

THREE HEADS OF SARAPIS FROM CORINTH

(PLATES 24–29)

DURING the 1982 excavation season east of the Theater of ancient Corinth, a small, bearded marble head was found which can be identified as Sarapis (Pls. 28, 29:a). Two other heads of this deity were found during earlier excavations at Corinth, one north of the Basilica on the Lechaion Road (Pl. 24), the other in the South Stoa (Pls. 26, 27). Since these have never been fully published, all three heads are presented together here, showing some of the variety which exists in the iconography of Sarapis as well as in sculptural style during the Antonine and Severan periods in Corinth.¹

Although it has long been noted that representations of Sarapis differ greatly in details, only recently has it been recognized how much the iconography itself varied and changed as the cult developed and grew in importance.²

The standard iconography of Sarapis was first set forth by Overbeck:³ a kalathos or modius as headdress; vertical locks hanging over the forehead; a beard and shoulder-length hair; a chiton, with himation over the left shoulder. The figure is enthroned with Kerberos at his side (Pl. 29:e).

¹ My thanks go to Charles K. Williams, II for permission to study and publish the heads of Sarapis from Corinth. Dr. Nancy Bookidis gave freely of her time and interest, in the Corinth Museum. Both scholars helped me not only with their knowledge of Corinth and its sculpture but with advice and continued encouragement. Professor Evelyn B. Harrison looked at the material with me and greatly clarified my understanding of it. I thank her warmly. Permission has been granted by E. J. Brill (Leiden) for the reproduction of the photographs appearing here as Plates 25:a–e and 29:a–e, all of which are taken from Hornbostel (see below).

Works frequently cited will be abbreviated as follows:

- Bergquist = B. Bergquist, "A Head of Sarapis," *From the Gustavianum Collections in Uppsala*, 2: *The Collection of Classical Antiquities*, Boreas 9, 1978, pp. 87–137
- Brady = T. A. Brady, "A Head of Sarapis from Corinth," *HSCP* 51, 1940, pp. 61–69
- Corinth
Corinth I, iii = R. L. Scranton, *Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple*, Princeton 1951
- Corinth I, iv = O. Broneer, *The South Stoa and Its Roman Successors*, Princeton 1954
- Corinth VIII, iii = J. H. Kent, *The Inscriptions 1926–1950*, Princeton 1966
- Corinth IX, [i] = F. P. Johnson, *Sculpture 1896–1923*, Cambridge, Mass. 1931
- Corinth IX, ii = M. C. Sturgeon, *Sculpture. The Reliefs from the Theater*, Princeton 1977
- Corinth XII = G. R. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, Princeton 1952
- EPRO = *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*
- Hornbostel = W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, der Gestalt eines Gottes*, EPRO XXXII, Leiden 1973
- K-S = G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes, *Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments*, EPRO XXXVI, Leiden 1973
- Smith = D. E. Smith, "The Egyptian Cults at Corinth," *HTHR* 70, 1977, pp. 201–231
- Williams, 1979 = C. K. Williams, II, "Corinth Excavations, 1979," *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 107–134

² For a brief discussion of the cult and its diffusion, with bibliography, see L. Vidman, "Isis und Sarapis," *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, M. J. Vermaseren, ed., EPRO XCIII, Leiden 1981, pp. 121–150.

³ J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie* II, Leipzig 1871, pp. 305–321.

Study has traditionally centered on reconstruction of the cult image at the Sarapeion at Alexandria. The very introduction of the cult is linked to stories of how either Ptolemy I or II was commanded in a dream to bring the statue of Jupiter Dis from Sinope on the Pontus to Alexandria.⁴ Moreover, according to Clement of Alexandria, Athenodorus identified the sculptor as Bryaxis.⁵ Using available replicas, Amelung and other scholars presented the cult image as a major work of the 4th century and the basis for study of Bryaxis, the Carian sculptor who worked on the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.⁶ This single famous statue was considered the model for all Hellenistic and Roman representations of the god.

During postwar excavations in the Alexandria Sarapeion, the major temple was identified by foundation plaques as the work of Ptolemy III (246–221 B.C.), although smaller near-by buildings could be dated to the 4th or early 3rd century.⁷ This discovery raised the question of whether the normative cult image might not have been created in the late 3rd century for this large, important building.

Castiglione was the first to postulate variety and development in the iconography of Sarapis.⁸ He published a body of material dated to the Hellenistic period, which showed the god with hair brushed up in a typical anastole over the forehead instead of hanging locks. He assumed that a major statue of the god with anastole and the otherwise familiar pose and attributes must have been created for the temple of Ptolemy III at the Sarapeion. At the same time, he emphasized that numerous and varied Hellenistic images of Sarapis must have existed. Castiglione observed that images of Sarapis with hanging locks on the forehead can all be dated to the Roman period. He suggested that the cult statue was reworked and given vertical locks over the forehead during repairs to the Sarapeion in the Hadrianic period.⁹ This form became canonic for the great number of heads that date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ.

In the last decade, an enormous number of Sarapis monuments have been published¹⁰

⁴ Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride* 361F–362A; Tacitus, *Historiae* iv.83–84. For a recent discussion of ancient evidence for the origin of the cult, see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Egypt* I, Oxford 1972, pp. 246–276.

⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* iv.48.1–3.

⁶ W. Amelung, "Le Sarapis de Bryaxis," *RA*, 4th ser., 1903, II, pp. 177–204. G. Lippold ("Sarapis und Bryaxis," *Festschrift Paul Arndt*, Munich 1925, pp. 115–127) proposed a mid-4th-century date. For other proponents of this attribution, see L. Castiglione, "La statue de culte hellénistique du Sarapieion d'Alexandrie," *BullMusHong* 12, 1958 (pp. 17–39), p. 20, note 8.

⁷ A. Rowe and B. R. Rees, "A Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert: IV. The Great Serapeum of Alexandria," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39, 1956/57, pp. 513–552.

⁸ Castiglione, *op. cit.* (footnote 6 above), pp. 17–39. For summary of scholarly opinions on this article, see Hornbostel, pp. 9–10, note 3.

⁹ Castiglione (*op. cit.* [footnote 6 above], p. 33) originally thought that all canonic images could be dated to the 2nd or 3rd centuries after Christ, but earlier examples were soon proposed. For discussion and list, see Hornbostel, pp. 207–214.

¹⁰ G. Grimm, "Ein Kopf des Ammon-Sarapis aus Elephantine," *MittKairo* 28, 1972, pp. 141–144; C. Beer, "A Head of Sarapis in Stockholm," *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 10–11, 1976, pp. 18–22; Bergquist; S. Besques, "Trois têtes de Sarapis," *RevLouvre* 28, 1978, pp. 223–229; W. Hornbostel, "Sarapiaca I," *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* II, *EPRO* LXVIII, Leiden 1978, pp. 501–518; E. R. Williams, "A Bronze Bust of Sarapis at the Johns Hopkins University," *BABesch* 52–53, 1977–1978 (pp. 201–207), pp. 201–204; S. Wanis, "Under Life Size Bust of Sarapis," *QuadALibia* 10, 1979, pp. 99–102; T. Kraus, "Sarapis auf der Kline," *JdI* 94, 1979, pp. 566–577; H. Kyrieleis, "Ein hellenistischer Götterkopf," *Στήλη. Τόμος εις Μνήμην Ν. Κοντολέοντος*, Athens 1980, pp. 383–387; V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Sérapis debout: Corpus des monuments de Sérapis debout et étude iconographique*, *EPRO* XCIV, Leiden 1983.

or conveniently assembled for study. Kater-Sibbes has collected references to some one thousand pieces.¹¹ In a very important and thorough study, Hornbostel assembled and illustrated a large and varied body of material.¹²

As part of his work, Hornbostel separated pieces according to the two different hair-styles, then organized each group chronologically. He found only the anastole type in works datable to the Hellenistic period, a few examples in the 1st century after Christ, and a large number in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The earliest examples of the type with hanging locks occur in the 1st century after Christ; this type far outnumbers that with anastole in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

Despite this evidence, Hornbostel used the iconographic details found most frequently on surviving pieces to reconstruct the cult image at Alexandria as a late 4th-century work by Bryaxis which had hanging forehead curls, explaining that this statue was not normative until Roman times.

