A GREEK SCULPTURED METOPE IN ROME

(PLATE 71)

AMONG the sculptured architectural marbles of Greek origin found in Rome, some of them brought from Greek temples in the western colonial cities or from Greece itself for the embellishment of ancient Rome,[1] others by early modern travelers,[2] and others again by more recent travelers to Greek lands, may be noted an unidentified sculptured metope stored in the Antiquario Comunale on the Monte Celio (*E.A.*, 2051). At my request, in the hope of ascertaining the origin of this

[1] Examples: The south pediment sculptures (in Copenhagen and Rome) and akroteria (in the Louvre), all apparently brought from the temple at Bassai to Rome (for the pediment statues, Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 27-47; for the akroteria, Picard, *Mon. Piot*, XXXIX, 1943, pp. 49-80; cf. also Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 19-21 and LX, 1956, p. 401 note 3). A Nike akroterion from the Palatine (in the Museo Nazionale, Rome), a fleeing girl from a pediment (in Copenhagen, no. 304), the Alba youth from a pediment (in Copenhagen, no. 400), a standing Apollo apparently from a pediment (in Copenhagen, no. 63); for these four see Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 33, 38, with references; for later references see, for the Nike or Aura from the Palatine, *BrBr.* pls. 766-767, and for the fleeing girl in Copenhagen, said to have been found near Frascati, see V. H. Poulsen, *Aarsskrift*, XXV, 1938, pp. 128-143, figs. 5-9, where it is combined with a headless seated youth and perhaps an Athena head in Copenhagen and a seated woman in Berlin (*BrBr.* pl. 771). Also a headless seated youth from Tivoli in Copenhagen (no. 325; *E.A.* 4454-4456), the Barberini Suppliant now in the Louvre (*BrBr.* pl. 415; *Mon. Piot*, XXXV, 1935/6, pl. 6), Nike akroteria from the gardens of Sallust in the Conservatori at Rome (Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 222, no. 16; *BrBr.* pl. 263 and figs. 4-6 in text to pls. 761-762), and a late archaic female figure (Amazon) from the Ludovisi gardens also in the Conservatori (Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 219, no. 12; Poulsen, *op. cit.*, fig. 2). A metope from an unidentified Attic building (according to style and material), wrongly assigned by Langlotz to the temple at Rhamnous (in the Villa Albani, no. 178; Langlotz, *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara*, pp. 225-230, pl. XXI; Dinsmoor, "Rhamnountine Fantasies," to be published in *Hesperia*). If this metope had actually come from Rhamnous it would have been a definite example of looting in antiquity; but in the absence of identification it might have been brought to Rome in later times. The actual sculptured metopes from Rhamnous, however, were undoubtedly brought to Rome in A.D. 45/6 (Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*), but have never been discovered. Similarly unknown, but probably to be included in this list, are the pediment sculptures of the temple of Ares at Athens (Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 48). Note also the groups described by Pliny, the Niobid group in the temple of Apollo built by C. Sosius (XIII, 53; XXXVI, 28, 34) and the group by Boupalos and Athenis in the temple of Apollo built by Octavius on the Palatine (XXXVI, 13).

[2] Examples: A head from a metope of the Parthenon (in the Vatican, no. 1013; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, no. 398, pl. LXXIII). The upper right corner of north frieze slab V of the Parthenon, still in Athens in 1754 (in the Vatican, no. 1014; Technau, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1931, pp. 87-89, pl. 11; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *op. cit.*, no. 399, pl. LXXIV). Head of a horse from the west pediment of the Parthenon (in the Vatican, no. 1016; *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, p. 501, pl. XLVIII; Lullies, *Griechische Bildwerke in Rom*, 2nd ed., 1955, fig. 18).

piece, it was sought out and examined, lying in the grass and among the poppies of the garden (Orto Botanico) of the Antiquario, by Gisela M. A. Richter and Carlo Pietrangeli, through whose careful and discriminating analysis I am enabled to present the following report.[4]

The metope (Pl. 71) had been found on July 16, 1890, beneath the former Piazza delle Carrette, southeast of the Torre dei Conti and so just outside (northeast of) the boundary wall of the Forum Pacis of Vespasian, during the clearing of this area for the new Via Cavour, and while digging a sewer at a depth of 4 meters.[5] It was then tentatively but superficially identified as a piece of the frieze of the Forum Transitorium of Nerva, to which it certainly does not belong.[6] Many years later, while accumulating the records of earlier excavations in the area of the Forum Pacis, Colini included this piece, though adding that it is not certain that it came from the Forum Pacis, having been found outside, and suggesting that it was part of a pediment.[7] Meanwhile it had been identified by Amelung as a Greek metope and assigned to a very different period, the fourth century B.C.[8]

The metope is of fine-grained Greek marble, Pentelic in Miss Richter's opinion, broken all around except at the top and back; the height is 0.87 m., the width 0.49 m. in its present state, and the thickness of the background (below the fascia) 0.10 m.[9] This thickness is suitable for a sculptured marble metope slab, analogies (excluding the irregular thicknesses in the Parthenon) being 0.12 m. in the Heraion at Selinous (poros), 0.085/0.10 m. at Olympia, 0.07/0.08 m. in the Argive Heraion, etc. The back is roughly worked with the punch. On the top surface is a rectangular hole

[4] The piece has now been cleaned and transferred to the Palazzo dei Conservatori (no. 1827, or no. 14 in room VI). For the new photographs I am indebted to Dr. Gisela Richter and Dr. Carlo Pietrangeli.

