Guy D. R. Sanders

With a few exceptions, Classical archaeologists and historians have not served the post-Roman periods of Greece particularly well. For obvious reasons, they were attracted to the monuments, material culture and history of an era when the poleis of Greece were centres of learning where the arts flourished. When reading about ancient Greece, we should not lose sight of the fact that what scholars have selected to present are the deeds and material culture of a very small portion of society. This minority, the rich, are well represented in the surviving literature and in our studies of the past but the vast majority of the ancient population are practically invisible and should not be ignored. In fact, if we are to be responsible social historians, then we must do our utmost to understand the archaeology of poverty. Accessing data relevant to those living close to subsistence is not easy and requires us to read outside our particular areas of specialty. It is not enough for a prehistorian or classicist to know the primary and secondary literature thoroughly. As John Nandris and Harriet Blitzer both know, a true understanding of our subject can only be obtained by a close study of ethnographic data and from periods that are better documented than our own.¹

The Byzantine sources are relatively rich but also tend to deal with the great and the good. Many monastic records that deal with ordinary people, for instance, tend to document the property held by *paroikoi*.² We think of this echelon as peasants but it is clear from the size of their holdings that there were nameless others who did the day to day chores. The paroikoi seem to be more yeomen farmers with an income of, say, three to four times subsistence level. The unnamed are those who live at subsistence. Ottoman records offer a much clearer insight into how a complex society in Greece operated and allow us to see not only the richest and more comfortably off, but also the poorest. Fariba Zareinebaf, John Bennet and Jack Davis used Tahrir defters and Venetian documents to illustrate the post-medieval *regime de terre* of the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP) survey area in the second half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century.³ The survey's philosophy continues the tone set by John Cherry, Malcolm Wagstaff, Colin Renfrew and Siv Augustson in their regional survey of Melos.⁴ Time will tell what impact the PRAP book might have on their colleagues; at this early date it is possible to say that it is one of the most important contributions to the social history of Greece in the past two decades.

At Corinth, the desire to get to grips with post Classical archaeology has stuttered. It was only with a push to get the material previously excavated published that saw the publication of Byzantine and Ottoman finds. Robert Scranton, who was much more interested in Classical architecture published the

¹ For instance Nandris 2009 and 1984; Blitzer 1990a, 1990b and forthcoming.

² Laiou-Thonmodakis 1977; Harvey 1989.

³ Zarinebaf, Bennet and Davis 2005.

⁴ Renfrew and Wagstaff 1984.

post classical architecture and Gladys Weinberg included post classical objects in her overview of the "minor objects" from the excavation.⁵ Charles Morgan, who as Director of the American School and of Corinth excavations was one of the forces behind the publication effort, was interested in Classical and Renaissance sculpture. His book on the Byzantine glazed pottery, which included much Frankish and some Ottoman period pottery, is still the main authority on the subject.⁶

When Henry Robinson became Director of the American School and at Corinth, he brought with him the conviction that all periods represented in the archaeological record were equally worthy of study. One of his goals was to understand the later phases of Corinth's occupation that, where previously dug, had been stripped away to reveal the Roman monuments below. Robinson embarked on a campaign that uncovered Medieval and post-medieval remains at the southwest corner of the Roman forum and to the south of the South Stoa. Two monuments, the Turkish House and the so called "Silk Factory", he considered to be of sufficient merit to preserve for the edification of the general public. It was under Robinson's tenure that Pierre MacKay published two important articles, one on the fountain of Hadji Mustapha and the other on Acrocorinth in the Ottoman period. The pottery recovered from the excavation formed the bulk of the material presented in Theodora MacKay's article, which concentrated mainly on coarse wares of later periods. Rebecca Robinson published the Ottoman tobacco pipes and Robinson himself took a keen interest in the Bey's palace and in the Ottoman phases on Temple Hill. He was responsible for acquiring many of the images illustrated in the present volume for Corinth's archives partly because he was interested in the transition from Ottoman to Early Modern Greek Corinth.

