

A MONUMENT OF ROMA AT CORINTH¹

(PLATES 101–106)

IT is a privilege to be able to present this brief study in honor of Oscar Broneer, to whom in matters Corinthian I do not hesitate to give the epithet *Vir Clarissimus*. His publication in 1941 of the inscription which established the full name of the early Roman colony at Corinth (Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis)² makes it seem not inappropriate to offer him this note on a monument of the goddess Roma on the Seven Hills which graced the Lechaion Road at Corinth from the 1st half of the 2nd century after Christ.

In 1927, in the course of the excavation of the northern part of Lechaion Road, there were found a number of fragments of marble of which the original exposed faces, where preserved, had been dressed with a fine point into a rough and highly irregular surface intended to represent a natural rock formation. On several of these fragments were inscribed the names of some of the Seven Hills of Rome. Benjamin Meritt provided the *editio princeps* of these texts; John Kent published them *in extenso*.³ Both these studies were concerned primarily with the epigraphical texts. Meritt, to be sure, suggested that the stones pointed to the existence of “a group representing the seven hills of Rome”; Kent postulated “a series of statue bases that were set up to represent the seven hills of Rome.” Both Meritt and Kent appear to have had in mind a group of statues of which each was a personification of one of the seven hills.⁴ Aside from the improbability of such personifications of hills,⁵

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Charles K. Williams, II, Field Director of the Corinth Excavations, who has generously discussed with me the reconstruction of the monument base and who prepared the drawings which appear in Figs. 1, 2 and 3. Miss Joan Fisher, of the Corinth Excavations staff, and Dr. William Metcalf, Curator of Roman Coins at the American Numismatic Society, have given invaluable assistance in numismatic matters.

² *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 388–390.

³ B. D. Meritt, *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, p. 452. J. H. Kent, *Corinth*, VIII, iii, *The Inscriptions, 1926–1950*, Princeton, 1966, no. 352 (a, b, c, d), p. 139, pl. 32. Meritt reports that the pieces were found “when the medieval walls were removed which had been built out from the eastern side of the street” (i.e., apparently, medieval walls which were in fact over the course of the Lechaion Road—cf. Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 451 and his fig. 2, which shows the area east of the east sidewalk of Lechaion Road as *still unexcavated*). The area involved extends from about 80 to 100 meters north of the south face of the Propylaea foundations (cf. the map, pl. IV, in *Corinth*, I, i, *Introduction, Topography, Architecture*, Cambridge [Mass.], 1932).

⁴ The small size and irregular form of the letters (see notes 7 and 11 below) make it improbable that any of the inscriptions could have served *per se* as a dedicatory text, as Meritt and Kent seem to have assumed; the fact that all the words of the inscriptions are in the nominative case also makes their use as dedicatory texts unlikely.

⁵ I do not know of any such personifications in Greek or Roman sculpture, although they are

an examination of the material leads to the conclusion that the many fragments represent but two blocks, which together made up the base for a single statue. The following description of the surviving fragments will set forth the basis for this conclusion.

CATALOGUE OF FRAGMENTS

In the descriptions I shall refer to: the Lower Block, made up of fragments B-1, B-2, C and D; the Upper Block, fragment A. The terms "right" and "left" will be used in relation to the proper right and left sides of the statue which was supported on the two blocks. The broken condition of all the fragments, combined with the intentional irregularities of the exposed surfaces, makes it impossible to provide precise measurements except for height. The Lower Block, as measured in fragment D, is 0.82 m. high; the Upper Block, as measured in fragment A, is 0.63 m. high. Other measurements may be scaled from the drawings in Figures 1 and 2 (scale 1/15).

The two blocks are of a low-grade, grayish white marble which has become quite gray on exposure to weather. The Upper Block (fragment A) was found on May 5, 1927, built into a wall located "between [grid] squares 31 and 32" (Corinth Field Notebook 95, pp. 103, 114; the grid squares are shown on the sketch plan, *ibid.*, pp. 58-59). The wall in question had been built, in Byzantine times, upon the pavement of Lechaion Road, immediately west of the east sidewalk (see *Corinth*, XVI, *Mediaeval Architecture*, Princeton, 1957, plan V, grid C-8, ca. 4.50 m. west of the room containing four pithoi). Fragment C of the Lower Block was found on May 12, 1927, west of fragment A, close to the west sidewalk of Lechaion Road; fragments B-1 and B-2 were found close by, also on May 12 (Corinth Field Notebook 95, pp. 118-119). Fragment D of the Lower Block is not mentioned in the account of the excavation of 1927; it was first reported by Kent, who saw it lying on the pavement of Lechaion Road, at the northernmost exposed part of the road, some 11 meters north of the position of fragment A. The size and weight of fragment D make it unlikely that the excavators of 1927 had moved it far from its place of discovery.

All the fragments now lie close to their original places of discovery. Fragments A, B and C have been placed on the east sidewalk of Lechaion Road. Fragment D, after Kent's discovery, was again hidden from sight by a torrential rain which flooded

not uncommon in literature (cf. Ovid's splendid description of Mt. Tmolus, *Metam.*, XI, 146 ff.). In the statue of the Tyche of Antioch by Eutychides, the rock on which the city's goddess sits has been taken to represent Mt. Silpion; so in the Herakles-Telephos fresco from Herculaneum (P. Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Alterthums*, München, 1904-1950, pls. 78-80) the personification of Arcadia (or the Great Mother goddess—K. Schefold, *Pompejanische Malerei, Sinn und Ideengeschichte*, Basel, 1952, pp. 139-140) is seated on a rock which may represent one of the mountains of southeastern Arcadia (Tegeatis); and the personified Cilicia of an Antioch mosaic (now in the Stovall Museum of the University of Oklahoma) is seated on rocks which may designate the Taurus Mountains (D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 57-59, pl. IX, d).

the excavation in January, 1972; the block was re-excavated in the summer of 1973 and was shifted slightly for purposes of photography; but it still rests on the pavement of the road, just below the north end of the modern stairway which leads up from Lechaion Road to the gate opening from the excavation area to the "plateia" of the village of Archaia Korinthos.

LOWER BLOCK (Fig. 1)

Fragments B-1 and B-2 (Pl. 102, a)

The two pieces certainly belong together, as shown in Figure 1 and Plate 102, a, but because of the weathering of the fractured surfaces, there are no true areas of juncture.⁶ The smoothly dressed top surface survives in part on both fragments; part of the left side is preserved on each; the front, back, right side and bottom of the two fragments are broken away (but part of the bottom may survive in some of the non-joining fragments listed below). Upon the top surface appears a dowel hole (0.075 m. square, 0.055 m. deep); its center lies *ca.* 0.24 m. in from the left side of the block. From the dowel hole a pour channel extends toward the front of the block, across the surface of B-1 and B-2; if the two fragments are placed in contact, as shown in Figure 1 and Plate 102, a, the length of the pour channel is 0.375 m. On fragment B-2 appears a pry hole, set 0.08 m. to the right of the pour channel; it measures 0.07 m. \times 0.025 m. The distance (measured along the pour channel) from the axis of the pry hole to the center of the dowel hole is 0.375 m.; if we assume that the corresponding dowel hole of the block which must have rested upon B-1/2 was set midway between the front and back faces of that block, we may hypothesize an Upper Block measuring *ca.* 0.75 m. from front to back.