[5] *Not. Sc.*, 1890, p. 239 (without illustration): "Presso la piazza delle Carrette, sistemandosi il piano stradale della Via Cavour, si è retrovato un frammento di grande fregio marmoreo, che per le proporzioni e lo stilo ha analogia con quello del foro di Nerva. Vi rimane soltanto il torso, in alto rilievo, di una figura virile, la quale era seduta e teneva il braccio destro proteso. Essa è ignuda, ma doveva avere dietro la spalle una clamide, de cui vedesi un lembo sul lato sinistro." Cf. *Bull. Com.*, XXVII, 1899, p. 203. Further details from the inventory are added by Colini, *Bull. Com.*, LXV, 1937, p. 19 (with illustration fig. 8): "eseguendosi cavo per foguolo, alla profondità di m. 4, e tra le terre di scarico" (reference kindly furnished by Enrico Paribeni).

[6] The fact that it cannot belong to the Forum Transitorium is shown not only by the fourth century style but also by the height, estimated as at least 1.34 m., and by the smooth fascia of 0.143 m. at the top. The frieze of the Forum Transitorium is only 0.775 m. high without any mouldings cut on the same piece (Töbelmann, *Römische Gebälke*, 1923, pp. 52-61, pl. VIII).

[7] Colini, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The attribution to a pediment was made on the assumption that the forward-leaning torso should be set vertically, thus tipping the horizontal top fascia obliquely. But, even then, the slope would be insufficient for a pediment, and the broad fascia crowning a sloping tympanum would be unprecedented.

[8] Amelung, in Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, VII, 1913, p. 70, no. 2051.

[9] Amelung gives 0.86, 0.51, and 0.11 m., respectively.

0.05 m. long, 0.04 m. wide, and 0.07 m. deep, also very roughly worked with the punch, which Amelung interpreted as a " Dübelloch," and in fact Miss Richter admits that it might be ancient Roman. But it was certainly utilized in recent times, since it contains traces not only of iron rust but also of mortar, so that it undoubtedly served for fastening the piece to a wall during an earlier installation in the Antiquario and, being approximately at the center of the broken piece as it now exists, was probably made after 1890 for this purpose.[10]

The single exactly known architectural feature is the fascia along the top, 0.143 m. high and projecting 0.02 m. from the background, this clearly designating it as a metope. The fascia has no crowning moulding such as appears in the Parthenon (beaded astragal), the central building and west wings of the Propylaia at Athens (ovolo and plain astragal, respectively), and the Argive Heraion (ovolo); it differs also from the more complicated group of mouldings in the porches at Bassai.

The sculpture, with a maximum projection of 0.213 m. from the background, represents a youthful warrior, leaning slightly forward as he strides toward the right (the legs hardly fitting the seated posture first suggested in 1890), with a shield on his left arm and held behind the body which is enframed by its concave interior, the left edge of the shield appearing to the left of his right side. The upper edge of the shield rises slightly above the shoulders and is in high relief, filling most of the distance of 0.125 m. between the background and the back of the warrior's neck. The chlamys, wrapped around his left forearm, flows out toward the left in harmony with the movement of the body. On his left side is a neat circular hole only 0.003 m. in diameter, evidently for the attachment of a bronze baldric, and another bored hole appears on the top fold of the drapery swinging from the left elbow. The head is missing, but apparently reached almost as high as the bottom of the fascia. The safest measurement on the figure itself is 0.35 m. from the bottom of the suprasternal notch to the crotch, implying that the figure was *ca.* 1.08 m. high, barely more than five-eighths life size. In detail, we measure 0.143 m. (fascia) + 0.27 m. (from fascia to bottom of suprasternal notch) + 0.35 m. (from suprasternal notch to crotch) + *ca.* 0.54 m. (from crotch to sole, restored) = *ca.* 1.30 m., to which we add *ca.* 0.05/0.07 m. for the plinth or ground line at the bottom, giving a total metope height of *ca.* 1.35/1.37 m. In other words, the metope was as high as those of the Parthenon (1.350 m.). A similar or slightly smaller dimension might be assumed for the width.

A circular bored hole running from front to back through the fascia (Pl. 71, b),

[10] In response to my inquiry whether it might be a late lewis hole, Miss Richter replies in the negative: " the marble is broken at the top round the hole, but enough is preserved to show that pencils (applied within the ends) would not converge "; in other words, it is not longer at the bottom. It is located above the neck of the warrior and so approximately at the middle of the piece as it now exists.

appearing in the stepped fracture at the right edge (its bottom 0.09 m. below the top of the fascia),[11] would seem to have been a lifting hole for a rope, analogous to those found in pairs on the frieze slabs from Bassai and as single holes in the metopes from the Argive Heraion. The diameter of the hole is 0.026 m., comparable to those of 0.016/0.024 m. from Bassai and of 0.025 m. from the Heraion. On the latter analogy and with this interpretation, the hole should have been at the center of gravity of the original metope; and the fact that it actually appears at the right of the extant figure suggests that we are concerned with a two-figured composition, our warrior and his missing opponent. The absence of the original left edge, however, prevents any exact calculation of the total width.

The date of the sculpture, as previously noted, was thought by Amelung to be "very good decorative work of the fourth century"; Miss Richter also gives as her opinion "early fourth century, but it might be *ca.* 400 B.C." In order to attempt its identification, therefore, it is necessary to search for a large building of approximately this date. The clues being primarily the total metope height and that of the fascia, we may tabulate the dimensions of these features in a series of fairly large Greek buildings of the fifth and fourth centuries, arranged in a sequence according to the heights of peristyle metopes:[12]

[11] After mentioning the "Dübelloch," Amelung says: "Rechts davon ein treppenförmiger Bruch; in dem zweiten Absatz eine runde Bahn von vorne nach hinten (kaum ursprünglich; zu welchem Zwecke sollte sie gediente haben?)."

