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## CORINTH'S TRADE WITH THE ADRIATIC

Corinth's location at the head of the Gulf of Corinth ensured its importance in trade from the Classical period until the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. It provided a relatively tranquil sea route between the Aegean and Italy interrupted only by the short trip across the Isthmus and was a preferred alternative to the longer, storm-tossed sea-route around Cape Malea or the land-route offered by the Via Egnatia. Corinthian colonies on Corfu, at Apollonia and Epidamnus along the eastern coast of the Adriatic and in Sicily (founded in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) show the Corinthians' original areas of interest in the West. By the Hellenistic period, however, it appears that Adriatic contacts with Corinth and other cities on the Greek mainland were through Brindisi and Bari. Later the founding of several Roman colonies including Corinth by Caesar and Augustus along the eastern coast of the Adriatic and the construction of the port at Ancona under Trajan indicate the continuing importance of ties between the two peninsulas. Another period of intensive contact between Corinth, the Veneto and Taranto occurred while the Franks controlled the city between 1210 and the Catalan sack of 1312.<sup>1</sup>

In previous reports on the Roman pottery of Corinth I have concentrated on pottery imported from western Italy and the West and from the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup> Here I will look first at imports from the east coast of Italy, Dalmatia, and Epirus to Corinth and then at the export of Corinthian goods into the Adriatic. Finally I illustrate some pottery which seems to me likely to be part of a broadly shared *koine* in the Corinthian Gulf and the Adriatic; it was probably produced at a multitude of centers around the gulf.

The most obvious imports, of course, are Apulian, Istrian and Picentine amphoras; that is, Greco-Italics, Dr. 6, and «Forlimpopuli» types. Corinth, abandoned between 146 and c. 44 BC, should have no Dr. 1A amphoras and few Dr. 1B or Lamboglia II amphoras;<sup>3</sup> the latter would have come with the early colonists after 44. Greco-Italic amphoras were already being imported to Corinth from the IV cent. BC, and Latin stamps such as DASI, CERD, PILO, DIOD (multiple examples of each) are found apparently before 146 BC.<sup>4</sup> I began my study east of the Theater by subdividing the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC to 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD Adriatic amphora types based on Riley's classification at Benghazi, which relied on fabric as much as on shape.<sup>5</sup> But I have found a full range of combinations of oval or round handle with triangular or heavy square rim; wall fragments of 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC and AD

types are also indistinguishable from each other. It seems probable that most of the thick-walled sherds date between the middle Augustan period and at least the early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent., whatever their form or contents.<sup>6</sup>

The east of Theater database now subdivides such amphoras primarily by fabric, giving the results you see in **table 1**. My "normal Adriatic" fabric is a light red or buff with a buff surface and contains angular red grits, some calcite, and mica; there are also a greenish white fabric and a

<sup>1</sup> C. K. WILLIAMS/O. H. ZERVOS, Frankish Corinth: 1994. *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 1–60, esp. 16–24 discussing the Italian sources of both fine and cooking wares of the period c. 1260–1350.

<sup>2</sup> K. W. SLANE, Corinthian Ceramic Imports: Changing Patterns of Provincial Trade in the First and Second Centuries. In: S. Walker/A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire. Papers from the X<sup>th</sup> British Museum Classical Colloquium*. British Inst. Class. Stud. Suppl. 55. (London 1989) 219–225; EAD., East-west Trade in Fine Wares and Commodities: the View from Corinth. *RCRF Acta* 36, 2000, 299–312.