Robinson's successor at Corinth, Charles Williams was one of the most talented field archaeologists of his era and he taught archaeological best practices to literally hundreds of his student excavators. After addressing problems in our understanding of earlier periods of Corinth's archaeology for much of his career, for instance drafting the first phase plans so crucial to our understanding of the site's development through time, his last campaign was dedicated to substantial Medieval remains south of the archaeological museum. Although the late Ottoman phase was poorly preserved, buildings of the late Frankish phase that preceded the Ottoman rule were in excellent condition. In a series of preliminary reports, Williams and his co-authors presented a very clear account of the pottery, glass, architecture, human and animal bones and coins found.⁹ Williams was also successful in creating a narrative that attempted to put the material culture in its historical context. It was an altogether outstanding and exemplary contribution to archaeology especially since he dealt so thoroughly with such an unpopular period. Several scholars were probably inspired by what he was doing and I like to think that he was a prime motivator for those who excavated and published Panakton so well.¹⁰

In the past 20 years, the lead given by Robinson and Williams has been closely followed. This is partly because it was necessary to conduct a "green field" project starting from topsoil. In the Panayia Field the first phases we encountered were of very poor houses of the end of the Ottoman period. It

⁵ Corinth I.3. and Corinth XVI.

⁶ Corinth XI.

⁷ MacKay 1967, pp. 249-320 1968, pp. 386-397.

⁸ Robinson 1962; 1976 and 1986; Robinson 1985.

Orinth XX; Williams and Zervos 1987; 1988; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1993;1994; 1995; 1996; Williams, Barnes, and Snyder 1997; Williams, Snyder, Barnes and Zervos 1998.

¹⁰ Gerstel et al 2003.

provided us with a didactic opportunity that would persuade our student excavators that even such recent material was of great importance particularly because it had been so neglected in the past. We gave no less attention to this phase than we did in later seasons to the Hellenistic and Geometric phases. The houses were of the single storey long house varieties of which examples still exist in the village today and as in recent memories of their use, the occupants shared them with their livestock (**Fig 1-2**). Although they date to the last decades of the Ottoman period, the pottery in the associated pits indicate that the material remains were those of occupants serving in the companies of Philhellenes during the Greek War of Independence. In addition to pieces of dress uniform, there were wine bottles, drinking glasses and pottery imported from Britain, Italy, France and even from the Ottoman Empire.

Pierre Peytier, a French surveyor with the Expedition de la Moree describes a house of the period, very possibly one of the houses we excavated:

"...in the custom of the country the roof consists of trimmed branches as thick as an arm, spaced from 5 to 6 inches apart which serve as rafters and the tiles are held in place thereon. The houses in general lack chimneys and the smoke from the fires goes out through the cracks between the tiles. Inside the single domestic space of the house is a small oven in which they bake maize bread made like a pancake. As often as not they make it at the time of eating and bake it on the ashes of an ordinary fire. Next to the oven and the hearth, are coffers made of wood and of clay resembling terracotta pots leaning against the wall, which are used to store grain,. The front door is only 4 feet high and in the room one or two small windows. They do not know the usage of iron work for the closing of doors and windows. The bed of the family and the stranger alike is on either side of the fire. The more comfortably off cover it with a woolen blanket and the poorer with a straw mat."

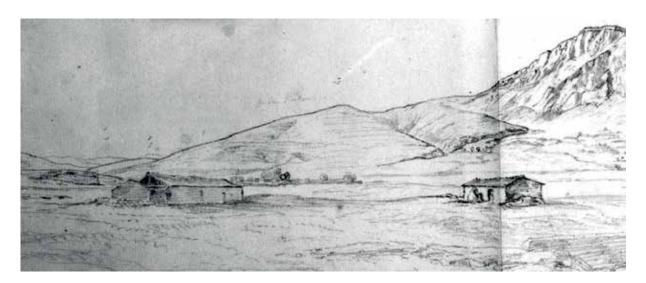


Fig. 1. Detail from Gell.