[12] For these dimensions and those given in the following tables I have adopted my own measurements whenever possible; those from Nemea are due to the kindness of the late B. H. Hill. The publications, moreover, are in certain respects confusing. Olympia porches 1.62 m. (Katterfeld, *Gr. Metopenbilder*, p. 89) omitting the fascia, but 1.60 m. (Kähler, *Gr. Metopenbild*, p. 105) with the statement that the fascia cut on the poros backing block was 0.24 m. high; the latter is excessive, the higher fascia on the porch triglyph being only 0.195 m. according to Dörpfeld, the lower metope fascia only 0.165 m. as shown by the metope slots cut on the sides of the triglyphs. Selinous (Hera) peristyle and porch metope heights interchanged by Katterfeld (*op. cit.*, p. 89). Paestum peristyle, Koldewey's metope fascia height 0.22 m. (?) seems excessive. At Aigina the unknown height of the metope fascia of the porches must have been less than the measured triglyph fascia of 0.095 m.; and if we adopt the ratio of 0.11 : 0.086 = 1 : 0.80 m. appearing in the peristyle, the heights in the porches would have been 0.095 : 0.075 m. Omitted from the table because of absence of recorded fascia heights are Syracuse (Athena) 1.397 m.; Paestum ("Poseidon") porches 0.863 m.; Akragas ("Lacinia") 1.098 m.; Tegea (Athena) porches 0.993 m.; Stratos (Zeus) porches 0.844 m. In the porches at Tegea, to be sure, the fascia height is published as 0.112 m.; while the ratio to the metope height would not be unreasonable (8.87 : 1), the condition of the pieces seems to offer no justification for such a height (which is suspiciously like 0.114 m. measure in the peristyle), and it is greatly excessive with respect to the epistyle taenia of 0.083 m. (1 : 1.349 m., see note 28), so that it was probably considerably less than 0.112 m. On the other hand, in the Argive Heraion two or three sculptured metopes had fascia heights of only 0.085 m. (Eichler, *Jahresh.*, XIX/XX, 1916/19, pp. 55-56 note 85); but these may have belonged to the inner porches, of which the metope heights are unknown. Completely unknown in both respects, and therefore likewise omitted from the table, are the dimensions at Himera and in the "largest temple in the Peloponnesos" at Corinth.

	Height of metope	fascia	ratio
Olympia (Zeus) peristyle	1.740 m.	0.180 m.	9.67 : 1
" porches	1.750 m.	0.165 m.	10.61 : 1
Eleusis, portico of Philon	1.62 m.	0.182 m.	8.90 : 1
Selinous (Hera) porches	1.61 m.	0.205 m.	7.85 : 1
Isthmia (Poseidon) peristyle	1.50+ m.	0.163 m.	9.20+ : 1
Segesta peristyle	1.447 m.	0.174 m.	8.31 : 1
Paestum (" Poseidon ") peristyle	1.433 m.	0.22? m.	6.51 : 1?
Delphi (Apollo) peristyle	1.405 m.	0.240 m.	5.85 : 1
Athens (Parthenon) peristyle	1.350 m.	0.141 m.	9.57 : 1
Athens (Propylaia) central	1.165 m.	0.109 m.	10.69 : 1
Nemea (Zeus) peristyle	1.152 m.	0.115 m.	10.02 : 1
" porches	0.88 m.	0.085 m.	10.35 : 1
Akragas (" Concord ") porches	1.115 m.	0.158 m.	7.06 : 1
Tegea (Athena) peristyle	1.088 m.	0.114 m.	9.54 : 1
Argive Heraion peristyle	1.06 m.	0.105 m.	10.10 : 1
Selinous (" A ") peristyle	1.051 m.	0.115 m.	9.14 : 1
Stratos (Zeus) peristyle	0.946 m.	0.110 m.	8.60 : 1
Bassai (Apollo) peristyle	0.840 m.	0.100 m.	8.40 : 1
" porches	0.800 m.	0.073 m.	10.96 : 1
Athens (Ares) peristyle	0.838 m.	0.082 m.	10.22 : 1
Sounion (Poseidon) peristyle	0.829 m.	0.085 m.	9.75 : 1
Athens (Hephaistos) peristyle	0.828 m.	0.0895 m.	9.25 : 1
Athens (Propylaia) wings	0.821 m.	0.082 m.	10.01 : 1
Aigina (Aphaia) peristyle	0.817 m.	0.086 m.	9.50 : 1
" porches	0.82 m.	*ca.* 0.075 m.	10.93 : 1

The ratios in these twenty-five examples vary from 5.85 : 1 to 10.96 : 1, averaging 9.239 : 1. Or if we eliminate the disproportionately heavy fascia at Delphi, as well as the uncertain heights at Isthmia and Paestum, the ratios would vary from 7.06 : 1 to 10.96 : 1, averaging 9.519 : 1. Possibly also we should disregard the inner porches at Bassai, since here it is a question of a group of mouldings rather than a fascia; if so, the ratios would vary from 7.06 : 1 to 10.93 : 1, averaging 9.355 : 1. Applying these three average ratios to the known height of the fascia of our metope, 0.143 m., the total height of the restored metope would be about 1.32 m. (9.239), 1.34 m. (9.355), or 1.36 m. (9.519), in close agreement with the estimate of *ca.* 1.35/1.37 m. as obtained from the sculpture. Thus the total metope height and the fascia height would be proportioned to each other in accordance with normal practice.

From this accumulation of evidence, approximate as it is, we may conclude that we are concerned with a sculptured metope as large as those of the Parthenon, and a few decades later in date. It is clear, however, that no known temple among the western colonies enters the question, whether because of date, dimensions, or absence of metope sculpture. The " largest temple in the Peloponnesos " at Corinth, which I have assigned to the second half of the fifth century, restoring the metopes as 1.628 m.

wide but of unknown height (the epistyle being 1.751 m. high), is probably too early and in any case too large.[13] All the others on the Greek mainland noted above, like those in the west, would disagree as to date, dimensions, or absence of metope sculpture, with one exception.