Recently, Castiglione has once again emphasized the long, slow process by which a religious image is developed, introducing yet another early group of Sarapis figures with Zeuslike anastole and the *atef* crown of Osiris.¹³ He argued that in the Hellenistic period there was no canonic image of Sarapis, but as with other Greek gods, the images placed in the numerous sanctuaries showed a certain variety in pose, dress, and attributes. All the components of the canonic image were known and used including kalathos and hanging forehead curls, but it was not until the Roman period that a standardized iconography was adopted for the majority of representations.

The marble head found in 1982 is a welcome addition to the body of Sarapis material found at Corinth. Apart from the two other heads presented here, only a few traces of this cult have been found so far. Pausanias saw two sanctuaries of Sarapis, one dedicated to Sarapis, the other to Sarapis in Canopus. They are listed immediately after two precincts of Isis, at the beginning of a description of the altars and temenoi that lined the route up to Acrocorinth. These sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods may have been located just beyond the Forum, for Pausanias probably began his description of the road to Acrocorinth at the Forum as he did with the Lechaion and Sikyon Roads.¹⁴ A small marble tripod base with a Greek inscription to Sarapis and Isis was found in an early Roman context at the bottom of Acrocorinth, during excavation of the Anaploga water-tunnel system.¹⁵ All other pieces relating to Sarapis, including the three heads, have been found in widely scattered locations, which suggests that the god was probably worshiped in private shrines and houses as well as

¹¹ K-S. For reviews, see L. Castiglione, *Acta Acad Hung* 27, 1975, pp. 512–514; M. Malaise, *Latomus* 34, 1975, pp. 853–854; P. M. Fraser, *JHS* 96, 1976, pp. 215–216.

¹² Hornbostel. For reviews, see M. Malaise, "Problèmes soulevés par l'iconographie de Sérapis," *Latomus* 34, 1975, pp. 383–391; *idem*, *Latomus* 35, 1976, pp. 436–437; P. M. Fraser, *JHS* 96, 1976, pp. 213–215; W. Belz, *OLZ* 72, 1977, cols. 25–27.

¹³ L. Castiglione, "Nouvelles données archéologiques concernant la genèse du culte de Sarapis," *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* I, *EPRO* LXVIII, Leiden 1978, pp. 208–232.

¹⁴ C. K. Williams, II, "Corinth 1974: Forum Southwest," *Hesperia* 44, 1975 (pp. 1–50), pp. 28–29.

¹⁵ Inv. no. I-2650. G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles," *BCH* 90, 1966 (pp. 715–1019), p. 756, fig. 10; L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, Berlin 1969, no. 34a; F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* II, *EPRO* XXVI, Leiden 1973, p. 18 with other references in note 3; Smith, pp. 217–218.

in the sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias. The fragment of a column with a Roman inscription to Sarapis and Isis was found in the Theater.¹⁶ The lower part of a large marble statue, found in the northwest corner of the Forum, conforms to the canonic Sarapis type except that Kerberos stands rather than sits at the figure's right.¹⁷ Three Roman lamps have relief decorations of Sarapis on the center discus.¹⁸

1. Bust of Sarapis¹⁹ Pl. 24

S-1457. P.H. 0.141, W. 0.10, D. 0.098 m. Base of beard to start of kalathos 0.115 m.

Found in 1925 in a Byzantine level north of the Basilica on the Lechaion Road. Corinth Notebook 88, p. 29.

Broken off just below beard. Kalathos broken away at base; lower half of nose chipped off; some chips in hair and beard. Traces of red paint and gold leaf (see below). Surface grayed by burning especially on back and right side of hair. Marble friable and cracked on broken areas.

White, large-grained marble. Brown stains over whole surface.

The head is dominated by a mass of hair and beard, carved with a flat chisel in a shallow, rather summary way. In back, the hair is arranged as though a fillet were tied around the head, separating strands pressed flat against the cranium from a double row of lunate and rounded curls. Along the sides, shorter strands hang freely and frame the face. They are carefully separated from one another, and each is divided by a single chiseled groove. Nowhere does the carving penetrate deeply into the mass of hair. Five short locks over the forehead, all curving toward the left,²⁰ end in a straight line like neatly cut bangs. Above these strands two locks spring up, facing in opposite directions like an anastole. Very short curls radiate from either side of this central pair.

The face is unnaturally isolated from the surrounding hair and beard by almost linear demarcations, yet the features are modeled with considerable care. The forehead is a smooth curving plane, but the area around the eyes is quite subtly modeled, especially on the left side. The upper lids are thick and project very strongly over the eyeballs. The lower lids are thin and rounded. The left eye is more elongated than the right and set farther back in the socket. The pupil is indicated by a small irregular hole probably made with a point. There is also a small hole in the right eyeball, but it is the size of a single crystal and may not be intentionally drilled. The mouth is closed.

¹⁶ Inv. no. I-2414. T. L. Shear, "Excavations in the Theatre District and Tombs of Corinth in 1929," *AJA* 33, 1929 (pp. 515-546), p. 519; *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 57, pl. 8; Smith, p. 218.

¹⁷ *Corinth* IX, [i], no. 23, pp. 30-31; *Corinth* I, iii, pp. 71, 148, pl. 28:3 (with added fragment of right front corner of the plinth); K-S, no. 468; Smith, pp. 218-221.

¹⁸ O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge, Mass. 1930, p. 194, no. 604, fig. 117, p. 206, no. 704, fig. 140. G. Siebert, ("Lampes corinthiennes et imitations," *BCH* 90, 1966 [pp. 472-513], p. 499, note 5) mentions an unpublished lamp of Sarapis and Isis, inv. no. L-4106. The decoration on a bone pin has been incorrectly described as a bust of Sarapis (K-S, p. 84, no. 471). G. R. Davidson (*Corinth* XII, no. 2350, pl. 119) described the head of the pin as an Egyptian-looking human figure, but it is rather a beardless head wearing conventional Pharaonic wig that seems to emerge from an elongated calyxlike form decorated with incised lines.

¹⁹ O. Broneer, "Area North of Basilica," *AJA* 30, 1926 (pp. 49-57), pp. 56-57; Brady, p. 64; P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik. 2. Griechenland und Rom: Untersuchung über die Farbwirkung der Marmor- und Bronzeskulpturen*, Stockholm 1960, p. 197, note 554; K-S, no. 470; Smith, pp. 224-225.

²⁰ Throughout this paper "left" and "right" are used as proper to the subject.

The mustache covers almost the entire upper lip but leaves the corners of the mouth uncovered. It curls up at the left tip but is broken off at the right. The beard projects strongly at the chin and is divided down the center between three pairs of large snailshell curls. Immediately below the mouth on the right, one lock turns down and in toward the center; on the left, another curls up and away. The pair of curls below exactly reverses this configuration. The tips of long locks make up the third pair. The clumplike curls on the sides of the beard are unsymmetrical and vary greatly in size. A running drill has been used to open up five short channels between locks at the base of the beard. The centers of some of the beard curls are also pointed with shallow drill holes.