¹¹ I thank Lisa French for a copy of the original letter by Peytier. The translation is my own.



Fig. 2. Old village house in Corinth.

The single story form certainly pre-dates the Greek War of Independence and is one described by several of the early travelers. William Martin Leake lodged one night in a house at the Kalivia of Feniki (Modern Asopos) in Lakonia 1805 that he describes as follows:

"The house is constructed, in the usual manner, of mud, with a coating of plaster; the roof is thatched, which is not a very common mode of covering the cottages of Greece. There is a raised earthen semicircle at one end for the fire, without any chimney; towards the other, a low partition, formed of the same material as the walls, separates the part of the building destined for the family from that which is occupied by the oxen and asses used on the farm, one door serving for both apartments. The usual articles of furniture of a Greek cottage are ranged, or hung around, namely, a loom, barrel-shaped wicker baskets, plastered with mud, for holding corn, a sieve, spindles, some copper cooking-vessels, and two lyres. The floor is bare earth covered, like the walls, with a coat of dried mud. An oven attached to the outside of the building, and in the garden some beans, artichokes, and a vine trailed over the roof, indicate a superior degree of affluence or industry ... While I was at dinner five oxen entered, and took up their abode for the night behind the low partition". 12

These descriptions contrast starkly with William Gell's illustrations a description of the Bey's palace provided by Joseph Woods:

"The stables, and some of the offices, are on the ground floor. In our own lodging, the stoves for cooking are under the steps which ascend externally to the upper apartments. The rooms of the master of the family, and many also of those appropriated to the servants are on the first floor. There is occasionally a low story, or mezzanine, between the basement and the principal rooms, but never anything over the latter, except that in large houses there is sometimes a sort of tower rising above the general roof, and containing one large room with windows on three sides, or perhaps all round it. Such a room as this, was the hall with twenty-four windows which terminated the palace of Aladdin in the Arabian Nights. The best house I have seen is that of the bey of Corinth; the principal part of the building is in the form of the letter L, forming two sides of a square, and in the corner is a flight of steps leading to the gallery and the principal floor. This gallery is never omitted in any decent house; it is always of wood, and the principal rooms open immediately into it. Our verandas seem to be imitated from it, but its greater depth, and projecting roof, with deeply ornamented eaves, render it much superior in effect. The entrance into this

¹² Leake 1830, I pp. 222-224.

palace, like that of other houses, is by a court, but externally, the walls rise immediately on the summit of a steep, rocky bank, below which are the gardens, and it thus commands a view of the plain and gulf of Corinth... Underneath the gallery, in the court, is a range of arches, which in England you might call Saxon, supported on short, round pillars, which do not correspond with the posts of the gallery above. The walls of this gallery have been ornamentally painted, but the painting and ornaments are almost gone. Beyond this part now described is a range of offices, and beyond these the women's apartments... The interior of a Turkish room seems formed everywhere on the same model, and the one I have already described to you in our own lodging, though of the poorer sort, is on the same plan as the rest. The lower part is sometimes as large as the upper, sometimes much smaller. A little wooden shaft commonly runs up the sides from the step which separates the two levels, and something of this sort is frequently continued across the room on the ceiling. The divan surrounds usually three sides of the upper part of the room; here the Turk or Greek reclines for the greatest part of the day. Smoking his long pipe, or looking out of the windows, which extend as far as the divan itself; and here, I believe, he sleeps at night." ¹³

Clearly, in the context of the Panayia Field, we are dealing with the homes of ordinary people.