On the left side of B-2, near the upper edge, appears the inscription ESQVI-
 $\text{LINVS} / \text{MONS}$ (inscription no. 2—Pl. 105, b); on the corresponding part of B-1 is the text $\text{AVENTINVS} / \text{MONS}$ (no. 3—Pl. 105, c).⁷

⁶ Kent (*loc. cit.*) refers to "four adjoining pieces" in connection with the inscriptions of B-1 and B-2. A careful examination of all fragments which can be assigned to the monument does not reveal any which can be said certainly to join the two fragments here designated as B-1 and B-2.

⁷ Corinth inv. I 887 and 889. Kent, *loc. cit.* The heights of the letters on these two texts and on inscriptions 1, 5 and 6 (also on the Lower Block) are *ca.* 0.022-0.025 m.; an occasional letter (as the "A" in Aventinus) may be as much as 0.030 m. high. The inscriptions are cut directly upon the irregular "rocky" surface of the block (not upon a smoothed panel, as in the case of the inscriptions from Rhodes cited in note 14, below); the letters are close-set, cut with a point rather than a chisel, with the result that the deepest part of the letter form is concave rather than angular. In some cases, because of the uneven surface of the blocks, the letters do not run in perfectly horizontal lines.

Fragment C (Pl. 102, b)

A single fragment ⁸ of which the top surface, part of the right side and part of the back surface are preserved; the bottom is broken away. On the top appears a dowel hole (0.07 m. square, 0.055 m. deep); its center lies 0.33 m. in from the right edge; from it a pour channel (0.40 m. long) extends toward the front of the block. A pry hole (0.06 m. \times 0.02 m.) is set 0.035 m. to the left of the pour channel. The distance (measured along the pour channel) from the axis of the pry hole to the center of the dowel hole is 0.41 m. The correspondence between the pour channels and pry holes on fragment C and on fragments B-1/2 is such as to imply that C formed the right part and B-1/2 the left part (of the rear) of a single block. The slightly greater length of the pour channel on C and the irregular alignment of the two pry holes may readily be explained if we assume the front face of the Upper Block to have had an irregular finish. The dimension from front to back of the Upper Block must have been between 0.75 m. (as indicated by fragments B-1/2) and 0.82 m. (as indicated by fragment C). Furthermore, the closest possible juxtaposition of B-1/2 to C places the two dowel holes of these fragments *ca.* 0.85 m. apart on centers; we shall expect to find dowel holes similarly spaced on the undersurface of the Upper Block.

On the right side of fragment C appears an inscription comparable in style and letter size to inscriptions 2 and 3 of fragments B-2 and B-1. The text here reads COLLIS / VIMINALIS (inscription no. 5—Pl. 105, d).⁹

Fragment D (Pl. 101, a, b)

This single large fragment is well preserved: original surfaces survive on top, front and both sides; at the back the fragment is broken as a result of intentional chipping with the mason's tools—toward the middle of the upper surface at the back has been created a ledge (Pl. 101, b), along the bottom of which can be seen the marks of the point with which the fragment was broken loose from its rear section. Fragment D measures 1.41–1.42 m. across the front; it is 0.82 m. high; the maximum preserved depth from front to back is 0.86 m. The top surface is smoothly finished. The bottom is much worn; it is marked along the front and side edges by a band of anathyrosis *ca.* 0.15–0.18 m. wide; this band has been worked with a toothed chisel and surrounds a central area dressed with a coarse point. The left and right sides of D have the same “rocky” finish as the sides and back of B-1/2 and C. This finish can also be observed along the left, right and top edges of the front face (the bottom edge of the front is broken away, possibly as a result of prying the block out of

⁸ Kent (*loc. cit.*) refers to “two adjoining pieces.” The second (non-inscribed) fragment now lies close to C, but it does not in fact join the inscribed piece, which is marked by dowel hole and pour channel.