The asymmetry of the face is plainly visible. Although the depth of carving is almost identical on the two sides of the face, the left side is wider, and the line of the beard forms a lower curve on the cheek. This asymmetry suggests that the head was turned slightly to its right.

Part of the oblique plane between the back of the figure and the undersurface of the bust is preserved (Pl. 24:c). In three spots the juncture of the figure's back with this plane is still visible, making possible an approximate reconstruction of the horizontal rear edge of the bust, running five centimeters from the center toward the left. This rear edge of the bust is not straight but curves slightly inward toward the left. A strip of the undersurface adjacent to the pedestal support is also preserved.

The hair, face, and beard are worked smooth. The back of the figure and oblique plane of the bust are polished. Lines are carved on the left shoulder to indicate a himation.

In 1926 Broneer reported: "(The head) has clear traces of red paint on hair and beard as well as in the eyes, and other colors were probably applied over the red; certainly this was the case with the beard, on which traces of gold still remain."²¹ Patches of red paint covered with gold leaf are still visible on the lowermost curls on the beard. Red pigment is preserved around the eyelids and on the pupils as well as on the face at the juncture of hair and beard, but only microscopic traces remain on the back curls of the hair. Probably the entire face, hair, and beard were originally covered with gold leaf.²²

The majority of Sarapis images from the 2nd and 3rd centuries are in bust form.²³ The double row of lunate curls at the back of **1** is probably a misunderstood or simplified rendering of long wavy locks, which are usual at the back of large busts.²⁴

The Corinth bust is modeled on the canonic type of Sarapis. Although iconographically similar, these representations vary greatly in style and detail.²⁵ Yet, in general effect, **1** is

²¹ Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

²² For gilding on heads of Sarapis, see Brady, pp. 63–67; Reuterswärd, *op. cit.* (footnote 19 above), pp. 196–197; Bergquist, pp. 89, 125–127, 137.

²³ Hornbostel, pp. 112–113, with earlier references.

²⁴ See, for example: Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, Antiksamlingen, inv. no. V 17, marble bust from Hama, H. 0.40 m. (K-S, no. 442; Hornbostel, fig. 167; Bergquist, p. 123, fig. 18:a–d); Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. no. 1974–81, marble bust, H. 0.48 m. (Hornbostel, fig. 248; *idem*, "Sarapiaca I" [footnote 10 above], pp. 506–508, pls. C–CIII).

²⁵ To my knowledge, no two exact replicas have been identified. Although the majority were made as cult objects, rather than as works of art (Hornbostel, pp. 110–111), it seems reasonable to assume some use of copying techniques, especially at the height of production during the 2nd century after Christ. H. Jucker, "Die frühesten Reproduktionen des kanonischen Sarapistyps auf alexandrinischen Münzen," *Schweizer*

surprisingly like the head on a colossal statue found in Alexandria, which is a key piece in every reconstruction of the canonic image (Pl. 25:a).²⁶ Both have a small, flat area of face enclosed by the mass of hair and beard. The sides of the beard are a mass of unsymmetrical clumplike locks, with small, tight curls close to the cheeks. The mustache covers the upper lip and corners of the mouth. On both heads, the left tip has an upward curl. The right side curls down on the large head²⁷ but is broken off on **1**. Both beards are clearly divided in the center and project strongly at the chin, although the pattern of curls is more complex on the Alexandria head.²⁸ All in all, a good bit of the intensity and bulldoglike appearance of the Alexandria Sarapis is compressed into the little Corinth head.

A porphyry head in Oxford²⁹ (Pl. 25:b, c) of the same size as **1** also offers parallels. The center of the beard has the same three pairs of round snailshell curls that coil in different directions. The sides of the beard and the long locks at the sides of the head are also similar in design and carved in a relieflike manner. The forehead curls on the porphyry head, however, are undercut, and the hair frames the face more deeply.

It is not easy to find parallels in marble for the shallow, masklike appearance of the face with its abrupt linear demarcation between flesh and hair. A black stone bust made to be inserted on a pilgrim staff³⁰ (Pl. 25:e) has the same compactness and linear emphasis.

The anastole over the forehead of **1** is a simplified arrangement of the short curls found above the forehead locks on canonic Sarapis heads,³¹ but the erect orientation of the anastole on the abnormally high cranium is not found on many marble heads. Parallels for this feature as well as the unnaturalistic isolation of the face can be found in moldmade terracottas. One from the Fayum³² (Pl. 25:d) also has the same beard arrangement and straight locks.

The rendering of the forehead locks is not paralleled exactly on any Sarapis head, as far as I know. The locks resemble the bangs fashionable in the Trajanic period. In general, the almost exclusive use of the flat chisel and the shallow carving characterize work of the

Münzblätter 19, 1969 (pp. 78–94), p. 91; Bergquist, p. 106, note 16. Bergquist (pp. 135–136) argues that if the body of Sarapis material were properly documented and submitted to *Kopienkritik*, groups of heads deriving from common prototypes might be isolated.

²⁶ Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. no. 3916, marble statue, H. 1.90 m., from Alexandria (A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, ser. A II, Palermo 1961, pp. 40–43, no. 154, pl. 75; K-S, no. 2; Hornbostel, fig. 60).

²⁷ An asymmetric mustache with left tip curling up and outward and right tip curling down and inward is a specific Sarapis feature. Hornbostel (p. 83) included it in his composite reconstruction of the canonic image. For a collection of examples, see Bergquist, pp. 118–119.

²⁸ The beard of Sarapis is always clearly divided in the center. Bergquist (pp. 92–93, 121–122, 125) isolated a “chin-curl rosette” beard arrangement of which the Alexandria head is an example. The curls on the chin form a rosettelike pattern that is clearly separate from two long hanging curls below, which have a shorter curl between them.

²⁹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 1955-333, porphyry head, H. 0.13 m. (E. and J. R. Harris, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, *EPRO* VI, Leiden 1965, pp. 77–78; K-S, no. 837; Hornbostel, fig. 48:a–c).

³⁰ Amsterdam, Collection M. J. Vermaseren, black stone head, H. 0.16 m., from Sheq-a-Bada (K-S, no. 108, pl. IV; Hornbostel, fig. 197:a–c). On busts designed for pilgrim staffs, see Hornbostel, pp. 240–241, with earlier references.

³¹ These locks vary but often consist of a central strand that falls forward toward the face, surrounded by one or more strands directed outward to left and right. Hornbostel, pp. 81–82; Bergquist, pp. 111–112.

³² Ontario, Royal Ontario Museum, inv. no. 910-165-20, terracotta lamp from the Fayum (K-S, no. 91 for bibliography; Hornbostel, fig. 240).

early 2nd century. The drilled pupil, however, did not become common until the early Antonine period.

All the comparisons cited were certainly or probably made in Egypt. This is not surprising since Egypt was the center of production of Sarapis images during the Antonine period.³³ Moreover, of the works which closely resemble 1, all but the large marble head are carved from hard stone or are moldmade. Possibly, the technique and style of the Corinth head are restrained because the head was based on models such as these. It could have been carved in Egypt or could closely follow a model made in Egypt. It was probably made in the 2nd century after Christ, during or after the Early Antonine period.

2. Head of Sarapis³⁴ Pls. 26, 27

S-2387. P.H. 0.40, W. 0.176, D. 0.194 m. Base of beard to start of kalathos 0.224 m.

Found in 1936 in the South Stoa, in the rear room behind Shop XX. Corinth Notebook 152, p. 120.

Complete head, neck, and tenon. Found separately and reattached: large fragment from upper right front of head; nose; small fragments from cheeks and bridge of nose; three corkscrew curls from front of hair. Missing: outer third of lower lid of right eye; chips from bridge of nose; lower hair curls on left side; chips on upper rear edge of tenon. Upper surface of tenon cracked and blackened by burning. In places red paint has turned purple. Extensive traces of color (see below).