The next phase we encountered was a cemetery dating to the Ottoman period the existence of which clearly had been forgotten when the latest phase houses were constructed. The scant material culture and few coins suggested the burials belonged to the first Ottoman period before the coming of Morosini and his army. These graves were of individuals who had experienced an arduous life. They are physical testimony to the individuals actually enumerated in the Ottoman records. Two main burial practices can be detected. Some individuals laid out with their hands alongside their hips are oriented with their heads to the southwest and their feet to the northeast. The heads are turned to look over the slopes of Acrocorinth towards Mecca. Logically these individuals were Muslims. The majority were buried in the Christian fashion, east west with their hand on their abdomen. Some had stones set either side of their heads, a practice noted in excavations in some predominantly Catholic countries suggesting that in addition to Muslims, Orthodox and Catholics all share this same cemetery. Some individuals bore peri-mortem injuries, one Muslim is buried with their head turned away from Mecca and a Christian was buried face down making one wonder if we are dealing with a potters' field for the very poor or and for criminals. Alternately, these were ordinary people who once lived in Corinth and those buried in the Muslim fashion were Greek converts and the putative Catholics were perhaps captives. The profiles of age at death and sex provide a valuable background for the population figures provided by the Ottoman registers (Table 1-3).

Table 1: Life Expectancy (Based on 105 individuals with known ages, excluding infants).

Ages at death	%	n	Projected Survival Frequencies	%	n
Childhood					
3.5 to 13 years	25	26	Surviving beyond Childhood	75	79
Adolescence					

¹³ Woods 1828, pp. 268-9.

14 to 18 years	9	9	Surviving beyond adolescence	67	70
Young adult					
19-24 years	10	11	Surviving beyond young adult	56	59
Prime adult					
25-44 years	39	41	Surviving beyond prime years	17	18
Middle Age					
45-55 years	10	10	Surviving beyond Middle age	8	8
Old Age					
> 55 years	8	8			

Table 2: Demographic Profile

Adults	♀F	∂ M	28	Total
>55 yrs	6	2		8
45-54	1	9		10
36-44	6	9		15
30-35	1	17		18
25-29	2	6		8
19-24	4	7		11
Age unknown	3	4	2	9
Total	23	54	2	79
Adolescents				
16-18 yrs	2	2	1	5

Table 3: Population of Corinth in 1700 by age and sex as presented by Grimani. After Panayiotopoulos 1987, p. 242.

♂M						
Age	1-16	16-30	30-40	40-50	>50	Total
Kalyvia	12(43%)	5(18%)	2(7%)	5 (18%)	4 (14%)	28
Borgo	36 (19%)	54(29%)	35(19%)	29 (16%)	31 (17%)	185
Acrocorinth	48(34%)	34(24%)	35(24%)	15 (10%)	11(8%)	143
Total	96(27%)	93(26%)	72 (20%)	49 (14%)	46 (13%)	356
$\subsetneq \mathbf{F}$						
Age	1-16	16-30	30-40	40-50	>50	Total
Kalyvia	8(42%)	4 (21%)	3 (16%)	3 (16%)	1(5%)	19
Borgo	23 (26%)	17 (19%)	22(24%)	20(22%)	8(9%)	90
Acrocorinth	52(40%)	32 (23%)	23(17%)	19 (14%)	11(8%)	137
Total	83(33%)	53 (21%)	48 (19%)	42 (17%)	20(8%)	248
All Corinth	179(30%)	146(24%)	120(20%)	91(15%)	66 (11%)	603

Trikala 🗸	203(36%)	124 (22%)	95 (17%)	68 (12%)	70(13%)	560
Trikala ♀	104(27%)	98(25%)	100(26%)	46 (12%)	39 (10%)	387
Trikala all	307 (32%)	222 (23%)	195 (21%)	114 (12%)	109 (12%)	947
Corinthia 💍	2032(39%)	996(19%)	872 (17%)	642 (12%)	649(13%)	5191
Corinthia 🖁	1343(34%)	962(25%)	755(19%)	450 (11%)	408 (10%)	3918
	3375 (37%)	1958 (21%)	1627 (18%)	1092 (12%)	1047 (11%)	9109

More recent work in the area south of the South Stoa follows directly on from Robinson's work on structures so capably excavated by Williams when he was a student. This programme was intended to complete the excavations of a Byzantine house and the Turkish House that Robinson wanted to present to the public. The intention was to conserve both so that the visitor to Corinth would get a sense of the connection between the ancient city and the present represented in the two to four metres of archaeology overlying the Roman remains. This programme was delayed by a request to consolidate and conserve the Frankish Complex excavated by Williams south of the museum. By the summer of 2015, four seasons of consolidation and two seasons of supplementary excavation has somewhat changed our assessment of when the complex was occupied and abandoned.



