to that of Aegina: Viele identified a possible clay source on the eastern shore, below the Aura Hotel (pers. comm. 1999); see also Slane/Sanders 2005, 249 fn. 15).

21 A similar 50-year lag between the socio-political change from Byantine to Frankish possession and the change in cooking-pot types and fabrics was pointed out by Joyner (footnote 3). In that case, as perhaps in the period of the early colony at Corinth, the transition from one assemblage to the other appears gradual.

22 J.-P. Morel, Céramiques à vernis noir d'Italie trouvées à Délos. Bull. Corr. Hellenique 110, 1986, 461–493.

23 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Pomerance Award Session in honor of D. P. S. Peacock at the 113 Annual Meeting of the AIA in Philadelphia. See Abstracts 2012, 101–102.

Bibliography

Abadie-Reynal 2007	C. Abadie-Reynal, La Céramique romaine d'Argos (fin du IIe siècle avant J.-C. – fin du IVe siècle après J.-C.). Études Péloponnesiennes 13 (Paris 2007).
Edwards 1976	G. R. Edwards, Corinth VII,3. Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery (Princeton 1976).
Slane 1986	K. W. Slane, Two Deposits from the Roman Cellar Building, Corinth, Hesperia 55, 1986, 271–318.
Slane 1990	Ead., Corinth 18,2. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: the Roman Pottery and Lamps (Princeton 1990).
Slane 1994	Ead., Tetrarchic Recovery in Corinth: Pottery, Lamps and Other Finds from the Peribolos of Apollo. Hesperia 63, 1994, 127–168.
Slane/Sanders 2005	Ead./G. D. R. Sanders, Corinth: Late Roman Horizons. Hesperia 74, 2005, 243–297.
Whitbread 1995	I. K. Whitbread, Corinthian Transport Amphorae and Corinthian Ceramic Production. In: Id., Greek Transport Amphorae: a Petrological and Archaeological Study. Brit. School Athens/Fitch Lab. Occasional Papers 4 (Athens 1995) 255–346.
Wright 1980	K. S. Wright, A Tiberian Pottery Deposit from Corinth. Hesperia 49, 1980, 135–177.