The latest addition to our list of large Greek temples, that of Poseidon at Isthmia,[14] offers at present the most favorable possibility of identification. This temple, as Broneer has shown, was erected at about the time of that at Olympia, in the second quarter of the fifth century, but was destroyed by fire in 394 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hellenika*, IV, v, 4) and thereupon almost completely reconstructed. The lower parts of the original walls and columns seem to have been utilizable; but the upper parts were largely replaced, as well as the eaves and raking simas,[15] and possibly also the marble pedimental sculptures.[16] The original poros members were finished with the smooth chisel,[17] their replacements usually with the toothed chisel.[18] A corner triglyph found near and apparently belonging to the southwest corner, cut out of a column capital of the earlier smooth finish,[19] shows that the height from the preserved bottom to the broken top was at least 1.50 m.; and the width of the peristyle triglyphs, apparently uniform in both periods, may be estimated as 0.904 m.[20] As at Tegea and Nemea, where the flank simas of 1.343/1.346 and 1.441/1.442 m., respectively, are only indirectly related to the flank column spacings of 3.585 and 3.746 m.,[21] so also at Isthmia the flank simas of 1.41/1.43 m. were apparently indirectly related to axial spacings of *ca.* 4.447 m., twenty-two lion-head spacings to seven column spacings.[22]

[13] Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 104-115.

[14] Broneer, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 185-189; XXIV, 1955, pp. 111-117; the pagination of these two reports being different, references to them are made solely by page numbers. I am indebted to Oscar Broneer for permission to examine the pertinent pieces at Isthmia and thus to amplify some of the details in his preliminary report.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188, pls. 57, e-f, 58, a-b; pp. 115-116, pl. 45, a-e.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 114, pl. 44, b-c.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 114, pl. 44, a, d.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 114, pl. 44, b, d. One is tempted to conclude that the triglyph belongs to the renovation, cut from an earlier capital; but there is also the possibility, since the triglyph shows no traces of the toothed chisel, that it is of the earlier period and was cut from a superfluous capital.

[20] The surviving southwest corner triglyph yields 0.303 m. for the corner third, 0.600 m. for two thirds, both on the west and south faces; another piece, now lying at the west end, gives 0.303 m. for one third, 0.603 m. for two. Thus the average width of one third is uniformly 1/9 (2.712) = 0.3013 m., the total 0.904 m. Broneer gives $3 \times 0.293 = 0.879$ m. for the corner triglyph and $3 \times 0.305 = 0.915$ m. for the other (*op. cit.*, p. 114); but these seem to require the slight above-mentioned corrections, particularly as the south face of the corner triglyph actually measures 0.89 m. (exceeding 0.879 m.) from the west face to the recessed joint surface for the endmost metope on the south flank.

[21] At Tegea, $3 \times 3.585 = 8 \times 1.3445 = 10.755$ m.; at Nemea, $5 \times 3.746 = 13 \times 1.441 = 18.730$ m. In the former, eight lion-headed spacings equal three column spacings, and in the latter thirteen lion-head spacings equal five column spacings.

[22] At Isthmia, $22 \times 1.415 = 7 \times 4.447 = 31.130$ m. Broneer gives the length of the flank simas

Thus the flank metopes would have been *ca.* 1/2 (4.447) —0.904 = 1.32 m. in width, or *ca.* 1.46 times the triglyph width. The crowning fascia of the triglyphs, as preserved on a mended patch from the top of a triglyph, is 0.189 m. high; and a cutting at one side of this fragment, for the reception of a metope, shows that the metope fascia was 0.163 m. high, projecting 0.035 m. (Fig. 1, a).[23] The edges of the triglyphs overlapped the metopes, to the extent of 0.014 m. (corner triglyph) to 0.11 m. (smaller

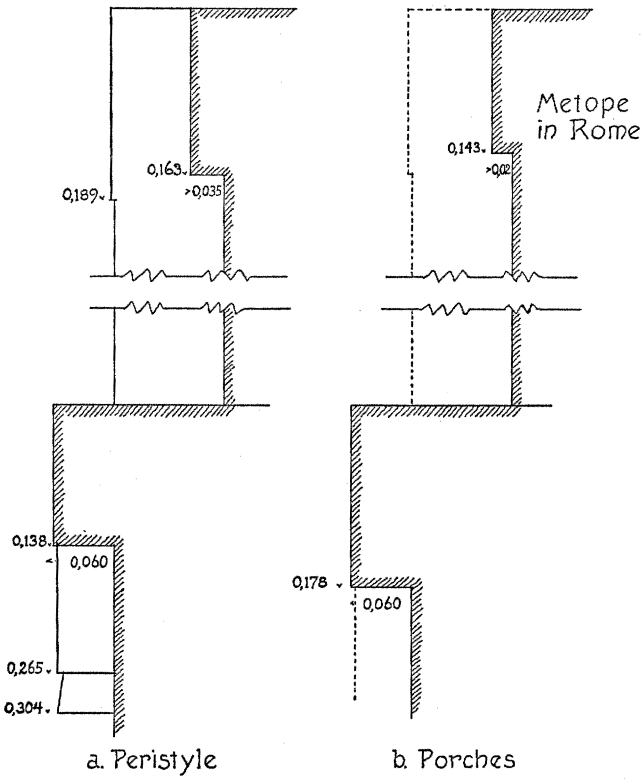

FIG. 1. Details of Epistyle and Frieze Mouldings at Isthmia.

piece); despite the very considerable overlap in the latter, the difference of only 0.014 m. between the measured width of 0.904 m. on the face of the corner triglyph and that of 0.89 m. farther back (so far behind the face that it cannot be explained as a metope slot) implies that in the peristyle, at least, we are concerned only with

as 1.41 m. (*op. cit.*, p. 115) and of single pan tiles as 0.715 m. (*op. cit.*, p. 187), and estimates the flank column spacing as *ca.* 4.44 m. to fit the total plan (*op. cit.*, p. 187 note 11). It may be observed that this Peloponnesian method of spacing the lion heads, as exemplified at Isthmia, Tegea, and Nemea (but not at Olympia, the Argive Heraion, or the antefix spacing at Bassai, which show Attic regularity), recurs in Sicily (at Syracuse and Himera) where it may be regarded as another instance of Peloponnesian influence.