⁹ Corinth inv. I 888. Kent, *loc. cit.*

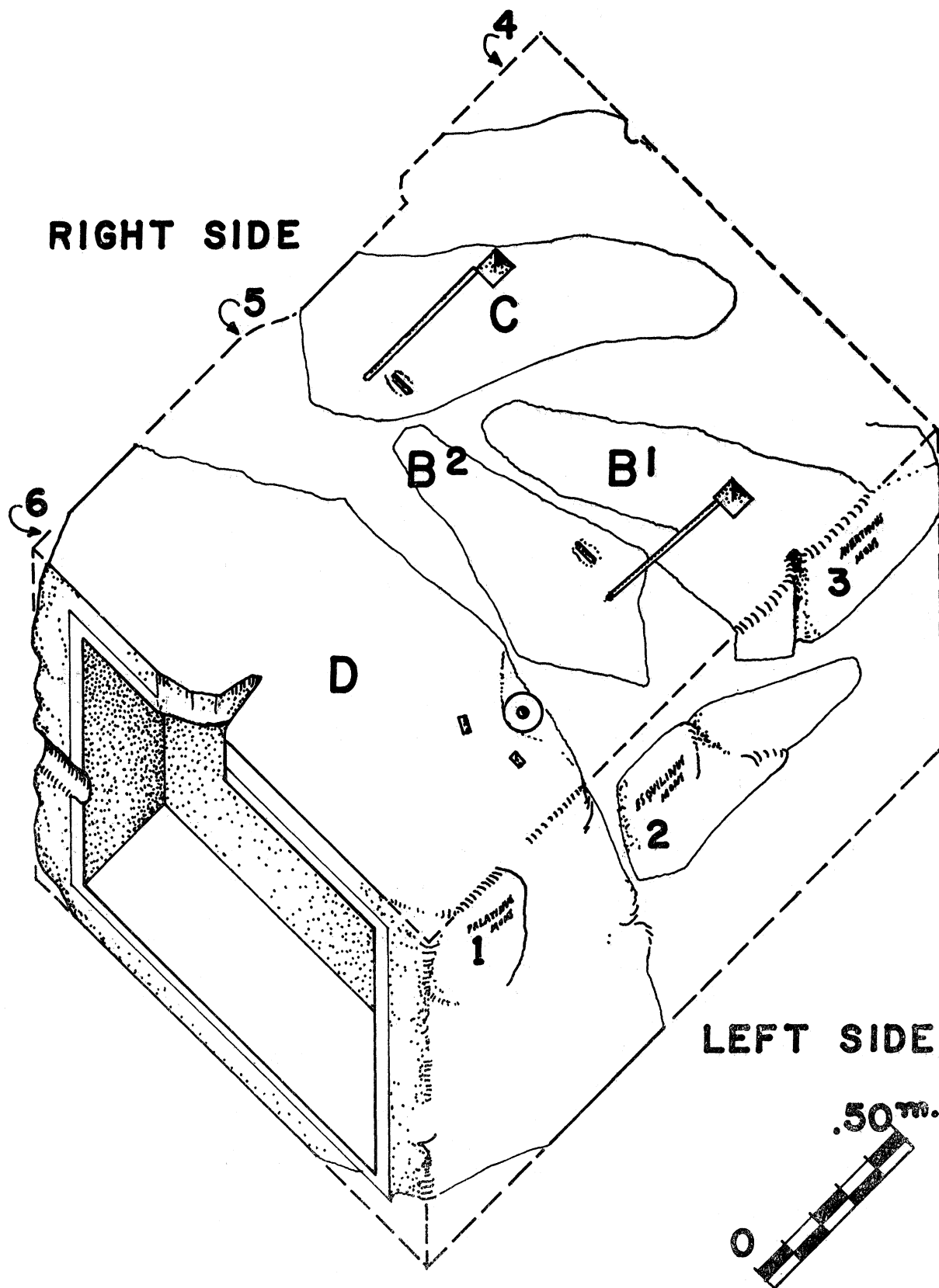


FIG. 1. Base of Roma Monument. Lower Block Reconstructed. Scale 1:15.

position for its re-use as a water basin; it may be assumed, however, that the bottom edge was also originally treated with a "rocky" finish).

Most of the front face was treated as a recessed panel, enclosed by a smoothly finished, convex molding, which, toward the inside of the panel, recedes at least 0.02 m. from its outer plane; this receding face creates at each of the four corners an internal beveled joint (Pl. 101, a). The surface of the molding is divided longitudinally by a shallow, narrow groove extending around all four sides. The outer dimensions of the molding are 1.19×0.69 m.; its width is 0.045 m. When fragment D was broken away from the rear section of the Lower Block for re-use, it was turned so that its front face lay uppermost. The entire area within the molding on that surface was then cut away to a depth of *ca.* 0.30 m. to create a water basin measuring $1.11 \times 0.60 \times 0.30$ m. deep. For overflow of water a channel was cut across one narrow end of the block (what had been the right edge of the front surface in the original use); another, deeper, V-shaped channel was cut through one long side (what had been the top edge of the original front surface). In one side of the basin (which had been the bottom of the block in its first use), near the floor, a hole was cut to provide a drain outlet (see Pl. 101, b). A heavy coat of white-wash is still visible on the right end of the block, around the lip of the basin and within the basin; this probably represents a third use of the block.

It is a logical assumption that the area within the molded frame of the front surface bore an inscription pertinent to the original monument. On the inside of the molding, along the bottom of the front face, all but obliterated by the later cutting of the basin, can be seen the traces of two iron pins or dowels; these lie respectively 0.20 m. and 0.40 m. in from the lower left outer corner of the panel molding. Such pins at the outer edge of the enframed area could not be explained unless the inscription had been on a bronze tablet held in place by the pins (and by others, whose traces disappeared completely with the cutting of the basin), as suggested in Figure 3.

That fragment D represents the front half of a block whose rear half survives in fragments B-1/2 and C is an assumption made reasonable by the widths of the two sections. The width of D is 1.41 m.; that of B-1/2 plus C, when those fragments are placed in as close juxtaposition as possible (so that the dowel holes are 0.85 m. apart on centers), is 1.42 m. Given the irregularities of the surfaces and the difficulty of obtaining precise dimensions, these two widths are compatible. Further, the character of the inscribed texts and the height of their lettering is the same on D as on B-1/2 and C, whereas the lettering on fragment A (the Upper Block) is larger (see below).

Fragment D is marked by three inscriptions. Two are comparable in style and letter size to those on fragments B-1/2 and C. On the top of the left side, near the front corner: PALATINVS / MONS (inscription no. 1, Pl. 105, a); on the right

side, in corresponding position: CAELIVS / MONS (no. 6, Pl. 105, e).¹⁰ The latter text was not recorded by Kent, presumably because the fragment was so positioned against a scarp of unexcavated fill that the right side was not visible to him. In 1973 the very heavy fragment was drawn southward, away from the scarp, in the hope that just such an inscription might appear; white-wash obscured the pertinent area, but careful washing of the surface, at the point corresponding to the position of the Palatinus inscription on the left side, quickly revealed the Caelius text. On the same side as the Caelius inscription, at the front of the right side, near the top, there appear also very faint traces of an inscription (no. 9, Pl. 105, f) which may be in Greek letters (letter height *ca.* 0.012 m.): APXI[-]T[-]. The inscription is obviously incomplete at the right and may have consisted of more than one line; it perhaps represented a sculptor's signature.

On the top of fragment D, near the rear edge and toward the left side, appear two dowel holes and a shallow sunken area (0.105 m. in diameter) with a deeper (dowel?) hole at its center. These must have served to hold in position some attributes of the statue which the monument supported. Traces of depressions in the top surface, near the broken back edge (see Pl. 101, b), may represent the positions of the feet of the statue, resting almost midway between the left and right sides of the Lower Block.

UPPER BLOCK (Fig. 2)

Fragment A (Pls. 103, 104)