<sup>3</sup> A unique deposit published in 1994 shows that some Greco-Italic, Dr. 1A, and Lamboglia II amphoras with the typical pinkish buff Adriatic fabric (together with Campana A and B wares) reached Corinth c. 100 BC, during the period of abandonment: I. B. ROMANO, A Hellenistic Deposit from Corinth: Evidence for Interim-period Activity (146–44 B.C.). *Hesperia* 63, 1994, 57–104 esp. 86–88 nos. 63–69 fig. 13 pls. 25–27. A Corinthian B amphora, a stamped Rhodian amphora, a stamped Knidian amphora, and two Punic amphoras of Maña type C in the same deposit are all dated before 146 BC. But recent evidence from Spain may favor a later date, see A. RIBIERA Y LACOMBA/C. MARIN JORDÁ, Las importaciones itálicas del nivel de fundación (138 a.C.) de la ciudad romana de Valentia. *RCRF Acta* 38, 2003, 287–294. Romano's no. 64 (C-1947-840) had already been published by Elizabeth Will: it is her type 3, said to be «an archaic shape» from Brindisi and dated before 146 BC because 46% of the Latin stamps from Corinth in her catalogue are of this type. See E. L. WILL, Relazioni mutue tra le anfore romane, I ritrovamenti in oriente, alla luce dei dati ottenuti nell'occidente. In: M. Lenoir/D. Manacorda/C. Panella (eds.), *Amphores romaines et histoire économique: dix ans de recherche*. Actes Coll. Sienne, 22–24 mai 1986. Collect. École Française Rome 114 (Rome 1989) 297–309 esp. 301–302 fig. 5; EAD., Shipping amphoras as indicators of economic romanization in Athens. In: M. C. Hoff/S. I. Rotroff (eds.), *The Romanization of Athens. Proceedings of an international conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*. Oxbow Monogr. 94 (Oxford 1997) 117–133 esp. 126. Given the range of material in the deposit Romano's date c. 180–120 BC for C-1947-840 is preferable.

<sup>4</sup> Most of these will be published by Will, but I will include the Latin stamps found east of the Theater (below footnote 8) with the pottery from that area.

<sup>5</sup> See RILEY 1979. The current terminology does not suit the Corinthian material very well, and it has been applied differently by everyone who has seen the collection.

<sup>6</sup> Intact Dr. 6 amphoras have been found reused in contexts as late as the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

Fabric	RBHS	RBHS Weight
Greco-Italic	94	7.8020
Black grits (not incl. Dr. 2-4)	14	2.1370
Normal Adriatic	435	161.1745
White fabric	45	9.8230
Red micaceous fabric	127	29.9850
"Forlimpopuli" variants	244	62.9630
Miscellaneous	32	10.6515
Total Adriatic amphoras	991 (1.9%)	281.5360 (12.85%)
Total amphoras in database	51,864 (100%)	2190.3184 (100%)

**Table 1.** Adriatic amphoras in the east of Theater data set, subdivided by fabric.

much deeper red micaceous fabric without the red inclusions. So far these do not seem to be chronological markers. The stamps frequently published in the northern Adriatic are rare at Corinth, and the few parallels for our stamps seem to be from Picenum;<sup>7</sup> most of the stamps from east of the Theater lack parallels.<sup>8</sup> The "Forlimpopuli" amphoras occur in two main fabrics, a light red with white inclusions (**fig. 1**) or a buff fabric sometimes with a pinkish core and containing some calcite, mica, and occasional angular red grits, which is apparently similar to the "normal Adriatic" fabric but somewhat thinner.<sup>9</sup> There are variations among the bases as well as the ribs on the necks of these amphoras but I am not yet able to say definitively whether such variations correlate with the fabrics. The "Forlimpopuli" amphoras first appear in the east of the Theater strata around the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. (at the same time as the late Italian OCTPRO sigillata) and seem likely to have traveled via the new port at Ancona.<sup>10</sup> They continued to be imported until ca. 275. Later Adriatic types have not yet been identified.

I turn now to the question of Corinthian *exports* to the Adriatic. For the imperial period there is little evidence of the export of Corinthian pottery beyond the Corinthian Gulf, Athens, and the northern Argolid. Exceptions are the "Corinthian" relief bowls found from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, particularly along the Adriatic coast, and unglazed moldmade lamps of the kind normally identified as Broneer XXVII and attributed to Corinth. There are problems with both the source and the date of the unglazed lamps. In addition to the slightly later unglazed lamps of Athens,<sup>11</sup> other manufacturing centers existed that are very difficult to distinguish from Corinthian. Compared to examples found in Corinth they show some disparities of both lampmakers' names and discus types. The best published is Patras with one kiln site and the dump from a second.<sup>12</sup> There was also a kiln at Aigeira, another at Sparta, one at Orchomenos in eastern Attica,<sup>13</sup> and I would guess at least one in Italy, perhaps at Brindisi (pers. obs.); in my opinion, at least some of the unglazed lamps from Argos and Olympia are also not Corinthian or Attic. Daniele Malfitana (in press) has outlined a somewhat similar situation with regard to multiple and far-flung manufacturing sites of «Corinthian» relief bowls.