White, small- to medium-grained marble.

The almost life-sized head has fairly long hair which is parted in the middle, hangs loose on either side, but adheres to the cranium in back as though held down by a fillet tied at the nape of the neck. At the part on the forehead, two pairs of short locks face one another, curling down and inward like quotation marks. Behind them on the right, three longer strands lie fairly flat with tips directed back, while on the left, three shorter locks curl toward the face. Six longer strands hang like bangs, covering the forehead except for a narrow triangle below the part. The two outermost strands fall almost vertically beside the temples. On either side of the temples and cheeks the hair locks are arranged to form small, shell-like hollows that terminate at the level of the beard with a corkscrew curl. If measured from the vertical locks at the outermost edge of the forehead, each area is cut back to a maximum depth of 0.035 m. At the right, the concavity is open to the front; at the left, the space is filled and made complex by several twisting free-cut strands.

The locks around the face are designed and carved with considerable care. Many strands overlap, and the space between them varies in depth and width. Each lock has a number of planes, and most are engraved with fine lines. The hair on the sides is more simply rendered in three overlapping layers. The corkscrew curls closest to the face are almost free-cut.

The head appears abnormally elongated because the structure of the skull as well as the anatomy of neck and shoulders is incorrectly rendered. The normal volume at the sides of

³³ Hornbostel, pp. 112–113, 292–294.

³⁴ C. H. Morgan, II, "Excavations at Corinth, 1936–37," *AJA* 41, 1937 (pp. 539–552), pp. 539–540, fig. 1; E. Capps, Jr., "Pergamene Influence at Corinth," *Hesperia* 7, 1938 (pp. 539–556), pp. 548–551, fig. 8; Corinth I, iv, pp. 134–137, pl. 44:2; Reuterswärd, *op. cit.* (footnote 19 above), p. 144, note 369, p. 196, pl. 10; Brady, pp. 63, 68; K-S, no. 469; Hornbostel, p. 78, note 3, pp. 82, 101, 186; Bergquist, pp. 100, 110, 121, note 52, p. 125, note 58, p. 126; Smith, pp. 214–215, 225.

the cranium is not depicted or suggested. Whereas the temples should be shown as planes that slope back toward the widest parts of the skull, here they are pinched depressions behind the eye sockets. The cheeks are unmodeled, slightly convex surfaces. The chin projects very little beyond the front plane of the neck. The neck appears too long because the trapezius muscles that form the slanting contour of the shoulders are placed too low. The neck is columnlike, ringed with a deep, incised line. A second line accentuates the abrupt transition from neck to shoulder. There is no attempt to model the clavicles.

Despite these errors in anatomical structure, proportional relationships between the features are normal, and individual features are skillfully carved. The forehead has one deep furrow and, just below it, slight swellings of the superciliary arches. The eyebrows are quite straight and indicated by an abrupt change of plane. The upper border of the sockets is sharply cut back. The upper lids are thick, with sharp outer edges. The eyes are almond-shaped. The tear ducts are separated from the eyeball by a line and change of plane. The nose and lips are modeled with care. The mouth is open with drill holes at each corner.

The mustache covers the outer corners of the mouth and curls inward at the tips. The beard is divided in the center between two outward-facing locks and by a wide space between two pairs of corkscrew curls. A curl in relief is visible inside this space. There is close correspondence between the arrangement of locks on either side of the beard, with two rows of short locks and corkscrew curls below.

The tenon seems designed to fit into a draped statue with its right shoulder higher than the left. The back edge of the tenon is undercut. The projecting surface is chipped away, but a fold of himation was probably carved here.

The hair and beard are worked with a flat chisel and several sizes of drill. The hair surface is smoothed. Remains of polish are visible on one curl on the left side of the beard near the cheek. The neck, shoulders, face, and lips are polished to a fairly high gloss. The surface of the kalathos is polished in front, rasped two thirds of the way back, and worked with fine claw and flat chisels on the rear and top. The tenon has been worked to a fairly smooth but faceted surface with a flat chisel. Large holes of varying depths are drilled in the tips of the mustache, the short front curls of the beard, and the lower ends of all the long curls on beard and hair.

The entire surface of the head with the exception of the eyes was covered with red underpaint and gold leaf.³⁵ The eyes were painted naturalistically over a layer of white paint which covered the entire surface of the eyeballs as well as the upper and lower lids.³⁶ On the right eyeball there is yellow pigment on the iris, black paint on the pupil. There are traces of a thin black line outlining the inner edge of the eyeball at its juncture with the

³⁵ Gold leaf over red paint: *hair*, on fairly short locks in front at right; *face*, numerous traces on forehead, bridge and side of nose, on right cheek close to hair, on left cheek just beyond outer corner of eye and close to hair, right eye socket in undercut area just above upper lid. Red paint: traces on hair, beard, face, neck, shoulders, kalathos. (The pigment is dark red in most places but has turned rusty orange on the left side of the beard and hair.)

³⁶ For examples of white paint on eyes of gilded marble statues, see Reuterswärd, *op. cit.* (footnote 19 above), p. 144, note 369, p. 195, note 549. Capps (*op. cit.* [footnote 34 above], p. 551) seems to have thought that 2 had drilled pupils and incised irises on the eyeballs, but this is not the case.

upper and lower lids. Thin black lashes are painted on the upper surfaces of both upper and lower lids. The gold leaf extended to the surface immediately above and below the eyelids. A large deposit of it remains in the crevice between upper lid and socket. The pupil of the left eye has traces of white, red, and black paint. A trace of a black line remains beneath the upper lid.

The head (2) was found in front of a “bench-like structure” in the rear room of Shop XX on a well-defined destruction layer dated to the Herulian incursions of A.D. 267.³⁷ Broneer suggested that this bench might have been some kind of house altar and that the room was occupied by “foreigners or at least worshipers of foreign gods.”³⁸ There is, however, probably not enough evidence to determine how the room was being used at the time of the destruction.

Like the majority of the ground-floor shops of the South Stoa, Shop XX, which lies immediately west of the Bouleuterion, was remodeled in Roman times when the Stoa became an administrative center. The original rear storeroom was lengthened at the south end by about 3.30 m. There was an entrance in the north wall from the shop itself. A door in the west wall gave sole access to an enclosed open-air courtyard that lay in the area behind Shop XXI.³⁹ Another door in the west wall probably opened into the storeroom of Shop XXI.⁴⁰

At the time of the mid-3rd-century destruction, the walls of the expanded rear room were plastered and decorated with a dado of speckled white and gray to imitate stone.⁴¹ The floor probably had marble slabs. A “bench-like structure” made of rubble covered with stucco had been placed against the south wall after it was painted. The greatest preserved height of the bench was 0.60 m.

Broneer found a thick burnt layer over the entire floor. Near the center of the room was a hoard of 64 coins as well as iron trimmings from the box in which they had been stored.⁴² The majority of the coins date to the reign of Gallienus and his wife Salonina (A.D. 253–268), contemporary with the Herulian disasters. In the burnt debris near the center of the room was “the lower part of a statue base and fragments of inscription from same base.”⁴³ In the southeast corner of the room were 43 fragments of an inscribed marble slab.⁴⁴ A gray limestone statue base with its top severely damaged by fire was found against the east wall near the southeast corner.⁴⁵ Its inscription was a dedication to the Roman colony of Corinth

³⁷ Morgan, *loc. cit.* (footnote 34 above); *Corinth* I, iv, pp. 132–138.

³⁸ *Corinth* I, iv, p. 137. Smith (pp. 212, 216, 225, 228) went so far as to call the room a “chapel” or “shrine” of Sarapis.