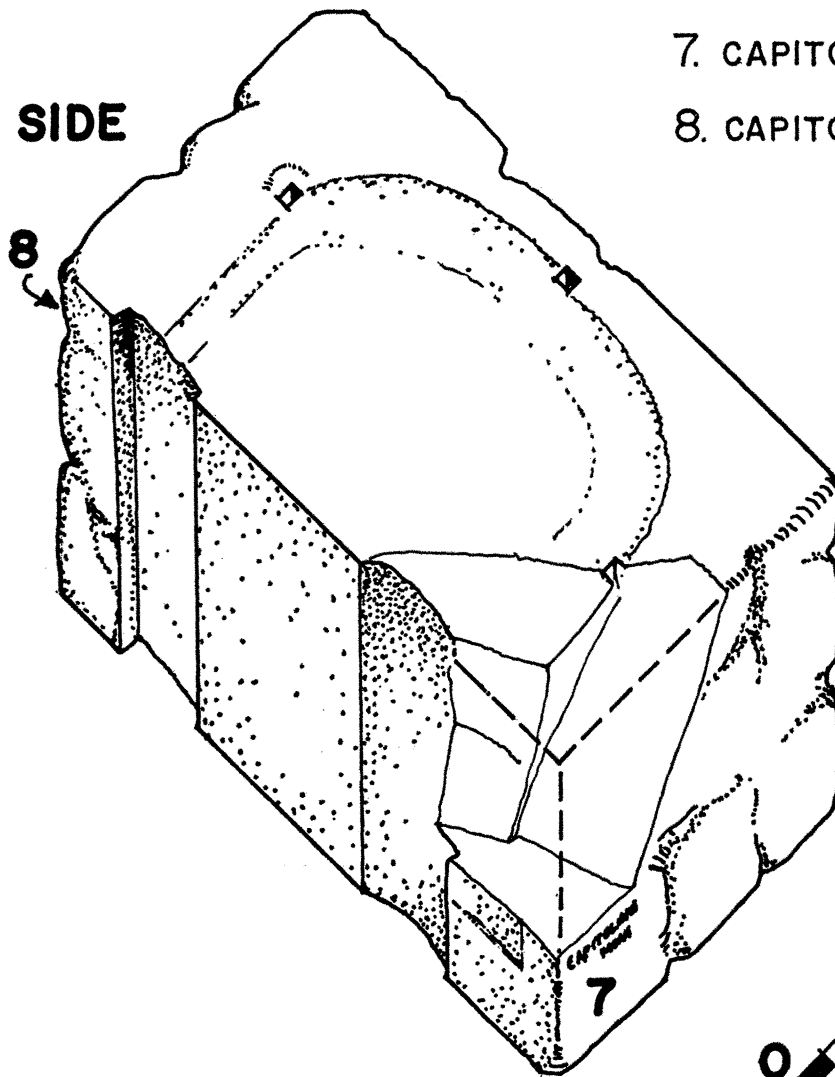
This fragment represents almost the entire Upper Block. Three pieces broken away from the front and back lower corners of the left side join the main block and leave it complete except for a section missing at the upper front corner of the left side. The approximate dimensions of the block are: Height 0.62–0.65 m.; Width 1.42 m.; Depth (front to back) 0.78 m. The sides and back of the block and parts of the front and top are finished with a fine point in "rocky" surfaces. On the bottom a band of anathyrosis of irregular width (0.10–0.20 m.), very smoothly worked with a fine claw chisel, surrounds the central area, which has been more roughly worked with a point. On the bottom appear two dowel holes, measuring 0.05 m. square and set 0.85 m. apart on centers; the dowel hole toward the left side of the block is 0.043 m. deep; the other is still filled with lead and with part of an iron dowel. It is clear that the block rested upon another; the similarity (in material, in treatment of the exterior surfaces and in the placement and spacing of the dowel holes) to fragments B-1/2 and C (both parts of the Lower Block) leaves no room for doubt that fragment A, as the Upper Block, rested upon the rear half of the Lower Block, thus creating a "stepped" base, as shown in the reconstructed drawing of Figure 3.

¹⁰ Corinth inv. I 2462. Kent, *loc. cit.*

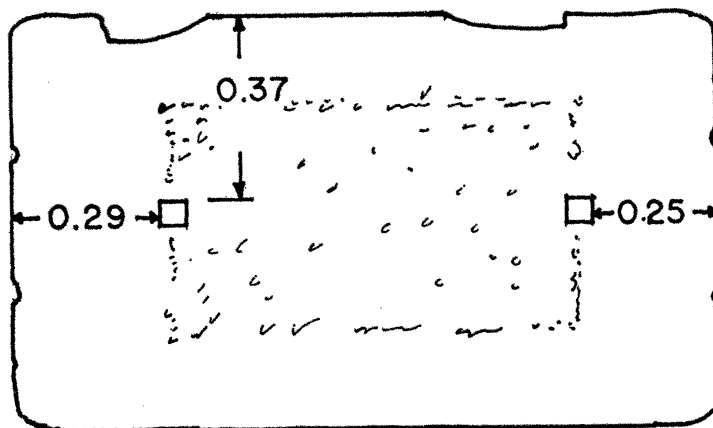
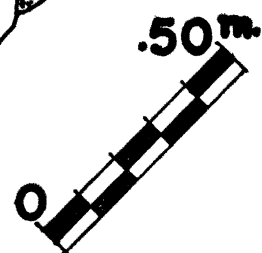
RIGHT SIDE

7. CAPITOLINVS / MONS

8. CAPITOLINVS / MONS



LEFT SIDE



UNDERSIDE

FIG. 2. Base of Roma Monument. Upper Block Reconstructed. Scale 1:15.

Fragment A is marked by two inscriptions, comparable in style and letter form to those of the Lower Block; the letters, however, are almost half again as high as those of the Lower Block. Both inscriptions have the same text: CAPITOLINVS / MONS (inscription no. 7, Pl. 105, g) and CAPITOLINVS / MONS (no. 8, Pl. 105, h). One of the inscriptions (no. 7) is located near the lower front corner of the left side of the block; the other (no. 8) is incised near the upper front corner of the right side.¹¹

On the top of Fragment A an area roughly in the shape of a horseshoe (open end toward the front) has been cut down to a level lower than that of the surrounding surface, which, like the sides and back, is finished to resemble natural rock. The depressed area, cut down with a coarse point, measures *ca.* 0.96 m. by 0.67 m.; it is slightly deeper at the periphery than in the center. At three points on the periphery of the depressed area appear small dowel holes, now empty. This sunken area was obviously not intended to be visible; it was presumably concealed by a bronze statue seated there. On the front face of the block vertical bands at the right edge (*ca.* 0.16 m. wide) and at the left edge (*ca.* 0.30 m. wide) are finished as natural rock; the space between corresponds roughly in width and exactly in finish to the horseshoe-shaped area on the top; two vertical channels (each about 0.24 m. wide and 0.04–0.05 m. deep) lie at the right and left edges of this rough-finished area, which, like that on the top, must have been concealed by part of the statue which the base supported.

On the “rocky” finish of the front, left edge, near the bottom, an area of uncertain dimensions has been cut back slightly to provide a smooth surface, of which the bottom and left edges survive (Pl. 103, b); the limit of the area toward the top has been lost with the damage to the upper left front corner; toward the right this area fades away into the left-hand vertical channel of the rough-finished central portion of the front. The smooth, recessed surface may perhaps represent a point of contact between the bronze statue (or some attribute) and the base.

NON-JOINING FRAGMENTS

Six fragments of marble similar to that of the Lower and Upper Blocks, all now lying near to fragments A-C, appear to belong to the missing portions of fragments B-1/2 and C:

1. Part of bottom surface (treated with claw chisel, as the anathyrosis on the undersurfaces of D and A) and of one side; the latter finished to resemble natural rock. Pres. Length 0.95 m.; Pres. Width 0.46 m.; Pres. Height 0.25 m.
2. Fragment lacking both top and bottom surfaces; part of the “rocky” finish

¹¹ Corinth inv. I 878. The letters are *ca.* 0.032 m. high. Kent, *loc. cit.*

of one side survives. This piece now lies adjacent to, but does not join, fragment C. P.L. 0.60 m.; P.W. 0.60 m.; P.H. 0.28 m.