[23] Broneer (*op. cit.*, p. 114) mentions this fragment, which is now in the Corinth Museum.

blank metopes overlapped by the edges of the triglyphs, not with sculptured metopes. The latter fact, and also the greater height of the metopes (more than 1.50 m. as opposed to *ca.* 1.35/1.37 m.) and of their fascias (0.163 m. as opposed to 0.143 m.), demonstrate that the metope in Rome could not have come from the peristyle at Isthmia.

Two types of epistyle taenia fragments are preserved at Isthmia. One is represented by a piece with a taenia 0.178 m. high and 0.060 m. in projection (Fig. 1, b), without traces of regulae or guttae so that it must have fitted between them.[24] The other type has a taenia only 0.138 m. high and likewise 0.06 m. in projection (Fig. 1, a), with a regula 0.127 m. high and guttae 0.039 m. high and 0.058 m. in diameter, spaced about 0.17 m. on centers.[25] It might seem natural to infer that the larger taenia comes from the peristyle, the smaller from the inner porches; but such a generalization would not be a safe one, as shown by the following comparisons of outer and inner epistyle taenias (sequence according to ratios):

	Peristyle	Porches	Ratio
Bassai	0.066 m.	0.085 m.	1 : 1.288
Rhamnous	0.044 m.	0.056 m.	1 : 1.273
Aigina	0.081 m.	0.099 m.	1 : 1.222
Olympia, Zeus	0.150 m.	0.170 m.	1 : 1.133
Nemea	0.097 m.	*ca.* 0.09 m.	1 : 0.928
Tegea	0.097 m.	0.083 m.	1 : 0.856
Athens, Parthenon	0.114 m.	0.076 m.	1 : 0.667

It is evident that in the three earlier Peloponnesian examples and also at Rhamnous the inner porches had greater taenia heights than in the peristyle; conversely, in the two later Peloponnesian examples and in the Parthenon the porch taenias are lower.[26] On these analogies, the ratio of 1 : 0.775 resulting from attribution of the taenia of 0.178 m. to the peristyle and that of 0.138 m. to the porches at Isthmia would seem very improbable, approaching the Ionic feeling of the Parthenon. Conversely, the ratio of 1 : 1.290 resulting from the interchanged attributions would be completely

[24] For this piece, now lying near the west end of the temple, Broneer gives 0.181 and 0.058 m., interpreting it as a metope fascia (*op. cit.*, p. 114); but the projection is far too great for this purpose, and the height of the peristyle metope fascia was actually only 0.163 m.

[25] This fragment (now in the Corinth Museum) is mentioned by Broneer (*op. cit.*, p. 114) with the implication that it belongs to the peristyle, and with heights of 0.132 and 0.129 m. for the taenia and regula (the revised dimensions were kindly furnished by Broneer in a letter) and 0.04 and 0.06 m. for the gutta height and diameter (the more detailed measurements in *op. cit.*, p. 187). There are also other fragments of this taenia and regula. On two of them, the clear intervals between guttae seem to be 0.107/0.12 m., permitting an estimate of $(5 \times 0.113) + (6 \times 0.058) = 0.913$ m., preferably $(5 \times 0.169) + 0.058 = 0.904$ m. to fit the triglyph width.

[26] Possibly the higher moulding in the porches at Rhamnous was due, not to Peloponnesian influence, but to a desire to make the porch epistyle (necessarily of the same height as in the peristyle) seem smaller.

harmonious with the earlier Peloponnesian tradition. Corroborating this distinction, the thickness of the block with the higher taenia (0.178 m.) is 0.885 m. from the face of the taenia to the rear joint, 0.825 m. from the epistyle face; assuming that this was half of the epistyle soffit, the resulting dimension 1.65 m. would be too small for the peristyle column diameter of 1.86 m. but would be quite satisfactory for the soffits above the smaller porch columns. On the other hand, the spacing of the guttae about 0.17 m. on centers under the lower taenia (that of 0.138 m.) could fit the peristyle triglyphs 0.904 m. wide, but would be excessive for the presumably narrower triglyphs of the porches. Therefore we may conclude that the epistyle taenia 0.138 m. high belonged to the peristyle, that of 0.178 m. to the porches.

Having acquired this distinction between the two epistyle taenia heights, we may now apply the additional observation that, in peristyles, the metope fascia height was always greater than the epistyle taenia height.[27] The ratio is exceptional in the temple of Apollo at Delphi (1.846: 1), where the metope fascia is abnormally high; apart from this, it varied from 1.515: 1 down to 1.062: 1. Here we have further corroboration of the attribution of the lower epistyle taenia (0.138 m.) to the peristyle at Isthmia; for if the higher taenia (0.178 m.) had been assigned to the peristyle the resulting ratio (0.163: 0.178) would have been only 0.911: 1, the lower metope fascia contradicting normal practice.