<sup>7</sup> Two examples found together as covers of the second phase of a drain south of the Long Rectangular Building were stamped M.HER.PHAE (C-1975-149) and L.TARI (C-1975-150), both of whom appear to be from Picenum: M. T. CIPRIANO/M.-B. CARRE, *Production et typologie des amphores sur la côte adriatique de l'Italie*. In: M. Lenoir/D. Manacorda/C. Panella (eds.), *Amphores romaines et histoire économique: dix ans de recherche*. Actes Coll. Sienne, 22–24 mai 1986. Collect. École Française Rome 114 (Rome 1989) 67–104 esp. 86–87 and 99–100. For the context see C. K. WILLIAMS/J. E. FISHER, *Corinth 1975: Forum Southwest*. Hesperia 45, 1976, 99–162 esp. 127–135; 131 (late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. reconstruction of e-w drain).

<sup>8</sup> The following Latin stamps were recorded from east of the Theater: C-1982-116 L. FUFICI(us) R(a)N on the rim of a complete amphora in normal Adriatic fabric; C-1984-18 and C-1988-35 [ ] TLIVLP on a shoulder (the first is of red micaceous, the second normal Adriatic fabric); C-1984-65 AOMD? on a rim; C-1984-233 [ ] V.INT on a body fragment; C-1984-15 COSS[ ] on a neck; C-1984-73 PRI[ ] on a neck; C-1987-121, C-1988-31, and C-1988-33 (**fig. 2**) C.AV.BR on a ribbed handle (miscellaneous fabric, perhaps a table amphora or pitcher); C-1987-123 JAVFID(ius) on a rim (perhaps Dr. 1b). (This list excludes the few imperial Campanian and Etruscan stamps.) I also note that at least one of the stamps (DAMA) from a context of 50-25 BC reported by Starac in this volume, is also recorded (elsewhere) at Corinth.

<sup>9</sup> SLANE 1990, 111 nos. 251–252 fig. 29; 116; these are C-1964-460 and C-1962-961 respectively. Thanks to instruction from S. Menchelli during our excursions at the meeting I would now identify the former as from the region of Forlimpopuli and the latter as central Adriatic (from north of Ancona?).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. WILLIAMS/ZERVOS 1987, 14 no. 13 fig. 5 from a context I now date to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

<sup>11</sup> In many publications it has been assumed that unglazed lamps of this kind were all made in Corinth in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. It is worth emphasizing a) that those with rays on the disk and a vine pattern on the rim all belong to the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. or later, and b) that Corinthian figured lamps of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. were copied and adapted in Athens in the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. and such Attic lamps were widely exported to Italy and the Aegean in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> cent. On our excursions I also saw at Butrint examples apparently derived from these types that bore traces of colored slip: these are presumably local imitations.

<sup>12</sup> M. PETROPOULOS, *Τα Εργαστήρια των Ρωμαϊκών Λυχνάρων της Πατρίας και το Λυχνομαντείο*. Arch. Delt. 70 (Athens 1999). Lampmakers who are attested in Patras and not in Corinth are: Agathon, Alexandros, Bereios, Helladios, Eros, Onesimos w/branch plus Eneomsos/Eneomsos/Onesaios/Omsimios and other misspellings, Parthenopeos, Spesdonas. Epitynchanos, Kreskens, Loukios, Oktabios, Preimos and Posphoros occur in quantity in both Corinth and Patras.