³⁹ Williams, 1979, p. 120. Smith (p. 26), writing before the 1979 excavation of the service areas behind Shops XX and XXI, followed Broneer’s hypothesis that in a late phase the courtyard behind Shop XXI served as a collection tank for rainwater (*Corinth* I, iv, pp. 136–138) and suggested that the reservoir had a cultic function connected with the rites of Sarapis.

⁴⁰ *Corinth* I, iv, pp. 133, 135.

⁴¹ *Corinth* I, iv, p. 135; Williams, 1979, p. 119.

⁴² *Corinth* I, iv, p. 134.

⁴³ O. Broneer, *Corinth Notebook* 151, p. 94; *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 430, pl. 37.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, *Corinth Notebook* 152, pp. 109–110; *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 67, pl. 8.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, *Corinth Notebook* 152, p. 119. The statue base was found 0.50 m. above the destruction layer but with an Aurelian coin. Broneer associated it with the destruction.

and could be dated by letter forms to the 1st century after Christ.⁴⁶ Three large bronze fingers and small fragments of the body of a large bronze statue were also found on the floor in the southeast corner of the room.⁴⁷ Broneer did not associate the fingers with the statue base.⁴⁸ In front of the benchlike structure against the south wall, the head of Sarapis (2) was found lying face up. The upper part of the head and nose were found near by with finished surface down.⁴⁹

In the first excavation report, Morgan suggested that the head of Sarapis had been part of an acrolithic statue or herm.⁵⁰ This idea has been repeated in most subsequent mention of the piece.⁵¹ His argument was based on the fact that no statue was found with the head, that the smooth finish of the tenon was reminiscent of woodcarving technique, and that traces of burning exist on the shoulder area and upper part of the tenon but not farther down.

None of this evidence is inconsistent with respect to a stone rather than an acrolithic statue body. The long conelike tenon is appropriate for setting into the socket of a stone statue.⁵² Bulky pieces of a stone statue could well have been removed in cleaning up after the fire; the only marble pieces found on the actual burnt layer were small fragments and the head itself. The smooth surface worked with a flat chisel does not necessarily imply an acrolithic body.⁵³ The fact that the head shows more fire damage than the tenon is most easily explained if one imagines the tenon set into a deep stone socket.

The head does not fit the canonic Sarapis type; indeed it has unique features. Hornbostel grouped it with the series of heads that have an anastole over the forehead but remarked that the hair was really parted in the middle with locks falling forward on either side.⁵⁴ The mustache which curls down at the tips is most unusual.⁵⁵ Even taking into account the very long neck, the hair is shorter than on most Sarapis heads.⁵⁶

Perhaps the most striking feature in 2 is the profusion of corkscrew curls. Eight of them

⁴⁶ *Idem*, "Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis," *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 388–390; *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 130, pl. 15.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, *Corinth Notebook* 152, pp. 112, 121; *Corinth* XII, nos. 487, 488, pl. 47; Carol C. Mattusch, "Corinthian Metalworking: The Forum Area," *Hesperia* 46, 1977 (pp. 380–389), p. 384.

⁴⁸ "Nothing was found of the statue supported by the base, and in view of the excellent condition of the Sarapis head this must be taken as an indication that the statue had already disappeared before the time of the fire" (Broneer, *op. cit.* [footnote 46 above], p. 390).

⁴⁹ Morgan, *op. cit.* (footnote 34 above), p. 539.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* On the rarity of representations of Sarapis on herms, see Hornbostel, p. 412, note 5.

⁵¹ Capps, *op. cit.* (footnote 34 above), p. 549; Brady, p. 68; K-S, no. 469; Hornbostel, p. 101, note 2, p. 186; Smith, p. 215.

⁵² For examples of conelike tenons for insertion into statues, see E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, I, *Portrait Sculpture*, Princeton 1953, nos. 17, 23, 51.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, no. 51.

⁵⁴ Hornbostel, p. 186. On the problem of assigning some heads to either of the two main hair types, see Bergquist, pp. 110–111.

⁵⁵ This feature is difficult to distinguish on photographs. Bergquist (p. 121, note 52) only cites one other example: Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, alabaster bust, H. 0.25 m., Egyptian origin (H. Jucker, "Aegyptiaca: Betrachtung zur kaiserzeitlichen Münz- und Porträtkunst Aegyptens," *JarbBernHistMus* 41–42, 1961–1962 [pp. 289–330], p. 321, fig. 47; H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West. Greek and Roman Art in Texas Collections*, exhibition catalogue, Houston 1970–1971, p. 72, no. 22, fig. 22:a, b; Hornbostel, fig. 222:a.

⁵⁶ Hornbostel, p. 78, note 3.

are appended to the beard below the short, curly locks on the chin and cheeks.⁵⁷ They are very prominent when seen from below and appear like a stiff fringe, poorly integrated with the curls above. The three corkscrew curls that hang on either side of the head also emerge somewhat awkwardly from the layer of shorter hair above, as though two different hair styles were being combined.

Such a concentration of these curls is unusual. Three atypical busts have corkscrew curls on either side of the head,⁵⁸ and a certain number of works have them on the beard.⁵⁹ Conceivably, in the case of **2**, these curls were used deliberately to accentuate the Egyptian character of Sarapis and his association with Isis, who was conventionally depicted with long, layered corkscrew curls.⁶⁰

Although many Antonine statues of Sarapis were exported from Egypt, the Corinth head may well be the product of a local workshop.⁶¹ This origin is suggested by the unique

⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that the artist took into account traditional Sarapis iconography by separating the two central corkscrew locks and placing a shorter curl between them. See footnote 28 above.

⁵⁸ Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum, inv. no. 58.79.1, glassy faïence head, H. 0.101 m., Alexandria, 1st century after Christ (Jucker, *op. cit.* [footnote 25 above], p. 87, fig. 13:a, b; B. V. Bothmer and J. L. Keith, *Brief Guide to the Department of Ancient Art* [The Brooklyn Museum], Brooklyn, N.Y. 1974, pp. 92–93, fig.; Hornbostel, fig. 106. This bust has an anastole and two rows of short corkscrew curls around the face. Athens, Agora Museum, inv. no. S-355, marble bust, H. 0.299 m. (T. L. Shear, “The Sculpture Found in 1933,” *Hesperia* 4, 1935 [pp. 371–420], pp. 397–398, fig. 24; K-S, no. 478; Hornbostel, fig. 294). Hair covers the forehead in almost undifferentiated bangs; the beard is not clearly divided in the center. Four long corkscrew curls are indicated in a relieflike way on either side of the head behind the long curls that frame the face. Utrecht, Provincial Oudheidkundig Museum, inv. no. 7605, gray stone head (F. Braemer, *Catalogue de l'exposition: L'art dans l'Occident romain. Trésors d'argenterie, sculptures de bronze et de pierres* [Palais du Louvre], Paris 1963, no. 815, pl. 64; Hornbostel, fig. 366:a, b). Provincial work with thick, short, corkscrew curls radiating from center of head and corkscrew curls on beard.