3. Part of bottom surface (worked with claw chisel) and of the "rocky" finish of one side. P.L. 0.80 m.; P.W. 0.50 m.; P.H. 0.28 m.
4. Part of bottom surface (claw chisel finish) preserved. P.L. 0.80 m.; P.W. 0.55 m.; P.H. 0.28 m.
5. Fragment of similar marble, but without any finished surface preserved. Dimensions: 0.78 m.; 0.40 m.; 0.25 m.
6. As no. 5. Dimensions: 0.60 m.; 0.53 m.; 0.24 m.

In the case of fragments 1-4 it is possible to identify the dimensions which represent the height of each piece in relation to the original monument. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are each 0.28 m. high; this dimension is not inconsistent with the height of the missing parts of fragments B-1/2 and C. The total height of the Lower Block is measurable as 0.82 m. in fragment D, while the greatest surviving height in B-1/2 is 0.49 m. The surfaces of the six fragments just listed are so worn as to preclude the possibility of establishing joins among them or between them and fragments B-1/2 and C.

The apparent use of anathyrosis on the bottom of fragments 1, 3 and 4 corresponds to the condition of the bottom of fragment D and indicates—as one would naturally expect—that the Lower Block rested upon a (shallow?) platform or step, presumably also of marble.

THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE UPPER AND LOWER BLOCKS

Eight inscriptions survive (nos. 1-3, 5-9), six on the Lower Block and two on the Upper. Seven of these consist of the names of six of the hills of Rome (one hill, Capitolinus, is named twice, nos. 7, 8). The placement of these inscriptions, as indicated on Figure 1, suggests that an additional inscription (no. 4) once marked the rear end of the right side of the Lower Block. The restoration of this as COLLIS / QVIRINALIS seems certain.¹² Thus we have the name of the principal hill, the Capitoline, carved on either side of the Upper Block, while the names of the other six of the Seven Hills of Rome appear on the two sides of the Lower Block. The order of the names of the six lesser hills (assuming that we start with the Palatine as next in importance to the Capitoline) is: Palatine, Esquiline, Aventine, Quirinal,

¹² Roman writers seem to apply the words *mons* and *collis* indiscriminately in reference to the Seven Hills of Rome. This is true of the poets especially, even though in all cases but the nominative singular the forms of the two nouns are metrically equivalent (compare, *exempli gratia*: Horace, *Carm. Saec. 7, dis, quibus septem placuere colles*; Tibullus, II.5.55-6, *Carpite nunc, tauri, de septem montibus herbas, dum licet . . .*). The official nomenclature, however, seems to have applied *collis* to the Quirinal and Viminal and *mons* to each of the other five hills (cf. Livy, I.44.3, *Addit <Servius Tullius> duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque*).

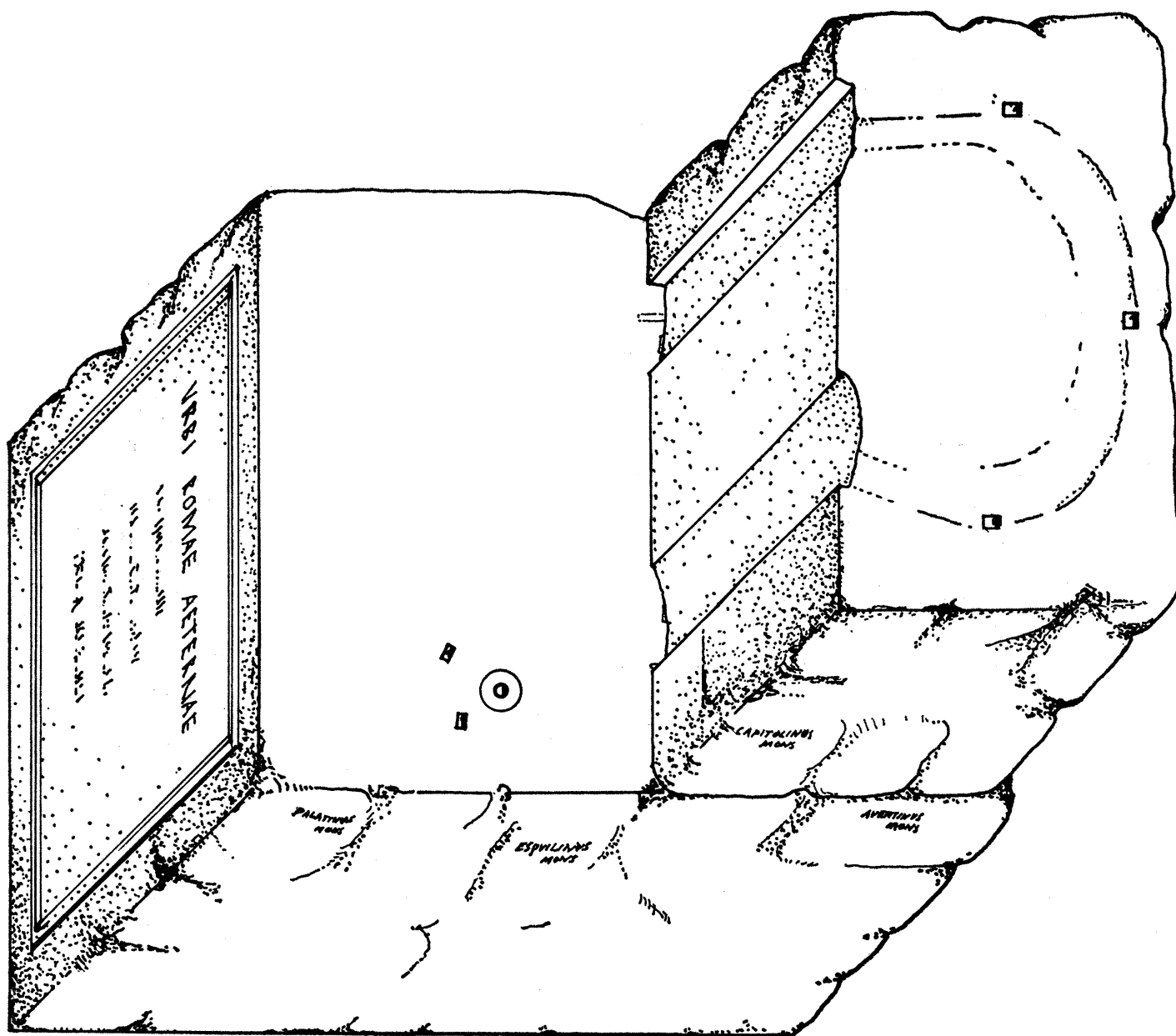


FIG. 3. Roma Monument. Entire Base Reconstructed. Scale 1:15.