On the other hand, inner porches with heavier epistyle taenias always show the metope fascia as less than the epistyle taenia, the opposite relation to that obtaining

[27] These external or peristyle ratios may be tabluated at follows:

	Epistyle taenia	Metope fascia	Ratio
Delphi, Apollo	0.130 m.	0.240 m.	1: 1.846
Bassai	0.066 m.	0.100 m.	1: 1.515
Eleusis, portico of Philon	0.13 m.	0.182 m.	1: 1.400
Paestum, " Poseidon "	0.163 m.	0.22 m.?	1: 1.35?
Sounion	0.068 m.	0.085 m.	1: 1.250
Athens, Parthenon	0.114 m.	0.141 m.	1: 1.237
Athens, Propylaia central	0.0895 m.	0.109 m.	1: 1.218
Olympia, Zeus	0.150 m.	0.180 m.	1: 1.200
Nemea	0.097 m.	0.115 m.	1: 1.186
Isthmia	0.138 m.	0.163 m.	1: 1.181
Athens, Hephaisteion	0.076 m.	0.0895 m.	1: 1.178
Tegea	0.097 m.	0.114 m.	1: 1.175
Argive Heraion	0.09 m.	0.105 m.	1: 1.167
Athens, Ares	0.072 m.	0.082 m.	1: 1.139
Athens, Propylaia wings	0.077 m.	0.082 m.	1: 1.065
Aigina	0.081 m.	0.086 m.	1: 1.062

in the peristyle, the ratios ranging from 0.971 : 1 down to 0.758 : 1.[28] In accordance with these limits, the porch metope fascia height at Isthmia should have been between 0.971 × 0.178 = 0.173 m. and 0.758 × 0.178 = 0.134 m., a bracket within which would fit the actually measured height of 0.143 m. on the marble metope in Rome. The resulting comparison between these heights at Isthmia would be as follows:

	peristyle	porches	ratios
epistle taenia height	0.138 m.	0.178 m.	1 : 1.290
metope fascia height	0.163 m.	0.143 m. (Rome)	1 : 0.877
ratio epistyle taenia : metope fascia	1 : 1.181	1 : 0.803	

Thus it is evident that, while our sculptured metope in Rome could not be assigned to the peristyle at Isthmia, where the metopes were blank and more than 1.50 m. high, its size would not have been inappropriate for the inner porches. For here, although in the early fifth-century examples at Aigina and Olympia the porch metopes were approximately (probably intended to be identically) of the same height as those of the peristyle, in later temples they were generally lower (sculptured metopes marked by asterisks):

	Metope heights		
	Peristyle	Porches	Ratio
Olympia, Zeus	1.740 m.	*1.750 m.	1 : 1.006
Aigina	*0.817 m.	*0.82 m.	1 : 1.004
Bassai	0.840 m.	*0.800 m.	1 : 0.952
Selinous, Hera	1.72 m.	*1.61 m.	1 : 0.936
Tegea	1.088 m.	*0.993 m.	1 : 0.913
Stratos	0.946 m.	0.844 m.	1 : 0.892
Nemea	1.152 m.	0.88 m.	1 : 0.764
Paestum, " Poseidon "	1.433 m.	0.863 m.	1 : 0.602

The average ratio for the six later examples is 1 : 0.843 or, omitting the exceptional reduction at Paestum, 1 : 0.891. At Isthmia, in view of the estimated metope width of 1.32 m. in the peristyle, the height could not have greatly exceeded the minimum of 1.50 m. surviving on the corner triglyph; and it so happens that the average ratio of 1 : 0.89 would agree with heights of 1.52/1.54 and 1.35/1.37 m., respectively, in the peristyle and porches at Isthmia.

The presence of sculptured marble metopes over the pronaos and opisthodomos at

[28] The known inner porch ratios may be tabulated as follows:

	Epistyle taenia	Metope fascia	Ratio
Olympia, Zeus	0.170 m.	0.165 m.	1 : 0.971
Nemea	*ca.* 0.09 m.	0.085 m.	1 : 0.944
Bassai	0.085 m.	0.073 m.	1 : 0.859
Aigina	0.099 m.	*ca.* 0.075 m.	1 : 0.758

A seeming contradiction occurs at Tegea, where the height of the metope fascia is published as 0.112 m., so that the ratio would be 0.083 : 0.112 = 1 : 1.349. But, as we have observed (note 12), this fascia height at Tegea seems to be purely conjectural and was probably much less.

Isthmia, in contrast to the blank external metopes, would be in accord with the Peloponnesian custom as exemplified at Olympia, Bassai, and Tegea, and also at distant Selinous—even though the temple at Aigina and the Argive Heraion, compromising with Athenian influence, apparently had sculptured metopes both externally and above the porches. Furthermore, the use of lifting holes for ropes may be regarded as a characteristically Peloponnesian trait of the period toward 400 B.C., as at Bassai and in the Argive Heraion.