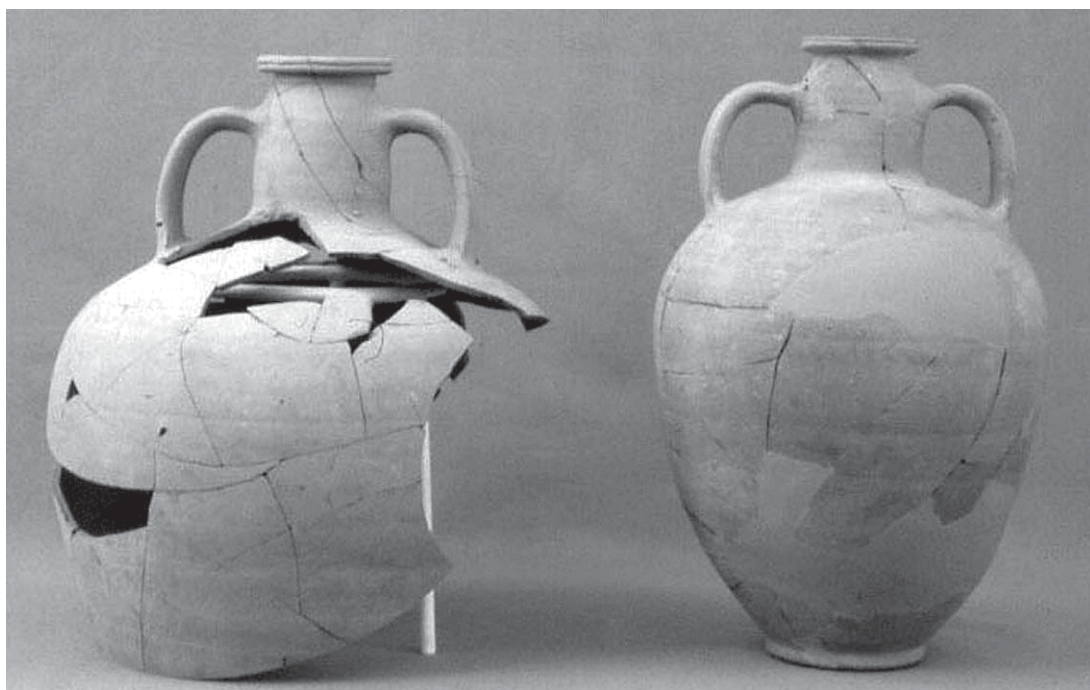
<sup>13</sup> Aigeira: T. HAGN, *Tonlampen aus Aigheira, ein Überblick und erste Überlegungen zu einer lokalen Lampenproduktion*. RCRFActa 36, 2000, 189–195. Sparta: Arch. Delt. 19, 1964 (Athens 1966) 144–145 Chronika pls. 145–146 (T. Karagiorga) reported in more detail by O. BRONEER 1977, 66, footnote 54. Orchomenos: A. SAMPSON, *Ένα κεραμεικό εργαστήριο στη Χαλχίδα της Ρωμαϊκής Αυτοκρατορίας*. ACh 2, 1987, 73–131.



**Fig. 1.** Late Forlimpopuli amphora. Scale c. 1:10.



**Fig. 2.** Unidentified Latin amphora stamp C-1988-33. Scale 1:3.



**Fig. 3.** Amphora with grooved rim. Scale about 1:10.

This is a useful model for thinking about other pottery as well. I list below some items found at Corinth that, for one reason or another, I think could be «regional products», likely made at several sites and part of a shared community of taste around the shores of the Corinthian Gulf and the Adriatic:

– Amphoras with grooved rims and bulging necks: C-1976-186 (SLANE 1986, 296; 313 no. 111, here **fig. 3** left), C-1962-961 (SLANE 1990, 116 no. 249 fig. 28 pl. 14), C-1962-62 (**fig. 3** right), C-1962-91, C-1965-188. Related to a form from Phokis: SLANE 1990, 115 no. 248 fig. 28 (here **fig. 4**) and K. KOUZELI/G. A. ZACHOS, Middle/late Roman Elateian ware (Phokis, Greece). RCRF Acta 36, 2000, 557–558 fig. 2,9.

– Amphoras with flanged necks in various sizes up to about 0.50 m.: C-1962-63 (SLANE 2003 fig. 19,5f), SLANE 1986, 298 no. 125 fig. 18 (second half 1<sup>st</sup> cent.), C-1984-38 (WILLIAMS/ZERVOS 1985, 58 no. 7 pl. 9, H.0.193, n.f.c.), C-1977-200 (n.f.c.), C-1974-134, C-1981-131. Two fabrics, Corinthian n.f.c. and buff; when the fabric is buff, the top and handles have often been dipped in slip. Related: C. SCHAUER, Kaiserzeitliche Keramik der Westpeloponnes. RCRF Acta 38, 2003, 272 fig. 1,12.