⁵⁹ Although corkscrew curls were not a fixed iconographical feature of any of the beard arrangements typical of Sarapis, they turn up fairly often in the rather free renderings of the curly beard. The “chin-curl rosette” pattern isolated by Bergquist (footnote 28 above) has two fairly long curls below the chin that sometimes are carved as loose corkscrew curls. Bergquist distinguishes a second, simpler type of beard: “within the rather undifferentiated beard, there is a vertical, middle portion, which consists of two, large corkscrew curls, brought together rather than separated and extending from the chin to the bottom of the beard” (p. 125). Although it is difficult to be absolutely certain from photographs, the majority of her examples look in fact like **1** and **3** in this article, the central section consisting of two vertical rows of individual clumplike curls, not continuous corkscrews. Sometimes, to be sure, the artist depicted these central rows as corkscrew curls. See, for example, Nîmes, Musée de la Maison Carrée, marble head, H. 0.23 m., local origin (E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*, Paris 1910, II, p. 11, no. 2671, fig.; K-S, no. 807; Hornbostel, fig. 220). A number of Sarapis heads have a full beard of corkscrew curls. For example, see Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. no. 19452, marble head, H. 0.38 m., Egyptian origin (H. Jucker, “Ein Kopf des Sarapis,” *Genava*, n.s. 8, 1960, pp. 113–121, fig. 1; Adriani, *op. cit.* [footnote 26 above], p. 46, no. 172, pl. 81:269; K-S, no. 324; Hornbostel, fig. 169:a–d).

⁶⁰ On Isis curls, see D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faïence*, Oxford 1973, p. 28, with earlier references in note 2. For examples of Ptolemaic queens depicted as Isis with corkscrew curls, see p. 166, no. 123, pls. XLIII, XLIV. See also, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 20.2.21 (M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1955, p. 92, figs. 351–353; *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*, compiled by B. V. Bothmer [Brooklyn Museum], Brooklyn, N.Y. 1960, pp. 159–160, no. 123, pl. 115: 309, 310; H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin 1975, p. 178, J1, pl. 71); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 89.2.660 (Bothmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–147, no. 113, pl. 105: 281–283; Kyrieleis, *op. cit.*, p. 183, M1, pl. 101:1). On Isis, see Dunand, *op. cit.* (footnote 15 above), I, II, III.

⁶¹ Hornbostel (p. 186) called it a provincial work of mediocre quality.

iconography as well as the odd combination of awkward and skillful rendering. Anatomical structure of the head and neck is ignored while the features are nicely detailed. The semidetached curl on the right is stiff and naive while the strands over the forehead are lively and varied.

The hair on this head is rendered in a tangible, plastic way. Clearly marked layers of hair build up the form on the top and sides of the head. Shadowy depths are not suggested by narrow drill channels; they are actually carved out as real space in hollows on either side of the cheeks. The running drill is used to open spaces between locks of hair. It is not used primarily as a tool to create effects of light and dark.

The head has been dated on stylistic grounds to the Hadrianic or early Antonine period.⁶² Yet mid-Antonine imperial portraits made in Greece show less use of the running drill to penetrate the mass of hair with dark accents than do contemporary works made in Rome.⁶³ This respect for plastic form seems to be a deep-rooted tradition and must be taken into account when dating the products of local workshops. A mid-Antonine date for 2 should therefore not be excluded.

3. Head of Sarapis Pls. 28, 29:a

S-1982-3. P. H. 0.157, W. 0.103, D. 0.11 m.

Found east of the Theater in unstratified fill. Corinth Notebook 739, p. 98.

Broken off at base of neck. Chips on nose, outer corner of right eye socket, left eyebrow, beard locks on left side, curls to right of central hair part, surface below hair at rear right. Lowermost hair locks broken off on left side.

White, medium-grained marble. Brown root marks over much of the surface.

The hair is shoulder length in back with shorter locks framing the face. It is arranged as though a fillet were tied around the head. A central part with wavy strands falling on either side is indicated by chiseled grooves on the surface of the cranium. Free-hanging hair appears as a compact mass lying close to the head. Locks are separated by fairly deep drill channels. Individual strands are indicated by shallow drill channels and lines engraved with a flat chisel. Most locks have a flat surface and curled tip.

Above the forehead the hair is arranged in three pairs of short, thick locks rising one behind the other on either side of the part. The pair closest to the face is almost symmetrical and looks like a mustache, curling up, then down, with lifted tips. The front plane slants toward the forehead. The second pair of locks is asymmetrical. Although the surface is chipped, it is possible to see that the tip of the lock on the right curled down and inward, fitting against the raised end of the curl below. The corresponding lock on the left curls upward and ends with a lifted tip. The third pair of locks is fairly straight, ending with a slight curl, directed inward toward the skull on the right and outward toward the face on the left.

⁶² E. Capps (*op. cit.* [footnote 34 above], p. 551) suggested a 2nd-century, probably Hadrianic date. Hornbostel (p. 186) called it early Antonine.

⁶³ M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit*, Berlin 1939, pp. 91–98; K. Fittschen, "Bildnis des Lucius Verus in Thermen-Museum," *JdI* 86, 1971 (pp. 214–252), pp. 228–230; F. C. Albertson, "A Bust of Lucius Verus in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Its Artist," *AJA* 87, 1983 (pp. 153–163), p. 159.

Fairly short, wavy locks fall on either side of the face to the level of the beard. Although the locks are not symmetrical, there is correspondence between two short strands beside the temples and the inward-turned curls at the beard. Except for the space between cheeks and hair, the locks in front were so designed that the viewer does not look straight into the drill channels. No such care was taken on the sides of the head where locks are simply blocked in with the drill, then slightly articulated with drill and flat chisel. This treatment extends back farther on the right than on the left. In back the hair is only indicated with the flat chisel. The hair hangs free of the neck on the left side. On the right, locks curve in closely to the neck; a wedge of marble was left below the lowermost curl, above the shoulder.

The face is carefully modeled with special attention to the left side. The forehead has four separate projections and a furrow in the center, then tapers rapidly to the temples. The bridge of the nose projects more strongly on the right side than on the left. The eyebrows form wide, fairly high arcs indicated by a narrow line in low relief. The eyes are almond-shaped. The tear ducts are accentuated with a tiny drill hole and set apart from the eyeballs with a line. The upper and lower lids are thick. The mouth is slightly open. Two tiny drill holes remain inside the corners. The lower lip projects more on the left than on the right.

The mustache does not cover either the upper lip or the corners of the mouth. It is long and curls up at both ends. In front, the beard is sharply divided into two symmetrical rows of curls by a thin drill channel. On the sides are three rows of curls, almost symmetrical in design. Each curl lies flat against the cheek, articulated with a groove and outlined by a narrow drill line or with the flat chisel.

The cranium slopes back rapidly from the front. A hole, 0.008 m. in diameter and 0.023 m. deep, was drilled almost exactly in the center of the top of the head on the vertical axis. It was drilled after the hairpart and strands had been carved, for it cuts through some of that work. Although the rim of the hole is badly chipped, no additional working of the surface is evident around the hole.

The surface of the hair and beard has been smoothed. Traces of running-drill marks have been removed from the channels with a rasp. The forehead, bridge of nose, and left side of face and neck have been polished to a satin finish. On the right the surface is only smoothed.

Enough anatomy of the neck remains below the beard to determine that the head was turned to its right. Indeed the degree of modeling and finish on the left side is consistently greater than on the right, with the exception of the drilled hair locks.

The head (3) is cast in such a standard, classicizing formula for bearded divinities that it is difficult to identify the god.⁶⁴ Zeus and Asklepios come immediately to mind. Nothing

⁶⁴ The large eyes with slightly arched brows recall late 5th-century works such as the Dresden "Zeus". Most recently on this type, see E. B. Harrison, "A Classical Maiden from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, Suppl. XX, *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography*, Princeton 1982 (pp. 40–53), pp. 44–46. The long, ovoid face becomes common on late 4th-century heads. For example, see Athens National Museum, inv. no. 2574, Stele of Alexos (R. Lullies, *Greek Sculpture*, London 1957, pls. 226, 227). The Blacas Head (London, British Museum, inv. no. 550, B. Ashmole, "The Poise of the Blacas Head," *BSA* 46, 1951, pp. 2–6, pls. 1–4), often dated to the late 4th century, is a typical example. The almost symmetrical regularity of the face is found on classicizing works dated to the 2nd century B.C., such as the Zeus from Aigeira (most recently, see A. Stewart, *Attika*, London 1979, pp. 51–52, pls. 13, 14:a, 15:b, d, f).

in the iconography is inappropriate to Zeus.⁶⁵ The large eyes, spreading locks at the forehead, and mild expression are typical of Asklepios but not the divided beard and shoulder-length hair.⁶⁶

The head can be identified as Sarapis because there is a dowel hole in the top of the head for attachment of a kalathos.⁶⁷ This Sarapis has an anastole instead of hanging forehead locks.⁶⁸ All other features such as the arrangement of hair and design of the beard are commonly found on Sarapis heads. An alabaster head in Venice (Pl. 29:b),⁶⁹ only slightly larger than 3, is iconographically similar in all respects including the highly stylized treatment of the anastole.