Fig. 3. The Frankish Area

While the date of construction was certainly in the second half of the 13th century, we now know that the original buildings were augmented ca. 1300. We believed that violence and an earthquake led to the abandonment of the buildings in the second decade of the 14th century after which the area was used as a cemetery of similar in date to that in the Panayia Field with similar burial practices. Since the completion of the final preliminary report, the northern Italian bankers tokens found under the buildings' collapsed superstructure have been studied and published.¹⁴ It is clear that one of the two most extensive buildings remained standing into the 15th century. In two rooms, two coins of Agostino Barbarigo, dated 1486-1502, should now probably be thought to have been in situ on the floors on which they were found rather than as contaminations from the stone recovery operation of walls close by. These would indicate that certain spaces still stood in the early Ottoman period. A coin of the same Doge was found under the red soil level into which the burials of the cemetery were made, thereby providing a terminus post quem of 1486 for this phase. The realization that the complex remained standing for a century and more after our originally proposed date means that we have to reconsider the pottery, glass and other material culture that we placed before ca.1320. Much of it now has to belong to the 14th and even the 15th century down to ca. 1500 and we should consider the role of the Black Death in the abandonment of the complex. All this means that we now have the potential for building the foundations of the archaeology of these centuries for the first time. These foundations, with the late houses of the Panayia Field, neatly frame the period discussed in the main chapters of this book.

The excavations in the Panayia Field, South of the South Stoa and in the Frankish Area have also generated the potential for studying the archaeology of the poor.¹⁵ It is clear that the Panayia houses are those of poor people even if the material culture that we found belonged to not so poor foreigners who were billeted there later. The house south of the South Stoa and the buildings of the Frankish Area are, by comparison, very large. They and the associated material culture belonged to people living with incomes many multiples of the poorest echelons. The main unit of the Frankish Area (**Fig. 3**) compares in scale to the original core of the Kastro on Kimolos which in the late 16th century consisted of 12 houses arranged around a small church. Its ground plan covered an area of only 800 m² but it housed perhaps 50 to 80 people.¹⁶ In fact the unit, which looks inward, is essentially an urban semi-fortified house that was probably home to as many as a dozen people who were retained by the owners as servants and labourers. If the glazed pottery, coarse and cooking wares, the glass and metal belonged to the households of the rich, what material culture did the poor have?

Wages and prices for the late medieval, Ottoman and post medieval periods in some Mediterranean countries are relatively well documented. We know, for example that from the 5th century BCE down to that 18th century, an unskilled labourer earned between 3 and 5 grams of silver a day. For instance, in Istanbul between 1489 and 1618, unskilled labourer earned only three or four grams of silver (**Table 4**).

¹⁴ Saccocci and Vanni 1999.

¹⁵ Sanders, forthcoming.

¹⁶ It was built before 1592 by Ioannis Raphos, a merchant from Siphnos, to house 12 families from Siphnos see Sanders 1996, fig. 22; Vionis 2012, fig. 5.6.

Table 4. Prices of various items and average wages in Istanbul between 1489 and 1618.