Viminal, Caelian. This order is not strictly topographical; the placement of the Esquiline after the Palatine perhaps reflects the importance of the former in the imperial building programs of the 1st and 2nd centuries after Christ. The Aventine and Quirinal then represent the southern and northern limits of the city of the Seven Hills, while the Viminal and Caelian, mentioned last, represent the extremities on the east. The seven hills which are here named are those which by the late 1st century B.C. had become canonical. Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus mention these seven hills in the course of their descriptions of the slow aggrandizement of the primitive city from the time of Romulus through the reign of Servius Tullius.¹³ Livy's chronological order for the incorporation of the mountains into the city is: Palatine, Capitoline, Caelian, Aventine, Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline; Dionysius reverses the order of Quirinal and Aventine. Neither of these chronological sequences corresponds in any way to the order of the mountains named on our monument. We may assume that the Capitoline is named on the Upper Block because of the preëminence of that hill in matters religious, and especially in connection with the Triumph. For the inscriptions of the Lower Block the position of the Palatine Hill may be significant, at the front left corner; the locations of the other names seem to be purely arbitrary.

THE STATUE

That a statue was once supported on this mountainous base is clear. The use of such rocky eminences to support statues can be traced back to the Tyche of Antioch by Eutychides and even further to the figures K, L, M of the Parthenon east pediment and to the seated deities of the east frieze of the Hephaisteion (north side);¹⁴ but it is perhaps only in works of the Hellenistic period that the rocky base is taken to represent a specific mountain (Mt. Silpion, in the case of the Tyche of Antioch). The *multiple*-mountain base which we have here in Corinth appears to be unique in sculpture in the round.

A statue supported on a basis bearing the names of the Seven Hills of Rome would most appropriately represent Dea Roma. Jupiter Capitolinus might appear on a base marked with the two inscriptions, CAPITOLINVS MONS; but the addition of the names of the six other hills on the lower part of the base would not be entirely suitable to a deity whose association was primarily with the Capitoline. The goddess Roma, when represented in relief or in the round in seated position, was at first shown

¹³ For a convenient assemblage of the pertinent testimonia, see I. Lugli, *Fontes ad Topographiam Veteris Urbis Romae Pertinentes*, I, Rome, 1952, pp. 26-39.

¹⁴ For statue bases at Rhodes carved to represent natural rock (but intended for *standing* statues, for which the concept of rock or mountain was not intrinsically significant), see: H. Lauter, *Antike Kunst*, XV, 1972, pp. 51-52; *Clara Rhodos*, VI/VII, 1932/1933, fasc. 1, pp. 418-419, no. 41; *Annuario*, XXVII/XXIX, 1949/1951, pp. 195-196, no. 43. Cf. also a relief in the Acropolis Museum (inv. 4736 + 4717): O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen*, Wien, 1923, no. 392, pp. 185-186.

supported on a cuirass or on a heap of armor (commonly shields); but from Hadrianic times she is more often represented on a throne, as the colossal cult image in the Hadrianic temple of Venus and Roma.¹⁵ There appears to be only one representation of Roma seated on the Seven Hills: a bronze sestertius of Vespasian (Pl. 106, a) struck in A.D. 71.¹⁶ The reverse represents Roma seated right upon a rocky mass divided into seven "hills" which rise in part behind her; she wears Amazon costume (short tunic) with the right breast bared, and a crested helmet; her right elbow is supported on one of the high "hills" at her back, her right hand touches the back of her head; in her left hand she holds a *parazonium* (or an eagle-crested sceptre) which is supported upon her left knee; her right foot is thrust forward, the left drawn back; in front, toward the left, she-wolf and twins; at right, Tiber Pater, semi-recumbent, to left; in field, at left and right, S C; below, in exergue, ROMA.

The iconography of the coin is unique, as is the form of the marble base at Corinth. It is tempting to try to find a direct connection between the two, or a link from each of them back to some statuary monument of the Dea Roma of Vespasianic times in the capital city, Rome. Yet the differences between the coin-type and the Corinthian monument are too great to permit such a hypothesis. The form of the hills on the coin¹⁷ is far more irregular than the generally cubical shape of our base in Corinth—in fact, the support on the Vespasianic coin-type could not have been copied directly from a monument in the round; its source, if it is not purely a conceit

¹⁵ See: C. Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1959, pp. 29-52; G. Calza, "La figurazione di Roma nell' arte antica," *Dedalo*, VII, 1926/1927, pp. 663-688; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934, pp. 135-137; A. Bisi, in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica classica e orientale*, VI, Roma, 1965, pp. 899-901. A marble Roma of Amazonian type, seated on armor, was found at Corinth in 1908 near the West Shops (Cor. inv. S 827). It is probably a pedimental figure. See F. P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, *The Sculpture, 1896-1923*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1931, pp. 21-22, no. 11 (identified by Johnson as Enyo or Nike); since the publication an additional fragment of the right forearm has been added.

¹⁶ H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, II, London, 1930, p. 187, no. 774, pl. 34, 50 (the same coin, H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* [hereafter *RIC*], II, London, 1926, p. 69, no. 442, pl. II, 30). In addition to the specimen in the British Museum, there are at least four others, not all from the same dies: Rome, Museo Nazionale (illustrated by Vermeule, *op. cit.*, pl. III, 24); Jacob Hirsch sale catalogue XXVI, 24 May, 1910, München, 1910, no. 689; Galerie San Giorgi sale catalogue, 18 November, 1907, *Collections Martinetti et Nervagna*, Paris, 1907, no. 1742 (ex Coll. Martinetti); Münzen und Medaillen, *Vente Publique XXVIII*, 19-20 June, 1964, Basel, 1964, no. 303 (ex Colls. Vierordt & Ryan). Mattingly assigned the coin to the mint of Tarraco; the compiler of the Münzen und Medaillen sale catalogue XXVIII considers this an erroneous attribution (*loc. cit.*, p. 36). The photograph in Pl. 106, a is from a cast kindly supplied by Dr. Robert Carson, Keeper of Coins, British Museum.

¹⁷ One may even ask whether the generally oval-shaped masses which support Roma on the coin may not represent shields such as occur so commonly as a support for the seated Roma of Amazon type on coins of the Republic (as early as 92 B.C.) and of the Empire. Cf. J. W. Crous, "Roma auf Waffen," *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, pp. 217-224.

of the die engraver, must lie in the domain of painting or of relief sculpture.¹⁸ The treatment of the front surface of fragment A (Upper Block) of the Corinth monument makes it clear that the figure supported on the base must have worn a long garment which concealed the front of the block behind and between the legs. The short tunic of the Amazonian Roma of the coin-type could not effectively have served such a purpose. The form of the Corinthian base would not have permitted the right arm of the statue to assume the position of the right arm of the Roma on the coin.¹⁹ There is no room on the Corinthian base for either Father Tiber or the group of the she-wolf and twins. On the other hand, the three holes for attachment on the top of the front half of the Lower Block of the marble base cannot be fitted into the iconography of the Roma or her attributes as shown in the sestertius. The larger of the three holes on the marble base seems likely to have supported the tip of a spear or sceptre, while the two holes just in front may have served to hold the lower edge of the rim of a shield.