It is not surprising that 2nd-century representations of Sarapis with an anastole should be strongly classicizing, because they were probably influenced by late Hellenistic images of the god. Hornbostel identifies a head in the Vatican which has traces of a kalathos as an early Antonine copy of a Sarapis head of the mid-2nd century B.C. (Pl. 29:c).⁷⁰ Another very large head with a dowel hole and a prepared surface for the kalathos is closer to 3 in its extreme regularity of design (Pl. 29:d).⁷¹

It is likely that 3 was part of a small statue rather than a bust. This head has abrupt transitions from carefully finished to roughly worked area, and the hair is more detailed on the right side than on the left. While such treatment seems inappropriate for a small portable bust, it is easily understood in a statuette of Sarapis seated in the canonic pose (Pl. 29:e).⁷² The head would be turned to its right, explaining all the minor adjustments in

⁶⁵ *RE*, Suppl. XV, Munich 1978, s.v. Zeus, E. Simon, "Archäologische Zeugnisse," cols. 1411–1441. Although classical images of Zeus have fairly short hair that leaves the ears and neck free, a late Hellenistic type such as the Zeus from Otricoli (Bieber, *op. cit.* [footnote 60 above], fig. 771; H. von Steuben, *Helbig*⁴ I, no. 33) has long hair that envelops the face.

⁶⁶ G. Heiderick, *Asklepios*, diss. Freiburg, 1966.

⁶⁷ Holes for attachment of a separately worked kalathos are commonly found on heads of Sarapis (Hornbostel, p. 83). A slightly over life-sized head in Berlin has the same simple means of attachment found on 3. A round hole, 0.001 m. in diameter and 0.003 m. deep, is drilled into the top of the head, cutting through hair strands which are carved in low relief with a flat chisel (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. SK 5322, marble head of Sarapis restored as a bust, H. 0.551 m., *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Antiken Skulpturen*, Berlin 1891, no. 251 with sketch; K-S, no. 1023). On most heads the area around the dowel hole is specially carved to hold the kalathos. Bergquist (pp. 106–109) collects examples of three types of prepared surface. She questions whether "a dowel hole cut into a non-planed off or non-flattened head top" is sufficient evidence for "a separately worked stone headdress" (p. 108, note 23), citing two examples of very large heads with small holes, one of which is placed very close to hair that projects in high relief. She had presumably not seen the head in Berlin, and in any case the hole in 3 is certainly large and deep enough to hold the dowel for a small stone kalathos.

⁶⁸ On the anastole type, see Hornbostel, pp. 133–206.

⁶⁹ Venice, San Marco, Tesoro, inv. no. 130, alabaster bust, H. 0.205 m. (Jucker, *op. cit.* [footnote 25 above], p. 84, fig. 11:a, b; *Il Tesoro e il Museo*, H. R. Hahnloser, ed., Florence 1971, no. 7, pl. 3; K-S, no. 735; Hornbostel, fig. 120). This bust, probably of Egyptian origin, was designed to fit on a pilgrim staff (cf. footnote 30 above). It is dated stylistically to the Hadrianic period.

⁷⁰ Rome, Musei Vaticani, Magazzino, marble head, H. 0.265 m. (G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, Vatican City 1937, pp. 107–108, no. 232; Hornbostel, fig. 122).

⁷¹ Formerly Collection A. Fassini, marble head, H. 0.43 m. (G. E. Rizzo, *Collezione d'arte del Barone A. Fassini*, II, *Arte Classica*, Milan/Rome 1931, pls. 1, 2; Hornbostel, fig. 129:a, b).

⁷² Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. no. 1125, marble statuette, H. 0.24 m. (H. von Steuben, *Helbig*⁴ IV, no. 3034; K-S, no. 549; Hornbostel, fig. 11). For slightly larger statuettes with anastole, see Stockholm,

design and finish of the face. The more completely carved hair on the right side of the head would be clearly visible; that on the left would be partly concealed by the arm holding a scepter. The back of the head would be almost invisible against the throne.

It is extremely difficult to date small, routinely made works such as this head. Yet the treatment of the hair is distinctive, with its uniform, flattened surface and narrow drill channels that appear more as dark lines drawn on the surface than as actual space between the curls. Since such disregard for three-dimensional form seems atypical of local Hadrianic and Antonine work, it is possible that the head was carved early in the Severan period.⁷³

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Nationalmuseum Antiksamlingen, inv. no. NM SK40, H. 0.53 m. (K-S, no. 1067; Hornbostel, fig. 127) and London, British Museum, inv. no. 1531, H. 0.50 m. (Hornbostel, fig. 128).

⁷³ The high-relief head of Medusa that decorated a colossal cuirass statue of Hadrian (S-1456) at Corinth has the same type of decorative curls, but they are rounded forms, lying one on top of the other in well-defined layers. There is no use of the drill except to accentuate a curl tip (O. Broneer, "Excavations in the Odeum at Corinth, 1928," *AJA* 32, 1928 (pp. 447–473), pp. 470–471, fig. 11; *idem*, *Corinth, X, The Odeum*, Vienna 1932, pp. 125–126, fig. 120). On the statue, see also K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen (Archäologische Forschungen IV)*, Berlin 1978, no. 219; C. E. de Grazia, *Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Corinth: The Roman Portrait Sculpture*, diss. Columbia University, 1973 (University Microfilm 75-18-369), no. 101. Numerous classicizing heads of same size as 3 are found on the theater reliefs at Corinth, dated to the Hadrianic or early Antonine period. Most have projecting, clumplike locks carved with a flat chisel (*Corinth*, IX, ii). A head of Antoninus Pius found at Corinth (S-1798), usually dated late in his reign, shows extensive use of the drill to separate and articulate curls. The locks, however, are individual rounded forms. In sketchy work on the sides, they lie quite close to the head, but nowhere is the effect as flat and linear as on 3 (*Corinth* I, iii, pp. 70, 148, pl. 27:3; de Grazia, *op. cit.*, no. 31; B. S. Ridgway, "Sculpture from Corinth," *Hesperia* 50, 1981 (pp. 422–448), p. 435, pl. 93:c). Hair is carved with a flat chisel on the sarcophagus with scenes of the Seven against Thebes and the death of Opheltes (*Corinth* IX, [i], no. 241 [several inv. nos.]). It is dated to the last quarter of the 2nd century in the most recent study of Greek sarcophagi (G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage [Handbuch der Archäologie]*, Munich 1982, p. 416, with earlier references). Figures on the Meleager Sarcophagus at Eleusis, dated to the first quarter of the 3rd century, have hair that is fairly similar in treatment to the Sarapis, only the workmanship is coarser and the drillwork more extreme (G. Koch, *Die mythologischen Sarkophage*, VI, *Meleager*, Berlin 1975, no. 70, pl. 136:a–c; for dating see pp. 75–76. For photographs of details, see A. Giuliano and B. Palma, *La maniera ateniese d'Eta Romana*, I, *Maestri dei sarcofagi attici [Studi Miscellanei XXIV]*, Rome 1978, pls. XXXII, XXXIII).