Having applied all the tests for which the metope in Rome provides evidence, it remains to explain how a piece of a sculptured metope from Isthmia could have been found at a depth of 4 meters below the Via Cavour in Rome. With this provenance, it could hardly be included among the two categories of sculptures carried from Greece by early modern travelers or by more recent collectors. There remains the possibility that it was carried off in ancient times, as, for instance, during or after the spoliation of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C. As Broneer has pointed out, vital problems still remain to be solved in connection with the history of the temple at Isthmia, such as the discrepancy between the large size of the temple, of which the columns survived late enough to be employed by Justinian in the Isthmian fortress,[29] and the fact that Pausanias (II, 1, 7) describes the temple seen by him as "not very large." But this discrepancy is probably not to be taken too seriously, inasmuch as the comparisons made by Pausanias are sometimes inaccurate. Thus he says (VIII, 45, 5) that "the present temple [at Tegea] far surpasses all other temples in the Peloponnesos both in size and style," whereas we now know that Tegea, measuring only 19.19 x 47.55 m. on the stylobate, ranked fifth in size, being exceeded by the temple of Apollo at Corinth (21.48 x 53.825 m.), by the temple at Isthmia (*ca.* 23.70 x 54.20 m.)[30] where Pausanias employed the enigmatic phrase previously quoted, and even more so at Olympia where Pausanias (V, 10, 3) gives the dimensions as 95 by 230 feet (*ca.* 31.02 x 74.10 m., actually 27.68 x 64.12 m. on the stylobate, 30.20 x 66.64 m. for the width on the euthynteria and 78.48 m. for the length including the east ramp), and finally at Corinth again where he says nothing of the size of the "largest temple in the Peloponnesos" (*ca.* 29.51 x 73.70 m.)[31] if indeed he alludes to the temple at all. We may, then, attribute his moderate estimate of the temple at Isthmia to an editorial lapse, admitting that the great temple was still standing in his time and much later. But the numerous traces of Roman rebuilding or at least embellishment (marble floor pavement and wall veneering, probably also interior columns)[32] suggest that it may have fallen into disrepair before the days of the Roman colony, and that perhaps it was even a partially looted ruin after the depredations by Mummius or during the following century of desolation, while the Isthmian games were continued under the supervision of Sikyon.

[29] Broneer, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-188. [30] *Ibid.*, p. 187 note 11 (Broneer's tentative estimate).
[31] Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 114. [32] Broneer, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

In connection with this suggestion of looting by Mummius, or possibly one of his successors, it is perhaps worth recalling the coincidence that a few weeks later than the discovery of the sculptured metope in Rome, and during work on the same sewer beneath the new Via Cavour, at the same depth of 4.50 m. and a little further southwest beneath the former Via del Sole (and so within the area of the Forum Pacis), on September 11, 1890, appeared a pedestal of a statue of Pythokles the pentathlete of Elis, with the signature of Polykleitos of Argos,[33] evidently the elder Polykleitos since Pythokles won a victory in 452 B.C. This discovery introduced further complications, inasmuch as the original pedestal of Eleusinian limestone at Olympia, seen by Pausanias (VI, 7, 10) and found in 1879, in itself contains foot cuttings for two successive but slightly differing bronze statues, though both with the right foot forward, and also two versions of the inscription, one a renewal apparently of the first century B.C. or A.D.[34] The base in Rome demands a bronze statue with the left foot forward and apparently larger in size; the lettering is Greek but of Roman date, sometimes regarded as late as Hadrianic or even Antonine. Thus we are concerned with three inscriptions and three different statues, the base of one statue having actually been found in Rome, while a second but different statue was evidently carried off to Rome since it was replaced by a third version at Olympia. Unless we infer that the statue which stood on the Roman base had previously been set up at Elis, the home town of Pythokles, it seems necessary to conclude that he was twice victorious and therefore had two statues at Olympia, both by Polykleitos, both of these being carried off to Rome and at least one of them replaced at Olympia by a free version of the original. The date of this operation can be judged only by means of the lettering; but if we accept the first century B.C. as suggested for the replacement at Olympia (the inscription at Rome, seemingly later, being itself perhaps a renewal or copy), the two statues of Pythokles might possibly have been brought from Olympia in the same shipment that included the dozen sculptured metopes from Isthmia, for some Roman collection such as that in the neighboring gardens of Maecenas. It may also be significant that the depredations by Mummius were most noteworthy at Corinth and Olympia.