Of the two iconographical types of the goddess Roma (the older, Amazonian type and the later, Minerva type) the later becomes the more popular with the creation of the seated cult image in the west cella of the Temple of Venus and Roma. The temple, a major project of the Hadrianic building program, was completed only after Hadrian's death; but the design of the building and of the cult images was Hadrian's.²⁰ Although no convincing copies or replicas in the round have been identified, literary sources make it clear that the cult image of Roma was seated and that, after the fashion of the Athena Parthenos, a serpent was represented coiled inside the *shield* of the Dea Roma.²¹ The legend ROMAE AETERNAE appears on reverse coin types of Antoninus Pius in conjunction with a decastyle temple façade which can only be that of the Hadrianic temple of Venus and Roma (Pl. 106, b).²² This makes it reasonable to see a reflection of the cult image of that temple in Hadrianic and An-

¹⁸ Cf. Vermeule, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁹ One must bear in mind, however, that when a die engraver reproduced a statue in the round as a profile (or three-quarters view) coin-type, elements in the foreground plane of the coin design which might have obscured the full appreciation of the profile figure were often shifted to the (spectator's) left or right.

²⁰ Cassius Dio, LXIX.4.

²¹ Cassius Dio, *loc. cit.*; Servius, in *Verg. Comment., Aen.*, II.227. The Servian reference to the serpent(s) behind the shield, unless it is derived from one of Servius' earlier sources, probably refers to the iconography of the later statue of Roma, executed in porphyry at the time of repairs to the great temple (following a fire in A.D. 307) under Maxentius. A fragment of this colossal statue may survive: R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrrwerke*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 77-78, fig. 25; cf. Vermeule, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

²² Sestertii and dupondii of Antoninus Pius struck between A.D. 139 and 143: Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Emp. in the Brit. Mus.*, IV, London, 1940, pp. 205-206, nos. 1279-1285, pls. 29, 10-13, 30, 1-3, and p. 215, nos. 1345-1346, pl. 32, 8; Mattingly and Sydenham, *RIC*, III, London, 1930, p. 100, no. 543, and p. 114, no. 664. Dr. William Metcalf, Curator of Roman Coins at the American Numismatic Society, has kindly provided the cast which appears in the photograph, Pl. 106, b.

tonine reverse types bearing the legend ROMA AETERNA (or ROMAE AETERNAE) and a figure of Roma, wearing a long garment, seated to left on a throne, holding the Palladium in her right hand, a spear or long sceptre in the left, with a shield at the left side (Pl. 106, c).²³ It may well be that the statue in Corinth resembled this Roma Aeterna type, but that the Seven Hills rather than a throne served as base in order to make the provincial audience in the capital city of Achaëa more fully aware of the geographical and political, as well as of the religious, significance of the Urbs Roma Aeterna.

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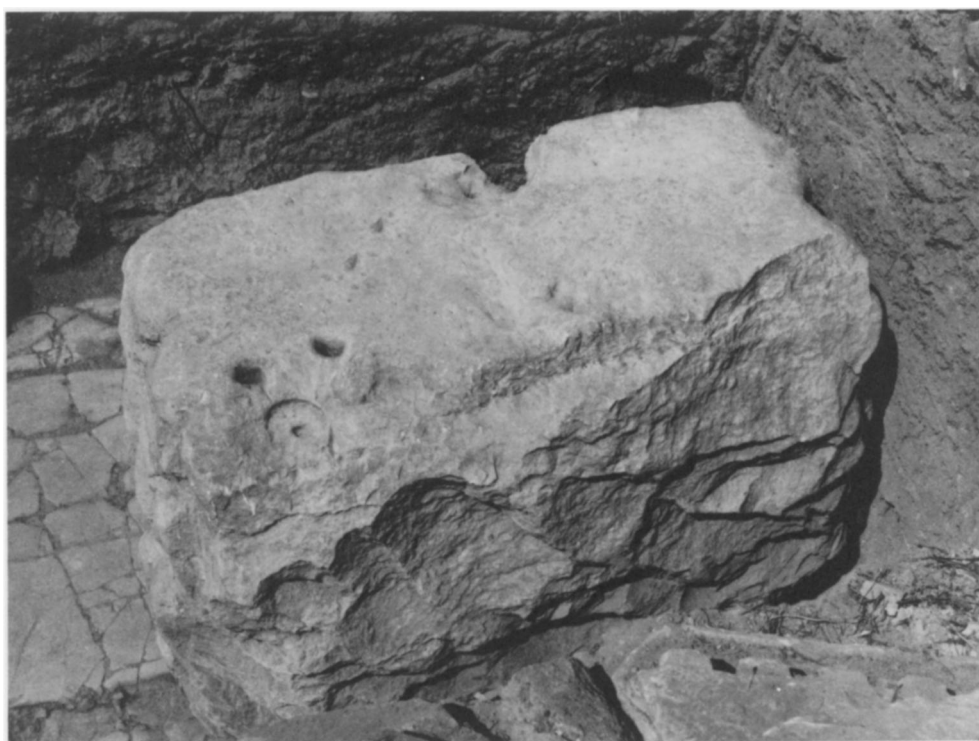
²³ Cf.: an aureus of Hadrian struck between A.D. 134 and 138, Mattingly and Sydenham, *RIC*, II, p. 370, no. 265; sestertii of Antoninus Pius struck between A.D. 140 and 143, Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Emp. in the Brit. Mus.*, IV, p. 205, nos. 1276-1278, pl. 29, 9; Mattingly and Sydenham, *RIC*, III, p. 110, no. 621. Dr. William Metcalf has kindly supplied the cast of the sestertius in the collection of the American Numismatic Society which is reproduced in Pl. 106, c.

On the identification of the attribute in the goddess' left hand, see Vermeule, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38. Vermeule suggests (*ibid.*, pp. 33, 36) that the figure held in Roma's right hand was removable and that the Palladium could be interchanged with a Victoriola.