a. 1 (S-1457) Bust of Sarapis, front



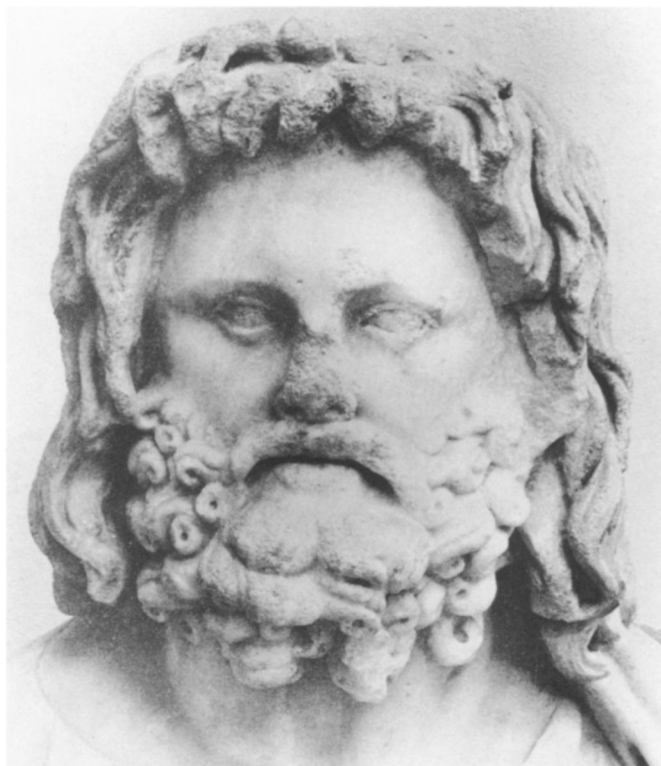
b. 1 Right side



c. 1 Back



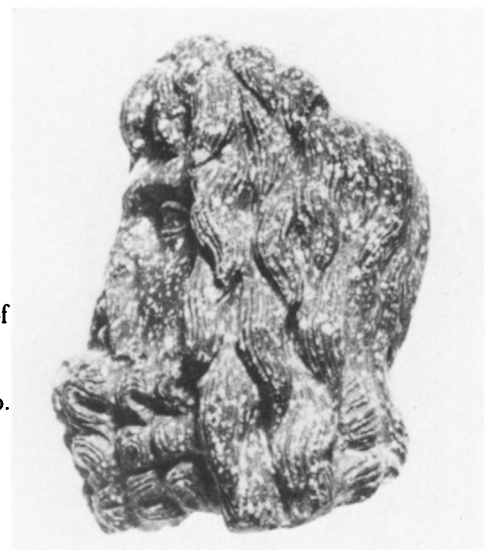
d. 1 Left side



a. Marble statue of Sarapis, Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. no. 3916



b. Porphyry head of Sarapis, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 1955-333. Front



c. Left side of b



d. Terracotta lamp from the Fayum, Ontario, Royal Ontario Museum, inv. no. 910-165-20



e. Black stone bust from pilgrim's staff, Amsterdam, Collection M. J. Vermaseren



a. 2 (S-2387) Head of Sarapis, front

b. 2 Right side



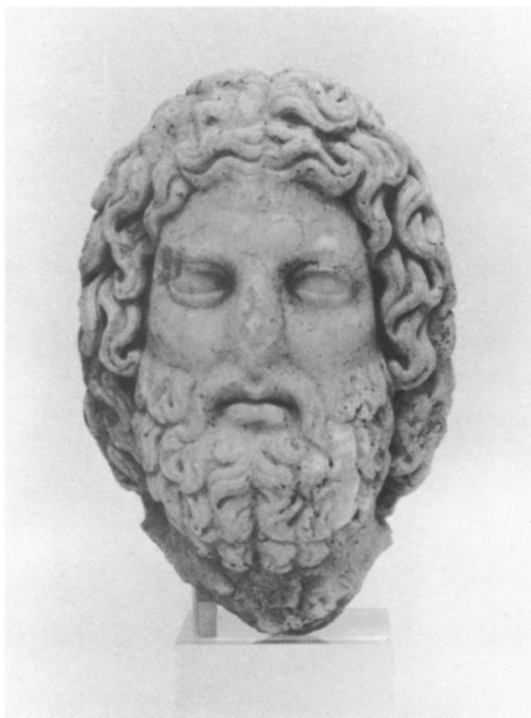


a. 2 Back



b. 2 Left side

PLATE 28



a. 3 (S-1982-3) Head of Sarapis, front



b. 3 Right side



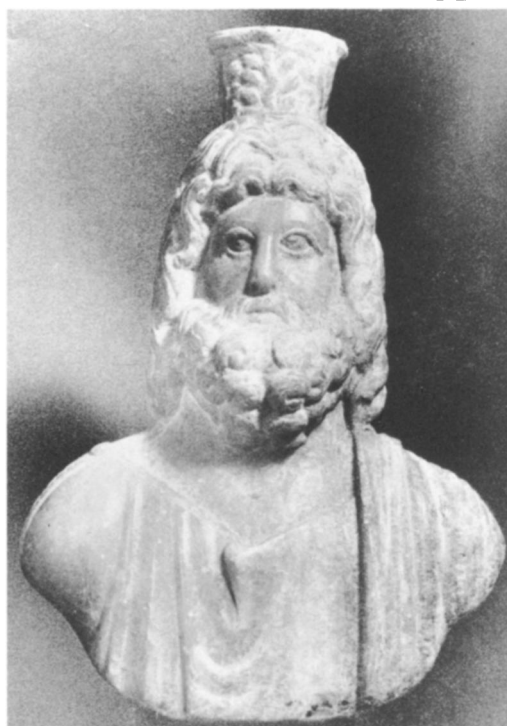
c. 3 Back



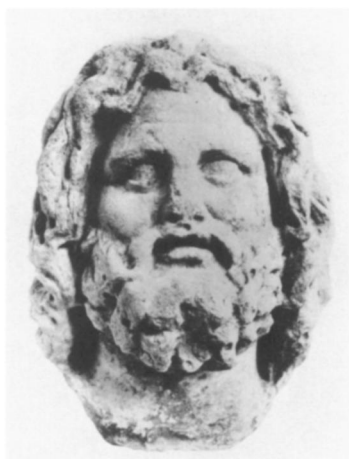
d. 3 Left side



a. 3 Top of head



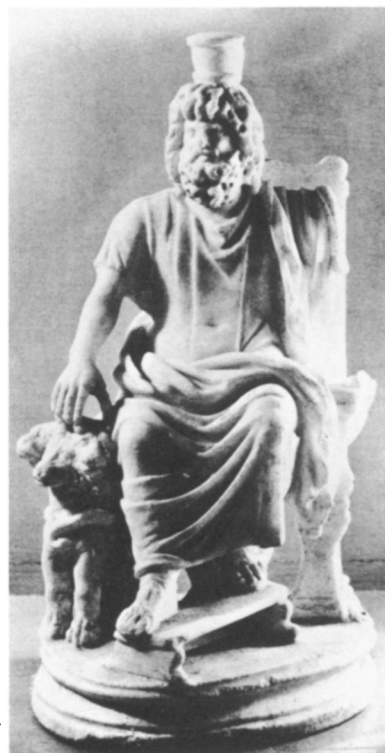
b. Marble head, Rome, Musei Vaticani, Magazzino, no. 232



c. Alabaster bust, Venice, San Marco, Tesoro, inv. no. 130



d. Marble head, formerly Collection A. Fassini



e. Marble statuette, Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. no. 1125