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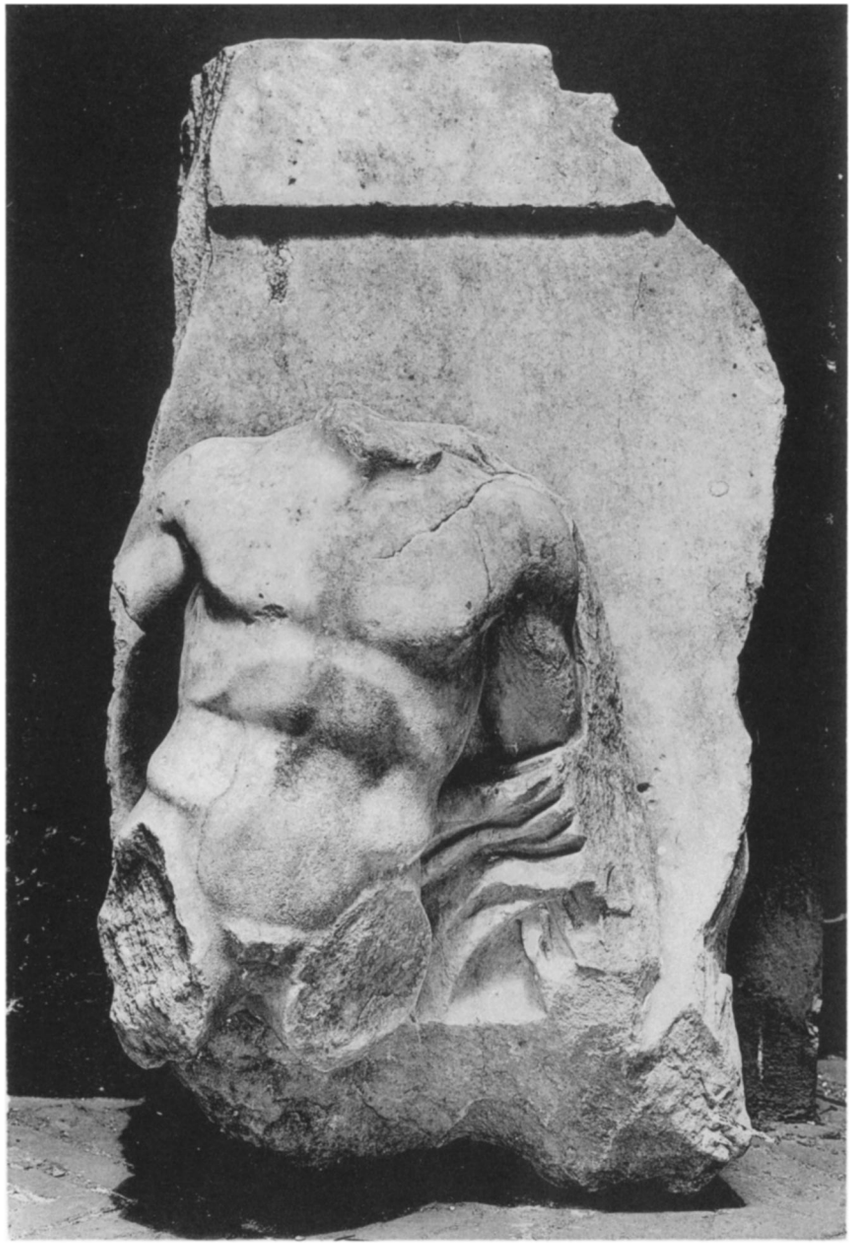
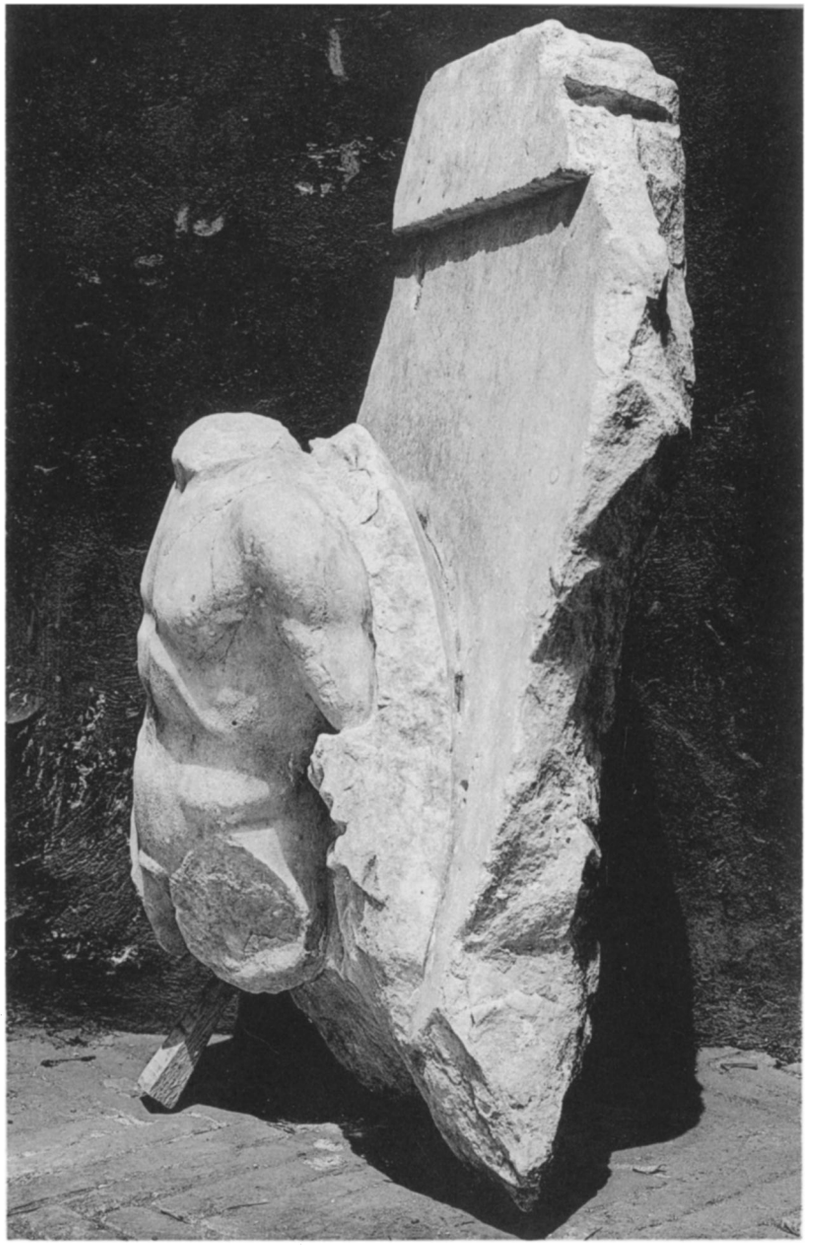
[33] Gatti, *Not. Sc.*, 1891, pp. 285-286, and *Bull. Com.*, XIX, 1891, pp. 280 f., pl. X; Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.*, VI, 1891, pp. 304-306; Colini, *Bull. Com.*, LXV, 1937, pp. 19-20.

[34] *Olympia, Ergebnisse* V, no. 162-163; Loewy, *Inschr. gr. Bildhauer*, no. 91. For additional discussion see especially Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 471-475 (= *Masterpieces*, pp. 262-265); Frazer, *Pausanias*, IV, pp. 29-31; Studniczka, *Jahresh.*, IX, 1906, pp. 131-138; Loewy, *Jahresh.*, X, 1907, pp. 326-329; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, pp. 211-213; Moretti, "Olympionikai," *Atti Acad. Lincei, Memorie*, ser. 8, VIII, 1957, p. 100; Amandry, *Charites*, 1957, p. 77. Petersen's effort to explain the different foot cuttings on the base in Rome as earlier than the inscription, and so as having no relation to a statue of Pythokles, seems improbable.



a. Sculptured Metope in the Palazzo dei Conservatori



b. Oblique View of Metope Showing Lifting Hole