The legend ROMA AETERNA occurs first on coins of Hadrian accompanying various types of the seated Roma (seated on cuirass or on curule chair; holding in right hand heads of Sun and Moon or a Victoriola; with or without a shield): Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Emp. in the Brit. Mus.*, III, pp. 328-329, nos. 700-703, pl. 60, 17-18; Mattingly and Sydenham, *RIC*, II, p. 439, no. 774. All these bear the obverse legend HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P.P. and represent the last years of the emperor's life (A.D. 134-138). In the same period occurs the reverse type of Roma seated on throne, holding Palladium in right hand, with shield and sceptre, legend ROMAE AETERNAE (the aureus cited at the beginning of this note); this type is also the *only* Roma Aeterna type occurring on the coins of Antoninus Pius (although the statue holding a Victoriola instead of the Palladium recurs under Commodus). Is it possible that the varying types of Roma Aeterna which occur in the Hadrianic coins of 134-138 represent some of the concepts with which the emperor was experimenting in trying to design his new cult image and that the aureus, which seems to represent his final design, may be assigned to a place in the series at the end, near to the time of the emperor's death?



a. Fragment D, original front face (at top) and bottom



b. Fragment D, original top surface and back (broken)

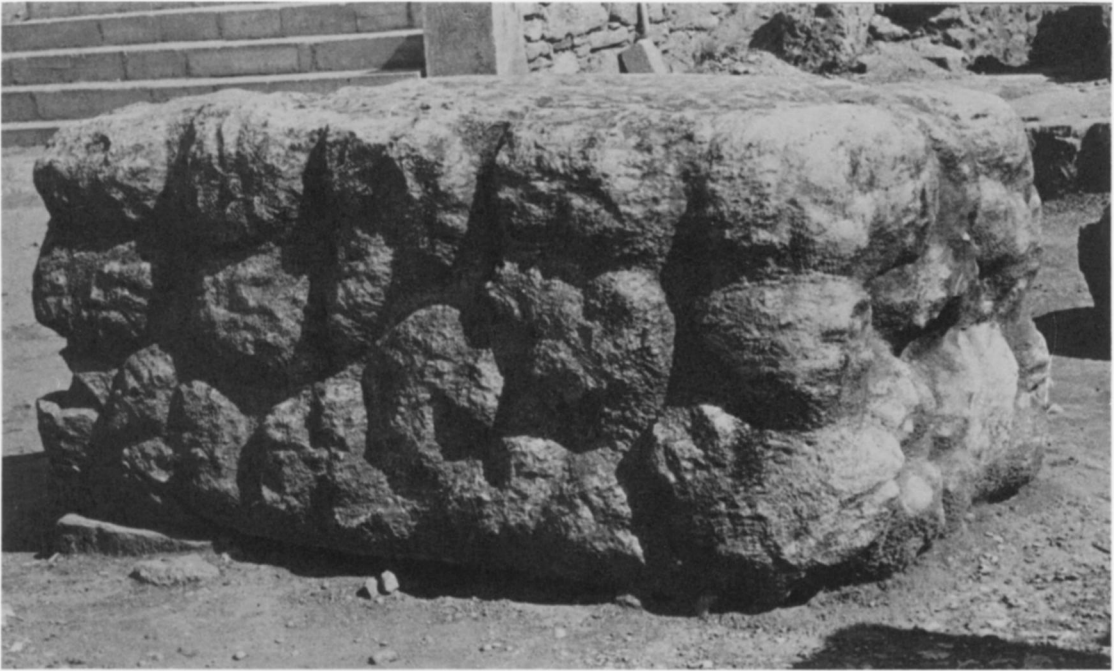
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a. Fragments B-1 and B-2, top surface



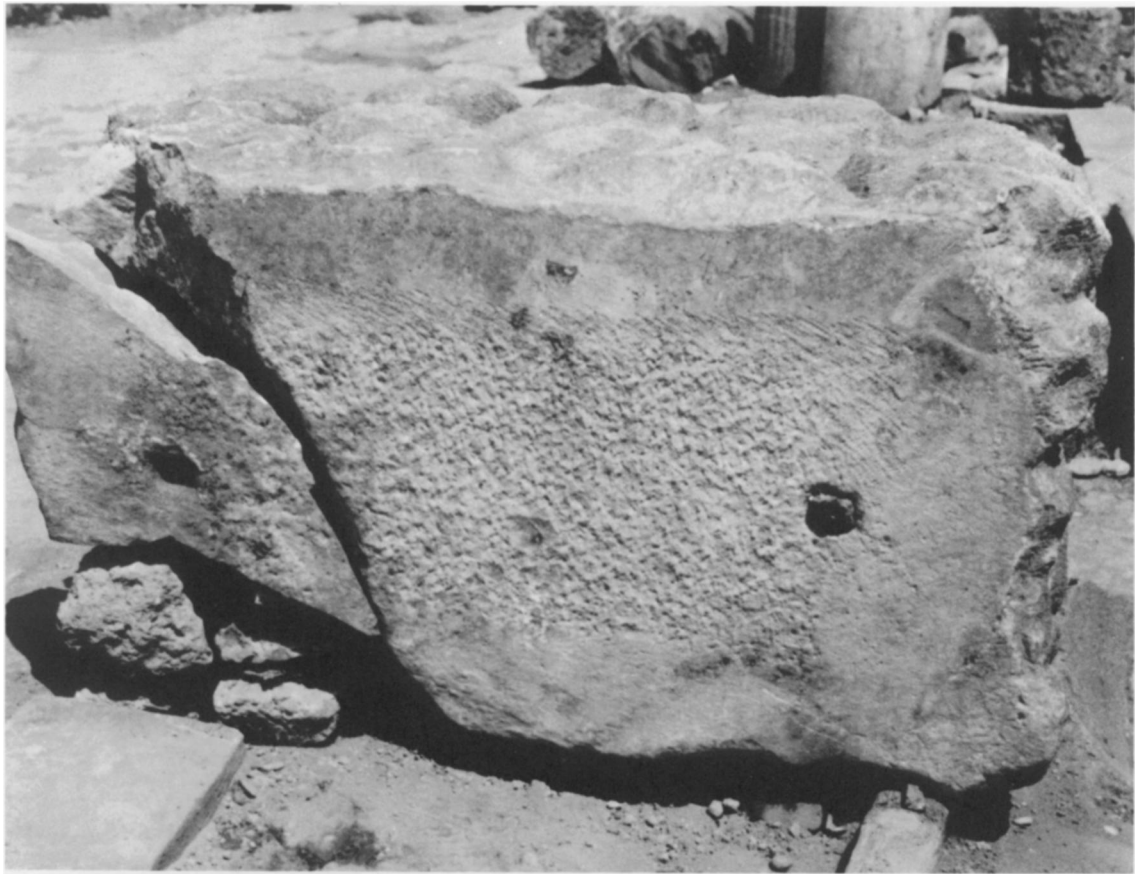
b. Fragment C, top surface



a. Upper block (Fragment A), rear face and right side



b. Upper block (Fragment A), front face and left side



a. Upper block (Fragment A), undersurface



b. Upper block (Fragment A), front face and top



a. No. 1, PALATINVS MONS



b. No. 2, ESQUILINVS MONS



c. No. 3, AVENTINVS MONS



d. No. 5, COLLIS VIMINALIS



e. No. 6, CAELIVS MONS



f. No. 9, APXII[-]IT[-]



g. No. 7, CAPITOLINVS MONS



h. No. 8, CAPITOLINVS MONS

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a. Sestertius of Vespasian (British Museum)



b. Sestertius of Antoninus Pius (American Numismatic Society)



c. Sestertius of Antoninus Pius (American Numismatic Society)