	1489	1490	1587	1617	1618
			Best data		
Wheat flour kile	18.1	10.6	67.4	86.5	53.1
Bread okka			1.8	1.8	1.9
Rice kile	17.5	15.0	44.2	59.3	55.0
Butter okka	6.0	7.1		20.7	20.4
Olive oil <i>okka</i>	4.6			13.0	14.8
Mutton okka	1.4		3.0		
Honey okka	4.3	3.8		11.0	12.0
Sugar okka	28.3				
Chick peas kile	17.4	8.9	69.2	71.0	45.3
Consumer price index 1469=1	1.30	1.09	3.53	5.06	3.99
Akce silver content	0.68	0.68	0.34	0.29	0.28
CPI in Ag	1.02	0.85	1.40	1.69	1.29
Unskilled Skilled	4.9 (3.30 g. Ag) 10.0 (6.64 g)	4.7 (3.14 g) 9.1 (5.16 g)	9.4 (3.20 g) 12.0 (4.11 g)	14.5 (4.10 g) 23.2 (6.85 g)	n/d n/d
Skined	10.0 (0.07 g)	7.1 (3.10 g)	12.0 (7.11 g)	23.2 (0.03 g)	11/ U

Adapted from Şevket Pamuk http://www.ottoman.uconn.edu/data.html

This was barely sufficient to buy bread, clothes and hardware such as candles and to meet tax and rent bills. This was the condition of those living at subsistence in towns and cities. Rural poor, such as landless peasants, paid rent for their land in kind measured on the threshing floor. In the early decades of the 19th century at Hexamilion, the next village east of Corinth, a share rent farmer cultivating about 8 hectares kept about one quarter of his crop after seed had been set aside, taxes, rent equivalent to his own share and other payments had been made. This was the paltry sum of 2.2 kgs of mixed barley wheat a day that had to be supplemented with occasional labour, a kitchen garden and gathering wild vegetables.¹⁷ Samuel Howe recounted the local Corinthian system of share rent as follows:

"Others continue to come, and at last the [former] inhabitants of this place showed themselves, and asked if they might come and build here again. From thirty three families they are reduced to fifteen, who are living in the caves about here, not having dared to abide in the village for six years for fear of the Greek soldiery, who took from them their substance and at last pulled the houses to pieces. The inhabitants have contrived to save among them five pair of oxen with which they wish to go to work

¹⁷ Sanders 2014, p. 113.

under my protection, as they express it. The best-informed man among them, and the best off, had a long confab with me this morning, and amused me much. "Effendi" (my lord), said he, "we have been accustomed to obey one, as our fathers did before us; we know that nothing goes well without a head, and we pray that you will grant us the same privileges that you are going to give others."

The old fellow then began to descant on the advantages of their situation under the Turks, and said it was better their present one in theory. This led me to examine the affair, and after much cross-questioning and difficulty, I made out the relative situation then and now.

The Bey gave them their house, land to cultivate, seed to sow it with, and loans without interest; they cultivated the earth in their own way, and at harvest time made the following division:

Suppose a peasant reaped one hundred bushels: he had first to subtract

The seed he had received, say	20 per cent
He paid to the priest	1/2
Blacksmith per annum	1/2
Tax for Sultan	10
To labourers for the harvest	5
To the Kehaya, or agent	10
Horse for beating out (threshing)	<u>5</u>
	51 per cent.

But the Bey made a present apparently in this way: when the harvest was stocking, the peasant took one sheaf or bundle in every ten for his family, which taken from 51 leaves 41. Then from 41 to 100 we have 59 per cent., which was divided between the Bey and the peasant, leaving [the latter] 29½ per cent. But then the *Kehaya*, or agent of the Bey, made every peasant sow, cultivate, and reap for him 3 kilo of grain, making 111 okes; so that the peasant [actually] received about 25 per cent.

Now, under the Government, he has land, and pays-

One third of the crop, making, say	33 per cent.
He pays the priest	1/2
Blacksmith	1/2
Expenses of harvesting, say	10
Expenses of his house	<u>3_</u>
	47 per cent

Taking 47 from 100 leaves 53 per cent, while before he had only 25.