– One-handled vessels showing the same range of sizes, up to 0.50 m.: C-1985-140 (SLANE 2003 fig. 19,5e); C-1976-187 (SLANE 1986, 293 no. 105 pl. 68, second half of 1<sup>st</sup> cent.); WILLIAMS/ZERVOS 1987, 14 no. 12 fig. 4 (pres. H. 0.475); *ibid.* 12 no. 8 pl. 3 (H. 0.253); WILLIAMS/ZERVOS, Corinth 1985: the road to Sikyon, *Hesperia* 55, 1986, 129–205 esp. 133 no. 2 pl. 27 (H. 0.289); see also, WILLIAMS/ZERVOS 1985, 58 no. 3 pl. 8,1. Date 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. Caution is required with these because the smaller examples, in either Corinthian n.f.c. or buff fabric, would be classified with plain wares while the largest vessels (and their body sherds) would be identified as amphoras.

– And a handful of 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> cent. fine wares of which the fabric is very similar to Corinthian but the forms are rare here: C-1985-195 (**fig. 5**) two-handled rouletted cup (parallel in Brinidisi); C-1984-49 a bowl based on Drag. 30

with rouletted decoration (WILLIAMS/ZERVOS 1985, 58 no. 6 pl. 8, here **fig. 6**); C-1984-48 a larger bowl with impasto decoration and a purplish slip, perhaps from Patras? (WILLIAMS/ZERVOS 1985, 58 no. 5 pl. 9).

– Moving to a later period I can also point to a white-gritted cooking fabric which appears in the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. *but not earlier* at Corinth: SLANE/SANDERS 2005, 256 nos. 1-34, 1-35 fig. 3. I have identified stewpots and lids as well as casseroles in this fabric. The source is probably in Epirus or Elis. Similar shapes and related fabrics are found in the Nikopolis survey (M. Moore, pers. comm., although the fabric is not quite the same and the date range is from the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC), in Athens and at Nikopolis (J. Hayes, pers. comm., Herulian and later) and at Butrint (P. REYNOLDS in: R. Hodges/W. Bowden/K. Lako, Byzantine Butrint [Oxbow 2004] figs. 13,75–77.261.265.325, and lid fig. 13,80 ranging in date from late 2<sup>nd</sup> into 6<sup>th</sup> cent.).

– Bowls and pitchers in a fine, light reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with buff surface; inclusions are a moderate amount of shell (may spald) and angular gravel. C-1982-266 (**fig. 7**) is like Agora V, 117 M355 pls. 33; 71; C-1982-261 is similar to SLANE/SANDERS 2005, 270 nos. 3-17 and 3-18 fig. 8 (it had no red slip); the imported examples of circular lamps (Broneer's type XXXII) seem to be of the same fabric, as do two-thirds of the imported examples of AfRS type (Broneer's type XXXI).<sup>14</sup> Contexts are mostly second half of 6<sup>th</sup> and first half of 7<sup>th</sup> century.

As the brief survey has shown, the early Roman period is currently the most visible, represented by regional circulation of containers, some fine wares, and lamps (or imitations). The 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries are still little known.

<sup>14</sup> Circular lamps are L-1981-2, L-1982-30 and lot 1982-130:2; O. BRONEER, *Terracotta Lamps. Corinth IV,2* (Cambridge Mass. 1930) nos. 1501–1510; *id.* 1977, 82 nos. 3170–3173 (except 3172?) pl. 37. Examples of Broneer type XXXI in the same fabric are BRONEER 1930 nos. 1483–1488 and BRONEER 1977 no. 3161, and probably 3146, 3157 and 3163 pls. 35–36. I thank Jean Bussiere and Birgitta Wohl for confirming that the Corinth examples are not AfRS. Both types also appear in the normal brick-red fabric of LR Corinthian lamps.

## Bibliography

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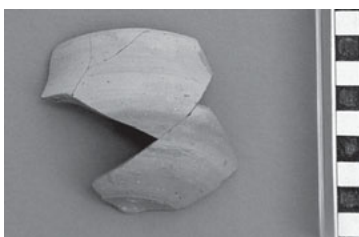
**Fig. 4.** Amphora with stepped rim (Phokis?) C-1970-604. Scale 1:5.



**Fig. 5.** Two-handled, red-slipped cup with rouletting. Scale 1:3.



**Fig. 6.** Rouletted red-slipped bowl, related to Drag. 30. Scale 1:3.



**Fig. 7.** 6<sup>th</sup> cent. plainware cup like Agora V, M355. Scale 1:3.