They could always borrow money from the agent of the Bey, the first time without interest, afterwards by paying eight per cent." 18

We also have pottery prices which show that even at source, something as simple as a plain glazed pitcher cost several hours of a local labourer's pay (**Table 5**). Exported to Corinth, which northern Italian examples were, the same item cost days of the urban labourer's pay and almost a week of the landless farmer's barley and bread supply. Obviously pottery, which broke sooner or later, was not a significant part of the ordinary Ottoman householder's possessions. Instead they used mud plastered wicker for storage, as Leake and Peytier both relate. For drinking cups they used leather, wooden bowls or even tankards built with wooden staves. For eating, they used treen plates (trenchers) rather than ceramic plates. For cooking they used copper, which although expensive lasted a lifetime and more.

Table 5: Pottery price.

	Cost %	Price Soldi	Price in silver	Unskilled	Rural hours
	increase			hours	
Unglazed?		1s 9d	0.52 g.	1.75	8
Glazed	100	3s 6d			
Decorated	15	4s	1.18 g.	4	18
Transport	88	7s 6d			
Import tax	8.3	8s 2d			
Middlemen	33	10s 10d			
Market tax	25	13s 6d	3.98 g.	13.5	61

Price of a *mezziquarti* (2.28 litres) in *soldi* and *denarii*, unskilled urban labourer's hours (at 10 soldi per day) and peasant's hours (2 kgs bread a day at 1 *soldi* 1 *denarii* per kg.).¹⁹

¹⁸ Richards 1906, pp. 352-4.

¹⁹ http://www.museomontelupo.it/old/vasai/indice.asp and Berti 1997-2003.

These same artifacts survive in the photographic record of the material culture of Corinth well into the 20th century and they illustrate how important the study of post-classical, and even the early modern, periods is for understanding daily life in earlier periods. Can we, for instance, expect to see the houses of the poor in the surface scatters, mainly of pottery, found in surface survey. For instance the site of Rachiani on the plateau above the west bank of the Longopotamos river west of Corinth had ten households in the early decades of the 19th century. Today it is represented merely by a scatter of building stone and a few broken roof tiles on the surface; there is no pottery.

There has been growing interest in Ottoman Greek, Venetian and early modern Greek archaeology in recent years.²⁰ Unfortunately, with rare exceptions, these are the hobbies of individuals each of whom believe themselves to be working alone and yet, counted together, the number would easily fill the agenda of a three day annual conference. The present work represents the interests of only five of several individuals interested in post-Medieval Corinthia presented at a workshop in Volos in 2015. It should be seen as a beginning not as an end because the data herein is still very much under study.

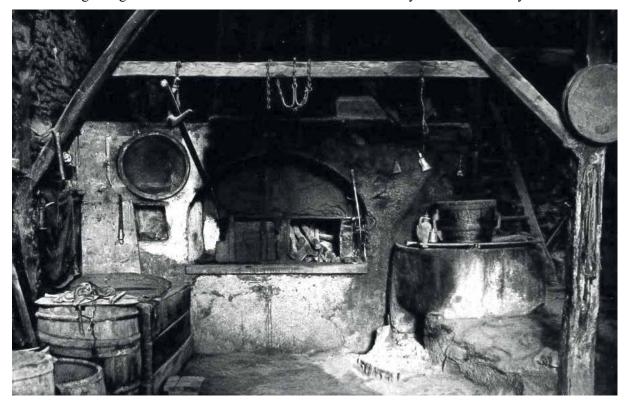


Fig. 4. An interior of a house in Corinth. Holdt and von Hofmannstahl 1923, p. 63.

This introduction serves only to put the essays of the other four contributors into the perspective of the archaeologists' record and perspective, one that needs some dedicated students to sort out and present fully. The four main essays present different aspects of the archives and monuments as they exist and these tend not to reflect the poorer echelons of society. The records enumerate people, but those who are referred to by name are those of some substance. The monuments are the creations of the richest echelons and the survey record, as I have indicated may tell us little about ordinary people.

For instance, Bintliff 1995, pp. 111-130; Blitzer 1990, pp. 676-711; Davis 199, pp. 1131-215; François 1994, pp. 375-387; 1995, pp. 203-217; Hayes 1992, pp. 231-421; Vroom 2003.

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20 ———

Introduction. Corinth and the Archaeology of the Poor.